

# Colonial Translations: Peasants and Parsons in 19th-Century Australia

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Late 19th-century statistical accounts suggest that Australia was already well set on a course toward conspicuous urbanization. During the same period, however, the public imagination seemed to be increasingly affected by the allure of a storied “bush.” As they contemplated the centennial of federation in 2001, Australians may have admitted to more urbanity than their forebears. On the other hand, much of the old bush imagery still underpins evocations of frontier cooperation, familism, self-reliance, and a defiantly revived environment-identity nexus. Dissident revisionists dispute the specifics of a pre-federation legacy, but none question its foundational significance. The Australian experience had certainly been “colonial,” in the narrowest and widest senses of the term. In addition, and especially in its rural manifestations, it inherited, adapted, and contributed to influential global trends. Like other colonials, my forebears were participants as well as recipients.<sup>1</sup>

The centennial might have been opportune for a more comprehensive recovery of context, given a coincidence of public interest and the maturation of diverse forms of historical scholarship, but it was less well met by recently contrived crises in the liberal arts and sciences. The following reflections on selected accommodations to place were prompted, in part, by a sharpened personal anxiety about those crises. Simultaneously, if more directly, they were influenced by a reading of Alan Baker’s persuasive monograph, *Fraternity Among the French Peasantry*, especially because it nudges fellow travelers toward closer inspections of the operations of certain overlooked and undervalued human interactions at immediately accessible scales.<sup>2</sup>

Baker’s painstaking archival referrals represent much more than another emphatic confirmation of the primacy of human agency in topographic inscription. They demonstrate a sustained focus on the intrinsic worth of social,

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community-invested landscapes. In forensic detail, he reconstructs the contingent engagements of human relationships in the production and refinement of critical local and regional fulfilments in an Old World setting. Others are bound to follow that enterprising lead. Simply to craft an oblique but practical addendum, I shall touch upon the relevance of a sampling of individual and collective aspirations, concerns, and responsibilities for place-making. The setting is the immigrants' world of colonial Australia, where security, stimulus, and satisfaction were continuously negotiated within a subtle matrix of innovation and derivation.

### Bespoke Peasantry

Progressive British governors introduced a number of experiments in small-scale farming during the opening decades of the 19th century. The favored pioneers included former convicts, retired soldiers and sailors, and free immigrants. Although this policy addressed a range of economic and social difficulties in the remote imperial outposts, its civic component also prepared the ground for Edward Gibbon Wakefield's celebrated theory of Systematic Colonization.<sup>3</sup> Vestigial "Wakefieldianism" remained influential into the early 20th century. In its major outlines, this deceptively straightforward model envisaged direct government involvement in the choice of settlers and land prices, and in the very location, sizes, and uses of the new properties. From the outset, and more markedly in its later adaptations, it was heavily charged with aesthetic, moral, political, and social presumptions concerning, for example, the making of "Little Englands in Australia," the production of a contented rural society, retentions of mutually beneficial interaction between Home and Colony, and guarantees of a paternalistic regulation of slow upward mobility on the rural ladder. Those sentiments and strategies proved to be remarkably resilient.

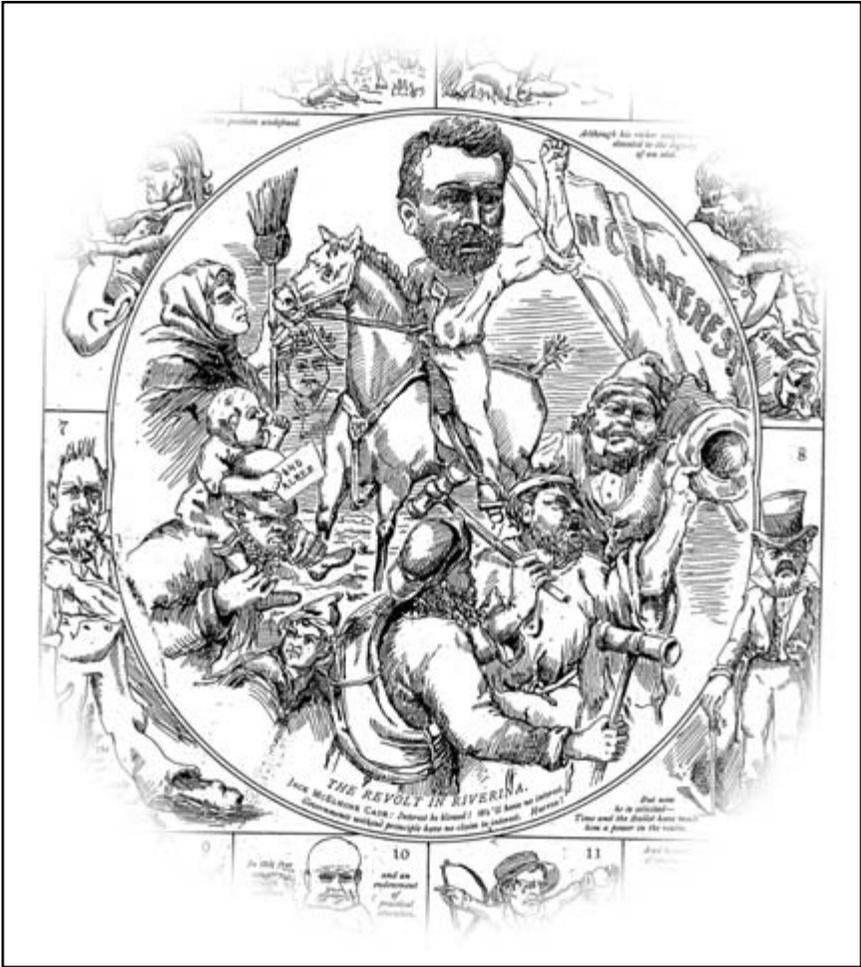
Through the same umbilical, however, the Australian colonists were the beneficiaries of revolutionary impulses from Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, and the United States. A startling efflorescence seemed likely during the surge in immigration accompanying the 1850s gold rushes. Dramatic interpolations of cosmopolitan ambition, with extraordinary augmentations of administrative, scientific, and technical expertise, were frequently overshadowed by a stirring radicalization of antipodean affairs. When responsible self-government was granted to each of the southeastern colonies, their "public lands"—unarguably the fundamental resource base—became an obsessive focus. Marathon parliamentary debates and incrementally revised legislation sought to wrest management control and its contingent economic, political and social status from license- and lease-holding graziers, and to replace the latter by small-scale cultivators on intensively worked family farms. Recourse to eloquent enunciations of agrarian idealism from Crevecoeur, Franklin, Jefferson, and others acknowledged the American lead—including its projected "Homestead" program—but the Old World echoes will occupy most of our next section.

Resonating strongly with recent immigrants and quite viscerally, no doubt, among many former convicts and their rancorous offspring, Britain's fiery Chartism and its related "back-to-the-land" movements cued and formatted the new colonial politics. Rallying to the old conspiratorial call, "land for the people," a mob stormed the Victorian parliament to demand "a vote, a rifle, and a farm." Evanescent gold mining gave no guarantee of enduring progress. Land alone—the "people's patrimony"—was the key.<sup>4</sup> Its fair distribution and attentive husbanding would honor the immigrant imperative to emulate and wherever possible outperform the Old World—equity, an assurance of modest comfort, the moral suasion of increased productivity, the spice of envy, and imperious revenge. In combination, these elements delineated the promise of a refurbished peasantry. Unfortunately, Australia was long on space and perilously short on water and soil fertility, but psychology and political exigency far outweighed sober resource appraisal.

Cottage farming, if pursued only with spade, fork, pick axe and long iron punch power, would make any country great. It requires not such herds of cattle and horses to labor at the soil to make its inhabitants comfortable; where such are employed, and often over worked, men are placed in the same predicament, while the farming lord is often found with a spur on his heel, hunting, horse racing, or gambling ...<sup>5</sup>

Between the late 1850s and the 1890s, a spate of complex Land Acts, most in openly declared pursuit of the ennobling agrarian ideal, issued from the various colonial legislatures. Ignoring or deftly scrubbing around the inconvenient negative stereotyping, politicians and bureaucrats underlined the European peasantry's traditional connotations of osmotic place rootedness, stability, and soil-centered, home-loving, refreshingly unsophisticated patriotism. For every lawmaker who absorbed and applauded the core message in Bismarck's pronouncement, "no peasant, no army," there were scores who found an alternative, entirely pacific translation. The two standpoints coexisted until the turn of the century, when a calling in of imperial debts seemed to elicit cruel endorsement of the stern core of the old apothegm: warfare in South Africa—for too many perplexed young Australians, -settler against settler—anticipated the bigger engagement in Europe and the Middle East.<sup>6</sup>

Whether such moments are interpreted as a new nation's inspirational blooding or as catastrophic loss of innocence, the point here is that their antecedents included the several decades of urgent rural pioneering that followed the Victorian and New South Wales gold rushes (Figure 1). In that light, a compelling argument can be made for an underpinning romanticization of the agrarian ideal that was by no means confined to the development-fixated, land-mad parliaments. Put all too bluntly, Australians were apparently rather easily taken in by an aesthetic that sent mosaics of pleasantly domesticated landscapes to civilize the alien wilds.<sup>7</sup> No short discussion can rehearse the economic and environmental import of a seeming flight from harsh reality.



**Figure 1.** A New South Wales variant on the peasant/yeoman translation. Centerpiece detail from a cartoon in the *Illustrated Sydney News and New South Wales Agriculturalist and Grazier*, 10 October 1876, entitled “TURNING THE TABLES; OR, THE FREE SELECTORS’ TRIUMPH.” Australia’s reformist “Free Selection” was a trifle misnamed. Although legislation varied over time and between the colonies, on the whole, land prices were comparatively high and the pioneer settlers (“selectors”) commonly complained of restrictions on the sizes and locations of new land allotments. Rural protest movements ensued. The circled text reads: “THE REVOLT IN THE RIVERINA. JACK McELHONNE CADE: Interest be blown! We’ll have no interest. Governments without principle have no claim to interest. Hurroo!” Noted rabble-rouser McElhone had married into a wealthy pastoral family, hence my speculation on the appended “CADE”, signifying a rejected lamb raised by hand—and therefore a spoiled brat. This detail was surrounded by smaller panels illustrating the evolution of a purported supplanting of big pastoralists by pioneer small farmers.

Instead, a few lines on conjoint cultural and social implications resume the search for contemporary adaptations of the conjured “peasantry.”

The allusions to patriotism and military worth bring on a convenient truncation. Perceptions of a prodigious spatial bounty inspired a common New World conviction that the didactic European legacy would be enriched by assigning an idealized “yeoman” farmer, considered a cut above the notional peasant, as a pivotal motif in ardent settlement planning. Shunting aside inherent ambiguities and ambivalences in that purloined term, the promotion signposted assurances of independence and security. It promised civic values and moral character, together with the achievement of personal and familial dignity earned through the expenditure of hard work on land that was individually owned and operated. As in the United States, Australians embraced the hallowed freehold concept that was declared the cornerstone of a new rural society.

This love of a freehold, of having a home of his own to live in, and to leave to his children, was intricately and deeply connected with the qualities which went to make good citizenship ... Any one who had been among the farmers and the peasantry of the mother country must know that the very idol of their hearts was to get somewhere where they could have a freehold.<sup>8</sup>

Land “selections” would be the Australian versions of American “homesteads.” In both countries, New World counterparts of *liberté* and *égalité* would be enshrined in specified distributions from the public domain—an inviting differentiation indeed from the constrained European prospectus (Figure 2). While distinctions can be overdrawn, the American case was rather less characterized by tacit expectations of enduring government responsibility. In Australia, those expectations were byproducts of earlier imperial stereotyping, a daunting scale of inescapable infrastructural costs, and the comparative recency of Anglo-Celtic invasion. Wakefieldian-hued edicts sought an acceptable financial return by attempting to confine the settlers’ choices to relatively small allotments, and by policing an insistence on a modicum of cultivation. Launched, then, by beneficent colonial parliaments, the imagined yeomanry class would essentially create itself by dint of virtuous toil, but the process would be guided by a relentless scripting of ritualized official requirements. For example, absentee proprietorship was taboo and true pioneers tilled the land. “Let a man take his 320 acres, at a shilling a year if you like; but let him remain on the land; make him cultivate it, because, if he does not cultivate it, it may be very reasonably assumed that he does not want it.” This civic purpose was honored best by the retention of an improved block of land in preparation for its inheritance, in due course, by the yeoman’s offspring.<sup>9</sup>

In these leading particulars, ritual was incongruous with contemporary realities. Certainly, an entrenched reliance on extensive grazing and mixed farming economies disputed the hallowed “bona-fides” of small-scale enter-



**Figure 2.** A melancholy impression of Free Selection conditions; from the *Sydney Punch*, 4 November 1865. The summoned echoes of contemporary Ireland may now seem overdone, but all such ploys contributed massively to the building of regional and national traditions. And it is no accident that “bushrangers” and other romanticized outlaws, including the much-admired Ned Kelly, identified closely and loudly with this version of “peasant” transplantation. One of the latest of hundreds of popular evocations is Peter Carey’s indulgently fictionalized, best-selling *True History of the Kelly Gang* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2000). Inspired by hopes of an authentic rural uprising, Kelly presented himself as a latter-day Robin Hood championing the cause of downtrodden selectors, and dared to envision the creation of a republic in his home region.

prise and the mystique of cultivation. Furthermore, high levels of local and regional mobility were considered integral to the pioneering condition, and since high establishment costs—basic housing, clearing, fencing, stock, seed, and equipment—constituted a debilitating impost for all but the most fortunate of the new settlers, off-farm earnings often justified lengthy periods of absence. Other points of departure between vision and practicality need not concern us here. Not so the primary outcomes, or resolutions. The naïve inducing of a quasi-peasantry reinforced an impressive range of ad hoc maneuverings of dubious legality. Yet the range included innumerable derivations from assiduously nurtured matrices of inter- and intrafamily linkages,

guarantees, and obligations tied to land, labor, and financial inputs at important junctures. These were surely common sense vernacular adaptations, if not wholly imitative, then essentially reminiscent of taken-for-granted practices throughout rural Europe.<sup>10</sup>

The main bearing of this attenuation on the kinds of “sociability” and “voluntarism” charted by Alan Baker for the Loire Valley is in the indications of New World affinities. I should add that, in the Australian colonial context, it is peculiarly difficult to separate measurable rural sociability factors from such vaunted and problematical universals as commitments to “mateship” (loyal comradeship, intensely valued companionship) and “fair go” (concern for equity) idealizations.<sup>11</sup> But our peasantry/yeomanry nomination does permit the following expansions. First, the continuation of the settler/administrator dialogue into the last quarter of the century brought fresh applications and greater sophistication. Gradual relaxations of the treasured, legislated principles favored such supplementations as mixed farming and experiments with a bewildering array of leasing agreements. Significantly, although the sacred exclusivity of freehold was abandoned, much of the reckoning of “viable” leasehold sizes and related instructions was based on projections of the minimal requirements for the attainment of civilized living standards—hence the widespread affixing of expository titles, “Home Maintenance Area,” “Living Area,” and the like.<sup>12</sup> Second, in the colonial capitals and provincial centers, enterprising building societies, often functioning precociously as *de facto* banks, mirrored and fostered the emergence of a form of urban homesteading, endowing it with familiar presumptions of civic ennoblement. From mid-century, sociability and association were also catered to and for by numerous working-class fraternities, chiefly Benefit Societies or Friendly Societies, after the British model. Once more, the evidence is strongest for the expanding cities, but the movement addressed a wide compass and as Baker’s French prompt suggests, it merits more attention from geographers. As does the work of the churches and the hundreds of Mechanics Institutions that variously addressed a range of cultural and material needs.<sup>13</sup> Third, if the legislators successfully trumpeted a mythologized yeoman farmer, then in turn, astute settlers—through the same political system, mediated by an ascendant phalanx of producers’ organizations—wrested precious economic concessions by parading the old emotion-laden characterization. They continue to do so.<sup>14</sup>

There can be no swift disentanglement of the translated peasantry/yeomanry from this rich social compound. Two qualifications underscore the large research potential. With a measure of confidence, one can say that in North America the remnants of dispossessed indigenous communities were occasionally perversely co-opted into dominating idealizations. On Australia’s rural and urban frontiers, however, they are mainly notable by their absence from the humane encirclements noted in the previous paragraph.<sup>15</sup> Again, retracing our steps to recover the hardy, virtuous individualism proffered in the original yeoman symbol, it is indeed important to recognize not only that every pioneer farmer and grazier made singular contributions to landscape

authorship, but that much of the most vital progress in environmental learning and resource management was famously based on persistent independent engagements in empirical testing.<sup>16</sup> In all of these respects, it was a very free translation.

### Clerical Coloring

This second set of reflections will attempt an immediate elaboration of my sudden, seeming deviation from Bakerian emphases on abundantly expressive collectivity, by focusing on a small number of clergymen. It is not designed as a lonely “attached document” (to borrow a rare felicitous descriptor from today’s electronic babble), inertly optional. The elaboration strengthens the previous section’s late inclination towards individualism, but there is also continuity in the choice of another representative colonial grouping. As it happens, some of the tension between very high levels of personal initiative and vigorously espoused, sincerely felt associational allegiance goes to the very heart of place-engagement. None of that will surprise the author or readers of *Fraternity Among the French Peasantry*.

From the perspective adopted here, the importance of our second selection far transcends its small size. Deeply rooted in European culture, not infrequently susceptible to the presumptions, obligations, and privileges of class, the group’s translation to Australia might have left it marooned amidst swirling contestations of those same traditions. No doubt, that was often so. On the other hand, psychological and sociological translations, transmutations, or re-castings left some of the most gifted of these immigrants rather well ensconced in evolving circumstance. Here, the discussion briefly relates the place-engagements of just four of their number—two Anglicans, a Catholic, and a Presbyterian—for convenience and ecumenical spirit, not statistical nicety. Australia offered each of them the dubious consolation of extraordinary opportunities for pioneering endeavor, alternately rebuking and endorsing their shared vocations and enabling them to make potent contributions toward defining enhancements of the colonial experience. Substantiation postponed, not exaggeration averted, certainly. Nonetheless, I offer the conviction that, in some degree, their personal quests for stimulus, security and identity injected precisely those qualities into the public imagination. Collectively, these clerical lives address nearly the full course of our chosen century; there was contemporaneity between them for close to 50 years.

In truth, a strand of nondenominational nonconformism unites the group, but for the moment I prefer to hold my Presbyterian in reserve. The others make a fascinating trio, in terms of anxieties connected with the nagging pressure of evolutionism on religiosity and, quite as intimately, in responses to increasingly strident pronouncements on scientific method, purpose, and status. Other common characteristics included impeccably English backgrounds, importing sensitivities and expectations that were severely examined by the rude demands of bush ministry; an unabashed cultivation of colonial and

metropolitan patrons, though that was wholly characteristic of the era, of course; and an accrued commitment to the application of science in the development of Australian resources.<sup>17</sup>

Reverend William Branwhite Clarke (1798-1878) was born just 10 years after the arrival of the First Fleet in Australia. He was raised in East Bergholt, Suffolk—iconic Constable territory: “Billy” Clarke and that famous English artist were acquaintances.<sup>18</sup> After university studies at Jesus College, Cambridge, he served as deacon at Norwich Cathedral, eventually returning as East Bergholt’s curate and succeeding his father as headmaster at the local Free Grammar School before moving on to his own parish at Longfleet in Dorsetshire. At Cambridge, he managed to combine standard humanities subjects with an extra option in geology under Trinity’s Reverend Professor Adam Sedgwick—and possibly with the assistance of mineralogist-librarian E.D. Clarke. Although his early publications were mainly confined to poems and essays, he maintained contact with the influential Sedgwick and undertook geological excursions around the British Isles and France, as well as within his own richly fossiliferous bailiwicks. Like so many educated others before him, an alliance of impecuniosity, marriage, and indifferent health took him to Australia. There, he was warmly urged by such renowned correspondents as Sedgwick and Roderick Impey Murchison of the Royal Geographical Society to intensify his geological interests. Arrow or archer, from the outset Clarke found direction in Australia’s colonial trajectory. Arriving in 1839, he was surprised to find himself appointed headmaster of the King’s School in Parramatta.<sup>19</sup> Then the personal narrative became swiftly caught up in irresistible opportunity.

Teaching school was abandoned for parish work and enthusiastic geologizing around Sydney, as well as into and beyond the Blue Mountains. Clarke was the first acknowledged, scientifically informed discoverer of gold in the early 1840s, and his first major book on New South Wales was an economic geology of gold discovery.<sup>20</sup> His Australian reports helped to ensure his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) in 1876, as did his faithful dispatches of field notes and specimens to Sedgwick and others, including Charles Darwin—another of his correspondents and a prominent society sponsor. Within the mainstream historiography of Australian scientific thought, much of Clarke’s reputation derives from a painstaking compilation of the base maps incorporated into the first comprehensive geological map of New South Wales, and from controversial, ultimately vindicated, interpretations of the immensely valuable Hunter and Illawarra coal deposits—notably his championship of local field inspection over exclusive reliance on laboratory-bound fossil analyses.<sup>21</sup> My casual insertions on the link with Darwin and to a personal advertisement for the role of science in public affairs do more, however, to direct the rest of this biographical annotation.

Clarke had arrived in the colony with a robust competence in field geology and in the preparation of scientific reports—the latter genre still demanded literary skills and insights, which suited his own scrupulously honed predilec-

tions. “Amateur” in the older, not yet arrogantly devalued sense—when every component of the busy engine of “natural history” was fueled and maintained by the same impulse—he encountered a seeming *tabula rasa*, a godsend for all manner of scientific enthusiasms. For Australia was, of course, doubly inviting for those scientizing parsons whose imaginations were being charged by unsettling interrogations of the Genesisian message.<sup>22</sup> Like many colonials, specialist and amateur, Clarke remained content with variations on the familiar John Ray/William Paley representations (God’s wisdom shown through His works; no design without a Designer), and considered it futile to pursue the incomprehensibilities of a great Beginning when so much more satisfaction could be had from picking over sermons in stone. No such insulation was enjoyed by those who felt scandalized by Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species*. Perhaps with Clarke it related, or drew him closer to, the views of some of his international peers—Alfred Russel Wallace, say, and the American James Dwight Dana, a loyal friend. Acceptance of the inseparability of the natural and the divine gave, as it were, both motivation and *imprimatur*.

For Clarke, New South Wales delivered a run of reassuring confluences: precious, irreducibly personal realizations of natural history’s great promise of “paradise revealed”—and with so few competitors, a sympathetic colonial bishop who indulged his scientific perambulations, a chance to awaken the public to the intellectual excitement and commercial potential of scientific discovery, and fledgling governments that might be persuaded to commission a little fieldwork. His eagerly circulated achievements in gold and coal could scarcely have been better calculated to silence the repeated ridiculing of science—to the effect that increased farming produce, good roads, and ports obviously had priority above fancy telescopes for gazing at the stars: infant colonies could not afford “to become scientific for the benefit of mankind ...”<sup>23</sup> He soon emerged as an adept publicist, straying without compunction into meteorology, agriculture, and any other available avenue in the colonial magazines and newspapers. Yet scientific enterprise in the abstract, like the expressive love of science, required more companionable interchange than editorials, feature articles, and international correspondence allowed. Clarke served as secretary, curator, and trustee of the pioneering Australian Museum for 20 years. More than that, he was a highly regarded founder of the Royal Society of New South Wales, and responsible for a number of the most memorable public addresses sponsored by that society, including one on the climatic effects of forest cover that found its way to Britain.<sup>24</sup> In concert with his peers around Australia, he succeeded in insinuating applied science into the bureaucratic sphere, particularly in what were to become burgeoning resource-management agencies. In addition, his activities helped pave the way for the establishment of the colonial counterpart of the British Association, the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS, in 1888; later ANZAAS).<sup>25</sup>

Colonial science fashioned nets of meaning that helped to make sense of new territory, thereby promoting accommodation, notions of belonging, and an intimation of ownership. This snippet (no more than a silhouette) on former

East Bergholtian Billy Clarke begins to argue that the same net was indissolubly linked with evolving biographical narratives. If the Clarke annotations introduce a colonial model for the inseparable themes of personal growth and the place-making experience, our next two studies offer important variations.

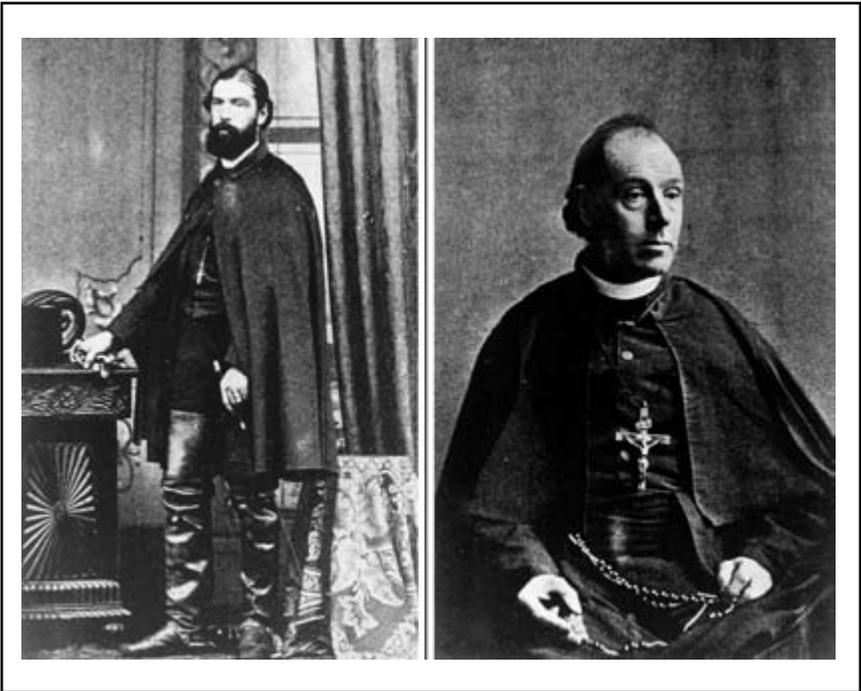
William Woolls (1814-93), born in Winchester and educated at Bishop's Waltham Grammar School, emigrated to Sydney at the age of 16 and taught for a while in a number of places, including the King's School in Parramatta, perhaps making contact there with the recently arrived Clarke.<sup>26</sup> Before the age of 30 he was managing his own school, also in Parramatta, for the sons of well-heeled colonists. Julian E. Tenison Woods (1832-89; the name is occasionally hyphenated) was born in London to middle-class Anglican and Catholic parents; his Catholic father was a lawyer who also worked for the *Times*.<sup>27</sup> After dabbling with Passionist and Marist Orders without resolution, he left for Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and worked for the *Adelaide Times* before enrolling with the South Australian Jesuits at Clare. Ordained an ordinary diocesan priest in 1857, he was immediately allocated the frontier parish of Penola in the colony's southeastern district—a 57,000-square-kilometer beat, about 40 percent as large as England.<sup>28</sup> The significance of these smaller details will become apparent later. Like Clarke, both of these pioneers chose to seek stimulus and security in an environment that had repelled or discouraged many fellow immigrants. Like Clarke, Woolls and Woods contributed towards the development of national and regional institutions explicitly dedicated to the dissemination of the fruits of earnest scientific and literary application.

Father Woods would launch an extraordinary career in natural history from the remote Penola base. In the interim, Woolls had been refining considerable botanical skills and would soon be publishing in the *Victorian Naturalist*, the *Horticultural Magazine*, and even with London's Linnean Society; in 1871 he earned a Ph.D. degree from Göttingen University. After a late ordination in 1873, Woolls proceeded to turn those accomplishments to good account (via a sketchy approximation of Selborne's Gilbert White), in the vicinity of his rural Anglican parish of Richmond.<sup>29</sup> His useful reports and monographs on Australian, New South Wales, and Sydney flora appeared during the 1870s and 1880s. Following Clarke, he entered the episodic debate on the spreading ecological ramifications of land degradation, aiming principally at the "murderous practice of ring barking," which he also posited as hazardous to human health.<sup>30</sup> This submission backed Clarke's ardent appeal for settlers to "study the mysteries of the visible creation," with a duty humbly to consider the "great Australian Garden," planted by an "All-Wise Creator"—so as to appreciate nature's "alleviations" by means of "well-tempered zeal and proper direction of what we may be permitted to discover."<sup>31</sup> Occupying a slightly lower rank in the hierarchy of colonial natural history, Woolls was highly regarded for his popular lectures and newspaper contributions promoting Australian botany, and for a prominent involvement in the agricultural and horticultural sections of successful exhibitions. But he was also a prolific, conscientious botanical correspondent, initiating and main-

taining multi-leveled contacts around the country—in today’s parlance, a consummate networker.

Stone hunting made an equally absorbing hobby for educated colonists, but the plant collectors were possibly marginally more reliant on the rapid identification of countless minutiae, and seemed more likely to defer repeatedly to their regional experts—to the “treetop types,” shall we say, like Victoria’s Baron Sir Ferdinand von Mueller (FRS, etc.). In contrast, the rising pressure of theory unsettled those of the stone hunters who fancied themselves as Australia’s budding geologists. During the restive prelude to *Origin of Species* and for the next two lively decades after its publication, some of their fraternity responded in spirited defense of all the arduous chipping, sieving, and hoarding, or by tendering their own alternative syntheses.<sup>32</sup> Yet as it happens, Penola’s energetic parish priest, Father Woods, fitted both job descriptions very well during the most productive and innovating period of a remarkable colonial life (Figure 3).

Woods’ accommodation to Australia was handicapped by three main factors—intermittent clashes with diocesan superiors, his own striving ambition, and an ingrained hostility to his definite English presence that was nurtured



**Figure 3.** Two representations of Julian E. Tenison Woods. On the left is Woods as a determined young fieldworker; by courtesy of the Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, Adelaide. On the right is Woods as a devout senior churchman; from O’Neill, *Life of the Reverend Julian Edmund Tenison Woods*.

by the determinedly Irish bias in Australian Catholicism.<sup>33</sup> Consoling geologizing clearly improved his purchase on place, and even from the rudest bush camps he had the temerity to write to such international luminaries as Lyell, Murchison, and Alexander Agassiz, as well as to front-running Australians Mueller and Clarke. In the 1860s he produced well-received books on South Australian geology and on the history of Australian exploration, together with several resilient papers on the geology of his frontier region. Before leaving Penola for Adelaide, where he served as controversial director of Catholic education, he cofounded—with Mary MacKillop, Australia's first prospective (and indicative?) Catholic saint—the Sisters of St. Joseph. Initially, the latter order was most deeply committed to the rural poor. Its formation may have been inspired, in part, by Woods' high regard for the no-frills, peasant/working-class orientation of the Auvergne's Sisters of St. Joseph of Puy—he had encountered them during that inconclusive sojourn of his with the Marists, previously noted. Criticized for an inheritance of patchy religious training and for a stubborn streak of mysticism, Woods was better attuned to lonely, engrossing fieldwork than to Adelaide-bound administration. Brusquely relieved of diocesan duties, he found himself more or less abandoned to ill-defined mission work around the great continent. He managed to find a few positives. Relying on periodic resort to a form of scientific journalism (drawing on the old family trade and connections), but also on timely interventions by Catholic worthies in the secular sphere and through opportunities for invigorating interchange provided by colonial learned societies, he traveled widely and maintained an admirable production stream—on tin mining in the Malay States; Krakatoa's eruption; Queensland's coal and tin resources; and precise analyses of corals, sea urchins, and sundry mollusca.<sup>34</sup> In Australia's centennial year (1888), he was awarded the prestigious Clarke Medal of the Royal Society of New South Wales—the citation noted 157 accredited scientific publications.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, the lure of science supported an enduring embrace of the bush. Science was then rapidly extending its own imperium, of course, and it is interesting to notice here that, without denying a mutual interdependence with British imperialism at the level of individual agency, science could indeed furnish some degree of liberation from English pasts and mediate a process of place-attachment.<sup>36</sup> In important respects, our three clerics proffered telling exemplars of pioneering endeavor for a host of contemporaries, but they remained determinedly British Australians to the end. They stood out from the crowd in their formal training, in their conscientious monitoring of selected modern trends of thought, and in existential witness to a potent proposition—better understood, the Australian environment would be better appreciated and better loved, with science apparently offering an invaluable key. It has been necessary here to concentrate on the weightier research and publications of these individuals because the more intimate scales are still obscured. *Fraternity Among the French Peasantry* does more to track this other dimension in its identification of the roles played by schoolteachers. So, merely to augment my small acknowledgements of the involvement of our three clergymen

in colonial schools, it might be noted that Woods has been credited with the pioneering authorship of elementary geography primers that supplied an overdue Australian focus. All too often, students had been so doggedly tormented by British capes and bays that place-evading, not place-affirmation, seemed the key value. Insofar as colonial curricula provided limited scope for independent professional action, even the most basic Australia-first texts could potentially correct a measure of imbalance.<sup>37</sup>

To return to the line of didactic scientific writing, all three offered comments on the need for improved land management. Here the summoned overseas authority was usually George Perkins Marsh, either directly or via other colonial conduits (Baron von Mueller, and fulsome newspaper reviews). The spectacle of combined ecclesiastical and scientific weight may have been influential. In this instance, Woods made the smallest impact, but he stood alone in defiantly opposing the drift of evolutionary thought. He did so most notoriously from one of his South Australian eyries, in a public address entitled *Not Quite as Old as the Hills* (1864).<sup>38</sup> Enjoying a large circulation far beyond the Catholic communities, the printed version was regularly quoted and plagiarized long after his death. Sadly, on the matter of the most distinctively Australian silences and conceptualizations in the social sphere, such as those concerning the indigenous inhabitants, the views of the trio were essentially orthodox. For all the expressions of compassion and vague shows of anthropological interest, on the whole they appear to have tacitly endorsed the “doomed race” theory.<sup>39</sup>

John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878), another all-rounder, registered more modest scientific returns, but that shortcoming became immaterial in the context of a vivid if problematical life of place-making that was exceptionally informed by creative social and geographical vision. Born in Greenock, Scotland, Lang was trained to an evangelical style of Presbyterian ministry at Glasgow University, then, despising the prevalent system of lay patronage, he elected to join one of his brothers in Australia.<sup>40</sup> From his arrival in Sydney in 1823 as the settlement’s first Presbyterian clergyman, he proceeded to berate all those about him on the evil presence of convictism, the allegedly excessive influence of the Church of England and Catholicism, and a lamentable and precarious dependency within his own church. He embarked on several return trips to Britain to recruit free immigrants and additional clergy, survived a number of libel suits, maintained a stream of splenetic pamphlets and newspaper items for home and colonial consumption, wrote some of the livelier early accounts of colonial development, and made time to visit the United States—where he reported enthusiastically on its beneficent republican spirit and on what he perceived to be the envied outcomes of internal political autonomy.<sup>41</sup>

Incensed by miserly imperial restraints, as a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council for the peripheral Port Phillip District, Lang sometimes airily proposed that Australia might unequivocally follow the U.S. example. A year later he was campaigning for the district’s separation from New South Wales. Irrepressibly, he then toured British cities as a persuasive, vitu-

perative orator, boosting rural Australia as an alternative to rampant industrialism, the very place for a Protestant “peasantry” (that word again), and harassing senior bureaucrats with wildly ambitious designs for subsidized emigration. Thwarted, he poured scorn on existing policies—and on all the wastrel aristocrats and lackeys who conceived and administered them—and committed openly to the cause of Australian republicanism.<sup>42</sup> Lang became co-founder, in 1850, of an “Australian League” intended to foster national identity. Its marked prematurity need not diminish it. In fact, another of its founders, Henry Parkes, would champion the cause of federation that was realized at the end of the century. More immediate rewards came when Port Phillip was made the Colony of Victoria in 1851, and Britain granted responsible government to all of the Australian colonies a few years later. Then, in 1854, he entered the Legislative Council for the Moreton Bay District, spearheading another separation movement that helped to produce the gigantic political entity of Queensland. Each of those big geographical events owed something the theatrical divine’s journalistic thunderbolts. His idealistic tracts, *The Coming Event; or the United Provinces of Australia* (1850) and *Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia* (1852) were rediscovered during the promotion of federation, and have been dusted off again as part of the anchoring of today’s republican movement.<sup>43</sup>

Within our ecclesiastical quartet, Lang knew best how to inconvenience the establishment, how to work the crowd. Maverick and stirrer, he suffered the embarrassment of sizable fines and prison sentences when the lure of controversy brought about his undoing (Figure 4). Yet through all of that shone a full-throttle adaptation to place, built upon passionately harnessed Calvinistic recoil from metropolitan indolence and colonial underperformance. On the negative side, the same intensity of commitment exacerbated a ridiculously polarized local sectarianism. However large the personality, it remains vital to acknowledge appropriateness of setting. Lang’s appeal can be linked with a broader, defining colonial disposition to indulge boisterous, humbug-exposing behaviors. So none of this is to deny a preference for substance above mere color, for this is one example that admits indivisibles.

When the mad, radical streak yielded to zealous practicalities, he was propelled ahead of his peers in some effective decoupling of the state-religion nexus; in idiosyncratic endorsement of innovative Free Selection legislation; in a startlingly prescient clarification of Queensland’s cotton-growing potentials (proposing an alternative to the abominations of slavery in the American South); and as we have seen, in inspired refutations of pragmatic political regionalizations. It is the last of these ardent engagements that has most caught public attention throughout the years. Lang’s northern sortie commenced by pivoting a notional “Cooksland” province on a combination of the neglected northern rivers country of New South Wales and the southeastern margins of the subtropics.<sup>44</sup> In short order, two further colonies of “Carpentaria” and “Capricornia” were inserted. At every juncture, he preached that Australia had been “be-Generaled and be-Coloneled everywhere” by remote authorities, and



**Figure 4.** Muscular Christianity: J.D. Lang in conference with a fraternal opponent; from the *Sydney Punch*, 20 May 1865. Lang composed an epitaph for one of his rivals that began “A Minister of the Gospel, which he never preached ... / as devoted a worshipper of the god Mammon as ever landed in Australia ... / Author of a thousand meannesses unworthy of the Christian Ministry / He was never known to perform a generous action during the whole course of his life.” But contemporary commentators would notice that a curse hurled out by the same rival had eerily predicted a continuation of God’s punishment: only three of Lang’s children survived him, five died in infancy, and there were no grandchildren to cherish or dispute his memory.

that fresh, *in situ* recognitions of environmental diversity were required to make the most of nature's bounty.<sup>45</sup> "Queensland," his reserve name for "Cookland," was adopted for the northeast in its entirety, but the other titles lived on in popular fiction, and in the naming of local government areas and key electoral divisions. Overall, the Lang template and its underlying sentiment also endured well into the 20th century—not only in the intellectual wing of the republican movement, but also in periodical resurgences of regional disaffection tapped by an incorrigible "new states" movement. His unorthodox cuing of the Australian geographical imagination probably merits more attention than an easily satisfied or idle resort to romanticized feats of exploration has normally allowed.<sup>46</sup>

### "Not a Translation—Only Taken from the French ..."<sup>47</sup>

Lang's hot polemics derived from personal traits and millenarian inclinations—living on the edge (in more ways than one) scarcely meant that he was given to the solitary life. As we have seen, public tumult made his parish. And yet, because a generally similar sense of urgency is hardly foreign to the clerical disposition, one could speculate that it would be accentuated by emigration decisions and then by perceptions of the needs and opportunities encountered in new countries. That keeps our little group together and encourages the claim that the sample is at minimum relevant to the Australian experience of new worlds, new lives, and newer worlds. But apart from a lurch toward a slightly greater stress on individualism than Baker's Old World inspections appear to claim, I am conscious that my selected parsons may give too obvious a fit, spatially and temporally. They need religious and secular companions. In addition, this paper's choice of contextualization guarantees a neglect of the charting of experienced, layered fraternity—in Australia that is more feasible in 20th-century studies—and has introduced instead the bones of an argument for combinations of ideological settings and biographical profiles.

The mobilizing injunctions in "little Englands in Australia" and the facilitating yeoman symbolism created openings for the kinds of individual and group engagements outlined here. What the discussion may not make clear is that distinctive "family farming" frameworks, fundamental community- and economy-builders across the continent's mammoth land-use belts, were in part the products of microscale kinship linkages and supports devised to close the gap between rhetoric and reality on the pioneer fringe.<sup>48</sup> Place-bonding investments, even in Australia's overwhelmingly agricultural rural zones, have indeed taken so many forms. While preparing an early draft I was confronted with a barrage of media accounts concerning the imposition of a three-year ban on an entire-country football club, for a pre-match brawl involving only its senior team. At issue were the spiraling ramifications for most aspects of community life—the decision "tore the soul from a country town."<sup>49</sup> As it happens I know the place in question quite well, since I have relatives there

who are descendants of Swiss-Italian and Silesian peasants introduced last century—this is another minor resonance with the Baker monograph—and the sensationalized assessment was probably not too wide of the mark. Infusions of intensely valued parochial communitarianism have long been ascribed to Australia's sporting associations, and the tradition was seeded in the 19th century. The diversion locates no irreconcilable unconformities with our first section, but the question must be put: "what, then, of our intellectual clerics?" Lang gives only the extreme measure. That Australian parson had no regard for sporting frivolities, ranting about the rise of "cricketomania" and horse racing as proof positive of the kinds of debilitation that had destroyed classical Rome. When set, he apoplexed, in colonial English, the cry of *Panem et Circenses* had emerged as "Rations and Races."<sup>50</sup> Even so, in no time at all selected colonials were proudly challenging the pick of the mother country in games that were very tellingly billed as "tests." For the popular mind, Gallipoli and the Western Front would be made to appear in a not dissimilar light.

In the Australian context, urban and rural, one must be open to the substantial contribution of sport toward assimilative fraternal association. In addition, attempts to unravel voluntary engagement and state sponsorship, or government manipulation, will assuredly benefit from consultation with more of the interpenetrating Loire Valley cases. The impulse to voluntarism may or may not be peculiarly strong in Australia (or in most New World countries), but analysis of its roots, pervasive influence, and changing manifestations constitutes a monumental research task. Any elementary list of convincing examples immediately extends the field—the iconic Surf Lifesavers' Associations, started in the 1890s, now boast more than 50,000 all-volunteer members while the non-political, non-sectarian Country Women's Association, founded in the early 20th century as an adaptation of Canadian and British initiatives, has been one of the most highly regarded of our civilizing service organizations. Closer to some of the Loir-et-Cher studies, there is a truly remarkable participation rate in volunteer bushfire brigades. By one 1970s estimate, there were 300,000 members, or about one in ten of Australia's rural population.<sup>51</sup>

Of its nature, the aims and incidence of voluntarism vary over time and space, which is precisely my point. Notably, Alan Baker's French affair establishes the need to track that impulse through fat and lean periods, including the revelatory stress inserted by the ecological visitations of phylloxera.<sup>52</sup> His encounter with the Loir-et-Cher's anti-phylloxera syndicates almost persuaded me to turn here towards still more Australian examples—of marginal, chronically hazard-prone rural communities in which societal structures, modes of behavior, and declarations of regional and local identity are inexplicable without probing the legacies of periodical jousts with bushfires, cyclones, droughts, floods, dramatic shifts in government policy, and punishing economic collapses. All of those threatening perturbations can be envisioned within the elementary parameters outlined in this paper, but alas they have also required specialist monographic attention for decades.

And so it is obviously more convenient to accept the chance to close, rather, at the destination signaled in our opening paragraphs. In modern academia's old, new, and in-between worlds, subdisciplinary communities also experience crises, both externally sourced and internally driven; suffer ideological seductions and manipulations; and are patterned by erosions, consolidations, and refinements of traditional callings. Critical reciprocities between individualistic endeavor and collective identity fashion fragile ecosystemic milieux—special places, requiring diligent husbandry. Historical geography—our place—has been fortunate indeed in Baker's yeomanlike ministrations.

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## Notes

1. This large theme is canvassed for American, African, and Australian contexts in Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin, eds; *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997); for Australia itself, see J.M. Powell, *An Historical Geography of Modern Australia: The Restive Fringe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). A recent historical-geographical disquisition on "colonial" and "colonialism" is available in Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997).
2. Alan R.H. Baker, *Fraternity Among the French Peasantry: Sociability and Voluntary Associations in the Loire Valley, 1815-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
3. The early background is variously discussed in Dennis N. Jeans, *An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1972): 79-134; Thomas M. Perry, *Australia's First Frontier* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963); Brian H. Fletcher, *Landed Enterprise and Penal Society: A History of Farming and Grazing in New South Wales Before 1821* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976); and Jan Kociumbas, *Possessions, 1770-1860*, Oxford History of Australia, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).
4. Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age. A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963); J.M. Powell, *The Public Lands of Australia Felix. Settlement and Land Appraisal in Victoria 1834-1891, with Special Reference to the Western Plains* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970); see also J.M. Powell, *Mirrors of the New World. Images and Image-Makers in the Settlement Process* (Folkestone, England: Dawson, 1977; Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1977).
5. *Victorian Agricultural and Horticultural Gazette*, 21 May 1857, quoted in Powell, *Public Lands*, 73.
6. Robert L. Wallace, *The Australians at the Boer War* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1976); Laurence Melville Field, *The Forgotten War: Australian Involvement in the South African Conflict of 1899-1902* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979); see also Kenneth S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan, 1885* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1985); Kit Denton, *For Queen and Commonwealth* (Sydney: Time-Life, 1987); Beverley Kingston, *Glad, Confident Morning, 1860-1900*, Oxford History of Australia, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict and Compromise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
7. Sample perspectives include Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987); Powell, *Mirrors of the New World*, 70-82; Michael Williams, "More and

- Smaller is Better: Australian Rural Settlement 1788-1914," in J.M. Powell and Michael Williams, eds., *Australian Space Australian Time* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1975): 61-103.
8. Victorian parliamentarian Henry John Wrixon, *Victorian Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxi (1875-76), quoted in Powell, *Public Lands*, 169. The freehold principle was then stoutly opposed by champions of the maintenance of community rights through more sophisticated leasehold principles.
  9. John Everard, in *Victorian Parliamentary Debates*, vol. viii (1869), quoted in Powell, *Public Lands*, 154; see also J.M. Powell, ed., *Yeomen and Bureaucrats: the Victorian Crown Lands Commission 1878-79* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1973).
  10. Powell, *Mirrors of the New World*, 61-82; J.M. Powell, "Resource Development, Environmental Planning and the Family Farm: An Historical Interpretation," in Jim Lees, ed., *A Legacy Under Threat? Family Farming in Australia* (Armidale: University of New England Press, 1997): 147-73; J.M. Powell, "White Collars and Mole-skin Trousers: Politicians, Administrators and Settlers on the Cheviot Estate, 1893-1914," *New Zealand Geographer* 27 (1971): 151-74.
  11. On "mateship," a convenient abbreviated guide for overseas readers is available in Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998): 416-19 (cf. "fair go," or fair play: 238).
  12. The classic clarification is still R. Leslie Heathcote, *Back of Bourke. A Study of Land Appraisal and Settlement in Semi-Arid Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965). For a short elaboration see J.M. Powell, "MDB": *The Emergence of Bioregionalism in the Murray-Darling Basin* (Canberra: Murray-Darling Basin Commission, 1993): 55-57; see also Powell, *Modern Australia*, 14, 57.
  13. Noel Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Robert Vincent Jackson, *Australian Economic Development in the Nineteenth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977); Derek Whitelock, *The Great Tradition: a History of Adult Education in Australia* (St. Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1974).
  14. Bruce Desmond Graham, *The Formation of the Australian Country Parties* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1966); Brian Costar and Dennis Woodward, eds., *Country to National: Australian Rural Politics and Beyond* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985); see also Stuart Macintyre, *The Succeeding Age, 1901-1942*, *Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 4 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986).
  15. T.R. Wessell, "Agriculture, Indians, and American History," *Agricultural History* 50:1 (1976): 9-20. For a recent penetrating study, see David J. Wishart, *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).
  16. Michael Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape. A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia* (London and New York: Academic Press, 1974); J.M. Powell, "Enterprise and Dependency: Water Management in Australia," in Griffiths and Robin, *Ecology and Empire*, 102-21.
  17. On religion and its contexts in 19th-century Australia: Albert Gordon Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Pitman, 1961); Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History* (Kensington N.S.W.: University of New South Wales Press, 1985); and Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965). On science and colonial scientists, see Roderick W. Home, ed., *Australian Science in the Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Roy MacLeod, ed., *The Commonwealth of Science. ANZAAS and the Scientific Enterprise in Australasia 1888-1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Ann M. Moyal, *"A Bright and Savage Land": Scientists in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: Collins, 1986). For broader pioneering work, see George Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1957).
  18. This section draws upon Elena Grainger, *The Remarkable Reverend Clarke: The Life and Times of the Father of Australian Geology* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982).
  19. The prestigious King's School, Parramatta, was related to a similarly named English institution in Canterbury, which (I have it on good authority) was to become the "deadly rival" of the Direct Grant Grammar School attended by Alan Baker. Coincidentally, Griffith Taylor, pioneer of Australian academic geography, was a pupil at the Parramatta school; later he completed postgraduate research at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, some 50 years before Alan Baker was elected to an Emmanuel Fellowship.
  20. William Branwhite Clarke, *Researches on the Southern Goldfields of New South Wales* (Sydney: Reading and Wellbank, 1860). For non-Australian readers, the original reports may be more conveniently encountered in (the reproduction series of) *British Parliamentary Papers*, Correspondence Relative to the Recent Discovery of Gold in Australia, and Further Papers Relative to the Recent Discovery of Gold in Australia, *Colonies: Australia* series 1852-53: 14, 16, 18 (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University

- Press, 1969); Clarke's main official letters of report are dated 3 February 1852, 14 June 1852, 28 December 1852, 14 February 1853, 5 February 1853, and 7 May 1853. See also William Branwhite Clarke, *Plain Statements and Practical Hints Respecting the Discovery and Working of Gold in Australia* (Sydney: Sands and Kenny, 1851).
21. Grainger, *Remarkable Reverend Clarke*, 95-104, 223-35; T.G. Vallance and D.F. Branagan, "New South Wales geology—its origins and growth," in *A Century of Scientific Progress: the Centenary Volume of the Royal Society of New South Wales* (Sydney: Royal Society of New South Wales, 1968): 265-79.
  22. Moyal, "Bright and Savage Land"; A.M. Moyal, "Evolution and the climate of opinion in Australia, 1840-76," *Victorian Studies* 10:4 (1967): 411-30; for some comparative insights, see George Basalla, William Coleman and Robert H. Kargon, eds., *Victorian Science. A Self-Portrait from the Presidential Addresses to the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).
  23. *Colonist* (Sydney 1833), 20 July; quoted in Grainger, *Remarkable Reverend Clarke*, 61.
  24. William Branwhite Clarke, "Effects of Forest Vegetation on Climate," *Journal and Proceedings, Royal Society of New South Wales* 10, Nov. 1876 (1877): 179-235. For invaluable historical observations on borrowings from Marsh and embedded ethical issues, see David Lowenthal, "Nature and Morality from George Perkins Marsh to the Millennium," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26:1 (2000): 3-27, doi:10.1006/jhge.1999.0188.
  25. MacLeod, *Commonwealth of Science*.
  26. Lionel A. Gilbert, *William Woolls, 1814-1893: "A Most Useful Colonist"* (Canberra: Mulini Press, 1985); for the wider colonial context see Lionel A. Gilbert, "Botanical investigation of New South Wales, 1811-1880," unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Armidale: University of New England, 1971), that anticipated a minor rush to "environmental history" by some two decades; Max M. H. Thompson, *William Woolls, a Man of Parramatta* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1986); and Kenneth J. Cable, "Woolls, William (1814-1893)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 6 (1976): 437-38.
  27. G. O'Neill, *Life of the Reverend Julian Edmund Tenison Woods (1832-1889)* (Sydney: Pellegrini, 1929); Anne V. Player, "Julian Tenison-Woods 1832-1889: The Interaction of Science and Religion," unpublished M.A. thesis (Canberra: Australian National University, 1990); Margaret M. Press, *Julian Tenison Woods* (Sydney: Catholic Theological Faculty, 1979).
  28. Woods was certainly a diocesan priest but flirted, as it were, with the appearance of close association and quasi-membership of the more exclusive orders. Like others, I once assigned him to the Jesuits: *mea culpa*. See J.M. Powell, *Environmental Management in Australia 1788-1914: Guardians, Improvers and Profit* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1976): 90; cf. J.M. Powell, "Julian Edmund Tenison Woods 1832-1889," *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies* 21 (2001): 114-22.
  29. Gilbert, *William Woolls*.
  30. William Woolls, *Lectures on the Vegetable Kingdom* (Sydney: C.E. Fuller, 1879). Woolls also wrote quite influentially on such practical issues as introduced weeds and indigenous forage plants.
  31. Clarke, *Effects of forest vegetation*; quoted in Powell, *Environmental Management*, 90-91.
  32. The best Australian backgrounding is in Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors. The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); see also Moyal, *Evolution and the climate of opinion*. Guides include Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Nicholas Jardine, James A. Second and Emma C. Spary, *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Richard Maby, *Gilbert White. A Biography of the Author of "The Natural History of Selborne"* (London: Century, 1986); and Elizabeth Keeney, *The Botanizers: Amateur Scientists in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
  33. Player, *Julian Tenison Woods*; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Kensington New South Wales: University of N.S.W. Press, 1987); Marie Therese Foale, *The Josephite Story: Mary MacKillop and the Sisters of St. Joseph 1866-1893* (Sydney: St Joseph's Generalate, 1989).
  34. A bibliography is available in Player, *Julian Tenison Woods*. A shorter list, favoring those of his works which were eclectically "geographical," is in Powell, *Julian Edmund Tenison Woods*. Annotations on the latter selection indicate an early anticipation of modern geopolitical inclinations thrusting Australia into the Asia-Pacific sphere.
  35. This prestigious award was made for contributions to natural history (the tradition continues today). Woods had been recovering his all-rounder status, with numerous applied publications for Australian governments, journalistic accounts, and succinct notes in the international science journal, *Nature*.
  36. Roy MacLeod, "On Visiting the Moving Metropolis: Reflections on the Architecture of Imperial Science," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 5:3 (1982): 1-6.
  37. These remarks gratefully take up some of the recommendations of an anonymous reviewer. For elaborations on this large field, see Felix Driver and Avril M.C. Maddrell, eds., "Geographical Education and Citizenship," special edition, *Journal of Historical Geography* 22:4 (1996).

38. Julian E. Tenison Woods, *Not Quite as Old as the Hills: A Lecture on the Evidence of Man's Antiquity* (Melbourne: Henry Tolman Dwight, 1864).
39. Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997); cf. J.M. Powell, "Darwinism and the Geographical Imagination in Australia, 1860-1945," in Jean-Robert Pitte and Andre L. Sanguin, eds., *Geographie et Liberté* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999): 99-108.
40. The standard Lang biography is Donald William A. Baker, *Days of Wrath. A Life of John Dunmore Lang* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985). A remarkable dossier of Lang's manuscripts and published works, covering his pamphleteering and parliamentary contributions, and supplemented by a list of contemporary and modern critiques, is available in Ian F. McLaren, *John Dunmore Lang. A Comprehensive Bibliography of a Turbulent Scot* (Parkville, Victoria: University of Melbourne Library, 1985).
41. Baker, *Days of Wrath*. For a recent commentary, see Mark McKenna, *The Captive Republic. A History of Republicanism in Australia 1788-1996* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
42. Baker, *Days of Wrath*. See also Noel McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1989).
43. John Dunmore Lang, *The Coming Event, or, the United Provinces of Australia* (Sydney: D.L. Welch, 1850); *Idem, Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia; the Right of the Colonies, and the Interest of Britain and the World* (Sydney: F. Cunninghame, 1857; first published 1852). Baker, *Days of Wrath*, 247-48, explains how, following the publication of his *Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere*, Lang's intemperance put him seriously offside with imperial bureaucrats, precisely when he needed their support for his promotion of Protestant emigration. Lang's return of serve left nothing to the imagination: London's Colonial Office was staffed by "fools and incapables—men who seem as utterly bereft of reason as if they had been indiscriminately taken from the cells of a mad house."
44. John Dunmore Lang, *Cooksland in North-Eastern Australia; the Future Cotton-Field of Great Britain; its Characteristics and Capabilities for European Colonization. With a Disquisition on the Origin, Manners, and Customs of the Aborigines* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1847): 26-27, discussed in J.M. Powell, *Plains of Promise Rivers of Destiny: Water Management and the Development of Queensland 1824-1990* (Bowen Hills, Queensland: Boolarong Publications, 1991):12-13.
45. Lang, *Cooksland*.
46. Lang's merciless fire guaranteed his notoriety throughout the Australian colonies, distancing him in the public mind from the workaday political debates: loved or reviled, the man was widely enjoyed, seldom ignored—better a few peppery presences than no spice at all. Catholics often bore the brunt of these entanglements with place. Certainly they were remorselessly baited, ruthlessly condemned, but colonists were well aware that he reserved some of his choicer invective for those of his fellow Presbyterians who obstructed his path. (Ornated by God it might well be, but He had never intended the government of the Presbyterian church to be a "Synagogue of Satan," administered by wordlings and hirelings who had responded to Lang's activities in "a spirit of rancorous hostility emanating from the Father of Evil ...": Baker, *Days of Wrath*, 181.
47. From Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic*, as given in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969): 215.
48. Powell, *Mirrors of the New World*, 61-82.
49. *Age* (Melbourne, 19 May 2000). The headline is: "A death in the family: how a football ban tore the soul from a country town." But a valuable lead from an anonymous referee now suggests that, since the better resonance may be with Alan Baker's theme of "association," one might also cite the world's major ball game, "soccer" (much better known as "football—interestingly, in this context, sometimes even as "Association Football"). That seems especially true of its spectator mode, which exercises huge place-bonding, community-identifier influences: Nicholas Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910-1950* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989); Grant Jarvie and Graham Walker, eds., *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety-Minute Patriots?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994). In the wider frame, American perspectives include Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1984); and Perry R. Duis, *Challenging Chicago. Coping with Everyday Life, 1837-1920* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
50. Baker, *Days of Wrath*, 442.
51. These data are extracted from the *Australian Encyclopaedia* (1996), and from Stephen J. Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991): 344-45.
52. Baker, *Fraternity*, 210-39.