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Landscapes of Meaning

Joseph Lucas Horrocks and the Gwalla Estate, Northampton

Martin Gibbs

Sometimes it is important that we remind ourselves that history is not only a thing of documents and memory, but has a physical dimension expressed in the houses that people built and lived in, the factories they worked at, the fields they cleared and ploughed, and the countless objects which they used and discarded during their lifetimes. The idea that past lifeways, culture, history and processes of cultural change can be decoded through these material remains has been the basis for modern archaeology for much of this century. However, while archaeology has long recognised the significance of spatial relationships between sites and the importance of their place in the landscape, it is only much more recently that attention has been drawn to the landscapes themselves as a sort of macro-artefact.¹

Humanly modified landscapes, often encompassing areas of many square kilometres, are frequently referred to in the parlance of the heritage industry as 'cultural landscapes'.² The term is normally applied to areas which have been significantly changed, often by a single dominant activity. The sites, buildings, roads, dams and other places which fall within that area are therefore also included as significant components. It is now well recognised that Aboriginal people had been regularly burning large areas of country for thousands of years, so that much of the environment seen at the time of European occupation was already an artefact of human activity and therefore in many respects a cultural landscape.³ However, the focus is usually on highly visible European or non-Aboriginal settlement activities such as agricultural clearance, pastoralism, forestry, urban settlement, and especially mining.⁴

1 eg. P. Rubertone, 'Landscape as Artefact: Comments on "The Archaeological use of Landscape Treatment in Social, Economic and Ideological Analysis"', *Historical Archaeology*, vol.23, no.1, 1989, pp.51-54.

2 The term first appeared in c.1925 in a paper by geographer Carl Sauer, 'The morphology of landscape' in C. Sauer (ed.), *University of California Publications in Geography*, vol.2, no.2, 1919-28, (reprinted 1968), pp.19-53.

3 S. Hallam, *Fire and Hearth*, Canberra, 1975.

Perhaps because mining produces such an aesthetically jarring scene of shafts, pits, mullock heaps, ruined buildings, rusting industrial plant and areas which are sometimes still devoid of vegetation (generally removed to fuel the mine machinery), the nature of the changes to the environment are most readily recognisable and most frequently examined. However, as with any industry, the processes of mining are in fact only one (if the major) component of the landscape, with worker housing, associated farm or agricultural elements, water supplies and other non-industrial sites providing the other part. It is unfortunate that despite the importance of mining activity to the history of Western Australia, very little has been done to identify, record or preserve any of these significant places and landscapes in the state.⁵

This paper examines the nature of a cultural landscape associated with the copper mining industry which flourished between the 1850s and 1880s in the midwest region of Western Australia in the immediate vicinity of the town of Northampton. In particular, it explores the mine and community of the Gwalla Mine and presents an example of the nexus between documentary and archaeological research in the investigation of the colonial past. The material used in this paper was collected as part of an ongoing research project into the nature of the earliest phase of the Western Australian mineral industry. However, the original investigation was prompted by the Northampton community's concern for the loss of its early sites and landscapes as a result of modern subdivision and development.

Historical Sources on Early Mining in Western Australia

Before proceeding, it is worth noting that there are several difficulties in investigating the histories of pre-1880s Western Australian mining operations. The first is that at this time the system of mineral leases which dominated later mining efforts had not been established, nor was there a Government agency with specific responsibility for mines and mining. Most of the early workings were on established freehold land, referred to as 'Imperial Grants', which gave the owner rights to all contents of the grant to the centre of the earth, with no obligation to report their mineral production other than exports. Even when the W.A. Department of Mines was established in 1894 and a Mining Warden appointed to Northampton, the Imperial Grants fell outside their jurisdiction,⁶

4 Two good introductions to the concept and study of the cultural landscapes in Australia are J. McCann, 'Researching Cultural Landscapes in Country Victoria' in C. Sagazio (ed.), *The National Trust Research Manual*, Sydney, 1992, pp.121-132, and 'The ever-changing landscape' in G. Davison & C. McConville (eds.), *A Heritage Handbook*, Sydney, 1991, pp.161-176.

5 The most notable exception to this is the 'Sons of Gwallia' mine, which was the subject of an extensive survey and conservation study during the 1980s when it appeared that the modern open-cut would destroy the historic workings and townsite. See P. Bell, J. Cornell & J. McCarthy, *Gwallia Conservation Study*, Perth Gwalla Committee and the Western Australian Heritage Committee, 1985.

6 G.J. Kelly, 'The History of Mining in the Geraldton District', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Western Australian Historical Society*, vol.8, no.1, 1962, pp.78-96.

although from that time systematic records of the Northampton Mineral Field were kept wherever possible.

While some mention of mining activity may be found in contemporary newspaper reports, many of the earliest detailed descriptions of the mines themselves are contained in surveys made by the first Government Geologists at the turn of the century. Although often written several decades after the closure of the earliest copper and lead mines, these reports include production figures gleaned from surviving company records, as well as anecdotal information from those who had worked at the sites.⁷ This lack of information, which was partially a result of the isolation of the Northampton mineral field from the centres of population and government, extends to descriptions or information on the nature of the associated communities. Despite an intensive examination of Colonial Secretaries Office Records, newspapers and private correspondence, there is only a limited amount of information about life at 'The Mines' (as the region was known until the 1860s), particularly prior to the 1870s. It is this lack of archival evidence that lends a particular emphasis on the significance of non-documentary sources, such as the archaeological record of the sites and landscapes.

Joseph Lucas Horrocks and the Establishment of the Gwalla Estate

For over a decade following the establishment of the Swan River settlement in 1829, government policy officially restricted European exploration and expansion to the lower southwest corner of the colony. However, in the mid-1840s increasing pressure from pastoralist groups to move beyond these boundaries resulted in the several expeditions being sent to investigate the country several hundred kilometres to the north, in what is now referred to as the midwest region. Contrasting to the apparent lack of minerals to be found within the lower southwest, coal was discovered on the Irwin River in 1846, while outcrops of galena (lead ore) were located in the bed of the Murchison River in 1848. There was great excitement in the colony that this would herald the start of long hoped-for mineral boom which would ensure the future economy of Western Australia.⁸ Response by colonial investors was therefore rapid and by 1849 a mine had been established on the site of the galena outcrop, also making it the first semi-permanent European outpost to be established beyond the southwest settlement.

7 eg. A. Maitland, *The Geological Features and Mineral Resources of Northampton, Western Australia*, Geological Survey Bulletin, no.9, 1903, and H. Woodward, *Mining Handbook to the Colony of Western Australia*, Perth, 1896.

8 A. & F. Gregory, *Journals of Australian Expeditions*, Brisbane, 1884.

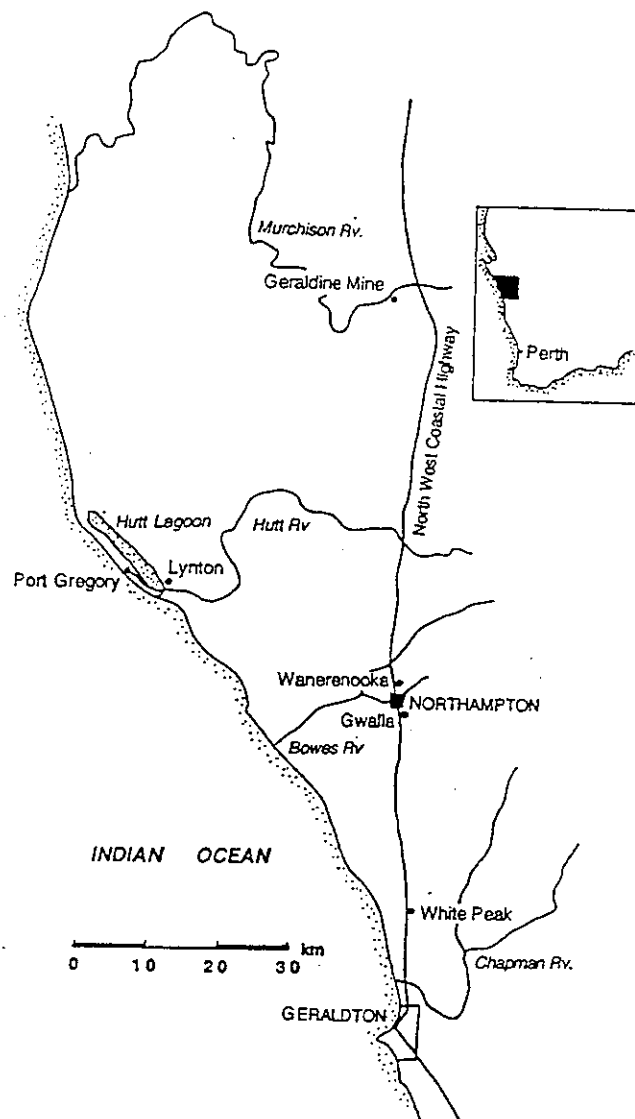


Figure 1
Map of Midwest Western Australia showing locations of key places mentioned in the text.

The operations of the Geraldine Mine, commencing in earnest in 1850, were erratic and beset by problems, not the least being isolation, transport and supply difficulties, with the nearest settlement located over 500 km south. However, within the next several years both galena ore and pig lead smelted at the mine was exported, encouraging further mineral exploration through the region.⁹ By the mid-1850s several lodes of copper ore had been discovered in the country between the Chapman and Murchison rivers and small companies formed to work them.¹⁰

9 M. Gibbs, *Warribanno Lead Smelter Complex Conservation Plan*, unpublished report prepared by Considine & Griffiths Architects for the Northampton Historical Society Property Committee.

10 R. Prider (ed.), *Mining in Western Australia*, Nedlands, 1979.

In 1855 a shepherd working for James Drummond, a Champion Bay (Geraldton) pastoralist, discovered a copper lode near Wanerenooka Spring; located several kilometres north of the Bowes River. Drummond had already attempted to open a copper mine at White Peak earlier in that year, but had achieved only limited success. However, with the financial backing of Perth merchant George Shenton, Drummond purchased land around the newly discovered lode, formed the Wanerenooka Mining Company and within a year had commenced operations.¹¹ The storekeeper and sometimes manager of the mine was Joseph Lucas Horrocks, an ex-convict who had also worked at the White Peak mine and who is the central character of the rest of this story.

Joseph Horrocks had originally been transported as a convict to Western Australia in 1852 after being convicted on a charge of forgery, although the circumstances are not fully known. Apparently he was from a respected Cornish family, was well educated and had owned a merchandising business. Having served for a while in the Royal Navy as a sick berth attendant he was considered to have some medical knowledge and soon after arrival was sent northward as medical attendant to the newly opened convict hiring depot at Port Gregory.¹² Conditions in the recently settled midwest region were harsh, and Horrocks soon gained a reputation for freely dispensing aid to convict and settler alike, earning the epithet 'Doc'. After a relatively short period Horrocks was sent back to Fremantle, but soon afterwards returned to the midwest to help manage the White Peak Mine.¹³ In April 1856 Horrocks received his Conditional Pardon, meaning that he was now a free man and could leave the colony. However, unlike many other convicts and despite having a wife and family back in Cornwall, Horrocks chose to stay in Western Australia. In the same year he moved northward to help establish the Wanerenooka Mine,¹⁴ which officially opened in 1857.¹⁵

Little is really known of the Wanerenooka mining community, but it is probable that it consisted of a mixture of free and convict labour, some having transferred from the Geraldine Lead Mine when the latter temporarily ceased production in 1856.¹⁶ Over the next several years it appears likely that the number of men increased, with the population growing as they were joined by their wives and children. The description of the mine by an unidentified visitor to the midwest in 1860 provides our best insight into the nature of the Wanerenooka settlement.

11 R. Erickson, *The Drummonds of Hawthornden*, Nedlands, 1975.

12 I. Lilley & M. Gibbs, *An Archaeological Study of the Lynton Convict Depot*, unpublished report to the Australian Heritage Commission for the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 1993.

13 *Perth Gazette*, 14 March 1856.

14 R. Erickson, 'Men of Enterprise - Joseph Lucas Horrocks' in R. Erikson (ed.), *The Brand On His Coat*, Nedlands, 1983, pp.224-227.

15 J.L. Horrocks to the Colonial Secretary (enclosed letter dated December 1860), Colonial Secretaries Office Received, vol.494, p.183.

16 M. Bain, *Ancient Landmarks - A social and economic history of the Victoria District, W.A.*, Nedlands, 1975.

The village is principally built on the slope and up to the summit of the hill; the shafts and mining buildings are situated about half way up. The crowning edifices are the large retail stores of Mr Horrocks and the Police barracks; the summit of a lofty hill nearly opposite is occupied by the walls of a large unfinished building intended (we believe) as a place of worship; approving the intention we cannot but doubt the discretion of those who chose for such a purpose so inaccessible a position.¹⁷

Although the mine was temporarily out of production when this passage was written, this description and other portions of it not quoted here, clearly shows a small but active community at the frontier of European settlement. The next nearest town was Champion Bay, still in its infancy and situated over 52 km to the south. The small mining settlement was therefore very much an out-post and had to be able to provide supplies, social amenities and law and order to the miners and their families. As it happens, the church mentioned above was never completed, although the foundations remain visible today. Joseph Horrocks was undoubtedly the instigator of its construction, but ceased work at that site to begin anew elsewhere as part of a more ambitious project.

In 1858 a new lode of copper ore was discovered about 3 km south of Wanerenooka. Soon afterwards Horrocks obtained finance from George Shenton and purchased the surrounding 100 acres, with the Gwalla Mine commencing operations in April 1859.¹⁸ Despite the continuing connection with Wanerenooka, Gwalla appears to have been developed on different principles, with the few contemporary accounts suggesting that the mine, while successful, was almost secondary in significance to the creation of the settlement. A letter written by Horrocks which dates to the same period as the report quoted above¹⁹ suggests there was some tension between the managers of the mine, including Horrocks, and the investors in the Wanerenooka Mining Company. Horrocks suggests that these capitalists, with little experience of the nature of mining, were expecting unrealistic returns while remaining unwilling to purchase adequate machinery, which was possibly the cause of the halt in operations during part of 1860. Unlike the Wanerenooka Mine, Gwalla was clearly Horrocks' own, and therefore a palette on which he was free to draw his own design.

The oral and historical records of the Gwalla Estate are quite limited, with almost no contemporary descriptions other than the following from December 1860 when the Governor visited the mines.

... [there are] but three or four comfortable brick cottages, a very respectable commencement of the hamlet which we may expect to spring up around what will no doubt shortly be a scene of heavy labour. Several acres of very rich soil are here under cultivation producing busy crops, and a large garden enclosed by walls has been made within a few yards of the shaft.²⁰

17 *Perth Gazette*, 7 December 1860.

18 Colonial Secretaries Office Received, vol.494, p.183.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Perth Gazette*, 7 December 1860.

When this report was written in 1860 Gwalla had really only just been established and was obviously not as extensive as Wanerenooka. However, in the following year Horrocks commenced construction of the centrepiece of the estate, the church and graveyard that had originally been planned for Wanerenooka. Later photographs of the church show an English-style building with a tall, square spire, visible for some distance around.²¹ A key feature was that Horrocks declared the church to be 'undenominational', organised so as to cater for the different groups within the town and with a passage from Isaiah, 'My house shall be called a house of Prayer for all People', carved on the foundation stone.²²

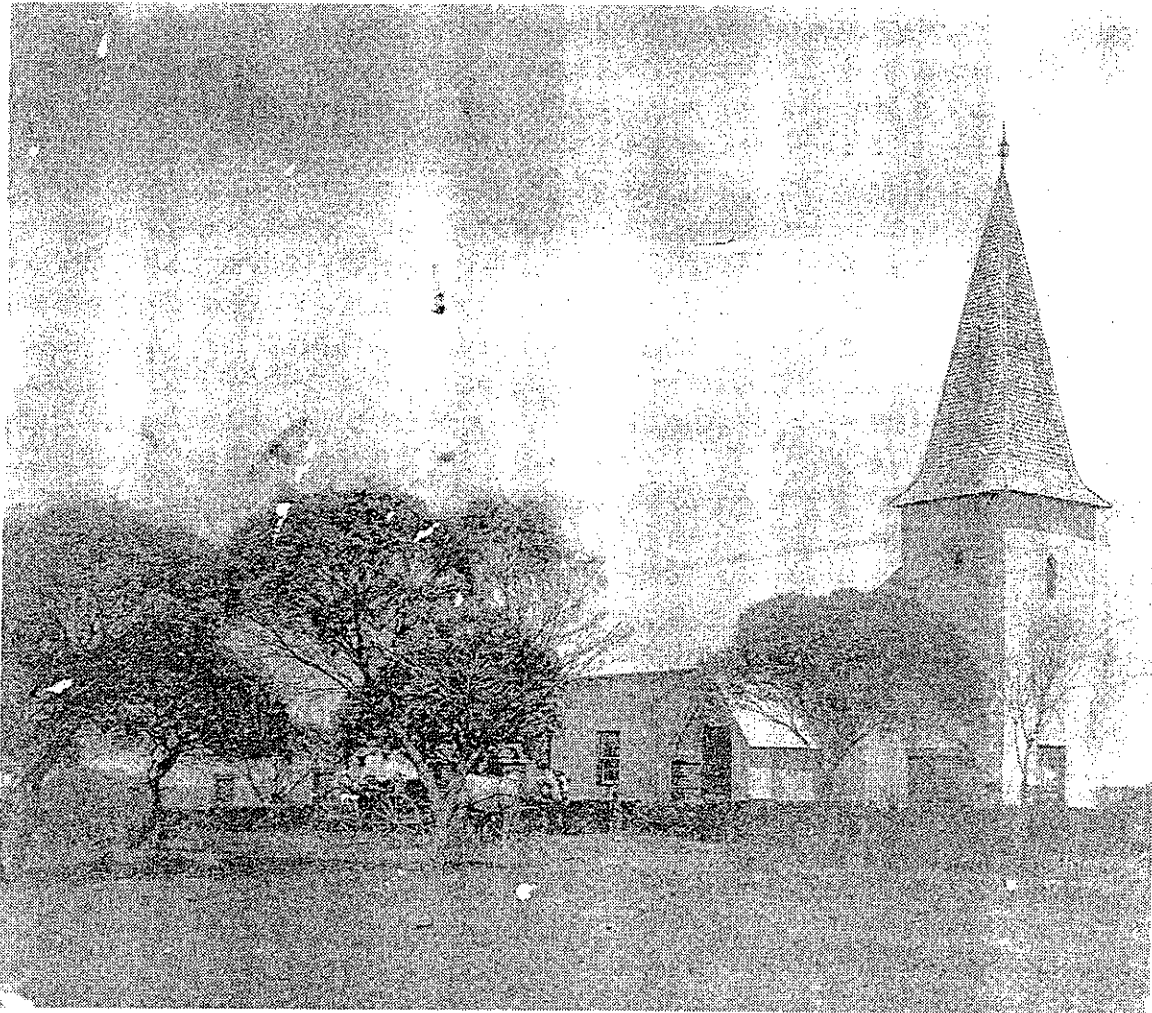


Figure 2
Gwalla Church. View of east side. (Battye Library 21220P.)

21 E.M. Halley & H.H. Wilson, *Roundabout Geraldton and the Victoria District*, Geraldton, 1945.
A.C. Henville, *Shire of Northampton, Western Australia*, 1968, Northampton, 1968.

22 Erickson, 'Men of Enterprise', 1983, p.226.

In 1863 Horrocks obtained a 1 acre grant and founded a small school for the mine children, financed by George Shenton and employing an expirée (former convict) as its first teacher.²³ The location of this school, one of the first in the midwest, has not been determined, but may have been strategically situated in the area between the boundaries of the Wanerenooka and Gwalla which, in 1864, was gazetted as the Northampton townsite.²⁴

Horrocks is also attributed with being the first person to transport skilled Cornish miners and their families to Western Australia.²⁵ During the 19th century the Cornish were renowned as the best hard-rock miners in the world and as such were much sought after to work in the mines of British colonies around the globe. By the 1840s the combined effects of the declining tin and copper industries in Cornwall itself, as well as agricultural depression resulting from the destruction of the local potato crop due to blight, saw thousands of Cornishmen and their families depart for these new countries.²⁶ In Australia the greatest number of Cornish immigrants was headed for the copper mines of South Australia, although the Cornish influence was felt in mining areas throughout the country for much of the 19th and early 20th centuries.²⁷

Advertisements in Cornish newspapers such as the *West Briton*, calling for '... steady, active young men having a thorough knowledge of copper mining ...' to emigrate to Western Australia, had appeared as early as 1852.²⁸ Given the date, this particular overture was presumably for either the Geraldine or White Peak mines, although Horrocks almost certainly placed similar advertisements or used agents or even family connections to organise potential workers for Gwalla and Wanerenooka. Later mine managers such as Samuel Mitchell (who managed the Geraldine mine in the 1860s) also encouraged Cornish immigrants, and until the collapse of the Western Australian copper and lead industry during the 1880s Northampton was considered to be a Cornish community.²⁹ Early reports frequently refer to the 'Cousin Jacks' living in Northampton, while many of the mines carried the familiar Cornish prefix 'wheal' (literally meaning 'a working'),³⁰ so that the names Wheal Ellen, Wheal Fortune, Wheal Arino and others still survive in the surrounding countryside. However, unlike other townships such as Burra Burra, the descendants of the Northampton miners, many of whom are still resident in the district, generally do not acknowledge these early Cornish links. Wider historical studies of the Cornish in Australia,

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Western Australian Government Gazette*, 19 February 1864.

25 Kelly, 1962.

26 P.J. Payton, *The Cornish Miner in Australia: Cousin Jack Down Under*, Cornwall, 1984.

27 P.J. Payton, *Pictorial History of Australia's Little Cornwall*, Sydney, 1978.

28 Advertisement from the *West Briton* of March 1852, cited in Payton, 1984, p.174.

29 J.M. Drew, 'Early Northampton: An Undenominational Church', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Western Australian Historical Society*, vol.2, no.11, 1932, pp.30-36. See also Kelly 1962.

30 Payton, 1978, p.15.

including Phillip Payton's extensive works on their influence on Australian mining, also generally fail to recognise the extent of the Cornish presence in Western Australia prior to the 1880s gold rushes.³¹

The historical record does not reveal the size or composition of the Gwalla community, making it difficult to know exactly how many men it employed, to what extent it truly was dominated by Cornish miners, or how many women and children lived at the site. One source suggests that during the period 1862 to 1865 Horrocks employed 60 Ticket-of-Leave men, which included 27 miners, five builders or carpenters, three cooks, an engineer, a blacksmith and a bootmaker.³² There is another report that in 1864, when Horrocks petitioned for the closure of the Miners Arms Hotel in Northampton, at least 90 of the signatures on the document belonged to his employees.³³ Even though these figures probably include a mixture of people living at the Gwalla and Wanerenooka mines, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the adult population at each was over 45 adult males.

Although a high level of convict involvement was a common part of early mining in the midwest, for Horrocks, as an ex-convict himself, there was an added dimension. In a lengthy letter to the Colonial Secretary in December 1860 which describes the state of the mines, Horrocks also reveals his feelings about the continued need for transportation to Western Australia and for consideration to be given to those who arrived in bond. He states that despite their arrival as men of 'blemished character', most convicts proved themselves to be 'equal in honour and probity to the settlers themselves in every respect on a par with the most respectable immigrants'.³⁴ He also suggests that many had been more 'sinned against than sinning' and were willing to become 'good and useful members of society', if provided with opportunity and as long as government policy did not discriminate against Conditional Pardon men, driving them away from the colony. This document is almost certainly an insight into some of the prejudices experienced by Horrocks himself and suggests that he saw the remote mining frontier as an ideal place in which these former felons could transform themselves into valued settlers. It is not too much to suppose that, aside from the economic benefits of employing convict labour, Horrocks saw Gwalla and Wanerenooka as places where such reforms might be effected.

An important part of the oral history relative to Gwalla is that Horrocks provided unemployed miners and other persons passing through the region with sustenance work, in particular, collecting field stone to make fences in and

31 Payton, 1984, p.174 makes only brief reference to the Cornish in Northampton between the 1850s and 1870s. Curiously he does not seem to realise that many of the 'Cornish' miners who arrived at the goldfields during the 1880s came via Northampton (rather than directly from Cornwall), and had in part been driven to the goldfields by the failure of the copper market and closure of many of the local mines (see also Kelly, 1962).

32 Erickson, 1988, p.226.

33 W. Birman, 'Joseph Lucas Horrocks' in D. Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, 1966, pp. 425-426.

34 Colonial Secretaries Office Received, vol.494, pp185.

around the Gwalla estate.³⁵ Apart from being an act of altruism, this also served to clear the paddocks of rock and ensured that the skilled labour didn't simply drift away to other regions or colonies.

The Gwalla Mine itself was quite successful, with more than 282 tons of copper ore giving a net return of £2,920 being raised in 1860 and 900 tons worth over £14,700 being removed between 1863 and the mine's closure in 1869.³⁶ In 1864 Horrocks purchased land adjacent to the Gwalla Estate which included the extensions of the main lode to the south-west and north-east of the original mine, obviously with the intention of later expansion.³⁷ It is therefore uncertain whether the Gwalla Mine ceased operations after 1869 as a result of the initial lode 'pinching out', which would have required significant new work to relocate elsewhere on the seam, or because George Shenton, proprietor of the mine after Horrocks' demise, also met with an untimely death which threw the mine and the rest of his holdings into probate. In 1907 an English syndicate investigated the viability of re-opening the mine, which was still thought to be productive, but did not proceed far beyond de-watering the shafts and making initial explorations.³⁸

There seems little doubt that Horrocks had long-term intentions for the development not only of his mining interests, but also of a range of other economic activities within the midwest region in general. There is documentary evidence that he had been experimenting with various crops at Wanerenooka, including tobacco, hops, sugar cane, fruit and wheat, and that this process continued at the Gwalla Estate.³⁹ One biography describes Horrocks as being concerned for the progress of the sandalwood industry and the need for improved agricultural and pastoral knowledge, stating that 'he urged the government to foster the mining industry in the Victoria district by good roads, to provide steam-driven machinery and to discourage public zest for quick profits'.⁴⁰ Horrocks was one of the central persons to push for the construction of the railway between Northampton and Geraldton, which might explain why the line ultimately passed through the Gwalla grant and originally terminated in close proximity to the mine. However the railway, the first Government railway in Western Australia, was not completed until 1879, nearly 13 years after Horrocks' death.⁴¹

When Joseph Horrocks died of 'general debility' at his Wanerenooka home in October 1865, the *Perth Gazette* published an generous obituary which stated that

35 eg. C. Norris, *Memories of Champion Bay or Old Geraldton*, Geraldton, 1989.

36 Colonial Secretaries Office Received vol.494, p.196; Gibb-Maitland, 1903.

37 M. Gibbs, *An Archaeological Survey and Assessment of the Gwalla and Wanerenooka Mine Precincts, Northampton, Western Australia*, unpublished report to the Shire of Northampton, Western Australia, 1994.

38 *Ibid.*

39 R. Hutchinson, 'The Murchison Goldfields: Northampton', supplement to the *Geraldton Guardian*, date uncertain (c.1896?), pp.29-30 (from the archives of the Northampton Historical Society); Drew, 1932.

40 Birman, pp.425-426.

41 Kelly, 1962; Henville, 1968.

'the poor have lost a friend'.⁴² Little is known of what happened to Gwalla after Shenton's death in 1867 and the closure of the mine two years later, including whether the former workers continued to be allowed to occupy the cottages on the estate, or were forced to move elsewhere.⁴³ What we are left with, in a purely documentary sense, is the notion that Horrocks was a successful mine manager and a philanthropist who created a community which then ended less than a decade after it began. However, this provides little insight into the nature of the Gwalla settlement itself, or Horrocks' long-term intentions.

Archaeology and History at Gwalla

To understand the Gwalla Estate it is necessary to carefully interweave the historical and archaeological evidence, with each database supporting and informing the other. Although the documentary and physical are normally presented separately, providing the opportunity to test for ambiguities, in this instance it is the limited amount of historical data which makes it possible to proceed directly to a synthesis.

This study originated in 1994 when the Shire of Northampton arranged for the Archaeological Society of Western Australia to undertake a survey of the Gwalla Estate to determine what remained of the mine, the settlement and any other associated features. The survey was carried out over a three day period in May and was intended to locate and make a preliminary record of any sites encountered.⁴⁴

The former Gwalla Estate is now located on the southern edge of the Northampton Town boundary, and covers an area both east and west of the Northwest Coastal Highway. The main part of the estate, formerly Location 315, is situated on a series of low, rolling hills sloping westward, with valleys in between. Most of the area is open paddocks with a few remnant stands of vegetation at the base of the valleys along the creek lines and several lone trees on the slopes which mark the positions of former shafts. Modern subdivision and intrusive development, generally in the form of prefabricated 'kit' homes, has encroached on the more northerly sections.

The key to unlocking the nature of the Gwalla Estate was a map produced in c.1907 by the English syndicate which considered re-opening the mine.⁴⁵ The survey plan, the central portion of which is reproduced here as Figure 3 (redrawn to eliminate much of the irrelevant and distracting detail), would appear to provide a relatively complete picture of the site, buildings and other improvements, despite being drawn 30 years after the closure of the mine. Given that further development on the land during this period was unlikely, here is no reason to believe it does not represent the mine as it was at the time of Horrocks' death.

42 *Perth Gazette*, 27 October 1865.

43 Woodward, 1896.

44 Gibbs, 1994.

45 Geological Survey of Western Australia.

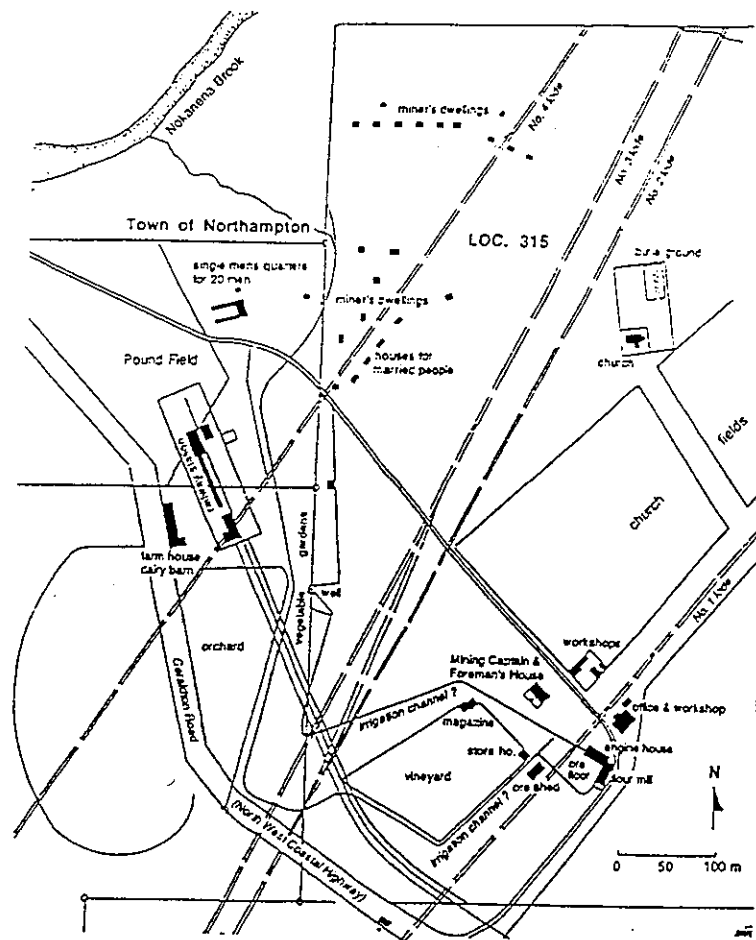


Figure 3
Central portion of the Gwalla Estate (Victoria Location 315). Based on a c.1907 plan.

While the 1907 plan contains a great deal of information, the meaning and significance of most of the lines and markings, with the exception of some of those indicating buildings, was not clear at the time of the survey. On first examination the core area of the estate can be divided into four main sections. The first is the northern area containing the housing; in the middle is the church and graveyard; southwards is the mine shafts and buildings, while along the west are gardens and orchards. It should be noted that the railway which runs along the west side of the estate post-dates the mine, as do the several buildings of the station. Given the limited amount of time available for the field investigation, the survey was largely directed towards those areas where structures were indicated on the 1907 plan.

Late in the preparation of this current paper two further important documents were discovered which are of particular relevance to the present discussion. These are two landscape scenes drawn by Henry Charles Prinsep, who spent several days in the Northampton area as a visiting magistrate during 1871.⁴⁶

46 Batty Library Accession 499A. It should be noted that Prinsep's diary of this journey makes mention of being in the Gwalla area, but does not document him drawing these scenes.

Both drawings show aspects of the Gwalla Estate looking from the south-western corner of Location 315. The first (Figure 4 - see following page) is drawn from a point to the west and above the vineyard, with the church in the centre left and the mine buildings visible to the right. The second (Figure 5) is drawn from immediately south of the mine building, showing the engine house in ruins in the foreground and looking almost directly northward. Specific elements of this depiction will be discussed in detail below, although as a general comment it should be noted that while the archaeological and historical information would suggest that the drawings are largely accurate, they are clearly idealised. For instance, given the perspective used for Figure 5, several of the buildings indicated on Figures 3 and 4 as being immediately north of the mine, and therefore standing in the way of that view, have clearly been omitted. In Figure 4 the shepherd and flock seen in the lower left corner is an almost clichéd 'pastoral scene' device. However, as these drawings were made only two years after the closure of the mine, they are still of immense value as the only contemporary depictions of the buildings and landscape.

The first element for consideration is the nature of the worker housing on the Gwalla Estate. This is an important consideration in studies of mines or any other industrial complex, since this is our best insight into the relationship between company and workforce and our first insight into the largely undocumented lifeways of the often illiterate workforce. The Gwalla settlement, located several hundred metres north of the mine, is represented on the 1907 plan as twenty or more small rectangles marked variously as 'miner's dwellings' and 'houses for married people', each presumably representing a small cottage or outbuilding. In addition there is a large 'U' shaped structure to the west, labelled 'single men's quarters for 20 men', which may be a barracks or, given the shape, a series of small rooms around a courtyard.

As discussed previously, there is no explicit documentary information on the size and nature of the Gwalla population. However, if we assume that a cottage does imply a married couple, versus the single men's quarters, a minimum of approximately 60 adults (40 male and up to 20 female) appears possible. This would not be inconsistent with the earlier suggestion of 45 adult males at the mine. Added to this were an unknown number of children, although sufficient that together with the Wanerenooka mine, there were a dozen or more pupils of school age.⁴⁷ While this is of some interest, calculations of population still leave us with no knowledge of life on the frontier for miners or their families; the nature of their houses and relationships, how the mine was supplied, the miner's diet and habits, and how life was organised in the little community. Because these questions can be addressed through archaeological investigation of the structures and artefacts, the settlement potentially provides important insights into this undocumented past.

47 *Perth Gazette*, 1 October 1862. Some annual attendance figures are available in the *Blue Books*, although there is no way of determining from which of the several mines in the area these children originated.

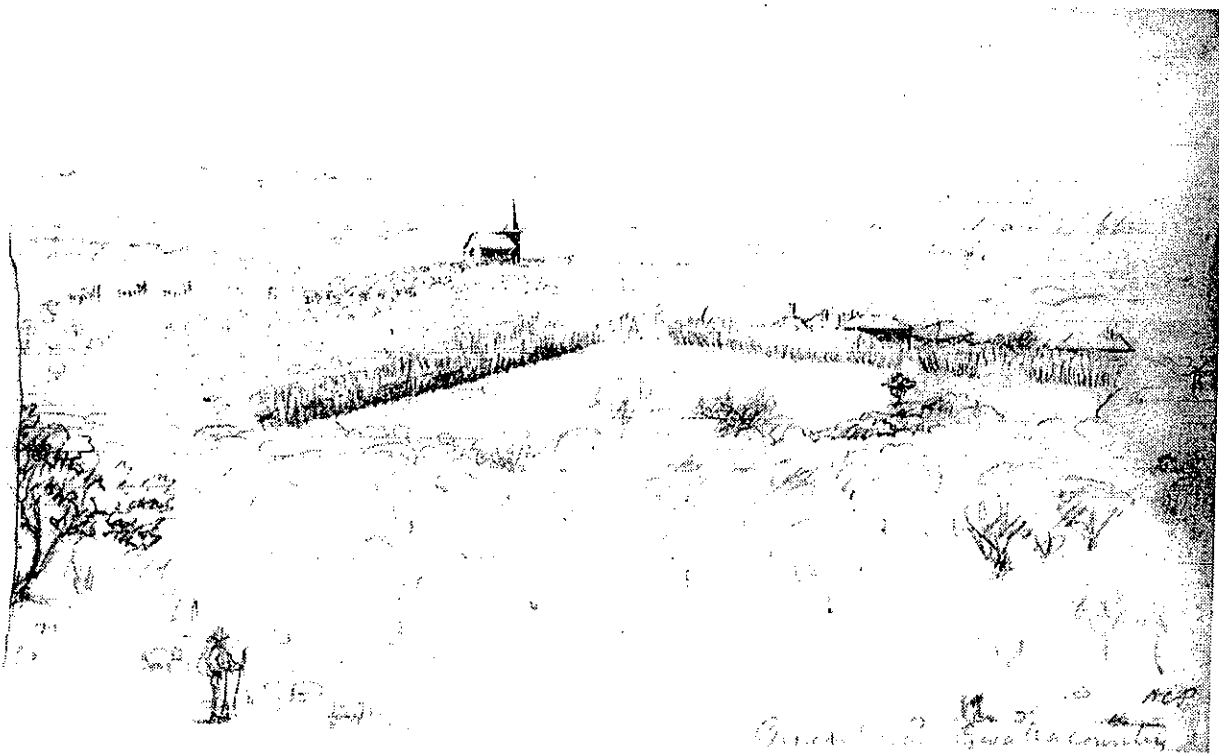


Figure 4
General View Gwalla Country by H.C. Prinsep, 1871. (Battye Library 499A.)



Figure 5
Gwalla Mine Shaft by H.C. Prinsep, 1871. (Battye Library 499A.)

The survey revealed that the southern portion of the settlement, as well as the most north-easterly several cottages, had already been destroyed by modern housing development. There survived, however, the six most northern foundations, seen at the top of the plan, directly beneath the words 'miner's dwellings'. The structural remains were visible only as low, largely featureless mounds, each about a metre high and with varying amounts of the foundation or plan visible from the surface.⁴⁸ The line of cottages was oriented on a more marked north-east to south-west angle than indicated on the c.1907 plan, with each building separated from each other by a space of about 13 m (42 ft), following the line of a ridge which sloped away southwards. The area around the foundations was densely covered with glass, ceramic and ironwork, clearly dating to the mid-to-late 19th century, with other concentrations of material possibly indicating former rubbish pits or deposits.

Despite limited visibility, the archaeological remains showed that the cottages were of identical design, size and construction, with internal dimensions of approximately 6.5 m by 3.9 m (21.6 ft by 12.9 ft). Most of the visible sections of wall were of the double-skinned stone rubble type commonly seen throughout the region, although the amount of brick debris clearly suggests that some portion of the walls was brick, recalling the 1860 description of 'comfortable brick cottages'.⁴⁹ There was no sign of chimneys or the footings for hearths, although the brickwork along with most of the rest of the available material had probably simply been 'robbed' for re-use elsewhere in the town. Visible in the far left of Figure 4 are the three cottages which were originally immediately east of the ones whose foundations were recorded, although these particular sites had been destroyed by the time of the archaeological survey. As suggested by the archaeological evidence these appear to be identical cottages, with two southwest facing windows and a central door, hipped roofs and a chimney on the eastern side. In essence, these structures would appear to have been a relatively standard cottage design which would not have looked out of place in either Australia or Cornwall.

A seventh possible structural feature, depicted on the 1907 plan as smaller square north of the cottages being recorded, was visible during the archaeological survey as a small pile of poorly defined rubble. Surrounding this was a very high density of broken glass, mainly from alcohol bottles, churned over by repeated ploughing. One suspicion is that this formed the remains of a common privy, probably servicing the whole group of cottages, with the plan showing a second building in a similar position behind the vanished eastern several cottages (shown in Figure 4). As fatuous as it sounds, the presence of the broken bottles in close proximity to the toilet or cesspit brings to mind the notion

48 It is probable that as much as a half metre of the lower portion of the walls, the foundations/ floor and the immediate surrounding several metres of land surface would have been intact beneath the rubble resulting from the eventual collapse of the buildings. These are important areas for archaeological investigation, since they provide detail on the actual nature and floorplan of the structures, as well as possible activity areas within the buildings.

49 *Perth Gazette*, 7 December 1860.

of 'closet drinking'.⁵⁰ However, the significance of these sorts of seemingly innocent artefact distributions must be considered as potentially important insights into socially imposed behaviours, such as restrictions on drinking, perhaps as a result of religious beliefs, although in other industrial housing situations they have also indicated resistance to company directives, such as declaring a mine 'teetotal'.⁵¹ Despite his Methodist background, there is no clear documentary evidence that Horrocks was either teetotal himself or enforced complete abstinence upon his workers. In fact, he unsuccessfully applied for a 'gallon license' which would have allowed him to sell liquor, presumably to his workers, and was subsequently fined twice for illegally selling wine and spirits.⁵² However, he may still have demanded moderation or even abstinence on Sundays or special occasions, as might the miner's wife, resulting in a spot of surreptitious indulgence.

Like the unfinished Wanerenooka church, Horrocks positioned the Gwalla church on a hill, with the tall spire forming a landmark for travellers for many years.⁵³ The floor plan of the building is identical to that seen in the foundations of the Wanerenooka church, highlighting the connection between the sites. The Gwalla church was also constructed of double skinned stone walls, although somewhat thicker than the cottages and other mine buildings, with a lime plaster coating interior and exterior surfaces. Several late 19th and early 20th century photographs held in the Battye Library show details of the exterior and interior finishes, including the choir stalls behind the altar. The chapel actually continued in regular use long after the demise of the mine, until about 1913 when the structure had begun to deteriorate and the various denominations chose to construct separate buildings closer to town. In the 1950s the building was declared a hazard and partially demolished using explosives. The resulting mound of rubble, surrounded by the original low stone churchyard wall, survived relatively undisturbed until a 1980s local community project to remove the debris revealed that the lower metre or more of the walls survived in good condition. These have recently been stabilised and are accessible to tourists.

The original 1860s graveyard, also surrounded by a stone wall, survives adjacent to the church. The monuments and grave surrounds have suffered variously from neglect, vandalism, and earlier well-intentioned but somewhat damaging clean-up efforts, but still show a linear east-west organisation with a central pathway passing along the north-south axis. While many of the wooden monuments and surrounds evident in earlier photographs have now vanished, the marble headstones of many early miners, townspeople and their families still

50 Concentrations of material around the positions of a former toilets is not an uncommon feature of archaeological sites.

51 M. Beaudry, 'The Lowell Boott Mills Complex and its Housing: Material expressions of Corporate Ideology', *Historical Archaeology*, vol.23, no.1, 1989, pp.19-32.

52 M. Gibbs, *Historic Wanerenooka Mine Precinct Conservation Report*, prepared by Considine and Griffiths Architects for the Shire of Northampton, 1996.

53 Norris, 1989, Drew, 1932.

survive. The substantial monument of Horrocks' grave is also located within the cemetery, close to the entry at the south.

The working heart of the Gwalla Estate was the complex of buildings which made up the mine, situated above the original ore discovery on the most southern of the four lodes which passed through Horrocks' land. These ore bodies are visible on the 1907 plan as broken double lines running north-east across Location 315. The Engine House was situated adjacent to the former 'A' shaft and presumably contained a steam engine which powered the winding gear which moved people, ore and water up and down the main shaft. However, neither Gwalla or any of the other Northampton mines saw the construction of the characteristic tall 'Cornish' engine houses which appeared at contemporary copper mines in South Australia and other Cornish mining areas throughout the world.⁵⁴ The headframe would have been mounted above 'A' shaft, which was originally sunk to a depth of 180 ft (55 m).⁵⁵ Figure 5 shows the headframe⁵⁶ and what is presumably the ruins of the engine house and the winding mechanism, despite it being only two years after closure. This sort of partial demolition was often necessary to remove the steam engine, which is visibly absent, and as such is an important indicator that there was no intention to re-open the Gwalla Mine in the short to immediate term future.

The Ore Floor where the copper ore was 'dressed', that is, reduced by hand hammering to extract the high-quality copper ore, was situated immediately adjacent to the shaft, reducing transport of the heavy material.⁵⁷ This surface was probably a flagged stone floor, such as still seen at the Geraldine Mine, although no evidence survives beyond traces of green-tinged copper ore spread throughout the vicinity. The 'A' shaft has only recently been filled with rubble up to the stone collar at surface level, although several of the minor shafts are still open and visible across the adjacent paddocks. The tailings heap, one of the major features of most mining landscapes, was probably originally situated down the slope to the southwest of the ore floor. As with the Wanerenooka Mine, it appears likely that this loose material has been completely removed for re-use as road fill and as the construction material for some of the stone cottages found in Northampton.⁵⁸

Unfortunately the Engine House, Office, Workshops and much of the other evidence of the mining operation and ore processing was destroyed during the period when Northampton's water supply was pumped from the old Gwalla

54 Payton, 1978.

55 A. Montgomery, *Report on the Northampton Mineral Field*, Western Australian Department of Mines, 1908.

56 The two legged headframe shown in Figure 5, contrasting to the more substantial and familiar four legged poppet heads seen at many later Australian mines, was in fact common in Cornish mines e.g. J. Trouson, *Mining In Cornwall* Volumes 1 & 2, Derbyshire.

57 This close relationship of shaft, engine house and ore floor is seen at all of the early mines in the Northampton area. By the late 19th century ore floors were no longer necessary, with the intensive hand breaking of rock replaced by mechanical crushers or 'stamps'.

58 Gibbs, 1996. See also Drew, 1932 and the *West Australian*, 2 July 1932.

shafts, requiring the construction of new pump houses and plant.⁵⁹ However, despite the loss of the most important parts of the mining process, there are still traces of several other original buildings close by the mine. The footings of the longer of the workshop buildings indicated on the 1907 plan to the north of the mine can still be easily traced, as can some of the walls of the powder magazine, situated to the north-west. The Mining Captain and Foreman's Houses, possibly originally two semi-detached cottages with yards, survive only as loose rubble and scattered artefacts. Although the 1907 plan suggests that these structures were larger than the workers cottages, there is insufficient remaining to determine the ground plan. The close proximity of these buildings to the main shaft clearly indicates the responsibilities of these men for the operations of the mine, particularly when compared to the position of the other cottages, several hundred metres to the north. This is discussed further below.

It is probable that the several buildings shown on the far right in Figure 4 are the mine buildings, with the structure on the right possibly being the southernmost indicated in Figure 3, that is, the 'office and workshops', with the engine house shown as a pile of rubble to the left. From right to left the others may well be the workshops (to the rear), the ore shed or storehouse (foreground), the Mining Captain's and Foreman's houses (to the rear).

An interesting feature of the mine area is the flour mill which the 1907 plan shows attached to the rear of the engine house, suggesting it was also powered by the mine's steam engine. Based on Figures 4 and 5 it seems possible that the flour mill was demolished at the same time as the engine house, although as late as the 1920s the remains of the mill were supposedly still visible, with one visitor to the area recording:

The stone used in grinding was still intact. It seemed to be a local product. Most of the machinery had apparently been manufactured from timber by some master hand. There was a roller which was of wood with cogs of the same material.⁶⁰

Contemporary flour mills elsewhere in the midwest region, such as Clinch's Mill on the Greenough Flats, also used grinding technology and what are described as 'colonial stones'.⁶¹ It is conceivable that this refers to millstones quarried from the Darling Ranges near Upper Swan, such as first used in Reveley's Mill in central Perth during the 1830s.⁶²

An 1890s set of memoirs on early Northampton states that at least some of the wheat ground in the building was grown 'within a few score yards of the

59 *West Australian*, 20 February 1908; *Geraldton Guardian*, 13 March 1959.

60 Drew, 1932, p.34.

61 M. Gibbs, *Report on Archaeological Investigations at Clinch's Mill, Greenough Flats, W.A.*, unpublished report to the National Trust of Australia (W.A.), 1988.

62 J. White, 'Henry Reveley, Architect and Engineer', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Western Australian Historical Society*, vol.7, no.8, 1976, pp.24-42. The existence of a flour mill in Northampton at this date is also of interest because the northern end of the midwest region at this time generally appears to have been considered a mining and pastoral centre, whereas the agricultural settlement for the midwest was situated along the Greenough River, 80 km to the south.

mine'.⁶³ This almost certainly refers to the two 'church fields' indicated a few metres to the north-east of the mine buildings. It is interesting to note that these fields appear to be slightly over 200 metres long, which is suspiciously close to the traditional 220 yard furlong (literally 'furrow long') which determined the size of many early English fields. Although aerial photographs of the Gwalla Estate taken during the 1940s are insufficiently detailed to show either buildings or fences, the ploughing pattern of the church fields, with the long furrows running north-east to south-west, is clearly visible. This area now remains cleared and ploughed as part of a single large paddock.

Mention has already been made of Horrocks' experimentation with various crops at both the Wanerenooka and Gwalla properties. The 1890s memoirs also briefly describe the agricultural scene at Gwalla, presenting a picture which is remarkably consistent with the 1907 plan.

Not far from the workings at the main lode a vineyard was planted which produced fair crops of grapes, and on the ground, along the front of where the Northampton railway now stands, a fine little vegetable garden was cultivated, Mr William Sandford, an English gardener, being in charge. The water from the mine was used to irrigate the garden with. In 1866 a few apples were taken from some trees that were then growing in the garden, and both tobacco and sugar cane were raised as an experiment.⁶⁴

A 1930s memoir presents a similar picture of these experimental plots, and adds that most of the miners, encouraged by the success of these ventures, also had small gardens attached to their cottages.⁶⁵ Figure 4 shows a large cleared area which corresponds to the vineyard, although no detail is provided to suggest whether anything had been planted there. The vineyard is also no longer visible, except that the sloping area on which it would have stood, now heavily ploughed, is largely clear of stones. There is also no surviving physical evidence or remnant vegetation of the gardens or the orchard, parts of which have been subdivided or have reverted to bushland.

A key statement in the 1890s description quoted above is that the gardens, orchard, etc, were irrigated with water pumped from the mine.⁶⁶ The 1907 plan shows a number of unexplained sinuous lines in various positions across the landscape. At least some of these correspond to field boundaries and stone fences (see below). However, it is the two lines which extend from the engine house/flour mill westward (down the slope) towards the vegetable garden which are of interest. It is possible that these represent drainage or irrigation channels to take the water pumped out of the mine shaft down to the garden areas. This would have been a sensible arrangement, taking advantage of the

63 Hutchinson, 1896.

64 *Ibid.*

65 Drew, 1932.

66 Hutchinson, 1896, Montgomery, 1908. Keeping mines in the Northampton area 'de-watered' was a recognised problem due to the high water table, and it is possible that some of the delays in the first several years of Gwalla's operation was because of inadequate pumping equipment.

waste water which had to be pumped out if the mine was to remain viable.

Unfortunately, the significance of these lines had not been realised at the time of the archaeological investigation, so no deliberate search was made for possible evidence of the channels. However, prior to the commencement of the survey the current owner of most of Location 315 (Lot 66) had pointed out a line of masonry edging which had been exposed along a short section of what had originally appeared to be a creek line. This channel is situated at the bottom of the slope to the west of the mine, in the approximate area of the vegetable gardens. The stone edging may well extend further north and south of the exposed section, but is currently covered by an overburden of soil.

During the course of the archaeological survey it also became apparent that some of the other lines marked on the 1907 plan were indicating not only notional field boundaries, but also correlated to remnant sections of dry-stone fences. As described earlier, stone fences form an important part of the story of Joseph Horrocks' philanthropic ideals and the heritage of the Gwalla Estate. No contemporary accounts of the walls or their construction could be found, which are also not visible in the two contemporary drawings. However, in the 1930s Drew commented that they formed part of Horrocks' plan to make the Gwalla township worthy of the mine.

He laid out areas for settlement, had streets surveyed and in the process of time whitewashed walls 3ft 9in in height on both sides of these avenues of traffic defined their course. Also, for nearly a mile before entering Gwalla the traveller from Champion Bay would pass along a thoroughfare similarly walled except that in this case there was a coating of plaster instead of whitewash.⁶⁷

It must be recalled that Drew's statements were made nearly 70 years after the death of Horrocks, although similar descriptions of the stone walls around Northampton suggest that they remained a recognised feature of the town until at least the early 20th century.⁶⁸ Based on oral and physical evidence, the lines on the 1907 plan which probably indicate fences include the boundaries of the church and graveyard (remnants surviving), the boundaries of the church fields and vineyard, along the border of the 'pound field' to the west of the settlement, and along the northern boundary of the estate (remnants survive along Gwalla Street). The line running immediately north-east of the flour mill may also be a fence, enclosing the mine and workings, with a several hundred metre section surviving along the edge of fields to the southeast of the mine in the former Location 331 (which is beyond the bottom left corner of Figure 3).

The most imposing of the stone walls must have been the mile-long structures at the entrance of the town. No evidence of walls along the current highway alignment from Geraldton has been reported, although the widened road and road reserve may simply have seen their destruction at some point in the past. There is a possibility that during the 1860s the Geraldton Road entered from a

67 Drew, 1932, p.33.

68 Norris, 1992.

different point, and that there may be some surviving evidence away from the present alignment.

Subsequent to the archaeological survey it was suggested that the farm house, dairy and barn indicated on the 1907 plan to the west of the railway station, an area which is fenced off and therefore was not inspected during the survey, may have been contemporary with the Gwalla Estate, rather than a later development. Although none of the historical sources indicate livestock at Gwalla, it is not unlikely that Horrocks would developed a pastoral aspect to complement the agricultural development of his property.

Horrocks and the Gwalla Landscape

The final physical component of the Gwalla landscape, and in many ways one of the most important, is the topography and its relationship to how Horrocks positioned of the various elements of the estate. As described earlier, the estate is essentially a series of rolling hills and ridges. The mine is located on the site of the copper lode, running along the southern ridge. The surviving foundations of the miners cottages curved along another ridge at the north of the estate, which suggests that the other houses and the single men's quarters were located in a slight valley at the base. (The apparent alignment of the married quarters along a copper lode has not yet been explained). While practical considerations obviously influenced some locations, it is the church, situated on the highest hill and overlooking both mine and cottages, that provides the dominant feature of the design and is one of the keys to understanding the nature of the Gwalla settlement. Figures 4 and 5 provide at least some idea of the relationships, although the main body of the settlement was further to the left of the area shown in Figure 4.

Horrocks was undoubtedly a philanthropist who, through hard work and good deeds to the fledgling midwest community, had in a few short years redeemed himself from being a convicted felon to achieving status as a successful and greatly respected capitalist. Despite its short life, the Gwalla Estate was one of his most notable contributions. In many ways it was a sort of model community, going far beyond being a simple mining venture and including in its scheme both agricultural and pastoral development and the establishment of a village community. However, it would be naive to simply accept Gwalla as an embodiment of noble ideals. Patricia Rubertone, reviewing the state of archaeological studies of landscape, commented that planned landscapes and communities were often idealisations of their creators, while also reflecting the ideology of industrial capitalism and corporate paternalism.

Manifest in the various elements of [these landscapes] were unwritten messages, some of them contradictory, about control and benevolence and about exploitation and public welfare.⁶⁹

69 Rubertone, 1989, p. 52.

Although this passage sets a somewhat dark tone, Gwalla can also be seen as an expression of Horrocks' manipulation of environment. This is not meant to imply that Horrocks was consciously indulging in ways to more effectively control his workers. However, by attempting to recreate a more familiar type of landscape, of stone walls, church, village, fields and orchard, he was probably intuitively attempting to recreate an associated sense of order. While Gwalla, Wanerenooka and the other mines of the Northampton Mineral Field generally did not experience the sorts of tensions and conflicts seen in other mining areas, particularly where men had to peg and defend their claims, the region was still socially and economically isolated, with the population composed of a high proportion of single free men and convicts, compared to the small number of married men with their families and almost no single women.⁷⁰ As their employer, and a man with an sense of social responsibility, Horrocks obvious felt it was also his role to ensure not only a steady, reliable and trouble-free workforce, but a functioning community which provided for their physical, social and moral needs.

The Cornish miners (and their families) were almost certainly Wesleyan Methodists, while undoubtedly a good proportion of the other miners were practicing (when possible) Anglicans or Catholics. By constructing a church at the heart of his estate and acting as the lay preacher for his mining communities, Horrocks extended his influence into the spiritual realm. The visual prominence of the Gwalla church, with its solid architecture and tall spire looming over both home and workplace, provided a constant visual reminder to the workers and their families. In contemporary mining areas such as in South Australia lay ministers, usually respected individuals in their own right, also played an important role in regulating life in the settlements by moderating violence, drunkenness and other vices amongst the men.⁷¹ There is also evidence that the conservative nature of Methodism during the early 19th century inhibited political participation or militant labour movements, although this was to change somewhat in later years.⁷² It is perhaps unusual that Horrocks, who in many respects was the 'squire' to the Northampton mining community, also took the role of parson. In many other frontier mining settlements with a strong Cornish population it was generally delegated to one of the more educated, eloquent, sober or disciplined members of the working community, emphasising the weakening boundary between caste and class.⁷³ Perhaps Horrocks' own rapid redemption from crime to respectability and prosperity represented a

70 The gender imbalances which beset Western Australia for much of the 19th century was partially addressed by the arrival of 'bride ships', at least one of which saw women directed up to the midwest region during the mid 1850s. see R. Erickson, *The Bride Ships*, Perth, 1992.

71 Payton, 1984, p.124.

72 M. Davies, 'Cornish Miners and Class Relations in Early Colonial South Australia: The Burra Burra Strikes of 1848-49', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol.26, 1995, pp.568-595.

73 A discussion of the role of lay preachers in frontier mining communities in America is provided in J. Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier*, Liverpool, 1974.

model for the congregation.

The significance of the nature and location of worker housing in planned industrial landscapes as a means of understanding corporate ideology has been mentioned previously. Although the general positioning of the cottages has already been discussed, with the northern nine houses curving along the slope and the remainder, together with the single men's quarters situated lower in the valley, it is difficult to determine if there is any particular significance in this relationship. It would not have been difficult to have simply built all the cottages in rows along the lower portions of the site, rather than the much more erratic arrangement visible on the 1907 plan (Figure 3). As described, the cottages themselves appear to have been of standard design, size and construction. However, could differences in location possibly reflect the hierarchy within the ranks of the above and below-ground workers, such as traditionally seen in Cornish mines?

The position of the Mining Captain's and Foreman's houses next to the mine and therefore at some distance from the rest of the settlement is certainly an indication of the rank and responsibility of those individuals. The 'Captain' was the manager of the operation, a practical miner of recognised skill and character who oversaw all works, made many of the crucial decisions on how the mining would proceed⁷⁴ and in a small mine such as Gwalla may well have selected the workers. The title 'Foreman' does not appear as part of traditional Cornish mining terminology, but may equate to one of the executive positions such as 'Underground Captain', charged with controlling operations below ground. As noted earlier, the 1907 plan suggests this structure was a pair of semi-detached cottages, with individual yards and toilets. Assuming the proportions are accurate, both of the residences would have been considerably larger than the average cottage.

If we were to follow Rubertone and other writers,⁷⁵ one element which is absent from the Gwalla landscape, yet might be expected, is the 'manor' or 'big house' of the owner, situated in some sort of dominant relationship to the workers cottages. It has been suggested that the creation of idealised landscapes also represents the recreation and legitimisation of the social order and hierarchy. In many examples, including industrial settlements, factory towns and plantations, the manipulation of the built environment and landscape was about expressing dominance, status and affluence. A prominent position overlooking the factory and worker housing also afforded opportunities for surveillance. In the case of Gwalla, not only is there no manor, Horrocks doesn't appear to have even lived at the site. There is some historical evidence to suggest that he remained in his house at the Wanerenooka Mine, several kilometres to the north of Gwalla.⁷⁶ Archaeological survey has tentatively

74 J. Taylor, 'On the Economy of the Mines of Cornwall and Devon', originally published in *Transactions of the Geological Society*, 12, 1814, pp.309-327, reprinted in R. Burt (ed.), *Cornish Mining*, Devon, 1969, pp.15-30.

75 Rubertone, 1989.

76 Drew, 1932.

identified a site which may have been Horrocks' home, a fairly modest structure which does appear to have been positioned on a hillside above the Wanerenooka village and the mine, although this location also affords spectacular views across the region.⁷⁷ However, if Horrocks was attempting to recreate himself as some form of elite, he doesn't appear to have been doing it at Gwalla. It is possible that the Captain and Foreman, as the actual managers of the site, took on that supervisory role in Horrocks' absence. In traditional Cornish mining hierarchy, Horrocks' position would be as the 'Adventurer', that is the person who owned or leased the land and/or organised for the mine to be worked.⁷⁸ However, his experience at White Peak and Wanerenooka together with his surviving correspondence betrays a considerable practical knowledge of geology and mining practice, suggesting he probably maintained a close managing role at one or both of the Northampton mines.⁷⁹

Further archaeological investigation of the Gwalla cottages and their immediate surrounds would have provided a wealth of information about the nature of the domestic life of the miners, early European construction methods in the midwest, and whether it was possible to identify links in style and construction to Cornwall or other parts of Britain. The artefacts, spread thickly around the buildings, would have yielded information on supply, diet, social organisation and relationships of the miners and their families, isolated on the edge of the frontier. It may also have been possible to compare and contrast the assemblages between the cottages and for instance the Captain's house, as well as to other mines. Because Horrocks was controlling construction and arrangement of the worker housing, as well as supply to the miners and their families, this body of information would have provided a solid insight into another aspect of Horrocks' perception. Tragically, several months after the completion of the preliminary archaeological survey all of the surviving foundations, together with the associated artefacts, were destroyed and completely removed.

Finally, the stone fences which originally crossed the Gwalla Estate and figure so prominently in Horrocks' story were also an important element in his creation of a meaningful landscape. Some writers have noted that fences are not only utilitarian, but also have social functions.

Besides keeping animals enclosed and gardens contained, fences reinforce legal and social boundaries, maintain public order, and promote privacy.⁸⁰

In the Gwalla landscape the stone fencing was a visible expression of pros-

77 Gibbs, 1996, p.47. The site, which one informant suggests was formerly referred to as 'The Cottages', was believed to have been lived in until c.1910. It currently survives only as a mound of rubble suggestive of a long, narrow building, probably a linear arrangement of single rooms with a sheltering verandah, similar to the style of surviving contemporary Northampton homesteads such as Willow Gully.

78 Taylor, 1814.

79 Colonial Secretaries Office Received, vol.494, p.183.

80 F. Harrington, 'The emergent elite in early 18th century Portsmouth Society: The archaeology of the James Sherburne Houselet', *Historical Archaeology*, vol.23, no.1, 1989, pp.2-18.

perity and Horrocks' success in bringing order to the 'wild' Australian bush. They also visually linked and provided a unifying agent for the different elements of the estate.

Visitors were greeted by the long avenues of stone walls leading them into the mine or settlement. From the high vantage point of the church they would have seen the rolling countryside cleared and defined into recognisable fields by yet more of these dry-stone fences, which the Cornish miners probably referred to as 'hedges'.⁸¹ From the same position looking southward, the mine itself would have been a scene of great activity, with the sounds of the steam engine and hammers echoing across from the valley. Beyond the wheat fields on the slopes below the mine were the orchards and vineyard, possibly with cattle or sheep grazing in the paddocks behind. Finally, to the westward were visible the lime-washed walls of the identical workers cottages, complete with their own gardens and probably fences, forming neat crescents along and down the hillsides.⁸² These must have been powerful images, not only for the visitor, but also for the transplanted workers and their families. This was not a wilderness, but a prosperous outpost of 'civilisation'. Faced with an orderly living and working environment which signified success and even prosperity, respectability and hard work was encouraged, while opportunities for antisocial behaviour were minimised.

Conclusions

This paper provides only an overview of the history, archaeology and interpretation of the Gwalla Estate and the intentions and ideology of Joseph Lucas Horrocks. While there were practical reasons for the positioning of some elements of the Gwalla Estate, it would be foolish to deny that Horrocks had a vision for the development of the site which encompassed the physical and spiritual well-being of his community. Convict, 'doctor', miner and philanthropist, he attempted to create a landscape which had a sense of order and purpose. Unlike many of his contemporaries, there is little historical or physical evidence to suggest that Horrocks was overtly recreating himself as an elite or gentry class. In fact, the evidence that we do have shows that Horrocks had a deep personal commitment to social reform, born perhaps of his own experiences in Western Australia and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that many of the most important features of the estate were established by the time of his death, the community appears to have simply dwindled away after the mine was closed. No attempt was made to continue mining elsewhere on the lodes, possibly as a result of the land being locked into probate after the death of George Shenton. Over time the buildings

81 Payton, 1984, p.32.

82 Preliminary archaeological surveys of other mine sites in the area, including Wanerenooka, suggest a much more haphazard construction and organisation of their workers quarters, although most seem to have favoured cottages over the barracks seen at some South Australian mines of the period.

fell into ruin or were demolished, with the stone or brick eventually being salvaged for re-use elsewhere in Northampton. The stone walls of the church fields were probably removed to produce larger paddocks more amenable to machine ploughing, while it is likely that the mile long avenue was demolished as the road into Northampton was widened into a highway. However, even now, except for the driest parts of summer, the panorama from the ruins of the church, with the undulating paddocks covered with wheat or flocks of sheep, evokes a sense of other landscapes far removed from Australia.

Historical Traces

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