

Gentleman squatters, 'self-made' men and soldiers: Masculinities in
nineteenth century Australia

Helen Patricia Ewart

Department of Gender Studies and Social Analysis,

School of Social Sciences,

Faculty of Arts.

University of Adelaide.

July 2016.

Table of Contents

Declaration

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Chapter 1. Introduction.....	6
Chapter 2. Setting The Scene – Mudgee.....	46
Chapter 3. George Henry Cox.....	75
Chapter 4. James Loneragan.....	97
Chapter 5. Willoughby Dowling.....	125
Chapter 6. Setting The Scene – Gawler.....	157
Chapter 7. James Martin.....	189
Chapter 8. Ephraim Henry Coombe.....	213
Chapter 9. Bruce Harold May.....	244
Chapter 10. Conclusion.....	272
Bibliography.....	281

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copying Act 1968.

The author acknowledges that copyrighting of published works contained within this thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of those works.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the university's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Signed

Acknowledgements

Without the help of many people this thesis would still be a figment of my imagination. There are many people I would like to thank. I have noted along the way some people comment upon the longevity of their project and the many turns and twists their writing took. I too plead such a case. I owe a great debt to Margaret Allen who has patiently provided me with suggestions, help and inspiration during this long thesis writing period. It has been a very bumpy ride in quite a few places and she has been a quiet, cheerful guide and mentor. My thesis research has been far ranging. As a result I have quite an eclectic range of institutions and people that I wish to thank ranging from the South Australian Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to the volunteers of country museums, such as Rylstone, and Kandos, New South Wales. The staff at the Gawler Primary School willingly allowed me to view their records whilst the staff at the Gawler Public Library provided ongoing help in many ways. The State Librarians of New South Wales and South Australia too have been of great assistance whilst the librarians at the University of Adelaide, Barr Smith library provided much needed direction and help, especially Margaret Hosking and Margaret Galbraith. The Gender Work and Social Inquiry staff has unfailingly provided me with encouragement, support and help in so many ways for which I have been most grateful. Lastly I would like to thank my husband and family who have provided encouragement and support along the seemingly endless path towards finishing this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of the diversities of rural Australian colonial masculinities, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, moderated by place, religion, and class. Close-grained micro-histories have been produced about the two sites for this thesis, Mudgee in New South Wales and Gawler in South Australia. These micro histories, set within overarching movements in nineteenth - century society reveal both some general similarities and differences between the two towns, based upon their geography, economy and class structure and the religious and social values of their inhabitants. The different histories of the two colonies, along with all these factors affected the kinds of opportunities which were open to the six male subjects of this thesis. The micro histories are not intended to be a 'total historical account' rather, as Caroline Daley contends they 'offers insights into the meanings of gender in the lives'¹ of the six men, three from each town, presented in the individual biographical chapters.

The thesis argues that the two different environments made possible differing modes of masculinity. Furthermore, the subjects reveal more nuanced and diverse images of masculinity than what has been seen as the hegemonic ideal of masculinity for the period, namely - the lower class pastoral worker, or 'the bushman', which has been being articulated as the embodiment of the typical Australian.² The subjects with one exception did not make any reference to this celebrated representation let alone the much debated 'Coming Man'³ or the 'Australian type'. Rather, the British heritage was crucial. The thesis draws widely upon the literatures around masculinities, chiefly from Britain and the United States to present the six richly detailed biographical studies of these men, each set within his family, religion, class and community.

¹ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886 -1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999). p. 2

² Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1966). pp. 2-3

³ Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688 -1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988). p. 80