

## **Frontiersmen five: the Gaffney brothers, building, supplying and hosting Tasmania's west coast mining fields**

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**T**he five Gaffney brothers, James, John, Michael, Frank and Steve, were at the forefront of virtually every mining settlement on Tasmania's west coast in the pre-World-War-One era. Butchers, drovers, storekeepers, hoteliers, builders, sawmillers, packers, farmers, plus freight, passenger, mail and road contractors—they were jacks-of-all-trades who almost rode in the prospector's pocket. Irish Catholic scions of the farming community of Deloraine, they had an uncanny ability to beat all comers to the latest mining hotspot. Even the enticingly-named Moores Pimple had a pop-up Michael Gaffney (1864–1934) store.<sup>1</sup>

The mantle of most enterprising was contested by the first and the fourth. James Gaffney (1853–1913) went from being a tin miner at Mount Bischoff to fronting—with Frank Harvey—the best-known contracting firm on the west coast. They probably built as many hotels as they licensed. Frank Gaffney (1867–1928) worked with business partner James Leach to drive fat stock from northern and north-western Tasmania across the highlands and down the west coast to be butchered at Gormanston. Later he was so dominant in Balfour's commercial life that he fielded complaints of monopolisation from customers and competitors alike.<sup>2</sup> In truth he was just sharper than the rest.

**Figure 1:** *Frank Gaffney and Zeehan butcher Dave Nicholas swimming cattle across the Pieman River.*



Source: Circular Head Heritage Centre.

Things didn't always go to plan. Being 'hands on' could also be dangerous. In May 1913 Frank Gaffney almost lost his life packing tin across a flooded river mouth.<sup>3</sup> Steve Gaffney (1869–1940) was bankrupted while storekeeping at Queenstown and

hotel keeping at Linda—but bobbed up again at Williamsford and Balfour.<sup>4</sup> One of Steve’s creditors, James Gaffney, almost got dragged down with him even while serving his community as the House of Assembly Member for Lyell.<sup>5</sup>

The Gaffney women—the sisters and wives—were also an important part of this story. Christina (1864–1934), Ellen (1866–1932), Margaret (1871–1952) and Frances Gaffney (1876–1937) joined their brothers on the west coast, working with them as store and hotel managers. It was not until 1924 that, with the departure of John Gaffney (1857–1927) from Strahan, the Gaffney siblings took their leave of the western frontier.<sup>6</sup>

The Gaffneys’ ubiquity in ancillary services on Tasmania’s west coast has never been properly examined. C.J. Binks, in his account of west coast pioneers, concentrated on James Gaffney as storekeeper, publican and politician, while Tim Jetson, in his study of west coast droving, attributed all the Gaffney butchering ventures to just one of the brothers, Frank Gaffney rather than three.<sup>7</sup> The Gaffneys are worthy of closer attention, being notable for their partnership building and the fostering of their siblings’ career paths. This paper traces their careers, seeking the secrets of their dominance. It considers their operating methods both individually and as a family unit, their achievements and the physical legacy of their careers long after their retirement.

### **Irish convict beginnings**

On 28 February 1842, Hugh Gaffney (1814–86) was convicted at Cavan, Ireland, of stealing guns and transported from Dublin for seven years on the *Isabella Watson* —as was his brother Francis for the same offence. They were accused of intending to assist a Richard Jones in taking a ship. Twenty-seven-year-old Hugh was a tiny (160-cm-tall), literate Roman Catholic labourer. In Van Diemen’s Land he served two years in the probation system, performing public works, and in 1845 he received his introduction to the northern backblocks when assigned to grazier A.F. Rooke for four months at the Retreat near Westbury in the north of the colony. Obtaining a ticket-of-leave in 1846, the 35-year-old brewer, as he then described himself, married nineteen-year-old Irish Catholic immigrant Catherine Whelan (c1832–1916) in 1851.<sup>8</sup> Returning to Van Diemen’s Land after a stint at the Victorian gold rushes during 1852–53, the couple had their first child, James Gaffney.<sup>9</sup> Catherine would be 44 years old when she produced their last child, Susan Gaffney, in 1876.

Many poor, Irish Roman Catholic farming families made a subsistence living in the area along Quamby Brook, which was commonly called ‘Paddy’s Scrub’ or ‘Early Rises’. The former name is self-explanatory. The latter may have referred to the early start needed to reach the nearest town, Deloraine, 11 km away, in time to attend church.<sup>10</sup> Hugh Gaffney mortgaged a block of land at Quamby Brook, but did not keep up the payments, and it is believed that two of his sons (probably James and Frank) eventually bought their parents a permanent home with the proceeds of selling a farm they (the brothers) owned.<sup>11</sup>

The stigma of convictism remained strong in Tasmania through the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth,<sup>12</sup> but there are many examples of ambitious children of an ex-convict making a mark in society, people perhaps driven to prove

themselves, and this may partly account for the enterprise of the James and Frank Gaffney in particular.<sup>13</sup> However, it was the advent of new employment opportunities which prompted the gravitation of Gaffneys to the west coast.

### **Contractors at Waratah: James Joseph Gaffney and Frank Harvey 1881–84**

**Figure 2:** *James Gaffney*  
c.1913.



Source: *Tasmanian Mail*, 26  
June 1913.

James Gaffney once referred to himself as ‘uneducated’.<sup>14</sup> However, like his brothers, he was literate, having been educated, as all his siblings were, at the Quamby Brook State School and afterwards by his father.<sup>15</sup> During a period of sustained economic depression, the outlook for farming was bleak, and it is not surprising that, like many other young men of his time, James Gaffney sought opportunities away from the family farm when large-scale operations commenced at the Mount Bischoff Tin Mine in the mid-1870s.<sup>16</sup> He married Sarah Elizabeth Price (1857–1939), his wife and business partner for the rest of his days.<sup>17</sup> Sarah would bear eleven children, four of whom died in infancy. By 1879, the 26-year-old James had established a billiard room at Waratah, the town which developed around the tin mine.<sup>18</sup> Two years later he entered into a more formal business relationship: his fifteen-year-long partnership with

prospector Frank Harvey (1855–1931), firstly as Waratah butchers, driving fat cattle up from Circular Head.<sup>19</sup> They compensated for their inexperience by recruiting an accomplished Bendigo butcher, Henry Turner, to head this business.<sup>20</sup> New mining fields were now opening up, with minor gold rushes occurring on the lower Pieman River near what would become Corinna and alluvial and hard rock tin mining attracting attention to the Heemskirk field further south. Jacks-of-all-trades, willing to try their hand at any type of work and always anticipating the next business opportunity, Gaffney & Harvey won the mail contract from Waratah to Heemskirk via Corinna, plus contracts to clear and maintain the track which they themselves travelled in the course of this work.<sup>21</sup>

Gaffney also built St James’ Church, the surviving wooden Carpenter Gothic structure in Smith Street, Waratah.<sup>22</sup> When the Browns Plain and Specimen Reef gold strikes were made on the Pieman River system in 1882, Gaffney & Harvey and others set up stores serving these fields at the 20-Mile mark on the track to Corinna.<sup>23</sup> Their butcher, Turner, worked there for four years.<sup>24</sup> The partners also kept a boardinghouse at the 20-Mile, this being their first venture into hospitality.<sup>25</sup>

Gaffney & Harvey were recognised as ‘businessmen of the right stamp’, and they were quite capable of using the press to benefit themselves.<sup>26</sup> In July 1883, through the pages of the *Launceston Examiner* newspaper, Gaffney threatened to bring the

Specimen Reef gold workings to a standstill by withdrawing his supply of stores until the track was improved.<sup>27</sup>

This apparent plea for government assistance was totally self-serving. Not only did Gaffney & Harvey cart stores along the track, but they owned land at Corinna (presumably for the holding and slaughter of stock) served by the track. Once the track had been improved, they also won a new maintenance contract for it and a new contract for the mail service that utilised it.<sup>28</sup>

### **Gaffney & Harvey as contractors, butchers and hoteliers at Strahan 1884–96**

In 1884 Gaffney & Harvey began to re-establish themselves at Long Bay (Strahan), Macquarie Harbour, anticipating that this would become the port for the Mount Lyell gold (and later copper) field. Although storekeeper Fred (F.O.) Henry and hotelier Henry Zeplin started at Long Bay before Gaffney & Harvey, the partners established themselves at the formative stages of settlement when its money-making potential was at a maximum.

**Figure 3:** *Strahan c.1890, showing Gaffney & Harvey's two-storey Victoria Hall (centre), plus the two-storey dining room and two storey accommodation block of their Macquarie Harbour Hotel.*



Source: Photo by A. Sargeant, courtesy of the Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Energy (Tasmania).

James Gaffney and Henry Zeplin arrived at Long Bay simultaneously on the steamer the *Wakefield*, and on arrival they had to cut a path through the tea-tree scrub to reach their chosen destinations, where Zeplin built a pub and Gaffney a store.<sup>29</sup> As a road was cleared into the settlement which became known as Strahan, Gaffney & Harvey set up a temporary store along the route, serving it by pack-horse.<sup>30</sup> While they retained their interest in mining, employing men to prospect for them, the Strahan storekeepers would have made much more money out of supplying Mount Lyell miners and buying their gold.<sup>31</sup>

Port facilities were established at East Strahan, the most suitable site for discharging cargo.<sup>32</sup> In 1886, Gaffney & Harvey's first hotel there was built—illegally—on the Esplanade out of timber from Weber and Karlson's old hotel at Trial Harbour.<sup>33</sup> Their wives may have had business experience, but it is also possible that, as they had done with their butchering business, Gaffney & Harvey recruited an experienced manager for this pub. Whichever the case, storekeeper Fred Henry instigated legal proceedings against the pair because he believed the hotel's position diminished his business, and when it burnt down they rebuilt in a grand style as the Macquarie Harbour Hotel on a new, *legal* site set back from the wharves.<sup>34</sup> Gaffney & Harvey installed an internal telephone system between the dining room and bar, added an assembly room to their premises, with a joiner's shop beneath, and in 1891 a third storey topped the accommodation wing of the hotel complex.<sup>35</sup>

Recruiting and keeping good staff on the remote west coast was not easy. Gaffney hired staff through an agent in Hobart, the employer paying their fare to Strahan on their understanding that if they stayed four-months they would not be required to reimburse him. Tasmania's *Master and Servant* legislation seems to have been promulgated with the idea of ensuring continuity of employment after the convict transportation era, and to this end, it was weighted heavily in favour of the employer. It was not uncommon for a worker to be sued for leaving his or her master's employ without giving sufficient notice, as was the case in 1891 when Gaffney sued one of his hotel maids, Hannah Barrett, for leaving with only one week's notice. However, another of Gaffney's maids, Rachel Lovett, testified that he had sacked her with only one week's notice, nullifying his argument that Barrett had broken a contract.<sup>36</sup>

Keeping ahead of potential competitors, Gaffney & Harvey built additional hotels at West Strahan (the Palace Hotel, 1891), which exploited the advent of the railway to Zeehan, and in 1894, the Queen River Hotel on the descent into the Queen River Valley on the road from Strahan. As C.J. Binks discussed in *Pioneers of Tasmania's West Coast*, the Queen River Hotel was a cut above the usual bush shanty, making it a gathering place for diggers from far-flung mining claims.<sup>37</sup>

Much of Gaffney & Harvey's contract work centred on the new settlement of Lynchford (see the full list of contracts in Appendix 1). While clearing a path for the Mount Lyell Railway, in December 1894 they established two shops at Teepookana on the King River, which then served as the terminus.<sup>38</sup> The partners built sections of both the Mount Lyell and North Lyell Railways, the two major construction projects of the time.<sup>39</sup> They also kept their hand in with the meat trade, retaining the services of butcher Henry Turner and bringing in fat bullocks, sheep, as well as oats and chaff, from Circular Head.<sup>40</sup> Shopkeeper W.B. Collins of Stanley supplied them with butter.<sup>41</sup>

However, Gaffney & Harvey knew the savings to be made from vertical integration and determined to rear their own stock and grow their own produce. They established a farm at Duck Creek, West Strahan, where they planted 25 acres of English grass and cleared another 35 acres on which to run stock.<sup>42</sup> The menu at the Queen River Hotel featured Gaffney & Harvey's home-grown vegetables, local game and freshly slaughtered meat, providing welcome relief from the miner's drab diet of corned meat, tinned beef and bacon.<sup>43</sup>

They also exploited the trade in Huon pine timber from the Gordon River, the durability of which made it highly prized for boat building, milling it at their own Strahan sawmill.<sup>44</sup> They bought land, cleared it and divided it up for building lots.<sup>45</sup> They built Gaffney & Harvey's Victoria Hall, two doors down from their Macquarie Harbour Hotel, to serve as Strahan's community hall. James Gaffney built a cricket ground on his land at West Strahan, thereby finding another way to impress people with his beneficence. It was here that the Queen Cricket Club of Zeehan took on a Strahan team here in the new year of 1894.<sup>46</sup> In addition, Gaffney put on pigeon shoots as recreation, boasting in 1895 that 'there are more than 800 birds to shoot at'.<sup>47</sup>

### **John Francis Gaffney at Waratah and Heazlewood 1885–94**

John Gaffney appears to have followed his elder brother James Gaffney to Waratah, where he learned the butchery trade. He probably worked for Gaffney & Harvey until, on their departure for Strahan, he took over their business operating in partnership with hotelier Thomas Carroll. Unlike the previous pair, Gaffney and Carroll did not slaughter stock at Waratah. The opening of the steam-powered Mount Bischoff Railway from Burnie to Waratah in 1884 enabled them to have stock slaughtered in Burnie and the fresh carcasses delivered to Waratah, 83 km and a matter of hours away.<sup>48</sup>

John Gaffney established his more significant working relationship in 1885 when he married Catherine Alice Dwyer (1857–1927) at St Joseph's, Waratah's Roman Catholic Church.<sup>49</sup> In the late 1880s the Broken Hill silver boom invigorated a silver-lead field known as Heazlewood, about 22 km from Waratah. The Gaffneys moved there in 1891, establishing a butchery and general store, but they were unlucky: the mineral deposits were shallow, and the economic crash of 1891 put paid to investment in them anyway.<sup>50</sup> So John Gaffney joined his brother at Strahan. In April 1894 he hauled about 750 kg of possessions by cart and railway truck to Burnie, where they and their owners were shipped around Tasmania's west coast and through Hells Gates at Macquarie Harbour.<sup>51</sup>

### **Michael Thomas Gaffney and Stephen Aloysius (Steve) Gaffney at Dundas 1891–93**

Heazlewood was not the only Tasmanian silver-lead field invigorated by the Broken Hill silver boom. In 1891 'silver city' Zeehan's population stood at 1,965 and its satellite town of Dundas had 1,080.<sup>52</sup> Accounts in two surviving Gaffney Brothers ledgers from their stores at Dundas and Ring River 1890–92 tell of scattered mining settlements and the tramways and pack-tracks snaking between them: the Berry Tram, Maestris, the Adelaide Mine and the Broken Hill Smelter north of Zeehan. Some of the best-known prospectors scraped a subsistence around Dundas: the ill-fated McDonough brothers, who with Steve Karlson had been forced to sell out of their Mount Lyell Iron Blow discovery; Zeehan pioneers Frank Long and 'Comet' Johnston; Jim McGinty and Jimmy Griffin, who had found fame with Tasmania's largest gold nuggets at the Rocky River; John Godkin of the Godkin Mine at Heazlewood; later Hercules lode discoverer and Mount Read hotelier Thomas Goldie; later Rosebery hotelier T.J. Connolly.<sup>53</sup>

However, what the ledgers omit are the harsh realities of frontier storekeeping such as the rain, cold and snow; the relentless trudge through the mud replenishing the stores; the candlelit bookkeeping; the annoyance of chasing debts, refusing custom to debtors and trying to reason with drunks.

In this case the Gaffney 'brothers' were Steve and Michael and their womenfolk, including, as usual, some of their sisters, who remained anonymous as 'Miss Gaffney' or the 'Misses Gaffney'. Michael Gaffney was voted inaugural chairman of the Dundas Town Board, and in 1892, in addition to his other stores, he was operating a pop-up store at Moores Pimple on T.B. Moore's old track through the West Coast Range.<sup>54</sup> After leaving his father's farm in 1889, Steve Gaffney had worked for a time at the Mount Lyell Mine before joining his brother in business.<sup>55</sup> He married a pregnant Hannah Forester (1876–1958) at Holmen's Hotel, Dundas in 1893, with brother Michael Gaffney as best man and 'Miss Gaffney' as bridesmaid.<sup>56</sup> Frank Gaffney appears in the ledgers as a customer rather than as a proprietor, suggesting that he was either prospecting or running a branch store himself which was supplied by his siblings. A storekeeper named Hughes also bought goods from the Gaffneys, no doubt marking up his prices in consideration of having paid retail price for them himself.

The crash of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land in October 1891 closed mines on the Zeehan-Dundas field and probably dulled the grub-staking of prospectors. While Zeehan prospered again in the late 1890s, Dundas never recovered, being reduced to a population of 306 in 1901. The Gaffneys moved on, and Michael Gaffney bowed out of the west coast story. He was a miner at Mathinna in north-eastern Tasmania when he married Kathleen Hudson (c1872–1952) in 1899.<sup>57</sup> Steve Gaffney set up as a general storekeeper in Queenstown, also operating the Royal Hotel at Linda. However, he lost the store to his mortgager in 1901, being declared bankrupt with total debts of £2,062, including £261 to his brother James Gaffney.<sup>58</sup> In his subsequent career he stayed securely within the Gaffney brothers' fold.

### **Frank Gaffney as Gormanston hotelier and butcher 1891–1900**

By 1894 the Gaffneys were the dominant west coast hoteliers. Frank Harvey was licensee of the Macquarie Harbour Hotel at Strahan, built in partnership with James Gaffney; James Gaffney himself had the Palace Hotel at Strahan; Steve Gaffney the Queen River Hotel; and Christina Gaffney managed the Mount Lyell Hotel at Gormanston, the dormitory town for the Mount Lyell Iron Blow.<sup>59</sup> The last of these was Frank Gaffney's first major solo venture, after a time learning the butchering, shopkeeping and hotel trades both with and without his siblings at Strahan. His two-storey Mount Lyell Hotel was said to be

the most conspicuous and largest building yet erected, and it is only sufficient to mention that it is under the immediate control and management of Miss Gaffney to assure all who have ever sojourned on the West Coast that their creature comforts will receive every attention ...<sup>60</sup>

In 1895 Frank Gaffney married Susan Lacy (1873–99), sold the hotel, and began to focus on another old Gaffney calling.<sup>61</sup> As a butcher he teamed up with drover James

Leach to enter the contest of supplying beef to the people of Gormanston and surrounding mining camps.<sup>62</sup> The Irish Catholic Leach family were neighbours of the Gaffneys at 'Early Rises' near Deloraine. It was during this period, with instructions being exchanged on a daily basis, that the telegraph became a vital form of communication between butcher and supplier. Leach was so particular about his beef cattle that in September 1897 he travelled to the Van Diemen's Land Company's (V.D.L. Co.'s) remote Woolnorth grazing property in the far north-west to make his selection.<sup>63</sup> In the year 1899 more than 1,100 cattle were driven from northern Tasmania to the Gaffney & Leach butchery at Gormanston, about half the stock travelling via the Central Plateau (to Gormanston) and the other half down the West Coast Track and into Zeehan.<sup>64</sup> Instructions to suppliers had to be prompt and exact. In March 1899 Leach wired the V.D.L. Co. from Gormanston: 'Can cattle be trained over the Pieman River have you got any cattle for sale', then on the same day advised that he would take 'sixty cows twenty seven & six per cwt'.<sup>65</sup> In July of that year he again wired from Gormanston: 'Please send fifteen cattle Monday dont [sic] send any wild cattle cut the tails reply Gormanston'.<sup>66</sup> These cattle were to be consigned to the Pieman River on the west coast route where, presumably, Leach or another drover would take over.<sup>67</sup> Whether Leach was slaughtering these cattle at Zeehan or delivering them to the Gormanston butchery is unknown.

**Map 1:** *Three droving routes used by Frank Gaffney and James Leach.*



Source: Department of Primary Industries Parks Water and Energy (Tas)

During this period Gaffney would have made the acquaintance of James John ('Big Jim') Wilkinson, a legendary figure in Australian mining who arrived in Gormanston from Kalgoorlie in 1898.<sup>68</sup> In August 1899 Wilkinson applied for the licence of Clark's Gormanston Hotel, but his tenure there was short-lived. Wilkinson claimed that rheumatism caused his departure from Gormanston in 1900; a journalist

stated that he was driven out of town because of his pro-Boer political views expressed during the South African War.<sup>69</sup>

Frank Gaffney's wife, 26-year-old Susan, died of pleurisy and heart disease in March 1899, and in the next year he took his leave of the west coast temporarily, claiming it was for the good of his health.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps it was a psychological release. It is also possible that he planned a business venture with Wilkinson or that he was pursuing Wilkinson's sister, Lenore (Nora) Victoria Wilkinson, who had probably operated her brother's hotel in Gormanston. Frank Gaffney married the 27-year-old in Melbourne in July 1900, with Jim Wilkinson giving away the bride.<sup>71</sup> Over the next four years Frank and Nora Gaffney produced three children in Sydney, but clearly he kept abreast of developments at home.<sup>72</sup>

### **James Gaffney goes it alone at Strahan as hotelier and politician 1896–1906**

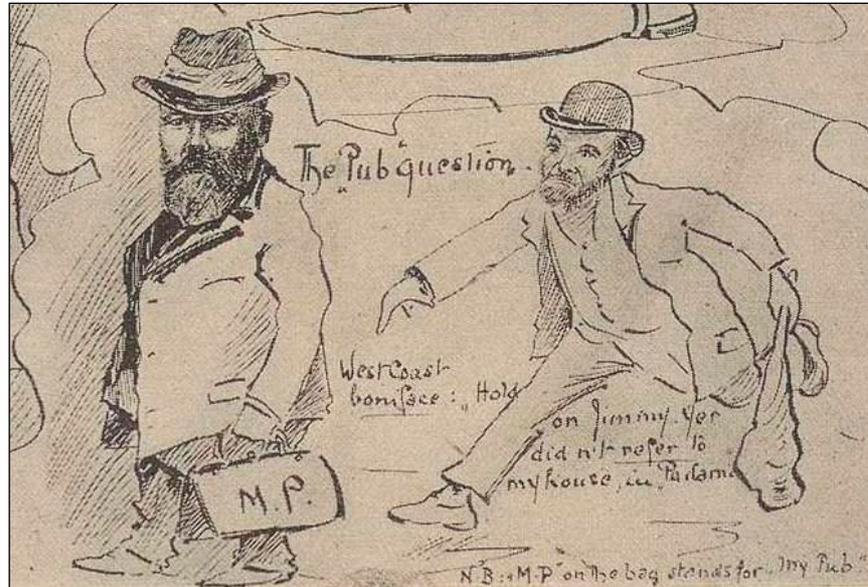
When the work of establishing the town of Strahan was done, in June 1896 Gaffney & Harvey dissolved their partnership, Harvey taking the Macquarie Harbour Hotel and Gaffney the Palace Hotel. Whether the split was amicable is unknown, but Gaffney's response was to it was to go into direct competition with his ex-partner by erecting the Bay View Hotel less than 100 metres away from the Macquarie Harbour Hotel. Its proximity to the East Strahan Railway Station complemented the position of his Palace Hotel opposite the West Strahan Railway Station.<sup>73</sup> When the Victoria Hall was demolished to make way for the Union Steamship Co. building, Gaffney attached a new hall to his new hotel. His sister Ellen Gaffney managed the Bay View—competing for business not only with Harvey but with her own sister Christina Gaffney, who managed Captain Miles' new King River Hotel next door!<sup>74</sup>

It was a logical step from prominent businessman and community leader to parliamentary representative. In 1897 James Gaffney made his first, unsuccessful bid for a seat in the colonial parliament. Humbling himself on the hustings as an uneducated man, he advocated light railways, rail freight rate reduction and dredging of the Macquarie Harbour Bar to improve west coast access; and the appointment of mining boards in all mining centres to enforce mining law. At a time when there was fierce private competition to exploit the west coast mining trade, Gaffney opposed private syndicate railway construction and Chinese labour—even though he himself had leased his garden to a Chinese man.<sup>75</sup> This was essentially fear mongering. Chinese miners were hardly an issue on the west coast, since there were few alluvial gold or tin fields to attract them. Perhaps in the event of a private railway being built there was a real chance of Chinese navvies taking jobs away from Tasmanian ones, but none was ever built on the west coast. James Gaffney served as House of Assembly member for Lyell 1899–1903.<sup>76</sup> A contemporary cartoonist playfully accused him of self-interest ('M.P.' equals 'my pub', see Figure 4), a jibe which could have been levelled at practically any business-owning candidate for higher office. Binks probably got Gaffney's motivation right when he assessed him as being

typical of the shrewd, hardy generation which built Strahan and, with it, the settled community of the west coast region. They benefited in their own lives

by facing the hardships of what was then a frontier town but they and many like them were willing to make sacrifices for the west coast community as a whole: to fight for it, to undertake public office and to serve on local bodies where their skills and knowledge could be used.<sup>77</sup>

**Figure 4:** 'Humour from the west coast'.



Source: *Tasmanian Mail*, 7 September 1901.

### Frank Gaffney at Balfour 1905–23

When Frank Gaffney reappeared on the Tasmanian west coast in 1905 it was at a small alluvial tin field known as Mount Balfour (later known simply as Balfour). As usual with the Gaffneys, he was way ahead of the game. Here Frank Gaffney eventually achieved the same vertical integration that his brother James had managed at Strahan. He grew crops and reared stock near the town, and butchered his own meat, enabling him to supply his own store and pub.

In the early days of the Balfour field, Gaffney packed in supplies and packed out tin for miners, brought in fresh meat and established a hotel and store at Temma (formerly Whales Head), the only place which passed for a port for Balfour. His brother Steve Gaffney managed the store. By July 1906 Gaffney was negotiating to get a direct shipping service to Temma, which at that time was only joined to Balfour by a rough pack track, with mud often said to be up to the horses' bellies. From Temma to the Arthur River the track was partly along the beach, making it very dangerous during rough weather. At that time Gaffney had £800 worth of tin at Temma awaiting despatch, and there were about 70 men on the Balfour field.<sup>78</sup> The V.D.L. Co. was again a major Gaffney supplier, not just of meat, but of building timber and potatoes.<sup>79</sup> As before, Gaffney slaughtered his own meat on the mining field.<sup>80</sup> He established the first store at Balfour, acting as butcher, grocer and draper. He operated the first slaughterhouse, took track-building contracts and performed most of the packing and mail delivery.

The discovery of the Copper Reward Mine and Mount Lyell Co. general manager Robert Sticht's search for new copper deposits in the Norfolk Range shifted the focus of mining at Balfour away from alluvial tin. By the spring of 1909, investors were agog at the 1,100 tons of ore, averaging about 30% copper, which Bill and Tom Murray had reportedly sent to market from the Copper Reward. In addition, three or four times as much high grade ore was said to have been 'at grass' on the property. In October 1909, a report circulated that the brothers had sold the Copper Reward mine for £50,000 and an interest in a company with a big working capital—a claim the Murrays denied.<sup>81</sup>

Gaffney benefited from the resulting population influx. His dominance of Balfour's commercial life was such that there were complaints of monopolisation from both customers and competitors.<sup>82</sup> Yet Balfour was an open market and his dominance constituted nothing more than enterprise. He defended his so-called 'Klondyke prices' vehemently:

Discontents are to be found everywhere. My prices compare favourably with any mining field throughout Australia, when freights are taken into consideration (£4 10s. per ton landed at Balfour), not to speak of losses on breakages, etc. I challenge any man to sell cheaper. The fact that an opposition store had not started speaks well for the fortune there is in storekeeping on an uncertain field. I will be the first to congratulate a man who will break up the monopoly, my motto being 'Live and let live'.<sup>83</sup>

There was also appreciation of his public-spiritedness. In August 1910, for example, the Mount Balfour Medical Union thanked Gaffney for supplying building material for the hospital at cost price, besides supplying milk and other necessaries to patients free of charge.<sup>84</sup> When miners struck at the Copper Reward Mine because no tobacco was available, Gaffney reputedly walked to Marrawah and back overnight to fetch the vital provision so as to enable work at the mine to resume next morning.<sup>85</sup> By December 1910 he was chairman of the Balfour Advisory Board, making him, effectively, the mayor of Balfour.<sup>86</sup>

Gaffney extended his reach in 1909 by building the Imperial Hotel at Balfour. He recruited his brother-in-law, Jim Wilkinson, the well-known boniface, to run it, but Wilkinson became the first interment in the Balfour Cemetery in January 1910, dying after a short illness at the Gaffney residence.<sup>87</sup> He was a diabetic in a town that at the time had no resident doctor. Gaffney operated the hotel himself for two years.<sup>88</sup> One party of visitors were

supremely astonished at the comparatively all-round equipment and up-to-dateness of such an out-back hotel; and inscribed their names on the scroll of fame by having a red herring supper in the kitchen, thereby subverting modern conventionalities but gaining a "jolly good fellows" verdict without a dissentient voice ...<sup>89</sup>

Gaffney sold the Imperial Hotel to Rainbird, but it burnt down soon afterwards and was never rebuilt.<sup>90</sup> The Balfour speculation boom was already over, but Gaffney continued to show faith in the field, buying out the Murray brothers' farm, which he

called Gretlen, after his daughter Greta. In May 1913 he had a narrow escape from drowning while packing out tin from the North Pieman tin fields. Trying to ford the flooded Lagoon River, he lost two horses laden with four bags of tin. The non-swimmer was swept off his favourite horse, Bluey, but by clutching the horse's tail he was dragged into shallower water where he could touch the bottom.<sup>91</sup>

Through World War One (1914–18) Balfour returned to being an isolated alluvial tin field. Frank Gaffney sold up his business and his farm, retiring to farm at Longford in 1922 at the age of 55.<sup>92</sup> Almost half a century had passed since his oldest brother James Gaffney first clapped eyes on the western mining fields.

### **Conclusion**

Finding a measure of the Gaffneys' success on Tasmania's west coast is not easy. Probate valuations, the profit/loss figures in the Ring River business ledgers 1890–92 and the size of their graveyard memorials are among the very crude, inadequate measures available of the Gaffneys' accumulated wealth. The value of their services to the community is just as hard to gauge. It may be possible to tally up the years of service in parliament (James Gaffney), on town boards, councils, marine boards and as Justices of the Peace, list all the houses and roads built, the postal services and hostelry provided, even take a stab at the number of the cattle slaughtered, but without giving a real picture of the quality of service. Similarly, it would be unfair to measure the Gaffneys' success by their physical legacy, since mining towns are often transitory, and builders of houses, churches, railways, roads and tracks have no control over future economics or the forces of nature. St James' Church at Waratah, two railway houses at Strahan and much of the formation of the West Coast Wilderness Railway remain as reminders of their contract work. Gaffney Streets in Strahan and Queenstown, and Gaffney Point near Temma recall the brothers' one-time widespread influence.

However, the practices which characterised their work and contributed to the longevity of their businesses are clear:

Firstly, the Gaffneys were flexible, mobile and vigilant. Jacks-of-all-trades, they anticipated the development of new mining fields, with new outlets and supply bases. They knew the value of monopolising a service industry, whether it be the provision of general stores, fresh meat, or meals and accommodation. The public house was not just a watering hole, but the epicentre of the mining community, a place where knowledge was exchanged, meetings were held and relationships forged. Having the first pub on a field was virtually a licence to print money. Pubs, stores and butcheries became less profitable as competitors arrived, and the Gaffneys were prepared to uproot themselves and move on to exploit new opportunities.

Secondly, Frank Gaffney in particular went beyond the call of duty in his efforts to satisfy customers and thereby increase his profits. The story of him walking to Marrawah and back overnight to get tobacco for the miners reads like a legend of founder behaviour in a successful business. Likewise, the story of Frank Gaffney nearly drowning while packing tin ore across a flooded river mouth portrays him as an unusually exacting frontier service provider.

Thirdly, the Gaffneys built successful working partnerships with their wives, their siblings and people of equal enterprise such as Frank Harvey, Thomas Carroll and James Leach. Women were accepted in the hospitality trade, particularly in male-dominated mining communities where licensing boards regarded them as a 'civilising' force. The brothers appear to have fostered the careers of their younger siblings, with, for example, John and Frank Gaffney both learning the butchery trade from their eldest brother James.

Fourthly, the Gaffneys understood vertical integration, the idea that you can reduce your costs by controlling various levels of the supply chain. Both James and Frank Gaffney kept stock and grew crops in order to supply their own butcheries, stores and hotels.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> 'Mount Reid and King River Gold-fields', *Launceston Examiner*, 4 June 1892, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, 'Balfour Correspondent', 'Klondyke Prices', *Circular Head Chronicle*, 9 June 1909, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tin Miner's Narrow Escape', *Mercury* (Hobart), 31 May 1913, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> SC84/1/120 (Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, afterwards TAHO),

[https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT\\_LINC\\_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT_LINC_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online), accessed 2 September 2018.

<sup>5</sup> SC84/1/184, TAHO,

[https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT\\_LINC\\_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online&rw=12&isd=true#](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT_LINC_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online&rw=12&isd=true#), accessed 2 September 2018.

<sup>6</sup> 'Men and Women', *News* (Hobart), 28 October 1924, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> C.J. Binks, *Pioneers of Tasmania's West Coast*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1988, pp. 130–31, 138 and 144–45; Tim Jetson, *It's a Different Country Down There: a History of Droving in Western Tasmania*, Circular Head Bicentenary Project Team, Hobart, 2004, pp. 77 and 80.

<sup>8</sup> Conduct record, CON33-1-26, convict no.6286, TAHO,

[http://search.archives.tas.gov.au/ImageViewer/image\\_viewer.htm?CON33-1-26,200,73,F,60](http://search.archives.tas.gov.au/ImageViewer/image_viewer.htm?CON33-1-26,200,73,F,60), accessed 30 September 2018. They married at Launceston, 13 August 1851, RGD37/1/10, no.760, TAHO,

[https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#), accessed 30 September 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Gaffney sailed from Launceston to Melbourne on 18 January 1852. POL220/1/1, p.534, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#), accessed 30 September 2018; returning 29 October 1853, POL220/1/3, p.339, TAHO,

[https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=hugh&qu=gaffney#), accessed 30 September 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Greta Gaffney; transcript of an interview at Balfour, 1990 (Martin Laan, Hobart). Thanks to Tim Jetson.

<sup>11</sup> 'Departure of Mr. Frank Gaffney', *Mount Lyell Standard and Strahan Gazette*, 16 May 1900, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Reynolds, "'That Hated Stain': the Aftermath of Transportation in Tasmania", *Historical studies Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 14, no. 53, October 1969, pp. 19–31.

<sup>13</sup> Examples include James 'Philosopher' Smith, discoverer of the Mount Bischoff tin lodes (see Nic Haygarth, *Baron Bischoff: Philosopher Smith and the Birth of Tasmanian Mining*, the author, Perth, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Montagu Election: Mr Gaffney at Dundas', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 11 January 1897, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Greta Gaffney; transcript of an interview at Balfour, 1990 (Martin Laan, Hobart).

<sup>16</sup> See W.A. Townsley, 'Tasmania and the Great Economic Depression, 1858–72', *Papers and Proceedings of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, vol. 4, no. 2, July 1955, pp. 35–46.

<sup>17</sup> Married 14 June 1877, marriage record no.421/1877, registered in Horton (Stanley), RGD37/1/36, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=james&qu=gaffney](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=james&qu=gaffney), accessed 11 May 2019.

<sup>18</sup> 'Bischoff', *Tasmanian Mail*, 19 July 1879, p. 15.

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- <sup>19</sup> *Middleton and Maning's Tasmanian directory and gazetteer*, 1881–82, p. 261; 'Circular Head', *Launceston Examiner*, 20 January 1882, p. 3.
- <sup>20</sup> 'Mr. Henry Turner', *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, Maitland & Crone, Hobart, 1900, vol. 1, p. 568.
- <sup>21</sup> 'Official Notices', *Launceston Examiner*, 14 December 1881, p. 3; 'Flaneur' (T.R.G. Williams), 'West Coast Notes', *ibid.*, 9 June 1882, p. 3; 'Gazette Notices', *ibid.*, 26 June 1883, p. 3.
- <sup>22</sup> 'Mount Bischoff', *ibid.*, 16 July 1880, p. 3; 'Mount Bischoff', *Mercury*, 5 August 1880, p. 3.
- <sup>23</sup> Other storekeepers included Robert McKimmie and Waratah publican Robert Alford (see 'Long Plains', *Tasmanian*, 2 September 1882, p. 973). McKimmie's main store was at Corinna, with a branch store at the Rocky River.
- <sup>24</sup> 'Mr. Henry Turner', *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, vol. 1, p. 568.
- <sup>25</sup> 'The Corinna Goldfield', *Mercury*, 21 January 1882, supplement p. 1; 'Long Plains', *Tasmanian*, 2 September 1882, p. 973.
- <sup>26</sup> 'Truth', 'A Trip to the West Coast', *Launceston Examiner*, 17 May 1883, p. 3.
- <sup>27</sup> 'The Owl', 'Echoes from the West', *ibid.*, 30 July 1883, p. 3.
- <sup>28</sup> 'Gazette Notices', *ibid.*, 26 June 1883, p. 3; 'A Traveller', 'Mount Heemskirk and the Pieman', *Tasmanian*, 7 July 1883, p. 22. This enabled William Byrne to take over the Waratah–Heemskirk–Corinna mail contract.
- <sup>29</sup> 'The Tramp' (Dan Griffin), 'West coast Notes', *Daily Telegraph*, 17 October 1895, p. 4.
- <sup>30</sup> 'Shaughraun', 'Notes Off and On', *Launceston Examiner*, 19 May 1884, p. 3.
- <sup>31</sup> W.R. Bell to James Smith, 15 August 1885, no. 138; 3 October 1885, no. 171, NS234/1/3/14; and 27 September 1886, no. 209, NS234/1/3/15, TAHO.
- <sup>32</sup> 'Penghana', 'West Coast Wanderings: Strahan', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 August 1903, p. 3.
- <sup>33</sup> Theophilus Jones, 'West Coast History', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 25 December 1896, p. 1.
- <sup>34</sup> 'Deputation: the Strahan Esplanade', *Mercury*, 20 November 1888, p. 3; 'Parliament of Tasmania', *Mercury*, 16 December 1891, p. 4.
- <sup>35</sup> 'Country News: Strahan', *Mercury*, 4 December 1889, p. 2; 'Strahan', *ibid.*, 19 April 1890, p. 3; 'Strahan notes', *Colonist*, 7 February 1891, p. 23.
- <sup>36</sup> 'Strahan', *Mercury*, 16 January 1891, p. 3.
- <sup>37</sup> C.J. Binks, *Pioneers of Tasmania's West Coast*, p. 131.
- <sup>38</sup> 'Strahan Notes', *Wellington Times and Agricultural and Mining Gazette*, 1 November 1894, p. 3 and 13 December 1894, p. 3.
- <sup>39</sup> 'Strahan Notes', *Wellington Times and Agricultural and Mining Gazette*, 12 November 1895, p. 3; 'News in Brief', *Launceston Examiner*, 5 November 1895, p. 1.
- <sup>40</sup> 'Country Intelligence: Circular Head', *Launceston Examiner*, 3 December 1887, p. 1; 'Country Intelligence: Circular Head', *ibid.*, 13 June 1888, p. 4; 'Trip of the *ss Herbert* to Macquarie Harbour', *Mercury*, 10 September 1888, p. 2.
- <sup>41</sup> 'Stanley Court of Requests', *Wellington Times and Agricultural and Mining Gazette*, 27 August 1895, p. 3.
- <sup>42</sup> 'Mining', *Mercury*, 5 January 1888, p. 3.
- <sup>43</sup> C.J. Binks, *Pioneers of Tasmania's West Coast*, p. 131.
- <sup>44</sup> In 1892, for example, they sent 20 pine logs to market, see 'Strahan', *Mercury*, 9 September 1892, p. 4, while in 1895 one of their loggers, James Steadman, drowned in the Franklin River, see 'Recent Drowning Accident', *Launceston Examiner*, 13 November 1895, p. 6. See also, editorial, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 3 January 1894, p. 2.
- <sup>45</sup> 'A Traveller', 'Gossip and Observations from Strahan', *Tasmanian*, 6 July 1889, p. 26; 'Local and General', *Tasmanian News*, 14 August 1891, p. 2.
- <sup>46</sup> 'Zeehan and Dundas Notes', *Mercury*, 10 January 1894, p. 3.
- <sup>47</sup> Editorial, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 8 April 1895, p. 2.
- <sup>48</sup> John Gaffney to James Norton Smith, Van Diemen's Land Company, 11 July 1885, VDL22/1/13 (TAHO).
- <sup>49</sup> 'Marriages', *Launceston Examiner*, 10 September 1885, p. 1.
- <sup>50</sup> See Nic Haygarth 'The "Broken Hill of Tasmania"', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, vol. 13, 2015, pp. 102–110.
- <sup>51</sup> J.F. Gaffney to James Norton Smith, 17 April 1894, VDL22/1/24 (TAHO).
- <sup>52</sup> *Statistics for Tasmania*, 1891.
- <sup>53</sup> Gaffney brothers ledger 1890–92, NS3098/1/1; 1892, NS3098/1/2, TAHO.
- <sup>54</sup> 'Strahan', *Mercury*, 15 April 1891, p. 3; 'The New Member for Lyell', *Mount Lyell Standard and Strahan Gazette*, 18 April 1899, p. 2; 'Zeehan', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 25 August 1892, p. 4; 'Mount Reid and King River Gold-fields', *Launceston Examiner*, 4 June 1892, p. 2.

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- <sup>55</sup> 'Mr. Stephen Gaffney', *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, vol. 1, p. 570.
- <sup>56</sup> Married 19 April 1893, marriage record no.768/1893, registered at Strahan, RGD37/1/52, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=stephen&qu=gaffney](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=stephen&qu=gaffney), accessed 11 May 2019.
- <sup>57</sup> Married 26 July 1899, marriage record no.46/1899, registered at Campbell Town, RGD37/1/61, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=michael&qu=gaffney#](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=michael&qu=gaffney#), accessed 11 May 2019.
- <sup>58</sup> SC84/1/120, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT\\_LINC\\_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=gaffney&qf=FORMAT_LINC_TAS%09Format%09Online%09Online), accessed 2 September 2018. See also 'Recorder of Titles Office', *Mercury*, 22 November 1901, p. 4.
- <sup>59</sup> 'Strahan', *Mercury*, 14 December 1894, p. 2.
- <sup>60</sup> 'The Mount Lyell Country', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 2 November 1894, p. 3.
- <sup>61</sup> Married 18 February 1895, marriage record no.67/1895, registered at Deloraine, RGD37/1/54, TAHO, [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=francis&qu=gaffney](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=francis&qu=gaffney), accessed 11 May 2019.. [https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en\\_AU/all/search/results?qu=francis&qu=gaffney](https://libriariestas.ent.sirsidynix.net.au/client/en_AU/all/search/results?qu=francis&qu=gaffney)
- <sup>62</sup> The Gormanston business had branches at King River, North Lyell and Queenstown, see 'Mr Francis Gaffney', *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, vol. 1, p. 574.
- <sup>63</sup> Woolnorth farm diary, 25 September 1897, VDL277/1/23, TAHO.
- <sup>64</sup> Editorial, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 1 December 1899, p. 2.
- <sup>65</sup> James Leach to James Norton Smith, 11 March 1899, VDL22/1/29, TAHO.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 July 1899.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 July 1899.
- <sup>68</sup> 'Valedictory to Mr J.J. Wilkinson', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 27 April 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>69</sup> 'Licensing Bench', *Mount Lyell Standard and Strahan Gazette*, 8 August 1899, p. 2; J.J. Wilkinson, 'List! Ye "Britishers"', *ibid.*, 13 July 1900, p. 3; 'Gormanston Notes', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 27 October 1903, p. 4.
- <sup>70</sup> She died 22 March 1899, at Chudleigh, death record no. 111/1899, RGD35/1/68 (TAHO); 'Departure of Mr Frank Gaffney', *Mount Lyell Standard and Strahan Gazette*, 16 May 1900, p. 2.
- <sup>71</sup> 'Weddings', *Punch* (Melbourne), 19 July 1900, p. 19.
- <sup>72</sup> Lenore Victoria Wilkinson was born at Woods Point, Victoria, in 1873 to Phillip Joseph Wilkinson and Margaret Mary Slattery. In 1889 she was working as a milliner in Bacchus Marsh, Victoria ('Inquest', *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 12 January 1889, p. 30). The children born in Sydney were Phillip James Gaffney (1901–01), Margaret Lillian Greta Gaffney (1902–95) and Francis Leonard Gaffney (1904–89).
- <sup>73</sup> 'Strahan', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 5 December 1895, p. 3; 'Gaffney's Hotels at Strahan', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 21 May 1898, p. 4.
- <sup>74</sup> 'Strahan', *Mercury*, 7 November 1895, p. 3; 'Strahan', *ibid.*, 11 March 1896, p. 3.
- <sup>75</sup> 'Montagu Election: Mr Gaffney at Dundas', *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 11 January 1897, p. 2.
- <sup>76</sup> Scott Bennett and Barbara Bennett, 'Gaffney, James Joseph', in *Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851–1960*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1980, p. 63.
- <sup>77</sup> C.J. Binks, *Pioneers of Tasmania's West Coast*, p. 145.
- <sup>78</sup> 'Mt. Balfour's Isolation', *North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times*, 10 July 1906, p. 4.
- <sup>79</sup> For the potatoes see, for example, Woolnorth farm diary, 31 January, 14 March and 2 June 1911, VDL277/1/40 (TAHO). On 23 November 1909 Frank Gaffney ordered 20,000 super feet of scantling 3 x 2 and 4 x 2 with a few 3 x 1, delivered from Burnie to Temma by the ketch *H.J.H.*, see Frank Gaffney to the V.D.L. Co., 23 November 1906, VDL22/1/38, TAHO.
- <sup>80</sup> On 6 August 1906, for example, he asked the V.D.L. Co. to deliver two fat cattle to Temma every fortnight, which he would slaughter, see(Frank Gaffney to the V.D.L. Co., 6 August 1906, VDL22/1/38 TAHO.
- <sup>81</sup> 'Mining', *Mercury*, 26 October 1909, p. 3.
- <sup>82</sup> See, for example, 'Balfour Correspondent', 'Klondyke Prices', *Circular Head Chronicle*, 9 June 1909, p. 2.
- <sup>83</sup> F. Gaffney, 'Cost of Living at Balfour', *ibid.*, 26 May 1909, p. 3.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 August 1910, p. 2.
- <sup>85</sup> Male interviewee at Balfour 1990 (Martin Laan, Hobart). Thanks to Tim Jetson.
- <sup>86</sup> 'Balfour', *Circular Head Chronicle*, 21 December 1910, p. 2.
- <sup>87</sup> 'Resident Doctor', *Examiner*, 10 January 1910, p. 5; 'Deaths', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 26 January 1910, p. 4.
- <sup>88</sup> 'Balfour', *Circular Head Chronicle*, 21 February 1912, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 March 1911, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 February 1912, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 May 1913, p. 2; Greta Gaffney, transcript of an interview at Balfour, 1990 (Martin Laan, Hobart).

<sup>92</sup> 'Local and General', *Circular Head Chronicle*, 13 September 1922, p. 2.

## Appendix 1

### *Gaffney & Harvey as contractors based at Strahan 1884–95.*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Work</b>
Aug 1884	Building track between Lynchs Creek (Lynchford) and Macquarie Harbour.
Aug 1886	Carting machinery to the King River Gold Mining Co. mine.
Aug 1886	Clearing track around Mount Owen.
Oct 1886	Conveyance of the Long Bay and Lynchs Creek Roads.
Nov 1887	Mail contract between Long Bay and Lynchs Creek £50.
July 1888	Carting machinery for the Princess Co.
May 1889	Building the commissioner's residence at Strahan (Duck Creek).
July 1889	Mail contract between Strahan and Lynchs Creek £75 per annum.
Dec 1889	Building stationmaster's residence at Strahan.
Feb 1890	Two government tenders for construction at Strahan: £1200-16-6 engine and carriage shed; and £1330-17-9 five cottages.
March 1890	Building furnace oven and four-roomed cottage for the baker in Strahan.
March 1890	Building the police constable's residence at Strahan.
May 1890	Clearing Manuka Creek at Strahan.
June 1890	Mail contract between Strahan and Lynchford.
Oct 1890	Building cottages for the men working on the Strahan–Zeehan Railway.
June 1891	Building eight cottages Mary Street, West Strahan and two shops in East Strahan.
June 1891	Building engine sheds at Strahan.
July 1891	Building the court house and office of mines at Strahan.
Nov 1894	Clearing the path for the Mount Lyell Co.'s Abt Railway.
Sept 1895	Building Strahan Mechanics' Institute.
Nov 1895	Building sections of both the Abt Railway (from Lynchford) and the North Lyell Railway. <sup>92</sup>