



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
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**An "out-of-the-way little place": Historical archaeology and
globalisation at St Lawrence, Queensland, Australia**

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Abstract

This thesis presents a historical archaeological investigation of St Lawrence, a former port town in Central Queensland, Australia, from its establishment in the mid-nineteenth century, to the arrival of the railway in the early 1920s. This period coincided with a time of heightened global mobility and connection, facilitated by technological advancements in transport and communication, and is often referred to as the first wave of modern globalisation. This thesis employs a relational, network perspective and a global sense of place, to explore the changing nature of connections at St Lawrence during this significant and transitional historical period. Flows of people, information and material culture through the settlement are examined using a range of documentary, artefactual and spatial evidence to investigate how and to what extent the residents of St Lawrence were connected and disconnected with broader networks of economic and social activity prior to the arrival of the railway in 1921 and how these networks of interaction shaped material life in the town. This thesis also considers the role of human-environment interaction in the creation and maintenance of connections, and conversely, what factors may have contributed to the diminishment of connections over time. This thesis demonstrates that flows of people, information and material culture through St Lawrence during the nineteenth century were often tenuous and short-lived, demonstrating the ephemeral nature of colonial connections and how rapidly changes can occur. I have found that while St Lawrence may be an out-of-the-way little place, which has long struggled with issues of isolation and disconnection, its story also speaks to a global history of migration, trade and environmental transformation. This thesis contributes to an understanding of colonial port settlements in Australia and demonstrates the potential of historical archaeology to contribute to the wider study of globalisation and its transformative effects and present day implications.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The world is made up of connections – on the many and varied movements of people, information and material culture, often between distant places, around the globe. Global connections intensified from about 1500 AD, as people became ever more entangled in wider networks of circulation and interaction following almost worldwide European capitalist expansion and long-distance migrations, and again from the mid-nineteenth century with rapid technological advances in transport and communication during a period considered to be the first wave of modern globalisation. Historical archaeologists – even those conducting research in seemingly isolated locations – frequently encounter evidence of these far-reaching connections, and which make their discrete, specific sites “inextricably global in nature” (Casella 2013:90).

This global web of connections – through which information was conveyed, commodities exchanged, and people travelled – was a central feature of the making of the ‘modern’, globalised world (Magee and Thompson 2010:3; see also Dellino-Musgrave 2006:146). Hence, in their disciplinary pursuit to investigate the formation of this modern world, historical archaeologists seek to explore the global dimensions of their archaeological sites; to dig locally and think globally, as Orser (1996) famously entreated almost two decades ago. This remains an important but challenging task. A recently developed approach which aims to tease out and investigate the complex, global movements of people, things and information, involves focusing on a specific setting to explore the interplay and impact of local and global processes. Such an approach aims to examine the nature of connections in a particular place at particular time, thereby providing a glimpse of underlying global relationships and broader processes.

This thesis presents one such study, exploring historical networks of connection from the viewpoint of St Lawrence – once a budding port settlement in Queensland, Australia during the mid-nineteenth century, but today a small, little-known remote town. As a former port, St Lawrence was a nexus of interaction, facilitating the flow of people, information and commodities across local, regional, national and international boundaries, and is therefore an ideal setting to examine connections in the past. This historical archaeological study integrates documentary, material and spatial evidence to reconstruct and explore the ways in which St Lawrence and its inhabitants were once connected to the wider world, however tenuously, from its establishment in the mid-1860s to the arrival of the railway to the town in 1921, a period which coincides with the first wave of modern globalisation.

This study aims to go some way in addressing recent calls by leading historical archaeologists for research that explores historical connections and processes of globalisation using multiscalar, relational perspectives (see Casella 2013; Orser 2010). Such calls echo throughout the wider social sciences, with historians, anthropologists and cultural geographers all issuing similar appeals in recent years (see for example Ballantyne 2011; Fedorowich and Thompson 2013; Magee and Thompson 2010). Globalisation – understood as a process of transnational social and economic integration – is one of the most important concepts in the social sciences today (Magee and Thompson 2010:240; see also Hopkins 2006a:3; Kenwood *et al.* 2013:4). With its unique methodology of interrogating both historical and archaeological evidence, historical archaeology has “a tremendous amount to contribute to understanding the day-to-day elements of the process of globalisation” (Orser 2009:16), providing valuable insights not accessible through documentary research alone. This study employs historical archaeological techniques to observe and examine tangible, material manifestations of processes of globalisation from the viewpoint of a particular place. Through the lens of St Lawrence – labelled historically as an “out-of-the-way little place” (*RB* 7 June 1864:3) in a distant corner of the world, this study demonstrates the potential of historical archaeology to contribute to an understanding of the development of globalisation, and its impacts on places and their archaeological record.

The First Wave of Modern Globalisation

The nineteenth century was characterised by the spread of modern economic growth, the growth of international trade and a redistribution of the world's population through the largest voluntary migration on record. These developments were closely associated with changes in the availability and efficiency of transport and communication facilities. The effectiveness of both land and sea transport was transformed, allowing people and goods to be moved more quickly, more cheaply, and in much greater volume than ever before (Jackson 1977:75).

Globalisation is “one of the single most important concepts in the social sciences” (Magee and Thompson 2010:240). The term is generally used to capture a sense of heightened integration and connectivity across the world (Kelly 2000:4, 279; Magee and Thompson 2010:2). Globalisation is best thought of as a process or a set of processes, which “involves the extension, intensification and quickening of flows of people, products and ideas” (Hopkins 2006a:3; Magee and Thompson 2010:2). There has been much recent work and theorisation within the wider social sciences on the nature and implications of globalisation, largely in response, according to Herod and Wright (2002b:3; see also 2002a):

To the tremendous transformations which our world has been experiencing – deindustrialisation, the growth of international capital flow, the rise of global communications systems, and easier transportation between places, to name just a few – and the feeling that something new is happening to the way in which social life is scaled.

Recent technological developments – commercial airliners, shipping containers and the Internet, for example – have further transformed the rate and lowered the cost of transport and communication (Magee and Thompson 2010:2). Global connections are becoming faster, deeper and more entrenched as a result, giving rise to a world “of manifold and inescapable entanglements” (Bright and Geyer 2012:287; Gerritsen 2012:214; Magee and Thompson 2010:2). Historical research is thus increasingly focused on explaining “the shocking reality of what is – how we got to where we are, and how we...are irreversibly linked, for good and bad, with everybody else” (Bright and Geyer 2012:285). This global web of connections through which people, information, objects and capital easily circulate the world is not a new phenomenon and has significant roots in the not so distant past (McNeill 2006:285; see also Kenwood *et al.* 2013:9). Indeed, “we have lived in a globalised world for longer than we realise or perhaps wish to recognise” (Hopkins 2006a:7).

Globalisation is not limited to the present day, but has significant roots in the past (Hart 2006:85; Hopkins 2006b: viii; Kelly 2000:4; Magee and Thompson 2010:233). Processes of globalisation intensified from the mid-nineteenth century, during a time in which many scholars consider to be the first period or wave of modern globalisation, when social and economic networks became noticeably much more extensive and diverse (see Kenwood *et al.* 2013; Meredith and Dyster 1999:27; Magee and Thompson 2010; McKeown 2004:176). While the precise timeframe is debated, the period is generally considered to fall between the mid-nineteenth century and 1914, when “the first wave of modern globalisation came crashing down” with the start of World War I (Magee and Thompson 2010:241). While large-scale networks of interaction clearly existed before this time (Orser 2014b:5004), the period from the mid-nineteenth century marks an unprecedented break; a “fundamental turning point in global history, whereby places became oriented to other places near and far to a much larger and more pervasive degree than ever before” (Rutman 1973:88). As Orser argued in his consideration of the ‘American Gilded Age’, which he defines as extending from 1865 to 1925 (see Orser 2012b:625), “the precise dates of the period matter far less than the activities and practices of the epoch itself”.

The first wave of modern globalisation was characterised by heightened global connectivity, facilitated by advances in various transport and communications technologies, enabling people,

goods and information to move throughout the world at a scale and rate greater than previously experienced (Amin 2002:385; Ballantyne 2014:14). Innovations in transport and communications technologies, notably steamships, railways and telegraph cables, allowed for previously impossible movements and interactions to occur across many regions of the world (Ballantyne 2011:57; Hopkins 1999:236; Kenwood *et al.* 2013:28; Magee and Thompson 2010:24; Orser 2012b:625; Pinkstone 1992:31; Potter 2007:621; Spencer-Wood 1979:119). The globalisation process is still facilitated by technology – take the Internet, for example – that transforms or compresses space and time, connecting economic and social activities across the globe (Massey 1993:59; Sheppard 2002:308). Many previously unconnected places were integrated into global networks of mobility and exchange for the first time during this period, resulting in an unprecedented growth in world trade as Kenwood *et al.* (2013:27-28) explains:

By promoting the exchange of a growing volume of goods; by expanding markets, as well as opening up new sources of supply of many products...and by allowing a greater interregional flow of people and capital [and goods], the new forms of transport and communications made possible the growing economic interdependence of the whole world which is so remarkable a feature of nineteenth century economic development.

But as Magee and Thompson (2010:233) observe, “globalisation...is as much about people as technology” and another critical aspect of the first wave of modern globalisation is the mass long distance migration of people, facilitated by these new and improved means of transport and communication (Hopkins 1999:236; Kenwood *et al.* 2013:64; McKeown 2004:175). Europe, and particularly Britain and its settler colonies, “lay at the heart of the first great wave of modern globalisation” as the major source of people, commodities, information and capital during this period (Magee and Thompson 2010:241; see also Kenwood *et al.* 2013:80; Meredith and Dyster 1999:28; Pinkstone 1992:32). Before World War I, the Australian and wider international economy was dominated by the export of primary products and other raw materials in exchange for vast quantities British commodity imports (Dyster 1979:91; Kenwood *et al.* 2013:28, 88-89; Magee and Thompson 2010:117).

In addition to facilitating the global movements of people and exchange of commoditised goods, advances in industrial technology also created increased opportunities for trade in natural resources, especially raw, mineral resources such as coal, iron and other metals, including copper and zinc (Kenwood *et al.* 2013:26). The quest for mineral resources, as an integral part of the globalisation process, brought about major environmental change and transformations across the globe (Lightfoot *et al.* 2013:101; Ross 2014:455). As Hardesty (1999:51), argues: “dramatic and accelerating

environmental change, often on a global scale, is one of the hallmarks of the modern world”. During the first wave of modern globalisation, “the act of economic consumption came to be increasingly separated from the place of ecological production” (Cronon 1992:38-39) with local resource constraints being overcome by drawing on distant raw materials in places like Australia – a mineral-rich continent (Kenwood *et al.* 2013:32; Ross 2014:469). Moore (2000:409, 430; see also Deagan 2008:36; Mrozowski 2010:123; Orser 2014b:5004) argues that studies of this transformative historical period also need to address the ecological dimension of globalisation, and “its structural tendency towards environmental degradation”.

In summary, key features of the first wave of modern globalisation include extraordinary developments in transport and communications technologies; unprecedented levels of migration; mass production and consumption of manufactured goods; and substantial increases in the supply and demand of natural resources, resulting in “environmental degradation of increasingly global proportions” (Paynter 2012:781). Taken together, each of these transformations impacted the daily lives of people in the past and led to the creation of the archaeological record at sites across the world, including St Lawrence.

Research Setting – Then and Now

St Lawrence is located on the coast of Central Queensland, roughly halfway between the regional centres of Rockhampton and Mackay, approximately 650 kms north-northwest of the State’s capital, Brisbane (Figure 1). The town sits six kilometres off the Bruce Highway, on the banks of St Lawrence Creek – from which it likely derives its name – one of four tidal estuaries that drain into the vast bay of Broadsound, which has the largest tidal range in eastern Australia (Cook and Mayo 1977:28; Royal Geographical Society of Queensland 2009). The origin of the creek’s name is unknown, but possibly owes to comparisons of its dynamic tidal movements with that of the similarly extreme St Lawrence River in Canada.

Southern squatters (pastoralists) and speculators, riding the wave of pastoralism into the central and northern districts of Queensland, settled the area in which St Lawrence is located, in c.1860. They subsequently established a rudimentary landing place on St Lawrence Creek to service the local pastoral industry developing in the region between the ports of Rockhampton and Mackay. The development of copper mining in Peak Downs, near Clermont soon after, stimulated the growth of

St Lawrence, and the small coastal port soon became the main shipping outlet for the Central Queensland copper trade.

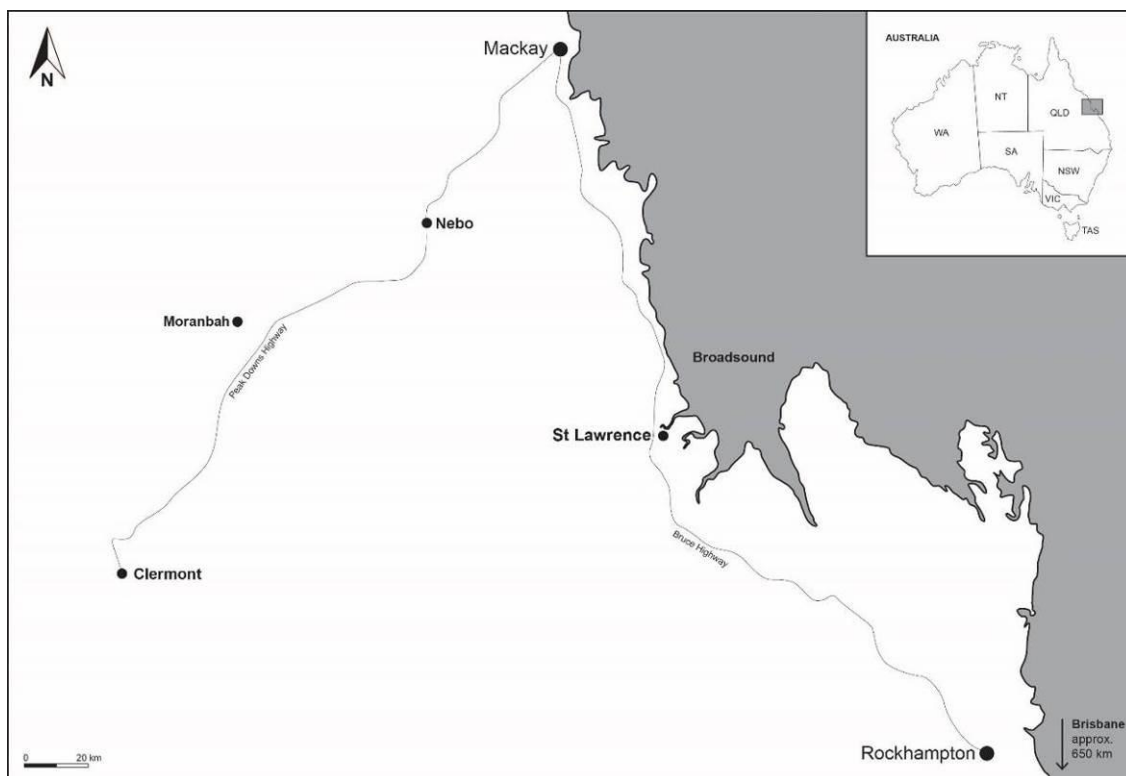


Figure 1. Location of St Lawrence in Central Queensland, Australia.

Ore from the mines, and pastoral products from the surrounding stations were conveyed by horse and wagon teams to St Lawrence, from there by steamer to Rockhampton, and then onwards to Sydney. Imported goods and supplies destined for the township, mines and pastoral stations also travelled via this route, but in the opposite direction. A port township soon took shape around the early landing place at St Lawrence Creek, with the construction of commercial and government buildings – including public houses and stores, a Customs Office, Court House, post and telegraph office, and a sequence of wharf development was initiated.

The heyday of St Lawrence was in the early 1870s, when trade through the port hit record levels during a boom in international copper prices. This prosperity was not to last, however, as on 22 January 1874, a cyclone hit the settlement, washing away the wharf, and destroying much of the township. This event severely stunted port activity, and most of the copper trade redirected from St Lawrence to Rockhampton – the chief port of Central Queensland. Regional railway expansions later bypassed the town, contributing largely to the total lack of export activity recorded from the port of St Lawrence during the 1880s.

In early 1894, efforts by the local townspeople and pastoral station owners to diversify and boost the economy of St Lawrence and the wider Broadsound district led to the establishment of a meatworks a short distance from the settlement. The meat processing facility remained operational until 1903 – albeit with many periods of inactivity due to drought and loss of cattle. With its closure, St Lawrence effectively ceased to operate as a port and the settlement fell into decline. The railway finally reached St Lawrence from Rockhampton in June 1921, providing a long awaited and important transport link to the area. Prior to the arrival of the railway, the inhabitants of St Lawrence relied mainly on horse and later coach mail delivery, and the often-infrequent visits of a steamer for communication and trade with the wider world beyond the settlement.

From its establishment in the mid-nineteenth century, St Lawrence was largely dependent on the trade that the regional pastoral and copper industries brought to the settlement and through its wharves. For this, it competed with the larger Queensland ports, namely Rockhampton – which ultimately secured the valuable inland resources trade, which continues to this day. Today, Central Queensland is a world leading producer and exporter of black coal, and a major centre for mineral processing, and Rockhampton continues to function as one of the main service centres for this and other primary industries (QLD Government Department of Natural Resources and Mines 2014; Queensland Resources Council 2014). St Lawrence, on the other hand, is today but a shadow of its former self. It is a small, little-known town, recently described in a national newspaper as an “insignificant” and “undistinguished” settlement, “which through some accident of history and location has managed to survive although it has outlived its usefulness...[and] seems to have no real reason for its continued existence” (*SMH* 8 February 2004).

The town’s population has declined over recent years, coinciding with closures of local services and amenities and corresponding jobs losses. At the time of writing, the last Australian census in 2011 recorded almost 400 people residing in the wider St Lawrence and Broadsound region (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Of these, approximately 100 people live in the town of St Lawrence itself; but this number can fluctuate depending on the season, with fishing being a major attraction in the Broadsound region (Isaac Regional Council 2011; Royal Geographical Society of Queensland 2009; Queensland Police n.d.). Following its railway connection in 1921, St Lawrence served as a refreshment stop on the North Coast line until 1992 (Centre for the Government of Queensland 2014). While no longer a refreshment stop, Queensland passenger trains still stop at St Lawrence.

From the late 1980s, St Lawrence was the administrative centre of the former Broadsound Shire (previously the Broadsound Divisional Board), but following state-wide amalgamations in 2008, Broadsound Shire merged with the Shires of Nebo and Belyando to form Isaac Regional Council, which operates out of Moranbah, but still keeps a local office in St Lawrence. The future of this office is reportedly unsure (Queensland Police n.d.). In addition to the Council office and primary school, the town has a police station, bowling club, post office, general store, and pub, which offers a few rooms in accommodation. There is no resident or visiting doctor at St Lawrence, however an honorary ambulance officer resides in the township. The closest general medical practitioner and hospital facilities are located approximately one and a half hours drive away (Queensland Police n.d.).

The declining and aging – the last census records the median age of people living in the wider St Lawrence region as 55 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011) – population has also possibly led to concerns about the viability of the St Lawrence State School (Centre for the Government of Queensland 2014). At the time of writing, there are 10 students currently enrolled, most of whom live in the township (QLD Government Department of Education, Training and Employment 2014). Secondary school age children either travel approximately one and a half hours away by bus to the nearest high school, or attend boarding schools in Rockhampton or Mackay. The school population is transient, with many of the parents working for Isaac Regional Council or in various mines in the region (QLD Government Department of Education, Training and Employment 2014). Recent census data confirms this, with sheep, beef cattle and grain farming, local government administration and coal mining recorded as the major employers for those living in the wider St Lawrence region, with managers, machinery operators and drivers, technicians and trades workers, clerical and administrative workers and labourers being the most common occupations (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011).

In summary, since its establishment in the nineteenth century, the township of St Lawrence has seen limited development and depopulation; indeed, the last Australian census recorded almost 40 percent of private dwellings in the wider St Lawrence region to be unoccupied (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Thus, St Lawrence largely retains its historical town layout, with many archaeological features present throughout the landscape, unlike many of the larger colonial Queensland ports like Rockhampton, which had similar origins but continue to function as ports to the present day. In this way, St Lawrence is historically typical, yet archaeologically atypical, similarly to the Dolly's Creek mining settlement in Victoria, in that it was “no more or less

important than hundreds like it in the nineteenth century. What makes it unique and what brings it to our notice is the remarkable persistence of its physical traces” (Lawrence 2000:182).

No known historical archaeological research has been undertaken in the St Lawrence or wider Broadsound area, with the exception of three sites being listed on the Queensland Heritage Register (QHR): the Christ Church Anglican Church (QHR ID: 601661); Police Station and Former Courthouse and Cell Block (QHR ID: 601152); and Former Meatworks and Wharf Site (QHR ID 601173). This thesis does not include further examination of these heritage-listed sites.

Research Aims and Approach

Following Gerritsen (2012), this study is concerned with the development and role of ‘local’ places – in this case, a colonial port settlement in Queensland – in larger processes of globalisation. Effectively, this thesis seeks to observe what the first wave of modern globalisation looked like from the ground, by focusing on a particular place. As Gerritsen (2012:214) explains, “the local, however ordinary or unusual, can always tell us something about the wider context”. This is because places are conceptualised not as bounded entities, but are rather, according to Massey (1995:183):

Always constructed out of articulations of social [and material] relations (trading connections, the unequal links of colonialism, thoughts of home) which are not only internal to that locale but which link them to elsewhere. Their ‘local uniqueness’ is always already a product of wider contacts; the local is always already a product in part of ‘global’ forces, where global in this context refers not necessarily to the planetary scale, but to the geographical beyond, the world beyond the place itself.

Massey’s conceptualisation becomes, according to Gerritsen (2012:214), particularly interesting when the ‘geographical beyond’ is indeed, “a world that is becoming more connected and integrated”. Places, such as St Lawrence, can likewise be conceptualised as “specific juxtapositions or constellations of multiple trajectories” – be those of people, material culture, or information (Lambert and Lester 2006:13; see also Ballantyne 2011). This idea has direct archaeological application, as “it allows us to see how very ordinary objects and relations are implicated in holding together quite extraordinary ‘imbroglios’ of time-space” (Latham 2002:117). In this way, the analysis presented in this thesis may focus on St Lawrence, but it does not stop there. Identifying and tracing such historical trajectories or connections from St Lawrence, effectively pushes investigation beyond the locality to the wider world (Ryzewski 2012:248).

This thesis employs historical archaeological methods to explore historical connections and their physical, material manifestations at St Lawrence. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to examine what the first wave of modern globalisation looked like, on the ground, in this particular setting. Through an examination of past connections during the first wave of modern globalisation at St Lawrence, this thesis addresses:

- How and to what extent were the residents of the colonial port settlement both connected and disconnected (integrated and isolated) with broader networks of economic and social activity prior to the arrival of the railway in 1921?
- How did these networks of interaction or connection shape material life in the town, and the surviving archaeological record of the settlement?
- How were connections encouraged and maintained through the actions of people; and conversely, what factors and/or behaviour contributed to their diminishment, abandonment or cessation?
- Did the geographical location or positionality of the settlement affect the establishment and development of connections to and from the port settlement, and if so, how?
- What role did human-environment interaction play in the creation, maintenance and/or decline of connections?

Studies of places like St Lawrence during the first wave of modern globalisation – though not a long span of time – also have the potential to “increase our knowledge about how rapidly networks, both social and geographic can be established” (Orser 2008:190), and in some cases, how quickly these connections can change and possibly disintegrate. Indeed, networked connections have the potential to be:

Ephemeral and fleeting. Rather like patterns in a kaleidoscope, the precise constitution of the interconnections may be momentary, although the networked nature of interconnectedness itself is constant (Lambert and Lester 2006:13).

Thus, this thesis is also concerned with changes in connections over time, from the town’s establishment in c.1860 to the arrival of the railway in 1921 – a period embedded in what historians and economists now consider the first wave of modern globalisation.

Study Rationale

Ports are important. They are instruments of global commerce, acting as intermediaries between domestic and international markets, facilitating the export and import of goods and people.

According to Polónia (2007:113), ports present:

... a fertile ground for understanding the historical transformation of economic, commercial, transport and technological networks, as well as industrial development and social and urban change.

Ports represent a significant part of the initial phase of permanent European settlement in many places throughout the world, and were vital to the success of all colonies. They were particularly important to the Australian economy. As a vast island continent, ports helped connect Australia with the global marketplace, and continue to do so today. Ports also occupy a central position in Queensland's past:

The growth and development of our great State had its origins in the early settlements along our vast coastline. From these settlements sprung the great ports and harbours which are so important to Queensland's present day and future prosperity (Department of Harbours and Marine Queensland 1986: v).

Ports were (and still are) extremely important to the advancement of the Queensland economy – an economy based on the exploitation and exportation of its natural resources (see Prangnell 2013b; Mate 2010:4). Today, Queensland, and Central Queensland in particular, is a world-leading exporter of mineral and pastoral products (QLD Government Department of Natural Resources and Mines 2014; Queensland Resources Council 2014). The establishment of port infrastructure along the coastline during the nineteenth century was fundamental to the development of these primary industries, and in turn, the expansion of the Queensland capitalist economy. St Lawrence was one of the first ports established to channel produce out of the Central Queensland hinterland to the international marketplace, and enabled the flow of imported consumer goods into the region. While no longer an active port, St Lawrence was, for a brief period, a nexus between Central Queensland and the wider world, but its development and relationship to the region's early pastoral and mineral trade has been overshadowed by that of its more successful neighbour, Rockhampton. Historians have long been interested in ports, given their fundamental role in the settlement and growth of Australia since colonisation, and have conducted many detailed individual port studies which also serve to highlight patterns in their establishment, development and decline over time. Despite their historical importance and prevalence in the landscape, ports remain somewhat understudied in

Australian historical archaeology, as do rural towns, with studies often favouring more urban contexts (*cf.* Nayton 2011; Prosser *et al.* 2012).

The history of St Lawrence also ties directly to the development of copper mining in Queensland. Australian historical archaeologists have largely neglected this industry in their studies of mining, which have mostly focused on sites related to the gold rushes (Lawrence and Davies 2011:147). Research has also typically concerned the mines themselves or mining camps, with little consideration of the supporting transport infrastructure, like ports, developed to service the mining industry and its associated settlements. The study of port settlements like St Lawrence enables historical archaeologists to tell another side of the mining story, and highlight different aspects of the development of resource extraction industries. The placement and infrastructure of coastal ports, the development of port towns, and the lifestyle of port inhabitants, are all topics to which historical archaeology can contribute valuable and unique information (Schacht 2010:72). This study deals with each of these themes in its exploration of St Lawrence, and in doing so, serves to explore the character of colonial port settlements in Queensland, and Australia more generally.

There are no published historical archaeological studies regarding ports in Queensland to date. Queensland historical archaeology is, however, a relatively young and emerging field of research, and the potential of Queensland sites remains largely unexplored (see Harvey 2013). Most historical archaeological studies in Australia relate to sites in New South Wales and Victoria (Schacht 2010:66). Many that do focus on Queensland places remain unpublished (see Harvey 2013:431-432). A recent special issue on the historical archaeology of Queensland published in the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* in 2013 goes a step towards addressing this, showcasing the diversity of research recently completed in the State. The papers in the volume, while largely site-specific, “all contribute to a global understanding of the social expression of British imperialism and the spread of capitalism to the furthest corner of the world” (Prangnell 2013b:424). This study adds to this research, demonstrating the potential of historical archaeological studies of Queensland places to enrich our understanding of the development of capitalist connections and globalisation.

Globalisation is a pressing, relevant, prominent topic in the world today – economists, historians, political scientists and others have all written on it – but historical archaeologists are yet to seriously engage with the globalisation literature. Although long interested in the formation of the modern world, historical archaeologists have only very recently turned their attention to explicit

considerations of globalisation (see for example Brooks 2013; Casella 2013; Horning and Schweickart 2016; Orser 2014a, Orser 2014b). This mirrors a wider shift in the social sciences from a discourse of modernity to globalisation (Hart 2006:67). Global historian Hopkins (2006a:5), considers the history of globalisation to be a comprehensive study, which “seeks to capture all supra-national connections and encompasses themes such as environmental change, the movement of ideas and the spread of disease”. These themes and others, captured by the study of globalisation, responds to a developing need expressed by many historical archaeologists in recent years, for multiscalar studies that extend beyond national histories and “account for the complex and far reaching movements of people, objects, substances and ideas” which characterise their sites (Voss 2016:146). This historical archaeological study not only contributes to an understanding of colonial port settlements in Queensland, and Australia more generally, but also demonstrates the potential of incorporating place-based, relational approaches within a broader, multiscalar framework for understanding global connections and the wider globalisation process.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into three parts. The first, ‘Local Places in a Globalised World’ is a review of theoretical issues of scale encountered when attempting to undertake multiscalar analyses and conceptualise historical archaeological sites as both local and global places. Recent trends in examining connections between places, including relational, network thinking and its application in historical archaeology, are also explored. This review is followed by presentation of documentary, artefactual and spatial historical archaeological evidence in ‘St Lawrence – Past and Present’. The first chapter (Chapter 3) charts the history of the town from its establishment in the 1860s to the arrival of the railway in 1921 using a combination of historical sources. Chapter 4 considers the archaeological record and landscape of the town today and presents the results of archaeological investigations undertaken at the town. The third and final part of this thesis brings the varied historical archaeological evidence presented in the preceding chapters together, to examine features of the first wave of globalisation and the changing nature of connections at St Lawrence prior to the arrival of the railway in 1921. The thesis concludes with a consideration of the town of St Lawrence as it exists today and the role of the past in shaping the present.

Part I

Local Places in a Globalised World

Chapter 2: Globalisation, Connections and Places

As its name suggests, globalisation is clearly an inherently spatial subject, with the first wave of modern globalisation in particular, being a period of heightened spatial transformations marked by “the unprecedented scales and geographic reaches of human action” (Voss 2016:147; see also Massey 1999:28; 2005:81). Globalisation “is centrally about the spatiality of...social organisation, about meanings of place and space associated with intensified world-level forces and raised global connectivity” brought about by rapid technological advances in transport and communication (Amin 2002:385). This intrinsic spatiality raises issues of geographical scale. Traditional scalar frameworks developed to explore global connections and understand the development of the modern world such as world-systems theory, emphasised global patterns of European capitalist expansion, and in so doing, tended to gloss over local variation and human agency, as Dawdy (2013:257; see also Lambert and Lester 2006:8) explains:

The scale of these ‘systemic’ studies was mammoth, their concerns structural, and the phenomena highly impersonal, such as how cloth made in India responded to British demand and ended up in the far-flung shops of the Empire. Cloth travelled by itself, moved by the faceless forces of...capitalism.

In reaction to these perceived failings, the social sciences moved away from reductionist world-systems models, to social analysis; from studies of the global economy, to localised human behaviour and culture (Magee and Thompson 2010:13). This shift was far reaching across the humanities. It is reflected in some of the historical archaeological research coming out of Queensland for example, where investigations have been largely concerned with local, social expressions of identity (see Prangnell 2013b), and have in some cases, avoided words like capitalism (see for example Murphy 2010; Quirk 2007). These kinds of analyses are of obvious importance; however, given their historical setting – in a diverse but increasingly globalised world – historical archaeologists cannot afford to ignore their sites’ broader dimensions (see Orser 2016:181). Such considerations are particularly important for the study of places within Australia and other European settler colonies, where integration into the British world economy was essential for their development and imperial, capitalist connections filtered into many, if not all, aspects of everyday life (Magee and Thompson 2010:40). As one of the many ports established in Australia and across the globe following British settlement and subsequent development of pastoral and mining industries during the mid-nineteenth century, St Lawrence formed a small but component part of “international supply infrastructure” (Bell 1998:31) integral to the dominant world market economy. St Lawrence functioned within this system from the very outset; to divorce the town from

this context would result in a partial understanding and appreciation of its history and archaeological record. Like all other ‘modern’ or historic period sites, St Lawrence – its people and their behaviour in the past – needs to be placed against the backdrop of the global economy of which it formed – and still forms – part.

Many social scientists – historians, cultural geographers and historical archaeologists alike – maintain that there is little point in ignoring or denying the global reach and impact of European imperialism during this period of early globalisation “in the name of rejecting Eurocentrism”, and that global relationships need to be reincorporated back into analyses (Orser 2012a:738; see also Burton 2010:200). This shift, however, does not necessarily signal a return to traditional world-systems perspectives. In considering global connections, it is readily acknowledged that studies cannot afford to lose sight of the local, and the histories of particular places over time, since it is in localised human behaviour and connections that global economic activities are embodied and embedded in particular settings (Magee and Thompson 2010:15; McKeown 2004:178). The challenge clearly rests with mediating between narrowly particularist analyses and overly generalised models – to integrate both local and global scales in ‘multiscalar’ analysis (Hall 2000:46; Lambert and Lester 2006:29; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:477).

Issues of Scale

Amongst the multitude of concepts that have been marshalled to try and make sense of the spatial dynamics of globalisation, both ‘scale’ and ‘networks’ have begun to play a prominent role (Leitner et al. 2002:274).

Long undertheorized, scale has recently been the subject of a wave of scholarly interest and study (Howitt 1998:49; Latham 2002:115). There are many ways to think about scale, with each different scalar metaphor representing a different way of thinking about and describing relations between different places and people within those places (Herod and Wright 2002b:7). For instance, scalar relationships can be conceptualised on a ladder, “where one climbs up the scalar rungs from the local through the regional and national to the global” or vice versa (Herod and Wright 2002b:6). The global scale is located above the local and while each rung or scale is distinct, the side rails connect each one to give the ladder its structure (Herod and Wright 2002b:6-7). Scalar relationships can also be represented by different sized circles, with the global scale being the most distant and largest circle, enclosing all other smaller scales closer to a central, local point (Herod and Wright 2002b:6-7). Russian Matryoshka or nesting dolls offer a similar way to think about scalar relationships, with each doll representing a distinct scale (Herod and Wright 2002b:7).

Scalar metaphorical devices such as these, whereby space is divided into bounded geographical resolutions (e.g. 'local' and 'global') have long been the standard conceptual framework used for thinking about and making sense of spatial relationships and connections (Harris 2006b:43; Herod and Wright 2002b:6-7; Leitner *et al.* 2002:274; Sheppard 2002:313). In recent years, however, scholars within human geography have become largely dissatisfied with scalar thinking, arguing that its "nested hierarchy of differentially sized and bounded spaces" does not adequately capture the complexity and fluidness of sociospatial relationships (Marston *et al.* 2005:416-417). The metaphor of the network has gone on to gain extensive popularity and application throughout the social sciences as a different way to think about the spatialities of globalisation (Leitner *et al.* 2002:274; Magee and Thompson 2010:45; Marston *et al.* 2005:417; Sheppard 2002:315-316). Networks can be simply understood as being comprised of nodes (also called points or vertices) with sets of ties (links or lines) forming connections and representing the relationships between them (Brughmans 2010:277; Orser 2004a:265; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988:4). Nodes and ties may vary in character – a node can represent a single human being or an entire town and links can represent anything from intangible social relations between people like kinship ties, or have physical geographical expressions such as rivers, roads or railways (Knappett 2011:38-29; Orser 2005:88). It is through such social and spatial links that resources – people, information, and of relevance to archaeology, material culture – move, often providing tangible evidence of the connections between geographically distant people and places (Orser 2004b:119; see also Hardesty 1988; Orser 1996:32, 2005:88; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988:4; Wellman *et al.* 1988:157).

Unlike the vertical hierarchies produced by scalar thinking, networks "offer a flat alternative" whereby relations are conceptualised as stretching horizontally across space (Marston *et al.* 2005:417). Whereas scale is generally associated with territorial, rigid and hierarchical notions of space, the network metaphor encourages a relational perspective, similarly to thinking about the registers of different musical scales (Marston 2000:220; see also Amin 2002:387; Howitt 1998). Such a perspective encourages researchers "to rethink questions of relatedness" and traditional understandings of spatial relationships espoused by scalar thinking (Knox *et al.* 2006:134). The world in this sense is messy, pliant and complex, rather than comprised of bounded linear units of 'local' and 'global' space (Herod and Wright 2002b:8; Knox *et al.* 2006:134; Marston *et al.* 2005:419). Indeed, a network perspective enables "a very different sense of scale...in which specific places are seen as simultaneously global and local without being wholly one or the other" (Herod and Wright 2002b:8). In this way, network thinking serves to overcome the persistent difficulties presented by a multiscale approach, which social scientists often adopt as a means to investigate both site specificities and broader global connections. Despite many directed efforts

over the last couple of decades, historical archaeologists have consistently written of the difficult theoretical and methodological task presented by multiscale analysis – of digging locally and thinking globally. Indeed, scale has long been a central and challenging issue in historical archaeology (Casella 2013:90; Dellino-Musgrave 2006:165; Hall and Silliman 2006:8; Horning 2011:80; Lawrence and Davies 2011:263; Mrozowski 2014:343-344; Orser 2009:8, 2010:117, 2016:175; Paynter 1999: v; Voss 2016:147). Orser (2010, 2014a:3420) recently identified it as one of the most relevant and pressing research issues in the discipline today. In particular, practitioners struggle with balancing the scales, so to speak and understanding “the relationships between small and larger scales of interaction using material culture” (Orser 2010:117), an issue captured in the following statement by Johnson (2006:218):

The major task facing...historical archaeology in general, is not to shift focus to an exclusively larger scale, but to grasp the relationship between the small-scale and local, wider processes of transformation, and the colonial experience.

One of the main reasons why this presents such a challenging task is because it requires archaeologists to “tack frequently and perhaps not always linearly, between different geographic and temporal scales” (Orser 2004b:196). However, scholars in human geography contend that there will always be problems with this kind of approach as the very nature of scalar thinking requires scalar levels (e.g. ‘local’ and ‘global’) to be assumed from the first instance and once presupposed, it becomes “difficult not to think in terms of social relations and institutional arrangements that somehow fit their contours” (Marston *et al.* 2005:422). As Marston *et al.* (2005:422) argue, “hierarchical scale is a class case of form determining content, whereby objects, events and processes come pre-sorted, ready to be inserted into the scalar apparatus at hand”. No longer merely an analytical abstraction, scale and its associated terms (local, regional, national, global etc.) have become naturalised, invisible “master metaphors” which constrain scholarly understandings of the spatiality of globalisation (Howitt 1998:50).

Integrating local and global scales will clearly be an incredibly difficult, if not impossible, task, when they are by scalar logic conceptualised from the very outset as distinct hierarchical entities. Scalar metaphors in this sense do not actually allow for people, places and connections to be multidimensional and complex – something can only either be local, global, or fall somewhere in between. However, phenomena and places such as St Lawrence, simultaneously exist at both local *and* global scales other than in the most exceptional cases, and this is especially the case since the transformative mid-nineteenth century (Dirlik 1999:164). As Murray and Crook (2005:91) observe,

“it is not simply a matter of one scale fits all”. Latour (1993:117) uses a railroad metaphor to illustrate:

Is a railroad local or global? Neither. It is local at all points, since you always find sleepers and railroad workers, and you have stations and automatic ticket machines scattered along the way. Yet it is global, since it takes you from Madrid to Berlin or from Brest to Vladivostok.

The two scales are thus inherently connected, but scalar thinking continues to be inherently dualistic in orientation, especially regarding processes of globalisation (Herod and Wright 2002b:9; Gerritsen 2012:216). The global has traditionally been presented and understood as the only scale which really matters and from which there is no escape, while the local has been represented as powerless and weak in the face of globalising forces or as “a refuge from the tyranny of the global and the discourse of globalisation” (Herod and Wright 2002b:10; see also 2002a:17). In this way, the scales only become meaningful when contrasted with the other (Herod and Wright 2002b:9). However, globalisation does not happen at either one of these scales exclusively, but at all scales simultaneously (Kelly 2000:10-11). The local is not the antithesis of the global and the global does not simply sit above the local (Hocking 1999:19). Tackling multiscale research first requires reconceptualization ‘local’ and ‘global’ as fundamentally entwined concepts, not as distinct entities. As Hopkins (2006a:2) argues, the “dualisms are at best inadequate and at worst misleading”. The dominant, yet artificial local/global binary produced by hierarchical scalar thinking have led to a general rejection of traditional scalar logic (Dirlik 1999:163; Marston *et al.* 2005:422; Nicholls 2009:81).

Relational Networks of Connection and Mobility

In place of an imagination of a world of bounded places we are now presented with a world of flows. Instead of isolated identities, an understanding of the spatial as relational through connections (Massey 2005:81).

Today, the wider social sciences are widely embracing a *relational* approach, grounded in the study of networks of connection or interaction. The ‘new’ imperial history, as it is often now referred to, rejects the “naïve and unsophisticated” binary conceptions of ‘cores’ and ‘peripheries’ given primacy in traditional world-systems models, prioritising instead connections and relationships between diverse nodal points to develop a “networked conception of imperial connectedness” (Casella 2013:93; see also Ballantyne 2010:451; Crosbie 2012:5; Fedorowich and Thompson 2013:5; Lambert and Lester 2006:11; Magee and Thompson 2010:45; Orser 2010:117; Pomeranz and Segal 2012:24). A relational perspective allows for an examination of the modern world for

what it really is: “an interconnected zone constituted by multiple points of contact and complex circuits of exchange” (Magee and Thompson 2010:16; see also Lambert and Lester 2006:6). St Lawrence is one such place worthy of consideration.

Network analysis has a long history in the social sciences (see Brughmans 2010, 2012, 2013; Scott 1988; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988) and there have been network applications in archaeology (mainly prehistoric archaeology) since the 1960s, but the approach has recently increased in popularity (see for example Brughmans 2010, 2013; Collar *et al.* 2015:2; Mol 2014; Schortman and Urban 2012). Knappett (2011:8) leads the charge for network analysis in prehistoric archaeology, recently arguing that it has great potential to aid archaeologists in their attempts to understand “the role of distributed materiality in human interconnectedness”. According to Orser (2005:86) “network analysis in historical archaeology is even more significant because it can provide empirical grounding to issues that interest many anthropologists and archaeologists today” including historical processes of capitalist globalisation. For Casella (2013:94), networks can help archaeologists “appreciate the vast set of connections that interlink the global objects we study”.

While typically associated with a suite of mathematical and statistical methodologies and techniques, networks can be employed in strictly metaphorical sense – as “something that is good to think with” (Mulgan 1991:19), as a “heuristic for encouraging relational thinking” (Knappett 2011:8), and as a “metaphor for connectedness” (Knox *et al.* 2006:135). Although Knappett (2011:8) argues for formal, measurable network analysis in archaeology, he acknowledges that thinking about networks as a logical device or analytical abstraction is indeed “extremely useful” and “a significant step” towards understanding past interaction and spatial relationships. Likewise, Brughmans (2010:277; see also 2013) argues that:

Network analysis does not necessarily require a quantitative approach. Thinking about the past explicitly in terms of the interaction between material remains, people or places is highly informative.

In fact, some social scientists purposively omit formal network analysis in their work, arguing that it is detrimental to research and produces “network representations of multi-temporal, directional and dimensional connectivity [which] too often lead to oversimplified models that still resemble ‘spaghetti-monsters’ (Malkin 2011:18) (Figure 2). For example, Figure 2 depicts a network diagram representing connections between sites that have evidence for the same pottery forms in the Roman East during the period 150-125 BC (Brughmans 2010:288).

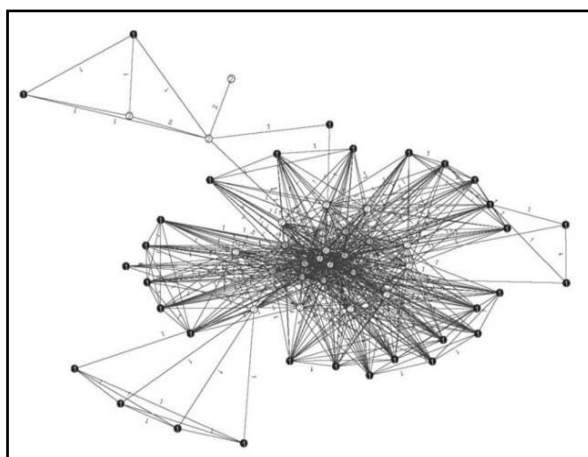


Figure 2. Example of a network diagram produced for archaeological research using methods of formal network analysis (Brughmans 2010:288).

It should be noted that relational, network thinking is no more empirically correct than traditional scalar thinking, each perspective simply provokes a different way of framing and thinking about spatial relations and connections (Knox *et al.* 2006:133; see also Amin 2002:386). It does seem more appropriate however, given what we know of globalisation and the extensive sociocultural networks and processes in operation since the mid-nineteenth century to think in relational terms (Agnew 2011:327; Nicholls 2009:78). As Amin (2004:33) argues, with “this emerging new order, spatial configuration and spatial boundaries are no longer purposively territorial or scalar”. This milieu is clearly characterised less by fixity and boundaries, than by mobility, flows, fluidity and connections. The benefits and significance of a relational, networked approach to the study of imperial connections is that it allows people and places – to which we can add material culture – to connect “analytically in the way that colonial relations had connected them historically” (Lambert and Lester 2006:11).

The relational perspective adopted in this thesis draws upon the work of historian Tony Ballantyne, who has published extensively on imperial networks throughout the world (see for example Ballantyne 2011, 2012; Ballantyne and Burton 2012). Ballantyne (2011:63) understands networks of transportation and communication – through which people, information and goods moved – to be “the lifeblood of colonial life”, giving places their shape and character. He suggests then, that historical research be committed and directed to the study of these movements and circulations, to exploring the ways in which flows of movement – of people, information and material culture – operated in various places at particular times (Ballantyne 2014:18). He contends that these kinds of studies, will allow historians to not only investigate the unique developmental histories of particular places, but also explore how they fit into “much broader stories of the development of imperial regimes, global capitalism and modernity itself” (Ballantyne 2011:50, 63).

Ballantyne is one of many historical scholars currently theorising and exploring the significant and key role of mobility and movement in processes of colonialism and capitalist globalisation. There has indeed been a recent surge in the study of imperial connections and networks (see for example Crosbie 2012; Fedorowich and Thompson 2013; Lambert and Lester 2006; Magee and Thompson 2010). Most of the research concerning imperial networks of connection and mobility focus predominantly on flows of people – on migration, but as Ballantyne (2014:19) argues, reducing mobility to migration “offers a narrow lens, capturing only one broad form of human mobility”. In its broadest sense, ‘migration’ can encompass the movements not just of people, but information, diseases and animals, for example.

The study of connections must also encompass the circulation of goods – of material culture, “as humans and objects were bound up together in transatlantic choreographies” (Hauser and Hicks 2009:267). It is refreshing to see scholars outside of the historical archaeological discipline readily acknowledge the importance of artefacts, with Ballantyne (2014:21) noting, “it is also important to consider the movements of things”. In one instance, Ballantyne (2014:21) raises concepts of material culture familiar to all historical archaeologists when he calls for his fellow historians to consider the “distinctive materiality” of paper and the importance of information flows and the mobility of written text:

Rather than thinking about texts as ‘words’ or ‘ideas’, they might be understood as material forms, designed typically to be mobile, to be shared, to be sent, to be stored and retrieved; they were accumulated, ordered, combined, compared and disseminated.

Ballantyne (2014:11) has recently turned his gaze to Australia, observing that while “a clear focus on mobility has not emerged as a central problematic in Australian historical writing”, it is slowly but surely becoming a foremost topic of analysis (see also Bishop 2014:39). This highlights a shift away from the production of inward-looking histories promoting national identity and nation building, which effectively distance Australia from its wider imperial links (Ballantyne 2011:51; see also Crosbie 2012:6). Crozier-De Rosa and Lowe (2013:7) have also observed an increase in Australian historical writing that recognises the country’s place within “changing empires, a globalising world, and a range of processes that transcend national boundaries”. Despite this trend however, they too note that there is still much work to do (Crozier-De Rosa and Lowe 2013:11; see also Crosbie 2012:6).

Relational Thinking in Historical Archaeology

Archaeology must contend with extremes of analytical scale, linking the hyper-specificities of individual artefacts...to the transcontinental processes of globalisation (Casella 2013:90).

The movement in the wider social sciences towards a relational approach focused on the study of connections is mirrored in recent archaeological research. From Hodder's (2012:105) work on entanglements – what he identifies as “specific flows of matter, energy and information”, to Knappett's (2011) focus on prehistoric networks of interaction, to Casella's (2013) and others recent considerations of mobility and globalisation, explicit interest in the study of past connections has been growing within both prehistoric and historical archaeological domains. As Casella (2013:97) observes:

By shifting the focus of study to the relationalities...that shaped the historical material world, archaeologists can begin to confront the vexing challenge of multiscale research.

As Mol (2014:81; see also Oyen 2016:354) observes, “archaeology is currently riding a wave of relational thinking”. Indeed, the theme of the 2013 Society of Historical Archaeology annual conference's plenary session was ‘Globalisation, Immigration, Transformation’. Globalisation is one of the most important concepts in the social sciences today and its study presents historical archaeologists with new and rich opportunities. The first wave of modern globalisation in particular, represents a much more familiar period, especially to Australian historical archaeologists, than “the world of the English, French and Spanish invaders of the sixteenth and seventeenth century” (Paynter 2012:780). Although long interested in the study of the modern world formed over the past 500 years, historical archaeologists have only very recently turned their attention to explicit considerations of globalisation (see for example Brooks 2013; Casella 2013; Horning and Schweickart 2016; Orser 2014a, Orser 2014b; Paynter 2012). This mirrors a wider shift in the study of modern history more generally (Crosbie 2012:12). Like historians, “whose training is embedded in local case studies”, archaeologists “do not have to distort or desert their discipline in order to join their research to the very wide issues raised by the process of globalisation” (Hopkins 2006a:5). With its unique methodology of interrogating both historical and archaeological evidence, historical archaeology has a “tremendous amount to contribute to understanding the day-to-day elements of the process of globalisation” (Orser 2009:16; see also Orser 2014b:5004), providing valuable insights not accessible through documentary research alone. For instance, Orser (2014a:3422) points to the study of the spread of commoditised artefacts as part of the globalisation process, as “fertile research territory for archaeologists”.

Many historical archaeological studies have sought to move beyond the idea of sites as bounded entities and examine how particular localities were connected with broader socioeconomic spheres, investigating what goods were available in particular places, at particular times (Orser 1992:96). In their study of connections, some historical archaeologists have specifically focused on seemingly isolated places including rural farmsteads (see Groover 2003, 2005; Stewart-Abernathy 1986, 1992) and towns (see Adams 1973, 1976, 1977; Miller and Hurry 1983), and mining camps and other resource-extraction based settlements (see Davies 2002, 2006a; Hardesty 1988; Lawrence 2000; Sweitz 2012). In perhaps the earliest historical archaeological study incorporating a relational, network perspective to examine past connections, Adams (1973, 1976, 1977) explored the ways in which the small farming town of Silcott, Washington, was connected to the wider world. Silcott was established in the 1860s and gradually became “economically and socially oriented with other communities”, soon growing into an important node in the region’s transportation network (Adams 1973:224, 337). Adams examined commodity flows in and out of Silcott by identifying the place of manufacture for artefacts recovered from the town. Most of the goods that found their way to Silcott originated from elsewhere in North America some distance away from Washington, while some objects also came from England, Germany, Japan and Poland (Adams 1976, 1977; see also Orser 1994:62).

Through a combination of artefact analysis, and historic and ethnographic research, Adams demonstrated that the residents of Silcott “participated in a hierarchy of economic and social networks” that connected them to national and global trade, and that “each level of this network hierarchy...intermeshed with every other level” (Adams 1976:110). Adams’ study points to the tangible connections that exist between towns like Silcott – small, seemingly isolated places in the scheme of things (Riordan and Adams 1985:9; Spencer-Wood 1979:123) – and the world beyond, as Orser (1996:39; see also Riordan and Adams 1985:9; Spencer-Wood 1979:123) explains:

Adams’ research shows that even on the edge of the Snake River in rural Washington, people had a ‘window on the world’. Though far from New York, Boston, Berlin and London, the men and women of Silcott were not truly isolated.

Stewart-Abernathy (1986, 1992) and Groover (2003, 2005) have both investigated rural farmstead sites in North American regions renowned for their geographical isolation and largely self-sufficient, ‘backwards’ inhabitants (Orser 1996:39-40). In their studies of the Moser family farmstead in the mountainous Ozarks, Arkansas, and the Gibbs family farmstead in Appalachia, Tennessee, respectively, Stewart-Abernathy and Groover explored the ways in which these farming families were impacted by capitalism and articulated within the global economy (Groover 2003:6).

Archaeological investigations at the farmsteads indicated that similarly to the inhabitants of Silcott, complex flows of people, information and goods connected the farming families of the Ozarks and Appalachia with the wider world. Although well known for their independence and isolation, these studies demonstrated that the boundaries of the farmsteads and the gaze of the people who lived and worked there extended “well beyond the fences of the farm” (Stewart-Abernathy 1986:145). As Groover (2003:277) points out:

Contrary to popular sentiment...from the beginning of settlement, most residents...were economically linked to the larger world beyond their homes, and perhaps unknowingly, were vigorous, active participants within regional, national and international economies that stretched beyond their doorsteps, crossroad communities, and towns in a weblike dendritic manner.

Adopting a similar approach in his study of Henry’s Mill in Victoria, Australia, Davies (2002, 2006a) investigated the ways in which the people at the timber mill were both isolated and integrated with broader spheres of social and economic activity during the early twentieth century. Although the settlement that grew up around Henry’s Mill was located deep in a forest, a tramway connected the workers and families who lived there to the world beyond the mill (Davies 2002:64, 2006a:8). Timber tramlines running from the mill carried timber away to market and brought in people, information and manufactured goods, predominately from the United Kingdom (Davies 2006a:1). Like timber mills, mining settlements, “by virtue of their ability to supply a raw material in demand...are inevitably linked to broader, social, communications, transport and economic networks” (Knapp 1998:18) despite their often-spatial remoteness. In another early study incorporating a relational, network approach, Hardesty (1988) explored the population, information and material ties or “interaction spheres” which served to connect frontier mining communities in Nevada with the rest of the world. In a recent study, Sweitz (2012) conducted historical archaeological analyses of late nineteenth and early twentieth century mining communities in the Cripple Creek Mining District in Colorado and found that the settlements were not isolated, but similarly swept up within the first wave of modern globalisation. As Sweitz (2012:230) observes, “even in those often remote locations, miners confronted head-on the forces that shaped contemporary America...capitalism, industrialisation and urbanisation”.

Australian historical archaeological studies have also exposed the “widespread and pervasive” (Lawrence 2000:168) nature of global connections associated with mining; for example, despite being “small and obscure”, Lawrence and Davies (2011:168) found that the nineteenth century Dolly’s Creek goldmining settlement in Victoria to be:

Nevertheless part of much wider social and economic networks. The diggings existed because of European industrialisation and international expansion. They were part of a gold rush that was global in scale, with participants involved in one of the largest and most rapid mass migrations in human history.

The evidence which has emerged from studies of rural towns like Silcott in Washington, U.S.A., and mining settlements like Dolly's Creek in Victoria, Australia, speak to the global connectedness of colonial places (Crass *et al.* 1998: xx). In their investigations of these seemingly remote or 'out-of-the-way' sites, historical archaeologists have effectively demonstrated that no place was ever truly isolated with "nearly all sites examined by historical archaeologists, even those in the most seemingly remote corners... [shown to be] connected to wider social and economic networks" (Delle 1998:7). This should not come as a shock, knowing what we do about movement and mobility during the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries; indeed "it would be more surprising if the residents of Silcott...and the Moser site were not connected to the larger commercial networks" set in motion by the first wave of modern globalisation (Orser 1996:41).

A Global Sense of Place

...the point about networks, of course, is that they connect different places (Lambert and Lester 2006:14).

Echoing through these historical archaeological case studies is a desire to understand and examine a particular site or place in relation to the processes and connections extending far beyond it. Ballantyne's (2014:36) work on imperial networks is framed around an understanding of places "as knot-like conjunctures", which shares many features with the conceptualisation of "place" first developed over two decades by geographer Doreen Massey. For Massey (1991:28; see also 1994, 2005, 2006), a place is best understood as the product "of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus". Each different place "sits at a specific point where a unique set of networks, movements and exchanges intersect" and where people and things subsequently gather in unique arrangements (Ballantyne 2011:60; see also Agnew 2011:317; Cresswell 2004:74; Escobar 2001:143). As Massey (1991:28) explains:

If one moves in from the satellite towards the globe, holding all those networks of social relations and movements and communications in one's head, then each 'place' can be seen as a particular, unique, point of their intersection. It is, indeed, a meeting place.

In this sense, movements of people, information and material culture make places and also serve to link different, often distance places together (Agnew 2011:325). It is the constellation of relations unique to a specific place – “the absolute particularity of the mixture of influences found together there” – which makes each different and distinct from others (Massey 1991:41; see also Lambert and Lester 2006:14; Massey 2005:68). Places in this sense are not simply areas with boundaries around, rather they are “imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations” (Massey 1993:66). This perspective is clearly compatible with relational thinking and facilitates a conscious awareness of the connections linking places around the world, ultimately providing what Massey refers to as a “global sense of place” (see Massey 1993).

A global sense of place first occurred to Massey when, seeking to describe the London neighbourhood in which she lived, she observed “that it would be impossible to understand” the place “without bringing into play half the world and a considerable amount of British imperialist history” (Massey 1994:154). She is not the first to notice the difficulty faced when trying to determine where one place ends and another begins (Cresswell 2004:74; Orser 1996:39). In questioning the traditionally bounded and static notions of place, Driver and Samuel (1995:vi), geographer and historian respectively, similarly broached the same issue:

Can we write local histories which acknowledge that places are not so much singular points as constellations, the product of all sorts of social relations which cut across particular locations in a multiplicity of ways? Such questions arise not simply within projects of local history, but within all those varieties of writing concerned with places and their pasts. In order to consider them properly, we believe that it is essential to encourage a greater dialogue across the disciplines. We have in mind the possibility of fruitful exchanges with geographers, anthropologists and archaeologists, in particular.

Massey’s conceptualisation of place encourages non-scalar, non-territorial, relational thinking, with places understood not as bounded, isolated entities, but as nodes in relational settings, “inextricably involved with other [places]...near and far, in weblike, netlike connections” (Lesser 1961:42; see also Amin 2002:291). Places are permeable and open, constructed precisely through relational connections often stretching far beyond a place itself, connecting it to others near and far (Agnew 2011:327; Cresswell 2004:39-40; Massey 1994:121, 2005:131). For this reason, Massey argues that investigations of particular places must draw on this wider context: “a place – its history and character – can at best be partially understood without linking it to other places to which it was connected” (Massey 1991:29, 120). Massey was clearly not the first to contend this, for example noted historian Rutman (1973:61) suggested over four decades ago that places cannot be dealt with

as “deserted islands”, and that each must be analysed “within a web of locales” in which it is situated.

Like the network metaphor, with its inherent relational logic, the global sense of place advocated by Massey and others within the disciplines of geography and history facilitates the articulation of the spatial dynamics of globalisation in a constructive way by breaking down scalar divisions between local and global (Massey 2005:182). Like Latour’s railroad metaphor, places are in this sense understood to be neither local nor global; indeed, places are understood to be always ‘global’ to at least some extent since they are formed by outside connections (Ballantyne 2011:61; Gerritsen 2012:224). As Cresswell (2004:102) points out, “the complex entanglement of history and geography that go into making ‘place’ do not just occur at a cosy local level”. From this stems an understanding that the local scale is no more real or grounded than the global scale (Dirlik 1999:153; Marston *et al.* 2005:419; Massey 2005:184). As Dirlik (1999:152) explains:

For all their supposed concrete referentiality, the global and the local are terms that derive its meanings from one another, rather than from reference to any specifically describable spatiality.

Global phenomena do not exist purely in an abstract sense, but are always grounded, always ‘local’, with places providing particular settings and contingencies for globalisation – specific places where it is acted out, “constituted, invented, coordinated, [and] produced” (Massey 2005:182; see also Dirlik 1999:158; Gibson-Graham 2002:33; Kelly 2000: xv; Merrifield 1993:520). Globalisation is thus not some “disembodied force”, but only exists in multiple ‘locals’ – in places – and accordingly, what is often designated as ‘local’ is already embedded with the ‘global’ (Gerritsen 2012:217; Hall 2000:47; Kelly 2000:12). For this reason, by investigating a particular place, studies can “escape the placeless and abstracted analytical viewpoints” often associated with colonialism and emergent capitalist globalisation (Ballantyne 2014:37).

In his historical work in New Zealand, Ballantyne (2014:36) investigated the integral role of connections and mobility in “the making and remaking of place”. He traced “the constant swirl of people and things moving in and out of” the small town of Gore in the South Island, and explored how changing transportation and communication networks shaped the development of the settlement and affected the everyday lives of Gore’s inhabitants (Ballantyne 2011:60-61). In colonial Otago, Ballantyne (2014:10) similarly found mobility to be both “foundational to the enterprise of settlement”, but also “a persistent problem and fundamental challenge” for colonists as connections varied over time. Connections between places can strengthen or wane and subside, and

– as a product of these relational networks – cause the nature and shape of places to similarly change and shift (Agnew 2011:325; Ballantyne 2011:60; Massey 1991:41, 2005:151). Places in this sense are not static and fixed, but are dynamic and fluid entities, always in process (Agnew 2011:326; Ballantyne 2011:62; Cresswell 2004:37; Massey 1991:29, 1994:120, 2005:131). Places are in fact as much products of disconnections – of “the non-meetings up [and] the...relations not established” – as they are of connections (Massey 2005:67). As Potter (2007:641) observes, “we need to think in terms of ‘lumps’ as well as ‘flows’”.

Placing an emphasis on connections does risk limiting studies of globalisation to people and places with the most and strongest connections, to the resulting exclusion of many small-scale or ephemeral places and communities (Pomeranz and Segal 2012:24-25). However, a lack of connections or disconnection can be just as significant and is worthy of greater consideration (Casella 2013:95-96). Globalisation produces diversity – it is not simply a story of ever-increasing connectivity and convergence to create a homogenous landscape of globalised places (Gibson-Graham 2002:27; Hopkins 2006a:11). Studies of globalisation, according to Potter (2007:641) should therefore not only recap the simplified story of ever-increasing connections and mobility, but examine the nature and extent of connections in different contexts, and how they changed over time. More attention is due to “the limitations and unevenness of connections” or to those places that have lost connections over time (Ward 2012:344; see also Bright and Geyer 2012:288; Pomeranz and Segal 2012:24). Such places, many which have seen dramatic reversals in activity, and “are slowly crumbling back into the landscape” (Ballantyne 2001:36) provide historical archaeologists with opportunities to study settlement growth and decline (Connah 1993:37, 122; Winston-Gregson 1984:27), but their significance goes beyond that. They are historical signposts of uneven and unequal development and represent a loss of connections, which in itself forms an essential, but largely unexplored element of the globalisation process. The focus should remain on connections, but both their presence *and* absence.

The world from the mid-nineteenth century was clearly characterised by increasing mobility and interaction, with technological advancements enabling distant people and places to connect in new and improved ways. However, connections were generally less free and fluid than a relational conception of globalisation might suggest and many have criticised the approach for encouraging an idealist view of the world as completely open and fluid, ignorant of its structural limitations (see for example Marston *et al.* 2005; Potter 2007; Sheppard 2002). Critics maintain that they are not “at odds with the possibilities of flow-thinking *per se*”, but find issue with studies which downplay or neglect to consider the inequalities inherent within globalisation in favour of its possibilities and

potential (Marston *et al.* 2005:423; see also Potter 2007:622; Sheppard 2002:308). For Massey (2005:84) the issue is in producing “a geographical imagination which ignores its own real spatiality”, since the ability to connect or engage in global networks of connection and exchange is clearly not, nor has it ever been, homogenous; possibilities of connection are not the same everywhere or for everybody. As Cooper (2005:91; see also Potter 2007:641) explains:

The world has long been – and still is – a space where economic and political relations are very uneven; it is filled with lumps, places where power coalesces surrounded by those where it does not, places where social relations become dense amid others that are diffuse. Structures and networks penetrate certain places and do certain things with great intensity, but their effects tail off elsewhere (Cooper 2005:91).

Largely considered inconsequential, given “the new possibilities that globalisation supposedly creates for all”, the ‘positionality’ of a place – its relative situation, location or distance in relation to other places – clearly still matters (Sheppard 2002:319; see also Malkin *et al.* 2007:4; Schweizer 1997:740). Indeed, a central idea in network theory is that the position of a node within a network both creates and constrains opportunities for action (Collar *et al.* 2015:2). Positionality plays a large part in “shaping...the relational dynamics that unfold” between and within places (Nicholls 2009:78) and how different places experienced and participated in, wider processes of globalisation. A global sense of place recognises that places are situated “in very distinct ways in relation to...flows and connections” (Massey 1991:25-26) and can therefore have different opportunities for movement and connection, and, importantly for archaeologists, acquiring goods.

As revealed in their studies of resource availability and market access at different sites, historical archaeologists have long recognised that connections can vary greatly between different places depending on their position with wider networks of interaction, and have an impact on the ability of its inhabitants to connect to other people and places near and far. Not long after Adams published his findings about Silcott, Spencer-Wood (1979) set out to examine the relationship between place location and resource availability in North America during the nineteenth century. She wanted to know if site location could account for artefact distribution and variability (Spencer-Wood 1979:118). After investigating data from six archaeological sites, Spencer-Wood found that site location in relation to transport facilities “is a vital conditioning factor” impacting access to export markets and the availability of resources, labour and capital essential for production (Spencer-Wood 1979:118). Site location also played an important role in influencing the availability and import of goods (Spencer-Wood 1979:118). She also found that the location of a site somewhat conditioned its comparative advantage when compared to other places in a trade network (Spencer-Wood

1979:118). These findings led her to conclude that “site location is one of the most important variables determining both a site’s inputs and outputs from a market system”, and similarly the archaeological evidence of involvement in North American trade markets (Spencer-Wood 1979:118). In another early study, Miller and Hurry (1983:80) examined ceramic distribution in the Connecticut Western Reserve and found that manufactured goods were generally difficult to acquire in the area prior to the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 (Miller and Hurry 1983:80). In addition to hindering the flow of goods, the physical isolation of the region from networks of transport and communication also conditioned the types of goods shipped, with breakage and weight playing a major part in determining glass and ceramic shipments (Miller and Hurry 1983:83).

Positionality does not simply equate with physical distance – it “cannot be read off easily from conventional cartographic images of relative location” (Sheppard 2002:323). Opportunities for connections and mobility are clearly not determined by physical distance alone (Lawrence and Davies 2011:131). This issue has occupied a central position in Australian historiography since the 1960s when Blainey (1966) published *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History*, in which he claimed that Australia’s geography and remoteness from other parts of the world shaped, and indeed limited, flows of people, goods and information to and within the continent (see also Davies 2006a:8; Lawrence and Davies 2011:131). Hirst (1975:447) later wrote a rebuttal to Blainey’s assessment, arguing “the freedom with which goods move in a society is not related primarily to distance, but to the nature of goods that can be produced, the markets for them, and the means and costs of transport”. Hirst (1975:447) argued that despite factors of distance and isolation, people, information and goods “have been highly mobile” within and to Australia since the beginning of settlement, facilitated by steamship and telegraph technologies. Positionality then, like distance, is relative. As Agnew (2011:318) observes, “distance did not die, its forms and effects were reformulated”, by the space-transcending technologies developed during the first wave of modern globalisation, “making some places economically closer than others” (Sheppard 2002:319).

Wilkie and Farnsworth’s (1999) historical archaeological study of ceramic availability among colonial plantation communities on remote islands in the Bahamas illustrates this issue. On Crooked Island for example, they found that geographical remoteness did not impede the supply of ceramic goods, as the island was a go-between in long distance trade and saw a constant flow of passing ships providing regular contact with the outside world and an alternative source of ceramics and other goods for the otherwise isolated plantation population.

A recent Australian study by Allison (2003) investigating consumption and recycling patterns at the Kinchega pastoral station in New South Wales, highlights the important impact that positionality can have on a place and its inhabitants. Kinchega homestead is located near Broken Hill in what could be historically considered a peripheral, frontier region, “where access to outside resources involved a long and expensive overland or river trip” (Allison 2003:167, 189). However, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, on the back of the discovery of rich mineral deposits nearby, Broken Hill transformed from a remote outpost to a metropolis, and became the trade and transport node for the region (Allison 2003:166). As a result, the once remote and sparsely populated region saw an influx of people and wealth, which saw the rapid construction and improvement of local transport and communication infrastructure such as a telephone exchange and railway extension (Allison 2003:190). When looking at the impact of these changing communication systems on the consumption and recycling activities of the station residents, Allison found that a variety of consumer goods were readily available to the residents of the homestead, owing to their proximity to the flourishing and important Broken Hill trading networks (Allison 2003:166; Lawrence and Davies 2011:131). As these few studies demonstrate, the geographical position of a place will likely have some bearing on the nature of interaction and exchange opportunities there, because places – like people – are not abstract phenomenon, but exist in real-life, physical settings. While geographical location plays an important role in shaping the positionality of a place, the relationship between the two is complex.

Historical archaeologists would do well to follow cultural geographers and imperial historians and adopt the conceptualisation of place presented here – a global sense of place – for their investigations of archaeological sites. Thinking globally in this sense does not “mean thinking the same or ignoring the small-scale and particular historical contingencies that informed daily life in the past” – a critique often aimed at historical archaeological studies attempting a wider focus (Lawrence 2003:10; see also Orser 2010:137). While historical archaeologists do not have direct access to the constellation of relations which made up particular places in the past, the investigation of such connections is still possible (Orser 2004b:120). With its exclusive multi-source methodology, historical archaeology offers a unique perspective, adding depth and validity to historical investigations and interpretations of the past not achievable through documentary analysis alone.

The existence of documentary materials recorded by people in the past greatly aids this task of plotting past connections (Orser 2004b:120; Orser 2005:85-86). Networks of interaction can be discerned from a range of written sources, including newspapers, maps, diaries, shipping logs, land

files, gazettes and trade catalogues (Orser 2004b:120). These colonial archives provide “fleeting glimpses of particular movements and vectors of movement” (Ballantyne 2011:62). Historical archaeology is not, however, limited to the analysis of archival documents; its practitioners can also draw on diverse spatial and material evidence contained within the archaeological record. Historical archaeologists can recognise past space-spanning connections in the things people left behind; from the buildings and other features constructed on the physical landscape, to the often-unassuming objects used in everyday life (Orser 1996:33). Artefacts act as physical anchors to the past (Ashton and Hamilton 2010:21) and for this reason serve as “symbolic representations of webs of interaction” (Orser 1996:40). Interrogation of artefacts beyond their inherent physical characteristics of fabric and form, using what is often referred to as an “object biography”, provides a useful method for identifying networks of interaction (Casella 2013:95).

The global sense of place advocated by Massey, Ballantyne and others, satisfies historical archaeology’s desire for a broader focus, without dismissing its methodological strength (and also its limitation), which sees research typically occur at the detailed site level; historical archaeologists may not excavate on a global scale, but with a global sense of place, they don’t need to. The perspective allows historical archaeologists to produce site specific and richly contextualised ‘local’ studies which not only examine “the ceaseless small-scale mobilities of life” in particular places, but also capture how these connections “interlocked into the more extensive networks” through which people, information and material culture flowed through places across the world (Ballantyne 2011:61). In doing so, they would move another important step towards producing the global studies so “important to furthering the sophistication of the discipline’s methods and theories” (Orser 2010:119).

Summary

The first wave of modern globalisation (c.1850-1914) evokes a period of industrial and technological innovation in transport and communication, enabling the movement people – and with them, information and material culture – to new places at an unprecedented rate. Issues of scale are central to any consideration of globalisation, and have recently undergone a wave of theorising, and relational thinking has now been embraced across the social sciences. Massey’s global sense of place, in particular, provides a conceptual framework to capture the complex movements, connections and flows, which have increasingly characterised everyday life in most places around the world from the mid-nineteenth century, including St Lawrence. It provides a

relational, networked perspective to investigating and understanding places. Places – as a particular changing constellation of people, information and material culture – are recognised to be multivocal and always in process. They are locations where people and things gather and in doing so, weave together other places near and far. As each of the historical archaeological case studies presented illustrate, even seemingly isolated, out-of-the-way places were engaged within wider spheres of global activity during this truly transformative period. While all places are constituted by mobility to some extent; movements of people, information and material culture can be “an inherent part of how some places are defined and operate” (Agnew 2011:327). Ports, like St Lawrence, are one such kind of place.

Part II

St Lawrence – Past & Present

Chapter 3: A History of St Lawrence

In this chapter, I present a town biography of sorts, which traces the historical development of St Lawrence and its inhabitants from the beginnings of European settlement in the mid-nineteenth century to the arrival of the railway in the early 1920s – during a period which corresponds with the first wave of modern globalisation. While compiled from a wide array of primary source material, the history of St Lawrence presented in this thesis should not be taken as the one true and complete account of the township. Given that “historical work is invariably selective” (Jackson 1977: vii), and “there are no rules for the process of constructing a story out of...disparate pieces of evidence” (Somekawa and Smith 1988:152), an active process of interpretation and creativity has admittedly played a large role in the construction of this history. This historical background has been knowingly written with the purpose of this study in mind. As Somekawa and Smith (1988:151; see also Tilley 1993:1, 10) argue, there is no clear distinction between facts and interpretation:

‘Facts’ lead us to ‘interpretations’ which in turn lead us to search for (and usually find) other facts, and so on, in a process that is finally so seamlessly dialectical that the story we tell seems to be a coherent and obvious whole.

In this way, “interpretation does not begin *after* the facts are gathered”, but is instead an unconscious component of the fact-gathering process itself (Somekawa and Smith 1988:152; emphasis added; see also Tilley 1993:7; Thorpe 1996:13). Prepared in line with the research aims – which are focused on understanding past connections at St Lawrence during the first wave of modern globalisation – this historical background necessarily emphasises the flow of people, information and material goods, into, and out of, the settlement during this period.

Historical Research Methods

The historical background presented in this thesis was principally prepared using a range of primary documentary sources, including official Government archival records, newspapers, and maps, plans and photographs. The limited secondary sources available – such as regional histories (e.g. Rolleston 1983) and local Government monographs (see Broadsound Shire Council 1976, 1979) – are largely concerned with the entire Broadsound region – with few details concerning the township of St Lawrence itself – and based on second-hand accounts with minimal reference to primary source material. Consequently, these publications were mainly utilised in the initial stages of research to provide a background to the wider study area and ground further detailed documentary investigation using primary records, outlined below.

Newspapers

Newspapers were the main source of information used to compile this historical background, and many relevant papers were in circulation across the entire period of settlement of interest at St Lawrence – from the early 1860s to the 1920s (see Table 1). St Lawrence was without a local newspaper of its own, except for a very brief period during its founding years when one or two issues of the *Broadsound Gazette* and later the *Northern Times and Broadsound Advertiser* appeared (see later this chapter). As such, its residents relied on the reporting and delivery of news in the pages of the regional papers out of Rockhampton, as well as the state-wide papers from Brisbane. The Rockhampton-based newspapers, such as the *Rockhampton Bulletin (RB)* and the *Morning Bulletin (MB)*, provide the most detailed information concerning activity in St Lawrence.

Table 1. Historical newspapers used in this study.

Newspaper	In-text Abbreviation	Date Range
<i>The Brisbane Courier</i>	BC	1864-1933
<i>The Capricornian</i>	TC	1875-1929
<i>Darling Downs Gazette & General Advertiser</i>	DDG	1858-1880
<i>Empire</i>	-	1850-1875
<i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i>	MBC	1846-1861
<i>Morning Bulletin</i>	MC	1878-1954
<i>Rockhampton Bulletin</i>	RB	1861-1878
<i>Queensland Figaro and Punch; Queensland Figaro</i>	-	1885-1889; 1901-1936
<i>Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald & General Advertiser</i>	QT	1861-1908
<i>The Queenslander</i>	TQ	1866-1939
<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	SMH	1842-1954
<i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i>	-	1907-1954
<i>Worker</i>	-	1890-1955

Newspaper entries contain information across a variety of topics, and include coverage of newsworthy matters such as railway development, social, recreational and civic events, advertisements, and details of shipping arrivals and departures, and on some occasions, cargo

manifests. Some newspaper accounts – particularly those written by visitors travelling through the town or local correspondents – provide insights into the spatial organisation of the settlement, and the number and types of businesses in operation. The newspapers consulted for this study were available online via Trove – the National Library of Australia’s online historical newspaper repository. The *Broadsound Gazette* and *Northern Times and Broadsound Advertiser* were unfortunately not reviewed as part of this research, as there is no known physical record of these early newspapers published from the settlement (Australian Newspaper History Group 2012:14).

While forming an integral part of this study, newspaper accounts – primarily written by correspondents in St Lawrence or in Rockhampton, or by visiting travellers – have been subject to critical analysis, given that they could contain biased, contradictory, erroneous or incomplete information based on second-hand accounts. Furthermore, newspapers do not necessarily provide a representative account of the activities of the entire settlement population (Ormston 1996:29), with women, Chinese, and Aboriginal members of the community largely absent from entries. The value of newspapers as a source of information for this study also declined over time; as trade through the town diminished in the late 1890s, so too did the level of reporting, and news regarding St Lawrence within the Rockhampton papers became minimal. Nonetheless, newspaper content – articles, advertising, details of shipping arrivals, departures and cargo manifests etc. – provide a large and valuable resource for understanding the history of the town and reconstructing past networks of interaction.

Maps and Plans

Maps and plans sourced from the Queensland State Archives (QSA), Queensland Museum of Lands, Mapping and Surveying (MLMS), State Library of Queensland (SLQ), State Library of Victoria (SLV), and the National Library of Australia (NLA), were another vital resource. With their “potential to elucidate past spatial relationships” (Mate 2010:56), maps – particularly town and survey plans, but also larger district-wide charts – aided most components of this study, from the planning of archaeological fieldwork and understanding of site formation processes, to later stages of interpretation and the reconstruction of past networks of interaction. Town survey plans were especially useful, as they provide visual representations of the physical layout of the settlement, including the location of Government reserves, land allotments and names of individual titleholders, as well as descriptions of the geography and dynamic coastal plains environment. Sketch plans of some of the Government buildings constructed in St Lawrence were also available online through the Queensland State Archives.

Official Archival Records

Government department records held at the Queensland State Archives were also referred to, including the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages (QLD BDM), and records of the St Lawrence State School, petitions to the Colonial Secretary, land selection files, and electoral rolls. Queensland electoral rolls for the Normanby electorate exist for the entire study period and record the names of individuals residing in St Lawrence and the surrounding districts. Prior to women obtaining the right to vote in 1905, Queensland electoral rolls are restricted to the names of men, resident in the district or with ownership of freehold or leasehold land. Cross-referenced with other historical records such as newspaper accounts and business directories, electoral rolls provide information about individual residents over time.

Census

Australian census data, accessed online via the online Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, provides a broad demographic overview of St Lawrence during the nineteenth century. Censuses were held approximately every four years from 1861. While broad population data was available throughout the study period, the 1868 census has been the most useful, as it is the only one that provides detailed information, such as age, education, marital status, occupation and religion of people at the level of the township of St Lawrence itself, distinct from the wider census district.

Government Publications and Business Directories

Official Government publications, particularly the *Queensland Government Gazette* (QGG), and trade directories such as the *Queensland Post Office Directory* (QPOD) and *Pugh's Almanac* (PA), are readily available online. These directories contain a wealth of information about St Lawrence during the nineteenth century, including the names of individuals in town with licenses to trade as a business or hotel, as well as those holding official appointments such as police magistrate or justice of the peace.

The *Queensland Government Gazette* contains details of official tenders advertised for public works and information on the gazettal of reserves, and *Pugh's Almanac* lists key events, including descriptions of changes to wharfage facilities over time, as well as detailed customs data. Published in Queensland from 1868, post office directories are the equivalent of present-day telephone books, and provide a list of residents, professions and trades.

Personal Accounts

Firsthand personal accounts, describing life in St Lawrence during the nineteenth century, such as those contained in diaries or letters, are limited to a few letters written and received by Mary Smith (nee McMonagle) – and later kept and published into a book by her descendants (see Emmanuel 1984) – who lived in St Lawrence for only a few years during the late 1860s until her death, as described later in this chapter. A general account of life in Central Queensland is also found in *Rockhampton 50 Years Ago: Reminiscences of a Pioneer* (Macartney 1909) – the autobiography of local prominent squatter John Arthur Macartney – but as Hogg (2011:73) warns, the memoirs of pastoralists should not be read as “detached accounts of events and experiences”, but narrative “acts of self-representation”. Some second and third hand oral history accounts are also contained within published regional histories such as *The Broadsound Story* (Rolleston 1983) and are referenced accordingly.

Broadsound Beginnings

Captain James Cook and later Matthew Flinders navigated the coastal area known as Broadsound during their voyages around the east coast of Australia during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Figure 3). During his survey of the Bay of Inlets where Broadsound is located, Flinders (1994:129, 139) observed that “the rise of tide in this sound seems to exceed anything that we have before seen”, and that the riverbanks were low, overflowed at spring tides, and covered with mangroves.

Leichhardt undertook overland expeditions near Broadsound in the mid-1840s, but it was not until the mid-to-late 1850s that further European exploration of the region began. The pastoral district of Port Curtis, where the town of St Lawrence is located, was declared open for settlement at the beginning of 1854 (McDonald 1975:1), and newspapers soon reported the discovery of a “fine harbour” (*MBC* 17 June 1854:2), and inviting inlets “navigable for any coasting vessels” (*SMH* 8 September 1856:2).

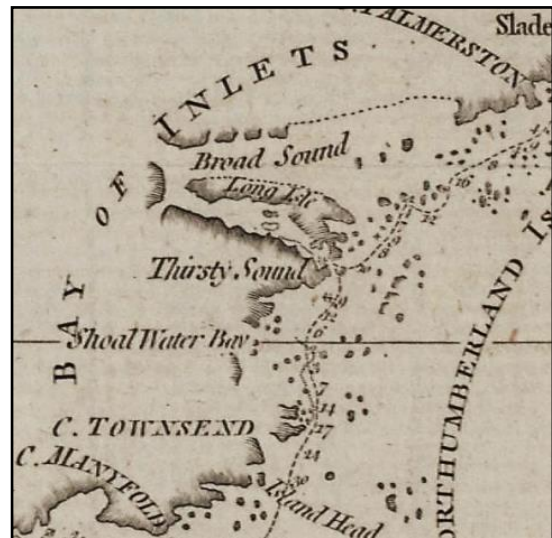


Figure 3. Chart showing Cook’s navigational route through Broadsound (NLA 1773).

Broadsound was officially recommended as a site of an extensive settlement in 1859, and at one stage even declared to be the likely “future capital of North Eastern Australia” (*MBC* 17 June 1854:2; *PA* 1859:72). Broadsound was originally favoured over Port Bowen, Port Curtis, Keppel Bay and Shoalwater Bay as the location for a port town to which pastoralists could forward stores from Sydney while stock for the burgeoning northern stations travelled overland (*MBC* 20 October 1858:4, 8 December 1858:2; *SMH* 27 November 1858:5). However, similarly to Flinders’ earlier reports, surveys found the area to be largely unsuitable for harbour facilities:

Broadsound is surrounded by mangrove-covered muddy banks, which...render a landing, except at certain times of the tide, exceedingly difficult. Owing to the great rise and fall of the tide...there are no inlets or harbours that would allow of a vessel entering at any time. The passages among the mud-banks are exceedingly intricate, and a vessel drawing any great depth of water would have to be careful in anchoring, lest she should be left grounded by the receding tide (*SMH* 11 January 1859:5).

Despite these observations, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 July 1859:5) remarked that it wouldn't be long before exports were recorded from Broadsound, as several stations had been taken up to the north of Port Curtis; an endeavour encouraged by rousing statements such as this, published in a national newspaper established by Sir Henry Parkes:

It is cheering to those who have the advancement of the colony at heart, to see...when men through indolence or lack of energy are content to follow in the track of exploration and benefit by the labours of those bolder and more enterprising than themselves... a band of hardy young adventurers striking out into the northern wilds, in search of new pasture grounds and an available port (*Empire* 15 July 1859:8).

One such 'hardy adventurer' lured north in search of new pastoral country was John Arthur Macartney (Figure 4). Born in Creagh, County Cork, Ireland in 1834, J. A. Macartney was the son of the Rev. H. B. Macartney, who became the first Dean of Melbourne (Gibbney 2017). John Macartney ventured north from his pastoral holdings in Victoria in 1857, and inspected land on the Darling Downs before travelling to Rockhampton where he met the Archer brothers, and from there, rode to Broadsound (Rolleston 1984:18). He and his business partner, Edward Graves Mayne, eventually claimed several runs in the Port Curtis District, including 'Waverley' and 'Saint Laurence' (*MBC* 17 July 1860:4; *QGG* 1859:226), an intimation to the name of the future settlement (see Box 1).



Figure 4. John Arthur Macartney (SLQ 1890).

Box 1. A Brief Note About Place Names

Broadsound is written historically as 'Broad Sound', and the township there was initially referred to as 'Waverley', after the nearby pastoral station. St Lawrence Creek was originally recorded as 'Salt Water Creek' or 'St Lawrence Creek' (RB 15 February 1862:2; The Courier 4 April 1862:2, 17 April 1862:2, 4 October 1862:3). This chapter uses the contemporary names of places (i.e. Broadsound, St Lawrence) unless quoting directly from a historical source.

With an exploration party in tow, Messrs Macartney and Mayne explored the Broadsound surrounds in search of land and sea access so that they could stock their Waverley property (Rolleston 1984:18). They eventually sailed a small craft loaded with supplies from Rockhampton up St Lawrence Creek to about four miles from the station, at the banks of what would soon become the St Lawrence township (Department of Harbours and Marine QLD 1986:81; Rhodes 1949:2) (Figure 5). Several interactions took place around this time between the local Aboriginal people and the settlers at Waverley, with one correspondent reporting in the *Rockhampton Bulletin* (3 August 1861:2; see also *The Courier* 3 September 1861:2) that:

...the blacks have for some time past caused much annoyance and loss of the settlers at Waverley...in the vicinity of Broadsound, by spearing a large number of cattle. The Police are in search of them, but have as yet been unsuccessful, owing to the difficulty of tracking them through the mangrove swamp. A party who recently started from Waverley in search of the blacks had met with a quantity of spears, nulla-nullas, and other warlike implements.

The first shipment of cargo was landed under the directions of Macartney in mid-1860 (*Empire* 11 June 1860:5), and the first official sailing directions for entering the sound were soon published, noting that the creeks “are mostly dry at low water, affording entrance only to boats, which of necessity must ground at every tide” (*QGG* 1861 v2:765).

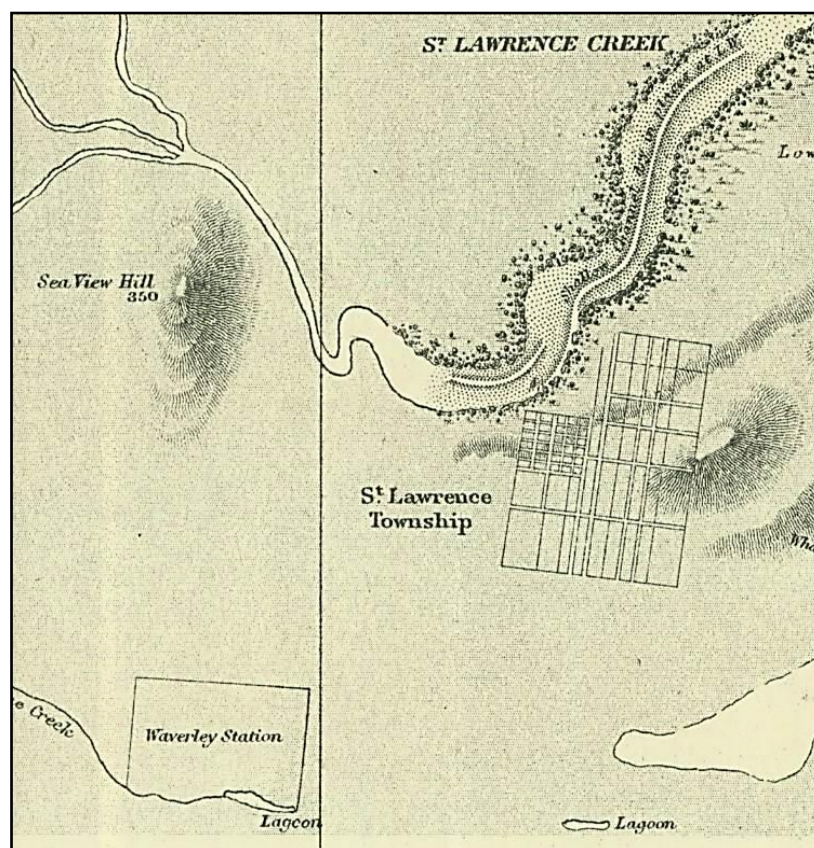


Figure 5. Map showing general location of St Lawrence in relation to Waverley Station (SLV 1878).

Copper Connections

Copper was found at Peak Downs, Copperfield, near Clermont, in mid-1861, marking the first major copper discovery in Queensland, and the first outside of South Australia (Blainey 1970:303; Pearson 2003:122; Thomas 1994:322). Copper mining operations at Peak Downs commenced in 1863 (Pearson 2003:122). Given its proximity to the fields, it was speculated that Broadsound would serve as a shipping outlet for this trade, and the Collector of Customs and the Sub-Collector of Customs at Rockhampton inspected the rudimentary landing place at St Lawrence, from which they declared “there will soon be a considerable export of produce” (*SMH* 13 July 1861:5). The rivalry between St Lawrence and Rockhampton which was to come to head in later years was already evident, with one Rockhampton correspondent wondering why the Government would involve itself “in such an absurd project...[when] revenue can be collected at Port Curtis or Rockhampton” (*The Courier* 6 July 1861:3).

Broadsound was officially proclaimed a Port of Entry and Clearance in March 1863 (*QGG* 1863 v4:183). At this time, the settlement consisted of only “a dilapidated looking store, and the relics of a blacksmith’s shop” (*The Courier* 11 March 1863:3). A site was chosen in the centre of town for a Government Reserve, and a large hardwood building, which would act as both Customs Office and Court House, as well as post office and police lock-up, was soon erected (*QGG* 1862:521; *The Courier* 12 March 1863:3) (Figure 6; Figure 7).

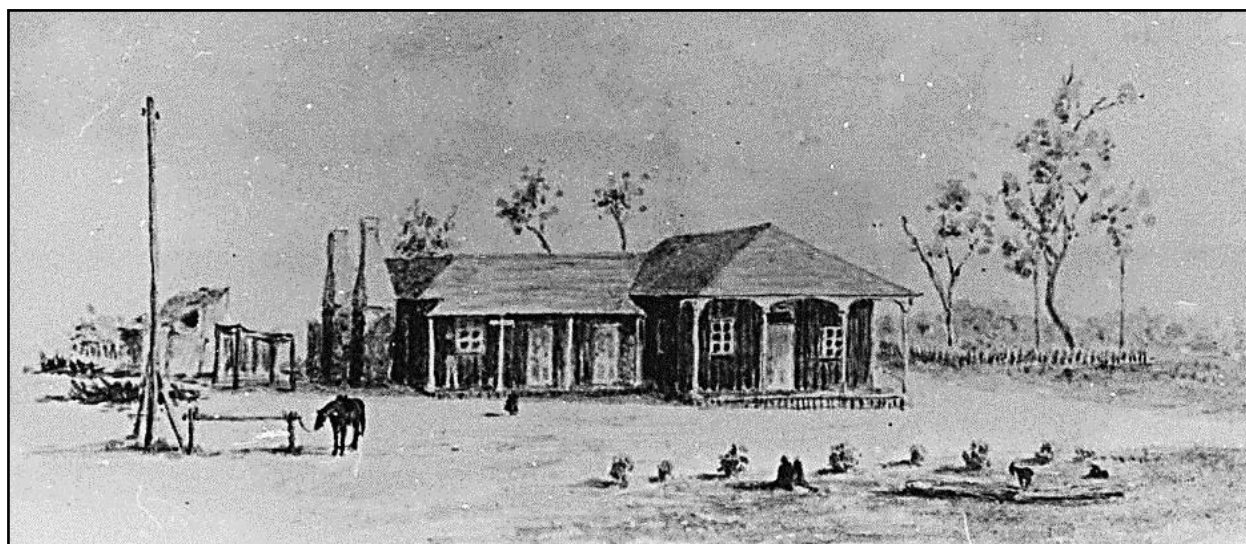


Figure 6. Sketch of the Government office building in St Lawrence (SLQ 1866).

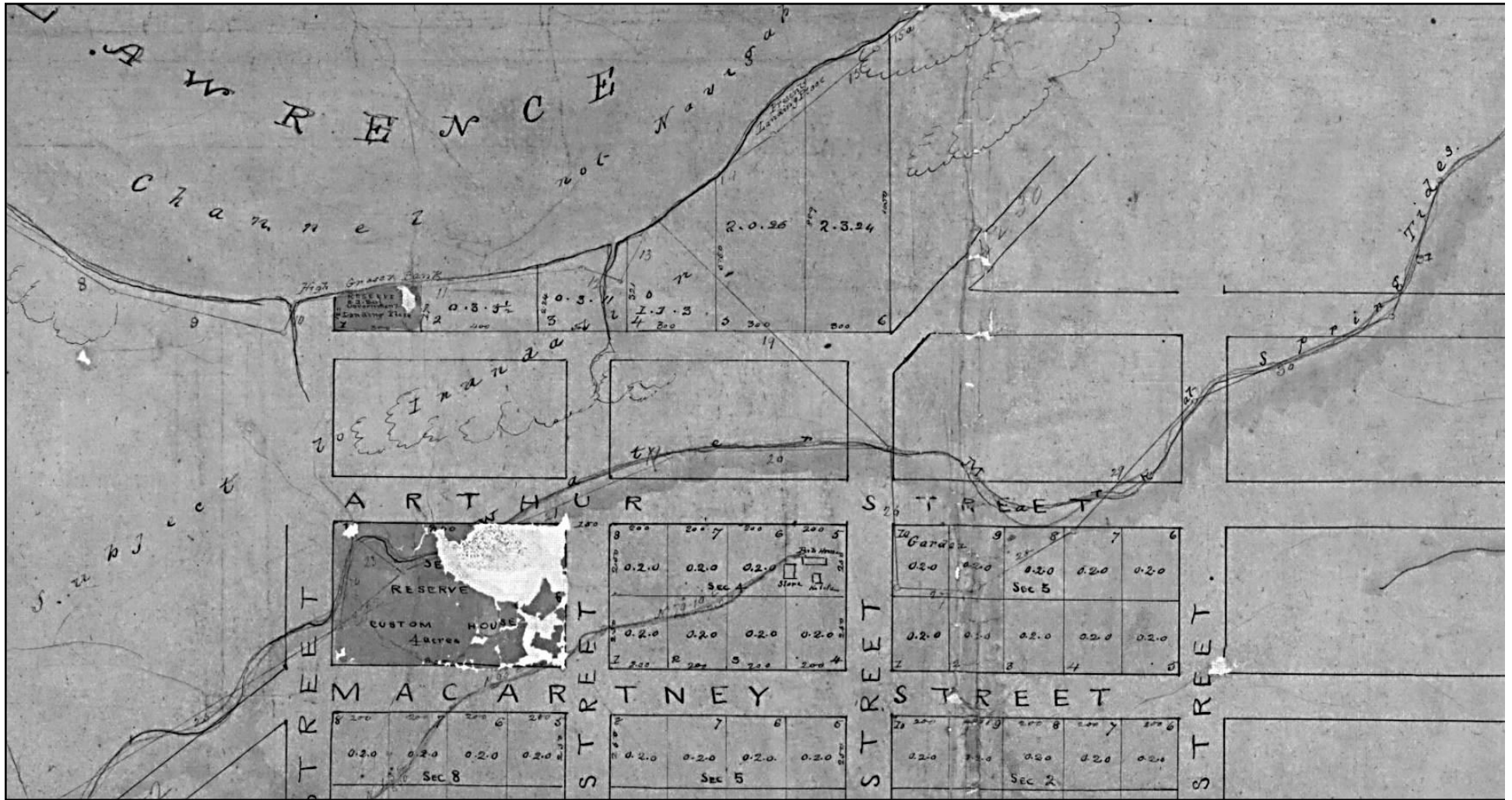


Figure 7. Plan of the St Lawrence township in 1863, showing the location of the Government Reserve, landing place and site of the first public house and store (QSA Item ID: 623797).

Land soon appeared for sale in the Parish of St Lawrence in 1863, and an “embryo settlement” developed (*RB* 17 June 1863:1S, 9 July 1863:2). It was not long before the first customs return from Broadsound was received (Table 2).

Table 2. First customs return from Broadsound (*The Courier* 4 September 1863:2).

Item	Amount
Ale, porter, and beer (in bottles)	453 gallons
Wine	131 gallons
Brandy	107 gallons
Rum	74 gallons
Gin	45 gallons
Whisky	24 gallons
Liqueurs, cordials, or strong waters	23 gallons
Tea	586 lbs.
Coffee and chicory	72 lbs.
Sugar (unrefined)	23 cwt. 3 qr. 18 lbs.

Following the opening of the copper fields, J. A. Macartney and other selectors made considerable efforts to find a suitable path across the nearby Connors Range through which to convey wool and tallow from the pastoral districts, and ore from Peak Downs, to the landing place at St Lawrence to await shipment to the southern ports (Rolleston 1984:18) (Figure 8).

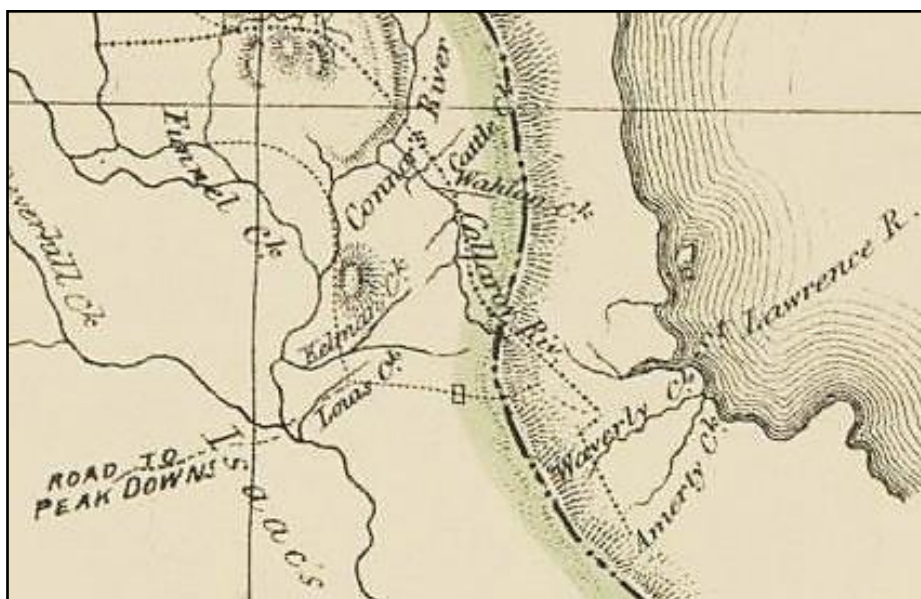


Figure 8. Map showing route from St Lawrence to Peak Downs over the Connors Range (NLA 1865).

Rockhampton – the chief port town of central Queensland – was also vying for the newly established copper trade. The recently formed Peak Downs Copper Mining Company published a tender for the carriage of supplies and produce between the mines and Rockhampton *or* Broadsound (*SMH* 23 May 1863:10), triggering an outburst in the Rockhampton press over the distance and condition of the Broadsound road to the mines, as well as its inadequate landing place:

Some people seem to fancy that Broadsound will become the shipping port of the Peak Downs, but I think it hardly probable. Setting aside the difficulties of approach to that port which exist landwards, the obstacles to navigation present an insuperable bar to the trading of vessels, except those the tonnage of which is but small (*The Courier* 27 October 1863:3).

I have just taken a load from Peak Downs to Broad Sound, and have also travelled with my teams on the Rockhampton road... I am most decidedly in favour of the latter road...the difficulties, both regard to ranges and swamps, will always prevent the other road from being taken by teamsters...The Broad Sound route offers no inducement either to carriers or shippers, as compared with the Rockhampton road (*RB* 19 November 1863:2).

Despite these reports, newspaper advertisements to the attention of those on the Peak Downs, soon declared the Broadsound road as the shortest and best route to the mines (*RB* 21 November 1863:3). According to a correspondent in Rockhampton, this outcome, which would soon lead to the conveyance of copper from the Peak Downs to St Lawrence, was influenced by a “powerful quarter” in the district, taking the form of “gentlemen squatters” such as J. A. Macartney and Oscar De Satgé, who had travelled through the area only a few years before (see De Satgé 1901:140-141):

Advertisements of dubious authority and doubtful bona fides may be published... [but] I am assured...[that] the Broadsound route [is] fit rather for its present occupants (the wallaby and the wallaroo) than the horse and bullock teams now in use. Spite of this, however...strong interests merge that way and unless the Rockhampton people exert themselves and supply the diggings with more flour, tea, sugar, and boots, and less grog, an ebb of Fortune’s fickle tide may yet withdraw a widely extending market from her citizens, and serve to enrich the denizens of our spirited neighbour (*RB* 3 November 1863:2).

Reports of a local steam navigation company in Broadsound appeared early the following year (*The Courier* 4 April 1864:3). With William Watson Boyes, a local storekeeper in St Lawrence, acting as Honorary Secretary, the company sought to engage a small steamer to trade weekly between Rockhampton and Broadsound; a project that the *Brisbane Courier* (26 May 1864:1) had “no hesitation in commending to capitalists”. Such regular trade with Rockhampton was not established; instead, a steamer was dispatched to St Lawrence about once every fortnight (*RB* 1 July 1865:3).

In a letter to the editor of the *Rockhampton Bulletin*, W. W. Boyes described the St Lawrence township and its trading situation as of 1864, and entreated both the Government and people of Queensland to assist the residents of St Lawrence on their “path to future fame” (see Box 2).

Box 2. Letter to the Editor from William Boyes (RB 7 June 1864:3)

It may be interesting to you, and perhaps it will be beneficial to the public at large, to know that there is such a place in existence as the small town of St Lawrence. This little town is almost completely unknown, except to a few mercantile and speculative persons, and from an occasional anonymous writer.

Permit me to describe this place as it now is, and picture what it may be by the assistance of enterprise at no very distant day. We will begin with a public-house (of course the first building in a town), a wholesale and retail store, a general receiving store, and a blacksmith's shop, at present untenanted. The last, not least amongst our buildings, are our court-house, custom-house, bonded store, police barracks, and lock-up, all comprised under one roof...and form a very uniform piece of architecture that adds much to the appearance of this out-of-the-way little place. Such is the town in its creeping infancy...

[This] place...progressing for now nearly three years, [has] occasionally been disturbed from its primitive quiet by the noisy whips of the bullock-drivers, and their consequent conviviality...or the arrival of a small trader or steamer...perhaps every fortnight or three weeks. A starkness of trade, however, has prevented their calling oftener – this I believe to be the real cause, though some have endeavoured to condemn the port...

The arrival...last month of our regular trader ‘Sacramento’ ...was rather a surprise... Moored, and plank ashore, the wharf soon bore a different aspect to what it had ever done before; not like the Trojan horse, - she, when her hatches were uncovered disgorged drays, harness, provisions, stores and accoutrements of all kinds; in fact a complete equipment for quick transit to where? The Peak Downs diggings. I may point out this trade as the leading feature of the future prosperity of the town of St Lawrence, to facilitate which we have a steam company at present in existence...we only have 200 more shares to be disposed of, when the steamer will be at once laid on to trade regularly once a week between Rockhampton and St Lawrence, Broadsound. The miners will then be able to decide to their own satisfaction which is really the shortest and most advantageous route to the diggings.

These, however, are the ills that are, and we must bear patiently, as from our infancy, we are unable to assist ourselves. All we require is the public to see our position and advantages as a port...then they will assist us to gild our path to future fame.

Mr Editor, perhaps you will pardon this first trespass, from the first resident of St Lawrence.

A Port Town Develops

J. A. Macartney and some other “interested gentlemen” had put forward a petition to the Government earlier in 1864 for money towards road works from the town to Peak Downs, and by the end of the year, carriers were travelling to and from St Lawrence on an improved road over the range (*BC* 7 May 1864:3; *RB* 8 November 1864:2) (Figure 9). It took carriage teams approximately 12 days to travel from the copper mines to St Lawrence, where ore and pastoral products were transported by steamer to Rockhampton, and then onwards to Sydney, where they were shipped overseas; however, cargo was also sent to Sydney directly from St Lawrence on some occasions (*TQ* 5 January 1867:4, 7 March 1868:11; *RB* 12 December 1867:2-3).



Figure 9. Nineteenth century wool wagon on the road between Peak Downs and St Lawrence (SLQ n.d.).

The first refined copper to arrive in Rockhampton from the Peak Downs Copper Company mines arrived from St Lawrence via the *Sacramento* in January 1865 (*RB* 19 January 1865:2), and soon afterwards the *Brisbane Courier* declared that “there is no doubt that St Lawrence will become a most important place” (*BC* 23 March 1865:4). It was also during this year that construction of the electric telegraph – “one of the greatest conveniences of civilised life” – extended to Broadsound (*RB* 3 June 1865:2). Initially used primarily for commercial purposes such as news and weather updates, its construction greatly facilitated information transmission between geographically distant places (see Hirst 1975:444).

In mid-1865, a potential new wharfage site was discovered in the basin of St Lawrence Creek (*RB* 3 June 1865:2). Prior to this, small vessels had to carefully navigate through the upper portions of the creek to the original landing place directly opposite the township, and could only leave and take in cargo when spring tides were at their highest (*PA* 1866:136; *The Courier* 17 April 1862:2) (Figure 10).

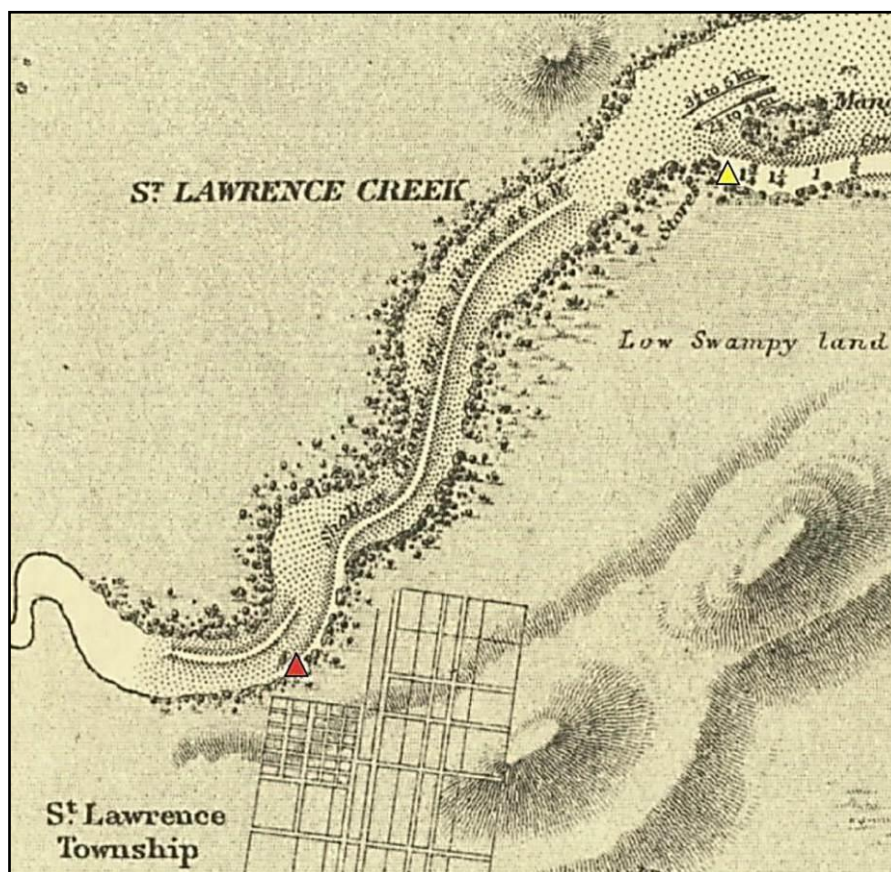


Figure 10. Map showing the approximate locations of the first (red) and second (yellow) landing places at St Lawrence (SLV 1878).

A survey found the proposed new landing place to possess a steep bank, and never less than eight feet in depth at low water of spring tides (*RB* 3 June 1865:2, 17 June 1865:2). The potential new landing place had the advantage of “avoiding the delays caused by the tedious navigation of the upper part of the creek, and the probability of being neaped” (*RB* 8 January 1869:3). It was recommended that a new wharf be built at this location, with its outer piles placed about ten feet from the bank, and that its approach be corduroyed so that heavily laden drays could cross the plain between the new landing place and the township during wet weather (*RB* 17 June 1865:2). J. A. Macartney, merchant T. F. Tagg and other local business owners, petitioned the Government for £500 towards the construction of the new wharf. With the relocation of wharf infrastructure, it was hoped that trade would increase and that St Lawrence would soon “become an important place, as Nature intended it should be...in spite of its jealous neighbours” (*RB* 17 June 1865:2).

The new wharf at the basin was complete and operational by at least the end of 1867, with pilot cottages and a flagstaff later built close by (Department of Harbours and Marine 1986:81; *TQ* 26 September 1868:8) (Figure 11). St Lawrence was soon observed to be “beginning to assume an important position in the North”, rivalling both Rockhampton and Port Mackay in its trade with the Peak Downs (*TQ* 12 September 1868:7).

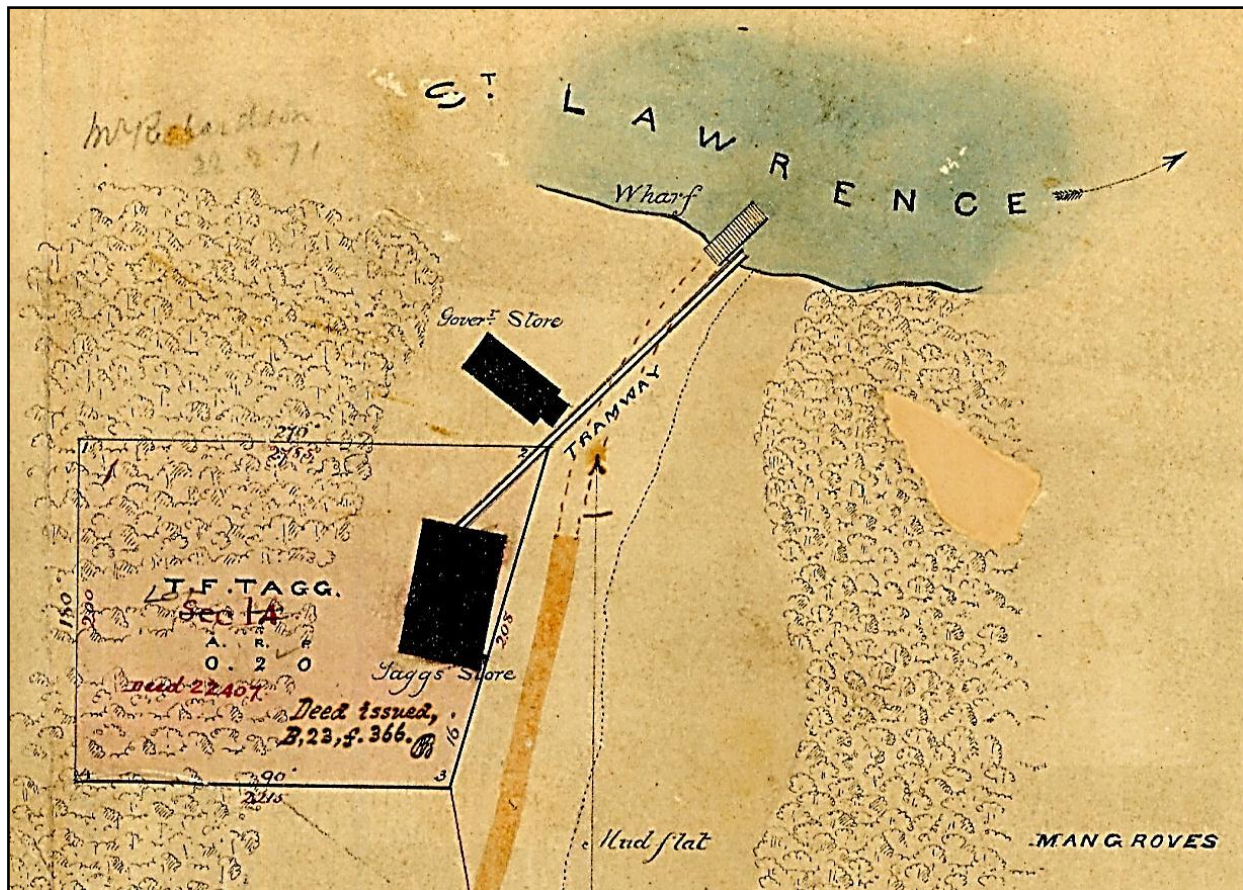


Figure 11. Plan of the Port of St Lawrence in 1870 (MLMS STL785).

References to a potential ‘awakening’ of St Lawrence appear in local newspaper correspondence during this time (see Box 3), followed by reports of the town’s bonded store overflowing with supplies to, and produce from, the mines and surrounding stations. Correspondence from Rockhampton was not so optimistic, however:

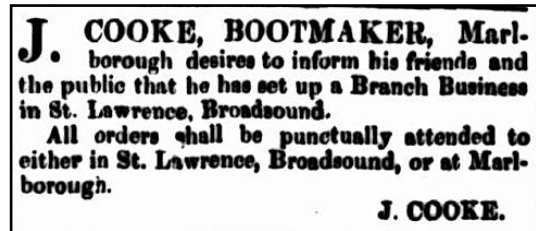
Although it [St Lawrence] has been established and surveyed as a township for about seven years, a peaceful quiet has brooded over its most gigantic steps at advancement; it has been ever in a semi-dormant or somnambulist state; the spring that will awaken its latent power and self-expanding force has not yet been developed (*RB* 15 December 1868:3).

Box 3. Correspondence from St Lawrence (TQ 26 September 1868:8)

This little township was started about six years ago, shortly after which it went, as it were, to sleep, and continued in that dormant condition until about twelve months since, from which time has slowly, but surely, advanced, and now has hopes of a bright future ...

During the last three weeks the importation of goods to this port have exceeded 200 tons, which have come per steamer from Sydney via Rockhampton, to be forwarded to Copperfield and the stations on the road. The exports for the same period have exceeded 220 tons ... good proof that the St Lawrence road is beginning to be approved of by the general public.

There is an excellent opening here for a boot and shoemaker (Figure 12). Strange to say, there is not one in the place, though we can boast of having two storekeepers, who act also as butchers, two bonifaces [innkeepers], two saddlers, two masons, three wheelwrights, four blacksmiths, and twelve carpenters – besides these there is a schoolmaster, five Government officials, exclusive of those guardians in the blue garb, and last...a tailor, without a goose [pressing iron].



J. COOKE, BOOTMAKER, Marl-
borough desires to inform his friends and
the public that he has set up a Branch Business
in St. Lawrence, Broadsound.
All orders shall be punctually attended to
either in St. Lawrence, Broadsound, or at Marl-
borough.
J. COOKE.

**Figure 12. Advertisement for a bootmaker
(RB 13 October 1868:3).**

Mr Tagg, our oldest storekeeper, has just had completed four cottages, for the purpose of letting, and in order to show the eagerness with which this kind of property is sought after, they were occupied before completion. There are many other buildings going up.

Following the construction of better wharf facilities in the basin, and the subsequent stimulus in trade, the residents of St Lawrence sought to remedy their main inconvenience – lack of water – and petitioned the Government for a permanent town commonage and water reserve in pursuance with the *Crown Lands Alienation Act 1868*. After a long and public battle with lessees Macartney and Mayne (see *TQ* 26 September 1868:8; *RB* 22 October 1868:2, 7 November 1868:2, 3 December 1868:3), land was resumed and opened for selection out of the consolidated run of Waverley and a water reserve and town common were soon proclaimed (*QGG* 1869:1074, 1081).

By now, St Lawrence had a total town population of 99 people, with males numbering 56 and females 43 (1868 Census). The majority of men were tradesmen of some kind, while most women were engaged in domestic duties (1868 Census). The names, residences and occupations of inhabitants of the post town of St Lawrence as recorded in the QPOD in 1868 are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Names, Residences and Occupations of Inhabitants at the Post Town of St Lawrence in 1868 (QPOD 1868).

Anderson, G.T. - mas., 'Sacramento'	Cooley, Mrs - resident	Lawlor, Edward - stockman, May Dns	Sheridan, Mrs - resident, Lotus Creek
Antill, E.S. - suprt., Cardowan	Duggan, James - mailman	Macartney, J.A. - sqtr., Waverley	Sheridan, James - Leichhardt Downs
Armstrong, William - saddler	Evans, A.H. - Cardowan	Macartney & Mayne - sqtrs., Waverley	Smith, George - carrier
Armstrong, Mrs - Tooloombah	Fitzsimmons, C. - sqtr., Lotus Creek	Maloney, Margaret - servant, Waverley	Smith, E.H. - pilot
Baker, Daniel - stockman, Clair View	Galway, Daniel - sergeant of police	Marsh, T.F. - overseer, Clair View	Smith, John - custom's boatman
Barton, Dunbar, H. - stockman	Galway, Mrs - resident	Marsh, Henry - squatter, Foyle Park	Smith, Thomas - stockman, Waverley
Bell - stn. storekeeper, Cardowan	Gates, Ann - servant	Mayne, E.G. - squatter, Waverley	Tagg, Thomas F. - merchant
Bernstein, L. - physician, Waverley	Goodman, G. - master 'Ben Bolt'	Moses, A. - hawker, Tooloombah	Torkington, John - blacksmith
Butler, William - mgr., Lotus Creek	Gibbs, Ronald & Burnett - sqts., Yatton	McGusty, R.D. - storekr., Waverley	Trotter, Walter - Leichhardt Downs
Burkitt, H. - C.P.S. & Customs officer	Gillham, T.W. - squatter, Rockwood	McGregor, A.R. - sqtr., Cardowan	Wallace & McGusty - storekeepers, Waverley
Burkitt, Mrs - resident	Gray, John - carrier	McHenry, J. - sqtr., Leichhardt Downs	Wallace, J.F.J. - publican, Waverley
Campbell, W.S. - Cardowan	Gray, Mrs - resident	Newling, William - carrier	Wallace, H.J. - sawyer, Waverley
Chalmers, George - carrier	Hatfield - carrier	Newling, Charles - carrier	Watt, McHenry, & Wilson - squatters, Leichhardt Downs
Chidgley - stockman, Collaroy	Hart, H. - resident, Tooloombah	O'Brien, Wm. - custom's boatman	Webber, Alfred - storeman
Christian, Wm. - sqtr., Willinghi	Hepburn, T.B. - sqtr., Mary Downs	Penny - storekr., Leichhardt Dns	Wickenhopes, Alex. - wheelwright
Christian, Mark - sqtr., Willinghi	Hobday, Alexander - carpenter	Price - carrier	Wilson, Wm. - sqtr., Leichhardt Downs
Christian, Mrs - sqtr., Willinghi	Hodgson - Leichhardt Downs	Randall, John - stockman, Willinghi	Wilson, R. - sqtr., Leichhardt Downs
Clarke, Joseph - suprt., Yatton	Hutchinson, Joshua - constable	Searth, Geo. S. - stockman, Cardowan	Wilson, E. - sqtr., Leichhardt Downs
Conlon, F. - squatter, Tierewoomba	Jack, David - carrier	Silver, C.A. - stockman, Lotus Creek	Wilson, F. - sqtr., Leichhardt Downs
Collyns, B.M. - squatter, Yatton	Kennedy, W.J. - sqtr., Tierewoomba	Schewk, John - contractor	Woods, Frederick N. - publican
Cook, Richard - carter	Kennedy, Miss - resident, Tierewoomba	Shelly, Thomas - Leichhardt Downs	Worch, Herm - Tierewoomba
Cooley, Joseph - carrier	King - Commissioner Crown Lands, Leichhardt Downs	Sheridan & Fitzsimmons - sqts., Lotus C.	
Cooley, James - carrier	Lacey, Lewis - mailman	Sheridan, B.G. - sqtr., Lotus Creek	

A Short-Lived Boom

St Lawrence was officially declared a warehousing port for “for dutiable goods intended for home consumption or exportation” in September 1869 (*QGG* 1869:1087). Coinciding with the skyrocket of international copper prices during this time, trade at St Lawrence rapidly increased, with many copper carriers choosing the Broadsound road from the interior over the Rockhampton route, leading to a marked decrease in the revenue collected at Rockhampton (*Pearson* 2003:128; *RB* 27 October 1870:2, 5 January 1871:2). Copper and wool was arriving at St Lawrence so frequently that it was proposed that additional steamers be put on to transport the large quantities of produce direct to Sydney, bypassing Rockhampton (*RB* 27 October 1870:2, 16 May 1871:2).

During 1871, over 2 600 tons of refined copper was shipped through St Lawrence to other Queensland ports or direct to Sydney (*RB* 30 January 1872:2). The price of copper reached its peak in 1872 (*Pearson* 2003:128), and trade through St Lawrence hit record levels, in both exports and imports, during this year (Figure 13).

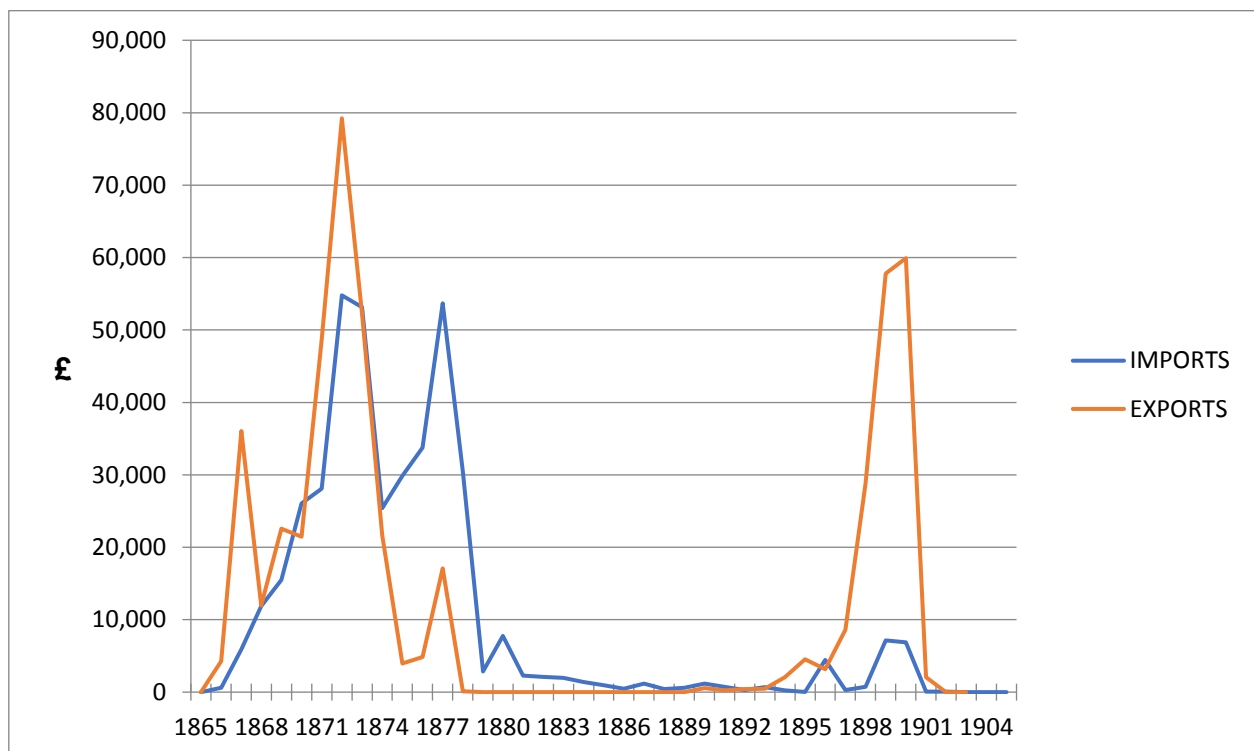


Figure 13. Value of imports and exports at St Lawrence, 1865-1905 (compiled from *PA* 1865-1905).

Under these prosperous circumstances, town residents initiated public infrastructure developments, including the establishment of the town’s first cemetery reserve, and construction of the first primary school, which opened in May 1871 (*TQ* 23 September 1871:3; *BC* 22 April 1872:3).

As indicated in Figure 13, the thriving trade at St Lawrence during the early 1870s was not to last. Following lengthy debates and a Royal Railway Commission over the respective advantages and disadvantages of each route to the Peak Downs (see Box 4), the railway line from Rockhampton (the Great Northern Line or Central Railway) was extended inland in 1874 to tap the burgeoning copper trade and to open the backcountry (Cole 1945:309; *RB* 2 May 1872:2-3) (Figure 14).

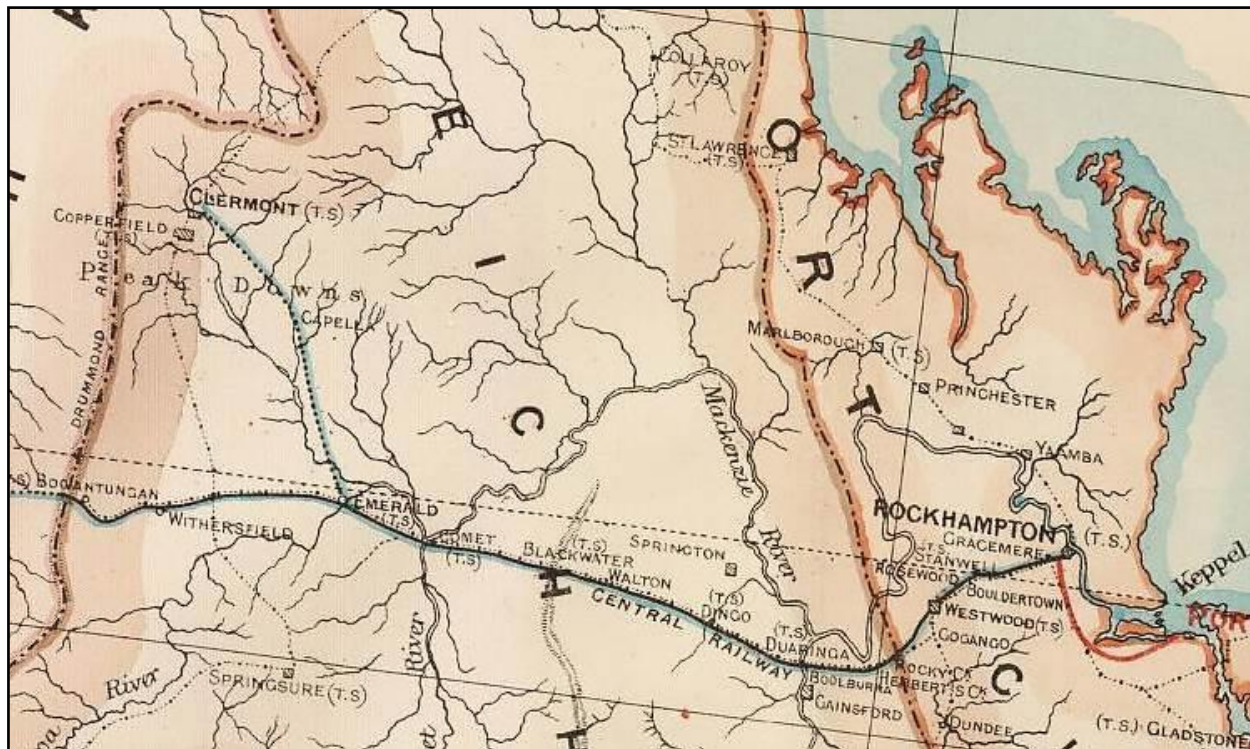


Figure 14. Map showing the railway extension inland from Rockhampton to the Peak Downs district (NLA 1882).

The extension of the railway inland from Rockhampton acted as a severe detriment to the trade of St Lawrence, as the line redirected the copper trade on which it largely survived to the larger port's wharves (*RB* 30 January 1872:3). Despite losing the Peak Downs trade, local correspondents maintained that St Lawrence would still be a port of some consequence, owing to the “considerable area of rich mineral, pastoral, and agricultural country in its rear... [which would] preserve it from the decay which is predicted as the result of diverting the copper traffic” (*RB* 16 April 1872:1, 20 July 1872:2).

Box 4. Railway Rivalry

The main point just now is, which is the best direction to carry a railway from Peak Downs to a good seaport? Is the port of Rockhampton so superior to that of St Lawrence as to justify making the former town the port for Peak Downs produce, in preference to the latter? There is no good reason...why traffic should be diverted from its natural channel in order to make it flow towards Rockhampton (BC 6 March 1872:2).

When the question of carriage arose between Rockhampton and St Lawrence, the latter bid lowest, and obtained the traffic, on which the inhabitants have lived ever since, but the question of carriage..., is a very different one from the construction of a railway. I venture to say that the port selected will not be St Lawrence (BC 16 March 1872:5).

Whether the Northern line will be an extension of the Rockhampton and Westwood line, or a new line altogether to a port north of Rockhampton called Broadsound, is not yet decided. It may, and most probably will, turn out however, that be the advantages of a railway to Broadsound what they may, Rockhampton will possess sufficient political influence to secure the extension of its own line towards the Peak Downs in preference (BC 22 March 1872:2).

Two seaports are spoken of – Rockhampton and Broadsound:

One road is condemned in consequence of its being the longest; the other because it is the most mountainous. One is praised because it has secured most of the Peak Downs traffic already; the other because it already drains a vast extent of country independently of Peak Downs, and will, if selected for railway extension, drain the Peak Downs too.

One port is condemned because the river is not navigable for large ships; the other place is in a mere ditch, and because the force of the tide renders navigation dangerous...One is praised because it is already a large shipping port, visited regularly by steamers and other vessels from North and South Queensland, Sydney, Melbourne, Tasmania, Adelaide, and Great Britain, the other because it will be visited by vessels from all these places as soon as the whole of the Peak Downs traffic is lying on its wharves.

Broadsound now gets all the copper traffic...yet it is only visited by a small steamer once a fortnight, and occasionally a small schooner. We fail to see why it should become more than it is now, namely a feeder to the larger and more important port of Rockhampton.

This leads us to another view of the question. Putting aside for a moment the question of transit, with which town will the Peak Downs people prefer being connected? If they want anything to which town would they rather send – to St Lawrence, supported by the Peak Downs traffic alone, or to Rockhampton, supported by the united traffic of the Peak Downs, Comet, Nogo, Thompson, and Barcoo country? Undoubtedly, it is better to be connected, either for buying or selling, with the large market (RB 20 June 1872:1S).

Stagnation

The wharf in the basin of St Lawrence Creek had deteriorated substantially over the five or so years of use, with reports like this one, published in the *Rockhampton Bulletin* (17 June 1873:2-3) declaring that it would only be a short time before the tide entirely washed away the bank, and wharf, store and pilot buildings with it:

The bank is of a rotten character, and is rapidly washing away both above and below the wharf... The evil appears to be increasing in a geometrical progression, and every foot of earth removed gives the tide more power over the remainder. Some of the piles of the wharf are said to be hanging, and the tide runs by them like a mill-race. It seems probable another year or two will suffice (if nothing is done) for the washing away of the wharf itself, and the store and pilot building behind it.

Proposed improvements to port facilities would never eventuate, however, as on 22 January 1874, a cyclone hit the settlement, washing away the already deteriorating port, and destroying much of the township (see Box 5). This cyclonic event was a debilitating blow to the growth of St Lawrence. The effects of the storm destroyed at least 200 bales of wool and other produce awaiting shipment at the wharf (*TQ* 7 February 1874:4; *RB* 16 February 1874:2). Moreover, with the destruction of the wharf and Customs Office, no further goods could be shipped through the settlement (*QT* 3 February 1874:2). The residents of St Lawrence quickly began attempts to reconstruct their town, and remove the fallen timber that had blocked the roads (*RB* 13 February 1874:2). By the end of February, the roads were cleared, and a temporary wharf constructed so that trade could recommence, and iron for the reconstruction of buildings could be transported (*RB* 17 February 1874:2; *BC* 27 February 1874:2).

Box 5. The Gale Northward (*RB* 3 February 1874:5)

The gale visited St Lawrence with great violence, causing the wharf with its piles and girders to entirely disappear in the creek... A lot of goods... [were] carried away with the wharf, as also hundreds of tons of the embankment. The stores belonging to the A.S.N. Company's agent, Mr T. F. Tagg, have suffered the greatest, one having been entirely blown down, the other unroofed, and otherwise much shattered. The bonded store is unroofed. The places mentioned were all full of merchandise, which of course has suffered much deterioration in value. Bullock drays were capsized, and bales of wool and cases of goods blown and washed away for a considerable distance.

In the township of St Lawrence many houses have been blown down... Two out of three hotels, including Hatfield's hotel and store have been levelled with the ground. The Post and Telegraph Office was blown down, with a portion of the Court-house. The Custom House is also entirely destroyed. The embankment, wharf and tramway were also carried away.

Activity in St Lawrence was markedly slower in the coming years, following both the railway extension in favour of the Rockhampton route and the devastation to the town caused by the cyclone. Prior to the storm, the Government had recommended that wharf facilities be relocated from the deteriorating basin in St Lawrence Creek to Waverley Creek, a suggestion initially met with opposition by residents, who thought that such a move would divert traffic from the town (*RB* 15 March 1873:2, 17 June 1873:3). However, following the destruction of wharfage accommodation in St Lawrence Creek, works began on constructing a new wharf and bonded store at Waverley Creek (*TQ* 3 October 1874:4) (Figure 15).

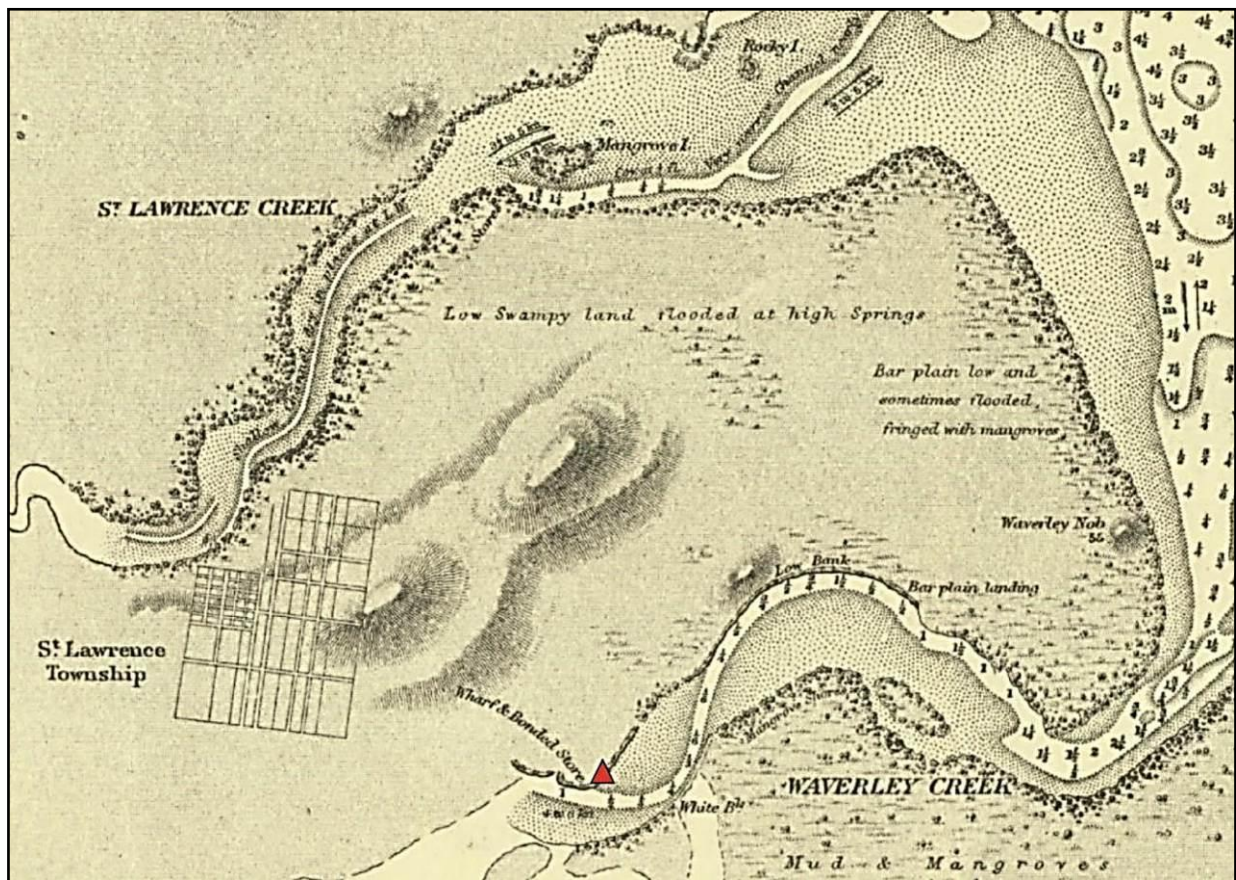


Figure 15. Map showing the location of the new port at Waverley Creek (red) (SLV 1878).

By the end of 1876, the Government proclaimed the port in St Lawrence Creek closed, and the new wharf at Waverley Creek available for use (*RB* 26 June 1876:3, 6 October 1876:2); however, it took until the end of 1878 for the Government buildings to be reconstructed (*BC* 30 May 1877:2, 9 July 1877:3; *MB* 8 February 1878:3) (Figure 16-18).

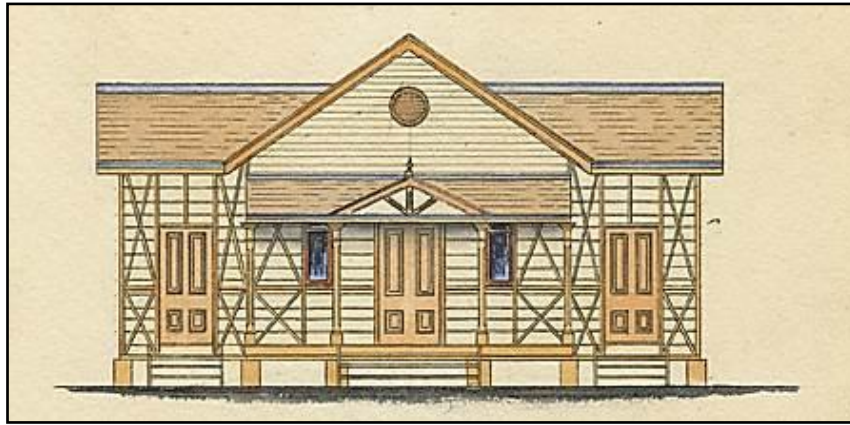


Figure 16. Plan of the St Lawrence Court House, c.1885 (QSA Item ID: 1622783).

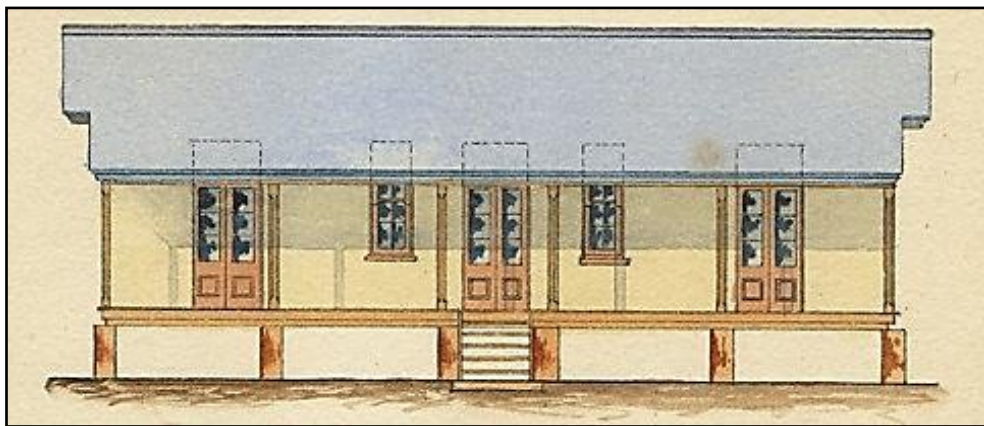


Figure 17. Plan of the St Lawrence Police Station, c.1887 (QSA Item ID: 1622785).

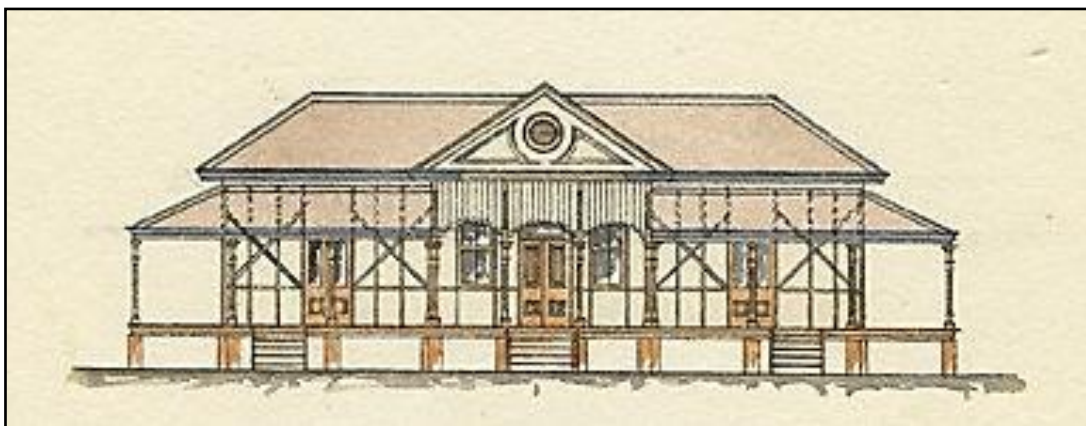


Figure 18. Plan of the St Lawrence Custom House, c.1885 (QSA Item ID: 1622784).

Talk of extending the railway further inland to the Peak Downs from Rockhampton began in 1877, and while carriage continued to trickle through St Lawrence for a time, by the end of 1878, the copper trade to the port had effectively ceased (*TC* 24 March 1877:8; *RB* 27 September 1877:2). By this time, some notable residents had already started to leave the town and many key businesses had closed:

I regret to say St Lawrence is not ‘going ahead fast’. The carriers, who have always been its main resource, are gradually dropping off and going in for ‘fresh fields and pastures new’...shifting...their teams on to the railway line. Consequently there is nothing in the shape of merchandise comes here except what is really wanted for the use of the neighbouring stations. Another sign of the slackness of the times is that two of our principal public-houses have closed up (*BC* 10 August 1878:6).

With the trade of the region rapidly concentrating around the railway, newspapers correspondents forecasted the inevitable demise and abandonment of St Lawrence, as business became “very limited and purely local” (*MB* 20 October 1879:2) (see Box 6). The town saw a marked decrease in population during this time, with census data recording an almost 50 percent drop in population from 312 to 169 people, between the years 1876 and 1881 (1876 and 1881 Census; *BC* 5 September 1877:3).

Box 6. Northern Townships on the Wane (*BC* 5 October 1878:3)

Five years ago I first visited Broadsound, or rather the township of St Lawrence, then a thriving locality with four or five public-houses, several stores, private residences, and any quantity of teams which were camped in every spare corner and along the main road...the place was alive with carriers, activity and bustle being the order of the day.

Now, what a difference! The place seems deserted compared with former days – publicans leaving, teams departing never to return, and altogether a look of despair visible on the countenances of the remaining inhabitants. The extension of the railway from Rockhampton, tapping the Clermont and Western districts is the cause of the certain desolation and ruin of St Lawrence...in another few months the place will exist but in name. This is another of the ‘days gone by’ towns.

There was a significant decline in trade through St Lawrence over the following decade, with no exports recorded from the port from 1879 to 1889 (see Figure 13). During these years, published correspondence was limited to updates on the latest social event held in town, from dancing balls, horse races, and school fetes; activities which indicated, according to a local correspondent, that St Lawrence residents had “not lost that zeal for enjoyment that influences the inhabitants of larger

and more important districts” (*BC* 21 June 1882:1S). A correspondent for the newspaper *QLD Figaro and Punch* (18 July 1885:12), observed otherwise only a few years later:

[St Lawrence] is in a benumbed trance, with just sufficient of vital functions about her to keep her from forgetting to exist altogether. People don't live at St Lawrence; they vegetate as the mosses and lichens do. They're there and there they stick, because they are too inert to leave the place. Times are very dull at St Lawrence... The St Lawrence outcasts are even too lethargic to gossip, so that its social aspect is as tame as its material. St Lawrence folk are a quiet lot, but, Heaven pity them! They can't help it. It is the natural ooze of their stagnation. People there are only hanging on by the slack of their eyebrows, waiting for the good old times to look round Broadsound way again.

Meat: A Chance of Recovery?

Trade at St Lawrence was quiet throughout the remainder of the 1880s, with no exports recorded from the port until 1890, when town interests focused on land near the newly repaired wharf at Waverley Creek, where a small settlement – aptly named Newport – had begun to emerge, following mineral prospection in the area (*MB* 20 March 1890:3, 16 December 1890:5). It was also during this year that the Queensland Meat Export and Agency Company began to search for locations along the coast to build meat freezing and export works (*MB* 11 August 1890:5). The townspeople of St Lawrence formed a committee to put forward to the Company the land near Waverley Creek wharf as a suitable site for a meatworks, leading to the formation of the Broadsound Boiling Down and Meat Export Company in mid-1893 (*TQ* 30 August 1890:391; *BC* 23 May 1893:5). The meatworks at St Lawrence was one of the first of many established in Queensland during the major international depression in 1893, as a way of earning a profit from the surplus of cattle that had accumulated on pastoral stations during a period of low cattle prices (*BC* 23 May 1893:5; Camm 1984:30). The Broadsound Boiling Down and Meat Export Company was the first in Central Queensland, and was floated by stockmen of the surrounding districts using limited capital of their own, but supported by Government funding of £5000 (Camm 1984:33; McDonald 1985:287, 1988:140). Created under the *Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act 1893*, this fund allowed proprietors of proposed meatworks to apply for advances of up to 50 percent of the total cost of the works (Camm 1984:30; McDonald 1985:287, 1988:140). The meatworks at St Lawrence and others like it in Queensland, exported beef products to the growing British market (Camm 1984:29).

Operations at the meatworks almost never commenced, however, as the Government proposed to close the Customs and other Government offices at St Lawrence. The residents of St Lawrence

petitioned their local government member, John Murray, to “to avert such a catastrophe”, arguing the closures “would inflict great hardship on the community”, and that “companies for boiling down and exporting meat...are initiated, and this will mean increased revenue” (*BC* 3 August 1893:5; *MB* 19 September 1893:5). Mr Murray put forward the townspeople’s complaints, and the Government agreed to keep the port of St Lawrence open, on the provision that it be under the management of the Rockhampton Harbour Master, and thereby no longer incurring additional costs to the Department (*MB* 22 September 1893:5; *BC* 28 September 1893:6; *TC* 29 September 1894:7).

The meatworks at Newport opened at the beginning of 1894, with operations limited to boiling down; salting and tinning of meat commencing in the following year (*MB* 23 January 1894:5; *BC* 16 November 1894:4). The meatworks operated intermittently over the following years, as changing weather events halted productivity:

We can hear of rain having fallen all around us, but the drought on the runs about the township has not yet broken up. About 50 percent of the cattle here have died within the last two months. There are no fat cattle in the district, hence the prospects cannot be said to be favourable for our Boiling Down and Packing Company. Even the local butcher has great trouble in procuring cattle to supply his customers with beef (*MB* 30 December 1895:5).

The townspeople of St Lawrence were also faced with food shortages, with steamers carrying supplies being sent specially from Mackay to the township, where residents “had been on short ration allowances for some time, and might have been left to starve” (*MB* 30 December 1895:5). With the meatworks in full swing following the drought, regular steamer communication began again by the end of 1896, with the *Taldora* making fortnightly trips between St Lawrence and Rockhampton, and famine was averted (*MB* 20 July 1896:5; *TC* 12 September 1896:20). This was not to last, however, when in April 1897, the *Taldora* sank alongside the wharf at Waverley Creek, where it remained submerged for over two months before being raised (*BC* 19 April 1897:6, 1 July 1897:3). This was the third recorded shipwreck in Broadsound, with the *Comet* and the *Australia* wrecking in the early years of settlement (*The Courier* 11 March 1863:3).

The meatworks had resuspended operations during this time, owing to difficulties in procuring stock from the surrounding districts (*TC* 14 August 1897:6), and food shortages again struck the residents of St Lawrence in February 1898, after the removal of the repaired *Taldora* left the town unprovided with supplies:

The town, we are told, is threatened with famine. The *Taldora*, on which the people of St Lawrence are accustomed to depend for their supplies, was despatched to the aid of the *Ranelagh* when she was wrecked, no one apparently thinking of the unfortunate residents of St Lawrence (*MB* 9 February 1898:4)

The townspeople arranged for supplies from Mackay, but the boat bearing them never arrived; by the time the Government sent aid to St Lawrence via the pilot boat *Fitzroy*, some residents had reportedly gone more than “a fortnight without flour” (*MB* 9 February 1898:4-5).

The weather settled for a brief period, and productivity at the meatworks hit its peak, with exports from St Lawrence in 1899/1900 approaching the record levels experienced from the town during the copper boom in 1872 (see Figure 13). Business was progressing well; a steamer was plying between St Lawrence and Rockhampton weekly, carrying tallow, hides, bones and tinned meat products packaged at the meatworks, and the Premier of Queensland at the time, Thomas Byrnes, toured the plant (*MB* 23 May 1898, 21 July 1898:5, 5 August 1899:5). Despite these positive advances, railway development in the region bypassed St Lawrence again, in favour of extending the line further inland from Rockhampton to Clermont via Ravenswood:

The people of St Lawrence...have naturally been looking to the approach of the railway through Rockhampton as affording them the means of cheap and easy communication with the outside world. They have seen the rail way connecting the Southern and Central lines come gradually up the coast...and they have anticipated, as they were entitled to do, that it would in time pass on to St Lawrence, Mackay, Bowen and Townsville. But...if the railway is built between Clermont and Ravenswood as the Government propose to do, St Lawrence is denied for a generation at least, the great benefits arising from railway communication (*MB* 22 February 1899:4).

The township itself did not flourish during these years, with low imports recorded. In 1900 the settlement was described as a “village” containing two pubs, two stores, two blacksmith’s shops, a butcher’s shop, Customs House, Court House, post office, school, police quarters and a lock-up (*TQ* 2 June 1900:1022; *Worker* 20 October 1900:2).

Severe drought conditions were widespread in Queensland by the end of 1900 (and Australia more broadly; today this dry period from 1895-1902 is known as the “Federation Drought”), and lack of water became a serious issue. The supply at the meatworks quickly ran out, and tanks of water were ordered from Rockhampton and delivered to St Lawrence via steamer (*MB* 22 November 1900:5; *TC* 22 December 1900:19). The Government Hydraulic Engineer, J. B. Henderson, visited St Lawrence to investigate the district’s water issues, and found the town to be “very poorly supplied with potable water” (*MB* 11 April 1901:3). At a special meeting held in town, Mr Henderson

observed that the residents of St Lawrence felt that the very existence of their town “depends very largely upon the success of the Newport meatworks and that the success of the meatworks themselves largely rests upon their obtaining an abundant and cheap supply of water” (*MB* 11 April 1901:3).

The dry season persisted until 1903, and *The Capricornian* (16 August 1902:10) reported that some of the older inhabitants of St Lawrence were seriously considering moving due to the acute water shortage, and that it was very doubtful whether the meatworks would reopen. The meatworks did in fact close in early 1903, and with it, the port of St Lawrence, and many residents began to leave the town (*BC* 22 April 1903:4; *MB* 16 June 1903:7).

Rail Comes to St Lawrence

Activity in St Lawrence continued to decline until the end of 1910, when the Government announced that it would finally be extending the railway along the Central Queensland coast, with a section from Rockhampton to Mackay, through St Lawrence (*BC* 25 November 1910:5). In a publication promoting the Central Queensland region, the Queensland Government optimistically declared that “when the great possibilities of the Central District are more fully realised, Broadsound Harbour will once more come into prominence in the shipping world” (Queensland Government 1914:23); however, steamers had long stopped calling into the port of St Lawrence, and would never return.

After a slow start, construction of the North Coast Railway gradually approached the town, and on the 4th of June 1921, the section of rail connecting St Lawrence to Rockhampton finally opened, with the line later completed to Mackay in September (*MB* 6 June 1921:9) (Figure 19; Figure 20). No longer did the residents of St Lawrence and the surrounding districts need to depend on the intermittent visit of horse teams, coaches, and steamers, for their communication with the wider world.



Figure 19. Opening celebrations at the new St Lawrence railway station (SLQ 1921a).



Figure 20. Crowds gather for the opening of the St Lawrence to Mackay railway line in 1921 (SLQ 1921b).

Life in a Port Town

The chronology of important events in the history of St Lawrence presented thus far sets the stage for an exploration of the lives of those who resided in the town over the course of its development. From its establishment as a rudimentary landing place in the early 1860s, to the arrival of the railway in 1921, what was life like for people in St Lawrence?

Many merchant entrepreneurs, keen to take advantage of the trading opportunities emerging in the Broudsound region following the establishment of St Lawrence as a port to service the outlying pastoral stations, and later the copper mines at Peak Downs, settled in the town and opened several commercial establishments, including pubs/hotels (public houses), and stores. William Watson Boyes was the first of many business opportunists to flock to the burgeoning port settlement, and may have indeed been the first resident of St Lawrence, as he self-proclaimed in newspaper correspondence (*RB* 7 June 1864:3). Born in Ireland in 1835, W. W. Boyes arrived in Victoria aboard the *Albatross* in 1853, and travelled through the northern colonies before establishing his store at St Lawrence in 1861 “under a gunyah of three sheets of bark” (*BC* 20 December 1924:19; see also *RB* 7 December 1861:1; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 5 May 1949:5) (Figure 21).

By the end of the following year, Boyes had acquired a publican’s license to sell wines, spirits, and beers at his establishment, called the ‘Saint Laurence Inn’, later renamed the ‘St Lawrence Hotel’ (*RB* 10 September 1862:2, 25 April 1863:1S; 5 September 1863:3; *QGG* 1864 v5:960). He was soon selling a variety of goods, including drapery and women’s apparel (*RB* 22 November 1862:2).

As there is no record of other businesses in town during these early years, the “dilapidated looking store” referred to in *The Courier* (11 March 1863:3), and the store, pub house, kitchen, and garden sketched on the town plan in 1863 (see Figure 7), most likely refer to Boyes’ establishments.

By 1865, however, W. W. Boyes was bankrupt, owing money to J. A. Macartney of Waverley station, with whom he reportedly went to school in Ireland, and he consequently left St Lawrence

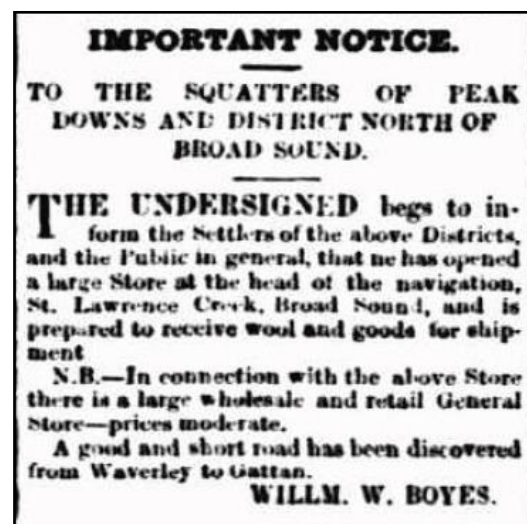


Figure 21. Advertisement for Boyes’ store (*RB* 7 December 1861:1).

for Townsville (*QGG* 1865 v6:133; *BC* 20 December 1924:19). Thomas Francis Tagg took over the store formerly used by Boyes, and became a prominent merchant in St Lawrence, as did Thomas Hatfield, who developed commercial interests in the town after conveying the first load of copper from the Peak Downs over the Connors Range to St Lawrence in 1865 (*RB* 3 January 1865:3, 13 May 1865:4, 9 October 1869:2; *MB* 20 December 1882:2) (Figure 22).

Both men suffered severe property damages during the 1874 cyclone (see Box 5), and later sold their properties in St Lawrence to open establishments nearer the railway in Copperfield and Clermont (*MB* 20 December 1882:2). With other local prominent business owners, Thomas Hatfield and T. F. Tagg were also involved in the early civic development of the town, and were members on both the school and cemetery reserve committees.



Figure 22. Thomas Hatfield (Fox 1923:278).

There were as many as six public houses with licenses to sell alcohol during the town's peak in the early 1870s, but by 1880, only The Carriers' Arms and The Sportsman's Arms remained (compiled from *QPOD*, *PA* and *Rockhampton Bulletin*). Miners, carriers and other labourers from the Peak Downs and surrounding stations would regularly travel to St Lawrence and spend their pay in the public houses, likely 'knocking down cheques'; whereby, according to Trollope (1874: 189,191; see also Dingle 1980:237) they would "live like brutes" until their pay cheques had been completely spent on food and alcohol, and were forced to leave penniless. People frequently used cheques and business-issued trading tokens to pay for goods and services in the town (e.g. *RB* 13 June 1872:3), as cash was very limited in the Australia colonies during the nineteenth century, as observed by a correspondent at St Lawrence in 1890:

[There is a] scarcity of the coin of the realm in town. It is indeed a great compliment to get ten shillings change in silver. Cheques and orders from two shillings and sixpence up to five pounds are very largely circulated, and that in a place only 150 miles from the capital of the Central Division of the colony [Rockhampton] (*MB* 27 October 1890:5).

Brandy appears to have been the drink of choice in town, as it was for most early Australian settlements (*RB* 30 January 1872:2; see Bird 1904:63; Fitzgerald and Jordan 2009:66). In a letter published in the *Morning Bulletin* (21 January 1879:2), a resident of St Lawrence described "a rather novel kind of feat", recently performed in the town, whereby a young man "backed to drink three half-pints of strong brandy within a certain time...became insensible, and lay in that state for about fifteen hours". People also consumed beer, rum, sherry and gin (Geneva), as indicated on shipping manifests during the period (Table 4). The destination of imported goods is unclear from

the manifests, however, as products shipped to St Lawrence could have been ordered by people within the town, or those on the surrounding stations, or at the mining settlements on the Peak Downs (*RB* 10 October 1863:2, 21 March 1865:2, 15 April 1865:2). While limited, shipping manifests such as those shown in Table 4, provide an indication as to the goods that passed through the port of St Lawrence during the nineteenth century.

Table 4. Examples of shipping manifests to the Port of St Lawrence.

October 1863 (<i>RB</i> 10 October 1863:2)		August 1865 (<i>RB</i> 26 August 1865:2)		October 1871 (<i>RB</i> 21 October 1871:2)	
Item	Amount	Item	Amount	Item	Amount
Sundries	3 cases	Tobacco	1 tierce	Claret	20 cases
Shovels	1 bundle	Soap	3 boxes	Ginger wine	10 cases
Nails	2 kegs	Corn flour	1 box	Sherry	2 cases
Rum	2 hogsheads	Sardines	1 box	Bottled beer	20 cases
Brandy	13 cases	Jam	1 case	Champagne	3 cases
Sherry	12 cases	Salad oil	1 case	Jam	5 cases
Ale	1 hogshead	Sundries	5 cases	Rope	2 coils
Drapery	1 case	Drapery	2 cases	Tea	4 chests
Earthenware	2 crates	Tea	2 chests	Pickles	5 cases
Flour	10 bags	Rum	1 keg	Confectionary	2 cases
Potatoes	1 ton	Rice	1 bag	Sarsaparilla	6 cases
Sugar	6 bags	Sugar	2 bags	Rice	40 bags
Tea	1 half chest	Flour	2 bags	Raisins	6 boxes
Apples	1 keg	Brandy	1 keg	Currants	3 casks
Rice	1 bag	Geneva	1 case	Fruit	2 cases
Guns	1 package	Netting	1 bundle	Stout	50 casks
		Dray wheels	1 pair	Salt	33 bags
		Shingles	60 bundles	Lime juice	4 cases
		Salt	2 bags	Kerosene	10 cases
				Bitters	6 cases
				Sugar	32 bags

There were few merchants in town during the nineteenth century, with most inhabitants engaged in employment related to the carrying trade. For example, according to the 1874 Queensland Post Office Directory, there were several carriers, four blacksmiths, two wheelwrights, one saddler, two carpenters, and one bootmaker in St Lawrence (Table 5).

Table 5. List of Trades and Occupations of Residents in St Lawrence (QPOD 1874).

Accountant	Richard Mooney	Farmer	William Joss
Blacksmith	John Platt	Gardener	Jim Fog
	Francis Quinn	Hotelier	Henry Chidgey
	George Trunley		Robert Cooke
	John Turner		Thomas Hatfield
Bootmaker	John Cooke		James Roberts
Carpenter	Richard Davies	Merchant	Thomas Francis Tagg
	William Hatfield	Photographer	William Boag
Carriers	George Chalmers	Saddler	William Armstrong
	John R. Edwards	Storekeeper	Ah Chong
	James Fitzgerald		Cong Dee
	James Fogarty		Michael McGrade
	William Folkman	Tailor	Edward Costello
	James Fox	Wheelwright	John Frazer
	Robert Huston		James Sargood
	William Kearsey		
	Patrick Meehan		
	George Oliver		
	William Paskins		
	William Price		

Michael McGrade, originally from County Tyrone in Ireland, immigrated to Australia sometime in the early 1860s (*SMH* 15 March 1900:1), and ran his store on Macartney Street in St Lawrence for many years, with the help of his wife Ellen and their eldest son Percival, until his death in 1901 (*MB* 1 May 1901:1; 8 May 1901:1). Cong (also written as Kong) Dee is recorded as a Chinese storekeeper in St Lawrence, who worked in the town from at least 1874 (*QPOD* 1874). He was in Queensland since Separation, but it is unclear when he arrived in Australia (*QLD BDM* 1889). Cong was from Amoy (now Xiamen), a major city within the southern province of Fujian (*QLD BDM* 1889). Cong Dee died in June 1889 at the age of 58 and he is buried in the St Lawrence cemetery (*QLD BDM* 1889). Since speciality stores were essentially non-existent, general stores in St Lawrence, such as McGrade's and Dee's, sold a variety of goods, including food and produce, drapery, clothing, and tobacco (compiled from *PA*). The sale of opium in town, and its use by the local Aboriginal population was also reported (see *MB* 20 May 1890:6; see also 20 October 1890:5; 13 April 1891:6). Indeed, in 1890 it was reported that "the aborigines of the district are fast dying out" and that opium was the chief cause (*MB* 20 May 1890:6).

In addition to the few local stores, a hawker by the name of A. Moses is recorded to have been working in St Lawrence in 1868 (see Table 3), and a former resident of St Lawrence, Mary Denning, remembers an Indian hawker named Kishn Singh making periodic visits to the town, bringing with him “a wonderful assortment of goods of all kinds, particularly clothes”, which he sold from his horse-drawn coach (Rolleston 1983:83). While only a child when Kishn Singh visited the town, Mary Denning notes that he always did a good trade, since “it was not easy to get to shops in town” (Rolleston 1983:83). There was also a dearth of local agricultural produce in town, with very few farms cultivated within the district, with several residents choosing to get vegetables delivered via coach from Rockhampton (*MB* 6 May 1890:6; see also 28 July 1890:5, 23 February 1891:6). However, earlier efforts to establish Chinese market gardens in St Lawrence had been met with resistance by residents:

Two unfortunate Chinamen, who attempted to form a garden upon a reserve within a mile of the township to try and eke out a living furnishing vegetables (a great *desiderata* in the tropics) to the townspeople, had their fence torn up and themselves driven off (*RB* 3 December 1868:3).

Hostility and violence towards Chinese market gardeners persisted in the settlement through time:

A traveller informs us that in the office of Messrs Macartney and Mayne, at Waverley station, St Lawrence, a unique notice is posted. It notified a reward of £2 will be given for the recovery of a pigtail belonging to a Chinaman, and for such information as will lead to the conviction of the man who cut off the appendage. Our informant states the mingling of the white and copper coloured races eventuated in a fight after sundry drinks were consumed. The white man evidently had the best of the Heathen Chinese gardener, who is bewailing the loss of his headgear (*MB* 9 August 1883:2; see also *QLD Figaro* 25 August 1883:3).

Like at many colonial settlements, the local Aboriginal people in the St Lawrence were also socially and spatially marginalised, and their movements within the township were restricted and controlled (Rowse 1999:81-82). In 1873, a Mr Gilder, then acting as the doctor in St Lawrence, complained about the Aboriginal people being ordered out of the township, as it deprived him of income derived from treating men with venereal diseases contracted from Aboriginal women (Rée 2010:198-199). The only other documentary evidence for their continued presence in St Lawrence comes from records of blanket distributions, and the occasional sporting event (*RB* 8 September 1864:2; *MB* 11 May 1891:5, 20 May 1890:6).

In addition to food scarcities, residents also faced serious local water issues, further exacerbated by seasons of drought. Over the course of the nineteenth century, local newspaper correspondents often reported a lack of water in town (e.g. *MB* 6 October 1890:5; *QLD Figaro and Punch* 19 July

1885:12; *RB* 17 June 1873:3; *TC* 16 January 1886:10). People carted water from the local waterholes, or later collected rain in iron tanks, with “a cask of the necessary element” reportedly costing one half crown, or two and a half shillings (*RB* 17 June 1873:3).

In later steps to increase trade through the town and secure the delivery of fresh produce and new items at lower prices, a committee was formed in 1888 with the aim of procuring supplies cooperatively, whereby a head committee member would “receive all orders for goods from members, and transmit same to the merchant, with a request that each order should be packed separately, and distinguished by a mark” (*MB* 11 September 1888:5). Negotiations fell through, however, and the cooperative system was abandoned (*MB* 28 July 1890:5). The people of St Lawrence engaged in various recreational pursuits, with horse racing being the most popular from the early days of settlement, with races run in conjunction with the local public houses. “In common with Australians in general”, residents celebrated the Christmas holidays with sporting events, holding annual race meetings on the Boxing Day public holiday, usually followed by dinner and dancing in the Court House or one of the public houses in town (*RB* 23 January 1864:2, 15 December 1868:3) (Figure 23).



Figure 23. Advertisement for the St Lawrence annual races (*RB* 8 December 1868:3).

The people of St Lawrence also played cricket; however, the great distance between the town’s team and those of other places hindered the potential for competition:

The cricketers of St Lawrence have challenged the Clermont willow-wielders to play a match at the former place. As the journey down and back would occupy nearly a month it is scarcely probable the Peak Downers will accept (*MB* 26 October 1878:3).

Residents also indulged in recreational rifle shooting on the banks of St Lawrence Creek (*MB* 26 December 1890:5), and squatters on the neighbouring stations occasionally organised kangaroo hunts, followed by a picnic (*MB* 29 September 1880:2, 31 August 1881:2), a pastime observed in other colonial Australian settlements (Bird 1904:118; Trollope 1874:116).

As there was no public hall in the town during the nineteenth century, residents often used the town Court House to hold their public social events, including annual fancy dress and bachelor’s balls

and school fundraisers (*MB* 1 June 1882:1S, 26 July 1887:4, 30 April 1889:3, 9 October 1888:5). The Court House also held local church services, prior to the erection of an Anglican Church in 1898, the only church ever built in town (*BC* 23 May 1898:5). St Lawrence did not have a resident clergyman for most of its history, and religious dignitaries of various denominations, from Rockhampton, Mackay and Brisbane, visited the town periodically via steamer to hold public services in the Court House (*BC* 19 December 1868:5; *RB* 31 July 1876:3; *TQ* 26 June 1875:3):

We have recently had a visit from the Rev. A. Maclaren of Mackay, and as we have not before had a visit from a clergyman for three years we think it is a matter worth noting. We often hear of ships being fitted out and missionaries and teachers being sent to the Islands to enlighten and civilise the natives, but before I came to Broadsound I had not heard of townships on the Queensland coast which were three years without a visit from a clergyman (*MB* 9 May 1882:2; see also *BC* 21 June 1882:1S).

People from the surrounding parts of the district would visit St Lawrence for the popular sporting and social events, which would result in increased circulation of money in the town (*MB* 20 November 1888:5, 20 May 1890:6; *RB* 15 December 1868:3). However, as trade through the port town diminished, so too did the frequency of such festivities and by 1890, newspapers reported very little social activity in St Lawrence (*MB* 20 March 1890:3, 17 April 1890:6, 30 December 1895:5). Incidental accidents and sporting related injuries – often a result of a person falling off a horse – were common, and in some cases, fatal:

A young man...undertook to ride on the horses in the Hack Race. He had only proceeded about 150 yards after leaving the starting post when his horse threw him, and he was pitched violently to the ground, falling on his head. He was picked up insensible and taken to...[a] public house where he expired eight hours after the accident happened (*RB* 8 September 1864:2).

Treatment of such injuries was difficult in St Lawrence, as a medical professional was absent from the settlement for most of its early history. Illness too was often left untreated and could lead to tragic results, as illustrated in the case of Mary Smith (nee McMonagle) of whom letters survive from the nineteenth century, having been kept and published in a book by her descendants (see Emmanuel 1984). Mary McMonagle travelled to Queensland from County Donegal in Ireland in c.1864 with her younger sister Eliza Jane and cousins Elizabeth and Eva, all in their early 20s (Emmanuel 1984:1). Mary and Eliza Jane carried with them letters of introduction from their local parsonage vouching for their integrity and trustworthiness so that they may find employment (Emmanuel 1984:2). After two years in Australia, the cousins Elizabeth and Eva returned to Ireland, but Mary and Eliza Jane chose to stay, much to the disappointment of their family, as is documented in a letter to the pair written at the time (Emmanuel 1984:2). In 1867, Mary married Thomas Smith, and Eliza Jane married William Acton the following year (Emmanuel 1984:1). Eliza

Jane and William settled on a farm near Rockhampton and had six children, while Mary and Thomas moved to St Lawrence where Thomas gained work as a stockman at Waverley station (Emmanuel 1984:1; *QPOD* 1868; Table 3). In December 1868, cousin Eva wrote from Ireland to Eliza Jane in Rockhampton, noting the “long silence” between the two of them, and remarks that she and the rest of the family “wonder very much if anything has happened...as they have not heard of you for so long”. Upon returning home to Ireland, Eva also seemed surprised to find that she had liked Australia much better than she thought and she asked Eliza Jane if she could send her a newspaper so she might see some news of Australia (Emmanuel 1984:2-3). The former McMonagle sisters kept up their correspondence with each other in their new homes in Central Queensland, but in 1870, Eliza Jane received a letter from a very sick Mary, imploring her to make the journey from Rockhampton and come see her in St Lawrence (see Box 7). Within two weeks of writing this letter Mary died and was buried in the St Lawrence cemetery; she was 28 years old (Emmanuel 1984:3) (Figure 24).

Box 7. Letter from Mary to her sister Eliza Jane, 20 July 1870 (Emmanuel 1984:16)

Dear Sister,

I write these few lines to let you know that I am very ill – so ill that I cannot write a long letter. I have been very bad with dysentery for five weeks – confined to my bed. I should like to see you, my dear sister, very much. So you must come as quickly as possible and if you have not the money to spare it will be made right when you come here.

But do not neglect to come as quickly as possible as we might not meet again in this world and I should not like to die without seeing you.

There will be a person waiting for you if you come by the steamer to St Lawrence, Broadsound.

So my dear sister, goodbye and God bless you is the sincere prayer of

*Your affectionate sister,
Mary Smith*

P.S. The children are well.

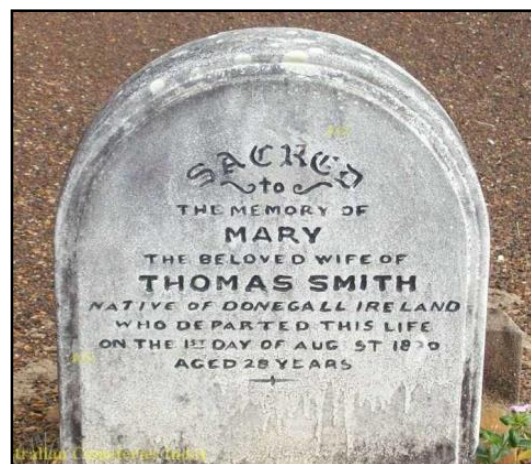


Figure 24. Headstone of Mary Smith (nee McMonagle) in the St Lawrence cemetery (Australian Cemeteries Index n.d.).

A doctor was practising in town in at least 1874, as there are reports of the doctor's house, "containing surgery and a well-stocked dispensary" being destroyed during the cyclone (*BC* 21 February 1874:5). Residents were without a doctor for approximately two years afterwards, until Dr Butler took up residence in the town, but he soon left St Lawrence (*TC* 25 March 1876:203, 9 February 1878:11). The town was again without a resident medical doctor until the arrival of Dr Latrobe in 1889, but he died the following year (*MB* 2 May 1889:6, 23 August 1890:5). Following his death, the residents of St Lawrence subscribed approximately £12 towards a public medicine chest, stocked with medicines and placed in the care of the town's telegraph manager, James Edwin Ramsbotham (*MB* 2 March 1891:5). When a person in St Lawrence fell ill or sustained an injury, they would wire their symptoms to a doctor in Rockhampton, who would proceed to a chemist where a list of the medicines in the chest at St Lawrence was kept, then wire through which medicines from the list would most suit the case to J. E. Ramsbotham, who would in turn distribute the prescribed remedy to the sick or injured resident (*MB* 2 March 1891:5; *TQ* 21 March 1891:537). Ramsbotham also kept several medical reference books to assist residents in his role (*MB* 14 May 1895:5). With no resident doctor, the people of St Lawrence continued to rely on their communal medicine chest and held fundraisers to restock the chest with supplies from Rockhampton (*TC* 7 January 1893:37; *MB* 14 May 1895:5); however, it seems that some residents were not so forthcoming with their contributions:

It is a matter of regret that some residents who placed their names on the subscription list for the medicine chest over twelve months ago, although they have had prescriptions dispensed, have so far omitted to pay up. They would commence the New Year well by discharging their liabilities to this very useful institution (*TC* 7 January 1893:37).

By 1900, the town was still without a medical professional and the people of St Lawrence formed a committee tasked with securing the services of a doctor, and placed job advertisements in local and interstate newspapers (*MB* 4 June 1900:3) (Figure 25). The committee also opened another subscription list, this time for the erection of a temporary hospital in preparation "for the probable sudden outbreak of bubonic plague" which was at that time spreading throughout Queensland, and provided remuneration for all rats destroyed in town (*MB* 4 June 1900:3; *Worker* 9 June 1900:11).

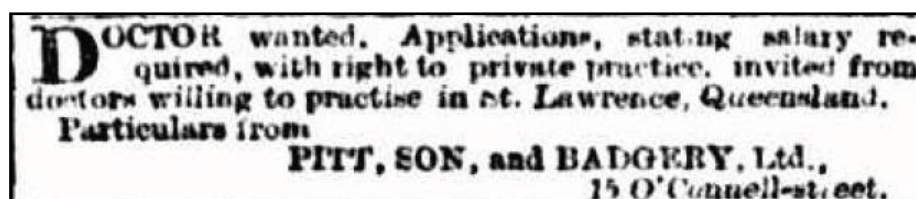


Figure 25. Advertisement for a doctor in St Lawrence in 1900 (*SMH* 28 May 1900:10).

Earlier attempts to secure the services of a resident medical professional seemed to have failed, as by 1901 there was still no doctor at St Lawrence (*MB* 9 January 1901:5). In the absence of a qualified medical doctor in town, residents called on respected local people, such as the school's head teacher, to attend to the sick and injured, before wiring a doctor in Rockhampton to make the long overland journey to St Lawrence (*MB* 27 October 1903:6; *TC* 29 March 1913:37). In the early days of settlement, Rockhampton doctors called on St Lawrence only on extreme occasions, such as in 1893 to treat an epidemic of diphtheria among children in the settlement (*BC* 15 September 1893:5), and reached the town via road, in horse and buggy, and later by coach.

Road travel was slow and difficult, and often hindered by the flooding of creeks and roads during heavy rains, causing a suspension in road traffic, including that of the carrying teams conveying produce and copper between St Lawrence and the Peak Downs and surrounding districts (*RB* 28 January 1871:2, 25 January 1972:2; *TC* 29 March 1913:37):

Owing to the disastrous flood on the St Lawrence road, everything has been brought to a standstill, and a large number of teams, that should be here [Peak Downs] now, are still camped (*RB* 18 March 1875:2; see also *BC* 12 February 1876:7).

The dry season also caused difficulties, with the roads lacking in both grass and water to support the horse and bullock teams travelling on them (*RB* 9 November 1872:2). These conditions also affected the timely delivery of mails to the township (*MB* 9 April 1890:6, 17 April 1890:6). Throughout the nineteenth century, letters, newspapers, shopping catalogues, and some small parcels made their way to and from St Lawrence on the roads connecting the township overland. Prior to the establishment of formal mail route contracts – the absence of which they considered to be “an obstacle in the way of progress” (*BC* 10 August 1867:5) – the delivery of mails depended on private arrangements and early settlers in Broadsound were often required to travel to Rockhampton to get their mail. J. A. Macartney of Waverley station would reportedly “ride a hundred miles and over in one day...on the same horse” (De Satgé 1901:140) to reach Rockhampton, where he would collect and reply to his mail and transact other business before riding home the following day (*BC* 12 June 1917:6) (Figure 26).



Figure 26. John Arthur Macartney with his horse (SLQ 1904).

A local newspaper – the *Broad Sound Gazette* – was started out of St Lawrence in early July 1862, as reported by the Rockhampton correspondent of *The Courier* (12 July 1862:3; see also 5 July 1862:2; *DDG* 2 October 1862:3):

Through some mysterious channel, a sheet of blue...post, written on all sides, in not the neatest style, has reached town from that rank and dank hole yclept [by the name of] Broadsound. It is styled the *Broad Sound Gazette*. The writer blandly says the first copies will be issued gratis until the printing plant arrives, which he daily expects. Shade of Tom Pepper! What next?

The *Gazette* ran for a very short time and was soon replaced with the *Northern Times and Broad Sound Advertiser*, “written somewhere, and by somebody in that terra incognita ‘The North’” (*DDG* 2 October 1862:3), but this also appears to have only had one issue (Australian Newspaper History Group 2012:14). From 1862, there was never again a local newspaper published at St Lawrence (*TQ* 9 March 1872:2; *MB* 3 June 1890:6). Residents received their news via the local papers from the Peak Downs and Rockhampton, and possibly also via the press out of Brisbane. Residents could order subscriptions and place advertisements in the *Rockhampton Bulletin* with local merchants, such as T. F. Tagg (*RB* 6 May 1871:2).

In 1864, W. W. Boyes aptly described the postal communication at St Lawrence as being “rather deficient”, and there were soon local efforts to establish formal contracts for the conveyance of mails in the surrounding districts (*RB* 7 June 1864:3; *BC* 14 September 1866:3). Official mail routes between St Lawrence and Rockhampton, Nebo and the Peak Downs area, including Clermont and Copperfield, were in use by the late 1860s (*RB* 2 February 1867:4, 15 December 1868:3; *BC* 10 August 1867:5). Mail services operated weekly or fortnightly, depending on the route, and mail contractors originally travelled by horse. A coach mail service was in operation between St Lawrence and Rockhampton by the start of 1880 (*MB* 28 October 1879:2, 12 December 1879:1).

Coaches could carry passengers and packages in addition to the normal mails, thus providing “the public an additional and highly prized convenience” (*MB* 7 January 1880:2). Prior to the substitution of the packhorse mail contract for the coach service, the turnaround of mail between St Lawrence and Rockhampton took almost a week – the mail contractor would leave Rockhampton on a Monday, arrive at St Lawrence on Thursday, leave town the following day, and finally arrive back in Rockhampton on Sunday (*RB* 2 February 1867:4). The new coach service shaved one day off this route (*MB* 7 January 1880:2, 10 January 1880:2).

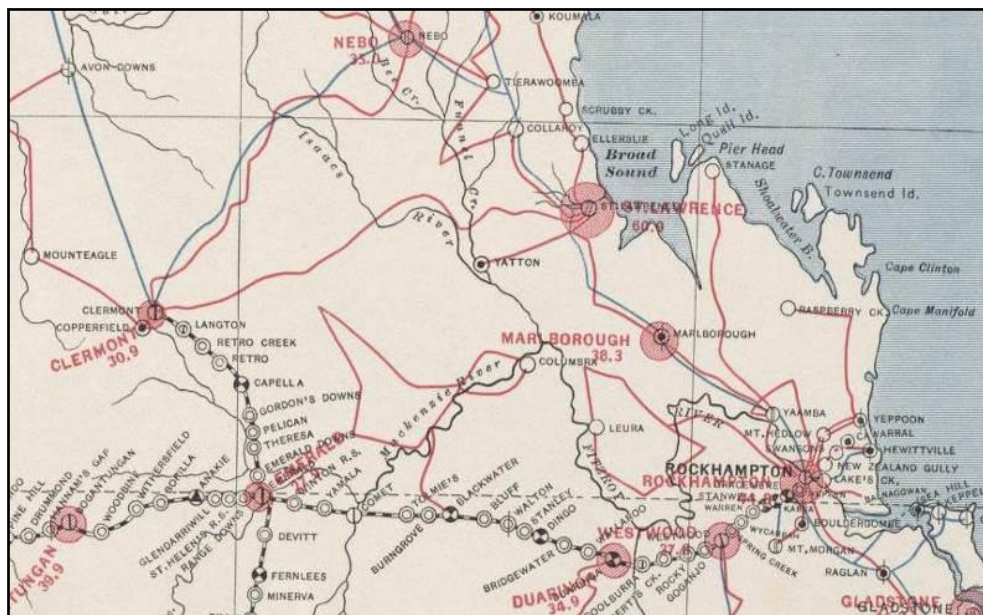


Figure 27. Railway, postal (in red) and telegraph (in blue) map of Central Queensland in 1888 (NLA 1888).

In addition to letters and newspapers delivery, residents received and sent information (largely commercial) through the electric telegraph (Figure 27); however, telegraphic communication was at times cut off through damages to infrastructure sustained through storms and cyclonic activity in the region (*RB* 3 February 1874:5; *BC* 26 January 1918:6). Residents from St Lawrence and the surrounding districts also received and forwarded their mail via the steamers – bearing other goods and passengers – travelling from Rockhampton and Sydney, from where separate mails for the other Australian colonies and overseas destinations were despatched (*RB* 22 January 1867:4, 28 January 1871:2, 8 December 1874:2, 29 December 1874:2).

While initially making approximately fortnightly visits during peak trading during the late 1860s and early 1870s, steamers called into port only once or twice monthly during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the town was often on the verge of running out of supplies:

The *Taldora* arrived at the wharf with a full cargo of merchandise and several passengers, and the township looked quite lively with horsemen, and buggies and

teams passing up and down to the wharf. The steamer did not come a day too soon, for the stores were clean out of flour, and...horse-feed has been unprocurable for the last five weeks (*MB* 20th November 1888:5; see also *QLD Figaro and Punch* 18 July 1885:12; *BC* 26 January 1918:6).

The closure of port facilities at the turn of the century, and subsequent cessation of steamer contact, exacerbated the road transport issue, with residents forced to rely solely on overland services for the delivery of all goods and services. While potentially more regular, road transport was not as reliable as coastal steamer communication, as roads became impassable during heavy rain (*MB* 9 April 1890:6, 17 April 1890:6). Religious ministers, who previously arrived at the township via steamer, occasionally travelled to the town by coach service, and were sometimes required to either delay their visit or extend their stay, as the roads connecting the settlement were flooded (*TC* 11 June 1910:43; *MB* 4 March 1911:9). By this stage, doctors travelled from Rockhampton to St Lawrence via motorcar, and an ambulance brigade was soon in service between the two places, with an ambulance officer capable of administering first aid stationed at St Lawrence in 1919 (*TC* 29 March 1913:37; *MB* 29 October 1915:3; *BC* 13 October 1919:6). Prior to the construction of the modern highway along the Queensland coast, an ambulance dispatched from Rockhampton could take up to 16 hours to cover the 250 miles (approximately 400km) return journey to St Lawrence and back depending on the condition of the roads (*MB* 26 June 1916:6, 12 May 1917:4).

Summary

As this background demonstrates, the formation and historical development of the town of St Lawrence was largely dependent on the growth of the pastoral and mineral export industries in Central Queensland, with its advancement fundamentally tied to the volatile copper market during the nineteenth century. Later efforts focused on the establishment of a local meat processing works to diversify and increase trade through the town, to see it through the boom and bust of Queensland's economy during the 1890s. From their arrival, the diverse inhabitants of St Lawrence struggled with not only a fickle international economy, but also local challenges wrought by climate and geography. Communication, by both land and sea, was also often unreliable and spasmodic. The historical and geographical context outlined here, shaped the availability and use of material culture by people in the town during the nineteenth century, a sample of which has been recovered during archaeological investigations, and is analysed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: An Archaeology of St Lawrence

This chapter presents the geographical and environmental context of St Lawrence, and details the archaeological investigations undertaken; namely the survey, collection, recording and analysis of artefacts recovered from the town over June-July 2013 with the assistance of archaeology postgraduate student volunteers from the University of Queensland. The implemented fieldwork strategy aimed to recover archaeological material relating to the nature of life at St Lawrence, and to provide information regarding the networks of connection that connected the small port town to the wider world from the mid-nineteenth century through to the early 1920s.

Location and Environmental Setting

The town of St Lawrence is situated on a nice sloping ridge, facing a marine flat, beyond which is seen the saltwater. Not the open sea, but a creek (RB 17th June 1872:2).

The town of St Lawrence is located on the coast of Central Queensland, approximately 155 km south of Mackay and 177 km north of Rockhampton, within the Isaac regional local government area. The region experiences a sub-humid tropical climate, with increased rainfall during the summer months (Cook and Mayo 1977:1). The settlement sits on the bank or ‘uplands’ of St Lawrence Creek, one of four tidal estuaries that drain into the bay of Broadsound, which has the largest tidal range in eastern Australia (approximately 10 m), resulting in strong tidal currents in the estuaries, including St Lawrence Creek (Cook and Mayo 1977:28; Royal Geographical Society of Queensland 2009) (Figure 28). As its tidal range is greater than six metres, Broadsound qualifies as a ‘megatidal coast’ (Maskell 2013:43).

Situated on the edge of the elevated creek bank, the township faces an extensive low lying coastal plain or supratidal area dominated by mangrove swamps, coastal grasslands and mudflats (Cook and Mayo 1977:8, 10) (Figure 29; Figure 30). This supratidal area, or zone between high tide and spring high tides, is exposed most of the time, and is a hypersaline environment, supporting minimal vegetation, except for some salt tolerant plants such as *Rhizophora stylosa*, *Ceriops tagal* and *Aegiceras corniculatum* (Cook and Mayo 1977:29, 69, 81). Extensive coastal grasslands once existed in this area, erosional remnants of which are visible today in the form of raised grassy areas or ‘mudflat islands’ (Cook and Mayo 1977; Maskell 2013:40) (Figure 31).

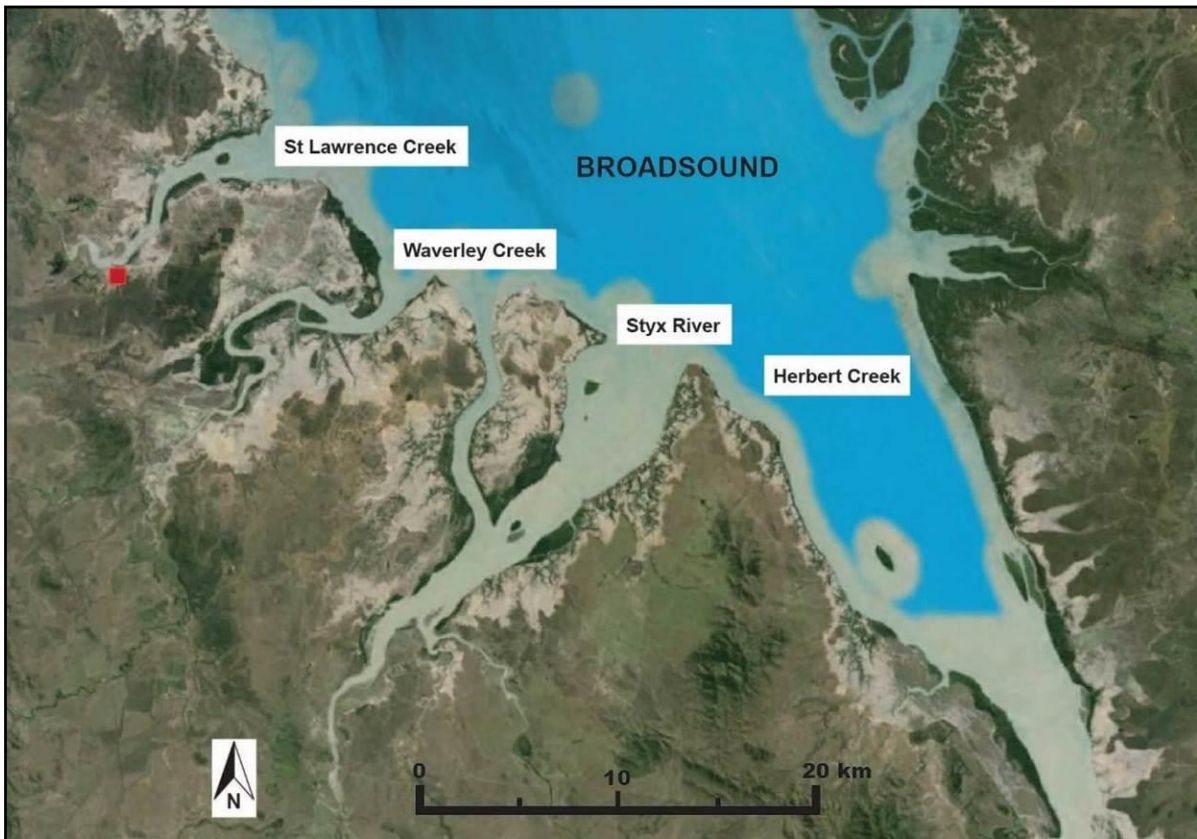


Figure 28. Location of St Lawrence (red) within the Broadsound region (Google Earth 2014).



Figure 29. The town of St Lawrence on the bank of St Lawrence Creek (Google Earth).



Figure 30. The town of St Lawrence facing the tidal estuary of St Lawrence Creek (Above Photography, MK-0118111).



Figure 31. Raised grassy areas within the tidal zone of St Lawrence Creek (Photos: J. Maskell and Dr T. Manne).

Preliminary Investigations and Site Formation Processes

Archaeology staff at the University of Queensland visited St Lawrence twice in late 2012 following local reports of large exposed ‘bottle dumps’ on the bank of St Lawrence Creek. Several dense surface features, consisting predominately of bottle glass and ceramics – to which brief on-site analysis dated to the mid-to-late-nineteenth century – were identified on the muddy creek bank (Figure 32). Dispersed, isolated artefact fragments were also identified on the adjacent vacant local council property.



Figure 32. One of the surface scatters on the St Lawrence Creek bank.

Archival research was undertaken, particularly of maps and plans held at the Queensland State Archives and Queensland Museum of Lands, Mapping and Surveying, to identify an historical association and source of deposition for the material. The material along the bank was within an historically vacant allotment between the now non-existent Arthur and St Lawrence Streets, and to align with the spring tide mark noted on early maps of the township (Figure 33; Figure 34). Arthur Street originally separated the vacant lots nearest the creek from property on Macartney Street, the main street in town, which was the location of some of the earliest buildings in the township (a public house and store) and the Customs reserve (see Chapter 3, Figure 7). These sites were not subject to archaeological investigation, however, as private owners did not grant property access.



Figure 33. Approximate location of archaeological material (red) in relation to current land parcels (yellow) (Google Earth / QLD Globe).

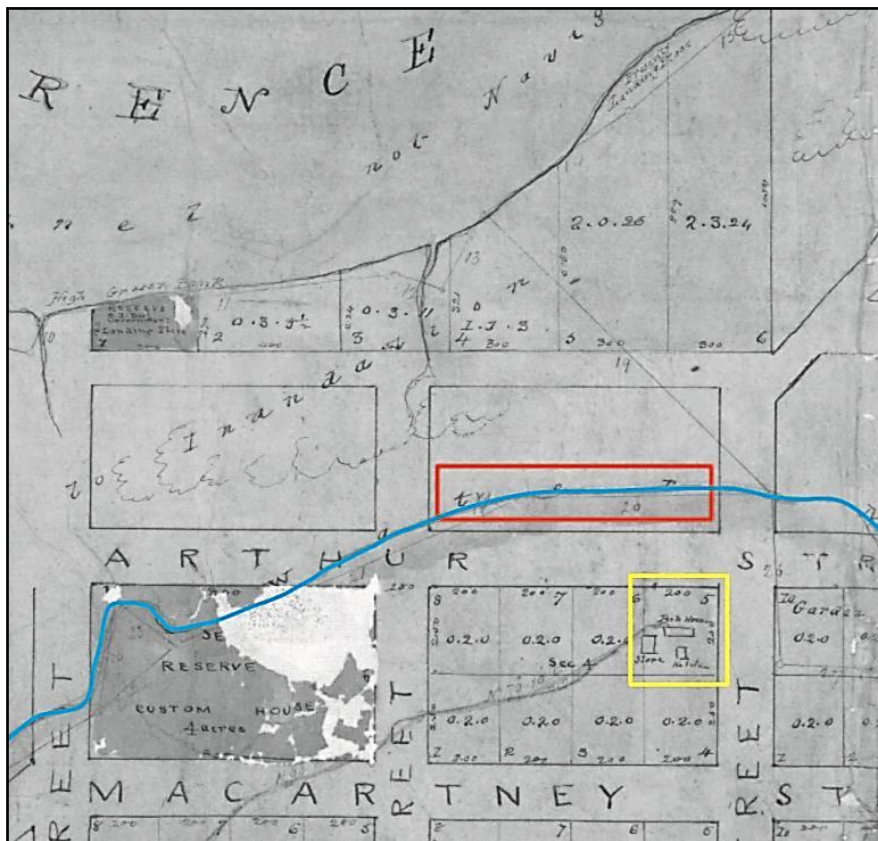


Figure 34. 1863 plan showing approximate location of archaeological material (red), spring tides mark (blue) and the first public house, store and kitchen (yellow) (QSA Item ID: 623797).

Past permanent occupation of the land fronting Arthur Street and St Lawrence Street, on what is now a supratidal mudflat, is considered unlikely, given the frequent inundation of the area by spring tides (occurring twice monthly) known to occur since first settlement, and which is denoted on the first maps of the township (Maskell 2013:32, 50) (see Chapter 3, Figure 7; Figure 34). If they were constructed, the streets and allotments within the supratidal flat area would have only existed for a short period, as port activities in the area ceased following the removal of the landing place to the basin at St Lawrence Creek, thus negating the need for access routes within the tidal area (Maskell 2013:50). Geophysical surveys were undertaken in April 2013 as part of an associated Bachelor of Arts Honours research project to identify subsurface anomalies (e.g. stone foundations, post holes) which might indicate the presence of past built structures on the vacant lots (see Maskell 2013) (Figure 35). These non-invasive investigations also sought to reveal subsurface traces of Arthur Street itself, as there is no physical evidence of the road today, having also likely been abandoned following the removal of the wharf in this location, given its proximity to the edge of the tidal flooding zone (Maskell 2013:50). The geophysical surveys did not detect any subsurface anomalies within the vacant allotments, but did detect a linear anomaly which correlating to the location of the former road in this area (Maskell 2013:50).



Figure 35. Dr Kelsey Lowe undertaking geophysical surveys at St Lawrence.

As there is no historical or geophysical evidence for occupation on the vacant allotments, it is safely assumed that the archaeological material found on the creek bank is not associated with a discrete habitation, but is likely the result of deliberate refuse disposal by residents prior to the establishment of a town rubbish depot sometime in the early to mid-twentieth century. Prior to the advent of regulated systems of waste disposal management, it was common practice to discard rubbish on vacant land or in low-lying areas on the margins of settlement, such as a creek bank (Davies

2006b:237; Lawrence and Davies 2011:258; LeeDecker 1994:353; Majewski 2005). A correspondent at St Lawrence, writing for *The Brisbane Courier* in 1878 (10 August 1878:6) described the land behind the Government Reserve on Macartney Street as “a dirty rotten saltpan, where the tide plays over periodically”, and from which emanates a “noxious effluvium”. While there is no historical record of residents dumping rubbish in this area specifically, during a local government meeting at St Lawrence in 1900, a motion was passed to find a site for “town rubbish to be deposited, and...to remove all rubbish [including]...broken glass or other rubbish from the streets and *unoccupied allotments*” (MB 12 April 1900:3; emphasis added). Considering this shared land use among residents, it is difficult, then, to discern the exact source of the refuse; however, given its proximity, it is likely that the archaeological material originated from one or more of the establishments on Macartney Street.

Accurate interpretation of the archaeological material identified on the surface along the creek bank also requires an understanding of post-depositional site formation processes, both cultural and non-cultural. Following discard, the material has been subject to a range of disturbances, including those caused by human activity, such as vehicle trampling and bottle collecting. Non-cultural, coastal processes, such as tidal action and erosion, have also had a substantial effect on the archaeological record in the area. As part of an associated Honours research project, Maskell (2013) identified a number of non-cultural, physical and chemical site formation processes, which have affected the archaeological record at St Lawrence at different scales (Maskell 2013:43). Coastal erosion has occurred between the creek and the edge of town, as evidenced by the grassy ‘mudflat islands’ within the supratidal flat, remnants of past extensive coastal grasslands in the area (Cook and Mayo 1977; Maskell 2013:45). There is a high likelihood that the tides of the creek have also changed the topography of the supratidal mudflat itself, thereby also affecting the post-depositional location of archaeological material on the surface of the flat (Maskell 2013:47). The archaeological material observed lies directly within the tidal zone, and has therefore been subject to movement from tidal action (Maskell 2013:32). Artefacts can be widely dispersed by tidal action during higher energy conditions, such as those associated with storm and cyclone activity (Maskell 2013:47). Cyclonic events, such as that in 1874 (see Chapter 3), have caused severe damage to the town and coastal plains, resulting in the likely removal, exposure, burial, or dispersal of archaeological material (Maskell 2013:49).

As part of her research, Maskell (2013:40-41) also undertook detailed sediment analysis of samples collected from both the elevated creek bank or ‘uplands’ area, and the supratidal zone or coastal plains. Her results indicate that the sediment on the creek bank is acidic, with a pH of 5.5, while the sediment samples taken from the plain had an alkaline pH, most likely a result of the hypersaline

conditions of the supratidal mudflat (Maskell 2013:47-48). These sediment conditions have implications for the preservation of the archaeological record within the study area, as acidic conditions can contribute to the poor preservation of different types of materials. Glass, for example, will deteriorate in both acidic and alkaline conditions, but is more likely to degrade in conditions with high moisture, suggesting that glass artefacts will be more poorly preserved on the supratidal flat, as will wood, which is most likely to be affected by bacterial decay (Maskell 2013:48) (Figure 36). Organic bone material will experience poor preservation in sediments with a pH of around five or less (Maskell 2013:48). Preserved archaeological bone will therefore most likely be absent or heavily degraded on the creek bank, given the surrounding acidic environment (Maskell 2013:48). Bone located on the coastal plains will also be subject to degradation, as interchanging periods of wetting and drying from tidal flooding, will cause bones to crack and become quite brittle, a process exacerbated by the presence of soluble salts (Maskell 2013:48). Metal artefacts are likely to deteriorate rapidly in both depositional settings, being highly susceptible to corrosion in acidic, wet and salty environments; however, copper and tin objects are more likely to be preserved than iron due to their higher resistance to corrosive activity (Maskell 2013:49).



Figure 36. Artefacts immersed within the mud of the salty supratidal flat at St Lawrence.

During these preliminary investigations, a reconnaissance of the site of the former St Lawrence port located in the basin of St Lawrence Creek, which was destroyed by the cyclone in 1874, was conducted to determine the site's archaeological potential (see Chapter 3; Figure 10). Very little physical evidence of the former port site remained, and erosion appeared to be more extensive in this area than the surrounding landscape (Figure 37). A desktop examination of historical maps and plans overlaid with present-day aerial photographs and cadastre revealed the reason for these

observations. As Figure 38 shows, a considerable section of land and vegetation have disappeared at this location, changing the line of the creek and creating a large bight in its southern bank in the location of the former port site, placing the potential archaeological remains of the former 1870s wharf, associated maritime infrastructure and land allotments well into the middle of the St Lawrence Creek channel. The significance of these landscape changes is discussed in Chapter 5.



Figure 37. The former port site on St Lawrence Creek today.



Figure 38. Present-day aerial photograph and cadastre overlaid with c.1870 historical plan, showing location of the former mangrove bank, allotments, wharf (A), Government store (B), Tagg's Store (C) and tramway (D).

Surface Survey and Collection

In order to establish a study area for archaeological investigations following the preliminary field investigations, fieldwork commenced with a systematic survey of the creek bank in the general area of the previously identified archaeological material, to determine the location and extent of artefact concentrations along the bank, and to identify any additional archaeological features. There was high ground surface visibility at the site as Isaac Regional Council had recently mowed the grass on the adjacent land, and continuous low tides had exposed the scatters. A total survey area of 9000 sq. m (120 m x 75 m) was surveyed, as this encompassed the surface artefact scatters along the creek bank as well as some of the adjacent Council land.

Informed by previously developed methods for recording surface archaeological features (see Bolton 2005), arbitrary boundaries were drawn around each artefact scatter at approximately the points where concentration of material decreased to zero. Using this approach, three large artefact scatters (S1, S2 and S3) were recorded along the creek bank, and were approximately 112 sq. m, 145 sq. m, and 60 sq. m in area respectively. For each scatter, a basic sketch plan was drawn, photographs taken (prior to and after collection) and the location and boundaries were recorded using both a GPS and total station (Figure 39). The study area, topography, and contemporary fencing markers were also recorded using the total station and GPS to create a site plan amenable to mapping using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) (Figure 40).



Figure 39. Surveying the study area and artefact scatters.

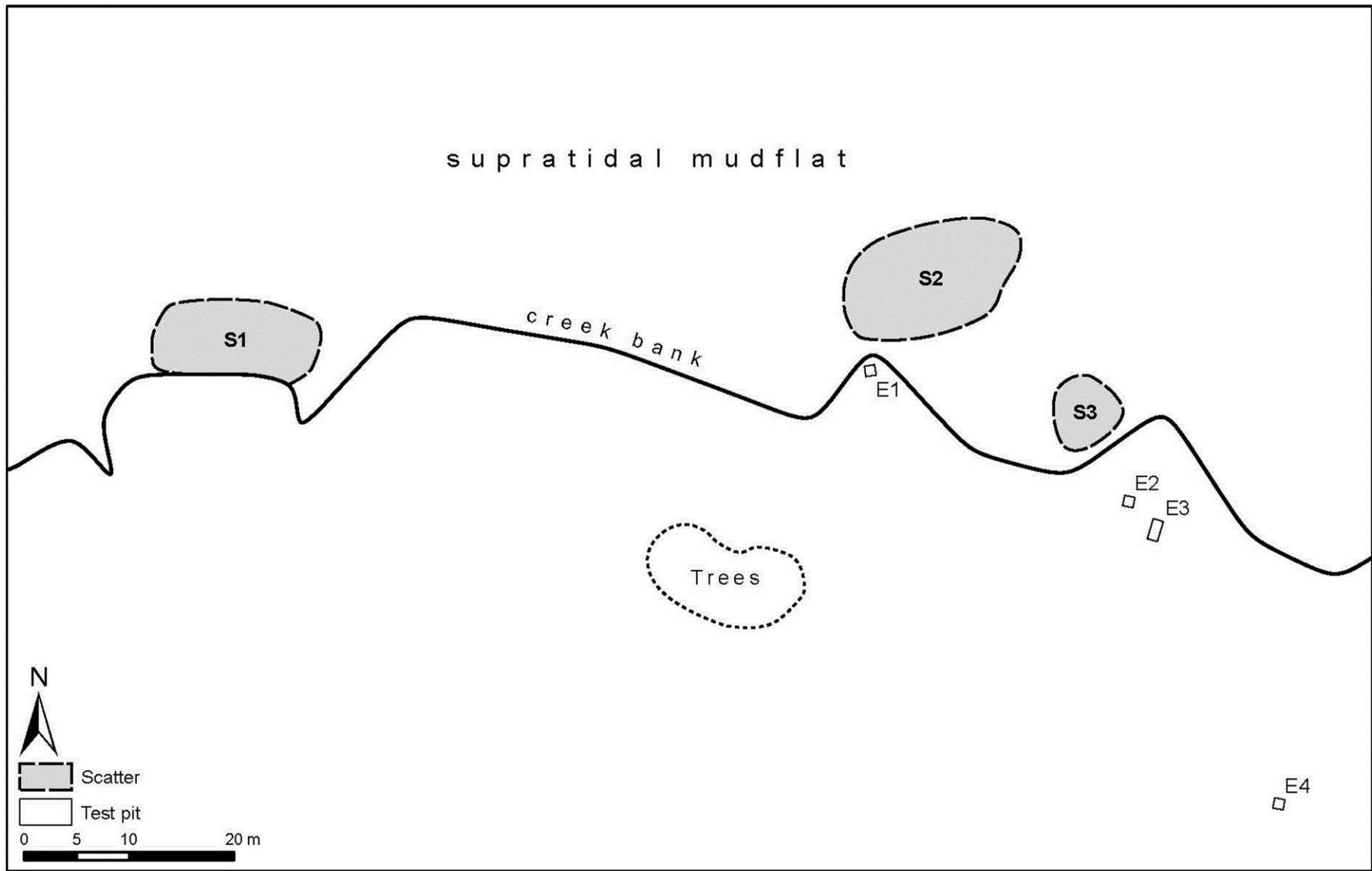


Figure 40. The study area.

The scatters consisted of such a high density of artefact fragments that it was impractical to record them in situ; instead, artefacts were collected from the surface of each scatter and transported from St Lawrence to The University of Queensland archaeological laboratories for further analysis. Glass was profuse across all scatters, making total removal impractical, thus the recovery of a representative sample of the glass assemblage from each scatter was of paramount importance (see Birmingham 1987:5).

A sampling strategy was implemented whereby only a portion of the total glass fragments was collected from each scatter. A collection grid comprising 2 m x 2 m grid units was established over each scatter to encompass its boundaries, with alphanumeric characters assigned to each grid unit (Figure 41). Sampled grid units were selected at random to accurately reflect what could be expected from each scatter. Two grid units were sampled from both S1 and S2, whereas only one unit was sampled from the smaller S3, resulting in the removal of between five and seven percent of the glass material from each scatter.

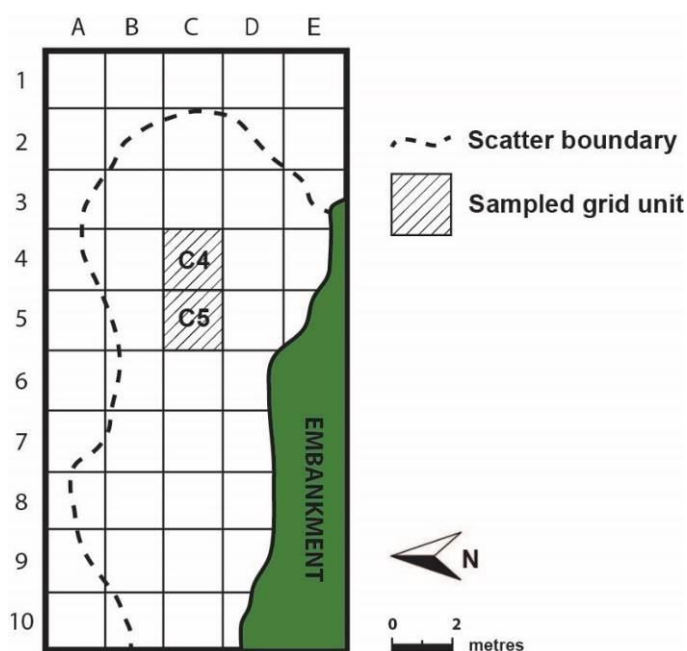


Figure 41. Surface collection strategy schematic.

Ceramic and metal fragments were not in great abundance and did not require sampling; as such, they were systematically collected across each scatter, irrespective of grid unit. Any unique diagnostic artefacts found within a scatter were also collected in this manner.

Artefacts from the surface scatters were washed and air-dried in the field prior to sorting, and once dry, bagged by material type, artefact scatter, and grid unit (Figure 42).



Figure 42. Washing (a), drying (b) and bagging (c) material collected from the surface scatters.

Dispersed, isolated surface artefacts on the Council property adjacent to the scatters on the creek bank were not subject to collection. The surface collection strategy outlined served to adequately record the assemblage within the study area, and minimise damage to the already disturbed archaeological resource at St Lawrence.

Archaeological Excavation

Four test pits were excavated in various locations within the vacant allotment to determine the extent of subsurface archaeological material across the block of land, and to aid in understanding site formation processes at the site (see Figure 40). One 2 m x 1 m pit, and three 1 m x 1 m pits were excavated in arbitrary 10 cm excavation units within identified stratigraphic units (SU) to a depth of 20 cm, at which point the deposits became sterile.

Each excavation unit was assigned a unique identifier (E1-E4), and recorded using standardised recording forms. GPS location, and five points of elevation (four corners and a centre point) were recorded using the total station at the beginning and end of each excavation unit (Figure 43). Photographs were also taken prior to and after excavation. Excavated sediments were sieved at the site through 3 mm and 6 mm screens. Sediment type, pH level and Munsell soil colour chart tests were completed in the field for each excavation unit. Excavations were backfilled with sieved material.



Figure 43. Preparing E2 for photographs and recording using the total station.

Grass was scraped and removed from the surface of each pit to a depth of 2.5 cm, and surface artefacts collected. Only two stratigraphic units were identifiable across all test pits; SUI, a slightly sandy, dark greyish brown (Munsell 10YR 4/2) silt layer with a pH of 7, covering the entire site to a limited depth of around 7.5 cm, and uniformly overlying SUII, a very dark greyish brown (Munsell 10YR 3/2) clayey silt with a pH of 5.5, which in turn overlays a substrate of compacted clay (Figure 44). These onsite results correspond with detailed sediment analysis undertaken on samples by Maskell (2013:40-41) in the archaeological laboratories at The University of Queensland, who

found the sediment across the entire bank area to have a pH of 5.5, and contain approximately 30-40 percent clay.

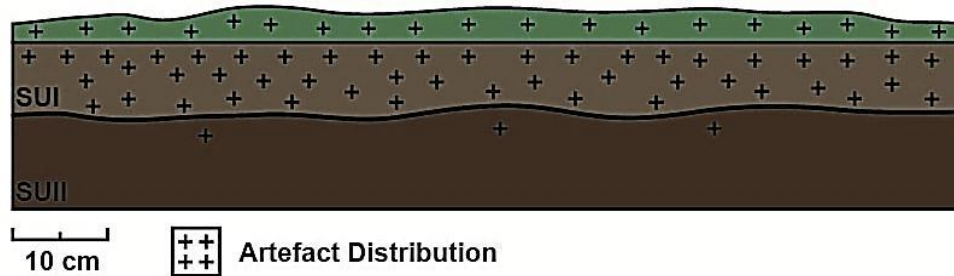


Figure 44. Example stratigraphic profile showing concentration of artefacts on the surface and within SUI.

The excavations revealed little depth to the cultural material, with very few artefacts found within SUII; the majority of artefacts were recovered from the surface and within the first 5 cm of SUI (Figure 45; Figure 46). The shallowness of the deposits indicates a single episode of discard or minimal use of the area over a short period or indiscriminate spreading of refuse over the area (Majewski 2005:16). There were no tree roots or tubers within the soil as the study area was largely devoid of trees. While animal burrows were observed elsewhere in the area, no evidence of this activity was identified in the excavations.



Figure 45. Artefacts revealed on the surface of SU1 in E3 once grass was removed.



Figure 46. Clay pipe fragment within the wall of SU1 in E3.

Given the timber construction of buildings at St Lawrence, it was predicted that any archaeological remains of structures would be minimal and restricted to evidence of stumps, postholes or post moulds. The excavations did not reveal any structural features or bricks, but a range of artefactual material, including ceramic, glass and metal objects, were recovered. Artefacts were bagged by excavation unit and labelled accordingly. Fragile or very small items, such as clay pipe fragments, were bagged individually to protect them from damage or loss. The artefacts recovered from St Lawrence were transported to the archaeology laboratories at The University of Queensland for further analysis.

Artefact Analysis

The archaeological assemblage recovered from St Lawrence totalled over 19 000 fragments, which were initially sorted into material category. The largest material group represented by far was glass, followed by ceramic (Table 6). Being in a low-lying and open area within the supratidal flat, the archaeological material on the edge of town has been substantially affected by post-depositional processes, with glass and ceramic being highly degraded and fragmented due to exposure to saltwater tidal action. As Maskell (2013:48) predicted, no faunal material was preserved in the mudflat, and the limited bones recovered from the test pits on the creek bank were highly degraded due to the acidity of the sediment in the area, and deemed largely undiagnostic by zooarchaeologist Dr Tiina Manne. Most of the metal recovered was also of little analytical use, as it was highly corroded due to the salty, moist and acidic conditions. Plastics were completely absent; being most likely washed away with the tides.

Table 6. Total number of artefact fragments recovered from the study area.

Material	N	%
<i>Glass</i>	14 459	75.92
<i>Ceramic</i>	4542	23.85
<i>Metal</i>	44	0.23
Total	19 045	100

Where possible, the artefact analysis presented follows the now standard Australian approach outlined by Brooks (2005a, 2005b), in which analysis is separated into two distinct stages; an *identification* stage in which the fabric, form and decoration of an artefact is assessed, followed by *analysis*, where the socially constructed meanings and functions (how an object was used) of artefacts are inferred. Functional analysis helps organise data into meaningful categories, and since “issues of artefact use are, and always will be, central to our understanding of an artefact assemblage as something used and manipulated by humans”, provides an important basis for in-depth material culture analysis (Brooks 2005b:13).

The functional categories used in this study have been adapted from those used by Terry (2013), which in turn are adapted from Casey (2004), and based on Yentsch (1990) (Table 7). Artefacts were assigned to functional categories per their inferred primary intended function (see Brooks 2005b). Many of the artefacts recovered from the surface scatters on the creek bank were highly

fragmented and degraded from post-depositional disturbance, particularly from the saltwater tides, and form and function could not be determined in many cases. To counter this high degree of artefact fragmentation, minimum number of vessel counts (MNV) have been calculated wherever possible, and are used throughout this thesis unless where noted. What follows is a presentation of the methods of analysis and ensuing results for each fabric type represented in the archaeological assemblage recovered from St Lawrence – namely, glass, ceramics and metal – followed by a summary analysis for the whole assemblage.

Table 7. Artefact functional categories.

General Function	Specific Function	Example Form
<i>Beverage</i>	Beer / wine / spirits Aerated / mineral waters Cordial Tableware Teaware	Bottle Stemware, tumbler Cup
<i>Food</i>	Condiment Food storage Tableware	Bottle, jar Jar Plate, bowl, egg cup, utensil
<i>Pharmaceutical</i>	Medicine Medicinal tonics	Bottle
<i>Household</i>	Ornamental Lighting	Vase Lamp fitting
<i>Building Materials</i>	Structural	Nail, window glass
<i>Personal</i>	Grooming	Perfume bottle, shoe polish
<i>Commerce / Social</i>	Writing Currency	Ink bottle Coin, token
<i>Recreational</i>	Smoking Sport	Clay pipe Ammunition

Glass

Glass constitutes the largest category of artefacts recovered from St Lawrence, with over 14 000 fragments, the majority is bottle glass, with small numbers of window, tableware (e.g. stemware) and household glass (e.g. vases) fragments also present. According to the published recollections of former resident of St Lawrence, Mrs Violet Watson, who was born in 1895 and spent her childhood in the town: “When I was a girl in St Lawrence they always said it was the town of the three G’s – girls, goats and *glass bottles*” (Rolleston 1983:77; emphasis added).

Identification and description of glass elements and types presented here is based primarily on two standard glass resource aids for Australian historical archaeology: *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary* (Jones and Sullivan 1989) and *Early Australian Commercial Glass* (Boow 1991). Resources on *Society of Historical Archaeology* (SHA) hosted websites have also been helpful in the identification of maker’s marks and are referenced accordingly; as is any information acquired from online amateur bottle collecting forums.

Glass fragments were firstly sorted by colour, and then within colour by diagnostic element (e.g. base, finish). The main colours identified were dark green and light green (‘tinted’) (Boow 1991); other colours such as purple, colourless, blue and amber glass were represented in small quantities. The intensity or shade of colour varied within each category. Undiagnostic glass body fragments – those with no decoration, distinguishable shape or embossing – formed a large portion of the assemblage. No further analysis, beyond basic quantification by colour, was possible for these fragments.

The identified diagnostic glass elements were used to estimate the minimum number of vessels (MNV) present in the assemblage. Following historical archaeological convention, this was calculated by whichever diagnostic element (e.g. base, finish) provided the highest count. Only finishes and bases over 50 percent complete were included in the calculation of minimum numbers. Minimum number of vessels counts were also calculated regardless of fragment size, for example, a single piece of undiagnostic cobalt blue glass was counted as representing one vessel.

Following this method, the 14 459 glass fragments recovered from St Lawrence were found to represent a minimum number of 638 vessels (Table 8). Bottles were dominant throughout the site, and encompassed a range of functions, including alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, food, pharmaceutical, perfume and ink bottles. Most bottles were two-piece moulds with separate base

parts and two-part finishes. Three-piece moulds may have been present, but this could not be determined due to the fragmented nature of the assemblage.

Beverages, specifically alcohol bottles, comprise the majority of the glass assemblage (Table 8). Pharmaceutical glass, including medicinal tonics such as gin and bitters, form the second largest category, with almost 10 percent of the glass assemblage. Together, the additional functional categories – food, personal, commerce / social, household and building materials – represent less than five percent of the assemblage.

Table 8. Summary of glass vessel functions.

General Function	Specific Function	MNV	%
<i>Beverage</i>	Beer / wine / spirits	459	71.94
	Aerated / mineral waters	7	1.11
	Cordial	2	0.31
	Tableware	12	1.88
	Unidentified	73	11.44
<i>Food</i>	Condiment	14	2.19
	Food storage	2	0.31
<i>Pharmaceutical</i>	Medicine	15	2.35
	Medicinal tonics	48	7.52
<i>Household</i>	Ornamental glass	4	0.63
<i>Personal</i>	Grooming	1	0.16
<i>Commerce / Social</i>	Writing	1	0.16
<i>Building Materials</i>	Window glass	n/a	-
Total		638	100

Glass manufacturing marks were present on many of the fragments, and where possible, were used to identify bottle contents, bottle and/or contents manufacturer, and place and dates of production. Bottles are subject to more in-depth analysis due to their relative high frequency in the assemblage and potential to reveal past networks of interaction at St Lawrence, while descriptive overviews are provided for other categories of glass artefacts, such as tableware.

Beverages

Bottles form the majority of glass vessels related to the storage and consumption of beverages. There is also some evidence of tableware, including stemware and tumblers. Of the bottles associated with drinking, alcohol bottles form over 80 percent (Table 9).

Table 9. Specific functions of beverage bottles.

Specific Function	MNV	%
Beer / wine / spirits	459	84.84
Aerated / mineral waters	7	1.30
Cordial	2	0.37
Unidentified	73	13.49
Total	541	100

Alcohol bottles were largely dark green of varying shades and sizes. The majority had two part finishes of various styles, but there were several bottles present with one-part finishes with down-tooled lips (MNV = 33). Only one skittle bottle (or ‘flat-footed Hamilton’) was found. This type of bottle dates to 1860-1930 (Boow 1991:134).

Glass manufacturing marks were found on the base of many dark green alcohol bottles. Four bottles were embossed with ‘RICH^D COOPER & CO. PORTOBELLO’. The glass manufacturing firm, Cooper & Wood Co., operated out of Portobello, Edinburgh, Scotland from 1859-1928 (Boow 1991:177), but only used the mark ‘RICH^D COOPER & CO.’ from the 1870s-1890s (Lockhart *et al.* 2014). Eleven bases were embossed ‘C.W & CO’, which may also correspond with the Cooper and Wood Company (Figure 47).



Figure 47. C.W. & Co. base mark.

None of the alcohol bottles with deep bell-shaped basal profiles had base marks, embossing, or applied colour labels. Only one wire bottle closure was identified. One bottle was identified from embossing (‘STEWART...SAUCEL’), as a whiskey bottle. James Stewart & Co. operated a whiskey distillery out of Saucel, Scotland from 1852 to c.1903 (Smith 2004; Wormtub n.d.).

Seven embossed glass fragments conjoined to form a partial trademark in the shape of a compass. This logo was used by export bottlers W. E. Johnson & Co, who operated out of Liverpool, England, from 1874 to 1936 and whose bottles often contained Guinness beer (Arnold 2008:17; Hughes 2006:132). As it is also embossed with 'Reg. Trade Mark', the bottle could not have been manufactured before 1875, the year when the first trademark registry was established in the United Kingdom (Intellectual Property Office 2013).

An amber spirits bottle base fragment was embossed with '...VON PEIN...' This is part of the trademark 'IOH VON PEIN / ALTONA'. Johann von Pein was a liquor maker in Altona in Hamburg, Germany, although the city was under Danish administration until 1864 (Van den Bossche 2001:295). Other archaeological examples of this spirits bottle identified in the literature come from nineteenth century archaeological sites in San Francisco; however, its date of manufacture is yet to be determined (McDougall 1990:60; William Self Associates 2007:62).

Seven Hamilton ('torpedo') aerated / mineral water bottles were identified within the assemblage, one of which was identified by embossing ('ROSS') as being manufactured at Ross' Factory in Belfast, Ireland, established in 1879. Ross' aerated water bottles are commonly found in historical archaeological sites in Australasia (see Carter 2012; Quirk 2007:255), and elsewhere throughout the world, such as Jamaica (Wesler 2008:11).

At least two cordial bottles were present within the assemblage, identified by base and body fragments with applied leaf prunts (Figure 48). The fragments do not have any other identifiable markings, but are likely examples of Roses Lime Juice or a similar product.



Figure 48. Applied leaf prunting.

Four colourless stemmed drinking glasses, identified by the base element or 'foot', were present in the assemblage. Each stemware vessel was fragmented at the step or basal knob, of which two displayed angular fluting. A range of pressed tumblers (MNV = 8) was also found, some of which were solarised, whereby the glass turned a light shade of purple or amethyst when exposed to ultra-violet light for extended periods of time due to the manganese inclusions used to decolourise the glass (see Jones 2000:149; Lockhart 2006). Generally, the tumblers had circular or hexagonal profiles, and heavy thick bases, some of which displayed sunbursts.

Food

Glass food vessels represent less than three per cent of the St Lawrence assemblage, of which the majority are condiment bottles, including one identifiable pickle bottle, one meat / fish paste jar, and at least three dimpled vinegar bottles of varying sizes. Eight of the condiment bottles were Worcestershire sauce, all of which were Lea and Perrins brand (established c.1835), and embossed with 'ACB Co' (Aire and Calder Bottle Co.) on the base. ACB Co. manufactured Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce bottles in England until the early 1920s (Lunn 1981). Several corresponding undecorated club sauce stoppers were also found.

One unidentifiable condiment bottle had an indistinguishable diamond registration mark on the base, giving it a date between 1842 and 1883 and being imported from Britain (Boow 1991:184).

In addition to the condiment bottles recovered, two hexagonal, pickle type jars, with '...NUTS' embossed on all six sides, were identified in the assemblage, and most likely contained walnuts (Figure 49).



Figure 49. Walnuts bottle.

Pharmaceutical

There were 15 medicine bottles identified in the assemblage, most of which were unmarked and thus identified to the general pharmaceutical category based on their colour, size, shape, or type of finish, for example two likely castor oil bottles were identified based on the shape of two cobalt blue rims. A single colourless, flat oblong head stopper, commonly used for druggists' bottles, was also present in the assemblage (e.g. Hayes 2008:195; Jones and Sullivan 1989:154). Three types of embossed medicinal products were identified: Eno's Fruit Salts (MNV = 4), Doan's Kidney Pills (MNV = 1) and Bosisto's Eucalyptus Oil (MNV = 1). Melbourne pharmacist, Joseph Bosisto, established the first commercial eucalyptus oil distillery in Victoria, Australia in 1854 (Lawrence and Davies 2011:201; Pearson 1993:100). Eucalyptus oil was used to treat coughs, colds, sprains and rheumatism (Davies 2001:71).

A number of 'medicinal tonics', such as gin/schnapps (MNV = 45), sarsaparilla (MNV = 2), and bitters (MNV = 1) were found within the assemblage. While marketed for their medicinal qualities, these products undoubtedly had high alcoholic content, however, given the isolation of town

residents from orthodox medical treatment during the nineteenth century, and the high numbers of alcohol bottles found in the archaeological assemblage, it is likely that these products were bought and consumed by residents of St Lawrence to treat medical ailments, as discussed further in Chapter 5 (see also Davies 2001:71).

Gin/schnapps bottles were identified in the assemblage by their rectangular body shape and square bases, and one part, flanged rims. Most did not have any identifiable lettering, and some had undiagnostic base marks, such as crosses and sunbursts on the base. Unsurprisingly, Udolpho Wolfe's Aromatic Schnapps bottles made up a large part of this group (MNV = 11). Ubiquitous on historical archaeological sites in Australia (and elsewhere in the world), the popular medicinal gin was distilled in Schiedam, Holland (but bottled in the United States of America or Germany) from the late 1840s well into the twentieth century (Lindsey 2016a).

One square Bischoff's Bitters bottle was identified from embossed square amber glass fragments ('BISCHOFF'). Bischoff's Bitters was manufactured in Charleston, South Carolina (Hunt 1995; Ring and Ham 1998:99) (Figure 50).



Figure 50. Trade card for Bischoff's Bitters (Antique Bottle Collector's Haven n.d.).

At least two square aqua Dr Townsend's sarsaparilla bottles were identified from embossed base and body fragments ('...NSEND / SARSA...'). This product was manufactured out of Albany, New York from 1839 into the early twentieth century; with embossed bottles being discontinued sometime in the 1870s and replaced with paper labels (Lindsey 2016b).

Household

A range of decorative ornamental glass, including colourless and amethyst press moulded, panelled, dimpled and faceted designs, was found in the assemblage. These fragments represent at least four vessels, most likely vases; however, their precise form cannot be positively determined.

Building materials

A small number (n = 15) of flat, window glass fragments was found within the assemblage. All fragments were identified as crown window glass (< 2.8mm thickness), which was manufactured until approximately c.1870 (Boow 1991:111).

Personal

There was only one item of personal toiletries identified in the assemblage by its embossing ('E. RIMM...'). Eugène Rimmel Perfumer operated out of Paris and London from 1834, and produced a range of hygiene/bathing products, such as perfume, lavender water and toilet vinegar (Smith 2004:4).

Commerce / Social

One clear ink bottle was identified by its base embossing ('BLACKWOOD & CO / 18 BREAD ST HILL LONDON'). Blackwood & Co. was a well-known ink manufacturer operating out of London from sometime in the mid-1830s (Prangnell 2011:25).

Notable Unidentified Glass

Some glass, too fragmented to contribute to MNV counts, or ascribe a form and function, had embossed markings. For example, three partial bases were embossed with 'J K W' in conjunction with different mould design numbers. This mark likely corresponds to John Kilner & Sons glass manufacturers who operated under different names from approximately 1857-1951, with the 'W' representing the company's Wakefield factory in Yorkshire, England (Boow 1991:174, 179).

One base/body fragment – possibly that of a pickle jar – was also embossed with '...VERPOOL', along the side, indicating it was produced in Liverpool, England.

Ceramics

Ceramic forms the second largest category of artefacts recovered from St Lawrence, with over 4500 fragments of tableware, teaware, stoneware storage vessels, and clay smoking pipes. Ceramic fragments were firstly sorted by ware, of which four distinguishable types were identified: whiteware, bone china, stoneware, and clay pipe; with whiteware being the most commonly found type, followed by stoneware (Table 10. Number of ceramic fragments per ware type. Table 10).

Table 10. Number of ceramic fragments per ware type.

Ware Type	N	%
Whiteware	2430	53.50
Bone china	317	6.98
Stoneware	1775	39.08
Clay pipe	20	0.44
Total	4542	100

The majority of the whiteware assemblage recovered from St Lawrence was highly fragmented and significantly degraded from post-depositional processes, particularly from exposure to the saltwater tides of St Lawrence Creek, making the identification of vessel form very difficult to determine in most cases and decoration largely indiscernible (Figure 51).



Figure 51. Example undiagnostic whiteware fragments.

Despite being in better physical condition, the recovered bone china was generally too fragmented to determine form and calculate minimum vessel numbers. The majority of the bone china fragments were also undecorated; however, the pieces most likely originated in England. The undiagnostic whiteware and bone china fragments were counted and weighed, with no further analysis undertaken. In total there were 2014 (12 517.01g) undiagnostic whiteware and 292 (1565.12g) undiagnostic bone china fragments. While form and function could not be ascribed for

most of the whiteware and bone china assemblage, several sherds were less fragmented and better preserved with some diagnostic features and decoration discernible, most likely owing to burial or a lack of exposure to the saltwater tides.

A large portion of the whiteware was clearly tableware, but the assemblage was too degraded and fragmented to determine specific vessel types in most cases. Likewise, with the bone china, most of the assemblage appeared to be related to the service of tea, but the fragments were not of sufficient size to discern vessel form. As such, a sensible estimation of the minimum number of vessels was calculated based on the presence of diagnostic elements or decoration. In the absence of conjoins, rim fragments with the same pattern and/or thickness were generally assigned to the same individual, unless sufficient of the vessel survived to indicate two or more vessels. Conjoins were identified in many cases; however, the presence of distinctive patterns and/or colours often allowed a single fragment to represent a count of one vessel despite the absence of a diagnostic feature, such as a rim. The high fragmentation of the ceramic assemblage unfortunately influences its accurate quantification; for example, while individual patterns were given a count of one, different parts of the same vessel may have been decorated with a visually different pattern style.

Unlike the whiteware, the bone china and stoneware fragments were considerably better preserved, due to the strength and durability of the material from high firing temperatures. As a result, form and general function were able to be determined in most cases. Minimum vessel counts were calculated using the same method as that for bottle glass, using the largest count of diagnostic element, either base or rim.

Following these methods, the ceramic fragments recovered from St Lawrence were found to represent a total minimum number of 267 identifiable vessels, and were predominately used for the storage and serving of beverages and food, but also included items for personal use and recreational smoking (Table 11). Details of the form and decoration of these vessels – representing the limited number of diagnostic whiteware and bone china, and the entire stoneware and clay pipe assemblage – is presented over the page.

Table 11. Summary of identifiable ceramic vessel functions.

General Function	Specific Function	MNV	%
<i>Beverages</i>	Beer / wine / spirits	204	76.40
	Teaware	14	5.24
	Mineral Water	1	0.37
<i>Food</i>	Tableware	41	15.36
<i>Personal</i>	Grooming	3	1.12
<i>Recreational</i>	Smoking	4	1.51
Total		267	100

Tableware and Teaware

At least 41 items of tableware, including plates, bowls and egg cups, and 14 teaware related objects, specifically cups and saucers, were identified within the assemblage (see Table 11; Table 12).

Vessels were predominately decorated with transfer-print designs, with other decorative techniques such as sprigging, occurring in small quantities (Table 12). There were seven bone china fragments with blue grape sprigged motifs, and four printed with faint polychrome floral decal – these fragments did not automatically contribute to vessel counts, given that they could be associated with previously counted undecorated rim fragments used to estimate the number of cups and saucers present. Two teacups displayed a faded gilt enamel ‘tea leaf’ design (see Brooks 2005a:39). Transfer-print patterns were found in a range of colours and designs, with purple and blue, geometric and/or floral motifs being the most common form of decoration (Table 12). Of the transfer print patterns found, only three specific pattern names could be identified: *Japan Flowers*, *Etruscan Vases* and *Rhine*.

Table 12. Minimum number of whiteware, bone china and stoneware vessels in the assemblage.

Ware Type and Decoration	Bowl	Plate	Platter	Cup	Saucer	Eggcup	Jug	Bottle	Unidentified	Total MNV
Whiteware										
<i>Transfer-print</i>										
Black	1			1			1			3
Brown	1	1		2			2			6
Blue	5	3	3						2	13
Green	1			2	1				1	5
Purple	4	9	1	1					3	18
Red		1		1					2	4
Flow blue							1			1
<i>Moulded</i>		1								1
<i>Printed, moulded and hand-painted</i>	2	1							1	4
Bone China										
<i>Gilt</i>				2						2
<i>Polychrome decal</i>									2	2
<i>Sprigged</i>									1	1
<i>Undecorated</i>				3	1	3				7
Stoneware										
<i>Salt glazed</i>								4		4
<i>Bristol glazed</i>								204		204
Total MNV	14	16	4	12	2	3	4	208	12	275

Ninety-eight fragments, representing at least four vessels (two 7” bowls, one 10” plate and one unidentified item) – likely part of a single dinner set – displayed a blue floral transfer print with red and yellow enamel hand painting and-moulded gadroon edge. The pattern is *Japan Flowers*, manufactured by John and William Ridgway, who operated in partnership at their Cauldon Place works at Shelton, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire from 1814 to 1830 (Campbell 2006:270) (Figure 52). According to Godden (1972:13), this class of marked Ridgway ‘Stone China’ of the pre-1830 period was especially suitable for dinner services, and generally decorated with broadly painted floral motifs.



Figure 52. Recovered fragments and a similar, complete example of *Japan Flowers* by John and William Ridgway (Grant 2010).

Twelve fragments – representing one vessel, probably a 3” cup – displayed an *Etruscan Vases* design. The *Etruscan Vases* pattern was originally made by Thomas and John Mayer (1838-1842), and was produced over several decades by succeeding Staffordshire partnerships, with some variations, but all include an array of classical vases on a pedestal or table (Transferware Collectors Club 2016b) (Figure 53).



Figure 53. Etruscan vases.

Fifty-two fragments – representing at least six different vessels (two platters, one bowl, one plate, two cups, and one saucer) displayed an element of the common *Rhine* pattern, in either brown, green or blue/grey (slate) transfer print. This pattern is widespread on historical archaeological sites and is identified by its distinctive floral border pattern and central river scene (Figure 54).



Figure 54. Examples of the *Rhine* pattern in green, brown and blue/grey transfer print.

The base fragment of a likely children’s cup was also recovered, bearing the words ‘THE CRICKETE...’ in green transfer print. This most likely reads as ‘The Cricketers’ and may have displayed a similar cricket scene to that presented in Figure 55. A single moulded fragment of an ‘ABC’ plate, also known as ‘alphabet ware’ (Wooten 2013:507) also represents another identifiable children’s tableware item (Figure 56).



Figure 55. Recovered fragment and whole example of cricket cup (Transferware Collectors Club 2016a).



Figure 56. Recovered fragment of an ‘ABC’ plate and a whole example (Ruby Lane Inc. 2014).

Three partial manufacturer’s marks were found, none of which could be identified to pattern or manufacturer however. ‘Staffordshire’ could be discerned on two of these marks. While incomplete and therefore unable to provide a specific date, a partial registration diamond had a parcel number in the bottom, indicating a registration date range from 1842 to 1867 (Brooks 2005a:74). From 1867, a letter indicating the month of registration was included in the bottom corner of the diamond rather than the parcel number.

Stoneware Storage Vessels

The 1775 stoneware fragments recovered from the study area represent a minimum number of 208 vessels, the majority of which are general storage vessels finished with a bristol glaze, likely used to store either stout or ginger beer (see Table 12). Of these, 95 had distinguishable manufacturer’s marks (Figure 57).

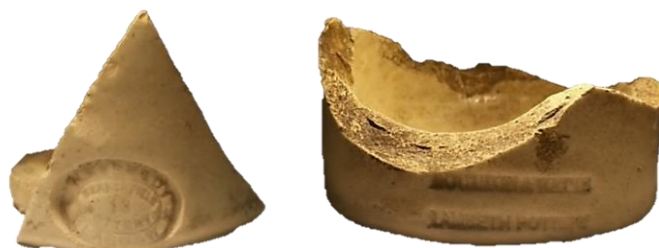


Figure 57. Manufacturers’ marks on stoneware storage vessels.

The majority of stoneware vessels with manufacturer’s marks were manufactured in Glasgow, Scotland, either at Henry Kennedy’s Barrowfield Pottery which operated from 1866-1929 (MNV = 75), or at the Port Dundas Pottery from 1828-1932 (MNV = 13). Six vessels were from London, being manufactured at Doulton and Watts’ Lambeth Pottery, between the years 1827-c.1854.

A partial salt-glazed stoneware bottle partially embossed with a lion and ‘Selters Herzogthum Nassau’ was recovered, manufactured between c.1830 and 1867 (Leavitt 2013:329-330, see also 2004; Vyšohlíd 2014:447-448) (Figure 58). This vessel would have once contained spring or mineral water from Germany, and may have been used for its medicinal properties.



Figure 58. Recovered fragments of German mineral water stoneware vessel partially marked ‘Selters Herzogthum Nassau’.

The assemblage also contained at least three salt-glazed blacking bottles, identified by rim size and shape. These vessels contained polish or stove blacking, but following Hayes (2008:193), are categorised under the ‘personal – grooming’ category as they were most likely used for leather or shoe polish.

Clay Tobacco Pipes

Twenty fragments of clay pipes were recovered from the study area, representing at least four different clay pipes. While the majority were undecorated stem pieces, mouthpiece, bowl and bowl/stem joint fragments were also found in the clay pipe assemblage. Four stem fragments displayed markings, two of which are identified to manufacturer: Duncan McDougall & Co., Glasgow (1847-1967), and Gambier, Paris (1780-1926) (Bradley 2000:117-118). The remaining two markings, billiard and yachter, indicate the pipe type; however, the difference between these two pipe types is unclear (Hayes 2008:202) (Figure 59).



Figure 59. Clay pipe markings: Billiard, Yachte..., and Gambier / A Paris / M.M / Déposé.

Metal

The metal assemblage recovered is small and highly degraded, but includes artefacts used for building material, ammunition, lighting and currency (Table 13).

Table 13. Summary functions of metal artefacts.

General Function	Specific Function	MNV	%
<i>Building Materials</i>	Structural	36	83.72
<i>Recreational</i>	Sport	3	6.97
<i>Food</i>	Tableware	1	2.33
<i>Household</i>	Lighting	2	4.65
<i>Commerce / Social</i>	Currency	1	2.33
Total		43	100

The assemblage included one copper rim-fire cartridge and one centre-fire cartridge, both .50 calibre (approx. 12mm). A 12-gauge shotgun shell base with impressed lettering on the base ('ELEY/ 12/ LONDON...') was also present (Figure 60). Eley is a British manufacturer of ammunition, established in 1828 (Murphy 2010:208). The base and burner elements of a kerosene lantern/lamp, and a single spoon of copper alloy were also found, as were three copper grommets and 33 highly corroded nails.



Figure 60. Gun cartridges: (a) rim fire, (b) central fire, and (c) shotgun casing.

A single copper retail trading token was also recovered from the study area. Australian traders' tokens were produced from 1849-1874 to relieve the lack of small change in the colonies (Museum Victoria 2010). Although it was in poor condition, the token was identified as a Stewart & Hemmant One Penny (Figure 61).

Alexander Stewart and William Hemmant operated drapery businesses in both Brisbane and Rockhampton from the early 1860s (Museum Victoria 2010). The particular token recovered from the study area was struck in London, and issued sometime after 1862, when the Rockhampton store was opened, but before 1868, when it became a separate enterprise (Museum Victoria 2010). The recovered Stewart and Hemmant token could have originated from the draper's stores in either Brisbane or Rockhampton, however shipping manifests record cases of drapery specifically from Stewart and Hemmant to be present on the schooner *Ben Bolt* bound from Rockhampton to St Lawrence on at least two occasions in the mid-1860s, indicating a likely connection with the Rockhampton store (*RB* 26 August 1865:2, 26 March 1867:2).



Figure 61. Recovered Stewart and Hemmant Draper One Penny Token and Museum Victoria (2010) collection example.

Artefacts Summary

The 19 045 artefact fragments recovered from St Lawrence represent almost 950 vessels. This is a low estimate, as form and function could not be determined for the majority of the ceramic assemblage, owing to the level of fragmentation and deterioration (Table 14).

Table 14. Minimum vessel counts for each fabric category.

Material	MNV	%
<i>Glass</i>	638	67.30
<i>Ceramic</i>	267	28.16
<i>Metal</i>	43	4.54
Total	948	100

As shown in Table 15, artefacts associated with drinking form the majority of the archaeological material recovered from St Lawrence, with alcoholic beverages making up approximately 70 percent of the assemblage. The high presence of glass and stoneware vessels is suggestive of public house refuse, or some other commercial source of deposition. Further, although minimally represented, the presence of condiment bottles and heavy glass tumblers is also typical of a pub or hotel assemblage (Harris 2006a:12). There was also a limited amount of personal and household items in the archaeological assemblage; however, it is possible that the encroaching tides over the study area washed small items, such as buttons, away.

Approximately five percent of the assemblage consisted of medicinal tonics, such as gin/schnapps, sarsaparilla and bitters. As previously mentioned, their presence alongside such large quantities of more obvious forms of alcohol, most likely indicates that the residents of St Lawrence consumed these products for their medicinal properties, rather than for alcoholic content. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was not a medical practitioner employed within the township for much of its history, and the presence of these medicinal tonics in the archaeological record may indicate a strategy through which the residents of St Lawrence sought to overcome their isolation and manage their own healthcare.

Table 15. Summary of artefact functions across material types.

General Function	Specific Function	MNV	%
<i>Beverage</i>	Beer / wine / spirits	663	69.94
	Aerated / mineral waters	8	0.84
	Cordial	2	0.21
	Tableware	12	1.27
	Teaware	14	1.48
	Unidentified	73	7.70
	Total – Beverage	772	81.44
<i>Food</i>	Condiment	14	1.48
	Food storage	2	0.21
	Tableware	42	4.43
	Total – Food	58	6.12
<i>Pharmaceutical</i>	Medicine	15	1.58
	Medicinal tonics	48	5.06
	Total – Pharmaceutical	63	6.64
<i>Household</i>	Ornamental glass	4	0.42
	Lighting	2	0.21
	Total – Household	6	0.63
<i>Building Materials</i>	Structural	36	3.80
	Window glass	n/a	
	Total – Building Materials	36	3.80
<i>Personal</i>	Grooming	4	0.42
	Total – Personal	4	0.42
<i>Commerce / Social</i>	Writing	1	0.105
	Currency	1	0.105
	Total – Commerce / Social	2	0.21
<i>Recreational</i>	Smoking	4	0.42
	Sport	3	0.32
	Total – Recreational	7	0.74
Total		948	100

Many of the glass, and some of the ceramic, artefacts recovered displayed manufacturer's marks, imparting a wealth of diagnostic information regarding function, manufacturing company, and place of manufacture, thereby also providing precise chronological data with which to date the archaeological assemblage (Table 16). In some cases, the date range for manufacture could be determined for a particular artefact from only limited information. For example, although the pattern name or manufacturer details were absent, the two partial ceramic backstamps marked 'Staffordshire' date to before 1891 (but could have been deposited any time after this date); after this time the *McKinley Tariff Act* required all goods imported into the United States be marked with country, rather than town or city of origin (Williamson 2006:336).

Although most of the artefacts had a long period of manufacture, overall the archaeological material recovered from the study area dates within the period of interest at St Lawrence, from 1860 to around 1920, with all dateable artefacts first manufactured before 1890 (Table 15). Given this, it is likely that the artefacts were deposited over the course of settlement, from the town's establishment in the 1860s to the 1880s. This is consistent with average ceramic lifespan estimations (see Adams 2003:44), with the vessels displaying the *Japan Flowers* pattern deposited at least 20 years after purchase. Indeed, given their date of manufacture (from 1814-1830), and the approximate date of settlement in St Lawrence (c.1860), the ceramics bearing this pattern could not have been deposited less than 30 years after their initial purchase. This possibly relates to Adams' (2003:42, 46) observation that site location affects the amount of time lag present at a particular site, with artefacts used in an isolated or rural location having longer manufacture-deposition lags.

In addition to providing chronological information, the manufacturer's marks on both glass and ceramic artefacts provide an indication as to country of origin of the artefacts, thereby contributing to an understanding of past trade networks in which St Lawrence participated. The majority of identifiable artefacts (> 60 per cent) originated in Scotland. In all, over 80 percent of the archaeological assemblage recovered from St Lawrence was from the United Kingdom, with limited numbers of objects also represented from the United States of America, France, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands. The only definite Australian products identified in the assemblage were Bosisto's Eucalyptus Oil and the Stewart & Hemmant Drapers one-penny token.

Table 16. Details of glass, ceramic and metal artefacts with maker's marks or other diagnostic features (continued over page).

Diagnostic Element / Manufacturer Details	Place of Origin	Country of Origin	MNV	Date Range of Manufacture	
Richard Cooper & Co.	Portobello, Edinburgh	Scotland	4	1870s	1890s
William Ellis Johnson	Liverpool	England	1	1875	1936
James Stewart & Co.	Saucel, Paisley	Scotland	1	1852	1903
Ioh Von Pein	Altona, Hamburg	Germany	1	c.1850s	c.1920
W.A. Ross & Sons' Aerated/Mineral Water Factory	Belfast	Ireland	1	1879	c.1910
J. C. Eno Eno's Fruit Salts	Hatcham, London	England	4	c.1880	-
Doan's Kidney Pills	Buffalo, New York	USA	1	c.1880	-
Bosisto's Eucalyptus Oil	Melbourne, Victoria	Australia	1	1854	-
Udolpho Wolfe's Aromatic Schnapps	Schiedam, Holland	Netherlands	11	1848	1920
Dr Townsend's Sarsaparilla	Albany, New York	USA	2	1839	1870s
Bischoff's Bitters	Charleston, South Carolina	USA	1		-
Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce Aire and Calder Bottle Co	Worcester, Worcestershire	England	8	1835	-
E. Rimmel Perfumer	Paris	France	1	1834	1910
Blackwood & Co Ink	London	England	1	c.1830s	c.1900
John Kilner & Sons	Wakefield, Yorkshire	England	3	1857	1930
Diamond registration mark	-	England	1	1842	1883

Diagnostic Element / Manufacturer Details	Place of Origin	Country of Origin	MNV	Date Range of Manufacture	
Liverpool	Liverpool	England	1	-	
<i>Japan Flowers</i> John and William Ridgway	Shelton, Staffordshire	England	4	1814	1830
<i>Etruscan Vases</i>	Staffordshire	England	1	1838	-
Henry Kennedy Barrowfield Pottery	Glasgow	Scotland	75	1866	1928
Port Dundas Pottery Company	Glasgow	Scotland	13	1828	1932
Doulton and Watts Pottery	Lambeth, London	England	6	1827	c.1854
Selters Herzogthum	Nassau	Germany	1	1830	1867
Duncan McDougall & Co.	Glasgow	Scotland	1	1847	1967
Gambier	Paris	France	1	1780	1926
Partial backstamp	Staffordshire	England	1	-	1891
Partial backstamp	Staffordshire	England	1	-	1891
Partial registration diamond	-	England	1	1842	1867
Stewart & Hemmant	Brisbane Rockhampton	Australia	1	c.1862	1868

Summary

St Lawrence is located within a dynamic coastal landscape. Overall, the archaeological material recovered from the study area was highly fragmented, with the ceramic assemblage particularly degraded from exposure to the saltwater tides of St Lawrence Creek. Despite this, it was still possible to discern a variety of diagnostic features, including manufacturer's marks and transfer print designs, and to identify form and function in some cases. As the analysis presented demonstrates, the artefacts date to before the turn of the twentieth century, while there was not sufficient historical evidence to link the material with a specific habitation, the assemblage most likely represents the refuse from multiple sources along Macartney Street, which were

predominantly commercial. The assemblage recovered during archaeological investigations at St Lawrence provides a small glimpse into the material culture flowing through the main street of town made available to its inhabitants, and points to the wider networks of connection linking the town with the wider world during the nineteenth century.

Part III

St Lawrence – A Place in Process

Chapter 5: A Global Place

The town of St Lawrence did not always exist, but was given form by past movements of people, information and material culture. The place began to take shape from the mid-1850s once the local Port Curtis district was proclaimed, allowing land in the area to be leased by pastoralists for grazing sheep and cattle. Pastoral runs were soon established, including those of ‘Waverley’ and ‘Saint Laurence’ in 1859 – the same year that Queensland separated from New South Wales, becoming a colony in its own right. The taking up of these two runs by John Arthur Macartney and Edward Greaves Mayne contributed to pastoral expansion in the continent, originally stimulated by the increased demands of the British for wool and cotton (French 2010:804; Terry 2014:91). The Australian continent and the Central Queensland region particularly, possessed wide expanses of suitable land to graze sheep and cattle to produce wool, tallow, beef and other pastoral products for the British textiles and meat industries. Later, the region’s mineral resources would play an even larger role. The pastoralists, settlers and other enterprising individuals who made their way to Central Queensland to tap these promising export markets needed access to food, drinks and other necessities of life, and so began importing goods produced elsewhere, into the region. For this to occur, reliable and efficient methods of communication and transport over both land and sea had to first be established. Thus, from its very creation, St Lawrence was a ‘global’ place, influenced by amorphous structures like the international copper price, and intimately tied (and indeed, could be said to owe its very existence) to distant places, which were in turn linked together in vast networks of interaction and connection, central to the first wave of modern globalisation. But the course of the town and the daily lives of its inhabitants were also shaped by events which played out on a very localised or regional level, and include natural weather events and regional rivalries between competing ports.

We know from previous chapters that the first wave of modern globalisation is the term used to describe the truly transformative and transitional period between the mid-1800s to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, during which connections – that is, movements of people, information and material culture – extended and intensified with rapid advancements in transportation and communications technologies, marking the beginning of an age of global entanglement. Framed around considerations of the key characteristics of the period, this chapter draws on the historical archaeological data and case studies presented in Chapters 3 and 4 and explores a variety of ‘local’ expressions of the first wave of modern globalisation at St Lawrence and examines the changing nature of connections over time, before finally considering if and how this earlier phase of globalisation has shaped the settlement and its archaeological record today.

People, Goods and Information: On the Move

In Australia, where colonial settlements were concentrated on the coastal fringe and were connected to each other by “ocean highways” (Lawrence and Davies 2011:6), rather than by land, “like islands in an archipelago” (Robin and Griffiths 2004:441), ports, like St Lawrence, were particularly vital gateways to the global economy (see also Broeze 1989:7). During the first wave of modern globalisation, sea transport was paramount, and “only those locations with a good port access could compete in the world economy” (Gaughwin 1992:52). Ports served as interfaces or “meeting places” between the land and sea based transportation systems – between shipping lines, road networks and railways (Ghosh and De 2001:3272) and received and distributed people, goods and information around the continent, “like a heart pumping blood around a body” (Campbell 2012:16). As one of the many ports established on the Australian coast during the mid-nineteenth century to service the developing inland pastoral and mining industries, St Lawrence was one such local interface through which various ‘global’ people and objects were filtered, including both manufactured, imported goods *and* primary exports.

Global connections and relationships in the past did not just appear, but were forged by people. As explained in Chapter 2, migration – specifically, increases in transnational migration – was a significant and crucial element of the first wave of modern globalisation (McKeown 2004:175). From the mid-nineteenth century people moved between a range of different places across the globe including Australia, with greater ease and confidence. People emigrated from homes in their native countries to settle in distant lands for a variety of reasons, many for the prospect of a better life. The population of St Lawrence during this time points to the existence and spread of these extensive networks of long-distance migration central to the first wave of modern globalisation. Following Lambert and Lester’s (2006:13) understanding of “colonial lives”, the lives of individuals can be thought of as web-like strands connecting St Lawrence with other places, near and far, having been woven by the men and women in the past who travelled to St Lawrence.

Ports are often truly “multinational” spaces (Weiss 2013:244). They provide a setting for what Hardesty (1999:55) refers to as “others knowing others”, in which often diverse groups of people from across the world meet and encounter one another. The Queensland census data from 1868 reveals that well over half of the recorded population at St Lawrence (99 people, at the time) hailed from places outside of Australasia (that is, the Australian colonies and New Zealand) (Figure 62). While the census data for this year may only provide a snapshot of demography in St Lawrence, it does indicate the diverse migrant groups who at some point travelled from their homes in England,

Ireland, Scotland, China, Germany and India for example, to the small port town on the coast of Central Queensland.

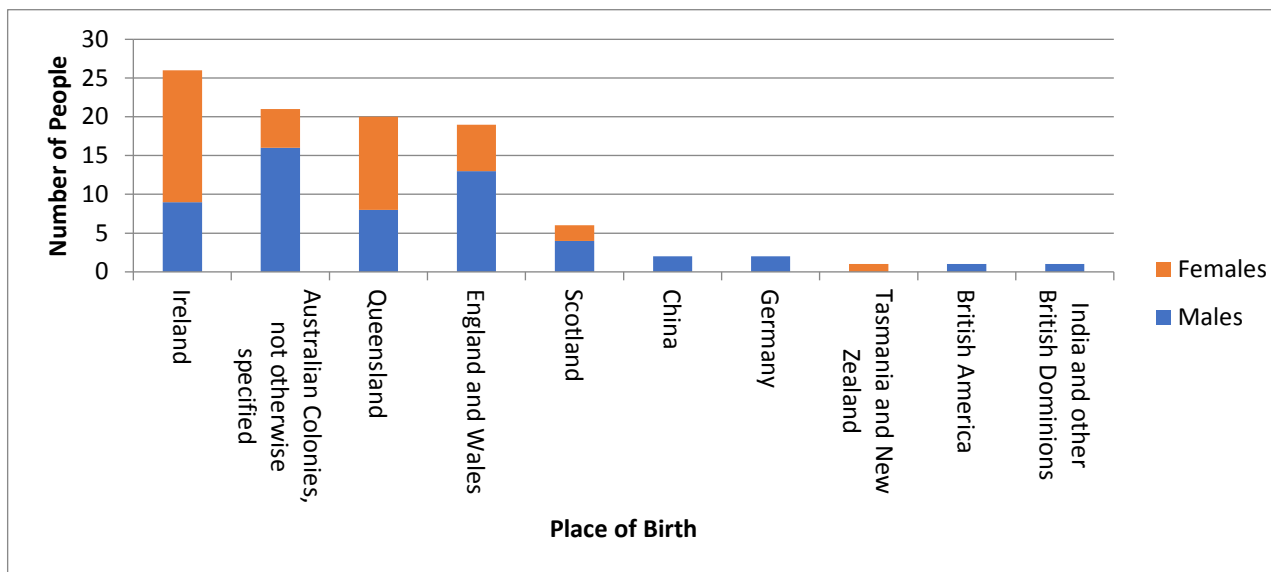


Figure 62. Country of origin of people in the township of St Lawrence in 1868.

As was the case in Queensland and Australia more generally, most people in St Lawrence during the mid-nineteenth century came from the United Kingdom. Steamship passenger vessels plied the shipping lanes between the British Isles and the Australian colonies, following the Great Circle route around the south of the Australian continent (Steel 2015:356). People embarked on the long, sometimes dangerous and often uncomfortable journey to Australia for many reasons, but it was often in the face of unemployment, poverty and few opportunities in their home countries. The first wave of modern globalisation marked the beginning of a period of industrial and agricultural revolution, unprecedented population and industrial growth and widespread economic change, particularly in the United Kingdom. In response to growing population demands, traditional agriculture and manufacturing came under pressure from large scale pastoralism and dairy farming, leaving many small-scale labourers dispossessed and unemployed, having been evicted from the land to be replaced by more profitable and large-scale methods of production (Jupp 2001:445-447). Famine and overcrowding became a constant struggle for many rural workers and their families, leaving many with little option but to leave, leading to a mass exodus of people from England, Scotland and Ireland (Jupp 2001:291; see also Campey 2001; Devine 1994; Richards 1982).

These changes had a transformative effect on worldwide migration patterns, creating reverberations that could be seen and felt in many places across the globe, including St Lawrence, as the prospect of employment, food and abundant land led many to immigrate to the Australian colonies in the

search for a fresh start. Take the case of John Gray and Jessie McPhee for example, who resided in St Lawrence in 1868 (*QPOD*) (see Chapter 3) after arriving in Moreton Bay in the early 1850s after leaving the Scottish Highlands, where John originally worked as a shepherd and Jessie's father as a crofter (QSA Item ID: 18474), to ultimately settle in St Lawrence where John took up work as a carrier, working the route between the port and the Peak Downs. The pair would end up burying a child in St Lawrence in 1869 (QLD BDM). Jessie and the rest of the McPhee family travelled to Australia as assisted immigrants, meaning that their passage was paid for or heavily subsidised by privately sponsored schemes or the colonial Governments (Prangnell 2013a:68). During the nineteenth century, many thousands of people immigrated to Australia under Government assisted immigration schemes, established to attract people to the new colonies and increase the working population; however only certain categories of workers were eligible for assisted passage, with those people most in demand being agricultural labourers, female domestic servants, wheelwrights and blacksmiths (Jupp 2001:41). Queensland strongly promoted assisted immigration schemes, with most overseas immigrants between 1860 and 1900 being assisted, constituting a third of government immigrations to Australia during this period (Jupp 2001:42).

The case of Mary and Eliza Jane McMonagle, who travelled to Queensland from Ireland with their cousins Elizabeth and Eva, illustrate the important role of personal kinship and community networks in overseas immigration, with many people travelling over time in extended family groups. It was quite common for young women to travel together with their sisters and cousins, with kinship relationships playing a particularly important role in Irish chain migration (Haines 1998:63). According to Richards and Herraman (1998:89), when interviewed and asked why they were emigrating from Ireland, some young women spoke of a desire to escape the lack of opportunity in Ireland and the chance of bettering themselves, of accompanying or joining relatives and friends, and of seeing the world. The surviving letters of Mary and Eliza Jane (presented in Chapter 3), provide a glimpse into their personal lives and aspects of female mobility during the nineteenth century. They are also testament to the important role written correspondence played in facilitating and stimulating migration during this period, as observed by Fedorowich and Thompson (2013:11), who note that “the letter became the fulcrum of transnational family and kinship networks facilitating the augmentation, melding and dispersal of information flows”. Newspapers too, were a key source of information about local, national and global events during the nineteenth century, and served to connect people to the world beyond their towns (Ballantyne 2011:62), as demonstrated when upon returning home to Ireland, Eva wrote to Eliza Jane asking her to send a newspaper so that she might see some news of Australia (see Chapter 3).

As Figure 62 illustrates, not all European immigrants to Queensland came from the United Kingdom. Alexander Wickenhöfer (recorded on the *QPOD* 1868 as Alexander Wickenhopes; see Chapter 3), who worked as a wheelwright in St Lawrence for a short time, was one of the 17,000 Germans who settled in Queensland between 1861 and 1879, who would go on to play an important role in the development of its rural areas, particularly the Darling Downs (Jupp 2001:38). Migration during the first wave of modern globalisation was not, however, confined to Europe (see Chapter 2). The Chinese constituted the largest non-British group to arrive in the Australian colonies in the 1850s (Jupp 2001:37). Coming mainly from the Fujian or Guangdong provinces (Jupp 2001:197), more than 100,000 Chinese people immigrated to Australia from the 1840s to the 1890s, spurred by the gold rushes of the 1850s and economic factors in their home country (Lawrence and Davies 2011:226-228). Queensland's Chinese population increased to a peak of around 20,000 in 1877, following the discovery of rich alluvial goldfields around the Palmer River (Jupp 2001:38; Rains 2003:30). With the gradual exhaustion of gold in the State's northern districts, former Chinese miners moved to rural towns where they established small businesses as grocers, selling fruit, vegetables and other goods (Jupp 2001:199). While those Chinese people who attempted to establish market gardens in St Lawrence were met with hostility and violence by residents, a small number, such as Cong Dee, successfully ran stores in St Lawrence during the mid-1870s (see Chapter 3). Census, postal directory data and oral history also points to the spread of Indian migration during the nineteenth century, with Afghan or Indian hawkers recorded to have periodically visited the town, selling a variety of goods (see Chapter 3). In Australia, many Indian immigrants were employed as agricultural labourers, but many also worked as hawkers, settling in or travelling through small rural towns to peddle their wares (Jupp 2001:428).

Following squatters Macartney and Mayne, several enterprising individuals travelled to the burgeoning town of St Lawrence in the hopes of making their fortunes and improving their social standing. Seizing upon the opportunities created with the formation of the new settlement and the opening of the Peak Downs copper fields, they proceeded to lease land and establish stores and other businesses. Alongside the district's pastoralists, these aspiring settlers actively engaged in and were influential in the creation of links between St Lawrence and other places, with many of the settlement's early trading and communication links being spurred and given direction by their actions and behaviour. In many ways, these small-scale capitalists acted as intermediaries or conduits between St Lawrence and the world beyond, thereby playing a subtle but key role in the circulation of goods and information through the settlement. They strove to establish and maintain trading links between St Lawrence, Rockhampton and the Peak Downs, often working together in the pursuit of their common goal – to ensure St Lawrence was an important and connected place so

that their commercial enterprises might prosper. It was, after all, a port town – a place which relied on trade between places for its very existence and survival. These enterprising businessmen and women (as Figure 1 shows, in 1868 at least, there were almost as many females in St Lawrence as men), were often also very active members of the St Lawrence community and instrumental in its civic development. They occupied various government and administrative roles – further securing their influence within the township – and petitioned the Government for funds towards the development of roads and port facilities. With their vested interests in the growth and prosperity of the town, they actively sought to contribute to and broadcast its good reputation in a concerted effort to entice more people and business into the area, as illustrated in William Watson Boyes’ letter to the editor published in the early years of the settlement (see Chapter 3).

From its very establishment, the viability and success of St Lawrence depended on its integration into outside markets and the strength of its trading relationships with distant places, both inland and across the ocean; a fact not lost on its residents, who strove to establish profitable ties between the Peak Downs mines and the ports of Rockhampton, Sydney and beyond, and establish adequate port facilities on St Lawrence Creek to service the surrounding mining and pastoral industries. For St Lawrence was, by its very nature as a port settlement, not self-sufficient. Prior to the arrival of the railway to the town in 1921, the situation at St Lawrence would have been similar to that observed by Purser (1992:108) in the Paradise Valley settlement in Nevada, whereby:

Every board, nail, post, pot, plate, or bottle needed by local settlers had to be brought in from elsewhere. Because of the specific social and economic circumstances of valley life, these objects represent an almost exclusively ‘imported’ range of material culture...

As discussed in Chapter 2, although mobility is most commonly spoken about in terms of the migration of people, this offers a narrow view, with mobility taking many forms. Mobility encompasses not only flows of people, but ideas, diseases, animals, and importantly for historical archaeologists, the circulation of material culture – of things. Indeed, the spread of commoditised goods is a central part of the globalisation process (Orser 2014a:3422). Just as thinking through the movements and life histories of people “is a powerful way of reconstructing imperials webs of networks” (Ballantyne 2010:445), so too is exploring the movements and object biographies of items of material culture. The movements or lives of material things – from their place of manufacture, use, and eventual discard – resulted in a series of invisible threads extending between different people and places across the globe. Take, for instance, the copper ore carried by bullock drays from the Peak Downs over the Connors Range to St Lawrence where it was loaded on to steamers and shipped, via Sydney (and sometimes Rockhampton), to Britain for smelting (Morley

1950:530). Copper became a particularly integral part of the globalisation and industrialisation process from the 1870s, when demand for copper wire and cabling increased dramatically with the development of electrical power and telegraphic communication (Cronon 1992:49; Meredith and Dyster 1999:54; Schmitz 1997:297, 318). The ore which left St Lawrence, and upon which it depended for its survival, would likely have been transported to the coal burning furnaces upon which the global copper industry revolved, which were concentrated in Swansea, in South Wales (Morley 1950:530).

Objects serve not just as threads across space, but also through time. Even the small assemblage of artefacts recovered from the muddy banks of St Lawrence Creek – representing only a sample of the goods transported to and used within the settlement – speak to the wider economic and social networks in which the settlement and its inhabitants participated during the nineteenth century. Indeed, while limited and largely quotidian, the artefacts recovered during the archaeological investigation provide some of the clearest indications of the globalisation process, with many individual fragments indicating the existence of long distance trade connections facilitated by vast transport and communications systems and the tangible connections that existed between far-flung places.

The country of origin could be identified for 146 artefacts from the assemblage. As shown in Figure 63 and discussed in Chapter 4, most of the archaeological assemblage recovered from St Lawrence originated from the United Kingdom, with a particularly high proportion of stoneware vessels from the Port Dundas Pottery Company in Glasgow, Scotland. The prevalence of imports from the UK and the lack of products from the US or made within Australia is not surprising, given the state of Australian industry during the nineteenth century and England's dominance of the consumer market during this period (see Chapter 2 and Hayes 2007:95; Lawrence and Davies 2011:268-269). For the most part of the nineteenth century, the small population of St Lawrence, like that of Queensland and Australia moreover, were largely reliant on the strong and flourishing imperial trading networks in which they were enmeshed for access to goods essential to daily life. Especially so, given the limited manufacturing sector in Australia and particularly Queensland during this time, which explains the small number of artefacts from Australia within the assemblage. It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that local manufacturing industries emerged and Australian-made products began to compete with those imported from overseas, particularly the United Kingdom (see Hayes 2007; Harris *et al.* 2004; Thorpe 1985, 1996).

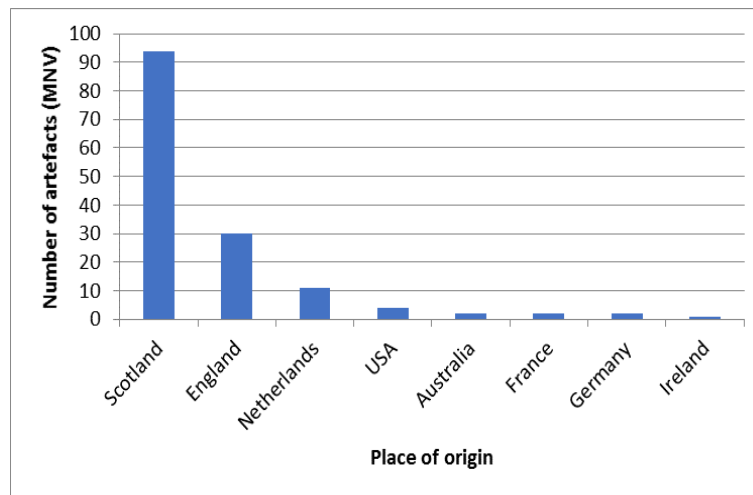


Figure 63. Country of origin of artefacts.

While most of the artefacts originated from the United Kingdom, the assemblage also suggests that nineteenth century trade networks widened to include products from the Netherlands, France and Germany for example. The high frequencies of manufactured goods recovered from St Lawrence, far from the sources of such items, speaks to both the spread and influence of transport and communications technologies, and the strength and power of global, but particularly British imperial trade networks, which imported and distributed a wide range of goods to people throughout Australia, offering the people in St Lawrence and other towns like it, “a window on the world” (Orser 1996:39).

People settling in St Lawrence, such as the McPhee family or McMonagle sisters, may have also bought things with them. While it seems likely that migrants would have purchased new household items upon their arrival to Queensland, rather than carrying quantities of old cups and plates with them on their arduous overland or sea journeys, the presence of multiple ceramic vessels in the archaeological assemblage bearing the *Japan Flowers* pattern, may tell a different story. These broken pieces of tableware once formed a dinner set, manufactured in Staffordshire over 30 years before the settlement of St Lawrence came into existence. It is possible then, that this dinner set was a family heirloom, imbued with meaning and value by its owners, and carefully packaged and transported to St Lawrence in a trunk. For these people, this dinner set may have represented a preference for the familiar and “a desire to sustain cultural and historical bonds” (Magee and Thompson 2010:155), thereby maintaining an emotional connection to ‘home’, wherever that may have been.

Aside from Japan Flowers, few ceramic tableware fragments displayed matching decorative patterns, indicating that these items were likely purchased piecemeal and over time, rather than as

complete sets (see Miller and Hurry 1983:89). Several ceramic vessels may have been purchased at once, but more likely, one or two items were bought throughout the year or as needed (see Crook 2000:23). The irregularity of shipments and the limited number of stores in town likely meant that the residents of St Lawrence had little choice in the commodities they purchased. People therefore would have been more likely to purchase the most readily available items to them, rather than seek out particular patterns or designs, although there may have been at least some attempt to match items at a basic level, i.e. choosing a particular colour-way or floral over geometric designs. Shopping trips to the larger, but distant, commercial centres like Rockhampton, would likely have been infrequent, with settlers instead patronizing their own local stores, where, given the limited cash supplies, storekeepers like Thomas Tagg, may have been more willing to provide credit and even arrange bartering agreements (see Purser 1992:109). To keep up with local consumer demands, the St Lawrence merchants would have imported new products to expand the range of goods available for sale at their stores, perhaps even placing special orders for customers from mail order trade catalogues, providing individual people access to the global market place (see Crook 2000:19; Purser 1992:109).

An Archaeological Landscape of Globalisation

Globalisation is not an abstract concept, but grounded in actual places, “in a very real material environment” (Ballantyne 2011:61). The first wave of modern globalisation is understood to mark a period of large-scale global environmental transformation brought on by advances in industrial technology and the subsequent unprecedented demand and increased opportunities for trade in mineral resources. For this reason, the comprehensive study of globalisation not only encompasses flows of people, information and material culture, but also allows for an examination of themes such as environmental change (Hopkins 2006a:5). Even at St Lawrence, people had a transformative impact on the physical landscape during their integration into the world economy taking shape from the mid-nineteenth century, observable in the archaeological record today.

The dynamic coastal environment characteristic of St Lawrence Creek and the wider Broadsound region has affected how people have occupied and moved through this landscape since the beginning of European exploration in the area, when James Cook and Matthew Flinders navigated the coastline during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, commenting on the great rise of the tides and the low, mangrove-covered muddy banks. The first landing place at St Lawrence, established on the banks of the creek immediately opposite the settlement, presented considerable obstacles to navigation and shipping and was shortly abandoned for a new, supposedly better port

site in the basin of St Lawrence Creek. This new wharf was in operation by the end of 1867 and several buildings and structures were constructed, including a tramway, stores and pilot cottages. In 1871, 47 ships are recorded as having used this port and by 1873 wharf revenues were over £1,000 per annum (Department of Harbours and Marine 1986:82). A small township called Lower St Lawrence also sprung up around the new wharf. While the new port location had its advantages, observations of tidal erosion at the site started to appear in newspaper articles from as early as 1869 – only two years after its opening. In his report on the colony’s ports and harbours as published in the *Brisbane Courier* (8 January 1869:3) almost 150 years ago, the Portmaster noted that at the Port of St Lawrence:

...the bank, from which the wharf is built, is fast being washed away, and if some steps are not soon taken to protect its approaches, and the bank of the river above the wharf, the whole structure will be left standing in the middle of the channel.

And this is exactly what has happened, as shown in the historical overlay presented in Chapter 4. Before the wharf could be completely washed away by erosion, the cyclone hit, and while it wrought considerable destruction across the entire settlement, the port bore the brunt of its effects. The associated storm surge, whereby strong winds caused water to reach abnormally high levels and flood the low-lying coastal area (see Maskell 2013:49), also caused extensive damage to the stores and flooded the area. Storm surges lead to increased erosion (Harvey and Caton 2010:29-30) and the port area may have been particularly vulnerable to this, having been largely cleared of mangroves to allow for the construction of wharf facilities back in 1865 (see *RB* 17 June 1865:2). Mangrove vegetation is now understood to play a diverse and important role in maintaining productive coastal ecosystems and shaping coastal geomorphology by maintaining bank stability and preventing coastal erosion (see Bird 1986; Nicholls *et al.* 2007). Coastal areas where mangrove vegetation has been cleared suffer more damage than coastlines with intact mangroves (see Bird 1986:270). So, when the cyclone struck in 1874, the already vulnerable and degraded bank – on which the wharf, stores and tramway were built – was incapable of withstanding the extreme storm conditions and was swept away.

People not only respond to, but are agents in environmental change. The construction of wharf facilities on St Lawrence Creek almost 150 years ago, has set in motion environmental transformations which are continuing to the present day. A comparison of historical aerial photography (see Figure 64) indicates that over the past 50 years or so, erosion has been especially severe at the site of the former wharf on St Lawrence Creek, much more so than in the surrounding landscape. As noted in Chapter 4, the Broadsound coastline has the highest tidal range in eastern

Australia and its macrotidal conditions generate powerful tidal movements and currents in its estuaries, including St Lawrence Creek. So, while the effects of the cyclone and natural processes of erosion – not uncommon in macrotidal coastal environments – have undoubtedly played a role in the formation of the coastal landscape, it is significant that the most severe and obvious case of erosion on St Lawrence Creek has occurred in the area most heavily utilised by people in the past. It is highly likely that these changes in the environment have been exacerbated, perhaps even initiated, by past anthropogenic impacts; namely, the construction of the wharf and approach in 1865 and the removal of mangrove vegetation in the area to allow for this development.

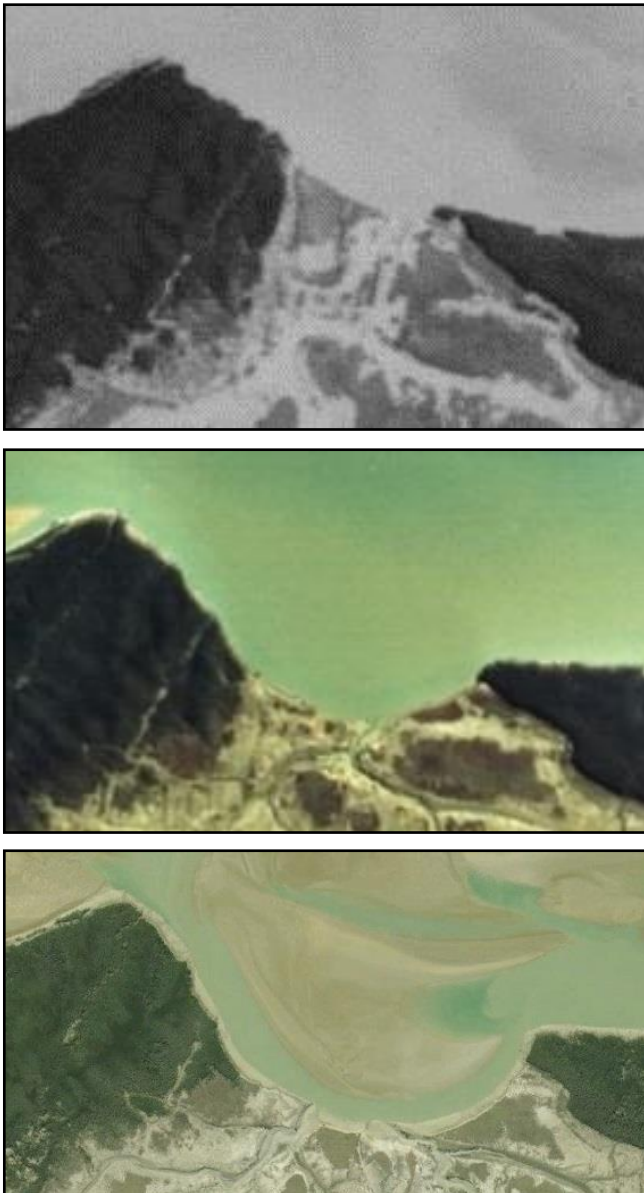


Figure 64. Comparison of historical aerial photography showing the Port of St Lawrence site in 1960, 1995 and today (top to bottom).

Through an interrogation of historical archaeological evidence, what might have been regarded as the result of natural processes of erosion has been shown to have been a partial consequence of past human activity. While the wharf structures themselves have been swept away and their

archaeological integrity and potential substantially diminished, the stark changes visible in the landscape represents significant and compelling alternative evidence of past human activity at the former port of St Lawrence. In this way, the area presents as an archaeological landscape of movement, abandonment and relocation, having been formed by the interplay or interaction between past human behaviour and the environment.

While coastal areas are inherently extremely dynamic and highly vulnerable to a variety of natural forces, such as waves, tides and storms, these environments are also susceptible to impacts from cultural forces in the form of human activities, including land reclamation, dredging, construction and recreation (Fitzpatrick 2012:179; Harvey and Caton 2010:3; Nicholls *et al.* 2007:317; Rick and Fitzpatrick 2012:135). Rapid urbanisation and utilisation of coastal and foreshore areas since the mid-nineteenth century has indeed seen the degradation of coastal ecosystems around the world (Nicholls *et al.* 2007:319). As Erlandson (2008:168-169) argues:

...coastal erosion may have been driven by natural processes for much of the past 20,000 years, but in the last century or so...[has] become increasingly anthropogenic as humans have played an ever greater role in damming rivers and reducing littoral sediment supply, constructing breakwaters and jetties, sand mining, dredging, ship traffic, and other coastline modifications that have accelerated the erosion of our shorelines.

Human beings have effected environmental transformations across the globe; many of which, including those observed on St Lawrence Creek, were linked to the expansion of nineteenth-century mining and pastoral industries and their associated service infrastructure (e.g. ports) as part of the broader process of globalisation. Several enterprising individuals in St Lawrence in the early 1860s saw an opportunity to integrate themselves into the world economy, and fought hard to establish port facilities in an area long considered unsuitable for such an undertaking and position themselves more favourably within commercial trade networks. The reshaping of the creek line from past human-environment interaction represents a tangible expression of this process. The Port of St Lawrence can therefore be understood as both an archaeological landscape and a landscape of globalisation – an archaeological landscape of globalisation.

Considerable efforts were made to maintain outside connections even after the port on St Lawrence Creek was destroyed by the cyclone, with new wharf facilities being quickly established on nearby Waverley Creek. This development led one correspondent, writing in *The Queenslander* (3 October 1874:4) to remark “that the township of St Lawrence is in danger of suffering an eclipse, or being transported”. Suggestions of shifting the landing place away from the deteriorating site on St

Lawrence Creek to a new location on Waverley Creek had been floated even before the cyclone had struck (*RB* 15 March 1873:2; 17 June 1873:2-3). This new wharf – by this time the third landing place established at St Lawrence in a period of about only 15 years – was available for use by the end of 1876, with the former Port of St Lawrence on St Lawrence Creek proclaimed closed and the area abandoned.

A Place in Process

The process of globalisation often involved the potential transformation of physical landscapes in which it was grounded, but the nature and timing of its effects were equally influenced and mediated by the environment and its vagaries (Ballantyne 2011:61). The cyclone at St Lawrence in 1874, for instance, had a significant impact on the settlement's level of integration into wider networks of social and economic activity, and major consequences for the future prosperity of the settlement. In his study of Beechworth, Victoria and the decline of mining in the area, Griffiths (1987:37-38) observed that:

When residents of Beechworth talk of events in the past of their community, they describe them as occurring either before or after the time 'when the mine closed down'. Their phrase betrays the consciousness of a turning point...it is an expression of the belief that, once mining ceased to dominate the life of the town, things were different.

For the residents of St Lawrence, the cyclone of 1874 marked a turning point for their community, as noted by a local correspondent writing in the *Brisbane Courier* (17 June 1876:3):

Everything in [St] Lawrence dates from the hurricane. If you enquire for something in a store that they haven't got, they tell you they had plenty before the storm...all past circumstances are spoken of as having happened before or after the storm.

The destructive effects of the cyclone coupled with the extension of the railway from Rockhampton inland to service the mining regions of the Peak Downs in the late 1870s, effectively bypassing St Lawrence, led to the cessation of copper trade through the port and consequently, the economic and social decline of the settlement. Disconnected from the export industries which once gave it life, and bypassed by the new railway line to feed and sustain it, the town of St Lawrence began to wither and contract. The once essential ties connecting it and other places, including Rockhampton, began to fade and the townspeople, who once set their sights on the horizon, soon turned their gaze inwards and business became "very limited and purely local" (*MB* 20 October 1879:2; see also *TQ* 26 June 1875:3). With the railway drawing away most of the trade, many local businesses and

institutions began to close their doors and people began to leave St Lawrence. As noted in Chapter 3, the town saw a marked decrease in population during this period. But many people stayed in the area, finding ways to go on under the difficult circumstances, which included food scarcities. It was a constant struggle, however, since St Lawrence was out of sight and out of mind to the rest of the world, as most clearly demonstrated when the steamer *Taldora*, on which the people of St Lawrence depended for their supplies, was redirected elsewhere, leaving the residents of St Lawrence to starve (see Chapter 3).

Water was also often in short supply and hard to come by in St Lawrence during the nineteenth century (see Chapter 3). What was available, collected from local waterholes and rain tanks, would likely have been contaminated and foul-tasting and it was common practice in colonial Australia to dilute drinking water with alcohol (rather than the other way around) to “kill the taste and disinfect it” (Fitzgerald and Jordan 2009: viii; 65). For these reasons, the lack of potable water may have contributed not only to the risk of infection and illness but the amount of alcohol consumed in the township. Alcohol – gin and brandy, mainly, was also sometimes prescribed as medicine in colonial settlements (Fitzgerald and Jordan 2009: ix). As Lawrence and Davies (2011:297) point out, while the generally high proportion of alcohol bottles found in the assemblages from most sites in Australia seems to confirm the reputation of Australians as hard drinkers, the situation is often more complex upon closer investigation. Mineral waters, such as that contained within the German Selters Herzogthum bottle identified in the assemblage, while valued and marketed for their curative properties, were also sometimes used as bottled water is today, as table water, particularly when the local water was unpalatable (Leavitt 2013:325; see also Leavitt 2004).

As described in Chapter 3, there was also limited professional medical services available in the settlement, leaving the inhabitants of St Lawrence little choice but to consider alternative self-treatments for any medical ailments and arrange for their own healthcare. Similarly to Davies’ (2001:63) findings in his study of a remote timber mill settlement in Victoria, the people of St Lawrence would have likely also turned to patent or proprietary medicines in the absence of readily accessible doctors, as demonstrated in the examples of patent medicine bottles and other non-prescription remedies identified in the archaeological record, such as Bosisto’s eucalyptus oil which was advertised to treat rheumatism, sprains, coughs and colds (Davies 2001:71). Patent medicines were a popular and common form of self-medication in many isolated Australian settlements during the nineteenth century and were marketed as cure-alls with omnipotent powers.

Several ‘medicinal tonics’, such as gin / schnapps, sarsaparilla and bitters, were also found within the St Lawrence artefact assemblage, such as the ubiquitous Udolpho Wolfe’s Schiedam Aromatic Schnapps, for example, of which 11 bottles were recovered from St Lawrence, which also point to the vast transnational trade networks in which St Lawrence was enmeshed even at its most isolated – the schnapps having been produced in the Netherlands and bottled in New York and Germany, for distribution across all corners of the globe. While marketed for their medicinal qualities, these products also had high alcohol content and their presence at historical archaeological sites has often been interpreted as evidence of covert alcohol consumption. However, their presence alongside large quantities of more obvious forms of alcohol, coupled with the distance of the settlement’s inhabitants from more orthodox medical treatment, indicates that these products were more likely consumed for their medicinal properties, rather than their alcoholic content and point to a strategy through which the residents of St Lawrence sought to overcome their isolation and manage their own healthcare (see also Davies 2001:70-71). Studies of colonial health management in Australia have shown that communities also often organised collectively to exchange knowledge and practical support for the purposes of healthcare, as evident in support networks, neighbourly cooperation and a general culture of reciprocity (see Coleborne and Godtschalk 2013:404, 410; Raftery 1999:285). This seems true for St Lawrence particularly from the late 1880s onwards, with one local correspondent noting “that the majority of the residents are living on one another” (*TC* 25 August 1888:22S). This is most clearly demonstrated in the efforts of residents to establish and maintain a community medicine chest (see Chapter 3), which was described as a “communistic feat” by one correspondent writing in *The Queenslander* (21 March 1891:537).

The first wave of modern globalization signaled the age of the steamship, railway and telegraph, and the beginnings of a period characterized by heightened integration and connectivity (Ballantyne 2011:57; Kelly 2000:4), which begs consideration as to why in St Lawrence, from the late 1870s at least, the reverse was true. At a time when various mechanisms enabled people, information and goods to move throughout the world with greater ease and speed (Ballantyne 2014:14; Sheppard 2002:319), why did the residents of St Lawrence often find themselves struggling with issues of social and spatial isolation? St Lawrence can be understood as one node within a network of trade, transportation and communication in Central Queensland, and its positionality within this regional network mattered. The historical development and trajectory of St Lawrence was not only influenced by specific localized events such as the cyclone in 1874, but by its relationship and ties to other places within the region, most importantly the mining communities on the Peak Downs and Rockhampton, and notably less so than Brisbane. As in all networks, events occurring in one place are often inextricably bound up with those which take place in others. The regional level of

interaction shaped, in very important ways, the nature and intensity of connections, and therefore the movement of resources – people, things and information – through St Lawrence and other nodes within the network.

Historians have long noted the intense rivalry that played out between colonial regional Queensland ports (see for example Broeze 1989:8; Rimmer 1967:50; Lewis 1973:9). While all ports had an equal chance of survival in theory, facility of inland access was all important and only those which obtained rail connections had any chance of enduring, with rail connection being the most significant decisive factor in determining the outcome of regional port rivalries (Lewis 1973:49, 65, 107, 128; Rimmer 1967:48). As Rimmer (1967:50) notes:

...though the railways were primarily intended as a means of opening up the country...railway communications had in effect given the port with a line an advantage over its neighbours without one, for road transport beyond the main towns by bullock, horse or camel was still relatively slow, hazardous and costly.

The difficult transport route through the Connor's Range and the dynamic tides of the creek left St Lawrence at a significant disadvantage, and despite persistent efforts, it was ultimately unable to secure distribution of the rich inland mining and pastoral resources. Obtaining rail connections could make or break a port (Rimmer 1967:50) and the extension of the central railway inland from the port of Rockhampton marked the death knell for St Lawrence, and no export activity was recorded from the port during the 1880s. By the end of the nineteenth century, the "regional port victors" had emerged, with Rockhampton cemented as the primary port in Central Queensland (Lewis 1973:239). While the expansion of the railway in the Central Queensland region in the late 1870s may have provided the basis for enhanced levels of trade and communication, effectively reshaping and transforming earlier patterns of interconnection in the region, St Lawrence was not able to access and therefore benefit from the railway, and Rockhampton soon came to dominate the regional trade networks. St Lawrence may have begun "economically and socially oriented with other communities" (Adams 1973:336), but it became progressively disintegrated from other places within the regional network. The situation at St Lawrence indeed runs in contrast to what Purser observed at Paradise Valley in Nevada during the same period whereby connections between the settlement and the outside world increased.

Not everyone benefited from the technological advancements during the mid-nineteenth century as part of the first wave of modern globalisation, rather, these developments increased the connectivity of some places, often at the detriment of others. Steamers, railways and telegraph systems transformed space and time, bringing some places closer together, while simultaneously isolating

others, with the outcome that “places were remade and reconfigured” (Agnew 2011:318). As social geographer Shepperd (2002:326) has observed, “progress in some places is a cause of stagnation elsewhere”, revealing the limits and fragility of the first wave of modern globalisation (Magee and Thompson 2010: xvi, 241). The liberating effects and possibilities created by new transport and communications technologies are not universal, as places (and the people within them) experience globalisation differently depending upon their positionality (see Chapter 2; Lambert and Lester 2006:11-12; Sheppard 2002:319). Indeed, “any general increase in space-transcending technologies is unevenly applied geographically...enhancing the positionality of some places relative to others” (Sheppard 2002:319). However, following Massey’s work on the inequalities inherent within the globalisation process (see Chapter 2), it is not simply a question of the stragglers – the out-of-the-way places like St Lawrence, needing to ‘catch up’, rather, this trend is symptomatic of the deep geographical differences and inequalities that are “produced within the very process of globalisation itself” (Massey 1991:43; see also 2005:85). As historian Frederick Cooper (2005:91) put it:

The world has long been – and still is – a space where economic and political relations are very uneven; it is filled with lumps, places where power coalesces surrounded by those where it does not, places where social relations become dense amid others that are diffuse. Structures and networks penetrate certain places and do certain things with great intensity, but their effects tail off elsewhere.

Despite being a time of heightened connectivity and interaction, many places during the first wave of modern globalisation, like St Lawrence, were clearly as much a product of disconnection (or a lack of connections) as they were of interconnection.

Flows of people, information and material culture to, through and from the settlement were rarely constant during the nineteenth century – they were often tenuous and short-lived, ebbing and flowing similarly to the tides of the creek. The case of St Lawrence demonstrates the ephemeral and fleeting nature of colonial connections, and the rapidity at which changes can occur. Only 15 years had passed since St Lawrence was proclaimed a Port of Entry and Clearance before it was predicted to become “a place of the past” (*BC* 3 August 1878:6), “having become dead or the next thing to it” (*TQ* 8 November 1879:601). The following description of St Lawrence was published in *The Queenslander* in 1875 (26 June 1875:3); note the descriptions of sleepiness, slowness and silence – “metaphors of the pre-colonial landscape... which often abound in descriptions of dead and dying towns” (Ballantyne 2001:36):

Called into existence some fifteen years ago, it has, in common with most colonial townships, known flush times and periods of depression. At times its streets have resounded to the busy traffic, the bustle and life, that denoted its days were

prosperous. Then could be seen team upon team laden with valuable merchandise, drawn by long strings of oxen or horses, wending their way in one continuous stream across the plain leading from the wharf to the town, passing others with high piles of copper cakes journeying from the mines to the steamer; squatters, stockmen, travellers, and bullock drivers, hurrying from one place to another in a manner plainly showing their hands full of work; public house bars and verandahs with their noisy crowd of fencers, shepherds, and station hands, in for a spree. These were the signs that spoke of palmy days, when business was brisk, loading plentiful, carriage high, and consequently plenty of money and circulation. But then, St Lawrence has also known the reverse of the picture, when empty streets, empty stores, empty bars, sleepy-looking police, and a sort of unnatural stillness, made it perceptible to the most careless observer that the place lay under the ban of bad times...

Australian history has been largely focused on the winners – the great towns and cities which grab our attention and speak to progress and increasing global connections (Ballantyne 2001; McCarty 1978:104). Abandoned, vanished or declining towns, “go against the grain of such histories, frustrating progressive settlement narratives” because they in some ways represent “colonial hard-work unravelling” (Ballantyne 2001:33). St Lawrence is one of many often-overlooked places, which together form a significant feature of the contemporary Australian rural landscape:

The map of Australia is spattered with the names of towns that are now only a handful of ruins, or less than that, or linger on, each with its once busy streets lined with glassless windows except for those of perhaps half a dozen houses, a store, and a shady pub with decaying veranda (Farwell 1965: i).

Such places are historical signposts of uneven and unequal development in “a continent that has advanced and aged at a rate unprecedented” (Farwell 1965:17). The study of small, declining, out-of-the-way places like St Lawrence “can be used to question the trajectory of the often uncritically assumed metanarrative of ever-increasing connections and integrations” and “highlight the diversity and the heterogeneity that are as much part of the processes of becoming more globalised as the tendency to become more homogenous” (Gerritsen 2012:219, 224). In this way, places like St Lawrence represent far more than just a “necessary sacrifice on the path to progress” (Ballantyne 2001:34), but a significant part of the process of globalisation itself.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored what the first wave of modern globalisation looked like from the vantage point of St Lawrence, a small former port town in Central Queensland, Australia. St Lawrence may be an out-of-the-way little place, but by scratching just beneath the surface, this thesis has demonstrated that its story also speaks to a global history of trade, technology, migration, resource exploitation and environmental transformation. A relational, networked perspective and a global sense of place has been adopted to interrogate a wide range of historical archaeological evidence to explore the ways in which St Lawrence and its inhabitants were once connected with wider networks of interaction from its establishment in the mid-nineteenth century to the arrival of the railway in 1921. This thesis has investigated the constellation of relations – “the constant swirl of people and things” (Ballantyne 2011:60) which made up the place of St Lawrence, during what is now regarded as a truly transformative historical period, with heightened opportunity for mobility and connection, as facilitated by technological advances in transport and communication.

People, information and goods flowed in and out of St Lawrence like the tides of the creek on which it sits. These movements gave St Lawrence its colour and shape, and tied the small port town to other places and people, often far across the globe. Evidence of these past interactions are observable in changes to the physical landscape, hidden within the pages of newspapers no longer in print, and embedded in the fabric of broken, seemingly ordinary objects discarded on the edge of town. This thesis has examined the ways in which past connections shaped material life in the town and the surviving archaeological record today. It has also explored how links between St Lawrence and the world beyond the settlement were encouraged and maintained through the behaviour of the its inhabitants, and factors which contributed to its later disconnection and isolation.

For a brief time in the nineteenth century, St Lawrence was a budding port in the Central Queensland region and would have been a bustling and lively place, filled with activity. On any given day, there might have been carriers travelling between the port and the mining districts of the Peak Downs transporting loads of copper and provisions, squatters and their workers from the surrounding pastoral stations purchasing supplies from the local stores and travelling merchants visiting the town to sell tableware and other household items. St Lawrence was, after all, a port town; a place with mobility at its core, with people and goods constantly moving about. However, the inhabitants of St Lawrence also struggled with times of isolation and disconnection. This thesis has examined the fluctuating nature of connections over a period of approximately 60 years and demonstrated how quickly links can break down as networks – and St Lawrence’s position within

them – shift following both local (such as the cyclone in 1874), regional (such as the construction of the railway to the mines from Rockhampton) and global (such as the decline in copper prices) events. As Bergholm *et al.* (2007:vii) observe:

Ports are focal nodes of...competitive, global activity: at the same time, they are tightly connected to local political, social, industrial and transport networks. Port history therefore sites...at the crossroad of international, national and even local historiography.

St Lawrence tells a story of change – of continually unfolding and simultaneously global and local processes and events shaping and transforming the settlement and the everyday material lives of its inhabitants. By employing a global sense of place, St Lawrence is understood to be a constellation of multiple trajectories of people, information and material culture, that – unlike an astronomical constellation – transforms over time. Globalisation is a process, with significant roots in the past that is still unfolding, and similarly, St Lawrence was, and still is, a place in process.

The long-held aspirations of the residents of St Lawrence for the railway to reach their town were fulfilled in June 1921, and while it meant they no longer needed to rely on other more infrequent and unreliable means of accessing goods and information, it did not transform St Lawrence back into the bustling township it once was. Today, while globalisation may be deepening (Gerritsen 2012:214; Magee and Thompson 2010:2), the inhabitants of St Lawrence still struggle with isolation and remain largely disconnected from the world beyond the settlement. While the journey to St Lawrence is made easier due to modern means of transportation, the town is still around 10 hours' drive north from the state's capital in Brisbane. As observed in a recent article published in the Queensland newspaper *The Courier Mail* (Madigan 2015), St Lawrence is “largely irrelevant to 21st century Queenslanders, most whom only hear the town's name mentioned in weather reports”. The article, published in January 2015 during the State election campaign, is entitled “The Queenslanders Politics Forgot” and presents a small feature on St Lawrence and its residents, as an example of one of the many small towns scattered across the state that have “gone off the radar”:

...this once-prosperous coastal town squatting amid the salt pans and mudflats sprawling out into the colossal Broad Sound Bay doesn't see much at all of the political world as Queensland MPs redistribute the state's bounty... There will be no \$65 million road upgrade or \$5 million sports hall. There won't even be \$6160 for a 'St Lawrence Festival' to ease the tedium of life in this once-dynamic port town, which a century ago hosted an abattoir, customs house, pilot office, courts and several hotels, but now struggles to rustle up enough locals for a bush dance.

We now know that globalisation has significant roots in the past, but as Brooks (2013:2) observes, globalisation is not simply a “phenomenon of the past that impacts the archaeological record of the modern world...but is a living impact that continues to influence”. The situation facing residents in St Lawrence today is reminiscent of that lived by its past inhabitants during the nineteenth century. When describing the struggles of one local elderly resident, Margaret Baldwin, *The Courier Mail* article notes that for Margaret, “there is no escape from St Lawrence” as the bus she once took to Rockhampton or Mackay to do her shopping has long stopped operating and she does not drive (Madigan 2015). The article also comments on the glaring deficiency of medical services in the town, which still today, does not have a doctor. If Margaret was to fall or “take a turn at night”, she would:

...call her friend...who will wake her husband...who serves as a town’s ambulance driver, SES [State Emergency Service] volunteer and firefighter. He will drive Margaret for an hour in an ambulance north...then transfer her to another ambulance for another hour’s drive to Mackay.

But Margaret – perhaps employing strategies for perseverance and survival handed down to her by previous residents of St Lawrence throughout all its history – reassures her interviewer: “I take red wine for my sanity and Epsom salts for my health...I will get by” (Madigan 2015).

This shift in focus, from nineteenth century St Lawrence to the settlement as it exists today, is a modest attempt at “doing history backwards” (Wurst and Mrozowski 2014:210); of adopting the vantage point of the present, i.e. the contracted settlement of St Lawrence today, and looking to the past to explore its preconditions, before moving forward to a new understanding of the present day and perhaps even some idea of what the future may hold. This method, of trying to understand the present firmly within the context of the past, is, according to Wurst and Mrozowski (2014:210), one way of making archaeology relevant. As Mrozowski (2006:33) has argued, a global historical archaeology needs to be concerned with the future as well as the past. This echoes Orser’s (1999:281; see also 2012b:629) calls for reflexivity and a socially relevant historical archaeology:

Archaeology need not be dry, sterile and unrelated to the present, especially when archaeologists focus on our ‘familiar’ past. Self-reflection empowers archaeologists to think about the contemporary contexts of their research...

The present is a continuation of the past, and this historical archaeological investigation of St Lawrence helps contextualise and provides a historical dimension for many of the issues that still confront people in the settlement and across rural Queensland today. Pastoralism and mining are as important in Queensland as they were during the nineteenth century, possibly more so; these

industries still provide the backbones of the region's economy in the twenty-first century (Prangnell 2013b:423). What is to become the largest coal mine in Australia and one of the largest in the world – the Carmichael Coal Mine – has recently been approved in an area north of Clermont, inland of Mackay (see Figure 1). The development includes construction of a new inland rail linking the mine to port facilities north of Rockhampton, which will need to undergo significant expansion (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2016). What this will mean for the townships, people and environment of the region in both the short and long term is outside of the scope of this thesis to answer. However, as Magee and Thompson (2010:241) argue, “a greater awareness of previous experiences of globalisation” may help governments manage its consequences today. Consideration of past and present experiences at St Lawrence, one of the many towns established during a boom in industry later to be relegated to just another name on the weather forecast, may still offer many valuable insights and lessons, especially when compared with other out-of-the-way, little places that exist elsewhere throughout the world.

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