

**A long, long way from Clare to here:
An archaeology of the Irish in
colonial South Australia**

by

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Abstract

The colony of South Australia, established in 1836, was based on a scheme where already wealthy men could increase their wealth still further merely by buying land. It was a utopia for land speculators and capitalists, and into this heady mix of largely English money and speculation came small numbers of poor Irish Catholics. In the 1850s, some of these Irish arrived at Kapunda, 75 km north of the colony's capital, Adelaide, seeking work in the booming copper mine. Fortuitously, they were able to settle rent-free on a large parcel of land lying idle and unused by the legal owners. This land was known as Baker's Flat, and the Irish took it under their full control. By the time the landowners wanted it back, the Irish had no intention of giving it up.

From the perspective of the landowners and the broader Kapunda community, Baker's Flat was a place of filthy hovels, roaming cattle, alcohol-fuelled disorder and disreputable Irish papists. This became the dominant narrative, fuelled by disputes and court cases over this contested land. There are hints in some of the court records, however, of a complexity to this settlement that has been overlooked until now, suggestions that the Baker's Flat Irish may have adopted a traditional Irish way of managing land and community—the clachan and rundale system—characterised by clusters of houses and co-operative farming, a practice that was illegible to outsiders. From the 1940s, after the last of the Baker's Flat Irish had left or died, the memories and history of this settlement all but disappeared.

From a backdrop of scant archaeological research about Irish Australia, this thesis set out to investigate Irishness on Baker's Flat. Placing Irish social identity at the core, the research explores how this diasporic community constructed itself and evolved in colonial South Australia, examining the clachan system in the broader context of capitalism and improvement, and the interplay between social identity, capitalism and traditional Irish practices.

A geophysical survey identified several linear features and clusters of rectilinear shapes. These results informed the excavation program, in which a potential field enclosure and two vernacular structures—one interpreted as a domestic dwelling and the other as a traditional sweathouse—were excavated over two field seasons. Nearly 20,000 artefacts were analysed from eight trenches. Ceramic, glass and metal were analysed to identify patterns in how the structures were used, and activities related to the everyday items found there. Kinship

networks were reconstructed via extensive genealogical and archival research. Community practices were interpreted using data from the Irish National Folklore Collection and historical newspapers.

The major finding is that Baker's Flat was, indeed, a clachan, the first to be recognised in Australia. It transpires that for close to a century, as the clachan died out in rural Ireland, one thrived in country South Australia. The Baker's Flat Irish lived in a traditional, co-operative community that perched on the edge of a capitalist economy driven by mining and pastoralism. Here, they continued to build structures in the Irish vernacular style, manage the land and stock co-operatively, and maintain strong kin networks through shared origins, astute marriages, long-standing friendships and shared folk practices. Detailed findings include the emergence of one family as community leaders, women's central role as activists during land disputes, treatment of health issues via patent and proprietary medicines and the sweatshop, dealing with the illness of a resident as the community wound down, the importance of tea drinking in maintaining community networks, and possible trade links with another migrant group, the Germans, living nearby in the Barossa Valley.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and the research within will not be submitted for any other future degree or diploma without the permission of Flinders University; and to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed.....Susan Arthure

Date.....25 January 2023

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If I could give one piece of advice for doing a PhD, it would be 'Don't get cancer in your last year'. My final year came to a complete standstill in February 2019 when I was diagnosed suddenly and most unexpectedly with Non-Hodgkin's Lymphoma, a blood cancer. I stopped writing and began surviving. I owe a huge thank you to my GP and friend Dr Kerry Hancock, haematologist Dr Chi-hung Hui, and staff at the Tennyson Centre and Lift Cancer Care Service for getting me through a rigorous two-year treatment regime. During 2021 I regained my strength and ability to think, and for that I am exceedingly grateful.

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Thesis title

The title—*A long, long way from Clare to here*—comes from a ballad about Irish emigration, written in 1976 by the English singer-songwriter Ralph McTell. It seemed apt to have a title with an Irish-English influence, since the fates of these two countries have been intertwined for so many hundreds of years. Although the ballad was inspired by the experiences of Irish men that left Ireland in the 1960s and ’70s for the English building sites, its themes are common to many Irish emigrants across the ages—overcrowding in cheap rooms, working hard during the week, enjoying the ‘craic’ at the weekend, writing letters home, looking back to the Ireland left behind. It is also particularly relevant to this research because many of the Irish on Baker’s Flat came originally from Co. Clare. You can see Ralph McTell singing it in 1981 with Jim McCann at < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S7aLbaWiCOM> >.

Publications

As required by Flinders University, the following list is of publications (both sole and co-authored) submitted, accepted and published during my candidature, listed in date order:

Smith, C., J. Ralph, E. Hodgins, **S. Arthure**, H. Burke, K. Pollard, J. McCartney, J. Tiati and J. Willika 2021 Uma arqueologia do racismo cotidiano (An archaeology of everyday racism). *Vestígios—Revista Latino-Americana de Arqueologia Histórica* 15(2):315–344.

Arthure, S. 2021 Book review of ‘Who Came to Tea at the Old Kinchega Homestead? Tablewares, Teawares and Social Interaction at an Australian Outback Pastoral Homestead’ by Penelope Allison and Virginia Esposito. *Australian Archaeology* 87(1):111–112.

Arthure, S. 2020 Unearthing a traditional Irish village that lingered in a South Australian field. In *The Conversation* at < <https://theconversation.com/unearthing-a-traditional-irish-village-that-lingered-in-a-south-australian-field-132344> >.

Lowe, K.M., **S. Arthure**, L.A. Wallis and J. Feinberg 2020 Geophysical and archaeological investigations of Baker’s Flat, a nineteenth century historic Irish site in South Australia. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 12(1):article 33(1–20).

Arthure, S. 2019 Kapunda’s Irish Connections. In S. Arthure, F. Breen, S. James and D. Lonergan (eds), *Irish South Australia: New Histories and Insights*, pp.58–73. Mile End: Wakefield Press.

Arthure, S., F. Breen, S. James and D. Lonergan (eds) 2019 *Irish South Australia: New Histories and Insights*. Mile End: Wakefield Press.

Arthure, S. 2018 An Irish dig in South Australia: Identifying a nineteenth century clachan in the countryside at Baker’s Flat. *Archaeology Ireland* Spring 2018:21–25.

Burke, H., **S. Arthure**, C. De Leiuén, J. McEgan and A.C. Gorman 2018 In search of the hidden Irish: Historical archaeology, identity and “Irishness” in nineteenth century South Australia. *Historical Archaeology* 52(4):798–823.

Arthure, S. 2017 Australia's first clachan: Identifying a traditional Irish settlement system in nineteenth century South Australia. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 45:19–30.

Burke, H., **S. Arthure** and C. De Leiuen 2016 A context for concealment: The historical archaeology of superstition in Australia. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(1):45–72.

De Leiuen, C. and **S. Arthure** 2016 Collaboration on whose terms? Using the IAP2 community engagement model for archaeology in Kapunda, South Australia. *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 3(2):81–98.

Arthure, S. 2015 Being Irish: The nineteenth century South Australian community of Baker's Flat. *Archaeologies* 11(2):169–188.

Glossary and abbreviations

£.s.d.	Pounds, shillings and pence e.g. £1.3s.6d. = one pound, three shillings and sixpence
Acre	A land area equivalent to 4,840 square yards. One acre = 0.405 hectare
Anglo-Irish	Born or resident in Ireland of English descent, a privileged social class that was part of the so-called Protestant Ascendancy which made up the ruling class in Ireland from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century
AOI	Anomaly of Interest, used to identify areas of interest for further inquiry e.g., areas identified in geophysical survey for investigation by excavation
Barony	A land division in Ireland that subdivided the counties, created during the Tudor conquest of the sixteenth century. There are more than 300 baronies on the island of Ireland, with each county having an average of ten or eleven. A barony contains multiple parishes , which in turn contain multiple townlands . Similar to a hundred in South Australia
BDM	Births, deaths, marriages
Bluestone	In South Australia, a broad term related to slate and flagstone that can be used for thin paving stones and thicker walling stones. Dense in form, blueish-dark grey in colour
Britain	The island that includes England , Scotland and Wales. It excludes Ireland
Broadacre	Australian term for a mix of crop production and livestock grazing on large farms
Connaught	Irish province , the smallest, and in the west of the country. Contains the counties Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo and has traditionally been viewed as the poorest part of Ireland
Cottier	Small farmer/labourer in Ireland. Cottiers rented a cabin and small portion of marginal land on a year-to-year basis, paying the rent by labouring for the landowner. They were completely dependent on the potato for food, and their tenure was insecure. The cottier class was largely wiped out by the Great Famine
County/Co.	Land division in Ireland demarcating local government areas, formed following the Norman invasion in 1169. There are 32 counties on the island of Ireland
Dissenters	Those belonging to Protestant denominations other than the Church of England, opposed to the established privileges of that Church
England	One of the countries making up the island of Britain
Fenian	Member of a nineteenth-century Irish nationalist organisation known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood
Gaelic	The Scottish language (Scots Gaelic) or Gaelic (Irish) football; not the Irish language
Gaeilge	The Irish language
GDA	Geocentric Datum of Australia, Australian coordinate system
Goyder's Line	Goyder's Line of Rainfall, surveyed in 1865, runs east-west across South Australia. Areas north of the line have less than 30 cm annual rainfall, and are considered suitable only for grazing, not cropping
Great Famine	Period in Ireland when the potato crop failed in successive years between 1845 and 1852, causing mass starvation, disease and emigration. Also known as <i>An Gorta Mór</i> (The Great Hunger), the Irish Famine, the Great Potato Famine and The Great Starvation
GPR	Ground-penetrating radar
Gradiometry	Measures magnetic underground anomalies close to the surface, generally to 1.5 m depth
GRG	Government Record Group. Used by State Records of South Australia to denote any records created by a South Australian government agency
Hectare	Metric measure of land area equivalent to 10,000 square metres or 100 ares. One hectare = 2.47 acres
Hundred	Land division used in South Australia, traditionally 100 square miles in area. Similar to a barony in Ireland
Ireland	The entire island of Ireland. Since the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921, Ireland has been divided politically into two states, the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The latter is part of the United Kingdom . The Irish Free State was declared in 1922 as a

	dominion under the United Kingdom, severed its ties with the UK in 1932, became the independent country of Éire (Ireland) in 1937, and declared itself a republic in 1949. In this thesis, the preferred term is Ireland and refers to the entire island
Leinster	Irish province , in the east of the country. Contains the counties Carlow, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Longford, Louth, Meath, Offaly, Westmeath, Wexford and Wicklow
MGA	Map Grid of Australia
Munster	Irish province , in the south of the country. Contains the counties Clare, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford
NFC	Irish National Folklore Collection, held at University College Dublin (UCD)
nS	nanosecond
nT	nanotesla
Northern Ireland	1921 to now. See also Ireland
Parish	Land division in Ireland based on old Irish territorial units. A civil division, no longer related to either Roman Catholic or Church of Ireland parishes. There are more than 2,400 civil parishes in Ireland
Pisé	Rammed earth or clay reinforced with straw, used for house walls and floors
Poitín	Illegally distilled Irish whiskey, anglicised as ‘poteen’
Province	Irish territorial division. There are four provinces: Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connacht . They are historical/cultural units, and do not have an administrative or political purpose
PSM	Permanent Survey Mark. These are major and permanent reference points placed by surveyors. In South Australian rural areas, they are usually marked with a blue star dropper and red indicator plate
SA	South Australia
Sept	Term used in Ireland to denote a family or kinship group, based on historical social structures and a shared family name
Skillion	Roof type common in Australia and New Zealand. It has one steep, sloping surface (single-pitched) rather than the more standard two sloping sides that meet in a ridge at the centre of the building. Also known as a lean-to roof
Southern Ireland	Equivalent to Irish Republic when written with initial upper case letters, but ‘southern Ireland’ = geographical (rather than political) location
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SRSA	State Records of South Australia
Star dropper	Pointed metal fence post, also known as a star picket, used to support different types of wire or wire mesh. It is made of three strips of metal, and can also be called a T or Y post because of its cross-section shapes
Townland	Smallest geographical division of land in Ireland, based on ancient Irish territorial divisions, on average about 300 acres. The term is derived from the Old English word <i>tun</i> , meaning enclosure. There are more than 64,000 townlands in Ireland. Rural people in nineteenth-century Ireland typically identified with the townland where they were born or lived, a behaviour that continues through to today. They usually have an Irish name, e.g. Lackanash [my own townland on the outskirts of Trim, Co. Meath]
UCD	University College Dublin
Ulster	Irish province , in the north of the country. Contains the counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Tyrone
United Kingdom (UK)	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (since 1921). Before partition in 1921, it included the entire island of Ireland. In this thesis, the preferred term is Britain
United States (US)	Used in this thesis instead of America or North America, to avoid confusion with Canada and Mexico as other occupants of the North American continent

Conversion table

1 inch	2.5 centimetres
1 foot	0.3 metre
1 yard	0.9 metre
1 mile	1.6 kilometres
1 acre	0.4 hectare
£1 (one pound)	\$2 (two Australian dollars)
1s (one shilling)	10 Australian cents
1d (one penny)	1 Australian cent
1 gallon	4.5 litres
1 ounce	28 grams
1 pound	450 grams

Pronunciation of Irish words used in the text

an focal deireanach	on fuc-il jer-en-ock
an Spáinneach geal	<i>on Spawn-yock gyal</i>
baile	<i>boll-ye</i>
bánóg	<i>bawn-oh-g</i>
Bliain an Áir	<i>bleen on orr</i>
clachan	<i>clough-han</i>
dúidín	<i>doo-deen</i>
meitheal	<i>meh-hill</i>
poitín	<i>putt-cheen</i>
púicín	<i>poo-keen</i>
réidhleán	<i>ray-lawn</i>
sliotar	<i>schli-tar</i>

1 Introduction

Mark Leone suggests that when archaeologists embark on a piece of work, they should begin with ‘the first place and time [they] felt anger, calm, awe, annoyance, fascination, satisfaction, or any other emotion with archaeological material’, to think about what elicited this feeling and to go from there in determining what to study and engage with (Leone 2016:8). Effectively, then, this research began in the late spring of 2012 when I first set foot on Baker’s Flat, a block of farming land near the South Australian town of Kapunda that was home in the nineteenth century to a population of Irish migrants. I was with two Flinders University colleagues and a local community member. We walked across a paddock scattered with ceramic and glass fragments, and the occasional pile of stone rubble. Next to many of the rubble piles were pepper trees—markers of nineteenth-century colonisation—and next to them were thorny bushes resembling Irish hawthorns. For the first time in my three decades in Australia, I felt a sense of Irishness in my surroundings.

That feeling, combined with a fascination about the site and an intense curiosity to know more, was the catalyst for my master’s by coursework thesis (Arthure 2014) and this PhD research. When I walked on the site for the first time and felt a sense of Irishness, what did I feel that others did not? In the nineteenth century, what was so different about Baker’s Flat that it was seen as distinctively Irish? Who were the people who lived there and what archaeological material did they leave behind that can help us understand their community? What is Irishness anyway? Pondering these questions has been the starting point for this PhD research about the Irish of Baker’s Flat.

1.1 Baker’s Flat—location and origins

Baker’s Flat is located 75 km north of Adelaide, the state capital of South Australia, and 1 km south of Kapunda in a region known as the Mid North (Figure 1.1). Lying on the traditional lands of the Ngadjuri Nation, this region was colonised by the British in 1842,¹ firstly for sheep grazing and then for copper mining, a development which precipitated the town of Kapunda. In the 1850s, large numbers of Irish Catholics began to arrive at Kapunda, mainly seeking work as mine labourers (Charlton 1971:18, 64; Nicol 1983:13–14, 16). They settled

¹ The rights of the Ngadjuri people were largely ignored by the British colonisers of the land now known as South Australia, and their enduring connection to Country was hugely impacted as settlers moved north from Adelaide in search of farming land and mineral resources.

on Baker's Flat, which was close to the mine, lying idle and unused by the legal landowners, and not far from the town (Figure 1.2).

These new settlers quickly formed a community that was noticeably Irish. Descriptions of this settlement by Maloney, a Catholic priest, and Nicol, an academic historian, emphasise houses built in the Irish vernacular style, a deep commitment to Catholicism, the traditional sport of hurling played on Sunday afternoons, and evening gatherings to play Irish music and dance Irish jigs and hornpipes (Maloney 1936a:29; Nicol 1983:13–14)—a positive, even romantic, picture. However, this is not at all how the Irish are perceived in the local histories. The first time that Baker's Flat appears in an historical publication is in Tilbrook's (1929) collection of memories written by Kapunda townspeople, where it is mentioned twice. 'Old Timer' and 'Senex' recall how the site was settled, managed and defended against the lawful owners (Tilbrook 1929:31–32, 113–114). These recollections are then used as the basis for further brief mentions in a later history of Kapunda (Charlton 1971:18, 42–43, 47, 49, 64, 100), which portrays the Irish houses as hovels and the people themselves as lawless, chaotic, dirty, haphazard and resentful. Both Charlton and Tilbrook concentrate on how the Irish 'squatters' ferociously resisted all attempts by the legal landowners to remove them from the land or even to pay rent, and how strangers were only allowed to set foot on Baker's Flat after intense scrutiny by the residents (Charlton 1971:42–43, 47, 49; Tilbrook 1929:31–32, 113–114).

It should be noted that Baker's Flat had a sizeable population—about 500 people are estimated to have lived there during the 1860s and 1870s when the mine was at its peak, and when the total number of people living in the Kapunda township was estimated at 1,900 (Arthure 2014:36–39; Charlton 1971:24). Here, then, is a group of people making up about a fifth of the area's inhabitants, and with a distinctive and colourful history. Yet they have been rendered almost invisible in the histories. Today, only a few Kapunda people retain any memory of the Irish and Baker's Flat.

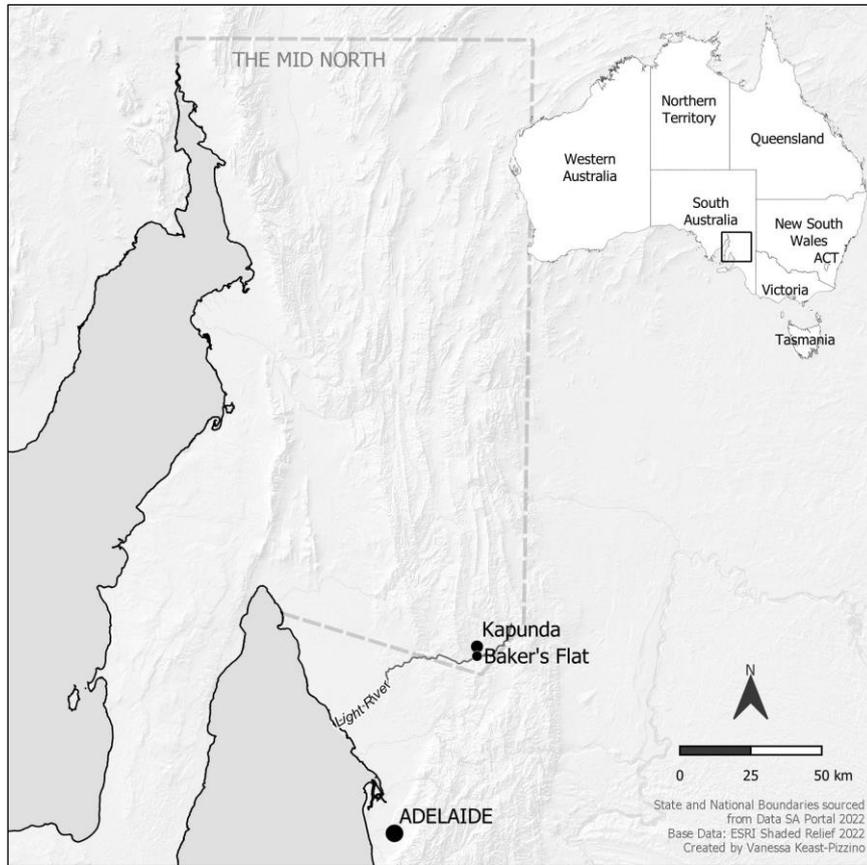


Figure 1.1 Location of Baker's Flat in the south-east corner of the Mid North region, South Australia.
 Map: Vanessa Keast-Pizzino.

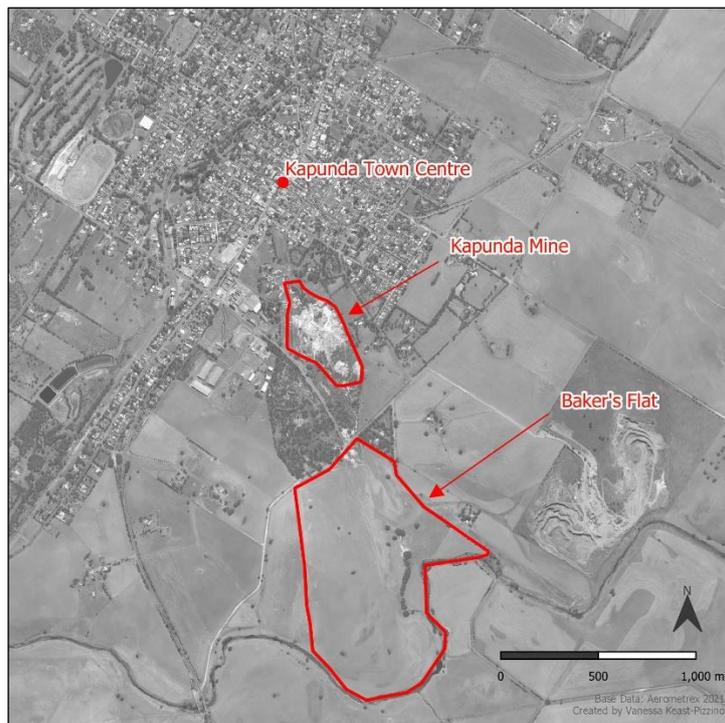


Figure 1.2 Proximity of Baker's Flat to the copper mine and town of Kapunda. Map: Vanessa Keast-Pizzino.

To begin understanding why Baker’s Flat is hard to find, we need to look to the origins of South Australia, a British colony established in 1836. From the start, South Australia was fundamentally English, with traditional societal structures transplanted to the other side of the world in the form of a gentleman class of capitalists, a middle class of ambitious townspeople and a lower class of small farmers and labourers (Moore 1991:113; Nance 1978:67; Pike 1967:145; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:xi). Respectability and freedom were the watchwords.

To ensure respectability, the colony required ‘superior settlers’, ideally with capital, committed to hard work and holding robust morals (Pike 1967:146–150). Freedom was ostensibly typified by free trade, a free press, freedom of religion and freedom from convicts: ‘there will never be a single convict sent thither’ proclaimed one advertisement seeking migrants in 1835 (Pike 1967:146). These respectable settlers would not have to endure the ‘depraved society of the penal colonies’ nor worry about ‘mixing with Catholics’ as they might have to in other colonial outposts (Pike 1967:146). For, despite assurances about freedom of religion, the deliberate absence of an established church was aimed more at attracting followers of the various forms of Protestantism than adherents of Catholicism.

This planned colony of industrious, sober and moral citizens did not align easily with how the Irish were generally perceived. Irish migrants to the Australian colonies had long been associated with convictism, Catholicism, drunkenness and a lack of useful skills, and they were often met with prejudice and hostility (Nicol 1983:13; O’Farrell 2000:17). The depictions of the houses on Baker’s Flat as hovels and their inhabitants as wayward, their allegiance to the Catholic Church and foreign Irish ways, all lined up neatly against these stereotypes. And as such, by the 1940s, once the last residents of Baker’s Flat had either dispersed or died, and the land had been reclaimed as private farmland, there were probably few reasons to celebrate or remember those disreputable and troublesome Irish migrants.

1.2 Baker’s Flat—the natural environment

Today, the Baker’s Flat site is part of a privately owned farm in a broadacre landscape, in which the land is cultivated using a rotation of sheep grazing and grain crops. Potentially a source of retrievable copper, the site is currently being assessed for in-situ recovery (ISR) mining, a method which aims to extract copper deposits using environmentally low-impact methods (pers. comm. P. Faulkner, Environmental Copper Recovery, April 2019). The River Light, an ephemeral river system with areas of permanent groundwater, forms the site’s

southern boundary (Figure 1.3). River flows since the nineteenth century have been reduced by use for stock and irrigation, and, although there are historic records of river red gum trees along the Light (AMLR Board 2013:107, 116), it is likely that the trees would have been felled in the mid-1840s to support the mine workings.



Figure 1.3 The River Light, looking south-east, November 2012. Photo: Susan Arthure.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when the Irish began to arrive at Baker's Flat, they would have encountered a mainly treeless grassland with occasional small thickets of native shrubs (AMLR Board 2013:114). Soil types in the area are primarily hard, red-brown, texture-contrast soils with alkaline subsoils (AMLR Board 2013:124) and a variety of limestone, known as calcrete, found close to the surface. Calcrete is widespread throughout South Australia, has a rough, nodular appearance and was commonly used as building stone in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as being burned for lime to make mortar (Young 1993:5–6).

The trees dotting the Baker's Flat landscape are pepper trees (*Schinus molle*) (Figure 1.4a). Native to South America, they were introduced to Australia in the nineteenth century. Thriving in Adelaide's alkaline subsoils, pepper trees were promoted heavily by the Adelaide

Botanic Gardens and adopted quickly by South Australia's early colonists for shade and shelter (Presland 2020:173–174). In the Mid North, they were most popular between the 1850s and 1890s (Jones and Payne 1998:37–41), and those that still exist probably date from that period. As well as providing effective shade, these long-lived evergreen trees grow easily in dry conditions to a height of 7–15 m, have edible pink peppercorns, and strong insect repellent qualities when the leaves are crushed (Atlas of Living Australia n.d.; Gómez et al. 2017).



Figure 1.4 Trees and thorns on Baker's Flat, November 2012: a) Pepper tree (left) and boxthorn with scattered rubble beneath; b) Boxthorn berries and thorns; c) Boxthorn to the left of a line of stone rubble. Photos: Susan Arthure.

The pepper trees on Baker's Flat are almost always associated with a large thorny shrub, the African boxthorn (*Lycium ferocissimum*) (Figure 1.4). Long-lived and drought tolerant, the boxthorn was available in South Australia from the late 1840s for hedges and windbreaks (Jones and Payne 1988:85). The *Kapunda Herald* (1884, 1887), for example, reports various attempts to plant boxthorn hedges in the local Dutton Park. By the turn of the century, however, it was recognised as an invasive weed and declared noxious under the *Destruction of African Boxthorn Act 1925* (Noble 2013:1, 4; Kloot 1987:226), meaning that it has not been deliberately planted in South Australia since that time. Generally growing 2–3 m high and up to 3 m across, the boxthorn has clustered leaves, orange-red berries and sturdy thorns (Noble 2013:4).

It was these thorny bushes, resembling the Irish hawthorn, that reminded me of Ireland when I first set foot on Baker's Flat, particularly their proximity to stone rubble and their absence anywhere else in the vicinity. The land has been in the current landowner's family since 1953, and he was able to confirm that his family had planted neither the pepper trees nor boxthorns (pers. comm. D. Hampel, February 2013). Being introduced species and long-lived, only the Irish therefore could have been responsible for these trees and bushes near built structures. It is possible that the boxthorns were planted deliberately as protective devices, mimicking a traditional Irish practice in which hawthorns were planted near houses to keep away witches and fairies (Evans 1957: 297–298; Mac Coitir 2003:52–54; Windele 1865:320).

From the 1950s, little surface evidence remained of the Baker's Flat Irish. The landscape illustrated in Figure 1.5a was effectively created at that time, when the landowner demolished any remaining standing structures and brought in fill and topsoil to facilitate farming (pers. comm. D. Hampel, February 2013), actions which worked positively to preserve below-ground deposits. There are occasional surface scatters of glass and ceramic fragments (examples in Figure 1.5b and c), particularly in the northern parts of the site (Figure 1.6). These scatters, along with 13 rubble piles assessed as the remains of buildings, form the most noticeable above-ground features (Arthure 2014:59–60).



Figure 1.5 Baker's Flat, November 2012: a) Looking south-east across the Baker's Flat landscape, the distant tree line defines the course of the River Light; b) Blue-and-green banded ware, found on surface; c) Glass shard and blue transfer-printed ware, a small scatter in northern area of site. Photos: Susan Arthure.

BAKER'S FLAT SITE SURVEY, FEBRUARY 2013

LOCATION OF BUILDING REMAINS



Legend

- Building
- Mine tailings
- Artefact scatter
- Survey point
- Trees marking original entrance
- Boundary line
- Dance floor

SCALE 0 20 METRES
1:1000 @ A4

Created by: Susan Arthure, Rob Koch
Date created: 26 June 2014
Base image: Google Earth
Survey data: Field survey Feb 2013

Figure 1.6 Results from a pedestrian survey carried out on Baker's Flat, February 2013, showing the locations of building remains and artefact scatters. Source: Arthure 2014:60.

1.3 A context for this research

A master's by coursework thesis focused on the expression of Irish social identity on Baker's Flat (Arthure 2014) via the analysis of a small existing collection of metal artefacts retrieved by a metal detectorist. These objects suggested a community that retained elements of its Irishness through Catholicism, folk practices, and the sports of cricket and coursing. Results from a site survey, combined with information from primary sources, indicated that many of the houses were built according to Irish vernacular traditions, so much so that they were recognisably Irish to outsiders. However, the records of a long-running court case, *Forster et al. v. Fisher* (1892), hinted at more. This case pitted the illegal occupiers of the land (the Irish) against the lawful owners (some of the most powerful men in the colony), and the records suggest that the Baker's Flat Irish may have adopted a traditional Irish way of managing land and community—the clachan and rundale system—where houses were clustered together and the land was managed communally. This would result in a community characterised by strong kin networks, traditional lifeways and shared labour.

The scope of this master's research allowed for only a preliminary exploration of this idea of clachan and rundale at Baker's Flat. A map and several affidavits produced during the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* (1892) case (Appendix A—Baker's Flat Landowners) were enough to suggest that a clachan and rundale system was operating at Baker's Flat, but the extent of the research required to investigate this fully was far greater than could be achieved during a master's by coursework thesis. Within the scope and timeframe, there was also no capacity to look coherently across material categories. It was not feasible to carry out any archaeological investigations of structures or deposits that might lie below the surface. Nor was it possible to consider details of the historical record embodied in the court case, genealogical histories that could clarify family and kin networks, or contemporary newspaper accounts that could help to interpret issues and events.

Additionally, until now, the clachan and rundale system has not been explicitly recognised as a settlement pattern that might have travelled from Ireland (although see Rotman and Fuentes [2016] for discussion of a possible clustered settlement on Lake Michigan). As such, clachans have not been explored at all in Australia, and Baker's Flat currently sits alone as a self-contained Irish settlement in rural South Australia with no comparable Australian sites against which to assess it. This situation is compounded by the fact that there has been little archaeological research elsewhere that looks specifically at the Irish in rural areas.

Archaeological studies of Irish communities in North America, for example, have tended to concentrate on urban areas, such as at Five Points New York, Paterson New Jersey and South Bend Indiana (e.g., Brighton 2001, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2011; Griggs 1999; Linn 2010; Reckner 2001; Rotman 2010, 2012). This is a consequence of nineteenth-century Irish emigration patterns, in which migrants were drawn mainly to the teeming cities of the United States (US) where there was plenty of labouring work and burgeoning Irish communities (Emmons 1990:6; Ó Danachair 1975:75). For archaeologists wishing to study Irish diasporic groups, the focus therefore has had to be mainly on cities. A rare exception to the urban focus is Orser's (1997, 2001, 2005, 2010b, 2012a) extensive body of work in Ireland on the material conditions of nineteenth-century rural daily life in counties Sligo, Roscommon and Donegal—this examines the native Irish, however, rather than the migrant Irish.

Looking to Australia, little archaeological research on the Irish has taken place either in the cities or the country. In addition to my master's research on Baker's Flat (Arthure 2014), the only other archaeological studies known to analyse the Irish as a group are two other master's by coursework theses also focusing on the Irish in the Mid North of South Australia—by Ashley (2009), who examined displacement and resettlement of post-Famine Irish migrants in the township of Pekina, and McEgan (2017), who examined the cultural significance of Irish graves from 1850 to 1899 in the Clare Valley. There have been many other Australian archaeological studies on working-class, urban areas where Irish people lived, but without a specific focus on the Irish as an ethnic group, for example, in The Rocks, Sydney and Little Lon, Melbourne (Crook et al. 2005; Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999a, 1999b; Karskens 1999; Mayne 2006; Mayne et al. 2000; Murray and Mayne 2003; Murray et al. 2019). This is despite the fact that the Irish were present in considerable numbers, making up about a quarter of the population of The Rocks by the 1820s, for example (Karskens 1997:58).

The situation is different in historical research where there have been many studies on Australian Irish communities. A study of the colonial Irish in rural New South Wales (NSW) emphasises the central roles played by family and kinship ties in helping migrants assimilate to their new world (Campbell 1991). Research into the life of the Irish ex-convict Ned Ryan found that, from the 1840s, he was known to encourage new Irish arrivals to settle near his large landholding at Galong, NSW (Campbell 1991:27–29; Reid and Kelson 2010:150). Nearby, the township of Boorowa was recognised by the 1860s as largely Irish Catholic in

nature, being described as ‘the headquarters and paradise of the [Galong] Ryans’, and even the ‘heartland of Irish settlement in New South Wales’ (Campbell 1995:4, 5). Near Appin, south of Sydney, an elaborate relationship between landholding and kinship was observed in a community identified as an ‘Irish enclave’ (Campbell 1991:33). These studies, indicating that there were concentrations of Irish migrants in nineteenth-century rural NSW, contrast with McConville’s (1982:70) judgment that, in the neighbouring colony of Victoria, there were ‘no clusters of primitive Gaelic-speaking peasants set apart from disdainful neighbours’.

Challenging McConville’s belief is the rural township of Koroit in western Victoria, which is described as having an influx of Irish settlers in the nineteenth century, leading to Irish-style features in the landscape that are highly reminiscent of Baker’s Flat, such as stone walls, boxthorn hedges and whitewashed cottages (Doyle 1996; McCorkell and Yule 1999). The result of a Protestant Irishman, William Rutledge, taking up 5,120 acres of land in the area in 1843 and bringing in large numbers of Catholic Irish immigrants as tenant farmers, it is nonetheless clear that the landscape of Koroit is not an unrecognised clachan—the Irish-style features were located on separate farms of between ten and thirty acres, each tenant farmer held their own long-term lease which they negotiated individually, and the houses were not clustered together on shared acreage (McCorkell and Yule 1999:12–14, 17–21, 43–45, 124).

All of these historical analyses reflect a research focus on Australia’s eastern colonies of NSW and Victoria, and the omission of South Australia and other regions is an issue that has been noted by some researchers (Arthure et al. 2019:xiv; Campbell 2002:61–62). Further, the historical research tends to present two contrasting views of the Irish: as either living in enclaves such as at Galong and Koroit or dispersing evenly and invisibly into the community.

Statistically, Fitzpatrick (1980:136, 1994:16) has demonstrated that, in the industrial cities of Britain, Canada and the US, the Irish tended to cluster together, but that in the Australian colonies they were more inclined to disperse evenly. An even distribution does not preclude the presence of Irish enclaves or concentrated settlements, of course, but it has become the predominant view in South Australia, where the Irish are perceived as blending into the broader community and quickly becoming indistinguishable from their British equivalents (Richards 1991a, 1991b). During South Australia’s early years, immigration was deliberately structured to minimise the number of Irish migrants, and for those few that did come, it was noted that they did not collect in close-knit communities as the Cornish and Germans were inclined to do (Nance 1978:66–67; Richards 1991a:232). Later, when larger numbers of Irish

migrated in the wake of the Great Famine of 1845–1852, their arrival coincided with settlement expanding rapidly outwards from the capital, so that by the 1860s they were spread more or less evenly across the colony, blending in amongst the mass of migrants from the British Isles (Nance 1978:68; Richards 1991a:233). This is at odds with the Baker’s Flat site, which is documented as a ‘set apart’ Irish settlement, and which persisted as a discrete community for almost a century (Arthure 2014).

1.4 A working definition of Irishness

From its beginnings, Baker’s Flat was recognised by outsiders as Irish. The early printed histories describe an Irish enclave of Catholic families living in Irish-style houses, playing Irish sport and music. These are traditional ‘Irish’ identifiers—holiness and houses, hurling and hornpipes. Negative assessments of the Baker’s Flat inhabitants as lawless, dirty and chaotic are also traditional markers of Irishness, fanned in colonial South Australia by a pervasive anti-Irish prejudice. Since this thesis has Irish social identity at its core, a definition of Irishness that goes beyond simple tradition is required. This, however, is not a straightforward undertaking.

Although there are frequent references to Irish social identity in the literature, there have been few attempts to define it categorically and, instead, the nature of Irishness is riven with assumptions and generalisations. In the nineteenth century, for example, the broad brush of Irishness included portrayals of a Celtic people who were fun-loving, creative and whimsical, whose lyrical and mythical Irishness was recognised in symbols such as the shamrock or harp, and where a rich tradition of craftsmanship and music was celebrated (Orser 2001:83; Trew 2005:53; Williams 2012:1, 13, 53). This was the era of the Celtic Revival, and Hutchinson (2001:510) argues that, in an attempt to establish a ‘material basis for an Irish national identity’, traditional national symbols such as the shamrock, wolfhound and harp were augmented by other symbols that captured the public imagination—round towers, the Tara Brooch, Celtic crosses, the Book of Kells, Hiberno-Romanesque architectural styles, and sacred sites like Clonmacnoise and the Aran Islands. These symbols came to permeate everyday life during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hutchinson 2001:510).

Whilst these images were stereotypical, they were reasonably positive, unlike other stereotypes of Irishness that were overtly destructive and negative. These were embodied by images of an ill-educated people living in poverty in wretched cabins and hovels, persisting

with their language and folk customs and in thrall to their Catholic popish religion; a people who were lawless and uncontrollable, and whose nationalist aspirations meant that they would never accept English rule (Evans 1940:165; Fitzpatrick 1991:325, 336–338). Post-Famine Irish migrants were particularly ‘visible’, characterised by their ‘unprecedented squalor, ignorance and ill-health ...; the unremitting intensity of emigration over the next two decades; and the retention overseas, and cultivation by descendants, of certain distinctive folk customs, in particular conspicuous piety and conspicuous insobriety in droll juxtaposition’ (Fitzpatrick 1980:134).

Cultural misunderstandings did not help. Faction fights, for example, were common in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rural Ireland, acting as a localised means of resolving tensions between groups, creating community within groups, and allowing individuals to attain power (Linn 2010:87). In the United States, Ignatiev (1995) interpreted the gang fights between the Irish and native-born Americans as a variation of these factions, since the Irish gangs were usually composed of men from the same Irish region or county. However, faction fights sometimes involved hundreds of people, and the rules of engagement were not obvious to the outsider, reinforcing the impression of a lawless and uncontrolled mob.

From the 1840s through to the 1880s, a time of heightened Anglo-Irish tension, the Irish were caricatured in the popular press as vampires, monsters and, most commonly, apes with distinct simian features (Curtis 1971; Malcolm 2012:67–69; Reckner 2001:109). Hall and Malcolm (2008/9:19) noted that the stereotypical Irishman ‘was almost invariably working class, usually unskilled, and Catholic, often superstitiously so’. The pervasiveness of this stereotype, which spread with British and Irish migrants across the world, made this particular image of Irish masculinity stand for Irishness as a whole (Hall and Malcolm 2008/9:19–20).

Certainly, from the beginnings of Irish settlement in Australia in the late eighteenth century, the Irish were reported to be ‘turbulent, dissatisfied, extremely insolent, refractory, ignorant, obstinate, depraved and troublesome’ (Lonergan 2012:40), and as Ward (1958:50) puts it, ‘the poorest, most useless and most dissolute part of the population’. In early Sydney, their use of the Irish language, the first language for most Irish migrants and the only language for some, was seen as a ‘dangerous device’ that could subvert the laws of the penal colony (Lonergan 2012:42). Lonergan (2012:43–44) argues that the perception of the Irish as ‘stupid’ may have derived from encounters with Irish people for whom English was a second

language, and whose acquisition of English was imperfect. These negative stereotypes were ubiquitous in nineteenth-century South Australia, where Irish Catholic labourers were commonly described as ‘ignorant, lazy and dirty’ (Nance 1978:71) and the Irish Catholic orphan girls of the 1840s and 1850s as dirty, immoral and unsuited to domestic or farm work (Hastings 2019; Nance 1978:68–69; Pike 1967:377–378).

Catholicism is often noted as a key marker of Irishness and, certainly, the Catholic Church was a critical part of religious and social life in Ireland. When people left Ireland for other countries, the Church continued to provide religious and social contexts for their lives. In the US, for example, as well as providing buildings for worship, the Catholic Church helped to acculturate immigrants to American life by establishing church-affiliated schools, social organisations and benevolent societies, assisting migrants to retain communal bonds, maintain networks and construct an acceptable identity in a new place (Brighton 2001, 2011; De Cunzo 1982; Griggs 1999; Jenkins 2005). Religious objects such as medals and rosaries can be interpreted as indicators of Irishness and have been found on nineteenth-century Australian sites where Irish people were known to have lived, including The Rocks (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:65) and the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum in Sydney (Davies 2013). The master’s study on Baker’s Flat found 29 religious objects consistent with an Irish Catholic community, including ten partial rosaries and 11 Marian medals, evidence of the strong Irish devotion to the Virgin Mary (Arthure 2014:94–95; Lysaght 1998:25; McGuire 1954:97–98; O’Dwyer 1986:72). For the Irish, it can be argued that their Catholicism was important as both a cultural way of life and a religious belief system, and that it represented what Orser (2012b:672) terms a ‘social commonality’, providing a sense of togetherness or belonging.

Considering the elements of Irishness outlined here, it becomes apparent that no single definition can encompass it entirely. Instead, a multifaceted definition is required (Burke et al. 2018). Bearing in mind the potent influence of the English as the South Australian colony’s dominant power, the first element in a definition of Irishness therefore is: ‘not English’. Many of the attributes associated with Irishness are assigned by outsiders and these ‘not English’ features might include squat whitewashed houses, fervent Catholicism, squalor and ignorance, conspicuous drunkenness, a lack of respect for English law—the antithesis of the ideal respectable and superior colonist. From an insider’s perspective—the Irish themselves—Irishness may be an identity embedded in the form of a community strongly

connected through family and friendship alliances, a deep Catholic faith, and traditional practices for managing land and livestock through a clachan and rundale system. These layers of identity serve as a working definition of Irishness here, to be assessed against the archaeological and historical records.

1.5 Research questions

As can be inferred from the compound definition of Irishness in the section above, the settlement of Baker's Flat is a space where Irish social identity can be explored at a variety of levels, including individual household and broad community, local township and wider region, enabling a nuanced interpretation that is not possible with generalisations. To capture these multidimensional layers, the research is centred around the following questions:

1. What is the nature of Irishness (Irish social identity) as expressed in the material culture of Baker's Flat?
2. What does this reveal about how Irish communities conceptualised themselves outside of Ireland and how Irishness can be defined in the context of colonial South Australia?

A variety of historical and archaeological evidence is investigated here for insights into how the Irish at Baker's Flat organised themselves and expressed some degree of collective identity. This includes an examination of the material evidence of everyday activities and practices for their potential relationship to Irishness, determining how the archaeological expression of aspects of Irishness sits within the context of the Victorian ideologies of respectability and improvement, and assessing the degree to which Irishness is recoverable through archaeology at all.

To address the indication from the court case records (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892) that Baker's Flat operated as a clachan and rundale settlement, determining how the land was managed and controlled is critical. This is especially so in terms of how the reciprocal relationships and communal labour necessary for sustaining a clachan system were accommodated within an overall capitalist system dominated by the nearby copper mine. Kinship patterns are used here to explore the potential expression of Irishness through the organisation of communal labour—the relationships, networks and hierarchies of the Baker's Flat population—and how they may have influenced the longevity of the settlement.

1.6 Research significance

Baker's Flat was a distinctively Irish settlement that retained its Irish identity for close to a century, from its genesis in the mid-nineteenth century until the death of its final inhabitants in the 1940s. Since then, the settlement has fallen out of memory, been forgotten in the histories and expunged from the landscape. This process of forgetting and invisibility is shared by many other colonial settlements across Australia and the world—minor communities that persist for as long as they are required and then melt back into the landscape.

Baker's Flat is worth remembering, though. All the indications are that its Irishness was mediated through being a clachan and rundale settlement, and this is significant for several reasons. Firstly, this settlement type has not been recognised before in Australia, and rarely overseas. In fact, outside of Ireland, Rotman and Fuentes' (2016) archaeological analysis of the Irish on Beaver Island, Lake Michigan, is the only other known published research to consider the clachan, with some evidence that the Irish arriving there in the 1850s from Árainn Mhór, Co. Donegal recreated the clustered settlements with which they were familiar. However, those Irish were inheriting a landscape that had already been heavily modified by earlier settlers—Native American, Italian, German, English, Scottish, Canadian, and particularly a Mormon sect that developed substantial infrastructure and farmsteads (Rotman and Fuentes 2016). As a result, the cultural landscape of Beaver Island reflects a blend of Mormon and Irish activities rather than those of the Irish alone. Baker's Flat, by contrast, was unoccupied by European settlers until the Irish arrived (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13–14) and the settlement practices reflect the decisions and activities of that community only. As such, it offers a rare opportunity to examine Irishness and clachan communities outside of Ireland, and to identify the strategies and adaptations that people were using to maintain this traditional way of life in a new colonial environment. From this research, it is expected that a model will emerge for recognising clachan communities at other migrant destinations.

Secondly, Baker's Flat is an opportunity to study a migrant Irish community in a rural setting. We know that the Irish who left Ireland following the Great Famine were predominantly from poor, rural areas, although this does not mean that they were all poor. We also know that most took the chance to leave rural poverty behind and grasp the greater opportunities available in cities (Evans 1957:11) and that most archaeological research about the migrant Irish has therefore focused on urban settings. What about those Irish who migrated from rural

areas in Ireland to rural areas in a new colony? Unlike city environments, which are constrained by large numbers of people from many different backgrounds, constant change and development, and often high turnover rates in housing, country areas offer different opportunities. These include the potential for long-term occupation of land, freedom to build houses and follow agricultural practices according to tradition, and recognition (for good or bad) of discrete ethnic identities. What might a group of Irish people do after moving from rural Ireland to rural South Australia? This research is a step towards answering this question. At Baker's Flat, we can explore rural Irish migrants in a rural colonial environment and develop a better understanding of Irish domestic dwellings and artefacts, post-migration domestic practices in an early settler society, and the diversity of adaptations to new colonial environments.

Thirdly, from the perspective of the Irish in Ireland, Orser and Donnelly (2008:1330–1331) suggest that results from archaeological research on Irish sites of the nineteenth century can be compared with sites elsewhere in the world to 'illuminate the material and social aspects of the Irish Diaspora'. These comparisons do not have to travel in one direction only; the findings from Baker's Flat may be able to be applied in Ireland to clachan settlements there, gaining further insights into their material culture and relationships. Archaeological investigations of post-medieval rural settlements in Ireland did not begin until the 1950s, a consequence of post-colonial attitudes following Irish independence in 1921, which led to archaeologists focusing on the 'far distant past', before the creation of the British Empire (Orser 2010a:206–207; Orser and Donnelly 2008:1329–1330). Horning (2016:114) attributes this to the 'politics of nationhood' in the emergent Irish Republic, whilst Rynne (2009:168) considers it to be 'selective memory' by the new state, which was clear from the outset which parts of the past it believed worthy of commemoration (prehistory) and which parts it chose to ignore (post-medieval). Either way, the clachan system has been barely studied until now by archaeologists, even in its country of origin (Orser and Donnelly 2008:1330). This research examines what happens when a group of Irish migrants, coming to a copper mine in search of work, end up with access to a parcel of land for which they can make all the decisions. It has the potential to show how a clachan settlement is birthed and evolves, knowledge which can be applied back to the Irish setting.

Finally, for the Kapunda community and South Australians of Irish descent, the Baker's Flat research redresses an imbalance about local knowledge. The history of Kapunda is currently

dominated by narratives about skilled Cornish miners, wealthy English pastoralists and daring Australian cattlemen (Charlton 1971; Tilbrook 1929). This research contributes to a fuller and more integrated story of Kapunda, where the undocumented lives of working-class migrants are brought to the fore. Using tangible archaeological evidence, it enables the reconnection of descendant families to their shared stories, which in turn helps them to understand their origins, cultural beliefs and behaviours, and to reclaim their history.

More than 25 years ago, the historian Malcolm Campbell (1995:18–19) lamented that studies at a national level in Australia and the US had been inadequate in capturing ‘the full spectrum of the Irish immigrant experience’. He called for additional regional studies to provide more detailed analyses so that the diversity of migration experiences in all their ‘richness and messy complication’ could be fully uncovered (Campbell 1995:19). Far from being just a local site in country South Australia, then, Baker’s Flat has relevance at the regional, national and international levels in terms of how the Irish are perceived and understood in the colonial context.

1.7 Thesis outline

After introducing the research here, the next chapter presents a review of the literature informing the research. Beginning with an outline of the concept of diaspora and the nature of kin relationships, it then looks at three aspects of Irishness, covering the nature of social identity, the visibility of labour ideologies in the landscape and material aspects of the clachan and rundale system, and the materiality of vernacular architecture. This situates the Baker’s Flat study within the broader body of archaeological research.

Chapters 3 and 4 review the nineteenth-century histories of the Irish in Ireland and in South Australia respectively. At this time, the British Empire stretched around the globe, with its colonies including its nearest neighbour and first colony, Ireland. Two of the events that most concern this thesis are the establishment of the colony of South Australia in 1836 and the tragedy of the Great Irish Famine in 1845–1852. Ostensibly unconnected, they acted as catalysts for the settlement of Baker’s Flat.

Chapter 5 details the specific methods used in this research including a geophysical survey, excavations, artefact analysis, and archival research.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 split the results according to kinship and community relationships, the landscape, and the artefacts. Chapter 6 examines the community relationships constructed by the people of Baker's Flat and how they influenced management of the community. Chapter 7 presents the results of the geophysical surveys and excavations. This includes subsurface images from ground-penetrating radar and magnetic gradiometry, and the excavations of a vernacular dwelling, possible enclosure and round structure. Chapter 8 reports on the Baker's Flat artefacts associated with everyday life, including ceramic and glass artefacts, buttons and clothing fasteners, metal objects, and other relevant items.

Chapter 9 discusses and analyses the results in the context of the relevant literature and research. It focuses on how the Baker's Flat settlement was constructed and maintained in the South Australian landscape, the persistence of Irish vernacular architecture, and some of the behaviours and artefacts associated with Irishness. Chapter 10, the conclusion, brings together key insights from the archaeology of this diasporic community, sets out a model for identifying clachans at other locations, and presents recommendations for future research.

1.8 Summary

This research sets out to investigate the archaeology of Irishness in colonial South Australia by interpreting the lives of the Baker's Flat Irish and their relationships to wider social, political and ideological structures, leading to an improved understanding of the Irish diaspora in a global context and to the Irish-Australian experience in particular. To achieve this, the research uses historical and archaeological data to interpret evidence of Irishness or acculturation, and to examine land management in the context of a communal clachan system. It has implications for understanding how Irish communities conceptualised themselves outside of Ireland, to begin synthesising the archaeology of the clachan and rundale settlement system, and to consider if constructing and maintaining their own self-contained community offered greater protection and opportunities for the Irish on Baker's Flat than they could have gained otherwise.

2 Examining Irishness in the Literature

As outlined in the previous chapter, Irishness is a broad concept that is notoriously difficult to define, being constructed and reconstructed continually by different groups and in different settings. Any discussion of Irishness, therefore, must be multifaceted—being ‘not English’ is workable as a starting point, but it must also incorporate the various attributes assigned either by outsiders (often the English) or insiders (the Irish).

This chapter begins with a broad overview of the concept of diaspora and how the bonds of family and kinship can be adapted in diasporic settings, then goes on to examine three distinct aspects of Irishness, all directly relevant to the Baker’s Flat research. The first of these is the nature of Irish social identity, including the construction of inward and outward identities, how the material evidence of ceramics can be associated with Irishness, and the ideology of respectability. The second is the places where people live, covering the visibility of labour ideologies in the landscape, the material features of a clachan and rundale system, and the influence of capitalism and improvement. The third and final aspect is the materiality of vernacular architecture in Ireland and South Australia, focusing on the building traditions that were developed to suit the landscape and local materials.

2.1 Diaspora

The notion of diaspora is grounded in the concepts of exile and dispersal, estrangement and longing for a homeland, and some degree of alienation or isolation in the new host country (Kenny 2003:140–142, 2013:1–5). Originally a theological concept associated specifically with the Jewish story, it was adapted in the twentieth century to describe those peoples who were scattered across the globe (Kenny 2003:140–141, 2013:5). Today, it is one way to describe and understand mass migration, with population numbers often cited to demonstrate the spread of peoples around the world. The population of Ireland, for example, is currently estimated to be 6.9 million people, comprising 5 million in the Republic (Central Statistics Office 2021) and 1.9 million in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency 2021). These numbers, however, are dwarfed by those across the globe who identify as Irish, with the total diaspora estimated at 70 million (Department of Foreign Affairs 2017). In the United States, about 35 million people list ‘Irish’ as their primary ethnic identity (Department of Foreign Affairs 2017; Kenny 2013:29). In Canada, the diaspora numbers almost 4.5 million (Library and Archives Canada 2020), in Britain 2.1 million (Department of

Foreign Affairs 2017), and in Australia 1.8 million (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007). Many of these are descendants of Irish emigrants who left Ireland during and immediately after the Famine.

Like the term ‘Irishness’, there can be confusion about what diaspora is and is not. It can include the cataclysmic events of Jewish dispersal and genocide, African slavery, Armenian genocide, and Irish famine, but it can also cover the migration of traders, labourers and colonisers (Kenny 2003:142, 2013:11). Some scholars (Barr and Carey 2015; Holmes 2017; Janis 2015; Mulligan 2002) have used the term ‘Greater Ireland’ to refer to ‘the collection of places to which the Irish migrated’ as well as to a ‘shared cultural space’ (Carey and Barr 2015:21) that encompasses the complexity of the diaspora, linked by emotional, symbolic and cultural ties to Ireland and sharing a sense of home and identity. These diasporic Irish maintain a ‘powerful connection’ to their ancestral homeland even though (or perhaps because) they are geographically distant from it (Sullivan 2016:1776).

Ireland has a long migration history. Mass migrations began around 1700, continuing to the present day with few breaks. However, there was a time around the Great Famine that points to the creation of the Irish diaspora as a distinctive entity. In the decade beginning 1846 (the second year of the Famine), 1.8 million Irish people left for North America, along with more than 300,000 for Britain, and tens of thousands for Australia (Kenny 2013:31). In the United States particularly, responsibility for the Famine was seen by the Irish as sitting firmly in the lap of the English, leading to a belief that emigration was ‘a matter of British-imposed exile rather than voluntary choice’ (Kenny 2013:31). This belief became so persistent that Miller (1985:102–135) considers that the Irish in the US essentially embraced a ‘culture of exile’, where migration was associated with involuntary banishment rather than voluntary opportunity.

Rather than attempting to define a diaspora based on specific categories or migration processes, Kenny (2013:11–14) argues that it is more effective to examine the networks that migrants form when abroad, the kinds of culture they produce, and the connections they maintain with their country of origin. These diasporic networks must persist over time for the connectivity to develop and endure, but, when they do, they can illuminate and reveal patterns, connections and interactions (Kenny 2013:14–15). Here, there is an obvious limitation in that it is possible to analyse such connections and culture only if there is evidence to examine. Historically, many migrants were poor and barely literate. They often

left little written evidence behind, a task that instead fell to the elite. This can be problematic when different people in different places end up grouped together purely because they (or their forebears) have a common point of origin, and when their histories are based purely on the writing and actions of the privileged (Kenny 2013:12).

Archaeology offers a means to offset this limitation by examining the material evidence left by the poor, the illiterate and the disenfranchised, particularly when there is a focus on one group of people at a specific location and time period, as with this research project based on the people of Baker's Flat. Cooper (2020:306), for example, notes that, whilst diasporic communities are characterised by the absence of 'family members, geographical prompts and collections of family ephemera', shared material objects can be used to negotiate identity and social status. She focuses on Limerick lace, a high-fashion, high-status item that was prized across the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Australia, it was worn by elite members of society, but also by members of the Irish diaspora across the social divide, with elaborate bridal veils borrowed from the convents where the lace was made. On their wedding days, therefore, brides of Irish descent could publicly demonstrate their Catholic faith, Irish identity and connection with Ireland by wearing a Limerick lace veil (Cooper 2020).

Charles Orser has undertaken substantial archaeological work on nineteenth-century rural Ireland and states that truly meaningful interpretations are only possible when the diasporic history of modern Ireland is fully acknowledged (Orser 2004a:174). He argues that to achieve this, archaeologists must make connections with the immediate resident community near an archaeological site, but also with those living in Ireland and elsewhere who identify as Irish. In the South Australian context, this means that those with a stake in the archaeology of Baker's Flat include interested people in the Kapunda area, South Australians descended from the Irish of Baker's Flat, and more broadly, the Irish in Ireland and overseas who are interested in stories of their diasporic communities. During this research project, there have been ongoing efforts to engage in a meaningful way with these stakeholders (see De Leiu and Arthur [2016] and Appendix F—Research Impact in the Community) with the intention of sharing knowledge, raising questions, challenging orthodoxies and developing multi-layered interpretations.

With reference to Kenny (2013:32), the Famine-era Irish (those who comprised the first generation at Baker's Flat) fit the immediate criteria for diaspora because their migration was

triggered by a catastrophic event, they were part of a cohort that migrated to many places across the globe, and they were likely to have carried with them a sense of exile that helped to define their identities overseas. However, when considering diasporic communities, it is important to remember that at different times, they may ‘wax and wane in diasporism, depending on changing possibilities’ (Clifford 1994:306) and that the Famine is just one ‘especially tragic and dramatic episode in a much larger story’ (Kenny 2003:144). Defining the Irish diaspora, and by extension ‘Irishness’, based only on the Famine experiences of poor Catholic emigrants, neglects the changes and alterations that occur over time in a group’s sense of itself, and how social identity can be mobilised to catalyse those changes and alterations. Indeed, the very act of belonging to a diaspora is an identity-forming process at a larger scale and it has been noted that self- and group-identities can change during diasporic journeys as migrants renegotiate how they conceptualise their place of origin and their place within the diasporic story (Orser 2004a:174). These social identities are impacted by experiences on arrival and after, as people encounter unfamiliar social and natural landscapes (Orser 2004a:174). One coping mechanism is the structuring and adaptation of strong family networks, both biological and fictive, and these are discussed in the next section.

2.1.1 Family, kin and fictive kin

Family and kinship relationships do not have to be based on biological or marital bonds. The notion of ‘fictive kin’ or ‘fictive kinship’ was first used by anthropologists to describe the relationships and social ties, in both pre-modern and modern societies, that could be based on friendship or religious rituals (such as the Catholic practice of godparents during baptism) and which replicated many of the rights and responsibilities usually associated with families (Ebaugh and Curry 2000:189).

Archaeologists have taken various approaches to this notion of fictive kin, demonstrating how communities can be formed and re-formed depending on need and circumstance. Pappas (2004), for example, shows how the physical layout of a mid-twentieth century Californian logging camp mimicked a metaphorical kinship created between workers and company management, based on paternalism and managerial authority. Examining the archaeology of households, Anderson (2004) draws a distinction between ‘families’ and ‘households’. She defines families as groups of kin-related people (including fictive kin) who may or may not live together, whilst households are groups of people who live together and interact over daily activities but without a kinship bond. Whilst this definition is fluid, Anderson (2004)

notes that, when kinship is absent, the shared identity of ethnic traditions, experiences and behaviours can be a powerful force.

Rural Irish communities of the nineteenth century lived in a pre-industrial landscape based around family clusters (McCourt 1971:132), where kinship and interconnectedness were fundamental to survival and mutual support. Notwithstanding the disruptions to community structures in the post-Famine years, many of the surviving small rural communities continued these same traditions well into the early twentieth century. These were the focus of Arensberg and Kimball's classic study, *Family and Community in Ireland* (1968), which functions as an ethnographic analogy for the nineteenth century. This study of Irish families living in Co. Clare during the early 1930s examined a traditional rural community centred around extended families, and co-operative kin and neighbour networks. The authors noted that, although kin relationships were based around blood and marriage ties, the demarcations between kindred groups were not rigid and could be expanded or contracted depending on need (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:90). Male authority was clearly defined, with the father taking the dominant role in a household (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:59–71). Family relationships were critical in determining mutual obligation and expectations of assistance, for example, the sharing of a mowing machine, the lending of a boy or girl for farm work, the giving of aid at weddings or funerals (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:71–75). Describing these relationships as an 'interlocking series of pyramids', it became clear that a small population could 'soon become inextricably entangled', creating a local system of closely related individuals (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:91). This was a system characterised by mutual dependence and retention of traditional customs, where family and community were completely integrated, and changes occurred only gradually (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:200–301). In such a location there was no need of fictive kin, since extant biological kin networks were woven into a powerful web of reciprocity and mutual obligation.

So, what happens when people emigrate from such a community and move to a place where they have few to no blood relatives, but retain a familiarity and understanding of the social mores that operated successfully in their homeland? Is this the moment when they create fictive kin? In an exploratory study of fictive kin relationships in modern immigrant communities in the US, Ebaugh and Curry (2000) found that fictive familial-like connections helped immigrants to deal with the challenges of a new and unfamiliar country and acted as social capital (after Bourdieu 1986), available for use as required. As such, the functions of

fictive kin systems included ‘reinforcing cultural continuity, exercising social control, providing material support, and assuring socioeconomic support’ (Ebaugh and Curry 2000:199). Ebaugh and Curry (2000:206) suggest that, in new immigrant communities, fictive kin are an important social element offering support, providing opportunities, facilitating settlement and even acting as a drawcard to particular localities. Whilst their study examined modern migrant communities, it can be posited that fictive kin networks would have been just as valuable in the British colonies of the nineteenth century.

In 1820s Sydney, for example, the population of The Rocks was about one-quarter Irish. Although they tended to blend into the community and have left few tangible traces of Irishness, there is evidence of close neighbour networks within the community, epitomised by friendships, marriages, business dealings, the clustering of Irish households in particular streets, and the taking in of Irish lodgers and servants (Karskens 1998b:58–60). It has also been noted that many Rocks residents, no matter their ethnic background, were bound by family and friendship ties, and that these bonds and personal connections could be forged through family and marriage networks but also through shared work experiences, living next door to each other, or travelling to Australia on the same ship (Crook et al. 2005:179–181). Crook et al. (2005) attest to numerous instances of extended families emigrating from Ireland and the UK and living in close proximity for two to three generations in The Rocks.

The active building of fictive kin structures is not restricted to urban precincts with concentrated populations, but can also be observed in remote areas. Take, for example, the Upper Burnett district of south-east Queensland in the late nineteenth century where numerous small goldmining townships were populated by working-class families. In rural landscapes dominated by timber getting, mining and grazing, transience was a permanent way of life and working-class lives were characterised by mobility (Lawrence 2000:124; Prangnell and Mate 2011:318–319). It might be expected that such mobile individuals and families would lack the wherewithal to construct new kin-like relationships. However, in their study of four goldmining communities at Monal, Cania, Mount Shamrock and Paradise, Prangnell and Mate (2011:323) found that ‘unrelated families moved strategically together through the landscape, creating extended fictive kin networks upon which they could rely’.

Whilst historical findings from Australian colonial cities and frontier areas have generally indicated that large kin networks developed quickly as early migrants were joined by friends and relatives, and as those migrants inter-married to create dense kin alliances (Lawrence

1998:47, 2000:39), in the Upper Burnett it was ‘fictive in situ kin and friendship links’ that played a dominant role (Prangnell and Mate 2011:323). Although family connections were important, the links of friendship and marriage provided a close and supportive structure in the social landscape, which in turn influenced settlement patterns, such as who lived near whom. Prangnell and Mate (2011:323–324) show how families and friends moved between Mount Shamrock and Paradise, or between Cania and Monal, how extended kin networks were formed by marriages between the families of miners and carters, or between different business families. The result was the formation of labour and family alliances through a combination of kin and fictive kin relationships, a concept that will be explored in Chapter 6 focusing on how the people on Baker’s Flat constructed and managed their community. Next, for this chapter, is an exploration of social identity, with a focus on Irishness.

2.2 The nature of Irishness—social identity

The concept of social identity is based on the belief that people’s actions need to be understood in their social context and that a person’s sense of who they are is dependent on the groups to which they belong (Billig and Tajfel 1973; Reicher 2004; Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). This concept provides what Reicher (2004:928) terms ‘a point of pivot between the social and the individual’, so that individuals come to define themselves in terms of social groups and the cultural context in which they relate to others, define and pursue goals, and what they see as possible. Social identity, therefore, is based on people’s alignment or ‘membership’ of particular social groups, for example, class, ethnicity, family, occupation, religion, football team, celebrity fan group. It takes into consideration how these groups behave collectively, their perceived characteristics, the ways that dominant and subordinate groups interact, and the tensions between in-groups (groups with which a person identifies) and out-groups (groups with which a person does not). Unlike personal identity where individuals define themselves in terms of their uniqueness relative to other individuals, social identity is predicated on shared membership which gives group members a sense of belonging to the social world (Reicher 2004:928–930).

Importantly, social identities are not fixed, and people can move in or out of multiple groups over time, depending on social and historical context (McGuire and Wurst 2002; Meskell 2007; Orser 2012b; Reicher 2004). Since each person has a range of possible social identities, and their behaviour is based on the beliefs, norms and values associated with each identity, different identities are associated with different behaviours, depending on the context

(Reicher 2004:934; Turner et al. 1994). In addition, when people are categorised into particular social groups, their behaviours and how these are perceived can be generally predicted or made to 'fit' through the process of stereotyping (Reicher 2004:936).

The sociologist Erving Goffman examined such behaviours and identity using a theatrical perspective in his influential work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). Taking examples from a Shetland Island subsistence farming community, he analysed small, everyday social interactions during which the individual 'actors' played their roles both on a public 'front stage' (behaving according to the social norms and expectations when in public view) and private 'back stage' (behaving less formally when free of public expectations, possibly more authentic than the behaviours that are played out in public view). By using a theatrically based vocabulary, Goffman was able to consider daily events in a different way and make 'the familiar, everyday world appear strange' (Manning 1991:71). This is potentially useful when considering an Irish community living in a new and strange southern land, where everyday interactions such as creating a home, going to work and managing farmland can be seen as similar to previous experience, but also different.

For Goffman (1959:1), when individuals encounter new people, they apply their previous experience in assessing the newcomers' conduct and appearance, assuming from past experience that only individuals of a particular kind are likely to be found in a particular social setting. Further, others present will usually respond with a tacit consensus that allows participants to agree to an overall definition of the situation that suits each party and has the benefit of avoiding conflict (Goffman 1959:8–10). This stereotyping assumes that people will generally act as they are expected to act.

The complexities around social identity mean that interpretations must be careful and nuanced, and one way to achieve this is to focus on social commonality, a group's perspective of togetherness or belonging; research in this area often focuses on cultural survival, and frequently overlaps with themes of capitalism, colonialism and resistance (Orser 2012b:672). Ethnic groups, such as 'the Irish', are those social groups where people are classified in terms of their 'basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by ... [their] origin and background' (Barth 1969:13).

Examining ethnicity in the context of historical archaeology, McGuire (1982:160) argues (following Barth [1969] and Spicer [1971]) that the persistence of ethnic groups depends on

the existence of ethnic boundaries maintained by the manipulation and display of symbols of identity, either material or behavioural. Further, he suggests that the maintenance of strong boundaries occurs in the context of ‘struggle’, where alienation from the dominant group can influence people to band together in solidarity as a means of accessing communal support, sharing cultural norms, or working towards a common goal (McGuire 1982; McGuire and Wurst 2002). These strong boundaries channel social life and are characterised by overlapping internal networks where friendship, community and work groups intersect and reinforce each other (Bottero and Irwin 2003:475), and by cohesive bonds, a resistance to assimilation, and manipulation of behavioural and material symbols (De Cunzo 1982:17–18). Although the degree of ethnic boundary maintenance varies between societies and is modified to fit changing needs and circumstances over time, it remains a fundamental part of social organisation (McGuire 1982:160), which has been demonstrated in many studies of the Irish (e.g., Allen 2011; Brighton 2008, 2011; Fitzpatrick 1991; Fraser 1996, 2002; Griggs 1999; Jenkins 2005; Smith 2004).

Considering the concepts of social identity and ethnicity, it can be argued that one of the reasons why Irishness is difficult to define is because it is, in fact, a cultural and historical construct, a social identity to which people can be assigned either voluntarily (by themselves) or involuntarily (by others). As such, defining what it means to be Irish can be fundamentally different depending on the group. And so, the Irish may be a lyrical Celtic people with a rich tradition of craft and music or a fierce Celtic people with a propensity for war and violence. Irishness may be wretched people living in hovels, clinging to out-dated traditions and a popish religion. Or it may be a patriotic nationalism represented by the symbols of shamrock, wolfhound and harp. Reicher (2004:938) sees contradictions like these as symbolic of the multiple versions of identity. Perhaps the most effective way of approaching the concept of Irishness for this research, then, is to take elements of social identity that are visible in material culture and analyse them in the context of Irish social identity. The remainder of this section begins this process by examining Irishness through the lenses of small finds and the ideology of respectability. Two further elements of social identity that are visible in the landscape—clachan systems and vernacular architecture—are examined in sections 2.3 and 2.4 respectively.

2.2.1 Approaching the materiality of Irishness through small finds

Although glass, metal and ceramics are commonly excavated at archaeological sites, it is ceramic materials that represent ‘by far the largest class of artefacts’ (Barker and Majewski 2006:205). Ceramics are widely used across all homes and classes. They are easily breakable, survive in the ground when other materials decay, and feature clear stylistic and temporal changes that are datable (Barker and Majewski 2006:205; Leone 1999a:195). Their archaeological value is high. In historical archaeology, they have been used to provide insights into a range of issues, including the everyday lives of their owners, changing consumption patterns, the role of fashion in driving decorative and technological change, individual and social identity, socio-economic status and consumer preference, cultural change and colonisation, changing trade patterns and globalisation (Barker and Majewski 2006; Leone 1999a; Orser 2010b:89–90). From the late eighteenth century onwards, the refined earthenwares that were produced in standardised forms and enormous quantities in English factories were exported across the globe, west to the US and Canada and south to the Australian and New Zealand colonies. The globalised nature of this trade and easy availability of English imported earthenwares can provide rich comparable data, allowing study of the changing expressions of identity, in this instance Irishness, through time.

Like all diasporic groups, the Irish would have exhibited certain social behaviours and patterns of consumption in their homeland, and the maintenance or alteration of these can be tracked through the material culture in the places to which they migrated. The overall framework for this PhD research lies within the historical and archaeological contexts of the Irish Catholic rural poor and those who left Ireland in the post-Famine years, groups that have been scrutinised to some degree in Ireland and the US. Although relatively few excavations have taken place at nineteenth-century rural Irish house sites, Orser’s work (1997, 2001, 2004a, 2005, 2006) provides valuable archaeological data about the types and numbers of ceramics used by several households in the Irish countryside. It is augmented by the work of other scholars such as Brighton (2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011) and Rotman (2010, 2012), who have used ceramics to analyse material changes and behavioural continuities in diasporic Irish communities in the US. These studies are examined in detail below, alongside other related works.

Between 1994 and 2007, Orser’s archaeological project in rural Ireland investigated and excavated several nineteenth-century house sites in counties Sligo, Roscommon and Donegal

(Orser 2010b). For three of those sites—at Ballykilcline, Co. Roscommon, Carrowcashel, Co. Sligo and Derrylahan, Co. Donegal—almost 12,000 artefacts were excavated with a date range of between 1795 and 1865 (Orser 2010b:83–86). Ceramic fragments accounted for 66.3% of the total collection (Orser 2010b:89). A broad array of refined earthenware teawares and tablewares included shell-edged, hand-painted, transfer-printed, moulded, factory-made slipware, spatter, cut-sponge, lustre and flow blue. Within these broad categories, there was further variety. The factory-made slipware, for example, included banded decorations in many colours. The transfer-printed pieces included several distinct patterns in blue, black, green, purple and red (Orser 2010b:92–93). This ceramic evidence indicates that Irish farmers, outside of famine times and despite being deemed as backward or undeveloped peasants by contemporary visitors, used a wide variety of refined earthenwares on a daily basis (Orser 2010b:93).

Orser's findings are consistent with studies from the Hebridean island of South Uist, which revealed mass-produced refined earthenware and spongeware as features in the cabins of poor tenant farmers, demonstrating their ability to participate in trade with mainland Britain and willingness to acquire industrially produced ceramic wares (Symonds 2011; Webster 1999). At Ballykilcline, Carrowcashel and Derrylahan, the minimum number of 176 vessels indicates that these isolated farmers were connected to the outside world through markets via pedlars and local fairs, purchases made during seasonal labour away from home, and even through gifts or opportunistic theft (Orser 2010b:93–94).

Interestingly, the excavations at Ballykilcline found Irish-made coarse earthenwares (29.8% of the ceramic assemblage) alongside English-made refined earthenwares (31.5%) (Orser 2004a:183). Coarse earthenwares are part of an Irish pottery tradition producing red- and buff-bodied utilitarian vessels. The ones from Ballykilcline were glazed on the interior with earth tones, as was typical, and mostly occurred in the form of milk pans, storage crocks and pitchers/jugs. The most common refined earthenwares at Ballykilcline were tea cups, plates and saucers (Orser 2004a:183–185). In considering how the Ballykilcline tenants were able to acquire their many vessels, Orser (2004a:185–186) suggests that they may have deliberately manipulated the racial hierarchy by using some of the rent money they withheld during a rent strike to buy refined earthenwares, taking advantage of the landowners' beliefs that the Irish were too stupid to manipulate the system and would not do anything to improve their standard of living. However, he also speculates that theft may have been seen as a more

honourable and overtly defiant way to acquire refined earthenwares and wonders if ‘the men and women of Ballykilcline [were] intent on maintaining their Irishness by open resistance, or ... seeking a more nuanced Britishness through their acquisition of English ceramics’ (Orser 2004a:187). Orser (2004a:188) notes that the Ballykilcline tenants ‘paradoxically resisted British domination at the same time that they entered the English marketplace’ and that the archaeological analysis here is enhanced by incorporating multiple viewpoints and multi-layered interpretations.

The nineteenth century saw multitudes of people leaving Ireland for North America. In New York, the Five Points was a crowded neighbourhood where the poorest of the city’s immigrant population lived and where, from 1840 to 1880, the Irish were in the majority (Brighton 2010:115). To the west, the Dublin section of Paterson, New Jersey was named for the Irish labourers who settled there, and its southern area remained predominantly Irish or Irish-American until 1910 (Brighton 2010:116). Comparing material excavated from these locations against that from Ballykilcline, Brighton (2010:122) found changes over time in the types of ceramic vessels used, indicating the gradual adoption of new social behaviours. For example, large numbers of transfer-printed teawares from Ballykilcline and Five Points (homes of recently arrived migrants) emphasised the importance of tea-drinking in Irish culture, whereas serving pieces such as platters and tureens were less prevalent.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, there was less common ground between the Irish in Ireland and the Irish in America with the presence of more complex vessel forms indicating changing consumer patterns and a transgenerational process of assimilation. White granite and glass tableware and serving pieces acquired by the American-born or long-term resident Irish families reflected their conscious efforts to acquire objects appropriate to their new Irish-American identities, and represented the shifting social relations of the Irish immigrant from marginalised new migrant to decent Irish-American citizen (Brighton 2010, 2011). Importantly, Brighton (2010:112) recognises the multiple components that make up an ethnic or class group and, rather than trying to represent the Irish as a static and unchanging ‘whole culture’, he focuses on specific localities to identify and analyse changes in material culture over time.

In a smaller urban centre at South Bend, Indiana, Rotman (2010, 2012) excavated a nineteenth-century household site, home of the Fogarty Irish-Catholic family, and compared the refined earthenwares found there with those from the archaeological investigations of

Irish immigrant households in Five Points (Brighton 2005; Fitts 1999, 2001). The Fogarty earthenwares were primarily a mix of white granite and whiteware vessels in assorted plain, embossed, and hand-painted designs (n=27), and included just two transfer-printed vessels, one serving platter, and no matched sets (Rotman 2010, 2012). The assorted, unmatched assemblage is consistent with findings from rural Ireland (Brighton 2005; Brighton and Levon White 2006; Orser 2010b) but may also reflect the Catholic community in which the Fogarty family lived, where the ritual of afternoon tea may have been used to reinforce existing family and social bonds rather than to display status and gentility, and thus was not required to be asserted materially (Rotman 2012:37–38 following Wall 1991, 2000). Interestingly, there was no increase in the number of white granite vessels over time, as was observed at Five Points (Brighton 2005, 2010, 2011). Overall, the Fogarty ceramic assemblage is interpreted as illustrating the family’s navigation of their multifaceted social landscape—dominated by the Catholic community in which they lived and moderated by the retention of traditional practices, embrace of local cultural norms, access to material resources, and reinforcement of familial and social bonds—all part of the process of becoming Irish-American in South Bend at that time (Rotman 2012:39–40).

Rotman (2010, 2012) found that nineteenth-century Irish immigrants were obliged to navigate multiple layers of social complexities in their new neighbourhoods, workplaces, parishes and city as they began the process of becoming Irish-American. In considering how ethnic groups might adapt to new environments by retaining some of their cultural traditions and rejecting others, Rotman (2012:31) notes that a ‘transnational perspective is imperative for understanding continuity and change in Irish immigrant experiences’. This perspective takes into account the connections and networks that people carry with them from their home country, as well as those they make following migration. It acknowledges how identity can be ‘selectively mediated through material culture’ (Rotman 2012:31) and follows Orser’s (1996:201) observation that material culture can be used as ‘a conscious social strategy intended only to give the appearance of assimilation’.

In Australia, historical archaeological work has taken place on many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sites, although the Irish are largely invisible in these studies. While working-class areas like The Rocks in Sydney, and Little Lon in Melbourne, were home to large numbers of Irish people, archaeological work has tended to focus on the overall resident population rather than the Irish specifically and searches for studies on Irishness and ceramics

yield even fewer results, probably due to an absence of Irish ethnic clustering in nineteenth-century Australia (Fitzpatrick 1980:136, 1994:16). Major analyses such as at Five Points, for example, could take advantage of the fact that 97% of tenants in 1855 were Irish, a situation that was not paralleled in Australian urban settings (Crook et al. 2005:182–183).

Only one example where there is an explicit relationship between an Irish household and an archaeologically investigated ceramic assemblage is known from anywhere in Australia. This is from the rural township of Melrose in the Flinders Ranges, South Australia, where the 1880s farmhouse of the Irish Moran family was excavated in 1994 and 1995 (Lawrence 1996). Here, most of the ceramics (total MNI=66) were ‘unmatched plates, cups, and bowls decorated in a wide variety of colours and patterns’, although there were five cup-and-saucer pairs in complementary patterns (Lawrence 1996:47). Two plates and a serving platter were in the popular *Rhine* pattern, but the remaining plates (n=6) were mismatched. This led Lawrence (1996:47) to suggest that the tea cups and saucers were probably used by the women of the house when entertaining callers, and that the mix of patterns and colours would have resulted in a colourful table. Bearing in mind the small sample size and that Melrose is in a remote area which would have impacted on access to ceramic wares, the lack of uniformity found in the Moran household reflects the findings of diversely decorated ceramics from Irish households of that time in Ireland and the United States (Brighton 2005, 2010; Brighton and Levon White 2006; Orser 2010b; Rotman 2010, 2012). It also, however, reflects the consumer habits of colonial Australia, where there was a deep and long-standing preference for colourful, transfer-printed ceramics (Brooks 2005:56–60; Lawrence 2003b:23–26). In this sense, the ceramics excavated from the Melrose home can be labelled equally Irish or Australian.

Clay tobacco pipes, a sub-class of ceramics, have been labelled ‘ideal’ artefacts because of their ubiquity, frequent discard, ability to survive in the archaeological record, presence of manufacturers’ marks, and variability in form and style across time (Gojak and Stuart 1999). As a result, features such as impressed slogans or symbols have been used as markers of social identity, ethnicity and political beliefs. In Australia, Gojak and Stuart (1999:39–45) found that the type of pipe smoked could reveal much about the smoker’s ethnicity or class such as the ‘dudeens’ favoured by the Irish (from Ir. *dúidín*) or the short-stemmed ‘cutties’ by the working classes. Since smoking for the working class occurred socially and in public places, symbols or slogans on pipes such as a shamrock or ‘Erin Go Bragh’ [Ireland Forever]

were highly visible and could be used to openly express a person's social, religious or political affiliations (Brighton 2004:153–154, 2006:210; Gojak and Stuart 1999:45). This was evident in the US as much as in Australia, for example, the Red Hand of Ulster and Irish nationalist phrases on clay pipes found at Paterson, New Jersey (Brighton 2004) or an Irish harp, shamrocks and 'Home Rule' at Five Points, New York (Brighton 2006:210–212).

Symbol and phrase changes on clay pipes have been tracked chronologically in the US and demonstrate how the expressions of Irishness changed over time. To begin with, the influx of Irish Famine migrants in nineteenth-century New York provoked a deep exclusionary rhetoric that worked to dehumanise the new arrivals. Caricatures depicted the typical 'Irishman' or 'Paddy' as apelike, with a 'clay pipe clenched between his teeth', his features reflecting a brutish, simian 'Irishness', the pipe a signifier of poverty, impropriety and ethnicity (Reckner 2001:109; Reckner and Brighton 1999:68–69). Clay pipes dating from this time were excavated at Five Points and it was notable that they bore few nationalistic or patriotic motifs, either American or Irish (barely 6% of 276 pipes), a hesitancy that Reckner (2001:109–110) argues is understandable in light of the anti-Irish, anti-Catholic populist sentiment. A generation on, however, the results were different. Excavations from a tenement site dating to c.1860s–1870s found 23% (n=3) of 13 pipes displaying Irish slogans, including 'Home Rule', a harp and shamrock. This finding is in marked contrast to the patterns from a few decades earlier and points to a transformation and coalescence of the Irish-American community (Reckner 2001:111).

Whilst archaeologists have been able to recreate elements of Irishness from material culture, it can be seen that these analyses need to take into account the varying Irish migrant experiences in different places and the multiple versions of social identity that can exist simultaneously. If Irishness can be interrogated at one level by studying small archaeological finds, it can also be examined through the broader lens of respectability, a form of social control much aspired to in Victorian times but apparently difficult to achieve for the Irish, and which is examined below.

2.2.2 Respectability and the Irish

In the Victorian era, the ideology of respectability was inescapable. It emerged with the consumer and industrial revolutions and was instrumental in reshaping 'manners and outlooks in western societies' (Karskens 1998a:22). The key principles of respectability focused on self-control and self-improvement, encompassing self-respect and morality, the

dignity of work, thriftiness and cleanliness, self-help and self-discipline, independence from charity, the exercise of temperance and restraint, and grace in adversity (Best 1971:256–259; Busted 2009:180; Fitts 2001:116; Lawrence and Davies 2011:272–276; Young 2003:60).

As the nineteenth century progressed, respectability became more and more a vital element of British cultural values (Busted 2009:180). It was not dependent on birth or wealth. Anyone could potentially gain or lose respectability and the consequent social acceptability—a middle-class merchant could lose respectability by being disreputable in business, a working-class man could gain it by having self-respect and gainful employment (Best 1971:260; Fitts 2001:116). One area where respectability was regarded as particularly important was in public space, where physical appearance (cleanliness, dress, adornment) was judged along with demeanour and behaviour (Busted 2009:180). Another was the domestic sphere (the ideology of domesticity associated with the female-centred home), where women became responsible for transforming their homes into moral sanctuaries and their children into respectable members of society, a feat only able to be accomplished when they did not work outside the home, and even then largely unattainable for the working class (Fitts 2001:116; Karksens 2001:71; Zlotnick 1991:9–10).

Friendly and mutual societies operated as a safety net to support the respectable poor who were trying to maintain independence and self-reliance (Tarlow 2007:24). A study of Irish mutual societies in nineteenth-century Wales found that joining one of these societies—friendly, temperance or burial—also meant embracing the ideology of respectability, even if only as an aspirational ideal (O’Leary 2005:257). Achieving respectability was difficult for the Irish, however, viewed as they were as ‘drunken, lawless papists, prone to wild and indecorous behaviour—all traits which disqualified an individual from membership of respectable society’ (O’Leary 2005:257). An arbitrary distinction between ‘rough’ and ‘respectable’ usually saw the Irish on ‘the wrong side of the ... divide’ (O’Leary 2005:259).

This divide is explored by Busted (2009) in the context of nineteenth-century Manchester, UK, home to a large Irish migrant population. The pressure to conform to respectable values was strong, particularly in view of the customary anti-Catholic, anti-Irish attitudes in Britain which implied that the Irish were politically subversive and responsible for a spectrum of undesirable issues including low wages, high levels of crime, drunkenness and disease (Busted 2009:181–182). The Manchester Irish, however, became adept at maintaining a public respectability whilst disrupting it for Catholic and Irish purposes. A large parade in

1844 of Irish Catholic children under the banner of St Patrick was remarked on for the neat, clean and tidy appearance of the children. Busteed (2009:185) argues that the Irish were publicly demonstrating their competence as good parents upholding Christian faith and domestic virtues and, at the same time, subverting the very same activities to present their Catholicism and Irishness. Demonstrations against the executions of the Manchester martyrs (three Irishmen dubiously convicted of murdering a police officer in 1867) were crafted carefully so that the hundreds of demonstrators dressed respectably, proceeded in an orderly manner and dispersed quietly. However, since the protestors wore green ribbons and rosettes, the demonstrations became a public performance of both respectability and Irishness (Busteed 2009:185–186). This proficiency at navigating the social mores of the time and place meant that, at some level, the Irish were seen to conform to the norms of the host society but simultaneously were able to remain ‘resolutely and consciously Irish’ (Busteed 2009:189).

Across the Atlantic, a growing middle class in the US emphasised adherence to a Protestant-based piety, self-discipline and economic self-sufficiency, as well as abstinence from both alcohol and tobacco (Reckner and Brighton 1999:67). The Irish were judged wanting in all respects—by their inferior Catholic faith, over-excitability temperaments, unseemly displays of emotion at wakes and funerals, laziness and lack of work skills, and conspicuous consumption of alcohol and tobacco (Reckner and Brighton 1999:69–71). This was a highly racialised society, where, despite being white, the Irish were still perceived as racially and culturally inferior, substandard in every way, and even a threat to the American way of life (Brighton 2011:34–35). Archaeological studies in this context, however, have found evidence of Irish aspirations to respectability. Linn (2010), for example, examines the presence of substantial numbers of soda water bottles in dwellings associated with Irish families in Five Points during the 1860s–1880s, and argues that one of the ways these objects functioned was to facilitate the transformation of Irish immigrants into respectable, self-reliant Irish-Americans. In the US, soda water was regarded as a healthy and respectable drink associated with the temperance movement, which promoted it as an alternative to alcohol (Linn 2010:83). Linn (2010) suggests that Irish families used it in several ways: as a quasi-medical treatment to alleviate various conditions (a suggestion also made by Bonasera and Raymer [2001:61]); as a refreshing alternative to alcohol in the hot New York summers; as a means of offering hospitality to neighbours; and even as a proxy for traditional holy well cures. The

end result was to assist Irish immigrants to become self-reliant, retain independence and reduce reliance on alcohol, i.e., to become respectable.

Tea- and tablewares have long been recognised as a surrogate marker for respectability, with many studies finding that matching ceramic wares, in the appropriate forms and numbers, were one way to symbolise respectability, gentility and morality for the middle classes and aspiring working classes (Brighton 2011; Fitts 1999; Hayes 2014; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Wall 1991, 2000; Young 2010). To this end, Brighton (2001, 2010) found that, whilst the large numbers of decorated tea- and tablewares at Five Points were a reflection of Irish cultural traditions (as indicated in section 2.2.1 above), they were also a marker of middle-class Victorian values in that they provided the outward appearance of gentility and respectability, whilst reaffirming a cultural tradition of hospitality and celebration. Rotman (2012) came to similar conclusions from her work at the Fogarty household site in South Bend, Indiana.

In Australia, the smaller profile of the Irish in archaeological studies makes it difficult to assess whether nineteenth-century Irish migrants strived for respectability in the same way as other settlers, for example, in mining and working-class communities that were contemporaneous with Baker's Flat. At the goldmining community of Dolly's Creek in western Victoria, Lawrence (2000:103–158, 2003a:216–220) found fashionable earthenwares, moderate numbers of alcohol bottles, even an ornate brass clock case and a piece of floral wallpaper, interpreted as indicators that these mining families, and others living in bush camps across Australia, 'laboured mightily to maintain the signs of their respectable status' (Lawrence 2003a:222). Similarly, at Paradise in Queensland, aspirations to domestic comfort and respectability were apparent in home furnishings such as vases and clocks, decorative lamps and ornamental figurines, upholstered chairs and carpets, and also demonstrated through a commitment to children's play and education (dolls, tea sets, slate pencils, writing tablets), and moderate rather than excessive consumption of both alcohol and tobacco (Quirk 2008).

The results from three working-class sites at Port Adelaide, South Australia, are more mixed (Lampard 2009; Lampard and Staniforth 2010). Assessing the roles of women and children against the ideologies of respectability and domesticity, Lampard (2009) noted varying quantities at the three sites of sewing paraphernalia, ornaments, pictures, laundry items, toys, slate pencils and tablets. These were interpreted as representing the clash between trying to

achieve respectability whilst simultaneously having an economic requirement for children to continue in paid work. With regard to alcohol use, Lampard and Staniforth (2010:11) found no clear evidence of aspirations to temperance amongst either the men or women. These studies indicate that the concept of respectability could differ between households in the level at which it was applied, a finding upheld also at The Rocks, Sydney, where Crook et al. (2005) and Karskens (2001) observed that residents abided by the values of domesticity and respectability to some extent, but that they were not applicable to all households at all times, and cautioned against accepting these practices as evidence of a wholesale adoption of middle-class rituals.

From the results of previous research at Baker's Flat, and bearing in mind that it was a single study, it appears that similar findings may apply to the Irish in Australia. The analysis of a metal artefact collection, gathered from the site by a metal detectorist, found that many of the artefacts aligned with a people striving towards the ideal of respectability (Arthure 2014). Large numbers of trouser buttons (n=432), uniform buttons (n=45) and plain belt buckles (n=9) were seen as consistent with a working-class community engaged in gainful employment. Jewellery items (n=93), decorative buckles (n=12) and fancy buttons (n=39) followed typical Victorian styles and were suitable for adorning the outerwear of respectable men and women. A wide range of ornamental and decorative objects included a sugar caster lid, a small tray leg in the shape of a lion's paw, an ornamental bust, and pieces that appeared to be parts of a door knocker, picture frame and cockatoo leg chain for keeping a pet bird on its perch. In the same way that Busted (2009) found the Manchester Irish to be skilled at conforming to expected social norms whilst also staying true to their own traditions and beliefs, this may be true for the Australian Irish or, in fact, any other settler group.

In essence, the ideology of respectability—with its emphasis on self-control, self-improvement, self-respect and self-help—focuses on how the behaviours and morals of individuals help them to achieve broad approval and social acceptability. But its adoption can differ between households in the level at which it is applied, and the physical traces at different sites illustrate how people chose to build comfortable and safe domestic lives, embracing morality and respectability at different levels.

2.3 Visibility of labour ideologies in the landscape

After examining Irishness in the context of diaspora and kinship, sociological theory and material culture, this next section looks outwards to ‘the landscape’, or how kinship systems might be actualised in place, in particular through the Irish clachan system and its associated land management practice of rundale. The clachan-rundale system is then set in the broader context of capitalism and one of the important ideologies underpinning it, improvement, or what Orser (2005:393) terms capitalism’s ‘cultural surrogate, agricultural improvement’. In the context of this research, there is the possibility of a subconscious clash between an emerging capitalist system and the traditional, reciprocal lifeway of the clachan.

2.3.1 The Irish clachan and rundale system

In nineteenth-century Ireland, rural settlement patterns were tied to pre-industrial and rural ideals, based around clusters of dwellings known as clachans. The word *clachan* is used to describe the cluster of houses found at the core of a *rundale* land management system. There is some confusion about the term, and it is helpful to consider how it is used here. ‘Clachan’ is a Scots Gaelic word, used in that country to describe quite complex settlements containing several types of structure—houses, churches, schools, shops (Bell and Watson 2015:33). The term was adopted in Ireland in the early twentieth century by Emyr Estyn Evans to describe small clusters of houses located in rundale farming settlements (Fleure 1971:5). Although an alternative term is the Irish word *baile*, preferred today by many Irish folklorists and archivists (pers. comm. Criostóir MacCárthaigh, June 2015), this is a generic term also used to describe towns, townlands,² and all types of settlement in Ireland (McCourt 1971:129; Proudfoot 1959:113–115).

For this research, ‘clachan’ is deployed in Evans’ (1939) sense as a distinctive cluster of dwellings and associated outbuildings, but lacking services such as shops or a church, and operating in a rundale system, a cultural practice of co-operative farming. As well as being different from Scottish clachans, the Irish clachan is also distinct from English agricultural villages. Traditionally, the English village belonged to a feudal-manorial system and existed within the boundaries of a manor and parish territorial framework, whereas the Irish clachan developed out of a tribal society and operated within a framework of small territories and an agrarian-tenurial system quite different from England (McCourt 1971:129). The nucleated

² Irish townlands are small geographical sections of land (similar to an English parish) based on ancient territorial divisions. On average, they are about 300 acres (121 hectares) (Andrews 2002:13–14).

villages of England that were grouped around a manor house and church, surrounded by fields, were uncommon in Ireland.

Although the origin date of clachans is uncertain, with potential dates ranging from ‘ancient times’ (Evans 1957:23) to the sixteenth, seventeenth (Feehan 2003:115; McCourt 1971) or eighteenth century (O’Keeffe et al. 2015:75; Proudfoot 2007), it is known that clachans were widespread in Ireland from the late eighteenth through to the end of the nineteenth century (Ó Síocháin 2015; Yager 2002). Figure 2.1 illustrates their prevalence in the pre-Famine era, with concentrations on the coastal fringes in the west, south-east and north-east of the country. These areas are marked by poor land and difficult farming conditions and the prevalence of clachans could potentially be seen as a response to those environmental and physical conditions. However, McCourt (1971:136–141) argues that clachan concentrations in these areas are the result of centuries of social and cultural change, with their scarcity in the east due to the dominance of landlords and landed estates in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These landlords promoted new agrarian ideas and techniques, made marked improvements and modifications to the landscape and rural society, and were opposed to clachan and rundale holdings because of their fragmented nature. In the post-Famine years, clachans mostly disappeared from the landscape following famine deaths and emigration, and the evictions and clearances of the poorest people by landlords and land agents as land practices changed (McCourt 1955:376; Ó Síocháin 2015:9–10; Proudfoot 2007).

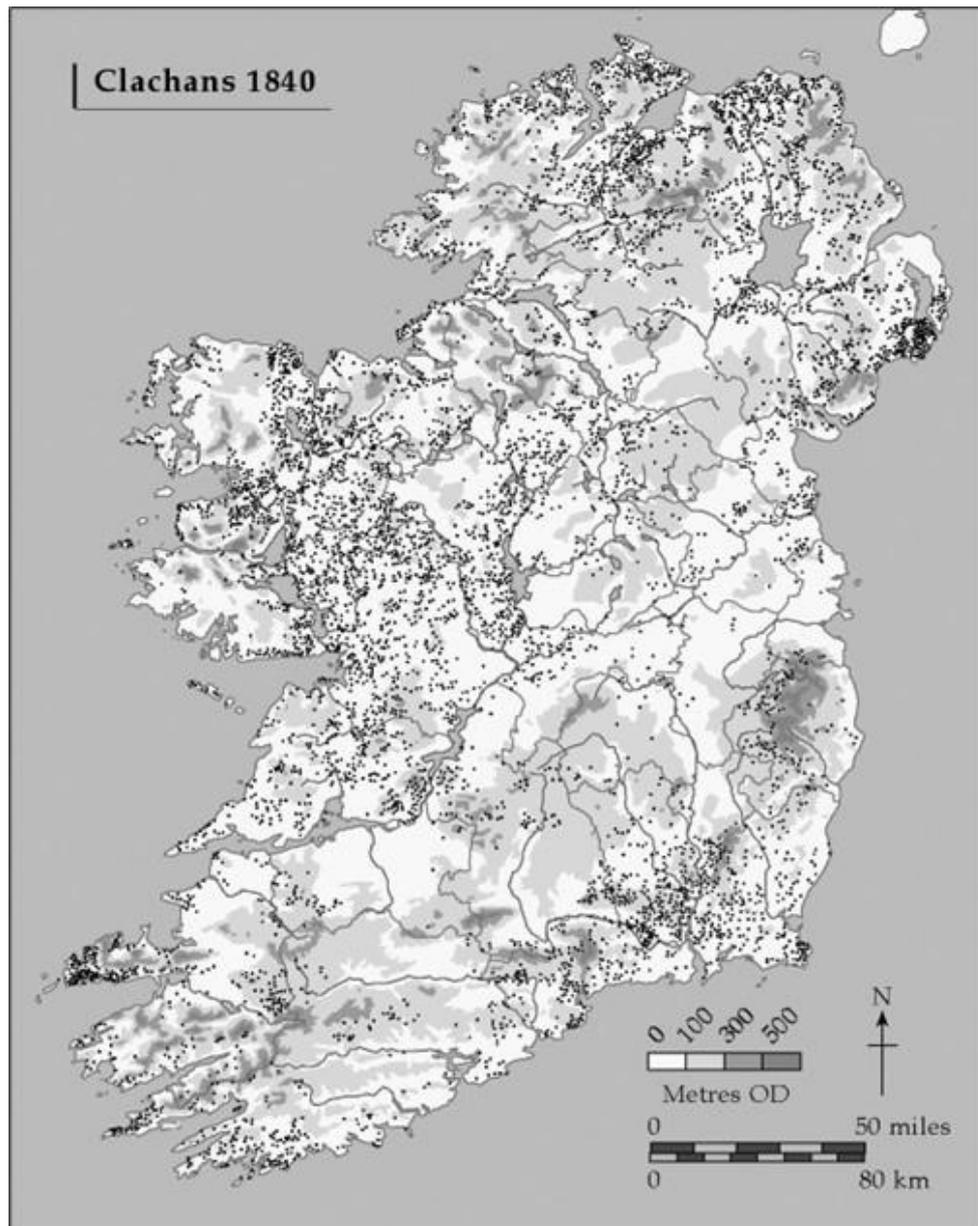


Figure 2.1 Distribution of clachans in Ireland in 1840. Source: Whelan 2011b:87.

A key feature of the Irish clachan was the clustered nature of the houses and outbuildings, where the inhabitants were often bound by strong kinship ties (Evans 1939:27; Johnson 1958: 554; Whelan 2011b:86, 2012:453). Most clachans had a leader, typically male, who held that role by mutual consent and would negotiate with the landowner as required (Bell and Watson 2008:26; Yager 2002:158–159). Although individual houses might have vegetable gardens to meet the family’s needs, overall land management was carried out co-operatively using the rundale method, which involved an infield-outfield-commonage system of farming. The infield was an open field, heavily manured, located on the best land and used to grow oats or potatoes; each family was allocated a strip of this land according to their needs (McCourt

1955:372; Whelan 2011b:86–87; Yager 2002:155–157). The unfenced strips were marked out in different ways, often by using stones or small earth banks (McCourt 1955:372–373; Bell and Watson 2008:25). At the edge of the infield was an area of outfield, generally used for grazing, but periodically for cultivation of crops (McCourt 1955:369). The remainder of the land was treated as commonage for cattle grazing and pasture; cattle were an essential component of the system as their manure was used to fertilise the infield (Feehan 2003:115; McCourt 1955:375; Whelan 2011b:87).

Although clachans were almost always associated with rundale, they could also exist independently. This was documented across Ireland up to the mid-nineteenth century, where some clachans were associated with an infield only and others had a quasi-outfield scheme (McCourt 1955:369–371, 1971:132; Proudfoot 1959:118). The archaeological excavation of an eighteenth-century clachan at Murphystown, Co. Down, for example, found that it developed in association with compact holdings rather than the usual rundale (Buchanan et al. 1958, 1959). The researchers speculated that the development of the clachan was more complicated than might perhaps have been thought and that the precise relationship between the settlement pattern (clachan) and agricultural system (rundale or compact holding) needed to be evaluated carefully. They also pointed out how little was known of the origin of these cultural features of clachan and rundale (Buchanan et al. 1958:115). Murphystown was gradually deserted after the 1870s but at the time of excavation enough traces remained aboveground for the layout of the buildings to be clearly visible (Buchanan et al. 1958:117). Excavations over three seasons found many additional wall fragments, unrelated to the building traces then extant, indicating that the settlement plan had changed over time (Buchanan et al. 1959:133).

When trying to make the best use of marginal land, the rundale method was ideal, especially in locations where there was limited technology and funds but an abundance of labour. The amount of land that could be controlled was key, with the average clachan-rundale settlement being about the size of an Irish townland (Feehan 2003:115; Whelan 2011b:86). Describing rundale systems as ‘universal on the poorer lands of the west of Ireland’ before the Famine, Whelan (2011b:87–89) argues that they were not what some have labelled as ‘the degraded relics of an archaic settlement form’ but rather a ‘sophisticated response to specific ecological conditions’. In practice, this was evident by the land being held jointly by the clachan

inhabitants, sections of it being re-assigned regularly (thereby assuring each family access to a range of land types) and being managed co-operatively (Yager 2002).

These practices of joint landholding, mutual aid and co-operative labour were intertwined with social organisation and community. Essentially, they acted as ‘a basic form of self-help necessary in subsistence economies ... when farmers ... worked together for the attainment of common or similar objectives’ (O’Dowd 1981:15). Scholars such as Danaher (1972) and Ó hAllmhuráin (1999) have observed that, for generations, people in rural Ireland observed a seasonal cycle of agricultural customs, festivals and feast days, which helped to cement cohesion and co-operation within small rural communities. This extended to communal agricultural practices where people worked together to bring in the hay, harvest the crops, cut turf, manage the animals or build a house (NFC 1958; O’Reilly 2011:201). Evans (1939:31) noted how men from surrounding areas would bring their spades and work together to reclaim land so that it could be farmed. He called these instances of voluntary community labour ‘gatherings’ and noted that completion of the work was marked by feasting and dancing (Evans 1939:31–32).

In her study of co-operative labour in rural Ireland, O’Dowd (1981:24–28) refers to the term *meitheal* as one of the most common Irish words used to describe this form of communal aid, defining it as a group of people engaged in a common occupation or service, generally agricultural, often with a leader or overseer. Noting that a *meitheal* could take various forms—small or large groups, membership based around an entire townland or close neighbours, formal or semi-formal arrangements—the constant feature was co-operation for all forms of work and involving all members of the community (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:255–256; O’Dowd 1981:66–79). In addition to operating successfully as a mutual aid system in a subsistence economy, *meitheal* also acted as a social outlet when gatherings were held to celebrate completed work, and as a form of social welfare for vulnerable people living in the community (O’Dowd 1981:119).

2.3.2 Capitalism and the Age of Improvement

By the nineteenth century, the pre-industrial clachan-rundale systems in Ireland, with their mutual aid and support practices of *meitheal*, were under threat from the dominant ideologies and practices of improvement and capitalism. The ultimate ideological goal of improvement was to achieve a utopian society, based around the supposed desire of human beings to live co-operatively and harmoniously, a state only possible by a re-ordering of society so that

everyone could attain material prosperity, social harmony and personal fulfilment (Tarlow 2007:26). Clachan settlements were based around co-operation, but with a focus on sustainability rather than social change. They were almost a converse of improvement, especially since improvement practices were irrefutably connected to ideas of efficiency, technology and rational science that supported, in turn, the spread of various forms of capitalism (greater profit) and the labour, gender and racial relations that sustained them.

Looking at capitalism in its broadest sense and following Marxist theory, Leone (1999b:13) defines it as:

... a social system in which the people who own and control the fields, factories, machines, tools, and money do not assume the brunt of the work. Other men and women, who must sell their labor as if it were a commodity, perform the work. Nonetheless, the owner of the machines and money—the capitalist—reaps most of the benefits from the labor of the workers.

This set of social relations is characterised by a stratification of society into classes based on the control of wealth and power. Of course, stratification can also exist in non-capitalist societies (Leone 1999b:5), a fact that has echoes in the kinship-based clachan system where a family or person usually emerged as leader, the difference being that stratification in a clachan was not based around profit but rather around the well-being of the entire clachan community. By contrast, in a capitalist system, the classes exist in an exploitative and potentially volatile relationship because the labour of the workers generates profits and wealth for the landowners, but without a concomitant improvement in the lives of the workers. Leone (1999b:6) argues that capitalism survives because its ideology creates ‘a world of meanings, credible in various ways to those within it, that hides the exploitative or inequitable relations that exist in everyday working life’. And so, workers accept that they live in a world where their labour produces profit for someone else, a world of many meanings and complexities.

Recognising that the ideologies and practices of capitalism were pervasive across the globe by the middle of the nineteenth century, Leone (1999b:14) notes that one of the complexities for archaeology is being able to acknowledge that the big issues are mainly worldwide whilst the households and communities that are investigated are mainly regional or local. This leads to a situation where ‘much archaeological interpretation depends on extremes [of] the local and the global’ (Leone 1999b:14), but where insights into local cultures are essential to identify capitalism and the strategies for adopting, coping with, modifying or evading it (see,

for example, Burke 1999; Johnson 1996, 1999; Leone and Knauf 2015; Leone and Potter 1999; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Orser 1999, 2005). Noting that households, communities and social groups can practise ‘a range of economic strategies and alternative definitions of success that operate in the interstices of capitalism’, Leone (1999b:14) argues that these are usually kin-based, labour intensive, little capitalised and opportunistic—a description pertinent to the Irish community of Baker’s Flat. Investigating these requires that rather than looking for exactly the same patterns and artefacts as elsewhere, archaeologists instead look for ‘comparable patterns of consumption and use’ (Leone 1999b:14). Following Leone (1999b:14–15), these can include an apparently haphazard approach to location of structures or access paths, a trust in labour-intensive vernacular practices rather than more technologically sophisticated systems, and a reliance on kinship obligations rather than cash as a medium of exchange.

In Ireland, the emergence of a market-type, capitalist economy occurred in the late eighteenth century, following profoundly transformative events in the seventeenth century, when a series of major conflicts ended with the complete collapse of the indigenous Irish elite and their replacement by a new order and pattern of land ownership (Ó Síocháin 2015:1). Whilst in the early 1600s 90% of land was in Catholic hands, by the 1770s this had declined to just 5% (Bell and Watson 2008:15; Ó Síocháin 2015:1). Concurrently, a standard landholding system was established that featured a more precise definition of private property and fixed boundaries. This shifted the balance from a redistributive-type economy where surpluses went to the local political or tribal leadership and social ties were maintained, to a market-type economy dominated by large, commercially-run estates owned by an elite of mainly non-Irish origin who held a lease-holding, rent-paying tenantry in thrall (Ó Síocháin 2015:1–2; Whelan 2011b:74).

This hierarchy of ownership resembles what has been termed ‘the agricultural ladder’, where the poorest labourers stay on the bottom rung and the landlords are not actually on the ladder at all but hover over it (Orser 1999:149–150). The result in Ireland was a landowning minority (mainly English-speaking and Protestant) who had almost complete control over a landless majority (mainly Irish-speaking and Catholic) (Bell and Watson 2008:15). The lowest rung of the ladder was occupied by the cottier class, who paid their rent in the form of labour services to the landowner. This custom had been ‘virtually absent from English

agrarian practices' for centuries as labour services changed to cash payments, a key factor in the transformation of agrarian practices to a capitalist model (Johnson 1999:225–226).

At the same time as land ownership and landholding practices were changing in Ireland, across the Irish Sea the industrial and agricultural revolutions were leading to massive technological and scientific changes in Britain, and consequent changes in work and leisure practices. The concept of 'improvement' began to dominate. This concept, as understood by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English landowners, favoured the 'restructuring of the landscape for social and economic, as well as aesthetic ends and, by extension, restructuring the conduct of those who lived in, worked in and looked upon it' (Proudfoot 1993:227). Following the philosophies of John Locke in the late seventeenth century, land that was left natural or unused was seen as wasted; instead, it needed to be improved by pasturage, tillage, planting or other forms of refashioning (Orser 2005:394). Improvement, then, included changes in how arable land could be permanently cultivated by using crop rotation methods, the introduction of new crops, the systematic breeding of plants and animals, an increase in mechanisation, extensive drainage of boggy land, the enclosure of fields and commons, and new labour relations, all within a pervasive philosophy that aimed to transfigure both the landscape and the people who lived and worked on it (Ó Síocháin 2015:4–5; Orser 2005:394; Tarlow 2007:38).

In her work on the archaeology of improvement in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, Tarlow (2007:10–11) reasons that improvement today is an implicit value underpinning contemporary social and political philosophy, and that its ubiquity has led to it being historically invisible. However, far from being a 'universal human desire', improvement is actually a characteristic of modernity, encompassing areas as broad as science, industry and agriculture, and as narrow as moral codes, the intellect and physical appearance (Tarlow 2007:11–12). By the nineteenth century, improvement was regarded as an ethical and moral imperative, contributing to societal transformation, the elimination of what were seen to be outdated traditional mores and customs, and the deliberate founding of a new and improved future (Tarlow 2007:16–17). For historical archaeologists, it acts as a useful lens to consider broad aspects of material life during this period, such as changes in agriculture and landscapes, houses and artefacts, social practices such as cleanliness, and the artefacts of everyday life (Tarlow 2007:18).

With regard to improvement and the British farming landscape, Tarlow notes how the changes that occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are visible today in the ‘fields of productive arable and rich grazing; the straight, hawthorn hedges around rectilinear fields; the isolated rural farm houses connected by straight roads’ (Tarlow 2007:34). One of the major agricultural changes taking place in Britain during this time was ‘enclosure’. This was the act of ‘marking off for private use land which had previously been farmed or grazed collectively as part of an open field system, or been exploited as “commons” or was in some other non-intensive use’ (Tarlow 2007:42). It usually involved scattered land holdings being merged into compact farms, with organised fields and hedges. Enclosure enabled full control over animals and crops, allowing innovative farmers free rein for improving endeavours, thereby developing the land and increasing profits. Benefits varied according to social class. Landlords were able to increase rents. Large farmers with long leases or substantial acreages were able to reap the long-term benefits of greater control over stock breeding, drainage, crop rotation and intensive manuring. Tenant farmers with small acreages lost the support and risk-sharing benefits that came with farming in common with their neighbours. As for landless labourers, they fared worst of all, losing informal rights to common grazing and traditional rights of usage (Tarlow 2007:47).

2.3.3 Improvement in Ireland

In Ireland, the English landlords have been described as ‘the main agents of the Age of Improvement’, enthusiastically supporting new crops and crop rotation, the mass planting of deciduous trees, improvement of animal breeds, the draining and liming of land, and the enclosure of fields using hedges and ditches (Whelan 2011b:74). The belief underlying these improvements was that Ireland was over-populated and under-developed, problems that could only be remedied by a complete reformation of land management to allow for capitalist farming based on the English model (Smyth 2012b:55). The transformations that took place in agricultural capitalism at this time began the process of separating the agricultural producers (the rural peasants) from the soil and turning them into wage-earning, landless labourers (the urban proletariat) (Johnson 1996, 1999:222–224; Tarlow 2007:47–48; Tribe 1981:35–36).

At the same time, the adoption of improvement practices by landlords was motivated by a perception of the Irish as barbarous and backward, ready to be ‘saved’ by English intervention (Forsythe 2007:224). This could lead to cultural misunderstandings and

misinterpretations. Take manure for example. At Derrynane Beg, Co. Kerry, in 1845, the English travel writer Thomas Campbell Foster described the tenants' cottages as 'built in clusters of two and three together—a dung-heap always beside each, over which we had generally to scramble to get into the door' (Foster 1846:528). Whilst such practices were considered by the outsider to be signs of slovenliness, this was not, in fact, the case. 'The dung heap beside the door was not a monument to indolent slatternliness, ... but of persevering industry' (Whelan 2012:454), an attempt to meet the demand for fertiliser to help feed a large population. When considering improvement in the rural landscape, manuring the land was considered an activity of agrarian improvement, since it developed the land's potential for tillage and cultivation. However, the storing of manure outside the Irish house, done for precisely those reasons, was not generally perceived to be an 'improving' characteristic at all by outside observers. Instead, improvement-based agrarian capitalism called for the reconfiguration of the landscape, and in Ireland, this was usually characterised by implementing scientific agricultural methods at the expense of traditional Irish practices.

In the late nineteenth century, the Congested Districts Board was established to introduce long-term improvements in problem areas of the west of Ireland—areas deemed by the British government to be over-populated or 'congested', with poor quality land, and therefore susceptible to famine and hardship (Whelan 2011b:100–101). Although the Board's stated purpose was to alleviate poverty, it was also hoped that reforms and improvements in the rural landscape might help to dampen Irish calls for home rule and political independence. Partly because it worked closely and sympathetically with local leaders, the Board had a remarkable impact and succeeded in completely remodelling the landscape (Whelan 2011b:100–102). Dung heaps were removed from the doorways on hygiene grounds. Separate byres and stables were constructed. Rundale holdings were reorganised into consolidated holdings with permanent field boundaries and new farmhouses were built along replanned roads. A modern landscape of enclosed fields and dispersed farms was created where tenants lived on their own farms and the clustered clachans disappeared (Whelan 2011b:103, 2012:467–468).

Kuijt et al. (2015) explored the lasting and measurable impact of the Congested Districts Board on the island of Inishark off the west coast of Ireland. Between the 1880s and 1920s, major improvements were made to the island's infrastructure, including the construction of roads, field walls, wells, drainage systems, a breakwater, school and church. The consequent

impacts on island households and the overall community were many. Roads facilitated movement of people and goods, walls protected crops, wells provided clean water close to houses, drainage reduced dampness around houses, the breakwater improved access to the island and marine resources, the church and school offered a location for community meetings, helping to increase community cohesion and literacy. Alterations in housing practices made lives more comfortable—rooms were larger, chimneys were introduced, windows were bigger, outbuildings were constructed. The result was a reorganisation of the traditional clachan cluster of residences and outbuildings, and replacement of the infield-outfield-commonage system by long strip fields oriented for beach frontage and access to kelp for fertiliser (Kuijt et al. 2015:128–144). These material changes were backed by other social shifts, such as a transition from tenant farming to direct ownership.

The Congested Districts Board operated under the auspices of the British government, but it was not the only player in the improvement arena. Other agents of improvement in Ireland at this time were the landowners (arguably those with the most ability to implement improvement), landowning clergy, improving societies, and even to some degree the tenants themselves (Forsythe 2007:222–225, 2013:75). Examining the islands of Rathlin and The Rosses off the coast of Donegal, Forsythe (2013:76–79) found that they had all undergone efforts by the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landowners to modernise their agriculture, infrastructure, buildings and services. This included drainage of land, enclosure of new fields, upgrading of roads and communications, experimentation with new crops, and burning of shells to produce lime.

Before these improving activities, the island people had lived mostly in clachan and rundale settlements. In an attempt to introduce new architecture and materials to the islands, and to attract skilled workers from the mainland, a terraced street of two-storey houses was built on Rutland (main island of The Rosses) and a row of two-storey cottages on Rathlin (Forsythe 2013:80–82). This housing used modern materials such as red brick and slate. Together with arched windows and chimneys, the rows of cottages contrasted with the single-storey thatched cottages with simple windows and smoke holes in the roof that had previously dominated the landscape (Forsythe 2007:229, 2013:82). Over time, the new materials began to be used in the older island homes, but Forsythe (2013:89) warns against interpreting this as a wholesale uptake of the philosophy of improvement. Some changes were adopted for practical reasons—when coal overtook the use of turf on Rathlin, chimneys were required to

reduce the incidence of sparks at thatch level and were constructed using red brick pilfered from abandoned or disused cottages (Forsythe 2007:234, 2013:83). Other adaptations were more about subverting improvement than embracing it— Islanders took advantage of the different tax regimes between Ireland and Britain to take up smuggling, using the improved quay and storehouses on Rathlin to receive and ship smuggled tobacco and alcohol, wool and linen. Forsythe (2007:237, 2013:89) cautions that this fluidity in the use and misuse of the structures of improvement should not be interpreted through archaeological remains as ‘a static reflection of consumer practice’. Rather, it can be seen as part of a complex relationship between culture, politics, material culture, tradition and change. The presence of spirit and wine bottles in the archaeological record may be ‘evidence of the imitation of elites or seduction by market novelty’ but could also be evidence of smuggled commodities (Forsythe 2007:237).

Some scholars have questioned the willingness and ability of landlords to invest in their Irish estates, (see, for example, Busted 2001; Whelan 2011b), with some evidence that landlords who resided in Ireland were more likely to engage in improvement. Sir James Caldwell, for example, was an ‘improving’ landlord who lived on his Co. Fermanagh land from the mid-eighteenth century. He approached improvement enthusiastically by planting woodlands and a pleasure garden, trying new varieties of plants and crops, selectively breeding livestock, encouraging the development of the linen industry, and sharing his experiences with other like-minded men in Europe (Busted 2001:324–326). Busted (2001:319) comments that those landlords who attempted to improve their estates did so in a deliberate effort to proclaim and legitimise their authority through the creation of a distinctive landscape, consolidate a superior way of life, and demonstrate the progressive qualities of Protestantism as opposed to the ‘obsolescent superstition’ of Catholicism.

Overall, it can be argued that improvement in Ireland was largely driven by the interests of landlords and the British government, making it essentially a top-down experience enacted by outsiders. In the landscape, the impact of improving practices was obvious in strip fields, permanent boundaries, dispersed farmhouses and destruction of clachan settlements. However, the vernacular structures of Ireland—the small houses and outbuildings of ordinary people—were tenacious. Like the clachan, which can be interpreted as the antithesis of improvement, the retention of vernacular architecture may have been a means of subverting improvement and retaining traditional lifeways. It may also have been a slow process of

change and revision, adopted as required. To understand the possible use and misuse of improvement strategies in ordinary buildings, it is first necessary to understand the key elements of those structures. This is the focus of the next section which examines vernacular architecture in both Ireland and South Australia.

2.4 Vernacular architecture in Ireland and South Australia

Vernacular architecture—domestic, agricultural and industrial—encompasses the structures built by ordinary people, using materials found in the immediate locality, informed by conventions and methods passed down through the generations, and with little attention paid to fashions or trends (Brunskill 2000:22, 27–28; Danaher 1978:5; O’Reilly and Maguire 2021:1, 10). Unlike grand houses and monumental structures, vernacular buildings are not constructed as a demonstration of superiority, or to control or intimidate a population. Their use of local materials and techniques gives them a distinctive local identity. More broadly, they also express a cultural or social identity by presenting a particular façade to the observer. This façade can either blend imperceptibly with other houses in the community, indicating a compliance with social norms, or stand out as noticeably different, indicating a deliberate choice to do so.

In nineteenth-century Ireland, housing stock was broadly divided into four divisions or classes dependent on wealth and access to resources (General Register Office 1913:xx; Danaher 1978:30; O’Reilly 2011:199; Orser 2004a:179, 2010b:91). Fourth-class houses were the lowest and most inferior, comprising cabins made of mud or other perishable material and having a single room and window. These were the houses of the cottier class, the lowest tier of rural society. Cottiers subsisted on seasonal employment, exchanging their day labour for small patches of land to grow potatoes for their families, living tenuously from year to year with no legal land rights. A third-class dwelling was a little more substantial, probably constructed of mud or stone, but with two to four rooms and windows; these usually housed permanent farm workers and tradesmen. Second-class houses were good farmhouses of five to nine rooms and windows. First-class houses represented all houses that were better quality than second class, generally gentlemen’s residences. First-class houses were broadly equivalent to the ‘great houses’ of Britain (Brunskill 2000:24) and, unlike the other classes, did not generally fit any of the criteria for vernacular architecture.

Between 1841 and 1851, coinciding with the Famine, several significant adjustments occurred in Irish housing conditions. There was an increase in the number of first- and second-class houses and a slight decrease in the number of third-class houses. These changes were consistent with shifts across the broader period from 1841 to 1911, and it does not appear that they were particularly affected by the Famine (Ó Danachair 1955/1956:75). The major change, however, occurred in fourth-class houses. Before the Famine, these made up more than 40% of houses in rural Ireland, but in the decade between 1841 and 1851, almost 75% (nearly 330,000) disappeared (Ó Danachair 1955/1956:75–76, 1962:67). By 1911, fourth-class houses numbered just 5,092, less than 6% of those counted in 1861, and just over 1% of those counted in 1841 (General Register Office 1913:xxi; Ó Danachair 1955/1956:76, 1962:67). These figures indicate that, while those with some resources were able to survive the Famine years, the most economically challenged—casual labourers, people who were evicted or landless, those living at subsistence level—were decimated (Ó Danachair 1955/1956:76).

Conditions in fourth-class cabins were miserable. Although Evans (1940:165) cautions scholars to be wary of extreme views—the English traveller’s revulsion for ‘wretched cabins’ and ‘mere hovels’, the Irish honouring of the ‘glories of hearth and homespun’—descriptions of poorer housing in the early nineteenth century are invariably grim. Reverend Hall, touring through Ireland, described his venture into a cabin near Monasterevin, Co. Kildare:

... I stepped into a cabin, and found a woman, and a boy about ten, sitting on some straw, made into a kind of seats, at a miserable fire in a corner, with no other outlet for the smoke than the door, and a hole made in the roof of the hut above the fire by a stick having been bored through the thatch. (Hall 1813:57)

A similar description was offered by Robert Thompson in neighbouring Co. Meath:

These cabbins [sic], or rather hovels, are in general wretched beyond description; often not sufficiently covered in to keep out rain; they are built with mud ... taken to build the walls from the spot on which they are raised, leaving the surface of the floor, and the ground immediately about the walls, the lowest part, and of course, subject to receive all the surrounding damp ... On this damp floor the family most commonly sleep ... (Thompson 1802:71)

Given their ephemeral nature, fourth-class cabins have left few archaeological traces, although one unexpected example was uncovered in the early 2000s during archaeological excavations in the east of the country in preparation for a major road (Clutterbuck 2006). This

cabin measured over 7 m x 4 m. Located in a ditch, one side of which formed the cabin's back wall, it had three low stone walls, each 0.5 m wide. The interior floor level was lower than the ground outside, and soil taken from the interior appears to have been used against the outside walls either for extra support or to provide insulation.

In terms of the vernacular tradition, Danaher (1978:12) describes the best of Irish vernacular houses as 'among the very finest examples of the European vernacular building tradition' and the worst as 'very bad indeed'. If fourth-class cabins are examples of the worst class of house, third-class houses were somewhat better. Both comprise the house types that the people of Baker's Flat would have lived in or been accustomed to, and their typology is discussed in the next section.

2.4.1 Irish vernacular houses

Despite some regional variations, the typical rural third- and fourth-class houses of the nineteenth century were rectangular in design with thick walls, one room deep, single-storey and often of stone construction. Even the poorest one-roomed cabins adhered to this form, except that mud rather than stone would have been used as the primary construction material (Danaher 1978:30; O'Reilly 2011:199). On average, the length of a vernacular house was between 5.5 and 14 m, and the depth between 3 and 4 m (Ó Danachair 1955/1956:78–80, 1964:62–67; O'Reilly 2011:197). The typical house had a steeply sloped, narrow, thatched roof borne upon the walls rather than internal posts, and rooms that opened into the next without a central hallway (Aalen 1966:47; Danaher 1978:9, 11–12; Gailey 1984:8; Ó Danachair 1972:77, O'Reilly 2011:193, 197, 203). The cooking hearth was at floor level, any chimneys were located along the ridgeline, the front door opened directly into the kitchen, and doors and windows were predominantly on the front or rear walls rather than the gable ends (Danaher 1978:12; Boyle 1998:section 2.05). Extensions were carried out linearly, except for the possible addition of a small front-door windbreak or porch; if 'returns' were added to give a T or L plan, they were always to the rear (Boyle 1998:section 2.05). Local materials used for external walls tended to be stone or clay, or a combination of both, rendered using plaster and/or limewash. For any internal walls or partitions, lighter materials such as wattle-and-daub, corrugated iron or salvaged railway sleepers were used (Danaher 1978:10; Ó Danachair 1972:79; O'Reilly and Maguire 2021:10–12).

Ethnological classifications for traditional Irish houses, and specifically peasant dwellings, identified two basic house types divided along corresponding geographical distributions

(Campbell 1935, 1937, 1938). The division was based primarily on the location of the hearth within the building and the shape of the roof. The first type predominates in the west and north of Ireland and consists of gable-roofed houses with hearths placed at or near the gable wall. The second type is concentrated in the south and east of the country and takes the form of hip-roofed houses with central hearths (Aalen 1966:47; Campbell 1935:66–74, 1937:207–221). Whilst the differing geographical distributions have never been explained satisfactorily, Aalen (1966:47) notes ‘the general belief that [because] the west of Ireland has preserved archaic social and cultural features more fully than the eastern portions of the country, there has been a tendency ... to consider the western type house as an older form’. He is not convinced and instead argues that, in terms of classification, there is only one house type in Ireland, a hip-roofed house with a central hearth, possibly derived from an older round or elliptical house type, which then evolved differently in the western and eastern areas of the country (Aalen 1966:58). Figure 2.2 illustrates how an elliptical house type could evolve to a point where gable ends replace hip ends, and Aalen (1966:49) noted that all these phases of development can be seen in the west.

Interestingly, both Campbell (1938) and Danaher/Ó Danachair³ (1938, 1956), probably the most important scholars of Irish vernacular architecture, consider that the association of the hearth with the gable end of the house is the type feature for traditional houses in western Ireland, possibly evolving from an older rectangular dwelling that had the fire at the foot of the gable wall. Even when the addition of rooms over time results in the hearth near the centre of the house, Danaher still argues that it is basically a gable-hearth type (Ó Danachair 1956), as can be seen in Figure 2.3. The hearth is the critical component of the house, acting as both the functional and social centre (Campbell 1937:233; Danaher 1938:226; Ó Danachair 1946:91, 1972:77–79). As such, Ó Danachair (1946:91) believed that its development was the ‘essential element’ in the evolution of traditional Irish houses.

³ Note that Kevin Danaher and Caoimhín Ó Danachair are the same person. ‘Ó Danachair’ is the Irish form of ‘Danaher’, and this author published under both forms.

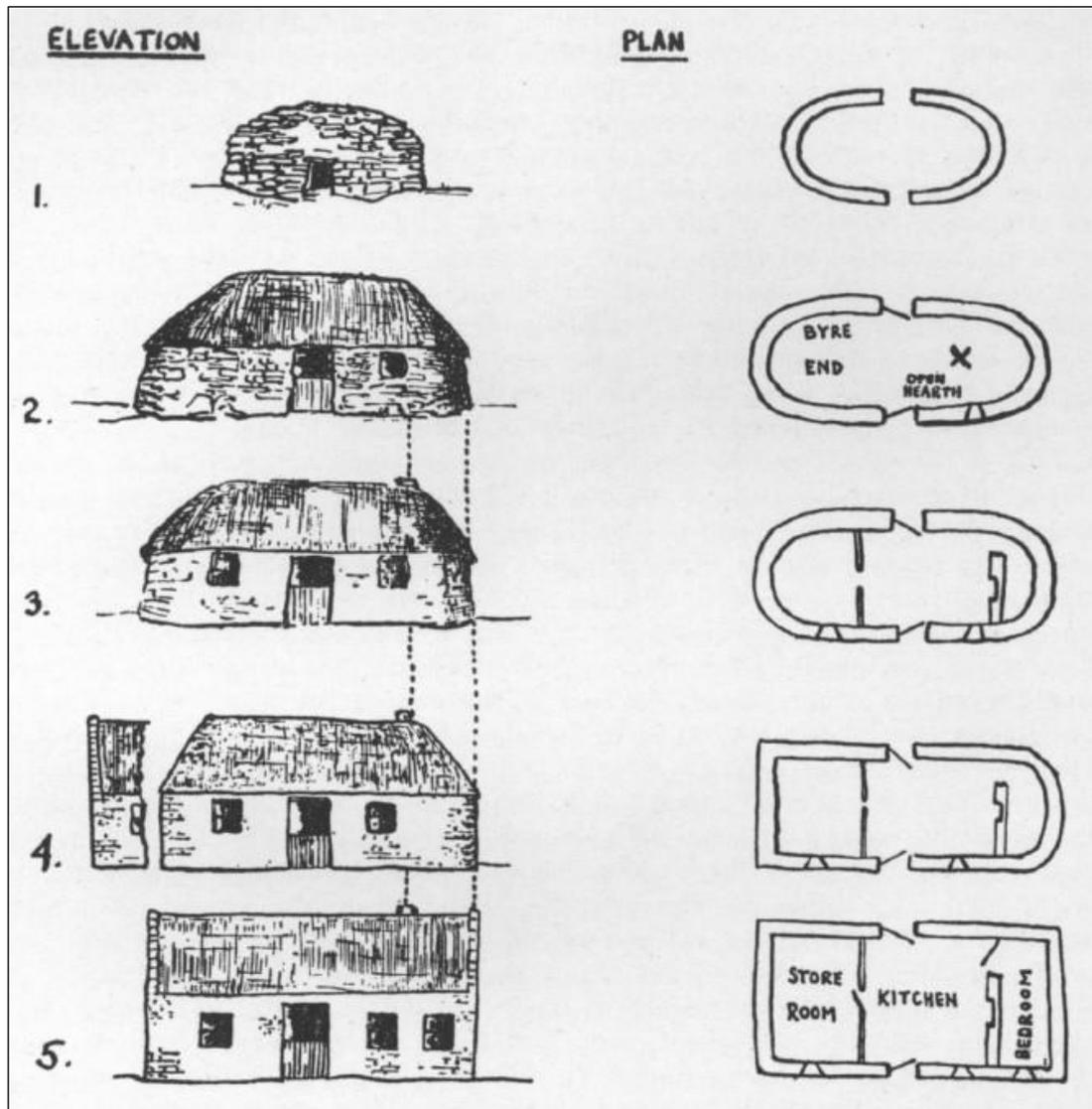


Figure 2.2 Possible evolution of the gable-ended house type in the west of Ireland. Source: Aalen 1966:49, ©Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

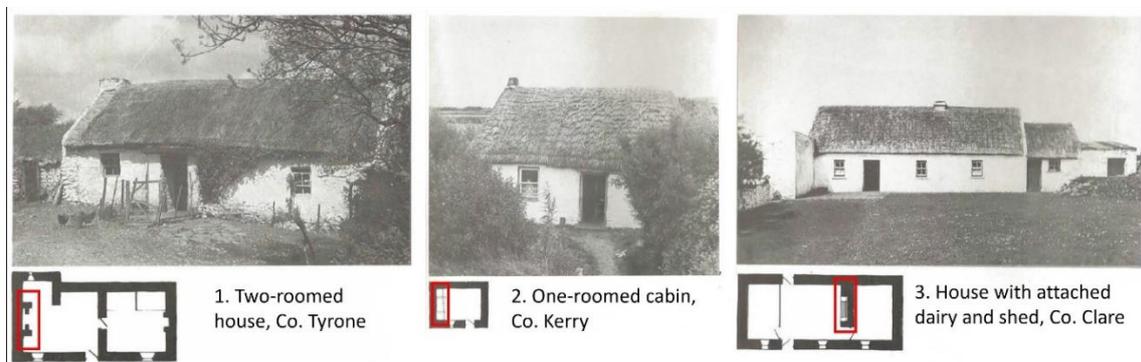


Figure 2.3 Examples of Irish vernacular houses considered to be the gable-hearth type (1,2) even when other rooms have been added (3). Hearths outlined in red. Source: Danaher 1978:18, 27, 30.

It is probable that placing the fire against one of the gable walls with a smoke hole in the roof above it was the first stage of development of the gable-hearth type (Ó Danachair 1946:93). This overcame the disadvantage of the centre-hearth, where occupants and their accoutrements were in constant danger of coming in contact with the fire, and as long as the wall behind the fire was fire-resistant, the gable-hearth was quite safe (Ó Danachair 1946:92–93). Furthermore, a peg could be driven into the wall to suspend cooking vessels over the fire. Hearths of this type survived in Irish traditional houses until at least the mid-1930s (Ó Danachair 1946:93). The fire usually lay directly on the ground, continuing a long Irish tradition of the open hearth at floor level, also found in other parts of western Europe (Campbell 1935:70, 1937:229; Ó Danachair 1946:93, 101). The Irish preference for freshly cooked food and daily baked bread was probably a product of the open hearth at floor level, where local fuels such as wood and dried peat were sufficient for cooking small quantities of food quickly (Ó Danachair 1972:78). The transition from the fire at floor level to its elevation in a grate only occurred later in the nineteenth century as coal was substituted for turf (Campbell 1937:233; Gailey 1984:224; Ó Danachair 1972:78).

Smoke holes in the roof took the place of a chimney, with one usually being placed directly over the fire and another at the opposite end, enabling some of the smoke to escape and letting in some light (Campbell 1937:212, 217; Ó Danachair 1946:93–94). There are several descriptions in the historical literature that focus on the absence of chimneys. In 1843, for example, travellers to Achill Island in Co. Mayo described how in the village of Dooagha, ‘consisting of about forty cabins, there is not a single chimney’ (Hall 1843:403). In 1851, a visitor to the Knockmahon mines in Co. Waterford described a very poor population living in ‘one room open to the thatch—little or no window—a hole in the roof served as chimney’ (Cowman 2006:72). And in the late eighteenth century, Phillip Luckombe toured Ireland and described the following situation across the south-west and west of the country:

Sometimes they have a hole in the roof to let out the smoke, and sometimes none. For to have a chimney would be a luxury too great for the generality. The consequence is a house full of smoke, at least in the upper region, where it floats in thick clouds, the lower part being pretty clear of it. To avoid the acrimony of which you are obliged to sit down, and the poor man of the house immediately offers you a low stool, that you may be, what he calls, out of the smoke. (Luckombe 1783:154)

Overall, in the west of Ireland, it is generally agreed that chimneys in peasant houses were almost unknown until the nineteenth century (Aalen 1966:51). Were a chimney flue or funnel

to be constructed, it is likely to have been made of wattle-and-daub (Ó Danachair 1946:98–100). Such chimneys, constructed of organic material, would leave little trace archaeologically. Campbell (1938:177) calls the stone-built chimney a ‘late innovation’ and notes that it became more widespread in the nineteenth century.

In the absence of a chimney, ventilation and draught regulation for the hearth could be controlled by opposite doors, with either door being kept closed to facilitate management of the prevailing wind (Campbell 1935:70; Ó Danachair 1964:70). This tradition is not unique to Ireland, with similar strategies witnessed across western Europe (Campbell 1937:218–219). Ó Danachair (1964:70) argues that the presence of opposite doors probably belongs originally to the byre-dwelling tradition where people and animals shared the one home, noting several instances where the removal of cattle to an outside building included the closing up of the back door, and that single entrance doors were common in every part of Ireland.

2.4.2 South Australian vernacular houses

To better understand the choices that were made architecturally by the Irish at Baker’s Flat, it is necessary to understand the choices that were made by settlers elsewhere in colonial South Australia. From the beginning, South Australian houses tended to be durable and well-made, probably because this was a settler colony rather than a convict outpost with a ‘tendency for settlers of substance to set up establishments as soon as possible, which emulated, in miniature, the design, dignity and permanence of the environment they had left’ (Berry and Gilbert 1981:3). By 1841, for example, within five years of the first British colonists arriving, the city of Adelaide was already carefully planned, with wide streets and approximately 2,000 buildings (mainly houses) whose generous frontages were set back from the street (Pikusa 1986:17).

Early colonial cottages ‘invariably consisted of two unequal rooms side by side, with no passage’ (Pikusa 1986:23). Each room had a window, the larger room contained the door and fireplace, and the roof could be either hipped or gabled (Pikusa 1986:23). The larger room was where the family cooked, ate, sat and entertained visitors, the smaller room was the family bedroom. Further rooms were added as needed, either with a roof of the same design (gable or hipped) or a succession of skillion roofs; eaves were generally small or absent aligning with English traditions (Persse and Rose 1981:2–3; Pikusa 1986:23). When these houses were extended, they often assumed an L-shape temporarily when one room was added; this could be closed in later with the addition of a fourth room to form a square

(Pikusa 1986:28). This square shape differed from the Irish vernacular tradition of extending a house at either end to continue a rectilinear design, illustrated in Figure 2.3.

Between 1860 and 1915, a style known as the symmetrical cottage evolved from the earlier colonial cottage. This four-roomed house featured a symmetrical front with a central door leading to an internal passage, and a window on either side (Persse and Rose 1981:6–7). This contrasted with the Irish practice of one room leading into the next, and no hallway. Joseph Elliott, writing in 1860, described a house of this type in Adelaide, where he lived with his wife and three children. Built of stone with brick quoins, it had a central door leading to a passageway, a window on each side of the door, and a verandah across the front (Elliott 1984:22–23). The four rooms consisted of a parlour and bedroom to the front, a sitting room and kitchen to the back (Elliott 1984:27).

Around this time, the 1861 South Australian census indicated that the size of Adelaide houses was quite evenly spread: 27% had five or more rooms, 21% four rooms, 29% three rooms, 22% two rooms, and a mere 1% of houses had only one room (Pikusa 1984:95). The low number of one-roomed dwellings compares favourably against conditions in Ireland at the same time. In terms of how the space was used, whereas the Irish hearth acted as the social centre of the house, in the Adelaide house the kitchen table was the focal point. As well as being the place where people stored and prepared food, ate meals and wrote letters, it was the gathering point for families and informal visitors (Pikusa 1984:103).

These two house types—the colonial cottage (Figure 2.4) and the symmetrical cottage (Figure 2.5)—cover most of the time period explored in this research. In common with Irish vernacular houses, the colonial cottages constructed by early settlers were built using whatever materials were close to hand, including reeds, bark, logs, shingles, pisé (clay reinforced with straw), and wattle-and-daub (Persse and Rose 1981:2). As can be seen in Figure 2.4, they typically followed the lines of English Georgian-style cottages. Although verandahs are not a feature of this house type, they were often added later. At first, this was to protect the pisé or wattle-and-daub walls from the rain, and later as a concession to the strong summer sun in an adaptation sourced from British experiences in India (Persse and Rose 1981:3; Pikusa 1986:17). By the late 1850s, when walls were more commonly constructed of stone and brick, verandahs were added for shade, shelter and to provide extra living space (Evans 1983:8; Pikusa 1984:106).

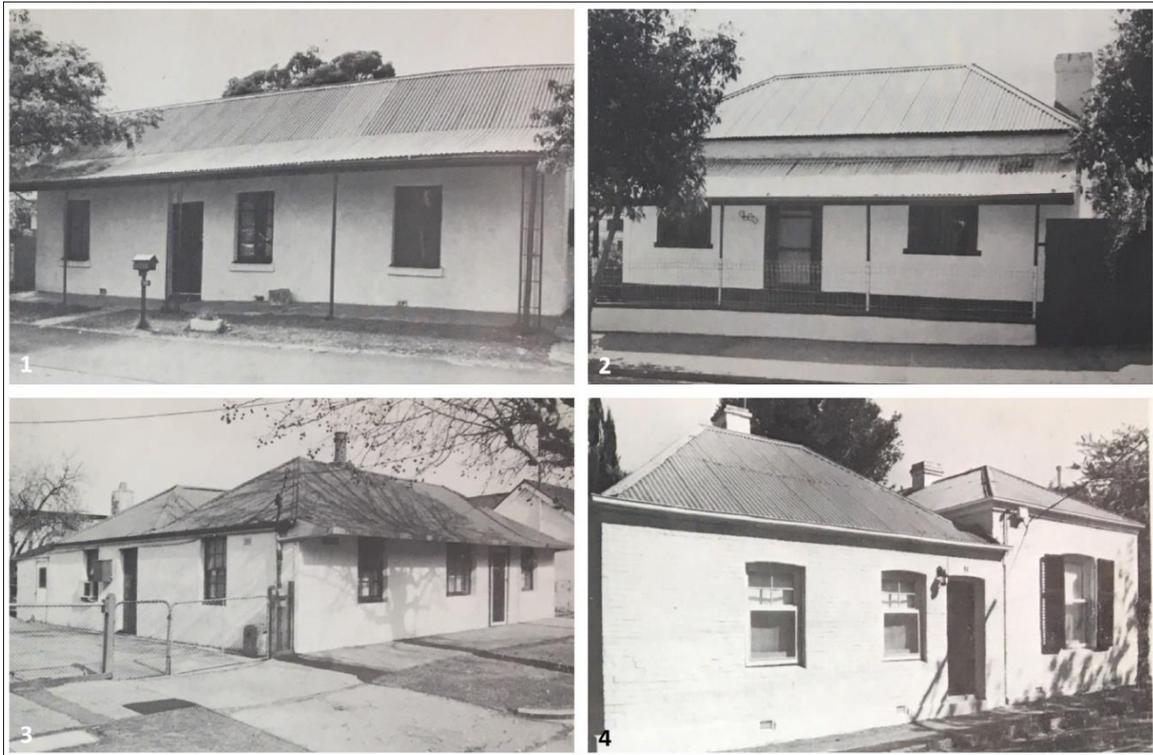


Figure 2.4 Examples of Adelaide early colonial cottages: 1) c.1840, pisé construction, gable roof, verandah added later; 2) 1850, hipped roof, verandah added later; 3) c.1850, hipped roof, two-room extension with identical hipped roof at rear, lean-to addition with skillion roof; 4) c.1850, brick construction, hipped roof, no eaves. Source: Persse and Rose 1981:2–5.



Figure 2.5 Examples of Adelaide symmetrical cottages: 1) 1886, hipped roof, concave verandah with decorative frieze; 2) c.1880, hipped roof, bull-nosed verandah; 3) 1850, hipped roof, extended sideways in unorthodox manner, straight verandah wrapped partially around sides; 4) c.1858, hipped roof, two-room extension to back, concave verandah around three sides. Sources: Persse and Rose 1981:6–7; Pikusa 1986:69, 72.

By 1861, 95% of the buildings in Adelaide were constructed of solid materials, mainly stone and brick (Pikusa 1986:23). The stone was sourced from the near-surface calcrete (limestone) that extended across the city and northwards, and from bluestone quarries in the nearby hills (Pikusa 1986:59; Young 1993:6). Bricks were made from the red-brown clays that were found in large and accessible quantities (Pikusa 1986:59). In this very British colony it was important ‘to present a dignified, stable and prosperous face to the world’ and there was significant social pressure to build stone buildings that were perceived as robust and respectable (Bell 1998b:2).

In the city and inner suburbs, cottages were built with stone frontages and brick sides, laid in lime mortar, with brick quoins giving a vertical line to external corners and openings, a technique adopted from southern England (Bell 1998b:3; Persse and Rose 1981:4–5; Pikusa 1984:106, 1986:60). In country areas, people continued to use termite-resistant native pine for wall posts and roof rafters, whilst any stone buildings were constructed of locally quarried materials (Berry and Gilbert 1981:10; Young 1993:8). In the Mid North, for example, ‘the almost ubiquitous mantle’ of calcrete was used for buildings, with bluestone overburden from the Kapunda mine also providing material for town structures (Young 1993:8). Unlike in Ireland, chimneys were an integral part of virtually all South Australian houses. From the earliest days of settlement, even the smallest cottages had at least one, invariably constructed in brick (Bell 1998b:2). Fire resistance was an important factor in this choice, as was the ease with which bricks could be laid evenly.

In the early days of the colony, roofing materials, particularly for the less wealthy, included thatching from reeds, straw and native grasses, bark from trees, and timber shingles cut from local eucalypts (Mark Butcher Architects 1999:9; Pikusa 1986:23). Thatch was widely used because it offered good insulating properties and the ready availability of raw materials made it an economic choice (Evans 1983:36; Mark Butcher Architects 1999:9). Being relatively light, it was suitable for use with light walling materials, such as mud, and did not require a solid or complex roofing structure (Brunskill 2000:86). However, it was also highly flammable and attracted vermin and, as a result, its use declined when other economical materials, such as slate (1840s) and galvanised iron (1850s), became available (Mark Butcher Architects 1999:9–10; Pikusa 1986:23, 61; Young 1993:8). From the early 1860s, corrugated galvanised iron sheets became the universal roof covering for almost all houses (Pikusa 1986:65). Imported on the wool clippers returning from England (Persse and Rose 1981:145),

galvanised iron had many advantages over other roofing materials. Being lightweight it required fewer and lighter timber supports and was fire-resistant. It did not warp or split like shingles, nor did it require regular maintenance like thatch. It could also be laid over earlier shingle or thatch roofs (Mark Butcher Architects 1999:13).

Early colonial houses in South Australia were built to be as solid, respectable and permanent as possible. Unsurprisingly, the greatest architectural influence was the English tradition, and the resultant Adelaide townscape must have seemed quite odd to Irish migrants arriving in a colony that resembled little England in the Antipodes. An adherence to order and substance extended through the colony, reflecting its systematic and planned nature. Conditions in the Mid North, the area where Baker's Flat is located, are reviewed in the next section.

2.4.3 The situation in the Mid North

Four drawings of townships in the Mid North, made from the 1840s to the 1860s, offer an insight into attitudes and identities of village communities in the wider region around Baker's Flat. Figure 2.6 depicts the town of Angaston in 1845, located 30 km south of Kapunda at the edge of the Barossa Valley. In the main part of the town are several substantial stone buildings, and in the foreground are three colonial cottages, all with verandahs and either a hipped or gabled roof. The houses in nearby Penrill (Figure 2.7), drawn two decades later in 1865, show similar forms. The road going through Watervale (Figure 2.8), 55 km north of Kapunda, is lined with houses that appear to be slab-built with brick or stone external chimneys. Almost all are fenced. The main building in the tiny hamlet of Penwortham (Figure 2.9), just north of Watervale, is slab-built with external stone or brick chimneys, and a gabled roof with skillion extension. In each of these drawings, it is evident that towns are developing along deliberately formed roads and streets.



Figure 2.6 *Angaston, County of Light, 1845*, attributed to William A. Cawthorne. Source: State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), FL1033089.



Figure 2.7 *Penrill, County of Light, 26 May 1865*, attributed to William A. Cawthorne. Source: SLNSW, FL1033108.

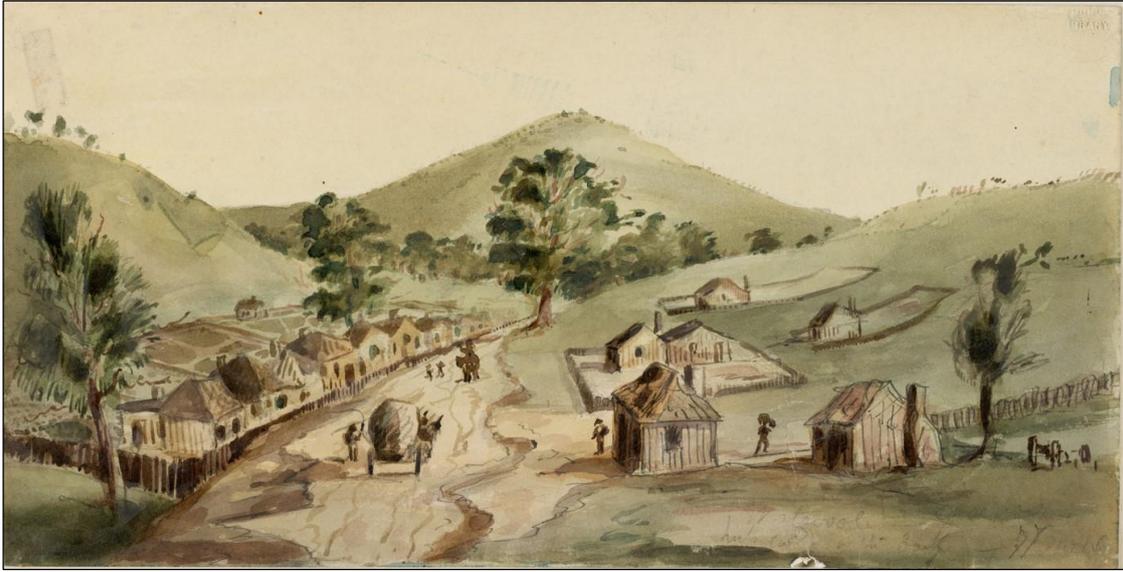


Figure 2.8 *Watervale, December 1850*, attributed to William A. Cawthorne. Source: SLNSW, FL1067926.



Figure 2.9 *Penwortham, December 1850*, attributed to William A. Cawthorne. Source: SLNSW, FL1067927.

Looking to Kapunda, when the copper mine officially began operating in early 1844, the first workers requiring accommodation were Cornish miners. These men were already in the colony, having migrated with their families with the intention of farming. After initially living in tents on the mine property, by mid-1845 two rows of cottages had been built for the miners, followed by a third in 1846. These row cottages, sketched in 1845 by E.C. Frome (Figure 2.10) and in 1849 by S.T. Gill (Figure 2.11), were the first example of company-provided housing in South Australia (Drew 2017:32). The two-roomed cottages were

constructed of stone quarried from a nearby hill and roofed first with shingles and later with galvanised iron (Drew 2017:32; Dutton 1846:269). Row cottages like these were an evolution of the two-roomed colonial cottage, and with most having only two outside walls, they had the advantages of being cooler in the hot South Australian summers and better protected from the elements (Pikusa 1986:35).



Figure 2.10 *Kapunda Mines, South Australia* by E.C. Frome, 1845, showing the first rows of miners' cottages.
Source: Art Gallery of South Australia, 709HP63.



Figure 2.11 *Kapunda copper mine, sectional sketch no. 4, cottages and offices* by S.T. Gill, 1849, showing miners' cottages at the Kapunda Mine. Source: Art Gallery of South Australia, 7110D11.

Another rich copper lode was discovered in 1845 at Burra, about 80 km north of Kapunda, where company housing for workers was also constructed. These rows of stone cottages, built between 1849 and 1852, formed a square known as Paxton Square (Pikusa 1986:39). However, the rents were high and the miners and their families, predominantly Cornish, elected to live in a different form of vernacular structure. From the late 1840s to the early 1850s, many of them burrowed into the banks of the Burra Creek to form dugouts, with about 1,800 people (40% of the Burra population) living there at their peak in 1851 (Bell 1998a:30; Mullen and Birt 2009:59).

Although conditions were overcrowded, many contemporary newspaper accounts emphasise their comfortable nature, describing up to three rooms, glazed windows, clean whitewash, neat style, and even some that had wallpaper and carpet (Mullen and Birt 2009:59–60). Whilst there were high incidences of sickness and death and a significant level of dirt (pigs and horses were kept near the dugouts), the inhabitants went to great lengths to create clean, respectable, comfortable dwellings, with frequent whitewashing, and the addition of living

spaces, such as verandahs and lean-tos (Auhl 1986:126–128). This included internal chimneys, with an excavation in 2004 of the rear room of a Burra dugout clearly identifying a fireplace and chimney in the north-west corner (Mullen and Birt 2009:62–63). On the back of an 1851 drawing attributed to William A. Cawthorne (Figure 2.12), the artist noted that the creek banks were lined with dugout homes belonging to the miners and their families, and that the lumps on the tops of the houses were the chimney stacks (Auhl 1986:125). An article in the *South Australian Register* (1851:3) noted that all the dugouts had chimneys on top, mostly made of barrels cemented in wood.



Figure 2.12 *Burra Creek, 1851*, attributed to William A. Cawthorne. Source: SLNSW, FL1033100.

Further north, about 200 km from Kapunda, the township of Pekina was settled by colonists in 1873, most of whom were Irish and Catholic; many were Irish-born (especially Co. Clare and Co. Tipperary) and had spent time elsewhere in the colony before venturing as far as Pekina when the land was released (Ashley 2009; Mannion and James 2019:90–91). For many years Pekina was known as ‘probably the most thoroughly Irish centre in South Australia’ (*Southern Cross* 1891), but, despite this, the houses built by the Irish settlers adhered to a standard South Australian colonial cottage design, with no Irish vernacular features (Ashley 2009). Ashley suggests that this may be because they felt secure enough to adopt local practices. She also found, from a sample of 15 houses, that the Pekina Irish constructed their homes at some distance from each other, possibly for privacy.

Occasionally, Irish-style houses come to light inadvertently. This appears to be the case from the report of the archaeological excavation of a farmhouse at Moran's Farm, Melrose, about 40 km west of Pekina (Lawrence 1996 [the ceramics from this site have been discussed in section 2.2.1]). The farmhouse was built by Thomas William Moran for his family, probably in the early 1880s. Moran was Irish and had been posted to Australia while serving with the British Army. The building techniques used in the house followed South Australian practices—walls of pug and pine with a limewash coat, later stone additions using local granite, a shingle roof later covered with galvanised iron (Lawrence 1996:42–44). However, as Lawrence (1996:44) put it: 'If the building materials used were typically South Australian, the layout of the house was not'. The original two-roomed cottage was a typical colonial cottage, with a large main room and smaller adjoining room. Unexpectedly, though, rather than adding new rooms to the back, at Moran's Farm 'the additional rooms were added on in a row, one beside the other and beside the original house, presumably with a continuation of the same roof line', which 'resulted in a string of adjoining rooms with no connecting passage' (Lawrence 1996:44). Whilst Lawrence (1996) found this puzzling in the South Australian context, it makes more sense given that Moran was Irish and probably building his home to a standard Irish vernacular design.

In reviewing the literature on vernacular housing in South Australia, we are left with images of a new colony dominated by the English Georgian style, company housing evolving from the two-roomed colonial cottage, Cornish miners in dugouts, a group of Irish migrants at Pekina constructing colonial cottages on distanced farms, and one Irish ex-British Army soldier at Melrose building an Irish-style house. These offer a framework for examining homes on Baker's Flat where there are indications that the Irish were building whitewashed cottages with thatched roofs (Nicol 1983:14) in a settlement resembling 'a bit out of the old country' (Maloney 1936a:29). The following two chapters provide an historical context for events of the nineteenth century in both Ireland and South Australia, before archaeological investigations of the site are detailed in Chapters 5–8.

2.5 Summary

The social construction of identity changes over time. Individuals change and communities evolve in response to work and economic adjustments, the development of kin and other relationships, the experience of disasters and traumas. Material culture is an active player in the creation of social identities, and the material evidence associated with these identities can

be seen in the things that people have and use in their personal lives, and the landscapes and buildings they live in.

This chapter has focused on Irish social identity—Irishness. Setting the scene with a discussion about the Irish diaspora, the nature of Irishness has been examined from sociological and archaeological perspectives. Social identity theories have been discussed in relation to how they might be seen in material evidence, including how archaeological material can be interrogated across generations to show changes in identity or adherence to ideologies such as respectability. The Irish clachan and rundale system has been set in the broader context of capitalism and improvement, investigating how labour ideologies can be seen in the landscape. Finally, the vernacular houses that were the cornerstones of clachan settlements have been analysed in detail, alongside their South Australian counterparts, to provide context for the houses built by the Baker's Flat Irish.

3 Historical Context—The Irish in Ireland

This chapter presents a brief overview of Irish history as it relates to nineteenth-century emigration to Australia. It focuses on some of the major issues that prompted large scale Irish migration, beginning with hunger and famine, a theme that resonates through Irish historiography of the recent past. It goes on to examine the key complexities of the colonial Irish-English relationship, some of the significant social changes following the Great Famine, and the substantial increase in emigration.

3.1 Before the Famine

Famine has ‘always been one of the greatest catastrophes that could engulf a people’ (Ó Gráda 2009:2) and the Irish Famine of the mid-nineteenth century is commonly regarded as a turning point in Irish history. It is so critical to the Irish experience that the word ‘Famine’ with an initial upper-case letter invariably refers to the Great Irish Famine of 1845–1852, also known as *An Gorta Mór* (The Great Hunger) or simply the Famine. It is so embedded in the Irish historical narrative that it has become a trope for mid-nineteenth century Ireland—there is the time before and the time after the Famine, the pre-Famine and post-Famine Irelands.

In fact, before the time of The Great Hunger, the Irish already had a great deal of experience in dealing with famine, in common with other populations in the region. In pre-industrial Europe, famine was not a rarity—agrarian societies across the continent experienced it regularly, and Ireland was no exception. In 1740–1741, for example, a particularly severe potato and grain failure caused a famine that is estimated to have killed up to 250,000 Irish people (Ó Gráda 1989:19) from a total population of 2.4 million, the ‘worst demographic disaster before 1845’ (Gray 1995:16). The year of 1741 became known colloquially as *Bliain an Áir* (Year of the Slaughter), although this phrase and the entire episode were afterwards almost entirely forgotten (Gray 1995:16; Ó Gráda 2009:5), possibly because the effects were largely managed within the country, and the primary cause was climatic rather than political or socio-economic factors.

The potato, of course, is central to the Irish famine experience. After being introduced most likely in the late sixteenth century (Feehan 2012:28; O’Riordan 2001), it went on to play ‘a greater part in the history of Ireland than of any other European country’ (Ó Gráda 1989:22). Popular folklore states that it was first planted by Sir Walter Raleigh at his Myrtle Grove

estate in Youghal, Co. Cork.⁴ In spite of the prevailing folklore, however, O’Riordan (2001:31) claims that it was most likely introduced via Spain, particularly given that the Spanish were the first to cultivate it on the European mainland, that there was substantial trade between Ireland and Spain, and that in its early years in Ireland it was often referred to as *An Spáinneach* or *An Spáinneach Geal* (The White Spaniard).

Ó Gráda (1989:11, 26, 2009:77) argues that the introduction of the potato into Ireland shielded the poor against famine and malnutrition for a time, since, when combined with buttermilk, it provided a completely nutritious diet. It complemented the traditional foods of oats and milk, and the planting of different varieties was a form of food security against the failure of any single type. Although at least eight different cultivars were grown regularly, the Lumper, despite its poor quality and bland taste, was grown extensively across Ireland from 1808 for its high yield on marginal soil (Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food 2008:5, 44). It was this variety that facilitated such a rapid population increase that by 1841 the Irish population was between 8.2 and 8.4 million, more than double what it had been in 1790 (Ó Gráda 2012:171; Smyth 2012a:13). This increase was not spread evenly across the island. Across central and west Ulster, Connacht and parts of southwest Munster (Figure 3.1), there were increases of between 300% and 600%. The result was that the poorest lands often experienced the most population pressure (Ó Síocháin 2015:5).

The population’s dependence on a single crop was a risk, although Ó Gráda (1989:24) has argued that, statistically, the probability of a once-off major failure was small, and in fact, before the advent of potato blight, a major failure over two or three years was ‘utterly improbable’. Unfortunately, by now the Irish poor were relying almost totally on the Lumper for food, and it was extremely susceptible to blight (Feehan 2012:29–33; Ó Gráda 2009:77). By 1845, three million people depended almost completely on the potato for food, with the remainder of the population also consuming large quantities, as did their pigs, cattle, horses and fowl (Ó Gráda 1989:24–25).

⁴ Raleigh also spent time at another of his estates, Killua Castle, Co. Westmeath. In 1801, an obelisk was erected there to commemorate Raleigh’s introduction of the potato into Ireland (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage 2004). Interestingly, the Raleigh Obelisk was erected by Sir Thomas Chapman, then owner of the Killua estate; his son, Sir Montague Chapman, later bought large swathes of land in South Australia and may have been indirectly responsible for the Irish establishing themselves at Baker’s Flat (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.3 and 4.5).



Figure 3.1 Location of Ireland’s 32 counties and the four provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

Source: Aalen et al. 2011:1.

3.2 The Great Irish Famine

The potato blight (*Phytophthora infestans*) arrived in Ireland in September 1845. A new disease, it had first affected potato crops in the US in 1843, then reached Ireland via continental Europe and England. The effects in this first year of crop failure were not extreme—the British Conservative government, under the auspices of Prime Minister Robert Peel, provided enough relief food to feed one million people for a month and, in addition, Ireland was able to deal with short term potato shortages provided the next crop was not delayed for long (Ó Gráda 1989:39–40; Smyth 2012b:48). As a result, there were few deaths that year.

In 1846, however, the blight returned, causing an almost universal failure of the potato crop. There was a new government in Britain, and a new Liberal Prime Minister, John Russell. Whilst in opposition, the Liberals had castigated Peel's government for providing food aid to Ireland. Now, faced with the growing crisis, they continued to reject action and adopted a wait-and-see approach. In doing this, they were influenced by the prevailing economic doctrine of laissez-faire and the Malthusian principle of population. Laissez-faire economics required a reliance on free markets. Robert Malthus, a prominent political economist and demographer, interpreted phenomena such as famines as natural and inevitable checks to an over-abundant population. His views were hugely influential and the Irish, perceived as feckless and reckless with their early marriages and large families, were judged as an example of the principle of population in action (Ó Gráda 1989:9, 2009:8). As a result, during the Great Irish Famine, 'both private charity and the public purse' were constrained by Malthusian dogma, prejudiced by a pervasive belief in the preordained nature of the potato failure, the moral repercussions of relieving the starving, and economic caution even in times of crisis (Ó Gráda 2009:205; Smyth 2012b:53–54).

It did not help that the height of the Famine period, between late 1846 and early 1847, coincided with a financial crisis in Britain which, although short-lived, was one of the worst in the nineteenth century (Ó Gráda 1989:46). Further, the head of Treasury, Charles Trevelyan, who was responsible for day-to-day policy decisions, was a deeply religious man (Ó Gráda 1989:52–53) and a true believer in laissez-faire economics and the free market (Smyth 2012b:48). He fervently believed that the Famine had been sent by God to teach the Irish a lesson, describing it as 'a direct stroke of an all-wise and all-merciful Providence', and asking that 'God grant that the generation to which this great opportunity has been offered,

may rightly perform its part' (Trevelyan 1848:201). Trevelyan (1848:6) described how potatoes were cultivated in Ireland 'in the slovenly mode popularly known as "lazy beds"', rather than in furrows, giving some insight into his views on both the Irish and their agricultural methods.

The blight continued each season until 1852 and these years of the Great Famine have been described as 'one of the largest and darkest areas of Irish history' (Morash and Hayes 1996:9) and 'the greatest social disaster to occur in any one country in nineteenth-century Europe' (Smyth 2012d:5). There are many academic accounts about the extent of the Irish Famine experience (see, for example, Crowley et al. 2012; Daly 1986; Gray 1995; Litton 1994; Morash and Hayes 1996; Ó Gráda 1989; Ó Murchadha 2011; Póirtéir 1995; Tóibín and Ferriter 2004; Woodham-Smith 1962), but in stark terms scholars generally agree that, by the time the Famine had resolved, about one million people had died of starvation and fever (one in nine of the population), and one and a half million more had left the island (Lysaght 1996/1997:66; Ó Gráda 1989:49; Smyth 2012d:11). Although one in nine people were now missing, the statistics varied across the country, with the west being particularly hard hit. The province of Munster (counties Clare, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford) lost more than one-quarter (c.26%) of its population in the Famine years, c.650,000 people from a total of c.2.5 million in 1845 (Smyth 2012c:370).

Inevitably, the main victims of the Famine were the smallest and poorest farmers—cottiers and labourers who did not have enough purchasing power to source alternative food supplies at inflated prices (Lysaght 1996/1997:65). The highest mortality rates occurred in the poorer areas of the west. Although the provinces of Connacht and Munster held less than half the population, they accounted for more than two-thirds of the excess deaths (Lysaght 1996/1997:65–66; Ó Gráda 1989:58, 2012:172). These deaths and their aftermath were often horrific. For example, Charles Orser, researching the historical archaeology of Ballykilcline, Co. Roscommon, found that the parish's population dropped from 11,391 to 5,118 between 1841 and 1851, and cites a report from the parish priest:

Fever has made its way into almost every house. The poor creatures are wasting away and dying of want. In very many instances the dead bodies are thrown in waste cabins and dykes and are devoured by dogs. (Henry Brennan cited in Orser 2012a:323)

It is important to note that, at first, the poor reacted strongly to the crisis. Food rioting was widespread; there were waves of protest and intimidation by secret agrarian societies and

large gangs attacked mills, shops and food convoys (Geary 1999:185; Ó Gráda 1989:43; Smyth 2012c:367–368). The incidence of crime rose sharply, mainly for non-violent property offences, with many relating to food issues, such as cattle and sheep stealing, burglary and housebreaking, highway robbery and obstructing the transport of provisions (Ó Gráda 1989:43–44; Smyth 2012c:368). These actions are consistent with the famine stress model described by Geary (1999:184–185), where, firstly, in response to the onset of famine there is an ‘alarm reaction’ where people share food and resources, followed by a ‘stage of resistance’ characterised by people mobilising in search of food and relief. The third phase is a ‘stage of exhaustion’ where society and the family unit collapse, and societal norms disintegrate.

This was the stage that Ireland had reached by 1848 (Geary 1999:185); the people were weak, starving, desperate and traumatised, no longer capable of protesting or rioting. Witnesses described seeing men and women with the appearance of ‘ghastly skeletons’, ‘frightful spectres’, ‘ghosts’ and ‘phantoms’ (Geary 1999:181–182). Social norms such as co-operation and respect for others, pride and self-respect, were overtaken by the primal need for self-preservation. It has been noted that people experiencing famine ‘become desperate and self-absorbed, and lack shame, their baser instincts prompting actions that would be unthinkable in normal times’ (Ó Gráda 2009:48). In Ireland, this manifested in actions such as homicide, suicide, infanticide, abandonment of children and intra-familial conflict over food (Geary 1999:185–186). There are many sad examples in the literature—a teenager murdering two boys for their cornmeal; parents displaying no emotion over the dead bodies of their children; fathers deserting their families; children indifferent to their dead parents; a farmer bludgeoning a destitute woman to death because she had stolen a few sheaves of wheat; the abandonment of traditional funerary customs and rites (Geary 1999:186–187; Ó Gráda 2009:50–51). In the post-Famine years, as the surviving Irish poor migrated across the world, they carried with them these traumas and memories of physical and psychological degradation.

Looking back at these Famine years, Ó Gráda (1989:76) argues that ‘in the end the Irish were desperately unlucky’. The massive crop failures caused by the blight were unpredictable. Nothing ‘quite as horrific as *Phytophthora infestans* had appeared before, in Ireland or anywhere else’ (Ó Gráda 1989:76). If it had arrived some decades earlier or later, the consequences would not have been so severe because reliance on the potato would have been

less, governments ‘less constrained by ideological scruples’, and by the end of the century a blight remedy had been developed (Ó Gráda 1989:76). Further, the rising demand for labour in the industrialising countries of Britain and the US would have absorbed much of the at-risk population. As it was though, this is the hand Ireland was dealt and it was to shape what was to come in the form of later mass emigration and the creation of the Irish diaspora.

3.3 Ireland and England, a complex relationship

Ireland may have been unlucky, but this was compounded by its complex relationship with its ruling power, England. Beginning with the Anglo-Norman invasion in the twelfth century, key events over the following 700 years included the dissolution of the monasteries during the sixteenth century Reformation; the subsequent introduction of laws which penalised the practice of Catholicism and excluded Catholics from playing any role in political affairs; the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth century confiscation of Catholic Irish land by the Crown and its colonisation by English and Scottish settlers (the plantations); the traumatic Cromwellian conquest in the mid-seventeenth century which completed the confiscation of Catholic Irish land; the passing of the *Act of Union 1801* which united the countries into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and terminated the Irish Parliament; and various unsuccessful rebellions by the Irish against the English colonial powers from the sixteenth through to the early nineteenth centuries.

Although religious differences between Ireland and England began to increase from the time of the Reformation, it should be noted that cultural conflict between the Irish and English was more critical. The English colonial powers did not understand Irish ways and customs. The people were deemed unreliable, unreasonable, disordered and culturally inferior, with Queen Elizabeth I stating the need to bring ‘that rude and barbarous nation to civility’ (Canny 1973:581). As a result, colonial rule concentrated on depriving the native Irish of their land and power, with the presumption that, once the native laws and chieftains were overthrown, the country could join the ranks of the ‘civilised’ (Canny 1973; Miller 1985:28). The plantations were successful in shoring up British influence, particularly in the north, south-west and centre of the country, but they also established a lasting sectarian divide. Together with the Penal Laws, the situation evolved to a point where the majority Catholic Irish population was poor and desperate, whilst political and economic power was held by a small English minority known as the Protestant Ascendancy or the Anglo-Irish (Woodham-Smith 1962:26–28).

By the time of the Famine, Ireland was characterised by ‘fragile and often dysfunctional social, cultural, economic and political structures’ (Smyth 2012d:9). Whilst Daly (1986:93–95, 113–114, 1995:133–134) rightly argues that responsibility for the Famine tragedy does not lie only with the government—landlords, traders, members of the clergy and Irish politicians could all have been more engaged—it is undeniable that the Irish at the time were full British citizens and therefore the responsibility of the London administration, whose actions were too little and too late (Smyth 2012b:46–53). Trevelyan was steadfast in his reluctance to assist, even when British officers working in Ireland begged for food supplies (Smyth 2012b:50–53).

Ó Gráda (2009:9) queries whether this reluctance was because England had not itself experienced any major peacetime famine since the mid-eighteenth century. Smyth (2012b:56) states that had such a famine begun in Britain, the response would have been very different. Instead, Britain’s regions were rapidly becoming industrialised, leading the way in modern production methods, and Britain was considered the powerhouse of the world. In neighbouring Ireland, there was no industrial revolution, and it remained ‘a poor region in what was then the wealthiest economy in the world’ (Ó Gráda 2009:10). There was a failure to recognise that ‘Ireland was not England’—poverty levels were different, food markets and merchants were few and unevenly distributed, grain crops were produced specifically to pay rent rather than for home consumption (Smyth 2012b:51), a situation that was compounded by the shared history of these neighbouring islands over the previous 700 years, and the belief in Britain that Ireland was an alien and hostile country (Smyth 2012b:56). Although Ireland had been politically part of the Union since 1801, the Irish were not really considered to be British.

Not all responses were negative, however. There were benevolent landlords and agents, generous donors of food and financial assistance, and individuals who carried out charitable works. The Society of Friends (Quakers) stands out as the most successful relief agency, beginning their Famine relief work in 1846 (Hatton 2012:100). Perhaps remembered with most reverence for their soup kitchens which distributed nourishing soup to the hungry with complete impartiality, the Quakers also invested in longer term development projects such as the funding of fisheries, the growing of flax for the linen industry, and the distribution of seed for green crops like peas, beans and cabbage (Hatton 2012:101–106). Since well before the Famine, the Quakers had had a strong presence in Ireland, including at a copper mine in

Bunmahon, Co. Waterford. Under the auspices of the Mining Company of Ireland, which was partly the initiative of Dublin Quakers, this mine started production in 1826 aiming to employ ‘an industrious but starving peasantry’ and thereby bring about ‘peace, comfort and prosperity’ (Cowman 2006:10, 16). The Bunmahon area suffered greatly during the Famine, with approximately one-third of the inhabitants perishing and many others leaving the country (Cowman 2006:68). Although no records have yet been found that link the Kapunda Irish to Bunmahon, this is a distinct possibility, given that the mine has an explicit link with South Australia. Between c.1837 and 1851, one of its Cornish mine captains was William Barkla, who then moved with his wife and family to take up the position of underground manager at the Kapunda copper mine (Cowman 2006:73; Drew 2017:52). Barkla was at Kapunda from 1852 to 1861 (Drew 2017:52), a time when large numbers of Irish migrants also arrived there.

3.4 After the Famine

The social dislocation that began as a result of the Famine continued in the years afterwards. Families had been physically and emotionally torn apart. Social certainties and supports had been weakened. Evans (1957:11) noted that there was ‘a general reaction against everything associated with [the Famine]’. This included the demise of despised famine foods such as wild berries and cresses, edible seaweed and fungi, eel, hare and rabbit, symbols of poverty such as the donkey and the goat, as well as the clustered settlement of the clachan (Evans 1957:11–12; Smyth 2012d:9). Land management and the landscape changed as farms were improved and consolidated by landlords, alterations which intensified a ‘now almost pathological love of the land’ amongst the Irish (Smyth 2012d:12).

In the aftermath, there was also a silence. When a million people died, their voices and stories died with them, an absence which has been described as the first great silence (Crowley et al. 2012:xii). The survivors, those who remained in Ireland and those who left for other places, may have witnessed, suffered or carried out dreadful acts in order to stay alive. The associated traumas of guilt and shame generated another silence, which was compounded by the retreat of the Irish language and desolation of the landscape (Crowley et al. 2012:xii; Nic Craith 2012:580). The following generations—children and grandchildren of the survivors—had little to say about the Famine period.

This silence is, perhaps, partly because of the universal feeling of being ashamed that our ancestors were so poor, hungry and humiliated in the first case; partly, perhaps, because we are the survivors and beneficiaries of the post-Famine adjustment; and also partly because it is impossible to remember or represent the scale, pain and horror of those trauma-laden years. (Crowley et al. 2012:xii)

Beiner (2007, 2018) argues that this type of social forgetting is not a collective amnesia or total erasure of past events. Rather, it is about the tension between what is not remembered in public but is remembered in private and silence. This complex negotiation of memory and forgetting enables individuals and communities to continue surviving and create new lives. However, this silent trauma and guilt carried by the emigrating Irish should be borne in mind when considering their subsequent behaviours and actions. Anti-social behaviours such as drunkenness and violence may have a basis in trauma.

The post-Famine years were also characterised by what Larkin (1972) has termed a ‘devotional revolution’ which saw the Irish becoming ‘practising Catholics’ for the first time. Prior to the Famine, the Irish poor tended to practise an extrasacramental Catholicism, where religious observance was irregular and integrated into traditional or customary practices (Canny 1973:583; Newsinger 1995:250, 252). This form of Irish Catholicism was a hybrid of folk customs and rituals, traditional magic and Christian devotion that could be observed in community gatherings such as wakes (social gatherings for the dead), patterns (public devotions to saints at holy wells and shrines) and seasonal celebrations (weaving of crosses on St Brigid’s Day, bonfires on St John’s Eve) (Connolly 1982:74–134, 1985:47–50).

The devotional revolution saw church attendance and belief in orthodox religion increase dramatically. Partly, this was because of the Famine’s psychological impact. It was perceived as evidence of God’s wrath destroying the people, leaving them ready for a devotional change, especially when combined with a belief that the old traditions had not averted the desolation (Evans 1977:15–17; Gray 1995:122–123; Larkin 1972:639). Further, the massive population decline had disproportionately affected labourers and cottiers, leaving intact the more prosperous ‘respectable’ farmers who sympathised with the Church’s aspirations and formed a strong devotional nucleus (Connolly 1985:54; Larkin 1972:639). In addition, the numbers of priests and nuns increased, as did their adherence to clerical laws and conduct, strongly influenced by Rome (Connolly 1985:52–53; Larkin 1972:644).

Larkin (1972:649) argues that it was at this point that Irishness and Catholicism became interchangeable terms. As the language and culture of education, business, politics and communication became increasingly anglicised, the Irish language and traditional Gaelic culture declined. The devotional revolution offered the Irish ‘a substitute symbolic language and ... a new cultural heritage with which they could identify and be identified’ (Larkin 1972:649).

There was also the land question. Agrarian activism rose in the 1870s and 1880s in response to persistent evictions, as landlords sought to clear their lands and replace tillage with cattle and sheep. In 1879, a mass meeting in Co. Mayo led to the establishment of the Irish National Land League and the start of the Land War. One of the Land League’s leaders was Michael Davitt, son of an evicted Mayo farmer and newly released from an English prison where he had served seven years for Fenian activities. Davitt and the Land League advocated for what were known as the Three Fs—fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale for tenant farmers—but also went further to agitate for ‘peasant proprietorship’, the land for the people (Kane 2011:67–113; Nolan 2012:572–573).

The Land League became one of the largest agrarian movements in nineteenth-century Europe (TeBrake 1992:63), with tactics that included rent strikes, boycotting of landowners, and active resistance to evictions. Rural women played essential roles in these collective actions as protestors against evictions and participants in boycott campaigns. Women also taunted and threw mud, stones and manure at process servers and police, or blocked roadways using carts or their own bodies (TeBrake 1992:74–75). Notably, even when there were men present, women took the lead in challenging the authorities. Two explanations are suggested for this: first, that women were responsible for care and preservation of the home, so that their resistance when the home was threatened was both expected and condoned; second, it was assumed that women were less likely to be arrested, and if they were, that the punishment would be less severe (TeBrake 1992:7576). It was usual, therefore, for women to stand their ground and be ‘far from timid or reserved in their attacks on the police’ (TeBrake 1992:76). The Land War was ultimately resolved by a series of land acts between 1881 and 1903, beginning with the *Land Act 1881* which established the principle of dual ownership of land tenure by landlord and tenant, provided for rent reform and set up a Land Commission (Nolan 2012:573–577).

3.5 The scattering

One of the major consequences of the Famine was the scattering of Irish people across the world. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Ireland had the highest emigration rates in all of Europe and whilst those leaving other European countries were mainly male, roughly equal numbers of men and women left Ireland, with women being in the majority at certain times (Hall and Malcolm 2008/9:4; Kenny 2013:28–29). By 1891, 40% of the total Irish-born population was living outside their home country, mainly in the cities of Britain, North America and Australasia (Smyth 2012d:11–12).

Emigration was heavily weighted towards the US. Evans (1957:11) noted that after enduring the Famine privations, most migrants wanted nothing more to do with rural poverty and instead became urban dwellers. This was also a pragmatic decision, since those leaving were mainly labourers whose primary aim was to get work, which was chiefly in the towns (Ó Danachair 1975:75). Most moved to US industrial cities, attaching themselves to local Irish communities (Doyle 2010:741; Emmons 1990:6). Unlike other migrants to the US, such as south-eastern Europeans who had repatriation rates of up to 80%, the Irish repatriation rate was closer to 10%. Ireland was not capable of absorbing the returning emigrant. Therefore, if they were to feel at home in the US, they had to bring some measure of home with them. The result was the creation of ethnic communities using organisations like the Catholic Church and Irish clubs to replicate Irish society, and the consequent formation of American-Irish towns (Emmons 1990:6). The western mining camp of Butte, Montana, was the destination for many of the mining families from Bunmahon, Co. Waterford (Cowman 2006:74, 134–140). It became an industrial city and one of the most Irish cities in the US where, in 1900, about 25% of the population were Irish, holding 90% of the mining jobs (Emmons 1990:13).

Australia was far more remote than the US or Canada, and its earliest Irish arrivals had tended to come as convicts rather than as free settlers. From the late 1830s, however, voluntary migration began to increase and this continued in the post-Famine years (O’Farrell 2000:59–63). Unlike the US, which received those Irish worst affected by the Famine, the vast distance and greater costs associated with the journey meant that Irish migrants to Australia had a little more means and had survived the Famine a little more intact (O’Farrell 2000:63). This meant that, although Irish Australia was not immune from the trauma of Famine survivors, it did not suffer the ‘intense bitterness’ that occurred in Irish America, where the British continued to be blamed for the Irish experience of exile (Kenny 2013:31;

Malcolm and Hall 2018:7; Miller 1985:102–130). As in other places, the terms ‘Irish’ and ‘Catholic’ became inextricably linked as bywords for the Irish poor, distinct from the Protestant Anglo-Irish elite, who had better education, professional skills, socio-economic success and strong ties with England (Malcolm and Hall 2018:5; O’Farrell 2000:13). Catholics were the largest group of Irish migrants, mostly working as labourers and servants, and the target of vitriol from the press, who warned of ‘lawless savages’ on their way from the south and west of Ireland (Malcom and Hall 2018:5). Straddling the gap between the Irish Catholics and the Anglo-Irish were the middle-class Irish (both Protestant and Catholic), who were employed in the armed forces, the professions and the public service (Malcolm and Hall 2018:5). Whilst these generalisations applied across the continent, each Australian colony had different beginnings and influences, and the next chapter focuses on the experiences of the Irish in South Australia.

3.6 Summary

Like other colonised countries, Ireland has a complicated history, defined in the nineteenth century by famine and British colonial rule. In spite of a population that was able to cope with hunger on a regular basis, the Great Irish Famine was so pervasive and intense that it fractured pre-industrial, predominantly rural Ireland. This experience was set against a backdrop of unhelpful economic ideologies and cultural tensions with the ruling power. The result was enormous social change, including a collective silence about the traumas endured, land clearances and agrarian activism, increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and mass migration. Those who migrated to South Australia would have carried this history and these experiences with them.

4 Historical Context—The Irish in South Australia

South Australia was an ‘experiment in colonial settlement’ (Main 1986:1). Unlike the other Australian colonies that originated as penal settlements for the unwanted of the British Empire, South Australia was established as a colony of free settlers, without the supposed ‘stain’ of convictism. This occurred within a particular set of conditions that impacted on those Irish migrants who made their way there. These included the deliberate transplantation of British societal systems, conspicuous capitalism in the form of land speculation and mining, and a much lower proportion of Irish people in the population compared with other migrant groups. This chapter examines Irish migration in the context of nineteenth century colonial South Australia, with a particular focus on the Irish of Baker’s Flat, many of whom migrated in the years following the Famine.

4.1 South Australia, a new type of colony

In Britain, the early years of the nineteenth century were characterised by a fast-growing population, high levels of industrialisation and urbanisation, high unemployment and increasing poverty, poor harvests, tensions between the established and dissenting churches, and concerns about the costs associated with poor relief (Pike 1967:12–28). Encouraging the poor to emigrate to colonies of the British Empire was one potential remedy. Enter Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had ample thinking time while he served three years in Newgate Prison for his abduction of a 15-year-old heiress, Ellen Turner, and their illegal marriage at Gretna Green (Pretty 1967; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:9). In 1829, while still in Newgate, he wrote two schemes for promoting emigration—*A Sketch of a Proposal for Colonising Australasia* and *A Letter from Sydney* (Main 1986:2). In these he argued against the continued granting of free land in the Australian colonies, and instead reasoned that if the land was sold, the proceeds could be used to provide free passages to poor migrants (Main 1986:2–4). This would mitigate against the joint problems in the colonies of a surfeit of land and shortage of labour.

Using Wakefield’s work as a guide, in particular his *Letter from Sydney*, a National Colonisation Society was established in 1830 (Main 1986:4). Its members advocated for a ‘concentration of settlement’, in contrast with the dispersal of populations in other colonies, where all the advantages of ‘British civilisation and culture could immediately be transplanted’ (Pike 1960:170), waste lands of the Crown could be sold and the proceeds used

for the emigration of labourers (Pretty 1967; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:9–10). Shortly afterwards, with exquisite timing, news reached London that Captain Charles Sturt, after voyaging down the Murray River, had discovered a fertile land at Gulf St Vincent in the south of Australia (Pike 1967:55; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:9). This land became the intended site for settlement and was named South Australia (Main 1986:5). Over the next three years negotiations took place about the form that this settlement might take and Wakefield's plan evolved into a theory of systematic colonisation (Main 1986:5–6; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:11).

On 15 August 1834, the *South Australia Act* was passed in the British parliament, establishing South Australia as a British province and also making it the only British colony to be founded under an Act of Parliament (Howell 1986:26). This set out the requirements for the colony as per the Wakefield Plan. It specifically noted that, unlike the other colonies, under no circumstances would convicts be transported there. The underlying intention was that South Australia would be 'overwhelmingly English' and populated by 'superior expatriates' (Richards 1991a:216), a facsimile of southern England with similar civic and societal structures. Indeed, Francis Stacker Dutton, an early settler and joint founder of the Kapunda copper mine, described South Australia as a 'thoroughly British colony', declaring that this settlement of free emigrants was an attempt to rescue 'some portion of the Australian continent from the inundation of felons, relentlessly poured into other parts of it by the mother country' (Dutton 1846:6, 147).

The preamble to the Act declared that all land was 'waste and unoccupied', and a body of at least three Commissioners was to be responsible for the survey and sale of those lands, at not less than 12 shillings an acre (Main 1986:8; Sendziuk and Foster 2018:13). Funds raised were to be used to carry poor people to the new province: adults of both sexes in equal proportion, with preference given to those who were young, healthy, and not more than 30 years of age (Main 1986:8–9; Pike 1967:180). Moreover, since the cost of labourers to South Australia was to be covered by the emigration fund, there was no need for them to be indentured to any employer—labourers could move between employers as they wished.

The new colony was particularly attractive to English Dissenters, those who followed Protestant denominations other than the Church of England and opposed the established privileges of that Church. Dissenters believed that all denominations should have the same rights and they resented paying taxes that supported a State church. George Fife Angas, an

influential Baptist, promoted the South Australian colony as ‘a place of refuge for pious Dissenters’ (Sendziuk and Foster 2018:12–13). Factors such as the absence of an established church and the exclusion of convicts were attractive to many would-be colonists, but Howell (1986:45–46) has argued that the primary driver for the founding of the colony was, in fact, avarice. Wakefield managed to attract and retain interest in his colonisation scheme because, under his plan, men of property could increase their capital enormously by buying land at the start-up, and even without clearing, ploughing or stocking that land, it was anticipated that it would rise in value (Howell 1986:46–47). The Colonisation Commissioners, in publications circulated across Britain in 1835, advised that any money invested in South Australian land would probably be worth ten times as much within ten years, and also that there would be few taxes to pay, along with minimal interference from the British government (Howell 1986:47).

Further, Howell (1986:47) argues that when freedom of religion was proclaimed as one of South Australia’s guiding principles, it was driven not so much by the wish to attract Dissenters but rather by the desire for freedom from tithes and poor-rates. By this argument, South Australia was not so much a paradise of dissent as a paradise for land speculators and capitalists. Whilst Anthony Trollope, the nineteenth-century novelist and traveller, contemplated the origins of South Australia as ‘some happy Utopia’ (Trollope 1978 [1875]:175), Michael Davitt, the Irish land rights activist, referred to it as ‘a landlord’s Utopia’ (Davitt 1898:62), and the South Australian historian, Douglas Pike, noted it was ‘a land job’, where many of the ‘choicest sites were owned by absentees’ (Pike 1960:169).

In July 1836 the first migrants arrived in South Australia, although they had to wait until December before the new Governor, John Hindmarsh, arrived and proclaimed the establishment of the province (Sendziuk and Foster 2018:20–23). The Proclamation set the scene for the envisioned respectable and sober colony, calling upon the colonists

to conduct themselves on all occasions with order and quietness, duly to respect the laws, and by a course of industry and sobriety, by the practice of sound morality and a strict observance of the ordinances of religion, to prove themselves worthy to be the founders of a great and free colony.

Within three years, by August 1839, 7,412 settlers had arrived in South Australia and 250,320 acres of land had been sold (Dutton 1846:22). By the following year, the 1840 Census showed a doubling of the population to 14,610 (Pike 1967:180). Analysis of this figure demonstrates that, in many ways, South Australia was adhering to the ambition of the

Wakefield Plan. The proportion of sexes was nearly equal, 7,000 people were under the age of 21 years, only 360 were over the age of 50 years, and more than three-quarters of the population lived within ten miles of Adelaide in concentrated settlement (Pike 1967:180). Few of these colonists were Irish. Instead, they were mainly English capitalists who selected English labourers for free passage as part of their land purchase deals (Nance 1978:67). It was not until the mid-1840s that the Irish began to arrive in any significant numbers (Nance 1978:67; Richards 1991a:216).

The effect of this small Irish presence, combined with the tendency to see them as just another group of British migrants, has rendered the Irish almost invisible in the written histories and landscape of South Australia. The historian Eric Richards, for example, writing in the 1990s, states that South Australia was the ‘least Irish part of nineteenth-century Australia’ and that the Irish were not a ‘founding people’ (Richards 1991a:216). Similarly, the historian David Fitzpatrick (2005:282) asserts that South Australia was ‘the least Irish of all the Australian settlements’. A history of South Australia published in 2018 reinforces the same notion, with scant mention of the Irish in colonial times, describing them as ‘relatively few’, noting that Ireland was ‘not a preferred source of migrants’ and that South Australia had ‘the smallest percentage of Irish of all the colonies’ (Sendziuk and Foster 2018:41, 42, 66). This invisibility is partly because, unlike the Cornish and Germans, Irish migrants were not seen to settle in tight concentrations or distinctive communities, either in urban or rural areas (Nance 1978:66; Press 1986:94–97; Richards 1991a:232). Instead, they were distributed broadly across the population, with Richards (1991a:233) stating that, although there were higher densities in places like Kapunda and Clare, this was only for short periods of about a single generation.

It is certainly true that the percentage of Irish-born people in colonial South Australia was small. Irish migration reached its ‘colonial peak’ of 10% in the 1861 census and gradually declined afterwards (Sendziuk and Foster 2018:42). Although between 1851 and 1861, 14,350 Irish immigrants had arrived in South Australia, by 1861 only 9,645 Irish actually lived in the colony, the discrepancy accounted for by the many who had headed to the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s (Migration Museum 1995:237). These Irish (the 10%) contrasted with the 41% who had been born in England, Wales or Scotland (the other UK countries), 38% who had been born in the colony, and smaller numbers of German-born (7%) and people from other places (4%) (Nance 1978:66). By 1901, the Irish-born made up just

3.1% of the South Australian population (Multicultural SA 2014). The figure remains low to this day, with the 2011 Australian Census returning a rate of 0.2% (n=3,478) of Irish-born people living in South Australia (Multicultural SA 2014). Such low numbers make it remarkable that the Irish at Baker's Flat were able to maintain a distinctively Irish settlement for so long.

4.2 Early arrivals and the Irish influence

In theory, then, this newly declared land of South Australia was a British province deliberately structured to mimic the home country, with land sales funding the migration of labourers and artisans, and absolutely no convict labour. All land was the property of the Crown and could be sold only after it was surveyed, thereby concentrating people in limited areas and reducing the risk of a dispersed population that could dissipate resources and become 'uncivilised'. There was no established church, the dissenters of Britain were welcome. Political interference was to be kept to a minimum. The population was young, healthy and hard-working.

The reality was otherwise: land was expensive, it had to be to fund the migration of the working classes. As a result, its purchase was limited mainly to capitalist investors and, consequently, labourers were unable to buy it easily (Sendziuk 2012:35). This limitation for the labouring class, however, had the benefit for the other classes of engendering respectability. In convict colonies like New South Wales, for example, convicts were entitled to small parcels of land once they had completed their penal sentences which meant that the labour pool continually reduced and also that convict landholders were able to acquire the status of gentlemen without either the 'conduct or character' entitling them to such (Sendziuk 2012:35–36). By contrast, in South Australia, one of the advantages of systematic colonisation was that for the new landowners, 'society would more closely resemble that of England, with each class kept distinct and separate' (Sendziuk 2012:36). Essentially, the civil structures of the new colony would replicate the landlord-tenant relationship where men of property and capital held power and the working classes knew their place.

For the Irish, their particular migration story is set against a backdrop of antipathy and prejudice in the broader South Australian colony. This has been analysed by several researchers (see, for example, Breen 2019; Hastings 2019; James 2009; Nance 1978; Press 1986) who highlight a general antagonism towards the Irish, who were perceived as

enthralled by Catholicism, lacking in capital, poorly educated, and limited in useful skills. Nance (1978:67, 71) points out that the London-based Emigration Board made a deliberate effort to send as few Irish people as possible to South Australia, ‘to assuage the fears of the colonists who suspected that the province would be over-run with Irish refugees’, and that ‘Irish labourers were invariably described as being ignorant, lazy and dirty’. In 1848, a select committee to the House of Lords was considering how best to keep colonisation by the Irish at a minimum in South Australia, in the interests of the comfort and prosperity of other emigrants. David McLaren, manager of the South Australian Company until 1841, stated that, based on his experience of the Irish emigrants already in South Australia, he considered them ‘very little removed from the mere animal’ and declared that the colonists wanted nothing more to do with them (Pike 1967:132–133, 378; *South Australian Register* 1848). McLaren had a long-standing aversion towards the Irish, regarding them as ‘the off-scouring of the earth, suspecting them all of Catholicism’ (Pike 1967:133).

However, not all Irish migrants were created equal. The anti-Irish bias was aimed more at the poorer Irish Catholics than the financially secure Anglo-Irish Protestants. These men, for they were all men, were Irish-born and raised, but as part of the Protestant Ascendancy they inherited lives of privilege, power and influence. Some of them were deeply influential in the development of South Australia, and, straddling the divide between Ireland and England, were often well-disposed towards the poorer and less powerful Irish Catholics.

Perhaps the most influential was Colonel Robert Torrens, born in Derry, based in London, and Chair of the South Australian Colonisation Commission (Moore 1991:103–104). As Chair, Torrens advocated for creating a ‘New Erin’ to be stocked using surplus population from Irish landed estates (Fitzpatrick 2005:281; Richards 1991a:218). Believing that Irish labourers could make a valuable contribution to South Australia’s growth, he argued that assisted emigration would relieve some of Ireland’s social and economic problems. Despite his best efforts, however, the combination of small numbers of Irish emigration agents, mixed messaging in the newspapers, and ships departing solely from English ports meant that South Australia was not a drawcard for Irish migrants (Moore 1991:104–106). Further, it was more cost-effective for Irish landlords to send assisted migrants to closer locations such as Canada, with the result that the colony’s emigration agents concentrated their efforts on recruiting Dissenters from south-eastern England, thereby cementing South Australia’s reputation as a ‘paradise of dissent’ for English settlers (Fitzpatrick 2005:281).

Undaunted, Torrens continued to agitate for Irish migration and supported the 1840 voyages of the *William Nichol*, *Mary Dugdale*, *Birman* and *Brightman*, the only ships to sail directly from Ireland to South Australia in the first thirty years of settlement (Moore 1991:108–110; Parsons 1999:70, 120, 160). One of the passengers on the *Brightman* was Torrens's son, Robert Richard (R.R.) (Moore 1991:110). When passengers from these vessels landed at Port Adelaide, many of them acclimatised at acreage near Adelaide owned by Torrens, before heading north to the properties of other Anglo-Irish settlers—'to the Reids at *Clonlea* (near Gawler), to Bagot at Kapunda and further along the River Light Survey and finally to the Clare Valley and the Gleesons of *Inchiquin*' (Moore 1991:110). This settlement pattern has been described as an 'inspired act of benevolent colonisation [which] created centres of Irishness right through the districts north of the capital' (Moore 1991:110).

George Strickland Kingston was another Anglo-Irish man, born and raised in Bandon, Co. Cork. Appointed as deputy surveyor-general to the new colony in 1836, he arrived in South Australia shortly after the surveyor-general, Colonel Light (Lonergan 2019:1; Prest 1967). Kingston's surveying abilities were questionable, with Pike (1967:108) describing him as only 'slightly acquainted with the profession of architect and civil engineer' and 'an indifferent surveyor'. Despite these limitations, he did manage to locate a reliable waterway (subsequently named after Colonel Torrens) whose flat plains were suitable for building the city of Adelaide (Lonergan 2019:2). Kingston was recognised as a man who explicitly cultivated Irish networks, being a founding member of the St Patrick's Society (Lonergan 2019:3; Pike 1967:109). Also a founder of the South Australian Mining Association, he grew wealthy from dividends of the Burra copper mine and was related through marriage to the Dutton brothers, one of whom was to establish the copper mine at Kapunda (Prest 1967).

The Reverend Charles Beaumont Howard from Dublin was appointed as the colonial chaplain and arrived as one of the first settlers in 1836. He sailed on the *Buffalo* alongside Governor Hindmarsh, who disliked him and later described him as 'a red hot Irish partisan of high Tory politics' (Pike 1967:251). The only Anglican clergyman in South Australia until 1840, he was active in social and civic affairs, including as a member of the St Patrick's Society (Edwards 1966; Lonergan 2019:5).

Thomas Shuldham O'Halloran was another early arrival, landing at Port Adelaide in 1838. Although born in India while his father served in the British forces, the O'Hallorans were a Limerick family (Lonergan 2019:6). Settling south of the city in an area known now as

O'Halloran Hill, he established a successful farm and in quick succession became a justice of the peace, magistrate and the colony's first Commissioner of Police (Lonergan 2019:6; Smith et al. 2018:18–19). Like Kingston, he was a founding member of the St Patrick's Society and proclaimed himself to be 'an Irishman to the heart's core' (Lonergan 2019:6).

A common interest for these men is the aforementioned St Patrick's Society, formed in Adelaide in 1849 with the aim of increasing the number of Irish colonists (*Adelaide Observer* 1849; Nance 1978:70; Pike 1967:317). Prominent Anglo-Irish members included Kingston, Howard, O'Halloran, R.R. Torrens, E.B. Gleeson (of Clare), and William Oldham and Charles Harvey Bagot, who were to become significant players in Kapunda (*Adelaide Observer* 1849; James 2009:71). The Society was non-sectarian and the Catholic Bishop, Francis Murphy, and Father Michael Ryan were also members (Press 1986:162).

These Catholic priests were among the first to reside in South Australia. To begin with, there were very few Catholics in the colony, with numbers estimated at 300 in 1838 (Press 1986:20). The first pastoral visit by a priest did not take place until June 1840, when Father William Ullathorne came for three weeks and reported back to his superiors in Sydney that there were few Catholics in South Australia and that the government agencies were unfavourable. He had experienced almost insurmountable difficulties in arranging a meeting with Governor Gawler, for whom 'the arrival of a Catholic priest was not a welcome event' (Press 1986:25). His request to David McLaren to use a public building for church services had been met with a blunt refusal, even though the same building had been used for church services from other denominations on many occasions (Press 1986:23–26).

The next priestly visit was in February 1841, when Father James Cotham described the South Australian Catholics as 'poor but very good' (Press 1986:30), an epithet that stood for many years. The poverty he alludes to was certainly a long-standing issue: in the early days, only two men, William Phillips and Henry Johnson, were described as above working-class status in the Adelaide Catholic congregation. Both Englishmen, they were of deep faith and stalwart supporters of their Catholic community (Press 1986:45). In 1844, Father Edmund Mahoney, at this point the only resident priest in South Australia, compiled the first census list of Catholics in the colony, arriving at the number of 1,273, primarily Irish and equivalent to 6.7% of the total population of around 19,000 (Press 1986:42, 91). Six years later, in 1850, the proportion of Catholics had grown to just under 10% of a total population of 63,700 (Press 1986:106).

Some of these were the 621 Irish orphan girls brought to South Australia between 1848 and 1849 in an attempt to address the scarcity of domestic servants and reduce the numbers of destitute people in over-crowded Irish workhouses (Hastings 2019:133; Nance 1978:69; Pike 1967:377–378; Press 1986:92–94). This was the Earl Grey Scheme, which also sent girls to the eastern colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. As the first Irish girls set foot on South Australian soil, the media was setting the scene for their reception:

The arrival, the other day, at Port Adelaide, of some two hundred and forty young women, Irish orphans, will serve as an illustration of the mischief which an incautious and indiscriminate emigration would inflict upon this hitherto well-regulated province ... To all lovers of their adopted country it is a source of unmingled pleasure to see it every day becoming liker and more like 'merry England' in the zenith of its rural prosperity; and it is because we desire these features to be preserved that we object to South Australia being mixed up with any wholesale or pauper schemes of emigration, such as are now mooted in England. (*South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal* 1848)

The following year, Dr Moorhouse, secretary to the Children's Apprenticeship Board, reported that of the 113 Irish girls who had recently arrived on the *Inconstant*, few could milk a cow, many had no idea how to wash clothes, and that these character deficits rendered them almost useless for country settlers (Staniforth 2004:33). At the same time, the Land and Emigration Commissioners were obliged to defend their selection processes, insisting that the girls had been chosen with particular care, 'the worst being withdrawn before embarkation because of the well-known hostility of South Australian colonists to Catholic immigrants' (Pike 1967:378). In general terms, the Irish orphan girls were accused of being unsuited to either farm work or domestic service, lacking in both personal hygiene and morals, and most damningly, working as prostitutes (*Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser* 1850; Nance 1978:68–69; *South Australian Register* 1850). In the 1850s and through to the 1900s, newspaper advertisements for servants, nursemaids, plain cooks and respectable girls could explicitly state that 'No Irish need apply' (see, for example, *South Australian Register* 1852, 1854a, 1854b; *Adelaide Times* 1855; *Advertiser* 1916).

The Anglo-Irish landowners and the Irish orphan girls sit at either end of a spectrum of Irishness. Somewhere in between were the other Irish, those who came to South Australia as free settlers, but poor, and worked as labourers on farms or in mines, carters and bullock drivers, domestic servants, shopkeepers and smallholders. Many of these settled in the Mid North, with several areas remembered as having Irish concentrations.

At Gawler, 55 km north of Adelaide, a traveller in 1850–1851 described the land thereabouts as ‘coming into cultivation in patches and cottage allotments occupied by Irish families, perhaps the nucleus of a future Roman Catholic population’ (Yelland 1970:109). Eighty-five kilometres further north, the County of Stanley was proclaimed in 1842 and was South Australia’s most Irish area by 1861, with Irish-born residents constituting 15% of the county’s population, compared to 10% for the entire colony (James 2009). This Irish incursion was primarily due to the prosperous Anglo-Irishman, E.B. ‘Paddy’ Gleeson, who established a pastoral property in the area in 1840 and founded its central town of Clare (James 2009:62–70). Gleeson’s approach was in line with his Protestant Ascendancy upbringing; self-appointed as ‘Squire’ he adopted the role of landed colonial gentleman, including towards his Irish Catholic employees (James 2009:76–77). He identified as both Irish and South Australian, declaring his country of birth ‘the home of my heart’ and his new home ‘this favoured land’ (Hope and James 2019:27). Another entrepreneurial Irishman, John Hope, bought land nearby in 1843 (James 2009:47). Like Gleeson, he was Protestant, Anglo-Irish and built a substantial homestead and pastoral property in the Clare Valley where he employed Irish labour (Hope and James 2019:28–31). Although Irish Catholics were more numerous, Irish Protestants such as Gleeson and Hope held the power.

In 1845, a rich vein of copper was found at Burra, next to Stanley, and Irish migrants were among those who came to work in the ‘monster mine’; soon, it was mainly the Irish who worked as carters and bullock drivers to haul the ore from the mine to Port Wakefield (Auhl 1986:23, 156; James 2009:49). By the 1850s, the Irish had settled in other parts of the Mid North too, with the locations of Sevenhill, Mintaro and Saddleworth recognised as places where there were concentrations of Irish people (James 2009) (Figure 4.1).

Further north, 270 km from Adelaide, the Pekina area opened up from the 1870s. It was recognised as distinctively Irish and Catholic until the 1940s, earning the epithets ‘Vatican Valley’ and ‘Catholic stronghold of the North’ (Mannion and James 2019:92–97). Settlers here were primarily Irish Catholic, with many of the early residents originally from Co. Clare and coming to Pekina via Kapunda and the Clare Valley (Mannion and James 2019:91).

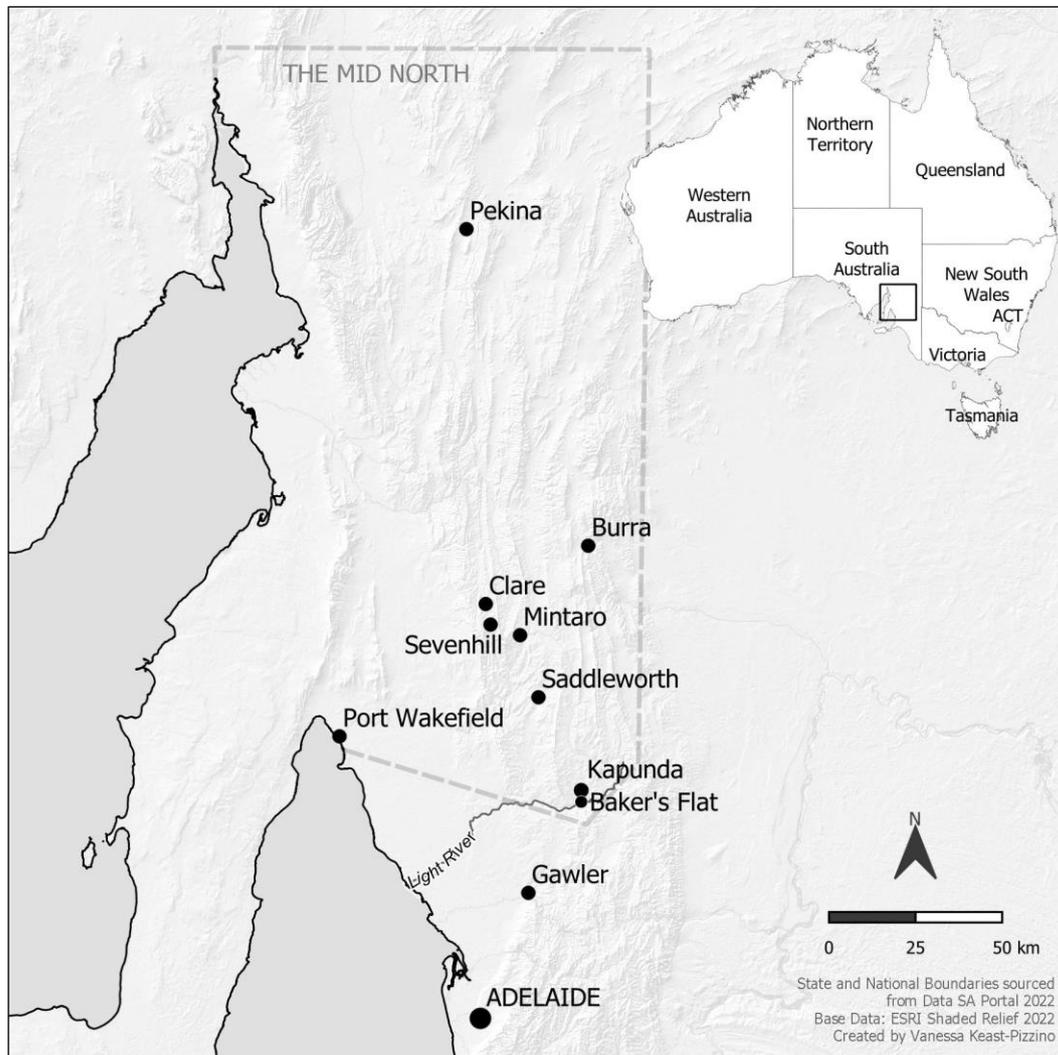


Figure 4.1 Locations in the Mid North where Irish migrants were known to have concentrated. Map: Vanessa Keast-Pizzino.

James (2009) found evidence in Stanley of chain migration, endogamous marriage patterns and bonds of religion and nationality, all associated with retaining a profound sense of Irishness. Other researchers have described Irish migrants concentrated in particular rural areas, either for farming or mining purposes (Ashley 2009; Auhl 1986; Hope and James 2019; Mannion and James 2019; Yelland 1970). There is no evidence, however, of any of these Irish groups forming a clachan or managing farmland jointly using the rundale system. Instead, the histories reflect the ‘ordinariness’ of these migrants’ lives and loves, a theme which has characterised some of Fitzpatrick’s (1980, 1994) writings about Irish-Australian migration.

Situated 75 km from Adelaide, Kapunda is another Mid North town. Like many successful South Australian rural towns, its European history began with land speculation and copper mining, an entrenched class system, and few Irish. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, it was ‘perhaps the largest secondary town in the Colony’ and had about 3,000 inhabitants (Sinnott 1862:60). It could be assumed that the Irish here would behave as they seem to have behaved in other areas of the colony, leading ordinary lives. But Baker’s Flat turned out to be different, a story that begins with Charles Harvey Bagot⁵.

4.3 Charles Harvey Bagot arrives in South Australia⁶

Amongst the first Irish colonists to arrive in the Kapunda area was Charles Harvey Bagot in 1841. Bagot had been born at Nurney, Co. Kildare in 1788 ‘in the old family mansion’ (Bagot 1942:1). He was the eleventh of twelve children born to Elizabeth and Christopher Bagot, somewhat impoverished members of the Anglo-Irish elite. In his memoirs (completed between 1851 and 1854 when he was in his sixties), Bagot reflected on his early years in Ireland, including his experience of the 1798 rebellion when he was ten years old. Whilst acknowledging the toll that it took on his family’s finances and health, he was sympathetic overall to the Irish rebels, noting that the Irish were ‘forced into open rebellion by the horribly coercive measures’ of martial law, including floggings, burnings and other outrages by an ‘exasperated and badly controlled soldiery’ (Bagot 1942:2).

After spending time abroad on active service in the British army, Bagot returned to Ireland in 1819 with his wife, Mary, and their growing family in the hope of settling there permanently. In 1821 his brother-in-law, Bindon Blood (married to Bagot’s sister Harriet), offered him the job of land agent for his property in Co. Clare. He accepted this position gladly, and his relations with the local Irish appear to have been generally benevolent; he describes his house staff as an ‘uncultivated but exceedingly civil and amenable Irish peasantry’ and the native Irish as ‘a simple inoffensive people, glad to accept employment and grateful for the little attentions to their wants and their comfort it was in our power to show them’ (Bagot 1942:18). Bagot and his wife appear to have taken their responsibilities seriously, acting as

⁵ Bagot’s name has been mostly seen in print as ‘Charles Hervey Bagot’, with the middle name pronounced as ‘Harvey’ although spelled with an ‘e’. Recent research by Greg Drew (2017) examined signed documents held by the Bagot family and in the State Library of South Australia, and confirmed the correct spelling as ‘Charles Harvey Bagot’. This spelling has been used here.

⁶ Much of the remaining sections in this chapter have been published in the following book chapter written solely by this researcher: Arthure, S. 2019 Kapunda’s Irish connections. In S. Arthure, F. Breen, S. James and D. Lonergan (eds), *Irish South Australia: New Histories and Insights*, pp.58–73. Mile End: Wakefield Press.

arbiters in disputes and advocates in times of trouble, viewing the local people as friends (Bagot 1942:18–19). After Bindon Blood moved to a nearby property in 1823, opportunities for social interactions between the families increased, and Blood and his daughters frequently stayed with the Bagots (Bagot 1942:19). Although he had fully expected to live in Ireland for the remainder of his days, Bagot was increasingly concerned about ongoing troubles in Ireland and particularly by the potentially negative impact of the *Irish Poor Law Act* in 1838. Keen to provide for his family and knowing that his sons were attracted by the Australian colonies, he made the decision to move to South Australia (Bagot 1942:22).

In August 1840, with Mary and their five children, Bagot set sail on board *Birman* from Cork, bound for South Australia. Also travelling on *Birman* were 224 emigrants in steerage selected by the Colonial Commissioners (Bagot 1841:1, 1942:22–23). They included 42 married couples, 18 single men, 23 single women, and 99 children aged 14 years and younger (Bagot 1841:1). Bagot took with him a special survey of 4,000 acres purchased by Sir Montague Chapman, who had allocated to Bagot the right to select and manage the 4,000 acres in return for one-quarter of the land (Bagot 1942:23). Chapman was another member of the Anglo-Irish establishment, who owned a large estate in Co. Westmeath (Drew 2017:14; Fitzpatrick 2005:281; Moore 1991:111–112). He was exploiting a South Australian land regulation that allowed an investor with at least £4,000 to have up to 15,000 acres of their own choice surveyed, from which they could select 4,000 at the fixed price of £1 an acre (Pike 1967:177–179). The remainder was then either made available to other settlers in 80 acre blocks or as grazing leases. They were known as Special Surveys and privileged the wealthy investor who could afford to speculate. In fact, the majority of Special Surveys went to absentees, feeding ‘the mania for land speculation’ (Pike 1967:178–179).

Over the course of 1840 and 1841, Bagot wrote a journal describing his voyage from Cork to Port Adelaide, and his first year in South Australia (Bagot 1841). Although the Colonial Commissioners had selected the steerage emigrants, this was at Bagot’s request (Bagot 1942:22). It is clear that he knew at least some of them, as he laments the loss of Michael Hickey from typhus, just a day or two out at sea, ‘who had been in my employment and for whom I had a sincere regard’ (Bagot 1942:23). Published research indicates that, in fact, most of the 224 Catholic emigrants were known to him (Moore 1991:112)—although Hickey is the only one he refers to directly in his writings—and that they came from Co. Clare (Richards 1991a:220–221, 1991b:69). Drew (2017:14) states that Bagot was involved in selecting

almost all of the emigrants, and that they were mainly people he knew and trusted. Following their arrival in South Australia, these migrants are reported to have moved north with other Irish migrants, some of them to join Bagot at Kapunda (Moore 1991:110). This would certainly fit with the positive reciprocal relationship that Bagot had developed with the Catholic Irish while living in Ireland.

The *Birman* arrived safely in Port Adelaide on 7 December 1840 (Parsons 1999:69). By his second day in Adelaide, Bagot had already called on his maternal cousin, William Oldham (Bagot 1841:9). Oldham had been born in Dublin in 1811, educated at Trinity College Dublin, and had been living in Adelaide since 1838 (Bagot 1942:38; Drew 2017:15; Loyau 1885:120). He accompanied Bagot on his land inspections south of Adelaide in the search for suitable land to take up for Chapman (Bagot 1841:13).

4.4 The discovery of copper and the rise of Kapunda

By April 1841, after travelling great distances in search of land that met his needs, Bagot had settled at ‘Koonunga’, 80 kilometres north of Adelaide. Here he established a sheep run, farming some of the sheep on behalf of Frederick Hansborough Dutton, who owned land close by at ‘Anlaby’. His ambition of being a successful sheep farmer changed dramatically in 1842, however, when his youngest son, Charles Samuel, and Dutton’s brother, Francis Stacker Dutton, discovered a rich vein of copper (Bagot 1942:24–25; Burgess 1907:117; Charlton 1971:8–9; Dutton 1846:266–267).

Francis S. Dutton, in his account of South Australia and its mines (Dutton 1846), describes what happened next. Keeping the discovery secret, Bagot and Dutton had 80 acres of the land surveyed, completed all the land sales forms, and bided their time (Dutton 1846:267). They were taking advantage of the *Waste Lands Act 1842*, which allowed all public lands in the Australian colonies and New Zealand (with the exception of blocks of 20,000 acres), to go up for public auction at a minimum price of £1 per acre (Dutton 1846:49). After being advertised for a month in the *Government Gazette*, with no other enquiries, and for the cost of just £80, Bagot and Dutton became owners of the land that was to become Australia’s first successful metal mine.

After receiving a positive report from England on the copper content of their ore specimens, they lost no time in beginning work with ‘a small body of men’ (Dutton 1846:268). Bagot

assumed the role of mine captain and the title that went along with it (Charlton 1971:9). The first workers were Cornish miners, sourced from the general population. Until then they had been engaged in farming, but they quickly resumed their work as miners, working on tribute (3s.6d. per £1 for the first year) to great success (Dutton 1846:269). In 1844, the first year of operations, three miners were hired in January, and this number rose steadily until twelve miners were employed by December, all working by tribute and tutwork⁷ as practised in the Cornish mines (Dutton 1846:274). By February 1845, the number of miners and associated workers had increased considerably, and an ‘experienced mining captain’ was on the point of embarking for South Australia, ‘to take charge and conduct the works at the Kapunda mine on systematic principles’ (Dutton 1846:277). Paintings by George French Angas (Figure 4.2) and S.T. Gill (Figure 4.3) illustrate activities at the time, including the newly installed horse whim, the first in the colony (Drew 2017:29), which was used to haul ore and water to the surface. By this time, 50 common labourers were employed at the Kapunda Mine at 7s. per day (Charlton 1971:12). The Welsh arrived in 1846 to operate the new smelters and above-ground machinery (Charlton 1971:12).



Figure 4.2 *The Kapunda Copper Mine*, March 1845, by George French Angas. Source: State Library of South Australia (SLSA) B 15276/31.

⁷ Tributeters excavated the ore and were paid a percentage of the value; tutworkers were paid an agreed rate to sink shafts and drive levels (Drew 2017:100).



Figure 4.3 *Kapunda Mine 1845* by S.T. Gill. Source: Art Gallery of South Australia 0.942.

The township that developed close by became known as Kapunda, with one of the first references to it being in an *Adelaide Observer* article in 1845, which refers to the ‘Kapunda Mines’ (*Adelaide Observer* 1845:5; Charlton 1971:9). Output and employment at the mine increased every year for many years, and during this time Bagot’s connections with other Anglo-Irish men were well-honed. Firstly, in 1846, his cousin William Oldham was persuaded to come to Kapunda. He was appointed mine purser in 1847 and became mine manager on Bagot’s retirement in 1848, a position he held until 1867 (Bagot 1942:38; Charlton 1971:15, 156; Drew 2017:50; Loyau 1885:120). Then, in 1847, Dr Matthew Henry Smyth Blood (of the Co. Clare Bloods) emigrated from Ireland (Symonds 2004:10). He was appointed mine doctor by Bagot in 1848 (Charlton 1971:15, 101), and became Kapunda’s first medical doctor. He remained as mine doctor until 1860, thereafter being in private practice in the town (Charlton 1971:101).

Forth has argued that social ties and family relationships were particularly important for the Anglo-Irish in Australia and that, as a result of their historic situation in Ireland, the Anglo-Irish tended to be close-knit and bound by strong feelings of solidarity (Forth 1991:58–59). This is evidenced in the case of Bagot, Oldham and Blood (Figure 4.4), who used their community and kinship bonds to help build successful new lives in South Australia. In

Kapunda they were acknowledged as the ‘notable Irishmen’—respectable men of means, Anglo-Irish and Protestant (Charlton 1971:64; Daly 1982:162).

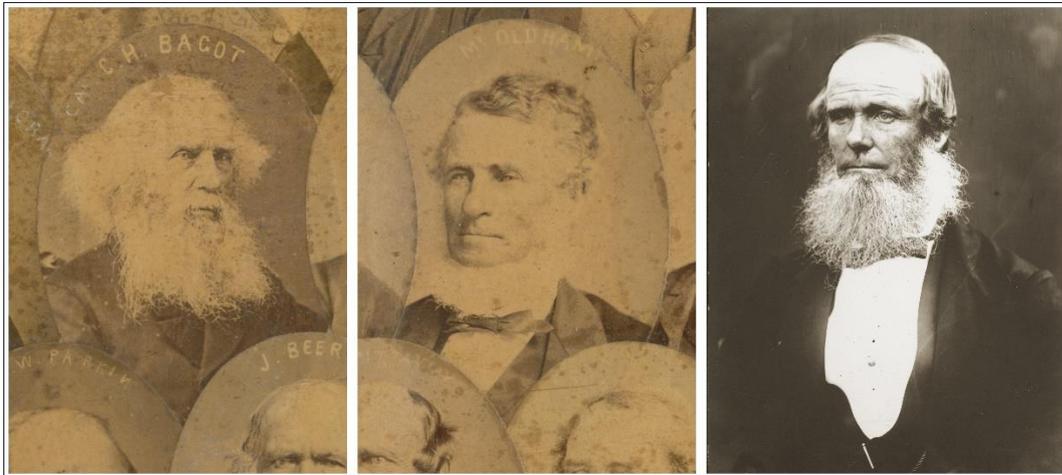


Figure 4.4 L to R: Captain Charles Harvey Bagot, William Oldham, Dr Matthew Henry Smyth Blood. Photos of Bagot and Oldham by Townsend Duryea, 1872. Source: SLSA, B 8235/1/210; B 8235/1/18L. Photo of Blood by unknown photographer, approximately 1860. Source: SLSA B 9945.

4.5 The Irish arrive at Baker’s Flat

In 1852 the Kapunda copper mine suffered a downturn when most of the miners left for the Victorian gold rush. William Oldham later wrote how, with nearly all the miners gone, it was ‘with considerable difficulty’ that the mine engine was kept going and the mine kept dry (Sinnett 1862:62). At one stage, only four miners remained. However, during 1854 and ‘especially in the early part of 1855’, Oldham recorded that large numbers of workers either returned or arrived for the first time (Sinnett 1862:62), including significant numbers of Irish migrants (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13). These migrants—Catholic, with little means, and not regarded as ‘respectable’—were very different from the Anglo-Irish triumvirate of Bagot, Oldham and Blood.

The year 1854 is generally accepted as the time when this wave of Irish migrants began to arrive in large numbers at Kapunda (Charlton 1971:18, 64). Oral histories, newspaper death notices, and genealogical research indicate that many came from the south-west of Ireland, in particular Co. Clare (e.g., *Advertiser* 1890, 1904, 1913; Appendix G—Baker’s Flat Family Names; pers. comm. R. Dundon, June 2013, L. Heffernan, June 2013; Robertson 1985:8). This also fits with statistical reports indicating that, from 1840 to 1866, Clare was the greatest single source of assisted Irish immigrants to South Australia (Richards 1991a:221, 1991b:72).

These new Irish found a rent-free place to live near the mine—an area of unused flat land known as Baker’s Flat. And this is where an intriguing connection between Bagot, Sir Montague Chapman and the Baker’s Flat Irish becomes apparent. The official name for Baker’s Flat, sometimes known as Baker’s Block, is Section 7598 (Figure 4.5) and this land, which spans the river Light, was first surveyed in late 1841 at Bagot’s request, and then selected as part of the 4,000 acre Chapman selection (Drew 2017:17–21). In his memoir, Bagot notes that he selected 800 acres at Koonunga, 500 on the Light, 500 at Allen’s Creek, and 2,200 at Dry Creek (Bagot 1942:24). The 500 acres on the Light were to become Section 7598.

Although this section was allocated to Chapman at that time, it was exchanged in 1842 for 500 acres near Dry Creek (Drew 2017:19, 38). At that point, the land was made available for purchase by the public and in October 1845, 490 acres of the section were bought by Mary Baker and her son, John (hence ‘Baker’s Flat’), James Poole and William Howard (Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners; Drew 2017:38). In the following years, John Baker sold some portions of it, but continued to be associated with Section 7598 for many years, including when the Irish arrived in 1854.

Although speculative, it is possible that Bagot could have facilitated the settlement of Baker’s Flat by the Irish in 1854. At that time the landowners were absent, the land was unused and conveniently close to the mine which required workers, and Bagot knew the land intimately. Combined with his benevolent attitude and sense of responsibility towards the working Irish, and bearing in mind that some of the *Birman* emigrants are recorded as having joined Bagot at Kapunda (Moore 1991:110), it could well be that the appropriation of Baker’s Flat by the Irish was not random. At least one official record—for Peter Maxwell who died aged seven days on 4 October 1867 (Appendix G—Baker’s Flat Family Names)—cites the place of residence as Bagots Baker’s Flat, indicating a direct link with Bagot.

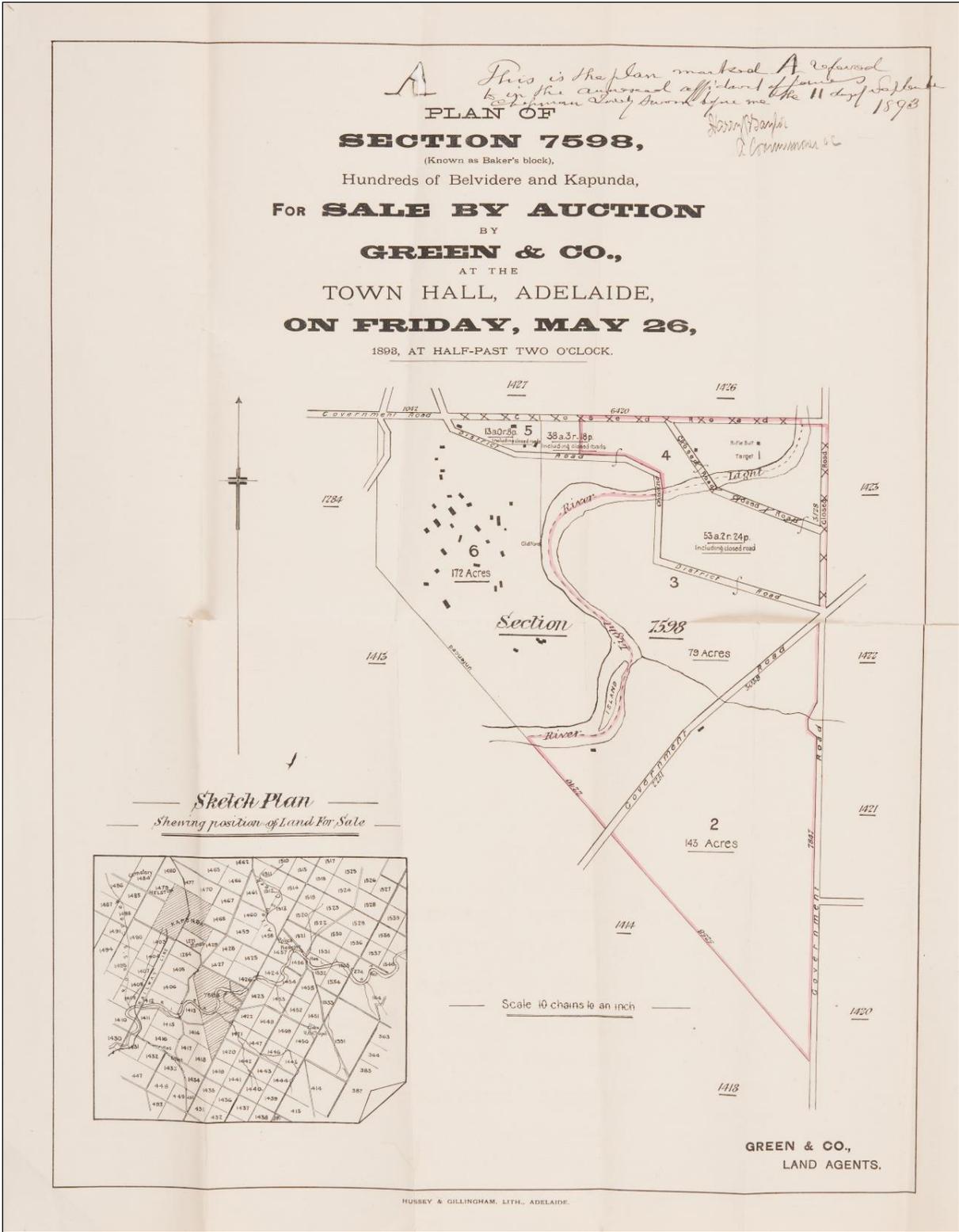


Figure 4.5 Survey plan of Baker's Flat, Section 7598, drawn in 1893. Source: State Records of South Australia GRG 36/54/1892/47.

Compounding this is the curious fact that, in 1845, Father Michael Ryan celebrated Mass at the Kapunda mine ‘two days in succession’, on February 24 and 25 (*Southern Cross* 1949:8). Father Ryan had barely arrived in Adelaide—he and Bishop Francis Murphy were the only Catholic priests in South Australia at the time (De Leiuen 2015:44)—yet one of his first duties was ‘being despatched to “The Mines”’ (*Southern Cross* 1949:8). Charlton (1971:74) notes that it was ‘because of the large influx of Irish Catholic emigrants who had come to work’ there. It indicates that there were enough Irish at Kapunda to justify a pastoral visit, and with the Bagot connection, there may already have been Irish people living on Baker’s Flat. In the transcript of a 1975 interview, Eric Fuller estimates that the ‘Baker’s Flat people’ arrived there in 1844 as miners and settlers and ‘got going with the building of all these huts and so forth’ (Bettison 1975). Drew (2017:38) certainly speculates that the Irish were squatting on Baker’s Flat during the late 1840s, and that they came to the area in response to an increased demand for labour after the first horse whim was erected at the mine in 1845, enabling deeper underground workings. It was a similar situation which brought the Irish in the 1850s—the introduction of steam technology enabled deeper workings and led to a need for more mine workers (Drew 2017:38). Either way, by 1854 there were ‘significant numbers’ of Irish migrants living on Baker’s Flat, and they are recorded as having quickly formed a ‘close, fiercely Irish community’ (Nicol 1983:13).

4.6 Digging in for the long haul

There are few accounts in the printed histories of the Irish settlement on Baker’s Flat. A collection of memories about Kapunda was published in 1929 and includes a description of how this ‘lawless little community’ evolved (Tilbrook 1929:32).

With no apparent owners about, by degrees in the course of time a number of squatters settled there, constructing for themselves shelters which developed into hovels of old iron, bags, tins and odds and ends, some with enclosures about them of a few square yards in which to pen up their geese at night. Amongst them they owned a large flock of these birds, which used to graze on the flat and disport themselves in the river. These little holdings clustered together haphazard without the slightest attempt at order or regularity. The inhabitants, squatting rent free, soon developed a community feeling quick to resent any attempted interferences with their acquired privileges. (Tilbrook 1929:31)

This account established the enduring narrative for the Baker’s Flat community—as a hotchpotch collection of hovels, where the residents did not welcome interference of any sort.

Other histories added details about ‘small wattle and daub cottages with thatched roofs’ where each family ran their pigs, goats and poultry without restraining fences ‘of any description’ (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:14), a state of affairs that led Baker’s Flat to be viewed by the more affluent members of Kapunda society as a ‘blot on the landscape’ (Charlton 1971:18).

Contemporary newspapers are littered with accounts of disorder and trouble on Baker’s Flat. In 1860, for example, a letter to the editor of the *South Australian Register* drew attention to the ‘almost utter absence of water-closets’ amongst the ‘hundred hovels on Baker’s Flat’ (*South Australian Register* 1860b). In 1864, a case against three men charged with using abusive and insulting language was dismissed by the magistrate as ‘simply a Sunday’s Baker’s Flat shindy’ (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1864). John Lenane was charged with breaking into Mary Anne Russell’s one-room mud hut in the dead of night, with a hammer in his hand, and stealing 16 shillings while she cowered next to the bed with her three children (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1866b). Thomas Griffey, a labourer living at Baker’s Flat, was charged with being ‘a pauper lunatic’, after attempting to cut his own throat while in an unsound state of mind (*Adelaide Observer* 1873). James Neville, an old man of almost 80 years, was found in rags, barely able to move, on the floor of his ‘wretched hovel on Baker’s Flat’, alongside a woman who was ‘helplessly drunk’ (*Adelaide Observer* 1877).

Others in the community were living (or dying) according to the usual societal norms. In 1865, for example, P. Flynnes (or Fynes) of Baker’s Flat made a preliminary application for a licence to teach (*South Australian Register* 1865) and was apparently successful. His death notice in 1903 recalls him as ‘an old Irish schoolmaster’, and his family history records him as having been a musician and headmaster (*Kapunda Herald* 1903; pers. comm. I. Coverdale, May 2016). James Wood died suddenly one morning of a massive heart attack, leaving a widow and large family destitute (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1866a). Young Patrick Dundon kicked a football so hard that it broke Thomas Supple’s arm, requiring the attention of Dr Blood (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1869).

Irish folk traditions and customs were retained. Every Sunday afternoon, hurling was played, and every evening, concertinas, fiddles and flutes provided music for dancing (Maloney 1936a:29). The dance floor was ‘the virgin soil, flat and smooth, and hard as cement from the thousands of feet that gaily “kept the time” to the piper’s or fiddler’s tune’ (Maloney

1936a:29). This dance floor is also recalled in an interview with Mrs Beanland, who had lived on Baker's Flat, and who remembered dancing at the full moon and on dry nights, on a 'hard patch of earth, and fires kept going to liven the scene' (Bettison 1975). Setting aside one specific area for dancing is not unknown in Irish communities. The Irish language has 32 words for field, and two of those relate to fields associated with dance—*réidhleán*, a 'field for games or dancing', and *bánóg*, a 'patch of ground levelled out by years of dancing' (Magan 2020:4–5). A particular area of compacted ground in the northern part of Baker's Flat is still known locally today as the 'dance floor'.

Houses on the Flat varied in quality. Descriptions of mud huts and old-bags-and-tin hovels dominate. But there is also evidence of Irish-style, whitewashed cottages with thatched roofs; an 1899 newspaper article describes Baker's Flat as 'dotted with picturesque white-walled cottages' (*Chronicle* 1899:18). In a series of interviews carried out in 1975, five Kapunda residents recalled between 30 and 60 houses on Baker's Flat that were mostly thatched, constructed as two or three rooms in a row, of whitewashed clay or stone, and given a new coat of lime and white clay every Christmas (Bettison 1975; Hazel 1975).

Dwellings like these were photographed by John Kauffmann on Baker's Flat in 1906 (Figure 4.6), and they clearly show the distinctive features of the nineteenth-century Irish vernacular house, being rectangular in design and single-storey, with steeply sloped thatched roofs. It is clear from Kauffmann's images that the Irish retained their vernacular building traditions on Baker's Flat for a long period of time, since they were still intact in the early twentieth century. Interestingly, though, a letter in an 1866 newspaper hints at earlier house forms, with a statement that the residents of Baker's Flat burrowed 'like a wombat into the bowels of his mother earth' for shelter (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1866c), not unlike the Cornish at Burra (Mullen and Birt 2009). And the 1935 reminiscences of an ex-Kapunda resident recall 'the semi-dugouts of Baker's Flat' (*Kapunda Herald* 1935).



Figure 4.6 Baker's Flat houses in 1906, depicted in a series of photos taken by John Kauffmann, published in the *Christmas Observer*, 13 December 1906, Adelaide. Source: Kapunda Historical Society Museum.

Overall, the 1860s to 1870s appear to have been the most populous period, with estimates of between a 'hundred hovels' (*South Australian Register* 1860b) and 170 'huts' (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). A 1936 article in the *Southern Cross* indicated that 'it is safe to estimate that the population of the "Flat" was five hundred for many years' (Maloney 1936a:29). By the turn of the century, though, numbers had dwindled. An 1891 report by the Board of Health mentions 'about 45 habitations occupied by families ranging from three to eight in number', noting just four water closets that were probably never used (*South Australian Chronicle* 1891). The only known survey map, from 1893, shows 38 structures on the section (a cluster of rectangular shapes in the north-west quadrant, visible in Figure 4.5) and by 1902, there were just 32 occupied houses (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). By the 1920s, only a handful of elderly people remained on Baker's Flat, with the last family possibly being the O'Callahans, who had lived there since 1857 (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). Annie O'Callahan may have been the last resident; she died in 1948 at the age of 74 years, after living quietly on Baker's Flat

‘the whole of her life’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1948). Her elder sister, Mary O’Callahan (Figure 4.7), had also lived on Baker’s Flat and predeceased her in 1945 (*Kapunda Herald* 1945; Hazel 1975).



Figure 4.7 Miss Mary O’Callahan, one of the last residents of Baker’s Flat. Source: Collection of Peter Swann, Kapunda.

4.7 Trouble at Baker’s Flat

Baker’s Flat was occupied from at least 1854 to 1948, a period of 94 years. The more raucous exploits of its residents were recorded in newspaper articles, their demises announced in newspaper death notices, and baptisms, marriages and deaths recorded in the registers of the Catholic Church. It could be argued that, in general, the Baker’s Flat Irish lived out their lives no differently from any other member of the broader community—the respectable inhabitants would never have gained fame in the newspapers, and the drunken adventures and audacious burglaries might just have added spice to an otherwise ordinary community. But the Irish of Baker’s Flat were different because they publicly advertised their Irishness in the types of houses they chose to build. They also actively controlled access to Baker’s Flat, with any strangers or unauthorised visitors being obliged to ‘give a satisfactory account of themselves’

to the women, who were likely to react with brooms, sticks and kicks if a suitable answer was not forthcoming (*Kapunda Herald* 1902d). This helped establish the reputation of Baker's Flat as a community that was set apart and different. A further difference, which demonstrates how closely this community was intertwined, was a decades-long trouble regarding legal title to the land, where the Irish stood shoulder to shoulder in legal and physical battles against the landowners.

The catalyst for these troubles occurred in 1875 when James White, one of the legal owners, decided to assert his rights to the land. After advertising that any stray horses and cattle found trespassing on Baker's Flat would be impounded, he sent his nephew and his shepherd there with a flock of sheep. The men were met by a group of women who greeted them with 'threats loud and strong' (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1875b), armed with sticks and stones. With difficulty, and only after intercession by the local police officer, the sheep were driven off the Flat and back to the yards, with the women loud in their resolve not to allow the 'people's grass' to be eaten by Mr White's sheep (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1875b). Two years later, a similar question of title arose on the adjoining Section 1413, where the land had been squatted on and used as commonage for many years, with all indications that the squatters were those same Irish. Once again, James White attempted to move cattle onto the land, and once again, 'a mob of ladies' defended their rights and drove the cattle off (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1877).

The following three years passed fairly peacefully until 1880 when three men were sent by the landowners to erect a fence on Baker's Flat. Up to a hundred women 'turned out to drive off the would-be despoilers of their hearths and homes' (*Kapunda Herald* 1880a). The hapless fencers managed to dig a single posthole, but immediately one of the women leapt into it, declaring that any further excavation would have to be through her body. After taking counsel, the men wisely decided to retreat, and were sent on their way smartly by the women using brooms, sticks and shovels. These exchanges echo the actions being undertaken by other women at the same time in the Irish Land War (TeBrake 1992). In the court case which followed, the ringleaders were named as Ann Slattery, Mary Callaghan, Mary Lacey, Ann Hoare, Catherine Driscoll and Mary Jose (*Kapunda Herald* 1880b).

Things grumbled along until 1888 when it was reported in the *Kapunda Herald* that the legal owners intended to serve 'notices of ejectment' on the Irish occupiers (*Kapunda Herald* 1888). The next few years were a flurry of activity, with 22 of the Irish successfully lobbying

the Kapunda District Council to be inserted in the assessment book as joint owners of part Section 7598 in the Hundred of Kapunda (*Kapunda Herald* 1892b), and unsuccessfully applying to the adjoining Belvidere District Council for the same thing (*Kapunda Herald* 1892a). This group appears to have been ‘D. Driscoll and others’ who controlled 340 (69.39%) of the 490 acres that comprised the Baker’s Flat land at that time (Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners). Across both councils, until about 1892, 35 individual Irish occupiers, in addition to those in Daniel Driscoll’s group of 22, paid rates on Baker’s Flat (Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners). At a total of 57 individuals, these ratepayers would have represented the majority of families living there. Driscoll was later described by the prosecution in a court case as spokesman for the occupiers, and ‘head robber—Barabbas’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1894a).

4.8 A significant court case and Patrick McMahon Glynn

In 1892 legal action to reclaim the land began in the Supreme Court of South Australia over rights of possession (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). Patrick McMahon Glynn represented the people of Baker’s Flat during the case (Charlton 1971:49; *Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). He did so for the entire duration of ten years, as well as representing several of the occupiers in other related court cases during that time (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892; *Kapunda Herald* 1894b, 1902c).

McMahon Glynn (Figure 4.8) had arrived in Kapunda in 1882. He was born in Gort, Co. Galway, in 1855, into a well-established Irish Catholic family whose ancestry was a mix of merchants and old Irish aristocracy (O’Collins 1965:1–5). In 1880, aged 25 years, he sailed for Australia, where his aunt Grace was already well-settled as Sister Bernard, one of the founding members of Mary MacKillop’s Sisters of Saint Joseph (O’Collins 1965:21). Several other family members were living in Melbourne and Adelaide. After initial difficulties finding work in Melbourne, Sister Bernard recommended him to the Adelaide firm of Hardy and Davis, who wanted ‘a Roman Catholic Irishman’ to open a branch office for them in Kapunda (O’Collins 1965:33). It is not clear why Roman Catholicism and Irishness were specific requirements, but one can speculate that it was because of the large Irish Catholic population at Baker’s Flat. In any case, McMahon Glynn went first to Adelaide in July 1882, and then to Kapunda the following month to open a branch office for the company (O’Collins 1965:35–36). He was the only Catholic lawyer in Kapunda and one of only a few in South Australia, and Gerald Glynn O’Collins (1965:39), his grandson and biographer, noted that he

‘quickly gained prominence with those of his own faith’. He also took on the role of lead writer and editor for the local newspaper, the *Kapunda Herald*, where his articles were often pro-Irish and pro-land rights (Charlton 1971:44; O’Collins 1965:44).



Figure 4.8 Patrick McMahon Glynn. Newspaper cutting of Glynn as MP, Junior Member for Light, 1880. Source: SLSA B 16763/61.

Writing to his mother shortly after his arrival in Kapunda in 1882, McMahon Glynn remarked that many of the farmers in the area were from Co. Clare. He stated that the Catholics ‘as usual are the poorer class’, while the Protestants are ‘the wealthy and fashionable’ (O’Collins 1974:56). McMahon Glynn was widely respected in Kapunda, both professionally and socially, and joined in with the local elite at parties, tennis, horse racing, swimming and dancing (O’Collins 1974:49). He was also accepted across the social divides, his biography stating that ‘as a hard-riding huntsman he was the idol of the Irishmen of Baker’s Flat, a ramshackle settlement on the edge of the town’ (O’Collins 1965:100). And he clearly identified as Irish, noting in his diary in 1892 that ‘Of course, I was a Celt ...’ (O’Collins 1965:12). However, his Catholicism was occasionally used against him. In the 1893 South Australian elections, where he ran unsuccessfully for Light (which covered Kapunda), it was reported that paid agitators had made ‘vile assertions’ such as that he was a lawyer, a single man, and Catholic (O’Collins 1965:101). Later, however, as a parliamentary representative for Light, he was described ‘as one of the most popular representatives of the people’ (Burgess 1907:182).

McMahon Glynn's pro-Irish and pro-land rights principles may have influenced his decision to take on the Baker's Flat land rights case in 1892, but it is probable that it was also combined with a sense of obligation to his fellow Irish. In a diary entry in March 1883, for example, he notes that he had given 'advice and a letter gratis' to a woman he calls Miss Biddy K., who had consulted him regarding her rights with regards to her unfair dismissal from domestic service (O'Collins 1965:41). With a name like Biddy, and the fact that she was in domestic service, it is more than likely that she was Irish.

Over the course of the ten year land rights case, the court records and newspapers recount several failed attempts at eviction, an unsuccessful auction which received no bids, another in 1893 at which some of the land was sold, including Lot 6 where the cluster of houses stood (Figure 4.5) (*Kapunda Herald* 1893b), and the successful sale in 1894 of 143 acres south of the river to the Irish Conolan brothers, who had been occupying it for some years (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). Even the land that was sold in 1893 remained problematic, however, with the Irish refusing to leave and when forced to do so just returning as soon as practicable—Andrew Goorty, for example, was evicted from a piece of land on which he had resided for about 12 years, but returned soon afterwards; Ann Bolton received an eviction order for the land she had been living on for almost 30 years, and simply refused to go (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). The same Ann Bolton liberated two cows and their calves from a herd of 30 that were being impounded by representatives of the Kapunda District Council and was represented in court by McMahon Glynn (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). That case was dismissed (*Kapunda Herald* 1894a).

The final battle for Baker's Flat took place in 1902. After some of the land was sold to Robert Fawcett, he set about putting up fences. Over four separate evenings about twenty men, including Daniel Driscoll, Thomas O'Brien, Michael O'Brien jun., Martin O'Callahan and Andrew Griffy, worked together to fill in postholes and pull down any fences that had been erected, using explosives where necessary (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b, 1902c). McMahon Glynn used this case to continue the argument that his clients (the Irish occupiers) were 'rightfully in occupation' of the land (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). The Irish lost and the case was found for the plaintiff, who was awarded £5 damages with costs. Within days Fawcett resumed his fencing, and it was noted in the *Kapunda Herald* (1902a) that the 'residents of the Flat have not interfered with the fencers in any way'. This appears to have been the last time that there were any notable clashes on Baker's Flat. From that time on, most mentions of

Baker's Flat in the press are confined to notices of grass fires, accidents, floods and, increasingly, the deaths of older people as the settlement slowly wound down.

4.9 Summary

Irishness in the colony of South Australia was complex, multi-layered and somewhat invisible. The Irish community was represented by the elite Protestant Anglo-Irish, middle-class Irish Catholics, and the poorest of Ireland's Catholic emigrants. In the South Australian histories, the lives of the poorer Irish women and men tend to be absent. They were not the people with power or influence. The Irish who are remembered—mostly Anglo-Irish men—are those born to privilege and prestigious social networks. They are remembered publicly for their civic or business achievements, with their Irishness being merely a footnote. This is possibly why there has been an historical view that the Irish were not a founding people in South Australia.

At Kapunda, there was a significant Irish presence. The Anglo-Irish were part of the dominant elite, owning much of the land and mines. The Irish at Baker's Flat lived lives characterised by poverty, Catholicism, a seeming propensity for trouble, and a willingness to engage both physically and intellectually with the legal system. Patrick McMahon Glynn, middle-class Catholic Irish, straddled both groups. But for all these differences, there was a sense of Irishness that suggests a degree of reciprocity and responsibility for each other. The histories imply that the working Irish made a deliberate decision to join Bagot at Kapunda, and all the indications are that he facilitated, at some level, their occupation of Baker's Flat. The Baker's Flat inhabitants worked together to turn their community into a formidable settlement which attracted McMahon Glynn's support for a lengthy legal battle aimed at securing land and protecting long-settled homes. McMahon Glynn's involvement in these extended and complex court cases continued long after he had left Kapunda and was living in Adelaide. In this it demonstrates how Irish identity and concern for fellow countrymen and women were potent elements of colonial South Australia, and also how class and religious barriers were perhaps overridden by ethnic connections in times of strife and difficulty.

5 Methods

The methods for this research included a fieldwork program of geophysical survey and excavation over a two-year period, analysis and cataloguing of the resulting data and artefacts, and archival research in Australia and Ireland. This chapter begins with an overview of the previous fieldwork that informed the research methods, and then details the methods used in the field, laboratory and archives.

5.1 Previous fieldwork

Previous fieldwork at Baker's Flat in 2013 for a master's by coursework thesis (Arthure 2014) was restricted to a pedestrian site survey, and basic description and mapping of surface features. Since any above-ground structures had been demolished in the 1950s by the then landowner (pers. comm. D. Hampel, December 2012), there were few enduring features at surface level that could indicate previous occupation. Those features that did persist were rubble heaps (confirmed by the current landowner as the remains of buildings and often situated within slight depressions), non-native pepper trees and boxthorn bushes, several artefact scatters and a compacted area of land known as the 'dance floor'.

The 2013 survey was carried out by undergraduate students using handheld GPS units. They recorded 22 transects along designated northings set 25 m apart, beginning at the north-east corner of the site, and covering an area of 26 ha (66 acres), equating to approximately 38% of the site (Arthure 2014:49–52). An RTK was used to plot the site boundaries. The survey located an old mine-working in the north-east corner, the remains of 13 buildings, 11 artefact scatters containing stone, glass, ceramics and metal, trees marking the original entrance to the site, and the 'dance floor'. When these results were superimposed on the survey plan from 1893, they revealed that most of the rubble heaps and artefact scatters were associated with the cluster of buildings recorded at that time, with the exception of two outlier rubble heaps near the southern boundary (Figure 5.1) (Arthure 2014:59–63).

At variance with the 1893 survey was the location of buildings 1 and 2, which did not align with any structures recorded in 1893, and the course of the River Light, which is plotted some distance north-west of the location recorded in 2013. Both differences can be ascribed to faults in the original survey. The survey was carried out under arduous conditions by James Chapman Lovely, who described his experience in an affidavit dated 16 August 1893:

I surveyed the said Section 7598 but found that the feeling of the Trespassers was so strong that I was prevented from completing the exact Survey and measurements of the Trespassers holdings necessary to satisfy the requirements of the Lands Titles Office and was deterred from proceeding with the measurements of the various holdings by being satisfied that had I done so there would have been a Breach of the Peace. (Forster et al. v. Fisher 1892)

Hence, it is possible that some structures were excluded, potentially those that appeared insubstantial, such as any remains of the 100 ‘hovels’ (*South Australian Register* 1860b) or 170 ‘huts’ described as being on Baker’s Flat in the 1860s and early 1870s (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b).

A sketch map (Figure 5.2) prepared by a Kapunda resident, Jean Curtis, around the year 2000, depicted the location of dwellings and pepper trees as she recalled them from her younger days growing up on a property opposite Baker’s Flat. Dwellings were noted as shanties or ruins on Curtis’s map, with most located along the western boundary, in the north-west corner and at the southern end near the river. According to the Curtis sketch map, either building 1 or 2 was the O’Callaghan house, although neither were plotted on Lovely’s survey plan.

This PhD thesis extended the original fieldwork by undertaking a geophysical survey and excavating eight trenches to test the geophysical survey results.

BAKER'S FLAT SITE SURVEY, FEBRUARY 2013
 LOCATION OF BUILDING REMAINS OVERLAID ON 1893 SURVEY MAP

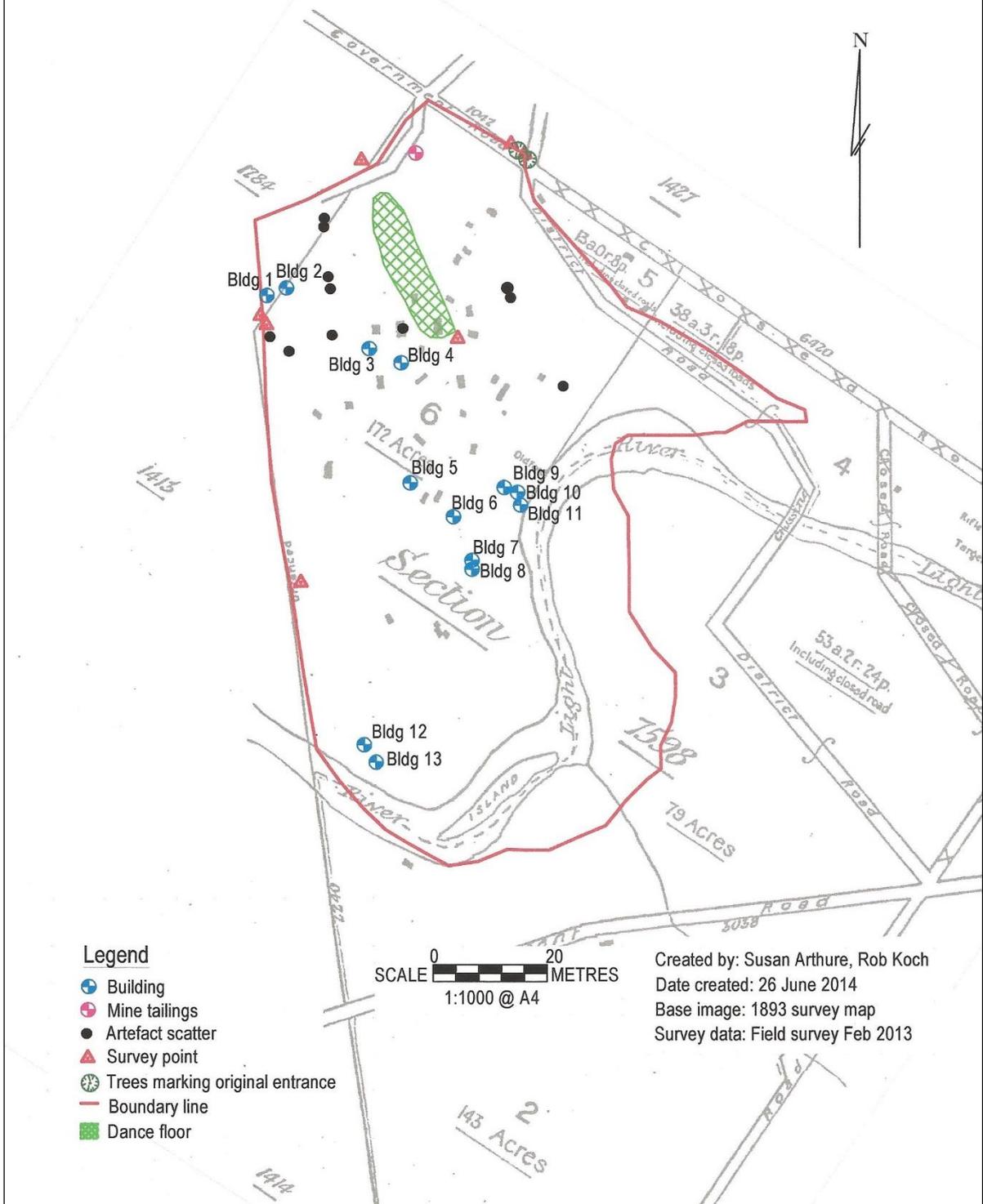


Figure 5.1 Results of Baker's Flat 2013 site survey, overlaid on survey plan from 1893. Source of 1893 plan: State Records of South Australia GRG 36/54/1892/47.

5.2 Geophysical survey⁸

Archaeological geophysics uses non-invasive survey techniques to locate, map and reveal subsurface archaeological features, based on the principle that the physical and chemical properties of buried remains will be different to those of the surrounding matrix (Conyers 2010:175; Conyers and Leckebusch 2010:117; Lowe 2012:72). Advantages include the non-destructive and non-invasive nature of geophysical work, its capacity to quickly assess subsurface archaeological remains, and the fact that it provides information and data that are not easily available through other means (Gibbs and Gojak 2009:45; Kvamme 2003:436; Lowe 2012:71; Moffat et al. 2008:60–61, 2010:646, 2020:57).

The working hypothesis for the geophysical survey on Baker's Flat was that ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and magnetic gradiometry could collect data associated with the original footprints of dwellings or outbuildings, fences or enclosures, and old paths or roadways, as well as the 'dance floor'. Baker's Flat is sited on open farmland and interference from other magnetic sources, such as iron roofs and power lines, is minimal; the nearest fence line is situated some 15 m from the proposed work area. High resolution magnetic gradiometry and GPR were selected as the most appropriate methods for the Baker's Flat site, given the ability of the former to cover large open areas rapidly and locate iron-rich material, such as burnt features, metal or particular soils, and of the latter to provide spatial information both horizontally and vertically to identify buried material, such as pathways, fences, pits and stone foundations (Kvamme 2003:439; Lowe 2012:73; Lowe et al. 2020:7–8).

Due to the large size of the site (approximately 60 ha), the time available for survey (five days), and some minor access restrictions (the site is on a working farm), it was considered most effective to establish one large geophysical survey grid on the site. Based on the building and artefact evidence from the 2013 survey/1893 plan (Figure 5.1) and the structures depicted in the sketch map (Figure 5.2), it was decided to focus on the northern section of Baker's Flat. A 240 m x 100 m (2.4 ha) grid was placed over an area that contained at least one bulldozed structure, one pepper tree and what was believed to be part of the dance floor (Lowe et al. 2020:8). The survey took place over five days in 2016 at the height of the

⁸ Some of the material in this section, detailing the geophysical methods used, was published in Lowe, K.M., S. Arthure, L.A. Wallis and J. Feinberg 2020 Geophysical and archaeological investigations of Baker's Flat, a nineteenth century historic Irish site in South Australia. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 12(1):article 33(1–20). Any content used has been cited.

Australian summer, using a team of four led by a geophysical archaeologist (see Appendix B—Fieldwork Crew Members). Surface visibility was poor, obscured by post-harvest wheat stubble. Visibility was highest (approximately 30%) along plough lines, but in the stubble ranged from 0 to 20%. Substantial material evidence was still visible on the surface, however, including ceramic and glass shards, and small fragments of metal.

Magnetic gradiometer data were collected using a Bartington Instruments Fluxgate Grad601-2. Gradiometers allow for the recording of very subtle (0.1 nanoteslas [nT]) fluctuations in the local magnetic field. This gradiometer used four magnetometers, two pairs stacked vertically 1 m apart, and was set up to record data eight times per metre with 0.5 m spaced survey transects (16 samples/m²). Data were processed using TerraSurveyor version 3.0.25.1. Processing was limited to de-stripping to remove abnormal high or low readings, high-pass filtering, and interpolation to equalise pixel size. The processed data were imported into ESRI ArcGIS 10.6.1 for mapping (Lowe et al. 2020:8–9).

For the GPR data, a Geophysical Survey Systems Inc. (GSSI) SIR-3000, 400 MHz antenna and a model 620 survey wheel were used. Sixteen-bit data were collected with a 40 nS time window, 512 samples per scan and 25 scans each metre. Survey lines were spaced every 1 m. Data were processed (time zero correction, background removal and bandpass filter) using GPR-SLICE v7.0 and converted into amplitude slice-maps and reflection profiles. Depth estimates generated in the software were later compared to those from the excavations to create the amplitude slice-maps (Lowe et al. 2020:9).

A total station was set up using a nearby permanent survey mark (PSM 66293711) at the corner of East Terrace and Perry Road, close to the northern tip of the site, in MGA (Map Grid of Australia) Zone 54 and horizontal datum MGA94 (Table 5.1). This was referenced using a fence post on the western fence line of Baker’s Flat as back sight and second datum. Points were then established for the fenceline, gridlines and pepper tree.

Table 5.1 Permanent Survey Mark (PSM) closest to Baker’s Flat.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height ASL	Mark type
66293711	308618.25	6196792.652	216.887	PSM with plaque

Each survey grid was set up as a 20 m² quad, with the hypotenuse (28.28 m) checked across two angles. Using 100 m non-metal tapes, the first tape was laid 1 m inside the grid, the next one 3 m, and so on. Each transect was started 0.25 m in from the base marker, and the operator moved over 1 m at a time. The total grid extended 240 m east-west and 100 m north-south, an area of 24,000 m² (2.4 ha, 5.9 acres).

Working first with the GPR, grids were walked 100 m at a time at 1 m intervals. Where an uncrossable obstacle was encountered, the GPR was paused and the location noted. A new file was started for the same line at the next metre marking that could be used. This procedure was used for the rubble heap at the western edge of the grid, which contained a large amount of metal debris, and for the pepper tree. When 20 grids were completed with the GPR, the same grids were re-surveyed using the gradiometer, this time at 0.5 m intervals (Figure 5.3).

Each evening, the GPR and gradiometer data were downloaded, with the gradiometer data in particular revealing numerous responses (Figure 5.4). Initial data downloads showed indications of long straight lines through grids 11–13, 18–20 and 21–23 (possible enclosures), curved shorter lines in grids 14 and 17 (possible paths), and a series of metal blowouts close to each other in grids 6–8, 15–16 and 18 (possible structures). Additionally, through grids 50–54 there was an aggregation of highly magnetic slag which appeared to be about 3 m wide and extended for at least the length of the grid (interpreted by the geophysical archaeologist as possible fires at the western edge of the dance floor). The gradiometer returned a reading of 100 nT for the slag compared to the background reading for the site, which was between 10 and 15 nT. Two slag samples were collected for later analysis. At survey completion, 21,600 m² (2.16 ha, 5.34 acres) had been surveyed using both the gradiometer and GPR (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.3 Geophysical survey using magnetic gradiometer, showing conditions on site. Photo: Susan Arthure.

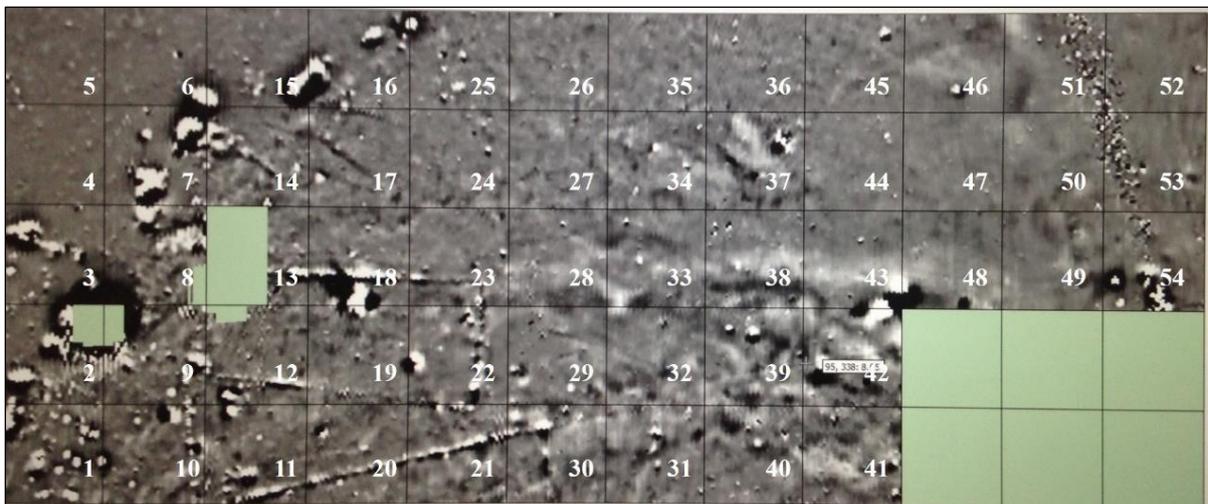


Figure 5.4 Initial data from magnetic gradiometer, 3 April 2016. Data de-striped and de-staggered, no other processing. Numbers indicate the individual grid ID. Green areas were unsurveyed because of obstacles.

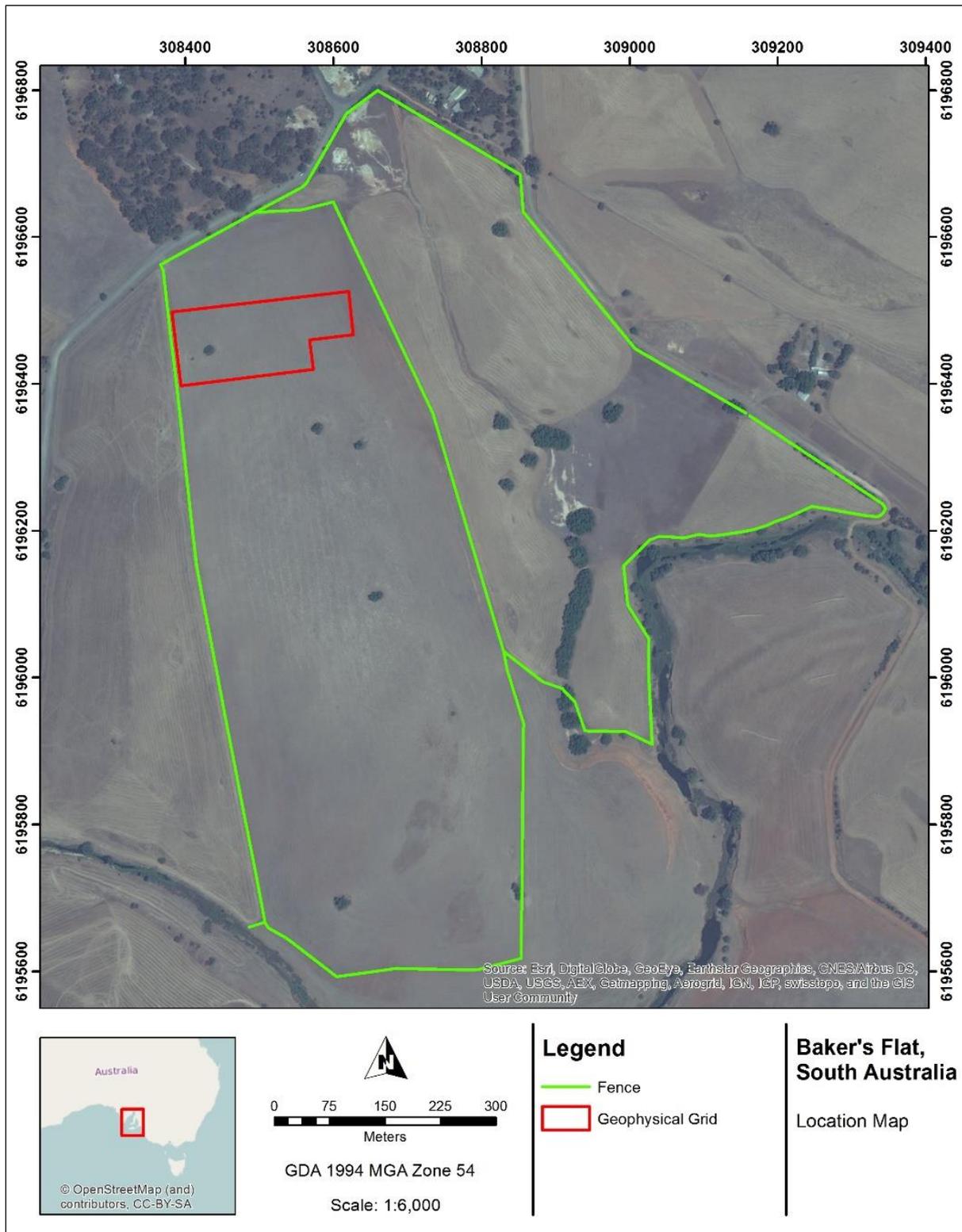


Figure 5.5 Geophysical grid outlined in red. Fence line in green showing Baker's Flat boundaries. Map: Kelsey Lowe.

5.3 Overview of excavation seasons

Excavations at Baker's Flat took place across two field seasons in early autumn 2016 and 2017, during university semester break. Prior to excavation, agreement to work on the site was received from the Baker's Flat landowner and a permit to excavate (Permit Number 0001/16) was granted by the South Australian Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources under Section 27 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.

Analysis of the geophysical data had revealed several areas containing apparent cultural anomalies. Eight anomalies of interest (AOI) were outlined as potential areas for targeted excavation (Figure 5.6). These included a cluster of three anomalies (AOI 1, 3, 7) that were posited as possible structures or houses, and a single anomaly (AOI2) which appeared to feature both a structure and enclosure. The 2016 season focused on investigating AOI2 because of its potential as a deliberate enclosure and AOI3 because it formed a central point of the cluster which could then be extended north or east depending on the results. An additional trench was opened at the location of the metal dump at the western edge of the grid (unsurveyed). For the following field season, informed by the 2016 results, the excavation was extended into AOI7, and further work took place over AOI2.

Using the single context system in open area trenches (Burke et al. 2017:243–250), it was hypothesised that the following contexts might be uncovered: post-abandonment topsoil layer, occupation layer such as compacted soil or stone floor, remains of manure heaps, areas for food preparation and cooking, areas for waste disposal, paths or fences. Excavation crew members were coached to work carefully, watching for soil changes and evidence of activities that could be easily overlooked, such as stones in particular places for use as seats/stools or as balances to keep a pot above a fire in the absence of a fire crane (see Kinmonth 2006:11–13, 2020:128–130).

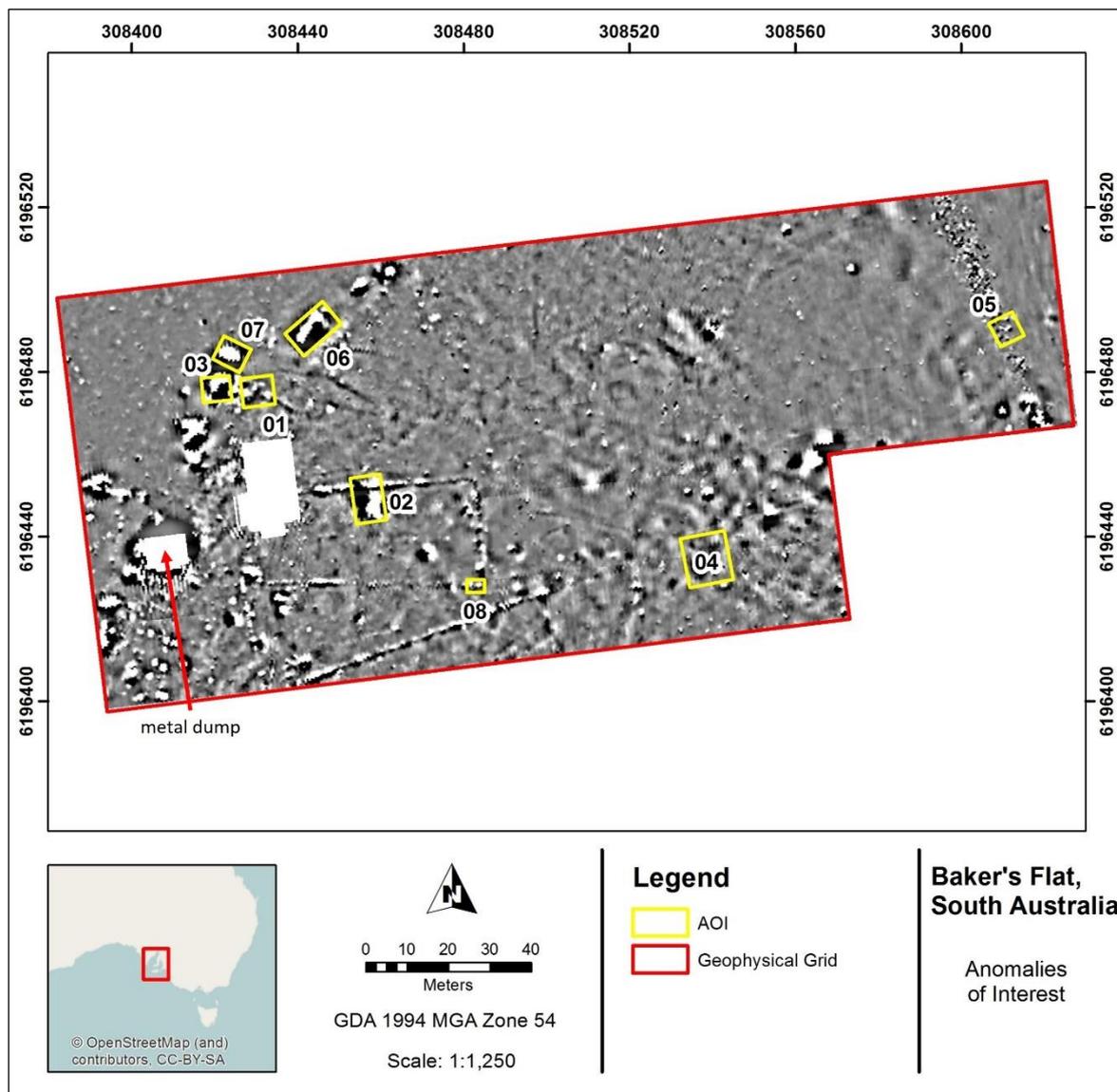


Figure 5.6 Anomalies of Interest (AOI) on Baker's Flat identified from geophysical survey. Map: Kelsey Lowe.

The excavations took place on farmland that was regularly ploughed, a factor that was considered when planning the work. Ploughing is inherently destructive and its effects on cultural material in the ploughzone have been investigated across several regions and site types (see, for example, Ammerman 1985; Brooks et al. 2009; Dunnell and Simek 1995; Noble et al. 2019; Odell and Cowan 1987). A study by Brooks et al. (2009) was particularly relevant to the Baker's Flat research, since it took place on an historical archaeological site in rural Australia. Other than grazing and ploughing, there had been no known disturbance to that site from the 1860s until archaeological work in the early 2000s (Brooks et al. 2009:39), a situation similar to Baker's Flat. When considering how agricultural activities could affect artefact distribution, Brooks et al. (2009:39) noted that, although ploughing results in the

destruction of vertical stratigraphy, horizontal relationships between adjacent deposits usually remain largely intact. Further, although ploughing can move individual artefacts a sizeable distance, in most cases they remain reasonably close to their original horizontal point of deposition (Brooks et al. 2009:40). Artefacts in the ploughzone, however, do sustain damage and can end up heavily fragmented and similar in shape and size, the result of being repeatedly rolled and abraded (Dunnell and Simek 1995:308–309; Noble et al. 2019:553–554). Knowing that topsoil had been added to Baker’s Flat in the 1950s, it was anticipated that artefacts uncovered in the top 10–15 cm could be similar in form and have been moved some distance from their original point of deposition, but that this would not impact on any findings below the ploughzone.

A further factor was that metal detecting had taken place on Baker’s Flat over the preceding decade, with many metal objects now held in a private collection. Previous research (Arthure 2014) had mapped the broad general areas in which this activity had been undertaken and the excavation focus areas were deliberately placed outside these zones. While there is a possibility that metal detecting occurred in the excavation zones, it was known that the detectorist dug small, shallow holes to retrieve finds, no more than 15 cm depth. Since this could potentially impact near-surface finds, the excavation crew was briefed to watch for context changes that might indicate these cuts.

5.3.1 Artefact management in the field

For each field season, initial artefact identification and sorting was carried out in the field (Figure 5.7). Artefacts were bagged according to their fabric. Metal, bone, brick, leather and paper were stored in paper bags; ceramic and glass in plastic. Bags were labelled with site code and date, trench letter, square ID, context number and material type (Figure 5.8). Some cumbersome and heavy metal artefacts were not taken back to the university archaeology lab, mainly large sheets of iron, bed frames and a water tank (‘ship tank’). These were photographed, measured and catalogued on site, and left on site.



Figure 5.7 Artefact management in the field. Photo: Cherrie De Leiu.

BFK 2017	14/04/17
Trench F	Sq 5
Context 004	Ceramic
	

Figure 5.8 Sample artefact bag, demonstrating labelling requirements to ensure consistency.

5.4 Excavation 2016

The 2016 field season took place over three weeks from mid-April to the beginning of May. On average, there was a crew of 18 on site at any one time, mostly postgraduate and undergraduate archaeology students (Appendix B—Fieldwork Crew Members). The weather was generally warm, between 18–25°C, with high cloud. Heavy rain on the penultimate night was the only rainfall; in combination with strong winds, this scoured the surface of Trench E, exposing the remains of doorway posts still in situ.

Trench A was set out over AOI3 and Trench B over AOI2, using coordinates based on the geophysical data. Both trenches were initially set out using a handheld Garmin GPSmap 62 and handheld compass due to an unexpected data failure with the total station (Leica PinPoint R1000 T509 Plus). Once the total station had been rebuilt and the coordinates reconciled, each trench was found to be about 4 m north-east of its target and both were therefore shifted and re-established at the more accurate coordinates: Trench C was set up next to Trench B and Trench D next to Trench A. Two sieving stations, with 3 mm sieves, were established near each trench. One was designated for top soil and the other for fill, which needed to be replaced in the correct order at fieldwork completion.

All surface features, start and end levels of contexts, interfaces, and end levels for trenches were recorded via the total station. Significant features were also recorded, including postholes, cuts made in walls, any special finds in situ, and structures such as hearths. These were also photographed using a designated camera for each trench. In addition, an area in Trench A was recorded where a large accumulation of metal items (several sheets of corrugated iron and the remains of a bed frame) was found extending over three squares. Base Station 1 (BS1) for the total station was at PSM 66293711, the same as for the geophysical survey. Base Station 2 (BS2) was established on a fence post, also the same as the geophysical survey. Station 1 2016 (STN01) was established at a point within sight of all the planned trenches. Station 2 2016 (STN02) was established later to ensure full coverage. Table 5.2 lists the point IDs and coordinates.

Table 5.2 Total station coordinates 2016.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height ASL	Mark type
BS1, 66293711	308618.809	6196792.652	216.887	PSM with plaque
BS2	308393.767	6196356.593	225.188	Fence post with nail
STN01	308443.700	6196457.023	219.036	Temporary wooden peg
STN02	308402.369	6196448.672	222.271	Temporary wooden peg

5.4.1 Trench A

Trench A began as a 16 m² trench over AOI3, the starting point being the south-west corner on grid coordinates E 308420 and N 6196476 (Figure 5.9). This location was selected based on indicators from the magnetic gradiometer of several large ovoid to rectangular dipoles, suggesting a building or buildings. The trench (Figure 5.10) was strung in 1 m squares, with each square named individually using an X:Y numbering system (Figure 5.11). Note that this system turned out to be unnecessarily complicated and was not used after the first season.

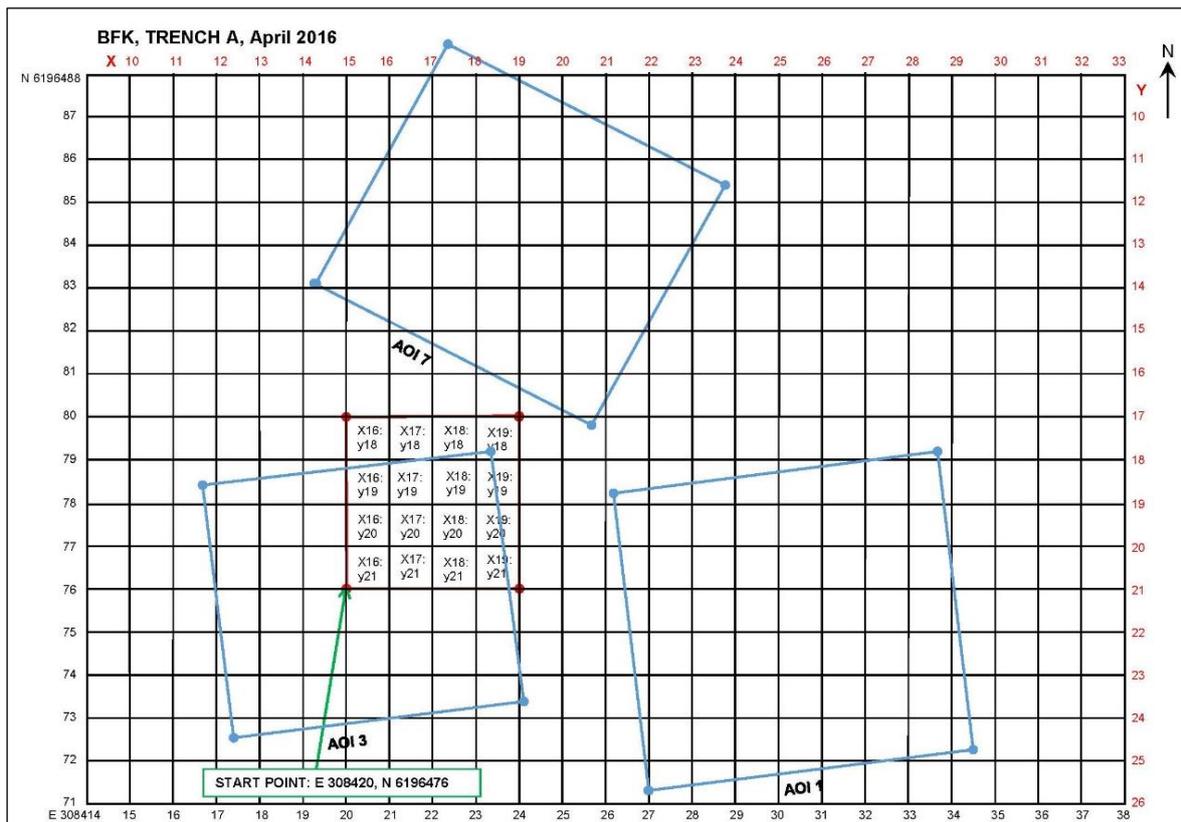


Figure 5.9 Trench A overlapped AOI3 and edged close to AOI7.

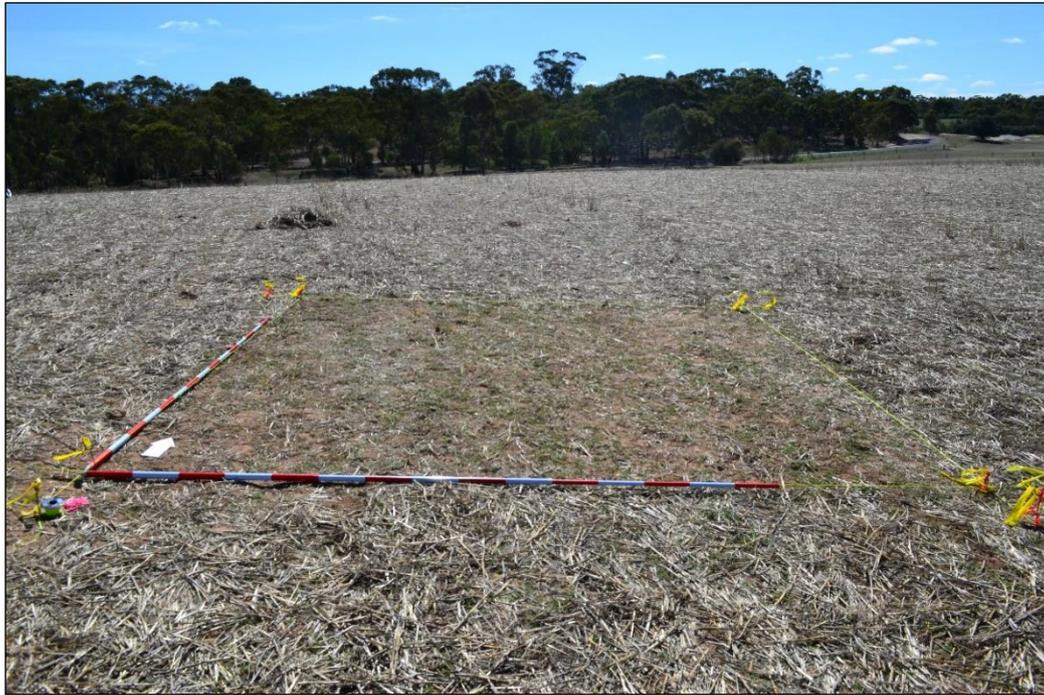


Figure 5.10 Trench A after surface clearance, pre-excavation, looking north. Tree line is the northern site boundary along East Terrace. Photo: Cherrie De Leiuem.

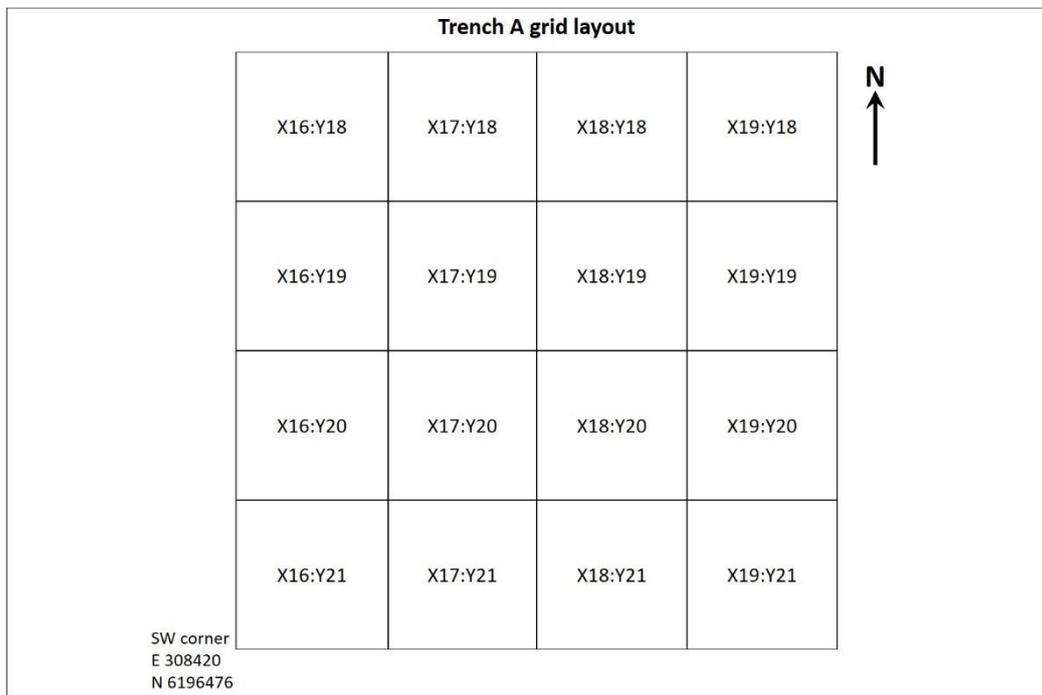


Figure 5.11 Trench A, showing the 16 m² layout using X:Y numbering system.

To begin with, excavation was carried out using trowels only. As the trench profiles became known, squares were opened using mattocks to move quickly through contexts 001 (top soil), 002 (plough lines) and 003 (plough lines in heavily compacted clay) to an end depth of 10 cm. Trowels were again used from context 004 onwards, which was a 50–60 cm deep deposit of clay fill containing large metal items such as corrugated iron sheets, zinc sheets, wire and bed frames, and long wooden posts (probably rail sleepers) (Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13). Context 005, lying immediately below 004, was the occupation layer. Details of each context were recorded on a context recording sheet (Appendix C—Context Recording Sheet [Sample]). All excavated dirt was sieved, except when squares were considered sterile (no visible artefacts), in which case one in every two buckets was sieved.

Aside from a two-day pause to excavate Trench D, work continued on Trench A for the entire season. Following a substantial find of large metal artefacts in X16:Y20, the trench was extended west, north and east, resulting in 27 squares being excavated by season end (Figure 5.14 and Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.12 Trench A, excavation of context 004 using hand tools. Photo: Cherrie De Leiuën.



Figure 5.13 Trench A, showing extent of metal debris in context 004. Photo: Cherrie De Leiuën.

Trench A grid layout at excavation end

X14:Y15	X15:Y15	X16:Y15	X17:Y15	X18:Y15	X19:Y15	N
X14:Y16 wall	X15:Y16	X16:Y16	X17:Y16	X18:Y16	X19:Y16	
X14:Y17 wall	X15:Y17	X16:Y17	X17:Y17	X18:Y17	X19:Y17	
X14:Y18 wall	X15:Y18	X16:Y18	X17:Y18 cobbles	X18:Y18 cobbles	X19:Y18 cobbles	
X14:Y19 wall	X15:Y19	X16:Y19	X17:Y19 cobbles	X18:Y19 cobbles	X19:Y19	
X14:Y20 wall	X15:Y20 hearth	X16:Y20 hearth	X17:Y20 rubbish	X18:Y20	X19:Y20	
X14:Y21 wall	X15:Y21 hearth	X16:Y21 hearth	X17:Y21 rubbish	X18:Y21	X19:Y21	

Figure 5.14 Trench A at finish of excavation, with greyed areas showing excavated squares, a total of 27 m².



Figure 5.15 Trench A at completion. Looking north. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

5.4.2 Trench B

Trench B was a 16 m² trench over AOI2, the starting point being the south-west corner on grid coordinates E 308454 and N 6196450 (Figure 5.16). Contexts 001 (top soil) and 002 (plough lines) were excavated across the entire trench. With no soil or other changes evident, context 002 was called arbitrarily at a depth of just 2 cm to enable further excavation in specific squares.

Context 003 (heavily compacted soil with plough lines) was opened across the entire trench, and each square excavated to a uniform depth of 5 cm, at which point the plough lines began to even out—at a total depth of 7 cm. With few artefacts and no evidence of structures being uncovered across the trench, it was decided to deepen X24,X26:Y16 and X25:Y14 (grey squares in Figure 5.16), with these particular squares selected as the most likely to overlay the possible structures seen in the geophysical report. The ground was exceedingly hard and compacted. Context 003 in these squares in Trench B was much deeper than in Trench A, extending to a depth of 50 cm before hitting the natural surface of a hard red clay overlaying limestone bedrock (Figure 5.17). An auger hole in X27:Y15 using a 7 cm auger achieved the same result. The landowner (pers. comm. D. Hampel, April 2016) confirmed that the white clay layer was familiar to him across Baker's Flat. He recognised it as the natural surface

which persists further to a depth of at least 60 cm (the depth of a strainer post when replacing fences). Photos, total station levels and drawings were completed and the trench closed.

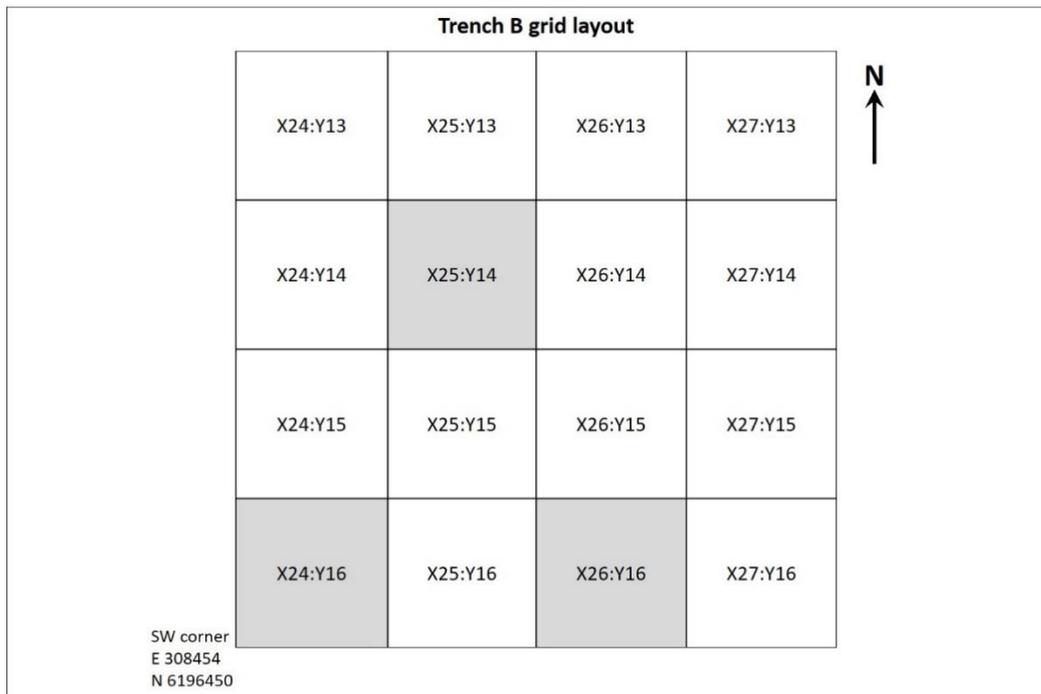


Figure 5.16 Trench B, 16 m² layout using X:Y numbering system. Grey squares excavated to natural surface.

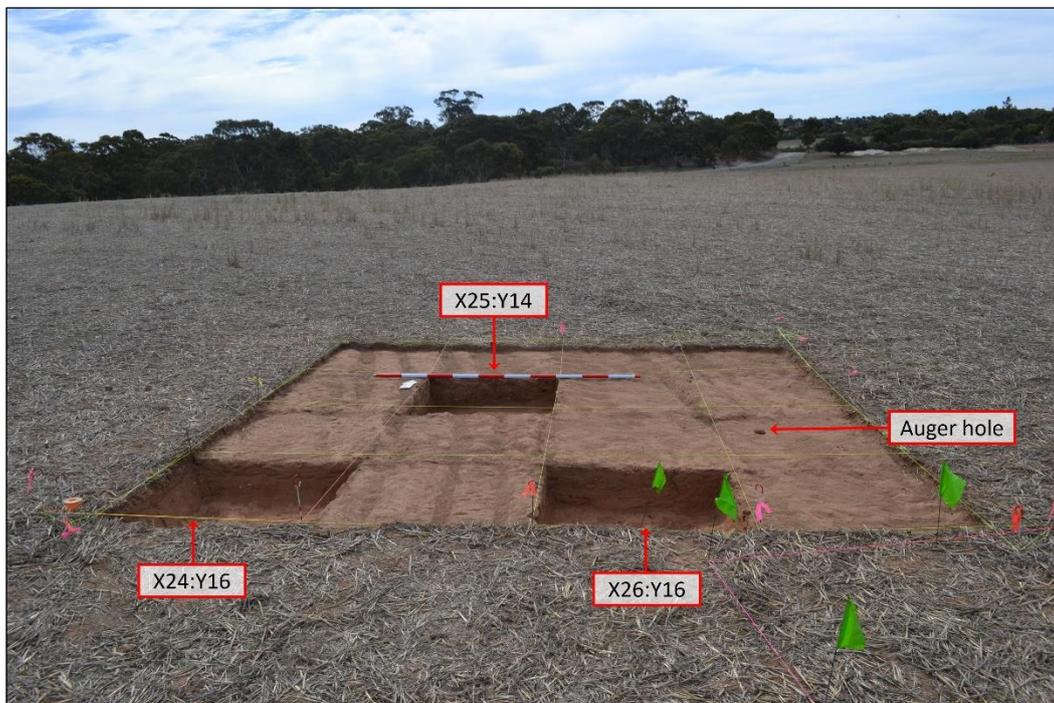


Figure 5.17 Trench B, three squares excavated to natural surface, auger hole in X27:Y15. Looking north. Photo: Rebecca Doughty.

5.4.3 Trench C

Trench C (Figure 5.18) was established beside Trench B and corresponded to the more accurate co-ordinates of the geophysical anomaly. Squares X24,X25:Y13 contained a small overlap between the two trenches. To accommodate this, excavation was carried out along the Y14,Y15,Y16 lines only. Contexts 001 (top soil) and 002 (plough lines) were excavated in full across these lines, and 003 (heavily compacted soil with plough lines) was opened. Finding the same profile as for Trench B, it was decided to deepen X24,X26:Y15 (grey squares in Figure 5.18) until they reached the next context. All squares were consistently sterile, with just one artefact found in 11 buckets. Context 003 in these squares extended to a depth of 30 cm before reaching the natural surface (context 004).

Auger holes using a 7 cm auger in X25,X26,X27:Y16 achieved the same general result, a thin layer of red soil above limestone bedrock at approximately 30 cm depth, equating to the natural surface. In X25:Y16, the auger returned some small pieces of slag and quartz at 20 cm depth; this square was then excavated to natural surface at 30 cm, but without finding any structural features or artefacts.

To ensure that the trench absolutely covered the features indicated in the geophysical survey, it was extended south in a 1 m x 4 m extension (Figure 5.19), and excavated using hand picks. This extension was also sterile and consistent with other opened squares; natural surface was reached at 30 cm. At the natural surface, the ground was reddish brown in colour (Munsell 5YR 4/4), and extremely hard, described by the trench supervisor as 'like concrete'. Photos, total station levels and drawings were completed and the trench was closed.

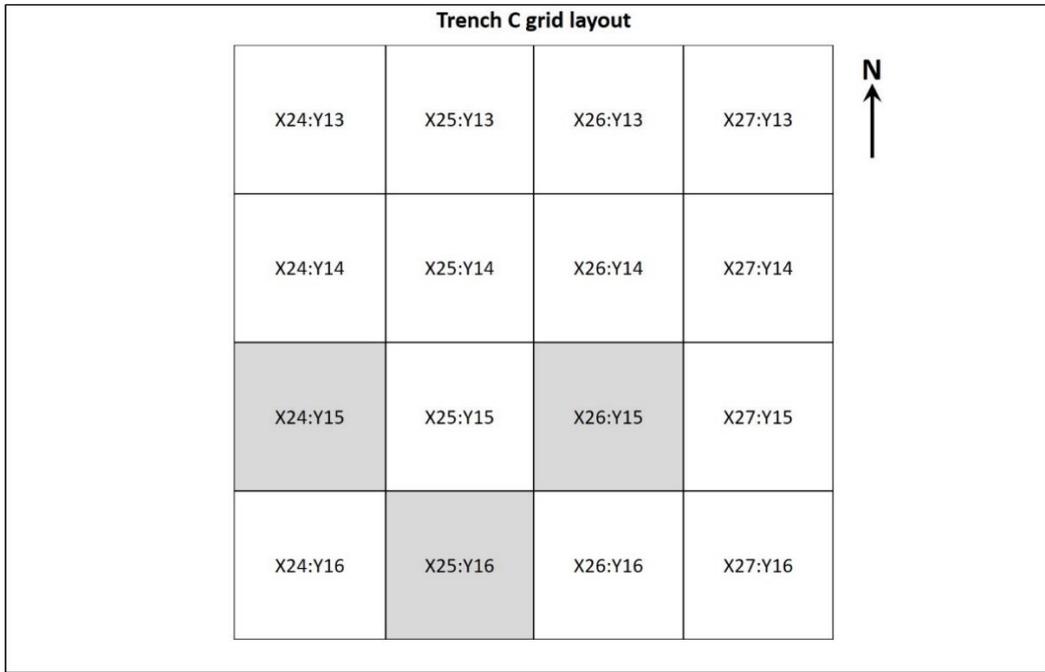


Figure 5.18 Trench C, 16 m² layout using X:Y numbering system. Grey squares excavated to natural surface.

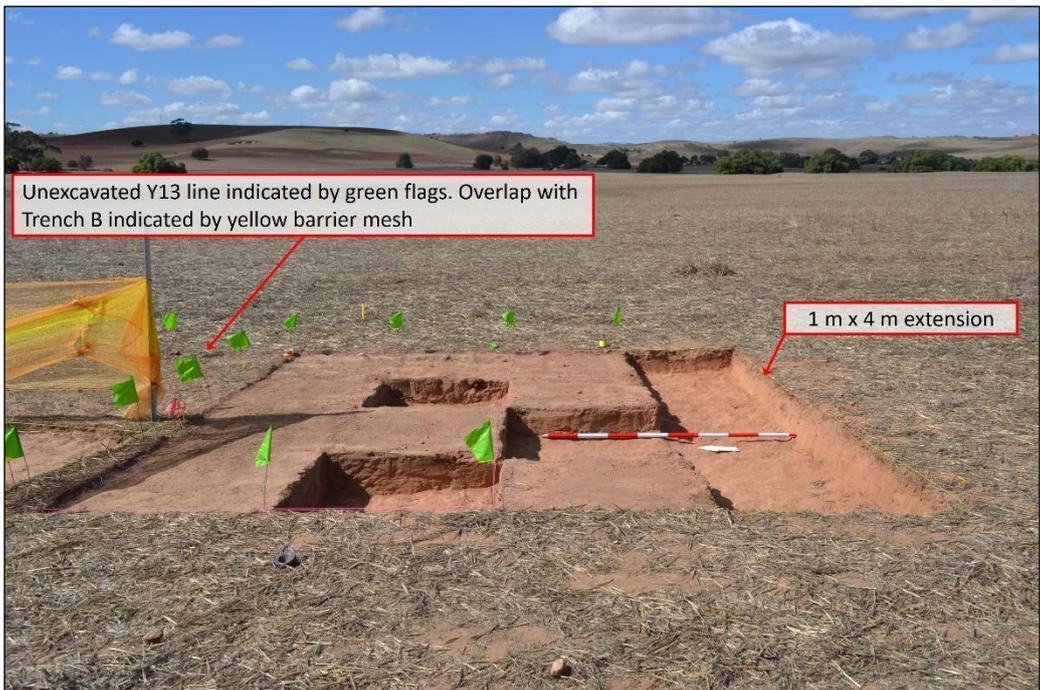


Figure 5.19 Trench C at excavation completion. Looking east. Photo: Natasha Marshall.

5.4.4 Trench D

As with Trench C, Trench D was sited over the more accurate co-ordinates for the geophysical anomaly (Figure 5.20). There was only minimal overlap between Trenches A and D, on the north-east corner in squares X18,19:Y18 (Figure 5.21).

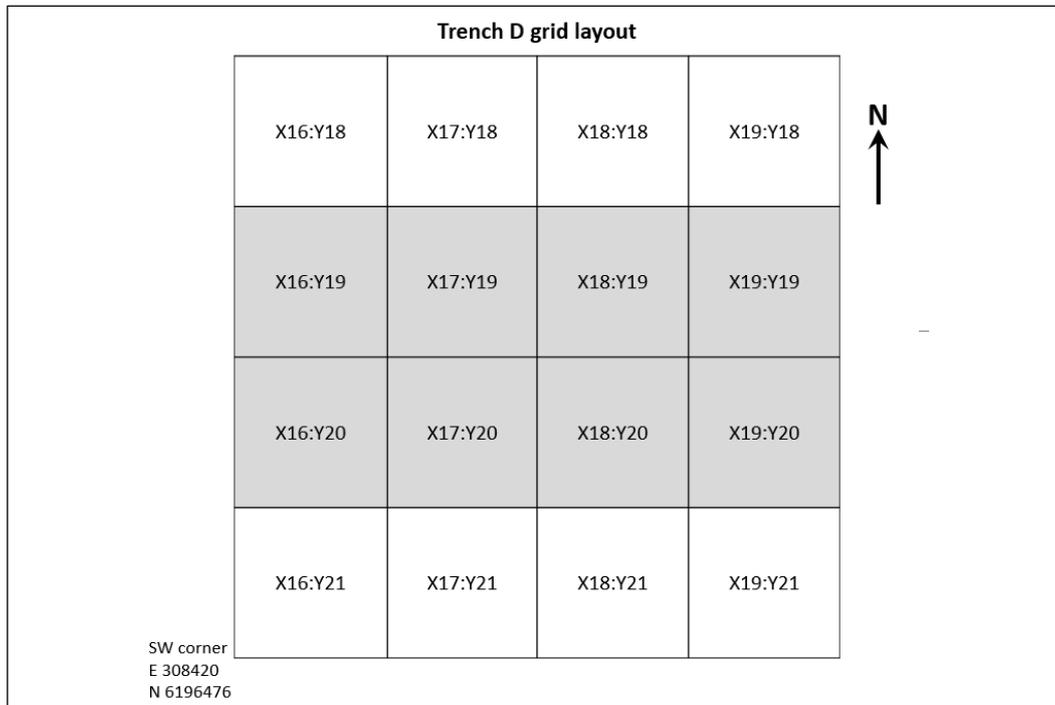


Figure 5.20 Trench D, 16 m² layout using X:Y numbering system. Grey squares indicate those excavated.

Excavation started along the Y19 and Y20 lines (greyed squares in Figure 5.20, excavated squares in Figure 5.21). Contexts 001 (surface/top soil), 002 (plough lines) and 003 (compacted soil below plough lines) were excavated in full. All dirt was sieved using 3 mm sieves and all contexts had very low artefact density. Auger holes were dug in X17:Y19 and X19:Y20 using a 7 cm auger, to depths of 60 cm and 70 cm respectively. These returned silty clay with no inclusions, sterile of cultural material. At this point it was decided to excavate two squares—X16:Y19 and X19:Y20—as deeply and quickly as possible to a change in context, using mattocks and trowels. One in every two buckets was sieved using a 3 mm sieve, but with each bucket being sterile after two hours of excavation, this was amended to one in every three. Context 005 (natural surface) was reached at a depth of approximately 50 cm (Figure 5.22). With all excavated areas effectively sterile, further excavation on Trench D was halted, and work returned to Trench A.

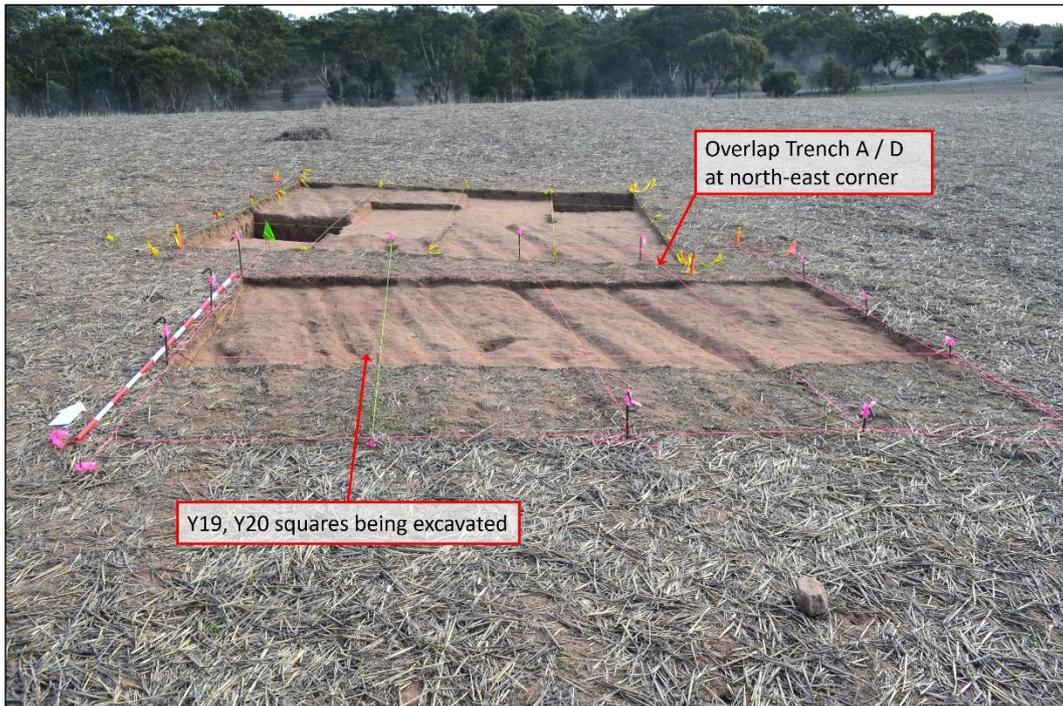


Figure 5.21 Trench D, context 002 excavated across Y19 and Y20 squares. Plough lines clearly visible running through to Trench A in background. Looking north. Photo: Cherrie De Leiuën.

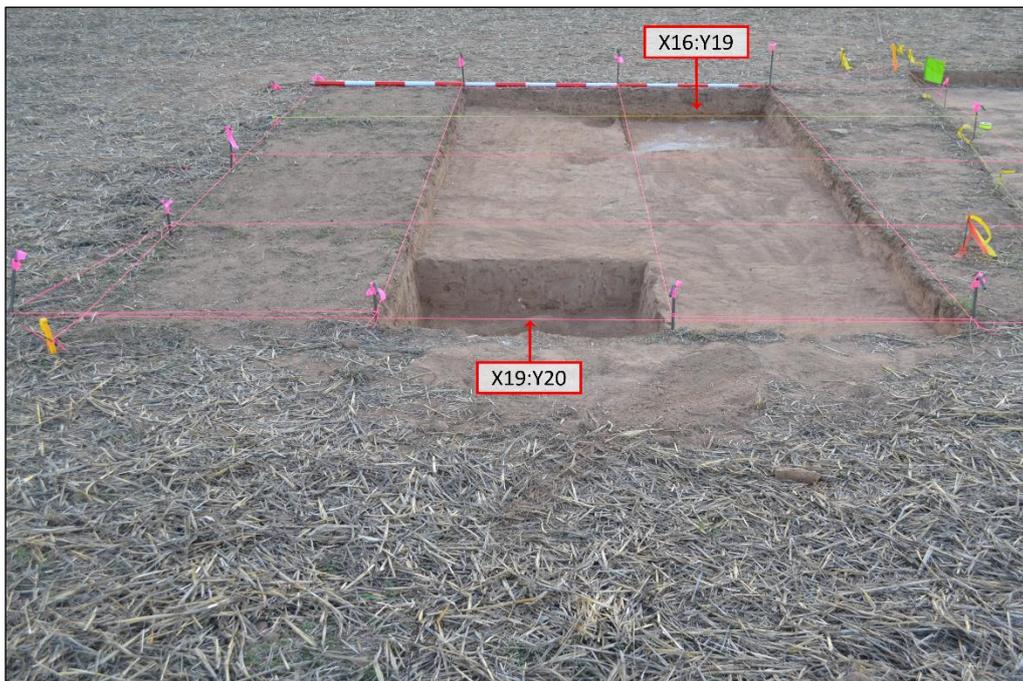


Figure 5.22 Trench D, showing excavated context 003 across Y19, Y20, context 004 in X19:Y20 and context 005 emerging in X16:Y19. Looking west. Photo: Cherrie De Leiuën.

5.4.5 Trench E

Trench E was situated to the south-west of Trench A. It was an adaptation to the 2016 fieldwork plan and did not use the X:Y grid numbering system. This area had not been surveyed using geophysical methods because there was a large metal dump on the surface, estimated at six tonnes. However, the dump was located on what appeared to be a deliberate cut into the slope, and stone rubble visible at its edges indicated a potential built feature. There were also other surface indicators of human activity in the form of numerous ceramic and glass fragments. To facilitate excavation, the landowner used a tractor and front-end loader to remove the metal, leaving the area accessible.

Three stones, visible as a row on the ground surface, became the centre point of an initial 4 m x 4 m trench (Figure 5.23). The surface was completely cleared of loose rubble and grass patches, then lightly trowelled and all artefacts collected (context 001). Light mattocking was carried out to loosen the next context and then a 5 cm spit was excavated, beginning in the north-east corner (context 002). At the same time, a mound of overburden—metal, rock, soil—was removed at the southern end. Sieving was not carried out, but all artefacts were collected. Complex context excavation was not attempted at this stage because of the trench's history as a dumping area, leaving unrelated and out-of-context artefacts on the surface and near-surface. A twentieth-century plastic sheep tag and plastic wrapping, for example, were found alongside nineteenth-century glass bottle fragments and ceramic shards.

As excavation continued in the north-east corner, the three stones emerged as a circular stone feature which, when further exposed and cleaned, was found to contain a small ash deposit in the centre. Further excavation revealed tumbled stones in the north-west corner, possibly extending across the trench. This feature was excavated as a single event, uncovering a single-course stone wall (context 004) curving west for 2 m towards a small trough structure (context 003). In this way, the excavation strategy evolved as the work progressed, following the evidence as it was uncovered (Figure 5.24). All work was carried out using hand tools. One in every two buckets was sieved using a 3 mm sieve. By the time the trench was closed, it had been extended a further 5 m x 1 m and then 3 m x 1 m to the west, 4 m x 1 m to the south, and 2 m x 1 m to the east, with 30 m² opened in total. At trench closure, a curved wall had been uncovered (context 004), and a compacted, flat white clay surface exposed (contexts 005, 006, 007, 009). An auger hole in context 005, using a 7 cm auger, found the white clay continued at least another 20 cm, consistent with natural calcrete bedrock.



Figure 5.23 Trench E corner points being recorded using RTK. Two mounds in background are the metal (left) and rubble (right) removed from the trench surface. Looking south-east. Photo: Miles Kemp.

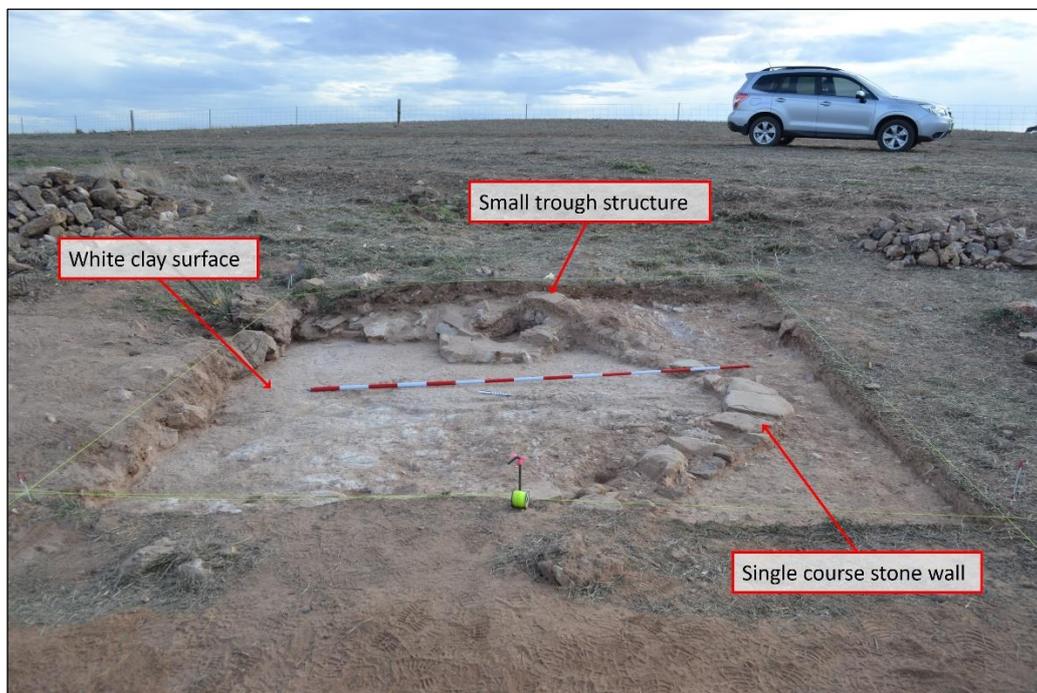


Figure 5.24 Trench E showing first 4 m x 4 m² excavated section. Looking west. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

5.5 Excavation 2017

The 2017 season aimed to extend the work from the previous year. In 2016, Trench A had been opened over AOI3 (pink squares in Figure 5.25), unearthing the remains of a dwelling. In 2017, the plan was to begin at one of Trench A's endpoints and extend a new Trench F north into AOI7 (alpha-numeric squares in Figure 5.25), hypothesising that this could uncover either the remainder of that domestic structure or another structure. It was anticipated that the edge of square X16:Y18 from Trench A (cobblestone path) would overlap with the south-west corner of Square A8 in Trench F, allowing the path to be traced. Ultimately, three trenches were opened in the 2017 season and Figure 5.26 shows their general location in relation to those of 2016.

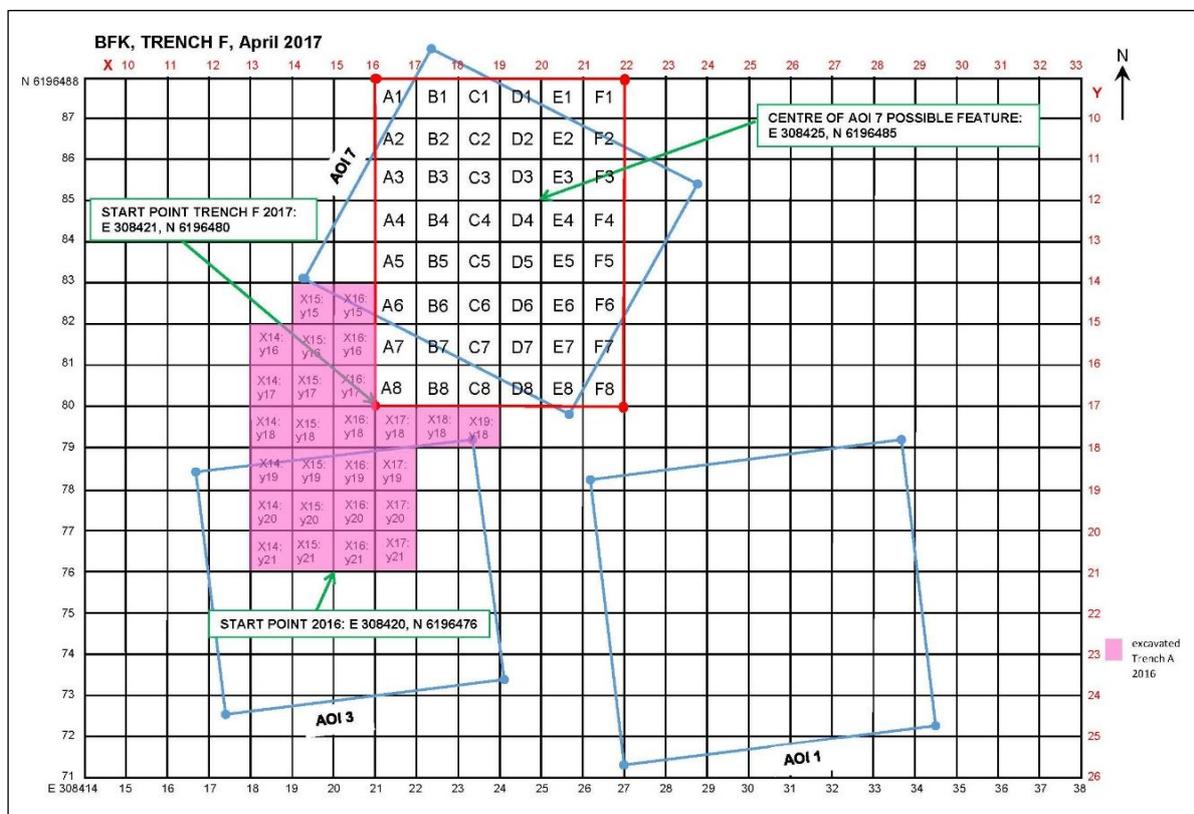


Figure 5.25 Trench F, using an alpha-numeric labelling system for each 1 m², began at a Trench A end point.

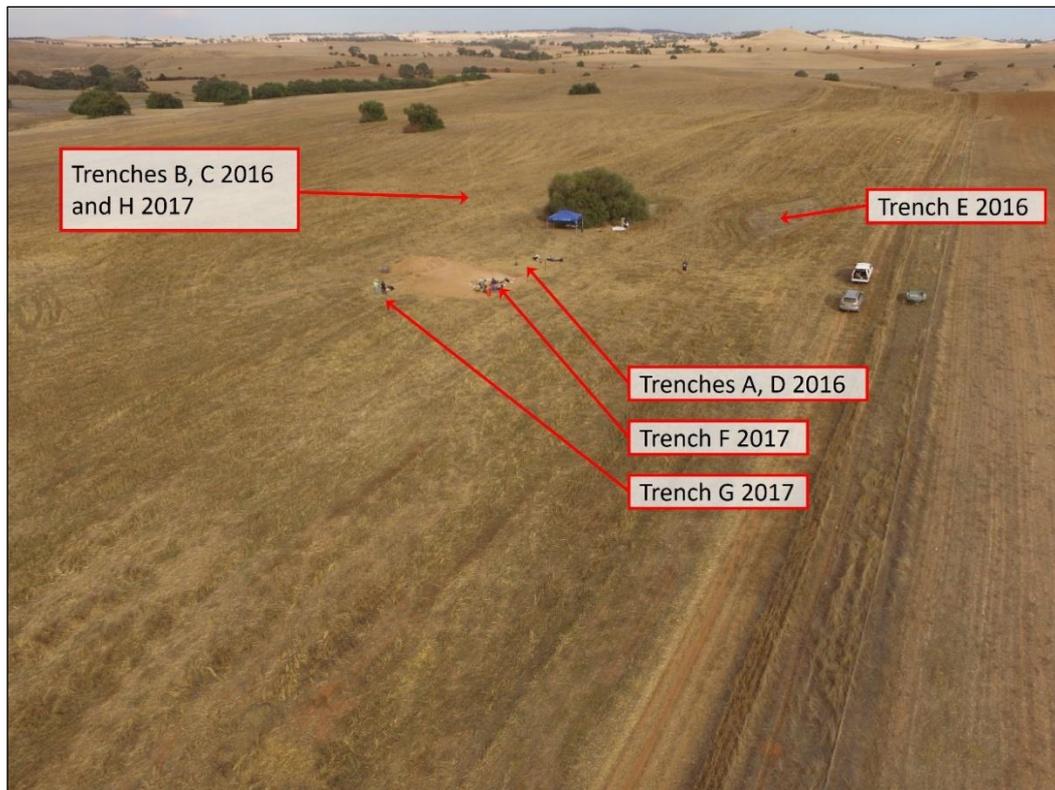


Figure 5.26 General location of 2017 trenches in relation to 2016 trenches. Photo: Jason Lange.

The 2017 field season took place over two weeks in April 2017, with an average of 14 crew on site at any one time (Appendix B—Fieldwork Crew Members). As for the previous field season, a total station (Leica PinPoint R1000 T509 Plus) was used to record all surface features, significant features, context start and end levels, interfaces and trench end levels. Using the 2016 base station coordinates, a new Station 1 2017 (Table 5.3) was established by resection. The total station was also used to record several significant features in Trench F, including the extent of the cobblestone area (context 005), the height and base of a wall cut into the calcrete bedrock (context 009), ashy debris of a burning event (context 011), a threshold / step (contexts 014, 015) and an accumulation of metal items (ship tank, iron sheets) in squares A3 and B3. All excavated dirt from artefact-rich squares was sieved using a 3 mm sieve. For other squares, one in every two buckets was sieved.

Table 5.3 Station 1 2017 coordinates.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height	Mark type
STN17001	308408.320	6196479.513	221.815	Temporary wooden peg

In addition to the excavation, a pedestrian survey was carried out over the dance floor area. This involved eight people, walking 2 m apart, in a broadly north-south direction, each using a handheld GPS unit (Table 5.4). Surface visibility was estimated at 20%, somewhat better than the rest of the site (5%), few artefacts were seen.

Table 5.4 Coordinates for pedestrian survey over the dance floor.

Dance floor transects	Easting	Northing	Notes
SE start	308667	6196504	Start point
NE end	308595	6196616	
NW start	Not recorded	Not recorded	
SW end	308622	6196501	End point

5.5.1 Trench F

Trench F was set out as a 48 m² trench over AOI7, using the total station to establish the corner coordinates. Informed by the 2016 experience, where fill was found to a depth of 50–60 cm above the occupation layer, the top 10 cm of top soil was removed using a tractor with a front bucket. The landowner carried out this work, removing the ground cover of wheat straw and top soil, and establishing a spoil heap to the east. The trench was then strung in 1 m² squares (Figure 5.27), with each square named individually using an alpha-numeric numbering system (Figure 5.25).



Figure 5.27 Trench F, pre-excavation, with string lines. Looking south. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

At the northern end, in A–C1, the soil was hard and compacted, with some limestone pebbles and inclusions, making it difficult to excavate with trowels (context 002). By contrast, at the southern end (A8, B8), the soil was more crumbly and loamy, with less clay. As the northern team dug deeper, the calcrete bedrock was exposed first in A1 and then across the three squares, at about 15 cm depth (Figure 5.28). There was no evidence of cultural involvement, such as cuts in the rock or artefacts. Meanwhile, in A8 a square feature was emerging in the south-west corner, which appeared to be the edge of Trench A (Figure 5.29). Although it was expected that this was the corner of Trench A’s square X17:Y18, it became clear from the emerging shape and metal feature that it was actually the trench wall at X16:Y15, confirmed using photographs from the previous year. This square had formed the north-eastern edge of Trench A and meant that the work was taking place 2.5 m further north and 0.5 m further west than expected. It was concluded that the 2016 work had been based on the geophysics grid rather than the MGA, necessitating a shift of 2.5 m to the south-east (2.5 m south x 0.5 m east) (Table 5.5). From then on, all work was based purely on MGA and previous work was adjusted in the models to match. In effect, it meant that the original A8 became A6 and B8 became B6.



Figure 5.28 Trench F, squares A–C1, showing the calcrete bedrock exposed. Looking north. Photo: Anthea Vella.



Figure 5.29 Trench F, square A8 showing the overlap from Trench A. Looking north. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

Table 5.5 Trench F coordinates, adjusted.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height ASL	Mark type
FC10001	308421.883	6196478.827	221	Temporary metal peg
FC10002	308422.738	6196486.781	221	Temporary metal peg
FC10003	308428.697	6196486.085	221	Temporary metal peg
FC10004	308427.842	6196478.131	221	Temporary metal peg

Based on the depth of metal emerging at the new A6, next to X16:Y15, and informed by the 2016 excavations, it was estimated that there was still approximately 50 cm depth of fill to remove before hitting an occupation layer. As a result, it was decided to excavate mechanically. Using an experienced local bobcat driver familiar with this soil type, work began using a mini backhoe and then a wide front-end loader. Two monitors were at the trench at all times. Beginning with a 20 cm scrape, the driver removed 5 cm depth at a time (context 004), stopping when any artefacts or changes were spotted, until the calcrete bedrock had been exposed at the eastern side of the trench, and a large amount of fill removed from the rest of the trench. All indications were that the work in Trench F was uncovering an extension of the dugout dwelling excavated in 2016, rather than a separate structure. Once the mechanical work was complete, the trench was re-strung along MGA coordinates.

The northern team, working with small mattocks and picks, carefully loosened the ground, then trowelled across A–D2, A–C3 and A4. Across A–C2, the calcrete bedrock was found to be very close to the surface and appeared to have been cut to form a wall. As excavations continued (Figure 5.30), it became clear that this was a structural wall cut into the bedrock (context 009). The cut was clearly defined, had a corner return at D2, and extended south to D7. At the southern end, in B7–8, C8 the long-anticipated cobblestones (context 005) were excavated at a depth of 70 cm (Figure 5.31). Cuts for five postholes were also exposed (contexts 006 in A7; 012, 016, 019 in D7 / D8; 020 in A6). A distinct ashy deposit of considerable depth (context 011) extended across A2–3 and lay below context 004 (fill) and above context 008 (occupation layer). It was excavated carefully (Figure 5.32) and was artefact-rich.

Using the structural walls to guide the direction of the excavation, Trench F was excavated to the occupation layer (context 008), resulting in 30 squares being excavated to this level by the season end (Figure 5.33 and Figure 5.34). In addition, the trench was excavated to bedrock (context 010) along the E1–6 and F1–8 lines.



Figure 5.30 Drone image of Trench F under excavation, with shape of structure and walls emerging. Photo: Jason Lange.



Figure 5.31 Trench F, showing cobblestones in B8. Looking north. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.



Figure 5.32 Trench F, excavation of ashy deposit in squares A2–3. Photo: Mija Saeki.



Figure 5.33 Trench F at excavation completion. Looking north. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.

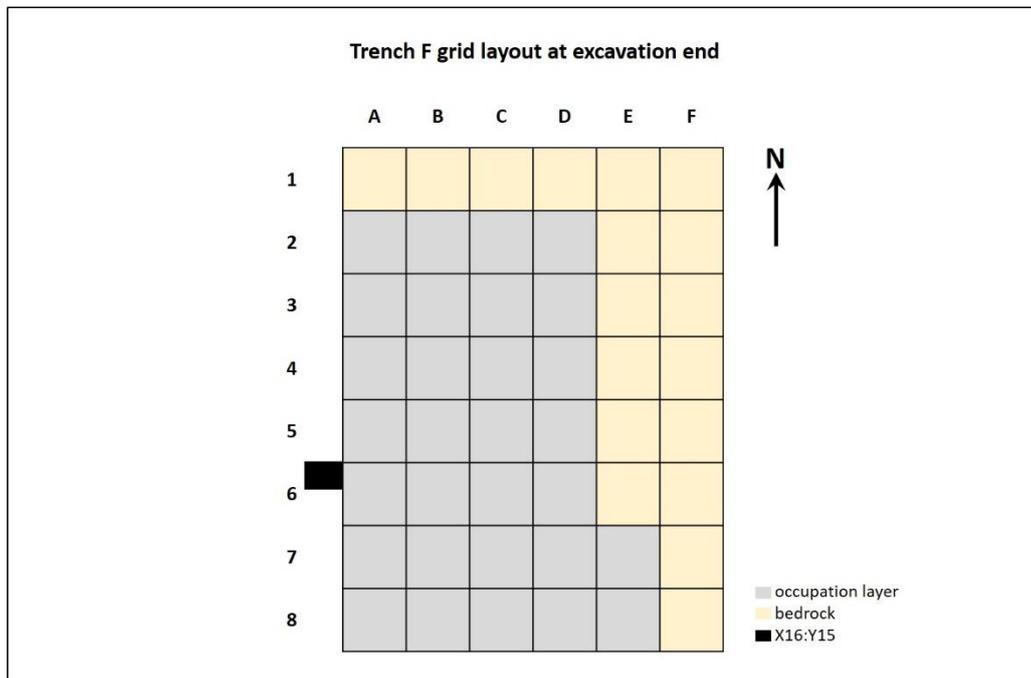


Figure 5.34 Trench F at excavation completion, with greyed squares showing excavated squares to occupation level, and yellow squares to bedrock, a total of 48 m².

5.5.2 Trench G

Since Trench F was emerging as an extension of the structure in Trench A, it was decided to try and determine if there was another separate structure associated with AOI7. To this end, ten auger holes were drilled approximately 5.5 m north of Trench F (Figure 5.35), using a manually turned 7 cm auger, with the expectation that the depth of the calcrete bedrock would indicate the depth of the fill. The deeper the fill, the more likely it was to be a filled-in dugout structure. Holes 01 to 05 were set up on a west–east line parallel to Trench F. Holes 06, 07 and 08 were added south of the original auger line, and 09 and 010 north of the line. All holes were 3 m apart.

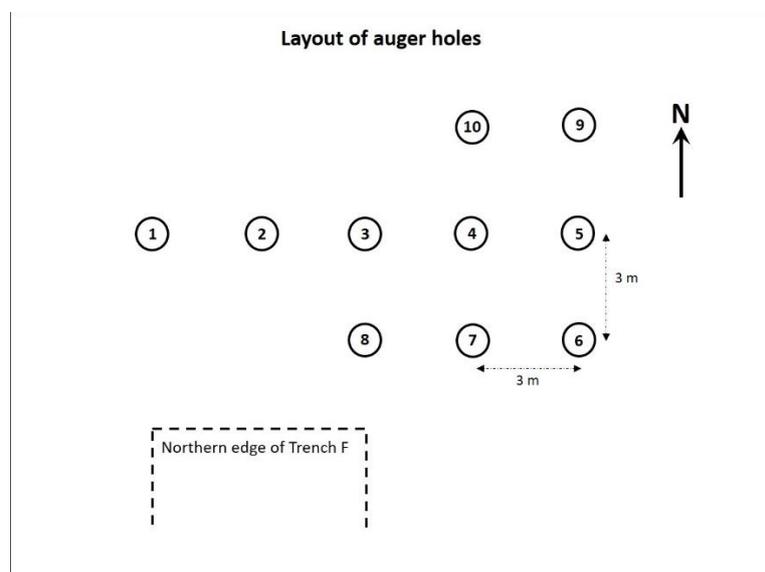


Figure 5.35 Layout of auger holes.

Boring down as far as possible until calcrete bedrock was reached, hole 04 was found to be the deepest at 57.7 cm (Table 5.6). These results were used to establish a small 1 m x 2 m test trench, Trench G. Using the deepest auger hole (04) as the centre point, Trench G was set out parallel with the north-south lines of Trench F, with its south-west corner (Table 5.7) being 2 m north and 3 m east of Trench F. The object was to dig quickly through the fill—approximately 57 cm—to reach an occupation layer, if it existed. This trench was excavated using picks, mattocks and trowels (Figure 5.36). All dirt was sieved using a 3 mm sieve. Some small fragments of glass and ceramics were found in the top 10–20 cm (contexts 001, 004), but the trench was otherwise sterile with no indications of a structure. Natural surface was reached at a depth of 56 cm.

Table 5.6 Total depth reached for each auger hole.

Auger holes	Top coordinates	Bottom coordinates	Total depth (cm)
Auger 01	E 308422.656, N 6196492.185 H 220.781	E 308422.713, N 6196492.231 H 220.575	20.6
Auger 02	E 308425.583, N 6196491.957 H 220.638	E 308425.654, N 6196492.015 H 220.350	28.8
Auger 03	E 308428.510, N 6196491.788 H 220.525	E 308428.562, N 6196491.836 H 220.116	40.9
Auger 04	E 308431.375, N 6196491.556 H 220.391	E 308431.409, N 6196491.595 H 219.814	57.7
Auger 05	E 308434.354, N 6196491.331 H 220.258	E 308434.409, N 6196491.341 H 219.943	31.5
Auger 06	E 308433.926, N 6196488.296 H 220.200	E 308433.979, N 6196488.299 H 219.946	25.4
Auger 07	E 308431.512, N 6196488.454 H 220.308	E 308431.601, N 6196488.476 H 219.790	51.8
Auger 08	E 308428.486, N 6196488.788 H 220.440	E 308428.543, N 6196488.809 H 220.147	29.3
Auger 09	E 308431.272, N 6196494.606 H 220.468	E 308431.353, N 6196494.633 H 220.042	42.6
Auger 10	E 308428.715 N 6196494.804 H 220.577	E 308428.828 N 6196494.815 H 220.210	36.7

Table 5.7 Trench G coordinates.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height ASL	Mark type
G17C1001	308430.948	6196490.611	220.365	Temporary metal peg, SW corner
G17C1002	308430.948	6196492.611	220.365	Temporary metal peg, NW corner
G17C1003	308431.948	6196492.611	220.365	Temporary metal peg, NE corner
G17C1004	308431.948	6196490.611	220.365	Temporary metal peg, SE corner



Figure 5.36 Drone image of Trench G being excavated. Trench F is outside the frame of this image to the south (i.e., to the right). Photo: Jason Lange.

5.5.3 Trench H

In 2016, excavations had taken place over AOI2 (Figure 5.6) and found no evidence of cultural features, despite the geophysical survey indicating that both an enclosure and structure could be in this location. Those excavations had reached a depth of 50 cm and 30 cm in Trenches B and C respectively but were limited by the extremely hard nature of the soil and manual tools. Based on the sensitivity of the geophysical instruments and sensor spacing, it was estimated that the feature might occur around 50–60 cm (Lowe et al. 2020:10). As such, it was decided to open a narrow trench (Trench H) using mechanical means.

Two star droppers were used to mark out a 15 m straight line (Table 5.8) intersecting the ‘enclosure’ feature and placed on a 30° (north-east) bearing to maximise the chances of intersecting any feature. Using a mini-backhoe with a 40 cm bucket, the driver excavated a straight, deep line between the star droppers, going through the fill to a depth of 35–40 cm and into the natural surface for an additional 40 cm (Figure 5.37), making an average total depth across the trench of 78.2 cm. One monitor was at the trench at all times. The soil was

consistently sterile until about halfway between the star droppers, at 7 m, when one ceramic rim and two pieces of quartz were excavated. It was at this point that further excavations were brought to an abrupt halt when the bucket arm snapped in the hard soil and was unable to be repaired. Any potential archaeological deposits in this trench below 78 cm and past the 7 m mark were unable to be investigated further.

Table 5.8 Planned start and end points for Trench H.

Point ID	Easting	Northing	Height ASL	Mark type
Peg 3	308452.377	6196445.968	219	Metal star dropper
Peg 4	308462.984	6196456.575	219	Metal star dropper



Figure 5.37 Trench H excavated to a length of 7 m and average depth of 78.2 cm using a mini-backhoe, looking north-east. Photo: Susan Arthure.

5.6 Laboratory methods

5.6.1 Artefact preparation

In the field, artefacts were sorted and labelled according to their fabric, primarily ceramic, glass, metal, and faunal remains. In the Flinders University archaeological lab, artefacts were examined to ensure they were categorised correctly, then cleaned according to their material requirements. Ceramic and glass artefacts were washed gently in water, then stored in plastic artefact bags once dry. Metal artefacts were brushed using a fine brush to reveal any details, then stored in paper bags. Faunal remains were not cleaned and were stored in paper bags.

5.6.2 Artefact catalogue

Fieldnames and language for the artefact catalogue were based on standardised terminology already used by Flinders University historical archaeology projects. Detailed guidelines (Appendix D—Baker’s Flat Artefact Cataloguing Guidelines) were developed to deal with file management, general data entry, specific artefact types, photographs, post-cataloguing treatment, and data cleansing. These guided the cataloguing process and helped to improve consistency across the volunteer student team working on the artefacts. All data were recorded in Excel spreadsheets (Appendix H—Artefact Data [Electronic Files]).

File management instructions covered version control, site code, and style decisions for data entry. Each artefact was assigned a unique number. Spatial data including site, trench, square and context were recorded, as were the date found and the cataloguer ID. Photo numbers of images associated with each artefact were also entered.

The first sort decision was artefact category, with the options being ceramic, glass, metal, bone, other. This primary sort was based on fabric rather than function. Y/N options were used to note whether an artefact was diagnostic or not, whether it had been modified in any way, and if it was part of grouped undiagnostic fragments. Cataloguers were advised that if in doubt about whether an artefact was diagnostic, they should choose Y. Ceramics were designated as diagnostic, for example, if they had identifiable transfer prints or other identifiable decorative types (even if only on body sherds), rims, bases or manufacturer’s marks. Any motifs or trademarks were recorded, followed by a short description of the object, and an estimate of completeness. The length, width and thickness of each artefact

were measured to two decimal points using digital vernier callipers. Each item was weighed to one decimal point using a digital scale.

An MNI (minimum number of items) can be calculated using either objective quantitative methods based on counts and measurements of rims, bases and handles, or subjective qualitative methods based on grouping together sherds that are likely to represent a single vessel because of shared attributes such as paste characteristics, glaze, decoration or manufacture method (Voss and Allen 2010:1–2). For this research, a combination of both methods was used to achieve the most accurate number possible. A date range was determined for the actual year based on registration details, or the earliest and latest date.

Some fields were specific to particular artefact categories. For ceramics, artefacts were defined first according to their broad ware type—porcelain, stoneware or earthenware—and then to specific ware type (Table 5.9). The element to which the artefact belonged, e.g., base, rim, was identified, followed by its functional type and form where possible. Base and rim measurements were taken, and paste colour identified. The glaze type and its relationship to decoration (overglaze or underglaze), was recorded, as was any decorative method. Colour was determined using the *Munsell Bead Color Book* (Scherer and Karklins 2012).

Table 5.9 Terminology used for broad and specific ware types, adapted from Brooks (2005:26–35).

Broad ware type	Specific ware type	Description
Earthenware, coarse (unrefined)	Terracotta/redware	Utilitarian, low-fired, porous, coarse-bodied earthenware, red paste
	Yellowware	Utilitarian, low-fired, porous, coarse-bodied earthenware, yellow-bodied. 1830+ in Australia
Earthenware, refined	Buff-bodied	Buff-bodied, semi-vitreous, non-porous refined earthenware vessels with a dark to mid-brown glaze. Almost always teapots. Many have applied moulded designs. Often referred to as Rockingham-type
	Ironstone/white granite	Semi-vitreous, non-porous refined earthenware. Often has a slight blue or blue-grey tint. Very little decoration with exception of moulded motifs. 1840+ in Australia
	Red/red-bodied	Porous (although sometimes semi-vitreous, non-porous) refined earthenware with a red paste that occurs most often as tableware, usually teapots. Uncommon
	Whiteware	White-bodied, porous, clear glazed, refined earthenware. Ubiquitous after 1820, used for full range of tablewares and teawares. Many forms of decoration including transfer print, flow blue, enamel, gilt, sprigged, sponged
Earthenware, refined	Pipe clay	Usually porous, white paste; red known. Unglazed. Pipe stems may be stamped with maker's mark and place of manufacture
Porcelain	Hard paste	Hard, non-porous, highly vitrified, highly fired. Glaze frequently appears to be fused to the paste, with a definite boundary between paste and glaze. Sherds typically have sharper and more angular breaks than soft paste porcelain

Broad ware type	Specific ware type	Description
	Soft paste incl. bone china	Non-porous, dominant porcelain type produced in Britain in nineteenth century. Coarser body than standard porcelain. Common in teawares. Decoration is often gilt enamelling (overglaze painted)
Stoneware	Stoneware	Vitrified, non-porous, highly fired, opaque. Includes Bristol-glazed (brown/buff/white external surface, smooth glaze) and salt-glazed (brown/buff external surface, pitted 'orange peel' glaze). Usually storage vessels

For metal, the type of metal, manufacturing technique and function were recorded. A sub-category dealing with nails and fasteners was designed to record size class, manufacturing method, form, head and shaft shape, and shaft cross section. Prior to cataloguing, it was observed that most of the metal appeared to be flattened or corrugated remnants of zinc and iron alloy. A sample set of 534 artefacts from Trench A was recorded in detail to determine metal type, manufacturing technique and function. Once it was established that sheet and corrugated metal formed the great majority of metal fragments, the remaining 15,377 artefacts were catalogued as grouped undiagnostic fragments, broken down by trench, square, context and date found. Miscellaneous discrete items (e.g., buckles, purse clasps) were catalogued separately.

For glass, the element to which the artefact belonged, e.g., finish/seal, neck, base, was identified, followed by its functional type, form and manufacturing process where possible. Base, closure and finish measurements were taken, and closure and finish types identified. A colour wheel was used to determine the best colour match.

Buttons were separated out as an additional category, primarily because they were in a range of materials—metal, shell, bone, ceramic, glass, wood—that cut across artefact classes. A discrete button catalogue was deemed the most efficient option for analysing and comparing that particular dataset. Details were recorded for ligne size, attachment method, manufacture method and construction, shank type and number of eyes.

Data cleansing was the final step of each cataloguing session after the data had been entered by the student volunteers. Each field for each artefact was checked by this researcher for accuracy, consistency of terms, relevance, typographical errors and any anomalies. This step was designed to reduce inconsistency and enhance data accuracy. A summary of the total number catalogued artefacts is given in Table 5.10. Once an artefact had been catalogued, it was labelled with the code *BFK* and its unique ID number.

Table 5.10 Total number of artefacts catalogued in the categories of ceramic, glass, metal, buttons.

	Trench A	Trench B	Trench C	Trench D	Trench E	Trench F	Trench G	Dance Floor	Total
Ceramic	385	103	59	36	115	475	11	2	1,186
Glass	636	93	63	59	265	1,022	9	6	2,153
Metal	7,920	0	0	0	0	7,991	0	0	15,911
Buttons	14	0	0	0	4	158	0	0	176

5.7 Archival research

Many of the stories about Baker’s Flat have been kept alive in Kapunda by two local residents, and these memories acted as a compelling foundation for the archival research, which took place in both Australia and Ireland. The practice of combining oral, folklore, archival and archaeological data is a central tenet of historical archaeology (see, for example, Deetz 1996:10–19; Little 2007:29–31; Orser 2004b:9–14, 19–20), described by Orser (2010b:81) as a ‘methodologically inclusive’ approach. It is an ideal method to begin retrieving the stories of ‘the poor, illiterates, women, recent immigrants, and ruralites’ who are underrepresented in documents (Barber 1994:6), as is the case for Baker’s Flat, where the historical record offers only a superficial outline of this complex community (Arthure 2014). Similar methods are used successfully in historical research when folklore, memories and oral histories are placed on equal footings with archival sources (see, for example, Beiner 2007, 2018). Carrying out research in this way allows for the cross-checking of archaeological evidence against the historical and archival records, and the development of deeper interpretations. As such, primary data were sourced across several record types.

In Ireland, data retrieved from manuscripts held in the National Folklore Collection (NFC) helped to identify and clarify building techniques, housing traditions and folk beliefs used by rural people in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland, as well as identifying regional variety in the areas where the Irish of Baker’s Flat originated. In Australia, databases containing South Australian state records were searched for any material relating to Baker’s Flat. Data about Baker’s Flat families were compiled from many sources, including family histories, shipping notices, historical newspapers, state records, Catholic Church records and databases held at Genealogy SA. Historical newspapers, held online at the National Library of Australia, were scrutinised for information that could help interpret community relationships and kin networks, and how the settlement was managed.

5.7.1 Folklore data from National Folklore Collection, Ireland

The Irish National Folklore Collection (NFC) is located in University College Dublin (UCD). Focusing exclusively on Irish life, folk history and culture, its Main Manuscript Collection contains approximately 700,000 pages of material in 2,400 bound volumes of transcribed interviews, mainly collected between 1935 and 1971 (NFC 2019). It captures the activities and beliefs of Irish citizens, many of whom could clearly recall cultural patterns and practices from the mid- to late-nineteenth century. During the time of this research, it had not been digitised and could only be accessed physically at UCD.

The Collection is indexed to a minute level of detail using a card index dating back to 1935, based on the headings in Seán Ó Súilleabháin's *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (2014 [1942]). There are 14 key subject areas: settlement and dwelling; livelihood and household support; communication and trade; the community; human life; nature; folk medicine; times and feasts; principles and rules of popular belief and practice; mythological tradition; historical tradition; religious tradition; oral literature; sports and pastimes (NFC 2019).

Two visits were made to the NFC. The first was in June 2015 for three days, primarily an exploratory visit to meet with the NFC Director, Dr Criostóir MacCárthaigh, and to determine if the material in the collection would add value to or increase understanding of the archaeological work being carried out on Baker's Flat. The second was in late 2016 for four weeks to carry out in-depth archival research.

5.7.1.1 June 2015

For a few reasons—the fact that many of the Baker's Flat people originated in Co. Clare, the connections between Kapunda and the Blood and Bagot families, and the 1906 photographs of Baker's Flat vernacular houses (Chapter 4, Section 4.6)—Criostóir MacCárthaigh advised that their most probable home district was the parish of Inagh in the barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare. As a result, investigations concentrated on this area and the following subjects:

- Folk traditions, including St John's Eve
- Foundation sacrifices, including horse skulls, medals, coins
- Land division and tenure

5.7.1.2 October–November 2016

Based on the initial findings from the April 2016 excavation, and using Ó Súilleabháin's (2014 [1942]) guidelines, the following subject areas of the Main Manuscript Collection were targeted:

- Fireplaces and chimneys
- Floors and foundations
- Fuel, including cow dung as fuel
- Land division and tenure, including fields and fences, crops in common
- Lighting
- Living arrangements, including livestock in the kitchen
- Tea, including techniques of tea-making, vessels used, place of tea on the daily menu
- Temporary and underground dwellings

In addition, Manuscript 1077, dealing with building materials, was read in its entirety. The accounts in this manuscript were collected in 1946. It included questions about using sods from a field or bog to build walls; incorporating posts or beams for strength; using dry stone, mud, clay, or bricks; using clay, mud, or lime-and-sand mortar; and construction techniques.

5.7.1.3 Template for recording NFC data

Using a template (Table 5.11), data were recorded exactly as written in the manuscript, complete with spelling errors or unusual syntax.

Table 5.11 Template for recording National Folklore Collection data.

Ms. no.	<i>Manuscript number</i>
Page nos	<i>Page numbers</i>
County	<i>County to which the information refers</i>
Barony	<i>Barony within the county (not always recorded in the original manuscript)</i>
Parish	<i>Parish within the barony (not always recorded in the original manuscript)</i>
Name and address of collector/scribe	<i>Name and address of the trained folklore collector who interviewed and collected the information (address not always recorded, occupation sometimes given, e.g., schoolteacher)</i>
Date collected	<i>Year always recorded (full date not always recorded)</i>
Collected from	<i>Name, age, occupation and address of person from whom information was collected (full details not always recorded)</i>
Subject	<i>The subject area is sometimes recorded in the manuscript, otherwise this information is taken from the subject listed on the index card in the NFC catalogue</i>
Contents	<i>Actual information provided in the person's own words. Recorded as written, in either English or Irish. If set down in Irish, an English translation is provided immediately afterwards</i>
Keywords	<i>Quick access keywords specific to this research</i>

The data (approximately 30,000 words) are provided in full in Appendix E—Folklore Data from National Folklore Collection, Ireland, and have been used in the Results and Discussion chapters to assist in interpretation. Words in italics or enclosed in square brackets are interjections by this researcher to aid understanding. A question mark next to a word indicates some level of difficulty in interpreting the hand-writing correctly and a consequent ‘best guess’ decision.

In the manuscripts, responses were recorded in whichever language they were given and, as a result, content can be in either the English or Irish languages. This researcher’s knowledge of Irish was strong enough to determine relevance and to then use Ó Dónaill’s (2005) Irish-English dictionary to assist in translation. Substantial assistance was also given by Dr Dymphna Lonergan at Flinders University, a fluent Irish speaker.

Irish language content in the manuscripts was recorded using either the Roman or Gaelic scripts (Figure 5.38). Unlike the familiar Roman script, the Gaelic script is a form of insular script typeface that was once used commonly in Ireland. Irish written in the Gaelic script uses an ornate typeface and special symbols, such as a dot above a consonant signifying the letter *h*, and the symbol 7 for the word *and*. It is slow to read, but relevant material was photographed and translated later by Dr Lonergan.

14

Be m'hir le raith leis an sean dream an tae
 naora a thainig se air dtas dtuis. Breidender ga mba
 luibh beannuighthe e a leighasfeach ceud
 galor go h'airite. tinnis cinn. Ach is fionn annas
 annamh a thioch se aig doinne ach doinne
 saidhbhore no mra lassta. Seo sgeulin
 on sean aimsir. Bhi iasgare bocht i
 a thraid nam iasgaric. Bhi se i teach
 le tes na laethanta agus rud ba
 fionn annas le liunn an tae. sin
 bhi tae air an mbile a muintir an
 tige. Nis fadh don tafaunt air an
 vaspaire can, capan de a chaitheamh
 Bhi an capan tae amuigh dho nuair
 a dairig se duine eicint aig
 a leas amuigh don tae

621

na blaitige 7 deici bneag blaitige curk anuas
 an a' d'rae. Do ceapann na d'annad se
 don capaire dom - is ainal a b'iod mar a
 bead ranc no beurbizical egnm yserg oem na
 d'apd. si ni mysde durt-se rad, nuair a
 leanas eicis an pead deic m'hadan no
 p'ice bhadan na beinn sz bl son blaitige
 na d'apd amusan. is zure beag oem na son
 g'obas bannu a curk anuas ^{na} ~~eicis~~ 7 n-do
 ion, zure mysle na san an blas a fuarbas
 eicis nuair a cuadas na tarige, si
 zeallann durt zo kabas an curd do b'feane
 om laiceannab nar blas son rae, 7 zo
 n-ortkizms zo dian: si concan pratas do
 beurbizad an mardm rimpal a' z-son uam
 d'ap 7 b'iod b'ordeog nuair dianca zo r'agad
 cupla r'omas no r'ij pratas (ann) d'irene mar

Figure 5.38 Sample manuscript pages showing the Irish language written in Roman script (top) and Gaelic script (bottom).

5.7.2 Historical newspapers

Historical newspapers were examined in detail to assist in interpreting community relationships and kin networks on Baker’s Flat, and in determining how the Baker’s Flat settlement operated. Nineteenth-century court cases were particularly valuable for this research, since witness statements were typically reported verbatim. This offered two advantages—factual reports of the cases with little distortion or bias, and the potential of finding phrases in the Irish idiom that may have been misunderstood or ignored by a colonial audience but would be more effectively construed by an Irish researcher.

Trove, the National Library of Australia’s database aggregator, was searched comprehensively for reports and notices relating to Baker’s Flat, returning approximately 1,400 results, the majority from the *Kapunda Herald*. All results were checked across 23 different publications, resulting in 1,273 articles and more than 200,000 words (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Summary of Trove search results for Baker’s Flat, South Australia, detailing newspaper title, circulation date, number of relevant items and total number of words.

Newspaper title	Circulation date	No. of items	No. of words
<i>Kapunda Herald</i>	SA: 1878–1951	439	74,962
<i>South Australian Register</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1839–1900	115	18,357
<i>Adelaide Observer</i>	SA: 1843–1904	101	10,477
<i>Chronicle</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1895–1954	96	7,023
<i>Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer</i>	SA: 1864–1878	63	18,260
<i>The Advertiser</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1889–1931	59	11,616
<i>The South Australian Advertiser</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1858–1889	57	9,410
<i>The Express and Telegraph</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1867–1922	50	2,010
<i>Evening Journal</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1869–1912	43	7,297
<i>The Register</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1901–1929	43	7,749
<i>Observer</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1905–1931	28	2,348
<i>South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1868–1881	28	677
<i>Southern Cross</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1889–1954	28	27,223
<i>The Advertiser</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1931–1954	28	694
<i>South Australian Weekly Chronicle</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1858–1867; 1881–1889	34	3,409
<i>South Australian Chronicle</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1889–1895	20	1,530
<i>Daily Herald</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1910–1924	15	1,030
<i>The News</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1923–1954	11	1,197
<i>Northern Argus</i>	Clare, SA: 1869–1954	7	383
<i>The Journal</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1912–1923	2	204
<i>Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser and Miners’ and Farmers’ Journal</i>	SA: 1872–1874	3	1,030
<i>Harp and Southern Cross</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1873–1875	2	241
<i>Irish Harp and Farmers’ Herald</i>	Adelaide, SA: 1869–1873	1	401
Total		1,273	207,528

Articles which were duplicated in multiple newspapers were downloaded to retain a complete record for specific publications. The *Kapunda Herald* had many entries regarding the local authority's expenditure on the river crossing at Baker's Flat—these were not downloaded except where a relevant name or event was cited. The initial search results were enriched with further material over time, in particular, notices about families known from other data to have been living at Baker's Flat, even if this was not explicitly mentioned in the article.

5.7.3 State Records

State Records of South Australia were searched for material relating to *Baker's Flat*, *Kapunda*, *section 7598*, *Birman*, and *Irish*. Targeting records for the courts, council assessment books, school admission registers and the destitute asylum, nearly 3,000 records were returned, the most relevant of which were:

- MRG 33/20—list of the original land purchasers of sections in the Hundred of Kapunda outlining what sections were purchased by whom and the number of acres
- GRG36/54 file 47/1892—records of *Forster et al. vs Fisher*, a 990-page court case about the Baker's Flat land disputes beginning in the Supreme Court of SA in 1892

These records were reviewed in their entirety.

5.7.4 Genealogical data

Genealogical data associated with Baker's Flat were collected to build a picture of community relationships and kin networks. Data were acquired from several different sources. These included: details about specific families provided by family historians; family notices, shipping news, reports and articles published in contemporary newspapers and located by searching on Trove; state records of births, deaths and marriages (BDM) located in the databases held at Genealogy SA; records of baptisms, marriages and deaths from the Kapunda Catholic Church archives.

These data were then organised in tables by family name, listing confirmed information about individual families. As can be seen in the extract below for the Conolan family (Table 5.13), details were sorted in date order, alongside a reference section that provided the data source. Each table concluded with a Keywords section containing family names, ship names and places of origin associated with that family, and a Notes section for any other information of

interest. Overall, data for 145 separate family names were collected, with the content totalling approximately 65,000 words (Appendix G—Baker’s Flat Family Names).

Table 5.13 Extract from a table detailing the Conolan family dates, events and stories.

CONOLAN		
Date	Person or Event	Reference
1835	Mary Conolan is born to John and Ann CONOLAN in Ballyvaughan, County Clare.	<i>Southern Cross</i> , 16 August 1918, p.8 http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/166987729
1845	Michael Conolan is born to John and Ann Conolan in Clare.	<i>Southern Cross</i> , 1 August 1913, p.9 https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/167011628
1854	8 May 1854, John and Ann Conolan, travelling from the parish of Carron, County Clare, arrive in South Australia on <i>Time and Truth</i> which sailed from Plymouth 11 January 1854, arrived Port Adelaide 8 May 1854. They travelled with their family, which included their children Mary and Michael. They settled at Kapunda, farming and working in the mine.	<i>Southern Cross</i> , 18 May 1906, p.16 https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/166967158 Parsons, R. 1999 <i>Migrant Ships for South Australia 1836-1866</i> . Gumeracha: Gould Books.
	Michael Conolan has at least two brothers, Murtagh (Murty) and Patrick, and at least two sisters who become Mrs O’Callahan and Mrs Kerin.	<i>Southern Cross</i> , 18 May 1906, p.16 https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/166967158
1864	John Baker and Arthur Hardy (part-owners of Baker’s Flat) share lease a portion of land to the Conolans, who are from Ballyvaughan, County Clare and arrived on <i>Constance</i> in 1850. The Conolans are married into the Davoren family, known to be from one of the Bagot controlled estates. Many of the families from this ship are in the area around Kapunda.	R. Featherston in email 14/05/2016
1872	13 August 1872, Mary Conolan, 18 years, marries Patrick McNAMARA, 28 years, at the Catholic Presbytery Kapunda, both stated as single. Bride’s father is John Conolan, groom’s father is Francis McNamara.	BDM Registrations – Marriages, Book/Page 92/364
Keywords	Conolan, O’Callahan, Davoren, Deen, Foote, Hoare, Kerin, McNamara, <i>Time and Truth</i> , <i>Constance</i> , Ballyvaughan, Carron, County Clare	
Notes	The Conolans and Hoares both came to South Australia on <i>Time and Truth</i> , both families came to Baker’s Flat. Note inconsistency in <i>Southern Cross</i> information re <i>Time and Truth</i> being the ship of origin, and Featherston email re <i>Constance</i> – both could be correct if some family members came earlier on <i>Constance</i> . Carron/Carran is 15 km from Ballyvaughan, its nearest town. Also there are two Mary Conolans listed, both described as daughter of John Conolan?	

In some instances, there were two or more variants of the same family name, for example, Conway/Canway, Fynes/Foynes, Hynes/Hines, McInerney/McNerney/McInerney, O’Callahan/O’Callaghan. This issue of variance is encountered on a regular basis by family historians, where one person’s name might be recorded three or four different ways in various records. This is partially because use of the O and Mc/Mac prefixes in Ireland were

profoundly impacted by English colonisation. They were widely dropped in the early seventeenth century when English rule and influence became more effective but taken up again in the late nineteenth century following the Celtic Revival and upsurge in national consciousness (MacLysaght 1985:x–xi). Regarding the spelling variants, when families are referred to in the body of the text, the most common version has been selected and used consistently throughout. The raw data, however, contain all variants as listed in the source documents.

Details were checked against all the available data to achieve the most accurate representation of each family. In contrast to the layers of concentrated detail required for genealogies, the data for this research were intended to paint a broad picture of community movements and relationships. As such, the establishment of relationships, such as same place of origin or family inter-marriages, was critical. It should be noted that these data do not constitute complete genealogies, nor do they need to.

5.8 Summary

Using two or more fieldwork techniques and multiple datasets allows for cultural anomalies and archaeological material to be interpreted comprehensively. The methods for this research included a fieldwork program of geophysical survey and excavation, analysis and cataloguing of the resulting data and artefacts, and integration of those results with archival research. The resulting layers of data allow for the generation of more complete and nuanced results than when using one technique alone. The following three chapters detail the results of this research, beginning with the relationships constructed by the people of Baker's Flat, then the results of the geophysical survey and excavations, with the final results chapter presenting the artefacts of everyday life.

6 Results—Constructing a Community

The results from this research—framed around the geophysical, archaeological, archival and genealogical evidence associated with the Baker’s Flat Irish—are broken down into three separate chapters focusing, firstly, on community relationships, secondly, the results as they pertain to the landscape, and thirdly, artefacts of everyday life.

Using data sourced from historical newspapers, Catholic Church and state records, registers of births, deaths and marriages, and information gathered by family historians, this chapter reconstructs some of the Baker’s Flat community relationships. These include possible shared points of origin, the connections that may have been serendipitously formed on the voyage to South Australia or that were deliberately constructed between families after arrival through marriage, the folk traditions that may have assisted in maintaining the Baker’s Flat community for so long, and the key practices and people involved in successfully creating and managing the settlement. Connections such as these are important because in nineteenth-century rural Ireland, blood ties were a dominant force economically and socially; communities were described as ‘concerned first and foremost with the maintenance and continuity of society’ (Evans 1957:10). This situation was underpinned by large families, strong kinship networks, and adherence to traditional folk practices (Connolly 1982:74–134, 1985:47–50; Evans 1957:10–11; O’Súilleabháin 1977). For the Baker’s Flat community, established as the result of migration and settlement in a new country, this chapter considers how comparable relationships might be constructed and maintained in the absence of blood relatives through the creation of ‘fictive’ kin (Crook et al. 2005; Ebaugh and Curry 2000; Lawrence 2000; Prangnell and Mate 2011).

There are 145 family names that can be definitively associated with Baker’s Flat (Table 6.1). Some people are mentioned only once in the state or church records, whilst others play a more prominent role in the community. The full dataset, with source references, is provided in Appendix G—Baker’s Flat Family Names.

Table 6.1 Family names (n=145) associated with Baker's Flat. Several family names have spelling variants; these are grouped together.

Baker's Flat family names			
Bailey	Dundon ^C	Kitson *	O'Callahan / O'Callaghan * ^C
Barry ^C	Duff	Lacey / Lacy	O'Connors / O'Connor *
Beaucamp	Evans	Larkin	O'Dea * ^C
Bennett	Fitzgerald	Laurie	O'Donohue / Donohue ^C
Bolton *	Flannigan / Flanagan	Leonard	O'Halloran *
Bowler	Fleet	Lewis	O'Keefe
Bray	Ford	Liddy * ^C	O'Loughlin / O'Loughlan * ^C
Brazil	Foster	Linnane / Lenane / Lennane *	Penn
Brennan	Fudge	Lysaght *	Pynn / Pine
Butler	Fynes / Foynes / Fines	Maddigan / Madigan *	Quigley ^C
Byrnes	Geraghty / Garity	Maher	Quinn / Quin * ^C
Callaghan *	Geyer	Malone *	Rafter
Callinan	Gleeson	Markham	Ready / Reidy
Carey	Goorty	Maroney / Marony / Morroney *	Reynolds
Casey ^C	Gordon		Riley / Reilly
Clancy *	Gould / Goold	Maxwell	Robertson
Cleary	Griffey / Griffy / Griffiths *	McCarthy / McCarty / Carty / Carthy	Robinson ^C
Clohesy *	Griffin *	McCormack / McCormick	Ronan
Coffey / Coffee ^C	Harrigan / Hoorigan	McDonald / McDonnell / McDonnell *	Russell
Conolan ^C	Harrison	McGee	Ryan
Considine *	Hehir *	McInerney / McEnerney / McNerney / McNerny / McEnerney / McKerny / McInerheny * ^C	Sexton ^C
Conway / Canway	Hennessy	McKay	Shanahan / Shannahan *
Costello	Hill / Hills	McKean / McKeen	Shannon
Crowe / Crow * ^C	Hoare ^C	McMahon *	Simpson
Cullinan *	Hogan / Horgan *	McNamara / MacNamara *	Slattery *
Cuneen *	Hooper	Meagan	Smith
Daly / Daley / Dealy / Dealey *	Hynes / Hines ^C	Meaney / Meany * ^C	St George
Davey	Hutchings	Molony / Moloney / Maloney * ^C	Stack
Davoren *	Jenkins	Mulligan	Sullivan
Devanny / Devaney / McAvaney ^C	Jordan	Mullin *	Supple
Devitt / Davitt	Jose	Murphy	Thomas
Dine *	Kearne / Kerin / Kerins / Kairn / Kearin *	Myers	Walsh
Donellan / Donnellan / Donlan ^C	Kearse	Neilan / Neylan / Nylan *	Warrick
Donnelly	Kelly ^C	Neill / O'Neil	Watts
Douglas	Kemp	Neville	Webber
Driscoll ^C	Kildea *	O'Brien * ^C	Williams
			Woods / Wood

* Names associated with Co. Clare; ^C Baker's Flat residents with at least one family member born in Co. Clare.

6.1 Shared origins

When considering origins, family names are a useful starting point since they have been in common usage in Ireland since the eleventh century and are customarily aligned with particular counties through the lineage of ancient Gaelic septs (family or kinship groups) and Hiberno-Norman families (MacLysaght 1985:ix, 309). In terms of Irish migration to South Australia, the histories record that most people came originally from Co. Clare (Richards 1991a:221, 1991b:72), and historians in that county acknowledge that several North Clare families, including Kerin, Linnane and Davoren, settled at Kapunda, probably as the result of Charles Harvey Bagot's encouragement (Ó Cléirigh n.d.). Clare is also associated with several other family names that appear on Baker's Flat (MacLysaght 1985; Ó Danachair 1975) (asterisked in Table 6.1). These account for 41 (28.28%) of the total number of family names.

In addition, 25 Baker's Flat families (17.24%) had at least one member recorded as born in Co. Clare (Table 6.2). These numbers are probably under-estimated as birthplaces were not always noted in the records, and total at least 80 men, women and children across the families. Their dates of arrival in South Australia cover a period of about two decades, with the earliest arrivals around 1851 and the latest before 1888. There may well have been other Clare families on Baker's Flat, for example, the Kerins, Linnanes and Davorens referenced by Ó Cléirigh (n.d.), but evidence of this has not been sighted in the archival or historical data and, as such, is not listed here.

Each family's townland or town of origin is listed if known. Ennis is the largest town in Clare and the birthplace of John and Mary Molony, and Stephen Barry. The Crowe, Donnellan, Dundon, Hoare, Liddy, Meaney and Robinson families all originated from villages and townlands near Ennis, including Clondegad, Kilmaley, Milltown, Newmarket-on-Fergus and Slaveen. To the north of the county, Ballyvaughan is a small town located on the coast near the villages of Carron and Tubber. This was the point of origin for the Conolan and O'Callahan families, and Patrick Hynes. The O'Loughlins are described as coming from west Clare, which could align with the region around Ennis. This family name is an important one; along with the Liddy, McInerney and O'Dea names, it is one of the main septs of the ancient territory known as Thomond, which covered most of Clare and extended into Limerick and Tipperary (MacLysaght 1985). These were powerful and well-connected families in ancient times.

Table 6.2 Families known to have been born in Co. Clare.

Family name	First name(s)	Townland/town	Arrived SA
Barry	Stephen	Ennis	c.1852
Casey	James (44), Eliza (40) and children John (13), Maria (6)	Not known	1857
Coffey	John	Not known	Before 1888
Conolan	John, Ann and children Mary, Michael and others	Ballyvaughan and Carron	1854
Crowe	Thomas (26); Bridget (Thomas' sister)	Slaveen	1864; 1866
Devaney	James	West Clare	After 1837
Donnellan	Michael (18) and Bridget (23, née Markham); Michael (43), Mary (34, née McMahon) and children Thomas (14), Catherine (12), Andrew (10), Anne (5); Margaret (née ?)	Not known; Milltown	1866; 1866; 1866
Driscoll	Daniel (17), Catherine (15) (siblings); Patrick (17) (probable cousin of Daniel); William (39), Honorah (33) (parents of Patrick) and daughter Mary (10)	Not known	1857; 1862; 1864
Dundon	Michael (35), Bridget (33) and children Mary (12), Patrick (7), John (2)	Clondegad	1852
Hoare	Patrick Michael (39, Patrick's brother), Margaret (37) and children Bridget (13), Thomas (11), Maria (6)	?Newmarket- on-Fergus	Before 1854; 1854
Hynes	Patrick	Carron	1851
Kelly	Mary	Not known	c.1862
Liddy	Denis (21), Sarah (19), John (17), Patrick (15) (siblings) Dermott (Darby) Jeremiah (?21)	?Near Ennis	1857 c.1862
McInerney	Ellen (48, widow) and sons Patrick, Dennis (26), John, Timothy	Not known	1858
Meaney	John (34), Bridget (26) and children Jeremiah (11), Bridget (8), James (2)	Kilmaley	1866
Molony	John and Mary (née McCrae)	Ennis	Before 1875
O'Brien	Francis	Not known	Before 1871
O'Callahan	Michael (c.20), possibly with his parents Martin and Julia who arrive either then or before 1887	Ballyvaughan	1858
O'Dea	Patrick?	Not known	Before 1867
O'Donohue	Patrick (25), Michael (22) (siblings)	Not known	1864
O'Loughlin	John and Ann (née Ready) Michael and Bridget (née Liddy)	West Clare	1856 1864
Quigley	Samuel and Bridget (née Mullins)	Not known	1854
Quinn	Austin and Margaret (née Reynolds)	Not known	Before 1856
Robinson	Thomas (35), Anne (Nancy) (30) and children John (12), Mary (7), Bridget (5), Anne (4), Thomas (2), Patrick (infant)	Clondegad	1852
Sexton	Michael	Not known	Before 1863

6.2 Creating the community

6.2.1 Sailing connections

Between 1840 and 1866 (limit of data), 22 ships carried Irish migrants who can then be traced to Baker’s Flat (Table 6.3). Interestingly, although *Birman* (1840) should be considered as a likely source of Baker’s Flat families, there is no clear evidence of this. Chartered by Charles Harvey Bagot in 1840, *Birman* carried 224 Irish migrants, many of whom are said to have joined Bagot at Kapunda (Moore 1991:110). Although there are seven family names common to both *Birman* and Baker’s Flat—Cleary, Fitzgerald, McInerney, Neylan, O’Dea, O’Loughlin, Ryan—for now, the links are tenuous.

Table 6.3 Ships to South Australia that carried Baker’s Flat families.

Year	Ship	Families
1840	<i>Birman</i>	??Cleary, Fitzgerald, McInerney, Neylan, O’Dea, O’Loughlin, Ryan??
1849	<i>Caspar</i>	Edward Fudge
1849	<i>Harry Lorrequer</i>	Daniel Hogan
1852	<i>Marshall Bennett</i>	Michael and Bridget Dundon and children Thomas and Anne (Nancy) Robinson and children
1854	<i>Confiance</i>	Margaret Dundon
1854	<i>John Bunyan</i>	Patrick Fynes
1854	<i>Time and Truth</i>	John and Ann Conolan and children Michael and Margaret Hoare and children
1854	<i>Sir Thomas Gresham</i>	Samuel and Bridget Quigley
1856	<i>Gomelza</i>	John and Ann O’Loughlin and children
1857	<i>Caucasian</i>	James Casey
1857	<i>Omega</i>	Daniel and Catherine Driscoll (siblings) Sarah, Denis, John and Patrick Liddy (siblings)
1858	<i>Sir Thomas Gresham</i>	Ellen McInerney and children
1862	<i>Castle Eden</i>	Patrick Driscoll
1864	<i>Eastern Empire</i>	Quigley
1864	<i>Rockcliffe</i>	Michael and Bridget (née Liddy) O’Loughlin
1864	<i>Tarquin</i>	Catherine Berth Thomas Crowe William and Honora Driscoll and daughter Mary Patrick O’Donohue and other family members
1866	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	John and Bridget Crowe (Thomas’s siblings)
1866	<i>Ernestine</i>	Michael and Bridget Donellan Michael and Mary Donellan and four children Mortimer (Murty) and Bridget Daly and four children
1866	<i>Hegamont</i>	John and Bridget Meaney and children
1866	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	Bridget Crowe
1866	<i>Peeress</i>	Margaret Donnellan (née ?)
1866	<i>Prince of Wales</i>	Timothy Bowler

Five ships carried two or more Baker’s Flat families—*Marshall Bennett* (1852), *Time and Truth* (1854), *Omega* (1857), *Tarquin* (1864) and *Ernestine* (1866). Possible connections between these families are outlined below, since the voyage may have been an opportunity to

continue relationships that began in their townlands or villages, or to forge new friendships based on a common county of origin.

Marshall Bennett (1852) carried Michael and Bridget Dundon and also Thomas and Anne (Nancy) Robinson, both couples travelling with their young families. The Dundons and Robinsons were from the parish of Clondegad, about 17 km south-west of Ennis. They may have been neighbours, since the townlands where the Robinsons are said to have lived (Caherea and Lissycasey) are adjacent to the Dundons' townland (Toberaniddaun). It appears that both families travelled directly to Baker's Flat, possibly together. Some years later, in 1881, Anne Dundon (21 years, daughter of Michael and Bridget) married Matthew Robinson (22 years, son of Thomas and Nancy) at St Rose's Catholic Church, Kapunda.

Time and Truth (1854) carried John and Ann Conolan and their five children, and Michael and Margaret Hoare and their three children. The Conolans were from Ballyvaughan, the Hoares probably from Newmarket-on-Fergus. It appears that the Hoares travelled to Baker's Flat soon after their arrival in South Australia, with evidence that their oldest daughter Bridget married there in 1856. Similarly, the Conolans travelled almost directly to Baker's Flat, where John and his eldest sons worked for some time in the mine and later took up farming. One of the Conolan daughters, Mary, went on to marry Michael O'Callahan, who was also from Ballyvaughan and travelled to South Australia in 1858. This marriage may have continued a long-standing connection between these families, given their common point of origin. Certainly, the O'Callahans and Conolans at Baker's Flat are described locally as intermarrying and maintaining strong relationships (pers. comm. P. Swann, 2015). A visual image of this enduring family connection can be seen in Figure 6.1, where Miss Mary O'Callahan, daughter of Mary and Michael and one of the last residents of Baker's Flat (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6), is pictured with several women in a photograph taken around 1940. One of these is Margaret Conolan, her cousin.



Figure 6.1 Standing L to R: Mona Beneke, Mary Ann Peterson, Margaret Conolan, Irene Swann. Sitting: Miss Mary O'Callahan. Source: Collection of Peter Swann, Kapunda.

Omega (1857) carried brother and sister Daniel and Catherine Driscoll, aged 17 years and 15 years respectively. On the same ship were siblings Denis, Sarah, John and Patrick Liddy. The ship docked in Port Adelaide on 14 November 1857, Daniel went directly to Baker's Flat and within two years, he and Sarah were married at Kapunda. Shortly after their second child was born in 1862, Patrick Driscoll, a probable cousin of Daniel's, also arrived at Baker's Flat after sailing on *Castle Eden*.

Tarquin (1864) carried a third family of Driscolls—William and Honorah and their children. William and Honorah were Patrick's parents and travelled directly to Baker's Flat. Also on board was Catherine Berth (20), who would marry Patrick in 1867. The Driscolls would later play key roles in the Baker's Flat community (see section 6.3). Also travelling on *Tarquin* were Thomas Crowe and members of the O'Donohue family. Although the ship's list records six O'Donohues—Margaret (44), Patrick (25), Bridget (24) Michael (22), Thomas (20) and Bridget (12)—and the family history indicates that several members of the family lived on Baker's Flat, only two—Patrick and Michael—can definitively be tracked there. Two years later, in 1866, Thomas Crowe's sister Bridget sailed to South Australia on *Charlotte Gladstone*, came to Baker's Flat and married Patrick O'Donohue, who had travelled out with Thomas.

Ernestine (1866) carried two Donellan families and the Dalys, arriving in September. The younger couple, Michael and Bridget Donellan, must have been expecting a baby on the voyage, as their baby son died at eight months in June 1867 on Baker’s Flat. Michael and Mary Donellan sailed with their four children, as did Mortimer (Morty) and Bridget Daly. All ended up on Baker’s Flat soon after arrival, with the Dalys joining at least three other Daly families already living there.

6.2.2 Marriage connections

The relationships outlined in Figure 6.2 illustrate the tangled web of Baker’s Flat marriages. The diagram includes only relationships which generated two or more connections. Hence, marriages such as those between William Laurie and Catherine McGuire in 1854 and Patrick Hynes and Mary O’Neill in 1857 are not included because there is no data about whether their families were connected through matrimony with other families on Baker’s Flat. Note also that these data reflect those who registered their marriages and births; many families did not and, as such, it should be considered a sample of a sample. However, although gaps in the data are expected, there is adequate detail to identify broad family marriage patterns in this community. Several families emerge as strongly connected, including the Liddys, O’Loughlins and Driscolls.

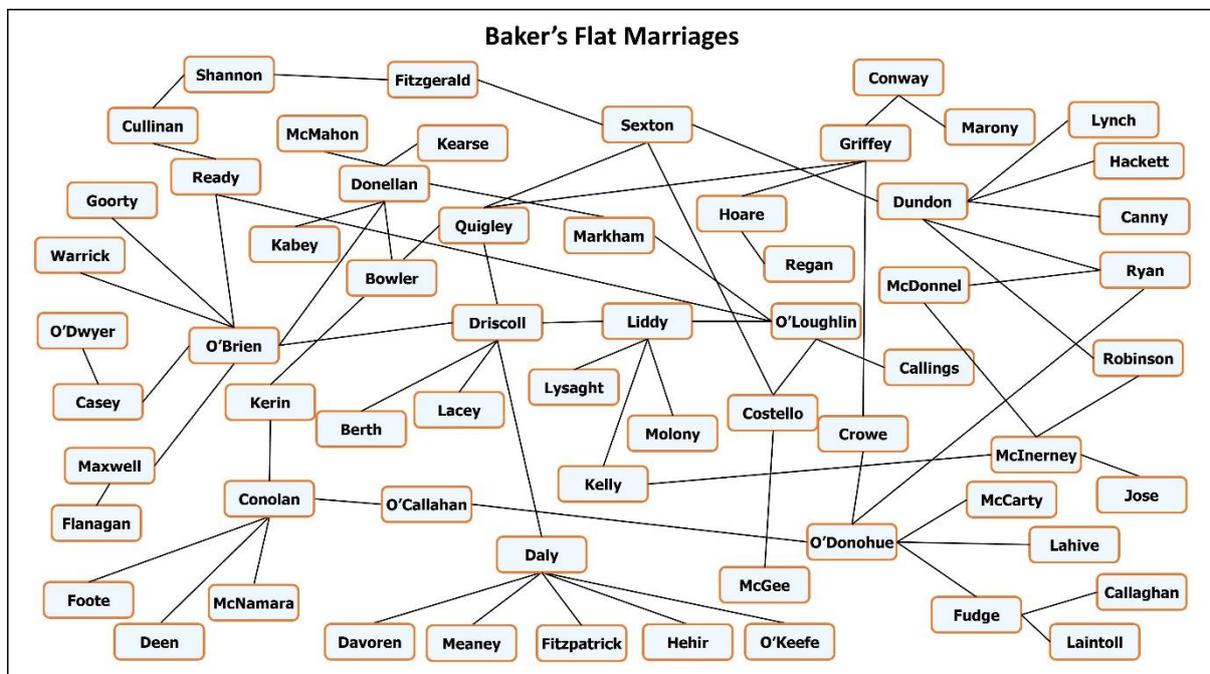


Figure 6.2 Marriages between families on Baker’s Flat.

Bridget Liddy was born in Co. Clare in 1844 and married Michael O’Loughlin there in 1863. Both families are associated with the north of the county, and near Ballyvaughan is the remains of the small clachan of Lissaroo, home of several Liddy families and the Lenanes (pers. comm. M. Ronayne, August 2016). These networks—Liddy, Lennane, O’Loughlin—are reflected in the family names found on Baker’s Flat. Following their marriage, Bridget and Michael travelled to South Australia on *Rockcliffe* in 1864. By this time, there were already O’Loughlins and Liddys on Baker’s Flat. John and Ann O’Loughlin and their children had arrived in South Australia from Clare on *Gomelza* in 1856 and were on Baker’s Flat by at least February 1858, when their son Patrick was born there. By 1892, there were at least nine O’Loughlin families on Baker’s Flat and they had intermarried with the Costello(e)s, Callings and Markhams. Some of these marriages span two generations, with Patrick O’Loughlin and Margaret Costelloe recording the birth of a daughter in 1871 and James O’Loughlin marrying Annie Costello in 1892. James and Annie went on to register ten children at Baker’s Flat between 1895 and 1910.

The Liddy connections are equally intricate. Some years before Michael and Bridget (née Liddy) O’Loughlin had even left Ireland, Sarah Liddy had already travelled to South Australia with her three brothers on *Omega* in 1857. That same year, her brother John married Mary Lysaght at Kapunda, with Sarah going on to marry Daniel Driscoll in 1859. By 1863, there were at least five Liddy families on Baker’s Flat, including Dermott (Darby) who migrated in c.1862. The Liddy–O’Loughlin connection was also maintained across generations, with Dermott’s son Patrick John marrying Katherine Frances O’Loughlin, daughter of John and Ann, in c.1895—by then Patrick and Katherine were living somewhere in the Mid North region of the colony.

Regarding the Lenane family from Lissaroo, the earliest record of this name on Baker’s Flat is for the 16-month-old Margaret, who died there in April 1859. Her parents were Patrick and Ellen (née Jordan) Lenane, who had nine other children. There were at least two other Lenane families on the Flat between then and 1893 but no known marriages with the Liddys or O’Loughlins.

The Driscolls were on Baker’s Flat from 1857. Daniel Driscoll and Sarah Liddy were married in September 1859. Daniel’s cousin Patrick Driscoll arrived in South Australia in 1862 and married Catherine Berth on Baker’s Flat in 1867. Catherine had sailed on *Tarquin* in 1864, along with Patrick’s parents and their other children, and travelled directly to Baker’s Flat,

presumably joining Patrick and Daniel. By 1889, there were six Driscoll families on the Flat, and in addition to Liddy and Berth, relationships can be traced to the families Daly, Lacey, O'Brien and Quigley.

The Liddy–O'Loughlin–Driscoll relationships indicate the types of connections forged through marriage on Baker's Flat, strengthening bonds and obligations. These relationships are also visible in other families. The O'Briens, for example, can be linked to the families Driscoll, Maxwell, Casey, Warrick, Goorty and Ready, and through Ready back to O'Loughlin. A loop can be traced through Conolan, O'Callahan, O'Donohue, Ryan, Dundon, Sexton, Quigley, Bowler, Kerin and back to Conolan. The Dundons are connected to the Robinsons through marriage, and from Robinson to McInerney and Jose, Kelly and Liddy. With at least seven Daly families establishing themselves on Baker's Flat over time, their links are to Davoren, Meaney, Fitzpatrick, Hehir, O'Keefe and Driscoll.

Recalling the 145 family names found on Baker's Flat, many are mentioned only once or twice in the records and their links to other families are unclear. Some of the families that built long-term relationships through marriage, however, also went on to play key roles in managing and maintaining the clachan and rundale system. This is explored later in this chapter.

6.3 Managing the community

The history of Baker's Flat in Chapter 4 included a discussion on when the Irish first arrived and the types of houses they constructed, the concentration of those dwellings in the north-west of the site, the Irish customs that were retained, and the various troubles and legal battles associated with maintaining control of the entire section until the early twentieth century. These troubles encompassed clashes in 1875 and 1880 over attempts to graze stock or fence parts of the section, action in 1888 by the Irish to pay rates for the pieces of land they occupied individually and managed collectively, the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* court case beginning in 1892 to establish title to the land, and a final fencing dispute in 1902, when several Baker's Flat men tore down new fences each time they were erected. Building on these historical facts, this section examines the newspaper accounts and court records to determine, as much as possible, the traditional folk practices carried out on Baker's Flat, the key people involved in managing the community, and interpretation of the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* records in the context of a clachan system.

6.3.1 Traditional folk practices

In Ireland, community bonds were maintained and strengthened through traditional folk practices (Evans 1957:10), and these customs continued in various forms on Baker's Flat. The dance floor, discussed in previous chapters, was the location for many community activities—games of hurling on Sunday afternoons, music and dancing every evening (Maloney 1936a:29). It was probably the venue in 1901 for 'an impromptu dance ... held in the open air at Baker's Flat, which proved thoroughly enjoyable' following the Irish Rifle Company's loss to the Kapunda Defence Rifle Club at the Kapunda Ranges (*Southern Cross* 1901).

Every June, there was a celebration on St John's Eve, the night of 23–24 June. This was a long-standing Irish tradition which persisted, for example, until at least 1943 in west Clare, from where many of the Baker's Flat Irish had migrated. Centred on a communal bonfire, its location and visibility were important, and the fire tended to be lit in the same location every year (McGarry 2020:51–53). Also known as St John's Night, Midsummer Day and Bonfire Night, the description below is one of several in the Irish National Folklore Collection:

... From sunset the people of a townland or district joined up together and they carried turf, bog deal, paraffin oil and furze bushes to the summit of a convenient hill. There they made a huge fire which was lighted by one or two of those present with a match or some burning cinders. No special ceremony or words were used. There was seldom any prayers said. People sang, danced, played games and played different instruments. ... The bonfires and the ceremonies on a fine night lasted until dawn of day. It was left there to burn away itself. (NFC 1943) CLARE

There are several references to St John's Eve in contemporary newspapers. A Kapunda man who was abroad fighting in the Boer War was probably referring to the St John's bonfires when he wrote 'We burnt many of the oldest waggons, carts, old clothing, etc. My word, you should have seen the bonfire! Talk about Baker's Flat, it was not in it' (*Kapunda Herald* 1901). Maloney (1936a:29) describes how 'on June 23, the eve of the Feast of St John, the men collected the wood from the neighbours for the centuries old custom of lighting the bonfire, and all danced the grand old dances and sang the old songs of Ireland till the early hours of the morning'. And as late as 1949, during the commemoration of Kapunda's Catholic Centenary, a concert staged by children from the Dominican Convent had a scene showing 'a bonfire at Baker's Flat on St John's Eve and was brightened with a number of songs and dances' (*Kapunda Herald* 1949).

St Patrick's Day on 17 March, the feast day of Ireland's patron saint, was publicly celebrated in Kapunda from the 1860s. These celebrations were part of an increase in organised St Patrick's Day activities in the country areas which contrasted with the decline of such events in Adelaide (O'Reilly 2019:174–175). To begin with, activities took the form of horse races, but in 1874 'the first serious and combined effort on the part of the Catholics of Kapunda to fittingly celebrate St Patrick's Day was made' (Maloney 1936a:30). This was advertised through a small notice in the newspaper (Figure 6.3). Although it gave few details of the proposed format, it is notable that Daniel Driscoll of Baker's Flat was Chairman, while Samuel Canny, another name associated with Baker's Flat through marriage to the Dundon family, was Secretary. A report following the event includes several Baker's Flat names—Messrs McCarthy and Canny supervised the arrangements, James Larkin was a judge, Messrs P. Dundon and M. Considine were handicappers, Mr Cairne (Kairn?) was in charge of the Aunt Sally and Mr D. Crowe looked after the tilting (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1874a).



Figure 6.3 Advertisement for the first St Patrick's Day Picnic in Kapunda (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1874d).

6.3.2 Roaming animals and infuriated women

The published histories (see Charlton 1971; Nicol 1983) reiterate how each family's animals ran wild on Baker's Flat without any restraining fences, an assertion backed up in newspaper accounts. In 1874, for example, the Municipal Council noted that there were 'at least 15 cows straying into the town from Baker's Flat' (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1874c). In 1883, a witness in a court case regarding the seizure of two pigs at the Kapunda sale yards stated that before going to the market, the pigs 'were running about the Flat' (*Kapunda Herald* 1883). And in 1907, it was noted that Baker's Flat was renowned for 'its

goose breeding industry’, a term used ironically in a report on foxes in the area (*Kapunda Herald* 1907), but which acknowledges the ubiquitous flocks of geese and other poultry on the land. During the disputes over land ownership, one of the tactics employed by the legal landowners was to place a notice in the local newspaper to the effect that any stray horses or cattle found ‘trespassing’ on Baker’s Flat would be impounded. This was used as early as 1875 by James White (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1875b) and again in 1893 during the *Forster et al. v. Foster* case, when notice was given that all cattle found on any part of Section 7598 would be impounded by the registered owners (*Kapunda Herald* 1893a). There were clearly enough ‘stray’ animals on the site to employ this strategy. As a result of this notice, there was an attempt to round up 30 cattle in March 1894 and drive them towards the Kapunda pound (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). It failed when Ann Bolton seized two cows and two calves, and then encouraged other onlookers to help; the herd contained cattle belonging to several people. A later report (*Register* 1902a) referred to the ‘considerable number of stock’ run by several families for more than 40 years.

In 1902, a letter in the local newspaper reminisced about ‘Good Old Baker’s Flat’. The writer clearly recalled his experiences as a young lad going to the Flat in search of a ‘a nanny or a billy, a clucky fowl or a good setting turkey, or a savage dog’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1902d). He described ‘stacks of goats’ and remembered disturbing one herd of more than 50 animals when he and some friends ventured on to the Flat. This particular adventure resulted in the boys being chased by several women with sticks and stones, driving them straight into another goat herd that then scattered. This infuriated the women even more and they chased the boys as far as the river. The writer remarked on how the women of Baker’s Flat stuck together to defend their land against all-comers, whether that was young boys on an escapade, strangers looking for a local resident, or workmen trying to erect a fence.

These accounts indicate that there were substantial herds of cattle and goats, and numerous flocks of poultry, being successfully farmed on Baker’s Flat. They also indicate that the women of Baker’s Flat were essential to maintaining community order and often acted together in concert in order to do so.

6.3.3 Key people and management strategies

When examining contemporary accounts of events on Baker’s Flat, the Driscolls emerge as major players, both the women and the men. The fencing dispute of 1880 led to the charging of six women—Ann Slattery, Mary Callaghan, Mary Lacey, Ann Hoare (Figure 6.4),

Catherine Driscoll (Figure 6.4) and Mary Jose (*Kapunda Herald* 1880b). Also named in witness statements were Catherine McKeen, Honora Driscoll, Mrs Cairn, Mrs Byrnes, Mrs Sullivan, Mrs Geraghty and the 10-year-old Amelia Hoare. Three of the women were directly connected to the Driscolls. Catherine Driscoll (née Berth) was married to Patrick, Daniel’s cousin. Daniel was the de facto spokesperson and leader of Baker’s Flat. Honora Driscoll was Catherine’s mother-in-law. Mary Lacey (née Driscoll) was Honora’s daughter. The three women had sailed to South Australia on the same vessel, *Tarquin*. Mary Jose was married to William; her family name before marriage was McInerney, another family with many connections on Baker’s Flat, including to Driscoll through Liddy.



Figure 6.4 L: Ann Hoare, c.1870; R: Catherine Driscoll, unknown date. Sources: Hoare and Driscoll descendants.

In the fencing dispute of 1902, Daniel Driscoll was once again at the forefront (*Chronicle* 1902; *Kapunda Herald* 1902b). He was the principal person named in the case brought by Robert Fawcett, new registered owner of much of Section 7598. The other defendants were Thomas O’Brien, Michael O’Brien jun., Martin O’Callahan and Andrew Griffey. The O’Briens were related directly to the Driscolls through marriage. The O’Callahans and Griffey were part of the wider web of marital connections (Figure 6.2).

Stating that he had resided on the section since 1857, Driscoll described in court how the Irish had used the land for more than 40 years:

He stated that he had never paid rent, but he had fenced in about two acres of land around his cottage, and he had always kept cattle or other animals upon the unfenced land in the vicinity. Other residents had acted in a similar way, and at one time there were 170 houses on the land, all of which were occupied. There was a tacit understanding among the villagers that they should share the ‘grazing rights’ of the unfenced land, but they had always prevented everyone else, including the reputed rightful owners, from encroaching upon their domain. (*Register* 1902b)

Driscoll confirmed that Mrs O’Callaghan, mother of Martin (one of the other defendants), was also living in another hut on the section back in 1857, and that her father had kept stock on the land (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). At the time of the court case, Driscoll had just five cattle grazing on the land, although some of the other residents had a larger number. Like him, several other residents had erected fences around their cottages. This construction of fences around dwellings was not a new occurrence. In an earlier court case (when Ann Bolton had intercepted the cattle being impounded), Ann stated that she had lived on the Flat for 32 years, i.e., since 1862, that her piece of land had ten acres and was fenced (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). The fences would have enabled the residents to keep a vegetable garden safe from roaming animals.

In Ann Bolton’s court case, it was noted that cattle in the herd were owned by Ann and others, and that after the impounding incident they went back towards the River Light as it was their practice to move backwards and forwards over the river (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). This movement of the cattle is mentioned incidentally several times in newspaper reports of court cases. One particular case of alleged assault from November 1892 sheds more light on this tradition and the potential impact of the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* case (*Kapunda Herald* 1892c). In court were Patrick Jordan and Andrew Goorty following a heated altercation. Jordan stated that the incident began when he saw Goorty ‘hunting some cattle on Baker’s Flat’ with a dog. The term that he uses here is an interesting one—to hunt cattle is a vernacular Irish term that indicates somebody is herding cattle but with some vigour or mild aggression. A witness, John Quinn, stated that he also ‘saw Goorty hunting the cattle, with Jordan driving them back’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1892c). This was corroborated by his companion James McInerney. Quinn went on to say that he knew that Goorty objected to cattle going on the land close to his house but that he did not know why. Up to a couple of months beforehand ‘the Flat people had used the land for their cattle’ and ‘the cattle always went about in mobs’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1892c). This herd was close to 60 head, and included Jordan’s and Quinn’s animals, and possibly those belonging to others.

Goorty lived on the southern side of the river and had been paying rates since 1889 to the District Council (DC) of Belvidere, in the same way and timescale as the other occupiers who had been paying rates to the DC of Kapunda (Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners). He stated in court that ‘when Jordan drove the cattle up all the people were looking out’ and that he only drove them back ‘when they came on the land for which he paid rates’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1892c). It appears that Jordan deliberately drove the cattle across the river to the land for which Goorty was paying rates, and that Goorty tried to drive them back, a process which went back and forth three times. Goorty stated in court that ‘the Flat people had the liberty to use the land except a piece which he wanted to keep the feed on’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1892c). When all the witness statements are examined together, it appears that the Baker’s Flat herd was driven across the River Light by Jordan towards Goorty’s land as some sort of test, witnessed by most of the occupiers. Since this incident took place close to the beginning of the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* case, it is possible that Goorty was thinking about taking more control over the land for which he was paying rates and, consequently, the other occupiers were assessing the durability of this new potential boundary at the river.

6.3.4 Insights from the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* court case

Further evidence for how the Baker’s Flat clachan operated can be found in the detailed court records of the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892 case. By the time the court case commenced, the land had been legally held since 1848 by a syndicate based around Anthony Forster (Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners). The landowners had had plenty of time to observe the Irish, and their actions indicate that, even if they didn’t understand what was happening with the ‘trespassers’ on Baker’s Flat, they could see that there was a level of co-operation at play. In the first instance, this was tested by the surveyor James Chapman Lovely, who was engaged to survey the Baker’s Flat land and to offer parts of it for sale. In an affidavit dated 18 May 1893, he stated that he had been asked by the plaintiffs’ solicitor to try and organise with the ‘trespassers’ the sale of their respective holdings to them at almost nominal prices and on easy terms of credit, and to offer to guarantee to each a clear Real Property Act Title for their respective occupations. Shortly afterwards:

... I saw one of the occupiers, a woman, and offered to let her have her holding for a moderate sum but she declined on the ground that she and her husband were leaving the neighbourhood but she cautioned me against letting my business be known as she said if the people found out what was being done they would handle me very roughly and would throw my tent and instruments into the river as they had served a previous survey party ... (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892)

It appears that Lovely kept his own counsel after this exchange and no land sales took place. The next strategy emerged over June and July 1893, when William Hoare Benham, a Kapunda solicitor, was sent to six occupiers with offers to buy the land they occupied on reasonable terms. He began with Thomas Jordan, informing him that he [Benham] wanted to confer with ‘five or six of the trespassers’. Jordan replied that the occupiers had already held two meetings to consider their position and been advised that they could not be dispossessed, and that nothing would induce him to make any arrangement to purchase. Further, unless they could run their cattle on the whole of the section they could not live there, and until they were forced to leave they had all determined to remain. Benham’s actions indicate that the landowners were targeting six particular families on Baker’s Flat, but there are no clues in the court records about why these specific people were selected. Following the exchange with Jordan, the families that were approached were Quin, Quigley, Bolton, O’Loughlin and O’Brien, and their responses are outlined in Table 6.4. These responses indicate that the people of Baker’s Flat had resolved to stick together, likely because to do otherwise would mean their farming activities could not be maintained and the settlement would be dispersed. The running of cattle across the entire section was critical to sustaining the community.

Table 6.4 Baker’s Flat responses to verbal offers to buy the land on reasonable terms rather than face eviction.

Source: *Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892.

Occupier’s name	Occupier’s response as detailed in affidavits by William Hoare Benham
Thomas Jordan	‘I informed the said Thomas Jordan that I desired to confer with five or six of the Trespassers occupying parts of the said Section 7598 when the said Thomas Jordan said that the occupiers of the said Section had already held two meetings to consider their position and had been advised that the occupiers of the said land could not be dispossessed and nothing would induce him the said Thomas Jordan to make any arrangement to purchase and unless they could run their cattle on the whole of the said Section they could not live there and until they were forced to leave they had all determined to remain and it would be useless to hold any further conference as he had fully made up his mind to follow the legal advice obtained’
Austin Quin	‘He could not buy the land that he had no money that he would remain where he was and if any one came to turn him out they would be put into the big water hole in the River Light’
John Quigley	‘... he would not purchase the land ... he refused to listen to any suggestion.’
Ann Bolton	‘... cursed and swore at me and told me to go to Hell and said if any more of you come here again I will throw scalding water over you.’
James O’Loughlin	‘I have been living on the place for years and I think I have as good a right to it as anyone else and I intend to remain here’
Michael O’Brien	‘... it is no use my buying the land because if I did the others would go against me. ... there was no title to the said land and even if there was no one on the said section 7598 would buy because any person who did so would not be allowed by the other occupants of the said section to live there and ... no one would have anything to do with it and that he ... intended to stop in the place held.’

Table 6.5 lists the names of ratepayers on Baker’s Flat, along with their acreage and dwelling type. Regarding those approached to buy land, Thomas Jordan and Austin Quin each had two-roomed huts and 1½ acres, Michael O’Brien had a two-roomed hut and 1 acre, John Quigley and James O’Loughlin had three-roomed huts but just ½ acre each. Ann Bolton had access to the most substantial area of land at 9½ acres, although her property was described as ruins. In total, individual ratepayers controlled 21½ acres, a tiny portion of the site compared to that controlled by Daniel Driscoll and others, who managed 340 acres. Driscoll, however, was not approached at all. It appears that by approaching those six specific occupiers, the landowners may have been testing the community’s resolve. The Irish were unwavering, however, and there is a hint in Ann Bolton’s earlier court case about why they remained steadfast. At that time, Ann said that she had been paying rates for seven years and had ‘joined with others to pay the rates of the whole land outside’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b). It appears, therefore, that even those who paid rates on individual properties also paid rates with Daniel Driscoll on the 340 acres that was managed collectively.

Table 6.5 Names, acreage and property of occupiers of Section 7598, District Council of Kapunda.

Persons assessed as occupiers, Section 7598, District Council of Kapunda			
Assessment #	Name	Area	Property
181	Ann Bolton	4 acres	Ruins and land
182	Ann Bolton	5½ acres	
183	Honora Clancey		Hut 2 rooms
184	Vacant		Ruin
185	John Woods		2 roomed hut
186	Thomas Donnellan		3 roomed hut
187	Mrs Daly	1 acre	3 roomed hut
188	John Meaney		3 roomed hut
189	Pat Griffey	2 acres	3 roomed hut
190	Michael Donnellan	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
191	Michael Sexton	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
192	Pat O’Halloran		2 roomed hut
193	Dennis McInerney	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
194	John Flannigan		2 roomed hut
195	Austin Quin	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
196	Thomas Lennane	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
197	Thomas Jordan	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
198	Honora Driscoll		3 roomed hut
199	Catherine Sexton		2 roomed hut
200	Donald Driscoll		2 roomed hut
201	Norah Davern	1 acre	3 roomed hut
202	Symon Ryan	¼ acre	3 roomed hut
203	James O’Loughlin	½ acre	3 roomed hut
204	Mrs Lahiff		2 roomed hut
205	Pat McNamara	½ acre	3 roomed hut
206	Fitzpatrick		3 roomed hut
207	John Quigley	½ acre	3 roomed hut
208	Anthony O’Halloran		2 roomed hut
209	Mary Considine		3 roomed hut

Persons assessed as occupiers, Section 7598, District Council of Kapunda			
210	Michael O'Brien	1 acre	2 roomed hut
211	Ann Daveran		2 roomed hut
212	D. Driscoll and others	340 acres	Huts and pasture

6.4 Afterwards

In October 1912, Daniel Driscoll and others lodged a notice in an Adelaide newspaper protesting the proposed sale of the land (*Advertiser* 1912). The notice was signed by Driscoll, J. O'Donohue, J. O'Loughlin, Thos. Geyer and M. Donnellan, along with 12 more residents (Figure 6.5). With the exception of Thomas Geyer, the other named men were all long-standing Baker's Flat residents.

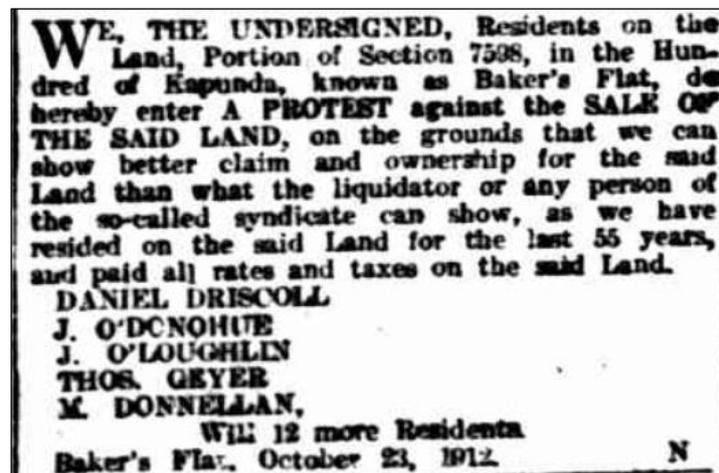


Figure 6.5 Notice from Daniel Driscoll and other residents of Baker's Flat protesting the sale of land. Source: *Advertiser* 1912.

Their protest was unsuccessful, and in 1913 David James was able to purchase 187 acres, following which he contacted the DC of Kapunda asking to have his name placed on the assessment book as owner and ratepayer. As might be expected, Daniel Driscoll challenged this but to no avail (*Chronicle* 1913). However, just eight years later, David James transferred the land to Patrick Howard Driscoll (Daniel's son) on a three-year lease. In 1928, ownership of the land was transferred to Patrick Howard Driscoll, and it stayed in his hands until sold in 1953 (Appendix A—Baker's Flat Landowners). It is possible that Patrick kept the land until the last of the residents had died or no longer required it. The last known person on Baker's Flat was Annie O'Callahan, who died there in 1948 (*Kapunda Herald* 1948). It has retained

the connection with Driscoll since, and is still known today as Driscoll’s Paddock (pers. comm. D. Hampel, April 2017).

As people left Baker’s Flat, it appears that many went north to take up farming. An article in the *Southern Cross* indicated that they remained ‘mostly round about Jamestown, Caltowie, and Georgetown where their descendants now form the backbone of the congregations in these places’ (Maloney 1936c:3). Where there is information available, the family histories indicate that the majority remained close to Kapunda or nearby towns (Table 6.6). Some few others went further north to the Flinders Ranges areas of Quorn and Yanyarrie, whilst the O’Loughlins and Webbers went west to the Yorke Peninsula. Four families are known to have travelled east as far as Broken Hill, possibly for work in the mines.

Table 6.6 Destinations of families after they left Baker’s Flat.

Destination	Families
Near Kapunda	
Gawler	O’Donohue
Pinkerton Plains	Robinson
Moppa	Madigan
Kooringa, Burra	Butler
The Mid North	
Koolunga	Bowler
Gumbowie	Donellan
Caltowie, Booleroo	Dundon, Larkin
Wilmington	Fynes
Tarlee	Hogan
Peterborough	Liddys
The Far North	
Yanyarrie	Gordon
Quorn	Lenane
Yorke Peninsula	
Walleroo	O’Loughlin, Webber
South-east	
Millicent and Tantanoola	Crowe
Interstate	
Broken Hill, NSW	Dundon, Griffey, Hines, Lacey

6.5 Summary

Some of the bonds within the Baker’s Flat community may have been formed in Co. Clare before families started their migration journey. Certainly, connections made on the voyages out to South Australia evolved later into marriages between families. The evidence suggests that kinship networks formed through marriage were important and may have assisted the Driscolls in taking a leading role in the clachan. Community celebrations such as St John’s

Eve and St Patrick's Day were valuable in strengthening and maintaining a sense of community. Although an outsider's perspective was of animals running wild across the section, a different reading of newspaper and court reports indicates that the animals were in fact part of managed herds which moved back and forth across the river. The women of Baker's Flat were merged through family, and probably friendship, into a considerable bloc who collaborated to sustain their families. The responsibilities and obligations of the interconnected families appear to have remained intact until most people dispersed and the last resident died, after which the land was sold.

7 Results—The Baker’s Flat Landscape

This chapter reports on archaeological structures and features at Baker’s Flat, first at a broad scale relating to the geophysical survey and then more specifically in relation to the excavated structures.

7.1 Reading the landscape from the geophysics

Whilst previous research (Arthure 2014) indicated that the Baker’s Flat community could have operated as a clachan based on historical evidence, the subsurface images from the geophysical survey were important as the first stage in testing this hypothesis archaeologically. Results from the magnetic gradiometer and GPR surveys exposed the subsurface landscape in different ways.⁹ The magnetic gradiometer data revealed numerous responses in the survey area, shown first in their raw form (Figure 7.1a) and then interpreted to show possible anomaly types (Figure 7.1b). This interpretation focused on highly magnetic anomalies of interest (grey polygons) and linear architectural features (black lines). Several large ovoid/rectangular features are visible in the north-west part of the grid, forming rectilinear patterns approximately 10 m long and 5 m wide, consistent with the size and shape of a traditional Irish vernacular dwelling. Other features are shown as lines that appear to form enclosures or walls in the central and southern areas of the survey grid. An extended linear cluster of smaller responses lies in the eastern section of the grid, where there was an accumulation of slag. This is the location reported to have been used as a dance floor and area for social gatherings (Lowe et al. 2020:9–10).

In contrast to the gradiometer, the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) data did not reveal any clear rectilinear reflections indicative of buildings (Figure 7.2a). Most reflections appeared as strong but irregularly shaped features with no visible patterning (Figure 7.2b black polygons). Some of the linear reflections, however, correlated well to anomalies detected in the gradiometer (Figure 7.2b black lines). The GPR did detect one feature that was not visible in the gradiometer data—a large circular reflection in the south-central part of the survey area (Lowe et al. 2020:10).

⁹ Some of the material in this section, detailing the geophysical survey results, was published in Lowe, K.M., S. Arthure, L.A. Wallis and J. Feinberg 2020 Geophysical and archaeological investigations of Baker’s Flat, a nineteenth century historic Irish site in South Australia. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 12(1):article 33(1–20). Any content used has been cited.

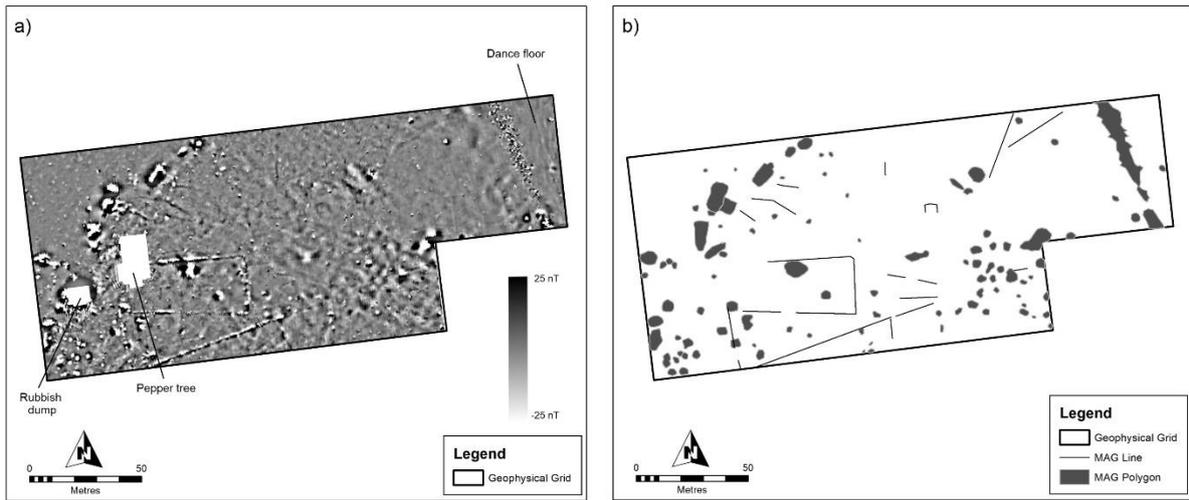


Figure 7.1 a) Magnetic gradiometer responses, with black representing a positive magnetic gradient and white a negative gradient, and b) interpretation of those anomalies including possible houses and enclosures. Maps: Kelsey Lowe.

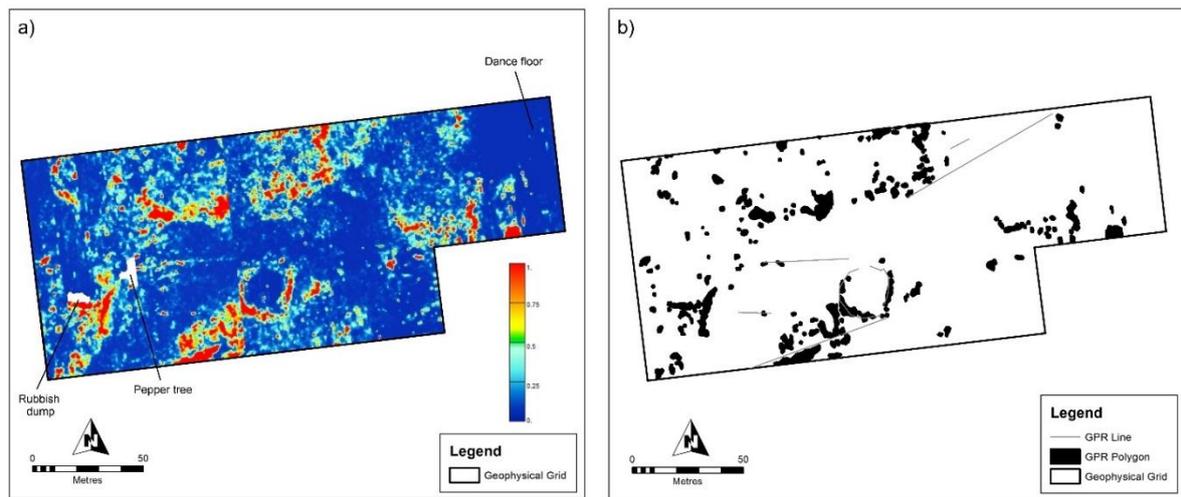


Figure 7.2 a) GPR amplitude slice-maps from 15–40 cm below surface, with areas in yellow and red depicting stronger reflection, and b) interpretation of several anomalies including a possible enclosure and circular feature. Maps: Kelsey Lowe.

Figure 7.3 is an overlay of both the gradiometer and GPR interpreted anomalies. Note that for both the gradiometer and GPR data, the reflections began to increase at around 35 cm below the surface and continued to about 65–70 cm deep (Lowe et al. 2020:10). Since the gradiometer data appeared to display the site layout better than the GPR, this was used to identify areas for ground-truthing by excavation. Eight anomalies of interest (AOI) were identified (Figure 7.4). All were selected because they appeared to be cultural features, hypothesised as structures and enclosures.

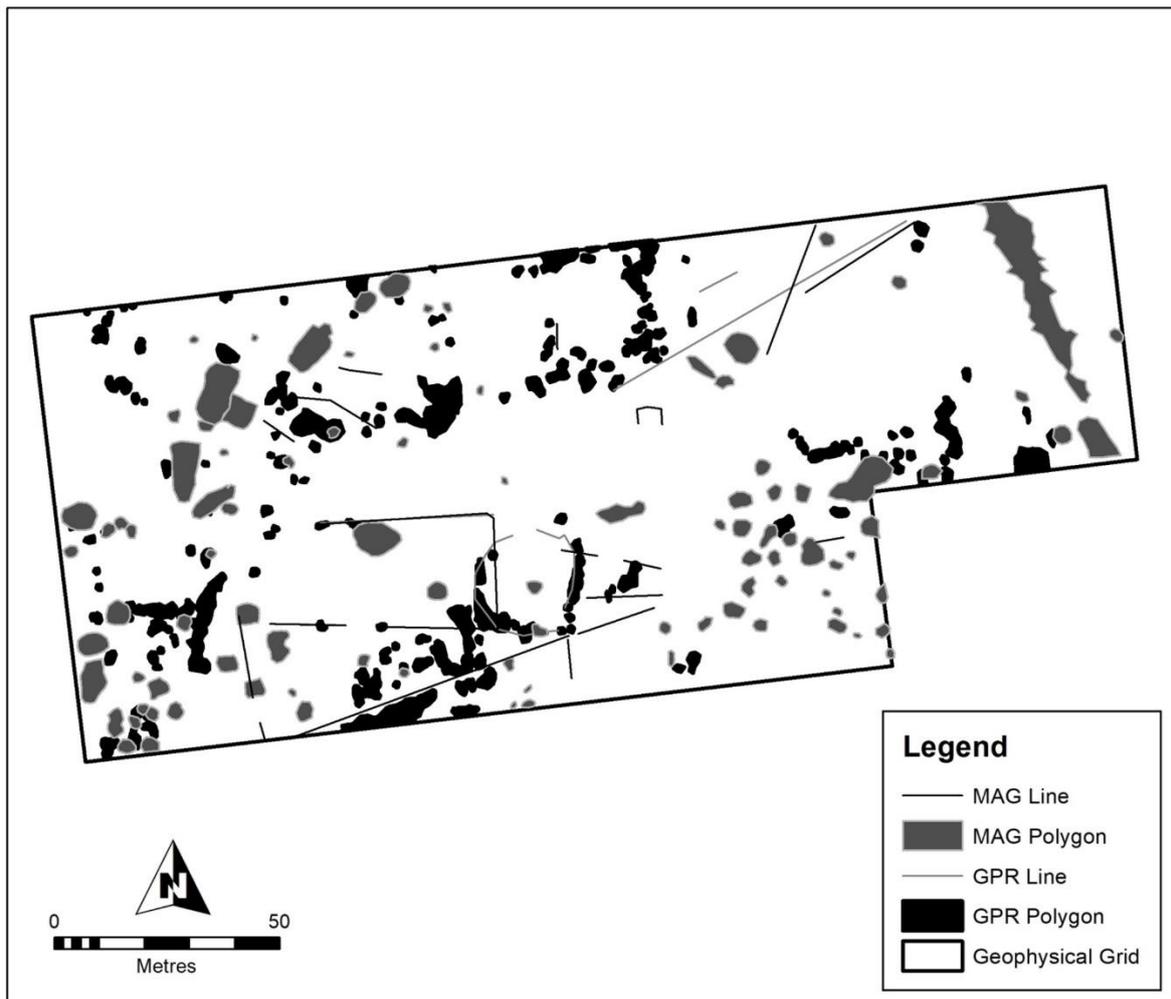


Figure 7.3 Overlay of gradiometer and GPR interpreted anomalies. Map: Kelsey Lowe.

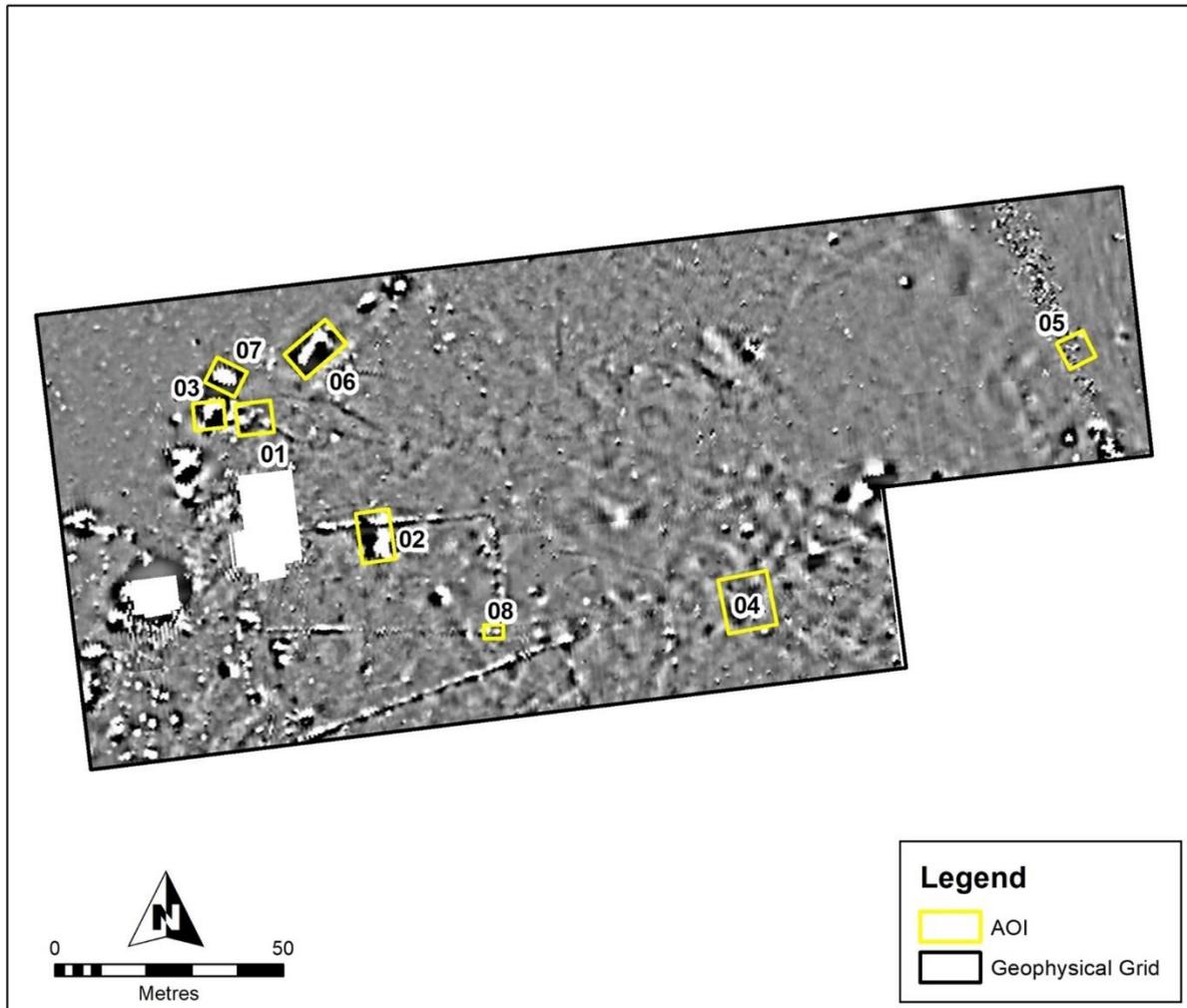


Figure 7.4 Eight anomalies of interest (AOI) identified as potential sites for excavation, shown on gradiometer map. Map: Kelsey Lowe.

7.1.1 Laboratory analyses of slag samples

Two slag samples (Figure 7.5) were collected from the dance floor area where numerous pieces lay on the surface. These were analysed at the Institute for Rock Magnetism at the University of Minnesota to understand their magnetic characterisation, particularly with regard to the evolution of features on the site, such as floors and social spaces, and how this might affect the gradiometer results (details of analytical methods and results are described in Lowe et al. 2020:9, 14). Although their mass was significantly different (sample 01 = 8.63 g, sample 02 = 0.01 g), the results were similar, with both showing susceptibility and remanence values approximately two and three orders of magnitude greater than most clay soils (Lowe et al. 2020:14–16).

As such, the analysis found that the slag contributed to many of the positive magnetic responses seen in the gradiometer results and that it was used to border the dance floor. It was further posited that the anomalies of interest (possible structures) identified by the gradiometer could be floors constructed of slag. This was supported by the recollections of local man Mick O'Brien, recorded some years previously, who remembered carting 'skippings from the mine' with his father for the floors on Baker's Flat (Bettison 1975). Potentially, the highly magnetic, rectilinear areas at the north-west of the site were the floors of houses or agricultural structures.

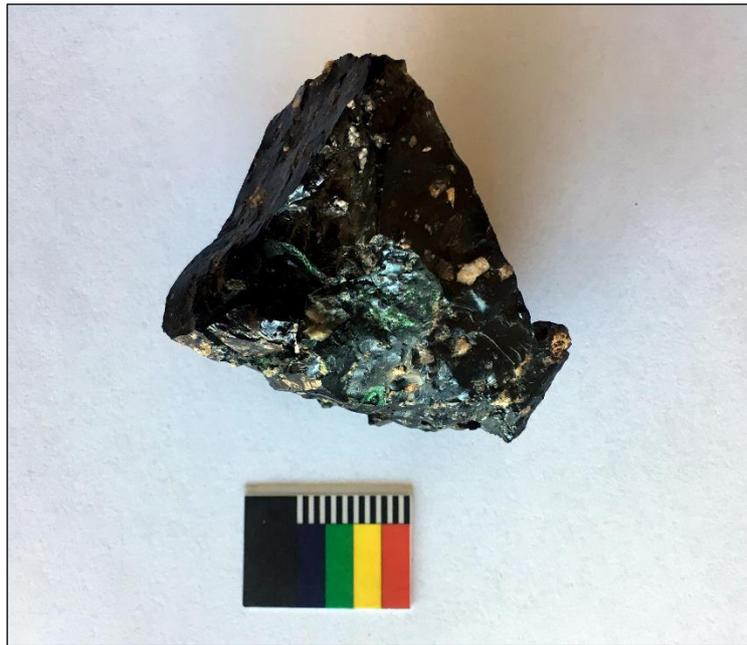


Figure 7.5 Slag sample 01, collected from the dance floor area. Photo: Kelsey Lowe.

7.2 Excavated structures in the landscape

Excavations across two field seasons resulted in three distinct findings, detailed below—a house built in the Irish vernacular style, hints of an enclosure feature, and an unusual round structure. See Chapter 5, Figure 5.26 for an overview image of all trench locations.

7.3 A vernacular Irish dwelling—Trenches A, D, F and G

Excavations over anomalies AOI3 and AOI7 (Figure 7.6) took place in 2016 and 2017. These were located in the north-western section of the geophysical survey grid and incorporated Trenches A and D in 2016 and Trenches F and G in 2017, ultimately revealing one long house matching the Irish vernacular form.

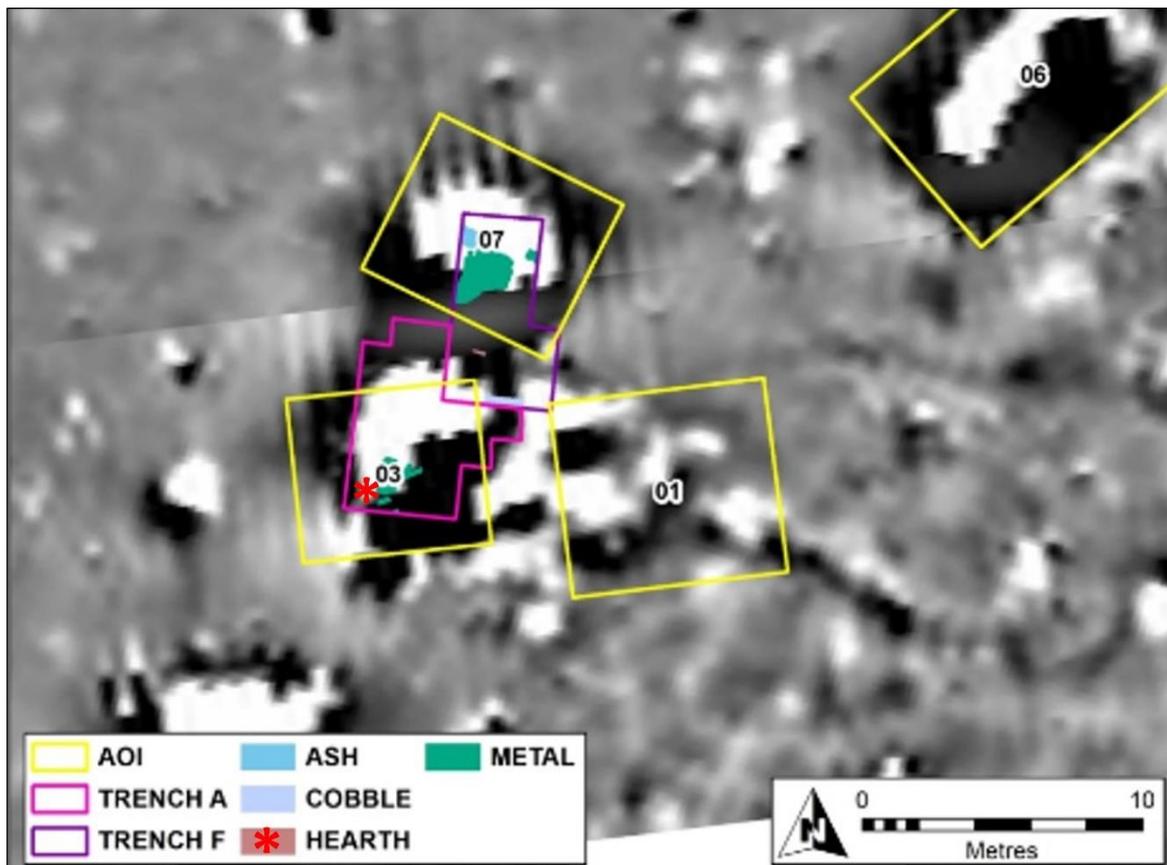


Figure 7.6 Gradiometer data highlighting anomalies AOI3 and AOI7 (yellow) in combination with total station data showing excavated Trenches A (pink) and F (purple). Image: Kelsey Lowe.

7.3.1 Results from the 2016 excavation—Trenches A and D

The decision to open Trench A (outlined in pink in Figure 7.6) over AOI3 was based on indicators from the gradiometer of several large ovoid/rectilinear reflections, suggestive of a building. Based on the testimony of Mick O'Brien (Bettison 1975) and the physical evidence of slag scattered across the surface of Baker's Flat, it was hypothesised that the structure could contain a floor area constructed of slag. A total of 27 m² was excavated, to a maximum depth of 75 cm. A summary of Trench A contexts, 45 in total, is provided in Table 7.1 while the stratigraphy is illustrated in the Harris matrix following (Figure 7.7).

Table 7.1 Summary of Trench A contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
001	3	Deposit	Nil	Top soil / fill, surface layer of wheat stubble, pH 7.5 and Munsell Light Brown 7.5YR 6/3. Some small pebbles.
002	7	Deposit	Ceramic: 14 Glass: 9	Top soil / fill with plough lines running north-south, pH 6.5 and Munsell Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4.
003	10	Deposit	Ceramic: 12 Glass: 21	Top soil / fill, below the extent of plough blades and more heavily compacted, pH 5.5 and Munsell Light Brown 7.5YR 6/4. Poor horizon clarity between contexts 002, 003, 004. No cuts or features.
003A	-	Deposit	Ceramics: 0 Glass: 4	Thin, red natural clay lens, pH 7 and Munsell Red 2.5YR 4/8. Appears in pockets in context 003 and above contexts 005 and 010 in X14:Y20,Y21, and in the southern wall of X15,X16:Y21.
004	60	Deposit	Ceramic: 158 Glass: 276	Imported clay fill, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4. Few artefacts until 45 cm, then many large metal items including corrugated iron sheets, zinc sheets, wire, bed frames and wooden railway sleepers. Patterning of metal indicates some degree of natural collapse, fill has been dumped on top.
005	75	Interface	Ceramic: 199 Glass: 322	Occupation layer, cultural feature. Clean, calcrete floor cut from natural bedrock. Acts as interface between context 004 (fill) and bedrock, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/3. Cut by several postholes (contexts 007, 008, 017, 018, 020, 023, 025, 027, 029, 032, 037, 043). Numerous metal objects discarded on top in context 004.
006	28	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (007) in X16:Y20. Soft dark soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 10YR 4/3, with organic smell consistent with rotting wood, possible remains of wooden post.
007	28	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 for posthole in X16:Y20, 9 cm diameter, circular shape, depth not fully explored as was accidentally excavated out at end of the day. Aligned with cut/context 008.
008	12	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 for posthole in X16:Y20, 8 cm diameter, circular shape. Depth not fully explored. Aligned with cut/context 007.
009	12	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (008) in X16:Y20. Loosely compacted brown soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3, with small inclusions of decomposed wood.
010	-	Structure / feature	Nil	Western edge of the trench, the dugout wall. Picked out of the bedrock to create a wall, extends along entire west wall of Trench A, pH 9 and Munsell Light Reddish Brown 5YR 6/4. Base abuts context 005 (calcrete floor). Contains two cuts (contexts 013, 014). At base of wall in X15,X16:Y16 are two cut bluestones, deliberately placed.
011	66	Deposit	Nil	Ashy deposit in X15:Y20, pH 8.5 and Munsell Gray 7.5YR 5/1, in context 004 and above context 005. Extends across squares X15,X16:Y21 and X16:Y20. Related to contexts 012 and 035. Very fine ash with 2% inclusions of bone <1 mm in size, and other charred bone fragments ~5 mm. Deposit is ~60 cm x 40 cm dimension, depth ~3–5 mm. Hearth / cooking area.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
012	63	Deposit	Nil	Deposit in X15:Y21 in context 004, next to context 011. Red, sandy soil, gritty inclusions <1 mm in size, pH 7 and Munsell Dusky Red 2.5YR 3/2. Roughly rectangular in shape, ~48 cm x 42 cm dimension, depth ~5 mm. Contains many metal artefacts, deposited immediately above context 035.
013	3.7	Cut	Nil	Cut into top surface of context 010 in X14:Y19, possibly as support for vertical post. Rectangular shape, 9.3 cm diameter. No fill.
014	10	Cut	Nil	Cut into top surface of context 010 in X14:Y17, possibly as support for vertical post, with some indentations resembling those caused by a crowbar. Irregular rectangular shape, 18 cm x 12 cm.
015	10	Deposit	Ceramic: 1 Glass: 0	Fill for posthole (014) in X14:Y17, pH 8 and 9 (different inclusions have different results) and Munsell Reddish Brown 5YR 4/3. Loosely compacted, dark brown soil containing fragments of degraded wood and corroded iron.
016	21.5	Deposit	Nil	Fill in X17:Y18 for posthole (017). Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 21.5 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/2.
017	68	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X17:Y18 for posthole, 8 cm diameter, circular shape. Cuts / contexts 017, 018, 020 align with each other.
018	85	Cut	Nil	Cut in X15:Y20 into context 005 for posthole, 9 cm diameter, circular shape. Cuts / contexts 017, 018, 020 align with each other.
019	29	Deposit	Nil	Fill in X15:Y20 for posthole (018). Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 29 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/2.
020	-	Cut	Nil	Cut in X15:Y20 into context 005 for posthole, 7 cm diameter, circular shape. Cuts / contexts 017, 018, 020 align with each other. Depth of cut not recorded.
021	25	Deposit	Nil	Fill in X15:Y20 for posthole (020). Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 25 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/2.
022	-	Deposit	Nil	Lens of silty loam deposit in X15:Y17 with charcoal inclusions, associated with wooden beams, overlaying context 005, pH 9 and Munsell Reddish Brown 2.5YR 5/3.
023	63	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X16:Y18 for posthole, 8.5 cm diameter, irregular circular shape. Remains of corrugated iron sheet runs north between this cut and cut / context 025 and gutter or channel. Possible post holes for internal partition or corrugated iron wall. Cuts / contexts 023, 025 align with each other.
024	36	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (023) in X16:Y18. Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 36 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4.
025	87	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X15:Y18 for posthole, 12 cm diameter, irregular circular shape. Cuts / contexts 023, 025 align with each other.
026	33	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (025) in X15:Y18. Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 33 cm, pH and Munsell not recorded. Contains in the centre a vertical iron rod (reinforcing bar), 2 cm diameter, 44 cm high, depth at least 15 cm.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
027	66	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X16:Y20 for posthole, 11 cm diameter, circular shape. Contexts 027, 029, 032 located near each other.
028	34	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (027) in X16:Y20. Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 34 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 10YR 4/3.
029	75	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X16:Y20 for posthole, 13 cm diameter, irregular circular shape, depth at least 75 cm. Contexts 027, 029, 032 located near each other.
030	34	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (029) in X16:Y20. Silty loam, filling hole to depth of 34 cm, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 10YR 4/3.
031	2	Deposit	Nil	Ephemeral, shallow deposit in X15,X16:Y16 with different colour and texture to surrounding contexts 004 and 005, pH 9 and Munsell Light Olive Brown 2.5Y 5/4. Loosely compacted soil located directly in front of wall in context 010, where two cut bluestones have been deliberately inserted. Charcoal flecks present.
032	34	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X16:Y21 for posthole, 10.5 cm diameter, irregular circular shape, containing remains of wooden post. Contexts 027, 029, 032 located near each other.
033	34	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (032) in X16:Y21. Well sorted soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/2, containing remains of wooden post.
034	75	Structure / feature	Ceramic: 1 Glass: 15	Cultural feature, cobblestone path in X17,X18,X19:Y18 and X17,X18:Y19. Constructed of different types of stones cut into cobbles. Some slag pieces used as cobblestones, also bluestone, sandstone, limestone, yellow-red ochre, glazed brick. All cut into regular shapes of similar sizes 5–10 cm. Brown, silty clay holding rocks in situ, very well compacted. May extend north and south. Southern edge of X17:Y19 may have been over-excavated, so it is uncertain if the edge line is as originally created.
035	66	Deposit	Nil	Cultural deposit of lime and ash, extending 2.5 m across southern trench wall (across X14,X15,X16:Y20 and X14,X15,X16:Y21) and up to 1 m out from wall. Ranging from moderate to hard compaction, built up in thin layers, Munsell Gray 7.5YR 6/1. Particles are brittle and break up easily, charcoal inclusions well sorted, charred animal bones. Has been cut and shaped, and used as either a hearth or burning area. Interpreted as a hearth. Related to contexts 011 and 012 but easily distinguished from them and context 004.
036	75	Deposit	Nil	Thin (~2 cm) crust on top of calcrete surface (context 005) in X15:Y17 between two posthole cuts (contexts 037) with corrugated iron ‘walls’. Flaky, soft brown lens. Loose compaction, small particle size. On under-surface is evidence this deposit was on top of an organic surface of hay / straw / wheat stubble / grass. This has left an impression—an irregular cross hatched patterning. Lies below context 004. Interpreted as either residue from limewash or natural deposit over straw which has

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
				then hardened; deposition of soil and fill has caused it to appear as a discrete lens.
037	N/A	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X15:Y16 for posthole, 7 cm diameter, circular shape, adjacent to corrugated iron sheet which is in situ vertically in a gutter / channel. Located near edge of context 010. Depth not recorded.
038	N/A	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (037) in X15:Y16. Silty loam, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/2, containing remains of wooden post. Depth not recorded.
039	115	Cut	Nil	In X16:Y15 a regular straight cut, perpendicular to the dugout wall (context 010). Cuts through context 005 and below to a possible natural level. At least 0.65 m long but continues through trench wall into unexcavated squares. Metal sheets lying on top which may be fall. May run directly into context 010 but unable to lift metal to determine extent. Lies below context 004. Interpreted as a cut for drainage.
040	10.5	Cut	Nil	A curved channel in X15,X16:Y20 cut unevenly into occupation layer's natural limestone surface (context 005), running west-east from dugout wall, and immediately north of the hearth (context 035). Depth varies from 9.4 cm to 10.5 cm to 7.8 cm along its length. Channel measures 29 cm at its widest, 8 cm at its narrowest, extends for ~1.5 m. Contains three postholes (018, 020, 027). Possibly a partition or drainage channel for water / fire ash—channel is deep enough to divert water or ash from adjacent hearth area.
041	~11	Cut	Nil	A straight channel in X15,X16:Y18 cut into occupation layer's natural limestone surface (context 005), running west-east from dugout wall. Depth is maximum of ~11 cm, and channel runs for ~1.8 m. Contains two iron rods, rammed firmly into the channel. Iron rod closest to dugout wall measures 45 cm in length, is burred on top indicating it has been hit with a mallet / hammer. Iron rod at eastern edge measures 8 cm in length, is sheared off at top. Next to two postholes (023, 025). Also contains the remains of three iron sheets, inserted vertically.
042	N/A	Cut	Nil	A straight, very narrow channel in X15,X16:Y16 cut into occupation layer's natural limestone surface (context 005), running west-east from dugout wall. Extends ~1.8 m to eastern edge of X16:Y16 and may continue further into unexcavated square. Contains one broken, corrugated iron sheet. Close to posthole 037. Cut by context 031.
043	63	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 005 in X17:Y20 for posthole, 12 cm diameter, irregular circular shape. Located along eastern wall of X17:Y20, ~1 m from two postholes (007, 008).
044	81	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (043) in X17:Y20. Silty loam containing wooden post, which is friable and dry.
045	~29	Deposit	See summary	Rubbish deposit, cut through context 005 in X17:Y20 and extending through to X17:Y21, 30% limestone / calcrete inclusions, pH 9 and Munsell Dark Yellowish Brown 10YR 4/4. No evidence of burning or charcoal, many artefacts deposited

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
				without order. Excavated to depth of 29 cm but continued deeper and contained ceramic, glass, bone, metal, leather. Note that context number 045 was assigned after excavation of this square was well underway and artefacts had already been assigned a context number of 005 → can be identified using both context number and square ID.

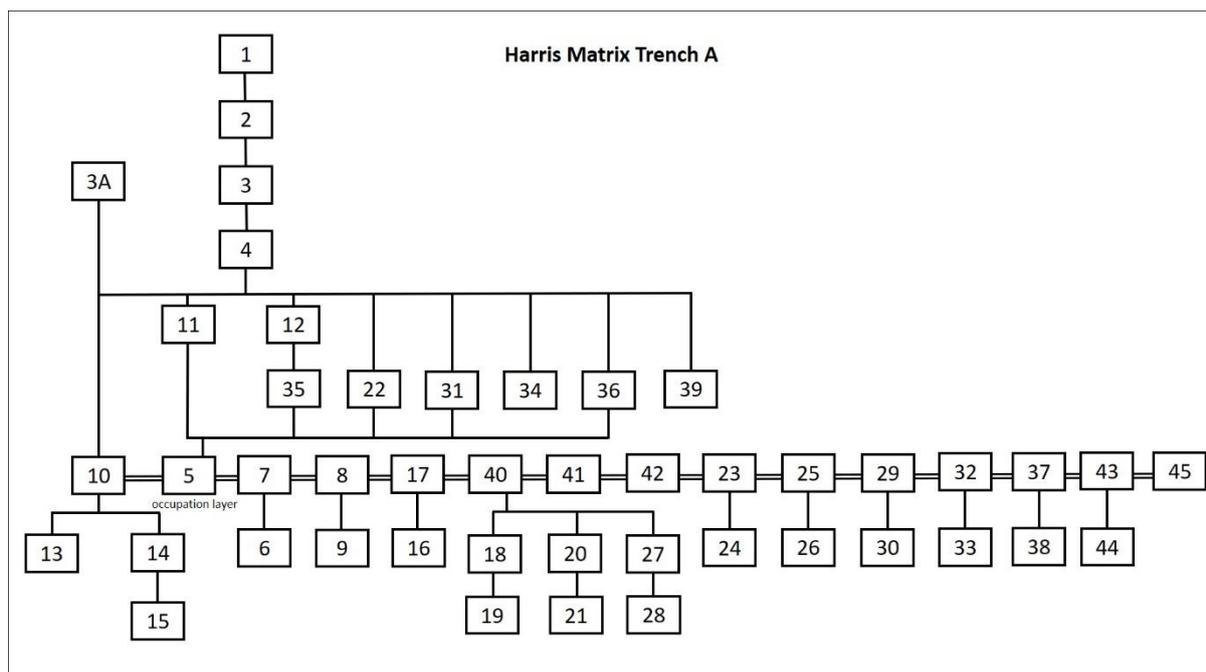


Figure 7.7 Harris matrix for Trench A.

Excavation through contexts 001, 002 and 003 of Trench A revealed imported top soil and compacted clay fill with distinct plough lines (Figure 7.8), a profile that was consistently found across all trenches with the exception of Trench E. Note that in context 002, a single area of loose soil was uncovered, equating to a narrow hole with a depth of 7 cm. This was interpreted as an infilled cavity, the result of metal detecting, and was consistent with the recall of the metal detectorist, who reported digging small shallow holes less than 15 cm deep. It was the only hole of this kind recorded in any trench across both field seasons.

Based on the landowner’s knowledge of the paddock’s history, it was expected that the imported fill would extend to a maximum of 20 cm. However, it transpired to be much deeper. Working through context 004—heavily compacted clay fill—metal fragments began to emerge in square X16:Y20 at a depth of 45–47 cm. Further excavation revealed part of a

metal bed frame, overlaid with corrugated and flat iron sheeting, and a clear posthole (contexts 006, 007) (Figure 7.9). The context below the metal artefacts and at the level of the posthole was later identified as the occupation layer (context 005), created on the natural calcrete surface which had been picked out using tools, and levelled for use as a floor. This white, heavily compacted layer was present underneath the fill and metal artefacts.



Figure 7.8 Plough lines visible in context 002, Trench A. Looking north. Photo: Cherrie De Leuien.



Figure 7.9 Trench A, square X16:Y20, context 004 showing metal and emerging posthole. Looking east. Photo: Cherrie De Leuien.

Using the metal as a guide, the trench was extended west by 2 m in two new 4 x 1 m lines (X15 and X14) and once again metal material—corrugated and flat iron sheeting, bed frames, drawn wire, flattened tin cans, tools—began to emerge between 30 and 40 cm below the surface. Ultimately, this debris extended across more than 6 m² (2 m x 3 m). It was these artefacts, rather than a slag floor, that had caused the large positive magnetic values recorded during the geophysical survey.

The same profile emerged across all squares, with contexts 001, 002, 003 and 004 all transitioning through top soil to fill, context 004 being fill interspersed with a deep artefact layer of rusted metal pieces. On the western side of the trench, a new context (010) emerged. This was the same white compacted clay as context 005 but much higher; it was a deliberate cut into the slope to form a low wall (Figure 7.10). Local residents had spoken on several occasions about ‘dugouts’ on Baker’s Flat (pers. comm. Simon O’Reilly and Peter Swann, 2015), and it became clear that this was a dugout, where a short shelter wall had been dug into the hillside taking advantage of the slope of the land, with a floor extending eastwards from it. This is illustrated in Figure 7.11, which shows Trench A at completion of the excavation. The shelter wall ran the full length of the trench, extending northwards beyond the trench boundary. At the southern edge it curved eastwards, as can be seen in Figure 7.12, to form the southern limit of the dugout. In the interior, the occupation layer consisted of a floor with channels running east-west, and a cobbled path at the eastern edge constructed of cut stones. Note that in the geophysical survey, these floors were difficult to detect in the GPR amplitude slices (Figure 7.13a), but were more visible in the reflection profiles, showing up as strong planar reflections (Figure 7.13b). These reflections are about 20 cm thick and about 10 m long, aligning with the ultimate length of this building (Lowe et al. 2020:11).

These findings led to the conclusion that the excavations in Trench A had uncovered the inside of a dugout dwelling that had been abandoned and later collapsed. Metal refuse had either been left in situ or was clean-up from the surrounding vicinity.



Figure 7.10 Trench A showing the emerging wall along the western edge (context 010), and the extent of metal discard in context 004. Looking north. Photo: Cherrie De Leiu.

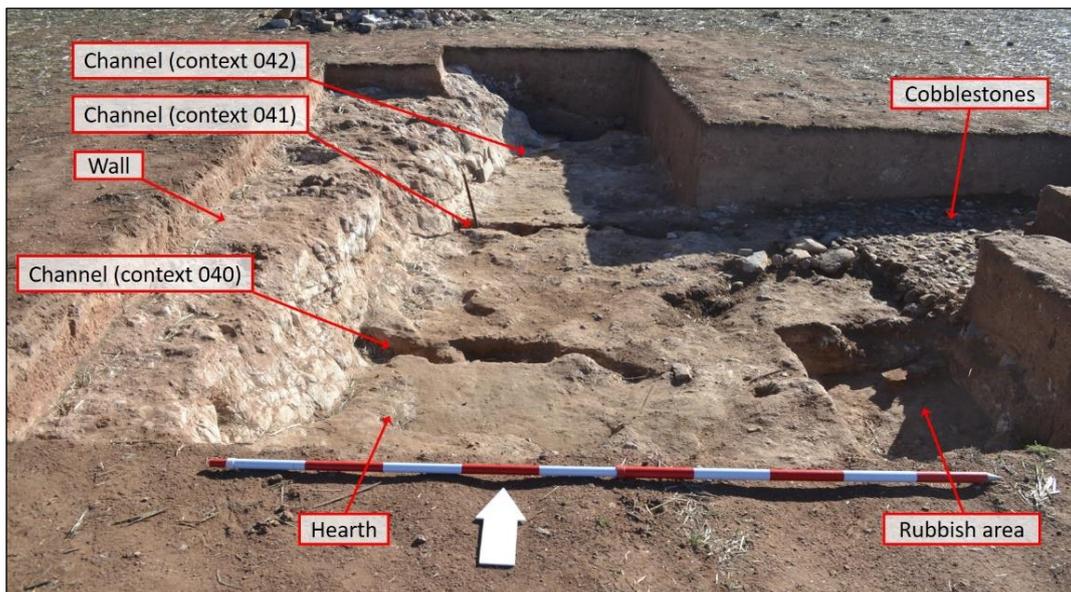


Figure 7.11 Overview of Trench A at completion of excavation. Looking north. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

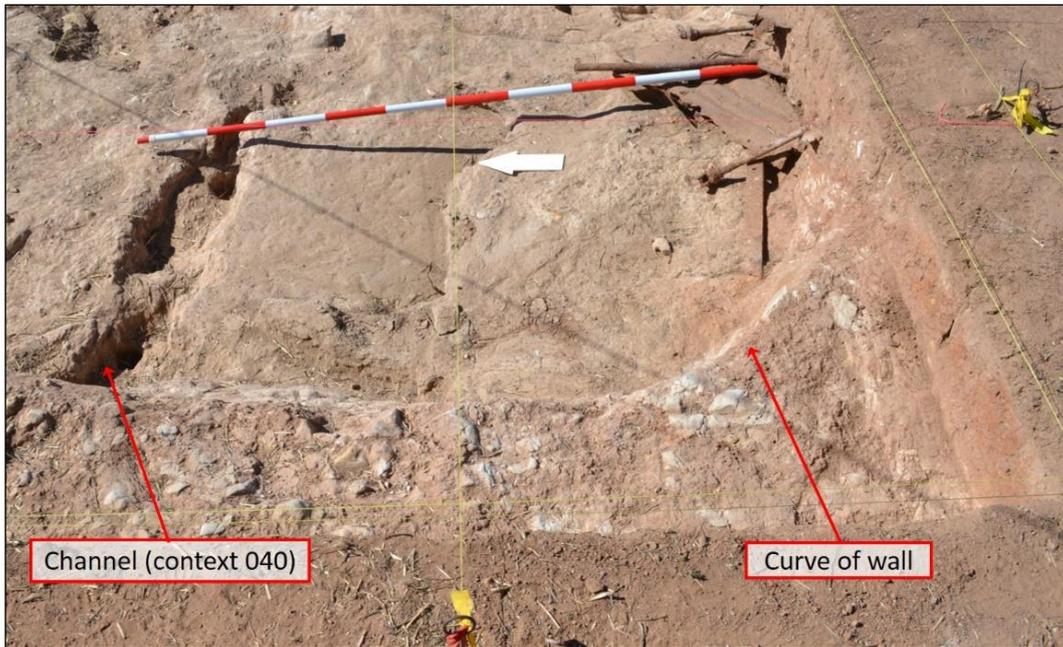


Figure 7.12 South-west edge of Trench A, showing the curve of the dugout wall (context 010) as it turns to form the southern limit of the structure. North arrow sits on the hearth (035); a rough-cut channel (040) is also visible. Looking east. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

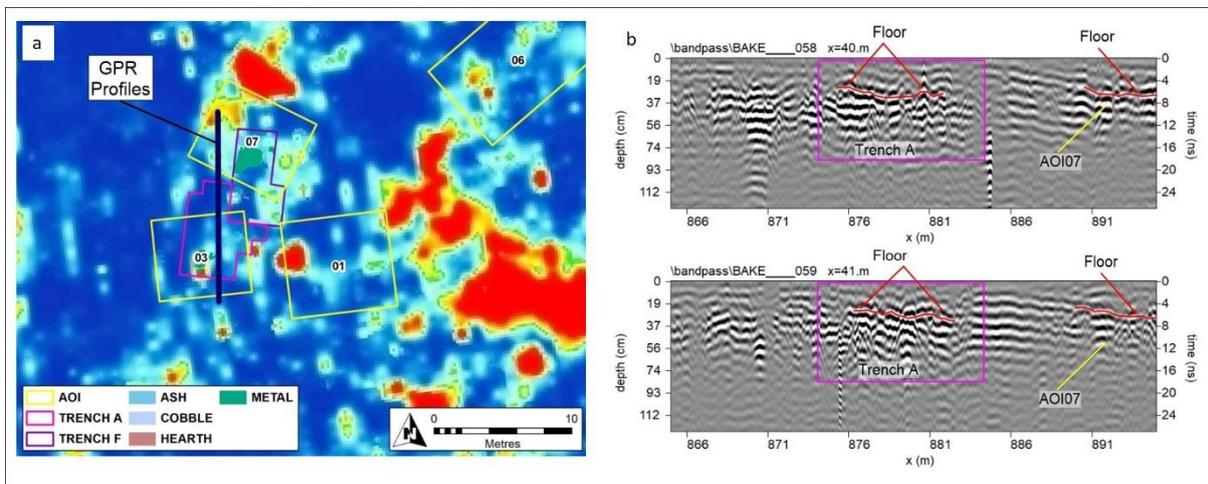


Figure 7.13 a) Amplitude slice-map from 15–40 cm below surface showing locations of Trenches A and F and the GPR reflection profiles, and b) reflection profiles 58 and 59 showing the floors (red line) in Trench A and the same profile in unexcavated area associated with the building in AOI7. Map and sections: Kelsey Lowe.

The dugout also contained several features which assisted in interpreting it as a domestic structure. Two cuts into the top surface of the wall (contexts 013 [Figure 7.14] and 014) were indicators of supports to accommodate a wall or roof. Several wooden railway sleepers (Figure 7.15) and the remains of a thatched roof, which had been covered at a later date with iron sheeting, were found collapsed through the fill and on top of the occupation layer in the centre of the structure.

Three channels or gutters were cut into the floor at regular intervals, running east-west (Figure 7.11 and Figure 7.16). The northernmost channel (context 042) was straight and narrow, running for about 1.8 m across X15,X16:Y16 and possibly extending further into the unexcavated square (X17:Y16). It contained one broken corrugated iron sheet, and was adjacent to a posthole (037). The middle channel (041) ran straight for about 1.8 m across X15,X16:Y18. It contained two iron rods and the remains of three iron sheets. Alongside were three postholes (017, 023, 025), one of which (025) contained a vertical metal rod in the centre, 44 cm high. The southernmost channel (040) was curved and cut unevenly across X16,X16:Y20, immediately north of a hearth (035). Varying in depth and width along its length, it contained three postholes (018, 020, 027). Wood, metal wire and nails were all found in close proximity to these channels and postholes, possibly the remains of material used as metal reinforcing. Indeed, the wire may have acted as support for the timber posts, especially since the soil is shallow and the posts rested on natural bedrock at the base of the postholes. The postholes were all similar in shape (circular cut) and fill (silty loam) with one (038) containing the remains of a wooden post. Taken together, the evidence suggests partitioning walls made of iron and supported by reinforcing rods and wooden posts.

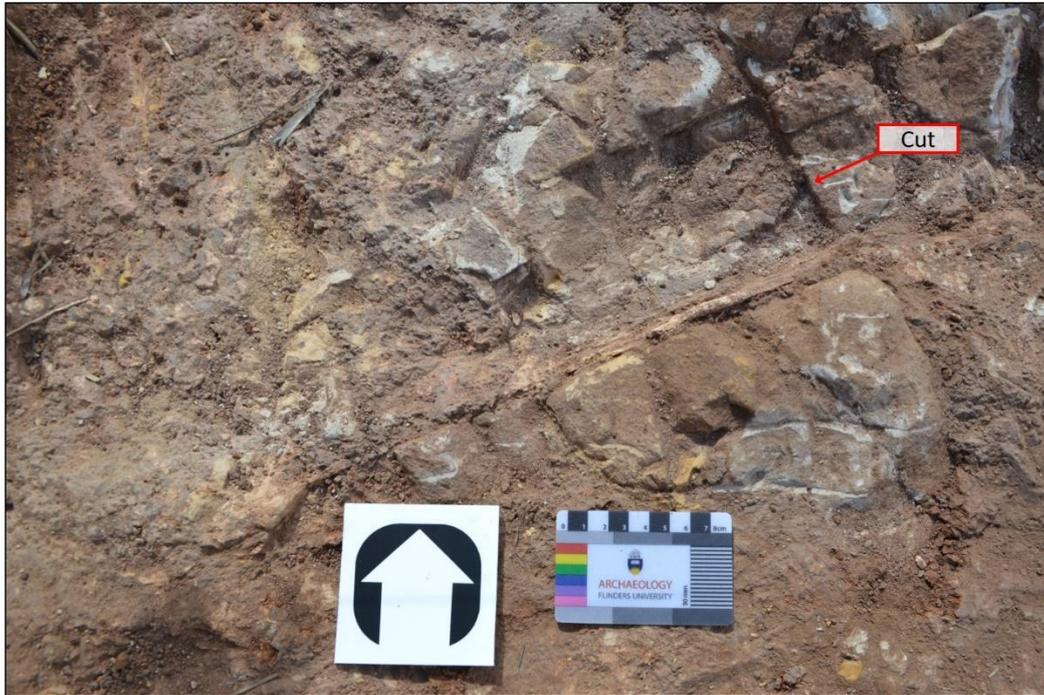


Figure 7.14 Trench A, plan view showing rectangular cut (context 013) into top surface of context 010. Photo: Meg Haas.



Figure 7.15 Trench A, context 004 showing three wooden railway sleepers under excavation. These posts extended across X16:Y17,Y18 and X15:Y17,Y18. Looking south-west. Photo: Susan Arthure.

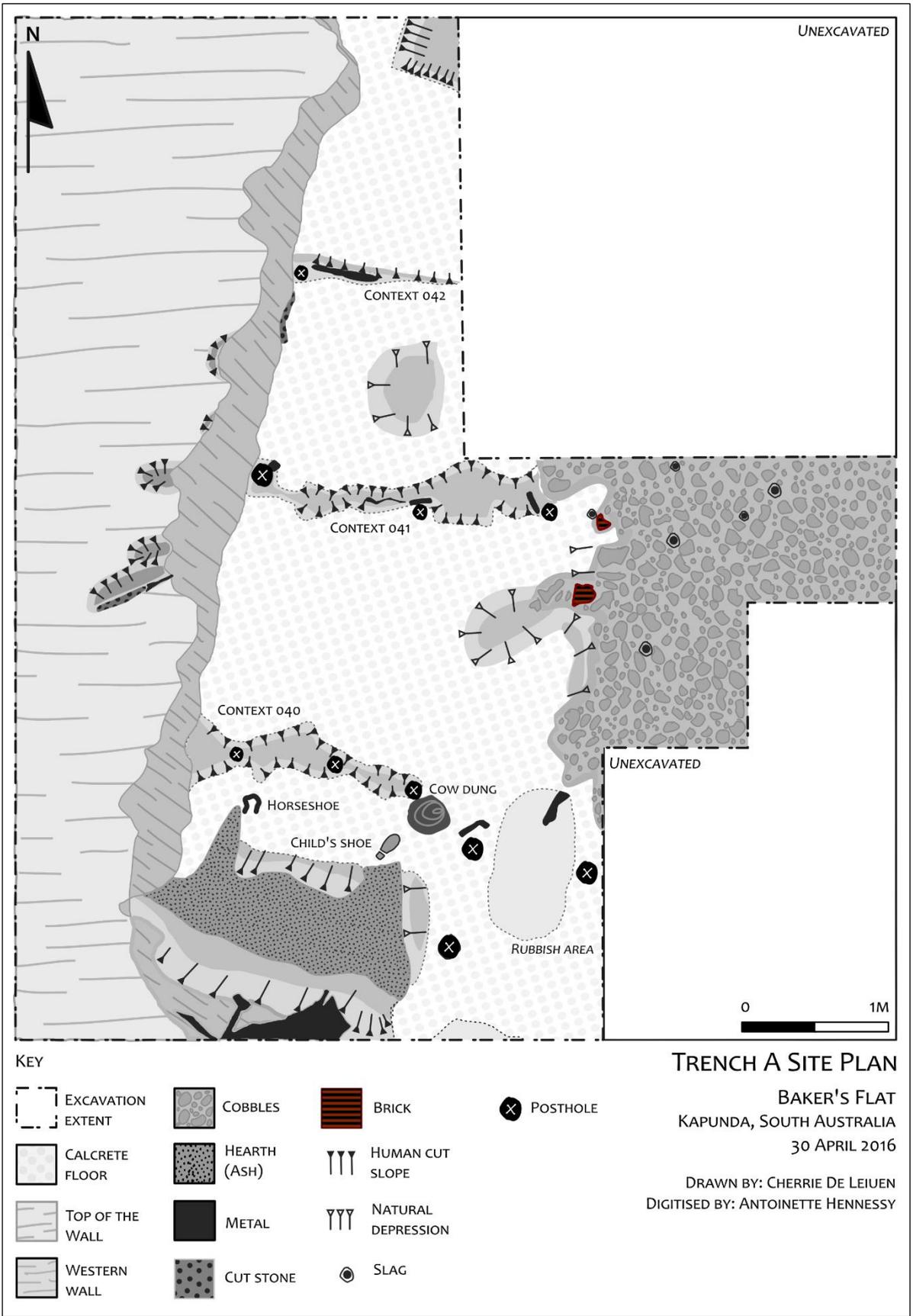


Figure 7.16 Plan drawing of Trench A at completion of excavation. Drawn by Cherrie De Leiuven, digitised by Antoinette Hennessy.

In addition to the interior partitions, roof of thatch/iron, and walls constructed using sleepers and flattened iron, there is some evidence for rocks having been used for parts of the walls. Figure 7.17 shows a rock fall in squares X15:Y17,Y18,Y19 and X16:Y18,Y19. These rocks were found below the layer of metal artefacts in context 004 and are consistent with the remains of a tumbled wall. They included random rubble, bricks, and cut sandstone and bluestone. Figure 7.18 shows cut stone and rubble placed deliberately at the base of the western wall, around which was an area of loosely compacted soil containing charcoal flecks (context 031).



Figure 7.17 Trench A showing rock fall in context 004, squares X15:Y17,Y18,Y19 and X16:Y18,Y19. Rocks were below most of the metal layer and are consistent with remains of a tumbled wall. Looking north. Photo: Cherrie De Leiu.



Figure 7.18 Cut stones and rubble at base of western wall in Trench A. Looking west. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

At the southern end of Trench A, an ashy deposit was uncovered that contained 2% inclusions of bone <1 mm in size and other charred bone fragments measuring about 5 cm (context 011). Next to it, context 012 was similar in that it also contained gritty inclusions <1 mm in size, but differed by being redder in colour, probably due to the metal fragments found there. Immediately below these contexts, and extending 2.5 m across the southern trench wall and up to 1 m out from the wall, was a clearly distinguishable deposit of lime and ash, interpreted as a hearth (035). This deposit ranged from moderate to hard compacted layers which had been cut and shaped (Figure 7.19). Charcoal inclusions and charred animal bones indicated that it had been used as a hearth.

Metal objects removed from an adjoining square (X14:Y21) included an arc-shaped hanger from a large pot or cauldron, and immediately north was context 040, the curved channel. Next to the hearth, in X16:Y19, several examples of dense organic material were found, which was easily excavated in clumps. This was identified as dried cow dung, which would have been intended for use as fuel.

At the eastern edge of the hearth, in a slight hollow, a child's red leather shoe with strap was found (Figure 7.20a), and at the western edge embedded into the white clay surface, a large horseshoe (Figure 7.20b). Both the shoe and the horseshoe appear to have been placed deliberately in these locations.



Figure 7.19 Hearth area, cut and shaped, with channel in front. Looking south-west. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

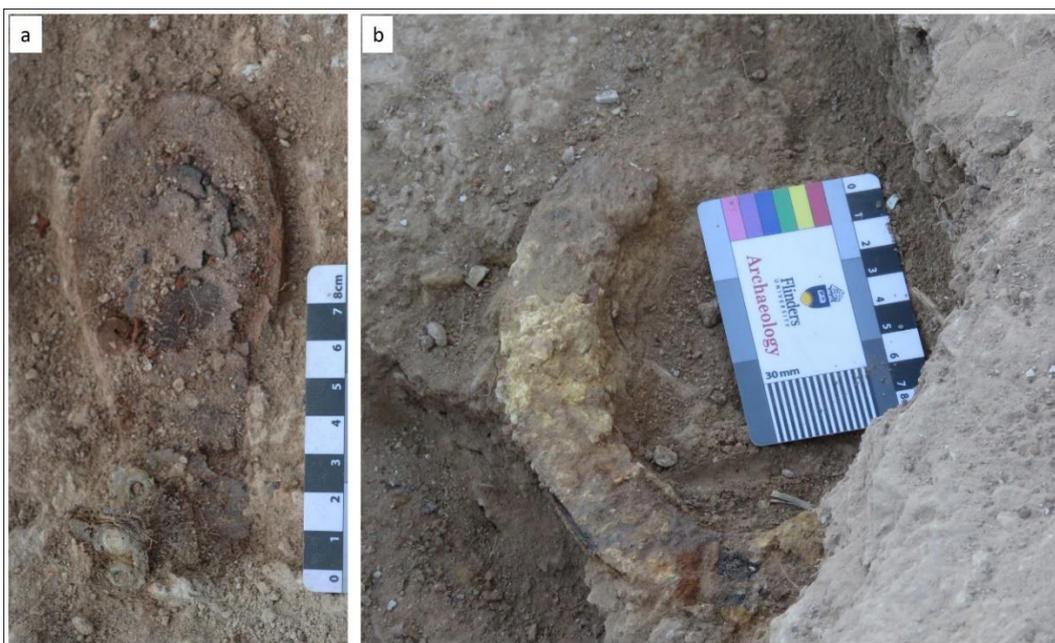


Figure 7.20 Hearth area showing a) Child's shoe in situ at eastern edge of hearth in X15:Y20, and b) Horseshoe in situ at western edge of hearth in X14:Y20. Photos: a) Kathleen Gorey, b) Susan Arthure.

A rubbish disposal area (context 045) was excavated east of the hearth near three postholes (007, 008, 043), one of which (043) contained the remains of a wooden post. This deposit contained a concentration of shoes, buttons, faunal remains, glass and ceramic shards, and other domestic items.

Finally, to the east and at the mid-point of Trench A, a cobbled section (context 034) was found in X17,X18,X19:Y18 and X17,X18:Y19 (Figure 7.21). Small pieces of bluestone, limestone, sandstone, brick, ochre and slag had been cut to form cobbles of 5–10 cm in size (Figure 7.22), held in place by compacted clay. This feature, interpreted as a path, appeared to extend into the unexcavated areas of Trench A.



Figure 7.21 Cobblestone path, looking north. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

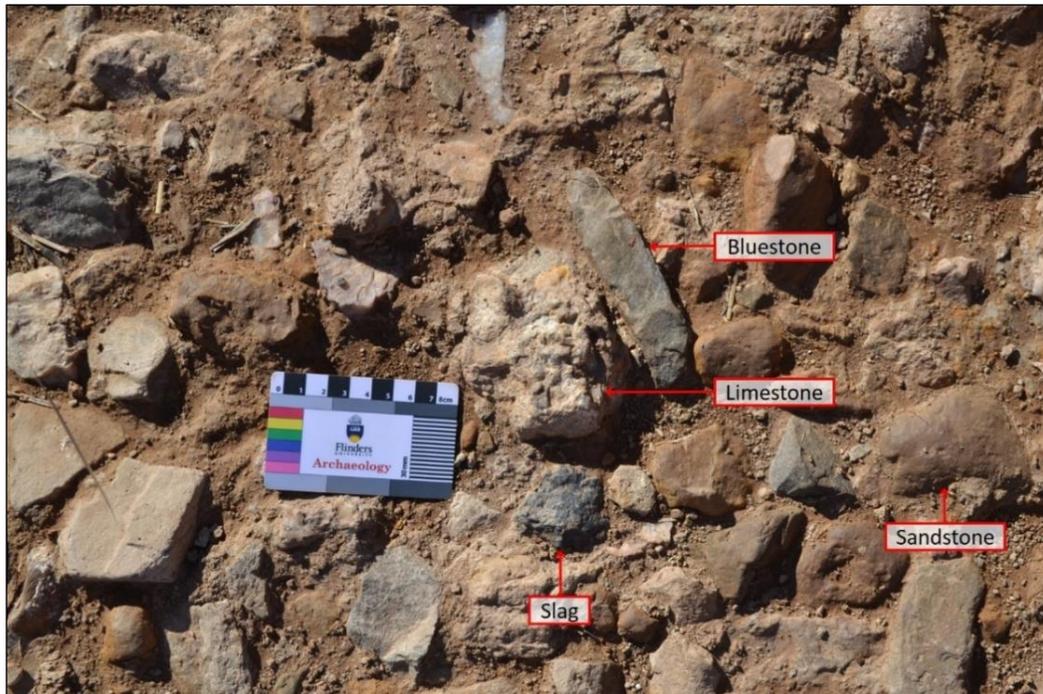


Figure 7.22 Detail of cobblestone path, with pieces of slag, bluestone, limestone and sandstone visible. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

Trench D, short-lived, was established in response to a re-setting of total station coordinates (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4). Contexts 001, 002, 003 and 004 (Table 7.2) were equivalent to the same contexts in Trench A (Table 7.1), consistent with imported top soil and clay fill that enabled the land to be farmed. Context 005 was the natural surface and, as shown in Figure 7.23, the stratigraphy was simple and straightforward. Few artefacts were recovered—36 ceramic and 59 glass fragments, with the majority being undiagnostic (60.0%)—and these were scattered across all squares and contexts with no clear patterning, mostly being found in the sieves. The natural surface produced no evidence of occupation or disturbance. Given its proximity to Trench A, however, the excavation of Trench D was able to confirm that the southern boundary of the house excavated in Trench A had been reached and that there was no other structure immediately beside it. This is consistent with the geophysical survey results. The area covered by Trench D, immediately south of a dwelling, was more likely to have been open space, used for tasks that left no archaeological trace.

Table 7.2 Summary of Trench D contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
001	Surface	Deposit	Ceramic: 1 Glass: 0	Top soil / fill, surface layer of wheat stubble, pH 7.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4. Some small cobbles and pebbles.
002	5	Deposit	Ceramic: 3 Glass: 4	Top soil / fill with plough lines running north-south, pH 6 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/4. The middle 2 x 4 m ² east-west strips were excavated.
003	20	Deposit	Ceramic: 7 Glass: 12	Top soil / fill, moderately compacted soil, pH 5.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4. The middle 2 x 4 m ² east-west strips were excavated.
004	50	Deposit	Ceramic: 25 Glass: 43	Top soil / fill. Silty clay with a smooth clean texture, little or no inclusions, poor clarity between contexts 003 and 004, pH and Munsell not recorded.
005	50	Deposit	Nil	Clay deposit (Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4) on top of limestone natural surface (Munsell Gley 1 N 8).

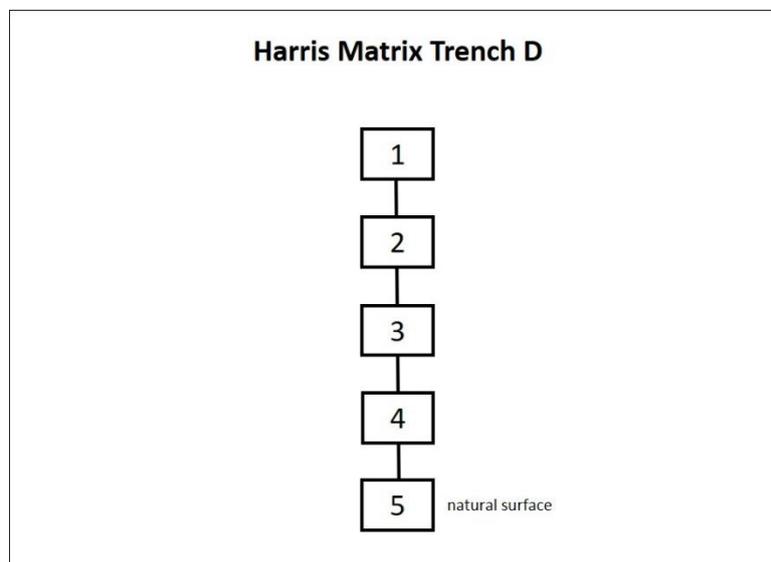


Figure 7.23 Harris matrix for Trench D.

7.3.2 Results from the 2017 excavations—Trenches F and G

In 2017, the excavation was extended north as Trench F (outlined in purple in Figure 7.6) with 48 m² excavated to a maximum depth of 85 cm. This trench proved to be the continuation of the dugout uncovered in Trench A, with similar patterning identified in both trenches. A deep layer of imported clay fill (context 004 in both) extended to an average of 50–60 cm depth in both Trench A and Trench F, and contained few artefacts until 30–45 cm. At that point, many large metal items emerged. In Trench F this included bed frames, a water tank (ship tank), flat and corrugated iron sheeting, drawn wire and flattened kerosene tins (Figure 7.24).



Figure 7.24 Trench F, context 004, square B4 showing metal discard including riveted water tank and corrugated iron sheets, extending into adjacent squares. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.

Figure 7.25 shows the trench as the end of context 004 was reached, with the metal discard still in situ; the northern and eastern boundary walls carved out of the bedrock can also be seen clearly, forming a rectangular structure. Context 008, the occupation layer, lay below 004 and emerged at a depth of 70–80 cm and was equivalent to context 005 in Trench A. The Trench F contexts, 21 in total, are summarised in Table 7.3, and the stratigraphy is illustrated in the Harris matrix following (Figure 7.26).

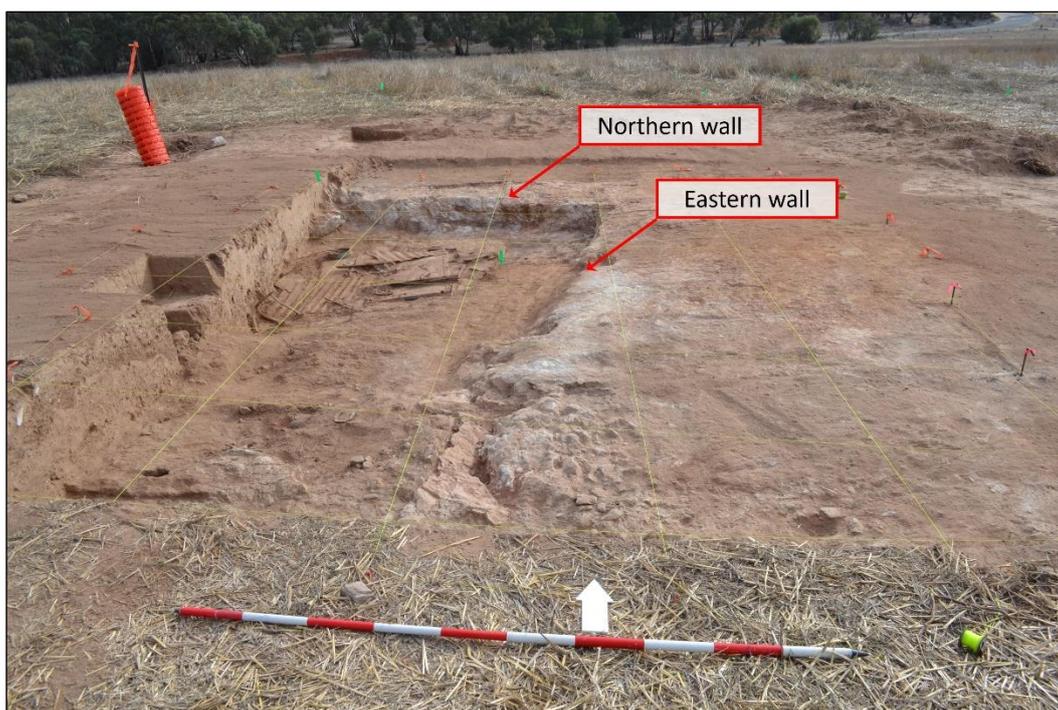


Figure 7.25 Trench F, towards the end of context 004, before exposing context 008. Structural walls at northern and eastern edges are clearly visible. Looking north. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.

Table 7.3 Summary of Trench F contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
Surface	10	Deposit	Ceramic: 27 Glass: 25	Wheat straw and top soil removed using tractor with front bucket attachment as scraper.
001	30	Deposit	Ceramic: 5 Glass: 7	Top soil /fill below the surface layer, pH 6.5 and Munsell Dark Yellowish Brown 10YR 4/4.
002	15	Deposit	Nil	Sterile natural deposit uncovered in squares A,B,C1 and A,B,C2 at depth of 15 cm, pH 7.5 and Munsell Red 2.5YR 4/6. A reddish-brown hard clay on top of calcrete bedrock, interpreted as natural soil cover.
003	N/A	Deposit	Nil	Imported clay fill / backfill found in what was square X16:Y15, Trench A in 2016 field season. This was the overlap point between Trenches A and F.
004	60	Deposit	Ceramic: 27 Glass: 54	Imported clay fill, same as context 004 in Trench A, pH 7.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4. Ranges between 50 cm and 60 cm at its deepest points in the trench. Removed using mechanical excavator.
005	70	Structure / feature	Ceramic: 0 Glass: 2	Squares A8, B7–8, C8, D8. Cultural feature, cobbled surface constructed of different types of stones, ranging in size from 5–8 cm. Some of natural shape, others cut to size and including slag, brick, bluestone, sandstone. Adjoins context 034, cobblestone path, in Trench A 2016.
006	42	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 008 for posthole in A7, 8 cm x 9 cm diameter, round, slightly oval shape. Situated in centre of a raised 'platform', deliberately cut to a round shape.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
007	42	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (006) in A7. Loosely compacted soil, pH 8 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/4, with inclusions of small calcrete stones ~5 mm in size.
008	85	Interface	Ceramic: 397 Glass: 764	Occupation layer, cultural feature. Clean, calcrete floor cut from natural bedrock, pH and Munsell not recorded. Acts as interface between context 004 (fill) and bedrock (010). Cut by three postholes (contexts 006, 012, 020). Numerous large metal artefacts discarded on top, mainly in north-western corner and including squatter's water tank, bedstead, tub, horse bridle, horseshoes x 7, wire, corrugated iron.
009	60	Cut	Nil	Cut into calcrete bedrock in A,B,C2 and D2-7 to form structural walls that run across northern edge of trench, then turn at a right angle and run down eastern edge terminating at D7 where it runs into the annex (context 014), pH 8 and Munsell White 10YR 8/1. Small adhesions of red/brown clay, clear horizon between this context and context 004 (fill). Appears to have been cut by hand, uneven surface, and base abuts context 008 (occupation layer, calcrete floor). Is the same as context 010 (natural surface). Mirrors the cut (context 010) in Trench A, excavated in 2016.
010	20	Deposit	Nil	Calcrete bedrock, natural surface, pH 8 and Munsell White 10YR 8/1. Found at various depths across all squares depending on whether it has been cut to form a wall or floor, or remains untouched. Naturally occurs (before cultural intervention) at about 20 cm depth.
011	8	Deposit	Ceramic: 19 Glass: 170	Distinct ashy deposit of considerable depth extending across A2-3 and into A4, pH 8.5 and Munsell Black 5Y 2.5/1. Lies below context 004 (fill) and above context 008 (occupation layer, calcrete floor). Extends east for a short distance into B2 and B3. Continues further west beyond excavation zone into north-west corner of A2. Saturated with artefacts and charcoal, the remains of a burning event. Is not contained by bricks or any cuts / features. Soil is silty clay mixed with charcoal and burnt material, soft and friable, clear horizon, very easy to trowel. Containing large number (90+) buttons, wooden spool, fabric, corset clasps, metal, printed paper, glass syringe, medicine bottles.
012	-	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 008 for posthole in D8, 15 cm x 19 cm diameter, oval shape. Contains remains of wooden post.
013	-	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (012) in D8. Friable brown soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3, with inclusions of wood from wooden post.
014	-	Cut	Nil	Annex area in D7-8, E7-8. Cut into calcrete bedrock to form walls and stepped area. Cut has straight eastern wall, stepped western and northern walls.
015	-	Cut	Nil	Flat, calcrete floor across D6-8, associated with wall and step (014).
016	-	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 015 for posthole in D7-8.
017	-	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (016) in D7-8. Friable brown soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/3.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
018	-	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (019) in D8. Friable brown soil, pH 9 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/4.
019	-	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 015 for posthole in D8, round shape.
020	20	Cut	Nil	Cut into context 008 for posthole in A6. Rectangular shape, 12 cm x 9.5 cm, cut at an angle into the calcrete floor.
021	20	Deposit	Nil	Fill for posthole (020) in A6. Friable brown soil, pH 8.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4, contains remains of wooden post.

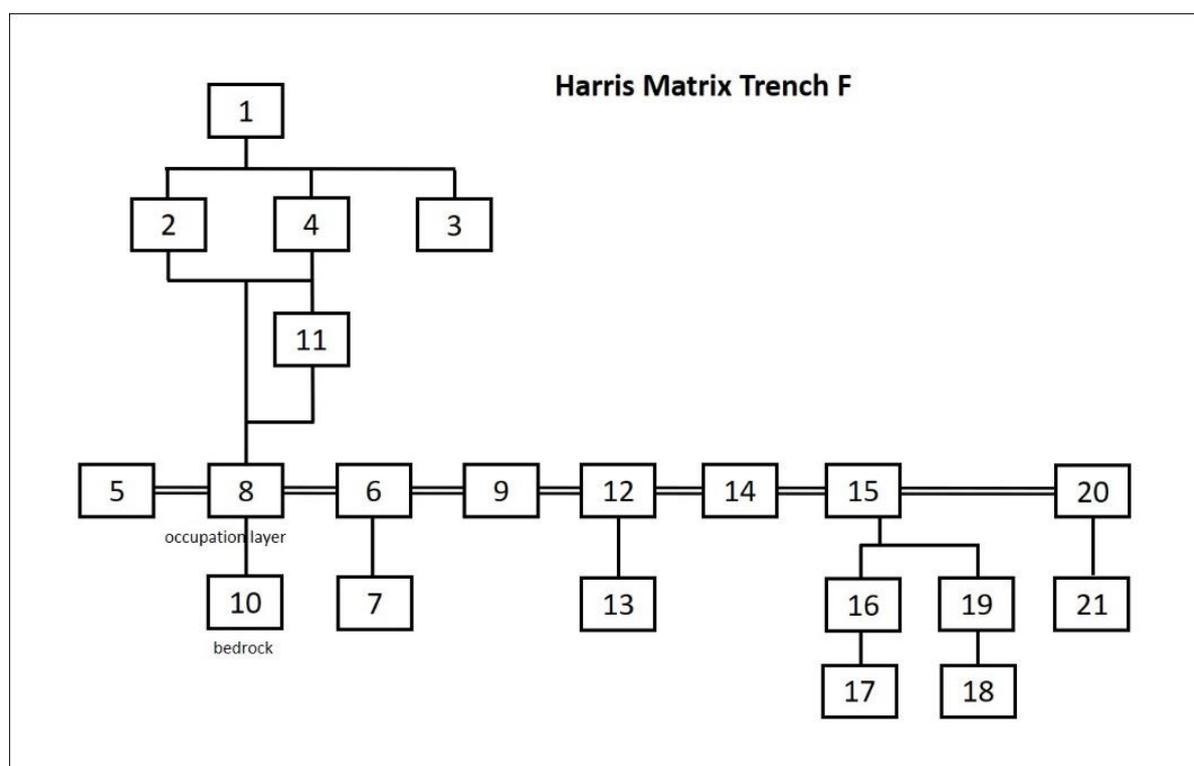


Figure 7.26 Harris matrix for Trench F.

Figure 7.27 shows Trench F at completion of the excavation. The northern and eastern walls formed the dugout boundary, cut to form reasonably straight walls (context 009) with a right-angle corner in square D2. The remains of flattened kerosene tins were found in association with the walls, sometimes with the remains of a hessian lining. ‘Kero’ tins were known to have been used in rural South Australia to build house walls, with wooden poles often used as supports. The example shown in Figure 7.28 dates from the 1920s, but this practice was known from colonial times, and the kerosene tins found in Trench F may have been used for a similar purpose.

Similarly to Trench A, there was evidence of rock tumble, especially in the north-east corner (B2–3, C2–3); this appeared to be part of the wall that had collapsed into the interior. In one area (C6–7), the remains of window glass were found. The metal artefact layer found in context 004 continued west into the unexcavated areas of the dugout interior. To the east, adjoining the dugout wall, there was a second separate structure, labelled as an annex (contexts 014, 15). A channel, possibly for drainage, had been deliberately cut between the main structure and the annex. The GPR reflections (Figure 7.29) show the floor as strong planar reflections, similar to those found in Trench A.

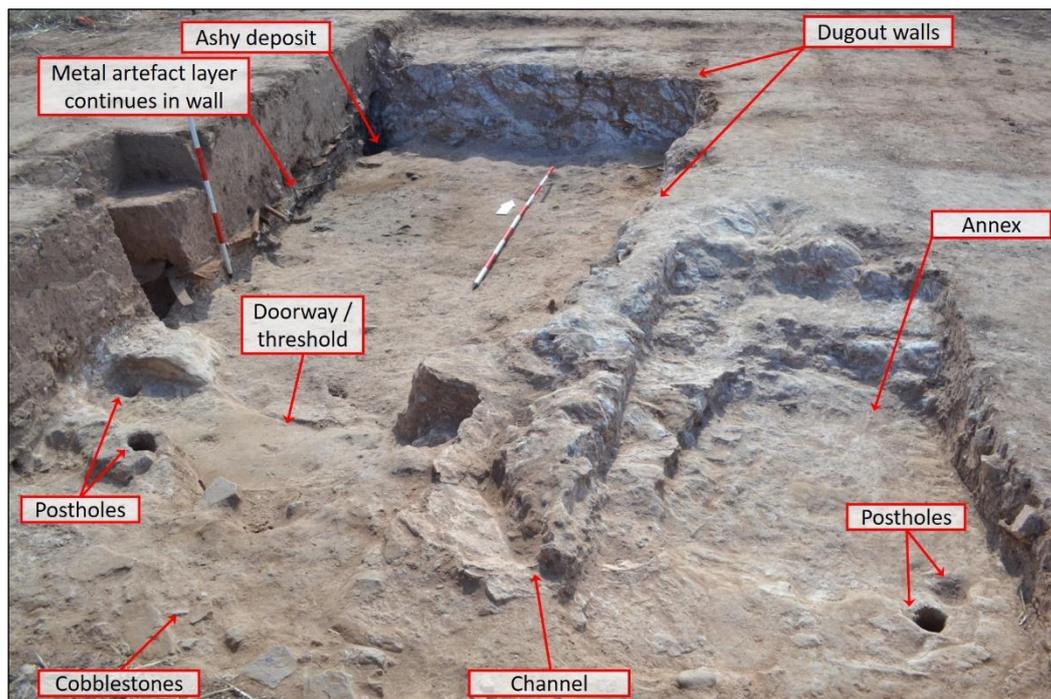


Figure 7.27 Trench F at completion of excavation. Looking north. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.



Figure 7.28 House at Poochera, Eyre Peninsula, built in the 1920s from flattened kerosene tins and poles cut from local pine trees. Photos: Susan Arthure.

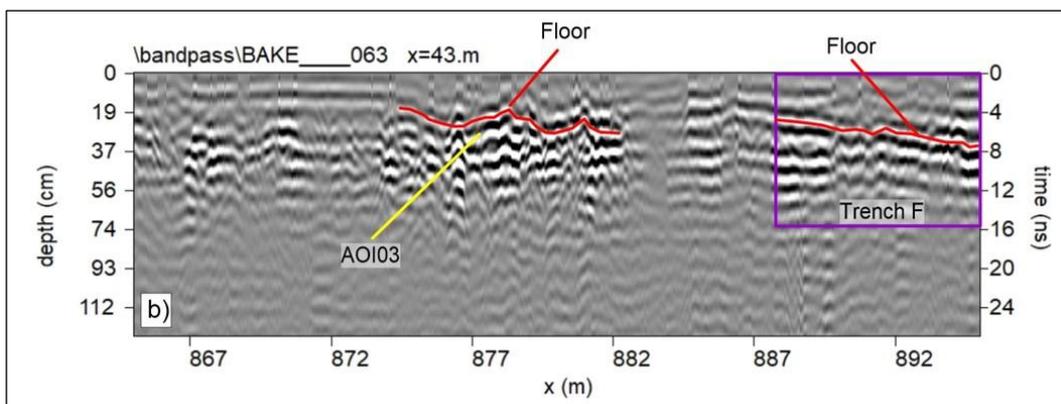


Figure 7.29 GPR reflection profile 63 showing the floors (red line) in Trench F and a similar profile for the dugout excavated in Trench A (AOI3). Section: Kelsey Lowe.

Interestingly, the doorway /threshold was not in the eastern wall as expected. Instead, it faced south, out of the prevailing winds. The threshold had been cut as a curve into the calcrete bedrock (Figure 7.30). Its smooth, even surface resembled a flagstone, and was worn down in the centre, possibly the result of years of foot traffic. The dugout interior was at a slightly lower level, so anybody entering would have stepped down into it. To each side of the threshold was a low wall, with two postholes near the western-most wall. One of these was situated in the centre of a raised, round ‘platform’ (context 006); the other (context 020) was beside the wall and contained the remains of a wooden post. A brass door knob was excavated at this location.



Figure 7.30 Trench F, context 008, square B7, the doorway/threshold. Looking north. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.

Situated across D,E7 and D,E8, next to the dwelling and near the doorway, the annex had a straight-cut eastern wall, but was stepped gently at the western and northern walls. Three postholes (contexts 012, 016, 018) were identified at the front, two of which are visible in Figure 7.27. Near these postholes, a metal peg was found embedded deep into the calcrete surface, possibly used to restrain an animal. Annexes are familiar in the Irish tradition. There is even a word in the Irish language—*púicín*—for this type of structure, meaning a type of dark or cramped space such as ‘a tiny hut with a single opening for sheltering geese, lambs or kids’ (Magan 2020:37). Material in the National Folklore Collection refers to the building of ‘a small outhouse or two for a cow and an ass or a goat’ once the main house had been completed ‘inside and out’ (NFC 1937a). This *púicín*, at less than 2 m in length, would have been too small for a cow, but may well have housed geese or hens with the stepped area providing a roosting spot.

A cobbled surface (Figure 7.31) was exposed at 70 cm depth across squares A, B, C and D8; it extended up to the doorway and across to the front of the annex (context 005). This surface was constructed using different types of stones, including slag, brick, bluestone and sandstone. The stones ranged in size from 5–8 cm, with some retaining their natural shape and others cut to size. This cobblestone surface adjoined the cobblestone path (context 034) excavated in Trench A the previous year.

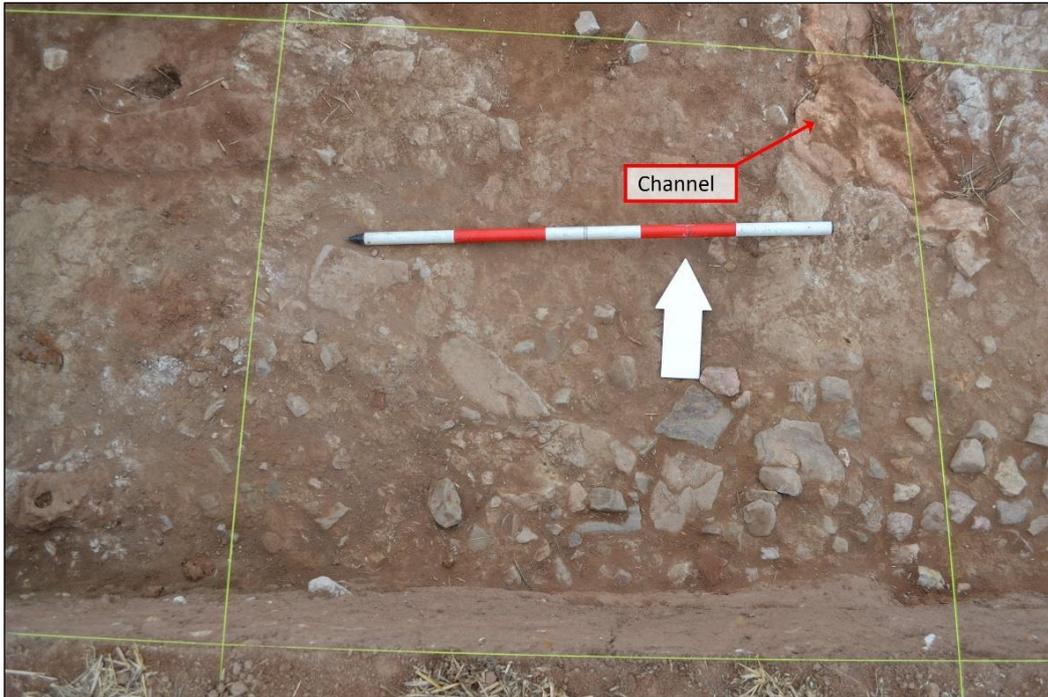


Figure 7.31 Cobblestones in B8, extending west into A8 and east into C8. Channel between main structure and annex visible at top right. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.

In the north-west corner, extending through A2–3 and into A4, an ashy deposit (context 011) was excavated, 8 cm in depth and saturated with artefacts. Lying below context 004 (fill) and above context 008 (occupation layer), the deposit extended east for a short distance into B2–3, and west into the unexcavated north-west corner of A2. Many artefacts were found in a cluster in A2, most of them showing signs of fire damage. They included the remains of a small tin, more than 90 buttons, a wooden sewing spool, fabric, corset pieces, printed paper, two purse clasps, a glass syringe and more than three dozen patent medicine bottles. Nearby, in A4, more medicine bottles were excavated, including small vials, peppermint oil and other home remedy bottles, Bovril jars and eau de cologne bottles (Figure 7.32). This ashy deposit was interpreted as a one-time burning event, since the artefacts and ash were interspersed with no clear stratigraphy or discernible layers.



Figure 7.32 Trench F, context 008, square A4, cluster of medicine and eau de cologne bottles in situ, close to ashy deposit in A2–3. Photo: Susan Arthure.

Figure 7.33 illustrates Trench F at completion of the excavation. The dugout interior and cut walls, doorway, cobblestones and annex are clearly visible.

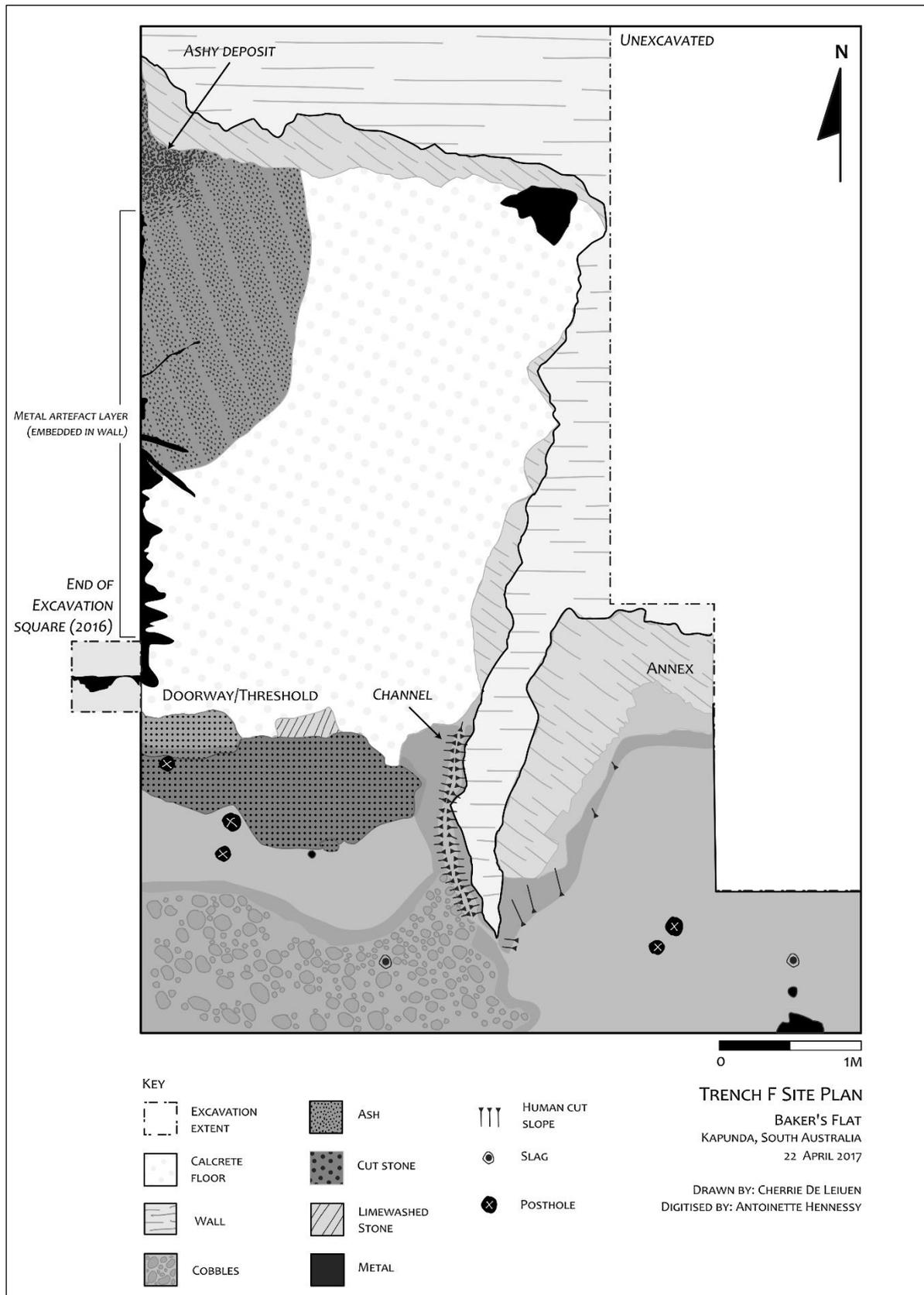


Figure 7.33 Plan drawing of Trench F at completion of excavation. Drawn by Cherrie De Leuien, digitised by Antoinette Hennessy.

Trench G, a 1 m x 2 m test trench, was established north-east of Trench F, at the northern edge of AOI7 (see Figure 7.6). The clay fill was deep—calcrete bedrock was reached at a depth of 58 cm—but very little evidence of occupation was found. Eleven ceramic and twelve glass shards were excavated in the top 20 cm, as well as one large piece of blue enamelled metal at 40 cm (a saucepan, this may have contributed to the magnetic gradiometer anomaly). It should be noted, however, that the depth of fill was consistent with the dugout profile uncovered in Trenches A and F, and that the Trench G location may be a reasonable starting point for any future excavations. A summary of Trench G contexts is provided in Table 7.4, the stratigraphy is illustrated in the Harris matrix following (Figure 7.34).

Table 7.4 Summary of Trench G contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
001	10	Deposit	Ceramic: 8 Glass: 8	Top soil / fill, surface layer of wheat stubble. Plough lines evident.
002	35	Deposit	Nil	Sterile natural deposit of reddish-brown hard clay on top of calcrete bedrock, found in northern part of the trench only. Less than 1 cm deep. Deemed to be the natural soil cover.
004*	58	Deposit	Ceramic: 3 Glass: 4	Top soil / fill, same as context 004 in Trenches A and F. Very few artefacts, one large piece of metal.
010*	-	Deposit	Nil	Calcrete bedrock, natural surface, same as context 010 in Trenches A and F.

* Contexts 004 and 010 were named as such because they had the same profiles as those contexts in Trenches A and F.

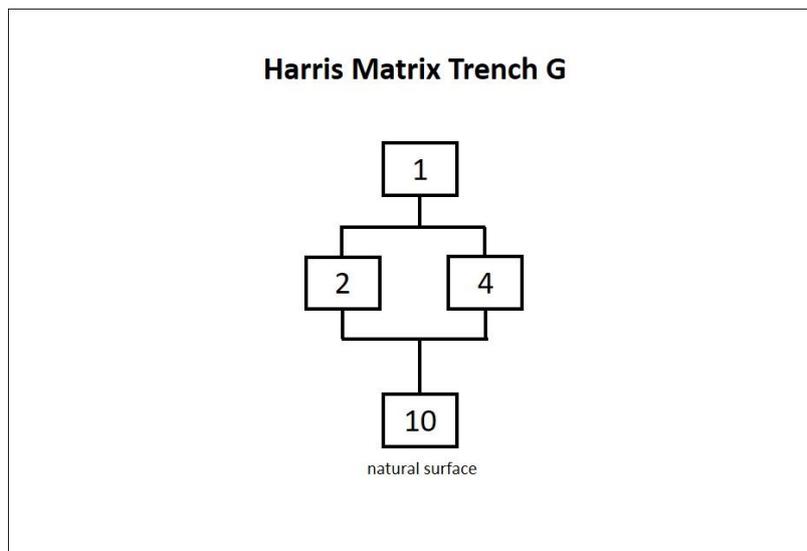


Figure 7.34 Harris matrix for Trench G.

7.4 Hints of an enclosure—Trenches B, C and H

Anomaly AOI2 was sited over an area that showed both a linear and a rectilinear reflection in the gradiometer results (Figure 7.4), interpreted as potentially an enclosure and adjacent structure. It was estimated that these features might occur at a depth of about 50–60 cm based on the sensitivity of the instrument and sensor spacing (Lowe et al. 2020:10). In 2016, two trenches—B and C—were opened at this location. In both, contexts 001, 002 and 003 (Table 7.5 and Table 7.6) were equivalent to the same contexts in Trench A (Table 7.1), consistent with imported top soil or fill that enabled the land to be farmed, and evidenced by the plough lines running in a north-south direction. However, context 003 reached the natural surface at a depth of 50 cm for Trench B and 30 cm for Trench C, without ever finding an artefact-rich or occupation layer equivalent to Trench A’s contexts 004 and 005 or Trench F’s contexts 004 and 008. The stratigraphy for both trenches was uncomplicated, as illustrated in the Harris matrices (Figure 7.35).

Table 7.5 Summary of Trench B contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
001	Surface	Deposit	Ceramic: 7 Glass: 1	Top soil / fill, surface layer of wheat stubble, pH 5.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3. Some small pebbles.
002	2	Deposit	Ceramic: 12 Glass: 9	Top soil / fill with plough lines running north-south, pH 5.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3.
003	50	Deposit	Ceramic: 84 Glass: 83	Top soil / fill. Plough lines continued to a total depth of 7 cm. Consistently hard compacted soil through the context. Natural surface reached at 50 cm.
004	50	Deposit	Nil	Yellow-red clay deposit, pH not recorded and Munsell Reddish Brown 5YR 4/4, on top of limestone natural surface.

Table 7.6 Summary of Trench C contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Ceramic and glass artefacts	Summary
001	Surface	Deposit	Ceramic: 1 Glass: 1	Top soil / fill, surface layer of wheat stubble, pH and Munsell not recorded.
002	3	Deposit	Ceramic: 36 Glass: 42	Top soil / fill with plough lines running north-south, pH 6.5 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3.
003	30	Deposit	Ceramic: 22 Glass: 20	Top soil / fill. Consistently hard compacted soil through the context, pH 7.0 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 5/4. Hard red clay reached at a shallower level than in Trench B, coming through at 22–25 cm rather than 40–45 cm.
004	30	Deposit	Nil	Yellow-red clay deposit, pH 7.5 and Munsell Reddish Brown 5YR 4/4, on top of limestone natural surface.

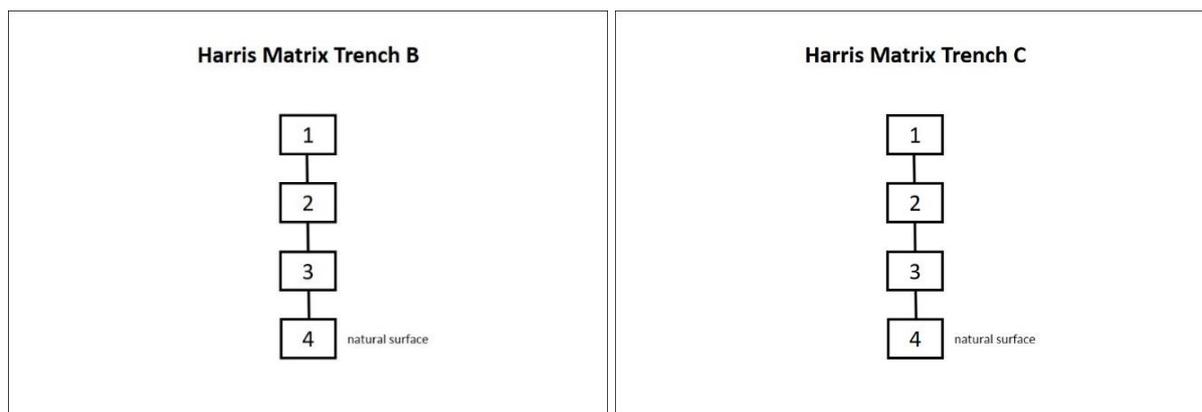


Figure 7.35 Harris matrices for Trenches B and C.

Artefacts were recovered from both trenches, mainly in contexts 002 and 003, but with no clear distribution patterning. The average size of the ceramic fragments (Figure 7.36) ranged between 15–34 cm, with Trench B having 81.5% (n=84) in this range and Trench C 83.0% (n=49). These findings are consistent with previous studies of ploughzones, which show that artefacts become fragmented and consistent in shape and size after being caught up frequently in the plough work (Dunnell and Simek 1995:308–309; Noble et al. 2019:553–554). Brooks et al. (2009:39–40) noted that horizontal stratigraphy generally remains intact through ploughing, with artefacts remaining close to their original deposition point. The results here, combined with confirmation by the landowner of the land having been repeatedly ploughed since the 1950s (pers. comm. Dale Hampel, April 2016), attest to these particular trenches being sited in a well-used ploughzone area. The presence of artefacts is most likely the result of accidental deposition, or possibly even as imports in the fill.

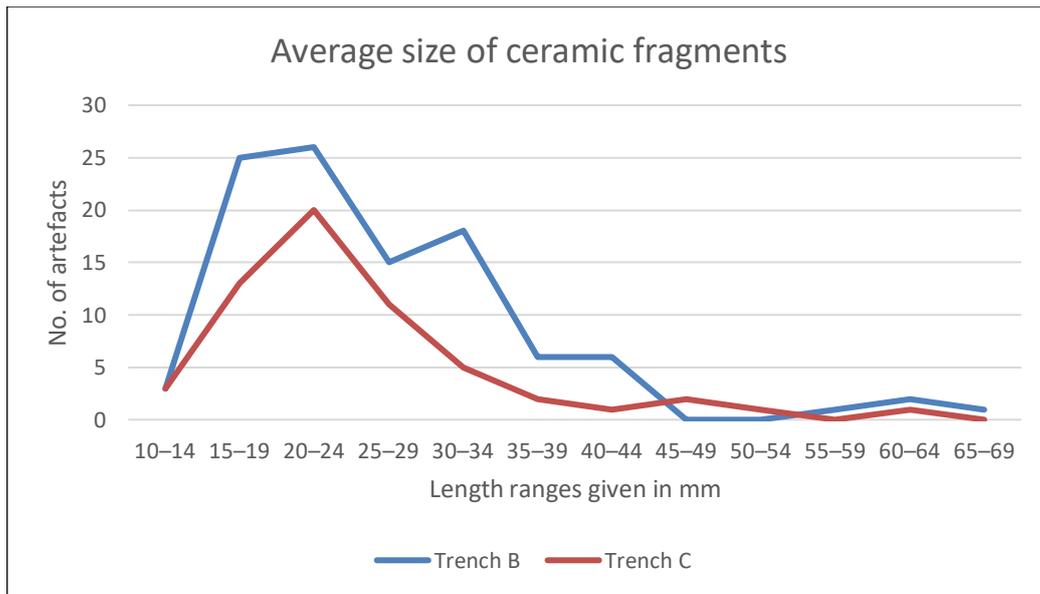


Figure 7.36 Average size of ceramic fragments in Trenches B (n=103) and C (n=59).

The 2016 excavations found no evidence of the structural features indicated by the geophysical survey, even though both instruments picked up the linear feature, the GPR as a high-amplitude reflection and the gradiometer as a positive magnetic response (Figure 7.37a). In Figure 7.37b the reflection profile highlights the feature clearly, occurring at approximately 30 cm below the surface and extending to about 60 cm depth (Lowe et al. 2020:12). However, it should be noted that the ground was extremely compacted and almost impossible to excavate using hand tools below the presumed natural surface of 50 cm in Trench B and 30 cm in Trench C.

A further excavation attempt was made in 2017, primarily to address the unanswered question in the geophysical results that the features might occur at a depth of 50–60 cm. This time, a mechanical excavator was used. However, the backhoe had excavated 7 m of a planned 15 m Trench H when the bucket arm snapped in the unforgiving soil and was unable to be repaired. This work confirmed that the 2016 excavations had gone through the fill to reach natural surface (Table 7.7); it then continued through the natural surface for another 30–44 cm but did not find any archaeological feature. However, an 8 m length remained unexcavated and, given the clear magnetic signature in the geophysical results, it is possible that this area does contain the remains of a wall or a fence with metal components.

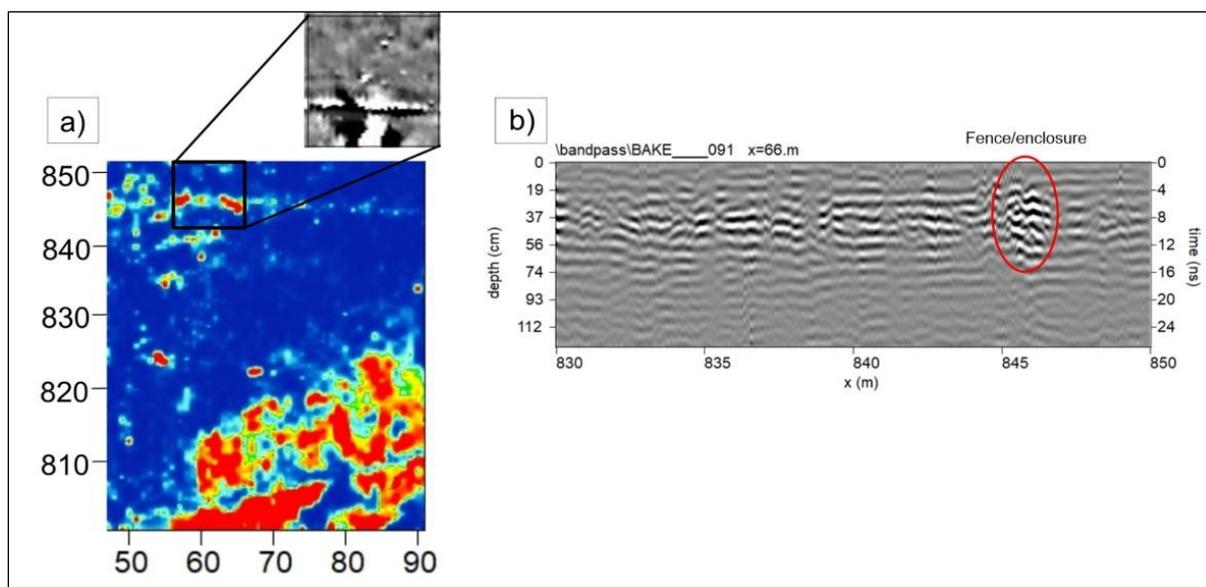


Figure 7.37 GPR amplitude slice map from 15–40 cm showing a) the enclosure feature with a 20 m grid inset of the gradiometer map, and b) reflection profile 91 displaying the enclosure feature (red circle) presumably around 30–60 cm below surface. Map and section: Kelsey Lowe.

Table 7.7 Total depths excavated in Trench H over the first 5 m length.

	Total depth (cm)	Depth of fill (cm)	Depth of natural surface (cm)
0 m	80	36	44
1 m	80	36	44
2 m	78	39	39
3 m	73	34	39
4 m	79	44	35
5 m*	79	44	30

* The 6 m and 7 m marks could not be measured because the excavated dirt was still in the trench when the backhoe failed

7.5 A puzzling round structure—Trench E

The site of Trench E had been used as a dumping ground by the landowner for many years. Once the six tonnes of entangled metal were cleared, the surface was fairly flat but dug into the slope of the hill, strewn with mixed rubble of brick, slag and stone, and with a scatter of metal, ceramic and glass artefacts. Although the rubble fragments were not in any discernible archaeological context (Figure 7.38), it is likely that they had originally formed part of the walls of the round structure that was uncovered here, as the landowner’s strategy in the 1950s was to tumble the walls of any remaining buildings and leave the rubble in place.



Figure 7.38 Trench E, context 001, photo taken from top of slope looking east, showing the string lines and surrounding rubble. Photo: Natasha Marshall.

The top contexts in Trench E were different from those of the other trenches, primarily because the top soil/fill (contexts 001 and 002) was mixed with dumped material that prohibited ploughing and consequent plough lines. However, the occupation layer/natural surface proved to be the same calcrete surface in all (i.e., context 005 in Trench A, 008 in Trench F, 004 in Trenches B and C, 005, 006, 007 and 009 in Trench E). A summary of Trench E contexts is given in Table 7.8, and the stratigraphy is illustrated in the Harris matrix (Figure 7.39).

Three stones in a row were the initial centre point of the trench, located close to the north arrow in Figure 7.38. As excavation continued, these stones emerged as a circular stone feature. When this was further exposed and cleaned, a small deposit of ash residue was found in the centre, indicating that it had been used as a firepit. Eventually, the stones in this firepit were pedestalled and removed, but their location can be seen in Figure 7.40.

Table 7.8 Summary of Trench E contexts.

Context	End depth (cm)	Context type	Artefacts	Summary
001	4	Deposit	Ceramics: 4 Glass: 6	Surface layer used as dump. Loose rubble and grass beneath six tonnes of metal, pH and Munsell not recorded.
002	40	Deposit	Ceramics: 95 Glass: 250	Overburden of loose top soil / fill. Compacted but easily worked, pH 8.0 and Munsell Brown 7.5YR 4/3. Three stones in a row excavated to natural surface, exposing a circular stone firepit with small ash deposit; this was located immediately south of context 004 near doorway and inside the building.
003	40	Structure / feature	Nil	Small structure in north-west corner of trench, two stone courses with rectangular dimensions 60 x 40 cm, end depth 40 cm. Structure consistent with shape of chimney / small kiln / trough. Filled with clean red sand, 30 cm deep, which was removed. Sand equivalent to that found in dry creek at nearby Kapunda Mines site. Base contained remains of a square-cornered iron rim / collar with long iron bolts holding three wooden slats in place, now much deteriorated and crumbling on exposure. A single thin lens of charcoal was found 10 cm above the base below the stonework and above the metal rim, but there were no other indications of burning or use. Below the iron rim on the base was white clay / calcrete natural surface.
004	10	Structure / feature	Nil	Curved wall, single course of stones (some soft and degraded), 10 cm high on average. Beginning at east edge of Trench E and curving west for 2 m towards context 003. Sitting on natural surface. South of the wall, on natural surface, and inside the structure, a circular stone firepit with small ash deposit.
005	35	Interface	Ceramics: 1 Glass: 2	4 x 1 m extension to southern end of trench (E-s), adjacent and equivalent to contexts 006 and 007. Hard, compacted natural calcrete surface, with white slurry layer, and some large rocks at western end.
006	20	Interface	Ceramics: 2 Glass: 0	2 x 1 m extension of hard, compacted, flat white clay / calcrete surface adjacent context 007. Appearance of white slurry on top of natural calcrete surface, possibly to form a smooth and level surface.
007	20	Interface	Ceramics: 5 Glass: 3	2 x 1 m extension leading up to and abutting context 003, adjacent and equivalent to context 006. Hard, compacted, flat white clay / calcrete surface. Appearance of white slurry on top of natural calcrete surface, possibly to form a smooth and level surface.
008	-	Deposit	Ceramics: 4 Glass: 2	2 x 2 m section directly behind context 003. A built-up area of compacted clay, pebbles and stones up to 12 cm in size. Wind break? Area was exposed and cleaned, but excavation not carried out to any depth. Clearing of north-west corner exposed a void backfilled with red clay, possibly a rain water / drainage channel.
009	70	Interface; Structure / feature	Ceramics: 4 Glass: 2	2 x 2 m section to the north of context 006 and cut by curved single-course stone wall (context 004). Hard, compacted calcrete surface with slurry layer (same as contexts 005, 006, 007).

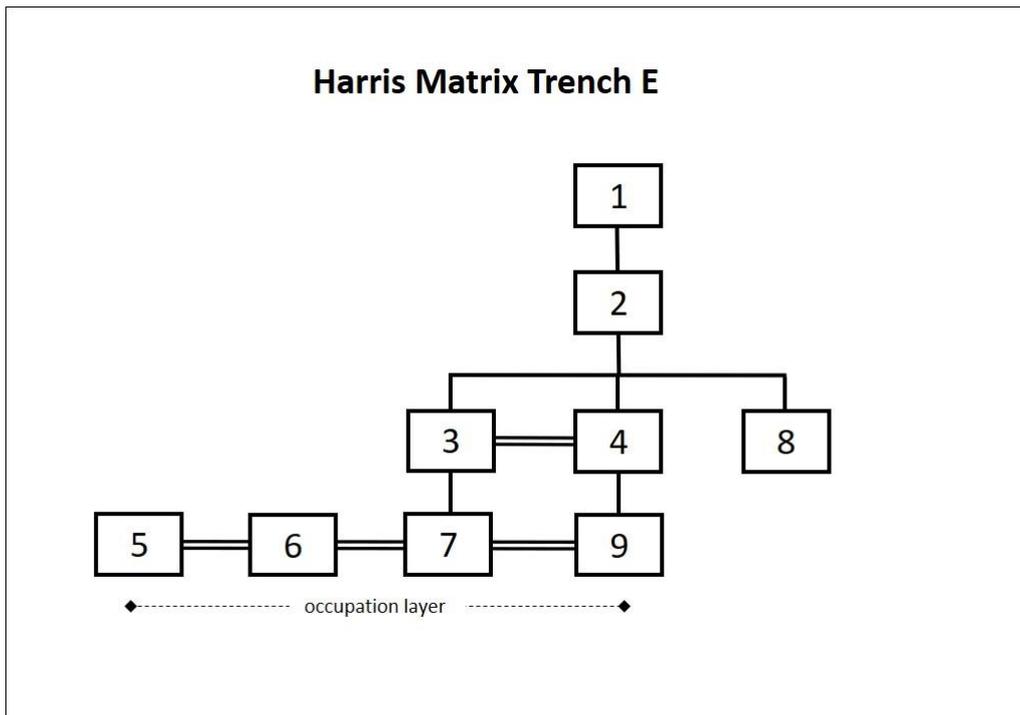


Figure 7.39 Harris matrix for Trench E.

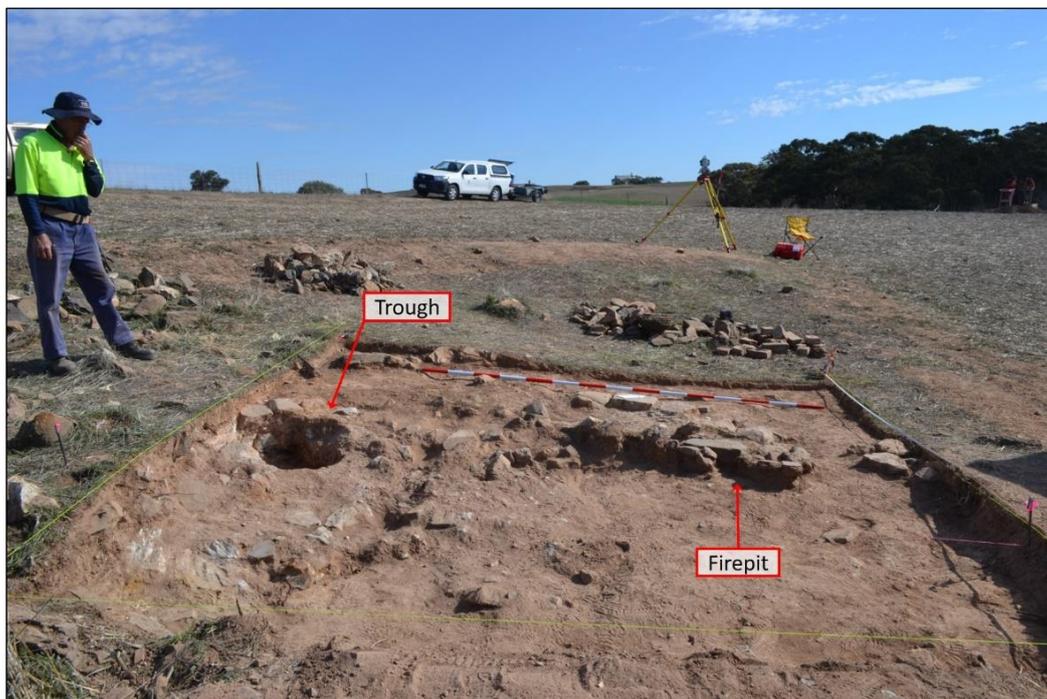


Figure 7.40 Trench E showing the trough and firepit features under excavation. Looking north-west. Photo: Nadine Varga.

Another structural feature was uncovered west of the firepit. This was excavated as a discrete feature (context 003), revealing a small rectangular void cut into the calcrete and filled with sand. It resembled a small trough or the base of a squat chimney (Figure 7.41). In front of the trough was an oval-shaped platform, constructed using highly compacted sand. Brittle and easy to cut through, there were ripples running across it consistent with the surface having been dampened and then set. Measuring 88.5 cm across at its widest point, and 54 cm deep at its deepest point, it was edged using small cut stones. The back wall of the trough consisted of two courses, each of two stones, whilst the other walls comprised the natural calcrete bedrock. Overall, the trough measured 60 cm x 40 cm, and had an end depth of 40 cm. During excavation, it was found to be filled to a depth of 30 cm with clean, red, highly magnetic sand (Figure 7.42a). No artefacts were found in this sandy fill, and it was consistent in colour and texture with sand found lining a dry creek at the nearby Kapunda Mines site. There was a single thin lens of charcoal (4.2 cm wide and 1.5 cm deep) in the back wall 10 cm above the base, but this was not evident in the sandy fill, and there were no other indications of burning or use. On the base were the remains of a square-cornered iron frame, 2.8 cm high, with long iron bolts holding three wooden slats in place (Figure 7.42b and c). Both the iron and timber were greatly deteriorated and crumbled on exposure, but had functioned as a support of some kind directly on top of the natural calcrete surface.



Figure 7.41 Trench E trough, showing platform at the front and stone wall at the back. Looking north-west.
Photo: Rachel Hagan.

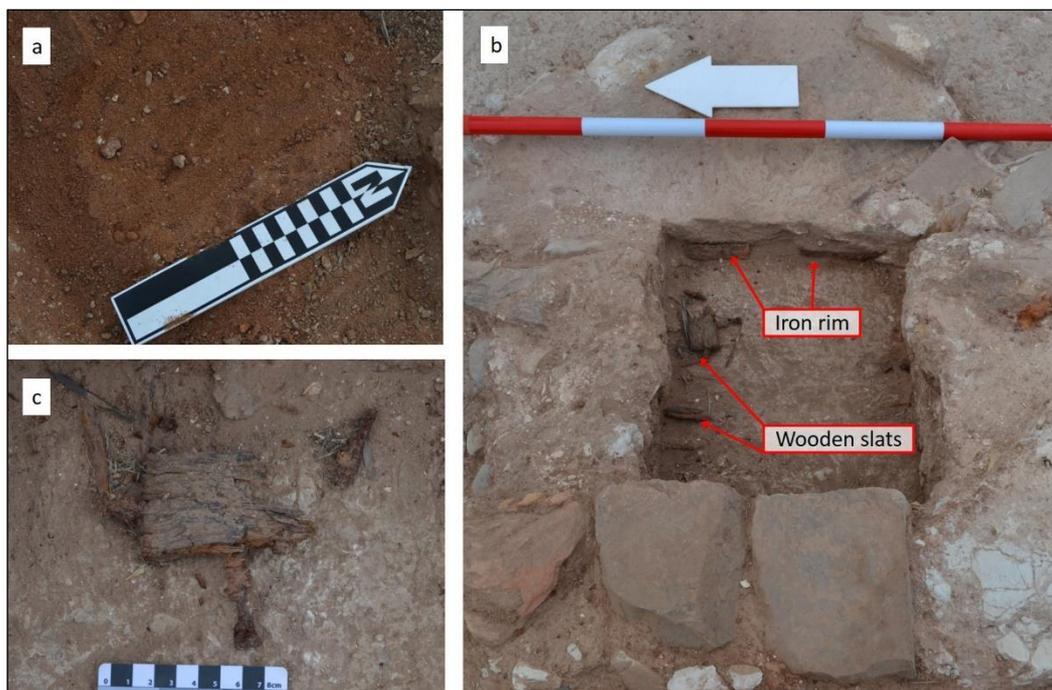


Figure 7.42 Details from the trough (Trench E context 003) showing a) sand fill; b) plan view, showing iron rim and wooden slats; and c) close-up of wooden slat and iron bolt. Photos: a) Bob Stone; b) and c) Susan Arthure.

A single-course stone wall was excavated adjacent to the northern edge of the firepit (context 004), which curved west to meet the trough feature (context 003). This wall was found to be directly on top of the natural surface and had no foundations. Figure 7.43 shows the curved wall and round nature of the Trench E structure. Note that the natural surface inside the structure was the compacted, white clay also found in the other trenches. However, here it was covered with a thin layer of white lime slurry (contexts 005, 006, 007, 009). This slurry surface was smooth and consistent across the entire trench. It contained barely discernible pick or chisel marks, possibly scratched out to create an even surface as it followed the downward slope of the hillside. In addition, there were distinctive ripples in the slurry running south-east from the trough, as if a bucket of limewater or lime solution had been poured over it. The inference that this was an anthropogenic surface was reinforced when the imprint of the base of a bucket was found at the south-west corner on the surface near the trough (Figure 7.44). Tests carried out at a later date found that calcrete rock samples from Baker's Flat, when saturated, easily break down to form a soft powder. After adding more water, the limestone mixture becomes a smooth paste that would be suitable for creating a smooth flat surface (pers. comm. Bob Stone, October 2016).



Figure 7.43 Trench E at completion of excavation, looking south. Photo: Susan Arthure.

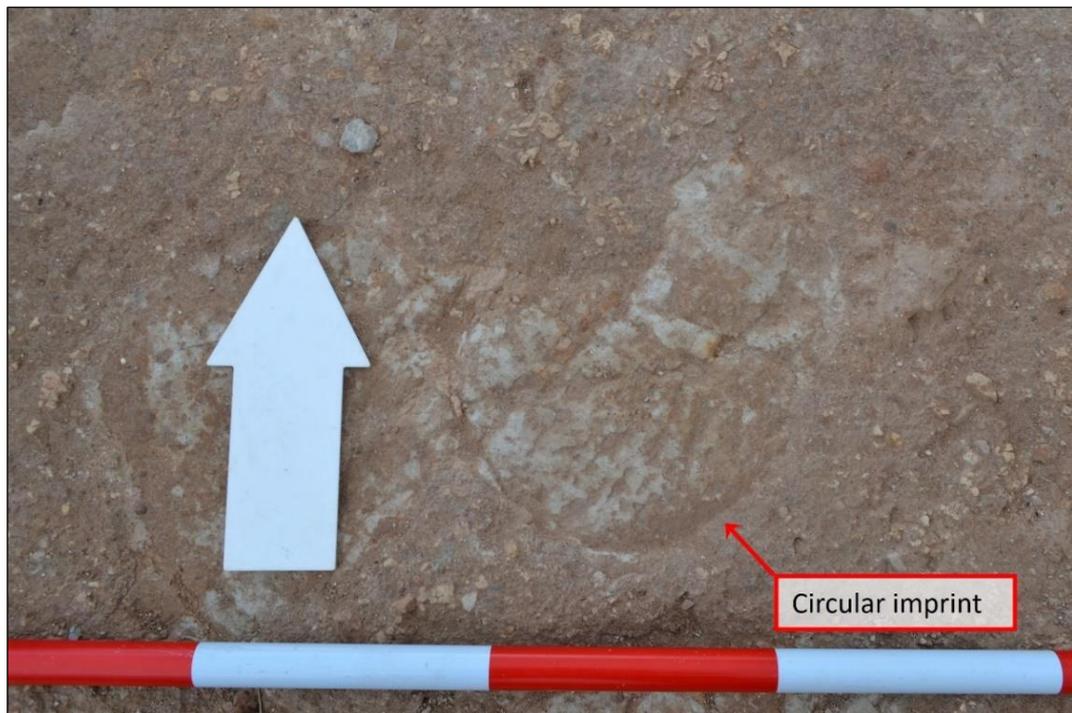


Figure 7.44 Trench E, circular imprint, consistent with bucket base, on surface near trough feature. Looking north. Photo: Susan Arthure.

Two further areas of interest were found in this trench. Firstly, a raised area, visible behind the trough in Figure 7.43, contained compacted red clay, pebbles, and stones up to 12 cm in size (context 008). A void in the north-west corner had been backfilled with red clay, possibly as a drainage channel. The compacted nature of the surface may have allowed it to operate as a path around the outside of the structure. Secondly, a clearly defined entranceway at the western edge of the curved wall consisted of a row of flat stones, with an outside edging row of stone, slag and red brick (Figure 7.45). Inside the threshold were the remains of two timber posts level with the floor surface. These were 82 cm apart, consistent with a doorway. The firepit was located just inside the entranceway alongside the curved wall.

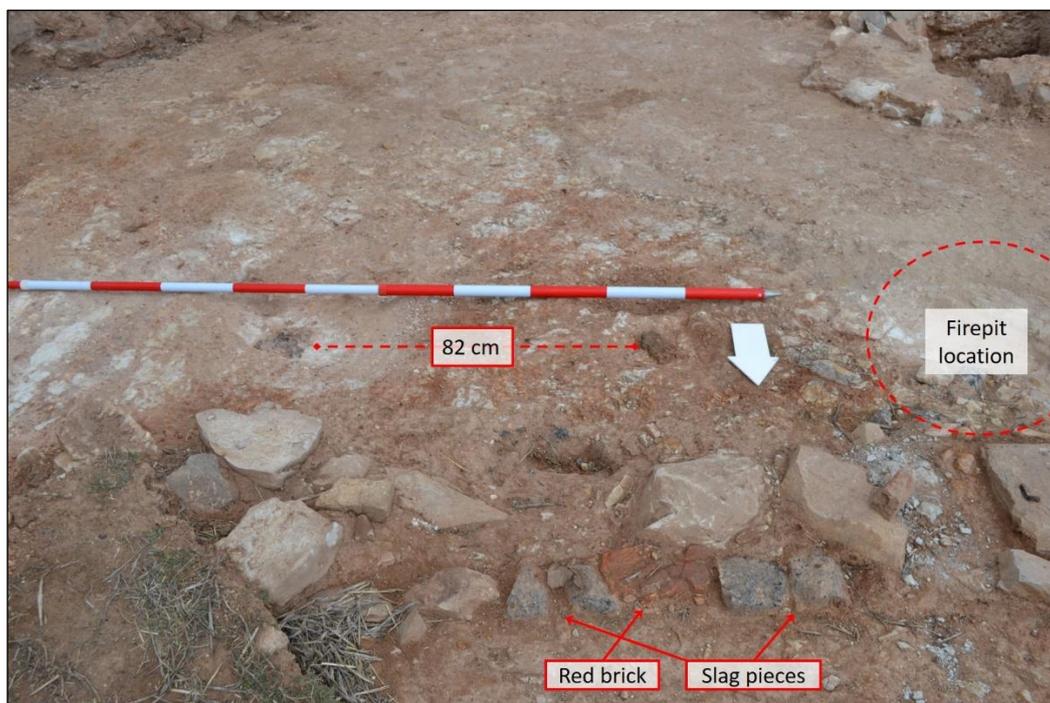


Figure 7.45 Trench E, entranceway showing the threshold with edging of slag, brick and stone. Two door posts are inside, level with the surface. The firepit location is outlined. Photo: Susan Arthure.

The plan of Trench E shown in Figure 7.46 offers an overall view of this puzzling structure. The excavated area is round in shape, although the south-west corner of the trench indicated a possible right angle turn at this point which would make it D-shaped, and the internal diameter is almost 4 m at its widest point. Clearly, it is not a house in the traditional vernacular style, but it has been formed in a similar way to the dwelling excavated in Trenches A and F, by digging out a floor from the hillside and creating a shelter wall using available materials. The slurry floor was clean and unstained, implying that this was not a messy or dirty agricultural area but, rather, an area that was deliberately kept clean. The

presence of a firepit, a reasonably elaborate entranceway, and a trough of unknown function imply that this was not a simple storage shed.

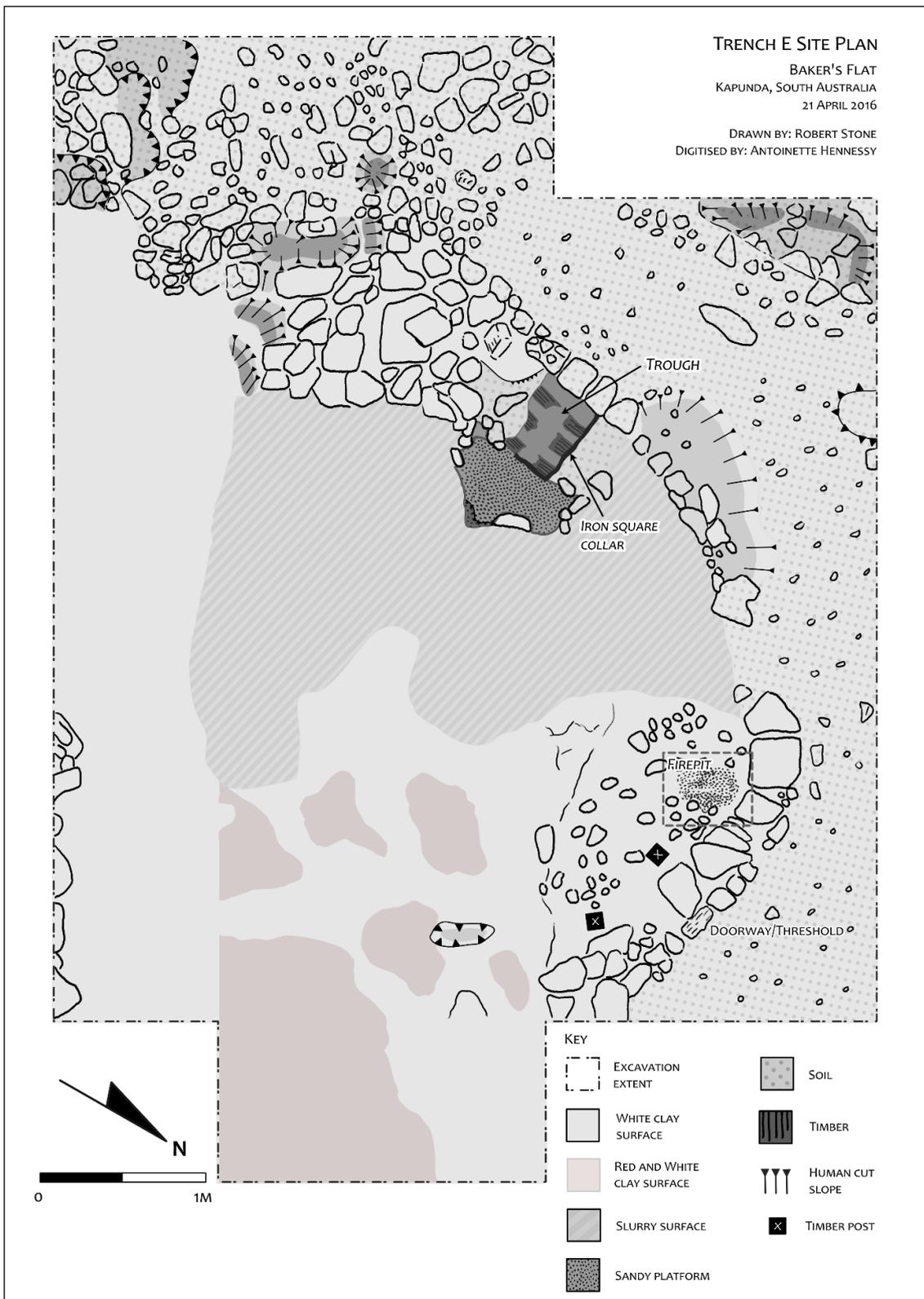


Figure 7.46 Plan drawing of Trench E at completion of excavation. Drawn by Bob Stone, digitised by Antoinette Hennessy.

7.6 The dance floor

The area reported to have been used as a gathering place, known locally as the dance floor, lies in the eastern section of the geophysical survey grid (Figure 7.1, Figure 7.2). The soil in this location is heavily compacted and was not tested by excavation. However, both the magnetic gradiometer and GPR results showed an extended linear cluster of small responses (Figure 7.47). The GPR reflection profiles, in particular, showed a strong planar reflection occurring approximately 40 cm below the surface, most likely imaging a hard-compacted soil layer (Figure 7.47b). The pedestrian survey carried out in 2017 found very few artefacts on the surface—two ceramic and six glass fragments—but a linear accumulation of slag was clearly visible. The evidence, though limited, is consistent with an area that has become highly compacted due to repeated trampling of the ground surface. The slag could have operated as a boundary line or been used as edging for the fires that are reported to have been lit regularly on the dance floor ‘to liven the scene’ (Bettison 1975).

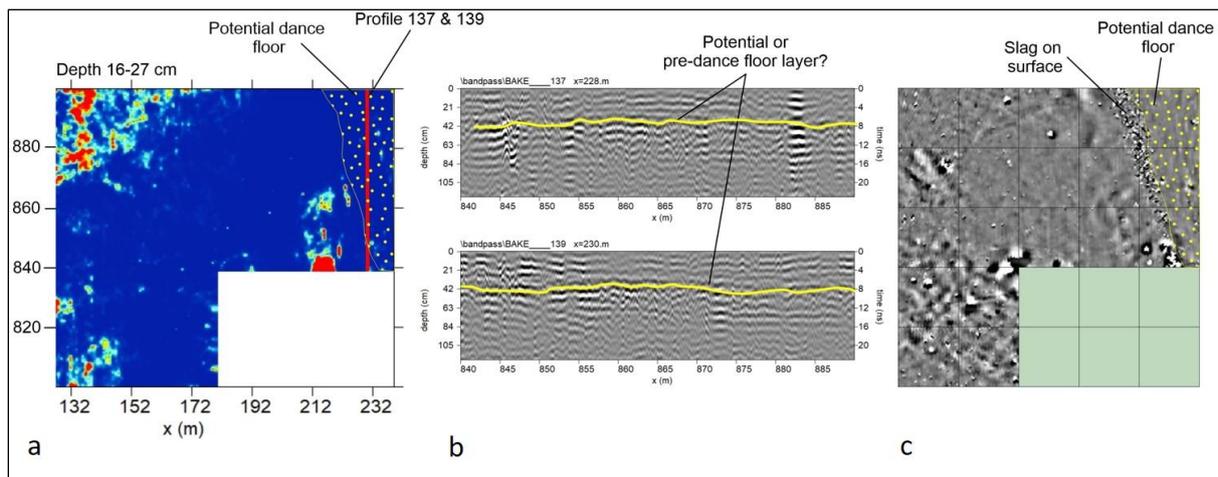


Figure 7.47 a) Amplitude slice-map of upper surface layers showing the location of reflection profiles 137 and 139 (red line) and the potential dance floor; b) reflection profiles 137 and 139 showing strong amplitude planar reflection (yellow lines) estimated at around 35–65 cm below the surface; c) gradiometer map of the potential dance floor highlighting the concentration of slag on the surface (grid squares are 20 m²). Maps and sections: Kelsey Lowe.

7.7 Use of metal as a construction material

Large quantities of metal were excavated from Trenches A and F, primarily from the clay fill (context 004 in A and F) and occupation layer (context 005 in Trench A and 008 in F). A breakdown of the number of artefacts per context is shown in Table 7.9. The numbers are similar across both trenches, with 7,920 metal fragments found in Trench A, of which 7,855 (99.17%) are undiagnostic, and 7,991 in Trench F, of which 7,981 (99.87%) are undiagnostic. Across both trenches, the diagnostic pieces are predominantly lengths of barbed wire, sections of galvanised iron wash tubs or iron alloy cooking pots, wash tub or cooking pot handles, and bed parts. For example, in Trench F, of the ten pieces that are diagnostic, four are heavy iron alloy handles of the type used on wash tubs or cooking pots, four are from a large cooking pot mended using copper alloy wire, one is a large segment of a wash tub with an oval-shaped handle, and one is a section of iron alloy bedstead. For both trenches, the dominant metal type is iron alloy—96.79% in Trench A (n=7,666; total weight 52.257 kg), 97.97% in Trench F (n=7,829; total weight 35.149 kg), alongside small quantities of zinc alloy, copper alloy and composites (Table 7.10). Note that a small number of metal items, consistent with personal or domestic use, were excavated from Trenches A and F, and are analysed in Chapter 8, Section 8.4.

Table 7.9 Number of metal artefacts from Trenches A and F per context.

Context*	Trench A	Trench F
002	1	0
003	26	0
003A	8	N/A
004	6,568	1,175
005	1,268	14
008	0	6,431
011	18	351
014	31	20
Total	7,920	7,991

* Metal was not found in every context.

Table 7.10 Types of metal found in Trenches A and F, with weights for each type given in grams.

Metal	Trench A	Weight (g)	Trench F	Weight (g)
Copper alloy	4	4.8	2	4.3
Iron alloy	7,666	52,257.2	7,829	35,149.0
Iron alloy / cast iron	1	334.5	0	0
Iron alloy / copper alloy	1	21.7	4	480.0
Iron alloy / enamel	1	116.4	0	0
Zinc alloy	247	1,231.4	156	358.4
Total	7,920	53,966.0	7,991	35,991.7

Of particular interest, though, is the evidence for metal having been modified and re-used for structural purposes, such as erecting walls and roofs. In Trench A, almost half the metal artefacts (n=3,907; 49.33%) have been modified in some way for structural re-use (see examples in Figure 7.48).

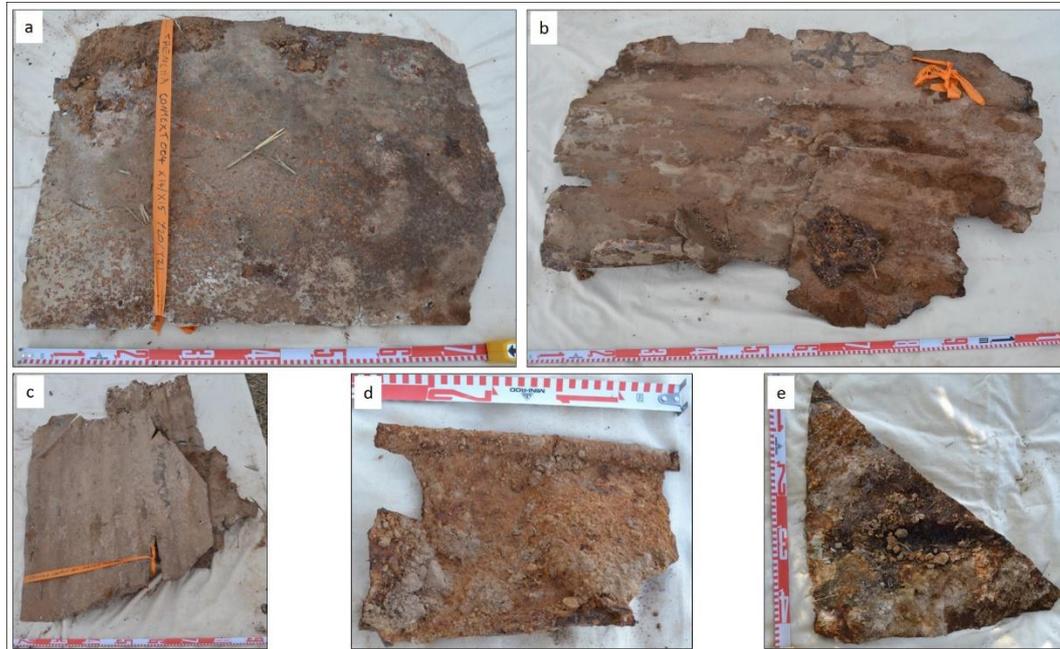


Figure 7.48 Photos taken in the field during excavation of Trench A: a) field artefact 017, square X14,15:Y20,21, context 004, section of flat iron sheeting with nail holes spaced at irregular intervals along all sides, 77 cm x 53 cm; b) field artefact 010, square X15:Y20,21, context 004, section of corrugated iron sheeting, 107 cm x 69 cm; c) field artefact 042, square X14,15:Y20,21, context 004, two corrugated iron sheets joined using wire, 119 cm x 87 cm; d) field artefact 087, square X16:Y18, context 005, section of flat iron sheeting with seam on one edge, 23.6 cm x 15.2 cm; e) field artefact 078, square X15:Y17, context 004, corrugated iron sheet cut to a triangular shape, 40.5 cm x 42.5 cm, with hessian adhesions. Photos: Meg Haas.

The vast majority of these are iron alloy (n=3,866; 98.95%), with the remainder being zinc alloy (n=41; 1.05%). Of the iron alloy fragments, most (n=3,791; 98.06%) are iron sheets that were either flat to begin with or have been deliberately flattened; some have seams and nail holes. Several are consistent with being kerosene cans, in particular one artefact (BFK/0334) where the round metal screw cap and oval-shaped handle are still present and another (BFK/0351) where a large fragment measuring 28.81 cm x 27.09 cm has two straight edges, a rounded corner and two round nail holes. Twenty pieces of flattened iron alloy have hessian or thatch adhesions, consistent with being used for roofing. Figure 7.49 shows a small section of iron sheeting with remnant thatch and hessian material. Eighteen lengths of wire, ranging

in thickness from 3 mm to 13 mm, are bent to form loops or hooks, wrapped around each other, or otherwise curved. Of the 41 fragments of flat zinc sheeting, five (12.20%) have round or rectangular nail holes.

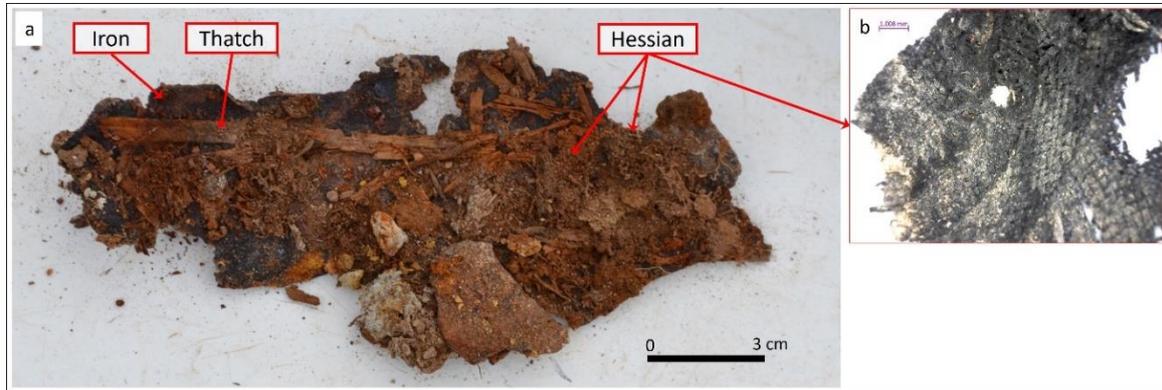


Figure 7.49 a) Small section of iron sheeting with adhesions of old thatch and hessian material. Removed from Trench A, context 004, square X16:Y18; b) Close-up image of hessian with nail hole. Photos: Cherrie De Leuven/Catherine Morton.

In Trench F, just over half of the metal artefacts (4,274; 53.49%), all iron alloy, have been modified in some way for structural re-use. The majority of these (n=4,143; 96.93%) are iron sheets that are either flat or have been deliberately flattened, some with seams and nail holes, and consistent with originally having been kerosene cans or large fruit tins. Figure 7.50 shows one side of a kerosene tin with seams and etched design still visible. Figure 7.51 shows a section of corrugated iron sheeting with seams and nail holes. Further examples can be seen in Figure 7.52. Some pieces (n=69; 1.61%) have organic adhesions, identified as the remains of thatch or hessian material. A small number (n=51; 1.19%) of wire lengths, ranging in thickness from 2 mm to 10 mm, are looped, wrapped around each other, flattened or otherwise entwined. Three sections of iron sheeting, two of them galvanised, have been cut to a triangular shape, an example of which can be seen in Figure 7.52e. In addition, 156 unmodified pieces of zinc alloy sheeting were excavated from Trench F. Although none have nail holes (unlike in Trench A), they do appear to have been used for structural purposes, with Figure 7.53 showing a section of zinc sheeting in situ in square D6 where it was found in association with hessian material and fragments of window glass.



Figure 7.50 Photo taken in the field during excavation of Trench F of field artefact 001, square E8, context 004, one panel of a kerosene tin. Photo: Jarrad Kowlessar.



Figure 7.51 Photos taken in the field during excavation of Trench F of field artefact 010, squares A–B4, context 008, corrugated iron sheet with nail holes and seams, 80 cm x 21 cm. Photos: Jarrad Kowlessar.



Figure 7.52 Photos taken in the field during excavation of Trench F: a) field artefact 015, square B3, context 008, galvanised iron sheeting with rivets in each bump, 66.5 cm x 24.5 cm; b) field artefact 021, square B3, context 008, folded metal sheets, 43.8 cm x 21.5 cm; c) field artefact 029, square B4, context 008, part of a bucket or pot that has been flattened for re-use and tied with copper wire; d) field artefact 032, square A3, context 008, two pieces of thin, flat iron, attached, two nail holes; e) field artefact 027, square A–B2, context 008, corrugated iron sheet cut to a triangular shape with nail holes, 64.5 cm x 50 cm. Photos: a), c)–e) Mija Saeki; b) Lucas Campbell.



Figure 7.53 Trench F, square D6, context 004, zinc sheet associated with hessian and window glass. Photo: Belinda Duke.

For both trenches, iron fragments with hessian adhesions but no thatch material were interpreted as the remains of walls, with the hessian lining being assessed as providing a degree of substance and insulation. Iron with hessian and thatch adhesions was interpreted as the remains of the roof, with the hessian being used to prevent thatch fragments falling into the dwelling. A site visitor during the 2016 excavation was able to give additional information about roof construction. Pat Connell grew up in a house at Navan, about 25 km north-west of Kapunda, built by his Irish ancestors in 1858. He confirmed that the roof construction in his childhood home was the same as indicated in Trench A—corrugated iron on top being the most recent layer, thatch below, and hessian beneath the thatch (pers. comm. Pat Connell, April 2016). A site visit confirmed this (Figure 7.54).



Figure 7.54 Interior view of house built by Pat Connell’s Irish ancestors in 1858. Original thatched roof, covered later by corrugated iron sheets. Remains of hessian sheeting hang from the central rafter. Walls constructed using stone and mud, then plastered using limewash. Photo: Susan Arthure.

7.8 Summary

A range of evidence has been presented to try and understand the Baker’s Flat landscape accurately, including the results of geophysical survey, excavation, metal artefact analysis, and historical and contemporary oral testimony.

The geophysical survey results, taken overall, reveal what appear to be defined zones or living areas on the surveyed section, including potential buildings, agricultural enclosures, access paths and the dance floor (Figure 7.55) (Lowe et al. 2020:15–17). The numerous large metal artefacts excavated in the dugout interior (AOI3 and AOI7, Trenches A and F) were responsible for the rectilinear reflection highlighted in Figure 7.55. Other reflections with the same profiles are also potential buildings, and align with the clustered nature of clachan houses. Pieces of slag were found across the site, but particularly in a linear concentration that is interpreted as marking a boundary of the dance floor. An area of rectilinear and triangular enclosures (purple lines in Figure 7.55) is clearly visible in the gradiometer results. Although these fences or enclosures were not uncovered during excavation, they remain visible in the geophysical results. The Trench E structure was not picked up by the geophysical survey because of its mantle of metal discard, but excavation of this area uncovered a round building.

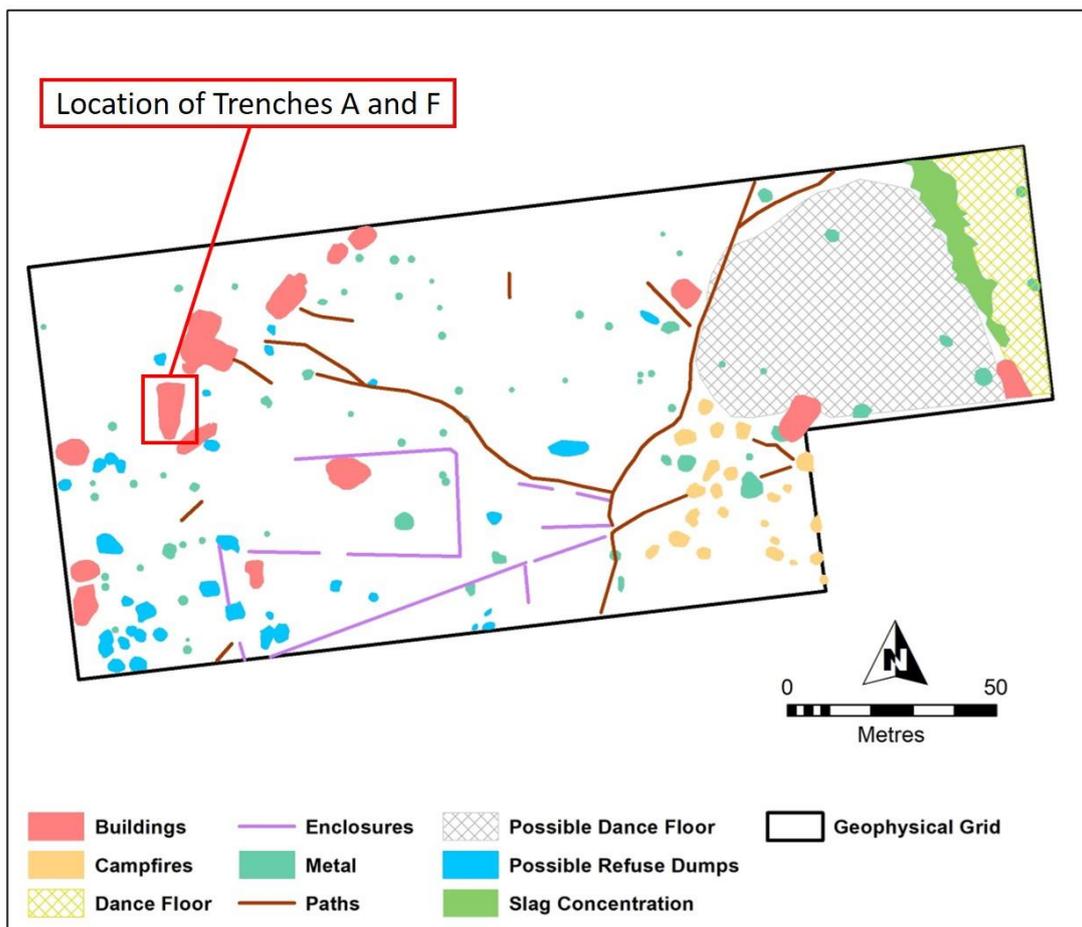


Figure 7.55 Interpretation of Baker's Flat site based on the geophysical data. Note that areas marked as refuse dumps and campfires are extrapolated as such as they have not been tested by excavation. Map: Kelsey Lowe.

Over the course of two field seasons, Trenches A and F revealed a rectangular dwelling that adheres broadly to the traditional design of an Irish vernacular house. Figure 7.56 combines data from both field seasons and a photomosaic of Trench F at excavation completion. Although the north-western section of the building was not excavated, it is clear that it is rectangular-shaped, one room deep, about 10 m in length and 4 m in width. This is consistent with the type of dwelling found in a clachan.

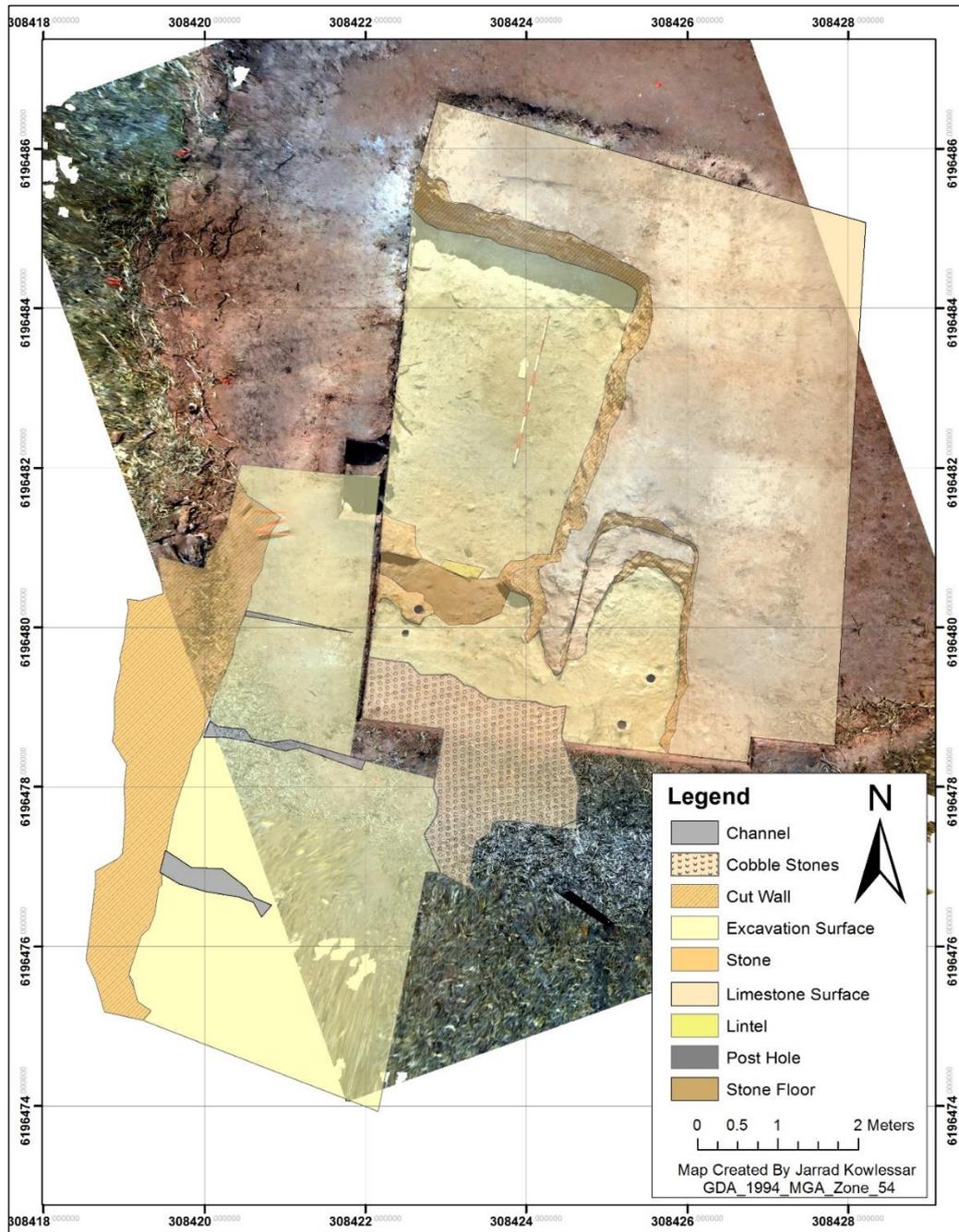


Figure 7.56 Trenches A and F with photomosaic overlay, based on excavation data collected in 2016 and 2017. Total station data provided by Rob Koch. Map: Jarrad Kowlessar.

During the excavation process, conversations with the landowner assisted greatly in understanding what had occurred post World War II (pers. comm. Dale Hampel, 2016, 2017). He recalled that when the land was purchased in 1953 by his father, the soil was poor and not conducive to growing an economic crop. It was also deeply uneven, pitted with dugout holes, and covered with metal discard such as iron bedsteads, wheelbarrows, water tanks, old tools and sheet iron. It was unworkable until the landowner brought in clay fill to level the ground and followed up with a layer of topsoil. In preparation, he pushed the metal rubbish into the dugout holes (seen in Trenches A and F) or into large piles (location of Trench E). The entire paddock was then evened out using clay fill, followed by about 10 cm of top soil. These actions explain the depth of fill, the presence of metal artefacts in context 004, and why the occupation layer is rich in artefacts such as ceramics, glass, metal and faunal remains but the layers above are rich only in metal.

The landscape of this site is complex. The following chapter presents the results relating to artefacts of everyday life on Baker's Flat.

8 Results—Artefacts of Everyday Life

This chapter examines the Baker’s Flat artefacts associated with everyday life, specifically ceramics, glass, buttons and clothing fasteners, miscellaneous metal items, and a small number of other objects. Using a similar structure to Chapter 7, artefacts are grouped according to the key site features: the dwelling, enclosure, round structure and dance floor. Within these groupings, an artefact analysis is provided for each trench.

8.1 Ceramics

A total of 1,186 ceramic artefacts were recovered from Baker’s Flat. Almost all (99.83%; n=1,184) were excavated from Trenches A to G, with two found on the surface of the dance floor. Details for each item can be found in Appendix H(i)—Baker’s Flat Ceramics [electronic file]. For this research, a ceramic artefact is considered diagnostic if it has any identifiable transfer prints or other identifiable decorative types (even if only on body sherds), rims, bases or manufacturer’s marks. Artefacts have been assigned an MNI of zero when they could be part of another identified item.

8.1.1 Inside the dwelling—Trenches A, D, F and G

The excavations in Trenches A and F revealed a single dwelling constructed in the Irish vernacular style. Neither Trenches D nor G—located south of Trench A and north-east of Trench F respectively—had occupation layers.

8.1.1.1 Trench A

In Trench A, 385 ceramic fragments were excavated, of which 301 (78.18%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.1). Of the 45 contexts in Trench A, only six (002, 003, 004, 005, 015, 034) contained ceramic sherds. Almost all (n=357; 92.73%) were excavated from contexts 004 (clay fill immediately above occupation layer) or 005 (occupation layer). Figure 8.2 illustrates how small numbers of ceramics were distributed across most squares in Trench A, with the majority (n=244; 63.38%) located in the rubbish disposal area (X17:Y20,Y21). Adjoining squares (X16:Y19,Y20,Y21; X17:Y19) contained 55 (14.29%) ceramic fragments. Most of the ceramics are refined earthenware (n=328; 85.19%), of which 192 (58.53%) are lead-glazed whiteware (Figure 8.3). There are 12 (3.12%) pieces of coarse earthenware, 31 (8.05%) porcelain fragments, 13 (3.38%) stoneware sherds and one (0.26%) example of pipe clay.

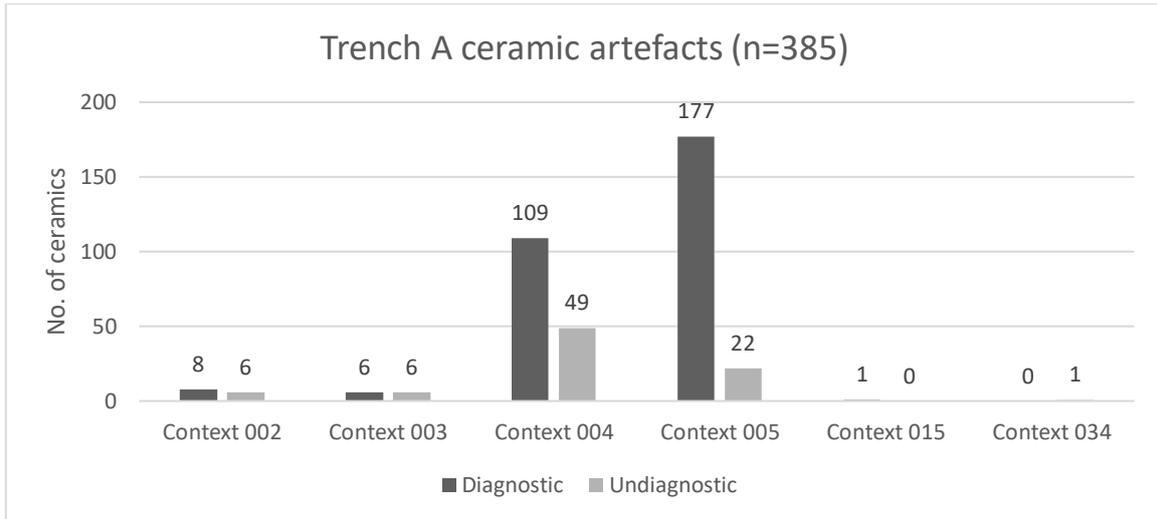


Figure 8.1 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench A.

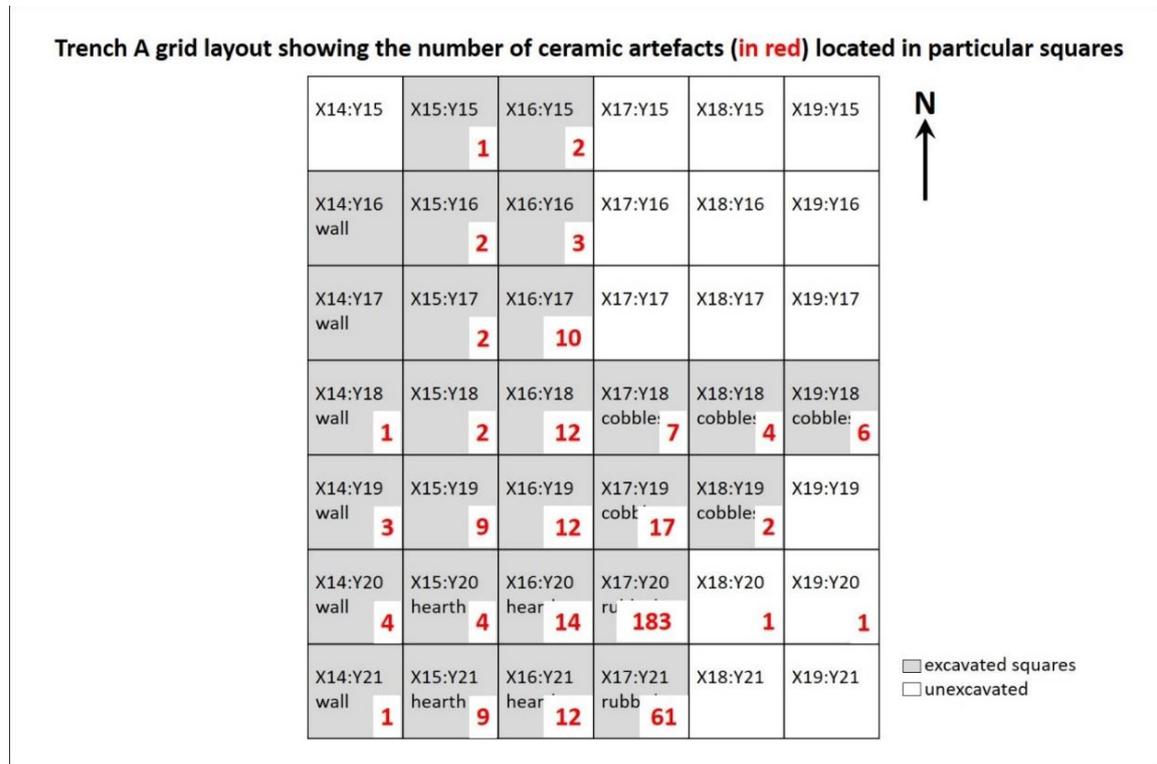


Figure 8.2 Location of ceramics (n=385) in Trench A.

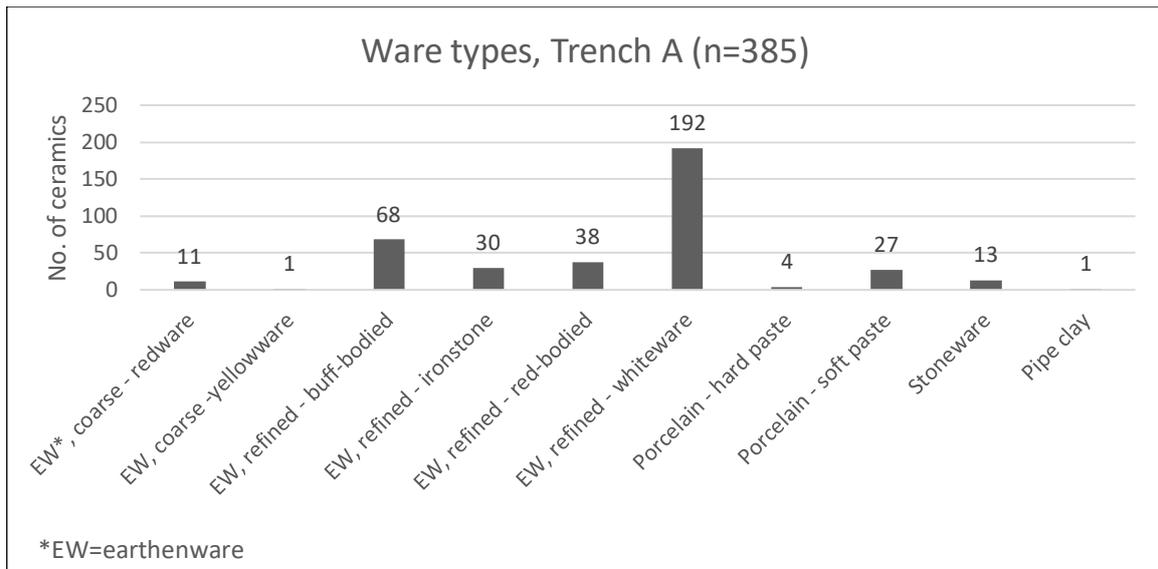


Figure 8.3 Ware types excavated from Trench A.

To present the large number of ceramics from Trench A as clearly as possible, the results have been divided across three tables—diagnostic tableware and teaware (Table 8.1); diagnostic general household (Table 8.2); and undiagnostic artefacts (Table 8.3). Details include the decoration, ware type, rim diameter if available, and number of sherds. Taken together, these details allow the minimum number of items (MNI) to be calculated. From 385 ceramic artefacts, there is a minimum number of 107 items.

Table 8.1 summarises the diagnostic tableware and teaware artefacts excavated from Trench A, sorted by broad function and artefact form. From 245 fragments, the MNI is 63. Under the broad function of tableware, there are three identifiable artefact forms—bowl, egg cup and plate. From five bowl fragments, four vessels are identifiable, including a flow blue bowl (Figure 8.4). One artefact is identified as an egg cup. From 90 plate fragments, 28 individual plates are distinguishable, the majority of which are refined earthenware (n=23; 82.14%) and the remainder porcelain (n=5; 17.85%). Most of the earthenware plates are decorated (n=20; 86.96%), either with a transfer print (n=16; 80%) or banded pattern (n=4; 20%). None of the porcelain plates are decorated. The plates can be divided into various standard sizes: bread and butter (n=3); dinner (n=6); luncheon (n=4); nappie (n=3); and twifflers (n=3). There are nine plates of unknown size. There are a further five unidentifiable vessels that could be either a bowl or plate.

In the functional category of teaware, there are four different artefact forms present—cup, saucer, teapot and creamer. From 25 artefacts, ten tea cups are identifiable, five each of refined earthenware and porcelain. Three of the earthenware cups are undecorated, one features the *Wild Rose* transfer print, and one has a moulded motif in a flowers and foliage pattern. Unlike the undecorated porcelain plates, four of the five porcelain tea cups have a decoration—gilt and enamelled (n=1), moulded rim (n=1), gilt and polychrome hand-painted (n=1) and gilt bands (n=1). Figure 8.5 shows the conjoining pieces from the gilt and enamelled cup (top row) and polychrome hand-painted cup (bottom row). There is one undecorated porcelain saucer. From 104 fragments, seven teapots can be identified. Four of these are in the buff-bodied Rockingham style (Figure 8.6). The remaining three are red-bodied, with one having a black glaze, one a dark brown glaze, and one a highly vitrified black glaze with a gilt pattern (Figure 8.7). There are two milk jugs or creamers, both transfer-printed, one with a green pattern of flowers and foliage, the other with a black geometric print. There are a further five vessels—three refined earthenware and two porcelain—that can be identified as some form of teaware, but do not have any other identifying characteristics.

Table 8.1 Summary of diagnostic ceramic tableware and teaware items from Trench A (n=245), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Tableware	Bowl	Moulded (ribbed)	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	2	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					5	4
	Egg cup	Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					1	1
Plate, unknown size	Plate, unknown size	Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (grey-green), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Sprig</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – hard paste	–	2	2
		Plate, bread & butter	Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	15	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Transfer print (lavender), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	15	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	15	1	1
	Plate, dinner	Banded (red)	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	25	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i> ; edge-moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	27.5	2	1
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	25	28	1
		Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	25	6	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	25	1	1
	Plate, luncheon	Banded (red)	EW, refined – ironstone	22.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	1	1
	Plate, nappie	Banded (red)	EW, refined – whiteware	12.5	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – hard paste	12.5	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	12.5	2	1
	Plate, twiffler	Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	20	24	1
		Transfer print (navy), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	24	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	EW, refined – whiteware	18.75	3	1
					90	28
	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					8	5
Teaware	Cup	Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	10	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	7.5	11	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	7.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue-green), <i>Wild Rose</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Moulded motif – F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	7.5	1	1
		Gilt, enamelled (blue)	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	3	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	1	1
		Moulded rim	Porcelain – soft paste	6.25	1	1
		Gilt; hand-painted (polychrome) – F&F	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	3	1
		Gilt bands, <i>Tea Leaf</i>	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	2	1
					25	10
	Saucer	Undecorated; cup well	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
	Teapot	Rockingham-type	EW, refined – buff-bodied	–	66	4
		Gilt; highly vitrified black glaze	EW, refined – red-bodied	–	6	1
		Black glaze	EW, refined – red-bodied	–	30	1
		Dark brown glaze	EW, refined – red-bodied	–	2	1
					104	7
	Creamer	Transfer print (green), F&F [<i>Same as in Trench D</i>]	EW, refined – whiteware	12.5	2	1
		Transfer print (black), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	10.0	1	1
					3	2
	Unidentifiable	Moulded handle	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), braided rope	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Moulded – edge-moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	–	2	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	3	1
					8	5
Total					245	63

EW=earthenware; F&F= flowers and foliage.

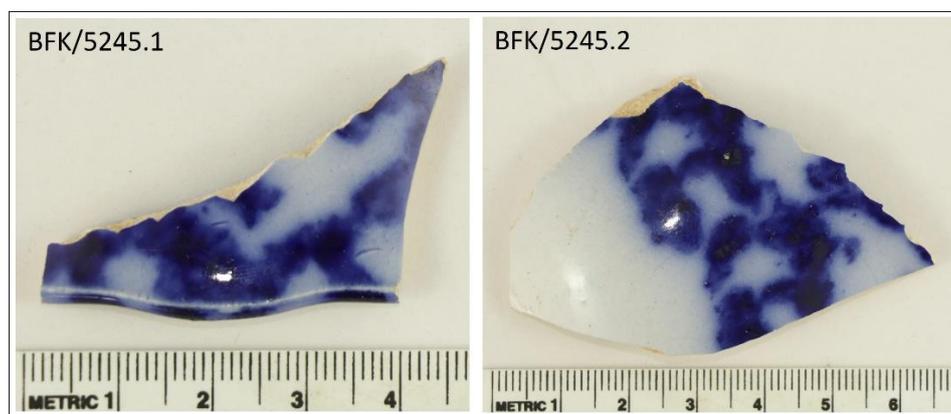


Figure 8.4 Conjoining rim and body sherd of a flow blue, edge-moulded bowl, with a rim diameter calculated at 17.5 cm, Trench A. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

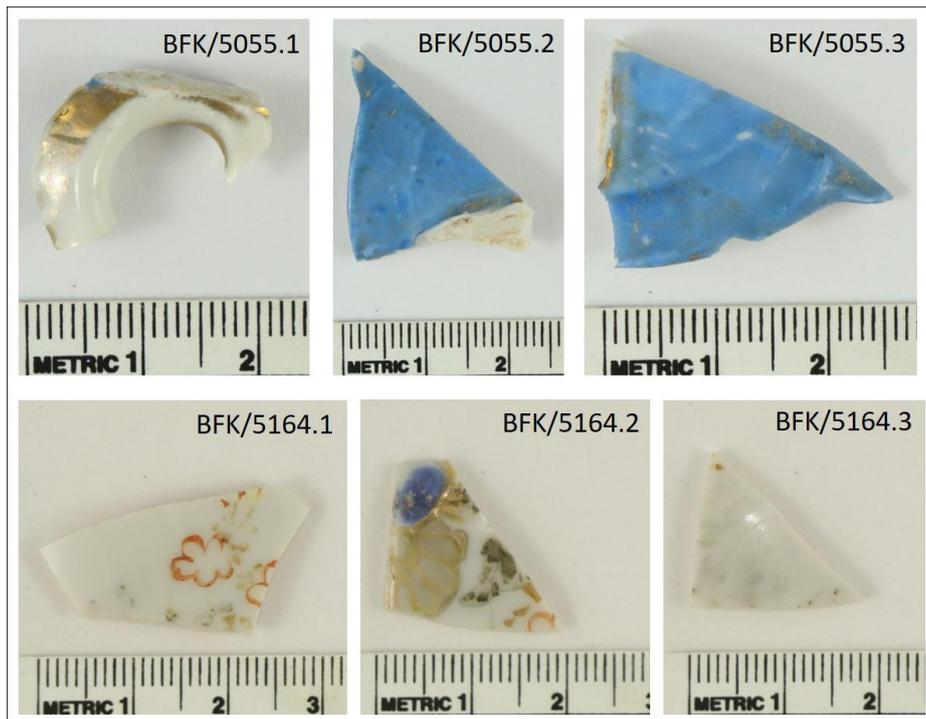


Figure 8.5 Partial porcelain tea cups x 2, Trench A. Top row: Conjoining handle and rim fragments, blue slip, gilt, moulded edge. Bottom row: Conjoining rim and body fragments, hand-painted polychrome design of flowers and foliage, gilt. Photos: Brendan Kearns.



Figure 8.6 Rim/base fragments from buff-bodied Rockingham-style teapots, Trench A. Photos: Brendan Kearns.



Figure 8.7 Rim and handle fragments from red-bodied teapots, Trench A. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

Table 8.2 summarises the diagnostic general household ceramic artefacts from Trench A, sorted by broad function and artefact form. From 56 artefacts, the MNI is 11. Under the broad function of food and drink storage, the MNI is three, comprised of two storage crocks and one bottle, all stoneware (Figure 8.8). For kitchenware, 11 coarse earthenware fragments comprise one large redware pipkin with a glazed inner surface and a heavy handle placed to the side (Figure 8.9). There is also one example of a refined earthenware banded jug. General household items comprise a whiteware spherical bed decoration with a white slip glaze, and one small ink bottle. In the functional category of personal hygiene, there are two different artefact forms present—a ewer (large wash jug) and a wash basin. Six transfer-printed fragments with a brown pattern of dog roses and rose leaves comprise the ewer. Twenty-nine fragments with a transfer-printed blue lily of the valley pattern comprise the large wash basin; this shows signs of repair, with several drilled holes to hold metal wire or staples in place (Figure 8.10). Depending on the quality of the repair, the mended basin may have continued to be able to hold water, particularly if an adhesive or other filler material was used (Albert 2012; Beaudoin 2017:757–758). Although its pattern name has been unidentifiable to date, the basin may be the work of Burgess and Leigh, whose pottery dates from 1851 and who

were known for blue-and-white ware (Burleigh Pottery 2016). One pipe clay artefact was found in Trench A, a partial pipe stem stamped on one side with the letters ...BOURNE (possibly Melbourne) and on the other with PT FAI... (possibly Port Fairy, a coastal town about 300 km west of Melbourne) (Figure 8.11). Stamped stem markings were common on clay pipes, and could include a manufacturer name, place of manufacture or destination, tobacco brand or tobacconist shop (Gojak and Stuart 1999). No information about a possible manufacturer for this pipe has been found. The single toy is a low-fired handmade marble.

Table 8.2 Summary of diagnostic general household ceramic items from Trench A (n=56), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Food/drink storage	Crock	Salt glaze; buff paste	Stoneware	–	1	1
	Crock	Salt glaze; grey paste; coloured slip	Stoneware	–	2	1
	Stoneware bottle	Bristol glaze; tan paste	Stoneware	–	1	1
					4	3
Household, general	Bedframe decoration	Slip glaze (white)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
	Ink bottle	Salt glaze; grey paste	Stoneware	–	2	1
					3	2
Kitchenware	Jug	Banded – painted (red-brown); moulded ridge	EW, refined – buff-bodied	12.5	1	1
	Pipkin	Glazed inner surface	EW, coarse – redware	13.5	11	1
					12	2
Personal hygiene	Ewer	Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	6	1
	Wash basin	Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	39	29	1
					35	2
Tobacco pipe	Tobacco pipe	Stamped maker's mark	White pipe clay	–	1	1
					1	1
Toy	Marble	Undecorated	EW, coarse – yellowware	–	1	1
					1	1
Total					56	11

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage

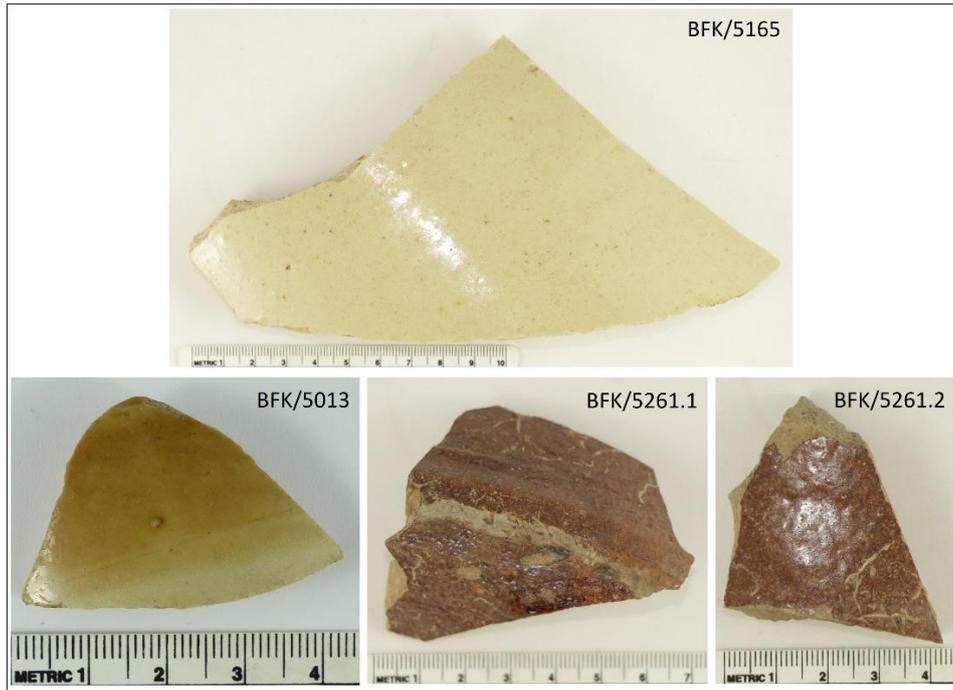


Figure 8.8 Examples of stoneware, Trench A. Photos: Brendan Kearns.



Figure 8.9 Redware pipkin (BFK/5264.1–5264.11), Trench A. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.10 Sample fragments from large transfer-printed washbasin (BFK/5043.1–5043.29), showing the full form and a line of staple holes for repairs, Trench A. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.11 Partial stem of tobacco pipe, Trench A. Photo: Brendan Kearns.

Table 8.3 presents the Trench A undiagnostic ceramic fragments (n=84) whose original form is unknown and unidentifiable (MNI=33). Most sherds are refined earthenware (n=71; 84.52%), corresponding to an MNI of 26. There are two examples of soft paste (bone china) porcelain, one of which is hand-painted with a polychrome floral design and a blue band (Figure 8.12). There are seven stoneware sherds (MNI=4).

Table 8.3 Summary of undiagnostic ceramic items from Trench A (n=84), with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	#	MNI
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Undecorated	EW, refined – buff-bodied	1	1
		Blue slip; blue-grey paste	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1
		Moulded motif	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1
		Moulded line	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	6	1
		Banded (blue) – painted & enamelled	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1
		Applied moulded sprig (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Hand-painted	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Blue slip	EW, refined – whiteware	3	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	7	1
		Transfer print (blue), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	9	1
		Transfer print (blue), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	6	1
		Transfer print (green), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1
		Transfer print (green), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (green), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (pink), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (purple), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Fibre</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	4	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	14	1
		Hand-painted	Porcelain – soft paste	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	4	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – hard paste	1	1
		Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	2	1
		Buff-bodied; salt glaze	Stoneware	1	1
		Grey-bodied; salt glaze	Stoneware	1	1
		Grey-bodied with buff layers; salt glaze	Stoneware	3	1
Total				84	33

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage

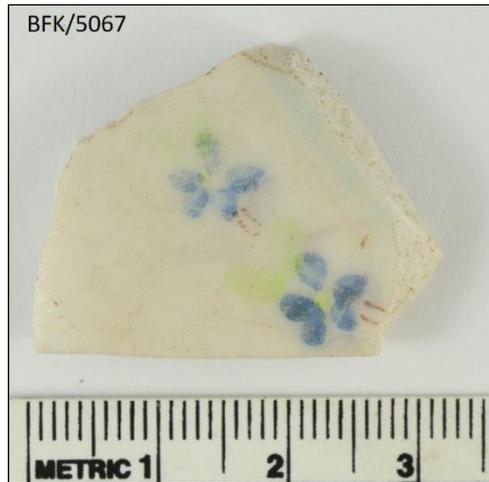


Figure 8.12 Undiagnostic porcelain sherd, hand-painted overglaze pattern, Trench A. Photo: Brendan Kearns.

8.1.1.2 Trench D

Thirty-six ceramic sherds were excavated from contexts 001 to 004, with most (n=25, 69.44%) recovered from the clay fill of context 004 (Figure 8.13). There are 19 (52.77%) diagnostic artefacts. Refined earthenware artefacts comprise most of the ceramics (n=30; 83.33%), and 90% (n=27) of these are whiteware (Figure 8.14). There is one (2.77%) example of coarse earthenware, three (8.33%) soft paste porcelain fragments, and two (5.55%) stoneware sherds.

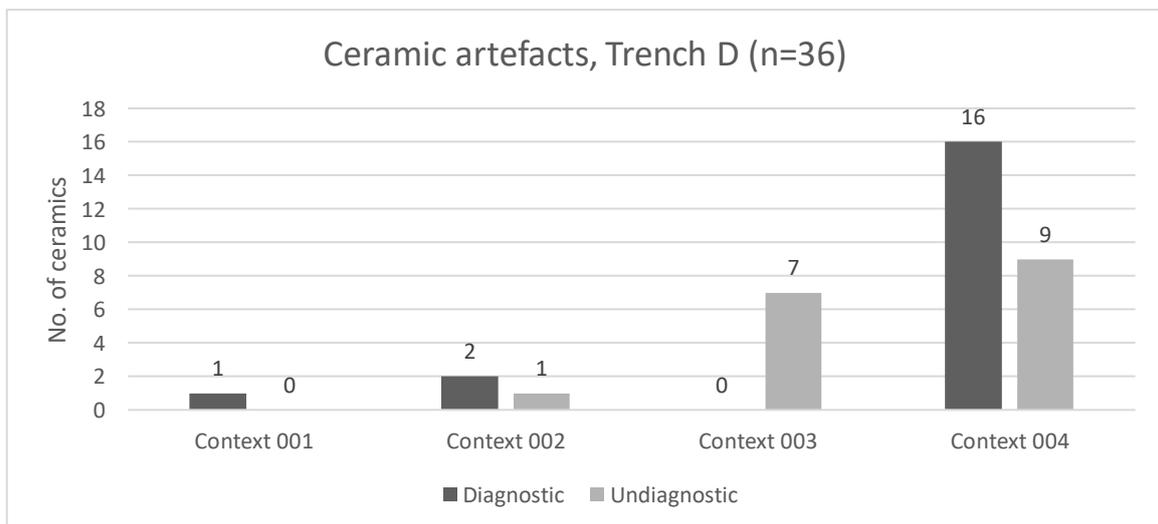


Figure 8.13 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench D.

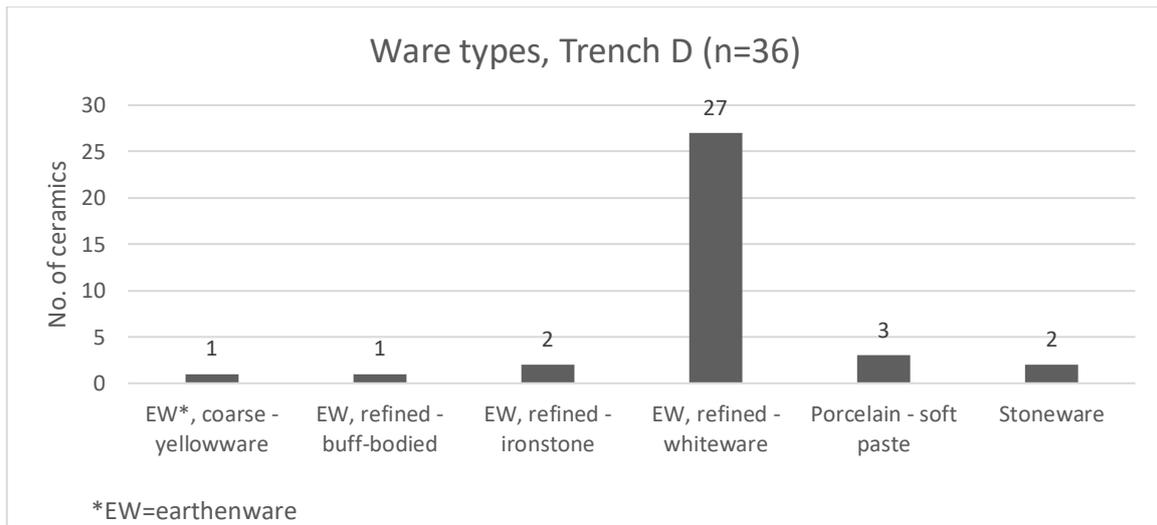


Figure 8.14 Ware types excavated from Trench D.

Table 8.4 presents the ceramic fragments by broad function and artefact form. The MNI is calculated at 20, with 12 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and eight from undiagnostic. Under the broad functional category of tableware, there are seven items. These include two transfer-printed plates of unknown size featuring black *Rhine* and blue *Willow* pattern, and another plate of unknown size with a sponged blue motif. A transfer-printed dinner plate has a blue *Asiatic Pheasants* pattern (Figure 8.15) and the single tea/dessert plate is undecorated porcelain. There are also two items that can be identified as tableware, but with no other diagnostic features that could assist in identifying artefact form; both are whiteware, one with a transfer-printed grey *Rhine* pattern and the other undecorated.

For teaware, there are three different artefact forms present—cup, teapot and creamer. Two fragments represent two tea cups, one banded and the other transfer-printed. There is one fragment from a Rockingham-style teapot. A green transfer-printed sherd (BFK/5532) fits the form of a milk jug or creamer. Its pattern is printed on both surfaces and features a flower intertwined with leaves. This artefact has the same pattern and form as another creamer (BFK/5059, 5236) found in Trench A. Although the Trench D sherd does not conjoin with those from Trench A, they may be from the same original set, or at least acquired around the same time. The single example of a toy is a low-fired, handmade marble.

There are 17 sherds whose original form is unknown and unidentifiable, corresponding to an MNI of eight. One item is ironstone, five are whiteware. There are two stoneware vessels, both buff-bodied, one salt glazed and the other Bristol glazed.

Table 8.4 Ceramic fragments from Trench D (n=36), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI	
Diagnostic							
Tableware	Plate (unknown size)	Transfer print (black), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1	
		Sponged (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1	
	Plate, dinner	Transfer print (blue), <i>Asiatic Pheasants</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	25	6	1	
	Plate, tea/dessert	Undecorated	Porcelain	17.5	1	1	
					11	5	
	Unidentifiable	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
			Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
						3	2
	Teaware	Cup	Transfer print (blue), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	10	1	1
Banded – enamelled; banded – painted (blue)			EW, refined – whiteware	10	1	1	
Teapot		Rockingham-type	EW, refined buff-bodied	–	1	1	
Creamer		Transfer print (green), F&F [<i>Same as in Trench A</i>]	EW, refined – whiteware	12.5	1	1	
					4	4	
Toy	Marble	Undecorated	EW, coarse – yellowware	–	1	1	
					1	1	
Undiagnostic							
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	2	1	
		Transfer print (blue), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1	
		Transfer print (pink), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1	
		Transfer print (black), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	0	
		Transfer print (brown), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1	
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1	
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	4	1	
		Undecorated	Porcelain	–	2	0	
		Salt glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1	
		Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1	
						17	8
Total					36	20	

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage

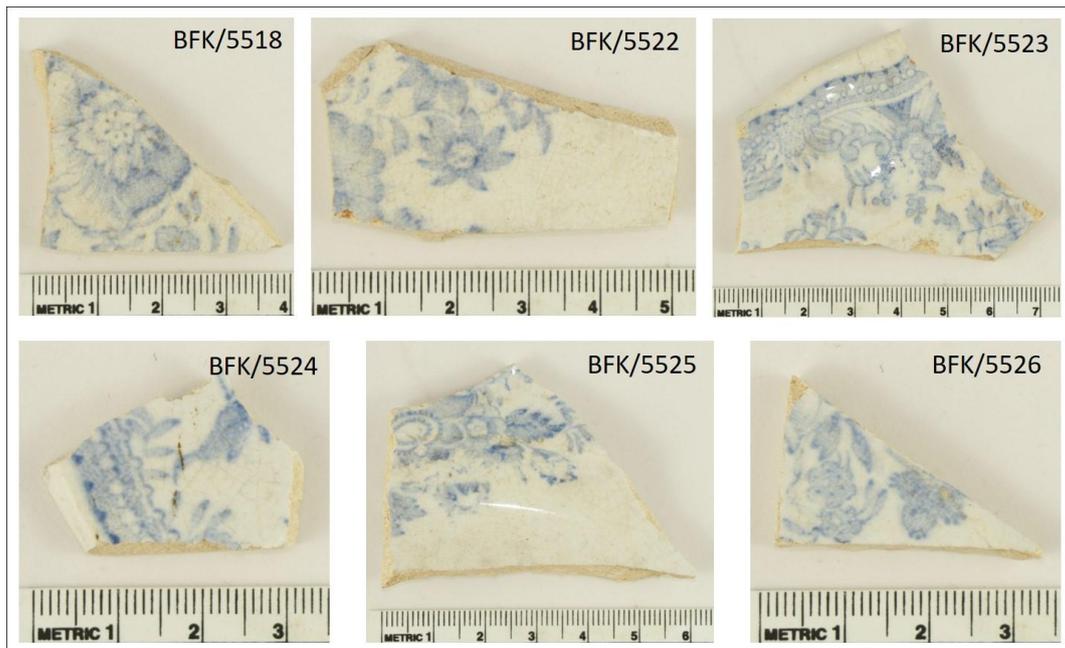


Figure 8.15 Fragments of a transfer-printed dinner plate with *Asiatic Pheasants* pattern, Trench D. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

8.1.1.3 Trench F

In Trench F, 475 ceramic fragments were found, of which 389 (81.89%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.16). Of the 21 contexts in Trench F, five (surface, 001, 004, 008, 011) contained ceramic sherds. Almost all (n=424, 89.26%) were excavated from contexts 004 (clay fill) or 008 (occupation layer). Nineteen (4%) were found in context 011, the ashy deposit, which was rich in glass and buttons (see sections 8.2.1.3 and 8.3.1.2). Although small numbers of ceramics were scattered across Trench F, seven squares in the northern section—A3,4,5 and B3,4,5,6—contained 30 or more sherds each (Figure 8.17). These comprise 83.16% (n=395) of the 475 ceramic fragments found in this trench.

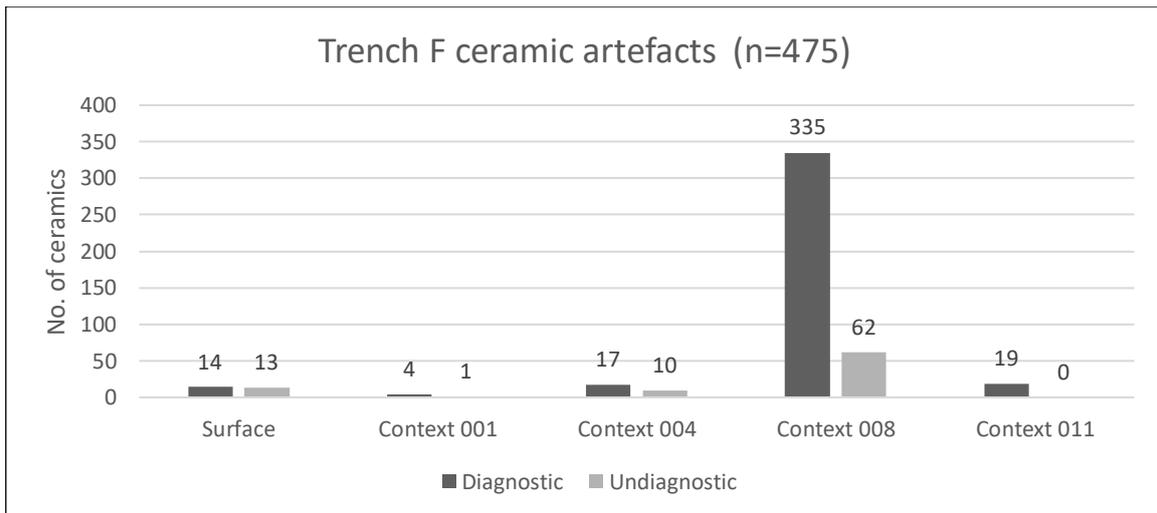


Figure 8.16 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench F.

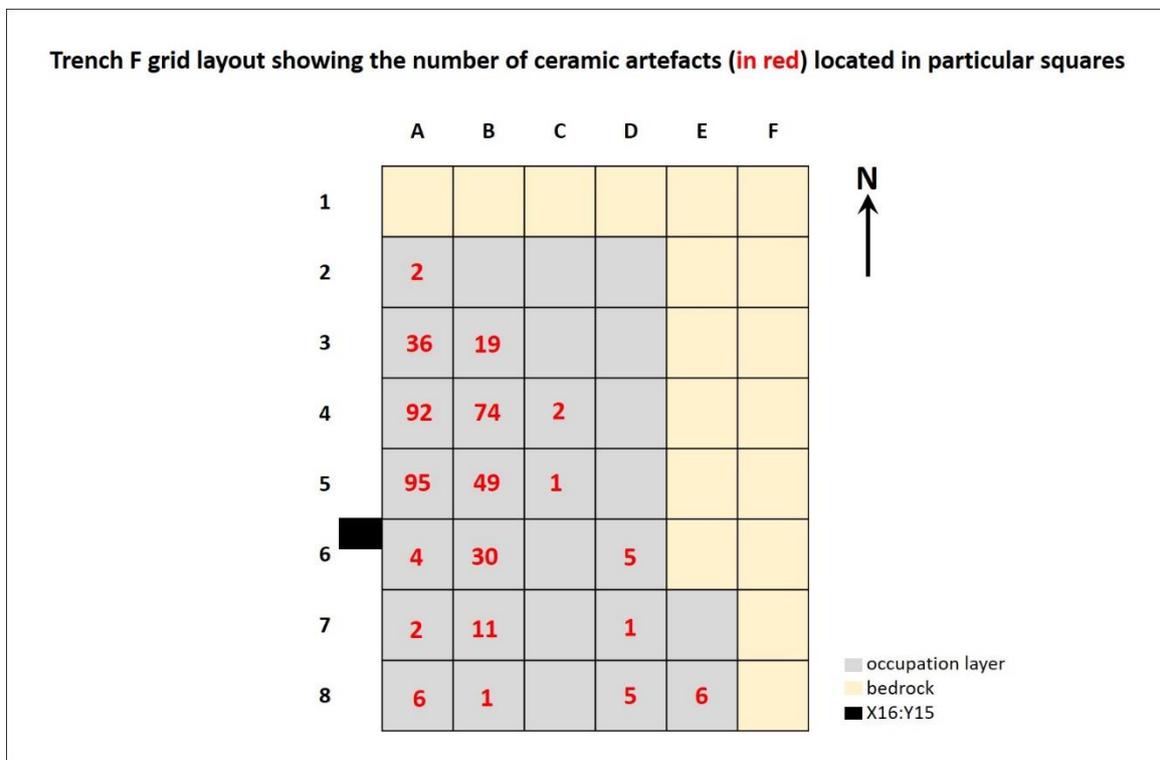


Figure 8.17 Location of ceramics (n=475) in Trench F. Note that 34 sherds recovered from the surface or via the excavator were not assigned an individual square number and are not reflected in the numbers here.

Most of the ceramics are refined earthenware (n=398; 83.79%) (Figure 8.18). Unlike the ceramics in Trench A, where 58.23% of the refined earthenware is whiteware, the proportion of whiteware in Trench F is much lower at 26.88% (n=107). Conversely, the percentage of ironstone examples in Trench A is 8.05% (n=31), whilst in Trench F it is far greater at

70.35% (n=280). This can be explained by the large number of ironstone fragments (n=176) from two chamber pots located in Trench F (see Table 8.6). There is one (0.21%) piece of coarse earthenware, 51 (10.73%) soft paste porcelain fragments and 25 (5.26%) stoneware sherds.

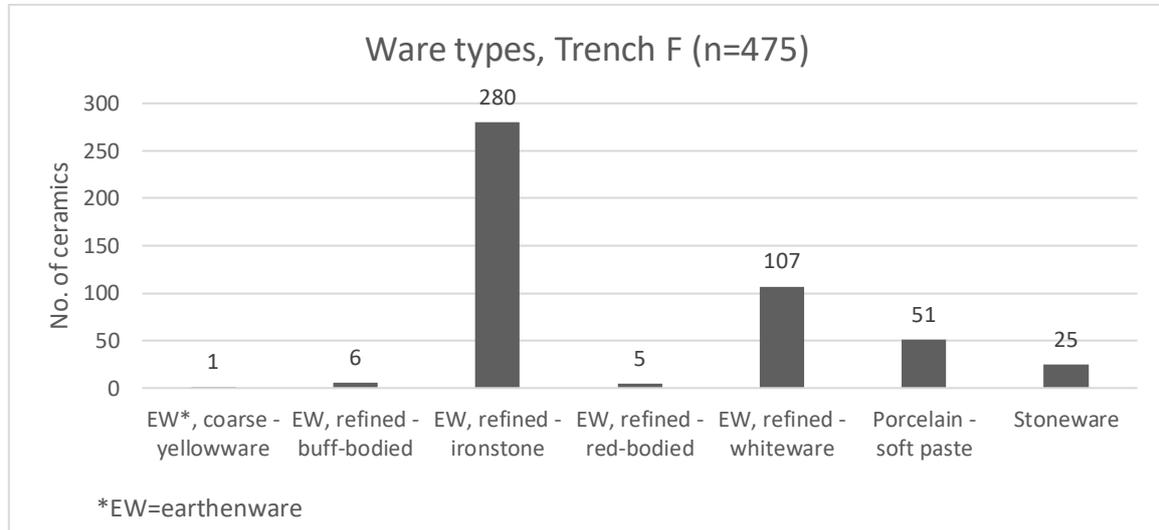


Figure 8.18 Ware types excavated from Trench F.

The ceramics results from Trench F are divided across three tables—diagnostic tableware and teaware (Table 8.5); diagnostic general household (Table 8.6); and undiagnostic artefacts (Table 8.7). From 475 ceramic artefacts there is a minimum number of 93 items. Unlike Trench A, where the minimum number of artefacts equates to 27.79% of the total, the proportion in Trench F is smaller at 19.58%, mainly because large numbers of artefacts were able to be conjoined into their original forms. Two chamber pots were reconstructed from 176 artefacts, two red-banded dinner plates from 59 fragments and a blue-banded saucer from 12 sherds.

Table 8.5 summarises the diagnostic tableware and teaware artefacts excavated from Trench F, sorted by broad function and artefact form. From 169 fragments, the MNI is 52. Under the broad function of tableware there are two identifiable artefact forms—bowl and plate. Three artefacts are catalogued as bowl fragments. All are refined earthenware but decorated differently (MNI=3). From 110 plate fragments, 28 individual plates are distinguishable, the majority of which are refined earthenware (n=21; 75%) and the remainder porcelain (n=7; 25%). Almost all the earthenware plates are decorated (n=20; 95.24%), most with either a transfer print (n=11; 55%) or banded pattern (n=6; 30%), two examples of which are shown

in Figure 8.19. The remaining four earthenware plates are: a single cut-sponged whiteware plate of unknown size with a repeating pattern of green stylised leaves and a narrow green band; an undecorated ironstone plate of unknown size; an undecorated ironstone luncheon plate with blue-grey paste and blue slip; and a whiteware twiffler with an applied blue sprig. Five of the porcelain plates are undecorated. The remaining two porcelain plates—both twifflers, 17.5 cm diameter—are decorated. One of these (BFK/6155 in Figure 8.20), identified from one rim fragment, is edge-moulded in an irregular scalloped design, and painted with a wide pink band and narrow gilt band, below which is a moulded ribbed pattern. The other, identified from four conjoining rim and body fragments (Figure 8.21), is decorated with four concentric bands, an enamelled blue band and three gilt bands. The plates can be divided into various standard sizes: plates of unknown size (n=9); bread and butter (n=1); dinner (n=4); luncheon (n=1); nappie (n=2); and twifflers (n=11). There are also two unidentifiable dishes that could be either a bowl or plate.

In the functional category of teaware there are three artefact forms—cup, saucer and teapot. From 16 artefacts, 11 tea cups are identifiable, six of refined earthenware and five of porcelain. Of the six refined earthenware cups, one is an undecorated ironstone and five are whiteware—two transfer-printed, two undecorated and one with an applied blue sprig pattern similar to a whiteware twiffler also found in Trench F. All the porcelain tea cups are decorated—gilt enamelling (n=1), moulded (n=2), polychrome hand-painted (n=1) and red transfer print (n=1). There are five saucers, one of which is refined earthenware. The remaining four are soft paste porcelain. One of these is undecorated, one has three painted navy-blue horizontal bands, one has an enamelled gilt band. The remaining saucer (BFK/6241 in Figure 8.20) is decorated with a scalloped edge-moulding and ribbed body, and painted with pink and gilt bands. It has the same form and decoration as BFK/6155, a twiffler, and may be from the same set. From 11 fragments, three teapots can be identified. One is in the buff-bodied Rockingham style with a moulded wheat motif (Figure 8.22), one is red-bodied with a dark brown glaze, and one is red-bodied with a highly vitrified black glaze and moulded square motif. There is one further porcelain artefact that can be identified as some form of teaware but does not have any other identifying characteristics present.

Table 8.5 Summary of diagnostic ceramic tableware and teaware items from Trench F (n=169), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Tableware	Bowl	White slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Fibre</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
					3	3
	Plate, unknown size	Banded – painted (green); relief-moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Banded (red)	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	0
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	2	1
		Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Sponged (green) – cut-sponged	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (green), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	5	2
		Plate, bread & butter	Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	15	2
	Plate, dinner	Banded – painted (red)	EW, refined – ironstone	25	64	2
		Transfer print (blue), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	25	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	27.5	2	1
	Plate, luncheon	Blue slip; blue-grey paste	EW, refined – ironstone	22.5	1	1
	Plate, nappie	Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	12.5	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	12.5	3	1
	Plate, twiffler	Banded – painted (green); edge-moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	17.5	1	1
		Banded – painted (red)	EW, refined – ironstone	17.5	3	1
		Sprigged – applied sprig (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	20	2	1
		Transfer print (black), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Transfer print (green), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Transfer print (green), <i>Sprig</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	21.25	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Banded – enamelled (blue, gilt)	Porcelain – soft paste	17.5	4	1
		Banded – painted (pink, gilt); edge-moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	17.5	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	17.5	1	1
					110	28
	Unidentifiable	Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	4	0
		Transfer print (blue), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (green), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
					6	2
Teaware	Cup	Undecorated ‘hotel ware’ style	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Sprigged – applied sprig (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	8.75	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	10	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	EW, refined – whiteware	10	2	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	5	2
		Gilt	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
		Moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
		Transfer print (red), F&F, overglaze	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	1	1
		Hand-painted – enamelled polychrome (red, green)	Porcelain – soft paste	10	1	1
		Moulded – ridged; child’s cup?	Porcelain – soft paste	3.75	1	1
					16	11
	Saucer	Moulded – ribbed; transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	15	7	1
		Banded – enamelled (gilt)	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
		Banded – painted (blue)	Porcelain – soft paste	15	12	1
		Banded – painted (pink, gilt); edge-moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	15	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					22	5
	Teapot	Rockingham-type; moulded wheat motif	EW, refined – buff-bodied	–	6	1
		Dark brown glaze	EW, refined – red-bodied	–	4	1
		Black glaze; moulded square motif	EW, refined – red-bodied	–	1	1
					11	3

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
	Unidentifiable	Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	0
					1	0
Total					169	52

EW=earthenware; F&F= flowers and foliage.



Figure 8.19 Two red-banded dinner plates, diameter 25 cm, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.¹⁰

¹⁰ The dinner plates were reconstructed from 59 conjoining pieces, catalogue numbers BFK/6047, 6055.1–6056.2, 6066, 6067, 6071, 6074, 6076–6079, 6081, 6082, 6085–6088, 6113, 6115, 6116, 6123, 6181, 6182.1–.2, 6184–6191, 6200–6204, 6218, 6243, 6345, 6346, 6376.1–.13.

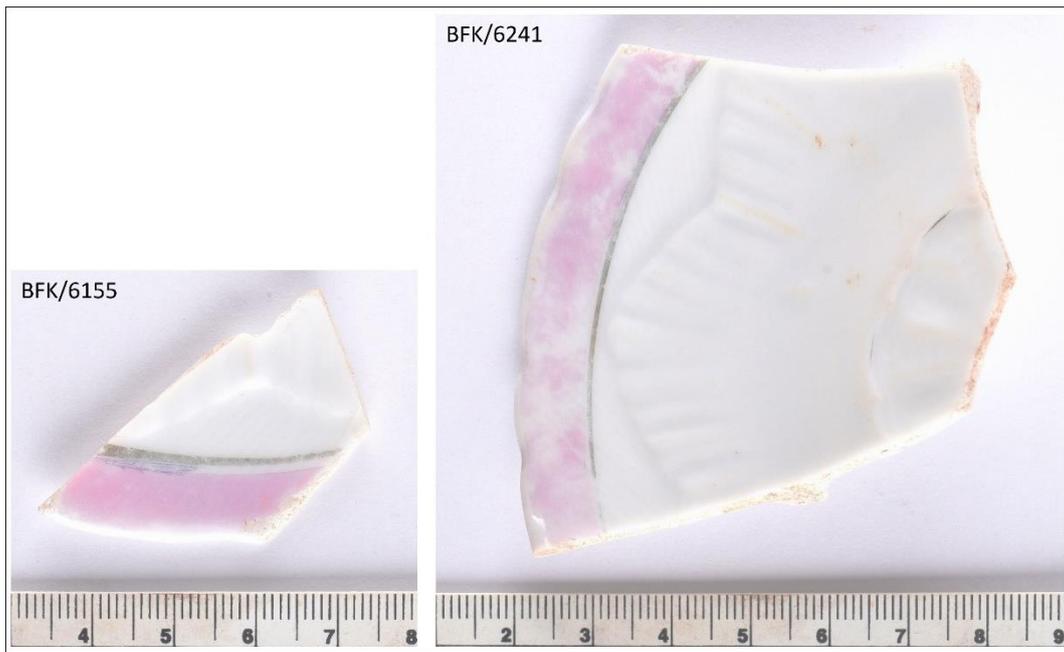


Figure 8.20 Rim sherds of decorated porcelain twiffler (BFK/6155) and saucer (BFK/6241), both with same edge-moulded, banded and ribbed pattern, Trench F. Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.21 Four conjoining rim/body sherds of decorated porcelain twiffler, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.22 Conjoining rim and body sherds of buff-bodied Rockingham-type teapot with relief-moulded wheatsheaf motif. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

Table 8.6 summarises the diagnostic general household ceramic artefacts excavated from Trench F, sorted by broad function and artefact form. From 220 artefacts, the MNI is 14. Under the broad function of food and drink storage, the MNI is two, comprising an ironstone Prattware fish/meat paste pot (Figure 8.23) and a stoneware crock. The paste pot is decorated with an underglaze, polychrome transfer print called *Mending the Nets*, depicting a village harbour scene. This process of polychrome transfer printing is primarily associated with the Staffordshire firm of F. and R. Pratt. Although most Pratt earthenware is unmarked, from about 1850 onwards their engravings were of very high quality due to the skill of the artist, Jesse Austin, who started working there around 1845 (Arnold 1997:126; Godden 1974:249-250). This design is well-known, one of at least 37 designs of free-standing potted fish/meat jars (Arnold 1997:126).

In the functional category of general household items the MNI is three, calculated from 19 artefacts. These are represented by three ware types—refined earthenware, porcelain and stoneware. There is one partial lid from an ironstone ointment jar; transfer-printed in black around the rim are the letters ...D BLOO..., and in the centre the letters ...S/...ENT, /...OR/...HE SK... (Figure 8.24). This is most likely to be a Neale's ointment jar, with the wording on those lids typically being NEALE'S SKIN OINTMENT AND BLOOD PILLS around the rim, and NEALE'S / OINTMENT, / A SPECIFIC FOR / DISEASES OF THE SKIN in the centre. Henry Neale was a nineteenth-century Derbyshire chemist (Andrews

2020). Three fragments of soft paste porcelain equate to one unglazed, polychrome ornament. Fifteen stoneware fragments conjoin to form a salt glazed, buff-bodied stoneware vessel with an orange slip (Figure 8.25).

For kitchenware, 12 artefacts equate to an MNI of five, all refined earthenware. There are two ironstone items—a moulded mixing bowl and a blue-banded hollowware vessel. There are three whiteware items, all milk jugs—one a brown transfer print, one green cut-sponge design and one polychrome cut-sponge design. In the functional category of personal hygiene there are two different artefact forms present—a ewer and two chamber pots. Three conjoined fragments form the partial rim and body of a cylindrical whiteware ewer with a brown transfer print pattern of branches, oak-type leaves and blossom (Figure 8.26). A total of 176 ironstone sherds are reconstructed as two chamber pots, one with a cream slip (Figure 8.27), the other with a fleur-de-lis pattern (Figure 8.28). The single toy is a low-fired handmade marble.

Table 8.6 Summary of diagnostic general household ceramic items from Trench F (n=220), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Food/drink storage	Prattware paste pot	Transfer print (polychrome), <i>Mending the Nets</i>	EW, refined – ironstone	5	8	1
	Crock	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1
					9	2
Household, general	Ointment jar lid	Transfer print (black), text	EW, refined – ironstone	7.5	1	1
	Ornament	Moulded; hand-painted (polychrome); unglazed	Porcelain – soft paste	–	3	1
	Stoneware vessel	Salt glaze; buff paste; coloured slip	Stoneware	–	15	1
					19	3
Kitchenware	Mixing bowl	Moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	27.5	1	1
	Hollowware vessel	Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – ironstone	15	2	1
	Milk jug	Sponged – cut-sponged (green, red)	EW, refined – whiteware	10	7	1
		Sponged – cut-sponged (green)	EW, refined – whiteware	10	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
					12	5

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Personal hygiene	Chamber pot	Cream slip	EW, refined – ironstone	22.5	96	1
		Moulded, fleur-de-lis pattern	EW, refined – ironstone	22.5	80	1
	Ewer	Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	3	1
					179	3
Toy	Marble	Undecorated	EW, coarse – yellowware	–	1	1
					1	1
Total					220	14

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.



Figure 8.23 Three views of a single Prattware fish/meat paste pot (BFK/6377.1–.8), excavated from Trench F. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.24 Partial lid from Neale's ointment jar, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.25 Stoneware jar (BFK/6061.1–.15), Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure



Figure 8.26 Three conjoining fragments consistent with large cylindrical ewer, brown transfer print, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.27 Reconstructed chamber pot, cream slip, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.¹¹



Figure 8.28 Reconstructed chamber pot, fleur-de-lis moulded pattern, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.¹²

¹¹ The cream chamber pot was reconstructed from 96 conjoining pieces, catalogue numbers BFK/6052–6054, 6090.1–6111, 6124.1–6130, 6149–6153, 6162–6164, 6169–6179, 6208–6217, 6235, 6238, 6248–6264, 6342, 6372–6375.

¹² The fleur-de-lis chamber pot was reconstructed from 80 conjoining pieces, catalogue numbers BFK/6060.1–.2, 6068, 6080, 6132.1–6145, 6192–6195, 6199, 6225–6228, 6232, 6233, 6237.1–.2, 6272.1–6283, 6297.1–6322, 6362–6365, 6371.

Table 8.7 presents the undiagnostic ceramic fragments from Trench F (n=86). From these, the MNI is calculated at 27. The majority of sherds are refined earthenware (n=66; 76.74%), corresponding to an MNI of 22. There are 11 examples of soft paste porcelain with an MNI of 0, and nine stoneware sherds with an MNI of five.

Table 8.7 Summary of undiagnostic ceramic items from Trench F (n=86), with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	#	MNI		
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Blue slip; blue-grey paste	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1		
		Gold lustre	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1		
		Moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	3	1		
		Moulded; white slip	EW, refined – ironstone	1	1		
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	6	0		
		Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1		
		Banded – painted (red)	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1		
		Banded – painted (pink); moulded – ribbed	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1		
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		Moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		Sponged – cut-sponged (green, red)	EW, refined – whiteware	3	0		
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	9	5		
		Transfer print (brown), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	4	1		
		Transfer print (pink), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		Transfer print (purple), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	2	2		
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Fibre</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1	0		
		Transfer print (brown), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	2	1		
		Transfer print (brown), curved lines; slip glaze	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow variant</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		White slip	EW, refined – whiteware	1	1		
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	21	0		
		Moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	3	0		
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	8	0		
		Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	3	0		
		Buff-bodied; salt glaze	Stoneware	1	1		
		Buff-bodied; salt glaze; brown slip	Stoneware	1	1		
		Buff-bodied; unglazed; grey slip	Stoneware	1	1		
		Grey-bodied; unglazed; orange slip	Stoneware	1	1		
		Grey-bodied with buff marbling; salt glaze; brown slip	Stoneware	2	1		
		Total				86	27

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.

8.1.1.4 Trench G

Eleven ceramic fragments were found in Trench G, excavated from contexts 001 and 004. Eight (72.72%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.29). Ware types are split between refined earthenware (n=5; 45.45% and stoneware (n=6; 54.54%) (Figure 8.30).

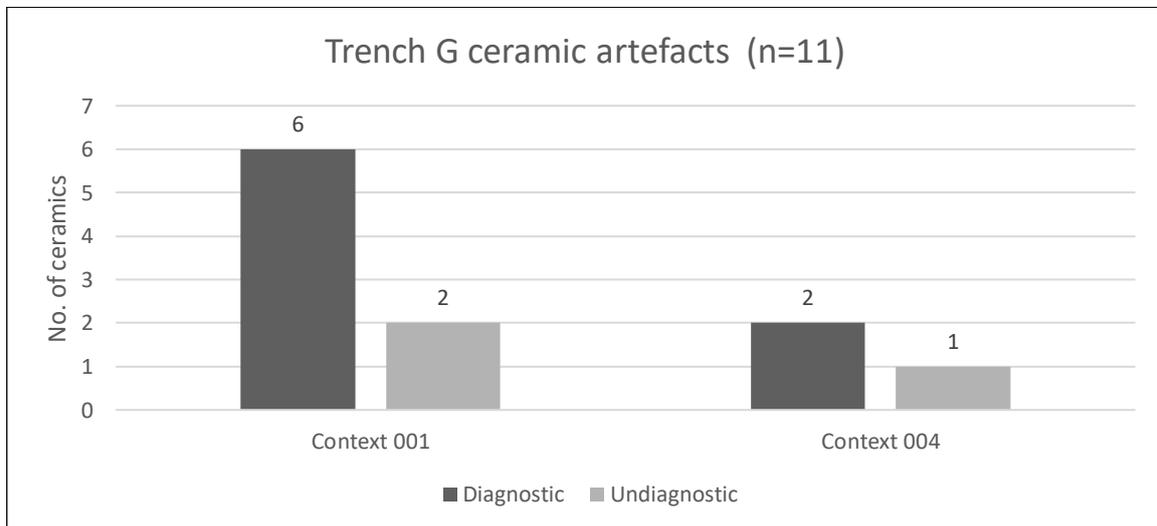


Figure 8.29 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench G.

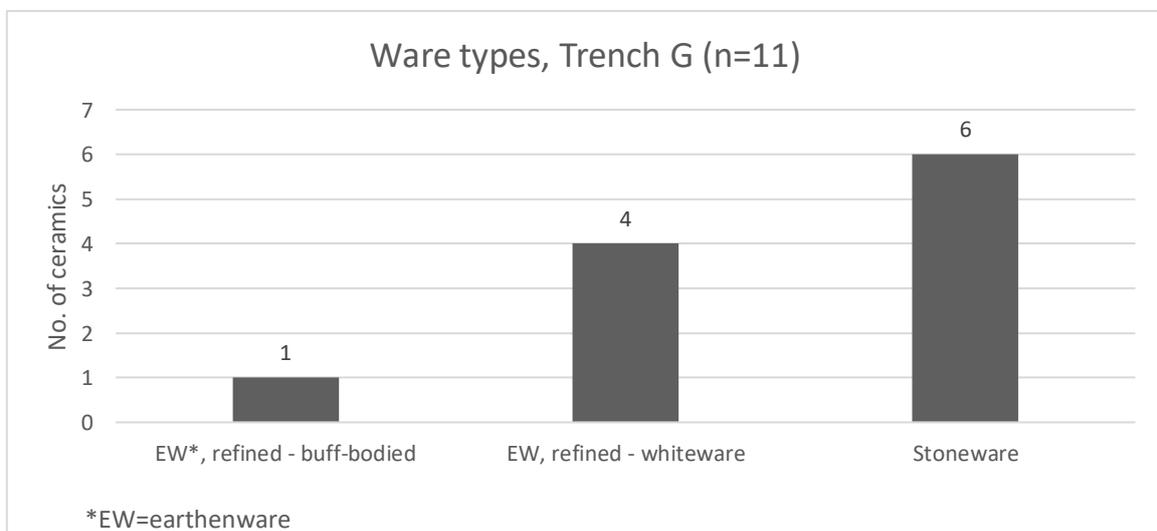


Figure 8.30 Ware types excavated from Trench G.

Table 8.8 presents the ceramics from Trench G (n=11). The MNI is calculated at eight, with six items calculated from diagnostic sherds and two from undiagnostic. This includes two stoneware items—a crock and an ink bottle—and four refined earthenware vessels—one

bowl, two plates and a teapot—calculated from eight diagnostic sherds. Three undiagnostic sherds correspond to one stoneware and one refined earthenware item.

Table 8.8 Ceramic fragments from Trench G (n=11), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Diagnostic						
Food/drink storage	Crock	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1
Household, general	Ink bottle	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	3	1
Tableware	Bowl	Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
	Plate (unknown size)	Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
Teaware	Teapot	Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Rockingham-type	EW, refined – buff-bodied	–	1	1
Undiagnostic						
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Buff-bodied, salt glaze	Stoneware	–	2	1
Total					11	8

EW=earthenware.

8.1.2 The enclosure—Trenches B, C and H

Excavations carried out over the possible enclosure reached natural surface, but an occupation layer was not uncovered. There was no clear artefact distribution patterning in Trenches B and C, which were located next to each other. No artefacts were collected from Trench H, a single 40 cm wide trench that was excavated mechanically. In Trench B, 103 ceramic fragments were retrieved, of which 55 (53.39%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.31). In Trench C, 59 ceramic fragments were retrieved, of which 34 (57.62%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.32). For both trenches, ceramics were excavated from contexts 001, 002 and 003, with none found in 004.

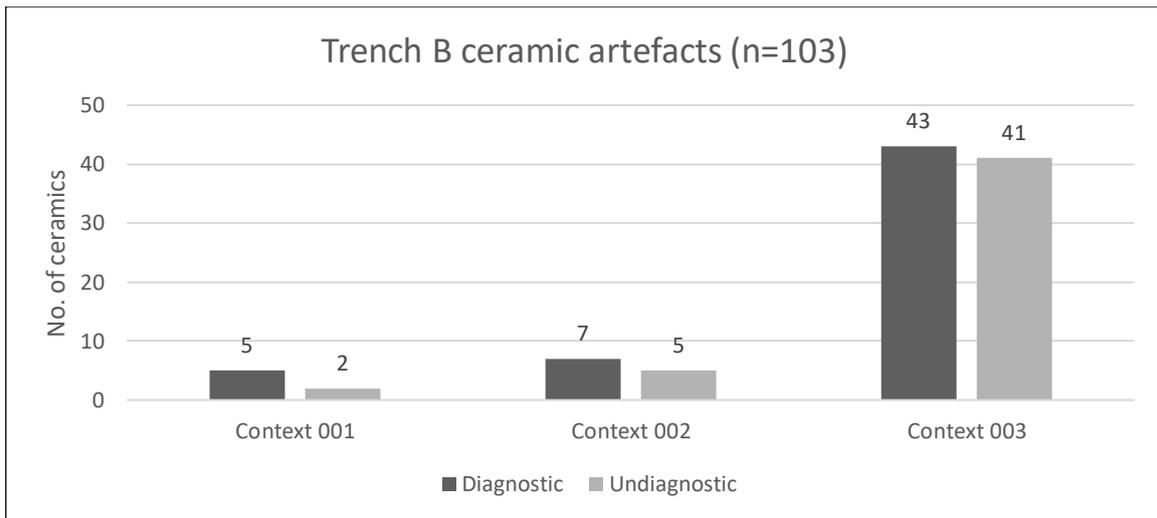


Figure 8.31 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench B.

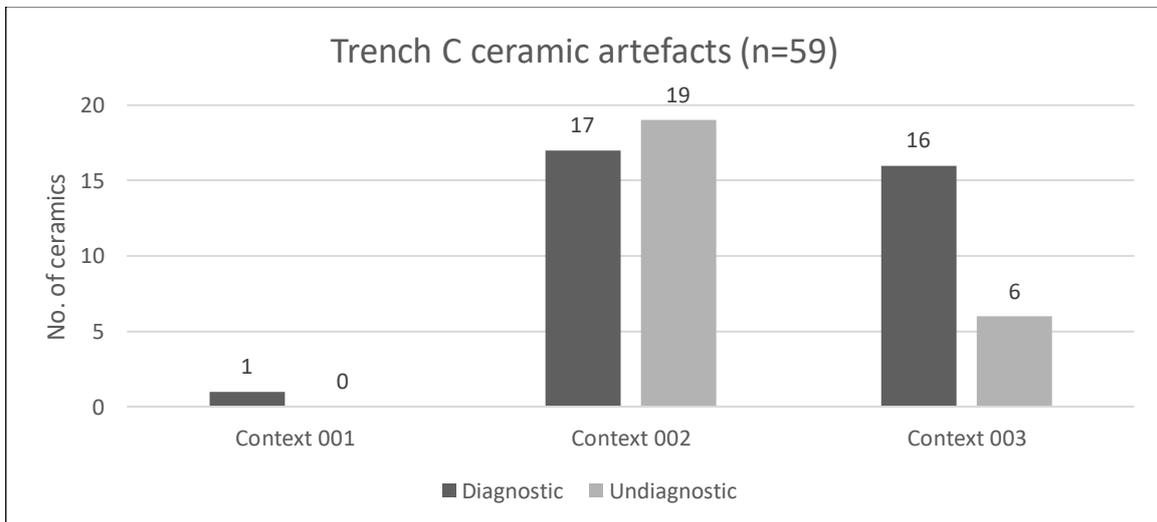


Figure 8.32 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench C.

Figure 8.33 shows that refined earthenware constitutes the majority of ceramics in Trench B (n=87; 84.47%), of which 64 (73.56%) pieces are whiteware. There are seven (6.80%) examples of soft paste porcelain, seven (6.80%) stoneware sherds and two (1.94%) clay pipe stems. The Trench C results are similar in that most artefacts (n=56; 94.92%) are refined earthenware, with 49 (87.50%) being whiteware (Figure 8.34). The remaining fragments are coarse earthenware redware (n=1; 1.69%) and stoneware (n=2; 3.38%).

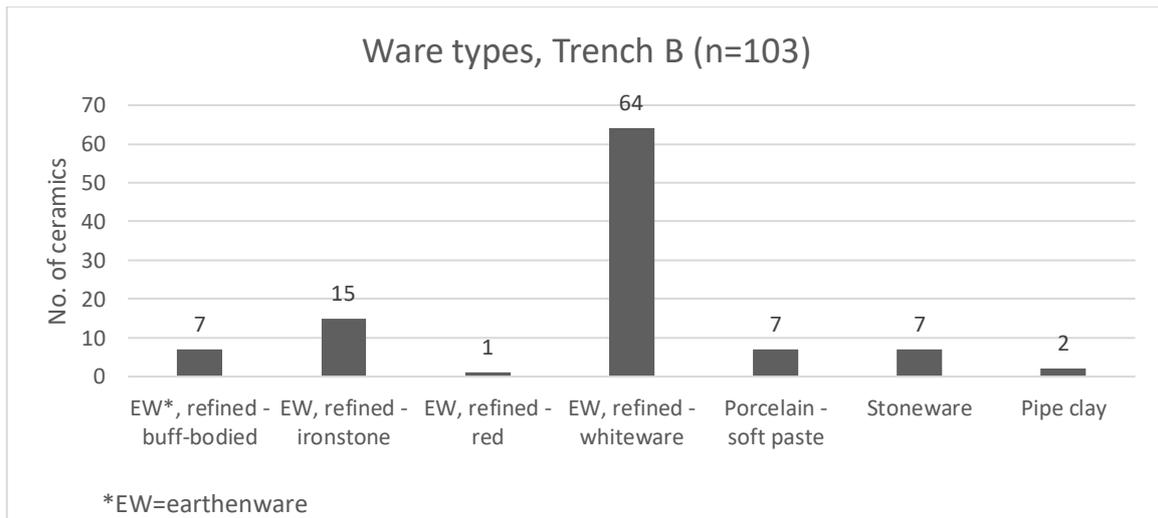


Figure 8.33 Ware types excavated from Trench B.

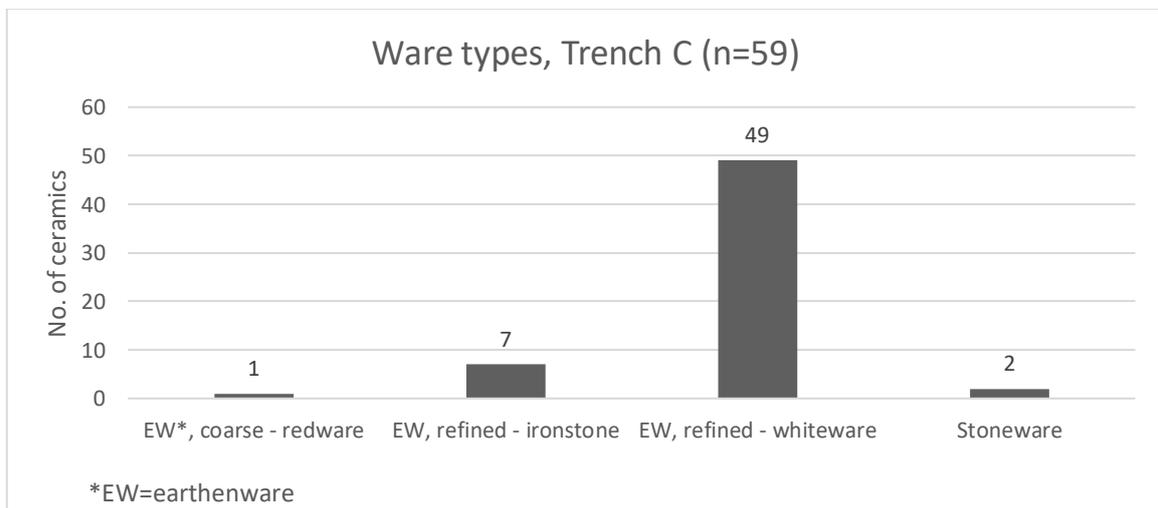


Figure 8.34 Ware types excavated from Trench C.

Table 8.9 summarises the ceramic artefacts excavated from Trench B, sorted by broad function and artefact form, and with the MNI calculated. From 103 artefacts the MNI is 54, with 35 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and 19 from undiagnostic. Under the broad function of general household items, the MNI is two, both of which are small ink bottles. For tableware, there are two different artefact forms present—bowl and plate—plus some items that are identifiable as tableware but that lack further identifying features. The single bowl is transfer-printed with a cable pattern. From 21 plate fragments, the MNI is 18, all refined earthenware. Most of these are whiteware (n=15; 83.33%), with the remainder being ironstone (n=3; 16.66%). The majority (n=15; 83.33%) are decorated, with 14 featuring a

transfer print, while one has a banded pattern with relief-moulded grapes. They can be divided into two standard sizes: bread and butter (n=3) and twifflers (n=6). There are nine plates of unknown size. There are a further four unidentifiable vessels that could be either a bowl or plate.

In the functional category of teaware, there are three different artefact forms present—cup, saucer and teapot. From three artefacts two tea cups are identifiable, both refined earthenware. There is one undecorated porcelain saucer. From eight fragments three teapots can be identified. Two of these are in the buff-bodied Rockingham style, while one is red-bodied. The pipe clay examples are both pipe stems, one of red paste with no marks or decorations (Figure 8.35), the other of white paste and stamped with W WHITE GLASGOW (Figure 8.36). Along with the pipe stem from Trench A, these are the only clay pipe fragments excavated on Baker’s Flat. There are a further two unidentifiable refined earthenware vessels, both of which are transfer-printed.

There are 48 undiagnostic sherds whose original form is unknown and unidentifiable, corresponding to an MNI of 19. Two are ironstone, 13 are whiteware, and one is porcelain. There are three stoneware vessels, one buff-bodied and Bristol glazed, one grey-bodied and salt glazed, and one grey-bodied and unglazed.

Table 8.9 Ceramic fragments from Trench B (n=103), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Diagnostic						
Household, general	Ink bottle	Salt glaze; brown slip	Stoneware	–	2	1
		Unglazed; orange slip	Stoneware	–	1	1
					3	2
Tableware	Bowl	Transfer print (purple), cable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
					2	1
	Plate (unknown size)	Transfer print (purple), F&F – roses	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Transfer print (purple), castle	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F – berries	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), F&F – oak	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), F&F – roses	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
	Plate, bread & butter	Banded – painted (pink); moulded grape	EW, refined – ironstone	15	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	15	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	15	1	1
	Plate, twiffler	Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (purple), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (green), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (black), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	20	2	1
					21	18
	Unidentifiable	Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Transfer print (green), F&F; moulded (ribbed)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	0
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	0
					9	4
Teaware	Cup	Blue paste; blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	10	2	1
		Moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
	Saucer	Undecorated	Porcelain	–	1	1
	Teapot	Rockingham-type	EW, refined – buff-bodied	10	7	2
		Highly vitrified glaze; moulded	EW, refined – red-bodied	12.5	1	1
					12	6
Tobacco pipe	Tobacco pipe	Undecorated	Red pipe clay	–	1	1
		Stamped maker's mark	White pipe clay	–	1	1
					2	2
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	0
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Sprig</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
					6	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Undiagnostic						
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Blue paste; blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	0
		Moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	–	2	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	6	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (brown), buildings	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (lilac), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (green), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (grey), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (purple), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (violet), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (green), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (violet), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Sponged – spatter (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	11	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain	–	6	1
		Buff paste; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1
		Grey paste; salt glaze	Stoneware	–	2	1
		Grey paste; unglazed	Stoneware	–	1	1
					48	19
Total					103	54

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.



Figure 8.35 Partial red clay pipe stem, no motifs or trademarks, Trench B. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.36 Two views of partial white clay pipe stem, stamped with W WHITE and GLASGOW, Trench B. Photos: Simon Hoad.

Table 8.10 summarises the ceramic artefacts excavated from Trench C (n=59) by broad function and artefact form, alongside the calculated MNI (n=38). The MNI comprises 26 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and 12 from undiagnostic. Under the broad function of tableware there are eight plates—five of unknown size and three twifflers. All are a refined earthenware, with most being whiteware (n=6; 75%) and the remainder ironstone (n=2; 25%). Four are transfer-printed, two are undecorated, one is banded and one has a distinctive blue paste overlaid with a blue slip. There are a further 14 unidentifiable vessels that could be either a bowl or plate. One of these, a rim and body sherd, has a green transfer print in a geometric banded pattern that corresponds to the same pattern and form as one from Trench B (Figure 8.37).

The functional category of teaware is represented by three tea cups. One of these, an ironstone, shares the same blue-grey paste and slip as one of the plates, example sherds of which are shown in Figure 8.38. Examples of this earthenware are found in Trenches A (BFK/5065), B (BFK/5397, 5398, 5399), C (BFK/5601, 5602, 5603, 5604), E (BFK/5763, 5785) and F (BFK/6018, 6348). There is one unidentifiable whiteware vessel, transfer-printed with the *Rhine* pattern.

There are 25 undiagnostic sherds whose original form is unknown and unidentifiable, corresponding to an MNI of 12. One item is unglazed coarse redware, ten are whiteware, and one is buff-bodied, Bristol glazed stoneware.

Table 8.10 Ceramic fragments from Trench C (n=59), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Diagnostic						
Tableware	Plate (unknown size)	Blue paste; blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), landscape	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
Plate, twiffler		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	22.5	1	1
		Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	21.75	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	1	1
					9	8
Unidentifiable		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	–	4	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (green), buildings	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), buildings – castles	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F and spiral	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (green), geometric	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (green), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
Teaware	Cup	Blue paste; blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	10	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	10	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	10	1	1
					3	3

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
					2	1
Undiagnostic						
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Unglazed	EW, coarse – redware	–	1	1
		Blue paste; blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	2	0
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	0
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	0
		Transfer print (purple), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (brown), F&F; moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), <i>Fibre</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Industrial slip; cat's eye	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), marbling	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Rhine variant?</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (brown), ribbon	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (purple), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	7	1
		Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	2	1
					25	12
Total					59	38

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.



Figure 8.37 Two sherds featuring the same green, geometric transfer print, BFK/5600 from Trench C and BFK/5366 from Trench B. Photos: Simon Hoad.

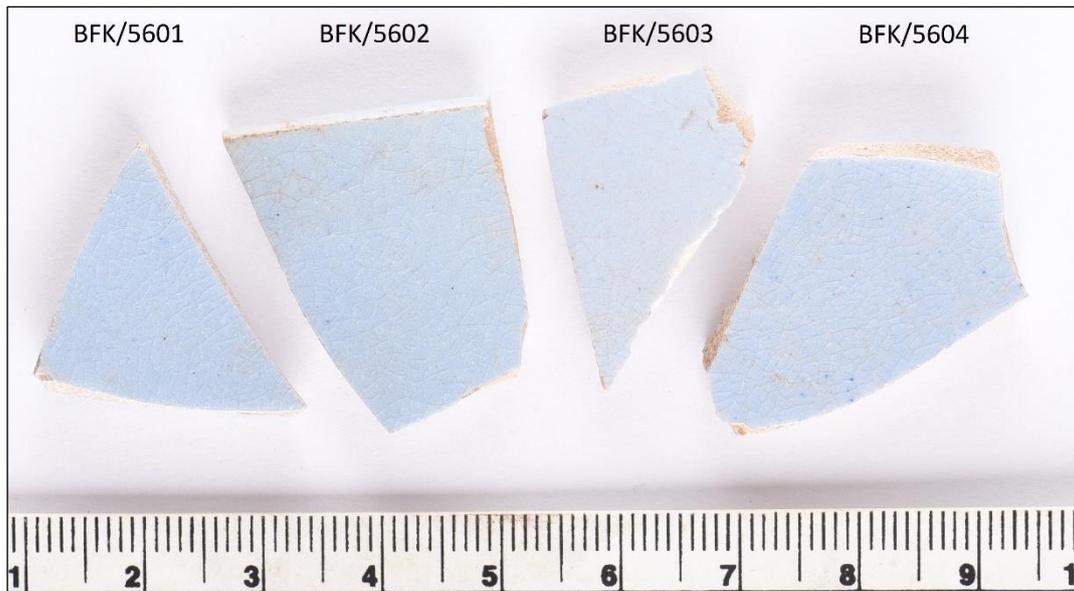


Figure 8.38 Four examples of blue-paste ironstone with blue slip, Trench C. Photo: Simon Hoad.

8.1.3 The round structure—Trench E

In Trench E, 115 ceramic fragments were excavated, of which 69 (60%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.39). Most (n=99; 86.09%) were located in contexts 001 and 002, a surface layer of top soil, clay fill and dumped material. As such, these artefacts are likely to have been deposited there when the landowner was clearing the land and used this location as a dump for large metal items and associated material. Although linked with the residents of Baker's Flat, they are unlikely to be connected to the use of this specific structure. No ceramics were found in contexts 003 (the trough) or 004 (curved wall and circular stone hearth). The occupation layers (contexts 005, 006, 007, 009) were clean, with only a small number of ceramics (n=12; 10.43%). Four (3.48%) ceramic sherds were found in context 008, a partly excavated built-up area of clay, pebbles and stones located behind context 003. Most of the ceramics are a refined earthenware (n=78; 67.83%), of which 63 (80.77%) are lead glazed whiteware (Figure 8.40). There are 12 (10.43%) examples of coarse earthenware, 14 (12.17%) of porcelain and 11 (9.57%) of stoneware.

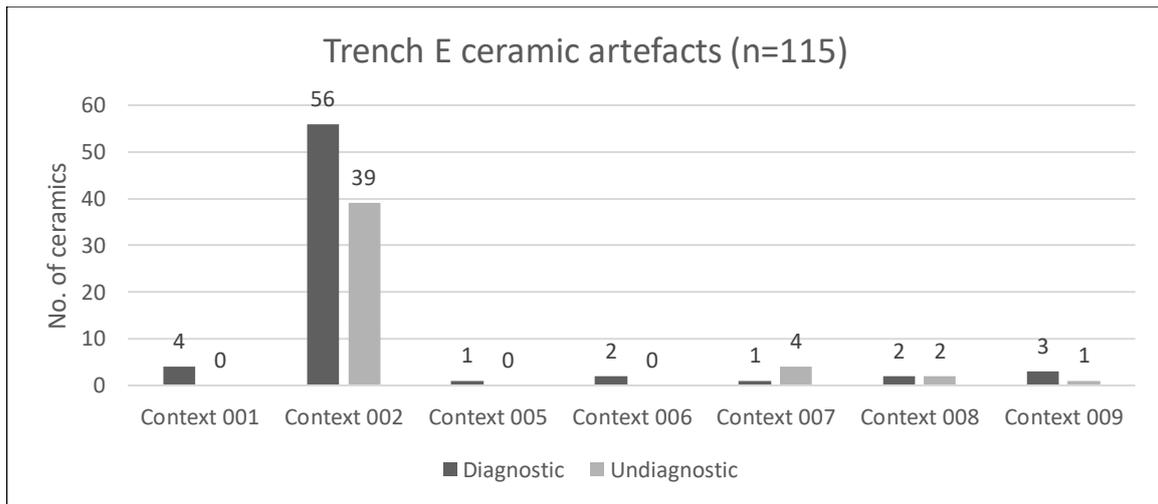


Figure 8.39 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic ceramic artefacts per context, Trench E.

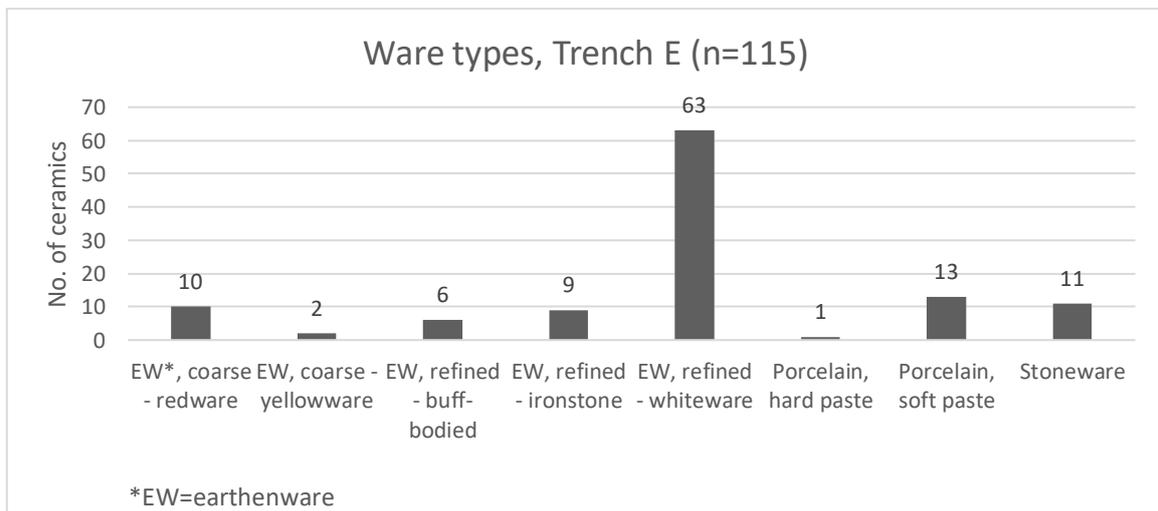


Figure 8.40 Ware types excavated from Trench E.

Table 8.11 presents the ceramic artefacts excavated from Trench E, sorted by broad function and artefact form, and with the MNI calculated. From 115 artefacts, the MNI is 73, with 56 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and 17 from undiagnostic. Under the broad function of food/drink storage, the MNI is two, comprising one yellowware basin and one stoneware bottle. In the general household category, the MNI is three and includes a redware flower pot, and a stoneware ink bottle and storage jar. Three items have been identified as toys. One is a coarse earthenware marble. The others are a small porcelain cup and saucer catalogued as part of a child's tea set (Figure 8.41).

For tableware, there are 22 plates of varying sizes: bread and butter (n=2); dinner (n=5); luncheon (n=4); nappie (n=1); soup (n=1); tea/dessert (n=1); and twifflers (n=5). Three plates are of unknown size (n=3). Two (9.09%) are a soft paste porcelain, featuring gilt and enamelled bands, one pink, one blue. The remainder are whiteware (n=20; 90.91%). Most of these (n=16; 80%) have been decorated using a transfer print, one (5%) has a blue band and cut-sponge polychrome pattern, one (5%) a sponged blue spatter pattern, and two (10%) are undecorated. Figure 8.42 illustrates some of the patterns found on the tableware. There are a further 11 unidentifiable vessels that could be either bowl or plate.

In the functional category of teaware, there are four different artefact forms present—cup, saucer, creamer, teapot—totalling 11 items. Six different tea cups are identifiable, three whiteware and three soft paste porcelain. There are two saucers, one whiteware with an unidentifiable flow blue/transfer print, and one soft paste porcelain with a gilt banded design. A whiteware creamer is transfer-printed with a design of berries (possibly blackberries) and leaves. From six fragments, a minimum number of two teapots can be identified, both in the Rockingham style. A further four items can be identified as teaware of unidentifiable form.

Finally, there are 46 undiagnostic sherds whose original form is unknown and unidentifiable, corresponding to an MNI of 17. One item is glazed redware with red slip, six are ironstone, eight are whiteware, and two are stoneware.

Table 8.11 Ceramic fragments from Trench E (n=115), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
Diagnostic						
Food/drink storage	Basin	Undecorated	EW, coarse – yellowware	27.5	1	1
	Ginger beer bottle	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	3	1	1
					2	2
Household, general	Flower pot	Unglazed	EW, coarse – redware	–	1	1
	Ink bottle	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1
	Storage jar	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	–	1	1
					3	3
Tableware	Plate (unknown size)	Transfer print (blue), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (brown); relief moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
	Plate, bread & butter	Transfer print (blue), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	15	1	1
		Transfer print (black), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	15	1	1
	Plate, dinner	Banded (blue); sponged – cut-sponged (polychrome)	EW, refined – whiteware	25	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	27.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	23.75	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	27.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	25	1	1
	Plate, luncheon	Sponged – spatter (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue-grey), <i>Rhine</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	20	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	21.75	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	2	1
	Plate, nappie	Banded – enamelled (blue); gilt	Porcelain – soft paste	12.5	1	1
	Plate, soup	Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
	Plate, tea/dessert	Banded – enamelled (pink); gilt	Porcelain – soft paste	16.75	1	1
	Plate, twiffler	Transfer print (green-blue), unknown; edge-moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	22.5	3	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F; edge-moulded; relief-moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	20	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	17.5	1	1
					26	22
	Unidentifiable	White slip	EW, coarse – redware	–	1	1
		Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Banded – painted (green)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (black), F&F; relief-moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	3
		Transfer print (blue), ribbon & staff, backstamp	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	0
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	0
		Transfer print (blue), unidentifiable	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Edge-moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					15	11
Teaware	Cup	Banded – painted (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	7.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), decorated border	EW, refined – whiteware	7.5	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	7.5	1	1
		Banded – enamelled (purple)	Porcelain – soft paste	6.75	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	1	1
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	10	1	1
	Saucer	Flow blue/transfer print? (blue)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Banded – enamelled (gilt)	Porcelain – soft paste	15	2	1
	Creamer	Transfer print (blue), berries	EW, refined – whiteware	12.5	1	1
	Teapot	Rockingham-type	EW, refined – buff-bodied	–	6	2
	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Hand-painted – enamelled (red, green)	Porcelain – hard paste	–	1	1
		Moulded; edge-moulded; lustre	Porcelain – soft paste	10	1	1
Undecorated		Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1	
					20	15
Toy	Marble	Undecorated	EW, coarse – yellowware	–	1	1
	Tea set cup	Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
	Tea set saucer	Banded – enamelled (gilt); moulded	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	1
					3	3
Undiagnostic						
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Red slip, glazed	EW, coarse – redware	–	4	1
		Unglazed	EW, coarse – redware	–	4	0
		Blue slip; blue-grey paste	EW, refined – ironstone	–	2	1
		Banded – painted (blue, green); blue slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Cream slip	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		White slip; relief-moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Relief-moulded	EW, refined – ironstone	–	1	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	–	3	1
		Banded – painted (green)	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Flow blue	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Relief-moulded	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	#	MNI
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	3	1
		Transfer print (brown), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (grey), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (violet), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	–	2	1
		Transfer print (brown), <i>Fibre</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	1
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	–	1	0
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	–	7	0
		Undecorated	Porcelain – soft paste	–	1	0
		Buff-bodied; salt glaze	Stoneware	–	7	1
		Grey-bodied; unglazed	Stoneware	–	1	1
					46	17
Total					115	73

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.

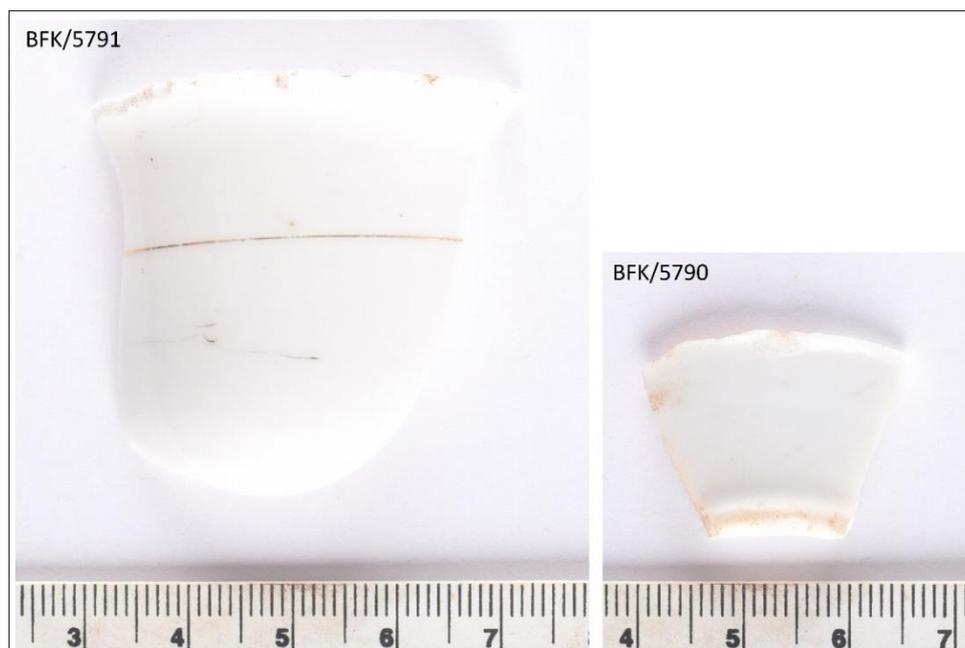


Figure 8.41 Fragment of small porcelain tea cup with gilt band, 5 cm rim diameter (BFK/5791) and saucer, 6.25 cm diameter (BFK/5790), catalogued as part of child's tea set. Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.42 Sample patterns on tableware, Trench E. Top row, L to R: unknown transfer print, leaf; polychrome cut-sponge banded and foliage. Bottom row, L to R, all transfer prints: *Rhine*, *Willow*, unknown stylised foliage. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

8.1.4 The dance floor

Two ceramic fragments were found on the dance floor surface, both diagnostic. One (BFK/5900) is a small, refined earthenware rim sherd, transfer-printed with a blue *Rhine* pattern on both inner and outer surfaces. Although *Rhine* is usually printed in grey, blue has also been recorded (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:300–301). The rim diameter (calculated at 10 cm) equates to a tea cup, as does the profile which curves outwards at the rim. The second fragment (BFK/5901) is a stoneware, Bristol glazed sherd from the base and body of a cylindrical vessel. With a base diameter calculated at 6.25 cm, this fragment is consistent with a general household bottle, such as blacking or ink.

8.1.5 Date ranges for the total ceramic assemblage

Table 8.12 and Table 8.13 outline the earliest and latest possible manufacture dates for the Baker's Flat ceramics. From 1,186 ceramics, an earliest start date can be assigned to 927 (78.16%) artefacts. End dates prove more elusive, with just 162 (13.66%) being allocated a terminus ante quem. In the context of Baker's Flat with its lengthy occupation period, it needs to be noted that earliest and latest dates are estimates at best. The ubiquitous, white-

bodied, clear-glazed refined earthenware, for example, has a traditional start date of 1820 denoting its mass-market popularisation and use for the full range of tablewares and teawares (Brooks 2005:35). A standard start date of 1835 has been adopted here for Bristol glazed stoneware. This industrial slip glaze was originally developed c.1835 (Brooks 2005:28) and was then adopted by other stoneware makers until it too became ubiquitous. The year 1835 has also been assigned as the earliest start date for flow blue. Although its most common archaeological start date is c.1845, this is in the North American context and Brooks (2005:39) suggests that 1835 is more accurate for archaeological assemblages in the UK and Australia. South Australia, of course, was not settled by Europeans until 1836, and Kapunda until 1842, but the accepted start and end dates have been retained for standardisation and comparison purposes. Their main contribution to this assemblage is that they serve to confirm a mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century occupation date for the Baker's Flat site.

Table 8.12 Earliest possible manufacture dates for ceramic artefacts, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Dance Floor
1790–99	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1800–09	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
1810–19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1820–29	151	59	42	19	54	84	3	1
1830–39	32	11	11	3	13	149	5	1
1840–49	6	6	5	1	14	79	0	0
1850–59	10	4	1	6	0	10	0	0
1860–69	7	0	0	1	5	90	0	0
1870–79	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1880–89	28	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
1890–99	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
1900–09	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Undatable	151	22	0	6	27	50	3	0
Total	385	103	59	36	115	475	11	2

Table 8.13 Latest possible manufacture dates for ceramic artefacts, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Dance Floor
1830–39	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1840–49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1850–59	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1860–69	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1870–79	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1880–89	1	3	4	2	2	2	0	0
1890–99	0	7	0	0	1	79	0	0
1900–09	30	0	0	0	0	11	0	0
1910–19	4	0	0	6	0	2	0	0
1920–29	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
Undatable	349	93	54	27	109	379	11	2
Total	385	103	59	36	115	475	11	2

Within these limitations, however, there are some outliers. Three artefacts have an earliest start date in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The first, BFK/6035, excavated from Trench F, is the rim and body sherd of a soft paste porcelain tea cup that has been assigned a start date of 1800 and end date of 1830 (the earliest end date in the assemblage). This fragment has a red transfer print (Munsell 7.5YR 3/10) applied as an overglaze and a pattern of fine pointed stems and leaves, infilled with stippling (Figure 8.43). Brooks (2005:43) states that the earliest transfer prints, dating from the early 1760s, were blue or red overglaze prints on creamware, and that overglaze transfer printing continued on bone china at least into the 1820s. Referring to the development of transfer printing, Majewski and O'Brien (1987:142) note that the greatest improvement came in the early 1800s with the combination of line-and-stipple engraving. The fineness of the design on this fragment, and the stippling in the leaves, indicate that it dates from the early nineteenth century, rather than the late eighteenth century when the technology did not allow such granularity of design. This early date suggests that the tea cup may have been brought to South Australia in an emigrant's baggage rather than purchased locally in the years after arrival.



Figure 8.43 Rim and body sherd of porcelain tea cup with red overglaze transfer print. Photo: Brendan Kearns.

Artefact BFK/5712, excavated from Trench E, is the partial rim and body of a heavily decorated and moulded soft paste porcelain vessel (Figure 8.44). Its estimated date range is 1790 to 1850. Featuring a highly vitrified lead glaze and a gold lustre overglaze, the rim is

edge-moulded in a scalloped semi-circle pattern and has a diameter calculated at 10 cm. Although the rim measurement is consistent with this piece being a tea cup, it could also be a sugar bowl, a jug or even a salt cellar. The Wedgewood company developed the first commercially successful gold and platinum lustres in the early 1790s, and the traditional end date for significant lustre production is c.1850 (Brooks 2005:40). Its presence in Australia appears to be uncommon (Brooks 2005:40). Bearing this in mind, this could possibly be a fragment of an object brought originally from Ireland.

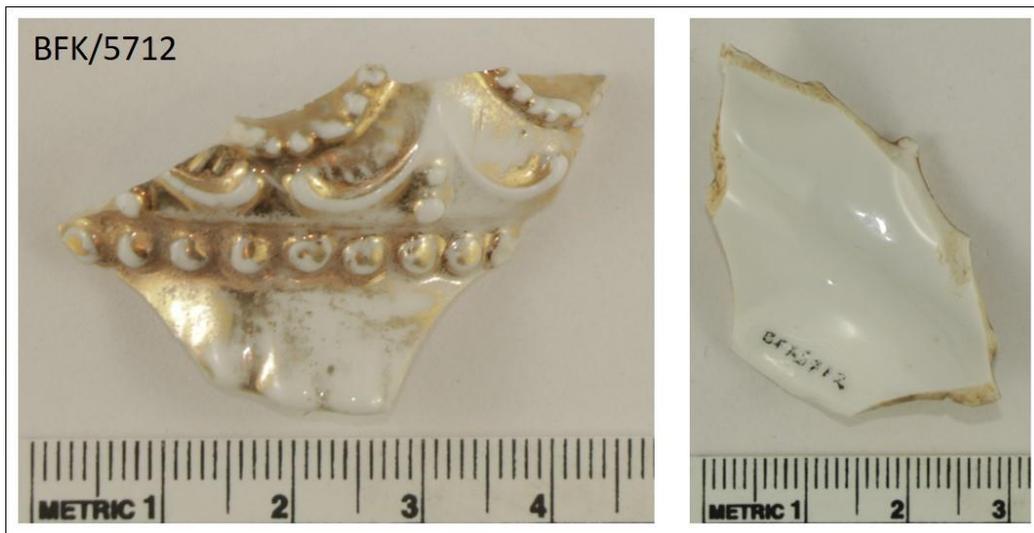


Figure 8.44 Rim and body sherd of porcelain vessel, Trench E. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

Finally, BFK/5402, excavated from Trench B, is a tobacco pipe stem, stamped with the maker's marks W WHITE and GLASGOW, that has an earliest start date of 1805 and latest of 1891. The Museums Victoria Collections (2016a) hold a clay pipe stem impressed with the same marks with a statement that it was manufactured by William White of Glasgow between 1805 and c.1891. However, many of the major pipe exporters to Australia were in business for a lengthy period—William White was in production from 1805 to 1955 (Museums Victoria Collections 2016a)—and with these extended production times, the maker's name does not necessarily provide useful dating information (Gojak and Stuart 1999:47). Since clay pipes broke easily and were frequently thrown away, it is much more likely that this stem dates from the Baker's Flat occupation period rather than being a pipe that was brought from overseas.

8.1.6 Broad ware types for the total ceramic assemblage

During the cataloguing process, each ceramic artefact was assigned a broad ware type, following a typology explicitly oriented to British wares of the Australian colonial period (Brooks 2005). Figure 8.45 shows the broad ware types found in the Baker’s Flat ceramic assemblage (n=1,186), specifically coarse earthenware, refined earthenware, porcelain, stoneware and pipe clay. By far the greatest numbers are represented by refined earthenware, with 983 examples (82.88%), unsurprising since this group of wares is recognised as the most common on colonial sites (Brooks 2005:32). There are small numbers of coarse earthenware (n=27; 2.28%), porcelain (n=106; 8.94%) and stoneware (n=67; 5.65%), and just three examples (0.25%) of pipe clay.

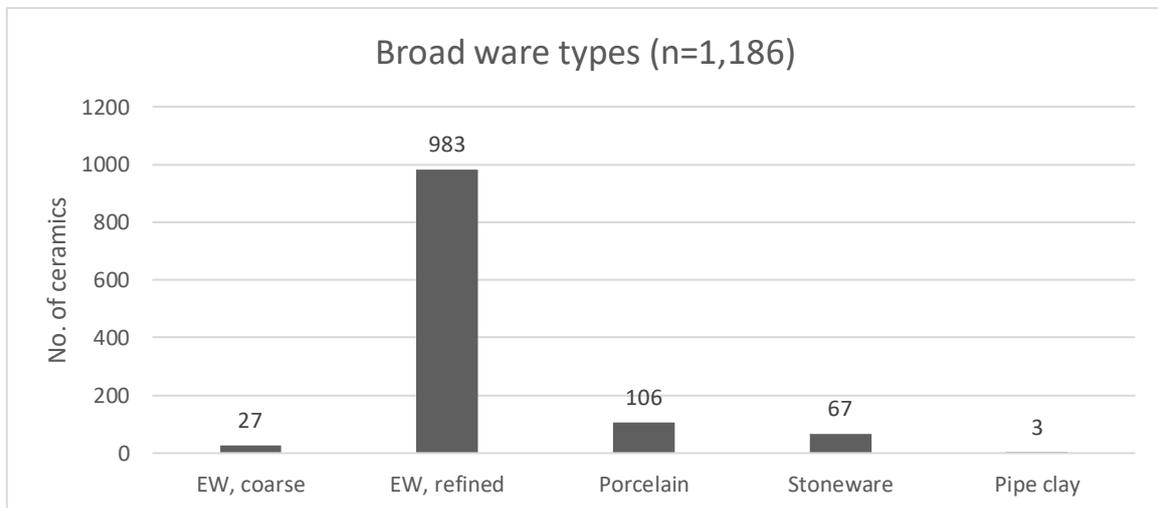


Figure 8.45 Broad ware types across the ceramic assemblage.

8.2 Glass

A total of 2,153 glass artefacts were recovered from Baker's Flat. Almost all (n=2,147) were excavated from Trenches A to G, with six found on the surface of the dance floor. Details for each item can be found in Appendix H(ii)—Baker's Flat Glass [electronic file]. For this research, a glass artefact is considered diagnostic if it has any portion of a base, closure, mouth, legible marks such as embossed letters or a maker's mark, or any technologically identifiable element, such as more than one mould seam, stretch marks or a distinctive shape. Items whose form could be identified were catalogued as such, e.g. bottle, jar, vial. Those that could be identified as a vessel, but not an actual type, were catalogued as containers. A colour wheel was used to limit colour choices and reduce eccentric classification. Artefacts have been assigned an MNI of zero when they could be part of another identified item.

8.2.1 Inside the dwelling—Trenches A, D, F and G

The building uncovered during the excavations of Trenches A and F was long and rectangular, a shape consistent with the Irish vernacular form. Artefacts found here support the hypothesis that it was a domestic dwelling. Trenches D and G were located south of Trench A and north-east of Trench F respectively—neither had occupation layers.

8.2.1.1 Trench A

From Trench A, 636 glass artefacts were excavated, of which 418 (65.72%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.46). Of the 45 contexts in Trench A, glass was found in seven (contexts 002, 003, 003A, 004, 005, 034). Almost all the glass (n=597; 93.86%) was excavated from contexts 004 (clay fill) or 005 (occupation layer).

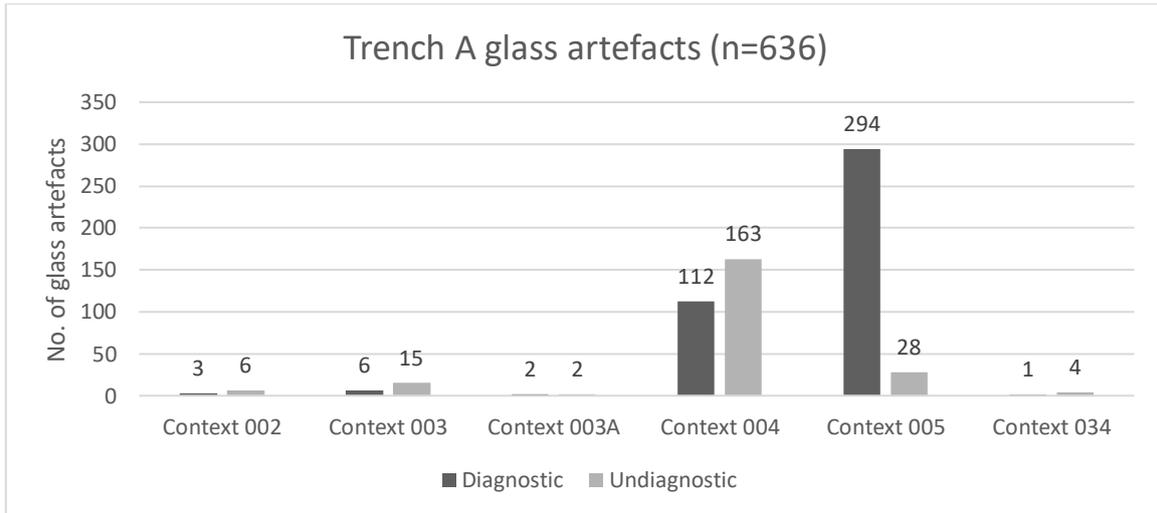


Figure 8.46 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench A.

Figure 8.47 illustrates how small numbers were distributed across most squares, with about half (n=308; 48.38%) located in the rubbish disposal area (X17:Y20,Y21) and a further 122 (19.15%) in adjoining squares (X16:Y19,Y20,Y21; X17:Y19). The pattern of contexts and spatial location is almost identical to the distribution of Trench A ceramics, described above in section 8.1.1.1.

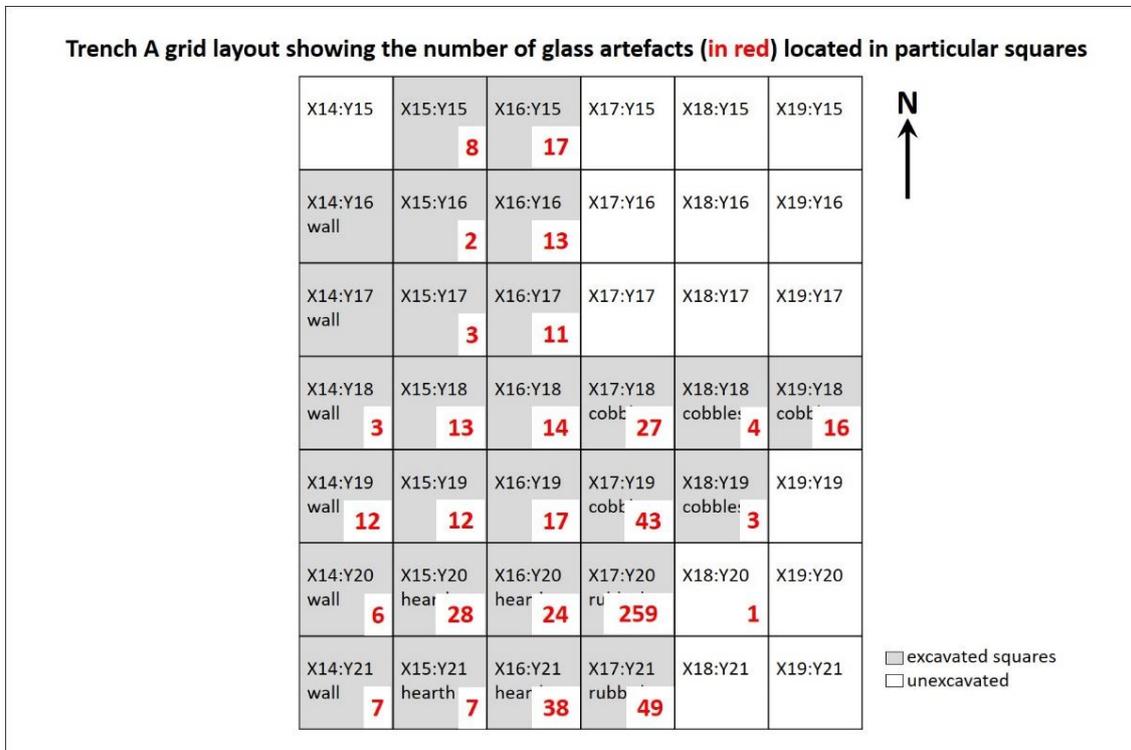


Figure 8.47 Location of glass artefacts (n=637) in Trench A.

Table 8.14 presents the Trench A glass artefacts, broken down by broad function and artefact form. The MNI is calculated at 65, with 63 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and two from undiagnostic. Alcohol bottles represent almost a quarter of the items (n=16; 24.6%), with a minimum of eight bottles for wine/champagne (three example artefacts shown in Figure 8.48), two each for gin/schnapps and beer, one whiskey and three that can be identified as containing alcohol, although the precise contents could not be identified. The MNI for non-alcoholic soft drink bottles is calculated as four (6.15%).

There are 14 (21.54%) medicine bottles, including seven fragments of a small, almost complete vial with a patent lip finish. Three of the medicine bottles retain sufficient embossed lettering for the brand name to be accurately identified. These are: *Eno's Fruit Salts* (Figure 8.49), a product first created by James Crossley Eno in the 1850s and which is still available today (Rance 2009); *Wood's Great Peppermint Cure for Coughs & Colds*, a New Zealand invention of the early 1900s by the chemist W.E. Woods (NZ Museums n.d.); and *A.J. White Ltd* (Figure 8.50), who manufactured patent medicines, including a well-known dyspepsia remedy called Mother Seigel's Curative Syrup (Antique-Bottles.net 2010; Grace's Guide to British Industrial History 2017). This syrup was available in South Australia from at least 1879 to 1940 (*Bunyip* 1940:1; *South Australian Register* 1879:7).

For food and drink storage, there is one beef extract jar, one salad oil/vinegar bottle and four containers associated with the storage of pickles, fruit or sauce. Other general household items include an ink bottle, a pressed glass plate with dotted design, and a pressed glass comport with a stippled horseshoe/riding crop pattern and the words GOOD LUCK. There is also one small amber-coloured bottle suitable for perfume or toilet water (Figure 8.51).

There are 245 fragments of window glass, ranging in thickness from 1.75 mm to 2.64 mm, for which the MNI has been assessed as one. They are consistent with pane glass manufactured until c.1870 using the crown method, where the thickness is less than 2.8 mm (Burke et al. 2017:315). Mrs Beanland (ex-Baker's Flat resident) recalled that the houses on Baker's Flat had 'one window to each room of four smallish panes', located only on the eastern side (Bettison 1975). Most of these fragments (n=219; 89.39%) were excavated from the rubbish dump (X17:Y20) or adjacent squares (X16:Y20,21; X17:Y19) and the original window placement cannot be determined. Ten fragments excavated from square X16:Y15, context 004 are illustrated in Figure 8.52.

There are a further 50 diagnostic fragments, equating to 18 vessels which can be identified as either bottles, jars or containers since they retain a partial base/finish, particular body shape or unique pattern. However, they lack sufficient characteristics to identify their original function. An example is shown in Figure 8.53, the partial base of a pressed glass container, possibly a small jar for use on the kitchen table or dressing table. There are 218 undiagnostic fragments, with an MNI calculated at two, relating to two pieces of blue milk glass not found elsewhere in the trench and three pieces of flat glass of approximately 6.48 mm thickness.

Table 8.14 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench A (n=636), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=418)					
Alcohol	Bottle (unknown contents)	Aqua	Partial body, panel; embossed letter S	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Complete	1	1
	Bottle (beer)	Dark green (black)	Partial base, body, finish	5	1
		Dark green (black)	Partial finish	2	2
	Bottle (gin/schnapps)	Olive green	Partial base	1	1
		Olive green	Partial base, body; <i>Udolpho Wolfe</i>	4	1
	Bottle (whiskey)	Aqua	Partial base, body; embossed letters ...AMES...	1	1
		Bottle (wine/champagne)	Brown/amber	Partial base, body, neck	14
	Dark green (black)		Partial base, body, neck; complete finish	15	5
	Emerald green		Partial base, complete finish	3	1
	Olive green	Partial base, body	2	1	
				49	16
Beef extract	Jar (Bovril)	Brown/amber	Partial base, body	1	1
				1	1
Ink	Bottle (ink)	Aqua	Complete	1	1
				1	1
Medicine	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base, body; rectangular shape; embossed letters ...B...R?...	1	1
		Aqua	Partial base, body; <i>Wood's Peppermint Cure</i>	1	1
		Aqua	Partial neck, complete finish	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Complete; <i>A.J. White Ltd, Bottle Made in Germany</i>	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base, body, finish; <i>Eno's Fruit Salts</i>	13	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base, body; embossed letters ...RLES...	2	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body (chamfered panel)	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
		Brown/amber	Partial body; embossed letters ...ITE & Co	1	1
		Cobalt blue	Partial body	1	1
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body, finish; 1oz bottle	5	1
		Colourless	Complete neck, finish	1	1
		Colourless	Partial neck, finish	1	1
		Sapphire	Partial base, body; 8oz bottle	1	1
	Vial	Colourless	Partial body, complete finish of small, delicate vial	7	1
				37	14
Non-alcoholic (soft drink)	Bottle	Aqua	Complete base, partial body	1	1
		Aqua	Complete base, partial body; embossed letters SIX A O CALLON	6	1
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body; <i>Bickford & Son Ltd</i>	6	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body, finish	3	1
				16	4
Perfume/toilet water	Bottle	Brown/amber	Complete	1	1
				1	1
Pickles/fruit/sauce	Bottle	Aqua	Complete finish, partial neck	1	1
	Jar	Colourless	Partial neck, finish	1	1
		Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body, rim; wide-mouthed jar	1	1
		Aqua	Partial neck; applied finish	2	1
				5	4
Salad oil/vinegar	Bottle	Aqua	Body only	2	1
				2	1
Tableware	Comport	Colourless	Partial body of pressed glass dish; stippled pattern of horseshoe/riding crop and partial GOOD LUCK	10	1
	Plate?	Colourless	Partial body of pressed glass ?plate; dotted design, two lipped rim	1	1
				11	2
Window	Window glass	Aqua/colourless	~2.1 mm thickness, found Sq X17:Y19 C002/004/005	22	1
		Aqua/colourless	~2.2 mm thickness, found together Sq X17:Y20 C004/005	193	0
		Colourless	~1.8 mm thickness, found Sq X15:Y15 C004	2	0
		Colourless	~2.5 mm thickness, found Sq X15:Y20,21 C004	10	0
		Colourless	~2.0 mm thickness, found Sq X16:Y15 C004	11	0
		Colourless	~2.6 mm thickness, found Sq X16:Y18 C004	2	0
		Colourless	~2.1 mm thickness, found Sq X16:Y20 C004/005	2	0

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI	
		Colourless	~1.2 mm thickness, found	2	0	
			Sq X16:Y21 C004/005			
		Colourless	~2.6 mm thickness, found	1	0	
			Sq X17:Y18 C004			
				245	1	
Unknown function	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body; square shape	1	1	
		Aqua	Partial base, body, finish, stopper	23	7	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base, body, finish	10	2	
		Colourless	Partial base, body, neck	9	4	
		Emerald green	Partial base	1	0	
		Olive green	Partial base, body	2	1	
	Container	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base; pressed glass with vertical ribbed pattern	2	1	
		Colourless	Partial body with decorative moulded beading	1	1	
	Jar	Colourless	Partial body, neck	1	1	
					50	18
Undiagnostic (n=218)						
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Body only	38	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Body only	35	0	
		Brown/amber	Body only	2	0	
		Cobalt blue	Body only	1	0	
		Colourless	Body only	28	0	
		Dark green (black)	Body only	9	0	
		Emerald green	Body only	18	0	
		Olive green	Body only	50	0	
		Container	Amethyst (solarised)	Body only	1	0
			Aqua	Body only	6	0
	Aqua (tint)		Body only	9	0	
	Blue milk glass		Body only	2	1	
	Unknown form	Colourless	Body only	11	0	
		Colourless	Body only; pressed glass	2	0	
		Olive green	Body only	3	0	
			Colourless	Flat fragments, ~6.48 mm thickness	3	1
					218	2
Total				636	65	



Figure 8.48 Trench A wine/champagne bottles: BFK/7076, complete two-part applied finish and partial neck of emerald green bottle; BFK/7205, complete one-part applied finish and partial neck of dark green (black) bottle; BFK/7184, partial base of dark green (black) bottle with dome-shaped dimple at tip of push-up. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.49 Trench A, 13 fragments of Eno's Fruit Salts medicine bottle. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.50 Front and side views of a complete A.J. White Ltd medicine bottle, Trench A. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.51 Three views of a complete perfume/toilet water bottle, Trench A. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.52 Window glass fragments with an average thickness of 2.24 mm, Trench A. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.53 Conjoining pressed glass fragments from a container of unknown form, featuring a vertical ribbed pattern, Trench A. Photos: Susan Arthure.

8.2.1.2 Trench D

Fifty-nine glass fragments were found in Trench D, of which 26 (44.06%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.54). Most (n=43; 72.88%) were in context 004 (clay fill), there were none in context 001. No occupation layer was found in Trench D.

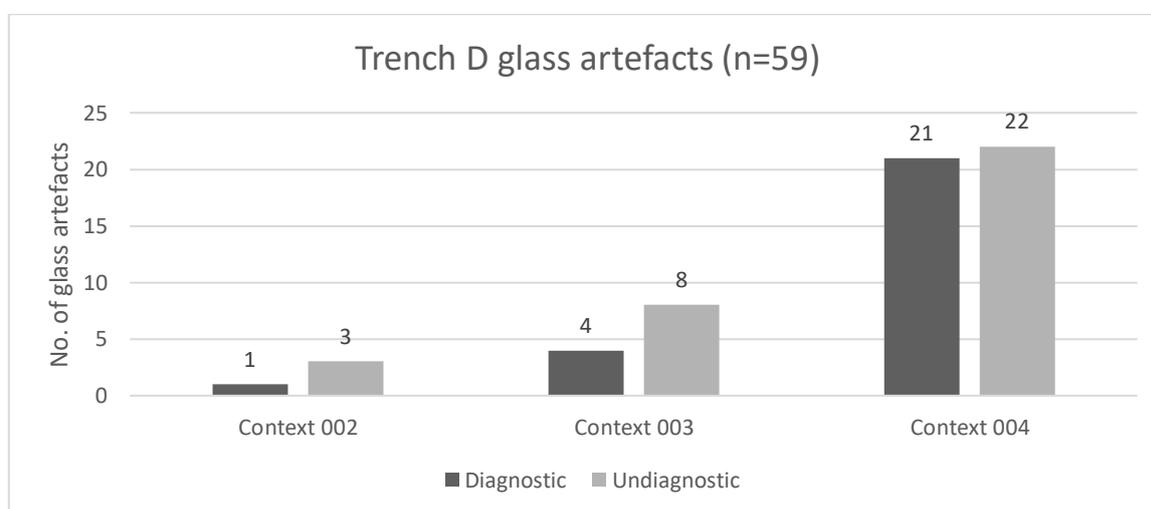


Figure 8.54 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench D.

Table 8.15 presents the Trench D diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items, organised by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated. From 59 artefacts the MNI is assessed as 20. There are two alcohol bottles—one a wine/champagne and the other a probable gin/schnapps—and two medicine bottles. There is one example of a bottle that would have contained a non-alcoholic soft drink, one pressed glass vessel, and six flat fragments that have been assessed as one pane of window glass. There are a further 12 vessels of unknown function; seven of which have diagnostic elements. Finally, there is one small, cylindrical green bead, with a 3.49 mm wide bore and a waist/indent horizontally across the middle (Figure 8.55). This is most likely a spangle bead from a lace bobbin.

Table 8.15 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench D (n=59), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=26)					
Alcohol	Bottle (gin/schnapps?)	Olive green	Partial body, flat panel	1	1
	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green (black)	Partial body, curved	3	1
				4	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Medicine	Bottle	Colourless	Body only, flat panels, embossed letters	2	1
		Sapphire	Partial lip, finish, patent lip	3	1
				5	2
Non-alcoholic (soft drink)	Bottle	Aqua	Complete finish, partial neck, Codd's patent seal	1	1
				1	1
Spangle bead	Bead	Green	Complete, small cylindrical bead with horizontal indent	1	1
				1	1
Tableware	Bowl/plate	Colourless	Pressed glass, pyramid shapes in diamond pattern	1	1
				1	1
Window	Window glass	Colourless	~1.73 mm thickness, found Sq X19:Y20 C004	6	1
				6	1
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body, curved, embossed letter	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body, flat panel, embossed letter	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base	1	1
		Colourless	Partial body, curved, embossed letters	2	1
	Container	Emerald green	Partial base	1	1
		Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body, curved; thin parallel ridges	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base	1	1
				8	7
Undiagnostic (n=33)					
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body, curved	5	0
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body, curved	2	1
		Colourless	Partial body, curved	1	0
		Dark green (black)	Partial body, curved	2	0
		Emerald green	Partial body, curved	5	0
		Olive green	Partial body, curved	7	1
	Container	Aqua (tint)	Partial body, curved	2	0
		Colourless	Partial body, curved	4	0
		Colourless	Partial body, curved, ~7 mm thick	1	1
	Unknown	Cobalt	Partial body, curved	1	1
		Colourless	Partial body, curved	2	0
		Colourless	Flat, ~7 mm thick	1	1
		Colourless	Flat, ~7 mm thick	1	1
				33	5
Total				59	20



Figure 8.55 Cylindrical green bead, Trench D. Photo: Simon Hoad.

8.2.1.3 Trench F

A total of 1,022 glass artefacts were excavated from Trench F, of which 676 (66.14%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.56). There were 21 contexts in Trench F, and glass was found in six of them (surface context and 001, 004, 005, 008, 011). Most glass (n=818; 80.04%) was excavated from contexts 004 (clay fill) or 008 (occupation layer), following the same pattern as glass in Trench A. Additionally, context 011 (ashy deposit in north-west corner) yielded 170 (16.63%) glass artefacts.

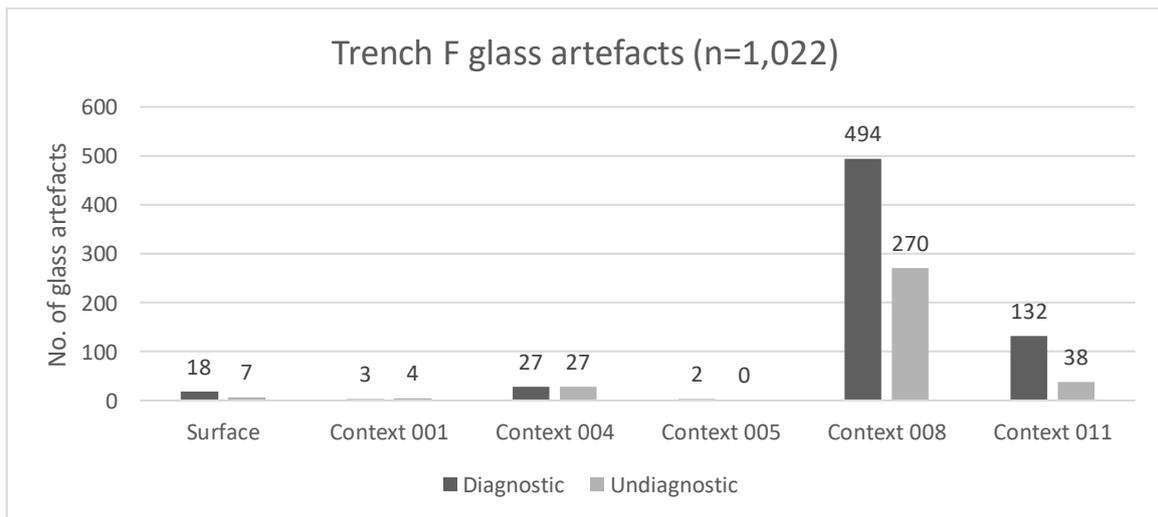


Figure 8.56 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench F.

Figure 8.57 illustrates the distribution of glass across Trench F. There was a large concentration of glass through the middle of the trench across squares A–C4 and A–C5, as

well as small numbers of artefacts in the southernmost squares (A–D6, A–D7, A–E8). This patterning is similar to the distribution of ceramics in this trench, described above in section 8.1.1.3. However, there is also a concentration of glass in squares A–B2 and A–C3 and this is markedly different from the ceramic patterning. In these squares, glass fragments make up 36.89% (n=377) of the Trench F total glass, as opposed to ceramic sherds in the same locations which make up just 12% (n=57) of the Trench F total ceramics.

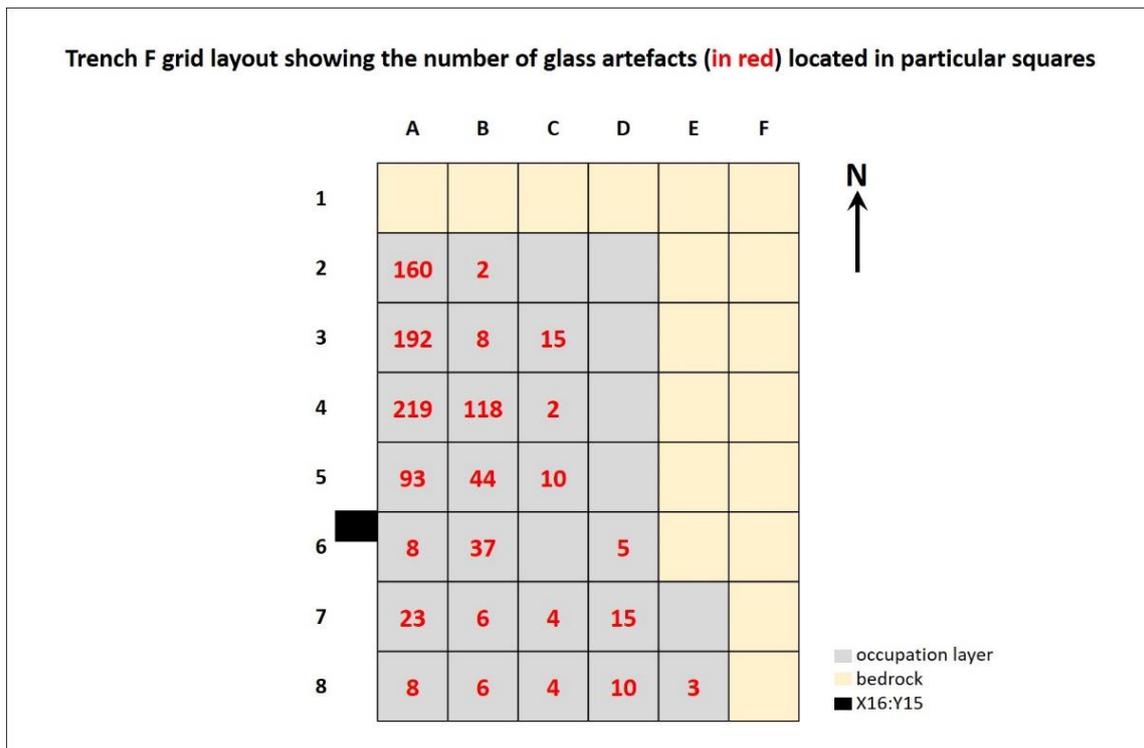


Figure 8.57 Location of glass (n=1,022) in Trench F. Note that 30 fragments recovered from the surface or via the excavator were not assigned an individual square number and are not reflected in the numbers here.

Table 8.16 summarises the Trench F glass artefacts, broken down by broad function and artefact form. The MNI is calculated at 135, of which 133 are calculated from diagnostic sherds and two from undiagnostic.

Alcohol bottles represent 10.37% (n=14) of the items, with a minimum number of nine for wine/champagne, two for gin/schnapps, and one each for beer, port/sherry and whiskey. Four of the alcohol bottles have identifiable brands or makers. The gin/schnapps bottles both feature embossed letters in a style consistent with that used by Udolpho Wolfe of Schiedam on aromatic schnapps case bottles; these were exported in large numbers to Australia until the early twentieth century (Arnold 1997:108; Vader and Murray 1975:39). The single whiskey

bottle has the letters FBH embossed on the base, the maker's mark for the South Australian Glass Bottle Company (F.B. Hughes) during the period c.1896–1913 (Boow 1991:181; The Bottle Depot n.d.). The bottle that is most local to Baker's Flat is the single port/sherry bottle, a half-gallon (1.9 l) flagon with a pattern of horizontal flat ridges on the body and the embossed letters '...B / SEPPE...&...' (Figure 8.58). These signify the Seppelt wine company, which was established in 1851 in the Barossa Valley at Seppeltsfield, 19 km south of Kapunda (Marin 2019:145; Seppelt 2018). In 1902, Benno Seppelt, the founder's son, set up B. Seppelt and Sons (Emery 2002), producing wines, spirits and vinegars that were described as 'unequaled in Australasia' (*Kapunda Herald* 1905). They also made 'health giving wine such as Invalid Port and Hospital Brandy' (Marin 2019:146), which this bottle may well have contained.

For non-alcoholic soft drink, the MNI is five (4.27%). One of these has the curved base and thick body associated with a Maugham patent bottle, used extensively in South Australia (Arnold 1997:75; Burke et al. 2017:444; Vader and Murray 1975:33). Two have maker's marks indicating they were made by Australian Glass Manufacturers; the date for one of these can be narrowed down to 1938 from the embossed letter A (Boow 1991:176; Burke et al. 2017:431). The remaining two are from a South Australian company, A.M. Bickford & Sons (Figure 8.59). Anne Margaret Bickford took over her husband's successful Adelaide apothecary business in 1863 after his death. When her second son joined the business in 1871, the company became A.M. Bickford & Sons, and in 1874 they began producing cordials and soft drinks (Bickford's 2021; Smith 2012).

For food and drink storage, the MNI is calculated at 19. More than half of these (n=10; 52.63%) are Bovril beef extract jars, used for making beef tea or for flavouring soups and stews (Figure 8.60). There are also three sauce bottles, two salad oil/vinegar bottles, one possible milk bottle, one fish/meat paste jar, one pickle jar, and a non-specific jar suitable for storing food.

Other general household items include five fragments of thin white milk glass (MNI=1), which have a moulded curved body patterned by thin parallel ridges and with a beaded finish. This has been catalogued speculatively as lamp glass for a small oil lamp. There is one pressed glass container and one glass tumbler.

A large number of items are associated with personal care (MNI=19). This includes 13 small bottles for perfume or toilet water. Eleven of these are small oval-shaped bottles with rounded bases and screw cap finishes; two examples are shown in Figure 8.61. They resemble pendant or chatelaine perfume bottles which were designed to hang from a chain either around a neck or from a belt (Arnold 1997:57), but given that these have no suspension points, it is more likely that they were for keeping in a pocket or bag where they were not required to stand vertically. The remaining two are, firstly, an amber-coloured rectangular bottle with a beaded edge around the flat base and, secondly, an amethyst-coloured cylindrical bottle with a thick base. There are five cosmetics jars branded as *Alpine Snow*. This was a witch hazel-based preparation for the skin (*Advertiser* 1910), marketed as an ‘invaluable toilet necessity; cooling and soothing to the most sensitive skin’ (*Evening Journal* 1910). The remaining jar is most likely a cosmetics jar, made of pressed glass with a ribbed pattern.

By far the greatest number of items falls into the medicine category where, from 195 fragments, the MNI has been calculated at 48, making up 35.5% of the total 135 glass items in Trench F. One of these is a medical syringe in three pieces (Figure 8.62). It still retains the spool-shaped plunger with tightly wrapped black cotton thread, and the end point, which would have held a hollow needle or been used as a suction irrigation device (Blondino 2017; Museums Victoria Collection 2016b; Whewell’s Ghost 2016). A single squat vessel in ten conjoining pieces is consistent with an ointment jar. The remaining 46 items consist of 42 medicine bottles, one probable medicine bottle and three vials. The vials are small pill bottles, one of which is embossed with the brand *Doan’s Kidney Pills*. These were a mild diuretic (National Museum of America n.d.) available in South Australia from 1899 (*South Australian Register* 1899). Fifteen of the medicine bottles retain sufficient embossed lettering for the brand name to be accurately identified. These are: one bottle of *Sweeting’s Tooth Ache Elixir Knaresbrough*, an English product (John Sanger and Sons 1870:49; Marland 1987:243); one *J. Bosisto* eucalyptus oil bottle, an Australian brand established by Joseph Bosisto (Griffin 1969; Museums Victoria 2017b); one bottle of *Warner’s Safe Cure*, a patent medicine for kidney and liver ailments (Bottlepickers.com n.d.; Jackson 2008); two bottles of *Wood’s Great Peppermint Cure for Coughs & Colds*; two bottles of *W.G. Hearne Bronchitis Cure*, an Australian patent medicine marketed as a remedy for coughs, bronchitis and asthma (*Argus* 1915; Boow 1991:196); eight small bottles of *De Witt* kidney and bladder pills which

aimed to ease kidney problems, backache and general aches and pains (Museums Victoria 2017a).

There are 117 fragments of window glass, with an average thickness of 1.81 mm, for which the MNI has been assessed as one. More than two-thirds of these fragments (n=86; 73.50%) were excavated from squares A2 (n=8), A3 (n=29), A4 (n=43) or A5 (n=6), where most of the glass was concentrated.

There are a further 88 diagnostic fragments equating to 24 vessels which can be identified as either bottles, containers or jars, since they retain a partial base/finish, particular body shape, embossed letters or unique pattern/decoration. However, they lack sufficient characteristics to identify their original function. There are 346 undiagnostic fragments with an MNI of two, relating to two pieces of blue milk glass not found elsewhere in the trench and 14 pieces of flat glass approximately 7 mm thick, a similar breakdown to the undiagnostic glass fragments in Trench A.

Table 8.16 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench F (n=1,022), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=676)					
Alcohol	Bottle (beer)	Brown/amber	Partial base, body	2	1
	Bottle (gin/schnapps)	Aqua	Partial body; embossed letters O...C.../...DA...; <i>Udolpho Wolfe</i>	3	1
		Emerald green	Partial body, panel, embossed letters ...MA.../...NAP...; <i>Udolpho Wolfe</i>	1	1
	Bottle (port/sherry)	Colourless	Partial base, body, embossed letters B / SEPPE ...&; horizontal ribbed pattern, <i>Seppelt</i> flagon	63	1
	Bottle (whiskey)	Aqua	Partial base, body, panel for label; embossed letters F B H	10	1
	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green (black)	Complete and partial bases, partial body, complete finish	14	6
			Emerald green	Complete and partial bases, partial body	3
		Olive green	Complete base, partial body, finish	2	1
				98	14
Food/drink storage	Bottle (milk?)	Amethyst (solarised)	Complete base	1	1
	Bottle (salad oil/vinegar)	Aqua	Partial finish	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body, angular ribbed pattern, embossed leafy stems	2	0
		Brown/amber	Partial finish	2	1
	Bottle (sauce)	Aqua	Complete finish, partial neck, stoppers x 2	3	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
		Colourless	Partial base, body of octagonal tomato sauce bottle; <i>H. Jones & Co</i>	24	1
	Jar (fish/meat paste)	Amethyst (solarised)	Complete base, partial body, finish of barrel-shaped jar; ribbed pattern; embossed letters, regn no.	16	1
	Jar (food?)	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body, finish	14	1
	Jar (pickles)	Aqua	Complete finish, partial body	1	1
	Jar (Bovril beef extract)	Brown/amber	Complete	6	6
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body, complete finish	22	4
				92	19
Household	Lamp glass?	Milk glass (white)	Partial body, finish	5	1
				5	1
Medicine	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base, body	2	2
		Aqua	Partial base, body, finish; <i>Wood's Great Peppermint Cure for Coughs & Colds</i>	7	1
		Aqua	Partial base, body; embossed letters ...AIN'S / REMEDY	1	1
		Aqua	Partial base, body, finish	27	2
		Aqua (tint)	Complete eucalyptus oil bottle; <i>J. Bosisto Richmond</i>	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base, body, finish; embossed letters	14	5
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body of oval bottle; <i>Warner's Safe Cure</i>	2	1
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body, finish; embossed maker's mark AGM / 5 / S372	17	2
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body; embossed maker's mark AGM S 558	2	1
		Brown/amber	Partial body, finish	1	1
		Brown/amber	Partial body panel; embossed letters ...Y.../...AIR...	1	1
		Colourless	Complete (or conjoining to completion) square pill bottle; <i>De Witt</i>	11	6
		Colourless	Complete octagonal tincture bottle; embossed maker's mark AGM U243	1	1
		Colourless	Complete rectangular bottle; <i>W.G. Hearne Bronchitis Cure</i>	1	1
		Colourless	Complete oval bottle	1	1
		Colourless	Complete (in 9 pieces) small bottle; embossed maker's mark W	9	1
		Colourless	Complete panelled bottle; <i>Wood's Great Peppermint Cure for Coughs & Colds</i>	1	1
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body of cylindrical bottle	1	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body, finish	21	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body; <i>W.G. Hearne Bronchitis Cure</i>	1	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body; <i>De Witt</i>	7	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
		Colourless	Partial base, body, rectangular panelled bottle	6	2
		Colourless	Partial base, body, square panelled bottle; embossed maker's mark M	1	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body, rectangular panelled bottle; embossed letters ...R.../...DA	2	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body of octagonal bottle; <i>Sweeting's Tooth Ache Elixir Knaresbrough</i>	5	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body of oval bottle; embossed numbers 354 and trident	2	1
		Colourless	Partial body, finish	19	0
		Colourless	Partial body; embossed letters ...3.../...TE.../...A DAY...	1	0
		Sapphire (pale)	Complete finish, partial body, panel; embossed letters PEPP	5	2
	Instrument (syringe)	Colourless	Syringe plunger and end	3	1
	Jar	Colourless	Partial base, body, finish, ointment jar	10	1
	Vial	Colourless	Complete cylindrical pill bottle; <i>Doan's Kidney Pills</i>	1	1
		Colourless	Complete cylindrical pill bottle	1	1
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body	2	1
Medicine?	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base, body	1	0
		Brown/amber	Partial base	1	0
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body	2	1
		Colourless	Complete finish, partial body	1	0
		Colourless	Partial body, finish	3	0
				195	48
Non-alcoholic (soft drink)	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Partial base, Maugham patent	2	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body; embossed maker's mark AGM	2	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body; embossed maker's mark AGM A 140	1	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body; <i>A.M. Bickford and Sons</i>	2	2
				7	5
Personal care	Jar (cosmetics)	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base, body, finish; <i>Alpine Snow</i> cosmetic balm	6	1
		Colourless	Partial base, body, finish; <i>Alpine Snow</i> cosmetic balm	6	4
	Jar (cosmetics?)	Colourless	Partial base, body, finish of pressed glass container, ribbed pattern	4	1
	Bottle (perfume/toilet water)	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial base, body of small cylindrical bottle	2	1
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body, finish of small rectangular bottle	6	1
		Colourless	Complete small oval-shaped bottle with rounded base	5	5
		Colourless	Complete finish, partial body of small oval-shaped bottle	5	5

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI	
		Colourless	Partial body, finish of small oval-shaped bottle	37	1	
				71	19	
Tableware	Container	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body; pressed glass, ribbed and lozenge pattern	2	1	
	Tumbler	Colourless	Partial body, finish	1	1	
				3	2	
Window	Window glass	Colourless	~1.81 mm thickness, crown method	117	1	
				117	1	
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial base, body; embossed letters	4	2	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body, finish; embossed letters	8	2	
		Brown/amber	Partial base	1	0	
		Colourless	Almost complete small cylindrical bottle	14	1	
	Container	Colourless	Partial base, body, finish; embossed letters	28	8	
		Olive green	Partial base, body	3	2	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; ribbed pattern	10	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; embossed decoration	4	0	
	Jar	Colourless	Partial base, body, finish	6	3	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body, finish, wide mouth	1	1	
		Colourless	Partial body, finish; embossed letters BIRKSORA...	9	5	
					88	24
Undiagnostic (n=346)						
Unknown function	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Body only	4	0	
		Aqua	Body only	35	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Body only	47	0	
		Colourless	Body only	86	0	
		Dark green (black)	Body only	9	0	
		Emerald green	Body only	8	0	
		Olive green	Body only	36	0	
		Sapphire (pale)	Body only	11	0	
		Container	Amethyst (solarised)	Body only	6	0
			Aqua (tint)	Body only	22	0
	Brown/amber		Body only	4	0	
	Colourless		Body only	51	0	
	Emerald green		Body only	1	0	
	Unknown form	Olive green	Body only	1	0	
		Sapphire (pale)	Body only	2	0	
		Blue milk glass	Body only	2	1	
		Cobalt	Body only	1	1	
		Colourless	Body only	6	0	
		Colourless	Flat fragments, ~7 mm thickness	14	1	
				346	2	
Total				1022	135	



Figure 8.58 Fragments (n=41) from a Seppelt port/sherry half-gallon flagon, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad.

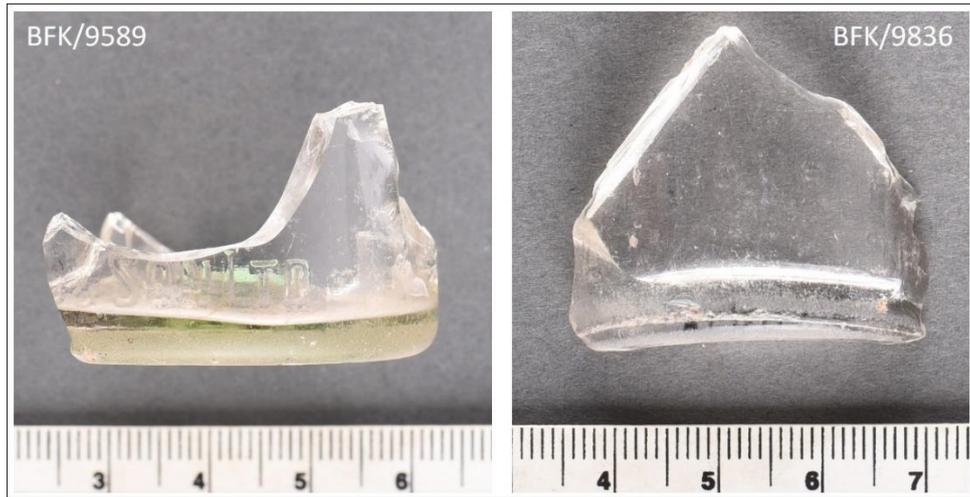


Figure 8.59 Partial bases and bodies of two Bickford's soft drink bottles, Trench F. Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.60 Two 1 oz Bovril bottles showing changes in neck length and finish over time (BFK/9695=1914–1930; BFK/9525=1920–1940), Trench F. Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.61 Two small oval-shaped perfume bottles with rounded bases, Trench F. Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.62 Three sections of a glass medical syringe, consisting of the top (BFK/9982) and end (BFK/9981) parts of the plunger, and the end point (BFK/9983) of the outer shell; all have crackling consistent with heat fracturing. Photos: Simon Hoad.

8.2.1.4 Trench G

Nine glass artefacts were found in Trench G, excavated from contexts 001 and 004 only (Figure 8.63). One (11.11%) is diagnostic, a small fragment of window glass found in context 004.

Table 8.17 summarises the diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items found in Trench G (n=9), with the MNI calculated as five. In addition to the window glass fragment, there are four bottles of unknown function.

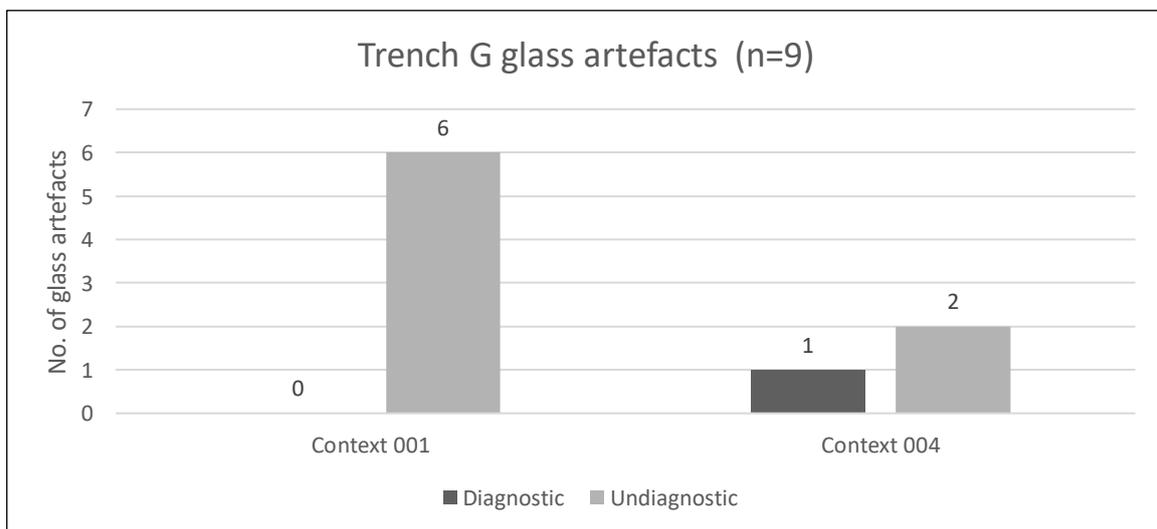


Figure 8.63 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench G.

Table 8.17 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench G (n=9), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=1)					
Window	Window glass	Colourless	1.93 mm thickness, crown method	1	1
Undiagnostic (n=8)					
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body, curved	1	1
		Aqua	Partial body, flat panel; embossed letters	1	1
		Dark green (black)	Partial body, curved	3	1
		Olive green	Partial body, curved	3	1
Total				9	5

8.2.2 The enclosure—Trenches B and C

8.2.2.1 Trench B

A total of 93 glass artefacts were excavated from Trench B, 29 (31.18%) of which are diagnostic (Figure 8.64). The majority (n=83; 89.25%) were in context 003 (top soil/clay fill) which extended to a depth of 50 cm. No artefacts were found in context 004 (natural surface).

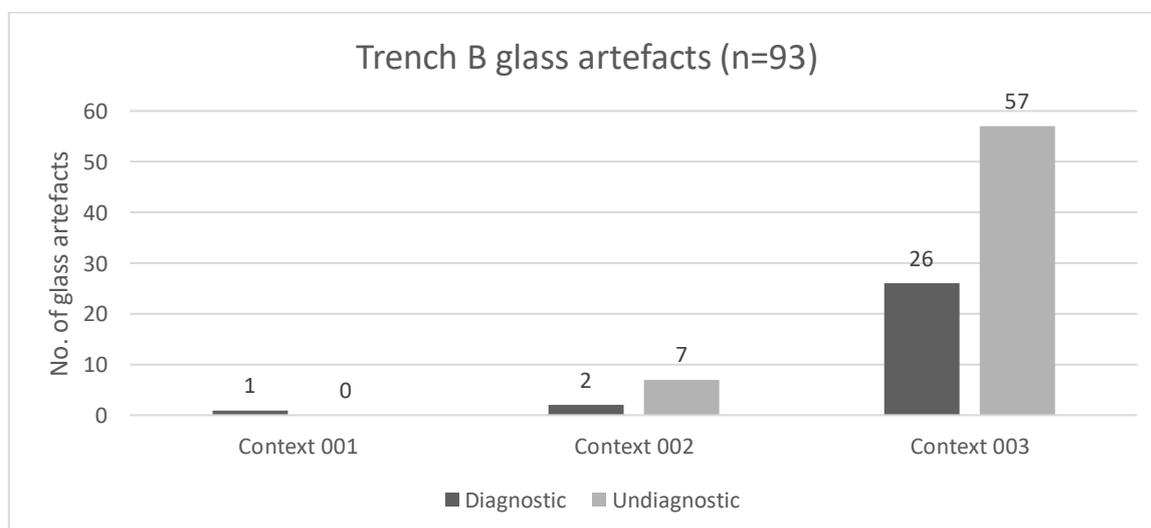


Figure 8.64 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench B.

Table 8.18 presents the Trench B diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts, broken down by broad function and artefact form. From 93 artefacts, the MNI is calculated at 21, with 19 items calculated from diagnostic sherds and two from undiagnostic. Alcohol bottles make up

almost one-fifth of the MNI (n=4; 19.05%), whilst there is just one soft drink bottle. Three medicine bottles are identifiable from an amethyst-coloured side panel, an aqua-coloured prescription lip, and a cobalt blue partial neck. Two bottles—one for salad oil or vinegar and the other for pickles, fruit or sauce—represent food and drink storage. There is one example of pressed glass tableware which is catalogued as a cup plate, a small plate for a tea or coffee cup, supposedly to hold a cup while someone drank tea out of the saucer (Jones and Sullivan 1989:137–138). Six fragments of window glass, with an average thickness of 2.38 mm, have been given an MNI of one. The remaining seven containers estimated from the diagnostic artefacts are from five bottles, one container and one jar, all of unknown function.

There are 64 undiagnostic fragments, with an MNI calculated at two, one being the partial body of a colourless bottle and the other being two pieces of a pressed glass container.

Table 8.18 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench B (n=93), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=29)					
Alcohol	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green	Partial base, push-up	3	2
		Emerald green	Partial finish/seal	1	1
		Olive green	Partial body, seam	1	1
				5	4
Medicine	Bottle	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body, side panel	1	1
	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Prescription lip	1	1
	Bottle (castor oil)	Cobalt blue	Partial neck	1	1
				3	3
Non-alcoholic (soft drink)	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Partial body, Maugham patent type	1	1
				1	1
Pickles/fruit/sauce	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Complete finish, partial neck – long necked sauce bottle	1	1
				1	1
Salad oil/vinegar	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Partial neck, finish, shoulder; parallel convex grooves	3	1
				3	1
Tableware	Cup plate	Colourless	Partial body; shoulder and fluted rim of pressed glass cup plate	1	1
				1	1
Window	Window glass	Colourless	~2.38 mm thickness, crown method	6	1
				6	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI	
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial base, body	4	3	
		Colourless	Partial base	1	1	
		Colourless	Partial body; embossed letters and number	1	1	
	Container	Dark green (black)	Partial finish	1	0	
		Aqua	Partial body; flat panel; embossed letter	1	1	
		Jar	Aqua	Partial base, body; embossed letter	1	1
				9	7	
Undiagnostic (n=64)						
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body	11	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body	7	0	
		Colourless	Partial shoulder	1	0	
		Colourless	Partial body; flat panel	1	1	
		Dark green (black)	Partial body	9	0	
		Emerald green	Partial body	5	0	
		Olive green	Partial body	18	0	
	Container	Aqua (tint)	Partial body; panelled	4	0	
		Colourless	Partial body	4	0	
		Colourless	Partial body; pressed glass container; diamond pattern	2	1	
		Unknown	Emerald green	Partial body	2	0
					64	2
	Total				93	21

8.2.2.2 Trench C

Sixty-three glass artefacts were found in Trench C, of which 25 (39.68%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.65). With one exception, all were excavated from contexts 002 (n=42; 66.66%) or 003 (n=20, 31.75%), both top soil/clay fill layers which reached natural surface at a depth of 30 cm. No artefacts were found in context 004 (natural surface).

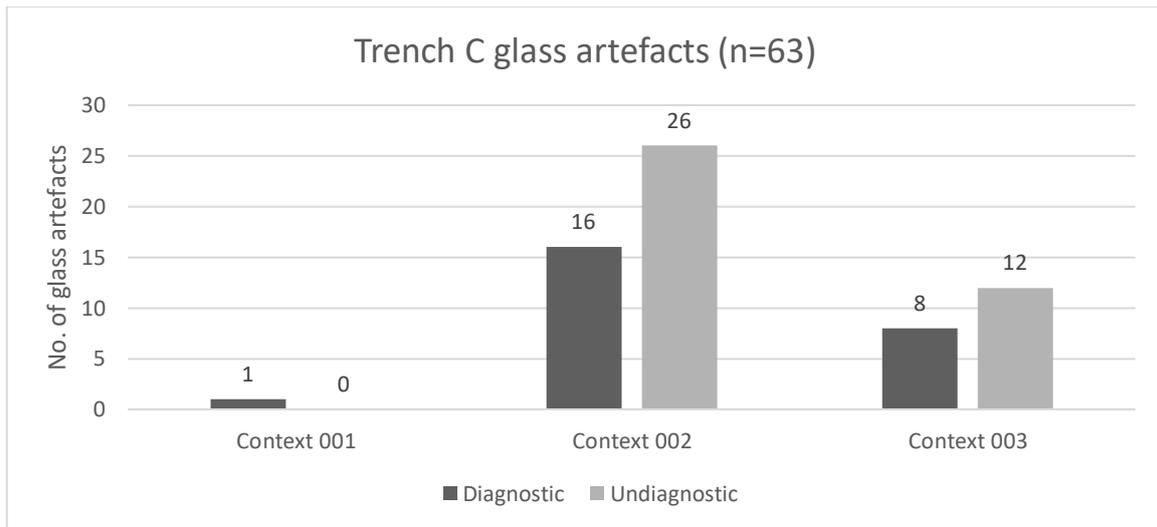


Figure 8.65 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench C.

Table 8.19 summarises the diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts from Trench C. There are 63 artefacts and the MNI is 13, with 12 items calculated from diagnostic artefacts and one from undiagnostic. Alcohol bottles make up almost one-quarter of the MNI (n=3; 23.08%). There is one medicine bottle and two bottles suitable for salad oil or vinegar. There are two examples of tableware: a pressed glass container with a beaded pattern and a small bowl fragment with two fused glass layers—the outer layer is colourless whilst the inner layer is rose-coloured (Figure 8.66). Seven fragments of window glass, with an average thickness of 2.04 mm, have been given an MNI of one. A further eight diagnostic fragments equate to three bottles. There are 38 undiagnostic fragments, with an MNI calculated at one, this being a partial panel from a sapphire-coloured bottle.

Table 8.19 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench C (n=63), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=25)					
Alcohol	Bottle (beer?)	Brown/amber	Partial body; embossed letters	1	1
	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green (black)	Partial base, body, finish	3	2
				4	3
Medicine	Bottle	Colourless	Partial side panel; embossed letters	1	1
				1	1
Salad oil/vinegar	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body; panelled; parallel diagonal ridges	2	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; curved groove	1	1
				3	2

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI	
Tableware	Bowl? Container	Rose	Partial body; double layer of glass	1	1	
		Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body; beaded row in recessed groove; pressed glass	1	1	
				2	2	
Window	Window glass	Colourless	~2.04 mm thickness, crown method	7	1	
				7	1	
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Partial base, body	4	1	
		Colourless	Partial base	1	1	
		Olive green	Partial body, neck, finish/seal	3	1	
				8	3	
Undiagnostic (n=38)						
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body	1	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body	8	0	
		Dark green (black)	Partial body	9	0	
		Olive green	Partial body	15	0	
		Sapphire (pale)	Partial body, panel	1	1	
		Container	Aqua (tint)	Partial body	1	0
			Colourless	Partial body	3	0
				38	1	
Total				63	13	



Figure 8.66 Glass tableware fragments, Trench C. BFK/8010 pressed glass with row of small beads pressed into a recessed line; BFK/8056 two fused layers, thick colourless outer layer and thin rose-coloured inner layer.

Photos: Simon Hoad.

8.2.3 The round structure—Trench E

In total, 265 glass artefacts were excavated from Trench E, of which 200 (75.47%) are diagnostic (Figure 8.67). The greatest numbers (n=256; 96.60%) were found in contexts 001 and 002. These contexts differed from contexts 001 and 002 in the other trenches because they consisted primarily of dumped metal, ceramic and glass materials interspersed with fill, all introduced after the Baker’s Flat settlement had dispersed. There were no glass artefacts found in contexts 003 or 004 (structural features). Minimal numbers were found in the built-up area of context 008 (n=2; 0.75%). The occupation layers of 005, 007 and 009 contained seven (2.64%) glass items, with the remaining occupation layer (006) containing none. This artefact distribution is almost identical to the ceramic patterning described for Trench E in section 8.1.3.

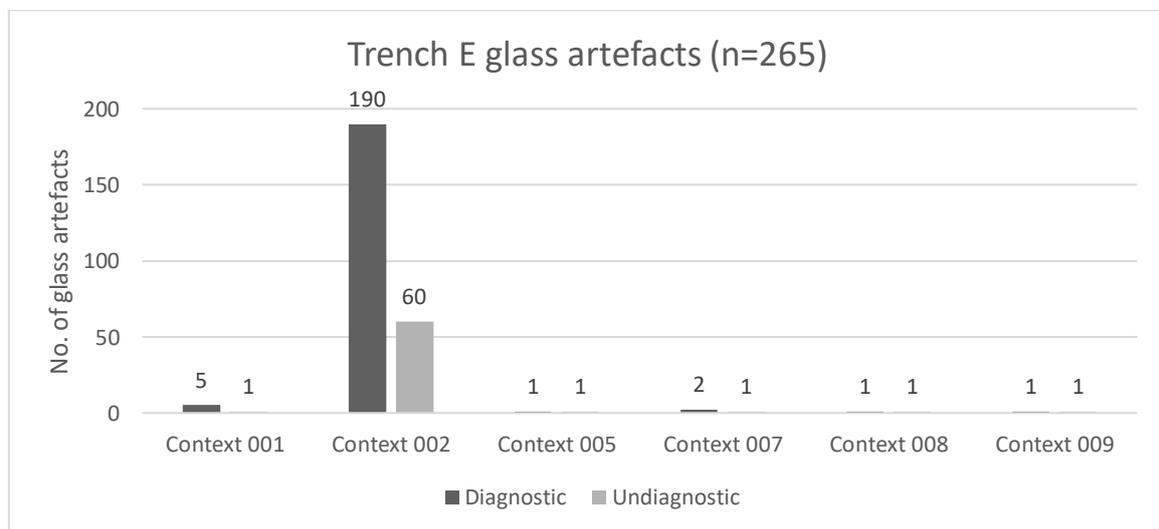


Figure 8.67 Number of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass artefacts per context, Trench E.

Table 8.20 presents the glass artefacts excavated from Trench E. The total MNI amounts to 43, of which 41 are calculated from diagnostic sherds and two from undiagnostic. Alcohol bottles represent more than a quarter of the items (n=12; 27.91%), with a minimum number of eight for wine/champagne (example in Figure 8.68) and four for beer. The MNI for non-alcoholic soft drink bottles is calculated at two (4.65%).

There are eight medicine bottles. Two of these can be identified by their maker. The first is a flat panel fragment where the following letters are embossed over four lines:

...A.../...EMIST/...PUNDA/...DE IN AME... (Figure 8.69). This is most likely a patent medicine bottle made in America for Fawcett’s Chemist, Kapunda, which was established by

Robert Fawcett in the late 1850s (Design and Art Australia Online 2011; Fawcett 2001:4; *Kapunda Herald* 1878a). The second is the complete base and partial body of a cylindrical bottle, embossed around the heel with the words THIS BOTTLE IS THE PROPERTY OF FASSETT & JOHNSON LIMITED SYDNEY. Fassett and Johnson were an English pharmaceutical company with business interests in Australia who made and distributed a range of pharmaceutical products, including a vitamin tonic, perfumed bath tablets, a bromoquinine-based laxative, and an insecticide called Flytox (*Argus* 1954; *Courier-Mail* 1935; *Punch* 1902; Science Museum Group n.d.). The bottle is most likely a Flytox bottle; similar examples can be seen on online shopping sites aimed at antique and bottle collectors.

Two bottles are associated with perfume or toilet water. One is a small bottle (Figure 8.70) embossed on the base with a sans serif BB, possibly manufactured by the Berney-Bond Glass Company, which operated in Pennsylvania and Ohio in the early twentieth century (Glass Bottle Marks 2018; Hoenig et al. 2008). The other is a small, thin, emerald green bottle, decorated with what are possibly leaves and stems.

In the category for food and drink storage category, the MNI is five. These comprise two bottles (one suitable for pickles, fruit or sauce and the other for salad oil or vinegar), as well as two jars for fish or meat paste and a preserving jar. For tableware, there are three pressed glass items, all taking the form of bowls or comports.

There are 82 fragments of window glass, with the MNI calculated at two. Most (n=78; 95.12%; MNI=1) have an average thickness of between ~2.14 mm and 2.88 mm and are consistent with pane glass manufactured until c.1870 using the crown method, where the thickness is less than 2.8 mm (Burke et al. 2017:315). Four have an average thickness of between ~2.95 mm and 3.08 mm (MNI=1). These are consistent with pane glass manufactured until c.1910 using the cylinder method, where the thickness is 3–4 mm (Burke et al. 2017:315).

There are a further ten diagnostic fragments equating to seven vessels which can be identified as either bottles, containers or jars because they retain a partial base/finish, particular body shape or unique pattern. However, they have insufficient identifying characteristics to identify their original function. There are 65 undiagnostic fragments, with the MNI calculated at two because of four pieces of cobalt blue glass not found elsewhere in the trench and one flat shard, 5.28 mm thick.

Table 8.20 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from Trench E (n=265), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=200)					
Alcohol	Bottle (beer)	Brown/amber	Partial base, body; <i>Adelaide Bottle Company Pty Ltd</i>	12	1
		Brown/amber	Partial base, body, neck, complete finish	30	2
		Olive green	Partial base, body; Pickaxe bottle; <i>Adelaide Bottle Co-operative Company Ltd</i>	1	1
	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green (black)	Partial base, body, finish	10	7
		Emerald green	Partial base, body	17	1
				70	12
Medicine	Bottle	Aqua (tint)	Partial body, flat panel; <i>Fawcett's Chemist Kapunda, Made in America</i>	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Complete base, partial body, cylindrical form; embossed letters THIS BOTTLE IS THE PROPERTY OF FASSETT & JOHNSON LIMITED SYDNEY	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial base, round form	1	1
		Brown/amber	Complete neck, finish, partial body, rectangular form, embossed letters	1	1
		Colourless	Partial body; flat panel; embossed letters ...E LTD	1	1
		Sapphire (pale)	Partial base, body, rectangular form, embossed letters HILL	1	1
		Sapphire (pale)	Partial base, body	1	1
		Sapphire (pale)	Complete, rectangular form, embossed letters 2 oz	1	1
				8	8
Non-alcoholic (soft drink)	Bottle	Aqua	Partial base, Maugham patent	1	1
		Colourless	Complete base, partial body, neck, finish	5	1
				6	2
Personal care	Bottle (perfume/toilet water)	Colourless	Complete base, partial body; embossed letters BB (Berney Bond?)	1	1
		Emerald green	Partial body; detailed embossed pattern	2	1
Food/drink storage	Bottle (pickles/fruit/sauce)	Colourless	Complete neck, finish, partial shoulder; <i>?Lea and Perrins</i>	1	1
	Bottle (salad oil/vinegar)	Aqua (tint)	Partial body; ribbed pattern	2	1
	Jar (fish/meat paste)	Colourless	Complete base, partial body	1	1
	Preserving jar	Honey	Complete; <i>Peck's</i>	1	1
		Aqua (tint)	Partial neck, complete finish	1	1
				6	5
Tableware	Bowl/comport	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body; pressed glass; frosted on both sides	1	1
		Colourless	Partial body; pressed glass; geometric pattern, chamfered edge	1	1

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI	
		Emerald green	Partial body; pressed glass; oval and leaf pattern with horizontal rope	13	1	
				15	3	
Window	Window glass	Aqua (tint)	3.08 mm thickness, cylinder method	1	1	
		Aqua (tint)	2.88 mm thickness, crown method	1	0	
		Colourless	~2.95 mm thickness, cylinder method	3	0	
		Colourless	~2.14 mm thickness, crown method	77	1	
				82	2	
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial base, body; embossed design	3	1	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; embossed letters ...NSO...	1	1	
		Colourless	Partial base, neck Partial base, body; maker's mark AGM	2 1	1 1	
	Container	Sapphire (pale)	Partial body; panel; embossed design	1	1	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; corrugated pattern	1	1	
	Jar	Aqua	Partial base	1	1	
					10	7
Undiagnostic (n=65)						
Unknown function	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body	9	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body	10	0	
		Brown/amber	Partial body	7	0	
		Cobalt blue	Partial body	4	1	
		Colourless	Partial body	3	0	
		Dark green (black)	Partial body	12	0	
		Emerald green	Partial body	1	0	
		Olive green	Partial body; panel	1	0	
		Container	Aqua	Partial body	3	0
			Aqua (tint)	Partial body	5	0
	Colourless		Partial body	3	0	
	Unknown	Amethyst (solarised)	Partial body	1	0	
		Aqua (tint)	Partial body; panel	1	0	
		Colourless	Partial body	1	0	
		Colourless	Flat fragment, 5.28 mm thickness	1	1	
		Emerald green	Partial body	1	0	
		Olive green	Partial body	2	0	
					65	2
Total				265	43	

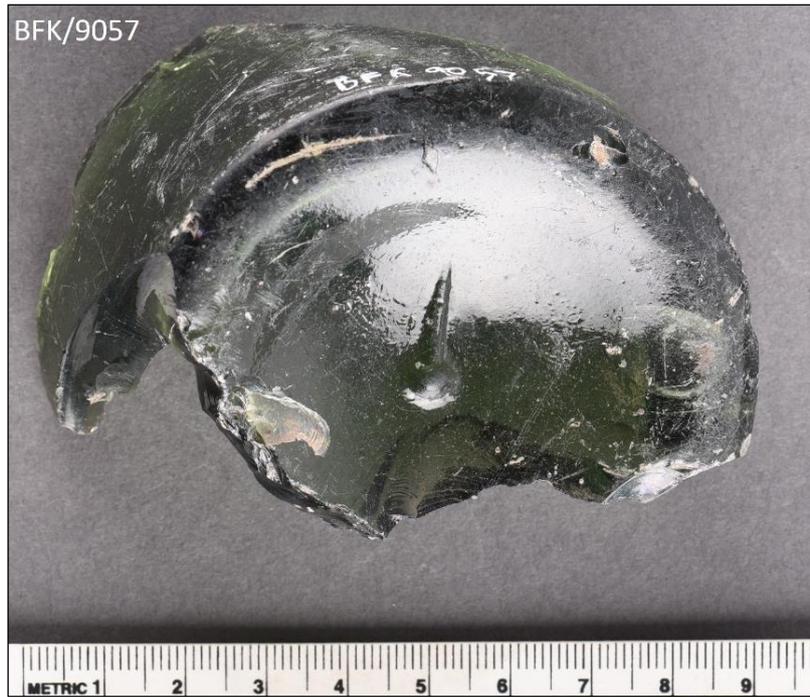


Figure 8.68 Partial base and body of emerald green wine/champagne bottle with nipple (valve mark?) at centre of base, Trench E. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.69 Flat panel fragment from glass medicine bottle with embossed letters over four lines, Trench E. Photo: Simon Hoad.



Figure 8.70 Perfume/toilet water bottle, with letters BB embossed on base, Trench E. Photo: Simon Hoad.

8.2.4 The dance floor

Six glass shards (MNI=5) were found on the dance floor surface (Table 8.21). There are three diagnostic artefacts (Figure 8.71). One is a large, moulded milk glass handle with a centre seam. Although milk glass was used for many bottle types from the 1870s through to the mid-twentieth century (Lindsey 2017b), this one would have been from a mug, jug or other vessel requiring a handle. The remaining two diagnostic items are the complete screw thread and neck of a colourless, machine-made bottle and the partial base of a dark green (black) wine/champagne bottle with embossed gothic-style letters. The three undiagnostic items are from a dark green (black) bottle (MNI=0 since it could be from the wine/champagne bottle), a pale sapphire-coloured container and an aqua-coloured vessel of unknown form.

Table 8.21 Summary of diagnostic and undiagnostic glass items from the dance floor (n=6), by broad function and artefact form, with MNI calculated.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#	MNI
Diagnostic (n=3)					
Alcohol	Bottle (wine/champagne)	Dark green (black)	Partial base; embossed letters LY	1	1
Tableware	Mug/jug/vessel	Milk glass	Moulded handle	1	1
Unknown function	Bottle	Colourless	Complete finish, neck, external screw thread	1	1
Undiagnostic (n=3)					
Unknown function	Bottle	Dark green (black)	Partial body	1	0
	Container	Sapphire (pale)	Partial body	1	1
	Unknown	Aqua	Partial body	1	1
Total				6	5



Figure 8.71 Diagnostic glass artefacts from the dance floor surface. Photos: Susan Arthure.

8.2.5 Date ranges for the total glass assemblage

Table 8.22 and Table 8.23 outline the earliest and latest possible manufacture dates for the glass recovered at Baker’s Flat. From 2,153 artefacts, an earliest start date can be assigned to 1,063 (49.37%) and an end date to 1,057 (49.09%). In most cases, the earliest and latest dates are estimates based on technological features such as base and finish types, closures, mould seams, or distinctive shapes. For example, seven artefacts (MNI=6), all fragments of wine/champagne bottles, have been assigned an earliest date of 1820. Six have deep push-ups, with four retaining a conical indentation or dimple consistent with the use of a wooden or metal-capped cone push-up, and indicating an earliest manufacture date range of c.1820 (Burke et al. 2017:436). The seventh has stretch marks on the neck and an applied two-part finish featuring a deep collar and string rim, dateable to 1820 (Burke et al. 2017:437, 440; Lindsey 2018a). Although these are the earliest possible dates, the fact that the first European settlers did not arrive in the Kapunda area until 1842 means that these bottles most likely date from later than 1820. However, the accepted earliest start (and end) dates have been retained here for standardisation and comparison purposes.

Colour has also been used, where appropriate, to estimate start and end dates. The accepted date range for solarised amethyst, for example, is 1885–1930 (Bolton 2005; Burke et al. 2017:448; Lindsey 2017b), and there are 63 artefacts (MNI=16) with this attribute. Black glass, actually a very dark olive green, has a date range of 1840–1890 (Burke et al. 2017:449; Lindsey 2017b) and there are 111 artefacts (MNI=28) in this category.

Trench E has eight fragments with an earliest date range of 1960–1969, well past the occupation dates for Baker’s Flat. All are from a single brown beer bottle, excavated from

square E, context 002. Embossed lettering around the heel indicates that the bottle is the property of the Adelaide Bottle Company Pty Ltd, giving it an earliest date of 1963 (Reed 1978:32). This is consistent with the interpretation of context 002 as an overburden of loose top soil and fill that had been used from the 1950s as a dumping ground by the landowner.

As regards end dates, a large cluster (n=460; MNI=7) in the 1870–1879 range is explained by an end date of c.1870 for window glass manufactured using the crown glass method, where the thickness is less than 2.8 mm (Burke et al. 2017:315; Jones and Sullivan 1989:171–172). There are no artefacts in Trenches B, C, D, G or the dance floor with a possible end date beyond 1939. Trench A, however, has seven fragments (MNI=2) with an end date range of 1940–1949, comprising an *A.J. White Ltd* patent medicine bottle (Figure 8.50) and a *Bickford's* bottle (detailed below).

The latest date range represented in the glass assemblage is 1950–1959, with two trenches having artefacts in these dates. Trench E has two artefacts (MNI=2). One is a honey-coloured *Peck's* fish/meat paste jar with an adapted capseat one-part finish and possible end date of 1950 (Lindsey 2017a). The other is a *Fassett & Johnson* insecticide bottle with an AGM maker's mark on the base alongside the embossed single numeral 9 and letter/number combination S.7A. The numeral indicates that this bottle was manufactured in 1959, and the company stopped trading in 1960 (Burke et al. 2017:451; Science Museum Group n.d.). Trench F has 60 artefacts (MNI=1), all from a single half-gallon *Seppelt* flagon. The colourless glass has a faint amber tint, consistent with glass which was de-colourised using selenium, arsenic, or a combination of the two in conjunction with cobalt oxide, typical of a machine-made bottle dating from the mid-1910s to about 1950 (Lindsey 2017b).

Interestingly, there are three instances where exact earliest and latest year dates can be confirmed. In Trench A there are six artefacts (MNI=1) in the 1940–1949 earliest date range, all from the base and body of one colourless glass bottle embossed with ...OPERT.../...ORD & SON LTD and ...CKFOR... The base has the AGM (Australian Glass Manufacturers Ltd) maker's mark, the numbers 1941 and the letter/number combination A393. This is a *Bickford's* cordial or soft drink bottle, in production from 1874 (Bickford's 2021; Smith 2012). The form of the AGM mark on this base dates from c.1930 (Boow 1991:176), but the date 1941 gives an exact year of manufacture (Gugler n.d.). In Trench F, there are two base/body fragments (MNI=2) of colourless *Bickford's* bottles. Both have the AGM mark and a single letter A on the base, with one having the letter/number combination A393 and

the other A140. Embossed single letters on the base of AGM bottles represent the year of manufacture; in this instance, the A represents 1938 (Burke et al. 2017:451).

Overall, the dates attributed to the glass assemblage broadly indicate a mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century occupation date for Baker's Flat.

Table 8.22 Earliest possible manufacture dates for glass artefacts, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Dance Floor
1820–29	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
1830–39	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0
1840–49	32	13	12	5	23	29	3	2
1850–59	3	1	1	0	1	12	0	0
1860–69	53	4	1	6	13	54	1	0
1870–79	66	10	8	11	9	244	0	0
1880–89	16	1	1	4	3	82	0	0
1890–99	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	1
1900–09	1	0	0	0	23	66	0	0
1910–19	10	0	0	0	2	101	0	0
1920–29	0	0	0	0	23	66	0	1
1930–39	1	0	0	0	1	7	0	0
1940–49	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
1950–59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960–69	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0
Undatable	444	58	40	33	156	352	5	2
Total	636	93	63	59	265	1022	9	6

Table 8.23 Latest possible manufacture dates for glass artefacts, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Dance Floor
1870–79	251	10	0	6	85	124	1	0
1880–89	8	3	2	0	2	10	0	0
1890–99	25	11	10	6	13	22	3	2
1900–09	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1910–19	3	0	0	0	4	28	0	0
1920–29	47	7	1	9	45	121	1	1
1930–39	14	4	4	1	5	74	0	0
1940–49	7	0	0	0	0	24	0	0
1950–59	0	0	0	0	2	60	0	0
Undatable	281	58	46	37	109	558	4	3
Total	636	93	63	59	265	1022	9	6

8.3 Buttons and clothing fasteners

A total of 264 buttons and clothing fasteners were excavated from Trenches A (n=15), E (n=4) and F (n=245). None were found in the other trenches or the dance floor. Full details can be found in Appendix H(iii)—Baker’s Flat Buttons [electronic file] and Appendix H(iv)—Baker’s Flat Metal [electronic file].

8.3.1 Inside the dwelling—Trenches A and F

Although the area in and around the dwelling encompassed Trenches A, D, F and G, clothing fasteners were found only in Trenches A and F.

8.3.1.1 Trench A

Fifteen clothing fasteners were found in Trench A. Twelve (80%) were recovered from context 005 (occupation layer) and three (20%) from context 004 (clay fill). Most (n=13; 86.66%) were located either in the rubbish disposal area (X17:Y20,Y21) or nearby (X17:Y19,Y18) (Figure 8.72).

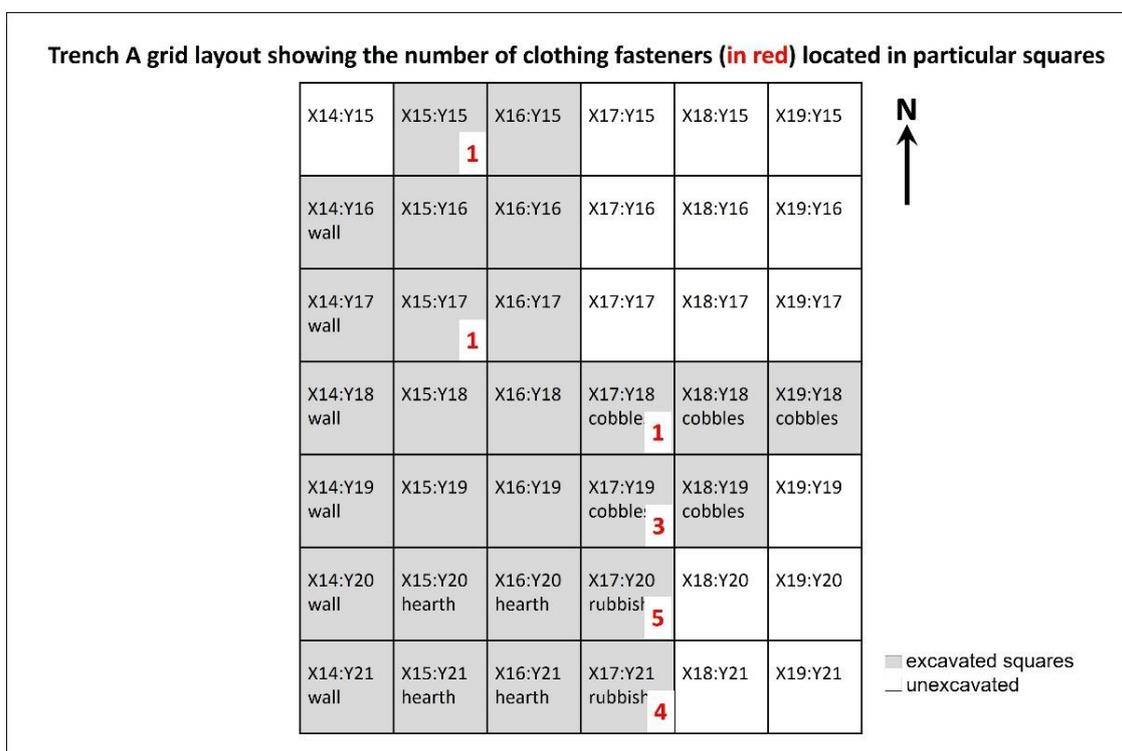


Figure 8.72 Location of clothing fasteners (n=15) in Trench A.

Table 8.24 summarises the Trench A clothing fasteners (n=15), organised by broad function and artefact form. Just over half the fasteners are shoe grommets (n=8; 53.33%). Also known as eyelets, grommets are two-piece rings inserted as strengthening devices into a hole in textile or leather, generally flanged to fix them in place. In footwear, grommets are used for boot and shoe laces, which aligns with these finds, six of which retain the original shoe leather.

There are three copper alloy trouser buttons, all one piece, sew through, four-hole; one is stamped with the generic slogan *Ne Plus Ultra*. There is one instance of the hook part of a ‘hook and eye’, measuring 14.21 mm in length (slightly compressed) and found with two small lengths of coarse thread still attached. Coming in many sizes, this one is either a no. 2 or 3, and most suitable for use in waist linings and girdles (Souder 1922:119). There is one iron alloy buckle, heavily corroded.

The top crimped section is all that remains of a two-hole, cloth-covered button that would have been used on general clothing. The sole decorative button (Figure 8.73) is cast from zinc alloy. Although the shank is no longer present, in most cases shanks on this type of button would have been iron wire loops (Luscomb 2006:197).

Table 8.24 Summary of clothing fasteners (n=15) from Trench A, by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Fastener type	Material type	Ligne size	Attachment method	Decorative/unusual elements	#
Clothing, general – button	Decorative domed	Zinc alloy	36	Loop shanked	Petal shapes around central point	1
	Trouser	Copper alloy	26	Sew through	None	2
	Trouser	Copper alloy	27	Sew through	<i>Ne Plus Ultra</i>	1
	Cloth-covered	Copper alloy	26	Sew through	Linen-covered	1
Clothing, general – buckle	Buckle	Iron alloy	N/A	Clasp	None	1
Clothing, under	Hook	Copper alloy	N/A	Hook and eye	None	1
Shoes	Grommet	Copper alloy	N/A	Punched hole	None	8
Total						15

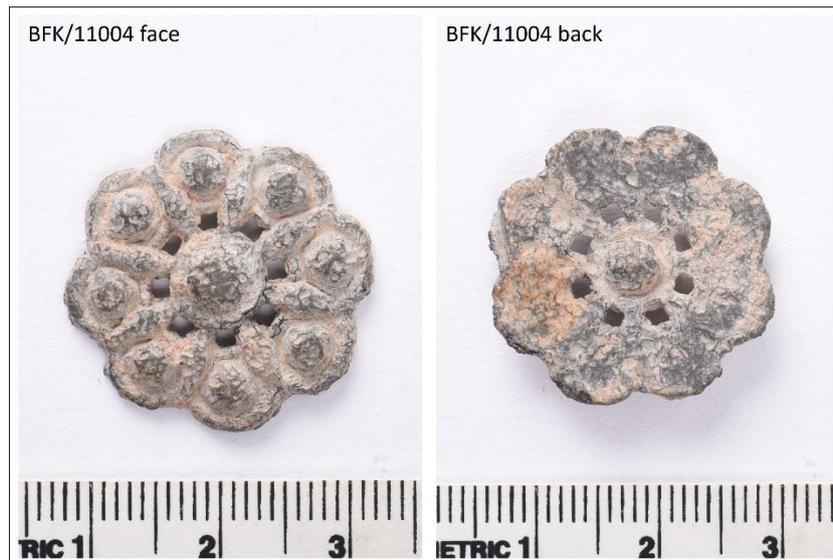


Figure 8.73 Face (L) and back (R) of decorative button with petal design, Trench A. Photos: Susan Arthure.

8.3.1.2 Trench F

A total of 245 clothing fasteners were found in Trench F, concentrated mainly in the north-west corner (Figure 8.74). Virtually all ($n=244$) were excavated from contexts 008 (occupation layer) or 011 (ashy deposit), the single exception being a spherical black glass button that was found in context 004 (clay fill) of D8. The north-west corner was the location of context 011, a deep deposit of ash consistent with a burning event. Although deepest in A2, it also extended through A3 and A4 and contained 111 fasteners, making up 45.31% of the assemblage in Trench F. A further 50 fasteners were found in the same squares in context 008. Together, these 161 items make up 65.71% of the assemblage.

Lindbergh (1999:53) suggests that recovering large numbers of buttons from an archaeological site is rare, and that when this occurs they are usually spread across a wide area. This is clearly not the case for Trench F, where most of the buttons were recovered from the area centred around A2. The buttons, many of which showed signs of heat exposure, were found alongside other items, including the charred remains of a wooden spool, fabric, newspaper fragments, two purse clasps, small religious cross, mourning brooch, a glass syringe and more than three dozen medicine bottles. The evidence indicates that this was not a random loss of buttons from many people, but more probably the residue from the burning of a sewing bag and/or button box and other personal possessions.

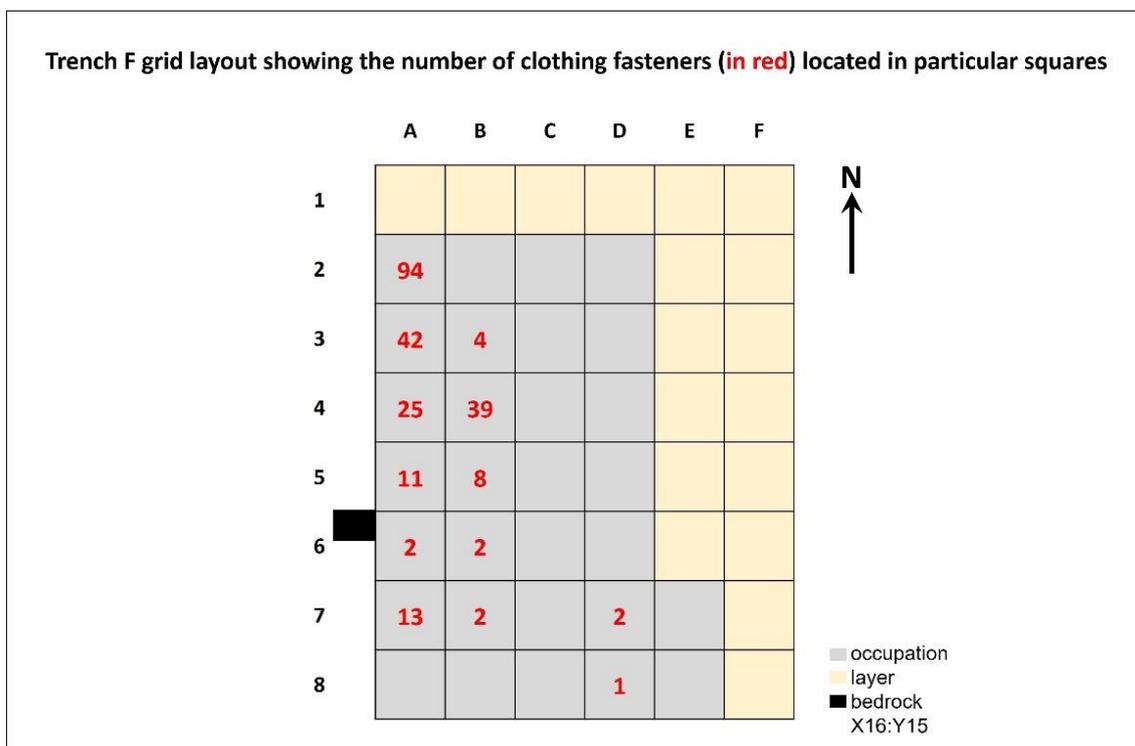


Figure 8.74 Location of clothing fasteners (n=245) in Trench F.

Table 8.25 summarises the clothing fasteners found in Trench F, broken down by broad function and fastener type. Close to half (n=102; 41.6%) fall under the category of general clothing, a broad grouping that can include buttons and buckles for shirts, waistcoats, trim, dresses, trousers, jackets and coats. The types reflect what might be commonly expected in a nineteenth-century household. There are eight cloth-covered buttons, a popular form of fastener that could be made to any size and covered with a fabric to match the clothing item (McGowan and Prangnell 2011:21). These range in size from 20–27 ligne (12.5–17 mm). Two collar/cuff studs and four cuff links would have been used on shirts. One of the cuff links is almost complete and still attached to several layers of closely woven black linen fabric. Another has an inlaid decorative cap, possibly bone or celluloid.

Seven buttons can be described as decorative—five shell, two glass. Four of the shell buttons range in size from 20–27 ligne (12.5–17 mm), suitable for use on shirts, dresses or as trim. One of these (Figure 8.75) has a finely carved design consisting of eight arms forming a lozenge shaped cross and Maltese cross, whilst three are hand carved with grooved or sunburst designs (Figure 8.76). The fifth shell button is larger (40 ligne; 25.5 mm), etched with two concentric circles and suitable for a coat, jacket or dress. The two glass buttons

(Figure 8.77) are a two-hole sew through that has been painted black, and a self-shanked black button with a mould seam.

There are 17 flat sew through buttons—one shell, three bone, 13 wood. The single shell button is 30 ligne (19 mm), a size suitable for coats, jackets and dresses. Of the three bone buttons, one is charred black and brittle to the touch, consistent with having been in a fire or burning event. Two have been dyed a dark colour (Figure 8.78), and one of these (BFK/11108) has five holes. The centre hole here is explained by Aultman and Grillo (2014:7) and Olsen (1963:552) as the index point used on button blanks to hold the turning tool in place; after the blanks were cut, the outer four holes were drilled. All 13 wood buttons are charred black and brittle. Eleven have a size range of 16–22 ligne (10.5–14.2 mm), with one being 27 ligne (17 mm) and painted black, and another a much larger 50 ligne (32 mm). These last two have been assessed as possibly of Irish origin. There is an Irish tradition of wooden buttons throughout the nineteenth century and up to the mid-twentieth century, especially for use on woollen Aran knits, with firms in Dublin and Cork specialising in wooden buttons that were smaller and less complex than their German equivalents (Peacock 2010:62).

There are three livery buttons. The face of one (Figure 8.79) is embossed with a large ornate letter *C* overlaid with the letters *LII*, and measures 26 lignes (16.5 mm). Two other livery buttons are identical in form, 22 lignes (14 mm), and decorated with the Prince of Wales plumes; these are stamped on the rim with the letters *Reindeer Finish*.

The single ceramic Prosser button assigned to the general clothing category measures 27 ligne (17 mm). It has the distinctive orange peel pitted texture on the back, a consequence of the firing process (Sprague 2002:111, 119); it has a decorative piecrust rim; ash can be seen embedded in its surface (BFK/11132 Figure 8.83).

Of the five shanked buttons in the general clothing category, four are made of wood. One is the face of a two-piece shanked button, although the shank is no longer present. The remaining three are box-shanked, and all have copper alloy piping embedded in the holes to facilitate the thread (Figure 8.80). The fifth shanked button is constructed in three pieces, with a bone face and a separate circular bone disc on the back to which an iron shank was attached.

A total of 33 metal trouser buttons were excavated from Trench F, mostly from square A2 (n=17). Although twenty (60.60%) do not have a motif, ten are stamped with a generic slogan such as *Excelsior* (n=3), *Best Ring Edge* (n=2), *Double Ring Edge* (n=1) or *The Climax* (n=2), or indecipherable lettering (n=2). Three are stamped with a specific maker's name. One of these is *C.H. Shakeshaft Kapunda*, the remaining two are stamped with the business name *Kirkham Evans & Co Bon Marché*. Cornelius Henderson Shakeshaft was a tailor and mercer operating in Kapunda from at least 1882 (*Kapunda Herald* 1882:2) until 1926 when he retired and left the business in the care of his son (Australian Button History n.d.; *Kapunda Herald* 1926:2). Kirkham Evans opened his Bon Marché gentleman's outfitting and tailoring business in Adelaide on 7 June 1884 (*South Australian Register* 1884a:1). It advertised for the last time in December 1897 (*Southern Cross* 1897:8), after which the business was taken over by Smith and Hawkes, giving these buttons a date range of 1884–1897, a period of 13 years.

Twenty-two buckles were found in Trench F, all suitable for use on clothing, appearing too light for animal harnesses. One half of a copper alloy snake buckle (S-shaped, embossed with a snake head and body) was excavated from square A2, context 011. Snake buckles are associated with military and police uniforms, and schoolboys' belts (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:92; Meredith and Meredith 2008:18). There are a further five copper alloy buckles, all measuring approximately 20 mm x 21 mm; one of these (BFK/1093) has traces of black fabric attached (Figure 8.81). The remaining buckles (n=16) are made of iron alloy, heavily corroded and varying in size from 20 mm x 19 mm to 68 mm x 46 mm. Most of the iron alloy buckles (n=12) were excavated from the ashy deposit of square A2, context 011, with the remaining four found in adjacent squares.

There are 93 fasteners in the category of underclothing. A single charred ring (Figure 8.82) is consistent with a Dorset thread button. These were produced in Dorset from linen thread stitched around bone disks or metal rings, a sizeable cottage industry involving men, women and children (Luscomb 2006:57; Meredith and Meredith 2012:9). Seventeen sew through shell buttons range in size from 17 to 21 ligne (11–13.5 mm). Most (n=15) were excavated from the ashy deposit of context 011 and are grey in colour, delaminating easily, consistent with heat damage. Of the three Prosser buttons, two were excavated from square A2 context 011 (BFK/11131, BFK/11146 Figure 8.83) and have ash embedded in their surfaces. Twelve snap fasteners are single halves with the exception of one (BFK/11122), which is a

complete bird cage snap fastener constructed in two pieces. There are four hooks consistent with being part of a suspender, two of copper alloy and two of iron alloy, and two instances of the hook part of a ‘hook and eye’. There are also 54 items identified as parts of corset stiffening straps, possibly from one original corset. In the examples shown in Figure 8.84, the hooks and pins used as fastenings can be seen. Almost all of the corset parts (n=53) were excavated from context 008 in squares A3 (n=14), A4 (n=1), A5 (n=2), B3 (n=3), B4 (n=33), close to the ashy deposit.

In terms of shoes, all the fasteners (n=46) are grommets—40 copper alloy, six iron alloy. These were found mainly in groups in A2 (n=6), A3 (n=11), A4 (n=10), A5 (n=4) and A7 (n=8), indicating that they are all that remains of shoe or boot parts that have perished.

There are four fasteners in the ‘other’ category. These are a charred wooden button blank (Figure 8.85), an iron alloy button base, a large copper alloy eyelet, and a triangular-shaped clip with two holes for attaching to a garment.

Table 8.25 Summary of clothing fasteners (n=245) from Trench F, by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Fastener type	Material type	Line size	Attachment method	Decorative/unusual elements	#
Clothing, general – button	Cloth-covered	Copper alloy	20–27	Sew through	Linen-covered	7
	Cloth-covered	Iron alloy	20	Sew through	Linen-covered	1
	Collar/cuff stud	Iron alloy	16	Stud	None	1
	Collar/cuff stud	Iron alloy	25	Stud	None	1
	Cuff link	Copper alloy; iron alloy	N/A	Stud	None	3
	Cuff link	Copper alloy; iron alloy	N/A	Stud	Decorative cap	1
	Decorative spherical	Glass	15	Self-shanked	Black glass, ?worn facets	1
	Decorative flat	Glass	26	Sew through	Painted black	1
	Decorative flat	Shell	20	Sew through	Grooves set at right angles	1
	Decorative flat	Shell	23–24	Sew through	Sunburst	2
	Decorative flat	Shell	27	Sew through	Maltese cross	1
	Decorative flat	Shell	40	Sew through	Concentric circles	1
	Flat sew through	Bone	17–21	Sew through	None	2
	Flat sew through	Bone	27	Sew through	Five hole, dyed black	1
	Flat sew through	Shell	30	Sew through	None	1
	Flat sew through	Wood	16–22	Sew through	None	11
	Flat sew through	Wood	27	Sew through	Painted black, possibly Irish?	1
	Flat sew through	Wood	50	Sew through	Possibly Irish?	1
	Livery	Copper alloy	26	Omega shank	CLII, illegible maker’s mark	1

Broad function	Fastener type	Material type	Ligne size	Attachment method	Decorative/unusual elements	#
	Livery	Iron alloy	22	Shanked	Prince of Wales plumes, <i>Reindeer Finish</i>	2
	Prosser	Ceramic	27	Sew through	Piecrust rim	1
	Shanked	Bone; iron alloy	30	Shanked	Iron rivet shank on bone disc, dyed brown	1
	Shanked	Wood	24	Shanked	None	1
	Shanked	Wood; copper alloy	21–24	Box shanked	Copper alloy tubing in eye holes; cloth-covered	3
	Trouser	Copper alloy	21–27	Sew through	None	7
	Trouser	Copper alloy	26–28	Sew through	<i>Excelsior</i>	3
	Trouser	Copper alloy	26–27	Sew through	<i>The Climax</i>	2
	Trouser	Copper alloy	27	Sew through	<i>Best Ring Edge</i>	2
	Trouser	Copper alloy	27	Sew through	<i>C.H. Shakeshaft Kapunda</i>	1
	Trouser	Copper alloy	27	Sew through	<i>Kirkham Evans & Co Bon Marché</i>	2
	Trouser	Copper alloy	28	Sew through	<i>Double Ring Edge</i>	1
	Trouser	Iron alloy	15–28	Sew through	None	13
	Trouser	Iron alloy	28	Sew through	Illegible stamped letters	2
						80
Clothing, general - buckle	Buckle, snake	Copper alloy	N/A	Clasp	Embossed snake shape	1
	Buckle, motif	Copper alloy	N/A	Clasp	<i>Paris</i>	3
	Buckle, motif	Copper alloy	N/A	Clasp	<i>Prima</i>	1
	Buckle, undecorated	Copper alloy	N/A	Clasp	None	1
	Buckle, undecorated	Iron alloy	N/A	Clasp	None	16
						22
Clothing, under	Corset straps	Copper alloy; Iron alloy	N/A	Eyelet and pin	None	54
	Dorset thread	Copper alloy	22	Sew through	None	1
	Flat sew through	Shell	17–21	Sew through	None	17
	Hook	Iron alloy	N/A	Hook and eye	None	2
	Prosser	Ceramic	17–18	Sew through	None	3
	Snap fastener	Copper alloy	16	Bird cage press stud	Repeating ?star	1
	Snap fastener	Copper alloy	13–14	Standard press stud	None	3
	Snap fastener	Copper alloy	16	Standard press stud	Etched dots x 3	1
	Snap fastener	Copper alloy	13	Standard press stud	<i>Made in Germany</i>	3
	Snap fastener	Copper alloy; Iron alloy	21	Standard press stud	None	1
	Snap fastener	Iron alloy	16	Standard press stud	None	3
	Suspender hook?	Copper alloy	N/A	Hook	None	1
	Suspender hook?	Iron alloy	N/A	Hook	None	3
						93

Broad function	Fastener type	Material type	Ligne size	Attachment method	Decorative/unusual elements	#
Shoes	Grommet	Copper alloy	N/A	Punched hole	None	40
	Grommet	Iron alloy	N/A	Punched hole	None	6
						46
Other	Button base	Iron alloy	28	Box shank	None	1
	Button blank	Wood	27	Unidentifiable	None	1
	Eyelet	Copper alloy	36	Punched hole	None	1
	Triangular garment clip	Copper or nickel alloy	N/A	Drilled holes x 2	None	1
						4
Total						245



Figure 8.75 Face (L) and back (R) of shell button with hand carved design, Trench F. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.76 Decorated shell buttons showing evidence of heat damage, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.77 Painted glass button (L) and self-shanked glass button (R), Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.78 Dyed bone buttons, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.79 Face (L) and back (R) of livery button with letters CLII, Trench F. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.80 Edges and backs of wood box-shanked buttons, two with lenticular grooves, Trench F. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.81 Lightweight, copper alloy buckles, Trench F. Three (BFK/1086, 1087, 1093) are stamped with the word *Paris*, one (BFK/1092) with the word *Prima*. Photos: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.82 Ring from a Dorset thread button, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.83 Prosser buttons, Trench F. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.84 Corset stiffening pieces, composite of iron alloy and copper alloy, fastened using eyelets and pins, Trench F. Photos: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.85 Oval-shaped wooden button blank, Trench F. Photo: Susan Arthure.

8.3.2 The round structure—Trench E

Four buttons were retrieved from Trench E. A glass button, with a moulded geometric design, was located in context 002, a post-occupation layer of loose top soil and clay fill. Two trouser buttons were found in the occupation layers of contexts 007 and 009. The fourth, made of shell, was found in context 008, a built-up area of compacted clay and rocky fill at the north-west corner.

Table 8.26 summarises the major elements associated with the Trench E clothing fasteners. The two trouser buttons are standard one piece, sew through, four-hole buttons. Both have a deep circular depression surrounded by a stamped, dotted rim. The face of the large shell button (Figure 8.86) has a shallow central recess. On its base, the eyeholes are located on a round 'platform' with an uneven edge and darker colour, indicating that it is closer to the original shell surface layer; this platform would have allowed most of the button to rise clear of the fabric. Its large size (40 lignes, 24.6 mm) suggests that it could have been used as a fastener for a coat, jacket or dress. The final button (Figure 8.87) is black glass with a press-moulded geometric design and copper alloy box shank set into two lenticular-shaped cuts. It is suitable for use on outerwear where it would have been visible.

Table 8.26 Summary of clothing fasteners from Trench E (n=4), by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Fastener type	Material type	Line size	Attachment method	Decorative/unusual elements	#
Clothing, general	Trouser button	Copper alloy	22	Sew through	Dotted rim	1
Clothing, outer	Trouser button	Copper alloy	26	Sew through	Dotted rim	1
	Hand-cut large button	Shell	40	Sew through	Etched circles on face	1
	Decorative button	Glass; copper alloy	18	Box shanked	Moulded geometric design	1
Total						4

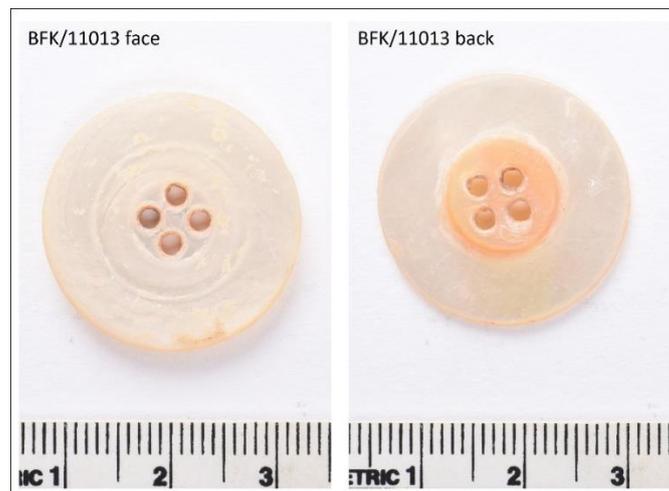


Figure 8.86 Face and back of shell button, Trench E. Photos: Susan Arthure.



Figure 8.87 Face and back of decorative glass button, Trench E. Photos: Susan Arthure.

8.3.3 Date ranges for the total button and clothing fastener assemblage

Table 8.27 and Table 8.28 outline the earliest and latest possible manufacture dates for the clothing fasteners recovered at Baker's Flat. From 264 artefacts, an earliest start date can be assigned to 149 (56.44%) and a latest end date to 42 (10.61%).

Two buttons, the Dorset thread (BFK/11144) and five-hole bone (BFK/11108), have earliest start dates beginning in 1750. The production of Dorset buttons began around 1700 and they were in use until about 1830 (Powerhouse Museum n.d.; Willett and Cunnington 1992:19). For five-hole buttons, Olsen (1963:552) gives a start date range of 1750 and an end date of 1830. The invention of a machine in the 1790s that simultaneously drilled four holes in wood or bone buttons eliminated the need for a central hole (Hinks 1988:68). This change was adopted slowly, and three and five holed buttons continued to be made, but decreasingly, well into the nineteenth century. The location of both these buttons in square A2 context 11, as part of the button cache, suggest that they had been re-used over many years, and potentially travelled from Ireland with the first family members.

The next earliest buttons, dated to 1800, are the shanked zinc alloy button cast with a decorative petal design (BFK/11004 Figure 8.73), a four-hole dyed bone button (BFK/11037 Figure 8.78) and the omega-shanked livery button (BFK/11100 Figure 8.79). The petal design button is cast from zinc alloy, a technique dating from the late seventeenth or very early eighteenth centuries (Luscomb 2006:197; Peacock 2010:20). Although it is unlikely to be that old, the fine detail and decoration may mean that it was re-used over a number of years, and it has been assigned an earliest date of 1800. Dyed four-hole bone buttons have a date range of 1800–1865 (South 1964:121). Omega shanked buttons were among the first to be machine-made, in the early 1800s, with most being made between 1800 and 1850 (Luscomb 2006:141). The four cuff links, all from A2 context 011, have an earliest start date of 1824 when holes for cuff links first appeared (Willett and Cunnington 1992:19).

Most fasteners (n=127, 48.11%) in this assemblage have an earliest start date between 1840 and 1889. An earliest start of date of 1845 has been used for the 54 grommets. Although metal grommets date from 1828 when the lacing holes in corsets began to be strengthened using hammered-in metal rings (Waugh 2018:70; Willett and Cunnington 1992:132), it was the 1840s before they began to replace hand-sewn holes in shoes (Encyclopedia.com 2020). For the early twentieth century, 12 buttons (4.54%) have been assigned a start date of between 1900 and 1909, with one (BFK/11091 Figure 8.77) being a glass self-shanked button

dated to 1900 (Meredith and Meredith 2012:32, 35; Peacock 2010:23) and the remaining 11 being snap fasteners dated to 1903 when the Prym family in Germany bought the patent (Hardie 2018; Willett and Cunnington 1992:19–20).

Although a latest date is impossible to establish for most buttons (n=222, 84.09%), some are particularly dateable. These include the Dorset thread and the five-hole bone which have a latest date of 1830, making them the oldest buttons in this assemblage. A further two bone buttons can be ascribed a latest date of 1865 because of the presence of saw marks (BFK/11037 Figure 8.78) or four uneven eye holes which taper front and back (BFK/11038) (Lindbergh 1999:52; South 1964:121).

Thirty-two buttons have an end date of between 1920 and 1949, comprising a mix of ceramic (n=4), glass (n=1), wood (n=17), cloth-covered (n=9) and one trouser button stamped *C.H. Shakeshaft*. Overall, the dates attributed to the clothing fastener assemblage broadly indicate a mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century occupation date for Baker’s Flat.

Table 8.27 Earliest possible manufacture dates for clothing fasteners, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	E	F
1750–...	0	0	2
1800–09	1	0	2
1810–19	0	0	0
1820–29	0	1	4
1830–39	0	0	0
1840–49	9	0	60
1850–59	4	2	47
1860–69	0	0	0
1870–79	0	1	0
1880–89	0	0	4
1890–99	0	0	0
1900–09	0	0	12
Undatable	1	0	114
Total	15	4	245

Table 8.28 Latest possible manufacture dates for clothing fasteners, summarised in decades for each trench.

Trench / Decade	A	E	F
1830–39	0	0	2
1840–49	0	0	0
1850–59	0	0	0
1860–69	0	0	2
1870–79	0	0	1
1880–89	0	0	0
1890–99	1	0	2
1900–09	0	0	1
1910–19	0	1	0

Trench / Decade	A	E	F
1920–29	0	0	1
1930–39	0	0	4
1940–49	1	0	26
Undatable	13	3	206
<i>Total</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>245</i>

8.4 Metal miscellaneous items

Large numbers of metal fragments were excavated from Trenches A and F. These have been examined in detail in Chapter 7, Section 7.7, focusing on how they were used as construction materials. Small quantities of undiagnostic metal were recovered from Trenches B, C, D, E, G and the dance floor but are not included as part of the research. Neither is the surface scrap metal on top of Trench E, which was cleared by the landowner prior to excavation. Other items—tin cans, barbed wire, nails and horseshoes—were not catalogued but may form part of another research project. A small number of other items, mainly for domestic or personal use, were excavated from Trenches A (n=10), E (n=1) and F (n=143). These are detailed in Appendix H(iv)—Baker’s Flat Metal [electronic file].

8.4.1 Inside the dwelling—Trenches A and F

8.4.1.1 Trench A

Ten artefacts were recovered from Trench A, all from contexts 004 (clay fill immediately above occupation layer) or 005 (occupation layer). Figure 8.88 shows that half (n=5; 50%) were found in the rubbish disposal area (X17:Y20,Y21).

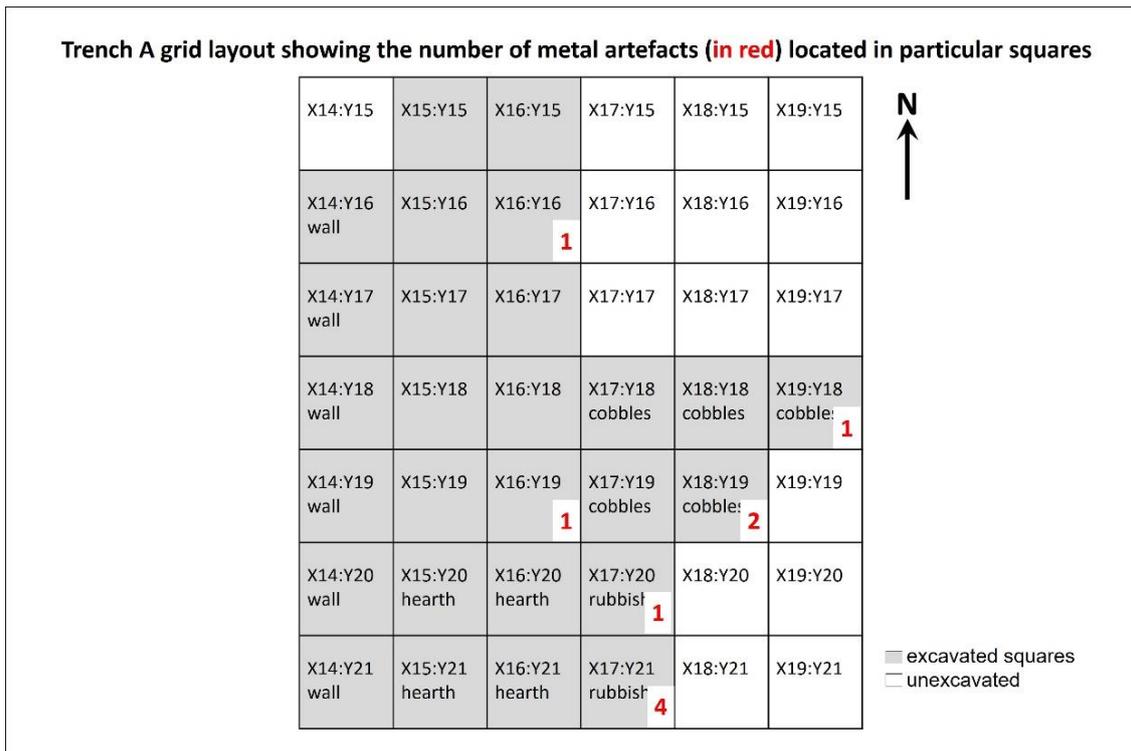


Figure 8.88 Location of metal items (n=10) in Trench A.

Table 8.29 summarises the Trench A miscellaneous metal items (n=10; MNI=7), organised by broad function and artefact form. The box iron shown in Figure 8.89 is an iron alloy domestic iron with a wooden handle. Dating from the mid-nineteenth century, it used a heating brick (slug) to heat the appliance (Arnold 2008:116, 125; Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences 2022). The remains of a knife handle were found in the rubbish disposal area (X17:Y20), made of iron alloy with bone plates on either side (Figure 8.90). In addition, Trench A contained the remains of a container cap, partial safety pin, copper alloy collar that would have enclosed the shaft of a small tool, partial hammer and a tiny cross-shaped brace.

Table 8.29 Summary of miscellaneous metal items from Trench A (n=10), by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Artefact form	Material type	#	MNI
Household, domestic	Iron (charcoal), with wooden handle	Iron alloy; wood	1	1
	Cap from container	Iron alloy	1	1
	Knife handle, bone plates	Iron alloy; bone	1	1
	Safety pin (partial)	Copper alloy	2	1
Household, tool	Collar for tool or brush	Copper alloy	3	1
	Hammer head and partial shaft	Iron alloy	1	1
Unknown	X brace, very small	Copper alloy	1	1
Total			10	7



Figure 8.89 Box iron, Trench A. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.90 Knife handle, Trench A. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.

8.4.1.2 Trench F

A total of 143 metal items were found in Trench F, concentrated mainly in the north-west corner in the ashy deposit of context 011 (Figure 8.91). Virtually all (n=142) were excavated from contexts 008 (occupation layer) or 011 (ashy deposit). One item was found in square D8, context 004 (clay fill), a partial purse clasp made of copper alloy and etched with a Greek

key pattern (Figure 8.92). Two further purse clasps were recovered from square A2, in contexts 008 and 011.

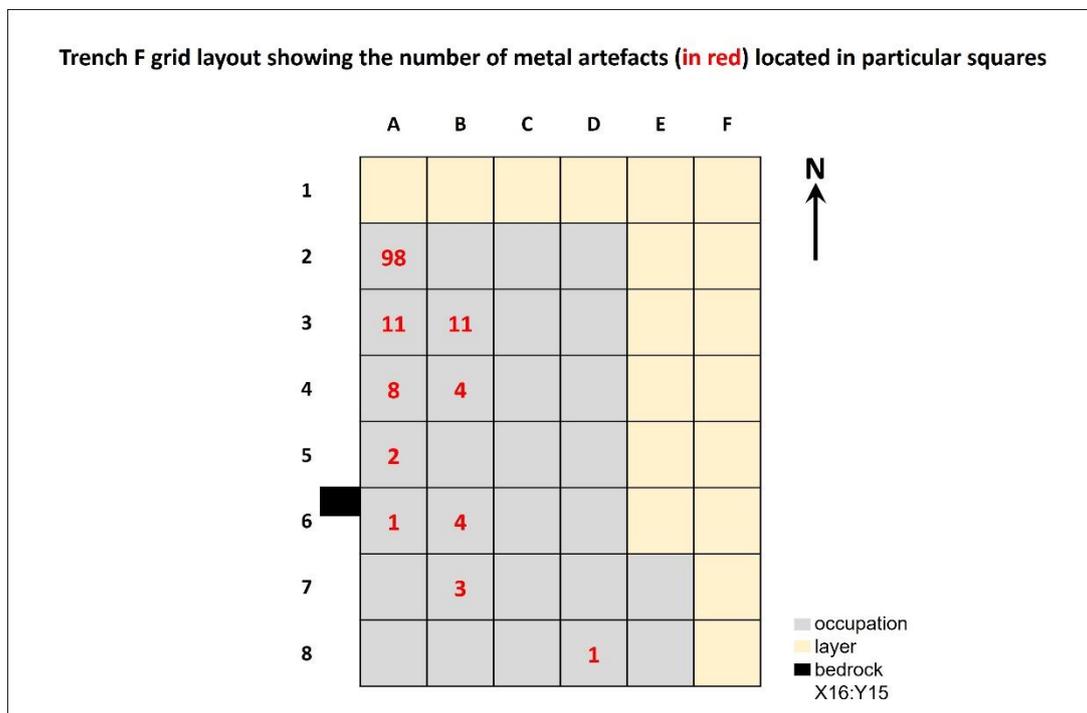


Figure 8.91 Location of metal items (n=143) in Trench F.

Table 8.30 summarises the Trench F miscellaneous metal items (n=143; MNI=72), organised by broad function and artefact form. The domestic household items recovered from Trench F included two small decorative bells, a partial candlestick, several container caps (n=13), the handle of an enamel mug, a partial butter knife and six spoon fragments. The spoons (MNI=4) are a silver-plated fiddle design. The largest is a basting or serving spoon, measuring 214 mm in length, with five illegible stamped trademarks. There are two complete teaspoons, measuring 134 mm and 141 mm respectively. One of the teaspoons (Figure 8.93) has five stamped trademarks including a crown, indicating that it was manufactured prior to c.1896 when use of the crown in silver-plate was banned.

There are also 18 fragments associated with small tins or metal containers (MNI=3). All found in square A2, context 011, one complete tin shows evidence of heat damage (Figure 8.94). A second tin is fused to its lid along with other small items, including at least two trouser buttons, a shell button, a collar stud, and other unidentifiable items. This item was found next to other buttons, many of which were heat-damaged.

In addition to the purse clasps noted above, personal items included a small bar-bell consistent with being the end section of a fob chain, a domed glass/copper alloy cap which is most likely to be the head of a walking stick/cane, a mourning brooch and a religious cross. These were excavated from the ashy deposit in the north-west corner of Trench F. The mourning brooch (Figure 8.95) is a composite construction consisting of a copper alloy pin and frame surmounted by faceted stones made of black glass. The stones are ‘cut’ in a rose cut, a style that has a flat base and faceted top. Whilst jewellery was an element of mourning costume since the seventeenth century (Benjamin 2003:72; Hinks 1975:84), it became hugely popular during the Victorian era, following the death of the Queen’s husband in 1861. This brooch is a cheaply constructed item that would have been readily available in South Australia during the late nineteenth century. The cross (Figure 8.96), made of copper alloy, has a round attachment point at the top. This holds a small safety pin and round ‘plate’ edged with small pinholes which would have allowed a backing fabric to be sewn on. It is embossed with parallel lines and has a diagonal sash across the lower section of the upright. Clearly a religious item, it is most probably a cross-and-pin designed to be worn on the front of a shirt or dress (pers. comm. J. Lee, February 2022).

There are 46 artefacts associated with household tools, ranging from a bottle opener to a pen nib, and 41 unidentifiable items. There is also one tyre valve cap (BFK/1045) for a Ford Model T car, engraved with the trademark *Schrader USA*, and containing several scraps of printed paper, no longer legible.

Table 8.30 Summary of miscellaneous metal items from Trench F (n=143), by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Artefact form	Material type	#	MNI
Household, domestic	Bells, decorative x 2	Copper alloy	2	2
	Candlestick, partial	Copper alloy; iron alloy	1	1
	Cap from container	Iron alloy	9	8
	Cap, threaded, from container	Nickel alloy	4	4
	Handle of enamel mug	Iron alloy; enamel	1	1
	Knife, butter (partial)	Iron alloy	1	1
	Spoon	Silver-plate	6	4
	Tin, small e.g. tobacco	Iron alloy	18	3
	Household, personal	Dome-shaped cap (walking stick/cane)	Copper alloy; glass	1
Mourning brooch		Copper alloy; glass	8	1
Purse clasp		Copper alloy	2	2
Purse clasp		Copper alloy; iron alloy	1	1
Religious item – cross		Copper alloy	1	1
Watch fob, partial		Copper alloy	1	1
Household, tool	Bottle opener	Iron alloy	1	1
	Collar for tool or brush	Copper alloy	3	3
	Collar for tool or brush	Zinc alloy; rubber	2	1
	Door knob	Copper alloy	1	1
	Fastener – rivet/nut	Copper alloy	4	4

Broad function	Artefact form	Material type	#	MNI
	Handle – drawer/wash tub	Iron alloy	2	2
	Ink pen, nib	Steel	1	1
	Ink pen, shaft	Copper alloy; iron alloy	1	1
	Key	Iron alloy	10	3
	Lamp (oil), partial	Iron alloy	2	1
	Lamp (carbide), partial	Copper alloy; iron alloy	1	1
	Padlock	Iron alloy	12	1
	Paperclip	Iron alloy	3	1
	Pickaxe head	Iron alloy	1	1
	Rasp file	Iron alloy	1	1
	Washer	Copper alloy; iron alloy	1	1
Unknown	Cap for unknown object	Copper alloy	1	1
	Collar, round, pins around edge and across centre	Copper alloy; iron alloy	5	4
	Fragment of clip	Zinc alloy	1	1
	Fragment, round, flat, central hole	Copper alloy	1	1
	Fragment, spring clip	Copper alloy	1	1
	Fragments, metal and wood	Copper alloy; wood	6	1
	Fragments, metal and thatch	Iron alloy; thatch	10	1
	Fragments, metal foil	Nickel alloy	5	1
	Fused metal items, including pin and possible button	Copper alloy; iron alloy;	3	3
	Pulley wheel/gear movement	Copper alloy	1	1
	Solder or casting fragments	Lead	6	1
Other	Tyre valve cap, Schrader USA	Nickel alloy	1	1
Total			143	72



Figure 8.92 Purse clasp, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.93 Teaspoon, silver-plated, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.94 Heat-damaged tin with small items fused to lid, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.95 Mourning brooch, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 8.96 Religious cross, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.

8.4.2 The round structure—Trench E

One metal artefact was recovered from Trench E, the crushed remains of a copper alloy .22 bullet casing, located in context 007, an occupation layer.

8.5 Other items

Other items excavated from Baker’s Flat include paper, clothing items, faunal remains, leather shoes, and samples of wood, charcoal and soil. These have been catalogued where required to address this research, and are detailed below.

8.5.1 Newspaper

At the north-western end of Trench F, an ashy deposit (context 011) extended across squares A2–4 and into B2–3. This context lay below context 004 (clay fill) and above context 008 (occupation layer), and was saturated with artefacts and charcoal, the detritus of a burning event. Amongst the many items excavated from this context were the remains of a newspaper, heavily charred but with some words and letters still legible. Figure 8.97 shows two sample fragments with several words outlined in red—God, Joseph, School, Patrick. Other words or phrases that were identifiable include: ...Federal Constitution..., Australia cannot.../world affairs..., ..baptize a..., ...Darwin..., ...Melbourne..., ...Adelaide..., ...Mary’s School.../...feast day, ...Fish Market/February 16..., Seppelt & Sons Limited [advert], ...Catholic paper..., ...Sacred...

Of most significance is a barely legible date near the top of a page—1938—which indicates that the newspaper was published sometime during that year. In addition to current affairs, there are a number of references to Catholic schools and feast days, and it can be assumed that this is a Catholic newspaper, possibly the *Southern Cross* which was published from 1889.



Figure 8.97 Sample fragments from scorched newspaper found in Trench F, context 011. Photos: Cameron McVicar.

8.5.2 Clothing items

A set of 528 glass seed beads (BFK/11052) were found together in Trench F, square A4, context 008. Mainly white in colour, with some veering towards colourless, their diameter is an average of 2.17 mm, equivalent to 10/0 aught size.

Several examples of a closely woven black fabric was found in Trenches A and F, either as small scraps or as adhesions to other items, such as buttons and buckles. Figure 8.98 shows two close-up images of this fabric, taken using a Dino-Lite AM-4113ZT digital microscope. These samples are from Trench A and retain more structural integrity than those from Trench F which were recovered from the ashy deposit (context 011) and are heat-damaged. The fraying pattern on the strands is consistent with this being a wool fabric, possibly a serge.

Also recovered from the ashy deposit is a wooden sewing spool (BFK/1122), that shows evidence of burning (Figure 8.99).



Figure 8.98 Samples of black fabric, Trench A. Photos: Catherine Morton.



Figure 8.99 Heat-affected sewing spool, Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the results for the following classes of artefacts: ceramics, glass, buttons and clothing fasteners, and metal items (other than those used for construction purposes). In addition, a small number of other artefacts have been described: newspaper, fabric and seed beads, and a wooden thread spool. Across all artefact classes, the date range broadly indicates a mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century occupation date for Baker's Flat.

The results also indicate some clear differences between the structures. Artefacts recovered from the dwelling (Trenches A, F) are consistent with a domestic house. The ashy deposit in the north-west corner of Trench F was the source of several personal items, including a mourning brooch, cross, black clothing fabric, numerous buttons and corset ribbing. Also excavated from the same area were many items associated with health, including a syringe, medicine bottles, eucalyptus oil bottles and beef extract bottles. The enclosure feature (Trenches B, C, H) and dance floor had few artefacts. The round structure (Trench E) was remarkably clean, with relatively few artefacts below the post-occupation layer. The implications and possible explanations for these findings are analysed in the next chapter.

9 Analysis of the Baker's Flat Clachan

The dominant narrative around Baker's Flat, until now, has been of a set-apart Irish community living chaotically in a miasma of grimy people, poorly managed stock, filthy hovels and alcohol-fuelled disorder. This story has been recycled through the local histories (Charlton 1971; Tilbrook 1929), beginning in 1929 with unaccredited memories. Even the staunchly positive or more balanced historical accounts (Maloney 1936a:29; Nicol 1983) echo the poverty and disarray, describing the homes as 'little better than hovels' (Maloney 1936a:29). The reconstructed Irish cottage in the Kapunda museum (Figure 9.1) is a more recent example, a physical representation of Irish life on Baker's Flat as it is generally remembered, deriving from those earlier written histories: small and rough, unsecured entrance and window, crucifix on the wall, hens in the kitchen. Although there is some truth in all of these perspectives, the overall story is more complex, and it benefits from being examined through the multiple lenses of archaeology, archives, contemporary accounts and genealogies.

Using these methods, this research set out to examine Baker's Flat in the context of Irishness. It uncovered one of the most Irish things of all, a clachan community, one that thrived in the Antipodes for many years before eventually disappearing back into the landscape. How was this Irishness expressed at Baker's Flat? What does it tell us about Irishness in nineteenth-century South Australia? These questions underpin the analysis in this chapter.



Figure 9.1 Exterior and interior of reconstructed Baker's Flat cottage in the Kapunda Historical Society Museum. Photos: Susan Arthure.

9.1 Irishness in all its glory—a clachan in South Australia

At the beginning of this thesis it was argued that, whilst any definition of Irishness must be multifaceted, the first element of a definition is: ‘not English’. It can be further argued that there is nothing more Irish and less English than the clachan. Despised by the landlords in Ireland and destroyed in the aftermath of the Famine, clachans were disparaged by the dominant English power as dirty, messy, lawless and anarchic, the opposite of what could be realised through reforming and improving land management methods (Smyth 2012b:55; Whelan 2011b:74).

Since the colony of South Australia was modelled in the image of southern England, with a majority English presence, it is unlikely that the English settlers had ever heard of a clachan, let alone seen one. The traditional English village bore little resemblance to a clachan (Figure 9.2) and, as such, the layout and management of Baker’s Flat would have been unreadable to the dominant power. The few Anglo-Irish landowners in the Kapunda area—Captain Bagot, Dr Blood and William Oldham—may have been familiar with the Irish clachan system, especially given that Bagot and Blood both hailed from rural Co. Clare and would have seen the local clustered clachan settlements. But these men were also benign and sympathetic towards the Irish, and perhaps for them the Baker’s Flat clachan was invisible because it was so familiar. As a result, for those who could recognise a clachan it was inconsequential, and for those who had never encountered one, it was unrecognisable.

The physical elements of an Irish clachan settlement included clusters of vernacular houses and outbuildings, and the rundale system of land management (Evans 1939; Johnson 1958; McCourt 1955; Ó Síocháin 2015; Whelan 2011b:86–87, 2012:453; Yager 2002). These are evident at Baker’s Flat, but beyond these observable features are the people, who created the clachan around strong kinship ties, communal life and shared work. Before there was ever a vernacular Irish house, a cluster of buildings or collective management of cattle herds, there were Irish people arriving singly or in family groups to colonise and settle a new country, carrying with them some goods and chattels, and memories of their traditions and lifeways. People were key to the establishment and ongoing success of the clachan.



Figure 9.2 Conjectural drawing of a cluster of houses in the Baker's Flat clachan, based on John Kauffmann's series of 1906 photographs, elevations imagined. Artist: Viv Szekeres.

9.1.1 Family networks and fictive kin

Although the histories record the Irish as arriving in great numbers in 1854 (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13), there may have been a small Irish population on Baker's Flat from the 1840s. This is suggested by local memories of the 'Baker's Flat people' being there from 1844 (Bettison 1975) and the fact that Fr Ryan spent two full days in Kapunda in early 1845 saying Mass and carrying out his pastoral duties (*Southern Cross* 1949:8). However, although the Irish may have been on the site from the 1840s, it seems likely that the clachan system did not get underway until the 1850s, when migrant numbers increased and robust kin relationships began to be constructed.

Many of the Baker's Flat Irish came from Co. Clare, sometimes from adjacent townlands or parishes, and these connections continued in South Australia. For example, the Dundons and Robinsons, from the parish of Clondegad, travelled together on *Marshall Bennett* in 1852 and came directly to Baker's Flat; some years later they became in-laws when a Dundon daughter married a Robinson son. The Conolan and O'Callahan families, from Ballyvaughan in the

north of the county, arrived at Baker's Flat at different times, but there was at least one marriage between those families and they were known locally to have a strong sense of kinship, possibly originating in Ireland.

By 1857 the Driscolls began to arrive and would go on to assume central roles in the life of the clachan. Daniel was first, sailing on *Omega* as a young man of 17 years and going straight to Baker's Flat. He had journeyed out with four Liddy siblings (a sister and three brothers), and married the sister, Sarah, in 1859, the start of an enduring connection between the Driscolls, Liddys and O'Loughlins. Interestingly, the Liddy and O'Loughlin family names, along with McInerney and O'Dea, are old Irish clan names that can be traced back to key kinship groups in Co. Clare (MacLysaght 1985:ix, 309). As well as the four Liddy siblings on Baker's Flat from 1857, there is evidence of O'Loughlins and McInerneys on the site from at least 1858 and O'Deas from 1867 (Appendix G—Baker's Flat Family Names). By virtue of their family names alone, they would have enjoyed some level of regard from other Clare families.

By 1863 there were at least five Liddy families on Baker's Flat, with Liddy–O'Loughlin intermarriages continuing until at least c.1895 and other marriage ties to Costello(e), Calling, Kelly, Lysaght, Markham, McInerney and Molony. By 1889, there were six Driscoll families on the Flat, with direct marriage connections to the families Berth, Daly, Lacey, Liddy, O'Brien and Quigley. As detailed in Chapter 6, many of the family ties were intricate, and played out repeatedly until a web of interrelationships evolved (see, for example, Chapter 6, Figure 6.2). These connections allowed for the development of powerful kinship ties, along with their associated reciprocal obligations and interdependencies. The emergence of the Driscoll family, in particular Daniel, as leaders may have been influenced by personality or skills in oratory—we know that Daniel was vocal in many court cases and played key roles in community events (see, for example, *Chronicle* 1902; *Kapunda Herald* 1894a, 1902b; *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1874d)—but it was no doubt helped by the careful networks that had been nurtured.

These networks were one of the outcomes of Baker's Flat being a diasporic community. The first Irish to arrive on the site were from the first-generation scattering that began during and after the Famine, when the Irish diaspora was created as a distinct entity (Kenny 2013:31). It has been argued that a successful community requires 'only people, a place, and a premise for the creation and maintenance of a community' (Pappas 2004:160), conditions that then act as

catalysts. The kernel needs only to be small enough for everyone to know each other, characterised by frequent interactions and shared communal activities, with regular opportunities for co-operation (and conflict), and common interests (Lawrence 1998:41). Baker's Flat met all these conditions—enough people, long-term access to sufficient land, and the opportunity to build stability and success through co-operative systems. In the absence of kin networks based on blood, new networks based on shared origins and journeys, friendships and alliances were constructed. Over time, as families intermarried and stayed on Baker's Flat to raise another generation, the community evolved in a blend of fictive and biological kin relationships. Membership of this in-group, with a shared Irishness determinedly upheld through intermarriages and friendships, resulted in a community strong enough to resist incursions from outsiders, preserve a shared architectural style, and engage in co-operative land management.

9.1.2 Tenacious land management

Together, the families of Baker's Flat managed the land for nearly 90 years (from c.1860 to c.1948), and when contemporary newspaper reports and court records are examined carefully, they reveal a great deal about management strategies. Daniel Driscoll explained in a 1902 court case how the Irish had been working the land together since around 1860 (*Register* 1902b). This would have been about three years after Daniel had arrived on Baker's Flat, and a year after his marriage to Sarah Liddy. He described how he and other residents fenced in a little land around their cottages and always kept stock on the unfenced portion, then reiterated that the 'grazing rights' for the unfenced areas were shared by the people of Baker's Flat but protected from all outsiders, including the legal landowners (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b; *Register* 1902b). The cattle herd was moved regularly over and back across the river, taking full advantage of the 340 acres controlled jointly by 'D. Driscoll and others' (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892; *Kapunda Herald* 1892c, 1894b), alongside the geese, pigs and goats that roamed freely across the settlement (*Kapunda Herald* 1883, 1902d, 1907).

Whilst post-and-wire fences around the cottages can be seen in some of the photographs analysed below (see section 9.2.1), a much larger enclosure was suggested in the geophysical survey. This was made up of two adjoining shapes, in total approximately 60 m long and 40 m wide, located approximately 20 m south of the excavated house. Although excavations over this feature were inconclusive, the strong magnetic signature hints that wall or fence traces may still be extant. In the clachan and rundale system, the unfenced open field was not

usually used for hay because of the difficulties of keeping out cattle and other stock. Instead, small enclosed meadows were cultivated for permanent hay, then used as enclosures for its storage (Evans 1939:32). There is evidence that hay was made on Baker's Flat—in January 1874, the *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* (1874b) reported that a fire consumed a stack of hay of about 13 tons. This is a substantial amount, enough to sustain 25–30 cattle in supplementary feed through the dry summer months. And hay was still being made on Baker's Flat some decades later when, in 1909, a grass fire was prevented from spreading to a hay crop which had 'been stoked ready for carting' (*Kapunda Herald* 1909). If the elusive enclosure on Baker's Flat was a meadow and hay yard, the walls could have been built using vernacular methods like those used in Co. Clare:

... for fences they used two kinds. ... scraw [*sods of grassy turf*] and sod fences and ... 'dry-wall' fences. These dry wall fences were made ... [of] stones piled neatly on top of each other, and there was no need for drains or ditches at either side ... as the rain never bulged them. The scraw and stone fences were made of a line of scraws—topped with a line of stones and mud to keep them firm. But sheep were always knocking this type. If a man kept cattle he always tried to have 'dry wall' fences, as the cows could shelter from wind and rain at the side ... (NFC 1955c)

CLARE

There were two kinds of fences built long ago, the dry-wall fence made only of stones or 'clocs' and the scraw and cloc one. ... Dry-wall fences were great for sheltering cattle and rain never [did] them any harm. Rain used to lodge and make a bolog (bulge) in the scraw and stone fences and cattle or sheep could then get through the openings. (NFC 1955b) CLARE

Building an effective dry-stone wall is a highly skilled task (Munday 2012), but one at which people from the west of Ireland were well-practised. Bearing in mind the roving cattle, a stone wall would have been the best fit for the Baker's Flat landscape and if it was attempted, it may have employed slag pieces from the nearby mine, available in abundance. Slag was certainly used elsewhere on the site to build floors (Bettison 1975), and a long line of slag pieces along the western edge of the 'dance floor' has been interpreted as edging for the fires or a boundary marker.

Aside from fenced areas near and around the houses, the remaining acreage was used as outfield-commonage for stock grazing and pasture. In this, the Baker's Flat clachan differs from the classic Irish clachan, which usually possessed a defined infield. Traditionally, this was a field on the best area of land, used for growing oats or potatoes (McCourt 1955:372; Whelan 2011b:86–87; Yager 2002:155–157). Perhaps an infield was not considered viable on

Baker's Flat because of the shallow soil. Similar behaviours are observable in Ireland, where, at two clachan settlements that survived until the early twentieth century in the remote north-west of Co. Donegal (Evans 1939), infield cropping had ceased but the use of common pasturage persisted, as did communal decisions about land management, common rights to grazing land, the growing of crops in small walled gardens, and sound kin relationships. Whilst this indicates the adaptive capability of the clachan system, Evans (1939:34) also contends that, during the land disputes and landlord improvements of the late nineteenth century, the peasants of Donegal maintained a resolute resistance to the destruction of the clachan and rundale system, noting that 'tenacious custom was the mainspring of the opposition'.

Tenacious custom and resistance to enforced change were well-used strategies by the Irish of Baker's Flat, as evidenced by the group of women who prevented the 'people's grass' being eaten by the legal landowner's flock of sheep in 1875 (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1875), the fencing dispute of 1880, where six women were charged with disturbing the peace and assaulting the failed fencers (*Kapunda Herald* 1880b), Ann Bolton's success in diverting cattle from the bailiffs in 1894 (*Kapunda Herald* 1894b), and another fencing dispute in 1902, when Daniel Driscoll was named as the principal person committing 'divers great wrongs and trespasses' (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). Notably, on most of these occasions, women were at the forefront, with the Driscoll women—Catherine, Honora and Mary Lacey (née Driscoll)—leading the resistance. In the same way that women who took to the front line during the Irish Land War were 'far from timid or reserved' (TeBrake 1992:76), the Baker's Flat women were vocal and ferocious in their fight for control of the land. For English speculators in the South Australian colony, land was a way of achieving or bolstering wealth. For the Irish, land was first and foremost a way to survive, and later to thrive.

9.1.3 A trilogy of traditions—sport, religion and folk

Considering the daily effort involved in managing homes and stock, and the ongoing struggle for land rights, the Baker's Flat Irish were able to find release and support in some of their old traditions and customs. Hurling, for example, was habitually played. The game is played using a wooden stick (hurley) and a leather ball (*sliotar*), objects that are unlikely to leave much trace in the archaeological record. Mentions in historical newspapers, therefore, are the most reliable indicators. Maloney (1936a:29) noted that at Baker's Flat, 'hurling, the Irish national pastime, was indulged in every Sunday afternoon' and, although there are few

indications of the timespan over which these matches took place, an 1868 advertisement for the Easter Monday Catholic Picnic at Kapunda noted that ‘all sorts of amusements’ would be provided, including hurling, with ‘each man to bring his own hurlie [sic]’ (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1868; Maloney 1936b:4). This was the first time that hurling was advertised at the annual Catholic Picnic, which had started some two years previously, and it continued to be advertised as one of the Easter Monday amusements in 1870 and 1872 (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1870, 1872), a time that coincided with the most populous period of Baker’s Flat.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, hurling had transcended classes in Ireland, and games ranged from informal matches on Sundays and summer evenings to organised teams competing for large wagers under the auspices of the landed gentry (Rouse 2015:75–83). This changed as cricket grew in popularity. Hurling came to be associated only with the Irish peasantry, and predictable descriptors came to the fore—dirt and squalor, drunkenness, lack of self-respect and discipline, violence, even death (Rouse 2015:91–98). In the years following the Famine, the numbers playing hurling declined enormously, so that by 1882 there were no hurling clubs left anywhere in Ireland (Rouse 2019:5). However, by then it had been carried overseas and Irish emigrants continued to play the game in Canada and the US in the 1850s and 1860s, and in England, New Zealand and Australia in the 1870s (Rouse 2015:96–97). It also survived in several regions of Ireland, including Co. Clare (Rouse 2015:97), where many of the Baker’s Flat Irish originated. It is unlikely that the Irish set out to play weekend hurling as a deliberate expression of social identity or as one more component in an ongoing discourse about land control and ownership. Nonetheless, they were part of a worldwide community expressing Irishness, and reinforcing social ties and cultural strength through the medium of hurling.

Another element associated with Irishness is religion, and when it comes to the Irish poor, their profound allegiance to Catholicism. The Baker’s Flat Irish were steadfast in their religious practice, regularly walking to Sunday Mass at St Johns 5 km away and helping to fund the building of a Catholic church in Kapunda in 1863 (Charlton 1971:74–76; De Leiuem 2015:43–46). Their devotion was so great that Baker’s Flat has been described as the ‘nursery of Catholicism in Australia’ (Maloney 1936a:29). Material indicators of this devotion are evident from the retrieval by a metal detectorist of 29 religious objects on Baker’s Flat, including two crosses, three Confirmation medals, 10 partial rosaries and 14 devotional

medals (Arthure 2014:94–95). These items were found in various spots across the landscape, consistent with having been accidentally lost as their bearers travelled from one place to the next. During this project, however, only one overtly religious item was found, a small cross-and-pin retrieved from the ashy deposit in the excavated house. Whilst the absence of other religious objects in the house makes it problematic to comment further on the nexus between religion and daily life, the presence of religious objects in the broader landscape serves to substantiate a commitment to Catholicism.

Religious beliefs and practices work to provide a sense of togetherness or belonging (Orser 2012b:672). These can be reinforced and buttressed by feelings of safety, which can be enhanced through other, non-religious ritualistic behaviours. There is a possible example in the excavated house, where a child's worn leather shoe and horseshoe were found on the outer edges of the hearth (Chapter 7, Figure 7.20; Figure 9.8). Their placement appeared deliberate, with the child's shoe at the eastern boundary of the hearth and the horseshoe at the western boundary. Both were held firmly in place by the calcrete surface, the child's shoe in a slight hollow, the horseshoe tightly embedded in the calcrete floor. For artefacts to be defined as ritually concealed or the result of superstitious actions, they must be in a context where 'chance, accidental loss or illicit behaviours are unlikely to have deposited them' (Burke et al. 2016:47), and this seems to be the case here.

It is not the only example of possible apotropaic behaviours on Baker's Flat—the presence of pierced coins and bent flatware have previously been interpreted as indicators that the Irish may have been using trusted protective practices to help ward off evil, protect homes, and keep people and livestock safe (Arthure 2014:101–104; Burke et al. 2016). In Ireland there are accounts of horse skulls, coins and medals being placed under hearthstones and kitchen floors, or among the mortar and stones, for good luck and protection (NFC 1937b, 1937d, 1939, 1944). The deliberate concealment of footwear in supposed vulnerable areas of buildings—liminal spaces like hearths, windows and doorways—has been widely observed across Europe, the UK, the US and Australia, with single shoes or boots, including children's, commonly discovered (Burke et al. 2016; Costello 2014; Easton 2014; Evans 2010; Manning 2012, 2014; Swann 1996). Irish folk customs and rituals are persistent (Danaher 1964; Evans 1957; McGarry 2020; O'Súilleabháin 1977), and whilst horseshoes themselves were not commonly used in concealment practices in Ireland, symbolically, the Irish hearth is the focal point of the home, and there is an established ritual where a horseshoe is attached to the

lintel, indicating a connection between the object and the intent (O'Reilly 2011:206–208). In this Baker's Flat household, perhaps the shoes—horse and child—were hidden at the hearth to protect the household from misfortune or to bring good luck.

9.1.4 An Irish communal life at the edge of a capitalist economy

That the clachan survived for almost a century demands that the Baker's Flat Irish consciously and continually maintained the system, predicated on a robust sense of Irishness. The antipathy exhibited by the Kapunda townspeople towards the people of Baker's Flat (e.g., *Kapunda Herald* 1902d; *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1864; *South Australian Register* 1884b; Tilbrook 1929:32) may in part have been generated by the clash between capitalist principles, so central to the economic and social goals of the new colony, and their antithesis, exhibited every day in so many ways throughout the life of the clachan. Observing the intersection between capitalism and clachan is neither straightforward nor fixed, and at Baker's Flat/Kapunda it played out differently depending on the exigencies of the time.

Take, for example, the Irish working in the Kapunda copper mine. An index of the 227 men working at the mine between 1844 and 1878 lists 54 men with Baker's Flat family names, a significant portion (23.79%) of the labour force (Drew 2017:141–144). There is no suggestion in the histories, however, that they were perceived poorly or antagonistically (Charlton 1971; Nicol 1983; Tilbrook 1929). Rather, there is an indication that in the work environment the Irish were well regarded—when a volunteer militia force, the Kapunda Mine Rifles, was formed in 1861, for example, Irish mine workers made up more than half the company (Drew 2017:92–93). At the presentation of their colours, Mr J.S. Browne, a stipendiary magistrate, stated that 'It is customary at such times to express a hope that the colours will never be disgraced by its bearers; but as you are all of the British nation, being either English, Scotch, or Irish, and by far the largest portion of the latter, it is not necessary for me to make such a remark to you ...' (*South Australian Register* 1861). Here, the Irish majority were clearly considered equal to the English and Scottish workers. Some years later, in 1878, when the volunteers were called out unexpectedly to parade on a Friday evening, two men—Conway and Geraghty—were noted as deserving of 'special commendation for the energy displayed by them in reaching the trysting ground' (*Kapunda Herald* 1878d). They both lived on Baker's Flat, and although two miles from home when the first gun went

off, ‘in about twenty minutes they had been home, donned their uniform, and were on parade ...’ (*Kapunda Herald* 1878d).

At Baker’s Flat, those same Irish were loud, aggressive, drunk and dishonest, a view that was firmly entrenched by 1884 when a letter in the *South Australian Register* (1884b) complained about excessive noise made by the Kapunda Salvation Army on Sundays. The writer notes that the aim of the band, drums and marching was to reclaim the ‘degraded and vile of both sexes’ and asks a question that ‘has often been asked by residents of Kapunda—Why don’t they go amongst the inhabitants of Baker’s Flat?’. Overall, the negativity towards the Irish in this particular place at this particular time appears to have been directed not at their work ethic in the profit-driven capitalist mine, but at Baker’s Flat and their apparently disordered lifestyles, rent-free occupation of the land, active resistance to eviction attempts, and co-operative decisions.

When the Irish had first arrived in Kapunda and settled down on Baker’s Flat, the land was lying idle, of no interest to the landowners, and it no doubt worked in the mine’s favour to have a labour force located nearby. The upshot, however, was to create a set-apart Irish enclave, constrained by two obvious boundaries—the ethnic boundary of being Irish and the unfenced boundary lines of Section 7598 (Baker’s Flat). In the late 1870s, as the mine operations wound down and the legal landowners wanted their land back, the Baker’s Flat troubles began in earnest as the Irish competed with the (mainly) English landholders for the same land resource.

McGuire (1982:171–172) notes that where power is unevenly distributed between ethnic groups, strong boundary maintenance can be expected. This works in favour of the dominant group, who can continue to monopolise their power, prestige and wealth. It even provides a means for that group to control the less powerful elements in their community (the poor, for example) by granting them the prestige of being nominally part of the dominant power, even when they hold little status overall. For the weaker ethnic group, boundary maintenance can work to their advantage by creating a smaller stage on which to compete or perform (Goffman 1959; McGuire 1982). On Baker’s Flat, Irish ethnic boundaries were fiercely maintained by kinship and communality, traditional customs and mutual obligation—not so much a competition as a performance of Irishness. In the broader Kapunda township, for as long as labour was required in the mine and the Baker’s Flat land was not required by the landowners, the Irish were tolerated, and any animosity probably reflected the colony’s more

general aversion towards the Irish. This prejudice was amplified, however, from the late 1870s onwards, when the Irish refused to leave Baker's Flat and the landowners could not capitalise the land. At the same time, a 'mythology' was constructed around Irish drunkenness and disorder, violence and vileness, which successfully banded the entire dominant group together against the 'weaker' Irish.

In this unequal power struggle, land and boundaries became important. The clachan was managed without visible boundaries, the clusters of houses reflecting 'a horizontal rather than a hierarchical landscape, one that concealed rather than revealed social distinctions' (Whelan 2012:472). But the colony of South Australia was heading in a different direction with a clear English ascendancy and hierarchy, systematic colonisation by free settlers, the enclosure and improvement of land, and the comprehensive adoption of an improving capitalist ideology. At Baker's Flat, in a small colonial land war, one of the physical manifestations of this ideology was fences.

For the Irish, the only fences required were small ones around houses, designed to keep out straying stock rather than declare possession. For the legal landowners, however, substantial boundary fences were required to assert ownership and control, as well as exclusion. But when the landowners sent in fencers in 1880, almost 100 women, including three of the Driscoll clan, saw them off (*Kapunda Herald* 1880a). A separate attempt in 1902 saw about 20 men, including Daniel Driscoll, pull the fences down the same evening (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b). The result, over time, was a change in the power dynamics. In a typical capitalist arrangement, the differences between capitalists (earning profits) and workers (earning wages) are characterised by real differences in power, as well as degrees of ownership (Leone 1999:4). In this clash between capitalists and communalists, the Irish had nothing to lose (a reputation already in tatters) and everything to gain (continued land control). The Land War of 1879–1882 in Ireland, which was widely covered in the South Australian press (Breen 2013:68–69), had proven that active resistance and protests could work. And although the legal landowners could go to court and prove their legal title, the Irish would continue managing the land and stock, advertising their Irishness through vernacular houses, and looking out for each other until they were either ready to move on or no longer needed the land.

9.2 Irish-style housing on Baker's Flat

There is strong evidence for distinctively Irish-style houses on Baker's Flat from several sources, including oral histories, a small number of photographs, and the structure excavated in Trenches A and F. This structure was first detected in the geophysical survey, showing up as a cluster of ovoid/rectangular shapes (Chapter 7, Figure 7.55). The clustered shapes echo the clustered houses seen in the 1893 survey plan, and match a usual clachan pattern. In 1975, when five Kapunda residents were asked for their memories of Baker's Flat, they could remember back to around 1915, and recalled 30 to 60 houses, mostly thatched, built of clay or stone with the rooms 'in a straight line', and limewashed every Christmas, as would have occurred annually in Ireland (Bettison 1975; Hazel 1975; McGarry 2017:30). The limewashing was a community exercise (Nicol 1983:14), what the Irish would have called a *meitheal*. It is not improbable that the thatched houses were built in the same way. House construction would have demanded a level of strength and fitness, and access to tools. Rather than being built slowly by an individual family, it is possible that the sense of reciprocity in the community was invoked for a *meitheal*. Some of the houses remembered in 1975 may have been the ones photographed by John Kauffmann in 1906 (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.6), and it is worth unpacking these in more detail to understand their Irish vernacular attributes.

9.2.1 Analysis of Kauffmann's photographs

Two of Kauffmann's images are different views of the same location. In Figure 9.3a, the front of a thatched, rectilinear Irish-style house can be clearly seen, with a door placed centrally in the front wall, and a window to either side. An external chimney is at the right gable. At right angles to the house are two further structures, either additional housing or outbuildings; their shared middle wall would have saved resources and time during construction. In Figure 9.3b, these structures are still prominent, but behind them are visible the chimney and roof of another house and, to the right, another thatched building, making this a cluster of up to five dwellings. Clusters like these would have provided shelter from the prevailing winds, so that clachan houses seemed 'to snuggle together' (Evans 1957:30). Fence posts indicate that a small area has been cordoned off, probably to prevent ingress from the animals that are posing untethered in the foreground.

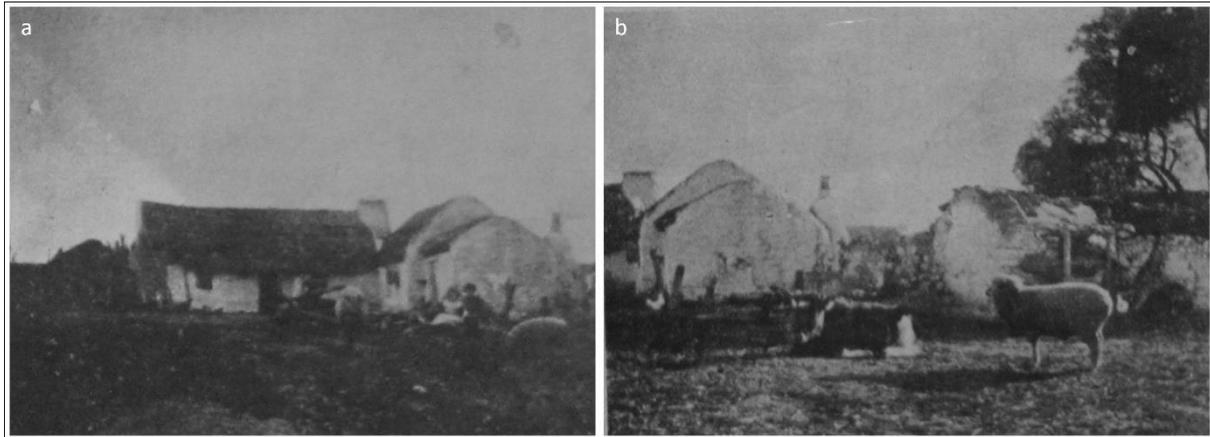


Figure 9.3 Different views of the same cluster of houses on Baker's Flat, photographed by John Kauffmann in 1906. Source: Kapunda Historical Society Museum.

Another two houses are similar in form: rectilinear with thatched roofs, chimneys on the ridgeline, and with limewashed walls that appear from the exposed patches to be of clay and stone. In Figure 9.4a, the small, square windows are glazed with four glass panes, and the woman feeding the hens stands in front of what appears to be a half-door, customarily used in Ireland for light and ventilation, and to keep children and animals in or out (Danaher 1938:240; Evans 1940:167–168; O'Reilly 2011:204–205). In Figure 9.4b, another house is shaded by a pepper tree and enclosed by a post-and-wire fence, consistent with an enclosure for a small vegetable garden (Whelan 2011b:86).

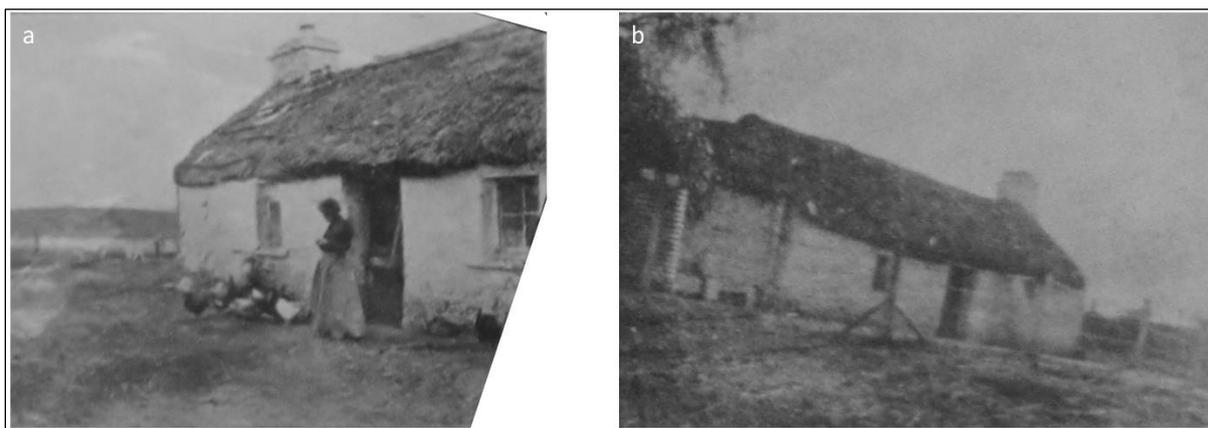


Figure 9.4 Two houses on Baker's Flat in 1906, photographed by John Kauffmann in 1906. Source: Kapunda Historical Society Museum.

The Irish-style thatched cottage in Figure 9.5 is limewashed and has an external chimney. Exposed patches indicate that it is built of stone and clay. A buttress on the front wall may have been added to support a lopsided wall; this was a common means of resolving a problem that occurred regularly in houses with clay or mud walls (Clancy 2015:15–16; O’Reilly and Maguire 2021:11). Near the chimney, a barrel was probably used for storing water and behind it, altering the gable line of the house, is a modest annex or outbuilding, possibly a *púicín* for sheltering poultry or young stock at night. A post-and-wire fence encloses a small area to the front, and another fence appears to extend at the back, away from the annex.



Figure 9.5 House on Baker’s Flat, photographed by John Kauffmann, published in the 1906 *Christmas Observer*, Adelaide and also exhibited as *The Lonely Cottage* at the 1907 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain. Source: Noye 1998.

In Figure 9.6, a house is nestled into the hillslope, extended linearly as is typical in the Irish vernacular tradition (Boyle 1998:section 2.05). Unlike many of the other structures photographed by Kauffmann, this one lacks a chimney. Horizontal battens hold down the thatch, and there is a square opening/window in the gable wall. In the background, a post-and-wire fence follows the slope, and in the foreground, a rough path leads to the dwelling.



Figure 9.6 House on Baker's Flat in 1906, photographed by John Kauffmann, published in the 1906 *Christmas Observer*, Adelaide and also exhibited as *The Brow of the Hill* at the 1907 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain. Source: Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society 1870–1915 2008.

Advertising copy for the 1906 *Christmas Observer* describes an additional image (sadly, now missing from the archives) in detail:

The frontispiece is an old woman standing at the gate of a dilapidated cottage somewhere in the neighbourhood of Baker's Flat, an ancient village adjacent to Kapunda ... The old pioneer is leaning on the partly opened wooden gate, which is supported on heavy iron hinges. The circle of fencing wire denotes the primitive fastener. The low, rough stonewall and the wattle and dab hut, with its quaint little windows and the roof overgrown with grass and moss, are characteristic of a condition of things which has passed away, except in a few isolated cases. The broad, stout figure, and the head encircled in a handkerchief, harmonize with the other surroundings. (*Register* 1906)

This house, with its wooden gate and overgrown roof, does not feature in any of the other *Christmas Observer* photographs, but it is possible that we encounter the stout old woman again, her head still encircled in a handkerchief, in another image that has recently come to light (Figure 9.7). She is milking her cow on a rough floor, probably the natural calcrete surface. The walls of the milking shed are of coursed rubble and clay, and appear to be built directly on the bedrock. The supporting poles are slender tree trunks. This is the only image

located to date that shows the inside of a building on Baker's Flat. The stone rubble and apparent absence of foundations is consistent with what was uncovered during the excavations of Trenches A and F (house) and Trench E (round structure).

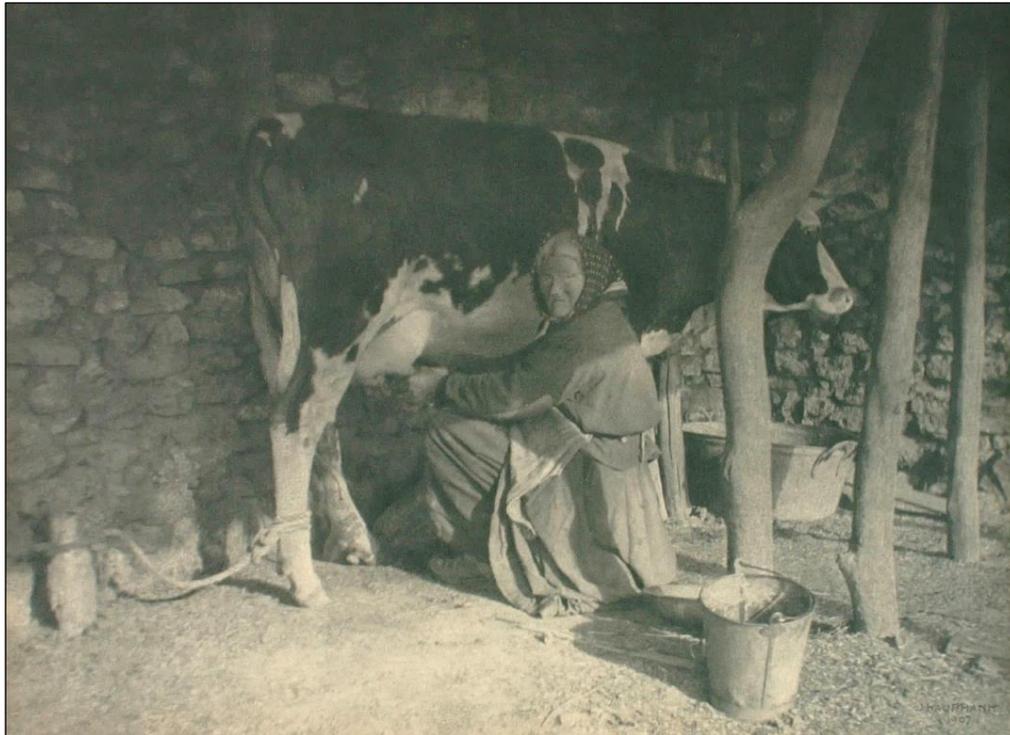


Figure 9.7 *Milking Time*, Baker's Flat, near Kapunda, South Australia. Photograph by John Kauffmann, 1907. Source: Michael Treloar Antiquarian Booksellers.

Kauffmann's images demonstrate the Irish vernacular influence at Baker's Flat, visible in the roof pitch, thatching, stone and clay walling, linear rectangular form, and placement of doors and windows. Irish thatching methods vary from region to region (O'Reilly and Maguire 2021:15), but all that can be gleaned from Kauffmann's thatched roofs is that they look 'homemade and unskilled' (pers. comm. Criostóir MacCárthaigh, June 2015). Mick O'Brien and Mrs Beanland recalled, however, that native pine battens provided a base for a straw thatch (Bettison 1975), as can be seen in Figure 9.6. By examining the exposed internal walls of the milking parlour and patches where the limewash has worn away from external walls, it appears that the walls were built of stone and clay. This correlates with the oral histories, but contradicts Charlton's (1971:18) description of wattle-and-daub. The use of stone and clay was a typical Irish practice, with builders favouring these materials over timber simply because wood was in short supply following the seventeenth-century deforestation of Ireland (Danaher 1978:8–9; Kinmonth 2020:17–18).

9.2.2 The excavated house

Excavations in Trenches A and F (Figure 9.8) revealed one long house. A conjectural drawing of how this house may have looked, based on the archaeological evidence, depicts a rectilinear house with an extended frontage at the northern end to accommodate a south-facing doorway (Figure 9.9). The walls are partly limewashed and partly unpainted kerosene tins. A cobbled surface at the entrance extends as far south as the rubbish heap next to the wall, and as far east as the small annex or *púicín*. This structure is examined in detail below.



Figure 9.8 Merged plan drawing of excavated house showing key external and internal features. Original drawings by Cherrie De Leiuén, digitised by Antoinette Hennessy. Merged and annotated by Heather Burke.



Figure 9.9 Conjectural drawing of excavated house on Baker's Flat, elevations imagined. Artist: Viv Szekeres.

Construction of the house would have begun by excavating into the hillside to create a broadly rectangular, level cavity. This excavated terrace reached a maximum depth of 75 cm in Trench A and 85 cm in Trench F, creating a semi-dugout building measuring approximately 10 m x 4 m. The vertical sides were effectively low walls that acted as the footings for the dugout's load-bearing, external walls. The excavated evidence aligns with descriptions of semi-dugouts at Baker's Flat in newspaper articles (*Kapunda Herald* 1935; *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1866c), and in Bettison's oral histories (1975) where two interviewees explained how, after a house site was selected, the slope was dug out to make a level floor, and the excavated clay and stone were then used to build the walls.

In both trenches, there was evidence of rock tumble in different areas, interpreted as collapsed walls. In addition, two deliberate cuts evident on the upper surface of the western wall were interpreted as niches for supporting timbers, possibly to accommodate the wooden railway sleepers that were found in the trench. More than 35 kg of iron alloy was found in the trenches, mostly flattened kerosene tins and iron sheeting. Approximately half had been modified for re-use, and it appears that this was what was used to build wall height, a practice that has been seen on other Australian archaeological sites, for example, at Kiandra, New South Wales (Smith 2003:23). In addition to nails, lengths of drawn wire excavated at the same location may have been used to hold the iron in place, as indicated in Figure 9.10. Many of the iron fragments had hessian adhesions which would have provided internal draught-proofing, as well as offering a receptive surface for limewashing if desired.



Figure 9.10 House at Poochera, Eyre Peninsula, built in the 1920s, showing how flattened kerosene tins, wire and nails were used for walls in conjunction with wooden poles. Photos: Susan Arthure.

The floor was the basic natural surface, commonplace in both Ireland and Australia. In Co. Clare, there is a reference to every house having ‘nothing but mud floors until very lately’ (NFC 1955) and in Australia, many floors contained clay as a primary constituent (Lewis 2014). In South Australia, there are accounts of clay and lime being used as a composite to create serviceable floors, for example, at Bungaree station about 85 km north of Baker’s Flat and at Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills (Lewis 2014:4). The residents of Baker’s Flat, with calcrete so close to the surface, were able to create long-lasting hard floors which would have been easily maintained by regular watering to reduce dust.

The house interior was divided by three shallow channels running east-west across the floor. Two of these held the remnants of iron sheets and rods (Figure 9.8) and had contiguous postholes. Although it was initially speculated that these were drainage channels to deal with occasional leaks from rainfall, it seems more probable that they held partitions dividing the house into separate living and sleeping areas. Wood, nails and drawn wire excavated close by could have helped to hold the iron rods and sheets in a vertical position. These dividers, using the ubiquitous iron, would have operated in a similar fashion to the sods of turf that were used back in Co. Clare for dividing walls (NFC 1946).

The hearth was situated at the house's southern wall, on floor level as was common in Ireland (Campbell 1937:229; Danaher 1978:12). At the front were two curved, cut-out sections (Figure 9.11) which align with an Irish tradition of two or three areas around the hearth where 'bits of fire' could be placed on the floor and used for baking or 'to leave the tea drawing' (Campbell 1937:229). A pipkin excavated from the rubbish disposal area would have been suitable for use on these embers (see section 9.4.3). There is no evidence that the Baker's Flat hearth ever sported a chimney. Whilst this differs from most of the houses photographed by Kauffmann, it is consistent with Irish vernacular traditions, as well as at least one photographed house (Aalen 1966:51; Campbell 1937:212, 217; Forsythe 2013:86; Ó Danachair 1946:93–94). Instead, the smoke would have escaped through holes in the roof.

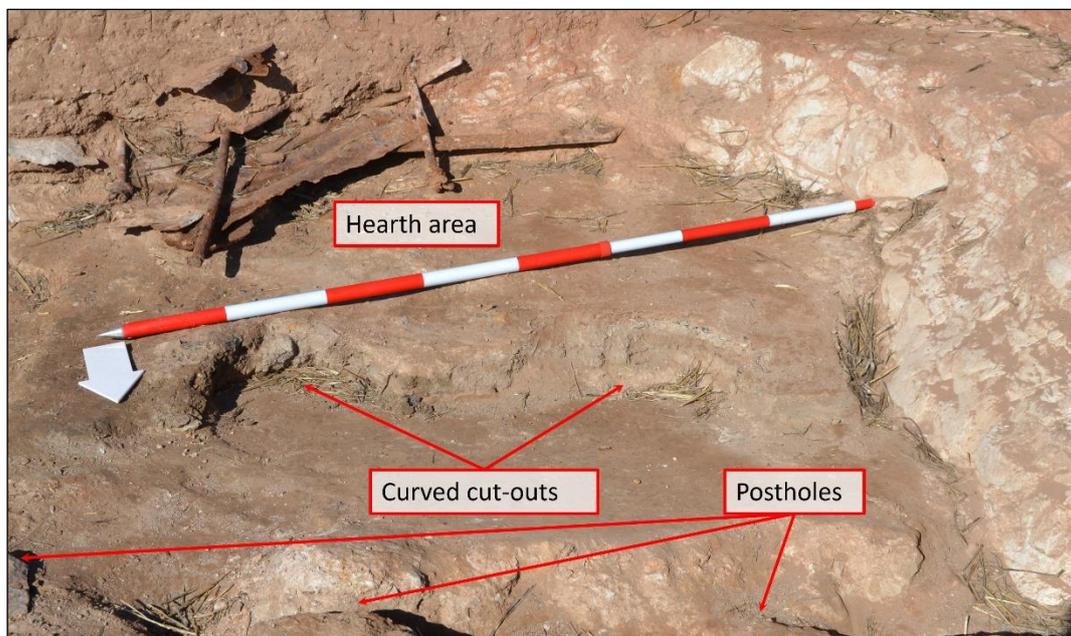


Figure 9.11 Hearth area with curved cut-out sections. Photo: Rachel Hagan.

In front of the hearth was a rough channel, averaging 10 cm deep, 1.5 m long, and containing three evenly spaced postholes (Figure 9.8, Figure 9.11) up to 29–34 cm deep. The location of the postholes lends itself to an interpretation of this spot as a seating place, where a wooden railway sleeper, several of which were excavated from Trench A, could have been repurposed as a low bench in front of the fire, with short posts acting as legs. Traditionally in Ireland, seating was low to the ground to make it 'easy for people to keep their heads low beneath the pall of smoke that inevitably gathered in the many chimney-less dwellings' (Kinmonth 2020:56). Kinmonth (1999) notes that the Irish displayed a particular ingenuity in improvising, recycling and using unexpected materials to survive times of hardship. Fireside

benches were often long and narrow, frequently recycled from blocks of wood, stone, driftwood, wreck timber and other available materials (Kinmonth 2020:56, 61–62, 123–134). The poor of Baker’s Flat could have used wood liberated from the Kapunda railyards or copper mine for the same purpose. These may have been rough but met the needs of both form and function. Such resourcefulness and ingenuity would have been useful in a new settler society.

Several clumps of dried cow dung were found next to the hearth, interpreted here as fuel. Whelan (2011a:251) describes how in Ireland cow dung was gathered in the spring, stacked between alternating layers of heather and clay, and left to dry all summer, ready to be burned as fuel in the winter. It was said to ‘emit heat, very little smoke and a pleasant aroma’ (Whelan 2011a:251) and there are many references to its use in Co. Clare and neighbouring Co. Galway (NFC 1937c, 1956, 1972, 1974). Dried cow dung was certainly used at Baker’s Flat since it was known locally as ‘Baker’s Flat turf’ (Nicol 1983:14).

The collapsed remains of a thatched roof were found in Trenches A and F, along with fragments of the galvanised iron sheeting that would have later covered the thatch. The insulation properties of thatch made a house warmer in winter and cooler in summer, but it was habitually covered with galvanised iron sheets after the roof had weathered and begun to degrade (Pikusa 1986:23–26). Many of the excavated iron fragments had adhesions of thatch from the original roof, as well as hessian, which was commonly used as an internal ceiling lining to prevent thatch from falling into the dwelling (pers. comm. Pat Connell, April 2016).

The Baker’s Flat Irish, whether they arrived in the 1850s or later, would have been familiar with both thatch and iron for roofing, since galvanised iron—in sheet or corrugated forms coated with zinc—first appeared in South Australia in the 1850s and quickly grew in popularity (Mark Butcher Architects 1999:13; Pikusa 1986:23). By the early twentieth century, galvanised steel had replaced galvanised iron (Mark Butcher Architects 1999:16; NSW Heritage Office 2004:1), indicating that the covering of the thatch on the Baker’s Flat house took place before the first decade of the twentieth century.

The house was east-facing, but about halfway along the front facade, the wall projected out to allow for the construction of a south-facing entranceway protected from the prevailing winds (Figure 9.8, Figure 9.9). The threshold was worn down in the centre, and, since the interior was lower than the ground surface, anyone coming to the house would have had to step down

to enter. A brass doorknob (Figure 9.12) was found at the threshold. In front of the doorway and extending as far as the annex was a cobbled pathway of cut stones, again aligning with a tradition in the south-west of Ireland where ‘the pathway and nearest surroundings of the entrance door are sometimes paved by a mosaic of small cobble-stones ...’ (Campbell 1937:224).



Figure 9.12 Brass door knob found on the threshold. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.

Numerous fragments of window glass (n=362), with a latest date of c.1870, were excavated from the house, 245 sherds in Trench A and 117 in Trench F. The fragments appear to be the result of at least two disposal episodes: 89.39% of the Trench A sherds were found in the rubbish dump; 73.5% of the Trench F sherds were recovered from squares A2,3,4,5, where there was an artefact concentration. Although the original window placement cannot be determined, it is reasonable to assume that there were two windows and that these were located in the eastern wall (Bettison 1975). Logically, a window placed equidistant from each side of the door would enable light to filter through the house, matching both the Kauffmann houses (Figure 9.3a, Figure 9.4) and the Irish vernacular tradition (Danaher 1978:12; Boyle 1998:section 2.05).

9.2.3 A comparison of house forms

Looking back to house classes in Ireland, the Baker’s Flat houses known from photographs or excavation fit best into the third-class dwelling type, which featured two to four rooms and was somewhat more substantial and comfortable than a fourth-class cabin (General Register Office 1913:xx; Orser 2004a:179; 2010b:91). They bear little resemblance to the two-roomed

row cottages built for workers at the Kapunda copper mine (Drew 2017:32; Dutton 1846:269) or to the typical South Australian cottages of that time (Bell 1998b; Persse and Rose 1981; Pikusa 1986). When considering the factors influencing local variation in construction styles, Danaher (1978:13) notes that they are susceptible to three formative forces—environment, external contact and tradition. The South Australian environment would have been extraordinarily different to anything that the Irish had encountered in Ireland, particularly regarding heat and water, but the familiar stone and clay were abundant. Stone was prevalent as a construction material across South Australia, especially the white or cream-coloured limestone calcrete (Bell 1998b:1–2; Pikusa 1986:59; Young 1993:1–2).

Further, although the Baker’s Flat Irish lived in a set-apart community, they were not hermits and engaged with the broader community for both work and trade. After arriving in South Australia, making the journey to Kapunda would have necessitated first spending time in Adelaide where they would have been exposed to South Australian architectural influences that were by then evolving to suit the climate and available materials—the stone-and-brick colonial cottage from 1840 and symmetrical cottage from 1860 (Bell 1998b; Persse and Rose 1981; Pikusa 1986). Yet the people of Baker’s Flat still chose to build houses in a deliberately Irish traditional style.

The excavated house is somewhat similar to what Ó Danachair (1955/56) refers to in Ireland as a semi-underground dwelling. These were built by cutting into the slope of a hill, then building the gables and walls on top of the levelled cavity using sods cut from peatland (as shown in Figure 9.13). The space inside was usually ‘at least a foot below the level of the ground on the outside’, and the occupants had to ‘step down’ to enter (Dutton 1808:142–143). The fire was set on floor level at one of the gable ends, with a round smoke hole in the roof. A small window opening and door completed the house. Houses like this could be used as permanent homes by the poor or as temporary housing by seasonal workers (Ó Danachair 1955/1956:78–80).

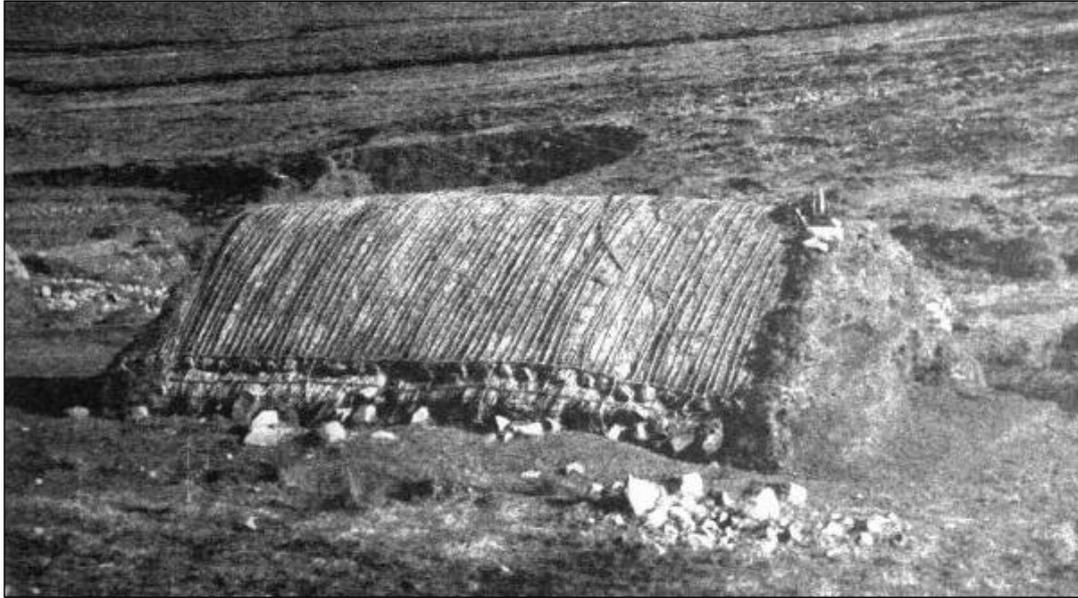


Figure 9.13 A semi-underground dwelling 20 feet (6 m) long and 11 feet (3.4 m) wide, Co. Mayo, inhabited until 1953. Source: Ó Danachair 1955/1956:79–81.

Notably, less than 10 km from Baker's Flat, a different sort of Irishman was building houses in the vernacular South Australian style. Charles Harvey Bagot—Anglo-Irish, sponsor of 224 Irish migrants on *Birman* in 1840, Kapunda mine owner and captain—was settling in at Koonunga, where he was establishing a sheep station around the same time as the Baker's Flat Irish were establishing a clachan (Bagot 1942:24). Although Bagot was Irish-born and had spent much of his life in Ireland, the houses and buildings at Koonunga are South Australian in appearance rather than Irish, often sporting verandahs to shade the house from the strong sun and provide extra living space (Figure 9.14, Figure 9.15). Bagot, of course, was from a different background than the Baker's Flat Irish, and his choices reflect the English influence in both Ireland and South Australia.



Figure 9.14 *Koonunga, near Kapunda (Captain Bagot's station) approximately 1870*, artist unknown.
Source: State Library of South Australia, B9947.

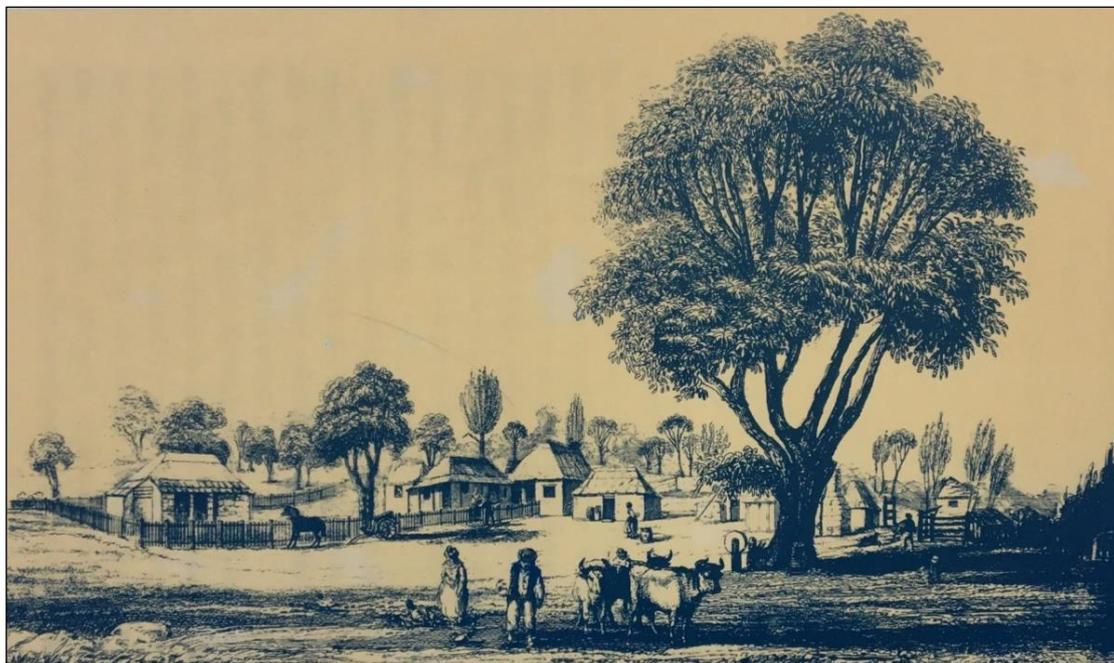


Figure 9.15 *Koonunga, Captain Bagot's country residence*. Source: Dutton 1846:145.

Across the Australian colonies, verandahs were an early adaptation to residential buildings, a practical response to the need for shade and exterior living space in a climate that was very different from England. The first verandah in Australia was recorded as early as 1793, in New South Wales, just five years after the colony had been established (Watanabe 2004:152). Adopted first by the well-to-do, their use spread across all house types so that, within three decades, they were one of the major features of Australian colonial architecture (Evans 1983:8; Holland 2000:202–203; Watanabe 2004:151). In Adelaide, verandahs were making their appearance by 1842, six years after the first English settlers had arrived, and were widespread by the 1850s (Pikusa 1984:106, 1986:17). Even in the more remote mining town of Burra, most of the creek dugouts occupied by Cornish miners had verandahs in 1850 (Auhl 1986:126). Remarkably, none of the houses photographed by Kauffman, or the excavated example, feature a verandah of any kind. It suggests that the decision to build Irish vernacular houses on Baker's Flat, minus verandahs, despite their practicality and utility, was a deliberate and defiant one. It indicates a degree of non-conformity and detachment from the broader community, an ability to remain unbowed in the face of surrounding social pressures.

The absence of verandahs is at odds with the presence of chimneys, which were traditionally uncommon in houses of the Irish poor (Aalen 1966:51; Ó Danachair 1946:103) but can be clearly seen in the Kauffmann photographs. Stone-built chimneys, however, did become more widespread in Ireland across the nineteenth century (Campbell 1938:177), and the Irish would have seen them, and perhaps even used them, before migrating. Perhaps the addition of a chimney on Baker's Flat houses was viewed by the Irish as a practical innovation consistent with Irish ideals, unlike the verandah, which was untried and untested in their previous experience.

Houses are visible expressions of identity in the landscape and the Baker's Flat houses are Irishness writ large, openly advertising the shared membership of a particular social group (Reicher 2004:928–930). If the behaviours of this social group can be viewed as a performance (Goffman 1959), then the setting is important, and this setting is a deliberately formed and continually maintained Irish landscape in a South Australian environment. Here, on the public stage, the Irish were choosing to stand apart, to construct their houses differently and even, given the absence of climatically advantageous verandahs or, occasionally, chimneys, with less functionality. Given the widespread distaste for the Irish in South Australia, it would have been more sensible, perhaps, to follow the emerging norms

and build ‘South Australian’ vernacular houses, to save overt ‘Irish’ behaviours for spaces out of the public view. But at Baker’s Flat, the Irish intentionally and purposefully constructed what could be construed as monuments to Irishness, remarkable enough to be photographed later as ‘an ancient village’ (*Register* 1906) and indicating a yearning for solidarity and a desire to maintain strong ethnic boundaries (McGuire 1982). A further example of this autonomy and distinctiveness is seen in the next section which analyses the round structure excavated in Trench E, suggesting that it is a most unexpected Irish building type to be found in the South Australian landscape—a sweathouse.

9.3 Puzzling out the Trench E round structure

The excavation of Trench E unearthed a small round structure that did not align either with the typical shape of a domestic house or the form of an agricultural outhouse. Prior to excavating, a large metal dump had been removed from this spot, revealing a reasonably flat area of ground strewn with a mixed rubble of stone, brick and slag. This rubble can be confidently assumed to originate from a structure at this location, in line with the landowner’s practice during the 1950s of pulling down any remaining buildings but leaving the remains in situ. At excavation end, the remains of a circular, or possibly D-shaped, building had been uncovered that was almost 4 m wide, with walls built directly on the natural surface without foundations (Figure 9.16). The internal floor was smooth and unstained, coated in a thin layer of white lime slurry, and imprinted at one point by the base of a bucket. A stone entranceway was demarcated on the inside by the remains of two timber posts set 82 cm apart, and on the outside by an edging of mixed stones, slag and brick (Figure 9.17, Figure 9.18). Immediately to the right, on entering the building, was a circular stone firepit containing ash remnants; (note that several stones outlining the firepit were removed during the excavation process).

A small rectangular trough in the north-west corner, 40 cm high, was filled to a depth of 30 cm using clean red sand and had an iron-and-wood frame on the base. As with the walls, this trough had been constructed directly on the natural surface without a foundation. In front was an oval-shaped platform of compacted sand, edged with cut stones (Figure 9.19). Aside from a thin charcoal lens found 10 cm above the base, there were no indications of how this trough might have been used and its function remains enigmatic. A raised area directly behind it contained compacted clay and stones, and a clay-filled void to the rear could have operated as a drainage channel. The raised area, built into the slope of the hill, was sufficiently compacted to have allowed a person to stand or walk on it.

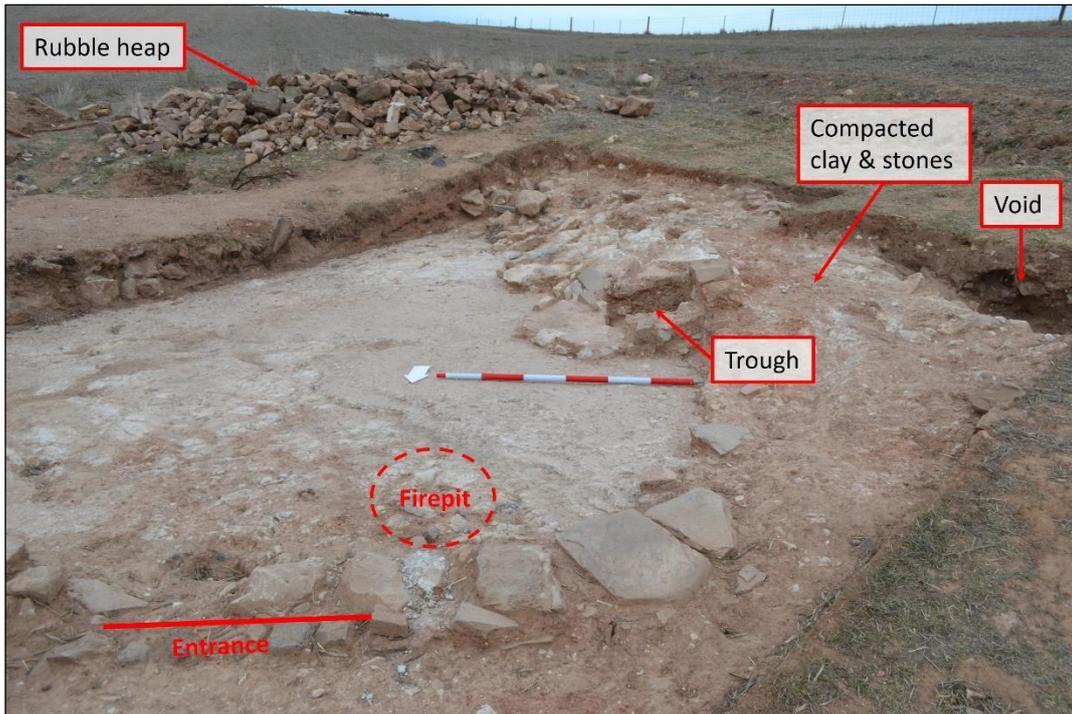


Figure 9.16 Trench E at excavation end showing circular, or possibly D-shaped, structure, built into hillside. Rubble heap to rear contains stone, brick and slag that were removed from ground surface. Looking south. Photo: Susan Arthure.

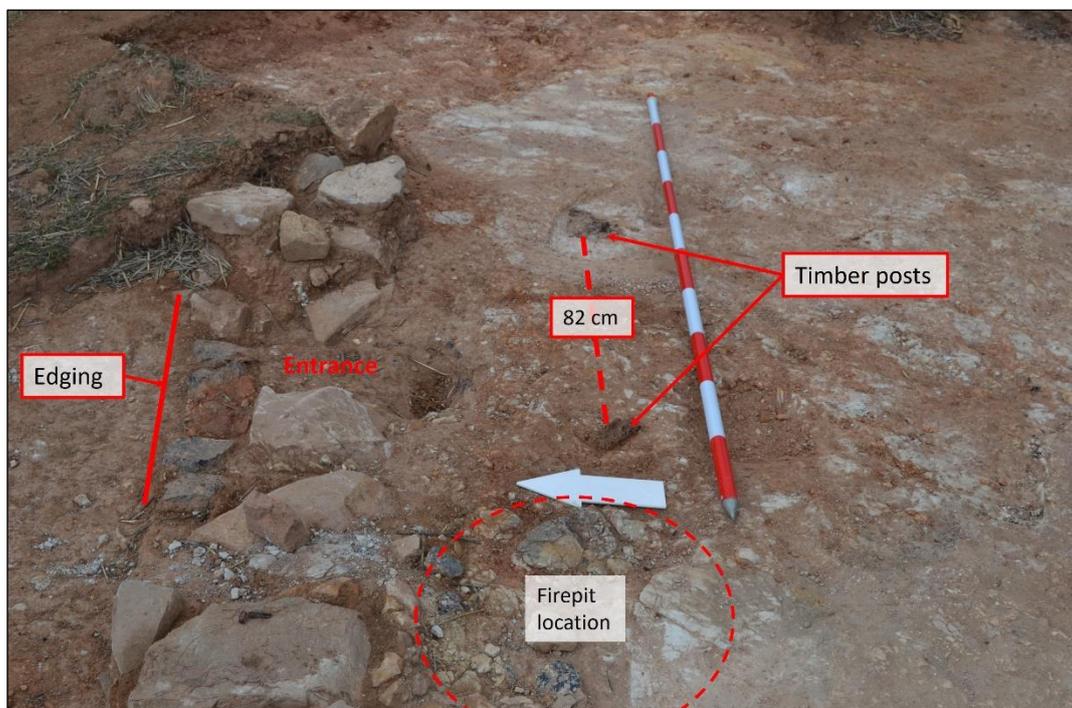


Figure 9.17 Stone entranceway demarcated on outside by edging of mixed stone and on inside by two timber posts. Remains of firepit inside and next to entrance. Looking east. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 9.18 Close-up of edging at stone entranceway, showing how stones, slag and brick have been placed in a straight line, defining the entrance. Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 9.19 Rectangular trough in north-west corner of Trench E, compacted platform at the front edged with cut stones, raised area and void to rear. Looking west. Photo: Susan Arthure.

Taking all these features into account, Irish vernacular forms other than houses were investigated. Commonplace nineteenth-century structures included kilns (lime, corn, kelp, lint), corn stands, sheep pens, sweathouses (O’Sullivan and Downey 2005; Whelan 2011a:246), shelters for the production of *poitín* (illegal Irish whiskey) (McGuffin 1988), byres, stables and haylofts (O’Reilly and Maguire 2021:22). Given its location, design and presentation, the Trench E structure was investigated further as a potential lime kiln, *poitín* shelter or sweathouse.

The main driver for considering the structure as a lime kiln was the lime slurry floor, speculatively the remains of some form of lime-related activity and perhaps an area where lime was prepared for use as mortar or limewash. The trough, although clean and unused, was posited as a very small lime kiln or the base of a furnace shaft (O’Sullivan and Downey 2005:18). The purpose of a lime kiln is to reduce stone (calcium carbonate) to powder (calcium oxide) by burning alternate layers of limestone and fuel (Duffy 2007:30; Ó Súilleabháin et al. 2018:67; Whelan 2011a:247), and small-scale lime kilns on farms did not need to be large, typically 2–4 m in height and length (O’Sullivan and Downey 2005:22). They were plentiful in the west of Ireland, with many accounts of small kilns in Co. Clare held by the National Folklore Collection (Appendix E—Folklore Data from National Folklore Collection, Ireland, section MS 1077, Building Materials). Their presence decreased in the late nineteenth century as industrial production increased (Ó Súilleabháin et al. 2018:69). Kilns were usually built into hillsides or partially buried to assist in generating heat, then enclosed on the open side by a rectangular stone structure, their major feature being the furnace shaft, which acted as the container for the burning operation (Duffy 2007:30; Ó Súilleabháin et al. 2018:64; O’Sullivan and Downey 2005). The trough in the structure on Baker’s Flat would not have been substantial enough to act as a furnace shaft, and there were no indications of large-scale burning having taken place.

The next option to be investigated was that of a *poitín* shelter, primarily because the area was near the top of the hill at the furthest point from the town of Kapunda and where the wind could disperse any smoke or aromas. The equipment required to make *poitín* is not expensive, and the absence of a pot, worm or barrel hoops is not unusual, since stills were generally constructed by recycling and re-using suitable parts (Booth 2016:424). Other requirements are running water, an isolated location and fuel (McGuffin 1988:13). Of these, running water is the most difficult to reconcile, since water supply was a persistent issue on Baker’s Flat. In

oral testimonies, local men Mick O'Brien and Gordon Townsend recalled how most houses had to either have a small hole scooped into the ground for catching rainwater, buy their drinking water from Kapunda water carters, or haul water in buckets from a distant dam to a house tank (Bettison 1975). A partial ship tank was found in Trench F, probably for this purpose. Ship tanks were commonly used as home water tanks, and this one would have held about 1,820 litres (400 imperial gallons) (Pearson 1992:25). Its cast iron badge, stamped with the words 'MADE WITH BURNEY'S PATENT CORNERS', helps to date it to 1860s–1900s (Pearson 1992:28). Although a ship tank could possibly have been used in lieu of running water, *poitín* stills were traditionally hidden from view (McGuffin 1988:53) and this structure, although at the most western point of Baker's Flat and invisible from the eastern road, could have been easily spotted from the road to the north. It is also unlikely that the products of an illegal whiskey still could have escaped the notice of the broader Kapunda community, and there is nothing in the local histories, newspapers or family memories about the production of alcohol on Baker's Flat.

The final option, and the one considered most likely, is that of a sweathouse. This was first suggested by Irish archaeologist Barry O'Reilly¹³ when reviewing the drawings and photographs of Trench E (pers. comm. Barry O'Reilly, December 2018). Predominantly rural structures, sweathouses were described in 1989 as 'the most fragile and fastest-disappearing of Irish field monuments, and probably the only one[s] unique to Ireland' (Weir 1989:11). They are barely remembered in Ireland today, despite the fact that there were often several in a neighbourhood and that they have been credited as a feature in every townland (Danaher and Lucas 1952:180; Richardson 1939:33; Turner 1989:79; Weir 1989:12). One of the smallest Irish counties, Co. Leitrim, has documented the existence of more than 100 sweathouses (Harte 2021:34).

9.3.1 Sweating it out the Irish way

Sweathouses combine the concept of the hot-air bath/sauna/sweat-lodge found in regions of Scandinavia, Siberia and North America with a 'distinctively Irish, small-scale, dry-stone construction' (Weir 1989:11). In Ireland, despite speculation that sweathouses date from Early Christian times, they are generally accepted to have been in common use during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Condit and Gibbons 1989:9; Whelan 2011a:250). The

¹³ Barry O'Reilly is an archaeologist and architectural historian with the Irish Department of Culture, Heritage and Gaeltacht. He is considered an expert on Irish vernacular architecture.

first recorded account of a sweathouse was in 1796–1797 by Chevalier De Latocnaye (Weir 1989:10):

‘Sweating-Houses’ ... are looked upon here as a remedy for all ills ... it is a species of oven five or six feet high by about three in width, with a hole for entrance of about one and a half feet high at the level of the earth, the whole construction being the shape of a thimble. To use the sweating-house they heat it with turf, exactly in the way such a construction would be heated for the purpose of baking bread. When it is pretty hot, four or five men or women, entirely naked, creep in as best they can through the little opening, which is immediately closed with a piece of wood covered over with dung. The unfortunates stay in this for four or five hours without the possibility of getting out, and if one of them takes ill, he or she may sit down, but the plank will not be taken away before the proper time. As soon as the patients enter, an abundant perspiration starts, and, commonly, when they come out they are much thinner than when they went in. Wherever there are four or five cabins near each other there is sure to be a sweating-house, and no matter what may be the malady of the peasant, he uses this as a means of cure. (De Latocnaye 1797:192–194)

As indicated by De Latocnaye, the primary purpose of the Irish sweathouse was for health, to sweat out an illness or ailment. They were favoured by people trying to alleviate fevers, seeking relief from the pains of rheumatism, sciatica and arthritis, or even hoping to improve skin complexion (Harte 2021:6; Richardson 1939:33; Whelan 2011a:250). Williams (1990:51) notes that a sweathouse on Rathlin Island, close to an abandoned clachan, was known to have been used for the treatment of rheumatism, but also for skin care after ‘the dirty task of kelp burning’. Sweathouses tended to be used seasonally rather than regularly, usually in the autumn, possibly because they took some time to achieve the required heat and often, one person remained outside to ensure the safety of those inside (Weir 1989:11, 12).

Such structures are variously described as taking the shape of a domed beehive, thimble or mound (Danaher and Lucas 1952:179; Price 1952:180; Richardson 1939:33; Weir 1989:11). Most were built into banks or rising ground, taking an ‘unassuming, mortarless, hemispherical, corbelled’ form with low doorways that could be easily sealed (Weir 1989:11), as illustrated in Figure 9.20. They were often covered with earth or sods because the corbelled roofs required a counterweight on the outside (Richardson 1939:33). Internally they were typically about 1.5 m to 2 m high and the same in diameter, and able to accommodate four or five people (Weir 1989:11) Larger ones were known, with some that had an internal diameter of 2.5 m and able to accommodate at least eight users (Richardson 1939:34; Weir 1989:12). Most were circular in shape inside, some D-shaped and, although they were often close to water for cooling off afterwards, this was not critical (Weir 1989:11–

12). Prior to a sweathouse being used, a fire was maintained inside for at least two days. Once the correct temperature had been reached and the walls and floors thoroughly heated, the ashes were raked out and the floor spread with green grass, rushes or straw to protect the users' feet (Danaher and Lucas 1952:180; O'Dowd 2011:91; Richardson 1939:32; Weir 1989:12; Whelan 2011a:250).



Figure 9.20 Two examples of Irish sweathouses. Source: Weir 1989:10.

The Trench E structure was either circular or D-shaped, built into the hillside, and could have accommodated a covering of earth or grass sods (Figure 9.21). The internal diameter of almost 4 m is larger than other known examples. The entrance gives no indication of how high the original doorway would have been, but the doorposts are in the correct position to wedge a temporary door in place. The firepit was located to the right of the doorway, adjacent to the curved wall of the structure, and indicated by a circle of stones containing ash residue. The clean nature of the floor is consistent with it having been swept out numerous times. The ripples and bucket imprint are further evidence of the floor having been regularly washed down, either for cleaning purposes or possibly as a by-product of water being poured on hot stones to create steam, which was potentially heated in the small firepit just inside the doorway. The use of steam is mentioned in the literature, although infrequently (Harte 2021:28).



Figure 9.21 Conjectural drawing of how the sweathouse on Baker's Flat may have appeared, elevations imagined. Artist: Viv Szekeres.

The function of the trough remains unclear, particularly since its construction was quite elaborate—perhaps it operated as a small ventilation shaft or draught for the fire. Chimney holes, when used, were usually closed from the outside using a flat stone to prevent the heat escaping (Danaher and Lucas 1952:180). If the trough was the base of a ventilation shaft, it could have been closed off internally, thereby giving control of the temperature and air flow to those who were inside. Alternatively, the rear slope of the hill would have allowed access for closing off from the outside.

Considering the structural evidence, this puzzling structure is closest in form and detail to a traditional Irish sweathouse, a proposition supported by the artefact analysis. Most of the Trench E artefacts were recovered from the current ground surface (above the occupation layer) and are likely to have been deposited over the years that this location had been used as a dumping ground. The actual occupation layer held few artefacts—10.43% (n=12) of the total ceramics, half of which are tea- and tableware items (Table 9.1) and 2.64% (n=7) of the total glass. Despite six tonnes of metal being removed from the current ground surface, only three metal artefacts were found in the occupation layer: a .22 bullet casing and two trouser

buttons. The low artefact numbers align with the clean and unstained nature of the internal floor surfaces, implying a deliberate effort to maintain them like this while the structure was in use. Interestingly, although it was usual for people inside the sweathouse to be naked, the presence of two trouser buttons indicates that some clothing was worn, or perhaps removed once inside.

Of the seven glass artefacts (Table 9.2), two are dateable. The ‘Pickaxe’ beer bottle (Figure 9.22a), manufactured by the Adelaide Bottle Co-operative Company Limited, has a date range of 1912–1920 (Reed 1978). The shaped push-up of the wine/champagne bottle (Figure 9.22b), consistent with being produced by a wooden cone, gives it a date range of 1840–1870 (Burke et al. 2017:436). Wide date ranges for glass bottles are not surprising, as bottles were commonly re-used for long periods of time. It does not necessarily imply that a sweathouse was operating on Baker’s Flat for most of its occupation, but it does imply that this building was still accessible up to c.1920.

Table 9.1 Ceramic fragments from Trench E occupation layers, by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Artefact form	Decoration	Ware type	#
Household, general	Ink bottle	Buff-bodied; Bristol glaze	Stoneware	1
Tableware	Plate (unknown size)	Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1
	Plate, bread & butter	Transfer print (black), unknown	EW, refined – whiteware	1
	Plate, twiffler	Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	EW, refined – whiteware	1
	Unidentifiable	Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	1
Teaware	Cup	Transfer print (blue), F&F	EW, refined – whiteware	1
	Teapot	Rockingham-type	EW, refined – buff-bodied	1
Unknown	Unidentifiable	Red slip, glazed	EW, coarse – redware	1
		Undecorated	EW, refined – ironstone	2
		Undecorated	EW, refined – whiteware	2
Total				12

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage.

Table 9.2 Glass fragments from Trench E occupation layers, by broad function and artefact form.

Broad function	Artefact form	Colour	Elements present	#
Alcohol	Bottle (beer)	Olive green	Partial base, body; Pickaxe	1
	Bottle (wine/ champagne)	Dark green (black)	Partial base, body	1
Window	Window glass	Colourless	~2.04 mm thickness, crown method	2
Unknown	Bottle	Aqua	Partial body	2
	Container	Aqua (tint)	Partial body	1
Total				7



Figure 9.22 a) 'Pickaxe' beer bottle; b) Wine/champagne bottle. Both recovered from occupation layer, Trench E. Photos: Simon Hoad.

So why would the Irish have built a sweathouse on Baker's Flat? The answer is most likely prosaic—because it was what they had always done to manage health, in the same way as the clachan and rundale system was what they had always done to manage land. In Ireland, sweathouses fell into disuse by the end of the nineteenth century or, at the latest, during the first decades of the twentieth century, following the increasing accessibility of medical practitioners, rural dispensaries and medicines (Geary et al. 2018:17–21; Harte 2021:6; Weir 1989:12). After that time, they quickly faded from the landscape and memory, and there is no known record of them in Irish migrant communities. This is not surprising, given that they so quickly became invisible and forgotten in their place of origin and that, by their very nature, they are unobtrusive in the landscape. However, a recent archaeological project in Co. Leitrim, which worked with local community members to promote awareness of sweathouses in the county, succeeded in identifying an additional 12 sweathouses (a 12% increase), and anticipates that there are more to find (Harte 2021:38).

For the Baker's Flat Irish, the sweathouse may have been another means, like the clachan, of giving the community every advantage, especially in terms of managing health in the early days when doctors and medicines were harder to come by. There was just one doctor in Kapunda between 1848 and 1860, the Irish-born Dr Blood, but his time was split between his core work as mine doctor, his private practice, extensive community commitments, and large family (Gould 2019:11–13; *South Australian Register* 1860a). His ministrations to people on Baker's Flat featured in news reports about unfortunate accidents or sudden deaths (e.g., *Kapunda Herald* 1878b, 1879, 1880c; *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1869, 1875a), and he may also have seen them on other occasions for more mundane matters.

However, in the nineteenth century, registered medical practitioners were unable to offer much ‘in the way of actual therapeutic efficacy’ and their fees were beyond the budgets of most poor people (Jennings 1998:36–37). This may have led the Baker’s Flat Irish to fall back on their own resources by using a sweathouse and patent medicines. A number of other health-related materials were found in Trench F, and these are discussed below in section 9.4.4.

9.4 Irishness asserted through everyday artefacts

This section focuses on artefacts, specifically those excavated from the house, with the aim of shedding light on who may have dwelt there and how their life was organised. There is a deliberate focus on ceramics, for two reasons. Firstly, this will add to the current body of archaeological data available for ceramics in nineteenth-century rural Irish households (as per Orser 2010b:89), and secondly, the global spread of English ceramics in the nineteenth century allows for transnational comparisons to be made about Irishness and ceramic use.

9.4.1 You’ll take a cup of tea?

A total of 1,186 ceramic sherds were excavated from Baker’s Flat, and there are 234 of these associated with tea, equating to a minimum number of 75 items across all trenches (Table 9.3). In the house, 191 teaware artefacts were excavated across Trenches A and F, with a significant concentration in the rubbish pit at the southern end (n=104). To analyse how these artefacts may relate specifically to household affairs on Baker’s Flat, only identifiable teawares are considered here. As such, the MNI for the house equates to ten teapots, 21 tea cups, six saucers and two creamers, a total of 39 items.

Table 9.3 Diagnostic teaware items, by number of artefacts (#) and minimum number of items (MNI).

Trench	Teapot		Tea cup		Saucer		Creamer		Unidentifiable	
	#	MNI	#	MNI	#	MNI	#	MNI	#	MNI
A	104	7	25	10	1	1	3	2	8	5
B	8	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
C	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	2	1
D	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
E	6	2	6	6	3	2	1	1	4	4
F	11	3	16	11	22	5	0	0	1	0
G	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DF	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	131	17	56	35	27	9	5	4	15	10

DF=Dance Floor.

The teapots (MNI=10) are evenly split between buff- and red-bodied ware types (Table 9.4), dating broadly to the nineteenth century (Brooks 2005:29). Figure 9.23 shows conjoining base sherds of a buff-bodied Rockingham-type pot, with a base diameter calculated at 10 cm. Based on this measurement and comparing it with a similar-sized complete Rockingham-style teapot, it could have held up to 2.4 litres of tea, enough for about ten cups. Teapot sizes in Australia at this time were measured by the number of cups or pints held by the pot, from one to twelve cups or one to six pints (0.47 l to 2.8 l) (Griggs 2020:293), making this one of the larger pots available.

There are five red-bodied teapots, one of which is a large base and body sherd with a dark brown, highly vitrified glaze (Figure 9.24). Its base diameter is 7.5 cm, so although it would not have held as much as the Rockingham-style teapot, this was still a substantial vessel. All the indications are that it was a utilitarian piece, cheap to make, cheap to buy. The inner surface has occasional bumps where the glaze is thin, the outer surface has occasional pitting in the glaze, defects that are probably the result of careless dipping or fine particles trapped in the glaze (Crook 2008:198). There is also one pronounced pit on the base near the footring, a stilt mark from the kiln. The imperfections in this teapot render it a ‘basic’ product, one with flaws in at least one area, the lowest quality category (Crook 2008:169–170, 198). The most highly decorated teapot, on the other hand, features a highly vitrified black glaze and geometric gilt pattern consistent with a higher quality product (Figure 9.25).

Table 9.4 Teapots excavated from the house, including ware type and decoration (MNI=10).

Ware type	Decoration	MNI
EW, refined – buff-bodied	Rockingham-type	4
	Rockingham-type; moulded wheat motif	1
EW, refined – red-bodied	Gilt; highly vitrified black glaze	1
	Black glaze	1
	Black glaze; moulded square motif	1
	Dark brown glaze	2
Total		10

EW=earthenware.

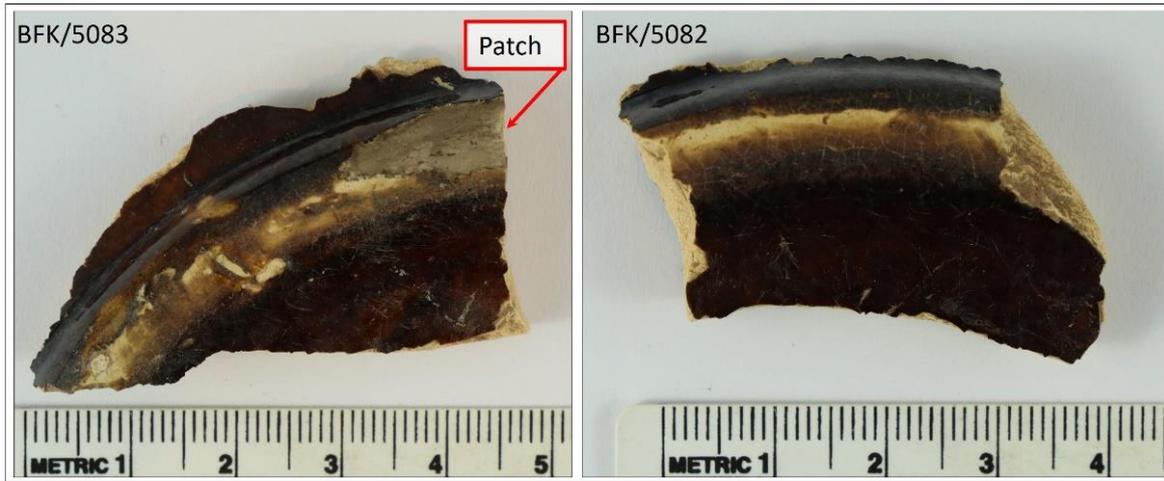


Figure 9.23 Conjoining fragments from base of buff-bodied Rockingham-style teapot. A grey-paste patch is possibly an attempt at mending and stabilising. Photos: Brendan Kearns.



Figure 9.24 Base and body sherd of red-bodied teapot. Photo: Simon Hoad.

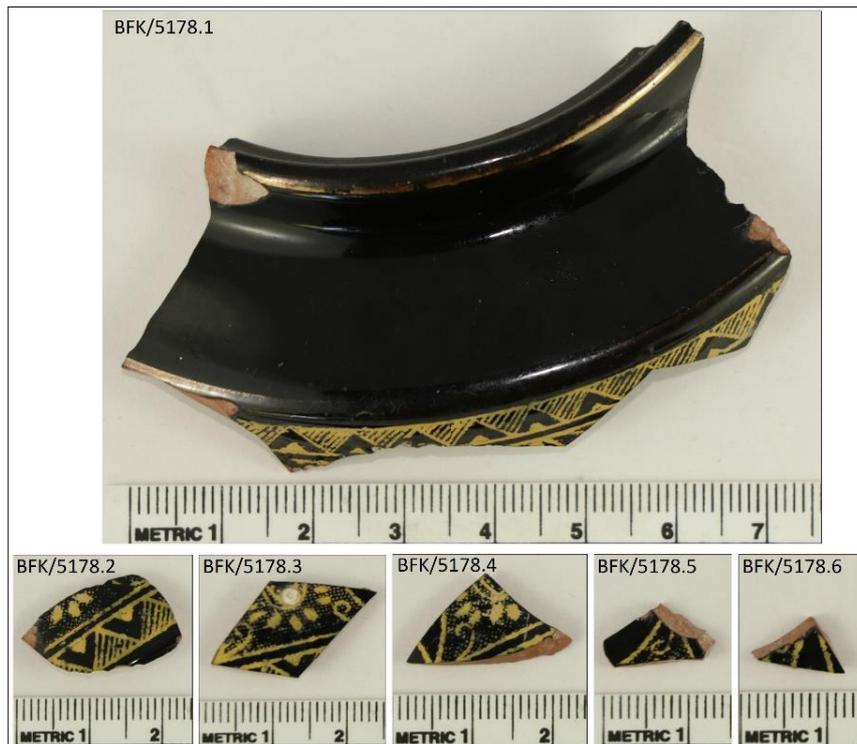


Figure 9.25 Fragments from red-bodied teapot with enamelled gilt decoration. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

Cups differ from mugs by having a curved or sloping body with a rim wider than the base (Brooks 2005:49), and all the Baker's Flat ceramic vessels identified as suitable for consumption of liquid are cups. The 21 tea cups are divided almost evenly between refined earthenware (n=11) and porcelain (n=10) (Table 9.5). Fifteen have sufficient rim present to measure the diameter, with just over half (n=8) having a rim diameter of 7.5 cm. Five are larger, with a rim diameter of 8.75 cm (n=1) or 10 cm (n=4). One smaller cup has a rim diameter of 6.25 cm and a very small one equating to a 3.75 cm diameter could be for a child. Fifteen (71.43%) cups are decorated, including transfer prints in various colours, enamel paint, gilt bands, relief mould, polychrome hand painting, and applied sprig (see examples in Figure 9.26 and Figure 9.27).

One rim and body fragment (Chapter 8, Figure 8.43) is a soft paste porcelain decorated with an overglaze red transfer print of finely stippled foliage. With a terminus ante quem of 1830, six years before the colony was first settled, it seems reasonable to think that it might have been brought out in an Irish emigrant's luggage, a small cup, easy to pack and carry, redolent of memories and cups of tea shared by the fire. This is the oldest cup in the assemblage, with the others dating broadly to the nineteenth century, for example, the whiteware which has a traditional starting date of 1820 and the white granite/ironstone of 1830 (Brooks 2005:35;

Godden 1974:204). All the excavated cups are unmatched, as are the six saucers and two transfer-printed creamers.

Table 9.5 Tea cups excavated from the house, including ware type and decoration (MNI=21).

Ware type	Rim diam. (cm)	Decoration	MNI
EW, refined – ironstone	10	Undecorated	1
	7.5	Undecorated (straight, then curved)	1
	7.5	Undecorated (strong curve)	1
	–	Undecorated ‘hotel ware’ style	1
EW, refined – whiteware	7.5	Moulded motif – F&F	1
	8.75	Sprigged – applied sprig (blue)	1
	–	Transfer print (blue-green), <i>Wild Rose</i>	1
	10	Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	1
	10	Transfer print (brown), F&F	1
	–	Undecorated	2
Porcelain – soft paste	7.5	Gilt, enamelled (blue)	1
	7.5	Gilt; hand-painted (polychrome) – F&F	1
	7.5	Gilt bands, <i>Tea Leaf</i>	1
	–	Gilt	1
	10	Hand-painted – enamelled polychrome (red, green)	1
	–	Moulded	1
	6.25	Moulded rim	1
	3.75	Moulded – ridged; child’s cup?	1
7.5	Transfer print (red), F&F, overglaze	1	
7.5	Undecorated	1	
Total			21

EW=earthenware.

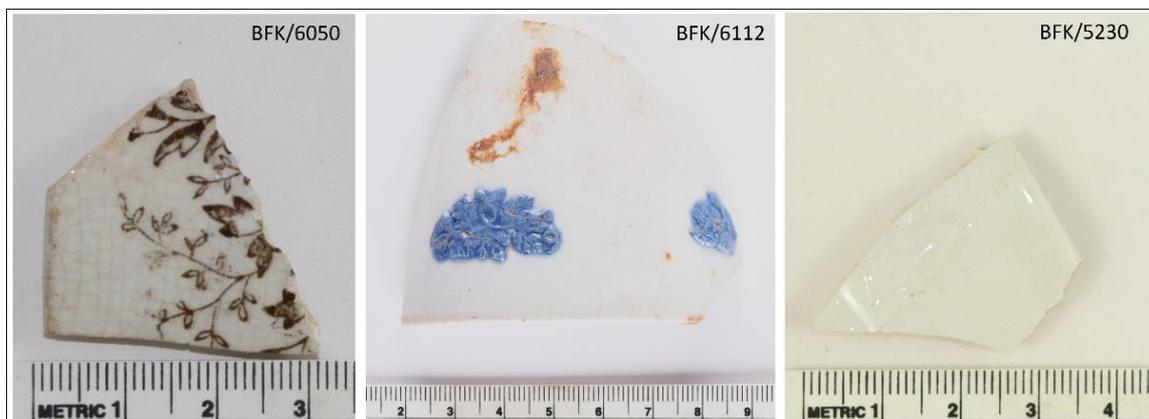


Figure 9.26 Rim fragments of whiteware tea cups, showing decoration types, L to R, transfer print, applied sprig, moulded. Photos: Brendan Kearns/Susan Arthure.

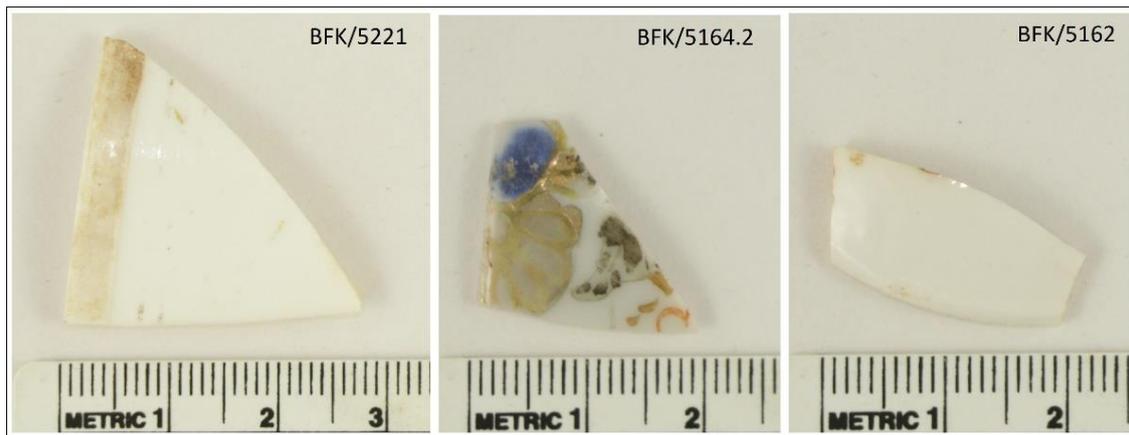


Figure 9.27 Rim fragments of porcelain tea cups, showing decoration types, L to R, gilt banded, polychrome hand-painted, moulded. Photos: Brendan Kearns.

The diffusion of tea across the globe was the result of seventeenth-century, colonial-based capitalism whereby tea from Asia became a commodity that was traded worldwide. Initially consumed only by the wealthy elites, over the course of two centuries tea drinking filtered down through all social classes, facilitating the creation of a European fine ceramics industry and an accompanying etiquette which detailed the right way to consume it. Tea—along with coffee, chocolate and sugar—can be used to chart the spread of globalisation since the seventeenth century (Orser 2012b:671).

The situation in Ireland mirrored global events. Tea was introduced to Ireland in the middle of the seventeenth century and was imbibed firstly by the wealthy residents of Dublin and provincial towns before spreading to the rural nobility and gentry during the eighteenth century (Lysaght 1987:46–47). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, tea consumption had spread to farming communities in the north-east of the country, but only as a luxury item saved for Sunday breakfasts, Christmas and Easter. Later, it began to be drunk at suppertime and then several times a day, especially by the old and by women (Lysaght 1987:48). During this time, as it became available country-wide and to all households, it might be offered to honoured guests such as the priest, or even the postman, and there was often confusion about how to drink it, whether it was the leaves or liquid that should be consumed (NFC 1933, 1935a). Sugar was an integral component so that you could ‘sweeten to your liking’ (NFC 1934, 1935b). By the 1880s, tea consumption had become ‘firmly established in the daily diet of all classes in Ireland’, even in the poorer western areas, and although not a prerequisite for sustaining life, it came to be considered a necessity (Lysaght 1987:49).

The situation was similar in colonial Australia where tea was ‘undoubtedly consumed in large quantities’ (Dingle 1980:243). In the 1890s, compared to Britain where the average annual consumption of tea per head was 5½ lbs (2.5 kg), in Australia it was almost 8 lbs (3.6 kgs) (Dingle 1980:243; Griggs 2020:35). For Australian squatters and graziers who were often toiling in high temperatures, the usual hot drink was ‘a pot of black tea, which was drunk very hot, sweet and strong, in great quantities’ (Cannon 1973:26). A grazier in rural Victoria, for example, was famous for drinking three quarts (3.4 l) of tea at breakfast every day and the same quantity again at dinnertime, from a teapot said to be ‘the size of a garden watering pot’ (Cannon 1973:26).

In South Australia, writing just ten years after the establishment of the colony, Francis Stacker Dutton (1846:144), co-founder of the Kapunda copper mine, remarked on how ‘hospitality reigns throughout the land, in good old English style’ and that travellers could expect to be welcomed and accommodated at country residences across the colony. ‘The universal beverage being tea, the tea-pot on such occasions becomes of great importance, and is often of gigantic size, the beverage being considered as refreshing after a hot ride as anything one could drink’ (Dutton 1846:145). As a thirst quencher, tea was an effective substitute for beer; it was also simple to prepare, cheap, easily transportable, and was thought to reduce tiredness (Griggs 2020:40–46). The Irish who migrated to Baker’s Flat towards the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, would have been very familiar with tea-drinking and would also have had access to tea and teawares. The large number of teawares from the excavated house, however, indicates that the inhabitants may have been extravagant in their consumption of tea. Ten teapots could be considered a lot for one household, even accounting for breakages over time.

Lawrence and Davies (2011:292) contend that teapots are less frequently found on nineteenth-century Australian domestic sites than cups and saucers, which are almost ubiquitous. This is borne out in the results from other archaeological investigations. At Viewbank homestead near Melbourne, for example, home of the middle-class Martin family, only one teapot was recovered, a red earthenware (Hayes 2014:32). Being a family of some means, this single pot is probably not representative of their tea drinking habits and Hayes (2014:66) has argued that the absence of earthenware teapots is likely because silver pots were preferred. Looking to working-class households, however, where silver teapots were not so common, the same pattern emerges. In Burra, excavation of a dugout dwelling uncovered one Rockingham-type teapot (Mullen and Birt 2009:63). In Port Adelaide, the Farrow cottage

had two earthenware teapots, but the McKay house next door had none (Briggs 2006:124, 151–152). A few streets away, in Quebec Street, excavation of an allotment that had contained four two-roomed cottages in the nineteenth century found one earthenware teapot (Briggs 2006:93). At Melrose in the Flinders Ranges, the Irish Catholic Moran family left behind the remains of one teapot (Lawrence 1996:41). By contrast, ten teapots from the Baker's Flat house seem extraordinary in their abundance.

Teapots, of course, are used to pour tea into cups, and Lawrence and Davies (2011:292–293) note that most tea was taken from matching cup-and-saucer pairs, which are found at almost all Australian historical archaeological sites, even when other ceramic wares are a mix of contrasting patterns. At Viewbank, a minimum number of 66 tea cups and 41 saucers derived from at least nine matching sets, and possibly a further five complementary sets (Hayes 2014:66). In the Burra dugout, there were ten cups and 16 saucers, some from matching earthenware sets (numbers not specified) (Mullen and Birt 2009:63–64). At Port Adelaide, the Farrow cottage had 121 cups and 84 saucers, including 24 matching cup-and-saucer pairs (Briggs 2006:151–152, 166). Next door at the McKays, there were 34 cups and 26 saucers, with four cup-and-saucer pairs, whilst Quebec Street had 31 cups and 24 saucers, with seven matching cups and saucers (Briggs 2006:93, 102, 123–124, 132). For the Morans of Melrose, from a total of eight cups/mugs and 12 saucers there were five cup-and-saucer pairs in complementary patterns (Lawrence 1996:47). None of the Baker's Flat 21 tea cups and six saucers could be paired, either as exact matches or complementary sets.

Teapots and tea sets are customarily analysed in terms of the ideology of respectability as a means of demonstrating knowledge of proper etiquette and appreciation of social standing (Fitts 1999; Wall 1991; Young 2003). Although the consumption of tea could be a mundane, ordinary experience in private, it was also one imbued with ritual when shared. The ritual of 'afternoon tea' was a ceremony first available to middle- and upper-class women who had leisure time in the afternoon, could afford the appropriate teawares, and would follow the appropriate etiquette, such as drinking it in moderation and at the correct time (Cusack 2014:5; Griggs 2020:358). Women also 'took tea' as part of a ritual of calling on other houses, a practice that helped to maintain social networks and that came with its own etiquette around time and the use of quality teawares (Griggs 2020:360–361). The Farrow and McKay women, for example, despite living in a neighbourhood dominated by poverty, could project respectability as they poured tea for their friends into paired cups and saucers. For the Moran women, although they lived in a remote area, some level of matching teawares

was both achievable and important, and suggests that they and their friends ‘enjoyed formalised participation in the tea ceremony’ (Lawrence 1996:47).

For the Irish of Baker’s Flat, perhaps it was not that simple. Back in Britain and Ireland, the poorer classes, especially Irish women who drank tea at all hours and ‘stewed’ it for too long, became the target of improvement literature and ‘improvers’, who attempted to change their tea drinking habits to more respectable practices of moderation, self-discipline and proper etiquette (Cusack 2014:7). Although there is no evidence of the same improving practices being dispensed in South Australia, the intent aligns with English respectability and manners that pervaded the colony across all classes. Here on Baker’s Flat then, is a house bearing evidence of access to global trade networks through the ceramic tea cups and accoutrements that left the Staffordshire factories and ended up in South Australia. Yet there is no evidence of an expected conformity to respectability. There are no matching cup-and-saucer pairs. The wares are not particularly good quality, although some of the cups are highly decorated and would have gleamed attractively if placed on a shelf near the hearth. Here, in this house, the teawares were not about manners or ceremony. These women did not need to bond over a tea ceremony, their bond had already been forged through alliances, friendship, land, fences and activism. Instead, they could just drop in, no invitation necessary, and undergo the traditional Irish welcome—‘*You’ll take a cup of tea?*’ ‘*Ah no, no, I’m only here for a minute.*’ ‘*Ah go on, do, you’ll have a cup in your hand, the water’s already boiled.*’ This is a cup of tea between friends or neighbours, no standing on ceremony. The larger ratio of cups to saucers (3½:1) even suggests that there was no requirement for saucers—except perhaps when the priest or doctor called. And this is the Irishness of it—nothing to prove, community-focused, tea drinking on Baker’s Flat was functional rather than symbolic, more about social togetherness and exploiting the familiarity of kin than the need for a staged performance of respectability and domestic bliss.

9.4.2 A closer look at Irishness and ceramic tableware

This section continues the ceramics analysis, focusing on tableware, with the aim of determining if Irishness on Baker’s Flat is visible in ceramic choices, as has been indicated in US studies (e.g., Brighton 2001, 2005, 2008, 2010; Rotman 2010, 2012). Table 9.6 summarises the diagnostic tableware (MNI=64) excavated from the house. Like the teaware, it can be broadly dated to the nineteenth century, based on the traditional starting dates for

whitewares and white granite/ironstone of 1820 and 1830 respectively, and for flow blue of c.1835 (Brooks 2005:35, 39; Godden 1974:204).

There are seven bowls, almost all a refined earthenware (n=6); one is porcelain, as is the single egg cup. A base is present on six of the seven bowls, equating to four different diameters: 5 cm (n=3), 7.5 cm (n=1), 10 cm (n=1), 12.5 cm (n=1). The seventh bowl, a flow blue whiteware, is a rim fragment measuring 17.5 cm across. These are not large utilitarian bowls for preparing and storing food, but smaller bowls suitable for food consumption (example in Figure 9.28) (Brooks 2005:47). All unmatched, they make up 10.9% of the excavated tableware items, indicating that liquid-based foods such as soups or porridge may have been eaten less frequently than solid foods suitable for plates.

Plates, of several sizes, make up most of the tableware (n=56; 87.5%) and of these, 44 (78.57%) are refined earthenware and 12 (21.43%) are porcelain. Although most of the earthenware plates (n=40; 90.91%) are decorated, most of the porcelains (n=10; 83.33%) are not (Figure 9.29). There are 11 ironstone plates; eight (72.72%) decorated, almost all with a banded design (n=7; 87.5%). Some examples are shown in Figure 9.30 and, notably, a red-banded design is most common, with a minimum of four matching plates in this pattern—two dinner plates (see Chapter 8, Figure 8.19), one luncheon and one twiffler. It seems likely that these were bought around the same time from the same source. Banded ware with no other decorative features is believed to date from c.1860 (Brooks 2005:36, 73; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:161), and even accounting for slower diffusion rates to rural areas, could have been available in Kapunda within the following few years. Although advertisements in the local newspapers tend not to specify patterns or decorations, they do indicate that ceramic sets were readily available in Kapunda, including at sale prices. Robert Nairn, for example, was moving premises in May 1878 and selling off his entire stock including crockery 'at cost price for cash only' (Charlton 1971:127; *Kapunda Herald* 1878c). F. Nicholls opened The Crockery Warehouse on Main Street in 1898 and regularly advertised 'a large assortment of crockery', ranging from 'the finest and the best' to 'some splendid bargains' (e.g., *Kapunda Herald* 1898a, 1898b, 1900). P.A. Uren ran a series of advertisements in 1910 advising patrons to 'see the crockery window for great reductions' at his shop on Main Street (e.g., *Kapunda Herald* 1910). Kapunda was a prosperous town (Charlton 1971), and its vibrant Main Street was able to offer a range of ceramic wares to the discerning consumer.

Table 9.6 Tableware excavated from the house, including ware type and decoration (MNI=64).

Form	Ware type	Decoration	MNI	
Bowl (n=7)	EW, refined – ironstone	Moulded (ribbed)	1	
		White slip	1	
	EW, refined – whiteware	Flow blue	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Fibre</i>	1	
		Undecorated	2	
	Porcelain – soft paste	Undecorated	1	
Egg cup (n=1)	Porcelain – soft paste	Undecorated	1	
Plate, unknown size (n=18)	EW, refined – ironstone	Banded – painted (green); relief-moulded	1	
		Undecorated	2	
	EW, refined – whiteware	Banded – painted (blue)	2	
		Sponged (green) – cut-sponged	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i>	1	
		Transfer print (black), F&F	1	
		Transfer print (green), F&F	1	
		Transfer print (grey-green), F&F	1	
		Transfer print (blue), F&F	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Sprig</i>	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	2	
	Porcelain – hard paste	Undecorated	4	
	Plate, bread & butter (n=4)	EW, refined – whiteware	Transfer print (brown), F&F	1
			Transfer print (lavender), geometric	1
Porcelain – soft paste		Undecorated	2	
Plate, dinner (n=10)	EW, refined – ironstone	Banded (red)	2	
		Banded (dark red)	1	
		Undecorated	1	
	EW, refined – whiteware	Transfer print (blue), decorated border	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Albion</i> ; edge-moulded	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	1	
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	1	
		Transfer print (brown), F&F	1	
	Undecorated	1		
Plate, luncheon (n=5)	EW, refined – ironstone	Banded (red)	1	
		Blue slip; blue-grey paste	1	
	EW, refined – whiteware	Transfer print (blue), F&F	1	
		Transfer print (blue), geometric	1	
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	1	
Plate, nappie (n=5)	EW, refined – whiteware	Banded (red)	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	1	
	Porcelain – hard paste	Undecorated	1	
	Porcelain – soft paste	Undecorated	2	
Plate, twiffler (n=14)	EW, refined – ironstone	Banded – painted (green); edge-moulded	1	
		Banded (red)	1	
	EW, refined – whiteware	Sprigged – applied sprig (blue)	1	
		Transfer print (black), unknown	1	
		Transfer print (blue), <i>Willow</i>	1	
		Transfer print (brown), geometric	1	
		Transfer print (green), decorated border	1	
		Transfer print (green), <i>Sprig</i>	1	
		Transfer print (grey), <i>Rhine</i>	1	
		Transfer print (navy), decorated border	1	
		Transfer print (blue), stylised lotus	1	
	Porcelain – soft paste	Banded – enamelled (blue, gilt)	1	
		Banded – painted (pink, gilt); edge-moulded	1	
		Undecorated	1	
Total			64	

EW=earthenware; F&F=flowers and foliage



Figure 9.28 Base and body fragment of whiteware bowl, undecorated, base diameter 5 cm. Photo: Brendan Kearns.

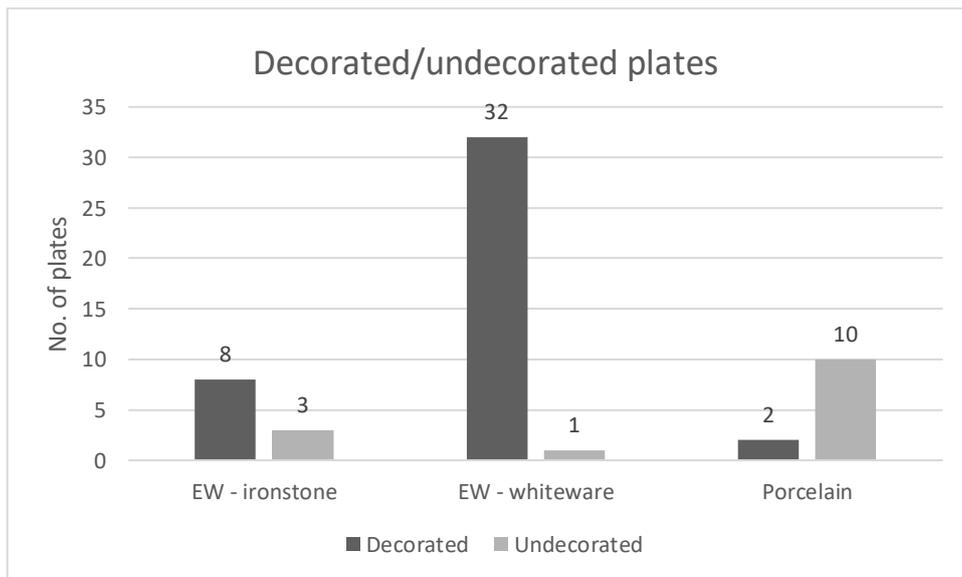


Figure 9.29 Decorated/undecorated plates excavated from house according to ware type.

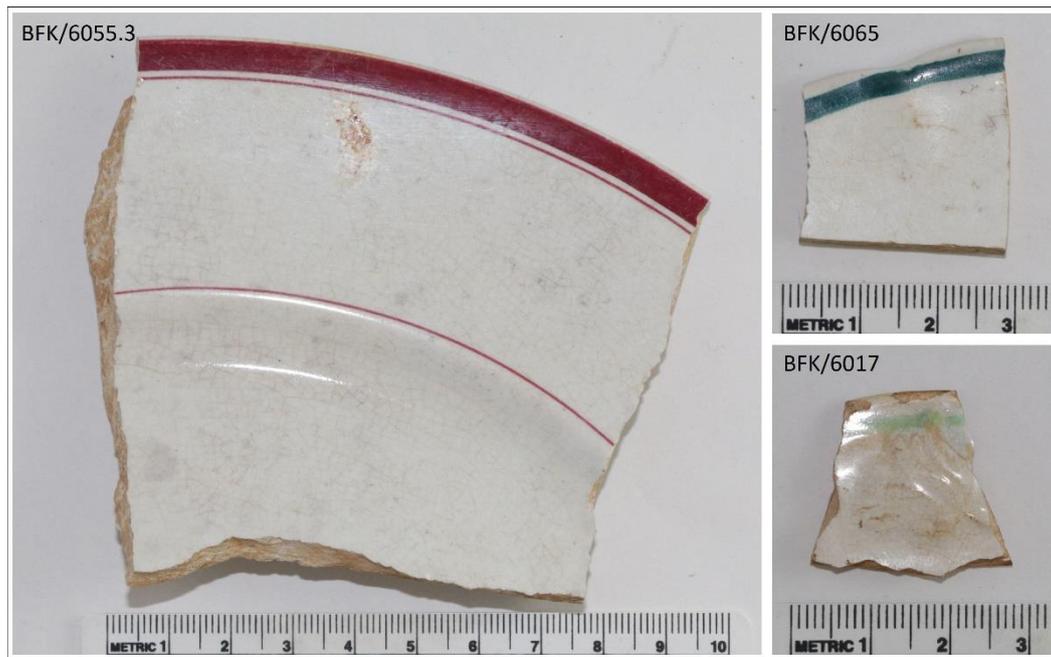


Figure 9.30 Example rim sherds of banded ironstone plates excavated from the house. Photos: Susan Arthure.

Of 33 whiteware plates, 32 (96.97%) are decorated, with a transfer print being most common (n=27; 84.38%). Table 9.7 highlights the variation of transfer-printed patterns and colours. The most frequently occurring patterns are blue *Willow* (n=5) and grey *Rhine* (n=3), unsurprising since these are among the most common transfer prints found in Australia (Brooks 2005:44). The blue *Albion* pattern features on two plates, one of which is edge-moulded. *Sprig* is also on two plates, but in different colours, a blue and a green. These make up a minimum of four complementary tableware sets in the whiteware. Seven plates have generic flower and foliage patterns, in a range of earthy hues including blue, green, brown and black. The remaining transfer-printed plates (n=9) have unidentifiable patterns in a range of colours. Only two (16.66%) of the 12 porcelain objects are decorated, both twifflers with banded patterns, one blue, the other pink. Interestingly, the pink twiffler matches a porcelain saucer (Chapter 8, Figure 8.20), implying that they originate from the same set.

There are no serving platters or tureens in this assemblage, at odds with results from other Australian working-class households. At Burra, for example, one serving dish was excavated (Mullen and Birt 2009:63), whilst at Port Adelaide, the Farrow cottage had 28 serving vessels, the McKay cottage had nine and Quebec Street had 14 (Briggs 2006:93, 124). The Melrose Morans had nine serving vessels—three platters and six bowls (Lawrence 1996:41). Even the early nineteenth-century ceramic assemblage from two cabins at Ballykilcline, Co.

Roscommon had one serving dish in each house, making up 1.5% and 3% of the total number of vessels in each house respectively (Brighton and Levon White 2006:125–129). The absence of serving vessels in the Baker’s Flat house suggests that the household saw no need for their acquisition, and that meals were served directly from the cooking pot onto plates rather than being decanted into a dish or platter for serving at the table.

Table 9.7 Transfer-printed patterns and colours on whiteware plates (MNI=27).

Pattern	Colour	MNI
<i>Albion</i>	Blue	1
<i>Albion</i> ; edge-moulded	Blue	1
Decorated border	Blue	1
Decorated border	Green	1
Decorated border	Navy	1
F&F	Black	1
F&F	Blue	2
F&F	Brown	2
F&F	Green	1
F&F	Grey-green	1
Geometric	Blue	1
Geometric	Brown	1
Geometric	Lavender	1
<i>Rhine</i>	Grey	3
<i>Sprig</i>	Blue	1
<i>Sprig</i>	Green	1
Stylised lotus	Blue	1
<i>Willow</i>	Blue	5
Unknown	Black	1
<i>Total</i>		27

F&F=flowers and foliage.

Tablewares excavated in Ireland—on the nineteenth-century house sites of Ballykilcline, Carrowcashel and Derrylahan—varied widely in form, colour and decoration (Orser 2010b). The wide variance and mismatching of the Irish pieces suggest that, although refined earthenwares were available even in these remoter parts of the country, they were possibly acquired piece-by-piece or seasonally, bearing in mind that the mismatching could, of course, also be a deliberate choice. For Irish households in the US, studies of post-Famine families at Five Points, New York, found trans-generational changes, demonstrating how the Irish bought into the ideals of American consumerism by acquiring vessels that matched dominant societal norms (Brighton 2001, 2011). The transition from Irish to Irish-American could be seen in the replacement of colourful ceramics by white earthenware or porcelain that was either undecorated or had simple moulded patterns (Brighton 2001, 2005, 2008, 2010). Similar results were found at South Bend, Indiana, in a post-Famine, Irish Catholic house,

where, although the ceramics were unmatched, they aligned with the American ideal by being primarily white granite/ironstone in plain or embossed designs (Rotman 2010, 2012).

On the other side of the world, the typical wares found on Australian sites differ. The predominance of lightly decorated white granite/ironstone that characterised the US market from the 1850s was not replicated in Australia where, instead, there was a strong and continuing preference for colourful transfer-printed decoration (Brooks 2005:56–60; Lawrence 2003b:23–26). This is borne out in the ceramics from the Burra dugout (Mullen and Birt 2009), the three sites at Port Adelaide (Briggs 2006), and the Moran household at Melrose (Lawrence 1996), all of which exhibit a wide variety of colours, patterns and decoration, variously described as the ‘odds and ends of many patterns’ (Lawrence 1996:47) in a ‘bewildering’ range of colours (Briggs 2006:156). Tablewares from the Baker’s Flat house indicate similar preferences. From the entire tableware assemblage (n=64), just over two-thirds (n=44; 68.75%) of items are decorated, with 29 (65.91%) of these being transfer-printed (including one flow blue bowl). Note that the ironstone, moulded/white slip bowls (n=2) have been counted as undecorated for these calculations to align as much as possible with the data from Brighton (2001, 2005, 2008, 2010) and Rotman (2010, 2012).

Brighton (2006:202) argues that a primary indicator of changing consumer behaviours is vessel complexity, most notably serving pieces such as platters and tureens, which can demonstrate ‘socially learned and accepted eating styles and behaviours’. He compared the refined earthenware from excavations at two Irish houses in Ballykilcline against the Irish-American sites of Five Points, New York, and Paterson, New Jersey, demonstrating a gradual increase in vessel complexity across the nineteenth century. Each of the post-Famine Irish-American sites had a higher percentage of serving ware than the pre-Famine Ballykilcline houses, but even these were quite low in comparison to a contemporaneous American-born working-class assemblage in New York City (Brighton 2006:202–205). The explanation that the cost of serving vessels was possibly prohibitive for Irish households was countered by the observation that the American-born household was also working class but still able to acquire numerous serving vessels. Instead, Brighton (2006:204) suggests that the Irish purchased only those vessels which they understood and needed, and that this changed slowly over time following exposure to different foods and new social behaviours.

The presence of a large variety of colours and patterns at Baker’s Flat reflects the consumer habits of colonial Australian communities, the mismatch a consequence of the vagaries of

colonial markets and rural living, and unforgiving calcrete floors when items were accidentally dropped. As Crook (2000:23) has argued, if crockery was being purchased in small quantities or on a piecemeal basis as it could be afforded, then a mismatch of colours and patterns is likely, notwithstanding the four instances of red-banded ironstone plates at Baker's Flat (possibly acquired during a sale at one of Kapunda's retail outlets?). The effects of prolonged mismatches and preferences for colourful transfer prints mean that, unlike in the US, Irishness in Australia cannot be tracked through changes in ceramic ware across generations. Instead, the Baker's Flat tableware is more typical of a nineteenth-century Australian colony, making it difficult to indicate any degree of Irishness in pattern choices. Where there is a clear anomaly, however, is in the number of serving dishes—their complete absence at Baker's Flat versus their presence in varying quantities at other Australian, American and even rural Irish domestic sites. It suggests that if Irishness is to be identified in the ceramic assemblage of an Irish household in Australia, then function rather than decoration should be examined, a matter that could be pursued in future research.

Thinking about the Irish in Ireland, their acquisition of English refined earthenwares has been described as a paradox, whereby Irish tenants engaged in open resistance against landlords and English domination whilst at the same time entering the English marketplace by acquiring teawares and tablewares (Orser 2004a). For the Irish in the US, the differences and similarities in ceramics are said to 'point towards a collective group in transition between what they knew and what they wanted to be' (Brighton 2006:214–215). For the Irish in Australia, the dataset is too small yet for either certainties or broad generalisations. At Baker's Flat, it is complicated by the fact that the people who lived in this house and for how long are unknown, and it is therefore not possible to track any trans-generational ceramic changes. Perhaps the absence of serving ware tells the strongest story about what was happening here—a shunning of the norms of respectability in favour of community. In the same way that the Baker's Flat women acted as gatekeepers to the settlement, granting access to only a few outsiders (*Kapunda Herald* 1880a, 1902d; *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1875b, 1877), they could also have guarded their thresholds, with entry only for community members who were, by default, either family, friends or neighbours. The result would be no need for the serving platters of more formalised dining. In fact, serving ware might negate the feelings of togetherness and community ties—family and friends should not be seen to compete. This also aligns with the absence of matching cup-and-saucer pairs and the small number of saucers in the teaware assemblage, and indicates that, rather than

transitioning to membership of the broader society (as per Brighton 2006:214–215), the Irish were content to stay as they were. In saying that, they had little choice but to enter the English-dominated marketplace if they wanted to eat off plates and drink from cups, but there is one artefact in the assemblage that may indicate a point of resistance, and that is the pipkin discussed below.

9.4.3 On the pipkin trail

In the ceramic assemblage, one hollowware piece is not like the others. Amongst the refined earthenware, porcelain and stoneware artefacts excavated from the dwelling, there is only one coarse redware item. Reconstructed to form a squat, bulbous vessel (Figure 9.31), this object is glazed only on the inner surface. The coarse body has large inclusions of what appear to be hematite and quartz, and it is 12.9 cm high. The rim has a wide asymmetrical spout, a band of black slip around the outside and, with a diameter of 13.5 cm, is wider than the base (10.9 cm). Two parallel grooves run round the shoulder. A thick bar handle is placed to the side, at a right angle to the spout. This vessel has been interpreted as a pipkin, a type of small earthenware saucepan with a thick upthrust handle, designed to cook or keep food warm on the embers of an open fire. Although pipkins often have feet, these are not mandatory, as can be seen in the examples in Figure 9.32.



Figure 9.31 Redware pipkin (BFK/5264.1–5264.11). Photo: Susan Arthure.



Figure 9.32 a) Seventeenth-century gravel-tempered pipkin from excavations at Paige's Lane, Barnstaple, North Devon, diameter 20.9 cm (Grant 1983:plate 3); b) Nineteenth-century covered pipkin, made in South Australia, probably Magill district (Graham 1979:plate 20).

The Baker's Flat pipkin stands out in the ceramic assemblage because its form is so different. It is neither a piece of English refined earthenware, nor a stoneware crock, nor a fine sherd of porcelain. In the dwelling, the only other coarse earthenwares are two yellowware marbles. But the pipkin form would not have been unfamiliar to Irish colonial settlers. Utilitarian coarse earthenware was known to have been produced by local potters in nineteenth-century Ireland, and was widely used in homes for the storage, preparation and cooking of food (Hull 2006:99–100; Orser 2001:85–91, 2004a:183–185, 2006:76, 83). These Irish redwares are found in a limited number of forms, usually in shades of brown, with simple decorative elements, such as incised lines (Hull 2006:100). In addition to the wares made in Ireland, there was a well-established trade with the North Devon potteries going back to the seventeenth century, and the ports of Limerick and Galway (immediately south and north of Co. Clare respectively) often received large shipments (Grant 1983:101–113). North Devon earthenware products were known to include pipkins (Figure 9.32a), usually glazed only on the inside, and with a gravel temper in the clay for extra strength and heat resistance (Grant 1983:40, 136).

It is possible that the Baker's Flat pipkin was carried out from Ireland in an emigrant's baggage, although given its bulk and the amount of space it would have taken, this seems unlikely. When listing articles suitable for those undertaking the voyage to South Australia, emigrants' handbooks favoured tin, copper and iron household utensils rather than earthenware (Wilkinson 1849). There is no evidence in historical records that the Baker's Flat Irish were making their own coarse earthenware pots on site. A third possibility is that

German folk potters were making vernacular pots, including pipkins, in the nearby Barossa Valley. The first potters to migrate to South Australia came from Germany, and in the colony's early years its pottery had a strong German influence (Ioannou 1986:13–17). German vernacular pots were typically utilitarian, full-bodied shapes thrown on a wheel, with simple decorative patterns such as grooves or wavy lines (Ioannou 1986:18–51). Of the known German potters, Samuel Hoffmann was the one who lived closest to Baker's Flat. Hoffmann was a master folk potter, who had learned his trade in Germany before coming to South Australia in 1845. His workshop between 1850 and 1883 was located only about 30 km from Baker's Flat (Ioannou 1987:39). Apart from the local markets of the Barossa, Hoffman was known to sell his wares further afield, heading as far as Kapunda when the local market was saturated (Ioannou 1986:32, 1987:39) in the same way as other Germans were known to travel to 'the Light' to trade produce (*Kapunda Herald* 1898c).

Hoffmann produced utilitarian redwares with distinctive wire-cut bases and simple patterns (Ioannou 1987:33–39). He was a skilled potter, able to produce a consistently homogenous clay body with few inclusions in a variety of glaze colours (Ioannou 1987:33). When assessed against surviving examples of his work (Ioannou 1986:21–23), the Baker's Flat pipkin is probably not a Hoffmann product—the clay body is too rough, the base is completely unmarked, with no evidence of being wire-cut from the wheel. However, in other respects, the Baker's Flat pipkin fits well against a possible German and Barossa source. Barossa Valley clay has a strong iron oxide content that fires to an orange-red colour (Ioannou 1987:33), consistent with this pipkin. It is rich in minerals like quartz, which could have been used as temper to increase its heat resistance. It matches the vernacular German rounded shape and simple decoration. If this pipkin was not made by Hoffmann, perhaps it was made by another German folk potter or even by Hoffmann's son, a reluctant potter who 'was not greatly motivated ... and never had his heart in the trade', ceasing soon after his father in c.1885 (Ioannou 1986:36).

Although the English colonists favoured English imported earthenwares, eschewing German equivalents (Ioannou 1986:16), the Irish may have thought differently about German pots. Not only was the pipkin a familiar form, but it was also a subtle means of denying the English dominant power, a way of asserting identity by rejecting an English import, even if just in the form of a single pipkin. Ferguson (1991) and Orser (1996:117–123) have suggested that, in the face of pressure to assimilate, traditionally designed ceramics offer a

means for people to help maintain their sense of cohesiveness. Using the example of unglazed ceramic vessels made by slaves in the American South and Caribbean, they have argued that pottery vessels were made both for functional reasons and as symbols of cultural continuity and resistance to the dominant power. Ferguson (1991:28) sees this as a sign of unconscious resistance whereby slaves in colonial South Carolina ‘resisted slavery by being themselves’ using locally made folk ceramics and adhering to traditional foodways. Examining vessels in the Irish context, Orser (2001:92, 100) sees nineteenth-century Irish coarse earthenware as sharing the same functional and symbolic meanings as the slave-made ceramics, playing a tangible role in reminding rural farmers that they were part of a cultural tradition. It is possible that the Baker’s Flat pipkin came from the hands of a local German potter as a trade item, going on to fulfil a trio of purposes as a useful cooking tool, a reminder of home, and a way of subtly asserting Irishness in the face of British dominance.

9.4.4 Mourning and illness—one of the last Baker’s Flat inhabitants?

A clear concentration of artefacts was excavated in the north-west corner of the house (Trench F), associated with an 8 cm-deep ashy deposit that has been interpreted as a one-time burning event. There are three important things to note about this concentration. Firstly, it contained a large number of personal items and, secondly, the burning took place in a location at the opposite end of the house to the hearth. Thirdly, unlike the excavated ceramics which appear to derive from the lifetime of the cottage, this ashy deposit and its contents appear to date from the last years or months of the house being occupied.

An almost complete mourning brooch (Figure 9.33) and a religious cross-and-pin (Chapter 8, Figure 8.96) were uncovered from the ashes. There was also a large number of heat-damaged personal items including buttons, buckles, tiny glass seed beads, and a wooden spool, all found next to a charred tin to which buttons and other small items had fused, interpreted as the remains of a ‘button box’ that would have been used to store sewing items. With earliest start dates ranging from 1750 to 1903, and end dates between 1830 and 1949, some of these buttons appear to have been kept for many years, some possibly brought from Ireland on clothing or with other personal effects. Other personal items included two purse clasps, a domed cap matching the profile of a walking cane top, the barbell end of a fob chain, two small decorative bells and a pen nib (selection shown in Figure 9.34). Several pieces of a closely-woven, heat-damaged black wool fabric, suitable for a heavy dress or light coat, were found as scraps or adhesions to buttons, buckles and other items.

In the nineteenth century, grief was publicly demonstrated through clothing, and even those who could not afford full mourning costume would wear some element of black to grieve their relations (Mytum 2004:40). When considered alongside the mourning brooch, the black fabric suggests that the house's inhabitant was in mourning. Corset ribbing was excavated close by in the adjacent squares. Two chamber pots and parts of a brown transfer-printed ewer would have assisted in meeting personal hygiene and comfort needs, as would the 13 small perfume bottles and five cosmetics jars branded as *Alpine Snow*, a cooling and soothing skin cream (*Advertiser* 1910; *Evening Journal* 1910). Together, these items paint a picture of the person who may have lived here—an elderly woman, mourning a loved one, proudly Catholic, literate, able to afford some small comforts, managing to look after herself and her belongings even if she needed the assistance of a cane for walking.



Figure 9.33 Mourning brooch excavated from the ashy deposit in Trench F. Photo: Simon Hoad/Angeline King.



Figure 9.34 Sample artefacts excavated from the ashy deposit in Trench F: purse clasp; glass-topped cap, possibly from walking cane; decorative bells; stamped pen nib. Photos: Simon Hoad.

Why were these personal artefacts discarded and burned in a far corner of the house? The answer may lie in other health-related and self-management items excavated from the same area. The item most clearly related to health is a medical syringe, three heat-crackled pieces of which were found in the heart of the ashy deposit. It was probably used by a medical doctor, the pieces perhaps broken and lost just after the contents had been dispensed. In addition, 42 patent medicine bottles, one probable medicine bottle and three pill vials were excavated either in or close to the ashes, all with a date range from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. At least one of the vials contained the mildly diuretic *Doan's Kidney Pills* (National Museum of American History n.d.; *South Australian Register* 1899). Other identifiable bottles contained a toothache remedy (n=1), patent medicines for kidney, bladder and liver ailments (Figure 9.35) (n=9) and for coughs, colds, bronchitis and asthma (Figure 9.36) (n=4), as well as a eucalyptus oil bottle (Figure 9.37).



Figure 9.35 Two *De Witt* pill bottles (BFK/9747, 9748), date range 1912–1940, marketed as easing kidney problems, backache, general aches and pains (Museums Victoria 2017a); one tincture bottle (BFK/9756), date range 1930–1939 (Boow1991:176; Gugler n.d.). Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 9.36 Two medicine bottles, embossed on base with *W.G. Hearne* maker's mark, patent medicine bronchitis cure, date range 1900–c.1947 (*Argus* 1915; Boow 1991:196). Photos: Simon Hoad.



Figure 9.37 Eucalyptus oil bottle with cork, embossed *J. Bosisto Richmond*, date range 1900–1915 (Boow 1991:174, 180). Photo: Simon Hoad.

A half-gallon flagon from the Seppelt winery may have contained invalid port or hospital brandy, beverages that were commonly prescribed by medical practitioners in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A 1937 advertisement for ‘Seppelt’s famous wines’ notes that its hospital brandy has ‘been chosen by the medical profession throughout the Commonwealth in recognition of its high medicinal qualities’ (*News* 1937). Ten Bovril beef extract jars would have been used to make beef tea or add flavour to soups and stews. With an overall date range of between 1870 and 1940, two fall in the earliest date range of 1870–1912, seven in 1913–1930, and one in 1920–1940 (Boow 1991:79–81, 178; Lindsey 2018b; National Archives n.d.; *What the Victorians Threw Away* 2017), indicating an ongoing commitment in the household to flavoursome food and nourishing beef teas.

The date ranges and presence of this health-related paraphernalia indicate illness, one that was successfully managed by the house’s inhabitant for a time using patent medicines and home cures like beef tea, before finally requiring the services of a doctor. The rural Irish of the nineteenth century had a wide range of traditional and unorthodox cures in their pharmacopeia, in addition to the local sweathouse. These ranged from drinking water at holy wells, hanging rags on holy trees and visiting sites with curative powers to using foxglove for heart ailments, potatoes for warts and mouldy bread for slow-to-heal sores (Evans 1957:298–304; Linn 2014:150–155; O’Súilleabháin 1977:60–64). Studies of Irish migrants in nineteenth-century New York and South Bend, Indiana, have found that an inability to access traditional cures led to the adoption of new self-treatments such as patent medicines and mineral/soda water, and that typically they treated themselves at home for long periods of time, consulting doctors and going to hospital only as a last resort when all other restorative attempts had failed (Bonasera and Raymer 2001; Brighton 2008; Linn 2008, 2014; Rotman 2010).

Similar behaviours may have taken place in this house on Baker’s Flat but, ultimately, these ministrations appear to have been unsuccessful, since the burning of such a large quantity of items hints at a concerted effort to dispose of all personal belongings in a single event—perhaps due to a desire to limit the spread of infectious disease following a death. The archaeological evidence indicates that the belongings were stacked on the calcrete floor and then set alight, possibly in a bedroom/sleeping area since the location is at the opposite end to the hearth and living area. Perhaps there was another smoke hole at this end of the house which would have assisted the smoke to escape—two smoke holes at opposite ends were not

unusual (Campbell 1937:212, 217; Ó Danachair 1946:93–94). It implies, however, that this event happened after the house was vacated since otherwise, it would have been logical to use the hearth, and also that there was a deliberate decision to burn these belongings in place rather than touching and moving them.

Remnants of a newspaper, probably Catholic, were found in the ashes, and one of the pieces retains a legible date—1938. There were several infections of concern in South Australia around that time. In February 1938, the Central Board of Health reported 13 cases of diphtheria, seven each of pulmonary tuberculosis and typhoid fever, six of scarlet fever, and 22 of infantile paralysis across the local districts in the previous week (*Advertiser* 1938b). Other reports confirm that pulmonary tuberculosis, scarlet fever and mumps had been reported in the Kapunda area during 1936 and 1937 (*Kapunda Herald* 1936a, 1936b, 1937).

Unfortunately, there is no clear idea of who this elderly woman might have been, nor whether she died or recovered. The newspaper is dated 1938, but there were no deaths recorded on Baker's Flat for that or the previous year, and a search for females who died in 1937 or 1938 in the district of Kapunda (n=60) found only two women with a known Baker's Flat or Irish family name; both of whom died in 1938. Males were excluded from the search because of the gender-specific artefacts. The first of these women, Cecilia Mary McMahan, died aged 80 years on 28 April 1938 at Kapunda, in a hospital or other institution [Kapunda BDM Registrations – Deaths 602/2082]. There are no records of the McMahan family on Baker's Flat after 1869 (Appendix G—Baker's Flat Family Names), making it unlikely that a family member was still there in 1938. The second, Mary McInerney, died aged 71 years on 20 July 1938, also at Kapunda [Kapunda BDM Registrations – Deaths 603/2935]. McInerney is a family name long associated with Baker's Flat, but this Mary died at her residence in Robe Street, Kapunda, the devoted aunty of Nell, Kitty and Maude, and great-aunty of Edna and Jimmie (*Advertiser* 1938a).

Although the woman who lived in this house remains unidentifiable, the burning of personal items left in the house implies that she was not dealing with potential end-of-life issues alone. Others were aware of her predicament, enough to summon the doctor, possibly even to go and get medicines, and after her death or removal from the house to hospital, to burn her personal effects. Maybe these actions were even facilitated by Paddy Driscoll. He owned the Baker's Flat land from 1928 (Appendix A—Baker's Flat Landowners) and appears to have taken on responsibility for the old women remaining on the site, for example, by not selling

the land until after the last of the O’Callahan sisters died in 1948. These elderly women were the relics of a fading community, one that began to change in the early twentieth century as a large section of Baker’s Flat was successfully sold and residents with resources left to take up their own farms or find work elsewhere (*Advertiser* 1912; Appendix A—Baker’s Flat Landowners; Appendix G—Baker’s Flat Family Names; *Chronicle* 1913; Maloney 1936c:3). It echoes similar occurrences across colonial Australia where the movement of people out of a community resulted in fewer male household heads and resources, a remnant aging population (mainly female, often women who had outlived their husbands) and, ultimately, the demise of small settlements (see, for example, Gojak 2022:365–366). On Baker’s Flat, the care of an ill woman living alone aligns with the bonds of reciprocity and community obligations characteristic of the clachan, and this may have persisted here until the very end, even when only a few of the original families remained.

9.5 Summary

Although geographically distant from Ireland, the Baker’s Flat Irish maintained a permanent connection to their homeland through the continuation of cultural traditions, most clearly through the clachan, a settlement centred around people and shared identity. New alliances, friendships and kin networks were constructed after arrival. Sport, religion and folk customs all played a part in sustaining a sense of closeness, communality and mutual obligation. With land being critical to the clachan’s success, the Irish worked together for decades to retain control of the land for as long as it was required, in the face of opposition from some of the wealthiest men in the colony.

Vernacular Irish-style houses were a clear inscription of the community’s Irishness. A more subtle Irish structure—the health-related sweathouse—could only have been found through archaeological excavation since no other evidence for the existence of such structures has been located. Everyday artefacts from the excavated house have helped to clarify how tea may have helped to maintain community relationships; how ceramic tablewares may or may not have been used to assert Irishness in the Australian context; the choice of a familiar form, the pipkin, in a possible trade link with the nearby Barossa Valley; how illness was managed using patent and proprietary medicines; and the probable decline and death of one of the last elderly inhabitants.

10 Conclusion

There is an argument that any historical archaeology project that takes place in Ireland is inherently diasporic because it is impossible to separate the Irish in Ireland from those who identify as Irish throughout the world (Orser 2004a:174). The corollary must be that archaeological projects focusing on the diaspora are inherently connected back to the Irish in Ireland because all are interlinked components on a continuum of Irishness. By necessity, archaeological research on Irish diasporic groups has tended to focus on major cities and urban areas, since these are the locations where post-Famine Irish migrants gravitated. The result is a gap in the research about the Irish in rural areas generally, compounded by a chasm regarding the Irish in Australia specifically, issues that this PhD thesis has set out to address. This research is one more step in interpreting the material lives of the Irish who migrated across the world in the years following the Great Famine. Baker's Flat is the first complete exemplar of a clachan to be recognised outside of Ireland. As such, it has revealed much about the strategies that people use when adapting to life in a new environment, and about the nature of Irishness in rural South Australia during colonial times.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Irish who journeyed to South Australia effectively moved from one colony to another, and in many respects, things remained the same. The English continued to be the dominant power, the colony was underpinned by English societal structures, the system was purposefully structured to keep wealth in the hands of the already wealthy, and the Irish were perceived as ignorant, dirty and troublesome. For those arriving from rural Ireland and heading north to Kapunda in search of work at the copper mine, they would find a growing town at the heart of a capitalist economy powered by copper ore and pastoral leases, controlled by a small number of mostly English landowners. And at the edge of town, they found Baker's Flat, a tract of land scarcely touched by colonial settlers. It appears that the Irish began by establishing lives and houses here as best they could, with the clachan developing gradually alongside a rundale land management system. This seems to have occurred from around 1860, the date cited by Daniel Driscoll when he referred to the length of time the Irish had been collectively working the land (*Register* 1902b).

However, although its beginnings may have been accidental, at some point the Baker's Flat clachan had to become a deliberate and consciously maintained decision. A clachan in colonial South Australia, with architecture and behaviour characterised by separateness, was

not the same as a clachan in rural Ireland. Baker's Flat stood out in the broader community as a distinctive form of Irishness, so much so that, for this settlement near Kapunda, Irishness *was* the clachan: a *clachan Australis*.

Evidence of how the clachan was managed can be seen in the landscape, excavated structures and historical documents. The Irish continued to build structures according to Irish vernacular custom, including traditional Irish-style homes and a possible sweathouse. They managed the land and stock co-operatively and stood together on the frontline during disputes about land rights. Women were at the forefront of these conflicts, including the Driscoll women, members of the family that emerged as community leaders. Details about everyday lives are evidenced through the material culture of tea drinking, the use of ceramics, the treatment of illness, and even through possible trade links with the Germans living nearby in the Barossa Valley. As in Ireland, the clachan was sustained through strong relationships, adapted for a colonial environment so that kin and fictive kin networks were built and maintained across generations through a combination of shared origins, astute marriages, long-standing friendships and shared folk practices. Well into the twentieth century, in fact, these Irish continued to follow the patterns of nineteenth-century rural Irish communities, based around family and kinship clusters in a pre-industrial landscape. Inevitably, research about the Irish in other material realms and time periods will find different elements of Irishness (Burke et al. 2018:816). And each of these will be real, since there are multiple versions of Irishness depending on circumstance, place and time.

The people leaving Ireland after the Famine have been described as 'a highly mobile proletariat in an international capitalist economy' (Kenny 2003:151), and the Irish who ended up at Baker's Flat had certainly travelled vast distances before their arrival. In later years, as families left Baker's Flat, some stayed close to Kapunda and surrounding towns, whilst others went further north or west as land was surveyed and made available for farming. For the Irish, acquiring their own blocks satisfied the post-Famine 'almost pathological love of the land' (Smyth 2012d:12). It also meant capitulation to the capitalist free market. Baker's Flat operated to some degree as a liminal space, lying somewhere between the past and the future, where the inhabitants were able to follow a traditional communal lifeway with all the reciprocity and obligation that this entailed, but were also able to stand on the threshold of economic success and integration. It allowed them to accept wholeheartedly the capitalist system of labouring for the mine owners in exchange for a wage, and at the same time, reject

completely the notion of a legal landowner or landlord retaining any rights over their homes and farmland.

At Baker's Flat, the South Australian experiment in systematic colonisation, based on transporting a 'superior' English way of life rather than boatloads of convicts, came up against a deep-rooted Irish tradition. South Australia was self-consciously structured as a respectable, sober, dignified, civilised province. From the beginning, this could be observed in Adelaide's carefully planned grids and squares, its wide streets and neat stone-and-brick cottages, and in the towns of the Mid North with their substantial stone buildings and purposeful roads. At Baker's Flat, there was no rational architecture or town planning, no deliberate roads, no obvious management of fields through enclosure or drainage. There was no evidence of aspiration towards respectability by using serving platters for formalised dining or cup-and-saucer pairs for drinking tea. Rather, the horizontal nature of the clachan contrasted with the improving capitalist ideology that dominated South Australia. Both valued labour, but one was driven by profit, the other by community.

For the Irish on Baker's Flat, the clachan represented the positives of stability, shelter and strength. For the non-Irish, it exemplified a negative mix of disorder, dirt and discord. Ultimately, it can be argued that the colonial dominant power prevailed—the Irish eventually left Baker's Flat and the settlement was erased, both in the landscape, where no extant structures remained, and in the abstract, where it was almost completely forgotten by the people of Kapunda. Yet, it had persisted for almost 90 years, until c.1948, giving community and shelter to generations of Irish families, allowing rent-free time for them to gather funds and acquire their own land, and meeting obligations to elderly residents until the last few had died or moved on. At that juncture, when the clachan was no longer required, control of the land could be relinquished, as happened when the block was sold in 1953, out of Driscoll hands, no longer contested. Considered like this, the Baker's Flat clachan can be described as a triumph.

10.1 A model for finding other clachans outside Ireland

Informed by the findings from the Baker's Flat clachan, six prerequisites have been identified for establishment of a clachan (Figure 10.1) which can be considered when examining colonial Irish settlements in other places.

The most critical element is having access to a sizeable area of land in a rural area, substantial enough to sustain a group of families. This land needs to be suitable for farming, and ideally, is not required for any other reason at the time, so that it is most likely available at low or no cost, and in the best-case scenario, with no legal owner. On Baker's Flat, for example, the Irish collectively controlled 340 acres, on which they avoided ever paying rent, something feasible only for those settling outside cities or urban areas.

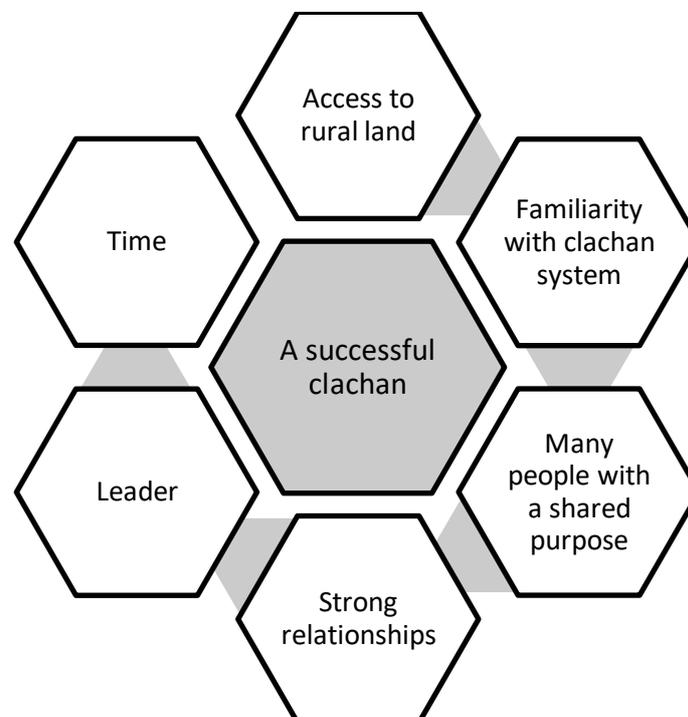


Figure 10.1 Prerequisites for finding a colonial era clachan outside Ireland.

The second element is an existing familiarity with the clachan and rundale system, resulting in an intrinsic bias towards co-operative work and mutual obligation, and the clustered construction of houses and outbuildings. On Baker's Flat, many of the families originated in Co. Clare, where there were concentrations of clachan settlements with which these families would have been familiar. The third prerequisite is a shared reason for considerable numbers of people to arrive in an area around the same time, for example, seeking employment at a

large mine. This means people in search of paid work, rather than having an immediate intention to establish their own individual farm or business.

Fourth is the construction of robust relationships through kin or fictive kin networks. The strength of these networks becomes evident when examining the connections across multiple families and generations. Marriages and events such as sporting fixtures and dances, and celebrations like St Patrick's Day and St John's Eve, help to maintain and strengthen community bonds. Related to the building of relationships is the fifth factor, the emergence of a leader or spokesperson. This is a person or family with excellent networking skills and the proven desire to take on a leadership role, often identifiable through word-clues such as 'spokesman', 'chairman', 'secretary' or 'partner'. The Driscolls on Baker's Flat, for example, guided and directed the community through several court cases, played key roles in resisting physical and legal offensives by the landowners, chaired community events, and were the figureheads for group actions, such as paying rates together, to the extent that Daniel was described in one court case as the spokesman and 'head robber' (*Kapunda Herald* 1894a).

Time is the sixth and last factor. There is probably only a small window of time for a clachan to be established, most likely during early settlement when societal structures are still in flux and before land has been completely taken up. Ideally, the inhabitants will have control of the land for a long period. At Baker's Flat, the stability of the mine between the 1850s and 1870s allowed two decades of occupation before the land became vigorously contested. It also facilitated a consistent long-term income for families which would have allowed for purchase of stock and accumulation of savings.

It needs to be remembered that clachans are features of rural landscapes, but that post-Famine Irish migration was heavily weighted towards urban precincts, especially in Britain and the US (Doyle 2010:741; Emmons 1990:6; Evans 1957:11; Fitzpatrick 1980:136, 1994:16; Kenny 2003:150). By 1870, for example, the Irish in Britain were heavily concentrated in the cities of London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow, and three-quarters of the Irish in the US lived in urban-industrial regions (Kenny 2003:150). The situation was somewhat different in Canada and Australia, where the Irish were more dispersed, with Kenny (2003:151) arguing that 'Britain and the United States fall into one camp, Canada and Australia into another'. It is possible, therefore, that the most likely places to find a clachan outside of Ireland will be in the rural landscapes of Australia or Canada.

10.2 Future research directions

In her work on the archaeology of improvement, Tarlow (2007:200) attests that ‘the complicated ways in which enlightenment thought articulated with developing class relations—horizontal at least as much as vertical—produced a huge range of ways of engaging with Improvement, from enthusiastic subscription to a shared set of values, to rejection, subversion or appropriation of the new ‘improved’ material world’. One strand of this PhD research has been to examine improvement in a rural South Australian setting. There are no other obvious analyses of improvement in the Australian archaeological literature, and it appears that this perspective for understanding the landscape, architecture or material culture has not yet been broadly adopted. Since improvement is essentially a secular notion driven by the middle classes (Tarlow 2007:190–200), it would be especially interesting to examine it in the context of South Australia, which was intended to be ideologically different from the other Australian colonies—free settlers, absence of convicts, systematic colonisation, intrinsic wealth, lack of an established church. It raises a number of questions that could be teased out in future research. What does improvement look like in the Australian colonies? Is improvement in South Australia exceptional in any way compared to other colonies that developed more organically? What does improvement look like in rural versus urban settings? How does it change over time? Is it a top-down ideology imposed by the middle classes, or did the working classes choose to improve themselves? Were there tensions between the two? How are these actions observable archaeologically in particular colonial contexts?

At an artefactual level, three aspects have emerged that may benefit from additional scrutiny—folk ritual, tea and teawares, and spongeware. Writing about the historical archaeology of folk ritual and superstition, Burke et al. (2016) noted that few examples of folk ritual practices have been documented in Australia and issued a call for archaeologists to be alert to the potential contexts for such practices. The placement of the child’s shoe and horseshoe at the hearth of the excavated house on Baker’s Flat hint at a protective ritual concealment. Burke et al. (2016:68) speculated that protective ritual practices might be adopted more frequently in unfamiliar and unpredictable environments, such as settler-colonial societies. The shoes at Baker’s Flat could act as a catalyst for further investigation of ritual protective behaviours in colonial Australia generally, or more specifically amongst South Australian migrant groups, such as the Irish or Germans.

Tea was as much an essential thirst-quencher and social lubricant in colonial Australia as it was in nineteenth-century Ireland and England. The rituals of tea-drinking have typically been associated with particular forms of teaware, replicated across classes—matching cup and saucer pairs and matching tea sets (Brighton 2011; Fitts 1999; Hayes 2014; Lawrence and Davies 2011:292–293; Wall 1991, 2000; Young 2003). Unexpectedly, though, the teawares from the excavated house on Baker’s Flat are at odds with these forms, indicating a deliberate eschewing of respectability in favour of functional and kin-based tea consumption. Evidence for this includes the large numbers of teapots recovered from the house, and the complete absence of matching cup-and-saucer pairs. A lack of research on other Irish households in Australia (although see Lawrence 1996) makes it impossible to determine if the Baker’s Flat house is an outlier, or whether other Irish families exhibited similar patterns. A comparative analysis of data against other rural, working-class Irish households in the US, Canada or Britain could shed light on whether the inhabitants of the Baker’s Flat house were unusual in their choices, or whether this is a form of Irishness that has gone unnoticed until now.

Perhaps the area of ceramics that is most under-researched is that of spongeware, an inexpensive whiteware produced mainly in Scotland from c.1835 (Brooks 2005:42) for the local and export market. Spongewares were exported in large quantities to Ireland but have also been found in archaeological contexts as distant as Australia, Labrador and Belize (e.g., Briggs 2006; Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999a; Orser 2010b; Webster 1999). Most items are unmarked, rendering it almost impossible to determine either a maker or accurate date (Brooks 2005:42). A small number (n=18) of sponged kitchenware and tableware sherds, comprising 1.52% of the total ceramic assemblage, were excavated on Baker’s Flat. Spongewares have been little studied in Australia, and there are many unknowns. Were they explicitly marketed in colonial locations? Did their affordability mean that they were purchased mainly by the poor? Were they particularly attractive to Scottish and Irish migrants as reminders of home? Is spongeware found more in Australian than US archaeological contexts, given that their vivid hues and polychrome designs would have appealed more to the Australian than the American consumer (Brooks 2005:56–60; Lawrence 2003b:23–26)? Would a comparative analysis of different assemblages show a varying distribution in urban versus rural locations, working-class versus middle-class sites?

Finally, on Baker's Flat itself, additional geophysical surveys could increase our knowledge about the possible positioning and layout of below-ground features and structures that could then be tested through excavation. Such surveys could take place as part of a university research program or in co-operation with another party such as the mining exploration company currently investigating the northern part of the site.

10.3 *An focal deireanach*—The last word

When diasporic peoples are researched, there is a risk of what Kenny (2003:161) terms 'national history writ large', where people are viewed as part of a single culture that happens to have been globally dispersed. Common elements of identity can mask the diversity of discrete groups who are part of larger populations, and who may change over time. This historical archaeological study of the Baker's Flat Irish has attempted to manage this risk by looking at this particular group of people in the context of colonial South Australia, charting their arrival and eventual scattering, recognising and analysing the ways that an Australian clachan and rundale settlement operated, identifying the artefacts used in everyday life. It has harnessed one of the great powers of historical archaeology—to use the detail of archaeological data and documentary sources to find out more about the social relationships of a group's everyday lives. And in doing so, it has been able to expose the complexities of a clachan and rundale settlement in the rural heart of nineteenth-century South Australia, a foundational European settlement, and the first complete clachan to be recognised outside of Ireland.

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