

Women on the Woods Point goldfield: a case study in microhistory

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The remote Victorian township of Woods Point on the Goulburn River in the Great Dividing Range is part of a mining region that once extended from Jamieson to Walhalla and was part of the Beechworth Mining District.¹ Prospectors from the Beechworth and nearby Buckland diggings found gold in the region in 1854 and by 1862 settlements had been established at Jamieson, Darlingford, Gaffneys Creek, and Woods Point. During the 1860s other gold discoveries were made which led to the development of mining settlements such as Matlock, Jericho, Donnellys Creek, and Stringers Creek (later known as Walhalla). While gold production peaked at Woods Point in the mid 1860s, the fluctuations in the mining industry and the needs of the region's remote population ensured that the township, though smaller than it was in the 1860s, survived into the twentieth century.

Mining history has acknowledged the rise and fall of townships like Woods Point to illustrate the fluctuations of the Australian mining industry, and the importance of gold to the economic, political, and social development of Australia.² Local histories of the towns and mining settlements in the region have contributed to the mining history of Woods Point and are important reference works on mining in the region.³ Nonetheless, while Woods Point is referenced in Victorian mining history, there is still much to be learnt about how mining shaped the development of the township and its community. For example, the activities and experiences of women in goldfield towns have, until recently, been neglected in traditional histories of the Victorian goldfields, which have focused on men, mining, and political activism.⁴ As this article discusses, recent scholarship on mining communities that draws on the historiographical approach of microhistory, it offers another perspective on goldfield towns that can be utilised to show how mining shaped the lives of women in goldfield towns like Woods Point, and how they contributed to community development.

In a recent historical survey of the industry-community relationship in the Australian mining industry, Erik Eklund 'offers another perspective on its [the mining industry's] complex history'.⁵ Among the key features of the interaction between mining and the community, Eklund notes the influence of geology in the development of mining regions, and the influence of class, gender, and ethnicity on individual mining townships.⁶ Elsewhere, Eklund has argued that reducing the scale of historical analysis to microhistories of communities or towns enables a more detailed examination of the relationship between mining and the community. Eklund argues that micro themes such as 'family, community, gender and locality' can also be applied to the study of global changes:

Detailed portraits of local society can be placed within a web of wider social and political relationships. Mining towns can be understood with respect to the movement of capital, changes in world commodity prices, city-based demand for the products that are fashioned from the mined ore, and national and global movements of working people to labour in these places.⁷

Eklund's historiographical approach draws on that of other scholars of microhistory who have highlighted the features and value of small scale analysis to studying aspects of transnational or global history, citing the work of Italian micro-historians such as Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi and other historians, including Natalie Zemon-Davies, who have adopted the micro scale.⁸ John Brewer draws on the work of landscape theorist Jay Appleton in his discussion of how historians interpret time and space, contrasting two perspectives he describes as 'prospect history' and 'refuge history'.⁹ Brewer writes that 'prospect history [is] written from a single, superior point of view', while 'refuge history is close-up and on the small scale'.¹⁰ The latter places the emphasis on 'a singular place, rather than space, the careful delineation of particularities and details ... [t]he emphasis is on forms of interdependence, on interiority and intimacy rather than surface and distance'.¹¹ Among the differences between micro and macro history, Francesca Trivellato observes that 'microhistory relies on an intensive use of primary sources ... it is more interested in (and more suited to) uncovering the interconnection between multiple phenomena than identifying casual processes of change over time'.¹²

As Eklund's work on mining and industrial towns suggests, applying the historiographical approach of microhistory advocated by these and other scholars enables a more detailed analysis of the industry-community relationship.¹³ The perspective Eklund advocates, however, emphasises the dominance of the mining industry, which although necessary in providing employment and shaping some community structures, does not expand upon the influence of other activities and structures on community development. For example, recent scholarship on the central Victorian goldfields notes the importance of women and families to the development of townships on the goldfields, positing that 'the difference between transient mining camps and settlements that evolved into enduring communities was that men were joined by women, and together they formed families and networks of common interest and mutual support'.¹⁴ Many of these scholars have adopted a microhistorical methodology, utilising a diversity of sources including archival records, material culture, and heritage to focus on individuals, families, and networks shaped by class, ethnicity or religion in goldfield communities.¹⁵ Alan Mayne argues that this community focused scholarship needs to extend beyond the more familiar terrain of the central Victorian goldfields to encompass other goldfields throughout Australia.¹⁶ While mining history is broadening beyond the central Victorian goldfields to encompass other goldfield towns, as well as those that were established to support other forms of mineral exploration, the microhistorical and multidisciplinary methodology of recent goldfields scholarship offers another perspective of the industry-community relationship.

This article draws on my ongoing doctoral research to provide a preliminary analysis of the perspective that microhistory can bring to the study of goldfield

townships like Woods Point. Using a sample of women known to have arrived in Woods Point in the 1860s, the article outlines Woods Point's development from a number of transient diggings to a permanent township with an infrastructure that aimed to support the economic, social, and civic needs of the community. The mining industry, particularly the development of quartz reef mining provided the employment that brought women and families to the region; however, as microhistory demonstrates, a 'close-up and small scale' analysis using a range of primary sources reveals that the activities of women were also important to community development.

The Jamieson and Upper Goulburn rush

The settlement of Woods Point was preceded by a series of alluvial gold discoveries on the Goulburn River and its tributaries, located south of the pastoral settlement of Mansfield.¹⁷ In 1854 prospectors from the Buckland diggings near Beechworth initially found gold near the junction of the Goulburn River and the Big River, and this discovery led to a settlement at Jamieson Flat. By 1857 the first signs of settlement had been established at what became known as Darlingford and Enochs Point. Located on junctions of the Goulburn River where tracks to the goldfields commenced, both Jamieson and Darlingford soon developed as staging posts for supplies, with storekeepers amongst the first residents. By 1861 a number of miners pushed further through the ranges and found gold near what became known as Gaffneys and Gooleys Creeks. By August 1861 there was a collection of huts and stores at Drummonds Point near Gaffneys Creek, while at Cherrys Point, a settlement located above the junction of Gooleys Creek and the Goulburn River, Tom Cherry established a supply depot for the Perkins brothers of Jamieson.¹⁸ Below Cherrys Point a settlement known as Woods Junction emerged, which later became known as Woods Point. In late 1861 the discovery of gold further south on a river that became known as the Jordan sparked another rush to the region.

As Robert Ashley notes, this region was 'originally among the most impenetrable in Victoria, with mountain ranges capped with snow, and deep valleys covered with scrub and forest'.¹⁹ Early reports made by mining surveyors, and the accounts of miners published in the newspapers, highlighted the difficulties in accessing the region. Mining surveyor, F.M. Hill reported in February 1860 that although some miners were doing well 'from what I can learn great difficulties have to be encountered, both from the sudden flooding of the river claims, as well as from the difficulty of obtaining stores, provisions, &c., these having to be packed on horses for about 15 miles before reaching the diggings'.²⁰ A report written by a 'Special Correspondent of the Ovens Constitution' noted that once a miner had reached the diggings, he might spend his day cutting through scrub to wade in water searching for enough gold that would allow them to eventually return home or buy a farm. Some miners were doing well enough to accommodate themselves in huts, but others camped in tents. Influenza was a common complaint, but the nearest doctor was based in Mansfield. The author noted that there appeared to be no grog on the diggings 'which was generally approved of' and there were no women.²¹

These reports suggest that the alluvial diggings were a man's domain and that the difficult terrain and limited infrastructure were not suited to women and families. Recent scholarship on the central Victorian goldfields has challenged this view, and a close analysis of the sources on the Jamieson and Upper Goulburn diggings suggests that women and families were also present, albeit in fewer numbers.²² Acting Warden Butler's report published on 27 August 1860 noted that amongst the few stores and public house at Jamieson Flat there was also 'eight or nine huts, inhabited by the wives of the miners at work in the neighbourhood.'²³ Elsewhere he noted that at Gaffneys and Raspberry Creeks there were 400 males; Big River and tributaries 100 males; Goulburn and Jamieson there were 50 males and 12 females; bringing it to a total of 550 males and 12 females. When the Victorian census was taken in April 1861 the population of what was described as the Jamieson goldworkings, and the Upper Goulburn and Big River gold diggings was recorded as 721 people; 109 (or 15 per cent) who were women.²⁴

Figure 1: *Location Map. An excerpt of a plan of the Agricultural Areas in the Murray and Gippsland districts (1865) which marks the location of Woods Point, as well as a number of other goldfields settlements on the Upper Goulburn and Jordan goldfields.*



Source: 'Plan of the agricultural areas in the Murray and Gipps land districts', Department of Lands and Survey, Victoria, 1865. Courtesy State Library of Victoria.

Comparing this data to other sources, including civil registration records, provides evidence that the women recorded were more likely to be married women, or part of a family group. Most of the females recorded in the census were of child bearing age, but only seven births can be identified as being registered in the district prior to and including 1861, which suggests that the majority of the children recorded in the census

were born prior to their arrival in the district.²⁵ As scholars have demonstrated in their study of civil registration records and other statistical data on the central Victorian goldfields, rapid family formation occurred in the colony in the late 1850s and early 1860s, partly due to the increased migration of single women.²⁶ This trend in family formation is also reflected in the demographics of the Jamieson and Upper Goulburn diggings in the early 1860s.

One woman who gave birth prior to, and after her arrival in the region was Irish woman Margaret Guanine, the wife of miner and publican George Mortimer Edwards. The couple had married in 1856 and had been on the Beechworth diggings, where Margaret had given birth to three children. Margaret gave birth to her son Edward at Jamieson Flat on 25 September 1860, attended by her sister, Elizabeth.²⁷ In August 1860 a report on the 'Goulburn Rush' included news provided by miner James Smith, who observed Mrs Edwards at Jamieson distributing flour to hungry miners.²⁸ Smith makes no further comment about Mrs Edwards, but it is worth noting that Margaret had three young children, and was seven or eight months pregnant with Edward at the time. The lack of infrastructure at Jamieson had clearly not deterred the family from leaving the Beechworth diggings; in fact, it seems to have provided them with a business opportunity. Familial ties were also important: Margaret's sister, Elizabeth married miner John Moffet in 1860 and the two families later moved to the Donnellys Creek diggings where George is said to have found gold on what became known as Edwards Reef. After Elizabeth's death in childbirth in 1866 the two families returned to Jamieson where they resumed their hotel business.²⁹

Eklund notes that the prosperity of the mining industry was crucial to the development of social and economic infrastructure in the mining regions, and this is also true of the region between Jamieson and Walhalla.³⁰ As mining developed in the region, so too did the demand for more accommodation, supplies, reliable transport routes, and the infrastructure to support the population's economic, social, and civic needs. Nonetheless, a micro analysis of sources demonstrates other factors, such as the presence of women and families, which contributed to the development of community. While women like Margaret and Elizabeth Guanine were present in the region before this infrastructure developed, others arrived when there was more accommodation, services, and opportunities for employment. Familial ties also strengthened economic relationships, which in turn shaped community infrastructure. While the numbers of women and families on the Jamieson and Upper Goulburn diggings were small, their experiences provide a model to examine the development of Woods Point from a transient mining settlement into a permanent township servicing the surrounding goldfields. This development occurred partly because women and families arrived to take advantage of the opportunities provided and in turn helped shape the community.

Mining begins at Woods Point

The settlement of Woods Point was contingent on the development of mining. Mining activity at Woods Point reflected the pattern of other Victorian goldfields where the initial alluvial mining was later overtaken by quartz reef mining. Fahey and Mayne

write that deep lead and quartz reef mines took a number of years to get established, but could be worked for many years, and thereby attracted miners with families wanting to settle down.³¹ Although Woods Point's mining prosperity did not last the decade, the development of quartz reef mining – and the employment it provided – highlights the relationship between the mining industry and the community, a community that to develop needed women and families. Scottish brothers Colin and Duncan McDougall established the first quartz mine in Woods Point in partnership with Joseph Corry and Dittmer Behrens, commencing operations on what became known as Morning Star Hill. Stacpoole writes that while the alluvial miners in the region went to work on the new diggings on the Jordan River, the McDougalls and their business partners worked in relative isolation between 1862 and 1863 to develop their quartz reef mine.³² The rich quartz reefs they found soon led to the development of similar mines in partnership with male friends. These early reports on the Morning Star, and subsequent research by mining historians, focus on mining operations and any evidence of the presence of women at this time is fragmentary; however, as the move from alluvial mining to quartz reef mining provided more secure employment to a growing number of men who were engaged to cut water races, build water wheels, and transport mining machinery, some of these men would have been accompanied by their wives and families. These women did not undertake mining work, but made a contribution to the development of the nascent community in other ways. They supported mining husbands, took care of domestic chores, tended gardens that supplied produce for their families and community in the wider goldfield region, and cared for their young children in what was a hazardous environment. As the township grew some women combined these tasks with working in hotels and stores that supplied the miners, tradesmen and other families.

One of the couples that found work and established a home in Woods Point was James Rae and Jessie McLaren, and through investigating individual stories like theirs it is possible to learn more about the broader themes that shaped the development of goldfield communities. Prior to arriving in Woods Point Jessie and James had experienced goldfields life on the Ballarat diggings in the 1850s, and several members of Jessie's family were said to have been caught up in the events surrounding the Eureka rebellion.³³ The couple married in 1856, and it is believed that three children were born before they arrived in Woods Point around 1862. Stacpoole writes that Rae was initially employed by John Drysdale & Co to manage a small, but rich claim, known as the Boot.³⁴ Lloyd added that Rae was also associated with the Age of Progress and Alps Grand Central mines, and later with mines near Matlock and Jericho.³⁵ The Rae family, which eventually grew to include between 11 and 15 children, lived near the Age of Progress mine on Morning Star Hill before moving down to the township.³⁶

Jessie was joined in Woods Point by two of her sisters, Catherine and Ellen. Catherine was married to miner Thomas Cox, and in 1865 Ellen married local butcher Charles Bell. In 1868 Jessie and her family moved to Dry Creek, near Jericho, where James continued to manage mines until his death in 1900 from the lung disease phthisis (also known as 'miner's complaint'). With a large family and a husband in declining health Jessie had her hands full, and became even busier when James bought the Jordan

Hotel at Jericho shortly before his death. Jessie became the licensee of the Jordan Hotel, and like other publicans in the district battled to keep the hotel open when the Victorian Government's Licences Reduction Board reduced the number of hotels in Victoria between 1907 and 1916. Although Jessie was compensated when the hotel was initially forced to close, she successfully reopened the hotel in 1915, and her daughter, also known as Jessie, later managed it.³⁷ These fragments of Jessie's working life snagged in the records of the Licences Reduction Board show how unexpected sources can be used to piece together the individual stories of women, and the contribution they made to their communities, and is indicative of the 'intensive use of primary sources' that Trivellato attributes to microhistory.³⁸

Jessie's sister, Ellen's contribution to the region was more short-lived; in 1871 she died of renal failure, leaving her husband with two young children.³⁹ Catherine, the eldest of the McLaren sisters, had remained in Woods Point with her husband, Thomas, and probably provided support. Thomas later died in a mining accident in 1891, while Catherine died in 1917.⁴⁰ As Eklund's perspective on the industry-community relationship demonstrates, mining shaped the lives of families like the McLaren sisters by providing them with an income and housing. A broadening of this industry-focused perspective, as outlined in this article, highlights the influence of familial ties in the development of community. Other women who came to Woods Point did not leave as visible a trace as the McLaren sisters, but fragments of their lives can still be found in a range of sources, and demonstrate the importance of individual stories to microhistories of goldfield townships.

The township develops

Between 1862 and 1865 Woods Point developed from an isolated mining settlement with a few hotels and stores supporting the miners and their families who worked on Morning Star Hill, to an official township with its own Borough Council and an array of services catering to the economic, social, and civic needs of the community. Mining activity provided longer term employment opportunities for miners and businesses, and the increasing number of women and families arriving in Woods Point spurred on the construction of more permanent accommodation, improvements to transport, and the development of community infrastructure, such as schools, churches, and a hospital. This development reflected colonial views that men and women occupied separate spheres – men were associated with work and production, and women with the home and family - and that both were needed to establish a civilised society.⁴¹

Among the first signs of this developing infrastructure was the survey of the township in 1863 by John Hardy, followed by the first land sales in February 1864.⁴² In June 1864 mining surveyor A.B. Ainsworth reported that the total population of the Woods Point subdivision was 2,189 people.⁴³ Ainsworth also reported that a census had been taken of the population and dwellings within a two and a half mile radius of Woods Point. This census recorded 1,573 people and 720 dwellings. Of these dwellings, there were 216 weatherboard houses and stores, 114 log and slab houses, and 390 tents.⁴⁴ While the census does not specify which of the population was living in the

various dwellings it is likely that some women were still living in tents, just as women had done on the early diggings of central Victoria in the 1850s. Rate books, which date from the formation of the Borough of Woods Point in 1865, provide more detailed information on where and how the township's population was living, and can allow scholars to reconstruct some of the patterns of daily life.⁴⁵

A plan derived from Hardy's survey shows a cluster of buildings and structures near the junction of Butler and Bridge streets [see Figure 2]. These are likely to have included the numerous hotels, stores and banks servicing the growing mining population, as well as the businesses of solicitors, accountants, and share brokers. This plan also marks the locations of a cemetery, police reserve, and a number of churches, though it was a few years after Hardy's survey before more permanent police, and church buildings were established.

Figure 2: *Plan of Township of Woods Point, c. 1863.*

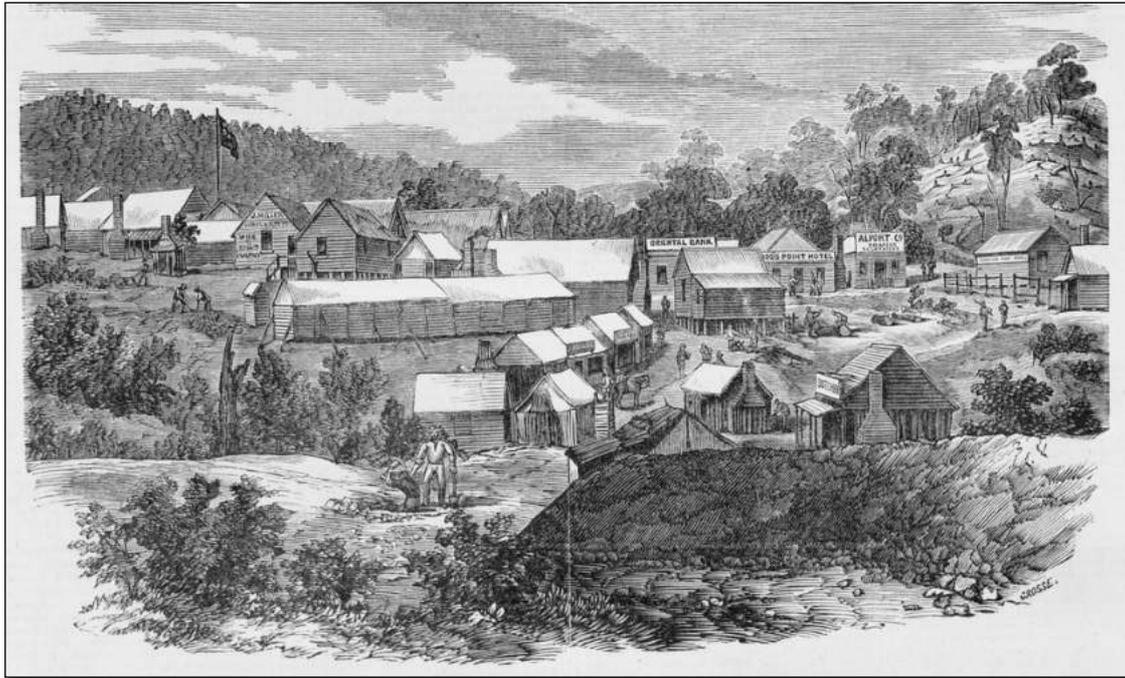


Source: Township of Wood's Point [cartographic material] / photo-lithographed at the Office of Lands & Survey, Melbourne, by J. Noone; John Hardy, Assist. Surveyor. Courtesy: State Library of Victoria.

From 1861, officials at Jamieson initially handled the administration of law and order at Woods Point, while the number of miners on the diggings at Jericho prompted official appointments there in 1862. The difficulties in accessing Woods Point from Jamieson resulted in lengthy delays in resolving disputes over mining claims and other matters handled by the police and courts. Following a community meeting in April 1863 that expressed concern about the Government's neglect of the region, the first official appointments were made for Woods Point. These included the employment of a Clerk of Petty Sessions, a Deputy Registrar for Births, Deaths, and Marriages, a Public Vaccinator, and a Coroner.⁴⁶ While many of these official court appointments were made to administer mining activity, they also acknowledged that Woods Point was

developing beyond a transient mining settlement and required services that catered for families. As noted earlier in this article, some women and children had arrived in the region without this infrastructure in place. Women like the McLaren sisters had already experienced the transient nature of goldfields life and were better prepared for this lack of infrastructure, but if Woods Point was to develop further and attract a larger population of women and families it needed the infrastructure and services to support them.

Figure 3: ‘View of Wood’s Point’, 1864, by Frederick Grosse, 1828-1894.



Source: Frederick Grosse, 1828-1894, View of Wood’s Point, Melbourne: Ebenezer & Syme, 1864, State Library of Victoria.

The impact women had on the progress of Woods Point is evident from reports in the *Mountaineer* newspaper.⁴⁷ Although a mediated representation of community life, the newspapers can provide further evidence of the everyday life of women that has not been fully explored in previous histories that have utilised these newspapers. In addition to reports on the mining industry and other news, the newspaper featured advertisements for hotels, and stores selling wine, spirits and general merchandise. The increasing number of women and families arriving in the township is also reflected in advertisements for drapery, fancy goods, and cakes and supplies for wedding parties.⁴⁸ The advertisement of wedding cakes and associated produce suggests that there were single men and women in the region who were beginning to pair up. Reports of marriages in Woods Point, or marriages where one or both parties came from Woods Point, can be found in local and metropolitan newspapers.⁴⁹ One local marriage that took place in 1864 was that of the daughter of Woods Point butcher, Phil Young.⁵⁰ The report noted that invitations were sent to ‘all the principal ladies and gentleman of the town’, which suggests that the Young family and their invited guests were regarded as part of Woods Point’s middle-class. Radford’s band was engaged to proclaim the event,

and the invited guests formed a procession from Young's house to the church, a procession which included 'happy looking couples who were either married, or about to be'.⁵¹ The report noted that 'during the day all business was suspended, and everyone seemed amused and a general glow of happiness was produced throughout the town'.⁵² A sad postscript to this happy occasion was the death of Phil Young the following year.⁵³ The close inspection of these intimate details of family and community life are central to microhistory, and allow scholars to assemble a detailed portrait of life in mining towns like Woods Point that can also address larger questions about the extent to which mining, and other factors, shaped communities.

While the *Mountaineer* was keen to promote marriage as an important community value in Woods Point, there is some evidence of common-law (or de-facto) relationships in the township. In a diary he kept between 1867 and 1873 Dr Andrew Nash discussed the relationship of one common-law or de-facto couple in the township.⁵⁴ In an entry dated 4 February 1872 Dr Nash noted that 'missis' was how 'a man's wife or woman is here for the most part termed; and indeed there is little enquiry which a woman is [,] the wife I believe being the fewer'.⁵⁵ I have yet to test Dr Nash's claim regarding the predominance of common-law (or de-facto) relationships in Woods Point against such sources as the civil registration records. However, Dorothy Wickham provides evidence that while marriage was commonplace on the Ballarat goldfields, common-law relationships were also evident, and this is probably true of Woods Point.⁵⁶

John Felix and Eliza Miles, the couple Dr Nash was referring to, were known in the township as Mr and Mrs Felix, but were not formally married. Local histories feature scant information on the couple, and it is only through research using Nash's diary together with newspaper and archival sources that the elusive Mrs Felix can emerge from these fragments, as I have detailed elsewhere.⁵⁷ Eliza was separated from her husband, conductor Alfred Oakey, with whom she had performed on the goldfields of Ballarat, Bendigo, and Beechworth in the 1850s and early 1860s.⁵⁸ In December 1864 Eliza was performing in Woods Point alongside comic singer John Black, and George Martin, and remained in the township, participating in concerts and fundraising events with fellow professionals and local amateurs.⁵⁹ Eliza later formed a relationship with John Felix, who ran Reefers Hotel. In his diary entry Nash disputed Eliza's respectability, citing stories he had been told about her relationship history and theatrical career, and suggested that her relationship with Felix was opportunistic.⁶⁰ Further research reveals that the couple had a long-lasting relationship, and continued to work together in the hotel industry after they left Woods Point. While Nash questioned Eliza's respectability, her talent as an actress and singer, together with her prior knowledge of goldfield's audiences enabled her to make a contribution to the social and cultural life of Woods Point, and is an example of the insights that a microhistorical methodology can bring to a study of community life. It also highlights the importance of microhistories in reconstructing global themes such as the movement of populations, which is particularly relevant to the study of goldfield townships, which is particularly relevant to the study of goldfield townships largely made up of migrants like John Felix and Eliza Miles.

Employment opportunities

The provision of goods and services to the developing township and surrounding region provided employment opportunities for single women, as well as those who were widowed, or separated. As Clare Wright and Diane Kirkby have both discussed in their separate histories of female publicans and barmaids, women dominated the liquor trade on the Victorian goldfields.⁶¹ Women ran many of the sly-grog (unlicensed) shanties on the goldfields in the 1850s, and this trend continued when liquor licences were issued in 1854. Women were not precluded from having a liquor licence, provided they, like their male counterparts, were of 'good fame and character'.⁶² As Wright and other scholars have discussed, colonial reformers regarded women on the goldfields as civilising agents; female hotelkeepers, therefore, 'could govern the behavior [sic] of men from within the preferred masculine environment of the public house, just as they did within the 'ideal' haven of the family home'.⁶³ Searching the rate books, directories, and licence notices in the local newspapers reveals the names of a number of women who operated licenced hotels or boarding houses in Woods Point.⁶⁴ Among them were Ellen Kennedy at the Thorny Hotel, Honora Nugent at the Hibernia Hotel, Margaret Gilbert at the Royal Highlander, and Bidelia Calcutt of the Club House Hotel.

Other women working in the liquor trade, such as servant Sophia Maillet, feature in newspapers reports of local court cases.⁶⁵ Sophia, who appeared in the Woods Point Police Court on 31 May 1865, had been employed by Emma Sinclair, a hotelkeeper in Matlock, but had been dismissed with a week's notice owing to a lack of available work. Sophia sued her employer for six months wages, but was instead awarded one month. Digging a little deeper into the available evidence of Sophia's life tells us that this incident was perhaps one example of Sophia exercising agency, which is another of the features Brewer identifies with 'refuge history'.⁶⁶ The stories of many individuals are intertwined and they become, as Brewer notes, 'actors with agency, motives, feelings, and consciousness'.⁶⁷ After Sophia married blacksmith Charles Henry Hempel she moved to Alexandra. In 1878 Sophia wrote a letter to the *Alexandra and Yea Standard* disputing their report on County Court proceedings involving her, and a man called Bryan over a disputed cheque for porter.⁶⁸ Sophia argued that the editor was 'rather rough upon some of the parties', meaning herself, and that she could 'bring respectable people to prove' her claim against Bryan.⁶⁹ While Sophia's letter indicates that she had had some education, and was capable of defending herself, it also suggests that she was not regarded as a respectable witness. Just as actresses such as Eliza Miles were classed as being of an inferior social status, the respectability of women working as servants or barmaids in hotels on the goldfields was also questioned, though this was not the case for female publicans. While this was not necessarily Sophia's experience, or the reason her respectability was questioned, her prior employment in a hotel could have made her more conscious of defending her social status.

Another former barmaid, Elizabeth Naumburg (nee Cross) also had her respectability questioned in court when she accused Dr Nash of attempted rape in 1866. Prior to her marriage to Edward Naumburg in 1863, Elizabeth had worked at a grog shanty in Jericho run by an American called Marcus Baker. Dr Nash, who was acquitted

of the attempted rape charge, later wrote in his diary that Elizabeth had worked as a 'dancing girl at a very poor class shanty [and] was as well known a woman to be used as was on the diggings.'⁷⁰ Nash's poor opinion of Elizabeth was not shared by Charles Grey Bird who mentioned Lizzie, as he called her, in his account of his travels on the goldfields of Victoria and New Zealand.⁷¹ According to Bird, Lizzie 'was a very pleasant, agreeable young woman, just suited to the position she occupied; could crack a joke and take one as a matter of business. Her style just suited the digger, who spent all their money at Baker's bar, besides giving, when in a good humor [sic], an occasional nugget to Lizzie'. Bird added that 'Baker knew what he was doing in securing Lizzie as an assistant, and I am sure she well earned whatever wage she received'.⁷² While Bird's description of Lizzie's style could be interpreted as a flirtatious nature, Nash implies that she was a prostitute. Bird's description, however, does not judge Lizzie or her behaviour, and instead highlights the contribution she made to Baker's business.

Glimpses into the experience of Caroline Russell, another servant working in Woods Point, can be found in an inquest into a fire that destroyed part of Woods Point in January 1865.⁷³ Research to date has revealed no further information on Caroline Russell, and were it not for this inquest file her experiences in Woods Point would remain unknown. The inquest tells us that the fire broke out at Robert Cameron's Junction Hotel, where Caroline was one of at least three women who were employed at the hotel. The *Argus* reported that the fire soon spread to neighbouring businesses, and several stores, hotels, restaurants, and seventeen houses were destroyed, though no lives were lost.⁷⁴ The inquest particularly focused on Caroline, who was questioned at length about whether she had had a candle burning in her room on the night.⁷⁵ Caroline replied that she had not, but admitted that she had been cautioned before about reading in bed and falling asleep with a candle burning. One wonders what kind of books kept Caroline reading so late into the night? This small detail included in the inquest tells us something about Caroline's life – that, like Sophia Maillet, she had some level of education, as well as an absorbing interest in reading. After questioning other employees, lodgers, and Mr Cameron, the jury found that there was no evidence that anyone in the hotel was responsible for the fire; it was simply an accident.

Fire also affected Bidelia Calcutt of the Club House Hotel; her hotel had to be torn down to prevent the fire from spreading to the neighbouring bank.⁷⁶ The damage to her business was not the first challenge Bidelia had encountered since arriving in Victoria from Ireland in 1853 with her husband, William Hogan and their daughter, Laura.⁷⁷ In January 1854 Bidelia's husband died while she was pregnant with their second child, William, who was born in August 1854 but later died.⁷⁸ In May 1855, when Bidelia was working as a shopkeeper in Melbourne, she married Irish-born clerk William Henry Calcutt.⁷⁹ It is not known when or why Bidelia came to Woods Point, but in June 1862 William Calcutt is said to have deserted her, and in April 1864 she took out an order to protect her earnings under 'The Marriage and Matrimonial Causes Statute 1864'.⁸⁰ Bidelia was compensated by the Woods Point Fire Relief Fund and rebuilt her hotel, with financial assistance from John Drysdale. Despite this support, not everyone in the Woods Point community regarded Bidelia as a woman of 'good fame and character'. In his diary Dr Nash described Bidelia as a woman of loose moral

character, and her hotel as the place where ‘all the mischief of the town was hatched’.⁸¹ Dr Nash also claimed that she had been involved in several fights, on one occasion nearly breaking a water jug over one man’s head. Although Dr Nash is an unreliable witness – his diary was written during a period of bitter internal politics in Woods Point in which Bidelia was among his enemies - his description of Bidelia suggests she was a woman with strength of character and influence in the township. Like other women who worked in, or managed hotels and businesses in the township, the needs of a mining community shaped Bidelia’s life by providing her with the opportunity to support herself and her daughter; and in servicing those needs – a bed, a meal and a drink, and a place to meet – she helped build the Woods Point community.

Establishing social and cultural institutions

The establishment of social and cultural institutions in Woods Point was another development spurred on by the arrival of women and families in the region, and in which women actively contributed. While we do not have firm evidence of the religious affiliation of the residents of Woods Point in the boom years of the mid 1860s, the data from the 1861 and 1871 censuses suggest that Woods Point was a predominantly a mix of Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian faiths, together with smaller numbers of other Christian faiths.⁸² In 1863 the township gained both its first Church of England clergyman, and its first Catholic clergyman, and work soon began on establishing churches and denominational schools.⁸³ In October 1864 an editorial in the *Mountaineer* highlighted the value of religion and education to the township’s prosperity.

We look upon the progress of religion, the erection of places of worship, and the establishing of schools in any district as the surest and most satisfactory evidence that can be offered in proof of the good character of the inhabitants as well as the present and future prosperity of such district.⁸⁴

Lloyd writes that it was the men in the township who took the lead in establishing these churches and schools, and that while women’s contributions were crucial they are largely absent in the historical record.⁸⁵ Yet the local newspapers – the same sources where men’s contributions can be found – also provide ample evidence that women actively contributed to the social and cultural life of the community. As well as being beneficiaries of these institutions, women were involved in fundraising events. They provided supper, performed in amateur concerts, or donated money to various community funds. Visiting and resident entertainers such as Eliza Oakey, Clara Browning, Kate Keeley, and Lizzie Winterbourne were among the women who performed at these fundraising concerts. The activities associated with St Mary’s Church of England, in particular, were well documented in *The Mountaineer*, a fact, which may be attributed to the influence of its editor, John Whitelaw, and also his wife, Eliza. Eliza was probably the author of some of the reports of women’s issues and activities published in that newspaper. In an obituary published following her death in 1914, Eliza Whitelaw was said to have

devoted much of her time to the betterment of the conditions of the working classes – particularly of women and girls (...) She was a diligent reader of the newspapers, and of books dealing with problems of the day [and] was a frequent contributor to the columns of the various newspapers with which her husband was associated.⁸⁶

Eliza's voice alongside her husband's helped guide Woods Point through its transition from a mining camp to an established township. Other married women supported education in the township by teaching in the denominational schools, and later the Woods Point Common School.⁸⁷

Providing for the medical needs of the community was another crucial step in the development of the township. Woods Point and the surrounding region had the services of several doctors who were often required to travel large distances between mining settlements, but it was not until the mid 1860s that the township began raising funds to establish a hospital. Though prominent men of the township formed the Committee of Management, women contributed to the hospital through their fundraising efforts and the subscriptions paid by those women who owned businesses in the township. The hospital, which opened in 1865, also provided employment to a number of women, including Margaret Senior (nee Menton) who was appointed Matron alongside her husband, John, who occupied the position of Master of the Hospital. Margaret and John made a significant contribution to the Woods Point community in their decades at the hospital, and also raised a family of five children.⁸⁸ The evidence of other women who were employed at the hospital is less substantial, but fragmentary references emerge from newspaper reports and other sources; for example, Jessie McGregor was employed as a laundress at the hospital when she was called before the hospital committee to provide evidence on the behaviour of a patient.⁸⁹

Given the isolation of the region not everyone could access the services of the hospital or a doctor when needed, and during pregnancy some women relied upon the services and support of local midwives, or older female relatives. Clues to the identity of some of these women can be found in the records of birth registrations where the name of a nurse or witness has been noted. A random sample of birth registrations in the 1860s reveals the names of a Mrs Sharkey, Mrs Harrison, Mrs Reynolds, Mrs Daly, and a Mrs Dean. Much of the testimony of midwives and female relatives involved in the birthing process is found in inquest depositions, which mainly describe negative accounts of the birthing process; there is no need of such testimony in successful births. Nonetheless, these inquest depositions do provide evidence of the support provided by women, and can be used to highlight the familial and kinship networks within Woods Point. For example, in the inquest into the death of infant Daniel Herlihy, son of Thomas and Catherine Herlihy, the inquest file includes the statement of my great-great grandmother Catherine Foley (Fig. 4), who stated she had been with Mrs Herlihy since the child's birth.

He was very well until Monday morning when his breath came heavy and he became convulsed seeing him so bad and fearing he would die we had him baptised he continued bad until about seven PM when he died.⁹⁰

Figure 4: *Catherine Knopp (nee Foley)*



Source: Author's collection.

It is not clear from the inquest if Catherine was a midwife, or a female relative. There are no family tales to clarify the relationship between the two women, but analysing other documentary evidence revealed that Catherine Foley and Catherine Herlihy both came from the Dingle Peninsula in Ireland, and could have had a familial connection.⁹¹ After she married, Catherine Foley received support from other women during a number of her pregnancies. A Mrs Stander and a Miss Duggan were present when Catherine gave birth to an unnamed female baby on 30 April 1875 who later died.⁹² While we may have limited evidence of successful birthing experiences, what evidence we do have suggests that a number of women like Catherine Foley (Fig. 4) contributed to the Woods Point community by providing their skills, experience, and support to other women

and their families.

Establishing social networks

The importance of women in creating the Woods Point community can also be found in the ways women navigated the social distinctions in the township. Evidence of these social distinctions is found in Marion Miller's semi-autobiographical novel, *Barbara Halliday: a story of the hill country of Victoria*.⁹³ Marion was born in Woods Point in 1865 and was the eldest daughter of storekeeper, James Miller and his wife, Anne Bowen. While Marion's novel has been the subject of some literary analysis, it can also be read as a historical source on Woods Point and the kinds of women who were part of the community.⁹⁴ Marion Miller wrote that while society may have been shaped by men's class and status, it was the women who policed the social networks within Woods Point (known in the novel as Cherry's Point).⁹⁵ In her description of the social structure within 'Cherry's Point', Marion demonstrated that women were the keenest observers of social relationships.

Cherry's Point, like all country townships, had its cliques, - formed, of course, by its womenfolk. Society was divided into three distinct classes - the first, and highest, consisting of bank managers, doctors, clergymen, wardens, clerks of court, lawyers - and the unprofessional who, even if "unfortunately" obliged to be in trade, had high-born or wealthy connections. Class No. 2 embraced tradesmen in the retail lines, milliners, dressmakers, apprentices, etc. Class No. 3 was made up of miners and labourers, and all who earned their living by the sweat of their brow. Mining managers came under the heading of Class No. 1, and their relatives were not slow to take advantage of it ... The miner's wives - as a rule, an intelligent and capable body of women - resented "cliquisim" with all the intensity that is part of a strong and active mental organism, and "paid out" the patronizing in a hundred and one little ways.⁹⁶

Marion's acerbic observations were written from the perspective of a young woman from a family placed by women of higher social status within 'Class No. 2'. Marion's mother, Anne Bowen came to the township as a newly arrived immigrant, having married James Miller in November 1863.⁹⁷ Like a number of women discussed in this article, Anne had kinship ties in Woods Point; her brother, John Lane Bowen lived in the township with his wife, Mary Donovan and their family, while members of James Miller's family may have also lived nearby. Marion's novel features an affectionate portrayal of storekeeper, Jim Halliday and his wife, which may well have been based on her parents. Marion writes that Jim and Mrs Halliday were prominent figures within the township, with Jim Halliday's store providing vital supplies and some luxuries to miners from the various nationalities that lived and worked in the region. Mrs Halliday kept out of the store and away from the mining crowd, but was still 'a woman of no little importance in the Cherry's Point of those days'.⁹⁸ She mixed well with all classes within the township – professionals, traders, and miners - and

never suffered the mortification of being either snubbed or ignored by the other 'ladies' of the town, and often had the satisfaction of gathering under her roof at one time, representatives of the three classes – each one of which dared not publicly offend the other, for reasons of policy.⁹⁹

Although the novel's semi-autobiographical plot makes it difficult to determine if any of the female characters were based on actual women, they typify some of the women who came to Woods Point in the 1860s. For example, the novel features women married to the professional men in the township, women who worked as dressmakers or domestic servants, and women married to miners. Some of the personality traits and experiences Marion gave these women – independence, wit, and education - can be found in the stories of the women discussed in this article, though the novel does not include women who worked as publicans, barmaids, and entertainers. For all that, its pages add some substance to the bare details of women's lives that can be extracted from more factual sources.

Conclusion

In the 1870s and '80s Woods Point was no longer the booming mining township it had been in the midst of the 'Woods Point mania' of the mid 1860s. The extensive speculation was over and many mines were abandoned. The population of miners and their families who had bought goods at the stores, read the local newspapers, frequented the hotels, and supported the various local organisations was diminishing. Some families had been lured south to Walhalla where quartz mines such as the Long Tunnel were providing good returns and steady employment.¹⁰⁰ Yet, as Lloyd argued, while the 'mania' for speculation in Woods Point mines in the mid 1860s did not last, the development of the mines lured a population of miners and their families who created 'a community infrastructure that endured, and much of the investment in mining development and machinery paid off in the years that followed.'¹⁰¹

Although the women discussed in this article are a small sample of those who lived in Woods Point in the mid to late nineteenth century, they demonstrate how women contributed to this community infrastructure. Women worked as midwives, teachers, hotelkeepers, barmaids, shopkeepers and entertainers. Women not in paid employment worked long hours as mothers and wives to support mining husbands. They contributed their unpaid time and labour to fundraising events and community activities. A few women created tangible memorials to their formative years in the township, and bequeathed them to future generations. Others left more scattered records, or can be found in the first-hand accounts left by unreliable witnesses.

As recent scholarship demonstrates, utilising the historiographical approach of microhistory can provide new insights into the relationship between mining and community in goldfield towns like Woods Point. As my ongoing doctoral research demonstrates, reducing the scale of analysis to one town, studying a range of often fragmentary sources, and intertwining the stories of many individuals reveals further evidence of how women contributed to community development in goldfield towns.

Endnotes

¹ Some sources describe this region as the 'Jordan goldfields'. See Owen F. Tomlin, Marysusan Bosa, and Peter G. Chamberlain *Gold for the Finding: a Pictorial History of Gippsland's Jordan Goldfield*, Hill of Content Publishing Company Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1979; Tom Griffiths, *Secrets of the forest: Discovering History in Melbourne's Ash Range*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1992. Other sources describe the region north of, and including Woods Point as the 'Upper Goulburn'. See Brian Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges: Jamieson to Woods Point*, Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2002, p. vi. Rogers describes the region in the vicinity of Jericho on the Jordan River as the 'Jordan goldfield'. See J.G. Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan: a Gippsland goldfield history* J.G. Rogers, Moe, 1997. As gold discoveries expanded the settlement of the region in the 1860s the mining divisions of the region altered, and at one time the region was divided into the Jordan North and Jordan South subdivisions, hence the term 'Jordan goldfields' used by Tomlin, Bosa, Chamberlain, and Griffiths. The township of Woods Point was located in the Jordan North subdivision, and later in the Woods Point subdivision, of the Beechworth Mining District.

² Geoffrey Blainey notes that the Woods Point district briefly boomed in the 1860s due to the development of quartz mining in Victoria and the interest from share market speculators in Melbourne. See Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*, 3rd ed., Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1978, p. 72.

³ See Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*; J.G. Rogers, *Woods Point Cemetery: burials 1862-1920 & transcriptions*, J.G. Rogers, Moe, 1995. In addition to Brian Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, see Brian Lloyd, *Gold at the Ten Mile*, Shoestring Press, Wangaratta, 1978; Brian Lloyd and Howard Coombes, *Gold at Gaffneys Creek*, Shoestring Press, Wangaratta, 1981; Brian Lloyd and H. Coombes, *Gold in the Walhalla Region, West Gippsland, Victoria* Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2010; Brian Lloyd, *Jamieson: Founders and Families*, Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2011; Brian Lloyd, *Kevington: Miners and Families*, Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2012. Other useful local histories include Anne and Robin Bailey, *A Windy Morn of Matlock: the History of a Victorian Mountain Goldfield*, Mountain Home Press, Melbourne, 1998; John Pilkington, *Big River Days: a History of the Golden Times of the Big River Valley and the Long Gone Townships of Darlingford and Enoch's Point*, 2006, rev. ed., J.K. Pilkington, Clifton Hill, 1996.

⁴ David Goodman wrote that the dominant memory of the gold rushes was influenced by 'the masculinist "Australian legend" between the 1890s and the 1950s, a set of stories about the freedom of the digging life and the egalitarian spirit of the gold diggers, which culminated in their "fight for freedom" at the 1854 Eureka Stockade'. See David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, 1994, p. 8. Later, W.K. Hancock's *Australia*, and Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend* both referred to these qualities of the [male] diggers and the impact they had on national identity. See W.K. Hancock, *Australia*, Ernest Benn, London, 1930; Jacaranda Press Pty Ltd, Brisbane, 1966, pp. 35-36; Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1958, p. 121.

⁵ Erik Eklund, 'Mining in Australia: An historical survey of industry-community relationships', *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2 (2015), p. 187; <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.09.003>

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Erik Eklund, 'Scale and Place in History', unpublished paper presented to the Australian Historical Association conference, 9-13 July 2012.

⁸ John Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural and Social History: The Journal of the Social History Society*, 7:1, p. 89; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/147800410X477359>; Francesca Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?', *California Italian Studies*, 2(1), no page numbers, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq>

⁹ Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', p. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History', no page number.

¹³ See Erik Eklund, *Mining Towns: Making a Living, Making a Life*, New South Publishing, Sydney, 2012. Elsewhere Eklund identifies 'the wealth of work' on the rise and fall of mining towns, including Barry McGowan's work on mining towns in south-east New South Wales. See Eklund, 'Mining in Australia', p. 180.

¹⁴ Alan Mayne, 'Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields', in Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne (eds), *Gold Tailing: Forgotten Histories of Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields*, Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2010, p. 237.

¹⁵ See Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne, (eds), *Gold Tailings*; Susan Lawrence, *Dolly's Creek: An Archaeology of a Victorian Goldfields Community*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 2000; Ian McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves (eds), *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001; Keir Reeves and David Nicholas (eds), *Deeper Leads: New Approaches to Victorian Goldfields History*, Ballarat, Ballarat Heritage Services, 2007; Dorothy Wickham, *Women on the Diggings, Ballarat 1854*, Ballarat, BHS Publishing, 2009; Clare Wright, *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*, Melbourne, Text Publishing Company, 2013.

¹⁶ Mayne, 'Family and Community on the Central Victorian Goldfields', p. 237.

¹⁷ The history of the discovery of gold near Jamieson, and on the Upper Goulburn and Big River diggings is told in more detail in Richard Mackay, *Recollections of the Early Gippsland Goldfields*, Traralgon, 1916; H.J. Stacpoole, 'The Discovery of the Woods Point Goldfields', *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, 37, no. 1, February 1966, pp. 50-72; James Flett, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*, Poppet Head Press, Melbourne, 1979. Local historians Brian Lloyd and John Pilkington have drawn largely on these accounts in their overview of the gold discoveries in the region.

¹⁸ Mining surveyors' reports, August 1861, p. 324.

¹⁹ Robert Ashley, 'The Life and Times of Edward Bovill Chandler: In Search of El Dorado', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, vol. 12, 2014, p. 10.

²⁰ *Argus*, 23 February 1860, p. 7.

²¹ *The Age*, 7 August 1860, pp. 5-6.

²² For more on the presence of women on the Ballarat goldfields see Wickham, *Women on the Diggings*, and Wright, *The Forgotten Rebels of Eureka*.

²³ *Argus*, 27 August 1860, p. 5.

²⁴ *Census of Victoria, 1861: Numbers and Distribution of the People*, Table XXXVIII. The majority of the 721 people were on the Upper Goulburn and Big River gold diggings. This figure also includes the Jerusalem Creek district.

²⁵ *Census of Victoria, 1861: Ages of the People*, Table XVII, 69. Of the 721 people recorded in the region, 109 (or 15 per cent) were females. 41 (or 37 per cent) of the 109 females were under the age of 15, while 57 (or 52 per cent) were between the ages of 15 and 35. *The Victorian Pioneers Index 1837-1888 [electronic resource]: an index to birth, death and marriage records held by the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria*. Some of the birth places in the index have been abbreviated, eg. Jamieson appears as 'JAMI', Upper Goulburn as 'UP GBOURN', Big River as 'BIGR', and Gaffneys Creek as 'GAFF'.

²⁶ Charles Fahey and Alan Mayne, "'All that Glitters...': The Hidden History of Victoria's Central Goldfields Region", in *Gold Tailings*, Fahey and Mayne (eds), p. 30. For a detailed study of family formation in Castlemaine see Patricia Grimshaw and Charles Fahey, 'Family and community in nineteenth-century Castlemaine' in *Families in Colonial Australia*, Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen (eds), Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 83-104.

²⁷ Edward Edwards, 25 September 1860; Births in the district of Melbourne in the Colony of Victoria, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria.

- ²⁸ *Argus*, 15 August 1860, p. 5.
- ²⁹ Additional information on the Edwards and Moffet families have come from Brian Lloyd, *Ten Mile Dreaming, Photographs and Families 1864-1939*, Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2010, p. 97; Lloyd, *Jamieson*, p. 132; Luke Steenhuis, *Donnelly's Creek: From Rush to Ruin of a Gippsland Mountain Goldfield*, Paoletti's Maps and Videos P/L, Langwarrin, 2001, p. 78.
- ³⁰ Eklund, 'Mining in Australia', p. 179.
- ³¹ Fahey and Mayne, 'All that Glitters', p. 17.
- ³² Stacpoole, 'The Discovery of the Woods Point Goldfields', pp. 64-65.
- ³³ Information on the McLaren family has come from a number of sources, namely Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, p. 31; Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, p. 261; Rogers, *Woods Point Cemetery*, pp. 27-28, and Wickham, *Women of the Diggings*, p. 217.
- ³⁴ Stacpoole, 'The Discovery of the Woods Point Goldfields', p. 64.
- ³⁵ Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, p. 31.
- ³⁶ Rogers stated that Jessie had 11 children but Wickham states there were 15. Further research is needed to determine the exact number of children.
- ³⁷ *Gippsland Farmers' Journal*, 10 December 1915, p. 3.
- ³⁸ Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History', no page number.
- ³⁹ Rogers, *Jericho on the Jordan*, pp. 27-28.
- ⁴⁰ Wickham, *Women of the Diggings*, p. 217.
- ⁴¹ Goodman, *Gold Seeking*, p. 153.
- ⁴² Lloyd, *Gold on the Ranges*, p. 83.
- ⁴³ *Mining surveyors' reports*, June 1864, p. 30. Of these, 150 were alluvial miners, 900 were quartz miners, and 1139 other people were reported who were not engaged in mining.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁴⁵ Rate Book, Borough of Woods Point, 1865-1883, PROV, VPRS, 11458/P1, Unit 1.
- ⁴⁶ *Victorian Government Gazette* 95, September 15 1863, p. 2045; *Victorian Government Gazette* 105, October 16 1863, p. 2315.
- ⁴⁷ This newspaper later amalgamated with its rival the *Woods Point Times* to become the *Woods Point Times & Mountaineer*, which was published between 1865 and 1868.
- ⁴⁸ *The Mountaineer*, 3 October 1864, no page number.
- ⁴⁹ Examples of marriage announcements include those in *The Mountaineer*, 26 September 1864, no page number; *Argus*, 29 October 1863, p. 4, *Argus*, 30 December 1864, p. 4; *Argus*, 30 January 1865, p. 4.
- ⁵⁰ *The Mountaineer*, 14 November 1864, no page number.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ PROV, VPRS 28/P0, Unit 54, File 5/625.
- ⁵⁴ Andrew Nash, diary, 1867-1873; John Brady Nash papers, 1867-1915, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 February 1872, no page number.
- ⁵⁶ Wickham, *Women of the Diggings*, p. 45.
- ⁵⁷ For further information on this fragmentary research see Louise Blake, 'Chasing Eliza Miles: An Archive Story', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 21, 2015, pp. 90-103.
- ⁵⁸ *Ballarat Star*, 16 May 1859, p. 3; *Argus* 20 May 1858, p. 8; *Ovens & Murray Advertiser*, 27 October 1860, p. 2.
- ⁵⁹ *The Mountaineer*, 5 December 1864, no page number.
- ⁶⁰ Nash, diary, 4 February 1872, no page number.
- ⁶¹ Diane Kirkby, *Barmaids: a History of Women's Work in Pubs*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 31; Clare Wright, *Beyond the Ladies Lounge: Australia's Female Publicans*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 2003, p. 31.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*; See also David Goodman, *Gold Seeking*, pp. 149-187.
- ⁶⁴ *Butler's Wood's Point and Gipps Land General Directory*; PROV, VPRS 11458/P1, Unit 1, Rate Book, Borough of Woods Point; *Woods Point Times and Mountaineer*, 1865.
- ⁶⁵ *Woods Point Times*, 1 April 1865, no page number.
- ⁶⁶ Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', p. 89.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ *Alexandra and Yea Standard*, 27 April 1878, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

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- ⁷⁰ Nash, diary, 24 June 1873, no page number. This phrase is underlined in Nash's diary.
- ⁷¹ Charles Grey (Alpha) Bird, *Reminiscences of the goldfields in the fifties and sixties: Victoria, New Zealand, New South Wales, Part 1, Victoria*, Gordon & Gotch, North Melbourne, 1915, p. 114.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ PROV, VPRS 407/P0, Unit 2, File 59.
- ⁷⁴ *Argus*, 10 January 1865, p. 6.
- ⁷⁵ PROV, VPRS 407/P0, Unit 2, File 59.
- ⁷⁶ *Argus*, 10 January 1865, p. 6.
- ⁷⁷ Index to Unassisted Passenger Lists to Victoria, 1852-1923, www.prov.vic.gov.au.
- ⁷⁸ William Thomas Hogan, 1 August 1854; Births in the district of Melbourne in the Colony of Victoria, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria.
- ⁷⁹ William Henry Calcutt and Bridget Hunt, 5 May 1855; Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria.
- ⁸⁰ PROV, VPRS 28/P0, Unit 130, File 11/406. Bidelia later claimed in an unrelated court case held in Woods Point that though she and her husband were living apart 'I did not leave him and he did not leave me'.
- ⁸¹ Nash, diary, 24 June 1873, no page number.
- ⁸² *Census of Victoria, 1861: Religions of the People*, Table XII, pp. 182-183.
- ⁸³ Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, pp. 102-103.
- ⁸⁴ *The Mountaineer*, 24 October 1864, no page number.
- ⁸⁵ Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, p. 99.
- ⁸⁶ *Argus*, 4 August 1914, p. 6.
- ⁸⁷ PROV, VPRS 640/P0, Unit 434, School Number 789. Little is known about these teachers in the early years of Woods Point because Education Department correspondence records for the school at Woods Point are only available from 1878 onwards. These files, however, provide ample evidence of the contribution made by the women who taught in Woods Point after 1878, and will form part of my ongoing doctoral research.
- ⁸⁸ Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, p. 90.
- ⁸⁹ *Woods Point Times & Mountaineer*, 2 August 1865, no page number.
- ⁹⁰ PROV, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 162, File 1865/927.
- ⁹¹ Thomas and Catherine Herlihy emigrated in 1857 with a number of friends and relatives from the Dingle Peninsula, several of whom may have joined them in the Woods Point region, although Catherine Foley did not travel with them.
- ⁹² Knopp, 30 April 1875, Births in the district of Woods Point in the Colony of Victoria, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria.
- ⁹³ Marion Miller, *Barbara Halliday: a story of the hill country of Victoria*, George Robertson, Melbourne, 1896.
- ⁹⁴ Patrick Morgan, *Foothill Farmers: The Literature of Gippsland*, Ngarak Press, Ensay, 2010, p. 49.
- ⁹⁵ Miller, *Barbara Halliday*, pp. 46-47.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ James Miller and Anne Bowen, 27 November 1863; Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria.
- ⁹⁸ Miller, *Barbara Halliday*, p. 10.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁰⁰ Brian Lloyd & Howard Combes, *Gold in the Walhalla region: West Gippsland, Victoria*, Histec Publications, Hampton East, 2010, p. 113.
- ¹⁰¹ Lloyd, *Gold in the Ranges*, p. 45.