



CLARE 1840 to 1900:  
CHANGING ELITES WITHIN A SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY

by

Elizabeth M. Milburn BA

Thesis presented as a requirement for the  
degree of Master of Arts in the School of  
History, Faculty of Arts, University of  
Adelaide, January 1982.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Summary	iv.
Statement	vi.
Acknowledgements	vii.
Abbreviations and Conventions	viii.
Map: Clare and the Surrounding District	ix.
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
The study	1
Research relevant to this study	6
Terminology	20
Structure of the thesis	26
2. CLARE BEFORE 1851: SETTLEMENT AND EMERGENCE OF A PASTORAL ELITE	28
The pastoral settlers	29
The village of Clare	35
The pastoral elite	36
3. CHALLENGING THE SQUATTERS: 1851 to 1868	47
Economic success: 1851 to 1868	51
Power: 1851 to 1868 - colonial politics	55
Power: 1851 to 1868 - local politics	89
Power: 1851 to 1868 - the magistrates	105
Social status: 1851 to 1868	109
Social status: 1851 to 1868 - leadership roles and rewards	114
Social status: 1851 to 1868 - Gleeson and Hope	127
Elite and community: 1851 to 1868	133

<u>Contents</u>	(cont.)	<u>Page</u>
4.	PROSPERITY, DIVISION AND UNCERTAINTY: 1868 to 1885	137
	Prosperity	138
	Economic success: 1868 to 1885	145
	Power: 1868 to 1881 - colonial politics	156
	Power: 1868 to 1885 - local politics	166
	Power: 1868 to 1885 - the magistrates	197
	Social status: 1868 to 1885	201
	Social status: 1868 to 1885 - criticisms	207
	Social status: 1868 to 1885 - leadership	210
	A divided community	239
5.	ECÓNOMIC DECLINE AND LOCAL SELF-RELIANCE AND LEADERSHIP: 1881 to 1900	252
	Economic decline	253
	Economic success: 1885 to 1900	258
	Power: 1881 to 1900 - colonial politics	267
	Power: 1885 to 1900 - local politics	296
	Power: 1885 to 1900 - the magistrates	306
	Social status: 1881 to 1900	312
	Social status: 1881 to 1900 - economic leadership	312
	Social status: 1885 to 1900 - improving working conditions	333
	Social status: 1885 to 1900 - social leadership	338
	Social status: 1885 to 1900 - status differences and criticisms	354
	Conclusion	367
	Bibliography	371

SUMMARY

This study of Clare between 1840 and 1900 has been directed at the changes in the membership and roles of the elite of a small South Australian country town. The elite has been examined within the context of its changing relationships with the Clare community, which itself changed in size and prosperity according to the economic conditions of the surrounding district. Membership of the elite has been defined in terms of the achievement of economic success, power and high social status, with particular emphasis on the provision of community leadership. This definition has supplied the framework for this study, as it has been used not only to determine the elite but also to describe its members' activities.

During the sixty years from 1840 the membership of the elite changed, by challenge and attrition, from a small number of pastoralists to a wider group of town-dwelling business and professional men. The pastoralists were early settlers, Anglicans of English and Irish birth, who brought the advantages of capital, good family and education to the colony. The townsmen who made up the elite by the end of the century were self-made business men, or professional men of educated family backgrounds. Although the most successful were from England and Scotland, at least half the members of the town-based elite were Australian born. Anglicans still predominated, but the elite included a small group of Methodists and a single Catholic.

The roles of the elite were more clearly defined as the century progressed. Members of the elite were always expected to provide

community leadership, and were rewarded with positions of power and prestige. As the economic conditions changed from prosperity to depression, the emphasis on leadership responsibility and duty increased. Whereas in the early years of settlement Clare people felt strong resentment and hostility towards the pastoral elite, by the end of the century praise for elite leadership was frequent. Before 1881, Clare looked to parliament for solutions to its problems, and the elite led the moves to put pressure on the government over such issues as land reform and a railway. Although after 1881 the campaigns for local candidates showed that the power of government was not underrated, the people of Clare and their leaders came to accept that self-help was just as important. With economic decline and the growth of self-confidence, the Clare leaders showed little of the reluctance to take positive initiatives that had been obvious in previous years.

The development of the town of Clare in the nineteenth century was closely related to economic conditions in the surrounding district. It went through the phases of expansion, prosperity, decline and minor revival. These phases affected both the solidarity of the Clare community and the roles of the elite. During the years of expansion and prosperity there was hostility to the elite and division over class and sectarian issues. However depression encouraged cooperation between the community and the elite, and a greater degree of unity than ever before. Elite leadership of a cooperative community helped to stimulate an economic revival at the end of the century.

STATEMENT

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped and encouraged me during the writing of this thesis. I am grateful to all, and wish to make particular mention of those whose contribution was vital to its completion. While I was researching my topic the gentlemen of the Newspaper Reading Room were always most interested and helpful, and Jean Schmaal of the Clare National Trust contributed both information and enthusiasm. The production of the final manuscript would have been impossible without the valuable advice of my supervisor Robert Dare, the tireless and dynamic help of Meg Burchell and the much appreciated proof-reading by Elizabeth Kwan.

The entire project would never have been completed without the patience, understanding and support of my husband Noel and daughter Kate.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

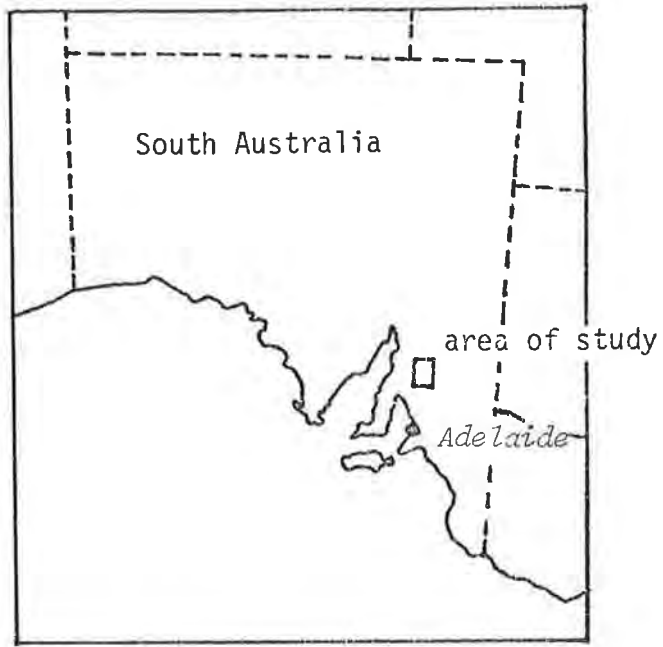
## Abbreviations used:

JP	Justice of the Peace
MP	Member of Parliament
SAA	South Australian Archives
SAPP	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
SM	Stipendiary Magistrate

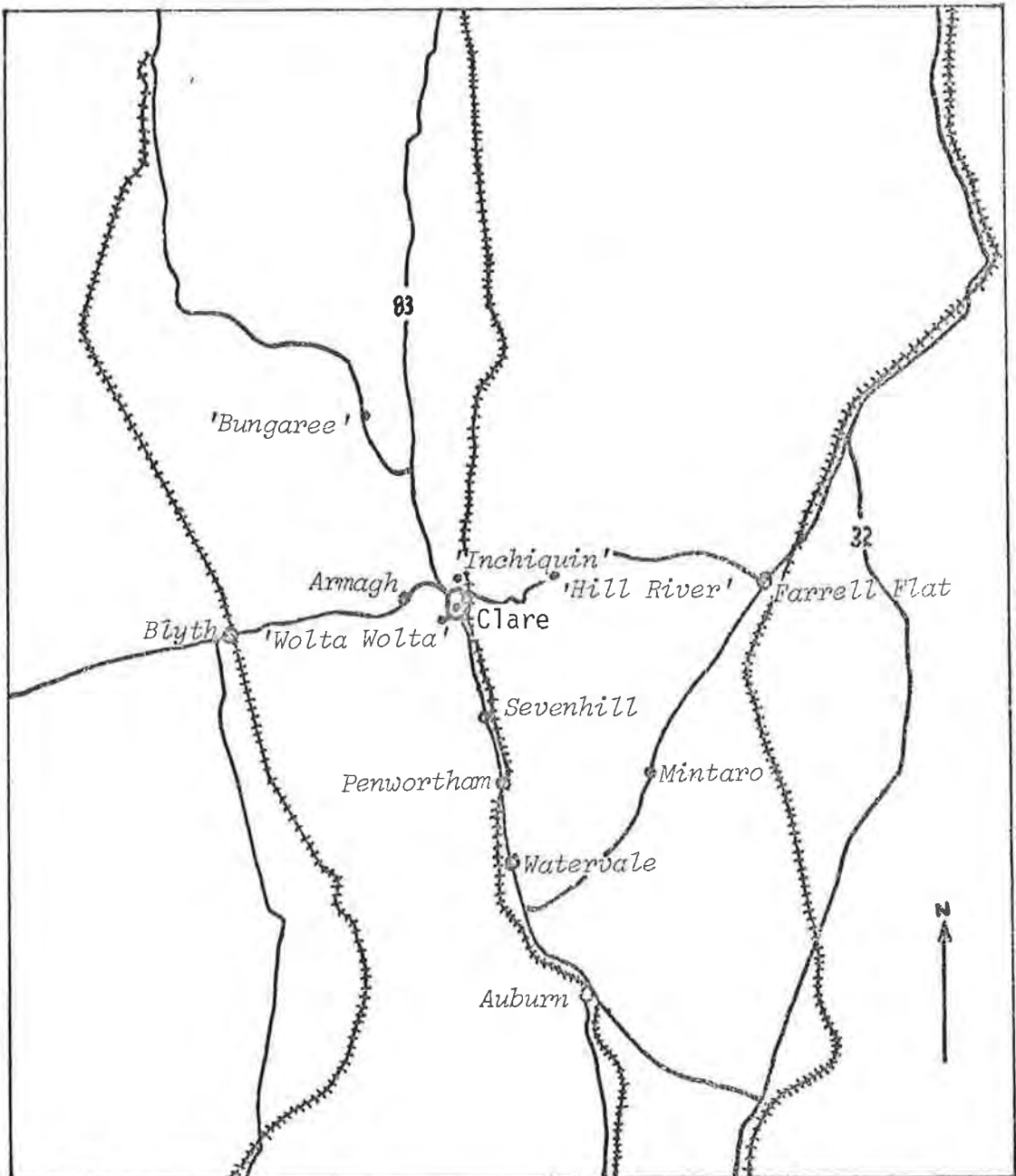
## Conventions used:

This thesis has retained the nineteenth-century convention of using the upper case to begin such terms as Mayor, Corporation, Chairman of the District Council, Bench, Institute and Agricultural Society when these terms refer to Clare individuals and institutions.





1: South Australia and the area of study.



2: Clare and the surrounding district.

CHAPTER IINTRODUCTIONThe study

This study of the small South Australian country town of Clare in the nineteenth century has three major purposes: firstly, to identify the members of the elite of Clare during this period, explain how they achieved their positions and analyse the reasons for any changes in membership; secondly, to study the roles played by the members of the elite within the community, discuss how these roles were perceived by themselves and the community, and discover to what extent these roles and perceptions had changed by 1900; and thirdly, to describe the social and economic development of the Clare community, decide what most affected this development and explore the relationships between the elite and the community as they changed in the sixty years after 1840.

Although my first interest in Clare was personal, it is a South Australian town which justifies study in its own right. The area was first settled in 1840, only four years after the foundation of the colony, and Clare was one of only seventeen towns outside of Adelaide which reached a population of over 1,000 between 1871 and 1911.<sup>1</sup> It was the 'Northern metropolis'<sup>2</sup> on the edge of the settled areas before Strangways Land Act in 1869, but was locked in by the large pastoral estates to the north and gained no long-term benefit from the opening of the 'Agricultural Areas'.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the Land Acts Clare was affected by other important developments in South Australia in the

---

1 Hirst, J.B. Adelaide and the country 1870-1917 ... Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1973. P.4 and p.229.

2 Meinig, D.W. On the margins of the good earth The South Australian wheat frontier, 1869-1884. Adelaide, Rigby Limited, 1976, p.31.

3. Ibid, p.198.

nineteenth century, including the granting of representative and responsible government, the building of railways, the droughts of the early 1880s and the consequent depression. Although in 1871 Clare had the eighth largest population of the seventeen towns, by 1901 it had the least population. The effects of this rise and decline on both the elite and the community will be analysed in this study. Clare offered the advantage to the researcher of remaining an identifiable and discrete unit throughout the nineteenth century, largely because of bad roads, no direct railway and distance from Adelaide, and as such it was a manageable research project.

The need for the historical study of South Australian towns has been recognized. Crowley believed in 1966 that very few 'country localities have had a history written about them which would satisfy the historian'<sup>4</sup>, and that situation is still true. This has also been true of Australian country towns generally, with few exceptions such as G.C. Evans' 'Colac and district'.<sup>5</sup> Bate in 1970 claimed that most well-known regional histories had neglected the towns, partly because they were 'complex organisms'. He pleaded for more historical studies of towns within their regional context, stressing the importance of discussing the relationship between towns and their surrounding districts.<sup>6</sup> In 1978 McCarty argued that although the 'study of a town or city for its own sake is a long-established and important type of urban history in other new countries', the study of a country town and its hinterlands had 'yet to be used extensively by Australian historians'.<sup>7</sup> This study

---

4 Crowley, F.K. South Australian history A survey for research students. Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966, p.181.

5 Evans, G.C. 'Colac and District 1860-1900', unpublished MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1968.

6 Bate, W. 'The urban sprinkle: country towns and Australian regional history', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.X, No.2, September 1970, pp.204-217.

7 McCarty, J.W. 'Australian regional history', Historical Studies, Vol.18, No.70, April 1978, pp.92 and 102.

of Clare is a contribution to the limited research which has been directed towards country towns, in South Australia in particular.

Although I am not attempting a study of particular classes or class structure in Australian history,<sup>8</sup> the elite of a small country town obviously belonged to the 'bourgeoisie' or 'middle class', terms which Rickard argued have been used interchangeably by Australian historians.<sup>9</sup> There have been a number of claims that this group of Australians has been neglected by historians. Horne in 1976 complained that unfortunately 'no one' wrote about elites in Australian history. He blamed 'this lack of interest in the habits of the elites' on 'the egalitarian view of Australia' which he claimed was only a surface impression.<sup>10</sup> 'Elite' was a concept used in nineteenth century Clare, and members of the elite were active individuals who left much evidence of their activities. These are valid reasons why they should be studied. Also in 1976, Lonie claimed that historical research was being disproportionately directed at the 'labour movement' where the sources were abundant and the interest was strong. Whereas the 'shadowy appearance of the Australian bourgeoisie' has been blamed on lack of material, it was as much due to lack of interest.<sup>11</sup> His reference to the 'ignorance of the power of the bourgeoisie' is probably more valid at a small town level than in the broader Australian context.

---

8 Such as those of Connell, R. and Irving, T. Class structure in Australian history ... Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980 and Macintyre, S. 'The making of the Australian working class ...', Historical Studies, Vol.18, No.71, October 1978.

9 Rickard, J. 'The middle class: what is to be done?' Historical Studies, Vol.19, No.76, April 1981, pp.449-450.

10 Horne, D. 'The rough and the smooth', Times Literary Supplement, 9 April 1976, p.410bc.

11 Lonie, J. 'A capital history', Meanjin Quarterly, Vol.35, No.4, 1976, p.430.

The 'recurrent theme' in Dickey's suggested framework for a social history of New South Wales from the mid 1850s to the end of the century was 'the evolution of a colonial liberal bourgeois society'.<sup>12</sup> Others have been conscious of the neglect of the 'middle class' in Australian history.<sup>13</sup> Rickard criticized Connell and Irving for omitting 'the historical reality of the middle class' in their Class structure in Australian history. After reviewing the way Australian historians have dealt with the 'middle class' or 'bourgeoisie' (usually 'isolated by those familiar inverted commas'), he suggested that 'the lived experience of the middle class' has been neglected by historians who have been more interested in the 'working class' and 'bourgeois hegemony'.<sup>14</sup> Although this study is directed at the elite of a country town, these leaders of the Clare community were undoubtedly members of the 'middle class', and therefore this research is a specific contribution to a neglected area in Australian history.

The direction of this thesis has been determined partly by the sources available. Although I have had access to diaries, reminiscences, rate books, minutes of various associations and the occasional secondary source, my major source of material has been newspapers. I gained enormous amounts of relevant material from the Clare correspondents to the Adelaide Observer and the South Australian Register before 1869 and then from the Northern Argus which was published in Clare for the rest of the century. As my major interest was in the members of the elite of Clare the newspapers were extremely useful because they too were most interested in the activities of the leading men in the town and

---

12 Dickey, B. "Colonial bourgeois" - Marx in Australia? ...', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.XIV, No.1, March 1974.

13 Rowley, K. review of Wild, R. Social stratification in Australia Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1978 in Intervention, No.13, 1979 p.82.

14 Rickard, op.cit., pp.447 and 450.

district. Although Buxton argued that newspapers provided 'some opportunity for observing the life of the less literate sections of the community' in the nineteenth century,<sup>15</sup> they were even better sources for information on the roles of the leading townsmen and the perception that both the newspaper editors and the community had of these roles. Connell made a perceptive statement in his criticism of C.M.H. Clark's A History of Australia when he claimed that the

perspective is normally, naturally, that of the literate, propertied, respectable and male - those who have produced the overwhelming mass of the surviving documentation of Australian history. 16

This study has been able to take advantage of this emphasis in primary sources.

In this study of members of the elite within the community of Clare I deliberately sought and have presented in my thesis a great deal of detailed evidence of elite and counter-elite activities and perceptions of those activities. Therefore I feel certain that I cannot be criticized for lack of historical evidence as Gollan criticized Connell and Irving for presenting 'a sequence of highly distilled conclusions rather than the evidence and processes of thought on which they are based' and thus often imposing their model on the evidence.<sup>17</sup> One of my main intentions during my research was not to look for evidence to suit a preconceived model, but to let the collected evidence suggest valid conclusions. This has not always been an easy task in what became a much more complex study than I had expected. The proof of my achievement of this aim will come in the reading.

---

15 Buxton, G.L. The Riverina 1861-1891 ... Carlton, Melbourne Uni. Press, 1967, p.6.

16 Connell, R.W. Ruling class ruling culture Studies of conflict, power and hegemony in Australian life. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.21.

17 Gollan, R. 'The bones stripped bare'. Review of Class structure in Australian history in Historical Studies, Vol.19, No.76, April 1981, p.442.

Research relevant to this study

Although I am aware of no other study of elites or even of specific social groups in a South Australian or Australian country town in the nineteenth century, there have been a number of studies that have aspects in common with this one. Research based in Australia, Britain and New Zealand will be referred to briefly: Australia because it was the setting of this study of Clare; Britain because it was the source of the majority of Australian people and ideas in the nineteenth century; and New Zealand because it too was a colonial offspring of Britain. In the Australian context selected examples of nineteenth and twentieth century studies of country towns and general social structure will be examined. Historical studies of Britain and New Zealand have been chosen for their interest in social structure or elites in the nineteenth century.

The studies which refer to nineteenth century Australian country towns support three generalizations also true of Clare: firstly, that town growth and prosperity were strongly related to the development of the surrounding district;<sup>18</sup> secondly that the local squatters played an important but changing role in local activities; and thirdly, that there was an acknowledged hierarchy in country towns.

Firstly, Buxton found that town growth in the Riverina had stagnated by 1891 partly because there was no further expansion in the surrounding district and therefore the demand for labour and services had passed its maximum.<sup>19</sup> He argued that 'a town's population growth

---

<sup>18</sup> As argued by McCarty, op.cit., p.102.

<sup>19</sup> Buxton, op.cit., p.242.

depended largely on the prosperity of its agricultural or pastoral hinterland'.<sup>20</sup> Even the different political attitudes of the Riverina towns were influenced by the dominant type of land ownership in their surrounding areas.<sup>21</sup> Evans found in his study of Colac that 'there was a close identity between economic and social change'.<sup>22</sup> After the first large local estate was subdivided and the Otways were opened for selection, Colac and its district entered an era of greater prosperity,<sup>22</sup> for the increased number of farmers encouraged the development of Colac as 'the market and processing centre for the district'.<sup>24</sup> Waterson argued that the storekeepers, millers and other members of the town 'bourgeoisie' of the Darling Downs attacked the squatters' ownership of the surrounding land in order to increase the number of people who would add to their own and to their towns' prosperity.<sup>25</sup> The prosperity or decline of the twenty towns or villages of the Darling Downs was intimately connected with the economic conditions of their surrounding districts.<sup>26</sup> As agriculture expanded in the former 'sheepwalk' of Kiddle's western district of Victoria 'the active life of villages and towns were signs of healthy economic development'.<sup>27</sup> These findings on the close relationship between the economy of the towns and their surrounding districts were shown particularly in Clare in the hostility to the squatters and the support for land reform in the 1850s and 1860s,

---

20 Ibid, p.287.

21 Ibid, p.288.

22 Evans, *op.cit.*, p.7.

23 Ibid, p.156.

24 Ibid, pp.216-7.

25 Waterson, D.B. Squatter, selector, and storekeeper A history of the Darling Downs, 1859-93. Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1968, pp.22-23.

26 Ibid, pp.73-94.

27 Kiddle, M. Men of yesterday A social history of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890. Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1967, p.468.



in the drought-related economic decline of the town and district in the 1880s, and again in the encouragement by the leading townspeople of the expansion of orchards and vineyards in the 1890s.

Secondly, the importance of the squatters in the towns and districts of all the Australian studies was greatest in the early years of settlement. In all cases they lost importance but retained high social status. Kiddle's squatters were 'men of yesterday'. The first generation owned and lived on large properties and were powerful in local and colonial affairs,<sup>28</sup> but the depression of the 1890s and the different expectations of their children made the absentee squatter a common phenomenon.<sup>29</sup> Waterson's squatters had beaten off the first 'attacks' by buying their land but this crippled them financially in the long term.<sup>30</sup> In the Riverina too, the squatters who retained their land also had large mortgages.<sup>31</sup> In Colac the district changed after 1885 'from a pastoralist-dominated, predominantly sheep-grazing area, to one equally concerned with agriculture and dairying';<sup>32</sup> however, the townspeople retained their 'respect for the social prestige of the pastoralists'.<sup>33</sup> In Clare, by the end of the century, the squatters were very successful in terms of land and wealth, perhaps more successful than in the eastern colonies. However, after their deaths, their properties were to be sub-divided. Their high social status on a colonial scale was acknowledged, but as absentee landowners they played little part in local activities, unlike in Colac.

---

28 *Ibid*, pp.498-9.

29 *Ibid*, p.512.

30 Waterson, *op.cit.*, pp.2-3 and 46-49.

31 Buxton, *op.cit.*, p.267.

32 Evans, *op.cit.*, p.156.

33 *Ibid*, p.220.

Thirdly, Kiddle stressed the uniformity of the 'social hierarchy' of the towns of the western district of Victoria, in which

beneath the squatter in a series of delicate gradations devised by wives were the parson, priest and minister, the bank manager, the doctor, the lawyer, and the newspaper owner, 34

with the rest of the occupations ranged below on the social ladder.

Waterson described the 'subtle social distinctions' within the social 'pyramid' of the towns of the Darling Downs - headed by the few resident 'Pure Merinos', below whom were 'the successful professional men, the rich business entrepreneurs and the clergy', followed by the rest 'in descending order'.<sup>35</sup> Waterson's 'bourgeoisie' or 'urban middle-class' who led the attack on the squatters were specified in terms of numbers, occupations and national origin.<sup>36</sup> This group of people 'retained some sense of social responsibility' in the 1890s,<sup>37</sup> a claim which will be emphasized more strongly in this study of Clare. Buxton admitted that much of his work on townspeople and town life was 'exploratory and descriptive',<sup>38</sup> as illustrated by the generalization that the 'part played by professional men - legal, medical and clerical - in a developing community is obvious ...'.<sup>39</sup> His interest was in the 'considerable social stratification and differentiation' and 'the widely diverse range of occupations and interests' that developed between 1861 and 1891 in the Riverina as a whole,<sup>40</sup> rather than paying particular attention to the towns. Evans argued that by the end of the century the 'local pastoralists still retained their dominant position

---

34 Kiddle, *op.cit.*, p.438.

35 Waterson, *op.cit.*, p.70.

36 *Ibid*, p.69. The term 'bourgeoisie' is always in italics.

37 *Ibid*, p.278.

38 Buxton, *op.cit.*, p.6.

39 *Ibid*, p.72.

40 *Ibid*, p.9 and p.285.

in society'.<sup>41</sup> Wealth and occupation were major determinants of social status in the town as also was playing 'an important role in local institutions and societies'.<sup>42</sup> As in Clare, the 'wealthier townspeople' were 'sought' as patrons of the sporting clubs and 'expected' to support social institutions.<sup>43</sup>

Both Cannon and Horne referred to the social hierarchy and snobberies of nineteenth century country towns,<sup>44</sup> conclusions endorsed by two twentieth century studies: Oeser and Emery's study of a small Australian town in the 1950s showed that property ownership and community status were the key elements of its social structure;<sup>45</sup> and in the same decade Martin argued that 'class status' which depended on 'wealth, occupation, education and family membership' was more significant in 'rural communities and country towns than in the large cities'.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately Connell and Irving did not give a detailed analysis of 'bourgeois mobilization in country towns' in the 1870s and 1880s<sup>47</sup> nor expand on the 'local prestige, and informal authority that defined a "notable" among landowners, magistrates and so on'<sup>48</sup> which they claimed described capitalist leadership in pre-corporate days. They acknowledged that

the practical analysis of a social totality, so far as it has been done at all, has usually been done in

---

41 Evans, op.cit., p.249.

42 Ibid, pp.94-96.

43 Ibid, p.230.

44 Cannon, M. Life in the country Australia in the Victorian age: 2 Melbourne, Nelson, 1973 pp.240-242. Horne, D. Money made us. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976, pp.112-113.

45 Oeser, O. and Emery, F. Social structure and personality in a rural community. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, pp.19-28.

46 Martin, J. 'Marriage, the family and class', in Elkin, A. (ed.) Marriage and the family in Australia. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1957, pp.31-34.

47 Connell and Irving, op.cit., p.118.

48 Ibid, p.21.

local and regional histories, and is usually quite innocent of theoretical intent. Regional historians typically do investigate a range of social groups and at least the more spectacular episodes of interaction between them; good regional histories also try to investigate the routine interactions between them. 49

Evidence has been given of the general acceptance of the view that nineteenth-century Australian country towns were hierarchically structured. This study of Clare is particularly directed at the upper end of the hierarchy, at the 'notable' or the mobilized bourgeoisie in Connell and Irving's terms. It also examines both the 'spectacular' and the 'routine interactions' between this elite and the rest of the Clare community.

A number of historical studies have produced arguments about the social structure of nineteenth-century Australia, and in particular about elites, that are relevant to this study of Clare. Connell and Irving and also Rickard argued that 'full class mobilization'<sup>50</sup> and 'class conflict'<sup>51</sup> had not occurred even in the urban societies of the industrial eastern colonies in the nineteenth century, thus justifying my decision not to use 'class' terms in the study of a small South Australian country town in the nineteenth century. Despite Macintyre's disapproval of his theory,<sup>52</sup> Lawson's study of Brisbane in the 1890s basically concurs with my own view that society of this period was 'best described in terms of a continuum of status based upon occupation' and not in terms of 'meaningful social classes'.<sup>53</sup> He concluded that occupation and income were the

---

49 *Ibid*, p.13.

50 *Ibid*, p.135.

51 Rickard, J. Class and politics. NSW ... 1890-1910. Canberra, ANU Press, 1976, p.2.

52 Macintyre, *op.cit.*, p.245-247.

53 Lawson, R. Brisbane in the 1890s ... St. Lucia, University of Queensland, 1973, pp.87-8.

major determinants of the individual's position within the 'prestige hierarchy',<sup>54</sup> and that 'status groups' differentiated people rather than 'social classes'.<sup>55</sup> Lawson divided Brisbane society into five classes, which he argued were not Marxian social classes but simply a convenient way of dividing the status hierarchy.<sup>56</sup> He used the term 'elite' for what he described as the most clearly defined and exclusive status group.<sup>57</sup> His definition of elite was simply 'the highest social group in the city' and Lawson chose the 632 members of his elite from selected lists of the leading merchants, financiers, professionals, large manufacturers and wealthy graziers of Brisbane in the 1890s.<sup>58</sup>

Lawson's Brisbane elite was a group with greater wealth, more important occupations and higher prestige than the elite group of a small country town, but nevertheless the Clare elite was also 'the highest social group' in the town. His argument that the relations between the status groups 'were characterized by competition or emulation rather than violent confrontation',<sup>59</sup> was also largely true of Clare. On the whole, my research supports Lawson's view which, he claimed,

steers a course between the historians who stress the egalitarian nature of Australian society and those who conceptualize it in terms of class conflict. It asserts the major importance of status differentials while denying the existence of meaningful social classes. 60

Three South Australian studies have stressed that the squatters, including those from the Clare district, became part of an Adelaide or

---

54 Ibid, p.xxi.

55 Ibid, p.80.

56 Ibid, p.xxxii.

57 Ibid, p.88.

58 Ibid, p.xxxi and 104.

59 Ibid, p:88.

60 Ibid, p.87.

colonial 'gentry' or 'elite'. Van Dissel selected his 'gentry' for the possession of nine criteria.<sup>61</sup> He included the Hawker and Angas families also defined by Williams as members of the 'gentry' of the Central Hill country, a gentry which 'eventually formed part of the South Australian elite'. Her definition of 'gentry' was based on the pre-industrial-world image of the gentry as a 'landowning class' with 'education', 'social responsibilities' and 'certain behavioural characteristics'.<sup>62</sup> In her thesis she used the 'landownership' criterion to decide which individuals to include in her study. Those who owned freehold estates of 5,000 or more acres in 1891 were considered to be 'gentry' under her definition.<sup>63</sup> Within his much wider study of the relationship between Adelaide and the rest of South Australia, Hirst described the economic strength of the pastoralists near Clare and their absentee ownership.<sup>64</sup> They became part of an Adelaide 'gentry' which was active in public affairs and politics.<sup>65</sup> All of these South Australian studies were directed at the elite on a colonial scale. This study of Clare is directed at an elite or even a 'gentry' on a narrower scale, for these terms were used by Clare people to refer to leading members of their community.

Having examined relevant Australian research, I intend to move on to British and New Zealand studies which investigate social structure and elites in the nineteenth century. Briggs and Watson both examined

---

61 Van Dissel, D. 'The Adelaide gentry 1880-1915 ...', unpublished MA History thesis, Melbourne University, 1973.

62 Williams, E. 'Pastoralists and their estates in the Central Hill Country ...', unpublished MA History thesis, University of Wales, 1974, p.3.

63 *Ibid*, p.8.

64 Hirst, *op.cit.*, pp.11 and 18.

65 *Ibid*, pp.37-50.

social structure as seen through nineteenth century English eyes. Briggs claimed that writers on the social structure of England before the nineteenth century used terms like 'ranks', 'orders' and 'degrees' rather than 'class', which was a term associated with the growth of modern industry.<sup>66</sup> He concluded that, although class terms were increasingly used in the 1830s,<sup>67</sup> it was not until the 1870s and the 1880s that

the language of 'ranks', 'orders' and 'degrees' which had survived the industrial revolution was finally cast into limbo. The language of class, like the facts of class, remained. 68

This argument is relevant to my study of Clare where I have found such language persisted well into the century. Briggs stressed the relationship between 'duty' and 'rank'<sup>69</sup> and claimed that even in the 1850s and 1860s, 'attention was paid not to the broad contours of class division, but to an almost endless series of social gradations' within which the 'role of deference' and the idea of a 'gentleman' were stressed and much written about.<sup>70</sup> The concepts of 'duty', 'deference', 'gentleman' and 'social gradations' were important in nineteenth-century Clare.

Watson argued that the Victorians inherited two opposing systems of social description: firstly 'the ancient hierarchical system of rank', a 'supple model' of 'a stepped pyramid of many degrees or ranks' which

does not commit those who accept it to any given number of ranks, or to any simple formula as to what constitutes social superiority: whether birth,

---

66 Briggs, A. 'The language of 'class' in early nineteenth century England' in Briggs, A. and Saville, J. Essays in Labour History in Memory of G.D.H. Cole. London, Macmillan, 1967. P.43 and pp.51-52.

67 Ibid, p.49.

68 Ibid, p.73.

69 Ibid, p.46.

70 Ibid, p.69.

or property, or income, or style of life, or the intrinsic nature of the occupation, or to any one combination of these; 71

secondly, the modern 'system of class', a foreign and intellectual doctrine, pre-Marxian in its first usage, meaning 'two or three vast blocs or classes defined by economic function'.<sup>72</sup> He concluded that although the terms 'rank' and 'class' were not used with any consistency in nineteenth-century England,<sup>73</sup> the word 'class' was 'based on a general assumption of rank and hierarchy'.<sup>74</sup> In fact he argued

the tendency of sociologists since Max Weber to revive an interest in status as against crudely economic notions of social difference has unwittingly brought social studies closer to the traditional and popular view. 75

Watson stressed the importance of perception in deciding social position. 'Rank, in fact is something one is widely supposed to possess; it does not exist independently of consciousness .... It is ultimately a fact of status'.<sup>76</sup> He, like Briggs, emphasized that 'the status of gentleman', one of 'the absolutes of the social system' in the nineteenth century,<sup>77</sup> had an economic base, but also depended on a certain perception of society - 'at some point well above the middle of the social pyramid runs a dividing line: those above it are gentlemen and ladies, and those below are not'.<sup>78</sup>

These two analyses of the perceptions of rank and status in terms of contemporary usage are useful for this study of Clare. Neale, however, disagreed with those historians who explained 'the past only in the

---

71 Watson, G. The English ideology Studies in the language of Victorian politics. London, Allen Lane, 1973. P.175.

72 Ibid, p.176.

73 Ibid, p.177.

74 Ibid, p.180.

75 Ibid, p.177.

76 Ibid, p.178. (My underlining)

77 Ibid, p.197.

78 Ibid, p.195.



terms in which some men in the past explained it to themselves'. He argued that the task of the historian was to interpret the past in terms of the 'most incisive conceptual tools' available.<sup>79</sup> Neale proposed a five-class model to describe English social structure in the early nineteenth-century, believing that the traditional three class model of aristocracy, middle class, and working class was too simplistic and restricting for historians.<sup>80</sup> His model consisted of an upper class, middle class, middling class, and working classes A and B.<sup>81</sup> The major difference between his 'middle' and 'middling' classes was that the former was deferential to the upper class, and the latter, like working class A, the industrial proletariat, was not. His middle class included industrial and commercial property owners and professional men 'aspiring to acceptance by the upper class', whereas the middling class of

petit bourgeois, aspiring professional men, other literates and artisans ... [are] ... collectively less deferential and more concerned to remove the privileges and authority of the upper class in which, without radical changes, they cannot realistically hope to share. <sup>82</sup>

In his latest work Neale maintained that the 'middling class' was the most important idea in his five class model.<sup>83</sup> His concepts of middle and middling classes help describe the disputes between different groups of community leaders in Clare in the 1850s.

Foster studied 'the development and decline of a revolutionary class consciousness in the second quarter of the century'<sup>84</sup> in three English towns. His definition of the 'bourgeoisie'

---

79 Neale, R.S. Class in English history 1680-1850. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981, p.104.

80 Neale, R.S. Class and ideology in the nineteenth century. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p.15.

81 Ibid, p.30.

82 Ibid, p.30.

83 Neale, Class in English history... p.136.

84 Foster, J. Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution ... London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974, p.1.

was based on occupation - 'employers of all sizes, merchants and tradesmen (though not small shopkeepers), members of the established professions, and magistrates, guardians and councillors'.<sup>85</sup> These were the groups he described as the elites of the three towns.<sup>86</sup> These 'bourgeoisie' or 'elites' were 'solid, consistent groupings of people, linked together by blood, friendship and common codes of religious and political behaviour'.<sup>87</sup> Foster used the terms 'elite' and 'town elite' quite loosely to mean leaders of society,<sup>88</sup> which is the way it is used in this study of Clare.

Thompson's well-known study of the making of the English working-class was based on the assertion that class is 'a historical phenomenon', which happens in 'human relationships'.<sup>89</sup> One does not find class by stopping the 'time-machine'; all one finds is 'a multitude of people with different occupations, incomes, status-hierarchies, and the rest', for 'class is not this or that part of the machine, but the way the machine works once it is set in motion'.<sup>90</sup> If we watch these people 'over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions'.<sup>91</sup> This principle is an important one, for although this study of Clare is not directed at 'class', it is concerned with changing patterns in human relationships.

In recent years, historians have shown an increased interest in the social structure of nineteenth century New Zealand. This interest

---

85 Ibid, p.162.

86 Ibid, p.163.

87 Ibid, p.162.

88 Ibid, p.222.

89 Thompson, E. The making of the English working class. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979 (1963), p.9.

90 Ibid, p.939. (My underlining).

91 Ibid, p.11.

has included research into the social structure of country towns, including their leading citizens. There has been general agreement among these New Zealand researchers that the social hierarchy in country towns was based on property and occupation, and that society in country towns was different from that of the cities. Olssen used the term 'elite' freely in his overview of social class in nineteenth-century New Zealand, referring to 'colonising', 'pastoral', 'commercial' and 'political' elites. He argued that class distinctions were less important in small towns than in the cities, although there were differences in status, which was a 'function of wealth and occupation'.<sup>92</sup> In Toynbee's research on social mobility in Wellington Province, she divided her 226 subjects into upper, middle and working classes, using the criteria of occupation and property.<sup>93</sup> She endorsed my finding that the data for the 'upper class' was the most reliable because 'the higher the status, the better the information available'.<sup>94</sup>

Hamer was particularly interested in the development of country towns in nineteenth-century New Zealand and stressed that few ever lost their dependence on the surrounding countryside for their existence.<sup>95</sup> He regretted the lack of research on the importance of country storekeepers<sup>96</sup> and town 'boosters' such as the 'newspaper editor-proprietor' and the 'country-town notables' who became politicians.<sup>97</sup> These 'key

---

92 Olssen, E. 'Social class in nineteenth century New Zealand' in Pitt, D. (ed.) Social class in New Zealand. Auckland, Longman Paul, 1977, esp. pp.33 and 39.

93 Toynbee, C. 'Class and social structure in nineteenth-century New Zealand', The New Zealand Journal of History, April, 1979, pp.71,73,77,78.

94 Ibid, p.78. See my earlier comment, p.5.

95 Hamer, D.A. 'Towns in nineteenth century New Zealand', The New Zealand Journal of History, April 1979, pp.8,9,20.

96 Ibid, p.12.

97 Ibid, p.16.

figures'<sup>98</sup> worked together in the interests of their towns, in particular supporting land reform policies which would bring more people and therefore more customers to the towns.<sup>99</sup> His argument that it was the town-dwelling leaders who were more interested in the prosperity of the district than the farmers was very true of Clare, especially in the last two decades of the century. Finally Pearson's detailed study of the township of Johnsonville from 1880 to 1930 equated 'elite membership' with wealth, based on property ownership in the case of storekeepers, businessmen and farmers, and on income earnings for professionals.<sup>100</sup> His research on involvement in a range of community organizations showed that there was

a general pattern of elite leadership in the township insofar as possession of wealth is broadly congruent with the occupance of *potentially* influential positions within certain local bodies and voluntary associations. 101

This finding that the same individuals were leaders in many different activities has been strongly endorsed by the study of Clare. Pearson also emphasized that while 'small town capitalism' and small town life promoted 'local systems of status differentiation' they also promoted images of community solidarity, which, promoted by local 'power holders', masked awareness of real inequalities.<sup>102</sup> This image of a united community was increasingly encouraged by the leading men of Clare in what they claimed to be the interests of all. The last fifteen years of the century were the ones with fewest newspaper reports of divisions and inequalities. These New Zealand studies have more in common with this

---

98 This expression was used by R. Stone in a discussion on Hamer's paper. He suggested including such other 'notables' as lawyers and bank officers.

99 Hamer, *op.cit.*, pp.13,17,18.

100 Pearson, D.G. 'Small town capitalism and stratification', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, October 1980, pp.113-115 and p.119.

101 *Ibid*, p.127. Note the jargon.

102 *Ibid*, pp.129-130.

study of Clare than the Australian studies which have paid little specific attention to country towns, or the British studies which have been directed at large towns or at a broad sweep of the social structure.

### Terminology

The basic intention of this thesis is to identify the members of the elite of nineteenth century Clare and to study their changing roles within the community. Therefore the reader needs to be aware of the way in which the terms elite and community are defined, and also of the Weberian framework used both to identify the members of the elite and to study their roles.

In this study, the members of the Clare elite are, in common parlance, the leaders and most 'important' individuals in their own and other's perceptions. Elites are 'a necessary or unavoidable feature of society'<sup>103</sup> who

emerge only when the level of social organization reaches the point at which the minimal common interests of persons must be supplemented by authoritative decisions in order to sustain collective endeavors. 104

This means that in nineteenth-century Clare, as soon as there was a need for law and order, local government and participation in colonial government decision-making, elites had to come to the fore. Whereas in modern western societies there are a plurality of elites, in less complex societies the elites are fewer and their influence more compre-

---

103 Higley, J., Deacon, D. and Smart, D. Elites in Australia. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, p.1.

104 Ibid, p.2.

hensive.<sup>105</sup> This suggests that in a nineteenth-century country town a small group of men would have a wide range of influence.

Although Giddens used a more specific definition of elite for his study of elites in contemporary Britain, he supported my more general use of the term: 'As often employed, the term "elite" can apply to those who "lead" in any social category of social activity'.<sup>106</sup>

Bottomore claimed that the earliest known use of 'elite' in the English language was in 1823,<sup>107</sup> and it was not until the late nineteenth century in Europe, and the 1930s in Britain and America that the sociological theories of 'elites' were set out. In nineteenth-century Clare people used the word 'elite' and had their own concepts of its meaning. It was a term which implied sometimes snobbery, sometimes wealth, sometimes education and sometimes a combination of these and other things. After discussing the differing elite theories of Pareto, Mosca and Lasswell, Bottomore concluded:

The term 'elite(s)' is now generally applied, in fact, to functional, mainly occupational groups which have high status (for whatever reason) in a society; and henceforward I shall use it, without qualification, in this sense. 108

It is in this sense that I also intend to use it.

Elites are 'those minorities which are set apart from the rest of society by their preeminence' in the unequal distribution within society of performance, deference and reward: performance describes personal achievements which may be influenced by high social and economic position,

---

105 International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol.5. USA, Crowell, Collier and MacMillan, 1968, pp.26-27. Porter, J. The vertical mosaic: An analysis of social class and power in Canada. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968, p.207.

106 Stanworth, P. and Giddens, A. (eds.) Elites and power in British society. London, Cambridge University Press, 1974, pp.3-4.

107 Bottomore, T. Elites and society. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967, p.7.

108 Ibid, p.14.

but which may also be a result of personal talent; deference is paid towards people who are successful, prestigious and hold positions of authority; and rewards may be in the form of large earnings, popularity and fame, or authority and power, or a combination of these.<sup>109</sup> The general functions of elites are to unify, lead and protect the community.<sup>110</sup> Acceptance of elite positions includes the acceptance of both responsibilities and rewards.<sup>111</sup> The study of Clare has emphasized that members of the elite increasingly came to accept that it was their duty to provide leadership, for which they gained the rewards of prestige, influence and honorary positions.

Although there are many theories of social stratification, this study uses a Weberian framework to both identify the members of the Clare elite and to study their roles. English sociologists who accept this framework include Bottomore and Runciman. Bottomore believed that Weber's addition of 'social prestige or honour' and 'the distribution of political power' to Marx's 'class stratification' provided a 'comprehensive alternative' to Marx's theory of social stratification.<sup>112</sup> Runciman supported using 'the three dimension framework' of class, status and power to study social stratification.<sup>113</sup> However, he warned that although 'wealth, power and prestige tend to go together',<sup>114</sup> 'the researcher who ignores the distinction between the three separate dimensions of stratification must show good reason for doing so'.<sup>115</sup>

---

109 International Encyclopedia ..., p.26.

110 Ibid, p.27.

111 Ibid, p.28.

112 Bottomore, T. Classes in modern society. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975, p.25.

113 Runciman, W. 'Class, status and power' in Jackson, J. (ed.) Social stratification. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.37.

114 Ibid, p.54.

115 Ibid, p.61.

Wild and Encel both supported a Weberian framework for studying Australian society. Wild used a combination of class, status and power as a base for his studies of both Bradstow<sup>116</sup> and social stratification in Australia.<sup>117</sup> Class differences were based on 'property and lack of property', status differences were linked with 'social honour and 'a scale of prestige',<sup>118</sup> and power was

defined as the chance or probability of an individual or collectivity realising their interests in a communal action which determines the life chances of other individuals and collectivities even against the possibility of their resistance. 119

Wild and Encel, who also used these 'three dimensions',<sup>120</sup> believed that there was a close relationship between class, status and power, and elites:

Wild argued

if classes and status groups are the main bases for modes of group formation ... and if elites are groups of individuals occupying authoritative positions at the head of social organizations and institutions, then crucial links, centred on power, are established between classes, status groups and elites 121

while Encel claimed that 'the description of the composition, role and function of elite groups requires the use of all three dimensions'.<sup>122</sup>

Connell criticised Encel for his three dimensional stratification theory underpinning his study of elites in Australia:

Onto the rather wobbly construction Encel nails the elites that are his real concern. There is no way of doing it except by regarding them as the top bits

---

116 Wild, R.A. Bradstow A study of status, class and power in a small Australian town. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1975.

117 Wild, R.A. Social stratification in Australia. Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1978, p.15.

118 Ibid, pp.16, 19 and 20.

119 Ibid, p.23.

120 Encel, S. Equality and authority a study of class, status and power in Australia. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1970, p.9.

121 Wild, op.cit., p.101. (My underlining.)

122 Encel, op.cit., p.39.



of the theoretical dimensions. As usual in the stratificationist approach, the cut-off points are entirely arbitrary, and here there is the added difficulty that there is nothing very tangible to cut. 123

In Connell's opinion Encel's theory of elites had failed; however he acknowledged that it was 'extremely significant' that he had attempted such a study. Connell's comment on the difficulty of deciding on 'the cut-off points' was certainly valid, and has been a problem in this research. Nevertheless the study of the elite (or 'the top bits') of a nineteenth-century country town can make a useful contribution to Australian historical research as a specific case study.

My own interpretation of class, power and status was linked with my need to identify the elite and study their changing roles. I used the expression 'economic success' rather than class, as I found that wealth, property, income, living standards and occupation were more useful to my study than the terms 'upper', 'middle' or 'lower' class. I argued that the three major areas in which individuals could aim for, gain and use power were in the colonial parliament, in local government and on the magistrate's bench. I defined the achievement of high social status in terms of providing community leadership and gaining the rewards of holding official positions and performing ceremonial functions. Social status was closely linked with the community's and the individual's own perceptions of the prestige possessed. Members of the elite were both defined by their leadership and prestigious roles, and also expected to perform these roles. On different occasions they were criticised for not carrying out their responsibilities and for snobbery and pretension.

Although there is no agreement on the precise meaning of the

---

123 Connell, op.cit., p.36.

sociological term 'community',<sup>124</sup> the 'community study' of 'small, delimited sets of people ... is of fundamental interest to many different disciplines'.<sup>125</sup> This study sees 'the Clare community' as having two separate yet overlapping meanings: it is a community in a territorial or geographical sense,<sup>126</sup> and therefore this is a study of the specific locality of the town of Clare and the surrounding district which used the town as its urban centre; and it is also a community in a 'human relationships' sense, and therefore this is a study of how its inhabitants cooperated or conflicted and were united or divided.<sup>127</sup>

Frisch's study of Springfield, Massachusetts was a study of its urban development and the consequent 'process of community growth',<sup>128</sup> from 1840 to 1880. He argued that the 'sense of community' changed from a direct and informal perception to an abstract and formal one.<sup>129</sup> This was related to the expansion of organized community institutions and activities. He also found that 'the business elite' took an increasing interest in community politics and other activities, believing this was 'as much from a desire to meet the increased burdens of public responsibility as from a desire to further their own interests'.<sup>130</sup> Although Clare was miniscule in comparison with Springfield, similar developments in the 'sense of community' and the 'public responsibility' of the businessmen, can be discerned during the years of the study.

---

124 Macfarlane, A. Reconstructing historical communities. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.2.

125 Ibid, p.24.

126 Gusfield, J.R. Community. A critical response. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975, p.xv.

127 Ibid, p.xvi.

128 Frisch, M.H. Town into city Springfield, Massachusetts and the meaning of community 1840-1880. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972, p.5.

129 Ibid, p.247 and p.250.

130 Ibid, p.244.

### Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided both chronologically and thematically. The sixty years of study have been divided chronologically into four parts. After a brief survey of the first ten years of settlement after 1840 (Chapter 2), the bulk of the thesis is divided into three chapters covering periods of roughly equal length (Chapters 3 to 5). These chronological divisions are based on four major criteria: the stage of development of community institutions, such as local government; the economic conditions of the town and district; the roles of the elite; and the degree of unity in the local community.

Chapter 2: during the first ten years of settlement magistrates were appointed to maintain law and order; the population and land holdings expanded; the pastoralists or 'squatters' were the accepted elite; and there were the first signs of divided opinions within the community and criticisms of the status assumed by some members of the elite.

Chapter 3: the years from 1851 to 1868 began with the first colonial election in 1851 and the setting up of the District Council in 1853, and concluded with the incorporation of the town in 1868. During these years there was rapid growth and prosperity of the district which was dominated by pastoral holdings; strong opposition to the economic privileges of the squatters juxtaposed with acceptance of their social leadership, and a fading out of the pastoral elite; and a community divided over attitudes to the squatters and their activities.

Chapter 4: the period from 1868 to 1885 was defined by the new Corporation in 1868 and the last disputed Mayoral election in 1884; an increase in prosperity and population after the first Land Act was

passed in 1869, followed by an economic decline resulting partly from the opening of vast areas of northern land for settlement and Clare not getting a railway; greater expectations of the town-dominated elite, not fully accepted by the elite; and a divided community based largely on sectarian differences.

Chapter 5: the final period overlaps the previous one. The years from 1881 to 1900 were characterized by: the emergence of support for local candidates for colonial elections from 1881 and the agreement on who should be mayor from 1885; economic depression countered by vigorous efforts to establish new industries and agricultural products; the expectation of, and the acceptance by, the elite of a strong leadership role; and a united and cooperative community more actively involved in social activities.

The three chapters covering the years from 1851 to 1900 are each divided thematically. The division follows the Weberian framework of social stratification, based on class, status and power. My basic argument is that the members of the elite in Clare in the nineteenth century were the men involved in occupations and activities which gave them material rewards, put them in positions of authority and leadership, and earned them community respect. Therefore in this study, each of the three major chapters examines the elite and its activities using the categories of economic success, power and high social status. This is not a 'class' based history of Clare, but a study of those seen as the elite of Clare. Therefore these categories are used as a framework around which is arranged an analysis of the members of the elite and their relationships with the community, rather than as a model on which to base an examination of the social structure of the community.

CHAPTER 2CLARE BEFORE 1851: SETTLEMENT AND EMERGENCE OF A  
PASTORAL ELITE

The first European inhabitants of the Clare district were pastoralists, who began settling the area in the early 1840s, both buying and leasing their land. These men and women faced the usual problems of pioneering settlers. They had to cope with the problems of establishing their homes and properties in an area which was a considerable distance from the comforts and civilization of Adelaide, and they had to face the hostility of the dispossessed Aborigines of the area. These problems were also shared by the less wealthy settlers who soon began to arrive in the area as pastoral workers, farmers and providers of services in the village of Clare. They did not have the advantages of finance, education and family background of the pastoralists, who, because of their economic success and social status, took the responsibilities as well as the rewards of leadership of the other settlers in the district.

By 1851, the four major pastoral properties had been established, the population and settled area of the district had expanded considerably,<sup>1</sup> and the village of Clare had grown, providing some of the basic services required by the local inhabitants. A land-owning elite had emerged, and had led the movement to acquire institutions to provide law and order, education, religious comfort and occasional entertainment. Although some degree of resentment of this elite had been shown, this period, unlike

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1841 only E.B. Gleeson and his employees lived at what was later to be called Clare, with J. and A. Horrocks eight miles south at Penwortham; Hawker, J.C. Early experiences of South Australia (1899) Facsimile ed. Adelaide, Libraries Board of SA, 1975, p.80. The 1844 South Australian Directory listed 18 men who owned stock or had planted crops in Stanley. In the 1851 census there were 811 males and 472 females living in Stanley. In 1844, 200 acres were being cultivated; in 1850, 1,481.

later years, was one in which people generally accepted the role of leadership by this elite as being in the interests of the community.

#### The pastoral settlers

Edward John Eyre described the good pastoral country near the Hutt River, which he rode through in May 1839 while on one of his exploring expeditions. After John Ainsworth Horrocks settled at Penwortham south of Clare in 1839 he requested, on behalf of a syndicate, a Special Survey of 15,000 acres from which they could choose their 4,000 acres. After the Hutt River Special Survey had been made out in 80 acre sections in September 1841, Horrocks selected twelve sections, and Edward Burton Gleeson selected six.<sup>2</sup>

Edward Burton Gleeson was the first settler of the Clare district and the founder of the town of Clare. Born in Ireland in 1802, of a family of Church of England clergy and lawyers, he had gone to India as a member of the Indian Civil Service. When he and his brother arrived in South Australia in July 1838, each with a wife and two children, he was described as 'an Irish gentleman, who had just come from India, with his lac of rupees, Arab horses, and Indian servants'.<sup>3</sup> Family legend says that he had won £30,000 in a Calcutta Sweep Stake, and Gleeson testified at his Insolvency Hearing in 1842 that he and his brother had brought £4,500 cash into the colony in 1838.<sup>4</sup> With his share of the money, he had bought land at 'Gleeville', now Beaumont, in 1838, and

---

2 SAA 126. Notes on the Early Settlement of the Clare District pp.1 and 2 - Gleeson's sections were 40, 42, 43, 136, 138, 139 and 20 acres of Section 44, a total of 500 acres.

3 Reminiscences of Mrs. Mahony. The first settlers at Gawler 1839 RGSA (SA), Session 1926-7, p.25. He still had 24 Indian servants in 1842: SAA GRG66 No.39: -Schedule of Edward Burton Gleeson, 3 March 1842. He retained an interest in horse breeding all his life.

4 Ibid, 3 March 1842.

the 500 acres in the Hutt River Survey in 1841. Gleeson had been a very successful colonist until his bankruptcy in 1842. He claimed to have been the first to reap a crop of grain in South Australia in 1839; he had been the largest stock owner after the South Australian Company in 1840; and he entertained Governor Gawler at the first 'Harvest Home' in South Australia in December 1840.<sup>5</sup> After his bankruptcy he sold his 'Gleeville' house and property. He lived permanently at Clare from 1841, and in 1842 he had the town of Clare laid out. His interests were always centred on Clare and his property 'Inchiquin', although he held large pastoral leases in northern areas of South Australia.<sup>6</sup>

The next land owners to settle in the area were George Charles and Charles Lloyd Hawker, brothers who had arrived in South Australia in 1840, to join another brother, James Collins, who had arrived as a secretary to Governor Gawler in 1838. The Hawker brothers' father was an admiral and George was a Cambridge graduate. On Christmas Day 1841, the three brothers decided to set up their head station north of Gleeson's property, at a place where there was 'fine grass', 'good drinkable water' and 'satisfactory' country. They called their property 'Bungaree' after the Aboriginal name for the area.<sup>7</sup> They purchased 800 acres of the Hill and Wakefield Rivers Special Survey in 1842,<sup>8</sup> George using the 'few thousands' his father had sent him in 1841,<sup>9</sup> a good foundation for his later economic success. James sold his share of the

---

5 Register, 11 April 1840, 5b; 28 March 1851, 2e. Cockburn, R. Pastoral pioneers of South Australia (1925), Blackwood, SA, Lynton, 1974, p.86.

6 See below, p.53.

7 Hawker, op.cit., p.8.

8 Williams, E. 'Pastoralists and their Estates in the Central Hill Country', unpublished MA History Thesis, Uni. of Wales, 1974, p.87.

9 Hawker, W. Reminiscences of George Charles Hawker of Bungaree, n.p. 1951.

run to George in 1843, and later George and Charles divided the property, George keeping 'Bungaree' and Charles taking the northern station called 'Anama', which George bought after his death.<sup>10</sup> In 1848 George was leasing 100 square miles on which he ran at least 10,000 sheep,<sup>11</sup> and he gradually bought the leased land to make 'Bungaree' largely freehold by 1868.<sup>12</sup> He owned 84,700 acres in the Clare district in 1891, the largest of the freehold estates in the Central Hill country.<sup>13</sup> He also owned and leased other properties elsewhere in South Australia and New South Wales.<sup>14</sup> After he bought 'The Briars' at Medindie in 1856 he and his family made Adelaide their permanent home and 'Bungaree' was run by managers who often played important roles in Clare affairs.

'Inchiquin', 'Bungaree', 'Hill River Estate' and 'Wolta Wolta' were the four pastoral properties which most strongly influenced life in the Clare district in the nineteenth century. The first lease of 'Hill River' was taken up in 1846 by William Robinson, who took up the leases of another 100 square miles in 1851.<sup>15</sup> This property was to be sold first to Charles Brown Fisher in 1856 and then to John Howard Angas in 1876.<sup>16</sup> Neither Fisher nor Angas lived on the property; nevertheless they, their managers and the economic demands of the property were to have varying degrees of influence on the district throughout the century. John Hope was more involved in establishing

---

10 SAA G67/D2622/120 (L) Hawker, E.W. Notes on the Lives of G.C. Hawker and his wife Lady Hawker. P.1.

11 Williams, *op.cit.*, p.50.

12 *Ibid*, p.141.

13 *Ibid*, p.16.

14 Hawker, E.W., *op.cit.*, p.4.

15 SAA 1324/108 Hill River Estate, p.1.

16 Clare National Trust, 'Farming on the Grand Scale', 30 October, 1977.



his property than in Clare community affairs before 1851. He had arrived in South Australia in 1839 virtually penniless, after a shipwreck; but after receiving £500 from his uncle in Ireland,<sup>17</sup> he gradually began to build up his property. He had travelled north with Horrocks in 1839, and he first shared 66,000 acres with William Robinson at 'Hill River', but broke the partnership. He managed part of Hawker's property in 1842, and he had Occupation Licences for 70 ~~squares~~ in the Broughton and Rocky River areas after 1846, where he ran 7,000 sheep. He acquired his property at Clare in 1844, and built his residence 'Wolta Wolta' close to the village in the 1850s, when he came to reside there permanently. In the 1870s he sold his Hummocks and Koolunga runs, and bought two large properties in New South Wales. These properties and 'Wolta 'Wolta', which consisted of 5,297 acres in 1891,<sup>18</sup> were passed onto his son Robert Edward Herbert Hope after his wife's death in 1899, as he had predeceased her in 1880.

Despite the hardships and problems of early settlement faced by the pastoralists they were in a position to cope with the situation better than most, and their early hardships were relatively soon to be compensated for by economic success and a consequently more luxurious lifestyle. Reminiscences of the Hawker family provide some good examples of the early hardships. James Hawker described how the three brothers built their first hut of split gum slabs, which was a 'palatial residence' after leaky tents. They had to dig two wells because the first one became snake-infested. He also described the lack of variety in the food, which consisted largely of 'damper, mutton and tea, varied at lengthy intervals by beef'. Nevertheless

---

17 Tilbrook, E.H. 'The first 127 years of Clare and Districts...', unpublished manuscript, chapter 21, p.22.

18 Williams, op.cit., p.16.

rough as a squatter's life was in this period there was much fascination in it, and many of us look back on our bush days as some of the happiest of our lives. 19

Charles Hawker, in a letter to his sister Elizabeth, also complained about the lack of variety of the food. His letter showed his elite background and attitudes. He thanked his father for the books he sent, and claimed, 'We have now got a better collection of books than any other station I have seen in the collony. [sic]' His complaints about the people who had come to Australia could only have come from one who had confidence in his own standing as a 'real' gentleman:

Moreover these colonies abound with the greatest knaves in the world, the off-scourings of English prisons, and the tradespeople seem to be contaminated with them, in fact all classes ... experience must be bought very dear here, where when you trust gentlemen so called, both bred and born, they take you in. 20

Both Edward and Walter, sons of George Hawker, referred to the hard times their mother, formerly Elizabeth Seymour, had faced after she married their father in 1845, at the age of 18. Edward said that 'She had to cook for the whole station at times and only had 2 black gins to help her',<sup>21</sup> and Walter told what must have been a typical story about pioneering women's lives:

When my father married and took my mother to Bungaree there was not a white woman within many miles south of Bungaree, and none north. In the first five years my mother had five children, and no white woman to attend her. 22

It is true that Bessie Hawker had her first three children at 'Bungaree', but the next two were born at Glenelg in 1851 and 1852 and the rest of

---

19 Hawker, J.C. *op.cit.*, pp.7-8.

20 SAA G67 D2623/1 (L) Letter from Charles Lloyd Hawker to his sister Elizabeth 30 December 1842.

21 SAA G27 D2618/3 (L) Memoirs of E.W. Hawker, p.1.

22 Hawker, W., *op.cit.*, p.4.

her sixteen children were born abroad or at 'The Briars' in Adelaide.<sup>23</sup> As the wife of a wealthy man, she lived in a grand house, travelled abroad and eventually became Lady Hawker, so the early hardships were soon compensated for, unlike those of many other settlers. At 'Bungaree' in the early years, all cooking was done in camp ovens or over the hot coals, but the Hawkers did not have to rely only on local produce and local stores like most other settlers, for Walter described how his father sent bullock drays to Port Adelaide to buy from the incoming ships as much flour and other provisions as possible.<sup>24</sup>

Life for the Hawkers may have seemed hard in these early years, yet they were an educated, relatively wealthy family, and had enormous advantages over settlers who were neither. According to Walter, before the Victorian gold rushes his father had fifty two shepherds to look after his 100,000 sheep, yet, for many years his father had paid no rent. Hawker estimated that he had leased about half a million acres, but when the property was gradually put up for sale, he 'could only borrow enough, added to what he had saved, to buy roughly a hundred thousand acres'.<sup>25</sup> Edward also seemed to think his father had been hard done by as he

had to borrow money to buy the land from the Government who to raise money forced the pastoralist to sell [the leased land]. Money was borrowed by G.C. Hawker at 12½ per cent for most of it and some at 15 per cent. 26

However local farmers and townspeople were to take a different view of this situation in the 1850s and 1860s believing the squatters to be a privileged class of people, who had strong political influence which they used in their own interests.

---

23 Hawker, E.W. ... op.cit., pp.3-4.

24 Hawker, W. op.cit., p.4.

25 Ibid, p.5.

26 Hawker, E.W., op.cit., p.1.

### The village of Clare

Clare village grew on land near the Hutt River owned by E.B.Gleeson, later known as the 'King of Clare'. He named Clare after his native county in Ireland, his homestead 'Inchiquin' after a well-known place name in the same county, and the nearby villages of Armagh, Luton and Donnybrook after other Irish towns.<sup>27</sup> Clare village was well established by 1851, and provided the basic services required by the local inhabitants. By 1848 there were two hotels, which provided not only accommodation and liquid refreshment, but were also the major meeting places for the community, and supplied all the necessities of life for the settlers.<sup>28</sup> However the hotels were soon to lose their monopoly over provisions. Julius Victorsen set up the first general store and bakery in Clare in 1849 and a brewery was completed in 1850.<sup>29</sup> By July 1851 a traveller through Clare commented that as well as two inns, one each end of the village, there were three stores, a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a tailor, and the village contained 'not less than 50 tenements and a population of more than 200 persons'.<sup>30</sup>

By 1851 Clare had two doctors, A. Sokolowsky and C.H. Webb. It had a Police Barracks, a Local Court and three magistrates from the immediate district, the two Hawker brothers and Gleeson. Gleeson had been appointed Clare Postmaster in 1847, and George Hawker Postmaster at 'Bungaree' in 1848. From February 1850 the Adelaide mail went daily to Gawler and 'on to Clare and Bungaree twice a-week, instead of only

---

27 SAA 126. Notes on the early settlement of the Clare District, p.2.

28 SA Gazette and Mining Journal, 1 February 1849, 1c. (Advertisement for 'Clare Inn').

29 South Australian, 12 February 1850, 2c.

30 Observer, 19 July 1851, 6a.

once a-week'.<sup>31</sup> Clare also had a Catholic and an Anglican church<sup>32</sup> but no organized Wesleyan or Presbyterian congregations. The Church of England had the support of the elite of the community,<sup>33</sup> and the Catholic church was the church of the Irish with a nucleus of German leadership, which was to set up the Jesuit College, St. Aloysius, at Sevenhill.<sup>34</sup>

The growing village of Clare provided a centre for the expanding community, which was to be increasingly influenced by the pastoralists in areas other than economic. At the same time some leading townsmen and small farmers began to organize themselves to provide a school to improve the life of the community.

#### The pastoral elite

Gleeson and the Hawker brothers were the most powerful and economically successful men in the 1840s. They took the leadership roles demanded by their own backgrounds and ambitions. Their leadership was accepted, and indeed encouraged by the other settlers, who believed they had the greatest 'influence' on the South Australian authorities. They took the lead in requesting institutions for law and order, religion and education.

Their diaries prove that they knew each other well, both socially and for practical reasons. They visited each other frequently and they

---

31 Ibid, 2 February 1850, 3c.

32 The foundation stone of St. Michael's Catholic Church was laid in January 1847. The church was built to accommodate 200 as there were already more than sixty resident Catholics: Observer, 30 January, 1847, 5a. St. Barnabas Anglican Church was opened in 1851.

33 See below, pp.119-20.

34 Dalton, S.J., P.J., (Fr.) 'Clare and the origin of Sevenhill', Southern Cross, 6 November 1936, 7c.

helped each other often. George Hawker in his diary of 1842 referred to Hope coming over to dine, to borrowing ten rams from Hope as the ones they had bought from Robinson had not arrived, to borrowing Gleeson's plough and breaking the handle, to Hope sleeping at his home and himself sleeping at Gleeson's.<sup>35</sup> His brother Charles hurriedly finished a letter to his sister Elizabeth in 1843 so Hope could take it to town.<sup>36</sup> James Hawker described the pleasant social evenings at Gleeson's, who was 'adept at punch-making'<sup>37</sup> and the first race meeting on the Hutt River Flat in March 1843, where the promoters, including the Hawkers and Gleeson, paid £1 a head for refreshments and the erection of tents, and horses belonging to the local squatters and farmers competed.<sup>38</sup>

Before 1851 there were neither elected colonial parliaments nor local councils so there were no Clare men with obvious political power. However, three Clare men had judicial power, as they had been made Justices of the Peace, and thus sat on the Local Court as magistrates - George Hawker in 1842, his brother Charles in 1846, and Gleeson in 1849. George Hawker was appointed a Magistrate in response to his and others' complaints to the Colonial Secretary about trouble with the Aborigines. He wrote numerous letters to the Colonial Secretary about the Aborigines, and asking for blankets, clothing and rations for the native constables, who were first appointed in 1842,<sup>39</sup> when the first police post was set up at 'Bungaree', not to be transferred to Clare until 1848. Hawker commanded the local police troops, for in 1842 the

---

35 SAA G27 D2619 (L). Diaries of George Charles Hawker, January 25, March 1, 2, 14, 15.

36 SAA G27 D2623/1 (L). Letter from Charles Lloyd Hawker to his sister Elizabeth 30 December 1842.

37 Hawker, J.C., *op.cit.*, p.80.

38 *Ibid*, p.15.

39 See SAA GRG 24 under headings: Bungaree and G.C. Hawker.

Commissioner of Police requested him

not to send the men out unnecessarily, or for any great distance for I shall be quite unable to replace the horses now at your station should they hereafter become unserviceable. 40

Most of the cases Hawker dealt with as controller of the police and magistrate concerned Aborigines who had killed the stock or destroyed the property of squatters. Contemporary references to the Aborigines who inhabited the Clare district<sup>41</sup> indicate little about them as people, although according to Walter Hawker, they had obviously lived in harmony with their environment before the Europeans came:

When my father settled there were 800 blacks on the Bungaree country, which was their headquarters, because of the creek of drinking water which ran all the year round where my father settled, and the Hutt River only a few miles away, which with its big waterholes was never dry, and many kangaroos watered along the Hutt River.

Although the 'blacks' were at first 'curious about the white men', they then 'became aggressive' and took away his father's sheep, bullocks and waggon. However, after he and other settlers had shot 'a good many', he eventually got back nearly all his property. Hawker then appointed a 'more friendly black' as a policeman, and he told him that he was allowed to shoot other blacks after warning them three times in the name of the Queen.<sup>42</sup> Presumably Hawker believed he had this power over life and death. He also possessed the power to pass judgement on cases in which he and his friends were the plaintiffs. For example, he noted in his diary of September 26 1842 'I committed the black for trial. The police started with him for town'.<sup>43</sup> This man had killed a calf on a local station.

---

40 SAA GRG 5/9/1. Letter from Commissioner of Police (Major O'Halloran) to G. Hawker Esquire Hutt River, 4 March 1842.

41 The Ngadjuri.

42 Hawker, W. op.cit., pp.3-4.

43 Diaries of George Charles Hawker, op.cit., September 26, 1842.

In April 1844, Hawker wrote to the Colonial Secretary to request a Bench of Magistrates, needed for the legal cases arising out of the Scab Act and Masters and Servants Act, because 'I am the only Magistrate North of Gawler Town and am consequently of very little use', as for many cases the people had to go to Gawler where the court met only once a month.<sup>44</sup> In 1847 another letter from Hawker to the Colonial Secretary complained that Clare needed a coroner, sent a report on the death of a 'coolie' in the employ of Gleeson, and offered to act as coroner temporarily.<sup>45</sup> In 1850, after Charles Hawker and Gleeson had been appointed Justices of the Peace, a petition to Lieutenant Governor Sir Henry Young, with 101 signatures, requested that the Clare Local Court be made a court of full jurisdiction and that a resident magistrate be appointed. The list of signatures was headed by George C. Hawker JP Bungaree and E.B. Gleeson JP Clare, both 'cattle farmers'. An accompanying letter from publican Dennis Kenny claimed that Clare was surrounded by 'thirteen rising villages' and named four local gentlemen who were qualified to hold the office of JP. An interesting note on the back of Kenny's letter signed by Chas. S. Sturt read

Kenny was a Policeman but is very respectable. The gentlemen recommended to be added to the Bench, are not I fear with the exception of Mr. Jacob duly qualified or desirable - W. Robinson is a rough kind of Person, nor has he or Mr. Horrocks sufficient standing. I do not know Mr. Filgate, but will ascertain who he is. 46

This comment strongly suggests that respectability and high standing were the important criteria for the selection of JPs, who as magistrates had considerable influence and power. They were responsible for deciding whether to send defendants on to superior courts, and, in cases

---

44 SAA GRG 24/6/A 1844/443.

45 SAA GRG 24/6/A 1847/1079 and GRG 24/4/0/1847 No.91.

46 SAA GRG 24/6/A1850/1508. All four lived some distance from Clare, Robinson at Hill River.



of limited jurisdiction, they could fine defendants and impose short periods of imprisonment. The title 'JP' was almost invariably tacked onto an individual's name when he was referred to in newspapers, and was more important than the title 'Esq.' which could be used by those with both real and imagined claims to be gentlemen.

George Hawker had played the most prominent part in providing law and order in the Clare district, although he rarely sat on the bench after 1851. His brother and Gleeson were also magistrates, and as such all three were the most powerful men in the district. Their education, past experiences and financial success, as indicated by their ownership of property and stock, made them the obvious choices to be appointed as magistrates and post-masters. Gleeson was also an influential man because Clare was 'his' village. When Kenny applied successfully for a licence for the Clare Inn in December 1848 his lawyer stated in support of his claim that 'the memorial was signed by a number of residents, and the principle owner of the land the village stood on'.<sup>47</sup> An Observer reporter noted in 1851 that Clare was 'indebted' to Gleeson for its foundation, that he was 'the chief proprietor', and that he was 'Post master as well as Magistrate'.<sup>48</sup> He certainly appeared to have a monopoly over the village.

Gleeson himself believed he had good reasons to be recognised as an important man in the Clare district, as illustrated by the letter he wrote to Lieutenant Governor Young on September 20, 1851, requesting that he be appointed Stipendiary Magistrate of Clare. Gleeson argued that his claim for the appointment 'must far outstrip those of any other

---

47 Observer, 16 December 1848, 4d. The other licensee objected.

48 Ibid, 19 July, 1851, 6a.

individual in the District, and be second to no other old Colonist in the Province'. Since he had been appointed to the Magisterial Bench two and a half years before, as an 'unsought for favor', he had taken his responsibility very seriously. He had attended 'without fail' every court that had been held in the district, and as 'the oldest and thence the most experienced Settler in the North' he had, by common consent of the other magistrates, carried out the various necessary magisterial duties off the Bench on behalf of them all. As further evidence of his awareness of the responsibility resting on the office of magistrate, he had studied in detail the law of contracts and other legal areas necessary, and was, he claimed, second to no non-professional candidate in his knowledge of those areas.

His concluding paragraph dramatically summed up his belief in his own strengths and ability to fill a very responsible job:

My claims on Your Excellency's consideration may be briefly enumerated, they are those of one of the oldest Colonists, of a Man who brought a handsome fortune to these shores, and who saw it all engulfed [sic] in the ruin which the Bankruptcy of the Colony involved, of a Man who thence was obliged at a late period of life with a large young family to pass thro' an ordeal of deep distress and great personal privations - of a Man who by a long effort of industry and perseverance in agricultural pursuits has well nigh emerged from the difficulties into which he has been faultlessly dragged, and who now that he has well nigh succeeded in his efforts to gain independence, respectfully submits his claims on Your Excellency's Support for a little encouragement, proved in the reflection that tho' surely pressed and greatly tempted 49 he has passed thro' a trying Ordeal, unstained in honour and in the enjoyment of the friendship & esteem of every Gentleman in the Colony whose opinion is worth possessing. 50

A note on the letter written by the Lieutenant Governor expressed regret that he was unable to meet Mr. Gleeson's wishes. Gleeson's

---

49 'tempted'? - writing difficult to read.

50 SAA GRG 24/6/1851/2860.

confidence in his merits, his listing of his achievements and responsibilities and his obvious fluency in expressing himself, help explain his membership of the elite, and his perception of his own importance. The reason for the rejection of Gleeson's request was presumably not related to his unsuitability as he was appointed a Special Magistrate in 1856. By this time George Hawker had ceased to sit on the Clare bench, and two years later Charles resigned. Gleeson remained the most active magistrate in Clare until his death in 1870.

Two other important areas in which the pastoral elite played a leading role were the efforts to establish an Anglican church and a school in Clare. In 1848, George Hawker was successful in his request to the Colonial Secretary for a grant of 20 acres of land in Clare for ecclesiastical purposes.<sup>51</sup> In 1849 the list of those promising to add to the Rev. John C. Bagshaw's government stipend of £50 included Gleeson and Hawker who both promised £10 per annum.<sup>52</sup> In 1850 the letter applying for a grant from the Colonial Treasury to help build the Anglican Church of St. Barnabas was signed by the Rev. Bagshaw and Church Wardens Gleeson and Hawker. Enclosed was a list of persons proposing to erect the church, including Hawker, Gleeson, Robinson of 'Hill River' and Dr. C.H. Webb.<sup>53</sup> In June 1850 the Return of Pecuniary Grants in Aid of Erection of Churches noted grants of £150 to both the Anglican church and the completed Catholic church in Clare.<sup>54</sup> The cornerstone of St. Barnabas was laid by Mrs. Gleeson in 1850, and the

---

51 SAA GRG 24/6/1848/278 outside and GRG 24/4/P1848.

52 SAA GRG 24/6/A(1849) 2276. A total of £99.3.0.

53 SAA GRG 24/6/1850/595.

54 Register, June 7, 1850, 3b. The Anglican incumbent received a stipend of £50, the Catholic incumbent £59.8.4. See Pike, D. Paradise of dissent Melbourne, Longmans, Green and Co, 1957, p.371 and p.437 for details of these grants and their abolition in 1851.

church was dedicated by Bishop Short DD in 1851. However, until 1877, when a parsonage was finally built in Clare, the Anglican incumbents lived in Penwortham, and worked the parish from there. Gleeson was to be a church trustee and a church warden until his death in 1870. Once again Hawker initiated events, but Gleeson became the major leader in Anglican circles in Clare, as Hawker lost his personal interest in Clare during the 1850s.

The decision to establish a school in Clare was made at a meeting in January 1849, and was to provide both an interesting impression of the social structure within the town of Clare, and a premonition of the social divisions which were to dominate the years after 1851. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Charles Webb, who was to become the leading anti-pastoralist activist in Clare after 1851.<sup>55</sup> The committee set up at the January meeting to collect money and advertise for a teacher had Gleeson as chairman and Webb as secretary.<sup>56</sup> From the three candidates they chose William Lennon, who was to join Webb in his anti-squatter activities in later years. Lennon had been the schoolmaster on board the 'Sibella' and had letters of recommendation from Bishop Murphy and the Sheriff of Adelaide, the latter addressed to George Hawker.<sup>57</sup> When Lennon applied for government funding because the 'Committee does not subscribe one shilling to support the Master',<sup>58</sup> Hawker's signature authenticated the list of Clare parents and their thirty children. As the individual with highest local status he endorsed Lennon as 'a person of moral habits' who was 'fit to undertake the care and instruction of children'.<sup>59</sup> Whereas Gleeson and Webb were both associated with setting up the

---

55 See below, chapter 3.

56 South Australian, 19 January 1849, 3b.

57 SAA GRG/24/6 (1849) 386 and 457.

58 Ibid, 386.

59 Ibid, 457.

school, as chairman and secretary of the school committee respectively, Hawker's status had both attracted Lennon to Clare, and been used to influence the favourable reply to Lennon's request.<sup>60</sup>

A year after its establishment, the school became the excuse for an attack on the pretensions and power of one member of the Clare elite, Gleeson. In February 1850, the Register published a letter from a 'Country Schoolmaster' who was teaching at Clare. According to this letter from William Lennon the meeting to set up a school in Clare had been attended by

E.B. Gleeson Esq. non JP 61, C.H. Webb, Esq., Surgeon, and almost all the farmers, tradesmen, etc. of the district ... The thing sounded so well with the 'Esquire' in the Chair, and the 'Esquire' Secretary, I was quite sure it would be something good.

Yet after he was interviewed and chosen as teacher, no school was built, and he had to set up school and residence in the Catholic chapel. In Lennon's opinion the men on the school committee were 'ignorant and purse-proud mushrooms' posing as 'Esquires' and 'gentry' but not 'gentlemen' enough to be relied on to keep their commitment to support and build a school.<sup>62</sup>

The editor of the Register, John Stephens, was 'a radical reformer' who 'liked to think himself the champion of that section of the wage-earning class which aspired to respectability and independence'.<sup>63</sup> At this time he was displeased with Gleeson who had been the second signatory of a letter rebuking him for an obituary he had written, and

---

60 SAA GRG 24/6 (1850) 1953.

61 Gleeson was appointed a JP in May 1849.

62 Register, 7 February 1850, 3d.

63 Pike, op.cit., p.394.

so he used Lennon's letter to attack him. On March 13, 1850, in an editorial under the heading 'The Clare Notables', and dripping with sarcasm, Stephens summarized the 'Country Schoolmaster's' letter, and made fun of the 'notables of that locality quarrelling among themselves'. He claimed to have received information from a correspondent living near the 'City of Clare' which confirmed the 'Schoolmaster's' statements. He attacked Gleeson in particular:

... the Lord of the Manor ... no sooner returned to the city of Clare, than he forthwith signified his pleasure on the subject to the crawling creatures, who are ever ready to do his bidding, and the hapless schoolmaster is forthwith subjected to a civil ex-communication.

Stephens also called Gleeson 'the Clare Nabob', a reference to his former career in India. Both epithets, 'Lord of the Manor' and 'Clare Nabob', were used to suggest misuse of power, and Stephens promised to keep 'a sharp look-out' for any further 'tyranny and oppression' by 'the Clare Notables', by which term he meant particularly Gleeson.<sup>64</sup>

The importance of this dramatic editorial is that it described at least some people's perceptions of the importance of Gleeson in the social structure of Clare, and implied that the other 'notables' were insignificant and petty-minded. It also noted the divisions which were to become endemic in the Clare community. Webb had originally argued for a 'liberal' education which would 'not interfere with the religious prejudices of any party'.<sup>65</sup> Lennon, who was a Catholic, strongly endorsed the principles of a 'liberal Education' in his letter of resignation.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting to speculate whether the reasons for the quarrelling and the refusal to build a school were linked with

---

64 Register, March 13, 1850, 2cd.

65 South Australian, 19 January 1849, 3b.

66 SAA GRG 24/6 (1850) 1953.

Lennon being a Catholic, thus forcing him to use the Catholic chapel as a school. Certainly sectarian divisions were frequently obvious in later years. It is likely that both Webb and Gleeson supported the appointment of Lennon: Webb and Lennon worked closely together in the 1850s; and the relationship between Lennon and Gleeson was not as bad as Stephens painted it, for in 1852 Gleeson was willing to provide a surety of £50 to guarantee Lennon's 'faithful discharge of the duties of Clerk of the Local Court at Clare',<sup>67</sup> and in 1853 Lennon became the first District Clerk under Gleeson as Chairman of the District Council, and later the first Town Clerk under Gleeson as Mayor.

By 1851 the village of Clare had been established as the viable centre of a prosperous district dominated by the pastoralists. A pastoral elite had emerged, and had taken a leadership role in initiating local institutions. Acceptance of the responsibilities of leadership had gained the elite the rewards of enhanced social status symbolised by the initials J.P. The decade had been socially calm, as with the exception of Lennon's personally biased criticisms the community accepted leadership by the members of the elite as both desirable and their natural right, based on their ownership of land, education and social background, and assumption of authority. This was to be the calm before the storms to come.

---

67 SAA GRG 24/6/1852/1416. Dr. Sokolowsky also provided £50.

CHAPTER 3      CHALLENGING THE SQUATTERS: 1851 TO 1868

During these years of economic prosperity and population expansion,<sup>1</sup> despite the increase in cultivated acreage in the Clare district,<sup>2</sup> there was a decrease in the proportion of those whose occupations were linked directly with agriculture.<sup>3</sup> This decrease was strongly connected with the growth of the town of Clare and the broadening of the services it provided for the town population and the surrounding district. In 1861 a visitor to Clare emphasized that Clare's prosperity was dependent on the local farmers who kept its flour mill busy and, with the pastoralists, used its services, and on the Burra miners who bought its agricultural and dairy produce.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 the Clare correspondent to the Advertiser summed up Clare's present and future prosperity:

Clare, which a few years ago was but a pretty and humble village, can now boast of having grown into an extensive township, where a large amount of business is done. Land has of late years risen considerably in value, new houses are being erected in every direction, and the township promises, at no distant period, to be second to none in the colony. It is surrounded by some of the finest land in South Australia; also is well timbered and watered. 5

In the process of growing from village to town, Clare had acquired five hotels, a flour mill, a brewery, a telegraph station, a new court house

---

1 Population growth from 1855 to 1871 census:

	Male	Female	Total
1855 District of Clare	516	506	1022
1861 District Council of Clare	1015	1038	2053
1866 District Council of Clare	1369	1224	2593
1871 Corporation of Clare (District Council)	540 (1008)	464 (970)	1004 (1978)
Total Corporation and District Council	1548	1434	2982

2 Acres under cultivation had grown from 1,481 in the 1851 census to 6,401 in 1861 to 11,358 in 1871.

3 Taking into account the different methods of categorization, in the 1855 census 71% of males in the district were occupied in agricultural pursuits. In 1861 it was 61% and in 1871 12.7% of the Corporation and 59% of the District.

4 Observer, 28 December 1861, 7a.

5 Advertiser, 10 June 1869, 3d.



and police barracks, two banks, a town hall, two implement manufacturers and a newspaper. It also provided the services of every necessary occupation and skill, ranging from two doctors and a newly arrived lawyer to blacksmith, baker and tailor.<sup>6</sup> It was within this context of a growing, prosperous town within a district economy dominated by a pastoral elite that the challenge to the squatters can best be understood.

The members of the elite in Clare in the nineteenth century were the men involved in occupations and activities which gave them material rewards, put them in positions of authority and leadership, and earned them community respect. Therefore this study examines the elite and their activities within the framework of economic success, power and high social status.

In the settlement years the squatters, because of their wealth, property and family backgrounds, were accorded the highest social status and were considered to be the obvious leaders and power holders in the community. In the 1850s men like Dr. Webb challenged these assumptions. They resented what they considered the 'unfair' privileges of the squatters, who they believed were interested only in retaining those privileges. These prosperous and educated town dwellers, followed by less prosperous townsmen and small farmers, supported the principle that the function of community leaders was to work in the interests of the majority of the people in the town and district. The interests of the professional men and businessmen were aligned with those of the majority, rather than those of the squatters, for any legislation which forced the squatters to give up some of their land

---

6 In the 1871 census, occupations within the Corporation, excluding domestic duties, were 12.1% involved in professional or government employment, 43.4% in service industries, 27.1% in manufacturing and 12.7% in agriculture.

would bring more people to Clare and thus more business or employment for all. This was also true of gaining a railway, one of the few things supported by everyone in Clare. Therefore, during the years from 1851 to 1868, there was a growing acceptance that while economic success was an important criterion for elite membership, power and high social status should be given to those who provided community leadership in the interests of the majority.

Although the squatters remained dominant in terms of property and other forms of wealth, there was a growing number of successful professional men, businessmen and prosperous farmers. Some of these men challenged the privileged positions of the squatters in the three areas in which power could be obtained - colonial parliament, local government and the magistrate's bench.

In 1851 the first election for the Legislative Council was held, and both the eligible voters and the general public of the Clare district were able to express their opinions on who should be given power at colonial level. Some were strongly opposed to the squatters being elected to parliament and thus gaining political power which they could use to retain their economic privileges and high social status. This election was to bring to the fore the hostility felt towards the most successful local squatter, George Hawker, particularly, and towards the squatters generally. This hostility was seen not only at election times, but also in Clare support for land reform. The political challenge to the squatters was to prove successful at local level, although the rejection of Hawker, the election of a non-elite local man in 1860, and the passing of the Land Acts were to bring little benefit to Clare. Between 1860 and 1881 there was no support for local candidates and the Clare district was represented by non-Clare men.

The 1868 parliamentary election was the last during which anti-squatter feeling was the major cause of division, as religious and local interests were to become more important issues.

In 1853 the District Council of Clare was set up, and was to be the venue for a struggle over who should have power within local politics. This struggle was first between Clare and non-Clare men, and then between those supporting Gleeson and those supporting Webb, representing a struggle between the squatter and anti-squatter viewpoints. District Council membership was numerically dominated by farmers, and it was not until after 1868 when the Corporation of Clare was formed, that Clare local government affairs were to be controlled by men living in Clare. During this inaugural period of local government, there were differences of opinion both within the Council and the wider community about the raising and spending of Council finances and whether individuals or the whole Council should have power over these funds.

As in the case of election to parliament and district council, the appointment of an individual as a Justice of the Peace was seen as both a mark of prestige and a grant of power. That the magistrates' bench was controlled by the squatters and their supporters during this period was illustrated graphically by the appointment of Dr. Webb as Justice of the Peace in 1857. This appointment was seen as a challenge to the elite of the district and caused the town to divide for and against this challenge which was successful only in the short term.

In the years between 1851 and 1868, the Clare community was divided mainly over their attitudes to the squatters. Strong personal antagonisms grew out of the hostility felt by some sections of the town

and farming community towards those who owned or leased large properties. This 'anti-squatter' movement, led by Webb, lessened in intensity after Hawker withdrew his personal influence from Clare, although Webb and Gleeson parried and thrust at each other all their lives. Gleeson and Hope, the resident landowners with less property and wealth than Hawker, were generally accepted as community leaders in Clare. Webb, the prime mover against the squatters and their privileges, became a community leader of some importance. In the 1860s he and others attempted to draw the community together to work for what was seen as their mutual interest, such as a railway and a school. These efforts to benefit the community were generally unsuccessful in achieving their aims.

Economic success: 1851 to 1868

Based on the criteria of ownership of land and other property and life-style, there were five main categories of economically successful men in Clare in the nineteenth century: absentee landowners with very large properties; resident landowners with large properties; prosperous farmers; wealthy businessmen; and successful professional men. During these years of economic expansion of Clare and its district, there was a small number of successful farmers, businessmen and professional men, but the real wealth was still held by the squatters, the absentee large landowners Hawker and Fisher, and the resident small landowners Gleeson and Hope.

George Hawker gradually converted his leasehold land to freehold, and by 1868 he had acquired 99% of the freehold property he was to own to the north of Clare in 1891.<sup>7</sup> He, like the other squatters, was advantaged by the land sale regulations which allowed surveys of large

---

7 Williams, E. 'Pastoralists of the Mid North ...', p.141.

blocks of desirable land and generally made it difficult for the small farmer to bid against those with capital.<sup>8</sup> In 1858 alone he purchased 9,206 acres,<sup>9</sup> and in 1864 Goyder evaluated the rent for the 'Bungaree' and 'Anama' lease of 217 square miles at £3,472 per annum instead of the £488.3.9 currently being paid.<sup>10</sup> His life style was that of a wealthy man. His property at Clare provided the wealth which enabled him to buy his city mansion 'The Briars' in 1856 and to take his large family to England from 1853 to 1855 and again in the 1860s.<sup>11</sup>

In 1856, Robinson sold his leasehold run 'Hill River' plus 40,000 sheep to Charles Brown Fisher for £44,000. In the 1857 Clare District Council Assessment, Fisher was assessed for 8,684 acres in the Council area. Fisher never lived at 'Hill River' but during his twenty years of ownership he converted 60,000 acres into freehold at a cost of £90,000.<sup>12</sup> His economic contribution to Clare was, like Hawker's, that his property provided employment for and required servicing by the local community. The managers of 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' also played a part in Clare activities.

Edward Burton Gleeson's property was small in comparison with those of Hawker or Fisher, but as Clare had been established on his property, he owned much valuable town land. In the 1857 Clare District Council Assessment, he owned 508 acres, occupied another 640, and also owned a large number of houses, shops and land in the town of Clare. In 1862 he had part of his property cut up and sold at public auction for

---

8 Buxton, G.L. South Australian Land Acts 1869-1885. Adelaide, Libraries Board of SA, 1966, pp.2-4; Williams, M. The making of the South Australian landscape ... London, Academic Press, 1974, pp.105-6.

9 Williams, E. op.cit., p.133.

10 Observer, 10 September 1864, Supp. 3a.

11 E.W. Hawker's 'Notes ...', p.2.

12 Clare National Trust 'Farming on the Grand Scale', 1977.

£15 to £20 per acre.<sup>13</sup> He had pastoral leases between 1851 and 1864 of 158 square miles and in 1864 Goyder valued his Middle Run of fifty five square miles, north east of Port Wakefield, at £570 rent per annum instead of the previous assessment of £90.3.8 per annum.<sup>14</sup> At Gleeson's death in 1870 he left his whole estate to his son, John William Gleeson (who in 1877 was assessed for 4,321 acres in the Clare District Council area). His personal property was negligible, being sworn to be under the value of £100,<sup>15</sup> suggesting that he had no assets other than land or that he had already passed them on to his son and two daughters. Gleeson's life style was appropriate to that of the 'lord of the manor', and Governors and other visiting dignitaries were always entertained at 'Inchiquin'.

John Hope settled permanently at 'Wolta Wolta' in the 1850s and he had the house extended after his marriage in 1858 and again in 1869 after his children were born. In 1855 he had loaned Hawker £14,000 to help him to take his family 'home' on a holiday,<sup>16</sup> and he managed 'Bungaree' while Hawker was away. In 1857 he was assessed for 2,259 acres by the Clare District Council and in 1864 Goyder assessed his leasehold runs of 95 square miles at £1,520 annual rent, instead of the previous £197.18.4.<sup>17</sup> He was a 'wealthy man' when he visited Ireland in 1858,<sup>18</sup> and was prosperous enough to be able to take his wife and five children abroad for five years from 1865, returning to Australia twice during that time to see to his business affairs.<sup>19</sup>

---

13 Northern Argus, 9 October 1877, 3b.

14 Cockburn, R. Pastoral pioneers ... p.87; Observer 1 October 1864, 5b.

15 Probate Book 11-379.

16 Tilbrook, E.H.H. 'The first 127 years of Clare and Districts ...' chapter 21, p.23.

17 Williams, E. op.cit., p.276.

18 Hope papers: Letter from Lizzie Waddell to Frances Diana Hope, July 18, 1903; Tilbrook, op.cit., chapter 21, p.26.

19 Hope papers: J. Hope's diary.

Hawker, Fisher, Hope and Gleeson, in that order, were obviously the only really successful men in terms of property and life style in this period. All had arrived in the district with financial assets and had gained their wealth mainly from pastoral pursuits. As the Clare district expanded agriculturally and in population the Clare township grew in size and prosperity, and was able to support an increasing group of people in affluence. The doctors Webb and Davies were comfortably rewarded as professional men. Webb had practised in Clare since 1848 and was the licensee of the Clare Hotel from 1853 to 1856 and the Commercial Hotel from 1864 to 1865. He built 'Windsor Lodge', 'a large substantial house at the top of the hill',<sup>20</sup> in 1867. In the Council Assessment of that year he owned 151 acres in Clare and 218 at Hill River. When he died in 1870 his real and personal property was valued at £6,000 for probate.<sup>21</sup> Business people, like the miller Charles Kimber, whose mill was the highest assessed single property in the Corporation Assessment of 1868, and the storekeeper, Andrew Young, owned substantial businesses. Farmers like the Cornish Methodists Thomas Ninnes and Thomas Moyses were growing prosperous. Ninnes had found £1,077.6.0 of gold while 'at the diggens' in Bendigo. From 1853 to 1855 he paid £2,860.7.6 for land in the Clare district, and between 1862 and 1867 he paid another £2,735.17.6 for more land.<sup>22</sup>

Men like these were individuals whose growing affluence and power, and acceptance of leadership roles were to eventually make them members of the Clare elite. However, only Webb could be said to have 'arrived' before 1868. Webb was the leader of the opposition to Hawker

---

20 Register, 5 June 1868, 3b.

21 Probate Book, 99-383.

22 Notes from the pen of Thomas Ninnes. (Uniting Church Historical Society).

becoming a local member of parliament, and of those who strongly supported democratic ideals, land reform and Goyder's valuations. In other words, he articulated the opposition to the power, privilege and social status that was perceived as accompanying the economic success of the land owners, arguing that they were working only for their own selfish interests. His leadership role in local government and the railway and school movements, eventually won him the respect even of the squatters Gleeson and Hope. He was the first non-squatter member of the elite of Clare.

Power: 1851 to 1868 - colonial politics

Clare's interest in colonial politics in this period was more strongly linked to conflicting economic interests than at any later time. Electors believed that getting a local candidate into parliament was less important than getting a member who would look after the majority's economic interests. This belief underlay the antagonism to electing the leading local landholder, Hawker, to parliament, and to acts of parliament that were believed to be biased in the squatters' favour. It also explained the support for democratic principles, for the Political Association candidates including William Lennon in the 1860 elections, for Goyder's valuations and for land reform. As the power to make decisions on issues which affected Clare interests rested in parliament, on numerous occasions Clare leaders called meetings to put pressure on parliament to make decisions thought to be desirable for Clare.

In the first parliamentary election in South Australia in 1851 Hawker stressed his position as a local candidate with local interests



right from the start, but was to face strong opposition from some Clare voters because he was a squatter. In his written policy statement he argued that

the Counties of Stanley and Gawler should be represented by one having an important stake in them, and whose interests are completely identified with those of the inhabitants.

His claims to be such a man were based on

my connection for the last 10 years as a resident land-owner and sheepfarmer with your district, my well-known sentiments on all subjects affecting local interests, and my intimate acquaintance with your wishes and wants. 23

His opponent, William Younghusband, was an Adelaide merchant with banking and mining interests and a large property at Crystal Brook.<sup>24</sup>

There were a number of issues in this election for Clare. Younghusband won, according to Pike, because the 'voluntaryists' supported him believing he was 'susceptible to change' on the issue of state aid. However their reported policy statements did not indicate much difference between Hawker and Younghusband on this issue.<sup>25</sup> The major issue in Clare was that the antagonism to Hawker as a squatter and magistrate outweighed the support for him as a local and influential candidate.

During the campaign Hawker<sup>26</sup> and his supporters, such as William Filgate, stressed that Hawker's 'long residence' and 'intimate acquaintance with its requirements'<sup>27</sup> compared favourably with Younghusband's

---

23 Observer, 15 March 1851, 1bc.

24 Pike, D. Paradise of dissent... Melbourne, Longmans, Green, 1957 p.432. He was a director of the Bank of Australasia and of the Glen Osmond mine.

25 Observer, 15 March 1851, 1bc.

26 Ibid, 3c.

27 Register, 21 March 1851, 3b. Filgate was a substantial farmer whose son married E.B. Gleeson's daughter in 1854 and owned the Clare brewery until his death in 1866.

lack of knowledge of the district.<sup>28</sup> The proposer of Hawker's nomination, Dr. Brown a squatter from north of the Broughton, claimed Hawker was supported by 'those men who possess your [the electors'] confidence and esteem',<sup>29</sup> while Filgate, the seconder, declared 'if he were a nominee of any, it was of the oldest and most respectable settlers of the district'.<sup>30</sup> These assertions were endorsed by the Observer reporter who said of the processions accompanying the two candidates on nomination day that 'from appearances, the respectability appeared to preponderate [sic] largely amongst the supporters of Mr. Hawker'. In contrast, Youngusband's supporters 'were marshalled by a gentleman bearing the appellation of Doctor Webb, though displaying in the fittings of his external man anything but the cut of the profession'.<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Charles Houlton Webb, who obviously did not dress formally as later Clare doctors did,<sup>32</sup> was the leading anti-squatter activist in Clare in the 1850s. He was the youngest son of a Dr. Richard Webb of London, had arrived in South Australia in 1848, and soon after joined Dr. Sokolowsky in Clare. He left his wife in England, but brought out two small sons. In 1849 he bigamously married the young nursemaid who had accompanied him; and he did not legally marry her, the mother of his eleven children, until just before his death in 1870. As well as practising as a doctor after 1853 he was the licensee of two hotels. His frequent appearance before the Local Court for petty offences relating to those hotels, his eccentric dress and rumours of his illegal marriage made him socially unacceptable to the squatters. In 1851, Webb was strongly opposed to the squatter Hawker gaining election, and

---

28 Register, 26 March 1851, 2e.

29 Observer, 12 July 1851. Supp 1f.

30 Ibid, Supp. 2a.

31 Ibid, Supp. 1f.

32 Drs. Bain and O.W. Smith always wore top hats, striped trousers and morning coats: Northern Argus, 30 November 1944, 8e.

he was to become in later years even more obviously the leader and major spokesman supporting democratic principles and against squatter 'oppression'.

Despite his supporters' emphasis that Hawker was a candidate possessing two desirable attributes - living locally and having high status - it was the antagonism to him as a squatter and magistrate and thus the representative of the privileged pastoral elite that lost him the election in Clare. Webb and others who supported Youngusband assumed that Hawker would vote in the interests of an already privileged group of people, the squatters. This anti-squatter hostility was most obvious on nomination day when E.B. Gleeson as Returning Officer conducted affairs from a platform before which the two colourful rival processions met, with a 'prudent space' between. In his nomination of Youngusband, the non-Clare Mr. Walters of the Patent Copper Company attacked Hawker as 'a mere squatter'. 'It was true', he continued, that Hawker was a magistrate

but he (Mr. Walters) thought it was a greater honour not to be one, if all that he had heard of the intimidation practised in that district was true ... It would not do to have a man whose interest, like his knowledge, was limited to one class ... They wanted no class legislation. (Cheers and groans) 33

Williams Robinson of Hill River that 'rough kind of person' not suitable to be a magistrate,<sup>34</sup> denied that Hawker had done anything for the district, and argued that the squatter must give way to the 'agriculturalist'. A large leasehold land holder and sheep owner himself, he was obviously jealous of Hawker's social status and 'respectable' following.

---

33 Observer, 12 July 1851, Supp. 1f.

34 SAA GRG 24/6/A. (1850) 1508; see above, p.39.

Hawker replied to his critics that rather than being 'taunted' for being a 'squatter' he and his fellows should be thanked for opening up the 'wild bush' thus leading to the discovery of its 'agricultural and mineral wealth'. He also claimed he had always administered 'justice' during his ten years as magistrate.<sup>35</sup> However, on election day, Hawker lost at Clare and throughout the electorate.<sup>36</sup> His defeat in Clare was not because he performed the roles of squatter or magistrate badly, but simply because he was both, the latter being seen as a reward for being the former. This was the first, but certainly not the last example of anti-squatter hostility in Clare.

Hawker did not stand for the local electorate, now called Stanley, in the 1855 election for the Legislative Council, and there was no local candidate. Younghusband lost to Peter Cumming, an Adelaide merchant and farmer, in Clare, but won the electorate.<sup>37</sup> Webb had no personal objection to Cumming, but supported Younghusband because he had 'given evidence' of an interest in the district.<sup>38</sup> Younghusband, having supported a powerful Legislative Council as compensation for a democratic lower house,<sup>39</sup> stood for the Council in the 1857 election, and Hawker reappeared as a local candidate for the election for the first House of Assembly and the first election with manhood suffrage. Webb and William Lennon, former school teacher and now District Clerk and auctioneer, campaigned strongly against Hawker at both Burra and

---

35 Observer, 12 July 1851, Supp. 2a.

36 Ibid, 19 July 1851, 4a. Clare 46:36; Total 162:106. Ironically Hawker had no vote himself. In his absence the Court of Revision, consisting of his brother and two non-Clare squatters had upheld Younghusband's objection to his eligibility to vote. Observer, 10 May 1851, 5a.

37 Ibid, 29 September 1855, 2h.

38 Ibid, 22 September 1855, 5g.

39 Pike, op.cit., pp.479-480.

Clare. At an election meeting Webb as chairman 'concluded with some strong remarks depreciatory [sic] of Mr. G.C. Hawker'.<sup>40</sup> Hawker was nominated by Gleeson and John Hope. Despite being the only local candidate and having the support of the pastoral elite, Hawker came only second to Webb's candidate E.J. Peake, vigneron, in Clare, and fourth in the electorate, for which there were three parliamentary seats.<sup>41</sup> The Adelaide architect G.S. Kingston, who was to be the dominant member for the Clare electorate until his death in 1880, gained first place in this election.

Once again Hawker had been rejected by his own district and by the electorate, however he won a by-election in January 1858 for the electorate of Victoria in the South East.<sup>42</sup> He believed he had been rejected by Clare because of 'the influence of a clique' who were antagonistic to him as a 'squatter'. Despite this he promised 'if Clare would not support him he would support Clare'.<sup>43</sup> Hawker was a member for Victoria from 1858 to 1865 and 1875 to 1883. He was then elected for North Adelaide in 1884, and remained a member for that electorate until his death in 1895. He became a very important man in South Australian politics: during his long political career he was twice Speaker and was a minister in several governments.<sup>44</sup> Hawker remained leasee and owner of a large area of land to the north of Clare, but as he did not represent the Clare electorate, he showed little interest, either personal or political in Clare after the 1850s.

---

40 Register, 20 February 1857, 3f.

41 Ibid, 13 March 1857, 2g; 18 March, 2c.

42 Jaensch, D. Election statistics of colonial South Australia Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Monograph No. 14, 1974, p.9.

43 Observer, 29 October 1859, 3cd.

44 Jaensch, D. 'Political representation in colonial South Australia ...' Vol.3, unpublished Ph D History thesis, Uni. of Adelaide, 1973. p.249.

Between the 1857 and the 1860 elections a number of issues illustrated the divisions within the community: the method of land surveying; the formation of an Agricultural Society; the appointment of magistrates; and the Waste Lands Act. These issues need to be examined before we turn to the important 1860 election, for all demonstrated anti-squatter antagonism.

Dr. Webb was the leader of the anti-squatter activity in Clare. As a professional, educated town-dweller, he was the archetype of R.S. Neale's 'middling' class, ie, a sub-group of the middle class, with a 'social class consciousness' that was 'highly individuated and non-deferential'. Webb, and to a lesser extent Lennon, fitted the following description of members of the middling class in England in the mid-nineteenth century:

Members of the literate and professional social strata possessed of few liquid assets and having no property or connections were particularly inclined to assert the rights of man against the rights of property, status and traditional authority. Prominent among them were doctors as well as lawyers.

By the 1820s, individuals in these social strata were also members of a social class in the sense that enough of them were sufficiently class conscious to co-operate with each other in organized political activity, particularly at local level. 45

Webb was the leader of Clare support for democratic principles. At a political meeting in 1851 he supported the motion that 'vote by ballot is the only means by which the poor and honest voter can be protected from the tyranny of the oppressor', although the meeting decided that secret ballot was 'unmanly'.<sup>46</sup> In 1856 Webb was the main

---

45 Neale, R.S. Class and ideology in the nineteenth century. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, pp.22-23.

46 Observer, 1 March 1851, 4e.

and most vigorous speaker to a large audience which unanimously supported the elected members' right to control the money of South Australia, and not the executive or Governor.<sup>47</sup> As chairman of a public meeting in 1857 Webb explained the point of dispute between the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, 'stating that, in his opinion, the House of Assembly should or ought to have the absolute control of the public purse,<sup>48</sup> for which he gained the meeting's support.

Both Webb and Lennon played leading roles in meetings in 1857 and 1858 which aimed to put pressure on parliament to decrease the economic privilege of the squatters. As Chairman of the District Council, Webb chaired a public meeting in September 1857 to protest about the 'mile blocks' of land surveyed on the 'Bungaree' run. He had already organized a memorial against the survey to the Governor,<sup>49</sup> which Lennon denied 'had been got up by the Chairman in a political spirit in opposition to Mr. Hawker'. In moving a resolution supporting surveying Crown waste lands into blocks of less than 100 acres, Lennon said that both Fisher and Hawker, but not the country nor the poor man, benefited from the surveying of large blocks of land, because only they could afford to pay for them:

He wished to invite their attention to the fact of Mr. C. Fisher possessing so large a quantity of land; and said 400 freeholders were of more benefit to the district than Mr. Fisher, and contributed more to the revenue ... If lands were put up within the reach of the poor man Mr. Hawker would have the same chance as any of them.

Mr. McKenzie, a Clare publican, supporting the resolution, linked the anti-squatter feeling with memories of his home country. He

---

47 Register, 7 June 1856, 4b.

48 Ibid, 10 August 1857, 3g.

49 Observer, 9 September 1857, 5g. The memorial had 260 signatures.

referred to the landlords of England and Scotland, and said that if the present system was allowed to be carried on they would see it as it was in his native country. Hundreds of men would be turned off their land for the purpose of grouse-shooting.

The arguments of Lennon and McKenzie were endorsed unanimously by the meeting, showing the strong feeling that the land system was weighted against those without capital. The townspeople believed that business would prosper if more people lived in the district. At this meeting it was reported that the squatters had set up an Agricultural Society, an initiative which was to increase the antagonism between the squatter and anti-squatter groups and their leaders in Clare.<sup>50</sup>

The 'secret' formation of this Society antagonized townsmen and farmers alike. One local farmer claimed indignantly that 'not a single farmer in the district' had been involved in its organization.<sup>51</sup> After E.B. Gleeson chaired a 'large and influential meeting' of the Northern Agricultural Society at Watervale,<sup>52</sup> a rival 'Northern Public Agricultural and Horticultural Society' was formed at Mintaro at a meeting at which both Webb and Lennon spoke. Lennon proposed the new Society as he

considered the present Northern Agricultural Society too much in the hands of the squatters, who, though they subscribed largely, would probably get all the money back in prizes ... He believed the Clare Society had first been formed to distract the people's attention from the survey question ... 53

Public notices about the formation of the Northern Agricultural Society and its first Exhibition of Live Stock were published in the Adelaide newspapers in late October and early November.<sup>54</sup> It had prestigious office holders: the Society's patron was His Excellency Sir Richard

---

50 Ibid.

51 Register, 23 September 1857, 3f.

52 Observer, 17 October 1857, 3b.

53 Register, 29 October 1857, 3g.

54 Observer, 31 October and 7 November. Register, 28 October and 4 November. Adelaide Times, 13 November. There were 153½ guineas in prizes.



Graves MacDonnell; its President E.B. Gleeson Esq.; its five Vice Presidents included G.S. Kingston Esq. MP; John Hope was its Hon. Secretary; and among the many committee members were G.C. and C.L. Hawker, W.L. Beare (G.C. Hawker's manager), J. Filgate (E.B. Gleeson's son-in-law) and C.B. and G. Fisher (owners of 'Hill River').

After this the antagonism between the squatter and anti-squatter groups increased. At a meeting of the Northern Public Agricultural and Horticultural Society, the Chairman, Mintaro farmer Henry Ball, told 'a very large and influential' meeting that

he was sorry to see the district divided by two societies, but he certainly must say that he loved the good old English style of doing things the best, and the Society over the way was not established by the persons most interested in agriculture ... and he was afraid that a society formed by any particular class would not succeed. (Hear)

All the speakers condemned the 'hole-and-corner way' in which the 'Squatters' Agricultural Society', as they termed it, was formed.<sup>55</sup>

The division in Clare over the two rival Agricultural Societies must be seen in the context of the complexity of relationships involving Dr. Webb, a leading member of the anti-squatter movement. Webb and E.B. Gleeson had been quarrelling over District Council affairs since Webb became Chairman in April 1857, as Webb accused Gleeson of arrogance and dishonesty.<sup>56</sup> Also the appointment of Dr. Webb as a Justice of the Peace in October 1857,<sup>57</sup> had divided the community with different opinions on who should be awarded that office, which was seen as a prestigious and influential one. A meeting was held on November 9th,

---

55 Register, 10 November 1857, 3h.

56 See below, pp.98-101.

57 Register, 14 October 1857, 3c.

reported a correspondent to the Register, to support Webb 'whose appointment to the office of a Justice of the Peace has given great offence to the squatters of the district'. The Chairman, James Wright, a publican and farmer, said

it was their duty as freemen to aid Dr. Webb in his present struggle, the cause of which was very soon told. The squatters of their district considered the passport to respectability as being one of themselves. No matter what qualifications you may possess ... if not one of the respectable class you are a doomed man. 58

The terms the 'quality', 'Squattocracy' and 'those great men' were used to describe those who objected to Webb as JP and who were in the process of getting signatures for a memorial against him. The meeting referred to 'a class man appointed at the same time, with a six months residence to recommend him' as 'the squatters' nominee'. This was Dr. Thomas Hawker, who was not related to the local Hawkers, and who died in 1859. The term 'class' in this context was used in the nineteenth century meaning of the 'classes' versus 'the masses'.<sup>59</sup> At the above meeting, the vote of confidence in Webb was unanimous and forwarded to the Governor.

In the November 21st Observer the 'Clare Correspondent' reported:

The determined opposition of some parties to Dr. C.H. Webb's sitting upon the Bench as a Justice of the Peace has engrossed general attention. Both parties are actively engaged, and memorials are in the course of signature on both sides. 60

Finally a petition with 28 signatures was presented to the House of Assembly requesting the removal from the list of Justices of the Peace of Webb, 'lately the landlord of a public house, which he kept in a

---

58 Ibid, 14 November 1857, 3e.

59 Rickard, J. Class and politics ... Canberra, ANU Press, 1976, p.288.

60 Observer, 21 November 1857, 4h.

disorderly manner'.<sup>61</sup> The printing of the petition was negated by the Assembly,<sup>62</sup> and it has therefore, unfortunately, not survived. The objections to Webb as a JP because he was the landlord of a public house may have been genuine, but the people of Clare certainly saw the objections to him in the broader terms of social conflict. Webb remained a JP until May 1860 when his name was omitted and hence 'superseded' from the list of current members of the Commission published in the Government Gazette, obviously the result of pressure from influential individuals.<sup>63</sup>

The conflict over the two Agricultural Societies continued right to the day of the Northern Agricultural Society's Show. The Northern Public Agricultural Society decided to give a hearty welcome to the Governor when he came to Clare for the Show, and to hold a dinner, but not to have a rival stock show which 'would show a want of respect to our Governor and our Gracious Queen'.<sup>64</sup> The arguments by the opponents of the Agricultural Society that it was a 'class' rather than a people's society seemed to be supported by the correspondence between a George Faulkner of Mintaro and John Hope, the Hon. Secretary of the Society. This correspondence was inserted by Faulkner in the Register and the Observer so 'that the farmers and the working men of the North District should be made acquainted with Mr. Hope's views of their "order"'. The letter from Faulkner asked Hope to withdraw his name from the committee of the Agricultural Society as there had been no public meeting to form it, and he had been put on the committee without

---

61 Register, 23 December 1857, 2h. Several sheets of the petition had allegedly been 'stolen'.

62 Ibid, 24 December 1857, 3a.

63 Ibid, 4 May 1860, 3g. For Gleeson's comment, see below p.100.

64 Ibid, 23 November 1857, 3b.

his 'knowledge or consent'. Hope's letter was haughty in tone. He had been given Mr. Fauikner's name by one of his employees, but he now regretted including him on the committee:

I agree with you that it was improper and foolish to place you on it. There can be no greater liberty taken with certain people than to raise them from obscurity into notice, and to surround them with the elements of respectability. 65

This letter, although not meant for publication and probably written in anger, publicly proved that Hope believed Faulkner was neither influential nor respectable, unlike the others on the committee of the Agricultural Society. This added to the hostility to the Society and to the perception of Hope as a member of the arrogant squatter class.

The report of the Agricultural Society's Show and the two Clare dinners was very detailed.<sup>66</sup> Among the Clare exhibitors of livestock the most notable for numbers of exhibits were Hope, John Gleeson, E.B. Gleeson's son, and G.C. Hawker. The report described the welcome to the Governor and his wife, on their arrival in Clare from E.B. Gleeson's home: addresses were made by Lennon, as District Clerk, on behalf of the inhabitants of the township of Clare Hawker, on behalf of the people of the district, and Gleeson as President of the Society.

The two Societies celebrated at different hotels: '120 gentlemen' attended the Agricultural Society's dinner and '150 persons' were present at that organized by the Public Agricultural Society'.<sup>67</sup> The Governor, of course, attended the former banquet, at which Gleeson presided. The Governor's speech stressed the importance of agriculture

---

65 Ibid, 26 November 1857, 1f.

66 Ibid, 8 December 1857, 3bcdef; Observer, 12 December 1857, 6defgh.

67 Register, 8 December 1857, 3de.

in South Australia, perhaps as a conciliatory gesture towards the absent farmers:

He believed his friend on his right (Mr. G.C. Hawker), who was one of their thriving squatters, well acquainted with the colony, would himself admit, although a squatter, that the most effectual and permanent settlement of the country, and that by which the greatest amount of social happiness was created, was that which followed agriculture. 68

After the prizes were distributed more than half of the total amount of prize money was returned to the Society by the prize winners, including Hope, J.W. Gleeson and Hawker,<sup>69</sup> the gesture of a benevolent and affluent elite. No mention was made of the rival dinner in any of the reported speeches.

At the opposition dinner Webb was one of the Vice-Chairmen and Lennon the main speaker. Those present loyally toasted the Queen and the Governor and his wife, and made a number of pointed references to the other dinner. The Chairman, Henry Ball, said with sarcasm, referring to the printed exchange between Faulkner and Hope, that

no free man can either join that Society or remain a member of it ... The moment you become a member of this truly grand affair - (laughter) - you are then surrounded with the elements of respectability and raised from obscurity at once ... The squatters may bring their servants and their friends to swell up a dinner-party to make up a number to appear all the go in the Governor's presence ... [but] ... while I see the farmers and working classes as I see them here this evening at our festive board, joining us heart and soul, we must and will succeed. (Cheers)

This contrast between the 'false' support for the 'squatters' Society' and the willing support by the farmers and working classes for the Public Society was referred to again by Peter Brady, a farmer from Mintaro, who 'repudiated any Agricultural Society formed by a couple of squatters and their medical advisors' in a 'hole-and-corner' manner, and

---

68 Ibid, 3d.

69 Ibid, 3e; J. Hope's diary, 3 December, 1857.

asserted 'No class legislation for him'.<sup>70</sup> He and others would support the Society only if it were re-founded on a fair basis.

Although the Public Agricultural Society disappeared after this first Show, the Agricultural Society continued to be supported by the squatters and boycotted by the townsmen and farmers, until a reconciliation was finally achieved in 1867.<sup>71</sup> That anti-squatter feeling continued was clearly illustrated by the opposition in Clare to Clause 3 of the Waste Lands Act. A meeting chaired by Lennon in November 1858 requested Parliament not to pass the Act which provided for 'oppressive and unjust' penalties for freeholders' cattle found on land held by squatters for only a 'nominal rent'. The motion passed called the Act 'a cheap substitute for post and rails - a measure of class legislation, most oppressive and unjust'.<sup>72</sup> This was the first reference to 'class legislation', referring to legislation in favour of the squatting class.

In March 1859 a public meeting was called by Webb as District Council Chairman

to consider the propriety of petitioning the Legislature to repeal an enactment which most of them felt to be class legislation, made for the benefit of one particular class of people, to the utter ruin of the rest of the colony.

Webb itemized the heavy penalties ranging from £10 to £50 for farmers who unlawfully occupied or depastured cattle on the leased Waste Lands of the colony. Yet the squatters, who paid a rent of only 'one farthing per acre' would have to pay only one halfpenny for each bullock that trespassed upon a farmer's land. Lennon blamed George Hawker, not the ministry, for the introduction of the Clause. Other speakers at the

---

70 Register, 8 December 1857, 3e.

71 See below, pp.121-22.

72 Register, 3 December 1858, 3f.

meeting showed strong anti-squatter feelings. Mr. Wright said, 'There was an oligarchy among them which they must not submit to' and Mr. Quinlan, speaking of the squatters, dramatically claimed 'Such men would establish, if they could, the serfdom of Russia and the despotism of France'. Mr. M'Coul

believed the step they had taken that evening would go far towards showing the squatocracy [sic] that they could not so easily walk over the rest of the colony as they expected.

It was not surprising that the meeting unanimously passed the motion that Clause 3 of the Waste Lands Act

is oppressive in the extreme towards the freeholders and small settlers, and is repugnant to the principles of our liberal constitution, and, in the opinion of this meeting, merely for the benefit of one class to the utter ruin of all others. 73

Further public meetings, usually chaired by Webb, were held in the Clare district to support the repeal of Clause 3. The Clare Correspondent to the Observer began to refer to these meetings as being organized by 'the Anti-Squatters League'.<sup>74</sup> Webb and Lennon continued to blame Hawker for the Clause, quoting from his speech in the House of Assembly supporting it:

Hon. members were not aware what detriment runs were subjected to by unlawful pasturage. Some time last year his manager rode over a portion of his run, about three or four miles from the head station and counted 400 or 500 head of cattle and 70 head of horses belonging to other parties ...

A number of local farmers expressed cynicism at Hawker's reported statement to the House that

he would be sorry to oppress any one. He never meant to do so, but he denounced the systematic manner in which parties purchased cattle to turn out upon the run for which the squatter had to pay rent. 75

---

73 Observer, 2 April 1859, 21 and 4d.

74 Ibid, 23 April 1859, 8e; 30 April 1859, 8d.

75 Ibid, 30 April 1859, 4d.

There was little sympathy for the squatters' problems, and the people of the Clare district continued to support the view that the clause was 'for the benefit of one class', and that it was 'unjust and tyrannical, of advantage only to a small portion of the community, to the detriment of the masses.'<sup>76</sup> There were strong feelings on both sides of this issue: the squatters saw themselves as being imposed upon by those who did not pay the allegedly large rents for crown land, whereas the small farmers and townsmen believed the squatters had unfair concessions not available to the small man. At one meeting Lennon deprecated those who spoke of burning the runs of the squatters,<sup>77</sup> but nevertheless the very suggestion showed the amount of heat generated over the issue.

The agitation about the Waste Lands Act was the prelude to the setting up of a Political Association in Clare, which, along with the Burra Political Association, supported its own candidates for the 1860 election. This Political Association continued to show the strong anti-squatter antagonism evident in previous years. It supported payment of members and land reform legislation,<sup>78</sup> and was formed mainly to promote candidates for the 1860 election, after which it disappeared. Both Webb and Lennon played leading parts in the regular meetings of the Political Association, Webb often as chairman and Lennon as a major speaker. Lennon spoke strongly in favour of reform of the land sales system, to help the farmer bid against the squatters and the corrupt land agents.<sup>79</sup>

---

76 Ibid, 7 May 1859, Supp. 2gh.

77 Ibid, 30 April 1859, 4d.

78 Ibid, 17 December 1859, 5b; 24 December 7h; 31 December 3e.

79 Register, 12 January 1860, 3f; illustrated in the novel by Clare farmer Patrick Eiffe: The Three L's: lawyers, landjobbers and lovers. A tale of South Australia twenty years ago. Adelaide, Webb, Vardon and Pritchard, 1882.



In February 1860 Political Association delegates from Clare met those at Burra, where Lennon and William Dale, a carpenter from Adelaide, were supported as two of the candidates to represent the electorate of Burra and Clare.<sup>80</sup> Webb seconded Lennon's candidature at Burra and went on supporting him at Clare. The Clare Political Association endorsed Lennon and Dale at its next meeting, at which Gleeson, who said he was neither in favour of nor opposed to the Association, was the only person to speak against payment of members, because, he said, it would lead to district councillors, magistrates and others asking for payment.<sup>81</sup>

Two letters to the Register by 'Juvenis' of Clare purported to set forth the 'real views and intentions' of the Political Association. The first letter argued that the foolish members of the Association were 'awe-struck, bewildered by the assurance that they can and will be placed on a level with those atrocious bugbears, the squatters ...', while the Association leaders had selfish motives, namely 'a sincere and determined resolution to win their respective £200 per annum and fame in the same blow'.<sup>82</sup> In his second letter 'Juvenis' argued that the Political Association opposed 'class legislation', which he claimed was legislation made 'by those most qualified to understand the legislative duties, from superior talents, integrity, position and a greater command of time'. He believed that the 'class legislation' of 'artisans, labourers and shepherds' would be inferior.<sup>83</sup> These strong statements angered many Clare people. Webb 'believed it was the production of those who were the self-styled *elite* of the beautiful township of Clare'.<sup>84</sup>

---

80 Register, 4 February 1860, 3g.

81 Ibid, 7 February 1860, 3h.

82 Ibid, 18 February 1860, 2e.

83 Ibid, 23 February 1860, 3a.

84 Ibid, 24 February 1860, 3c.

His 'self-styled *elite*' consisted of those antagonistic to democratic ideas and opposed to the Political Association candidates. It would be interesting to know who 'Juvenis' was, but it is more important to note that while men of his opinions existed in Clare, the temper of the political meetings was such that no one claimed publicly to have these opinions. That the '*elite*' was blamed for the letter illustrates the social as well as the political split over the issues of the 1860 election.

The Political Association was triumphant at an election meeting at Clare in March, when the sitting member, Adelaide architect G.S. Kingston, was forced to leave the room because of the interruptions to his speech. Despite Gleeson's amendment to the contrary, the meeting passed by an 'overwhelming majority' Webb's motion that Kingston was 'an unfit and wrong person' to represent their district, and endorsed Lennon, Dale and G.W. Cole, a valuator from Adelaide, as candidates.<sup>85</sup>

Gleeson criticised the ability and motives of the Political Association candidates, and continued to publicly support Kingston, Dr. John Browne, a sheepfarmer of Booboorowie, and L.M. Cullen, a solicitor of Adelaide, in other towns in the electorate.<sup>86</sup> However, on election day, Dale, Cole and Lennon won overwhelmingly at Clare and Kooringa (Burra), and in the electorate as a whole. This meant a very definite victory for the Political Association and the anti-elite group, and showed a voters' solidarity for three candidates never again to be repeated.<sup>87</sup> This was a sound defeat for those with prestigious occupations and elite support.

---

85 *Ibid*, 17 March 1860, 2e.

86 *Ibid*, 20 March 1860, 3g.

87 *Ibid*, 27 March 1860, 3e. Dale - 645, Cole - 641, Lennon - 630; in Clare: 137, 136 and 135 respectively. Kingston - 312, Brown 226, Cullen 157; in Clare: 48, 48 and 29.

Although little reported capital was made of the matter before the election, Clare now had its first local member in the House of Assembly, an Irish Catholic former schoolteacher, who was a land agent and District Clerk at the time of his election. Although the Catholic and the Irish vote was assumed to be strongly for Lennon in Clare,<sup>88</sup> the fact that the votes for all three Political Association members were so similar indicates that a specific religious factor cannot be isolated to explain his success in Clare, nor did his being a 'local man' seem to be important. Lennon had been one of the leaders of the anti-squatter group in Clare, and in a pre-election speech he had 'repudiated the attempts so frequently made to establish a supposed aristocracy' in South Australia.<sup>89</sup> While a member of the House of Assembly, Lennon acted in the interests of Catholics and those who supported land reform.<sup>90</sup> However he had only a brief and chequered career in parliament,<sup>91</sup> was not a member of the ministry and had no power other than to ask questions and vote.

Lennon was in parliament only a year, as he was forced to resign in March 1861 because he had been declared insolvent. The Insolvency Court found that he had possessed real property valued at £3,600 when he was elected to parliament. After that, the court found that he appeared to have 'entirely abandoned the management of his affairs', that his losses might have been avoided 'by his own prudent supervision' and that his income during his time in parliament had been derived only from the sale of his property. He had also spent £478.10.10 on law

---

88 In the 1855 census 18.4% of the district population was Catholic. In 1861 17.8% was Irish.

89 *Register*, 24 February 1860, 3b.

90 *Ibid*, 13 October 1860, 3ab; 19 December, 3f; 22 December, 3a.

91 *Ibid*, 18 October 1860, 3d. For the session ending 17 October he had been present 50 days and absent 33, 17 on leave.

charges and interest since April 1860.<sup>92</sup> His lack of 'prudent supervision' of his financial affairs was only partly connected with the fact that Lennon was a man without personal wealth or a guaranteed income elected to the House of Assembly before payment of members had been achieved. It was mainly a result of the accusations that he had embezzled District Council and Building Society money as Clerk of the former and secretary of the latter. He was eventually taken to court about the District Council money, but the case was never proven, and the problem seems to have been one of inefficiency of book-keeping rather than dishonesty.<sup>93</sup> There may have been a deliberate attempt to discredit him, although there is no direct evidence for this.

There is strong evidence to show that Lennon certainly did not feel guilty and that the town accepted him as innocent. In July 1861, only a few months after his insolvency and retirement from parliament, Lennon made a long, forceful and well-documented speech at a public meeting in Clare, against the resumption of assisted immigration. The meeting strongly supported his argument.<sup>94</sup> He continued to play a major part in public meetings in Clare, although as he grew older, he became less noticeable in public affairs. In 1868, when the Clare Corporation was set up, he became the first Town Clerk, and remained in that position until he became ill in 1894, the year before his death. He remained a well-known and well-respected member of Clare society,<sup>95</sup> and one of the few active Catholics. Lennon was well educated and eloquent,<sup>96</sup> and he spoke frequently and at length at

---

92 Observer, 1 May 1861, 4b.

93 See below, pp.102-4.

94 Observer, 20 July 1861, Supp. 3f.

95 Northern Argus, 22 February, 1895, 2d (obituary).

96 Ibid, 16 February 1923, 3c; Register, 24 August 1928, 18ef.

public meetings, which explains why he was chosen as a parliamentary candidate. After 1860 unlike Webb, he was never again an initiator or leader of community activities. Although he held the influential position of Town Clerk from 1868 he played an unobtrusive part in other aspects of public life. He remained an auctioneer and land agent until the mid 1880s, but died with too little property to qualify for probate.

At the Burra and Clare by-election to replace Lennon, G.S. Kingston defeated J.B. Neales, auctioneer of Gumeracha. Webb supported Neales strongly at a number of political meetings, and opposed Kingston, whom he called 'their common enemy' because 'he is the gentleman who stands up in opposition to the payment of members, yet he himself did not scruple to take 650 £ per annum of the public money' when a minister in the government.<sup>97</sup> Gleeson and his son John both supported the successful Kingston.<sup>98</sup> This election, marred by 'private pique and antagonism',<sup>99</sup> ended a period which was the most acrimonious in nineteenth-century Clare history, a period when group and personal conflicts were at their strongest or certainly their most public. Attempts by the local squatters to gain political supremacy had been challenged and were defeated when Hawker gave up his attempt to represent the district. After Lennon's resignation there was no local candidate with any hope of winning an election until 1881, and no local member until 1887.

The division in Clare society in the early 1860s was noticed by at least one outsider. The author of 'Rough Notes of Incident and Reflection on a Tour Northward', published in the Observer in December

---

97 Observer, 4 May 1861, 3f.

98 Ibid, 8g.

99 Ibid, Supp. 4a.

1861, described the prosperous town of Clare and its surrounding district and then commented on the division in the community:

Unfortunately, however, its society is in a state of great disorganization. Two strong factions divide the public sentiment; and no matter, right or wrong, on matters important or trivial, or having a merely local or broader application, anything emanating from one side is sure to raise the hostility of the other. The effect of this spirit is highly prejudicial, not only to the interests, but to the tranquility of the place ... 100

One of the 'matters' which divided Clare society after Lennon's resignation was which non-Clare men would represent the district.

In the November 1862 election for two candidates for the new electorate of Stanley, the usual division between Gleeson and Webb was noticeable.<sup>101</sup> Gleeson supported Kingston, and the newcomer George Young, a surveyor of Adelaide who, with his brother, had taken up property in Watervale in 1852.<sup>102</sup> Gleeson was supported strongly by Dr. Augustus Edward Davies who had arrived in Clare in May 1860,<sup>103</sup> and plunged straight into Clare affairs. He was appointed a JP in November 1861, and played an active part in other activities. He supported the pastoral elite and was a strong opponent of Webb. Davies' impact on Clare was limited as he left in 1868 to visit Wales and never returned.

In 1862 Webb and Lennon were strong supporters of E.L. Grundy, an accountant of Adelaide, who opposed George Young because his brother was a director of Wallaroo Mines. An election advertisement advised voters to vote for Grundy and Kingston and avoid Young:

Do not surrender the wealth of the colony, which is the property of the colonists, to wealthy and hungry mine proprietors. 104

---

100 Ibid, 28 December 1861, 7a.

101 Ibid, 22 November 1862, Supp. 1g.

102 Moyle, J. Portrait of a village Watervale 1851-1951. Adelaide, Advertiser, 1952, p.13.

103 Register, 30 May 1860, 3h.

104 Observer, 22 November 1862, 8e.

When Webb supported Grundy as a 'fit and proper person' to represent Stanley, he brought to the surface the division in Clare. He said,

there was a would-be aristocracy who would like to override the people of Clare. This clique had done all they could to cover the candidate now before them with filth; but he felt convinced that they would fall into the filth of their own making.

By the 'would-be aristocracy' he was referring especially to Gleeson and Davies who had supported Kingston and Young at a previous meeting. Grundy also referred to Davies as one of the 'representatives of a vile clique'. Despite Davies' persistent questioning and abuse, the election meeting voted 'almost unanimously' in support of Grundy.<sup>105</sup> Although the election was 'hotly contested in Clare' Kingston and Young won comfortably in Clare and Stanley.<sup>106</sup> The Clare voters had supported the candidates of Webb's 'would-be aristocracy' and 'clique'.

In both the 1865 and the 1868 elections the candidates supported by Gleeson and Davies, Kingston and H.E. Bright a stock-dealer of Gawler, were successful, as they were to be for the following two elections.<sup>107</sup> The candidate supported by Webb lost badly in Clare in 1865,<sup>108</sup> but in 1868 his candidate G.M. Allen of Adelaide gained most votes in Clare.<sup>109</sup> Gleeson, who chaired all the election meetings in these years, claimed he had never presided over 'such a disorderly meeting' as the one in 1868 in which a Mr. Jonas blamed the disturbance on Webb, declaring

---

105 *Ibid*, Supp. 1g.

106 *Ibid*, 29 November 1862, 8a. In Clare the voting results were Kingston and Young each 100, Grundy 69. For Stanley, it was Kingston 272, Young 252, Grundy 112.

107 See below, p.

108 *Observer*, 4 March 1865, 4c. Results at Clare were Kingston 110, Bright 94, Palmer 44 and for Stanley 329, 291 and 75 respectively.

109 Jaensch, D. *Election statistics ...*, p.45. In Clare: Allen 141, Bright 93, Kingston 60. In Stanley: 191, 457 and 331 respectively.

this was only one of Dr. Webb's mobs that was creating a disturbance ... There was only a bailiff and a doctor's pup that was upsetting the meeting. The doctor made the balls, but he got other people to fire them, 110

which Webb naturally denied.

The major political struggles between 1861 and 1868 had been over non-Clare candidates, struggles always won by candidates supported by Gleeson and Davies, and opposed by Webb, and in 1868 a majority of Clare voters. This monopoly of non-Clare candidates and representatives was to continue through to 1881 and 1887 respectively. This was before the payment of members of parliament, and in a period when many country people believed city men were better representatives for country constituencies than local men. In this favouring of city dwelling representatives the Clare district was not unique in South Australia.<sup>111</sup>

Although there were no Clare men in parliament after 1861, Clare's leading citizens knew that the power to influence and perhaps determine the prosperity and advancement of Clare and its citizens rested with the colonial parliament. The two major areas in which Clare attempted to influence parliament were land reform and transport. As in previous years there was still resentment of the economic privileges of the squatters and the limitations their land ownership placed on attracting more settlers to the Clare district. This resentment was less antagonistic to individual squatters and, because it affected more people directly, it was shared by a wider section of the community than those involved in the meetings between 1857 and 1859 against land surveys and the Waste Lands Act. Consequently there was strong support

---

110 Advertiser, 10 March 1868, 3d.

111 Hirst, J. Adelaide and the country ..., pp.65-6, 70-71.



for land reform in the years leading up to Strangways Act of 1869. Better roads and a railway for Clare were sometimes seen as alternatives, but it was eventually agreed that both were necessary for Clare's future prosperity. From 1856 political meetings were called, mainly by the Chairmen of the District Council or, after 1868, Mayors of Clare, to support resolutions to request their representatives to put pressure on the governments of the day to pass legislation to get better roads and to get a railway for Clare.

In July 1861 two meetings were held on the same night, both chaired by District Council Chairman Thomas Ninnes, a leading Methodist farmer originally from Cornwall. Webb was the major speaker at both meetings which supported fairer land regulations. A petition was sent to the House of Assembly supporting Torren's Real Property Act and a proposed Land Bill which was never passed. The Real Property Act was 'a boon to the province' (Webb's words) which would cut the fees of the 'locusts of lawyers' who oppressed the farmers.<sup>112</sup> Webb spoke 'at considerable length and with much ability' of the advantages that small farmers would gain from the Land Bill, which he believed was only the first of the necessary reforms which should follow and improve on the new Victorian regulations.<sup>113</sup> These meetings illustrated strong support for legislation which would enable 'small capitalists' to buy and lease land more easily and cheaply. They also showed Webb in a vigorous leadership role.

Another meeting convened by Ninnes which showed the hostility to the economic privileges of the squatters was held in September 1864.

---

112 Observer, 3 August 1861, Supp. 3h. Eiffe, op.cit.

113 Observer, 10 August 1861, Supp. 4g.

As in other country towns,<sup>114</sup> this meeting strongly supported Goyder's valuations of the squatters' runs, although the squatters claimed they were too high. Mr. J. Eiffe, a sawyer, summed up the general arguments of the Clare meeting:

Mr. Goyder's valuations were declared to be too high; but let the squatters give their runs up and allow them to be cut up, and this would yield more revenue to the country, and increase the number of farmers.

Mr. Quinlin, a 'working man', added,

the people of Clare did not join in the cry of down with the squatter or any other class; but they simply sought for justice. The squatters were offered their runs at a fair rental, and if they did not choose to take them up [let] someone else do so. (Cheers) 115

The meeting unanimously carried a motion to request the government to sell the squatters' leases at auction in blocks not larger than five square miles. Neither Gleeson, Webb nor Lennon were at this meeting, which was attended by farmers and skilled tradesmen, such as a blacksmith and a tinsmith. This reflected the groups of people who would benefit most if the squatters were forced off the land - farmers and would-be farmers who would be able to buy cheaper land, and town-based service providers who would benefit from an influx of people into the district.

The comments of two visitors to Clare in the mid 1860s illustrated the still obvious economic privileges of the squatters and the desirability of their land. They help explain the dissatisfaction with this situation, and the attempts to press for political solutions. In May 1866 the Register's Special Reporter travelled to Clare for the Northern Turf Club races. His description of the race course, five miles from Clare in one of the paddocks of 'Bungaree' was perceptive:

---

114 Ibid, 17 September 1864, 7abc.

115 Ibid, 7c.

Viewed from the Grand Stand the course forms the centre of an extensive circular plain, the greater part of Mr. Hawker's run lying to the northward. He was a sharp fellow who selected that for a homestead, and the farmers in the neighbourhood may be excused their recent fit of pastoral sentimentality to which it and other places like it gave rise. 116

In the same month, another Register article described the landownership situation underlying the economic tension within the Clare district:

Drays, traps and German wagons standing in front of the hotel prove that a tolerably large influx of agriculturalists has been made into these old headquarters of squatterdom. Still the squatters hang on tenaciously to the outskirts of settlement. Mr. Hawker's run, Bungaree, is only five miles north of Clare, and a score of other stations could be counted within 30 miles. 117

Both visitors commented on the prosperity of Clare, but the underlying suggestion was that the squatters' land-ownership would prevent future expansion. The emphasis on the closeness to Clare of the squatters and the desirability of their land for farming purposes, helps explain the strong support in Clare for land reform in this period.

This support for land reform surfaced again in the years after the passing of the Strangways Act on January 30th, 1869.<sup>118</sup> The editorial of the second issue of the Northern Argus<sup>119</sup> discussed the new Land Act coming into operation on March 2nd. This Act, said the editor,<sup>120</sup>

does not come up to the expectations and desires of some of our practical farmers, yet is a decided improvement on the old system of land jobbery and abuses in the auction room. 121

---

116 Register, 5 May 1866, 3f.

117 Ibid, 31 May 1866, 3a.

118 Buxton, op.cit., pp.10-12.

119 Northern Argus, has been the Clare newspaper since 19 February 1869.

120 Probably H.H. Tilbrook, owner and founder of the Northern Argus.

121 Northern Argus, 26 February 1869, 2ab. See Eiffe op.cit., for the 'old system'.

The editor was a strong supporter of liberalizing the Land Acts. In August 1870, he was confident that the recently introduced 'radical' Land Bill <sup>122</sup> would pass the Assembly, but warned:

The squatting element enters largely into the composition of the Council, and squatters are always the antagonists of land reform. We should not be surprised, therefore, if the measure is thrown out in the Upper House. <sup>123</sup>

He argued that farming had not been very successful in South Australia, because it had the highest priced land of all British colonies. Cheap land would attract population and help South Australia become more prosperous, so the interests of a few landowners must be overcome for the benefit of the majority.<sup>124</sup> All but one of the 100 persons present at the August 1870 meeting called by Mayor Andrew Young agreed with this and approved of the Land Bill. With the exception of storekeeper Young, (who had become Mayor on Webb's death) and Dr. Bain, the meeting was dominated by farmers.<sup>125</sup> The bill, however, was not to be passed until 1871, and actually made few liberalizing changes.<sup>126</sup>

In July 1871, the people of Clare had their final public say in favour of land reform. The Northern Argus reported the July 3rd meeting, chaired by Mayor Young, as being attended by 280 to 290 people.<sup>127</sup> The Guardian, its short term and only rival,<sup>128</sup> owned by Ebenezer Ward MP, reported that 400 attended.<sup>129</sup> Ward who was a leading South Australian land reformer, who used his various newspapers in his work 'as an agitator and watch dog' for land reform, had been

<sup>122</sup> Hirst, *op.cit.*, p.83.

<sup>123</sup> Northern Argus, 12 August 1870, 2b.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 26 August 1870, 2d.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 2 September 1870, 3a.

<sup>126</sup> Hirst, *op.cit.*, p.86; Buxton, *op.cit.*, p.27.

<sup>127</sup> Northern Argus, 7 July 1871, 3b.

<sup>128</sup> The Guardian was first published in Adelaide and then in Gumeracha. It was published at Clare from 19th May 1871 to the end of January 1872, after which it was transferred to Kapunda. (This information came from L.S. Marquis's notes on cover of the Guardian in the SA Newspaper Library).

<sup>129</sup> Guardian, 4 July 1871, 2d.

instrumental in calling the July 3rd meeting. The meeting endorsed the motion that the Crown Lands Department had not been offering the best land for selection, and asked the Government to reassess the Booyoolie land sale of 9,000 acres, because it should be proclaimed for farmers to select instead of being available for a pastoralist to buy it all. As a result of such meetings, the Government did withdraw the Booyoolie land from sale and suspended all auction sales until the 1872 Act.<sup>130</sup>

Many Clare people, dissatisfied with the existing system of land ownership, had hoped that the Land Settlement Acts would bring great benefit to Clare and Clare people. As Meinig noted

Clare prided itself as being the 'northern metropolis', a pretension at least locally justified ... In 1869 its position clearly destined it to be the main portal to the incipient agricultural frontier to the north. 131

Certainly many Clare people were to leave for the new northern towns and farming areas in the 1870s, and Clare was to be at its most prosperous in that decade, but in the longer term 'it derived no real lasting benefits at all from these years of Northern development'.<sup>132</sup> Despite the short term prosperity brought to Clare by the opening up of the northern farming areas after 1869, the basic division of land ownership in the Clare area itself was to be changed little by the Land Acts. 'Bungaree', 'Hill River', 'Wolta Wolta' and 'Inchiquin' were largely freehold when the Acts were passed,<sup>133</sup> and were little affected by them. In fact, the squatters near Clare had 'a stronger hold upon the land than they had enjoyed anywhere before'.<sup>134</sup> The

---

130 Hirst, op.cit., pp.87-88.

131 Meinig, op.cit., p.31.

132 Ibid, p.198.

133 Williams, E. op.cit., p.141. By 1868 Hawker had bought 99% and Fisher 89% of their estates of 1891.

134 Hirst, op.cit., p.11.

economic hostility of the 1860s as shown in the support for land reform legislation, had been directed at the squatters in general, rather than at specific individuals as it had been in the 1850s. This was a trend which would continue as public opinion swung between this hostility on the one hand, and a growing acceptance of the landownership status quo and sometimes even a sense of gratitude for the contribution of the local squatters on the other.

Better roads and a railway for Clare were issues around which Clare people united in this period, as they would continue to do. The belief that Clare deserved and needed a railway first surfaced in 1856. It was a belief that was to grow stronger in later years when the disadvantages of not getting a railway became more obvious. From the beginning the Clare people and their leaders realized that the decisions about railways rested with parliament in Adelaide. There lay the power and there the pressure needed to be placed.

At a public meeting in August 1856,<sup>135</sup> and at another two years later,<sup>136</sup> Webb and Lennon, joined by Gleeson in 1858, strongly supported moves, including a memorial to the Governor and the House of Assembly, to bring the proposed Adelaide - Burra railway line close to Clare. Nothing came of these efforts at collective action, but they indicated that on an important issue like the railway community interests could take precedence over personal rivalry. This rare unity of purpose was to become more frequent in subsequent years.

In the early 1860s the leading men of Clare attempted to improve their roads. A meeting in August 1861 agreed to send another petition

---

135 Register, 9 August 1856, 3h.

136 Ibid, 18 September 1858, 4c.

to the House of Assembly to request funds to improve the main road through Clare, despite Webb's complaint that neither the Road Board nor the Assembly had listened to the District Council's previous requests.<sup>137</sup> In May 1862 another meeting decided to open a road between Clare and Kadina, and therefore a new market, by driving heavily laden bullock carts along the route agreed on. A committee was set up to raise the money,<sup>138</sup> but the project fell through because of lack of government interest. Having no local member of parliament was probably a significant factor in explaining the failure of these two efforts, and why the Clare people believed 'that the Government had forgotten that there was such a place as Clare'.<sup>139</sup>

In 1860 the railway line to Gawler had been extended to Kapunda, and the debate began over which other towns were to receive the benefits of the railway. The issue of extension of the railway to the mid northern district came to the fore in the mid 1860s, when a series of reports was commissioned by parliament from 1865.<sup>140</sup> However, the first Clare support for a railway directly to Clare came only in 1866.

In the year after August 1866 there were five well-attended public meetings in Clare about the town's transport needs. Gleeson chaired all of them; he did so on Webb's motion at the first three, though Webb's motives for putting aside their old rivalry were probably influenced as much by his desire to speak on the issues as by his recognition of Gleeson's status. Dr. Davies, Lennon and

---

137 Observer, 17 August 1861, 4f.

138 Ibid, 31 May 1862, Supp. 2bc.

139 Ibid, 1 November 1862, Supp. 2c.

140 Meinig, op.cit., pp.127-131.

William Patterson, the machine factory owner, were regular attenders, and they were supported at several meetings by other prominent citizens like Charles Kimber the miller. The first three meetings were prompted by the government's decision to build a tramway to Port Wakefield from somewhere on the plains south west of Clare.<sup>141</sup> From the second meeting an alternative proposal to build a tramway from Clare to Wallaroo was strongly supported,<sup>142</sup> and therefore in August 1867 they rejected a request from Auburn that Clare join in pressing for a railway link between the two towns.<sup>143</sup> A committee, appointed by the House of Assembly, subsequently recommended the construction of this line in October 1867 but the recommendation had been pre-empted by the authorization of the Port Wakefield tramway.<sup>144</sup> Petitions to the House of Assembly for and against the different railway schemes and a request to bridge the Hutt River at the southern entrance to Clare<sup>145</sup> supported Gleeson's argument that 'Unless they exerted themselves they could not look for success ... [and get] their fair share of public money'.<sup>146</sup>

Despite the strong unity displayed by the leading men of Clare over the issues of better transport in general and the Clare to Wallaroo tramway in particular, Clare had missed out on a railway. Ironically, Clare people were later to regret that they had not joined with Auburn in supporting a railway from that direction, a proposal Goyder had made.<sup>147</sup> In 1870, a railway line was built from

---

141 Observer, 1 September 1866, Supp. 1gh.

142 Ibid, 6 October 1866, 7fgh.

143 Register, 27 August 1867, 3d.

144 Ibid, 31 October 1867, 3g; Meinig, op.cit., p.131.

145 Register, 21 August 1867, 4b.

146 Ibid, 14 May 1867, 3gh.

147 Meinig, op.cit., p.128.



Roseworthy to the Burra,<sup>148</sup> and although Clare was still twelve miles from the nearest station at Farrell Flat,<sup>149</sup> it was not to get a direct railway line until 1918.<sup>150</sup>

Clare people had united behind their local leaders to put pressure on parliament to legislate in their interests. Their support for land reform was duplicated all over South Australia, and this general support brought positive results. The 'opening' of the northern land after 1869 benefited some individual residents of the Clare district who moved to the new land. However, the Land Acts had little impact on the landownership pattern around Clare itself. Although they helped the town in the short term as Clare became a major centre supplying agricultural implements and other necessities, in the long term the centre of the new farm lands moved to the north,<sup>151</sup> and this contributed to Clare's economic decline. Clare's requests for better roads and particularly a railway, had been in competition with other districts in South Australia, and this contributed to the lack of success in gaining either. The early railway meetings were not fully aware where Clare's best interests lay, and supported some unfortunate resolutions at a time when a railway for Clare was a real possibility. Later meetings were to be supported with increasing enthusiasm and desperation in the 1870s when the possibility of Clare getting a railway had become more remote. The failure to get a railway was another factor explaining Clare's decline in prosperity after the 1870s.

---

148 *Ibid*, p.131.

149 Clare was disadvantaged by the 1875 policy that a town within 15 miles of a railway station was adequately served by a railway.

150 Noye, R.J. Clare. A district history. Coromandel Valley, Lynton Publications Pty. Ltd., 1975, p.66.

151 Meinig, op.cit., pp.131-146 and 198.

Power: 1851 to 1868 - local politics

The setting up of the District Council in July 1853 saw the beginning of local politics in Clare. Its establishment and the activities subsequently revolving around it were to provide the setting for rivalry and division both between Clare and non-Clare people, and within the township itself. The 'faction fighting' within Clare was similar to that described by Barrett in his study of local government in nineteenth-century Victoria.<sup>152</sup>

The majority of members of the Clare Council before the setting up of the Corporation at the end of 1868 were men who lived in or close to Clare and were involved in agricultural and pastoral pursuits.<sup>153</sup> Membership of the Council was evidence of high local prestige, and gained the individuals concerned a degree of power. The Council's power was limited in this period by the reluctance of the ratepayers to vote it money to spend. The inefficiency and lack of effective management of the money the Council received as government grants for roads was to become a contentious issue, as the spending of this money was left largely in the hands of the Chairmen and the District Clerk. One function of the Council was the power to make recommendations to the Destitute Board in Adelaide on who should receive rations or be sent to the Destitute Asylum. As there were frequent applications from those claiming to be destitute, this was an

---

152 Barrett, B. The civil frontier The origin of local communities and local government in Victoria. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp.231-234.

153 The members of the District Council and their occupations, were collated from various sources, mainly newspapers and directories. Of the thirty three men who were members between 1853 and mid 1869 twenty lived in or near Clare. Of the 92 elected positions on the Council during that period, 71.7% were held by stockholders and farmers, 34.8% of whom were non-Clare men. Only 15.2% were professional men or gentlemen and the rest were self-employed businessmen. Of the total 92 positions 27 or 29.3% were non-Clare men.

important power to hold. The Council also had the responsibility for pounds, registering dogs and issuing various permits and licences.<sup>154</sup>

The position of Chairman of the District Council, elected by the Council itself, was the most important in local government, until superseded in status by the position of Mayor after 1868. Whoever was Chairman usually convened and chaired all important meetings in the town, and performed any ceremonial functions, such as laying foundation stones and giving out school prizes. Gleeson was chosen as the first Chairman because of his prestige as founder of Clare, and remained in that position until his resignation in 1857. Webb, a member of the first Council, replaced him for the next two years and after three years as Councillor, held the position again from 1865 to 1867. The rivalry between these two men will be seen to be an important factor underlying most Council faction fighting in the years before 1861. With the exception of the miller, Charles Kimber, who held office for only a few months, the other four Chairmen before the Corporation was established in 1868, were all farmers, including Thomas Ninnes, the Cornish Methodist and John Gleeson, the son of the 'founder of Clare'.<sup>155</sup>

On May 6th 1853 a meeting was held at Webb's 'Clare Inn' at which Webb, seconded by Dr. Sokolowsky, proposed that the District of Clare be set up to cover the Hundreds of Clare and Upper Wakefield. Sokolowsky was a non-Catholic German doctor who had arrived in the Clare district with the Jesuits who later set up St. Aloysius College at

---

<sup>154</sup> Hirst, *op.cit.*, p.124.

<sup>155</sup> Gleeson 1853-57; Webb 1857-59; P. Butler 1859-61; T. Ninnes 1861-65; Webb 1865-67; Chapman, Kimber and J. Gleeson 1867-9.

Sevenhill . At the meeting Webb gave his reasons for supporting a District Council, which were in line with his general support for democratic principles:

It was the inherent right of every free-born Briton to be allowed to have a voice in the making of the laws under which he lives and is to be governed, and he felt proud that this principle was about to be carried out to the fullest extent here. The proposed Council would not impose any rate without the consent of the taxpayers, and the money raised must be paid out to improve the District.

William Lennon proposed that a memorial be presented to the Lieutenant-Governor requesting that he set up the District of Clare under the District Councils Act of 1852. He moved that the first members be E.B. Gleeson, William Slater, Patrick Butler, and Drs. Webb and Sokolowsky, arguing that this gave a fair representation to the area as

he had selected two landholders in the Hundred of Upper Wakefield [Slater and Gleeson], and two landholders in the Hundred of Clare [Webb and Butler], and, as the fifth member, Dr. Sokolousky [sic], to represent a very respectable portion of their fellow colonists, the Germans of the District. 156

This memorial requesting the District Council and supporting Lennon's proposed members was published in the Government Gazette with the signatures of 102 owners and occupiers, two more than required by the District Councils Act.<sup>157</sup>

However, at a meeting at Penwortham, a motion for a counter-memorial was carried, despite Webb's and Lennon's efforts to amend it.<sup>158</sup> This counter-memorial requesting that the Governor reject the request for a District Council was signed by 157 mainly non-Clare inhabitants

---

156 Observer, 14 May 1853, 8b. Slater was a large property owner from Auburn and Butler a small farmer from Clare.

157 Ibid, 11 June 1853, 8e.

158 Ibid, 25 June 1853, 5b.

of the Hundreds of Clare and Upper Wakefield. It claimed that the meeting at Clare on May 6th had been held at

an extreme point of the district, and was insufficiently advertised, which precluded a majority of the ratepayers from attending; that the population is scanty and the amount of property invested is small; and that there are no important by-roads in want of repair, nor other works of importance requiring attention. 159

Despite the counter memorial the Government Gazette of July 21st proclaimed the District of Clare and the proposed five members of the Council. This began a year during which Gleeson and Webb worked together to support the District Council against the criticisms of non-Clare ratepayers.

At the first Council meeting, Gleeson was elected Chairman by the other Councillors. All was not to run smoothly, for in October the District Clerk, Lennon, was authorized by the Council to sue W. Slater of Auburn for neglecting to serve as District Councillor.<sup>160</sup> In the Local Court, Slater's main excuse was that 'he thought it rather hard to be obliged to ride 16 or 18 miles to meet four gentlemen who reside in the locality.'<sup>161</sup> Settlers a long distance from Clare did not want to be part of a district administered from Clare, yet if a Council existed they could not afford to ignore it as it could make decisions affecting them. The Court ruled tentatively against Slater, but he was to win his case in December on the Stipendiary Magistrate's decision.<sup>162</sup>

Despite the Council's repeated affirmation that it would spend equal money in Clare and Upper Wakefield, non-Clare ratepayers continued

---

159 Ibid, 2 July 1853, 8de.

160 Ibid, 1 October 1853, 7d.

161 Ibid, 18 October 1853, 7f.

162 Ibid, 10 December 1853, 7f.

to hold meetings accusing the Councillors, of whom four out of five were Clare men, of self-interest.<sup>163</sup> In early 1854 two rowdy meetings at Penwortham and Watervale elected non-Clare men to the vacancies left by Butler, Sokolowsky and Slater,<sup>164</sup> and then refused to listen to Webb's plea for a shilling rate needed to pay for roads and schools. Instead the 'large number of squatters and stockholders present' would support only a farthing rate, leaving the Council with virtually no money for the year.<sup>165</sup> After another memorial to the Colonial Secretary from these same non-Clare ratepayers, in October 1854 the District of Upper Wakefield was separated from the District of Clare.<sup>166</sup> This solved the problem of opposition from non-Clare people to the District Council, but began a new era of internal conflict over who was to provide the leadership in Clare's local government.

Between 1855 and 1861 District Council affairs were dominated by two major activities: trying to set a rate that would guarantee the Council adequate revenue, and quarrelling over the mismanagement of Council funds, especially those provided by the Central Road Board. The reasons underlying the inability to get the ratepayers to vote an adequate rate were partly the reluctance to be taxed, to be over-governed, or to accept civic responsibility shown by South Australian country people on many occasions in the nineteenth century, and referred to by both Pike and Hirst,<sup>167</sup> and partly the rivalry between Gleeson and Webb, whose private antagonism impinged upon Council affairs as well as other community activities. The mismanagement of Council funds which was blamed on Gleeson and Lennon, and to a lesser extent

---

163 Ibid, 24 December 1853, 8e.

164 Ibid, 7 January 1854, 8c.

165 Ibid, 25 February 1854, 7c.

166 GRG 24/6/1854/1692; GRG 24/6/1854/2273.

167 Pike, op.cit., pp.461-2; Hirst, op.cit., chapter 3.

on Webb, was mostly the result of inexperience and inefficiency and perhaps partly of Gleeson's overestimation of his own status, and consequent assumption that his actions would not be questioned. For most of the years before 1860 inadequate funds and poor management, coupled with the constant dissension within the Council and Clare itself, meant that the Council was unable either to carry out its responsibilities properly or to use its power to the full.

Webb and Gleeson had worked together in the interests of the District Council while it faced opposition from outside of Clare, but after this problem had been solved by the division of the Districts, the rivalry between the two men began. This rivalry was to be seen in matters concerning the District Council, and also in personal antagonism between the two men. Gleeson and Webb represented two different social groups in Clare. They differed in their political opinions and in their attitudes to what indicated superior social status. Both were strong characters, who liked to make authoritative statements and both obviously had a good public presence. Gleeson was the 'lord of the manor', a landowner, a magistrate and at the pinnacle of the social elite within the town, particularly after Hawker withdrew his personal interest. Webb was the radical intellectual of the town. He represented the professional, educated 'middling class' and the farmers. He was a landholder on a small scale, and was a Justice of the Peace for a short time. As a doctor with an educated background he would have been socially acceptable as a member of the town elite, but as a publican, with unconventional manners<sup>168</sup> and anti-elite views, he obviously was not. Despite this, his active leadership

---

168 There was an orally relayed rumour that the town knew his 1849 marriage to his Clare wife was illegal because his first wife was still alive in England.

of community activities and his prosperity made him a member of the elite of Clare, and later in the 1860s both Gleeson and Hope were to become quite friendly towards him.

Webb resigned from the Council in March 1855,<sup>169</sup> because the new District Council Act forbade licensed publicans to be members of councils which granted licences to publicans. As licensee of the Clare Hotel from 1853 to 1856 he appeared before the Local Court seven times for various breaches of the Licensing Act, such as opening after 10 o'clock, allowing gambling, and opening on Sundays.<sup>170</sup> Some of the cases were dismissed, in others small fines were imposed. Gleeson was one of the magistrates for all but one of the seven cases and this may have been one of the bases for the antagonism between the two men. In 1858 while Webb was a JP, he was involved in two court cases which would have done no good for his reputation among elite circles in Clare: in the first an appeal was upheld because Webb was a publican;<sup>171</sup> and in the second he was fined for striking a man, despite provocation, because as a magistrate he should have been 'a peace preserver'.<sup>172</sup>

The personal antagonism between Webb and Gleeson was also illustrated in 1856 in Webb's attacks on Gleeson for closing an allegedly public road, for which Webb summoned Gleeson, who was still District Council Chairman, to Court.<sup>173</sup> This issue and a counter attack on Webb for doing the same drifted on until August 1858, although neither accusation was ever proved correct.<sup>174</sup> Again, in June 1857

---

169 Observer, 10 March 1855, 8b.

170 Ibid, 16 December 1854; 12 May, 14 July, 15 December, 1855.  
Register, 9 January, 12 March, 9 April, 1856.

171 Advertiser, 12 July 1858, 3b.

172 Register, 20 July 1858, 3a.

173 Ibid, 22 September 1856, 3e; 8 October 1856, 2g.

174 Ibid, 26 June 1858, 2f; 16 August 1858, 3g; 30 August 1858, 3g.



Gleeson brought an action of ejectment on Webb to the Supreme Court, accusing him of breaking a covenant by removing trees from the fourteen acres Webb was leasing from him.<sup>175</sup> In 1861 Webb was fined £10 in the Local Court by MacDermott SM and Gleeson JP, under the District Council Act for holding office of clerk of the Council while being a Councillor, which he had done for a brief time after Lennon's resignation following the 1860 election.<sup>176</sup> At the next Council meeting, in Webb's absence, the four councillors, three farmers and a miller, voted to return to Webb the fine of £10 'inflicted by the Local Court',<sup>177</sup> suggesting that the Council supported Webb against an unjust decision, involving Gleeson.

The confrontations between Gleeson and Webb in the court cases of the 1850s were partly responsible for the difficulty the Council had in persuading the ratepayers to vote an acceptable rate. In 1854 the antagonism of the non-Clare ratepayers had resulted in the adoption of a farthing rate, but despite the setting up of the District of Wakefield, this method of showing lack of confidence in the Council membership continued. After Webb left the Council in 1855, he led an attack on the Council, still under the chairmanship of Gleeson. At a meeting held to propose a rate in May 1856, Gleeson asked for a shilling rate to repair roads and set up schools for all the children in the district; however, Webb's proposal of a rate of a farthing in the pound was carried.<sup>178</sup> Webb, who had argued in 1854 for a shilling in the pound rate when on the Council, was to say at a later rate meeting that

---

175 Observer, 27 June 1857, 3c.

176 Ibid, 14 September 1861, 4b.

177 Ibid, 21 September 1861, 8a.

178 Register, 21 May 1856, 3h.

'he had voted against a rate in 1856 because he had no confidence in the Council then in office',<sup>179</sup> but personal antagonism towards Gleeson cannot be entirely discounted.

At the ratepayers' meeting in June 1857, with Gleeson in the chair, Webb, now Chairman of the District Council argued for a shilling in the pound rate, and drew attention to certain necessary road repairs. However, an amendment for a farthing rate was carried unanimously.<sup>180</sup> In November 1857, the Clare District Council's assessment was therefore only £9, which cost £160 to assess and collect.<sup>181</sup> Although in March 1858 Webb as chairman was successful in persuading the ratepayers' meeting to vote for a sixpence in the pound rate,<sup>182</sup> in January 1861 he moved for a farthing rate which was accepted by the meeting because of its lack of confidence in the Council's handling of the Lennon case.<sup>183</sup> However, after the meeting, the Council, under its Chairman Patrick Butler, decided on a sixpenny rate.<sup>184</sup> From that time the Council decided its own rate, which it could legally do, and had none of the revenue problems of its early years. This meant that real or feigned lack of confidence in the Council could not take away its power to collect rates and decide how to spend them. This also made it more desirable to be elected as a Councillor, for men interested in both power and prestige.

The antagonism between Gleeson and Webb also underlay the quarrelling over the mismanagement of Council funds. This was a dispute over the use and misuse of power, with both men arguing that the other was less capable of managing large amounts of money. Webb,

---

179 Ibid, 31 March 1858, 3d.

180 Ibid, 4 July 1857, 18e.

181 Ibid, 7 November 1857, Supp. 1d.

182 Ibid, 31 March 1858, 3d.

183 See below, p.103.

184 Observer, 19 January 1861, 3fg.

the initiator of the moves for a District Council in 1853 and of the movement to build a school in 1862,<sup>185</sup> was always a more active leader than Gleeson, who relied on his status rather than his actions to win him prestigious positions. Thus when Gleeson's competence and actions were questioned, he retired from District Council affairs while Webb, who was more interested in politics and the consequent power, remained involved. After 1858 Gleeson played no personal part in the potentially damaging hurly-burly of local politics and his appointment as Mayor in 1868 was an acknowledgement of his prestige as founder and dominant figure in community affairs outside of politics.

In 1857 Gleeson and Webb exchanged positions in the District Council. This was the year which reached the nadir of bad will in Clare relationships: the year of the meetings against large land surveys, the two Agricultural Societies, the second defeat of Hawker, and the agitation against Webb being appointed as Justice of the Peace. On March 2nd, Webb, John Jacob, stockholder of Sevenhill, and Peter Brady, farmer of Mintaro, were elected to the District Council.<sup>186</sup> On March 14th, the Chairman, Gleeson, and Archibald McDiarmid, a farmer who had worked for Gleeson in the early days at Clare, both resigned from the Council,<sup>187</sup> probably because of Webb's election. On April 4th, John Hope, stockholder of Clare and Henry March, farmer of Clare, were elected in their places.<sup>188</sup> On April 10th, Webb was elected Chairman of the District Council, and the Council resolved that the 'late Treasurer', Gleeson, be requested to produce for the Council, 'all papers, statements of account, and moneys, in his possession as Treasurer'.<sup>189</sup> This began what some saw as a vendetta

---

185 See below, pp.117-18.

186 *Observer*, 14 March 1857, 4c.

187 *Ibid*, 4 April 1857, 8a.

188 *Ibid*, 11 April 1857, 4d.

189 *Ibid*, 18 April 1857, 4c.

against Gleeson conducted by Webb, but what Webb argued was a campaign for adequate accountability for the spending of public funds.

At a Council meeting that October,<sup>190</sup> Webb and Brady were out-voted by Hope, Jacob and March, who censured Webb for his campaign against Gleeson as former treasurer of the Council, and demanded his resignation. However, a public meeting in Clare voted unanimously to thank Webb and Brady

for their manly and upright conduct in their places in the Council on Saturday last, in refusing to give their assent to the paying away the funds of the Council to Mr. Gleeson, the late Treasurer, without compelling that officer to audit his accounts ... 191

Perhaps as a result of this expression of public opinion, the next Council meeting, from which only Brady was absent, resolved that the Clerk request Gleeson 'to furnish a statement in full of his accounts as such Treasurer, for the whole of his period of treasureship' by the next meeting.<sup>192</sup> Gleeson refused indignantly<sup>193</sup> and in March 1858 was again requested to deliver a 'true and correct account of his Treasureship' to the Council.<sup>194</sup> The Council, still chaired by Webb, but with three new members replacing Hope, Jacob and March, decided to take legal proceedings against Gleeson.<sup>195</sup> At the Local Court, the case was dismissed by the circuit Stipendiary Magistrate McDonald and Dr. Hawker JP, the 'class' man who had been appointed to the Bench at the same time as Webb.<sup>196</sup>

Gleeson wrote to the Register as a result of the reports of this court case and of financial losses resulting from delays in cases

---

190 Register, 4 November 1857, 1ef.

191 Ibid, 1f.

192 Observer, 5 December 1857, 4g.

193 Ibid, 19 December 1857, 4e.

194 Register, 17 March 1858, 3h.

195 Ibid, 3 April 1858, 3d.

196 Ibid, 12 May 1858, 3d.

appearing before the Clare Local Court 'on account of the difficulty of obtaining a full Bench of Magistrates arising from local jealousies'.<sup>197</sup>

He blamed Webb for both the court case and the delays:

It is well known that for months past I have been subject to the most vindictive and malicious attacks by Dr. Webb regarding the District Council accounts.

Gleeson implied that these attacks were particularly disgraceful because they had been directed 'to one of the oldest inhabitants of the district, and also to one of the oldest Magistrates on the Clare Bench'. Webb was also responsible for the problem of forming a full Bench in Clare:

A far higher motive, not jealousy, creates the impediment; but the Government are aware of the reason why any difficulty exists and Dr. Webb can give you farther explanatory information about the matter, if you wish it. 198

This statement suggests that Gleeson had complained about Webb, and helps explain his removal from the magistrates' list in 1860. In Webb's reply to this letter he criticized Gleeson for writing 'invective instead of argument', because Gleeson behaved as if his position in the district was more important than producing an account of the spending of the 'trifling sum of £1,200 or £1,400 of public moneys'. Webb attacked Gleeson for his view of his own self-importance. 'He seems to comprehend he may be very superior to the people of Clare, but he should prove so by his actions'.<sup>199</sup> He also disputed Gleeson's claim that the Magistrate had used the word 'discreditable' about his actions, and in a further letter enclosed signed statements to that effect.<sup>200</sup>

There is no doubt, in retrospect, that the District Council and its former Chairman/Treasurer were basically irresponsible with the

---

197 Ibid, 3h.

198 Ibid, 19 May 1858, 3fg.

199 Ibid, 27 May 1858, 3cd.

200 Ibid, 3 June 1858, 3h.



£1,005 they had received from the Central Road Board and the other funds received from rates and impounding fees. Whether there had ever been any misappropriation of money can never be proved because of lack of evidence.<sup>201</sup> Gleeson's estimation of his own superiority as manifest in his being founder of Clare, first Chairman of the District Council, and responsible for its money, as well as Justice of the Peace and leader in most district activities, may have contributed to a kind of arrogant assumption that what he did would not be questioned. Webb's attitude of always reacting against those with power, money and status perhaps made him hyper-critical of Gleeson, while Lennon's failure to keep detailed accounts as District Clerk was a major cause of the quarrelling. The District Council based quarrelling must also be seen within the context of the broader issues of social conflict within the district, shown particularly in the support for land reform and the division over the Agricultural Societies.

The series of letters did not finish either the problem of getting a full Bench, nor the problem of lack of careful supervision of the Council's books. On the former issue, a year later a letter was published in the Observer referring to the usual problem of obtaining a full Bench in Clare: 'There can be no doubt as to the great inconvenience to many parties arising from the private squabbles of JPs'.<sup>202</sup> We learn from the newspaper reports of the sittings of the Local Court that Gleeson and Webb never sat together until the problem was solved in 1860 by the termination of Webb's Commission as Justice of the

---

201 The Rate Assessment books available start in 1857. All other records of the District Council before April 1866 were destroyed by a fire in the Council rooms: Register, 5 April 1866, 2h. Lennon testified in court that although he kept no detailed books he believed that with £38 for which he held two of Gleeson's cheques, no other money was due to the Council: Register, 27 May 1858, 3d.

202 Observer, 18 June 1859, 4h.

Peace. The issue of lack of careful supervision of the Council's books came up again in June 1860, when the first moves were made in accusations of dishonesty against Lennon, referred to earlier as helping him towards insolvency and thus loss of his parliamentary seat.<sup>203</sup> This issue was also set within the context of the personal and other conflicts among Clare people, and Gleeson used Lennon to blame Webb for mismanagement of Council funds when Chairman.

In June 1860, there was a crowded ratepayers' meeting called by Gleeson to consider both the wasteful expenditure of rates by the Council on officials' salaries and legal costs (against Gleeson as treasurer), and the lack of expenditure on roads. Gleeson proposed a committee be set up to look into the Council books for the last two years, but Webb's amendment to cover the previous six years was carried. This meant that the committee was to look at the books kept by Gleeson, as well as those kept by Lennon when Webb and Butler were Chairmen of the Council.<sup>204</sup> A committee of seven men who had never been councillors of the Clare District Council, was set up.<sup>205</sup>

The committee reported to a meeting of ratepayers chaired by Gleeson that the Council's accounts were in a muddled and disorganized state and 'that a sum of upwards of £450, which has been paid into the funds of the District Council, has not been accounted for'.<sup>206</sup> The Local Court case arising from this meeting was dismissed by John Hope JP in July on the legal objection that only the District Council could prosecute Lennon. This case was reported in the Register by

---

203 See above, pp.74-5.

204 Webb as Chairman from mid 1857 to 1859; Butler from mid 1859 to 1861.

205 Register, 3 July 1860, 3g.

206 Ibid, 19 July 1860, 3ef.

'Telegraphic Despatches' as it involved William Lennon MP 'for misappropriating the funds of the district'.<sup>207</sup> Next month, the shareholders of the Building Society of which Lennon had been secretary, were informed by a special committee that there was an apparent deficit of 'upwards of £200'.<sup>208</sup>

At the January 1861 ratepayers' meeting, which expressed a lack of confidence in the Council over its handling of the Lennon case, and voted only the farthing rate proposed by Webb, Gleeson insinuated and a Mr. McCole stated, 'that he believed Dr. Webb to be equally to blame with Mr. Lennon', an accusation which Webb strongly denied.<sup>209</sup> However, after the Council heard Lennon's four-hour explanation of his accounts, it decided there was no charge against him.<sup>210</sup> Nothing was ever proved against Lennon either by the Council or the Building Society. The reader of the written records must come to the conclusion that general incompetence and inefficiency had been shown by the Chairmen, the councillors and their clerks in this period, perhaps due to lack of education and experience in accounting for large amounts of public money. At Lennon's Insolvency Court case in May 1861, the accountant said that he believed that Lennon's account of his money affairs was an honest one.<sup>211</sup> Lennon's honesty as Local Court Clerk, despite his 'ill-kept' books, was also supported by the Report of the Auditor General on the local courts of the Colony in the same month.<sup>212</sup> Lennon's appointment as the first Town Clerk of Clare in 1868 indicated that he did not have the reputation of a dishonest man. That he remained Town Clerk until 1894 suggests that he kept his books more efficiently in later years.

---

207 *Ibid*, 24 July 1860, 3a.

208 *Ibid*, 15 August 1860, 3e.

209 *Observer*, 19 January 1861, 3fg. See above p.97.

210 *Ibid*, 26 January 1861, 8b; 2 February 1861, 4d.

211 *Ibid*, 11 May 1861, 4b.

212 *Ibid*, 18 May 1861, 7g.



Lennon had been the victim of point-scoring between Gleeson and Webb rather than of a squatters' conspiracy to discredit him as member of parliament. He was caught up in the contest between Gleeson and Webb to prove the other unworthy of holding local government office. It was Gleeson who withdrew from the contest, for between 1861 and 1868 Webb was a member of Council for all but two years, while Gleeson played no part in local government affairs. Thus the townsman triumphed over the squatter who preferred the quieter rewards of social prominence and personal influence to the competitive world of local politics.

After 1861 the Council, under Thomas Ninnes as chairman for four years and Webb for two, set its own rates. However the Council took little initiative in community affairs, as will be seen in its unwillingness to take responsibility for a new school, despite Webb's enthusiasm.<sup>213</sup> There was no public dissension between Gleeson and Webb during these years; in fact, as we have seen, they worked together in 1866 and 1867 in support of better roads and a railway in Clare, and they also cooperated in the setting up of the new Clare Agricultural Society in 1867.<sup>214</sup> There was only one vague accusation of mismanagement by Dr. Davies against Webb in 1867, which led to two elections being declared invalid by the Local Court and no effective Council for a year.<sup>215</sup>

The problem of gaining the confidence of the ratepayers and therefore their money because of the quarrelling between Gleeson and

---

213 See below, p.118.

214 See below, pp.121-2.

215 Register, 24 July 1867, 3g; Ibid, 13 August 1867, 2e; Advertiser, 20 December 1867, 3f; Ibid, 27 June 1868, 3c.

Webb and the accusations of mismanagement had made it difficult for the District Council to use its considerable power to the full during these years. However, even after Gleeson resigned in 1857 and the Chairman was no longer treasurer, the Chairman was seen as having major responsibility for managing and spending the Council's funds. Both Gleeson and Webb enjoyed the power and prestige of dominating local government, although Gleeson was less inclined to put up with the harassment involved, while Hope lasted less than a year on the Council. Although Gleeson was the first appointed Mayor of the new Corporation in 1868, Webb became the first to hold the elected position, after defeating Andrew Young, a successful businessman.<sup>216</sup> The setting up of the Corporation and the deaths of Gleeson and Webb in 1870 meant the start of a new era in Clare local politics. In future they would be dominated by Clare businessmen and professional men rather than farmers and revolve around town-based interests rather than the interests of the wider district. The competition and dissension of the early years of local government were to decrease gradually, so that by the end of the century cooperation and unity dominated Corporation affairs.

Power: 1851 to 1868 - the magistrates

Clare men who were appointed as Justices of the Peace because of their prestige and standing in the community were thereby rewarded with both enhanced prestige and judicial power as magistrates.

The Cyclopaedia of South Australia in 1907 emphasized the important part that Justices of the Peace had played in the judiciary in country areas from early settlement:

---

216 Northern Argus, 3 December 1869, 3c. Webb 41: Young 32.

While the specific duty of the large body of honorary public officers subsequently commissioned, whose chief rewards are the public respect they gain and the title of J.P., by which they are distinguished, is to keep the King's peace among their fellow-citizens, numerous Acts of Parliament have conferred upon them jurisdiction to try a variety of matters, and so brought judicial functions within the range of their commission. 217

The Local Courts Act of 1886 consolidated and amended the numerous prior British and South Australian acts and regulations referring to the duties and powers of Justices of the Peace within the local court system.<sup>218</sup> As well as the important role they played in local courts dealing with civil cases, Justices of the Peace could preside over police courts in their own right. There they dealt with such criminal law cases as drunkenness, disorderliness and petty theft. They also presided over inquests and had important roles as witnesses to the signing of legal documents.

Justices of the Peace were appointed by the government of the day, often on the recommendation of local members of parliament.<sup>219</sup> Thus, to be appointed a Justice of the Peace was a symbol of status, and it gave the honoured men a degree of power over their fellow townsmen. The status of JPs was such that they were always listed first in newspaper reports with their titles following their names. Their power was consequent of their sitting on the local and police court benches, where they made decisions about fines, imprisonment and sending offenders to higher courts.

Of the three men who had been given judicial power in the Clare district before 1851, Gleeson remained the only active magistrate by

---

217 Burgess, H.T. (ed.) The Cyclopedia of South Australia, Vol.1. Adelaide, Cyclopedia Company, 1907, p.239.

218 Barlow, W. The local courts act. Adelaide, Vardon and Pritchard, 1890, esp. pp.1-2, 3, 16-20, 40, 225-6.

219 Register, 6 April 1859, 1f; 11 April 1859, 1f.

1868. He was the JP most frequently on the Bench, and was appointed a Special Magistrate in 1856. Legend says he dispensed 'rough and ready' justice as a magistrate, and had a reputation for using his whip and ejecting disturbers of the peace physically from hotels.<sup>220</sup> George Hawker remained a JP but appeared rarely on the Clare Bench after 1850, while his brother Charles resigned from the office in 1858 after being quite an active member.

Seven Clare men were appointed as JPs in the period from 1851 to 1868: John Hope in 1852; Drs. Thomas Hawker and Charles Webb in 1857; John William Gleeson, son of E.B. Gleeson, in 1859, at the age of 25; Dr. Augustus Edward Davies in 1861; Patrick McNamara in 1864 and William Loose Beare in 1865. John Hope was an obvious choice as JP because of his social and educational background and economic success in the colony. He resigned in 1862 as a result of a court case, but was reappointed in 1874.<sup>221</sup> The appointment of Hawker and Webb as JPs in 1857, had split the town along partisan lines. Hawker died in 1859 and Webb lost his office in 1860, as a result of political pressure from those who claimed he was 'unsuitable' to hold such a responsible position. John Gleeson was to play a leading role in Clare in future years, but at the age of 25, his appointment was probably a result of the influence and prestige of his father. Davies was an active supporter of Gleeson, an opponent of Webb, and a leading member of Clare society until he left Clare in 1868. McNamara was a respected farmer, living near Auburn in the 1860s; and Beare had been Hope's manager in the 1850s, was manager of 'Bungaree' in the 1860s and was to move to Clare in the 1870s.

---

220 Ibid, 31 July 1922, 9h; Adelaide Chronicle, 13 October 1932, 42e.

221 See below, pp.130-32.

It was obvious that appointment as JP in these years was closely linked with being a squatter. The two Hawkers, the two Gleesons and Hope were all squatters, while Beare was closely connected with them: he managed Hope's and Hawker's properties, was married to the sister of John Gleeson's wife and went into partnership with him in a northern station. Dr. Hawker and Davies have been shown to be aligned with the squatters and McNamara was a wealthy farmer. Webb was the only outsider and rebel, a representative of the 'middling class'. His appointment as JP divided the community over his eligibility to hold that prestigious and powerful position. Although supported by the townspeople and small farmers he lost his position because of the influence of the squatters. In this and a case involving William Lennon the squatters were triumphant.

At the Local Court in October 1862, Lennon applied to the Bench to be allowed to appear for the defendant. The Bench, consisting of Gleeson SM and Davies JP, refused his request.<sup>222</sup> Lennon complained to the Observer that

though the Clare Magistrates did not suffer him to appear for the defendant, they have from time to time accorded such permission to various non-professional gentlemen, even when barristers were present.

He named a number of cases, including two in which Gleeson had appeared for the defendants, and argued that he ought to have the 'same favour' granted to him.<sup>223</sup> Davies' letter claimed that the issue was not merely that a defendant be allowed the counsel of a friend or relative, as in the cases cited by Lennon, 'but whether any self-dubbed barrister or attorney should be permitted to attend the Court, act as such, and make a trade of the same'.<sup>224</sup> Davies considered Lennon's motives to be

---

222 Observer, 25 October 1862, 4a.

223 Ibid, 8 November 1862, Supp. 1d.

224 Ibid, 5h.

financial ones, rather than the higher disinterested motives of those, like Gleeson, who had been permitted to appear for other defendants, whereas Lennon believed that there was some personal antagonism to him as an individual, which prevented that 'favour' being granted. Gleeson and Davies believed Lennon did not have the same status and therefore 'rights' as Gleeson, and they were in the position to enforce this belief. Until the 1870s, when a number of successful townsmen were appointed JPs, the squatters and their allies retained the monopoly over the power and status that went with those prestigious positions. Despite the evidence that many local people supported Webb's right to be a JP, the decisions on appointments were made by governments over whom the squatters had most influence.

In summary, an analysis of those involved in colonial politics, political meetings, local government and the magistrates' bench has been necessary to discover those who wielded power in the community. The most powerful men by 1868 were therefore E.B. Gleeson, Dr. Webb, Thomas Ninnes and John Gleeson. Hope, who resigned as JP in 1862, and Hawker who had disappeared from the local scene, could not be considered powerful in these areas, but were influential in economic and social areas of community life.

#### Social status: 1851 to 1868

There was ample evidence that certain individuals and groups were perceived, often resentfully, as being members of an elite. The characteristics of this elite were various combinations of the ownership of property and wealth, the possession of power and authority and the assumption of social superiority and community leadership roles. The first example of the use of the word 'elite' was in 1860

when Webb used it to describe those who were the critics of the Political Association.<sup>225</sup> However, even before this, frequent use had been made of terms which suggested that people perceived the social structure of Clare and its district as divided into an elite and non-elite, a privileged group and a less privileged group. Such terms included: 'The Clare Notables' (1850), 'the respectability' (1851), 'the oppressor' (1851), 'class legislation' (1851 and 1858), 'highly respectable gentlemen' (1855), 'the Squatters' Agricultural Society' (1857), 'the respectable class' (1857), 'the squatocracy [sic]' (1859), 'the Anti-Squatting League' (1859) and 'for the benefit of one class' and 'to the detriment of the masses' (1859).

There were many examples of the resentment felt towards those believed to consider themselves to be members of an elite. In 1855 Mr. Trestrail, a Cornish, Wesleyan farmer, supported Webb's nomination of Youngusband for the Stanley electorate, against William Robinson's aggressive interruptions. His statement illustrated a resentment that people with material possessions were seen by themselves and others as superior members of the community:

It had not been his good fortune to have 30,000 sheep in his possession, and therefore it could not be said he was rich, but what he had he had obtained honestly; and although the wool in the coat which was on his back might not be so fine as that in the cloth of some persons on the hustings, still he felt he was as much entitled to be there as the best of them. (Cheers) 226

In 1858 James Wright, a member of the District Council, refused to accept that Gleeson had the right to close a road on land which was legally his. Wright claimed, 'It would seem like there was one law for the rich and another for the poor'.<sup>227</sup> Both Trestrail and Wright spoke for those who resented the privileges believed to belong

---

225 Register, 24 February 1860, 3e. See above, p.72.

226 Observer, 22 September 1855, 5g.

227 Register, 26 June 1858, 2f.

to the rich.

Two major illustrations of this same resentment towards a self-appointed elite were the opposition to the Northern Agricultural Society in 1857 and the incident following the ball which celebrated the opening of the Town Hall in 1866. The individuals with elite status in Clare were those who played leadership roles in social and economic activities. Those who played these roles in the events of 1857 and 1866 were strongly criticized. Yet, ironically, in other activities, individuals like Gleeson and Hope were accepted virtually without dispute as social leaders, and allowed to carry all the symbols of high status, including holding official positions and performing ceremonial functions.

I have already discussed the resentment shown towards the squatters setting up their elite Agricultural Society. A further illustration of resentment shown towards those seen as behaving like an elite followed the ball held to celebrate the opening of the new Town Hall, built by the Clare Hall Limited Liability Company.<sup>228</sup> In May 1865 the foundation stone was laid by Dr. Davies as Chairman of Directors of the Company and Worshipful Master of the Clare Freemasons' Lodge, in a ceremony involving the Gleesons. Davies' speech emphasised private profit and community benefit as the motives of the town hall promoters, motives to be repeated frequently in later years.<sup>229</sup> In September 1866 the Clare correspondent to the Observer reported, without any detail, that the opening ball of the new Town Hall on August 24th had been well attended by about 40 couples.<sup>230</sup>

---

228 Observer, 24 December 1864, 1h. The hall cost £1,600.

229 Ibid, 20 May 1865, 3h.

230 Ibid, 1 September 1866, 5b.



Fifty five years later, G.W. Stacey, whose father had been a publican in Clare in the mid 1860s, referred to the opening of the new Town Hall, which

was celebrated by a grand ball with Schrader's band to supply the music. It was made an exclusive affair, and made some of the young men feel there were two social circles in the district, and which was much resented, and was revenged a short time after. 231

They gained their revenge on the day of the Auburn Show when 'the elite of Clare' drove to Auburn in 'a sort of cavalcade' in their new buggies and traps. The young men had organized an open landau, with a fine pair of greys, in which were seated six local Aborigines: both Louis, a 'fine looking colt breaker from "Bungaree"', as driver, and another as footman, wore black cloth suits, white shirts and silk hats, while 'four of the ugliest gins were decked out in gay print dresses with hats and sunshades to match, not forgetting long clay pipes'. This landau hid behind the Commercial Hotel and 'as the elite of Clare drove past they drove out and joined in the procession'. At Auburn, Louis took a place beside the 'flash traps', lined in front of the grand stand, which forced the 'ladies' into the stand. Thus, said Stacey 'a social slight had been avenged'.<sup>232</sup> The newspaper reports of the Auburn Show reported that E.B. Gleeson was unable to preside over the dinner through indisposition,<sup>233</sup> and named only John Gleeson from Clare.<sup>234</sup> Although we can only guess at the names of 'the elite of Clare' as Stacey and the 'young men' saw them, we know that the division of Clare into an elite and non-elite was both perceived and strongly resented by some Clare people.

---

231 Northern Argus, 29 July 1921, 4e.

232 Ibid, 5 August 1921, 5g.

233 Observer, 22 September 1866, 1h.

234 Register, 22 September 1866, 4a.

The elite of Clare were the elite of a small country town. It is interesting to observe that some of its members believed themselves and were seen by others to be members of an elite on a wider scale, that of South Australia. The Governor's visit of 1857 highlighted which Clare people were considered important on a colonial scale.

The Register reported that His Excellency and his lady

left Mr. Gleeson's on Friday, and proceeded to Mr. George Hawker's station at Bungaree. From thence they proceeded to Anama, the residence of Mr. Charles Hawker. 235

Even in 1857 the homes of the squatters were comfortable enough for the vice-regal party to stay in. In May 1859 a report of the Queen's Birthday Levee and Ball held in Adelaide listed, among those who attended, the following individuals from and associated with Clare: Mr. and Mrs. George C. Hawker, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hawker, Mr. and Mrs. Gleeson and Misses Gleeson, and Mr. John Hope.<sup>236</sup> No other Clare people were reported as attending, and it is useful to take this as an indication of who were considered by Government House as the elite of Clare at that time.

Again in 1866 some of the young men of Clare formed a Dramatic Society and they presented their first performance in December, later than they had planned. The postponement was to be regretted, wrote the Observer correspondent,

as it deprived them of the patronage of a number of the gentry in the neighbourhood, who had gone to the capital for the more fashionable and attractive amusements of the Turf and Bachelors' Ball. 237

The correspondent, at least, was very aware of the important contribution the elite made to the township, if only in the sphere of

---

235 Ibid, 7 December 1857, 2f.

236 Observer, 21 March 1859, 4e.

237 Ibid, 29 December 1866, 3d.

providing a larger and more prestigious audience. This report provided more evidence that some of the 'gentry' of the neighbourhood were in fact 'gentry' on a South Australian scale, or in this case considered within Clare as such. The Hawker and Hope families have both been described as members of a South Australian gentry by other historians of this period.<sup>238</sup> However, in 1866, Hawker was in England with his family, as also were Hope's family, and Hope noted in his diary of 19 December: 'Went to Theatricals in Town Hall'. This means that the Clare 'gentry' referred to by the above correspondent did not include Hawker and Hope, but probably included families like the Gleasons, Filgates, Beares and Davies. Although the identity of the 'gentry' of this report can only be conjectured at, we know that some Clare people attended 'fashionable' functions in Adelaide, and were considered by some to be a local elite. Attending Adelaide functions was obviously considered an event of public interest, as shown also by a report in 1870 that the Hopes had attended a ball at Government House.<sup>239</sup>

Social status: 1851 to 1868 - leadership roles and rewards.

So, the people of Clare believed that a small group of men and their families were members of an elite group within their community. Despite the occasional voicing of the resentment felt towards the privileges of these elite individuals, they both played and were expected to play leadership roles in community activities. The attitudes towards those seen as members of the elite were to change considerably as the century progressed. As time passed and prosperity declined the citizens of Clare became more aware of themselves as

---

238 Williams, E. op.cit., Van Dissel, D. 'The Adelaide gentry 1880-1915 ...'

239 Northern Argus, 12 August 1870, 3a.

part of a community and there was less division and more cooperation among themselves. Consequently the resentment felt towards the elite diminished and the expectations of their leadership and responsibilities increased.

In the period under discussion, the Clare community was still divided over a number of issues, as were its leaders, and there were struggles over who should be accepted as belonging to the elite. Nevertheless, there were men who accepted both the responsibilities and the rewards of performing leadership roles in community activities. These responsibilities consisted of working for the advancement of the community by providing public leadership and holding official positions in community institutions. The rewards, which also benefited wives and families, included being asked to perform ceremonial functions and gaining high social status and community esteem.

The united support behind the town leaders for the movement for a railway for Clare has been observed.<sup>240</sup> The leading spokesmen on this issue had been Gleeson, Webb, Lennon, Davies and Kimber. Other activities and institutions requiring leadership and official positions and achieving different degrees of community cooperation included the school, churches, Agricultural Society, Race Club and the Institute.

From 1858 there were moves to build a new school building to replace the Catholic chapel, which had been first occupied by Lennon in 1849. Lennon was one of the leaders in the early movement, but faded into the background because of sectarian differences in Clare.

---

240 See above, pp.86-8.

Webb was always in the forefront of those pushing for a new school building. He, like the other men supporting the need for the building, worked in the interests of his own children as well as those of the community.

At a public meeting in August 1858, Lennon, in the chair, spoke on Clare's need for a new school building, and urged everyone to contribute:

And none would be so narrow-minded as to refuse on the grounds of their having no children to go to school, or the like nonsense, as they must bear in mind that property has its duties as well as its rights, and every shilling expended on schools saves twenty in prisons and police. 241

Gleeson's name headed the long list of committee members, which included Webb. Lennon's comments on property having 'duties' as well as 'rights' is an interesting illustration of how people believed that those who had the most property had responsibilities as well as privileges. Lennon obviously expected donations commensurate with the amount of property or wealth owned. That nothing was achieved by this committee was shown by the Board of Education Inspector's report on the school at Clare for the year ending 31st December 1860:

Although subscription lists for the erection of a public school have often afforded a theme for conversation in Clare, this populous township is still unsupplied with that important and necessary institution. Mr. Moyses is assisted by his wife in conducting his useful school, which has however the disadvantage of being conducted in a chapel. 242

Clare was to continue with this 'theme for conversation' for some time to come. The movement to erect a building specifically for a school and a master's dwelling, was to show, despite personal disagreements,

---

241 Register, 2 August 1858, 2h.

242 SAPP No.18, 1861, Vol.I. Report of Board of Education, p.11.

some degree of unity of support. There was a wave of enthusiasm for the school building project at the end of 1862 and during the first half of 1863, but then it died away until 1869, to re-emerge in 1871, when the resuscitated enthusiasm finally achieved the intended results in 1872.

Webb was the leading spokesman for the school at the four meetings between December 1862 and July 1863. He was also the most active in collecting money, and he was the only man appointed to all the committees set up by the meetings. With Webb, John Hope and the leading storekeeper Andrew Young were appointed members of both boards of trustees.

At the first meeting, chaired by District Council Chairman Ninnes, Webb proposed that the Council subsidise the money raised by public subscription.<sup>243</sup> At each of the next three meetings Webb called for cooperation and unity. They must 'endeavour to avoid petty jealousies and bickerings',<sup>244</sup> and 'unite in getting a school'.<sup>245</sup> There was disunity along both personal and sectarian lines. Webb had proposed Lennon as secretary of the committee at the second meeting,<sup>246</sup> but Lennon attended no other meetings, and no Catholics were again involved in the school movement. Most Catholics were Irish and many lived in Armagh, a village close to Clare, where there was a Catholic school from 1860. In 1869 the Sisters of St. Joseph opened their Catholic school in Clare and the division between Catholic and Public School was firmly established.

---

243 Observer, 20 December 1862, 7f.

244 Ibid, 2 May 1863, 3b.

245 Ibid, 11 July 1863, Supp. 1g.

246 Ibid, 3 January 1863, 3a.

Webb persuaded the Council, of which he was a member, to grant £100 if the committee collected £400,<sup>247</sup> but the council declined to take over the responsibility of a vested school which it could have done under the 1851 Act.<sup>248</sup> Despite Webb's enthusiasm the committee collected only £100, and because of the Council's failure to provide leadership the issue of the school was forgotten until 1869 when Mayor Gleeson convened a meeting at which another committee was set up to collect subscriptions for a school not to be completed until 1872.<sup>249</sup>

These unsuccessful attempts to build a new school were not the only ways in which leading citizens were associated with schools, as they were also involved in annual prize-giving ceremonies. In the latter part of the 1860s, Drs. Webb, Davies, and Bain, E.B. Gleeson and the Church of England Rev. Boake examined the Board of Education school, while the Fathers from Sevenhill examined the Catholic schools.

The leadership of Webb and the obvious enthusiasm of certain sections of the town population had not overcome petty personal jealousies, the reluctance of individuals to donate money for the project and the unwillingness of the Council and its ratepayers to increase rates to raise the money. The Clare District Council in the 1860s was one of the majority who took no active interest in education,<sup>250</sup> and it was not until 1872 that it took over the deeds of the new school, as a 'vested school'. A new group of men were to give prizes and to dominate the school committee after 1869 and the

---

247 Ibid, 11 July 1863, Supp. 1g.

248 Hirst, op.cit., p.136.

249 Northern Argus, 19 March 1869, 1b, 2c.

250 Hirst, op.cit., pp.136-8.

Corporation was to disagree over the appointment of the first teacher to the new school building. The common acceptance of Clare's need for a school worthy of its status as a town had been marred by the personal antagonisms and disunity among the leading men of the town, and these contradictory relationships of unity in principle and disunity in practice were to continue into the 1870s.

By 1868 there were four churches and four active congregations in Clare.<sup>251</sup> However none of their clergymen played an active leadership role in the broader Clare community. The Church of England clergymen lived at Penwortham and the Catholic priests lived at St. Aloysius College, Sevenhill. Methodist ministers stayed, by church policy, for two, and at the most three years, and the first regular Presbyterian minister did not come until 1862. The elite of Clare was most strongly associated with the Church of England, which was dominant in numerical support in the town, but second to the Catholics in the district and in total numbers.<sup>252</sup> Hawker and Gleeson had been instrumental in establishing the church and were the first church wardens. Hawker soon lost interest in the Clare church and in 1864 built his own private church at 'Bungaree' for his employees and his

251 The Catholic chapel had been built in 1849; the Church of England in 1851 and renovated in 1864; the Methodist chapel in Clare in 1857, although first at Spring Farm in 1854; the Presbyterian church in 1857, and manse in 1865.

252 The 1871 census showed the increased proportion of Catholics and Methodists and the decreased proportion of Anglicans in the town and district since 1855. However the Church of England retained its numerical supremacy of adherents in the town.

	Church of England %	Roman Catholic %	Methodist %	Presbyteri
1855 census: district	42.8 (1)	18.4 (2)	12.7 (3)	10.4 (4)
1870 census: town	26.3 (1)	15.3 (3)	16.9 (2)	8.3 (4)
" : district	19.8 (3)	37.8 (1)	25.7 (2)	6.9 (4)
" Total	25.8 (2)	35.6 (1)	21.7 (3)	7.0 (4)

Note: number in brackets ( ) refers to numerical position.



family on their infrequent visits. In the 1860s Gleeson, Kimber and Davies were church wardens and in the Church records of 1862 to 1863, Gleeson was 'at the top of the list as paying £5.5.0 towards the Local Stipend Fund, and took 5 sittings or Pew Rents, which thereafter were paid annually'.<sup>253</sup> Webb was also a member of the Church of England, and so were the Hopes. The leading men of the Methodist Church, like Thomas Ninnes and Thomas Moyses, were to become more noticeable in later years as they became more prosperous and the Church grew in strength. In this period there were no leading lay-men in either the Catholic or the Presbyterian congregations, apart from Lennon who had played an active part in political affairs.

The Northern Public Agricultural Society lasted only long enough to make its pointed criticism of the 'squatters' society' in 1857. The Northern Agricultural Society continued, under the Presidency of Gleeson, to hold the support of the local pastoral elite, and to be boycotted by those with bitter memories of 1857. Both Gleeson and Hope continued to support the Society and its Shows in person, but although Hawker and Fisher often had stock entered in the Shows, it was under the control of the managers of their properties. Their personal interests were mainly directed at the Adelaide-based South Australian Agricultural and Horticultural Society.

The squatters' dominance of the Agricultural Society was shown by Gleeson's Presidency, the committee membership and the attendance of the Governor at a number of Shows. Other evidence of this domination included their large subscriptions to the Society<sup>254</sup> and their near monopoly of the prize money, most of which they returned.

---

253 Tilbrook, *op.cit.*, chapter 21, p.3.

254 Register, 1 March 1858, 3c.

Arthur Horrocks of Penwortham, himself a squatter, disapproved of this practice:

It was easy for rich men to do it, but it tended to discourage poor men by inducing unfavourable comparisons, and he thought in the long run it would be found to injure the Society by lessening the interest of the Shows. 255

Returning prize money was a symbol of high social and economic status, as it indicated wealth as much as benevolence on the part of the successful. It was obvious that the original opponents of the 'squatters' Agricultural Society' did not compete in its Shows.<sup>256</sup> Although they may have been discouraged in the way Horrocks suggested, the main reason was the resentment still remaining from 1857. This was evident as late as 1864 when at the Show dinner Gleeson

hoped that the farmers would come forward and give their support to the Society. The squatters had been good supporters to the funds - (Hear) - and he (the Chairman) hoped that an amicable arrangement would be made so that the squatter and the farmer should not be at enmity with each other. 257

The final healing of the breach between the 'squatter and the farmer' took place in February 1867 when the Register reported that 'the farmers and gentlemen of this district have, after many discussions, determined to establish a Clare Agricultural and Horticultural Society'.<sup>258</sup> The report of the first Clare Show, held in March that year, noted that the new Society was under 'the patronage and Presidency of Mr. E.B. Gleeson', a man who was 'always found ready to lend a helping hand in promoting the interests of the district'. The Vice Presidents were W.L. Beare, Dr. Davies and Thomas Ninnes, with the miller Charles Kimber as Treasurer and 'an influential Committee, comprising

---

255 Ibid, 3e.

256 Observer, 5 March 1859, 7e; Register, 17 March 1860, 2e; Observer, 2 March 1861, Supp. 2a.

257 Ibid, 24 September 1864, Supp. 1f.

258 Register, 15 February 1867, 3b.

the names of most of the leading agriculturalists in the neighbourhood'. As proof of the 'truce' between the opposing cliques in Clare, Webb, then District Chairman, entered barley and wheat, and won Kimber's special prize for the best sample of twenty bushels of wheat. He also attended the dinner after the show, chaired by Gleeson, and proposed a toast to the judges.<sup>259</sup>

The need for the railway to Wallaroo to keep the Clare district prosperous was supported at this dinner. The leading men of Clare had come together to encourage agriculture and railways, on both of which all their futures depended. The Clare Agricultural and Horticultural Society was to continue to have on its committee, and among its exhibitors, the members of the elite in Clare and its surrounding district. This new Society was part of a new era for Clare, one of less influence on the town of squatters and farmers. The town dwellers were to show less resentment towards the squatters, and although townsmen took the leadership roles, they tried to involve both the squatters and the farmers in the affairs of the whole district. Clare township was the centre of the district, and its leading inhabitants felt responsible for promoting the prosperity of the district, on which the affluence of the town and its people depended.

Another Clare institution whose activities and leadership were associated with the elite was the Clare Race Club. Gleeson was always the leading figure in the Club, which held regular meetings on Hawker's 'Bungaree' course - described 'as very pleasantly situated

---

259 Ibid, 11 March 1867, 2b, 3abc.

being surrounded at all points of the view by gently sloping and well timbered hills'.<sup>260</sup> Gleeson had been involved in early race meetings in Adelaide and in the first race meeting in Clare in 1843.<sup>261</sup> He was President of the Club, Judge and Steward at the meetings and presided over Race Club dinners.<sup>262</sup> In 1858 Gleeson was in the chair and Webb in the vice-chair of the Race Club dinner. Although they were major antagonists at the time, both they and Lennon spoke of the need to bury politics at such a meeting in the interests of Clare as a whole.<sup>263</sup> In 1864 at the Race dinner, E.M. Bagot, secretary of the Adelaide Racing Club, reminisced that when a boy, twenty one years before, he had visited Clare and 'saw his friend Mr. Gleeson ride a hurdle race, carrying 15 stone', a story greeted by cheers and laughter. Gleeson, presiding over the dinner, proudly claimed to have 'officiated as Judge at nearly every race meeting held in Clare'.<sup>264</sup>

Other Clare men involved in the Race Club as officials or horse owners, were Andrew Young who was secretary from 1857, John Gleeson, Beare, Hope and Davies.<sup>265</sup> The correspondent's report of the Race meeting of November 1867 illustrated the close connection between the Clare elite and racing:

This year's meet has lost none of its attractions for the lovers of sport, as was evidenced by the company on the ground, which was composed of all the local elite and landholders taking an interest in such matters.      266

The Mechanics' Institute was to become one of the best exemplars of social status and leadership in Clare in the nineteenth century,

---

260 Observer, 14 May 1864, 7b; also, see above, pp.81-2.

261 See above, p.37.

262 Register, 13 March 1850, 2d; 21 March 1858, 3e.

263 Ibid, 21 May 1858, 3e.

264 Observer, 14 May 1864, 4fg.

265 Ibid, 14 May 1864, 7b; Register, 5 May 1866, 3f; 23 November 1867, 3b.

266 Ibid, 23 November 1867, 3b.

where it was usually, and more truthfully, referred to as 'the Institute'. In July 1864 a meeting formed a Mechanics' Institute in Clare. This was part of the movement spreading through the colonies, having been introduced from Britain in the 1830s.<sup>267</sup> John Hope was in the Chair, and was voted the first President, the Anglican and Presbyterian clergyman were Vice-Presidents, and 30 people put down their names as members.<sup>268</sup>

After a shaky start, the Institute was re-established in June 1866 under the Presidency of E.B. Gleeson who remained President until his death early in 1870. The Vice-Presidents and the committee included members of the elite of the town - Beare, Davies, Kimber and the recently arrived Dr. Bain,<sup>269</sup> who was to become President after Gleeson's death and to retain that position until the end of the century.

Although the initiators of the Institute saw themselves as providing a service for the whole community, it was soon accused of catering largely for the elite of Clare. The membership of the committee, the activities of the Institute and the complaints about it all proved that it was an institution dominated by the elite. As such it will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter.

Gleeson in particular, was involved in other examples of community leadership. As chairman of the District Council, he played the leading role in the selection and placing of the 120 mainly

---

267 Nadel, G. Australia's colonial culture. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957, p.115.

268 Observer, 9 July 1864, Supp. 2cd.

269 Clare Institute Minute Book, 26 June 1866; 11 December 1869.

Irish immigrant women in the Clare district in 1855.<sup>270</sup> In 1858 he and Webb were named by the Governor as the only Clare members of a committee to raise money to help those who suffered in the Indian mutiny.<sup>271</sup> In 1860 he chaired a meeting to organize a volunteer corps, a movement very popular at that time in South Australia because of the fear of a French invasion from New Caledonia. The corps collapsed after Gleeson and other 'influential' inhabitants withdrew their support.<sup>272</sup>

The reward of accepting the responsibilities of an elite and performing leadership roles in community activities was the gaining of public recognition of one's prestige. Asking people to perform ceremonial functions was one way of rewarding them. Whether individuals accepted out of sense of duty or pride these ceremonies were tangible evidence of their elite status. In this sense, Gleeson and Hope and their wives were indeed members of an elite. In 1850 Mrs. E.B. Gleeson laid the foundation stone of St. Barnabas' Church of England,<sup>273</sup> of which her husband was a leading promoter, churchwarden and trustee. In 1854 Gleeson laid the foundation stone of the new flour mill, and was praised for his liberality in providing a tea party for the children who had behaved so well at the ceremony.<sup>274</sup> In 1860 he was the first to use the new Clare telegraph station, when he exchanged telegrams with the Governor.<sup>275</sup>

That year 'the lady of Mr. John Hope' laid the foundation stone for the White Hut Wesleyan Chapel. 'Many expressions of gratification

---

270 Observer, 21 July 1855, 4b; SAA GRG 24/6/A (1855) 3043; Register, 17 January 1856, 2h; 21 January 1856, 4a.

271 Ibid, 27 February 1858, 2h.

272 Ibid, 23 February 1860, 3b; 6 March 1860, 3h.

273 Snashall, E. The years between St. Barnabas Church Clare. Clare, the Northern Argus, 1976, p.10.

274 Observer, 14 October 1854, 10e.

275 Register, 26 January 1860, 3e.

were elicited by the gracefulness and skill with which the work was performed by the excellent lady referred to' and Hope was praised for his 'spontaneous liberality, shown by an unsolicited donation, for his lady and himself, of £10'.<sup>276</sup> In February 1863, Hope laid the foundation stone of the new Police Station in Clare. After three cheers were given for him and three for Mrs. Hope and children,

Mr. Hope acknowledged the compliment in a very substantial manner by laying down some pieces of gold for the builders and workmen, who I believe drunk [sic] the health of the giver. 277

This generosity has very much the mark of a member of an elite of the English 'gentry' style, and was further illustrated when it was reported that 'the cornices of the Police Station, all of cut stone, were 'supplied gratis by Mr. John Hope, with his usual liberality, from his fine freestone quarry, near Clare'.<sup>278</sup> As a result of another example of Hope's 'liberality' in donating the land for the Presbyterian manse in 1865, he was asked to lay the foundation stone at a ceremony attended by about a hundred people.<sup>279</sup> In the same year Mrs. Hope was praised for conducting a Sunday School at 'Wolta Wolta' for over fifty children.<sup>280</sup>

In 1865 Dr. Davies laid the foundation stone of the Town Hall, both as Chairman of Directors of the Town Hall Company and Worshipful Master of the Clare Freemasons' Lodge. The Town Hall Company directors, with their expressed motives of profit and service to the community, consisted of a number of the leading men of the community, including Beare, John Gleeson, Moyses and Kimber.<sup>281</sup> In 1865 Andrew Young, a

---

276 Ibid, 1 June 1860, 3e.

277 Observer, 28 February 1863, 8cd.

278 Ibid, 14 March 1863, Supp. 1f.

279 Ibid, 19 August 1865, 4f.

280 Ibid, 23 September 1865, 7e; Hope Papers. Letter of thanks to Mrs. Hope, Clare, 8 September, 1865.

281 Northern Argus, 12 March 1869, 2c. See above p.111.

Leading storekeeper and successful businessman, erected the first telegraph pole of the line between Clare and Port Augusta, and he presided over the celebratory dinner that evening.<sup>282</sup> Young, like Davies, and on a larger scale, Gleeson and Hope and their wives, were performing functions awarded to them and expected of them because of their prestigious positions in society.

Social status: 1851 to 1868 - Gleeson and Hope

The performing of public ceremonies was not the only evidence of public recognition of social status. The fact that the Governors of South Australia stayed at 'Inchiquin' on numerous occasions,<sup>283</sup> proved that Gleeson was seen as possessing high status on a colonial scale. Gleeson's assumption that he alone should entertain the Governor was illustrated by his explanation at the 1869 Show dinner of why the Governor had not been invited:

He had been in the habit hitherto of receiving the Governors of the colony, whenever they visited Clare, at his own mansion. Unfortunately domestic occurrences militated against his placing his residence at the disposal of His Excellency at the present time. 284

The high esteem in which Gleeson was held was most clearly demonstrated by an occasion in 1867 when some of the Clare people showed a spontaneous affection for the elderly man. On a Saturday afternoon there was 'a stir' in Clare and 'Buggies, carts and horsemen started out on the road to the south' because some of Gleeson's friends wanted to meet him on his return from a trip to Melbourne:

---

282 Observer, 23 December 1865, Supp. 2h.

283 Register, 7 December 1857, 2f; Observer, 15 October 1859, 2a;  
Register, 25 February 1860, 3e; Observer, 13 September 1862, 3a;  
Register, 23 April 1869, 3c; Northern Argus, 23 April 1869, 2bc.

284 Register, 12 March 1869, 3d.



The idea became general, and before the party had reached Clare it had assumed an imposing appearance. The band preceding Mr. Gleeson's carriage played appropriate airs. When the cavalcade reached the centre of the township a general halt was made, and Mr. Powell, on behalf of the inhabitants addressed Mr. Gleeson, stating they had embraced the opportunity to testify their esteem - nay, affection for himself and daughter, Mrs. Filgate. They felt great satisfaction at seeing them safely home again, and hoped he would long be spared to fill the prominent position he occupied in the district. 285

Gleeson said he would remember this token of their esteem for the rest of his life, and although a few years later his funeral was attended by 30 to 40 vehicles, 60 horsemen and 150 persons on foot,<sup>286</sup> the procession of well-wishers while he was still alive was a stronger indication of his status in the town he had founded.

Gleeson's personal estimation of his worth and status had been shown in his letter to the Lieutenant Governor in 1851,<sup>287</sup> and his assumption that the Governor could stay with only him. John Hope kept a diary, which, along with his family's letters, revealed a good deal about his social life and his estimation of his own social status. His diaries noted his and later his family's frequent social meetings with the Hawkers of 'Bungaree' and 'Anama', the Fisher brothers of 'Hill River' and the Gleesons, both father and son.<sup>288</sup> Other families the Hopes were friendly with were the Beares at 'Bungaree',<sup>289</sup> the Filgates,<sup>290</sup> the Youngs,<sup>291</sup> and the families of the Anglican and Presbyterian ministers. Hope even became quite

---

285 *Ibid*, 30 January 1867, 3a.

286 *Northern Argus*, 4 February 1870, 2d.

287 See above, p.41.

288 In 1860 he was godfather to John Gleeson's son: Hope papers: J. Hope's diary, 5 August, 1860.

289 The wives of Beare and J. Gleeson were sisters.

290 Mrs. Fanny Filgate was E.B. Gleeson's daughter.

291 Andrew Young was the most prosperous storekeeper in Clare. In 1869 he was responsible for supervising the rebuilding of 'Wolta Wolta' while Hope was abroad. Hope papers: J. Hope to A. Young, 16 June 1869.

friendly with Webb, who was called on frequently in the early 1860s to attend his wife and children.<sup>292</sup> Hope, like Hawker, had financial and social interests beyond the scale of the Clare district. Both travelled abroad with their families, had houses in Adelaide and properties elsewhere and both were foundation members of the Adelaide Club in 1863.<sup>293</sup>

Letters written by the Hopes and their friends reveal the high social status they and their friends assumed they had. In 1866 Hope wrote from 'Wolta Wolta' to his wife who was still in Ireland:

I can adopt your feelings as to not wishing to be where you would not be known or receive attentions which you could not return; this feeling has influenced me through life and it was this feeling that made me anxious to have such an income as would enable my Issie to take an equal position with her friends at home. 294

Hope knew that financial security was a necessary foundation for high social status in any society. While Mrs. Hope was still in Ireland in 1868, the wife of Hope's financial agent wrote expressing her belief that, apart from a good climate, South Australia had little to offer those who could live in social and economic comfort in Britain:

I almost think it is a pity for you to come back here, there are so few advantages for the children (I mean at Clare) and such a dearth of society and even friends. 295

Hope's confidence in his family's high social status in Clare and his estimation of other members of Clare's elite, was well summed up in a letter he wrote to his wife in 1866, when he returned to Clare for six months to check his business affairs:

---

292 Hope Papers: Hope's diary: 19 August 1863, 8 February, 1864.

293 Morgan, E.J.R. The Adelaide club 1863-1963. Adelaide, The Adelaide Club, 1963. Supplement - List of Members.

294 Hope Papers: John Hope to Isabella Hope, 26 June 1866: also quoted by Williams, E. op.cit., p.41.

295 Hope Papers: Mrs. Duffield to Isabella Hope, 24 April, 1868. Also Williams, E. op.cit., p.160.

Several of the poor people say that they have no-one to take an interest in them since you left. It is not in the nature of such an upstart 'Aristocracy' as are in Clare to feel for others. 296

This ability to 'feel for others' can be illustrated by Hope's generosity as evidenced by the frequent references in his diaries to donations to worthy causes such as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Clare School Fund, the Aborigines Friends' Society and the Presbyterian Church. Hope belonged to the 'real' 'Aristocracy'!

A Supreme Court case in 1861,<sup>297</sup> involving Hope and his former servant Mary Ann Geary, provided a number of illustrations of perceptions of social status, both specific to Hope's membership of the elite, and more general. The case was an action for wages owed, brought by Geary against Hope, her employer from 1852 to 1859. Geary claimed to have broken her service in 1855 to go to Sydney to give birth to Hope's baby which subsequently died. Hope said he had employed Geary from April 1853, after her previous employer, G.C. Hawker had left for England, until April 1855 when she left to live with her friends in Melbourne. He had re-employed her in December 1855 and she remained in his employ and his cottage until June 1859, when he returned from Ireland with his new wife. Geary claimed she had thought the cottage was to be hers until men came 'to make large additions to it' and she realised he had 'broken his promises' and intended to bring his wife to live there. Geary was claiming part of her wages at £30 per annum from January 1855 to June 1859 plus interest, asserting that she was still in his employ when she went to Sydney. Hope argued that he had more than paid her any wages

---

296 Hope Papers; Hope to Isabella Hope, 5 September 1866; also quoted in Williams, E. *op.cit.*, p.224.

297 Observer, 21 September 1861, 3defgh.

due, that he had not had sexual intercourse with her, and that he was not the father of her alleged baby.

Most of the examination revolved around letters Geary had written to Hope, while he was visiting Ireland, where he married, and around an account on which her signature was disputed, the implication being that Hope had forged it. The concluding statement of Hope's Defence Counsel, Attorney General Hanson, stressed Hope's elite status:

Mr. Hanson addressed the Jury, concluding that the character of Mr. Hope, his position in society as a wealthy man and a magistrate and the paltry amount at stake were overpowering reasons why he could not be, as had been suggested, guilty of forgery and perjury.

However the jury awarded Geary the £50 plus £11.50 interest, that she had claimed, obviously agreeing with Geary's Counsel's argument that the defendant's wealth was no guarantee of his good character and inability to commit forgery and perjury.

However, Hope could not accept such a stain on his honour, and three weeks later the Supreme Court ruled for another trial, at the defendant's cost, not because there was any obvious injustice in the first trial,

but seeing that such an unfortunate question should have arisen, and that it impeaches the character of a gentleman hitherto regarded as a man of integrity, and rather than any injustice should result from any possible mistake. 298

There is no doubt that Hope's status and wealth helped sway the Judge's opinions. As no further reference to this case was found, it may be assumed that the case was settled out of court. The whole of Clare must have followed the case with interest as the trial was reported in detail over more than half a page of the Observer. Gleeson was

certainly in the court room for the trial, and he joined in the laughter when he was referred to as 'old Paddy', and later as 'President Pat' in one of Geary's letters. Unfortunately the 'delectable dish of private scandal and district politics' revealed in one of her letters, was not reported in full, and what was reported used nicknames which caused frequent laughter, but were difficult to identify.<sup>299</sup>

There are a number of ways in which perceptions of social status are illustrated in this court case. The arguments put in Hope's defence, based on 'his position in society' and 'the character of a gentleman', show how important his wealth and status were. The case itself suggests what must have been a constant problem for 'respectable' men living alone in the country with their female servants, and how perceptions of social divisions meant these men needed to marry wives with some social status, and how this must be accepted by mistresses with little education and no social status. Hope's name was not included in the list of Justices of the Peace published in September 1862, and it seems likely that there was some connection between this and the publicity of the court case.<sup>300</sup> However Hope and his wife continued to play leading roles in community activities in Clare and he was reappointed as JP in 1874, so his social position was little affected by the case. Perhaps this was because Geary was not liked in the town, as implied during the trial, or because Hope was seen as an honourable man who could not possibly be guilty of not paying Geary full wages, forgery and perjury. Or perhaps the incident was not perceived as important because taking a servant as a mistress was not seen as unusual or irregular for a man in Hope's position in the circumstances of the time. That Hope was of a high social status and

---

299 Ibid, 21 September 1861, 3e. 'Dr. Devilry' was probably Webb.

300 Ibid, 27 September 1862, 1f. Family tradition says he resigned.

had married a 'lady' had perhaps made his actions less scandalous than those of Webb who was evidently known to be not legally married to the former nursemaid with whom he lived all his life in Clare, and with whom he had eleven children.

The Hope family's status in Clare remained high and of interest to the readers of the Northern Argus which in July 1870 noted that the Adelaide papers had reported the return from England of the Hope family:

Mr. Hope is well known in this neighbourhood, and will doubtless be welcomed back to Clare by his friends. The large and handsome house in course of erection on that gentleman's property on the outskirts of this town is now in a fair way of completion.

A week later the paper reported that 'Mr. Hope arrived in Clare on Friday last'.<sup>301</sup> After Gleeson's death earlier that year, Hope was to remain the resident 'gentleman' with no real challenger for the highest social status in Clare until his death in 1880, although he played a less active role in Clare affairs than a number of other members of the elite.

Elite and community: 1851 to 1868

The study of social status and leadership in Clare in the years before 1868 showed the domination of the resident pastoralists Gleeson and Hope after Hawker left the local scene for the wider world of a South Australian elite. Gleeson and Hope were men with property and wealth and were perceived locally as having prestige and influence. This perception and their activities made them members of the Clare elite all their lives. Their involvement in local politics in the 1850s made them reluctant to face the antagonism and harassment again. As men with the responsibilities and rewards of an

---

301 Northern Argus, 15 July 1870, 2b; 22 July 1870, 2b.

elite, including the power of JPs, they did not need to continue to fight for power through membership of the local council or to get involved personally in colonial politics. Even when Gleeson became the first Mayor of Clare in 1868 it was as a recognition of his social status and prestige, rather than recent involvement in local politics.

Both Webb and Lennon, particularly Webb, were interested in gaining power and fighting against privilege. They led the challenge to what they perceived as the privileged position of the land owning elite: to their economic privileges by calling public meetings to protest about land legislation in the squatters' interests and to agitate for land reform - a challenge which gained little benefit for Clare; to their social privileges by setting up a rival Agricultural Society to the 'squatters' society' in 1857 - a short term challenge resolved by the compromise Clare Agricultural Society ten years later, and which did nothing to decrease the status of the elite; and to their privileged potential for gaining power. This challenge against elite attempts to gain and hold power for themselves can be seen at three different levels: at the level of colonial politics in the successful attempt to keep Hawker out of parliament and to get the Political Association and other non-elite candidates in; at the level of local politics in Webb's accusations of Gleeson's dishonesty and mal-administration; and at the level of the magistracy when Webb accepted the appointment as Justice of the Peace. These challenges were not all equally successful in the long term: Hawker was elected to parliament by another electorate, while Lennon's membership was brief and Webb's other candidates were unsuccessful; Gleeson retired from District Council affairs, whereas Webb remained involved, with the exception of a few years; until his death; and, although the Hawkers left the Clare Bench and Hope resigned, Webb

held the position of magistrate for less than three years before his commission was withdrawn, and Gleeson and his supporters, his son John, Davies and Beare, dominated the Bench after 1860.

Gleeson and Hope were without doubt leading members of the Clare elite as they possessed wealth, status and power. They both withdrew from local politics because they did not like or need the associated harassment, but this affected their status little, if at all. Hawker had even greater claims to elite membership and could have become the dominant figure had he chosen to live in the district. Ambition as well as local opposition drove him from the Clare scene. Lennon was never economically successful, and despite his short term as a member of parliament and his skill at public speaking, he was not an initiator or leader like Webb. After he became Town Clerk in 1868 he receded into the background in community activities. Webb was to become an affluent and well-known member of the community, although not socially acceptable to the snobbish set for his opinions and his life style. He was an active and enterprising leader, interested in personal power and willing to fight for it. Despite his occasional set backs, he took a 'prominent part' in movements for the benefit of Clare and its district,<sup>302</sup> and must be acknowledged as a member of the Clare elite, if rather an unorthodox one for his time.

In 1870 the deaths of first Gleeson, and then Webb, concluded two decades of conflict, largely dominated by the division of interests between the squatters and large farmers, on the one hand, and the small farmers and townspeople on the other. The next three decades

---

302 Ibid, 10 June 1870, 2c. (Webb's obituary)



of the nineteenth century were to continue to show divisions within the district over certain issues, but a growing unity was to emerge in response to the deteriorating economic conditions, the slowing down of the population growth rate, and the declining prosperity that was to come after the booming 1870s.

The elite of Clare at the end of the 1860s had in common their economic success, their leadership abilities and their willingness to be activists. The elite of Clare in this period were all men, and their wives and daughters gained status only from their association with these men. This was to change little in the nineteenth century, although some Clare women were to make their presence known later in the century. As the century progressed, the elite membership was to broaden and there was to be greater agreement on the issues of membership of the elite and the responsibility they had of providing leadership in the interests of the town and district.

CHAPTER 4 PROSPERITY, DIVISION AND UNCERTAINTY: 1868 to 1885

This chapter deals with the years in which Clare and its surrounding district reached the peak of prosperity and population, and began on the economic decline in which the area was to remain for the rest of the century. The setting up of the Clare Corporation in 1868 symbolized the dominance of town men over town affairs, and the increased importance of the town as the centre of the district. Because the wealthy absentee pastoralists showed so little interest in Clare affairs, the members of the Clare elite for the rest of the century were predominantly professional and business men, and all, including the few whose occupations were associated with the land, were town dwellers. While achievement of economic success, power and high social status, and involvement in a wide range of community affairs made individuals, by my definition, members of the Clare elite, some members of the elite possessed only some of these attributes.<sup>1</sup>

Until the decline of Clare's prosperity became obvious to even the optimists in the early 1880s the community was divided over a number of issues, and the members of the elite were not always willing to take the responsibilities of town and district leadership demanded of them. This was a period of uncertainty, both about Clare's future and about the role of the elite. Unity behind an elite conscious of its duties developed at different rates in different areas of community life, and was achieved at different times in the early 1880s. From 1881 there were concerted attempts to get Clare men into colonial

---

<sup>1</sup> Eg, Rev. R.B. Webb, while not wealthy and without the trappings of power, had a social background, occupation and life style which gave him high social status.

parliament and to look for ways to improve the prosperity of the town and district. Yet as late as 1884 there was competition for the office of Mayor and the town was divided on sectarian grounds. The assertion of community independence and unity under local leadership which was to be noticeable in 1881 and be characteristic of Clare from 1885 will be discussed in the next chapter.

### Prosperity

Between 1868 and 1885 Clare rose to the peak of its prosperity and began on its economic decline. These economic changes can be illustrated both by population and occupation statistics and by newspaper reports.

For the last time in the nineteenth century, there was an expansion of the town population. It grew from 1871 to 1876, remained stable until 1881, and gradually declined for the rest of the century. The district population had already begun to decrease as it had reached its peak for the nineteenth century in 1871, and was to continue to fall for the rest of the century.<sup>2</sup> The population of Clare and its district was very mobile in the years between 1871 and 1881. Although new settlers arrived, the total population decreased as large numbers of people moved out of the area.<sup>3</sup> Many Clare people took advantage of the Land Settlement Acts, and moved into the newly opened 'areas' to the north, either as farmers or as businessmen in

---

2 Census statistics: Corporation: 1871-1004; 1876-1132; 1881-1131; 1891-933; 1901-788.

District Council: 1871-1978; 1876-1647; 1881-1635; 1891-1493; 1901-1366.

3 From 1871 to 1881 the population of Clare town and district decreased by 216 (from 2982 to 2766). 291 newcomers to South Australia settled in the area. Not taking into account any new settlers from other parts of South Australia, at least 507 people left the area during the decade.

the new townships.<sup>4</sup> In the early 1870s the Northern Argus regularly published lists of land selectors, many from the local area.

'A Visitor's Notes on Clare' in the Register in March 1874 reported that the 'areas' which began about 30 miles north of Clare, got their supplies 'chiefly from and through Clare', and that the traffic along the main road had 'of late increased to a surprising extent'.<sup>5</sup>

The increase of the proportion of people living in the town of Clare<sup>6</sup> and the changes in the occupations of the people of Clare and district during these years, explained the increasing dominance of the town and townspeople within the district and also reflected the degree of prosperity of the community. The town's growth and prosperity, which were boosted in the short term by the mass movement to the northern 'areas', were in the long term to be related to the condition of agriculture in the immediate district.<sup>7</sup> The percentage of employed persons in the town and district of Clare involved in agricultural occupations decreased from 42.9% in 1871 to 28.3% in 1881. Only 6.2% of the town and 44.7% of the district population was directly involved in agriculture, so for the first time, less than half the working population outside the town was employed in agricultural occupations. This decrease in agricultural occupations was closely linked with the enormous decrease in the acreage of land under cultivation,<sup>8</sup> resulting from: farmers leaving for the newly opened agricultural areas to the north; land formerly cultivated being left to pasture; and the

---

4 Of the 36 departures reported in the Northern Argus between 1871 and 1881, 12 were going to the northern 'areas', 11 to Adelaide and 8 to unreported destinations.

5 Register, 14 March 1874, 5f.

6 In 1871 the town contained 33.7% of the total population of Corporation and District. By 1881 it had increased to 40.9%. It decreased to 38.5% in 1891 and 36.6% in 1901.

7 See discussion on relationship between town and district: pp.6-8.

8 In 1871, 11,358 acres had been under cultivation in the District of Clare; it increased to 12,459 in 1876, but it decreased to only 7,098 in the 1881 census, and to 5094 in 1891.

less-than-average yield of the 1880-1881 season, when the first of the 1880s droughts affected the wheat growers, although at this stage less badly in Clare than in the north.<sup>9</sup>

Newspaper reports indicated that with occasional exceptions, Clare was a prosperous town for most of this period. The editor of the Northern Argus stated proudly in September 1871, 'Clare is no longer a bush township but one of the leading Municipalities in the colony'.<sup>10</sup> The occupations of the people illustrated the 'urbanization' of Clare,<sup>11</sup> as did the list of the buildings and businesses in Clare published by the Northern Argus in 1876 in answer to a reference to Clare as an 'obscure village':

There are four churches, Town Hall, Institute, Government school, Police Station, Telegraph and Post offices, Court-house, 2 banks, steam flour mill, steam saw mill, 3 implement establishments, 1 brewery, 2 timber yards, 4 shoeing establishments, 6 livery stables, 8 daily coaches, four in and four out, newspaper and printing office, 6 hotels, 12 stores, 3 cabinet makers, 2 chemists, 6 shoemakers, 2 tinsmiths, 3 tailors, 3 painters, 3 butchers, 2 bakers, 3 saddlers, 3 medical practitioners, 2 solicitors, 4 auctioneers, several music teachers, 3 private schools, head quarters for the Northern Mounted Police, Licensing Bench, societies of Freemasons, Good Templars, Rechabites, Oddfellows, and Forresters, &c. So much for the obscure village of Clare ... 12

In February 1879 the editor again claimed that Clare was an important centre because it was the headquarters of the Northern Division of the Police, the Northern Licensing Bench and the Northern Road Board.<sup>13</sup>

Despite this local pride and loyalty, within the wider context described by Meinig and Hirst, Clare had lost its position as 'focal

9 Meinig, D. On the margins ..., p.79.

10 Northern Argus, 8 September 1871, 2cd.

11 In the 1871 (1881) census the percentages of occupations in the Corporation of Clare were: trading and services 43.4% (41.6%), manufacturing 27.1% (25.2%), government and professional 12.1% (8.9%), labouring 0.9% (8.7%), carrying 3.2% (7.6%), agriculture 12.7% (6.2%). The equivalent percentages for the District Council were 11.8% (18.3%), 8.8% (11.2%), 4.1% (7.4%), 10.1% (11.5%), 2.4% (2.5%) and 59% (44.7%). There were no occupation statistics in the 1891 and 1901 censuses.

12 Northern Argus, 12 September 1876, 2d.

13 Ibid, 4 February 1879, 2de.

point of "the north".<sup>14</sup> Ironically the Clare-Auburn region, which had been one of the first to demand a rail service, and the area of one of the first surveys,<sup>15</sup> did not get the railway which it needed to achieve its potential of becoming a regional trade centre, and this contributed to its economic decline:

Clare, serving as the principal portal for emigrants into the new districts for several years, had dared to entertain such hopes - to translate its pretensions as the 'Northern metropolis' into reality. Its failure to secure even a branch rail line was therefore an uncommonly hard blow and it derived no real lasting benefits at all from the years of Northern development. 16

Despite the truth in Meinig's comments about Clare's long-term failure to achieve its citizens' hopes, in general these were prosperous years, and the realization of those blighted hopes was not to become widespread until the 1880s. Evidence of this prosperity included the flourishing of business enterprises for most of the decade; the new buildings for the Churches, the Institute, the school and the two banks; the six hotels; and the fact that there was enough business to attract two lawyers to settle permanently in the town.

Businesses which prospered for most of this decade were those dependent on agricultural expansion: the mill, the manufacturing of agricultural implements and wheeled vehicles, and the carrying trade. The mill, owned by Charles Kimber, but managed by Alfred Palmer from 1873 to 1878, was frequently a 'hive of activity'<sup>17</sup> during the years of good wheat crops before 1880. The factories were busy, especially

---

14 Meinig, op.cit., p.206; Hirst, J. Adelaide and the country ..., p.13.

15 Ibid, p.140.

16 Ibid, p.198.

17 Register, 14 March 1874, 5f.

in the first half of the 1870s. In May 1871 J.G. Ramsay's Foundry and Machine and Implement Manufactory was employing 25 men,<sup>18</sup> and in busy seasons had employed up to 40 hands. In May 1874 business was very good for Ramsay's, for the smaller Northern Agricultural Implement Manufactory, which could not get enough workers, and for the coach and trap makers, Messrs. G. and W. Reece and Co.<sup>19</sup> However, in September 1876 the Northern Argus reported that Ramsay's was discharging 20 men, and had reduced the wages of the rest, as a result of a withdrawal of orders 'as the area farmers anticipate very slight crops',<sup>20</sup> and in January 1879, all Ramsay's men were discharged, some subsequently leaving Clare, and the firm made an assignment because it could not pay off its creditors.<sup>21</sup> Although in March R.G. Ramsay, the son of J.G. Ramsay reopened the factory, business did not improve much this year. In July 1879 the Northern Argus reported that a number of labouring men had been idle in Clare for the previous two months, and many swagmen were passing through Clare, as there was no work in the northern 'areas' or from the local farmers.<sup>22</sup> Business improved in 1880 and in October Ramsay's was employing 30 men.<sup>23</sup> The vulnerability of the agricultural machinery industry to the weather did not augur prosperity for Clare in the drought years of the 1880s. In 1877 the carrying company, Messrs. Hill and Co. erected large stables in Clare for their horses and carriages, plus dwelling houses for their employees.<sup>24</sup> Every day, two mail coaches left Clare for Adelaide, one for Crystal Brook, one for Farrell Flat, and on alternate days one coach left

---

18 Guardian, 30 May 1871, 2f.

19 Northern Argus, 15 May 1874, 2e.

20 Ibid, 5 September 1876, 2d.

21 Ibid, 28 January 1879, 2f; 31 January, 2g; 7 February, 2f.

22 Ibid, 15 July 1879, 2f. In 1881 the numbers of swagmen passing through Clare sparked off a spirited debate at the Farmers' Association meetings and in the press. Ibid, June 14, 17, 21; July 5, 26; August 9; September 13.

23 Ibid, 8 October 1880, 2e.

24 Ibid, 1 May 1877, 2e.

for Laura. The average number of passengers on these coaches was estimated at 200 a week.<sup>25</sup> Other businesses providing employment and services were the Enterprise Brewery which had fifteen employees in 1882 and the Clare Jam Factory with forty hands at work in 1883.<sup>26</sup> However, these jobs were not to last.<sup>27</sup>

A number of new buildings were erected in these years. All of the churches had extended or built new buildings.<sup>28</sup> The foundation stone of the Institute building was laid in 1871 and the new school was built at last in 1872. In 1876, references to successful farmers and new buildings in Clare were evidence of prosperity in the town and district. In January a description of Clare as it had been twenty years before, concluded with the observation:

Most of the early farmers are now well to do. They have erected substantial and comfortable dwelling-houses, which are beautified with flourishing gardens in the immediate vicinity ... The children are chiefly following the same pursuit, and many of them are now on the areas pushing their way in a praiseworthy manner. 29

In Clare itself in October 1876, Miss Steele's 'commodious seminary' was in progress of erection, J.W. Gleeson was extending 'Inchiquin', T. Ninnes was erecting a two-storey residence, and other 'substantial structures' were going up in South Clare.<sup>30</sup> In 1877 a 'handsome building' was completed for the E.S. and A.C. Bank, at the cost of

25 Ibid, 9 October 1877, 3b; essay by W.J. Kelly.

26 Ibid, 8 September, 1882, 2d; Advertiser, 9 January 1883, 7c.

27 See below, pp.253-57.

28 In 1878 a new parsonage costing £1,600 was finished for the first resident Church of England clergyman, Rev. R.B. Webb: Northern Argus, 24 May 1878, 2f. The Catholics took ten years to build an impressive church, finished in 1883 at the cost of £4,117: ibid 30 January 1883, 2e. In 1877 the Methodists spent £374 on enlarging and repairing the chapel; in 1883 they added a gallery expanding their seating to 374: ibid, 24 August 1877, 3e; 6 March 1883, 2c; Forth, S. Methodism in the Clare district, p.12. The Presbyterian church was also 'considerably enlarged' in 1876: Northern Argus, 1 August 1876, 2e.

29 Ibid, 18 January 1876, 2f.

30 Ibid, 17 October 1876, 2f.



£4,000,<sup>31</sup> and in 1880 the building of the new National Bank began. Other signs of the prosperity of these years were the six hotels, 'two or three of which can compare with the chief metropolitan hotels'.<sup>32</sup> The hotels were a sign of more than prosperity. The editor of the Northern Argus said in May 1872 'That Clare has attained the unhappy notoriety of being a hard drinking and hard living place is an acknowledged fact'.<sup>33</sup> This reputation was to have important repercussions on community life in the early 1880s.<sup>34</sup>

The first of Clare's resident solicitors arrived in May 1869, and from then on there were usually at least two solicitors servicing the town and district. Three of these men, Hosier, Bright and Carter, were to play important roles in Clare's affairs in this period. Clare had needed and had doctors since the 1840s, and Dr. Bain was Clare's leading philanthropist from the 1870s, but the coming of the lawyers was a sign of the increase in business and complexity of life in Clare in this period.

Although the years before 1885 had been generally prosperous ones, there were signs that the future was not to be so glowing. The decrease of the acreage of cultivated land, the dependence of the implement factories on good seasons, and the increased number of insolvencies<sup>35</sup> were sobering indications that all was not well, although few recognised them yet. Disunity and disagreements

---

31 Ibid, 6 July 1877, 3b.

32 Register, 14 March 1874, 5f.

33 Northern Argus, 10 May 1872, 2d.

34 See below, pp.239-50.

35 Twenty five insolvencies were reported in the Northern Argus between 1868 and 1884, eighteen of them between 1875 and 1884. This eighteen consisted of five storekeepers, a coach builder, an auctioneer, a carter, a butcher, a bootmaker, a builder, an architect, two blacksmiths, a publican and a farmer, as well as Ramsay and Co. and J.W. Gleeson.

between different groups in Clare were frequent during these prosperous years. However economic decline was to foster a greater sense of unity and co-operation among Clare society, for the common interests of all.

In assessing the elite of this period in terms of their economic success, power and social status, we find that despite the great wealth and large land-holdings of the pastoralists, and the expectations some had of their responsibilities to Clare, it was the affluent professional and business townsmen who provided the real leadership of Clare and its district in this period. These town leaders vacillated between accepting and rejecting the responsibilities of an elite, and there was some hostility to what was seen as their assumption of superiority. Partly because of this, the community, although united on certain issues of economic importance such as the need for a railway, was divided on others, in particular on sectarian grounds.

Economic success: 1868 to 1885

The men who were most successful in terms of wealth and property played little personal part in Clare life in these years, although they had considerable social status. The absentee large freehold property owners, G.C. Hawker of 'Bungaree' and C.B. Fisher, until 1876, and then J.H. Angas of 'Hill River', were frequently praised by the Northern Argus for their contribution to the colony through their stock-breeding, and were held up as examples for smaller property owners to emulate. The town provided some of the goods, services and labour needed by the large properties, to their mutual advantage; however 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' wool and stock were loaded at Farrell

Flat to be sent to Adelaide and elsewhere,<sup>36</sup> and although occasional waggon loads of wool were still sent by road, Clare did not benefit as much as previously from the carrying trade. This explains why some believed Hawker was not very interested in a railway to Clare itself.<sup>37</sup> Although there was some truth in the argument that many smaller properties would have been of greater economic benefit to the town, this point of view was not expressed as frequently as it had been in the past. Once the squatters had bought their land, cutting it up into smaller blocks was a move which required much more radical action than South Australians contemplated at this time.

The economic success of the owners of 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' was indisputable. By 1868, the year before the first Land Act, Hawker had acquired 99% of the freehold property of 84,700 acres he owned in 1891.<sup>38</sup> In 1878 during shearing time at 'Bungaree' there were over 80 hands, including 54 shearers, shearing 3,000 sheep daily of the 70 to 80,000 sheep on the run.<sup>39</sup> Fisher had purchased the leasehold station 'Hill River' with 40,000 sheep from Robinson in 1855 for £44,000. He converted 60,000 acres into freehold at a cost of £90,000, fenced, subdivided and improved it at a cost of £30,000 and sold 55,000 acres to Angas in 1876 for £220,000.<sup>40</sup> Every year the Northern Argus listed 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' successes in the Agricultural Shows in Adelaide and other capital cities. The editor

---

36 Meinig, op.cit., p.160.

37 See below, pp.161-62.

38 Williams, E. 'Pastoralists of the mid-North', op.cit., p.141. Evans found a similar pattern in his 'Colac and district 1860-1900', op.cit., p.35 and p.248.

39 Northern Argus, 29 October 1878, 3a.

40 Morphett, G.C., C.B. Fisher. Pastoralist, studmaster and sportsman ... Adelaide, Advertiser, 1945, p.13 and p.50.

of the Northern Argus praised the local pastoralists for participating in Clare Shows,<sup>41</sup> and for improving the breeding of sheep, cattle and horse stock.<sup>42</sup> However, the editor reflected the community's ambivalent attitudes to the local squatters when he criticised them in an editorial on Ireland's problems:

Such estates as Hill River and Bungaree show how the best of the land was being secured by the capitalist, and had not different land laws been introduced South Australia in course of time would have been as bad as Ireland is at present. 43

Because they were important to the prosperity of their properties the owners of 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' were particularly concerned with the condition of the roads in the Clare district. Criticisms were voiced in the Northern Argus of what appeared to be their unfair influence on the Road Board:<sup>44</sup> in February 1873 the editor complained that a surveyed route to Broughton was bounded either side by the property of 'G.C. Hawker Esq.,' and the Road Board money should instead be spent on an alternative route which passed settlers properties;<sup>45</sup> in April 1878 'Idler', in discussing the new road from Clare to Hanson, objected to 'the deviation insisted on by Mr. Angas, which takes the road to the Lodge gate at the Hill River head station'.<sup>46</sup> When a wool-laden 'Bungaree' waggon broke down on the old 'macadam' in October 1878 the local people hoped Hawker, then Commissioner of Public Works, would take the hint to support a railway direct to Clare.<sup>47</sup> Hawker's interest in good roads benefited the district, for in 1882 the Northern Argus noted that 'he expends

---

41 Northern Argus, 16 November 1875, 2c.

42 Ibid, 31 October 1879, 2cd; 12 March 1880, 3c.

43 Ibid, 12 December 1879, 2c.

44 Central Road Board until 1874; then North Midland.

45 Northern Argus, 7 February 1873, 2g.

46 Ibid, 9 April 1878, 2g.

47 Ibid, 22 October 1878, 2e.

annually a considerable sum in keeping district roads in repair' and he had 'liberally' given £50 a few years before to improve the road from the Stanley Flat school to the main road.<sup>48</sup> The need for good roads was one which was felt equally by large and small property owners, and was thus an area where their economic interests sometimes coincided. However, if they did not, the squatters had the greater influence.

An area in which the editor of the Northern Argus believed the large property owners should take an economic leadership role was in encouraging local farmers to improve their stock and learn better farming methods. In November 1875, the editorial was very frank: it praised Fisher and J.W. Gleeson for their 'active interest' in the Show, but criticized Hawker and Hope for not exhibiting their high quality sheep and horses to encourage the farmers to improve their stock. The editor stressed the need for these men to fulfil their responsibility of playing a leadership role in the Society for the good of the district:

The very fact that Mr. Hawker consented to be its President should have induced him as a matter of duty to aid to the utmost of his power. These gentlemen to whom we have referred exercise an influence in the district and were they thorough supporters of the Society others would follow their example. 49

Again in 1879 the editor of the Northern Argus argued that the wealthy landowners had a responsibility to play a role in the agricultural education of the sons of local farmers.<sup>50</sup> The underlying assumption was that economic success had responsibilities as

---

48 Ibid, 2 May 1882, 2e.

49 Ibid, 16 November 1875, 2c.

50 Ibid, 23 September 1879, 2c. The Editorial concerned a proposed College of Agriculture.

well as privileges. This was a belief that was to be increasingly expressed, and to include not only large landowners but the successful business and professional men of Clare, a new town-based elite which was to provide better leadership than the old landed elite.

Hawker, Fisher and Angas were absentee landowners, but there were three successful landowners who lived in Clare itself. They were J. Hope, J.W. Gleeson and W.L. Beare. Two further categories of successful Clare men were the businessmen, including A. Young, C. Kimber, A. Palmer, J. Christison and H. Crabb, and the professional men, including Dr. Bain, J.G. Pitcher, T.H. Hosier and T.R. Bright. These are the individuals whose economic success will be examined briefly as they can all be considered members of Clare's elite and all were expected to provide town leadership in this decade. Other individuals who played quite prominent roles in Clare life but were less obviously successful in this period, were the publican and carrier, F.C. Gray, the Tilbrook brothers, owners of the Northern Argus, and W. Kelly who edited it. The prosperous Wesleyan farmers, T. Nannes and T. Moyses were mainly prominent in church affairs rather than performing the roles of community leaders in a broader sense. Both retired to Clare, Nannes in 1877, Moyses in 1882, and were to become involved in the ill fated Fruit Preserving Company in the early 1880s.<sup>51</sup>

John Hope was the wealthiest of the landholders who lived in Clare. His property 'Wolta Wolta' was just outside the Corporation's limits, but in the 1877 Clare District Council Assessment, he was paying rates on 3,599 acres. He purchased other cattle and sheep

---

51 See below, pp.313-17.

runs in the eastern colonies before his death in 1880. During the 1870s he built 'Maritimo', a large and luxuriously equipped home at Glenelg, where the family stayed when in Adelaide. His wife was to spend a large part of her time there after his death. His property was valued at just under £6,100 for probate in 1880. In 1891 his wife owned 5,297 acres in the central hill country of the mid north of South Australia.<sup>52</sup>

John William Gleeson, the son of E.B. Gleeson, inherited his father's property on his death. He was the owner of 'Inchiquin' which in the 1877 District Council Assessment consisted of 1,001 acres, of which in 1882 about 15 acres were fruit and vegetable gardens. In 1877 including 'Inchiquin' he paid rates on a total of 4,321 acres in the Clare district. In 1871 he set up a large-scale auctioneering business, but he was either unlucky or not a good businessman, because in 1877 he made an assignment, having liabilities of £50,496.1.9 and assets of £52,562.0.10. In 1884 he was forced to sell 'Inchiquin' for £8,300 and leave Clare as he and his partner and brother-in-law, W.L. Beare, had lost a lot of money in a joint pastoral venture in the northern runs.<sup>53</sup>

William Loose Beare came to the Clare district as the manager of 'Bungaree' in 1856. In 1874 he moved to Clare where he had built 'Bleak House', one of the 'finest' houses in Clare. It was on eight and a half acres and always the highest-rated private building in the Clare Corporation assessment. He owned houses and shops in Clare, and 124½ acres at Stanley Flat, but his main source of wealth

---

52 Williams, E., op.cit., p.16.

53 Northern Argus, 8 April 1884, 2c; Cockburn, R. Pastoral pioneers ..., p.251.

was his joint pastoral venture with Gleeson. In 1880 he was 'a wealthy squatter'; however in 1883 he, like Gleeson, was forced to leave Clare because of the failure of his pastoral interests, mainly because of drought.<sup>54</sup>

Andrew Young was a successful Clare businessman. He had arrived in Clare in 1856 and became a storekeeper and spirit merchant, and was the first agent for the E.S. and A.C. Bank in Clare until 1866. He probably lived behind his shop until 1878 when he built a comfortable home for his family. He was noted as a very successful and shrewd businessman,<sup>55</sup> and in the 1870s owned his own store, his house and one of the hotels. At his death, aged 56, in 1885 his property was valued for probate at just under £14,500, and he left the above properties, plus money invested in numerous properties in Clare and Yacka. Unfortunately his two sons were not good businessmen and were to lose all his property after his death.

Charles Kimber arrived in Clare in the mid 1860s to take over the mill, which always had the highest assessment for any building in the Clare Corporation area. He lived on a fine estate 'Woodleigh' just outside of Clare from 1862 to 1895 when he retired to Adelaide. Here he grew vines and fruit trees on his 265 acres. In 1871 he also owned two hotels in Clare, and a mill in Kadina. Later he owned another mill in Riverton. He was a very successful businessman, one of the 'shrewd, cosmopolitan, hard-eyed entrepreneurs' as Waterson described the millers of the Darling Downs.<sup>56</sup> It seems

---

54 Northern Argus, 18 June 1880, 2f; 4 May 1883, 3ab.

55 Ibid, 25 August 1885, 2f.

56 Waterson, D.W. Squatters, selectors and storekeepers ..., p.75.



likely that Eiffe based his character Mr. Ford the miller on Kimber, at least to the extent that Ford was a very wealthy man, owned a great deal of property in the local town and other towns, lived on a large estate near the town, and had lent much money on freehold security. Eiffe did not think much of millers, as he had Ford himself say, 'Land-jobbers get rich at the expense of the cockatoos, and so do millers'.<sup>57</sup> There is no evidence that Kimber was a poorly educated, completely selfish individual like Ford, but he certainly was a successful businessman and was respected for it in Clare, as can be seen in the requests for him to become a candidate for parliament in 1880, 1884 and 1887, when he finally agreed and was successful.

Alfred Palmer managed the Clare mill from 1873 to 1878 during Kimber's absence in England. He rented his home in Clare, but bought 80 acres outside of Clare in 1877. He stayed on in Clare after Kimber's return, but in what capacity is unclear. When he was requested to stand for parliament, Dr. Bain said, 'He was a shrewd man and had done well for himself, and no doubt he would do well for the district and colony generally'.<sup>58</sup> Whatever business he was in he was successful enough to retire to Kapunda in 1884, where he stayed and was an active citizen until he moved to Adelaide in 1897. His probate described him as a 'gentleman' and his estate was valued at just under £6,200 at his death in 1900.

John Christison, who had managed 'Hill River' for three years from 1879, became a partner of Mrs. Filgate in the Clare Brewery in 1881. An old friend T.R. Bright said of him in 1922 'Mr. Christison was one of those

---

57 Eiffe, P. The Three L's ..., p.26 and p.32.

58 Northern Argus, 18 March 1884, 2e.

people who made a success of anything he took in hand,<sup>59</sup> and this was certainly true of his economic affairs. In 1884 when a candidate for Mayor he had claimed to own property worth £1,000 within the town of Clare.<sup>60</sup> In the 1890s he set up a fruit and vine property of 45 acres for which he had a manager, and he also initiated and became Chairman of Directors of the Stanley Wine Company. In 1905 he became the sole owner of the brewery, and at his death in 1911 his estate was valued at £48,000, the highest valuation of any estate owned by a man living in Clare in the nineteenth century.

Henry Crabb arrived in Clare in 1865 and was the major saddler and harness-maker until he left for Gladstone in 1887, where he took the licence of the Booyoollee Hotel. Business was good in the 1870s, and Crabb owned a number of shops, houses and land in Clare and outside of it. In the 1880s business declined because of the poor seasons and in 1886 he made an assignment, and sold his stock and business.<sup>61</sup> In Gladstone he took part in council and other local affairs, so he must have regained his prosperity. He retired to Adelaide in 1902, and at his death in 1920 his estate was sworn at just under £1,661 for probate, quite a respectable sum in those days.

Dr. John William Devereaux Bain arrived in Clare about 1865, and when he left in 1897 he had proved himself the most generous and philanthropic of all Clare citizens. As a bachelor doctor he must always have been comfortably affluent. His house, formerly Dr. Davies', with its eight acres, was always assessed at the

---

59 Register, 24 July 1922, 2i.

60 Northern Argus, 21 November 1884, 2d.

61 Ibid, 12 March 1886, 2d; 27 April 1886, 3e.

second highest value after Beare's house, which was next door. He retired from practice in 1889 having become wealthy through mining investments.<sup>62</sup> It was then that he bought a large property of 435 acres south of Clare. His generosity can be illustrated by his gifts to the Institute and to St. Barnabas' Anglican Church, and by his establishing a skating rink, a swimming pool and a butter factory for the benefit of the community.

John Garlick Pitcher lived in Clare only from 1873 to 1878. He never owned property in Clare, but he had a bank manager's salary, and from 1877 lived in the handsome new E.S. and A. bank building built at a cost of £4,000. He left Clare for a promotion,<sup>63</sup> and even after his last twelve years as a Church of England clergyman he left an estate valued at just under £4,700, so he obviously had been a successful banker. He and the other Clare bank managers were important individuals in the financial life of the community, as they provided both advice and finance, the latter a most important source of agricultural capital in South Australia.<sup>64</sup>

Thomas Henry Hosier also lived in Clare for only a short time, having arrived in 1868, and then dying in 1879 at the age of 35. He had been educated at St. Peter's College before becoming a solicitor in the family tradition. In Clare he had a 'large practice',<sup>65</sup> and although he died prematurely before he could establish himself to his full potential, he left an estate valued at just under £2,500 for probate.

---

62 Ibid, 3 July 1903, 3a.

63 Ibid, 7 May 1878, 2g.

64 Bate, W. 'The urban sprinkle: country towns and Australian regional history', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.X, No.2, September 1970, p.116.

65 Northern Argus, 25 November 1879, 2e.

Thomas R. Bright who built up the largest legal practice north of Adelaide during his stay in Clare from 1874 to 1888,<sup>66</sup> was not a wealthy man in terms of land ownership because of his short stay in Clare, but his earnings were excellent. He offered to donate £50 for a Church of England classroom and £250 for a recreation ground, under certain conditions that were never fulfilled. He left Clare to join an Adelaide legal firm, later founded his own firm, and became very successful both in private practice and on the Bench.<sup>67</sup>

Between 1868 and 1884 these successful men were members of the Clare elite and were generally acknowledged as such by their elevation to positions of power and prestige in local government, on the bench and in other activities. Providing leadership and finance to stimulate the economic development of the town was not seen as being as important as it was to become from the early 1880s, when the town, like the colony, was economically depressed. However, there were already indications of the beginnings of a demand for successful men to take some responsibility for the good of the town. One such indication had been the assertion of the need for leading stock-owners to take part in the Agricultural Society's Show. In 1875 a proposal for a soap factory in Clare was dropped because, as the editor said, 'Some of our leading businessmen were doubtful of its paying, and by giving it the cold shoulder prevented cooperation'.<sup>68</sup> In 1878 a letter supporting the setting up of a tweed factory in Clare believed it was possible because a memorial

---

66 Pascoe, J.J. (ed.) History of Adelaide and vicinity ... Adelaide, Hussey and Gillingham, 1901, p.435.

67 'My first 25 years of the law'. Reminiscences of Mr. T.R. Bright S.M., Register, 1922.

68 Northern Argus, 23 March 1875, 2f.

to that effect had been signed 'by the principal businessmen and landed proprietors of this town and neighbourhood'.<sup>69</sup> Neither the soap nor the tweed factory was set up to add to the prosperity of Clare, but it is interesting to note how the setting up of such enterprises was seen as being the responsibility of the 'leading' or 'principal' businessmen and landed proprietors. This demand was to become more obvious in the early 1880s, as indicated in a report in 1880 on the many difficulties facing Clare, in which the need for leadership and unity was stressed: 'There is a want of enterprise noticeable, but a united effort could surmount the difficulty'.<sup>70</sup> This belief that the leadership of the powerful and the successful, followed by a united town, could solve Clare's problems, was to become a dominating ideal in the years of economic decline.

Power: 1868 to 1881 - colonial politics

In the years of prosperity before 1881, there were no economically successful Clare men who were willing to stand for the colonial parliament, although they had some political influence through their support for non-Clare candidates and their leadership of the agitation for a railway. However, a number of them were involved in local government and were members of the Bench, and therefore held power within the local community. The next chapter will describe the greater local self-assertiveness which encouraged local candidates to stand for most parliamentary elections from 1881.

The South Australian parliament was where greatest power could be achieved. The important characteristics of Clare's relationship with parliament between 1868 and 1881 were: the repeated election

---

69 Ibid, 24 May 1878, 3a.

70 Ibid, 11 June 1880, 2d.

of non-Clare men; the ambiguous position of G.C. Hawker; the lack of support for the one Clare candidate; the sectarian basis of political splits; and the agitation for a railway to Clare.

From 1868 to 1881 Clare was represented in state government by: G.E. Kingston, an Adelaide architect from 1862 to his death in 1880; H.E. Bright, a Gawler butcher from 1865 to 1875; and C. Mann, an Adelaide solicitor from 1875 to 1881. These three men illustrated Hirst's reasons for the predominance of Adelaide and near-Adelaide men in parliament - non-payment of members, the convenience of living close to parliament and the desire to have members who were considered to be politically more astute than country men.<sup>71</sup> Not everyone was satisfied with this situation, however. In the election year of 1875 the editor of the Northern Argus bemoaned the lack of a local candidate in two successive editorials. The first reported that G.C. Hawker intended to stand again for Victoria, and not for Stanley as some had hoped. The writer, probably William Kelly, obviously knew nothing about the political conflict of the 1850s in Clare, because he continued: 'He is an able politician, and being a local man he would in all probability have been successful'.<sup>72</sup> The second editorial complained of the apathy of the electorate: 'The district was the most determined of the lot to have a local representative, and yet out of the 1,600 eligible electors not one can be found'.<sup>73</sup>

Some people saw Hawker as having local interests, and after the February 1875 election, a Northern Argus columnist, 'Idler', expressed

---

71 Hirst, *op.cit.*, pp.65-66, and 70-71.

72 Northern Argus, 5 January 1875, 2e.

73 Ibid, 12 January 1875, 2f.

his pleasure at Hawker's re-election for Victoria, claiming that Stanley really had 'three representatives in the House for Mr. Hawker will advocate her rights'.<sup>74</sup> However there is little evidence that he did advocate Clare's rights, particularly in the main area they needed advocacy, the hoped-for railway.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately Clare had rejected in the 1850s the one man who would have been most likely to take a long-term benevolent political interest in Clare, the district from which his wealth came. Instead he represented Victoria from 1858 to 1865 and 1875 to 1883, and North Adelaide from 1884 until his death in 1895.<sup>76</sup>

In the elections of 1870, 1871, 1875 and 1878 there was only one local candidate. In 1870 D.T. Jarman, the first local candidate since Lennon in 1860, came fourth in Clare and fifth and last in Stanley. He was young and unknown<sup>77</sup> and had no chance as he did not have the support of any of the leading men of Clare. Although on two occasions another candidate topped the Clare poll, Kingston won all four elections, with Bright as partner in 1870 and 1871 and Mann in 1875 and 1878, the latter an unopposed election. In all cases Kingston and his partner were supported by J. Gleeson and C. Kimber and in 1875 by other Anglican members of the town elite - including W.L. Beare, A. Young, J. Hope and T. Bright.

In the opposed elections of 1870, 1871 and 1875 sectarian divisions were the major issues, not surprisingly as sectarian differences were also important in the quarrel over the school

---

74 *Ibid*, 26 February 1875, 3b.

75 See below, pp.161-62.

76 Jaensch, D. *An index to Parliamentary candidates ...*; p.100.

77 *Northern Argus*, 16 April 1870, 2 abc. Jarman, a contractor from White Hut, had been proprietor of the Temperance Hotel in Clare in 1866. He had become insolvent after it burnt down, and held a number of jobs around the Clare district.

teacher in 1872.<sup>78</sup> The unsuccessful local candidate Jarman claimed bitterly in 1870 that the election had been 'a mere trial of strength between Roman Catholics and Wesleyan Methodists'.<sup>79</sup> What part the Catholics played is not clear, but the Methodist, John Colton was supported by Methodists such as T. Ninnes and by men like Dr. Webb and H. Crabb who were sympathetic to the 'poorer classes' who had gathered in large numbers to protest against Bright's unsympathetic attitude to the Adelaide unemployed.<sup>81</sup> In 1871 Charles Hare, who won in Clare,<sup>82</sup> claimed to have lost in Stanley because he had been unjustly accused of insulting his Catholic religion.<sup>83</sup> Thus again an unspecified 'Catholic vote' was claimed to exist. Finally, in the 1875 election, the leading Clare supporters of the successful Kingston and Mann team<sup>84</sup> were all Anglicans, while the Methodist G.W. Cotton was supported by leading Methodists T. Ninnes and T. Moyses and the Presbyterian A. Palmer. The supporters of Kingston and Mann aimed their argument at the 'Catholic vote'. An election advertisement illustrating the sectarian basis of the hostility towards Cotton read:

To the Catholic Electors of Stanley

Mr. Cotton is one of the leaders of the Protestant Association, whose object is to deprive Catholics of all Political Influence and Power. Remember this on the Polling Day and VOTE AGAINST HIM. Support Kingston and Mann, who are men who prize Religious Liberty.

A CATHOLIC                      85

78 See below, pp.183-90.

79 Northern Argus, 22 April 1870, 2a.

80 Ibid., 16 April 1870, 3b; Jaensch, D. Election statistics ... p.63. In the 1871 census for Clare and district, there were 35.6% Catholics, 25.8% Anglicans, 21.7% Methodists.

81 Northern Argus, 11 March 1870, 3ab and d.

82 Register, 16 December 1871, 7c.

83 Northern Argus, 22 December 1871, 2c.

84 Jaensch, D. op.cit., p.92.

85 Northern Argus, 5 February 1875, 3e.



Sectarian differences had been the most important issues in parliamentary elections between 1868 and 1881, and were also important at local government and community level. After the 1881 election, the major issues revolved around getting Clare men elected in the interests of the local district, although sectarian and class issues continued to play some part in election campaigns. Popular Clare candidates were still to have trouble winning Stanley.

As in previous years the demand for a railway to Clare was an issue over which the leading men of Clare united in a number of unsuccessful efforts to influence the parliament of South Australia. Numerous meetings were held to attempt to put pressure on parliament to both support a railway to Clare and reject other suggested alternatives. Deputations of influential men were sent to Adelaide, and false hopes were raised a number of times.

Between February 1874 and June 1884 nine major town meetings were called to discuss railway issues, particularly the need for Clare to have its own railway.<sup>86</sup> Most of these meetings were chaired by the Mayor of the day - Hosier, Crabb and Gray - but John Hope and the solicitor Blakeney Carter each chaired one. These meetings were strongly supported by all the leading men of Clare, and their representatives made up the committees and the deputations set up by the meetings. Those most involved were Gleeson, Palmer, Kimber, Lennon, Young, Pitcher, Hosier, Crabb, Beare, Bright,

---

86 Ibid, 6 February 1874, 3b; 17 March 1874, 2cd and 2g; 9 October 1874, 2ef; 17 August 1875, 2cd and 2f; 11 September 1877, 2f; 9 November 1877, 3a; 14 June 1881, 2g and 3ab; 21 October 1881, 2e; 13 June 1884, 3a.

A. Tilbrook, W. Kelly and Dr. Bain who in 1881 argued that Clare men needed 'to agitate, agitate, agitate' to get what they wanted.<sup>87</sup> The route supported by the leading men of Clare changed as the options were cut off. First they supported a railway line from Hoyleton on the line to Blyth, then from Saddleworth and finally from Riverton, both on the Burra line. Petitions were sent to parliament as a result of two meetings against proposed railway lines.<sup>88</sup> Although the arguments were couched in terms of the colony's interests, it was of course Clare's interests that were being espoused.

As a result of the public meetings five deputations were sent to request government support for a line to Clare.<sup>89</sup> One went to the Chief Secretary, the others to the Commissioner of Public Works, who was on two occasions G.C. Hawker. Clare leaders were well aware that they needed the support of men with power and influence on a colonial scale. Therefore the deputations included not only leading Clare men but also members of parliament who represented Stanley and those who had some other connection with Clare. These included G.S. Kingston, C. Mann, E. Ward, who had run the Guardian from Clare for a short time, J.G. Ramsay who owned a factory there, and G.C. Hawker. Hawker on a number of occasions as Commissioner of Public Works and as MP supported a railway for Clare;<sup>90</sup> however he also voted for the extension of the Blyth line to Gladstone which was not in the interests of Clare,<sup>91</sup> and there were some who believed

---

87 Ibid, 14 June 1881, 3a.

88 Ibid, 9 October 1874, 2ef; 21 October 1881, 2e.

89 Ibid, 8 May 1874, 3b; 2 November 1877, 3f; 23 July 1878, 2g; 5 August 1881, 3a; 13 June 1884, 3a.

90 He was Commissioner of Public Works from 1877 to 1881. He voted for the Clare-Riverton Railway Bill: Ibid, 15 November 1878, 2ef.

91 Ibid, 25 October 1881, 2d.

he was responsible for preventing Clare getting its much-desired railway. After the survey of a Riverton to Clare railway was laid on the table of the House of Assembly in November 1883,<sup>92</sup> a letter to the Northern Argus claimed that it was Hawker who was responsible for holding back that railway. It argued that Hawker preferred the Blyth line to be extended because he could then 'have an opportunity of disposing of a few hundred acres of his land that is not much good on the western outskirts of his Bungaree run'. It also argued that the real reason for the opposition to the Clare line by 'many members of Parliament' was 'that if it was constructed to Clare it would some day be extended northward, and would thereby cut up the fine estate that Mr. Hawker possesses at Bungaree'.<sup>93</sup> The theory that a conspiracy among the privileged groups explained Clare's failure to get a railway must have been supported by some in the district, but apart from this letter, it was never reported in the Clare press.<sup>94</sup>

The members for Stanley were expected not only to join deputations but also to use their voting power to support Clare's interests. The editor of the Northern Argus claimed in 1874 that Kingston's casting vote against the Murray railway Clare disapproved of<sup>95</sup> would 'ensure his return at the next election'.<sup>96</sup> Mayor Crabb strongly criticised C. Mann, member for Stanley, at the Clare Show dinner in 1877 for voting for the Hamley Bridge and Balaklava Railway Bill. Mann, who was President of the Society, said that he knew 'he would get into hot water in Clare' but he had voted in the

---

92 Ibid, 9 November 1883, 2g and 3a.

93 Ibid, 22 February 1884, 3c.

94 The Port Pirie Gazette believed Hawker to have personal interests in railway lines. 3 June 1879, 2e.

95 Ibid, 9 October 1874, 2ef.

96 Ibid, 27 October 1874, 2e.

interests of constituents in another part of the electorate and, he believed, in the interests of the whole country. Crabb's interjection - 'I have a stake in Clare' he said, 'and Mr. Mann has done it an injustice' - was followed by prolonged cheering, and his later speech which referred to his loss of faith in Mann's support for Clare was also received with loud applause. Hosier and Gleeson both showed disapproval at Crabb's outburst, but the meeting would not listen to Hosier's attempt to justify Mann's vote. Certainly the majority of the dinner guests seemed to be on Crabb's side.<sup>97</sup>

A letter in the Northern Argus soon after the dinner supported Crabb's criticism:

Although a few of the would be *elite* of Clare, who have very little interest in the town so far as property goes, attempted to put our worthy Mayor down, he was I am happy to say equal to the occasion, and successfully demonstrated to the public generally that Mr. Mann has not only not performed what he promised the Clareites, but has acted in direct opposition to their views ... 98

The only person who fitted the description of 'would be *elite*' with little property in Clare was Hosier, the solicitor. Other Clare men at the dinner were Hope, Young and Gleeson, who all owned considerable property. Despite the suggestion that some perceived Crabb as defending Clare against Mann and a disloyal, 'would-be *elite*', all the leading men, including Crabb and Hosier, were united at a railway meeting in November, and in April 1878 Mann and Kingston were elected unopposed, with Crabb heading the list of those nominating Mann as a candidate.<sup>99</sup>

Government responses to the requests of Clare's leading citizens were not all negative, although none had any long term benefit. A

---

97 Ibid, 12 October 1877, 3de. Similar criticisms were made at Crystal Brook.

98 Ibid, 16 October 1877, 3a.

99 Ibid, 2 April 1878, 2g.

survey was promised for a line from Saddleworth to Clare but the Report of the Railway Commission in 1875 specifically ruled out railways to any town within fifteen miles of a railway, and thus Clare's proximity to Farrell Flat ruled out a railway for Clare.<sup>100</sup> In 1878 the government introduced a Riverton-Clare Railway Bill which was defeated although Hawker and Mann voted for it.<sup>101</sup> A Select Committee set up in 1881 visited a number of country towns, and interviewed Bain, Kimber, Gray, Crabb and Taylor at Clare.<sup>102</sup> These men were examined because of their importance in the town: the doctor, the miller, the mayor, the saddler and the new owner of Ramsay's machine foundry. From the transcript of their interviews comes the surprising evidence of rather luke-warm support for a railway to Clare. All except Gray supported a line from Riverton to Gladstone via Clare, but apart from Taylor, the others agreed that it was not essential to go to the great expense of the £582,000 estimated cost immediately. Gray, who was a carrier, as well as a publican, believed that there was adequate railway accommodation in the area already, and the road carriers could easily cope with the surplus. Of course his carrying trade would decrease if there were a railway to Clare. Taylor argued that a railway from Adelaide would save 5% on all manufactured iron. He was also concerned that a decision by the government to make another line would 'injure' Clare's interests, because other townships would spring up. This was basically the main worry of the Clare people. Like other towns

---

100 Meinig, *op.cit.*, pp.140-141.

101 *Northern Argus*, 15 November 1878, 2ef.

102 *SAPP*, 1881, Vol.111, No.109, pp.38-41 (9 September 1881).

between Riverton and Gladstone, they wanted a railway,<sup>103</sup> but even more strongly they did not want a rival town to get the benefits they were denied. This was well illustrated by the public meeting in October, called by Mayor Gray after a requisition of 82 signatures, to protest against extension of the Blyth railway to Gladstone, the only route which had been endorsed by the Select Committee.<sup>104</sup> The meeting unanimously supported a protest to the Legislative Council,<sup>105</sup> which eventually rejected the bill.<sup>106</sup> Finally, despite a Clare delegation being assured by the Commissioner of Public Works that the 1883 survey of a Riverton to Clare railway would be taken to Cabinet<sup>107</sup> in September 1884 when Hawker moved in the House of Assembly for a permanent survey, the Commissioner spoke against it and it was negated.<sup>108</sup> Once again the Clare railway faded into the realms of lost promises.

Despite constant efforts from the leading men of Clare and support from their members of parliament, Clare still had no railway. Having 'missed out' in the early years of railway expansion of the 1860s, when Clare had been one of the major towns to the north of Adelaide, she had been bypassed in the 1870s despite the great increase in railway building in the second half of the decade.<sup>109</sup> When the new wheatlands were being opened up the hopes and therefore expenditure of South Australia had moved farther north than Clare.

---

103 Ibid, 1881, Vol.IV, No.141, Petition for Railway from Riverton to Gladstone (705 signatures); Hirst, op.cit., p.103.

104 Meinig, op.cit., p.147.

105 SAPP, 1881, Vol.IV, No.168; Petition against Blyth and Gladstone Railway; Northern Argus, 21 October 1881, 2e.

106 Meinig, op.cit., p.147.

107 Northern Argus, 1 July 1884, 3ab.

108 Ibid, 23 September 1884, 2cd.

109 Meinig, op.cit., p.146.

Among other factors, the lack of real 'local' political representatives at the right time had helped Clare get left behind other towns in the railway race. As Meinig noted, the last of the railway controversies of the early 1880s concerned extension into areas far to the north of Clare, which was seen as of far greater importance to South Australia than filling in the gaps in the mid-north. After 1884 the 'drought, depressed economy, and abrupt halt of frontier expansion brought a complete cessation of railway extension in the agricultural North'.<sup>110</sup>

The Clare elite had worked hard in a united effort to pressure parliament for a railway, but after 1884 they had to accept that they would not be successful.<sup>111</sup> The lack of a railway was a major factor in Clare's economic decline, and therefore in encouraging the elite to look for alternative ways of improving the prosperity of Clare.

Power: 1868 to 1885 - local politics

In September 1868 the Clare correspondent to the Advertiser reported

Clare is no longer under the domination of the outlying district, but has become a corporate town under its own local government, with E.B. Gleeson, Esq., our esteemed Stipendiary Magistrate as Mayor, and Mr. Lennon, who has had long experience as District Clerk and Local Court Clerk, as the Town Clerk. 112

The Corporation had been set up as a result of a memorial to the government in July from 115 ratepayers requesting incorporation of

---

110 Ibid, p.152.

111 Clare did not get its railway until 1918: Noye, R. Clare A district history. Coromandel Valley, Lynton Publications 1975, p.66.

112 Advertiser, 11 September 1868, 3d.

Clare and specifying the membership of the first Corporation.<sup>113</sup>

The setting up of the Corporation was to cement the domination of townsmen over town affairs. It also reflected the growing importance of the town as the centre of the district. After 1868 there were two local authorities centred in Clare: the Corporation headed by the elected Mayor, and the District Council with its self-selected Chairman. To be elected Mayor of Clare was to have gained the pinnacle of local power, although there was in reality more prestige than power in that position. The Chairman of the District Council was also an important individual, but less so than the Mayor, because he was chosen by the members of the Council after the election, and led the district rather than the town. The District Council was concerned mainly with rates and roads, whereas the Corporation was a powerful institution, and made important decisions on issues such as police, street lighting, sanitation, tree-planting and education, as well as rates and roads. The issues of the school-teacher in 1872, tree planting in 1877 and the Salvation Army in 1884, illustrated the power of the Corporation and the struggle over who should wield it. These and other issues also showed how the Corporation was at times reluctant to make decisions and looked towards parliament in Adelaide to make them.

The membership of local government needs to be examined before generalizations can be made about its prestige and power. The leading individual in local government was the Mayor of Clare, and only fourteen men held this position during the nineteenth century. E.B. Gleeson had been appointed the first Mayor when the Corporation was set up in 1868. He retired at the end of 1869 and died in 1870

---

113 Register, 17 July 1868, 3g. The membership was Gleeson, one farmer, and five small businessmen - a carpenter, shoemaker, butcher, storekeeper and publican.



and Dr. Webb held the position of the first elected Mayor until his death in June 1870. Including Webb there were nine Mayors between 1870 and 1885. The others were Andrew Young, storekeeper, who had unsuccessfully contested the election with Webb, was elected in his place after his death, was re-elected against the opposition of another storekeeper, Julius Victorsen, became a JP in 1874, while no longer Mayor, and was to have another term as Mayor in 1884; Charles Kimber JP, miller, who was elected twice unopposed, and also had another term in 1880; Thomas Henry Hosier, solicitor, who was elected for three terms, was opposed only on the first occasion and became a JP during his third term; Henry Crabb, saddler, who was elected unopposed for two terms and became a JP during his second term; Alfred Palmer JP, retired miller, who was elected unopposed for one year, but lost his second attempt at the end of 1879 after a campaign showing strong personal hostilities towards him; Frederick Cooper Gray, publican and carrier, who was elected for two terms unopposed and who was never appointed a JP probably because of his hotel business; Thomas R. Bright, solicitor, who served one term with no opposition, and was appointed JP during that term; and John Christison JP, brewer, who was elected at the end of 1884 in the last contested election for the century, and who served a further two terms.

The chairman of the District Council had been the most important individual in local government until the setting up of the Corporation. After 1868 there were nine holders of this still prestigious position until mid 1886, predominantly men involved in the agricultural or pastoral industries: John Gleeson, farmer, had been chairman in the last year before the Corporation was formed under his father's leadership, and he remained in the position for the next year;

John Emery, the overseer of 'Hill River', was chairman for three years in two separate periods and a member of the Council for a total of eight years; T.W. Powell, clerk of Clare Local Court was chairman for four years; five farmers served, only one from Clare, Thomas Ashby, who served three terms as chairman; and T.N. Grierson, manager of 'Hill River' was a member of the Council for two years, and chairman for a short time before leaving Clare. After the elections in 1886, George Lloyd, a Clare farmer was to remain Chairman of the District Council until 1906.

Two generalizations can be made about the composition of the Corporation and District Council during the period from the first appointed Corporation until 1885.<sup>114</sup> Firstly, all members of the Corporation lived in the actual town of Clare or close enough to be considered Clare men, whereas 61.7% of the District Councillors were non-Clare men. Secondly, whereas the District Council, both before and after the formation of the Corporation, was composed predominantly of men with agricultural interests,<sup>115</sup> the biggest group in the Corporation were the self-employed businessmen, skilled tradesmen and storekeepers, followed by professional men and 'gentlemen'.<sup>116</sup>

---

114 Note: for comparative purposes the District Council statistics do not include the year mid 1885 to 1886, during which both Grierson and one non-Clare farmer were Chairmen. They were included in the above list for convenience, because after 1886 the Chairmanship was not to change for the rest of the century. See pp.300-1, for comparison with 1885 to 1900.

115 29 individuals held 81 positions in the District Council from 1869 to mid 1885. Percentages given for occupations are based on 81 positions. 77.8% of the District Council membership were stockholders, farmers or overseers: 64.2% were farmers.

116 42 individuals held 118 positions in the Corporation from 1869 to 1884, 10 as Mayors, including Gleeson and Webb. Percentages given for occupations are based on 118 positions. The 66.9% of self-employed small businessmen consisted of 36 skilled tradesmen, 35 storekeepers and 8 factory owners. The 25.4% professionals and gentlemen included a doctor, three solicitors, an editor, a retired farmer, and a retired miller.

The Mayor was featured prominently in the press before his election and during his term of office. This fact and the relative amount of detailed reporting in the Northern Argus of the elections, meetings and activities of the Corporation and the District Council are evidence that the administration of the larger area and population of the District Council was considered less important than the administration of the town itself, where there were more varied issues to occupy the Corporation. For these reasons this section will concentrate on the power and prestige of the Mayor and the Corporation, while acknowledging that the Chairman and District Council had powers over rates and roads that made their decisions of obvious importance to the station owners, their managers and overseers, and to farmers and carriers of goods. Apart from the station owners themselves, the other groups were all represented on the District Council, as were small businessmen from small townships in the district.

The position of Mayor of Clare held more prestige than power, as Corporation decisions were made by a majority of the membership, which consisted of six councillors as well as the Mayor. However, on a tied vote the Mayor could make the final decision. The period from 1867 to 1885 was one in which the only five contested elections for the century occurred. Five of the nine elected Mayors<sup>117</sup> faced opposition, but twelve of the seventeen elections were uncontested, and the Mayors were nominated unopposed. The competition for the prestigious position of Mayor was an indication of the divisions in the Clare community as seen particularly in the

---

117 Webb, Young, Hosier, Palmer, Christison.

opposition to Webb in November 1869, to Palmer a decade later, and to Christison in 1884. The opposition of Andrew Young to Webb was a relic of the conflicts of the District Council days; the opposition to Palmer and Christison will be dealt with in more detail later. Of the nine elected Mayors of this period, five served more than a one-year term. With the exception of Young in 1871 and Palmer in 1879 Mayors standing for a consecutive term were not opposed, and all other Mayors retired voluntarily. Six of the Mayors had previous experience in local government,<sup>118</sup> but Hosier, Palmer and Bright, although without previous experience, were all elected unopposed to the position. As further evidence of the prestige of the position of Mayor, only one nineteenth-century Mayor was not a JP either before, during or after a term as Mayor.<sup>119</sup>

Although John Garrard's study of the middle class in nineteenth century local politics<sup>120</sup> was of large industrialized English towns its conclusions can be paralleled in the study of the small, agricultural-based South Australian town of Clare. He described an 'ideology' in local politics which 'encourages and legitimises participation ... by the "man of property and substance"'. He stressed that this led to a 'fairly open political elite' where the 'self-made' man was regarded as having qualities particularly appropriate for local politics. While he warned against 'falling into the old trap' of assuming that holding local government office was 'synonymous with the possession of power', he argued that such office gave the businessman 'considerable influence' and prestige.

---

118 Young, Kimber, Gray and Christison one year, Crabb two and Webb ten years' experience.

119 From 1870 to 1885 Kimber, Palmer and Christison were already JPs; Hosier, Crabb and Bright while Mayor, Young after one term and before another; Webb had lost his position; Gray was never JP.

120 Garrard, J. 'The middle classes and nineteenth century national and local politics' in Garrard, J. et al. The middle class in politics, Farnborough, Saxon House, 1978.

Garrard stressed the particular importance of the mayoralty in Victorian industrial towns, as the achievement of that position of crucial leadership was 'the ultimate, and most visible, social accolade.' He described the 'ritual' of reluctance to accept nomination for office, particularly for mayor. This ritual included the need for numerous signed requisitions and large deputations and the stress on 'duty' in the acceptance speeches. This ritual was very noticeable in Clare, particularly for the position of mayor. It may also have been true of other council members, but they were less frequently reported in the press. Although local politics in Clare were on a small scale compared with Garrard's towns they exhibited very similar characteristics.

It became a tradition in Clare, to present each candidate for Mayor with a requisition, stating his qualifications and listing the names of those who would support him. The Northern Argus reported in November 1871 that Kimber had been asked to stand for the Mayoralty of Clare by 'all the leading rate payers in the municipality'. Kimber accepted his requisition, and the report continued: 'He will of course be elected, as no other man in Clare has the slightest chance of success in opposing him'.<sup>121</sup> He was elected unopposed, as he was again the next year. In September 1878 Crabb, who had served two terms, decided not to stand again. He read a 'very flattering requisition, which was numerously signed' to Palmer requesting he accept nomination to the office of Mayor:

Mr. Palmer expressed himself highly gratified at the mark of respect and confidence thus shown him by his townsmen. He felt he had not done so much for the town as was set forth in the requisition ...

---

121 Northern Argus, 10 November 1871, 2e.

[However] ... if common sense and energy were considered the necessary elements he felt that he might succeed if elected.

Solicitor Bright moved a vote of thanks to Crabb. 'He had never seen the office better filled, for Mr. Crabb had devoted a deal of time to his municipal duties'.<sup>122</sup> The requisition to Palmer,<sup>123</sup> and the vote of thanks to Crabb, showed the need for the leading men of the town to have 'respect and confidence' in the Mayor, and the expectation that that individual should spend time and energy on his duties. Sadly for Palmer, some of the men who signed his requisition in 1878 opposed him strongly in 1879, and he lost that election.

The Mayors of Clare called most public meetings, opened social functions and were involved in any deputations in the town's interest, as particularly illustrated by their involvement in the attempts to get a railway for Clare and their chairing the Vigilance Committee from 1882.<sup>124</sup> Another example of a Mayor assuming the expected leadership role was in 1875 when Hosier called a meeting to consider the policy of the government. Hosier, a solicitor, spoke against the proposed Stamp Duties Bill with vehemence:

By the proposed tax the middle and poorer classes would suffer, while squatters and capitalists would not pay one-tenth. The fairest would be income and property taxes, which would touch the wealthy and absentees.

The meeting of leading citizens strongly supported the proposal to approve the action of the Legislative Council which had rejected the Bill.<sup>125</sup> In the next issue of the Northern Argus a letter writer accused Hosier of acting in bad taste in speaking against the bill,

---

122 Ibid, 6 September 1878, 2e.

123 Ibid, 10 September 1878, 3f. The requisition was signed by 35 ratepayers, including Crabb JP, Beare JP, Young JP, Gleeson JP, Hosier JP (who opposed Palmer in 1879), T. Bright, T. Ninnes, F.C. Gray, A. Tilbrook and W. Kelly.

124 See below, p.317.

125 Northern Argus, 5 November 1875, 3b.

as that was not the role of a chairman.<sup>126</sup> However, in the following issue a letter supported the Mayor, as it was in line with 'South Australian etiquette' for a chairman to play a 'positive part' in the meeting.<sup>127</sup> It had certainly been part of 'Clare etiquette' from the earliest days, when E.B. Gleeson chaired most meetings, for the chairman, after 1868 generally the Mayor, to have his say on the particular subject of the meeting. Mayors, like JPs, and there was a close relationship between the two positions, always had public respect in Clare in the nineteenth century, a situation not of course unique to that town.

The Mayor and Corporation were perceived as having power over local issues, and therefore having the responsibility of providing leadership for the benefit of the town. The Corporation and individual members were sometimes accused of abusing this power, and there were examples of conflicting interests within the Corporation. Although there were a number of areas in which the Mayor and Corporation did provide leadership, they were sometimes accused of not doing this adequately. We now examine the use and abuse of power, the conflicts and the leadership role of the Corporation.

In July 1874 Mayor Hosier expressed doubts over the capability of Clare to handle the responsibilities of a Corporation, although he considered it the most important body in town, followed by the Institute in second position:

He thought it was a mistake to form corporations so soon. Clare was not ripe for it yet, and, therefore, one here ought not to have existed. But the mistake had been made, and they had to do their best to carry out improvements. 128

---

126 Ibid, 9 November 1875, 2f.

127 Ibid, 12 November 1875, 2e.

128 Ibid, 10 July 1874, 3b.

As Mayor for only six months he was obviously aware of the expectations held of the Corporation and the responsibilities it had. The editor of the Northern Argus responding to Hosier's speech, supported the setting up of the Corporation, arguing that it had been set up mainly because the Central Road Board neglected Clare. He argued that most of the money collected had been spent on roads and other improvements, and very little on salaries.<sup>129</sup> William Kelly, the editor, was a member of the Corporation from 1870 to 1897, and was to be Mayor thirteen times between 1888 and 1907, so it is understandable why he supported it so strongly.

Hosier's lack of enthusiasm probably came from his experience in January of that year when a great flood in Clare caused considerable damage to the main road and bridges. As a result of a requisition signed by all the leading citizens of the town,<sup>130</sup> he called a public meeting to consider ways of raising funds. The meeting set up a deputation, including Hosier, Kimber, Gleeson and Beare, to request the government for a supplement to the suggested special rate.<sup>131</sup> However, a ratepayers' meeting strongly rejected a special rate so no government help was sought.<sup>132</sup> The Corporation was to face this problem frequently; the ratepayers' desire for town improvements was not supported by their willingness to pay for them, and the Corporation did not have the power to adopt a special rate without the ratepayers' support. The Corporation's road problem was taken out of its hands when the 1874 Act set up eight district road boards. The reason this Act was passed whereas previous attempts had failed, was because it provided that 'the board's funds for both construction

---

129 Ibid, 15 September 1874, 2cde.

130 Ibid, 16 January 1874, 3f.

131 Ibid, 23 January 1874, 3b. Estimated damage was £1,200.

132 Ibid, 30 January 1874, 2de and 3bc.



and maintenance should be voted by parliament'.<sup>133</sup> It was no longer the responsibility of local government to provide funds for roads and the North Midland Road Board made the decisions on applications from councils and individuals.<sup>134</sup>

Issues over which the Corporation members were accused of abusing their powers by discriminating in favour of or against certain groups included making roads, administering by-laws, and planting trees. In 1871 there were examples of the first two categories. In June the editorial of the Northern Argus complained:

Householders on the west side of the River Hutt pay rates to the Corporation and yet their butcher and bakers have to make circuits of half a mile to cross the river. Those households might think that they have reason to expect a roadway made across the river, as the Corporation goes to considerable trouble and expense in making up sundry small streets on the east side of the town. But in doing so, they would lose sight of one important consideration - they have no Mayor living on their side of Main Street. 135

Mayor Young was again criticised by the editor in July for trying to push his own interests about a certain pathway at the Corporation meeting, causing Councillor Kelly to complain that 'It was not right that some parts of the town should have their wants attended to while others are entirely ignored'.<sup>136</sup> Kelly as both editor and Councillor was obviously unhappy with what he saw as discrimination in favour of interests related to those of the Mayor. Also in August 1871, Kimber, sitting on the Local Court Bench with Beare, fined four men on behalf of the Corporation for not having their names painted on their carts. However, at the end of the court session,

---

133 Hirst, op.cit., p.130.

134 See below, pp.273-75 for problems concerned with this Board.

135 Northern Argus, 16 June 1871, 2e.

136 Ibid, 14 July 1871, 2e and 3b.

Mr. Kimber said that, while the Mayor and Inspector had themselves carts which had no names painted on them, those officers ought not to sanction the prosecution of other people for neglecting to have their names painted on their drays. 137

Another accusation of discrimination in favour of the Corporation members' own interests was made by 'Idler' in his column in November, 1875. He said he would refuse to pay rates if he were a resident of the outskirts of Clare, because the 'principal thoroughfare seems to absorb all the money, yet a large share of the expenses are borne by those who derive no benefit'.<sup>138</sup> This was not surprising as the majority of Councillors had offices or businesses on the main street, and it was the most frequently used by traffic and the most 'noticeable' street when in poor condition.

The issue of tree-planting in 1879 led to further accusations of abuse of Corporation power, and to an unusual contested election against a sitting Mayor. The Corporation voted with no dissension on June 17 to spend £30 in planting an avenue of trees along Lennon Street, one of the wider streets of the town.<sup>139</sup> A letter in the Northern Argus on June 24 pointed out that this avenue would lead to Mayor Palmer's residence, belonging to Councillor Kelly, and that Councillors Kelly and Tilbrook also lived in that vicinity. It also claimed that tree-planting was unnecessary as Clare was set in a 'forest'.<sup>140</sup> Mayor Palmer called a public meeting at the request of a long list of ratepayers, at which he and Councillors T.S. Stacy a storekeeper, and A. Tilbrook, co-owner of the Northern Argus argued that long term benefits would result from a small outlay of

---

137 Ibid, 11 August 1871, 2f.

138 Ibid, 19 November 1875, 3a.

139 Ibid, 20 June 1879, 2g.

140 Ibid, 24 June 1879, 2f.

money. However, the meeting led by Crabb JP, Young JP, Hosier JP and the chemist E.C. Rix disapproved of the expenditure by a large majority, basing their arguments on the unnecessary waste of money and the many trees already growing in Clare.<sup>141</sup> An attempt at the next Corporation meeting to allow the motion for the trees to lapse was defeated, as Palmer, Kelly, Tilbrook and Stacy spoke strongly for the original motion.<sup>142</sup>

This issue provided the background for the Mayoral contest at the end of the year, when Palmer, the sitting Mayor, found himself with an opponent, Hosier, who was supported by Young, Beare, Kimber and Rix. Palmer's requisition included the signatures of Dr. Bain, Ninnes, Kelly, A. and H.H. Tilbrook, Rev. R.B. Webb and Crabb.<sup>143</sup>

A regular columnist of the Northern Argus claimed that Bain had been asked to stand but would not do so as he believed that Palmer 'had defrauded no one, neither had he oppressed any one', and deserved to serve another term.<sup>144</sup> A letter to the editor saw the opposition to Palmer as the result of jealousy, and stated, 'A contested election at the present time is unnecessary and undesirable - a fact the clique cannot deny'. It pointed out that some of the men whose names were on Hosier's requisition had opposed planting trees, but wanted to throw away £20 to £30 on an election.<sup>145</sup> Another regular columnist, 'Idler', claimed Palmer was being opposed for being 'too strict in carrying out his duties', doing too much work himself, and not having 'so much influence with the authorities in the city

---

141 Ibid, 8 July 1879, 2fg; see Tilbrook's letter, 27 June 1879, 2ef.

142 Ibid, 18 July 1879, 3a.

143 Ibid, 23 September 1879, 3g; 26 September 1879, 2d and 3d.

144 Ibid, 3a.

145 Ibid, 30 September 1879, 2g.

as Mr. Hosier has'. Although Hosier was the favourite, Palmer should be allowed another year.<sup>146</sup> The strongest proof that the 'clique' was determined to defeat Palmer came after Hosier died unexpectedly on November 21st. Rather than leaving the election uncontested, Hosier's committee decided to nominate Kimber, who defeated Palmer 103 votes to 68.<sup>147</sup> Palmer was to face similar hostility when he stood as a candidate for Stanley in the 1884 election and came only third in Clare and last in Stanley.<sup>148</sup> In both 1879 and 1884 the Clare elite were divided over their personal feelings towards one man, rather than on any basic issue.<sup>149</sup>

The 1879 election had been only the fourth opposed election for Mayor since 1868, and the second and last in which a sitting Mayor was opposed during the nineteenth century. In 1884 the fifth and last opposed Mayoral election for the century occurred. This marked the end of competition for the prestigious position of Mayor, and the beginning of a period when, although the 'ritual' of requisitions and deputations continued, there was general consensus on who was worthy of holding the office, with affluence, leisure and ability being the major criteria for selection.<sup>150</sup>

In November 1884 John Christison and Edward Cecil Rix competed for the position of Mayor. Christison had arrived in South Australia in 1879, having accompanied from Scotland a shipload of cattle for J.H. Angas. He had managed 'Hill River' until he moved into Clare and became Mrs. Filgate's partner in the Clare Brewery in 1881. He

---

146 *Ibid*, 7 October 1879, 2f.

147 *Ibid*, 2 December 1879, 2f. Palmer had managed Kimber's mill from 1873 to 1878.

148 See below, pp.270-72.

149 Palmer's reputation as a rather self righteous Presbyterian and his opposition to Sunday opening of the Institute in September 1879 may have been contributing factors. See below, pp.218-19

150 See below, pp.298-300.

had been a member of the Corporation for a year. Rix had been the chemist in Clare since about 1876 and had served on the Corporation for the previous six years. The deputations which handed the requisitions to Christison and Rix were both described as 'influential'. Mayor Young presented the requisition to Christison, claiming there was no one in Clare 'more competent' to be Mayor. As a member of the deputation to Rix, Crabb, a former Mayor, said that although he had signed Christison's requisition, he felt Rix 'had a prior claim on the ratepayers for services rendered in the Council'. The published requisitions showed a number of differences. There were almost twice as many signatures on Christison's requisition, and it contained many of the elite of the town: including Young, Drs. Bain and Smith, H.H. and A. Tilbrook, solicitors Carter and Bright and publican Gray. He was also supported by the five other publicans, and at least fourteen women. Probably because Christison was a brewer, Rix had the support of the leading Methodist and temperance people of the town, including Kelly and Moyses, and also of a number of small businessmen.<sup>151</sup>

At the public meeting<sup>152</sup> called by Young to hear both men speak, Christison made three main points: he was sorry to put the town to the expense of an election, but he could not now retract his commitment; although his business premises were outside the Corporation boundaries 'he had a personal interest in real property in the town valued at considerably over £1,000'; and that although he had been on the Corporation for only one year, he believed he would not make a better Mayor if he had been a Councillor for 20 years. Christison

---

<sup>151</sup> Northern Argus, 7 November 1884, 2d, 2f and 3c.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 21 November 1884, 2def.

also showed his frank manner of speaking, something he was to become noted for:

He was not going to stand there and talk a lot of twaddle about what he had done in the past, or what he was likely to do in the future. He had only been a few years in Clare, and although he had been in public harness of some description ever since he had been amongst them he was well aware he had done very little; but what he had done he was not ashamed of, therefore he was not ashamed to stand there and ask them for their support.

He concluded by saying he would do his best if elected, but if not elected 'he would not cry over it'. Rix gave more emphasis to the actions he would follow as Mayor, and stressed his six years' experience on the Corporation. He claimed that both the Corporation and the Mayor lacked real power: the former because there was a 'very limited amount of money' available for public works, and the latter because he was in the hands of his Councillors. In fact, the Mayor's duty

was confined to presiding at the meetings of the Council in an honest and impartial manner, and to see the business of the Corporation conducted in regular a way [sic].

Both Christison's frankness and refusal to make promises, and Rix's stress on the honour rather than the power of the Mayor, are important evidence that the position of Mayor was associated with status as much as with power.

At the public meeting Bain and Bright proposed and seconded Christison as Mayor and both were rather abrasive about Rix coming into the competition; Bain because Rix had signed Christison's requisition, and Bright because he argued that Christison would be a better manager of Corporation finances. Christison himself, however, showed no hostility towards Rix, and explained that Rix had originally signed the requisition before he was aware he would be

asked to compete. J.E. Webb (baker) and S. Trestrail (auctioneer) proposed and seconded Rix, the former stating that Rix had been asked over a year before to stand for Mayor, and that it was the fault of his supporters that the requisition had not been organized three months before.

The detail of Christison's election victory was in the same issue of the Northern Argus which reported that he, O.W. Smith, W. Kelly and T. Ninnes had been appointed Justices of the Peace.<sup>153</sup> This Mayoral election was the last for the century, and the hostility of Bain and Bright towards Rix can be partly explained by their belief that there need be no election to choose a Mayor, but only a general agreement about which individual deserved the honour for the year. An examination of the groupings behind the two men indicated that Rix's supporters were against a candidate of the elite, who was a brewer, and who owed his support to his status and economic success, despite his relatively short stay in Clare. Christison's re-election without opposition to the position of Mayor for the next two years, indicates that there was no real antagonism to him as an individual. In fact in November 1885 the deputation to request he stand was led by Kelly who had previously supported Rix, but who now said that Christison

had done his duty fearlessly and well, and he had worked amicably with the Councillors ... the Mayor had done all he could for the town and the town would in consequence be benefitted. [sic] 154

Making roads and planting trees were issues over which there were accusations of Corporation misuse of power, and the opposition

---

153 Ibid, 2 December 1884, 2d and 2g. Christison won 65 to 45.  
154 Ibid, 17 November 1885, 2f.

to Palmer's re-election, and to Christison's election as Mayor showed divisions within the town over who should have that power. As sectarian divisions had been the major issues in parliamentary elections from 1868 to 1881,<sup>155</sup> it was not surprising that the two major differences of opinion within the Corporation on how to use that power were based on sectarian differences. The selection of the first school teacher for Clare Public School in 1872, was an issue which split the Corporation and the town on sectarian, and what the people involved called 'class' lines, and the Corporation reaction to the Salvation Army in 1884 and 1885 reflected the sectarian differences of its members and of the town as a whole.

In May 1872 Dr. Bain, representing the trustees of the school, handed over the keys of the new school to the Clare Corporation.<sup>156</sup> It had cost £572.8.9, the government grant was £200, and there was still a debt of £138.6.10.<sup>157</sup> The Board had approved a deed of trust vesting the school-house in the Clare Corporation, thus making it one of the hundred vested schools in South Australia in 1873.<sup>158</sup> Soon after the keys had been handed over to the Corporation, Mayor Kimber called a meeting of rate-payers to work out how to pay the debt owed on the new school. The meeting rejected the proposal for a special 3d. rate, but appointed collectors to obtain voluntary subscriptions.<sup>159</sup> Once again the rate-payers of Clare were reluctant to take responsibility for paying for what was accepted as a needed institution, and preferred to leave the payment to volunteers.

---

155 See above, pp.158-60.

156 Northern Argus, 17 May 1872, 3e.

157 Ibid, 2 February 1872, 2ef; 24 May 1872, 2f.

158 Hirst, op.cit., p.136.

159 Northern Argus, 24 May 1872, 3b.



Now it was the responsibility of the Corporation to appoint a teacher to the new school. This was to cause a difference of opinion within the Corporation, reflecting the division among the town's leading citizens, over who was the most suitable candidate. The editorial of the Northern Argus of May 31st set the parameters for the Corporation's task. It made three major points: that now the new school was at last finished a 'fit and proper teacher' was needed; that 'what is generally known as a good "middle class education" is what the school should profess to give and what should be obtained by its scholars'; and that there was a 'religious difficulty', so that although all creeds and sects could never be completely satisfied the teachers should have 'very liberal religious principles'.<sup>160</sup> The Corporation had decided on May 27 to advertise for a Master and Mistress for Clare Public School in both the Northern Argus and the Adelaide dailies,<sup>161</sup> but the issue of who was 'fit and proper', the 'class' of education and the 'religious difficulty' were not to be settled easily. The Northern Argus reported that there had been a 'long and protracted struggle' at the Corporation meeting between those for and against appointing Mr. Stephens, the holder of the 'Government grant' at Clare since 1869, and claimed that 'one denomination of religion' had supported him against 'strenuous opposition'.<sup>162</sup> Of course the whole town knew that Stephens was a Methodist, and despite the editor rephrasing his statement to 'some members of the denomination',<sup>163</sup> he was attacked by the irate Rev. E.B. Burns:

---

160 Ibid, 31 May 1872, 2de.

161 Ibid, 2b and 3c.

162 Ibid, 2e and 3c. Stephens' government grant: see 10 December 1869, 2c.

163 Ibid, 7 June 1872, 2f.

Mr. Editor, you have no right to misrepresent the Methodist denomination; neither have you any right to impute sinister motives to any of its members. I think you should always avoid the very appearance of sectarian bias, especially in a case like this, when you cannot but know that it is to a great extent on sectarian grounds that the present teacher is objected to by a certain party. 164

At the Corporation meeting of June 10th the seven applicants were narrowed down to two: Thomas Stephens and Lionel W. Stanton who had set up the 'Clare Grammar School' for 20 to 30 boys at 10 guineas per annum in October 1870.<sup>165</sup> Whereas Stephens and Mary Stephens presented 'First-class testimonials' from the Chief Inspector and the second Inspector of Schools, Stanton presented

First class testimonials, accompanied by local ones received from the following: Mr. J. Hope, Mr. A. Young, Mrs. Gleeson, Mr. Greenwood, Mrs. Filgate, Messrs. E. Smith, J. Scott and J. Harder.

A number of these supporters were very influential individuals. Stanton also had the support of Mayor Kimber who was 'decidedly of the opinion that Mr. Stanton was the best man',<sup>166</sup> and of the editor of the Northern Argus who quoted arguments that people were sending their children to Watervale rather than to Stephen's school. This latter view was set out in a letter from 'Justice', who believed that

the man who, judging by the testimonials read at the last meeting of the Corporation, had satisfied the parents of the most promising youths of Clare as to his superior abilities and fitness as a teacher of youth, was the man we wanted. 167

Surely 'Justice' meant by 'most promising youths' that their parents were the most influential and prestigious?

Both the editor and 'Justice' criticised the Corporation for its decision, by one vote, to request that the Board of Education decide

---

164 Ibid, 14 June 1872, 3a.

165 Ibid, 21 October 1870, 1d.

166 Ibid, 14 June 1872, 3c.

167 Ibid, 2e and 2g.

between the two candidates, rather than decide for themselves. The mover of this motion had been William Kelly, who was a strong supporter of Stephens. He, like the other three who voted in favour of this motion, was a Methodist. Obviously he was not writing the editorials of the Northern Argus at this time, although he was editor from about 1870 onwards. The editor's opinions show that either the owner, H.H. Tilbrook or his brother Alfred was in command. Both of the Tilbrooks, Kimber and the other supporters of Stanton were members of the Church of England, and interestingly there was never any mention that Stanton was a 'sidesman' of that church.<sup>168</sup>

In the 21 June issue of the Northern Argus there were two reports and three letters which all weighed in Stanton's favour. The report of the presentation of prizes for the Clare Grammar School stressed the 'wonderful degree of proficiency' gained by Stanton's pupils. The Anglican Rev. J.A. Boake and Dr. Bain were the examiners. Bain, one of the most highly respected men in town, praised Stanton's 'ability to educate boys, not merely in the rudiments of education, but also in its higher branches'.<sup>169</sup> The prize-winners included boys with surnames Gleeson, Young and Kimber, all influential families in Clare. The report of the Wesleyan Church public meeting to support Home Missions mentioned the involvement of two Councillors, McDougal who gave the annual report, and Kelly who was in the chair, and whose speech would have given support to those who opposed a Methodist teacher. He stressed that the Wesleyan church was a 'missionary church' which would overcome any difficulties with 'divine strength'.<sup>170</sup> This missionary zeal of the Wesleyans was something that was feared and

---

168 Ibid, 14 April 1871, 3a; 5 April 1872, 3b.

169 Ibid, 21 June 1872, 2fg.

170 Ibid, 3c.

disliked by other sects for there was evidence of Wesleyan expansion in the town of Clare in the 1870s. Although they retained the third position numerically to the Church of England and Catholic churches their proportion of the sectarian adherence increased between 1871 and 1881 while the proportions of both the others decreased. This growth was to continue for the rest of the century, with the Wesleyans in 1901 leading the other two in the town and being second to the Catholics in the district.<sup>171</sup>

Two of the letters to the editor on 21 June supported Stanton as the better man, and implied that those supporting Stephens were only doing so for sectarian motives. The third letter was from Stephens, who unwisely attacked the editor, who was supporting Stanton, on personal grounds including his lack of logic and his liking for local beer.<sup>172</sup> In his next editorial, the editor ridiculed Stephens' 'peurile [sic] attempt ... at self defence', and claimed that his letter made him 'the laughing stock even of boys'. This same editorial supported the Board of Education's refusal to make the decision, and argued that the Corporation should act on the memorial sent to the Board by 81 ratepayers who supported Stanton, especially as 'amongst those names may be found the most influential in the township'. Stanton, the editor argued, must be the choice of those who had laboured for the building of the new school, or they would not have made such exertions, when Stephens already had a school with a government grant.<sup>173</sup> This last point was important

---

171 In the 1871 census 35.6% of the total Corporation and District were Catholics, 25.8% Anglicans and 21.7% Methodists. In the town itself the Methodists' percentage increased from 13.8% in 1871 to 16.5% in 1881. In 1901 Methodists had increased to 25.9% over the total Corporation and District and 26.3% in the town.

172 Northern Argus, 21 June 1872, 3ab.

173 Ibid, 28 June 1872, 2c.

as the membership of the Public School Committee had included Kimber, Crabb and Harmer, all Councillors who supported Stanton, and Bain who also supported him.<sup>174</sup>

The claim that 'the most influential' people in the town supported Stanton brought out another aspect of the school-teacher debate. This centred around a difference of opinion over what was the function of the Public School, what 'class' of education it was to provide, and for whom it was to provide it. The 'most influential' people were obviously already sending their boys to Stanton's private school, and perhaps there was some truth behind Rev. Burns' question in his letter published on 5 July. He asked,

Do the supporters of Mr. Stanton expect to get the same kind and quality of education for their boys for one shilling per week as that for which they now pay for? Surely not.

Stanton's Grammar School took only older boys and taught Latin and French, as well as the basic grammar school subjects. Rev. Burns argued that Stanton was too well qualified to be the teacher of a public school which must teach 'common school work' to children of all ages, while Stephens taught the basic skills very competently as evidenced by his former pupils' successes in Stanton's school examinations. Rev. Burns' letter showed he saw a difference between providing education for the ordinary people and providing education for the elite. The first should be provided by government schools where the State was involved in part of the expense of the building and paying all of the teacher's salary. But for the elite,

There should be a higher school in every town - a school at which boys whose parents have the means may finish their educational programme; for to my mind it is *in fra dig* for the aristocracy of any country to have their high-born boys educated

---

174 Ibid, 19 May 1871, 2b.

partly at the expense of the State and partly at their own; while for business men - men in affluent circumstances - to do the same thing would be an imposition on the funds of the commonwealth. 175

Nowhere did girls get any mention in this debate, although the Public School, as had Stephens', taught both girls and boys.

The supporters of Stephens may be seen as looking for a rationalization for their 'sectarian' motives, but they stuck to Burns' argument to the very end. At the 24 June Corporation meeting, a vote was taken to appoint Stanton, with only Kelly and Treleaven, both Wesleyans, voting against. Of the other two Wesleyans, McDougal abstained and Roach voted for Stanton, because nine-tenths of his constituents supported him. Both Kelly and Treleaven admitted that Stanton was a good teacher, but Treleaven was afraid he would not pay enough attention to the 'small boys' and

Councillor Kelly said his only objection to Mr. Stanton was that he was too high a class man for the school, and that with a mixed lot he could not pay attention to all, thus the poorer boys would get neglected.

Councillor Crabb believed that if Stephens were teacher it would be a 'low-class school', and Mayor Kimber said the object of those promoting the school (of whom he was one) was 'to make a first-class one of it, feeling that Mr. Stephens' school was not equal to the wants of Clare'.<sup>176</sup>

So the Clare Corporation had chosen Stanton as a 'fit and proper teacher' for their Public School. Those in favour of him believed he would provide the good 'middle class education' they wanted for their children, and they had overcome the 'religious difficulty' by refusing to appoint a teacher who, they believed, was a member of a

---

175 Ibid, 5 July 1872, 3b.

176 Ibid, 12 July 1872, 3bcd.

sect which did not have 'very liberal religious principles'.<sup>177</sup> So, Lionel Stanton, a Church of England sidesman and later churchwarden, of high educational competence, and a private grammar school teacher to older boys, became the first Clare Public School teacher, in charge of 192 children and three teachers.<sup>178</sup> He must have been considered to be of high quality for he was promoted to school inspector in January 1876<sup>179</sup> and played an important (but unpopular) part in the South Australian education scene.<sup>180</sup> Thomas Stephens, a Wesleyan, a teacher of younger children and perhaps lesser competence, lost his government grant and his school. Not surprisingly he disappeared from the Clare scene without a farewell notice in the local paper.<sup>181</sup>

On this important issue, the Corporation and the town elite had divided largely on a sectarian basis. It is interesting to note that while Wesleyan adherents were just over a third in number of Church of England adherents in the Corporation in the 1871 census, four of the seven members of the Council were Wesleyans, and the others, including Mayor Kimber, were Anglicans. The Anglican dominated elite had won the battle in 1872 through influence and public pressure. Catholics, who made up nearly a third of the Corporation population, had no Corporation representative and no interest in the Public School because the Sisters of St. Joseph had set up their school in 1869.

---

177 Refer to p.184, and the editorial 31 May 1872, 2de.

178 SAPP, No.24, 1874, Vol.II. Report of Central Board of Education for 1873.

179 Northern Argus, 4 January 1876, 2d.

180 Thiele, C. Grains of mustard seed. Adelaide, Education Department, South Australia, 1975. Pp.21, 32-3, 60-61.

181 He became a principal of a high school in New Zealand: Rev. Kelly's Reminiscences in the Northern Argus, 20 July 1928, 6d.

The Corporation's power to appoint teachers, which it had not shown great willingness to use, was short-lived. The 1875 Education Act set up a compulsory centralized public education system. School Boards of Advice, appointed by the governor in Council, were to visit and report on the conditions of the schools. Those members of parliament who supported the local election of these Boards were outvoted by those who wished 'to avoid the possibility of sectarian conflict at elections'. Certainly the experience of 1872 in Clare showed this to be a reality. Hirst argued that local interest and participation in education were no longer required. The corporations and district councils had to transfer their vested schools to the new central administration.<sup>182</sup> According to Hirst, there was little regret in South Australia at the loss of local power over education, and this was certainly true of Clare where in January 1876, after Stanton had been appointed a school inspector by the new Council of Education, the Town Clerk wired to that body a request that the Council appoint 'a first class teacher' and a statement that the Corporation was prepared to hand over the trust deeds of the school 'as soon as the Council of Education was prepared to receive them'.<sup>183</sup>

In 1884 and 1885 there were divisions within the Corporation over the hiring of the Town Hall, resulting largely from sectarian differences of attitude towards 'free thought' and the Salvation Army. These differences of opinion reflected the divisions within the community as a whole. The first Salvation Army officer arrived in Clare in July 1884, and from the beginning the Army was greeted with

---

182 Hirst, op.cit., pp.142-143.

183 Northern Argus, 18 January 1876, 2b.



hostility. Eggs, mud and stones were thrown during its processions and meetings.<sup>184</sup> In August there was equal, but non-violent hostility towards Miss Ada Campbell, a 'free thinker', whose supporters wanted her to speak in Clare.

The Corporation's original refusal of publican F. Lane's request to hire the town hall for a short series of lectures by Miss Campbell<sup>185</sup> was rescinded on the motion of Christison.<sup>186</sup> This decision and the two decisions not to hire the hall to the Salvation Army,<sup>187</sup> showed the same basic division within the Corporation. Methodists Kelly and Ninnes were for the Salvation Army and against Miss Campbell, while brewer Christison and solicitor Carter, supported on different occasions by fellow Anglicans Rix and Young, 'free thinker' Lane and Catholic R. Graham, were the majority in favour of Miss Campbell and against the Salvation Army. Letters to the Northern Argus complained about the Corporation's decisions, which supported 'free-thought and infidelity' and were against the Salvation Army.<sup>188</sup> With the exception of the Methodist members, the Corporation reflected the community hostility towards the Salvation Army, not only over the hiring of the town hall. Although it decided it had no power to make by-laws to prevent street processions, as requested by a petition from 55 ratepayers,<sup>189</sup> it requested the Municipal Association of

---

184 Ibid, 22 July 1884, 2d and 2e. Reasons for this hostility are dealt with below, pp.242-49.

185 Ibid, 29 August 1884, 3a. Lane of the 'Globe' was of a 'decidedly free thought tendency': ibid, 11 June 1886, 2e.

186 Ibid, 12 September 1884, 2g.

187 Ibid, 24 October 1884, 3a; 18 September 1885, 2g.

188 Ibid, 16 September 1884, 2g; 23 September 1884, 2g; 28 October 1884, 2f.

189 Ibid, 26 September 1884, 2f. Compare the 56 persons supporting the Salvation Army's request to hire the hall in September 1885.

Adelaide to seek to amend the Municipal Council Act to allow them to pass such a by-law<sup>190</sup> although it did not press the issue.

The issues of the school teacher and the Salvation Army, were examples of conflicting interests within the Corporation over how it should use its power. Although between 1868 and 1885 the Corporation provided leadership for the town in some areas, in general its record was one of preferring to get rid of responsibility where possible, and of not carrying out its responsibilities adequately, and for this it received frequent criticism.

Three examples illustrate the Corporation being praised for its leadership. First in January 1872 the Northern Argus editorial complimented the Corporation for improving the appearance of the town, by encouraging people to pave the fronts of their shops, and with the help of the government's £ for £ subsidy organizing public works improvements in the town.<sup>191</sup> It was, of course, later that year that the editor criticised the Corporation for not wishing to make its own decision about who to appoint as teacher. A second compliment for the Corporation came in August 1874 in a letter to the editor from a J.H. Boxall of Clare. He supported the Corporation's insistence that W.L. Beare lower the footpath in front of his premises in Main Street:

The Council may *beare* and *forbeare* for a time, but they must ultimately triumph, and will receive the support of 'the people' notwithstanding the would-be oligarchy germinating in this prosperous township. <sup>192</sup>

This was a compliment for the Corporation for Boxall was an author of occasional letters critical of the elite of Clare society, and it

---

190 Ibid, 24 October 1884, 3a.

191 Ibid, 2 January 1872, 2cd.

192 Ibid, 4 August 1874, 2g.

was fine praise to be seen as resisting the pressures of one member of the elite, in the interests of the community. A third occasion when the Corporation was praised for its initiative occurred in 1875 when it decided to buy the Town Hall from the private company which had built it. A ratepayers' meeting, called by Mayor Hosier, voted for the proposal that the Corporation buy the hall, after many leading citizens spoke in favour of the motion.<sup>193</sup> The Northern Argus' editor congratulated the Corporation both for buying the Town Hall and for paying only £800 whereas the shareholders had paid £1,600 when it was built ten years before.<sup>194</sup>

Areas in which the Corporation failed to adequately carry out its responsibilities concerned the police and health, in both of which areas the government played a role. The police force in South Australia had been the responsibility of the colony's government since it was first set up in 1839, and was controlled by a commissioner in Adelaide. After 1869 towns had to pay half the cost of maintaining their foot policemen, although the mounted troopers were maintained entirely by the government.<sup>195</sup> The fear that the government might force the Clare Corporation to pay £71 per annum towards the maintenance of Clare's foot policeman,<sup>196</sup> led to a spate of arguments that Clare did not need a foot policeman. The Clare Corporation and the editor of the Northern Argus (Councillor Kelly) claimed that Clare needed no foot policeman because it was law-abiding and had three horse troopers.<sup>197</sup> As a result of the Corporation pleading shortage of funds, the government agreed to pay the whole salary in 1874.<sup>198</sup>

---

193 Ibid, 23 July 1875, 3b.

194 Ibid, 6 August 1875, 2cd.

195 Hirst, op.cit., pp.128-9.

196 Northern Argus, 2 January 1872, 2d, 3c.

197 Ibid, 26 January 1872, 3c; 14 March 1873, 2fg; 13 June 1873, 2de.

198 Ibid, 28 November 1873, 2de.

However there continued to be complaints about paying the policeman<sup>199</sup> until in 1878 the government removed him from Clare.<sup>200</sup> The 'mischievous and wanton' destruction of gardens and trees that followed led to a reversal of views. The Corporation now argued that it needed a policeman but that the government should pay for him.<sup>201</sup> However, Clare had lost its foot constable because the Corporation was unwilling to take the responsibility of raising adequate rates for a policeman it needed but wanted the government to pay for. A foot constable costing £70 a year was forced on the Corporation in October 1884 because of the hostility to the Salvation Army, but was withdrawn a year later when things calmed down.<sup>202</sup>

In 1873 the Public Health Act made the town council of each corporation a local board of health under the general supervision of a central board of health.<sup>203</sup> In February 1874 the editor of the Northern Argus claimed that Clare needed a local board to enforce an improvement of sanitation, poor drainage and other nuisances.<sup>204</sup> The Corporation first met as a Local Board of Health in April,<sup>205</sup> but did not appoint John Luckhurst Smith, the clerk of the District Council as Inspector of Nuisances until December. Smith soon got into trouble for ignoring a leaky night-cart, although he was claimed to have said, 'My word I did smell it'. A humorous letter based on this issue was the first of many to claim that Smith had too many official and unofficial positions to be able to carry out his job as Inspector competently.<sup>206</sup> Twice the Central Board

---

199 Ibid, 9 November 1875, 2g; 18 July 1878, 2c.

200 Ibid, 28 May 1878, 2fg.

201 Ibid, 18 July 1878, 2c.

202 Ibid, 28 October 1884, 2f; 21 November 1884, 2d; 17 November 1885, 2f.

203 Hirst, *op.cit.*, p.133.

204 Northern Argus, 24 February 1874, 2c.

205 Ibid, 28 April 1874, 3b.

206 Ibid, 4 December 1874, 2g; 25 May 1875, 2g.

of Health reprimanded the Local Board and its Inspector for neglecting their responsibilities.<sup>207</sup> However, Smith continued to be criticised in Clare for not doing his job properly<sup>208</sup> and 'Idler' claimed that the Inspector of Nuisances 'had never yet been seen where any nuisance existed, had no sense of smell, and that to him everything looked bright and fair - vide his fortnightly reports'.<sup>209</sup> Despite Smith's many jobs and easy-going personality, the real blame should be placed on the Corporation for its lack of supervision of its Inspector, its unwillingness to offend people by enforcing his orders, and generally for its reluctance to provide positive leadership.

The Corporation's record on the foot constable and as the Local Board of Health show that its members did not always carry out the tasks for which they were given the power and responsibility. This was also illustrated by the Corporation's decision not to buy or lease land for a fresh-produce market, as requested unanimously by a meeting of a hundred people in May 1881. Councillor Stacy's motion to that effect was not seconded although Mayor Gray had chaired and supported the decision of the meeting.<sup>210</sup> The Corporation was not willing to spend money on a possibly risky enterprise despite its obvious benefits for the community. This general unwillingness to spend money or to make positive decisions or take possible risks suggests that in local government individuals were more satisfied with the prestige and appearance of power than with the burden of actually using it. Like other South Australians the Clare people preferred central government finance and control to having to provide the finances for themselves.<sup>211</sup>

207 *Ibid*, 2 July 1875, 3c; 3 March 1876, 3b.

208 *Ibid*, 8 April 1881, 2f; 13 October 1885, 2f.

209 *Ibid*, 5 August 1881, 2fg.

210 *Ibid*, 10 May 1881, 3b; 27 May 1881, 2d and 3b.

211 *Hirst, op.cit.*, pp.149-151.

Power: 1868 to 1885 - the magistrates

Justices of the Peace were members of the Clare elite. They were men who were appointed because of high status within the community, and whose status was increased by their holding of the office and wearing the badge 'J.P.' after their names in all newspaper reports. With one exception, all fourteen men who were Mayors of Clare in the nineteenth century were appointed JPs at some time during their careers. Because JPs sat on the bench as magistrates they had power as well as prestige. However in this period some men were believed to be enjoying the prestige of the office without being willing to give the time, take the responsibility or use the power of sitting on the bench.

In 1868 there were only three JPs resident in Clare, E.B. Gleeson, appointed in 1849, J.W. Gleeson, appointed in 1859, and W.L. Beare, appointed in 1865. E.B. Gleeson died in 1870, his son was reappointed in 1878, presumably having had to resign after his assignment in January 1877, but left Clare in 1884, and Beare left in 1883. Between 1868 and 1885 four men arrived in Clare as JPs, but only John Garlick Pitcher remained in Clare long enough to have any impact on the town. Pitcher arrived in Clare in 1873 as manager of the E.S. and A.C. Bank. Before coming to Clare he had been educated at St. Peter's College, and had worked in banks in the Northern Territory and Kapunda, where he had been appointed a JP in 1872. He left Clare in 1878 for Adelaide, where he was in charge of all E.S. and A.C. branch banks in South Australia.<sup>212</sup> Although in Clare for only a short time he played a leading part in Institute

---

212 Northern Argus, 16 April 1878, 2f.

and Church of England affairs and was an activist on the railway and school-building committees.

The fourteen men appointed JPs between 1868 and 1885 were: Charles Kimber, miller, in 1870, two years before he became Mayor; John Hope, squatter, in 1874, reappointed after his resignation in 1861 after the previously described court case; Andrew Young, storekeeper, in 1874, having been Mayor in 1870 and 1871; George Charles Hawker junior, manager of 'Bungaree' and son of G.C. Hawker, in 1874, aged 23; and in 1875 his 25 year old brother, Edward William Hawker of 'Bungaree' who had just returned from Cambridge where he had studied law and who was to make a career in Adelaide as a solicitor; Thomas Henry Hosier, solicitor, in 1876, appointed while in his third term as Mayor; Alfred Palmer, miller in Kimber's absence, in 1876 before becoming Mayor in 1879; Henry Crabb, saddler, in 1878, during his second term as Mayor; in 1883 while Mayor Thomas R. Bright, solicitor son of a former member for Stanley, who arrived in 1874 and left in 1888; and in 1884 five men were appointed - James Hill, who sat on the bench from the year he bought 'Inchiquin' from Gleeson, until he resigned in 1890; John Christison, brewer; Otto Wien Smith, surgeon, who had come to Clare from Scotland in 1878 to enter a partnership with Dr. Bain; William Kelly, gardener and late editor; and Thomas Nannes, retired farmer.

Filling the position of JP was a responsibility and a reward for men who were members of the elite, an honour few men, with the exception of Dr. Bain, rejected. All of these JPs were affluent men, and all were either at some stage active in other positions of power both local and colonial or members of the landowning class. Gleeson

had been first Mayor of Clare, his son was District Council Chairman, and Beare stood for parliament in 1881. Gleeson, his son and Beare were all pastoralists, the latter two as partners. Of the fourteen men appointed between 1868 and 1885 seven were Mayors during this period, and two later, one had been District Council Chairman and five were parliamentary candidates after 1884.<sup>213</sup> Hope, the two sons of G.C. Hawker and James Hill who were never Mayors, were all connected with the pastoral industry, and E.W. Hawker was to become a member for Stanley in 1884. The inter-relationship between the positions of JP, Mayor and parliamentary candidature indicate the small group of men who held positions of power in Clare.

The position of JP was one that held prestige and power, and also responsibility. However there were times when JPs were criticised for not performing their duties adequately. Two examples occurred in 1875: in February the Local Court described the 'old problem' of having to run to find magistrates, and having to send people away;<sup>214</sup> and in March the Police Court report stated that several drunk persons were freed without their cases being heard 'for want of a magistrate', leading 'Idler' to exaggerate:

In almost every issue of the Gazette I notice that local men are appointed Justice of the Peace, but it is a wonder to many besides myself where they hide themselves afterwards. 215

These criticisms suggested that some JPs wanted the prestige without

---

213 Kimber, Young, Hosier, Palmer, Crabb, Bright and Christison were all Mayors before 1885, Kelly after 1888 and O.W. Smith in 1922 and 1923; Ninnes had been District Council Chairman from 1861 to 1865; Kimber, E.W. Hawker, Palmer, Christison and Kelly were all parliamentary candidates, the first two successful ones.

214 Northern Argus, 12 February 1875, 2e.

215 Ibid, 23 March 1875, 2g, 3a.



the restrictions of responsibility. Certainly some JPs took their responsibilities more seriously than others, as shown by their sitting on the bench more frequently. In 1875, for example, of all the JPs named as sitting on the bench, Young and Pitcher came well ahead of the others, Young sitting 23 times, and Pitcher 18. In contrast Beare, Hope, Gleeson and Kimber each sat on only eight, five, four and one occasion respectively.<sup>216</sup>

In 1883 an editorial of the Northern Argus argued that because of the difficulty of finding Justices of the Peace when they were needed, a police magistrate should be appointed for the district centred on Clare. Another reason was given for the need for a professional man on the bench:

We do not wish it to be inferred from our remarks that any of our worthy Justices of the Peace would shirk their duty or fail to administer the law to the best of their ability, but as a rule they are extremely merciful, perhaps even to a fault. <sup>217</sup>

Nearly two years later the first problem was solved by the appointment of four JPs at once, Christison, Smith, Kelly and Ninnes. The report of their appointments concluded that 'the police should experience no difficulty now in securing Magistrates to sit on cases'.<sup>218</sup> An example of both the mercy of JPs and their power was an anecdote about two women whose cases were dismissed by a JP sitting on the Police Court in May 1882. One, Bridget Geelan, accused of indecent language, reminded the JP that her husband worked for his father and had been a good servant. The other, Margaret Hutchinson, accused of being drunk on the Main Street, had come to Australia on the same

---

216 Taken from Northern Argus Local and Police Court reports.

217 Ibid, 2 February 1883, 2c.

218 Ibid, 2 December 1884, 2d.

ship as his father and had sometimes nursed the JP when a baby. The JP was not named, but must have been J.W. Gleeson, as all the other JPs were older men, and none had a father who had lived in Clare, and who was known to have frequently employed Irish servants.<sup>219</sup> The anecdote showed that the JP concerned was 'extremely merciful' and it also illustrates the power a JP had to make decisions concerning other individuals.

Participation in colonial government by Clare men did not occur before 1881, but interest in colonial politics was strong, as the leaders of Clare realised that in government rested the power to make decisions affecting their local area, particularly on the railway issue. Positions in local government and in the local court rooms were seen as desirable by men who wanted power and prestige, and to be seen as leaders of the town. They were also rewards for high status as perceived by others. To a large degree it was the same men who lobbied the state government, dominated in local government and sat on the magistrates' bench. These men made up a powerful elite within the town.

Social status: 1868 to 1885

The people of Clare clearly recognized the existence of an elite within their status conscious community. The members of this elite divided into sub-groups for their private social life, and even in public life there were divisions, disagreements and personal antagonisms, as has been seen in the support for different candidates for parliament, for Mayor, and for the school teacher's position. The

---

219 Ibid, 30 May 1882, 2c.

members of the elite were men with high social status largely derived from their having achieved financial success and their holding positions of power. Their high social status was publicly recognized by their holding of official positions and their leadership in community activities. Despite this the Clare community was divided and uncertain over a number of issues in this period. There were some who resented what they saw as the pretensions of the elite, and were critical of their actions. There was evidence of uncertainty over the role of the elite: during these years of prosperity the community was not as willing to unite behind a leadership which it demanded should accept its responsibilities to the extent obvious in later years of economic decline; also, although the members of the elite were willing to accept the rewards of holding prestigious official positions, they were often guilty of evading the associated responsibilities to the community, as has been seen with the Corporation and Justices of the Peace. Finally, in 1881 and 1884 the community was strongly divided over Burnett's Temperance campaign and the Salvation Army, a division based largely on the sectarian differences already noticed in political campaigns and the school teacher issue. The elite were unable to provide the strong leadership necessary to overcome these sectarian quarrels, and other divisions within Clare society. As will be seen in the next chapter, these uncertainties and divisions largely disappeared from the surface of community life during the years after 1885, when the people of Clare seemed to be more united under a more vigorous leadership than ever before.

Like the communities examined by Kiddle and Evans,<sup>220</sup> Clare

---

220 Kiddle, M. Men of yesterday ... passim ; Evans, G. 'Colac and district ...' passim.

was a society very conscious of social status differences and of an hierarchical social structure, at the apex of which was an elite. This status consciousness can be illustrated at a very basic level by reference to reports in the Northern Argus of minor accidents. The three involved in an accident on scaffolding were 'Mr. Scott, a well known contractor of this town', 'the mason, J. Darby' and 'Fitzsimmons the laborer'.<sup>221</sup> In 1875, 'Robert Havers who is in the employ of Mr. Hope' was slightly injured when he fell off a dray,<sup>222</sup> and in 1882 there was a horse accident to a 'man named Barber, in the employ of Mr. J.W. Gleeson'.<sup>223</sup> These reports indicated a degree of status according to the way the individuals were named. More obvious acceptance of differences in status was shown in various reports. There were frequent floods in Clare and 'Idler's' comment, 'It was rather amusing to see the Clare artisans during the day of the flood last week trying to get to their respective homes',<sup>224</sup> suggested that the artisans' homes were on low-lying ground unlike those with more prestigious occupations, and that they lacked transport other than legs, again unlike the more affluent. The report of an election meeting addressed by Kingston and Bright in 1870 had claimed that the 'majority of the poorer classes of Clare and the immediate neighbourhood' were responsible for the 'hissing, hooting, cheering' which drowned out the speakers.<sup>225</sup> Again the description of a concert audience showed obvious status distinctions, with 'the reserved seats being filled to overflowing with the youth, beauty and fashion of the town and district' while 'about 50 or 60 local Arabs' who came in without paying 'kept up a disturbance till the

---

221 Northern Argus; 19 November 1869, 2c.

222 Ibid, 2 November 1875, 2e.

223 Ibid, 15 August 1882, 2d.

224 Ibid, 15 June 1875, 3c. The Hutt River causes the floods.

225 Ibid, 11 March 1870, 2a. See above p.159.

finish'.<sup>226</sup> Other concerts were given 'to a fashionable and appreciative audience'<sup>227</sup> and to 'the elite of the town and neighbourhood' who were 'persons who thoroughly appreciate good music'.<sup>228</sup> During the Governor's visit to the town in 1877, he received an address from the Corporation in the Town Hall. The building was crowded, but the Governor, the Hon. G.C. Hawker, Mayor Crabb, all the Councillors and the Town Clerk Lennon, were on the platform, and 'the ladies were accommodated with seats before the general public were admitted'.<sup>229</sup> Who the 'ladies' were was not specified; presumably there were some 'women' among the 'general public'. All of these reports dripped with status consciousness.

An interesting description of Clare as a status conscious society was given by 'Incognito' in July 1872.<sup>230</sup> To give full justice to his description of Clare society, two whole paragraphs are needed:

Society is in rather a primitive state, I must confess, and all classes have not yet found their own level. The 'Upper ten', some of them not twenty years removed from a 'clay cottage', and the majority of them in utter ignorance or wilful forgetfulness as to who their own grandfathers were, must necessarily have a course of tuition before they can appear before the rest of the world as 'gems of the first water'; and the lower class, who at the present time feel themselves *almost* on a par with their more fortunate brethren, must become accustomed to the fact that the difference in a pecuniary position will in the future if the *£ s d* matters remain stationary, become one of old age and family standing. Heart burnings of all sorts, however the stranger visiting our rustic homes might doubt the fact, are very common. '*The set*' will not look on some who might rest happy under their smiles, and others make '*the set*' uncomfortable by the indifference displayed by the *persons* who ought to feel honored by their condescending notice. The petty jealousies, and the utter ignorance as to the conventionalities of

---

226 *Ibid*, 20 May 1870, 2d.

227 *Ibid*, 2 March 1875, 3c.

228 *Ibid*, 13 April 1875, 2f.

229 *Ibid*, 13 November 1877, 3a.

230 *Ibid*, 19 July 1872, 3b.

society, displayed is almost as laughable as the mock splendour behind the scenes of a second-rate London theatre. However, it *is* society, of a kind, and there is an end of it.

The prevailing feature in the 'Upper ten' is their total disdain for the trades-people, or democrats of our small society; and the common retailer even of their own manufactures is a *something* that might have been heard of (at the end of the month, or any such time as that), but certainly one that will not admit of any nearer acquaintance.

The 'Upper ten' in 1872 would surely have included Beare, Bain, Gleeson, Hope, Kimber, Hosier, Young, and perhaps Paterson who owned the machine factory and Mrs. Filgate. The notion that the present fluid social divisions would probably become in time stabilized into divisions based on 'old age and family standing' was based on the assumption that the possession of money even by an individual 'not twenty years removed from a "clay cottage"', could, over a period of time, result in the rise in status of that individual or family.<sup>231</sup> 'Incognito' divided the 'Upper ten' from the 'tradespeople, or democrats' possibly referring to men like H. Crabb and J. Fels, saddlers, R. Harmer, butcher, H. Weinrich, bootmaker, J. McDougall and J. Victorsen, storekeepers, all except the latter members of the Corporation in 1871 and 1872. Those who snubbed people who sold their own manufactures must have been few as the only 'factories' were Mrs. Filgate's brewery, Kimber's mill, and implement factories owned by Paterson, J.G. Ramsay and G. Reece. 'Incognito's' view of Clare in terms of 'upper' and 'lower' classes, '*the set*' and '*the persons*',

---

231 The 'clay cottage' background was probably figurative. Young's and Paterson's family backgrounds are not known; Beare's father arrived with his family in South Australia in July 1836 as second in command of the South Australia Company; Bain was the son of a doctor; Gleeson and Mrs. Filgate were the children of E.B. Gleeson; Hope was the son of an Irish gentleman; Kimber's family were book publishers; Hosier's were solicitors and he had attended St. Peter's College.

'the Upper ten' and 'the tradespeople or democrats', and his use of words like 'condescending', 'petty jealousies', 'disdain', 'a *something*' are very clear examples of the status consciousness believed to exist in Clare by at least one Clare individual.

Other examples of status consciousness were connected with people's homes, properties and life-styles, and the awareness that some were much more desirable than others. In 1871 Beare 'in the kindest manner possible ... placed the Bungaree woolshed at the disposal' of those organizing an entertainment for the Institute.<sup>232</sup> A dinner was held in the 'Bungaree' woolshed on New Year's Day of 1875, and G.C. Hawker Sen. and Jun. visited the place to wish all a happy evening and a pleasant new year, for which they received three hearty cheers.<sup>233</sup> In 1878 a journalist who had visited 'Bungaree' to watch the shearing reported that it reminded him of 'the seat of "the fine old country gentleman" in our native land' with its surrounding park, trees and lawns,<sup>234</sup> and another visitor in 1882 admired 'Bungaree' and its 'kind-hearted and liberal proprietor' who was 'revered by all'.<sup>235</sup> In 1879 a stranger to Clare described the 'pretentious buildings' to the west of the town, which belonged to Beare and Hope, whose home had 'something about it of an English squire's country seat'.<sup>236</sup> Distinguished visitors to Clare visited or stayed at these prestigious homes. The Bishop of Adelaide stayed at 'Wolta Wolta' in 1874 and 1876. The Governor visited Hope in 1875 and in 1877, after which he went on to 'Bungaree' accompanied by Hawker, who also accompanied the Duke of Manchester through Clare on

---

232 Northern Argus, 9 June 1871, 2f.

233 Ibid, 8 January 1875, 2e.

234 Ibid, 29 October 1878, 3a.

235 Ibid, 17 January 1882, 2g.

236 Ibid, 5 August 1879, 2g and 3a.

a visit to 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' in 1884.<sup>237</sup> Hawker's Adelaide activities were also newsworthy: in 1878 a 'communicated article' described him in parliament

speaking as the graduate of an English University ought to do, rising with the occasion to that ornate yet dignified address which ever makes colonial oratory. 238

Hawker was very much a 'public man', unlike Hope, who after his death was summed up as 'a squatter' 'who did a great deal of good in and about Clare, although he never came forward as a public man'.<sup>239</sup> Hope's gift of £50 to the Glenelg reserve near his Adelaide home was noted in 1876, and although 'Idler' excused the 'wealthy townsman' for not doing likewise in Clare because there was no reserve,<sup>240</sup> men like Hope and Hawker could have been more generous to their local town, with gifts of money or land.

Social status: 1868 to 1885 - criticisms

All were not satisfied with the social status pretensions of some individuals and groups, and at times there was criticism of the social snobbery that was exhibited by some. One of the deficiencies of the Northern Argus as a source for evidence of social status in Clare was that it rarely gave the researchers' hoped-for detail about individuals attending social functions. Reports of 'a fashionable and appreciative audience' and the 'elite of the town and neighbourhood' being present<sup>241</sup> were based on social status assumptions about whole groups of people, but rarely did the paper give the 'social page' details about individuals found in contemporary newspapers. The probable explanation for this occurred

---

237 Ibid, 15 September 1874, 2f; 1 December 1876, 2g; 19 October 1875, 2e; 13 November 1877, 3c; 20 June, 1884, 2d.

238 Ibid, 29 March 1878, 2fg.

239 Register, 22 June 1880, 4f.

240 Northern Argus, 14 April 1876, 2g and 3b.

241 See above, p.204.



in August 1871, when the Northern Argus, in its third year of publication, faced competition for a short time from the Guardian, the only rival newspaper ever published in Clare.<sup>242</sup> On August 11th, the Northern Argus reported in great detail 'The District Ball' held to raise money for the building fund of the Institute.<sup>243</sup> The ball was attended by about 35 couples, 'gentlemen and ladies of every grade of pocket and position', and with 'almost all the gentlemen wearing either full or evening dress'. The report listed the 25 dances, named those who had been 'noticed' at the ball and gave specific details of the 'most tasteful and elegant ball dresses' worn by named members of 'the fair sex'. Among the organizers and 'stewards' of the ball were Bain, Crabb, Gleeson, Hope and Hosier, although only Crabb and Gleeson brought their wives.

This report was most likely much appreciated both by those who had attended the ball and by many who had not, but the Guardian took a different view:

Ladies' Dresses - We have been asked why we didn't send our Jenkins to the Clare Ball. We can only reply that we don't keep such an animal, nor do we intend to. And if we thought it necessary to do so, we should certainly either chain him up, or endeavour to teach him better manners than to combine the curiosity of a Paul Pry with the vulgarity of a Jem Baggs. Snobbishness of the kind referred to is one of the abuses to which even the honourable profession of 'the press' is sometimes exposed. 244

On August 18th, the editor of the Northern Argus, helpless against the Guardian's sarcasm and accusations of 'vulgarity' and 'snobbishness', made a bitter attack on the editor of the Guardian for copying news from his paper without acknowledgement.<sup>245</sup> It is not difficult to

---

242 The Guardian, was published in Clare by Ebenezer Ward, MP for Gumeracha and ardent Land Reform supporter, from 19 May 1871 to the end of January 1872, see above, p.83.

243 Northern Argus, 11 August 1871, 2de.

244 Guardian, 15 August 1871, 3a.

245 Northern Argus, 18 August 1871, 2de.

understand why future reports on social functions rarely contained personal details about the individuals concerned.

A number of other examples of criticisms of social pretensions and snobbery may be found in the Northern Argus. In 1874 a gossip column 'The Talk of the Town' commented on the 'Clare public' becoming 'very fastidious'. The writer explained 'For example, the blue shirt in the Council chair is a great eyesore to some, and the argument used is that it lowers the dignity of the chamber'.<sup>246</sup> The Corporation of that year consisted of Mayor Hosier, who was a solicitor, the editor of the Northern Argus, Kelly, a 'gentleman', a storekeeper, a factory owner, and two tradesmen, a cabinet maker and a butcher. One of the latter two was probably the offender, but the details are less important than the expectation that Council members should uphold the dignity of their office by dressing 'correctly' in a white shirt and presumably a black coat. Other expressions of criticism can be found in letters to the editor: one in 1874 supported the Corporation's enforcing of its decisions despite 'the would-be oligarchy germinating in this prosperous township';<sup>247</sup> another in 1875 claimed that 'the Corporation as a whole do not like to offend some of our mushroom aristocrats, of which we have got a good sprinkling';<sup>248</sup> next month another letter claimed that Clare had 'seen her best days', because there was 'too much of a clique to see a change', referring particularly to the need for the businessmen to cooperate for the benefit of the town;<sup>249</sup> and in 1877 a letter writer praised Mayor Crabb's criticisms of Mann at the Agricultural Show dinner despite 'a few of the would be *elite* of Clare' attempting to put him 'down'.<sup>250</sup>

---

246 Ibid, 3 April 1874, 2g.

247 Ibid, 4 August 1874, 2g. See above, p.193.

248 Ibid, 22 January 1875, 3a.

249 Ibid, 23 February 1875, 2g.

250 Ibid, 16 October 1877, 3a. See above, p.163.

'Idler's' column often contained interesting anecdotes which showed a critical awareness of social status differences and pretensions: such as the sketches of 'Mr. A' who insisted his old friend use 'the handle' to his name and 'Mr. Clique' who because of 'the weight of his influence' had too much power in Clare.<sup>251</sup> In 1881 'Idler' noticed two separate windows for collecting mail at the Clare post-office:

Inquiring of a larrikin the meaning of it, he said that one of them 'was the swell's winder, who tipped a guinea a year for the honor of being served before the great unwashed, and the other was the winder of the poor fellah, who got no "tin" to throw away'.

'Idler' observed that the clerk was very much more eager to wait upon the 'productive' window than the 'non-productive' window,<sup>252</sup> indicating that there was a strong correlation between influence, status and 'tin'. 'Idler' was not the only person aware of the social divisions and social snobbery in Clare, as indicated by a letter to the Northern Argus in 1885:

Grades and degrees we read of, we hear of, and we see. What constitutes or places persons in such grades it is difficult to say. Cliques of self-esteem we cannot fail to notice ... There are some of the 'hong tong' in even this fair town who would not, or rather could not, save the life of a 'fellah man', because 'I've not an intro. - aw!'

... Could not the 'low and wighty' of this town form an association for the reduction of the 'high and mighty' to their proper level. 253

Like 'Idler' this letter writer was critical of Clare society where 'grades and degrees' and social snobbery existed.

Social status: 1868 to 1885 - leadership

Within a status-conscious society an elite was seen to exist

---

251 Ibid, 16 May 1879, 2f; 15 August 1879, 2g.

252 Ibid, 6 December 1881, 2g.

253 Ibid, 17 July 1885, 2f.

and was sometimes resented. The members of this elite, already identified as having achieved economic success and power, can be also distinguished by their holding of prestigious official positions and by their roles as community leaders. As Martin said in her description of 'class status' in Australian country towns, 'The highest offices in the highest status associations tend always to be filled by the local people of highest class position'.<sup>254</sup> The vigorous economic leadership which appeared early in the 1880s and developed strongly during the rest of the century will be studied in the next chapter as it was symbolic of a new era of leadership and community cooperation. The united but unsuccessful leadership of the railway movement, and the Corporation's reluctance to initiate or take responsibility over a number of community activities have been dealt with. Both the insistence that the members of the elite had a responsibility to the community, and the acceptance by the elite of that responsibility were to become more obvious from the early 1880s. This was illustrated by the exhortations of the editor of the Northern Argus and the statements of elite and non-elite members of the community, and will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here the social leadership of the elite from 1868 to 1885 will be analysed, emphasizing the frequent evasion of the responsibilities of those who had accepted the rewards of holding prestigious official positions.

One of the major examples of an organization in which the committee members held high social status and were expected to provide community leadership in Clare was 'the Institute' which had been established in 1864, but was to play a more important role in

---

254 Martin, J. in Elkin, A.P. (ed.) Marriage and the family in Australia, p.34.

Clare's social life after its own Institute building was completed in July 1872. The importance ascribed to the Institute can be illustrated by the way the editor of the Northern Argus referred to it in 1870 and 1871. In an editorial in November 1870 he encouraged the Clare people to make use of the £250 grant passed by the House of Assembly for an Institute building, providing it were matched by an equal amount raised by the Clare people:

Surely the inhabitants of the district will not allow the principal institution in the district having for its object the intellectual advancement and enjoyment of the people to languish for want of support. 255

The editor had no doubts about the benefits for the town of this institution, as again shown in the description of the laying of the foundation stone of the Institute in September 1871. The report of the 'day that many will remember as being the date of a most important event in local history', lasted for two and a half columns. It gave the history of the Institute, and described the foundation stone ceremony in detail and the ball in the Town Hall only briefly. The ceremony was performed by the Clare Lodge of Freemasons, and the stone was laid by 'Andrew Young, Esq., Mayor of Clare and Worshipful Master of the Clare Lodge'. Others who took part in the ceremony were Dr. Bain, President of the Institute, Hosier, Hope and Gleeson as Masons, and the Institute Committee which included Crabb, Lennon and A.H. Price, manager of the National Bank.<sup>256</sup>

Although at this stage the building was referred to as the Mechanics' Institute and the 'amusement blended with instruction' was aimed generally at the 'young men of Clare', the opening ceremony

---

255 Northern Argus, 11 November 1870, 2c.

256 Ibid, 22 September 1871, 2cde.

illustrated the close connection of the Clare elite with the Institute. The membership of the committee, the activities of the Institute and the complaints about it all provided evidence that it catered for a limited and elite group of people in Clare. This was certainly not unique to Clare. George Nadel described how change in the membership of the Mechanics' Institutes from one reflecting all classes to one dominated by the 'new middle classes' had occurred in New South Wales by the 1850s. 'The "clerks, shopmen and gentlemen" of the Mechanics' Institutes represented a self-made bourgeoisie', and during the 1860s 'it was realized that the name Mechanics' Institute was no longer applicable'.<sup>257</sup> Barrett, too, in his study of Mechanics' Institutes in Victoria in the 1850s, found that the movement was not led by 'mechanics' or workingmen, but by shopkeepers and businessmen.<sup>258</sup>

An examination of the committee membership of the Institute in Clare illustrated the dominance of the educated and the 'self-made bourgeoisie' within that Institute. Bain became the third President of the Institute, following Hope and Gleeson, whose position he took after his death in 1870. Bain remained President until 1900, three years after he had left Clare for Port Germein, and three years before his death. His length of service in this position was a mark of the esteem in which he was held. He was not a man interested in public titles; he never stood as a candidate for Parliament or Mayor, or became a JP or a Mason, although he could have had any position he wished.<sup>259</sup> He was a philanthropist in many different areas of

---

257 Nadel, G. Australia's colonial culture, pp.156-157.

258 Barrett, B. The civic frontier ..., p.257.

259 See below, pp.234-35.

community life. His liberality to the Institute included: selling the land for the Institute building for a 'generous' £25; donating pictures, a desk, 'Sunday-type' books,<sup>260</sup> and several pictures;<sup>261</sup> and giving £50 to pay off the debt on the Institute,<sup>262</sup> and £20 towards building an extra room for library books.<sup>263</sup> In return for his generosity, the Institute committee honoured him with the Presidency for the rest of the century, had his portrait painted in oils, and presented him with a special Presidential chair in April 1891, when he had been President for 21 years.<sup>264</sup>

The Vice Presidency and the committee membership of the Institute reflected the membership of the elite, year by year, as particularly illustrated by the appointment of H.E. Hodge to the committee in January 1889.<sup>265</sup> He had arrived in Clare only the previous month, but as the new National Bank manager he was obviously considered a suitable committee member, and was to become one of the Vice Presidents in 1890. Membership of the committee was an indication of high status in Clare. Most men with any claim to be leading citizens of Clare were first on the committee and then at some time a Vice President. Between 1870 and 1884 the Vice Presidents included: Reverends Burns, Mitchell and Webb; businessmen Kimber and Palmer; bank managers Price and Pitcher; professionals Bright and Dr. Smith, and pastoralist Beare.<sup>266</sup> The Institute had a permanent secretary

260 Northern Argus, 22 September 1871, 2d; 8 November 1872, 3e; 10 October 1879, 4

261 Institute Minutes, 22 August 1879.

262 Northern Argus, 26 June 1888, 2d. Other donors at the request of Bain were: J.H. Angas £10, G.C. Hawker £5, E.W. Hawker £2.2.0; C. Kimber MP £1.1.0.

263 Institute Minutes, 26 July 1889; Northern Argus, 30 July 1889, 2e. The room cost £79.7.0 and the money was raised by various entertainments and the unsolicited donations of £2.2.0 from E.W. Hawker and £5 from G.C. Hawker: Institute Minutes, 23 August, 30 September, 22 November 1889.

264 From Northern Argus, 24 April 1891, 2e; Institute Minutes, 23 April 1891.

265 Northern Argus, 1 February 1889. 2d.

266 From Northern Argus; and Institute Minutes.

who was in charge of the library and reading room and who attended the meetings which were held monthly and were mainly concerned with such issues as: which books and periodicals should be bought, bound or replaced; what repairs and additions should be made to the Institute building; who should be able to use the Institute rooms and how much they should pay; and how they could get lecturers to lecture in Clare for the educational benefit of the people and the financial benefit of the Institute.

The activities of the Institute and the comments and complaints about them showed that while it served the interests of an elite group in the town a number of townspeople believed it should serve a broader cross-section of the community. The Institute hall was the venue for dancing parties catering for a limited group of people, such as the Subscription Ball which opened the new room in the Institute in July 1872, at which a 'most brilliant company was assembled'.<sup>267</sup> In November of the same year, Dr. Bain replied to complaints about the behaviour and language in the Institute Hall during an evening of dancing. His letter suggested that he considered those who attended that occasion to be an elite group of Clare people, and above criticism. The 'quadrille party alluded to', he said, 'is essentially a private one, consisting of the leading professional men and tradesmen of Clare, their wives, daughters and sisters'.<sup>268</sup> Later that month, the Institute Ball was attended by 50 to 60 people, 'among whom was a large portion of the elite of the district'.<sup>269</sup>

Sometimes well-known men from Adelaide were brought to Clare to lecture, but local men were also asked to give lectures. A lecture on

---

267 Northern Argus, 26 July 1872, 2f.

268 Ibid, 8 November 1872, 3d.

269 Ibid, 15 November 1872, 3b.



Agamemnon's Tomb was poorly attended,<sup>270</sup> but Dr. Bain's illustrated lecture on 'The Paris Exhibition' made £12.16.0 for the Institute.<sup>271</sup> The Rev. Webb's generous offer 'to conduct classes in Latin, Greek, Euclid & Algebra if a sufficient number of students could be found'<sup>272</sup> was not taken up through lack of interest, while Rev. O'Donnell's lecture on 'Manly Sports', and a lecture by Professor Custance on 'Farming' netted only 1/9 for the Institute.<sup>273</sup> Lectures like these, plus entertainments put on by organizations such as the Clare Dramatic Club,<sup>274</sup> added to the subscriptions and the annual government grant<sup>275</sup> provided the funds for the upkeep of the building, the library and the reading room. The lectures and the provision of books and newspapers were important contributions to the education and intellectual development of the community. However, the paucity of the lectures, and their topics compared unfavourably with the frequent lectures and discussions which were presented by the various mutual improvement societies which flourished in the 1880s.<sup>276</sup> These made much more realistic attempts to educate mechanics, artisans and shop assistants than the Institute ever did.

That everyone was not satisfied with the activities of the Institute can be seen from the regular criticisms published in the Northern Argus. In 1872 an anonymous letter made a perceptive comment:

A number of well intentioned gentlemen have the supervision of an institute, but not being mechanics

---

270 Ibid, 13 April 1877, 2fg; 17 April, 2cd.

271 Ibid, 8 August 1879, 2fg; Institute Minutes, 22 August 1879.

272 Institute Minutes, 10 April 1883.

273 Ibid, 10 July, 11 September 1883.

274 Ibid, 17 November 1885. They raised £8.

275 Ibid, 18 May 1886, when the grant was £34.1.0.

276 This differs from Lawson's view that Institutes pursued 'the practical' in the Darling Downs, op.cit., p.69.

themselves, they have no idea (I will hardly say they do not care) how a Mechanics' Institute should be conducted. Because they are of the 'black coat' school they have 'black coat' ideas, and arrange the affair accordingly.

The writer also complained that some 'black coats' had the extra privilege of removing periodicals from the library and keeping them for long periods.<sup>277</sup> The term 'black coats' referred to professional men or successful businessmen who were able to wear formal clothes all the time rather than the 'working' clothes of the mechanics and those with like occupations. Another of a number of letters criticising the Institute claimed it did not cater for the young 'Arabs' of the Clare streets. Instead

they first of all used it for private dancing parties; secondly, they gave a reading by the Reverend Stanton; and how many scientific lectures and readings have been given? Nil. 278

In 1879, 'Idler' commented that although the Institute was built for artisans they did not support it,<sup>279</sup> but the next editorial of the Northern Argus put the blame on the Institute rather than on the young men. It was the responsibility of the Institute to organize more lectures 'to provide something that would interest the young men of the town, and draw them away from places that might prove injurious to them'.<sup>280</sup> This call for leadership responsibility was to become a constant theme of the Northern Argus editorials from this time. The Institute was dominated by leading citizens and had the duty of providing educational and moral leadership.

There were two attempts to make the Institute cater for a broader spectrum of Clare society. The debate over Sunday opening caused a

---

277 Northern Argus, 30 August 1872, 3b.

278 Ibid, 9 May 1873, 3c; 23 May, 3c.

279 Ibid, 8 April 1879, 2f; see 17 April 1877, 2cd for a similar complaint.

280 Ibid, 11 April 1879, 2e.

split in the Committee in 1878 and 1879 as did the 1882 attempt to lower the subscription rate. The idea of Sunday opening was first publicly suggested by the columnist 'Idler' in April 1878.<sup>281</sup> A letter published in the following issue of the Northern Argus supported the idea:

I am a poor man, working long hours, and when my day's toil is over I don't feel in right 'trim' to leave home. Not being in a position to buy books or become a member of the institution [sic] I might satisfy my desire at least once a week if the suggestion were carried out. 282

Not until August 1879 did the Institute Committee vote to hold a general subscribers' meeting 'to consider the advisability or otherwise of opening the reading room on Sundays'.<sup>283</sup> The occasional column 'The Acts of the People' set out some of the issues involved, in its flowery 'biblical' language:

What man is he that is rich and lacketh nothing that this world can give, but what feasts his eyes on pictures and studies the writings of the wise and the learned as they rest in their houses on the Sabbath Day.

Have pity, therefore, upon the multitude that thirst for knowledge, and who go astray because of the greatness of their folly.

Those in favour of Sunday opening believed it would help the less privileged groups in the community, who had not got the advantages of the rich. However, the columnist indicated the major opposition argument by emphasizing that the 'Chief Magistrate' of Clare, Mayor Palmer, was strongly against Sunday opening for religious reasons.<sup>284</sup>

The Institute subscribers voted 46 to 31 to open on Sundays, and the committee meeting following appointed a library committee with the power 'to put what books they deem fit on Reading Room

---

281 Ibid, 16 April 1878, 3a.

282 Ibid, 19 April 1878, 2e.

283 Institute Minutes, 22 August 1879.

284 Northern Argus, 26 August 1879, 2g.

table for use on Sundays'.<sup>285</sup> Those who spoke for the motion to open the reading room on the grounds of extending the Institute's benefits to the less privileged included H. Crabb, T. Bright and the Anglican Rev. Webb. Those who opposed it included the Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers, and Palmer, a leading member of the Presbyterian church. The latter was forced to admit, under direct questioning, that he had been in the reading room on a Sunday afternoon to read an 'interesting religious article',<sup>286</sup> which lessened the weight of his case. For the next few months the Northern Argus regularly reported the number using the reading room on Sundays - twenty on October 14, fifteen on October 21, ten on November 4th. It seemed that relatively few took advantage of the concession to the non-privileged classes which had roused such strong feelings.<sup>287</sup>

In 1882 there was an attempt to lower the Institute subscription rates in order to broaden the group of people who had access to the facilities for self-education. The special meeting was chaired by President Bain who made it clear that the committee was not in favour of the idea, as it would reduce the Institute's revenue. E.J. Scott, grocer's assistant, moved that the subscription be reduced from £1 to 12 shillings per annum 'so as to bring it within the reach of all classes', and he read a list of 81 persons willing to join the Institute if the subscription were reduced. T.E. Powell, bank manager, and J. Harry, head teacher, proposed having two rates of subscriptions,

---

285 Institute Minutes, 11 September 1879. Revs. Webb and Mitchell, and Palmer.

286 Northern Argus, 16 September 1879, 2e.

287 The Institute reading room still opened on Sunday afternoons when Fred Victorsen, born 1891, was a boy. He went there with his friends to read all the local 'scandals'. (Interview, 22 July, 1979).

to help the 'working man'; but those who paid £1 would be allowed to borrow four books at a time, while those who paid 12 shillings could only borrow one. In arguing for his motion, Powell pointed out that 'out of 65 members only about six were laborers and artisans'. The amendment to have two rates, and the motion to lower the subscription were both soundly lost.<sup>288</sup> The next Institute committee meeting thanked Bain for 'the trouble he had taken in canvassing the town for subscribers',<sup>289</sup> and a month later the secretary reported that 68 new subscribers had joined, making a total of 130.<sup>290</sup> There had obviously been a campaign to prove that the decision to keep the subscription at the original rate had been the right one. However this boom did not last for long: the numbers of subscribers fell to 56 in 1890 and 46 in 1895 but increased to 87 in 1901.<sup>291</sup>

In June 1885 there was another example of the elite nature of the Institute. The recently formed Young Men's Society requested the use of a room in the Institute for its meetings. Although Dr. Bain, who had been proposed as President of the Society, supported giving it the free use of the room,<sup>292</sup> the committee resolved that it could have the room 'one night a week for nine months for £5'.<sup>293</sup> The Young Men's Society decided not to use the Institute room at that price, and a letter to the Northern Argus indicated that there was some indignation at the Institute's decision: 'I ask what are Institutes for but for improvements of minds and for the public generally, and not members only?'<sup>294</sup> The Young Men's Society had been

---

288 Northern Argus, 4 August 1882, 2de; Institute Minutes, 1 August 1882. Thirty subscribers attended.

289 Institute Minutes, 8 August 1882.

290 Ibid, 12 September 1882.

291 Northern Argus, 31 January 1890, 2g; 1 February 1895, 2e; 25 January 1901, 2d.

292 Ibid, 12 June 1885, 2e.

293 Institute Minutes, 9 June 1885.

294 Northern Argus, 16 June 1885, 2f.

formed to provide entertainment and 'mutual improvement',<sup>295</sup> which were similar aims to the provision of 'respectable and rational amusement' which had been the original aims of the Institute when its building was first opened.<sup>296</sup> No wonder there was some criticism of the Institute's lack of encouragement of a society with such similar aims, particularly when in October 1882 with seeming inconsistency it had offered Miss Hubbe the use of the upper room at 'the nominal rental of 5/- per quarter' to teach the German language.<sup>297</sup>

The membership, activities and complaints about the Institute were evidence of its domination by the elite of the town. There was some evidence of an assumption by some that this elite should play a leadership role in providing facilities for educating a broader cross-section of the male population, but in general the Institute Committee was a reflection of the status of its membership rather than a group which accepted its responsibilities of community leadership.

Another organization of which committee membership was evidence of social status was the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. That these men were expected to be leaders of society was indicated by the Northern Argus editorial expressing approval of Fisher and Gleeson and disapproval for Hawker and Hope, who were not exerting their 'influence in the district' adequately, especially as Hawker was President of the Society.<sup>298</sup> In general the Society was not as well supported in the 1870s as it had been formerly and the editor frequently commented on this, always stressing the

---

295 Ibid, 2 June 1885, 2d.

296 Ibid, 22 September 1872, 2c.

297 Institute Minutes, 10 October 1882.

298 Northern Argus, 16 November 1875, 2c; see above, p.148.

need for leadership. At the December 1876 Horticultural and Floricultural Show the main exhibitors 'were Messrs. C.B. Fisher, J. Hope and Dr. Bain; indeed but for these three gentlemen the show would have been very poor'.<sup>299</sup> In July 1877 an editorial bemoaned that the Clare Shows lacked the support of the farming community:

There are a great many well-to-do farmers in the Clare district who have hitherto stood aloof, and have refused to subscribe to the funds of the society or to compete at the periodical shows ... There is also a disposition on the part of some of the wealthy stockowners in the neighbourhood to withhold their patronage because of some misunderstanding in former years. 300

Not only did the 'well-to-do' and 'wealthy' have a responsibility to the district well-being, but also there was a need for unity and cooperation between different sectors of the community.

Others also saw the need for leadership in Agricultural Society matters and criticised the evasion of their responsibility by the wealthy. In February 1880 'Idler' reported on donations for the Agricultural Show:

Mr. Gleeson is deserving of the thanks of the community for the interest he has taken in such matters. If Mr. Beare and other wealthy residents would also take an active part in local affairs they would greatly benefit the place. 301

A similar attitude to the responsibility of the wealthy to the town was seen in a letter by storekeeper R.G.Toovey agreeing with a leading article in the Northern Argus<sup>302</sup> on the need for the Agricultural Society to have its own showground. Toovey said,

There are many wealthy people in Clare and neighbourhood who would not miss the amount mentioned in your leader; aye, and ten times the amount. 303

---

299 Ibid., 8 December 1876, 2f.

300 Ibid., 20 July 1877, 2d,

301 Ibid., 17 February 1880, 3a.

302 Ibid., 16 March 1880, 2cd.

303 Ibid., 23 March 1880, 3a.

However these wealthy people did not step forward in 1880, and the showground was not bought for another ten years.<sup>304</sup>

The Presidents of the Clare Agricultural and Horticultural Society from its foundation in 1867 until the mid 1880s were E.B. Gleeson, Beare, Hope, Hawker, Mann, the MP for Stanley, and J.H. Angas. Vice Presidents included Bain, John Gleeson, Young, Hope, Kimber, E.W. Hawker and his brother. Other members of the committee and judges included Hosier, Moyses, Kelly, Palmer, Bright, Dr. Smith and Christison. All of these men were involved in other important societies, and all except the Hawkers, Mann and Angas lived in the town of Clare, not in the surrounding country, showing the leadership role played by townspeople within the district. In 1883 and 1884 the active joint secretary/treasurers were Dr. Smith and Christison. The four year gap between the shows of 1884 and 1889 was largely a result of their belief that their leadership was not being appreciated. In June 1885 a letter in the Northern Argus from Christison stated that he and Smith

will take no leading part in getting up the shows in Clare; because we have been so thoroughly disgusted by the apathy displayed by the farmers not showing their stock, and by most of the townspeople in taking little if any interest in the affair.

They had been honorary secretaries for two years, got the Society out of debt, brought the Governor to last year's show and yet had 'such a wretchedly poor show and bad attendance' that they were ashamed.<sup>305</sup> Despite the editor of the Northern Argus pleading for the Society to be resuscitated nothing happened until 1889. Men, like President Angas, holding the prestigious official positions had been unwilling to provide the leadership expected of them. Those townsmen who had been

---

304 See below, p.339.

305 Northern Argus, 19 June 1885, 2g.



active leaders believed they were not being strongly supported in their efforts, especially by the farmers. So the Agricultural Society collapsed, and when it did reappear the leading townsmen accepted their leadership responsibility and campaigned more strongly to involve Hawker and Angas and the farmers in the Society's affairs.<sup>306</sup>

The Clare Race Club suffered the same fate. Until 1883 when it ceased to exist Hawker was President, both because of his status as MP and large landowner, and because the races before 1882 were all run in a paddock on his property. There is no evidence that he actually attended the race meetings, although he must have been interested enough to agree to remain President and to allow his managers to improve the course.<sup>307</sup> Vice Presidents of the Club included Gleeson, Young, Beare, Hope and Bain. Beare, G.C. Hawker Jun., Hosier, Crabb and Dr. Smith were among its judges, stewards or committee men,<sup>308</sup> and in 1882 and 1883 Christison was the 'indefatigable' secretary. In these two years, in an attempt to attract more people, the races were run on Gleeson's 'Inchiquin' course, which was much closer to Clare than 'Bungaree'. This financially embarrassed the Club because it had to put up a stand and fences,<sup>309</sup> and this contributed to its demise until 1895. President Hawker was obviously not interested in helping the Club, despite his enormous financial resources, and there was not the local or general support for the races of previous years.

The 'Bungaree Hunt' of 1881 was the only reported occasion of a hunt close to Clare. It was organized by G.C. Hawker Jun., and

---

306 See below, pp.338-39.

307 Northern Argus, 9 May 1879, 2e.

308 Ibid, 6 January 1871, 3bcd; 26 March 1875, 2d; 28 April 1876, 3a; 9 May 1879, 2e; 21 April 1882, 2e.

309 Ibid, 21 April 1882, 2f.

enhanced by the attendance of the Bowman brothers and their hounds from 'Martindale Hall' a frequent venue of hunts and such-like entertainments.<sup>310</sup> Hawker played the role of a local squire very graciously:

At the conclusion of the hunt, Mr. Hawker, with that hospitality for which he is proverbial, invited all present up to Bungaree House, where they partook of refreshments, which were very acceptable after a ride in the bracing air over the beautiful hills of Bungaree ... I may here mention that Mr. Hawker had all the fences capped and strengthened, and in fact, spared no pains to make the hunt the brilliant success it undoubtedly was. 311

Hawker's generosity in lending his beautiful property for the hunt, in using his employees to improve the fences for the hunt, and in providing refreshments after the hunt, was the generosity both expected of a gentleman of wealth and high social status, and noted with satisfaction when it occurred.

To be a member of one of the two Clare-based Boards set up by the South Australian parliament in the 1870s was evidence of the possession of both social status and leadership qualities, as perceived by the government and the local councils, although both Boards had limited real power. The North Midland Road Board set up in 1875<sup>312</sup> administered the funds provided by the parliament. Two members were appointed by the government and three by the local corporations and district councils. The Board could make local decisions, but lacked real independence from government interference.<sup>313</sup> Not all members of this Board were Clare men, but until 1886 the Board headquarters was at Clare, and Beare, Kimber, Young, Christison and G. Lloyd, a successful farmer, were Clare representatives.

---

310 Warburton, E. The Bowmans of Martindale Hall. Adelaide, Department of Continuing Education, University of Adelaide, 1979.

311 Northern Argus, 2 September 1881, 3a.

312 Ibid, 2 November 1875, 3a.

313 Hirst, op.cit., pp.130 and 132. See below, p.273-75.

The Clare School Board of Advice was set up in 1878. These Boards were appointed by the government and were given 'the very limited tasks' concerned with reporting on the conditions of schools and enforcing compulsion,<sup>314</sup> although they also recommended children deserving free tuition. In May 1878 the first members of the Clare Board were Hosier JP, chairman, Young JP, Mayor Crabb, Gleeson (who would be re-appointed JP in the following month along with Crabb) and J.M. Smith.<sup>315</sup> 'Idler' said of them, while urging the Board to agitate for a new school, 'The gentlemen who constitute the Board have youngsters; they are old residents and have influence'.<sup>316</sup> It is this perception of having 'influence' that distinguished such men as social leaders who had responsibilities from those without influence. The decision had been made in 1872 that the Clare public school should provide a 'good "middle class education"',<sup>317</sup> and this emphasis was reflected in the 'good middle class' men who were on the School Board, and who had previously shown an interest in the welfare of the school.

The year before the appointment of the School Board there had been a movement in Clare to press the Council of Education for a new school building, as there was general agreement on the need for a larger school and more playing space because of the growth in attendance since the school building was finished in 1872. This movement was initiated by those who saw themselves as the town leaders, but there was also some opposition within that group over the proposed solution to the problem. Three meetings of leading men,

---

314 Ibid, pp.141, 142; Thiele, op.cit., pp.9-10.

315 Northern Argus, 28 May 1878, 2d. Smith was a partner of J.G. Ramsay. Other members before 1885 were Kimber, Rix, Palmer and Gray.

316 Ibid, 31 May 1878, 3a.

317 Ibid, 31 May 1872, 2d. See above, pp.184-90.

all chaired by Mayor Crabb, supported the need for a new building on a new site.<sup>318</sup> However, both J. Hope and the Presbyterian Rev. Mitchell wrote directly to the Council of Education claiming there was suitable land for expansion on the present site. This caused great indignation at the meetings, because, as a letter to the Northern Argus stated, they had attempted

to undermine the confidence of a public Council in the veracity of an appreciative [sic] number of the more prominent and respected townsmen of a place of such importance as Clare. 319

The disagreement was patched up and both Hope and Mitchell were members of the deputation of 'prominent men', including Bain, Crabb, Beare, Young and Palmer, which met the representatives of the Council of Education when they visited Clare to inspect the school and alternative sites.<sup>320</sup> Only after further pressure from the leading men did the Council finally decide to place the new school on the proposed list of works.<sup>321</sup> The school was opened with great ceremony by Hosier as Chairman of the School Board of Advice in August 1879. Mayor Palmer, in a speech referring only to boys, praised the state school system which 'gave the sons of the poor and needy a privilege possessed only by the well-to-do middle classes'. Crabb, still a member of the School Board of Advice, said he would endeavour to see that the compulsory clause was enforced.<sup>322</sup> The sentiments of both Palmer and Crabb were expressions of the belief that the leaders of the community had a responsibility to the less privileged.

Members of the School Board of Advice were responsible only for the public school in Clare, but members of the elite were also involved

---

318 Ibid, 12 June 1877, 2g; 13 July 1877, 3b and 20 July, 2a; 3 August 1877, 3bcd.

319 Ibid, 14 August 1877, 3b.

320 Ibid, 31 August 1877, 3c; 7 September 1877, 2f.

321 Ibid, 5 March 1878, 2g and 8 March, 2d.

322 Ibid, 12 August 1879, 2g.

in the other schools in Clare in this period: the Catholic school and the four private schools run by Miss Steele, Miss Hawker, the Misses Lipsett, and the Rev. Webb.<sup>323</sup> Annual prize-giving and end-of-year celebrations were occasions when prominent men, and occasionally women, were asked to lead the ceremonies. Public school annual celebrations were always led by the Chairman of the School Board. The Catholic school prize-givings were generally attended by at least one of the priests from Sevenhill, but Dr. Bain and Bright were regularly invited. Miss Steele often invited Bain and always invited the Presbyterian minister of the time, and Miss Hawker showed her sectarian bias by generally inviting the Rev. Webb and his wife. Bain also regularly attended her prize-givings, thus taking the prize himself for being the most desirable master of ceremonies, both because he was very interested in education and because he generally donated prizes.

The roles of members of the elite varied considerably within the different sectarian groups in Clare. The Church of England was still the church most strongly associated with the elite and had the only clergyman member of the elite. However the Church of England lay leadership was associated with status rather than power, whereas the Methodist and Presbyterian lay leaders were actually very powerful in church affairs, the Methodists especially because their ministers stayed for such short terms. The Catholics had neither powerful laymen nor any supporters who were members of the elite. The fact that no Catholic layman was asked to present prizes at the annual Catholic school ceremonies was significant.

---

323 St. Joseph's had been founded in 1869. Miss Steele's seminary for girls in 1876, Miss Hawker's seminary for girls in 1878, the Misses Lipsett's school for younger children in 1880 and the Rev. Webb's school for boys in 1884.

Church of England church-wardens and sidesmen in this period included both Gleasons, Hope, Young, Beare, Bain, Pitcher, Rix, Christison, Lloyd, Bright and bank manager R. Davies. The lay leaders of the Methodist church were Moyses, Ninnes and Kelly, all very important men in church affairs. The Presbyterians had the support of mainly small businessmen and farmers, but Palmer, T.N. Grierson, the manager of 'Hill River', and bank manager T.E. Powell were lay leaders. The Presbyterian congregation was a small one, and ceremonial occasions were always attended by the ministers and laymen of the Methodist church or other non-Presbyterians like Hope.<sup>324</sup> One religious organization which attracted leaders of all the Protestant sects was the British and Foreign Bible Society which had Hope, Bain and Kelly as Presidents during this period, and included Ninnes, Young, Bright, Palmer, Rev. Mitchell as Vice Presidents and Kimber and Powell as treasurers.<sup>325</sup>

The Rev. Robert Bennett Webb MA, who was incumbent of St. Barnabas from 1877 to his death in 1911, was the first Anglican minister to live in Clare. Rev. Webb had insisted that a parsonage be built as a condition of his accepting the position in Clare, and in October 1877 the foundation stone was laid of a parsonage which cost £1,600, of which Webb provided £600. The building committee included Webb, Bain, Pitcher, Kimber and Beare, who was the architect and contractor for the building and who lent money towards its cost. The new parsonage was an elevated building with a 'capital view', with thirteen 'lofty and well-ventilated' rooms.<sup>326</sup> In the 1881 vestry minutes it was recorded that both Webb and Beare had consented to wipe off any

---

324 Northern Argus, 9 October 1874, 2f.

325 Ibid, 10 November 1871, 3b. Mitchell was Presbyterian.

326 Ibid, 24 May 1878, 2f.

debts due to them from the building costs. Mrs. Webb said in her diary that they had not expected to see the £600 again. Although their children all went to school in Adelaide, the three boys to St. Peter's College, the Webbs were not wealthy. Mrs. Webb wrote that Webb started his school in 1882 and then took boy boarders after they 'lost' their money. She described a number of troublesome penniless young men they befriended in Clare. The rectory seemed to be a prime target for 'Destitute gentlemen' from England looking for accommodation and financial help in the colonies,<sup>327</sup> probably because Rev. Webb was the Anglican minister and therefore the representative of the church of the English gentry in Clare.

Rev. Webb was a member of Clare's elite all his life, because of his occupation, his education, his activities, his length of service and his own and his wife's family backgrounds.<sup>328</sup> The Webbs had high social status, with an appropriate house and life-style. Although Webb had no power gained from holding public office, his influence was acknowledged in most social and cultural activities. He was the only clergyman who remained in Clare for any length of time in the nineteenth century, the Catholics being served by different priests from Sevenhill, the Methodists having a policy of rapid turnover, and the Presbyterians having a number of changes because of illness, death and transfers. The Methodist and Presbyterian ministers were generally active in each other's church affairs,<sup>329</sup> in temperance and self-improvement associations and in

---

327 Diary of Ann Webb (nee Gilbert).

328 His father was the first Collector of Customs in Victoria. Rev. Webb went to Melbourne University and then to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he gained a BA in 1865 and a MA in 1869. Mrs. Webb was the daughter of William Gilbert, a successful pastoralist of Wangalere, near Williamstown, South Australia.

329 This cooperation between Methodists and Presbyterians was also true of Adelaide: see Hilliard, D. 'The City of Churches: some aspects of Religion in Adelaide about 1900' in Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, November 8, 1980, p.8 and p.14.

the cricket club, but their relatively short stays meant they had limited impact on Clare society as individuals.

That members of the Clare elite felt some responsibility for both the mental and physical well-being of the community could be seen in their support for 'cultural' events and for sporting activities. The Clare Art Exhibition and Flower Show held in October 1873 was organized by a committee which consisted of Kimber, Gleeson, Hope, Bain, Price and Hosier. The exhibition was very successful, both financially and in popularity, to the surprise of 'some persons [who had] predicted that the transition from the simply amusing to the intellectual and refining was too much at one stroke'.<sup>330</sup> These 'persons' obviously believed that 'intellectual and refining' interests were the prerogative of a few, of an elite.

The contributors and their contributions valued at nearly £4,000 were listed in two following issues of the Northern Argus. Some tradesmen obviously used the exhibition to display their own wares, but most people displayed 'artistic' objects such as paintings, engravings, jewellery, flowers, needlework, collections, ornaments, and curios of all kinds. Among the largest exhibitors were Mrs. Filgate, Gleeson and his mother, Kimber, Bain and Hope.<sup>331</sup> Prizes were given for various categories of exhibits, but as in the case of the early Stock Shows some exhibited only for noble motives:

Many persons on reading the prize list may be surprised that no award was given to Mr. Hope's magnificent collection, which consisted of works of art of great merit, valuable curiosities and interesting relics. All were for exhibition only. Several other competitors did not wish to compete for prizes, their sole aim being to encourage such exhibitions by doing their utmost to make them attractive. 332.

---

330 Northern Argus, 10 October 1873, 3c.

331 Ibid, 3cd and 17 October 1873, 3c.

332 Ibid, 17 October, 1873, 3cd.



Those who were on the organising committee and those who contributed the most valuable exhibits were the Clare people of highest social status, as they had the economic and social backgrounds to be the owners of such objects. The attitude of Hope and others was like that of the traditional English squire, not wishing to compete and outshine lesser mortals, but aiming for the intellectual good of the community. That the Clare Art Exhibition and Flower Show was held at all was an indication of the belief among the town leaders that they had a responsibility 'to encourage such exhibitions' for the good of all.

Elite involvement in support for sporting activities was generally in holding official positions and providing facilities, with the exception of Bright who captained the cricket team from 1875 to 1886. For the first time, organized sport other than racing came to Clare, cricket in 1871,<sup>333</sup> and football in 1873.<sup>334</sup> Once the clubs were established a regular pattern was set up, of the prestigious official positions being held by the leading men in town who could provide financial support, and not by those actually playing the sport. Two examples will suffice: in 1878 the Cricket Club's annual meeting appointed Dr. Bain as Patron, Palmer as President, and Young as Vice President;<sup>335</sup> and in 1879 the new Clare Football Club appointed Hosier as President and Gleeson and Bain as Vice Presidents.<sup>336</sup>

An example of the expectation that the elite should support sporting activities was the movement to acquire a recreation ground. In January 1880 in a report on the need for a permanent cricket ground,

---

333 Ibid, 13 January 1871, 2d.

334 Ibid, 27 June 1873, 2g.

335 Ibid, 13 September 1878, 2f.

336 Ibid, 25 April 1879, 2d.

the Northern Argus suggested, 'Perhaps some of the wealthy and liberal townsmen will proffer assistance'.<sup>337</sup> In December 1881, Bright, captain of the cricket club since he had first arrived in Clare, offered £250 towards the purchase of a recreation ground.<sup>338</sup> 'Idler' in his regular column obviously had his own perception of the wealth of solicitors and the responsibility they had towards their fellows:

Mr. Bright's donation of £250 is a most liberal one (the solicitors live on princely fees), and Mr. F.C. Gray (Mayor) is not behind hand in this respect. Where is my learned friend Mr. Carter? I have not heard his name mentioned. Another £250 and the thing is settled. 339

At the annual meeting of the cricket club in September 1882 the President of the Club, Palmer, praised Bright for fencing the cricket ground and building an 'iron house' at his own expense. He reminded the meeting that Bright had offered £250 towards purchase of the whole block and suggested the money be raised by March 1883.<sup>340</sup> A public meeting in October agreed to accept Bright's offer, and a committee of leading men was set up to raise the money.<sup>341</sup> However, Bright never had to give the money, as the rest was not raised, and the recreation ground was not bought until 1897 by the Corporation, with money raised by the Queen Victoria Jubilee's Association Committee.<sup>342</sup> Speculation about why Bright's offer was never taken up may be answered by a letter in the Northern Argus in March 1884:

It appears to me that while such an offer is outstanding no attempt will be made to buy the ground by the Clare public. Local jealousy runs too high. There isn't one of our townsmen who cares to place down his card to match this one, and, therefore, will not move to be considered a minor in the matter. 343

This letter endorses the overall impression that despite expectations,

---

337 Ibid, 9 January 1880, 2e.

338 Ibid, 2 December 1881, 2e.

339 Ibid, 6 December 1881, 2fg. Carter was also a solicitor.

340 Ibid, 12 September 1882, 2e.

341 Ibid, 31 October 1882, 2f.

342 See below, p.351.

343 Northern Argus, 14 March 1884, 2g.

relatively few of the elite of Clare actually contributed large sums or facilities, to the community. The need for a recreation ground was recognized, but no one individual would or could give enough, and the other leading men may have been, as the letter suggested, unwilling to appear to be mean in comparison, preferring to ignore the issue completely. The economic depression may also have influenced people's generosity, and the Corporation was suffering from its usual financial stringencies and lack of leadership, despite suggestions that it buy the ground.<sup>344</sup> This recreation ground issue provided a good example of leadership expectations fulfilled by one individual, but not taken up by the leadership group until over a decade later.

Bright's offer was on a small scale compared with Dr. Bain's provision of facilities. Bain was Clare's leading philanthropist in the nineteenth century. As an individual he more than fulfilled all the expectations of a leading citizen with influence, wealth and prestige. As will be seen in the next chapter, Bain was involved in every enterprise aimed at improving the economic conditions in Clare, including the Vigilance Committee, the Fruit Preserving Company, the Butter Factory and the search for minerals. He was involved in more social, cultural and community activities than any other individual in the town, such as those concerned with the Institute, Church of England, schools, art exhibitions,<sup>345</sup> and all kinds of charities and entertainments. He was never a JP and he rejected offers to stand for mayor in 1879 and 1882 and for member for Stanley in 1890,<sup>346</sup> for, as noted in his obituary,

---

344 *Ibid*, 11 March 1844, 2g.

345 *Ibid*, 28 April 1882, 2g. 'Idler' praised his organization of the Art Exhibition.

346 *Ibid*, 26 September 1879, 3a; 5 December 1882, 2f; 25 February 1890, 2e.

although repeatedly asked by his many admirers at different times to occupy prominent public positions he was not prevailed upon to accept the honours they desired to thrust upon him. 347

With the aim of providing healthy recreation facilities for the people of Clare, Bain established skating rinks, a swimming pool and a gymnasium. In 1878 he had established his first skating rink in a large timber shed. This occasion set a pattern for the 1880s which included frequent public praise for Bain, and an acceptance of his altruistic motives. He was praised as 'in every respect a philanthropist'<sup>348</sup> and when Hosier opened the skating rink, Bain 'assured them that he had built the rink more as a means of recreation for the public than of profit to himself'.<sup>349</sup> This rink was closed in August 1878 when the lease on the building expired.<sup>350</sup> When the Clare Fruit Preserving Company factory<sup>351</sup> was finished in mid 1882, Bain, one of the directors, took a three months' lease to set up a skating rink. He had a cement floor laid of 80 by 50 feet, and he installed electric light, making Clare 'the first country town to be illuminated by means of this wonderful invention of modern times'.<sup>352</sup> All this had been done at his own expense, and as there was no possible hope of recouping his costs over such a short period, his motives had been to help the Preserving Company and to provide recreation for the people of Clare through the winter months. Three hundred people attended the final evening of skating in September and Mayor Gray distributed the prizes and presented an address thanking Bain for the rink. The address had 'a large number of signatures of the influential and other residents of Clare'. Bain in his speech of thanks, displayed no false modesty:

---

347 Ibid, 3 July 1903, 2f; Register, 7 July 1922, 6i; Bright's Reminiscences

348 Northern Argus, 28 June 1878, 2e.

349 Ibid, 16 July 1878, 2ef.

350 Ibid, 19 August 1879, 2b.

351 See below, p.314.

352 Northern Argus, 13 June 1882, 2d.

When he opened the rink he did not do so for the purpose of reaping emolument, but to afford the skating public an opportunity of indulging in a healthy and amusing recreation. 353

The week before the three month lease expired, it was reported that Bain had bought land for a swimming pool.<sup>354</sup> Perhaps he had responded to a report in the Northern Argus earlier that year that there was a growing desire for the Corporation to erect public baths in Clare. As the Corporation was not in the financial position to provide them, the report suggested, 'Perhaps someone who has grown rich in our midst might do so, and then hand the property over to the Corporation'.<sup>355</sup> Bain had established a profitable practice in Clare, and he always had plenty of capital for mining investments, both profitable and otherwise, so he filled the requirement well. Although he never handed the baths over to the Corporation, they were used by the community for ten years. The baths were opened in January 1883 by Mayor Bright who spoke proudly of the baths as being the first in a country town in South Australia, and bigger than the baths in Adelaide. They would provide health and enjoyment for the people of Clare. Bright praised Bain, 'a gentleman of so much public spirit', for providing the baths which would be floored over for a skating rink in the winter.<sup>356</sup> The same sentiments were echoed time after time during the next ten years. In May 1884 Bain was thanked for providing 'a healthy winter's amusement for the young folks',<sup>357</sup> and in December 1885 when Christison opened a series of swimming races, he said that 'the citizens of Clare owed a debt of gratitude to Dr. Bain for his disinterestedness in building the baths ...'.<sup>358</sup> In May

---

353 Ibid, 15 September 1882, 2f.

354 Ibid, 12 September 1882, 2d.

355 Ibid, 28 February 1882, 2d.

356 Advertiser, 9 January 1883, 7c.

357 Northern Argus, 30 May 1884, 2c.

358 Ibid, 22 December 1885, 2g.

1889 a gymnasium club was formed under Bain's patronage, and it met twice weekly at the skating rink.<sup>359</sup>

However, despite all the pleasure the baths and skating rink gave the people in Clare, in March 1894 they were closed permanently 'owing to lack of public support', according to the public notice in the Northern Argus.<sup>360</sup> The report noted that they had been built ten years before by Bain, 'not with a view to any profit, but with the hope that they would prove a boon to the community at large, and at least pay working expenses'. Bain had spent over £1,600 on the land, baths and fittings. The generous Bain had decided to continue the free water supply to the drinking fountain and horse troughs he had built outside of the baths,<sup>361</sup> and he was soon to open a butter factory in the building with the same aims of doing good for the district and covering 'working expenses'.<sup>362</sup> Bain was the perfect example of all that the community could expect of a member of the elite. He was both able and willing to live up to the expectation that people with wealth, influence and status had a responsibility to improve conditions for the less privileged majority in the community.

The people of Clare had appreciated the intentions of Bright and the facilities provided by Bain. That leadership in various areas affecting the well-being of Clare was generally appreciated, was illustrated frequently in ceremonial occasions. In December 1878, the manager of the E.S. and A.C. Bank, J.G. Pitcher, presented a silver cup to A. Young for his services as honorary agent for the bank before it opened a branch in 1866. That the 'gentlemen' present were seen as community leaders was illustrated by those responding to

---

359 Ibid, 24 May 1889, 2d.

360 Ibid, 2 March 1894, 2a.

361 Ibid, 2e.

362 See below, pp.324-25.

Bright's toast 'The combined Interests of South Australia': Hope responded for 'the pastoral interest', Gleeson for 'the commercial interest' and Palmer for 'the agricultural interest'.<sup>363</sup> In May 1878 a similar group met at a complimentary banquet, chaired by Mayor Crabb, to farewell Pitcher, who was leaving Clare because 'he did not refuse promotion'. Pitcher's printed testimonial stressed that he had been 'in the front rank of the town and district, whether local, political, or social'.<sup>364</sup> These and similar occasions indicated that people gained prestige by contributing to activities which benefited the community.

A relatively small group of men were the social leaders in many different town activities. As had been obvious, this leadership was very much male-dominated, and women's activities were not considered important. Although there were more women than men in the town and district in the 1881 census<sup>365</sup> there were no female leaders in their own right. Mrs. Hope was one of the few women mentioned by name in the Northern Argus. She was thanked for sending oranges and apples to the Catholic School picnic, for donating vestry furniture for the Church of England, and superintending choir practice.<sup>366</sup> Mrs. Filgate, formerly Fanny Gleeson, owned the brewery after her husband's death in 1866, but she always employed a manager. The two female school teachers, Miss Hawker and Miss Steele, had very small schools and played no public part in Clare's life. The wives and daughters of the town elite were certainly leaders within their own social circles, especially indicated by their dominance in running stalls at bazaars

---

363 Northern Argus, 1 January 1878, 2fg and 3a. Mayor Crabb, Dr. Bain and Price the Manager of the National Bank, were also present.

364 Ibid, 7 May 1878, 2fg.

365 In the town there were 531 males and 600 (53%) females. In the district 816 males and 819 (50.1%) females.

366 Northern Argus, 2 October 1874, 2e; 21 April 1876, 2e; 13 April 1877, 3a.

and providing teas for public occasions. The public attitude to women's roles and abilities was often illustrated in the Northern Argus. The report on an Institute ball attended by 'a large portion of the elite of the district' referred to the women in a way so typical of this period:

The toilettes of the ladies were charming, and those fair creatures, without whom life would be a blank, surpassed themselves in chasteness and taste. 367

The role of women was

to minister to the comforts and enjoyments of home, making it attractive by a thousand arts and devices for a man to feel as he returns weary from his day's employ. 368

Reports of entertainments illustrated the lack of individuality ascribed to women at this time: a detailed description of each of the male actors of the Clare Dramatic Club in 1873 was followed by 'each of the lady amateurs acted their part uncommonly well';<sup>369</sup> and in a Good Templars entertainment, 'the young lady who took a prominent part [and] deserves special mention for the admirable manner in which she acquitted herself'<sup>370</sup> was not named. Women's responsibilities were private rather than public and as such have left little hard evidence of their importance in community life.

#### A divided community

With the exception of the railway movement strong leadership and town unity had rarely been achieved in the years from 1868 to 1885. That the elite and the community were divided on sectarian and personal grounds had been shown in the parliamentary and Mayoral elections and in the debate over the school teacher. The hostile reaction to

---

367 Ibid, 15 November 1872, 3b.

368 Ibid, 10 July 1877, 2g.

369 Ibid, 9 May 1873, 2e.

370 Ibid, 12 October 1877, 2g.



Matthew Burnett in 1881 and the Salvation Army in 1884 was also based largely on sectarian differences. In the latter case however, the hostility was more complex and the town leaders were seen as partly responsible for both the abuse and violent actions against the Salvation Army and for not asserting their authority strongly enough.

Temperance societies, such as the Total Abstinence Society,<sup>371</sup> the International Order of Rechabites,<sup>372</sup> the Good Templars<sup>373</sup> and the Band of Hope<sup>374</sup> had played an important role in Clare social life since the 1860s. These societies, along with various Young Men's Societies, rose and declined in popularity, but were reported as holding meetings and entertainments at intervals throughout the century. The leading members of the community connected with them were the Methodist and Presbyterian ministers and the respected Methodist laymen, Thomas Moyses and William Kelly.

In 1881 there was a Temperance Campaign in Clare, consisting of a series of lectures by Matthew Burnett, organized on behalf of the Band of Hope, Rechabite Society and Wesleyan Church. The three weeks that Burnett remained in Clare saw scenes of antagonism and violence which were to be repeated more strongly against the Salvation Army in 1884. A 'Torchlight Procession' paraded from the Wesleyan Church to the Town Hall on the first Saturday of Burnett's campaign.<sup>375</sup> There was strong hostility from some sections of the community to this procession of teetotalers. A Mr. P. McMahon, 'blew his bagpipes lustily in opposition to the band', a rope had been placed

---

371 Register, 27 September 1860, 3h - 148 members were enrolled.

372 Observer, 15 April 1865, 4f - first anniversary.

373 Northern Argus, 9 January 1874, 3d - first anniversary.

374 Ibid, 3 May 1874, 2e.

375 Ibid, 20 September 1881, 3b.

across the road, and publican C. Provis tried to drive through the procession. At the Town Hall Dr. Bain spoke of the medical effects of intemperance, but did not support total abstinence, unlike the Presbyterian and Methodist ministers. Letters of apology were read from Father Hearn and Rev. Webb, who stated in his Sunday sermon that he advocated soberness, but 'Our Saviour was not a total abstainer' and drink should be taken in moderation to strengthen the body.<sup>376</sup>

Burnett was heckled at his first meeting, but a week later, hostility had increased - eggs were thrown at the procession, and at the noisy meeting the chairman, Charles Kimber, was mocked and 'roughly handled' when he told the police to take a disorderly member of the audience in charge. The Northern Argus reporter disapproved of the disorderly behaviour and the 'cowardly and disgraceful conduct' of the egg throwers.<sup>377</sup> The Observer also disapproved of the events in Clare, but noted, 'Notwithstanding the disgraceful opposition 180 persons have signed the pledge during the last fortnight'.<sup>378</sup> Over the whole campaign, 450 signatures were obtained at Clare.<sup>379</sup> This great success in a town and district of just over two and a half thousand people, added to the hostility to the campaign, suggested that there was some truth in the comment Burnett was reported to have made about Clare before he began the campaign, 'that no place in the North needed it more than the town in question'.<sup>380</sup>

After a six and a half hour trial, P. Kirby, road contractor, who had been arrested at Kimber's 'order' was released because the four magistrates were equally divided.<sup>381</sup> At the trial, F. Lane a

---

376 Ibid, 27 September 1881, 2e.

377 Ibid, 3b.

378 Observer, 1 October 1881, 6f.

379 Northern Argus, 11 October 1881, 2e.

380 Ibid, 27 September 1881, 2g.

381 The four magistrates were W.L. Beare (Church of England), A. Palmer (Presbyterian), F. Duffield (Methodist) and P. McNamara (Catholic).

publican and 'free thinker' testified that Kirby, A. Young JP and Mayor F.C. Gray had met at Gray's hotel where 'they all discussed the limit they could go to with safety in disturbing a public meeting without being liable to arrest'.<sup>382</sup> Those who led the hostility to Burnett and his campaign were closely connected with the liquor trade: Gray like Provis was a publican; Young had a storekeeper's licence to sell spirits and beers; W. Richardson who had heckled Burnett was the son-in-law of Mrs. Filgate and had been a partner in her brewery before Christison took over in July 1881; McMahon, Kirby and Fitzsimmons, who had assaulted Kimber, were all Irish Catholics, and obviously not in favour of total abstinence. The campaign of Matthew Burnett had brought to the surface the differences in attitudes to alcohol between social groups such as the Methodists and Presbyterians on the one hand and the publicans and the Catholics on the other. The middle road was represented by Rev. Webb and Dr. Bain, both members of the Church of England, who had spoken in favour of temperance not total abstinence.

Similar social divisions, on a wider scale were to be brought to the fore in Clare in 1884 when the first representatives of the Salvation Army arrived. The officers and supporters of the Salvation Army faced constant harassment and caused tremendous antagonism and division in Clare despite their small numbers.<sup>383</sup> The hostility to the Salvation Army was derived from four major sources: sectarian hostility arising from the intolerance and prejudice of certain members of other religious groups; class hostility arising from the fact that the Army drew its converts from the lower socio-economic

---

382 Northern Argus, 7 October 1881, 3b.

383 In the census of 1881 there was no member of the Salvation Army listed in Clare. This was not surprising as the Army had only been formed in England in 1878, and had arrived in Adelaide in 1880. In the 1891 census there were 16 members in the Corporation and 12 in the District, and in 1901 there were only 6 in the Corporation and 4 in the District. The Salvation Army did not build its own citadel in Clare until 1926.

groups in Clare, and because the outdoor meetings and the frequent marching of the band in which any 'amateur' musicians could play caused great annoyance to the better educated and socially more respectable citizens; anti-temperance hostility echoing that manifested in 1881 during Burnett's campaign; and xenophobic hostility, because the early leaders of the Salvation Army were not Clare people but 'missionaries', who seemed to many to be spoiling a peaceful pattern of life.

Clare was not unique in its opposition to the Salvation Army. Victor Bailey<sup>384</sup> in his study of riots against the Army in England between 1878 and 1891 discovered they affected at least sixty towns and cities, and that approximately half occurred in the years of greatest growth of the Salvation Army, 1882 and 1883, the two years before the Army came to Clare. In the small and medium sized towns where the majority of riots and disorders occurred in England, the 'Skeleton Armies' made up mostly of working men and 'roughs' were often paid by the local brewing trade and encouraged by local businessmen and magistrates to harass the Salvation Army in the hope they would withdraw from the towns. Bailey argued that the three major sources of opposition to the Army were: from the Brewery trade because of the 'recreational or cultural rivalry' of the Army; from the 'rough' working class who were resentful of the morally self-righteous criticisms of their way of life; and from the community as a whole, led by the local businessmen and magistrates, who were antagonistic to the outsiders who disrupted the peace and the established social patterns of their towns, including bringing new

---

384 Bailey, V. 'Salvation Army Riots, the "Skeleton Army" and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town' in Donajgrodzki, A. (ed.) Social control in nineteenth century Britain. London, Croon Helm, 1977. See also Kiddle, op.cit., p.447.

attitudes to women, family life and the social hierarchy. There was more evidence in England of town councils and magistrates openly supporting the Skeleton Armies against the Salvation Army than was found in Clare. However the Clare Corporation's requests to the Municipal Association to try to amend the Municipal Council Act, and its refusal to hire the Town Hall to the Salvation Army in 1884 and 1885,<sup>385</sup> were indications that 'the authorities' in Clare had similar attitudes to those in England.

The first Salvation Army officer arrived in Clare on July 18, 1884 and the first Salvation Army procession through the streets was held on the evening of Sunday 20th. Eggs and mud were thrown at the marchers, and eggs and stones were thrown through the barracks' windows. The report of the incident stated that 'The police did all in their power to quell the disturbance, but the crowd were too numerous and excited for the force to disperse them'. The reporter expressed no indignation or sympathy on behalf of the Salvation Army.<sup>386</sup> The first of many court cases for actions against the Army was held on July 22nd, when the cases against J.J. Grant, a road contractor, for throwing a missile, and Patrick Kearne, hotel ostler, for disturbing a meeting, were dismissed through lack of evidence. The court was crowded with interested spectators during the hearing of these cases.<sup>387</sup>

In his sermon the day after further egg throwing at a Salvation Army meeting, the Rev. R.B. Webb 'deprecated' the attacks on the Salvation Army.<sup>388</sup> This view was obviously not shared by everyone

---

385 Northern Argus, 24 October 1884, 3a; 18 September 1885, 2g; see pp.191-93

386 Ibid, 22 July 1884, 2e.

387 Ibid, 25 July 1884, 2g.

388 Ibid, 12 August 1884, 2g.

in Clare. At the next Local Court three men were fined for throwing missiles, but the cases of another two charged with shouting and knocking at the doors of 'Captain'<sup>389</sup> Carr were dismissed.<sup>390</sup>

Inspector Saunders prosecuted, and said 'with a good deal of warmth' that he had heard that

some of the business men had formed themselves into a syndicate to pay the fines that had been inflicted that day. They were, then, encouraging the larrikins to do unlawful deeds that the members of the syndicate dared not do themselves, because, he supposed, of their social position.

Solicitor Bright who had defended the accused and gave notice of appeal claimed to know nothing of such a syndicate.<sup>391</sup> Although Saunders produced no details at the time, one of the Clare publicans later admitted spending more than £50 on harassment of the Salvation Army in those years.<sup>392</sup>

Court cases concerned with assaults on the Salvation Army were numerous - for throwing eggs, water and stones, for attempting to burn down the meeting house, and for assaulting members of the Army while marching, at meetings, or in their own homes.<sup>393</sup> The incidents were frequent through to mid 1885, and then decreased in frequency.<sup>394</sup> The magistrates of Clare could not be accused of refusing to prosecute offenders against the Salvation Army, as Bailey had found occurred in England. Where evidence was produced by the police and witnesses, offenders were fined or imprisoned. However, often, as in the case of an attempt to burn down the barracks, the inquest could find no evidence

---

389 The titles of the Salvation Army officers were always printed in quotation marks.

390 One of the latter, B. Fitzsimmons, had also been involved in the hostilities against Matthew Burnett.

391 The Northern Argus, 22 August 1884, 2d.

392 Dale, P. (Lieut-Colonel) 'Publican paid the persecutors' The local officer and bandsman, May 1947, p.8. SAA Newspaper Cuttings Vol.2, p.268.

393 Northern Argus, 4 November, 2d, 7 November, 2d; 19 December 3a; 1884; 23 January 3a, 27 March 3a, 12 May 3a, 19 May 2f, 1885.

394 Ibid, 11 June 1886, 2e; 7 December 1888, 2e; 13 March 1891, 3a.

on whom to prosecute, although the jury agreed that the fire had been 'wilfully' lit.<sup>395</sup> The Court cases revealed something of the social composition of both the Army and its opponents. The Army leadership consisted of non-Clare 'missionaries' such as 'Captains' Francis Carr and Harriett Skinner and 'Lieutenants' Thomas Statham and Amy King. The Clare converts to the Army were overwhelmingly of the 'labourer' class, although a maildriver, a blacksmith and a baker were also followers. The opponents included labourers like McMahon and men with a range of occupations - road contractor, ostler, butcher, horse trainer, watchmaker, painter, and on numerous occasions, J. Fels the saddler and his two sons. Their resentment was perhaps mostly against the moral stand of the Army on alcohol and leisure activities.

Evidence of general lack of sympathy for the Salvation Army can be shown in a number of ways. Two shops in Clare sold 'Salvation Army Eggs' at threepence a dozen, these being eggs which had gone bad on their way from Crystal Brook.<sup>396</sup> The Northern Argus reports showed often where its sympathies lay, as in:

For some time past while members of the Irrepressible Army are marching the Clare streets with their hallelujah band, which emits more sound than harmony, they have been saluted with eggs by no means fresh. <sup>397</sup>

In the Local Court in January, a member of the Salvation Army, W. Pryor, a labourer, was fined for assaulting Julius Precht, painter, despite Pryor's plea that Precht had shoved 'lieutenant' Amy King. 'The decision was received with applause, which was at once suppressed'.<sup>398</sup> This incident showed where the sympathies of the court onlookers and perhaps the magistrates lay. However, despite assaults and intimidation,

---

395 Ibid, 11 November 1884, 2ef.

396 Dale, P. 'Publican paid the persecutors' op.cit., p.8.

397 Northern Argus, 21 October 1884, 2e.

398 Ibid, 23 January 1885, 3a.

the Salvation Army officers stuck bravely to their beliefs and their methods of converting, and this gained respect if not absolute approval. A more sympathetic attitude could be seen in the Northern Argus description of McMahon's interruption of the Army's march on New Year's Eve:

Mr. McMahon gave some high-pressure music, to the unmixed delight of the street loungers; but Miss Skinner marched her 'soldiers' on, with beating of drum and playing of cornet, with a calm smile upon her countenance. 399

In November 1884 the antagonism to the Salvation Army in Clare reached the notice of the Legislative Council when the Hon G.W. Cotton<sup>400</sup> moved that a report be made to the Council on what steps the police and magistrates of Clare had taken to protect the rights of the Salvation Army in Clare. He criticized the police, the magistrates and the 'imbecile Mayor and Corporation' for the 'disgraceful persecution' of the Army in Clare. The attitudes of the Council debaters mainly agreed with those of Inspector Saunders' letter, which claimed that most of the bad feeling against the members of the Army was 'brought on their own shoulders' by their marching, and playing music at night 'against the wish of the residents'. The motion was carried with the amendment that the protection of the rights of 'the inhabitants of Clare' as well as those of the Salvation Army be reported on.<sup>401</sup>

The report of Cotton's motion was made in the same issue of the Northern Argus which gave a detailed account of the Clare Skeleton Army's celebration of Guy Faux's Day. The tone of the description was one of amused approval for the antics of the Skeleton Army, which had

399 Ibid, 2 January 1885, 2d.

400 Cotton was a constant champion of the rights of the 'masses' and 'working men'. Loyau, G.E. Notable South Australians Adelaide, G.E. Loyau, 1885. Hampstead Gardens, Austprint, Facsimile, 1978, pp.102-3. He had strong Methodist support when he stood for Stanley in the 1875 elections. See above, p.159.

401 Register, 5 November 1884, Supp.1a.



paraded down the Main Street in parody of the Salvation Army and after letting off fireworks, had burned the effigy of a 'Salvationist' which had been seated on a beer cask. The Skeleton Army had given 'three groans' for the Hon. G.W. Cotton, the Salvation Army, and Captain Carr, and 'three cheers' for Mayor Young, Publican Gray (who perhaps had donated the beer cask) and the 'much-abused devil'.<sup>402</sup>

That there was a general assumption that the leading men of Clare were hostile to the Salvation Army was shown by the Skeleton Army's cheers for Young and Gray on Guy Faux's Day. It was also evidenced by the remarks made by the brewer Christison at the November meeting which he and Rix addressed as candidates for the Mayoralty. He referred to the untrue reports 'being circulated about the town' that he had given permission to the Skeleton Army to occupy his garden for the purpose of annoying the Salvation Army. He had been in Adelaide at the time and denied knowing anything of the matter.<sup>403</sup> Although Christison was an honorable man, and probably telling the truth, his vote against the Salvation Army's request to use the Town Hall and his occupation explain why public opinion linked his name with opposition to the Salvation Army.

Opposition to the Salvation Army came from many Clare citizens, who saw it as an unwelcome intruder into their peaceful town. The respectable disliked the style of the new religious sect, its appeal to the labouring classes, and the noise and violence caused by its parades. The less respectable disliked the moral self-righteousness and anti-pleasure attitudes of the Army. The respectable were

---

402 Northern Argus, 7 November 1884, 2d.

403 Ibid, 21 November 1884, 2d. See above, pp.180-81.

represented by the Corporation, which denied the Army access to the Town Hall, and by the publicans and businessmen who were accused of supporting the less respectable who physically disturbed Army marches and meetings. In general, the magistrates, the elite representatives of the respectable, adequately carried out their duties to punish the offenders against law and order, and the Army got fair treatment in the courts. However, the elite were unwilling or unable to provide the strong moral leadership necessary to calm the hostility and unite the divided town.

A further dimension of the hostility to the Salvation Army in Clare was the implication in a letter to the Northern Argus in May 1885 that the division of society was not caused by the Salvation Army but already there, waiting for a cause, that there was a discontent already lurking in some social groups in Clare:

The Salvation Army is a source of pleasure to many townfolk who do not publicly express their feelings. I have lived in Clare nearly 20 years, and during that period Clare never composed a happy family, and the bitter feeling never had scope to play with until they vented their malice and prejudice on Matthew Burnett's followers and the Army. 404

This letter-writer's interpretation of the hostility towards the Salvation Army as a sign of discontent with the social status quo in Clare runs counter to Bailey's argument that the Skeleton Armies in England were 'manifestations of integrated social communities' and therefore 'participants in "reactionary" riots on behalf of established moral and social codes, not in disorder which presaged social insurrection'.<sup>405</sup> However, if the hostility to the Salvation Army in Clare were partly due to discontent with the social status quo in Clare,

---

404 Ibid, 26 May 1885, 2e.

405 Bailey, V. 'Salvation Army riots ...', p.248.

there was no indication that it was a forerunner of 'social insurrection', as the hostility came from all sections of society, including the elite.

That there was a high correlation between economic success, power and high social status in the years from 1868 to 1885 has been shown to be indisputable, and it has been argued that those men who had achieved them made up the elite within a socially stratified and status-conscious society. Despite the still obvious uncertainty about the roles the elite should play, in the prosperous years after 1868 there had been both a growing community expectation that the elite should provide leadership, and also a growing acceptance by the elite that they had some responsibility to the community. There was consequently criticism when the members of the elite were reluctant to provide active leadership and were satisfied with holding positions of prestige, such as on the Corporation, Institute Committee, the Bench or community committees. There was also criticism of the assumption of social superiority that was unearned and unproductive.

Although individual members of the elite sometimes differed over 'means', they generally agreed on the dominant 'end' of aiming for the betterment of the town and district. This was of course in their own interests, but taking leadership roles was also perceived as a duty they owed to the community in return for the rewards of power, success and prestige that they received from it. The difference over 'means' has been seen in the support for different candidates for colonial and local candidates and for the school teacher. The agreement over 'means' and 'ends' was most noticeable in the support for a railway. The discussion of the reaction to the Salvation Army is a suitable place to conclude this chapter and the years when disunity had been

more obvious than cooperation in the community. Economic depression was to encourage community cooperation and leadership agreement on 'means' and 'ends'. These will be shown in the next chapter to be the basic characteristics of the attempts to get a Clare man into parliament and to set up and encourage new economic activities in Clare after 1881.

CHAPTER 5: ECONOMIC DECLINE AND LOCAL SELF-RELIANCE AND LEADERSHIP:  
1881 to 1900

The years from 1881 to the end of the century were years of decline in prosperity in Clare and its surrounding district, as illustrated by the decrease in population, the failure of businesses and the increase in unemployment. During these years there were important changes in the use of land around Clare, with a movement to fruit and vine growing as an answer to the droughts, the depression in the pastoral industry, the slower growth rate of wheat production in the Clare district and the low prices for wheat and wool. Although the achievement of economic success, power and high social status was still the basic characteristic of the elite, ability, initiative and leadership were regarded as more important criteria than ever before. Members of the elite were still predominantly Anglicans, but for the first time men born in South Australia made up a substantial section of the elite, in fact the majority by 1900. Leadership became both the major characteristic and the main expectation of the elite, as the town leaders accepted responsibility for the town and community's well-being.

In the last chapter, disunity and dissension within both local government and the community were shown to exist through to the mid 1880s. After 1885 local government was stable and generally dissension-free, although sometimes lethargic, and the community was generally passive and uncritical, allowing the necessary initiatives and actions to be taken by its leaders. From 1881 there were local candidates for all but one colonial election through to the end of the century, and the town leaders either as individuals or groups set out to establish and encourage new industries and enterprises to regain the prosperity which would benefit themselves and the community as a whole. Although

they hoped for government aid, the Clare elite came to realize that self-help offered the best solution to their problems. Unity behind Clare's leaders for the good of all was encouraged by the leaders themselves and by the local newspaper, and during these years the community became more tightly knit and conscious of its material interests than before.

### Economic decline

In the early 1880s the economy of Clare and its surrounding district set into the economic depression in which it would remain for the rest of the century. The effects of the decline in prosperity can be seen in both the statistics showing the decrease in population and in the newspaper reports of people leaving Clare, failure of business enterprises, the increase in the number of unemployed and the general atmosphere of depression in the community.

The censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901 showed a continuous and quite dramatic decline in the population of both the town and the district, especially the former.<sup>1</sup> The decrease in the proportion of the total population living in the town over the twenty years from 1881<sup>2</sup> was a result of the decreased demand for town - provided manufactures and services from the local and the wider district, because of the droughts and the depressed state of agriculture. The increase in the acreage under cultivation in the decade after 1891, the year of the lowest point of cultivation since 1851<sup>3</sup> reflected the changes in use of the

---

1 Population in 1881: 1131 in Corporation and 1635 in the District; in 1891: 833 and 1493; in 1901: 788 and 1366. The total population of Corporation and District in 1901 was 77.9% of what it had been in 1881, and the Corporation was 69.7% its former size.

2 In 1881 40.9% of the total population lived in Clare; in 1891: 38.5%; in 1901: 36.6%.

3 Land under cultivation: 1861: 6,401 acres; 1871: 11,358; 1881: 7,098; 1891: 5,094; 1901: 7,216.

land close to Clare which had resulted from the planting of orchards and vineyards.

Those who left the district during these years did so for many reasons, a major one being 'owing to the depressed times' as in Henry Crabb's case.<sup>4</sup> In this Clare was not unique, as in August 1886 a Northern Argus editorial claimed that the exodus of working men from South Australia was even greater than during the gold rushes because of the bad conditions.<sup>5</sup> Meinig also noted that twenty years of net emigration from South Australia after the early 1880s paralleled the levelling off of wheat acreages, production and exports.<sup>6</sup>

Unemployment became a problem for the first time in Clare in the 1880s. There was a 'revival of trade' in Clare in the early part of 1880, when Ramsay and Co. were employing 30 hands.<sup>7</sup> In September 1882 Enterprise Brewery gave their 15 employees a holiday and picnic<sup>8</sup> and in 1883 40 hands were at work at the 'Clare Jam Factory'.<sup>9</sup> However, the droughts brought the end of the agricultural machinery business, the Preserving Factory went into liquidation in 1885, and in 1886 the brewery was employing only three men and two boys. In June 1886 Mayor Christison called a meeting to try to do something for the Clare unemployed, and after that meeting a list of fifty four names of unemployed was handed in.<sup>10</sup> On July 6th the advertisements of four Clare businessmen indicated the general feeling of depression: 'To

---

4 Northern Argus, 6 May 1887, 2d. Crabb, a saddler, had been Mayor.

5 Ibid, 13 August 1886, 2de.

6 Meinig, On the margins ..., p.203.

7 Northern Argus, 27 February 1880, 2g; 8 October 1880, 2c.

8 Ibid, 8 September 1882, 2d.

9 Advertiser, 9 January 1883, 7c.

10 Northern Argus, 2 July 1886, 2g and 3a. See below, pp.335.37.

tide over the present commercial depression ...'; '... to meet the depressed times'; 'In consequence of the present severe depression ...'; and 'The Poor Must Help the Poor to Tide over the Poor Times'.<sup>11</sup> In August it was suggested that the increase of petty thieving in Clare was linked with 'hunger and poverty'.<sup>12</sup> In September that year C. Kimber and Sons 'relieved' the labour market by employing eight to ten men building their new flour mill<sup>13</sup> but in May 1887 the Northern Argus noted that 'the ranks of the unemployed are being augmented' by men dismissed by the carriers J. Hill and Co.<sup>14</sup> The nineteen insolvencies reported in the local paper between 1885 and 1888 indicate the severity of the situation. In October 1890 an editorial on the decline of business throughout the country towns of South Australia claimed:

It is not many years ago since implement factories in this town kept from five to fifty hands constantly employed, but the fifty are gone and the five only remain.

Working men had been forced to leave Clare as a result, and business generally had suffered. The editorial ended on an optimistic note however, claiming that enterprise and co-operation could bring back the lost prosperity.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1890s, the Northern Argus continually referred to Clare's lack of prosperity in its editorials and reports. However, the editor always remained hopeful and encouraging, and was a leading advocate of the necessity of diversification and greater efforts by all to revive the economy.<sup>16</sup> In November 1890, the editor showed his impatience with Clare's lack of enterprise. The Clare farmers were

---

11 Ibid, 6 July 1886, 3efg.

12 Ibid, 20 August 1886, 2e.

13 Ibid, 3 September 1866, 2e.

14 Ibid, 10 May 1887, 2e.

15 Ibid, 10 October 1890, 2cd.

16 See below, pp.331-32.



not interested in trying new things like dairying or exporting to the London market, unlike the enterprising people of Angaston, where, unlike Clare, 'there are not empty houses, and there is employment for all the people'.<sup>17</sup> However the decline in prosperity continued and in December 1891 the Northern Argus announced that in 1892 it would be published only once a week, instead of twice, because the district could no longer support it. The editor hoped that vinegrowing, which was increasing in popularity in the district, would one day bring back a 'new era of prosperity' which could support a bi-weekly newspaper again.<sup>18</sup> Vinegrowing was to help to revitalize the district's economy, but the Northern Argus was to remain a weekly paper for the rest of the century, and indeed, ever since.

In May 1893 two leading articles discussed the suspension of payment by the banks<sup>19</sup> and the generally poor conditions and 'semi stagnation' of Clare and South Australia.<sup>20</sup> In October, the Northern Argus noted that several men had passed through Clare looking for work, and commented that the law court had been crowded that week because many went as spectators 'to while away the time in consequence of the slackness of trade'.<sup>21</sup> In March 1894 the Mayor, Magnus Badger, called a public meeting 'to devise some scheme to give employment to the unemployed'.<sup>22</sup> Many proposals were put forward but nothing was resolved and no collective action was taken. As the leading article said,

The meeting of unemployed in this town on Friday last was in one sense a free and easy affair. The unemployed had little or nothing to say. They wanted work, and they would rather have work than talk about it. 23

---

17 Northern Argus, 21 November 1890, 2c.

18 Ibid, 8 December 1891, 2e.

19 Ibid, 4 May 1893, 2ab.

20 Ibid, 12 May 1893, 2b.

21 Ibid, 27 October 1893, 2d.

22 Ibid, 2 March 1894, 2d.

23 Ibid, 2b.

This was one of the numerous attempts by the leading men of the town to solve Clare's economic problems.

As we will see, there were to be two major types of response to the depressed economic times. Firstly, the unemployed asked for jobs and employees demanded better working conditions, and secondly, the leaders of the town attempted to solve the economic problems in a positive way by organization, co-operation and action. Enterprises they established or encouraged included: the Preserving Factory; mining of copper and gold; growing new crops and using new methods of agriculture; Dr. Bain's butter factory; the Stanley Wine Company; exporting apples to England; and the Stanley Fruit Packing Union. The success of some of these efforts may be seen in the expansion of land under cultivation which was the result of the encouragement of the planting of fruit trees and vines.<sup>24</sup> The leading men of Clare were themselves involved in these horticultural enterprises as were many local farmers and the owners of the 'working men's blocks' which were first made available in 1889, largely on the initiative of Clare's Peter Gillen MP. By the end of the century, the economy of Clare and its district appeared to be on the road back to prosperity. This can be largely credited to the vigorous leadership and the community cooperation and unity that were encouraged by the economic depression and the need to work together for the common good.

This vigorous leadership was provided by the elite of Clare, the men who were successful financially, had power and influence and were seen to have the high social status derived from these attributes and especially from their ability to provide leadership. These men were

---

24 See below, pp.325-30.

predominantly town dwellers, and the community accepted their leadership to be both necessary and praiseworthy, as it was aimed at overcoming the problems, improving the living conditions and increasing the prosperity of all. There were still some criticisms and resentment of the elite, but on a relatively small scale compared with previous less troubled years.

Economic success: 1885 to 1900

The most successful men in terms of wealth and property in these years continued to be the absentee pastoralists Hawker and Angas, who were members of the wider colonial elite, and, by courtesy rather than involvement, of the Clare elite. Although they continued to play a limited role in local affairs they and their potential contributions were never forgotten and their wealth was the most resented. Hawker's sons were involved in community affairs in varying degrees during these years. The two resident large landholders, the Hope family and James Hill, also played little part in town leadership although Hill was a Justice of the Peace and R.E.H. Hope was interested in a number of community activities. Successful farmers who involved themselves in Clare affairs had retired to Clare, like Ninnes and Moyses, who were particularly involved in Methodist affairs, and George Lloyd who lived in Clare from 1886 although retaining his farming property. It was the businessmen who were the most successful townsmen and also the most active of the elite in providing community leadership. Men like Kimber and Christison had valuable properties and large financial assets, while T.S. Stacy, T. Reed and A.J. Davey were solidly prosperous. The professional men, the doctors Bain and Smith, the lawyers Bright, who left in 1888, B. Carter and M. Badger, and the bank managers R. Davies and H. Hodge, were affluent largely in terms of earnings

rather than property, but had high social status. Men like W. Kelly, retired editor and gardener, and P.P. Gillen when Commissioner for Crown Lands, fitted into categories of their own. As a number of the successful men of the pre-1885 years had disappeared from the Clare scene,<sup>25</sup> the above men were members of the elite in terms of their economic success and also because they played leading roles in community life, largely monopolizing positions of power and acquiring considerable social status for themselves.

The economic success of the absentee landowners of 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' had been long established. Dissatisfaction with their monopoly of large areas of land near Clare was frequently expressed. At a banquet given by Clare's leading men<sup>26</sup> for the members for Stanley in 1883 there was strong support for their criticism of these large properties. A. Catt MP claimed:

The worst thing for Clare was its being surrounded by large estates. (Hear, hear) If the big estates were in the hands of the agriculturalists Clare would be enhanced in value threefold - (applause) - and he had no doubt that eventually the proprietors would see the advantage of disposing of much of the land to agriculturalists instead of keeping it for sheep.

J.H. Howe MP was also strongly supported for his remark that Clare 'would be the second town in South Australia if it were not for the big estates that all but surrounded it'.<sup>27</sup> During the 1890s there was much talk of the need for reform in South Australia. The Labour Party and Kingston's government talked of 'Busting' or 'bursting up' the big estates and making society more equal. Men like Kingston and Clare's member of parliament P.P. Gillen stood for compromise reform. Gillen

---

25 Men who had left Clare by 1885 were: Pitcher in 1878, Beare in 1883, Gleeson and Palmer in 1884, Crabb in 1886. Hosier had died in 1879, John Hope in 1880 and Young in 1884.

26 Mayor Bright, Gleeson, Young, Kimber, Palmer, Crabb, Christison, Gray, R. Davies : Northern Argus, 9 February 1883, 2d.

27 Ibid, 18 May 1883, 3ab.

was responsible for the cutting up of a number of working men's blocks and he supported a Progressive Land Tax, a policy of Kingston's government. There were a number of letters in the Northern Argus in the 1890s arguing for cutting up the big estates. In February 1893, 'Repurchase' claimed that the Progressive Land Tax would not 'burst up the big estates which are ruining the country', for, he argued,

Take for instance the owners of the two big estates which are in our own district. The owners are rich men, and if this tax is imposed it will be the easiest thing possible for them to sign a cheque for the extra amount of land tax, and when this is done they will give a sigh of relief and say, 'They have not done it yet!' 28

In October of the same year C. Butcher argued that the shearer and the ploughman were the most important sources of wealth in a state because they were the actual producers. Therefore

the days of immense estates and immense wealth must be shortened and the spirit of rapacity that at present rules the roost must be restrained and held in the tight grip of the law; labor must legislate. 29

Butcher, a working man, was more radical than most Clare correspondents, and naturally, the editor of the Northern Argus took a different view. In March 1894, he reacted to what he called the 'agitation' in Clare to cut up the 'Hill River Estate' for village settlements:

They think it is not right that one person should be the possessor of a large portion of good country when there is a prolonged cry from the many to get an opportunity to cultivate the land.

Although there was equally good land already for sale on the Hill River, 'Nothing but a slice of the Hon. J.H. Angas's land will satisfy and surely it is not difficult to read between the lines and comprehend the true object', which was basically the desire 'to deal unjustly

---

28 Ibid, 24 February 1893, 2e.

29 Ibid, 20 October 1893, 2d.

with the large occupiers of land'.<sup>30</sup> This statement was not accurate, for the policy of cutting up the 'big estates' was supported by men, like the miller, Charles Kimber, who would not consider themselves 'radicals', but who believed the consequent influx of new settlers would revitalize both their businesses and Clare.<sup>31</sup>

In 1900 there was a series of letters about the Closer Settlement Bill, with 'Kangaroo' arguing that only the cutting up of properties like 'Bungaree' and 'Hill River' would improve the prosperity of Clare,<sup>32</sup> and 'Wallaby' agreeing because:

On Hill River, Bungaree and Bundaleer there are thousands of acres equal to Woodleigh, Chatswood, and other choice blocks at Stanley Flat, now used only for sheep, and if the owners of this land could be induced to sell, we would have lovely orchards, more wheat, and more sheep; our population would be increased by thousands, and, the town of Clare would be second to none north of Adelaide ... 33

These writers were not really very radical, for, as 'Wallaby' said, under the Closer Settlement Bill, 'the owners get fair treatment and full value for their land'.

It seems that the owners of the 'big estates' were not very worried about these demands to cut them up. In November 1900, Edward Hawker wrote in his diary: 'Chat with J.G. Duncan about an article in the Northern Argus suggesting the Government should buy Bungaree, Hill River and Gum Creek'.<sup>34</sup> Of course, 'Bungaree' had already been 'cut up' after the death of Edward's father, G.C. Hawker, in 1895. Hawker's estate was valued for probate at just under £305,800, and the government

---

30 *Ibid*, 9 March 1894, 2c.

31 See below, pp.276-77.

32 *Northern Argus*, 19 October 1900, 2fg and 3a.

33 *Ibid*, 9 November 1900, 2f. 'Woodleigh' had been Charles Kimber's property, 'Chatswood' belonged to his sons. They were at Stanley Flat just north of Clare.

34 Probate book 15a-237; E.W. Hawker's diary, 2 November 1900.

valuation was £230,651.0.3 for which the duty payable was £15.17.0.<sup>35</sup> He left two dwelling houses, 'The Briars' at Medindie and 'Cliff Cottage', and the two freehold estates of 'Anama' and 'Bungaree', which were divided into six parts for which the six Hawker sons drew lots.<sup>36</sup> In October 1897, 'Bungaree' produced only 600 bales of wool, the lowest Edward Hawker could remember, and the manager offered to take a cut in his salary 'for bad times', which the Hawkens refused to accept.<sup>37</sup> However, the bad times did not last for long, for in 1898 'Bungaree' produced 1600 bales.<sup>38</sup> The property was run on a combined basis for some time, with only Michael and Richard Hawker actually living there. Richard bought 'Bungaree Homestead' for £10,500 in 1906, making a higher bid than Edward,<sup>39</sup> who with his wife later went permanently to live at 'East Bungaree'. Obviously while still wealthy, after the estate had been broken up, none of the sons were as successful as their father had been. A similar fate awaited 'Hill River' but not until after the death of J.H. Angas in 1904, when his estate was proved at £800,000.<sup>40</sup> In 1910 and 1920 most of the estate was sold by auction, and of the original 60,000 acres the family retained 4,000 and the homestead and main station buildings. In 1917 Dudley Angas became the first member of the Angas family actually to live at 'Hill River'.<sup>41</sup> These two great estates were always of a peripheral economic benefit to the town and district of Clare. However, although their owners showed only a sporadic interest in Clare, they were never completely forgotten by the Clare people.

---

35 *Ibid*, 27 June 1895.

36 *Ibid*, 22 May and 22 July 1896.

37 *Ibid*, 15 October and 19 October, 1897.

38 *Ibid*, 1 November, 1898.

39 *Ibid*, 28 June 1906.

40 Probate, No.10366. This included other properties.

41 Clare National Trust, 'Farming on the grand scale'.

Of the landowners who resided in Clare, both Mrs. Hope and her son Robert of 'Wolta Wolta' and James Hill of 'Inchiquin' maintained their large properties. When Mrs. Hope died in 1899 the estate in Clare of 5,226 acres was left to her son Robert as were the properties in New South Wales and Victoria previously bought by her husband. Their home at Glenelg, 'Maritimo', was left to the three daughters, including Mrs. Christison, and each of the five children were left £2,500. James Hill had bought Gleeson's property 'Inchiquin' for £8,300 in 1884. Hill had managed 'Bundaleer' station for the Fisher brothers before coming to Clare, and also had a run in Queensland. As owner of 'Inchiquin', where he died in 1920, he bred horses, sold meat and was a prosperous farmer and auctioneer. In the 1887 Clare District Council Assessment, he was assessed for the 686 acres of 'Inchiquin', and another 281 acres near Clare, and in the 1890s he planted 30 acres of vineyards. At his death his estate was valued at £19,000.

Thomas Ninnes, Thomas Moyses and George Lloyd all retained their farm properties when they retired to Clare in 1877, 1885 and 1886 respectively. The Cornish Methodists Ninnes and Moyses had both worked first at Burra and then bought properties at Spring Farm near Clare after returning successfully from the Victorian gold fields. Their estates were valued at £3,150 and £1,300 on their deaths in 1894 and 1898. Lloyd, an Anglican whose father was one of the early Spring Farm Methodists was born at 'Hill River'. He owned over 1,000 acres in 1887 and 1897, and at his death in 1916 his estate was valued at £19,400.<sup>42</sup>

---

42 All estate values from Probate books.



Charles Kimber and John Christison continued to be successful businessmen, Christison the most successful man in Clare until his death in 1911, with his interests in the brewery, hotels, the Stanley Wine Company and his vineyards. Kimber still owned a number of properties in and near Clare and the mills in Clare and Riverton until 1895. He had retired from running the mills himself in favour of his sons in the 1880s, and became interested in fruit trees and vines. After 1895 he retired to Glenelg, but did not completely sever his connection with the town, where his sons still owned property, and where he bought new property in 1899.<sup>43</sup> Other successful businessmen included the auctioneers A.J. Davey and T. Reed, and the grocer and draper T.S. Stacy, all Justices of the Peace, and involved in local or colonial government.

William Kelly was neither a landowner, businessman nor professional man but he was partly all three. He was a professional man because he had been editor of the Northern Argus from 1870 until sometime in the 1880s, and he continued to contribute to the Northern Argus and the Register for many years. He was a businessman because he owned the lime kiln in Clare and employed lime burners, and he was a landowner because he owned 19 acres within Clare itself, called himself a gardener, and was always very much involved in Agricultural and Horticultural Shows. He also owned the houses in which men like Bright, Palmer and Smith lived whilst in Clare. When he died in 1913 his estate was valued at £2,700. He was a wealthy man when he was first asked to stand as Mayor in 1887,<sup>44</sup> and he served as Mayor many times after that, both because of his good service and because he always had plenty of leisure to devote to his duty, suggesting that he had income without having to work for it.

---

43 Northern Argus, 7 April 1899, 2b.

44 See below, p.299.

Of the professional men in Clare, Dr. Bain was the most wealthy, as a bachelor with a large practice and valuable mining shares. He gave up his practice to Dr. O.W. Smith and brother in the late 1880s, and spent much of his money on enterprises to benefit the town, including the swimming pool, butter factory and mineral exploration. It was 'mining speculation that finally lost him his fortune',<sup>45</sup> and in 1897, in spite of a prestigious deputation and a requisition with 300 signatures,<sup>46</sup> he left Clare to practise at Pt. Germein, as he felt morally obligated to fulfil his agreement with the Smith brothers. He died in 1903 with an estate valued at £4,500. Dr. Otto Wien Smith had come to Clare from Scotland in 1878 to take up a partnership with Dr. Bain. He was only 25 at the time, and remained a bachelor until 1891. He took over Bain's practice in 1887, and his brother Alfred Alexander joined him in 1889. He never owned any property apart from his house and an acre of garden, but in 1894 he was one of the four original investors in the Stanley Wine Company. As a doctor in a good practice, in the early years of the twentieth century he was able to send all his children to private schools, and be the owner of the first motor car and telephone in Clare.<sup>47</sup>

Like Smith, the other professional men had educated family backgrounds, earned good money and lived well, but owned no property apart from their houses and offices. After Bright left Clare in 1888, the other solicitor F.E. Blakeney Carter took on Magnus Badger as partner and the two lawyers had a very large practice centred on Clare.<sup>48</sup> Carter, the son of the South Australian Deputy Registrar General and an

---

45 Northern Argus, 7 December 1944, 8a.

46 Ibid, 26 March 1897, 2cd.

47 Ibid, 29 September 1944, 8c.

48 Ibid, 13 October 1944, 7c.

old St. Peter's College boy, died in 1902 after an operation and six months' illness, leaving no probate record. Badger, whose brother was a doctor in Scotland, sent both his sons to St. Peter's College and through the law department of Adelaide University. He was another of the original investors in the Stanley Wine Company. The two bank managers Robert E. D'A. Davies and H.E. Hodge both lived in the handsome bank residences built at the end of the 1870s. Davies was manager of the E. S. & A. Bank from 1878 until his retirement in 1909. His bank paid the highest rates of any building in Clare. He retired on a good pension and left an estate valued at £1,791 on his death in 1932, after years of retirement in Adelaide. Hodge arrived in 1888 and remained manager of the National Bank until he died in 1898. 'Quiz' in 1893, believed the bank managers were the most important men in town because they controlled the money available for investment.<sup>49</sup>

Apart from the absentee landowners, these economically successful men were, with few exceptions, men who played important roles in the affairs of the town, as powerful and influential leaders in political, social or economic affairs. Although economic success was an important criteria of elite membership it was possible to be a member without being particularly successful. Such men, however, lived comfortably and better than the majority of their fellows. They included: the Rev. Webb; P.P. Gillen who, although only a partner with his uncle in a small general store, from 1892 to 1896 earned £1,000 a year as a member of the Ministry; W.G. Lewcock who from a gardener employed by Dr. Bain in 1868, 'by energy and hard work ... established a large and lucrative business as nurseryman, seedsman and vigneron' and became an active

---

49 Quiz and the lantern, 1 September 1893, 13bc. See below, p.365-66.

community leader in the twentieth century;<sup>50</sup> R.H. Tilbrook owner and editor of the Northern Argus from 1889 to 1944.

With the exception of Dr. Bain, the two bank managers and the owners of the large properties, Hawker, Angas and R.E.H. Hope - the two former absent and involved in colonial politics for other electorates - all of the economically successful men held power of some degree in colonial or local government or on the Bench. They also had high social status and community respect and played leadership roles within the community.

Whereas before 1885 few members of Clare's elite were Australian born, in the last years of the nineteenth century they were as numerous as those born in Great Britain,<sup>51</sup> although the most successful were the older immigrants.<sup>52</sup> One characteristic of the elite which had not changed was the predominance of Anglicans. A small group of Methodists were members of the elite, but, apart from P.P. Gillen, no Catholics played leading roles in Clare life.<sup>53</sup>

#### Power: 1881 to 1900 - colonial politics

Although dissension and disunity continued to be publicly displayed in local politics and community life until the mid 1880s,<sup>54</sup> in colonial politics there was greater unity of purpose than ever before. Membership of South Australia's parliament was where greatest power could be achieved, for personal or community advantage. If we accept

---

50 Northern Argus: 23 May 1924, 5c; Mayor: 1913-14; estate £9,300.

51 English born: Kimber, Bain, Hill, Lewcock, Moyses, Ninnes; Scottish born: Christison, Kelly, Badger, Drs. Smith; Australian born: Gillen, Carter, Bright, the Hawker brothers, R. and F.D. Hope, Lloyd, Davey, Reed, Stacy, R.H. Tilbrook, Rev. Webb. Not known: Davies, Hodge.

52 Christison, Kimber, Kelly, Bain.

53 All the above were Anglicans with the exception of Gillen, the Presbyterian Stacy and the Methodists Moyses, Ninnes, Kelly, Lewcock. R. Graham a Catholic, was made JP in 1894, after retiring as a publican.

54 See above, chapter 4.

Edward Hawker's claim to be a 'local' man, between 1881 and 1899 there were local candidates at nine of the ten elections, and for the first time since 1860 local men were elected to parliament. There was much stronger awareness in Clare of the desirability of having local representation in parliament,<sup>55</sup> resulting partly from the belief that parliament had neglected Clare by failing to vote for the railway that its citizens believed would be of such benefit to the town and district. Also there was a conviction that a local member would have influence which could help overcome the generally depressed economic situation of the time. Local candidates were chosen for possessing three major qualifications: ability, without which an individual would not be a useful local member; economic success, particularly necessary before the payment of members, and also because it indicated that a member would be capable of looking after the colony's economy; and plenty of time to devote to parliamentary affairs, especially necessary for country members.

Although Clare men gained most votes in Clare in the nine elections they contested, on three of those occasions no Clare man was elected to parliament. To win Stanley a candidate needed not only the support of Clare, the largest polling place, but also the farmers in the north of the electorate. Differing policies on 'cutting up' the big estates and sectarian differences joined local candidates and farmers' interests as the major issues affecting the outcome of these elections. The acts of parliament granting payment of members and women's suffrage were also important factors in determining election results.

G.S. Kingston died in 1880, and C. Mann was not standing, so the people of Clare looked for a local candidate for the 1881 election. The editor of the Northern Argus believed W.L. Beare JP would be a

---

55 In this, Clare was not unique: Hirst, J. Adelaide and the country ..., p.72

suitable candidate because:

He is thoroughly acquainted with the requirements of agriculturalists and his knowledge of the wants of the district and the North generally will induce electors to give him their support. If returned he will have plenty of time to devote to legislative duties, and he is known to be an intelligent and painstaking man. 56

Beare had all the requirements: he was local, had ability, was economically successful and had the time. Similar sentiments were expressed by Dr. Bain, Bright and Mayor Gray, when they presented a requisition to Beare, requesting him to stand for Stanley.<sup>57</sup> At the Stanley election in April, there was greater interest than there had been 'for a long time'. Of the six candidates, Beare received most votes in Clare but came third in Stanley to A. Catt and J.H. Howe, both from the north of the electorate and both supported by the farmers.<sup>58</sup> Both were members for Stanley for only one term, becoming members for the electorate of Gladstone at the 1884 election.

1884 was the big year for local candidates, with four requisitioned and two finally standing. In January 'a large and influential deputation' including Mayor Young JP, Bright JP, Christison, Crabb JP, Davies and Gray waited on Edward Hawker, a solicitor of Adelaide, who was visiting Clare. Hawker, eldest son of the owner of 'Bungaree' said all the right things in his acceptance speech:

He thought he had some claim on Stanley. He was born in it, and had resided in it for a considerable time. He had for some years taken a lively interest in politics, and had been educating himself in political science in order that, in the event of his having a seat in Parliament, he might be able to rightly discharge the duties of that position. He thought it was the duty of the sons of men in good positions to qualify themselves for political life. He might say that he was not entirely dependent on his profession

56 Northern Argus, 25 January 1881, 2f.

57 Ibid, 18 February 1881, 2f. It had 287 signatures.

58 Ibid, 29 April 1881, 2g and 3a; 3 May 1881, 2fg. Jaensch, Election statistics ..., p.124.

for a livelihood, and therefore had plenty of time to devote to the interests of the community. 59

His sense of 'duty' may have sounded arrogant, but, if his argument about belonging to the district was accepted, he possessed the other three necessary qualifications of having ability, wealth and time. The editor of the Northern Argus supported Hawker against the editor of the Burra paper who had said of him that 'The only qualifications he is yet known to possess are his being the son of the Hon. G.C. Hawker and having a long purse'. The Clare editor argued that Hawker was a 'local' man, as he had been born in the district and still had an interest in it, that his father 'although a squatter' had served the agricultural interests well, and that a man of ability should not be rejected just because he was wealthy.<sup>60</sup>

Requisitions to stand for the electorate were made to Charles Kimber JP, Alfred Palmer JP and John Gleeson JP. Kimber declined reluctantly because Dr. Bain had advised him his health would be at risk.<sup>61</sup> Palmer said he would consider the request and 'intimated that he had plenty of time to devote to parliamentary duties, and that he had made politics a study for a number of years'.<sup>62</sup> Palmer claimed to have both the time and the ability to be a member of parliament, and when Dr. Bain presented a 'numerously signed' requisition a few days later, he indicated that Palmer had the third necessary qualification, wealth. Palmer 'was a shrewd man and had done well for himself, and no doubt he would do well for the district and the colony generally'. Palmer consented to become a candidate only if Gleeson did not stand.<sup>63</sup>

---

59 Northern Argus, 18 January 1884, 2g.

60 Ibid, 25 January 1884, 2d.

61 Ibid, 22 February 1884, 2e.

62 Ibid, 14 March 1884, 2d.

63 Ibid, 18 March 1884, 2e.

Later that week, Bright, presenting Gleeson's requisition, 'referred to the fact of Mr. Gleeson being a local man, and that no person had done more for Clare and district than he had done'.<sup>64</sup> Although Gleeson was local and was believed to have ability, he claimed not to have the time to devote to parliamentary affairs, and it was fairly obvious that he did not have the wealth either. Two weeks before at a clearing sale, his valuable stock and household furniture had been sold as he was leaving the district,<sup>65</sup> and two weeks later 'Inchiquin' was sold for a reported £8,300.<sup>66</sup>

So, in the 1884 election Clare had two local candidates, Hawker and Palmer. It was significant that Gleeson, Bright and Christison were all 'gentlemen' on a committee 'to SECURE the RETURN of E.W. HAWKER for STANLEY',<sup>67</sup> but none of the three were on Palmer's requisition which had 120 signatures.<sup>68</sup> Mayor Young, Kimber and Dr. Bain had signed Palmer's requisition but there was no advertised local committee. There were two other candidates for Stanley, John Miller, a farmer from Merriton and a last-minute candidate, Hugh Fraser, a marble mason of Adelaide.<sup>69</sup> When Miller, Hawker and Palmer addressed a crowded election meeting at Clare, Miller was 'cordially received', Hawker 'was greeted with a perfect furore of applause' and Palmer 'was received with cheers, hisses, and yells' and was eventually obliged to resume his seat. Hawker and Palmer both supported land and income tax and a railway to Clare, but differed on payment of members, which Palmer

---

64 Ibid, 25 March 1884, 2c.

65 Ibid, 29 February 1884, 2a - sale notice; 14 March 1888, 2d - sale.

66 Ibid, 8 April 1884, 2c. Gleeson's departure was for financial reasons rather than from a desire to leave the town his father founded and where he had been a leading citizen; ibid, 5 September 1884, 3a. He continued his interest in Clare, and came back to live in the town shortly before he drowned in 1895.

67 Ibid, 25 March 1884, 3e. Bright later claimed he had been largely responsible for Hawker's success: Register, 15 July 1922, 10e.

68 Northern Argus, 25 March 1884, 3d.

69 Ibid, 15 April 1884, 2bc. He had lost the West Adelaide election.



supported. Hawker again spoke of doing his 'duty' and wishing to represent the district in which he was born and was unanimously endorsed by the meeting as a 'fit and proper person' to represent Clare interests in parliament, while Palmer and Miller got only moderate support.<sup>70</sup>

Hawker's local connections were in the past and in the future, after the death of his father, and not really in the present. On nomination day his address was given as Adelaide, and Palmer was the only Clare candidate.<sup>71</sup> Yet Hawker came first in both Clare and Stanley, while Palmer came third in Clare to Fraser and last in Stanley. Clare was by far the largest polling booth, and Hawker did so well because of his overwhelming support there. Outside of Clare, Palmer had only eleven fewer votes than Hawker, and Miller got the overwhelming support.<sup>72</sup> Miller had won the votes of 'the agriculturalists of the district' and the Register was surprised that Hawker did so well because although he was 'not a squatter himself' he was 'closely associated with pastoral pursuits'.<sup>73</sup> This surprise was particularly directed at Clare where only a year before Catt and Howe had been strongly supported in their criticism of the 'large estates' around Clare.<sup>74</sup> Hawker had been endorsed by the Clare elite who hoped he would have local interests, but his family connections, influence and status were his most important qualifications. Palmer was bitterly disappointed and publicly stated his belief that many Clare electors had betrayed him.<sup>75</sup> Palmer had faced personal hostility before in the Mayoral election in 1879.

---

70 Ibid, 4 April 1884, 2fg and 3abcd.

71 Ibid, 18 April 1884, 2d. Palmer's occupation was 'gentleman'.

72 Of Hawker's 567 votes, 311 came from Clare; of Miller's 510, 50; of Fraser's 438, 252; of Palmer's 340, 95. Ibid, 25 April 1884, 2f; also Jaensch, D. An index to ..., p.144.

73 Register, 25 April 1884, 4e.

74 See above, p.259.

75 Northern Argus, 29 April 1884, 2c.

There was little enthusiasm in Clare for the by-election in May 1885, caused by Miller becoming Commissioner of the Pastoral Board. John Darling won comfortably although Clare voted strongly for Fraser, who was making a second attempt to become the member for Stanley.<sup>76</sup> Darling won with the support of the farmers, who, as the editor of the Northern Argus said, 'as far as this district is concerned, can return whom they please'.<sup>77</sup> To win Stanley, a candidate needed strong support not only in the largest town of Clare, but also in the other parts of the electorate.

The election of Darling emphasized the importance of parliament as a source of power influencing conditions in Clare and its district, in this case, over the issue of roads. In 1885 the North Midland Road Board became the focus of a belief that Clare was being unfairly discriminated against by the government in favour of the northern towns, which gained dominance over the Board and thus control over the economic benefits it could pass on. In May 1885 Clare dominated the Road Board as it had three of the five members and the Board's office was in Clare. There was ill-feeling between the Clare and the northern sections of the Road Board district over members and money: the 'Clare' chairman Patrick McNamara's rejection of the nomination papers of John Cook of Port Pirie<sup>78</sup> had led to protest meetings in the north and a public meeting of leading men in Clare, chaired by Mayor Christison, which strongly supported McNamara;<sup>79</sup> while Clare Board member Andrew Young claimed that over £2,000 more had been spent on roads in the north of the district than in the south.<sup>80</sup>

---

76 Ibid, 19 May 1885, 2g. Fraser won in Clare 251 to 89, but Darling won in Stanley 533 to 425.

77 Ibid, 22 May 1885, 2b.

78 Ibid, 26 May 1885, 2f and 3a.

79 Ibid, 23 June 1885, 2g. Speakers included Kelly, Gray, Crabb, Bain, Bright, Rix and Lewcock.

80 Ibid, 16 June 1885, 3ab.

However, near the end of June, the balance in favour of Clare was changed by Darling, who had been 'pitchforked into a billet of £1,000 rather smartly', when he had been appointed Commissioner of Public Works.<sup>81</sup> Darling replaced McNamara as a commissioner of the Road Board by John Cook, convincing the people of Clare that his interests did 'not extend south of the Broughton'.<sup>82</sup> The dismissal of McNamara was seen as a deliberate blow at Clare in favour of the northern areas, and the other Clare men, Young and T. Priest both resigned in protest.<sup>83</sup> In July, Christison was appointed to the Board in place of Young,<sup>84</sup> and at the September meeting George Lloyd of Clare was elected to replace Priest.<sup>85</sup> At this meeting the three northern members of the Board wanted to shift the Board's office to Gladstone, arguing it would be more convenient for them to get to meetings.<sup>86</sup> The removal of the Board's office to Gladstone meant the loss of both prestige and economic benefits to Clare: the former because Clare would no longer be the centre of the North Midland Road Board district; and the latter because of the loss of jobs for individuals involved in road-making, and custom for industries and stores providing goods for road-making and road-makers.

Despite the indignation of the editor of the Northern Argus, the arguments of Christison and Lloyd about unnecessary expense and inconvenience to the Superintending-Surveyor and Secretary and their appeal to the Commissioner for Public Works, in January 1886 the Board's office was shifted to Gladstone.<sup>87</sup> Until October 1887 when all commissioners,

---

81 Ibid, 19 June 1885, 2d.

82 Ibid, 30 June 1885, 2c.

83 Ibid, 2ef. Thompson Priest was from Mintaro, near Clare.

84 Ibid, 7 July 1885, 2d.

85 Lloyd, a prosperous farmer, was District Council Chairman for twenty years from 1886.

86 Northern Argus, 25 September 1885, 2f.

87 Ibid, 2d: 16 October 1885, 2g; 20 November 1885, 2b; 22 December 1885, 3b; 2 February 1886, 2f.

officers and men were notified that the Board and their jobs would terminate on 31 October, the Clare commissioners generally boycotted meetings at towns other than Clare.<sup>88</sup> The last decision made by the Board was to agree to make a road requested by J.H. Angas, after the intervention of the Commissioner for Public Works,<sup>89</sup> a practical example of Angas' influence on the government and on the Board itself. The abolition of the Road Boards was a result of Playford's Act of 1887 which gave control of main roads to the local councils, so although the government still provided the finance for construction and maintenance of the roads, it saved on the administrative expenses of the Boards.<sup>90</sup> The Road Board episode had shown that Clare interests were at the mercy of those of other districts because Clare had no influence over government policy. Influential Clare men were helpless against men with influence on a colonial scale, a fact which encouraged greater support for local candidates for parliament. Under the new system of road administration, Clare would benefit, and local government and thus local men would become more powerful because they controlled their own decision-making.<sup>91</sup>

The 1887 election was an important one for Clare as two local candidates were elected: Hawker, who claimed to be a local man, and Charles Kimber, the Clare miller. Hawker had proved himself to have the interests of Clare at heart: in September 1884 he had moved unsuccessfully for a survey for a railway from Riverton to Clare,<sup>92</sup> and in July 1886 he had used his influence to carry out the requests made

---

88 Ibid, 24 June 1887, 3d and 23 August 1887, 2g.

89 Ibid, 23 September 1887, 3b; 25 October 1887, 2g.

90 Hirst, op.cit., p.146.

91 See below, pp.303-4.

92 Northern Argus, 23 September 1884, 2cd.

by Clare residents to do something about the unemployed in Clare.<sup>93</sup> The editor of the Northern Argus praised him as 'an active member, interesting himself in all the questions brought under consideration, and he not infrequently led the van'.<sup>94</sup> However in his next editorial the editor pointed out that Hawker had two main defects in the eyes of some. He was a lawyer and was thus 'regarded with some suspicion' by 'a certain class', and 'he has also the misfortune, as far as popularity goes, to be connected with the squatting interest'.<sup>95</sup>

As Darling had decided to retire for health reasons, the leading men of Clare looked for another local candidate. When Mayor Christison presented the requisition to Charles Kimber<sup>96</sup> he spoke on their behalf: they wanted a 'local' man of good 'mental calibre' who would not 'be laughed at' in parliament, and Kimber was one. They all knew, Christison added, that Kimber was

a moral, enterprising, and common-sense man who had a good insight into the business of the colony. He furthermore had a large stake in the district which they wished him to represent, and that was one of the principal reasons why they had asked him to come forward. 97

The qualifications of being local and having ability and wealth had been met, and Kimber's economic success and his sons' involvement in his business obviously gave him the necessary leisure. Kimber, in accepting the requisition, stated that his greatest interest was in the 'land question'. There was a clash between 'the two classes of men who held the land - the capitalist, who did not work it, and the farmer who did'.<sup>98</sup> Kimber returned to this theme in his election speech:

---

93 See below, p.337.

94 Northern Argus, 4 March 1887, 2d.

95 Ibid, 8 March 1887, 2d.

96 Ibid, 18 March 1887, 3e. The 140 signatories included Drs. Bain and Smith, W. Kelly, T. Bright and G. Lloyd.

97 Ibid, 15 March 1887, 2e.

98 Ibid, 2f.

The people in the neighbourhood of Clare felt that the holding of large estates came home to them. If these properties were cut up and cultivated things would be very different from what they were now. 99

As a miller Kimber was more sympathetic to the interests of the farmers who could produce grain for his mill, than to the interests of the capitalists who used the land for sheep. Although he had support on this issue, because more people on the land meant more business for them all, Hawker, the son of the owner of one of those 'large estates', was to get more votes in Clare than Kimber in the election.

The late coming of a third candidate, David Nock, into the contest, was to broaden the issues on which this election was fought. Nock, a 'gentleman' of Gleneig<sup>100</sup> spoke strongly against gambling and for Sunday closing at his election meeting in Clare.<sup>101</sup> The major issues that surfaced in the election campaign were based on class and moral objections to candidates. Hawker was objected to as a 'squatter', a lawyer, a supporter of legalized gambling and was accused of election 'bribery'. Kimber was objected to as a miller and oppressor of the farmers. The election advertisements in the Northern Argus illustrated these issues. On April 1st the electors of Stanley were warned:

Don't throw your vote away on a candidate who is opposed to a Progressive Land Tax, Payment of Members, and in favour of Legalizing Gambling; who is a Squatter and a Lawyer ... So VOTE FOR KIMBER and NOCK, principled men, who don't buy your votes with free beer. 102

On April 5th there were two other anti-Hawker advertisements. One was a six verse rhyme of which the first and last verse are representative. It was directed at the 'Working Men of Stanley':

99 Ibid, 18 March 1887, 3c.

100 Ibid, 29 March 1887, 2e; Jaensch says 'grocer': Election statistics ... p.167.

101 Northern Argus, 25 March 1887, 2f. Chaired by Christison.

102 Ibid, 1 April 1887, 3a.

Who like a little king would reign  
 And all the country would regain  
 To satisfy his greed of gain?

The Squatter

...

The Lawyer and the Squatter breed  
 Have oft been guilty of such deeds,  
 Has caused the widows' heart to bleed [sic]

In Sorrow 103

The other anti-Hawker advertisement referred to Christison and his 'clique'<sup>104</sup> who were supporting Hawker, and to his brother George, who had recently cut shearers' wages. Again 'Working Men of Stanley' were the target of the warning:

Don't vote for a wriggling, briefless lawyer who monopolises sufficient land to support 5,000 people ... a man who is championed by an ex-bullock puncher, and his small-minded and ignorant clique; the publicans' nominee. So vote for KIMBER and NOCK, who do not have to get THEIR fathers to pay for all the free beer that is circulating. It was NOT KIMBER who cut the shearing down to fifteen shillings per 100. 105

In the same column Kimber was 'The Popular Local Candidate' in one advertisement, and 'The Strong Believer in LOWEST WAGES and DEAREST FLOUR' in another. Nock was the only candidate not accused of wrongdoing, and it was evident that his unnamed committee and supporters were responsible for the anti-Hawker and anti-Kimber campaigns.<sup>106</sup>

Hawker came first and Kimber second in both Clare and Stanley.<sup>107</sup>

103 Ibid, 5 April 1887, 3e.

104 Christison, the 'ex-bullock puncher' and brewer, headed the list of Hawker's Clare committee, as he also headed Kimber's list. On both committees were also Dr. Bain, W. Kelly, A. Tilbrook and J. Gleeson, T. Bright and R. Hope. B. Carter and J.H. Angas were on Hawker's committee only, while Kimber's committee had T. Ninnes and Dr. Smith and a much longer list of members.

105 Northern Argus, 5 April 1887, 3e.

106 Register, 30 March 1887, 2b. He was endorsed and probably funded by the SA Alliance Executive because he supported local option.

107 Northern Argus, 8 April 1887, 3b; Janesch, D. Election statistics ... p.167. In Clare the votes were: Hawker 278, Kimber 269, Nock 159. In Stanley they were: 759, 701, 503. 55.8% of those eligible in Stanley voted: 59.5% in Clare.

Hawker had 147 to Kimber's 17 'plumpers' in Clare, proving that he had a strong personal support, as those voters voted for no other candidate. The Northern Argus comment, 'We imagine that the Sevenhills contingent went for him to a man'<sup>108</sup> was probably based on the assumption that the Catholic dominated township would support Hawker because of his support of the totalisator and subsidising private schools, and perhaps because of his free transport and 'free beer'. Certainly in the early 1880s the Catholic opposition to the temperance or teetotal movements had been quite obvious.<sup>109</sup> Nock, a 'veteran supporter of the teetotal party and a devout Wesleyan', was seen as getting the appropriate moral and sectarian support.<sup>110</sup>

At the declaration of the poll, Hawker claimed the election had satisfied the 'cry for local candidates' 'as he considered himself a local candidate, having been born within seven miles of Clare, and had an interest in the district. [sic]' Kimber said he felt the 'great responsibility' that electors had 'imposed' on him, but he knew well 'the wants of the district' and would do his duty to it.<sup>111</sup> The editor of the Northern Argus in reviewing the members for Stanley was satisfied with both: Hawker, because he claimed to be a local man, and had had three years' experience; and Kimber, because:

If he displays the same shrewdness and energy as a politician as he has done in his private life the electors will not regret having honoured him by electing him as one of their representatives. 112

The dominant issue in the minds of both the members for Stanley and their Clare electors, according to the editor of the Northern Argus, was the importance of having local members because their membership of the most powerful body in South Australia could be used for the

---

108 Northern Argus, 8 April 1887, 3ab.

109 See above, pp.239-50.

110 Register, 7 April 1887, 6c.

111 Northern Argus, 8 April 1887, 3b; a statement of elite responsibility

112 Ibid, 12 April 1887, 2bc.



benefit of Clare and its district. Although in 1887 Hawker and Kimber presented an unsuccessful memorial to the Attorney-General requesting an Insolvency Court and a resident Special Magistrate for Clare,<sup>113</sup> in 1888 the Clare Casualty Hospital was saved from closure 'thanks to the influence' of the two members for Stanley.<sup>114</sup>

The two local members elected in 1887 were wealthy men able to support themselves and their families financially while attending to their parliamentary duties. However during the election campaign both had supported some kind of financial compensation for members of parliament. Clare voters had strongly supported the campaign to elect local members, but the leading men of Clare were not wholehearted supporters of payment of members. The editors of the Northern Argus had been against payment of members since as early as 1871.<sup>115</sup> During the 1887 election campaign, the editor had disapproved of both local candidates' support for payment of members, claiming that it would make South Australia 'a happy hunting ground for political agitators and loafers', that the colony could not afford it, and that 'the men who are trying to vote money into their own pockets are not worth the pay they demand'.<sup>116</sup> In August 1887 a public meeting chaired by Christison, protested against the passing of the Payment of Members' Bill before it had gained electoral approval.<sup>117</sup> However, payment of members was introduced on trial in November 1887, and made permanent in 1890.<sup>118</sup> The editor was not happy about it even then, and in August 1891 was

---

113 Ibid, 6 September 1887, 2d. This was blamed on the government, not Stanley's members.

114 Ibid, 16 October 1888, 2bc; 30 October 1888, 2e.

115 Ibid, 25 August 1871; 21 August 1877; 3 December 1880; 22 February 1884, 11 April 1884; 2 April, 1886; all had editorials against payment of members.

116 Ibid, 22 March 1887, 2bc.

117 Ibid, 2 August 1887, 2ef. Speakers included Bright, Rix, Lewcock, Gray and Lloyd.

118 Robertson, J. 'Payment of members. The issue in South Australia 1871-1887', unpublished BA Hons. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1959.

still arguing that parliament was no better after payment of members than when run by 'persons of independent means'.<sup>119</sup>

The introduction of payment of members was an important, although unmentioned factor in the 1889 by-election, for at least one of the two Clare candidates, and he was to be the successful one, could not have stood if he had to rely on his 'independent means'. The by-election was to replace Hawker who resigned in May from England, where he was beginning the study of metallurgy.<sup>120</sup> In June 1889 the six candidates for the seat all addressed the Clare electors at a meeting chaired by Christison.<sup>121</sup> Two of these candidates were Clare men: William Kelly, Mayor of Clare, former editor and now 'gardener' who had lived in the district for 35 years and was a leading Methodist layman; and Peter Paul Gillen, a thirty year old Australian-born Catholic storekeeper in partnership with his uncle. The other four candidates were all country men, and supported country interests. One of them, John Miller of Merriton had been elected a member for Stanley in 1884, but had resigned to become a member of the Pastoral Board.<sup>122</sup> Both Kelly and Gillen supported and encouraged local industries in Clare, and Gillen endorsed land taxes as a way of encouraging the cutting up of large estates. Kelly and Gillen were the most popular at the meeting, Kelly being received with cheers and Gillen with 'prolonged cheers'.

Gillen polled the highest votes in Clare and Stanley, followed by Kelly in Clare and Miller in Stanley.<sup>123</sup> Both the Northern Argus

---

119 Northern Argus, 11 August 1891, 2ef.

120 He was to return to Stanley as a candidate twice in the 1890s. See below, p.286-90.

121 Northern Argus, 14 June 1889, 2g and 3ab.

122 The other candidates were W.J. Venning, of Crystal Brook, the President of the Farmers' Association, W.J. George of Pt. Broughton, and G.F. Claridge of Auburn.

123 In Clare the results were: Gillen 244, Kelly 103, Miller 29, Venning 18, Claridge 1, George 1. Their results in Stanley were: 398, 177, 338, 157, 91, 47, respectively.

and the Observer agreed that Gillen had gained the Catholic vote, the former assuming that most of the 'Sevenhills contingent' of 120 voted for him,<sup>124</sup> and the latter claiming, 'considering the Roman Catholics so strongly supported him the result is not altogether surprising.'<sup>125</sup> The Observer also pointed out that Gillen owed his election 'to the support accorded at Clare' where he received 141 votes more than Kelly, and also to the active support of 'the Licensed Victuallers' Association'.<sup>126</sup> Factors possibly accounting for this support included: Kelly was a leading Clare Methodist; at least two of the Clare publicans in 1887 were Catholics; Gillen had argued against 'local option' wanted by Methodists as a method of closing down hotels in a debate of the Young Men's Society in 1886; and Christison supported him. Surprisingly, after Gillen's death in 1896 it was claimed that he had been a tee-totaller.<sup>127</sup> Two other factors that helped Gillen win the seat were: firstly, that the two farmers' representatives, Miller and Venning, split the farmers' votes;<sup>128</sup> and secondly that there was some revulsion against the anti-Catholic electioneering of Miller's supporters, and their 'unworthy cry of vote for Miller to beat the Catholic'.<sup>129</sup>

At the declaration of the poll, Gillen commented that many had objected to him, mainly because of his youth, and Kelly said generously, 'He was not envious of young South Australia's [sic] taking the lead, and wished him every success'.<sup>130</sup> Gillen's youth may have seemed a handicap, but his enthusiasm and 'youthful impetuosity' were to make him an active and successful member of parliament. Before his election he

---

124 Northern Argus, 28 June 1889, 2g.

125 Observer, 29 June 1889, 33c. In the 1891 census 36.3% of the total town plus district was Catholic, 23.9% Church of England, and 21.5% Methodist.

126 Ibid, 33d.

127 Northern Argus, 5 March 1897, 2e.

128 Ibid, 28 June 1889, 2g.

129 Ibid, 2 July 1889, 2e. From the Pt. Broughton correspondent to the Wallaroo paper.

130 Ibid, 28 June 1889, 2g.

had been interested in the need for reform in Ireland, the birthplace of his parents. He had been a leading member of the Young Men's Society formed in June 1885, where he came into contact with members of Clare's intellectual elite, such as Dr. Bain, bank manager, T.E. Powell and Rev. Webb. The debates of this Society helped train him for his career in parliament.<sup>131</sup> He had also been secretary and treasurer of the first Clare branch of the South Australian Shearers' Union in 1887, and was elected to the Clare Corporation for 1888. He remained on the Corporation until he retired in 1893 from pressure of parliamentary work. In parliament, Gillen was a vigorous speaker. 'Scribbler' of the Register, praised his maiden speech as a 'very fair performance', which was well arranged and sensible. Although he talked too quickly and was nervous he made a good impression as a man 'promising at least intelligent criticism'.<sup>132</sup> As a result of his initiative, by October 1889 the government had agreed that 54 acres in the Hundred of Andrews, 175 acres on 'Hill River Estate' and 92 acres on 'Bungaree' would be cut up into 'working-men's blocks'.<sup>133</sup>

Gillen was re-elected easily in April 1890, with very strong support in Clare, overwhelming support in Sevenhill and more 'plumpers' than the other three candidates altogether.<sup>134</sup> Kimber had retired and the other three candidates were non-Clare farmers, including John Miller of Merriton who became the junior member for Stanley. At the political meeting before the election addressed by all candidates,

---

131 Ibid, 30 November 1944, 8b.

132 Register, 30 June 1889, 5g; Northern Argus, 2 August 1889, 2d.

133 Ibid, 20 August 1889, 2de; 4 October 1889, 2f. These were crown lands, not freehold.

134 In Clare Gillen gained 254 votes, Miller 138, Darling 121 and Rowe 56. In Stanley they gained 918, 640, 504 and 328 respectively. The plumpers were Gillen 312, Miller 115, Darling 112, Rowe 59. Jaensch, Election statistics ..., p.194.

Gillen 'received an ovation'. He listed his achievements in the nine months since he had been elected, giving most emphasis to his opposition to the Divorce Extension Bill which was a prime cause of its being withdrawn, and to his success in gaining twenty 'working men's blocks'. He had also obtained the promise of the Commissioner of Crown Lands to have 1,500 acres of unoccupied land cut up into farms. Gillen's Catholic beliefs explain his views on easier divorce being 'the greatest blow that had ever been given to the sanctity of marriage'. However his views on the redistribution of land and wealth were radical for his day, a result of his national, religious, social and economic background. He supported a 'Selection on Freehold Property Act', which would apply only to estates with over 5000 acres of good agricultural land. Despite the full compensation, this would allow forced dispossession of freehold land, not a very popular policy to large landowners. He also favoured the introduction of progressive succession duties, and the retention of the income tax.<sup>135</sup>

Gillen had voted with the liberal government of Playford after his election in 1889 and with the liberal government headed by Cockburn, then Playford, after the 1890 election.<sup>136</sup> In June 1892 he became Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Holder government.<sup>137</sup> He was reappointed to this post under Kingston in June 1893,<sup>138</sup> and retained this position in the Ministry until his death in 1896, during which time he initiated the 'village settlement' scheme on the Murray. The governments of Kingston and Holder gained their strength from a fairly firm parliamentary alliance of 'city and country radicalism, the one

---

135 Northern Argus, 28 March 1890, 2g.

136 Ibid, 29 April 1890, 2cd.

137 Ibid, 24 June 1892, 2e.

138 Ibid, 30 June 1893, 2c. Jaensch, D. 'Political representation in colonial South Australia', unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Adelaide, 1975, p.248.

chiefly represented by the Labour Party, and the other by the liberals'.<sup>139</sup>  
Gillen was both a 'country radical' and a 'liberal'.<sup>140</sup>

Gillen was popular in Clare because he was seen as working in the district's interests. A quotation from the Country that 'The Commissioner of Crown Lands looks upon Clare as the hub of the universe'<sup>141</sup> helps sum up his local appeal. The working men's blocks gave land to individuals and helped the economy of Clare.<sup>142</sup> Gillen convened meetings in Clare to encourage the setting up of new local industries, such as vines, fruit trees, wattles and olives,<sup>143</sup> and in 1892 he 'succeeded in getting the Government to withdraw from sale 70,000 rooted vines, and to distribute same free to applicants'.<sup>144</sup> In 1895, he and Edward Hawker accompanied Premier Kingston to Clare on a visit of inspection and inspiration for local industries.<sup>145</sup>

Gillen was not only a 'Clare' man, he was a politician of colonial stature. From the beginning of his career in parliament Gillen received favourable comments from journalists, and the Northern Argus faithfully reported them. In 1891, the 'Member for Saltbush' complimented Gillen on supporting 'measures not men' and for aspiring for 'government for the benefit of the majority, with fair play to those who are outnumbered'.<sup>146</sup> In October 1893 the Mount Barker Courier was quoted:

He has always been popular in the House because of the goodness of his heart and the geniality of his nature, but he is now highly respected in addition, because of the cleverness and tact which he has exhibited in office 147

139 Hirst, op.cit., p.169.

140 Hughes, C. and Graham, A. Voting for ..., p.5.

141 Northern Argus, 21 August 1896, 2c.

142 Ibid, 7 October 1890, 2e. The blocks near Sevenhill were known as Gillentown.

143 Ibid, 29 July 1890, 3abc; 13 March 1891, 3bc; 10 June 1892, 2f.

144 Ibid, 2d.

145 Ibid, 25 January 1895, 2bc, 2fg, 3a, see below, pp.288-289.

146 Ibid, 4 September 1891, 2f.

147 Ibid, 27 October 1893, 2c.

and next month 'Quiz' 'wrote' to Gillen: 'Your impetuosity has become modified, while your ability has increased'.<sup>148</sup>

If Gillen was well praised in his lifetime he was even more strongly eulogized after his premature death in 1896. From the evidence of the Adelaide and Clare newspapers and his state funeral,<sup>149</sup> there is no doubt that he was highly respected. Many believed he was a great loss to South Australia, for 'brilliant as his short Parliamentary career was ... the future gave promise of an attainment to even higher honors'.<sup>150</sup> Gillen had much against him in his move for colonial power, such as his youth, religion, occupation, lack of wealth or status; but a degree of luck, his intelligence and his attractive personality, meant that he was elected to a position where he first earned £200, and then, as a Minister, £1000 a year, the astonishing sum of '£20 a week'.<sup>151</sup>

The other successful 'local' politician in the 1890s was Edward Hawker who had been the senior member for Stanley in the 1884 and 1887 elections. His resignation in 1889 had given Gillen the opportunity to win the seat. In 1893 Hawker came second to Gillen in both Clare and Stanley, beating the third candidate and sitting member, John Miller, by fourteen votes.<sup>152</sup> He told an election meeting of his altruistic reasons for giving up law and taking up mining and metallurgy:

he saw it was necessary to develop something besides wheat and wool ... As most of the occupations except mining and metallurgy were represented in Parliament he thought his services would be of more value if he gained technical knowledge of those subjects. In 1888

---

148 *Ibid*, 3 November 1893, 4d.

149 See below, p.351-52.

150 *Northern Argus*, 2 October 1896, 2c.

151 *Ibid*, 30 November 1944, 8b. The expression of some 'simple souls'.

152 In Clare Gillen got 347 votes, Hawker 216, Miller 65 and Murrie 147. In Stanley the votes were 1,261, 633, 619 and 413 respectively. Hawker got most plumpers - 88 compared with Gillen 26, Miller 45, Murrie 13. Jaensch, *Election statistics ...*, p.223.

he resigned as their member and went to Europe, where he studied mining and metallurgy for four years and had brought back knowledge which he hoped to make use of for the benefit of the country. 153

He pictured 'Bungaree', his father's station managed by his brother George, as an asset to Clare and not something to be criticised and broken up by a progressive land tax:

The chief reason given for bursting up the big estates was that the land was not as profitably employed as it might be. During the last 20 years £140,000 had been spent on Bungaree, exclusive of carriage charges, nearly the whole of which had been spent in labour. In addition to the money spent, there were as many as 10 or 11 swagmen often stopping the night at Bungaree ... It was said if Hill River and Bungaree were cut up the neighbouring towns would benefit. At present Clare had the monopoly of these places, but if they were cut up other townships would start and take away a lot of custom from Clare. 154

In contrast, Gillen at his election meeting announced his support for progressive land taxes and succession duties aimed at 'bursting up the big estates'. He was proud of his part in having blocks of land cut off the big estates for small farmers.<sup>155</sup>

The 'Liberal' Gillen and 'Conservative' Hawker<sup>156</sup> came first and second in Clare and Stanley and thus joint members for Stanley. Gillen won at every polling place except one; and he got a higher percentage (43.1%) of votes than in the previous election (38.4%). The former member, Miller, was disappointed because the south of the electorate, including Clare, had supported Hawker instead of him. He believed Hawker was on the side of the pastoralists not the majority, as he had voted for 'heavy remuneration' for pastoral improvements.<sup>157</sup> The editor of the Northern Argus claimed that Miller had lost votes in

153 Northern Argus, 31 March 1893, 2f. He actually resigned in 1889.

154 Ibid, 2g.

155 Ibid, 14 April 1893, 2ef.

156 Hughes and Graham, *op.cit.*, p.14. Party affiliations.

157 Northern Argus, 21 April 1893, 2de.



Clare because of his support for a railway extension from Blyth to Snowtown, 'a costly toy'.<sup>158</sup> Hawker had campaigned strongly and had more money to spend than the other candidates: after his success his happy father sent him £200 towards his expenses.<sup>159</sup>

In January 1895, the Premier of South Australia, C.C. Kingston, visited Clare, accompanied by the Curator of the Botanic Gardens, two members of the Central Agricultural Bureau, and the two members for Stanley, Gillen, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Hawker. They inspected a number of fruit and vine growing properties and were full of praises for the district and confidence in its future.<sup>160</sup> At the public meeting chaired by Christison, chairman of the Clare Agricultural Bureau, Kingston praised Gillen as 'one of the best Commissioners of Crown Lands who ever sat in a Ministry', and claimed that 'the friendship of Mr. Gillen was one of his proudest possessions'. He also praised Hawker because although he 'was not always with him in the house, he had always found him a gentleman who treated him fairly'. Gillen pointed out proudly that he had supported cultivation of vines and fruit trees for the benefit of Clare since his maiden speech, even although some laughed at him then. Hawker praised the Clare district and stated that 'It was his intention to live in the district of Stanley at some future time, and he hoped then to become one of its producers'. However, he was to be defeated in Stanley in April 1896 just before he became an owner of one of the 'Bungaree' blocks which the Hawker brothers drew lots for in July 1896 after their father's death.<sup>161</sup> So while a member for Stanley he was a 'local' man only by

---

158 Ibid, 2b.

159 G.C. Hawker to E.W. Hawker, 17 April, 21 June 1893. SAA D2622 (L).

160 Northern Argus, 25 January 1895, 2ab, 2fg, 3a.

161 E.W. Hawker's diary, 22 July 1896.

birth and family connection, although near election times he spent some time at 'Bungaree' and in Clare.<sup>162</sup>

At the January 1895 public meeting, both Christison and Kingston commented on the absence of ladies from the meeting. Christison was sorry for their absence, 'as they were going to deal with the industries of the district and it was the duty of the ladies to give them all encouragement'. Kingston also regretted their absence,

but felt sure that owing to certain political action lately taken there would not be many more meetings of a public character held in that hall in which the ladies would not take part. 163

Hawker took a different point of view and 'considered the absence of ladies to be a silent protest against women's franchise'. However, although 'ladies' were absent from this meeting, Clare women had already shown an interest in politics. In May 1894 at a meeting to thank the retiring members of the Legislative Council there had been five ladies present 'for the first time in the history of Clare',<sup>164</sup> and in June 1894 a petition supporting women's suffrage was circulated around Clare.<sup>165</sup> A political information meeting in February 1895, organized by Gillen and Hawker, again proved Hawker wrong, as there was 'a large attendance, including a number of the fair sex, who exhibited great interest in the proceedings'.<sup>166</sup>

The 1896 election was the first election after the granting of female suffrage. A 'large number' of women attended the pre-election meeting,<sup>167</sup> but perhaps the editorial before polling day was facetious

---

162 Ibid, December 1892 to April 1893; January to April 1896.

163 Northern Argus, 25 January 1895, 2fg, 3a. He referred to the passing of the Constitutional Amendment Act, No.613 of 1894, which granted female suffrage.

164 Ibid, 4 May 1894, 2d and 2g. This expression was used in two separate reports.

165 Ibid, 8 June 1894, 2f.

166 Ibid, 15 February 1895, 2g.

167 Ibid, 10 April 1896, 2f.

when it said, 'the ladies appear to take almost as much interest in the coming struggle as the greater part of the male electors'.<sup>168</sup> On polling day women 'took advantage of their right almost equally as well as men',<sup>169</sup> although a higher proportion of men voted.<sup>170</sup>

Gillen was convinced he had gained the support of the women:

He was told when he advocated woman's suffrage that he would be taught a lesson, and he had been taught a lesson - that any honest man could trust any honest woman. (Applause) 171

The defeated Hawker also believed the women's role had an effect on the election results, for he wrote in his diary: 'was beaten by 13 votes. Some of my opponents printed a blackguard article on Women's Suffrage and said it was a speech of mine'.<sup>172</sup>

The 1896 election was the last for the century to elect a Clare man, although Clare candidates stood at the next two elections. Gillen won convincingly again, claiming 'seven out of every ten who voted had voted for him'.<sup>173</sup> As in the last election, Hawker came second in Clare and Sevenhill, although Miller defeated him by thirteen votes in the electorate as a whole.<sup>174</sup> The 'women's vote' may have helped defeat Hawker, and he himself gave other possible reasons: after the pre-election meeting he wrote in his diary 'I am told the working men will not support me because I oppose borrowing. Spoke badly at Clare';<sup>175</sup> and after the election he claimed that 'Bungaree was unpopular for not feeding sundowners as it used to do', a contrast with his claim in

---

168 *Ibid*, 24 April 1896, 2b.

169 *Ibid*, 1 May 1896, 2e. 387 males, 352 females voted.

170 *Ibid*, 17 April 1896, 2c. On the Clare roll were 486 males and 488 females.

171 *Ibid*, 1 May 1896, 2f.

172 E.W. Hawker's diary, 27 April 1896.

173 *Northern Argus*, 1 May 1896, 2f.

174 *Ibid*, 2e - in Clare, Gillen 512, Hawker 408, Miller 338; in Stanley 1764, 1404 and 1417 respectively. Jaensch, *Elections statistics ...*, p.250 is incorrect.

175 E.W. Hawker's diary, 7 April 1896.

1893.<sup>176</sup> Hawker was defeated despite spending the most money in this election.<sup>177</sup> Miller got the vote of the 'electors in the Northern part of the district',<sup>178</sup> and had the largest number of 'plumpers', especially from the northern farming districts,<sup>179</sup> which helped to explain his narrow win.

After Gillen's premature death in 1896 there was not to be another Clare member for Stanley until well into the twentieth century.<sup>180</sup> In 1896 and 1899 local candidates won the most votes in Clare, but were defeated in Stanley. At the by-election in October 1896 following Gillen's death, there were two Clare candidates: A.J. Davey, auctioneer and farmer, and Richard Hawker, brother of Edward and manager of 'Bungaree' until his father's death. He told the election meeting:

They did not know him so well as they did his brother. The whole stake he had in the colony was situated in the district of Stanley, and as he had no other business to attend to he would be able to devote the whole of his time for the good of the country. 181

Once again, the emphasis was on being a local man and having the time and money to pursue the profession of politics. An electioneering advertisement called him 'the Independent Candidate who has a large stake in your country'.<sup>182</sup> Although Hawker won in Clare, W.P. Cummins, a Collinsfield farmer and grazier, won the electorate. Hawker came second, with Davey third in Clare but last in Stanley.<sup>183</sup> Cummins was

176 Ibid, 27 April 1896, see above p.287.

177 Northern Argus, 16 October 1896, 2e: Gillen £18.5.9, Miller £55.5.4, Hawker £114.19.10, 'the votes being in inverse ratio to the cash expended'.

178 Ibid, 1 May 1896, 2c. Miller, like Gillen, was a 'Liberal'.

179 Miller had 324 plumpers, Hawker 218 and Gillen 120 in Stanley. In Clare they had 57, 86 and 42 respectively. Gillen discouraged plumping.

180 P.H. Quirke (Liberal) was the member for Stanley from 1941 to 1953.

181 Northern Argus, 9 October 1896, 2g, 3a.

182 Ibid, 3d.

183 In Clare, Hawker got 198, Cummins 171, Davey 150 and Dunstone 116. In Stanley, the votes were 681, 734, 212 and 609 respectively.

'an independent liberal farmers' candidate' and favoured the progressive land tax. Hawker who also claimed to represent no party was 'against the progressive land tax, and all class taxes in any shape whatever'.<sup>184</sup> This difference helps explain why the farmers voted for Cummins and why Clare's candidate did not win Stanley. The editor of the Northern Argus believed Hawker had done very well:

This being Hawker's first appearance on the political platform, the number of people who reposed their confidence in him should encourage him to contest the district at some future occasion. 185

However, neither he nor his brother ever contested Stanley again, and so a possible Hawker political dynasty never came into being. In the 1896 by-election the editor of the Northern Argus commented that the 'ladies polled well in proportion to the interest taken', proving that their interest in the previous election had not been due to novelty. He had originally been against female franchise, but now believed that all women should use the votes they had obtained.<sup>186</sup>

The leading men of Clare supported federation. In 1896 Clare voted for ten well-known South Australians for the Federation Convention, ignoring a local candidate'.<sup>187</sup> In April 1898, many attended the meeting at which state politicians spoke in favour of federation,<sup>188</sup> and a committee formed to canvass for federation included Mayor Reed, Kelly, Christison, Badger, Hope and Tilbrook, the editor of the Northern Argus.<sup>189</sup> At the two referenda of June 1898 and April 1899, Clare voted strongly for federation as did all the towns in Stanley.<sup>190</sup>

---

184 Northern Argus, 9 October 1896, 2fg, 3a.

185 Ibid, 23 October 1896, 2c.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid, 12 March 1896, 2cd. Farmer W.E. Radford got 37 of 422 votes.

188 Ibid, 6 May 1898, 2fg.

189 Ibid, 20 May 1898, 3a.

190 Ibid, 10 June 1898, 3a - in Clare, 439 voted Yes, 86 No and 6 informal; ibid, 5 May 1899, 3a - in Clare 520 voted Yes, 93 No, and 129 informal.

Interest in the 1899 election began as early as July the year before when likely candidates were discussed, and in August 1898 the occasional column 'Political Pips' reported:

Mr. Christison's supporters are working quietly on his behalf throughout the district. Mr. Christison is not by any means a popular man, even in his own town (although highly respected on account of his straightforward character), because his manner to the generality of people is too reserved, and, to coin a term, standoffish ... He is, without doubt, the best speaker amongst those who have decided to contest the election ... 191

In February 1899 the same column claimed that Christison 'would make a very good representative, if only from his habit of calling a spade a spade'.<sup>192</sup> At the election meeting in Clare, addressed by all the candidates,<sup>193</sup> Christison's speech was most frequently applauded, and was 'the best speech of the evening' according to 'Political Pips,' who believed Christison and Cummins would receive the great proportion of the Catholic vote, while Miller and Doe would receive the Wesleyan vote.<sup>194</sup> Once again sectarian affiliation was seen as a significant factor in voting.

In his long election speech<sup>195</sup> Christison claimed to have 'no ambition for political honours' but was standing 'because it had been put to him that it was his duty to do so', thus stressing the concept of elite obligations. He was in favour of as little government expenditure and interference in people's lives as was possible, and

---

191 Ibid, 26 August 1898, 2f.

192 Ibid, 10 February 1899, 2g.

193 Ibid, 14 April 1899. See also Jaensch, Election statistics ... p.276. J. Miller, farmer of Merriton and W. Cummins, grazier of Collinsfield were the sitting members. They were opposed by J. Christison, brewer of Clare, B.J. Doe, blacksmith of Pt. Broughton and A.P. Brown, farmer of Mintaro. A.J. Davey spoke but his speech was not reported as he afterwards retired.

194 Northern Argus, 21 April 1899, 2f. Was Cummins a Catholic? Presumably Christison's support came because of his occupation.

195 Ibid, 14 April 1899, 2de.

believed people should not look to parliament as 'a milch cow'.

Christison was not modest about his ability: he hoped the voters would think 'he had a fair, open and intrepid mind, that he was capable of giving an intelligent and honest vote on any subject'. Neither was he modest about his affluence:

It was said that the man who made two blades of grass grow where one had only been grown before, deserved well of his country, and if that was the case he deserved well of them, for he could at least claim to have been a good colonist. (Applause)

Christison's speech illustrated his membership of Clare's elite.

The election created great interest and vigorous campaigning.<sup>196</sup> Christison won convincingly in Clare, but came third in Stanley, so Miller and Cummins retained their seats.<sup>197</sup> At the declaration of the poll, Christison was greeted with 'hearty and continuous applause'. He gave two reasons for having lost in Stanley. He believed he

had been largely handicapped in working against two old members, who knew the backdoors better than he did ... Another thing had been against him. He was a brewer. He was proud of it, and was satisfied that no brewer in South Australia would have polled so well in any district in South Australia as he had in Stanley. The teetotallers had been against him ... He was a temperance man, and was glad that many of his teetotal friends had gone strongly for him. 198

The column 'Political Pips' claimed that Christison and Brown split the 'Conservative' vote, thus spoiling Christison's chance of winning.<sup>199</sup> Christison was respected but not 'liked' in the way Gillen had been.

---

196 78.7% of those eligible in Stanley voted at this election - the highest for the century. In Clare 80.9% of men on the roll voted and 72.8% of women.

197 In Clare the results were: Christison 400, Cummings 348, Miller 236, Doe 162 and Brown 140. In Stanley the results were: 1,129, 1,196, 1,276, 833 and 785 respectively. Cummins did better in Sevenhill than Christison, but both polled well.

198 Northern Argus, 5 May 1899, 2g and 3a.

199 Ibid, 3a.

He won the Clare votes convincingly, but he did not campaign as widely as his triumphant opponents. This can be proved not only by his own and Bright's later claim, but also by an examination of the expenditure of each of the candidates, for Christison's expenditure was very modest.<sup>200</sup>

So the last attempt in the nineteenth century by a Clare man to get into the South Australian parliament had failed. In this parliament lay the possibility of gaining power for both personal satisfaction and local community interests. Only four 'local' men had become members for the local district in this century - William Lennon, Edward Hawker, Charles Kimber and Peter Gillen, and Hawker was only 'local' in a limited sense. In the years after 1881 six other men had attempted to gain power but failed, although three of them, Beare, Richard Hawker and Christison gained most votes in Clare. Of the three elected men, Kimber contributed nothing of note to Clare or South Australia, but both Gillen and Hawker, particularly the former, had been useful to Clare, and both had interests beyond the merely parochial. Kimber and Hawker were wealthy men. Gillen was well paid as a minister and gained the most power. The prestige of all three had been enhanced by their status as members of parliament.

In the 1850s, divided political opinions and local jealousies towards G.C. Hawker had been strong enough to conflict with the desirable ideal of a local candidate. Even when Clare united behind an individual after 1881, the Stanley electorate as a whole sometimes showed a different preference. Clare candidates needed not only the support of

---

200 Ibid, 16 June 1899, 2d: Brown spent £83.17.9, Cummins £60.18.2, Miller £48.11.10, Christison £40.13.0 and Doe £12.15.5; Bright's 'Reminiscences' - Register, 24 July 1922, 6i.



their own home district but also, after Strangways Act, a fair degree of support from the northern farmers. By the end of the century people in both Clare and Stanley were showing a greater interest in voting at elections than ever before.<sup>201</sup> This and the drive for local candidates was recognition of the influence a local member could have for the good of the district, well illustrated by the achievements of Gillen.

Power: 1885-1900 - local politics

Unlike previous years, these were years of stability in local politics, as indicated by the decrease in the number of men involved, the consensus on who should hold important positions, and the lack of conflict or major issues in local government. That local councils had important powers was emphasized by the domination of the Corporation by self-employed businessmen and of the District Council by Clare farmers. However, although the individual Mayors and District Council Chairmen played important leadership roles in the local community, the councils were usually reactive rather than initiating bodies, and were not responsible for most of the encouragement and leadership provided largely by individuals in this period.

From 1885 to 1900 only five men held the position of Mayor<sup>202</sup> and there were no elections, indicating the consensus on the right of individuals to have that honour. John Christison JP had won the last

---

201 Omitting by-elections the percentage of voters on the roll who voted in Burra and Clare/Stanley at the elections for the House of Assembly were: 1857 - 50.2%; 1860 - 36.2%; 1862 - 32.4%; 1865 - 27.8%; 1868 - 33.1%; 1870 - 51.4%; 1871 - 24.1%; 1875 - 33.5%; 1878 - no vote; 1881 - 39.8%; 1884 - 50.1%; 1887 - 55.8%; 1890 - 67.1%; 1893 - 66.9%; 1896 - 73.7%; 1899 - 78.7%; Jaensch, Election statistics ...

202 Compared with nine Mayors between 1870 and 1884.

contested mayoral election for the century in 1884,<sup>203</sup> and was re-elected unopposed for two more terms. As partner in the brewery, founder of the Stanley Wine Company, and horticulturalist, he was the most successful businessman in Clare during this period. In 1896 he married John Hope's daughter, and in 1899 he was an unsuccessful parliamentary candidate. William Kelly JP, gardener, lime-kiln proprietor and former editor of the Northern Argus, lived on nineteen valuable acres within the Corporation area. He was Mayor for a total of thirteen years in three separate terms.<sup>204</sup> He was a wealthy man, probably in semi-retirement, and he seemed to have plenty of leisure to spend on local government, the Bench and Methodist church affairs. He too made an unsuccessful attempt to gain election to parliament in 1889. Magnus Badger was Mayor for two years from 1893 after having sat on the Corporation the year before. He was a solicitor who had practised in Clare since 1886. He was not a wealthy man in terms of property but he sent both his sons as boarders to St. Peter's College and was one of the four co-founders of the Stanley Wine Company in 1894. In 1894 he was one of the youngest mayors in South Australia,<sup>205</sup> and he was made a JP at the end of that year. His qualifications for Mayor were his status and ability as a solicitor, and his willingness to serve. Thomas Reed, JP, who was Mayor in 1897 and 1898, had been an auctioneer in Clare since 1886, and had extended his business to Kadina in the 1890s. He ran the largest auctioneering business in the district and was a 'competent judge of land and its value'.<sup>206</sup> Reed was a very active Mayor: he presided over the organization of Queen Victoria's

---

203 See above, p.179-82.

204 1888-92, 1895-6; 1901-6.

205 Observer, 3 March 1894, 16d. He was 36.

206 Northern Argus, 20 July 1900, 2c.

Diamond Jubilee Celebration in 1897, and gave the only Mayor's Picnic of the century in 1898.<sup>207</sup> Thomas Sheppard Stacy was owner of his own grocery and drapery business in Clare. He had been one of the Directors of the Clare Preserving Company and a founding member of the Clare Victoria Benevolent Society. He was made a JP in 1899 while Mayor. As Mayor he presided over the celebrations for British victories during the Boer War.<sup>208</sup> George Lloyd was the Chairman of the District Council from 1886 to 1906. For three of those years, 1887 to 1889, he was also a member of the Corporation, and he was appointed JP in 1887 while on both local bodies. He was an affluent farmer and vigneron, with 637 acres at 'Hill River' and 841 acres at 'Spring Farm', south of Clare, in 1887, but he lived in Clare from 1886.

No elections for Mayor were held after 1884 because there was agreement on which worthy individuals were to be honoured with that office. The Mayors were men who were respected for their economic success and status. The position of Mayor was the highest official appointment that could be bestowed locally on individuals, and gave the holder further status, as can be seen by the appointment as JP of the two Mayors who were not already members of the Bench. The Mayor of the day was in the majority of cases the person who chaired political and other public meetings and performed any ceremonies, such as leading the celebrations for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the victories of the Boer War, and opening the butter factory and Stanley Wine Company's factory. The office of Mayor gave the holder more prestige than power, and Mayors were more often reported in the Northern Argus for participation and leadership in non-corporation than corporation activities.

---

207 Ibid, 28 October 1898, 2g.

208 Ibid, 25 May 1900, 2d; 15 June, 1900 2d.

The 'ritual' of requisitions and speeches continued to be a important part of the selection of a Mayor.<sup>209</sup> In November 1887 Mayor Christison presented the requisition to Kelly, for the first of his many terms, saying

it was the highest compliment from one townsman to another to ask him to stand for Mayor, and as Mr. Kelly was well worthy of the position he hoped he would accede to the request of the deputation.

Christison claimed that Kelly's worthiness had been proved by his actions in the Corporation over the few years Christison had been a member. When Kelly accepted the request, he agreed that it was a 'high honor' and claimed he would do his 'duty' in the interests of Clare. 'He had plenty of time - (Mr. Lawson - "and plenty of money") - to devote to municipal matters, and all his interest was staked in Clare'.<sup>210</sup> Christison and Kelly both stressed the honour of being requested to be Mayor. Christison's comments on worthiness, Kelly's comments on the duty he owed to the town, the fact that he had the time to spare and an interest in Clare, and the publican Lawson's comments that he had plenty of money, all indicate major reasons why individual men were offered the honour of the position. At the end of 1892, Kelly presented the requisition to Magnus Badger to stand for Mayor saying, 'he had been Mayor for five consecutive years, and he had no wish to monopolise the position'.<sup>211</sup> Two years later Mayor Badger led the deputation to requisition Kelly to stand again as Mayor, because

We recognise that you are specially fitted for the office, having leisure to devote to its duties and that you have longer experience of municipal work than anyone in the community. 212

Leisure, experience, ability and willingness to serve were Kelly's

---

209 See above, p.171-73.

210 Northern Argus, 8 November 1887, 2e. Kelly had been in the Corporation since 1870.

211 Ibid, 4 November 1892, 2d.

212 Ibid, 26 October 1894, 2g.

major attributes for the position of honour, and they explain his frequent holding of that office. Most Mayors were not able to give the same amount of time as Kelly, but were chosen for their ability and because they had shown a willingness to be involved in public affairs.<sup>213</sup> The requisition to Thomas Reed to stand for Mayor a second time showed this emphasis on ability and experience:

We can assure you that we recognise your business ability, your liberality, the care you have exercised in all matters pertaining to the corporate improvements of our town. 214

An analysis of the membership of the Corporation and the District Council from 1885 to 1900 reveals some interesting comparisons with the years 1868 to 1885.<sup>215</sup> Both in the Corporation and the Council there were fewer men involved in local government for the same period of time,<sup>216</sup> suggesting greater stability within the community. This was also indicated by the fewer individuals who held the positions of Mayor and Chairman, and was particularly noticeable in the District Council where the membership remained completely unchanged from 1893.<sup>217</sup> There was an increase in the percentage of Corporation members who were self-employed businessmen and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of professional men and gentlemen.<sup>218</sup> This dominance of the businessmen was because they were the section of the community most interested in keeping rates down and providing good roads where their businesses

---

213 When first elected all five Mayors had previously been councillors - Christison and Badger for one year, Kelly for seventeen, Reed for two and Stacy for four (although fifteen years before).

214 Northern Argus, 26 November 1897, 2d.

215 See above p.169.

216 From 1869 to 1884, 42 men held 118 positions on the Corporation. From 1885 to 1900 31 men held 116 positions. From 1869 to mid 1885 29 men held 81 positions on the District Council. From mid 1885 to 1900 15 men held 76 positions.

217 The five members from 1893 were: G. Lloyd and W. Pattullo, both Clare farmers, J. Hill, stockholder of 'Inchiquin', and a farmer and a tanner from Sevenhill.

218 The percentage of self-employed businessmen had increased from 66.9% to 74.1%; of professional men and gentlemen had decreased from 25.4% to 17.2%. This was based on 118 and 116 positions.

were, both within the Corporation's power. In the District Council despite the increase in the percentage of members who were farmers and stockholders, there was also a very obvious decrease in the percentage of non-Clare men<sup>219</sup> reflecting the increasing dominance of the town and those living near it over the wider district.

By 1885 the Corporation no longer had any responsibility for the public school or for law and order, as a foot constable costing £70 a year had been withdrawn after the hostility to the Salvation Army had died down.<sup>220</sup> The Corporation wielded its power over rates and on what to spend them, the Town Hall, and, as the Local Board of Health, over sanitation and other health issues. After the abolition of the Road Boards in 1887,<sup>221</sup> it also was given money to provide roads in its area. The Corporation had more varied and obvious powers than the District Council, which mainly dealt with rates and roads, and received little coverage in the local paper, and therefore no further discussion here.

The Corporation was a reactive rather than an initiating body. It seemed reluctant to provide leadership and cautious in its willingness to spend ratepayers' money. Nevertheless it did make some positive contributions to improving life in Clare during the years after 1885, mostly following the initiatives of others. In July 1886 meetings were held to request the Corporation to rent or purchase a property for a produce market, with the argument that it would enable local

---

219 Agriculturalists had increased from 77.8% to 89.5% of the 81 and 76 positions. Non-Clare members of the council had decreased from 61.7% to 34.2% of the 81 and 76 positions.

220 Northern Argus, 17 November 1885, 2f. See above, p.195.

221 Hirst, op.cit., p.146. See above, p.275.

producers to sell their fresh produce to local people, shopkeepers and hawkers, instead of wasting it. The main supporters at the two meetings were gardeners and storekeepers.<sup>222</sup> Kimber led the deputation to the Corporation, supported by Stacy, and A.J. Davey, the local auctioneer. However, the Corporation would only agree to take action if there was a guarantee of a sufficient number of stall-holders wishing to take part,<sup>223</sup> and the matter was eventually dropped, as a result of the Corporation's caution and negative thinking.

The Corporation in its role of Local Board of Health was responsible for health and sanitation in the town until 1879.<sup>224</sup> It was its responsibility to supervise the work of the Inspector of Nuisances, J.L. Smith, and to ensure that recommended improvements were carried out. As in previous years,<sup>225</sup> it did not always carry out its responsibilities fully and avoided controversy as much as possible. In June 1888 the Chief Inspector of the Central Board of Health visited Clare and made a very critical report.<sup>226</sup> The Local Board of Health meeting criticised Smith for lack of vigilance, but considered the report contradictory and unfair in parts.<sup>227</sup> In July, Smith gave a detailed report to the Local Board of all the places on the Chief Inspector's complaint list, detailing what had been, or needed to be done to improve the closets and cesspits mainly of Main Street shops and businesses. This detail provided a grim picture of the poor

---

222 Northern Argus, 13 July 1886, 2d; 20 July 1886, 2d.

223 Ibid, 23 July 1886, 2c, 2e.

224 Hirst, op.cit., p.146.

225 See above, pp.195-96.

226 Northern Argus, 12 June 1888, 3a.

227 Ibid, 8 June 1888, 3b. Chief critics were Mayors Kelly and G. Lloyd, Councillor and Chairman of the District Council.

sanitation facilities of Clare in this period, and the difficulties faced by the Local Board to force people to improve them.<sup>228</sup> In July 1889 there was an argument at the Local Board of Health meeting, in which Gillen MP accused Smith of partiality in ordering an aged widow to abate the nuisance in her back yard. Gillen said that other premises on the same block were just as bad and Smith should 'act towards the rich the same as he did towards the poor'. Smith replied that he was forced to do something about the nuisance because both neighbours had complained, suggesting that only in extreme cases was anything done to enforce cleanliness.<sup>229</sup> Three days later, Inspector Smith led the Clare Board of Health on a 'thorough inspection' of premises on either side of the Main Street, but no results were reported.<sup>230</sup> The Board had the power to prosecute individuals who refused to deal with the Inspector's notices,<sup>231</sup> but mostly it seemed to rely on goodwill, and so be generally lax about using its power to the full, as in a small town, where everyone knew everyone else, this could mean offending friends and influential people.

After 1887 the Corporation had the power to make decisions about how to spend the government grants for roads.<sup>232</sup> It sometimes believed it had not been granted enough money, as in 1890 when it requested Councillor Gillen MP and Miller MP to wait on the Treasurer for an extra grant of £50 for metal for the main road.<sup>233</sup> The responsibility

---

228 Ibid, 6 July 1888, 3ab.

229 Ibid, 12 July 1889, 2d.

230 Ibid, 16 July 1889, 2d.

231 SAPP: No.67 1888 'Fourteenth Report of the Central Board of Health', pp.12-13.

232 Hirst, op.cit., p.146. See above, p.275.

233 Northern Argus, 24 June 1890, 2g.



for roads gave the Corporation the ability to provide jobs. In August 1897, of the twenty who applied for work on the roads, nineteen were given jobs and the other got a job with the District Council.<sup>234</sup> The power to provide jobs was an important one in this depressed decade. In December 1894 ten men put in tenders for Town Clerk, eight for Health Inspector, nine for Town Hall Porter and nine for sweeping the streets.<sup>235</sup> In December 1897 seven tenders were received for the positions of Inspector and Town Hall Porter and five for nightman and street sweeper.<sup>236</sup> The Corporation not only provided jobs, but it had control over the conditions of its employees. In 1890, Gillen supported T.F. Pink's request for an advance of £25 for an overdue contract, but as the majority of the Corporation did not agree Pink got no money.<sup>237</sup> In 1891 Gillen again supported the successful motion that daymen 'should retire from labor at 1 o'clock on Saturday'.<sup>238</sup> In 1899 the issue of who had the authority to direct the workmen where to work led to 'vehement utterance' among the Corporation members who were usually 'closely united' by the 'bonds of brotherly love'. The debate was over whether councillors had the right to order individual workmen to carry out jobs, or whether that responsibility should be left with the overseer. This debate opened 'an old sore', as some councillors obviously liked giving orders, and others felt specific orders should only be given by the overseer. The issue was 'satisfactorily settled', with the overseer left in command.<sup>239</sup>

---

234 Ibid, 20 August 1897, 2c.

235 Ibid, 21 December 1894, 2g.

236 Ibid, 24 December 1897, 2f.

237 Ibid, 19 August 1890, 2g. Gillen argued for helping men with no capital.

238 Ibid, 4 September 1891, 3a.

239 Ibid, 18 August 1899, 2e.

The only positive activities carried out by the Corporation were buying the recreation ground in 1897 and buying a new piano for the town hall in 1899, neither initiated by itself. The recreation ground was bought from T.R. Bright, the former Clare solicitor and cricketer, for £100. The Diamond Jubilee Celebration Committee, led by Christison, had initiated the action and had handed over the balance of the money collected for the celebration for that purpose. The Corporation would only have to pay £95 out of two years' rate money, as Mayor Reed told a meeting of ratepayers called because of opposition to the project by some. Those opposed believed the money should be raised by public subscription, not rates, but the Corporation had already bought the ground and its action was supported by twenty four votes to thirteen.<sup>240</sup> In 1899 the Corporation bought Bright's hill-side allotments to add to the recreation ground.<sup>241</sup> In the same year the Corporation bought a new piano for the Town Hall. Again the initiative came from outside the Corporation, as £44.9.5 raised by the Piano Fund Committee was handed over to Mayor Reed in December 1898, and the Corporation paid the difference.<sup>242</sup>

The Mayor as an individual was powerful only if he had a strong personality, but had high prestige and a high profile in town affairs. The Corporation had collective responsibilities and powers, particularly over health, roads and employees. It had not been willing to support a produce market and had been lax in carrying out its responsibilities as a Board of Health. The Corporation was generally a reactive rather than an initiating body in regard to the needs of Clare. However, it was willing to spend part of its rates on a recreation ground and a

---

240 Ibid, 13 August 1897, 2g; 27 August 1897, 3ab. See below, p.351.

241 Ibid, 3 February 1899, 2g. They cost £45; Bright donated £5.

242 Ibid, 9 December 1898, 2c; 24 March 1899, 2c. It cost £65.

piano after other groups raised the issues and some of the money. When on the Corporation, men appeared to prefer the status to the responsibility of making decisions, which could be either unpopular or unprofitable.

Power: 1885 to 1900 - the magistrates

The men who held the position of Justice of the Peace were men who were appointed by the government because they had proved themselves to be interested in community activities and already had high social status in the town. Their prestige was further enhanced by their appointments. In accepting the reward of having JP after their names, these men accepted the consequent responsibilities as well as the honour. These responsibilities were mostly concerned with taking their places on the Bench, where some gave their time more generously than others, particularly William Kelly, who was by far the most regular and frequent in attendance. Other 'responsibilities' were broader and more intangible and included the expectation of providing community leadership.

A letter to the Northern Argus in July 1885 gave JPs the same status as professional and educated men. The letter writer suggested that the 'young men's society' active in Clare should organize 'practical and educational lectures' on 'instructive and scientific subjects'. Who would give these lectures?

We have gentlemen even in a country town like this who affix to their names the significant [sic] letters M.A., B.A., M.B., and J.P., who could and might spare the time among them to give a course of lectures which would without doubt do a great amount of benefit to the young men of the district, and the young women also (and they need it).

The writer concluded with the hope that 'the influential and degreed

"men of the town" would co-operate in this idea'.<sup>243</sup> The only JPs of the time who were 'degreed' were Bright and Dr. Smith, and other 'degreed' men were Dr. Bain, Rev. Webb M.A. and Carter the other lawyer. Non-degreed JPs were thus categorized as 'influential' men. Because the letters J.P. always followed the names of those holding the title, they were much more familiar to the average newspaper reader than university degrees, thus explaining the high status given to those letters. The notion that educated and influential men had a duty to their less well-educated townsmen was a commonly expressed one as it linked privilege with responsibility.

As a result of deaths, resignations and departures from Clare<sup>244</sup> in 1885 the only active JPs in Clare were Charles Kimber, who had been appointed in 1870, Thomas Bright appointed in 1883 and who left in 1888, and the five men appointed in 1884: James Hill who resigned in 1890, John Christison, Dr. Otto Wien Smith, William Kelly and Thomas Ninnes who died in 1894. The ten men appointed JP between 1885 and 1900 were predominantly businessmen, the exceptions being a farmer and solicitor. George Hill, the manager of the carrying firm Hill and Company was appointed JP in 1887 but he left Clare a few years later. George Lloyd was appointed in the same year. He was the prosperous farmer who lived in Clare and was Chairman of the District Council for twenty years from 1886 and on the Corporation for three years from 1887. He was also a member of the North Midland Road Board and involved in numerous other community activities. Edward Cecil Rix the chemist was appointed in 1890, but had to resign because of an

---

243 Ibid, 28 July 1885, 2g and 3a.

244 J. Pitcher (1879), W.L. Beare (1883), J.W. Gleeson (1884), and A. Palmer (1884) all left Clare, Hosier (1879), Hope (1880) and Young (1885) died, and Crabb resigned after an assignment in 1883. The Hawker brothers were never active on the Bench: George Junior died in 1889 and Edward lived in Adelaide.

assigned estate in 1894. He had been a Corporation councillor on a number of occasions since 1877, had stood for Mayor against Christison and lost in 1884. He was involved with the Institute Committee, Church of England affairs, the School Board of Advice, of which he was chairman from 1882 to 1899, and he took an interest in all public affairs. Alfred James Davey the auctioneer and later aspirant to colonial politics, was also appointed in 1890. He was a successful businessman, a member of the Corporation from 1891 to 1894, and one of the leaders in re-establishing the Stanley Agricultural and Horticultural Society and the Clare Racing Club. Magnus Badger, the solicitor, was appointed in 1894 while Mayor of Clare. James Bentley was appointed at the same time. He had managed the Northern Hotel for his mother Mrs. F.C. Gray, since his stepfather's death in 1892. He was the very active and efficient secretary of the Agricultural Society from 1895<sup>245</sup> and a member of the Corporation for three years from 1893. Robert Graham, also appointed in 1894, had been the licensee of the Commercial Hotel from 1877 to 1893, and the owner of the Clare Hotel from 1883. He had come to Clare in 1867 and conducted a small private Catholic school, before going into business. In 1893 he retired and became a vigneron. He had been a member of the Corporation for four years in the 1880s, and was always very active in sporting activities and Catholic church affairs. The auctioneer Thomas Reed was appointed at the end of 1896, just before he began his two year term as Mayor. Andrew Walsh was appointed JP in 1897 while a member of the Corporation, which he served on from 1895 for the rest of the decade. He was a self-employed blacksmith, and an unobtrusive member of the Clare community. Storekeeper Thomas Shepherd Stacy was,

---

245 He was praised frequently in the Northern Argus between 1895 and 1899.

like Badger, appointed to the Bench while Mayor, in 1899.

Justices of the Peace were members of the elite because of their selection, their prestige and their power to make important decisions in local and police courts and at inquests.<sup>246</sup> Near the end of Thomas Ninnes' diary he recorded the civil and church offices he had held, including his periods as councillor on both the District Council and Corporation and his activities in the Methodist Church. He summarised his work as a JP in the following words:

I have sat on the Bench in many cases and I am satisfied justice have [sic] been done to all Parties save in one case about well sinking in Blyth. I contended for the Right as I considered for some time I partly gained my Point but not to my satisfaction. 247

This was the statement of an honest, respected and strongly religious man, who believed he had made the right decision in every case. Only once had he not persuaded the other members of the Bench to his way of thinking. Whether he had always dispensed justice or not is immaterial to the point that he had, alone and with others, absolute power to make certain kinds of decisions about other people's lives.

In general men who were Justices of the Peace had further strong claims to be members of the Clare elite. Most of the seventeen men listed above were affluent men and successful in their different occupations, some like Christison, Kimber and Lloyd extremely so. An analysis of their activities showed that many of them were community leaders in other fields, and that the majority of them held other positions with power. Of these seventeen, seven were at some time Mayors and another two were District Chairmen.<sup>248</sup> All except Dr. Smith

---

246 William Kelly presided over 20 inquests between 1886 and 1900. Others who presided once or twice were Kimber, Rix, Christison and Bentley. Inquest Book - Clare Police Station November 4, 1884 to February 15, 1951.

247 Diary Thomas Ninnes, p.91.

248 The Mayors were Kimber, Bright, Christison, Kelly, Badger, Reed and Stacy. The District Council Chairmen were Ninnes and Lloyd.

who became Mayor in the 1920s and George Hill, were councillors, many for long terms. Kimber, Christison, Kelly and Davey were all parliamentary candidates, although only Kimber was successful.

This analysis of men who held different kinds of power in Clare between 1881/85 and 1900 and how they used it has dealt with those elected to parliament and local government, and those appointed to the Bench. There has been strong evidence that there was a close inter-relationship between those who played or attempted to play roles in the three areas of colonial politics, local politics and magistracy. Some men were involved in all three areas, as were Kimber, Kelly and Christison.

The desire for recognition of one's personal status as well as to help the district of Clare were the major motives of those standing for election to parliament. Being elected Mayor, with or without opposition, was very much connected with how one's status was perceived by others, as it was a reward for able men given by the other leaders of the community. This was also true to a lesser degree of the other members of local government bodies. Appointment as a Justice of the Peace was again a result of having acquired high personal status in the community, but in this case the local perception of status had to be reported to the government of the day. This was true also of the appointed members on the North Midland Road Board and the School Board of Advice.

In some cases it was just as important to have power or to seem to have power as to use it. The three local men elected to parliament after 1881 were all willing to use their votes and influence in the interests of their electorate. Although Gillen was more of an

activist on behalf of Clare than Hawker or Kimber, all three were active when requested directly to achieve something for the district, by using their votes or their influence. The position of Mayor was one that gave the holder more prestige than power, and although collectively local governments had power, they were often reluctant to use it. The office of JP bestowed real power over his fellows on the holder, but even here some JPs served much more frequently than others. Although men with power did not always use it to its full, there was no shortage of candidates for positions with power, and the status that resulted from achieving those positions was seen as being deserved and worth gaining.

The achievement of power through holding these official positions was an important criterion for membership of the elite, but there were exceptions to this rule. One of the major members of the Clare elite was not involved in any of these three areas of power, although he could have been if he had wished.<sup>249</sup> This was Dr. Bain who was a wealthy man for most of these years, an educated and cultural person, a philanthropist and a leader in many community activities, and as such, a man considered to be of very high social status within the town. Other men who had some claim to be members of the elite for other reasons than holding power were the Rev. Webb, R.E.H. Hope and his sister Diana, W.G. Lewcock and R.E.H. Tilbrook, who provided leadership in different ways or had high social status as will be established in the next section of this chapter.

---

249 Register, 24 July 1922 6i; Bright's 'Reminiscences', see above, p.234-7.



Social status: 1881 to 1900

The individuals with the highest social status in Clare after 1881 were those who played leadership roles in a wide variety of activities. These leadership activities not only enhanced the status of individuals but were perceived to be activities for the benefit of the town. Although there was evidence that Clare people were aware and sometimes critical of both status differences and the social hierarchy, in general these were years of increasing community cooperation and unity behind the elite, in the face of economic depression and stagnation. The members of the elite were expected to be active and to take initiatives for the benefit of the town and district. Leadership was both a major criterion for elite membership and the responsibility or 'duty' of the elite. Apart from holding positions of power and providing leadership in colonial and local politics and on the Bench, the major activities in which leadership was needed and given were: providing new industries and encouraging the growing of new products and using better production methods; improving working and living conditions of the Clare people; and supporting social, recreational, educational and cultural organizations and activities by holding official positions and organizing ceremonial functions.

Social status: 1881 to 1900 - economic leadership

The major efforts of Clare's leaders to overcome the problem of the economic decline of the town and district were aimed at broadening the economic activities of the district to provide new opportunities for the farmers, jobs for the unemployed and greater demands for the services provided by the town, and thus benefiting everyone in the town and district. These efforts were both selfish and altruistic:

while greater community prosperity would increase the income of the elite members themselves, there was also strong feeling that they had a duty to help the less privileged groups in society and the community as a whole. The efforts to broaden the economic activities of the district from 1881 included establishing the Preserving Company, setting up a Vigilance Committee, encouraging mining, calling public meetings to suggest new products, forming an Agricultural Bureau, and establishing a butter factory, a winery and a fruit export depot. The individuals who were particularly important for their leadership in these activities were Dr. Bain, Kimber, Gillen, Christison, W.G. Lewcock the nurseryman and the editor of the Northern Argus, R. H. Tilbrook.

The most concerted attempt by the elite of Clare to promote greater prosperity in the town and district, by providing both employment for town dwellers and incentive for local gardeners and farmers, was the setting up of the Clare Fruit Preserving Company in June 1881. This Company was to be in continuous economic trouble almost from the beginning, and in November 1885 the annual meeting of the shareholders decided to liquidate it. At this meeting the director's report, read by the Chairman of Directors, Dr. Bain, concluded with a reference to the original altruistic aims of those who set up the company, and also to the fact that a few leading men had invested quite large amounts of money in this enterprise:

Your directors regret that an industry, established for the benefit of the fruit growers of the district as well as the advancement of the town and neighbourhood of Clare should not have achieved the objects for which it was called into existence, but they feel that they cannot reproach themselves with having been unmindful of the interests of the shareholders of the company, they themselves having a large stake in the welfare of the undertaking. 250

The editor of the Northern Argus also believed the company had been established more for the benefit of the town than for the benefit of the investors:

This is an unfortunate ending to our first attempt at carrying on a local industry and the shareholders are deserving of sympathy, as they went into the concern manfully with the sole idea of benefitting [sic] the district generally, being well aware that it would be a considerable time before any profits could be made. 251

The prospectus for the Clare Fruit Preserving Company had been adopted in June 1881 at a meeting chaired by Dr. Bain.<sup>252</sup> The Company had a capital of £5,000 made up of 2,500 shares of £2 each, and a large number of promoters.<sup>253</sup> The first directors of the Company were Kimber (Chairman), Bain, Ninnes, S. Williams and Stacy,<sup>254</sup> and the manager was W.L. Beare.<sup>255</sup> The five directors with the addition of new directors Christison and Moyses were the men who carried the responsibility, financial liability and eventually liquidation. The building was not finished for the 1881/1882 fruit season, so it was let to Bain to use as a skating rink.<sup>256</sup> Preserving commenced late in 1882, and in January 1883 the Advertiser reported that 40 hands were making tins, jam or preserves, in a building made of stone with a tin roof and cement floor, and equipped with modern machinery.<sup>257</sup>

After this buoyant start and a quarrel over tenders for carting between Kimber and Gray,<sup>258</sup> the company slipped into a decline and salvaging the wreck took precedence over quarrelling. By December 1883 the company had no money to buy fruit for the season. Chairman of

---

251 Ibid, 2d.

252 Ibid, 7 June 1881, 2c.

253 Ibid, 21 June 1881, 2ef.

254 Ibid, 21 October 1881, 2c. Williams was an ironmonger.

255 Ibid, 29 November 1881, 2b. Beare left Clare in 1883.

256 See above, p.235.

257 Advertiser, 9 January 1883, 7c. The cement floor was put in by Bain.

258 Northern Argus, 23 March 1883, 2g and 3abc.

Directors Bain reported that the company had lost £424.9.8d. that year, and that the first directors were still responsible for £1,531.4.8d.<sup>259</sup>

Although the 'financial difficulty' was overcome with guarantees and promissory notes,<sup>260</sup> by September 1884 the produce was not selling because of a glut on the market,<sup>261</sup> and at the annual meeting in November, a further loss of £501.8.0d. for 1884 was reported.<sup>262</sup> The editor of the Northern Argus commented angrily that despite the constant talk about 'encouragement to local industry' people had not been willing to take up the 824 unallotted shares.<sup>263</sup> In December the shareholders agreed to let the factory to a private company set up by Bain, Kimber and Stacy, for a year for £10. At this meeting, Bright moved a vote of thanks to Bain, 'eulogizing that gentleman for the indefatigable [sic] zeal he had evinced for the company's welfare'.<sup>264</sup> He believed that duty to the town was more important than profits to men like Bain.

However, a year later, after the private company handed over the plant and premises in good order, the annual meeting agreed that the company would go into liquidation, with Bain, Christison, Williams, Ninnes and Stacy as liquidators. The reasons for the failure given in the report were 'the continued commercial depression' in South Australia, which had also affected other fruit factories, the overstocked local market, and the inability to gain markets in London and India,<sup>265</sup> As indicated earlier, both the promoters and the Northern Argus editor believed that the company had been set up to 'benefit

---

259 Ibid, 1 January 1884, 2cd.  
 260 Ibid, 29 January, 1884, 2cd.  
 261 Ibid, 16 September 1884, 2e.  
 262 Ibid, 4 November 1884, 2fg.  
 263 Ibid, 28 November 1884, 2c.  
 264 Ibid, 30 December 1884, 2d.  
 265 Ibid, 10 November 1885, 2e.

the district' rather than themselves.<sup>266</sup> Letters to the local paper at this time also expressed great regret at the demise of the company. All saw the company as aiming for the general good rather than individual profit.<sup>267</sup> J.H. Angas wrote to the liquidators strongly opposing the winding up of the company because of the low value of property at the time.<sup>268</sup> Despite Bain's expectations, Angas did not come to the special meeting at which Kimber said there were thirteen guarantors for the £1,400 owing to the bank, and added, 'However, if Mr. Angas would take the place of the guarantors the difficulty would be overcome'.<sup>269</sup> Angas was a rich man and could have come to the rescue, but was not interested enough in Clare to do so, although preserved gooseberries 'grown by Mr. J.H. Angas in the Hill River garden' had been 'much admired'.<sup>270</sup> Angas refused to shoulder any responsibility for the company although there had obviously been some expectation that he might come to its aid.

Gradually the company was wound up, until in July 1887 the property was handed over to the guarantors who had paid nearly £600 and had over £480 to pay.<sup>271</sup> In October the plant was dismantled and sent to the Angaston Fruit Preserving Company,<sup>272</sup> and that was the end of the most ambitious scheme to help both the shareholders and the economy of Clare in the nineteenth century. Both the pockets and the pride of Clare's leading men had suffered and Clare had gained no advantage from their venture. The building, however, was to become

---

266 Ibid, 2d; see above, pp. 313-4.

267 Ibid, 6 November 1885, 2g; 15 December 1885, 3ab.

268 Ibid, 27 November 1885, 2d.

269 Ibid, 18 December 1885, 2d.

270 Ibid, 4 April 1884, 2c.

271 Ibid, 19 July 1887, 2c.

272 Ibid, 14 October 1887, 2d.

the home of the Stanley Wine Company, set up in 1894 with aims similar to those of the Fruit Preserving Company, but with only four promoters.<sup>273</sup>

In June 1882, a Vigilance Committee was formed on Dr. Bain's proposal. The meeting agreed that Clare was being neglected by the government largely because the two members for Stanley came from the north of the district, and that the leading men of Clare should work together in the best interests of the town.<sup>274</sup> The Vigilance Committee continued to meet for the next two years, with the Mayor of the day as elected chairman - Gray, Bright, then Young. It held committee and public meetings, discussed issues such as railways, buying a recreation ground, water conservation, postal deliveries, candidates for Stanley and mining.<sup>275</sup> It aired many issues, wrote many letters and encouraged people to think about introducing new industries and crops for the good of the town and community.

Mining enthusiasm had waxed and waned in Clare since the 1850s when some Clare men left for the gold fields, and others, like Thomas Nannes and Thomas Moyses, returned from the gold fields with enough capital to settle as farmers in the Clare district. In the 1870s Clare men had gone to the Kosciusko gold fields, and in the 1890s others were to leave to make their fortunes in Western Australia. However, it was after 1887 that Clare people showed their most intensive interest in mining. There were many men with hopes of finding precious metals near Clare, both for personal gain and to stimulate the economy of Clare, and there were always people willing to speculate in mining

---

273 See below, pp. 327-28.

274 Northern Argus, 4 July 1882, 2e. Membership included Bain, Kelly, Gleeson and Stacy.

275 Ibid, 1882 - 11 July 2d, 13 October 2d, 31 October 2fg; 1883-19 January 2g, 2 February 2d, 9 February 2d, 14 December 2d; 3 June 1884, 2c.

shares, hopeful of becoming rich. The major mining success story in Clare was Bain, who

was among the original investors in Block 14 at Broken Hill, which was the mother venture from which Broken Hill's millions started. In the flush of new found wealth he returned, intending to spend the rest of his life for the good of the people. Much of his money was dissipated testing the mineral wealth in the neighbourhood of Clare and many other unhappy investments. 276

Much money was indeed dissipated by Clare men, because for all their hopes and money a paying mine was never found near Clare.

In the late 1880s there was a flush of enthusiasm that mining would be the answer to the depression in Clare. In February 1888 the Northern Argus reported that everyone was searching for silver and minerals.<sup>277</sup> In 1887 and 1888 a gold mining syndicate and four silver mining syndicates were set up, one to invest in Broken Hill.<sup>278</sup> After initial optimism and a rush for shares all were wound up after much worry and no profit.

In 1889 after a public meeting, samples of marble from Charles Kimber's property were tested in the hope of breaking into the Broken Hill market for lime, for which Mayor Kelly who owned lime kilns believed the marble was suitable. Everyone's motives were altruistic: Kimber's son Richard was mainly interested for the sake of 'the working men'; Badger 'understood the ultimate object was the benefit of the working men - to absorb superfluous labor'; and Charles Kimber MP was 'anxious to see native industries fostered'.<sup>279</sup> Despite these good intentions Broken Hill could get its lime more cheaply elsewhere.

---

276 Ibid, 7 December 1944, 8a.

277 Ibid, 14 February 1884, 2d.

278 Ibid, 9 September 1887, 2f; 17 February 1888, 2g; 16 March 1888, 2cd; 9 November 1888, 2ef, 24 April 1888, 2e; 27 April 1888, 2d.

279 Ibid, 2 April 1889, 2e; 16 April 1889, 2d.

In 1893 and 1894 four gold mining syndicates were formed<sup>280</sup> one to prospect in Western Australia because Dr. Bain said it 'was the El Dorado of the colonies, and they should send a party over to search for gold'. R.H. Tilbrook of the Northern Argus tried to 'awaken the interest' of local property owners to search for gold. He believed a 'united effort on the part of the residents' would find gold and benefit them all. After an unfavourable geologist's report Tilbrook concluded sadly but prophetically:

The only course that remains is to cultivate the soil; if that is done skilfully this district will still hold its own, and even make substantial headway. If gold cannot be picked up in the crevices of the earth, it can nevertheless be obtained by intense culture of a variety of products. 281

It was fortunate that the 'intense culture' of vines and fruit trees was so profitable because even the attempt to find copper in 1899 was unsuccessful.<sup>282</sup>

The enthusiasm for mining among the leading men of Clare had been motivated both by the personal desire to get rich and by the hope that Clare's economy would be stimulated and more jobs provided for the 'working men'. Obviously no-one made money from mines around Clare, although some like Bain had lucky investments elsewhere. Certainly there had been much hope for the improvement of the fortunes of both individuals and Clare itself. This must have given a psychological boost to people's confidence in a time of depression in Clare, but deprived them of money which might have been better used. Those men most involved in encouraging the search for mineral wealth after 1887 included all the leading men of the community, who felt it was their

---

280 Ibid, 30 June 1893, 2d; 4 August 1893, 2 c; 23 March 1894, 2c; 29 June 1894, 2f.

281 Ibid, 21 July 1893, 2b.

282 Ibid, 19 May 1899, 2c; 16 June 1899, 2d.



responsibility to help improve the economy of Clare. Although the town was to benefit indirectly from mining through Bain's generosity, once again the leading men of Clare had been unable to produce a solution to Clare's economic problems.

In July 1890 the members for Stanley, Gillen and Miller, took the initiative and convened a meeting to discuss the setting up of local industries for the benefit of the people of Clare.<sup>283</sup> Ironically, the new section of the Clare flour mill was burned to the ground on the next evening, causing an estimated £5,000 damage.<sup>284</sup> Apart from the loss to the Kimber brothers, it was a great loss to the town, for the new mill, which had been built only three years before with the latest machinery, was never to be rebuilt. Thus Clare lost an important industry it could ill afford to lose. The decline in local wheat production plus the competition from other towns and the railway, made rebuilding economically not viable.

Most of the leading men of Clare were present at the meeting called by Gillen and Miller, and Mayor Kelly was voted to the chair. Miller suggested a butter factory be set up, and Gillen argued for olives and vines: 'He had carried a motion in the Assembly the other day for the free distribution of vines and olives amongst small holders'. Bain recommended merino sheep; Kimber supported fruit growing, vines and a butter factory. Both he and Christison believed the local farmers were not taking enough interest in setting up a butter and cheese factory. As Christison argued logically,

If a committee could be formed to get the farmers to take an interest in the matter, something perhaps

---

283 Ibid, 29 July 1890, 3abc.

284 Ibid, 2de.

might be done ... He would be willing to take shares in the venture, but it would be no use for the townspeople to start a factory without the aid of the farmers. 285

This was to become a common theme: that the town was providing leadership but the farmers were not following. On this occasion, a committee was appointed to organize speakers for a public meeting on co-operative dairy farming. At that meeting, attended by both Gillen and Miller, and with Kelly again in the chair, 'There was a very fair attendance but very few farmers were there'.<sup>286</sup> Two non-Clare experts spoke to the leading townsmen, including Kimber, Bain and Lloyd, but not those who most needed the information.

In November 1890 Tilbrook in a leading article in the Northern Argus claimed to have almost given up patience at Clare's lack of enterprise. The members for Stanley and the spokesmen for dairying had tried, but 'the farmers aren't interested'.<sup>287</sup> Most of the schemes of the leading townsmen required the farmers to produce something, such as fruit or milk, and the farmers did not always follow the town leadership with much enthusiasm. The reason wine producing became a buoyant industry was that many of the leading townspeople developed their own vineyards.<sup>288</sup>

In March 1891 a meeting convened by Gillen MP and chaired by Mayor Kelly was held to discuss 'the advisableness of cultivating the vine, wattle, etc., in the district of Clare'. After much ineffectual discussion, William, the son of Charles Kimber, suggested they form a branch of the Agricultural Bureau to do something more practical and to 'enthuse the people'.<sup>289</sup> The Agricultural Bureau set out to encourage

---

285 Ibid, 3abc.

286 Ibid, 2 September 1890, 3ab.

287 Ibid, 21 November 1890, 2c.

288 See below, pp.329-30.

289 Northern Argus, 13 March 1891, 3bc.

better methods and new crops in the local area by encouraging its members to produce papers, inviting experts to visit Clare,<sup>290</sup> and organizing Autumn Shows. The editor of the Northern Argus referred to both the well-meaning aims of the Bureau and its ineffectiveness when he reported the lack of success of the 1896 Autumn Show. The farmers had not supported it because they would only participate if there were 'money prizes' to attract them and not 'honor alone'. However, the editor believed it was their duty to support an organization which had done 'good work' for the district.<sup>291</sup>

The membership of the Agricultural Bureau changed little after its foundation in March 1891.<sup>292</sup> The members had to be approved by the Central Bureau, have some involvement in agriculture and were limited in number. Kelly was the chairman for the first few meetings; from June 1892 until April 1901 Christison was chairman; and then Kelly took over again. Other members of the Bureau included G. Lloyd, R. Hope, W. Kimber, vigneron J. Knapstein, W.G. Lewcock, W.S. Birks, the founder of the 'Wendouree' winery, and in 1899, H. Yelland, the new agricultural science teacher at the state school.

The Agricultural Bureau membership was seen by outsiders as an elite, as evidenced by the criticisms directed at it. A letter in April 1896 complained that not enough information was published about the discussion of the Bureau:

I thought the Bureau was for the benefit of the whole community, and what information these gentlemen had to contribute was for their more unfortunate brethren outside the inner circle. 293

---

290 These experts included Thomas Hardy and S. Smith in 1891, the Victorian Agricultural and Horticultural Instructor and members of the Central Agricultural Bureau in 1892, and wine experts in 1894.

291 Northern Argus, 6 March 1896, 2c, f.

292 Ibid, 27 March 1891, 2f.

293 Ibid, 3 April 1896, 2e.

As a result of this criticism the next Bureau meeting decided to have a paper every month 'with the view of making this branch as beneficial as possible to the public'.<sup>294</sup> But again in May 1897 another letter complained about the lack of full reports of the Bureau's discussion, 'as many a poor struggling man would be grateful for a share of the knowledge of learned savants to help their less fortunate fellows'.<sup>295</sup> The next meeting decided to have a suggestion box 'to popularise the Bureau'.<sup>296</sup>

An amusing illustration of the status assumed by at least some members of the Agricultural Bureau occurred in August 1898. The government was offering free railway passes to members of the Bureau, but the Clare branch approved Kelly's motion to decline this offer, presumably because they agreed with Kelly who argued

that it would not bring about any extra cost to the Government should a member ride in a first or second class car. He felt it was an insult to offer second-class passes. 297

Despite this comment and the terms 'inner circle' and 'learned savants' which indicates that the Bureau was seen as an elite group, it did much to educate agriculturalists about better methods, especially through guest speakers, papers and practical demonstrations well into the twentieth century.

Apart from Gillen, other individuals who played leadership roles in encouraging Clare's economic recovery were Bain, Christison, W.G. Lewcock and R.H. Tilbrook. Bain continued to be an outstanding citizen of Clare. He had taken a leading part in the search for minerals, and became one of the largest vineyard owners in the district,

---

294 Ibid, 17 April 1896, 2g.

295 Ibid, 7 May 1897, 2f.

296 Ibid, 28 May 1897, 3b.

297 Ibid, 19 August 1898, 2f.

but his greatest economic contribution to Clare was the establishing of the butter factory. Public meetings showed that many townsmen were convinced Clare needed a butter factory to broaden the options of production for the farmers, to provide employment and to bring more money into the community by producing goods for local sale and export to England. In March 1894 Bain called and chaired a meeting to set up such a factory:

He thought the farmers should have moved in the matter to initiate and mature the scheme but they had not come forward. It was a question of almost life and death with the farmers as the price of wheat and hay - their principal products - was low, and they were not profitable to grow.

As the farmers had not offered any leadership, Bain had enquired into the economics of a cooperative butter factory. He had discovered that they needed a capital of £1,000 to £1,200, and consequently:

He offered to provide the capital if he was guaranteed a small return for his money. With regard to profit he did not ask for any - all the profits could go into the farmers' pockets (Applause) ... He had been twitted about the matter, but his only aim was to benefit the district. (Hear, hear and applause) 298

There was general support for his scheme from the meeting, at which it was obvious that few farmers actually owned the cows that were needed to produce the milk.

The editor of the Northern Argus strongly approved of Bain's leadership, stating:

It is fortunate that we have in our midst men of means who are ever ready to take the lead in industrial pursuits, and stir up the apathetic by affording them substantial help and encouragement. In matters of that kind Dr. Bain is ever to the fore, and has perhaps done more than any other person to further the interests of the town and neighbourhood ... when he makes up his mind to do a thing he will carry it through in the face of obstacles and personal pecuniary loss so long as he sees that the public will be benefitted. [sic] 299

---

298 Ibid, 16 March 1894, 2g.

299 Ibid, 2cd.

Bain did not procrastinate; in July the butter factory was opened in the old swimming pool and skating rink building, which had been originally built by Bain also for the benefit of the townspeople. Once again the editorial praised Clare's 'old and highly esteemed and most liberal resident', who was taking all the risk of the industry, and was not asking for any profit.<sup>300</sup>

At a meeting held the following February, the farmers rejected Bain's offer to take over the factory on a cooperative basis. They wanted only fair payment for their milk, without the possible bonuses and risks that ownership would bring.<sup>301</sup> A bonus of £73 was distributed, but after his offer was refused Bain remained the owner of the factory until his death, and no further bonuses were paid. The factory was never a great financial success for its owner, but it contributed to the prosperity of many local farmers and its employees for the thirteen years it existed.<sup>302</sup> The existence of the factory was always seen as a result of Bain's generosity and feeling of responsibility to the town, rather than an industry set up for his own profit.

Vinegrowing was the major expanding industry in and around Clare in the 1890s. Many became involved in this industry, including a number of leading townsmen. The individual who provided greatest leadership for this industry was Christison who was both a major vigneron and also the initiator of the Stanley Wine Company. In December 1893 the Northern Argus began a series of brief descriptions of local grape growers. The series included descriptions of the properties of Christison<sup>303</sup> Charles Kimber and his sons,<sup>304</sup> and Bain, whose 435

---

300 Ibid, 27 July 1894, 2bcd.

301 Ibid, 8 February 1895, 2def.

302 Ibid, 16 March 1928, 5e.

303 Ibid, 8 December 1893 2e. He had 20 acres of vineyards and 10 of orchards.

304 Ibid, 15 December 1893, 2c. C. Kimber of 'Woodleigh' had 60 acres of fruit and vines; W. and M. Kimber of 'Chatswood' had 10 acres of vineyards.

acres between Sevenhill and Mintaro included a wattle plantation, 100 acres of 'choice' wine grapes and twenty six acres of orchard for which he had made 'a large outlay of capital and labor'. He had obviously fulfilled his responsibility as a man with capital:

This colony would be greatly enriched if it had many settlers as enterprising as Dr. Bain. There would be no unemployed, and distress and poverty would be reduced to a minimum. 305

The same admiration for enterprising men could be seen in the description of 'St. Andrews', the property of Messrs. Lyall and Christison between Auburn and Mintaro:

The property is very valuable on account of the improvements and labor bestowed, and it is to be hoped that the proprietors will be well repaid for their enterprise. 306

Other gardens described in this series belonged to the 'enterprising grower', J. Knappstein,<sup>307</sup> R.E.H. Hope,<sup>308</sup> and the market gardener and nurseryman, W.G. Lewcock.<sup>309</sup> This boom in vine and fruit tree growing explained the cheerfulness of a report in the local paper in January 1894 that although times were bad, the land in the Clare district was still fetching 'a good price':

Clare is not going down, and the false prophets are becoming ashamed of themselves, and are talking about going to Parauquay [sic] or some other distant part of the globe. 310

Early in 1894 a public meeting convened and chaired by Mayor Badger was attended by fifty persons interested in organizing the wine industry, as there were 650 acres of vines growing within eight miles of Clare.<sup>311</sup> Bain argued for each making his own wine as he 'had lost

---

305 Ibid, 22 December 1893, 2c.

306 Ibid, 29 December 1893, 2c. 120 acres vineyards, 20 orchard, dairy farm.

307 Ibid, 9 February 1894, 2c. Knappstein had 47 acres of vines and 26 of fruit trees.

308 Ibid, 16 February 1894, 2c. Hope had 80 acres under vines.

309 Ibid, 23 February 1894, 2d.

310 Ibid, 26 January 1894, 2d.

311 Ibid, 16 February 1894, 2g.

heavily by becoming a shareholder in a wine company in another district'. Others were in favour of a cooperative wine-making company, and Hope proposed getting the Government viticulturalist to lecture, the only suggestion acted upon. All the residents of Clare were not advocates of encouraging a wine industry, however. Some remembered the debacle of the Fruit Preserving Factory and the temperance supporters were against 'the corruption of the juice of the grape'.<sup>312</sup>

The wine industry was not introduced to Clare on a cooperative basis, but was established by a small group of the elite who claimed to be interested in the community welfare as much as their own profits. In June 1894 it was reported that 'a syndicate of Clare gentlemen' had bought the old Clare jam factory with the intention of using it as a wine cellar.<sup>313</sup> By March 1896 the Stanley Wine Company was well established: three to four thousand gallons of the previous vintage were in store and 12,000 gallons would be crushed in the season just beginning. The Northern Argus said prophetically,

The results of their enterprise so far must be most encouraging to the proprietors, and the winery must eventually become a large and going concern 314

for in October the Stanley Wine Company gained first and second prizes at the Adelaide Wine Show for a light red of the 1896 vintage.<sup>315</sup>

The ceremony for starting the new grape-crushing machinery in February 1897 gathered together the elite of the town in a self-congratulatory mood.<sup>316</sup> Mayor Reed, JP started the machinery and praised the proprietors:

When planting was started four years ago, the problem arose what should be done with the grapes. The gentlemen who started the company deserved the thanks of the

---

312 Ibid, 23 February 1894, 2fg; 2 March 1894, 2fg.

313 Ibid, 15 June 1894, 2d.

314 Ibid, 6 March 1896, 2c.

315 Ibid, 16 October 1896, 2d.

316 Ibid, 5 February 1897, 2fg.



district, as they had spent a large amount of money in building the cellar and in machinery etc.

The two members for Stanley toasted the Chairman of Directors, Christison. Miller said that Stanley was fortunate to have 'men capable and willing to assist in the development of the district', and Cummins believed that the enterprise 'reflected the greatest credit on the promoters of the company'. The emphasis in all three speeches was on the benefit to the district, rather than the possible profits to the individuals concerned.

Christison related the history of the company. Two and a half years before when many vines had been planted in the district he had

asked Mr. Knapstein<sup>317</sup> to join with him in starting a wine company, which he did. No credit was due to them, as they had vineyards, but some credit was due to the other partners - Dr. O.W. Smith and Mr. M. Badger - who had no interest in the matter and readily consented when asked to join in forming a company.

They 'had not yet received one shilling in return' for their capital, and he hoped the vinegrowers would support them.

During the last three years of the century, the Stanley Wine Company continued to gain success at wine shows, and in April 1899 came fourth after three imported wines, beating all other South Australian wines in all sections at the Adelaide Wine Show.<sup>318</sup> This company was the first of the many wineries that Clare was to become famous for in the twentieth century.<sup>319</sup> It had been set up, at the initiative of Christison, in response to the vine planting which had already begun, and in turn encouraged the planting of more vineyards.

---

317 Joseph Knapstein was a relatively recent arrival in Clare, had become a member of the Agricultural Bureau in 1891, and had land near Armagh and south of Clare in 1894 where he was growing vines and fruit. He gradually bought out his partners until he had full control of the business in 1912 (see Noye, *Clare ...*, p.140).

318 *Northern Argus*, 29 October 1897, 2g; 28 April 1899, 2bc.

319 Noye, *op.cit.*, p.140. Of the nineteenth century wineries only Stanley and Birks' 'Wendouree' have survived.

In 1896 a series of articles in the Northern Argus included descriptions of thirty seven separate fruit and vine properties all of which were praised for their care and products. As the reporter said:

The prospects of the vine and fruit-growing industries are at the present moment of a most glowing description, and while recently visiting the vineyards and orchards of the district, I saw no signs of them being turned into sheep walks by their 'disappointed' owners, as was stated would be the case after a few years trial.

Great praise went to the 'pioneers' such as W. and M. Kimber and Christison, whose vineyard and orchard were 'perhaps the best among many well-tended properties'. Christison's leadership was generously acknowledged, and his success seen as deserved:

Mr. Christison will be amongst those who reap a first modicum of their reward this year, and he has thoroughly deserved success, having by his example and other means done much for the establishing of the vine and fruit industries in the district. 320

The other properties described fell into two major categories: those like that of the Kimber brothers, which belonged to people who made their living on the land; and those belonging to town-dwellers, like Christison, who had set them up as an investment or hobby and sometimes had managers rather than worked them themselves. As on the Darling Downs such properties were 'one of the distinguishing marks of the successful storekeeper, brewer or miller'.<sup>321</sup> Included among those who made their living on the land were: W.G. Lewcock and Sons, although Lewcock had a store in Clare to sell his nursery and fruit produce;<sup>322</sup> W.S. and A.P. Birks whose property 'Wendouree' later became a winery in

---

320 Northern Argus, 31 January 1896, 2fg.

321 Waterson, D.B. Squatter, selector and storekeeper ..., p.73.

322 Northern Argus, 7 February 1896, 2e.

its own right,<sup>323</sup> and G. Lloyd who earned his money farming although he lived in Clare since 1886.<sup>324</sup> Included among those who lived in Clare and had their fruit and vine properties as an economic interest outside of their usual occupation were: R. Hope, pastoralist, who had over eighty acres of vines and trees,<sup>325</sup> J. Knappstein, produce merchant, whose two properties of ninety and fifty acres were managed by different men, and who was responsible for selling the Wine Company's products in Australia and overseas;<sup>326</sup> T. Reed, auctioneer, who had a newly planted orchard of eight acres; L. Victorsen, store-keeper, who had twenty three acres of vines and orchard; J. Hill, butcher and owner of 'Inchiquin', who had thirty acres of vines;<sup>327</sup> and of course, Dr. Bain, whose property was looked after well by its manager and who would 'deserve his reward' for being one of the pioneers and providing the capital for the enterprise.<sup>328</sup>

Bain who set up the butter factory was also involved in fruit and wine growing. Christison was the leader of the vine and wine industry and a fruit grower. W.G. Lewcock who was also involved in vine and fruit growing was instrumental in encouraging the expansion of fruit growing in the Clare district.<sup>329</sup> He led the movement to export fruit, by writing letters, calling meetings of fruit growers and then organizing the first consignment to London of three hundred cases of apples in March 1895.<sup>330</sup> He continued to organize later consignments of fruit to London, and in 1897 took a leading part, along with

---

323 Ibid, 2f.

324 Ibid, 14 February 1896, 2f.

325 Ibid, 7 February 1896, 2e.

326 Ibid, 14 February 1896, 2f.

327 Ibid, 2g.

328 Ibid, 21 February 1896, 2e, see above pp.325-26.

329 He was to lead a wider range of activities after 1900: Mayor, railway.

330 Northern Argus, 1 March 1895, 2cd; 5 April 1895, 2c.

Christison, Kelly and W. Kimber in setting up a Fruit Packers' Union, 'to ensure a more efficient method of packing'.<sup>331</sup> Like the other economic leaders Lewcock was always referred to with approval by the Northern Argus, the editor of which was another individual who played a major role in economic leadership in Clare.

The founder of the Northern Argus, H.H. Tilbrook, retired to Adelaide in 1889 and the paper was left under the joint ownership of his brother Alfred and Henry's son Reginald Henry Tilbrook, who wrote the editorials.<sup>332</sup> Tilbrook was a town 'booster' like newspaper editor-proprietors in other small towns in Australia, the United States and New Zealand.<sup>333</sup> He was well aware of the decline in Clare's prosperity,<sup>334</sup> but was mostly optimistic, claiming in November 1893 that despite 'the depressed times ... Clare is still steadily pushing forward',<sup>335</sup> and in January 1894 that 'Clare is not going down, and the false prophets are becoming ashamed of themselves'.<sup>336</sup> In January 1895 the editorial inspired by the visit of Premier Kingston was bursting with pride in the progress and future of Clare, and praise for its 'enterprising' leaders:

It is now some four years since several of our enterprising residents purposed to develop the fruit industry in their immediate locality. And it is astonishing what practical business men can accomplish when they set to work with a given end in view. The outcome of their labor is so far promising, so much so as to attract the notice of experts, who have not been slow in pronouncing this as one of the best centres in South Australia for the growth of the vine and all kinds of orchard fruit.

---

331 Ibid, 5 March 1897, 2c; 12 November 1897, 2d.

332 Ibid, 9 November 1944, 3a. Obituary. He had been editor for 54 years.

333 Hamer, D.A. 'Towns in nineteenth century New Zealand', p.16.

334 Northern Argus, 10 October 1890, 2cd; see above pp.255-56.

335 Ibid, 3 November 1893, 2d.

336 Ibid, 26 January 1894, 2d; see above, p.320.

As a result of this renewed interest in agriculture

there is a little stir in this up-country town. Money continues to circulate. The workers get hold of it, and give it to the bakers, butchers, grocers, and drapers, thus producing a little sunshine in each home, hope in each heart, and strength of purpose to push aside the covering called depression. 337

So 'enterprising residents' and 'practical businessmen' were contributing to the increasing prosperity of the whole community. In the next edition Tilbrook praised Kingston and the other visitors for their perceptiveness in recognizing Clare as 'the garden of the colony'. He quite accurately claimed some credit for the Northern Argus' consistent awareness of the potential of Clare and encouragement of its development, for 'this journal, almost before the present Commissioner of Crown Lands [Gillen] knew his right hand from his left, persistently advocated the fostering of local industries'.<sup>338</sup>

These editorials are but samples of those encouraging and praising those who provided economic leadership and urging the community to support their initiatives. In 1895 the editor at different times appealed to the fruit growers to follow Lewcock's advice and send apples to London, to the farmers to support Bain's butter factory, and to land owners to grow grapes for the winery and to grow oranges and olives.<sup>339</sup> Tilbrook believed Clare was prospering through its own enterprise, for

despite the injustice that was done this part of the province in refusing to give it railway facilities, thus ignoring our geographical position and natural attractions, it is fast becoming the hub of the colony as regards its fruit and wine production. 340

---

337 Ibid, 18 January 1895, 2cd.

338 Ibid, 25 January 1895, 2bc.

339 Ibid, 8 February 1895, 2c; 22 February 2d; 22 March 2bc; 24 May 2bc; 19 July 2bc.

340 Ibid, 24 May 1895, 2c.

Although Clare people still felt bitter about not having a railway, they were realistic about their chances of getting one, and there was no movement to press for one, unlike in previous years. The editorials continued to encourage local industries and praise local leaders, and in January 1897 summed up the mixed economic hopes and fears for Clare at the end of the nineteenth century:

Clare, like other country towns has retrograded to some extent during the last decade ... Despite all this, Clare has held its own better perhaps than most country towns. 341

In Clare and the surrounding district there was obvious apathy among some sections of the people, but there were a number of innovating and enterprising practical leaders such as Bain, Christison and Lewcock. These leaders were always given strong praise and encouragement by the editor of the Northern Argus, Tilbrook.

Social status: 1885 to 1900 - improving working conditions

The Clare Fruit Preserving Company, the Vigilance Committee the mining enterprises, the Agricultural Bureau, the butter factory and the winery had all been efforts by the leading men of Clare to encourage an improvement in the economy of the local district for the benefit of the community, as well as themselves. That the people of Clare expected leadership from its elite to try to improve working and living conditions and that the elite accepted this role, was obvious on a number of occasions. Elite leadership already seen in Bain's philanthropic provision of a skating rink and swimming pool<sup>342</sup> was also shown in the support for the early closing movement and the attempts to help the unemployed.

---

341 Ibid, 22 January 1897, 2d.

342 See above, pp.235-37.

The early closing movement began in May 1884 when some employers agreed to their employees' requests to close at nine instead of ten on Saturday evenings.<sup>343</sup> Some citizens approved, others missed the noise and bustle.<sup>344</sup> By June the stores had returned to their original late closing time.<sup>345</sup> Letters to the Northern Argus in October 1884 indicated that there was bitterness about this regression of working conditions. One spoke of a 'black sheep' being responsible for all the stores staying open until ten o'clock and sarcastically suggested it was 'another palpable instance of the Clare folks working harmoniously together.'<sup>346</sup> Another letter saw the issue in terms of exploitation, stating, 'One or two of the storekeepers do not care how long their assistants slave, so long as they themselves live in ease and comfort'.<sup>347</sup>

The issue of shorter working hours lay dormant for over a year, and then became important again in June 1886, when the Early Closing Association achieved its aims by a judicious appeal to the elite of the town, an example of the principle that people with influence are more likely to achieve results. A report of a 'well attended meeting' called by the Early Closing Association to discuss the idea of a Wednesday half holiday, stated that the meeting had decided

that his Worship the Mayor (Mr. Christison J.P.) and Messrs. T.R. Bright, J.P., J.W.D. Bain MD, and W. Kelly J.P. be respectfully asked to wait on the employers and put the subject before them.

The report added that those gentlemen had 'kindly acceded to the request'.<sup>348</sup>

A few weeks later an advertisement inserted by the Early Closing Association announced that from August 4 there would be a Wednesday Half Holiday with the 'business establishments of Clare' closing at 1 pm sharp.<sup>349</sup>

---

343 Northern Argus, 6 May 1884, 2a. These included Young, Stacy and Gillen.

344 Ibid, 6 June 1884, 2e; 10 June 1884, 2f.

345 Ibid, 3c.

346 Ibid, 10 October 1884, 2d.

347 Ibid, 14 October 1884, 2g.

348 Ibid, 18 June 1886, 2e.

349 Ibid, 6 July 1886, 3d.

After the first Wednesday Half Holiday the Northern Argus gave the credit where it felt it was due:

The employees have striven for some time to have a little recreation one half-day in the week, and through the interest taken in the movement by a few leading and influential gentlemen the affair finally became an accomplished fact. 350

The Wednesday half-day remained an institution for the rest of the century, and beyond, and became the main time for sporting events of all kinds, at first organized by the Early Closing Association. At a concert to mark the first anniversary of the Association, Christison gave an address on its history,

remarking that several leading gentlemen had waited on the storekeepers and asked for the half-holiday concession for their assistants. With one single exception that pact had not been broken, and that single exception would, he believed, be treated with the contempt it deserved. (Cheers) 351

Again the point was stressed that the shop assistants had gained this benefit through the goodwill of Clare's 'leading gentlemen'. The Association leaders had gained the desired shorter working hours because they had asked the people with influence to negotiate with the storekeepers rather than attempt to do it themselves.

In June and July 1886 while the town leaders were using their influence in favour of shorter hours for shop assistants, another group in Clare also required their assistance; thus providing another example of the belief that the elite had a responsibility to help those less fortunate than themselves, a belief held by both the elite and the less fortunate. On June 30th 1886 a public meeting was held to decide how to help the unemployed in the town. The meeting was a result of a requisition to Mayor Christison signed by

---

350 Ibid, 6 August 1886, 2g.

351 Ibid, 5 August 1887, 2c.



the most influential men in town, including Kelly, Ninnes, Smith, Bain, Carter, Stacy and Moyses.<sup>352</sup> The report of the meeting showed that the unemployed believed themselves incapable of doing anything about their situation and relied on the help of the elite who were more likely to get something done. The Northern Argus reported:

The meeting was anything but well arranged and there were no resolutions of any kind passed. Those out of work thought that their cause would be pleaded by a few of the leading residents, and the leading residents were under the impression that the unemployed would make their wants known themselves and submit motions to the meeting.

Christison said he did not blame the unemployed for asking for relief now, as he felt the bad times himself: in 1883 his firm had employed eleven men and two boys, but now it employed only three men and two boys. As there was general agreement that Clare could not solve the problem by itself, the meeting decided to send the names of the unemployed to the Commissioner of Public Works in the hope that he could provide jobs for them; and fifty four names were handed in. A Mr. M. Ahern, who spoke on behalf of the unemployed 'thought that those who had signed the requisition could advocate their claims better than the working men themselves',<sup>353</sup> again emphasizing that the responsibility of doing something rested with those with the most influence.

The Northern Argus reported that many leading men did not attend the meeting because they believed they were only expected to ask for it to be called on behalf of the unemployed, whereas the working men

took it for granted that they had the sympathy of all the townspeople so thoroughly that their cause would be espoused by the leading men of the place. 354

---

352 Ibid, 29 June 1886, 3d.

353 Ibid, 2 July 1886, 2g.

354 Ibid, 6 July 1886, 2c.

However, their faith in 'the leading men' had not been misplaced. After Christison had sent the names to E.W. Hawker MP, he waited on the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who said that there were jobs in the north.<sup>355</sup> After a further letter from Christison, anxious that men could walk a long distance and find no job, Hawker again waited on the Commissioner, who said the government would provide, through the mayors of towns, a number of free railway passes to the stations nearest the work.<sup>356</sup> In August, it was reported that eight or nine of the Clare unemployed had left for Herzog Springs to work on the railway line.<sup>357</sup> On this occasion Christison, as Mayor and thus the leading man in Clare at this time, had shouldered the responsibility perceived to belong to the elite, and had achieved a satisfactory result, by using his influence on Hawker, who in turn had used his influence on the Commissioner of Crown Lands. Although the unemployment problem had not been solved, some individuals had found jobs on this specific occasion, as a result of the belief that the leading men of Clare had both the responsibility and the ability to achieve results.

The long-term solution to unemployment in Clare rested on the improvement of the district's economic condition, which the town leaders were working towards so vigorously. Some improvement in both prosperity and employment was certainly seen by the end of the century, largely as a result of the encouragement of the fruit, wine and dairying industries by the enterprise of individual members of the elite. The exodus from Clare undoubtedly also contributed to unemployment becoming less of a problem.

---

355 Ibid, 2e. Wirrabarra Forest, Cameron dams and reservoirs.

356 Ibid, 20 July 1886, 2d.

357 Ibid, 24 August 1886, 2c.

Social status: 1885 to 1900 - social leadership

A further area in which members of the elite played important roles was in active and honorary leadership of major town organizations and institutions, and of ceremonial functions. The former included the Institute, the Agricultural Society, sporting organizations, the schools, the churches and various cultural groups; the latter the two Queen Victoria Jubilee celebrations, P.P.Gillen's funeral, and the activities associated with the Boer War.

Bain was the leading member of the Institute, being its President and chief benefactor.<sup>358</sup> Dr. Smith became the next President in 1900, three years after Bain had left for Port Germein because of the downturn in his fortunes. The positions of vice presidents and committee members continued to be held by the leading men of the town including Christison, Badger, Kelly, Stacy, Lloyd, A. Tilbrook, Dr. Smith and Rev. Webb.

The Clare Agricultural and Horticultural Society had collapsed after the 1884 show.<sup>359</sup> In 1886 an editorial in the Northern Argus pleaded for the resuscitation of the Society. Some 'leading residents' of Clare township had always shown an interest in the Society, but that interest had been 'misconstrued' by many farmers and stock-breeders, who

got hold of the idea that the society existed solely for the benefit of the business people of the town; whereas the motive that activated them was the general advancement of the district, which would be of benefit to everybody alike. 360

There was no show that year or in the next two years, but in July 1889

---

358 See above, p.213-14.

359 See above, p.223-24.

360 Northern Argus, 4 June 1886, 2bc.

a 'highly representative meeting' chaired by Mayor Kelly, voted to form the Stanley Agricultural and Horticultural Society. James Hill had offered 10 to 12 acres of 'Inchiquin' at a peppercorn rental as a showground, and Christison agreed to hand over the £71 balance from the old society held jointly by him and Dr. Smith. G. Lloyd, seconded by R. Hope, proposed the new society, and it began with the Governor as Patron, Angas as President and the leading men of Clare as Vice Presidents.<sup>361</sup> The Show held in October that year was a great success,<sup>362</sup> and the following year it was held on the new grounds which had been bought jointly by J.H. Angas and G.C. Hawker, on Christison's request, at an estimated cost of £185.<sup>363</sup> On the initiative of Christison, a major facility had been secured by Clare, from the two most wealthy and prestigious men in the neighbourhood who usually took little practical interest in the town of Clare, but who 'owed' Clare more than any of its leading inhabitants, based on the accepted principle that wealth entailed responsibility.

After 1889 the Presidents and Vice-Presidents were merely prestige positions given to large landowners like Angas or local politicians like Gillen and Hawker. Leading local men like Christison, Kelly and A.J. Davey were the major organizers, and with Hope and his sister, Bain, Lewcock and Drs.O.W. and A.A. Smith were the major prize winners. These leading business and professional men of the town saw it as their duty to provide leadership and to encourage the local farmers and stock-holders to participate in the Shows for their mutual benefit.

---

361 Ibid, 19 July 1889, 2de.

362 Ibid, 15 October 1889, 2g.

363 Ibid, 15 August 1890, 2d; 10 October 1890, 2f.

In 1895, after twelve years without a Race Club, and having only New Year's Day races run by a specially set-up committee, the Stanley Race Club was formed with a strong sprinkling of publicans on the committee.<sup>364</sup> Like the Agricultural Society, the Race Club appointed men of prestige and influence to the official positions. The Patrons were M.S. and E.W. Hawker, the President was Hope who was also an official of the South Australian Jockey Club, and the Vice-Presidents included many leading townsmen such as Christison, Bain, Badger and Reed. The organization for the annual races, held at first on Hope's land and then on leased land, was done by younger and less well known men. The same general comments about official and organizational positions can be made about the coursing, football and cricket clubs. Hope was patron and judge of the coursing club formed in 1887, while M.S.Hawker and the local members of parliament, including Gillen and Hawker were Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The club meetings were held on the 'neighbouring estates',<sup>365</sup> such as those belonging to Hope, Hawker and Angas. Patrons of the football club were Hawker, Kimber and Gillen MPs, and Dr. Bain. Presidents included Bain, Christison, Kimber, Gillen, E. and M. Hawker. Bain was also the patron of the cricket club from 1890, while its presidents were Gillen MP, Dr. Smith, Hon. J.H. Angas, Hawker MP, Miller MP, Mayor Reed and Dr. A.A. Smith.

In 1880 a cricket column in the Northern Argus claimed that cricket was a sport played by all classes, and that it was the responsibility of 'those who are placed in a more important, and consequently more responsible, position than their less fortunate ... neighbours', to support it.<sup>366</sup> Despite this claim that cricket was

---

364 Ibid, 10 May 1895, 2c.

365 Ibid, 16 July 1889, 2d.

366 Ibid, 3 September 1880, 3b.

a game played by the leaders of society, in April 1885 a Northern Argus editorial bemoaned the fact that some of Clare's best cricketers had been 'drawn away by feminine sports'.<sup>367</sup> The reference was to lawn tennis which some predicted 'would eventually usurp the place of cricket'.<sup>368</sup> A year later, a review of the 1885-6 cricket season bewailed the 'demise' of cricket in Clare:

Is the club bankrupt? If not it is going through the courts; they attend there by special summons and their games are brief. They have a lower and a higher court, and benches and advocate, complaint and please [sic]. How long will this racket last? 369

This clever comment linked tennis with the law courts, largely because Clare's best known cricketer, Bright, and his law clerk, W. Richardson, were the first tennis players in Clare. The reference to the 'special summons' indicates the elite nature of the sport. Compared with cricket and football, tennis was a game for a minority social group. Only individuals who could afford tennis courts and the other necessary equipment, or who moved in such social circles, could play.

Competition tennis was dominated by the banks and the professions. The bank managers and clerks, the doctors and the lawyers all played competitively, as did Hope and the occasional head teacher. The writer of 'Cricket notes' in February 1891 speculated why there was so little interest in cricket that year:

I think lawn tennis has a little to do with it ... The officers of the E.S. and A.C. Bank like tennis better than cricket. Can't you alter this, vice captain? Oh! I beg your pardon. I forgot the Clare ladies hadn't started to play cricket yet. 370

Tennis was played socially by men and women of the younger affluent social set. It was the one sport women played, and this added to its

---

367 Ibid, 10 April 1885, 2bc.

368 Ibid, 8 May 1885, 2e.

369 Ibid, 18 May 1886, 2g.

370 Ibid, 27 February 1891, 3b.

attraction. In February 1886 Miss Filgate, grand-daughter of E.B. Gleeson, and Miss Young, daughter of Andrew Young, played in a mixed team at the Burra.<sup>371</sup> After 1889 when Frances Diana, daughter of John Hope, returned from abroad, she frequently referred to her brother Bob going to tennis, and she occasionally noted that she had been to tennis at Dr. Otto Wien Smith's home.<sup>372</sup> From the mid 1880s, football and cricket continued to be popular, but the game of the elite was tennis.

Involvement with the schools of Clare was another area of life in which leadership indicated membership of the elite. Members of the School Board of Advice for the public school were government appointees and were naturally leading men of the town. As real control over education had been centralized by the 1875 Act the School Board's main functions were attempting to police the compulsory clause, recommending which children deserved free tuition and sending an annual report. In 1886 the Board noted the considerable increase of children who were granted free instruction 'caused no doubt by the general depression',<sup>373</sup> and in 1889 all 89 applicants for free instruction were recommended.<sup>374</sup> From 1882 first E.C. Rix and then W. Kelly were the chairmen of the Board and therefore most closely involved with the public school, and Clare members were Dr. Bain, F.C. Gray, A. Tilbrook, and the Rev. Webb.

As well as the public school and the Catholic school there were five private schools in Clare during this decade. Rev. Webb had closed his school, but the three schools run by Misses Hawker, Steele

---

371 Ibid, 16 February 1886, 2e.

372 Hope papers: diary Frances Diana Hope.

373 Northern Argus, 4 June 1886, 2g.

374 Ibid, 5 February 1889, 3a.

and Lipsett continued, as did Bain's constant attendance at Miss Hawker's annual prize giving, and the Presbyterian ministers' at Miss Steele's.<sup>375</sup> Mr. Braddock's Advanced School for boys began in January 1890, and Mrs. Barnard's High School for girls was established in January 1891.<sup>376</sup> Both provided education for older pupils. Although the Advanced School closed down in 1895 after financial difficulties, Mrs. Barnard's High School continued until she left Clare in 1907. At that time, the Northern Argus noted that her school had 'attained a high reputation' and that 'the great proportion of the young ladies of the town and district received their education' there.<sup>377</sup> Bain, Kelly and Badger presided over Mrs. Barnard's annual prize givings, and she played an active part in church and cultural affairs in Clare, moving in the same cultural circle as Miss Hope, the Rev. Webb and the Dr. Smiths. The supervision of University of Adelaide public examinations was also entrusted to the elite: Bain, Badger and Kelly in 1892 and Mesdames Christison and Hodge, Bain and Canon Webb in 1897.<sup>378</sup> Of course the children of the elite mostly attended the private schools in Clare, and a number were sent to private schools in Adelaide, including the children of Rev. Webb, Dr. Smith, Badger, Stacy, Young and Lloyd.

The Church of England was still the church of the majority of the elite in Clare. In the nineteenth century the Rev. Webb MA<sup>379</sup> was the only minister of religion who remained in Clare for any length of time, and who, with his family, was a member of the social and cultural elite. From 1885 there were six Methodist ministers, a number

---

375 See above, p. 228.

376 Northern Argus, 17 January 1890, 2a; 23 January 1891, 3c.

377 Ibid, 1 February 1907, 2f.

378 Ibid, 9 September 1892, 2c; 3 September 1897, 2c.

379 Rev. Webb was incumbent of the Church of England from 1877 until his death in 1911. He was elected Canon in 1896. See above, pp.229-230.



of Catholic priests from Sevenhill, three Baptist and two Presbyterian ministers. There was strong evidence that the Church of England and the Catholic Church considered themselves superior to, or more exclusive than, the other churches: the Anglican for social and the Catholic for doctrinal reasons. The other religious groups were friendly and cooperative with each other. Two occasions which illustrated this cooperation were the Salvation Army Annual Social in 1898 and the memorial services for Queen Victoria's death in 1901. At the former, Kelly, Clare's leading Methodist layman was in the chair and addresses were given by the Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Baptist ministers.<sup>380</sup>

On the latter occasion, a memorial service, presided over by Mayor Kelly, was held in the Town Hall for members of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Salvation Army religious groups. A letter to the Northern Argus complained that the Anglican church had refused to unite with the others on such an occasion because of its assumed superiority.<sup>381</sup> The British and Foreign Bible Society was the one organization where the major protestant religions worked together, with the Wesleyan Kelly as president, and the Wesleyan Moyses, the Presbyterians T.S. Stacy and the Rev. Milne, and the Anglican Rix holding the other official positions.

The last decade of the century was one of vigorous cultural activity. These were not prosperous years but the community was established and consolidated and many of the younger people in particular had the better education and greater leisure time that encouraged their participation in cultural activities. The younger members of the town elite and the children of the leading families, both male and female, were strongly involved in these activities, but

---

380 Northern Argus, 24 June 1898, 2d.

381 Ibid, 8 February 1901, 2cd and 2f. It held its own service.

they served a broader section of the community and involved people of a wide range of occupations and economic standing.

The Clare School of Art, run by an English 'artist' W.O. Jones for two years from 1892<sup>382</sup> set out to bring artistic training 'within the reach of all'<sup>383</sup> and was 'formed for the improvement of the minds of both old and young, and to elevate the tastes of the people'.<sup>384</sup> The farewell address to Jones was signed by people from diverse social backgrounds, ranging from those of Mrs. M.S. Hawker, Misses Hope and Kelly and the son of Rev. Webb to the sons and daughters of men whose occupations were clerk, mason, draper, tinsmith, butcher and labourer.<sup>385</sup> The Clare Amateur Dramatic Club formed in 1890,<sup>386</sup> the Clare Art Club which held an exhibition in 1896<sup>387</sup> and the vigorous Clare Literary and Debating Society formed in 1899<sup>388</sup> involved different members of the town's elite such as Badger, Bain, Rev. Webb and Mr. and Mrs. Christison, but also people of a wide range of social backgrounds.

Dancing was very popular and numerous series of dances were arranged mainly in the winter months by different groups, indicating similar status differences to that noted by Lawson in Brisbane in this period.<sup>389</sup> Dances were held in the ballroom at Mr. and Mrs. James Hill's 'Inchiquin'<sup>390</sup> and in the Town Hall. Those held at the latter venue seemed to be aimed at two different social groups. 'The Stanley Dances'<sup>391</sup> included members of the elite on the committee, while the

---

382 Ibid, 29 July 1892, 2e; 6 April 1894, 2d.

383 Ibid, 2 January 1893, 2d.

384 Ibid, 9 July 1893, 2d.

385 Ibid, 6 April 1894, 2c.

386 Ibid, 6 May 1890, 2e.

387 Ibid, 17 January 1896, 2d.

388 Ibid, 26 May 1899, 2c.

389 Lawson, R. Brisbane in the 1890s ..., p.233.

390 Northern Argus, 21 May 1889, 2d; 8 October 1889, 2d; 4 August 1899, 2g; 15 June 1900, 2f.

391 Ibid, 2 April 1897, 2c; 8 July 1898, 2c; 19 May 1899, 2c; 25 May 1900, 2d; Dr. A.A. Smith, R.Hope, R.H. Tilbrook and J.Christison were on the committee.

'Clare Trades' Quadrille Class'<sup>392</sup> was organized by and for the tradesmen of the town. A former resident of Clare whose brother was secretary of the Stanley Dances committee in the late 1890s alleged that a party of 'the elite' of the town left a dance in high dudgeon because James Hill and family had been invited by his brother, who was friendly with the Hills and had danced at many of their balls.<sup>393</sup> The elite did not attend the Quadrille Class, and did not approve of Hill who, although a landowner, was not considered socially acceptable.<sup>394</sup>

Two self-improvement societies were set up in the 1890s. The Clare Branch of the Australasian Home Reading Union was set up at an informal meeting at 'Wolta Wolta' in January 1894.<sup>395</sup> Its major aim was cultural self-improvement through the study of literature, history and geography. Miss F.D. Hope, later Mrs. Christison, was the inspiration behind the Union or Reading Circle, and played a major part in defraying expenses, leading discussions and reading papers. The first committee consisted of the Rev. Webb as president, Dr. Bain and the Wesleyan Rev. Teague as vice-presidents and Diana Hope as secretary. She was its permanent secretary from 1894 to 1903 and kept the detailed minutes, listing the topics studied, the papers presented and those who attended the meetings. The committee and membership, with slightly more women than men, included a strong contingent from the leading families and the educated: Mrs. O.W. Smith, Mrs. Hodge, R. Hope, E.C. Rix, the teachers Mrs. Barnard, Miss Hawker

---

392 *Ibid*, 10 April 1896, 2a; 30 April 1897, 2d.

393 Interview with F. Victorsen.

394 In July 1900 Christison struck Hill for again implying that he and Dr. O.W. Smith had appropriated some of the former Clare Agricultural Society money: *Northern Argus*, 28 July 1893, 2c; 11 August 1893, 2c; 20 July 1900, 2e. There was a rumour that Christison disapproved of Hill's personal morality.

395 Proceedings of Clare Circle in Connection with the Australasian Home Reading Union; 11 January 1894 to 29 October 1903: Hope papers.

and Misses Lipsett, and the children of the well-known Kimber, Young and Filgate families.

The Clare Model Parliament, which was established in 1895<sup>396</sup> and lasted for only two years set out to educate its members about South Australian politics. It consisted entirely of men, and membership covered a wide range of occupations with the emphasis on the educated and successful. Dr. Bain had the honorary position of governor, and did not need to attend most meetings. Among the active members were T. Reed, R.H. Tilbrook, E.C. Rix, T.S. Stacy and A.J. Davey. In 1896 the two self-improvement societies were linked together with a criticism of the Institute committee which indicated that some people believed both the Institute and the Home Reading Circle were elitist organizations. The Institute committee had agreed to Miss Hope's request on behalf of the Home Reading Circle for the free use of the upstairs room once a month.<sup>397</sup> Her connection with the Institute was through her father who had been its first president, through Bain the president who was an active member of the Reading Circle, and through her husband-to-be, John Christison, who was a member of the committee throughout the 1890s. It was not until November 1896 that complaints were aired in the Northern Argus, although they had probably rumbled beneath the surface for some time. A letter to the editor asked why the Home Reading Union paid nothing while the Model Parliament paid four shillings a meeting for the Institute room.<sup>398</sup> This set off a series of letters shocked at the unfair discrimination between the two groups, with the majority arguing

---

396 Northern Argus, 2 August 1895, 2f.

397 Institute Minutes, 20 March 1895; moved Badger, seconded Webb.

398 Northern Argus, 20 November 1896, 2e.

that the Model Parliament was the more useful and educational body.<sup>399</sup>  
 In March 1897 the Institute committee carried a motion to charge the Home Reading Circle two shillings a meeting<sup>400</sup> and the issue was closed because the Model Parliament did not meet again.<sup>401</sup>

As we have seen, a relatively small group of men, and on rare occasions women, were the honorary and active office holders of most community organizations, institutions and cultural activities. An examination of the major ceremonial occasions of the years from 1885 to 1900 - those associated with the Jubilee celebrations, P.P. Gillen's funeral and the Boer War - showed that they also involved the organizational skills and active participation of members of the Clare elite.

The celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887 illustrated the social hierarchy in Clare. Those who organized this function were members of the elite, and the group who were to benefit most were the children and 'the poor' of Clare who were deserving of the largesse of the more affluent members of the community, especially at such an economically depressed time. Two years before the Jubilee a meeting held at Clare agreed that South Australia was not prosperous enough to spend £32,000 of public money on a Jubilee Exhibition and buildings for its display. This meeting was 'sneered at' by the Advertiser in an 'exquisitely sarcastic' leading article. The meeting had been chaired by Mayor Christison, who along with Bain, Gray, Crabb and others spoke against the large expenditure because of the 'depressing

---

399 Ibid, 27 November 1896, 2g; 4 December 1896, 2e; 11 December 1896, 2e.

400 Institute Minutes, 23 March 1897.

401 Northern Argus, 20 November 1896, 2c.

times'.<sup>402</sup> The Advertiser described Clare as a pretty but insignificant town, and implied that those at 'this select meeting' thought too highly of their status:

although rather out of the way, it is a place of considerable importance, and its people very properly pride themselves in having sufficient public spirit to take a warm interest in the affairs of the colony and influence enough to justify them in the idea that their opinions carry weight. 403

This article put Clare into a wider perspective than usual, showing how the leading men of Clare were considered nonentities in the South Australian context.

Despite this poor beginning, when 1887 came some of the leading men of Clare ensured that the town would celebrate the occasion with enthusiasm. Mayor Christison set up a committee<sup>404</sup> which immediately requested donations from G.C. Hawker, J.H. Angas and others, and began to collate the names of the poor for a free tea.<sup>405</sup> An advertisement detailed the planned events for the day:

A Grand Feast will be given to the Children in the Skating Rink after the Sports, followed by a Banquet to all Poor People who wish to attend and will bring their knives and forks. 406

At later committee meetings, always chaired by Christison, ladies attended and lists of donations and the poor were read out.<sup>407</sup>

The Jubilee celebrations, led by Christison, were a great success despite the wet weather. After the loyal addresses, the procession and the sports, over 600 children were fed in two sittings. Many adults

---

402 Northern Argus, 1 September 1885, 2d and 2g.

403 Advertiser, 29 August 1885, 4e.

404 Northern Argus, 3 June 1887, 2e. Including Stacy, Lloyd and Rev. Webb.

405 Ibid, 14 June 1887, 2d.

406 Ibid, 17 June 1887, 2b.

407 Ibid, 2e; 21 June 1887, 2e; £20 from Angas, £10 from G.C. Hawker, £5 from G.C. Hawker Jun., £3.3.0 from E.W. Hawker, free use of the skating rink from Dr. Bain, and 70 pounds of cooked beef, cakes and butter from Sevenhill College.

were fed and then 'the poor people were admitted, and it was a happy sight to see them enjoying themselves on the bounty of the charitable'.<sup>408</sup> Over 1,500 people dined in the skating rink that day, attended by 'kind' and 'beautiful' ladies.<sup>409</sup> The feast and the report that the left-over food was to be distributed amongst 'deserving people' were evidence that this occasion was perceived as one when the elite of the town took the responsibility of ministering to the children and the deserving poor in the name of Queen Victoria. This responsibility of the elite was also illustrated by the setting up of the Queen Victoria Benevolent Society, to use the balance of £23.11.6 raised for the Jubilee to buy clothing, food and firewood for the deserving poor.<sup>410</sup>

This Benevolent Society continually sought donations for the frequent requests for relief, and was especially active at Christmas times. It was the major source of help for the needy for the rest of the century. In 1892 the secretary T.S. Stacy, reported that the Society had spent £103.12.6 on relief for the poor during the previous five years.<sup>411</sup> Virtually the same people had been on the committee for ten years when the Queen's Diamond Jubilee arrived - Christison as chairman, Davies, Stacy, A. Tilbrook and Rev. Webb. They were all community leaders who believed they owed a responsibility to the less privileged members of the community. The Society members formed the core of the group which organized the 1897 celebration. In June 1897 a large committee was set up at a public meeting which Kelly chaired and at which Christison described the organization of the previous celebration. The committee consisted of a large number of leading men and women, with Mayor Reed, Christison and Rix as the executive.<sup>412</sup>

---

408 Ibid, 24 June 1887, 2g.

409 Ibid, 2f; the adjectives were used in a letter by 'Street Arab'.

410 Ibid, 28 June 1887, 2e. £79.3.3 had been raised.

411 Ibid, 26 August 1892, 2c.

412. Ibid, 4 June 1897, 2d; 11 June 1897, 2d.

The Diamond Jubilee celebration was 'truly a red letter day in Clare', and attended by eight hundred children and about fifteen hundred adults. It was preceded by bonfires on the previous night and began with a procession, followed by speeches, sports for the children, refreshments, and enthusiastic rendering of 'The Song of Australia' and 'God Save Our Queen'.<sup>413</sup> After the celebrations were over the committee decided to recommend that the Corporation accept T.R. Bright's offer, made on his friend Christison's request, to sell his portion of the Recreation Ground for £150, towards which he would donate £50.<sup>414</sup> The £29.3.1 balance from the celebration was given to the Corporation for that purpose.<sup>415</sup> So the Queen's Golden Jubilee brought a practical benefit to the town, as a result of the generosity of Bright, an old Clare resident, and the initiative of Christison.

After P.P. Gillen died prematurely and unexpectedly at a cabinet meeting in Adelaide in September 1896, the Northern Argus published its own and many others' praises for Gillen and gave a detailed description of his state funeral. Four to five hundred passengers came by special train from the city to Farrell Flat and a two mile cortage rode and marched from Clare to Sevenhill monastery. The enumeration of those present gave a useful picture of degrees of status at that time. The pallbearers were all Members of Parliament and Adelaide men, and, apart from Gillen's relatives, among the long list of names of men from Adelaide (including E.W. Hawker) and other country towns were only twenty men from Clare. These included Mayor Kelly JP, Drs. O. and A. Smith and Bain, C. Kimber JP, T.S. Stacy, J. Christison JP, R. Hope,

---

413 Ibid, 25 June 1897, 2g, 3a. Mayor Reed led the ceremonies.

414 Ibid, 2 July 1897, 2d; see also Register, 24 July 1922, 6i.

415 Northern Argus, 16 July 1897, 2c; see above, pp.232-34.



M. Badger JP, G. Lloyd JP, R. Graham JP, and the two bank managers R. Davies and H.E. Hodge.<sup>416</sup> Many Clare people attended but only the elite were important enough to be listed.

The Boer War stimulated strong patriotism in Clare and provided another occasion where social leadership was necessary. The Northern Argus set up a Transvaal Patriotic Fund in December 1899 at 'the suggestion of a leading townsman, who has headed the subscription list with a liberal donation of 105 shillings'.<sup>417</sup> No-one was more generous than the 'leading townsman' Dr. O.W. Smith, but among those who gave a guinea or a pound were Mrs Christison, Stacy, Badger, Christison, Kelly and Hope. Between January and March 1900 £237.12.9 was raised for the Bushman's Corps by a committee consisting of Mayor Stacy, Christison, Smith, Badger, R. Tilbrook and Rev. Webb, all of whom gave generously themselves.<sup>418</sup>

In 1900 three Boer War celebrations were organized by Mayor Stacy and other leading men: to celebrate British victories 'upwards of 3,000 assembled' in March to watch a procession and listen to speeches by Mayor Stacy and former Mayors Badger and Kelly;<sup>419</sup> in May 1900 Mayor Stacy addressed the crowd from the steps of the Town Hall after news arrived of the relief of Mafeking;<sup>420</sup> and in June he called a meeting 'to make arrangements for a peace demonstration at the conclusion of the Boer War'. A large committee was formed consisting of the Corporation and District Council and all the leading citizens of Clare. It was decided that Stacy, Badger, Christison and the Revs. Webb and

---

416 Ibid, 25 September 1896, 2ef. The JP accompanied the names.

417 Ibid, 22 December 1899, 2d.

418 Ibid, 2 February 1900, 2c; 9 March 1900 2b. Christison and Smith £10 each.

419 Ibid, 9 March 1900, 2ef.

420 Ibid, 25 May 1900, 2d.

White be asked to make speeches on the day of the demonstration.<sup>421</sup> A meeting of ladies called by Mrs. Stacy decided to provide food and lollies for each child and a shilling's worth of tea and sugar for the 'indigent'. The committee set up consisted of the wives and daughters of the prominent men including Mesdames Stacy, Christison, Davies, Gillen and Badger.<sup>422</sup> This planned 'demonstration' was never to eventuate. The war dragged on, and when it finally ended in June 1902, the Northern Argus relegated it to the second editorial and described the celebrations in a brief paragraph.<sup>423</sup> The demonstration proposed two years earlier was forgotten in the excitement of planning the Coronation Day celebrations.

The Northern Argus and the town leaders made much of Trooper R.D. Webb, son of Canon and Mrs. Webb and an old St. Peter's College boy, who went with the second Australian contingent in February 1900.<sup>424</sup> His letters from South Africa were published and his return to Clare was celebrated with speeches by Mayor Stacy, Kelly and Badger.<sup>425</sup> Three other young Clare men who went to the Boer War were reported with pride, but none received the publicity of Trooper Webb, who was both the first Clare volunteer and a son of a member of the elite. Clare's enthusiastic reaction to the Boer War was orchestrated and conducted by the editor of the Northern Argus and the other leading men of Clare, who took onto their shoulders the responsibility of organizing Clare's patriotism. The members of the elite had taken the responsibility of organizing all such ceremonial functions, and had received the rewards of publicity and high social status that followed.

---

421 Ibid, 15 June 1900, 2d.

422 Ibid, 22 June 1900, 2de.

423 Ibid, 6 June 1902, 2f.

424 Ibid, 2 February 1900, 2f.

425 Ibid, 14 September 1900, 2d. He returned to Elder Smith and Co., Adelaide.

Social status: 1885 to 1900 - status differences and criticisms

A leadership role was both expected of and accepted by the members of the elite in Clare. They had made various attempts to improve the economic situation of the town and district, had played an important role in improving working and living conditions in Clare and had contributed time and gained prestige from active or honorary leadership of major town organizations and celebrations. It was obvious that Clare society was hierarchically structured and that its people were very conscious of differences in social status. The very existence of leadership roles provided evidence of status consciousness in Clare, as the selection of individuals to hold various official positions was based on a perception of their high prestige in the community. Other evidence of the perception of status differences could be found frequently in the local press, such as in the wording of reports of accidents such as that which occurred to 'William Gabriel in the employ of Mr. A.J. Davey',<sup>426</sup> and the report of the Christmas holiday cricket match between 'our shop boys and pupils attending the different educational institutions in Adelaide'.<sup>427</sup>

R.H. Tilbrook, the editor of the Northern Argus frequently endorsed the existing hierarchical society and showed his disapproval of working men attempting to gain equality with their betters. In the 1885 report of the first meeting of the Clare Shearers' Union the paper listed the 'persons' (not 'gentlemen') who formed the committee.<sup>428</sup>

---

426 Ibid, 24 October 1890, 2d.

427 Ibid, 24 January 1890, 2g. The latter included the sons of Revs. Webb and Stubbs, storekeepers Stacy, Young (deceased) and Victorsen, chemist Rix, farmer Lloyd and two publicans.

428 Ibid, 15 December 1885, 2e. The Clare Shearers' Union became a branch of the South Australian Shearer's Union when its secretary P.P. Gillen handed over the £6.17.6 balance: Ibid, 5 July 1887, 2f.

Next month the Northern Argus published its first editorial on the influence of trade unions on Clare. Although it conceded that shearers had not always been treated justly, it criticised the Shearers' Union for preventing men from getting jobs. Many already could not pay their butchers' and bakers' bills, yet 'many of them will not be able to get a shed this season, having been induced to join the union, whose unreasonable rules they must now comply with'.<sup>429</sup> The Shearers' Union had some strength in the Clare district: in October 1889 while shearing was in full swing at 'Bungaree', 'Hill River' was having difficulty in getting shearers,<sup>430</sup> and the Clare sheds were out on strike in 1894.<sup>431</sup> Twice in the 1890s there were advertisements in the Northern Argus for meetings of the Shearers' Union,<sup>432</sup> but these meetings were not reported, an illustration of their status in the mind of the editor, who was very much in favour of 'freedom of contract' during the 1890s strikes.<sup>433</sup>

Other editorials indicated Tilbrook's belief that the hierarchical differences in the wealth and status of people were based on natural differences of ability. 'Every employer of labor', he claimed, 'knows how thriftless the average working man is ... It does not matter what wages some men get they will ever be poor'.<sup>434</sup> In June 1888 he wrote:

Socialist faddists tell us that the laboring classes are being enslaved by earning wealth for those who do not work for it. But it is a mistake to suppose that only those who work with their hands are workers. Employers as a rule work harder and are weighted with responsibility greater by far than are those they employ. Men may rave about equality and hold it up as a theory, but the thing is a practical impossibility. 435

---

429 Ibid, 26 August 1887, 2b. For letters on this issue, see 30 August 1887, 2g.

430 Ibid, 11 October 1889, 2d.

431 W.G. Spence History of the AWU. Sydney, The Worker Trustees, 1961, p.89.

432 Northern Argus, 17 November 1891, 2b; 17 June 1892, 2a.

433 Ibid, 3 October 1890, 2cd; 14 October 1890, 3cd; 13 March 1891, 2de.

434 Ibid, 2 April 1886, 2c.

435 Ibid, 8 June 1888, 2c.

He and other leading men saw themselves as 'workers' in this sense, and believed that their affluence was a reward for the responsibility they had towards their employees and the rest of the township.

Tilbrook saw divisions in society as inevitable because they reflected ability:

The talk about equality and a fair distribution of wealth is simply clap trap, and tends to prolong enmity amongst classes. The men of brains and energy will ever forge ahead of the irresolute, the indolent, and the timid ... The working men refuse to recognise the drawbacks and risks of producers when they talk about an equal distribution of wealth. 436

The law also was written and administered in favour of the privileged group in society. In 1886 two magistrates, Dr. O.W. Smith and W. Kelly, found in favour of G.C. Hawker Jun. manager of 'Bungaree', against two men employed as wool-rollers or pickers during shearing. They claimed that they were unaware they were to be paid only 15 shillings a week when they were hired, and had subsequently got up a petition asking for 20 shillings a week, the rate of pay the previous year. This caused twenty two men to go on strike, costing Hawker about £60. Although there was no written contract the two magistrates ruled that the men had breached the Masters' and Servants' Act and both men lost their owed wages and had to pay costs.<sup>437</sup> The decision in favour of the large employer who had been inconvenienced, and against the two men who had not signed a contract and believed they were unfairly paid, showed that the sympathies of the magistrates lay with men of status who were seen as deserving privileges because of their wealth. Few thieves articulated their belief in the unfairness of property ownership in the manner of Matthew Bryksy, a hawker of Penwortham, who was charged by Angus McLean, the manager of 'Hill River', with stealing

---

436 Ibid, 18 December 1891, 2cd.

437 Ibid, 5 November 1886, 3ab. Costs were £3.5.0 and £3.10.0

wool worth fifty shillings, the property of J.H. Angas. When arrested Bryksy had said, 'I took it. I was hard up. My wife and family are starving. He is a rich man. He won't miss it, and it will do me good'.<sup>438</sup> Nevertheless the magistrates Kelly and Smith sent him to the Supreme Court where he was given six months with hard labour.<sup>439</sup>

Despite the suggestions by some that the big estates should be cut up,<sup>440</sup> the reports of J.H. Angas' relationships with his employees at 'Hill River' showed that others endorsed the hierarchical social organization because of the employer's benevolence. The detailed description of the party at 'Hill River' in December 1883, a party for 150 people including all the station employees and some guests from Clare, showed the hierarchical relationship between squatter and employees, and the strong perception of the difference in their status. The annual treat<sup>441</sup> was 'lord of the manor' style, beginning with the children on the station getting presents, followed by the guests from Clare being served with delicacies, and then

The working men on the station filled the last table which, in addition to the delicacies such as were provided for those who had gone before, were loaded with ham, beef, mutton and other substantial fare. 442

Angas attended the first party, but his managers represented him at the others.

On each occasion one of the Clare guests thanked Angas, and without exception praised the relationship between Angas and his employees as being an exemplar that all should follow. In 1883 the Clare Presbyterian minister

---

438 Ibid, 26 September 1887, 2g.

439 Ibid, 7 October 1887, 2e.

440 See above, pp.259-61.

441 Northern Argus, 2 January 1885, 2g; 19 January 1886, 2f; 19 April 1887, 2e; 1 May 1888, 2d; 13 May 1890, 2d; 8 January 1892, 2d.

442 Ibid, 21 December 1883, 2c.

referred to the relations between employer and employees, and remarked that periodical gatherings such as they had seen that day tended to cement such relations and caused everything to work smoothly and well.

In 1887, after Mayor Christison had praised Angas, A.J. Davey, the leading Clare auctioneer, gave a vote of thanks to Angas and his managers:

The gentlemen present had heard a great deal of talk at the late elections about a progressive land tax, which meant the taxing of all large estates such as Hill River, to such an extent that it must be cut up at any cost. Since none of them had any wish for that, so long as they had such men as Mr. Angas - he wished there were more like them - he would impress on the married ladies the necessity of their using all their influence with their husbands and the young ladies with their sweethearts never to vote for anyone supporting such a tax. 443

In 1890 the Northern Argus' report of the party concluded:

We wish there were many other gentlemen like Mr. Angas to show the same interest in their employees which does so much to cement the good feeling between master and servant. If such was the case we should hear less of the cry for cutting up the large estates. 444

These annual events provided evidence of the perception that the great gap in social status between Angas and his employees was acceptable, indeed laudable, because Angas carried out his responsibilities as employer in a paternalistic way. He therefore did not deserve the criticisms of those who believed that the present division of land-ownership was unfair.

This view that the wealth and high social status of the local pastoralists were an asset to the district was illustrated in other ways. The Northern Argus frequently praised Hawker and Angas for their contribution to Clare and South Australia because they used their

---

443 Ibid, 19 April 1887, 2e.

444 Ibid, 13 May 1890, 2e.

wealth to import and breed high quality stock, and also set an example by exhibiting their animals, but not competing, at the annual Clare Shows.<sup>445</sup> This admiration for men of wealth and status was obviously felt by many of the leading men of Clare, who preferred the status quo to any radical reshuffling of the social system which would affect the status and affluence of the respectable, moderately successful men such as themselves, as much as it would affect those at the top of the economic and social status hierarchy.

Despite the fact that in the censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901 women outnumbered men in the total population of the town and the district,<sup>446</sup> the status of women was always lower than that of men, and was still overwhelmingly determined by the status of their fathers and husbands. The public roles most women played mainly concerned money-raising functions such as fairs and bazaars. There were numerous examples of the belief that women were not competent at playing public roles and should aim only at a domestic role. The report of the preparation for a cake fair to raise money for re-flooring the Town Hall was very condescending in its attitude to women:

For some time past a number of Clare ladies devoted considerable attention in preparing for a cake fair. They sat in conclave at committee meeting, passed resolutions in the orthodox manner, and their deliberations were marked with judgement and met with approval. 447

The insinuation was that this was all most unusual and rather amusing. A similar attitude was shown in the reports of the Stanley Ladies' Musical Association,<sup>448</sup> and Dr. Bain, speaking about the wife of the National Bank Manager, summed up most men's views:

445 Ibid, 2 May 1884, 2c; 15 July 1887, 2d.

446		Corporation of Clare	Total Corporation and District Council
	1881	600F, 531M	1,419F 1,347M
	1891	506F, 427M	1,258F 1,168M
	1901	456F, 332M	1,126F 1,028M

447 Northern Argus, 8 March 1887, 2e.

448 Ibid, 18 September 1888, 2e; 18 December 1888, 2e.



With reference to Mrs. Powell, he would simply remark that she was a good mother and a true woman, and that was the highest praise that could be bestowed upon any woman. (Cheers) 449

Despite these traditional attitudes more women were seen as individuals from the 1880s. Miss Hawker, Miss Steele and Mrs. Barnard ran their own schools, and were considered very proficient.<sup>459</sup> More women were noted as taking part in entertainments in this decade, and this was seen as an advantage to the town. A report of a production of the Clare Amateur Dramatic Company in 1885 claimed:

It was the best performance by lady and gentleman amateurs given in Clare for years ... The great drawback in Clare to popular entertainments has been the reluctance of the ladies to appear before the footlights, but that difficulty has at length been overcome, and has already borne pleasing results. 451

Unlike previous years, reports like this named the female actresses.<sup>452</sup>

Miss Ada Campbell, the 'free-thinker', made quite an impact on Clare in 1884<sup>453</sup> but the arguments for and against her lectures were based on her opinions not her sex, and the reports of her meetings made no comment on whether there were women in the audience. When Miss Jessie Ackerman visited Clare in 1889 a branch of the 'Women's Temperance Union' was formed, and 'a number of the fair sex' joined.<sup>454</sup> At her two evening lectures men, including W. Kelly, T. Moyses and the dissenting ministers, occupied the chair and spoke. This male dominance was to continue well into the 1890s, although Mrs. Bungey, wife of the Baptist minister, who was elected president in 1890, presided over a meeting in November 1890.<sup>455</sup> Miss Ackerman spoke in support of votes

---

449 Ibid, 16 November 1888, 3a.

450 Ibid, 24 November 1885, 2e; 24 December 1889, 2e; 19 December 1890, 2f; 1 February 1907, 2f.

451 Ibid, 4 August 1885, 2d.

452 See above, p.239. Miss Filgate, Gleeson's grand-daughter acted in 1885.

453 See above, p.192.

454 Northern Argus, 19 July 1889, 2d.

455 Ibid, 4 November 1890, 2e.

for women, and there was solid support for this movement among Clare women in the early 1890s.<sup>456</sup>

In contrast with earlier times,<sup>457</sup> the Northern Argus gave detailed reports on two weddings during these years. These first 'social wedding' reports concerned Clare people of high social status. The first, in the Clare Presbyterian Church, was the wedding of the daughter of Angus McLean, the manager of 'Hill River'.<sup>458</sup> The second was the Glenelg wedding of the most successful and influential man in Clare, John Christison, to Frances Diana Hope, the eldest daughter of the deceased John Hope, who had been the largest land-owner and most respected 'gentleman' resident in Clare until his death in 1880. The Northern Argus reproduced, without comment, the report of the wedding by 'Quiz', although apart from the family, the only Clare guest mentioned in the long list of well-known Adelaide names, which included Mr. and Mrs. Edward Hawker, was the Rev. R.B. Webb who officiated.<sup>459</sup> As it is likely that some Clare people had been invited, this was an indication that high social status in Clare was insignificant in the Adelaide social scene. It is surprising that no further comment was made on the Adelaide article: possibly the editor wished to show the social significance of the wedding on a South Australian scale; possibly he was unwilling to reveal or unable to get any further details about Clare guests; or possibly the whole affair was so well known in Clare that it was unnecessary to specify who was involved from Clare.

Diana Hope was the woman with the highest social status in Clare

---

456 See above, p.289.

457 See above, p.207-9.

458 Northern Argus, 15 January 1892, 2d.

459 Ibid, 29 May 1896, 2e.

after 1885 as her mother lived mainly at her Glenelg home after her husband's death. Her diary provided a detailed picture of her life in Clare before her marriage to Christison.<sup>460</sup> From 1889 she lived mainly at 'Wolta Wolta' with her brother Robert,<sup>461</sup> although she made regular visits to her mother and friends in Adelaide. In Clare she visited and was visited by people from a wide range of social backgrounds but her particular friends were the Hawkers of 'Bungaree', the Rev. and Mrs. Webb and their children, Dr. Bain, Dr. and Mrs. O.W. Smith and his brother and sister, the teachers Miss Hawker and Mrs. Barnard, the Filgates and from January 1895, John Christison. She was obviously not personally wealthy as she had only a small personal allowance and was very frugal with her expenses. She played the role of 'lady of the manor' in a number of ways. She took jelly and fruit to the sick and old, she organized nurses for the sick and a school for an exceptionally clever boy, and she often visited old servants. She entered jams, butter, flowers and plants in the local Shows and was proud to carry off many prizes.

Diana Hope was an educated and active person. She sent letters and verses to the Adelaide papers and had a number of them accepted. She was also very interested in painting, and attended classes at the Adelaide School of Design and the Clare School of Art. She organized and ran the Home Reading Circle. She was interested in politics: she wrote of attending the 'very interesting' lecture by Miss Spence on 'Effective Voting' in 1893;<sup>462</sup> she 'gracefully seconded' Badger's vote of thanks to Miss Spence after a similar speech in 1899;<sup>463</sup> she

---

460 Hope papers: F.D. Hope's diary begins in January 1889 and continues with some gaps throughout the 1890s.

461 After her marriage she and Christison lived at 'Weroona' the former 'Bleak House' built by W.L. Beare.

462 F.D. Hope's diary, 14 February 1893.

463 Northern Argus, 1 September 1899, 2e.

spoke to P.P. Gillen on women's franchise after the 1893 election,<sup>464</sup> and wrote an (unpublished) letter to the Register supporting women's suffrage in 1893.<sup>465</sup>

Like other elite women in Clare, Diana Hope had servants, who gave her much trouble in training and keeping them. She was frequently employing new servant girls and in 1893 she noted an 'unpleasant interview' with a mother who 'abused me, in dreadful language for my "cruelty" to Bertha'.<sup>466</sup> People who knew her as children remembered her as very forthright and strong-willed and as dominating over her husband, servants and young guests, although kind at heart.<sup>467</sup> She died in 1948 at the age of eighty eight, and the Northern Argus called her 'Clare's Finest Citizen' because of her generous donations of land for parks and her involvement in Clare affairs.<sup>468</sup> With her elite family background, her marriage to the leading member of Clare's business and social elite and her longevity, 'Auntie Di' had the advantages, and accepted the responsibilities of her social position throughout her adult life.

All were not satisfied with the social hierarchy and particularly with the elite status of a minority group. Letters in the local press showed criticism of and resentment towards those who were believed to act as if they were superior to their fellows, or who failed to live up to their responsibilities. A letter written in 1887 criticised the failure of most of the wealthy men to take up their obligations to the poor especially at Christmas time, and their desire to give money

---

464 F.D. Hope's diary: 18 April 1893.

465 Ibid, 16 September, 1893.

466 Ibid, 21 November 1893.

467 Interviews with F. Victorsen and Misses Barwell.

468 Northern Argus, 2 September 1948, 7cd.

where it earned public praise, rather than where it was most needed. The writer excepted 'our kind doctor' Bain from the 'lots of very wealthy men in Clare who give nothing unless it is to a church or chapel to get their names well praised'.<sup>469</sup>

An exchange of letters in 1889 revealed awareness of a social hierarchy and resentment towards the elite. This exchange began with a letter from 'Locus Standi' complaining about being woken by the noise made by several young gentlemen, 'members of the High-Heel and Bell-Bottom Association who were returning from some outing'.<sup>470</sup> Two letters in reply both suggested that the criticism was a result of age and 'class' differences in types of entertainment. Both claimed that 'Locus Standi's' friends drank too much alcohol at their dances and made more noise on the way home than the younger men. That both letter writers reacted to 'Locus Standi's' criticism by labelling him as one of the elite of the town, showed their critical sensitivity to the assumed snobbery of that elite. The first writer's, 'I presume your correspondent is a 'bong-tong' or rather an 'uppah ten', judging from the style of his writing'; and the second writer's, 'I presume 'Locus Standi' belongs to the Blue-Blood and Patrician-Aristocrat Brigade' both suggest a feeling of bitterness towards the wealthy minority who dressed 'like corner men in a minstrel troupe', had 'grand balls and parties' and yet begrudged the young men having an evening of 'orderly' entertainment.<sup>471</sup> The debate continued in the press, with the most significant result being the burning of an effigy of 'Locus Standi' on the Clare oval, after it had been dragged along Main Street on wheels.<sup>472</sup> The identity of 'Locus Standi' was never

---

469 Ibid, 23 December 1887, 3a.

470 Ibid, 15 November 1889, 2f.

471 Ibid, 19 November 1889, 2fg.

472 Ibid, 29 November 1889, 2e and 3a. During Dr. Bain's 'pyrotechnic display'.

revealed, but the bitterness his original letter occasioned says much about the resentment of social snobbery that lay latent in the town.

A letter complaining about pilfering and damaging exhibits at the 1894 Stanley Show criticised the 'upper tens' as people who believed themselves to be above the level of ordinary good manners.<sup>473</sup> Another letter in 1891 indicated that many Clare people believed that a small group of men dominated the town, and that there were differing opinions about their motives. A.J. Davey, the secretary of the Agricultural Society committee, replied to a letter complaining that 'before long a few in Clare will work the show altogether'.<sup>474</sup> Davey denied that the Show was run by a few men; however he could well understand why some people would make that accusation because:

Your readers have so often heard the statement (understand; don't you see) that so-and-so, referring to cricket and football matches, concerts, quadrille parties, Easter and New Year's sports, and in fact everything that is got up in the general interest of the place, would be run by a few men in Clare that it won't surprise them to hear it said of the show. 475

Although the evidence has shown that a 'few men' did run the major activities in Clare, it has also suggested that they did so for the 'general interest' of Clare, as much as for their own aggrandisement.

A final example of the perception of a social elite in Clare, and of criticism of the behaviour of some of its members, was provided by an outsider, 'Quiz' in his 'Tourists' Guide' to Clare in September 1893.<sup>476</sup> 'Quiz' described Clare as 'the choicest of our northern possessions' and discussed the 'sections in society' which existed there.

---

473 Ibid, 19 October 1894, 2f.

474 Ibid, 28 July 1891, 2g, 3a.

475 Ibid, 31 July 1891, 2g.

476 Quiz and the Lantern, 1 September 1893, 13bc.

His denial that 'the town was in the hands of the squatters' of 'Hill River' and 'Bungaree' was accurate, as the evidence has shown their minor involvement in Clare activities. On the other hand, he emphasized the importance of the bank manager: 'If you are not on visiting terms with the Bank manager you will really be a social pariah'. 'Quiz' claimed that he would one day 'settle down in a country town as a Bank manager' as he was 'determined to get to the top of the social tree somehow or other'. His comment on the 'decent people' indicated his contempt for those who accepted and gave honour to others simply because they had wealth:

There are a number of really decent people in Clare - people who are not afraid of shaking hands with the other, people who do not regard it is rightful to bow, and scrape, and grovel, simply because one man possesses more money than they have to their credit in the local branch of the locally reconstructed Bank.

'Quiz's' visit to Clare appears to have been brief, and his judgements were superficial, and did not go much beyond the importance of the bank managers and the wealthy. Nevertheless they suggested that some Clare men were considered to have a higher status than others, that ownership of wealth was important, and that many who did not have wealth looked up to those who did and acted in an obsequious manner to their 'betters', who accepted this as their right.

Despite these indications that some were critical of the elite, by the end of the nineteenth century, Clare was a more united community than it had been in its earlier years, when strong social and sectarian divisions and antagonisms had been obvious. Nearly sixty years of settlement had produced an elite which played a leadership role in many aspects of community life. The members of this elite were perceived to have duties and responsibilities as well as influence and status, and in the main attempted to fulfil their own and the community's expectations, for altruistic as much as selfish reasons.

CONCLUSION

This study of the elite in the community of Clare during the nineteenth century has established the existence of, and the causes for, a number of changes: changes in the membership and size of the elite which reflected different stages in community growth and economic development; changes in the activities and expectations of the elite which responded to the developing needs of the community; and changes in the degree of unity and integration of the community which were affected by the stability of the population and the deterioration of economic conditions.

This research has been directed at questions which have been so far little explored in other investigations of nineteenth-century Australian, particularly South Australian, communities. In attempting to examine the elite of a small country town and its relationships with the community over sixty years, this investigation has opened up further questions and issues. Some of these relate specifically to Clare, others to South Australia and others to Australia as a whole.

Issues relating specifically to further exploration of the history of Clare arise from the limitations of this present study, particularly its concentration on elites in the nineteenth century. Obviously further research could be directed at the relationships between the elite and the community in the twentieth century, to establish whether a similar or different pattern emerges. Research could also be directed at non-elite groups in the Clare community. This, however, would be more difficult than the present study because of the relative paucity of resources. My investigation has shown that non-elite groups have left few personal records and feature in the local newspaper mainly in reports of the local courts, accidents, applications for destitute



relief or as the 'voices off' in public meetings and celebrations. Despite these limited resources some useful work could be directed at non-elite groups. However the much greater availability of resources on a limited section of the community has given this work its 'elite', 'bourgeois' or 'middle class' slant.<sup>1</sup>

The study of any nineteenth-century South Australian country town stands alone in the sense that each town is intimately and uniquely affected by such factors as local geographical features, the economic activities of the surrounding region, and the nature and origins of its people.<sup>2</sup> However an individual study such as this of Clare has broader significance in that it provides both an example against which the history of other communities can be compared, and a specific study which can contribute to generalized conclusions about Australian history.

There is certainly potential for similar studies of elites of nineteenth-century country communities, particularly South Australian, for comparative purposes. This would make it possible to reach general conclusions concerning the relationships between the leaders of such communities and the time and mode of settlement, dominant regional activities and general economic conditions. Such research could determine whether similar hostility to the squatters, sectarian divisions, and antagonism to the Salvation Army occurred in other South Australian communities. Apart from a history written for secondary school children<sup>3</sup> there is no complete history of South Australia, and with the exception of Meinig's study of the 'wheat frontier'<sup>4</sup> South Australian

---

1 Connell, R.W. Ruling class ruling culture ... P.21. See above, p.5

2 Compare Clare, Ballarat and Colac: see Bate, W. Lucky city. The first generation at Ballarat 1851-1901. Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1978; Evans, G.C. 'Colac and district 1860-1900'.

3 Gibbs, R.M. A history of South Australia. Adelaide, Balara, 1969.

4 Meinig, D.W. On the margins of the good earth ...

history had been written from the perspective of Adelaide.<sup>5</sup> There is scope for much more detailed study of country communities to allow a major study of South Australian history from the perspective of the country. This research has endorsed Hirst's argument that country people looked to Adelaide to perform functions that in other countries were considered to be those of local government.<sup>6</sup> However it questions his theory that there was an 'absence of the feeling that South Australia was a collection of separate regions or localities' and that 'South Australia could be treated as one community'.<sup>7</sup> Further research on individual South Australian country communities would show whether Hirst was correct or whether other country communities saw themselves as having their own identity in the same way as the people of Clare.

All historical investigations of nineteenth-century Australian communities contribute knowledge and ideas to the broader study of the history of Australia. Contributions of this research on Clare include endorsement of the general conclusions that there was considerable hostility to the pastoral elite,<sup>8</sup> that nineteenth-century Australia was not an egalitarian society,<sup>9</sup> that the nineteenth century ended with the dominance of the bourgeoisie,<sup>10</sup> and that loyalty to Britain was more dominant than Australian nationalism.<sup>11</sup> The evidence of this research also contributes to more controversial issues in Australian history, particularly: the lack of any noticeable support for the bush ethos, certainly among the leaders of the community

---

5 For example, Pike, D. Paradise of dissent ...; Hirst, J. Adelaide and the country ...

6 Hirst, op.cit., p.121.

7 Ibid, p.149.

8 Waterson, D.B. Squatter, selector, storekeeper ...

9 Connell, R.W. and Irving, T.H. Class structure in Australian history ...; McQueen, H. A new Britannia. Ringwood, Penguin, 1970.

10 Clark, M. (C.M.H.) A short history of Australia. London, Heinemann, 1977; Connell and Irving, op.cit.

11 McQueen, op.cit., Hancock, W.K. Australia. London, Ernest Benn Limited, 1930.

including the editor of the local paper;<sup>12</sup> the decrease in community conflict in the 1890s, the decade of depression and class conflict,<sup>13</sup> although my conclusions may be slanted because of the sources; and a different emphasis on the motives of elite leaders, with my findings weighted towards benevolence and Waterson's towards material benefits for his Darling Downs 'bourgeoisie'.<sup>14</sup>

In conclusion, I hope this investigation has been worthwhile as a study in its own right, and has made some small contribution to both South Australian and Australian nineteenth-century history.

- 
- 12 Ward, R. The Australian legend. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1974; Lawson, R. Brisbane in the 1890s ...; Historical Studies, Vol.18, No.71, October 1978.
- 13 Rickard, J. Class and politics ...; Crowley, F. (ed) A new history of Australia. Melbourne, Heinemann, 1974.
- 14 Waterson, op. cit., pp. 67-70 and 278; Bate, W. 'The urban sprinkle ...', p.208.

BIBLIOGRAPHYPRIMARYA. Printed Sources

## 1. Newspapers

Adelaide Observer - alternating with Register from 1843 to 1866; both used on some occasions during this period and referred to for specific information between 1869 and 1930.

Guardian - March 1870 to December 1871.

Northern Argus - February 1869 to December 1911; referred to for specific information after 1911.

South Australian - 1849 and 1850.

South Australian Advertiser - 1868.

South Australian Gazette - October 1839 to November 1846.

South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal - 1849 and 1850.

South Australian Register - alternating with Observer from 1849 to 1869; both used on some occasions during this period and referred to for specific information between 1869 and 1930.

## 2. Reminiscences and other Newspaper Series

Stacey, G.W. Northern Argus, 18 March to 21 October 1921.

Bright SM, T.R. Register, 26 June to 24 July 1922.

Dunstone, T. Northern Argus, 9 February to 10 August 1923.

Tilbrook, R.H. Northern Argus, 9 March to 2 November 1928.

Kelly, Rev. R. Northern Argus, 30 June and 7 July 1928.  
Register, 18 and 24 August 1928.

Special Representative Adelaide Chronicle, 13 October 1932.

Various sources Northern Argus, 26 March to 30 April 1937.

'Clarion' and Tilbrook, Miss M.F. Northern Argus, 7 April to 9 June 1939.

'Clarion' Northern Argus, 19 September to 12 December 1941.

Simons, J.J. Northern Argus, 29 September 1944 to 11 January 1945.

## 3. Parliamentary Papers and other Government Documents

SAPP No.67, 1857-8, H of A,  
Commission of the Peace, 1 June 1857

No.109, 1881, Vol.III, H of A,  
Committee of enquiry on proposed railway

No.141, 1881, Vol.IV, L.C.,Petition for railway  
from Riverton to Gladstone

## 3. (cont.)

No.168, 1881, Vol.IV, L.C.,Petition against Blyth and Gladstone railway

No.202, 1883-4, Vol.IV, H of A, Report on route for railway from Riverton to Clare

No.67, 1888, Vol.III,H of A, Fourteenth Report of the Central Board of Health

## 4. Unpublished Theses

Evans, G.C. 'Colac and district 1860-1900', MA, University of Melbourne, 1968.

Jaensch, D.H. 'Political representation in colonial South Australia 1857-1901', Ph D, University of Adelaide, 1973.

Sheedy, H.M. 'The sisters of Saint Joseph and Catholic education in South Australia 1867-1874', BA Hons, University of Adelaide, 1969.

Van Dissel, D. 'The Adelaide gentry 1880-1915. A study of a colonial upper class', MA, University of Melbourne, 1973.

Williams, E. 'Pastoralists and their estates in the Central Hill Country, South Australia, 1836-1891', MA, University of Wales, 1974.

5. South Australian Censuses: details on Clare in 1844, 1851, 1855, 1861, 1866, 1871, 1876, 1881, 1891, 1901 (Department of Census and Statistics).

6. South Australian Directories - details on inhabitants of Clare in 1844, 1855, 1864-67, 1870-71, 1882-1900.

B. Manuscript Sources

## 1. Official Records

Assessment Books, Corporation of Clare, from 1868 to 1900: in possession District Clerk of Clare.

Assessment Books, District Council of Clare from 1857 to 1897: SAA MRG 19-739.

Inquest book - Clare Police Station, 4 November 1884 to 15 February 1951:SAA 246/1.

Marriage Record Books, 1865 to 1900: in possession Police Station, Clare.

Probate Records of all leading men and women of Clare: Probate Office.

## 2. Diaries, Letters and Private Papers

Hawker family, SAA :

Letter from Charles Lloyd Hawker to his sister Elizabeth, 30 December 1842, finished 5 January 1843.

## 2. (cont.)

Diaries of George Charles Hawker - station life at Bungaree 1842, 1847.

Hawker, E.W. 'Notes on the lives of G.C. Hawker and his wife Lady Hawker'.

Memoirs of E.W. Hawker, 1850-1868.

G.C. Hawker's letters to son E.W. Hawker, 1867-93.

Digest of diaries of Hawker, Edward William from 1867 to 1908.

Hope Papers, in the possession of Mr. John Hope 'Wolta Wolta' Clare :

diary of John Hope;

diary of Frances Diana Hope;

Proceedings of the Clare Circle of the Australasian Home Reading Union, from 1894, by F.D. Hope;

Letters and documents.

'Notes from the Pen of Thomas Ninnes A Clare Wesleyan Methodist Pioneer', from his birth in 1813 to 1890, in possession of Uniting Church (formerly Methodist) Historical Society.

Diary and Recollections of Anne Webb (nee Gilbert) from 1841 to 1917 (wife Rev. R.B. Webb), in possession of Misses M. and E. Barwell, Winchester Street, Malvern.

## 3. Contemporary Minutes and Records

Ancient Order Foresters CI - Minute Book from 27 October 1864: in possession P. Basham, Clare.

Institute - Minute Books from 5 July 1864: in possession Clare Institute.

Masonic Lodge - List of members from 1860: in possession Masonic Lodge, Clare.

Presbyterian Church - various manuscripts: SAA SRG 123.

Public School, Clare - School Registers, 1 November 1886 to 29 August 1898: in possession of Clare Primary School.

St. Aloysius College, Sevenhill 1856 to 1885 - list of students in alphabetical order: compiled by F.J. Dennett SJ for E. Milburn; now deposited in SAA.

Stanley Grammar School, Watervale - ledger 1877 to 1917: SAA 1441.

Wesleyan Church - various manuscripts: SAA SRG 4 37/7

## 4. Other Contemporary Sources

Correspondence to and from the Colonial Secretary concerning: Bungaree, Aborigines, Clare School, local court, establishment of District Council of Clare, separation of District Council of Wakefield, St. Barnabas Anglican Church, E.B. Gleeson, G.C. Hawker, Dr. C.H. Webb, W. Lennon: SAA GRG 24 Series 4 and 6.

## 4. (cont.)

Eiffe, P. The three L's: lawyers, land-jobbers and lovers. A tale of South Australia twenty years ago. Adelaide, Webb, Vardon, and Pritchard, 1882.

Gleeson, Edward Burton - Insolvency Petition, 11 April 1845: SAA GRG 66 Nos.39, 111.

Letter from Commissioner of Police (Major O'Halloran) to G. Hawker Esquire Hutt River, 4 March 1842: SAA GRG 5/9/1.

Tilbrook, H.H. - Papers: SAA PRG 180.

Walker, Henry - Letters 1856-1863: SAA D4871(L).

## 5. Collated Primary Sources

SAA: Bungaree 1324/52  
 Clare 1324/50  
 Hill River Estate 1324/108  
 Index to Hotels 1839-75 1195  
 Notes on the Early Settlement of the Clare District  
 Research note 126  
 Stanley Flat 1324/54

## 6. Interviews

Mr. Magnus Badger, 12 November 1979.  
 Misses Mary and Elizabeth Barwell, 16 August 1979.  
 Mr. Fred Victorsen, 22 July and 23 September 1979.  
 Miss Isabel Wien Smith, 19 May 1978.

SECONDARYA. Published

Bailey, V. 'Salvation Army riots, the "Skeleton Army" and legal authority in the provincial town' in Donajgrodzki, A. (ed.) Social control in nineteenth century Britain. London, Croom Helm, 1977.

Barlow, W. The Local Courts Act ... Adelaide, Vardon and Pritchard, 1890.

Barrett, B. The civic frontier The origin of local communities and local government in Victoria. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979.

Bate, W. Lucky city The first generation at Ballarat 1851-1901. Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1978.

Bate, W. 'The urban sprinkle: country towns and Australian regional history', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.X, No.2. September 1970.

Birch, A.H. Small town politics A study of political life in Glossop. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959.

Bottomore, T.B. Classes in modern society. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1975.

Bottomore, T.B. Elites and society. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967.

A. Published (cont.)

- Briggs, A. 'The language of "class" in early nineteenth-century England', in Briggs, A. and Saville, J. Essays in Labour History in memory of G.D.H. Cole. London, Macmillan, 1967.
- 'Broughton, Mary' 'Edward Burton Gleeson, founder of Clare', The Chronicle, August 16, 1974, p.185.
- Burgess, H.T. (ed.) The Cyclopedia of South Australia. Vol.2, Adelaide, Cyclopedia Company, 1909.
- Burke, A.P. (ed.) A genealogical and heraldic list of the colonial gentry 1891-1895. London, Harrison, 1895.
- Buxton, G.L. The Riverina 1861-1891 An Australian regional study. Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1967.
- Buxton, G.L. South Australian Land Acts 1869-1885. Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966.
- Cannon, M. Life in the country Australia in the Victorian age: 2. Melbourne, Nelson, 1973.
- Cockburn, R. Pastoral pioneers of South Australia, 2 Vols. Adelaide, Adelaide Publishers Ltd., 1925-7 (facsimile, Blackwood, Lynton Publications, 1974)
- Coglan, T.A. Labour and industry in Australia From the first settlement in 1788 to the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901. 4 volumes. South Melbourne, Macmillan, 1969.
- Connell, R.W. Ruling class, ruling culture. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Connell, R.W. and Irving, T.H. Class structure in Australian history Documents, narrative and argument. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980.
- Crowley, F.K. South Australian History A survey for research students. Adelaide, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1966.
- Dale, P. (Lieut.-Colonel) 'Publican paid the persecutors', The local officer and bandsman. May, 1947. SAA Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.2, p.268.
- Dalton, S.J., P.J. (Fr.) 'Clare and the origin of Sevenhill', The Southern Cross, 6-13 November, 1936.
- Depasquale, P. A critical history of South Australian literature 1836-1930. Warradale, SA, Pioneer Books, 1978.
- Dickey, B. '"Colonial bourgeois" - Marx in Australia? Aspects of a social history of New South Wales 1856-1900', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.XIV, No.1, March 1974.
- Encel, S. Equality and authority a study of class, status and power in Australia. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1970.
- Field, G.L. and Higley, J. Elitism. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Foster, J. Class struggle and the Industrial Revolution Early industrial capitalism in three English towns. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974.
- Frisch, M.H. Town into city Springfield, Massachusetts, and the meaning of community, 1840-1880. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972.



A. Published (cont.)

- Garrard, J. et al. The middle class in politics. Farnborough, England, Saxon House, 1978.
- Gollan, R. 'The bones stripped bare', Historical Studies, Vol.19, No.76, April 1981.
- Gusfield, J.R. Community A critical response. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975.
- Hamer, D.A. 'Towns in nineteenth-century New Zealand', The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.13, No.1, April 1979.
- Hartz, L. The founding of new societies. New York, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1964.
- Hawker, J.C. Early experiences in South Australia. Adelaide, E.S. Wigg and Son, 1899 (facsimile, Adelaide Libraries Board of South Australia 1975).
- Hawker, W. Reminiscences of George Charles Hawker of Bungaree. np, 1951.
- Higley, J., Deacon, D. and Smart, D. Elites in Australia. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Hirst, J.B. Adelaide and the country 1870-1917 Their social and political relationship. Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- Horne, D. 'The rough and the smooth', Times Literary Supplement, 9 April, 1876.
- Horne, D. Money made us. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976.
- Hughes, C.A. and Graham, B.D. Voting for the South Australian, Western Australian and Tasmanian Lower Houses 1890-1964. Department of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra 1976.
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Vol.5, USA, Crowell, Collier and Macmillan, 1968.
- Jackson, J.A. (ed.) Social stratification. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Jaensch, D. Election statistics of colonial South Australia. Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association Monograph No.14, 1974.
- Jaensch, D.H. An index to Parliamentary candidates in South Australian elections 1857-1973. School of Social Sciences, Flinders University, 1975.
- Kiddle, M. Men of yesterday A social history of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967.
- Lawson, R. Brisbane in the 1890s A study of an Australian urban society. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1973.
- Lonie, J. 'A capital history', Meanjin Quarterly, Vol.35, No. 4, 1976.
- Loyau, G.E. Notable South Australians. Adelaide, G.E. Loyau, 1885 (facsimile Hampstead Gardens, SA Austaprint, 1978).

A. Published (cont.)

- Loyau, G.E. The representative men of South Australia. Adelaide, George Howell, 1883 (facsimile, Hamstead Gardens, SA, Austaprint, 1978).
- Macfarlane, A. Reconstructing historical communities. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Macintyre, S. 'The making of the Australian working class: an historiographical survey', Historical Studies, Vol.18, No.71, October 1978.
- Mahony, (Mrs.) D. The first settlers at Gawler (February, 1839). Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch, Session 1926-7, with additions, n.d.
- Martin, J.I. 'Marriage the family and class', in Elkin, A.P. (ed.) Marriage and the family in Australia. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1957.
- Marwick, A. Class Image and reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930. London, Collins, 1980.
- McCarty, J.W. 'Australian regional history', Historical Studies, Vol.18, No.70, April 1978.
- Mellor, M. Stanley Grammar School, Watervale and Joseph Stear Carlyon Cole. Adelaide, Pioneers' Association of SA, 1949.
- Meinig, D.W. On the margins of the good earth The South Australian wheat frontier 1869-1884. Adelaide, Rigby Limited, 1976.
- Morgan, E.J.R. (Sir) The Adelaide Club 1863-1963. Adelaide, Adelaide Club, 1963.
- Morphett, G.C. The Beare family. Adelaide, Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1942.
- Morphett, G.C. C.B. Fisher Pastoralist, studmaster, and sportsman An epic of pioneering. Adelaide, Advertiser, 1945.
- Morrison, W.F. The Aldine History of South Australia Vol.11. Sydney, The Aldine Publishing Company, 1890.
- Moyle, J.V. Portrait of a village Watervale 1851-1951. Adelaide, Advertiser, 1952.
- Nadel, G. Australia's colonial culture. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Neale, R.S. Class in English history 1680-1850. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981.
- Neale, R.S. Class and ideology in the nineteenth century. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Nesbit, E.P. (ed.) A handy guide and index to the Insolvent Acts of South Australia. Adelaide, Advertiser, 1885.
- Noye, R.J. Clare A district history. Coromandel Valley, SA, Lynton Publications, 1975.
- The Official Civic Record of South Australia Centenary Year, 1936. Adelaide, Universal Publicity Co., 1936.

A. Published (cont.)

- Oeser, O.A. and Emery, F.E. Social structure and personality in a rural community. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.
- O'Loughlin, T. 'Australian elites: a hypothesis', Melbourne Journal of Politics, Vol.8, 1975/6.
- Pascoe, J.J. (ed.) History of Adelaide and vicinity. Adelaide, Hussey and Gillingham, 1901.
- Pearson, D.G. 'Small town capitalism and stratification in New Zealand 1880-1930', The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.14, No.2, October 1980.
- Pike, D. (ed.) Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.4, 1851-1890 D-J, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1966.
- Pike, D. Paradise of dissent South Australia 1829-1857. Melbourne, Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.
- Pitt, D. (ed.) Social class in New Zealand. Auckland, Longman Paul, 1977.
- Porter, J. The vertical mosaic An analysis of social class and power in Canada. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- 'Quiz's tourists' guide Clare' Quiz and the Lantern 1 September, 1893, p.13.
- Rickard, J. Class and politics New South Wales Victoria and the early Commonwealth, 1890-1910. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1976.
- Rickard, J. 'The middle class: what is to be done?', Historical Studies, Vol.19, No.76, April 1981.
- Robinson, N. Change on change A history of the Northern Highlands of South Australia. Leabrook, Australia, Investigator Press, 1973.
- Rowley, K. Review of Wild, R.A. Social stratification in Australia, Intervention No.13, 1979.
- Rubinstein, W.D. 'Wealth in Australia', Quadrant, June 1980.
- Snashall, E.A. The years between St. Barnabas Church Clare 1851-1976. Clare, Northern Argus, 1976.
- Spence, W.G. History of the AWU. Sydney, The Worker Trustees, 1961.
- Stanworth, P. and Giddens, A. (eds.) Elites and power in British society. London, Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Thiele, C. Grains of mustard seed (A narrative outline of State Education in South Australia: 1875-1975). Adelaide, Education Department, South Australia, 1975.
- Thompson, E.P. The making of the English working class. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979.
- Toynbee, C. 'Class and social structure in nineteenth-century New Zealand', The New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.13, No.1, April 1979.
- Waterson, D.B. Squatter, selector, and storekeeper A history of the Darling Downs 1859-93. Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1968.

A. Published (cont.)

Watson, G. The English ideology Studies in the language of Victorian politics. London, Allen Lane, 1973.

Wild, R.A. Bradstow A study of status, class and power in a small Australian town. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1975.

Wild, R.A. Social stratification in Australia. Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1978.

Williams, E. 'Through eastern eyes: large freehold estates in South Australia', Australian Economic History Review, Vol.XVII, No.1, March 1977.

Williams, M. The making of the South Australian landscape A study in the historical geography of Australia. London, Academic Press, 1974.

B. Unpublished Typescripts

Callen, P.A. 'The changing land use in the C.B.D. of Clare from 1880 to 1970'. Research study for Historical Geography, Murray Park CAE, 12 December 1975.

Clare National Trust - notes on: Mintaro, Penwortham, Sevenhill, Stanley Flat, White Hut.

Clare National Trust, 'Farming on the grand scale', 1977.

Depasquale, P. 'Patrick Eiffe 1846-1899 - Author of The Three Ls: a memoir', 1970 SAA D5268 (T).

Forth, S.G. (Rev.) 'Methodism in the Clare district'. The Gordon Row Memorial Lecture, the South Australian Methodist Historical Society 1974.

Le Duff, G. 'The institute movement in South Australia: a case study', nd, School of Education, Flinders University of South Australia.

Schmaal, J. 'The constables of Clare', 1978; in possession Mrs. J. Schmaal Clare and SA Police Historical Society.

Tilbrook, E.H.H. 'The first 127 years of Clare and Districts (South Australia) 1839-1966 and personal memoirs', 1966: in the possession of Mrs. D. Tilbrook, Clare.

Tilbrook, E.H.H., 'Founding and history of the Northern Argus at Clare, SA, 1965: in possession Northern Argus, Clare.