Rushing for Gold: Life and Commerce on the Goldfields of New Zealand and Australia / Eureka: Australia’s Greatest Story

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makers and explicit in the mind of many settlers was the notion that returned men had earned resettlement as a right, as the citizens who had shed blood for the nation, which now owed them a debt. And, when the bureaucracy failed to deliver on this promise or their just ‘entitlements’, settlers and their families were not afraid to assert their rights as citizens, demand government action, or remind bureaucrats that it was the government not the settlers who were failing to uphold the moral rights of returned men. Notions of moral economy framed the correspondence between settlers and bureaucracies and became the grounds for resisting authority: refusing to repay debts, walking off the land, disparaging governments and bureaucracies, and driving the formation of anti-urban populism and politics.

This contest of ideas, expectations and obligations is traced through detailed studies of several ‘settlement’ themes: environmental degradation; rabbit plagues; the tragic fate of men physically and mentally damaged left to fend for themselves when they were in no fit state to do so; the struggles of women and children and their role in keeping many farms going; the toll on families; the toll of domestic violence as men took out their anger on those closest to them; and the appalling treatment of Aboriginal returned men, who had shed their blood as much as anyone, and yet were often denied the support that other settlers received.

Scates and Oppenheimer have offered a comprehensive account of soldier settlement. There is even an important chapter on successes, focusing on the half of all those settled who survived, and in some cases thrived. This important study will be essential reading for future historians of soldier settlement in Australia.

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Rushing for Gold: Life and Commerce on the Goldfields of New Zealand and Australia.

Eureka: Australia’s Greatest Story.

Rushing for Gold is a diverse and interesting collection, stemming from a 2012 conference on the Central Otago gold rushes. One unifying theme, invoked in the opening chapter by Chris McConville and Keir and Andrew Reeves, is the ‘trans Tasman world’ – the strong connections (economic, technological, social and cultural) between the South Island of New Zealand and Victoria. Daniel Davy demonstrates the flow of people and argues that these ‘personal networks … problematise clear divisions between Otago and Victoria’ (43). Conversely, the crossing of colonial boundaries could also facilitate future work on trans-Tasman differences. Terry Hearn suggests a periodisation of the Tuapeka rushes, carefully tracking the flow of people across the Tasman at different stages of the rush. Here is one clear advantage of the transnational approach: national histories typically display less interest in population outflows than in nation-building immigration. John Angus explores Otago goldfields politics, characterising it as at first populist and then parochial, both phases evincing strong focus on advocacy of local public works.

Part two contains some of the richest material in the book, on Māori and Chinese in the gold rushes. Lloyd Carpenter evidences Māori knowledge of gold and participation in the rushes. James Ng offers an authoritative overview of the Chinese presence in the Otago gold rushes. He notes affinities between the Dunedin Scots and Chinese: ‘both ethnicities had a clan structure with strong family ties, good morality, self-discipline, industriousness, frugality and respect for learning’ (105), but concludes that in the end ‘the superficiality of Chinese bonding with Europeans’ rendered the relationship fragile (112). Joanna Boileau reviews the way Chinese market gardeners ‘employed the intensive agricultural methods of their homeland’ (129) in the different and harsher environment of Otago, where they also benefited from the closeness in the techniques (particularly of water management) of market gardening and gold mining. Paul McGregor’s impressively researched chapter explores the role of Melbourne merchant Lowe Kong Meng...
in assisting Chinese emigration from Victoria to Otago. Notably, Kong Meng gained a guarantee from the Otago provincial government that no discriminatory taxes or regulations would be imposed upon Chinese settlers in Otago; the brief discussion in this chapter of Chinese involvement in company deep mining is also fascinating.

Three chapters explore gold-rush women. Sandra Quick presents some detailed research on female sly grog sellers and hotelkeepers on the Otago goldfields, the latter making, she argues, ‘substantial and lasting contributions to the communities they lived in’ (164). Julia Bradshaw writes about ‘women of abandoned character’, piecing together some colourful lives from newspaper and archival sources. Lyndon Fraser finds that Irish women on the West Coast goldfields were mobile but generally within kin networks; high mobility and dangerous work among goldfields males created many widows.

Tom Brooking’s excellent chapter describes four major phases of the Dunstan gold rush, including the ‘transformative and transcendental’ early phase in which ‘time was compressed and trends reversed’ (203). Brooking contends that hostility to Chinese miners was evident in Australia, California and New Zealand ‘in about equal measure’ (204). Rosemary Marryatt tells of the travails of William Gilbert Rees and his sheep run near gold-rush Queenstown. Lloyd Carpenter interrogates the belief that only merchants profited from gold rushes – not in all cases, he finds, in part because storekeepers had little choice but to become money lenders to a highly mobile population, exposing themselves to risk. Jeremy Finn introduces us to some early central Otago goldfields lawyers, noting a ‘strong Australian connection’ and a pattern of fleeing from recent financial or legal difficulties (251). André Brett tells the story of the disastrous 1864 Southland wooden railway and its role in the demise of the provincial level of government in New Zealand. Warwick Frost looks at interpretation offered at gold-rush heritage sites – both actual and recreated – noting its limitations, especially on gold-rush heritage trails in Australia, California and New Zealand. Neville Ritchie reviews a variety of important archaeological investigations on the Central Otago goldfields, including projects on which he himself worked. The book concludes with Fiona Farrell’s lively play about performers Charles Thatcher and Annie Vitelli. This well-produced volume displays the impressive breadth and depth of recent work on the New Zealand gold rushes.

Eureka: Australia’s Greatest Story also derives from a conference, in 2014 at the ANU. The chapters seem closer to conference papers than the Otago book, more discursive and informal in tone and not quite as well edited. The collection contains some valuable information and discussion, especially about the local significance of Eureka and its context in the history of political ideas. John Molony and Anne Beggs-Sunter have respectively the first and last chapters of the book and are on opposite sides of the local controversy about the appropriate location for the Eureka flag. As one of Eureka’s most significant historians, Molony’s recollections and reflections are of interest – including his memory of having seen the enciphered letters between Hotham and Rede, now apparently missing from the Public Record Office. Beggs-Sunter offers the perspective of a key participant in recent debates about the memory of Eureka and the ways it should be represented in Ballarat; she argues that the ‘contest of memory’ should be more evident at the Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka (146).

Andrew Leigh and T.W. Gibbins examine the meaning of Eureka today. This is the only chapter in which the orthodox pro-Eureka sentiment of most of the book receives brief challenge, when they ask if the miners were ‘demanding more efficient resource rent taxation’ (13). In contrast, the rebels’ claims for representation, their objections to the amount charged for the licence and its imposition on successful and unsuccessful diggers alike, and the disrespectful mode of its collection are represented letters between Hotham and Rede, now apparently missing from the Public Record Office. Beggs-Sunter offers the perspective of a key participant in recent debates about the memory of Eureka and the ways it should be represented in Ballarat; she argues that the ‘contest of memory’ should be more evident at the Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka (146).

John Uhr examines the ‘core principles’ of Eureka, which he argues include the ‘multinationality’ of the rebellion, the ‘right to defend
civil liberties derived from natural rights', popular sovereignty, and the values represented by the Southern Cross flag (31–2). Clare Wright's chapter makes the case for a transnational examination of Eureka, alert to the role and ideas of British Chartists and American republicans and to the Europeans present—Eureka, she suggests, should be seen as part of the 'long dusk of Europe's age of revolutions' (48). The 'flamboyant' American merchant George Francis Train is introduced in her chapter. David Headon also explores the American influence in general and George Francis Train in particular. Like Wright, Headon mentions Train's later support for women's suffrage but not that he is most well-known for his strident opposition to black suffrage after the Civil War and the assistance he gave Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to campaign for white women's suffrage; nor do the paeans to the Anglo-Saxon race in Train's 1859 Spread-Eaglism feature in Headon's account of his democratic and republican zeal. Headon writes illuminatingly of the ready availability of American novels and books in Victoria. Wright and Headon together persuasively make the case that one cannot understand Eureka without considering the spirit of 1776 that infused it.

Paul Pickering's chapter surveys British press coverage of Eureka, showing the range from conservative to liberal and radical responses. He points to the importance of including the trials of the Eureka rebels in the history and memory of the event, emphasising the importance of 'a popular radical interpretation of the rights supposedly bestowed by the venerable “British Constitution”' (82). Benjamin T. Jones' valuable chapter discusses Eureka in the context of 'civic republicanism', that communal sense he finds evidenced in the use of 'we' rather than 'I' in the Eureka rebels' oath. Jones, like Pickering, emphasises constitutionalism; he also discusses the importance of Canadian experience (in particular the rebellions of 1837–38) to the Eureka rebels. James Warden analyses the Eureka rebels' oath. Jeff Brownrigg writes knowledgeably of the music and poetry about Eureka. Frank Bongiorno writes perceptive and entertainingly about the political and cultural invocations of Eureka in the 1980s. The volume attests to Eureka as a living tradition (at times protesting too much about it) and this is perhaps what makes it scrappier, more short-tempered and more nostalgic than the Otago volume.

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Quarantine: Local and Global Histories.

In an age of resurgent nationalism and persistent, horrifying epidemic menace, the lure of quarantine has renewed appeal. This collection of essays provides a rich assortment of historical contexts for understanding its past complexities and hence its present implications. After Alison Bashford's introductory essay, nine studies examine specific cases of the use of quarantine between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. Four others consider 'landscapes of quarantine', recalling past experiences for present purposes.

These essays illustrate the immense variety of quarantine practices and the difficulty of defining just what the word has meant. At the heart of the matter lies the importance of state power enlisted to confront fears of epidemic diseases and responding to those fears with remarkable arrogance. This collection further suggests that state power was often employed for a variety of social, political, and economic purposes, often with ambiguous results.

Fears of disease runs through the essays, from the plague-inspired lazarettos of sixteenth-century Genoa (analysed by Jane Stevens Crawshaw) to the airport lockdowns in Bombay and Delhi of the 1970s in response to the fear of yellow fever (well contextualised by Kavita Sivaramakrishnan). State arrogance stemmed less from conviction of the efficacy of quarantine—since aetiological understandings of diseases remained uncertain and in conflict—and more from a general conviction of racial, class, and/or cultural superiority. For the agency of nearly all of the quarantines discussed lay in the hands of western Christians and their governments.

This collection provides insights into the complexities and ambiguities of the historical