

H.B.Hawke of Kapunda - A biographical essay

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Henry Binney Hawke was one of the engineering innovators who played an active part in the economic development of early South Australia. His contemporaries included Alfred Simpson, John Ridley, Joseph Mellor, John Stokes Bagshaw, Adam Adamson, David Thompson, James Martin, Robert Cameron, David and John Shearer and the May brothers. These men were inventors and manufacturers of machinery and processes for the growing South Australian agricultural and mining industries. They also provided hardware to enable the construction of infrastructure such as bridges, water management and major buildings. The companies established by several of these, such as Simpson, Bagshaw and Shearers became large South Australian manufacturing businesses in the twentieth century, Shearer and Bagshaw being names still associated with agricultural machinery in the twenty first century.

The others, including H.B. Hawke provided for the immediate needs of the industries of their time, but did not make the transition to the larger scale required to compete in the later twentieth century. Hawke's most significant achievement was the establishment of Hawke & Co, an iron foundry and engineering/manufacturing works in Kapunda during the mid nineteenth century. Hawke & Co survived as a family owned company until 1983. In fact in 1971 it was claimed by Rob Charlton, in his *History of Kapunda*, that 'it is thought that it [Hawke & Co] is now the oldest engineering firm in Australia still trading under the original name'.¹

Whether or not this claim can be substantiated, it is ironic that this was not the name given the business by the founder. During Henry Hawke's period of ownership it was known initially as North Kapunda Foundry and later as the Kapunda Foundry. It became H.B. Hawke & Co after he retired and sold the business in 1884 to William Thomas and Thomas's brother in law, Rees Rees. The company was solely owned by the Rees family from 1903 until 1983, but the fact that the new owners chose to trade under the Hawke name suggests that Henry's reputation was substantial as a pioneering engineer and businessman.

My initial interest in Henry Binney Hawke was not related to the business, but because he was one of my great grandfathers about whom there were some colourful stories. There is a legend, repeated in several written accounts of his work, that he was brought up by smugglers. And in *Not Without Courage*, the Hawke & Co Centenary booklet of 1957 there is also the claim that his family was friendly with George III². This provided an irresistible starting point for a family historian.

The verifiable facts about his family and his early life are less romantic, but of much greater interest to a social historian. These I gained, partly through access to the parish records held in the Cornwall Records Office in Truro, the administrative capital of the county of Cornwall and partly from the invaluable resource provided by the On-line Parish Clerks of Cornwall³. In addition, a visit to Hayle provided valuable insights into the place of his birth.

According to Parish Records, Henry was born into a family of at least three generations of blacksmiths, in Phillack (now called Hayle), an early industrial town

on the North West coast of Cornwall. His great grandfather James Hawke moved with his wife and their young son, James, from the small village of St Hilary to Phillack in the early 1780's. Phillack was only a small distance north of St Hilary, but the Hawkes were a tiny part of the growing population movement to the mining and industrial developments in the area of the Hayle Estuary. Two companies that were to grow large in the early nineteenth century, the Cornish Copper Company and Harveys of Hale, were established in the parish of Phillack in 1780s, and Henry's grandfather James, an uncle Charles and a cousin Samuel appear to have worked for the Cornish Copper Company during the early nineteenth century⁴.

At the time of Henry's birth in October 1827⁵ his family appeared on the way to establishing a solid foothold in the growing town. His great grandfather was still alive and possibly still in charge of a forge, and most likely with assistance from some of his younger grandsons. Henry's father was the eldest of nine children (he had six brothers and two sisters), ranging in age from twenty six to one year. However, by the time Henry was twelve the Hawke family had been decimated. Not only had he lost his mother and father, but also a great grandfather, a grandmother, three uncles, an aunt and her husband and a number of infant cousins. There is no information on the causes of these deaths, but since the greatest number of those who died were young men and there was cholera in the town for some of these years, most of the deaths were presumably caused either by the epidemics common in early industrial areas or by work accidents.

The consequences for Henry were catastrophic. He was only five when he was orphaned, and probably left with a stepbrother and stepmother who married again within two years. He had a sister, Elizabeth, who was three years older and was said to have been taken care of by wealthy relations. However, I have not yet been able to trace any of his mother's family or further information about his sister. Henry's grandfather James was left a widower with three children of his own under the age of sixteen, the youngest, a daughter only six, and at least ten grandchildren who had lost a father or both parents. Did Henry run away and live with smugglers, or eke out an existence working for his blacksmith/iron founder grandfather and uncles Joseph and Edward? And did he, as another story had it, run away to seek his fortune in a foundry in London? I have found no evidence of him in either Phillack or London in the census of 1841, and he seems to disappear from sight until, at the age of twenty one, he is listed as one of the 378 passengers who left Plymouth on the ship *William Money* and sailed to Adelaide.

Henry arrived in Port Adelaide 3 January 1849, part of the largest wave of migration to arrive in South Australia since the founding of the colony, a wave not to be exceeded for another six years. Henry left Britain for South Australia in 1848 and arrived in January 1849. The two years 1848-1849 saw more than 11,000 assisted migrants making that same trip. According to the Twelfth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission 35% of the migrants they sent to Australia chose South Australia between 1847 and 1851.⁶

Although the prosperity which led to this surge of immigrants was based on the mining at Kapunda and Burra and the growth of rural industries, and although many of his fellow Cornish migrants were recruited specifically to work in the mines, Henry

chose to stay in Adelaide for the next ten years. According to *The Register* of 10 January 1849:

The numerous arrivals of able-bodied mechanics and labourers by the *William Money* and the *Rajah* [arrived a week later] have caused very little apprehension to their brethren who had preceded them, such is the abundance of employment in almost every branch of active industry.⁷

However, by the beginning of 1850, migration had had an impact and wages had 'fallen to subsistence' although 'a few artisans, smiths, carpenters, tailors and the like earned 6/- a day'.⁸

Henry was clearly one of those who did get employment because by December 1850 he was able to purchase land on the corner of Tynte and Cambridge streets in North Adelaide. In his obituary in *The Kapunda Herald*, it was said that he had 'worked two years with William Pybus at his foundry in Adelaide' and then 'in 1850 went to Forest Creek diggings, in Victoria, putting in a successful 18 months work' It also claimed that he 'came to Kapunda in 1852'.⁹ Like many of the stories about Henry this contains enough inaccuracies to cast doubt on the rest of the account. William Pybus certainly had a foundry in Adelaide when Henry arrived. However, according to the Adelaide City Council Assessment Records, William Pybus had at least two sons, William Jnr. and David in the business, and foundry work was not constant at that time. According to Douglas Pike in *Paradise of Dissent*, there would not have been a lot of foundry work in 1850 when:

An Adelaide foundry which claimed eight years existence was operated so seldom that a night watchman mistook the glow from its furnace for a conflagration and summoned the fire brigade.¹⁰

The 1849 Stephens and Allen Directories listed only two iron foundries, William Pybus and Blyth Bros, both in Hindley St., and the reference above very likely applied to William Pybus, as his foundry was said to have been established in 1843. However, there were sixteen blacksmiths listed so it seems most likely that Henry worked mostly as a blacksmith in his early years in Adelaide and as an iron founder whenever possible. Notably, he was first listed in the Allen and Garran Directory in 1854, as an iron founder of Cambridge St. Since there was no indication in the Assessment records of an iron foundry on his property at Cambridge St, North Adelaide, he was presumably then working for William Pybus, or other founders. Possibly Henry was needed in the business at that time because William Pybus senior died in 1854.

I have been unable to find any evidence that Henry went to the Victorian goldfields. Although it is possible that he did join the very early exodus in 1851, he could not have stayed for eighteen months because he married in Adelaide in January 1852. It is also unlikely he had any great success because his financial dealings both during his time in Adelaide and later in Kapunda suggest that he was working with limited capital, working his way up cautiously by buying small lots of property, then mortgaging them to further build his assets rather than having access to wealth accumulated through gold mining.

Although if he did venture for a short time it is possible he made a small amount to enable him to build on the land acquired in 1850. The rates on the land did not indicate

any building in the first year,¹¹ but by 1852/53 there were two cottages of one room each. They were not described as stone, unlike others in the same street so they are likely to have been pise or timber.

In January 1852, now owner of land and a cottage, Henry, aged twenty four married eighteen year old Christina Rayner. She had also travelled to Adelaide with her family on the *William Money*. It is quite possible that Henry spent time with Christina and her older sisters aboard ship. We know something of the Rayners because Christina's mother died from poisoning aboard ship from an act of serious medical negligence when the Matron gave her 'Chloride of Zinc instead of Quinine and Gentian'.¹² Her husband, William, sent an official complaint to the Governor, Sir Henry Young, claiming that the captain had begged him 'not to enter into any remark, or complaints of her general treatment as I should have every opportunity of doing so on shore', but then moved very quickly to hold an inquiry on board instead of waiting till they arrived in Adelaide¹³.

Unfortunately the Rayners had become subject of gossip and complaint during the voyage. One of the witnesses at the inquiry said that married families:

Have frequently been disturbed at late hours at night by noises and indecent language proceeding from some of the single women in the forward berths and on these occasions Rayner and Bright daughters have taken a prominent part.¹⁴

Emily, the eldest daughter was regarded as one of the loudest. Since Christina was only thirteen at the time she probably wasn't involved. There is no mention of who the single men were.

Henry and Christina had a son, Henry Ernest, who was born in April 1854, but he died aged six weeks. The following year they had a daughter, Evelyn, and shortly after Evelyn's birth Henry mortgaged his property and started to build four additional cottages so that in the 1856 Assessments he had one larger residence valued at £25, and four dwellings valued at £15 and a one roomed cottage valued £5, all of which he rented out. Information in the Rate Assessment Books of the City of Adelaide indicate that the Hawkes continued to live in Cambridge St until 1859 when the properties were all sold.

This provides rather a problem for the historian because accounts written to date state that H.B. Hawke set up business in Kapunda in 1857, having taken over the foundry from Mr Adamson. What is clear is that Henry only started buying land in Kapunda in 1859, a month or so after the sale of the Cambridge St. property. The most likely explanation is that he acquired the foundry itself from Adamson, but worked it on the land which was then owned by Matthew Blackwell, a blacksmith. Henry would have been aware that the Pybus foundry was located on land which was rented for more than ten years before they purchased it. He was also aware that a foundry would not be fully occupied all the year. As the railway to Gawler was opened in 1857, Henry possibly travelled back and forth from North Adelaide to Kapunda for two years before he moved his family there in 1859, probably sometime between February when he sold in Adelaide and April when he purchased the first part of the foundry site.

At the time they moved, Henry and Christina had two small children, Evelyn who was three and a second son again called Henry Ernest, about one year old. Henry was clearly very keen to have a son to carry on his name. In this he was following a strong tradition, not only in his own family, but in many others certainly in the part of Cornwall he came from. Sadly, this second Henry Ernest died of croup a year after they moved to Kapunda. And a sister, Laura who was born two months later, also died aged two years. Her death was followed within a week by the birth of another sister, Amy Lilian.

The family's first three years in Kapunda must have been a great struggle, especially for Christina. Henry was engaged in the challenge of developing the business. Land records show him juggling mortgages to raise funds. One bright spot must have been recognition of his work in the Adelaide Observer in May 1859 which reported:

Mr Hawke of Kapunda of the North Kapunda Foundry has just completed the largest piece of casting yet made in the colony.¹⁵

For the most part, though, it would have been intensive and time-consuming work to get the business to the stage in March 1866, when he placed a large advertisement in the Kapunda Herald stating:

H B Hawke begs to inform the Farmers, Millers, Mine Proprietors, Machinists and the Inhabitants of the North generally that he has now completed the Extensive Improvements of his Foundry...¹⁶

It is likely that Hawke's standing in the industrial sector in Kapunda before this expansion is indicated in the Herald's traditional New Year review of the preceding year, 1865:

Our machine factories have been increasing their staff, taking up more ground, and extending their branches northward, a very considerable number of hands finding employment in the respective factories of Messrs. Adamson Brothers, Cameron and Mellor, the proprietors of each of which have also added new machinery to their plant to meet the increasing demand of trade whilst one foundry is also kept in full and profitable work.¹⁷

Although it is not certain that Hawke's is the unnamed foundry, it does seem very likely, and the fact that he was unnamed indicates the distance he still had to go to challenge the more established manufacturers.

There is no personal evidence of what life was like for Christina during this time. However, it was not until 1864 that Henry bought land in Bagot (later Jeffs) St. for a residence, so they were either renting a house or living on the foundry site for at least five years. There is evidence that Christina's father was also living in Kapunda, at least at the time of Henry Ernest's death which was reported by William Rayner. I have been unable to find evidence of the marriage of any of her sisters except possibly Emily, the eldest, so possibly one or more of her sisters was also on hand to give her support.

And she certainly needed support, not just because of the deaths of three of her five children, but because of her own ill health. Christina died on 23 August 1866, aged thirty one. The death notice in the Kapunda Herald states:

On Saturday August 25, aged 31 years, after a long and painful illness, borne with fortitude and Christian resignation, Mrs C. Hawke, wife of Mr H.B. Hawke, of the Foundry, Kapunda.¹⁸

According to her death certificate, ‘the long and painful illness’ was ‘Hydatids of the Liver’. Since hydatids can infect people for from five to thirty years before death she could have been suffering for quite a long time.

Henry may well have learned stoicism in the face of death from his childhood experiences. Certainly he appears not to have allowed his family turmoil to stand in the way of his aims for the business, and there is a bleak lack of any sentiment in the death notice. There is evidence that he was working particularly hard all through this time because he advertised a new mowing machine shortly before Christina’s death, and held a major demonstration of it two months after her death.¹⁹

Henry was now left with two daughters. Evelyn was eleven and Amy four. Since Christina must have been too ill to have looked after them for some time before her death, someone must surely have been helping her and possibly continued to take care of them until, in 1868, Henry found a new wife, Julia Barkla.

Julia was a member of the large family of William and Elizabeth Barkla. According to various published accounts they arrived in Adelaide in 1852 on the *Waterlily*, though there are no passenger lists that confirm this. William Barkla was a mining Captain, originally from St Agnes in Cornwall. He was married there and the first four Barkla children were baptised there. Julia was born in Waterford County, Ireland, as were probably eight of her brothers and sisters. The Barklas had followed the copper mines first to Ireland and then to South Australia where Clarissa Gertrude, the youngest of the fourteen children was born.

By the time Julia married, her father was aged seventy three, and retired to land he had bought in Auburn, and a widower for five years. His daughter Emily Jane had married James Harden, a leading Kapunda businessman and it is possible his eldest son James was also married, but the rest of the family must have weighed on his mind. In 1868, however, there were four Barkla weddings, three of them together in Christchurch, Kapunda, on the 16 April. Julia, aged twenty eight, was one of these. Her third brother Abraham married Maria Lord, and one of her younger sisters, Priscilla, married Thomas Sabine.

Within a year of the marriage, Henry and Julia had a son who died at birth. This information is recorded in the Hawke Family Bible, but neither the birth nor death was officially registered. He was, however, given the name of Henry Barkla Hawke. A year later, another son was born and the naming tradition surrendered. His name was D’Arcy Melvin and at last Henry had a son who lived long enough to have two sons to carry the Hawke name. Henry and Julia had three sons and three daughters who survived to adulthood and one other who died aged seven months. His name was Harry Melvin, almost as though Henry was trying one more time for at least a version of Henry.

The new Hawke family commenced at what was a very difficult time in Kapunda and District. The New Year Editorial of *The Kapunda Herald* of 1 January 1869 summarises conditions during 1867 and 1868:

Unlike its predecessor, which opened in gladness and ended in sorrow, the past year at its birth found the community labouring under a great depression. A strange but mighty disease had stalked the land, destroying the labours of the husbandman, confounding the calculations of businessmen and promising naught but poverty and distress to many capitalists as well as those whose only capital was their labour.²⁰

For businessmen and manufacturers in country towns every year then, as now, were dependent on the weather, the condition of the crops and the markets and editorials in *The Herald* editorials quite regularly provided dire warnings about the dangers of credit extended by the local businessmen.

In the absence of any personal Hawke papers I have been able to track the progress of Henry's business only through advertisements in the pages of *The Kapunda Herald*. And because these advertisements are substantially personal statements, rather than the product of professional advertising companies, they also give glimpses of the man behind them.

There appear to have been no Hawke advertisements before the March 1866 announcement of the expansion of the Kapunda Foundry in size and range of products. This announcement ran for several months and indicated that he had established a 'Steam Engine Shop, Smith's Shop etc'. and was taking orders for 'Steam Engines up to 12 Hp, Circular –Saw Bench Frame, Mowing Machines of the most improved principles'. In addition he had 'engaged the service of a first rate hand, who is thoroughly acquainted with the construction of the famous Cornish Cooking Ranges and Ovens, the manufacture of which he is now prepared to undertake'.²¹ These new products and services were in addition to the weighbridges which he had manufactured from the commencement of business.

However, as became obvious later in the year he had also been working on a new Mowing Machine. This was a new departure, his own innovation in the field of agricultural machinery and brought him into direct competition with the other manufacturers in the town, Mellors, Camerons and Adamsons. Among these Joseph Mellor appears to have felt most affronted by this development. In November 1866 after Henry had held a public Field Day to demonstrate his machine, Mellor issued a challenge:

Joseph Mellor, after being Three Years, or since the Exhibition of 1863, studying the best principle for the construction of a Mower, now feels confidence in proposing to meet any or all former Machines of the World on the following terms, viz: at 9 in the morning, 9 at night or midday; in damp or wet weather or when the rain is falling. The Machine which does the best work with the least power to take possession of all competitors.²²

Henry's response was printed in the same edition of the Herald:

Mr Mellor has thought fit to challenge through the columns of the Kapunda Herald, the whole world against any other Mowing Machine that can be produced against his own.

I, as a Maker of these articles will accept the challenge, viz.-

1st. The Machine shall work for the whole day.

2nd. That no one shall have anything to do with the Machine but the Driver for the day.

3rd. That the Judges shall judge of or decide on their Cutting capabilities alone; the best work; the quantity, and the least tendency of getting out of repair.²³

Mellor responded in a second item in the same edition of the Herald and printed below his first claims:

In reply to Mr HAWKE'S partial acceptance of my Challenge of the Mowing- Machines, I apprise him that it was for the whole capabilities of the Mowing Machines combines, and not for cutting alone, which would require extra labour, or the Machine and horses would damage the crop already cut. The advantage of my new patent side delivery Mower being so clear it would be folly to ignore them by adopting the primitive cutting alone, which it is well known any mechanic can make a machine to perform.²⁴

It appears that Joseph Mellor had the last word on this as there is no report of a challenge which he said was 'open to the end of the month'. Henry had discovered the world of invention was more difficult than he had first realised. Two weeks later there was a notice in the Herald of a trial at Auburn on 23 November of Mellor's Patent Mower. The notice contained a long list of customers particularly satisfied with the 'side delivery'.²⁵

There was no further advertising of the Hawke Mowing Machine. This was a strategic defeat for Hawke in his first venture into the invention of agricultural machinery, but it may also have been a reflection of the difficult times facing the industry as can be seen in advertising in the *Herald*. During early 1867 Robert Cameron, Adamson and Mellors restrict their advertising to small notices asking for their customers to pay up their debts. I was unable to find any similar notices from Hawke, but through 1867 and 1868 he regularly placed the very conservative notice.

KAPUNDA FOUNDRY H.B. HAWKE ENGINEER AND IRON FOUNDER
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Perhaps he offered less credit than the agricultural manufacturers and it is likely that the diversity of his general foundry work was less directly subject to the vicissitudes facing the farmers.

It appears to have been nearly ten years before H B Hawke decided directly to challenge the agricultural machinists, but he had not given up. The next invention probably took more time, partly because of the earlier experience and partly because he secured a patent for his 'Improved Seed Sower'. This time he chose a bigger stage and wider circulation for his launch in 1875.

The launch coincided with the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Show and was described in all the major newspapers of the Colony. The most detailed account was in Supplement to *The Register* of 13 November 1875 which proclaimed:

A trial of a machine for broadcast sowing, designed and made by Mr G.B. Hawke, of Kapunda, took place on the beach at Glenelg, on Friday, November 12, and was in every respect successful.²⁶

The fact that his name was given incorrectly must have been galling to him, but he would have been happy with the length and tone of the report. There were slightly shorter reports in *The Chronicle* and *The Advertiser*, but the *Kapunda Herald* chose the quote *The Register* account.

All of this publicity was put straight to work in a new advertisement in the *Herald*. He advertised 'The Farmers' Friend, H.B. Hawke's Patent Seed Sower' and referred farmers to the full accounts in the *Advertiser and Chronicle*, November 12th and 13th; *Register and Observer*, November 13th; *Kapunda Herald*, November 16th.²⁷

'Patent' was a key quality claim during the 1870s advertising by Mellor's and 'prize-winning' was a claim by James Wheatley, a newcomer in the market, so Henry now had achieved status in what would by then have been the most important manufacturing market in the district, mining having declined in importance.

There is a sign that he may have felt this pressure quite strongly, particularly in 1875 because a curious notice appears in the *Kapunda Herald* about six months before the launch of his patented seed-sower²⁸. It reads:

SPECIAL NOTICE – OWNERS of
FOWLS and TURKEYS in my neighbour-
hood before purchasing their butcher's meat will
do well to pay a visit first to my garden, as having
largely invested in Seeds and Plants I intend
after this date to use my gun without respect of
owners.

H. B. HAWKE

Kapunda, May 10, 1875

Possibly the difficulties of dealing with the patent process had led him to seek relaxation in gardening, and possibly it had led him to quarrel with neighbours. Whatever the motivation, this gives a rare insight into the personal life of the businessman.

Advertisements for the Seed Sowers continue through the remainder of the decade during the months of the sowing season. Business would appear to have been good in the early eighties. There is a glowing report of the success of Kapunda industries in the 1883 New Year Supplement to the *Kapunda Herald*:

Fortunately we have a few excellent manufacturies, the proprietors of which have aimed at excellence in respect to the specialties for which they command a large trade throughout the colony, and in some respects not the colony alone. It is true larger manufactories may be found elsewhere, but the names of Cameron, Mellor Bros, Hawke, Wheatley and, on a smaller scale, Hillier, and some other manufacturers are associated with articles of the highest reputation.²⁹

His account of the various manufacturers includes a useful summary of Hawke's specialties including the seed sowers and weighbridges and adds that:

during the past year he has also succeeded in securing a very large amount of work from the Hydraulic Engineers Department in connection with the deep drainage system now being introduced into Adelaide and his appliances have been greatly enlarged.³⁰

This suggests that the business was prospering, and it seems that in 1883 Henry was planning to take this opportunity to sell the business. In June 1883 he bought a block of land in Port Lincoln, although, in a manner reminiscent of the real estate deals by which he launched his career, he then 'sold' it on to two of his brothers in law, the Rev Samuel Moore and William Barkla. After his retirement he took the family to

live in Port Lincoln for seven years, presumably living on the land now owned by his brothers in law. The fact that in 1895 the land was sold to Julia Hawke suggests strongly that the sale to his brothers in law was all part of his management of assets prior to the sale of the business.

It is interesting to speculate on his reasons for giving up his life's work at the age of fifty seven, but I have been unable to find any evidence of his motivation, for either the sale or the departure for Port Lincoln. He sold to the young Rees Rees and his brother in law William Thomas on 1 July 1884 and then quite soon left Kapunda. Perhaps Henry was ready to rest after a long working life, but unable to stay nearby to see the business in other hands. It is also possible that problems with his hearing had made things difficult, professionally and socially. According to his obituary in 1904 he had an 'unfortunate aural affection' [sic] and :

For many years he had had to use an instrument for carrying on conversation, and for several years his deafness had become so great that writing had to be resorted to.³¹

It is not clear whether the move was intended to be permanent, but probably not, because the home in Kapunda was rented and in the Rate Assessments of 1892/3 HB Hawke is again listed as both owner and resident.

The property in Port Lincoln was finally sold by the family in 1899. Henry had started his business by acquiring property, and ended by selling all but the family home and some shares. At least this is what it would appear happened from Julia Hawke's will thirteen years later. Five years after Henry's death Julia had also sold the Kapunda home.

Henry, Julia and their family lived in Kapunda until his death in 1904. According to his obituary, he had spent his retirement 'on the study of subjects of a scientific and abstruse nature' and took a 'keen interest in political, social and general public matters' despite the fact that he had been unable to take part in public life because of his hearing problems.³² His sons did not show any interest in engineering or business which may have been a disappointment to him, but the occasion of his death suggests he enjoyed life right to the end. He died on the evening of March 17, 'enjoying a game of billiards with his son Harold at the North Kapunda Hotel', after reminiscing about the voyage to South Australia with a shipmate from the *William Money*.³³

The orphan from Cornwall was probably quite satisfied with what he had achieved.

Endnotes

¹ Rob Charlton, *The History of Kapunda*, 1971, AUSTAPRINT, Hampstead Gardens, SA, p114

² John King-Roach, *Not Without Courage*, 1957, p.1

³ http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~phillack/phillack_pr.htm referred to on numerous occasions in 2009

⁴ Pascoe, W.H., *The History of the Cornish Copper Company*, 1984, Dyllanstown, Cornwall, p. 175

⁵ Sometimes said to be 1828, but since he was baptised 11 May 1828, and according to family records his birth date was 3 October, 1827 is the most likely year.

⁶ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1957, London, Longman and Green and Co. Ltd, p 311

⁷ *The South Australian Register*, 10 January 1849, p.3 Col A

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- ⁸ Pike p. 322
- ⁹ *Kapunda Herald*, 25 March, 1904
- ¹⁰ Pike, p 348
- ¹¹ Adelaide City Council Assessment Books 1850/51
- ¹² Inquiry into the death of Sarah Rayner aboard the *William Money*, GRG 24/6/1849/115, State Records of South Australia, SRSA
- ¹³ Letter of Complaint from William Rayner to Sir Henry Young, Governor of South Australia, GRG 24/27/9, SRSA
- ¹⁴ Evidence of Joseph Clyne in Inquiry into the death of Sarah Rayner, GRG 24/6.1849/115, SRSA
- ¹⁵ *The Adelaide Observer*, 14 May 1859
- ¹⁶ *Kapunda Herald*, 2 March , 1866, p2, Col B
- ¹⁷ *Kapunda Herald*, 5 January , 1866, Editorial
- ¹⁸ *Kapunda Herald*, 31 August, 1866, p2, Col C
- ¹⁹ *Kapunda Herald*, 9 Nov 1866, p3, Col B
- ²⁰ *Kapunda Herald*, 1 January 1869
- ²¹ *Kapunda Herald*, 2 March , 1866, p2, Col B
- ²² *Kapunda Herald*, 23 November 1866, p2 Col C
- ²³ *Kapunda Herald*, 23 November 1866, p1 Col D
- ²⁴ *Kapunda Herald*, 23 November 1866, p2 Col C
- ²⁵ *Kapunda Herald*, 7 December 1866, p Col D
- ²⁶ Supplement to *The Register*, 13 November, 1875, Col B
- ²⁷ *Kapunda Herald* 23 November, 1875
- ²⁸ *Kapunda Herald* 14 May, 1875
- ²⁹ Supplement to *Kapunda Herald*, 5 January 1883
- ³⁰ Supplement to *Kapunda Herald*, 5 January 1883
- ³¹ From Hawke's obituary in The *Kapunda Herald*, 25 March 1904, p.4 col G
- ³² From Hawke's obituary in The *Kapunda Herald*, 25 March 1904, p.4 col G
- ³³ *Kapunda Herald* 25 March 1904

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Julia Segaran
31 January 2011