Country Town Growth in South-Eastern Australia: Three Regional Studies, 1861-1891

J. M. Richmond

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University, 1969.

This thesis is the result
of original research
conducted by the author in
the Research School of Social
Sciences, Australian National
University, Canberra.

January, 1969.

Preface

My grateful thanks are due to the Australian National University, upon whose generosity the research depended. To Dr. R. A. Gollan, my supervisor, and Professors Sir Keith Hancock and J. A. La Nauze, successive heads of the Department of History in the Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University. To Professor A. W. Martin, of La Trobe University, Melbourne, for criticism and encouragement. To Mr. G. P. Walsh, Mr. F. Strahan, and the many others who offered helpful advice and information. To Cr. E. J. Semmens, of Creswick, Mr. Tom Evans, of Hamilton, and other people of the country towns. To those who permitted me to read theses and other unpublished material. To the able and patient typists, Miss Judy Cook and Miss Sheila Smith. To the staffs of the Australian National University Library, the Australian National Library, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the Australian section of the State Library of Victoria (now the La Trobe Library), the Melbourne University Archives, and the Australian National University Archives. And to my wife, of whose burden the checking of the thesis was but a minor part.

Contents

Summary of Chapters		ix
Abbreviations		xiv
Chapter		
1.	The Study of Towns	1
2.	The Patterns of Growth of Country Towns in Victoria and New South Wales 1861-1891	44
3.	The Components of Growth	83
4.	Town Foundation, Alienation, and Construction	113
5.	The Functions of the Towns	146
6.	The Town and its Region: I: Creswick	203
7.	The Town and its Region: II: Hamilton	269
8.	The Town and its Region: III: Wagga	325
9.	The Towns and the State	382
	Conclusion	420
Appendix :	The population of towns of 1000 or more at each census, 1861-1891, and their individual growth-rates in each decade.	434
Bibliography		442

Tables

		Page
2: 1	Numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria and N. S. W. taken as a whole, 1861-1891.	45
2: 2	Metropolitan, country urban and rural numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria and N. S. W., 1861-1891.	47
2: 3	Urban and rural percentage of N. S. W. population, 1891, variously calculated.	53
2: 4	Numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria plus Riverina, and N. S. W. minus Riverina, 1861 and 1891.	55
2: 5	Numerical and percentage shares of population in Victoria and N. S. W., 1901 and 1961.	59
2: 6	Average size of Victorian and N. S. W. country towns of 1000 or more, 1861-1901, and 1961.	62
2: 7	Ten-year transition experience of country towns of 500 or more, 1861-1891: N. S. W.	75
2: 8	Ten year transition experience of country towns of 500 or more, 1861-1891: Victoria.	76
2: 9	Population and growth-rates of Wagga, Hamilton and Creswick, 1861-1961.	80
3: 1	Wagga population growth-rates 1861-1891.	85
3: 2	Number of females to 100 males, Wagga, Hamilton and Creswick, 1861-1891.	86
3: 3	Growth-rates of certain population components in Hamilton and Creswick, 1861-1891.	88
3: 4	Growth-rates of certain population components in Wagga, 1861, 1871 and 1891.	88

		Page
3: 5	Percentage of potential workforce to total population, Hamilton, Creswick and Wagga, 1861-1891.	89
3: 6	Wagga age cohort performances, 1861-1891.	95,96
3: 7	Creswick age cohort performances, 1861-1891.	97,98
3: 8	Hamilton age cohort performances, 1861-1891.	97,99
3: 9	Number of town lots of Crown land alienated in Hamilton and Creswick, 1851-1891.	104
3: 10	Inhabited and uninhabited dwellings in Creswick, Hamilton and Wagga, 1861-1891.	106
4: 1	Comparative analysis of Crown land purchases to 1891, Hamilton, Wagga and Creswick.	120
4: 2	The percentage proportion of brick and stone dwellings to total dwellings, 1861 and 1891 (samples from Victoria and N. S. W.)	131
4: 3	Ranking of Victorian and N. S. W. country towns (sample) according to proportions of brick and stone dwellings, 1861 and 1891.	133
5: 1	Distribution of occupations in Hamilton, 1861, 1871, 1884, 1891.	149
5: 2	Distribution of occupations in Wagga, 1861, 1871, 1884, 1889-91.	154
5: 3	Distribution of occupations in Creswick, 1861, 1871, 1882.	157
5: 4	The non-primary producing population of Creswick, 1861, 1871, and 1881, and of Hamilton and Wagga, 1861 and 1871.	163

		Page
6: 1	Selected national and religious characteristics of town and region, 1861 and 1891, as percentages of the total population of each town and region.	207
6: 2	Land use in Creswick Shire, 1869-1891.	212
6: 3	Size analysis of land holdings of one acre or more, Creswick and neighbouring Shires, and Dundas Shire, 1891.	256
6: 4	Wool and livestock traffic at Creswick and other stations, 1878-1891.	262
6: 5	Passenger and goods traffic at Creswick and other stations, 1874/5-1890/1.	263
6: 6	Populations of towns and villages in the Creswick district, 1861-1891.	266
7: 1	Land use in Dundas Shire, 1869-1891.	270
7: 2	Sizes of freehold properties over 640 acres, Hamilton district, 1886 and 1891.	288
7: 3a	Urban and rural settlement in Dundas Shire, Creswick Shire, and the counties adjacent to Wagga, 1891.	293
7: 3	Populations of towns and villages in the Hamilton district, 1861-1891.	295
7: 4	Bales of wool consigned from Hamilton and other railway stations, 1878, 1885/6 and 1890/1	322
8: 1	Land use in the Wagga region, 1862-1890	327
8: 2	Number and size of freeholdings in the Murrumbidgee Electorate, 1882, 1888 and 1890.	356
8: 3	Population growth rates of some southern N. S. W. and Victorian border towns and municipalities, 1881-1891.	379

Figures		following page
2: 1	South-Eastern Australia	45
6: 1	Creswick, Location Map	212
6: 2	Creswick, Land Use and Town Size, late 1860s	212
6: 3	Creswick, Land Use and Town Size, 1891	212
7: 1	Hamilton, Location Map	269
7: 2	Hamilton, Land Use and Town Size, late 1860s	269
7: 3	Hamilton, Land Use and Town Size, 1891	269
8: 1	Wagga, Location Map	328
8: 2	Wagga, Land Use and Town Size, 1871	328
8: 3	Wagga, Land Use and Town Size, 1891	328

Summary of Chapters

Australia's galloping urbanization was the major feature of settlement in the second half of the nineteenth century, and - then as now - its outstanding characteristic was the dominant role of metropolization in this process. The fifties were a time of formative upsets to the pattern of settlement in Victoria, and, to a lesser extent, in New South Wales, and the nineties again saw a temporary disruption in the trend of urbanization in each colony. The generation from 1861 to 1891 was relatively free of such upsets, and this study addresses the question of urbanization in that period, focussing particularly on the country towns, focussing, that is, on the reverse of the urban coin of which the Australian metropolis is so manifestly the obverse. The retardation of provincial towns has made relics of many of them; but although to gaze on the streets of many such towns is to gaze on the nineteenth century, they have commanded little scholarly attention. As an introduction, then, Chapter One contrasts nineteenth century awareness of urbanization (and denigration of country towns) with the delay in professional attention to the subject, and sketches the approach made in this

study. In particular, the lack of previous studies has conditioned a concentration on the basic question of country town growth.

Chapter Two, having defined 'country towns', is concerned with determining, in a broad way, the role of country towns in south-eastern Australia in the process of urbanization during this period. Two main facts emerge: the country towns as a body did not grow as strongly as Sydney and Melbourne; and the country towns of New South Wales, as a body and individually, grew more strongly than the Victorian towns.

This, then, was what happened, and Chapters Three to Nine are directed towards finding out why. To do this, the history of three country towns and their hinterlands have been studied, namely, Creswick, a Victorian gold-mining town near Ballarat, Hamilton, a pastoral town in the Western District of Victoria, and Wagga, a pastoral and agricultural town in the Riverina district of New South Wales. The factors in town growth have been examined at three levels; Chapters Three to Five look at the internal aspects of town growth, Chapters Six to Eight at its regional aspects, and Chapter Nine discusses the role of the State.

Chapter Three, which is chiefly demographic, analyses the components of growth by looking separately at various elements in the population, such as changing sex ratios and workforce proportions, in order to gain an idea of the extent to which growth itself, and fluctuations in growth, derived simply from necessary

demographic adjustments. The question of the contribution of migration to population growth is also discussed, since even the growing towns had begun to experience net out-migration by the end of the period.

Chapter Four first briefly examines the location and the circumstances of the foundation of each town, seeking implications for future growth. It then considers the manner in which each town was actually settled, and by whom, through an analysis of the alienation of Crown lots. Finally, the quality and quantity of residential construction in the towns are examined in the light of available building materials, and of the quality of housing in the towns' rural hinterlands. The concept of regionality is introduced, and differences between the towns in each colony elucidated.

In Chapter Five, the general occupational structure of each town - for which the materials are unsatisfactory after 1871 - is first noted, both generally and in terms of the basic-nonbasic concept. The discussion of economic functions is continued with separate considerations of the place of primary industry (as an element of the town's own workforce, not as a general regional factor), secondary industry, and tertiary industry in town growth. Non-economic functions, both basic and nonbasic, are also discussed, although they illuminate the quality of life and the nature of regionality,

rather than the question of population growth.

Chapters Six to Eight examine, in turn, each of the rural hinterlands of the sample towns, to determine their relative propensities to town growth, and to elucidate the towns' regional roles. Chapter Six is prefaced by a discussion of the demographic bases of regionality and urbanism, in which it is shown that towns had greater affinities with their respective regions than with other towns. In each chapter, three main questions are considered in their relevance to town growth: rural land use; the pattern of settlement in terms of the size of rural holdings and the accretion or fragmentation of 'urban' services; and the development of transport, especially the role of the railway. In each chapter, the emphasis given to each of these sections varies according to the requirements of each case.

Chapter Six concentrates particularly on the unusual diversification of land use in Creswick Shire, the decline of agriculture and the revival of mining. The density of settlement in the Shire, and the public fragmentation of urban services, are examined, as is the effect of the railway on the town's life.

Chapter Seven deals briefly with the unrelieved pastoralism and sparse population of Dundas Shire, and shows that in the accretion of functions, Hamilton was able to gain more from its hinterland

population than the others from theirs. The association of townsmen in agitating for railway extension is discussed, as well as the apparent effects of the railway on the town's functions.

Chapter Eight first traces the changes in land use in the Murrumbidgee Electorate in this period, noting especially the wheat-growing boom which followed the advent of the railway; it notes, too, Wagga's function in the handling and fattening of stock driven from distant parts. The successions and patterns of settlement in the district are then studied in their relation to town growth, and the early transport lines and the course and effects of railway extension are dealt with.

The dependence of towns on their respective regions having been established, Chapter Nine outlines the direct and indirect ways in which towns relied on the State. Certain differences between the colonies are suggested, and the general limitations on local municipal government, and on the avenues of approach to the State by the towns, are stated. The extent and effects of reliance on the State are tentatively assessed.

Abbreviations

CA	Creswick Advertiser
HS	Hamilton Spectator
NSWPD	New South Wales Parliamentary Debates
SAPD	South Australian Parliamentary Debates
SAPP	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
SRNSW	Statistical Register of New South Wales
SRV	Statistical Register of Victoria
TCJ	Town and Country Journal
VPD	Victorian Parliamentary Debates
VPLANSW	New South Wales, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary Papers
VPLAV	Victoria, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary Papers
WA	Wagga Advertiser
WE	Wagga Express

Chapter I. The Study of Towns.

Urbanization in Australia, I: Contemporary views and opinions on the growth of the metropolis in nineteenth century Australia

The dominant growth of capital city metropolises has been in train since the beginning of our period a little over one hundred years ago, and was by the end of the nineteenth century sufficiently pronounced to have been for some time the subject of frequent comment from several quarters. In 1899, the American scholar Adna Weber has used the Australian example in his opening exposition of the urbanizing propensities of nineteenth century Western populations.[1] In Australia, the colonial statistician Timothy Coghlan had, from the mid-eighties, described, analysed, attempted to explain, and, later, deplored, the growth of huge cities in Australia:

> The progress of these cities has been extraordinary, and has no parallel among the cities of the Old World. Even in America the rise of the great cities has been accompanied by a somewhat corresponding increase in the rural population. In these colonies, perhaps for the first time in the history of the world, is seen the spectacle of magnificent cities growing with wonderful rapidity, and embracing within their limits one-third of the population of the territory on which they depend. 2

---

1. A. F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century, ([New York, 1899]; Cornell Reprints in Urban Studies, 1963), Ch.1.
2. T. A. Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1886-7, (Sydney, 1887), 140.

In later editions of The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, and in his report on the 1891 census, Coghlan amplified and modified this account; by the end of the century, 'the spectacle of magnificent cities' had become for him 'the disquieting spectacle'[1], and he found it 'impossible to believe that healthy progress is consistent with the wonderful growth of the metropolis at the expense of the country' - although he affirmed that Australasian cities, despite their 'inordinate' size, had not grown by actually absorbing the rural population.[2] It behoved Coghlan, then, to seek the real causes of their growth. In contrast with Venice, Carthage, or London, Sydney lacked an overseas mercantile empire on which to feed,[3] and Coghlan groped at the idea of internal colonial imperialism, by which a vast colony - of many sheep and few men - paid tribute to the city which was both its chief port and its capital.

Coghlan discerned several factors conducing to this distinctive Australian pattern: the lack of great navigable rivers prevented the growth of inland ports, and strong provincial settlement did not flow from the two chief primary industries. The pastoral industry did not require such settlement: 'while the

---

1. Ibid., 1900-1, 947.
2. Ibid., 946-7.
3. General Report on the Eleventh Census of New South Wales, [the 1891 Census Report], (Sydney, 1894), 127-8.

actual tending of flocks needs few hands . . . the handling of bales of wool at a convenient place of shipment demands all the resources of a great commercial centre'. The gold-mining industry, on the other hand, did not promote permanent settlement, since the miner was generally a nomad.[1] Rural life offered few attractions, and State expenditure of investment funds on rural public works only temporarily affected population distribution, since the many labourers involved tended to flock back to the cities after the completion of these works.[2]

Coghlan was not the first or the last to comment on Australian urbanization; but while many had, like him, not really looked beyond the capital cities, few at that time had attempted his breadth of explanation. Accounts of rivalry between Melbourne and Geelong ('Pivot City')[3], or of the insecurity bred in up-country traders by Melbourne's commercial dominance[4], are valuable as description, but do not attempt to explain. Trollope noted that there were few large ('good') towns, but, while sympathetic to the country towns, he did not seek the causes of their fewness.[5]

---

1. The Wealth and Progress of N. S. W. 1900-1, 947.
2. 1891 Census Report, 128. In a later study, The Decline in the Birth-Rate of N. S. W., (Sydney, 1903), Coghlan found the main cause for the decline to be the growth of contraceptive practices after 1880, and that Sydney's lower fecundity was due to the greater accessibility of contraceptive aids in cities.
3. W. Kelly, Life in Victoria, (London, 1859), I, 156.
4. H. Brown, Victoria, As I Found It, (London, 1862), 162-3.
5. Australia and New Zealand, (London, 1873), I, 247-52, 465, 494.

R. E. N. Twopeny, observing that the younger Melbourne was ahead of Sydney, went on to speculate on why this should be so, but did not ask why it was that both cities had such a large share of their colonial population.[1]

Similarly, the grievances frequently vented against capital cities by country members of the colonial legislatures often give us incidentally an interesting, if subjective, description of the structure of those cities, as well as an index of their dominance through its effect on one section of public opinion. For example in the debate on the distribution of grants to aid in the rejoicings for the marriage of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales,

> Mr. Woods objected to Melbourne being invariably considered first. The revenue derived from Melbourne was not equal to that obtained from the country districts. The population of Melbourne consisted of a mere mass of agents. The wealth of the country was not increased by Melbourne, which was merely a toll gate, nothing being allowed to pass through it without paying toll . . . . The loyalty of Melbourne was a mercenary loyalty. 2

The general issue of 'town versus country' (in the sense of metropolis versus country) was raised from time to time in the parliaments, usually in connection with the voting of moneys for public works; and its raising was nearly always couched in apologetic terms, an acknowledgement not so much that the issue

---

1. R. E. N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, (London, 1883) 1-3.
2. VPD, 1862-3, IX, 847-8.

was a red herring as that some code of ethics had been breached.[1]

Side by side with country - that is to say, non-metropolitan - Members' frequent expressions of grievance against what they considered to be unfair metropolitan expenditure, lies the fact that, on the whole, electoral representation was weighed in favour of non-metropolitan interests.[2] A thorough explanation of this situation has not been sought here;[3] but it is obvious that although town-country grievances existed, they were never elevated into an explicit issue around which political parties grouped.[4]

---

1. See the discussion of this issue, ibid., 1873, XVI, 723 (Patterson), 720-1 (MacBain), 733 (Francis), 761 (R. M. Smith), 775 (Langton).
2. Only in Victoria in the early part of the period - when goldfields electorates were very populous - was this not so, and even then there were still more than three times as many country as metropolitan Members in the House; for a documentation and discussion of this situation, see Ch.9, below.
3. Cf. G. R. Bartlett, 'Political Organisation and Society in Victoria 1864-1883', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964), on questions such as the importance of deputations and the comparative disadvantage of far-flung constituents, etc.
4. However, certain facts suggest that the question would repay closer investigation. For instance, a SMH editorial on 1871 N. S. W. Census Report, 29 Sep 1873, observed that 'There is . . . no large secondary township, or even conbination of s secondary townships, to balance the metropolis - a point of considerable importance with respect to the political equilibrium'. It is interesting, too, that in the 1891 N. S. W. election, the Ministerialists seem to dominate the metropolitan returns, and the Oppositionists the country returns, with Labour doing quite well in both sectors. Nevertheless, the main issue was Protection, and the Protection and Freetrade arguments do not appear to illustrate any town-country dichotomy (although it is possible that some country Protectionists may have seen an increased tariff as a desirable revenue-raising alternative to a land tax).

For one thing, grievances were normally felt only on one side. Furthermore, of course, these grievances were rarely simply of town versus country, or vice versa. Thus, Hamilton's early complaints of neglect were frequently directed - with understandable indignation - against the metropolis and the goldfields, on which they felt expenditure was being lavished.[1] Again, so-called 'Melbourne interests' or 'Sydney interests' involved much expenditure beyond those actual cities (and this is the very basis of metropolization in this period): thus, for instance, 'Melbourne interests' were anxious to lay railway from Melbourne to the Murray River at Echuca, and - despite wranglings over the precise route to be taken - in general the 'country interests' lying between Melbourne and Echuca were happy enough to have this railway, even though its chief purpose were to aggrandize 'Melbourne interests'.[2]

---

1. It is also interesting to look at a map of the distribution of M. L. A.s at the beginning of the 1861 Victorian session. Metropolitan seats are allotted equally to Ministerial and Opposition Members; outside the metropolis, Ministerialists represent chiefly the goldfields and the Geelong area, while the Opposition strongholds are the Western District, Wimmera, Gippsland, and the agricultural and pastoral areas due north of the capital. I do not recall having seen the fact of this distribution pointed up in accounts of Victorian politics of the period, but it may not be oversimplifying, without further investigation, to view this as a ranging of forces apropos the land selection question.
2. The railway question is dealt with extensively elsewhere.

Generally, the position of country towns was submerged in such town-country discussions. Sometimes Geelong was thrown in with Melbourne: it was larger than most, though not all, inland towns; it was also a port, and, until 1889, an important part of the rail link between Melbourne and the western goldfields, and was therefore suspect as being - like Melbourne - a parasite on the really productive parts of the colonial economy. Country towns were sometimes obliquely distinguished from the 'country', as such, in discussions of borough as against shire or road board endowments. However, not all boroughs were outside the metropolitan area, nor were all country towns incorporated as boroughs; further, 'borough' areas were in Victoria slightly, and in N. S. W. often considerably larger than the size of the township proper.

In other words, to the extent that a 'town versus country' debate may be said to have been carried on, the country towns [or, country towns] were - if not by default then at least in the minds of the participants - very much on the side of the 'country'.[1] This is a reflection and function of the facts of urbanization in N. S. W. and Victoria, a process by which - in each colony despite their differences - very large growth was reserved to one city alone. And it is a fact of this process that most inland

---

1. Cf. the Australian usage of the term 'the Bush' to include the country towns.

country towns remained, if indeed they remained in existence, a functional part, even a dependant, of their rural regions or hinterlands. Hence, in the absence of a series of very large specialist provincial cities, it is not surprising to find that most country towns fell by implication into the category 'country' rather than 'town', in nineteenth century Australian thinking. Of course, this is not to explain why more large provincial cities did not develop; it is merely to comment that, while individual towns may have looked keenly at the problems of their own future development, and pestered their local Members to obtain gifts and concessions, there was no continuing discussion of 'our country towns'.[1]

As well as the towns as such, the process of metropolization was the subject of growing attention, both interested and disinterested. From the beginning of this period, the country press was vocal on this question, and the cry 'Decentralization' is by no means of recent coinage. It has rung through country areas since at least

---

1. Cf. the discussion of the dilemma of Victorian gold towns, referred to later. Note that there was a certain amount of consultation and cooperation between local government authorities and other local bodies, in such organizations as the Victorian Municipal Conference, the Municipal Association of Victoria, and the decentralization leagues, and - within regions - the railway leagues; however, these included country proper as well as country town bodies, and, in the municipal associations, suburban bodies as well.

the 1860s; it even prompted the formation of local decentralization leagues in Victoria, and these met at Sandhurst and Ballarat in 1885 to - ironically enough - centralize their activities in a large league based on a core of goldfields branches.[1] Disinterested voices were slower to speak, but were heard quite a deal by the nineties. The migrant journalist, James Inglis, had in 1880 criticised

> a prevalent tendency, very much to be deplored, to centralize in the towns . . . . There is really no rural population worthy [of] the name in [N. S. W.]. Men would rather speculate in land than cultivate it. 2

Inglis feared the accumulation of large estates into a few hands, and - like some later commentators - he also feared the political consequences:

> As it now is, we have a vast, ever-increasing class springing up with no stake in the country at all. . . . Every man in this disorganized growing rabble has his vote 3

Increasingly by the late eighties, a change is evident in the writings of commentators on the cities: they begin to explain, and to deplore and react against the fact of huge cities.

Indeed, the charge of 'unhealthy' city growth was part of a general criticism of Australian colonies - especially in

---

1. Argus, 17 Dec 1885.
2. J. Inglis, Our Australian Cousins, (London, 1880), 433.
3. Ibid., 434.

their capacity as debtor states - which was carried on for some years in the British and colonial press and in the meeting rooms of bodies such as the Royal Colonial Institute.[1] At that Institute (where the colonial Agents-General forgathered to hymn the progress of their respective colonies whenever a local loan mission was in the London market), the fact of antipodean metropolization, particularly metropolization-sans-industrialization - represented, as it often was, as an index of Australia's wastefulness of other people's money - became from the late eighties a matter of some embarrassment to men who were obliged in some way to justify their colonies' present and future indebtedness. In these years, forebodings of colonial repudiation were made explicit, and cases were detailed in which individual British investors had thought it

---

1. See J. W. Fortescue, 'The Seamy Side of Australia', in Nineteenth Century, XXIX, Jan-Jun 1891, and 'Guileless Australia: A Rejoinder', ibid., XXX, Jul-Dec 1891; R. M. Johnston, 'The Attack on the Credit of Australasia', ibid., XXXI, Jan-Jun 1892; R. G. C. Hamilton, 'Lending Money to Australia', ibid., XXXII, Jul-Dec 1892; Lord Brassey, 'Recent Impressions in Australia', Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XIX, 1887-8; M. Macfie, 'Aids to Australasian Development', ibid., XXI, 1889-90; E. Braddon, 'Australasia: A Vindication", ibid., XXIII, 1891-92; T. Bent, 'The Trend of Victoria's Progress', ibid., XXXVIII, 1906-1907; D. C. Murray, 'The Antipodeans', (in three parts), Contemporary Review, LX, Jul-Dec 1891; W. J. Sowden, 'Australia: A Native's Standpoint', an address of 1892, reprinted in his An Australian Native's Standpoint, (London, 1912).

wise to dispose of their colonial stocks.[1] Unreproductive railways, protective tariffs, the retardation of agriculture, the extravagance and indolence of the cities, the dominance of the working man, the prevalence of State Socialism, and the growth of colonial republicanism became the subjects of charge and counter-charge.

Lord Brassey in 1887 had commented on 'the reluctance exhibited by the inhabitants of the great towns to push their way into the interior',[2] and this was a recurring theme in the debate to come. Matthew Macfie, in 1889,[3] contended that Australia's main need was for selected immigration suitable for agricultural settlement, and that, had there been a system for guiding immigrants straight from the ports to the agricultural areas, 'not a few now given up to a life of indolence and excess in congested populations . . . might have become prosperous tillers of the soil'.[4] Instead, town populations had swollen

---

1. See Macfie, op. cit., 67, Fortescue, opii cit., Johnston, op. cit., 606-22, Hamilton, op. cit., 194-202, Sowden, op. cit., 17-18; Bent in 1907 also set out to refute 'malignant slanders on Australian stability', op. cit., 350.
2. Brassey, op. cit., 124. A gentleman and parliamentarian, Brassey was Governor of Victoria 1895-1900.
3. Macfie had just returned from five years in Australia, during which time he edited an 'old-established' Melbourne journal.
4. Op. cit., 57-8.

since goldrush days, and in the capitals 'a considerable shiftless class' opposed immigration (on the grounds that it might impair their conditions), and harried Governments into providing work for them, especially in protectionist Victoria:[1]

> How striking is this abnormal and unproductive concentration of an excessive proportion of the inhabitants of Australia in a few towns, compared with the wholesome distribution of population in the most prosperous countries of Europe and America, where land culture is properly held to be the chief industry. 2

More publicity, indeed furore, surrounded the articles of J. W. Fortescue, David Christie Murray, and Francis Adams, which soon appeared in the prominent British literary and intellectual journals.* Fortescue's was the first systematic attack on Australian credit, and - like Macfie - he viewed the rural-urban situation there as a simple productive-unproductive dichotomy, with the balance of numbers sadly against the former element. The true function of the rural population in Australia, he then wrote, and was later echoed by C. E. W. Bean and other Australian writers, is 'to work that the metropolitan population may play': credit is so easy for the working man that there is no inducement for him to forswear the pleasant town life.[3]

---

1. Ibid., 57, 59.
2. Ibid., 58; my italics.
3. Fortescue, op. cit., XXIX, 530.

* Sowden, op. cit., 2.

In similar vein, Murray[1] characterised Melbourne as the 'city of brass-plates. The brass-plate, as all the world knows, is the badge of the non-producer'.[2] To realise her true greatness, Australia must break the dominance of the working man, and 'take the work which lies before her nose and subdue the land and replenish it'.[3]

Much of the uneasiness about Australian metropolises, about their 'unproductiveness', stemmed - as mentioned earlier - from their relative lack of manufacturing industry. That an Englishman should regard this state of affairs as unnatural is understandable:

> If Australia were a great manufacturing country, and those towns were like Halifax, Leeds, or Manchester, the cause of this large urban population would be at once explained; but, considering that Australia is a mainly agricultural and mining country, and depends for its wealth on the produce of the lands and herds, one is forced to conclude . . . that there must be some morbid inducement to produce that state of things.[4]

---

1. Murray (1847-1907) was a novelist, journalist, traveller and popular lecturer, touring Australia and New Zealand in the last capacity during 1889-91.
2. Op. cit., 301.
3. Ibid., 302, 311.
4. Sir George Chesney, in discussing Braddon, op. cit., 85. Moreover, the affluence which some Englishman felt to be artificial, and which permitted the dominance of the working man which so many of them disliked, had also permitted a distinctive Australian style of suburban residential development which was as visually exotic to the Englishman as the lack of industrial chimney-stacks. As mentioned below, metropolitan suburbia in Australia was detested by Francis Adams, but applauded by Sir Charles Dilke.

The Tasmanian Agent-General (Sir Edward Braddon) was one of those who sought to rebut Fortescue and Murray; he pointed out that urban workers were not the only workers with the vote, that most works constructed with loan moneys - such as railways and roads - were in fact in the country, not the city.[1]

R. M. Johnston,[2] another Tasmanian who sprang to defence of the Australian colonies as a whole, also defended urbanization as such. Having disposed of Fortescue's error in assuming that diverging ratios of urban and rural population meant that the latter was not increasing, he went on to depict urbanization itself as a sign of a high stage of civilization; when - 'by man's increasing command over natural forces' - greater yields are extracted from the land, urbanization proceeds naturally.[3]

Growing attention to metropolization in the nineties may be attributed partly to the fact that that process was becoming progressively more striking,[4] but also partly to the

---

1. Ibid., 53-5.
2. Johnston (1844-1918) was at the time the Tasmanian Statistician and Registrar-General.
3. Johnston, op. cit., 619. That English uneasiness with Australian urbanization persisted for some years, and that uneasiness was also felt in the colonies, is attested by Thomas Bent's defence of his country's stability, op. cit., at a Royal Colonial Institute meeting in 1907; Bent was Premier of Victoria 1904-8, and journeyed to England in 1907 for health reasons.
4. Of course, Melbourne's slump in the 1890s, and the contrast with Sydney, enhanced rather than diminished interest in the subject.

influence of two Sydney men, Coghlan and J. F. Archibald.[1] Coghlan's works, and Archibald's journal The Bulletin, were among the first pieces of required reading for the intelligent visitor to, or commentator on, the Antipodes. Sir Charles Dilke, in his second book on the British colonies, for example, echoed Coghlan in his comments on the growth of cities.[2] He, and others such as Gilbert Parker and E. C. Buley, offered general explanations of metropolization which added little to Coghlan's account.[3]

Even Francis Adams paused in his denigration of city

---

1. It is not necessary here to judge (even if it could be done) the extent to which Archibald catered for, rather than created, the demand for a certain type of material.
2. C. W. Dilke, Problems of Greater Britain, (London, 1890), 496-7; note that Dilke approved of the trend towards concentration, because the suburban mode of development made cities more spacious and sanitary than in England; Dilke thought he discerned a quickening of the national pulse through the urban-dwellers' gains in education and recreation.
3. G. Parker, Round the Compass in Australia, (Melbourne, n.d. [1892]), 113; he traced metropolization to the retardation of agriculture and manufacturing, and to a dual by-passing of country town service functions, in that squatters traded directly with the metropolis, and small settlers traded with the squatters. E. C. Buley, Australian Life in Town and Country, (London, 1905), 70-1, saw metropolises as the nodes of a highly mercantile community, based on port-cities which were also the hubs of the railway networks.

and suburb (where 'the shoddy contractor despotises . . . in his vilest and most hateful shape'[1]) to explain that the geography of communications had produced 'the extraordinary system of centralization which has made this enormous Australia the appanage of four or five cities'.[2]

Like Archibald, too, Adams reacted against the metropolises. Archibald had seen Sydney as 'cant-ridden', snobbish and dependent on London customs;[3] Adams agreed, on the whole, and also viewed the metropolises with aesthetic distaste. Out of tune with the Australian aspiration (then as now) for individual housing, he saw them as an 'arid, desolate waste' of 'bare brick habitations'; in some respects they reminded Adams of British port towns, which he also disliked.[4] Adams quoted - in full and with much approval - a ballad he had recently read in the Bulletin, A. B. Paterson's 'Clancy of the Overflow':[5]

---

1. F. Adams, The Australians, (London, 1893), 31.
2. Ibid., 24.
3. Quoted by Vance Palmer, National Portraits, (Melbourne, 1960 edn.), 114. Cf., earlier, Rev. J. Greenwood's address on 'The Vices of Great Cities', SMH, 3 Dec 1874, in which he held that the very size of cities rendered the detection of sexual impurity difficult.
4. Adams, Op. cit., 24-31.
5. Ibid., 184-6; I have quoted fifth stanza.

I am sitting in my dingy little office, where a stingy
Ray of sunlight struggles feebly down between the houses tall.
And the foetid air and gritty of the dusty, dirty city
Through the open window floating, spreads its foulness over all.

Paterson was one of the writers encouraged by Archibald in what Russel Ward calls 'the apotheosis of the nomad tribe'.[1] Another was Henry Lawson, who lashed the city as the lair of the 'Cuff and Collar Push', of the absentees 'who own Australia, but who never knew the Bush':[2]

Ye landlords of the cities that are builded by the sea -
You toady 'Representative', you careless absentee -
I come, a scout from Borderland, to warn you of a change,
To tell you of the spirit that is roused beyond the range;[3]

In a slightly different approach, Joseph Furphy - another Archibald protege, who, as 'Tom Collins', wrote Such is Life - chose not to attack the towns, but rather to ignore them, mentioning them only occasionally as places to which he must go from time to time on some petty Civil Service errand, including the collection of his pay.

---

1. R. Ward, The Australian Legend, (Melbourne, 1958), Ch.VIII.
2. See 'The Men Who Made Australia', in R. Ward (ed.), Australian Ballads, (Penguin, 1964), 155-6.
3. Quoted by Ward, Australian Legend, 211. Cf. Coral Lansbury's comment, in her 'Arcady and Utopia. A study of illusion in an historical context', (M.A. thesis, Sydney University, n.d.), 122; 'And if Christ was to be found anywhere, then Victor Daley and Henry Lawson both knew that he would appear up country'.

Later, C. E. W. Bean strongly fostered this tradition[1] in On the Wool Track. Here, he described the 'Real Australia' west of the Darling River, and treated briefly of four types of town. The first was Broken Hill, which he put aside as being a special case. The second was the 'wool township', which was virtually and extended station store, and hardly a town.[2] The third was the pub-town, which Bean painted as existing merely to receive the shearer's cheque;[3] and the other, of course, was Sydney, which Bean regarded as - like the pub-town - in some ways parasitic on the 'Real Australia', which worked 'to make life

---

1. Although there has been a considerable broadening of themes, settings, and attitudes - especially in the Australian novel - aspects of the tradition have also persisted. Cf., for example, Judith Wright on the encroachments of a small town in her 'Country Town', in Ward (ed.), Australian Ballads, 254-5, or A. D. Hope's 'Australia', in his Poems, (London, 1960), 100:
   And her five cities, like five teeming sores,
   Each drains her: a vast parasite robber-state
   Where second-hand Europeans pullulate
   Timidly on the edge of alien shores.
   Note, too, that (with the exception especially of S. T. Gill and John Rae) most Australian painters of note have until recently (with the expressionism of the forties, and the advent of Brack, Dickerson, and a handful of social realists and townscape painters) rarely chosen urban subjects, matrices, or themes.
2. C. E. W. Bean, On the Wool Track, (Sydney, 1945 edn.), Ch.IX. (This edition was basically the 1925 revision of the original 1910 edition, in which Bean put into book form the articles on the wool industry which he wrote for the SMH in 1909.)
3. Ibid., Ch.XVII.

easier for the easy livers in a few great cities on the coast'.[1]

1. Ibid., 170; cf. 43; 'In Sydney they had put on top-hats, and were coming from Church to an over-large dinner. This [boundary-rider] had shaved in two-and-a-half angular inches of broken looking glass, propped on a pot of golden syrup, and had since been putting handles on to jam tins'.

Urbanization in Australia, II: Contemporary views and opinions on country towns in the nineteenth century

Writers in the line culminating in Bean had tended to look out from the metropolises to the virtually townless 'real Australia', passing over the country towns in between. Further, the Bean type of gospel was not a proselytising one, and the type of men it depicted were not on the increase: although people for nearly two generations had appeared to clamour for a dependency on the land, there was never the image of a growing army of bushworkers, despite - or perhaps, therefore? - the apotheosis of that army. Nor was the 'real Australia' ever identified with the country town dweller. There could, at that time in Australia, be no vision of the country town, such as that held by the American writer Wilbert Anderson, as

> a community beautiful with the ideal elements of Plato's Republic and possessing the substantial qualities of Aristotle's democracies . . . . no Utopia in far seas, no inaccessible City in the Sun, but a human development actually taking shape before our eyes . . . ultimate felicity retaining the primal gladness of a country life . . . .[1]

When a little attention was focussed on Australian country towns - by literary travellers and other writers - the picture was, to say the least, unenthusiastic. Early observers,

1. W. L. Anderson, The Country Town, (New York, 1906), 302.

such as Kelly and Brown, naturally commented on the roughness of gold towns in the early days, or rather the lack of any recognizable town on the diggings.[1] Although they were shortly to wonder at the 'magical' growth of towns such as Ararat[2] and Bendigo,[3] they also reported the feeling of insecurity prevalent among goldfields traders as to the long-term prospects of many towns.[4] Brown ascribed the early squalor of Bendigo to this feeling, and pessimism was the keynote of John Martineau's picture, in 1869, of the digger who had invested in town land.[5] Archibald Michie in 1866 counselled the utmost public concern with the task of redeploying diggers in farms and factories; otherwise, he opined, gold countries could find themselves worse off than countries quite barren of the 'precious metal'.[6]

---

1. Kelly, op. cit., I, 197.
2. Ibid., II, 315-6.
3. Ibid., II, 187-9; Brown, op. cit., 377-81.
4. Ibid., 237.
5. J. Martineau, Letters from Australia, (London, 1869), 33.
6. Michie's prognosis of 1866 was published later in his Readings in Melbourne, (London, 1879), 120; note that R. Brough Smyth, The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1869), 70, had a much more cheerful outlook: 'Perhaps only a few of those who rushed to the spot remained as permanent residents; but the nucleus of a town is established; and around it grows a municipality, order, and a measure of prosperity. It is in this manner that Victoria has prospered and is likely to grow wealthier from year to year.'

Naturally, the gold towns - as part of the general goldfields scene - were the chief type portrayed by early writers on towns. However, the newness and uncouthness of the country towns did remain as a constant theme of later commentators. Marcus Clarke found 'Grumbler's Gully' [Stawell, Victoria] 'desperately new'.[1] Trollope was frankly saddened and a little horrified by the towns he saw in Australia; he admitted that there was a certain amount of interest in observing young growth,[2] but found the towns generally unattractive and rawly new.[3] Aesthetics also led Trollope to equivocate on the question of planning; planning a town for the future is good, he said, but after all, unplanned English towns were seldom 'incomplete, pretentious, or unpicturesque'.[4] Trollope summed up the outsider's reaction as 'a feeling of mixed melancholy and of thankfulness that his lot has not been cast in so unsightly a place'.[5]

---

1. Australasian, 5 Nov 1870, 582-3; Clarke spent 1865-7 in the vicinity of Stawell and Glenorchy, in Victoria, and drew from this experience a series of articles published in the Australasian in the latter half of 1870, and later included Australian Tales, (Melbourne, 1896).
2. A. Trollope, Australia and New Zealand, (London, 1873), I, 494.
3. Ibid., 247, 495.
4. Ibid., 247-8.
5. Ibid., 495.

An almost uniformly unenthusiastic reaction to Australian country towns continued;[1] as well, the generalized reaction was uniformly uniform, though interlarded with what one feels was often obligatory praise for individual towns.[2] This is unfortunate for the historian, because contemporary descriptions of the newness and uncouthness of towns are the least valuable - because the most predictable - of his materials: apart from the Macquarie towns, few inland towns in New South Wales or Victoria could be considered old by 1860 or even by 1890. There were, of course, minor exceptions, such as Buley's impressionistic sketch of the social structure and cultural

---

1. See, int. al., H. Mortimer Franklyn, A Glance at Australia in 1880, (Melbourne, 1881), 36; G. S. Baden-Powell, New Homes for the Old Country, (London, 1872), 49, 129-32, 140-1; P. Clarke, The 'New Chum' in Australia, (London, 1886), 60, 309, and especially his description of Coonamble, N. S. W., 150-6; and W. Wilkins, Australasia, (London, 1888), 80-1.
2. Country towns were usually differentiated, one from another, in the most superficial way, in terms of size, or of the presence or absence of eye-catching buildings, or of ethnic minorities, especially Chinese - in ways, that is, which revealed the ephemerality of the writers' acquaintance with the towns. There were some journalistic exceptions, such as the several series of articles on individual towns appearing in the Town and Country Journal in N. S. W., and the 'Vagabond's' articles on Victorian towns in the Argus. The deliberations of the various commissions charged with selecting a site for the Federal Capital were perhaps the first attempts at a systematic comparison of localities - but this was very much a comparison of localities rather than of towns as such.

function of the typical small town, in which the drunkenness of a whole district was concentrated, and in which a group comprising the bank manager, the doctor, the clergyman, the schoolteacher, and the chief police constable could both command social and civic power, and be distrusted as being 'city folk'. Like others before and after him, Buley concluded that country town life was 'Australian life at its worst: worse than the life of the big cities, and infinitely worse than the brave struggle on the lonely selection.'[1] There is a suggestion here that the absence of the country town from the dichotomy erected by Archibald and Bean was due to its being in some way worse even than the metropolis against which they reacted.

Few outside the towns were sympathetic or constructive about the thing they so disliked, although by 1890 Sulman, in Sydney, was preaching a planned deviation from the grid town-design which had rather dismayed Trollope, and had so blindly ignored topography. Sulman urged the duty of the State to interfere against the misuse of urban land. He put forward a view of the modern town as an organism, and, while admitting that it was too late to alter most towns, suggested that in future a

---

1. Buley, op. cit., 140.

'Spider's Web' town-plan might more usefully be followed.[1]

From within the towns themselves there had been - apart from the conventional and outward-looking self-boostings and expressions of self-pity - some writing which brought sympathy and insight to the less tangible aspects of country-town life. Examples were the novelists Marcus Clarke and Norman Lindsay; and they too, despite their sympathy, were horrified or frustrated, and fled to the cities. Clarke incorporated his views in his picture of Daw, editor of a small-town newspaper;

> His friends say he ought to be in Melbourne, but he is afraid to give up a certainty, so he stays, editing his paper and narrowing his mind, yearning for some intellectual intercourse with his fellow-creatures. To those who have not lived in a

---

1. J. Sulman, 'On the laying out of towns', Building and Engineering Journal, N. S., VIII, No. 28, Jan 1890, 31-2; this was the text of an address to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science congress, and Sulman felt strongly enough about it to send a copy to Sir Henry Parkes. The history of town planning in eastern Australia in the nineteenth century appears to have been a blank after Phillip, James Meeham, and Macquarie, in Sydney, Hoddle in Melbourne, and Light in Adelaide; see A. J. Brown and H. M. Sherrard, Town and Country Planning, (Melbourne, 1951), 23-8. After the early period, towns were 'planned', but always as grids which prevented the imaginative control of land use. It was not until the early twentieth century that bubonic plague in Sydney led to some rebuilding, and to a Royal Commission to investigate the means for improvement of city and suburbs; see VPLANSW, 1909, V, 379 et seq.

> mining township the utter dullness of Daw's life is incomprehensible . . . . The Club, the reading-room, the parliament, the audience that testifies approval and appreciation are all found in one place - the public-house bar . . . . The life of an up-country editor is the life of Sisyphus . . . 1

Similarly, Lindsay in his novels recalled his happy but increasingly frustrating boyhood in his native Creswick, which could not hold him after he was sixteen:

> 'Look at the rotten hole,' [Robert] said presently, 'Not a blooming soul in sight.'
> 'There never is at this time,' said Ethel.
> 'No, but look at it,' said Robert exasperated, 'What sort of a dog-box is it for a man to spend his life in?'
> His gesture at the sleepy little town expressed the vitality which has no reserve against monotony. The pleasant garden that he stood in, filled with flowering shrubs, the colonial house with French windows opening on to its broad verandahs, the plantation of tall trees beyond thr fruit garden: to Robert these were but so many symbols of a world stultified by impatient dreams. 2
>
> . . . . . .
>
> 'How -d'you like Redheap?' He asked.
> 'I think it's a dull sort of place,' said the parson's daughter.
> 'That's the worst of country towns,' said Robert. 'They - they're dull.' 3

---

1. Clarke, op. cit., 582-3
2. Lindsay, Redheap, (Sydney, 1960 edn.), 15; Lindsay was born in Creswick in 1879, and his other Creswick novels are Saturdee, (Sydney, 1933), and Halfway to Anywhere, (Sydney, 1947).
3. Redheap, 87.

Urbanization in Australia, III, a: The place of urbanization in past Australian historiography

Urban history - the history of urbanization, as distinct from the history of towns - does not spring to mind as one of the great themes that have occupied historians of nineteenth century Australia, themes such as land hunger and land selection. Naturally, historical reasons for this may be inferred: first, although the hand of the State lay heavily on town growth, it was not guided by specific policies for urban settlement;[1] second, orthodox history has been politics-oriented. Because town-building was never a political issue in the way that land selection was, it has slipped in the order of historical priorities.

Although urban settlement and rural settlement were both highly important aspects of the process of settlement, rural settlement has been regarded as something which people wanted, fervently, while urbanization - it has sometimes been assumed - occurred against the people's wishes, indeed occurred, in a way, because of the failure of rural settlement by legislation in many areas. At best, urbanization has been dismissed as a phenomenon without a grand theme, best left to social historians and antiquarians.

---

1. The role of the State occupies Ch. 9, below.

Even if these assumptions about urbanization were correct, they would not now constitute valid grounds for the neglect of urbanization by historians: for although historians may select those fields which interest them, they are the least entitled to be unhistorical or antihistorical in their thinking.[1] And those assumptions about urbanization are not correct. First, on the particular question of land selection, it is not true that towns grew by the default of rural settlement.[2] On the contrary, as this study emphasises, the growth of towns was in many ways a positive reflection of hinterland growth. A more widespread success of selection policy and selection settlement would almost certainly have stimulated town growth. Second, and more generally speaking, it cannot be assumed that urbanization was something which people did not want, that towns were the unhappy receptacles of frustrated yeoman farmers. Just as the popular - as distinct from political - impetus to land selection has probably been overestimated, so the popular impetus to urbanization has been underestimated. Inter-

---

1. A similar warning was issued by R. M. Crawford, in his An Australian Perspective, (Melbourne, 1960), 33, when he pointed out that the lack of a high intellectual ferment does not render a society uninteresting.
2. This does not mean, of course, that towns did not sometimes contain people who would have preferred to be on the land. It has been shown elsewhere that in Wagga, for instance, there were several financially active townsmen who ultimately became farmers or graziers.

urban rivalry has generally been strong, and, as N. G. Butlin has recently emphasised, urban investment - residential, manufacturing, and otherwise - was a strong element in Australian economic growth in the second half of the nineteenth century. Further, the growing glare of the capital-city metropolises has tended to obscure the persistence of urbanism - or, at any rate, of 'gregariousness,' as reflected in hamlet as well as city life - elsewhere. This point was made by K. B. Ryan, the historical geographer of the N. S. W. South Coast:

> Australia's preposterous urban gregariousness, though well attested, is sometimes equated almost solely with metropolitan magnetism, whereas the patently rural South Coast suggests a hunger for town living however small the towns. 1

The poverty of much <u>local</u> history may have helped to divert professional attention from <u>urban</u> history; the production of local history, particularly on the tide of centenaries, has been prolific in quantity but disappointing in quality, and has brought urban history into disrepute among those who share a justifiable dislike of antiquarianism.[2]

Other difficulties surround urban history's status as

---

1. K. B. Ryan, 'Towns and Settlement on the South Coast of New South Wales', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1965), 96.
2. Note, too, that the severe limitations on the scope of local government in Australia have diverted attention from what is still an important area of urban history.

subject-matter.[1] A town is obviously different from the party, the issue, or the policy which so often comprises the subject-matter of orthodox history. The elucidation of issues and policies requires the scholarly attention of specialists, whereas the town, especially the small town, may be beheld by all. Not all, however, have a trained eye, and it is interesting that O. H. K. Spate, in seeking the most convenient source of illustrations of the structural evidence for settlement geography in its historical aspect, turned his trained eye on the country towns.[2]

Spate also recalled Gibbon, as he 'trod, with a lofty step, the ruins of the Forum', and conceived The Decline and Fall; 'such', commented Spate, 'is the power of place, and place is the province of the geographer'.[3] Place is, however, not the prerogative of the geographer; nor have Australian historians been immune from Gibbon's type of experience, but the fruits of such evocation have not been in the field or urban history, nor even in a sudden or growing awareness of the urban matrix of much

---

1. This is without raising those difficulties which may flow naturally from the more general problem of the status of 'History' itself as subject-matter.
2. O. H. K. Spate, 'Bush and City - Some Reflections on the Australian Cultural Landscape', Australian Journal of Science, XVIII, 3A, Jan 1956, 178.
3. Ibid., 184.

of their subject-matter.[1] J. A. La Nauze pointed to this in a recent survey of a generation of Australian historiography:

> It is not that all the emphasis is on things that actually happened away from the cities . . . . But somehow the history of politics, or of organizations which are undoubtedly physically centred in towns . . . is written without consciousness of the town itself 2

Other historians have recently indicated their awareness of an imbalance or blind-spot in Australia's historical outlook,[3] but have been unwilling to seek the causes of this imbalance. Birch and Macmillan have, however, essayed an explanation for the neglect of Victorian Sydney, in terms of the spell of fascination cast by the earliest convict days of the city.[4] Perhaps, they suggest, it is only the demolisher's hammer that reveals to us our ignorance of the Victorian era. This is an interesting indictment both of an historical sense tempered by antiquarianism, and of a

---

1. In the 1880s Percy Clarke, in The 'New Chum' in Australia, (London, 1886), 309, complained of the trip from Sydney to Albury that the towns en route were so similar that the train might have been travelling in a circle; it is likely that the unimaginative and bureaucratic grid-planning of country towns has had long-term repercussions in deflecting from them the interest of scholars alert to contrasts rather than similarities.
2. 'The Study of Australian History, 1929-1959', Historical Studies, IX, No.33, Nov 1959, 7.
3. Cf. N. Harper, 'The Rural and Urban Frontiers', Australian Journal of Science, XXV, No.8, Feb 1963, 332, and J. Grant and G. Serle (ed.), The Melbourne Scene 1803-1956, (Melbourne, 1957), Preface.
4. A. Birch and D. S. Macmillan (ed.), The Sydney Scene 1788-1960, (Melbourne, 1962), Preface.

sense of 'place' narrowed by a preference for Georgian cultural remains alone, a studious reading of only one impression on the urban palimpsest. It must be recalled, however, that Victorian Melbourne - virtually innocent of this romantic fifty-years prehistory - also lacks a full-scale professional history.

No doubt a sense of 'place', of an urban totality, may be more easily grasped in a country town than in a metropolis which is a sprawling and changing suburban mass; and the average historian in Australia is himself necessarily a metropolitan.[1]

There have been other signs of the urban nemesis in Australian historical studies, and further explanations of its delay. Recently, J. M. Ward foreshadowed 'some large readjustments of view' following N. G. Butlin's emphasis on the growth of the cities; he also raised the problem, mentioned earlier in this chapter, of the inaccurate reflection which rural-oriented literary sources gave of the society in which they were written.[2] This is but one of a number of questions

---

1. In 1951, R. Duncan, in the preface to his exploratory Armidale: Economic and Social Development 1839-1871, (Armidale, 1951, roneoed), predicted that 'If the decentralisation of tertiary education continues a probable result will be a spate of theses dealing with the histories of particular geographical regions and country towns'.
2. J. M. Ward, 'Historiography', in A. L. McLeod (ed.), The Pattern of Australian Culture, (Melbourne, 1963), 247.

whose ramifications are relevant to this discussion: for instance, it is not unrelated to the fact that urbanization in Australia did not depend on large-scale manufacturing industry, a fact which mystified and angered some of her English creditors in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The relative lack of such industrial signposts to urbanization may have served to lessen awareness of a process which was nevertheless occurring apace, though in a suburban rather than urban guise.[1]

Similarly, the evolution of what has until recent years been a very small profession should be examined, not only in terms of the seminal figures here and the traditional overseas influences,[2]

---

1. Cf. Birch and Macmillan's suggestion, above, that urban decentralization and urban renewal have stimulated an interest in urban history.
2. See R. M. Crawford, 'University Research: History', in A Grenfell Price (ed.), The Humanities in Australia, (Sydney, 1959), 148-60. Australian historians have been predominantly English-trained, and exposed to a tradition in which local history has been strong, but which has lagged behind America in the study of urbanism and urbanization, and has been less influenced by sociological thinking; it is interesting that this question was raised here by an English historian, Asa Briggs, in his 'The Sociology of Australian Cities', Outlook, V, No.4, Aug 1961, 11. It is interesting, too, that a cultural bias has been unconsciously promulgated in educational institutions: at sub-tertiary level, social studies textbooks have emphasised the rural aspects of Australian life, while at university level the study of 'History' has usually been separated from such cognate desciplines - economics, geography, even social history and economic history - as might have both aroused and equipped the urban historian.

but also in terms of the historian's role, or conception of his role, vis-a-vis his country's cultural mainstream, as both participant and interpreter. The feeling among nationalist writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century - that Australia's capitals were replicas, indeed imitations, of Old World cities - cannot but have diverted historians from that investigation by which, and only by which, they would discover that in some ways the history of their cities in the nineteenth century was quite unlike that of the cities of which they believed theirs were replicas, in both distribution and industrial composition.[1]

---

1. It remains for someone else to separate the fanciful from the real in the apparent similarity, on certain points, between both the timing and the content of the 'Australian Legend', and the ideologies of other industrially backward nations: for an interesting glance at the latter, see M. Matossian, 'Ideologies of Delayed Industrialization', Economic Development and Cultural Change, VI, No.3, Apr 1958, 217-23.

Urbanization in Australia, III, b: The nascence of interest in the history of urbanization

The growing awareness of the need for urban history has been accompanied by a trickle of historical works which treat, or impinge on, urban subjects.[1] Nevertheless, it is still necessary to look to overseas thoughts on urban history, and to the work of geographers, economic historians, and demographers for local precedents.[2] There are understandable inhibitions about adopting both the 'conceptual frameworks' mooted for urban studies overseas, and the techniques of other disciplines.

---

1. A survey of recent historical works would first note the professional local histories, especially that of Weston Bate. Document books for Melbourne (edited by J. Grant and G. Serle) and Sydney (A. Birch and D. S. Macmillan) have already been mentioned. Several works have dealt with aspects of urbanization in a specific setting, for instance Robin Moore and the English historian Asa Briggs have examined phases of Melbourne's history. Account must also be taken of the urban element in such regional studies as those of D. B. Waterson and G. C. Bolton.
2. A body of historical work - most of it treating extrametropolitan urban subjects - has been produced by urban geographers, including H. W. H. King, K. B. Ryan, J. H. Shaw, and R. H. T. Smith; similarly, some historical geographers, such as G. P. Walsh, have studied their themes in an urban setting. Pre-eminent among scholars of the process of urbanization is the economic historian N. G. Butlin. A variety of other writers have included an historical dimension in works dealing with urban subjects, for example, A. J. and J. J. McIntyre, the social psychologist G. B. Sharp, the planner T. H. Halsey, and the publicist Ulrich Ellis.

In the United States, Lampard's survey of urban history there contains much that is unfamiliar in an Australian context, in both attitudes and processes.[1] Although much urban history in Australia has been written by 'chroniclers of local fame', virtually none has come from the pens of reformers. Lampard deplores the fact that the conceptual framework for the analysis of urban phenomena has been a compound of agrarian folklore and reformist outrage: in Australia, there has been no conceptual framework for the history of urbanization. We may agree with Lampard that the structuring of history in terms of antithetical groups discloses an 'overly political view of historical change', that it is necessary to explore the 'underlying structural and organizational changes that go much deeper than the epiphenomenal patterns of politics'; but we must discard as inadequate to the Australian situation his description of urbanization as a concomitant of industrialization. We may agree that statistical outlines of the secular phenomenon of population concentration are the province of the demographer, rather than the historian, yet a certain amount of such data has of necessity been included in the present study.

---

1. E. E. Lampard, 'American Historians and the Study of Urbanization', American Historical Review, LXVII, No.1, Oct 1961.

Some attitudes similar to those found by Lampard were uncovered recently by the English urban historian, H. J. Dyos.[1] In seeking to explain why it was that heavily urbanized Britain had taken so long to develop an interest in urban history, Dyos has made some valuable insights; he points out that urbanization was 'a collective act of supreme subtlety';[2] thus, the problem of scale which, it has been presumed, has deterred historians of, say, Sydney or Melbourne, must be measured in terms of depth as well as of breadth. Further, Dyos hints, the way to more extensive studies of towns and of urbanization has been barred by an oversimple assumption of 'a single inflexible experience of urban development'.[3] Of recent widespread interest in the urban background he says:

> there can be little doubt that the most pervasive - if sometimes subliminal - influence upon it has simply been our own precarious urban condition. 4

Thus, a full answer to the question of past neglect of urban history depends on our explaining present interest; Dyos

---

1. 'The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Review of Some Recent Writing', Victorian Studies, IX, No.3, Mar 1966. The title stems from the reprinting of Adna F. Weber's classic of 1899.
2. Ibid., 227.
3. Idem.
4. Ibid., 233.

implies that where past anti-city sermonising - so prevalent in Britain and the United States of America, but less so in Australia - did not lead to the study of urban history, the currency of more perceptive attitudes to urban problems and planning has. In particular, planning in Australia gained great impetus from the second world war:

> If during and after the war, we are going to plan more extensively for the common good than we have in the past, we must know, fairly precisely, how society has operated in the past, its present trends, and what resistances are likely to be met with 1

It may not be entirely coincidental, then, that the consciousness of the need for planning and the consciousness of urban history are both largely postwar phenomena.

Dyos, like Lampard, spoke of the need for a conceptual framework for urban historical studies; he hinted that his approach may be less influenced than was Lampard's by the human ecologists, but emphasised the value and necessity of the sociological contribution. Like Lampard, he urged the study of the process (or processes) of urbanization through comparative

---

1. A. J. and J. J. McIntyre, Country Towns of Victoria: A Social Survey, (Melbourne, 1944), Introduction, ix. Note that a similar survey of country towns in N. S. W. was begun in 1943 by Mmes. MacColl and Haynes, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Reconstruction Division. Cf. 'Australia's Problems', Current Affairs Bulletin, VIII, No.3, 8 Oct 1945, and J. Macdonald Holmes, The Geographical Basis of Government, (Sydney, 1944), Preface.

studies:

> There seems little question that the basic unit of a large part of both British and American history is bound to be the locality, but the macroscopic scale is crucial to any study, however narrow its geographical framework, which aims at a proper understanding of the urban processes at work rather than at a knowledge merely of the sequence of localized events. 1

Much of the talk of conceptual frameworks is premature for Australia: there is a need first for more community biographies of the quality of Bate's history of Brighton (Melbourne), and - as Asa Briggs suggests, and as Australian historical urban geographers have begun - comparative studies of towns as a means to generalizations which may illuminate both the particular towns and the process of urbanization itself.

'The historian', Briggs advises, 'will be able, since this is of the essence of his technique, to relate what is universal in all cities. . . to what is unique',[2] and the uncovering of points of difference and uniqueness will proceed in terms of a preconceived range of aspects of the urban community; but it is interesting that none of these aspects - demography, geography, economy, social institutions, politics, administration,

---

1. Dyos, op. cit., 237.
2. Briggs, in Outlook, loc. cit.

culture, external relations, 'image' - would be inappropriate to a study of a rural community.

Similarly, the discussion of 'urban' functions encounters the conceptual difficulty that many such functions are urban in practice, but not in essence.[1] In view of this, it is desirable that the historian of Australian country towns - and other 'urban historians' - should regard himself basically as a settlement historian, studying urban degree as well as urban quality. Indeed, most historical settlement studies in Australia - including the present study, which generally refers to metropolization only by implication - are studies of rural settlement, whether they take as their starting point the open landscape or the country-townscape; and, in those which start with the open landscape, there has been a growing awareness that the country towns were an integral part of

---

1. K. B. Ryan, op. cit. (1965), vi-vii, mentioned that few historical geographers deal with Briggs's nine aspects; he went on to discern nine groups of 'urban' functions, the 'accretion and localization' of which form the subject-matter of his own study. Few of these nine groups (accommodation, trade, processing of raw materials, public works and utilities, financial services, entertainment recreation and sport, transport and communications, professional services, and the administration of local affairs and community services) need be regarded as essentially urban.

rural settlement.[1]

The settlement historian who starts with the towns, and is concerned primarily with the question of their growth - and that must be his initial concern - will find, like Ryan, that

> towns are not only crucial junction boxes uniting the different circuits of regional exploitation, but their development simultaneously assists and reflects that of their hinterlands. No other observation post surveys the field of rural progress quite so intimately. 2

Although the present study focusses on town growth, it is necessary to consider the sample towns in their regional setting, because of the regionality of small Australian towns: their relationship with their region or hinterland embraced cultural affinities as well as economic dependence.

This study concentrates on the quantitative, logistical aspect of the process of urbanisation, rather than on its qualitative aspect in the sense of the 'urbanization' of habits

---

1. Cf., for example, D. B. Waterson, 'Town and Country: the Development of Society on the Darling Downs, 1859-1893', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964), G. L. Buxton, 'Land and People. A Study of Settlement and Society in the Riverina, 1861-1891', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1965), and R. B. Walker, Old New England: A History of the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales 1818-1900, (Sydney, 1966). Cst., for example, S. H. Roberts, A History of Australian Land Settlement, (Melbourne, 1924), where it was not felt necessary to mention the towns, and M. Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, (Melbourne, 1961), where it was believed possible to separate country and town.
2. Ryan, op. cit., i-ii.

and attitudes; but it must be pointed out that the latter question is not central to the problem of country town development in the nineteenth century.[1] It is a study, then, of country town growth, but it addresses a situation or experience whose variety and poignancy transcended the simple dichotomy of town growth and town decline. For the important thing about so many Victorian and New South Wales country towns was that, before the period 1861-1891 had ended, even the 'established' and 'growing' towns had begun to experience, in net terms, an ebb in their numbers.[2]

It is also a study of town growth which examines not simply those factors which may objectively be held to have influenced growth and decline, but also those institutions, events, and developments which nineteenth century men saw as the key influences, and the ways in which they reacted or failed to

---

1. The existence and nature of 'urban' qualities have been the subject of many overseas empirical studies (which have usually lacked an historical dimension) designed to support such concepts as the rural-urban dichotomy, the rural-urban continuum, and rural - or urban-orientation, a useful summary of which may be found in Harald Swedner's Ecological Differentation of Habits and Attitudes, (Lund, 1960), Ch.1.
2. In other words, it is obviously necessary to examine variations within a trend as well as the trend itself.

react, to the problem of growth.[1]

In the context of the thesis, as mentioned above, growth may generally be taken in a quantitative sense, in the sense of population growth. When the generality of country towns in south-eastern Australia is discussed, simple population growth is referred to. When individual sample towns[2] are discussed and compared, population growth has been refined according to various demographic, functional and other criteria. Growth is elucidated, for example, in terms of population components: birthplace, sex ratios, workforce and dependents, and the contribution of migration in particular age groups in both sexes. Growth is discussed in functional terms, in the course of building activity and the accretion of economic and non-economic activities; and throughout, indicators of the tempo of growth are sought. The physical morphology of growth, however, receives only cursory attention.

The term town generally refers to discrete settlements of 1000 or more inhabitants, either unincorporated towns, or boroughs

---

1. Perhaps the major case in nineteenth century Australia was that of the railway, which aroused such expectations (however unfounded) and provoked such organizational activity, that a mere attempt at assessing its effect on town growth in objective terms would ignore much of the outlook, be it passionate or apathetic, of the townspeople who comprise the object of study.
2. The selection of three sample towns for fuller study is explained in Chapter Two, below.

and municipal districts containing such a population within a municipal area no larger than approximately nine square miles.[1] In effect, in the narrow context of the sample towns, the term connotes inland towns of less than 5000 inhabitants. 'Town' is not susceptible of a strict functional or occupational definition, since many a mining town contained a large majority of primary producers in its workforce.

However, urbanism, in terms of function and occupational structure, consists in the possession by a town of a certain range of tertiary and - less commonly in Australia - secondary industrial services which it dispenses to a population greater than its own.[2] While the workforce of a mining town may contain a majority of primary producers, its urbanism may yet be preserved by its possession of a range of functions comparable with those possessed by non-mining towns. Urbanism may also be reflected in the diversification of a town's non-economic, and not necessarily basic, functions. Urbanism is contrasted from time to time with 'regionality' (defined below), for instance in cases in which towns at once resembled each other, and diverged from their rural environs, in some demographic characteristic, such as population density or masculinity rates.

---

1. The use of such criteria is explained in Chapter Two.
2. It is difficult to think of a basic function which is essentially urban, and descriptions of functions as urban here are empirically-based.

The term suburban is used, almost without exception, to refer to characteristics of country towns, rather than of areas in close proximity to Sydney or Melbourne. Generally, its usage refers to towns of a particular size, but geographically close to a much larger provincial town, in which there is a discernible lack of some functions, services, or industries commonly found in other - more isolated - towns of that size.[1]

The term region does not generally refer to recognized economic or geographical regions, such as the Western District of Victoria or the Riverina, and when the latter are meant their proper names are used. Regions are the rural and village environs of each town, and vary a lot in size, town by town. The term refers to the most immediate 'hinterland' (defined below) of the towns; the term is used as well as 'hinterland', partly because the two areas were not necessarily identical, and partly because it lends itself readily to the formation of the adjectival noun 'regionality'.

The theme of the regionality of country towns, of their dependence on circumscribed rural hinterlands, pervades the thesis.

---

1. There is a special usage, 'suburban' lands being those which were adjacent to N. S. W. townships, and designated by government for sale and use in providing the agricultural requirements of towns.

It is emphasized that regionality was, demographically, a stronger characteristic of the sample towns than was urbanism. Regionality contrasts with urbanism, but is not equivalent to 'rurality'. Rather, there is a tendency to reject the notion of an urban/rural dichotomy in some aspects of extrametropolitan settlement, in favour of the concept of regionality, based on demographic characteristics and economic and political activity. From time to time, it is suggested that a town may have transcended its regionality, and may be said to have enhanced its urbanism, for example, in the field of manufacturing, where it was felt - then as now - that the chief hope lay for breaking the shackles of regionality.

If towns were subservient to their small regions, their added subservience to the State compounded this, by engendering a narrow and wasteful regionality, and hampering the development of a broad and rational regionalism in the approach to common problems. And within the concept of regionality, the concept of sectionality is used occasionally to illuminate the extent to which towns fulfilled their albeit narrow regional role, especially in respect of non-economic tertiary and cultural (including political and parapolitical) functions.

Further, the towns' changing perception of their relationship with their regions has been a theme of the study,

and it has been suggested that towards the end of the period an active role began to replace the passive role which towns had hitherto adopted in the regions and hinterlands on which they relied, and of which they were an integral part.

In practice, the hinterlands of most inland country towns were primary industrial -rural areas (including villages), corresponding often with the narrow 'regions' described above, which generally provided both most of the market and most of the raw materials for the professional and tertiary and secondary industrial services 'offered' by the town. Generally, indeed, the hinterlands called these services into being. While it is to these most immediate hinterlands(which varied widely in size and shape according to geographical and topographical factors) that reference is normally made, towns did, of course, belong directly and indirectly to a multiplicity of hinterlands. Apart from the more far-flung and indirect relationships, it is most obvious that each town belonged to the hinterland of Melbourne or Sydney, or both. In densely populated and relatively highly urbanized parts of the colonies, small towns might find themselves direct members of the hinterland of a larger provincial town, and might at the same time count one or more smaller towns as part of their own hinterlands. A mining town would often find that much of the

population of its primary industrial hinterland was physically part of the town itself; on the other hand, it was an important function of some pastoral towns to handle livestock travelling from a different colony and bound for a third colony, giving them direct contact with a huge hinterland. Again, it was notorious that the boundaries of local agency districts of the various government departments, though perhaps centred on the one town, did not all correspond, suggesting that central departments were out of touch both with each other, and with the actualities of natural hinterlands at given times.

While the inner and outer limits of the hinterlands of each sample town have been pointed to, the multiplicity of hinterlands, and the general reliance of towns on their most immediate hinterlands, have meant that it is to these latter that the term 'hinterland' generally refers.

Chapter 2. The Patterns of Growth of Country Towns in Victoria and New South Wales, 1861-1891

Australia's most populous corner - the south-east, comprising the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria - was already quite highly urbanized by 1861, with nearly fifty per cent. of its population living either in the two capitals or in country towns (Table 2: 1).[1] The process of urbanization proceeded even further in the following three decades, especially in the 1880s. By 1890, then, sixty per cent. of the population of these two colonies lived in towns. However, when we look more closely at this urban population, we find that the country towns virtually stagnated over this thirty-year period: not absolutely, for like both the metropolitan and rural sectors, the country towns added to their aggregate population considerably, increasing from 185,000 in 1861 to some 477,000 in 1891. But, relatively, the flow of the metropolis and the ebb of the countryside, as it were, broke over the head of the country towns. Their share of the population was about one-fifth in 1861, and it remained about one-fifth in 1891, after a slight improvement in the 1860s. The implication of this is that the spectacular rise of the metropolises is no more spectacular than the decline - relative, not absolute -

---

1. See notes to tables for an explanation of Method (C), and other methods of calculating aggregate country town population.

Table 2: 1. Numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria and New South Wales taken as a whole, 1861-1891

		Metropolitan	Country urban[a]	Rural	Victoria & N. S. W.
1861	Number	233978	185369	471835	891182
	Per cent.	26.3	20.8	52.9	100.0
1871	Number	342517	279408	613584	1235509
	Per cent.	27.7	22.6	49.7	100.0
1881	Number	506408	360261	747145	1613814
	Per cent.	31.3	22.3	46.4	100.0
1891	Number	872214	476635	908806	2258655
	Per cent.	38.6	21.1	40.3	100.0

Sources: Victorian and New South Wales Censuses.

a. Calculated according to Method (C), as explained in notes to Table 2: 3, below. Note that the total urban percentages share of population was 47.1 in 1861, 50.3 in 1871, 53.6 in 1881 and 59.7 in 1891.

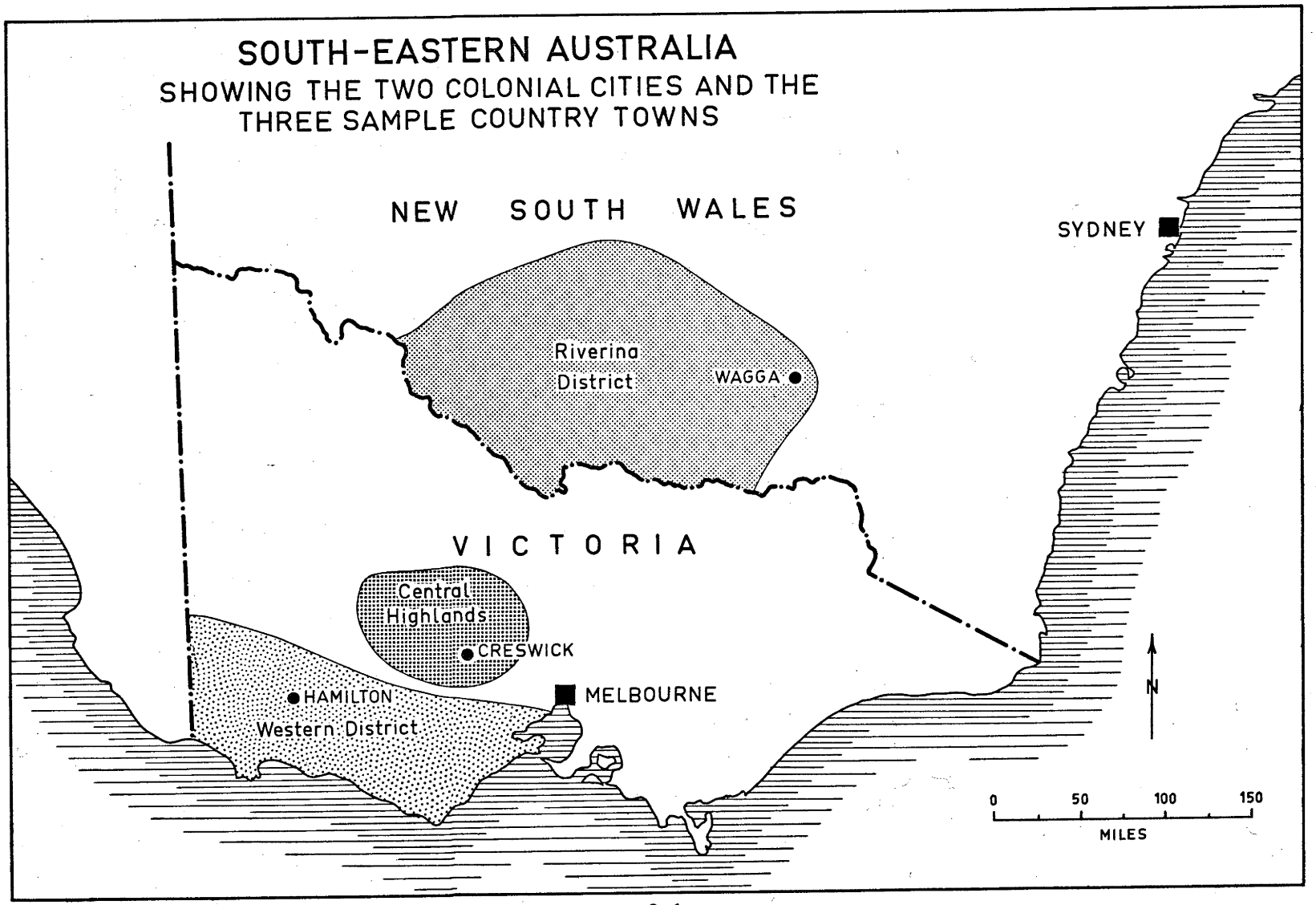

SOUTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA
SHOWING THE TWO COLONIAL CITIES AND THE
THREE SAMPLE COUNTRY TOWNS
NEW SOUTH WALES
SYDNEY
Riverina
District
WAGGA
VICTORIA
Central
Highlands
CRESWICK
MELBOURNE
HAMILTON
Western District
N
0
50
100
150
MILES

Figure 2:1

of the rural areas; however, the fact that there were only two metropolises for these two large colonies does add a qualitative modification to this quantitative observation.

Turning separately to the two colonies,[1] we find in each a different pattern of population distribution in this period. We have seen that each colony experienced a metropolitan rise and a relative rural decline, and that in each the number of people living in country towns rose considerably. But whereas the Victorian country town share of population, after a slight rise in the 1860s, showed an appreciable decline by 1891, the New South Wales share rose steadily throughout the period.[2] In other words, the overall relative stagnation of country towns in south-eastern Australia veiled a clear absolute and proportionate rise in New South Wales, on the one hand, and a clear net decline in Victoria, on the other.

All those Victorian and New South Wales towns which had a census population of 1000 or more, for the whole or part of the period 1861-1891, comprise what may be termed the micro-sample; these were 'the country towns of Victoria and New South Wales', whose performance, it is hoped, will be illuminated by the study of a small micro-sample.

---

1. The question of using political (colonial) boundaries in the comparison of economic-geographical phenomena is discussed below.
2. Table 2: 2.

Table 2: 2. Metropolitan, country urban, and rural numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria and New South Wales, 1861-1891

	1861		1871		1881		1891	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
Victoria								
Metropolitan	138189	25.6	204741	28.0	281649	32.6	488931	42.9
Country urban (B)[a]	121370	22.4	190046	25.9	193767	22.5	212839	18.7
Country urban (C)	135532	25.1	197443	27.0	206284	23.9	220318	19.3
Rural (B)	280763	52.0	340109	46.1	387110	44.9	438635	38.4
Rural (C)	266601	49.3	329344	45.0	374593	43.5	431156	37.8
Victoria	540322	100.0	731528	100.0	862346	100.0	1140405	100.0
New South Wales								
Metropolitan	95789	27.3	137776	27.3	224939	29.9	383283	34.1
Country urban (B)	38450	10.9	65070	12.9	134750	17.9	244.03	21.8
Country urban (C)	49837	14.2	81965	16.3	153977	20.5	256317	22.9
Rural (B)	216621	61.8	301135	59.8	391779	52.2	490864	44.1
Rural (C)	205234	58.5	284240	56.4	372552	49.6	478650	43.0
New South Wales	350860	100.0	503981	100.0	751468	100.0	1118250	100.0

Sources: Victorian and New South Wales Censuses.

a. Method (B) and Method (C) of calculating country town population - and the reason for preferring Method (C) - are explained in notes to Table 2: 3, below.

The choice of 1000 as the qualifying population, though again arbitrary, was based on precedent[1] and especially on considerations of source material: this was roughly the size at which, within specified spatial limits, towns became eligible for borough incorporation,[2] and it was only for incorporated towns that detailed census data were published. The only real alternative - the figure of 500 suggested by Butlin[3] and used by Coghlan[4] - is therefore at a disadvantage. Moreover, as Butlin admits, the actual proportion of the population living in towns between 500 and 1000 was very small. Nevertheless, the present study does take some account of urbanization in the 500-1000 range, since the method of calculating aggregate country town population, and individual town growth-rates, includes the population at each census of all towns which reached 1000 at some time during the period. Thus, for example, we are not simply interested in the fact that Bairnsdale had topped 1000 by 1891, but - because it did so - also that it had only 62 people

---

1. E.g., H. W. H. King, 'The Urban Hierarchy of the Southern Tablelands of New South Wales', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1956), 62.
2. In each colony, a borough could be up to nine square miles in area, with a maximum axis of six miles; in N. S. W. (under the Municipalities Act 1867), it must contain 1000 inhabitants, and in Victoria (under the Municipal Institutions Act 1854, and later acts) at least 300 'resident householders'.
3. Butlin, op. cit., 184.
4. Coghlan, 1891 Census Report, 119.

in 1861, and 900 in 1871; and because, say, Guilford had more than 1000 people in 1871, it continues to interest us even in 1891 when its population had sunk to 236.[1]

Furthermore, a study of frequency distribution and transition probabilities of towns of all sizes suggests that the figure 1000, rather than Butlin's 500, was a watershed in town growth.[2]

The census population figures used in compiling a list of towns in each colony at each census date needed two modifications, one minor and one major. First, it was necessary to reduce the list in respect of 'towns' which were municipalities suburban to a country town. The conurbation of Newcastle was the most extreme example: by 1891, the census listed twelve separate 'towns' which may be held, in reality, to have comprised the single town of Newcastle; but there were many other examples in each colony. These modifications affect only the simple

---

1. By neglecting towns which topped 500 but not 1000, then, we necessarily miss some large towns, chiefly gold towns, which had slipped below 1000 by 1861, and continued to decline; some towns - again, chiefly gold towns - which experienced mushroom growth between censuses; and, of course, many towns - especially the later agricultural towns - which were destined to rise above 1000, but which had not yet done so by 1891.
2. A thorough survey of the growth-rates, etc., of all towns in the 500-1000 population range was made in the course of investigation.

enumeration of actual towns or conurbations, and not the aggregate numbers living in country towns.[1]

The second chief modification affected both the enumeration of towns and the aggregate of country town population. It involved a scrutiny of the actual area of municipalities which were represented in censuses as 'towns'. This was especially important in the case of New South Wales, where the practice of the statistician, Coghlan himself, was highly misleading.

In his 1891 Census Report, Coghlan described as 'urban' 'all the municipalities, together with unincorporated towns containing 500 inhabitants and upwards', thus including total Municipal Districts as well as Boroughs. He admitted that 'in some few cases the term town cannot be correctly applied to the municipalities comprising a group of dwellings - to which the appellation of village may not inaptly be given - surrounded by a sparsely-populated district in every sense rural.' He felt, however, that 'the population comprised in the rural portions of municipalities is . . . not numerous, and if deducted from the so-called urban total little difference would be made . . .'

---

1. It was necessary also to make a judgement on those municipalities - such as Auburn, Granville, and Rookwood, near Sydney - which were beginning to fall within the direct ambit of a metropolis, beginning, that is, to become suburbs rather than country towns.

Coghlan listed examples from earlier censuses (1861, 1871 and 1881) in which there was a disparity between the population of a municipality and of the town at its centre, and said that for the purposes of comparing 'urban population' of these censuses with that of 1891 the former figure would have to be taken. Unfortunately, then, he does not give us the municipality/actual township discrepancies for 1891 - and these obviously must exist. Had he done so, we might have discarded the municipal figures altogether, and produced a picture of actual urban growth for the thirty years [Note also that his listing of earlier disparities is patently incomplete]. Thus, it is extremely difficult to assess with precision the actual extrametropolitan urban population of N. S. W., particularly in 1891. Looking at Coghlan's 'country towns' for this year, we may first start sorting them out on the basis of the area of the municipalities involved (and most of them are corporate). The official maximum area for a 'borough' in both Victoria and New South Wales by 1891 was 9 square miles, or 5760 acres. It seems reasonable, then, especially for purposes of comparison with Victoria, to accept as 'country towns' those municipalities whose area did not exceed, roughly, 5760 acres. It is interesting that the average area of the country municipalities, which Coghlan accepted in 1891 as 'urban', was

11500 acres, exactly twice the maximum borough size;[1] they ranged from the Borough of Taree's 294 acres to the massive 122880 acres of Cudgegong Municipal District (containing a 'town' whose population in 1891 was 58 persons). Of the 41 municipalities whose area did exceed 5760 acres, some 13 - aggregating a population of 59833 people - may be assumed, on various criteria,[2] to have contained a town with a population of 1000 or more. The size of the residue, and the magnitude of the population involved, implies a significant modification of Coghlan's results for both the urban and the rural share of population in New South Wales.

A variety of methods of calculating the urban and rural share of New South Wales population in 1891 is set out in Table 2: 3; for the country town share of population, the results range from 31.7 per cent., according to Coghlan (2), to 16.8 per cent. according to Method (A). Method (C) is a necessarily arbitrary compromise, but it is the one that has been chosen, elsewhere in this study, in making comparisons between the bodies of country towns in New South Wales and Victoria.

---

1. At this time, the average area of Victoria's country urban municipalities (the cities, towns, and boroughs) was 4260 acres.
2. Chiefly, the ratios either of a) the excess of acres above 5760 to the excess of population above 1000, or of b) the density of the municipality to the density of its parent county or counties.

Table 2: 3. Urban and rural percentage shares of New South Wales population, 1891, variously calculated

	Coghlan(1)	Coghlan(2)	Coghlan(3)	Method(A)	Method(B)	Method(C)
Metropolitan	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1	34.1
Country urban	31.0	31.7	27.2	16.8	21.8	22.9
Rural	34.9	34.2	38.7	49.1	44.1	43.0

Explanation of methods of calculation: the objections to Coghlan's procedure - Coghlan(1) in this table - have been outlined in the text; a variety of modifications is presented here, culminating in Method (C), which has generally been used for the purpose of comparing country town population in the two colonies. Method (C) respects the general criterion of a population of 1000 or more, but seeks to achieve continuity by including the population of all eligible towns, even if their population was below 1000 in some census years.

Coghlan(1): all country municipalities, plus unincorporated towns of 500 or more;

Coghlan(2): as above, plus several unincorporated towns of 500 or more which Coghlan missed in his analysis;

Coghlan(3): a modification of Coghlan, using all country municipalities of 1000 or more, plus unincorporated towns of 1000 or more;

Method(A): all country municipalities of 1000 or more, but which do not exceed 5760 acres, plus unincorporated towns of 1000 or more;

Method(B): as for Method(A), plus country municipalities which are likely to have contained a town of 1000 or more, despite their exceeding 5760 acres;

Method(C): as for Method(B), plus the sub-1000 population of all towns recorded as having attained a population of 1000 or more at any census 1861-1891.

It should be noted, incidentally, that the difference between country town development in the two colonies derives virtually nothing from the fact that political, rather than de facto trade, boundaries are the basis of comparison. Given a situation in which two metropolises dominate, it would seem necessary to consider the distribution of population within their trade areas when these did not conform to State boundaries. The most important specific case is that of the Riverina area of southern New South Wales,[1] but the figures[2] indicate that - to whatever extent it was tributary to Melbourne rather than Sydney - its rate of urbanization did not materially affect the general difference between the colonies. In both 1861 and 1891 the Riverina was slightly more highly urbanized than the whole of extrametropolitan New South Wales: to count the Riverina in with Victoria, then, would slightly enhance the difference between the colonies in 1861, and, in 1891, slightly reduce it.

---

1. Other areas include parts of far western Victoria which sometimes used South Australian outlets and parts of New South Wales along the Queensland and South Australian borders; it is only when such areas were known to have very low or very high extremes of urbanization - and Broken Hill is the only example which comes to mind - that they could be regarded as affecting the pattern of a whole colony, whether it be the colony to which they owed political allegiance or that to which they paid commercial tribute.
2. Table 2: 4.

Table 2: 4. Numerical and percentage shares of population, Victoria plus Riverina, and N. S. W. minus Riverina, 1861 and 1891

Victoria plus Riverina[a]	1861			1891		
	No.	%	State %	No.	%	State %
Metropolitan	138189	25.1	(25.6)	488931	40.7	(42.9)
Extrametrop. urban[b]	137890	25.1	(25.1)	235745	19.7	(19.3)
Rural and other	274243	49.8	(49.3)	475729	39.6	(37.8)
Total Vic. plus Riverina	550322			1200405		
N. S. W. minus Riverina						
Metropolitan	95789	28.1	(27.3)	383283	36.2	(34.1)
Extrametrop. urban[b]	47479	14.0	(14.2)	240890	22.8	(22.9)
Rural and other	197592	57.9	(58.5)	434077	41.0	(43.0)
Total N. S. W. minus Riverina	340860			1058250		

a. The 'Riverina' here comprises the electorates of Hume, Murray Murrumbidgee, and Balranald, at both dates, plus Albury electorate (excised from Hume) in 1891.

b. Towns of 1000 or more, but including their sub-1000 populations according to Method (C) calculations. Some towns, viz. Hay and Deniliquin, are, as elsewhere explained, omitted, since the municipal figures available do not permit us to claim them as discrete townships of 1000 or more. Their inclusion would slightly alter the percentages, e.g. the extrametropolitan urban figure for Victoria plus Riverina in 1891 would rise from 19.7 to approximately 20.0. But of course their inclusion in the N. S. W. figures would make a difference there, too.

The period 1861-1891

Unless one is dealing with a single man, a single party, a single piece of legislation, a single union, or a single town, it is difficult to advance a given period as the perfect, the only, period. Though the period chosen here is necessarily arbitrary, some rational considerations lay behind its choice; these concern the general and particular starting point and endpoint, the duration of the period, and its significance for Australian history in general and Australian urbanization in particular.

1861 and 1891 are census years, the first and last of four decennial censuses available in each colony for this period.[1] The bounds of this thirty-years period, or generation, have not always been strictly observed: for instance, it has been necessary to look briefly at the circumstances of the foundation of the three sample towns, going back to the 1840s; and the course of urbanization up to 1961 has been briefly surveyed, not so much with a view to gaining the advantage of hindsight as to confirming that the period studied was the formative phase in the pattern of urbanization in each colony.

---

1. Note that detailed data from the 1881 N. S. W. census were destroyed by fire before their publication.

The period began at a time when it has been generally assumed that the worst of the demographic disturbances of the goldrush era were over,[1] and it ended before the disruptive effects of the depression of the nineties had fully manifested themselves in the context of urbanization. The beginning of the period coincided roughly with the inauguration of an era in which closer settlement by legislation was attempted, an attempt of great potential importance to the future of country towns. The end of the period has often been hailed by others as the time when there emerged what has been since then the major constant in Australian party politics. Closer to the towns, it was a time when technological innovations were beginning to affect flour-milling and dairy-processing. The period as a whole was one which saw not only land selection experiments, but also the bulk of municipal incorporations, and the execution of major railway-building programmes.

Although some towns which were thriving (or were large) in 1861 had disappeared by 1891, and some unborn in 1861 were thriving by 1891, and although at each date there was a spectrum

---

1. It was certainly true of the gold town examined in this study that its boom had burst some years before 1861. Nevertheless, it did experience population disturbances immediately after 1861, under the impetus of the New Zealand goldrushes; it is also true of that town's district that its greatest gold-mining era was not the fifties but the eighties.

of town experience ranging from infancy to dotage, the trend of urbanization in each colony was fairly uniform. This trend was in each colony interrupted in the nineties, but taken up again in the twentieth century. So the patterns were essentially laid out before the nineties. Something else very important had happened by the end of the period 1861-1891: apart from the towns which declined, stagnated, or disappeared, many established and growing towns had begun to experience net out-migration.[1]

The significance of the period 1861-1891, in the century of which it forms the first 30 years, can be demonstrated by examining briefly the country town scene in 1891, and again in 1961. The nineties saw an extraordinary difference in the growth of Victoria and New South Wales. The Sydney metropolitan area added some hundred thousands to its numbers, Melbourne a mere 5000. Despite this, the relative share of population of the several components remained in 1901 much as it had been in 1891.[2] Melbourne's small growth was only symptomatic of the slow growth of Victoria as a whole, while Sydney's enormous growth was accompanied by strong, if less spectacular, growth elsewhere,

---

1. The delimitation of the period also derived frankly from precedent - especially that of Butlin, although his work also encompasses the nineties - and the consciousness that this study would contribute to a growing body of works probing the many facets of Australian society in the second half of the nineteenth century.
2. Table 2: 5.

Table 2: 5. Numerical and percentage shares of population in Victoria and New South Wales, 1901 and 1961. a

	1901		1961	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
Victoria				
Metropolitan	496079	41.3	1911895	65.3
Country urban (B)	245614	20.4	573930	19.6
Rural & village	459648	38.3	444288	15.1
Victoria	1201341	100.0	2930113	100.0
New South Wales				
Metropolitan	481830	35.8	2183388	55.7
Country urban (B)	284139	21.1	1151899	29.4
Rural & village	580851	43.1	581726	14.9
New South Wales	1346820	100.0	3917013	100.0

Sources: Victorian and New South Wales Censuses, 1901; 1961 Commonwealth Census data published in Victorian Year Book, 1963, and Official Year Book of New South Wales, No. 58, 1964, Part II.

a. Figures for extrametropolitan population calculated by Method (B); 1901 State and metropolitan totals exclude shipping and aborigines; Year Book designations of conurbations in 1961 have been followed; N. S. W. rural figures include 'migratory' population - 4609 in 1901, 10591 in 1961.

especially in the rural sector. For country towns of 1000 or more, the 1890s did bring a slight reversal of the trend in each colony up till 1891: in both colonies in this period about a dozen more towns arrived in the '1000 or more' group, and in both colonies the aggregate number of people living in such towns rose by about 33,000 despite the smaller number of Victorian towns involved. For Victoria, this meant an improvement in the proportion of people living in these towns, for New South Wales it meant a relative decline. In both colonies, the rural and village proportion of the population - which had been steadily declining to 1891 - grew a fraction, and may be said to have benefitted at the expense of the urban sector generally. Within the urban sector, Melbourne's slow growth meant a slight proportional gain for the country towns, while Sydney's added growth saw a slight proportional loss for New South Wales country towns in their share of total population.

The figures for the relative shares of population by 1961 show that, despite the slight reversal or fluctuation of the 1890s (and possibly of other later decades), the role of the country towns had by 1891 become fairly petrified. This was less so in New South Wales, where country towns, after the slump of the 1890s, continued to add slowly to their share of the state population. However, in both states the dramatic changes occurred in the metropolitan and

rural sectors. In both states the rural sectors have shown a net failure to grow numerically, while their percentage share of the total populations has plummetted; in both states, the metropolis has grown strongly in numbers and in its share of population.

Thus, the century 1861-1961 has seen Victoria and New South Wales growing uniformly more similar in their respective urban and rural share of population (to be almost identical in 1961), but always with the internal variation within their urban sectors. Victorian country towns as a body reached their peak share of population in 1871, and have shown a relative decline since, with a slight reversal in the 1890s; New South Wales country towns, with a slight arrest in the 1890s, have continued since the beginning of the period to add to their share of population. New South Wales country towns have both augmented their ranks and increased their average size much more strongly than in Victoria.[1]

---

1. Table 2: 6 shows the approximate number, and average size, of towns at six censuses up to 1961. The strong numerical augmentation of N. S. W. ranks throughout is marked; the increase in average size is steady but not spectacular in the nineteenth century. By contrast, numerical augmentation is slow throughout the period in Victoria, while average size hovered around the same mark up to the end of the century.

Table 2: 6. Average size of Victorian and N. S. W. country towns of 1000 or more, 1861-1901, & 1961. a

		Victoria	N. S. W.
1861	Number of towns	33	16
	Aggregate population	121370	38450
	Average size	3678	2403
1871	Number of towns	51	28
	Aggregate population	190046	65070
	Average size	3726	2324
1881	Number of towns	50	53
	Aggregate population	193767	134750
	Average size	3875	2543
1891	Number of towns	57	82
	Aggregate population	212839	244103
	Average size	3735	2977
1901	Number of towns	71	92
	Aggregate population	245614	284139
	Average size	3460	3090
1961	Number of towns	106	161
	Aggregate population	573930	1151899
	Average size	5414	7155

Sources: as for Table 2: 5.

a. Figures calculated by Method (B). The number of towns is approximate, since the various parts of each official conurbation of 1961 - that is, the Year Book 'Urban Areas', such as Latrobe Valley in Victoria and Newcastle in N. S. W. - have been listed separately in the previous years.

The distribution of the towns[1]

In Victoria in 1861, there were some 40 towns whose size or condition bring them within the scope of this study. Threequarters of these towns owed their size to, and most had taken their rise from, gold-mining; these towns, of which Creswick[2] was one, were chiefly spread over the Central Highlands, contained within a circle stretching west from Ballarat to Ararat, running northerly round through Inglewood and Bendigo and down through Heathcote and Kyneton. Only four of these gold towns - Chiltern, Rutherglen, Eldorado and Beechworth - were situated in the north-east. The small number of other towns in existence were mainly in the early-settled Western District, including Geelong and the three other western ports and a handful of inland rural centres such as Hamilton;[3] otherwise, there were only Sale, in Gippsland, Kilmore, a gold-traffic and agricultural town north of Melbourne, and Wangaratta, further up the Sydney road.

The gold towns continued to dominate the scene throughout the sixties, not just in numbers but in their contribution to growth; for although the flurry of canvas had largely gone by the

---

1. See Appendix I for the lists of towns and their growth-rates.
2. One of the sample towns to be studied.
3. Another of the sample towns.

beginning of the sixties, a majority of gold towns enjoyed hopeful growth for some years after. These included the major centres like Ballarat, Bendigo and Maryborough, and a dozen new or newly-grown towns, some of them - like Walhalla and Wood's Point - on newer goldfields. All was not growth, however, because a score of towns had declined or remained static. Again, these were mainly gold towns - many of them peripheral to the Central Highlands area, but including also Creswick and Castlemaine - but four of the older towns were also affected, Portland declining markedly, Geelong, Port Fairy, and Kilmore remaining fairly static. On the other hand, some other non-gold towns - ranging from Bairnsdale in the east, to Camperdown in the west, Benalla in the north, and Echuca, the Murray railhead - had appeared during the sixties to join those towns like Hamilton which had continued to experience growth. The general paucity of such towns, however, was a mute testimony to the effect of legislative attempts at closer land settlement.

By the end of the seventies a major change in the trend of provincial urbanization had occurred: by now, the majority of gold towns were well on the decline or had ceased to grow healthily. Many of the newer towns of the sixties had quickly slipped into decline, as had many of the more central towns, such as Browns and Scarsdale, Daylesford, Maldon, Smythesdale, and Talbot; Castlemaine

and Chewton continued in the slump which had hit them in the sixties and from which the eighties were to bring no relief. More important, perhaps, the colossus of Ballarat (as well as several other central gold towns) was stagnating. Some gold towns did grow or continue to grow, especially in the west (Ararat and Stawell) and the Bendigo district (Bendigo and three others). Two newly-emerged towns showed that the era of fresh discoveries had not ended, but, like their counterparts of the sixties, they were to suffer a quick eclipse.

It was not only the gold towns that fell back in the seventies: Kilmore and Port Fairy, static in the sixties, now lapsed into real decline, while several others - again, Geelong was one of them - stagnated. Only a baker's dozen of non-gold towns grew appreciably: Hamilton was one of them, although its growth was by no means healthy, and there were several new agricultural centres such as Shepparton. Again, Echuca on the Murray, and Warrnambool (which was also an agricultural centre) were the only ports outside Melbourne which grew.

The eighties saw a deepening of the trends begun in the previous decade. Nearly every gold town was now moribund, although several - especially, of course, Ballarat and Bendigo - were still relatively very large towns. Of the gold towns which grew satisfactorily in the eighties, only Stawell and St Arnaud had done so since the beginning of the period, and by now drew on

sources other than mining; two others - Maryborough and Rutherglen - had endured a period in which their population was declining or fairly static; and two others - Blackwood, and Allandale (which grew out of the deep alluvial field north of Creswick) - came into prominence for the first time in this decade.

Although, as in the seventies, the ranks of the Victorian non-gold towns were affected by stagnation, the continuing depletion of gold town population was somewhat offset by the appearance of towns indicative of the extension of settlement to the north and the west of the colony: these included Mildura, Kerang, and Yarrawonga in the Murray Valley, and Warracknabeal and Nhill in the wheat country of the Wimmera district. Furthermore, none of the non-gold towns declined seriously in the eighties; Geelong and the old western ports remained static, and were joined now by Hamilton, by Sale, in Gippsland, and the Murray port of Echuca, but there was generally satisfactory growth in existing towns in the Western District and in the Goulburn Valley and central north-eastern areas. Nevertheless, the actual number of towns in these areas was small, and, in Gippsland, minimal.

By 1891, then, the 'gold' towns were still, numerically, slightly predominant in Victoria; but the towns which did not depend, and had not depended, on gold had the ascendancy of growth.

Although many gold towns were declining, the fact that they remained in existence indicates both that - with varying success - they had adapted themselves to alternative successions of rural land use, and that gold, even when unpayable, attracted men; thus, the decline of many gold towns consisted in an adjustment to the urban requirements of land uses other than gold-mining.

The distribution and development of country towns in New South Wales was remarkably different from the experience in Victoria. There were many fewer such towns in New South Wales in 1861, and rather more in 1891. This growth in the number of towns was accompanied by growth in the population of the bulk of individual towns: stasis was uncommon; decline was rare, and usually restricted to 'special' towns.

The country town scene in 1861 consisted of several small but discernible groups: the old towns grouped in a semi-circle round Sydney, but stretching as far west as Bathurst; Newcastle and the coal-mining and service towns of the Hunter Valley, as far north as Murrurundi; the small South Coast ports; the gold towns of the central west, and Braidwood in the south; and a sprinkling of coaching and pastoral centres ranging from Albury and Wagga[1] in

---

1. The third of our sample towns.

the Riverina to Armidale and Tamworth, in New England, and Grafton on the North Coast.

The contrast with the Victorian situation in 1861 was striking: the bulk of Victoria's towns of any size were less than ten years old, while the bulk of those in New South Wales dated from before - in some cases, decades before - 1850. This contrast continued in the sixties, which, for Victoria, was the most prolific of the three decades after the fifties in town formation. In New South Wales, a bare dozen towns were added to the two dozen which had been noted as towns in 1861, and half of these were new gold towns - such as Araluen - whose growth was to be short-lived. Some of the older towns of the Cumberland region and the Hunter Valley suffered retarded growth in the sixties; but the gold town of Sofala was the only case of real decline, and, as in Victoria, a good three-quarters of country towns continued to grow well.

The seventies - with a 72 per cent. increase in the number of towns - was the decade of greatest proliferation, and by 1881 the colony had nearly as many country towns as Victoria. Again, some gold towns and towns of the Cumberland and Hunter regions declined or remained fairly static, but some four-fifths of all the towns may be said to have grown. The established towns of the western slopes and tablelands - stretching north and south along the length of the colony - had now firmly become

the backbone of the New South Wales country town body, both geographically and in terms of sustained growth. The older towns of this longitudinal swathe - Albury, Wagga, Goulburn, Orange, Mudgee, Dubbo, Armidale, Tamworth, and others - were in the seventies joined by many others, often new railheads, including Moama and Narrandera, in the Riverina, the south-western slopes railheads of Junee, Cootamundra, Blayney, Cowra, and Wallerawang, and Parkes, Narrabri, and Gunnedah on the central and northern slopes. There were one or two new gold towns - such as Temora - whose growth was again to prove short-lived; and the eighties were to show also that in some cases there had been an over-optimistic urban response to the arrival of the railway. The other chief feature of the expansion of the seventies was the appearance of the first towns in the sparsely-settled far west and north-west of the colony, towns based on mining (Cobar) and on the Darling River wool and copper ore trade (Wilcannia and Bourke).

The eighties was a decade of settling down, compared with the expansion of the seventies, although new towns continued to appear in the central west - Peak Hill, Nyngan, and Nymagee - and the far west, with the boom of Broken Hill and Silverton; Broken Hill already had 20,000 inhabitants by 1891. There was a further thickening of towns in the slopes-tablelands belt, but it was also a rationalizing, involving the addition of new towns - such as Corowa, Hillgrove, and Quirindi - the decline of some of the mining

and railhead towns of the seventies - such as Cobar, Emmaville, Temora, and Tingha, and Moama, Murrumburrah, and Wallerawang - and, more significantly, a stagnation or curtailment of the growth-rates of several older-established towns including Wagga, Albury, Mudgee, and Tamworth. Nevertheless, some two-thirds of New South Wales country towns continued to grow relatively healthily in the eighties, and less than one-seventh of them suffered real decline.

The New South Wales country town scene, then, had changed a great deal since 1861. The number of towns had trebled. Of the towns of 1861, only Sofala had suffered decisive decline, but about half of them - especially the old Cumberland towns - experienced some retardation of their growth during the thirty-years period. The burden of growth, then, fell on the new towns; that is, the growth of the country town sector in this colony was characterized by a proliferation in the number of towns, as well as by the growth of individual towns. And it has been pointed out that this proliferation was largely a phenomenon, not of the coastal plain or the western plains, but of a longitudinal belt encompassing the Riverina, the western slopes, and the northern tablelands.

The contrast with Victoria continued throughout. By 1891, New South Wales had a few more towns than Victoria, and two-thirds of them were growing while two-thirds of Victoria's towns were declining or stagnating. It is necessary here to deal briefly with several questions relevant to the contrast

between the colonies in particular, and the distribution of towns in general. One of these has been discussed above, namely, the effect of comparing political entities (the colonies) rather than de facto trade areas. It has been pointed out that to annexe the Riverina to Victoria for the purposes of comparison makes no practical difference to the results of that comparison. If anything, the counting in of the Riverina with Victoria serves to enhance the difference between the colonies, since any such extension of Melbourne's tributary area can only have tended to defray the extent to which geographical proximity to the metropolis may be held to have sapped the strength of country towns.

Second, it should not be supposed that the contrast between the colonies derived simply from the decline of Victoria's many gold towns and the orderly development of a 'normal' pattern of country towns in New South Wales. Whatever their real functions, and whether or not many of them were declining, a considerable share of Victoria's country town population was living in 'gold' towns in 1891. Again, this enhances the difference between the colonies in their respective country town share of population: for if the gold towns be regarded as 'abnormal' in the long-term, then their presence overstates the actual proportion of people living in 'normal' towns, towns, that is, of a type more comparable with those of New South Wales.

Third, there is the question of the railways' effect on town distribution and town growth, a question discussed in more detail later. It is not only that nineteenth century country townsmen generally - and often rightly - regarded the railway as the key to town growth, but later historians have often assumed a simple and positive relation between the two things.[1] It has been pointed out above that certain particular cases - such as Wallerawang and Murrumburrah - may be regarded as casualties of the railway mystique; and an attempt has been made later to determine the effect of the railway on each of the towns sampled in this study. But, while a connection between communications and metropolization may be inferred, it is impossible

---

1. See the discussion and documentation in Ch. 8, below. A recent example is the judgement implicit in three maps in N. G. Butlin's Investment in Australian Economic Development, (Cambridge, 1964), 189-91 (Figs. 11, 12, and 13). These maps refer to Victoria and New South Wales in the three decades 1861-1891, and purport to show the 'rapidly growing towns' and the railway lines built in each decade; unfortunately, these maps are inaccurate and incomplete: each omits several rapidly growing towns, and each includes some slowly growing towns; the reference (or intended reference) only to rapidly growing towns ignores the equally important question of the relation between railway expansion and town decline; Figs. 12 and 13 both omit certain railway lines built in the relevant decades; some railway lines - e.g., the Ararat-Portland line - are actually misplaced; the lines are not marked in cumulatively, decade by decade (and although the single map on page 325, Fig. 24 - which is also inaccurate - is cumulative, it does not refer to town growth). Perhaps it is fitting, then, that Butlin makes no reference to these maps in his text, but he does make generalizations, 187, 192, which suggest that he had these maps in mind.

to make meaningful generalizations for the country towns as a whole based on the superficial juxtaposition of rail dates and observed growth-rates. Such generalizations are, in any case, hampered by that part of State railway policy which sought to bring rail communication to important or rapidly growing towns; such towns were not called into existence by the railway, nor would the railway ensure their continued existence.

A survey of the distribution of urban expansion and decline, and of railway extension, in each colony confirms that there was no consistent response to the presence or absence of the rail link, and that the dominant factor in town growth was the state of the chief primary industries, agricultural, extractive, and pastoral. And while we should not ignore the role of the railway in the extension of intensive land uses, and in the underlining of country towns' subservience to their primary-industrial hinterlands through the facilitation of metropolitan access in the secondary-industrial field, it remains that simple generalizations about a positive relationship between railway extension and town growth are unsupportable.

Finally, the distribution of towns by size and by decade, and their 'transition probabilities', indicate again that the contrast between the colonies did not consist only in a superior numerical proliferation of towns in New South Wales, but also in

the superior growth of individual towns.

Throughout the period in New South Wales,[1] there was a strong tendency for towns of 1000 or more to at least maintain their position in a given size-range; failures were relatively rare. In the sixties, the maintenance rate was high, although few towns moved to higher ranges, and in the seventies there was a greater tendency to improvement. The trend to improvement was again strong in the eighties, except among towns of the 1000-1499 range. It can be seen that the seventies was the great decade, not just for the proliferation of towns, but for the expansion of town size. In Victoria, on the other hand, there was a stronger general tendency throughout to failure, that is, to the leakage of towns into lower size-ranges.[2]

---

1. See Table 2: 7. These tables are what Glen V. Fuguitt - in a study of Wisconsin towns, 1880-1960, 'The Growth and Decline of Small Towns as a Probability Process', American Sociological Review, XXX, No. 3, Jun 1965 - calls 'matrices of ten year transition probabilities'; basically, however, they are simple descriptions of experience. Because data are available for each decade, probabilities are irrelevant.
2. Table 2: 8.

Table 2: 7. Ten-year transition experience of country towns of 500 or more, 1861-1891: New South Wales

Decade	Size at beginning of decade	Size at end of decade (percentages) Under 500	500-999	1000-1499	1500-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-6999	7000 plus	Number
1861-1871	500-999		46.1	38.4	15.5					(13)
	1000-1499			80.0		20.0				(5)
	1500-1999		25.0		75.0					(4)
	2000-2999					100.0				(1)
	3000-3999							50.0	50.0	(2)
	4000-6000							100.0		(3)
	7000 plus								--	(--)
1871-1881	500-999	4.5	50.0	18.2	18.2	4.5	4.5			(22)
	1000-1499	16.7	8.3	25.0	25.0	25.0				(12)
	1500-1999			14.3	42.9	14.3	14.3	14.3		(7)
	2000-2999		25.0			25.0	25.0	25.0		(4)
	3000-3999						--			(--)
	4000-6999							50.0	50.0	(4)
	7000 plus								100.0	(1)
1881-1891	500-999	33.3	20.5	20.5	12.8	12.8				(39)
	1000-1499	7.1	14.3	50.0	14.3	7.1	7.1			(14)
	1500-1999			13.3	13.3	53.3	13.3	6.7		(15)
	2000-2999		16.6	8.3		16.6	33.3	25.0		(12)
	3000-2999		25.0				--	75.0		(4)
	4000-6999							50.0	50.0	(4)
	7000 plus								100.0	(3)

Table 2: 8. Ten-year transition experience of country towns of 500 or more, 1861-1891; Victoria.

Decade	Size at beginning of decade	Size at end of decade (percentages)								
		Under 500	500-999	1000-1499	1500-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-6999	7000 plus	Number
1861-1871	500-999	23.5	29.4	23.5	11.8	5.9		5.9		(17)
	1000-1499	10.0	20.0	20.0	30.0	20.0				(10)
	1500-1999			40.0	20.0			40.9		(5)
	2000-2999			11.1		88.8				(9)
	3000-3999					50.0	50.0			(2)
	4000-6999						50.0	50.0		(2)
	7000 plus							20.0	80.0	(5)
1871-1881	500-999	61.0	24.4	7.3	4.8			2.4		(41)
	1000-1499	15.8	26.3	31.6	15.8	5.2			5.2	(19)
	1500-1999	11.1	33.3	33.3	22.2					(9)
	2000-2999			9.1	18.2	45.5	27.3			(11)
	3000-3999					25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	(4)
	4000-6999					20.0	20.0	60.0		(5)
	7000 plus								100.0	(4)
1881-1891	500-999	44.0	44.0	6.0	4.0		2.0			(50)
	1000-1499	11.8	23.5	41.2	17.6	5.9				(17)
	1500-1999	10.0		30.0	30.0	30.0				(10)
	2000-2999			12.5	12.5	37.5	37.5			(8)
	3000-3999						80.0	20.0		(5)
	4000-6999						25.0	75.0		(4)
	7000 plus							28.6	71.4	(7)

The choice of sample towns for further study

There are many possible bases for the comparison of towns, but the orientation of this study narrowed the choice chiefly to two, namely, inter-regional or intra-regional urban studies. Geographers have tended to prefer intra-regional comparative studies, partly on the grounds that a fairly uniform regional land use will permit a freer comparison of the towns themselves (accepting the assumption that all towns in a region will have similar hinterlands),[1] and partly because their studies are sometimes oriented towards theories - such as Central Place theory - which need to be tested under certain conditions.

A possible objection here is that if small towns are so intimately conditioned by their hinterlands, then uniform hinterlands will produce identical towns. This is obviously not true in fact, and if it were it would still be worth stating. Nor is it necessary theoretically: even if towns are subservient or closely tied to their hinterlands, this does not entail that towns with the same types of hinterland will react

---

1. Cf. Ryan, op. cit., (1965), H. W. H. King, 'The Urban Hierarchy of the Southern Tablelands of New South Wales', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1956), R. S. Dick, 'Five Towns of the Brigalow Country of South-Eastern Queensland', University of Queensland Papers, Department of Geography, I, No. 1, 1960, M. Daly and J. Brown, 'Urban Settlement in Central Western N. S. W.', Geography Department, University of Sydney, and the Geographical Society of New South Wales, Research Paper, No. 8, Dec 1964.

in the same way (and their growth will partly comprise their reactions to their hinterlands).

K. B. Ryan's chosen region had an added advantage, in that its geographical formation (a narrow coastal strip) allow him to test another dimension or factor, the effect on towns of their varying distance from Sydney. As he pointed out, a similar straight line drawn to the south-west, west, or north of Sydney would a) be intersected by transverse lines of differing land use, and would b) stretch towards the influence of another metropolis.[1]

The present thesis, on the other hand, has chosen an inter-regional comparative basis, since the desire to compare towns in two colonies, and in different regions, ruled out an intra-regional basis. Having rejected the intra-regional basis - or, more accurately, having opted in favour of the comparison of three regions as well as of three towns - the subsequent selection of sample towns was conditioned by the desire to compare, in two states and from 1861, the history (insofar as the samples are valid) of the two main types of inland country town at that date, namely, pastoral service centres (Hamilton, in Victoria, and Wagga, in N. S. W.) and mining towns (Creswick, Victoria). Wagga may regarded, too, partly as a representative of the third main type of inland country town to appear by 1891, namely, the agricultural

---

1. Ryan, op. cit., (1965), iii.

service town. Creswick was also chosen as a sample of a declining town, while Hamilton represents towns of moderate, and Wagga those of rapid growth.[1] In terms of their growth, then, these towns represent much that was typical of the country towns in the colonies from which they are drawn.

Each of the three sample areas had physical characteristics which were generally suitable for both pastoral and agricultural land use; the Creswick district, of course, possessed important gold-bearing deposits as well, and the extent of deep lead mining and prospecting during the period presented at least a potential inhibition to surface agriculture.

The difference in average annual rainfall was not great (Creswick 27", Hamilton 26", and Wagga 21"), although topographical differences affected the utilization of water resources. Creswick and Hamilton, situated on small creeks, were able to dam water, while Wagga, though situated on the Murrumbidgee River, had to raise water to a reservoir.

---

1. Note that, as well as representing the large group of towns of 1000 and more population, these three towns by virtue of their size also happened to belong to a smaller group of towns, those which attained a population of more than 3000 in this period. There were 48 such towns, 25 in New South Wales, 23 in Victoria; but these three towns are regarded as a sample primarily of the larger body of towns.

The Hamilton area comprised chiefly podsolic soils, with ferruginous soils a little to the west, between Coleraine and Casterton. Creswick, too, lay on podsolic soils, but was skirted to the west, north, and east by heavy grey soils over basalt. Wagga was situated on a north-east to south-west line dividing the podsolized soils to the east from those red-brown earth soils to the west particularly suited to wheat production; wheat was, however, and still is, grown on both types of soil.[1]

Creswick lies just north of the present Divide, but in fairly open, undulating country stretching north to the Loddon Walley, and characterized by the scoria cones so aptly labelled 'mameloid' by Major Mitchell. About ten miles to the east is the Bullarook forest, which provided much mining and building timber for the Creswick and Ballarat fields. Creswick sits at the tip of an ordovician isthmus, stretching up from below Ballarat, and surrounded by the basalt below which the deep gold-bearing alluviums were tapped after 1872.

---

1. For maps of soil types, see Victoria, Central Planning Authority, Resources Survey: Glenelg Region, (Melb., 1960) for Hamilton, and Central Highlands Region, (Melb., 1956) for Creswick; and Australia, Dept. of National Development, Atlas of Australian Resources, 2nd series: Soils, 2nd edn., (Canberra, 1963) for Wagga. For land types associated with soils in specific localities, see K. H. Northcote's booklets, to be read in association with the C. S. I. R. O.'s Atlas of Australian Soils, namely Explanatory Data for Sheet 1: Port Augusta-Adelaide-Hamilton area (Melb., 1960) for Hamilton and Creswick, and for Sheet 3: Sydney-Canberra-Bourke-Armidale area, (Melb., 1966), for Wagga land types.

Hamilton lies towards the north-western extreme of the large basalt plain which stretches a couple of hundred miles east, to the banks of the Yarra and Plenty Rivers. Characterized by savannah country to the east and dry sclerophyll forest to the west and north, the country is fairly open, apart from the Victoria and Serra Ranges of the Grampians which stand up sharply north of Dunkeld and run up towards the Wimmera.

Wagga is situated on the edge of the south-western slopes region of New South Wales. To the west stretch virtually uninterrupted plains of eucaluptus woodland. To the east are the slopes leading into the edges of the mountain and southern tablelands, where fertile valleys supported a certain amount of intensive agriculture. The mountains themselves provided summer pasture in times of severe drought on the plains.

It is true of these towns, - as of the macro-sample - that 1861-1891 is an appropriate phase of study in the context of their long-term growth. In terms of simple ranking according to total population,[1] the order of 1861 (and, note, of 1871) had been quite reversed by 1891, and it remained in 1961 as it had been in 1891.[2] In terms of growth, the trend from 1861 to 1891 - with only two exceptions[3] -

1. Although it is possible, as seen in Ch. 3, to refine the crude population and growth-rate figures, it is nevertheless with them that one must start.
2. Table 2: 9.
3. First, Hamilton suffered a net loss of population 1911-1921; however, this was part of a slackening which affected both other towns (and which suggests that the first - though not the second - world war may have temporarily broken that unmeasurable factor in town growth, inertia). Second, since the 1947 census, Creswick has - for the first time since 1861 - experienced net growth, albeit barely perceptible.

Table 2: 9. Population and growth-rates of Wagga, Hamilton, and Creswick, 1861-1961

Census Year	Wagga Population	Wagga Increase per cent	Hamilton Population	Hamilton Increase per cent	Creswick Population	Creswick Increase per cent
1861	627		1197		4714	
		197.7		96.2		-15.8
1871	1858		2349		3969	
		114.0		26.3		-5.9
1881	3975		2967		3731	
		15.7		13.7		-17.4
1891	4596		3373		3095	
		11.1		19.3		-1.1
1901	5108		4024		3060	
		45.8		37.9		-12.9
1911	7446		5551		2665	
		3.1		-8.2		-37.3
1921	7679		5097		1670	
		51.5		13.5		-9.8
1933	11631		5786		1506	
		31.9		24.1		-6.8
1947	15340		7180		1403	
		25.3		18.5		14.5
1954	19235		8507		1606	
		14.8		11.6		7.7
1961	22092		9495		1730	

Sources: New South Wales and Victorian Censuses, 1861-1901, Commonwealth of Australia Censuses, 1911-1961; all figures are for municipal areas, except Wagga, 1861, and Creswick, 1947, 1954, and 1961.

continued uniformly to 1961: thus, Creswick has declined or stagnated since 1861, Hamilton has grown moderately, Wagga has grown rapidly.

In terms of growth-rates, the rank order of the three towns was uniform from 1861 to 1961, with the one exception that Hamilton had a slightly higher growth-rate than Wagga in the 1890s.[1] The population-sizes of the three towns converged during the 1860s, began to change rank position in the 1870s, and completed this change in the 1880s; since 1891, there has been a uniformly fan-like divergence in their population-sizes. The chief characteristic of their growth-rates, on the other hand, was a convergence from 1861 to 1891, followed by a period of fluctuations to 1933 (in which the growth-rates of the three towns often moved in unison), giving way to a spectacular convergence of their growth-rates from 1933 to the 1961 census.

Growth was not even, but seems to have occurred in a series of booms and slackenings (tied here in their timing, of course, to census dates), in which periods of overpopulation of

---

1. Any discussion of growth-rates raises the problem of whether to ascribe the same value to, say, a 10 per cent. increase in a village of 100 as to a 10 per cent. increase in a city of one million. In this study, there has been no systematic attempt to apply concepts such as Rostow's 'take-off' point, or devices such as Davis's indes of urbanism weighted according to concentration, as used by T. Brennan, 'Urban Communities', in A. F. Davies and S. Encel, Australian Society, (Melbourne, 1965), 296-7.

the town's resources - whether for internal demographic or other reasons - were succeeded by periods of rationalization and demographic 'attrition'. The timing and lengths of these cycles was not uniform in each town, or between the towns: for example, they were shorter in Wagga than in the other towns. Creswick had experienced its major boom in the gold-rush years before 1861,[1] and there followed a period of attrition to 1891 and after, only slightly alleviated in the seventies, when the town responded a little to a new mining boom nearby. Hamilton and Wagga experienced their booms in the sixties, and suffered a slackening of growth to 1891. In these towns, then, the overall picture of growth, in its several dimensions, presents no compelling reason why an endpoint other than 1891 should have been chosen for this study.[2]

---

1. As Rev. Alexander Pyne (Church of England incumbent at Creswick 1868-72, and founder of Creswick Grammar School in 1869) wrote later, in his Reminiscences of Colonial Life and Missionary Adventure in both Hemispheres, (London, 1875), 408: 'The town of Creswick and suburbs might contain a population of 4,000 inhabitants. Its shops are far in advance of the place, and were commenced when traffic was brisker.'
2. Note that while the precise census dates were checked against obvious events affecting the three sample towns (such as the return of shearer-miners to the mines by April, and the completion of railway and bridge construction works), it was not possible to make a similar check for the wider sample of towns of 1000 or more, whose growth-rates were the subject of discussion in the earlier part of this chapter.

Chapter 3. The Components of Growth

Introduction. This chapter is the first of three which concentrate on the internal history of the towns. Its purpose is to gain a more detailed and realistic picture of the course and components of growth, chiefly in demographic terms. It is concerned partly with the task of refining the crude population growth figures, with determining the contribution of net migration in and out of the towns, and with more accurate periodization of town growth than is possible with four decennial and arbitrary population figures. The chapter is descriptive and suggestive, rather than explanatory, and its effect is to diminish both the impression of decline in Creswick, and the impression of growth in Hamilton and Wagga. A lesson of this chapter is that it is dangerous to ask simply why Creswick declined, and why Hamilton and Wagga grew; admittedly, those are the main questions addressed in other chapters, but in this chapter further questions are asked: to what extent did one town decline and the others grow? Why did Creswick not decline more than it did, and why did Hamilton and Wagga not grow more than they did?

A. Population composition and population growth

i. The growth of European population.

In the case of Creswick borough, the question of decline was complicated by its initially high number and proportion of Chinese inhabitants. If we regard it as an almost purely European town (as it became by 1891), and omit the Chinese element from its population, we find that its European (in the sense of non-Chinese) section declined at a much lower rate than the borough total in the sixties and eighties, and actually grew in the seventies, though at a rate still below average. On the other hand, the presence of a small but increasing number of Chinese in Wagga did not affect that town's European growth-rate, while the number of Chinese in Hamilton was utterly insignificant.[1]

ii. The trend to sexual parity

The high initial masculinity of each town reflected the pioneer character of towns - indeed, of much of Victoria and New South Wales - in 1861. Each experienced a more or less rapid trend to parity of the sexes, and it is obvious that the manner in which parity was achieved could either inflate or

---

1. Cf. the discussion, below, of the limited use of birthplace date in determining the quality of population movements which underlay net migration in or out of towns.

deflate overall growth-rates, depending on the extent to which it consisted in the departure of males or the arrival of females.

Wagga's population figures, and age/sex cohort histories, indicate consistent net arrival of both males and females, the latter in greater relative volume than the former. The net result of births and deaths, and arrivals and departures, for both sexes shows that the growth-rate of females was always greater than for males, especially in the sixties; both fell considerably in the 1880s.[1] For every 100 men in Wagga in 1861 there were 68 women, and by 1891 there were 95. Assuming that births were of males and females equally, the population growth-rate had certainly been inflated by the addition of

---

1. Table 3: I Wagga population growth rates

	Size 1861	Percent. increase	Size 1871	Percent. increase	Size 1881	Percent. increase	Size 1891
Total	627	197.7	1858	114.0	3975	15.7	4596
Males	374	174.3	1026	110.1	2157	9.5	2361
Females	253	228.9	832	118.5	1818	22.9	2235

Strong natural pressures worked towards sexual parity, but special reasons have also been suggested; e.g., Ian Mudie, in his Riverboats, (Adelaide, 1961), 71, stated - as others before had stated that the advent of river steamer traffic, and the reduction of transport costs, encouraged the advent in the outback of such 'luxuries' as window glass, and made houses habitable, and life liveable, for womenfolk.

adult females.[1]

Hamilton in 1861 had a high rate of femininity compared with Wagga and Creswick (and with Victoria as a whole), and had reached virtual parity of the sexes by 1871.[2] This may reflect the fact that Hamilton was larger than Wagga, and older than Creswick.[3] There was, at any rate, a strong trend to parity in Hamilton in the sixties; and it was a trend which probably inflated the town's growth-rate. Age cohort histories show that the rate of net female in-migration in two important cohorts (both within the marriageable range) was far higher than for males; birthplace data reveal that the bulk of the increase comprised Scots and Irish girls. The degree to which the town's growth-rate was inflated depends on the extent to which these girls entered the workforce.

---

1. The use of a value-weighted term such as 'inflated' is discussed below when workforce growth-rates are examined.
2. Table 3: 2 Number of females to 100 males, 1861-1891

Town	1861	1871	1881	1891
Wagga	68	81	84	95
Hamilton	89	99	102	100
Creswick - European	67	90	97	106
- Total	42	62	85	99

3. That the population was old enough for a generation of sons to have already left home, leaving their sisters to boost the femininity rate, tends to be discounted by age-composition data; and that there was an absence from the town of some of its married men, perhaps at the goldfields, tends to be discounted both by the statistics of conjugal condition (i.e., marital status) and the state of the goldmining industry st that time.

In Creswick, the rise in femininity to 1891 tempered the town's decline: cohort analysis shows that sexual parity was largely achieved in the sixties, not by female in-migration, but by a slighter rate of out-migration among marriageable females than among males, and that the town's final decline (although subject to a relative reprieve in the nineties) began in the 1880s, with the departure especially of young males, and a loss of European sexual balance in favour of females by 1891. Overall, sexual imbalance was strongly redressed by the death or departure of single Chinese males, a fact which - as suggested above - tended to inflate the town's rate of decline (that is, tended to deflate its growth-rate). Again, birthplace data indicate that, although net out-migration was the rule in Creswick, there were occasional influxes of small numbers of females, for instance, of Irish-born women in the sixties, and of New South Wales-, South Australian-, and Tasmanian-born women in the eighties.

iii. Growth of potential workforce

Intimately associated with the distribution of sexes among the town populations was the varying proportion of inhabitants who, it may be estimated, belonged to the workforce.

Wagga in 1861 had a high proportion of its population in the workforce, almost as high as Creswick, and much higher than Hamilton (and than the average for the colony).[1] This aspect of

1. See Table 3: 5.

Table 3: 3. Growth-rates of certain population components in Hamilton and Creswick

Town and component	Size 1861	Percent. increase	Size 1871	Percent. increase	Size 1881	Percent. increase	Size 1891
Hamilton							
Total	1197	96.2	2349	26.3	2967	13.7	3373
Workforce[a]	489	61.1	788	50.8	1188	20.5	1494
Children[b]	501	121.9	1112	8.9	1211	-4.6	1155
Creswick							
Total	4714	-15.8	3969	-5.9	3731	-17.4	3095
Workforce	2723	-29.7	1913	-14.8	1629	-23.6	1244[c]
Children	1262	16.0	1464	-3.4	1414	-15.9	1189

a. Potential workforce, comprising males 15-64 plus unmarried females 15-64.
b. Males and females 0-14.
c. Chinese were excluded in 1891, but have been distributed here in accordance with their age distribution in Victoria as a whole.

Table 3: 4. Growth-rates of certain population components in Wagga.

	Size 1861	Percent. increase	Size 1871	Percent. increase	Size 1891
Total	627	197.7	1858	147.4	4596
Workforce[a]	285	161.4	745	163.9	1966
Children[b]	218	259.6	784	117.3	1704

a. In 1861, actual workforce, from census occupations enumeration: in 1871 and 1891, workforce estimated by totalling males 15-64 and unmarried females 15-64 [note that in 1871 the data allow both types of calculation, the results being: estimated workforce - 745; actual workforce - 750].
b. Males and females under 15.

Table 3: 5. Percentage of potential workforce to total population

Town or area	1861	1871	1881	1891
Hamilton	40.9	33.5	40.0	44.3
Creswick	57.7	48.2	43.6	40.2
Wagga	54.5[a]	42.6	n.a.	42.8
Dundas Shire	45.3[b]	35.6	42.7	43.4
Creswick Shire	65.8[c]	41.1	43.0	41.9
Victoria[d]	49.4	39.5	42.7	45.0
New South Wales	45.9	41.2	42.3	41.7

Source: Victoria and N. S. W. Censuses.

a. In the absence of conjugal condition/age data normally used in calculating workforce, actual occupation numbers have been used (including quite a large number of 'not stated'); actual occupation numbers are not used throughout since there is not a full series.

b. As for note a.; note also that these 1861 figures for the Victorian shires refer to approximations of areas created shires after 1861.

c. As for note b.

d. Overall Victorian figures exclude Chinese and aborigines, and are therefore lower. Note also that the 1891 Victorian census actually gave a figure for 'Breadwinners' of 43.9 percent.

the town's pioneer character had disappeared by 1871, when Wagga's proportionate workforce had fallen to what might be ragarded as 'normal' level for this period; this level remained virtually unchanged in Wagga (and New South Wales as a whole) in 1891. An examination of the growth-rates of the workforce and of dependent children indicates something of the fluctuations of components underlying the town's overall population growth.[1] The loss of detailed data in the Garden Palace fire means that the period from 1871 to 1891 must here be viewed as a whole, but the trend is clear enough. The strong population growth-rate in the sixties comprised heavy growth in the number of children (necessary, of course, for future growth), and a relatively low growth-rate in the workforce. In other words, the overall rate of the sixties was not a true reflection of the growth in the working or earning capacity of the town, but was inflated by rapid growth in the number of dependent children. Between 1871 and 1891 the position was reversed. Some time during this twenty years, with the access of older children to the ranks of the workforce, and the completion of families started during the sixties, the growth-rate of the workforce became greater than that of dependent children. The overall growth-rate for 1871-1891 now understated the growth in the working or earning capacity

---

1. See Table 3: 4.

of the town. Such considerations render more explicable Wagga's curtailed growth-rate in the 1880s; they do not render it fully explicable, and general explanations must be sought elsewhere for the town's varying ability - over these three decades - to attract and hold population.

Like Wagga (and every other unit sampled in Table 3: 5), Hamilton experienced a proportionate decrease in its workforce between 1861 and 1871; there was a significant difference, however, in that the town started the period with quite a low workforce proportion, and therefore had a very low proportion in the workforce in 1871. Thereafter, Hamilton's workforce proportion rose to 1881, and continued to rise, reaching a 'normal' level by 1891. In terms of growth-rates, then, the town's strong crude growth-rate of the sixties concealed a situation in which the growth-rate of dependent children was twice that of its workforce.[1] In the subsequent decades, the workforce component grew much more strongly than did the component of dependent children, which actually declined slightly from 1881 to 1891. In this sense, then, much of Hamilton's growth was anticipated and telescoped into the sixties, followed by twenty years in which an unbalanced population evened itself out. This sort of finding is important since it serves to qualify the search for specific events - economic

1. See Table 3: 3.

or otherwise - to explain the curtailed growth-rates of the seventies and eighties.

By contrast, Creswick's initially high workforce proportion - characteristic of what was still in many ways a mining camp - dropped steadily to (and below) normalcy in 1891. (Indeed, a notable feature of the units sampled in Table 3:5 was their tendency to converge on a norm by 1881, with further slight variations by 1891). As noted before, Creswick's decline was tempered by familiation: in the sixties, a one-third decline in the workforce was partly offset by an actual increase of one sixth in the number of dependent children, and in the following decades the rate of decline in dependent children was much lower than in the workforce.[1] Thus, Creswick's relative growth-rate was enhanced by familiation among the residual population, rendering less damaging the heavy departures from the workforce.

In each town, then - and, it may surmised, in most towns in both colonies - early growth depended significantly on the age and family-building activities of the first generation: growth (including the retardation of decline) derived a lot from the dependence of children, and the real test of growing strength depended on each town's subsequent ability to hold children as they grew out of the dependent phase.

---

1. See Table 3: 3.

B. Internal migration and the growth of towns

1. Trends

The histories of particular age cohorts have already been touched on in reference to specific questions, but it is necessary to examine the performance of all cohorts in general to determine the demographic contribution of migration to town growth.[1]

It is clear that Wagga's growth throughout was sustained

---

1. The analysis of age cohorts to determine roughly the extend and age-content of net migration suffers from general limitations and particular disadvantages. Generally, it does not reveal the total volume or turnover of migration, nor its precise timing. In particular, the analysis suffers from the lack of vital statistics for the towns, which has meant that the data from each town has to be measured against a generalised life-table based on the survival of Australian males and females over the period 1881-1891. It cannot be assumed that this life-table would be appropriate to each town in each decade. Further, this life-table is set out in exact ages at 10-year intervals (0, 10, 20, . . . 80); to encompass the bulk of each town's population in the analysis, these exact ages have had to be treated as mean ages for ten-year cohorts grouped five years either side of this mean, involving the assumption both that the 10 ages comprising each cohort were evenly distributed throughout the cohort, and that the survival probability for each age was the same as for the mean age. Further, it precludes the study of the youngest cohort (under five years) in each decade; and the lack of 1881 data for Wagga has meant that the period 1871-1891 must be viewed as a whole, not as two separate decades. Fortunately, however, the performance of the cohorts in each town differed quite markedly from expectation, rendering less damaging the imprecision of the analysis.

by net in-migration to the town.[1] But while this is true of the period 1871-91, as of the period 1861-71, it is probable that net out-migration began to occur in the eighties: this is suggested by the big drop in the town's growth-rate in the eighties (15.7 per cent.) compared with the seventies (114.0 per cent.). Very few country towns in Victoria or New South Wales escaped the period 1861-1891 without experiencing at least the beginnings of that net out-migration which has characterised their growth ever since. This was Creswick's experience from the very beginning of the period[2]; Hamilton in the seventies experienced the beginnings of a process of net out-migration which was in full swing during the eighties;[3] and it is highly probable that, as suggested, Wagga was affected during the eighties.

In the sixties, all Wagga cohorts were quite strongly augmented through migration, although the actual numbers involved in the older cohorts were very small. The strongest net inflow was among males of mean age 20 in 1861, and females of mean age 10 in 1861, strongly suggesting the arrival of young married

---

1. See Table 3: 6. The only suggestion of net out-migration during the sixties was in one tiny cohort of females of mean age 60 in 1861.
2. See Table 3: 7.
3. See Table 3: 8.

Table 3: 6. Wagga age cohort performances, 1861-1891

Column A. Cohort size 1861

B. Percentage growth 1861-1871

C. Likely percentage mortality ($10^{q}x$)

D. Cohort size 1871

E. Percentage growth 1871-1891

F. Likely percentage mortality ($20^{q}x$)

G. Cohort size 1891

able 3: 6. Wagga

A		B	C	D		E	F	G		
								5-14	m	511
									f	565
								15-24	m	416
									f	561
				5-14	m 208	113.5	-11.6	25-34	m	444
					f 220	56.4	-9.5		f	344
5-14	m 54	148.1	-3.9	15-24	m 134	97.8	-16.4	35-44	m	265
	f 48	218.7	-3.1		f 153	22.9	-14.7		f	188
15-24	m 55	247.3	-8.0	25-34	m 191	-1.6	-21.2	45-54	m	188
	f 66	121.2	-6.6		f 146	1.4	-18.8		f	148
25-34	m 97	71.1	-9.1	35-44	m 166	-17.5	-32.2	55-64	m	137
	f 45	86.1	-8.7		f 84	-1.2	-25.9		f	83
35-44	m 50	72.0	-13.3	45-54	m 86	-22.1	-50.9	65-74	m	67
	f 25	36.0	-11.1		f 34	-35.3	-41.9		f	22
45-54	m 35	11.4	-21.8	55-64	m 39	-59.0	-76.0	75-84	m	16
	f 10	130.0	-16.6		f 23	-56.5	-68.6		f	10
55-64	m 14	-21.4	-37.2	65-74	m 11					
	f 5	-40.0	-30.3		f 3					
65-74	m 5	-40.0	-61.8	75-84	m 3					
	f -	-	-55.0		f -					

Table 3: 7. Creswick age cohort performances, 1861-1891, and
Table 3: 8. Hamilton age cohort performances, 1861-1891

Column A. Cohort size 1861

B. Percentage growth 1861-1871

C. Likely percentage mortality ($10^{q}x$)

D. Cohort size 1871

E. Percentage growth 1871-1881

F. Likely percentage mortality ($10^{q}x$)

G. Cohort size 1881

H. Percentage growth 1881-1891

I. Likely percentage mortality ($10^{q}x$)

J. Cohort size 1891

Table 3: 7. Creswick

A		B	C	D		E	F	G		H	I	J	
												5-14 m	372
												f	413
								5-14 m	429	-39.4	-3.9	15-24 m	260
								f	489	-35.0	-3.1	f	318
				5-14 m	446	-16.8	-3.9	15-24 m	371	-45.8	-8.0	25-34 m	201
				f	442	-13.1	-3.1	f	384	-39.8	-6.6	f	231
5-14 m	301	-19.6	-3.9	15-24 m	242	-20.7	- 8.0	25-34 m	187	-25.7	-9.1	35-44 m	139
f	273	-9.5	-3.1	f	247	-27.1	-6.6	f	180	-30.6	-8.7	f	125
15-24 m	563	-38.2	-8.0	15-24 m	348	-39.7	-9.1	35-44 m	210	-41.4	-13.3	45-54 m	123
f	246	-13.8	-6.6	f	212	-23.1	-8.7	f	163	-36.8	-11.1	f	103
25-34 m	1274	-46.6	-9.1	35-44 m	681	-50.8	-13.3	45-54 m	335	-54.3	-21.8	55-64 m	153
f	297	-33.0	-8.7	f	199	-27.6	-11.1	f	157	-33.3	-16.6	f	105
35-44 m	536	-40.3	-13.3	45-54 m	325	-48.9	-21.8	55-64 m	166	-54.2	-37.2	65-74 m	76
f	146	-45.9	-11.1	f	79	-22.8	-16.6	f	61	-41.0	-30.3	f	36
45-54 m	166	-42.2	-21.8	55-64 m	96	-50.0	-37.2	65-74 m	49	-73.4	-61.8	75-84 m	14
f	61	-50.0	-16.6	f	31	-16.1	-30.3	f	26	-53.9	-55.0	f	12
55-64 m	44	-56.8	-37.2	65-74 m	19	-63.8	-61.8	75-84 m	7				
f	14	-7.0	-30.3	f	13	-38.5	-55.0	f	8				
65-74 m	12	-50.0	-61.8	75-84 m	6								
f	2	+100.0	-55.0	f	4								

Table 3: 8. Hamilton

A		B	C	D		E	F	G		H	I	J	
												5-14 m	368
												f	368
								5-14 m	426	-8.5	-3.9	15-24 m	390
								f	414	0	-3.1	f	414
				5-14 m	348	-10.9	-3.9	15-24 m	310	-14.8	-8.0	25-34 m	264
				f	366	-1.7	-3.1	f	360	-21.7	-6.6	f	282
5-14 m	124	16.1	-3.9	15-24 m	144	-1.4	-8.0	25-34 m	142	-19.7	-9.1	35-44 m	114
f	118	67.8	-3.1	f	198	-15.7	-6.6	f	167	-16.8	-8.7	f	139
15-24 m	89	64.0	-8.0	25-34 m	146	-13.7	-9.1	35-44 m	126	-11.9	-13.3	45-54 m	111
f	112	42.9	-6.6	f	160	-3.8	-8.7	f	154	-25.3	-11.1	f	115
25-34 m	141	11.3	-9.1	35-44 m	157	-10.2	-13.3	45-54 m	141	-19.1	-21.8	55-64 m	114
f	110	30.9	-8.7	f	144	-16.0	-11.1	f	121	-24.0	-16.6	f	92
35-44 m	93	17.6	-13.3	45-54 m	109	-16.5	-21.8	55-64 m	91	-33.0	-37.2	65-74 m	61
f	51	25.5	-11.1	f	64	-7.8	-16.6	f	59	-27.1	-30.3	f	43
45054 m	42	16.7	-21.8	55-64 m	49	-16.4	-37.2	65-74 m	41	-26.8	-61.8	75.84 m	30
f	23	4.4	-16.6	f	24	-16.7	-30.3	f	20	-30.3	-55.0	f	14
55-64 m	14	14.3	-37.2	65-74 m	16	-43.8	-61.8	75-84 m	9				
f	5	120.0	-30.3	f	11	-36.4	-55.0	f	7				
65-74 m	3			75-84 m	8								
f	3			f	6								

couples (a suggestion which cannot, unfortunately, be verified from census data). The picture was different for the period from 1871 to 1891: male in-migration was much stronger than female in the cohorts of mean ages 10 and 20 in 1871, but the imbalance of sexes in favour of females in the 15-24 age group in 1891 (coupled with an imbalance favouring males in older cohorts) again suggests that many males married members of the next younger cohort.

The general trend in Creswick was for net out-migration in each decade from every cohort except the very old. In these older cohorts, the numbers involved are too small to indicate any significant in-migration, but lend support to the notion that older people are likely to stay put because of retirement from work, and perhaps also because of the lower rents, and the opportunities for fossicking and wood-collecting, generally available in country towns.

In Hamilton, there was in the sixties net migration into every cohort; in fact, every cohort gained absolutely in numbers. In the seventies, however, there were - despite net in-migration into most cohorts - the beginnings of out-migration of males and females in the younger and middle adult cohorts. The eighties in turn saw a wider spread of out-migration,

encompassing three important male, and four female, cohorts.[1]

ii. The timing of migration and of growth.

On the question of timing and intercensal volume or fluctuations in migration, the population estimates published in statistical registers are not reliable but contain clues.[2] For instance, were Hamilton's estimates accurate, they suggest that either in-migration or births occurred in a series of jumps in particular years of the 1860s, and that there was a slight turnover through out-migration in 1869. Estimates for the 1870s were more cautious except for large jumps in 1877 and 1878, which look suspiciously like a graphic representation of what the town expected from the arrival of the railway, but which cannot simply be dismissed as such. Similarly, the town in its own estimation seemed to stagnate till the end of the 1880s, perhaps suggesting

---

1. Viz., Male cohorts of mean ages 10, 20, and 30 (1881), and female cohorts of mean ages 20, 30, 40, and 50 (1881). Note too that apart from cases involving a change in the actual direction of net migration (as in Hamilton in the seventies and eighties), there are cases of a marked change in the rate or degree of net migration in one direction, or a marked difference between cohorts which share the same direction of loss or gain in a given period. For example, it may be felt that a general tendency, such as net out-migration from Creswick, is susceptible of a general explanation; but variations within that tendency - such as the differing rates of net out-migration between males and females in the cohorts of mean ages 10, 20, and 30 (1861) - require further, or special, explanation.
2. It has been suggested that annual school enrolment figures be used to supplement and check these estimates. Unfortunately, in neither colony are satisfactory series available to show enrolments and attendances at both state and private schools in the towns.

the effect of more widespread net out-migration in those years, and confirming an impression that industrial expansion at the end of the period helped stem the tide.

The Creswick estimates for the 1860s are interesting: they show that over half of the whole population left in the year of the New Zealand discoveries (and this is the only estimate we have), and that considerable replacement - or return? - took place in the next two years (unless all the births for that decade took place in those years); in other words they suggest that considerable turnover lay behind the decadal net migration figures. The estimates for the 1870s indicate the possibility (which we have seen is a probability) that the bulk of net out-migration for that decade took place in the first year, that is, before the discovery of the Spring Hill leads. Similarly, the estimates for the 1880s, if they have any basis in fact, indicate that most net out-migration occurred in the second half, unless the occurrences of births and deaths were strangely distributed.

Other data may be brought to bear on the question of the timing of town growth. For example, the course of town land alienation each year is revealed - for the Victorian towns, but not for Wagga - from Township maps.[1] These maps reveal details only of the original alienation of each Crown lot, but the annual

---

1. These are the maps used in Chapter 4.

figures of such alienations[1] do nevertheless indicate the extent of net demand for new land (over and above the transactions currently affecting land previously alienated). These figures are useful, not so much for revealing the actual state of growth in a town - since there are other data more specifically bearing on that question - as for revealing feelings of growth and their relation to what later transpired, to be actual phases of growth or decline. Thus, for example, although we know that Creswick's population was generally on the decline throughout this period, there was nevertheless a more or less steady trickle of demand for Crown lots, which can only be interpreted as a desire for permanent settlement - irrespective of whether or not the sales aroused competition. It is particularly interesting that the early sixties - which saw a large exodus to the New Zealand diggings - were years of healthy demand, and that a revival of demand preceded the momentous deep lead discoveries of 1872.

Similarly, the fact that alienations of new land in Hamilton in each year after 1860 fell well short of the peak of that year suggests that the period 1861-91, though a period of growth, was a period in which the feeling of growth was never as acute as it had been in the few years between the foundation of the town and the beginning of that period.

---

1. See Table 3: 9, over.

Table 3: 9. Number of town lots of Crown land alienated in Hamilton and Creswick, 1851-1891

Year	Hamilton	Creswick
1851	33	-
2	52	-
3	28	-
4	127	71
5	-	25
6	-	18
7	41	-
8	14	24
9	52	32
1860	170	54
1	47	55
2	-	49
3	6	-
4	1	74
5	70	-
6	39	-
7	3	1
8	10	2
9	9	8
1870	2	19
1	37	18
2	2	7
3	99 *	4
4	5	17
5	-	48
6	23	2
7	8	21
8	13	16
9	-	8
1880	10	5
1	-	13
2	12	12
3	7	18
4	2	12
5	6	22
6	17	2
7	16	2
8	23	3
9	-	-
1890	52	1
1	16	-

* of which 69 were South Hamilton 'suburban' lots.

Finally, the fact that in each town the years immediately before rail connection saw only an unspectacular rise in alienations of new town land suggests that a spirit of practical caution underlay the spoken enthusiasm with which that event was greeted.

Another relevant body of 'external'[1] data is the breakdown of dwellings into 'inhabited', 'uninhabited', and 'building' (that is, 'being built'). Although there are certain reservations on the use of these figures,[2] some interesting points - points rather of corroboration than of suggestion - do emerge.

---

1. 'External' data, as opposed to 'internal', or subjective, evidence such as isolated local newspaper impressions: too often in studies of this sort a single newspaper reference has been made the peg for a generalization encompassing a decade or more.
2. For instance, there was not a spectacular and increasing number of uninhabited houses in Creswick, but then the total number of enumerated dwellings dropped steadily; moreover, the count of houses being built referred only to census time (early April), while it is quite likely that ceteris paribus (although here again ceteris was rarely paribus in a mining town) the bulk of building took place in summer months. Further, the limited usefulness of the census-day situation in building is shown by the fact that although three dwellings were being built in Creswick in early April 1861 the total number of dwellings had fallen drastically by 1871; again, it appears that no houses were being built in Hamilton in early April 1861 and yet the total number of dwellings rose by 80 per cent. between then and 1871.

Table 3: 10. Inhabited and uninhabited dwellings in Creswick, Hamilton, and Wagga

	1861	1871	1881	1891
Creswick				
Inhabited	1360	976	819	676
Uninhabited	1	38	35	12
Building	3	-	-	-
Total	1364	1018	865	689
Hamilton				
Inhabited	233	418	539	622
Uninhabited	7	9	47	17
Building	-	2	3	7
Total	243	435	593	651
Wagga				
Inhabited	N.a.	N.a.	577	833
Uninhabited	N.a.	N.a.	10	32
Building	N.a.	N.a.	7	6
Total			594	921

For instance, the numbers of uninhabited houses in Hamilton suggest that there may be some accuracy in the annual Statistical Register population figures, as distinct from the decennial census figures. The four census population figures (1861-1891) show a gradual tapering off in the growth-rate, followed by an improved growth-rate in the 1890s. On the other hand, the annual estimates, rough as they are, suggest that this tapering off was by no means smooth, and the figures for uninhabited houses tend to support this. Thus, the relatively high number of uninhabited houses in 1881 supports the impression that the slackening in the growth-rate began some time in the 1870s, perhaps the late 1870s as shown in the estimates. Similarly,

the decreased number of uninhabited houses in 1891 suggests that the improvement in the growth-rate, evident in the 1890s, actually started before 1891, as suggested by other evidence (such as a resurgence of local enterprise in manufacturing). This sort of evidence, though flimsy, may be important in helping to modify the necessarily arbitrary periodization derived from the decennial Census figures for population. Again, in the case of Wagga (for which there are no annual population estimates), the increased number of uninhabited houses in 1891 suggests that the slackening in that town's growth-rate 1891-1901 actually started before 1891.

iii. The total quantity of migration and the turnover of population

The cohort analyses mentioned above reveal only net migration, and offer little indication of the total volume of population movement which may have underlain net movements. Even the annual population estimates themselves, of course, do not reveal the actual turnover, even though they do suggest something of the quantitative fluctuations concealed by the basic decennial census data.[1] The whole question of internal migration - in both its quantitative and qualitative aspects -

1. For instance, the Creswick estimates for the early sixties suggest a rapid and substantial decline, then recovery of population, but without ratebooks or accurate directories for those years it is impossible to determine the extent to which return, on the one hand, and replacement, on the other, contributed to that recovery.

is one of the most important and, unfortunately, most obscure for the settlement historian of nineteenth century society. It cannot be assumed that towns with a steady growth trend - whether growth, as in Wagga and Hamilton, or decline, as in Creswick - were less subject to large turnovers of population than were towns of fluctuating growth experience; and yet the evidence either way is scanty: demographic evidence is limited, and the few dozen biographies available for each town are tempting but dangerous bases for generalizations about a whole population, and also rarely throw light on the really important question of why individuals chose to migrate in a certain direction.

Only the birthplace statistics from the censuses may be used to illuminate the question of migration, and they remove but little of the anonymity with which such movements are cloaked.[1] Thus, within the context of Creswick's decline, there were a few cases of growth in the numbers of people of certain birthplaces - for example, of Irish-born women, and of British colonials of both sexes in the sixties, and of males and females from other Australian colonies (particularly Tasmanis, South Australia, and

---

1. The major figures - for Victorian-born in Victorian towns, and N. S. W.-born in N. S. W. towns - are rarely of any practical value, although cst. Creswick in the eighties. Similarly, decreases in the numbers of people of particular birthplaces cannot be used, since they are not tabulated by age, and cannot be corrected by likely deaths over the period.

New South Wales) in the eighties which contrasted with the decrease of Victorian-born males in that decade. Although in all cases the numbers involved were small, they do prove that a certain amount of turnover lay behind Creswick's overall decline. In Hamilton (although, as in Creswick, the main component of growth throughout was the increase in Victorian-born), each decade saw increasing numbers of people born in other colonies, especially South Australia. The English-, Scottish-, and Irish-born increased in the sixties, while the seventies saw a further increase in Irish-born and a small increment of Welsh males. Both the sixties and eighties were periods of small increase in the German-born, while the figures for the number of Lutherans suggests that these Germans brought with them to Hamilton a small number of children born in Australia.

In Wagga, too, some life may be breathed into the net migration figures by considering the birthplace of in-migrants, but again these data indicate little if anything of the volume of turnover in the population.[1] As in the other towns, the chief source of growth was the colony itself, whether by natural increase in Wagga or by migration from other parts of New South Wales.

---

1. Note, too, that there are no birthplace data for Wagga (or other N. S. W. localities) in 1881.

But there was, after the sixties, a significant increment of people born in Victoria,[1] and a trickle of those born in other colonies, and a steady increase in English- and Irish-born, and later of Chinese, and a small but continuing influx of those born in Scotland and Germany.[2] Though interesting, however, these observations do not tell us much more than we already know, namely, that Wagga's growth was sustained by in-migration, and, further, that some of this migration was of people who were not born in New South Wales.

---

1. This does not destroy the wide belief that migration from Victoria earlier than the seventies was a major element in the settlement of the Riverina, since earlier migrants from Victoria need not have been born in that colony.
2. The rapidly growing strength of Catholicism throughout suggests at least an informal type of chain migration which may explain the relatively high influx of Irish-born, but which involved the addition of many Catholics from indigenous and other sources as well as first-generation Irish.

Conclusion

We have seen that there are several ways of looking at the shape and tempo of growth, although the limitations on the data are such as to render certain approaches theoretical. It is possible to illuminate the crude population growth-rates by examining the growth of separate components of population, and by distinguishing different types of growth.

Looking, for example, at the three towns as European communities, it is apparent that Creswick as a European town did not decline as much as it appears in the sixties and eighties, and actually grew (albeit not strongly) in the seventies.

Again, in looking at a society still emerging from the pioneering stage, it is possible to place two different values on growth: for the growth of a pioneer community into a balanced town, and the growth of the town as a town, are distinguishable processes even though they may occur simultaneously. This is why it is necessary to study such things as the changing masculinity of the towns. A complementary way of assessing real growth is by weighing the respective contributions of the productive and non-productive parts of town population, of the workforce and of the dependent population; in this way, we may interpret and judge the fluctuating crude growth-rates of each decade.

Growth may also be distinguished into types according to the respective contributions of natural increase and net migration. There is a range of types in which growth or decline derived from the presence or absence of natural increase, the occurrence of net migration in or out of the towns, and a number of combinations of these variables. In these decades, for example, Creswick experienced net out-migration from virtually every traceable age cohort; naturally, it declined. But the most interesting type for Victorian and New South Wales country towns 1861-1891 was that in which growth occurred despite net out-migration from some age-cohorts. It has been seen that Hamilton's growth from the seventies, and Wagga's almost certainly from the eighties, was of this type; and few towns in 1891 had not already experienced at least the beginnings of this experience. This was of great significance to them, for it took the edge off growth in a visible and direct sort of way (although it does not follow that the head of each depleted household saw the wider implications, for the town, of his inability or unwillingness to hold all of his children in the town).

Though it is possible, however, to refine the concept of growth in these several ways, this refinement does not constitute an explanation, at least not more than the first step of an explanation. Rather, it is to further isolate exactly what it is to be explained.

Chapter 4. Town Foundation, Alienation, and Construction

This chapter continues to examine internal features of town growth, in its physical or mechanical - but not morphological - aspects, and reveals further differences between the three towns and between the two colonies. Creswick was called into existence by the pressure of its own emphemeral needs, as it were, whereas Hamilton and Wagga grew from local rural pressures which, if they did not greatly expand or intensify, did remain as pressures. The differing degree of speculation in Crown land investment in each town was partly a predictable reflection of their differing growth-rates, but here the State played a further part, rendering Wagga a semi-private town by the release of prevalently larger block-sizes, and enhancing the opportunities for private profit in this most basic aspect of town growth. As the towns were built, the difference between country towns in the two colonies was nicely portrayed in terms of bricks and mortar. The relatively low standard of housing in the Victorian towns is - when better materials were available - an index of their regionality in this respect. The higher standard in some New South Wales towns suggests a greater degree of urbanism, especially - as in Wagga's case - when urban standards were markedly above rural standards in a given area. While the known

population growth-rates of the towns are generally reflected in the matters discussed below, some paradoxes emerge: thus, while Wagga's brisker speculative atmosphere and superior residential construction within its region bespeak the 'urbanism' of the fast-growing town, several of the chief investors in its new town land were men whose aspirations lay demonstrably outside country town life. More generally, Hamilton and Wagga grew most strongly when most isolated, but this is not really a paradox unless we make the dangerous assumption that continued isolation would have brought continued strong growth.

Town location and the circumstances of foundation as factors in growth

In addressing the question of town growth, it is pertinent to consider certain contingencies of the town's physical location and foundation. Hinterland factors - especially land use, pattern of settlement, and transport - are examined in later chapters. The circumstances of location and foundation varied in their efficacy as factors in subsequent growth.

Each of the sample towns was proclaimed in response to existing demands or pressures, and in confirmation of existing urban nuclei.[1] But while Hamilton and Wagga were both proclaimed in response to local squatter pressure, and grew from existing fording places, Creswick's proclamation resulted, on the other hand, from urban or quasi-urban pressure. The town did straddle a creek, but its original raison d'etre arose rather from the creek's gold-bearing deposits, and the need to wash this gold, than from the need to cross the creek. Hamilton and Wagga grew, Creswick declined - suggesting, as discussed elsewhere, that to be healthy in the long term a town needed (among other things) the blessing of its parent region.

Another contingency was the extent and nature of opportunities for urban expansion in a physical sense. Here the

1. The question of private townships is discussed in Chapter Nine.

pastoral towns had an advantage over the mining town, where the reservation from freehold of much land which was either known or presumed to be auriferous inhibited permanent settlement.

The contingency of water supply cannot be regarded, in the case of the sample towns, as a direct factor in urban growth. For instance, the site chosen for Hamilton (which was an error of private judgement compounded by Government with the connivance of local squatters) allowed inadequate provision for future water supply, but can only be said to have affected growth indirectly in that it engendered an early dependence on the State in an important phase of town life. Similarly, water was undoubtedly an important determinant of town morphology, but morphology itself was usually a fact of growth rather than a factor of growth. Wagga, like any town which began as a crossing place on a large river, found that its subsequent physical spread was much conditioned by its consequent proneness to flooding; but while this meant the neglect of North Wagga, it scarcely affected growth in the aggregate.[1] On the other hand, the narrowness of the Creswick Creek valley (as

---

1. Later, however, the nature of Wagga's water supply (which had to be pumped) was one of several factors which told against the town's candidacy as the site for the Federal capital; Report of the Commissioner on Sites for the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth, (Sydney, 1900), 16.

well as the location of gold deposits) did string out settlement in such a way as to encourage the fragmentation of urban services into North Creswick, Bald Hills, and other areas.[1]

Relative geographical isolation was a contingency of location which had a rather complex bearing on the question of town growth, for to describe the geographical isolation of a town is often to describe the pattern of urbanization in a particular area. In a regional context, then, the relative isolation of Hamilton and Wagga was itself an index of their capacity to absorb and centralize the urban potential of their regions or hinterlands. In a wider-than-regional context - in the context, that is, of isolation from or proximity to ports, markets, and manufacturing centres, especially the capital cities, which were all these things - a point significant to the question of communication and growth emerges: for, in the experience of these sample towns, isolation was accompanied by growth. Creswick was not geographically isolated, but it declined; Hamilton and Wagga were relatively isolated,[2] but both grew most rapidly before the railway removed much of this isolation.[3]

---

1. In terms of social morphology, both Hamilton and Creswick had the dividing watercourse and hills necessary for the easy physical display of those social distinctions required by nineteenth century society. Wagga was less well-equipped for the clear and perceptible demarcation of social zones, but this did not prevent such zoning.
2. See pages 114, above, and 297, below, and Figs. 2: 1, 7: 1, and 8: 1.
3. Although, as suggested elsewhere, part of the contrast between pre- and post-railway growth rates stemmed from an overcompetition of services stimulated by the impending or new-found railway.

Investment in Crown land in the towns, 1849-1891

The course and distribution of investment in town land, and of residential construction, are relevant to town growth not only because they were among the chief physical or mechanical manifestations of growth, but also because behaviour in these fields throws light on more important questions, such as the degree of confidence in the town at various times, and the town's relations with its hinterland. A wider examination of overlapping ownership of town and local rural land permits further observations on the nature of investment and, in some cases, on the aspirations of individuals.[1]

The figures for investment in Crown land in the

---

1. Information about geographically widespread land investment has not been specially sought, though a certain amount has come readily to hand. The only report of a similar enquiry in the context of Australian country towns is that of K. B. Ryan, op. cit., 379, whose findings were but briefly reported. He, too, sought to examine the state of land ownership as a 'source of settlement innovation' and urban progress; he confessed that his conclusions were ambivalent, but did find general ratification for the proposition that 'urban growth is stimulated when land is acquired by externally-capitalized incorporated companies or town residents engaged in productive work'.

towns[1] contain contrasts between the gold town and the pastoral towns, and also between the two pastoral towns. The latter are partly illusory: for instance, the difference in the number of lots alienated in Hamilton and Wagga does not, of course, mean that there was more settlement, or even more speculation, in Hamilton in this period. Rather, the difference derives from the fact that the bulk of Wagga lots were of two roods, while many more Hamilton lots (and most of Creswick lots) were of one rood, or of some other size less than two roods. Nevertheless, this arbitrary difference did have important ramifications, for the availability in Hamilton (and, to some extent, Creswick) of a larger number of smaller lots involved a larger number of individuals in the purchase of Crown lots than in

---

1. See Table 4: 1. Victorian and N. S. W. Lands Department township and parish maps provide us with the names of the original alienees, the size of all lots, the distribution of reserves, etc.; the Victorian maps also indicate the date on which each lot passed into private hands. A brief study of the people who 'colonized' these towns necessarily takes us back prior to 1861, since the first sales of Wagga land were in 1849, Hamilton in 1851, and Creswick in 1854. Included in the later discussions are borough (as well as the more narrow 'township') lands, and, in the case of Wagga, lands proclaimed 'suburban' - initially for agricultural purposes - and not all of which fell within the subsequent borough boundaries.

Table 4: 1. Comparative analysis of Crown land purchases[a] to 1891

	Hamilton	Wagga	Creswick
Number of lots	1052	790	653
Number of purchasers	450	249	340
Number of single purchasers	245	123	197
Number of multiple purchasers	205	126	143
Average number of lots per multiple purchaser	3.9	5.3	3.2
Percentage of purchasers who bought only one lot	54.4	49.4	58.0
Percentage of total lots bought by single purchasers	19.5	15.6	30.2

a. Source: culled from Victorian Lands Department maps of Hamilton and Creswick townships, and N. S. W. Lands Department map of Wagga township.

Wagga.[1] The prevailing lot size in Wagga allowed more opportunity for subdivision and potentially profitable private sale by those able to afford the initially larger lots.[2] Indeed, although a 'Government' town, Wagga may be regarded (more so than the Victorian towns) as a semi-private town; the Crown disposed of its land in lots larger than prevailing urban residential sites, and left it to private operators to manage the final distribution. That is, facility was provided whereby the very process of town foundation could be made a local business venture, even if only as a sideline for most

---

1. Cf. this comment on a Hamilton land sale, HS, 25 Feb 1860: 'Great indignation is expressed against the authorities, in cutting up the blocks into so many small lots. Some are one-eighth of an acre, so that the charge of £1 on the title deed may be multiplied so many times, and causing lots to be sold only fit for the erection of hovels, not houses'. Note that for the first part of this period, unimproved Corwn town land in Hamilton and Creswick had the same valuation placed on it, for instance, both were subject to an upset price of £25 in 1860. Although a strong potential instrument of economic and social policy, the upset price was generally used to raise the maximum revenue for the State; there were exceptions, - for instance, it is hard to see the £100 upset price on Portland land in 1860 as other than discriminatory in a town already stagnant.
2. This tends to nullify Stanislaski's assertion, in G. A. Theodorson (ed.), Studies in Human Ecology, (Evanston, Ill., 1961), 295, of the advantages of a grid pattern in town surveying in cases where equitable distribution of property is desired. And while the proclamation of townships was professedly a social policy in Australia, there the policy ended, the wide adoption of the grid pattern not being in itself an expression of social policy.

investors. This applied to a lesser extent in Hamilton, and hardly at all in Creswick.

Thus, Wagga had a smaller number of purchasers, comprising a lower proportion of single, and a higher proportion of multiple, purchasers. The fact that the average Wagga multiple purchaser bought more (as well as larger) lots than his Hamilton counterpart further suggests, if not a greater polarization of capital resources in Wagga than in Hamilton or Creswick, then at least Wagga's superior propensity to attract men of capital, and to induce them to invest in local real estate.[1]

In those respects, then, there was greater similarity between the two Victorian towns, as against the New South Wales town, than between the two pastoral as against the mining town. However, this latter difference was still valid. For a town whose Crown land was disposed of in small - usually one rood - lots, and which had a considerable, if declining, population, Creswick's area of alienated Crown land in this period was much smaller than the area in Wagga or Hamilton. This is partly and perhaps fully accountable by the fact that a certain amount of land,[2] especially parish land within Creswick borough, but outside

---

1. Note that the factor of alternative investment was important in Creswick and other gold towns, where - whatever slumps occurred - the search for gold went on, holding the attention of men of modest, as well as large, means.
2. E.g., the site of the Chinese camp on the Black Lead.

the 'township', was deemed auriferous and reserved from alienation; people nevertheless lived - and mined or farmed - on such land, much of which was not alienated until some time in the twentieth century. A more interesting difference was the higher proportion of Creswick alienees who bought only one Crown lot, and the even higher proportion of total lots which were bought by such single purchasers, and the small number of people who made numerically really large purchases. In each town, only about half of those who bought Crown lots limited themselves to one lot, and even in Creswick less than one-third of lots alienated in this period were taken up by single purchasers (although this was markedly higher than the one-fifth of Hamilton lots, or one-sixth of Wagga lots, taken up by single purchasers). However, there were in Creswick no men such as Thomas Walker and Patrick Bergin in Hamilton, or George Forsyth and Thomas Fox in Wagga.[1] Only five Creswick men bought more than seven Crown lots, compared with fifteen such men

---

1. Walker, a commission agent, bought 46 lots 1865-78; he was a Councillor, a director of the Hamilton Gas Company, and a member of Hospital and Mechanics Institute committees. Bergin (32 town and 13 borough lots 1851-61) built the Hamilton Inn immediately after the first land sales in 1851; a townsman at first, he also had a small farm, and was one of an Irish Catholic group which for some years controlled the Dundas Shire Council. George Forsyth (38 town lots, plus parish land), storekeeper, agent, absentee licensee of several Riverina pastoral runs, the 'Father of Wagga', was a dominant figure in Wagga business and civic affairs for much of the period. Thomas Fox (36 town and borough lots, plus adjacent parish land) had opened a hotel as early as 1850; as well, he bought the first 40 acres of 'suburban' land sold in Wagga, and cropped it with wheat; by the late 1870s, had retired to land near the town, at Gumly Gumly.

in Hamilton, and 21 in Wagga; the five largest buyers in Creswick bought 50 lots between them, compared with 136 in Hamilton, and 154 in Wagga.

The occupation and preoccupations of the principal multiple purchasers of land in each town also provide interesting contrasts and similarities. Among the few large multiple purchasers of Crown lots in Creswick, there was only one squatter - the local squire, Captain John Hepburn - and one farmer - L. R. Carter, who was as much a mining man, and who, after participating in the discovery of deep leads in 1872, became a 'gentleman'. Apart from the market gardeners, Birch and Paramor, who were consolidating a livelihood along the creek flats rather than simply speculating in land, the other chief multiple purchasers were of the urban middle class. Several were interested also in mining affairs, but few - with the notable exception of the draper Thomas Cooper, long-time Councillor and M. L. A. - were really active in civic affairs.

In Hamilton, a larger number of local squatters bought multiple lots of town land,[1] and - with the exception of Acheson

---

1. Some 40 local squatters - including some of the big old families such as Coldham, Cooke, Henty, McKellar, Skene, and Cameron - bought Hamilton land, but not all of them were multiple purchasers.

French, an early Police Magistrate and prominent Catholic - this was generally their only interest in the town. The remainder were, as in Creswick and Wagga, from the urban middle class; of them, a few subsequently acquired landed interests outside the town, and these played at the most an obscure part in civic affairs. The other townsmen who interested themselves in town land investment did generally interest themselves also in civic affairs.

In Wagga, the pattern was different again. No local squatter bought town land in a big way; rather, a majority of the urban middle class town land purchasers - who included seven publicans or absentee publicans - subsequently acquired landed interests outside the town, sometimes also retaining their urban interests, and playing some part in civic affairs. In general, however, neither those with outward-moving interests nor those whose investments were restricted to the town played an especially prominent part, as a group, in civic affairs.

While Hamilton district squatters helped to colonize that town, Wagga townsmen helped to colonize that district. In each town, there was evidence of a strong aspiration to landed independence, an aspiration which underlay the weakness of country towns, but it was manifested in different ways. In Creswick, few prominent townsmen sought pastoral properties while many miners sought small occupation licenceholds; in Hamilton, the small

people helped subvert the selection legislation, while several wealthier residents sought and gained pastoral properties, while in Wagga there was a more general aspiration towards both pastoral and agricultural pursuits.

We look in vain, then, for a group of men who invested largely in town land and who sought to control that investment by assuming leadership in the towns. In each town, those who invested largely in new town land were not especially active in affairs beyond their business interests. Though surprising, this suggests that their urban investment activity (and, in many cases, concurrent or subsequent excursions into mining, pastoral, or agricultural ventures) was part of a wider ambition that looked beyond the small town - an aspiration which implies much about country towns in Victoria and New South Wales. To many men of capital, then, the country town was not primarily a place where one's life would be lived and ambitions achieved, but a place where capital might be accumulated, and from which wider investments (in land or mining) might be sought, made, and guarded.

The Building of the Town

The other chief physical or mechanical aspect of town growth was the actual construction of the buildings and works which went to make up the town. The emphasis here is on residential construction, and questions of both quality and quantity are considered; questions of greater significance arise, but cannot always be answered - questions such as residential (and other) investment as a force for inertia,[1] and the presence of certain types of housing as a pointer

---

1. Suggested by A. J. and J. J. McIntyre, Victorian Country Towns, (Melbourne, 1944), 62, 7. It is difficult to find hard data bearing on this question, but the discussion of land investment (above) would suggest that it is unwise to regard this or other types of investment - except in very specialised buildings such as factories - as a conservative influence. It is true that in the present sample of three towns the best built - Wagga - grew most strongly, and the most poorly built - Creswick - declined; but it would be impossible to document an argument that good residential construction caused, rather than resulted from, town growth. The prevalence of expensive housing certainly meant a greater dynamic for growth, in the sense that it entailed a more elaborate building industry in the town's economy, but this is quite a different question from that raised by the McIntyres.

to the existence of elites in a town.[1]

Distinctions between metropolis and town, between town and country, and between colonies have generally been overlooked by the few writers who take congnizance of the question of the housing materials of the nineteenth century. For instance, Margaret Kiddle's account of the blue basalt homesteads of the Western District of Victoria,[2] and of the basic housing in small towns, is credible enough,[3] but she very much romanticizes the appearance of the medium-sized and larger towns in the District. Her impression of towns such as Ballarat,[4] Skipton,[5] Terang[6] and

---

1. Cf. M. Curti, The Making of an American Community, (Stanford, 1959), 107; discussing the social elite in Trempealeau County, Curti asserts that 'the relatively small number of really impressive houses that were built in the early years or in the later 1860s and early 1870s was evidence of a social elite'. The housing of the squatter elite in Australia has been well enough documented, but this approach is difficult for towns which lack the rate books of the day; Victorian and N. S. W. censuses provide data on materials and on number of rooms, but these are not cross-tabulated, so that it is impossible to pinpoint the number of 'really impressive houses' accurately. Details of some wealthy town houses are available from other sources, and many of these houses may still be examined, but this approach to the question of elites would appear more appropriate to the archaeologist seeking evidence for the existence of elites in a pre-literate society.
2. Men of Yesterday, (Melbourne, 1961), 283, 307-16.
3. Ibid., 437.
4. Ibid., 432.
5. Idem.
6. Ibid., 433.

Portland[1] - 'well built, chiefly in stone', 'stone-built little town', and so on - grossly overestimates the extent of stone residential construction.

N. G. Butlin's picture of residential investment in the second half of the nineteenth century is necessarily painted on a colonies-wide canvas, with occasional reference to specifically country town experience.[2] Butlin sees residential investment in this period very much as an urban story:[3]

> Urban communities, growing in wealth and sustained by British capital, sought improved housing standards in terms of fewer persons per room and of better materials, designs and styles . . . . [The earlier discussion of] population concentration greatly understates the role of urbanisation in the growing demand for housing. The rise of the towns and cities meant that Australians moved increasingly into areas of rapidly

---

1. Ibid., 434; the actual percentage proportions of stone and brick housing in these towns were:

	1861	1891	
Geelong	35.7	32.9	
Ballarat	7.5	15.3	
Skipton	37.0	42.1	[1881]
Terang	0.o	11.8	[1881]
Portland	22.5	31.4	

   Thus, while many public buildings in these towns may have been of stone (or stone and brick), it is misleading to attribute this quality to each town as a whole.
2. Similarly, Robin Boyd, in his otherwise revealing Australia's Home, its Origins, Builders and Occupiers, (Melbourne Paperback edn., 1961), tends to write very much of the metropolitan house, glossing over any admitted differences in the quality of housing outside the metropolises (40, 31).
3. Op. cit. (1964), 213-16, 220-1.

> rising housing standards and away from rural districts with relatively poor housing conditions. 1

He adduces a number of reasons why rural housing was on the whole smaller and poorer, and more reliant on local unprocessed materials: the prohibitive transport costs of non-local materials; rural workforce mobility which discouraged the erection of durable dwellings; the growth of absentee ownership, which reduced the scale of pastoral residential construction; and the pressure of pastoral expansion, which diverted funds into pastoral equipment rather than residential investment.[2] Unfortunately, though, the reasons why rural standards were low do not fully explain why urban standards were at a particular level.[3]

The quality of residential construction

In general, there was a disparity between the standards of building materials in the two colonies,[4] but with some convergence as Victoria more than doubled its proportion of brick and stone dwellings

---

1. Ibid., 234-5.
2. Idem.
3. Nor does Butlin elucidate the contrasts between Victoria and N. S. W.; in general, however, he does not attempt a thematic treatment of housing in country towns, but makes occasional reference to them (e.g., 267-9), and uses them as a backdrop, for example, for his discussion of metropolitan rent movements (279-81).
4. Table 4: 2.

Table 4: 2. The percentage proportion of brick and stone dwellings to total dwellings, 1861 and 1891 (samples from each colony).

Victoria			New South Wales		
	1861	1891		1861[a]	1891[c]
Metropolitan			Metropolitan		
Melbourne City	58.7	80.2	Sydney City	85.1	94.2
Brighton	40.5	36.1	Balmain	49.2	53.1
Fitzroy	64.4	83.0	Woollahra	59.6	79.9
Total metropolis	45.1	48.1[b]	Total metropolis	70.8	78.4
Country			Country		
Hamilton	8.6	18.1	Albury	48.1	57.3
Creswick	2.2	6.2	Armidale	24.3	28.1
Horsham	6.9	8.0	Bathurst	76.5	84.3
Beechworth	8.4	38.1	Braidwood	34.8	43.5
Ararat	4.0	21.2	Dubbo	8.6	42.8
Ballarat	7.5	15.3	Goulburn	66.3	70.7
Belfast	35.6	45.2	Grafton	5.3	25.5
Kilmore	29.5	47.4	Liverpool	63.0	23.8
Castlemaine	27.4	62.9	Moruya	0.0	5.1
Portland	22.5	31.4	Mudgee	38.6	67.8
Bendigo	13.7	29.6	Newcastle	50.0	53.8
Geelong	35.7	32.9	Orange	38.5	75.5
Warrnambool	30.4	55.4	Wagga	12.8	61.0
			Wollongong	44.3	26.3
Dundas Shire	10.1	17.3			
Creswick Shire	1.6	5.1			
Victoria	14.1	28.8	N. S. W.	28.9	37.0

Source: Victorian and New South Wales Censuses, 1861 and 1891.
a. Inhabited houses, including tents.
b. 'Greater Melbourne', as defined in the 1891 census.
c. Also includes uninhabited houses.

between 1861 and 1891. Throughout this period, however, there remained a continuing gulf between metropolitan Sydney and metropolitan Melbourne, and it may well be on this sector that future historians will need to concentrate in seeking to explain the disparity in building materials in the two colonies.[1]

In each colony, metropolitan residential construction was generally more substantial than elsewhere. However, while the general level of standards was higher in New South Wales than in Victoria, the rank order was the same in each colony,[2] descending generally from the metropolis through the country towns to rural areas. New South Wales country towns in the present sample were generally more substantially built than their Victorian counterparts,[3] which, as in demographic characteristics, tended to resemble their rural

---

1. On the question of relative costs, Butlin (op. cit., Tables 62 & 63) shows that the average cost of an urban brick house, per room, was generally lower in N.S.W. 1861-1890; but it is not clear whether this conduced to a higher level of brick construction in N. S. W., or whether it was itself a function of economies of scale flowing from a higher volume of brick construction. In any case, Butlin's figures also show that the ratio of the cost of a four-roomed weatherboard house to estimated annual wage income was often lower in N. S. W. than in Victoria, especially throughout the sixties and much of the eighties.
2. Table 4: 2.
3. Table 4: 3.

hinterlands more closely than they resembled other towns.[1] Thus, the standard of building materials in Hamilton was quite similar to that of Dundas Shire as a whole, and Creswick was similar to Creswick Shire,[2] whereas the standard in Wagga was clearly superior to that of the four counties surrounding that town.[3] In Victoria, the chief dichotomy in the standards of residential building materials was not between urban and rural areas, but between metropolitan and extrametropolitan areas,[4] and between regions. The other chief difference between the colonies, as revealed in the rankings, was the lack, in Victorian towns, of the correlation found in New South Wales towns between the total number of dwellings and the standard of materials; with some exceptions, the rule in that colony was: the bigger the better.

The difference in the quality of country towns in each

---

1. Table 4: 2.
2. Table 4: 2.
3. The relevant percentages of brick and stone dwellings to total dwellings in 1891 were:

Bourke County	0.9
Clarendon County (excluding Junee, Gundagai, and part of Wagga)	10.0
Mitchell County	4.3
Wynyard County (excluding Tumut, and part of Wagga)	12.2
Wagga Borough	61.0

4. Table 4: 2.

Table 4: 3. Ranking of Victorian (V) and New South Wales country towns (sample) according to proportions of brick and stone dwellings, 1861 and 1891

1861	1891
Bathurst	Bathurst
Goulburn	Orange
Liverpool	Goulburn
Newcastle	Mudgee
Albury	Castlemaine (V)
Wollongong	Wagga
Mudgee	Albury
Orange	Warrnambool (V)
Geelong (V)	Newcastle
Belfast (V)	Kilmore (V)
Braidwood	Belfast (V)
Warrnambool (V)	Braidwood
Kilmore (V)	Dubbo
Castlemaine (V)	Beechworth (V)
Armidale	Geelong (V)
Portland (V)	Portland (V)
Bendigo (V)	Bendigo (V)
Wagga	Armidale
Hamilton (V) / Dubbo	Wollongong
Beechworth (V)	Grafton
Ballarat (V)	Liverpool
Horsham (V)	Ararat (V)
Grafton	Hamilton (V)
Ararat (V)	Ballarat (V)
Creswick (V)	Horsham (V)
Moruya	Creswick (V)
	Moruya

colony is made clear when the towns are ranked together: these New South Wales towns were clearly superior as a group, especially when it is remembered that four of the best five Victorian towns in 1891 (Castlemaine, Kilmore, Belfast and Beechworth) achieved a high quality partly by default - that is, a decline in the total number of dwellings since 1861 had stripped away much inferior housing.

It is noticeable that the higher-ranked New South Wales towns in this sample are older towns, and while this is admissible in the sense that an older and a younger colony are being compared (in the sense, that is, that few Victorian towns can be considered old by New South Wales standards), it is true that many New South Wales towns of later foundation or development appear to have had lower proportions of brick and stone dwellings.[1]

---

1. Cf. the precentage of brick and stone dwellings in the following N. S. W. towns in 1891: Blayney, 31.9; Bourke, 16.3; Bowral, 25.1; Cootamundra, 40.7; Mittagong, 24.9; Narrandera, 17.0; Young, 26.9; Quirindi, 15.3. Note that it is unfortunately not possible to survey all towns of 1000 or more (as listed in the Appendix, below), since details of building materials are not consistently available for unincorporated towns.

Nevertheless, there is an interesting suggestion here, that the difference in overall performance of country towns in the two colonies - as expressed in growth-rates - may be reflected in a cultural difference expressed in terms of bricks and mortar. Of course, the bald data presented in these tables do not serve to sort out priorities among population growth and substantial home-building. And while a study of factors affecting the quality of housing in the three sample areas tends to support the idea of a cultural difference, it also reveals the inevitable complexity of individual cases. It is oversimple, for instance, to interpret the quality of housing in Creswick merely as a function of decline in a town which had lost the confidence of its dwindling population, or in Wagga as a function of vigorous growth in a town whose rosy future alone prompted the building of substantial houses.

It has been noted that it is wrong to think of Creswick simply as a declining town.[1] But while the 'urban' part of Creswick did not decline, it is true that its residential function gradually contracted as the mines moved out from the town, militating against the erection of substantial housing.[2] On the other hand, there was

---

1. See Chapter Three, above.
2. The idea that residential investment suffered because of the presence of more exciting alternatives in mining investment is somewhat diminished by the experience of other, more substantial, gold towns; and it cannot be argued that more solid residential investment in other gold towns was due to the lack of alternative investment opportunities in mining.

a measureable improvement in housing standards. The town had - especially in the sixties - a higher degree of temporary housing which, because it comprised chiefly one- or two-room dwellings, tended to deflate the proportion of brick and stone housing in relation to the total number of dwellings. In 1861, 563 non-Chinese lived in tents or other canvas dwellings, and 145 in slab, bark, or mud huts; and 1052, or 85 per cent., of Creswick's Chinese population lived in tents. By 1871 there had been a general improvement - most Europeans now lived in some form of 'permanent' housing, and the Chinese had graduated to slab, bark, and mud huts, but this still left Creswick with 25 per cent. of its housing of a temporary nature, mainly occupied by Chinese. As the Chinese dwindled, so the temporary dwellings disappeared: since 1871, then, the non-Chinese had lived in permanent housing, but the fact remains that only a very small proportion of this permanent housing was of a substantial nature [the greatest number of brick and stone houses at any census was in 1881, when they numbered only 59, representing 8.4 per cent. of permanent dwellings, or 6.8 per cent. of all dwellings].

In terms of the economics of available building materials, Creswick was advantageously situated - like most towns west of the Yarra River - to utilize local basaltic bluestone if the demand arose,

and there were no great obstacles to brick-making.[1] On the other hand, there was a strong incentive to building in timber, in the economies of scale to be derived from the utilization of an existing essential timber supply for mining purposes: sawn timber was, thus, cheaper in Creswick than in most parts of the colony.[2]

In Hamilton, however, no such special incentive to timber construction existed. Its district homesteads bore testimony to the abundance and accessibility of local bluestone, and the town's public buildings and existing brickyards[3] (and a small minority of dwellings) attested the feasibility of brick building construction. Nevertheless, a large majority of Hamilton townsmen were unwilling or unable to embark on anything more substantial than timber residential construction.

Wagga on the other hand, had a relatively high and rising proportion of brick and stone dwellings: thus, in 1891, 561 - or 61 per cent. - of its houses were of brick and stone (although only two of these were of stone). This situation is partly a reflection of available materials - it is true that the

---

1. Several brickyards operated in the Borough for most of the period - e.g. four yards in 1881 burnt 600,000 bricks - although there was only one still going in 1891.
2. Only in the nearby Central Ballarat, Buninyong, Gordon, and Hepburn mining divisions was it cheaper, or as cheap; cf. the table of approximate description, size, price, etc., of timber, in 'Mining Surveyors and Registrars' Reports', June, 1871, VPLAV, 1871, II, and June, 1874, VPLAV, 1874, III.
3. E.g., three yards in 1876 burnt an estimated 600,000 bricks.

disposition of resources encouraged brick construction. The Commissioner on sites for the seat of the Commonwealth Government reported in 1900 that granite was available within five miles of of Wagga,[1] but the stone used in Wagga seems to have come from further afield: for example, the new St. Michael's Roman Catholic church, opened in 1887, used sandstone from Oamaru (New Zealand) and Bundanoon (200 miles from Wagga), and granite from Gerogery (70 miles from Wagga);[2] Gerogery stone was also used to kerb some Wagga streets.[3] The Commonwealth sites Commissioner also reported the existence of slate, gravel, sand, and clay,[4] but noted that there was no sandstone.[5] He stated further that 'excellent bricks are burnt in Wagga', but that local timber was limited to colonial pine and river gum.[6] Lack of timber had been, and continued to be, one basis of agitation for a railway line from Wagga to Tumberumba, in the ranges to the east; here, it was argued in 1884, were to be found mountain ash, white and yellow box, blackwood and urabbi, ironbark, stringybark, and

---

1. Report of the Commissioner on Sites for the Seat of Government for the Commonwealth, (Sydney, 1900), 58.
2. Wagga Express Riverine Directory, 1890, 17.
3. c.f. Wagga Express, 4 Feb 1892.
4. Op. cit., 58.
5. Evidence of C. F. Bolton, former district surveyor, op. cit., 89.
6. Ibid., 58.

other timbers.[1] Within its first ten years, the messmate and appletree supporting piles of the much-lauded railway bridge approaches had succumbed to white-ant, dry rot, and high temperatures, and many ironbark replacements were necessitated.[2] At the sittings of a parliamentary committee in 1911, Wagga witnesses again turned envious eyes towards the timber resources of the mountain area. The grazier Sir Samuel McCaughey, M.L.C., and the local brewer H. S. Headley spoke of the mountain ash near Tumberumba;[3] the Town Clerk, R. Emblen, complained of the expensiveness of building materials,[4] while Charles Hardy, the timber merchant and building contractor, reaffirmed the scarcity of timber, and mentioned that hardwood had to be brought from Benalla, in Victoria (about 150 rail miles from Wagga).[5]

The high proportion of brick houses in Wagga, then, was encouraged by the relative absence of stone and timber, and the ready supply of suitable clay and a good water supply. However,

---

1. Wagga Wagga to Tumberumba Railway Extension Committee, Proposed Railway Line, from Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba. . . (Sydney, n.d. [1884]), 4,7.
2. Wagga Express Riverine Directory, 1890, 18.
3. N. S. W. Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, 'Report . . . relating to the proposed Railway from Wagga Wagga to Tumberumba', NSWPP (Joint), 1911, II, Qq. 194, 602.
4. Ibid., Q. 684.
5. Ibid., Q.

as noted above, the standard of building materials in Wagga was far superior to that of the surrounding rural areas, which stood in a similar relation as the town to sources of supply of materials. It is true of this, and of any other situation in which there is a differential in the building standards of a town and its hinterland, that factors other than availability of certain materials were at work; it is not the presence of bricks, but of a differential, that is important - the differential destroys the determining influence of the materials. This situation did not apply in the case of the Victorian towns, where the differential was slight. Although the differential in Wagga's case may still be partly attributable to the relative availability of materials, then, it is obvious that a full explanation must be posited in terms of a further differential of wealth and aspiration, in terms of function, and of urbanism itself.

Differences in the standards of building materials in various areas may also be related to the sizes of dwellings, and although of course the sizes of dwellings may reflect feelings of permanence or confidence, it is obvious that, for example, the proportion of small (and generally insubstantial) dwellings could materially affect the proportion of brick and stone dwellings in a town.[1] Unfortunately,

---

1. Thus, in a town of 100 two-roomed wooden houses and 25 eight-roomed brick houses, more than 50 per cent. of the population might be living in dwellings which comprised only 20 per cent. of total dwellings.

no cross-tabulations of size with building materials are available, while the figures for the numbers of people living within certain building materials are available only in very generalized groups, and only for the Victorian towns.

Neither the figures for the average number of persons to an inhabited dwelling, nor for the average number of rooms per dwelling are very revealing, and furthermore the latter are not available for New South Wales towns;[1] but the figures showing the numbers of dwellings of particular size-ranges do tend to modify the contrast between Wagga and the Victorian towns. Thus, it may reasonably be inferred that Wagga's relatively low proportion of very small dwellings has probably inflated the proportion which its brick and stone dwellings bore to its total dwellings, while the town's greater number of hotels will

---

1.

1891	Average number rooms per dwelling	Average number persons per inhabited dwelling
Creswick	4.9	4.6
Hamilton	5.1	5.4
Wagga	n.a.	5.5
Creswick Shire	4.9	5.0
Dundas Shire	5.1	5.3
Bourke County	n.a.	5.2
Clarendon Co.	n.a.	5.4
Wynyard Co.	n.a.	5.3
Mitchell Co.	n.a.	4.9
Victoria	5.2	5.1
N. S. W.	5.1	5.2

also have enchanced this inflation, though slightly.[1] Similarly, the relatively high proportion of very small dwellings in Creswick, and in Hamilton, will have tended to understate the actual rate of prevalence of superior building materials in relation to the numbers housed in brick and stone dwellings. Finally, the colonial figures, by similar inference, actually enchance the contrast between the colonies.

---

1. Numbers of dwellings of certain sizes, as percentage of total dwellings

1891	Creswick[a]	Hamilton[a]	Wagga[b]	Victoria	N. S. W.
1-2 rooms	15.8	13.6	6.8	11.9	19.2
3-6	64.7	57.0	67.7	65.4	60.7
7-10	13.0	17.5	16.1	15.4	15.1
11-15	3.2	3.9	5.5	2.9	3.4
16-20[c]	0.8	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.8
Over 20[c]	0.2	0.7	2.0	0.5	0.5
Not stated	2.0	6.4	0.6	3.8	Excluded
Total	99.7	100.2	99.9	100.6	99.7

a. all dwellings
b. inhabited dwellings
c. most over 20 rooms, and many of 16-20, were hotels.

The quantity of building construction

It is obvious that the building industry both reflected and contributed to town growth. Although it is true that towns could not, in the long term, grow simply by 'taking in their own washing',[1] there were certain dynamics or economies to be gained by a town in the process of its building itself. But while domestic building was tied fairly closely to net population movements, other types were naturally flexible or were deliberately designed to cater for future increase, especially public buildings and utilities. It is probable that this fact operated to upset the smoothness of growth-rates, a period in which a growing population required the provision of all types of buildings and services being followed by a period in which population increase alone did not entail an immediate augmentation of existing public facilities.[2] Creswick had reached this turning point during the sixties, and of course the lack of subsequent population increase militated against the eventual resumption of public building except in isolated cases. Hamilton reached this turning point by the end of the seventies.

---

1. See Chapter 5, below, for a discussion of 'basic' urban functions.
2. Similar periodic swings occurred in the provision of commercial and industrial services, but often indicated the absence, rather than the presence, of planning.

Its basic government buildings dated from the sixties; the railway was opened in 1877 (although two branch lines were to be built from the town during the eighties); a new state school, and the three main private schools of which the town was so proud, had been built during the seventies. Its mills had been built early, and the district hospital was established as early as 1862. The new Town Hall was opened in 1873, the Hamilton Club building and the new Bank of Victoria building in 1879. By then, too, the racecourse grandstand had been built, the Hamilton Gas Company works were operating, and the water supply works had been completed. Seven churches - catering for nine active denominations - had been built.

In Wagga, too, the bulk of public building, including railway buildings and works, had been executed in pace with the strong increase in population in the first two decades of the period; but the government buildings, in particular, had not anticipated the tempo of growth. Thus, although there was a slackening in public building in the first half of the eighties, a new Post Office had to be built at the end of the decade, and several massive ventures - the new St Michael's church (1887), and the mills of Henry Hayes (1885) and the Murrumbidgee Co-operative Milling Company Limited (1891) - were also undertaken in those years.

The volume of residential construction was more closely tied to population numbers and characteristics, although towns were often alive to the possibility that the existence of facilities such as building societies could themselves influence growth. A Hamilton editor, as early as 1864, pointed out that the town's progress had depended on individual effort, but that stronger growth might be achieved by other means.[1] He felt that Hamilton's reputation as a progressive town was not justified: although its streets were 'businesslike', and 'the division of trade' had been introduced, its actual population growth had been 'really almost insignificant'. The main reason, he thought, was lack of housing; and although overbuilding would be injurious,[2] a 'legitimate increase' in housing should be facilitated through a building society, which would lend on moderate terms while still returning a profit to subscribers.

Hamilton's first building society was formed in 1865, and although it was succeeded by others which operated throughout the period, the peak of building society influence (gauged in terms of

---

1. HS, 3 Aug 1864.
2. Note that Hamilton, sometimes described as the 'Chicago of the West', preferred the appellation 'Athens of the West', and rationalized its later slow growth by extolling the virtues of solidity and steadiness of growth.

membership) was reached by the early seventies,[1] tieing in with the reduced population growth-rate of the town in the seventies and eighties, which involved net out-migration from some age cohorts. The Wagga Wagga Benefit Building and Investment Society was registered in 1870, growing from a base population very similar to that of Hamilton in 1865; and, like the Hamilton societies, it was a venture which persisted throughout this period.[2] Creswick, on the other hand, lacked an indigenous building society.

Although Creswick was declining, there was a certain amount of residential building activity; there was an underswell of movement from 'temporary' to 'permanent' dwellings, particularly among the non-Chinese majority, in the sixties and again in the seventies. Although the quality of such dwellings was not generally high, the figures for room-numbers of dwellings[3] indicate that building activity - be it new construction or additions to existing structures - continued in Creswick throughout the period up to 1891. In other words, there was scope for a building society.

---

1. E.g., the Hamilton Mutual Benefit and Investment, and the Hamilton Permanent Building, societies in 1871 had a combined membership of 385, out of a town population of 2349; see 'Accumulation', 12-13, SRV, 1871.
2. Official details are available only from 1894 onwards; see SRNSW, 1894, 379.
3. Tabulated in each census.

In this case, then, the symptom of Creswick's decline was not a complete absence of building activity, but rather the reliance on facilities other than an indigenous building society: for it is highly probable that the town utilized building society facilities in nearby Ballarat, to which it became in many ways suburban.[1] After all, Clunes and Talbot - both declining gold towns, but further afield from Ballarat - each had its own building society.[2]

---

1. See Chapter 6, Section iii, below.
2. Admittedly, Clunes experienced rapid population growth at the beginning of the period, but (as far as decennial census figures allow us to judge) this growth was chiefly a phenomenon of the 1860s. After that, its population fell steadily: and yet its building society was not established until 1873, and was still operating in 1891.

Chapter 5. The Functions of the Towns

One aspect of towns functions - namely, the changing proportions of people in productive and non-productive functions in each town - has already been briefly sketched, and it was seen that town population growth-rates often masked important proportional changes in the towns as productive units.[1] On another level of generality, it may be said that Hamilton and Wagga were pastoral service towns, and that Creswick was a mining town; but these are descriptions drawn from the generalized location of the towns, without necessarily referring to their origin, specific location, or changing functions.[2] This chapter examines the towns' functions, chiefly their economic functions, but taking some account of those non-economic functions which at least reflected growth in a qualitative sense; taking account, that is, of cultural as well as economic growth.

Town functions, both economic and non-economic, may be usefully viewed in terms of the 'basic-nonbasic' concept, familiar

---

1. Chapter Three, above.
2. For an attempt to improve on such unsatisfactory single-function classifications, see R. H. T. Smith, 'The Functions of Australian Towns', Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, LVI, No. 3, May 1965.

to urban geographers.[1] Functions are regarded as 'basic' to the extent to which they provide a livelihood, rather than simply a subsistence, for the town or some of its inhabitants. A town may feed, educate, amuse, and to some extent govern itself, but these are 'non-basic functions', not necessarily involving money, people, or goods outside the town. Basic functions are necessary for growth (although they do not guarantee population growth), and the most common such functions in inland towns were the provision of tertiary services to a primary-industrial hinterland - and in mining towns this 'hinterland' might be physically part of the town - and the manufacture of goods for a market wider than the town. Country towns in both colonies were, however, characteristically unable to develop specialized tertiary or secondary industrial services to penetrate markets further than their immediate geographical hinterlands. Hinterlands were, of course, not inflexible; nor did all country towns grow at the same rate; and although in each colony the most significant urban hierarchy was that which had the metropolis at its head, hierarchies did develop on a regional basis in each colony; but nevertheless the country towns were, with a few exceptions,

---

1. See J. W. Alexander, 'The Basic-Nonbasic Concept of Urban Economic Functions', in H. M. Mayer and C. F. Kohn (ed.), Readings in Urban Geography, (Chicago, 1959), for a discussion of the concept, and Smith, op. cit., for an application of the appropriate techniques to Australian towns in 1954.

essentially regional in the exercise of their basic functions. Subsequent chapters therefore examine the propensities to country town growth in each of the three sample regions.

Individual business and other institutional records alone can reveal the exact market reached by urban commodities and services, but some idea of the towns' basic functions can be gained by matching the distribution of occupations in the colonies with their distribution in the towns; the former indicate the per capita requirements, as it were, from each branch of industry, and the latter indicate the extent to which the towns met or exceeded their own requirements. Unfortunately, occupations were tabulated for country towns only in the 1861 and 1871 censuses, and subsequent data from directories and other informal sources can only be used to gain a very rough impression of the relative importance of the various branches of urban activity.

Hamilton in 1861 presented a conventional picture of a small rural service centre.[1] It was already supplying a wider area with administrative, judicial and professional services, a function which was to become of greater proportional significance as the town grew. Already, commercial (as distinct from governmental and professional) tertiary services absorbed half of the borough's

---

1. Table 5: 1.

Table 5: 1. Distribution of occupations in Hamilton, 1861, 1871, 1884, 1891 (percentages, with 1861 and 1871 colonial percentages in brackets).

Occupation	1861		1871		1884		1891
Professional and government	8.2	(4.1)	9.5	(5.6)	13.5	(20.0)[a]	31.5
Tertiary industry							
Hotels, personal service, domestics	18.2	(10.5)	18.4	(11.9)	6.0	(8.9)	7.4
Commerce, finance, property, etc.	9.4	(9.4)	13.3	(9.4)	17.5	(25.9)	32.0
Transport and communications	7.1	(4.5)	6.3	(5.1)	4.5	(6.6)	3.1
Building and construction	15.3	(8.7)	12.3	(8.5)	6.3	(9.2)	2.8
Total tertiary	50.0	(32.7)	50.0	(34.9)	34.3	(50.6)	45.3
Secondary industry							
Manufacturing, maintenance, utilities	15.5	(9.9)	20.5	(15.1)	19.5	(28.9)	23.1
Primary industry							
Agricultural, mixed farming	18.4	(15.3)	8.8	(18.5)	29.7	-	-
Pastoral	1.0	(3.6)	1.0	(2.4)	2.5	-	-
Misc., uncertain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining, quarrying	-	(30.9)	-	(18.1)	-	-	-
Total primary	19.5	(49.9)	10.2	(39.1)	32.2	-	-
Misc., undefined (including unskilled labour	6.7	(3.4)	9.7	(5.4)	-	-	-

Sources: 1861 and 1871 Censuses; Wise's The Victoria Post Office Commercial Directory, (Melbourne, 1884), 152-4; Hamilton Spectator Almanac, 1891, 15-21.

a. As explained in text, these are not colonial figures in brackets, but are percentages of a total which omits the large number of farmers included in the 'Hamilton' entry of that directory.

workforce, although not all of the components were as yet basic to the town's economy. Thus, while the town appears to have served a wider population in watering and accommodation (hotels), in personal services, in transport and communications, and in building and construction generally, its commercial, financial and property services appear to have subsisted, at least in net terms, merely through servicing the town itself.[1] In secondary industry,

---

1. It is noticeable from Tables 5:1 and 5:2 that in both 1861 and 1871 there was a much higher percentage of people involved in 'building and construction' in the workforce of Victoria than in that of the faster-growing New South Wales (their population growth-rates in that decade being 35.3 per cent. and 43.8 per cent., respectively). While this apparent discrepancy derives partly from a lack of precise parity in the census categories of the two colonies, it derives too from a stronger trend towards permanent housing, and a greater concentration on some public works in Victoria. In that colony, the total number of dwellings rose by only 24,149 between 1861 and 1871, but this overall increase masked a rise of 57,760 in the number of 'permanent' dwellings. In New South Wales at the same time, total inhabited dwellings rose by 29,119, while the actual increment in 'permanent' dwellings was somewhere between 22,110 and 34,083 (the nature of the 1861 enumeration not allowing an exact comparison). The exact increases in brick and stone dwellings are ascertainable, being 14,471 in Victoria, and 9,858 in N. S. W. Further, while similar mileages of railways were constructed in each colony during this decade, gross capital formation on roads was two to three times greater in Victoria (Butlin, Table 68, op. cit., 316).

the town had already experienced the accretion of manufacturing and artisan services (the census tabulations do not permit a real separation of these functions) to an economically basic level. Like other small settlements, Hamilton had in its workforce a large proportion of agriculturalists or agricultural labourers; it is probable that many of these lived - and worked - in the rural environs of the town, within the Borough boundaries. Others may have lived in the town proper, but the lack of ratebooks makes it impossible to pinpoint exactly the extent to which the town itself provided residential services for primary producers. The low proportion of primary producers in the Borough as compared with the colony figure does not, incidentally, attest to a high degree of urbanization in Hamilton, but rather to an inflation of the colony figure through the large numbers engaged in gold mining. Nevertheless, the occupational or functional pattern of Hamilton in 1861 was distinctly urban (and had by 1961 changed only in degree, with increased emphasis on tertiary and professional services, and a diminution of the proportion of primary producers in the workforce).

By 1871, the primary industrial element in Hamilton Borough's workforce had fallen absolutely since 1861, and now

had barely half the share it had enjoyed at the beginning of the period, much of its share going to secondary industry, which now absorbed one fifth of the workforce. The town more than maintained itself as a centre of administrative and professional services, almost doubling its numbers, and slightly increasing its proportion, of people engaged in these services. The proportion in tertiary services remained the same as in 1861, that is, half of the workforce. Watering and accommodation continued to be the most important single tertiary service (and again the second most important or numerous occupation category); by now, the commercial services offered by the town - retail and wholesale marketing, banking and insurance, stock and real estate agency - had evidently been accepted to the extent of raising that function into the ranks of those which were basic to the town's economy. On the other hand, the relative importance of transport and communications as an employment factor had declined, as had the town's building and construction function (suggesting - for arbitrary census dates can play havoc with accurate periodization -

that the slackening in Hamilton's population growth, so noticeable after the sixties, had begun before 1871).

As the period progressed, Hamilton's livelihood continued to rest more firmly on three main functions, in the provision of professional and government services,[1] and of commercial and financial services, and in manufacturing, artisan, and maintenance activities. It is probable that by the end of the period the town's hotel and personal service, transport and communications, and building and construction functions had ceased to be basic to its economy, even though the decline in their relative importance was partly a reflection of a society with a more settled population and a more efficient transport

---

1. One of the problems in using directories for occupational information is that they generally reflected community values in their enumeration of occupations. Officials and professional men were much more likely to be listed than, say, labourers - or, for that matter, employees in general. Note that the proportion of farmers in 1884-5 derived from the fact that Hamilton's rural environs were included in making the entry for that directory (the figures in brackets are percentages of a total which omits farmers and squatters). Although these men - Scots and Germans, most of them - described themselves as 'farmers', the low lever of cultivation in Hamilton Borough and Dundas Shire indicates that they were either subsistence farmers, mixed farmers, or sheepfarmers, rather than commercial agriculturalists.

system.[1]

Although a settlement of only about one hundred dwellings, Wagga in 1861 - like the larger Hamilton - already had a distinctly urban flavour about its occupational structure.[2] Professional and tertiary services already absorbed nearly half of its workforce, and probably a little over half if one allows an equitable distribution of miscellaneous and undefined workers. The numerically largest single functions were those of watering and accommodation and personal services, and the housing of agriculturalists. The latter function was to lose much of its importance over the next decade, but the former persisted into the twentieth century, Wagga achieving a certain notoriety for the number of its hotels. The proportions of the workforce involved directly in transport and in building in 1861 seem relatively low in a town which was known as a transport centre or node, and which was building rapidly at this time. However, many of the relatively large number of workers in secondary industry were

---

1. By 1961, Hamilton had become much more a single-function town, with commercial and financial service clearly its single major basic function. Government and professional services provided much employment, but did not greatly exceed the town's own per capita requirements, while manufacturing was at a relatively low ebb. Though much larger now, the town had become functionally simplified.
2. Table 5: 2.

Table 5: 2. Distribution of occupations in Wagga, 1861, 1871, 1884, 1889-91 (percentages, with 1861 and 1871 colonial percentages in brackets).

Occupation	1861		1871		1884	1889-91
Professional and government	6.0	(3.8)	8.9	(4.7)	18.8	18.0
Tertiary industry						
Hotels, personal service, domestics	20.0	(12.5)	24.8	(12.7)	19.6	13.4
Commerce, finance, property, etc.	9.8	(7.0)	12.8	(7.8)	31.3	28.9
Transport and communications	8.4	(9.2)	6.9	(8.0)	0.4	6.1
Building and construction	3.9	(1.8)	4.6	(1.8)	2.5	3.9
Total tertiary	42.1	(30.4)	49.2	(30.3)	53.8	52.3
Secondary industry						
Manufacturing, maintenance, utilities	15.1	(11.0)	22.5	(13.4)	25.4	25.5
Primary industry						
Agricultural, mixed farming	20.4	(24.5)	7.3	(23.7)	0.8	3.8
Pastoral	4.2	(9.0)	1.1	(9.0)	0.8	-
Misc., uncertain	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining, quarrying	-	(13.3)	-	(9.4)	-	-
Total primary	24.6	(46.8)	8.9	(42.1)	-	3.8
Misc., undefined (including unskilled labour)	12.3	(8.1)	10.5	(9.6)	-	-

Sources: 1861 and 1871 Censuses; Sands' Country Directory of New South Wales for 1884-5, (Sydney, 1884), 297-302; Sand's Country Directory and Gazetteer of New South Wales for 1889-1890, (Sydney, 1889), 347-507, and Wagga Express Riverine Directory, 1891, 20-29.

engaged in activities - such as saddlery and joinery - ancillary to transport and building.

By 1871 Wagga had further thrown off the vestiges of its rural hamlet days. Since 1861, the number of rural workers living in the town had remained almost constant, but their share of the workforce had plunged as there grew around them the banks, shops and offices of an administrative and tertiary service centre. In a colony in which, overall, one third of the workforce was engaged in tertiary industry, Wagga had fifty per cent. of its force so engaged, indicating that it had physically annexed to itself the dispensation of these functions for a much wider population than its own. The manufacturing and maintenance functions had assumed an even greater absolute and relative importance, and again it may be conjectured that this group contained many who might as appropriately be added to the transport and building groups.

After 1871, Wagga, like Hamilton, continued to grow as a conventional service centre, that is, a town relying heavily on the dispensation of commercial and financial services as a basic function. Government and professional functions continued to remain important, keeping ahead of the town's own per capita requirements; manufacturing and maintenance activities at the end of the period were still a major source of employment, but

their proportional contribution to the workforce had apparently increased but little since the beginning of the seventies. The importance of hotels and personal services - Wagga's largest and most basic function in 1861 and 1871 - had diminished by the end of the period, after an over-response to the railway; nevertheless Wagga's geographical position meant that this, and the transport and communications function, remained relatively more important than in Hamilton (or Creswick).[1]

Creswick in 1861 was utterly different from Hamilton and Wagga, which, it may be assumed, were conventional rural service centres.[2] Indeed, Creswick's claim to urbanism was that it was a concentrated mining settlement, comprising - or, as it were, offering - agglomerated residential and (at this time), employment facilities for gold-diggers, who must be classified here as extractive primary producers, although as a group they were, geographically, highly concentrated. Creswick, then, exemplified a quite different criterion of urbanism, yet it is

---

1. By 1961, Wagga had consolidated its position as a regional centre in professional and government functions, including administration and higher education. As in Hamilton, its largest function was the dispensation of commercial and financial services, but its professional and government function was nearly as large an employer, and was markedly more basic in the degree to which it exceeded the town's own per capita requirements.
2. Table 5: 3.

Table 5: 3. Distribution of occupations in Creswick, 1861, 1871, 1882 (percentages, with 1861 and 1871 colonial percentages in brackets).

Occupation	1861		1871		1882
Professional and government	2.3	(4.1)	3.7	(5.6)	5.6
Tertiary industry					
Hotels, personal service, domestics	5.5	(10.5)	8.6	(11.9)	4.8
Commerce, finance, property, etc.	9.2	(9.0)	9.1	(9.4)	18.4
Transport and communications	3.0	(4.5)	2.3	(5.1)	4.0
Building and construction	4.2	(8.7)	4.3	(8.5)	1.9
Total tertiary	22.1	(32.7)	24.3	(34.9)	29.1
Secondary industry					
Manufacturing, maintenance, utilities	7.0	(9.9)	10.6	(15.1)	12.1
Primary industry					
Agricultural, mixed farming	3.8	(15.3)	3.6	(18.5)	4.0
Pastoral	-	(3.6)	0.2	(2.4)	1.1
Misc., uncertain	-	-	1.2	-	-
Mining, quarrying	63.6	(30.9)	54.4	(18.1)	48.2
Total primary	67.6	(49.9)	59.4	(39.1)	53.3
Misc., undefined (including unskilled labour)	1.0	(3.4)	1.8	(5.4)	-

Sources: 1861 and 1871 Censuses; Niven's Ballarat and District Directory, (1882), 134-44, adjusted according to Table 5: 4, note b., below.

a valid one. In professional, tertiary, and secondary services, the town was generally quite dependent, or at best (in the case of general commercial, finance and property services) self-sufficient. In its relative lack of agricultural and pastoral primary producers alone did Creswick's urbanism resemble that of Hamilton and Wagga. It should be noted, incidentally, that as in the case of other boroughs (and where they existed these were the statistical units), not all primary producers - or, for that matter, any other members of the workforce - necessarily worked or even resided in the town itself [except in those rare cases, not specifically relevant to the present study, of exceptionally small borough acreage]. However, in the case of mining localities, the reservation from freehold of all auriferous ground served to restrict or discourage the building there of permanent or semi-permanent habitations, and thus - after the rush days - confined and concentrated the limits of residential settlement. In terms of population density, of course, Creswick in 1861 was the most pre-eminently urban of the three small towns studied.

Internally, Creswick's functional structure had changed little by 1871. Proportionally, the mining component was slightly reduced, and the professional and tertiary components had risen slightly, indicating that the large numerical decrease in mining

had not entailed an exactly parallel decrease in other functions. This raises a number of possibilities: that many miners had simply quit the town as a dormitory, but continued to live and work nearby (whether as miners or as farmers, timber-getters or labourers), and to rely on the town for other than residential services; that the townspeople were now less dependent in some services then they had been in 1861; that the professional and commercial sectors contained a resilience, an optimism, or an inertia - or a mixture of these - which was not found to the same degree in the gold-mining community. There is no doubt that all of these factors had some force, but it is necessary first to examine the comparative functional structure of the town. First, the proportion of Victoria's workforce employed in professional and tertiary services had also risen. Second, the proportional decline in mining was much sharper in the Victorian than in the Creswick workforce: thus, despite the large numerical and slight proportional drop in Creswick, the town's mining character was now relatively more pronounced than before.

By 1882, the town's occupational structure had changed in two main ways: the proportion of miners in the town, though still high, had dropped, and there had been a large proportional increase in its commercial and financial function. Both changes

can be explained in terms of the mining revival at Creswick:[1] this occurred during the seventies and, especially, the eighties, but the chief scene of operations was a little - and increasingly - north of the town. Some miners were drawn from residence in Creswick to residence elsewhere but, together with many other miners who came to the new field, continued to regard Creswick as their most immediate entrepot. Commerce and finance, transport and communications thus became relatively more important, and although it was not really growing at this time Creswick was a very busy town. There is no adequate directory for the town in the late eighties or early nineties, but its functional changes after 1882 may be confidently inferred: with the aid of a railway which traversed the new gold field in 1886, a new town appeared among the mines, and villages were refurbished, diminishing the basicness of Creswick's tertiary functions; and a mining depression in 1890 saw the beginnings of the final major exodus of miners.[2]

---

1. See Chapter Six, below.
2. In 1961, Creswick was functionally a microcosm of the Victorian workforce; in density of settlement, it remained urban, but in its functions it reclined in a middling position along the urban-rural continuum.

Primary industry

Although it is true that the presence of non-primary industrial occupations is a general characteristic of all towns,[1] this does not entail the absence of elements of primary industry within towns. N. G. Butlin has suggested, for example, that a factor in nineteenth century Australian urbanization was the net inflow, from rural to urban residence, of people engaged in primary industry.[2] This important proposition is difficult to test,[3] but it appears unlikely that agricultural or pastoral personnel ever formed a high percentage of Australian country town population.[4] It was different with mining towns: most grew up in the thick of any diggings which appeared to have good prospects, often moving with the miners' camps until it was judged that a fairly permanent establishment could survive. In mining towns such as Creswick, then, there was at least initially a high proportion of extractive primary producers; and it follows that simple population figures

---

1. Cf. J. A. Quinn, Urban Sociology, (New York, 1955), 15: 'The basic kind of specialization that differentiates cities from farm communities is that of nonagricultural occupations'.
2. 'Urbanization and Industrial Development', in Seminar on Australian Economic and Social History 1840-1900, (typescript, A. N. U., 1958), 2.
3. J. M. Richmond, 'Hamilton and Creswick: Migration and Logistics', (unpublished paper, A. N. U., 1964), 6-8.
4. This was certainly true of Hamilton and Wagga.

may not be a good basis on which to compare mining and non-mining towns, and that the growth or decline of mining towns may possibly consist simply in the movement in or out of mining primary producers, leaving the 'urban outfit' of the town more or less intact.

It is true that a large majority of Creswick's workforce in 1861 comprised primary producers, chiefly miners.[1] Again in 1871 they were a majority, though reduced, and in 1881 still formed over half of the workforce. If the towns are analysed in terms of their non-primary, or 'urban', populations (assuming that marital status and fertility were unrelated to occupation), it may be seen that Hamilton and Wagga, though both still smaller than Creswick in 1871, already had larger 'urban' populations.[2] It may be seen, too, that the declining Creswick itself experienced slight increases in its 'urban' population in the sixties, and again in the seventies. The fact that the mining depopulation of Creswick Borough was accompanied by slight urban growth confirms the relocation, and even augmentation, of departing miners in areas not far distant from the town. In relation to these miners, then, the town lost its dormitory function, but not its other service functions.

---

1. Table 5: 4.
2. Idem.

Table 5: 4. The non-primary producing population of Creswick, 1861, 1871, and 1881, and of Hamilton and Wagga, 1861 and 1871.

			Non-primary producers		
	Population	Workforce	Number in Workforce	Percentage Workforce	Number in Population
Creswick					
1861	4714	2831	919	32.4	1527
1871	3969	1900	771	40.6	1624
1881	3731	1629[a]	762[b]	46.8	1746
Hamilton					
1861	1197	473	380	80.4	962
1871	2349	844	760	90.0	2114
Wagga					
1861	627	285	215	75.4	473
1861	1858	750	679	90.5	1681

Sources: 1861 and 1871 Censuses; for 1881 sources, see notes below.

a. Estimated workforce, comprising males and unmarried females 15-64; actual occupation figures unavailable for towns after 1871.

b. Compromise figure based on the enumeration of miners in Niven's Ballarat and District Directory, (1882), 134-44 (Creswick Street Directory), and 'Mining Surveyors and Registrars' Reports for the Quarter ending 30th June, 1881', VPLAV, 1881, II; three-sevenths of the 700 names listed in the former were miners (and 3/7 x 1629= c.700), while the latter suggests that perhaps 880 miners lived in Creswick. A compromise figure of 790 miners leaves a residual workforce of approximately 839, and because another 5.1 per cent. of the workforce were in other primary industries, the number of non-primary producers in the workforce reduces again to 762.

Secondary industry

Although it has been observed that urbanization in Australia did not depend on secondary industry, it was nevertheless felt, then as now, that the chief hope for employment opportunities - and, more important, for breaking the shackles of regionality[1] - in country towns lay in manufacturing. This was one field in which it was clear that country towns in general could not rely on State support. The State did impinge - or attempt to impinge - on manufacturing in several ways, but was never guided by a policy of decentralization. Overall tariff policy, for example, was an issue of extreme political importance at times, but neither protection in Victoria nor freetrade in New South Wales was designed with a view to affecting the actual distribution of manufacturing through each colony. Freight rate concessions on the State railways could have been used to encourage country manufacturing, but were, if anything, scheduled - intentionally or otherwise - in such a way as to discourage such enterprise.[2] The other main area in which Government could affect manufacturing was in letting out work on contract, and although country town manufacturers could benefit - for

1. See introduction to Chapter 6, below.
2. See Chapter 8, Section iii, below.

instance the Phoenix Foundry at Ballarat, and Block Bros., Warrnambool and Hamilton watchmakers, relied heavily on the Victorian Government - the acceptance of tenders was not guided by any social policy.

i. Manufacturing in Victoria and New South Wales

Manufacturing in the country towns,[1] and in the colonies as a whole, was restricted throughout this period to the unsophisticated and often small-scale treatment of agricultural and pastoral products to meet purely local and essential demands, and to the secondary industrial servicing of essential tertiary industries, especially building and transport. Butlin contends that in no Australian colony was industrial activity necessarily confined to urban centres, nor was there a continuous trend to concentrate industrial activity in urban locations;[2] this is true in a way, but nevertheless it is true, too, that much manufacturing was confined to urban contres, and that there was a trend both to the concentration of manufacturing in urban locations and to concentration at certain points within the urban sector.

---

1. Part ii, below, discusses manufacturing in the three sample towns, and except where otherwise indicated is based on data from SRV, SRNSW, and local and colonial directories and gazetteers.
2. Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900, (Cambridge, 1964), 201.

Obviously some industries, such as brickmaking, tended to be fixed in their location, and remained decentralized to the same extent that population was decentralized. But in flour-milling and brewing, and in the treatment of non-dairying pastoral products, there was an increasing centralization - in the metropolises, and in certain country towns such as Geelong and Ballarat - of manufacturing employment. In each industry, the numbers of concerns were decentralized, and the decline in these numbers affected metropolitan and country concerns alike, but the accompanying expansion in the average scale of concerns was much greater in the metropolises.

However, there was a valid difference between the colonies in the distribution of brewing. The trend to monopolization and geographical rationalization of brewing was quite marked in Victoria in this period, whereas in New South Wales the trend - in both Sydney and the country - was to an increase in the number of concerns rather than in scale, and the industry remained relatively decentralized. This difference captures, in the microcosm of the brewing industry, the essential contrast in the patterns of urbanization in the two colonies between 1861 and 1891.[1] On the

---

1. Cf., Butlin, op. cit., 210.

other hand, Butlin errs, too, in stating, for instance, that tanning remained essentially rural.[1] Tanning was highly metropolized in Victoria by 1891, and was also concentrated in Geelong and Ballarat. A relatively large number of tanneries are classified under 'Shires' in the Statistical Registers, but some of these were in unincorporated towns, and others were necessarily - for this is a noxious industry - situated just outside the boroughs.

Nevertheless, despite the increasing metropolization of manufacturing employment, much secondary industry did continue to be decentralized; however, the limited overall extent of secondary industry meant that country towns did not draw great strength from this decentralization.

---

1. Ibid., 202.

ii. Manufacturing in Hamilton, Creswick and Wagga

The most constant of secondary industrial concerns in Hamilton during this period was Peter Learmonth's Grange Burn flour mill, which was already in operation as the period opened, and was still owned and operated by him as the period ended. In a way, it is wrong to classify this mill as a 'Hamilton secondary industry treating local primary produce', and yet its very characteristics reveal much about the development of Hamilton in this period: the mill was not actually within the town; it was operated by a man who - although also active in several town activities - resided on and worked a pastoral property near the town, achieving success with wool-growing; and the mill relied very much, as is obvious from the district's agricultural statistics, on primary produce from outside the Hamilton district.

Born in Edinburgh in 1821, Learmonth had joined a brother in Van Diemen's Land in 1840, and after subsequent spells on the Californian and Victorian goldfields, decided to become a grazier. While looking for a property, he used his time well by managing Francis Henty's Merino Downs station, and by marrying into one of those many other families - Pearson, of Retreat, near Casterton - which had come from Scotland, via Tasmania, to the Western District

of Victoria. He also bought a few town allotments at nearby Hamilton, and in 1859 moved to Prestonholme, close by that town, and erected a flour mill, with the aid of £2,000 raised by mortgaging his town and borough holdings.[1] His twin interests were successful; continuing to operate the Grange Burn mill, he also built or purchased other mills at Sandford, Byaduk, and Penshurst (west, south, and south-east from Hamilton), becoming - it is said - 'one of the biggest millers in Victoria'. He expanded the Prestonholme property to over 1,000 acres, and became a breeder of fine wool; he also built up, by purchase, the Corea estate (near Dunkeld).[2] Peter Learmonth was also in business in Hamilton as a stock and station agent, merchant, insurance agent, and agent of the

---

1. Melville Title No. 916; other biographical details of Peter Learmonth are derived from A. Henderson, Australian Families, I, (Melbourne, 1941), 256-60, D. Budge and L. Jenkins, Dundas Shire Centenary 1863-1963, (Hamilton, 1963), 27-8, 33, the local Hamilton and Victorian directories for the period, and Lands Department maps indicating the alienation of township borough, and parish lands.
2. For a time, he also had a one-third's partnership in the 246,000 acre Nacimiento Ranche in Mexico.

Ballarat Banking Co.[1]

Hamilton's other early mill-owner, John Hutcheson - who set up in about 1857 - was similar to Learmonth in that he had, and retained, pastoral interests as well; but, unlike Learmonth, he quite eschewed any participation in the town's non-business life.

The Hutcheson brothers - John, George, and David - had been in the Grant County country since at least 1842; they held the licence for Runnymede station (near Casterton) from 1846, and for Mt. Struan station (further south, near Digby) from 1848; the latter station passed to John Hutcheson alone in 1863.[2] He and

---

1. Apart from his commercial interests in Hamilton, he was prodigiously active in almost every phase of the town's life - religious and moral (a prominent Methodist, and president of the Total Abstinence Society), educational and recreational (a founder and director of the Hamilton and Western District College and of Alexandra College, and active in College sporting organization, as well as being a local manager of the Common School), charitable (president of the Hospital Committee 1874-92), promotional (committee member, and, later, a trustee of the P. and A. Society, and secretary of the Juvenile Exhibition in 1891), judical (a J. P. from the mid-sixties until his death, and Returning Officer for Dundas for many years), and municipal (a member of the Borough Council, a member of the Shire Council 1864-9 and 1871-3, and president of the latter body 1866-9 and 1872-3). If his elder brother Alexander - who slightly preceded him to Hamilton, but who predeceased him by 20 years - was known as 'the father of Hamilton', it is hard to know how to characterise Peter Learmonth, whose interests were broader, covered a much wider span of time, and were continued after his death by several of his seven sons and three daughters.
2. R. V. Billis and A. S. Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, (Melbourne, 1932), 72, 227, 245.

his brothers were among the early purchasers of town land in Hamilton, in 1852 and 1853. While at Runnymede, John Hutcheson bought three lots in what continued to develop into the business centre of the town.[1] He also acquired three Hamilton parish lots from the Crown, two aggregating about 75 acres on the banks of the Grange Burn a little downstream from the town, and another of nearly 70 acres on the opposite bank. It would appear that the establishment of a mill by John and George Hutcheson was stimulated by a spurt of local agricultural activity - on the Grange Burn, Muddy Creek, Hochkirk, and further afield at Mt Rouse, Coleraine and Dunkeld - which in turn took its rise from the Ararat gold diggings (as well as the natural increase of Hamilton's population). The mill was operated by Hutcheson and then - after his death at the beginning of the seventies - by his executors (in effect, his widow) until the late seventies. It is surprising that the two mills - Learmonth's and Hutcheson's - stayed in operation as long as they did; the Ararat diggings soon slowed to less than a rush, and as the Hamilton Spectator commentators observed in 1876,

---

1. Melville Title No. 880; when in 1857 he released two of these lots to Donald Cameron, of Morgiana, and John Quigley, the Bochara innkeeper, Hutcheson described himself as 'miller', rather than as a pastoral licensee.

> The acreage under grain . . . is now very small, the land through continuous cropping having in many instances ceased to give payable or productive harvests; and yet flour is cheap, owing to the competition of the neighbouring colony of South Australia, where special facilities exist for cheap production, and the cultivation clauses of the Land Acts under which extensive selection has occurred on the Glenelg and in the Wimmera chiefly by persons formerly engaged in farming or labouring pursuits in the Hamilton district. 1

Moreover, this observation was closely followed by the rail link, making the Hamilton market more accessible to metropolitan millers.

Despite this, and the continued decline in local wheat acreages, there continued to be two mills operating in the town for most of the period;[2] however, the output of mills in this region did drop steeply.[3] Hamilton's mills fell far short of the ideal of a fruitful partnership between local farmer and local miller,

---

1. HS Almanac, 1876, 136-7; South Australia, aided by the proximity of its wheatlands to the seaboard, had gained early importance as an exporter of wheat and flour; the new technique of roller milling also saw early and wide adoption in that colony.
2. Learmonth's mill worked without interruption, and the role of second miller was, after the Hutcheson family, assumed in turn by the former publican Charles Pilven, the Hamilton Co-operative Milling Co. Ltd. (registered in December, 1882, and wound up in January, 1884), and the North Hamilton farmer, Carl Hartwich.
3. (a) Bushels of wheat produced, and (b) bushels of wheat milled, Dundas Shire, 1869-91:

Year	1869	1871	1876	1881	1886	1891
(a)	91487	80250	17407	20610	14625	9508
(b)	75000	57605	63708	54911	37400	25517

milling a product destined for distant markets; production was for the local market only, much of the raw material had to be brought in from outside the district, and the mills themselves were either short-lived or were conducted by men bolstered by substantial pastoral interests, men who were not strictly townsmen, or even farmers.

In Creswick and Creswick Shire, there was a decline in the number of mills throughout the period, but particularly in the late sixties and early seventies, in association with declining population and declining wheat acreages. The mainstays of milling in this period were Thomas J. Laby's mill in Creswick, which operated from the early 1860s to the early 1880s, and the Anderson Brothers' mill at Smeaton. The history of milling in the town in this period ended in 1888, although the Anderson mill continued for many years. The prospects for flour-milling appeared bright at the beginning of the 1860s; in the town, the mills of Laby and of Hassall and Monckton (of Ballarat and Creswick), and probably several small concerns, were operating, and at least one prospective miller had been prevented from starting. This was the case of McGhie, who, in 1860, wished to have a site on Eastern Hill, abutting on Victoria Street, for a flour mill.[1] His application was refused because the

---

1. CA, 13 Apr 1860.

Chief Secretary had instructed the local Commissioner to enforce the Gold Fields Act, whereby all storekeepers, brickmakers and others occupying Crown lands within a quarter of a mile of the township would be compelled to move.[1] Thus, the theme of a struggle for land, which characterises the shire at large in this period, was present in the affairs of the town also.

In the shire at the beginning of the 1860s, Captain John Hepburn's mill was operating at Smeaton: here the Smeaton, Spring Hill, and Bullarook agricultural show was held in 1860.[2] A Smeaton correspondent of the Creswick Advertiser that year expressed his surprise that there were not more flour mills: the land was 'splendid chocolate soil', and 'the Smeaton farmers appear to be a pushing-class of people; they are principally Scotchmen'.[3] In the following year, a short-lived Joint Stock Flour Mill was succeeded by the Flour and Oatmeal Mill, erected on Birch's Creek by those 'pushing Scots', the Anderson brothers. Other flour mills also operated in the 1860s, at Kingston, in Creswick Shire, and at Ascot and Glendaruel to the west of Creswick.[4] But it is evident

---

1. Ibid., 20 Apr 1860.
2. Ibid., 2 Mar 1860.
3. Ibid., 6 Apr 1860.
4. R. P. Whitworth (comp.), Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer, (Melbourne, 1865, 1870).

that, in this branch of industry, the prosperity of the first part of the 1860s did not last long. The agricultural statistics collector for 1865/6, William Wilson, had reported on the prosperity of farms round Creswick, and that the flour mills of Talbot County were constantly employed.[1] Yet after the following season the miller Laby requested a reduction in his water rate, because

> My trade has now quite changed making me look to Town to dispose of the surplus Produce thus compelling direct competition with the Melbourne Millers. 2

This suggests that the ebb of population was adversely affecting milling, and the subsequent decline in grain crop acreages[3] in the district may be seen as a result. The population revival in the shire in the eighties did not, however, produce an increase in the number of mills: there was no revival of agriculture. Existing local mills supplied some of the needs of the new mining population, and by now, with the aid of railway extension, and of economies of scale, larger mills in Melbourne and the Ovens and Goulburn and Wimmera districts were able to compete successfully in distant markets.

Certainly, the cessation of milling in Creswick from 1888 makes it clear that the town's milling industry benefitted little,

---

1. VPLAV, 1867, 1st Sess., III, No. 13, 89.
2. Letter of 20 Jul 1867, to Creswick Borough Council; Council Correspondence, Inward (Semmens Collection).
3. See Chapter 6, Part i, below.

if at all, from the increase of population in the shire. In general, Creswick may have suffered some disadvantage as a site for milling through being slightly removed from the wheat-growing areas of the shire (just as the town was slightly removed from the scene of renewed mining operations in the 1880s); there is evidence that it was more economical to treat the grain close to the crop. This is suggested by the household accounts of the Creswick draper, William Gardiner: in 1867, for instance, he bought his flour from the Kingston Steam Flour Mills of Frederick Brown, and does not appear to have bought any flour in Creswick, Ballarat, or elsewhere; in 1868, although he bought bags of bran from Laby's mill, and from the Creswick produce merchant, Matthew McCormick, he again bought his flour (and pigfeed) from Brown's Kingston mill. In the only other year in which his produce accounts are available - 1871 - Gardiner again had dealings only with Dungey and Morrish, the Kingston millers.[1] This is not to say that the Kingston mills were therefore immune from the general factors affecting milling in shire and town - indeed, 1872 saw the insolvency of Kingston miller H. L. George[2] - but rather to indicate that Creswick milling was probably affected by particular as well as general factors.

---

1. Wm. Gardiner, Household a/cs, receipts, etc., 1867, 1868, 1871; (Semmens Collection).
2. The Insolvency Circular, March, 1872.

The milling industry was relatively stable in Wagga, but there was an apparent failure to take full advantage of the opportunity to exploit the rapidly expanding local wheat production of the 1880s, an opportunity which did not exist for Creswick or Hamilton to the same extent.

Wagga's first flour mill - the Steam Mill erected by Robert Nixon, town landowner and man of affairs - appeared in the late 1850s,[1] and continued its operations under Nixon for at least twenty years. When milling commenced in Wagga, both population and wheat production were small, but the very lack of transport which hindered wheat expansion also created a need for local milling. Nixon's 'large steam flour mill' was pointed out as the first building of importance by a correspondent of the Town and Country Journal, as he entered South Wagga in 1872.[2]

Although wheat acreage grew slowly in the first half of the 1860s, yields showed a temporary improvement, and in 1866 a second steam mill was established on the north bank of the Murrumbidgee, thus saving from bridge tolls the growing agricultural community to the north of the town.[3] Chapman's mill also continued

---

1. Local antiquarians are not unanimous about the exact date, but 'early in 1859' may be accepted here; see Eric Irvin, Early Inland Agriculture, (Wagga, 1962), 24.
2. Our Special Correspondent, 'A Tour to the South', TCJ, 6 July 1872.
3. Irvin, op. cit., 33.

for approximately twenty years.

The second half of the 1860s saw competition between the local mills, the halving of flour prices between 1866 and 1869, and the export of flour and wheat surpluses. This surplus, writes Irvin, was carried by horse waggon and bullock team to both Sydney and Melbourne, and by boat to towns and stations downstream.[1] To the end of the 1860s, wheat and flour production continued to exceed local demand, although first yields, and then acreages, dropped away after this time. After the 1870 harvest, it was reported that farmers could not sell wheat, or rather the mills could not buy wheat until steamers had carried away surplus flour.[2] Moreover, production of wheat was also increasing at other places along the western slopes, like Young. Thus, declining yields, inadequate transport, and increasing competition may be added to the inadequate size of individual farms, suggested to the Morris-Ranken enquiry, as factors militating against the smooth course of agricultural selection.[3]

Despite the decline in wheat acreage and production into the late 1870s, this period saw the brief appearance of four new

---

1. Ibid., 34.
2. WA, 23 Apr 1870, cited in ibid., 37.
3. See Chapter 8, Section i, below.

milling ventures, as well as the continued existence of earlier established firms. Admittedly the decline in wheat acreage was partly offset by a rise in oats acreages from the early 1870s to the middle 1880s, but a drastic decline in oats yields at the same time prevented any appreciable switch by millers from flour- to oatmeal-milling. In the eighties, too, there were one or two intermittent milling ventures which serves to qualify the impression of stability in Wagga milling. Indeed, at the beginning of a decade which looked forward to the benefits of the recent rail link, and which saw unprecedented growth in wheat acreage and production, three mills were operating compared with only one at the end of the decade. The mills of Chapman and of Reynolds quickly became defunct after Hayes' Riverine Roller Mills, embodying new techniques, were erected in 1885.[1] Henry Hayes, a member of a New South Wales milling dynasty, achieved some success - in civic affairs, as councillor and Mayor (1886-90), and in the quality of his flour, winning a bronze medal at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1888-9 - but ultimately his milling business failed, and as the period ended he relinquished the field to the new Murrumbidgee Co-operative Milling Company [M.C.M.Co.]. Indeed, the M.C.M.Co. had grown out

---

1. For a lengthy description of Hayes' mill, see TCJ, 16 Jan 1886, and of the roller milling process, TCJ, 6 Dec 1884.

of dissatisfaction with Hayes' buying methods among local wheat-farmers; its nominal capital of from £30,000 to £60,000,[1] and 'cooperative' appellation reflect a serious attempt by a group of local interests to take in hand an important secondary industry which had been failed by individuals.

The men who formed or organized the company - Cox, Dunn, Norman, Peadon, and Wilson - were a politically and religiously disparate group, and although all had landed interests, both grazier and selector or farmer elements were represented. Each was a committee member of the Murrumbidgee Pastoral and Agricultural Association, although Peadon did not achieve this distinction until after the formation of the Milling Company. Richard Cox and George Wilson were both large landholders, Cox being one of the first such men near Wagga to go in extensively - and sucessfully - for wheat-growing. Another grazier - the Presbyterian, Alexander Davidson - was one of the M.C.M.Co.'s largest shareholders. Robert Dunn - another Presbyterian, and an Orangeman - was a farmer who had selected land in the sixties near Wagga, and built this up by purchase to 4900 acres.

---

1. Registrar-General, N. S. W. Companies Register (microfilm, A. N. U. Archives), 29 June 1889.

The other two organizers both had landed interests, if more modest, but were more closely identified with the town of Wagga. J. D. Norman lived as a farmer, but was involved in municipal and cultural affairs in Wagga. J. J. Peadon was a storekeeper and farmer, president of the Wagga Farmer's Union, and sole Freetrade candidate at the 1891 election.[1]

The disparity of background of the organizers of the M.C.M.Co. serves to underline the importance of this attempt to maximise the local secondary industrial benefits from the district's wheat boom. At this time, too, an almost identical situation of dissatisfaction existed in the cattle-selling business in Wagga, and it provoked a similar response.[2] As the period ended, then,

---

1. Biographical details in this section come chiefly from annual editions of the Wagga Express Riverine Directory. Cox, son of a pioneer Catholic family, held Marrar, of 32,000 acres, with a double railway frontage of eight miles. Wilson held Big Springs, of 40,000 acres. Like Cox, he was an official of the Murrumbidgee and Amateur Turf Clubs, the Hospital Committee, and the Stock and Pastures Board. Davidson had been at Bullenbong (of 33,000 acres in 1889) since the mid-forties; obituary, WE, 23 Jan 1892. Norman, a Wesleyan, held Oakhill, of 1783 acres; a vice-president of the local Carlton Cricket Club; chaired one of Peadon's election meetings in 1891. Peadon held Weardale Park, of 640 acres; connected with the Commercial Cricket and Football Clubs, in association with W. C. Hunter, a Parkes supporter of long standing. Peadon also favoured unionism and a land tax, and his association with large landowners in organizing the M.C.M.Co. was rather incongruous.
2. See Chapter 8, Section i, below.

forces were emerging in the town prepared to act against the shortcomings of individual townsmen.

This was very important, but the question of the actual significance of flour-milling for Wagga remains complex. Wagga in 1890 had one flour mill - so, for instance, did Wybong. The existence of a mill in Wagga, then, cannot be interpreted as a sign of the town's strength while Wybong remained a village. Admittedly, Hayes' mill in Wagga was large and imposing, but, in terms of the important question of its employment value for the town, it was so modern that despite its size it needed only four permanent employees for its operation.[1] By contrast, the two more conventional mills in Wagga in 1885 had employed a total of 17 hands.

Milling, of wheaten flour and to a lesser extent of oatmeal, was the chief agriculture-based secondary industry shared among country towns and localities (and as the story of milling in Hamilton warns, it should not be assumed that such industries were the expression of an industrial complementarity of town and region). The only other widespread secondary industry based on agriculture was brewing, which was often carried on in association with malting and the manufacture of cordials and aerated waters. The diverging

---

1. TCJ, 16 Jan 1886.

patterns of location of brewing and soft drinks manufacture remain an enigma: since water is so heavy, the continuing localization of soft drinks manufacture is explicable, but not so the progressive centralization and monopolization of brewing. And the more specialized nature of brewing, while perhaps accounting for a lack of proliferation of breweries, does not explain the actual disappearance of many breweries.

At the beginning of the period, brewing was conducted just outside Creswick Borough (and therefore does not appear in Borough statistics), but close to the town.[1] Although its proprietor was declared insolvent in 1866, brewing continued at the site until 1875. There was brief mention of a later brewer in a directory of 1884-5, but the virtual abdication of the town to the supremacy of Ballarat brewing interests came with the winding up of the Creswick Brewery Company, in the year following the extension of the railway from Ballarat through Creswick.[2] The town sustained healthier local interests in cordials manufacture throughout the

---

1. CA, 29 Jun 1860, has a description of this brewery.
2. The company was registered in September 1873, and wound up in June 1875; Victorian Companies Register, (microfilm, A. N. U. Archives); in later years, the town had an agency and depot of Coghlan and Tulloch's Ballarat Brewing Co. Ltd.

period,[1] and although the Ballarat firm of Rowlands opened a branch factory there in the early eighties, this was of more value to the town than a mere depot.

Creswick brewing drew on substantial local barley acreages, but in Hamilton, brewing - like milling = existed despite the absence of locally produced raw materials. Throughout the period, there was generally more than one brewer operating, but most were small concerns: there were four in 1871, but between them they employed only four hands, and produced only 20,952 gallons of beer, and by 1876 there was only one. At the beginning of the nineties, however, the Western City Brewing Company was established, as part of a phase in which, under the impetus of the local Masonic fraternity, townsmen came together in several new economic enterprises.[2] As in the other towns, there was some overlapping of brewing and soft drinks interests, which were strong throughout the period.

In Wagga, too, malting and soft drinks manufacture were increasingly associated with brewing, which was always quite competitive since the town enjoyed a hotel trade well beyond its

---

1. Although there were two insolvencies in this industry in the mid-1860s.
2. Note that the earlier Hamilton Co-operative Milling Co. had - in contrast to its Wagga counterpart - not been a success.

own numbers. The increasing scale and numbers of Wagga breweries, and the superseding of early individual concerns, contrasted with the very volatile career of the industry in other parts of the Murrumbidgee Electorate, but conformed to the general strength of country breweries in New South Wales as compared with Victoria. It is probable that at the end of the period there were more than the three breweries listed in the town directory (and that a local 'tied house' system had evolved), since the Hummer reported in 1892 that

> At some Wagga breweries the 'truck' system is just as strong as in Queensland or Western Australia 1

If Wagga was strong in milling and brewing, it was here, too, that attempts were made to develop more specialized secondary industries in association with agriculture: in the early seventies, locally-grown sugar was milled in the town,[2] and in 1881 (but only in 1881) the sole example of a specialized backward linkage between secondary and primary industry occurred when a firm of Wagga blacksmiths produced a wrought iron zigzag harrow.[3]

---

1. Hummer, 16 Jan 1892; my italics. This was a local union newspaper.
2. See Chapter 8, Section i, below.
3. SRNSW, 1881, and E. Irvin, Early Inland Agriculture, (Wagga Wagga, 1962), 57.

In the development of secondary industry based on the pastoral industry, Creswick - despite its numbers, and the reversion of much agricultural land to grazing - was again unable to maintain even the most simple ventures, such as tanning. Local wattle was plentiful,[1] and there were several slaughterhouses in the town,[2] but an attempt to establish a tannery in 1860 had first to withstand a strong protest on the grounds of water pollution.[3] It did survive - because others in the town did believe it 'advisable to encourage local industry'[4] - but not for long. Its proprietor was soon restricted to the more primitive and localized industry of tallow chandlery, which was, indeed, the only other example in Creswick of an industrial use of local pastoral products.[5]

For most of the period the linkage between pastoral and secondary industry in Hamilton, too, was of the simple kind expressed in fellmongering and tanning activities, although these did in turn service the saddlery and bootmaking trades. Fellmongery and tanning were carried on in the town throughout the period, sometimes in

---

1. Conversation with Cr. E. J. Semmens, September, 1965.
2. For comments on these, see the Health Reports for 1863 and 1864, VPLAV, 1864-5, III, No. 14, 64, and IV, No. 70, 36.
3. CA, 6 Jul 1860, and letter of 9 Jul 1860, Council Correspondence, Inward (Semmens Collection).
4. CA, 13 and 20 Jul 1860.
5. A butter and cheese factory was established at Smeaton in 1892.

conjunction with wool-scouring, and became quite important.[1] Although James Clark's scouring and tanning business was an important basic industry, there was until the end of the period no really extensive or specialized urban exploitation of pastoral produce, in a town which could look for no other commodity in its hinterland. In the eighties, however, soapmaking was efficiently developed by the Denton Brothers,[2] a rabbit preserving factory was established in 1891, and was to become an important source of employment, and in 1892 the Hamilton and District Butter Factory

---

1. James Clark, for instance, learnt his trade in Yorkshire, and practised it in Geelong and Penshurst (near Hamilton) for some years, before setting himself up in Hamilton in the eighties. He acquired an acre fronting on the main street, erecting a house and premises for his fellmongery and wool-broking business; he subsequently acquired 43 acres at North Hamilton, 20 of which he devoted to his tanning and wool-scouring works, the other 23 being farmed. In the works, he employed his two sons and 16 to 24 other hands; most of the tanning bark came from Clark's own 500 acre property in Gippsland. Three more men worked the farm, and 12 horses were in use collecting hides and wool from Hamilton's hinterland. Clark's annual output at the end of the eighties, which he estimated at 900-1000 bales of scoured wool, 1200 dozen basils, 100 casks of tallow, 3500 hides and 50 bales of 'scrolls', was disposed of mainly in the English rather than local market; Sutherland, (ed.), Victoria and its Metropolis, (Melbourne, 1888), II, 59.
2. HS, 25 Jan 1887; they took over an existing business in 1882.

was registered.[1] These enterprises formed part of a resurgence of local manufacturing under the impetus of collective effort, and may be interpreted as a response to the problem of town growth, although the establishment of a butter factory conformed to a wide pattern in both colonies at this time.

The rabbit preserving factory, and the Victorian Bee Company (formed in Hamilton in the late eighties, with an apiary at Dunkeld),[2] were special cases in which the town impinged directly on its rural hinterland, in an attempt to wring more from the land than was possible with the accepted division of labour between primary producers and manufacturers, as, for instance, in tanning.

Wagga's industrial use of pastoral products resembled Hamilton's: there was stability, if not much expansion, in tanning,[3]

---

1. Regd. 10 Jul 1892, Victorian Companies Register (microfilm, A. N. U. Archives); its board comprised newer farmers and two experienced townsmen, one of them also a director of the Western City Brewing Co. of 1891.
2. Its board had only one landed member, and six townsmen; overlapping memberships of the Western City Brewing Co. board, the Freemasons Grange Lodge, and the committee of the Hamilton Racing Club, are to be observed.
3. Thomas Denning was the only remaining commercial tanner in 1891, although some may have occurred at the new wool-scours.

soapmaking was established in the early eighties, and succeeded,[1] and two moderately large wool-scouring works were established in 1889 and 1890.[2] And in 1891 a steam butter factory was established at Orange Tree Point. However, George Forsyth's dream of a meat-preserving works at Wagga failed to materialize.[3]

The other chief secondary industries in the town were those servicing the building and transport industries, and the manufacture and supply of gas,[4] whether municipally or privately. Some of these - especially the manufacture of gas and bricks - were of little economic significance: being 'fixed' industries,[5] they

---

1. William Jones, like the Denton Bros. in Hamilton, achieved some reputation for his product, see Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, 1888-1889, (Melbourne, 1890), 1002. In 1891, his works passed to T. McGovern, member of a soapmaking dynasty in southern N. S. W.
2. See description of Brougham's scour, WE, 16 Aug 1890; the paper commented:
   > In years past it was the custom to perform the work in Sydney, but the spirit of enterprise which is now manifesting itself in pastoral and agricultural sections, has decreed that the work shall be performed at home . . . .

   Although there was a general swing away from the practice of scouring wool 1880-1900, there were large revivals in the amount of wool scoured in N. S. W. in 1889, and again in 1891 and 1892. Moreover, the wool of small selectors' flocks was generally badly presented and in poor condition - in need, that is, of scouring.
3. See Chapter 8, Section i, below; Forsyth had mooted such a works as early as 1870, when urging railway extension to Wagga. The establishment of the Riverina Chilled Meat Co. Ltd. at neighbouring Narrandera in 1890 forestalled, for the time, any similar venture in Wagga.
4. Hamilton Gas Co. Ltd. was registered in 1877, Wagga's gasworks were established after an enabling act in 1881, and the Creswick Gas Co. Ltd. was registered in 1885.
5. Saw-milling was usually so fixed as to be located in the forests.

were closely geared to local demand, and merely reflected growth. This does not mean that they were not important sources of employment, but although, for instance, brickmaking in Wagga was stimulated by the erection of several large private buildings and factories in the second half of the eighties, it nevertheless remained a nonbasic industry.[1]

It should not, of course, be inferred that 'mobile' industries were necessarily basic to a town's economy, but - whether basic or nonbasic - their mobility rendered their very existence in a town significant. Early examples were the tent makers at Creswick. The only other example in that town was coachbuilding, which was the town's most successful manufacturing industry. The continuing existence of William Leach's steam coach factory at Creswick was not entirely an historical accident, for although there was a manifest decline in the demand for farm drays, carts, and waggons in the district, there was a great amount of short local travel involved in the mining boom of the seventies and eighties. Creswick had rail communication from 1874, but the area of the mining revival was not traversed until 1886-7. Even then, commuting was a necessity for many miners, for the mines were spread up to two miles away from

---

1. A rise in the number of Creswick brickyards at the turn of the 1880s reflects a demand for bricks in the engine-houses and powder magazines of the new mines.

the Allendale-Kingston railway line, and this meant that the three daily shifts of employees - whether they lived at Allendale, or commuted daily by rail from Creswick and Ballarat[1] - still needed road transport to and from the mines.

Nevertheless, coachbuilding stood outside the general Creswick experience of declining secondary industry. Hamilton, too, was weak in basic, mobile industries using non-local primary or secondary raw materials.[2] Like Creswick, it had a certain number of people employed in servicing the building and transport industries, but - as is generally true of all towns - the data do not indicate the extent to which, say, wheelwrights were involved (with specified coachbuilders) in a mobile secondary industry, rather than simply in the repair of wheels.

Wagga was more successful in sustaining mobile secondary industry in the town, although again there was no great diversification or specialization. Coachbuilding did not commence until 1867, but the industry appeared to flourish, even with the advent of the

---

1. Argus, 18 Sep 1882.
2. Cf. the Klug Medicine Company Limited, of 1885-7; the pharmacist Carl Klug had also manufactured ice in 1880.

railway;[1] by the end of the eighties, Wagga had eight to ten firms of 'coachbuilders and blacksmiths', at least three of which were genuine manufacturing concerns. Saddlery and harness manufacture, too, were stable, and provided steady, if modest, employment in Wagga. Wagga saddlery - especially that of J. J. McGrath's Riverine Saddle Factory, which employed at least 13 hands in the late eighties - achieved a wide reputation, and reportedly catered to a demand in the colony and in Queensland and South Australia (although not, notice, in Victoria).[2] Apart from coachbuilding,[3] this was probably Wagga's only really basic manufacturing industry, supplying a market wider than the town or its immediate hinterland, although - in tent- and mattress-making - the town did sustain other mobile secondary industries.

Secondary industry in the towns, then, was conceived within a narrow framework. Apart from an explicable lack of specialized manufactures such as glassware, or musical instruments,

---

1. The effect of the railway was to concentrate coachbuilding a) at rail terminii, b) in areas unserved by rail, c) in areas in which rail services were inadequate to intensive local travel (cf. Creswick), d) in towns (such as Wagga and Narrandera, in the Riverina) at regular intervals along trunk lines fed by coach services.
2. See TCJ, 6 July 1872, and 16 Jan 1886, and W. F. Morrison, Aldine Centennial History of New South Wales, (Sydney, 1888), II, Appendix, 35, 38; George Rudd's Wagga Wagga Saddlery was also reported to employ 13 hands, and to cater for a wide demand within N. S. W.
3. At least one firm - that of Burgess and Mitchell, employing 15 hands - appears to have catered for colonial and intercolonial demand; ibid., 40.

there was a but limited exploitation of local rural products (none of the towns, for instance, had a woollen mill or a large meat-preserving works), and an almost total absence of specialized backward linkages with primary industry, for instance, in implements or chemicals manufacture. Within the narrow range of manufactures attempted, Creswick's secondary industry all but disappeared, while growth in Hamilton and Wagga was healthier. In Hamilton, and to some extent in Wagga, there were signs by the eighties that it was to secondary industry that the towns felt they must look in addressing the general problem of growth. But even if Wagga was the strongest of the three in manufacturing, it had not attained the status of a 'manufacturing town', and its economic growth, like that of the other towns, was very much conditioned by that of its region.[1]

---

1. See introduction to Chapter 6, below.

Tertiary services and non-economic functions[1]

Limited expansion in secondary industry, then, and the declining share of primary industry in the towns' workforce (though it remained the major single part of the mining town's economy), were reflected in the growing share and basicness of tertiary services, administrative, professional and commercial. But while it was to these basic economic functions that the towns had to look for growth in population and wealth, qualitative or cultural growth - or 'urbanism' - was reflected in the diversification of non-economic functions, which were not necessarily basic. Indeed, the basic-nonbasic concept is inadequate when comparing towns: while it is still important to know whether a local school or union catered for people outside the town, some functions - local government is the most important example - were frankly nonbasic, and the significant question then is the varying extent to which the compared towns exercised such functions. In particular, the differing ranges of services existing in each town are indices of their respective regionality, suburbanness, or urbanism.

---

1. Material in this section is drawn chiefly from Censuses of Victoria and New South Wales, SRV, SRNSW, local and colonial directories, and local newspaper advertisements.

The three towns contained a common range of everyday commercial services, retail and wholesale, skilled and unskilled, and of trades catering mainly to essential food and drink, clothing, housing, and transport requirements; each also had semi-professional men such as photographers and newspaper staff. Divergences from this common range in each town naturally reflected economic and cultural differences: for instance, Creswick had a stock exchange (for mining shares), miners, mining agents, brokers, and managers, speculators, and sundry Chinese services, such as opium dealers and other Chinese storekeepers; it also had a goldsmith, and, later, a forest manager. Hamilton and Wagga, pastoral towns that were more isolated than Creswick, each had a servants' registry, specialist cattle dealers, and more than one newspaper. They each had horsebreakers and horsetrainers, and Hamilton appears to have had a full-time jockey. Wagga had further specialized services - a specialist pawnbroker, sewing-machine agents, and a skating rink - which reflected the changing tastes and requirements of its population, rather than simply its size (for in 1891 it was still not quite as big as Creswick had been in 1861).

Certain of these services stand out as economically basic: stock and station agency, and in Creswick the traffic in mining shares; coach services (as opposed to the cab services which existed in Wagga and Creswick); the number of hotels in Wagga -

which rose to a peak of 43 in 1887; the housing of primary producers, including miners, which was such an important function of Creswick, even at the end of the period.

Professional men in each town included doctors, lawyers, clergy, teachers (including music teachers), accountants, surveyors and engineers, and newspaper editors. Creswick for the first part of the period had a missionary to its Chinese population, and a Chinese interpreter; Hamilton and Wagga both had architects and draughtsmen, reflecting both Creswick's proximity to the professional services of Ballarat, and the greater extent of public and secondary industrial building in the growing towns. Only Wagga had its own dentist, a function both of its population size and its relative isolation.

Each had a certain number of people employed in municipal and Government services, including Police Magistrate, Clerk of Petty Sessions, polic force, Deputy Registrar, and State communications and railways staff. The municipal services of each borough were, of course, nonbasic, but Hamilton was also the headquarters of Dundas Shire; there was no rural local government in the Wagga district, while it was characteristic of the regionality of the Creswick area (as discussed in the following chapter) that Creswick Shire Council sat at Kingston, rather than at Creswick.[1] Other divergences

---

1. For a discussion of local government and its relation to town growth, see pages 412-19, below.

reflected differences between the colonies as well as between the towns. Creswick and Hamilton were both seats of the County Court, had a Post Office savings bank, and a Crown Lands Bailiff; but while Creswick's additional administration was devoted to the regulation of mining, the protection of the Chinese, and, later, the administration of State forests, that of Hamilton resembled more closely the part-appointed, part-elective machinery by which rural affairs in Wagga were supervised. By the end of the period, this machinery included, in Wagga, inspectors of conditional purchases and of stock, pounds, and pastures, an elective stock and pastures board, and a Government local land board; Hamilton had inspectors of thistles and of scab, and an elective scab board, as well as a vigilante stock protection association which was quite independent of the State.

Common community services and utilities offered by the towns were a district hospital,[1] a cemetery, a pound, and a fire brigade. As well, both Victorian towns had botanic gardens, and a waterworks commission or irrigation trust. Each town had a gasworks, but these were operated commercially (although Wagga's

---

1. Although these were district hospitals, they catered for a fairly restricted demand, for despite periodic official condemnation of the trend, there had been a minor proliferation of country hospitals.

was resumed by the Government in 1888, as provided for in its enabling act).

Each town contained active Church of England, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and - from the second half of the eighties - Salvation Army congregations, although their relative weight varied significantly from town to town.[1] And although a similar spectrum of religious profession was present in each town, further cultural differences were revealed in the extent to which the several denominations - Primitive Methodist, Welsh Chapel, and Bible Christian, in Creswick; Church of Christ in Wagga; and Free Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Gaelic, and Evangelical in Hamilton - were actively organized.

Similar cultural differences manifested themselves in the educational facilities available in each town. Each had at least one State primary school, and a private or grammar school for boys (as well as a Mechanics Institute), and Hamilton and Wagga both had Catholic schools. But while Creswick had a separate Wesleyan school, Hamilton's pride was in its three Presbyterian colleges, and Wagga's in its convent. The influence of population size was also evinced by the existence in Creswick of a School of Mines, and in Wagga of a

---

1. See Table 6: 1, below.

State secondary school.[1]

Further differences were evident in the sporting and recreational organizations of each town. Racing, football, cricket, and rifle clubs were common, as were brass bands and Volunteer Corps, although the burden of office in the racing clubs was much more prestigious in the pastoral towns than in Creswick. Hamilton and Creswick both had coursing and bowling clubs; Hamilton and Wagga both had bicycle and chess clubs, and - more important - a Club. But while Wagga had a polo club and Y. W. C. A., Hamilton boasted a hunt club, an athletics club, an orchestral society, a dramatic society, a literary and debating club, a Mutual Improvement Society, and a Caledonian society. This bespoke a variegated but introverted community.

Contrasts - and interesting similarities - in the cultural climate and the regionality of each town come out most strongly in the comparison of the professional, trade, and 'friendly' associations - urban and rural - which each supported. The towns shared a bare complement comprising Masonic, Manchester United Oddfellows, Sons of Temperance, and Foresters lodges, and temperance leagues. Beyond

---

1. The specialized schools of Creswick and Hamilton catered to a restricted regional demand, and while Wagga's convent was of wider significance, it was not of great numerical importance to the town.

that, Creswick had a Commercial Club - in effect, a chamber of commerce - which did not, however, long survive the birth of its child, the Creswick Borough Council, and it was also the headquarters of W. G. Spence's Amalgamated Miners' Association; like Wagga, Creswick also saw the formation of a local shearers' union in 1886 (both helped to form the Amalgamated Shearers' Union a year later); both towns had Orange lodges (of which there were three in Wagga). Creswick and Hamilton each had a branch of the Australian Natives' Association (which was strong outside Melbourne, especially on the goldfields, where it drew some strength from the continued presence of Chinese), and of the Rechabites. Hamilton and Wagga had branches of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, and, as noted above, each had formed at least one building society. While Creswick's lack of an indigenous building society may be attributed partly to its suburbanness to Ballarat, its lack of pastoral and agricultural society was an index of the fragmentation, in the Creswick area, of services whose accretion in Hamilton and Wagga helped give those towns their different character. For there was a leading agricultural association in the Creswick area, but it was based on the early agricultural settlements of Smeaton, Spring Hill, and Bullarook, and never sat in the town of Creswick. Creswick was a sectional town: a mining town, and a union town.

Hamilton and Wagga, on the other hand, were both stronger focuses of their regions' tertiary services - economic and otherwise - and cultural organizations, such as pastoral and agricultural societies. But Hamilton was also a sectional town, a pastoralist stronghold, and its greater wealth of nonbasic cultural organizations[1] was a function both of its sectionality, and of the nature of the section: for the Western District pastoralists were fairly isolated from Hamilton, looking to Melbourne and Geelong as their towns. Although it had a selectors' league for a time, it had not provided any of the leadership which selectors and farmers found, for instance, in Wagga.[2]

The contrast between the sectionality of Hamilton and the fuller regionality of Wagga can be seen in the different roles which each town played during the shearing disputes of the eighties. Wagga was an organizing centre for both the pastoralists and the A. S. U., supporting a union newspaper, the Hummer, and helping to elect the union organizer Arthur Rae to the Assembly in 1891;

---

1. These included old boys' associations, a friendly societies union, branches of several sectarian societies, and of the St John Ambulance Association, a society for the protection of animals, as well as the recreational bodies mentioned above.
2. See J. Gormly, Exploration and Settlement in Australia, (Sydney, 1921), 286, and U. Ellis, The Country Party, (Melbourne, 1958), 10-11; J. M. C. Watson, 'Selectors and Squatters in the Hamilton District in the 1860s', (M. A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1957), 116 et. seq.

Hamilton - which, through its people and its press, had actively helped to subvert selection settlement - was the headquarters of the Western District Association for the Prevention of Stock and Wool Stealing, Incendiarism and Wilful Damage to Property, and of the Western District Sheepfarmers' Association. It was the scene of greatest resistance to A. S. U. demands, and of trials of unionists for perjury, and striking shearers stayed well clear of the town.

The extent of non-economic tertiary and cultural functions in each town is important, then, not so much as an index of the existence of 'basic' services in the economic sense, but as a sign of both the quality of its own life, and the nature of its regionality.

Chapter 6. The Town and its Region; I: Creswick

Introduction

This is the first of three chapters in which each town is examined in its regional setting.[1] The burden of these and other chapters is the regionality, rather than urbanism, of country towns. It has been seen, in Chapter Five, that most towns were not successful in developing their most hopeful means of breaking the shackles of regionality, namely, the 'basic' manufacture of goods, goods reaching a market wider than just the town and its immediate region. In this field, the success stories were reserved to Melbourne and Sydney, and a handful of other towns (as well as the British manufacturing towns which supplied the colonies). It was seen, too, that most 'basic' tertiary services offered by towns - such as secondary boarding schools, hospitals - had but limited appeal.

Economically, then, the towns were stuck with their regions; even then, theirs was not a simple relationship in which

---

1. The term 'region' is used here to denote the effective hinterland, or immediate region, of each town. Whenever this term's more accepted usage is employed, the wider region has been named: Hamilton is in the Western District region of Victoria, Creswick is in the central highlands region of Victoria, and Wagga is on the periphery of the Riverina and the south-western slopes regions of New South Wales (although it is generally regarded as a Riverina town).

the fortunes of the town mirrored those of the region. There were a number of variables involved - such as rural land uses, patterns of rural settlement, and developments in transport - the history of whose change forms the subject-matter of these chapters. Further, even when there was in a region a conjunction of variables favourable to town growth - such as a prospering wheat-growing section - growth did not automatically occur in the town. Such growth could depend on whether or not the town grasped (in both senses) the opportunities available to it.

In other respects, it is a misconception of their relationship to say simply that towns were 'stuck with their regions'; for the regionality or regionalism of towns ran deeper than this. Demographically, regionalism was a stronger characteristic of country towns than was urbanism. In the examination of the available demographic data, different lines of comparison reveal the existence of several levels or types of dichotomy, involving as elements the two colonies, the metropolises, the towns, the rural areas, the various regions. For instance, the discussion of residential building materials in Chapter Four reveals that in that narrow field alone valid distinctions can be made between the colonies, between the metropolises and the non-metropolitan areas as a whole, between the various regions, and between the urban and rural parts of each region. The present object is to state that the concept

of regionalism which hangs over this study has a solid basis in the demography of the subject areas. The demographic similarities between the towns and their regions mean that they enjoyed an organic, rather than simply mechanical, ecological relationship; that is, there was to some extent a 'folk' nexus between the two, as well as economic, the more superficial cultural, and other types of nexus.

There were, of course, some aspects in which a common urbanism between the towns was demographically expressed: most obviously, in population density, and, after the sixties, in rates of masculinity which were lower than those of their respective rural hinterlands. But even in occupational structure, where one expects - and finds - an urban/rural dichotomy within the regions, the element of regionalism cannot be entirely discarded in favour of urbanism.

Thus, as emphasised elsewhere, the towns were in large part creatures of their region; in cases of dissimilarity between town and shire (as in growth-rates), dissimilarity existed also between towns; and in many cases of similarity between towns - as in non-Chinese conjugal condition - similarity existed also between the towns and their regions.

The 'folk' nexus between town and region (and, by implication, the lack of such a nexus between the towns themselves as towns) must, of course, be demonstrated in terms more of

national (birthplace) and religious composition than of growth-rates or other different types of demographic data.[1]

Looking at Victoria, we find that the proportion of Victorian-born rose steadily in all cases. In Melbourne City, however, the proportion was consistently lower than average, suggesting that many overseas immigrants tended to linger in the metropolis. Outside Melbourne, it is evident that both Hamilton and Dundas Shire were, throughout, highly 'colonial' - more so, especially at the beginning of the period, than both Creswick and Creswick Shire. Both Hamilton and Dundas Shire had a consistently below-average proportion of English-born and a consistently above-average proportion of Scottish-born. Creswick and its shire, on the other hand, had relatively high concentrations of English-born; Creswick Borough had a very low proportion of Scots, but the Shire had a higher proportion, no doubt stemming partly from the original pastoral occupation of this and other areas of Victoria. In Irish-born, Hamilton and Dundas Shire again shared a like proportion throughout, although Creswick and Creswick Shire diverged in their share.[2] Such divergences between Creswick and its shire derive

---

1. See Table 6: 1.
2. Note that Melbourne had a high proportion of Irish-born; a sample of Victorian localities suggests that Irish immigrants were more likely to be found in the metropolis or in rural areas, rather than in country towns; cst. Wagga.

Table 6: 1. Selected national and religious characteristics of town and region, 1861 and 1891, as percentages of the total population of each town and region.

		Creswick[a]	Creswick[a] Shire	Hamilton	Dundas Shire	Victoria	Wagga	Murrum-bidgee[b] Elect.	N. S. W.
1861	Birthplace								
	The colony	26.8	23.2	36.6	29.6	25.6	43.9	44.0	45.7
	England	43.9	30.8	22.9	17.8	31.4	28.5	24.2	24.0
	Scotland	7.8	15.8	19.7	18.6	11.2	7.0	6.0	5.2
	Ireland	7.3	17.5	11.7	10.4	16.1	14.0	17.1	15.6
	Religion								
	Methodism	29.4	10.8	3.4	4.2	8.6	1.4	0.1	6.8
	Presbyterianism	12.7	22.3	32.2	26.3	16.1	9.1	9.3	9.9
	Catholicism	8.4	21.5	16.4	12.3	19.9	22.6	35.6	28.3
1891	Birthplace								
	The colony	71.2	72.2	72.2	70.9	62.6	62.1	66.8	64.0
	England	15.5	10.2	9.3	7.6	13.9	9.8	8.4	13.2
	Scotland	2.5	4.5	5.0	6.7	4.4	2.0	2.2	3.3
	Ireland	4.8	7.5	6.3	6.0	7.5	7.2	6.1	6.6
	Religion								
	Methodism	41.4	21.1	11.5	11.6	13.9	11.2	7.5	9.8
	Presbyterianism	13.2	17.4	19.6	31.2	14.6	9.5	9.7	9.7
	Catholicism	12.8	25.9	17.6	18.4	21.1	34.5	30.8	25.5

Source: Victorian and N. S. W. Censuses.

a. Figures are percentages of the non-Chinese population of Creswick and Creswick Shire.

b. 1891 figures refer to the four counties surrounding Wagga - Bourke, Clarendon, Mitchell and Wynyard.

partly from the distortion caused by the large number of Chinese residing in Creswick Borough, in their camp at Black Lead along Creswick Creek. The Borough always had a high proportion of Chinese, while the proportion in the Shire dropped drastically after the 1860s (and neither Hamilton nor Dundas Shire ever had more than a negligible number); the Chinese in an area tended to congregate ghetto-style, and while it may not be entirely fortuitous that they congregated near Creswick town rather than somewhere in the Shire, it is nevertheless in a sense a chance distribution.

Less fortuitous were the circumstances of the chief divergence between Hamilton and Dundas Shire, namely, in their proportions of German-born: Dundas Shire had (especially early in the period, before large migrations north from there to the Wimmera) an unusually high proportion of German-born settlers, who tended to be small farmers existing in religio-agricultural settlements not far from Hamilton, but within the Shire nevertheless. Even so, Hamilton itself still had a higher proportion of German-born inhabitants than either Creswick or Creswick Shire.

In elucidating the size of national or other groups, birthplace statistics may be supplemented by statistics of religious composition, because the lingering of cultural traits in the first and later generations of colonial-born will - if it occur - be

masked by birthplace figures.[1] Indeed, it is not surprising that in some respects cultural patterns emerge strongly from the figures of religious composition, especially the great strength of Methodism in Creswick (a testimony to the strength of the Cornish contribution to English migration to the gold fields), and, to a lesser extent, in Creswick Shire; of Presbyterianism in Hamilton and Dundas Shire; and of Catholicism in Wagga and the Murrumbidgee area.

Within the framework of demographic regionalism there were shades of difference between town and region; however, these points of difference did not necessarily coincide with those between other towns and their regions. These points of difference can, moreover, be in some cases viewed, not simple as points of disjunction between town and region, but as functions of the town's urban role in its wider region. It has been suggested that the difference in the masculinity of Creswick town and Creswick Shire is a case in point; the differing population growth-rates of town and shire at certain times, too, were partly an expression of intra-regional movements.

Whatever the demographic basis of regionalism, the facts

---

1. Thus, for example, Victoria in 1891 had a proportion of 4.4 per cent. Scottish-born, but 13.9 per cent. of the population professed to be Presbyterians; note also that birthplace figures tell us virtually nothing about certain cultural groups such as Jews.

of settlement in Australia nevertheless even overbore the affinities of town and region, preventing a level of intimacy and complementarity between the two such as existed in older societies, not excluding America. Population was mobile; and much of Australian settlement occurred, as it were, from the metropolises, which remained the only urban verities.[1] Partly because of the strong State presence, for example in the execution of railways, country towns in Australia did not usually become the strong foci of regional settlement that many American towns were.[2] More, their regionality usually consisted in a subservience to their region, rather than a reciprocal relationship in which towns also influenced the growth of their regions.[3]

---

1. Similarly, the rare case of Portland - though it declined in this period - may have owed something to the fact that it was the seat or source of settlement in the Western District, even before Melbourne.
2. See Chapter Nine, below.
3. Ryan, op. cit., i-ii, 57, notwithstanding.

i. Land use, and town growth

Of the three regions studied in detail here, Creswick Shire stood out for its extraordinarily high utilization of resources in this period. With a certain amount of surface, and a considerable amount of subterranean land annexed to gold production, and a further amount taken up by forest country,[1] Creswick Shire still sustained fairly high levels of agriculture and stock-raising. True, the relative share and relationship between the various forms of land use were not static throughout the period: the trend was for a steady decline in agriculture through the 1870s, with partial recovery in the 1880s, and a steady rise in stock-raising, mainly of sheep.[2]

Although there were no shire statistics until 1869, other evidence exists to indicate the course of agriculture in the Creswick district in the 1860s. Much of the land was either reserved as auriferous, or held in pastoral freehold (or, to a

---

1. Bullarook Forest to the East (important for the supply of mining timber, and for water catchment), and a State Forest on the southern edge.
2. See Table 6: 2, and Figs. 6: 2 and 6: 3. Admittedly, the Shire was smaller at the end than at the middle of the period - it began at 111,360 acres, rose to 140,800 acres in the mid-1870s, fell back to 126,720 in 1879, and was that size in 1891 after a slight rise to 129,280 during part of the 1880s; however, the contraction of boundaries does not fully account for the decline in agricultural acreage, and of course serves to enhance both the increase in sheep numbers, and the partial recovery of agriculture in the 1880s.

Table 6: 2. Land use in Creswick Shire, 1869-1891

	1869	1871	1881	1891
Shire area (ac.)	111360	111360	129280	126720
Cultivated acreage	42223	39001	18657	26933
Main crops				
Wheat - acres	21560	18575	3221	1260
- average yield	25	13	25	21
Oats - acres	10064	9686	5015	6064
- average yield	28	19	37	32
Pease & beans - acres	23	189	960	2902
Potatoes - acres	1533	1886	2245	3450
Hay - acres	3022	1543	2131	7659
Permanent artificial grasses - acres	836	1611	4302	4758
Stock				
Sheep		18432	57744	54153
Cattle - milch		3302	3519	3292
- other		5101	6697	8392

Source: SRV; Census of Victoria, 1871.

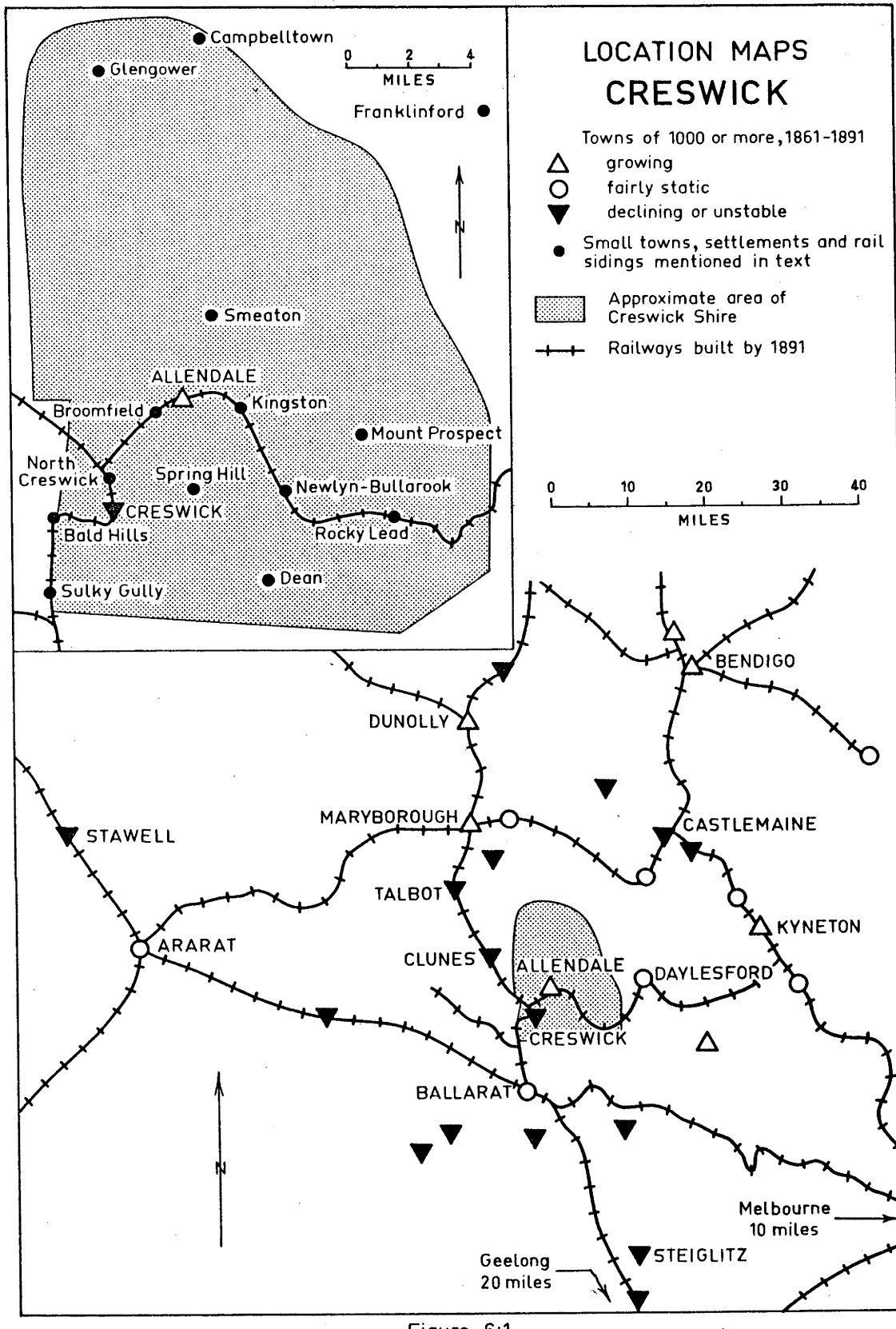

LOCATION MAPS
CRESWICK
Towns of 1000 or more, 1861-1891
growing
fairly static
declining or unstable
Small towns, settlements and rail sidings mentioned in text
Approximate area of Creswick Shire
Railways built by 1891
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
Campbelltown
Glengower
0 2 4
MILES
Franklinford
N
Smeaton
ALLENDALE
Broomfield
Kingston
Mount Prospect
North Creswick
Spring Hill
Newlyn-Bullarook
CRESWICK
Bald Hills
Rocky Lead
Dean
Sulky Gully
BENDIGO
DUNOLLY
MARYBOROUGH
CASTLEMAINE
STAWELL
TALBOT
KYNETON
ARARAT
CLUNES
ALLENDALE
DAYLESFORD
CRESWICK
BALLARAT
N
Melbourne
10 miles
Geelong
20 miles
STEIGLITZ

Figure 6:1

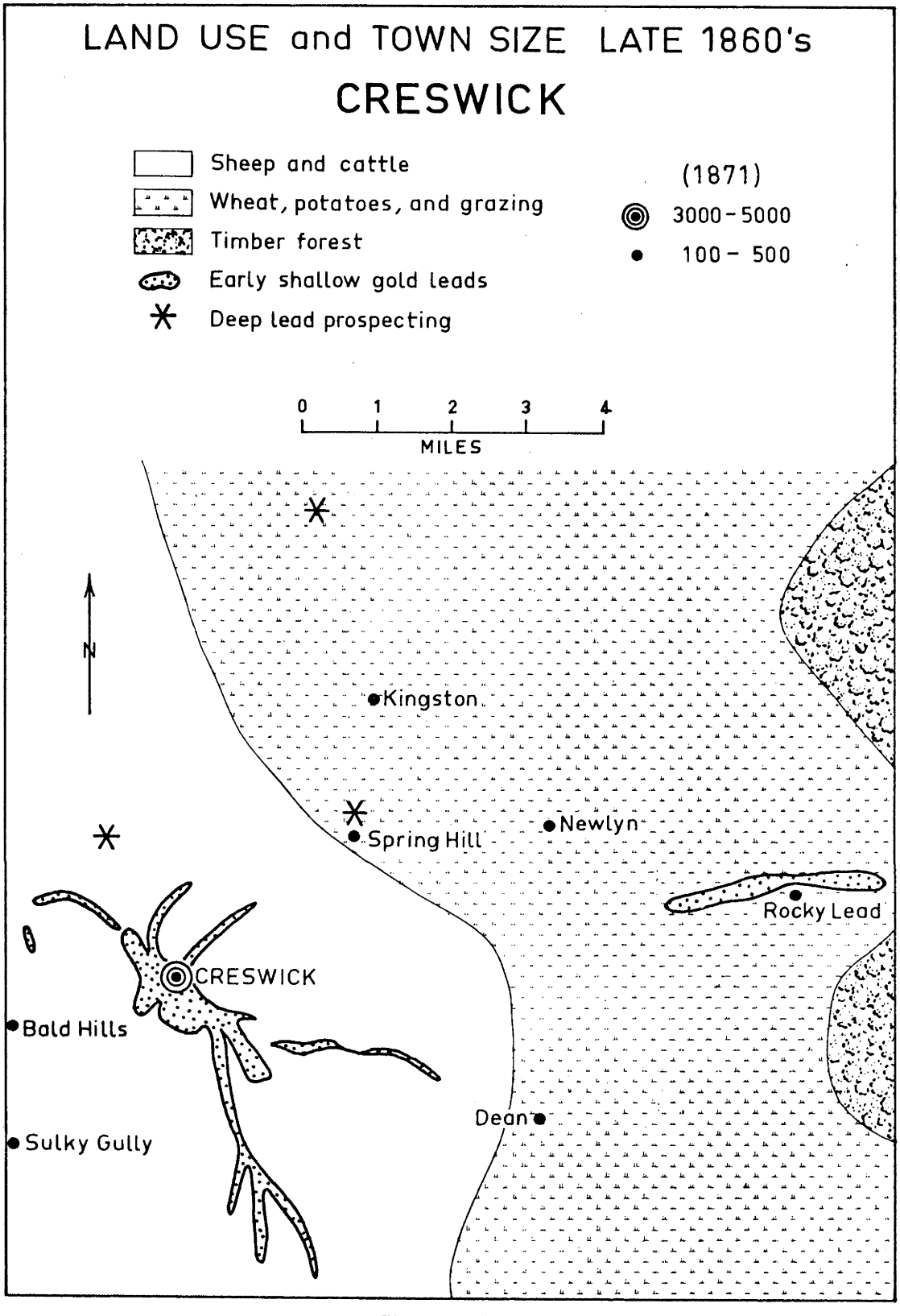

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE LATE 1860's
CRESWICK
Sheep and cattle
Wheat, potatoes, and grazing
Timber forest
Early shallow gold leads
Deep lead prospecting
(1871)
3000-5000
100 - 500
0 1 2 3 4
MILES
N
Kingston
Spring Hill
Newlyn
Rocky Lead
CRESWICK
Bald Hills
Sulky Gully
Dean

Figure 6:2

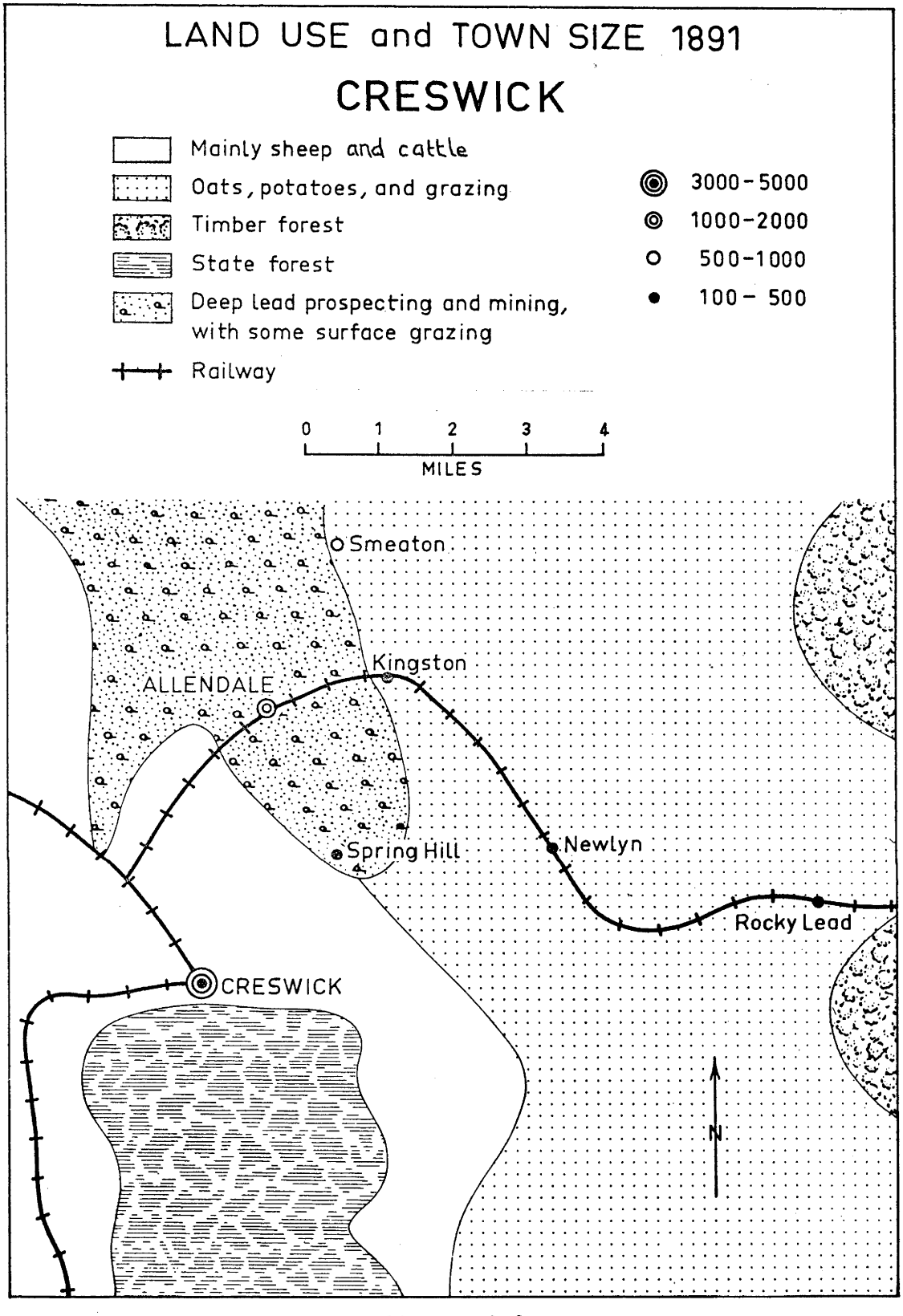

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE 1891
CRESWICK
Mainly sheep and cattle
Oats, potatoes, and grazing
Timber forest
State forest
Deep lead prospecting and mining, with some surface grazing
Railway
3000-5000
1000-2000
500-1000
100 - 500
0 1 2 3 4
MILES
Smeaton
Kingston
ALLENDALE
Spring Hill
Newlyn
Rocky Lead
CRESWICK
N

Figure 6:3

lesser extent, leasehold); but in 1859 the large local squatter, Captain John Hepburn, began to let out farms on his estate instead of devoting it wholly to grazing.[1] Hepburn also built the first mill in the district, and donated prizes for wheat-growing after the Smeaton Agricultural Society had been formed in 1859.[2] In 1861, a short-lived Joint Stock Flour Mill was succeeded by the Anderson Brothers' Flour and Oatmeal Mill at Smeaton,[3] a magnificent four-storeyed bluestone structure powered by a finely-balanced iron water-wheel, cast in Ballarat, of 25 tons and 28 feet diameter. The tenant farmers could not afford to spell the land, and incessant cropping led to soil exhaustion.[4] Consequently, many were lured from the district by the prospect of selecting land elsewhere. In the early 1860s, too, James Glennon, the collector of agricultural statistics for Talbot County, reported that the gold rush to New Zealand had 'caused many of the tenant farmers of small holdings to desist in their occupations as market gardeners, etc., with a view to more profitable employment[5] (just as the New

---

1. J.S. Taylor, cited in J. A. Graham, Early Creswick, (Melbourne, 1942), 131; according to T. Boyes, cited ibid., 133, tenant farmers paid 22s 6d rental for cultivable land. By the time of his death in 1860, Hepburn had amassed some 30,000 acres freehold, more than 20,000 of it in the Smeaton area; CA, 17 Aug 1860.
2. Graham, op. cit., 129.
3. Ibid., 131; see D. Saunders (ed.), Historic Buildings of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1966), 221, where there is also a photograph of Hepburn's homestead, 'Smeaton House'.
4. Graham, op. cit., 133.
5. VPLAV, 1862-3, IV, 107.

Zealand rush caused a large exodus of miners from Creswick and elsewhere). Evidently, despite the richness of much of the district, high rentals and possibly the beginnings of soil deterioration were keeping farmers' margins fairly low.

As well as the actual departure of farmers, and the deterioration of the soil, the collectors of agricultural statistics offered comment on various other factors affecting agriculture. On the one hand, the greatly increasing use of machinery enhanced efficiency and was in itself an index of confidence;[1] and mining - although removing part of the land from agricultural use - was proving eufunctional to agriculture in that sludge from the diggings was provided extra mulch and nourishment to crops along some creeks.[2]

On the other hand, seasonal factors, including disease and infestation, and lack of experience, continued to mar the progress of agriculture. For instance, early spring frosts and summer dryness (which also affected mining) in 1861-2 meant failure for many grain crops, some of which were so poor that they were simply burnt off, being of less value than the labour which would have been necessary to continue with them.[3] Conditions were more

---

1. G. Heyneman's reports, ibid., 1864, II, No.7, 99; 1864-5, III, No.22, 99-100; 1866, 1st Session, No.2, 96 - Heyneman reported an 'enormous' increase in agricultural machines - almost every farmer with a holding over 40 acres had a reaping machine and chaffcutter - but there had been instances of reversion to hand cutting of corn, in order to increase the 'drake' in the grain.
2. Heyneman's reports, op. cit., on the 1862-3 and 1863-4 seasons.
3. Glennon, 1861-2 report, op. cit.

equable in 1862-3, but again in 1863-4 a wet and cold spring, and heavy early summer rains, brought floods to the low land which usually gave the highest yields, and in some cases encouraged rust.[1] By contrast, though not consolation, the following season was one of bushfire and drought: where adequate drainage had been last year's problem, irrigation now became the chief concern.[2] The 1863-4 season was especially bad: former mismanagement and neglect of drainage allowed rust in the wheat; caterpillars ravaged the most promising crop of oats yet seen in Talbot County; and cattle were also badly hit by pleuro-pneumonia, inoculations having failed to check its spread.[3] The following season, though evidently free of 'pleuro', saw a scarcity of dairy produce as an aftermath.[4] Although bad farming methods were fairly widespread, it was in the field of special crops - vines, tobacco, fruit - that inexperience invariably provoked comment: the 'British farmers' were 'amateurs', and lacked the expertise or example of foreigners.[5]

From all the agricultural statistics collectors' reports for these years of the sixties it becomes obvious that the Creswick

---

1. Heyneman, 1863-4 report, op. cit.
2. Heyneman, 1864-5 report, op. cit.
3. Heyneman, 1863-4 report, op. cit.
4. Heyneman, 1864-5 report, op. cit.
5. Glennon, 1861-2, and especially Heyneman's 1862-3 and 1863-4 reports, op. cit.

section of Talbot County - that is, the parishes of Bullarook, Spring Hill, Smeaton, Glendaruel, Ascot - usually had the best crops, and probably retained sufficient local population to see the town - declining though it was - over the mining dulness of these years. The improvement of seasons after 1863-4, and the advance of mechanization, contributed; so did Government executive action: Heyneman had, in his report on the 1863-4 season, offered without further explanation the comment that

> It is a remarkable feature throughout the county, with respect to the lands held under leases from the Crown, that the farming carried on on these holdings is of the worst description.

However, both the conditions and scope of leases improved in 1865. Occupation licences, which had been earlier introduced and were widely held to be illegal, were passed as a minor part of the 1865 Act, but had proved so appropriate that their application was administratively liberalized, and they were later recognized as a major principle in the 1869 Act. William Wilson - who collected the statistics for Talbot County in 1865-6, and who reported that the farms around Creswick were not to be exceeded in Victoria for extend, mode of farming, or returns, and that local flour mills were going day and night - mentioned that at that time many men were availing themselves of a recent regulation which had extended, from 20 to 80 acres, the area of occupation licences under Clause 42

of Grant's 1865 Act; he spoke particularly of a rush at Clunes, near Creswick.[1] These licences allowed selection before survey of small areas within a specified radius of gold diggings, and had been subject to executive liberalization under the discretion of Lands Minister J. M. Grant. In his departmental report for 1865, Grant explained that because a lot of land had been withdrawn from selection because it was presumed auriferous, the occupation licence system allowed advantageous use of land, without interfering with mining. Commissions, sitting at Creswick, Clunes, and other goldfields centres, examined each application.

> The possessors of these licences being required to enclose their allotments, and within a stated period cultivate a prescribed portion . . . , the bona fide occupation of the land is thereby secured, while a demand is occasioned for materials and employment is afforded for labour, and the holders will be enabled to supplement their mining or their other pursuits by the cultivation of these small plots. 2

---

1. VPLAV, 1867, 1st Session, III, No. 13, 89.
2. My italics; Ibid., 1866, 2nd, Session, II, No. 17, 6-7; in his report for 1866 - ibid., 1867, 1st Session, IV, No. 28, 5 - Grant considered that the following types of people stood to benefit most from Clause 42:
   i. tenant farmers;
   ii. married farm labourers, previously unable to profitably use their savings in settling on the public lands;
   iii. working miners, who had now been able to make permanent and comfortable homes for their families, and, in selling produce, secure themselves against periodic slackness in mining due to a deficiency of water;
   iv. storekeepers and tradesmen, dairymen, and carriers.

Indeed, the regular selection-after-survey clauses of the 1860s Acts (such as Clauses 7 and 12 of the 1865 Act) had little application in the Creswick district: a special reporter sent by the Argus in 1866 to report on the operation of the Act did not bother to visit the district, but did include it in his itinerary when, in 1869, he was assigned the task of reporting on the operation of Clause 42 of that Act. He then found that it was in the parishes of Dean, Bullarook, and Wombat (between Creswick, and Daylesford, to the east) that the energy of miners and others who had taken up land was most conspicuously manifest. Most held the bare 20 acres, and when not engaged on their land did a little carting, mining, or timber-getting.[1] Further west, in the country north of Creswick, between Clunes and Majorca, all of the land had been taken up under Clause 42; however, some of it was very poor, and was evidently taken up by carters and bullock-drivers, more as a home and an enclosure for their teams than for agriculture.[2] In the parish of Creswick itself, wrote the special reporter, settlement under this and other clauses of the Act was very limited. For one thing, a large amount of land was taken up in mining; of

---

1. Argus, 16 Jan 1869.
2. Ibid., 21 Jan 1869.

the remainder, much had either been sold at auction some years earlier, or was reserved in case it should prove auriferous (as much of the freehold also proved to be).[1] Inevitably, some of the auriferous land had in fact been illegally settled; not settled, insisted the reporter, by loafers or dummies, but by hard-working miners who would gladly pay for a licence if they could get one. Close to the township of Creswick, there were some 60-80 acre lots held under licence by storekeepers, publicans, and other townsmen, on which there had been no improvement except fencing. Held ostensibly for grazing purposes, these were probably speculative ventures, taken up with the intention of eventually securing the freehold at a low price. At Spring Hill, immediately north-east of the town, the reporter found that all the land had been purchased (and this was the fact that underlay the dispute and the vast unearned increment which resulted from the discovery of rich gold in that area in the early 1870s). Thus, Vale stated in the House in 1871 that

> indeed, there were more small freehold farmers settled in the district of Creswick than in any other portion of the colony of a similar area. 2

But if there was little scope in Creswick parish itself

---

1. Ibid., 28 Jan 1869; see Victoria, Board of Lands and Works, Map of the Ten Million Acres Reserved under the Land Act 1862, [Mitchell Library], for the extensive areas of freehold around Creswick.
2. VPD, 1871, XIII, 1736-7.

for settlement under Clause 42, this type of settlement certainly did occur in other parts of the Shire, and was the chief form of selection to arouse comment.[1] However, there is some evidence to suggest that the Clause did not operate entirely smoothly in the Shire. Lands Minister McKean, dealing with an enquiry from William Frazer in 1869 - concerning Clause 42 selectors in Smeaton and Glengower parishes, who were awaiting their titles so that they could raise capital on their land - felt it necessary to add to his reply that

> it had been represented to him, and he thought not without reason, that in no part of the colony had dummyism and evasion of the Land Act prevailed to such an extent as in the neighbourhood referred to. 2

With the acknowledged facts of evasion in such areas as Hamilton and Colac familiar to members and to the public at large, these were strong words, and probably misplaced - but still not to be summarily discounted.

The Argus reporter's observation has been noted, that close to Creswick Clause 42 licences had been taken out by townsmen

---

1. Note urban anxiety at 'the injury boroughs are likely to sustain by the wholesale attempts which are being made to select land, under the 42nd Clause . . . within boroughs', circular to Creswick Council from Amherst Borough Council, 13 Jul 1865, Council Correspondence, Inwards (Semmens Collection).
2. VPD, 1869, IX, 2204.

as patently speculative ventures.[1] There is evidence, too, that the clause was being utilised by the miners for whom it was largely designed. For instance, in his survey of mining activities for the June quarter, 1866, the Creswick mining surveyor and registrar, Stevenson, noted that

> At Graham's Hill, the miners have only done sufficient work in their claims to keep them in proper working order, as they have been engaged in fencing and cultivating ground taken up under the 42nd Clause of the Land Act. 2

This state of affairs continued in the September quarter of that year,[3] but unfortunately Stevenson did not essay any comprehensive treatment of the operation of the clause in other parts of the field. In 1888 the Creswick M.L.A. Thomas Cooper told the House that in every mining centre there were a number of parasites on the industry, commonly known as 'jumpers', men ready to take advantage of any legislation passed in the interests of the miners.[4] In instancing the 42nd Clause of the 1865 Land Act, Cooper was presumably speaking from his own experience of the Creswick district, where he worked as a draper throughout this period. The clause, he said, was intended for the miners' benefit, to enable them to cultivate small

---

1. Argus, 28 Jan 1869.
2. VPLAV, 1867, 1st Sess., III.
3. Idem.
4. VPD, 1888, LVIII, 1768.

areas during leisure hours, but

> Instead of the miner securing allotments under that clause, there was a perfect rush for them by all sorts and conditions of men except the miner. Lawyers, lawyers' clerks, and everybody that had a little money took up 20-acre allotments . . . and the result was that legislation intended to be an advantage to the miner had been a curse to the mining community. 1

Even those who had made bona fide use of the clause, and its antecedent, were faced for some years by an insecurity of tenure which must have militated against their attempts to raise capital. As Frazer outlined it in 1870, the failure of the ordinary selection clauses of the 1862 Land Act had led to their suspension, and had forced those who genuinely wished to settle the land to take up annual occupation licences near goldfields. The 1865 Act had entitled such people to obtain the fee simple of this land, but in many cases objections raised by the Mines Department, that the land was auriferous, had prevented the issue of grants in fee simple. Before the passing of the 1869 Land Act, further attempts were made to obtain freehold, but the applicants were told to wait patiently until that Bill became law. They waited; and meanwhile, relying on Government promises, they continued to make extensive improvements:

> On many of the holdings as good a system of high farming was carried on as he had seen in some of the best counties of England and Scotland, and villages grew up wherever the licensees had located themselves. 2

---

1. Idem.
2. VPD, 1870, X, 579-80.

The land may prove auriferous, agreed Frazer, but this was true also of thousands of acres passing away under the ordinary selection clauses. The Minister - on this occasion MacPherson, - announced that the grants in fee simple would now be issued, but would be subject to Clause 99 of the 1869 Act, allowing resumption by the State of land proved auriferous.[1]

This brief discussion makes it clear that there was some bona fide agricultural settlement under the selection acts in this area, and that, more generally, there was a struggle between various types of land tenure and of land use, a struggle which becomes a major theme of the history of Creswick Shire in this generation.[2] Mining, grazing, agriculture, forestry, transport, secondary industry, borough, and town all jostled for acreage, whether freehold, mining or conditional purchase leasehold, miner's right or occupation licencehold, private lease or rental.

The wide variety of interests demanding land in the district made for unstable and fluctuating values and a speculative

---

1. The desuetude of this clause is discussed elsewhere. Similar difficulties faced the Creswick district smallholders under rural store licences and under Clause 47 (novel industries) of the 1862 Act; see, respectively, VPD, 1866, II, 432, and 1872, XIV, 805.
2. Though there was a potential for conflict here, there was also a potential for the 'mating of resources', a concept developed in recent years by G. Blainey; see his The Tyranny of Distance, (Melbourne, 1966), 145.

atmosphere, coupled - in view of the limited scope for land selection - with a system of small tenant farming and grazing; frequently, land use became doubly intensive, with extensive mining of the deep alluvial leads underground, while on the surface farmers ploughed or sheep grazed on land not taken up by poppet heads, stamping batteries, mullock heaps, sludge dams, water races, and the other paraphernalia of large-scale mining.

Although the prospects of successful mining on land produced great appreciation in land values, considerable appreciation was also possible through agricultural improvement in the richer parts of the shire. Archibald Anderson and his brother acquired 220 acres at Bullarook in 1857 for £2 10s per acre; Archibald kept buying, and by the late 1880s, having in 1886 taken the Government prize for the best managed farm of over 300 acres in Victoria, held 670 acres and leased 340 acres of the Hepburn Estate, the major local freehold squattage. By then, Anderson valued his land at £25 per acre.[1] William Bell (known through his later mining transactions as 'Baron' Bell) in 1859 bought 140 acres of Crown land for £2 10s per acre at Spring Hill and Bullarook, cleared it, and in 1870 sold at £19 per acre.[2] Bell typifies those mining men whose chief interest

---

1. A. Sutherland, op. cit., II, 239.
2. Ibid., 240.

in the land (as in the mines) was speculative. At the other pole were diggers like the Holsteiner, Martin Berg, who achieved success by painstakingly putting together a small property. Berg selected 40 acres at Graham's Hill, near Creswick, in 1865, and in 1870 bought the 20 adjoining acres; in 1872 he selected a further 18, in 1877 bought 67, and in 1883 another 80 acres. By the end of the 1880s, he had his 225 acres in a high state of cultivation, and had also embarked on the breeding of Hereford cattle.[1]

As mentioned before, much farming was done on a tenant basis. For many years, the local squatters who held large freehold areas preferred to rent out rather than sell their land. The chief reason for this is indicated, for example, in the agreement whereby John and Thomas Ogilvy, of the Ascot Hotel, near Creswick, tenanted three parish sections belonging to W. J. T. Clarke and Charles Seal.

> Clarke and Seal reserving to themselves the right of mining upon the above land at an[y] period during this agreement, upon paying to the said tenants a fair compensation for any surface damages 2

The possibility of the discovery of gold, then, inhibited the transfer of some land to those working it. Only with the

---

1. Idem.
2. Agreement of 17 Mar 1862; Ogilvy papers, Miscellaneous, (MS, Semmens Collection).

actual discovery or extreme likelihood of gold could the owner expect the optimum value from his land, either in the form of royalties from companies mining on the land, or from sale of the freehold to mining companies or individuals.[1]

The timing of the decline in agricultural acreage indicates that increased mining activities, though they may have hampered an agricultural revival in the 1880s, were unimportant as a cause of the decline, since acreages - especially of wheat and oats - reached their peak for this period some time in the second half of the 1860s and fell most sharply to the mid-1870s. Indeed, recalling the concept of the mating of resources, it was the very absence of an increase in mining operations which precipitated this decline.

The agricultural statistics collector's report for the 1865-6 season made favourable comment on the state of agriculture, and noted that most flour mills were working day and night.[2] The following season was again a time of flood,[3] but, more important than natural vagaries, population movements and market considerations were beginning to make themselves felt.

---

1. It was not until the late 1880s that the Hepburn Estate (Smeaton), of well over 20,000 acres, was sold to a land company which subdivided it into 80-240 acre farms, and sold them on deferred payments; see R. Wallace, The Rural Economy and Agriculture of Australia and New Zealand, (London, 1891), 87.
2. VPLAV, 1867, 1st Sess., III, No. 13, 89.
3. Creswick Shire received a grant of £128 towards the repair of flood damage; ibid., 1867, I, 36.

In the middle of 1867, the Creswick miller, J. T. Laby, wrote to the Borough Council asking for a reduction in his water rate, explaining that

> My trade how now quite changed making me look to Town to dispose of the surplus Produce thus compelling direct competition with the Melbourne Millers. 1

Laby was not complaining of any lack of produce, but that was the logical next step. From 1869, when statistics become available for shires, agricultural acreages fell, and a sharp rise in permanent artificial grasses in the first half of the 1870s - though it by no means matched the fall in wheat and oats - suggests that the land was reverting to pastoral rather than mining use.

Population fell, though not catastrophically, during the 1870s, picking up (if we may trust the annual estimates) before the 1881 census, and continuing to rise until the late 1880s. The overall population decline was relevant to agriculture in two ways. A population divides into those who produce, and those who simply consume, agricultural produce; it is evident that the decline of population in Creswick Shire included both elements, though the proportions are unknown. Shrinking local markets through the departure of consumers was not the only impetus

---

1. Letter of 20 Jul 1867; Council Correspondence, Inward (Semmens Collection).

to the departure of producers. T. Boyes stated that the early tenant farmers could not afford to spell the land, and cropped it incessantly, 'consequently it became exhausted, dirty and unprofitable, and would grow only thistles, cockspurs and tansy'.[1] With the proclamation of selection areas elsewhere, 'the local farmers, including many tenants of the Hepburn Estate, and other pioneers, were, as a result, lost to the district'.[2] The Ballarat lands and survey officer reported in 1872 that by the time the 1869 Land Act came into force, only inferior grass lands remained available for selection in the district;[3] as well, large landholders had bought out many selectors under the 1865 Act, the latter using the money to take up larger areas in the Wimmera and elsewhere. This tendency, and the reversion of land to grazing as a result of exhaustion, continued to be emphasised in later reports.[4] Again, in the eighties, it was reported that many district residents had availed themselves of the 1884 Land Act, going to Gippsland and elsewhere, and that 'this migration will probably result in

---

1. Writing in the Smeaton Centenary Souvenir, paraphrased by J. A. Graham, op. cit., 133.
2. Idem.; a rise in potato acreage in the first half of the seventies suggests an attempt to reclaim land exhausted for cereal crops.
3. VPLAV, 1873, III, No. 87, 12.
4. Ibid., 1875-6, II, No. 16, 18.

many of the smaller holdings in this district being sold and amalgamated with larger ones'.[1]

Initial capital was probably no problem to freehold farmers in this area, although the difficulty of gaining credit may have harassed tenant farmers and those Clause 42 licencees who had some difficulty in obtaining the title to their land. In the 1860s, after its pastoral branches were established, the National Bank turned to agriculture, and it is notable that its first such branches were at Learmonth, and Kingston, in the Creswick area.[2] All that the struggling farmers could offer for security, writes Blainey, was the title to their land, and on this security the bank financed their purchase of Crown land, although advances rarely exceeded the anticipated value of the following crop.[3] Following the curtailment or rationalisation of the Bank of Australia's gold agency business, most new branch formation was in country towns which were 'clearly permanent legacies of declining gold-fields',[4] and the bank saw Creswick

---

1. Ibid., 1887, II.
2. G. Blainey, Gold and Paper. A History of the National Bank of Australasia Ltd., (Melbourne, 1958), 56.
3. Idem.
4. S. J. Butlin, Australia and New Zealand Bank, (London, 1961), 209.

as one such town. Furthermore, the search for new fields led to the establishment, among others, of an agricultural branch of the Bank of Australasia at Kingston.[1]

If initial capital was no problem, market changes, seasonal conditions and poor techniques produced a steady trickle of insolvencies among Creswick district farmers.[2] Not only did acreages fall, but between 1869 and 1871 wheat yields fell by half (from 25 to 13 bushels per acre) and oats yields by one third (28 to 19). Insolvencies in the district in 1872 included W. McAlpin, J. Ritchie, and Thomas Henry, farmers of Smeaton, David Learmonth, Bullarook farmer, and H. Lidde George, a Kingston miller.[3]

The total acreage cultivated in the Shire fell sharply through the 1870s, and recovered steadily through the 1880s, reaching in 1891 a level to that of 1876. This recovery was

---

1. Ibid., 210.
2. E.g., 1861, E. Bateman; 1862, J. Cooney (Spring Hill), F. Lange (Bullarook), T. A'Beckett, gardener and butcher (Creswick); 1863, J. Hart (Smeaton); 1864, R. Gregg (Spring Hill), J. McGuiness, A. Stewart (near Creswick); 1870, R. Nagle (Spring Hill); of those checked in the Argus, only Lange mentioned losses in mining speculation as well as failure of crops; Victorian Insolvent List, (Melbourne, 1862, 1867), The Weekly Insolvency Register (1869-70), and the Insolvency Circular (1870-4).
3. Idem. E. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat-Growing Industry 1788-1948, (Melbourne, 1956), Ch. IV, characterises 1855-1896 as 'the period of declining yield'; he too, 119, 124, singles out the late sixties and early seventies as significant, but rather for the trend to large-scale agriculture (following the liberalizations of the 1869 Act) than for the sudden decline in acreages or yields.

achieved despite a continued fall in wheat acreage; wheat acreage had fallen drastically to 1876, and continued to taper off to 1891. Oats acreage, which had also dropped to 1876, improved a little after that, levelling off in the second half of the 1880s: oats yields had improved quickly after the drop in 1871, which helps explain the swing to this crop. In 1869, wheat acreage had stood at 21,560, to 10,064 acres of oats; in 1891 the acreages were, respectively, 1,260 and 6,064. The later recovery of cultivated acreage derived partly from slight increases in the acreages of potatoes,[1] and pease and beans, but largely, simply, from an increase in the acreage devoted to hay.

This was a serious fact for the town of Creswick, and for the smaller agricultural centres. Although the acreage of oats recovered slightly, and gave goods yields, the general drastic drop in cereals acreage, due to the abandonment of wheat, diminished the opportunities for that 'sustained industrial utilisation of agricultural products' without which, writes N. G. Butlin, 'it was rare for a mining town to expand after 1870'.[2] More hay was

---

1. Here again, yields varied greatly; farmers got 3293 tons from 2245 acres in 1881, compared with 13145 tons from only 2770 acres in 1886. C. Lyne, The Industries of New South Wales, (Sydney, 1882), 249, noted that Creswick potatoes reached markets as distant as the Murrumbidgee towns in the Riverina.
2. Butlin, op. cit., 187.

no compensation.

The lack of crops suitable for local industrial treatment was not of major importance while the boom of Creswick's mining revival lasted. When the boom collapsed, at the end of the 1880s,[1] minds began to turn to the problem of town and regional growth:

> The planting of a population on the goldfields is one of those conditions of society and government which, being important to the whole community, Ministers and Parliament of course neglect,[2]

and to the possibility of newer forms of intensive land use, especially fruit-growing (which was held to have saved Rutherglen).[3] The Creswick Advertiser editor in January 1891 turned his back gladly on 1890, and spoke bravely of the 'healthy elasticity of

---

1. For comment on the mining depression, see, e.g., CA, 1 Jan, 12 Feb, 17 Feb 1890, and 5 Jan, 9 Jan, 27 May, 9 Nov, 30 Dec 1891.
2. CA, 9 Nov 1891.
3. Idem.; Heyneman's early optimism abour wine-growing in the district, VPLAV, 1866, 1st Sess., No. 2, 96, was unfounded. The acreage of orchards in the Shire did jump in the 1880s, but stood in 1891 at only 143 acres. In August 1891, Cr Bell promised the municipal electors that he would encourage orcharding, CA, 12 Aug 1891; and in November, George Neilson from the Burnley Horticultural College reported good prospects for certain types of fruit, CA, 9 Nov 1891. The Ballarat lands officer at the end of the eighties reported an increase in fruit cultivation, and the existence of several jam factories, VPLAV, 1888, II, No. 44; 1889, III, 85; 1891, V, No. 88. The worked-out alluvial was believed to bee good fruit-bearing land, and regulations to allow the selection of worked-out auriferous land had been introduced in August 1890, and appeared as Clause 22 of the Land Act 1891; see Regulations Under Land Acts', ibid., 1891, V, No. 91, 3.

our resources'; the coming crop should be excellent, and the mining industry was struggling into better condition after the worst year on record.[1]

Elasticity of resources was certainly a great asset, but not as great as the mating of resources which had been possible while the mines prospered; departing miners were quitting not only the consumer market, but also the agricultural labour market, to which some had also belonged.[2] The figures for agricultural machinery suggest that it was only in the increase in combination reapers and binders at the end of the period that technological changes may have caused a diminution in the demand for agricultural labour.[3] Figures for the number of steam engines suggest that the contract steam threshing system - established by Henry Hammon and others at the high tide of agriculture in the sixties[4] - was adequate to the Shire's dwindling demand for the treatment of grain crops. In general, the figures

---

1. CA, 5 Jan 1891.
2. This was an added dimension of the mating of resources, especially in earlier years, when summer dryness interrupted shallow mining operations precisely at a time when miners could usefully help with the harvest; CA, 11 Jan 1861.
3. Figures published in SRV in the second half of this period; there is no continuous series for the number of hands employed in agriculture.
4. VPLAV, 1864-5, III, No. 22, 100; Sutherland, op. cit., II, 246.

for the most common implements - ploughs, scarifiers, and so on - simply reflected the rise and fall in cultivated acreage.

While the situation for surface land uses - apart from grazing - was critical by the end of the 1880s, so too had rising costs and rising water helped call a halt to the mining boom of that decade, which had resulted from the discoveries of 1872, and in whose glory the town of Creswick had shared a little. The opening up of the deep leads north of Spring Hill after 1872 - on land which had been largely alienated, not reserved as auriferous - had meant handsome profits for many landowners through royalties or sale at inflated prices.

The most famous venture at this time was William Bailey and Martin Loughlin's Seven Hills Estate Company.[1] With a syndicate of six other Ballarat and Creswick speculators,[2] they in 1875 bought 6,000 acres north of Spring Hill for £36,000; this they rented to companies[3] on the basis of 7½ per cent. royalties on all gold mined. As well, they helped float several of the rich companies, reaping further income in dividends as

---

1. Blainey, in his The Rush That Never Ended, (Melbourne, 1963), 81-2, has an account of how these two apparently tricked the Learmonths of Ercildoune into selling the rich mine at Mount Egerton.
2. Including Ham, Morey, Chalk, Moore, and Gore.
3. Including some of the richest on the Creswick field, viz. the Ristori, West Ristori, Loughlin, Lone Hand, Lord Harry, Madam Berry, and Berry Consols.

shareholders, and gained also the rental of surface land used for grazing. Within ten years, they had recouped four times the purchase price of the land. Gold mined from under the Seven Hills brought a total profit of some £2 million.[1]

If an era of great wealth for some, it was also a time of wide variations in land values, of anomalies associated with the lack of a realistic law for mining on private property, and of general frustration generated by a conflict over the distribution of spoils and the allocation on levies. A typical example was the Shannahan case, in which the holder of a surface grazing lease was rated by the Shire according to a valuation which also took into account the mines operating deep below his lease, mines from which the landowner was reaping rich rewards.[2]

Some Creswick auriferous land was held on Crown leases in the deep leads era; for instance, at the end of 1877, 1149 acres were held as claims, of which an aggregate of 740 acres was was not being worked, being protected by Registration or Exemption

---

1. Graham, op. cit., 80, says that when the gold was exhausted the syndicate sold the land for £50,000; see also Blainey, op. cit., 81-3, and J. Flett, 'The Discovery of Gold and the Rushes at Creswick', (unpublished chapter), 14.
2. Shannahan, Appellant, v. The President, etc., of the Shire of Creswick, Respondents, in Victorian Law Reports, VIII, 1882, 342-7; note the interesting anomaly that because these mines were illegal - being on private property, without Crown authorization - they were not exempted from rates by Section 253 of the Local Government Act 1874.

Certificates. The estimated value of mining claims and leased lands was £111,000.[1] By 1885 this area had increased: a little over 2,000 acres were held in some 24 leases, several of which were not being worked.[2] Although there had been an increase in the aggregate acreage of leased claims, these figures were quite puny compared with the vast bulk of deep lead mining north of Creswick, which took place on and below private property.

The problem of legislation for the practice of mining on private property, 'a practice which may be in existence, [but which] is certainly not recognised by law',[3] must be dealt with but briefly here. No Act was passed until the 1884 session, though many Bills were introduced and debated. Much land, for instance in the Spring Hill-Smeaton area, away from the scene of the first rush, was alienated from, rather than reserved to, the Crown. Gold was later discovered on and below this land; and mining operations inevitably ensued: no Government would dare stop them. Vested interests were established, and grew, and the protection of these interests was for long the stumbling-block to

---

1. 'Mineral Statistics of Victoria for the Year 1877', VPLAV, 1878, II, No. 8, 36-7.
2. 'Return showing particulars of all Mining Leases in force - (Gold), VPLAV, 1885, I, C.9, 4.
3. Judge J. Higinbotham, in the Shannahan case, above.

legislation. Debate revolved around, and broke down, not on the question of future arrangements, but on the status and treatment to be accorded to existing arrangements and agreements between landlords and mining companies. Caution prevailed even where some legal provision existed.[1]

It was generally argued, in and out of Parliament, that the private agreements were preferable to Crown leases, because of the high level of litigation which attended the latter. Brough Smyth reported of the Creswick mines in 1882 that

> Nearly all this land is in the hands of private persons, and many largely interested in the mines assured me that they preferred to make terms with the landholders, or to purchase the land right out, rather than hold under mining leases from the Crown. 2

The conflict between caution and radicalism was heightened in the House by the opposing positions taken by the two Creswick Members. Thomas Cooper frequently urged the protection of existing arrangements, and pointed to the litigation and 'shepherding' associated with Crown leases,[3] while his colleague Richardson felt that a healthy

---

1. Cf. the case of John Leishman, raised in 1873, VPD, 1873, XVII, 1321; he had bought land at Spring Hill in 1870, and lately had been prospecting it, when a party of strangers asked the Government to resume the land for mining purposes, as provided for under Clause 99 of the 1869 Land Act. This caused great consternation to other landowners in the district who were in a similar position.
2. Argus, 18 Sep 1882; cf. 'Royal Commission on Gold Mining - Progress Report', VPLAV, 1891, II, No. 2, 7.
3. See, e.g., VPD, 1877-8, XXVI, 474-5, 972, and 1884, XLVII, 1687-91.

spirit of speculation had been superseded by an idle class of speculators, who obtained land and floated companies, and lived at the expense of shareholders, landowners, and miners alike;[1] it was a crime that the vast sums paid for land purchase and royalties could not instead have been used for wages.[2]

Another result of the geography of land alienation in the district in the 1850s and 1860s, and the lack of a law regulating the subsequent mining on private property, was the neglect of known quartz-reefs. The heavy royalty demands of landowners rendered these unpayable, and Creswick remained pre-eminently an alluvial field.[3]

The revival of mining in Creswick Shire raised afresh, and in a new dimension, the problem of the effect of mining on other existing land uses. It may have seemed, in Creswick of the sixties, that mining would gradually give way to agricultural pursuits. In 1869, Brough Smyth had written of the passing of the rush era in

---

1. VPD, 1875-6, 495; 1877-8, 486, 627.
2. Ibid., 1884, 1692-3.
3. See Victorian Mines Department offprint of a report on the Spring Hill leads and reefs, made in 1896 by the Government Geologist, R. A. F. Murray.

Victoria generally,

> In a short time fields are enclosed, the plough is set to work, and the wild bush is converted into farms and gardens. Perhaps only a few of those who rushed to the spot remain as permanent residents; but the nucleus of a town is established; and around it grow a municipality, order, and a measure of prosperity.
>
> It is in this manner that Victoria has prospered, and is likely to grow wealthier from year to year.
>
> . . . . .
>
> The public works in the several municipalities and road districts, the suburban lines of railway, and works for water supply, have all served to withdraw great numbers from the goldfields; but many will consider that those who have forsaken mining for agriculture, gardening, trades, and other occupations more in consonance with their previous habits, have better promoted the interests of the colony than if they had remained on the goldfields. Indeed, when one looks at the country in those places where the miners have acquired property, and have improved their lands, there is little room for regret that the exports of gold are diminished by the changes (more particularly in the Land Laws) which have been effected by Parliament. 1

Nevertheless, while the 1860s saw no spectacular gold production, prospecting continued in the belief that deep leads would be found. However, that it was believed also that the working of these leads would not upset agriculture, is reflected in this 1864 prognosis on the Creswick field:

> whilst the surface is composed for the most part of the richest agricultural soil, the comprehensive and economic system of mining necessary to develop the golden treasures below causes the smallest amount possible of the surface to be interfered with. Literally, agriculture carries the market for its produce along with it. 2

---

1. R. Brough Smyth, The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1869), 71.
2. Dicker's Mining Record, Oct 1864, 180.

We have here not only a questioning of the possibility of conflict between those interested in different types of land use, but an emphasis on the concept of the mating of resources in the development of a region. On the other hand, there is some evidence of a clash of interests.[1]

To obtain an idea of the effect of later Creswick mining on agriculture, it is necessary to look briefly at the course and extent of mining on private property, and at the timing of the decline in agricultural acreage. Before the discovery of the Spring Hill deep leads in 1872, mining was fairly static; occurrences such as drought affected mining and agriculture alike: thus, the Creswick Mining Registrar reported in the March quarter of 1866 that continued drought had left many miners working in shallow ground idle.[2] A good number had left the district, mainly for the Gippsland or New Zealand diggings: gold production was down. Moreover, the effect of the 1872 discoveries was hardly

---

1. In evidence to the 1891 Royal Commission on Gold Mining, VPLAV, 1891, V, No. 151, qq. 18379-80, 18394, 18395, W. G. Spence pointed to conflicts between mining interests, on the one hand, and farmers (who want to monopolize the land), landowners (who demand royalties of the mines), and storekeepers (who, because they advance credit to miners, want a say in the election of mining boards).
2. VPLAV, 1866, 2nd. Sess., II.

instantaneous.[1] In actual mining operations, there were several periods of depression in the 1870s. For example, although 1875 saw increased production, and the Spring Hill mines in a 'most prosperous' condition,[2] 1876 was a year of slump. The Australasian Company, close to Creswick, sold its claim and plant under a Supreme Court judgement:

> The cessation of mining in this direction is a serious loss to the district, as, besides the loss of employment to a number of miners, it was the most advanced claim on the deep leads of Creswick. 3

As well, several of the rich Spring Hill claims had been worked out, and the difficulties of finding the gold and working the ground were increasing as the lead progressed.[4] There followed a period of fluctuating returns, with a more marked downswing in 1879;[5] several claims were worked out, and none of the progressive mines bottomed on gold until the September quarter, when the New Australasian

---

1. In a letter to the Borough Council, 9 Oct 1872, Council Correspondence Inward (Semmens Collection), the Creswick Hospital secretary sought a speedy remittal of the Council's annual donation, explaining that the collection of subscriptions had been made difficult by 'the continued depression in agricultural and mining pursuits'.
2. VPLAV, 1875-6, III.
3. Ibid., 1876, II.
4. Idem.
5. In the 1878 and 1879-80 sessions, the Creswick Members, Cooper and Sainsbury, sought the appointment of a committee to enquire into the depression in mining, VPD, 1878, XXIX, 1849; 1879-80, XXX, 42,116.

alone commenced washing.[1] This mine's excellent results accounted for a healthy increase in production in the December quarter,[2] but again the first three quarters of 1880 were fairly gloomy owing to the discontinuation of several mines, and the failure of progressive companies to get gold.[3] The Madam Berry bottomed in this quarter, and the effects of its fabulous returns from the March quarter of 1881 were almost immediate. The Mining Registrar's report for the September quarter of 1881 was of

> no abatement in mining speculation . . . , nearly all the country for miles north of Spring Hill, and extending far beyond the limits of my division, having been taken up in mining ventures. 4

A year later, Brough Smyth found that a length of seventeen miles, and a breadth of from five to eight miles, were taken up for mining purposes, although but little of it had been prospected.[5] He also noted that a few of the companies had set apart areas for miners' dwellings, as well as for the usual paraphernalia of operational mines;[6]

---

1. VPLAV, 1879-80, II, III.
2. Ibid., 1880, 1st Sess., No. 3.
3. Ibid., 1880, 1st Sess., 1880-1, III.
4. Ibid., 1881, III.
5. Argus, 18 Sep 1882.
6. Idem.; note that Creswick M. L. A. Richardson introduced in 1882 a bill - which did not survive the first reading - to provide for the location of miners' residences where mining was conducted on private property; VPLAV, 1882, I, 252.

and the land also bore the pointillistic scars of the many progressive ventures. By the early eighties, then, some 55 to 70 thousand acres - about half of Creswick Shire - were 'taken up for mining purposes'.

However, it would be wrong to imagine that half of Creswick Shire was suddenly removed from general use at the beginning of the eighties. A good deal of this area had been taken up for progressive purposes since 1872 - for instance, the 6,000 acres of the Seven Hills Estate, scene of much of the rich mining of the eighties, was annexed to the mining interest in 1875. And of course but a small part of the area 'taken up for mining purposes' was devoted to the surface equipment necessary for extensive underground operations; on the other hand, it was certainly the case that such land lent itself much more readily to grazing than to agriculture: the spare surface area of Seven Hills, for example, was let out for grazing.

In summary, there was no immediate quickening of activity after the 1872 discoveries; marked expansion in mining and population had to wait until the beginning of the 1880s; much of the land which housed the successful mines of the 1880s had, in fact, been sequestered for mining purposes in the 1870s; but although the surface areas required for both progressive and productive mines was low in actual acreage, the disposition of water-races associated with productive mines, and the wide-range boring and drilling associated with

progressive mines, favoured pastoral rather than agricultural use of surface areas.

Of course, the original land use in the Shire, as in most parts of eastern Australia, had been grazing, principally - after the 1850s - of sheep. Indeed, the carrying capacity of some of the runs in the Creswick district compared favourably with the famous pastoral country round Hamilton, and in the Western District generally,[1] and the breeding of both sheep and cattle took place here.[2]

Apart from repeating the usual generalisations about the beneficial effects of the goldrushes in providing a ready meat market for graziers, it is difficult to say how much disruption to grazing in this area occurred as a result of the diggings, or how much reversion from mining to pastoral land use had occurred by the time stock numbers become available in 1871. The period

---

1. The number of sheep per acre of natural grasses varied from the 2:5 of 'Glendaruel', the 1:2 of 'Clunes', 'Glendonald' and 'Bullarook', and the 5:8 of 'Seven Hills', to the 4:5 on 'Smeaton Hill' and 'Tourello'; R. V. Billis and A. S. Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, (Melbourne, 1932), 161, 189, 226, 248-9, 263.
2. L. R. Carter, one of the discoverers of gold at Spring Hill in 1872, became known in the colony as a breeder, shower, and judge of sheep, and had several studs, including Lincolns and English Leicesters; personal communication to the author from Carter's grandson, L. R. Carter, 'Scale Park', via Clunes, 11 Oct 1965.

of sharpest drop in wheat and oats acreages - the first half of the 1870s - saw a sharp rise in the acreage under 'permanent artificial grasses', suggesting a reversion to pastoral use of agricultural as well as mining land. The high level of cattle numbers in 1871 suggests that the goldrush period, while withdrawing some land from pastoral use altogether, also wrought a change in stocking policy on land retained for grazing.[1] The numbers of milch cattle after 1871 rose until the mid-1880s, but fell by nearly a quarter to 1891. This fall may reflect a fall in the local consumer market; but on the other hand beef cattle, which in 1871 comprised 61 per cent. of all cattle in the shire, rose continuously in numbers to 1891, when they comprised 72 per cent. Beef cattle and sheep were, of course, less tied to immediate local consumption. The peak of cattle numbers up to 1891 was about twelve and a half thousand in the mid-1880s, a rise of nearly 50 per cent. on the 1871 numbers. In terms of acres used then, cattle bulked more important than total cultivation, and much more so than purely agricultural cultivation.

---

1. This is suggested by the fact that when listing the carrying capacities of the relevant runs, Billis and Kenyon, loc. cit., made no reference to estimated cattle numbers, except in the case of 'Clunes', which ran some 50 head of cattle as well as 15,700 sheep.

Indeed, in terms of acreage the cattle industry was a dominant user of land in this period.

According to the estimates, sheep numbers rose rapidly from 1871, trebling by 1881, rising by a further 56 per cent. to the mid-eighties, then falling back sharply in the closing years of that decade. Although the annual estimates are unsatisfactory in some ways,[1] census data from 1871 and 1891 confirm that there was a net trebling of sheep numbers in that period. It is probable that behind the net gain of the eighties lay a more or less sharp increase in lamb-raising, following a rise in mining operations and population, and then a fall in all three things to 1891.[2]

Although the trebling of sheep numbers 1871-1891 was fairly healthy growth, it by no means represented a restitution of pre-goldrush numbers; for, although the acreage under agricultural cultivation fell throughout, the encroachment of cattle herds

---

1. Seemingly precise figures were sometimes repeated for years on end. Moreover, the overall estimates of land uses in some years were a physical impossibility; e.g., in 1886 we are told that some 23 thousand cultivated acres, as well as 12,412 cattle and 90,080 sheep, and an indeterminate amount of land used for mining, forestry, urban settlement, etc., could all fit into a shire of 129,280 acres. In this case, it is the sheep estimate which must be jettisoned first, being so much out of accord with the 1891 Census estimate.
2. This is supported by the figures for wool consigned from Creswick and other railway stations in the district in the eighties, as discussed in Section iii, below.

persisted and increased, as did mining operations in the 1880s. Moreover, from the point of view of the development of Creswick as a service town, the growth in sheep numbers was less healthy than might be supposed. Losing agricultural land to the pastoral industry was bad enough for a town, but particularly bad when the growth in the number of sheep owners did not match the growth in the size of flocks. Admittedly, the number of wool presses doubled in the twenty years after 1871, but this only meant that there were eight in the shire in 1891. The four presses at work in 1871 were each handling, on an average, the wool-producing portion of a flock of 4608 sheep; the average such flock in 1891 was 6769. True, the six presses in 1881 had each catered for an average flock of 9624, but nevertheless as the period ended a net gain in flock size remained, if diminishing. It will be remembered that in 1882 Shannahan, who was involved in litigation with Creswick Shire Council, had a private grazing lease of 8490 acres, or nearly seven per cent. of the shire's area.[1]

As well as agricultural, pastoral, mining, and urban land use in Creswick Shire, a certain amount of land was taken up in forest country, which was used for mining and building timber,

---

1. Victorian Law Reports, VIII, 1882, 342.

for grazing, and frequently for catchment and damming of water for mining and domestic use. But while the forest played an important part in the mating of natural resources, they were also the cause of further dispute and frustration among the various parties interested in different types of land use, to which the State added itself in a new dimension at the end of the period by declaring State forests at Creswick and Ballarat East.

Before the declaration of State forests, there had often been anxiety that forest land should not be sold. In February 1860 a large meeting at Bullarook sought the withdrawal from sale of certain land in the parish of Dean, the same land having been withdrawn on petition five years before. This was Bullarook forest land, valuable for timber and for the employment of men supplying wood to miners and agriculturalists to a distance of 40 miles north. The meeting claimed that the land was unsuitable for agriculture; moreover, it asked, what chance would anyone in the district have at sale against the Clarkes, Learmonths, or other big landed interests?[1]

It is evident that timber from this source was also valuable for other than mining purposes: an 1861 petition to the

---

1. CA, 24 Feb 1860.

Creswick Municipal Council protested against the imposition of tolls on the Slaty Creek bridge, due to their adverse affect on the price of mining and building timber from Bullarook.[1] This forest was used for timber for the main Ballarat mining field, as well as mines to the north. Private initiative was successful in securing a rare grant of land for 14 miles of private light railway in the late sixties,[2] and James Anderson and his brothers - who had established a saw-mill in 1856 - supplied timber to the Ballarat market for many years.[3]

Returns of mining timber in the seventies showed that, although there had been a diversification, Bullarook Forest remained the chief source of supply[4] - and of conflict - in Creswick Shire. Further trouble occurred in 1881 when a portion of it, from which the Creswick mines then obtained timber, was thrown open to selection, particularly since it was claimed that the land was being selected for the purpose of blackmailing mine-owners.[5]

---

1. CA, 4 Jan 1861.
2. VPD, 1867, IV, 1057; the Ballarat and Bullarook Company, with capital of £80,000, wanted 21,000 acres after operating for 12 months to prove their bona fides; many objections were raised during the second reading debate.
3. B. Ayrshire, 1824; moved round Victorian goldfields in early fifties, worked as a building contractor with his brothers in Melbourne, and went to Dean, near Creswick, in 1855; the brothers started the flour and oatmeal mill at Smeaton, described above; as well as supplying timber, Anderson farmed land at Dean and Smeaton; a son, William A. Anderson, represented Creswick electorate in the 1880s; see Sutherland, op. cit., II, 239.
4. VPLAV, 1872, II, No. 4, and 1874, III.
5. VPD, 1881, XXXVII, 269-70.

More serious than the conflict between individual interests was the gradual spoliation of the forests. Brough Smyth in 1882 had reported critically of a situation which the State did not begin to take in hand until the end of that decade; he strongly urged State action, and, in commenting on Creswick complaints at the declaration of State forests, asserted that it would be in the miners' interest:

> The miners pay £280,000 per annum for timber. Were the forests under proper management, props, sawn timber, and firewood would be obtained at one-half this cost. What they have paid already, and what they are paying yearly for the right to mine on private lands, can only be conjectured. [1]

A mining on private property Act emerged at last from the 1884 session, but a Conservator of Forests was not appointed until 1888. By then, the sawmiller James Anderson had turned to farming because of the scarcity of timber.[2]

The new Conservator of Forests, George Perrin, reported that the initial task of thinning indigenous timber in Creswick

---

1. Argus, 18 Sep 1882.
2. Sutherland, loc. cit.; note, however, that on the eastern side of Bullarook Forest the Daylesford businessman (and M. L. A. for Creswick), J. H. Wheeler, was still operating three saw-mills; ibid., 257.

State Forest would bring in revenue because the saplings were valuable for the Ballarat mines.[1] The local chief forester, La Gerche, had some 30 men engaged in this renovation work, and the cutting of piles, telegraph poles, and undersized timber had already been curbed.[2] Nursery facilities and staff had also been established at Creswick - at Sawpit Gully in 1888, and at the old Australasia mine paddock in 1890.[3]

Perrin emphasised the long-term benefits of scientific forestry; the multiplication of grazing leases had led to overstocking, and the eating off of each year's seedlings. But forests needed protection from men as well as stock:

> The miner is now awakening to the fact that one source of his wealth - the timber - . . ., is failing him . . . . He asks the Government to step in and save him from the folly of timber destruction. To do this properly he must be prepared for sacrifices 4

As it happened, a depression in mining intervened at this very time to halt the ravage of the forests. In a discussion of unemployment, in July 1890, Mr. Richardson (Creswick) drew attention in the House to the large number of miners out of work for months

---

1. See 'Report of Proceedings under the Land Acts', VPLAV, 1890, III, No. 86, and 1890, IV, No. 202, 5.
2. Ibid., 5-6.
3. Ibid., 8.
4. Ibid., 10.

past, and appealed to the Railways Department to provide all the work it could.[1] Wheeler (Creswick), referring to the suggestion that unemployed miners be sent into State forests to cut timber, pointed out that, due to the very depression that had thrown them out of work, 'not a ton of timber now being cut could be brought to market for months. The men at work cutting timber were being kept by the storekeepers'.[2]

The intimate tie-up of resources, then, meant that a slump on the mining side engendered disappointment, too, for those men who looked to the forest for relief. Other grievances had arisen from the declaration of State forests. In the 1891 session, the Member for Ballarat East made a plea for those people - 600 families in the colony, he estimated - living on land which had been declared State forest, and who, he claimed, would be forced to move into the towns.[3] The anxiety to keep these people out of the towns derived partly from their own wishes in the matter, and partly from depression thinking which favoured dispersal rather than concentration of people where no work was available.[4] The

---

1. VPD, 1890, LXIII, 773.
2. Idem.
3. Ibid., 1891, LXVII, 1550; it was affirmed that several men living in Bullarook Forest had been brought up for illegal occupation, ibid., 1552.
4. The problem was dealt with in the Miner's Right Titles Bill, introduced later in the session by Creswick Member, Richard Richardson; see ibid., LXVIII, 2380-90, for second reading debate.

spread of State forests also caused anxiety in the town of Creswick, and resistance to their encroachment was pledged on the municipal hustings in 1891.[1]

As the period ended, then, Creswick for the first time found itself confronted by a crisis of decline. The town had been declining in population throughout the period, but this had not been perceived as critical, except in the later sixties: part of the decline had comprised loss of Chinese population, and part had been merely residential relocation within the town's region - its regionality had thus sustained the declining town. Above all, the decline of the sixties had not diminished local optimism that the gold-mining industry would recover. Recover it did, and in

---

1. See the statements of William Bell and H. Jebb, CA, 12 Aug 1891. The Borough Council subsequently permitted the handing over of 800 acres common land for plantations. In 1909 the Victorian School of Forestry started at Creswick in the former residence of Dr J. Tremearne (resident Medical Officer, 1872-8), and in 1912 took over the original hospital building nearby. Forestry, academic and practical, has thus played a large part in saving Creswick from extinction in the twentieth century; Graham, op. cit., 101-2, 118, and conversations in 1965 with Cr E. J. Semmens, former Principal of the School of Forestry, Creswick. Apart from primary industrial and urban land uses demands (the latter discussed below), a further part of the Shire's surface was devoted to the paraphernalia of domestic and mining water supply, especially since the large Clunes Borough supply reservoir was situated in Creswick Shire, draining 13,446 acres at Newlyn; see 'Fifth Annual General Report of the Minister of Water Supply: Victorian Water Supply', VPLAV, 1891, V, No. 135, 36, 40.

unexpected proportions; and while Creswick was not at the very centre of the new boom, its faith had been vindicated. In 1891, however, it faced a crisis whose solution, this time, must be sought outside the mines. The departure of farmers had not seemed important while deep leads were being plumbed, but now the town and district found themselves stranded; land use in the Shire was still diversified, but no single land use throve except the labour-unintensive pastoral industry.

ii. The pattern of settlement, and urbanization

The various land uses described above had their bearing, as land uses, on town growth; but it is necessary to consider also the overall size-structure of land holdings on which the several land uses were practised. For if land uses and the size of holdings were not entirely independent, nor were they entirely dependent; it is especially true of non-extractive rural land uses in this period that, whatever may have been the most desirable structure, no single invariable structure was entailed by each land use. Data on the size of holdings and cultivated areas are available from the 1891 Victorian census, and it is most useful to compare the situation in Creswick Shire with that of two neighbouring shires, and with Dundas, the pastoral shire which contained our other Victorian sample town.[1]

The most noticeable feature here was the difference between the Central Highlands sample and the Western District sample, where the proportion of cultivation was very low, and often negligible, throughout the size range, especially on the very large properties. Looking at the three goldfields shires, the main differences were between Creswick and Ballarat Shires, on the one hand,

---

1. See Table 6: 3. Such figures were available to 1879 in SRV, but were tabulated by counties, not shires.

Table 6: 3. Size analysis of land holdings of one acre or more, 1891.

Shire	Acreage of HOLDINGS. 1-5	6-50	50-100	101-320	321-640	641-1000	1001-5000	5001-10000	10000+	Total
CRESWICK										
Held - No.	108	138	85	149	46	11	9	1		557
- Ac.	215	3251	6456	26833	20989	9097	15559	5434		87834
Cult. - No.	33	82	59	126	38	10	7	1		356
- Ac.	57	992	2140	10081	5322	1679	1035	140		21446
BALLARAT										
Held - No.	86	104	81	180	47	15	9			522
- Ac.	221	2240	6470	35411	20358	12550	18217			95467
Cult. - No.	16	58	69	167	47	14	8			379
- Ac.	38	632	3191	17051	7710	2603	1040			32265
TALBOT										
Held - No.	57	77	36	74	23	7	8	2	1	285
- Ac.	135	2150	2821	13725	9826	5972	16809	13626	14000	79064
Cult. - No.	22	45	28	59	20	5	5	1	1	186
- Ac.	46	528	779	2365	1253	240	317	20	16	5564
DUNDAS										
Held - No.	35	71	37	98	70	41	59	7	20	438
- Ac.	103	1364	2883	21613	33235	35474	137041	48436	433025	713174
Cult. - No.	3	27	24	64	54	35	24	9	15	254
- Ac.	4	205	479	1679	1306	938	1349	50	497	6512

Source: Census of Victoria, 1891.

and Talbot Shire, on the other. In the latter, the number of holdings, the number of cultivated holdings, and the acreage cultivated, were all relatively small; Talbot Shire contained a greater number of large holdings, and they were virtually free of cultivation. It is interesting that the urban element of this shire, comprising Clunes and Amherst-Talbot, declined more rapidly than did Creswick, particularly in the 1880s, (when a lot of the benefit of the new mines went to Allendale rather than Creswick).

Creswick Shire, then, though not as well off as Ballarat Shire, was less encumbered than neighbouring Talbot Shire with those large pastoral properties which were at least a potential hindrance to a town's growth. Nevertheless, although the practice of mixed farming and other uses ran through the size range, the proportion of cultivation on the larger holdings was relatively small. Moreover, the state of affairs reflected in the 1891 figures was to some extent a new phenomenon, in the sense that the disposal of the 26,220 acre Hepburn Estate had not begun until 1887.[1] If the larger properties in 1891 did usually include some

---

1. Note that G.S. Hepburn, in Sutherland, op. cit., II, 246, stated that 24,000 acres of the Estate ('good land') was then intact. On the other hand, as mentioned before, parts of the estate had been let for farming for some time.

cultivation, it will be seen that the most popular unit of cultivation averaged 36-94 acres on holdings of 51-320 acres. In no single size category did the aggregate proportion of cultivated land rise above the 42 per cent. shown in the 101-200 acre category, even though the proportion of cultivators among total holders of land was often high.[1]

It is not surprising, then, that Creswick was one of the most densely populated shires in the colony: in 1891, it supported 40 persons to the square mile (or 56, including the Borough population), compared with an overall shire average of six; of the non-metropolitan shires, only Bungaree and Mt. Alexander were more densely populated. Population and some services in the Creswick area were scattered - not in the sense of its being sparsely populated, but rather in the sense that population and services were not all grouped in discrete units.

---

1. The number and acreage of small holdings that were cultivated in shire and borough is interesting in view of Dunsdorfs' comment, op. cit., 117, that 'the increase in the farms under fifteen acres [1878-95] - garden and orchard farms in the vicinity of towns - was a natural consequence of the growth of towns'. Although the number of such holdings in Creswick Shire and Borough was high, the actual amount cultivated is low; admittedly it may be an increase on earlier years, but if so, the base figure must have been minute. Since these holdings were too small for profitable grazing, they must have been used for residence, for commercial stock-holding paddocks, for garaging and foraging carriers' teams, for mining, or for purely speculative purposes. It had been complained, above, that townsmen had taken up lots for speculative purposes under Clause 42 of the 1865 Land Act, and the figures here certainly throw doubt on the efficacy of that clause in promoting permanent agricultural small-holdings.

Because population density was so high, services such as hotels were scattered over the Shire: in a sense, they spilled out of the town. The area was not exactly heavily urbanized - more, the town was 'extended' rather than discrete. The trend in the wider region may be characterized, then, as one in which the consolidation of Ballarat was accompanied by the fragmentation of urban settlement elsewhere in the region.

We have, then, an important modification of the general hypothesis governing country service towns, namely, that each was highly dependent on the extent and density of rural - especially agricultural - settlement in its hinterland. In studying the Hamilton and Wagga regions, further attention is given to the idea that sparse, rather than dense, rural populations encouraged the accretion of urban settlements.[1]

---

1. See Table 7: 3a, below.

iii, a Transport and urbanization: roads.

N. G. Butlin has a section entitled 'The neglect of road construction',[1] which, although it applies to nineteenth century practice, might well apply to historianly practice since then. There is some good reason for this, since the relative neglect of road construction in favour of a concentration on railways manifested itself in a lack of published contemporary official sources on roads; for instance, in Victorian parliamentary papers there are no annual reports on roads, but just occasional returns to orders and select committee reports, while the only printed reports of the New South Wales Commissioner of Roads are in 1865-6 and 1870-1.

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the three sample areas studied here were, though more or less distant from the metropolises, moderately well served by road by at least the mid- to late sixties. In Victoria, both Hamilton and Creswick were early favoured with main roads (each emanating from Ballarat)[2], these being roads for which the State took financial responsibility, though delegating the actual construction to roads boards (later, shires). These proclamations were to be augmented over the next few years, so

---

1. Op. cit., 314-20.
2. See 'Return to an order...', VPLAV, 1862-3, C.2.; and cf. J. A. Paterson, The Gold Fields of Victoria in 1862, (Melb., 1862), 214-5.

that by 1867 Creswick Shire had three lines of State-supported main roads, comprising more than 33 miles, and Dundas Shire five lines, totalling more than 110 miles.[1]

J. M. C. Watson states that returns on agricultural produce in the Hamilton district were low because of high transport costs due to the town's isolation.[2] In summer, he says, transport was not difficult except at creek fords and swamps; but in winter, many crossings were in flood, and roads became seas of mud. Indeed, 'as traffic increased and cut up the surface, many of the roads became impassable at all times of the year'. It is true that there was much apparent dissatisfaction in the early sixties with the work of Dundas Shire Engineer McSheehy; and, more generally, the Hamilton Spectator railed against various aspects of the roads question[3] (although even at that time thoughts were concentrated chiefly on railways). On the other hand, the annual reports on the progress of selection under the Land Acts contain no comment on the state of roads in the Hamilton (nor, for that matter, the Creswick) district as an impediment to settlement or agriculture. The collector of agricultural statistics in Dundas County in 1865/6 and 1866/7 reported that public

---

1. See 'Return . . .', VPLAV, 1867, 1st Session, II, C.1.; this return shows that at that time the best served areas were around the main towns, particularly on the goldfields side of Melbourne, and between Melbourne and the main goldfields, on the goldfields themselves, and to a lesser extent, around some seaports.
2. 'Selectors and Squatters in the Hamilton District in the 1860s', (M.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1957), 56-7.
3. HS, 26 Jan, 2 Feb, 4 May, 14 Dec 1861, 29 Mar, 23 May, 30 May, 21 Nov, 5 Dec 1862, 10 Jul, 27 Nov 1863, 15 Apr, 30 Jul, 27 Aug, 31 Aug, 10 Sep 1864.

roads were improving rapidly.[1]

In 1876, the Hamilton Spectator Almanac recalled that

> In 1860 there was not a piece of macadamised road within forty miles of Hamilton; now these roads extend to several hundreds of miles, shewing the benefits which have arisen from the extension of shire and borough councils in the district. 2

By then, Creswick had had its rail link for two years, and Hamilton was to receive this in the following year. Thereafter, roads naturally became less important as arteries, especially with the progressive construction of branch railway lines in each district in the 1880s.

In 1913, the new Country Roads Board found that roads in Dundas, Wannon, Mt Rouse, and Minhamite Shires were 'generally in good condition'.[3] This they attributed to the ease of the terrain, and to the easy accessibility of basalt - considered the State's best roadmaking stone because the grit worn from it has considerable cementing value in combination with moisture.[4]

Completing their inspection of Victorian roads in the following year, Board members found that

> In the Central district there exist many examples of the excellent standard of road construction adopted in the early days of settlement, particularly on the roads connecting gold-field centres such as Castlemaine, Maryborough, Ballarat, Ararat and Stawell, 5

two of these main roads passing through Creswick.

---

1. VPLAV, 1867, 1st Session, III, No.13, 95; and 1868, III, No.1, 95.
2. HS Almanac, 1876, 137.
3. Victoria, Country Roads Board, First Annual Report, 1914, 35.
4. Ibid., 46.
5. Second Annual Report, 1915, 11.

Wagga in the early part of the period enjoyed the benefits of an easy terrain for road transport from the Victorian border, and of admittedly infrequent steamer services up the Murrumbidgee after 1858. Though the town was isolated by distance and terrain from Sydney, evidently improvements to the Sydney-Albury road offered increasing economies to any Wagga men who chose to trade with their colonial metropolis.[1]

It is apparent that Wagga merchants continued to be oriented towards the system of carrying goods overland from the Victorian border, especially with the early Victorian rail link to Wodonga; at about that time, the New South Wales Commissioner for Roads couched this preference in terms of the regulation of Victorian road carriers:

---

1. See the 'Report from the Commissioner of Roads', VPLANSW, 1865-6, XIII, 247; here he reported on the effect of the construction of main roads on transit times and costs thus:

	1857		1864	
	Time (days)	Cost (£ per ton)	Time	Cost
Sydney-Gundagai	25-40	21-30	16-25	7-9
Sydney-Albury	40-90	25-30	21-40	12-14

Overall, the Commissioner estimated that between Sydney and Albury the average savings per ton in the cost of the carriage of goods was at least £6, 'one-half of which may certainly be attributed to the improvements in the Main Roads'.

> It has frequently been represented to me that, for instance, at Wagga Wagga, the merchants much preferred getting their goods from Melbourne, as they could depend so much on the speed and regularity of the Victorian carriers, who are all regularly licensed and under proper control. 1

But even after the New South Wales railways reached Wagga in 1878, and Albury shortly afterwards, the punitive New South Wales freight rates from the border combined well with the 'speed and regularity' of Victorian road teams to preserve much of the Melbourne-oriented complexion of Wagga trade.[2]

1. VPLANSW, 1870-1, III, 173.
2. See pp. 364, 374, 376, Note 2, below.

iii, b Transport and urbanization: railways.

A writer in the Australasian in 1884 characterized thus the three phases of 'Yaricho', an up-country township:[1] in its first phase, Arcadia, the township was a mere hamlet; the arrival of the railways introduced the second phase, Utopia. Then came Inertia:

> After [the extension of the railway beyond Yaricho] it was the facile descent to Avernus. The free selectors of the neighbourhood and the squatters continued to benefit, it was true; for the railway afforded the requisite facilities for the conveyance of the produce of the former and the wool of the latter to the metropolis. But this was of little, if any, benefit to the village. During the short period in which it had been the terminal depot of the Great North-Southern Railway, there had naturally been a concentration of business; and population of a shifting character had been drawn together for the time being. This caused a few new establishments to be started, and produced a vitality, which, upon the opening of the next extension thirty miles further, immediately expired. 2

Although it has been argued elsewhere that there can be no tenable general theory of the effect of the railway on town growth, and although it would be unwise to push the analogy between 'Yaricho' and larger and more diversified country towns, nevertheless it can be seen that Ballarat, Creswick, and other towns did partake of 'Yaricho's' experience to some extent. Thus, there was a sharp slump in the number of bales of wool consigned from Ballarat railway

---

1. 'P. L. M.', 'Three Phases of a Township in the Back District', Australasian, 12 Jul, 19 Aug, and 23 Aug 1884.
2. Ibid., 23 Aug 1884.

station in the 1870s, partly because of the opening of the Maryborough line *via* Creswick and Clunes, but chiefly because that decade also saw great railway development to the west *via* Ararat, to Horsham in the north-west, and Hamilton and Portland in the south-west, by 1879.[1] Of course, wool-handling was a minor string to Ballarat's bow.

In passenger and goods traffic, the chief feature of the railway figures is to emphasise Creswick's suburbanness to Ballarat. For 1874/5 and 1878, Creswick had a greater passenger turnover and smaller passenger mileage than did Clunes, indicating more trips to and from Ballarat; the smaller tonnages of inward goods to Creswick, especially in 1878, reinforces the idea that Ballarat acted as a primary service centre to many Creswick people, but only as a secondary service centre for Clunes, indicating that significant ecological differences could result from relatively small absolute differences in rail mileage. The changing average goods mileages suggest a more complex service structure, but it is difficult to interpret this change.[2]

---

1. See Table 6: 4.
2. See Table 6: 5. There was an increase in ton/mileage of inward and, esp., outward Creswick goods; 1874 mileages suggest a Geelong orientation, but could reflect a Melbourne - Ballarat structure, or mixture of the three. 1878 outward goods mileages suggest stronger movement to Melbourne as a centre, but at which other town's expense is unknown. Clunes figures, while contrasting with Creswick' in general, also show a reversal in these years: 1874 outward goods obviously tied to Ballarat, but less so by 1878; on the other hand, inward goods in 1874 obviously drawn from Geelong and/or Melbourne and Ballarat, but by 1878 drawn chiefly from Ballarat.

Table 6: 4. Wool and livestock traffic at Creswick and other stations, 1878-1891

	Bales wool	Tons livestock	
	Out	In	Out
1878			
Creswick	321	6	70
Clunes	427	8	18
1885/6			
Creswick	828	34	73
Clunes	546	266	494
1890/1			
Creswick	54	4	-
Clunes	766	290	239
Allendale	333	26	4
Kingston	235	19	16
Newlyn	71	24	294
Rocky Lead	21	-	15

Source: Figures drawn from the Victorian Railways Commissioners' annual reports on operations for the years mentioned, printed in VPLAV.

Table 6: 5. Passenger and goods traffic at Creswick and other stations, 1874/5 - 1890/1

	Passengers				Goods	
	OUT		IN		OUT	IN
	Pass.	Miles per p.	Pass.	Miles per p.	Tons	Tons
1874/5						
Creswick	35005	20	30495	17	2678	3099
Clunes	20799	32	15718	25	967	4769
1878						
Creswick	44404	17	32481	19	10518	4318
Clunes	28850	25	24184	23	887	32600
		Pence per p.		Pence per p.		
1881						
Creswick	80715	17	51566	20	6089	5199
Clunes	33313	27	21851	31	699	25509
1885/6						
Creswick[a]	106964	16	49878	22	10493	25627
Clunes	28213	28	17065	34	825	29845
1887/8						
Creswick[a]	90846	14	61886	15	1412	19327
Allendale	36815	14	16360	15	779	27452
Kingston	8095	20	6049	17	3346	7431
Newlyn	6719	18	4643	16	8205	602
Rocky Lead	7806	18	3905	17	2720	333
1890/1						
Creswick[a]	88854	11	73212	11	858	6222
Broomfield	14426	9	3979	8	15	323
Allendale	41250	13	21033	16	1658	29695
Kingston	10411	16	6752	17	4280	9185
Newlyn	7467	20	4812	18	11203	801
Rocky Lead	5926	16	2759	17	3889	269

Source: Figures drawn from the Victorian Railways Commissioners' annual reports on operations for the years mentioned, printed in VPLAV.

a. Creswick and North Creswick stations together.

Creswick's role in relation to the pastoral industry,[1] and to other settlements in the Shire, was affected by later railway developments. Strictly speaking, Creswick had been a terminus for only four months, in 1874, during the construction of the line from Ballarat to Maryborough; but because the town's tribute area - corresponding closely to the area of Creswick Shire - lay north-east and east away from Maryborough line, Creswick was for more than a decade the railhead or effective terminus for that area (particularly since Daylesford, further east, was not connected to the Melbourne-Bendigo line until 1880).

In these fourteen years, Creswick pursued a modest trade in the handling of wool and livestock.[2] The large increase in the bales of wool consigned in the mid-1880s indicates that there was indeed a rise in sheep numbers in the shire at that time. Creswick's role changed immediately with the opening early in 1887 of a branch or loop line running from North Creswick through Allandale, Kingston, Newlyn, Rocky Lead, and Leonard's Hill to Daylesford, some 24 rail miles distant. There was a general drop at this time in the amount

---

1. Note Dunsdorfs' observation, op. cit., 162, that goldfields agriculturalists dreaded the railway; the big decline in Creswick agriculture occurred before the rail link. Indeed, the lack of a railway denied agriculturalists an alternative to their dwindling local market; but on the other hand, it is true that the arrival of the railway was not followed by an appreciable net revival of agriculture.
2. See Table 6: 4.

of wool and livestock handled throughout the wider district; but within this drop, Creswick's share plummetted in favour of the newer outlets, Allendale, Kingston and Newlyn, respectively four, six, and nine miles from the new North Creswick junction. Some degree of specialization is evident in that the bulk of the district's wool was now consigned from Allendale (which was also the more important mining centre) and Kingston, especially the former, while outgoing livestock was railed chiefly from Newlyn. Some of the traffic through Creswick station must have come from the west, but if it be assumed for the moment that 100 per cent. came from the area to the north and east which was traversed by rail in 1887, Creswick's loss of traffic may be characterized thus, in terms of a base figure of 100 for 1885/6:

Creswick station	1885/6	1887/8	1890/1
Outgoing stock	100	26	Nil
Wool	100	11	6.5

The railway which traversed the Shire in the mid-eighties thus encouraged a trend to village expansion which had, however, been in process probably since the late seventies.[1] Creswick was already part of a relatively highly urbanized country and region. Mines - increasingly with their growth in scale - were a form of primary industry that conduced to urbanization, and as the new mines

1. That this expansion preceded the railway is evident both from the 1881 census, and from observations such as that of Brough Smyth in 1882, that some of the mining companies had made provision for the erection of dwellings near the mines, Argus, 13 Sep 1882; see Table 6: 6.

Table 6: 6. Towns and villages in the Creswick district, 1861-1891

Name	1861	1871	1881	1891
Allendale			139	1562
Ascot[a]		60		
Bald Hill(s)[a]		227		
Campbelltown			49	85
Dean		c.300[b]		32
Glengower		c.100		34
Kingston		c.200	335	316
Langdon's Hill				44
Mount Prospect				60
Newlyn		c.500		327
Rocky Lead		c.400		194
Smeaton			245	502
Spring Hill		269		124
Springmount				269
Sulky Gully[a]		c.200		

a. These three were in Ballarat Shire; all others listed were in Creswick Shire.

b. Numbers preceded by 'circa' are estimates from Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer of 1870; all other figures are from the relevant Census. The only point of comparison is Bald Hills, with an 1870 estimate of 500 and an 1871 census tally of 227, suggesting that these estimates encompass more than simply the village nucleus. Note that population figures for several villages - or reputed villages - are not available from any source; e.g., Ullina, Bullarook, Clementston, Blampied, Broomfield, Dibdintown, Moorookyle, Jerusalem, Wallacetown, Tourello; some will have come into being after 1891, others never existed except on maps.

crept north from the town in the 1870s and 1880s, villages were refurbished, and small towns appeared. Earlier years had seen the decline of Creswick's more purely mining outliers, the settlements of Bald Hills, Rock Lead, and Sulky Gully. Village settlement then focussed chiefly on the pastoral and agricultural villages of Smeaton, Spring Hill, Kingston, and Dean, and the timber and livestock centre at Newlyn-Bullarook. In the later 1870s, Kingston and Smeaton came into their own as mining villages, and in the 1880s the town of Allendale - linked by the railway in 1887 - grew briskly in association with the Berry group of mines. By 1891, 44 per cent. of Creswick Shire's population of 8000 were living in villages or towns; taking the Borough together with the Shire, the level of 'urbanization' rises to 60 per cent. The increase in the population of the Shire between 1881 and 1891 almost exactly equalled the growth in the size of the town of Allendale.

The North Creswick-Daylesford railway link of 1887, which had diminished Creswick's capacity as a pastoral town, also had an inevitable effect on passenger and goods traffic at Creswick.[1] The contrast between Creswick and Clunes continued throughout the period: Clunes people continued to make fewer and costlier trips in and out of the town, and to have large tonnages of goods railed in to them. Changes in the Creswick figures are, again, harder to

---

1. Table 6: 5.

interpret. In general, the turnover of passengers and goods through Creswick and North Creswick stations rose to 1885/6, reflecting the town's position as railhead for a rising population to the north-east. Similarly, the drop in goods turnover, and stagnation of passenger turnover, in 1887/8 and 1890/1 follows from Creswick's loss of status as railhead for the mining villages. These years show large passenger and goods turnovers at Allendale station, and, to a lesser extent, at Kingston.

Railway extension in the 1880s, then, meant that Creswick lost its advantage as a passenger staging-post, and, more important, as a secondary service centre for the distribution of goods (whether in a retail or wholesale capacity) originating from the shipping and manufacturing centres. In general, although Ballarat was the colossus of this region, Creswick Borough in this period may be regarded as the chief town of the area comprising Creswick Shire. However, Creswick declined throughout the period: in the 1870s, a declining rural population, and declining agricultural acreages, held back the town's chance of expansion. When the shire population did grow, in the 1880s, it grew in a form or branch of primary production - mining - which particularly conduced to urbanization; but the new mines were sufficiently distant from Creswick (upwards of four miles) that, with the aid of railway extension, population concentrated on the mine sites rather than in Creswick.

Chapter 7. The Town and its Regions: II: Hamilton

i. Land use, and town growth

> Look at the south-western district now - partly unpopulated, partly rack-rented, and all alike unprogressive. What a collapse for Mitchell's well-named Australia Felix - the potential garden of the province. Better be with the forgotten dead, Mr. Binney, than be alive and sharing in the responsibility for such a far-reaching abuse of the national heritage. 1

At the time that Furphy wrote, Hamilton found itself faced with the problem of growth in a shire of 1364 square miles, whose population had sunk below 3,000. The sparseness of population in Dundas Shire[2] - contrasting sharply with the dense population of Creswick Shire - reflected the almost exclusively pastoral use to which its surface was devoted throughout this period.[3] For although

---

1. Joseph Furphy, Rigby's Romance, (Sydney, 1946 edn.; written in the late 1890s as part of his Such is Life), 102.
2. See Fig. 7: 1.
3. See Table 7: 1, and Figs. 7: 2 and 7: 3. As explained in the case of Creswick Shire, the shires are the most satisfactory of the statistical units available, although systematic data for shires were not published before 1869. Further, the shires cannot be regarded as necessary approximations or urban hinterlands; although there was a high degree of correspondence between Creswick Shire and Creswick's observed 'urban field', the degree was lower in the case of Hamilton and Dundas Shire. Nevertheless, shire areas were not arbitrary and inflexible, and alterations in their areas may be regarded as indices of the extent to which rural population felt an attachment to particular towns. A major alteration occurred to Dundas Shire in 1872, reducing its area from one and a quarter million acres to 896,000 acres: this raises the further point that figures in Table 7: 1 do not comprise a continuously comparable series.

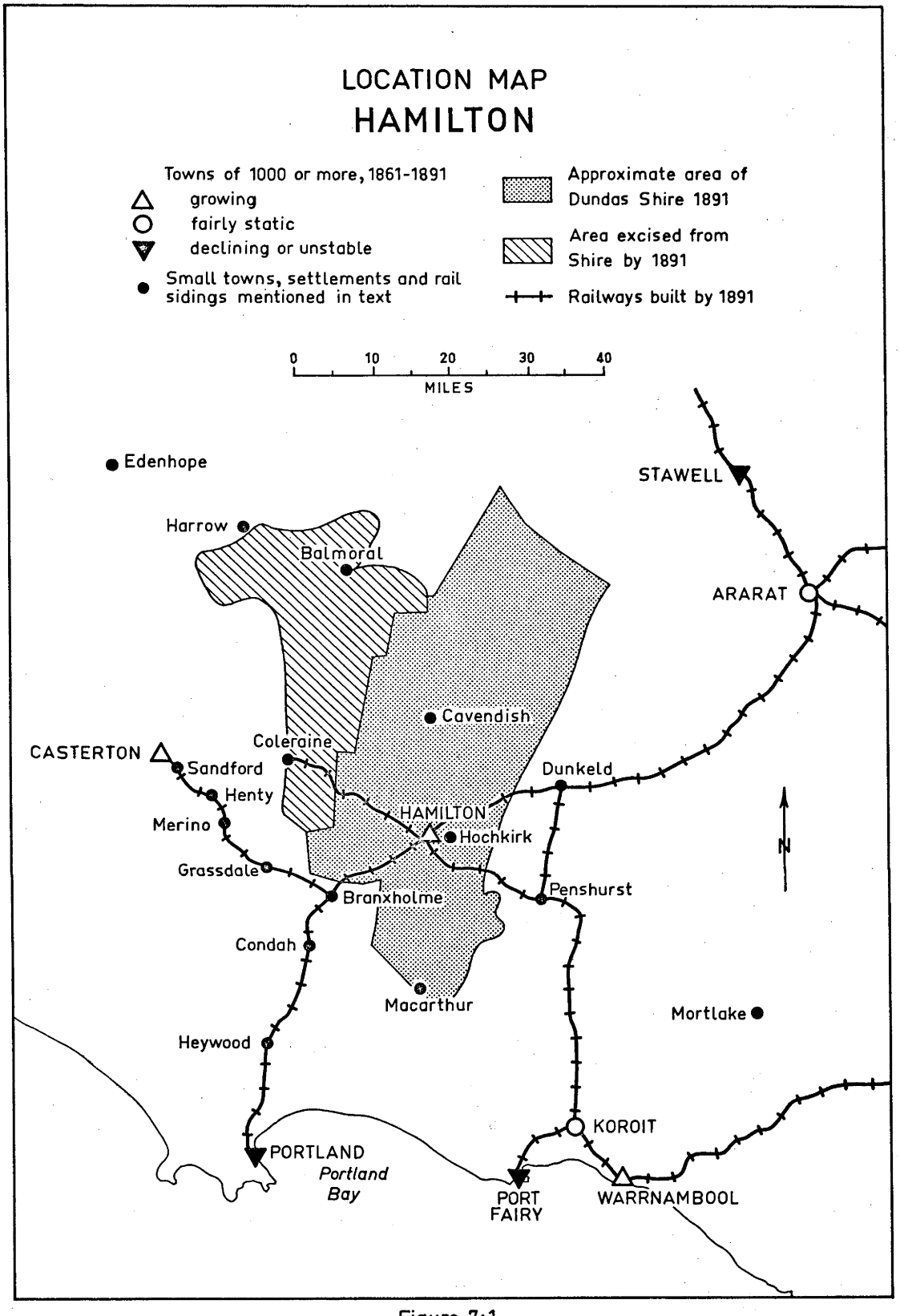

LOCATION MAP
HAMILTON
Towns of 1000 or more, 1861-1891
growing
fairly static
declining or unstable
Small towns, settlements and rail sidings mentioned in text
Approximate area of Dundas Shire 1891
Area excised from Shire by 1891
Railways built by 1891
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
Edenhope
Harrow
Balmoral
STAWELL
ARARAT
Cavendish
Coleraine
CASTERTON
Sandford
Henty
Merino
Grassdale
Dunkeld
HAMILTON
Hochkirk
Penshurst
Branxholme
Condah
Macarthur
Mortlake
Heywood
KOROIT
PORTLAND
Portland Bay
PORT FAIRY
WARRNAMBOOL
N

Figure 7:1

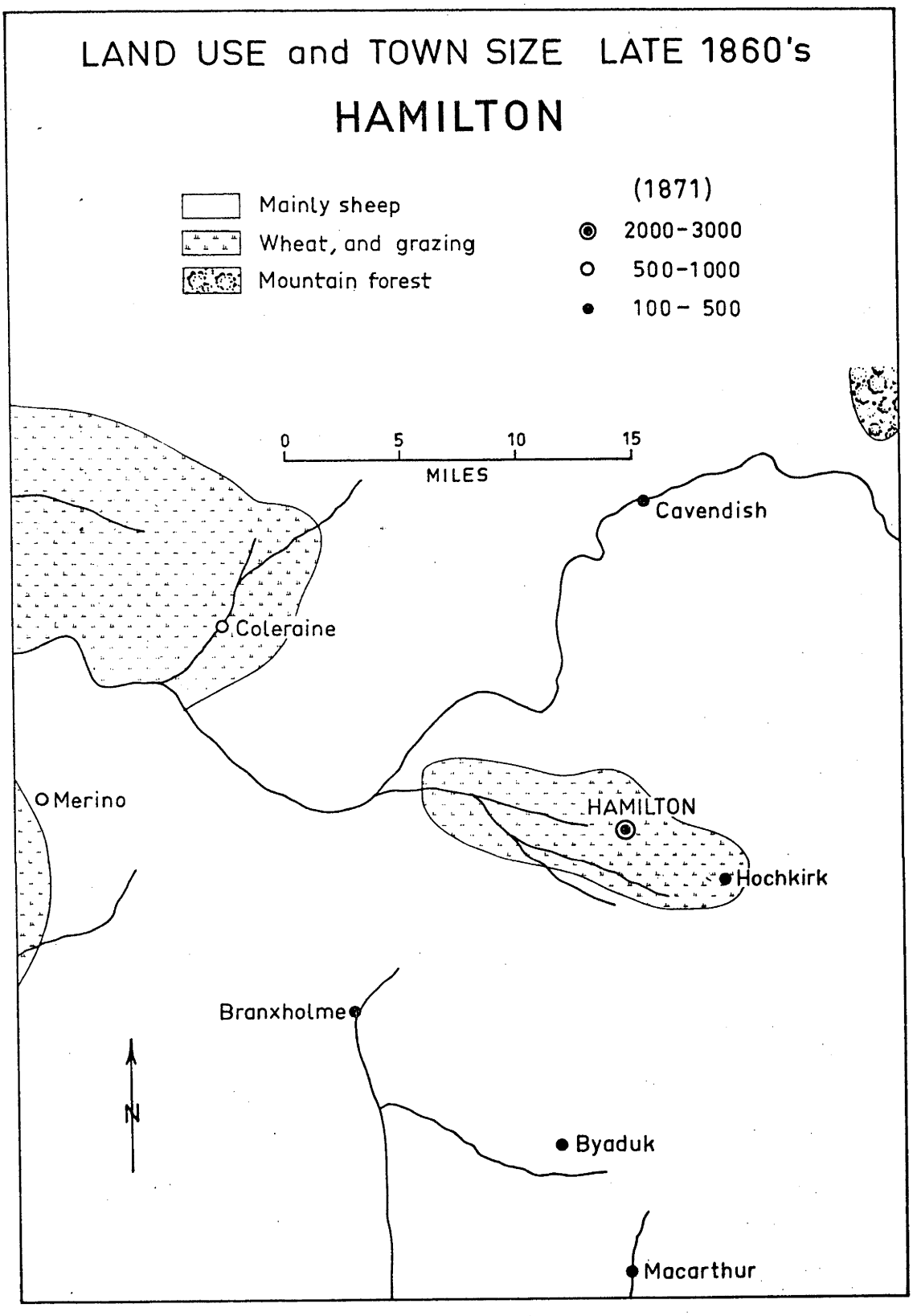

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE LATE 1860's
HAMILTON
Mainly sheep
Wheat, and grazing
Mountain forest
(1871)
2000-3000
500-1000
100 - 500
0
5
10
15
MILES
Cavendish
Coleraine
Merino
HAMILTON
Hochkirk
Branxholme
N
Byaduk
Macarthur

Figure 7:2

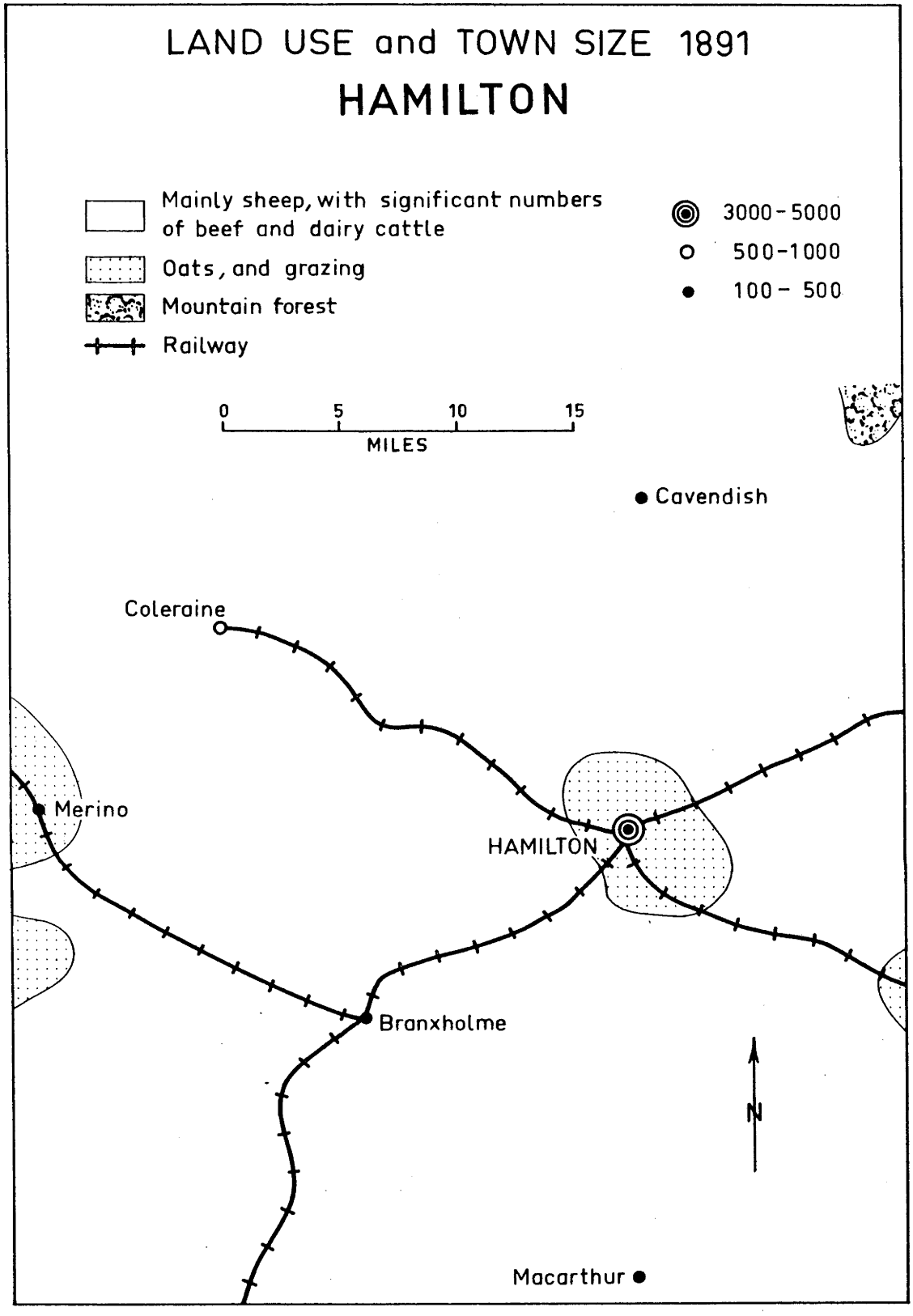

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE 1891
HAMILTON
Mainly sheep, with significant numbers of beef and dairy cattle
Oats, and grazing
Mountain forest
Railway
3000 - 5000
500 - 1000
100 - 500
0
5
10
15
MILES
Cavendish
Coleraine
Merino
HAMILTON
Branxholme
Macarthur
N

Figure 7:3

Table 7: 1. Land use in Dundas Shire, 1869-1891

	1869	1871	1881	1891
Shire area (ac.)	1258240	1258240	872960	872960
Cultivated acreage	9342	12096	3813	6111
Main crops				
Wheat - acres	5036	6690	1132	746
- average yield	18	12	18	13
Oats - acres	1318	1607	1014	2061
- average yield	20	14	29	23
Potatoes - acres	436	479	133	97
Hay - acres	1482	1810	1078	2839
Permanent artificial grasses - acres	215	812	221	133
Stock				
Sheep		697494	566174	607250
Cattle - milch		2289	2323	1871
- other		6105	12798	35275

Source: SRV; Census of Victoria, 1871.

the livestock figures are rough, there is no confusion about the general trend: sheep and wool-growing were vastly more important than the other land uses in the Shire, singly or together. However, the relative importance of blood and beef cattle grew throughout the seventies and eighties, and had assumed some significance as a land use by 1891,[1] when some 25 per cent. or more of the Shire area was devoted to them, although their actual numbers were still less than six per cent. of sheep numbers.

The same factors affected the cattle industry here as elsewhere in Victoria and Riverina at the beginning of settlement and especially at the beginning of the period under study: some parts of the country were simply more suitable for cattle than sheep, in other parts it was believed that rough new country could be best prepared for sheep by first grazing it with cattle. However, before an export trade could be built up, the market for cattle was very limited; in particular, the early sixties saw severe inroads from pleuropneumonia,[2] and the collapse of the fat stock market,

---

1. Their relation to sheep numbers was, in 1871, 6105 to 697,494 (or less than one per cent.); in 1881 (when the Shire area was considerably smaller) 12798 to 566,174 (about 2.3 per cent.); and in 1891, 35,275 to 607,250 (about 5.8 per cent.).
2. M. Kiddle, Men of Yesterday. A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890, (Melbourne, 1961), 386.

and there was a widespread swing to the more versatile sheep.

A swing to sheep in the sixties notwithstanding, the figures for Dundas Shire show that there was a swing back to cattle in the seventies and eighties. Margaret Kiddle touches on some of the subtler reasons; for instance, some men, like their American cousins, despised sheep, and also believed in the feasibility of a preservation process which would widen beef markets. Thus, Niel Black was not swayed simply by the character of the country at Glenormiston:

> At heart he was a cattle man and devoted to his beasts. His persistent hope that some efficient process of preserving meat on a large scale would be discovered was echoed by every other herdsman of the time. 1

Shorthorn breeding had begun in the thirties, and it continued, with increasing rivalry between the studs. A boom in local breeding started in the seventies: there was a steady demand for bulls and cattle from Queensland and New South Wales, and at the beginning of that decade an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in England upset a hitherto widespread reliance on English bulls. Rivalry reached acrimonious heights, but the boom, writes Kiddle, was restricted to the seventies: overcompetition among breeders,

---

1. Ibid., 387.

a swing in fashion away from the 'Bates' type of beast, a diminution of demand in the northern states, where sheep were becoming more popular (and which could now, in any case, provide their own bulls), all these meant dimmer prospects for the industry.[1] Moreover, Kiddle contends, Victoria 'did not greatly benefit' from the new boom which the advent of cold storage conferred on the industry, chiefly in Queensland.[2] However, although it is true that 'the day of the great bulls had passed',[3] the figures indicate that, at least for the Dundas Shire area if not for the whole of the Western District, boom conditions continued to prevail through the eighties. On the other hand, the important point here is that the town of Hamilton itself did not partake of this new boom in an industrial capacity, except in its long established tanning and simple stock-handling activities.

Indeed, the story of the pastoral industry in general in Dundas Shire is one in which the opportunities for urban exploitation of hinterland land used were strictly limited. Sheep and wool were

---

1. Ibid., 389-98.
2. Ibid., 398-400.
3. Ibid., 400.

the chief objects of attention, with a growing interest in blood and beef cattle, but it has been observed[1] that in Hamilton there was, at the most, a routine secondary industrial utilization of these resources. The numbers of milch cattle were low, and obviously tied to very local demands, although they may have increased in the nineties, following the establishment of a butter factory in Hamilton in 1892. Another new industry established in Hamilton at the end of the period - the preserving works - cannot be viewed as a straightforward utilization of commercial pastoral products, since it drew on a very reliable rabbit population. This was a case of the pastoral industry's benefitting from urban enterprise, rather than vice versa. Similarly, the Bee Company established at the end of the period was an example of the town's commercial extension into its hinterland - albeit in a very small way in terms of surface area used - rather than of its industrial exploitation of existing products or by-products.

Of agriculture in Dundas Shire, the general trend of the figures from 1869 to 1891 is such as to render unnecessary anything more than a brief discussion of fluctuations: for the picture is one

---

1. See Chapter 5, above, and cf. Chapter 7, Section iii, below, for a discussion of Hamilton's wool-handling function in the district.

of a land in which the commercial agriculturalist was a stranger. Wheat was the chief crop in the early years for which figures are available, and even then, at 5036 acres in 1869 and 6690 acres in 1871, it occupied only about one half of one per cent. of the Shire's surface area; a drop in yields, from 18 bushels per acre in 1869 to 12 bushels per acre in 1871, and the excision of certain areas with the formation of new Shires after 1871, explain the drop of wheat acreage to 1122 acres in 1876, and a continuous decline throughout the remainder of the period left the 872,960 acres of Dundas Shire with an incredibly low 746 acres under wheat in 1891. By then, probably because of improved yields at the beginning of the eighties, oats had become the chief grain crop in the Shire, but it only occupied 2061 acres, and the chief single 'agricultural' land use was the 2839 acres devoted to hay. Throughout the period, neither special crops, on the one hand, nor artificial grasses, on the other, were of any importance, although there was evidently some experimentation with pasture improvement in the mid-1870s, when some 5000 acres were laid down with permanent artificial grasses.

On the course of agriculture in the period before 1869, when shire statistics become available, the reports made by collectors

of agricultural statistics[1] reveal that the normal range of factors operated in the Hamilton district as elsewhere. Seasonal and natural factors included weather extremes (flood and drought, frost and fire) as well as the inconvenient timing of non-extreme weather conditions; crop diseases (blight, rust), crop infestations (grubs, caterpillars, aphis), and weeds (chiefly thistle); and stock diseases (scab and pleuropneumonia) which hampered the extension of small flocks and herds by the farmers. As well, the district was simply climatically unsuitable for certain crops, such as sorghum and maize. Among economic-geographical factors, the chief one at this time was the lack of markets for surplus produce; although a genuine factor, it was not always simply a matter of a numerically inadequate local market, or inadequate means of transport to wider markets, but, at times, rather the inability to meet in the local market the superior competition of wheat from South Australia and

---

1. Reports were made for the twelve months to the 31st March each year; reports for the following seasons in the counties relevant to Hamilton are found at: 1861-2 season, VPLAV, 1862-3, IV, No. 109-10; 1862-3 season, ibid., 1864, II; 104-6; 1863-4 season, ibid., 1864-5, III, No. 22, 109-10; 1864-5 season, ibid., 1866, 1st Sess., No. 2, 102-3; 1865-6 season, ibid., 1867, 1st Sess., III, No. 13, 94-5; 1866-7 season, ibid., 1868, III, No. 1, 94-5.

other areas.[1]

The economic factors affecting agriculture were both general and particular. In general, a vicious circle operated, whereby not only cottagers, but also many farmers, were forced to be absent much of the time carting, road-making or shearing, in order to provide or at least augment their incomes, and this absence naturally militated against efficient and successful farming. The difficulties of the application of mechanization provide an example of particular economic factors at work: the report for the 1864-5 season commented on the diminishing use of reaping machines, in favour of the sickle, partly because the clumsiness of the machines prevented their transfer from one farm to another.

'Human' factors which drew comment from the collectors included ignorance and bad methods, selfishness, and loss of heart. A perennial complaint was the lack of systematic root cropping and of fallowing, a lack which - with land available elsewhere - cost the district many settlers, on the evidence of these reports. A

---

1. Like the later success of the nearby Wimmera district as a wheat-growing area, this competition acted as a disincentive to agriculture, rather than as an element which actually forced many wheat-growers out of business.

more particular factor was the selfishness of individuals in failing, for example, to eradicate the thistle menace on their own land, nullifying the efforts of others; a squatter culprit named was the dilatory Edward Henty of Muntham. Similarly, there is evidence of the hangover of setbacks from particular seasons, as in 1865-6, when the collector put down the scarcity of oats in the district to the fact that growers had become disheartened by the caterpillar ravages of the previous season.

These, then, were some of the factors responsible for the lack of agricultural expansion, indeed the agricultural depression, in the Hamilton district. But while they may themselves comprise an historical factor in the lack of later agricultural expansion, they do not comprise a fully adequate explanation of the long-term limitations on agricultural endeavour in the district. The factors mentioned were not, for the most part, unique to this district, whatever differentials in the timing or intensity of their operation occurred between one district and another. While the operation of these factors, especially at a time of legislative attempts at closer settlement, acted as a disincentive to agriculture, it is necessary to examine

also the more direct obstacles to settlement.[1]

The obstacles to settlement are to be found in a complex of economic and cultural factors involving the profitability of wool-growing in the Hamilton district, and the fierce desire of the earliest wave of settlers to preserve grazing as a way of life as well as a way of making a living. That way of life has recently been treated at length,[2] and the means used in its preservation may be documented from contemporary and later sources.[3]

From the first application of selection regulations in the district, the Hamilton Lands Office was the scene of widespread subversion of the spirit of the law. Duffy's report on operations in 1862 noted that two thirds of the 699 selections there so far had been made by dummies or speculators, and listed Hamilton with Camperdown and Ararat as places where the Act had been 'systematically violated . . . both by squatters and speculators'.[4]

---

1. This is to fly in the face of recent historical practice, which has been justly aimed at redressing an earlier over-concentration on the legislative and administrative factors in the failure of selection settlement.
2. See M. Kiddle, op. cit.
3. See, e.g., the despatches of the Special Reporter, Argus, 29 Sep and 1 Oct 1866 (referred to below), and J. M. C. Watson, 'Selectors and Squatters in the Hamilton District in the 1860s', (M. A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1957).
4. 'Progress Report of the Proceedings Taken under "The Land Act, 1862"', VPLAV, 1862-3, III, No. 17, 7.

Subsequent reports until 1872 had little to say about the Hamilton area, presumably because successive ministers preferred to linger rather on the details of areas where some success had been achieved. However, other sources reveal the story of selection at Hamilton in these years. There are many accounts of the actual events surrounding the application for selection at the Hamilton Lands Office,[1] but the matter of most immediate relevance is the role of the town itself. The Hamilton Spectator had warned in 1863 of the danger if the selection acts failed: the alienation of the land to the squatters would mean the exhaustion of the capital of the district, would exclude new settlers, would rob future generations of land which would become extremely valuable.[2] When the time came, however,

> The townspeople were unable to resist the temptation to throw in for a chance. Every one, in short - men, women, and even children in the eyes of the law - 'went in for the swindle'

---

1. See, e.g., the accounts of John Sadleir, a police officer in Hamilton, Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer, (Melbourne, 1913), 114-5; of Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh, jr., who was working as a jackeroo on Edward Henty's run, Muntham, and who arranged for the squaring off of blackmailers under the Nicholson Act 1860, After Many Days, (Melbourne, 1917), 136-7; of the Member for Normanby, G. C. Levey, VPD, 1866, I, 236-7; cf. a local recollection, Hamilton Spectator Almanac, 1876, 141.
2. HS, 30 Jan 1863.

> . . . . Not one in a hundred of those who put their names into the ballot-box had the slightest intention of cultivating the soil. 1

As to the course of selection, an Argus special reporter toured the district in the spring of 1866 (at a time when the condition of the country served to dispel any doubt that 'the areas which were opened at Hamilton embraced some of the choicest land in the colony'), and found little agricultural settlement.[2] He remarked on the pastoral tenants' 'extraordinary anxiety to preserve their holdings'. The means of preservation were familiar, as was the observed pattern of settlement: a modicum of bona fide selections, some devoted to mixed farming, others -where a sufficiency of land had been consolidated - to grazing alone, and the dummied and forfeited blocks where the squatters' sheep nibbled as before. The reporter's enquiries in Hamilton

> led me to the conclusion that a run through the agricultural areas would not be rewarded by the discovery of much real settlement of the kind of which I was in search. 3

---

1. Argus, 29 Sep 1866.
2. Idem.; for an excellent and thorough study of selection in the Hamilton district, see Watson, op. cit.
3. Argus, 1 Oct 1866.

In surveying the failure of selection settlement, the reporter did explain that certain parishes were frankly unsuitable for agriculture, but he was also alert to signs of real agricultural potential, pointing up his lesson that the backwardness of farming derived from other than immediate economic and geographical factors.[1]

By 1872, the Lands Minister, Casey, reported of the Hamilton area that there was 'No fixed state of agriculture. The Selectors are generally without capital, and struggling for homes'. The limited extent of the holdings had greatly increased the district's population; it was feared, however, that this increase would prove ephemeral, due to the difficulty of increasing the extent of holdings. When the 'small portions of arable land' had been exhausted, and recourse had to grazing, the only families with any prospect of continuing would be those which had managed to secure adjoining blocks. It is of further relevance to Hamilton that the chief areas of selection were some distance from the town - west along the Glenelg River, and north in the Victoria Valley.[2]

---

1. Idem.; for instance, along Koroite and Koonongwootong Creeks several settlers had taken up lots under the earlier occupation licence system, and were still farming them, finding a market in Hamilton and Coleraine, and among the local squatters.
2. VPLAV, 1873, III, No. 87, 8, 15.

Reports in following years all emphasised the inferiority of available land, the inadequacy of permissible selection areas, or a combination of both. Other recurring features were the prevalence of grazing on selections, the disposal of selected land, the movement of settlers and their families to other selection areas, and the necessity for selectors to 'go abroad during a portion of the year to earn money' to support their families.[1] Before the end of the period, the only 'progressive' features or innovations noticed in these reports were the development of a minor wattle-bark stripping industry in the middle seventies, and the acquisition of new selection areas by established selectors for the purpose of extending their grazing operations.[2] The late eighties and early nineties, however, saw a resurgence of enterprise, with the establishment of a 'bee farm' at Mt Sturgeon in 1889, a rabbit preserving factory in 1891, and a butter factory in 1892.[3]

Presumably, the mention of such innovations was included in these reports in order to show that, despite the failure of

---

1. See, for example, ibid., 1875-6, II, No. 16, 19 (and, 36-8, a detailed list of all selections licensed in the district to July, 1874); 1875-6, III, No. 78, 13; 1887, II; 1889, III, No. 85, 15.
2. Ibid., 1875-6, III, No. 78, 13.
3. Ibid., 1890, III, No. 86, 16; 1891, V, No. 88. These developments are discussed in Chapter 5, above.

legislation to bring about agricultural settlement, this district was not entirely stagnant in non-pastoral enterprise; however, such developments cannot be regarded as important new land uses. Outside the sphere of legislation, there is some evidence that private leasing of land occurred; but agriculture in the Hamilton district was so retarded that even if every agriculturalist was a tenant, the net effect of the private leasing system in diversifying the rural economy was utterly insignificant.

In the Wagga region, too (as shown in chapter Eight), agriculture was very limited for much of the period, and much selection settlement was thwarted or turned to grazing; but there was sufficient wheat production at least to supply the local market, and the railway in the eighties brought immediate expansion. In the Hamilton district, agriculture was so limited that it was necessary to bring South Australian wheat to local mills even at times in the sixties, when the ratio of local wheat production and population was much more favourable than in the seventies or eighties. And although the editor of the Hamilton Spectator had in 1864 asserted that rail communication, and not 'fandangle land quackery', was the solution to the problem of agriculture,[1] the railway in fact brought

---

1. HS, 3 Sep 1864.

no wheat boom here: in terms of the possibility of agricultural expansion, this was by now 'the district of yesterday'. The successful mobilization of the district - both town and country - against selection settlement had helped directly to promote agricultural settlement in the Wimmera district, to the north. The increasing success of wheat-growing in the Wimmera acted, in turn, as a positive disincentive to any attempt to turn the Hamilton district to agriculture.

ii. The pattern of settlement, and urbanization

In view of the differences between land use in Dundas Shire and Creswick Shire, it is not surprising that the patterns of land settlement in each area also diverged sharply after the discovery of gold. The different patterns did have one important similarity: neither, at least as they had evolved by the end of the period, conduced to strong country town development.[1] The prevalence of small holdings at Creswick - the great majority were under 200 acres - and the density of rural population encouraged the fragmentation of urban services. On the other hand, settlement was sparse in Dundas Shire, there were many large holdings, and agriculture was virtually non-existent.

Besides this incongruous similarity, the differences between the areas were more striking. The average size of holdings in Dundas was ten times the average size of Creswick holdings. Cultivation in Dundas was at a minimum; the highest average of cultivated acreage was on holdings of 1000 to 5000 acres: of 59 such holdings, 24 were cultivated, at an average of 56 acres per holding, and yet the aggregate of land cultivated in this size group was less than one per cent. of the total land held in that group.

---

1. Table 6: 3, above.

It is probable that in the Hamilton district proper (of which Dundas Shire was not an exact approximation) there were even fewer freeholdings of less than 1000 acres, and many more above 5000 acres.[1] Particularly prevalent in both the Hamilton district and Dundas Shire as a whole were properties of from 1000 to 5000 acres, indicating the successful consolidation of some selections and/or the partial subdivision of old properties, indicating, that is, that directly or indirectly the selection era wrought some changes in the pattern of settlement, even if no diversification of land use followed.

Thus, even though Hamilton opinion itself believed in 1876 that the land was 'mostly held in large estates, which perhaps unfortunately for the district, are daily becoming more consolidated or increased',[2] it is evident that selector-graziers, as well as large owners, were augmenting their holdings. The Lands Officer's reports on operations in 1874[3] and other years indicate that all new areas - which, by then, were of inferior land - were taken up by established selectors for grazing purposes.

This was similar to the trend in the Wagga and other pastoral areas of eastern Australia, but the Hamilton district

---

1. Table 7: 2.
2. HS Almanac, 1876, 142.
3. VPLAV, 1875-6, II, No. 16, 19.

Table 7: 2. Sizes of freehold properties over 640 acres, Hamilton district, 1886 and 1891.

Size range (acres)	1886	1891
640-999	10	11
1000-1499	18	16
1500-1599	3	3
1600-1999	3	7
2000-2999	9	12
3000-3999	12	11
4000-4999	9	9
5000-5999	8	5
6000-7999	12	12
8000-8999	7	5
9000-9999	4	7
10000-11999	13	11
12000-13999	9	7
14000-15999	5	4
16000-17999	5	7
18000-19999	4	7
20000-24999	5	3
25000-29999	5	5
30000-49999	5	3
50000 +	1	1

Source: Figures culled from 'Directories to the Large Estates of the Western District', in HS Almanacs, 1886, 71-6, and 1891, 85-90.

appears to have been less affected by two factors which, towards the end of the period, began to influence the pattern of settlement round Wagga: namely, the subdivision of pastoral properties through the pressure of debt, and the subdivision or leasing of pastoral land through the pressure of rising land values conditioned by the spread of agricultural land use.[1]

Like their confreres in other areas, Hamilton squatters had generally been able to preserve the integrity of their runs from the inroads of selectors under the Acts of 1860, 1862, 1865 and 1869, but only at the great, sometimes Pyrrhic, cost of large acquisitions of freehold. Some - George and Thomas Young, of Dundas and Mt Koroite, Acheson French of Monivae (Hamilton's first Police Magistrate), Ernest Bostock of Brisbane Hill, Duncan McCallum of Ardgarton, J. McKersey of Kenilworth North, William Swan of Koonongwootong West - went under quickly as a result,[2] while many others were to carry a burdensome debt for years to come. But the existence of debt, aggravated by movement in wool prices, did not lead to large-scale disposals of freehold in the district. Nevertheless, a certain amount of subdivision - whether for sale or leasing - did occur, and was reflected in the increase in wool presses

---

1. See Chapter 8, Section ii, below.
2. Kiddle, op. cit., 273-6; Cf. Watson, op. cit., 143-4, 148, and Appendix 'I' for details of stations which changed hands during the sixties.

in the Shire, especially in the second half of the eighties.[1]

The private leasing of land was practised in the Western District, but it is difficult to determine the extend of the practice. When the Argus Special Reporter visited the rich Clarke and Hentyhurst country in 1866, he found that the selectors had disappeared, but was told that

> before long it was probable its owners would have the land surveyed into farms, and let out for agricultural purposes, for which it would be readily taken up. 2

Kiddle sees the practice of leasing land to tenants as an integral part of the way of life which the early squatters brought with them, if not in experience then in aspiration, from Britain:

> Among the first farmers established in the District were those on the model of the Old World. A squatter's responsibilities did not cease with his family, his men and his maid servants, for tenants harried his patriarchal existence. 3

She confesses uncertainty as to the number or proportion of tenants at any given time, but mentions, for instance, that the Hentys offered 17,000 to 18,000 acres for lease in 1870.[4] In this case, at any rate, a process occurred which occurred also in the Wagga district,

---

1. SRV figures for the number of wool presses in Dundas Shire:

1876	1881	1886	1891
21	36	44	71

2. Argus, 1 Oct 1866.
3. Op. Cit., 412.
4. Not in Dundas Shire.

but nearly two decades later: namely, a phase of tenacious consolidation of freehold having been completed, a policy of letting out some of the land on tenancy or share-farming agreements was at once entered into. However, leasing was by no means widely practised; Kiddle comments that 'tenancy was an Old World institution which under local conditions did not always work as expected and desired', and discusses Niel Black's abandonment of a scheme to subdivide Glenormiston.[1]

The only official figures available for private rentals are for 1871,[2] before what may be surmised was the major period of such a system; of 892,582 acres accounted for in Dundas Shire by the 1871 Census, 7,010 were privately rented. The bearing of this fact on the 12,096 acres under tillage in that year (of which the major crop, wheat, occupied only 6690 acres) is unknown; however, if the volume of rentals continued at a similar level until the end of the period, it plainly failed to prevent an overall drop in agricultural acreage to 6,111 acres in 1891 (of which wheat occupied only 746 acres, and much of which was not truly 'agricultural', being devoted to forage purposes).

'The Vagabond' in 1885 commented on the prevalence of

---

1. Kiddle, loc. cit.,
2. 1871 Census; SRV gave details of private leases by counties, but not by shires.

tenant-farming in the Western District:

> there are a number of selectors and a number of farmers who lease from the landowners. This rental system has its advantage in that the struggling agriculturist's capital is not locked up in the land . . . . since I have seen the struggles of free selectors in some parts of Victoria I am not at all sure that the leaseholder, around Warrnambool and in the West generally, is not far better off than the mortgage-ridden small landowners in other districts. 1

However, it is evident that the system was not prevalent or increasing in Dundas Shire; although the statistics of freeholdings conceal its actual extent, and although land use is not a guide - since leasing could occur for pastoral as well as agricultural purposes - the small and declining population of the Shire reveals the absence of closer settlement, whether through State or private agencies.

Although there was virtually no intensive land use, and the Shire population was small, Hamilton, of the three sample towns, gained the most benefit from its hinterland population; indeed, its population exceeded that of Dundas Shire. Although in the long term, the lack of diversification in its hinterland economy was a crippling handicap to town growth, the actual pattern of settlement evidently conduced more highly to urbanization than in either the Creswick or Wagga regions.[2]

---

1. Argus, 2 May 1885.
2. Table 7: 3a. The table, and comments on it, should be read in the light of reservations about the necessary use of statistical units as approximations or samples of hinterland areas, as discussed on page 269, Note 3, above, and 326, Note 1, below. Cf. pages 203-10.

Table 7: 3a. Urban and rural settlement in Dundas Shire, Creswick Shire, and the counties adjacent to Wagga, 1891

	Dundas Shire		Creswick Shire		B,C,M,W Counties[a]	
	Popn.	Per Cent.	Popn.	Per Cent.	Popn.	Per Cent.
Towns of 500+	3373	52.2	5159	46.5	10250	41.0
Villages up to 500	671	10.4	1485	13.4	594	2.4
Rural	2412	37.3	4444	40.4	14182	56.7
Total	6456	100.0	11088	100.0	25026	100.0
Population density (per sq. m.) outside towns of 500+	2.26		29.9		2.3	
Urban requirements of rural and village population (rural and village population: urban population)	100:109		100:87		100:69	
Urban and village requirements of rural population (rural population: urban and village population)	100:168		100:149		100:76	

Sources: Victorian and N. S. W. Censuses, 1891.
a. Bourke, Clarendon, Mitchell, and Wynyard Counties.

Villages sprang up in the district during the sixties, but, as Watson points out, country maps show many neat village sites, subdivided and laid out with streets, but which never had a building erected on them. Some, like Strathmore and Warrayura, died soon after birth, says Watson; other villages and small towns continued to grow - such as Coleraine, Branxholme, Casterton, Macarthur and Merino - because, says Watson, 'they were centres of areas of excellent land occupied by both squatters and a sprinkling of farmers'.[1] It is true also that the towns or villages named by Watson were on main roads, and were all to become railheads; but that was true too of Warrayure. Nor did Strathmore die completely: it still rated a separate mention in the 1891 Census, even if the population of the village was then only 43 souls. However, there certainly were several 'villages' of which no population trace can be found - Hotspur, Lyons, South Byaduk, and Milltown in County Normanby, and Warrayure, Tarrayoukyan, Mostyn and Karup Karup in County Dundas, can have had little or no life.

Of urban or village settlements in Dundas Shire itself, none was successful apart from Hamilton.[2] The next largest, Coleraine, grew rapidly in the sixties and then stagnated; Hochkirk, near

1. Watson, op. cit., 188.
2. See Table 7: 3.

Table 7: 3. Towns and villages in the Hamilton district, 1861-1891

Name	1861	1871	1881	1891
In Dundas Shire				
Hamilton	1197	2349	2967*	3373*
Coleraine[a]	24	715	667	734*
Harrow[a]	134	194	237	243
Balmoral[a]	129	189	161	197
Hochkirk	310	548	215	92
Cavendish	118	141	223	145
Redruth		65	62	
Byaduk		155		
Macarthur	55	219	307	341
Other				
Casterton	165	400	812	1099*
Dunkeld	152	162	279*	286*
Penshurst	155	487	595	551*
Branxholme	93	130	323*	237*
Merino	394	604	297	350*
Heywood	270	295	153*	275*

Source: Victorian Censuses.
a. Excised from Dundas Shire in 1872.
* Served by railway.

Hamilton, grew to be a large village in 1871 (548 people), but declined rapidly over the next two decades. Balmoral and Cavendish were both very small and were virtually stagnant throughout the period, while Byaduk and Redruth appeared but briefly in calculations, and then only in a very small way.

General lack of urban success was also the main pattern in the wider region round Hamilton. The next largest town, Casterton - centre of rich grazing country, and a rail terminus - was the only other settlement to exhibit steady growth, and it had only attained a population of 1099 by 1891. Two agricultural towns, Merino and Penshurst, grew rapidly in the sixties to attain a moderate size, but thereafter the former declined rapidly while the latter experienced but slight growth. Macarthur, Branxholme, and Dartmoor grew slowly but steadily, only to stagnate or decline in the 1880s. Heywood stagnated throughout, while Harrow and Dunkeld grew throughout, but in a minor way, neither village reaching a population of 300 in this period.

It is not truistic, then, to say that the different performances of towns in this study are to be partly explained in terms of urban land use - Government and private - in the various regions, in terms, that is, of the way in which the urban potential of each region was distributed. Thus, Hamilton's continued growth

stemmed partly from the failure of villages including the disperal of pastoral station villages in that district,[1] while Creswick's continued decline, especially in the 1880s, stemmed partly from the growth of nearby urban settlements, especially Allendale and Smeaton, and a general diffusion of services over the densely populated Talbot County.[2] Wagga was much freer than either of the Victorian towns from the competition of nearby villages, but by 1891 suffered the effects of the private diffusion of services engendered by intensive land use on medium-sized, rather than small, holdings. Despite the lack of long-term potential for town growth in its hinterland, then, and despite the fact that the urban requirements of Dundas Shire's rural and village population had fallen a little from 100:113 in 1871 to 100:109 in 1891, Hamilton enjoyed a relatively favourable relationship with its hinterland.

---

1. It has been suggested that the use of Shire units fails to reflect accurately the urbanizing propensities of wider economic regions, and that the exclusion from Dundas Shire of the border village of Macarthur would significantly alter the picture. While the latter suggestion is false -

Dundas Shire, 1891, excluding Macarthur	
Urban requirements of rural & village population	100:123
Urban & village requirements of rural population	100:154

   - the imperfection of Shires as samples of regions is acknowledged.
2. See, especially, the discussion on pages 265-8, above.

iii. Transport and urbanization

While Creswick lived under the shadow of the great mining centres, especially its neighbour Ballarat, Hamilton - though not a large town - was bigger than its near neighbours, and stood in a position of relative isolation from other towns of its own or larger size. It became the hub of coach services in that part of Victoria;[1] from here, coaches ran to Beaufort, Ballarat, Melbourne, Mortlake, Portland, Apsley, and to Penola in South Australia. In time, frequent services ran also to Warrnambool, and over the border to Adelaide, Mt Gambier, and Naracoorte, and of course closer places, such as Casterton, Coleraine, Penshurst, Branxholme, and Byaduk, all had regular connections. The provision of transport and accommodation involved an important proportion of Hamilton's workforce in 1861 and 1871 (though not as important as in Wagga),[2] and, ceteris paribus, would have continued to so so but for the advent of rail communication in the seventies. The progressive opening of the Ararat-Hamilton-Portland railway in 1877 eliminated

---

1. See, e.g., R. P. Whitworth (comp.), The Official Handbook and Guide to Melbourne, and to the Cities, Principal Towns . . . ., (Melbourne, 1880), 270; details of coaching services may be gleaned from the Hamilton Spectator, or, more conveniently, from the several almanacs published by that newspaper.
2. See Chapter 5, above.

important coach services from Hamilton to those two towns. Although there followed a diversification of coaching services to other places, this was more an attempt to deploy redundant resources than to meet genuine demands for such services, and in any case these were themselves rendered redundant by branch rail extensions in the area. These losses were regarded as but minor sacrifices necessary to gain for the town the benefits which it expected would flow from the railway.

Insufficient attention has been given to the effect of railway extension, one of the momentous factors in nineteenth century (and later) Australian settlement history. The speculative vagueness which so often characterized the optimism of those who originally sought rail connection has, unfortunately, been reflected in the generalizations of later historians. This is true for the Western District as for other areas: Margaret Kiddle, discussing railway extension there, states:

> Often the presence or absence of a rail link is sufficient to explain the rise or fall in prosperity of many of the townships founded in the sixties, 1

the implication being that presence meant a rise, absence a fall.

---

1. Kiddle, op. cit., 431.

At the same time, she seeks to explain, the rail connection through Geelong had the reverse to the expected effect, and Geelong declined from 14,897 in 1870 to 11,666 in 1890. The fact that she is wrong on both counts only serves to aggravate the internal contradiction between her two propositions. In fact, the Geelong urban complex grew from 21,459 in 1871 to 22,694 in 1891;[1] small growth, admittedly, yet few would, in like manner, advance a causal link between Melbourne's utter stagnation in the nineties and - alone - the fact that Melbourne was the focus of a rail network draining much of Victoria and the Riverina. And as shown elsewhere the general attempts by Butlin and others - whether explicit or implicit - to tie railway extension and bald town growth-rates is misleading.[2] The fact that the railway was often a powerful influence on town growth or decline is not in question; rather, the suggestion that there was a uniform overall pattern of relationships is felt to be false. Thus, we can and should attempt to determine the effect - and changing effect, where relevant - of the railway on particular towns, bearing in mind the many other factors affecting growth. And we may even draw similarities between the experience of two or

---

1. Comprising the boroughs of Geelong, Newtown and Chilwell, and South Barwon in 1871, and the boroughs of Geelong, Newtown and Chilwell, and Geelong West in 1891.
2. See Chapter 2, above.

more towns, without permitting it to be inferred that the erection of a universal model is being essayed. There are, for instance, similarities between the experience of Wagga and Hamilton, and the experience was probably common to many inland service centres: a decade of more of agitation for, and high expectations from, the railway, was followed be a decade or so in which the high expectations were unfulfilled or inadequately fulfilled, and which by the end of the period had, sometimes, most importantly, helped to bring about a rethinking of the whole question of town growth.

Hamilton thoughts turned early to the railway, when, in March 1860, the editor of the Spectator announced that

> This inland township of Hamilton, destined to be the most important in the Western district, is now due for a railway, and is bidding its future commerce and connection for some permanent highway to the sea. 1

It was possible at that time to think in terms of a simple line running north from Portland, with Hamilton its terminus, to the mutual benefit of both towns. In August, another editorial spoke of the desirability of a westward line from Melbourne to Ballarat and on to Hamilton, emphasising the benefits which it would confer

---

1. HS, 31 Mar 1860.

and the cheapness with which the stage from Ballarat to Hamilton might be constructed, due to the easiness of the country.[1] In December, mention was made of renewed efforts towards a Portland-Hamilton railway,[2] and shortly afterwards an editorial in defence of grants-in-aid to municipalities foreshadowed the optimistic anticipation with which rail connection was, for so many years, to be viewed: the editor stated on this occasion that it was the duty of the Legislature to open up the country, that it was acknowledged elsewhere that if a railway is laid to an out-of-the-way village, that place, like magic, rises into importance.[3] This bespoke a realistic confession that, to most legislators, Hamilton was still but a village, and represented a statement of the argument for developmental railways, which was always the chief alternative to that stated a year before, namely, that important towns deserved to be linked by rail.

In 1861, Portland interests sought the support of Hamilton Council in the formation of a Hamilton-Portland railway company.[4]

---

1. HS, 14 Jul 1860.
2. HS, 29 Dec 1860.
3. HS, 2 Mar 1861.
4. HS, 31 Aug 1861; earlier, the introduction of a new Land Bill had caused anxiety that land should be reserved for a railway from Ballarat; see HS, 6 Apr, 20 Apr, and 4 May 1861.

The editor of the Spectator suggested that Portland most needed such a line, and should take the responsibility of its organization. The port

> must ultimately sink into a pretty little fishing village or watering place, unless it gets better connected than it is at present with the interior.

He warned that road carriage to Hamilton from railheads at Ballarat and Geelong would be cheaper than from Portland or Belfast, and suggested that the railway to Hamilton would be even more important to Portland than its home-grown separation movement, which was then in the air.[1]

However, while Portland was to be left with the burden of organising its Hamilton railway, the idea of a company stuck, and the Spectator urged the formation of a joint-stock company to further the matter of an extension to Hamilton of the near-complete Geelong-Ballarat line; the editor pointed out that, with the completion of that line, plant and labour would be going begging.[2] This was the period of a short-lived revival of the idea of private railway construction projects in Victoria. Lack of response to this idea found the editor, in May 1862, reiterating the desirability

---

1. HS, 31 Aug 1861.
2. HS, 14 Sep 1861.

of a rail link with Melbourne, either through Ballarat or Portland.[1] He now counselled Hamilton sympathy with a scheme to convert the Portland-Heywood tramway into a railway to Hamilton.

The brief flirtation with the notion of private railways reached a climax in August 1862 with the Ballarat-Smythesdale scheme, which was regarded as a test case of the ability of private companies to build and operate railways: a railway to Hamilton, it was felt, might soon be feasible ('How admirably Hamilton is situated for the terminus of a great railway line').[2] Within weeks, the Spectator carried, without comment, a report of the failure of efforts to float the Smythesdale scheme,[3] and the parliamentary battle for railway extension was soon entered on Hamilton's behalf.

The notion of private enterprise in communications now virtually disappeared in local opinion, which from now on followed the lines of the expression of grievance against the Legislature. The Estimates at the end of 1862 were again felt to have ignored the Hamilton district entirely at the expense of Melbourne and the goldfields,[4] and at the same time the town suffered an affront

---

1. HS, 2 May 1862.
2. HS, 22 Aug 1862; note the emphasis here, as with the Portland schemes, on terminus status.
3. HS, 17 Oct 1862.
4. HS, 5 Dec 1862.

which the Spectator described as

> a piece of scandalous neglect, or something worse, which we will venture to say is unparalleled even in the history of Victorian official incompetence and neglect, 1

namely, that the main road from Ballarat to Hamilton had been gazetted as passing via Wickliffe and Ararat, rather than the direct route through Skipton and Streatham. The gazettal of main roads was a matter of high local interest, since these were the roads for which the State was to take financial responsibility.[2]

With the communications question firmly in the legislative arena,[3] local voices found they could do little but fulminate, and they did so regularly. For example, when the Echuca-Deniliquin

---

1. Idem.
2. For a discussion of roads, see pp.259a-e, above. It is interesting that HS, 5 Dec 1862, carried a paragraph from its Melbourne correspondent on the welcome demise of middlemen with the advent of the goldfields railways: the up-country storekeeper, he said, could now obtain and inspect goods at firsthand from the importer. The possible demise of the country storekeeper, as middlemen, and of the country manufacturer, was comfortably overlooked.
3. At this time, too, another venture of private local initiative - the Princeland separation movement, from which Hamilton had virtually abstained - received its coup de grace. There continued to be attempts to apply private or non-political local initiative directly in the railway question, but these were essentially by nature of smoothing the path of Government; examples were the private survey of a Portland-Hamilton line, VPD, 1869, IX, 2281, and the suggestion that the Assembly approve railways wherever local bodies guaranteed interest of four per cent. on total construction costs, ibid., 1866, II, 448.

railway (which, incidentally, was a private line) was projected in 1864, the Spectator claimed that Melbourne people looked north but not west.[1] The West, it said, outstripped the Echuca district in every respect - more stations, more stock, greater agricultural potential; demand, and not legislative remedies, would alone stimulate agriculture. Hamilton later learned the lesson of other border districts, such as Echuca, and began to point to south-eastern South Australia (both as a rival to Victorian outlets, and as a market which might be tapped by vigorous Victorian railway extensions), in an added to attempt to wring trunk and branch lines from the Government.

In arguing the priority of a western line over the northern line to the Murray in 1868, a local Member, J. A. MacPherson, argued that the State's duty was to accommodate its own inhabitants, rather than to obtain for its merchants the trade of another colony.[2] The advocates of a western railway soon reviewed their concept of the State's duties, however, and found that these included both the prevention of trade diversion to, and the attraction of trade from, other colonies.[3] South Australian anxieties now became explicit,[4]

---

1. HS, 3 Sep 1864.
2. VPD, 1868, VI, 869.
3. Ibid., 1869, IX, 2259; cf. ibid., 1871, XIII, 1713, 1872, XIV, 972-3, 974, 1059, and 1873, XVII, 1751.
4. SAPD, 1868-9, Folios 1074, 1127.

but - much to western Victoria's chagrin - were soon dissipated, partly in the conflict between competing interests in south-eastern South Australia,[1] but chiefly through that colony's frank capitulation to Victoria's superior strength.[2] For this reason, and also because the prizes to be won by Victoria were relatively minor, the agitators for a western railway found that the argument of trade diversion was not, here, the same powerful lever that was used in the northern border areas and the Riverina.

Hamilton interests had, however, taken another lesson from the organization of the North Eastern Railway League, and early in 1867, with the encouragement of F. H. Nixon and the Hamilton Spectator, a public meeting in Hamilton began an agitation which was to last ten years and more. It resolved that it was desirable to link Melbourne and the Western District by rail, this link to form part of the Melbourne-Adelaide trunk line. The latter part of this resolution was important, first, because if, as they believed, Hamilton were to be part of the trunk line, then this line would have greater priority than would a branch line to the town; and, second, because it made easier for them the universal

---

1. SAPP, 1875, II, No. 22, 80, 101, 106-9.
2. SAPD, 1872, Folios 2138, 2141; 1874, Folios 1857-8, 1978, 1981, 2065, 2087; SAPP, 1875, II, No. 22, 83, and 1881, IV, No. 124, qq. 123-6, 129, 136-9, 143, 760-1, 766, 772, 776-8, 781, 1419-24, 2337.

practice of submerging local self-interest below arguments of national interest.

The Western Railway Extension League, formed in April 1867, was a rare example of regional organization and cooperation.[1] It was formed, it said,

> with the object of uniting all townships and centres of population throughout the Western District of Victoria in making one general and combined appeal to the Legislature for the extension of railway communication between Melbourne and the South Australian border. 2

G. R. Bartlett, in his study of Victorian political groups, says of the country areas that most of their demands were small and local, and could be met by statutory local authorities or localised sectional organizations, but that there was 'one great exception . . . . In the constituencies, the Railway Leagues were among the most extensive and active political organizations'.[3] The W. R. E. L. did not fully realize its aim of wide regional cooperation, since

---

1. It did, however, owe some debt of experience to the Portland-based Princeland separation movement of the early sixties.
2. Hamilton Spectator Almanac, 1868, xxiv.
3. G. R. Bartlett, 'Political Organization and Society in Victoria 1864-1883', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964), 274; note that this and other such leagues were essentially ephemeral ad hoc bodies, bearing - in their direct relation to town growth - no comparison with the continuing professional organizations, with their scope for hinterland manipulation, that would have been possible (indeed, necessary) had the private railway system persisted and prevailed in Australia, as it did in America.

differences between Hamilton and Portland prevented each from actively participating in the other's railway agitations. And while a certain amount of regional activity was supported in the agitation for a main line, in which rivalry was chiefly on an inter-regional level, later agitation by Hamilton interests was carried out by the narrower Hamilton Railway League, and - subsequently - by the Borough Council, in an intra-regional rivalry over the location of junctions and the exact routes of small branch lines.

W. R. E. L., based on an executive committee of Hamilton townsmen, managed to secure many a squatter's name for its 'central committee' and its nominal leadership. The squatters C. M. Officer, J.P., of Mount Talbot (later an M. L. A. for Dundas), George Carmichael, J.P., of Retreat, and Adam Turnbull, J.P., of Winninburn, filled, respectively, the presidency and the two vice-presidencies. The executive committee had as its driving force F. H. Nixon, then editor of the Spectator, and the merchant accountant Alexander Learmonth, Mayor of Hamilton, who had always been close to the Spectator and its policies. Other members who were also active in municipal affairs included the publican and storekeeper H. Cooke, the timber merchant and storekeeper D. Laidlaw, and J. Wiggins, who was prominent in Shire as well as Borough matters. As well, the publican F. Rentiers,

the auctioneer and stock and station agent J. A. Learmonth, the commission and insurance agent F. Owen, the surgeon E. Govett, and the banker D. McPherson (who was also Treasurer) belonged to the executive committee.

The central committee of the League, from which the executive was drawn, comprised some 58 landed members from the district, and another 13 Hamilton townsmen, including the two newspaper proprietors (one of whom was also a bookseller and stationer), a lawyer, a surveyor and architect, a photographer, a butcher and tanner, a storekeeper, a publican, two stock and station agents, a jeweller, a farmer, and a miller/sheep breeder, two of whom were also members of the Borough Council.[1]

Thus, a representative spread of occupations was involved, the participation of only two manufacturers being an index of the shortage, rather than the reluctance, of those interests. The same was true of the later Hamilton Railway League, except that it had a higher representation of the type of middlemen who believed they could most use a branch line to other towns, namely, several

---

1. Respectively, George Robinson, John H. Scott, Angelo C. Palmer, John S. Jenkins, F. Jennings, D. McF. Brown, D. Cameron, C. Pilven, T. T. Seymour, H. Scott, A. J. B. Destree, August Deutscher, and P. Learmonth.

general store proprietors marketing drapery, boots and shoes, ironmongery, and groceries.

The task of the W. R. E. L. was made easier by the fact that, given the principle that there should be a western railway, Hamilton had at its mercy the promoters of several lines ('blue', 'black', 'pink', and 'green'), each of which might lead, by different routes, to the far Western District through Hamilton. Thus, the politics of the League were addressed as much or more to the question of bargaining with intermediate regional interest bodies as to the question simply of attaining a railway line to Hamilton and district. Nevertheless, the latter question was, of course, important and was the chief - indeed, almost the sole - issue in the 1871 election, which saw the return of the unpopular MacPherson. His unpopularity stemmed from his pre-election and election-time vacillation on the railway question; at the same time, his return was undoubtedly due to his membership of a government committed to the western railway.

If the organization of the W. R. E. L. was an unusual

phenomenon in the Hamilton region,[1] the arguments it used were familiar enough: the expected national or at least district benefits, rather than the desires of the towns, were emphasised. Consistency of argument was readily sacrificed to the needs of the debate at different times; disputes in the House, especially, derived not from confusion as to the priority of the several

---

1. Bartlett, op. cit., and 'The Western Railway Agitation 1867-1871', (unpublished paper, A. N. U., 1964), has outlined the organization and modus operandi of the advocates of the several western lines. Railway Leagues were set up in the main towns, leadership coming from men already in charge of Councils, P. and A. associations, benevolent activities, and conservative politics in general. This, says Bartlett, 'had its advantages, not offset by the class suspicions which hampered these people in political organization for conservative purposes'. These statements are capable of slight modifications; on the one hand, it is not true that all those active in the Railway League leadership were active also in municipal or other local affairs, indicating the outstanding priority which the railway issue had over others; on the other, class-motivated voices were occasionally heard to speak on the railway issue: thus, at a 'Working Men's Meeting' during the 1871 election, the Hamilton radical J. Wilson urged that national questions such as protection, assisted immigration, taxation of absentee landowners, etc., should not be submerged under 'pink lines', and attacked MacPherson for sending selectors to the Supreme Court; see HS, 8 Feb 1871. Organized into sub-regional committees, and financed by subscription and donation, the leagues often paid a full-time officer to help with the chief tasks, which were the deputation and the petition. The main problems were finance and the delicate business of deciding with which other regional league to cooperate, that is, which of the alternative lines to opt for at a given time.

criteria in railway approvals, but from constituency- or party-political considerations, Members choosing from an accepted range of arguments according to their political stand at a given time.[1] League opinion in influencing the re-election of MacPherson for Dundas in 1871 was more valuable than any amount of argument on the actual merits of the proposed line.

Hamilton and Portland finally received their rail link in 1877, but they got it on Melbourne's terms, as the final stage of a line linking both towns with the metropolis. This was an utterly different proposition from that originally (though briefly) sought, namely, a feeder joining the rich Hamilton district to the seaboard at Portland.[2] Such a line, if extended to Horsham, might have raised Portland from its torpor, and guaranteed stronger growth to Hamilton. Strong external factors militated against such a line, but it was also characteristic of the towns that they could not come together in pressing for such a scheme.

---

1. See, e.g., VPD, 1875-6, XXII, 1079-82, 1505, 1531-4, 1571, 1573, 1612-18, and 1676.
2. HS, 31 Mar 1860.

Both towns shared a feeling of grievance against the metropolis and the goldfields, but a mixture of historical fears and jealousies, and selfishness in calculating the advantages which might be wrung from Government, prevented joint action. Only limited regional action was achieved; Hamilton equivocated and abstained from Portland's railway scheme, Portland abstained from membership of the W. R. E. L. Hamilton, like Portland, prided itself on its pre-goldrush ancestry, and on its solid and respectable growth, untainted by the fever, speculation and false prosperity of the gold towns.[1] But then Portland was older even than Melbourne: from here came the first colonists of the Hamilton district, and the town of Hamilton also suffered a colonial relationship with the port. Portland men were prominent at the earliest sales of Hamilton town land, but for a generation squatter eyes continued to turn to Portland, Port Fairy, Geelong and Melbourne, more than to Hamilton.

On the other hand, while Portland languished, Hamilton grew: it was able to bargain with the other western ports on

---

1. Cf. HS, 3 Aug 1864, and note, e.g., 'The Vagabond's' articles, Argus, 28 Mar, 4 Apr 1885, and Joshua Lake, 'The Western District of Victoria', in E. E. Morris (ed.), Cassell's Picturesque Australasia, II, (London, 1890), 231.

matters of road transport, while disparities in size prevented Portland from effectively playing off Casterton or Coleraine against Hamilton. Much as it wanted a line from Portland, Hamilton could, in its absence, confidently expect rail communications from another direction.[1] Portland, then, was left with the burden of attempting to organize its own railway; it was unsuccessful,[2] and although the Government line did come through from Ararat in 1877, the town was to find that differential freight rates removed much of the benefit that it had expected.[3]

Despite freight-rates, Portland did grow in business and population with the advent of the railway era. The gentle decline of the town gave way to mere stagnation during the eighties, while the value of exports maintained a higher level than in the years before the railway.[4] Despite the comments of Portland's critics,[5] some direct shipments of wool to England were made from that market, and it is probable that the railway enhanced this function;

---

1. Note Hamilton's conspicuous abstention from district petitions favouring the Portland line, e.g., VPLAV, 1871, I, 99.
2. For the course of the venture, see VPD, 1872, XIV, 971-2, 974, 1059, 1063; ibid., 1873, XVIII, 1970-1.
3. Cf. report of public protest meeting, Argus, 10 Oct 1882, and N. G. Learmonth, The Story of a Port: Portland, Victoria, (Portland Harbour Trust, 1960), 31, 39.
4. Their average annual value 1870-7=£22953, and in 1878-90=£132899.
5. Cf. SAPP, 1881, IV, No. 124, qq. 760-1.

the accounts of the Robertsons of Mount Mitchell and Skene show changes in the direction of wool disposal of the period.[1] At first, wool was sent by dray either direct to Geelong for sale, or via Port Fairy to Geelong for sale; this system continued from the early fifties, with some wool also going to Melbourne, but by at least the late eighties, wool was being railed from Hamilton station to Portland, some of it for direct shipment to London for sale there, and some for shipment to Melbourne.

Railway statistics for the carriage of wool show that Portland's market was restricted to the south-western line and its branches west of Glen Thompson, and that virtually no wool was consigned to Portland from stations east of Hamilton. Due to changes in the freight rate, for example, Dunkeld - 19 miles east of Hamilton - sent its wool almost exclusively to Geelong and Melbourne, although it was much closer to Portland. On an average, about half of the bales loaded at Hamilton went to Portland. The operation of mercantile pressures as well as the straightforward economics of mileage rates is indicated by internal variations in the direction of wool consignments: for instance, Grassdale, on

---

1. Accounts and correspondence, Messrs Robertson and Sons Papers, (MS, Melb. Univ. Archives).

the Branxholme-Casterton spur, sent more than half of its wool to Melbourne and Geelong, while the next station, Merino, sent virtually none to ports other than Portland; similarly, the respective amounts going to Melbourne and Geelong varied, Hamilton, Casterton, and Coleraine sending more to the former, and Branxholme, Dunkeld, Penshurst, and Grassdale more to the latter port.

Whatever the destination of wool consigned at Hamilton, it is evident that the town became a railhead for a certain amount of wool which had not necessarily touched the town in its previous road trips to the seaboard. This was naturally important, since wool was the major export commodity of the town's pastoral hinterland. Nevertheless, the opening of the railway at Hamilton was not entirely succeeded by a feeling of expectant satisfaction; for, apart from the question of freight-rates, there was the recurrent concern also felt strongly in Wagga at this time, in relation to rail extensions in the Riverina - that the town be the junction of any district branch lines. Hamilton was anxious, too, that another main line to the town (via Camperdown) be completed so as to shorten the journey to Geelong and Melbourne.[1] Like Wagga, Hamilton soon had the mortification of seeing a small village preferred as the junction of

---

1. The direct Melbourne-Ballarat line was not completed until 1889.

a line to the west. The choice of Branxholme was supported by Portland,[1] since it would tend to funnel business there, but opposed by Hamilton, Coleraine,[2] and Geelong:[3] for the first, it meant loss of prestige and trade, for the second, the likelihood of delay in achieving rail communication, and for the third, that access to the Wannon and Glenelg country would be, at best, indirect. The Branxholme-Casterton branch, opened in 1884, was generally regarded as a political punishment, meted out by the Minister, Woods, to the electors of Dundas (which included North Hamilton and Coleraine) for their continual election of J. A. MacPherson.[4] The construction of a separate Hamilton-Coleraine branch in 1888, while pleasing both towns, further compounded the irrationality of the earlier line. The other chief affront to Hamilton in this period involved a similar situation, namely, the choice of Dunkeld (19 miles up the main line) as the junction for the 'black' line from Geelong *via* Warrnambool and Penshurst. After pressure from Hamilton, arguing that the line should proceed from Penshurst to Hamilton,[5] a

---

1. *VPLAV*, 1880-1, I, 103.
2. *Ibid.*, 97.
3. *Ibid.*, 103.
4. *HS*, 4 Jan 1881; *Argus*, 28 Mar 1885.
5. *VPLAV*, 1884, I, E. 9, 1-2; note that by now such intra-regional squabbles had become the province of town councils, rather than of regional leagues.

characteristic decision was made: both lines were authorized, and on 22nd August, 1890, so as not to give even one day's advantage to either line, simultaneously opened for traffic.

By 1890, then, Hamilton was as well served by rail as any Victorian country town, with lines radiating in four directions, linking it fairly directly with Portland, Port Fairy, Warrnambool, with Geelong and Melbourne, with the Ararat district and beyond - through Avoca and Maryborough - with the towns of the Central highlands, and less directly with the Ballarat district to the east and the Wimmera and Adelaide line to the north and west.[1] Nevertheless, Hamilton's growth-rate in the seventies[2] - the decade of the rail link - and eighties was much lower than in the sixties.

At the opening of the railway, the Governor, Sir George

---

1. See Fig. 7: 1.
2. The annual municipal population estimates for Hamilton, printed in SRV, showed a jump from 2700 in 1876, and 2800 in 1877 (the printed figure of 3800 being ruled out on the basis of the number of dwellings), to 3300 in 1878, and 3500 in 1879, dropping back to a census figure of 2967 in 1881; this suggests that, as in Wagga, the new railway provoked a sudden but emphemeral population increase (note that the figures after 1877 were not inflated by railway construction workers).

Bowen, told the Hamilton people that the railway would

> enable the inhabitants of the capital, and of the principal towns, to receive easily and cheaply the rich and varied produce of this district. 1

The 'rich and varied produce of this district' comprised, almost exclusively, wool, the product of an industry which could anticipate from the railway reduced handling costs and times, but not - as agriculture could - the opportunity for great expansion in acreages. In few parts of Australia had the wool industry not preceded the railway by several decades. From Hamilton's point of view, then, the railway offered little prospect of an intensification of the chief industry of the town's hinterland.[2] And, like Wagga and other service centres, it found that the great facilitation of wool handling by rail could erode, rather than enhance, the commercial benefits which the town enjoyed as a wool centre. This was particularly so (and it was, of course, true of passenger and general goods traffic as well) when the laying of branch lines tapped the town's tribute area. Although larger than the other towns and villages in the district, Hamilton could not offer a diversified range of

---

1. Cited by D. Budge and L. Jenkins, Dundas Shire Centenary 1863-1963, (Hamilton, 1963), 96.
2. The failure of the railway to produce a wheat boom here (such as occurred in the Wagga region) is discussed in Section i, below.

services sufficient to entirely offset the equalizing influence of the railway. After 1877, and before the construction of the branch lines, Hamilton did enjoy certain advantages: as noted above, for instance, it became the wool railhead for quite a large district; but lines to Casterton in 1884, to Coleraine in 1888, and from Penshurst in 1890 whittled away this advantage.[1] The figures suggest that there was a reversion to pre-railway avenues of wool disposal, following a partial response to the attraction of the Ararat-Hamilton-Portland line when it was the only railway in the district.

With the railway, Hamilton also became a passenger railhead, for a wide district, continuing its important function as a transport node; for instance, visitors to Melbourne from Mount Gambier, in south-eastern South Australia, preferred to travel by road to Hamilton to meet the Melbourne train, rather than make the sea or road voyage as before.[2] While branch extensions lost Hamilton some of this passenger traffic, it is evident that its added advantage of more frequent services retained for it the bulk of long-trip passenger traffic in the region. On the other hand,

---

1. See Table 7: 4.
2. Argus, 29 Mar 1880.

Table 7: 4. Bales of wool consigned from Hamilton and other railway stations, 1878, 1885/6 and 1890/1

Station	1878	1885/6	1890/1
Hamilton	9257	7630	6138
Dunkeld	3489	3194	2031
Branxholme	1569	2071	1778
Condah	397	526	-
Heywood	32	182	106
Grassdale	*	865	777
Merino	*	1525	1675
Henty	*	916	-
Sandford	*	1156	1107
Casterton	*	4469	4310
Coleraine	*	*	3727
Penshurst	*	*	997

Source: Annual reports on operations for the years mentioned, printed in VPLAV.

* Not opened.

goods traffic - less tied to narrow timetables, perhaps - was dispersed over the lines beyond Hamilton; the large volume of goods traffic at the small centre Haywood, for example, indicates that this village, rather than Hamilton, was the point at which Mount Gambier trade made contact with the Victorian Railways, as well as being the centre of a firewood trade. Of course, the dispersal of goods traffic allows a clearer assessment of the effect of the railway on Hamilton and its most immediate hinterland, and the figures show that there was an increasing dependence on outside sources of supply.[1] The historians of Dundas Shire state that before the railway

> Hamilton and all parts of the Dundas Shire had relied entirely on Cobb & Co. to keep in touch with the outside world, but once the railways arrived - and started to spread deeper into the area - the residents were no longer isolated: [2]

but the removal of isolation naturally meant the removal of the district's last protection against metropolitan competition. The railway facilitated improvement in the material quality of life in the town, but did pose problems for growth.

---

1. Tonnage of goods traffic at Hamilton station:

	1878	1885/6	1890/1
In -	5760	6447	10370
Out -	4450	3169	3664

2. Budge and Jenkins, op. cit., 95.

Urban growth throughout the region continued to be very limited,[1] and the railway cannot have been responsible for more than a most modest element of growth. While there is a danger, in talking of pre- and post-railway growth-rates, of implying that these rates were tied simply to the absence or presence of rail communication, it can be said with certainty that the expectation of growth in the rail era was not fulfilled. Even if the railway did not adversely affect a growth-rate determined by other factors, nor was it a powerful influence <u>for</u> growth, despite the effect it may have had in stimulating a revival of interest in local secondary industry. This is true for Wagga as for Hamilton, although in neither case do the railway statistics enable us to make as clear a judgement of its effects as in the case of Creswick. It would be hard to overestimate the magnitude of this disappointment, for the expectations aroused by the prospect of rail communication, and the organization that went into its achievement, had been unparalleled.

---

1. See Section ii, and Table 7: 3, above.

Chapter 8. The Town and its Region, III: Wagga

Wagga, too, had its 'tributary' region, but again it should not be inferred that the town held the region in vassalage: on the contrary. However, there were signs that during this period the town's concept of its role was changing, a change born of a growing realization that the juxtaposition of rural settlement and urban settlement did not guarantee that the growth of both would go hand-in-hand. Something of this sort of change was observed in Hamilton; it embodied a reaction aimed at both extending, and increasing the productivity of, the hinterland, and at maximizing the benefits to be gained for the town. It also involved at least an implicit acknowledgement that the town was something more than the sum of its inhabitants, or, rather, that the good of the town (and therefore of its members) might be better advanced than simply by each individual's pursuit of his own good. The town had not lacked its individual prophets; nor had it failed to act collectively at certain times, but its actions - such as the railway agitation - were reflexes bred of widespread expectations and formulae rather than of enlightened assessments of the goal sought.

i. Land use, and town growth

In the Wagga region,[1] there was less of an ebb and flow in various types of land use than in Creswick Shire, and more of a steady intensification of fewer types. Although it is true that cattle numbers fluctuated and declined, and that there was a sudden flow and ebb in sugar cultivation, the general trend was to growth in sheep numbers and agriculture, without much diversification.[2] The growth of agriculture here was in marked contrast to its minimal importance in the hinterlands of both Hamilton and Creswick as the period progressed.

The region remained overwhelmingly pastoral throughout, both in the extent of grazing, and in the handling of large numbers of travelling stock. Within this pastoral predominance, the sheep industry rose from an approximately equal share, with cattle, of pastoral acreages to perhaps ten times as much share by 1891.

---

1. The statistical sources for a study of the Wagga region afford us a picture of the type, rather than exact extent, of land use in the region; neither the Wagga Police District, nor, later, the Murrumbidgee Electorate (the available statistical units), can be regarded as a neat approximation of Wagga's urban field. However, although stock numbers were spread over these large areas, agricultural acreages are known to be confined chiefly to their eastern portion, which also contained Wagga.
2. See Table 8: 1, and Figs. 8: 2 and 8: 3.

Table 8: 1. Land use in the Wagga region, 1862-1890.[a]

	1862	1871	1881	1890
Holders of land over one acre				
-freehold	132	255	1060	1596
-leasehold	48	43		
Total acreage of such holdings				
-freehold	31057[b]	108930[b]	3152711	4634158
-leasehold	582066[b]	77585[b]	82080	205072[c]
Cultivated acreage				
-freehold	3422	3601	12065	78601
-leasehold	688	279	981	8152
Main crops				
Wheat -acres	2206	3282	8488	80361
-yield (p.ac.)	11.3	11.8	9.4	8.4
Oats -acres	1151	734	3414	3435
-bushels	32160	5500	3946	17165
-tons hay	1005	558	6538	27465
Stock				
Horses	6427	6412	13122	19801
Horned Cattle	66037	67122	47780	60254
Sheep	632059	828488	4214634	4970905

Source: SRNSW.

a. First two columns refer to Wagga Wagga Police District (partly in Murrumbidgee Pastoral District, partly in Lachlan Pastoral District), and the second two to the Murrumbidgee Electorate; although the former unit was identical with the latter in the early period, the electorate itself changed, so that the first two and second two columns are not strictly comparable.

b. Exclusive of the 'Area for Pastoral Purposes'.

c. 'Rented land'.

This was due to the collapse - for various reasons - of the fat stock boom, which had taken its rise from the Victorian goldrushes, and in which the Riverina became the holding and fattening centre for stock from northern New South Wales and Queensland.[1] At the same time, this and other circumstances - the market flexibility of meat- and wool-bearing stock, a rise in wool prices, and the improvement in stud flocks - favoured a swing to sheep.[2]

Wagga was less severely affected by the slump in cattle fattening than was Deniliquin,[3] which was more at the centre of the fattening areas, and better placed in relation both to Echuca and to the most populous Victorian goldfields. Nevertheless, the industry showed a general stagnation throughout the period, which was unfortunate for the town, since a division of labour had occurred in the disposal of cattle, few squatters acting independently of agents by the end of the fifties.[4] The town also missed the opportunity of becoming a large slaughtering centre in this period. The establishment of a large meat-preserving works was foreshadowed

---

1. G. L. Buxton, 'Land and People, A Study of Settlement and Society in the Riverina, 1861-1891', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1965), 19-36.
2. Idem.
3. See Fig. 8: 1.
4. Buxton, loc. cit.

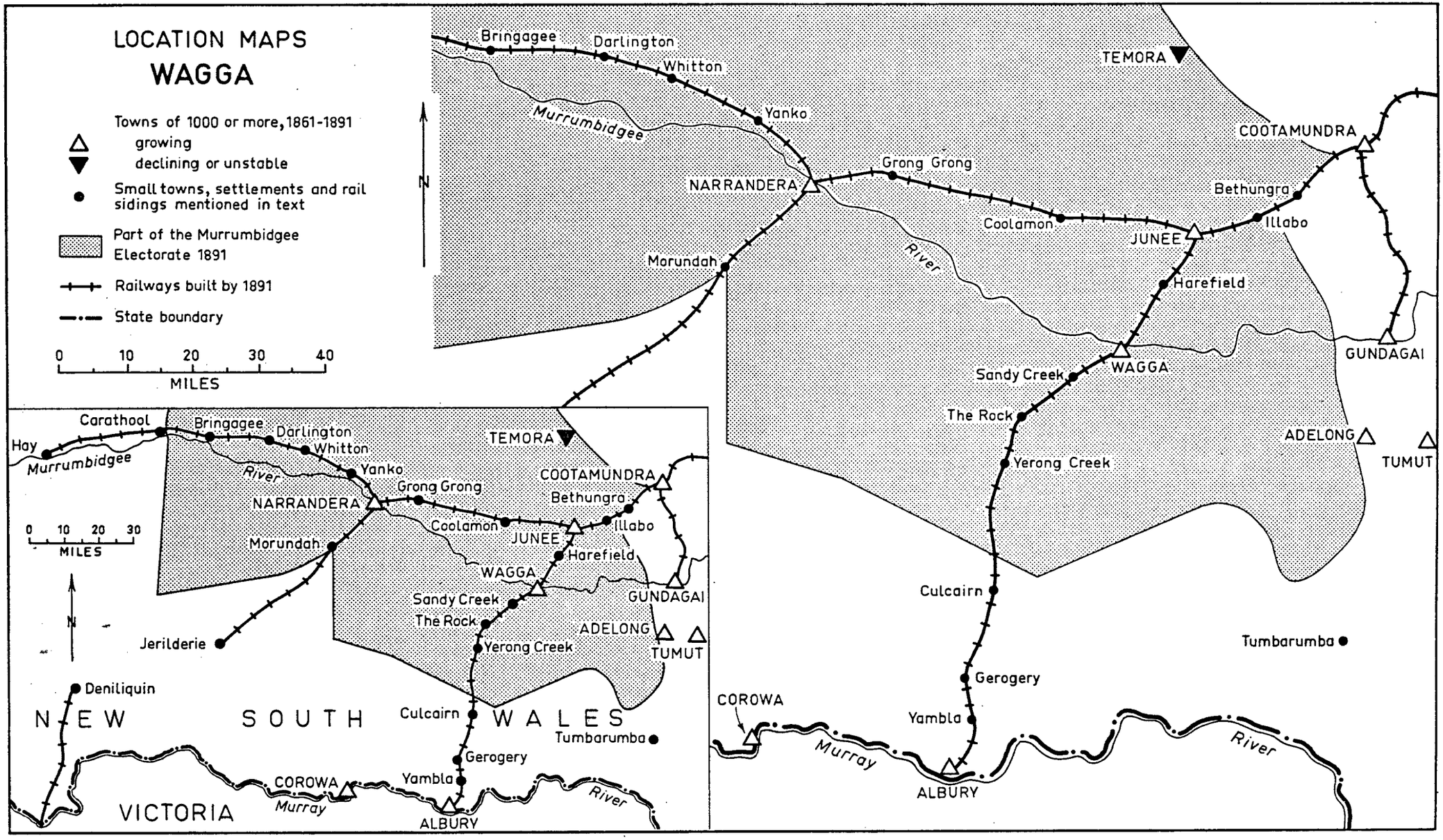

LOCATION MAPS
WAGGA
Towns of 1000 or more, 1861-1891
growing
declining or unstable
Small towns, settlements and rail sidings mentioned in text
Part of the Murrumbidgee Electorate 1891
Railways built by 1891
State boundary
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
N
Bringagee
Darlington
Whitton
Yanko
Murrumbidgee
TEMORA
COOTAMUNDRA
Grong Grong
NARRANDERA
Bethungra
Coolamon
Illabo
JUNEE
Morundah
River
Harefield
GUNDAGAI
Sandy Creek
WAGGA
The Rock
ADELONG
TUMUT
Yerong Creek
Culcairn
Tumbarumba
Gerogery
COROWA
Yambla
Murray
River
ALBURY
Carathool
Hay
Murrumbidgee
River
0 10 20 30
MILES
N
Jerilderie
Deniliquin
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA

Figure 8:1

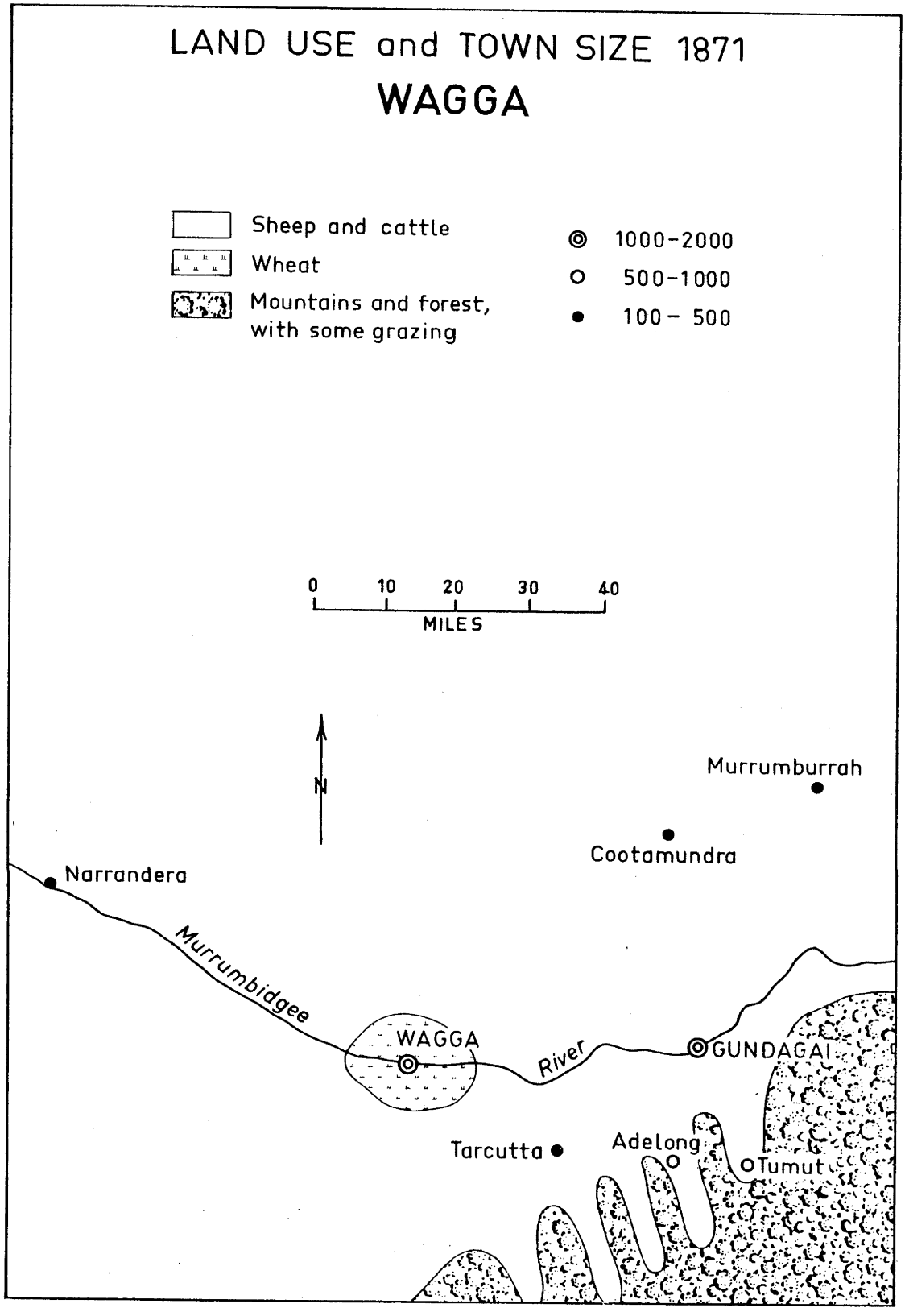

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE 1871
WAGGA
Sheep and cattle
Wheat
Mountains and forest, with some grazing
1000-2000
500-1000
100 - 500
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
N
Murrumburrah
Cootamundra
Narrandera
Murrumbidgee River
WAGGA
GUNDAGAI
Tarcutta
Adelong
Tumut

Figure 8:2

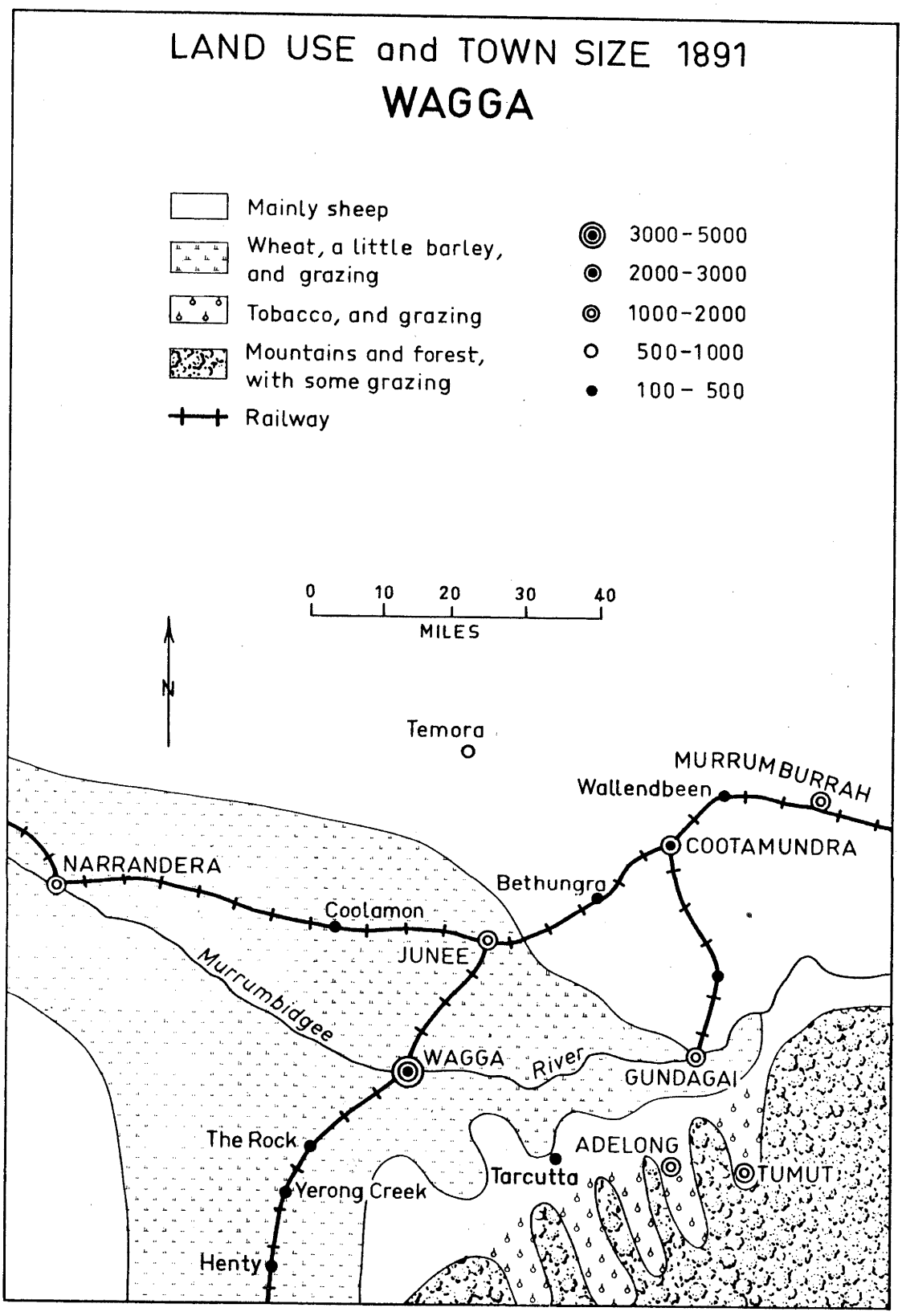

LAND USE and TOWN SIZE 1891
WAGGA
Mainly sheep
Wheat, a little barley, and grazing
Tobacco, and grazing
Mountains and forest, with some grazing
Railway
3000-5000
2000-3000
1000-2000
500-1000
100-500
0 10 20 30 40
MILES
N
Temora
MURRUMBURRAH
Wallendbeen
COOTAMUNDRA
NARRANDERA
Bethungra
Coolamon
JUNEE
Murrumbidgee
WAGGA
River
GUNDAGAI
The Rock
ADELONG
Tarcutta
TUMUT
Yerong Creek
Henty

Figure 8:3

(for example, by George Forsyth in 1870, and William Macleay in 1872) in connection with the impending rail link to Wagga;[1] these works did not eventuate, and the establishment of a meat-chilling company at Narrandera in 1890 forestalled, for the time, any similar scheme at Wagga.

Nevertheless, Wagga maintained throughout its function in the handling, and to some extent the sale, of travelling cattle and sheep. Estimates of stock movements through Wagga - albeit probably inflated estimates - are available at the beginning and end of the period. In evidence to the select committee on the Wagga Wagga Bridge Company's Bill in 1861, George Forsyth, a Wagga businessman and director of the Bridge Company, estimated the annual southbound stock traffic at 150,000 sheep, 40,000 cattle, and five or six thousand horses.[2] It was claimed that the Wagga stock route was better grassed and watered, and a better road, than other routes from the north and west, and had in the last two years been preferred to the Hay route since there was a better chance of selling stock

---

1. See Chapter 8, Section iii, below.
2. 'Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Wagga Wagga Bridge Company's Bill', VPLANSW, 1861-2, II, (697-704), q. 49.

along the former.[1] The nearest crossing points on the Murrumbidgee were at Gundagai, about 50 miles upstream, and Narrandera, 60 or 70 miles downstream.[2] The bridge was built, but its usefulness was partly negated by the setback to the cattle industry, since it was the crossing of cattle - which could not be put on the punt[3] - which would have been most facilitated by a bridge.

In 1870, Forsyth was again called to give evidence to a select committee; on this occasion the subject was railway extension, and Forsyth claimed that in the previous nine months the weekly number of sheep travelling from the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan districts to Melbourne had increased from 18,000 to 35,000, due to the establishment of meat-preserving works in the Victorian capital. Wagga's exact share in the funnelling of this stock was not disclosed, but even if it were only one fifth or one quarter of the Riverina total, this was still a spectacular increase on the numbers handled by the town ten years earlier, the slump in the fat stock market notwithstanding.[4]

By 1890, Wagga was still regarded as an important stock-handling centre: indeed, the geography of crossing places had, of course, remained unaltered, but the volume of stock passing through

---

1. Ibid., q. 50-1.
2. Ibid., q. 110.
3. Ibid., q. 109.
4. VPLANSW, 1870, II, (175-180), qq. 382-3.

the town does not seem to have increased overall, although the numbers probably increased to 1890 from a trough in the mid-eighties. Certainly there was at this time a desire to increase also the stock-selling, as well as -handling, function of Wagga. There was at the time general dissatisfaction with the saleyards established by A. T. Bolton in 1885; an 1886 petition had by 1890 led to a select committee to consider a bill enabling the Wagga Borough Council to establish municipal saleyards.[1] Although Wagga was still on a main intercolonial stock route, the sale of cattle for fattening occurred more in Albury and Wodonga, on the Murray, and local agency firms laid their discontent at the gate of Bolton's yards. Chief among their objections was Bolton's system of agreement whereby he sold to other firms the privilege of using his yards for private sales of stock, with the implication that they would lose this privilege if they sold elsewhere. Some eleven firms auctioned stock in Wagga, some of them weekly. Only three firms had committed themselves to use Bolton's yards, the others having to make do with small pastoral yards, or other more makeshift arrangements.[2] Some

1. 'Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Wagga Wagga Cattle Sale-Yards Bill', VPLANSW, 1890, II, 191-8.
2. See the evidence of John Jeremy, ibid., q. 70.

did not even attempt to auction cattle in Wagga.[1]

This was unsatisfactory for buyers, as well as sellers; many buyers were small men whose blocks along the river flats near the town were particularly suitable for depasturing and fattening cattle - were, indeed, often unsuitable for sheep. Graziers, large and small, had to go to Albury or Goulburn to buy stock at auction.[2] There were, then, limitations on the extent to which the town could exercise a function which was not only basic to its economy, but in whose exercise it transcended the bounds of its regionality; and the attempt to rectify this situation parallels the action of some other local men at this time in overcoming individual shortcomings in the flourmilling industry.[3] Indeed, by the end of the period its stock-handling function was probably of more importance to Wagga than the handling of wool grown in the district. For although in the railing

---

1. The numbers of stock sold in the Borough in the previous twelve months were 4,963 cattle and 23,074 sheep, while an estimated 23,000 cattle and 82,000 sheep (and, in 1888/9, 25,000 and 150,000 respectively) had simply passed through Wagga for sale on the Murray.
2. Ibid., q. 111.
3. See Chapter 5, above; note that there was a further clash of land uses in 1892, when it was feared that the resumption of two-thirds of the North Wagga Common for a Government Experiment Farm would divert a lot of travelling stock from Wagga to Narrandera and elsewhere; see below.

of wool Wagga enjoyed an advantage over other towns and sidings in its immediate hinterland, westward railway extension during the eighties had gradually pruned its role as the railhead for a wider region.[1] Nevertheless, the town continued to take secondary industrial advantage of its local wool industry,[2] and, of course, was at the centre of affairs when industrial strife erupted in the late eighties.

Agriculture in the Murrumbidgee area lay dormant for the first two decades of this period. The local squatters who fostered the early settlement, realizing the need for agriculture (and being debarred from the practice of commercial agriculture on their own leasehold runs), had pressed for the release of 'suburban' - that is, agricultural - land at Wagga.[3] But this presaged no great expansion in the acreage of grain (or even of fodder) crops. Several special crops were tried in the district, with varying success;[4] suitable soils for vines were available, especially further up the Murrumbidgee

---

1. See Chapter 8, Section iii, below.
2. See Chapter 5, above; note, too, that in times of drought large flocks and herds came east through Wagga to the summer pastures in the mountains. The facilitation of this traffic was a major aim in the agitation for a railway line to Tumbarumba.
3. E. Irvin, Early Inland Agriculture, (Wagga Wagga, 1962), 16-17,22.
4. See frontispiece map in E. Ray (comp.), Greville's Official Post Office Directory, (Sydney, 1877), for location of areas under vines, tobacco, and sugar.

Valley, but winegrowers were beset by disease,[1] by indirect official obstacles to distillation[2] and to free marketing,[3] and by their own failure to come together in an attempt to minimize the great annual variations in the quality of their individual wines.[4] A joint blending winery would have altered and improved the whole structure of the industry.

Tobacco-growing, which had occurred on sheep stations for the purpose of making sheep-dip, expanded commercially in the eighties, chiefly on small farms in the fertile valleys south-east of Wagga.[5] This expansion seems surprising in view of the fact that excise duties imposed by the Tobacco Act of 1884 and 1885 were widely held to have ruined the industry;[6] the true effect of the duties appears to have been to maintain profits through the regulation of supply, but at

---

1. See petition from Wagga vinegrowers, VPLANSW,1868-9, III, 105.
2. Especially heavy excise duties; see P. F. Adams, 'Viticulture', in F. Hutchinson (ed.), New South Wales: 'The Mother Colony of the Australias', (Sydney, 1896), 123.
3. See petition from Wagga winegrowers, VPLANSW, 1883-4, XI, 415.
4. Adams, loc. cit.;; note that a prominent Wagga grower, Hugh Beattie, won prizes with three of his wines at the Melbourne Exhibition; Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-1889, (Melbourne, 1890), 1006.
5. See evidence to Tumbarumba Railway Examiners in Wagga in 1890, WE, 21 Oct 1890.
6. D. Copland's evidence, idem.

the cost, of course, of expansion.[1]

Sugar-growing - both cane and beet - was attempted and abandoned in the Wagga district in the seventies. Its sustained growth could have been more important for the town than either wine or tobacco production: for although all three may link with secondary industry, it was only in the treatment of sugar that a mill was actually established in this period.[2] Its potential value was sensed in the town, and in 1871 'merchants, storekeepers, and others' joined the farmers in petitioning in the interests of the sugar industry;[3] the failure of the industry, and of the small mill, which began operating in 1872, was a blow to the town, since the manufacture of raw sugar was always entirely decentralized in New South Wales, and formed an important secondary industrial basis for growth in the Northern Rivers region.[4]

The main part of the story of agriculture in the Wagga region in this period, then, lay in the boom in cereals agriculture

---

1. S. Lamb, 'Tobacco Culture', in Hutchinson, op. cit., 160-2.
2. Tobacco manufacturing was always predominantly metropolitan, while wine-growing efforts were not at this time rationalized, even on the local level.
3. VPLANSW, 1870-1, IV, 1253; yields were very poor, and individual resources were strained by the fact that sugar is not an annual crop.
4. Since this was written, Higman's 'The regional impact of the sugar industry of New South Wales, 1870-1912', Australian Geographical Studies, VI, 1968, has suggested that such benefits could be offset in cases where plantation 'nucleations' themselves exercised commercial or 'urban' functions.

in the 1880s. The great expansion of wheat acreage in this decade indicates that neither the late start and limited success of local land selection, nor the fairly consistently low yields obtained, can be held responsible for the previous dormancy of cereals agriculture. There had earlier been a certain amount of successful selection settlement, but the chief land use had been mixed (often subsistence) farming or, if possible, small commercial grazing.[1] Although the notion had been fostered that much of the land was unsuited to agriculture,[2] the persistence of wheat growing, the building of a second flour mill in 1866,[3] and the formation in 1871 of a Wagga Agricultural Society, showed that this was not true. Lack of access to markets outside the town was the major obstacle to expansion, as George Forsyth complained in urging the extension of the railway to Wagga in 1870,[4] and wheat acreages - here, and further north up the western slopes, and west to Narrandera - quickly began to expand in the wake of the railway. Wheat acreages, which had fluctuated after 1862,

---

1. See Chapter 8, Section ii, below.
2. 'H. G.', 'Agriculture in New South Wales. VI - Southwards: The Murray and Murrumbidgee', (unidentified article) in Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, XLIV, 121-2.
3. See Chapter 5, above.
4. Loc. cit., above; cf. Irvin, op. cit., 37, 47.

and shown a net decline to 1876, quadrupled between 1881 and 1886, and doubled again by 1890; the area under wheat in 1890, then, was 847 per cent. greater than in 1881.

Rail communication may be credited with releasing the wheat industry in the Wagga region from the restrictions of the local market,[1] and the development, from 1880, of the new Temora goldfield - 50 miles north of Wagga - gave an added stimulus.[2] By 1884, agriculture had attained a stature sufficient to precipitate a merger between the Wagga Agricultural Society and the old-established Murrumbidgee Pastoral Association, and by the beginning of the nineties a large new cooperative flour mill had been built, and the district was acknowledged as the largest wheat-growing area in the colony.[3] Partly for that reason, but perhaps more because despite expansion there had been a persistence of poor methods and poor yields, the town was chosen as the site of one of the

---

1. J. H. Shaw, The Urban Evolution of Wagga Wagga, (Univ. of New England, 1960), 20, saw the railway as the chief, if not only, factor, a conclusion endorsed by Buxton, op. cit., 365; Buxton is wrong, however, in saying that farmers enjoyed favourable differential rates on wheat sent to the Sydney market - that they did not was one of their grievances.
2. See Chapter 8, Section iii, below, for mention of the struggle for the Temora trade between established towns in the region.
3. WE, 2 Jan 1892; and Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, V, 1894, 634-8.

Experiment Farms set up by the new Department of Agriculture.[1]

It is not surprising that Wagga men should believe that to promote agriculture was to promote the interests of the town, 'whose progress and prosperity is based upon agricultural advance';[2] and yet, after a decade of the wheat boom, the town had grown but little compared with its population expansion in the sixties and seventies. The railway which brought expansion to the wheat industry had not produced the expected booms to the town;[3] further, an urban hinterland - even when in a state of prosperity and closer settlement - confers only certain of its potential benefits on a

---

1. It is natural that local opinion should credit local initiative with the selection of Wagga as a site - the names of J. J. McGrath (then mayor) and the ubiquitous James Gormly, M. L. A., were mentioned - but it seems that in this instance Government intentions did precede or anticipate local desires and demands. Note, too, that - as mentioned above - there was some opposition to the site chosen, a characteristic conservative reaction similar to opposition in Creswick to the State forests.
2. WA, 20 Jul 1895; of course, the Advertiser had always believed this; indeed, Jones had established the newspaper in 1868 as an organ of this opinion.
3. Section iii, below, discusses this question, and suggests that anticipation or over-anticipation of the railway may have inflated the growth-rate of the seventies, at the expense of that of the eighties. Note too (Chapter 3, above) the contribution of demographic adjustments to fluctuating growth-rates.

town, and we have seen earlier that at the end of this period some Wagga men were attempting to achieve a fuller secondary industrial exploitation of the new wheat industry. Finally, as discussed in the next section, historical and economic factors could produce, in the structure of primary industries, a propensity to the duplication or usurpation of 'urban' functions, and there is evidence that this was happening in the Wagga region.

ii. The pattern of settlement, and urbanization

Apart from the question of actual land use, questions such as the density of rural population, and the average size of properties or selections, were also of great importance to the development of the town. Although in most cases we must merely infer the size of the individual outfit from the size of the block or property (combined with a knowledge of the type of land use to which this outfit was turned), it is obvious that the various size ranges of average blocks will have had different effects on the degree of diffusion or fragmentation of 'urban' services. At one extreme were the large properties, the pastoral stations, supporting a sparse rural population; these were able (of course, they had no choice in the earliest years of settlement) both to obtain supplies direct from the metropolis and to maintain their own corps of tradesmen, thus dispensing with the distribution and maintenance functions of a local town. At the other extreme were areas such as Creswick Shire, where, it has been observed, the density of rural (in that case, mining as well as agricultural and pastoral) population was such as to encourage the diffusion, on a public level, of certain services. The German subsistence - agriculture settlement of Hochkirk, just out of Hamilton, is another more isolated example of this diffusion.

These were extremes of population density, but they produced a similar effect, which was to deprive the town, as a discrete unit, of certain service functions. Between these extremes there was, in theory, a range of rural population densities and average block sizes which produced varying degrees of dependence on, or independence of, the town as such. There is some evidence that the course of selection in this period created at first a dependent rural population, which then, through forfeitures, transfers, and other means of consolidation, gave way to a farming, mixed farming, or grazing population which was often based on blocks of from 2,000 to 3,000 acres,[1] and which effected a degree of private diffusion of services. This hypothesis may be of some value in explaining why the population growth of the town of Wagga was much more rapid in the 1860s and 1870s than in the 1880s.

An example of a medium-sized multi-purpose farm in the Wagga district was Anthony Brunskill's Bon Accord, a prize farm which may be regarded as unusually efficient, but which in general was not atypical in its duplication of 'urban' functions. The farm was situated at Sandy Creek, ten to 13 miles south-west of Wagga, on

---

1. See Synopsis of Evidence, 'Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands', VPLANSW, 1883, II, 123.

the southern railway.[1] In 1890 it comprised 1790 acres of conditionally purchased land, but Brunskill continued to add to this (as well as developing another farm to the south-east of Wagga, on which, by 1904, he had 3600 acres under harvest for hay and grain alone).[2] These 1790 acres included 700 acres under wheat for grain and another 750 of wheat and oats for hay.[3] Fifty-six horses did the work,[4] and Brunskill kept dairy cattle, store pigs and poultry, as well as grazing a small flock of 1400 ewes.

The homestead buildings at Bon Accord comprised the 14-roomed homestead itself, and three other domestic buildings containing bath-room, dairy, homestead wash-house, office, store-room, cook-house, permanent men's wash-house, bedrooms, and mechanics institute (containing reading and writing tables, and books, journals, and newspapers). Ten permanent hands lived on the property at this time; in November, 1890, 30 casual hands were

---

1. Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, III, 1892, 802-4; the following description is drawn from this, and from Irvin, op. cit., 83 et seq., and for 1904, when he visited the farm, from James Formly, op. cit., 439-41.
2. Gormly, loc. cit.
3. Plus smaller acreages of oats for seed, maize, potatoes, rye, improved pasture, gardens, and an orchard of 12 types of tree.
4. The stable housed, as well, four saddle and buggy horses, four brood mares, four foals, and one entire.

employed, and this number rose to 43 men when the harvest was in full swing.[1]

Apart from the 48- and 24-stall stables, with harness and chaff rooms, the other farm buildings included a grain shed, with sleeping apartments for 30 men, and engine shed and chaff-cutting barn, with attached wing, a corn-crushing room, a corn-shelling shed, work-shop, shearing and wool shed, blacksmith's and engineer's shop, store for horse-feed, buggy-shed, fowl-house, implement and cart shed, and - two miles from the homestead - two huts, a four-roomed cottage, and a 15-stall stable.

The farm was mechanized to an extent which was probably unusually high for the times; the equipment was described by John Coleman - the first superintendent of the Wagga Experiment Farm - as among the best he had ever seen on a farm. It included one eight h.p. and one six h.p. portable steam engine, a steam threshing machine, a straw elevator, and two large steam chaff-cutters, with sifting and bagging apparatus. Ten McCormick and Deering string - binders and reapers were used, and during the harvest an expert from the firm lived on the farm to keep them in repair; as well,

---

1. Gormly noted the use of mobile diningrooms to streamline catering arrangements.

the farm had the usual complement of ploughs, harrows, seed-drills, rollers, drays, harness, and farming and fencing tools. It had, further, 'a large self-acting turning lathe', engineers', carpenters' and smithy tools, a hay press, a sawmill for cutting firewood, and another for fencing and building timber; in conjunction with the latter, a system of shafts and pulleys was used to mechanize such tasks as chaff-cutting, corn-crushing, and thatch-weaving. A thatch-weaving machine was used during the slack time of the year to prepare 20-yard lengths of rye-straw thatching to protect the corn ricks.

Like a large sheep station, then, Bon Accord farm comprised a comprehensive and self-contained outfit, and in 1892 it was rendered even more independent of the town when the Railways Department established a special siding for its use. However, Bon Accord was not a large sheep station: it was a medium sized mixed farm, built up by conditional purchase, which in size and land use conformed to what was becoming a type in the Wagga district.

The ebb and flow of land occupancy and ownership, of land uses, and their ramifications for urban growth in the Wagga district, may be illustrated further by the case of Eunonyhareenyha

station.[1] This pastoral run may be regarded as both typical of the district, and of immediate importance to Wagga, since it abutted on the borough, and comprised the north-eastern portion of the town's most immediate hinterland. Characteristically of the area, this run had been through a number of hands before 1869, when - in 'satisfaction of a mortgage debt' - it passed informally to the Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Co. Ltd., through the agency of the company's Victorian managers, R. B. Ronald and J. MacBain.[2] A series of managers handled the station, and in 1884 ownership was formally transferred to the AML & F Co.[3]

There were three main phases in the Company's handling of Eunonyhareenyha: the acquisition of freehold through auction

---

1. Australian Mortgage [later, Mercantile] Land and Finance Co. Ltd., Eunonyhareenyha Station Accounts, 1888-1910, A. N. U. Archives 6/51; and AML & F Co., Papers relating to Eunonyhareenyha Station, c. 1870-1908, A. N. U. Archives 6/111.
2. 22 May 1869, 6/111, Box 1; the indenture gives details of the various transactions lying behind the transfer. Ronald and MacBain had been two of the partners in Richard Gibbs & Co., which was sold to the AML & F CO. in 1865. R. B. Ronald had extensive personal financial interests; see A. Henderson (comp.), Australian Families, I, (Melbourne, 1941), 217-8. Sir James MacBain had civic and political, as well as financial, interests; he sat in the Victorian Legislative Assembly 1864-80, holding the Chief Secretaryship, then in the Legislative Council, of which he became President; see Sutherland, op. cit., II, 488.
3. 29 Jan 1884, 6/111, Box 1. The informal transfer of 1869 may be understood in terms of the circumstances outlined by Butlin, op.cit., 127-35. Recently, more light has been shed on the affairs of Eunonyhareenyha in Bailey's A Hundred Years of Pastoral Banking, (Oxford, 1966), and the note on W. A. Cottee in Birch and Macmillan's Wealth & Progress, (Sydney, 1967).

purchases and through the resumption of conditional purchases made by selectors who were active from the late sixties; the disposal of freehold, begun in the eighties and continuing into the nineties; and the advent of station- and share-farming (in the sense of commercial agriculture) in the second half of the nineties.

The chief preoccupation in the seventies was with maintaining the run's integrity against the inroads of selectors. This was most frequently achieved by the conveyance to the Company of the selection once the conditions of its selection had been fulfilled, often according to an earlier agreement which might also have fixed a purchase price,[1] and, further, sometimes bound the 'selector' against selecting on Company land for a certain period.[2] In some cases, the Company paid the Colonial Treasurer the balance of purchase money due on fulfilled selections; it also lent iron houses to the 'selectors' to speed the fulfilment of improvement conditions.[3] The company regained some land through the purchase at auction of forfeited selections,[4] and was sometimes able to

---

1. See the many agreements and receipts for transfer of land selected between 1863 and 1875, and sold to the Company between 1874 and 1890; the longest delay between selection and transfer (John Davison's 40 acres selection of 1871) was 19 years, more than twice the normal time; AML & F Co., 6/111, Box 1.
2. See, e.g., the agreements with William Comans, 4 Feb 1875, and Edward Noonan, 25 Mar 1875; the latter also agreed to place his children under a seven-years' bond; idem.
3. E.g., Noonan agreement, idem.
4. Cf. the case of Denis Hughes, a selector of 1869 who drowned, and part of whose selection the Company was able to purchase in 1872, idem.

preserve the integrity of parts of the run by exchanging peripheral lots for central lots that had been selected.[1]

Freehold acres gained via selectors and dummies were augmented by the purchase of Crown Land at auction, and private purchases without prior agreement. Such purchases were made from at least 1874 - for instance, in December, 1874, and January, 1875, some 65 portions, chiefly of 160 acres each, were purchased - and continued throughout the eighties, tailing off in the nineties.[2] In these ways, the freehold of Eunonyhareenyha was built up; in 1888 it stood at 44,178 acres. But ten years later it had reduced to 22,936 acres.[3]

Although some freehold had been sold before 1888, the chief disposals occurred in the nineties. The peak year was 1891, when 11,864 acres were sold; the full price obtained was £36,858, but first payments totalled only £9,321. Since the operating profit in 1891 was only £9,399, the freehold sales were

---

1. Cf. the agreement with J. J. McNickle for the exchange of 874 acres, 18 Apr 1884, ibid., 6/111, Box 2.
2. The 112 acres acquired in March 1894 is possibly the only example of such a purchase in that decade.
3. AML & F Co., Balance Sheets, 6/51.

clearly forced by the disparity between wool and stock income and necessary expenditures.[1] A decline in the advances against the Eunonyhareenyha clip reflected the decline in wool prices in the first half of the nineties.[2] The accounts illustrate Butlin's general observation that between 1870 and 1890 interest burdens rapidly gained on gross wool proceeds.[3]

The experience of Eunonyhareenyha - the acquisition of freehold under the pressure of the selection threat, which, although aided by rising wool prices, saddled many with debt - was common to much of the pastoral industry in eastern Australia.[4] On the Darling Downs of Queensland, too,

---

1. Station Accounts, 6/51. A large part of annual expenditure went to the payment of interest on an overdraft incurred with the Company before - and because of which - it took control of the run.
2. Average advance per bale was £17.14.0 in 1889-90, but only £11.12.0 in 1892-3, idem.; cf. Alan Barnard, The Australian Wool Market 1840-1900, (Melbourne, 1958), Appendix, Tables XXVII, XXVIII.
3. Butlin, op. cit., 166-8. For instance, Eunonyhareenyha's interest payment in 1871 was £3335, less than half of the 1870 gross wool proceeds of £7155 (which itself was an unusually low figure); the 1893 interest payment was £4742, compared with gross wool proceeds of only £5636 (the latter figure being a moiety of the gross proceeds on the 1892/3 and 1893/4 clips). As well as the interest on overdrafts, stations had to face increasing rates of interest on clip advances.
4. Butlin, op. cit., 89-90, 96-7.

> The first selection acts produced a chain of freehold pastoral estates . . . . But for the squatters this was a pyrrhic victory. Many were secretly horrified at the disastrous financial consequences which resulted from their ostensibly successful attempts at self-preservation. 1

Often, as at Eunonyhareenyha, the subdivision and sale of freehold was the characteristic response to increasing debts and interest rates, and falling export prices: private interests now undertook that which they had striven to prevent governments from doing.[2] But the results were different: as Waterson points out, the success of repurchase 'marked a repudiation of past faith in the merits of the very small man',[3] for in the Wagga district, as on the Darling Downs, it was the established neighbouring settlers who bought up the old pastoral freeholds.

Similarly, the last major policy change on Eunonyhareenyha - the cessation of freehold disposal, and the introduction from 1895 of share-farming, and of commercial station-farming - saw the institution by private initiative of a land use envisaged by selection legislators in the sixties (but, of course, in a form

---

1. D. B. Waterson, 'Town and Country: the Development of Society on the Darling Downs, 1859-1893', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964), x; cf. M. Kiddle, Men of Yesterday, (Melbourne, 1961), 273.
2. Cf. Butlin, op. cit., 100, 437; Kiddle, op. cit., 273-80, 469-71, implies that her Western District pastoralists sought to overcome indebtedness through further pastoral investment in Queensland and western N. S. W., rather than through subdivision at home.
3. Waterson, op. cit., 54-5, 108.

which they would have found abhorrent).[1]

Most of the purchasers of Eunonyhareenyha freehold in the eighties and early nineties had it in common both that they were owners of neighbouring properties - large and small, but generally of medium size - and that they had been established there for some years. Two were squatters - G. J. Mulholland, of Oura, and the progressive Richard Cox, of Marrar - but the bulk were essentially members of local selector families, whose united numbers at the Lands Office, and whose general presence - for the purposes of unpaid labour and of morale - cannot but have aided success where an isolated selector may have failed. Their experience attests the strength of some selectors (although many others had transferred their selections to the AML & F Co.): when the wheel had turned, and the Company was ready to sell freehold, the McIntyres, McNickles, Rapleys, Shephards, and Fennells were ready to buy.

The comparison of Eunonyhareenyha with Bon Accord - which was less than one tenth its size in acreage - carries certain implications for the notion that closer settlement fostered town growth, and that large pastoral properties hampered town growth. The size of the permanent outfit on each property tends to support

---

1. A good example of these elaborate share-farming agreements is that of 22 Jan 1901, between the AML & F Co. and George Cameron, of Temora; 6/111, Box 2.

that notion. The wages accounts of Eunonyhareenyha (though not itemised until 1895) reveal that its permanent outfit - manager, boundary riders, groom, cook, and so on - was virtually the same size as Bon Accord's: the tendency of farms like Bon Accord, then, was to intensify Wagga's hinterland population ten times.[1] The Eunonyhareenyha plant and other accounts, however, reflect a hesitancy to go right over to the self-contained type of system worked on Bon Accord; it is possible that the increasing scale of employment on such farms was a dynamic process which annexed to the farm itself more and more of the town's service functions. In contrast with Brunskill's decision, by 1890, that his farm would be as independent as possible, Eunonyhareenyha by the end of the period still had its cultivation - even for domestic lucerne and wheaten hay - performed through outside contract, and its plant was maintained in a similar way.

The study of Eunonyhareenyha also revealed an interesting qualitative dimension to the relation between closer settlement and town growth: of all the men and families who selected land on this run, only John Hawkes attained a position of amy prominence in the town of Wagga in this generation, and it is perhaps significant that

---

1. The level of casual employment was similar, Eunonyhareenyha having some 30 shearers, plus rouseabouts and wool-classers, and Bon Accord having some 43 casuals at harvest time.

he did so through the avenue of municipal rather than commercial activity.[1]

A wide range of factors operated to prevent the further polarization of land distribution, such as would have occurred if the intentions of the selection legislators had been precisely translated into practice. Inadequate legislative provisions (especially in respect of the maximum size of selections) and economic factors (such as lack of capital, and the lack of a railway in the sixties and seventies) militated against selectors with small families. The failure of such selectors facilitated the consolidation of freehold by both the squatters and the successful selectors. And although at first the squatters were better equipped financially to bespeak the conditional purchases of dummy and speculative selectors, and although certain improvement and pre-emptive rights were allowed to them, nevertheless large selectors were able to join the squatters in taking advantage of extensive auction sales of land until these were curbed in the late eighties.[2]

---

1. Son of James Hawkes, who in 1874 selected land on behalf of them both, he was Wagga town Clerk and treasurer 1883-1893, became secretary of the Murrumbidgee Turf Club and of the Mechanics Institute, and clerk to the Church of England cemetery trustees.
2. Although cf. NSWPD, 1883, VIII, 508-9, for details and Memorandum of Agreement of the Freehold and Pastoral Association of New South Wales, which sought not only to prevent selection, but also to protect its members in the auction room.

Evidence to the Morris-Ranken enquiry in 1883,[1] then, showed that most of the land near Wagga had been alienated, either by selection, or by auction (which had been 'unduly resorted to'),[2] and was mostly used for grazing, with some mixed farming.[3] Here as elsewhere, small unviable holdings had been rationalized into 'rather extensive grazing farms'; apart from some very large holdings, the average was from 2000 to 3000 acres.[4] It is interesting that some small holdings were rendered unviable by the auction sale of circumjacent land,[5] and that their viability was conceived in pastoral, not agricultural, terms:

> The greater portion of the selectors, who have sold their land in the Wagga Wagga district, took it up **in** good faith, but finding the areas too small to live on by keeping sheep, they sold, and have gone into other districts 6

---

1. 'Report of Inquiry into the State of the Public Lands', VPLANSW, 1883, II; in the Synopsis of Evidence, 125, it was estimated that not more than 12 per cent. of conditional purchases in the Wagga Wagga Land District were held by the original alienees; but since this District contained 12 counties, it is necessary to seek more localized detail about the Wagga area. Moreover, Buxton, op. cit., 308-13, has questioned the Inquiry's approach to, and conclusions on, the selection question in the Riverina.
2. VPLANSW, 1883, II, 123.
3. Ibid., 122; see Section i. of this chapter, above.
4. Ibid., 123.
5. Idem.
6. Evidence of a Wagga selector, ibid., 158; my italics. The Report also noted that the disappearance of small holdings ' has occurred in the immediate vicinity of thriving inland towns, much to their detriment'; ibid., 123.

In the eighties, three new and interrelated economic factors began to affect the pattern of rural settlement. First, there was the need for some large freehold properties, such as Eunonyhareenyha, to subdivide for financial reasons; this helped to consolidate nearby medium-sized properties. Second, there were the changing requirements of land use itself; the railway had enhanced or made possible the expansion of agriculture, and the quest for larger units was prompted not simply by an acquisitive instinct, but by new notions of the minimim size of a viable farm or mixed farm.[1] Third, with the expansion of wheat-growing in the eighties, some suitably-placed land was becoming too valuable to be devoted simply to grazing. This did not lead necessarily or immediately to the breakup of large estates; it did encourage station farming by large landowners, such as Richard Cox (who was also interested in flour-milling in Wagga), and to the share-farming system adopted on Eunonyhareenyha and other stations in the late nineties. After the nineties, the added stimulus of Closer Settlement legislation precipitated the cutting up of several large

---

1. Cf. Dunsdorfs, op. cit., 117-33; his summing up, 133, of the reasons for a growth in the average size of wheat farms is geographically vague, but seems apposite to the situation in the Wagga district in the 1880s.

estates in the district,[1] but there is some evidence that by 1891 the pressure of increasing land values was beginning to force a degree of subdivision, especially in the eastern Riverina,[2] and in country south-east of Wagga, even though untapped by the railway.[3]

In one way or another, then, the sizes of holdings in the Wagga district had become less, rather than more, polarized; and although there had not been a sharp convergence on the type of medium-sized farm developed by Anthony Brunskill - a type which stood between the town and the benefits which it may have reaped from the agricultural boom - this type was becoming a characteristic of rural settlement in the district. The number of freeholdings of between 1000 and 3000 acres in extent increased in the eighties,[4] and it is probable that the number of concealed holdings of this size - that is, holdings which were not completely freehold - was greater than in the smaller size ranges, where smaller capital

---

1. Such as Gobbagombalin, Maror, Uranquinty, Pomingalarna, Bullenbong, etc.; see 'Report . . . relating to the proposed Railway from Wagga Wagga to Tumberumba', NSWPP (Joint), 1911, II, qq. 675, 796, and D. Copland's evidence, qq. 686, 696.
2. See S. Alexander's comments in his report, 'The Proposed Railways for Riverina', VPLANSW, 1891, II, 867-8.
3. See the evidence of R. S. Douglas, W. Abbott, and J. Archer to the Railway Examiners, Alexander and Gilliatt, WE, 21 Oct 1890.
4. Table 8: 2.

Table 8: 2. Number and size of freeholdings in the Murrumbidgee Electorate, 1882, 1888, and 1890

Acres	Freeholdings 1882	1888	1890
51-600	386	656	748
601-1000	211	364	259
1001-3000	155	247	253
3001-10000	55	105	113
10001 and over	56	73	79

Sources: Appendix to the Morris-Ranken report, VPLANSW, 1883, II, 195, and SRNSW, 1888 and 1890.

outlays were required. The 600-700 acres group, containing the 640 acre conditional purchases, was numerically very strong for most of the decade, but was heavily depleted as the period ended; the figures do not, however, reveal the extent to which this stemmed from the consolidation of such holdings.[1]

An examination of the state of settlement in the four counties surrounding Wagga in 1892 reveals the diversity of patterns of settlement in the town's hinterland.[2] Mitchell and Bourke, to the west, were better served by rail branches, and were of easier terrain, and had experienced a greater spread of conditional purchasing in 640 acre holdings, although Mitchell (south-west of Wagga) remained a bastion of large holdings. To the south-east, Wynyard - with its small but lucrative tobacco farms - was relatively closely settled, while Clarendon, to the north-east, had a fairly even distribution of holdings over the size-range. Finally, figures culled from the Wagga district stock owners' directory for 1889 reveal that there was a greater proportion of holdings of 1000 to 3000 acres here than

---

1. The increase in holdings of 100-200 acres at the end of the period supports Buxton's contention, op. cit., 365-6, that the wheat boom stimulated competition even for the 'annoyingly small' 160 acre lots sold in the Special Areas after 1884.
2. SRNSW, 1892; there was no earlier statistical series for counties.

in the Murrumbidgee Electorate as a whole.[1] This directory also listed many holdings of 320, 640, 960, 1280, and 2560 acres, indicating alike the persistence and the consolidation of selected holdings.

The differences in the size-distribution of holdings in the Wagga region, and in the regions of Hamilton and Creswick at the end of the period,[2] were very marked. Little more than one sixth of all holdings in the Murrumbidgee were below 100 acres, compared with one third in Dundas Shire, and more than three fifths in Creswick Shire. Indeed, the vast bulk of holdings in Creswick Shire were of 500 acres or less; only six per cent. were larger, comprising 24 holdings of between 500 and 1000 acres, nine between one and five thousand acres, and one other in the five to ten thousand acres range. Murrumbidgee and Dundas were both chiefly pastoral areas, and contained similar proportions of large holdings, over 5000 acres (about eight per cent. in the former, about six per cent. in the latter). However, of medium-sized holdings the Murrumbidgee contained significantly more: some 20 per cent. of its holdings fell within the 1000-5000 acres

---

1. Wagga Express Riverine Directory, 1891, 2-13; this comprises over one thousand entries, gives name of owner, name and/or locality of holding, number of acres, and - on stocked holdings - the number of horses, cattle, and sheep.
2. See Table 6: 3, above.

range, compared with about 13 per cent. in Dundas Shire. Further, significant differences underlay the similarity in the proportion of each area that was cultivated. The 0.9 per cent. of Dundas Shire cultivated meant only 6500 acres; the 0.8 per cent. cultivated in Murrumbidgee Electorate meant some 87,000 acres, and the different implications for the two towns will be enhanced when it is remembered that much of this agricultural acreage was concentrated in the eastern part of Murrumbidgee, on the lower slopes, of which Wagga forms a part.[1] However, if Wagga's rural hinterland appeared to hold more potential for town growth than Hamilton's, there were nevertheless signs that some fragmentation or usurpation of 'urban' functions was occurring, but on a private, rather than - as in Creswick Shire - a public level.[2]

---

1. Note that almost a quarter of Creswick Shire - or more than 21,000 acres - was cultivated, although this included a large proportion of fodder cultivation and pasture improvement.
2. See Table 7: 3a, above.

iii. Transport, and urbanization

Like Hamilton, Wagga was a coaching centre; it was also an important Murrumbidgee crossing-place.[1] From Wagga, coaches ran out to Balranald via Narrandera and Hay, to Deniliquin and thence to Echuca, to Albury and Melbourne, and to Sydney via Gundagai and Yass; of course, not all of these services originated in Wagga, but they all passed through the town, and the number of hotels attests to its function as a watering place. From 1858, when Cadell brought his Albury up to Wagga and Gundagai, the town had the benefit of irregular steamer contact with Melbourne and Adelaide; but the gradual extension of the railway pushed the practical head of navigation further and further downstream, to Hay and beyond. By 1879, Wagga was linked with Sydney by rail, and, shortly after, with Melbourne, through Albury.[2] Like Hamilton, Wagga suffered disappointments over the construction of branch lines: the line to Hay, which itself had a branch from Narrandera to Jerilderie, left the main trunk at Junee instead of Wagga, and the much pressed-for line to Tumberumba and the mountains in the east was not finally

---

1. Wagga is marked on such early maps as the 'Outline Map of Port Phillip District 1848'; see "Opinion on Victoria's claim to Riverina", NSWPP (Joint), 1911-12, IV, maps 14, 15, 16, following p. 728. For a brief discussion of roads, see pp.259a-e, above.
2. See Fig. 8: 1.

built until well into the twentieth century. Despite this, and the fact that shearers in the bush ballads never seemed to stop anywhere between the One Tree Plain and the Gundagai area,[1] Wagga maintained its reputation as a busy transit point for travellers and, as we have seen, for stock driven from Queensland and northern New South Wales to Victoria. Yet, with their disappointments focussed on particular points, and with a rapid increase in wheat-growing in a hinterland now served by rail, and with favourable freight-rates born of the struggle between Melbourne and Sydney in this region, Wagga men did not perceive that their first decade of the rail era had been one of greatly curtailed population growth.

Wagga shared in the usual fringe benefits accruing to a town from the construction and maintenance of a railway line. Although the terrain was not generally difficult, the Murrumbidgee gorge did call for an elaborate piece of bridge engineering, and a temporary bridge was needed for 16 months before the main bridge was opened.[2] Similarly, there were benefits in the presence of local railway staff, although against these was balanced a thinning

---

1. Cf. 'Lazy Harry's', in R. Ward (ed.), Australian Ballads, (Penguin, 1964), 119.
2. See the Railways Commissioner's report for 1878, VPLANSW, 1879-80, V, 7; and Illustrated Sydney News, 17 Mar 1883.

in the ranks of local coach proprietors and teamsters. These benefits could be enhanced by increasing traffic on the line, by the addition of railway workshops, and by the achievement of junction status: Wagga was very, sometimes unduly, sensitive to these possibilities.[1]

Apart from such mechanical benefits, there were general expectations that the railway would facilitate the town's role as a tertiary service and manufacturing centre, and few feared that the railway would finally end their immunity to competition from concerns enjoying the external economies of location in larger towns. In any case, in the agitation for rail communication, the expectation of benefits for the town itself were generally submerged - for political purposes - below appeals to the welfare of broader interests. And of course in arguing the desirability of an expansion in agriculture, towns were conscious of being rather less than altruistic, since they invariably equated agriculture with town growth. In Wagga's case, its fortunate geographical position both helped it to gain a railway and

---

1. Note other special benefits from the operation of railways, such as the supply of locomotives (Phoenix Foundry, Ballarat), the supply of coal (the coalfields in general), and the back-handling of goods from towns favoured by differential freight rates to towns not favoured (Wagga being a good example of the former).

enabled it further submerge arguments of local interest beneath considerations of colonial interest. For it was only at the end of this period in both Victoria and New South Wales that the notion of developmental railways gained any hearing, or were even advocated. At first, the serving of population numbers alone was the aim and justification of railway extension policy; after that, trade as such became a desirable object of railway extension, first as a positive measure by the Victorian government, and later, as a negative response, by New South Wales. Thus, Wagga and its district made up in potential trade what it lacked in numbers in the struggle for railway votes.

The question of trade diversion overrode any consideration of population numbers in the 1870 enquiry into railway extension, and remained an important part of all subsequent proposals and examinations of rail projects in the southern and south-western parts of the colony (including the Hay extension and the branch lines to Jerilderie and Tumbarumba, which were of most concern to Wagga once it had itself been made part of the southern system).

In 1870, the chairman of the Select Committee on Railway Extension - William Macleay, from the Murrumbidgee - led the Wagga pioneer, George Forsyth, willingly through a series of questions designed to place on record the opinion that a railway

to the Murrumbidgee might divert trade from Melbourne to Sydney.[1] Forsyth contended that ten years previously the whole of the trade had been with Sydney, but had swung chiefly to Melbourne since the completion of the Echuca railway.[2] Although the distance from Melbourne to Wagga via Echuca was considerably further than to Sydney, the carriage from Melbourne by rail, and then either by river or by fast horse-waggons, was faster and cheaper than from Sydney to Goulburn by rail, and thence by slow bullock waggons over more difficult terrain.[3] Goods could be had in eight to ten days from Melbourne, compared with three to five weeks from Sydney.[4] The Wagga trade would shortly be completely lost, Forsyth prophesied, when the Victorian line to Wodonga was opened;[5] the superior transport facilities to and from Melbourne were attracting the wool traffic of the Murrumbidgee, and goods traffic would automatically follow, despite both Victoria's higher duties on imported goods, and the opinion- expressed by Forsyth - that Sydney wholesale houses offered terms as good as those offered in Melbourne.[6]

---

1. VPLANSW, 1870, II, 175-80.
2. ibid., Qq. 356, 358.
3. Ibid., Qq. 365, 374.
4. Ibid., Qq. 407-8.
5. Ibid., Qq. 440-2.
6. Ibid., Qq. 447-8.

Arguments of service and development were advanced to back up the chief consideration of trade diversion: the railway would serve some agricultural districts.[1] But again it was alleged that the produce of those districts would go to Melbourne *via* Wodonga, if N. S. W. did not extend its line to Wagga.[2] Similarly, the scheme of a meat-preserving works at Wagga was mentioned, but in terms rather of the diversion of stock from Melbourne meat-preserving works than of the benefit of such works to Wagga itself.[3]

Nevertheless, when in 1872 there was opposition to the financing of the southern line beyond Yass, Macleay did not question the principle - reiterated by Robertson and others - that railways should follow population, but rather attempted to defend the Wagga district in terms of its relative population.[4] Once the decision to extend the line to Wagga had been taken, the town was prepared again to castigate Sydney commercial

---

1. *Ibid.*, Q. 409.
2. *Ibid.*, Qq. 377, 416.
3. *Ibid.*, Qq. 382-7. Having stated the general need for a line to the Murrumbidgee, Forsyth added one or two reasons why this line should go to Wagga rather than some other point on the river, *viz.*, that Wagga was the head of regular navigation, and that the country further west was unsuitable for agriculture, *ibid.*, Qq. 456-8.
4. *SMH*, 18 Dec 1872; see the speeches of Macleay, Lucas, Parkes, Robertson, and West.

interests if it was felt that the latter desired to divert trade through restrictions rather than inducements. A Wagga editor found especially repugnant the suggestion that it would be unsafe to extend the railway beyond Wagga to the Murray:

> It is still the old, old story: not what is advantageous to the colony at large, but what will tend to advance Sydney at the expense of the colony . . . . The interests of Parliament are . . . confined to Sydney counters and Sydney ledgers. 1

However, this stern tone had again to give way to an appeal to Sydney interests when, in the late seventies and eighties, the town involved itself in several issues of railway policy. The great events of the railway opening to North Wagga in 1878, and to the main station at South Wagga in 1879, were followed by a series of disappointments for the town over questions of branch line junctions and the location of workshops. The first was the choice, in 1878, of Junee as the junction for the south western branch line to Hay. The Commissioner recalled that

> a committee of gentlemen, resident at Wagga Wagga, advocated the adoption of the route . . . from Wagga Wagga in a direct line to Hay . . . . Other alternative routes - all however diverging from the railway at Wagga Wagga - were proposed, and advocated with considerable energy, manifesting the great interest which the public took in the matter. 2

---

1. WE, 8 Jan 1876; significantly, the column surrounding this leading article were, as in other issues, devoted to Victorian market reports from stock and station agents, detailing current sales of Riverina wool and stock.
2. VPLANSW, 1879-80, V, 7.

A public meeting in Wagga instituted a petition which, among other things, suggested that the choice of Junee was a political sop to compensate for the discarding of an earlier scheme to tap the Darling River trade by means of a line from that town to Narrandera, which would have linked up, by river, with a far west railway from Nap Nap to Pooncarie.[1] This petition also used trade diversion and service arguments; and while mentioning, as it were in an aside, that Wagga was the commercial centre of a great and wealthy district, forebore to argue further along those lines, since 'national policy' would determine the decision. Continued Wagga pressure[2] achieved the token of a government reassessment of the two alternative lines, but in April 1879 the two appointed experts duly recommended that the original choice of Junee be proceeded with.[3]

The loss of the junction to Junee eventually involved Wagga in the further humiliation of the transfer to Junee of men, engines, and Government workshops,[4] the outcome of the fight over the junction having been so little foreseen by Departmental heads that extensive running sheds and workshops had been ordered for Wagga. Local

---

1. Ibid., 1878-9, V, 249-50, 251.
2. E.g., on the eve of the debate in February 1879, W. C. Hunter (honorary secretary of the Wagga Railway Extension Committee) wrote asking Parkes to champion their cause; Hunter-Parkes, 17 Feb 1879, Parkes Correspondence (MS, ML), XLVII, 640.
3. VPLANSW, 1879-80, V, 7.
4. Wagga was loth to regard the transfer as permanent, and for years afterwards the annual Wagga Express directory carried a description of the vacated engine sheds.

railways officers had the dilemma of either enraging Wagga and consigning themselves to the 'social desert' of Junee, or of letting the country bear the ineconomies of separating the junction from the place of maintenance.[1] They faced not only the political influence of Wagga, but the vis inertiae of numerous subordinates in their own departments.[2] The controversy dragged on for years,[3] with Wagga appearing to champion the cause of the men moved to Junee Junction; but when a new inertia born of the move set in, and the 43 railway employees in 1886 declared their anxiety now to remain at Junee, the real nature of the controversy between Wagga and the Railways Department was revealed as one in which the opinions of the transferred men were of no real relevance.[4]

If Wagga lost to Junee on this occasion, it was soon to gain at the expense of Albury, in another seemingly unimportant matter which aroused fierce jealousies. In 1887, the Albury Local Land Board and District Survey Office was disestablished, and its business merged with that of the Wagga office.[5] Albury appealed

---

1. See unidentified article, probably written by a Junee correspondent in c.1886, in Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, XLIV, 77.
2. Idem.
3. See VPLANSW, 1882, I, 103; 1883-4, I, 123; 1885-6, I, 449.
4. The chief document is the return to an order, forced in the 1885-6 session, for the tabling of relevant correspondence, ibid., 1887, 2nd Session, IV, 865-84.
5. The relevant documents and minutes were gathered in VPLANSW, 1887-8, V, 101-7.

strenuously on the grounds of loss of consumers, depreciation of property values, and loss of prestige; it 'could not understand why the staff had been removed to a smaller town'.[1] Wagga had felt a similar added injustice in its loss to the smaller Junee: though conditioned to a secular feeling of exploitation and neglect at the hands of the metropolis, small towns were unprepared for 'unfair' depredations from even smaller towns.[2]

Meanwhile, with another setback to the west - with the choice of Narrandera as the junction for a line to Jerilderie[3] - Wagga sought even more fervently for itself the expected advantages of being junction for a line to tap the fertile valleys and summer pastures in the mountains to the south-east. This issue agitated the town for thirty years after the country between Wagga and Tumbarumba was first inspected in 1882.[4] A 20-man committee, chiefly of mercantile and professional men, was appointed by a public meeting in 1884, and set about organizing deputations and

---

1. See evidence to a Board of Inquiry, reported in the Albury Border Post, 9 Aug 1887, reprinted in ibid., 104 et seq.
2. The decision to close the Albury office was partly in line with current retrenchment policy, and also derived from the town's border location, which meant that inevitably it could not command as great a State administrative area as could a town in Wagga's position. This was an illustration of the way in which a political fact - the colonial border - could affect town growth.
3. See the petitions in VPLANSW, 1880-81, II, 1017, 1019.
4. VPLANSW, 1883-4, V, 987-9.

drawing up pamphlets.[1] Once again the spectre of Victorian mercantile rapacity was raised in favour of this line, but this time the Wagga advocates were careful not to let the final decision rest - as they had in the Junee junction squabble - on 'grounds of national policy'. The valuable resources of the area, in minerals, timber, and grazing and agricultural land, were emphasised; that is, the line was urged as a developmental line.[2]

Although the agitation was sustained, Wagga gained no satisfaction during this period. Two Railway Examiners did take evidence and re-examine the route in 1890,[3] but the Tumbarumba scheme was rejected at this time on the grounds of the priority of other agricultural districts, and the inadequacy of anticipated revenue to

---

1. The Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba Railway Extension Committee had a nucleus of merchant, storekeeper, and stock and station agent members: James Gormly (its chairman), D. Copland, C. H. Croaker, C. Dyring, L. A. Fosbery, J. Fox (Gormly's storekeeper partner), P. Moran, and W. Rand. One was a banker, F. W. Gowlland, and another a publican, J. O. Phillips, but only one manufacturer - the brewer W. S. Eaton - was a member. Fitzhardinge and Garland were solicitors, and M. O'Connor a surgeon; S. Hawkins was proprietor of the Wagga Express, and the committee's hon. sec., J. T. Williamson, was proprietor of the Riverine Evening Star. These were the Wagga town members, and they were joined by P. Rogers, a publican at Forest Hill, south-east of the town, and C. D. Bardwell, a large squatter at Oberne, near Tumbarumba, and the only landed member of the committee.
2. Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba Railway Extension Committee, Proposed Railway Line, from Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba . . ., (Sydney, n.d., but 1884-5), 3-10.
3. WE, 21 Oct 1890; J. T. Williamson (comp.), A Pamphlet, containing Arguments and Statistics in favour of the proposed Wagga Wagga-Tumbarumba Railway Line, (Wagga, n.d., [1890?]), 4-11.

anticipated costs.[1] Thus, local hopes and arguments for a developmental line were overridden by official doubts about the need for a service line; and while the extent to which development would follow the railway remained necessarily hypothetical, it was possible for both sides thus to talk at cross-purposes. Moreover, the times were against Wagga by 1890: the boom in New South Wales country railway building had ended in 1887, and a scheme which had appeared modest in the early eighties now assumed more grandiose proportions within the perspective of reduced commitments.[2]

The initial flush of optimism engendered by the arrival of the railway in Wagga was, then, allayed by a series of blows to the town's pride; but these disappointments were in turn tempered by the short-term benefits which the town derived from being within the main theatre of the freight rates war waged by the Victorian and New South Wales governments. Though slow to respond, with railway extensions, to the Victorian challenge in the Riverina, the New South Wales government was quick to turn these new lines further to Sydney's advantage through the offering of freight rebates on goods and wool

---

1. VPLANSW, 1890, V, 1001; the decision aired a current inversion of the American land grant system, in suggesting that 'If the line is made at some future date we consider that the residents in the district should combine together to have the land necessary for the construction of the line conveyed to the Department free of cost'.
2. See the discussion by Butlin, op. cit., 444-6

railed to the capital. The rebates on the southern line comprised a schedule based on distances from Sydney, and were highly favourable to Wagga, 309 miles distant.[1] They resulted in the intense unpopularity of Wagga, which, with the perennial Sydney, was regarded as being favoured to the detriment of all other towns in the area. The most acute feeling of grievance, naturally, was in Junee, 17 miles from North Wagga and on the wrong side of the freight-rates breaking point. It became the common practice of Junee traders to have goods consigned from Sydney via North Wagga, since the saving through rebates was much greater than the added cost of the return journey to Junee.[2] Junee's unfortunate position in relation to freight-rates no doubt played a part in winning for it the Hay line junction, but Junee men continued to complain that 'their town was unduly handicapped against their rival Wagga Wagga'.[3] The town was further angered because it was also affected by the penalty freight-rates imposed on Victorian goods coming north from Albury; this system was a natural complement to the offering of concessions on goods railed

---

1. Not every move in the conduct of the freight rates war was made public, but much of the relevant correspondence and other material - chiefly concerned with the Riverina, and covering the period 1879 to 1887 - was tabled later; see 'Correspondence, &c., in Reference to Railway Differential Rates', VPLANSW, 1888-9, II, 805-890.
2. E.g., a ton of 3rd class goods cost £6 18s 7d to land direct in Junee, but only £4 5s if brought via Wagga.
3. Cf. undated article, 'Junee and its Grievances', probably from the Evening News, in Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, XLIV, 73, and report of an 1886 deputation in VPLANSW, 1888-9, II, 855.

from Sydney to the Riverina, and on wool railed from the Riverina to Sydney. Once again, Junee was just on the wrong side of the break-point, although in this case, of course, the relative benefit from Junee's misfortune accrued, not to Wagga, but to towns north of Junee.[1]

Several other towns and settlements - Cootamundra, Murrumburrah, Gundagai, Adelong Crossing, and Coolamon - expressed a grievance against Wagga when officially objecting to differential rates, especially when the prize of the new Temora goldfield was being sought among the district's established rail towns.[2] Objections to the system were fruitless, and generally the only considerations which could temper the Department's motive of trade diversion were absolute operating losses (in the most 'competitive' areas)[3] or net revenue losses (in marginally 'competitive' areas).[4] Although a new policy did not result at the time, there were by 1887 signs of a rethinking of the question: the Commissioner was worried about

---

1. Idem.
2. Ibid., 820-2, 35-6, 54, 62, 55-6; cf. below, however, the growth-rates of these towns in the eighties.
3. Cf. the refusal to grant F. S. Falkiner, of Moonipia Spring Plains, a special rate on his wool in 1884, ibid., 36; note that an incorrect inference can be too easily read into Butlin's remark op. cit., 368, on prospective revenue as an investment criterion.
4. Cf. the alteration of schedule so as to exclude Coolamon from rebates, VPLANSW, 1888-9, II, 55-6.

the general impression that many New South Wales country town traders, as well as Victoria and Melbourne, were being discriminated against;[1] and he admitted that the penalties on raw materials railed from Melbourne via Albury were anomalously and unjustly affecting some country manufacturers.[2]

Wagga was not greatly affected by these penalty freight-rates; the terrain from Albury allowed for the fairly cheap alternative road transport of goods brought to the border by the Victorian Railways, and the town could in this way avail itself of attractive Victorian rebates offered on goods consigned from Melbourne to points north of Gerogery.[3] Wagga was able, then, to take advantage of the favourable goods freight rates offered by the governments of both colonies; to the extent that there was a reorientation of trade towards Sydney, the pain of this reorientation was eased.

---

1. Ibid., 62.
2. Ibid., 21-3, 25-9, 47, 67. Note that in considering the idea of a break-journey concession rate on goods sent into 'competitive' areas by other than Sydney manufacturers, the Commissioner admitted that 'It is only the comparative absence of local manufactories which makes the introduction of this system of charging possible; it has no parallel in any other country'.
3. Ibid., 21-3; Assistant Traffic-Manager Kirkcaldie commented in 1882 that 'These greatly reduced rates . . . have had the effect of driving the Wagga Wagga storekeepers and others to Melbourne for their supplies . . . .'

The other great prize in the battle of the freight-rates was the carriage of wool; until the end of the period, this was virtually the only commodity produced in the interior and intended for a much wider than local market. Country manufacturing was limited, and establishments such as McGrath's saddle and harness works at Wagga, which catered for an intercolonial market, were rarities; wheat-growing did not experience rapid expansion until towards the end of the period - one probable reason being, indeed, the tardy approach of the state railways to agriculturalists in contrast to their active wooing of pastoral traffic.[1]

Despite a truly differential rates policy on wool - involving negotiations with individual graziers[2] - New South Wales appears to have had but limited success in attracting wool to Sydney.[3] Whatever the ultimate destination of wool consigned at Wagga, the town in the eighties gained certain railhead advantages, advantages which the experience of Junee suggests would have been greatly diminished had Wagga been chosen as the junction of the Hay or

---

1. The battle for Riverina wool, involving river and road, as well as rail, and the South Australian, as well as Victorian and N. S. W. governments, has been discussed by Butlin, op. cit., especially 305-14 and 364-8, and R. H. T. Smith, Commodity Movements in Southern New South Wales, (Geography Department, A. N. U., 1962), 15-19.
2. Cf. VPLANSW, 1888-9, II, 12-15.
3. See Smith, op. cit., 19-21, especially Fig. 3.

Jerilderie lines, or had the much-wanted Tumbarumba line been built. It is obvious that the bulk of the wool loaded at Junee Junction in 1880 had come from country subsequently tapped by the Hay line, for the town's wool-loading functions then practically disappeared.[1] Wagga was less affected by the railway extensions to the west. The fact that significantly more wool went through Wagga than nearby stations and sidings suggests, also, the dynamic effect of its size in attracting business; it is probable, too, that a sizeable share of the wool came from the eastern side, whence access to railheads was topographically restricted; finally, of course, wool railed from Wagga enjoyed freight rebates if consigned to Sydney.

The possible effects of the wool trade should not be exaggerated;[2] although the servicing of short-haul teamsters, their

---

1. Bales of wool consigned from Wagga (inc. North Wagga) and Junee Junction railway stations amounted to:

	1880	1882	1886	1891
Wagga	8584	5392	5902	8995
Junee Junction	7597	556	678	1363

2. Because of discriminatory rates, it is probable that most wool railed through Wagga went to Sydney; however, a considerable amount of wool went by raod from the Wagga district to Albury and Wodonga, as the back-loading of teams sent up from the border with goods from Melbourne, as discussed above. More generally, there is some anology with Echuca, of which Susan Priestley, Echuca, (Brisbane, 1965), 40, noted: 'Like water down the smooth sides of a funnel, goods and produce worth more than a million pounds flowed through Echuca annually, leaving barely a trace'.

teams and their drays, and of the necessary railway staff,[1] were tangible benefits, the degree of agency involved in the despatch of each year's clip did not necessarily increase with an increase in the amount of wool sent to the town. Nevertheless, Wagga's geographical position - which had conduced to a high cost of living at a time of dependences on distant metropolises for consumer goods - now may be said to have brought for the town benefits of the competition between the two capitals. It was favoured by the differential freight rates, on both goods and wool, offered by each colony.[2]

Nevertheless, Wagga in the eighties experienced a greatly curtailed growth-rate; and while this should not be attributed solely to the railway, it does at least show that the apparent benefits of rail communication and of cheap freight-rates were not

---

1. Railway staff at North and South Wagga was 26 in 1880, then fell for some years due to the removal of plant and staff to Junee, but rose again from 12 in 1886 to 20 in 1890/1.
2. The degree to which Wagga trade was Melbourne-oriented, and became Sydney-oriented, cannot be determined accurately; but the hypothetical benefits derived from the freight-rates war did not, in Wagga's case, vary much according to the direction of trade.

so real, or were not gained to the full,[1] and opens the possibility that the railway was but a minor force for, and perhaps a force against, country town growth. The growth-rates of other towns in the region indicate that Wagga fared better than some and worse than others; they show, too, that while generalizations about the effect of the rail link as such are impossible, patterns based on the exact status of each railway town vis a vis the regional network may have emerged.[2]

Border towns with a through railway line tended to decline (Moama, Echuca, Albury); Wodonga experienced slight growth, and may have benefitted from the break of guage, something which Echuca could not do. Border towns at, or across the Murray River from, the terminus of Victorian branch lines grew strongly (Yarrawonga, Corowa, Wahgunyah), and - in the cases of Cobram and Mulwala - may even have taken their initial rise directly from the railway. Similarly, other terminus towns - except Deniliquin, which declined - grew satisfactorily (Hay, Jerilderie, Gundagai). Again with an exception in Murrumburrah, which declined, the New South Wales rail

---

1. Chapter 5, and Chapter 8, section i, above, discuss the town's reaction to hinterland growth conditioned by the rail link.
2. See Table 8: 3.

Table 8: 3. Population growth rates of some southern New South Wales and Victorian border towns and municipalities, 1881-1891.

Town or municipality[a]	Size 1881	Growth Per cent.	Size 1891
Goulburn	6839	59.6	10916
Yass	1804	-1.9	1770
Murrumburrah	1620	-24.3	1226
Cootamundra	938	115.9	2026
Gundagai	787	93.6	1524
Adelong	753	55.7	1173
Junee	538	212.6	1682
Wagga	3975	15.7	4596
Narrandera	1142	58.9	1815
Hay	2073	32.2	2741
Jerilderie	353	53.3	541
Albury	5715	-4.8	5447
Deniliquin	2506	-9.3	2273
Moama	1204	-40.5	716
Corowa	495	136.5	1171
Mulwala	-	-	206
Victorian border railway-towns			
Echuca	4789	-9.8	4354
Wahgunyah	452	78.9	809
Wodonga	788	13.1	891
Yarrawonga	366	249.2	1278
Cobram	-	-	282

a. The Deniliquin, Hay, Jerilderie, and Yass municipalities were so large that these figures must be regarded as district totals including the town and all population within a radius of approximately four miles from the centre of the town (compared with a radius of one and a half to two miles for the other towns listed here).

junction towns grew (Narrandera, Junee, Cootamundra); especially interesting is the high rate of growth - admittedly, from small beginnings - of Junee and Cootamundra, which had been most vocal about the ruinous effect of differential freight rates on their growth. These towns had certainly had the benefit of the Temora goldfields trade, but this had well and truly collapsed by 1891, and, moreover, both towns continued to grow more strongly than Wagga in the nineties.

But although Wagga's very modest growth rate - especially when contrasted with Junee's - does suggest that the junction status which the town so earnestly sought may have been of more benefit than favourable freight rates, Narrandera's growth-rate indicates that even the possession of both these apparent advantages did not guarantee spectacular growth.

In general, none of the Riverina towns had become really large, and underneath the variations (proportionally great, but numerically small) in the growth of the towns there lay the beginnings of the massive rationalization of services, based on the metropolises and made possible by the railway, which has held most of the towns in check since. More particularly, any assessment of the railway's effect on country towns should take account not only of post-rail link performance but also of pre-rail link anticipation.

The general optimism associated with rail communication, and the more immediate spur provided by the presence of rail construction workers - and, earlier in the seventies, the influx of selectors[1] - had led to an expansion of services in Wagga. A brief era of over-competition, from the late seventies to the mid-eighties, served to inflate the 1881 census figures, and there followed a contraction to a more stable situation by 1891. Thus, the net picture of solid growth between 1871 and 1891 actually involved (after the mid-seventies) two phases, one of sharp growth, followed by one of modest growth.

The journalist 'Bohemian' later commented on this situation. In deploring the excessive hotel service available in Wagga, he was led to observe that ever since the railway tapped the town there had been over-competition in every line of business, and miserably small profits. The brief existence and collapse of 'various branches of trade' had occurred in many of the inland towns which had clamoured for rail communication.[2]

---

1. Note that some of the railway workers, especially labourers employed by the Permanent Way branch, were selectors (or dummies); some Wagga district selectors' names are to be found in a list of all railway workers, VPLANSW, 1878-9, V, 174-189.
2. 'Wayside Sketches', written for the Adelong Argus by 'Bohemian', n.d., but c.1893, in Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, XLIV, 91.

Chapter 9. The Towns and the State

The towns, then, were subservient to their rural hinterlands: their 'urbanism' did not, on the whole, transcend their regionality. The towns were also subservient to the State; this fact, indeed, directly influenced the nature of their regionality. The necessity to wring benefits from the Government more often prevented than invoked cooperative action between towns which in reality had common interests; a narrow and wasteful regionality was engendered, and the approach to the State was rarely rationalized on a broad regional basis.

There were signs, particularly towards the end of the period, of a response in the towns to the problem of developing 'basic' functions, and of exploiting to the full the potential benefits of their rural hinterlands, although the scale of this response varied widely. While some Wagga men cooperated in the establishment of a large milling venture to maximize local benefits from the wheat boom, and others approached the legislature in an attempt to reap more benefit from the huge traffic of stock driven through the district, Hamilton men were combining to farm bees and trap rabbits, and Creswick men, afflicted still by mining myopia,

were beginning to think about planting some fruit trees on the worked-out alluvium. There were signs, too, of attempts by towns both to improve their position within their subservient relationship with the State, and to themselves undertake functions generally discharged by the State.

The role of central government

The process of Australian urbanization, and the role of the State, have recently received fresh emphasis in the work of N. G. Butlin:

> Contemporaries tended to be unduly conscious of government intervention in the nineteenth century, and later historians have gone in the opposite direction in virtually ignoring it. Lack of information on the building industry has helped to obscure the importance of the growth of cities. 1

Butlin emphasises the government share of British funds and migration, and its contribution to capital formation: the government sector concentrated on transport and communications, utilities, defence, and administrative buildings, as well as services such as health, justice, and education. Until the 1890s, government did not

---

1. N. G. Butlin, 'Colonial Socialism in Australia, 1860-1900', in H. G. J. Aitken (ed.), The State and Economic Growth, (New York, 1959), 27, n.4.

generally regulate private activity, and although there was intervention in the adoption of protective tariffs and in legislation for the disposal and occupation of Crown Lands,[1] these policies were - from at least the 1870s - geared primarily to government financial needs. Thus, Victoria chose to impose 'protective' tariffs, and New South Wales followed the course of large-scale land disposals.[2] The effect of these policies, and of the non-regulative aspects of State participation in the economy (as in competition for labour), offset the positive stimulus which government capital formation gave to private activity.[3] The role of the State was further extended, and in a manner important to country towns, because although within the government sector there were important devolutions of responsibility on to what Butlin calls 'local and semigovernmental authorities',

> 'except in the main cities, neither population nor wealth was adequate to support these local organizations, and all tended to rely heavily on the colonial government for financial aid. Until the closing years of the century, these bodies were essentially local and regional agencies of the colonial government'.[4]

---

1. Ibid., 35-7.
2. Ibid., 42-3.
3. Ibid., 72.
4. Ibid., 38.

Butlin's remarks, pitched at a necessarily general level, need some refinement in the context of the country towns, upon which the hand of the State lay heavily. Both the nature and the effects of the government presence were complex: as we have seen, for instance, expected effects did not always flow from the achievement of rail communication, although there is no doubt that the expectation of certain benefits - however vague - was general and fervent. Again - and often with good reason, in a physically centralized political and administrative system in each colony - State and metropolis were often interchangeable in the thinking of those within the State but outside the metropolis. For this reason, in other words, it was possible for a country town to feel in a sense outside the State;[1] for the country townsman, the metropolis became a tangible object of grievance such as was unavailable to his suburban counterpart, who in many respects was no less dependent on the State. In the context of country towns, then, we may modify Butlin's contention that contemporaries were 'unduly conscious of government intervention': although, as we shall now see, the State

---

1. The classic examples of the extension of, or attempt to constructively enact, this feeling were in the New State or Separation movements - which were not, however, purely country town concerns.

had many important effects - direct and indirect - on the life of the towns, its apparent shortcomings were often laid at the door, rather, of the metropolis.

i. Direct role of the State

G. S. Baden-Powell described the origin of Australian country towns in terms of the increasing expense and inconvenience of accommodating strangers on sheep stations.[1] While inaccurate or oversimple for the large corpus of towns or settlements comprising mining camps, ports, and suburbs, this description is doubtless adequate for many an inland town: with the exception of 'private' townships, then, the origin of towns often arose from the demand that the Government make provision for the location of services which private individuals were no longer able or prepared to render.

In many cases, private initiative - characteristically, in the establishment of an inn or smithy at a river-crossing - preceded any more positive Government action than the reservation of township land at what were felt to be likely places of settlement.

---

1. G. S. Baden-Powell, New Homes for the Old Country, (London, 1872), 129, 140-1.

Only in a small minority of cases did private subdivision of townships occur.[1] And many of these were no more than bogus speculative promotions, such as had been amusingly depicted in the Tasmania of the forties in James Tucker's play Jemmy Green in Australia. Especially during the goldrushes, it was reported, it had been the favourite dodge of some auctioneers to get an allotment of land somewhere - anywhere! - in the country, lay it out in streets, building lots, and market places, and sell it - suitably equipped with a high-sounding name - as a genuine town. There were at least half a dozen such 'townships' round Kyneton, in Victoria, but eventually sheep, rather than proud citizens, strode their streets.[2] Of course, stillborn townships were not confined solely to the realm of private subdivisions: Lands Department maps, dotted with neatly laid-out but non-existent townships, bear witness to a rudimentary social policy which rarely got beyond the surveyor's drawing-board.[3]

---

1. K. B. Ryan, Towns and Settlement on the South Coast of New South Wales, (Ph.D. Thesis, A. N. U., 1965), 69, reported that in that area these were usually in response to official bunglings or inadequacies.
2. See extract from the Kyneton Guardian in SMH, 15 Sep 1873.
3. Note Ryan's observation, op. cit., 92, that official trust in surveyors' judgements induced premature and blanket adoption of village reserves, all but controlling town location for the ensuing 30 years, and prescribing in advance the scope of emerging urban hierarchies. Cf. Chapter 7, Section ii, above.

Most towns, then, were baptised or adopted by the State in early infancy, even if their conception and birth had been privately carried through.[1] The State then proceeded to alienate those township allotments which had not been reserved for specific purposes; alienation, and to some extent growth, was conditioned by demand but also by Government disposition to release land: not all of the land was offered at once, although on the other hand there was no restriction on multiple purchasing. Where possible, the Government usually also subdivided a town's immediate hinterland into 'suburban', or agricultural, allotments, as at Hamilton and Wagga. This was an implicit recognition that urban viability rested partly on the existence of a tributary rural population, as well, of course, as its ability to feed itself. It is interesting that Creswick, a declining town, was not provided with these special lands; but too much should not be made of this connection, since there is evidence that de facto settlement, as well as settlement under licence and lease (both private and governmental) occurred in the environs of Creswick.

---

1. For details of the customs and procedures in surveying, planning and selling towns, see Ryan, op. cit., 69-70, and his 'A Paradigm of Country Town Development in N. S. W.', Australian Journal of Social Issues, II, 1, Autumn 1964, 5-7. For the early bases of practice, see D. N. Jeans, 'Town Planning in New South Wales 1829-1842', Australian Planning Institute Journal, III, 6, October 1965.

Although, when once alienated, land ceased to be the concern of the Surveyor-General, his department continued to interest itself in such matters as street alignment. Alienated land itself remained under State surveillance through the Registrar-General; and of course in myriad other ways - direct and indirect - the State continued to touch the life of the towns.

After its role in the mechanical foundation of the town, the State's next direct contribution was in the accretion of State agencies as urban functions, a process which both fostered and responded to the growth of the town. The spectrum of possible agencies ranged from the basic establishment of a Post Office and the appointment of a Police Magistrate and Court of Petty Sessions to more specialized services - such as Lands Offices, higher courts, secondary and specialist schools - which were fewer, and more eagerly prized by individual towns. Such agencies were valued not just as useful or essential services for the townspeople themselves, nor because of the employment they afforded nor simply for prestige, but also for the business they brought to the town.[1] Similarly,

---

1. As H. W. H. King says of Armidale, 'As in other Squatting District centres like Binalong, Cooma, Tumut and Wagga Wagga, the Commissioner /of Crown Lands/'s seat became from the outset a place of assembly where settlers from the surroundings made social contacts and conducted business with each other'; 'Armidale, N. S. W.; A Standard "Australian" Service Town: Its Evolution, Morphology and Changing Functional Character', in R. F. Warner (ed.), New England Essays, (Armidale, 1963), 96-7. Cf. the discussion in Chapter 8, Section iii, above, of Wagga's efforts in respect of the location of railway workshops and the Lands Office.

as Blainey points out, the superior inertia of the State in some respects could prolong the life of a town beyond its otherwise appointed span.[1]

It will be noted that the bulk of direct State impingement on town life was in the field of tertiary activities, in its executive and judicial capacity (as in education, police and justice, public works); the same is true of much of the State's less direct influence, since many tertiary services (such as local government itself, hospitals, and Mechanics Institutes) were subject to State subsidy and/or inspection. Thus, the bulk of non-commercial tertiary services in a town were State-dependent, whether State-owned or State-subsidized. As such, they were

---

1. The Rush That Never Ended, (Melbourne, 1963), 287-8: 'Visitors wondered how old mining towns survived until they sensed the excitement at the post office on pension day . . . . The train timetable was often unchanged for years, giving work to station staff and engine-drivers and fettlers though the railway had few passengers. The post office employed four men when it had business for two . . . . ' Note that in a sweepingly general sentence, Blainey credits this situation to politics rather than inertia: 'Many mining regions retained their member of parliament long after their electorate should have been abolished, and the member invoked the state to keep the town alive'. (The first part of this statement, as seen elsewhere, is certainly true). This is part of Blainey's wider argument - again questionable in the Victorian context - that 'The mining industry . . . has been highly taxed in good times but has got comparatively little aid from governments when that aid is essential'.

partly dependent on the condition of colonial prosperity and on what Ryan calls 'the external, chiefly metropolitan impetus towards planned development and social provision'.[1] An example of the latter impetus was in the field of education, where first the State, rather than local authorities, assumed responsibility for public education, and then extended this externalization or centralization by secularizing education.[2] Thus - in this and sundry other fields of tertiary service - field staff (in this case, teachers and inspectors) were locally quartered, but

---

1. Ryan, op. cit., (thesis), 114-5; note that in pointing to the regional ramifications of 'so external' a decision as that to elevate Bega Public School to matriculation standard in 1931 Ryan does not discuss the effect which local pressures may have had in producing such a decision. Note, too, that in contrasting Government-controlled or -subsidized services as sources of urban employment with private local initiative in resource utilization and hinterland relationships, Ryan juxtaposes private/local and Government/external, whereas it may be preferable to break these down further into categories such as individual, associative, private, public, corporate, etc., and various combinations of these.
2. Cf. C. M. H. Clark, A Short History of Australia, (Sydney, 1963), 149: 'The new education acts Victoria 1872, South Australia 1875, N. S. W. 1880 also continued the tendency to centralize the administration of the colonies. As neither party to the great debate on education was prepared to entrust the appointment of teachers, or the choice of syllabus and textbooks, to a local committee for fear of domination by one sect or another, control was vested in a department of education, responsible to the minister in the capital city of each colony'.

administration was centralized, as Clark says, 'in the capital city of each colony'.[1]

The other great field in which the State directly touched the life of towns was in transport and communications. Butlin has described the massive colonial investment programmes[2] - especially in railways - which he says took their rise basically from

> the struggle between the three leading commercial centres, Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney, to dominate their respective hinterlands and to extend, retain or regain their position

---

1. The question of colonial government administration bore on country town growth in at least two important respects: first, it is only rarely that the completion of a phase in a town's accretion of administrative (as of other) functions would coincide with the completion of the period under study. This means that the virtual completion of administrative suites will have affected the growth-rates of most towns at some stage during the period. The aggregate completion of such a suite in Creswick by the beginning of the sixties, in Hamilton by the beginning of the eighties, and in Wagga after the mid-eighties, cannot but have contributed to the subsequent curtailment of growth-rates. Second, in relation to the different patterns of urbanization in each State, Victoria had a large and increasingly centralized public service - large because of a large (and centralized) Customs department, and increasingly centralized with the contraction of goldfields administration; N. S. W., on the other hand, had a more decentralized public service, especially after the 1884 Land Act.
2. Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900, (Cambridge, 1964), Ch. V.

> in handling the growing intercolonial traffic, trade and finance, particularly from the Riverina and western N. S. W. The intracolonial dominance of surrounding areas via communications appeared most definitely in the submergence of Victorian country towns and the growth of Melbourne. 1

The State provided and maintained most railways, main roads, and telegraph lines. This contrasted with the cities of the American states, where private railroad imperialism was a key urban activity; in Australia, the railway as an instrument of local urban aggrandizement was at two removes from country town control: first, towns could not or did not build their own railways, and, second, the railway, if and when the State provided it for a town, did not in itself guarantee the prosperity which the town nearly always expected.[2] The same was true of the problem of closer settlement in the hinterlands of the towns: as seen in preceding chapters, hinterland settlement did not always support the growth of urban services, just as the presence of agriculture did not necessarily mean the growth of the milling industry.

---

1. Ibid., 293.
2. See further discussion of the railway, below.

ii. Indirect role of the State

Akin to the State's role in transport and communications was its role in the settlement of land by legislative and executive action. Of course, there were differences between these fields and the role of the State in each,[1] but these were the two major single fields in which the State appeared to loom largest and in which it was believed that matters of high policy would have a long-range bearing on settlement in general, and towns in particular. Of course, it is wrong to view the State as the sole agent in the field of closer settlement.

---

1. 1) In the former, the State assumed the role of owner, builder and operator, vending only services but also wielding the system to gain for itself (or, many did and still do believe, for its metropolis) commercial benefits wider than simply the revenue from freights and fares;
   2) though an element of social policy lay behind each, the former was an investment process while the latter involved the liquidation of assets in the disposal - by one means or another - of land;
   3) the distinction made in this chapter, and based partly on contemporary thinking, is between transport policy as a direct or immediate influence on towns, and land policy as an indirect influence, since it sought to shape primary - rather than secondary or tertiary - industry.

Agricultural and other types of intensive rural settlement were potentially important for town growth, in terms severally of tributary population, handling functions, and of raw materials for local secondary industrial treatment. Where large pastoral holdings existed on land capable of other uses, their breakup was especially important for most inland country towns, and such a breakup could be attempted either governmentally or privately. Government subdivision and declaration of leaseholds for selection was, of course, important, but only to the extent that the various schemes may be said to have succeeded. In many areas of south-eastern Australia, the very attempt at such disposal of leasholds led directly to the consolidation of large freeholdings, whose subsequent breakup could only be decreed privately or through costly government resumptions. Private subdivision did occur,[1] and was a valuable factor in rural settlement, although it lacked the element of social engineering which selection policies were believed to contain.

---

1. This is separate from, though not unconnected with, the question of the disintegration of station villages which had usurped 'urban' functions such as blacksmithing, butchering, etc., or of station units which had in a broader sense by-passed such urban functions as banking and the supply of stores; the latter certainly did such business in town, but in the metropolis or some other old or large town (such as Geelong) rather than in the small local town.

In concentrating on the legislative aspects of small settlement, then, historians have often underestimated the actual extent of intensive rural settlement. Such settlement - much of which, admittedly, occurred well after politicians first began to proclaim the urgency of small agricultural settlement - took place through tenant-farming, share-farming (in which agricultural land use was prescribed), station freehold subdivision - whether because of rising debt or of rising land values[1] - and through the consolidation of selection areas by virtue of family selection and 'boss cocky' aggrandizement.

Nevertheless, it was chiefly to the State that the towns (and prospective settlers) must needs look for some sort of planned attempt at closer settlement, especially in parts of Victoria - such as some parts of the Creswick area - where the government was loath to actually alienate the land. This does not, as emphasized elsewhere, mean that in practice closer hinterland

---

1. It was seen that in the Wagga region the encroachment of wheat-growing inflated the value of pastoral land; with some exceptions, graziers chose characteristically to sell land or let it out for share-farming, rather than farm it themselves. Cf. Butlin, op. cit., 100-1, on the 'disintegration' of large old stations; of course, such subdivisions rarely resulted directly in the small agricultural freeholds ostensibly envisaged in selection legislation.

settlement guaranteed town growth,[1] but the dominant State presence in this field - coupled with a mentality of dependence on the State in other fields - ensured that there was a real belief in the validity of this connection: Hamilton, in its failure, acknowledged as much.

The other great area in which Government policy held the potential to influence the lives of country towns was in the field of tariff policy apropos manufacturing industry. From the country town point of view, however, this differed from the questions of land and transport policy in that tariff policies were rarely designed, even ostensibly, to affect the geographical distribution of manufacturing within a colony. Moreover, granted that 'protectionist' tariffs had a three-pronged purpose (revenue, employment - as against manufacturing per se - and the protection of local manufacturing), in which protection played by no means a dominating part, the question of the effect of such tariffs

---

1. Thus, although the failure of settlement by legislation at Hamilton may be regarded as an indirect factor in the decline of Hamilton's growth-rate after the sixties, the presence of closer settlement at Creswick and Wagga did not, for various reasons, mean immediate or automatic town growth: i) several different types of rural settlement pattern militated against a discrete separation of 'urban' and 'rural' functions; ii) rural produce - whether for handling in transit or for industrial processing - was not necessarily annexed to the nearest town.

remains problematical.[1] One negative conclusion is certain, however. Urbanization - metropolitan and extrametropolitan - proceeded in both colonies in the absence of highly developed and large-scale manufacturing, in contrast to the experience of many Western countries. Moreover, despite divergent tariff policies in each colony for part of the period, they both shared a tendency to the metropolization of many branches of manufacturing, and the different pattern of country town development in the two colonies further indicates that Victorian country towns gained

---

1. Cf. Butlin, in Aitken (ed.), op. cit., 44: 'Attempts to assess the actual effects of tariffs are questionable mainly because major tariff changes were made during recessions and it is impossible to separate the structural from the cyclical changes'. Butlin mentions intercolonial friction as a rather different kind of effect. Cf. M. I. Logan, 'Capital City Manufacturing in Australia', Economic Geography, XLII, No. 2, Apr 1966, 139, 143-5; he is right in pointing to the high concentration of economic activities in Australian capital cities as conforming to a 'pattern to be expected in an advanced Western country that is broken up into six Sovereign States'; he also asserts that the agglomeration of manufacturing 'illustrates the importance of various forms of government intervention and monopolistic competition in Australian geography' - in particular, 'Some of the important present-day differences in the industrial profiles of Melbourne and Sydney, such as Melbourne's concentration on clothing, textiles, boots and shoe manufacture, relate to government policies in the second half of the nineteenth century'.

from protective tariffs no significant advantage over their New South Wales counterparts.[1]

The area in which 'indirect' State influence was most pervasive has already been mentioned, namely, the amorphous but important range of tertiary services - including local government - which were subsidized by the State. Many such may not be regarded as purely private - or non-governmental public - undertakings, since they often depended on the government grant, and were, as well, hedged about by complex legislation only within which private effort could be made. Initial dependence bred a dependent mentality which it did not always suit the State to

---

1. Note that the placing of government orders locally - such as the Victorian Railways' order for locomotives from the Phoenix Foundry in Ballarat - was a separate, more direct, influence on manufacturing, and not necessarily connected with the question of tariff protection. Moreover, Butlin, op. cit., (1964), 400-1, points out that only about ten per cent. of government equipment demands in railway building were placed in the colonies.

discourage.[1]

Private provision or duplication of 'State' services

Apart from those services which the State generally subsidized but never attempted to provide in country towns, there were often private or other nongovernmental interests operating services parallel, anticipatory, or supplementary to those provided by the State in fields in which the State was unequivocally committed. Just as there were some private towns, so there were, for instance, some private railways, private

1. See the fuller discussion of local government. This type of mentality, as well as intermunicipal jealousies, prevented much more than consultation between councils on matters of common interest; see, for example, A. Birch and D. S. Macmillan (eds.), The Sydney Scene 1788-1960, (Melbourne, 1962), 167-8, on the failure of the county council idea - 'to stand between the government and the forty-odd municipalities of the metropolitan district' - in the 1890s. Note that even with the available State subsidies not all towns had the range of tertiary services affected; for instance, there was not a hospital in every town: each hospital was a district hospital, often serving a district containing towns other than that which provided the site of the institution. Indeed, there were periodic recommendations that there be a rationalization, involving a reduction in the number of country hospitals. Again, not all towns availed themselves of the opportunity for local self-government, although there was by the end of the period virtually no Victorian town which was not subject to local government, even if only at a Shire, rather than a Borough, level.

telegraph lines, private schools, private arterial bridges. But even these often only existed under the terms of special Acts of the colonial legislatures - were private, that is, only by consent of the State.

Buxton found it quite characteristic of the southern Riverina that the construction of the Deniliquin and Echuca Electric Telegraph Company's chief asset was completed by private enterprise. This he attributed to its remoteness from the seat of government;[1] but the entry of private enterprise, under charter, into fields chiefly occupied by the State was a minor characteristic of New South Wales which cannot but have contributed to the strength of country towns. An example was the Wagga Wagga Bridge Company, which returned handsome profits to the shareholders - and therefore, in a sense, wealth to the town - and had some effect on secondary industry and town morphology.[2]

Less common, after the early private abdication of the field, were private incursions into railway construction and management, even though natural barriers to such incursion were

---

1. G. L. Buxton, 'The Rise and Fall of the Fat Stock Market', (unpublished paper, A. N. U., 1964), 2.
2. It helped prompt the establishment of a mill at North Wagga, to enable North Wagga farmers to avoid the tolls involved in getting their grain to the established mill at South Wagga.

not insurmountable:

> Just as the original government entry into railway construction represented a nondoctrinaire ad hoc solution of an immediate problem, so the continuation of government railways to the exclusion of private is to be explained mainly in ad hoc terms. Attempts have been made to justify the private abdication of the railway field in terms of long distances, sparse settlement, and an underlying poverty of Australian resources. The financial result of government railway operation do not square with this interpretation. Undoubtedly, private railways could have operated profitably. 1

The situation in the Australian colonies, then, was in radical contrast to that in the American states, where railroad and town promotion often went hand-in-hand.[2] Indeed, this contrast strikes deep at the weakness of Australian country towns, for - the question of railways aside - few of them received, as towns, any methodical or continuing self-promotion. The existence of competing private railways would undoubtedly

---

1. Butlin, in Aitken (ed.), op. cit., 40-1; cf. Butlin, op. cit., (1964), 304, n.6 and 326, on the important and 'nominally private' Deniliquin-Moama Railway. Note that in both the Deniliquin area of the Riverina, and the Portland area of the far Western District of Victoria, unsuccessful separation movements in the early sixties were followed shortly by attempts at private railway schemes.
2. See B. McKelvey, op. cit., and the brief but fascinating discussion of individual towns and railroads in Constance McL. Green's American Cities in the Growth of the Nation, (New York, 1965 edn.), 17-8, 22, 49, 62, 75, 78, 80, 104-5, 107, 114, 139, 141, 149, 152, 174-6, 198. Cf. also K. S. Inglis's essay on the culture of politics, 'Mark Twain and the Gilded Age: Some Suggestions for Comparative Study', Australian Economic History Review, VII, No. 1, Mar 1967, 19-37.

have given rise to the active promotion of at least the key towns in each system. And while on one hand the absence of private railways cannot be a complete explanation for the relative absence of provincial urban promotion, it is hard to overestimate the incidental benefits which private railways - assuming they had been successful - would have given towns, in terms of morale, prestige, organizational experience and financial expertise, and administrative employment.

Ever since the railways were first mooted, there was generally a high anticipation of the benefits - however vaguely conceived - that they would bring to country towns and districts. Indeed, railways were regarded as more than simply a means of transport.[1] Although broader arguments were necessarily used, rail communication was usually sought on the assumption that it would be advantageous to the town, although it was occasionally feared.[2] And although terminus and junction status were felt to

---

1. In the La Trobe Library, Melbourne, there is an illuminated address of welcome to the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, from the municipalities of Ballarat and Ballarat East in 1863. The address is enclosed in an arch, flanked by columns which are diagonally furled with ribands bearing the names of the chief industrial or economic activities: 'Mining', 'Pastoral', 'Agricultural', 'Commerce', 'Railways', 'Manufactures' [my italics].
2. Cf. G. R. Bartlett, op. cit. (thesis), 284, 288, on the anti-railway minority at Ararat in 1867 and 1869.

be especially advantageous, it was seldom anticipated that, without these, rail communication would actually place a town at a disadvantage.[1]

Objectively, of course, the hypothetical advantages of the railway for country towns were normally balanced or offset by hypothetical disadvantages, but - whatever objective assessments or simple fears were voiced - even moderately ambitious towns had little choice but to press for rail communication. Partly, it was expected by the people of its hinterland that it would do so,[2] but - more important - while both hopes and fears remained speculative, the gamble of possible disadvantage from the railway was preferred to the more accepted certainty that the town would decline if by-passed.

The lack of later private railway schemes, then, is surprising, but there were several reasons for this lack. First, the State - once committed to railway construction - did not encourage such schemes. Second, the jealousy of the main country towns militated against the broad regional organization which would

---

1. Cst. Ballarat fears of railway extension from the town, ibid., 289.
2. As D. B. Waterson found on the Darling Downs, op. cit., 242, rural communities left agitation for railway extension to their townsmen, since the towns were most affected by the exact route.

have been necessary: for instance, Hamilton and Portland could not even come together in seeking a government line to their region. And the quick government entry into the railways field - however transient the precipitating factors - engendered a dependence on the State, which (compounded by country town dependence in other fields) was seldom transcended except in the case of special lines (such as the single-purpose Ballarat-Bullarook tramway) or special feelings of neglect and deprivation (as at Portland).

The three towns under study offered local educational facilities alternative to those provided by the State, but while these may be regarded as factors in town growth they did not consistently respond to, or reflect, the overall tempo of growth. The Creswick Grammar School, for instance, was not a vestige of the town's boom days, but rather was established during perhaps the greatest lull in the town's development, and suffered an early blow in the withdrawal of State aid. Of course, this withdrawal was not anticipated; nor was the town's decline in the sixties, so apparent now, accepted - paradoxical as it sounds - by those who chose to remain in the town at that time. The school survived until the turn of the century, a testimony not only to the persistence and optimism of Creswick's citizens, but also to the actual benefits which the town gleaned from the mining boom to

the north after the late seventies. The establishment of private (including Church) schools in Hamilton and Wagga was clearly a response to the high growth-rates of the sixties; but the growth of private institutional pedagogy and population in each town diverged thereafter. This was not simply a matter of misjudging the trend of urban growth-rates: Hamilton's private schools especially, were based very much on a regional, pastoral, rather than urban, appeal - they sought to compete with England, Tasmania, Melbourne, and Geelong in the education and cultivation of the Western District's sons and daughters.[1]

In the provision of education and certain other tertiary services and utilities - such as waterworks - there was an accepted parallelism between State and private efforts (although the latter often sprang only from the absence of the former). By contrast, for example, the fact that Hamilton was the headquarters of a quasi-police or vigilante organization (designed to prevent incendiarism and the damage or theft of stock on Western District pastoral properties) was in several ways a very special case: it did not aim to duplicate, or make good the deficiencies in, the whole range of State police duties; similarly, it was organized

---

1. See M. Kiddle, op. cit., esp. 483-6.

by a discrete social group, rather than by a whole community dissatisfied with the local police establishment provided by the State; and although Hamilton was its headquarters, it was not an urban organization (though on the other hand it did comprise part of the town's regional role, similar, though more purely pastoral, to that of bodies such as the pastoral and agricultural association, and the racing club).[1]

The towns' relations with the State

Although the activities of the State impinged in many ways on town life and town growth, the access of individual towns to the State was very restricted. In one sense, this was not a matter of great concern, for neither the State nor the towns themselves regarded the question of urban settlement as a matter of high policy;[2] the attention of towns was directed more to the legislative or executive details - such as railway routes - of policies which were

---

1. This was quite different from the formal judicial delegations made by the State, e.g. the appointment of local magistrates (J. P.s), or the shortlived elective local courts in the Victorian Mining Districts.
2. This was before the era which saw a gradual proliferation of specialized ministries - dealing with matters such as local government, water conservation, fisheries, and decentralization - reflecting the recognition that continuing policies were appropriate to more and more fields of activity.

not necessarily framed with the question of town growth in mind. However, this did not diminish the obstacles to access, discussed below, which were posed by the electoral system. Moreover, the necessary limitations of the electoral system, coupled with the prevalent fluidity of party politics through much of the period, meant that backstairs pressure could sometimes be the most effective channel of access.[1] Such a channel, while sometimes effective, was of course a very unreliable way of getting things done, depending as it did on ephemeral combinations of circumstance.[2]

The absence of more than a few small borough electorates strongly affected the concept of the 'local' Member for most towns. At the extremes of the system were the large rambling electorates, containing several towns or settlements, and represented perhaps by a metropolitan lawyer, and, at the other end, the small borough electorate based round one large town, and represented perhaps by the local mayor or some other prominent townsman. The former type became less common as the period progressed, and the latter remained comparatively rare. Between these extremes was a variety of electoral situations affecting the extent to which a town could

---

1. Electoral bargaining was another result; for instance, J. A. MacPherson owed his re-election for Dundas in 1871 to certain undertakings which - as the retiring Minister for Railways - he was able to give to the electors at Hamilton.
2. It is also a channel whose use - by its nature - cannot be thoroughly documented.

be said to be represented. A town could not be sure that the 'local' Member would come from within the electorate (although there was a growing concern that he should do so); even if he did, it might be from a rival town or a rural section; and even if a local townsman were elected, he might reject - as some expressly did - the notion of constituency representation. Towns in multi-member electorates (such as Wagga and Creswick), and multi-electorate towns (such as Hamilton, which was bisected by the boundary of Dundas and Normanby electorates) had a better chance of gaining a truly local representative. On the other hand, there was a risk that the town (and the electorate as a whole) would feel virtually disfranchised, a complaint voiced at Hamilton whenever the Member for Dundas and the Member for Normanby appeared on opposite sides of the division lists.[1] Moreover, although

---

1. See, e.g., HS, 4 Feb 1871; more important, of the five Members for Dundas and four Members for Normanby 1861-1891, none was a Hamilton townsman. Three were local squatters, one a squatter from another district, and the remainder were professional men from outside the district. Of the dozen Members for Murrumbidgee in this period (Wagga did not become a borough electorate until 1894), five were pastoralists (including A. G. Jones, a land reformer who was also proprietor of the Wagga Advertiser), three were outside men (including a Premier, Dibbs, a Sydney importer), one a district union organizer, and only three Wagga townsmen (of whom James Gormly was also a pastoralist). Of the Members for Creswick 1861-1891, three-quarters were local district men, but only two may be regarded as Creswick townsmen.

Creswick was a two-member electorate with an increasingly flattering member/constituents ratio, and a reasonably high degree of truly local representation throughout, this did not prevent the decline of Creswick and other towns in the electorate.

Whatever obstacles the electoral system and customs of representation posed for the country town, voice in matters of policy were - in one sense - compounded, or - in another - rendered irrelevant, by a basic lack of continuing rapport between towns. This goes back to the theme emphasised throughout this study, namely, the regionality - as against urbanness - of Australian country towns. Squatters, though in competition with one another as individual businessmen, were capable of rising above matters of parliamentary faction or individual rivalry on matters involving common interest; towns were less capable of this.

What rapport there was was achieved outside the House,[1] and then only fitfully, and usually in a municipal rather than urban context.

The other chief channel of influence - the deputation, by which towns, Councils, Railway Extension and other groups sought to influence the Executive - was one whose use was again essentially competitive rather than collaborative. Deputations comprised a cycle of rivalry out of which few towns or groups - having once entered - were courageous enough to break, a costly

---

1. Even outside the House, country town participation was in collaborative movements involving other elements as well as country towns; until regional (rather than urban/rural) splits occurred in the municipal associations, these embraced the whole range of municipal bodies - cities, towns, boroughs, and shires, and both country and metropolitan. The Victorian decentralisation leagues of the 1880s naturally excluded metropolitan bodies, but comprised sundry local branches, many based on existing local government areas and institutions- both urban and rural (including Hamilton and Creswick) - , and others based on non-locality sections. For instance, the branches represented at the Ballarat meeting in December 1885 included not only Ballarat and Sandhurst, but also the Ballarat Miners' Association and the Sandhurst Miners' Association; see Argus, 17 Dec 1885. Thus, the concept of 'The Country Towns of Victoria and N. S. W.' - concrete enough in terms of the collation of census date - is historically fairly abstract. The growing self-consciousness - that is, self-awareness, or town-consciousness - of individual towns may be documented, but not so a provincial urban group consciousness. In the main, a network of jealousies, fears, and dependences ensured that a town would act, not with other towns, but a) against another town in the region, b) with other parts of the region against another region, or c) with its own and other country regions against the metropolis.

system which was frequently lamented by the hapless participants and condemned by commissions of enquiry.[1]

Local Government

It has been mentioned above that local municipal government was in some ways just another of those tertiary services enjoying State subsidy and suffering State control and inspection. In other ways, of course, it was rather a special case. It was a direct (though far from complete) delegation of State duties and rights, encouraged but not forced on localities. For that majority of towns in each colony which undertook to govern themselves, incorporation was - like rail communication - one of the great nineteenth century experiences. In potential, local government offered a formal channel, not simply for rate-collecting and street-building, but for the forging of a local identity. That local government in the colonies generally fell short of this makes it no less worthy of further attention in that respect.

In its Australian setting, however, local government

---

1. See, e.g., 'Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Municipalities and the Charitable Institutions of Victoria', VPLAV, 1862-3, IV, No. 52, 26.

was not generally important for country town growth, was at the most a symptom rather than a cause of growth. Municipal rates were dependent, of course, on the value of the property rated, and that value was rarely determined by the state or condition of local government itself; this was because the restricted responsibilities allowed to local government in the colonies prevented extremes both of bad and good management on a scale which might have significantly affected land values.[1] Empirically, any possible link between local government and town growth is weakened by the fact that in both colonies some incorporated towns grew while others declined (although the incorporation of a town already in obvious decline was unusual); similarly, though some unincorporated towns declined, many others grew. The experience of the sample towns indicates that, far from local government's influencing town growth, growth itself did not necessarily induce successful local government. Such success depended on a variety of other factors.

Creswick at the time of its incorporation[2] was a relatively young gold town, with a large but unstable population, more than one third - many of them Chinese - living in tents. Hamilton[3] and

---

1. It is hard to argue, for instance, that high rates (on the one hand) or bad streets (on the other) drove people out of a town, since good streets could only be had, ceteris paribus, through high rates (though of course high rates need not guarantee good streets).
2. Incorporated November, 1858.
3. Incorporated December, 1859.

Wagga[1] were older towns, and their populations, though relatively small, were growing, and few lived in tents or other inferior dwellings. Creswick had unpromising material to work with: much of its citizenry was migratory; its Chinese were self-contained; returns from the shallow alluvial workings were far from spectacular; much of the land in the borough would never - it seemed then - be available for sale because it was reserved as auriferous. Hamilton and Wagga had more settled populations, with no self-contained minorities (the Lutheran village, Hochkirk, being outside the Hamilton Borough boundary); they were confident in their future as the service centres of a wool-growing districts which had suffered but minor disruptions because of the goldrush; all of their land was available for sale, except the normal government reserves, and demand so far had been gratifying.

Despite its apparent handicaps, however, Creswick early sought and received municipal incorporation, chiefly under the impetus of a local chamber of commerce - the Commercial Club - from whose ranks, also, the first councillors were drawn; and despite the town's subsequent population fluctuations and decline, the borough

---

1. Incorporated March, 1870.

retained its municipal identity until, well into the twentieth century, it finally merged with Creswick Shire. Hamilton, on the other hand, had to survive a counter-petition before its request for incorporation was granted;[1] almost immediately, the new borough found itself floundering between, in turn, the Scylla of sectarianism and the Charybdis of apathy. Within ten years, it was begging for a merger with Dundas Shire, and that shire's refusal was the chief reason for the town's continuous identity as a self-governing borough. This was the decade of Hamilton's fastest growth, and it is obvious that any relation between local government and town growth was, at the most, obscure.[2]

There were good reasons in Victoria for wishing to merge with a shire, but antagonism to such moves was nevertheless prevalent. In New South Wales, under the improved Act of 1867 - which introduced boroughs and municipal districts - the practice of reducible annual endowments commensurate with rates was retained, and applied without differential to urban and rural municipalities.

---

1. See Victorian Government Gazette, 1859, 1644-5, for the successful petition.
2. The case of Creswick shows that numbers were more important than growth in municipal matters: more resident numbers meant more ratepayers, while the statutory limitation of borough size limited the length of streets to be made. And the more numbers travelling through a borough, the speedier the declaration of main roads, which were a State financial responsibility.

In Victoria, endowments at first took the form of grants-in-aid based on local works expenditure on specific projects. After 1863, on the other hand, differential endowments were paid to boroughs and shires - generally £1 to £1 and £2 to £1, respectively, on local revenue from general rates,[1] and at times reducible - and were the source of some discontent, especially in the cases of some near-metropolitan areas which, as shires, received great endowments as their rateable value rapidly rose.[2] A system of classification of shires, introduced in 1891, does not appear to have really removed such anomalies.[3] Nevertheless, the relatively high rate of borough incorporation among Victorian towns suggests that they were unwilling or - like Hamilton - unable to assume or revert to shire status.[4]

---

1. After 1875, £3 to £1 were offered as inducement to the spread of local government in Gippsland, and resulted in the formation of five or six shires. See the evidence of the Victorian Under-Secretary for Public Works to the Queensland Royal Commission on Local Government, VPLAQ, 1896, II, C.A.45, Q.4886.
2. Ibid., 4895, 4912. Cf. the evidence of the Maldon Shire President, ibid., Appendix III, No.53, 201: having observed that the object of the 1863 Victorian Act was to relieve the Government of a costly and inefficient roads department, he noted that prior to 1891 the differential endowments to boroughs and shires had caused political strife, because the political influence of boroughs had deprived shires of part of their differential endowment.
3. See the Ballaarat Town Clerk's opinion of 1893, ibid., Appendix III, No.37, 195-6.
4. Note that in Victoria the elevation of a borough to town or city status, introduced in 1874, depended on certain minima in gross annual revenue, and carried only prestige benefits; apart from the special case of Geelong, the only elevations of country towns by 1891 were Ballarat and Bendigo (Cities), and Ballarat East and Warrnambool (Towns), Before 1906 in N. S. W., city status was available only through Letters Patent or the possession of bishoprics.

As early as September 1863, the editor of the Hamilton Spectator canvassed the desirability of a merger between borough and shire: if the latter were to collect the rates for a merged area, the Government subsidy would be much greater, and working expenses would be reduced as well. Of course, the town would have to be sure that it received its share of expenditure.[1] At a public meeting in November, neither side seemed anxious for a merger, and, besides, only 20 to 30 ratepayers attended.[2] Besides fears that 'the town would be swamped', there was also a sectarian feud of some years' standing between those prominent in borough and those prominent in shire affairs.[3]

By the end of the sixties there was another attempt at amalgamation, on the borough's initiative. That it failed is not surprising when a borough deputation - which 'could see nothing before the borough but debt starting them in the face' - could advance no argument but that 'any improvement to the town was an improvement to the district.'[4]

---

1. HS, 18 Sep 1863.
2. Ibid., 13 Nov 1863.
3. Ibid., 19 and 26 Feb 1864.
4. Australasian, 16 Oct and 6 Nov 1869.

Often, then, boroughs and shires - or towns and rural districts contemplating incorporation - fought shy of one another because of mutual fears, not only in Victoria where differential subsidies applied, but also in New South Wales where they did not. In the debate on Cowper's municipal bill in New South Wales in 1858, the Member for The Murrumbidgee objected to the mixing of country towns with rural districts, 'for this would be the means of handing over the whole control to the inhabitants of the small towns'.[1]

While there may be no direct discernible link between local government and town growth, local government was not necessarily irrelevant to the aspiration for growth: towns characteristically sought control of some of their local affairs, and the desire for incorporation was usually the symptom of a growth-feeling. That the powers and duties allowed to local government fell short of local expectation only serves here to underline that expectation. For while later

---

1. SMH, 28 Jul 1858. And as early as 1862 the Commissioners of enquiry into municipalities in Victoria spoke of the wasteful, divided efforts of municipalities which might with advantage be merged with a neighbouring roads board; see 'Report. . . ' VPLAV, 1862-3, IV, No.52, 22-5.

debate on the local government situation focussed on the question of alleviating the circumstances of councils within a circumscribed system, the early debate which preceded the laying down of that system did see a cry for decentralization of government,[1] a cry against a legislative facilitation of the burgeoning imperialism of the capital cities of the colonies. This cry had at the same time - in at least two important pastoral areas, the Riverina and the Western District of Victoria - resulted in positive action aimed at the erection of new states, a challenge which the existing governments, though young, were already well

---

1. Thus, the Australasian could comment in 1869 (13 Mar): 'When the existing acts relating to local government and municipal affairs were before Parliament six years ago, decentralization was a favourite word during the discussions. The new bills so far depart from the principle as to give the Governor in Council not only the power of appointing the ordinary auditors, but also of fixing the amount of remuneration they shall receive for their services out of the local funds'.

able to handle.[1] Far from being allowed to form new states, towns and districts were left with extremely circumscribed responsibilities, and the politics of local government in small towns was generally characterized by an apathy which was tempered only by confusion or sectarianism.

No doubt the existence of borough government served to forge a sense of local identity, and no doubt it could serve as an arena for local ambition and leadership. And municipalities did provide both employment and services, though these were generally of a nonbasic type.[2] But these facts do not appear to have been

---

1. Note that both separation movements sought either separation or a greater expenditure in the areas - by the State - of revenues raised in those areas, not wider local control of that expenditure. Hamilton was ambivalent to the Portland-based 'Princeland' separation movement, but finally withdrew support when it sensed the movement's defeat, and learnt that Hamilton was not envisaged as the capital of the new state; see H. White, 'The West Victoria ("Princeland") Separation Movement, 1861-1863', (B.A. thesis, Melbourne University History Department, 1956) passim; HS, 10 Oct 1862. Wagga was excluded from the projected new state in the Riverina, although its promoters included Wagga's population to lend weight to its claim; see J.S. Craig, 'The Riverina Separation Movement 1858-1867', (B. A. thesis, Adelaide University. 1963), and J. L. Wittaker, 'The Riverina: Popular Political Movements of the Nineteenth Century', (M. A. thesis, University of New England, 1961).
2. See page 196, above.

related to town growth: it must be emphasised that many growing towns resisted incorporation while other, declining, towns retained it; even in declining towns there is a market for ambition and leadership which may be usefully catered for through municipal 'honours'. On the other hand, the opinion was sometimes expressed in both colonies that the system, by its nature, did not attract the best men.

At the Select Committee on the Working of Municipalities in 1873, a former mayor of Goulburn stated that shortness of tenure and the frequency of municipal elections so changed the character of councils that systematic planning of works was impossible,[1] while other witnesses felt that an enlargement of municipal powers was necessary in order to bring forward the best men:

> It is not considered to be an honour to be an alderman or a mayor; they are looked upon as nothing; and virtually they have no great power or influence. 2

---

1. 'Report. . .', VPLANSW, 1873-4, V, No.111, Q.1460.
2. Ibid., Q.1428; and cf. Qq.743, 1094.

And the Victorian Commissioners in 1862 found apathy the main defect of the system: the apathy which already kept the best men off the councils in Melbourne and Geelong had not yet pervaded younger bodies, but could be expected to do so unless greater powers were conferred.[1] Moreover, of course, there were obviously alternative channels for ambition and leadership in unincorporated towns. Besides, even in boroughs such as Hamilton and Wagga, membership of the committee of the local Pastoral and Agricultural Society was as important, or more - for the townsman - as membership of municipal councils.

The weakness of schemes for local municipal government in both colonies had derived basically from the reluctance of central government - while anxious to shed burdensome duties of a local nature[2] - to relinquish more than a modicum of its power. This was true of the failure of the District Councils in the forties

---

1. Op. cit., 32.
2. G. C. Verdon, The Present and Future of Municipal Government in Victoria, (Melbourne, 1858), 9.

(although strong contingent factors also contributed);[1] and any large delegation of authority became immeasurably more unthinkable in the context of the confrontation of the old and the new colony following the partition of New South Wales.[2]

While local government was not of direct relevance to the growth of individual towns, then, this derived from the actual system of government developed in the colonies. But while the centralization of population was accompanied by the centralization of power, the latter should be regarded as, at most, a function rather than a cause of the former. The municipal systems were laid down at a time when the level of metropolization was relatively low in each colony, and were designed, without discrimination, for metropolitan and country areas alike. Other political factors, operating to some extent independently of metropolization, conduced to political centralization: as mentioned above, the separation of Victoria created a situation of political rivalry with New South

---

1. See SMH, 26 Jul and 13 Oct 1844; Gipps to Stanley, 29 Apr 1846, Historical Records of Australia, Ser. 1, XXV, 28-9, and Grey to Fitzroy, 31 Jul 1847, ibid., 700; SMH, 21 Jan 1848.
2. It is interesting that this partition may have resulted, at least partly, from the failure of the District Councils. Gipps foresaw such a possibility in 1846: J. M. Ward, Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies 1846-57, (Melbourne, 1958), 28, interprets his remarks as a belief that the partition of New South Wales would never have been discussed if the District Councils had succeeded, although Gipps' actual words (in his despatch to Stanley, 29 April 1846, HRA, Ser. 1, XXV, 28-9) were: 'That . . . a full development in 1843 of the system of District Councils . . . might have sufficed to preserve unity in the Colony . . . and avert its dismemberment, I will not assert'.

Wales, a rivalry requiring strong central direction on each side, irrespective of the actual distribution of population within the colonies. And country representatives did tend to strive against one another, rather than combining in their joint interests against those of the metropolis: the spirit of local cooperation which manifested itself from time to time was rarely imported into the House.

This very fact helps to explain why, in each colony, the heavy pragmatic role of central government in the development of settlement, both urban and rural, was accompanied by an astonishing lack of comprehensive settlement policy. Inevitably, some settlement sectors felt dissatisfaction with the disposal of those government resources which affected settlement (and there was also misapprehension of some indirect State benefits[1]); this, coupled with a realization that town growth was not necessarily the sum of the self-interest of individual townsmen, began to engender a changing response to the question of town growth.

---

1. Cf. the mixed reactions, described above, to the establishment of State forests near Creswick and a Government Experiment Farm at Wagga.

Conclusion

When describing and comparing the advantages enjoyed and disadvantages suffered by each town in respect of the various factors of growth, it is useful first to distinguish between population changes apparently induced by external factors, and population changes related to the demographic self-adjustment of each town. While external factors, such as rural land use, would determine roughly the optimum size of a town at a given time, assuming that it had a 'normal' population profile, divergences from or convergences upon this normal 'profile' would determine the actual size and character of the town at given times. In particular, each town at the beginning of the period was young and pioneer in its characteristics, making it inevitable that the rate of growth or decline would be in part a reflection of purely demographic adjustments.

Thus, while Creswick suffered net out-migration in each decade from every age-cohort except the very old, its decline was tempered in several ways. Much of the decline was in its initially large Chinese section, and its non-Chinese section actually grew in the seventies; the trend to non-Chinese sexual parity, largely achieved in the sixties, saw a lower rate of out-migration among marriageable females than males; consequent familiation further tempered decline, especially in the sixties; and an initially high

workforce proportion dropped steadily to 1891, as the town adjusted itself from the abnormal population profile of 1861.

A demographic imbalance, whose adjustment tempered the town's decline, was not the only advantage enjoyed by Creswick. Although it was only 12 miles from Ballarat, the peculiar urbanizing propensities of the mining industry gave it, in its early days, a viable existence even so close to that large city; indeed it was, of course, the mining industry which had called Creswick into existence. Further, its location amidst the mining fields and towns of the central highlands guaranteed it fairly early rail communication. Despite the town's decline, there was a steady trickle of demand for Crown lots, indicating a desire for permanent settlement, and there was continuing residential building activity as the inferior dwellings of the early years were replaced or improved.

Though its functional or occupational structure was overall quite different from that of the other towns, and though it was declining, it did experience slight increases in its 'urban' - or non-primary producing - population in both the sixties and seventies. The proportion of miners in the town was high, at least during the first two decades, but the town's commercial and financial functions showed proportional growth during part of the period. In secondary industry, flour-milling continued until 1888, despite the decline of local wheat production; cordials manufacture continued throughout,

and the town also maintained a 'mobile' secondary industry - a coach factory, whose continued existence no doubt owed much to the need for short-haul traffic among the mines.

Although Creswick's rural hinterland was increasingly pastoral, and although there were handicaps to agriculture, good farming areas north and east of the town helped retain sufficient population in the district to see the town over the mining dulness of the sixties without too severe a decline. Some mining, and prospecting for deep leads, had continued during the sixties and early seventies, and the mining revival may be said to have begun with the Spring Hill discoveries in 1872, even if the real boom did not start until about 1880. Creswick's hinterland also contained valuable forest resources, Bullarook providing mining and building timber, and the state forest - proclaimed in the eighties - having as a concomitant the establishment of nursery and forestry facilities and staff in the town.

By 1891, although cultivation was not at a high level, no large holdings remained in the shire; the area was quite densely populated, offering - from a small hinterland area - quite a large tribute population for town services. Earlier, though Creswick was a terminus but briefly in 1874, the line of the Ballarat-Maryborough railway was such that for some 13 years the town was the effective railhead for the areas north and east (roughly corresponding to the

shire area), during which time it appears to have been the node of that district's passenger and goods, and wool and livestock, traffic.

Unfortunately for Creswick, all these apparent advantages were outweighed by the disadvantages which the town suffered. Called into existence by shallow alluvial mining, it grew from the pressure of its own ephemeral needs, from urban or quasi-urban pressure; it declined partly because, although able to exploit its rural hinterland to some extent, it had not been called into existence by pastoral or agricultural pressure. And just as the peculiar urbanizing propensities of mining had made Creswick viable despite its proximity to Ballarat, so the mining revival a few miles to the north made Allendale and some of the villages viable despite their proximity to Creswick. Moreover, the reservation from freehold of auriferous land in Creswick Borough inhibited permanent settlement, while the topography of the creek valley encouraged the fragmentation of non-specialized services.

Although there was a trickle of demand for Crown lots in the town, there was no brisk investment (although mining investments may have proved too alluring an alternative) in this period. Further, Creswick had it in common with both Hamilton and Wagga that investors in town land did not assume civic leadership, and that there was evidence of an aspiration to landed independence, an aspiration which underscores the weakness of country towns: in Creswick, this

aspiration manifested itself in the desire of many miners for small occupation licenceholds. And although residential building was extended, the bulk of public buildings, including secondary and tertiary industrial facilities, had been completed in the sixties.

Functionally, Creswick had complications which make it barely comparable with the other towns: thus, in 1861 virtually its only basic function was the accommodation of primary producers (that is, miners); in other ways, it appeared dependent, or at best self-sufficient. Again in 1871, although the mining component of its workforce had reduced, the town's mining character was - in the light of colony-wide trends - relatively more pronounced. The presence of such specialized primary producers within the town diminishes its comparability with the other towns, since this presence exerted a powerful deflating influence on the workforce proportion commanded by those 'urban' services which the town undoubtedly dispensed to its many resident primary producers. Nevertheless, although - as noted above - Creswick experienced a slight increase in its 'urban' or non-primary producing population in the sixties and seventies, the town had by 1871 a smaller 'urban' population than Hamilton and Wagga, both of which were smaller towns. Moreover, the town's commercial functions diminished with the completion in 1887 of a branch railway which traversed much of its hinterland.

Flour-milling continued to 1888, but brewing in Creswick

was virtually defunct the year after the rail link; the tanning industry was short-lived, and the only 'mobile' secondary industries were the early tent-makers, and the coach factory. Overall, manufacturing all but disappeared from Creswick during this period, and the town was unable to offer specialized tertiary or professional services to compensate for this lack. It was a union headquaters town, but this emphasised its sectionality within its region.

In Creswick's immediate hinterland, there was a steady rise in pastoralism, with both sheep and cattle important; the mining revival, which occurred on private property, encouraged pastoral rather than agricultural surface land use. There was a steady decline of agriculture during the seventies; a partial recovery in the eighties, due mainly to continuing expansion of vegetables and hay cropping, offered little scope for secondary industrial exploitation. Although the area was characterised by a struggle between many types of land use and land tenure, which generated the mating (and, sometimes, the conflict) of resources, the pastoral industry alone was thriving at the end of the period. The mining dulness of the sixties also characterized some years of the seventies, and the boom after 1880 did, for various reasons, not last until 1891.

Although by 1891 there were no really large holdings in the shire, closer settlement and relatively dense population had not meant a significant increase or revival of agriculture; furthermore, the

scattering of services had increased: although the population was dense, its urban requirements were relatively low. However the urbanizing propensities of mining decreed that one or more service centres spring up on the scene of activities, even if some miners did commute from Ballarat and Creswick. And it is probable that the subsequent rise of Allendale was enhanced by the branch railway line completed in 1887 from North Creswick to Daylesford.

The figures for railway passenger and goods traffic from 1874 had expressed Creswick's suburbanness to Ballarat (although it is not clear what patterns prevailed before then); and after 1887, it ceased to be the railhead for the areas north and east, losing much of its passenger and goods traffic, and most of its wool and livestock traffic. The Daylesford branch may have facilitated a trend to village expansion, which had probably been in progress since the late seventies in response to the mining revival in the Smeaton-Allendale area. By the end of the period, then, the town faced an unprecedented crisis of decline, and while this failed to produce any constructive reaction among townsmen, it seemed that the future of the town lay in the hands of the State and its infant forests department.

Hamilton achieved parity of the sexes by 1871, the growth-rate of the 1860s being inflated by a higher rate of female in-migration. The strong growth of the sixties was in dependants, not in the workforce; thereafter, the workforce grew much more strongly. In a way, then, much of Hamilton's growth was anticipated and telescoped into the sixties, after which the town evened out to a 'normal' workforce proportion by 1891. On the other hand, in the seventies the town experienced the beginnings of net out-migration of younger adults, and this became a wider and more serious phenomenon in the eighties.

Hamilton enjoyed important advantages over Creswick: it grew from local rural pressures, pressures less transient than those of shallow gold-mining; there were no physical barriers to the town's expansion; its nearest larger neighbours were fifty to sixty miles away, and its geographical position made it the hub of coach services in the far Western District and south-eastern South Australia. Speculation in town land was much brisker than at Creswick, and although the bulk of purchasers were of the urban middle class, many a local squatter also bought an interest in the town. Residential building activity was sustained throughout, and public building continued at least until the end of the seventies.

Although small, and still containing quite a large proportion of agriculturalists, Hamilton was by 1861 already distinctly

urban in its basic functions, in both tertiary and secondary industrial fields. The picture was similar in 1871, by which time - with a significant reduction in its proportion of primary producers - Hamilton already had a larger 'urban' population than Creswick. Thereafter, the town's livelihood continued to rest more firmly on the provision of professional and government, commercial and financial, and manufacturing and maintenance services.

Unlike Creswick, Hamilton was able to sustain a certain range of manufacturing throughout the period, notably flour-milling, brewing and soft drinks, and fellmongery and tanning. And at the end of the period several new ventures emerged (soapmaking, rabbit preserving, butter manufacture, and bee-farming), each a significant attempt to further exploit the town's hinterland. Although its professional and teriary services were generally nothing out of the ordinary, it took pride in its several denominational colleges, it had a good range of 'cultural' organizations, and it was also the headquarters of Dundas Shire.

Hamilton was set in the midst of good pastoral country, and that industry experienced expansion during the period, especially in cattle-raising. The occupation of small selection holdings, whether dummy or bona fide, wrought an increase in the district's population in the late sixties and early seventies; and although population had again become sparse by the end of the period, the

pattern of settlement nevertheless induced more strongly to urbanization than at Creswick or Wagga. Hamilton was also favoured by rail communication; by 1891, lines radiated in four directions from the town, and it had become the railhead for passenger, goods, and wool traffic, not all of which was lost when branch lines were built.

Despite its advantages, Hamilton did not grow strongly except in the 1860s, for its disadvantages were many. Although investment in town land was brisker than at Creswick, it was less intense than at Wagga; although many squatters bought town land, this was generally their only interest in the town; again, urban investors did not seek civic leadership, and again there was an aspiration towards landed independence, several wealthier residents taking up pastoral properties. Although residential building continued, and there was some factory construction in the eighties, most public buildings, works and utilities, mills, and so on, had been completed by the end of the seventies.

Several of its tertiary industrial functions - hotels and personal service, transport and communications, building and construction - declined in their relative importance. Flour-milling and brewing both had to rely, for the most part, on distant sources of raw materials, and the output of flour dropped steeply. Secondary industrial exploitation of the district's pastoral resources was routine and minimal, and, like Creswick, the town was weak in basic,

mobile industries. And although it was a shire seat, its role in other ways was sectional, rather than fully regional.

Agriculture was virtually negligible throughout, especially wheat-growing, which, from small beginnings, all but disappeared; and the district population increase of the selection era was quite ephemeral. Less affected by pressures to subdivide through rising debt, or through rising land values conditioned by the encroachment of more intensive land uses, the district remained one with many large holdings. And if the actual pattern of settlement was of relative benefit to the town, this could be described as no more than receiving the best from a bad situation.

Hamilton, like Wagga, grew most strongly in relative isolation, before the rail link, although it may be that an over-anticipation of the expected boon (as suggested in the population estimates) again served to telescope into the seventies some growth which belonged to the eighties. However, it does seem that - as far as Hamilton's growth was concerned - benefits gained from the railway were at best transient. The railway here did not produce a wheat boom, as it did at Wagga, and could not be expected to stimulate expansion in the new pastoral industry. The town did become a railhead for some new wool consignments, but the facilitation of wool handling could erode the commercial benefits which the town had enjoyed as a wool centre, especially when branch lines tapped

parts of its hinterland. And while the town did not lose all of its passenger railhead traffic to the branches, goods traffic did disperse over those lines. The figures for goods railed in and out suggest, moreover, an increasing dependence on outside sources of supply, as the railway removed the district's last protection against metropolitan competition.

At the end of the period, the emergence of several new manufacturing ventures suggests that the problem of growth had been perceived, and that constructive attempts were being made to meet it - especially so in the case of those industries which sought to impinge on an ungenerous rural hinterland.

Wagga's demographic development was similar to that of Hamilton; the trend to sexual parity comprised higher female in-migration, although in Wagga this trend continued throughout the period. Similarly, the high growth-rate of the sixties was inflated by the superior growth-rate of dependants, while the lower overall growth-rate of the following two decades tended to understate the growth in the workforce of the town. Wagga's growth was sustained throughout by net in-migration, but it is almost certain that net out-migration began in the eighties, from some cohorts at least.

In each town, then, the population growth-rate - if not the town itself - had gained some advantage from necessary demographic adjustments; and each town had, in widely varying degree, experienced out-migration from its ranks.

Like Hamilton, Wagga had the advantage of having been called into existence by local rural pressure, and its location at a Murrumbidgee crossing place was an important factor in its birth and subsequent economic activity. Although the Murrumbidgee inhibited growth to the north, there were otherwise no physical barriers to growth. Wagga was not bothered by powerful neighbours, being eighty miles distant from the nearest larger town; and being a crossing place, it was naturally a coaching centre, as well as enjoying intermittent river steamer contact.

The alienation of lot-sizes prevalently larger than residential building blocks made Wagga a semi-private town (compared with its Victorian counterparts), and - perhaps for that reason - it showed a superior propensity to attract men of capital, or at least to influence men of capital to invest in local real estate. Residential building continued throughout, and with an increasing rise in the standards of materials used; moreover, the level of public building was better sustained, with several large building jobs in the eighties.

Like Hamilton, Wagga already had an urban character about

its functions by 1861, even though it was small, and contained a fairly high proportion of agriculturalists; it already had basic functions, especially, in the provision of professional and government wervices, and of hotels and personal service, and in manufacturing and maintenance activities. This trend continued, and - again like Hamilton - by 1871 Wagga had a larger 'urban' population than Creswick, although it had only half that town's total population. Thereafter, the town relied more and more heavily on the dispensation of commercial and financial services.

The town was relatively strong in secondary industry; flour-milling continued throughout the period; brewing was competitive, partly because of the large hotel trade, and the increasing scale and number of concerns fitted the pattern of strength of New South Wales country breweries. Tanning was stable, and other backward linkages of the pastoral industry - soapmaking, wool-scouring, and butter manufacture - appeared in the eighties. Moreover, the town was relatively successful in sustaining basic, mobile secondary industry: coachbuilding flourished, and local saddlery and harness reached a wide market.

In tertiary industry, Wagga's geographical position meant that its hotels and personal service, and transport and communications, functions - though diminishing - remained more important than at Hamilton or Creswick. Moreover, the town benefitted from the New

South Wales practice of allowing private enterprise, under charter, into fields chiefly occupied by the State, the Wagga Wagga Bridge being an avenue of profitable local investment (and a factor in the development of secondary industry and town morphology). The town both offered more specialized tertiary services - for instance, it had a resident dentist - and, at the same time, assumed a fuller regional role, playing host to both pastoralist and the A. S. U., and electing Rae as one of its Members in 1891.

Wagga's hinterland, for most of the period, was characterized by growth in the number of sheep, rather than in its initially high cattle population. However, the geography of crossing places guaranteed to the town an important function in the handling, and to some extent the sale, of travelling stock, bound perhaps from Queensland to Victoria, and giving Wagga direct contact with a huge hinterland. In respect of stock sales, moreover, there were attempts to remove limitations on the extent to which the town could exercise a function which was basic in a wider-than-regional dimension.

In the eighties, the district experienced a great expansion in the acreage of cereals, particularly wheat, following the rail link, and gaining added stimulus from the new Temora goldfield. Partly because of consequent pressure through rising land values, and of subdivision due to rising pastoral debt, and

the consolidation of selectionholds, the size of holdings had by the end of the period become less, rather than more, polarized.

Wagga's geographical position, in the front line of an intercolonial trade war, helped it gain rail communication, and brought it the added benefit of favourably differential freight rates - on both goods and wool - offered by each colony. And the advantage of fast road transport up from the Victorian border enabled it to avoid the New South Wales penalties on goods railed north from Melbourne via Albury. The town gained certain railhead advantages; for instance, it attracted wool consignments partly because of its size, and because it enjoyed favourable freight rates, and also because the topographical factors which had made some of the areas east and south-east of the town part of its hinterland continued to restrict the access of those areas to alternative railheads.

Wagga also suffered from disadvantages in this period, as its progressively curtailed growth-rate would suggest. Although speculation in town land was keen, the town shared with its Victorian counterparts both the fact that its investors in town land were not the civic leaders, and that there was an aspiration towards - in Wagga's case - both pastoral and agricultural pursuits. A majority of its urban middle class multiple purchasers subsequently acquired rural landed interests; and indeed, it may be possible to

argue that, in the long term, the speculative atmosphere surrounding the town land disposals was not a healthy augury at all.

Like Hamilton, Wagga grew most strongly before the railway removed much of its isolation, and again the notion of a telescoping of growth - particularly, here, in the expansion of commercial facilities in anticipation of the railway - does not adequately explain the curtailment of the growth-rate of the eighties. Moreover, Wagga suffered similar disappointments in the loss of junction status to other, smaller, towns; and while the experience of Hamilton, Creswick, and - closer to hand - Junee, suggests that junction status would have cost the town much of its railhead function, this could not assuage its sense of hurt or its more tangible loss of staff and plant to another town.

Agriculture in the district was dormant for the first two decades, although some special crops were tried, with varying success but little expansion. And while the pastoral industry expanded, its secondary industrial exploitation by the town was barely more than routine, even if some of the products did reach wide markets. Moreover, although the wheat industry expanded greatly in the eighties, wheat boom did not entail town boom. There is some evidence that certain 'urban' services were being 'usurped' by the medium-sized agricultural or mixed farms, that there was a fragmentation of services on a private level. And there was, until

the end of the period, an apparent failure to make the fullest possible secondary industrial exploitation of expanding what production, despite technological improvements in milling (which themselves, in turn, brought a relative reduction in employment opportunities). Indeed, although secondary industry overall was still a big employer at the end of the period, its proportional contribution to the workforce did not appear to have increased greatly since 1871.

As the period ended, however, there were signs of more concerted attempts to maximise both the secondary industrial benefits of the wheat boom, and the tertiary industrial benefits of the trade in travelling stock.

. . . . . .

The history of urban development in Victoria and New South Wales - the history of Melbourne and Sydney, and of the country towns, such as Hamilton, Creswick, and Wagga - is made up of many stories of success and of failure. It is not a story in which in each colony, each sector - metropolitan and extrametropolitan urban - played a consistent part: Melbourne and Sydney grew, certainly, but not at the same rate, and Melbourne failed in the nineties; and while country town development lagged in each colony, this lag

involved a mixture of success and failure among individual towns (which was not entirely offset by the fact that Victoria had an absolutely and relatively greater number of gold towns depending intimately on ephemeral mining fortunes). But despite the underlying mixture of success and failure, and the differential between the colonies in country town development, a general sense of retardation remains. Thus, while the historian may prefer to a) relate a success story - since this more naturally forms part of a continuing process of growth - or b) proclaim the extreme relativity of both growth and decline in any community, the historian of Australian country towns will find himself ultimately in the position of having to c) explain the relative failure of those towns. And it is often harder to tell a failure story than to tell a success story: if a town succeeds, it is easy to point to certain superficial features - such as railway communication - as factors, but if it fails it is then necessary to explain how it failed despite those superficial features, which must be counted as, if not instrumental to decline, then at least, not necessarily ancillary to success.

In each colony, then, urbanization dominated settlement, and the metropolis dominated urbanization, being consistently and increasingly larger in population than all other towns together. While there was growth in the aggregate population of country towns,

that growth was greatly retarded, and in Victoria the proportion of the colonial population living in country towns declined steadily after 1871. New South Wales towns, which had been less strong in 1861, grew more positively throughout the period both in their numbers and their average size. This difference between the colonies was reflected in the superior housing standards adopted in some New South Wales towns.

The different performance of the country towns in each colony colony was tied to the growth of the rural sector, its changing urban service requirements, and the extent to which it looked to the metropolis rather than the country towns. Between 1861 and 1891, the rural population of New South Wales both grew much more strongly than that of Victoria, and doubled the degree of extrametropolitan satisfaction of its urban requirements.[1]

To some extent, growth - and fluctuations in growth - in individual towns and in general, were of a demographic nature, in the sense that they occurred in redress of some imbalance in the population; this factor was not, of course, confined to country town populations, nor should it dispel the element of

---

1. Percentage growth 1861-1891 [Method (C)]

	Rural	Country town
Victoria	60.6	62.6
N. S. W.	133.0	412.8

genuine growth, since an imbalance may be removed by subtraction as well as by addition. Rather, the presence of such demographic determinants in population growth serves to modify the extent to which growth, and fluctuations in growth, were tied to external economic factors. As well, the picture of growth and decline may be modified by making certain valid distinctions within the population, an example being the reduced picture of decline in Creswick if its growth as a non-Chinese community be considered.

Whatever refinements may be made to the crude growth-rates of the towns, however, few had grown to be large towns by 1891. And Creswick and other declining towns were not the only ones to suffer the loss of inhabitants through emigration: even the growing and established towns, such as Hamilton and Wagga, experienced the beginnings of this loss at least by the end of the period. For the towns were tied economically to their rural hinterlands; the country urban requirements of Victoria's rural population did not increase in this period, and the increase in the country urban requirements of New South Wales' rural population was not unlimited; moreover, the examples of Creswick,

Hamilton, and Wagga show that these requirements varied widely between regions, according to the particular patterns of settlement.

The towns were tied to fairly narrow hinterlands because there was a failure to develop specialized secondary or tertiary industries. It is truistic to say that they were tied to their regions because each was generally unable to export goods or services beyond that region, but the point is that secondary industry catered chiefly to essential local demand in the colonies as a whole; and although minor urban hierarchies did develop in each colony, the only important two were those in which all towns in each colony paid tribute to their capital city metropolis. And while it is possible that the higher development of manufacturing in the Australian economy might have seen the development of large provincial centres, the degree of metropolization that already existed in manufacturing suggests otherwise, especially in Victoria. And while there were signs of a resurgence of secondary industry in Hamilton and Wagga under the impetus of collective private effort, nothing ambitious or specialized was ventured.

Important basic tertiary industries were also rare in the towns; few, for instance, had specialist schools attracting a distant demand. Important basic tertiary industries were developed by some towns, such as Wagga, on the main transport lines in the servicing of human traffic and driven stock, but railway extension could adversely affect these industries.

It is impossible to generalize for all towns on the effect of the presence or absence of rail communication, except to say that the great benefits expected of it were not fully received. For while the railway may have stimulated growth-rates in some towns, it still did not produce any really large country towns. In the towns studied, there was a demonstrable diminution of some of their commercial functions, and the coincidence of retarded growth-rates indicates that, whatever the benefits they gained from the railway, these did not result in population growth.

Further, it may be said that State construction and control of the railways denied to the towns both the opportunity of administering the railway to their own ends, and the valuable organizational experience and expertise, and tangible employment

benefits which private railways would have entailed. The presence of the State in this field itself - as in many others - engendered a narrow regionality among towns, by which, in the struggle to wring concessions from the State, the towns compounded their own regional restrictions by failing to cooperate on a broad regional basis. This made it easier for the State to retain jealous control of its main weapon in the intercolonial struggle.

In these ways, the towns were thrust back on to the rural hinterlands from which they had grown, and within which they must now be content to grow or decline. The question of rural land use had, of course, always been intimately associated with town growth, but there was no straightforward relationship by which, say, pastoralism entailed small towns while agriculture and mining entailed large and bustling towns. While in the long term, for instance, Hamilton's future was limited by a lack of texture in its hinterland, it was nevertheless able in the short term to gain more benefit from its rural population, as a town, than were Creswick or Wagga.

While much of Creswick's decline stemmed from its proximity, its suburbanness, to powerful Ballarat, the pattern

of settlement in Creswick Shire fostered the fragmentation, on a public level, of services whose accretion was an important element in the growth of towns in more sparsely populated regions. In the Wagga region, too, a pattern of settlement - conditioned by changing methods of land use - had evolved which conduced to the private fragmentation of tertiary services. While villages eroded the growth of discrete towns in the Creswick region, the farmers themselves did this in the Wagga region.

Nor did it follow naturally that secondary industry grew in towns whose regions yielded produce susceptible of simple secondary industrial treatment, or that the fullest possible such treatment was always achieved or attempted. That is, towns did not always make the best of their opportunities, although there was a growing urban consciousness reflected in the attempts of certain Hamilton and Wagga townsmen to do so by joint action.

By the end of the period, the country towns occupied a much less significant place in colonial society than the town pioneers might have hoped in 1861. At that time, the relative dominance of the capital cities in each colony was recognized,

but was not regarded as an immutable situation; by 1891, there had been many disappointments. Each town had found itself ultimately unable to hold on to its own natural increase in population: each had seen many of its sons leave. Each had found that the one great aspiration of every country town in this period - railway communication - while perhaps necessary for growth, was not of itself a guarantee of growth, and could indeed be a positive harm. Each had learnt that the insecurity of intensive rural land use meant insecurity for the town. Creswick had found that the trend of deep alluvial gold leads is no respecter of towns, and had watched helplessly as a new town took shape in the centre of Spring Hill mines (a mere four miles distant) which boomed in the late seventies and eighties. Hamilton was left to lament its self-crippling indulgence in the land rackets of the sixties, and Wagga was learning that the exploitation of a rapidly growing agricultural hinterland was not a process which flowed simply from the juxtaposition of town and farm. Imaginative planning was lacking, by law, from local self-government, and, by practice, from local economic enterprise; by the end of the period, however, there were signs of a growing awareness of the now more

clearly apparent inadequacy of, on the one hand, the State, and on the other, the individual, to the task of meeting the problem of growth and the challenge of metropolization.

. . . . . .

Although there was a persistent economic and demographic regionality about the towns, it is evident from the case of Creswick and Hamilton that politically and culturally a town could also be characterized as sectional within its region. The possible effect of this on town growth is one of those qualitative and perhaps unmeasurable factors which have been precluded from study through the concentration on the quantitative aspects of town growth.

The regionality of the towns implies, too, that there was no 'country town culture', that their apparent sameness and uniformity, which had so dismayed Trollope and others, was not an index of cultural similarities, that this apparent uniformity masked a regional culture unlooked for by those accustomed to observing urban culture.

This was consistent with the fact that - despite the perception in this period that while capital cities were expanding, there was a lack of large provincial cities - no great debate on the future of country towns was waged: it never became an issue. Government did not view urban settlement as a matter requiring the sorts of overall policies (social or other wise) that they designed forrural settlement. This was partly the fault of the country towns, as suggested above; indeed, if there was a country town culture, one of its chief traits was that towns should take up the position of opposition to one another, narrowing their regionality, and rendering some of them sectional within their regions.

If there was no country town culture, there was, then as now, a wider cultural distinction to be made between those who like and those who dislike country town life. Although Norman Lindsay was one of only a few articulate country town expatriates, his experience suggests that for many others, too, it was not simply the lack of employment or higher education opportunities that drove them out of the country towns. Conversely,

there is no doubt that the lack of such opportunities drove out many who would have preferred to stay.

It would be foolish to think that those non-economic factors which today help determine the choice of residence were not operative in the nineteenth century; nevertheless, it is possible to make an inter-generational distinction between attitudes to country towns in 1861 and 1891, simply in terms of what happened during that period. By 1891, men in Victoria and, to a lesser extent, New South Wales, were living in a society or culture with a prevailing preference for metropolitan living. That is, although the drift to (and retention of population by) large cities may have been chiefly economically-motivated, this drift did - to the extent that it occurred - become a cultural phenomenon. Even growing country towns had generally, by the end of the period, begun to experience some emigration from their ranks, the beginnings of a new, and generally one-way, mobility quite different from that which had characterised society during the pastoral occupation or the goldrushes. Not all of the

young emigrants went to the metropolises: for example, many went from Hamilton to Horsham to participate in the urban servicing of an unprecedented expansion in wheat-growing in the Wimmera. Some Creswick men had moved but a short distance from the town to the new mines, (although again by the end of the eighties, many found themselves faced with another move). But sufficient did go to the metropolises to indicate that a movement was in train which only a revolution in land use - such as the widespread discovery of economic minerals - could stem.

Indeed, emigration may be characterised as the chief response to the problem of country town growth (where it was recognized as a problem); departures from towns may have sometimes eased short-term employment problems, but of course in the long term they only aggravated the problem of growth. The other main response to the problem of town growth, although it was only a minor beginning in this period, was in new attempts among certain townsmen to combine privately in order to maximize the extent to which the town (that is, these combined individuals) annexed to itself the potential benefits of its

hinterland. Thus, the idea that the pursuit of individual self-interest naturally conduced to the good of the town began to give way to the idea that the planned pursuit of combined self-interest would be a better means to this end. Although the development of country towns after 1891 suggests that such efforts (if effective at all) were not adequate to the problem of producing really large provincial towns, they are emphasised here both because they were a departure, and so that anyone taking up this story may be encouraged to discover what became of these efforts.

Several important matters have barely been canvassed at all, partly because it is the nature of the sample chosen that only small towns are compared; an instance is the question of the relative importance of town size, as distinct from the condition of growth, in the accretion and maintenance of urban functions.

Many other things have been mentioned or discussed in this thesis whose relationship to growth is problematical - is, that is, suggestible rather than demostrable - but whose existence has been pointed out for further attention. One example is the contentious matter of contrasts in the standards of residential building materials in different towns, regions, and colonies, contrasts whose connection with growth - either as cause or effect - is not demonstrable on the available evidence. Another mentioned above is the concept of

sectionality, which characterized the regional - or, as it were, sub-regional - role of some towns; in the sample, it appears to be connected to growth, but whether it was an actual factor retarding growth in a quantitative sense remains quite unclear. The necessary limitations of the present study suggest that similar future studies might more fruitfully take account of all towns in each natural economic region (in its wider sense), while still retaining an inter-regional, rather than simply intra-regional, approach. Moreover, it is obvious that some wider type of sample must be devised before a thorough comparison of differing country town growth in two or more colonies can be adequately sustained.

Appendix One

The population of towns of 1000 or more at each census, 1861-1891, and their individual growth-rates in each decade.

A. Victoria

Town	Size 1861	Per Cent. Growth	Size 1871	Per Cent. Growth	Size 1881	Per Cent. Growth	Size 1891
Alexandra			1039	-51.8	501	41.3	708
Allendale					139	1023.7	1562
Ararat	1476	60.6	2370	15.6	2740	15.7	3151
Bairnsdale	62	1351.6	900	-5.1	854	282.9	3270
Ballarat[a]	22732	107.6	47201	-15.8	39758	9.2	43427
Beaufort	1216	-35.9	780	28.9	1006	-12.4	881
Beechworth	2317	23.7	2866	-16.3	2399	5.4	2528
Benalla	557	49.0	830	99.3	1654	51.7	2509
Bendigo	13020	68.8	21984	28.6	28153	-4.9	26774
Berlin			1714	-96.2	64*		
Blackwood	263	-0.4	262	-7.6	242	354.1	1099
Browns and Scarsdale	2351*	-9.8	2121	-48.8	1085	-36.7	687
Buninyong	1206	64.3	1981	-28.5	1416	-16.4	1183
Cambrian Hill			1163	-76.4	275	-24.7	207
Camperdown	415	165.8	1103	12.7	1243	30.9	1627
Carisbrook	885	6.3	941	15.7	1089	4.2	1135

Carngham	92	1740.2	1693	-63.9	611	-79.3	126
Casterton	165	142.4	400	103.0	812	35.3	1099
Castlemaine	9683	-28.4	6935	-16.5	5787	-17.6	4770
Chewton	3353	-28.8	2387	-29.3	1688	-28.2	1212
Chiltern	1100	10.2	1212	2.5	1243	8.7	1351
Clunes	1711	254.6	6068	-4.2	5811	-41.0	3486
Colac	746	97.4	1474	14.4	1687	30.6	2204
Creswick	4714	-15.8	3969	-5.9	3731	-17.4	3095
Dandenong	193	61.1	311	58.8	494	129.5	1134
Daylesford	1919	144.7	4696	-17.1	3892	-1.3	3839
Dunolly	426	264.5	1553	-3.2	1502	-3.4	1451
Eaglehawk	345	934.5	3569	106.2	7362	-0.6	7315
Echuca	221	646.1	1649	190.4	4789	-9.8	4354
Eldorado	799*	95.5	1562	-66.9	517	-53.0	243
Egerton			508	225.0	1651		
Geelong[b]	22986	-6.6	21459	-10.5	19208	18.3	22694
Graytown			1422	-88.6	161	-35.4	104
Guildford	150	676.6	1156	-33.8	765	-69.1	236
Hamilton	1197	96.2	2349	26.3	2967	13.7	3373
Heathcote	1090	10.3	1203	29.1	1554	-35.4	1003
Horsham	270	8.8	294	459.2	1644	62.9	2678
Inglewood	2845	-58.2	1189	0.9	1200	13.9	1367

Kangaroo Flat	694*	-62.5	260	326.5	1109	-42.7	635
Kerang	59	84.7	109	255.0	387	179.5	1082
Kilmore	1668	-6.7	1555	-29.7	1092	2.7	1122
Koroit	1180*	41.7	1672	-1.6	1644	3.0	1694
Kyneton	2094	36.5	2849	7.4	3062	10.9	3371
Lethbridge	1267	-81.2	237	-49.3	120	36.6	164
Majorca[c]	1155*	50.1	1734	-42.6	994	1.1	1005
Maldon	3334	14.5	3817	-26.4	2809	-39.7	1692
Malmsbury	830	63.4	1357	-2.1	1329	2.8	1367
Maryborough	2495	17.6	2935	12.3	3297	51.4	4994
Mildura							1243
Mooroopna					812	53.4	1246
Nhill					111	892.7	1102
Port Fairy[d]	2342	6.1	2485	-29.3	1757	6.1	1864
Portland	2804	-15.4	2372	-4.5	2265	0.8	2284
Queenscliff	608	56.9	954	27.4	1216	56.6	1905
Queenstown	139	48.9	207	461.3	1162	-91.1	103
Rutherglen	1136	-45.7	616	-21.4	484	45.4	704
St. Arnaud	439	157.9	1101	138.7	2629	15.8	3045
Sale	508	314.3	2105	45.9	3073	12.7	3442
Seymour	181	214.4	569	47.6	840	107.1	1740
Shepparton	30	10.0	33	3203.0	1090	54.0	1679

Smythesdale	1794	44.1	1003	-31.7	685	-38.5	421
Stawell	195	474.3	1120	559.3	7348	-29.8	5183
Steiglitz	324*	226.5	1058	-74.0	275	-3.6	265
Talbot[e]	2080	38.3	2878	-19.5	2318	-37.9	1439
Taradale	897	116.8	1945	-24.6	1466	-78.0	322
Tarnagulla	1522*	-10.7	1359	-34.7	886	-19.5	713
Walhalla			1484	8.7	1614	9.7	1771
Wandiligong					1105	-39.4	670
Wangaratta	612	140.0	1469	-9.3	1331	54.1	2051
Warracknabeal					205	540.4	1313
Warragul					839	94.7	1634
Warrnambool	2211	71.8	3799	27.3	4839	36.0	6582
Woodend	957	51.7	1452	20.9	1148	-11.0	1021
Wood's Point			1059	-46.9	562	-48.3	290
Yarrawonga					366	249.2	1278

Source: Victorian Censuses.
a. Comprising Ballarat, Ballarat East, and Sebastopol.
b. Comprising Geelong, Geelong West, Newtown and Chilwell, and South Barwon.
c. (or Craigie)
d. (or Belfast)
e. (or Amherst)
* exact Census figures not available.

B. New South Wales

Town	Size 1861	Per Cent. Growth	Size 1871	Per Cent. Growth	Size 1881	Per Cent Growth	Size 1891
Adelong	186	364.5	864	-12.8	753	55.7	1173
Albury	1587	63.3	2592	120.6	5715	-4.8	5447
Araluen			2900	-79.0	609	-62.5	229
Armidale	910	50.5	1369	59.7	2187	74.9	3826
Ballina					359	201.3	1084
Bathurst	4042	24.4	5030	43.5	7221	26.8	9162
Bega	625	39.5	872	87.4	1634	23.9	2023
Blayney			122	490.2	720	74.2	1254
Bombala	405	39.5	565	77.0	1000	10.1	1101
Bourke			397	247.1	1378	128.5	3149
Bowral			133	702.3	1066	40.3	1496
Braidwood	959	24.7	1197	-69.6	363	524.8	2258
Broken Hill							19789
Bulli-Woonona					1628	58.3	2578
Camden	685	-11.8	604	-16.3	505	158.0	1303
Cobar					1859	-36.4	1189
Cootamundra			237	295.8	938	115.9	2026
Corowa			244	102.9	495	136.5	1171
Cowra	193	37.3	265	137.0	628	146.2	1546

Dubbo	381	119.4	836	298.8	3334	36.6	4555
Emmaville					2670	-63.3	978
Goulburn	3241	37.4	4453	53.6	6839	59.6	10916
Grafton	1441	56.1	2250	72.9	3891	14.2	4445
Grenfell			1657	-4.9	1575	16.3	1832
Greta					570	207.1	1751
Gundagai	484	108.3	1008	-21.9	787	93.6	1524
Gunnedah	247	85.9	459	189.6	1331	2.3	1362
Hill End			716	70.8	1223	-33.4	814
Hillgrove							2098
Illawarra N.			763	32.5	1011	148.8	2515
Junee					538	212.6	1682
Katoomba							1592
Kempsey	233	271.2	865	52.8	1321	66.1	2194
Lithgow					2112	83.0	3865
Liverpool	1053	27.1	1338	32.1	1768	152.4	4463
Maitland E.	2053	11.2	2282	0.9	2302	26.8	2919
Maitland W.	5694	-5.5	5381	5.9	5703	27.9	7295
Major's Creek			1074				966
Marengo					1003	-86.1	139
Minmi					1936	21.8	2357
Mitchell							1677

Mittagong			291	71.5	499	194.1	1468
Moama	144	95.1	281	328.4	1204	-40.5	716
Morpeth	1175	5.2	1236	11.0	1372	-17.6	1138
Moruya	250	118.8	547	51.5	829	49.1	1236
Mudgee	1507	18.5	1786	39.5	2492	-3.2	2410
Murrumburrah	100	82.0	182	790.0	1620	-24.3	1226
Murrurundi	579	-1.9	568	14.8	652	92.3	1254
Muswellbrook	625	131.2	1445	-25.7	1074	20.9	1298
Narrabri			364	128.6	832	137.6	1977
Narrandera			142	742.2	1142	58.9	1815
Newcastle[a]	3881	234.3	12972	88.0	24403	110.9	51466
Nymagee							1321
Nyngan							1355
Orange[b]	581	150.6	1456	85.5	2701	87.5	3237
Parkes					1961	24.9	2449
Parramatta	5577	9.4	6103	38.2	8432	38.5	11677
Peak Hill							1557
Picton	384	17.7	452	47.4	667	76.3	1176
Prospect and Sherwood					672	208.8	2075
Queanbeyan	526	29.6	682	37.7	939	34.3	1262
Quirindi					278	309.7	1139

Richmond	843	26.3	1065	16.3	1239	0.2	1242
Shellharbour	1415	22.4	1732	-19.2	1400	13.6	1587
Silverton							1397
Singleton[c]	1000	18.7	1187	64.2	1951	33.0	2595
Sofala	1646	-68.7	644	-3.4	622	-51.6	307
Tamworth	654	131.0	1511	171.1	4096	12.4	4602
Temora					3254	-71.9	915
Tingha					2424	-51.8	1167
Tumut	432	28.5	555	41.8	787	62.0	1275
Wagga	627	197.7	1858	114.0	3975	15.7	4596
Wallerawang					2307	-78.2	507
Wellington	175	254.9	621	151.7	1563	-1.2	1545
Wilcannia			264	439.4	1424	-9.6	1287
Windsor	1900	-8.8	1732	14.9	1990	2.2	2033
Wollongong	1397	-7.2	1297	26.0	1635	86.0	3041
Young			792	91.5	1517	81.0	2746

---

a. Includes Adamstown, Carrington, Dundas, Hamilton, Lambton, New Lambton, Merewether, Newcastle, Plattsburg, Stockton, Wallsend, Waratah, and Wickham.
b. Orange and Orange East.
c. Singleton and Singleton South.

Select Bibliography

I. Official sources

i. Printed

The Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales.

Commonwealth of Australia, Censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961.

Historical Records of Australia.

New South Wales Government Gazette.

New South Wales Parliamentary Debates.

New South Wales, Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, (Sydney, 1891).

New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Report of the Commissioner on Sites for the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth, (Sydney, 1900).

New South Wales, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, and Parliamentary Papers.

Public Statutes of New South Wales.

Queensland, 'Report with Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Local Governments...', VPLAQ, 1896, II, C.A.45.

South Australia, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, and Parliamentary Papers.

South Australian Parliamentary Debates.

Victoria, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, and Parliamentary Papers.

Victorian Government Gazette.

Victorian Parliamentary Debates.

ii. Manuscript

New South Wales, Registrar-General, Companies Register, (MS, microfilm, A. N. U. Archives).

Victoria, Registrar-General, Companies Register, (MS, microfilm, A. N. U. Archives).

II. Other manuscripts

Australian Estates and Mortgage Company Ltd., Station Records, (MS, A. N. U. Archives).

Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Company, Station Records, (MS, A. N. U. Archives).

Australian Papers, (MS, Mitchell Library).

Hamilton Town Land Title Deeds, (MS, the offices of Melville, Orton and Lewis; Hamilton, Victoria).

Sir Henry Parkes Correspondence, (MS, Mitchell Library).

Messrs. Robertson and Sons, Papers, (MS, Melb. Univ. Archives).

Semmens Collection - Creswick Material, (MS, Melb. Univ. Archives).

III. Newspapers and kindred sources

Age

Argus

Australasian

The Australasian Sketcher

Creswick Advertiser

Dicker's Mining Record and Guide to the Gold Mines of Victoria, (monthly, Sandhurst and Melbourne).

Hamilton Spectator

Hummer, (Wagga, 1891-2)

Illustrated Sydney News

Insolvency Circular, (Melbourne, 1870-1874)

Newspaper Cuttings, (Mitchell Library)

Sydney Morning Herald

Town and Country Journal, (Sydney)

Wagga Advertiser

Wagga Express

Weekly Insolvency Register and Legal, Professional, and Commercial Advertiser, (Melbourne, 1869-1870)

IV. Nineteenth century books, Pamphlets, and articles

F. Adams, The Australians, (London, 1893)

The Australian Handbook, (London, 1881, 1891)

Bailliere's, The Official Post Office Directory of N. S. W., 1867, (Sydney, 1867)

Bailliere's, The Official Post Office Directory of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1868, 1870)

W. Baragwanath, 'The Ballarat Gold-Field', Victoria, Dept. of Mines, Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Victoria, No.14, (Melbourne, 1923)

L. Beaton, 'Our Sister Cities. No.3 - Brisbane', The Melbourne Review, X, 1885.

J.B. Box (ed.), Victorian Law Reports, (Melbourne, various dates)

E. Braddon, 'Australasia - A Vindication', Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XXIII, 1891-92.

Bradshaw's Alamanac and General Guide, (Sydney, 1864, 1867)

Bradshaw's Railway and General Guide to Victoria, (Melbourne, 1862, 1871, 1879, 1884)

Lord Brassey, 'Recent Impressions in Australia', Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XIX, 1887-8.

D.K. Brown (comp.), Harris' Town and Country Guide to N. S. W., No.2, (Sydney, 1884)

H. Brown, Victoria, As I Found It, During Five Years of Adventure, (London, 1862)

Butler and Brooke's National Directory of Victoria for 1866-67, (Melbourne, 1886)

Marcus Clarke, Australian Tales, (Melbourne, 1896)

P. Clarke, The 'New Chum' in Australia, (London, 1886)

T.A. Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, (various editions, Sydney, 1887-1902)

Tom Collins (Joseph Furphy), Such is Life, (Sydney (1903), 1948)

H. Cornish, Under the Southern Cross, (2nd edn., Madras, 1880)

C.W. Dilke, Greater Britain, (2 vols., London, 1868)

C.W. Dilke, Problems of Greater Britain, (London, 1890)

W. Earle, History of Port Fairy, (- , 1896)

Evans Brothers (publishers), Directory for Cities, Towns, Boroughs...., (Melbourne, 1875, 1877, 1878)

J.W. Fortescue, 'The Seamy Side of Australia', Nineteenth Century, No. CLXX, April 1891.

H. Mortimer Franklyn, A Glance at Australia in 1880, (Melbourne, 1881)

Greville's Official Post Office Directory of N. S. W.,...1872, (Sydney, no date)

R.G.C. Hamilton, 'Lending Money to Australia', Nineteenth Century, XXXII, Jul-Dec 1892.

Hamilton Spectator Directory and Almanac, (Hamilton, various dates)

J.H. Heaton, Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time, (Sydney, 1879)

R. Henty, Australiana, or My Early Life, (London, 1886)

B.A. Heywood, A Vacation Tour at the Antipodes...in 1861-1862, (London, 1863)

J.F. Horsley, 'The Chinese in Victoria', Melbourne Review, IV, 16 Oct 1879.

J. Hughes, Australia Revisited in 1890..., (London, 1891)

H.M. Humphreys, Men of the Time in Australia, Victorian Series, (2nd edn., Melbourne, 1882)

J. Inglis, Our Australian Cousins, (London, 1880)

E. Jenks, The Government of Victoria (Australia), (London, 1891)

R.M. Johnston, 'The Attack on the Credit of Australasia', Nineteenth Century, XXXI, Jan-Jun 1892.

W. Kelly, Life in Victoria, (2 vols., London, 1859)

T.W.H. Leavitt (ed.), Australian Representative Men, vol. I, (Melbourne, 1887)

Lyell & Gowan (comp.), The Victorian Insolvent List...from 30th June, 1862, to 31st December, 1866, (Melbourne, 1867)

M. Macfie, 'Aids to Australasian Development', Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, XXI, 1889-90

G. Mackay, The History of Bendigo, (Melbourne, 1891)

H.G. McKinney, 'Irrigation in its relation to the Pastoral Industry of New South Wales', Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, XXIII, 1889.

Men of the Time in Australia, Victorian Series 1878, (Melbourne, 1878)

W.J. Meyer (comp.), Walter Samson & Co.'s New South Wales National Directory for 1867-68..., (Sydney, no date)

Municipal Association of Victoria, Minutes of...Group Meetings ...from 4th to 16th March, and the Central Committee Meeting, ...March 23rd and 24th, 1880..., (Melbourne, 1880)

Municipal Conference, Abstract Report of the Proceedings of the Municipal Conference assembled in Melbourne, June 2, 1858, (Melbourne, 1858)

D. C. Murray, 'The Antipodeans', The Contemporary Review, LX, Jul-Dec 1891.

W. Murray, Report of the Municipal Conference, 1860, (Melbourne, no date)

(Francis Myers) 'Telemachus' (ed.), The Victorian Tourists' Railway Guide, (Melbourne, 1892)

The New South Wales Municipal Directory and Local Government Blue Book, (Sydney, 1890, 1891)

The New South Wales Law Reports, (Sydney, various dates)

J. G. O'Connor (comp.), A Brief History of the Sacred Heart Presentation Convent, Wagga Wagga, (Sydney, 1881)

Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-1889, (Melbourne, 1890)

Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition, 1879, (Sydney, 1881)

G. Parker, Round the Compass in Australia, (Melbourne, no date /1892/)

A. Pyne, Reminiscences of Colonial Life and Missionary Adventure in both Hemispheres, (London, 1875)

The Railway Guide of N. S. W., 3rd edn. (Sydney, 1886)

E. Ray (comp.), Greville's Official Post Office Directory and Gazetteer of New South Wales, 1875 to 1877, (Sydney, 1877)

Sands' Country Directory of N. S. W. for 1884-5, (Sydney, 1884)

Sands' Country Directory and Gazetteer of N. S. W. for 1889-1890, (Sydney, 1889)

B. Smith, 'Our Sister Cities, No.2 - Sydney', The Melbourne Review, IX, 1884.

R. Brough Smyth, The Gold Fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1869)

J. Sulman, 'On the Laying Out of Towns', The Building and Engineering Journal, N.S., VIII, No.28, Jan 1890.

A. Sutherland (ed.), Victoria and its Metropolis - Past and Present, (2 vols., Melbourne, 1888)

J. Tingle (comp.), Sands' Country Directory and Gazetteer of N. S. W. for 1881-2, (Sydney, no date)

A. Trollope, Australia and New Zealand, (vol.I, London, 1873)

H. G. Turner, 'Our Sister Cities, No.I - Adelaide', The Melbourne Review, IX, 1884.

Mark Twain (S. L. Clemens), More Tramps Abroad, (London, 1897)

R. E. N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, (London, 1883)

G. C. Verdon, The Present and Future of Municipal Government in Victoria, (Melbourne, 1858)

Victorian Law Reports.

The Victorian Municipal Directory and Gazetteer, (Melbourne, 1884, 1886, 1891)

Wagga Express Riverine Directory (Wagga, various dates)

Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba Railway Extension Committee, Proposed Railway Line,...with accompanying chart, prepared...at a public meeting held at Wagga Wagga...27th June, 1884, (Sydney, no date)

J. J. Walsh (comp.), The Black and White List; or the Elector's Hansard, (Melbourne, 1871)

G. H. F. Webb (ed.), The Victorian Law Reports, (Melbourne, various dates)

Adna F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century, (New York, 1899; Cornell Reprints in Urban Studies, 1963)

J. J. Westwood, The Journal of J. J. Westwood (Evangelist); or, an Account of Eight Years' Itineracy, (Melbourne, 1865)

R. P. Whitworth (comp.), Bailliere's New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide, (Sydney, 1866)

R. P. Whitworth (comp.), Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer and Road Guide..., (Melbourne, 1865, 1870, 1879)

R. P. Whitworth (comp.), The Official Handbook and Guide to Melbourne, and to the Cities, Principal Towns..., (Melbourne, 1880)

J. T. Williamson (comp., under authority of Wagga Borough Council), A Pamphlet, Containing Arguments and Statistics in favour of the proposed Wagga Wagga - Tumbarumba Railway Line, (Wagga, no date [1889 or later])

J. N. Wilson, (comp.), The Victorian Insolvent List, from 1842 to the end of June 1862, (Melbourne, 1862)

Wise's, The N. S. W. Post Office Directory for 1886-7, (Sydney, no date)

Wise's, The Victorian Post Office Commercial Directory, (Melbourne, 1884, 1902)

W. B. Withers, The History of Ballarat 2nd edn., (Ballarat, 1887)

Wyatt, Webb, and A'Beckett's Supreme Court Reports, (Melbourne, various dates)

V. Later books

F. Alexander, Moving Frontiers. An American Theme and its application to Australian History, (Melbourne, 1947)

A. G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900, (Melbourne, 1961)

Back-to-Hamilton Celebrations and Souvenir of Royal Visit 1954; Hamilton: The Centre of Western Victoria, Australia

L. L. Banfield, Like the Ark, (Melbourne, 1955)

W. Bate, A History of Brighton, (Melbourne, 1962)

W. A. Bayley, Border City. History of Albury, New South Wales, (Albury, 1954)

W. A. Bayley, Rich Earth. History of Young and the Shire of Burrangong, N. S. W., (Young, 1956)

C. E. W. Bean, On the Wool Track, (Sydney, 1945 edn, which is basically the 1925 revision of the original 1910 book edition)

R. V. Billis & A. S. Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, (Melbourne, 1932)

A. Birch and D. S. MacMillan, The Sydney Scene, 1788-1960, (Melbourne, 1962)

G. Blainey, The Rush That Never Ended, (Melbourne, 1963)

G. Blainey, The Tyranny of Distance - How Distance Shaped Australia's History, (Melbourne, 1966)

W. H. Bossence, Kyabram, (Melbourne, 1963)

R. Boyd, Australia's Home. Its Origins, Builders and Occupiers, (Melbourne, 1961 edn.)

W. Bradford, The Creswick Field and its Mining, (Ballarat, 1902)

A. Brauer, Under the Southern Cross. History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, (Adelaide, 1956)

A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, (London, 1963)

A. J. Brown and H. M. Sherrard, Town and Country Planning, (Melbourne, 1951)

D. Budge and L. Jenkins, Dundas Shire Centenary 1863-1963, (Hamilton, Victoria, 1963)

E. C. Buley, Australian Life in Town and Country, (London, 1905)

N. G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900, (Cambridge, 1964)

Butterworth's Summary Digest of Statute Law Cases (N. S. W.) 1825-1931, (Sydney, 1932)

J. E. Carruthers, Memories of an Australian Ministry 1868 to 1921, (London, 1922)

T. A. Coghlan, The Decline in the Birth-Rate of N. S. W., (Sydney, 1903)

T. A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, (4 vols., London, 1918)

J. T. Collins and A. D. Ellis (ed.), Collins and Meaden's Local Government Law and Practice, 2nd edn., (Melbourne, 1933)

R. M. Crawford, An Australian Perspective, (Melbourne, 1960)

M. Curti, The Making of an American Community, (Stanford, 1959)

A. F. Davies, Local Government in Victoria, (Melbourne, 1951)

F. J. Dodd, Picturesque Views of Hamilton, Victoria, (Hamilton, ?1917)

R. Duncan, Armidale - Economic and Social Development 1839-1871, (Armidale, 1951)

E. Dunsdorfs, The Australian Wheat-growing Industry 1788-1948, (Melbourne, 1956)

E. and L. Dunsdorfs (comp.), Historical Statistics of the Australian Wheat-growing Industry, (Melbourne, 1956)

H. J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb. A Study of the Growth of Camberwell, (Leicester, 1961)

U. Ellis, The Country Party. A Political and Social History of the Party in N. S. W., (Melbourne, 1958)

U. Ellis, New Australian States, (Sydney, 1933)

G. Farwell, Ghost Towns of Australia, (Adelaide, 1965)

C. Fetherstonhaugh, After Many Days, (Melbourne, 1917)

B. Fitzpatrick, The British Empire in Australia, (Melbourne, 1941)

J. Flett, Dunolly - the Story of an Old Gold-Diggings Town, (Melbourne, 1956)

W. D. Forsyth, The Myth of the Open Spaces, (Melbourne, 1942)

M. Gilmore, Old Days; Old Ways, (Melbourne, 1963 edn.)

R. A. Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics. A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910, (Melbourne, 1960)

J. Gormly, Exploration and Settlement in Australia, (Sydney, 1921)

J. A. Graham, The Creswick Grammar School History, (Melbourne, 1940)

J. A. Graham, Early Creswick, (Melbourne, 1942)

J. Grant and G. Serle, The Melbourne Scene, 1803-1956, (Melbourne, 1957)

C. McL. Green, American Cities in the Growth of the Nation, (New York, 1965 edn.)

A. W. Greig, Notes on the History of Local Government in Victoria, (Melbourne, 1925)

T. H. Halsey, Decentralisation - Its Social and Economic Implications, (typescript, Commonwealth Division of Regional Development, Canberra, 1949)

W. K. Hancock, Australia, (London, 1930)

A. H. Hawley, Human Ecology, (New York, 1950)

A. Henderson, Australian Families, vol.I (Melbourne, 1941)

A. Henderson, Early Pioneer Families of Victoria and Riverina, (Melbourne, 1936)

A. J. Holt, Wheat Farms of Victoria - A Socialogical Survey, (Melbourne, 1946)

E. Irvin, Early Inland Agriculture; Farming in the Southern Districts of New South Wales, (Wagga Wagga, 1962)

E. Irvin (ed.), Letters from the River, (Wagga Wagga, 1959)

E. Irvin, The Murrumbidgee Turf Club - Its Early History, (Wagga Wagga, 1960)

E. Irvin, Place of Many Crows, (Wagga Wagga, 1953)

A. K. H. Jenkin, The Cornish Miner, 3rd edn. (London, 1962)

J. J. Jervis, in O. and A. Siegler (ed.), Orange 1860-1960, (Orange, 1960?)

Margaret Kiddle, Men of Yesterday - A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890, (Melbourne, 1961)

G. H. Knibbs, Local Government in Australia, (Melbourne, 1919)

O. Lancaster, Drayneflete Revealed, (London, 1949)

F. A. Larcombe, The Development of Local Government in New South Wales, (Melbourne, 1961)

N. F. Learmonth, The Story of a Port - Portland, Victoria, (Portland Harbour Trust, 1960)

Norman Lindsay, Redheap, (Sydney, 1960 edn.)

Norman Lindsay, Saturdee, (Sydney, 1933)

A. Lodewyckx, Die Deutschen in Australien, (Stuttgarti, 1932)

A. J. and J. J. McIntyre, Country Towns of Victoria. A Social Survey, (Melbourne, 1944)

B. McKelvey, The Urbanization of America /1860-1915/, (New Brunswick, 1963)

A. W. Martin and P. Wardle, Members of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales 1856-1901, (A. N. U. Social Science Monograph No.16, Canberra, 1959)

C. S. Martin, Irrigation and Closer Settlement in the Shepparton District 1836-1906, (Melbourne, 1955)

H. M. Mayer and C. F. Kohn (ed.), Readings in Urban Geography, (Chicago, 1959)

F. S. Middlemiss (ed.), 'Back to Wagga' Souvenir, (Wagga, 1927)

O. A. Oeser and F. E. Emery, Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community, (London, 1954)

Y. S. Palmer, Track of the Years, (Melbourne, 1955)

R. Paull, Old Walhalla - Portrait of a Gold Town, (Melbourne, 1963)

R. J. Polaschek (ed.), Local Government in New Zealand, (Wellington, 1956)

S. Priestley, Echuca - A Centenary History, (Brisbane, 1965)

D. Read, The English Provinces c.1760-1960. A Study in Influence, (London, 1964)

J. E. Robertson, The Progress of Wagga Wagga and District, (Wagga?, 1914)

R.B. Ronald, The Riverina, (Melbourne, 1960)

J. Saville, Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1951, (London, 1957)

G. Serle, The Golden Age, (Melbourne, 1963)

P. Serle, Dictionary of Australian Biography, (2 vols., Sydney, 1949)

J.H. Shaw, The Urban Evolution of Wagga Wagga, (Univ. of New England, 1960)

Shire of Creswick Centenary, 1959, Record of Proceedings at Centenary Meeting, Creswick, 1959, (Creswick, 1959)

R. H. T. Smith, Commodity Movements in Southern New South Wales, (Department of Geography, A. N. U., 1962)

W. J. Sowden, An Australian Native's Standpoint, (London, 1912)

W. G. Spence, Australia's Awakening..., (Sydney, 1909)

W. G. Spence, History of the A. W. U., (Sydney, 1961)

D. Stewart and Nancy Keesing, (ed.), Australian Bush Ballads, (Sydney, 1955)

R. B. Walker, Old New England. A History of the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales 1818-1900, (Sydney, 1966)

R. Ward (ed.), Australian Ballads, (Penguin, 1964)

R. Ward, The Australian Legend, (Melbourne, 1958)

R. L. Wettenhall, Railway Management and Politics in Victoria 1856-1906, (Canberra, 1961)

D. M. Whittaker and others, Wangaratta, (Wangaratta, Victoria, 1963)

VI. Later articles

W. Bate, 'The Good Old Cause in Local History', Historical Studies, XI, 41, Nov 1963.

J. J. Baylis, 'The Murrumbidgee and Wagga Wagga', RAHSJ, XIII, 1927.

G. Blainey, 'Scissors and Paste in Local History', Historical Studies, VI, 23, Nov 1954.

R. Boyd, 'Australian Towns and Cities', in W. V. Anghterson (ed.), Taking Stock - Aspects of Mid-Century Life in Australia, (Melbourne, 1953)

T. Brennan, 'Urban Communities', in A. F. Davies and S. Encel, Australian Society. A Sociological Introduction, (Melbourne, 1965)

A. Briggs, 'Australian Cities', Outlook, V, 4, Aug 1961.

N. G. Butlin, 'Colonial Socialism in Australia, 1860-1900', in H. G. J. Aitken (ed.), The State and Economic Growth, (New York, 1959)

N. G. Butlin, '"Company Ownership" of N. S. W. Pastoral Stations, 1865-1900', Historical Studies, IV, 14, 1950.

N. G. Butlin, 'The Shape of the Australian Economy, 1861-1900', Economic Record, 34, 1958.

N. G. Butlin, 'Urbanisation and Industrial Development', Seminar on Australian Economic and Social History 1840-1900' (typescript, A. N. U., 1958)

P. H. Cootner, 'The Role of the Railroads in United States Economic Growth', Journal of Economic History, XXIII, 1963, (477-521).

W. Diamond, 'On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History', in E. F. Goldman (ed.), Historiography and Urbanization, (Baltimore, 1941)

Glen V. Fuguitt, 'The Growth and Decline of Small Towns as a Probability Process', American Sociological Review, XXX, 3, June 1965.

W. J. Garland (comp.), 'The History of Wagga Wagga', Records of the Education Society, No.17, (Sydney, 1913)

F. H. Gruen, 'Rural Australia', in A. F. Davies and S. Encel, Australian Society. A Sociological Introduction, (Melbourne, 1965)

A. R. Hall, 'Some Long Period Effects of the Kinked Age Distribution of the Population of Australia, 1861-1961', Economic Record, 39, 1963.

N. Harper, 'The Rural and Urban Frontiers', The Australian Journal of Science, XXV, 8, Feb 1963.

E. P. Hennock, 'Finance and Politics in Urban Local Government in England, 1835-1900', The Historical Journal, VI, 1963.

E. Irvin, 'A Plea for Regional Histories', Historical Studies, VII, 26, May 1956.

D. N. Jeans, 'Town Planning in New South Wales 1829-1842', Australian Planning Institute Journal, III, No.6, Oct 1965.

A. S. Kenyon, 'Hamilton Town - A Brief Tale with a Short Account of its Pioneers', in Hamilton Centenary Committee, Official Souvenir Programme and History, Major Mitchell Centenary Celebrations, (Hamilton, 1937)

H. W. H. King, 'Armidale, N. S. W.; A Standard "Australian" Service Town: Its Evolution, Morphology and Changing Functional Character', in R. F. Warner (ed.), New England Essays, (Armidale, 1963)

L. J. King, 'Urbanization in an Agriculturally Dependent Society - Some Implications in New Zealand', Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, LVI, No.1, Jan 1965.

M. Komarovsky, 'The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers', American Sociological Review, XI, 1946.

E. E. Lampard, 'American Historians and the Study of Urbanization', American Historical Review, LXVII, 1, Oct 1961.

J. D. MacInnes, 'Some Western District Pioneers', Victorian Historical Magazine, XI, 4, Jun 1927.

J. E. Mills, 'The Composition of the Victorian Parliament 1856-81', Historical Studies, II, No.5, Apr 1942.

G. D. Patterson, 'The Murray River Border Customs Dispute, 1853-1880', Business Archives and History, II, 1962.

L. L. Pownall, "The Functions of New Zealand Towns', in J. P. Gibbs (ed.), Urban Research Methods, (Princeton, 1961)

J. H. Reeves, 'Transport Costs and the Location of Industry in Victoria', Economic Record, 27, 1951.

A. J. Robinson, 'Regionalism and Urbanization in Australia - A Note on Locational Emphasis in the Australian Economy, Economic Geography, XXXIX, 1963.

J.B. Rowe, 'Form and Function of the Rural Township', Australian Geographer, IV, 8, 1944.

B. Ryan, 'A Paradigm of Country Town Development in N. S. W.', The Australian Journal of Social Issues, II, 1, Autumn 1964.

R. H. T. Smith, 'The Functions of Australian Towns', Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, LVI, No.3, May 1965.

O. H. K. Spate, 'Bush and City - Some Reflections on the Australian Cultural Landscape', The Australian Journal of Science, XVIII, 3A, Jan 1956.

E. R. Woolmington, 'Metropolitan Gravitation in Northern New South Wales', The Australian Geographer, IX, No. 6, Sep 1965.

VII. Theses and unpublished papers

G. R. Bartlett, 'Political Organisation and Society in Victoria 1864-1883', Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964)

R. J. Beveridge, 'Victorian Railway Policy, 1850-1883', (M.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1956)

G. R. Bruns, 'Some Neglected Aspects of Melbourne's Demography', (M.Comm. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1949)

G. L. Buxton, 'Land and People. A Study of Settlement and Society in the Riverina, 1861-1891', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1965)

J. S. Craig, 'The Riverina Separation Movement 1858-1867', (B.A. thesis, Adelaide Univ., 1963)

G. Evans, 'Hamilton and Ararat in the 1870s: A Comparative Study in Social Structure and Political Activity', (B.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1963)

B. D. Graham, 'The Political Strategies of the Australian Country Parties from their Origins until 1929', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1958)

F. C. Hooper, 'The Evolution of Communal Living in the Maryborough Mining District (1854-70), (M.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1960)

H. W. H. King, 'The Urban Hierarchy of the Southern Tablelands of New South Wales', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1956)

M. F. Maher, "A Consideration of Certain Aspects of Decentralization', (M.Comm. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1958)

A. W. Martin, 'Political Groupings in N. S. W., 1872-89', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1955)

G. Oddie, 'The Chinese in Victoria, 1870-1890', (M.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1959)

K. B. Ryan, 'Towns and Settlement on the South Coast of New South Wales', (Ph.D. Thesis, A. N. U., 1965)

F. Strahan, 'The Growth and Extent of Company Mining on the Victorian Goldfields in the 1850s', (B.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1955)

D. B. Waterson, 'Town and Country: the Development of Society on the Darling Downs, 1859-1893', (Ph.D. thesis, A. N. U., 1964)

J. M. C. Watson, 'Selectors and Squatters in the Hamilton District in the 1860s', (M.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1957)

H. White, 'The West Victoria ("Princeland") Separation Movement, 1861-1863', (B.A. thesis, Melb. Univ., 1956)

J. L. Whittaker, 'The Riverina: Popular Political Movements of the Nineteenth Century', (M.A. thesis, Univ. of New England, 1961)

Supplementary bibliography of later books and articles

J. D. Bailey, A Hundred Years of Pastoral Banking, (Oxford, 1966)

G. L. Buxton, The Riverina 1861-1891, (Melbourne, 1967)

B. W. Higman, 'The regional impact of the sugar industry of New South Wales, 1870-1912', Australian Geographical Studies, VI, 1968

W. S. Logan, 'The Evolution and Significance of Local Government Boundaries in Southwestern Victoria', Australian Geographical Studies, IV, 1966

A. J. Rose, Patterns of Cities, (Melbourne, 1967)

R. J. Solomon, 'Procedures in Townscape Analysis', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LVI, 1966

R. J. S. Thomas, 'Some Aspects of the History of the Roads of New South Wales', RAHSJ, L111, 1967

M. & L. White, The Intellectual Versus the City, from Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright, (Cambridge, Mass., 1962)