

## **Hegemony, localism and ethnicity: The ‘Welsh’ mining communities of Currawang and Frogmore in southern New South Wales.**

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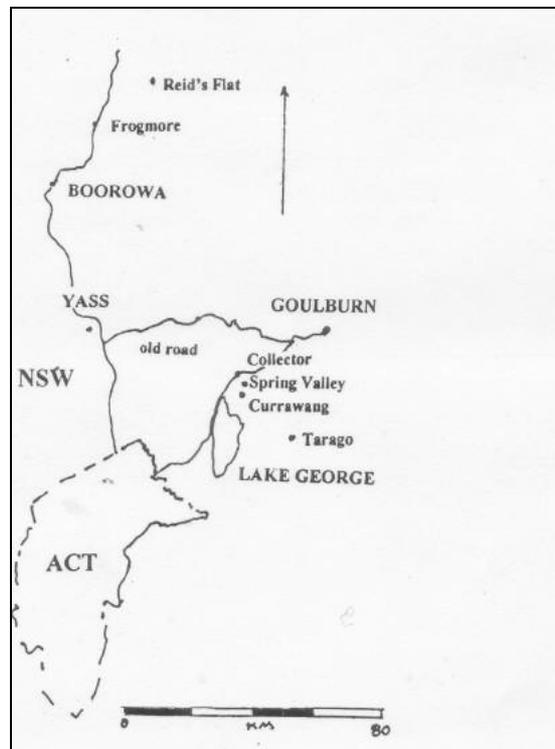
Currawang is an abandoned 1860s-80s copper mining and smelting town in the Collector/Lake George district of southern NSW. In 1993 the physical heritage of the mines and town were recorded as part of a State and Commonwealth funded study of historic mining sites in the Monaro and Southern Tableland districts of NSW.<sup>1</sup> Archival material, in particular the mining reports and the Goulburn newspapers convey the impression of a thriving, vibrant community, an image that is not supported by the material evidence, which is scant in comparison. This isn't the only enigma. Currawang had been a one-company town. Some breadwinners, such as the wood carters and a few business people, were self-employed, and at times the mine was worked cooperatively, but most of the mining workforce was wage-based. Considerable potential existed, therefore, for employer-employee conflict. But there was a remarkable degree of community harmony; class conflict, lawlessness, unruly behaviour and sectarianism were absent – there wasn't even a police station!

Equally curious was the link between Currawang and the former copper mining and smelting town of Frogmore on the South West Slopes near Boorowa. Eynon Deer, a Welsh mining engineer, was very prominent socially and as a mine manager in both communities. At Frogmore he managed the mines with his brothers. In 1995 Frogmore was included in a further study of historic mining sites in the region, this time of the Shoalhaven (Braidwood and Bungonia area) and South West Slopes districts.<sup>2</sup> The similarities and differences between these two communities was cause for reflection. The connections with the Deer family was one obvious reason for some of the similarities, but were there other explanations? And what accounted for the differences? Could a more detailed study of these communities shed light on the functioning of mining, and perhaps non-mining, communities in colonial society?

Historian, Erik Eklund, has commented that historical discourses have too often equated Australian history with capital city history. He described places such as Port Kembla, on which he has written extensively, as being at the historical margin, even

though they were important centres for significant numbers of Australians.<sup>3</sup> His comments are even more telling when considering towns such as Currawang and Frogmore. In size and population they fall well below the margins occupied by these much larger towns and are part of a forgotten category of middling to small mining and industrial communities. Some of these can now be described as ghost towns, for either no-one or very few persons live there. Currawang falls firmly into the former category and Frogmore into the latter. Communities such as Frogmore and Currawang may not have been large by national standards, but taken together they were significant in terms of population, production and regional impact, for they dotted the Australian landscape, often in clusters, from one end of the continent to the other.

**Map 1:** Location map.



Source: The author.

Currawang and Frogmore can be discussed under a number of themes, such as production, domesticity, gender and religion. Historical archaeologists such as Susan Lawrence have shown how important and illustrative these themes are, particularly when the material evidence supports them.<sup>4</sup> They were important to both communities and are referred to in this paper but are of limited use in explaining how these communities organised themselves, politically and socially. Localism, hegemony and

ethnicity appeared to be stronger themes, acting either in concert or against each other. To these could be added the evidence of place and topography. What were the spatial relationships between different groups on the basis of class, ethnicity or religion. Was Michel Foucault's Panopticon model (reflecting surveillance and hierarchical organisation) relevant?<sup>5</sup>

A number of historians and sociologists have discussed localism, but the communities chosen have in the main been very much larger than Currawang or Frogmore. Ian Gray has examined the role of localism in the town of Cowra in New South Wales, and in Ken Dempsey's *Smalltown*, localism is cited as one of several ideologies that helped sustain community solidarity.<sup>6</sup> Two of the more comprehensive studies have been Erik Eklund's account of localism in Port Kembla and Greg Patmore's discussion of localism in Lithgow. Eklund defined localism as the 'ideology that elevates local interests above all others and has the effect of creating alliances or coalitions of classes that obscure class interests and mediate class conflict'. His concern was not to deny the importance of class politics, but to use localist politics as an additional conceptual and analytical tool. At Port Kembla 'class politics emerged in a familiar forms, but had to compete with ... the ideology of localism and the organisations that gave political expression to it'.<sup>7</sup> In the period 1900 to 1930 localist politics was fuelled by intermittent work patterns. Remedies such as better loading facilities or more public works expenditure gave both local industries and storekeepers better facilities and infrastructure and met the workers' needs for wage labour.<sup>8</sup>

Patmore used the concept of localism as an explanation for both class cooperation and exclusion in Lithgow. His examples included the numerous occasions when the town's businesses and social elites supported the trade unions, and times when the union movement supported the elite and its organisations. Retailers and professionals were sympathetic to workers during industrial disputes, retrenchments and unfavourable economic times. In 1907, when one of the banks foreclosed on the Lithgow Ironworks and retrenched most of the workers, unions and local business people combined to participate in a public meeting and organise a deputation to the NSW Premier to save the Ironworks. According to Brian Kennedy, localism (although he did not use this term) was also very evident in the Broken Hill community prior to the big industrial dispute of 1892, and it has been a feature of the town ever since. In 1892 the battle between labour and capital was not waged in Broken Hill but between

the Barrier and its 'remote, impersonal exploiters'. In such a battle the union received the tacit support of the town's commercial interests, for they also suffered from metropolitan neglect while their continued prosperity depended on full employment in the town. Additionally, the lead poisoning that created so much sickness and death among the miners also affected the town and its residents. Between 1886 and 1892 there were 28 smelters belching out dust and smoke over the town with the result that tanks and reservoirs were contaminated and the residue fell over the business area.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of hegemony was developed first by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist. According to Carl Boggs, Gramsci identified two fundamental types of political control. He contrasted the function of domination or direct physical coercion with those of hegemony of direction through consent or ideological control. Gramsci assumed that no regime, regardless of its authoritarianism, could sustain itself primarily through the former.<sup>10</sup> Hegemony meant

... the permeation throughout civil society – including a whole range of structures and activities like trade unions, schools, the churches, and the family – of an entire system of values, attitudes beliefs, morality, etc, in one way or another supportive of the established order and the class interests that dominate it.<sup>11</sup>

More recently, and in the Australian context, historians Bob Connell and Terry Irving have defined hegemony as a 'situation of cultural dominance' where the subordinate class lives

its daily lives in forms created by, or consistent with the interest of the dominant class, and through this daily life acquire beliefs, motives and ways of thinking that serve to perpetuate the class structure.<sup>12</sup>

Obviously Gramsci had grander things in mind than the fate of small mining communities when considering the reorganisation of society through a two-dimensional concept of political domination, which involved a crisis of ideological hegemony in civil society. Likewise, Connell and Irving saw the concept of hegemony in broader analytical terms, using it as an explanatory device for the development of class and structure in Australian politics.<sup>13</sup> For Currawang and Frogmore, the basic question is the extent to which white/middle class values were foisted upon the local communities through the various hegemonic structures such as schools, churches, family and other organisations, and the degree of resistance, if any.

The importance of ethnicity for Chinese communities in Australia is obvious.<sup>14</sup> But less obvious is its importance for European communities. A number of historians, for instance, Geoffrey Blainey and Philip Payton, have discussed the importance of the Cornish in South Australian mining communities such as Moonta and Ballarat but the latter author has also stressed the role of multicultural diversity and pluralism involving not just English but also Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and miners from continental Europe and other places. Patricia Lay has also examined the Cornish influence in New South Wales. Cultural diversity on the Victorian goldfields has also been discussed by a number of contributors to the book, *A World Turned Upside Down: Cultural Change on Australia's goldfields, 1851-2001*.<sup>15</sup> Just how effective the different ethnic groups were in maintaining their distinctiveness was another matter. Welsh identity on the Victorian goldfields, for example, appears to have been overwhelmed in the end by goldfields culture.<sup>16</sup>

For many mining communities concepts such as hegemony and ethnicity appear to have acted in concert, being linked to a deep vein of paternalism. For example, Geoffrey Blainey described the Cornish mining community of Burra in South Australia as a 'small welfare state', and referred to William Hancock, the company manager at Moonta, as a very prominent civic leader, who 'watched over his employees in work and sickness and leisure'. Philip Payton has also referred to the paternalism of Hancock. In a similar vein, Ruth Kerr has discussed extensively the guiding hand of the 'modest Scot', John Moffat at Irvinebank in North Queensland. These communities had strong ethnic groupings and were culturally cohesive; Cornish in the case of the South Australian copper mining towns, and Scottish in the case of Irvinebank. In his study of Port Kembla, Eklund referred to the 'paternalistic framework, common in the base metals industry'. Currawang and Frogmore were base metal communities and fitted into this framework.<sup>17</sup>

### **Mines, towns and institutions**

Mining commenced at Currawang in 1865 and was for a time very profitable. In early 1868, 125 men were employed at the Currowong [sic]<sup>18</sup> Copper Mine Company's mines, and others were engaged in cutting and carting timber. That same year the company refused to reimburse a contractor, Eynon Deer, a Welshman, causing him to suspend construction of the smelting works and other plant. The company was

subsequently wound up, with Deer becoming lessee of the mines with all machinery and apparatus. The mines were then worked by a partnership involving Deer and some former miners and smelter men and Deer was appointed manager. All miners, smelter men and other works' personnel were wage-based employees. Early mining practice was poor, for only the richest ore was extracted and little attention was paid to systematic mining. However, profits were good, and for much of the period 1867 to 1872 Currawang was one of the largest, and in some years the largest, copper producer in NSW (Table 1).<sup>19</sup>

**Table 1: Copper mining statistics, Currawang and NSW**

| Year | Currawang output tons | NSW - others output tons | Currawang value £ | NSW value £ |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1866 | 947                   | 227                      | n.a.              | n.a.        |
| 1867 | 2,500                 | 356                      | 13,750            | 21,366      |
| 1868 | 3,000                 | 315                      | 9,750             | 21,422      |
| 1869 | 120                   | 1,521                    | 200               | 26,446      |
| 1870 | 297                   | 24                       | 20,058            | 336         |
| 1871 | 282                   | 383                      | 21,150            | 26,081      |
| 1872 | 280                   | 1,390                    | 25,000            | 26,973      |
| 1873 | 150                   | 5,050                    | 14,500            | 110,500     |

Source: NSW Statistical Register, various years.

Deer left Currawang in 1873, and was succeeded as mine manager by a Mr Williams. Work was suspended for a time in 1875, until the purchase of the mines by the Esk Company. This company repeated the poor early mining practices and paid little attention to maintaining or improving the mines. Nevertheless, its operations were profitable until 1878 when low metal prices caused all underground work to cease. The mines was reopened the following year and then closed again. They were re-opened in 1880 under a cooperative arrangement between the miners and other interested parties, finally closing in 1882.<sup>20</sup>

Eynon Deer who returned in 1874 from a brief visit to Wales, joined his brother John who had just leased the Frogmore mines for a period of 14 years. There were between 30 and 40 men employed at the Deer mines in 1875. Erecting smelters the brothers also processed ore from other mines at Frogmore owned by John Sheedy.<sup>21</sup> By 1877 there were about 90 men employed at the Deer complex and 40 at the Sheedy mines, where smelters had also been erected. Falling metal prices affected the Frogmore mines in 1878 and led to the closure of the Sheedy mines and a significant reorganisation of the Deer brothers' operations. By the middle of 1881 the Deer

brothers' mine was again fully operational.<sup>22</sup> However, by mid 1884 problems with ore quality, water supply and falling metal prices emerged, and the mines closed the following year. They reopened in 1888, but for the next few years, mining and smelting were stop-start affairs, and the mines finally closed in 1891.<sup>23</sup>

Both communities were prosperous in their early years. Wages were high and for the most part paid regularly. In 1868 Mr Dyer, a visitor to the town, stated that the skilled miners, all of whom worked on contract, and tradesmen such as blacksmiths and carpenters, were paid £2 10s a week. Labourers could earn regularly 5s 10d a day and boys from 14 years old to 17, £1 a week. No person under 20 years of age was employed underground. Pay data from the *New South Wales Statistical Register* gives some points of comparison. Between 1865 and 1870 wages ranged between £50 and £80 for carpenters and smiths, £70 and £100 for bricklayers and between £28 and £35 for farm labourers. Assuming 50 working weeks a year and 5 days in a working week the miners and tradesmen at Currawang were earning £125 a year and the labourers £75, which was well above these rates.<sup>24</sup> While wage data is not available for Frogmore it is a reasonable assumption that they would have been comparable, at least for the first few years when the mines and smelters were at their most prosperous – for their employer was the same. In neither community was there talk of a strong informal economy, though it must have existed to some extent. This stands in marked contrast to Eklund's Port Kembla. But perhaps not too much can be read into this for neither Currawang nor Frogmore passed through the great economic upheavals of the 1890s and 1930s when such informal activities became a dire necessity.<sup>25</sup>

As early as 1865 it was mooted that Currawang would soon be a 'little township', as buildings of all descriptions were under construction. Most children attended a private school at Kenny's Point until the construction of a public school at Currawang.<sup>26</sup> Based on the school enrolment and attendances figures Currawang's population peaked in 1873, and may have been about 400. It declined thereafter, particularly after 1878 (Table 2).

By 1871 the town was well established, and on the company's land there were two public houses, four stores and a school. In the following year a new brick school building capable of seating 120 children was erected on land donated by the company.<sup>27</sup> The most important institutions were the Miners' Lodge and the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan churches (Figure 1). But there were no trade unions or law-and-

order bodies, nor a police station or courthouse. Neither were there progress committees or other localist groupings, other than a mutual improvement society. The Wesleyan church was opened in 1865 and was possibly the first community building of consequence at Currawang. Anglican services were held on William Cooper's nearby property, 'Willeroo', until the erection of a permanent church in 1875 on land donated by Cooper. A Roman Catholic church and school had been erected many years previously, four kilometres to the north, at Spring Valley by the Sykes and Byrnes's families.<sup>28</sup> Churches and schools are notoriously hegemonic institutions, particularly for imposing middle class values on the working classes. Currawang had them in abundance.

**Table 2:** *School enrollments and attendances Currawang*

| year | Enrolments | Attendances | Religion *        |                |          |
|------|------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|
|      |            |             | Church of England | Roman Catholic | Wesleyan |
| 1870 | 78         | 58          | 13                | 35             | 23       |
| 1871 | 80         | 55          | 13                | 36             | 26       |
| 1872 | 122        | 75          | 34                | 53             | 33       |
| 1873 | 129        | 83          | 32                | 53             | 35       |
| 1874 | 105        | 66          | 38                | 44             | 17       |
| 1875 | 104        | 64          | 35                | 54             | 13       |
| 1876 | 83         | 46          | 22                | 44             | 15       |
| 1877 | 99         | 59          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1878 | 90         | 54          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1879 | 70         | 41          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1880 | 83         | 43          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1881 | 82         | 42          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1882 | 78         | 41          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |

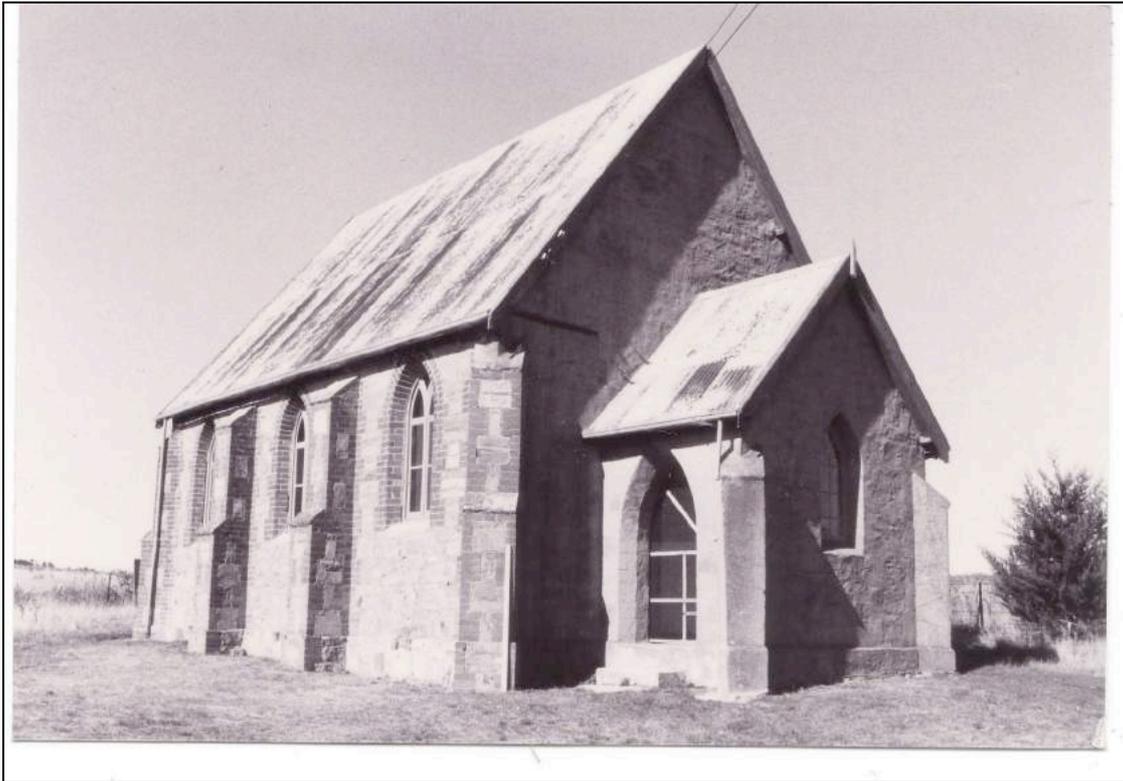
Source: NSW Council of Education, *Annual Report*, various years.

At Frogmore there was at first only one business enterprise, the Deer brother's store, and the post office was located in the store. By 1877 Frogmore was assuming the appearance of at least a village, if not a small town, for there were two stores, two hotels, a butcher's store, a school, and a population of about 300. Judging from the school statistics the population peaked in 1878, rising again in the early 1880s, before declining from 1885 onwards.<sup>29</sup>

Like Currawang, the three denominations were well represented, and Frogmore had its share of hegemonic structures. A Wesleyan church was built in 1877 and a Roman Catholic church in 1879; the date of the Anglican church is unknown. Other

institutions included the Oddfellows' Lodge and the Good Templars' lodge.<sup>30</sup> There was a police station at Frogmore in the late 1870s, and in the early 1880s quarters for police, a court of petty sessions and lock-up were progressively built. They were constructed of brick and stone and, along with the churches, contrasted with the more humble miners' homes.<sup>31</sup>

**Figure 1:** *The Anglican church of St Matthias, Currawang.*



Source: photo, Barry McGowan 1993.

What did both towns look like, and what were the spatial relationships between different groups on the basis of class, ethnicity or religion, or a combination of two or more of these factors? For Currawang there are some helpful descriptions. In 1868 it was commented that

the working men of Currawang had a 'well to do air', and most seemed to possess a horse and gear. Their huts were neat and clean, with 'nicely papered walls, clean muslin, window curtains, articles of taste and even luxury on the mantel shelves, china and glass clean and bright.'<sup>32</sup>

The writer attributes this condition in part to the lack of a public house at the mine or within five kilometres of it, a deprivation that was soon rectified.<sup>33</sup> Hegemonic values

and concerns were revealed in the praise – domesticity, materialism, cleanliness and sobriety – all good middle class virtues.

The second description was in 1872. It was stated that there were about two hundred huts

Scattered about without the slightest regard to rule or regulation or to streets, each one being at liberty to build in that position he thinks likely to be the most conducive to his own comfort, without considering his neighbour in the least, the natural result, in a perfect conglomeration of oddities, and, though there is [sic] no more than two hundred buildings, including the hotels, which like the others, are constructed of bark and slabs, one would find it easier to get astray in Currawang than a much more considerable place.<sup>34</sup>

In this statement the writer reveals some concern about the absence of hegemonic values such as order and neatness, but his description suggests a busy and prosperous community.

These concerns pale into insignificance compared to the views of a visitor in 1878. In the following extract even stronger views are expressed at the absence of hegemonic values such as material prosperity, cleanliness and neatness. In the visitor's eyes Currawang is in a clear state of material, if not moral, decline. He states that:

Seen by day light Currawang is not by any means a beautiful spot. It is situated upon a bleak hill, bearing all around evidences of neglect and decay. Its houses are all more or less the worse for wear, and old rags, empty tins, broken bottles, and such like beauties are scattered between them with a beautiful disregard for order and tidiness that at once stamps its inhabitants as of that class which rises superior to the minute details of everyday life, and follow after the one engrossing idea of copper getting.<sup>35</sup>

But what of the relic landscape?<sup>36</sup> Is it helpful in delineating class, ethnic and religious boundaries? The Roman Catholic church and school located at Spring Valley is one example of demarcation. However, it is imperfect, for not all Roman Catholic adherents dwelt there. The school records (Table 2) indicate that a good number of children of the Roman Catholic faith attended the Currawang public school. The homes of the elite are another possibility. A few better built homes of stone or brick were located on the outskirts of the town, or at least on the windward side of the smelters at Hennessey's Hill, and included Baxter's House and Currawang House, a farming property. Even further away were the pastoral properties of William Cooper ('Willeroo') and the Kenny and Sykes's families. The Anglican church of St Matthias is

still in existence, and the sites of the public school and one of the hotels, the latter demarked by a large scatter of broken bottles, are still visible. It is, however, unclear where the mine managers and key mine personnel lived, and there is little material evidence of the remaining town dwellings other than a few level building sites, and several small household dams. Even the mining and smelting relics are silent, a consequence of local plundering for building materials and an over-enthusiastic clean-up prior to a resumption of mining in the 1980s. The guidance provided by the landscape and buildings of Henry Glassie's Ballymenone, for instance, is largely absent.<sup>37</sup>

At Frogmore the landscape offers even less guidance. Possibly there was more spatial order in the community, for the main road ran through the town for a much greater distance than at Currawang, and many buildings would have been on either side of it, as some are today. But there is little evidence that class, ethnic or religious boundaries were delineated by the landscape, and there are no residents with an inherited memory of the mining days. The only description of the town comes from an article written in 1955 on the occasion of the demolition and removal of the hotel that had been built in about 1875 by John Sheedy for his daughter-in-law, Mrs Henry O'Neill of the Frogmore Estate. It was a timber and iron building, containing 11 rooms in addition to the kitchen, bathroom and stables. A good scatter of bricks and rubble indicates that the original hotel was built in close proximity to Sheedy's mines. There are several other building sites in the vicinity, suggesting that some homes were clustered in a haphazard fashion close to the mines and hotel.<sup>38</sup>

In the author's experience a more important determinant of town and village design in European mining communities is the distance or proximity to the hotel(s) and mine and smelter workings.<sup>39</sup> Aesthetics and a desire to avoid the more obnoxious outpourings of the hotels, smelters and mines were important determinants, and in these aspects topography becomes all-important. In some mining communities the ethnicity of certain places is indicated by the place names, but there is no evidence of that at either Currawang or Frogmore. On some goldfields the concept of surveillance can be discerned in the location of the battery manager's house near to or overlooking the battery (the gold processing site), but the rationale is entirely economic not social.<sup>40</sup> While location distinguished some social aspects of either community it did not signify the separation of social groups to any great extent, and the Panopticon model is largely

irrelevant. And this is not surprising. In the mid to late nineteenth century most migrants came to Australia to escape the more intrusive dictates of class and hegemony. They were hardly going to tolerate it in the location of their homes. Unfortunately, the often transient and plundered nature of many colonial mining communities ensures that living memory and extant relics are of limited use as a guide to social order.

**Figure 2:** *The Simon family's house, Frogmore, c.1880.*



Source: photo, courtesy of John Wheeler.

### **Hegemony, localism and ethnicity – Currawang**

The most striking social aspect of both communities was the over-riding eminence of the mine managers, in particular the Deer brothers, who were originally from Wales. In 1868 Eynon Deer won the undying devotion of the miners and their families, rescuing them from dire poverty when the previous management defaulted on their payments to him as a contractor. For a time the condition of many employees had bordered ‘on destitution and starvation’.<sup>41</sup> Together with the landowners and clergy, Eynon Deer formed a small but effective coalition of the elite, which saw its clearest expression in

the proceedings of the Miners' Lodge. The prime function of the Lodge was not just the provision of welfare but the promulgation of middle class values. Dissent and disagreement were rare, and class and sectarian issues were eschewed. For instance, at a Lodge function in 1873, Deer stated,

it is a pleasing thought that if anything happened to you - that if your family were to be deprived of your support that they would not be entirely destitute; but they would receive the sympathy and benefit due to them from the society.<sup>42</sup>

These sentiments were reiterated by subsequent mine managers. At a function in 1874, Captain Trevarthan remarked that the object of the Lodge was to assist members in times of trouble, disease and accident and to support the widows of deceased members. He commented that

What could there be more noble or grand than the fact that people of all shades and climes, and of varied thoughts and creeds, could meet together upon the same level ... their object was to train men in the greatest and highest state of morality ... to teach men, when they joined their society that they were all brethren, that they were all derived from one common father ... and endeavour to implant into the minds of men the necessity of not thinking that because they were elevated in that world a little above their fellows that they were in any degree superior to their fellow creatures.<sup>43</sup>

At a function in 1875 Mr Williams, the new mine manager, remarked that it gave him

great pleasure also to see that in this meeting all classes living around Currawang are represented, showing that all can join in doing honour to a cause that they believe to be right'.<sup>44</sup>

Political debate only surfaced at election time, when candidates for the seat of Argyle visited Currawang. But class, wages and working conditions were not on the political agenda. There were no reported instances of labour disputes at the mine. Neither was there a deal of antagonism from other quarters.<sup>45</sup> Localist ideology and groupings appear to have been almost completely subsumed by the hegemony of the elite and the promulgation of middle class values in institutions such as the Lodge, the Improvement Society and the churches. Some of the prominent landowners in the district had close social ties with the Currawang community through the churches. For instance, the Cooper and Byrnes's families donated land upon which the Anglican church and the Roman Catholic church and school respectively were built. Middle class hegemony was also bolstered through the provision of welfare. In 1875 Captain Williams was

described as someone who had ‘always shown himself ready to give practical assistance to the sick, and always ready with the helping hand and the kind word of advice to those requiring them’. He was also seen as ‘kind and considerate yet firm and always using his influence in a reasonable way to elevate the moral character of those over whom he had control’. The following year, Mr Martyn, the Anglican licensed lay reader, drew ‘well merited praise from all classes irrespective of all denominational predilections’. He had relieved ‘the destitute, widows, and sick and others while suffering under affliction’.<sup>46</sup>

Middle class values and hegemony were very evident in the social life of the community, which was largely organised by the elite. Farewell functions for various mine managers and officials reinforced these values, though they may be more an indication of dominance rather than hegemony. Two such farewells were given to the Deer family on their imminent departure from the district, the first of which was attended by about a hundred people. Referring to the absence of sectarian animosities in Currawang was local landowner John Kenny who expressed pleasure, to applause from those present, at the ‘business like’ partisan attitude of the Parliament and recently passed laws. Another speaker, teacher, Mr Walsh, ‘dilated upon the happy influence exerted by the ladies upon society’.<sup>47</sup>

Following the completion of the school building in 1872 a ‘big spread’ was put on by the wives of the Currawang elite, including the Deer’s and Kenny’s. There were 150 children present, with a further 250 parents and friends who attended a musical melange later that evening.<sup>48</sup> At a large number of these functions the children were especially catered for, and the women received a special mention for their efforts. Such references served to highlight, for Currawang at least, the civilizing role that women were expected to play in reinforcing middle class values. In 1871 there was a reference to the ‘happy, healthy faces of the children and the care of the ladies’. Mention was also made of the success of two recent amateur entertainments, with a third in the pipeline. At a function in 1872 a Mr Price was ably assisted by the ‘ladies of the mine’, and on at least two occasions tea treats were given by Mrs Deer on the anniversary of her children’s birthdays. Over 350 people attended one of these functions. At one of the Lodge functions a speaker called on the single women of Currawang to persuade their prospective husbands to join the Lodge on the threat of non-marriage.<sup>49</sup>

The Lodge’s influence extended beyond its formal functions to community social activities, as illustrated by celebration of the first anniversary of the Miners’

Lodge in 1873. This attracted visitors from all over the district and involved a procession, replete with banners and flags and led by the Bungendore Brass Band, that passed around the town and mine, finishing up at a place called 'The Tree', where there was dancing on the green for an hour. That evening a supper was held for 150 guests, of whom about half were women. Those present also included members of visiting lodges. Following the supper, a ball was held. The next day the children were entertained under 'The Tree' with leftovers from the function. With the adults present, dancing on the green was indulged in for several hours. A similar function was held in 1874, with music dispensed by the Goulburn Volunteer Band, and a procession to 'The Tree'. In the afternoon an athletic sports carnival for all ages and sexes was held with a supper and ball later in the evening. The Lodge function held in December 1875 was much less grandiose, with the poorer attendance reflecting the departure of many of the miners.<sup>50</sup>

It is difficult to gauge the full extent of the Welsh influence, particularly as the proportion of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the school population was about the same. Prior to 1875 the mine managers, of whom Eynon Deer was the most notable, appear to have been of Welsh extraction, and there was a large percentage of Wesleyans and Anglicans in the population as measured by the religious affiliations of the school students (Table 2). As recent commentators have observed, the Welsh could be adherents of any number of protestant denominations, including Anglican.<sup>51</sup> Further evidence for the 'Welshness' of Currawang is shown by the comment in 1876, on the occasion of the Wesleyan Sunday school anniversary, that the majority of the teachers at the school were Welshmen and that the proceedings were conducted after the character of Sunday school festivals in Wales. There is no mention of eisteddfods. They were common in large towns such as Ballarat, but perhaps Currawang was too small a community to warrant them, although singing was given full expression within the confines of the church and various church functions. Whatever the extent of the Welsh influence, it was, however, not a point of division, for there was a notable degree of co-operation between the different denominations and a 'happy absence of sectarian animosities'.<sup>52</sup> At the Wesleyan tea meeting in December 1866 there were a number of visitors from the country and distant places, and Captain Richards and many employees, a number of whom had formed themselves into an amateur choir, represented the miners. At the supper, every denomination in the neighbourhood was well represented. A public meeting was held afterwards, with the Reverend Waterhouse from Goulburn

speaking of the sympathy and kindness he had received from all denominations. About 200 persons attended the public tea held on the occasion of the anniversary of the Sabbath school in 1874, and not all of the attendees would have been Wesleyan.<sup>53</sup>

Non-sectarianism was also a feature of the activities of the two other major denominations. At the laying of the corner stone for the Anglican church of St Matthias in 1874 the manager of the mine gave the men a half-day off, and it was reported that there were many Wesleyans and Catholics present. The proceedings began with a long procession with banners, and about 450 people, including visitors from Collector and Tarago, were present at the supper.<sup>54</sup> At the annual tea party at the Roman Catholic church at nearby Spring Valley in 1878 it was stated that amongst those present were many 'visitors from Goulburn and other places, as well as others who did not belong to the same church'. It was commented that this attendance helped measurably in aiding the school, which had no government assistance.<sup>55</sup> The role of the elite was important in explaining the absence of sectarianism, for although its members were from different denominations, if they could present a united front on matters of class then why not on religion? In all three churches the elite were to the fore, not just as lay leaders but also as providers, for they not only supported the churches, but in some instances provided the land and buildings. The absence of sectarianism was remarkable and in contrast to the scenes sometimes played out between the Cornish non-conformists and the Irish Catholics in South Australia and New South Wales.<sup>56</sup>

The Welsh influence can be seen most clearly in the adherence to middle class values such as abstemiousness, sobriety and 'manly conduct'. In the good years these virtues were often commented upon, and in this the impetus came clearly from the Welsh Wesleyans, with their emphasis on abstention. The absence of a permanent police presence was in itself a testament to the remarkable order in the community. For instance, there were no reported instances of the sale of sly grog, and in 1868 it was remarked that the men did not 'drink beer or spirits, like their fellows in the old country: but as yet they find they can keep up their health and strength on water alone'. At a farewell dinner to the assayer in the same year, the mine manager personally thanked the men for their sober demeanour, and on another occasion in 1872 an observer described the miners 'as a body, as homely and manly as any other body of men in the colony'.<sup>57</sup> Again it was in the elite's interest, regardless of denomination, to foster and reward this behaviour, for it was not only good for the soul, but for productivity as well.

While the mining management and clergy reinforced these hegemonic values, they needed little overt coercion to do so, for hegemonic and ethnic cultures shared the same middle class values. These traditions allowed for a paternalistic approach by the managerial class. The Wesleyan tradition was more of a recent origin and part of a deliberate English push to civilize the working classes. Nevertheless, its middle class values, such as temperance were shared by many others in the community, some of whom were from other denominations.<sup>58</sup> There was clearly little conflict between the ethnic traditions of the Welsh and the hegemonic values promulgated by the churches and other institutions. These values appear to have easily borne by the community, and there appears to have been little resistance.

The exceptions to the latter observation followed the successive mine closures in the late 1870s. In 1880 the teacher, Mr Walsh, who was boarding at the hotel, complained that he had been 'insulted frequently at his meals and other times by drunken men'. His rest had 'repeatedly been broken throughout the night by the noise caused by a "bush ball" going on in an adjoining room to my bedroom and on other occasions by the fighting and shouting of a drunken mob'. He described the 'balls' as

nothing better than mere decoys for people to squander their money in drink ... the scenes enacted on a pay night would be most disgusting and to escape being a witness of them often have I journeyed to Goulburn twenty two miles distant where I have remained Saturday and Sunday'.

The general meeting of the Currawang Mining Association later that year was far from harmonious. There were a number of points of order and at one stage a threat to call the police. One concern was that no money had been obtained for the ore because the man in charge had been drinking all week and had not been found in time. In 1882 there was a report of obscene language outside Payne's public house at Currawang.<sup>59</sup> This increasing level of dysfunctionality tends to confirm the importance of the elites as agents of middle class hegemony for the Currawang community. By 1882 they were present in fewer numbers or had shifted their focus elsewhere.

### **Hegemony, localism and ethnicity - Frogmore**

As previously noted, in 1873 Eynon Deer left Currawang and in the following year joined his sister and his brothers, James and John, at Frogmore, where he was very soon again at the helm of community activities. For instance, in 1875 he requested the

establishment of a post office, the Reid's Flat postmaster reporting that the Deer Brothers' store was the most suitable place and that they were the only ones responsible enough to conduct the business.<sup>60</sup> Eynon was also instrumental in pressing for the establishment of a school. He wrote to the Council of Education in 1875 and asked that a teacher be sent immediately to open the school, which was in a temporary building provided by the residents. The Deer brothers submitted that the attendance rate would be high because, unlike farming, the children would not be called on to assist with their parents' work. The school was established later that year, with Eynon appointed as Chairman of the School Board.<sup>61</sup>

By 1878, however, the Deer Brothers had begun to reduce their dominance, or at least change their mode of operation, for in that year they convened a well-attended meeting to consider the various needs of the district. This change was probably a reflection of the degree to which they needed community support for the things that they wanted. An exhaustion factor may also have been present, for metal prices had fallen and the focus of the Deer Brothers was with the reorganisation of their company. Three petitions were passed to the local member and during the following week over 140 signatures were placed on each. One petition concerned the building of two bridges across the Boorowa River, and the second was for repairs of the road from the mines to Boorowa. A third petition was for the establishment of a court of petty sessions with local magistrates, and the appointment of a police magistrate at Boorowa to attend the court at Frogmore monthly.<sup>62</sup> The Deer Brothers loosened the reins a step further in 1881 when a Local Wants Committee was established. Eynon Deer was, however, still prominent as the president and secretary and in a very strong position to influence the outcomes of the committee. On this occasion the main concerns were almost identical to those expressed in 1878, but included a call for the construction of a weather shed for the public school. There was also a collective howl of protest at a government proposal to remove the local police officer. On the latter issue Eynon Deer wrote to the local member, who passed the matter to Sir Henry Parkes. Some weeks later it was reported that the police authorities had decided to let matters rest for the present. At subsequent meetings concerns were also expressed at the lack of a reliable water supply.<sup>63</sup>

It is not clear why the committee was formed, for there is no evidence of representations or agitations by local residents. Up until then all local matters had been attended to by the Deer brothers alone or, as in 1878, through a public meeting. Perhaps their lack of success in 1878 had prompted the change. Or perhaps the reasons were as

simple as fatigue or burn out on their part, for the mine company reorganisation was still in full swing, with a resumption of full operations to take place in a few months time. Unlike Currawang, the elite appears to have been less numerous or at least less obvious, and a greater degree of community support was required to implement changes. The elite included the clergy, the teacher and John Sheedy, but few other people such as landowners are mentioned. Whatever the reason, the establishment of the committee gave greater voice to localist ideology. But hegemony was not dead, for the committee could also be seen as another mechanism for importing middle class values into Frogmore, a contention supported by the types of concerns, such as law and order, discussed by the committee.

As at Currawang, the focus of the community was on local issues. Occasional representations to the local member and the Premier concerned local affairs, and the wide world of politics attracted little attention. There were no reported visits by local politicians or political candidates, no unions and no incidents of industrial unrest. Little is known of the activities of the Oddfellows' Lodge, but it could hardly be described as a workers' organization. One of the important functions of lodges was to make provision for medical care of members. In late 1878 arrangements were made for a doctor to visit the mines weekly to attend to the workers and their families for a stated sum per man to be paid monthly.<sup>64</sup> This arrangement, however, appears to have been made independently of the lodge, and may have been the catalyst for its establishment.

No one particular ethnic or religious grouping dominated Frogmore. As at Currawang there was a mixture of religious denominations, Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic. Although the Protestant groupings outnumbered the Catholic, no one group dominated (Table 3). Frogmore was a less cohesive society than Currawang, becoming increasingly so in the latter part of its existence, and reflecting in part the progressive weakness of the elite, whether by exhaustion or lack of interest, and in the end by its absence. One reflection of this relative lack of cohesion in the latter years was the various conflicts between parents and teachers. In mining communities, these tensions were often a touchstone for localist ideology, of 'us against them', the 'them' being the outside world of bureaucrats and officials, with the poor embattled teachers being an easy target. Such tensions were absent in Currawang, but they were in full flight in Frogmore between 1886 and 1892, this element of dissent coinciding with a period of downturn in the fortunes of the mines and town. For example, in 1886, the

teacher, Charles Beardow, was fined and reprimanded by the Police Magistrate for punishing a boy, an outcome which displeased the Inspector of Schools, who considered that the teacher had been harshly dealt with. Later that year Beardow requested a transfer, stating that he did not have the support and sympathy of the parents of the children, and was subject to complaint and abuse from most of them if he tried to correct an ‘indolent or disorderly pupil’. In 1887 false allegations by one of the parents again saw Beardow before the court, but on this occasion the case was dismissed.<sup>65</sup>

**Table 3:** *School enrollments, attendances and religion Frogmore.*

| Year | Enrolments | Attendances | Religion          |                |          |
|------|------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|
|      |            |             | Church of England | Roman Catholic | Wesleyan |
| 1875 | 26         | 25          | 8                 | 10             | 8        |
| 1876 | 63         | 52          | 14                | 25             | 24       |
| 1877 | 64         | 51          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1878 | 86         | 65          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1879 | 52         | 42          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1880 | 55         | 44          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1881 | n.a.       | n.a.        | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1882 | 78         | 54          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1883 | 77         | 58          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1884 | 82         | 53          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1885 | 60         | 42          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1886 | 51         | 35          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1887 | 48         | 30          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1888 | 51         | 35          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1889 | n.a.       | n.a.        | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1890 | 52         | 35          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |
| 1891 | 61         | 33          | n.a.              | n.a.           | n.a.     |

Source: NSW Council of Education, *Annual Report*, various years.

His successor did not fare much better. In early 1890 a parent complained about Wigg’s ‘unmerciful beating’ of his son and in October some parents protested at dancing being held at the school. Matters came to a head in January 1891 when eight parents signed a petition asking for his removal. He was accused of ‘harsh conduct to children’, and being ‘overbearing’ and ‘haughty’ towards those parents who remonstrated with him. Following further complaints in 1892 he was removed, despite a petition from 17 parents asking for his reinstatement, the latter incident demonstrating that even in this area the community was divided.<sup>66</sup>

Frogmore also differed from Currawang in the area of petty crime. In the early years there was a preoccupation with law and order and the suppression of petty crime

that bordered on the obsessive. Such concerns are indicative of strong middle class values. But at Frogmore they also reflected local community concerns as expressed through the Local Wants Committee. In the area of law and order, hegemony and localist ideology were at one. In 1877 the community was reported to be 'in some state of excitement' from the 'depredations of some cattle stealers who were impudent enough to take cattle almost from the very door of one of the butchers'. A later report referred disparagingly to a recent statement in the *Burrowa News* that at Frogmore there were 'no drunkards, no larrikins, no police, no politics'. A reference was made to the stealing and apparently brutal destruction of a draught horse some 14 months before, an event, which if not preventable by a police presence, would 'surely have been punished by the same'. In 1878 another call was made for police protection. A short time previously a smelting shed had been burnt to the ground, probably deliberately, and there had been a number of petty larcenies, including the stealing of a windlass rope.<sup>67</sup>

The eventual presence of the police may have had the desired effect, for at the Senior Constable's retirement function in 1880 he stated that he was afraid when he was appointed to Frogmore that

he should have some very unpleasant duties to perform, the place had such a rowdy name. But now on his leaving the police force, he was glad to bear testimony that Frogmore was one of the most orderly places he ever lived in.<sup>68</sup>

Petty crime was soon alive and well again, however, for in the following year horse stealing and petty thefts were described as frequent, though often undetected by the police. A court of petty sessions was eventually established and the first cases were held in 1882. They involved a person who was drunk and disorderly, a bullock driver using obscene language in a public place and a person accused of ill-using a horse. As this was the first court day the defendants were let off with a caution. In 1884 a case heard of assault on the constable by a prisoner was heard, but the charge was dismissed.<sup>69</sup> Court proceedings were held regularly thereafter, although most offences were for petty breaches of the law and dealt with locally.

Despite these more divisive incidents there was, as at Currawang, a similar emphasis on domestic values and a comparable lack of sectarianism, a reflection of the influence of the elite in the early years of Frogmore's existence and the prevalence of middle class values. Many functions were the province of hegemonic institutions such as the school, churches, Oddfellows' Lodge and the Good Templars, and in some of

them there was a heavy involvement by Eynon Deer and his brothers. As at Currawang the Wesleyan church was prominent in these activities. In 1876 a Wesleyan tea meeting was held, at which 150 persons from the district attended, many of whom were from other denominations.<sup>70</sup> At the 1878 anniversary of the Wesleyan Sabbath School, the children were, as usual, marched through the village and then regaled with tea, cake and fruit. Later, the public tea commenced and in the evening a public meeting was held, presided over by Eynon Deer. Anniversaries in subsequent years always included a public tea and meeting. Wesleyan Sabbath school picnics were also held.<sup>71</sup>

Many of the church functions were concerned with fund raising, and there was considerable collaboration between the various denominations in these activities. In 1878 it was remarked that the Protestant community had been to the fore in contributing towards the building of a church for the Roman Catholic community. Father Fallon held a bazaar in 1883 at the time of the annual race meeting, with the aim of reducing the debt on the Frogmore and Hovell's Creek Roman Catholic churches. The bazaar was a big success, and he thanked profusely the Catholic community and those from other denominations who had assisted 'so cheerfully and liberally'.<sup>72</sup> John Sheedy was an important benefactor of the Roman Catholic community, and provided a suitable site and a liberal donation of money for the establishment of a church.<sup>73</sup>

School functions were also an important part of the social fabric, and again reflected the importance of middle class values in the community. At the opening of the new public school and residence in 1878, the local School Board gave a picnic on the school ground to the school children and their parents, together with any others that wished to attend. About 65 children participated, marching through the village singing and waving colourful flags. The first school anniversary was held in 1879, with a picnic for the children and an evening entertainment of recitations and a drama for the adults. School picnics were held in subsequent years and usually followed by an amateur entertainment.<sup>74</sup>

The prominence of the Good Templars was consistent with a strong Wesleyan presence, with its emphasis on sobriety, and solid middle class values. After one monthly meeting, a correspondent commented that the Order would be more popular if the meetings were open to the public and all persons were invited, whether total abstainers or not. The functions were, however, only for the true believers. Following a picnic in 1883 an adjournment was made to the lodge room, where a public meeting was held with hymns, prayers, recitations and addresses, including one on the history of

total abstinence. It was concluded that Good Templary had taken a firm hold of the people of Frogmore and that it was of great benefit to the neighbourhood.<sup>75</sup>

While many of these functions were very family oriented, there were considerably fewer reports of compliments paid to the women than at Currawang. Following on from a Good Templars' function in 1883, there was a strong hint of condescension, the correspondent stating that:

if the good ladies of Frogmore were not experts at getting up picnics well they ought to have been for they had had lots of practice lately ... when the women and girls of a place are exceptionally pretty that picnics and other out door sports are almost as numerous as the days in the year. Thus it is in Frogmoor [sic] we have a number of pretty women and girls who on the slightest provocation get up a picnic straight away and there are some lads and old bachelors here who are wicked enough to say that although they get these picnics up ostensibly for some good purpose, their chief end is to show off their own charms, and I must say that I am not at all sure but that the lads and old bachelors are not right in this case. However, whatever the aim of the ladies may be they do get these things up very nicely here.<sup>76</sup>

Other than the annual races there are no accounts of social functions at Frogmore during the years of mine closure between 1885 and 1888. However, in 1889 the annual picnic and entertainment was held to celebrate the Prince of Wales's birthday and a concert was organised in aid of an injured man.<sup>77</sup> The following year, Wigg, the schoolteacher, held a concert to raise money for a school library, and the Good Templars' annual picnic was held.<sup>78</sup> In these declining years there were occasional visits by the clergy, although the Wesleyan minister was seldom seen.<sup>79</sup> A tea and concert were held in one of the churches (probably Church of England) in early 1891, and attended by visitors, including the Rye Park Choir. Several months later there was an entertainment at the school. In 1892 Wigg held a school concert and limelight exhibition to raise funds for tree planting, and the grand sum of £2 was contributed, a far cry from the bazaar days of Father Fallon!<sup>80</sup> By this time the mines had again closed and the district was in the grip of severe drought. However, these social occasions indicate that hegemonic values were still holding.

## **Conclusions**

What conclusions can we draw from these two communities? At Currawang localist ideology was clearly subsumed by the hegemony of the managerial class and other

members of the elite. But the concept of hegemony was blurred by ethnic traditions and the existence of community values that had existed for many generations of Welsh and Cornish miners in Britain and elsewhere. While the mining management and clergy may have reinforced these values, they needed little overt coercion to do so, for hegemonic and ethnic cultures shared the same middle class values. These traditions allowed for a paternalistic approach by the managerial class. Many others in the community, some of who were from other denominations, shared middle class values such as temperance. There appears to have been little, if any, resistance to this hegemony.

Frogmore was more of a mixed bag. In the early years the hegemony of the elite as expressed through the Deer brothers was very evident, though the reins were loosened somewhat from 1878 and replaced by a strong localist ideology, of which the main exemplar was the Wants Committee. Perhaps consistent with this development the Frogmore community was a little 'rougher around the edges' than at Currawang, the three instances of this being the prevalence of petty crime, the suggestion of more open condescension towards women, and the parlous state of parent teacher relations. Perhaps there were a smaller proportion of Welsh people in the population, though the Wesleyan element was larger. Or perhaps it was more a reflection of lower and more irregular incomes in the less halcyon post-1878 period when copper prices were lower and more erratic. In Currawang and Frogmore anti-social behaviour appears to have been at a higher pitch in the declining years of the mines.

In both communities the existence of class distinctions is not supported strongly by the material evidence. Tradesmen, miners and labourers, regardless of income or creed, lived in similar humble abodes with location based on convenience and availability. There appears to have been only a limited environmental consciousness; the same dreary and denuded landscapes were evident to all, but there were no bog-towns or barrios where the poorer housing dominated. Inside the homes distinctions were evident, but exterior appearances such as size, tidiness and garden plots would have been more dependent on family situation (single or married status) rather than income. The elite were an exception. Where the archaeological evidence is available, important exterior distinctions can be found. Their houses were more substantial and solid and located at a respectable distance from the smoke and fumes of the smelters. Aesthetics and a desire to avoid the more obnoxious outpourings of the hotels, smelters and mines were important determinants of location, but the Panopticon model is largely irrelevant.

The often transient and plundered nature of many colonial mining societies has ensured that living memory and sometimes-extant relics are of little guide to social order.

For the mining historian these towns have a greater significance. Labour historians, and I suspect many mining historians focus on communities where the tension between labour and capital is most obvious. These class-based narratives are of course important, for the events were significant, but that perhaps is the point - they were more noticeable and more fully reported. If we wish to talk more generally about the functioning of mining communities more than one model is needed. The examples of Currawang and Frogmore demonstrate the importance of the hegemonic and localist models and ethnicity. These models may well be the most prevalent for the colonial period. An analysis of communities by looking at hegemony acting either in concert with, or against, forces for diversity like ethnicity and localism is a useful approach. The examples of Currawang and Frogmore support the contention of historians such as Philip Payton that colonial Australia, in particular the mining community, was ethnically and culturally diverse. Hegemonic and localist models are useful explanatory devices for illustrating how some of these communities functioned.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Barry McGowan, *Historic Mining Sites in the Monaro, Southern Tablelands Districts of New South Wales*, Report to the New South Wales Department of Planning and the Australian Heritage Commission, 1993, pp.74-94.

<sup>2</sup> Barry McGowan, *Historic Mining Sites Survey of the Shoalhaven and South West Slopes Districts of New South Wales*, Report to the New South Wales Department of Planning and the Australian Heritage Commission, 1995, pp. 185-204. The following year both towns were discussed in my book, Barry McGowan, *Lost Mines Revisited, a history of local mining communities in south east NSW*, Canberra, 1996, pp. 75-92, 179-205.

<sup>3</sup> Erik Eklund, *Steel Town. The Making and Breaking of Port Kembla*, Melbourne University Press, 2002, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Susan Lawrence, 'After the Gold Rush, Material Culture and Settlement on Victoria's Central Goldfields', in Ian McCalman, Alexander Cook Andrew Reeves (eds), *Gold. Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2001, pp. 250-266; Susan Lawrence, *Dolly's Creek*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> The Panopticon was a type of prison building designed for maximum surveillance by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century English philosopher Jeremy Bentham. The French philosopher Michel Foucault used the Panopticon model to explain the importance of surveillance in industry, institutions and society generally, and to illustrate the relationship between power and spatiality. For geographers and archaeologists the relevance is the extent to which towns and villages were designed or organised to allow for maximum surveillance. Michel Foucault, *Crime and Punishment*, Allen Lane, Penguin Books, London, 1977, pp. 195-228; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, 1980, pp. 146-65; David Wood, 'Editorial. Foucault and Panopticism Revisited', pp. 234-39; Hille Loskela, "'Cam Era" – the contemporary urban Panopticon', *Surveillance & Society* 1 (3), pp. 292-313; Pamela Major-Poetzl, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of*

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*Western Culture. Toward a New Science of History*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983, pp. 204-5.

<sup>6</sup> Ian Gray, *Politics in Place. Social power relations in an Australian country town*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1991, p. 161; Ken Dempsey, *Smalltown. A Study of Social Inequality, Cohesion and Belonging*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Erik Eklund, 'The "Place" of Politics: Class and Localist Politics at Port Kembla, 1900-30', *Labour History*, no.78, May 2000, pp. 95-96; Erik Eklund, "'We are of Age" Class, Locality and Region at Port Kembla, 1900 to 1940', *Labour History*, no. 66, May 1994, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> Eklund, *Steel Town*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>9</sup> Greg Patmore, 'Localism and Labour: Lithgow 1869-1932', *Labour History*, no. 78, May 2000, pp. 53, 65-67; Brian Kennedy, *Silver, Sin, and Sixpenny Ale. A Social History of Broken Hill, 1883-1921*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 55-63.

<sup>10</sup> Carl Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism*, Pluto Press, London, 1980, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History. Documents, Narrative and Argument*, Longman and Cheshire, Melbourne, 1980, p. 22; Stuart McIntyre, 'Connell and Irving I', *Labour History*, no. 40, 1981, pp. 110-12.

<sup>13</sup> Connell and Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, pp. 105-187.

<sup>14</sup> McGowan, 'Reconsidering Race: The Chinese experience on the Goldfields of Southern New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 124, October 2004, pp. 312-22; 'The Chinese on the Braidwood Goldfields: historical and archaeological opportunities', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol. 6, 2004, pp. 35-58.

<sup>15</sup> Kerry Cardell and Cliff Cumming (eds), *A World Turned Upside Down. Cultural Change on Australia's Goldfields 1851-2001*, Humanities Research Centre monograph, no.14.

<sup>16</sup> Philip J. Payton, *The Cornish miner in Australia: (Cousin Jack down under)*, Dyllansow Truran, Trewolsta, Cornwall, 1984; Philip J. Payton, 'Making Moonta: The Invention of 'Australia's Little Cornwall'', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, vol. 4, September 2006, pp. 47-67; Patricia Lay, 'One and All: The Cornish in 19th Century New South Wales', MA, ANU, March 1992; Jan Croggin, 'Methodists and Miners. The Cornish in Ballarat 1851-1901', in Cardell and Cummings, *A World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 61-75; Kerry Cardell, Cliff Cumming, Peter Griffiths & Bill Jones, 'Welsh Identity on the Victorian goldfields in the Nineteenth Century', in *A World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 25-60. There was a strong Welsh presence in Castlemaine and Ballarat, and eisteddfods were a regular event. William Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman 1869-1894*, Sun Books, South Melbourne, 1975.

<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 105-27, 132; Payton, *The Cornish miner in Australia*, pp. 89-103; Ruth S. Kerr, *Irvinebank: Mining Community and Centre of an Empire*, paper delivered to the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, 24 May 1984, J.D. & R.S. Kerr, St. Lucia, 1984; Ruth S. Kerr, *John Moffat of Irvinebank*, J.D. & R.S. Kerr, St. Lucia, 2000; Eklund, 'We are of Age', p. 77. It could be argued that some of Ipswich's nineteenth century coal mining centres also fall into the hegemonic model. See Bradley Bowden, 'A Time "the like of which was never before experienced": Changing Community Loyalties in Ipswich, 1900-12', *Labour History*, no. 78, May 2000, pp. 71-93; Claire Williams has also used the concept of hegemony as an analytical tool in her study of the working class in an Australian mining town, see, Claire Williams, *Open Cut. The working class in an Australian mining town*, *Studies in Society*: 8, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1981, pp. 18-20.

<sup>18</sup> According to J.E. Carne, *The Copper Mining Industry*, Mineral Resources no. 6, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Sydney, 1908, the company's name was Currowong but the town and mines were always referred to in the local press as Currawang, as it still is today. Perhaps the different spelling was intentional or perhaps the Mines Department got the spelling wrong, as it often did.

<sup>19</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 9 May, 9, 12 August 1865, 27 June 1866, 19 September 1866, 18 July 1868; Carne, *The Copper Mining Industry*, pp. 341-2; *Town and Country Journal*, 24 December 1870, 25 November 1871, 25 November 1871; *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 25 February 1871; *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 21 November 1871, 20 September 1873, 6 October 1874; *Statistical Register of New South Wales*, Government Printer, Sydney, various years.

<sup>20</sup> *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 21 September 1875, 12 November 1878; *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 22 September 1875; *Goulburn Herald*, 26 March 1879, 28 July 1880, 29 January 1881, 29 January 1882; *New South Wales Government Gazette*, Sydney, 15 June, 30 August 1880, 29 March, 26 July 1881.

<sup>21</sup> Joan and John Wheeler to Barry McGowan, 9 February 1995; Frogmore Centenary Committee, *Frogmore Public School Centenary 1875-1975*, Boorowa, 1975, p. 16; *Town and Country Journal*, 27

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July, 21 September 1872; *Yass Courier*, 19 July 1872; *Burrowa News*, 14 November 1874, 7 August 1875, 27 May 1876.

<sup>22</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 1 September 1877; *Town and Country Journal*, 29 June 1878; *Burrowa News*, 7 April 1877, 4 October, 8 November 1878, 8 April, 6 June, 29 October, 12 December 1879, 5 August 1881.

<sup>23</sup> *Burrowa News*, 5 October 1882, 29 March 1889, 16 May 1890, 27 February, 10 April 1891; Carne; *The Copper Mining Industry*, pp. 345-48.

<sup>24</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 18 July 1868; *New South Wales Statistical Register*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1865-1870.

<sup>25</sup> Eklund, *Steel Town*, pp. 60-71.

<sup>26</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 9 August 1865; *Baillierie's New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide*, Sydney, p. 296; G. Sykes, *The history of the Sykes family in Australia*, private publication, undated, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> New South Wales Council of Education, 1868 Schedule of Applications for the Establishment of Public Schools, NSWLA, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1868; *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 25 February 1871, 10 April 1872; *New South Wales Census, 1871*, Sydney, 1871; *Town and Country Journal*, 25 November 1871, 15 June 1872.

<sup>28</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 5 December 1866, 25 February, 19 April 1871, 25 February 1874, 24 April 1875; *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 18, 20 September 1873; Sykes, *The History of the Sykes family in Australia*, pp. 20-21; NSW Council for Education Report, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1874.

<sup>29</sup> Reid's Flat Postmaster to GPO, 4 April 1875; E. Deer to the Secretary, GPO, 5 June 1875, Secretary, Money Order and Government Savings Bank Department to the Secretary, GPO, 21 February, 1877, SP 32/1, Box 214, NAA, Sydney; *Burrowa News*, 15 January 1876, 7 April 1877; Frogmore Centenary Committee, *Frogmore Public School Centenary, 1875-1975*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>30</sup> *Burrowa News*, 4 October, 22 November 1878, 5 September 1879, 14 January 1881, 19 January 1883. The first anniversary of the Wesleyan Sunday school was held in November 1878, which suggests strongly that it was built in November 1877. In 1881 it was stated that the Lodge had been in existence for some years.

<sup>31</sup> *Burrowa News*, 5 September 1880, 5, 27 October 1882, 13 June 1884. The exact date the police station was erected is uncertain. However, in September 1880 there was a presentation to the retiring police officer, so the station would have been built before then. The same uncertainty surrounds the police quarters, court of petty sessions and lock up, but the former two had been built by 1882.

<sup>32</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 18 July 1868; New South Wales Council of Education, 1868 Schedule of Applications for the Establishment of Public Schools, NSWLA, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1868.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Town and Country Journal*, 15 June 1872.

<sup>35</sup> *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 16 April 1878.

<sup>36</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 238-49.

<sup>37</sup> McGowan, *Historic Mining Sites in the Monaro, Southern Tablelands Districts of New South Wales*, 1993, pp. 74-94; Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*, First Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1995.

<sup>38</sup> McGowan, *Historic Mining Sites Survey of the Shoalhaven and South West Slopes Districts of New South Wales*, pp. 185-204; *Burrowa News*, 2 September 1955. The licence for the hotel was sold in either 1917 or 1918 and a new hotel constructed (where it still stands) to the north of the town to coincide with a short-lived tungsten boom (the mines were located at a more distant northerly location).

<sup>39</sup> I have commented upon this aspect in a number of my heritage studies, particularly in the 1993 and 1995 reports. See McGowan, *Historic Mining Sites Survey of the Shoalhaven and South West Slopes Districts of New South Wales*, pp. 161-62.

<sup>40</sup> See discussion on the siting of the Quong Tart and Forsyth residences at Bell's Creek. McGowan, 'The making of a legend: Quong Tart on the Braidwood goldfields' to be published in *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 2007. Other examples are in my 1993 and 1995 reports.

<sup>41</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 31 March 1869; *Town and Country Journal*, 25 November 1871.

<sup>42</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 25 October 1873.

<sup>43</sup> *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 17 December 1874.

<sup>44</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 22 September 1875.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 24 October 1877, 15 September, 13 October 1880.

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- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 April, 22 September 1875, 30 August 1876, 23 September, 12 October 1872, 17 December 1874; Sykes, *The History of the Sykes' family in Australia*, p. 21.
- <sup>47</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 12 October 1872, 25 October 1873.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 April 1872.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 February 1871, 23 September, 1872, 11 October 1873, 17 December 1874; *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 18 September 1873.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 September 1873, 17 December 1874, 8 December 1875.
- <sup>51</sup> Cardell, Cumming, Griffiths & Jones, 'Welsh Identity on the Victorian goldfields in the Nineteenth Century', in *A World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 25-60.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*; Croggon, 'Methodists and Miners: The Cornish in Ballarat 1851-1901', pp. 61-75; *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 22 March 1876; Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman 1869-1894*.
- <sup>53</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 5 December 1866, 10 June 1874.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 February 1874, 24 April 1875. The total cost was £400, of which all but £80 had been paid off at that stage. Almost all the funds had been contributed by persons living within a few miles radius of the church.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 February 1878; NSW Council of Education, Schedule of application for the establishment of public schools, NSW LA, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1868. The numbers of children that intended to enrol at the new public school included 38 Anglicans and 44 Catholics.
- <sup>56</sup> Lay, 'One and All', pp. 94-105; Payton, *The Cornish Miner in Australia*, pp. 70-71
- <sup>57</sup> *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 18 July 1868, 14 October 1868; *Town and Country Journal*, 16 June 1872.
- <sup>58</sup> Croggon, 'Methodists and Miners: The Cornish in Ballarat 1851-1901', p. 76.
- <sup>59</sup> W. Walsh to Under Secretary, 29 May 1880, Department of Public Instruction, 5/15631.1, State Records Centre New South Wales [hereafter SRCNSW], Sydney, *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 6, 24 October 1877, 28 July, 15 September, 13 October 1880, 17 January 1882.
- <sup>60</sup> John Wheeler to Barry McGowan, 9 February 1995; Reid's Flat Postmaster to Postmaster General, 7 April 1875; E. Deer to Postmaster General, 15 March 1875, internal communications, Postmaster General's department, 7 April, 7 May 1875.
- <sup>61</sup> Frogmore Centenary Committee, *Frogmore Public School Centenary 1975-1975*, publisher unknown, 1975, pp. 5-7.
- <sup>62</sup> *Burrowa News*, 5 November 1878.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 January, 14, 25 March, 8 April 1881, 27 October 1882, 19 January 1883.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 September 1878.
- <sup>65</sup> M. Halloran to the Under Secretary, 5 March 1886; C. Beardow to District Inspector Dwyer; Inspector Lawford to the District Inspector, 16 March 1886; Inspector Lawford to the Chief Inspector, 20 April 1886, Beardow to the Under Secretary, 25 September 1886, Beardow to Dwyer, 28 July 1887, 15 August 1887, Department of Public Instruction, 5/15951.2, SRCNSW, Sydney.
- <sup>66</sup> Mary McPherson, *It Happened at School*, Kangaroo Press, Roseville, 1997, pp. 67-68.
- <sup>67</sup> *Burrowa News*, 4 August, 10 November, 9 February 1878.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 September 1880.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 March, 27 October 1882, 13 June 1884.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 January 1876. A comment in April 1877 that there was no religious service of any description taking place, is odd, and was possibly made because of the absence of a visiting clergyman on the day. *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 1 September 1877.
- <sup>71</sup> *Burrowa News*, 22 November 1878, 12 December 1879, 28 December 1883.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 October 1878, 2 February 1883. The gross amount reached £145, which left a surplus for future contingencies. A sum of £70 had already been contributed from both communities through a subscription list.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 October 1878.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 September 1878, 5 September 1879, 27 October 1882, 28 December 1883.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 January, 28 December 1883.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 December 1883.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 November, 6 December 1889.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 December 1890; H. Wigg to Inspector Sheehy, 4 June 1890, Department of Public Instruction, 5/15951.2, SRCNSW, Sydney.
- <sup>79</sup> *Yass Courier*, 13 February 1891; *Burrowa News*, 10 April 1891.
- <sup>80</sup> Frogmore Centenary Committee, *Frogmore Public School Centenary 1875-1975*, 1975, p. 8.