Churchill Island: An investigation into the relationship between industrialisation, the ideology of improvement, and heritage environment

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Table of contents

Table of figures

Table of tables

Abstract

Industrial archaeology has grown to incorporate not only the analysis of cultural material, but also the investigation of the social context and human experience of the individuals who lived during the period of the industrial revolution, which is loosely defined as starting in 1760 and ending in 1840, although its effects would continue to be felt in the periods immediately following its close. The industrial revolution coincided with the ideology of improvement, a set of values that encompassed hard work, cleanliness, brightness and rationality. The uptake of this ideology and its values can be traced in the archaeological record, through the analysis of materials and built heritage that display preferences amongst individuals towards the values of the ideology of improvement as a result of an increased identification with the movement and its ideals. Tangible evidence for the identification with improvement ideals, which encouraged the industrial revolution can be seen in the spatial organisation of built heritage, the use of enclosure, botanical organisation and artefacts. International studies on the relationship between the industrial revolution, the ideology of improvement and heritage environment are discussed, as is the general lack of Australian studies in this area, which is especially apparent when applied to a regional context. Recommendations are made for further studies into the impact of the industrial revolution and ideology of improvement in an Australian context, and a regional Australian context.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that 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.

Emily Rünzi

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1. Introduction

This thesis investigates the relationship between industrialisation, the ideology of improvement, and the heritage environment of Churchill Island. The fundamental research question is: How did these three variables influence, change and interact with one another to create the archaeological record that we find available on Churchill Island today? Investigation into the urban historic environment has highlighted the need for further archaeological research in several areas, including the need to view towns and cities as social constructs (Hughes 2005:160; Mellor 2005:55; Riley 2005:45) and to consider individual industrial sites in terms of their relation to a wider network of people and skills that supported a diverse range of urban industries (Symonds 2005:57). The importance of extracting the social meaning from artefacts and other forms of preserved heritage is becoming clearer as academic studies cast light on the human social history that is hidden within the material remains of people's lived experience. Theoretical viewpoints suggest that, while heritage is tangible, it only becomes meaningful through the intangible social implications that are bestowed upon it (Palmer 2005). The Industrial Revolution was accompanied by the technological advances and ideologies that sustained it, both of which are recorded in the cultural material of Churchill Island. The way in which the inhabitants of Churchill Island decided to manipulate the landscape around them clearly depicted a growth in technology and changes in ideology over time. In particular, the ideology of improvement, in summary a belief system that encouraged morality through values such as hard work, orderliness and rationalisation (Tarlow 2007:50; Orser 2005:395), is visible in the fabric of Churchill Island's landscape, built heritage and artefacts. This thesis aims to document and investigate the relationship between industrialisation, ideology, and heritage environment on Churchill Island.

The impact of industrialisation on the social aspects of society have been investigated in a limited capacity in Australia. Authors such as Nevell (2013a:87) suggest that not enough studies have occurred on Australian industrial sites, and even less have occurred on regional Australian sites. In addition to the lack of research in this area identified by Nevell, Casella (2006:67) recommends that further local research needs to occur into industrial archaeology in Australia. The proposed research aims to investigate how industrialisation unfolded on Churchill Island, and how its trajectory shaped the past and present social identity of the place. This investigation will fill gaps in knowledge and academic literature about Churchill

Island, industrial archaeology in Australia overall, and the effects of industrialisation and tourism on Churchill Island as a site of archaeological, historical and social significance. Investigating lived experience through the physical remains of archaeological landscapes and sites is a recurrent theme in industrial archaeology (Bowman 2020, Nevell 2013b, Palmer 2005, Shackel and Palus 2006, Symonds 2005 and Taksa 2005). In addition, this thesis aims to explore new questions and ideas in the field of industrial archaeology, especially in an Australian context, and to highlight the importance of both industrial era archaeology and the elements of ideological changes that can be revealed from the investigation of physical archaeological material.

The use of archaeology on the island in this way makes this research particularly justified, as it allows research to be conducted into new areas, where documentation and previous studies cannot provide answers. Taksa (2005:8) explains that archaeological research into the material culture of a site, combined with oral histories, can be used to provide a deeper context that allows the ephemeral dimension of human experience to become clear.
The validation of the social relevance of archaeological work is to view our present resources in the context of their past and then project our understanding of the potential effects of a belief system, action or mechanism into the future (Wurst and Mrozowski 2014:210). The application of the results of this research is far reaching and has the potential to aid not only our understanding of the past, but also opens the possibility of approaching our present and future with a more thorough understanding of how our current ideologies have evolved (Buchanan, 2005:20).

The main aim of this research is to investigate how Churchill Island's heritage environment changed due to industrialisation driven by the ideology of improvement. Subsequent aims of this thesis are to identify how industrialisation impacted Churchill Island through the use of the archaeological record and examination of built heritage; to what extent industrialisation impacted activities and lived experience on the island; whether the ideology of improvement is apparent in the archaeological record of Churchill Island; which values of the ideology of improvement are visible in the archaeological record and how they intensify or lessen over new waves of ownership; and if personal identification with the values of the ideology of improvement is apparent in the built heritage of Churchill Island.

Testimonies, artefacts, and landscapes suggest the impact of industrialisation on Churchill

Island, however further investigation is required to document and fully understand the interplay between industrialisation and ideology and how this impacted the heritage environment. Industrialisation on Churchill Island can be most easily seen through changes in landscape, spatial organisation and built heritage. In this context, industrialisation can be defined as actions taken to improve the efficiency of a space to create produce that will be sold at a profit, not for subsidence. The increase in industrial activities that continued to grow from the mid eighteenth century (Labadi 2001:78) were driven by changes in ideology that resulted in alterations of physical material. This driving force was the ideology of improvement, a term that Orser (2005:395) discusses the use of during the enlightenment-age as positively reinforcing the ideal of progress, which encourages a belief in industrialisation as morally just, and furthermore helped to divide individuals socially into those who were considered hard-working and those who were not. The ideology of improvement led to physical changes in landscapes that included the use of enclosure, which can be defined as the designation of a space for an activity through the rational division of land with the aim of intensifying the activity taking place within the enclosed area. This change in ideology also brought values such as brightness and cleanliness, which Lewis (2016:24) explains were expressed physically as the inclusion of glass windows which encouraged the ideal of light in rooms, making them more spacious and reinforcing the ideals of positive morality, and positive mental and physical effects. Tarlow (2007:50) explains that the aesthetics of buildings also underwent stylistic changes that reflected the values of this changing ideology, and that the most valued characteristics were 'cleanliness, order, rational organisation, light and clarity'. The effects of the ideology of improvement are tangible in the spatial organisation and stylistic evolution of the main building on Churchill Island: Amess Homestead, and the older, smaller pair of Rogers' Cottages. The cultural materials present on Churchill Island depict waves of ideological thinking that evolved with each new owner of the property and evolved alongside the technological advanced of the industrial revolution, which is also apparent in the artefacts present on Churchill Island.

This thesis begins by introducing the location, environment and brief history of Churchill Island. The historical background of Churchill Island will then be investigated in greater depth, and explored in three areas: Indigenous settlement, European settlement and Public ownership. These three areas depict three main changes in the ownership of Churchill Island throughout its history of human habitation, in the order in which they occurred. A literature review will investigate the social context of industrial archaeology, the social impact of

‘Improvement’, how ‘Improvement’ changed the physical landscape, the relationship between identity and the archaeology of industrialisation, Australian studies into the social and physical impacts of industrialisation, gaps and issues highlighted in the currently available literature and supporting justification for the completion of this thesis. The methods used in compiling the data for this thesis, which consisted mostly of archival research, and photographic recording of key sites, elements and objects will then be explained in detail. The results of the collected data will then be presented. Historical and archaeological data will be presented relating to built heritage site plans, enclosure, botanical organisation and significance and artefacts, standing structures (Rogers’ Cottages and Amess Homestead), and will conclude with an interpretation of cultural material. A discussion will then be presented, which will interpret the interplay between values, ideologies, and environment on Churchill Island. Following a general interpretation, individual discussions for each phase of ownership on Churchill Island will then take place. Finally, a conclusion will draw together the main themes covered in the thesis, make recommendations for future studies, and address the research question of how industrialisation, the ideology of improvement, and the heritage environment of Churchill Island influenced, changed and interacted with one another to create the archaeological record that we find available on Churchill Island today.

2. Historical Background

Churchill Island is located in the Bass Coast region south of Melbourne in Victoria, 140 metres off Phillip Island's north-eastern coastline (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Churchill Island was a local resource site for the Indigenous population prior to 1801, when it was first visited by Lt. Grant of the Lady Nelson (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:7). Lt. Grant set up a military base on Churchill Island, which has left no archaeological evidence, but is historically documented. After infrequent use as a military base, Churchill Island went through its first of what was to be nine phases of settlement by families and companies. Notably, Churchill Island was owned by Samuel Amess from 1872 to 1929, a former mayor of Melbourne who erected the majority of built heritage on the island, including Amess House, a nine-room manor, and a pleasure park which was created with help from the Royal Botanic Gardens in Melbourne (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13). After a failed fruit farming venture in 1976, the last private owner of Churchill Island offered the site to the National Trust of Australia, who bought the location. The National Trust of Australia is responsible for refurbishing the existing historic buildings and for adding several new buildings, which serve as replicas and increase the site's touristic value. Churchill Island boasts a sizable quantity and quality of assessable sites and artefacts scattered across the island and is still being actively worked with industrial and agricultural methods and technology from 1872.

Figure 2.1 A map depicting the location of Phillip and Churchill Islands within the state of Victoria. The red circle indicates both Phillip and Churchill Islands (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

Figure 2.2 The location of Churchill Island, 140 metres off of Phillip Island's north-eastern coastline (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

Figure 2.3 Amess House, the main structure on Churchill Island, likely photographed in the 19th century (Victorian Collections (e) 2021).

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Figure 2.4 Churchill Island homestead, with Amess House located to the left, and Rogers' Cottages on the right, both surrounded by heritage gardens planted by Samuel Amess (Alexander 2020).

Churchill Island is a part of Phillip Island's economy, which is the second most reliant on tourism in Australia (Tourism Research Australia 2011). As a result, Churchill Island has evolved alongside the industrial revolution, and the changes it has undergone to keep pace with industrialisation are reflected not only in its physical structures, spaces and artefacts, but also the history of creation and exportation of various commodities on the island, such as wool, livestock and other goods. Post-industrially, the farmstead succumbed to the growing tourism industry of Phillip Island and became a major tourist attraction when it was acquired by the National Trust of Australia in 1976. Churchill Island now contains a gift shop and café and is a striking example of how industry transformed an agricultural site into an industrial one, and then into a tourism site. Figure 2.5 below offers a timeline of the major events and eras of occupation at Churchill Island.

References: Top line (left to right): Depiction of Lt. Grant's blockhouse (Museums Victoria 2021); Furphy Water Cart (Rünzi, 2021); Amess House photographed in the 19th century (Victorian Collections (e) 2021); First Windmill on Churchill Island (Victorian Collections (c) 2021) and Churchill Island Visitor Centre (Rünzi, 2021). Bottom line (left to right): Woodcut of the Lady Nelson (Lady Nelson 2021); Rogers' Cottages (Rünzi, 2021); Amess House (Rünzi, 2021); the first bridge joining Churchill and Phillip Island (Victorian Collections (d) 2021); Churchill Island Visitor Centre (Rünzi, 2021).

Figure 2.5 A timeline depicting the major events and eras of occupation at Churchill Island (Rünzi 2022).

2.1 Indigenous Settlement

The history of Churchill Island encompasses a combination of Indigenous and European settlement, documented unofficially over 200 years. Broadly, the history of the island can be separated into three sections: Indigenous settlement, private ownership, and public ownership.

The Yalloc Bulluk clan of the Bunurong People of the Koolin Nation were the original inhabitants of Churchill Island prior to 1800, when European settlers began building on the island (Baird 2012:21). It is believed that the shallow bay waters of Churchill Island were utilised by the Bunurong people to collect oysters, while they also gathered yams, fish, bird eggs and sacred red ochre for use in ceremonies from the surrounding natural landscape (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:5).

2.2 European Settlement

1801-1856 marks the exploration era of Churchill Island, and saw Lt. James Grant sail from Sydney to the waters of Western Port in his ship the *Lady Nelson* to explore the unchartered waters of Australia's southern coast. In Lt. Grant's logbook he depicted Churchill Island as having a gradual ascent, well covered with trees of considerable height, having much under wood, pleasant, agreeable, containing rich soil, sheltered, and excellently adapted for a garden (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:7). Lt. Grant also noted the presence of Indigenous peoples on Churchill Island, and perceived evidence of fires and sea-faring craft such as canoes (Baird 2012:12). These observations led to the Lady Nelson anchoring at Churchill Island and resulted in the construction of a 12 by 24 feet blockhouse on the island. This blockhouse had several uses, both as a shelter and as a defensive structure from which to repel passing French ships. No archaeological work has ever been undertaken to discover where this blockhouse existed on the island. The exploration era of Churchill Island is pivotal to Victorian history in several respects. Lt. Grant named Churchill Island in honour of his friend, John Churchill of Dawlish in Devon, who had sent him several seeds, including apple, rice, wheat, corn, peas, and coffee berries to cultivate where he saw fit across Australia (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:7). Lt. Grant chose to plant these seeds on Churchill Island, making this the location of the first crop that was planted by Europeans in Victoria.

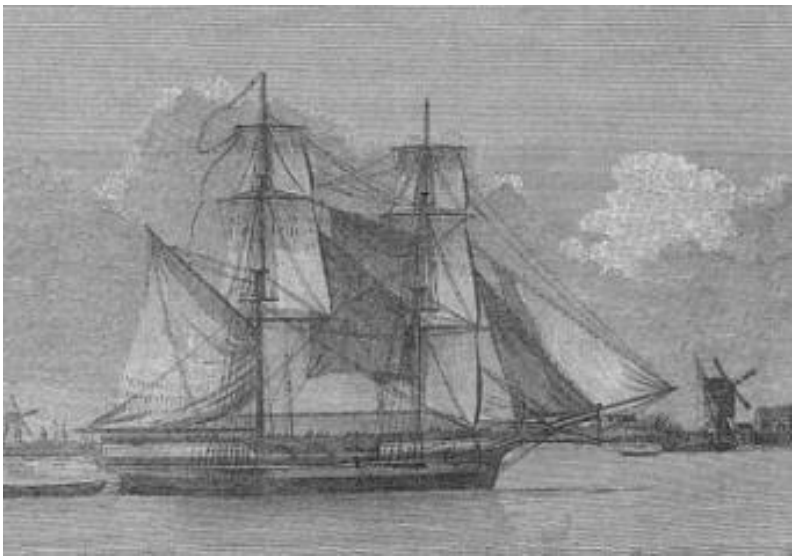

Figure 2.2.1 An 1800s woodcut of the original *Lady Nelson* (Lady Nelson 2021).

The importance of this cultivation has been championed by locals throughout the last century, with newspaper cuttings from 1967 demanding recognition of this action and calling for it to be memorialised as part of the history of the state. One of the huts created by Grant's party, called 'Sealers' hut', is one of the earliest pictured European habitations in Western Port Victoria. The artwork depicts European settlers undertaking various activities across Churchill Island and is an invaluable view of the changes occurring on Churchill Island during this time. Another activity which affected Churchill Island was the presence of wattle gatherers, who may have played an important role in the destruction of forests on the island and led to the eventual decline of native vegetation in the area (Baird 2012:22). A report from Dumont D'Urville in 1826 from his voyage in *L'Astrolabe* explains that he saw sealers living with women of the local Bunurong tribe on Phillip Island, a practice which is believed to have also occurred on Churchill Island (Baird 2012:22). Until 1860, Churchill Island remained only seasonally inhabited by the Bunurong people, sealers, and whalers.

Figure 2.2.2 One of the earliest depictions of European habitation in Western Port, Victoria. The artwork depicts Sealers' hut, built by Lt. Grant and his men in 1801 (Museums Victoria 2021).

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Figure 2.2.3 Newspaper cutting from 1967 asking for a monument celebrating Churchill Island as the site of the first European crop planted in Victoria (Victorian Collection 2021).

From 1860-1866 Churchill Island would experience permanent European settlement. In approximately 1860, a family consisting of Samuel and Winifred Pickersgill and their three

children arrived on Churchill Island and claimed it as their own. Samuel Pickersgill worked for the family's nearest neighbour, who was located on Phillip Island. It is known that the Pickersgill family grew vegetables on the island, but it is uncertain how they lived during this time, and whether they inhabited a canvas and timber house or Lt. Grant's blockhouse (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:9). There has been no further investigation into where these sites may have been located. While living on Churchill Island, the Pickersgill family never took out a lease for the land, believing that no one else would be interested in it. In 1866, John Rogers took out the first lease for the island, and eventually the Pickersgill family was forced to leave.

John Rogers lived on Churchill Island from 1866-1872. While the occupation of the Pickersgills left little evidence archaeologically, John Rogers built two cottages on Churchill Island, which remain the oldest standing structures today. It is unclear whether John Rogers felled and sawed his own timber, and it is possible that every element of the cottage's structure was imported to the island via boat. Primary archival sources on Churchill Island emphasise the hard-working, 'fine-practical' nature of the Rogers family and explains that they further enhanced the island by planting the first orchards, flowerbeds, organised vegetable garden and rows of trees which served as windbreaks, as well as grazing cattle and producing tons of fine crops (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:11).

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Figure 2.2.4 Rogers' Cottage photographed in 1978 (Victorian Collections (f) 2021).

In 1872 Churchill Island was purchased by Samuel Amess as a retreat from the city and he lived there until 1929. Samuel Amess was an Alderman, the Mayor of Melbourne from 1869-1870, a builder and a stonemason, who built several of Melbourne's famous buildings, including The Custom's House in Flinders Street, the Melbourne Post Office, the Ballarat Railway Station and Kew Asylum (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:13). On Churchill Island, Samuel Amess built Amess House. This were created in the style of Italianate resort dwellings, which was considered fashionable at the time. A major difference between Amess House and other properties in the greater Western Port area at this time is that, instead of being built from brick and stone, it was built with timber and iron, materials that would have been expensive to deliver in large quantities by boat (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:13). Samuel Amess implemented several new changes to the layout of Churchill Island, including importing Highland Cattle and working with Ferdinand von Mueller of the Melbourne Botanical Gardens to create gardens that would endure until present times (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13). Many of the trees, flowers and shrubs planted by Samuel Amess are listed on the National Trust's Victorian Register of Significant Trees today, with some of the most notable being mulberry and olive trees and a Norfolk Island pine which was planted to commemorate the construction of the house. An account of Churchill Island and Amess house from 1880 states: 'Mr Amess, known as King Sam, holds undisputed sway over his kingdom of 140 acres. Glowing accounts are given of his kindness to visitors and the interesting features of his snug little domain' (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13). The activities and changes implemented by Samuel Amess drastically changed Churchill Island from a pioneering farm to a grandiose, holiday farm that boasted all the latest accompaniments that any high-profile socialite at the time would have travelled to enjoy.

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Figure 2.2.5 The privatisation of Phillip Island, Churchill Island included and highlighted in red (Victorian Collection(b) 2021).

Samuel Amess was also responsible for the construction of the brick half cellar, which was used for butter making and as a cool room. It was during this time that Rogers' cottages were turned into lodgings for the Amess' family's servants. The Kooweerup Swamp to the east was impassable, and as such, a visit to Churchill Island consisted of a cab to Hastings on the Mornington Peninsula, a ferry trip from Hastings to Cowes in Phillip Island, a cab across Phillip Island, and a short boat ride across to Churchill Island. Transport changed due to demand in the 1920s, and visitation to Churchill Island became more organised, with a ferry system in place that brought transport as close as possible to the island, from which point a manager on the island would row out to pick up visitors (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13). Upon leaving the island, visitors would raise a flag, signifying their intention to leave, and wait for the manager to row them out to the ferry again.

Figure 2.2.6 The brick half cellar, which functioned as a cool room and was used for butter making (Rünzi 2021).

An object central to the gardens of Churchill Island is the Shenandoah Cannon, proudly on display in the courtyard in front of Amess House. The cannon was originally the possession of an American rigged steam sloop called the *Shenandoah*, which controversially entered the port of Melbourne with a confederate flag in 1865 during the American Civil War. While Australia's stance on the war at that time was neutral, Samuel Amess, as a member of Melbourne high society, welcomed the captain of the *Shenandoah* so warmly that the captain presented Amess with the cannon as a token of his appreciation. The cannon and dozens of cannon balls have remained in the possession of Churchill Island ever since and have also played a role in the history of the island. Local memoirs (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:15) describe how cannon balls were shot towards the ocean at midnight every New Year's Eve, and how this would sometimes result in small fires.

Figure 2.2.7 The *Shenandoah* Canon, on display in front of the Amess homestead (Rünzi, 2021).

In 1929 Churchill Island was purchased by Gerald Neville Buckley, who instituted a profitable dairy farm on the island. Buckley altered the Churchill Island landscape in several ways, including building the site's first dam, which was fed by a spring and constructing a windmill which gave the homestead access to water. A milking shed was also constructed as a space to house the recently purchased milking machine (Baird 2012:62). Upon Buckley's death in 1936, Churchill Island was bought by Dr. Harry Jenkins, a dentist who had also been a pilot in World War I. Dr. Jenkins bought the island for his son to enjoy after he became paralysed from the waist down due to a skating accident. Accounts say that Churchill remained a working farm during this time, and that visitors frequently came to assist with farming activities, such as shooting rabbits and clearing blackberries (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:23).

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Figure 2.2.8 The bridge to Churchill Island built by Dr. Jenkins in 1959 (Victorian Collections (d) 2021).

An ongoing issue for the new owners of Churchill Island was transportation. Although roads had improved, the trip still included long drives, hills, fluctuating tides, rowboats, and the ever-present threats of boats and their cargo being blown off course, grounded, sunk, or stranded. During the Jenkins' period of ownership, new farming machinery and tractors were purchased, along with a wind-powered electrical generator to replace the Glorie lights and kerosene lamps previously used throughout the homestead. The prime use of Churchill Island at this time was as a dairy farm, and reports of the farm during this period explain that milking activities were largely completed by hand prior to the purchase of milking machines. A large cement tank, as well as several smaller water tanks, were placed across the property. A chip heater was used to heat water for baths and showers, for which local pinecones were the ideal source of fuel, and a wind charger was installed on the top of one of the highest pine trees, where it harnessed the power of the wind to charge 12-volt batteries that powered lights in the kitchen, bathroom, and walkway, although candles were still the predominant light source (Baird 2012:75). Dr. Jenkins built the bridge linking Churchill and Phillip Islands in 1959, changing forever how visitors reached the island and the scope of the activities that could be carried out upon it.

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Figure 2.2.9 The windmill on Churchill Island (Victorian Collections (c) 2021).

Upon the death of the last member of the Jenkins family, Churchill Island was left to the family nurse, Sister Margaret Campbell, in 1963. Sister Campbell continued the upkeep of Churchill Island as a working farm and maintained the grandeur of the extensive garden planted by Samuel Amess. One of the main exports of the island under Campbell's management was passionfruit. A glasshouse was built on Churchill Island at this time, and the floral diversity of the gardens continued to grow with the addition of several new exotic specimens. Due to ill health, Campbell sold the island in 1973 to Alex Classou, the owner of a fruit juice company. After three years of attempting to farm Churchill Island for profit, the venture was deemed impossible, and instead of selling the property publicly, Mr. Classou offered the site to the Victorian Conservation Trust in 1976.

2.3 Public ownership

Since 1976, Churchill Island has remained under the jurisdiction of Victoria's Trust for Nature. Phillip Island Nature Parks, a not-for-profit organisation, has been responsible for the management of the cultural heritage on Churchill Island since 1976. A large-scale restoration

process was undertaken in 1988, when Amess House and Rogers' Cottages were restored, a visitor's centre was built, and the bridge replaced. Restorations aimed to enhance the already present cultural material instead of replacing it completely wherever possible. The main exception to this is the stables which are located at the western end of the historic area and are an idealised form of this kind of structure. No standing remains of the original stables exist, nor any conclusive historic imagery. As a result, the contemporary version is only a suggestion of what the original stables may have looked like in the past (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:28). Walking tracks were also created on Churchill Island to facilitate tourist-friendly access to the homestead's scenic spots. The walking tracks are 5kms in total length, and a round trip across the island takes approximately 1.5 hours.

Figure 2.3.1 A statue attesting to the importance of Clydesdale horses in Churchill Island's industrial past. The statue is situated in front of the café, a part of the tourist centre on the island (Rünzi 2021).

In 1973 Churchill Island was listed by the National Trust of Australia as a place of value to the state for its special historical, ecological and visual qualities. It was referred to as 'highly significant' for these reasons, even though the statement of significance was highly summary (File number: L10088) (National Trust of Australia 1973). The National Trust goes on to say

that early settlement sites are not well documented, and that the opportunity to have public ownership of such a significant site is rare. The historical significance is elaborated on within the official listing, which ends by saying that Churchill Island "…challenges us to explore and extend our perceptions of the Australian environment by reflecting on the vision of the early settlers." (National Trust Database 1973).

A major contemporary influence on the preservation of Churchill Island's cultural heritage is the efforts of volunteers, under the name of FOCIS – the Friends of Churchill Island Society. FOCIS was created in 1980 and continues to restore and maintain the island for public enjoyment. The society has worked to care for Churchill Island through activities such as staffing the tourist shops, fund raising and hosting events, purchasing extra cattle and sheep, restoring historic machinery, planting trees and garden maintenance. The purpose of FOCIS is to 'Preserve that which is precious' (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:35). The volunteering efforts and support from the public has played a part in both preserving and shaping Churchill Island into the historic site that it is today.

3. Literature Review

3.1 The social context of industrial archaeology

Industrial archaeology is the study of a loosely defined time period (Labadi 2001:78) from 1760 to 1840, marked by the increase in manufactured goods, and decrease of domestic production. Research into industrial archaeology focuses on the analysis of physical materials and landscapes impacted by the industrial revolution, and is enhanced by other forms of historical documentation, such as oral histories. Industrial archaeology has grown to encompass not only its associated built heritage, and the technological and economic significance that is attributed to the industrial era, but also its accompanying cultural significance as a symbol of changing human relationships (Palmer and Neaverson 1998:15). The academic literature referenced in this chapter has built upon the foundational idea that social context and lived experience can be extracted from industrial archaeological sites. The methodologies and theories included in this chapter seek to identify the ephemeral human experience of the industrial revolution which has left scars on built heritage through the altering of spaces and structures that reflects the social and ideological changes which encouraged the industrialisation of landscapes towards the ideals of the ideology of improvement.

Bowman's (2003:79) Manchester methodology is a method for investigating the social implications of industrialisation. The methodology is organised into three steps: making sense of the archaeological database, assessing the ownership of archaeological site types, and establishing an archaeological narrative for the sites, the industrialisation process, and its impact on society. Following this design, a local model of industrialisation can be created by combining a database of new monument types with the social structure of the region. It has been argued that theoretical approaches to the chronological boundaries of the industrial revolution (Table 3.2.1) do not necessarily restrict the activities of and the causes for the revolution, and a thorough understanding of industries both before and after the accepted chronological timeline are just as important as the revolution itself (Labadi 2001:78).

Growing literature also suggests that by linking landscape archaeology to modern social structure there exists the opportunity for archaeologists to offer unique contributions to the

understanding of industrialisation and its effects and that, while too few studies have been conducted into industrial sites, even fewer have been conducted on industrial sites in rural areas (Nevell 2013a:87). This is an important omission, as often regional areas have the potential to show an even more drastic and striking response to swift industrialisation than urban locales and archaeological material tends to survive longer. Palmer (2005:16) explains that the formulation of a research framework for industrial archaeology and an inquisitive disposition are both required to further advance the field. Not only the technological innovations, but also the social context of the industrialisation process, largely expressed through settlement patterns and material culture, have value. In corroboration, Mellor (2005:49) explains that the physical structure of buildings themselves is instrumental to the demonstration of more profound societal issues running throughout society at large, and that without investigating the social dimensions of a site, the threat of losing a crucial part of the story of industrialisation is likely.

3.2 The social impact of 'Improvement'

As a regional Australian site, Churchill Island has the potential to offer insight into how industrialisation impacted the local social structure. One aspect of archaeology that is particularly relevant to the site at Churchill Island is the ideology of improvement. In Sarah Tarlow's 2007 book, '*The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain, 1750–1850*', the archaeology of the industrial period is explored alongside the ethic of Improvement, a recurrent concept of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The author analyses the agricultural revolution, industrialisation, rural environment, towns, buildings and public structures including institutions of reform, in order to better understand the interplay between the ideology of improvement, the archaeological record, and lived experience. Cultural materials that are argued to indicate the ideology of improvement include windows and implements of light, mirrors, bleached ceramics, rubbish pits, elements of enclosure including fences and building orientations. The archaeological record investigated depicts a set of values and ideals such as cleanliness, order, rational organisation, light and clarity, which are representative of the ideology of improvement (Tarlow 2007:50). The philosophical and historical background of improvement ideology, including its origins and evolution, is also discussed. The author demonstrates the importance of viewing the archaeological record from this period in terms of the improvement ideology, and by doing so, the values and ideals of

the people living through this movement become illuminated.

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Table 3.2.1. The major movements mentioned in this research. Dates are approximate only and in many cases timelines are a part of a larger process which should not be chronologically limited, as this may not accurately represent the duration of the movement (Labadi 2001:78).

The British Agricultural Revolution (Table 3.2.1) was driven by social ideals that valued cultural advancement and progressive change through active improvements (Tarlow 2007:35). Orser 22005:395) discusses the use of the term 'improvement' in discourse about progress and explains how a belief in industrialisation as morally just helped to divide individuals socially into those who were considered hard-working and those who were not. The moral values of agricultural production became more apparent from 1750-1850, with beliefs turning towards the idea that it was a moral obligation for individuals to provide their community with agricultural goods, thus taking on not only economic importance, but also a religious significance that became the hallmark of a progressive, responsible person. In figure one below, Tarlow (2007:15) depicts the growing use of the words 'improvement', 'improver' and 'improved' in publications from 1600 – 1900 to show how interest in this trend grew over time to become a conscious phenomenon. Lewis (2016:11) believes that the idea of improvement had more subtle implications and was largely focused on social values and ideals, including domesticity, frugality and efficiency, and that the idea of maximising profit was not a driving factor. Tarlow (2007:35) explains that the blatant rejection of past ways of life for new, progressive agricultural practices that could not only help individuals gain wealth, but also feel morally just, helped to popularise the idea of an industrial revolution.

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Figure 3.2.1 Occurrence of the words ‘Improvement’ ‘Improved’ and ‘Improver’ from publications between 1600 and 1900 (Tarlow 2007:15).

3.3 How ‘improvement’ changed the physical landscape

Reflecting these changes in social, economic and spiritual values, the improvement movement impacted several areas of how a farm was run, including whether fields were resized or became enclosed, changes to fields, crops and stock, and the reorganisation of land, buildings, and other built structures. Spatial changes represented the enlightenment ideal of the perfectibility of the human condition, including the triumph of culture over nature, which eventually translated into the control of nature through a new culture that divided and intensified the use of land. Lewis (2016:11) suggests that the archaeology of improvement must take into account both the material and symbolic faces of rural living in driving landscape change, and the complex relationship between the ideologies, structural forces and individual differences that make up the special structures of the improvement era. Cosgrove (1998:13) explains that landscapes are produced as a result of conscious human behaviour and that archaeology can reveal aspects of human ideals, decisions and thought processes extracted from spatial analysis and artefacts. It is argued that tangible and intangible objects are bound together through a set of ideals and perspectives that are representative of the human experience at any given time. From this point of view, the spatial landscape is a reflection of broader socio-structural processes. According to the author, capitalist dynamics have had the greatest impact on cultural change and engagement with space. Both Cosgrove’s and Harvey’s ideas pinpoint capitalist social formations as a particularly important influence in the class dynamics and subsequent individual ideological and social changes that impacted

how landscapes were altered during the Improvement era (Lewis 2016:26).

Enclosure was a controversial issue in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and marked the beginning of the privatisation of public space. It is important to note that enclosure is practiced on a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum, large estates used enclosure to remove people from their land, after which they were sometimes subjected to forced labour, dispossession, social dislocation, slavery and the factory system (Chatterton and Pusey 2020). At the other end of the spectrum, enclosure was practised on small farms by famers who saw to improve the value of their land for wither personal or economic gain. The act of enclosure by both large estates and small farms are driven by the same underlying archaeological underpinnings of the ideology of improvement: an increase in the value of the enclosed space, either socially or economically (2005:394).

Inside the enclosures on small farms, the owners controlled the agricultural activities conducted and were entitled to any profits made from such cultivation. Orser (2005:394) explains that central to the idea of improvement was a new consciousness of land, not as a passive concept, but as something that could be manipulated in a way that would increase its value, either socially or economically for those who claimed ownership of the space. Tarlow (2007:47) concurs that one of the reasons why enclosure is such an important topic for the agricultural movement is that it was a ‘precondition for any serious improving endeavour’. By enclosing a space and claiming it as property, individuals had greater incentive to subjectively improve the land belonging to them through the promise of profit that would return to them as landowners. The enclosure of land also permitted greater control over animals and crops, indicating the growing importance of these objects as an indication of their economic worth. The overarching implication of enclosure was that of control. By enclosing a space, farmers had greater control over their crops and stock as these things became more important.

While enclosure can be seen as a string of changes in agricultural management styles, authors such as Tarlow (2007:50) argue that enclosure was only one part of a larger movement towards ‘closure’ as a growing ideology which placed more value on division and personal appropriation. Those participating in the improvement movement believed that their rationality and engagement in logical scientific endeavours separated them from their predecessors, even going as far as to say that improvement practices would be more favoured

by God.

Expanding on how sites demonstrate the effects of improvement archaeologically, Tarlow (2007:50) explains that the aesthetics of buildings also underwent stylistic change that reflected the values of this changing ideology, and that the most valued characteristics were 'cleanliness, order, rational organisation, light and clarity'. These qualities reflected the respectable taste of the owner, and also symbolised the desire to rewrite a future complete with these qualities. The layout of buildings during the era of improvement also changed, with houses facing the road or town, rather than their previous orientations towards a yard, or farmlands. This reflected a change in the cultural orientation of the house's occupants, who were increasingly looking outward to a larger and more global society.
Households and their contents also changed as a result of the Improvement movement and how individuals responded and altered their ideologies. Lewis (2016:24) explains that the inclusion of glass windows encouraged the ideal of light in rooms, making them more spacious and reinforcing the ideals of brightness, cleanliness, and positive morality, and encouraged positive mental and physical effects. Figure thirteen below is an example from Lewis (2016:127) depicting the kinds of objects used to illustrate Improvement-related morals. As a part of this movement, ceramics and other objects were often bleached white, and the use of a rubbish pit became commonplace, a unique creation that contrasted starkly with previous disposal practices, which largely constituted the scattering of rubbish.

As an initial response to improvement, many farms grew in size to accommodate as much production and activity as possible. Enclosure was then used to rationalise the space within the farm and segregate the areas of living and production, as well as to create a distinct boundary between the farm and the outside world. The farmhouse itself and accompanying buildings often grew in size to accommodate greater production, and this can be seen in the evolution of the site plan. Smaller buildings that became too small to be repurposed to benefit the ideals of the improvement movement often fell into disrepair and were abandoned on ever-changing farm sites. Farms were also designed to be interactive, with an organised layout that facilitated the ease of movement through space that satisfied the need for a rationalised division of space. Spatial awareness is a defining factor of the improvement era. Ideals throughout the improvement movement were based on the combination of 'beauty and utility' (Tarlow 2007:50).

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Table 3.3.1 A table depicting light-related implements in a household from the Improvement era. It is argued that these items represent a shift in ideals to a cleaner, brighter, and more morally correct society (Lewis 2016:127).

Figure 3.3.1 One angle of Churchill Island's farmstead's dining room. Similar to the study by Lewis (2016), the house contains candlesticks, a mirror, chandelier, and windows as light sources (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 3.3.2 The farmstead on Churchill Island also contains fixed candlesticks outside the front-facing wall (Rünzi 2021).

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Figure 3.3.3 A Ceramic which ‘demonstrates middle-class aspirations’, and also depicts the bleached ceramic look which dominated the Improvement era (Tarlow 2007:180).

Figure 3.3.4 Bleached ceramics located in one of the bedrooms on Churchill Island's farmstead, as well as the recurrence of more mirrors (Rünzi 2021).

An important point made about the uptake in botanical interests at this time is the idea of 'scientific' farming, a growing intellectual interest in botany that can be seen through the use of gardening, which comprised collections of plants from a variety of locales (Lewis 2016:34). Tarlow (2007:50) also explains that there was prestige associated with the products of the enclosure system, particularly the formal, private gardens and pleasure parks that were made possible on larger estates and on the properties of the elite. These typically included various animal and botanical varieties that became a symbol of status and moral righteousness. The idea of prestigious gardens can also be seen in the United States by Paca's

garden, which dates from the eighteenth century and demonstrates a baroque style. The purpose of the designer garden was to display the 'knowledge of the connoisseur' (Leone et al. 2005:138). This style included designing gardens in geometric shapes and the manipulation of garden views through the use of geometry. The application of geometry applied to natural wilderness represented the enforcement of the laws of God as understood by humans, and publicly displayed the power of the owner to shape the land, and perception of space within the landscape.

3.4 Identity and the archaeology of industrialisation

When attempting to correlate the archaeological record with changes in ideology, such as the ideology of improvement, it is imperative to investigate whether there is a trend in the cultural material that depicts the identification of a person or a group of people with the values of the ideology in question. An individual's identification with an ideology must be proven for a viable connection to be made between an individual's choices (as apparent in the archaeological record) and the values of an ideology. The concept of identity and how it presents in the archaeological record has been the subject of much debate. As an intangible and variable schema, identity and how it changes over time can prove difficult to trace definitively using material objects. Academics have questioned whether the creation of an identity is an individualised or a collective process and therefore whether it is an unconscious rather than a conscious experience, a public or private sequence of events (Burke et al. 2018:799). Identity as an ever changing, externally influenced process be affected by the conscious and unconscious choices of individuals. These individuals make stylistic choices that would either align with or divert from the surrounding environment of the greater collective ideology of the time. As a result, an individual's choices in culture, lifestyle and stylistic preferences can be linked to perceptions resulting from identity construction (Bottero 2004:987).

Lifestyle and stylistic preferences that are related to identity construction can be analysed through the investigation of the use of emblematic resources. Emblematic resources are those that are used to represent a geographic, ethnic or ideological community, and are utilised by individuals to orient themselves towards a shared symbology. The collection of emblematic resources is an identity practice that allows individuals to characterise and define their

identities (Blommaert and Varis 2013:4). While personal belongings such as jewelry and clothes were used to establish identity on an individual scale, since these could often be fluid and change day-to-day, sites such as houses, landscapes and public domains are able to depict the evolutionary changes of identity as a snapshot that remains the same throughout time. The positioning of standing structures among other markers such as churches, shops and other houses in the local town can be interpreted as part of a larger cultural landscapes because of their relationships to other markers. These large and publicly visible markers signal distinct differences in identity that altered less over a longer period of time than individualised updates in the perception of identity. It is important to note that buildings are not updated as often as individual changes in identity, and so it is possible that they often symbolise ideologies that were less relevant to later populations (Burke et al. 2018:799).

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Figure 3.4.1 The 'Axes of Identity' explains where monumental and mercurial markers and ceramics and glassware fall within the creation of identity on an individual / outside, private / public, rapid / slow scale (Burke et al. 2018:816).

According to Mac Sweeney (2011:42), the analysis of both tangible and intangible forms of cultural materials are necessary when defining an identity. In this way, identity can be described as a social dialogue formed between an individual's internal psychological experience, and a communal lived experience. This social dialogue can be seen as a third dimension, located separately from and yet in between the internal and external spheres. This dimension represents a feedback loop between the perceptions of the internal and external

worlds and highlights a mutual dependency between the two, with the perceivable identity representing a sum of the interactions between these two forms of input (Mac Sweeney 2011:42). Archaeologically, written and oral testimonies highlight the importance of the internal, psychological half of the feedback loop, while cultural material represents the opposite experiential half; the two combined shed light on the lived cultural experience. This lived experience includes the practical enactment of individuals within social relationships, and the resulting behaviour which affects the external environment in a way that is measurable, by leaving a discernible material trace that can be followed archaeologically. These material footprints can be used to extrapolate the lived experience from the way in which individuals chose the items that they surrounded themselves with, and how they positioned them throughout their immediate environment (Mac Sweeney 2011:43).

Inferring lived experiences using material culture can pose challenges. One important distinction that needs to be made when analysing material is deciding which items represent identity, and which do not, although it might be that all items represent identity in some way, although some may be unconscious. Furthermore, in situations where cultural material is deemed to be representative of a given population's identity, the social meaning of this can often be ambiguous. To address these obstacles when searching for the identity of material culture, Mac Sweeney (2011:43) recommends two analytical processes: the identification of evidence for identity, and the interpretation of that evidence. In order to distinguish if an item represents a community identity archaeologically, evidence must be gathered to prove what constitutes a community identity, including cultural material and oral histories which document shared social practices that form the foundation of a community's collective behavior and values. Once a collective identity has been established for a community, further items that are found can be compared with this set of pre-identified beliefs and behaviors to distinguish whether or not the items are representative of the behavior of that group, and to a greater extent, the group's identity. When cultural material is thus analysed and believed to be representative of a greater communal identity, further investigation into the social meaning of the material and the value that it served to those who chose to identify with it can then be discovered by studying the material within its position among other items that represent the given group's identity (Mac Sweeney 2011:43).

Cultural material that has distinctive styles are a core component of connecting individuals and creating a sense of community. The social rationale of community identity is strongly

dependent on how physical objects are treated and the visual styles that they display which can be linked to external groups or ideologies. These objects symbolically represent the people, places and ideologies that they are associated with (Mac Sweeney 2011:49). The types of objects which are able to draw connections between one place and external communities are those which directly depict symbolism related to communities, groups and ideologies. Explicitly, the types of items which demonstrate this sort of connection are those which were produced directly from these outside groups and are characteristic of those communities. Mac Sweeney (2011:50) explains that when analysing cultural material that is consumeristic, that is, mass produced items that have been made outside of the community in question and imported to the locale en masse, it is important to understand that the social meanings implicit at its point of consumption may be different from the meanings attributed to it during its production, and throughout its existence. As a result of this, extra care must be taken to identify the multiple identities which an object may have served over the course of its life, and to determine which values the object portrays during which periods of time.

3.5 Australian studies into the social and physical impacts of industrialisation

Australian studies into the archaeology of industrialisation are not extensive. Searches for academic articles on Australian industrial archaeology show a patchy collection of approximately fifty articles over the last decade. A compilation of recent Australian industrial articles is included in the table below. From this table it can be seen that the majority of recent articles have been focused on technological information from urban localities. The gaps identified in articles detailing the social impacts on regional areas are central to the justification and purpose of this research on Churchill Island.

A large gap in industrial archaeology is the lack of Australian and rural Australian research. Nevell (2013a:87) suggests that too few studies have been conducted on industrial sites, and even fewer have been conducted in rural areas. Often regional areas have the potential to show an even more drastic and striking response to swift industrialisation than their more urban counterparts, making this research highly relevant. Even less research has been carried out in regional Australian areas and the potential for these areas to offer stark contrasts in industrialisation to their urban counterparts has illuminated the direction of this research project. Casella (2006:67) offers a unique insight into the focuses of industrial archaeology in Australia, namely the importation of overseas equipment and technologies, the adaptation of

these resources to local conditions, and the development of home-grown innovations for both local and international application, and also calls for further local research to be undertaken.

Of the Australian industrial archaeological research that does exist, several papers support international studies in advising further research into social context and differ by offering insights into Australia's cultural landscape. In one article focused specifically on Australian industrial archaeology, Casella (2006) offers a unique view into how Australia differs from other countries both in relation to the experience of the industrial revolution as it happened, and the current groundbreaking ideas of Australian academics in this area. The author offers several insights into the focuses of industrial archaeology in Australia, namely the importation of overseas equipment and technologies, the adaptation of these resources to local conditions, and the development of home-grown innovations for both local and international application.

An article by Taksa (2005) explains how oral histories can be corroborated with artefacts to provide a deeper context into events that occurred at a site. This article clearly elucidates how material culture, aided by oral histories, can be used to obtain more details, and in this case, an entire story, about the human experience of those who interacted at this site. This article corroborates Casella's (2006) view about the importance of industry in Australia's history, making the country a location rich in industrial archaeological material.

General summary of recent industrial archaeological research done on Australian sites

Author	Article	Journal	Year	Regional or Urban	Focus
Gojak, D. and K. Courtney	Squatters Budgeree	*Australasian Historical Archaeology*	2018	Regional	Technological and social
Jones, R.	Send my love: defiance and material culture at the Parramatta Industrial School for Girls	*Australasian Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological and social
Davies, P. and	Pioneers of goldfields	*Australasian*	2018	Regional	Technological

S. Lawrence	water management	*Historical Archaeology*			
Parkes, R., Ross, S., Sobotkova, A., Evans, T., Crook, P., Lupack, S., Karskens, G., Leslie, F. and Merson, J.	Ruined Castle shale mining settlement, Katoomba NSW	*Australasian Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological and Social
Ellis, A. and B. Woff	Bottle Merchants at A'Beckett Street, Melbourne (1875–1914): New Evidence for the Light Industrial Trade of Bottle Washing	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological
Travers, I.	The Other Side of the Coin: Subsurface Deposits at the Former Royal Melbourne Mint	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological
Myers, S., S. Mirams, and T. Mallett	Langlands Iron Foundry, Flinders Street, Melbourne	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological
Hewitt, G., N. Paynter, M. Goulding, S. Lane, J. Turnbull and B. Woff	Salvage Archaeology in Melbourne's CBD: Reflections upon Documentary Sources and the Role of Prefabricated	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*	2018	Urban	Technological

	Buildings in Construction of the "Instant City" of Gold-Rush-Era Melbourne				
Lawrence, S., P. Davies and J. Turnbull	The Archaeology of Water on the Victorian Goldfields	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*	2017	Regional	Technological
Prangnell, J. and H. Craig-Ward	Domestic archaeology of 1 William Street, Brisbane City	*Australasian Historical Archaeology*	2017	Urban	Technological and Social

Table 3.5.1 Ten of the most recent academic studies into Australian industrial archaeology.

3.6 Gaps and issues

The lack of social context from material evidence is a gap in industrial archaeology. Investigation into the urban historic environment has highlighted the need for further archaeological research in several areas (Symonds 2005:57). Palmer (2005:16) explains that the formulation of a research framework for industrial archaeology and an inquisitive disposition are both required to further the advancement of the field. It is stated that not only the technological innovations, but also the social context of the industrialisation process, largely expressed through settlement patterns and material culture have value. Mellor (2005:49) explains that the physical structure of buildings themselves is instrumental to the demonstration of more profound societal issues running throughout society at large, and that without investigating the social dimensions of a site, the threat of losing a crucial part of the story of industrialisation is likely.

Chronological limitations have also created a gap in this area of research. It has been argued that theoretical approaches to the chronological boundaries of the industrial revolution do not necessarily restrict the activities of, and the causes for, the revolution. A thorough understanding of industries both before and after the accepted chronological timeline are just

as important as the revolution itself (Labadi 2001:78). Tarlow (2007:196) argues that archaeology during the agricultural and industrial revolutions was threatened by the belief that because the period can be considered modern, we have less to learn from it and it is more easily understood. Due to the fact that this period has so much information available in the form of written and cultural material, the justification for investigating this period needs to be based on the expansion of our knowledge of this period through the study of landscapes, buildings and environmental remains in their social and cultural context. Archaeology in this area should not focus on new facts but concentrate on using material culture to extrapolate the social context, ideas, and values of the time. Lewis (2016:12) and Tarlow (2007:196) state that Improvement was not a singularity, but a process which can be traced in publications, materials in yards and households and changes in social phenomena. These traces can be seen as snapshots into moments along the spectrum of Improvement and can be cross-analysed to help archaeologists understand the effects of the movement over time and space, on both a social and chronological scale.

3.7 Justification

This research aims to explore the relationship between industrialisation, ideology and heritage environment in regional Australia. Studies such as those by Shackel and Palus (2006:835) suggest that this topic is under-represented internationally and requires investigation. Current debates in archaeological literature form the backbone of this research proposal, with the arguments of academics such as Nevell (2013a:87) about the lack of regional representation in industrial studies, and Hughes (2005:157) about the importance of industrialisation on the social evolution of humanity, opening the door for further investigation. This thesis aims to both expand knowledge of human behaviour in general and begin to more thoroughly represent individual groups affected by industrialisation. This will add knowledge to the growing field of understanding about how humanity, internationally and across centuries, has coped with industrialisation, socially and environmentally. The research will also be the first of its kind to represent Churchill Island in academic literature, and by conducting this research on a regional Australian site, a door is opened whereby the rich diversity of material culture in this under-represented locale of Australia can be made accessible to researchers anywhere.

4. Methods

This project involved three main phases: archival research, data collection and analysis.

4.1 Archival Research

Archival research into the history of Churchill Island consisted of collecting data from the Phillip Island Library and Australian Census Records, as well as collaboration with the Phillip Island Museum, Phillip Island District Historical Society, Collections Victoria, and Churchill Island Heritage Farm. The types of historical records found included photographs, paintings and drawings of Churchill Island and its inhabitants, oral histories from people connected to the island, newspaper articles referencing changes on the island and in its surrounds and logbooks classifying the artefacts and elements of the architecture and structures found on Churchill Island dating both from the present and the past. Archival research allowed the history of Churchill Island to be divided into three groups: Indigenous settlement, European settlement and Public ownership. The books Churchill Island: History and her story by Patricia Baird, and the Churchill Island Visitor's Guide by Phillip Island Nature Parks provided the majority of archival information for this research due to their being the only available two books which focus exclusively on the history of Churchill Island in depth. Both of these books follow the history of the occupants of Churchill Island from the Indigenous settlers to the National Trust of Australia and offer contextual information, including identifying which occupants are responsible for the construction of various built heritage structures, the reasons for land cultivation, buildings, industrial equipment and enclosure by occupants (whether for subsidence, profit or pleasure), the oral histories that have been passed down from friends and families that aid in an understanding of what Churchill Island signified to different individuals, as well as creating an overall context for how aspects of buildings such as Rogers' Cottages or Amess House have been repurposed over time until they have become what they are today.

4.2 Data Collection

Data collection from archival research included the length of occupations, the number of occupants, if the land was cultivated for subsidence, profit or pleasure, the number of built structures, enclosed spaces and spatial organisation. Data was also collected from the signage, cairns and small museum located inside the Churchill Island Visitor's Centre for photographs, artefacts and contextual information about the previous occupants of the island. A mixture of photography and note taking from archival research were used to effectively record both the in-situ artefacts and those in the local visitor centre collection. ArcGIS was utilised to collect data and imagery about the location of Churchill Island in relation to Phillip Island and mainland Australia, as well as for plotting buildings on a scaled map show how built heritage has changed over time. Notes were taken when Churchill Island staff were questioned about aspects of the site, and data was collected in the form of maps and flyers from the information centre. Where possible, archival research on built heritage was collected alongside current photographic records to add a greater context to the site over time.

Following a thorough investigation into the archival evidence for industrialisation processes on Churchill Island, data collection was conducted on the site using photography. A high-quality camera was used to take photographs for all relevant structures and artefacts across the island, which were then categorised into five groups: landscape division, built structures, industrial machinery, household items, and botanical collection. Archival data was then collated with photographic data and analysed using the following method to ascertain the relationship between the accumulated data and the effects of industrialisation on Churchill Island's social and physical landscape.

The methods used for recording demographic information, standing structures, enclosures, objects, and for assessing increased sophistication and stylistic changes were based on a mixture of on-site photographic recording, photographic evidence from verified historic photographs and historical written accounts. Artefacts, buildings, key structural features and interests were recorded primarily with on-site photography, supplemented with current aerial imagery from systems such as ArcGIS and Google Earth. The entirety of the Churchill Island settlement site was surveyed multiple times, in an orderly manner following the tourist path, with photos taken 360° around each structure, where this was possible. Objects were photographed in situ.

Assessing the nature and degree of stylistic change could only be analysed if there was either a verified photograph of a structure or area from the past, or a historical written account that described something other than what currently exists. Where this comparison could occur, differences were explored between the historical and present accounts, and then interpretations made of why the change(s) occurred. An assessment of sophistication was based on definable physical changes in technological advancement, such as increasingly advanced and efficient farming equipment, more advanced building practices, the growing inclusion of electrical equipment, energy harnessing resources such as windmills, and the increasing manipulation of land to facilitate human activities, such as the building of dams.

Historical accounts were analysed to establish the purpose of cultivation of plants. For earlier occupations, written records exist that explain whether surplus food was grown deliberately for profit or purely for sustenance. The majority of these written records were found in two books: Churchill Island: History and Her Story by Patricia Baird (2012) and the Churchill Island Heritage Farm Visitors Guide (2005) by Phillip Island Nature Parks. Where these histories conflicted, both accounts were included in the report. Evidence for later forms of cultivation, such as Classou's fruit farm, was evident through both historical accounts and fruit juice labels found on the farm corroborating this particular purpose. In regard to the National Trust's purpose of cultivation, evidence was drawn from the National Trusts' mission statement, which is to raise funds to keep Churchill Island as a functioning tourist attraction.

Artefacts, buildings, key structural features and interests were recorded primarily with on-site photography and supplemented with aerial imagery from systems such as ArcGIS and Google Earth. The entirety of the Churchill Island settlement site was surveyed multiple times, in an orderly manner following the tourist path, with photos taken at 360° around each structure, where this was possible.

Site plans were compiled from a mixture of in-person photography and current satellite imagery. Measurements were taken by overlaying satellite imagery with the known structures present on the island. In rare cases, historical, dated photographs were used to establish the location and form of structures that are no longer extant. For example, a photo from the Amess period depicting leisure gardens warranted the inclusion of leisure gardens in the Amess occupation site plan. For occupation eras such as the Pickersgills, which has no surviving photographic or archaeological evidence, site plans were only tentative and

suggestive of what was present during that particular time period. Full transparency about the sources of information is included for uncorroborated sites such as these.

4.3 Analysis

The analysis of the data collected from Churchill Island searched for changes in the across built heritage, enclosure practices, building materials and styles, botanical collections, industrial equipment, oral histories and supporting evidence. The following are the trends that were analysed within the data collected from archival and tangible sources: Changes in occupation of the island; changes in built heritage size and number; increase in sophistication of built heritage; changes in construction materials; dates for building construction; built heritage locations; built heritage orientations; stylistic changes in built heritage; increase in industrial equipment, increase in agricultural equipment, increase in technological advances (e.g. dam and windmill); changes in land cultivation; touristic activities on the island; use of transport, both boats and cars on the island; construction of walkways and roads, material changes that would reflect a connection to the ideology of improvement, including but not limited to larger and functioning windows, geometric wallpapers, brighter colour schemes, ordered and rationalised division of space and materials.

4.4 Limitations

This research was limited by the fact that the artefacts and built heritage on Churchill Island were usually subjected to being utilised by several owners, making it harder to disentangle which aspects of objects were created by the original owners, and which had been implemented over time. For example, the larger room in the southern Rogers' Cottage is designed in a style almost identical to that of Amess House. Knowing that it was very unlikely for the Rogers' to have had access to wallpapers and flooring (which are described as being shipped from Melbourne for Samuel Amess (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:13)) that were not utilised on their other cottage, it is possible that this cottage was removed during the Amess occupation, although it is not known to what extent this was accomplished, making it difficult to draw conclusions about which aspects of the cottage were altered by which occupant and when.

The aspect of renovation is most apparent when considering the large scale renovations, reproductions and introduction of foreign artefacts that were implemented by the National Trust of Australia. Books such as the Churchill Island Visitor's Guide mention that renovations have occurred on the island, but do not go into specifics about exactly which parts of the built heritage they are referring to (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:35). Reproductions like the stables to the north of the homestead are limiting due to their reproductive nature, as they cannot be analysed to understand the original structures that were built and utilised by the occupants of Churchill Island. The signage throughout some of the rooms in Amess Homestead explaining that the furniture is on loan from the National Trust is equally limiting, because it means that all artefacts not attached to the homestead must be considered foreign if not referenced directly to the history of Churchill Island. This is limiting because it restricts the amount of analysis and conclusions that can be drawn from a pool of all original Churchill Island artefacts to a mixed pool where original artefacts cannot be specifically identified.

Limitations were also present when investigating the Indigenous occupation of Churchill Island, Lt Grant's blockhouse and wheat planting location and the Pickersgill occupation, as there was very little to no information available. While Indigenous artefacts are available in the visitor's centre, the exact location where they were found has not been marked. Lt. Grant's blockhouse and the Pickersgill occupation is even more ambiguous due to a lack of any material evidence of their residence on the island, which is based purely on historic testimonies. The lack of material evidence limits the conclusions that can be drawn about the way in which these occupants interacted with Churchill Island.

The abundance of more information for some occupation more than others can also skew the collected data. For example, the greater amount of information present for the Amess occupation leads to more conclusions that can be drawn about their occupation of the island, values and ideologies, compared to the Pickersgill occupation of which there is no evidence. The unequal spread of material culture over different periods of occupations limits the data in terms of what conclusions can be definitively reached.

5. Results

5.1 Industrialisation and the archaeological record of Churchill Island

5.1.1 Built heritage site plans

The spatial layout of Churchill Island has changed with each wave of new ownership. Separate from changes in the enclosure of the farmstead itself and the individual parcels of farmland within it, the site plans of Churchill Island show distinct changes in how the built structures of the farmstead, cottages, and other standing structures have changed over time. Furthermore, these changes in built heritage can be analysed to extrapolate information about how the residents at each stage of occupation interacted with, and conceptualised, the environment around them, offering insight into changes in their values and ideologies over time.

The arrival of John Rogers and his family resulted in several built heritage and other physical changes on Churchill Island including, two timber, brick and corrugated iron cottages, ornamental flower beds, orchards, vegetable gardens, rows of trees serving as windbreaks, and crops (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:11). The map below correctly depicts the location of Rogers' Cottages. The Rogers' occupation marks another important milestone for Churchill Island, as this was the first time that sustainable settlement occurred on the island that could be defined with archaeological evidence.

Figure 5.1.1.1 A south facing view of the northern Rogers' Cottage. The similar building also with a chimney to the right is the southern facing Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.2 An east-facing view of the southern Rogers' Cottage. The door visible on at left leads into the small storeroom. The yellow walled building in the background is Amess House (Rünzi 2021).

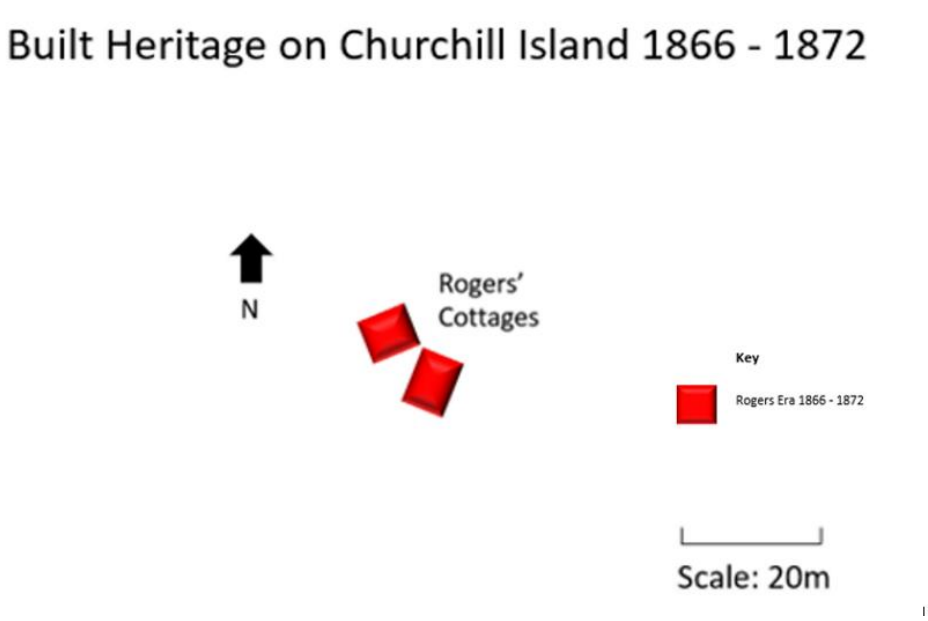


Figure 5.1.1.3 The location of Rogers' Cottages, the only built heritage items still present on Churchill Island dating from 1866 – 1872 (Rünzi 2021).

Samuel Amess and his family made largescale changes to the built heritage of Churchill Island. The Amess homestead (Figure 5.1.1.1.10) was built during the occupation of the Amess family from 1872 to 1929. The homestead includes a main central building containing nine rooms: dining room, morning room, master bedroom, drawing room, kitchen, scullery, nursery, children's bedroom and a gun room/storeroom. During the Amess era of occupation, a washroom structure (Figure 5.1.1.1.13), barn (Figure 5.1.1.1.12), well (Figure 5.1.1.1.14) and brick half cellar (Figure 5.1.1.1.11) were also built. The Shenandoah cannon was also placed at the entrance to the homestead during this phase, and the central Norfolk Pine was planted in 1872 to mark the construction of the homestead. The botanical gardens surrounding the homestead were also added during this time. The map below depicts the built heritage on Churchill Island during the period of Amess occupation and suggests the extent of the original gardens based on those that exist today. The creation of the Amess homestead and the accompanying botanical garden describes a change in use for the island, moving away from sustainable agriculture and towards a pleasure park which served as a sign of status and social prestige.

Figure 5.1.1.4 The southern turret and front balcony of Amess house (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.5 Amess half-cellar (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.6 Amess Barn (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.7 The Wash Room (white), with Amess House in the background (yellow) (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.8 The well located to the north of Amess House (Rünzi 2021).

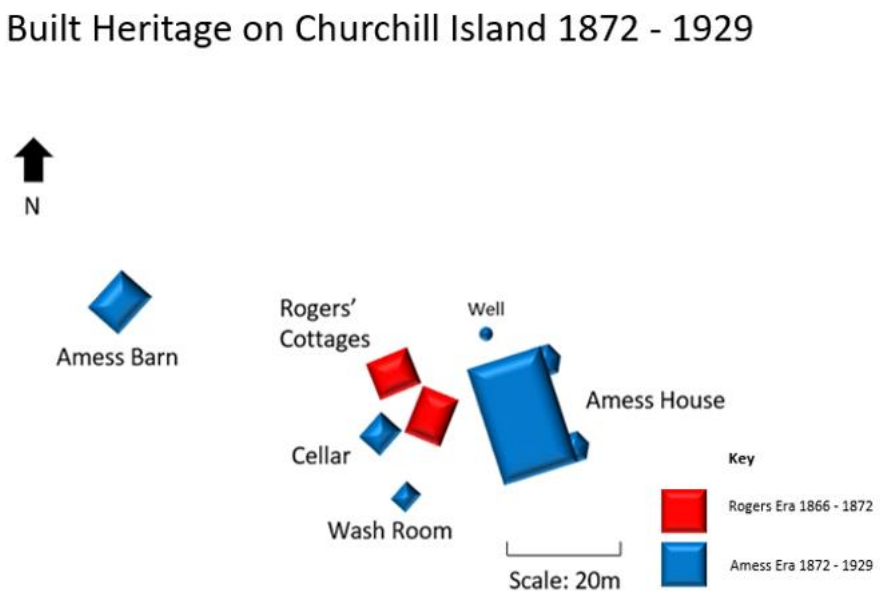


Figure 5.1.1.9 A depiction of the known built heritage present on Churchill Island as of 1929, at the end of the Amess era of occupation (Rünzi 2021).

Under the occupation of Gerald Neville Buckley from 1929 to 1936, a dairy farm was operational. It is unclear how this affected the built heritage of Churchill Island, although a

dam, windmill (Figure 5.1.1.1.16) and milking shed were constructed at this time (Baird 2012:62). The map below depicts these changes and suggests that the private shed still standing may have been the milking shed from this era referenced by Baird (2012:62). The occupation of Buckley marks the first use of Churchill Island almost exclusively for industrial agricultural purposes, aimed not at sustainable living, but at profit.

Figure 5.1.1.10 Buckley's dam and windmill (Rünzi 2021).

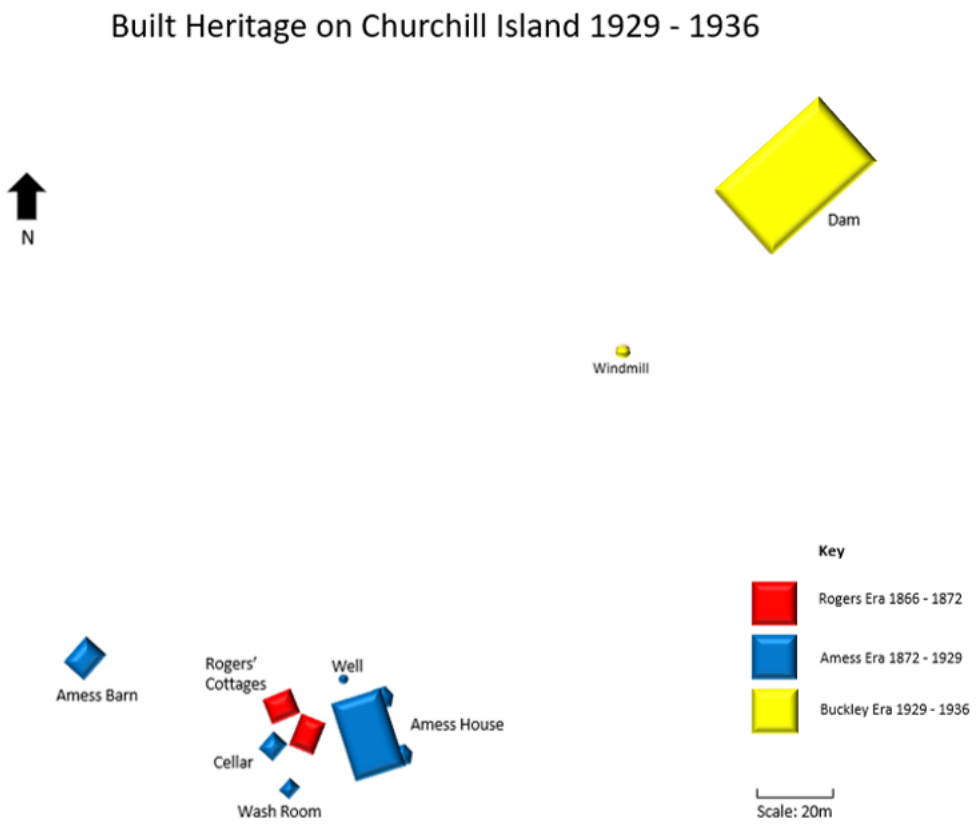


Figure 5.1.1.11 A depiction of the known built heritage present on Churchill Island as of 1936, at the end of the Buckley era of occupation (Rünzi 2021).

Dr. Jenkin's management of Churchill Island from 1936 to 1963 saw further technological advancements on the island, including a wind-powered electrical generator, wind charger and chip heater. These alterations affected the interior of the already-present built heritage. The only externally apparent change was the installation of water tanks and the construction of the first bridge connecting Churchill and Phillip Islands, which are depicted in the map below.

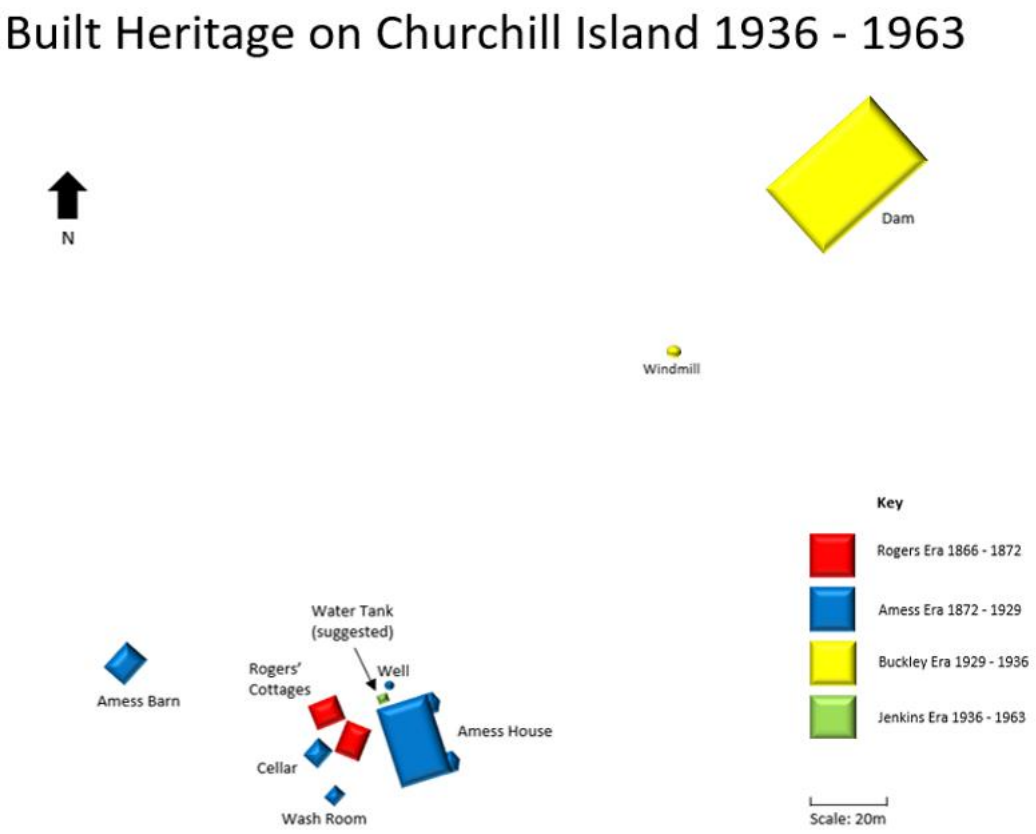


Figure 5.1.1.12 A depiction of the known built heritage present on Churchill Island as of 1963, at the end of the Jenkins era of occupation (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.13 A depiction of the probable location of the bridge built by Dr. Jenkins on Churchill Island during his occupation of the island from 1936 to 1963 (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

Sister Campbell adjusted the built heritage of Churchill Island from 1963 to 1973 by building a glasshouse for propagating exotic species, shown on the map below. The glasshouse is not open to tourists and could not be photographed.

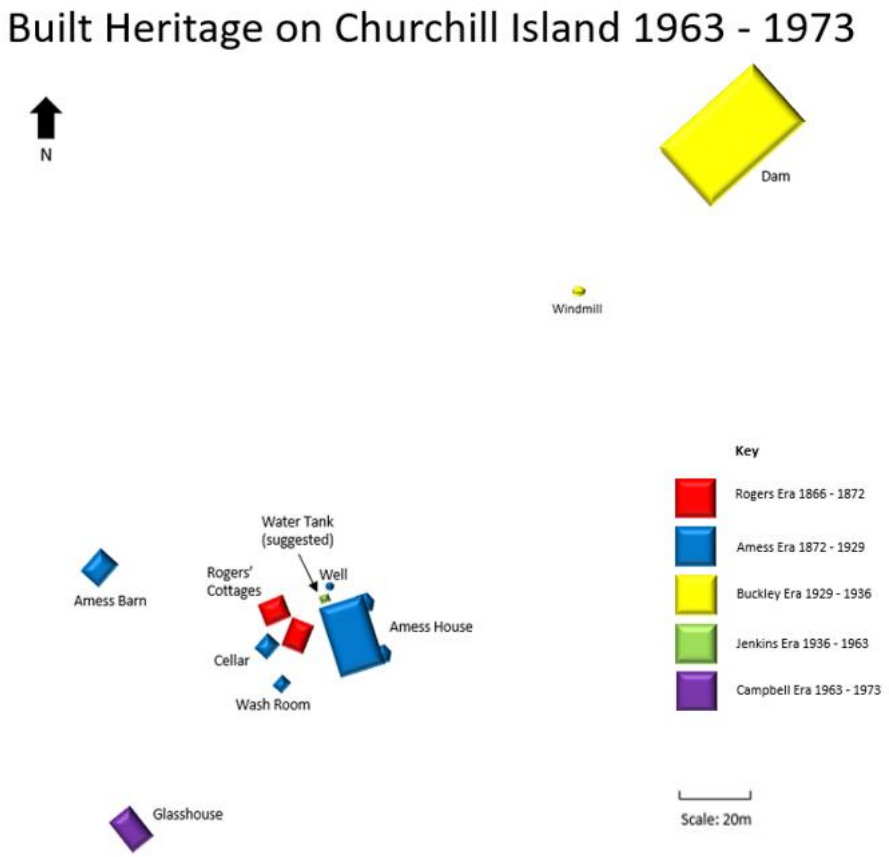


Figure 5.1.1.14 A depiction of the known built heritage present on Churchill Island as of 1973, at the end of the Campbell era of occupation (Rünzi 2021).

Alex Classou did not alter the built heritage of Churchill Island from 1973 to 1976, although his fruit farming activities would have influenced the enclosure of land, discussed next. The failure of the fruit farm marks the end of Churchill Island's existence as an industrialised agricultural business venture. The map below suggests land where Alex Classou may have practiced fruit farming.

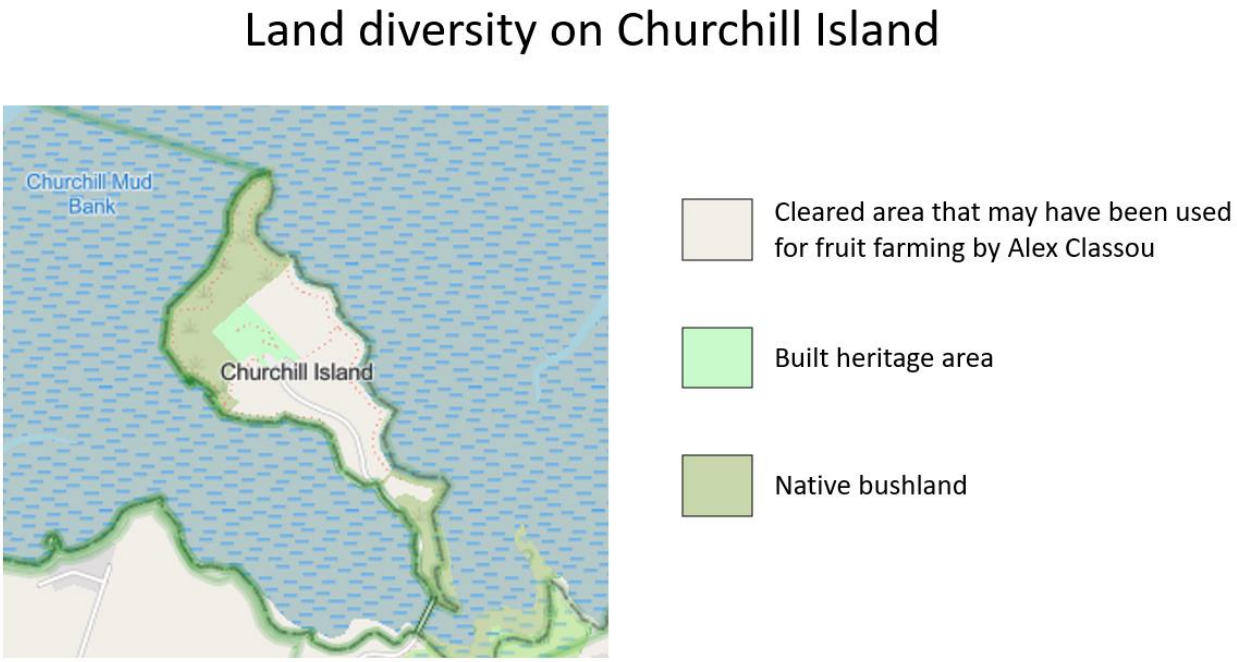


Figure 5.1.1.15 A depiction of land diversity on Churchill Island today. The grey coloured areas are those which have been cleared of natural forestation, most of which today are used for grazing cattle and horses. The neon green areas depict the area immediately surrounding the built heritage of Churchill Island. The olive-green shading depicts areas of native bushland (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

The National Trust of Australia heavily influenced the built heritage on Churchill Island from 1976 until the present day. Additional built structures include the visitor centre and café (Figure 5.1.1.1.26), toilet block, blacksmith's shop (Figure 5.1.1.1.25), the working barn, and the woolshed (Figure 5.1.1.1.24). Horse stables were built in 2001 (Figures 5.1.1.1.22 and 5.1.1.1.23). Walking paths and benches across the island were also implemented, as were unmarked storage buildings to keep the touristic activities operating. The bridge connecting Churchill Island to Phillip Island was also demolished and rebuilt during this time. The map below depicts the site plan of the Churchill Island farmstead as it is today, reflecting a dynamic environment that changed as the purpose of the island evolved. The evolution of Churchill Island from an agricultural industrial endeavour to a tourist attraction highlights the final stage of the island's transformation into a site of touristic value.

Figure 5.1.1.16 The idealised recreated stables, added in 2001 (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.17 Inside the recreated stables built in 2001 (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.18 Inside the woolshed built by the National Trust of Australia (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.19 The yellow building on the left is Amess barn, built between 1872 and 1929. The reddish, middle left building is the blacksmith's shop, to the right of which is the working barn, and at the far right are pig pens. The blacksmith's shop, the working barn and the pig pens were built by the National Trust of Australia on an unknown date, likely after the 2001 restorations, as these buildings are not depicted on a map from 2005 (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.20 Inside the Visitor's Centre (Rünzi 2021).

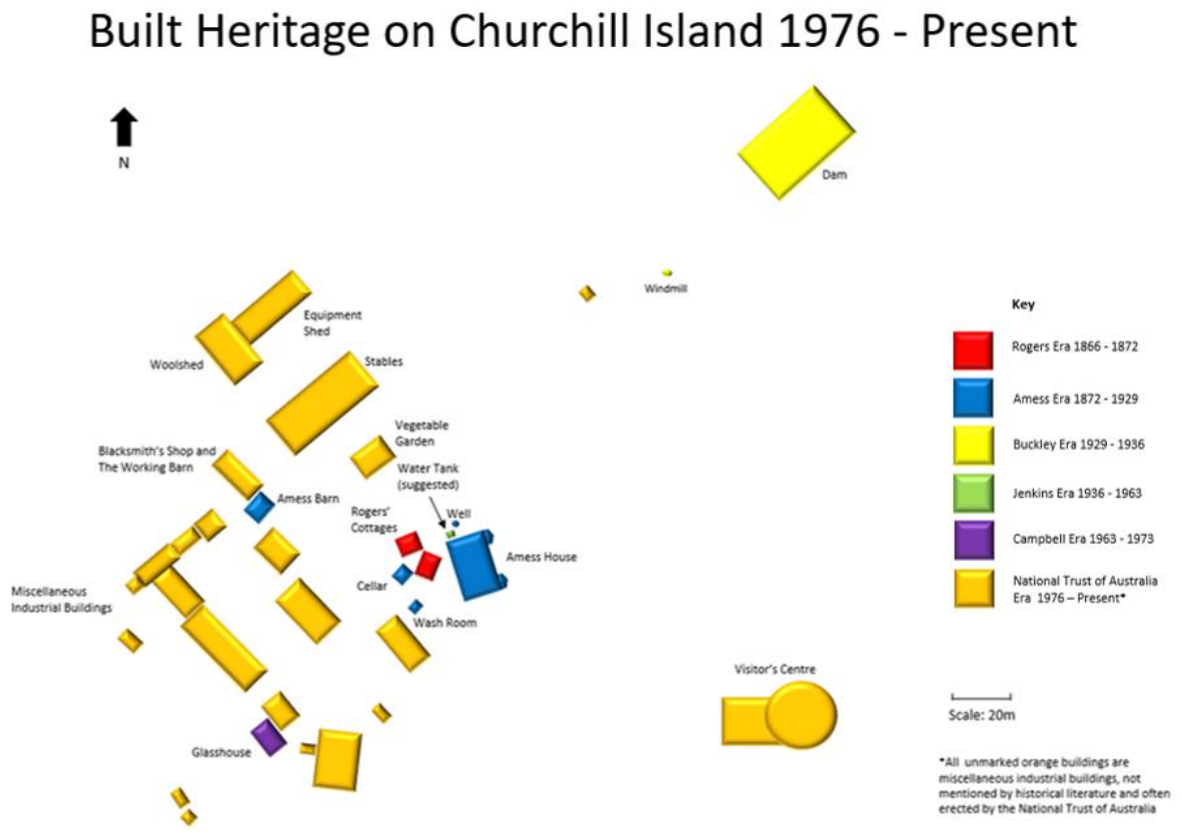


Figure 5.1.1.21 A depiction of the current built heritage present on Churchill Island as of 2021, under the management of the National Trust of Australia (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.1.22 A depiction of the changes made to Churchill Island by the National Trust of Australia. The white lines depicted above represent Amess Drive, the main road on Churchill Island; the red dotted lines represent walking trails, and the green line located on the bottom of the figure between Churchill and Phillip Island is the connecting bridge (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

5.1.2 Enclosure

The erection of enclosures marks a change in ideology from working with the land to owning it and using it to benefit financially to the exclusion of others. Churchill Island offers a particular element of enclosure to potential residents due to its natural boundary as an island. While mainland Australian working farms required fences to divide their land, crops and livestock from that of neighbours, Churchill Island had no such issue, and ownership of the island naturally implied inarguable ownership of the landmass to its perimeter. As such, enclosure on Churchill Island refers to how the land was parcelled internally by each owner or occupier, and how access to the island itself was enclosed and boundaries implemented for visitors as opposed to workers or residents. It is important to note that maritime boundaries have never been specifically elucidated for the owners of Churchill Island throughout history prior to the creation of Churchill Island Marine National Park, although this only covers the western portion of the island's coast. It can be assumed, however, that the waterways encircling the island were privatised for the personal use of the owners of Churchill Island due to the rural nature of the island, which does not lend itself to easy accessibility from either Phillip Island or mainland Australia.

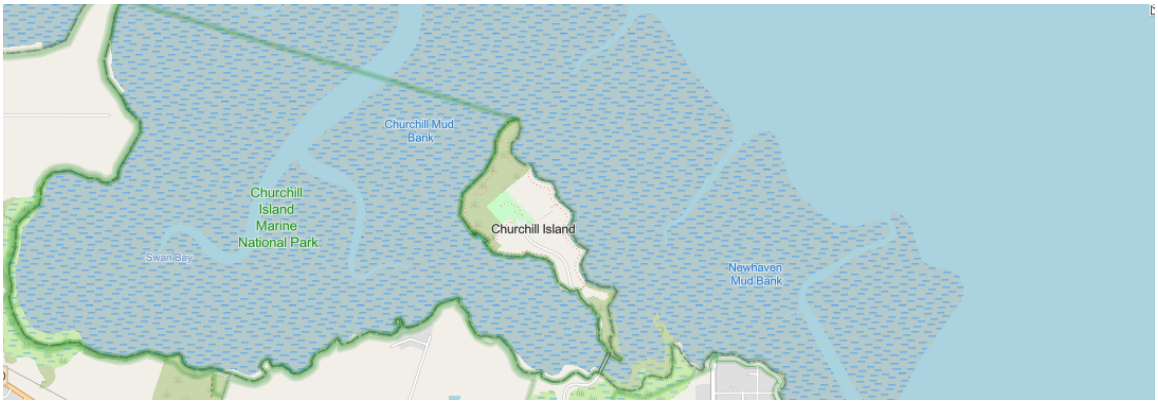


Figure 5.1.2.1 Churchill Island and its surrounding oceanography, including Swan Bay, Churchill Mud Bank and Newhaven Mud Bank (Rünzi 2021, made with ArcGIS).

It is unclear precisely when enclosure first occurred on Churchill Island. Arguably, the creation of Lt Grant's blockhouse in 1801 is the first instance of the enclosure of a parcel of land for personal use, in this case by the British, although it does not encapsulate the idea that enclosure normally brings to mind, one of fenced parcels of agricultural fields. Furthermore,

no material evidence for the blockhouse or the Pickersgill's occupation (1860 to 1866), has been found to date. The first structurally evident residents of Churchill Island were the Rogers' (1866 to 1872) who practised enclosure when building their two cottages, each enclosing a parcel of land designated for personal recreational use thereafter. The Rogers' were also the first residents to lease the island, thereby claiming ownership of the land to the natural boundaries of the island. The original boundaries of what would have been the Rogers' enclosures have not been archaeologically investigated, and, with over a century of landscaping alterations, it is difficult to suggest where they might have been. According to Phillip Island Nature Parks (2005:11), the Rogers' grazed cattle, grew crops, and planted an orchard, flowerbeds, a vegetable garden and a row of trees. From the historical record, it can be suggested that enclosures were used for the flowerbeds, vegetable garden, grazing cattle, crops and possibly the orchard, although no archaeological evidence remains.

The remains of enclosure during the Amess era (1872 to 1929) are equally subjective. While the enclosure of the new family homestead, cellar, washroom, barn and botanic gardens are archaeologically apparent, the location of the orchard, crops and cattle (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13) are unknown. The Buckley occupation of Churchill Island (1929 to 1936) saw the additional enclosure of a dam. It is unclear where exactly the dairy farm was located during this time, and where the cattle were kept, although an enclosure must have existed for farming operations to continue. It is also possible that the enclosures used by the Amess family were repurposed by Buckley for his dairy farm. It is unknown how the farming operations under the Jenkins family (1936 to 1963) impacted the enclosure of land on the island. However, the creation of the bridge linking Churchill to Phillip island defined a point of entry on the enclosed space of the island, an external-facing gateway by which visitors would receive their first impression of Churchill Island. Sister Campbell enclosed an additional parcel of land to become a glasshouse from 1963 to 1973.

Archaeological evidence does not exist for the Classou period of occupation (1973 to 1976), although it has been documented that a large-scale fruit farming operation took place during this time (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:25). This industrial farming endeavour would have required enclosure or space designation for crop production, although the exact location is unknown. The scale of enclosure present when Churchill Island was acquired by the National Trust of Australia in 1976 has not been documented. However, in detailing the restorations undertaken by the National Trust, no mention is made of adjusting enclosure

spaces, outside of the enclosure of space due to built heritage (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:28, Baird 2005:97). Figures 5.1.2.2, 5.1.2.3 and 5.1.2.4 below depict some the fenced enclosures currently standing on Churchill Island. Due to the lack of information on when these fences were erected, an analysis of how they were used by previous owners is untenable.

Figure 5.1.2.2 An example of enclosure through the use of fences on Churchill Island (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.2.3 Another example of enclosure on Churchill Island, including fences and a gate used for enclosing sheep (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.2.4 An aerial view of Churchill Island showing enclosed parcels of land (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:1).

5.1.3 Botanical organisation and significance

The collection of botanical specimens present on Churchill Island is immense, and a central feature of the estate. Several owners specialised in botany, both bringing specimens from overseas and collecting native Australian plants to create a diverse garden and focal point of the property. The first group of settlers to plant seeds on Churchill Island were Lt Grant's party in 1801, who planted apples, rice, wheat, corn, peas and coffee berries (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:7). These crops are all edible varieties designed for consumption and sustainable farming. The Pickersgill family (1860 to 1866) also grew vegetables (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:9).

The Rogers' family (1866 to 1872) also grew vegetables and an orchard but differed from their predecessors by being the first residents to grow plants for purposes other than consumption and profit (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:11). Flowerbeds were planted for their aesthetic value, and potentially for their ability to attract pollinators and wildlife. Trees were planted to serve as windbreaks. This is the first instance of planting for aesthetic and protective purposes and suggests a change in the ideology of the Rogers family from the previous occupants, a movement away from viewing the island only as a space to create resources, and towards viewing the space around them as offering the potential to sate human desires for greater protection from the elements and to facilitate a more structured ideal of organised beautiful habitable space. This would have been particularly apparent in the creation of the flowerbeds closer to the homestead, rather than walking to visit naturally occurring flowers. In this way, the Rogers' occupation marks a change in Churchill Island's history, and the occupants' ideology towards greater utilisation of natural resources for needs other than food. It also suggests a change in ideology towards humans triumphing over nature (Lewis 2016:11), with the movement of trees and flowers to suit the proximity, organisational ideals and wants of the occupants.

The Amess family continued to grow crops for consumption and profit (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:13), but also introduced a plethora of additional botanical specimens for pleasure and personal interest, effectively turning Churchill Island into a hybrid between a stately residence, a working farm, and a pleasure park. Tarlow (2007:50) highlights that there was

prestige associated with the pleasure park that included various botanical varieties that became a symbol of status and moral righteousness. Importantly, the uptake in agricultural interests at this time is reminiscent of the idea of ‘scientific’ farming, a growing intellectual interest in botany that can be seen through the use of gardening, which comprised collections of plants from a variety of locales (Lewis 2016:34).

Figure 5.1.3.1 The Botanic Gardens on Churchill Island, originally planted by Samuel Amess and renovated by National Trust of Australia (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.3.2 A west facing view of the Botanic Gardens (Rünzi 2021).

Further botanical additions do not appear to have occurred during the Buckley (1929 to 1936) and Jenkins eras (1936 to 1963). Sister Campbell (1963 to 1973) farmed crops such as passionfruit for profit, and also built a glasshouse to grow exotic plants for pleasure (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:25). During this period, a continuation can be seen both for profitable farming practices and botanical collections as a pleasurable and intellectual pastime. Mr Classou (1973 to 1976) exclusively farmed Churchill Island for profit from fruit crops (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2005:25). The acquisition of the island by the National Trust of Australia in 1976 saw the reinvestment of energy in creating a pleasure park atmosphere that would be a conducive environment for tourists to come and spend their time and money. As a result, the National Trust of Australia and volunteers from Friends of Churchill Island have cared for the botanical varieties present in the Amess' pleasure park, the heritage listed trees planted by Samuel Amess, and a vegetable garden reminiscent of those that would have existed in the past. By continuing to keep the pleasure park and vegetable garden alive, values are placed on the both the prestigious and pioneering history of Churchill Island. The significance of the botanical history of Churchill Island is that it reflects the relationship between people and their environment. In this case, the relationship centres around how people have manipulated the natural environment for personal gain, whether it be

survival based, financially lucrative, or ideologically pleasing. The botanical collection of Churchill Island exhibits all of these purposes, and reflects an interplay between an inert natural environment and an ever evolving ideology that has left tracks in the environment that it has sought to change.

Purposes of known botanical additions on Churchill Island					
Inhabitants	Period	Consumption	Financial	Pleasure	Scientific
Bunurong	Pre 1801				
Lt Grant	1801 – 1856				
Pickersgill	1860 – 1866				
Rogers	1866 – 1972				
Amess	1872 – 1929				
Buckley	1929 – 1936				
Jenkins	1936 – 1963				
Campbell	1963 – 1973				
Classou	1973 – 1976				
National Trust of Australia	1976 – Present				

Table 5.1.3.1 Addition of botanical varieties to Churchill Island according to purpose.

A trend can be seen in Table 5.1.3.1 whereby the earliest inhabitants focused on creating a farmstead which would address their most basic consumption needs (e.g food), highlighted by blue. From 1860, additional botanical varieties were introduced with an aspect of financial gain (e.g food sold for profit), highlighted by green. The Rogers, Amess and Campbell ownerships demonstrate the incorporation of plants for pleasure (e.g aesthetic value), highlighted in orange. The Amess, Campbell and National Trust of Australia ownerships introduce new botanical varieties for their uniqueness, and therefore their scientific value (e.g specimens from exotic locations), highlighted in red. In terms of the National Trust of Australia, the insertion of vegetables and other plants meant to replicate the vegetable garden and other areas are considered to serve financial and scientific purposes due to the fact that the tourist attraction is making money from those visiting its beautiful scenery, and the plants hold historical reproduction value, marking their scientific purpose.

5.1.4 Artefacts

The waves of residency that have occurred at Churchill Island makes it difficult to attribute specific artefacts to particular residents. In addition, the National Trust of Australia has used signage to indicate that some, but not all, of the artefacts on display within the Amess homestead and Rogers' cottages are on loan from the National Trust of Australia, without differentiating which pieces these may be. Tables 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 in the Appendix record all of the artefacts present in each structure, but this may not be an accurate reflection of the number and types of artefacts which were originally present. As a result, the artefacts that will be discussed here are those which have been specifically referenced as belonging to particular residents and those that are in some way attached to the built heritage itself.

There are a small number of artefacts on Churchill Island that are attributed to the Indigenous Bunurong peoples who inhabited the island prior to 1801. On display in the main entrance to the visitor's centre are five stone flakes which were found in a midden located on the eastern coast of the island. Further archaeological information about these artefacts has not been made available. No artefacts have been recovered that can be linked directly to Lt Grant's blockhouse (1801 to 1856), or to the residence of the Pickersgill family (1860 to 1866).

The Rogers' era (1866 to 1972) has left behind several artefacts in addition to the two cottages built during this time. A sea chest, located in the smaller of Rogers' Cottages, was returned to Churchill Island at a later date for display. Ten of the original shells that Sarah Rogers' scattered around the original garden paths are on display in the visitor centre, as is a small shovel found during modern restorations of the cottages, which may have been used to remove ash from the fireplace.

Artefacts have also been located that are attributed to the Amess era of occupation (1872 to 1929). These consist of ceramic fragments, an Edison Standard Record (a cylindrical wax record that was the precursor to the disc shaped record), a teacup, saucer and bread and butter plate hand painted by Samuel Amess' youngest child, Margaret, and playing cards that are loosely attributed to the Amess'. Farming machinery from the Amess era include a wagonette and a potato digger dating from circa. 1890, a potato harvester dated to circa. 1911, a single horse gig and hand-operated chaff cutter dated to circa. 1920, a Furphy water cart and single disc plough dating from 1920, and a single and a double furrow mouldboard plough dating

from 1900 to 1930. In addition, the Shenandoah canon and accompanying cannonballs are unequivocally attributed to the Amess era due to the uniqueness of the object and the historical accounts of its gifting (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:14). Further artefacts located throughout the Amess homestead are also likely to have belonged to the Amess', but with the introduction of many pieces of furniture on loan from the National Trust of Australia it is impossible to separate the pieces that have been brought in to enhance the site's touristic value, from those that belong to the original inhabitants.

Farming equipment during the Buckley era of occupation (1929 to 1936) includes a tiller and hand operated winnower, side rake, dump hay rake and reaper and binder dated from circa. 1930 and a swingle tree that has been dated from 1920 to 1940, The two artefacts attributed to the Jenkin's era (1936 to 1963) are a ribbon for winning a race in Phillip Island's Grand Prix in 1929, and a silver cigar holder, also won in a motor race. A chaff cutter and spiked tooth harrows dating from the 1940s, and a fertiliser spreader dating from the 1950s may also have been in use during the Jenkin's residence. An ear punch used for marking livestock has also been attributed to either the Buckley or Jenkin's era of occupation.

No artefacts attributed to the Campbell era (1963 to 1973) exist. Fruit juice labels added to the display in modern times are the only artefacts attributable to the Classou era (1973 to 1976). The National Trust of Australia (1976 to present) has displayed several artefacts across the island that have not been attributed to any era of occupation, including a horseshoe in the visitor's centre, farming equipment across the grounds, and a blacksmith and sheep shearing shed displaying handheld tools. It is unclear which of these are original pieces from Churchill Island, and which are on loan to enhance the value of this site for tourists. A sled on display in the machinery shed to the west of the island is a 1990 replica of a 1940s sled made to enhance visitor's experience of the site, as is a 1990s reproduction of a hay sweep and a bag holder used by farmers while ploughing.

Personal artefacts specifically attributed to eras of occupation on Churchill Island (Pre 1801 to present)							
Inhabitants	Date	Personal artefacts					
Indigenous people	Pre 1801	Flakes (5)	-	-	-	-	-
Lt Grant	1801 – 1856	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pickersgill	1860 – 1866	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rogers	1866 – 1872	Chest	Shells (10)	Shovel	-	-	-
Amess	1872 – 1929	Broken ceramics	Edison standard record	Teacup	Saucer	Plate	Playing cards (possible)
Buckley	1929 – 1936	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jenkins	1936 – 1963	Ribbon	Silver cigar holder	-	-	-	-
Campbell	1963 – 1973	-	-	-	-	-	-
Classou	1973 – 1976	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Trust of Australia	1976 - Present	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5.1.4.1 Personal artefacts (those not used for industrial activities) that have been specifically attributed to an era of occupation on Churchill Island (Pre 1801 to present).

Industrial artefacts specifically attributed to eras of occupation on Churchill Island (Pre 1801 to present)											
Inhabitants	Date	Industrial Artefacts									
Indigenous people	Pre 1801	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lt Grant	1801 – 1856	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pickersgill	1860 – 1866	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rogers	1866 – 1872	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amess	1872 – 1929	Wagonette	Potato digger	Potato harvester	Single horse gig	Hand-operated chaff cutter	Furphy water cart	Single disc plough	Single furrow mouldboard plough	Double furrow mouldboard plough	Shenandoah cannon and cannonballs
Buckley	1929 – 1936	Tiller	Hand operated winnower	Side rake	Dump hay rake	Reaper and binder	Swingle tree	-	-	-	-
Jenkins	1936 – 1963	Chaff cutter	Spiked tooth harrows	Fertiliser spreader	Ear punch	-	-	-	-	-	-
Campbell	1963 – 1973	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Classou	1973 – 1976	Fruit juice labels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Trust of Australia	1976 - Present	Sled	Hay sweep	Bag holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5.1.4.2 Industrial artefacts (those used for industrial activities) that have been specifically attributed to an era of occupation on Churchill Island (Pre 1801 to present).

Figure 5.1.4.1 The Furphy Water Cart, on display in the machinery shed. The cart dates from the Amess Era (1872 to 1929) (Rünzi, 2021).

Figure 5.1.4.2 A hand-operated winnower on display in the machinery shed (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.1.4.3 A single horse gig on display in the machinery shed (Rünzi 2021).

5.2 Standing Structures

5.2.1 Rogers' Cottages

When analysing Rogers' Cottages, starting with the larger cottage of the two on the western side, there are several structural components worth noting. This cottage consists of two doors made of vertical pieces of an unknown wood that have been painted a blue-green colour. These doors also have brown, possibly wooden spherical doorknobs that are placed low to the ground, and a cut made for a traditional lock and key. This cottage contains three windows, each with 12 glass panes. The windows have a shallow arch and are timber framed with a small sill to each window. It is unclear whether these windows were previously sashed or casements, which would have allowed them to be opened and closed in the past. Currently, the windows show no indication of being operational and there is no evidence for their past functionality.

On the westernmost portion of this cottage there is a brick fireplace and bread oven. The bread oven appears to be a later addition, with the fireplace having been subsequently bricked in to accommodate it. Originally, there was just the large open fireplace, but the right hand side has been added later, presumably changing the entry flues to the chimney as well. This later addition is confirmed by the fact that the timber has been cut through below the mantle, which changed the original configuration to add the bread oven.

The interior and exterior walls are made from wood. The wooden interior has remained untouched and depicts the construction material in its raw form. There is evidence of the original support joists in the internal roof. The flooring inside the cottage on the western portion consists of an underlying originally malleable material upon which tile indications were stamped to give the illusion of multiple little tiles, or to increase surface area, making the floors less likely to be slipped on. On the eastern side of this internal floor is what appears to be a concrete like flooring which has eroded away from the western side of the floor and remains intact on the eastern portion. Externally, the cottage has been painted white and the windows have been given green trims.

The brick flooring at the entrance of the cottages is a combination of smaller rectangular

bricks and larger square bricks, both are red in colour. Furthermore, the brickwork has been exposed slightly west of the main visitor-facing entrance to the cottage, and was previously covered under a layer of cement not dissimilar to that found within the cottage itself. As can be seen from the image below, the brickwork most recently exposed is uneven and contains misshapen bricks of all sizes, differing from other bricks, for example those between the cottages, which are fairly uniform in size and neatly placed. The cottage is raised on short timber stumps, visible at the southwestern corner. The roof of the cottage is made from corrugated iron, as is a separate skillion roof over the front verandah of the building. The chimney and external wall of the fireplace are made from bricks which are similar to those inside the cottage, although more eroded.

Figure 5.2.1.1 External façade of the northern Rogers' Cottage. Note the fresh paint applied to the wooden slats and beam, the tree stumps upon which the cottage is propped up on the right, and the chimney on the far right of the building (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.2 Details of the joinery on the ceiling of the northern Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.3 Inside the northern Rogers' Cottage. Note the worn bricks around the fireplace and bread oven, the mantle, woodwork on the walls and door, and the keyhole cut into the wood of the door (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.4 The front porch of the northern Rogers' Cottage. Note the layers of flooring, including larger square bricks, irregular rectangular and broken bricks, and a partially removed overlay of a concrete like material (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.5 A close-up view of the shape, design and detail on the northern Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

The southern Rogers' cottage is similar to its aforementioned western counterpart in that it shares the same style of exterior walls and window trimmings. The flooring in this cottage is also made from wooden boards. The lower half of the internal walls is horizontally timber panelled, with thin timber battens covering the joins. The wallpaper in this room is in a design of floral green leaf patterns, with a trim of white floral wallpaper covering the ceiling cornice. The ceiling appears to be covered with a cloth, and the roof is also covered with corrugated metal.

This cottage contains two windows, each with six glass panes, as well as one door identical to that in the other cottage. A fireplace framed with a wooden mantle sits on the western side of the room. This cottage is also raised on timber stumps and is surrounded by a path of bricks that are fairly evenly sized and spaced. The second room in this cottage is wallpapered with a gold fleur de lys design, topped with a trimming on the ceiling cornice in a burgundy floral pattern.

Figure 5.2.1.6 A close-up of the shape, design and details of front-facing window of the southern Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.7 The wallpaper and ceiling paper present in the southern Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.1.8 Details of the flooring and wall in the southern Rogers' Cottage (Rünzi 2021).

5.2.2 Amess Homestead

The exterior of Amess Homestead is covered by weatherboards that have been painted yellow. The floorplan is H-shaped, with facetted bay on either of the front of the house. The floorplan is symmetrical. The verandah between the bays has a skillion roof and decorative cast iron posts, rail fringes, brackets and frieze. The front verandah is timber floored. The wallpapers throughout Amess House are reproductions of the original wallpapers. The designs depicted are modern copies of the original prints, making the patterns visible in these rooms historically accurate.

The homestead is composed of nine rooms: dining, children's room, scullery, kitchen, drawing room, master bedroom, nursing room, gun room and morning room. The dining room contains four windows and two doors. Each window is sashed and four paned. Both doors are timber with a single paned fanlight. On the inside of the doors, a gold key design can be seen which appears to be where the doors would have had a locking mechanism in the past. The floors in the dining room are timber, and the walls are vertically timber panelled, finished with a wooden trim. Above this is wallpaper in an organised floral pattern, consisting of both natural and geometric shapes, in this case flowers within diamonds. A cornice separates the walls from the ceiling. The ceiling is also papered in a pattern of geometric flowers, with a light fixture centred in the middle.

Figure 5.2.2.1 The front façade of Amess House. Note the ornate cast iron verandah decoration (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.2 The northern bay window of Amess House, with the chimney of the fireplace in the drawing room on the right (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.3 Inside the dining room. Note the panelling on the walls and the wallpaper, which depicts flowers in a geometric pattern (Rünzi 2021).

The children’s room contains the same wooden floorboards as the dining room, and the walls are papered with a white floral pattern. The same door is affixed to this room, equipped with a fanlight. This room contains a single sashed window. The scullery contains a window with six , can be opened via a latch. The walls in the scullery differ from those in other rooms as they are covered in beaded timber weatherboards, which also cover the ceiling. The wallpaper in the hallway has been stripped to show the lining paper that was present underneath. The kitchen also repeats the same style of flooring, and wall design with only a variation in the wallpaper used. A fireplace is located next to a window on the western end of the room. The drawing room follows a similar pattern for flooring, walls and ceiling. Three windows are located on the southern end of the room, along with a fireplace with an ornate wooden mantle and metalwork. A light fixture is also attached in the centre of this room.

Figure 5.2.2.4 The children’s room. Note the geometric wallpaper containing leaf shapes and the bright colour scheme of the room (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.5 Inside of the scullery. Note the white walls, wooden bench and exposed floorboards (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.6 Inside the drawing room. Note the bay windows (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.7 The hallway. Note the fanlights above the door, and the use of the flyscreen on the door to let extra light into the hallway (Rünzi 2021).

The master bedroom differs from the other rooms in the house. The floorboards in this room are the same, but in this room they are encircled by a white skirting board. The walls are not panelled. The nursing room follows a similar pattern of floor to ceiling wallpaper, papered ceiling, white skirting boards and exposed floorboards. The gun room, depicted now as a store room, is timber lined, with three rows of shelving. The morning room is similar to the bedrooms in the homestead, following the pattern of white skirting boards, floor to ceiling

wallpaper, papered ceiling and floorboards.

Figure 5.2.2.8 The master bedroom. Note the stylised flowers depicted on the wallpaper.

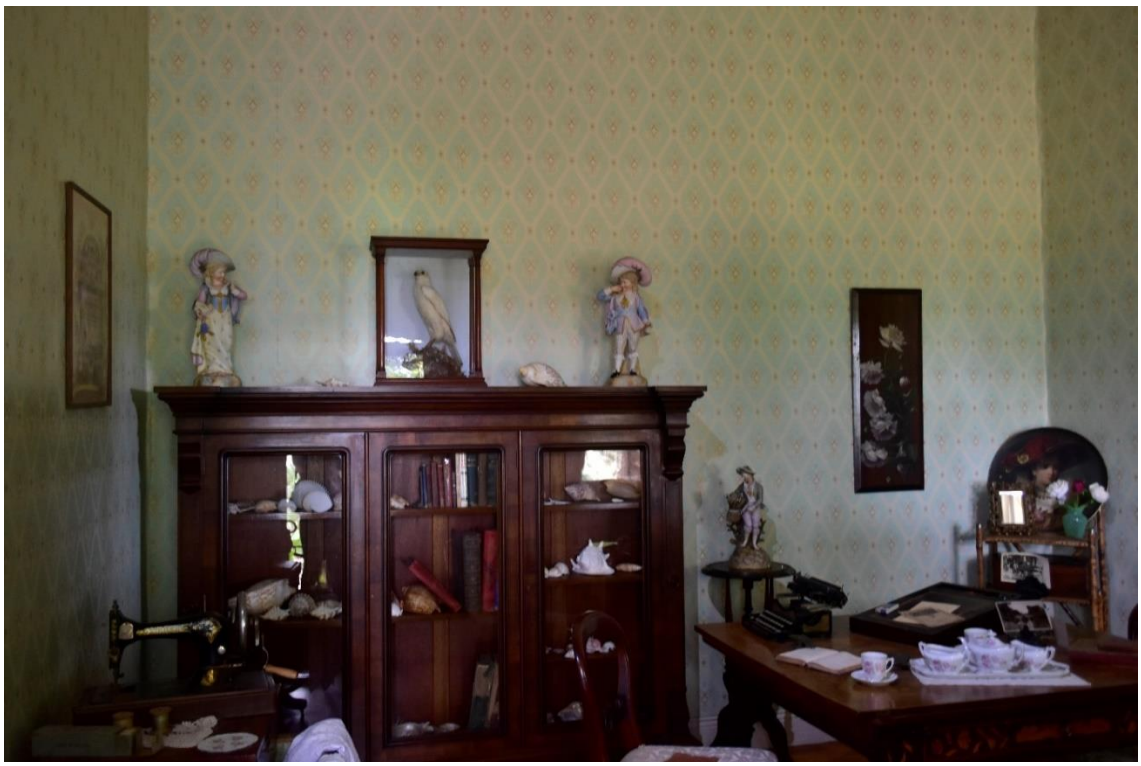


Figure 5.2.2.9 The morning room. Note again the patterned, ordered wallpaper depicted a stylised flower in the centre of each diamond (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.10 The inside of the nursery, note the lack of panelling on the walls, a white skirting board and the bright, white colour scheme (Rünzi 2021).

The Amess half-cellar is a standalone building made with red bricks which were later plastered and painted white. Along with stairs, wooden railing and brickwork down to the only door in the cellar. The roof is made from corrugated iron, and inside are two rows of shelving made from wood.

Amess Barn is a wooden structure designed to match the Amess homestead with its exterior weatherboards. Two timber doors with diagonal bracing open externally. Two small windows are located on the back wall of the barn. Either side of the barn on the interior are beams and railings made from tree trunks. While the centre of the barn does not contain any flooring, there is limited wooden floorboards around the periphery of the internal walls. The entrance contains a small paved area of red bricks.

Figure 5.2.2.11 The exterior of Amess Barn. Note the zigzag bracing on the barn doors (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 5.2.2.12 The exterior of the Amess half-cellar. Note the thin plaster or white paint used to cover the bricks (Rünzi 2021).

5.3 Interpretation of cultural material

The tangible archaeological evidence from Churchill Island describes an environment that has been subject to a series of changes from waves of settlers who each had their own vision about what this island would mean. Site plans for Churchill Island show an increase in built structures over time. In addition to the creation of buildings for habitation, industrial buildings were quickly erected, and with time the very site plan of how the island was organised adapted to reflect the values of its then current owners, whether they saw the island as a residence, business, pleasure park or all of the above. The evidence of enclosure on Churchill Island paints a landscape that became further divided over time, both through the division of land for agricultural use, industrial activities, leisure, aesthetic value and privatisation. The significance of the botanical organisation on Churchill Island is that it demonstrates an instance of residents collecting plants for pleasure over sustenance, marking a change in survivalist activities to a time when there was plenty, and energy could afford to be diverted towards pleasurable activities. The higher number of industrial rather than personal artefacts on Churchill Island that can be attributed to an era of residence is an

important indicator of how important of a role agricultural activity played in the lives of the residents of the island throughout time.

It must also be acknowledged that these are the items which the National Trust of Australia has gone to the trouble of dating, while others have been put on display without any background or mixed with items from other museums which add touristic value to the site. The increased attention on industrial artefacts supports the modern standpoint of the current owners that Churchill Island has been and still is very much a working farm. The number of built structures on Churchill Island have increased over time. Aside from an increase in the number of buildings on the island, the way the structures are organised, and the accompanying artefacts attached to the house such as candlestick holders, doorknobs and window furnishings offer an opportunity for a deeper contextualisation into why the residents interacted with and designed the built heritage around them the way they did during this time.

6. Discussion

6.1 The interplay between values, ideologies, and environment on Churchill Island

Tangible evidence for changes in site plans, enclosure, botanical collections, artefacts and building styles on Churchill Island reflect the changes in how residents recreated, embellished and divided the environment around them. This thesis argues that these changes were driven by evolutions of social values, the ideology of improvement and personal and community identity. The changes in Churchill Island's resident's values, ideology and identity have left a history in the material culture which these residents used to solidify tangibly the immaterial and ephemeral changes that were occurring in their own personal perspectives, as well as those that were altering society at large. The site plans, use of enclosure, botanical collections, artefacts and building styles found on Churchill Island will now be examined for indications of shifts in personal perspectives that have left traces in the selection and organisation of material culture and space on Churchill Island.

6.2 Indigenous peoples

Churchill Island's value to the Indigenous population becomes clear when investigating how the local Bunurong people interacted with their environment. The primary purpose for habitation or visitation on the island was to collect resources including oysters, fish and red ochre, and possibly for spiritual purposes as well. The location of a shell midden on the island suggests that this was an ideal place for habitation, at least seasonally if not for longer periods of time. According to Phillip Island Nature Parks (2015:5), the Bunurong people practised ceremonies on this land. The shell midden evidence only on the bayside of the island (the part of the island closest to Philip Island where the Bunurong travelled from) may indicate that residence at this location facilitated easy travel back to Philip Island from an area that was already rich in resources, marking Churchill Island as a temporary stop. However, this dismisses the idea that other middens may exist at other points across Churchill Island, an assumption that requires further archaeological investigation. The tangible remains of Bunurong habitation, as well as historical accounts (Phillip Island Nature Parks) reflects the ideology that Churchill Island was viewed as a resource rich location of spiritual significance during this time.

6.3 Lt. Grant and the crew of the Lady Nelson

The advent of Lt. Grant on Churchill Island in 1801 and the subsequent exploration era changed how the landscape of Churchill Island was utilised. A lack of tangible evidence makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions, but the historical testimonies about Lt. Grant's blockhouse and associated agricultural activities warrant an investigation into their significance. If archaeological evidence can locate the blockhouse, this would mark the first instance of enclosure, privatisation and militarisation on Churchill Island. If further investigation can confirm the existence of Lt. Grant's garden, this would also be the first instance of crop plantation on Churchill Island and in Victoria. The purpose of the island at this time appears largely experimental and foundational. Seeds were planted by Lt. Grant, who wrote that he saw Churchill Island as being an ideal settlement location due to the "richness of the soil" and the "sheltered position of the spot" (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:15). The creation of a blockhouse to serve as both a shelter and a military fortification (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:7) reflects the ideology of Lt. Grant and his party in 1801 that Churchill Island was an ideal location for an outpost that could be claimed and well protected (due to its sheltered position) and adapted for sustainable farming (due to its rich soil). During the exploration era from 1801 to 1856, Churchill Island reflected the values of its residents as a location that provided a sheltered military base that was also "pleasant" (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:15). The historical account reflects further the values that Lt. Grant and his party brought with them. It is apparent from Lt. Grant's account that he and his party valued defensive positioning, limited sustainability and pleasurable surroundings, ideals that reflect the larger activities that were occurring during European settlement from 1801 to 1856 in Victoria, including intermittent wars with the French and the exploration of Victoria.

6.4 The Pickersgill family

The Pickersgill family brought a new set of values with them as they settled onto Churchill Island (1860 to 1866) and interacted with the space around them. This family consisted of Samuel and Winifred Pickersgill and their three children. Similar to Lt. Grant and his party's residence on Churchill Island, no material culture has been found on the island for the Pickersgill's residence. Historical accounts suggest that the Pickersgills either lived in tents

or Lt. Grant's blockhouse, grew vegetables to sustain themselves, and sold their extra crops for profit. If this historical account is accurate, then it can be suggested that the Pickersgill family valued Churchill Island for its residential, agricultural and industrial values, through their activities of residing on the island, growing crops to sustain themselves, and growing extra food to make money. This is the first occurrence of small-scale profiting from Churchill Island's landscape. Philip Island Nature Parks (2015:9) suggest that the efforts made to profit from Churchill Island agriculturally were done to raise enough funds for the Pickersgill family to secure a lease on the island, which they had not yet secured. The historical account depicts a family who were attempting to profit from the land they are sustaining themselves on in order to privatise the land itself. Baird (2007:26-28) explains that Winifred Pickersgill, Samuel Pickersgill's wife, grew extra vegetables and flowers which she sold to make a profit, gave reading and writing lessons to children and worked as a cook and a cleaner to save money to purchase the lease to Churchill Island. The goal via which small-scale industrial activities such as growing extra crops and working off-island occurred was in pursuit of the ownership, privatisation and by extension the enclosure of the land, in which the Pickersgills could be secure in their rights to living and working on the island. The values reflected in the account of the Pickersgills' are those of survival and the emergence and effects of legislation on ideologies about privatisation, ownership and by extension, enclosure within Victoria in the mid nineteenth century.

6.5 The Rogers family

The leasing of Churchill Island by the Rogers family from 1866 to 1872 marked the first occurrence of the island being legally owned and privatised. The creation of the two Rogers' Cottages marks the first archaeologically verifiable built heritage structures on Churchill Island. The residence of the Rogers indicates a clear change in ideology and values from those of the previous owners, the Pickersgills. Apparent in both the tangible built heritage and the historical testaments of the two families (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:11) is the notion that the Rogers family were more industrious than the Pickersgills. The built heritage of Churchill Island reflects this shift in ideologies. There is no archaeological evidence that the Pickersgill family ever lived on the island, no discernible structures or enclosures were erected that can be attributed today to their occupation, although they spent the same amount of time resident on Churchill Island as the Rogers family (six years each, with possible

overlap). However, the Rogers family altered Churchill Island's landscape by erecting two cottages, flower beds, orchards, vegetable gardens, rows of trees used as windbreaks, enclosed grazing cattle and grew crops. Phillip Island Nature Parks (2015:11) describes how John Rogers and Samuel Pickersgill, the men from each family, were "very different from each other", with John Rogers being described as a "fine practical type of settler who could do more in a day than most men". The same passage goes on to explain that "The two cottages built by Rogers reflect the sturdy nature of their builder" and that "He [John Rogers] and his wife Sarah were a hard working pair". Baird (2007:28) also states that there was a "clash of personality" between the two men, and that Samuel Pickersgill "never took seriously to farming". The ideology witnessed in the historical account and corroborated with the archaeological evidence of Rogers' Cottages is the ideology of improvement and suggests a wider social movement that influenced values during this time, namely, that the belief in industrialisation separated people into those who were hardworking, and those who were not (Orser 2005:395).

The ideals of progression and improvement are intertwined into the cultural remains of the materials affected by those with this ideology (Tarlow 2007:35). Orser (2005:395) contends that the ability to produce a surplus of agricultural goods took on a moral as well as an economic significance, with these abilities marking an individual as hard working and progressive. In the case of the Rogers' family, it appears that both their productive capacity in terms of farming practices and personal productivity, such as building houses and other structures, contributed to historical accounts of their hard-working nature. One practice introduced by the improvement movement was the enclosure of space to manipulate the land in a way that would increase its value, either socially or economically (Orser 2005:394). This can be clearly seen with the Rogers' occupation on Churchill Island. The landscape of the island was manipulated to increase its value socially via the planting of trees as windbreaks, creation of an orchard, flowerbeds and a vegetable garden. These additions to the island would have made it less prone to damage, enhanced its aesthetic and provided designated areas for sustainable farming, as well as offering a safe place for residence (Rogers' Cottages). The manipulation of land through the enclosure of cattle paddocks and production of crops, would have enhanced the land's value economically due to the profit that these activities produce. The ideology of improvement may have influenced the Pickersgill and Rogers families in one of two ways, or both: this ideology encouraged hard work and the manipulation of surroundings in the Rogers' family, leading them to leave behind a material

legacy that the Pickersgills did not; their adherence to the ideology of improvement lead the Rogers' family to being memorialised in the historical record as a hard working family, while the Pickersgills, in particular Samuel Pickersgill has not received the same level of reputation.

The structural organisation of Rogers' Cottages also offers insight into the values of its creators. The two cottages are set at an acute angle, with the exteriors of the structures on these sides containing the only door to the main room of the northern cottage and two windows, and one of the doors of the southern cottage and one window. In analysing the northern cottage, it is clear that the acute facing façade represents the front of the structure. The two windows and door on this façade are placed in the main chamber of this cottage, which is likely to have originally been a bedroom, an assumption made mostly due to the opposing cottage so clearly being a kitchen with the existence of its internal structures such as a fireplace and bread oven. The layout of the southern cottage, in terms of the doors on both the northern and southern walls, indicates that either side could be determined to be front facing. However, the angle at which the northern cottage is placed and its clear incline to a central front facing area is the main indicator of which façade was made to be front facing in the mind of its builders. Tarlow (2007:50) explains that with the introduction of the improvement movement, the layout of buildings was altered to reflect the occupants' changing views and outlook towards a larger and more global society. This manifested in the form of buildings facing the road or local towns, rather than the previous orientation towards yards or farmlands.

In the case of Rogers' Cottages, the two cottages clearly face towards each other on an acute angle, depicting an inward-facing orientation. This habitational direction to reflect inwards may reflect the original occupants' perspectives on life, and their values. The activities they undertook while on the island were largely aimed at improving their immediate surroundings, such as creating windbreaks with trees, planting flowerbeds etc. for their own benefit. These activities, the orientation of the cottages and the historical accounts all suggest a family who valued their personal progress and were focused largely on creating the ideal home for themselves. Although progressive ideals are traceable during this time, with the selling of vegetables and farm produce for profit, the original structure appears to suggest that the main value of its builders was an improved internal, familial lifestyle.

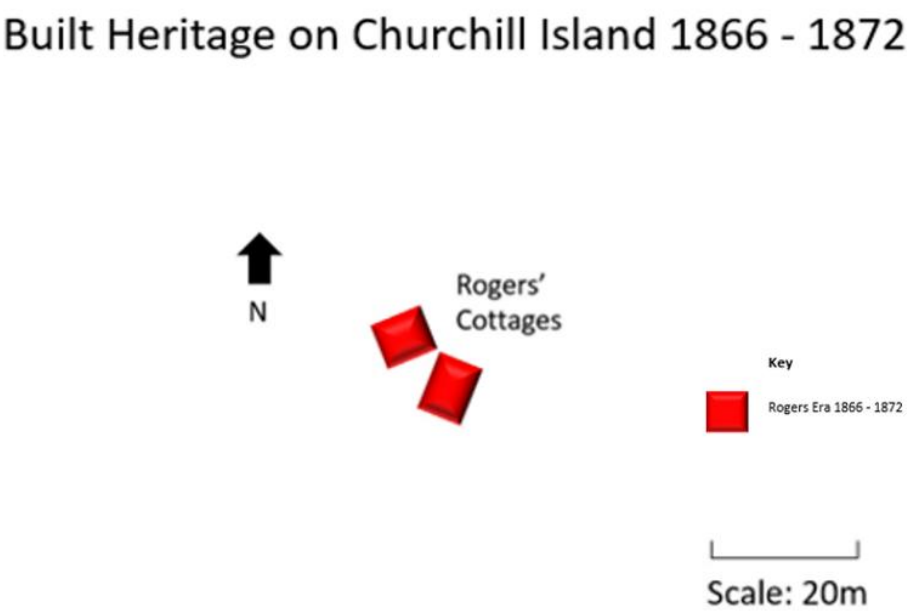


Figure 6.5.1 The acute incline of Rogers' Cottages, facing inwards at a north-eastern angle, indicating the front of the site (Rünzi 2021).

Aside from structures that face each other and their respective land rather than the local road or town, another aspect of improvement which is absent is the lack of organised, whitened and unblemished internal objects and structures (Lewis 2016:11). The internal walls of the eastern Rogers' Cottage are wooden planks that have not been modernised, or covered with paint, as are the wooden planks on the ceilings, the concrete-like flooring and the brickwork surrounding the fireplace and the bread oven. The lack of desire or need to cover natural building materials with paint suggests that the triumph of humans over nature, or the organisation of nature to the whims of humans was not yet fully practiced by the Rogers', although small acts of manipulation of nature, such as building construction, planting trees in rows, and the creation of flowerbeds were occurring. These activities indicate that, while limited exploitation of nature was occurring outside of the home during this time, it had not yet begun inside the home to a large extent. The utilisation of natural light inside the structure is apparent by the fixture of three windows within the southern cottage, highlighting the importance of this natural resource.

Figure 6.5.2 The internal ceiling and walls of the northern Rogers' Cottage, exposed and dark in contrast to the white papered walls of the southern cottage (Rünzi 2021).

The southern Rogers' Cottage, in particular the front, likely bedroom, area, is decorated in a very similar style to the Amess homestead, following the design of slightly red coloured wooden boards layered almost halfway up the wall, wallpaper, and bordered wallpaper along the ceiling.. Due to this design being very similar to that of the Amess homestead, it calls into question whether this room in Rogers' northern cottage was redecorated and repurposed at a later date by the Amess family. For this reason, the design elements in this room cannot be attributed to the Rogers' family without some form of confirmation of their involvement. The second room in the northern cottage, the storage room, contains the same elements of natural wooden planks on the ceiling, walls, shelves and floor, suggesting a similarity to the northern cottage in that attempts were not made by the Rogers' to alter or modernise the natural aesthetic of the structural wood of which the cottages are made. It is unclear whether the external walls and doors on both cottages were painted during the Rogers' occupation or at a later date, although the good condition of both of these painted surfaces compared to the internal, original features such as the dilapidated flooring, aged fireplace, walls and external paving, suggests that these may have been stylistic additions made by later occupants. All

doors on both cottages have keyholes cut into them, a clear indication of the privatisation of the internal space of these buildings and their contents as belonging only to the Rogers'.

Figure 6.5.3 The interior of Rogers' southern Cottage, in contrast to the northern cottage which does not contain wallpapers or woodwork on the walls, the style of this cottage is more akin to that of Amess house (Rünzi 2021).

It must also be noted that the windows in the western barn are arched, while those in the eastern building are flat and appear to be operational, as opposed to the arched windows in the northern cottage which do not contain a handle to open them. The stylistic differences suggest that perhaps the eastern cottage, equipped with more modern windows, may have

been built at a later date, an idea supported by historical literature which suggests that John Rogers 'built first one cottage for his family, then later another adjoining the first' (Baird 2007:36). Tarlow (2007:50) explains that stylistic changes to building aesthetics during the improvement movement represented values such as order, rationalisation and clarity. If the northern cottage was the second cottage made to complement the first, the change in window shape from arched to flat may reflect these ideals for order. In corroboration with Tarlow, Lewis (2016:34) states that glass windows encouraged the use of light in rooms, making them more spacious, and reinforcing ideals such as cleanliness, positive morality, and positive mental and physical effects. Applying this theory to Rogers' northern cottage, it is possible that ideological changes which encouraged spaciousness and positivity led to the implementation of windows that could be opened, thereby extending the spaciousness of the room to include the sights, sounds and air from the outside world, unimpeded by glass. Furthermore, the ideal of cleanliness may have also encouraged the use of windows that could be opened, and would facilitate fresh air throughout the cottage. The changes in windows from one cottage to another in both shape and user interface, allow for the manipulation of air flow and light, by both opening and closing the window to restrict air flow and creating the windows originally to allow the use of light in the room. Neither cottages indicate that curtains were used at any point over the windows, suggesting that the manipulation of light (for example, to allow more or less of it inside the room), had not yet been established.

Figure 6.5.4 The windows of the northern Rogers' Cottage, arched in shape, unable to be opened, and containing no window furnishings (Rünzi 2021).

Figure 6.5.5 The windows of the southern Rogers' Cottage, flat arched in shape and with the ability to be opened (Rünzi 2021).

Rogers' Cottages portray an interplay between pre and post improvement ideals and represent the turning point from traditional to modern values. Aspects of the cottages, such as the placement of the buildings at an acute internally-facing angle suggest that the perspectives of the inhabitants were internally focused, and not yet positioned outwards to the road or nearest town, such as later modern structures would be. The unchanged natural structural components, such as the brick of the fireplace and bread oven, and the wooden floorboards, ceilings and walls, especially in the southern cottage, suggest a lack of the rational, ordered mindset that would accompany the modern values of the improvement era. However, the northern cottage, which may have been altered at a later date, also shows structural evidence that the Rogers underwent a change in values by the time they built their second cottage. The shape of the windows and their user interface demonstrate a stylistic change towards more ordered designs (rectangular as opposed to arched) and depict the greater exercising of control over nature, an improvement ideal, by creating windows that can be opened and closed, thereby allowing for a greater manipulation of airflow within the cottage. While Rogers' Cottages depict structures made by a family adapting within the throes of pre and post modernism, growing industrialisation and the ideology of improvement, the Amess

homestead records the ideals of a family arriving on Churchill Island with the wealth required to sculpt the land into their ideal getaway from Melbourne during a time when the modern ideologies that began to gain traction during the Rogers' occupation were developing into largely accepted mainstream ideals.

6.6 The Amess family

Samuel Amess and his family (1872 to 1929) created the most extensive changes to the heritage landscape of Churchill Island. The homestead itself is made from external and internal wooden walls, wooden floorboards, and a mixture of wooden and papered ceilings. Many of the interior walls are wallpapered partially, or fully. Windows throughout the homestead are rectangular in shape as opposed to the older arches of Rogers' Cottages, supporting the idea that stylistic changes to building aesthetics during the improvement movement represented values such as order (Tarlow 2007:50). Where windows are located throughout the homestead, they all possess the ability to be opened and closed, although there are a few exceptions, including the fanlights located above the doors on either side of the main hallway, which are purely for allowing light in, another improvement ideal related to positive morality (Lewis 2016:127). Unlike Rogers' Cottages, the windows throughout the Amess homestead are fitted with either curtains or venetian blinds. A theme appears in window furnishing in the homestead, where bedrooms are fitted with curtains, usually white and flowing, and rooms that might be visited by guests or worked in, such as the drawing or dining rooms, are fitted with venetian blinds. Personal sleeping quarters received soft, muted sunlight through fabric curtains, while shared spaces were subjected to the more extreme levels of light afforded by the venetian blinds, either entirely blocking out light, or allowing stripes of intense light into the space. Identity as an ever changing, externally influenced process would be affected by the conscious and unconscious choices of individuals. These individuals would make stylistic choices that would either align with or divert from the surrounding environment of the greater collective ideology of the time. As a result, an individual's choices in culture, lifestyle and stylistic preferences, including the shape of windows and the types of furnishings used to block out light, can be linked to perceptions resulting from identity construction (Bottero 2004:987).

Figure 6.6.1 The large, rectangular windows of Amess House which allow brightness to flood into rooms like the nursey (Rünzi 2021).

Viewing the ideology around light and brightness during the improvement era (Lewis 2016:127), it is possible that more intense sunlight, and by extension the more intense depiction of moral righteousness and status were required in rooms that could be described as public facing and which may be shared with others. By comparison, the muted light of the curtains in personal rooms may denote a more subtle display of control of light. The lack of a need to prove positive morals including order, cleanliness and clarity associated with light, may have resulted in a more natural interface with light as a natural phenomenon. Light was harnessed when required and the curtains were thrown open, but when unrequired, was muted to a comforting, restful glow in the background of a space that was made for relaxation. In light of this, the clear division in window furnishings throughout the homestead may describe different ways in which the occupants interacted with private and public facing rooms, that can be further divided into restful and entertaining/working and introverted and extroverted. To support this idea even further, light fixtures powered by gas and later electricity have also been placed in the dining and drawing rooms, further manipulating the rooms to increase light, a trend that does not extend into the bedrooms.

The doors found throughout the homestead that act as an interface between the interior and exterior of the building are made of wood, with a fly screen fitted in the top fanlight. Like the windows, the manipulation of light and air flow demonstrate the improvement ideology and confirm the notion of positive ideals such as brightness, fresh air and spaciousness that are associated with it. The doors also depict a change in locking mechanisms, between those doors leading outside of the homestead and those leading to other rooms within the homestead. Several doors depict the older locking mechanism of a keyhole cut into the wood, similar to those in Rogers' Cottages. Most of these doors also contain evidence of an elaborate metal rim lock, likely added at a later date. This second mechanism differs in not only its more advanced security design, but also by the fact that its purpose is advertised by the depiction of an ornate golden key on the mechanism itself. The obvious and lavish ornament of this locking mechanism explains several values of the inhabitants. Firstly, the value of their belongings increased over time, either economically or subjectively, to warrant the installation of a more advanced locking mechanism. Secondly, it was seen as desirable to own a more advanced locking mechanism and was even advertised in gold on the lock itself. It is suggested by the design on this lock that the occupants were displaying the fact that they owned valuables worth locking with the highest security mechanisms of the time. The blatant

advertising of owning such valuables, and perhaps the exclusivity associated with entering the homestead suggests that this locking fixture was a symbol of improvement values such as status and privatisation (Tarlow 2007:50). The door to the master bedroom contains an ornate piece of woodwork that no other door has, possibly signifying the status of the occupants as the heads of the household.

Figure 6.6.2 The doors of Amess House. Fly screen covers the top half of the door, allowing for extra light and airflow through the house (Rünzi 2021).

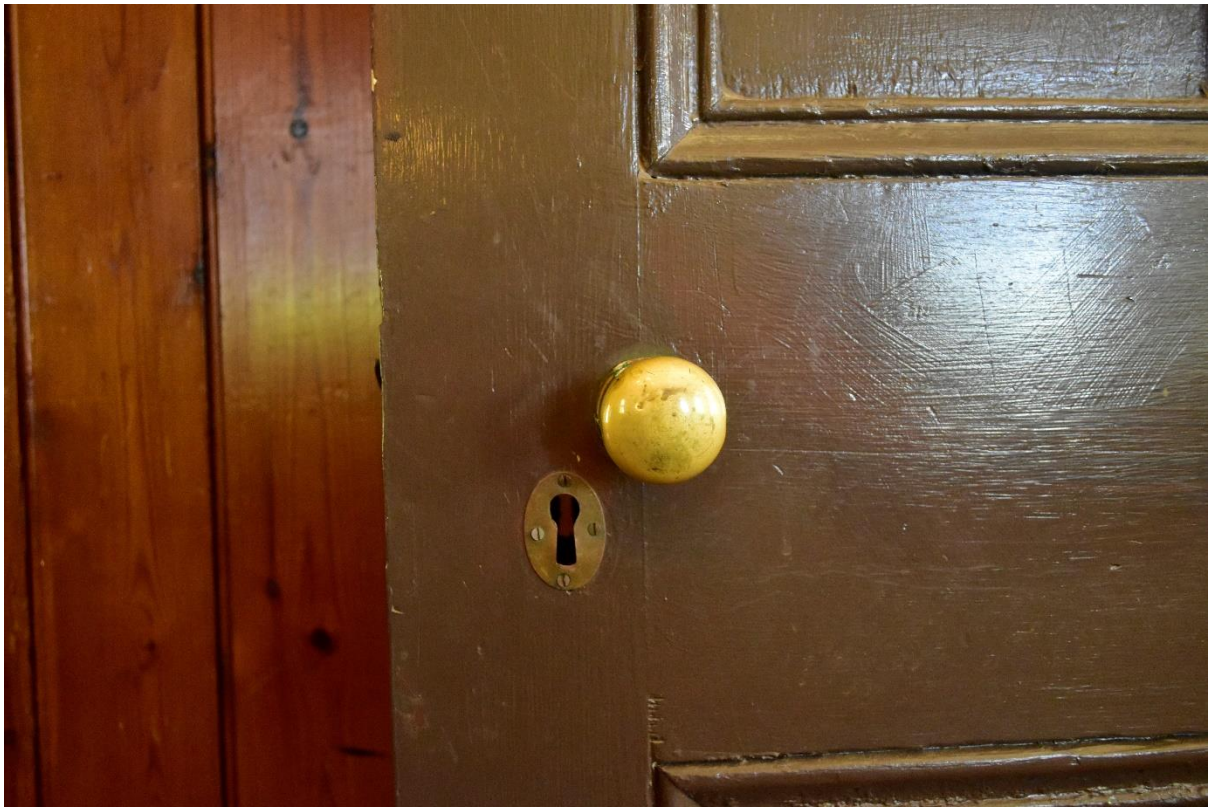


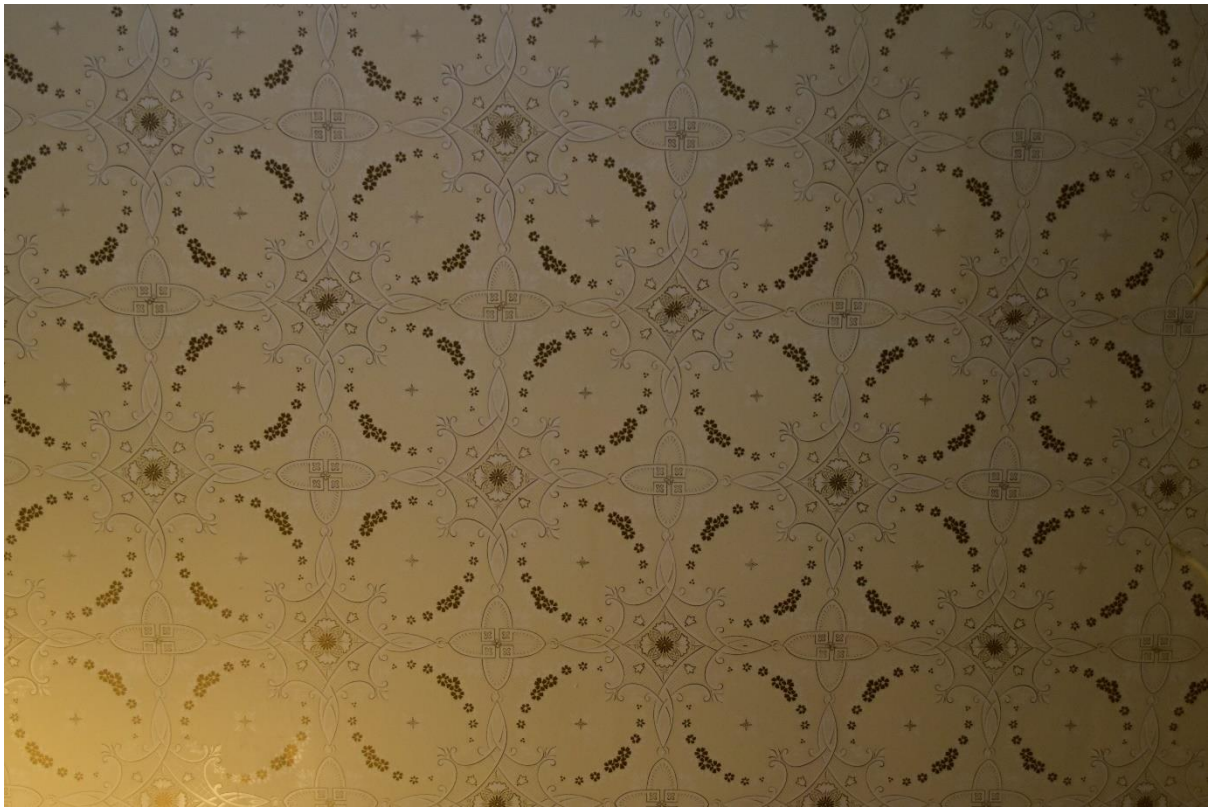
Figure 6.6.3 An example of the older locking system in Amess house, a keyhole cut into the doorframe (Rünzi 2021).

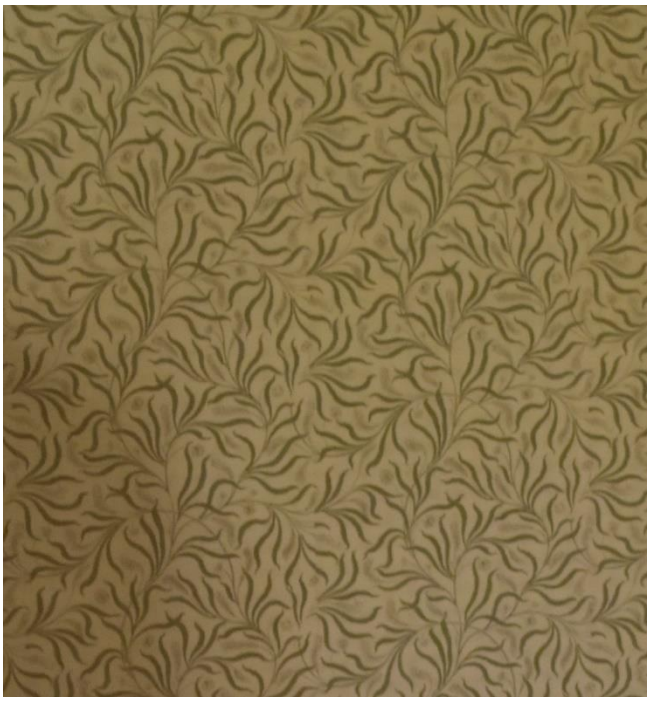
Figure 6.6.4 An example of the newer elaborate rim lock in Amess House. Aside from the technological advancement of the mechanism fitting into the wood of the doorframe, the flamboyant gold key design is a statement of wealth and status in Amess House (Rünzi 2021).

Every room throughout the homestead, including the hallway but excluding the scullery and the gun/storage room, contains wallpapers and ceiling papers that are dominantly either white or pastel in colour. Two facets of these wallpapers indicate that their inclusion in the homestead is a result of improvement ideologies. Firstly, the light and bright colours are indicative of the brightness, clarity and cleanliness associated with the positive morals of the

improvement era (Lewis 2016:127). Secondly, the wallpapers do not display purely natural shapes and images. While a shape such as a leaf may be present, it will be integrated into a highly rationally organised patterns, often including modern geometry that does not occur in nature, such as diamonds. These wallpapers depict natural features within a human-made organised system based on the principles of geometry and patterns. One wallpaper chooses to depict a child rather than any natural imagery. The stylistic choices in these wallpapers depict the values of the original occupants by showing which types of imagery they chose to surround themselves with. Some of the wallpapers in the Amess household have been reconstructed as close to original as possible. Both the reconstructed and original wallpapers depict the same imagery: a child on the nursery's wallpaper, and natural imagery such as flowers and leaves organised by geometric patterns throughout the homestead. The choice of the owners to decorate their walls with wallpapers that clearly depict nature organised by humans into a pattern that satisfies a need for order and rationalisation is a testament to the values of improvement ideology that were prevalent at this time. The collection of emblematic resources, or symbols, is an identity practice that allows individuals to characterize and define their identities (Blommaert and Varis 2013:4).

The increased findings of mass-produced items among more modern sites, including wallpapers, indicates an increase in mass consumerism and capitalist ideologies, driven by the improvement movement documented by Tarlow (2007) and Orser (2005). It is important to note that buildings are not updated as often as individual changes in identity, and so it is possible that they often symbolize ideologies that were less relevant to later populations (Burke et al. 2018:799). The collection of wallpapers containing symbols such as geometric patterns and organised natural symbols by the Amess family, and thereby identifying with them by hanging them in their home, indicates that these symbols, and the greater improvement ideology that they identify were used by the Amess family, who valued the identity of positive morals, order, rationalisation that are a part of the ideology of improvement. The scullery does not contain wallpapers and is lined with timber boards, although those in the scullery have been painted white, keeping with the theme of brightness throughout the rest of the household (Lewis 2016:127).





Figures 6.6.5, 6.6.6, 6.6.7 and **6.6.8** Examples of wallpapers throughout Amess House. Note that each wallpaper depicts natural shapes such as leaves, flowers or people in organised, geometric patterns, indicative of values such as order, rationalisation and the division of nature subject to human desire (Rünzi 2021).

Although it is unclear whether the ceramics located in the Amess homestead were discovered there or a part of the National Trust's additions to the site, the white, ceramic artefacts on display in the visitors centre have been discovered on site, and are dated to the Amess era of occupation. The unblemished look of household items occurred as a result of changes in material production, including making items that appeared whiter and more modern (Lewis 2016:127). As a result, these ceramics located at the Amess homestead can be seen as representing the ideals of consumers at this time, which tended towards the improvement ideals of clean, white and modern.

Amess homestead is shaped like a rectangle with two facetted bay windows on the far eastern and western ends of the building. These turrets, placed on the southern side of the structure, indicate the front of the building. This is further supported by the concrete stairs and balcony leading visitors into the building from this point of entry, as well as the extensive botanic garden which contains pathways converging on this point. Ornate metal railings with intricate details are painted in green and serve the purpose of both leading visitors into the dining room and framing the front of the house. The orientation of Amess homestead is not focused in the form of an acute angle like that of Rogers' Cottages, and instead forms a straight façade that faces the pleasure garden, and is angled to the north-eastern portion of the island, towards the Australian mainland. The current orientation of the building is accentuated by roads and pathways that lead visitors to approach the front of the structure from the north-east. Due to the multiple renovations that have occurred on Churchill Island, it is unknown how visitors were led to the structure in the past, and by what pathways. The clear front facing façade of the Amess homestead, and historic testimonies (Phillip Island Nature Praks 2015:13) that claim passage was made by ferry from Phillip Island suggest that there was a point of entry from sea, from which pathways likely led visitors to the north-east of Amess homestead where they would have then entered the building. It is difficult to interpret the orientation of the homestead without knowledge of the paths by which travel to the site was accomplished. However, the orientation of the homestead away from Phillip Island, towards a more distant mainland could be interpreted in a myriad of ways, including a fondness for the mainland, or a predisposition for a view of more distant shores over that of their closer neighbours on Phillip Island.

The construction of a washroom structure, Amess Barn and a brick half cellar suggest an

effort on behalf of the Amess family to rationally organise and order their space for specific uses, and to enclose these spaces as distinct areas where certain activities could occur. This orderly rationalisation suggests the implementation of improvement ideals, as does the use of enclosure for designating space with the idea that it will enhance progress or utility (Tarlow 2007:50). The building of a well during the Amess occupation also indicates the triumph of human over nature, this time for the convenience of a local supply of fresh water (Lewis 2016:11).

The creation of the botanical gardens and pleasure park by the Amess family also indicates the presence of improvement ideals. Tarlow (2007:50) highlights that there was prestige associated with the pleasure park that included various botanical varieties that became a symbol of status and moral righteousness. Importantly, the uptake in agricultural interests at this time is reminiscent of the idea of 'scientific' farming, a growing intellectual interest in botany that can be seen through the use of gardening, which comprised collections of plants from a variety of locales (Lewis 2016:34). The idea of prestige and scientific farming is highly apparent at Churchill Island, where a large collection of botanical oddities has been collected throughout the improvement era and are still on display today. The original orchard plans for the Churchill Island farmstead detail the thoughts of the illustrator in terms of the orchard's aesthetic value, diversity, and a clearly organised and efficient layout of the plants. The organisation of the pleasure park, the variety of specimens and the intellectual value and prestige that they offer mark a change in the ideology of the owners of Churchill Island, whereby interaction with the space around them is divided amongst several categories: residential (homestead), profitable (working farm), social (visitors), prestigious (variety in plants and organisation that shows wealth through the acquisition of rare things) and intellectual (the collection of plants to demonstrate an intellectual interest in botany). Notwithstanding, the collection and rational organisation of these botanical specimens further demonstrates a continuation in the ideology of humans triumphing over nature (Lewis 2016:11).

6.7 Gerald Neville Buckley

Following the Amess family's large scale changes to the built heritage on Churchill Island, Gerald Neville Buckley (1929 to 1936) constructed a dam, windmill and milking shed. It is

unclear where the milking shed was located on the island, making it impossible to interpret archaeologically with any certainty. The remnants of the dam built by Buckley can be seen today as a ridge running along the south-eastern side of an artificial rectangular shaped lake. The construction of this dam is an example of humans using increasingly advanced techniques to alter the landscape around them for their benefit. The construction of the dam would have allowed Buckley to control and store water in an organised location. The collection and storage of water, alongside the shape of the dam in a geometric, modern, orderly pattern of a rectangle as opposed to a naturally formed lake like others on the island which occur in irregular circular patterns, epitomises the ideology of improvement, and demonstrates influence from the values of the accompanying set of ideological principals such as order and rational organisation. The human-made rectangular shape of the pond on the left side of the dam may also indicate the satisfaction of a desire for the rationalised division of space (Tarlow 2007:50).

Figure 6.7.1 Buckley's dam and windmill. Note the artificial, rectangular shape of the artificial pond, a decision which reflects the creators desire for order in nature and the space around them (Rünzi 2021).

It is unclear how the energy harnessed from the construction of windmill was utilised on the

island, however the creation of a wind-powered energy system marks a milestone in the history of Churchill Island in and of itself, being the first instance of electrical power implemented on the island. The windmill is a further example of humans triumphing over nature, whereby the natural flow of the wind has been harnessed artificially to power machinery made to serve the purpose of the owner. Furthermore, Casella (2006:67) highlights that the importation of overseas equipment and technologies influenced the industrial revolution in Australia. The windmill, invented in the United States in 1854, in an example of such industrial technologies being implemented in Australia, and depicts the growing integration of industrialised technologies that ushered in the use of more efficient machinery that could reduce production time and increase profit. The Buckley period of occupation marks a period of high industrial activity on Churchill Island, with the number of industrial machines dating from this period coming second only to the Amess occupation, the machinery of which may have still been present on the island for Buckley's use. Tarlow (2007:50) states that items that served as symbols of improvement became representative of status and morality and were often moved closer to residences to be admired. The relatively close proximity of the windmill, and to a lesser extent of the dam, which can be viewed from the homestead, may be representative of these improvement values of status and morality, which may account for their location within viewing distance of the homestead. The creation of the dam by Buckley demonstrates the use of the improvement values such as order and rationalisation in revolutionising the farmstead's water storage. Buckley's implementation of the windmill demonstrates an evolution in the driving ideology of humans over nature and may also represent a symbol of status and morality in alignment with improvement ideals. The windmill also depicts the integration of overseas technologies that would enhance the industrial activities of Churchill Island.

6.8 Dr. Harry Jenkins

Extending the technological advancement of Buckley's windmill, Dr. Jenkins (1936 to 1963) implemented a wind-powered electrical generator, wind charger, chip heater and water tank. Like Buckley, the integration of these technologies further cement Casella's (2006:67) point about the increasing usage of overseas technologies to enhance the progress of industrial activities in Australia. As no remnants of these changes are available, a spatial analysis is unable to be undertaken. The first bridge connecting Churchill and Phillip Island was built at

this time, although it has been demolished since then. Although the bridge no longer exists, the knowledge that it was built indicates changes in social values. The building of the bridge would have served the purpose of allowing the safe and easy travel of people and products to and from the island. While research into the effects that transport had on Australia's industrialisation (Riley 2005:41), it has been suggested that the extension of trade routes can have strong impacts on the economic growth of regional areas, and further influence a region's industrialisation (Nevell 2013b:1). With the industrialisation of Churchill Island only increasing after the Pickersgills took up occupation, it is likely that the bridge was built due to a combination of both personal and industrial incentives and increased the travel of commodities for Dr. Jenkins. As the bridge no longer exists, it is impossible to determine if it followed the pathway that the current bridge and road does, and whether it identified the front of Amess homestead as its final destination. Regardless of the details of the bridge, its existence marks the desire of Dr. Jenkins to connect Churchill Island to Phillip Island and facilitate a connection between the two, and by extension, to mainland Australia.

6.9 Sister Campbell and Alex Classou

Following Dr. Jenkin's changes to built heritage, Sister Campbell's addition of a glasshouse from 1963 to 1973 has left no archaeological remains accessible to the public, but can be seen aerially. The glasshouse's existence allows for the further demonstration of an uptake in agricultural interests, and scientific farming (Lewis 2016:34). Industrialised farming still occurred during this time. Alex Classou did not alter the built heritage of Churchill Island between 1973 and 1976. Although his fruit farming activities would have influenced the enclosure of land, no tangible evidence has been left, making it impossible to spatially or tangibly analyse. All that can be surmised from this period was that Churchill Island was highly industrialised for profit during this time as evidenced by its historical change in use exclusively to a fruit farm (Phillip Island Nature Parks 2015:25).

6.10 The National Trust of Australia

The National Trust of Australia (1976 to present) created additional built structures on Churchill Island, including the visitor centre and café, toilet block, blacksmith's shop, the working barn, the shearing shed. Horse stables were built in 2001. Walking paths and

benches across the island were also implemented, as were unmarked storage buildings to keep the touristic activities operating. The bridge connecting Churchill Island to Phillip Island was also demolished and rebuilt during this time. Major reconstructions also occurred on Rogers' Cottages and Amess homestead. While the National Trust of Australia, volunteers and the Friends of Churchill Island society have worked extensively to preserve the history of Churchill Island, several additions to the island have occurred solely for the purpose of increasing touristic value. These additions include the visitor centre and café, toilet block, carparks, unmarked storage buildings, the bridge and walking tracks. Other structures were created to enhance the historical accounts of Churchill Island and are made to immerse visitors in what historians have been able to recreate as accurately as possible.

Due to the recent construction of these additional buildings, the symbology and spatial analysis will not be completed, as while they may be an accurate representation of what may have existed on the island, they are still only a substitute for what actually existed during previous occupations and, as such, cannot be investigated as original archaeological evidence for the history of Churchill Island. The conclusion that can be drawn from the construction of these additional buildings is that the National Trust of Australia values Churchill Island for its intrinsic historical value, and by extension the touristic value it offers. As a result, recent activities on the island in terms of buildings and landscape construction, as well as restoration, reflect the values of educating the public about Churchill Island and raising funds from tourists to keep the farmstead operating for future generations to enjoy. The island is now of touristic and historic value.

Figure 6.10.1 Inside the Visitor's Centre. Tourist activities are now Churchill Island's main source of income (Rünzi 2021).

7. Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the archaeological evidence for the impact of industrialisation on both Churchill Island's social identity and heritage environment. The history of Churchill Island is complex, and the last two centuries have seen the island utilised as a seasonally rich resource environment, a military base, a homestead, a profitable farmstead, an industrialised farm, a pleasure park, a dairy farm, a fruit farm, and a tourist attraction. The island's diverse history and the evolution it has undertaken in the last two centuries have meant that it has lived through several turning points in social and technological ideologies. The industrial revolution is perhaps one of the biggest changes that comes to mind when analysing a site from 1800 to the present. While determining the effects of the industrial revolution on Churchill Island, it became apparent that a dominant ideology was driving both the social and by extension the technological changes of the industrial revolution, this was the ideology of improvement. The ideology of improvement and its associated intangible morals of hard work, progress, and positive mental effects are evident through the same ideology's physical effects such as order, rational organisation, cleanliness, and brightness. The physical changes from the ideology of improvement have altered the landscape of Churchill Island so profoundly that it is evidenced in almost every aspect of human engagement with the island, including artefacts, site plans, built heritage, enclosure, and botanical organisation. The social values and physical effects of the ideology of improvement are well evidenced on Churchill Island in both archaeological evidence and historical accounts. Throughout the island's life it has become increasingly subject to human manipulation, and its natural resources have been dug, moved, replanted, cut, rebuilt and reinvented to suit human ambition and whim. Amongst the practical, physical use and repurposing of the island, is a deep connection from visitors and locals to the land. Perhaps the farmstead and fields of Churchill Island represent a timeline of ideological changes which fascinate those who come in contact with it.

One of the signs at Churchill Island invites visitors to 'Travel back in time'. Amess Homestead and Rogers' Cottages are areas of the island where you cannot travel back to one specific point in time with seeing the evidence for multiple waves of residency across the last two centuries. No part of the Churchill Island farmstead has been left completely untouched by the passage of human ambitions, legacies and lifetimes. In many ways, the farmstead is a canvas that has been painted by the first inhabitants, and successively retouched to become a compilation of the many different perspectives of those who once lived there. This thesis has

recorded the lives of all who have lived on Churchill Island and followed through the commonalities of all of their stories to find a shared truth of human existence during the last two centuries on this farmstead: The ideology of improvement influenced individuals to advance technologically and socially towards ideals of a better existence, which in the case of this ideology, meant positive morals, including enhancing your personal environment and participating in the community, while also accumulating profit.

The study is one of very few to address the social and physical effects of the industrial revolution, and the ideology of improvement in a regional Australian context. As the number of global studies on the effects of industrialisation increase, it is imperative that Australia also investigates this phenomenon in both a metropolitan and regional context. As seen in this study, the ideology of improvement that drove many of the morals associated with the industrial revolution influenced how the owners of the farmstead at Churchill Island interacted with their environment, which in turn highlighted the social changes that they lived through during their respective times on Churchill Island. It is highly likely that if the improvement ideology had the ability to reach and influence a regional area such as Churchill Island: it is also possible that other regional locales across Australia have been touched by the ideology of improvement and should be studied for the similarities and differences in the way this ideology affected their inhabitants. Furthermore, locales that were not touched by the ideology of improvement should also be further investigated and compared with sites like Churchill Island in order to fully appreciate the effects of the practice of or nonexistence of this ideology within an area. Future studies should continue to investigate the impacts of the ideology of improvement in regional Australia to enhance the understanding of the trifecta of industrialisation, the ideology of improvement and the archaeological record. This study suggests that the ideology of improvement was a major influence on those living through the industrial revolution and that industrialisation and the ideology of improvement evolved together to create a series of social and physical changes that reinforced the values and ideals that this ideology offered, and the technological and economic advancements that industrialisation promised.

8. Appendix

	External Buildings										
	Amess Barn	Blacksmith's Shop	The Working Barn	Horse Stables	Wash House	Equipment Shed (East)	Greenhouse	Equipment Shed (West)	Amess Half Cellar	Lawn	Woolshed
Windows	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Animal husbandry machinery	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	5
Household machinery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Farming and harvesting machinery	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	16	-	2	-
Metal working machinery	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-

machinery											
Other artefacts – including tools and machine parts	50	113	2	21	77	6	16	-	9	7	67
Total artefacts	50	114	5	25	77	10	18	21	12	13	72

Table 8.1 A depiction of the spread of artefacts and machinery present throughout the external buildings (outside of Amess House and Rogers' Cottages) (Rünzi 2021).

	Amess House								
	Dining Room	Morning Room	Master Bedroom	Drawing Room	Kitchen	Scullery	Nursery	Children's Bedroom	Gun Room / Storeroom
Windows	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	N/A
Curtains	4	1	1	3	1	-	1	1	N/A
Doors	2	1	1	1	1		1	1	N/A
Fly-screen	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	N/A
Carpet	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	N/A

Locking system	2	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	N/A
Ceiling light	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	N/A
Candle holder	2	2	2	20	-	1	-	-	N/A
Gas-light	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	N/A
Mirror	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	N/A
Ceramics	1	18	1	2	35	11	4	-	N/A
Pottery / Vessels	19	2	-	5	15	12	-	-	N/A
Machinery	-	2	-	2	2	6	-	-	N/A
Furniture	5	5	6	7	3	2	4	3	N/A
Chairs	10	4	2	9	4	-	3	4	N/A
Fireplace	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	N/A
Clocks	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	N/A
Other artefacts	19	64	10	36	9	18	7	17	N/A
Total artefacts	61	97	23	86	70	50	18	25	N/A

Table 8.2 A depiction of the spread of artefacts and machinery present throughout Amess House (Rünzi 2021).

	Roger's Cottages	
	East Cottage	West Cottage
Windows	2	3
Doors	1	2
Fireplace	1	1
Cooking implements	-	12
Vessels	3	8
Furniture	4	1
Other artefacts	19	10
Total artefacts	26	31

Table 8.3 A depiction of the spread of artefacts and machinery present throughout Rogers' Cottages (Rünzi 2021).

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