The Occupation of Baker's Flat: A Study of Irishness and Power in Nineteenth Century South Australia

by

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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.

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Glossary and abbreviations

Anglo-Irish	Born or resident in Ireland of English descent, a privileged social class that was part of the so-called Protestant Ascendancy which made up the ruling class in Ireland from the seventeenth to the twentieth century
Britain	The island that includes England, Scotland and Wales. It excludes Ireland
Co.	County
Great Famine	Period in Ireland when the potato crop failed in successive years between 1845 and 1850, causing mass starvation, disease and emigration. Also known as *An Gorta Mór* (The Great Hunger) and the Irish Famine
GRG	Government Record Group. Used by State Records of South Australia to denote any records created by a South Australian government agency
Ireland	The entire island of Ireland

Abstract

This research investigates Irish social identity ('Irishness') in the nineteenth century, centring on a substantial and long-lived Irish settlement known as Baker's Flat, in the mid-north of South Australia. The research questions focus on the concepts of identity and power, specifically, how these Irish expressed their identity through material culture, and what this tells us about the community and its power relations.

The occupation of Baker's Flat began in 1854, when many Irish families came to labour at the nearby Kapunda copper mine, and squatted rent-free on the Baker's Flat land. The settlement persisted until at least the 1920s, set apart from the broader community. Although hundreds of Irish people lived there, the written histories document little about the community, and if mentioned at all, the narrative tends to be a stereotypical one based on the widespread perception of the Irish as dirty, wild, drunken and lawless. In large part this negative narrative was probably stimulated by the refusal of the residents to pay rent or allow outsiders into the community, and their resistance to the landowners' attempts to remove them.

Analysis of a metal artefact collection and site survey have enabled a more complex interpretation of Baker's Flat, with Irishness evident through several material realms. Many of the artefacts conform to general Victorian trends, and align with a people endeavouring to conform to the ideal of respectability. Catholicism, a key marker of Irishness, is evident through artefactual and historical evidence, and appears as both a cultural way of life and a spiritual belief system. The Catholic Church's tolerance for folk practices may have allowed a folk tradition practice to continue here alongside traditional religious practice, as it did elsewhere. At a site-wide scale, the Irishness of this community is expressed through the spatial layout of the settlement, and historical evidence of the lack of fencing and unrestrained stock, all of which indicate the continuation of a traditional Irish 'clachan' and 'rundale' settlement pattern constructed around clustered kin-linked housing and communal farming methods. This resulted in a close-knit community based around mutual obligation which enabled this group to stand united against the dominant power of the landowners through an extended court case.

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1 Introduction

Historical archaeology can help to build a better understanding of peoples who are habitually left out of written histories, such as the poor, the disenfranchised, and those who don't identify with the dominant group (Deetz 1996:4-11). By combining archival and material evidence, it can challenge existing interpretations of the past, address stereotypes and accepted beliefs, and begin to decipher the complex layers of past communities.

This historical archaeology research project sets out to investigate one such group: a community of emigrant Irish who settled from the 1850s in a rural area known as Baker's Flat, in the mid-north of South Australia (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13-14, 16). This settlement was located about 1km south of the town of Kapunda, and about 75km north of Adelaide (Figure 1.1). There have been no previous archaeological or historical studies of Baker's Flat, and little is known about it, other than a general impression locally of a poor Irish community associated with trouble.

The research questions and their significance

Historical research about the Irish in nineteenth century Australia presents contrasting models for the understanding of Irishness, and the relationships between the Irish and their neighbouring settlers. Some studies (Campbell 1991; Doyle 1996) argue for an elaborate relationship between landholding and kinship, strong Irish settlement patterns, and the production of socially differentiated Irish enclaves. Other studies assert that there were 'no clusters of primitive Gaelic-speaking peasants set

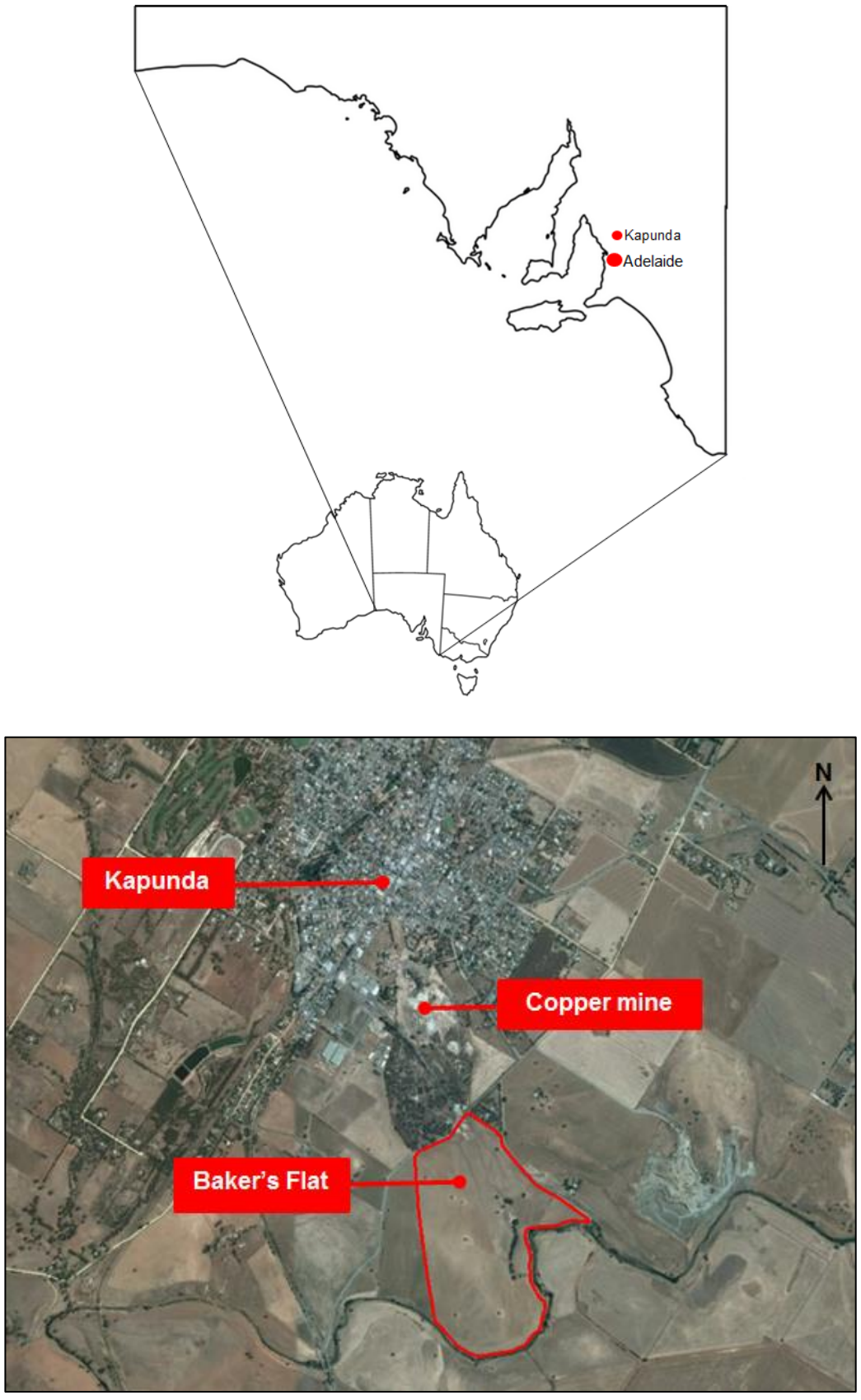


Figure 1.1 Location map showing the Baker's Flat study area outlined in red, and locations of Kapunda and Adelaide. Image from Google Earth, 27 July 2014.

apart from disdainful neighbours' (McConville 1982:70) and, in the case of South Australia specifically, that the Irish dispersed evenly into the community and were indistinguishable from their British equivalents (Richards 1991a, 1991b).

To compound this, there has been little archaeological work to date specifically on Australian Irish communities, with most studies focusing more broadly on working class, urban areas that included an Irish population (e.g. Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999a, 1999b; Gojak and Stuart 1999; Mayne 2006; Mayne and Murray 1999), rather than on the Irish as a particular ethnic group. Overseas, a rare exception to the urban focus is Orser's work in Ireland on the material conditions of nineteenth century rural daily life (Orser 1997, 2001, 2010). Archaeological research on Irish settlements in the United States and Canada, however, has likewise concentrated on urban rather than rural areas (e.g. Brighton 2001, 2004, 2011; Griggs 1999; Jenkins 2005; Trew 2005). These indicate that the nineteenth century immigrant Irish were perceived as different or set apart from the broader society because of their ethnicity, religion and class, and that they struggled to be accepted by the dominant social structure in the face of stereotypical beliefs about moral corruption and dismal living conditions (Brighton 2001, 2011; Griggs 1999). A common finding is the critical role played by the Catholic Church in retaining communal bonds, maintaining networks, and constructing an acceptable identity (Brighton 2001, 2011; Griggs 1999; Jenkins 2005). Such studies are able to inform the investigation of similar issues in the Australian context, with the rural nature of Baker's Flat also offering the chance to address the lack of attention to rural settlements.

There is limited direct documentary evidence about the people of Baker's Flat or their lifeways. There are few photographs, and a single survey plan, dating from

1893, is the only known map that provides evidence of the houses and their spatial organisation, although it contains no property boundaries to show how the land was broken up. A series of oral histories dating from 1975 provides some information about house construction and community activities (Bettison 1975), but little in the way of a detailed understanding of community relationships. What evidence does exist paints a portrait of Baker's Flat as a 'set apart' Irish settlement, which started in 1854 when the Irish began to arrive in Kapunda. The Irish came for labouring work in the nearby mine and squatted, rent-free, on the vacant piece of land known as Baker's Flat, just south of the mine (Bettison 1960:19-21; Charlton 1971:18). Their occupation of this land was not trouble-free, with the written histories depicting an independent group of people who fiercely defended their rights to the land, and newspapers of the day reporting on infighting, drunkenness and a general contempt of the law. These accounts have shaped both the contemporary and modern perceptions of the Baker's Flat Irish, presenting a stereotypical and negative view of a community that was perceived primarily as troublesome, violent and lawless.

The historical archaeology of Baker's Flat therefore offers a rare opportunity to investigate this community, answer questions about Irishness, and shed new light on the assumptions and stereotypes associated with colonial Irish Australia. This project's research questions focus on the concepts of identity and power, specifically:

1. **How did the Irish at Baker's Flat express their identity through material culture?**
2. **What does this tell us about how they conceptualised themselves as a community? and**
3. **What does this reveal about power relations between the Irish at Baker's Flat and the broader Kapunda community?**

In answering these questions, this project will investigate relationships between minority and dominant cultures, and how they interact and intersect, as well as providing a fuller understanding of the social and material conditions at Baker's Flat and its context within nineteenth century South Australia. Further, it will address an imbalance about local knowledge, and contribute to a more integrated story of Kapunda and its development. It will also add value and meaning to an existing artefact assemblage which has not been studied, catalogued or analysed to date, and is otherwise undervalued.

Limitations

The scope of this research is structured by three limiting factors. Firstly, all of the buildings on Baker's Flat have been demolished, and, although it appears that the rubble is still in situ, the extent of the subsurface archaeological record is unknown. Fieldwork for this research was limited to a site survey and the surface data about building locations that could be gathered from it.

Secondly, the artefactual evidence for this research is a collection of objects retrieved from the site by a local metal detectorist over a period of ten years, from 2002 until 2012, and is unprovenanced. The objects were not collected specifically for this research, and the collection consists only of metal objects.

Thirdly, since the artefactual dataset is limited by lack of provenance, this research cannot be linked to specific families or households. As a result, the analysis has been undertaken at a broader community level, focusing on internal and external community dynamics. Future archaeological work could focus more specifically on household level data.

Chapter outline

Chapter One introduces the research, outlining the research questions, and detailing the significance and limitations of the project. Chapter Two reviews the literature on identity from the perspectives of class and ethnicity, with a focus on Irishness.

The historical background is covered in Chapter Three, beginning with an outline of the establishment of South Australia, then going on to explore the Irish connection in Kapunda and the development of the Baker's Flat settlement in detail.

Chapter Four describes the methods used to record the site through a site survey, and in the cataloguing and analysis of the artefact collection. Chapter Five presents the results of the survey and artefact cataloguing, backed up by appendices which include the complete artefact catalogue and photographs.

Discussion and interpretation of the artefact collection results are the focus of Chapter Six, analysing the findings in relation to the theoretical literature and historical research. Chapter Seven, the conclusion, analyses the Baker's Flat Irish from the wider perspective of the land and social structure, and presents recommendations for future research.

2 The literature of identity

For the people of Baker's Flat in the nineteenth century, their labelling as Irish can be seen as a category associated both with their place of origin and with characteristics that were seen as 'Irish': in other words, with their social identity. This chapter begins by examining the concept of identity, then explores 'Irishness' as a culturally distinct identity, and looks at how social identity characteristics may be observed in material evidence.

Identity

Identity is a concept that allows an individual to be defined or categorised based on either their uniqueness compared to others, known as personal identity, or their membership of one or more social groups, known as social identity (Reicher 2004:928). The concept of social identity, which is aligned to collective behaviour and characteristics (Reicher 2004:922), is particularly relevant to this study. Social identity theory was first formulated by social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1978), then refined by Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986). It looks at the perceived membership of particular social groups (social identity) as a way of explaining intergroup behaviour (Reicher 2004:929). Tajfel was particularly interested in subordinate groups, those where membership is perceived as negative or undesirable, and how group members respond to this in terms of resistance or challenge to the dominant power (Reicher 2004:931-932; Tajfel 1978:86).

When considering social identity, it is important to note that it is not a fixed concept. Social identity operates in a shifting world, and those who are categorised as ingroup

or outgroup, ally or enemy, change depending on the social and historical context (Reicher 2004:924-925). Further, every individual tends to have a range of social identities which overlap and are subject to ongoing negotiation and change (Chenoweth 2009:320-321; Meskell 2007:24; Reicher 2004:934). Meskell (2007:24) maintains that some aspects of social identity, such as gender, class and ethnicity, are given to us as a starting point, or framework, for the self. These are then augmented by the personal, where a person experiences many aspects of identity over the course of a lifetime, and which can change rapidly; and the broader social level where identities are defined by ideologies, and which take longer to change (Meskell 2007:24). Either way, individuals play key roles in the mechanisms of change (Meskell 2007:24).

McGuire and Wurst (2002:86) contend that focusing too much on the role of the individual, however, is problematic, since it ignores the fact that individuals do not act in isolation, and makes it almost impossible to think about any common ground or collective struggle. They maintain that, although people act as individuals, they do so in the context of a complex set of social relations combining economic, environmental and individual factors (McGuire and Wurst 2002:87-89). As a result, individuals have different identities depending on social context. Importantly, for most of the subject matter of historical archaeology, these identities operate in a capitalist social system characterised by 'struggle' and incorporating particular ideas of race, gender and class (McGuire and Wurst 2002:89-91). So, for example, individuals in a nineteenth century Australian community would have operated in the context of dominant ideologies such as laissez-faire economics, capitalism and British colonialism, and would have constructed or accepted one or more identities as a result.

A key premise of social identity is that what marks one group of people as different from, or similar to, another can be explicit or implicit, and conscious or unconscious (Bottero and Irwin 2003:465-468; Burke 1999:19-20; Chenoweth 2009:321-322; Meskell 2007:25; Reicher 2004:929). The influence of ideologies on identity and how it is constructed, for example, is not always acknowledged consciously by participants, possibly because these doctrines and belief systems are so deeply embedded in people's ways of thinking that they are often left unchallenged. For example, in her research with the Kalahari San, Wiessner found stylistic variations in the shape of projectile points that signified differences between language groups, and which assisted in marking and maintaining boundaries between them (Wiessner 1983:267-269). It was not until the makers were challenged to make their points differently, however, that they realised the other members of their own language group 'would not know what to expect of a hunter who made points that way' (Wiessner 1983:267-269, 271-272). Until this challenge, the consequences of stylistic variations were enacted but not consciously realised.

On the other hand, identities can also be consciously negotiated through stylistic variations, which convey information both to the group and to outsiders about the nature of groups, boundaries and interactions (Wiessner 1989:57-62). In Chenoweth's (2009) work on identity and the archaeology of religion in relation to Quakers from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, he examined the identity traits consciously adopted by Quakers, such as burial practices that were at odds with societal norms, and showed how these were used by the Quakers themselves, and also by the religious majority, to portray difference. Quaker material culture showed the adoption of a very conscious approach to identity, which Chenoweth argued resulted from the need to construct a strong, separate community in order to survive.

This community provided a spiritual and material support network that helped to counter persecution and exclusion (Chenoweth 2009:335). The result of such conscious control of identity was that members identified strongly with each other.

Identity is clearly a complex mix of inter-related elements, and Figure 2.1 illustrates some of the key aspects associated with both personal and social identity, all underpinned by how individuals or groups are different from, or similar to, one another. For this particular research into a working class Irish community, these elements are all factors in its social identity, which will be explored further through the lenses of class and ethnicity.

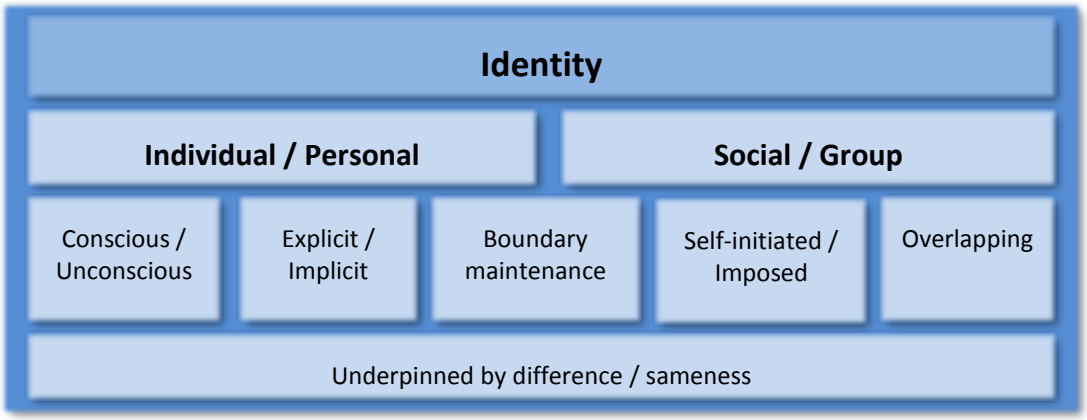


Figure 2.1 Identity is a complex mix of elements.

Class

The significance of class in western capitalist society owes much to the work of Marx and Engels, and their 1848 publication *The Communist Manifesto*, which nominated classes as the most important social groups in society (Marx et al. 1955; Worsley 1982:32). In Marxism, the development of a particular kind of two-class society is associated with capitalism, where class structures are the result of control by an elite of the means of production, and membership of a particular class is determined by a person's role in that production process; change occurs only after

conflict and struggle between the working class proletariat and the bourgeois capitalist elite (Marx et al. 1955; Worsley 1982:44-45). In historical archaeology, class is often defined as a discrete, objective category based on the attributes of individuals, such as their occupation or income; it is then treated as synonymous with status, or is grouped with the categories of gender, ethnicity and race (Wurst 1999:7-8). Wurst (1999:8-9) cautions that this ignores the idea of class as a dynamic, relational concept that can be studied on more than one level, and that should be considered in the context of social relations.

In a capitalist society, classes are often controlled or kept in their places by ideologies claiming that social place is the result of inevitable factors, such as genetics or tradition (Leone 1995:253). This allows the continuous domination of a subordinate group by a powerful elite (Leone 1995:253). Leone's research into the Chesapeake region of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries found that cities were built using baroque and/or panoptic principles, which subtly reinforced an atmosphere of surveillance (cf. Foucault 1979), where subordinate groups were continually under the watchful eye of the elite. The city design acted to bolster power, keep minorities and classes unequal, and preserve the hierarchy (Leone 1995:255-261). A physical landscape of control does not have to be confined to cities, with Wurst (1999:12-14) finding that class in the rural community of Upper Lisle in upstate New York similarly operated at a community scale. Here, although the tannery owners were relatively modest in their material consumption, which minimised class differences at a material level, the physical landscape was a different matter. Tannery workers lived and worked in an area bounded by the tannery owners' houses and the tannery itself, where the workers' behaviour was visible at all times, and, like the panoptic cities, constantly observable by the elite.

A further form of social control was the Victorian ideology of respectability, which emerged with the consumer and industrial revolutions, and, along with gentility, subtly but effectively 'reshaped manners and outlooks in western societies' (Karskens 1998:22). Best (1971:260) describes respectability as the 'sharpest of all lines of social division', since it cut across classes, wealth and social position, by signifying both intrinsic virtue and social value. Thus, a poor working class man, by being good and a pillar of society, could be respectable, whilst a richer middle class man, by being disreputable in business or too open about his love affairs, could lose respectability and social acceptability. Respectability, for the working class, was grounded in the values of self-respect, the dignity of work, and independence, especially from charity (Young 2003:60).

Nineteenth century Australia was profoundly influenced by class changes and ideologies in Britain, the major point of origin for Australian settlers. Lawrence (2003:21-22) argues that nineteenth century colonists fell broadly into two groups, categorised according to emerging class lines—middle class and working class. In the new colony of South Australia, middle class settlers who arrived with sufficient means were able to buy land, quickly accumulate wealth and achieve prominence, and set themselves up as the gentry. These new gentry assumed positions of power and status, displayed genteel behaviours, and became social and political leaders, demanding appropriate recognition and respect from the lower classes (Denholm 1979:162; Stone 2010:13, 111-113). Once these boundaries were established (in South Australia mainly by 1869), they were closed down to create exclusivity and maintain the status of those inside and outside the group (Stone 2010:133-139, 461). The working class, of course, were 'outside' the group.

Class, then, can be seen as a form of group identity constructed by the particular social form that is capitalism, and in nineteenth century South Australia, was one of the mechanisms that influenced how people were understood and viewed by others, and how they understood and viewed themselves. Although class was a fairly fixed social relationship, it was also shaped by ideologies like respectability and gentility. This allowed some manipulation of social position, and would have been an influence on the South Australian Irish, a migrant group made up of members of all classes, including the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, middle class merchants, and working class poor.

Ethnicity

Definitions of the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic group' can fall into two categories: as synonymous with nation (a construct dating from the nineteenth century), or as meaning a minority group in a state containing other minorities (Banton 2007:31; Eriksen 1997:33). Weber, working in the early twentieth century, saw both usages as linked: his influential argument was that ethnicity is a subjective belief in a common descent, based on similarities of physical type or customs, a combination thereof, or memories of colonisation and migration (Banton 2007:23; Jackson 1982:7; Weber 1997:18-19). According to Weber (1997:20), ethnicity as a group identity construct can be particularly specific and powerful when origins are derived from emigration or secession, and memories are kept alive by shared political recollections, persistent relationships, and the strengthening of kinship ties. An important factor, however, is that the belief in a shared ethnicity does not automatically create an ethnic group; rather, the group is created both from a political drive to monopolise power and status, usually to gain economic and social privileges, and also in the ways that

ethnic characteristics are perceived by those who share them and those who react to them (Banton 2007:23-24).

These political motivations can be seen in how the terms ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic’ have been used. From the mid-nineteenth century, the word ‘ethnic’ came to be associated pejoratively with ‘racial’ characteristics (Eriksen 1997:33; Orser 2011:152). In the United States, particularly, it came to be used as a term for Jews, Italians, the Irish and other people who were considered inferior to the largely British descended dominant power (Eriksen 1997:33). Understanding ethnic groups, therefore, has to encompass understanding their relationship to more dominant groups (Jackson 1982:12). Weber saw ethnic groups as often having a caste-type relationship with more powerful groups, where status and class order were components of a stratified system (Jackson 1982:12-13; Weber 1997:20-21).

The importance of ethnicity in historical archaeology has been discussed by McGuire (1982), who, following Barth’s (1969) theories of how ethnic groups are formed and transformed, argues that groups who retain their ethnicity do so by maintaining boundaries. The maintenance of these boundaries is closely related to power, and where a large disparity of power exists between two ethnic groups, such as on the introduction of a new migrant group to an area, strong boundaries will be maintained to separate these groups (McGuire 1982:171). McGuire (1982:171-172) argues that this works in the interests of both groups: the stronger retains power and prestige; the weaker, which cannot hope to win high power or prestige on a societal level, has a smaller stage to compete on where it can be relatively successful. A feature of strong boundaries is overlapping internal networks, where friendship, community and work groups all intersect and reinforce each other (Bottero and Irwin 2003:475). Ethnicity,

therefore, as well as being a negative ascription by an outside dominant group, can also be a positive attribution used by an ethnic group to reinforce its identity.

Boundary maintenance is closely related to the notion of examining society in terms of 'struggle', where alienation from the dominant group can influence people to band together in solidarity as a means of accessing communal support, sharing cultural norms, or working towards a common goal (Brighton 2011; McGuire 1982; McGuire and Wurst 2002). An example is the Irish in the nineteenth century United States, who occupied the lowest rungs of the American social and economic ladder, and came together overtly as a group 'to struggle against the social stigma of being the foreign other', occupying marginalised spaces, and forming distinct neighbourhoods (Brighton 2011:35). A struggle, however, does not have to be overt. In Orser's (1997) analysis of Irish rural life at the time of the Famine, he proposes that subtle forms of resistance to a dominant power can be found in material culture. Referring to how African-American slaves used design and decoration on coarse unglazed pottery as a symbol of identity and a subtle form of resistance, he links this cultural behaviour with practices around the continued production and use of coarse earthenware in the rural area of Roscommon, and suggests that the abundant coarse earthenware shards found at a house site may have been used by tenants as an expression of separateness from the landlord (Orser 1997:133-135). Although the degree of ethnic boundary maintenance varies between societies and through time, it remains a fundamental part of social organisation (McGuire 1982:160), as has been demonstrated in many studies of the Irish (e.g. Allen 2011; Brighton 2008, 2011; Fitzpatrick 1991; Fraser 1996, 2002; Griggs 1999; Jenkins 2005; Smith 2004).

It can be seen, therefore, that class and ethnicity are two particular forms of social identity construction, that can be conscious or unconscious, and which, although linked, are drawn around different sets of opportunities and goals. Both are linked to the creation and maintenance of group boundaries, and can be materialised. The notion of Irishness as a particular identity, and the materiality of Irishness, are examined in the remainder of this chapter.

Irishness: a culturally distinct identity?

Although there are many references to Irishness in the literature, there are few attempts to define 'Irishness' specifically, an issue referred to by Fitzpatrick (1991:324) when he states that the 'nature of Irish ethnicity is postulated rather than explained'. This lack has led to assumptions and guesses about the nature of Irishness, and, as for all forms of social identity, its characterisation tends to be different depending on whether it is made by 'outsiders' or 'insiders'. Nineteenth century descriptions of the Irish by English observers (outsiders) concentrated on traits identified as alien, such as the persistence of language and folk customs, the pervasiveness of Catholicism, and the perceived 'backwardness' of rural social organisation (Fitzpatrick 1991:325), all of which provided a means of vindicating colonial domination.

One of the more enduring aspects of various beliefs about Irishness is that it is *not* English (Williams 2012:2). For two countries whose people and politics have been intertwined for hundreds of years, the notion of 'not being English' is critically important for both the insider and outsider. The islands of Ireland and Britain have had a long and troubled history. After being invaded in 1169, Ireland was still not

assimilated into Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, and remained uncontrolled, hostile and unwilling to be part of the British Empire (Woodham-Smith 1962:15). The sixteenth century plantations of English and Scottish Protestant settlers and the consequent displacement of Irish Catholic landholders had established a lasting sectarian divide. The Penal Laws, in operation from 1695 to 1829, had set out to extinguish Catholicism by barring Catholics from practising their religion, purchasing land, attending schools, voting, joining the military, or holding public office (Woodham-Smith 1962:26-27). The result was that political and economic power in Ireland in the nineteenth century was held by a Protestant Ascendancy minority, with a majority Catholic population that was poor and desperate, with little access to land or power, and commonly perceived as lawless and uncontrollable.

In this context, descriptions of Irishness by both the English and the Irish manipulated cultural traits or stereotypes, albeit for different political ends. Contrasts between the Irish and the English often reflected nationalist aspirations rather than balanced observation (Fitzpatrick 1991:325), and contrasted perceived English reason and pragmatism unfavourably against the 'fun-loving, creative and whimsical Celt' (Trew 2005:53). Evans labels these two extremes as 'prejudice and sentiment', demonstrated in how nineteenth century English travellers to Ireland described 'wretched cabins' and 'mere hovels', whilst the native Irish celebrated the 'glories of hearth and homespun' (Evans 1940:165). Similarly, Williams' analysis of the portrayal of Irishness in the American World Fairs of 1893 and 1904 shows how the Irish exhibitions accentuated 'peasantry, poverty, craftsmanship, music, and drink', leading her to argue that the 'barbaric, peripheral, lyrical, mythical, and wild' Irish Celts placed themselves in opposition to the 'purportedly civilised, always properly comported Anglo-Saxon Englishman' (Williams 2012:13, 53).

The lyricism and mythical nature of Ireland can also be perceived in the use of iconic signs that are widely recognised as Irish, including the shamrock, harp, wolfhound and round tower, and symbolic female images denoting Ireland in various guises as mother or young woman (Orser 2001:83; Williams 2012:1). These images primarily date from the nineteenth century, when they were used as signs of growing nationalist causes (Williams 2012:145). Other symbols of Irishness date back to the Middle Ages, including high crosses, circular brooches and interlace designs, all commonly referred to as Celtic (Williams 2012:1), and which grew in popularity in the nineteenth century when the 'Celtic Revival' set out to create a national literature and art (Sheehy 1977). Figure 2.2 illustrates some of these symbols.

Figure 2.2 Irish symbols used in a circular brooch, sugar bowl and tongs, and casket, dating from the 1850s to 1890s (Sheehy 1977:230-231).

Other potential markers of Irish identity can be derived from historical studies into Irish life in colonial settlements. Fitzpatrick (1991) analysed the content of 159 letters exchanged from 1841 to 1915 between Irish migrants living in Australasia and their families in Ireland, and found a wide variety of characteristics that suggested Irishness, including a sense of duty and obligation, national pride, irreverence, and the establishment of alliances with other Irish people. It can be argued that some of these—specifically duty, obligation and national pride—can apply to any migrant group. More significant, however, was the absence of nationalism, in the political sense of agitation for home rule and Irish independence, despite the letters being written at a time of growing nationalism in Ireland (Fitzpatrick 1991:331-332). Fitzpatrick (1991:333) suggests that this was because the common bond of originating in Ireland was sufficient to transcend traditional divisions, implying that the concept of being Irish in Australia was constructed at a larger, more inclusive scale than back in Ireland.

Also apparent from Fitzpatrick's study was the centrality of churches and religion in Irish social life, for both Protestants and Catholics (Fitzpatrick 1991:336-338). Both Fitzpatrick (1991) and O'Farrell (2000) point to religion as a significant marker of Irishness, and the Catholic/Protestant divide did, to some extent, inform constructions of personal and group identity. In a study of the temperance movement of mid-nineteenth century Sydney, for example, Allen (2011) attests to a clear sectarian divide between Irish Catholics and British Protestants. This division grew in New South Wales from the 1840s and continued throughout the nineteenth century, a response to the growing numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants who were seen as 'criminally inclined' and the increasing self-confidence of the Catholic Church (Allen 2011:384-385). Sectarian divides were not confined to Australia.

Smith (2004:223) notes that politics in nineteenth century Toronto was controlled by Protestant Orangemen, who tried to distance themselves from the poorer Irish Catholics in order to gain acceptance from the English and Scottish population. This is reiterated by Jenkins (2005), who looked at Irish settlers in the cities of Toronto and Buffalo, and concluded that a sectarian divide between Protestants and Catholics was retained in both cities, including within classes, indicating that some constructions of social identity cut across others.

For Irish Catholic migrants in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the Catholic Church played a crucial part in their adaptation to life in new countries (Brighton 2008:145-146, 2011:38; Fitzpatrick 1991:337-338; Fraser 2002:431-432; Griggs 1999:96-97). This was not just in terms of spiritual guidance, but also in pragmatic and political ways. In the United States, for example, Brighton argues that the Catholic Church deliberately led a move away from traditional communal bonds to modern practices of individualism, ownership of land and property, and American, Victorian, middle class behaviours (Brighton 2001:23, 2011:38). Whilst Griggs agrees that the Catholic Church in America worked to improve the lives of Irish immigrants, influencing the more well-to-do Irish to support Catholic orphanages and schools, she maintains that a link to Victorian patterns of consumption is less clear (Griggs 1999:96-97). Instead, an adherence to traditional bonds associated with family and community was maintained (Griggs 1999:97-98). In Christchurch, New Zealand, the Catholic Church was generally seen as synonymous with Irishness, with the parish church becoming the central institution in local Irish Catholic life, bolstered by a variety of support organisations that provided cultural, spiritual and social comfort (Fraser 2002:431).

Although the characterisation of Irishness differs depending on who is making it, there are certain commonalities that mean it can be seen as a culturally distinct identity. 'Irishness' embodies a degree of wildness, whimsy, barbarism and myth, which can be summarised as 'not English'. Religion is significant, and for the nineteenth century poorer immigrant Irish, the Catholic Church was central to their individual and social identity. For this group specifically, stereotypical beliefs about their ethnicity, religion and class meant that they were perceived as set apart from the broader society. Aspects of this separateness and distinctiveness can be examined materially, and is explored in the next section from the perspectives of land, religion and folk traditions, and the respectability (or not) of the Irish working class.

The materiality of Irishness

Land and settlement patterns

In the nineteenth century, settlement patterns in Ireland remained essentially tied to pre-industrial and rural ideals, in contrast to England, which was being remodelled by the industrial revolution and the growth of factories and cities (O'Farrell 2000:16). Unlike the historic village system of England, the Irish system was based on family and clan, where blood ties were strong, and clusters of cabins, bound by kinship, were the normal types of settlement (Evans 1977:14). These clusters, known as 'clachans', were usually grouped without any formal plan and, in the early nineteenth century, were reported to consist of as many as 30 to 40 houses (Johnson 1958:554; Miller 1985:27-28). Communal life and exchange of services were typical, and the settlements, particularly in the west of Ireland, were associated with a form of open-field cultivation, known as 'rundale', where the land surrounding a

settlement was worked as a joint farm (Johnson 1958:554-556; Miller 1985:27-28; Woodham-Smith 1962:33).

In terms of architecture, even though houses varied somewhat between regions, there were certain features common across Ireland that constituted a distinctive vernacular form (Figure 2.3). Houses associated with Irish tenant farmers were typically rectangular in design and one room in depth, usually of single-storey stone construction with a steeply sloped, narrow, thatched roof; rooms occupied the full width of the house and each opened into the next, not into a central hallway (Danaher 1978:9, 11-12; O'Reilly 2011:193, 203). Even the poor one-roomed cabins typically occupied by landless labourers up to the time of the Famine followed the same general form, with the exception that mud rather than stone was the main construction material (Danaher 1978:30; O'Reilly 2011:199; Orser 1997:121). Such vernacular buildings were typically designed and built by people without training in building design, using local materials and following established, local conventions; function, rather than aesthetic value, was the dominant influence, and little attention was paid to fashions (Brunskill 2000:27-28; Danaher 1978:5-7).

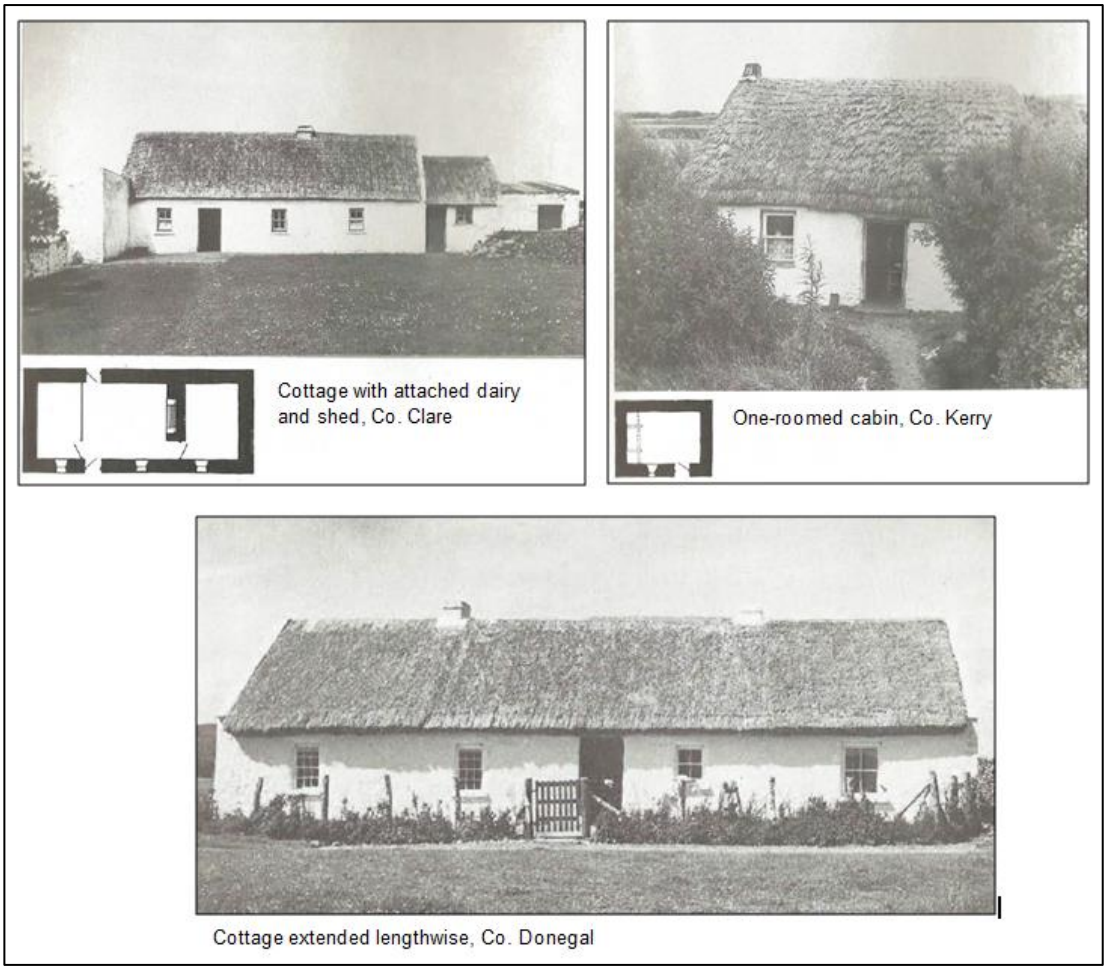


Figure 2.3 Typical examples of Irish vernacular architecture (Danaher 1978:18, 30, 31).

Two historical studies have noted similarities between traditional Irish settlement patterns and those found in colonial contexts. In the nineteenth century township of Koroit, Victoria, a high concentration of pre-Famine Irish settlers from the 1840s and 1850s created a settlement pattern that was reported by contemporary observers as being particularly Irish. In describing the houses and farms of this settlement, observers noted the small, rectangular, single-storey cottages, the pigs and poultry which were allowed to wander in and out of the houses, the unrestrained cattle, and the boxthorn and hawthorn hedges which were planted to divide fields and line roadsides (Doyle 1996:224-228). Fraser's study of the rural areas surrounding Christchurch, New Zealand, in the 1860s (post-dating the Famine by some ten years), found a similar pattern, in which Irish residents relied on kinship and friendship

networks for mutual support, and built communities where houses were clustered together (Fraser 1996:214-215).

In contrast to these historical studies, Ashley's (2009) archaeological research of a post-Famine, Irish Catholic settlement at Pekina, about 250km north of Adelaide found quite a different pattern. Pekina was recognised as a predominantly Irish Catholic settlement, although on a much smaller scale than Baker's Flat, with the population numbering only about 70 at its peak in the 1870s-1880s (Ashley 2009:2-4). Ashley examined the architectural style and spatial organisation of 15 houses constructed in the 1870s and 1880s, six of which were built by Irish migrants who had survived the Famine, and nine by Irish migrants who had either left Ireland before the Famine or were born after it. She hypothesised that the Famine, and its associated trauma, would have been a crucial experience for the survivors and may have influenced their choices in resettlement and social organisation.

The Famine was certainly a turning point in Irish demographic and social history. Successive failures of the potato crop, the staple diet of the poor (Woodham-Smith 1962:32-36), between 1845 and 1850 caused widespread starvation across the country, a devastation which was to become known as *An Gorta Mór* (the Great Hunger), or simply the Famine. The political complexities of the Irish-British relationship and the laissez-faire economic policies of the time meant that assistance was delayed and inadequate. The British government was reluctant to interfere in the free market, grain continued to be exported, rents were collected, and huge numbers of evictions took place (Gray 1995:46-47, 68; Litton 1994:22-23, 94-99; Woodham-Smith 1962:54-55, 75-77). Although there are no precise figures, the accepted estimate for population loss during the Famine years is more than two and a half

million people from a total population of about 8.2 million (Geary 1999:181; Litton 1994:7; Woodham-Smith 1962:29). This includes an estimate of one to one and a half million deaths, and one million emigrants (Litton 1994:129-132). Significant social changes were noted as early as 1846 and 1847, with reports of the cessation of everyday activities such as children playing, social dislocation as the starving went to towns in search of relief or employment, and an explosion in recorded crime (Geary 1999:184-185). By 1848, massive social disintegration was being reported—furtive food stealing, intra-familial conflicts over food supplies, the collapse of the family unit, apathy and indifference towards the death of family members, and the abandonment of traditional funeral rites and customs (Geary 1999:185-186). The result was physical degradation of the individual and social disintegration of the wider community.

In terms of the consequences of this at Pekina, Ashley found that the houses were not clustered together, but instead were set back approximately 200m from the roadside and many kilometres apart from each other on large acreages (Ashley 2009:88-90). She argued that this was a result of the Famine experience which prompted survivors to develop a need for privacy, although she leaves the reasons for this unexplored. She also found that much of the architecture was consistent with common Australian practices, such as the use of a skillion roof, which she concluded indicated a process of assimilation and a feeling of security (Ashley 2009:90-93). Her research, however, was constrained by the small sample size and the fact that at least 20 years had elapsed from the Famine to the time of the survivors' settlement at Pekina. Interestingly, the patterns at Pekina are very different from those described for Koroit and Christchurch, and hint that there may be many factors influencing the layout and social organisation of a community.

Religion, folk beliefs and traditions

If the Catholic Church overall can be seen as a marker of Irishness in the abstract, then physical religious objects such as rosaries and medals can be seen as tangible indicators of Irishness. Various Catholic religious items have been identified on nineteenth century Australian sites, such as the Rocks (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:65) and the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum in Sydney (Davies 2013). The challenge for archaeology is their interpretation. At one level they certainly represent material evidence of spiritual belief systems (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:33), but they are also used in very personal ways as individual or household protectors (Karskens 1999:173). In nineteenth century Ireland it was common for women to keep their rosaries close when not in use, by wearing them around their necks, and they were often handed down from mother to daughter or father to son (Lysaght 1998:55, 57). Such practices illustrate the dual nature of religious items as spiritual aids and as personal protective charms, which can infiltrate both orthodox and superstitious meanings.

The Irish have an enduring tradition of folk beliefs and traditions associated with every element of the environment (Evans 1977:15; O'Súilleabháin 1977). These traditional beliefs and customs lost some of their appeal after the Famine, possibly because of a perception that the old traditions had not averted the desolation of the Great Hunger, and also because the Famine prompted what has been termed a 'devotional revolution', a dramatic increase in church attendance and orthodox religion at the expense of traditional folk beliefs and the 'magical' aspects of religion (Evans 1977:15-17; Gray 1995:122-123). However, although folk traditions became channelled into the more orthodox spiritual system of the Catholic Church, they did not vanish entirely (Evans 1977:15-17). This was probably assisted by Irish

Catholicism's adeptness at Christianising pagan practices, such as realigning traditional gathering places as Christian pilgrimage sites, and pagan festivals as saints' days (Evans 1957:298, 1977:17; O'Súilleabháin 1977:65-80). The result is that folk traditions remained deeply embedded in everyday life, particularly amongst close-knit farming communities, existing quite compatibly with the Catholic Church (Evans 1957:295-306; Mac Coitir 2003:3-5), and helping to provide comfort or a sense of security in periods of perceived crisis or danger (Merrifield 1987:185; O'Súilleabháin 1977:12-13). It should be noted that these practices were not unique to Ireland; they were also widespread across Britain, where as far back as the fifteenth century, the intersections of religion and traditional practices were well recognised and generally accepted (Duffy 1992:2-4; Gilchrist 2012:166, 214).

Could the Irish be respectable?

Some of the standard hallmarks of respectability included temperance in behaviour and the use of alcohol, propriety of speech and bearing, decorous and tidy dress (especially on a Sunday), a clean house inside and out, and adherence to the law (Best 1971:261). These are outward public signs, where it could be expected that the Irish, stereotypically renowned for their wild ways, could have been seen to fail dismally. However, several studies of Irish migrants give examples of how the Irish aspired to respectability, or at least its outward signs. Studies of trans-generational changes at Five Points illustrate how the Irish bought into the ideals of American consumerism by acquiring refined ceramic and glass vessels that matched dominant societal norms (Brighton 2001, 2011). An Irish group known as the Lansdowne immigrants saved significantly more money than would seem possible given their wretched living conditions, menial jobs and the amount of self-sacrifice that this

would have entailed (Anbinder 2002:381-384). Such aspirations were supported by the Catholic Church, which set out to 'Americanise' its Irish parishioners, whilst continuing to retain their traditional Catholic piety (Brighton 2008:145-146, 2011:38). In Britain, a study of the Irish in Manchester in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrates how their behaviours conformed in many ways to the dominant society's expectations of respectability, although they adapted many of the established conventions to continue expressing their Catholicism, Irishness and support for home rule (Busteed 2009). And in Australia, we see the St Patrick's Total Abstinence Society of the 1840s and 1850s, which was the first Catholic temperance society in Sydney and acted as a symbol of respectability for Irish Catholics who rejected the stereotype of the 'drunken criminal Irishman'(Allen 2011:374).

Conclusion

Whilst the concept of Irishness is difficult to define in a way that is exclusive to that particular group, it appears that there are both conscious and unconscious elements to it, including close-knit intra-community alliances that were often reflected in clustered settlement patterns, the centrality of the Catholic Church, the continuation of traditional folk practices, an element of myth and wildness, and the ability to adopt ideologies, such as respectability, when required. How these aspects were used in different contexts reflects the particular historical trajectories of different communities, their inhabitants and their relationships to their non-Irish neighbours. The historical context of the Baker's Flat community will provide the focus of the following chapter.

3 Historical background

The historical context for this research includes the establishment of the new colony of South Australia and how the Irish fitted in, the need for labour in the Kapunda copper mine, and the consequent occupation of Baker's Flat.

The new colony of South Australia

The early years of the nineteenth century in Britain were characterised by a rapidly increasing population, industrialisation and urbanisation, high unemployment, a succession of poor harvests, tensions between the established and dissenting churches, and concerns about the expense of poor relief and the dangers of protests (Daly 1982:6-7; Pike 1967:12-28). In 1829, an unconventional Englishman, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, developed a plan for a systematic colonisation scheme that would absorb the excess poor and establish a stable society in a new overseas colony, acting as a safety valve for the home country (Pike 1967:52-54, 75, 79-81; Richards 1991a:217). All that was required was a new colony in which to try it out, and by good fortune, news reached London in late 1830 that Captain Sturt had discovered a fertile territory at Gulf St Vincent in the south of Australia (Pike 1967:55).

The *South Australia Colonisation Act* became law on 15 August 1834, and the first settlers arrived in December 1836 (Daly 1982:10; Pike 1967:73). From the beginning, under the Wakefield Plan, South Australia encouraged migration by families and the young, and the equal distribution of the sexes. In addition, there were no convicts, no established church, and people were free to practise their religion of choice, making it appealing to dissenters and those fleeing religious

persecution (Daly 1982:14-16; Pike 1967:56-73, 79-80). Further, whereas the idea of emigration had previously been linked in the minds of the middle class with transportation, convicts, paupers and poor relations, Wakefield's scheme highlighted the attractions of opportunity and a civilised society for the middle class (Pike 1967:74).

Under the Wakefield Plan, land was to be sold, rather than given away, but at a price high enough to prevent a labourer from becoming a land owner too quickly. This aimed to ensure an adequate supply of labour, with the revenue from land sales being used to fund further emigration of labourers to the colony. Thus, those who had sufficient money to purchase land outright were, in theory, also assured of a labour supply (Daly 1982:6-7; Pike 1967:79-81)); a system that was designed to keep the classes of capitalism in a fixed alignment in favour of the middle class. The Irish land rights activist, Michael Davitt, later referred to South Australia as 'a landlord's Utopia' (Davitt 1898:62), and critics of the Wakefield scheme worried that emigrant workers were committed to inescapable serfdom, since they would simultaneously have to save money and rear a large enough family to work their newly acquired land (Pike 1967:81). The theory did not always go to plan, however, and tensions between employers and workers over wages and expectations were common (Pike 1967:304-323). This was compounded by various labour shortages in South Australia, linked to the 1840s depression and the 1850s gold rushes, which allowed the working class to pick and choose their employment and their wages (Pike 1967:304-323, 442-460).

How the Irish fitted into South Australia

The new colony was essentially English, transplanting a replica of British societal structures to South Australia in the form of a gentleman class of capitalists and a lower class of small farmers and labourers (Moore 1991:113). This planned colony of sober, hard-working citizens was not an easy match with the general perception of the Irish, who had long been associated with convictism, drunkenness, laziness and a lack of useful skills, and who were variously despised, rejected, hated and feared (Nicol 1983:13; O'Farrell 2000:7-8, 17-18). In the early years, immigration to South Australia was deliberately structured to minimise the number of Irish arriving. The South Australia Company had just one emigration officer in Ireland compared to thirteen in England and four in Scotland (Nance 1978:68; Pike 1967:151), and the London Emigration Board deliberately tried to send as few Irish as possible to assuage the colonists' fears of being overrun by Irish refugees (Nance 1978:67; Press 1986:45-46). Indeed, the Scottish manager of the South Australian Company in Adelaide, David McLaren, described the settlers from southern Ireland as 'little better than animals' and declared that the colony had no need of them (Press 1986:46).

It is important to note, however, that Irish migrants in the 1840s and 1850s came from all sections of society—entrepreneurs, professionals, independent farmers and labourers (Richards 1991a:227-232). They included not just the poor, landless Irish Catholics, but also the Anglo-Irish gentry of the Protestant Ascendancy. Some of the influential founding settlers and politicians in South Australia were Anglo-Irish. These included George Strickland Kingston, who arrived in 1836 as deputy surveyor-general to the new colony and became the first Speaker in South Australia's

House of Assembly, Robert Torrens (1839) who became South Australia's third Premier, and Captain Charles Hervey Bagot (1840) who established the Kapunda copper mine and became a member of the South Australian Legislative Council (Bagot 1942:23-24; Pike 1967:92, 108-109; Press 1986:45; Prest 1967; Whalan 1976). It's likely that these men would have identified as much with England as with Ireland.

In contrast to the respect engendered for the likes of Bagot, Irish Catholic labourers were described as 'ignorant, lazy and dirty', with some farmers refusing to employ them even if there were no other workers available (Nance 1978:71-72). The Irish orphan girls who arrived in significant numbers in the late 1840s and 1850s were described as dirty and immoral, and not suited to farm work or domestic service (Nance 1978:68-69; Pike 1967:377-378; Richards 1991a:223, 225). This assessment was not well received by the Land and Emigration Commissioners back in England. Their insistence that 'particular care had been taken in the selection of the girls, the worst being withdrawn before embarkation because of the well-known hostility of South Australian colonists to Catholic immigrants' (Pike 1967:378) suggests that the antipathy borne toward the Irish in South Australia was directed more towards the Catholic Irish than the Protestant Anglo-Irish.

The historian Eric Richards (1991a, 1991b), after examining the patterns and broad social characteristics of Irish migration to colonial South Australia, concludes that the Irish were not easily distinguishable from their British counterparts, with the single exception of religion. Although he acknowledges that the Catholics were 'undeniably a poor and vulnerable minority' who faced antagonism, he also argues that Irish political issues and values did not survive emigration to South Australia,

and that the experience of the Irish in South Australia was mainly one of merging into the broader community (Richards 1991a:233-234, 1991b:92-93). He suggests that they were distributed evenly across the population, with areas like Kapunda having higher densities but only for short periods, probably little more than a single generation (Richards 1991a:233, 1991b:92). However, his research did not examine material evidence in any form, and his conclusions from the broad scale demographic data do not fit with the evidence of the Baker's Flat settlement, which persisted for about 70 years, and was acknowledged as recognisably Irish.

The development of Kapunda and the Irish connection

The town of Kapunda, 75km north of Adelaide, was established after copper was discovered in the area in 1842 by Francis S. Dutton and Captain Charles Hervey Bagot (Bagot 1942:24-25; Dutton 1846:266-267). Surface mining began in 1844 (Dutton 1846:268-274) and output and employment continued to increase until the 1851 Victorian gold rush, which resulted in the departure of many miners (Bettison 1960:9-10). By the mid-1850s, miners were returning from the gold fields (Bettison 1960:12) and the glory days of the Kapunda copper mine began. It was at this time, when there was a large demand for mine labour, that significant numbers of Irish migrants began to arrive in Kapunda (Bettison 1960:19-21; Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13). The printed histories do not specify where in Ireland they originated, but oral histories, death notices in newspapers, and research by genealogists indicate that many came from the south-west, in particular Co. Clare (e.g. Robertson 1985:8; *The Advertiser* 1890:4, 1904:7, 1913:8; pers. comm. R. Dundon 11 June 2013, L. Heffernan 28 June 2013). This fits with statistical reports indicating that, from 1840

to 1866, Clare was the greatest single source of assisted Irish immigrants to South Australia (Richards 1991a:221, 1991b:72).

There is a putative link between the Clare migrants, Captain Bagot and other prominent Anglo-Irish residents of Kapunda. Bagot, who was born in Ireland, had been a land agent for Bindon Blood in Clare from 1821 to 1840 (Bagot 1942:17-24). Blood married Bagot's sister, Harriett (Bagot 1942:17), thereby establishing a family connection that would crop up again in Kapunda. In 1840, Bagot contracted the barque *Birman* to sail himself and his family, as well as 224 Catholic emigrants, most of who came from Co. Clare, from Cork to South Australia (Bagot 1942:23-24; Moore 1991:112; Richards 1991a:220, 1991b:69). These migrants are reported to have moved north with other Irish migrants, some of them to join Bagot at Kapunda (Moore 1991:110).

Dr Matthew Blood (of the Co. Clare Bloods) emigrated in 1847 (Symonds 2004:10), and was appointed as the Kapunda mine doctor by Bagot in 1848 (Charlton 1971:15, 101). Another Anglo-Irish man, William Oldham, whose mother was a Bagot, came to Kapunda in 1846, and was appointed mine manager by Bagot in 1848 (Bagot 1942:38; Charlton 1971:15). Social ties and family relationships were important for the Anglo-Irish in Australia (Forth 1991:58-59), as evidenced in the case of Bagot, Oldham and Blood. Influenced by their historic situation in Ireland, the Anglo-Irish tended to be close-knit and bound by strong feelings of solidarity (Forth 1991:59). In the early days of Kapunda, Bagot, Blood and Oldham were seen as the 'notable Irishmen' of the town, respectable men of means who were very different from the Irish Catholic labourers who arrived in the 1850s (Charlton 1971:64; Daly 1982:162).

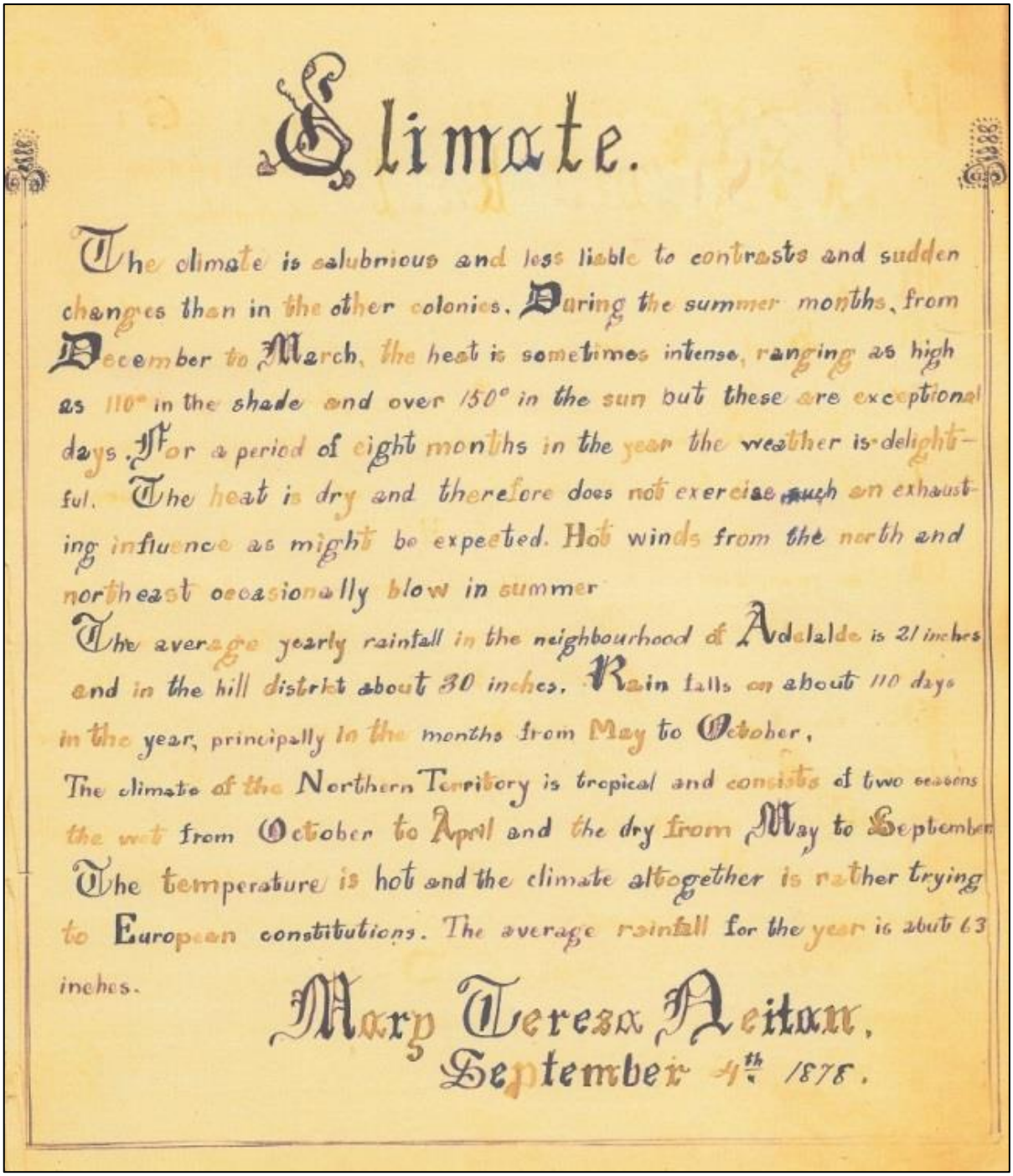
Even this division, however, between the Anglo-Irish privileged Protestant minority and the 'long suppressed' Catholic majority (Forth 1991:53), is not clear-cut. Take, for example, Patrick McMahon Glynn, a middle class Irish Catholic from Galway, whose ancestry was a mix of merchants and Catholic aristocracy (O'Collins 1965:1-5). He came to Kapunda in the 1880s as a solicitor, also taking on the role of lead writer for the local newspaper, the *Herald*, where his articles were often pro-Irish and pro-land rights (Charlton 1971:44). Glynn was widely respected in Kapunda, both professionally and socially, and participated with the local elite at parties, tennis, horse racing, swimming and dancing (O'Collins 1974:49). He was accepted across the social divides, being also popular with the working class Irish, his biography stating that 'as a hard-riding huntsman he was the idol of the Irishmen of Baker's Flat' (O'Collins 1965:100). Class and education could be more effective determinants than race and religion in determining where an Irish person belonged, and members of the surviving Catholic aristocracy and gentry often had more in common with the Protestant elite than the working class Irish Catholic (Forth 1991:53).

The Irish of Baker's Flat

From 1854, Irish Catholics began to arrive in large numbers at Kapunda, mainly taking up labouring jobs at the mine (Charlton 1971:18). Instead of renting, they opted to squat on an area of vacant flat land between the mine and the River Light, known as Baker's Flat, and quickly formed a 'close, fiercely Irish community' (Nicol 1983:13). The size and longevity of the Baker's Flat settlement is unclear, although it seems to have been occupied from 1854 until at least the 1920s (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:13-16).

State records note the births of 140 children at Baker's Flat up to 1906, and the deaths of 144 people up to 1915 (Gould Genealogy and History n.d.a, n.d.b). These figures are likely to be an under-representation, since some would have cited their residence as Kapunda, or not been recorded officially. Catholic diocese records document over 100 Catholic families living at Baker's Flat, more than 250 births and 1,800 baptisms for the period between 1849 and 1882 (Kapunda Catholic Church Records n.d.). An 1869 report to the Central Catholic Board recorded five Catholic schools in the Kapunda area, educating a total of 285 children (Press 1986:190-191). There were enough children on Baker's Flat to sustain a school for about six years, as the Sisters of St Joseph ran a school there from 1876 until about 1882 (Foale 1989:227). An interview with Mick O'Brien, whose family lived on Baker's Flat and ran a water carting business, notes that 'all the kids went to the convent school' (Bettison 1975:n.p.), and an exercise book from a student at the Baker's Flat school displays excellent penmanship, grammar and spelling (Figure 3.1).

The 1860s to 1870s appear to have been the peak period for the Baker's Flat settlement, although a substantial population was still there in the 1890s. A newspaper report refers to the existence of 100 'hovels' on Baker's Flat in 1860 (*South Australian Register* 1860:3), whilst a 1902 report of proceedings in the long-running *Forster et al. v. Fisher* (1892) court case noted that there had been 170 'huts' on Baker's Flat when the mine was in full operation in the 1860s and early 1870s (*Kapunda Herald* 1902a:3). Numbers had clearly dwindled by the end of the century, however, since the only known survey, from 1893, shows about 38 houses on the section (Figure 3.2) and by 1902, there were only 32 occupied houses (*Kapunda Herald* 1902a:3). Overall, it is estimated that there were between 20 and 150 dwellings, as many as 100 families, and about 500 people at its peak, declining



Climate.

The climate is salubrious and less liable to contrasts and sudden changes than in the other colonies. During the summer months, from December to March, the heat is sometimes intense, ranging as high as 110° in the shade and over 150° in the sun but these are exceptional days. For a period of eight months in the year the weather is delightful. The heat is dry and therefore does not exercise such an exhausting influence as might be expected. Hot winds from the north and northeast occasionally blow in summer

The average yearly rainfall in the neighbourhood of Adelaide is 21 inches and in the hill district about 30 inches. Rain falls on about 110 days in the year, principally in the months from May to October.

The climate of the Northern Territory is tropical and consists of two seasons the wet from October to April and the dry from May to September The temperature is hot and the climate altogether is rather trying to European constitutions. The average rainfall for the year is abut 63 inches.

Mary Teresa Neilan,
September 4th 1878.

Figure 3.1 Extract from exercise book belonging to Mary Teresa Neilan, St Joseph's School, Baker's Flat dated 4 September 1878. Photo courtesy of P. Swann, Kapunda.

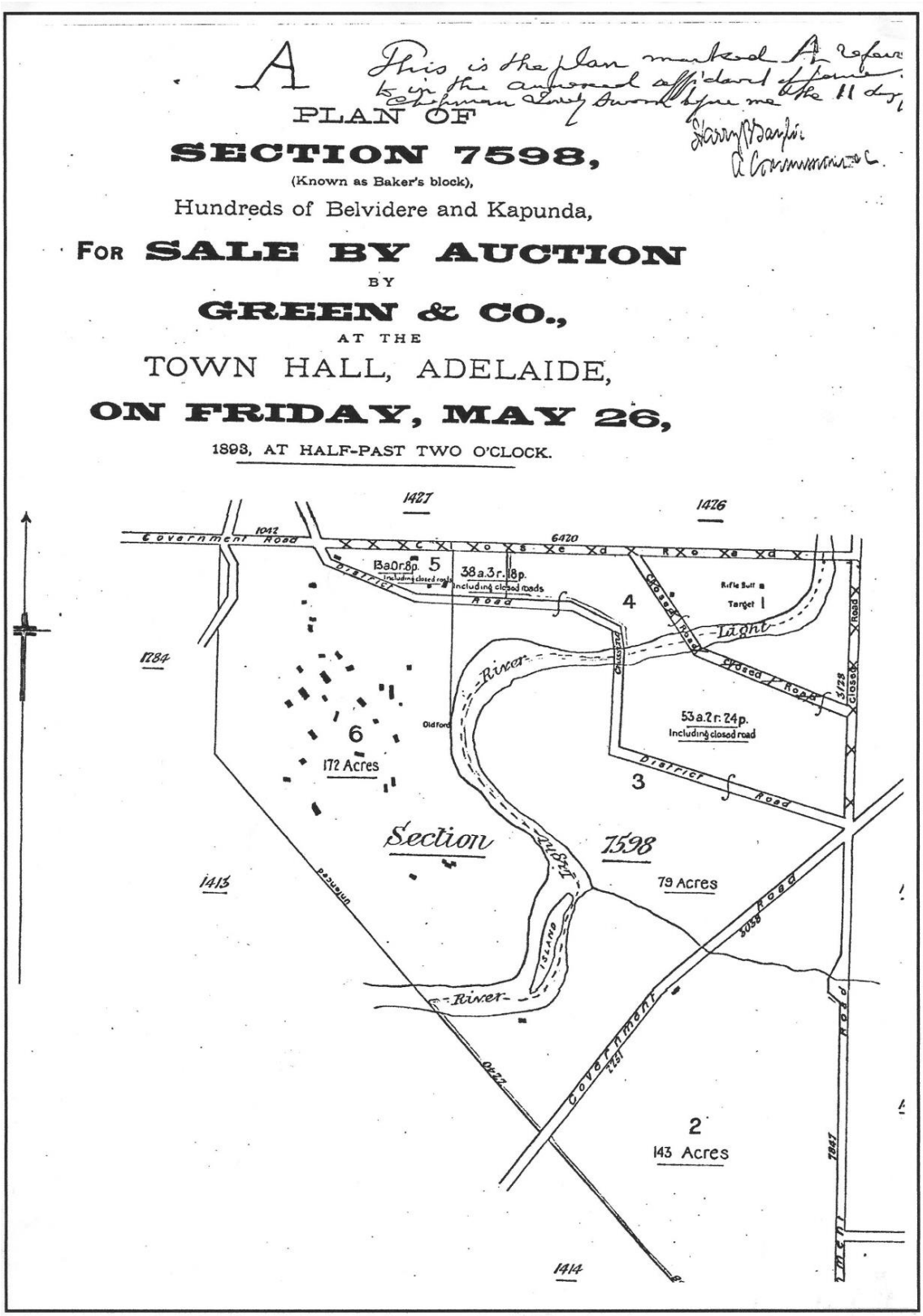


Figure 3.2 1893 survey plan of section 7598, Baker's Flat.

somewhat after the mine closed in 1878 (Maloney 1936a:29; Nicol 1983:13-15). Appendix A lists the names of 104 families who can be definitively associated with Baker's Flat throughout its lifetime.

By the 1920s, only a handful of elderly people remained on Baker's Flat, with the last family possibly being the O'Callahans (Appendix B), who had been resident on the Flat since 1857 (*Kapunda Herald* 1902a:3). Miss Mary O'Callahan (Figure 3.3) is described as one of the last residents; she died in 1945, whilst still residing at Baker's Flat (*Chronicle* 1945:17; Hazel 1975). Her mother, Mary, and brother, Michael, had pre-deceased her in 1918 and 1934 respectively, both at Baker's Flat (*Chronicle* 1918:28, 1934:40). Their house is noted in a sketch map prepared in the early 2000s from oral recollections (see Figure 4.1).

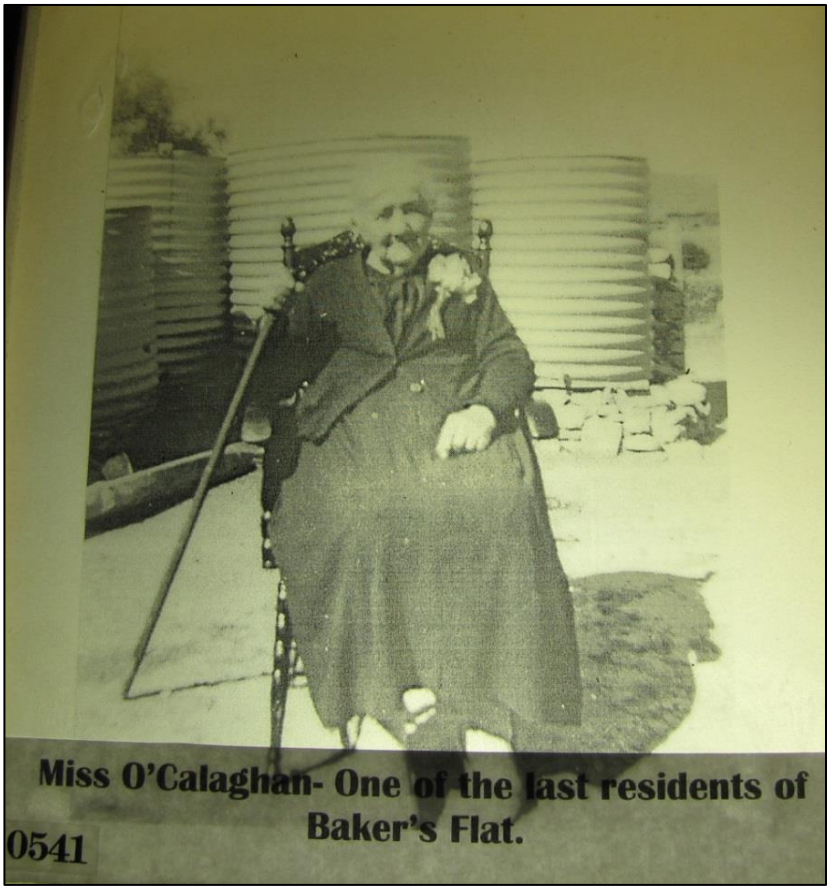


Figure 3.3 Miss O'Calaghan [O'Callahan], one of the last residents of Baker's Flat. Photo courtesy of the Kapunda Museum.

Narratives of Baker's Flat

Given the size of the Baker's Flat population, their contribution to the mine, and the fact that the settlement persisted for approximately 70 years, it would be expected that the Irish would figure largely in local histories. The Anglo-Irish—Bagot, Blood and Oldham—have a high profile, but the recorded histories document little about the residents of Baker's Flat. If mentioned at all, the narrative is one of squalor, conflict and lawlessness (e.g. Charlton 1971:18, 42-43, 47, 49, 100; Nicol 1983:15-16; Tilbrook 1929:31-32, 112-114). This narrative has three interconnected and recurring themes.

The first theme is of subsistence level living, squalor, violence and drunkenness, borne out in newspaper reports of the time and written histories. There are reports, for example, of an assault by a group of boys on a woman sitting under a tree at Baker's Flat drinking a bottle of wine, the burglary of a woman living in a one-room dwelling made of bags and mud, and the case of an old man living in poverty in a 'wretched hovel' (*Kapunda Herald* 1878a:4; *South Australian Register* 1866:4, 1877:4). One account of a physical fight involved at least three different families using sticks and stones, shovel and broom, hair pulling and fists, as well as inflammatory phrases such as 'informer wretch', and 'you'd sell the colony for a glass of beer' (*Kapunda Herald* 1878b:3). The dwellings on Baker's Flat are described as hovels of 'old iron, bags, tins, and odds and ends' or wattle and daub cottages, clustered together haphazardly, where pigs, goats and fowls were kept with no restraining fences (Charlton 1971:18; Hazel 1975:n.p.; Nicol 1983:14; Tilbrook 1929:31).

The second theme is non-conformity and lawlessness, illustrated by the consistent refusal of the occupiers of Baker's Flat to pay rent in spite of numerous collection attempts from the 1880s (Charlton 1971:42-43; Nicol 1983:13-14), all of which were met by 'women folk of the little community, armed with brooms, kettles of boiling water, and other ready-to-hand weapons [who would] enforce a hasty retreat on the part of the enemy' (Tilbrook 1929:31). Attempts by the legal owners to take the land by force resulted, at various times, in a workman being tarred and feathered whilst endeavouring to fence the land, one of the owners being thrown into the River Light, and his nephew being pelted with rotten eggs (Charlton 1971:43; Tilbrook 1929:113). In the 1880s, attempts to evict some of the occupiers and erect fences were dealt with by women sitting in the postholes and defying the workers to remove them, and in the 1890s, by removing the fence posts and wires each night (Charlton 1971:42-43; Tilbrook 1929:113-114).

The women of Baker's Flat were certainly not averse to direct action, and wielded considerable influence in controlling the site. One man recalls the 1860s-1870s when 'no-one, only those who lived there [Baker's Flat], were supposed to cross the property, and if they did they would have to give a satisfactory account of themselves when bailed up' by the women, who stuck together and were most likely to react with brooms and kicks (*Kapunda Herald* 1902b:3). Ann Bolton, who occupied a hut and 9½ acres, and lived on Baker's Flat from about the 1860s (*Kapunda Herald* 1894:2), was adamant about her right to be there. Papers from the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* (1892) court case record how, when she was approached about buying the land she was occupying, she told the solicitor to go to hell, and that 'if any more of you come here again I will throw scalding water over you'. Her resolute spirit was demonstrated again in 1894 when thirty cattle grazing on Baker's Flat were

impounded. As the authorities began to move them towards Kapunda, Ann Bolton appeared and 'by a dexterous interception of the cattle, ran two cows and two calves into her yard', prompting other men and women to scatter the remaining cattle (*Kapunda Herald* 1894:2).

The third theme in the narrative of Baker's Flat is shrewdness and opportunism, demonstrated in the accounts of the legal owners attempting to take possession of the land using the law. Legal action to reclaim the land began in 1892 in the Supreme Court of South Australia over rights of possession (*Forster et al. v Fisher* 1892). The well-respected solicitor and middle class Irish Catholic, Patrick McMahon Glynn, was called on to represent the people of Baker's Flat during the case (Charlton 1971:49; *Forster et al. v Fisher* 1892; *Kapunda Herald* 1902a:3). He did so for the entire duration of ten years, as well as representing several of the occupiers in other related court cases during that time (*Forster et al. v Fisher* 1892; *Kapunda Herald* 1894:2). His pro-Irish and pro-land rights principles may have influenced his decision to take the case, but it is probable that it was also combined with a sense of obligation to his compatriots.

As part of the *Foster et al. v. Fisher* (1892) proceedings, a survey was carried out in 1893, under difficult circumstances, to 'fix the positions of the various trespassers' holdings' in preparation for its sale (Figure 3.2). The surveyor, J.C. Lovely, wrote that, whilst carrying out his work, 'the feeling of the trespassers was so strong that I was prevented from completing the exact survey and measurements of the trespassers' holdings' for fear of a breach of the peace (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). Over the course of the ten year case, the court papers record several failed attempts at eviction, an unsuccessful auction in 1893 which received no bids, and the successful

sale in 1894 of 143 acres south of the river to the Irish Conolan brothers, who had been occupying it for some years (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892) (Appendix G lists landowners from 1845 to date). Surprisingly, the papers also show that, from 1888, in contrast to the established narrative of non-conformity and the wider actions of residents against legal intervention, at least 36 occupiers were paying council rates on various sections of the land (Appendix F; *Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892), apparently to assist in establishing their claims to the land.

There are other indicators in the historical evidence that the Baker's Flat story is not all squalor, non-conformity and opportunism. Photographs dating from the nineteenth century (Figure 3.4, Figure 3.5, Figure 3.7, Figure 3.6) show well-made cottages which do not fit the term 'hovels', and in 1899 the site was described as 'dotted with picturesque white-walled cottages' (*Chronicle* 1899:18). These houses are built in the Irish vernacular style, using a simple rectangular structure, with windows and doors in the long walls, and chimneys protruding through the roof ridge (Danaher 1978). In a series of 1975 interviews, four Kapunda residents recalled between 30 and 60 houses on Baker's Flat, mostly thatched and constructed as two or three rooms in a row, made mainly of whitewashed clay or stone, and given a new coat of lime and white clay every Christmas (Bettison 1975; Hazel 1975).

Figure 3.4 Nineteenth century cottage on Baker's Flat, date unknown. Photo courtesy of P. Swann, Kapunda.

Figure 3.5 The Lonely Cottage. Photo by John Kauffmann of a cottage at Baker's Flat, exhibited at the 1907 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain (Art Gallery of South Australia n.d.).

Figure 3.6 An old time village, Baker's Flat, near Kapunda. Photos by John Kauffmann, published in the Christmas Observer of 13 December 1906. Photo courtesy of the Kapunda Museum.

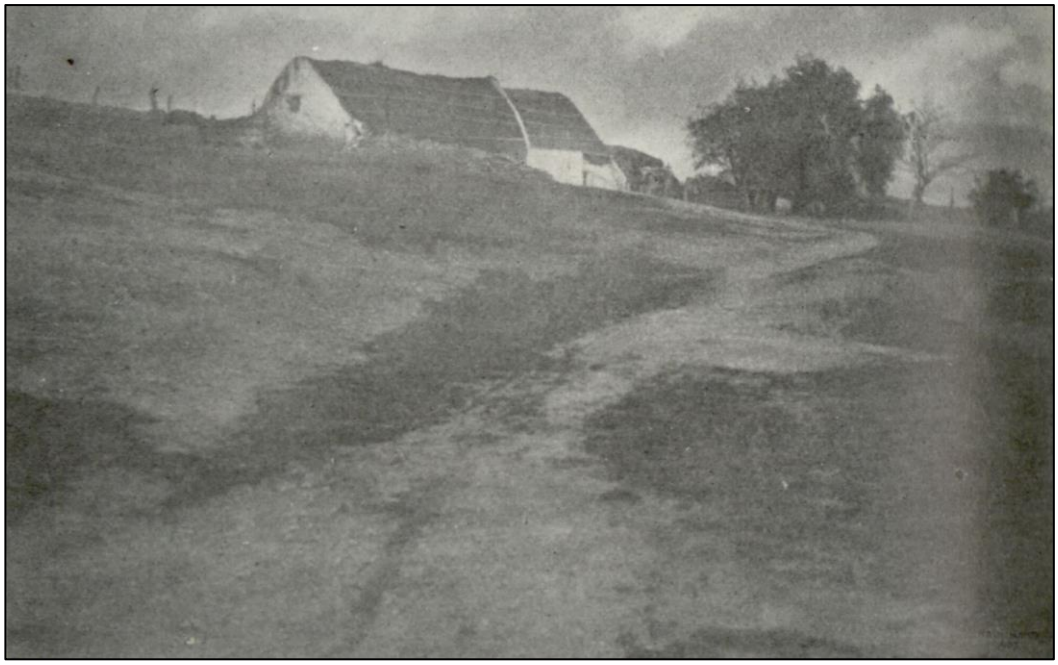


Figure 3.7 The Brow of the Hill. Photo by John Kauffmann of a cottage at Baker's Flat, exhibited at the 1907 Annual Exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain (Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society 1870-1915 2008).

Religion was an integral part of the Baker's Flat residents' lives. As early as 1854, a bluestone church was erected at St John's, 4km away, replacing an earlier slab hut (De Leiuen 2013:15). And in 1863, following ongoing difficulties for people in getting to St John's, especially when the River Light was in flood, an even more substantial church was opened in Kapunda (Charlton 1971:75) thanks to the 'support and hearty co-operation' of the parishioners (Maloney 1936b:3). Documentary evidence of the locals' piety is provided by the church records, such as a list of names of 82 children who were confirmed at St John's in September 1860 (Geoghegan 1860:n.p.).

Other indications that the residents were pursuing respectable lives include an application in 1865 by P. Flynes for a licence to teach, and a commendation in 1878 to Mr Conway and Mr Geraghty for their speed in responding to the Kapunda Volunteers' call-out to parade (*Kapunda Herald* 1878d:3; *South Australian Register* 1865:3). Reputable social activities also took place, with accounts of large

attendances at the annual Catholic picnics on St Patrick's Day and Easter Monday every year from 1874 (*Kapunda Herald* 1878c:3; Maloney 1936a:30; Nicol 1983:15; Press 1986:189). Irish folk traditions and customs also continued, such as the Feast of St John, which was celebrated in traditional fashion every 23 June, with a bonfire, dancing and songs (Maloney 1936a:29).

Hurling was played every Sunday afternoon, and concertinas, fiddles and flutes were played each evening for jigs and hornpipes, so much so that a discrete feature, known as the dance floor, was purportedly formed from 'the virgin soil, flat and smooth, and hard as cement from the thousands of feet that gaily "kept the time" to the piper's or fiddler's tune' (Maloney 1936a:29). This dance floor is also mentioned in an interview with Mrs Beanland, who had lived on Baker's Flat, and recalled dancing at the full moon and on dry nights, on a 'hard patch of earth, and fires kept going to liven the scene' (Bettison 1975:n.p.). A particular area of compacted ground in the northern part of Baker's Flat is still described locally today as the 'dance floor' (pers. comm. D. Hampel and S. O'Reilley, 15 February 2013).

Conclusion

When using documents as sources, Drewett (2011:30) notes that their contents should be treated with caution, since the reason for their production always needs to be considered. This is particularly relevant when exploring the written histories of Kapunda, each of which was prepared and interpreted for a particular purpose—to celebrate the centenary of settlement, to remember the first settlers, or to record the colonial history (e.g. Back to Kapunda Movement 1927; Charlton 1971; Nicol 1983; Tilbrook 1929). Firsthand accounts, such as those by Bagot and Dutton, and primary

sources, such as the records of the Catholic Church and the *Forster et al. v. Fisher* court case, offer different perspectives. Combined with the oral and written histories and newspaper reports, they help to strip out the stereotypes and contribute to a more balanced account of Baker's Flat and its residents. Richards' proposition (1991a:233, 1991b:92) that the Irish generally merged quickly and invisibly into the colony appears to be only part of the story, and the tenacity of the Baker's Flat community over a period of 70 years suggests that there is more to the Irish migrant experience than one of merely fitting in and getting on with it. From the historical records, the indications are that the Irish of Baker's Flat operated in a space that was both squalid and respectable, lawless and law abiding, and that this community was more complex than has been reported to date.

4 Methods

Methods for this research included a site survey, and the cataloguing and analysis of an existing collection of metal artefacts owned by a local metal detectorist.

Site survey

The standing structures previously on the site were demolished in the 1950s by the current landowner's father to deter curious passers-by from trespassing (pers. comm. D. Hampel, December 2012). Using a bulldozer, the landowner dug a depression next to each house and pushed in the rubble, with the result that although no standing structures remained, the rubble has remained in the original locations (Hazel 1975:n.p.; pers. comm. D. Hampel, December 2012). These factors indicated relatively good preservation of in situ remains associated with some cottages and merited the undertaking of a surface survey. The survey was also designed to contextualise the broad collection locations of the metal artefacts, although the individual objects themselves had no provenance per se (see Artefact collection—Background, page 53).

In conjunction with historical research, two maps were used to help determine the most appropriate areas to survey. The 1893 survey plan (Figure 3.2) shows about 38 houses, mostly in the northern part of the site. A sketch map (Figure 4.1) prepared by local Kapunda resident, Jean Curtis, around the year 2000 shows house locations as she recalled them from her youth. It places the O'Callahan house in the north-west corner of the site, ruins along the north-western boundary, and 'shanties' at the southern end near the river. Since the majority of buildings and the dance floor

appear to have been located in the northern part of the site, and metal detecting activities were also focused here (Figure 4.3), the survey was concentrated in this area.

Given the aim of identifying broad settlement patterns and the general distribution of archaeological material, as well as the large survey area involved, walking transects were selected as the most efficient coverage method. A survey form (Appendix C) was designed to assist in recording significant features and occupation sites, including building remains, vegetation, artefact scatters, mine tailings and the original entrance to the Baker's Flat site. Whilst the location of all buildings and artefact scatters were spatially plotted as part of this survey, individual items (either artefacts or buildings) were not recorded for this study.

The survey took place in February 2013. Four groups of three carried out a systematic surface survey using handheld GPS, along designated 25 metre northings. Individuals were spaced at ten metre intervals, with each person scanning five metres on either side. Ground visibility was good, ranging from 50-60% in cropped paddocks to 70-80% in grassed paddocks. Significant features and occupation sites were recorded as GPS waypoints and noted in the survey form.

A total of 22 transects were completed (Table 4.1), covering an area of 66 acres (26 hectares), equating to 38.4% of the site (Figure 4.2). In addition, an RTK was used to plot the site boundaries. A permanent survey mark (6629-1004) at St John's, 3km distant, was used as the primary datum.

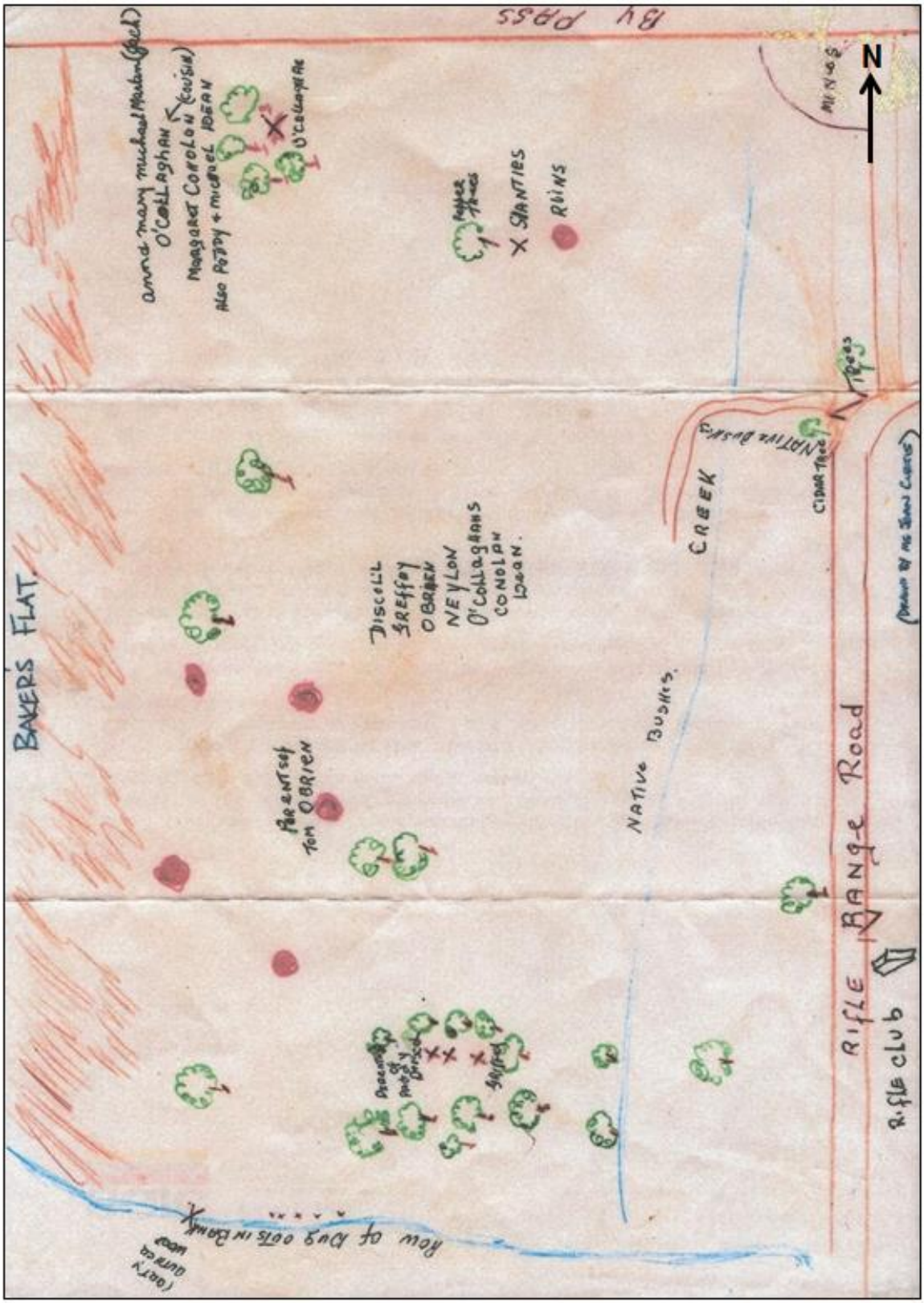


Figure 4.1 Sketch map, not to scale, showing the locations of dwellings on Baker's Flat.

COORDINATES FOR TRANSECT SURVEY ON BAKER'S FLAT, 14 FEBRUARY 2013				
Transect #	**Northing**	**Group**	**Direction**	**Distance**
1	6196775	A	East to West	
2	6196750	B	East to West	
3	6196725	C	East to West	
4	6196700	D	East to West	100 metres
5	6196675	A	West to East	
6	6196650	B	West to East	
7	6196625	C	West to East	
8	6196600	D	West to East	200 metres
9	6196575	A	East to West	
10	6196550	B	East to West	
11	6196525	C	East to West	
12	6196500	D	East to West	300 metres
13	6196475	A	West to East	
14	6196450	B	West to East	
15	6196425	C	West to East	
16	6196400	D	West to East	400 metres
17	6196375	A	East to West	
18	6196350	B	East to West	
19	6196325	C	East to West	
20	6196300	D	East to West	500 metres
21	6196275	A	West to East	
22	6196250	B	West to East	550 metres

Table 4.1 Transect coordinates completed during Baker's Flat field survey.

Figure 4.2 Transects completed during the field survey, site boundary outlined in red. Image from Google Earth 27 April 2014.

Artefact collection

Background

The artefacts in this collection were found on Baker's Flat by a local metal detectorist between approximately 2002 and 2012. The collector worked the site on many occasions, generally for a half day each time, retrieving a total of approximately 1,300 items. His methods included retrieving all traced metal items and removing them from Baker's Flat in order to avoid detecting them again. Although many objects were found on the surface, he also recovered items to a depth of about 15cm.

Since the artefacts were not collected using archaeological methods, however, there are no known contexts for their original locations. Hence, it is not possible to attribute any of the artefacts to specific locations, families or individuals. While specific locations for individual objects are unknown, the collector confirmed that he had confined his work to four general locations, as outlined in Figure 4.3. Many dog registration tags were found in Location 1, many other artefacts, including coins, in Location 2, and also from the area known locally as the dance floor (Location 3). Very little was found at Location 4.

Figure 4.3 General locations of metal artefacts.

Artefact cataloguing

Since this research focuses on the nature of community settlement practices and relationships, a decision was taken to focus on items associated with personal use, and domestic or community activities and practices. Objects that were non-diagnostic or purely structural were not catalogued, e.g. sheet metal, padlocks or non-diagnostic clock components (Table 4.2). This left a total of 1,099 metal artefacts, all of which were catalogued.

UNCATALOGUED ARTEFACT TYPE	EXAMPLES	TOTAL NO.
Non-diagnostic clock/watch components	Bells, hands, keys, round/square plates	98
Non-diagnostic door furniture	Hinges, door handles/knobs, door plates	56
Non-diagnostic miscellaneous	Handles, tacks, padlock, washers, sheet metal	75
Total uncatalogued but noted		**229**

Table 4.2 Numbers of uncatalogued artefact types.

Artefacts were cleaned using a dry brush to remove just enough surface dirt to reveal artefact details. Guidelines (Appendix D) were constructed for file management, general data entry, specific artefact types, photographs, post-cataloguing treatment, and data cleansing. All data was recorded using an Excel spreadsheet (see Appendix H, electronic files containing spreadsheet and artefact photographs).

In summary, each artefact was assigned a unique number, a source code indicating where it is stored, and photo numbers of images associated with the artefact. Two activity categories were assigned, one broad, e.g. Personal, and one more specific, e.g. Costume. Two categories of material type were assigned, one broad, e.g. Metal, and one more specific, e.g. Copper Alloy. An estimate of completeness was made, followed by a short description of the object portion/component.

The length, width and thickness of each item were measured using vernier calipers. Each item was weighed, using a digital weighing scale, to one decimal point e.g. 2.1g. An exception was made for groups of identical trouser buttons; in this case, one button was measured but the group weight was taken.

A Yes/No option was offered to indicate the presence of a motif or markings, and evidence of modification or re-use. Manufacturing techniques were also listed, as well as the number of fragments or items associated with the artefact, a description, and an assessment of its condition.

Additional data was recorded for the specific categories of coins, dog registration tags, buttons, jewellery and flatware. For **coins**, the monarch was listed. For **dog tags**, the district number, district name and registration number were recorded, as well as whether the dog was male or female. The district name was identified using Ransom's (2005:50-53) numerical list of proclaimed districts. The presence of a second hole in a dog tag indicates that the dog was female (Ransom 2005:32).

For **buttons**, the following additional elements were recorded: shape, attachment method, number of eyes, shank type, ligne size and diameter. For **jewellery**, the shape and attachment method of each jewellery item were detailed. If the piece originally contained stones, the original number and the number of stones now present were noted, including stone colour. The primary motif was recorded concisely, using descriptive terms, e.g. anchor, bird, Celtic knot, daisy, horseshoe. For **flatware**, the form was recorded, e.g. spoon, fork, as well as the pattern if identifiable.

At least two photographs were taken of each artefact, with other details and views taken if required. Using a tripod and a standard blue background, each artefact was

photographed front and back with a 10cm scale, using a Canon Powershot SX10 camera, set at f-stop 8, and an equivalent film speed of ISO80.

Although the intention of the artefact catalogue was to record only metal artefacts, a small number (eight out of 1,107 artefacts, or 0.72%) of non-metal items were catalogued, including five glass, ceramic or shell buttons. These have not been included in the analysis.

5 Results

Site survey

The GPS and RTK surveys located the remains of 13 buildings (Figure 5.1) on Baker's Flat. Other features located during the survey include mine tailings in the northern part of the site and several scatters of stone, glass, ceramics and metal.

When the survey results are overlaid on the 1893 survey plan (Figure 5.2), nine of the buildings overlap the houses recorded in 1893. Buildings 1 and 2 do not match up with any of the 1893 buildings, although, according to the sketch map (Figure 4.1), one of these should be the O'Callahan house. It is known, however, that the 1893 plan was undertaken under arduous conditions, and may, in consequence, have omitted some outlying buildings. Further, although the 1893 plan has been rotated and scaled to fit the site layout, the River Light is plotted some distance north-west of its actual location, and appears to be a fault in the original survey.

Comparing the survey results to the metal detecting locations from which the artefact assemblage was retrieved, it is clear that one of the locations, Location 2, overlaps with a domestic area containing several buildings (Figure 5.3). Locations 1, 3 and 4, however, do not contain any buildings remains, although Location 3 is the site of the supposed dance floor, also pictured in Figure 5.4. This area is certainly highly compacted and has less vegetation than the surrounding areas. The landowner confirmed that, although the area is ploughed and seeded regularly, the ground is too compacted for crops to grow (pers. comm. D. Hampel, 15 February 2013).

Figure 5.1 Baker's Flat site survey results, overlaid on Google Earth image.

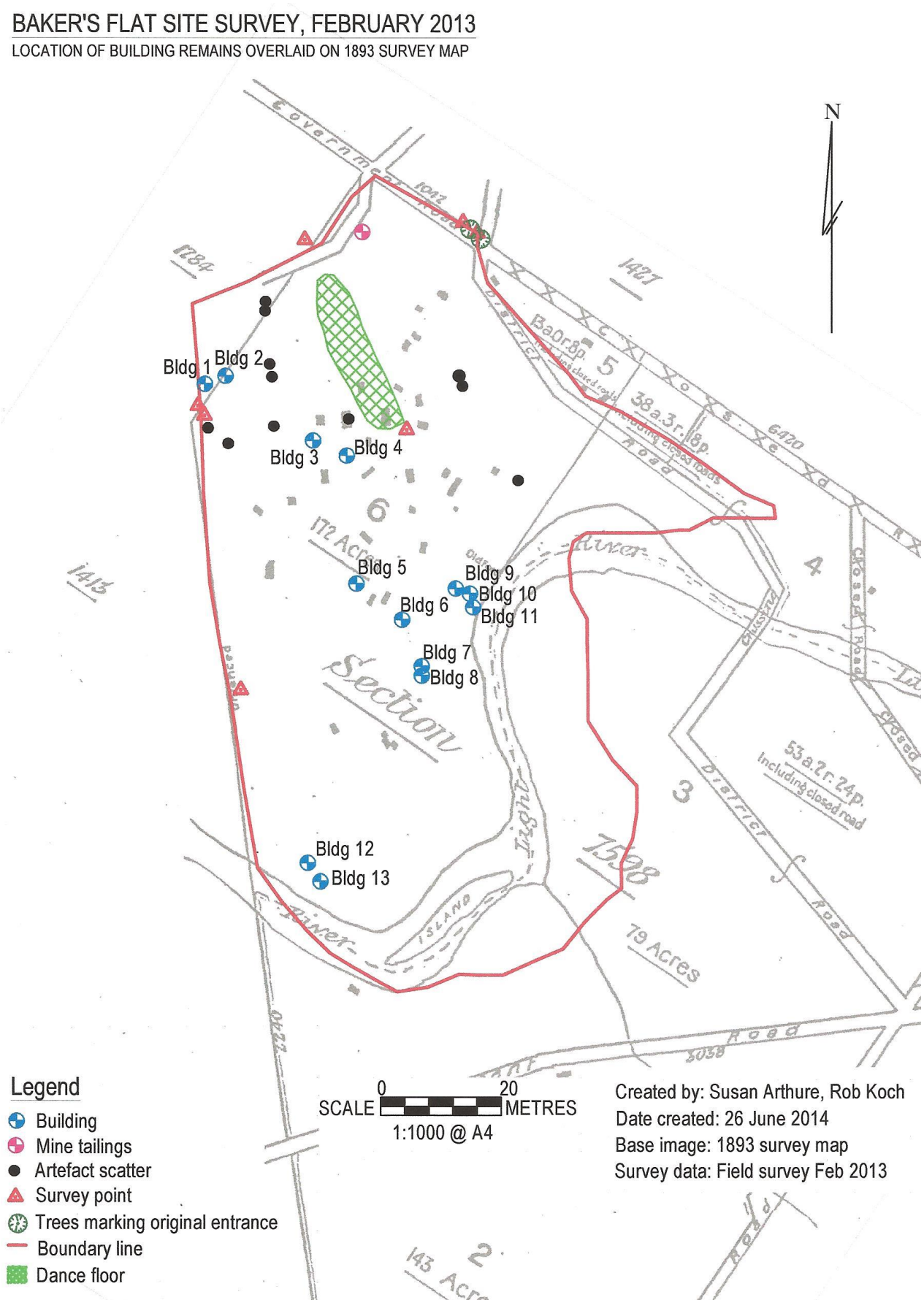


Figure 5.2 Baker's Flat site survey results, overlaid on 1893 survey plan.

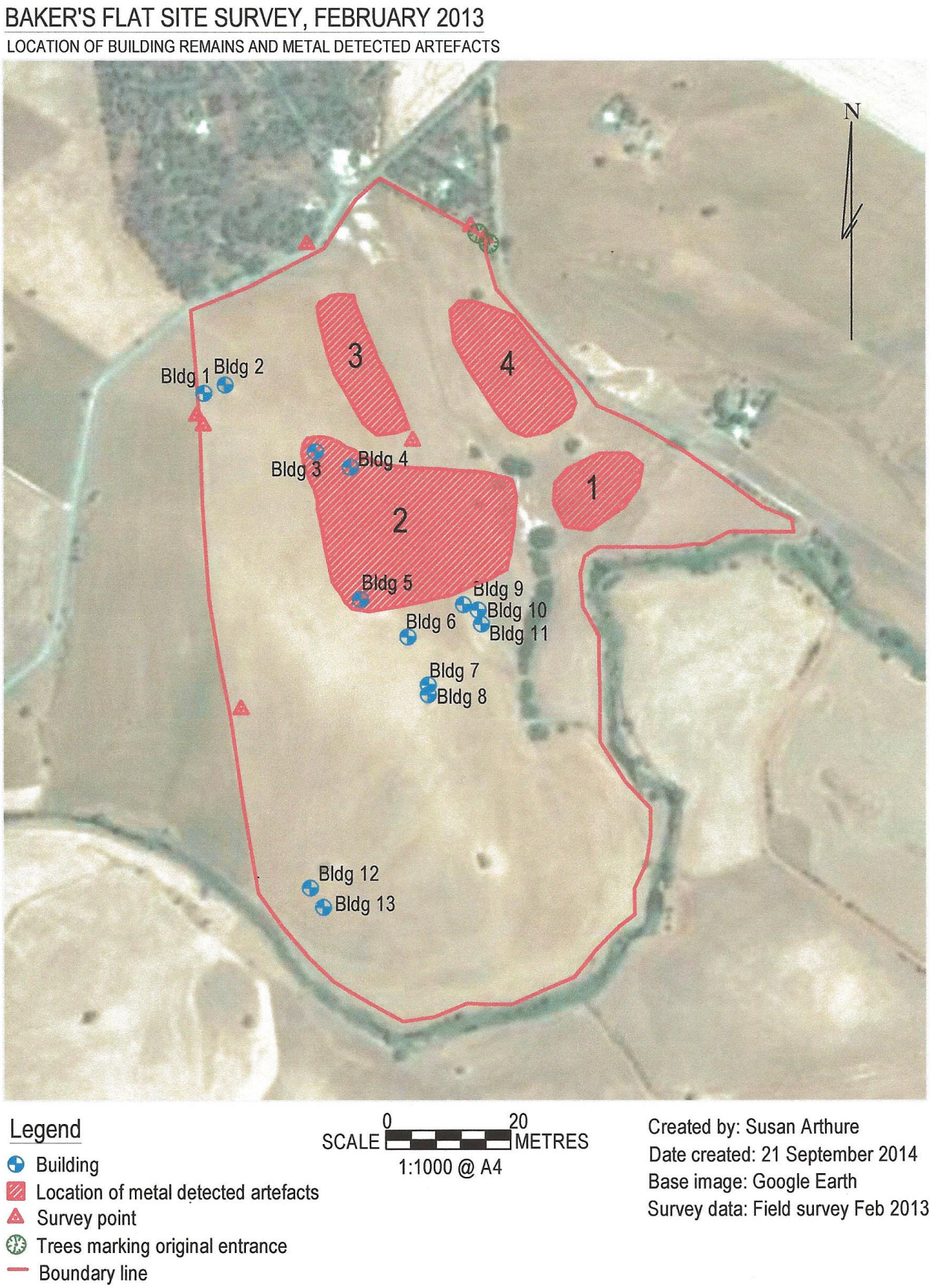


Figure 5.3 Location of building remains mapped against locations of metal detected artefacts.

Figure 5.4 'Dance floor', an area of compacted ground, looking south-east.

Artefact collection

The artefact collection holds 1,099 metal objects from a range of activity categories which have been used as broad headings to structure the results (Figure 5.5).

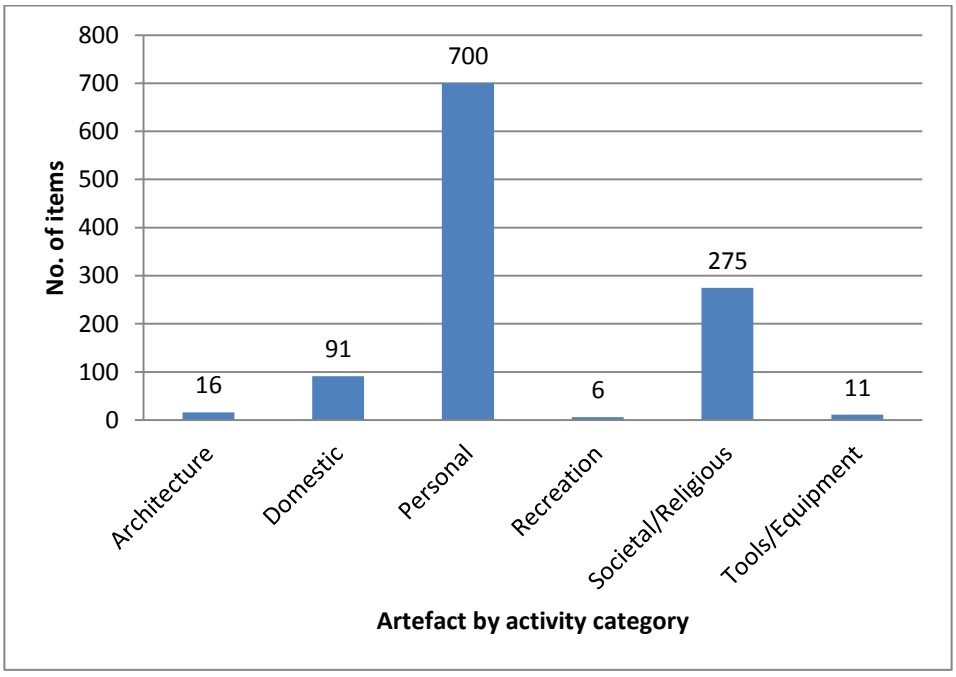


Figure 5.5 Artefacts (n=1,099) listed by activity category.

Architecture

There are 16 objects in this category, primarily architectural fittings such as finials and covers, door hardware, hinges and lengths of metal pipe or wire (Figure 5.6).

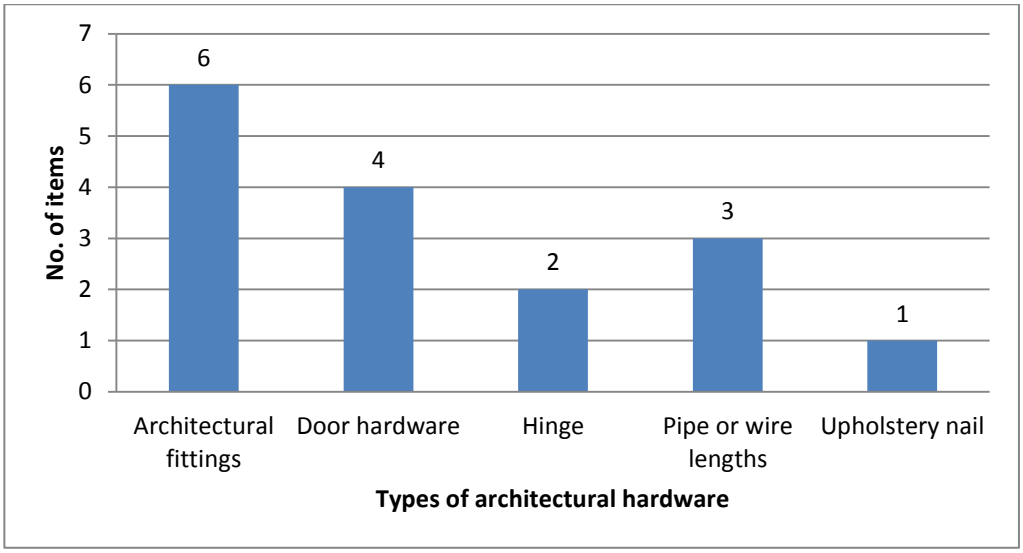


Figure 5.6 Architecture artefacts (n=16) by type.

They include a solid brass horse's hoof terminating in a hollow finial, possibly part of a door knocker, and a small flower-shaped cupboard door plate (Figure 5.7), as well as two brass and iron alloy cupboard door knobs.

Figure 5.7 L to R: #0918 possible door knocker; #0927 cupboard door plate.

Domestic

The Domestic category contains 91 artefacts associated with domestic activities such as lighting, ornamental objects, and preparing, serving and transporting food (Figure 5.8).

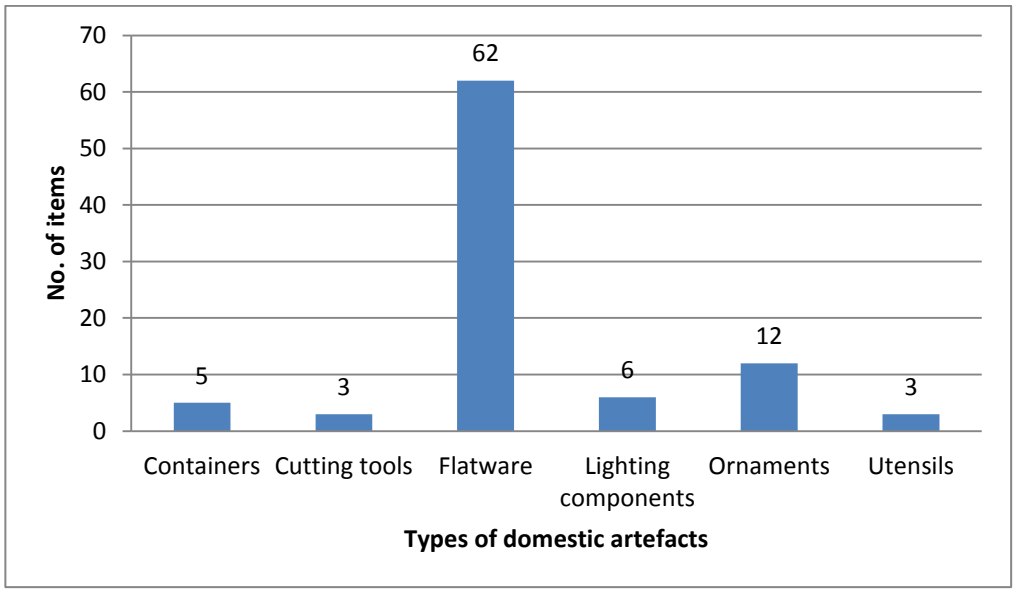


Figure 5.8 Domestic artefacts (n=91) by type.

Containers

This category (n=5) holds three artefacts associated with storing or transporting food (Figure 5.9), and two breath freshener or cachou containers dating from the mid-nineteenth century.

Figure 5.9 L to R: #0118, pepper cellar lid; #0191, sugar caster lid with stylised leaf pattern; #0911, lion's paw, possibly serving tray leg.

Cutting tools

There are three tools associated with cutting. Two are label screws for saws. One is the remains of a brass knife handle with an iron alloy tang insert, its symmetrical design suggesting a dagger-type blade rather than one with a single cutting edge (Figure 5.10). It is notable that this is the only knife in the collection.

Figure 5.10 #0213, knife handle, symmetrical design.

Flatware

Flatware (n=62) is the largest category in Domestic, comprising six full or partial forks, 38 full or partial spoons, and 18 fragments that could be either forks or spoons.

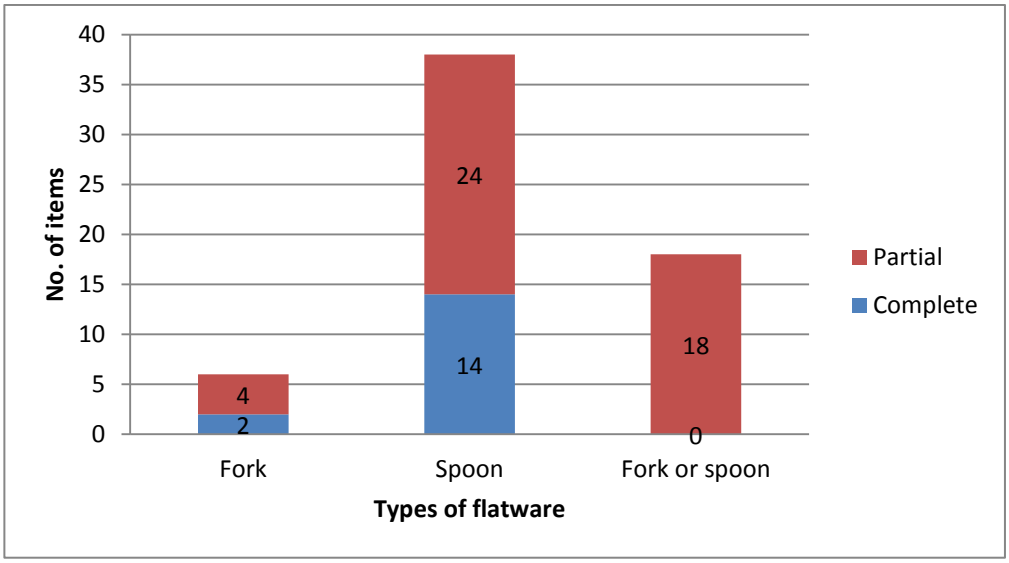


Figure 5.11 Flatware (n=62) by type.

Patterns include Bead, Fiddle, Fiddle Thread and Kings. Fiddle is the most common (n=35, 56.5%) (Figure 5.12) and was an everyday pattern in use from the nineteenth to the twentieth century (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999a:414).

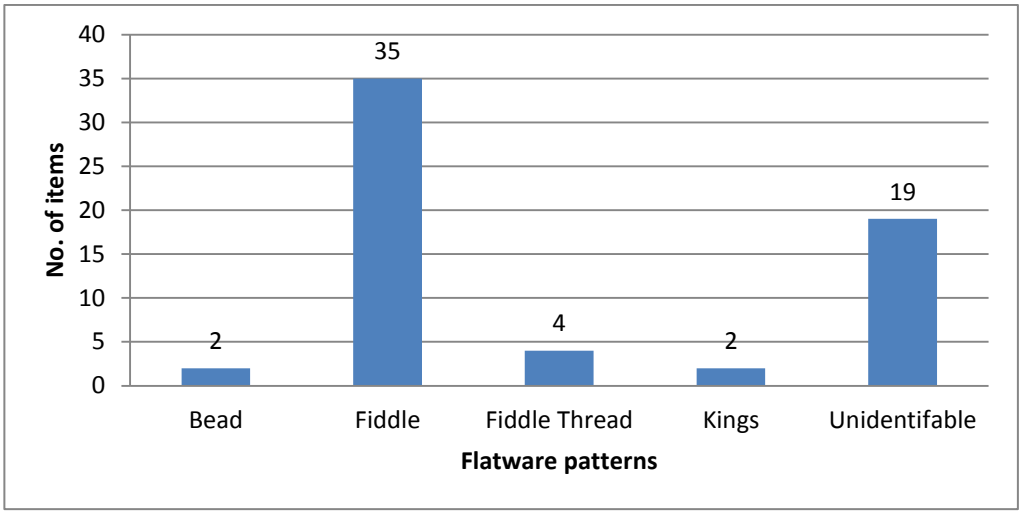


Figure 5.12 Flatware patterns. Those classed as unidentifiable either have an unnamed pattern or are too fragmentary to identify.

Mass produced flatware dates from the 1840s (V&A 2014), but dates for 11 pieces in this collection can be refined, based on their makers' marks, to start times ranging from 1864 to the 1890s (Figure 5.13).

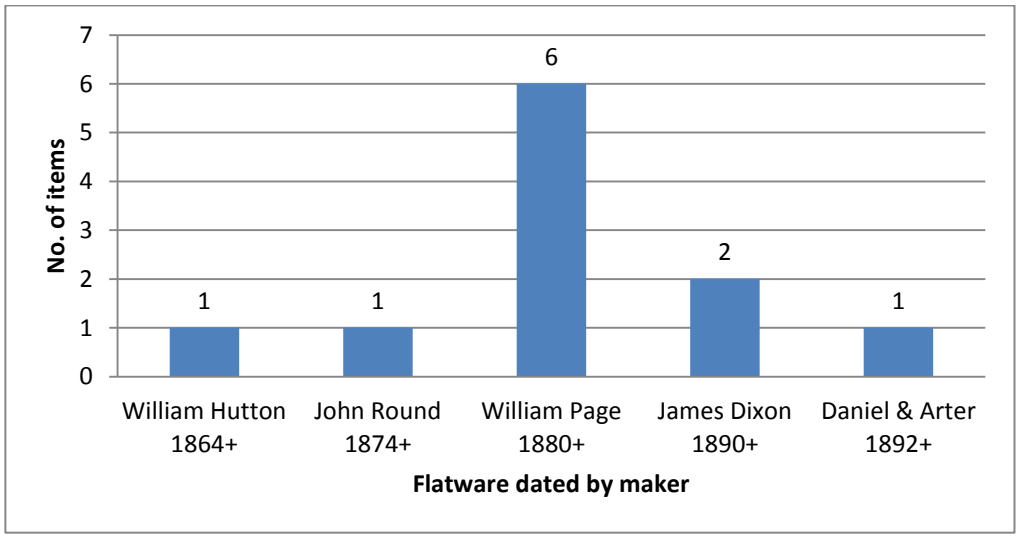


Figure 5.13 Flatware dated by maker.

Twenty-four items of flatware (38.7%) are either bent or folded: two forks, nineteen spoons and three partial forks or spoons (examples in Figure 5.14). The extent of bending and particularly of folding, raises the question of whether they were accidentally bent, e.g. by ploughing or bulldozing, or deliberately modified.

Figure 5.14 Top row: Bent spoons, L to R: #0133; #0142; #0143. Bottom row: Bent and folded spoons, L to R: #0145, spoon, bowl crushed and folded three times; #0187, partial spoon, bowl broken across midpoint and folded double, handle bent.

Lighting components

This category has six artefacts, identified as lamp fittings or possible lamp components. Three can be dated as a result of makers' marks to 1863-1920 (#0119), 1890-1920s (#0207) and 1860-1883 (#0557)).

Ornaments

This category, which has 12 objects (Figure 5.15), is used for decorative items.

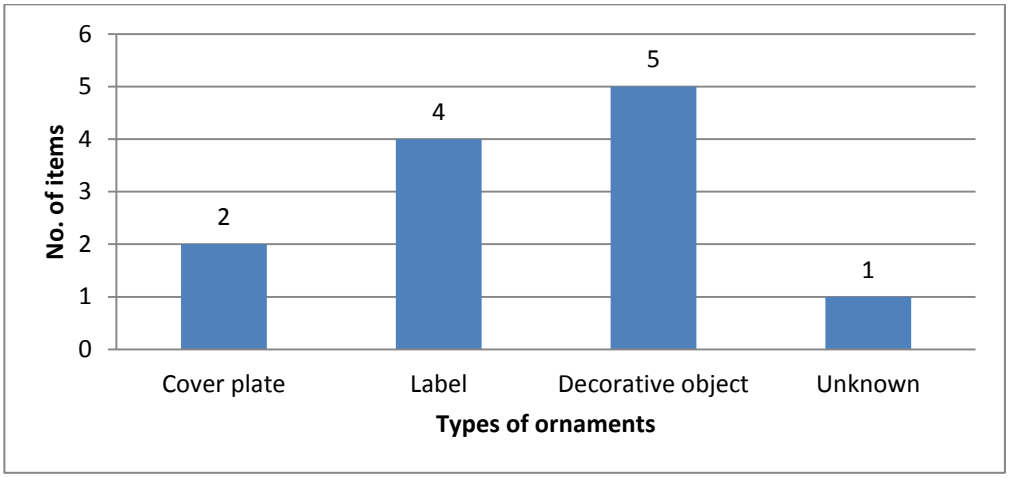


Figure 5.15 Ornaments (n=12) by type.

There are five decorative objects that can be classed as ornaments, including a partial bust and possible picture frame (Figure 5.16), a brass crayfish, small lead alloy bird, and fragment of an ornamental travelling trunk.

Figure 5.16 #0122, partial bust of gentleman, 61mm high; #0900, fragment of possible picture frame embossed with nineteenth century male and female figures.

Utensils

This category contains three items: a meat skewer, a brass eight troy ounce square weight, and a small object that is possibly a letter seal.

Personal

Personal artefacts are primarily associated with costume-type objects, worn or carried for a variety of purposes. There are 700 items in this category, the majority of which are buttons (n=548, 78.3%) (Figure 5.17).

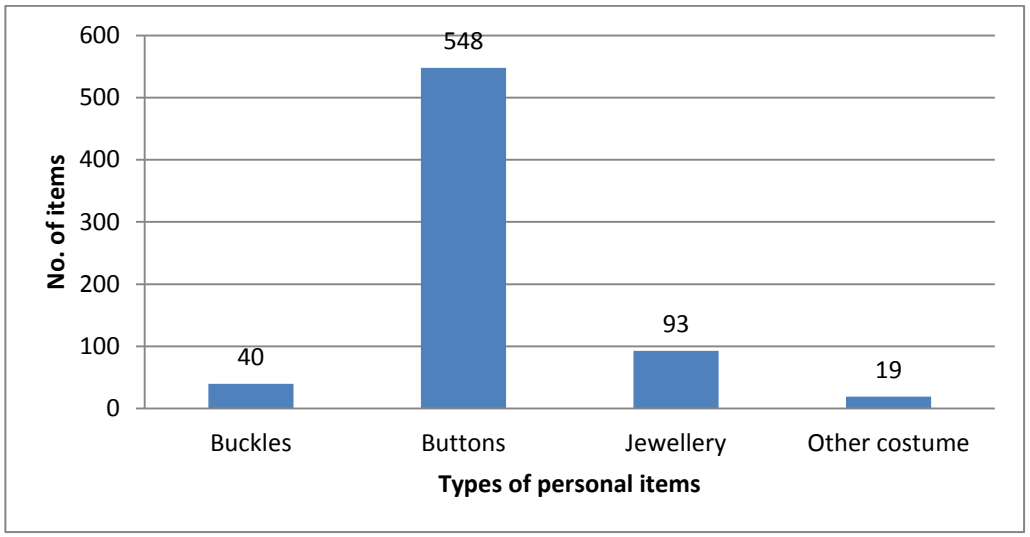


Figure 5.17 Personal artefacts (n=700) by type.

Buckles

The 40 buckles are divided according to whether they are decorative (n=12), plain (n=9), snake (n=6), or sporting (n=13) (Figure 5.18).

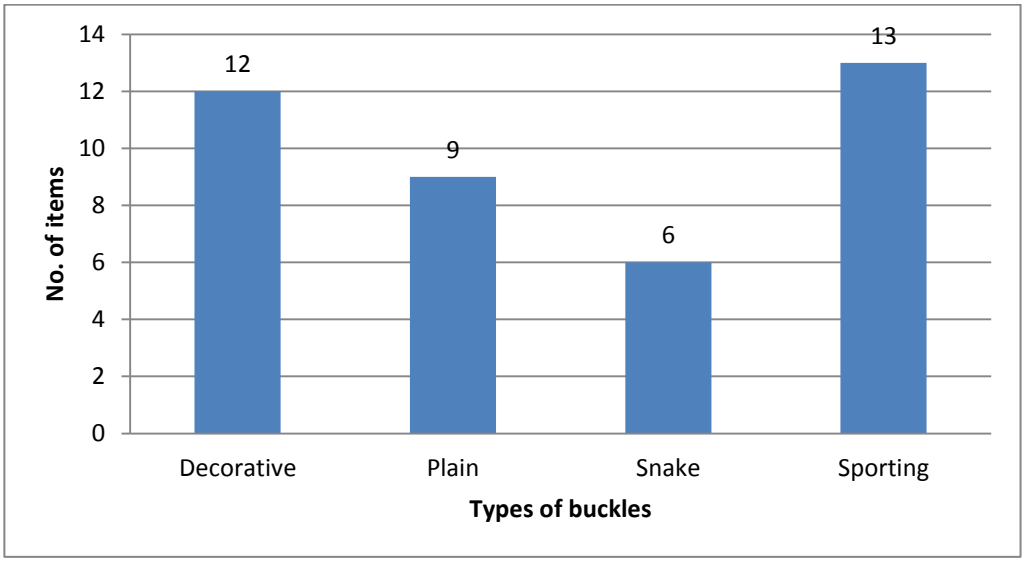


Figure 5.18 Buckles (n=40) by type.

Decorative buckles

There are 12 decorative buckles, engraved or embossed with various motifs, including geometric patterns, foliage and fronds, a book, a woman gazing at ships, and a lion. One buckle, embossed with three shamrocks, is reminiscent of Ireland, and also of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity (Figure 5.19). Another buckle is engraved with the Christian symbols of a botonee cross and vines (Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19 Decorative buckles. L to R: #0565, three interlaced shamrocks; #0561, botonee cross and vines.

Plain buckles

There are nine buckles or buckle parts in this category. Buckles can be used to fasten different sorts of clothing (White 2009:240), and these undecorated buckles vary in size from 28mm x 20.5mm (#0357) to 58.5mm x 88.5mm (#0354).

Snake buckles

Snake buckles (n=6) date from the 1800s to the early twentieth century, and are associated with military and police uniforms, and schoolboys' belts (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:92; Meredith and Meredith 2008:18; Portable Antiquities Scheme 2011; Read 2008:230). Two examples are shown in Figure 5.20.

Figure 5.20 Snake buckles. L to R: #0332; #0335.

Sporting buckles

Thirteen buckles have sporting motifs. One is associated with lacrosse, the remainder are cricket buckles (n=12), and depict cricketers, bats, balls, stumps and wickets. Two examples are shown in Figure 5.21.

Figure 5.21 Cricket buckles. L to R: #0337, two cricketers; #0340, cricket team and the words WE ARE READY OUR CLUB.

Three of the sporting buckles (#0336, #0339, #0346) have diamond registration marks on their reverse, used by the British Patent Office between 1868 and 1883 (Stelle 2006:5-6; The National Archives 2014). The lacrosse buckle (Figure 5.22) was registered on 24 November 1868 (The National Archives 2014). The registration mark on one of the cricket buckles (#0339) has degraded, but enough remains to establish that it was registered between 1868 and 1883. The other (#0346) was registered on 10 November 1869 (The National Archives 2014).

Figure 5.22 Front and back of #0336, belt buckle plate showing male lacrosse player. Reverse has British registration diamond.

Buttons

The 548 metal buttons fall into several styles, as shown in Figure 5.23.

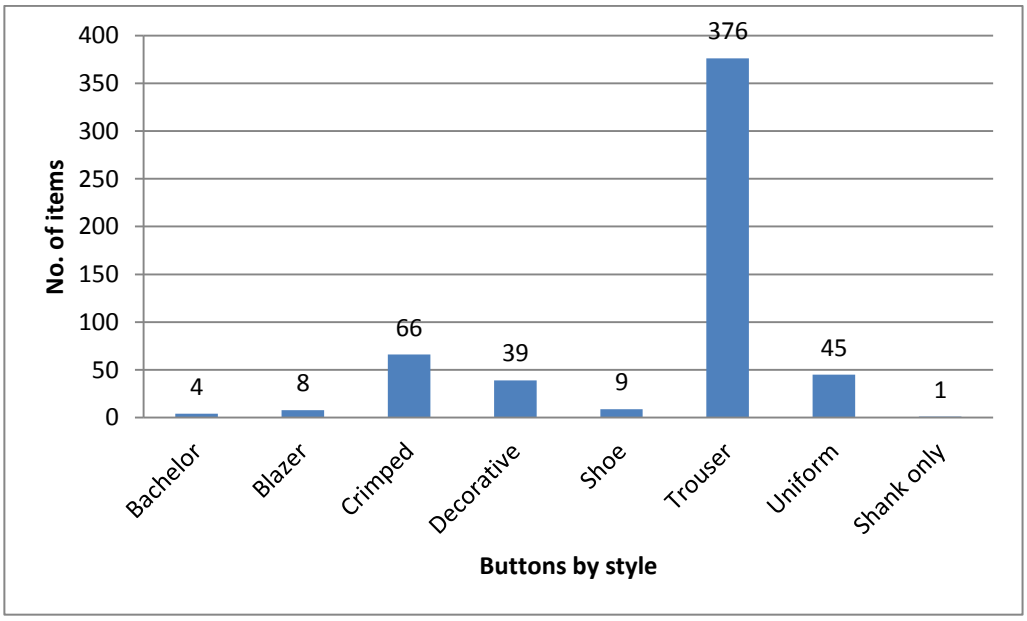


Figure 5.23 Buttons (n=548) by style.

The categories with the fewest numbers are bachelor buttons (n=4), blazer buttons (n=8) and shoe buttons (n=9), as well as one fragment that consists only of a Sanders shank.

Crimped buttons

The 66 crimped buttons are similar in style to trouser buttons. They include a mixture of two holes (n=38) and four holes (n=3), as well as five that are too damaged to ascertain the number of holes. There are also 20 crimped buttons with a central cross bar, three of which are stamped with the maker's mark FAVELL & BOUSFIELDS OF LONDON, a company which was in operation from at least 1855, and which was advertising in an Australian newspaper in 1869 (Piper, Bakewell and Piper Records 1900; *South Australian Register* 1869:1).

Decorative buttons

There are 39 decorative buttons. The most common motifs are foliage and flowers (n=16) (Figure 5.24), but there are also anchors (n=5), sporting images (n=4), and Art Nouveau influenced designs (n=2). Sporting or hunting style buttons date from the 1880s (Osborne 1993:38-39). The Art Nouveau style (Figure 5.25) dates from the 1880s to 1910, representing the peak of decorative button manufacture (Meredith and Meredith 2012:11, 15, 20; Peacock 2010:8).

Figure 5.24 Decorative buttons. L to R: #0790, central stylised leaf; #0789, circle of flowers and leaves; #0738, hand painted stylised flower on lime green background.

Figure 5.25 Art Nouveau buttons. L to R: #0782, dragonfly with cut-out wings; #0787, three flowers with cut-outs.

Two buttons resemble cut steel in design (Figure 5.26), and are similar to a brooch (Figure 5.34) and chain (Figure 5.36) in the collection.

Figure 5.26 Buttons resembling cut steel. L to R: #0785, stylised flower; #0786, stylised sunburst.

Trouser buttons

This is the most common button type in the collection, and consists of 376 sew through, one piece metal trouser buttons, either four hole (n=345) or two hole (n=31). Although some are unbranded (n=80, 21.3%) or unidentifiable (n=13, 3.5%), many are stamped with a generic slogan such as 'Best Ring Edge' (n=24, 6.4%), 'The Climax' (n=24, 6.4%) or 'Excelsior' (n=95, 25.3%) (complete list Appendix E). Although consistent with a time frame from the 1850s onwards, these are difficult to date precisely (Lindbergh 1999:52).

There are 69 buttons (18.4%) stamped with a specific maker's name. These include 12 Adelaide tailors, including George Doolette, who was in business from the 1870s until 1902, and J. McAnna, who operated from the 1870s to the 1910s (*News* 1925:1; *South Australian Register* 1876b:1; *The Advertiser* 1914:13; *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal* 1873:3). In addition, there are 20 buttons stamped with C.H. Shakeshaft Kapunda (examples in Figure 5.27). This was a tailor's business operating in Kapunda in the 1920s, or possibly earlier, since C.H. Shakeshaft was known to be living in Kapunda from 1884 (*Kapunda Herald* 1926:2; Rootsweb 2002).

Figure 5.27 #0443, four trouser buttons made by C.H. Shakeshaft of Kapunda.

One button originated in Ireland, made by John Kerin of Ennis, Co. Clare. The records of the Ennistymon Union in 1848 list 'John Kerin Ennis' as tendering for the provision of clothing (Ennistymon Union Minute Books 1848).

Uniform buttons

There are 45 uniform buttons, including buttons from the South Australian Railways (n=22), South Australian Volunteers (n=12), Gaols and Prisons SA (n=3), the British Royal Artillery (n=1) and the Royal Sappers and Miners (n=1) (Figure 5.28).

Figure 5.28 Uniform buttons. L to R: #0734, Gaols & Prisons SA; #0763, South Australian Railways; #0724, South Australian Volunteers.

Based on the maker's marks and uniforms (complete list Appendix E), they can be dated to an earliest period of use, summarised in Figure 5.29. The majority (n=30, 66.6%) date from the 1850s.

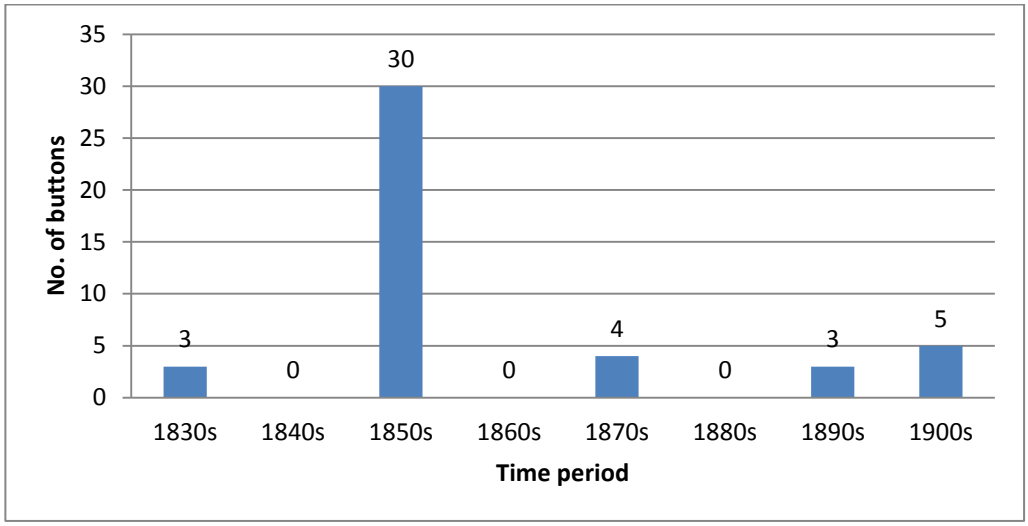


Figure 5.29 Uniform buttons matched against their earliest period of use.

Jewellery

There are 93 pieces of jewellery (Figure 5.30), more than half of which are brooches (n=48, 51.6%). There are no earrings.

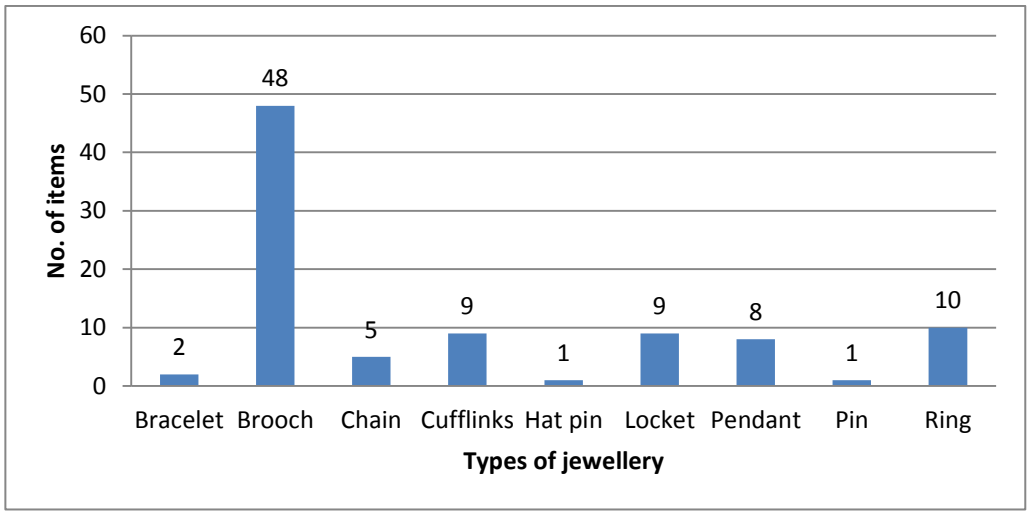


Figure 5.30 Jewellery items (n=93) by type.

Jewellery in the Victorian era was characterised by transient trends. Naturalistic jewellery, decorated with clearly recognisable flowers, leaves and fruits, emerged with the Romantic movement of the 1830s to 1850s (O'Day 1982:10; Phillips 2008:78), but by the 1860s and '70s, taste had shifted to larger and heavier pieces (O'Day 1982:10-12). The Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1880s brought a simpler and more direct look, whilst the Art Nouveau Movement of the 1890s was more sensual and decadent, and returned to strong natural themes (O'Day 1982:13; Phillips 2008:100).

Brooches

The brooches (n=48) exhibit standard Victorian 'popular' styles, including flowers and natural images (Figure 5.31). Jewelled birds, butterflies and insects first appeared in the 1860s and continued through to the early twentieth century (O'Day 1982:56). Some early examples used enamel and gems that approximated their

colours in nature (O'Day 1982:56) and this appears to be the case in the butterfly brooch, which has the remains of green enamel still visible on the wing edges. Serpents were a popular design, described as one of the most successful of Victorian fashions, and dating from at least the 1840s (Benjamin 2003:52; Hinks 1975:43).

Figure 5.31 Copper alloy brooches. L to R: #0584, lily of the valley; #0570, butterfly; #0867, snake coiled around egg.

Jewellery with a sporting theme first appeared in the 1860s (Hinks 1975:60). Hunting themes were particularly popular, including horseshoes and stirrups (Hinks 1975:60; Phillips 2008:92). The three brooches in Figure 5.32 illustrate various applications of the horseshoe motif, which, as well as being associated with hunting, was also popular in the 1880s and 1890s as a good luck symbol (Hinks 1975:74).

Figure 5.32 Copper alloy brooches. L to R: #0571, triple horseshoe; #0588, two horseshoes entwined with a belt; #0863, horseshoe and riding crop.

The brooches in Figure 5.33 are typical of the large and heavy jewellery that was popular in the 1860s-1870s. Both are a combination of lead alloy and copper alloy, and are heavy for their size.

Figure 5.33 Lead and copper alloy brooches. L to R: #0864, centre raised circle; #0865, centre circle surrounded by curved fronds and oak leaves.

One brooch fragment (Figure 5.34) appears to be half of a large elongated flower shape, designed to resemble cut steel. The fashion for cut steel began in the seventeenth century, but moved in and out of fashion all through the nineteenth century (Hinks 1975:25; Phillips 2008:64). This piece is similar in design to the two buttons in Figure 5.26 and a chain shown in Figure 5.36.

Figure 5.34 #0912, copper alloy partial brooch, flower shape.

Other brooches represent the Christian virtues of faith, hope and love (Phillips 2008:91) such as #0879 (Figure 5.35), whose anchor motif represents hope. A cross-shaped brooch, inscribed with the word 'MIZPAH' (Figure 5.35), was a popular form in the late 1870s, and represents the verse 'The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent from one another' (Hinks 1975:61-63).

Silver jewellery became fashionable towards the end of the 1870s, and pieces found at Baker's Flat include two bar brooches. One (#0572) (Figure 5.35) can be dated from its hallmark to 1892; its motifs of lily of the valley and ivy are symbolic of a return to happiness, friendship and fidelity (Phillips 2008:78).

Figure 5.35 L to R: #0576, copper alloy MIZPAH brooch; #0572, silver bar brooch with floral motif; #0879, silver bar brooch with floral and anchor motifs.

Chains and bracelets

There are four partial chains, two bracelet fragments, and a heart-shaped padlock that would originally have been attached to a chain or bracelet, all constructed of copper alloy. One of the chains is highly decorative (Figure 5.36), consisting of seven linked diamond shapes, each with a flower centrepiece, and resembling cut steel. This piece is similar in design to the two buttons in Figure 5.26 and brooch in Figure 5.34.

Figure 5.36 #0913, large diamond-shaped chain, with flower pattern, 260mm in length.

Cufflinks, hat pins and pins

There are nine cufflinks, with possible manufacture dates from the 1830s to the 1900s. Four of these are solitaire cufflinks, a design which was patented in 1872 (Prunki 1998; Retonthenet Vintage Purveyors 2014). Six are engraved with stylised flowers and foliage, a design typical of the Victorian era, and dating from the 1830s to 1850s (O'Day 1982:10; Phillips 2008:78). Figure 5.37 shows three examples.

Figure 5.37 Cufflinks. L to R: #0901, copper alloy West's solitaire cufflink; #0893 silver cufflink; #0894 rolled gold cufflink; all with naturalistic designs of flowers and fern fronds.

The single hat pin in the collection is silver and takes the form of a golf club; the pin shaft is missing (Figure 5.38). Its hallmark and maker's mark (TK&F) indicate that it was made by the silversmiths Tozer, Kemsley and Fisher between 1902 and 1914. The sole stick-pin has an oval-shaped top featuring a long-stemmed rose (Figure 5.38).

Figure 5.38 L to R: #0197, hat pin in the shape of a golf club; #0872, copper alloy stick-pin with rose motif.

Lockets and pendants

There are nine lockets and eight pendants, many of which have naturalistic motifs such as flowers and leaves. Two brass lockets (Figure 5.39) are similar in design to lockets advertised in the Pringle's catalogue of 1878 (Hinks 1975:62). One is engraved with the letters EM on a swirled background, whilst the other has a raised shield on the same swirled background. There is also a copper alloy pendant featuring Queen Victoria and the date 1863 (Figure 5.39).

Figure 5.39 Lockets. L to R: #0855, letters EM; #0859, raised shield; #0582, young Queen Victoria encircled by the words VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN 1863.

Rings

There are ten rings, mainly made from copper alloy (n=7), with one each of gold, silver, and nickel silver. Four are plain bands with a simple twist or diagonal embossing as the only decoration. Three are decorated, respectively, with a flower-shaped stone setting, a stamped flower and an oval centrepiece.

The most decorative rings include an engagement-style ring with five paste stones, a silver band shaped as a belt and buckle, and a very worn gold wedding band engraved with stylised flowers and leaves (Figure 5.40).

Figure 5.40 Rings. L to R: #0886, copper alloy and paste engagement-style ring; #0885, silver belt-shaped band; #0881, gold wedding band.

Other costume items

This category has 19 items (Figure 5.41). As well as eight hem weights and two heel savers, there is a copper alloy purse frame, a fragment of a nickel-plated steel safety pin, a nickel silver spur and a watch cover.

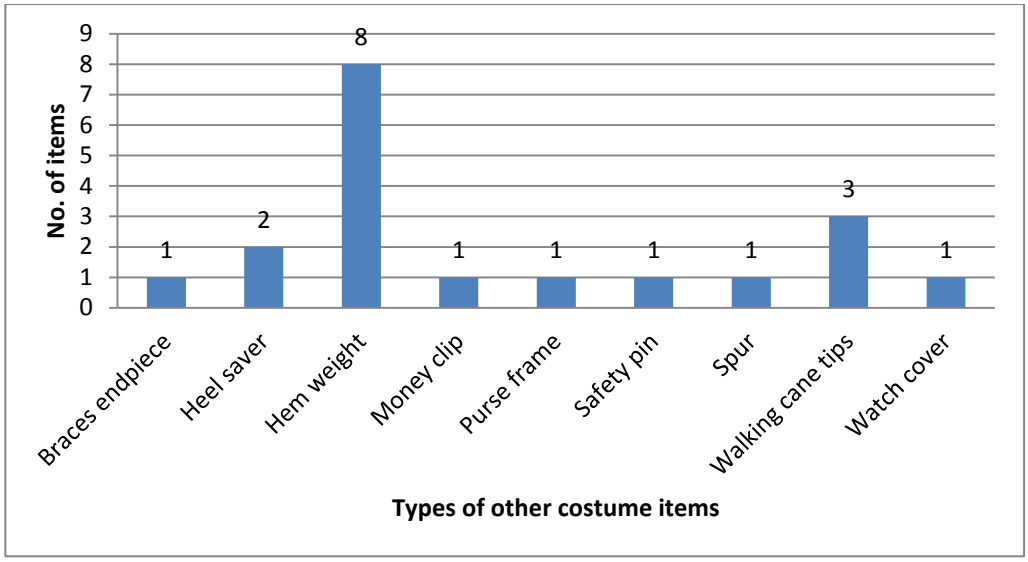


Figure 5.41 Other costume items (n=19) by type.

A copper alloy money clip (Figure 5.42) is stamped with a design number 234422, showing that it was registered by T. Morton and Crowder, stampers and piercers of Birmingham, on 19 June 1894 (The National Archives n.d.). The trouser braces clip (Figure 5.42) is stamped with a British registration diamond, indicating that it was registered in 1881 (The National Archives 2014).

Figure 5.42 L to R: #0566, money clip with floral design; #0898, trouser braces clip with penny farthing design.

There are three walking cane tips, one of which has a maker's mark of ASHFORD BIRMINGHAM and a fox head, and can be dated to 1830s-1890s (Furjanik, C. 2004:82; Grace's Guide to British Industrial History 2011).

Recreation

Of the six items in this category, five are associated with children's play and one with gaming. Two of the children's playthings are clearly horses (Figure 5.43), with one in a prancing stance, possibly part of a child's soldier set, and the other in a racing stance, possibly a game piece from the Steeplechase game, which was widely available in Australia from the 1880s onwards (Cuffley 1984:113). The three remaining toys represent a lamb, a propeller and a possible horse.

Figure 5.43 Toy horses. L to R: #0907, tin alloy horse on stand; #0193, lead alloy racehorse.

The single gaming token depicts the young Queen Victoria on one side, and the Prince of Wales feathers on the other, with the words THE PRINCE OF WALES …ODEL HALF SOV. These model half sovereigns were used as gaming tokens from 1841, following the birth of Queen Victoria's eldest son, until the 1870s (Hawkins 1960-61:179). This example appears to be dated 1861. It has been pierced, post-manufacture, above Victoria's head.

Figure 5.44 #0216, front and back of copper alloy gaming token.

Societal/religious

There are 275 items in this category, comprising commemorative decorations, money, registration tags and religious objects (Figure 5.45).

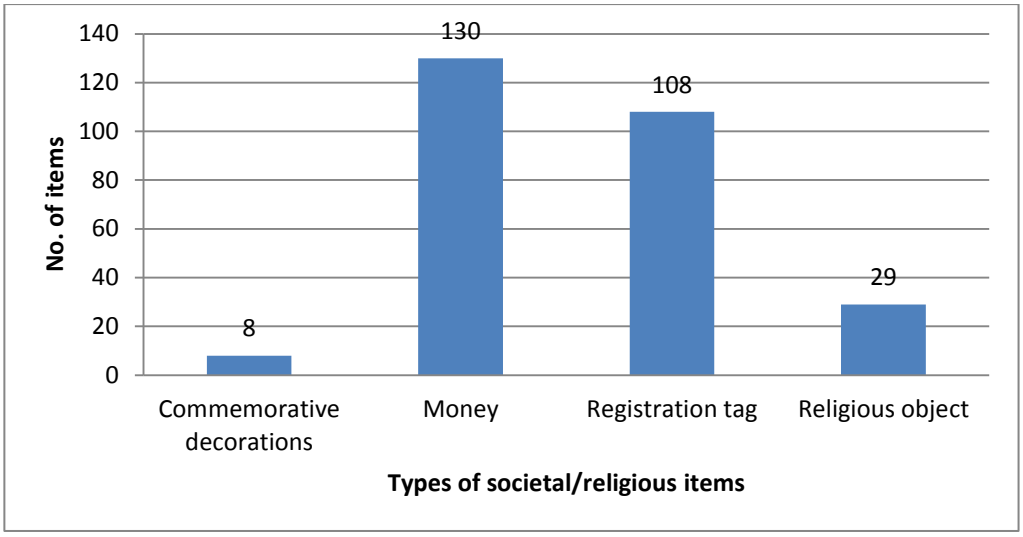


Figure 5.45 Societal/religious items (n=275) by type.

Commemorative decorations

This category, containing eight artefacts, is used for objects associated with commemoration. Four medallions commemorate Queen Victoria. Two identical bronze medallions mark her 50th jubilee (one is shown in Figure 5.46), and were struck for Adelaide's first international exhibition, the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition of

1887, which celebrated 50 years of settlement in South Australia and Queen Victoria's jubilee (Museum Victoria n.d.a; State Library of South Australia n.d.). In addition, there is a lead alloy medallion commemorating Queen Victoria's 60th jubilee in 1897, and a bronze medal with an image of the veiled Victoria and the words LONG LIVE OUR NOBLE QUEEN.

Figure 5.46 #0847, front and back of medallion commemorating the 50th jubilee in 1887 of Queen Victoria and South Australia, pierced during manufacture.

Two cross-shaped medals struck in 1900, and known as the South Africa Peace Medals, commemorate the end of the Boer War (Museum Victoria n.d.b). There is also one medal insert, and the middle bar from a war service medal.

Money

In addition to four trade tokens dating from the 1850s, there are 126 coins, ranging in value from farthings to florins, and including three unidentifiable coins and one Chinese coin (Figure 5.47). The majority are half pennies (n=55, 43.7%) and pennies (n=37, 29.4%).

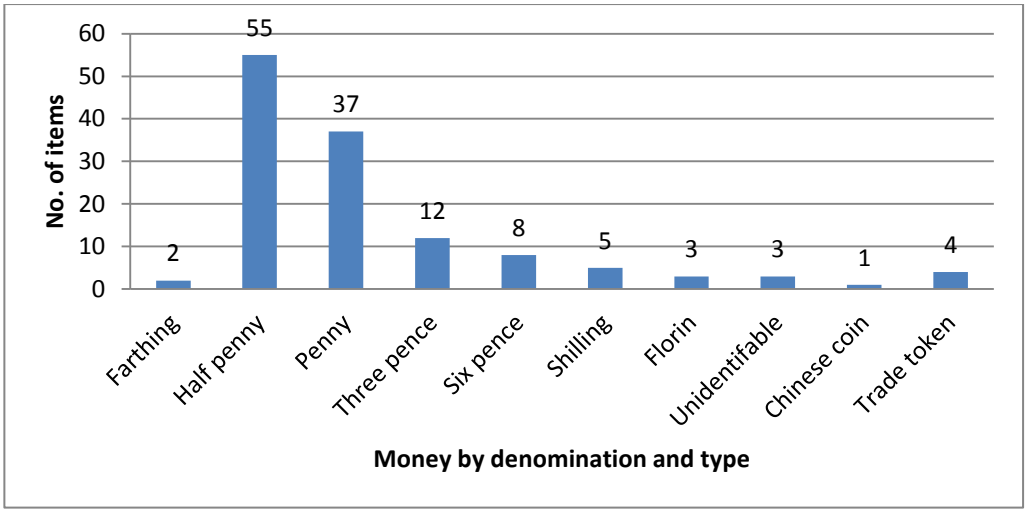


Figure 5.47 Money (n=130) by denomination and type.

There are 122 identifiable English coins, the earliest of which are two sixpences dating from the reign of George III (1816-1820). The latest are three half pennies, dated 1938, 1940 and 1947 (George VI). Most (n=87, 71.3%) date from the Victorian era.

Twenty-two coins (17.5%) have been modified in some way, as shown in Table 5.1, either by scraping, piercing, rim removal, flattening, or the application of silver deposits. For the 13 coins that have scrapes and gouges, it is not possible to determine if they were made deliberately or occurred post-deposition, e.g. as a result of ploughing or animal disturbance. However, of those 13, ten have scrapes on the monarch's image (nine on Victoria, one on Edward VII), two on both sides, and one on the Britannia (date) side.

TOTAL COINS			MODIFIED COINS			
Denomination	**Total coins**	**Date range**	**Total modified**	**Number pierced**	**Date range**	**Type of modification**
Farthing	2	1828-1885	2	2	1828-1885	Pierced
Half penny	55	1838-1947	7	2	1838-1895	Scrapes, scoring, gouges, rim removed, pierced or part pierced
Penny	37	1853-1908	6	0	1868-1881	Scrapes, scoring, gouges, dents
Threepence	12	1873-1910	1	0	1907	Scrapes
Sixpence	8	1816-1908	2	0	1816-1900	Scrapes, silver deposits
Shilling	5	1851-1901	2	0	1875-1889	Scrapes, silver deposits
Florin	3	1885-1908	0	0	N/A	N/A
Chinese coin	1	?1850- 900	1	1	?1850-1900	Pierced
Unidentifiable	3	Unknown	1	0	Unknown	Flattened to irregular shape
Total	**126**		**22**	**5**		

Table 5.1 Modified coins as a subset of total coins.

Five coins, all low-value ‘copper’ coins, have been pierced (Figure 5.48) or part pierced (Figure 5.49): two farthings, two half pennies, and a Chinese coin.

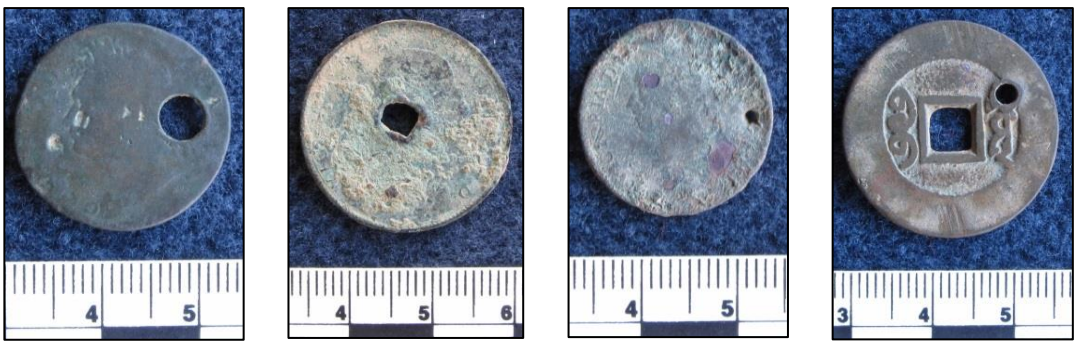


Figure 5.48 Pierced coins. L to R: #0326, 1828 George IV farthing, pierced with 5mm hole; #0814, 1860 Victorian half penny, pierced unevenly in centre with 4mm hole; #0325, 1885 Victorian farthing pierced with 1mm hole; #0328, Chinese coin, ?1850 to 1900, pierced with 2.5mm hole.

Figure 5.49 Part pierced coin: #0276, 1879 Victorian half penny, partly pierced at top.

Examples of three other modified coins are shown in Figure 5.50. These are a George III sixpence where the design on the face is mostly obliterated with several uneven silver deposits, a Victorian half penny where the rim has been removed so that only the images of Britannia and Victoria remain, and a flattened coin which appears from the shape and weight to be a post-1860 penny.

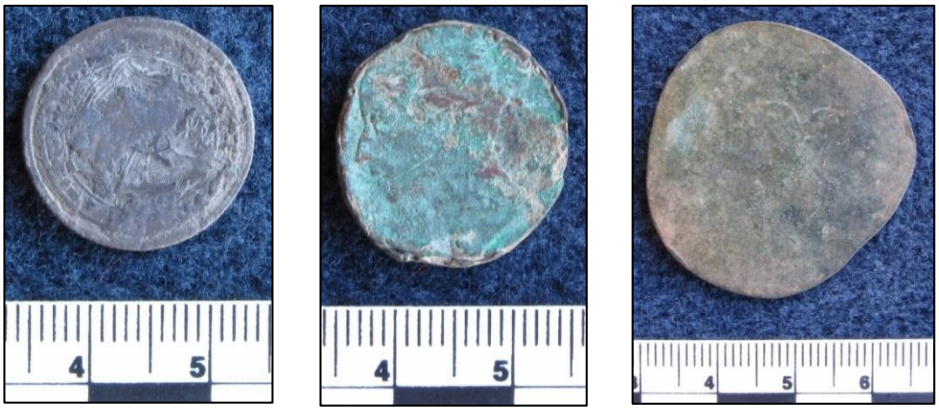


Figure 5.50 Modified coins. L to R: #0322, George III sixpence, possible date 1816 to 1820, design mostly obliterated with silver deposits; #0324, Victorian half penny, possible date 1838 to 1895, rim removed; #0840, possible post-1860 penny, flattened to irregular shape.

Dog registration tags

There are 108 dog registration tags in the collection, with a date range of 1885 to 1936. The spread of tags across the years is fairly even (Table 5.2); most years are represented by between one and five tags. The exception is 1885, the year that dog tags were introduced, which has ten tags.

NUMBER OF DOG TAGS PER REGISTRATION YEAR									
Year	**No.**	**Year**	**No.**	**Year**	**No.**	**Year**	**No.**	**Year**	**No.**
1885	10	1896	1	1907	2	1918	1	1929	1
1886	3	1897	1	1908	5	1919	0	1930	1
1887	4	1898	1	1909	1	1920	3	1931	1
1888	2	1899	2	1910	4	1921	1	1932	1
1889	3	1900	2	1911	1	1922	2	1933	1
1890	3	1901	0	1912	2	1923	0	1934	3
1891	7	1902	5	1913	3	1924	1	1935	1
1892	5	1903	1	1914	2	1925	1	1936	1
1893	3	1904	1	1915	0	1926	1	No date	1
1894	2	1905	5	1916	1	1927	1		
1895	2	1906	2	1917	0	1928	0	**TOTAL**	**108**

Table 5.2 Dog registration tags per year from 1885 to 1936.

The South Australian *Dog Act* of 1884 established the dog tag system. Each year, the tag varied in size and shape, and was inscribed with the year, registration number and district of the registered dog (Ransom 2005:22-23) (Figure 5.51).

Figure 5.51 Dog tag examples, all from district 78. L to R: 1885-1886; 1887-1888; 1891-1892.

The dog tags in this collection are predominantly from the Kapunda (districts 55 and 78) and Belvidere (district 63) council areas (n=92, 85.2%), where Baker's Flat was located. Other council areas make up less than 15% (n=16) of the total (Figure 5.52). There are significantly more female tags (n=76, 70.4%) than male (n=32, 29.6%); female tags were distinguished from male tags by a second hole at the bottom (Ransom 2005:32).

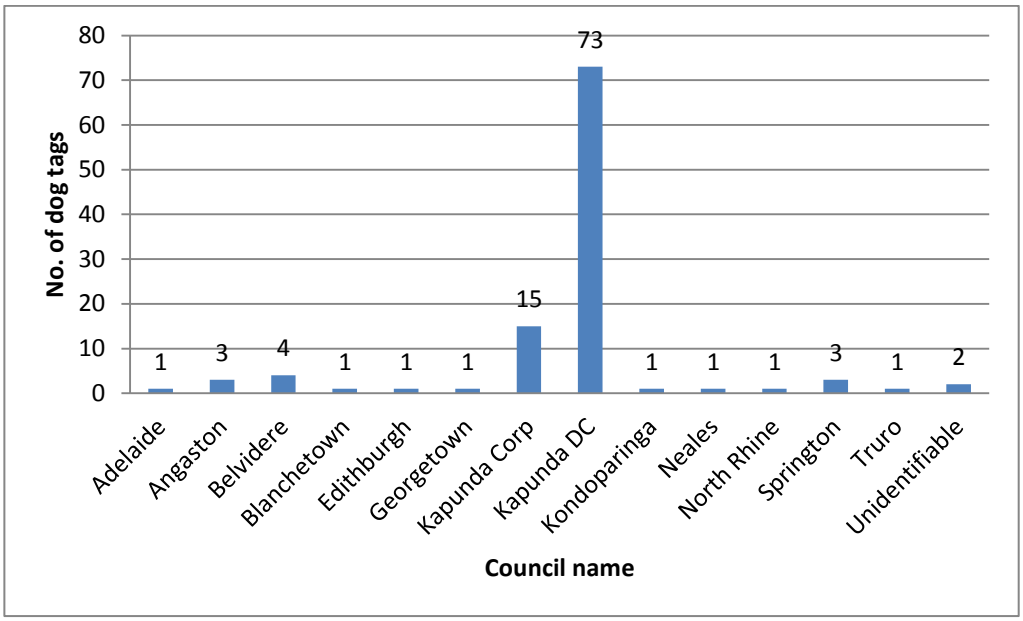


Figure 5.52 Number of dog tags from specific councils.

Religious objects

A total of 29 religious items feature in the collection. There are ten objects associated with rosaries, 14 devotional medals, three Confirmation medals and two crosses (Figure 5.53).

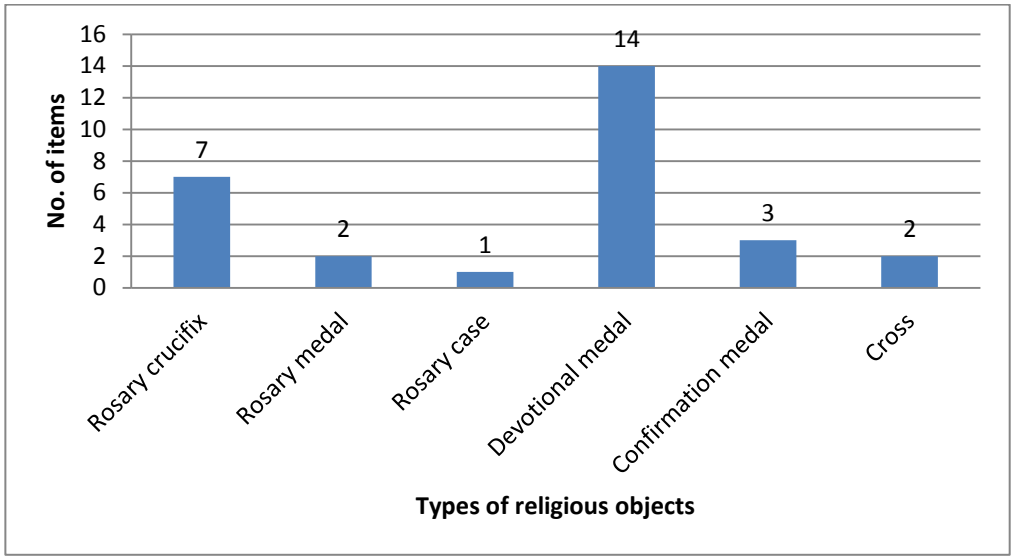


Figure 5.53 Religious objects (n=29) by type.

With regard to rosaries, there are seven rosary crucifixes, two rosary medals and a case for a miniature set of rosary beads (examples in Figure 5.54). The two rosary medals are from a particular form of the rosary known as the Seven Sorrows (CatholicCulture.org 2014). The rosary objects in this collection are likely to date from at least the 1850s, the time of the post-Famine devotional revolution (Evans 1977:16-17), or possibly from the 1880s when Pope Leo XIII gave the rosary his papal backing (Lysaght 1998:17-18).

Figure 5.54 Religious objects. L to R: #0226, rosary crucifix; #0241, Seven Sorrows rosary medal; #0232, rosary miniature case.

There are 14 devotional medals in the collection. Of these, 11 feature the Virgin Mary and include seven miraculous medals. Miraculous medals were produced after 1832, and more than 12 million were said to have circulated around the world by 1836 (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:65). The remaining three medals are dedicated to St Joseph.

In addition to the devotional medals, there are three Confirmation medals. Although medals like these were in use from the early nineteenth century, it is probable that the earliest date for these ones would be the 1850s, since the first Catholic church in the area was built in 1849 (De Leiuen 2013:15).

Two crosses are the remaining religious items in the collection. One is a silver pendant in two pieces, featuring a cross and a shamrock-topped crown; the other is a thin brass cross that has a weld mark on the back indicating that it was originally attached to another object.

Tools and equipment

The 11 items in this category (Figure 5.55) comprise two bullets and two bullet cartridges, a possible cockatoo chain, two lead stamps, a harness component and linch pin, and two unknown items.

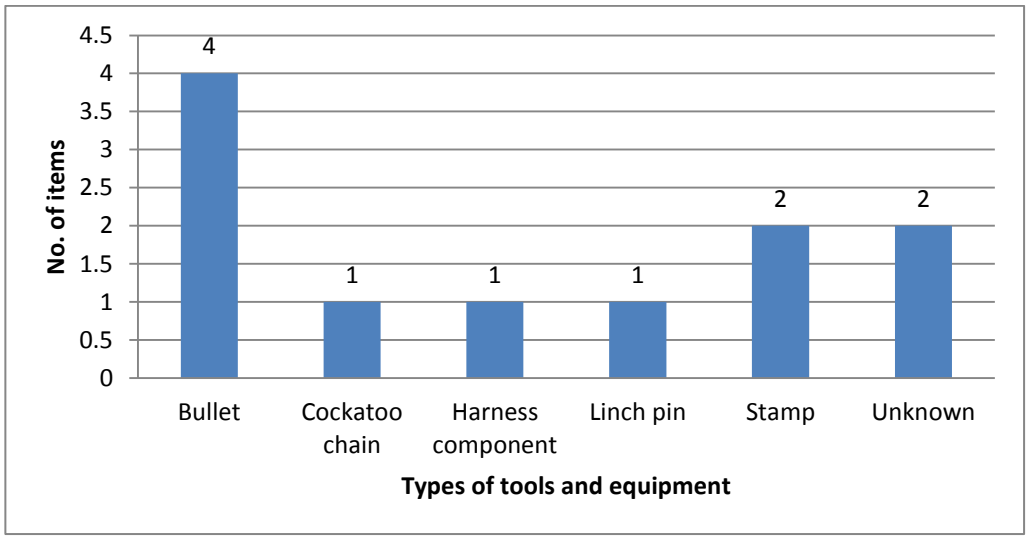


Figure 5.55 Tools and equipment (n=11) by type.

The ring and partial chain (#0890) shown in Figure 5.56 may be a fragment of a cockatoo chain, an item available from the 1880s, used as a leg restraint on pet birds (Cuffley 1984:155).

Figure 5.56 #0890, possible cockatoo chain, made of nickel alloy.

Of the two unknown items, one is clearly associated with Kapunda, as it is engraved on one face with the maker's mark—G. MAY MAKER KAPUNDA (Figure 5.57). G. May owned a saddlery business in Kapunda (*South Australian Register* 1876a).

Figure 5.57 #0109, two views of unknown object associated with G. May of Kapunda.

6 Analysis: The artefacts of Irishness

The purpose of this research has been to investigate the materiality of Irishness on Baker's Flat, and what this can tell us about its community and power relations. This chapter focuses on these areas with respect to the metal artefact collection, analysing the research results in the context of the theoretical and historical backgrounds.

Two assumptions have structured this analysis. The first is the extent to which the objects found by metal detection can be attributed to the residents of Baker's Flat or to other public uses of the land. It is known, for example, that one of the volunteer forces, the Kapunda Mine Rifles, drilled on Baker's Flat (Charlton 1971:104). Although the majority of volunteers in the Mine Rifles appear to have been Irish (*South Australian Register* 1861:3), it cannot be presumed that Volunteers uniform buttons or snake buckles found on the site belonged only to Baker's Flat residents. However, since it is clear from the public records and historical research that access to the land was tightly controlled by the inhabitants, it seems reasonable to assume that personal-use items, such as jewellery, belt buckles, buttons and flatware, would have been the property of the Irish on Baker's Flat rather than Kapunda residents on a Sunday stroll.

Secondly, consumer choice is limited by availability, for example, by the range of goods available in a rural community rather than an urban one (Brighton 2001:18, 20-21; Orser 2010:94), or by what is for sale in second-hand markets as opposed to department stores (Crook 2000). This will have influenced the types of artefacts found at Baker's Flat.

Respectable lives

Grace Karskens (1999) has argued for the Rocks, where 25% of residents in the early period were Irish, that the furnished interiors, buttons and jewellery are indicators that the convict settlers were respectable, refined people, but concludes that, although they enjoyed these refinements, they remained closer to the harshness of everyday life and the associated actions and words that are not visible archaeologically, such as drunkenness and fighting (Karskens 1999:131). She argues that 'respectability' in the Rocks centred on external public appearances and did not necessarily involve the private realm of restrained behaviour or avoidance of drinking (Karskens 1999:131-132). This has interesting parallels for Baker's Flat, where the archaeological evidence has revealed a complex story that is at odds with the predominant narratives of drunkenness and violence.

There are many items in the Baker's Flat collection consistent with a working class community engaged in gainful employment, including nine plain buckles or buckle parts, 376 trouser buttons and 66 crimped trouser buttons. The 20 Shakeshaft buttons indicate that people were supporting the local tailor, and the 22 South Australian Railways buttons indicate that some people were working on the railroads. In fact, the obituary for Martin O'Callahan, one of the last of the O'Callahans on Baker's Flat, states that he worked for many years on the S.A. Railways (*Chronicle* 1941:2).

The 93 pieces of jewellery, 12 decorative buckles and 39 fancy buttons are consistent with popular Victorian styles. Two buttons, a brooch and a chain are constructed to resemble cut steel, and are very similar in design. They may have belonged to the same person, or, more likely, been part of a range that was available locally. As well as the local shops, there were travelling traders, with an 1878 newspaper report

referring to at least two stalls selling 'remarkably cheap wares' at the annual Catholic picnic (*Kapunda Herald* 1878c:3). Interestingly, although Celtic art was popular in jewellery at the end of the Victorian era (O'Day 1982:27), and the wearing of Celtic influenced jewellery is a way of proclaiming the separateness of Ireland from England (Williams 2012:84), the only Celtic-inspired piece in the Baker's Flat collection is a buckle embossed with shamrocks. Again, this may be a reflection of availability. Although an individual's choice of decorative objects is personal, it is also dependent on them being available for sale (Crook 2000), and it may well be that the local traders did not believe there was a market for Celtic-type adornments. An alternative explanation is related to the fact that, in nineteenth century Ireland, the wearing of Celtic style jewellery was associated with the Protestant Ascendancy, in what Williams terms a 'conscious performance of Irishness' (Williams 2012:48), which served to link members of the Ascendancy to the native Irish culture and thereby helped to legitimise their financial and political domination. Thus, it is possible that the non-wearing of Celtic adornments at Baker's Flat was a deliberate eschewing of a fashion that was identified with the dominant colonial power. Interestingly, large numbers of jewellery pieces were excavated at the Rocks, with its significant Irish population, but only one is identified as having a Celtic design (Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999b:69).

There is a wide range of other ornamental and decorative objects in the artefact collection, including a sugar caster lid, small lion's paw tray leg, partial bust, and items that appear to be a door knocker, picture frame, and cockatoo chain. Along with the jewellery, these are all consistent with people who have at least some spare money to spend on luxury items. The display of ornamental objects is also an opportunity to demonstrate political allegiances. The partial bust of a gentleman,

shown in Figure 5.16, is possibly a representation of Gladstone, who was British Prime Minister on four occasions between 1868 and 1894, and a key supporter of home rule for Ireland. In an oral history recorded in 1985 with Anne Liddy, whose grandparents had lived on Baker's Flat for some time, she recalls their home and how 'in the front room was a bust of Mr Gladstone who was one of our idols because, of course, he was for Home Rule' (Robertson 1985:20-21).

The wide variety of forms of personal adornment indicates a range of group social activities as well as personal choice. Work-related items such as trouser buttons are typical of nineteenth century working class communities, but more decorative buttons also indicate a range of fashionable outer wear. Whilst many items are generic and obviously informed by wider Victorian tastes and trends, and general arguments for the cult of respectability, some things speak more clearly to the specifics of Baker's Flat, among them religion and the possible continuation of folk practices, and participation in specific social activities.

The practice of religion and folk beliefs

The presence and number of religious medals and rosaries at Baker's Flat is consistent with an Irish Catholic community. Irish Catholics have a marked devotion to the Virgin Mary, dating back as far as the sixth century (Davies 2013:97; Lysaght 1998:25; O'Dwyer 1986:72), and of the 14 devotional medals in the collection, 11 feature Mary. The rosary (ten artefacts) is also a Marian devotion, dating from at least the early sixteenth century (McGuire 1954:97-98). Three Confirmation medals are religious keepsakes, traditionally given to Catholic children at their Confirmation. And three St Joseph medals are a possible link to the Sisters of St Joseph, who ran the school on Baker's Flat.

Religion has been described as ‘among the most stable and long-lasting’ of cultural phenomena (Fogelin 2007:57), and it can be argued that Catholicism was as much a cultural way of life as a religious practice for the Irish of Baker’s Flat. Religion was the primary expression of Irish identity in many communities (Fraser 1996:210-211; Jenkins 2005; Smith 2004), and usually operated to foster a broad network of personal relationships and support organisations. In the clustered settlements set up around Christchurch by the Irish, for example, there was a high degree of cultural continuity, along with possibly a sense of detachment from the dominant society (Fraser 1996:215), a point also made by Chenoweth, whose study of Quakers found that they needed to form strong, separate communities to survive (Chenoweth 2009:335). These observations are echoed in the set-apart nature of Baker’s Flat, a tight-knit community with strong bonds, seen as separate from the mainstream community of Kapunda. Whilst the physical artefacts are public symbols of Catholicism, a blend of religious devotion and detachment from the dominant society is also evident in the attendances by children at the local convent schools (Anonymous n.d.; Bettison 1975), and a preference for recording births through Catholic baptisms rather than State registrations (Gould Genealogy and History n.d.a, n.d.b; Kapunda Catholic Church Records n.d.).

A further factor in Irish Catholicism is that objects such as rosaries and medals operate at multiple levels—as devotional aids to prayer, public symbols of Catholicism, and personal protective devices—and as such, can hold both orthodox and folk meanings. The intersection of religion and folk beliefs is well recognised (Durkheim 1996; Fennell 2000; Gilchrist 2008, 2012; Leone and Fry 1999; Merrifield 1987; Orser 1994; Wilkie 1997), and it has been noted that the post-Famine devotional revolution in Ireland saw church attendance and belief in

orthodox spirituality increase dramatically, probably at the expense of folk traditions (Evans 1977:16-17). Evans suggests that this resulted in many folk practices ceasing to be publicly accepted, becoming instead practices that tended to be carried out in secret (Evans 1957:296). Although at present highly speculative, there are some tantalising suggestions of modified artefacts in the Baker's Flat collection that could be interpreted as evidence of traditional folk practices.

Of the 22 modified coins, five copper coins (4.09%) have been pierced deliberately, as has a copper alloy gaming token. While seemingly a small number, this is actually considerably higher than what has been reported for other Australian archaeological sites—a search for other possible examples across more than 4,000 Australian project reports was able to identify only three other instances of pierced coins or tokens (Table 6.1). Further, the metal detectorist who retrieved the items from Baker's Flat confirmed that, although pierced coins turn up occasionally on sites, he found more on Baker's Flat than anywhere else (pers. comm. D. Pumpa 16 October 2014).

Pierced coins are related to a folk belief that they can be worn as charms to protect the wearer from harm, a practice which, in Britain, dates from as early as pre-Christian times (Davidson 2004:23, 26-28), and appears on both sides of the Atlantic and across ethnic groups (Davidson 2004:22, 26; Leone and Fry 1999:380; Orser 1994:41). Although silver coins are more commonly referred to in the literature, there are also accounts of copper coins being perforated and worn, particularly to ward against sickness (Davidson 2004:27, 37). Pierced and unpierced coins are one of several categories of material object that recur in folkloric practices across Europe and the United States, from the eighteenth century onwards. Others include beads,

Site	Date	Description	Location	Comments	Reference
Ridgway St, Melbourne, VIC	1860s-1920s and possibly later (site date range)	Coin with rudimentary hole drilled near perimeter	No detail provided		Terra Culture Heritage Consultants 2007 Archaeological Excavation Report. Unpublished report prepared for McBride Charles Ryan.
Hawkesbury Museum, Windsor, NSW	1811-1880s	Pierced coins (number not specified)	Not specified	In Phases 1 (1780s-1880s), 2 (1780s-1870s) and 3 (1760s-1860s). Related to a private house constructed on the allotment in 1811	Higginbotham, E. 1993 Report on the Archaeological Excavation of the Site of the Extensions to the Hawkesbury Museum, 7 Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW, 1992. Unpublished report prepared for Hawkesbury City Council.
House 9, Darling Quarter, Darling Harbour, Sydney, NSW	1840s-1860s	Pierced trade token	Room 2	This house also had Catholic religious medals	Stocks, R. 2013 Miscellaneous, Organics and Non-Structural Metals Report, Darling Quarter, Darling Harbour. Unpublished report prepared for Casey and Lowe.

Table 6.1 Instances of pierced coins or tokens in Australian archaeological reports.

bones, bottles, clay pots, metal objects such as knives and horseshoes, pins and quartz crystals (Fennell 2000; Gazin-Schwartz 2001; Kelly 2012; Leone and Fry 1999; Merrifield 1987; O'Súilleabháin 1977; Orser 1994; Wilkie 1997). Coins in England were also bent ('killed') and offered to saints at pilgrimage sites in an appeal for protection or cures (Merrifield 1987:91). They were commonly used as charms against witchcraft, particularly in dairies, as were iron items in the form of horseshoes, hooks and shears (Merrifield 1987:162). An 1865 account of Irish medical superstitions refers to charms of 'every variety of material and character' worn around the neck and believed to be protective of people and animals, houses and localities (Windele 1865:313). These charms were used primarily to guard against the malign influence of the fairies or 'good people' (Windele 1865:315).

In addition, 24 items of flatware from the Baker's Flat collection have been bent or folded in a way that could be deliberate, in particular, the two spoons shown on the bottom row of Figure 5.14, where one bowl is folded over itself three times and another bowl is folded double, with its handle also bent. A question on this issue was posted on an Australian metal detectors forum, where the general consensus was that although bent spoons are common on Australian sites, the folded bowls had not been seen before and this modification did not appear accidental (pers. comm. Australian Metal Detecting and Relic Hunting, 16 October 2014). Merrifield argues that if no practical reason for a 'laborious act of destruction' can be found, a ritual intention may be suspected (Merrifield 1987:112). Davidson (2014:52), however, urges caution when trying to discern whether mundane objects have been transformed into supernatural paraphernalia, particularly in the absence of archaeological or social context. Alternative explanations could be that the spoons were damaged by agricultural disturbance, or modified for use as tools. There is oral evidence in England, for example, of spoons being used to melt lead for fishing sinkers over an open fire, bent and tilted to keep the user's hand as far as possible from the heat (Webster et al. 2014:25-26).

There is a view that western Europeans did not retain folkloric practices following the Reformation and Enlightenment (Fennell 2000:288-289), but there is historical and some limited archaeological evidence that they continued in Ireland (Evans 1957; Kelly 2012; O'Súilleabháin 1977). Several archaeological and historical studies have found that such practices were still common across Britain (Swann 1996), the United States (Augé 2013; Manning 2012) and Australia (Evans 2010) well into the twentieth century. The retention of Catholicism in Ireland and the adeptness of Irish Catholicism at Christianising pagan practices (Evans 1977:17), in

particular, suggest that the Irish Catholics of Baker's Flat could have accepted ritualistic practices as part of general apotropaic, protective behaviour that helped to ward off evil, protect homes, and keep people and livestock safe. Merrifield (1987:178) attests to the 'extraordinary tenacity of traditional superstitious ritual' to survive in a rational age and, as Fennell points out in the American context, emigrants arriving from Europe brought with them a system of magico-religious practices informed by hundreds of years of pre-Christian tradition (Fennell 2000). They did not leave these practices on the boat when they disembarked. And nor did the Irish in Australia.

Social activities

Cricket, the gentleman's game?

Of the 13 sporting buckles in the collection, 12 are cricket buckles. Although today in Ireland cricket is a minority sport, it was, for a period in the nineteenth century, the most widely played sport in the country (Siggins 2005:10-20). By the 1860s there were cricket clubs in every county, and cricket was played by all classes (Hunt 2004:28-29; Siggins 2005:13-26). In the aftermath of the Famine, many emigrants took the game to their new homes (Siggins 2005:20), and it seems reasonable to assume that the Irish arriving at Baker's Flat would have had some knowledge of it.

In South Australian colonial country towns, the presence of sporting clubs, and the outcome of cricket or football games, offered social prestige and strengthened the sense of community identity. Kapunda had clubs for athletics, cricket, football, tennis, croquet, archery and shooting (Daly 1982:156, 166). Whilst some, such as tennis and croquet, catered for the town professionals and gentry, the team sports of

cricket and football cut across the boundaries of class, ethnic origin and religion (Daly 1982:166). The cricket field and the rifle range were both noted as places where classes could interact and 'feel themselves equal' (*Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* 1869:2). The cost of cricket equipment was not prohibitive, requiring minimal equipment that could be communally owned (Daly 1982:152; Hunt 2004:28). In the same way that cricket in Ireland offered players from poor socio-economic backgrounds an opportunity to 'earn respectability, display skills and win prestige' (Hunt 2004:28), cricket on Baker's Flat may have done the same. Interestingly, there was only one 'national' team in Kapunda, and this was the Hibernian Cricket Club 'Irish' team (Daly 1982:164). Hence, cricket may have functioned at different levels to cut across ethnic, religious and class boundaries, but also as an unconscious tactic that worked to maintain ethnic boundaries.

Coursing and hunting

The people of Baker's Flat were notorious for their lawlessness in the eyes of their Kapunda contemporaries, forsaking social mores and deliberately eschewing regulation. However, there are indicators that the Baker's Flat Irish, renowned for non-payment of rent and general flouting of the law, were content to follow the rules when it was expedient to do so, or when there were financial advantages, for example, when it came to registering their dogs.

The passing of successive South Australian Dog Acts in 1852, 1860, 1867 and 1884 was driven by the need to manage and control the number of dogs at large in the colony (Ransom 2005:8-21). The Registrar of Dogs recorded the dog owner's name, the number of dogs kept and their location, and the dog's name, sex, age, colour and breed. Unfortunately, the dog registers for Kapunda and the adjoining council of

Belvidere have not survived. However, from the data available on the dog tag itself, it is possible to postulate two explanations for the 108 dog tags found on Baker's Flat, both associated with financial gain.

Firstly, the dogs may have been greyhounds. There are accounts of the Irish spending Saturday afternoons coursing their greyhounds in the scrub, in company with the Cornish and Welsh (Daly 1982:163). The Kapunda Coursing Club was established in 1889 (*Kapunda Herald* 1889:3), and there was big money involved, with the Anlaby Stake at Kapunda offering a prize pool of £118 9s in June 1892 (*South Australian Chronicle* 1892:22). Secondly, the large number of tags from female dogs, (n=76, 70%), may be connected to the widespread belief that females were better hunters (Ransom 2005:19). This might be the reason that female dogs were retained in spite of a more expensive registration fee. Hunting dogs were a source of income, with the potential for poor people to earn £15 in a season by catching possums (Ransom 2005:19).

Conclusion

Many of the objects in the artefact collection conform to general Victorian trends, and align with a people endeavouring to conform to the ideal of respectability, at least in the realm of external public appearance. Jewellery and ornaments are visible publicly, and the presence of just one Celtic-style jewellery item may be a subtle political statement of allegiance, in the same way that the possibly-Gladstone bust might be. In addition to these examples of subtle non-conformity, the presence of cricket buckles and dog tags suggest that the Irish chose to 'work the system' by adhering to social norms or following the rules when it was to their advantage.

Catholicism, a key marker of Irishness, is evident through artefactual and historical evidence, and appears as both a cultural way of life and a spiritual belief system. Interestingly, the Catholic Church's tolerance for folk practices may have allowed a folk tradition practice to continue here, as it did elsewhere.

7 A wider perspective on the Baker's Flat Irish

The metal artefacts from the Baker's Flat site suggest a community that retained elements of its Irishness through religion, folk traditions and the social activities of cricket and coursing, but that was also influenced by the public accoutrements of respectability. The site survey results, when combined with information from historical sources, offer a wider perspective that enables us to look at Baker's Flat from the standpoint of the land and social structures.

At a site-wide scale, the Irishness of the Baker's Flat community is most evident through the spatial arrangement and architecture of the site. Although the houses on Baker's Flat have been reduced to rubble, there is historical and photographic evidence of cottages built in the traditional Irish style, as discussed in Chapter 3. Descriptions of traditional Irish houses state that they were often dug into a slope (Evans 1940:167-169), and George Hazel recalled that many of the Baker's Flat cottages were built into the hillside (Hazel 1975:n.p.). More importantly, the buildings as shown on the 1893 survey and as recorded during the site survey are arranged in clusters, corresponding with nineteenth century descriptions of the dwellings on Baker's Flat as 'huddled closely together' (Charlton 1971:18) and suggesting a tightly clustered 'clachan' settlement pattern. Around these houses were the systems for farming and land use adopted at Baker's Flat. Historical accounts (Charlton 1971:18; Nicol 1983:14; Tilbrook 1929:31) tell how families ran their pigs, goats and poultry communally without restraining fences. To the outsider, this looked chaotic, but in fact, these writers were unintentionally describing the Irish tradition of 'rundale', a co-operative and shifting open-field farming system, where

animals were farmed communally on the best available ground, with some individual plots scattered throughout (Johnson 1958:555-556; Miller 1985:27-28).

These preferences have been shown to be strongly Irish (Evans 1977:14; Johnson 1958:554), with Famine-era villages described as consisting of 'cabins in clusters' (Woodham-Smith 1962:25), allowing for close-knit social behaviour. Irish land improvement schemes of the nineteenth century always separated houses because of a view that clustered settlements allowed too much time for talking, quarrelling (Woodham-Smith 1962:25) and 'squabbles over rights of way and other petty affairs' (Johnson 1958:565). This change was always unpopular (Woodham-Smith 1962:25). Corresponding to historical descriptions of Irish landscapes in Koroit (Doyle 1996) and Christchurch (Fraser 1996), and in contrast to results found at Pekina (Ashley 2009), Baker's Flat suggests a deliberate retention and fostering of a vernacular Irish village model.

This model probably affected the social relations between individuals within the settlement, creating a tightly knit community that operated in many ways as a collective. Many writers have referred to the centrality of land in Irish life (Brighton 2010; Doyle 1996; Trew 2005; Woodham-Smith 1962), and during the Famine, possession of a piece of land was 'literally the difference between life and death' (Woodham-Smith 1962:32). For the Irish of Baker's Flat, control of this rent-free site was critical, and appears to have involved a degree of mutual obligation. Whilst some people appear to have held individual plots of land (Appendix F details the rates paid from 1888 for holdings such as a half-acre or nine acres), their herds and flocks were managed communally. The *Forster et al. v. Fisher* (1892) case was the culmination of many years' attempts by various owners (Appendix G details the

landowners from 1845 to date) to rid Baker's Flat of its Irish occupants, and highlights the expectation of mutual obligation at the settlement. A series of six affidavits in 1893 record how the 'trespassers' on Baker's Flat worked co-operatively against the perceived dominant power of the landholders (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). On being offered the land 'on reasonable terms', each of the occupiers refused. The power of collective action is clear, with Thomas Jordan, who occupied a hut and 1½ acres, stating that 'unless they could run their cattle on the whole of the said section, they could not live there, and until they were forced to leave they had all determined to remain' (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). Michael O'Brien, who occupied a hut and one acre, appeared tempted but said 'it is no use my buying the land because if I did the others would go against me', and that any person who did buy the land 'would not be allowed by the other occupants … to live there' (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892).

It was not only the men who held power on Baker's Flat. Accounts of the women demonstrate their considerable influence. Ann Bolton, who had a hut and 9½ acres, threatened to throw scalding water over the unfortunate solicitor who approached her about buying it, and was adept at rustling cattle, providing an individual instance of the power that one woman was prepared to wield (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892; *Kapunda Herald* 1894:2). But the well-known stories of groups of women seeing off rent collectors with brooms and boiling water, sitting in postholes to defy fencers, and vetting all those who strayed onto the land (Charlton 1971:42-43; *Kapunda Herald* 1902b:3; Tilbrook 1929:31, 113-114) illustrate a degree of gender-based, powerful collective action. Female power may also have been visible through the material evidence of the jewellery from the site. Most of the 93 jewellery items are female (n=84, 90.3%), and the pendants and brooches (n=65, 69.9%) which would

have been publicly visible, could have been a means for the wearers to express their self-confidence and authority.

Depending on which side one takes, the actions on Baker's Flat can be described equally as foolhardiness or courage, stubbornness or tenacity. They illustrate, however, a propensity for collective action on the part of the residents, and an aptitude for manipulating and using existing systems, such as the law and the council rates system, to fight the dominant power and establish claim to the land.

Conclusion

Social identity, and its alignment to collective behaviour and characteristics, has been particularly important in this study. The Irish, by choice or circumstance, built a settlement that was physically and socially separate from the broader Kapunda community. This allowed for the development of a distinctive community. The people of Baker's Flat acted in the context of a complex set of social relations that meant they were identified by the dominant power as Irish, but a particular form of unskilled, working class Irishness based on the Victorian view of the Irish as dirty, cunning, and inefficient. Their value was in the labour they could provide for the local elite, for example, in the mines, and there was a clear boundary between Baker's Flat and the broader community. This was an ethnic boundary based on their Irishness, a class boundary based on their position as manual workers and labourers, and a physical boundary based on controlling access to the settlement.

Following McGuire (1982:171-172), that new migrant groups retain their ethnicity by maintaining strong boundaries, the historical and archaeological evidence of the Baker's Flat settlement shows how the occupants retained their Irishness by

constructing houses using a familiar vernacular architecture, practising their Catholic faith, and possibly continuing some apotropaic folk practices. They also endeavoured to lead respectable lives by going to work, acquiring attractive jewellery and adorning their living areas. This adherence to some degree of respectability had the dual advantages of conformity to Victorian values, as well as promoting community cohesion.

The power relationships between Baker's Flat and the broader community are perhaps most obvious in the decade-long *Forster et al. v. Fisher* court case, which began in 1892 and highlighted the power of collective action against the landowners. As with many aspects of this community, though, this was no straightforward 'subordinate versus dominant' action. Irishness and the influence of cultural connections appear to indicate that Patrick McMahon Glynn, a man who straddled both sides of the divide, was expected to represent the Irish of Baker's Flat whilst remaining part of the social elite of Kapunda. Another element of the shifting power relations between both communities is the appropriation of the sport of cricket to gain a degree of equality through sport, and also to maintain ethnic boundaries by establishment of an Irish team. The adoption of a traditional Irish settlement and farming system can be seen as a subtle act of defiance of the dominant Anglo power by successfully retaining a cultural practice, an Irishness hidden in plain view, as it were. The implementation of this settlement model, however, may not have been a conscious decision, but more an unconscious acceptance of a deeply embedded ideology. The practice of Catholicism, on the other hand, is likely to have been a conscious approach that helped the Baker's Flat Irish to identify both with each other and to outsiders.

The accepted narrative of the Baker's Flat people is that of the stereotypical 'dirty Irish', in large part probably stimulated by the refusal of the residents to pay rent or allow outsiders into the community, and their resistance to the landowners' attempts to remove them. The archaeology at Baker's Flat proposes a more complete truth, with evidence of a tightly knit community trying to lead respectable lives, adept at manipulating the local authorities and landscape to suit their needs.

Finally, some comment is warranted on the value of the artefact collection derived, as it was, from metal detecting. The relationship between archaeologists and metal detectorists is an uneasy one (Hart and Chilton 2014:11; Thomas 2012:49; Turnbull 2006:24-25), and can be quite fraught, with a perception by many metal detectorists that they are viewed by archaeologists as 'the enemy' (Thomas 2012:55). With regard to these artefacts, the fact that they were context-free meant that the analysis could only be conducted on a broad community level. In spite of this, the collection has been valuable in uncovering a sense of place, community and identity. It indicates that interactions between archaeologists and metal detectorists can have positive outcomes around sharing knowledge and participation in heritage matters, and in building an understanding of archaeological techniques. It also highlights the value of meaningful and respectful engagement with varying interest groups.

Future research directions

The Baker's Flat site is a rare opportunity to study a self-contained Irish community in colonial South Australia. The scope of this research has allowed for a preliminary exploration of this early Irish migrant settlement, and there are several areas that could be targeted for future research, as outlined below.

Although traditional Irish clachan and rundale settlements have been described broadly in some historical studies (e.g. Doyle 1996; Fraser 1996), they have not been explicitly recognised as a settlement pattern that travelled from Ireland, and have not been explored so far in Australia. Since clachans were traditionally based around kin and clan, research could investigate whether they were able to be re-created in a new Australian environment in the absence of extended family, and the significance this might entail for new relationships like marriages. The Baker's Flat settlement could be compared with other rural Irish-Australian settlements for evidence of clachans or rundale, and also with clachans remaining in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

A study of familial and kinship networks on Baker's Flat could increase our understanding of the intensity and continuity of such networks in colonial South Australia, particularly around origins, marriages, links with the broader community, and internal migration to other parts of South Australia. Baker's Flat is an opportunity to research families that are known to have remained in the same place for at least two generations, such as the O'Callahans and Boltons.

To date, there has been limited archaeological research into emigrant folk traditions, particularly apotropaic practices, in colonial societies such as Australia and America. In Evans' study of concealed objects in Australian buildings, he notes that the custom was not identified in England until 1955, and in Australia until 2004, and that until then such finds were viewed simply as 'random artefacts' (Evans 2010:180). The pierced coins and folded flatware found at Baker's Flat are potential indicators of apotropaic practices that merit further investigation into the role of small, personal objects that can be concealed either on the person or in the house.

Finally, the role of women on Baker's Flat merits further exploration. Women played a significant role in this community, guarding boundaries, controlling access and engaging on the frontline. Research into gender roles on the site could shed light on the status and influence of emigrant Irish women in the nineteenth century.

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9 Appendices

Appendices in this section are listed below:

A Family names associated with Baker's Flat

B The O'Callahans, last family on Baker's Flat?

C Kapunda Survey Recording Form

D Cataloguing guidelines

E Trouser and uniform button manufacturers

F Ratepayers of Baker's Flat

G Landowners of Baker's Flat

H Catalogue and photographs of metal artefacts (electronic file)

Appendix A Family names associated with Baker's Flat

Listed below are 104 family names, or variations thereof, associated with Baker's Flat. Names are sourced from local histories, newspaper reports, family historians at Genealogy SA, church and state records.

Barry
Beanland
Beaucamp
Bolton
Bowler
Butler
Callaghan
Canway
Casey
Clancy / Clancey
Conolan / Conolon
Considine
Conway
Costello
Crow / Crowe
Cullinan
Daly / Daley / Dealy
Davern / Daveran / Davoren
Davey
Dealey
Dean
Devitt
Donahue / Donohue
Donnellan / Donnelin
Driscoll
Dundon
Evans
Fines
Fitzgerald
Fitzpatrick
Flanagan / Flannigan
Fleet
Ford
Foster
Fynes / Flynes
Geraghty
Gleeson
Goorty / Gurty
Gould
Greffey / Griffy / Griffey
Guther
Harrison
Hehir
Hill / Hills
Hoare
Hogan
Hooper
Horgan
Hynes
Kelly
Jenkins
Jordan
Jose
Kearse
Kelly
Kemp
Kerin / Kerins / Kairn
Lacy / Lacey
Lahiff
Lenane / Lennane
Leonard
Liddy
Madigan / Maddigan
Maher
Marony / Maroney
Maxwell
McCarty / McCarthy
McCormack / McCormick
McDonald / McDonnel
McEnerney / McInerney / McInerheny / McKnerny
McGee
McKean / McKeen
McMahon
McNamara
Meany / Meaney
Mullin
Myers
Neville
Neylon / Neilan / Neylan
O'Brien
O'Callahan / O'Calaghan / O'Callaghan
O'Connors
O'Donoghue / O'Donohue
O'Halloran
O'Loughlin
Pynn
Quigley
Quin / Quinn
Robinson
Ryan
Sexton
Shanahan
Shannon
Simpson
Slattery
Smith
St George
Sullivan
Thomas
Walsh
Warrick
Webber
Williams
Wood / Woods

Appendix B The O'Callahans, last family on Baker's Flat?

The death notices listed below are the last ones listed for people resident on Baker's Flat. All of them apply to the O'Callahan family which had lived on Baker's Flat from 1857 (*Kapunda Herald* 1902a:3). Mary O'Callahan, who died in 1945, is described in a photograph in the Kapunda Museum as one of the last residents of Baker's Flat. George Hazel, in his recollections about Baker's Flat, also refers to the O'Callahans as the 'last people I know of who lived there, at least two old ladies and two men' (Hazel 1975:n.p.).

THE O'CALLAHANS – LAST FAMILY ON BAKER'S FLAT?					
Year	**Date**	**Place of death**	**Living at BF?**	**Death notice details**	**Reference**
1918	2 Aug	Baker's Flat	Yes	At her residence, Baker's Flat. Mary, relict of Michael O'Callahan, aged 68 years, leaving three sons and two daughters. Arrived in the ship *Time and Truth* in 1851	*Chronicle*, 10 August 1918, p.28 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/87556659/8611136>
1934	2 Jan	Baker's Flat	Yes	At Baker's Flat. Michael Matthew, youngest son of the late Michael and Mary O'Callahan, after a long illness. Aged 56 years	*Chronicle*, 11 Jan 1934, p.40 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/92358199>
1940	12 Dec	Kapunda Hospital	No	Martin Joseph O'Callahan, eldest son of the late Michael and Mary O'Callahan of Baker's Flat, and beloved brother of Mary, Ann and John. Aged 70 years	*Chronicle*, 19 Dec 1940, p.19 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/92398759/8696763>
1945	8 Jun	Kapunda Hospital	Yes	Mary Margaret Theresa O'Callahan, eldest daughter of the late Michael and Mary O'Callahan. Born at Baker's Flat, near Kapunda, where she lived the whole of her life. Educated at the Sisters of St Joseph Convent. Aged 73 years	*Chronicle*, 21 Jun 1945, p.17 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/92811174/8710331> *Chronicle*, 28 Jun 1945, p.2 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/92808974>
1948	20 May	Kapunda Hospital	No	Annie Clara Agnes, younger daughter of the late Michael and Mary O'Callahan of Baker's Flat, Kapunda. Aged 74 years	*Chronicle*, 20 May 1948, p.39 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/93187188/8705279>

Appendix C Kapunda Survey Recording Form

KAPUNDA SURVEY RECORDING FORM

Site/Location _____ Transect No. _____

Recorder _____ Survey Unit No. _____

Date _____ GPS Coord: _____

Site type: _____ Site identified by: ☐ Positive Features ☐ Negative features ☐ Artefacts Density of artefacts per m² (as %) _____

Function: _____ Artefact Form No: _____

Sub function: _____ Distinguishing features: _____

Land use: _____ Materials: _____

WEATHER Temp: ☐ Clear ☐ Cloudy ☐ Raining

VISIBILITY/LIGHT ☐ Good ☐ Poor

GEOLOGY AND GEOMORPHOLOGY **Percentage of ground surface visible** _____ %

Exposures: ☐ Unformed track ☐ Formed track ☐ Fence line ☐ Alluvial terrace ☐ Backhoe/grader scape ☐ Other

Disturbances: ☐ Ploughing ☐ Crops/vegetation ☐ Animals ☐ Erosion ☐ Other

Perennial Water source: Y/N **Water location:** _____

SOIL ☐ Clay ☐ Silt ☐ Sand ☐ Other

Soil progeny: ☐ Alluvial (eg. humus) ☐ Colluvial (eg. rain wash, gravity) ☐ Fluvial (eg. rivers) ☐ Aeolian (eg.wind) ☐ Bedrock

Soil consistency: ☐ Weak ☐ Loose ☐ Friable ☐ Compacted

ROCK OUTCROP: ☐ No rock outcrop (No bedrock exposed) ☐ Very slightly rocky (<2% bedrock exposed) ☐ Slightly rocky (2-10% bedrock exposed) ☐ Rocky (10-20% bedrock exposed) ☐ Very rocky(>20% bedrock exposed)

Coarse Fragments: ☐ 2-6mm (Small pebbles or fine gravel) ☐ 6-20mm (Medium pebbles or gravel) ☐ 20-60mm (Coarse gravel) ☐ 60-200mm (Cobbles) ☐ 200-600mm (Stones) ☐ 600mm-2m (Boulders) ☐ >2m (Large boulders)

LANDFORM:
Slope (degrees) : ☐ >30° Very Steep ☐ 18-30° Steep ☐ 6-17° Moderately Inclined ☐ 2-5° Gently Inclined ☐ ≤0-1° Level

Pattern: ☐ Hillcrest/ridge ☐ Upper slope ☐ Mid slope Lower slope ☐ Flat/plain ☐ Creekline/bank; River terrace ☐ River bank

GROUND COVER

PERCENTAGE GROUND COVER ON EXPOSURE _____

☐ *Within exposure(s)*
☐ Leaf litter/bark/twigs/wood
☐ Grass/vegetation
☐ Moss/lichen
☐ Rubble/gravel
☐ Water
☐ Redeposited sediments (eg. slumping)
☐ Other: .....

☐ *Off exposure(s)*
☐ Leaf litter/bark/twigs/wood
☐ Grass/vegetation
☐ Moss/lichen
☐ Rubble/gravel
☐ Water
☐ Redeposited sediments (eg. slumping)
☐ Other: .....

PERCENTAGE GROUND COVER OFF EXPOSURE _____

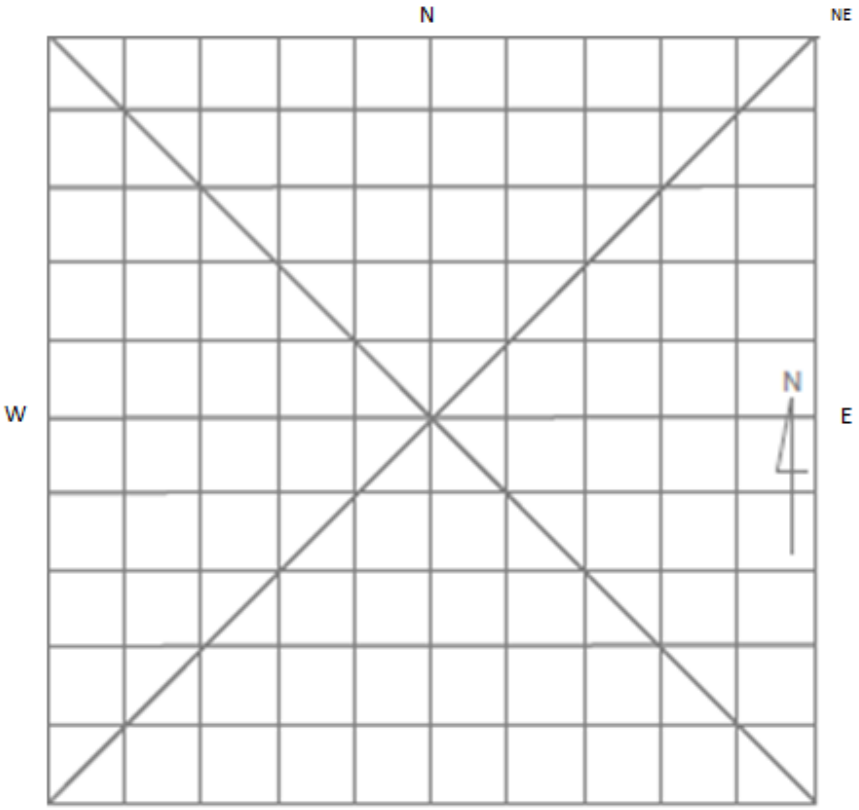
VEGETATION			
Type	☐ Trees/Mallee	☐ Shrubs/bushes	☐ Other
Species	☐ Native	☐ Introduced:	☐ Name (if known):
Tree status	☐ Standing	☐ Lying down/ Partially felled	☐ Dead/ Dying
Crown separation	☐ Touching to overlapping	☐ Touching or slightly separated	☐ Clearly separated
	☐ Well separated	☐ Trees ~100+m apart/shrubs ~25+m apart	☐ Clumps 2-5 trees/shrubs~200 +m apart

Cultivation	☐ Deliberate	☐ Natural	☐ Companion planting

Ground layer	☐ Tussock grass ☐ Hay	☐ Sod grass ☐ Other crops	☐ Weeds ☐ Height:

SITE PLAN

Description / comments:



Indicate scale, boundaries of site and features
Site Dimensions (m)

Photographs
Photo number(s)

Camera:

Other Comments

Appendix D Cataloguing guidelines

CATALOGUING GUIDELINES FOR BFK METAL ARTEFACTS[1]

FILE MANAGEMENT

Version control
A new version of the catalogue should be saved each time that substantive changes are made e.g. new artefacts added, amendments made to existing data. Use the following filename structure: **BFK Metal Catalogue YYYYMMDD** e.g. BFK Metal Catalogue 20140211. Move previous versions to an archive folder.

The catalogue guidelines have been created using Microsoft Word 2010. The catalogue has been created using Microsoft Excel 2010.

Site name and code
The site name is **Baker's Flat Kapunda**. The site code consists of three letters **BFK** (Baker's Flat Kapunda).

Style decisions for entering data
If the field is a text field, begin with an initial capital letter. Keep entries as concise as possible. Use standard punctuation, with the exception that there is no full stop at the end of any field. Follow the data entry guidelines below for instructions specific to each field.

DATA ENTRY GUIDELINES FOR ALL ARTEFACTS

Artefact number
The unique, running number used to identify each artefact. Artefact numbers must have four digits, e.g. 0001.

When citing an artefact number, each number can prefaced, if required for clarity, by the three letter prefix which refers to the site's name, e.g. BFK 0001.

[1] Fields and definitions are based on: Flinders University Archaeology Department Redbanks Artefact Database Fields, August 2012; Heritage Victoria Archaeological Artefact Management Guidelines, version 2, February 2004; Getty Research Institute Art & Architecture Thesaurus Online, 2000.
The following fields and definitions have been created specifically for this catalogue: Source; Photo number; Motif and markings; Modification / re-use; Coins; Dog tags (all fields); Jewellery (all fields); Flatware (all fields).

Source
The metal artefacts in this collection are held at two locations. The Source field identifies the location where the artefact is held. There are two coded options: **DP** or **SOR**. For privacy reasons, full details of the locations are documented separately.

Photo number
The unique number associated with photographic images of artefacts. Each image is identified by a four-digit number, generated automatically by the camera, e.g. 9455. Artefacts usually have at least two images associated with them (front and back), but may have more.

Enter the number for each image taken, in order, delimited by a comma and space, e.g. 9455, 9456, 9457. Do not use ranges (e.g. 9455–9457) as this will limit accurate searching of the catalogue.

Activity
A broad category covering the type of activity that an artefact would most likely have been used in. There are seven categories to select from, as detailed in the Heritage Victoria Function Keywords List (included later in these guidelines). Select one category only.

1. Architecture
2. Domestic
3. Personal
4. Recreation
5. Societal / Religious
6. Tools / Equipment
7. Miscellaneous (unknown)

Function
A more specific breakdown of the broad activity categories in the Heritage Victoria Function Keywords List (included later in these guidelines). Select one category only. If you cannot identify a specific function, use 'Unknown'.

Examples:	*Activity*	*Function*
	Domestic	Flatware
	Personal	Costume
	Societal / Religious	Religious objects

Fabric
The broad material type from which an artefact is composed. There are five categories, listed below, and taken from the Heritage Victoria Material Keywords List. If an artefact is composed of more than one fabric, list each type here, main one first, delimited by a comma and space, e.g. metal, glass, organic / lithic.

1. Ceramic
2. Glass
3. Metal
4. Organic / Lithic
5. Miscellaneous

Material
A more specific breakdown of the broad fabric categories, but specifically relating to metal objects, adapted from the Heritage Victoria Material Keywords List (included later in these guidelines).

If an artefact is composed of more than one material type, list each type here, main one first, delimited by a comma and space, e.g. copper alloy, glass.

Examples:	*Fabric*	*Material*
	Metal	Copper alloy
	Metal	Lead

Completeness
Estimate how much of the original artefact is present:

100%
75-99%
50-74%
25-49%
1-24%

Dog tags: Completeness is assessed at 100% if dog tag is complete, with or without a rivet; assessed at 75-99% if there is a break in the dog tag, e.g. broken rivet hole. The presence or absence of a rivet is not counted in assessing completeness.

Portion / component
A short description, no more than four or five words, describing the portion of the formerly whole object to which an artefact belongs, e.g. belt buckle, belt buckle badge, brooch back, brooch base, dog tag, dog tag with rivet, coin.

Length (mm)
Length in mm is recorded for all artefacts—the maximum dimension is recorded. Enter only the number in the spreadsheet, e.g. 29 not 29mm.

When measuring, record the length of the artefact in its current form. If the artefact is bent out of shape, and the original length is meaningful, e.g. length of fork or spoon, then the estimated original length in mm is recorded in the Description field.

Width (mm)
Width in mm is recorded for all artefacts—the maximum dimension is recorded. Enter only the number in the spreadsheet, e.g. 11 not 11mm.

Thickness (mm)
Thickness in mm is recorded for all artefacts—the maximum dimension is recorded. Enter only the number in the spreadsheet, e.g. 5 not 5mm.

Weight (g)
Weight in grams (to 0.1g) is recorded for all artefacts. Enter only the number in the spreadsheet, e.g. 10.8 not 10.8g.

Motif and markings
There are only two options for this field—Y (Yes) or N (No)— to indicate the presence (or not) of any motif and/or markings.

Record Y or N for each artefact. Give details of types of motif and/or markings in the Description field, e.g. hallmarks, maker's marks, patterns, embossing.

Manufacturing technique
Recorded for artefacts where determinable, e.g. cast, stamped, moulded, forged, crimped, one piece, two pieces, etched, handmade.

Modification / re-use
There are only two options for this field – Y (Yes) or N (No) – to indicate if the artefact has been altered or modified in any way.

Record Y or N for each artefact. Give details of types of modification, alterations and/or re-use in the Description field, e.g. coin piercing, deliberate scrapes, bent shaft of spoon, flattened spoon bowl, sheared or cut through.

Err on the side of caution – if it is unclear whether a modification is deliberate or accidental, use the Y option. This means that post-depositional alterations will be recorded here, as well as other significant alterations resulting from use wear or modifications for re-use.

Number of items
The number of fragments or pieces associated with this artefact number, i.e. if more than one fragment or piece has been included under the same artefact number, the number will be greater than one.

Description
A summary narrative description of the artefact.

Condition
An assessment of the state of preservation of the artefact. There are three options:

Good—if the artefact is in good or very good condition, e.g. clearly legible motifs and markings; little weathering or wear

Fair—if the artefact is in fair condition, e.g. motifs and markings are mostly legible, or can be made out with care; a reasonable amount of weathering or wear

Poor—if the artefact is in poor or very poor condition, e.g. motifs and markings are evident but cannot be made out clearly; artefact is flaking; edges are very worn and damaged

Date / date range
A date or date range when the artefact is thought to have been made.

Background research / references
Details of any background research that helps to identify the artefact or clarify its form and function. Reference to any book, website or other material used in the identification of the object, its manufacturer, place of manufacture, date of manufacture or other information, including pattern names for flatware.

Cite all sources in full, including full details of books, articles, websites.

Any other relevant information can also be included here.

DATA ENTRY GUIDELINES FOR SPECIFIC ARTEFACT TYPES

COINS ONLY

Record the monarch, e.g. Victoria, George IV, Edward VII.

DOG REGISTRATION TAGS ONLY

District

Record the district number as stamped on the dog tag, e.g. 78, 55.

District name

Record the name of the district corresponding to the district number—see list later in these guidelines. Use the following abbreviations:

DC for District Council
Corp for Corporation

Female (F) or Male (M)

A second hole in the dog tag underneath the words 'District Number' indicates that the dog is female. Record the sex of the dog using the letters F or M. Do not write out in full.

Registration number

Record the registration number as stamped on the dog tag, e.g. 82, 121.

BUTTONS ONLY

Shape

Record the button shape, e.g. round, barrel, oval, rectangular, square, domed.

Attachment method

Record the attachment method, e.g. shanked, sew through, snap fastener. If the attachment method is unable to be determined, e.g. because of wear or damage, enter 'Unidentifiable'.

Number of eyes

If the button has eyes, record the number here, e.g. 2, 4. If the button does not have eyes, enter 'N/A'.

Shank type

If the button is shanked, record the type of shank, e.g. alpha shank, Sanders shank, cone shank, pin shank, loop shank, snap fastener. If the button is not shanked, enter 'N/A'.

Ligne size
Record button ligne size using a ligne size chart.

Diameter (mm)
Measure each button using vernier calipers, to 0.1mm. Enter only the number in the spreadsheet, e.g. 14.2 not 14.2mm.

JEWELLERY ONLY

Shape
Record the predominant shape of the object as concisely but accurately as possible. Use descriptive terms to enable easy recognition, e.g. bar, bow, bunch of grapes, butterfly, cross, heart, irregular rectangle, rectangle. If the shape is unable to be determined, e.g. because of wear or damage, enter 'Unidentifiable'.

Attachment method
Record the attachment method of the object, e.g. chain, chape, hinge and clasp, hinge and pin, loop and chain, ring, slide. If the attachment method is unable to be determined, e.g. because of wear or damage, enter 'Unidentifiable'.

No. of stones originally
Record the number of stones that the piece would have had originally. If the piece did not contain any stones originally, enter '0'.

No. of stones now
Record the number of stones still present in the piece. If the piece did not contain any stones originally, enter 'N/A'.

Colour of stones
Be as consistent as possible in identifying the colour of stones. Use the Flinders University Archaeology Department glass colour chart (included later in these guidelines) to assist in accurate colour identification, also the Society for Historical Archaeology's web page on bottle glass colours (http://www.sha.org/bottle/colors.htm). If the piece did not contain any stones originally, enter 'N/A'.

Primary motif
Use the shape, stones and general description to determine the object's primary motif and record it here as concisely and accurately as possible. Use descriptive terms to enable easy recognition, e.g. anchor, bird, book, Celtic knot, cross, daisy, fern fronds, flower, horseshoe, lily of the valley, Queen Victoria. If the motif is unable to be determined, e.g. because of wear or damage, enter 'N/A'.

FLATWARE ONLY

Fork
There are only two options for this field – Y (Yes) or M (Maybe). If the artefact is definitely a spoon, leave this field blank.

Spoon
There are only two options for this field – Y (Yes) or M (Maybe). If the artefact is definitely a fork, leave this field blank.

Pattern
Record the flatware pattern if known, e.g. Bead, Fiddle, Fiddle Thread, Kings.

ARTEFACT PHOTOGRAPHS
Take at least two photographs of each artefact, with other details and views to be taken if required. As each photograph is taken, record the image number against the artefact number. When the photographs are downloaded, check each image number against the number in the catalogue, to ensure a correct match.

After downloading, crop and straighten the images if necessary. Retain the original images as well.

POST-CATALOGUING TREATMENT
Once each artefact is catalogued, store it in a paper bag, with the following identifying marks on the bag—catalogue number, code for the object's storage location (DP or SOR), and a brief description, e.g. dog tag 1885-1886. Return the artefacts to the collection owner.

DATA CLEANSING
The Filter option in Excel is a quick and simple way to work with a subset of data, particularly when a controlled vocabulary is used. Using this option, check each field in the catalogue for consistency of terms, relevance, typographical errors and anomalies.

HERITAGE VICTORIA MATERIAL KEYWORDS LIST

This list is an amended version of the Heritage Victoria one, with additional examples included to assist with the cataloguing of the Baker's Flat artefacts.

Metal	Definition	Examples
Aluminium	Pure metallic element having symbol Al and atomic number 13; a hard, strong, silver white metal	Use for pure metal only
Aluminium alloy	Alloy in which aluminium is the principal element	Soft drink can
Brass	Alloy of copper and zinc, usually with copper as the major alloying element and zinc up to 40% by weight	Door handle, button, kerosene lamp component
Britannia metal	A type of pewter that usually contains copper. Its colour is silvery white with a bluish tinge, or with a yellowish tinge if the copper content is high	Tea service items; cutlery (EPBN)
Bronze	Copper alloy that has as the principal alloying element a metal other than nickel or zinc. Non-ferrous	Bell, saxophone, cymbals
Copper	Pure metallic element having the symbol Cu and atomic number 29; a reddish metal that is very malleable and ductile. The pure metal is brown in colour, very durable and flexible, does not bend or crack or break	Use for pure metal only
Copper alloy	Alloy in which copper is the principal element. Not magnetic, can have a blueish, greenish or reddish hue	Ship fastening, sheet metal, button
Gold	Pure metallic element having symbol Au and atomic number 79; soft, heavy, chemically inactive, yellow metal	Use for pure metal only
Gold alloy	Alloy in which gold is the principal element	Wedding ring
Iron	Pure metallic element having symbol Fe and atomic number 26; a lustrous, silvery, soft metal that rusts when exposed to moist air	Use for pure metal only
Iron alloy	Alloy in which iron is the principal element; includes galvanised iron	Fastenings (nail, screw, hinge), button
Lead	Pure metallic element having symbol Pb and atomic number 82; soft, ductile, dull grey metal	Use for pure metal only
Lead alloy	Alloy in which lead is the principal element. Heavy. Often has a white soft layer of corrosion on the surface	Pipe, sheet metal. Also, any object of 'old pewter'
Muntz metal	Brass containing 60% copper and 40% zinc, commonly produced in sheets	Sheathing
Nickel	Pure metallic element having symbol Ni and atomic number 28; a silvery white metal with a yellowish cast, resistant to corrosion and to most acids except nitric	Use for pure metal only
Nickel alloy	Any alloy containing nickel as the base metal, or as the chief alloying element	Penknife, clockwork component
Nickel silver	Alloy of copper, nickel, and zinc, the nickel serving to enhance colour. Uses include operations that require ductility in the cold state, such as stamping, spinning, deep drawing, and for articles to be plated. Used	Cutlery - EPNS (electro plated nickel silver); EPGS (electro plated

	extensively as a base metal on silver-plated flatware. Not magnetic. Resistant to corrosion	German silver)
Non-ferrous metal	Metal that does not have iron as its major ingredient	
Pewter	Alloy of tin and various proportions and combinations of lead and antimony, and sometimes also copper	
Silver	Use for the pure metallic element having symbol Ag and atomic number 47; a malleable, ductile, white metal with characteristic sheen, considered a precious metal	Use for pure metal only
Silver alloy	Alloy in which silver is the principal element	Jewellery, cutlery, tea service items
Solder	Any of various types of alloy, commonly of lead and tin, used in soldering; the primary requirement is that it have a lower melting point than the metal surfaces to be joined	
Tin	Use for the pure metallic element having symbol Sn and atomic number 50; a soft, pliable, silvery white metal	Use for pure metal only
Tin alloy	Alloy in which tin is the principal element	Sheet metal, food can, button
Zinc	Use for the pure metallic element having symbol Zn and atomic number 30; a bluish white crystalline metal	Use for pure metal only
Zinc alloy	Alloy in which zinc is the principal element	

SOME TIPS ON HOW TO DISTINGUISH BRASS FROM BRONZE	
Brass	**Bronze**
Copper alloy – an alloy of copper (more than 50%) and zinc (5-20%)	Copper alloy – an alloy of copper (typically 60%) and tin (typically 40%), sometimes with other elements such as phosphorus, manganese, aluminium or silicon
Yellow colour, similar to gold when new. Bright sheen. Greyish greenish. Weathers to a verdigris patina. As it deteriorates, it creates an oxide of grey white powder (zinc oxide)	Yellow colour, less bright and less sheen than brass. Brownish. Weathers to a verdigris patina but does not oxidise
Resistant to tarnishing	Resistant to corrosion, resists water very well
Often used as decoration. Used for screws and wires, locks, doorknobs, gears	Most popular metal for top quality bells, cymbals and saxophones. Used widely for metal sculpture, ship and boat parts
	Expands slightly before setting → fills in the finest details of a mould
Cheaper	More expensive
Weaker, less resistant to abrasion. Susceptible to corrosion cracks	Stronger and harder

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HERITAGE VICTORIA FUNCTION KEYWORDS LIST

This list is an amended version of the Heritage Victoria one, with additional examples included to assist with cataloguing the Baker's Flat artefacts. Two new keywords have been added in the Societal / Religious category – *Decorations* and *Registration tag*.

Function	Definition	Examples
Architecture		
Architectural, miscellaneous		
Building materials		Brick, mortar, plaster
Electrical systems		Electrical wire, electric light fitting
Fastenings		Nail, screw
Fences		Chain, wire, post
Floor components		Linoleum, tile
Hardware	Large and small items that are required to attach, anchor, hold, or join materials and components of structures, furniture, and other objects. Also, items used in the finishing of buildings and objects, such as hinges and knobs	Lock, hinge, door knob
Mortar	A pasty building material, composed of sand and lime, or cement mixed with water, which gradually hardens when exposed to air	
Plaster	Refers to a soft, plastic material that can be spread or daubed on a wall, ceiling, or other surface, where it afterwards hardens. In the context of art and architecture, it generally refers specifically to a mixture of water, lime, and sand, often combined with other materials, such as animal hair, to give the resulting material strength, texture, and if the surface is to be painted, porosity	
Plumbing and stormwater system components		Drain pipe, water storage vessel
Roofs and roof components		Tile, roofing nail
System components		Unidentified items which appear to be part of plumbing, heating, electrical, communication, lighting and other systems
Window components		Window glass, hinges

Domestic		
Bells	Percussion vessels consisting of a hollow object, usually of metal but in some cultures of hard clay, wood, or glass, which when struck emits a sound by the vibration of most of its mass; they are held in position at their vertex, the point farthest from their rim, and their zone of maximum vibration is towards the rim	Cow bells, servants' bells, ship's bell
Beverage	Liquid for drinking	Wine, ginger beer, soft drink
Bottles	Vessels having a neck and mouth considerably narrower than the body, used for packaging and containing liquid and dry preparations	
Containers	Open, often shallow, containers, sometimes having a cover. Made of pottery, glass, metal, wood or the like and used for various purposes, especially for holding or serving food	Plates, bowls, cups, egg cups, bottles, iron pots
Containers for serving and consuming food		Platter, bowl, drinking glass
Containers for storing or transporting food		Bottle (glass, ceramic), jar
Containers for cooking food		Baking dish, saucepan
Cooking and heating devices		Wood stove parts
Cutlery	Culinary utensils that have a cutting edge, especially various forms of knives used for cutting, carving, dividing, or serving food. Sometimes used to embrace all types of flat culinary utensils; however, prefer 'flatware' when referring to forks, spoons, and similar culinary tools without a cutting edge	Knives
Cutting tools		Penknives, axes, adzes, saws
Domestic, miscellaneous		
Fibre	Material formed from natural or synthetic filament or staple, characterized by flexibility, fineness, and a high ratio of length to width, from which thread, cordage or textiles can be made	Rope
Flatware	Culinary utensils that are basically flat, such as forks and spoons, and have no cutting edge, as distinguished from 'hollow ware,' such as drinking vessels and bowls. Sometimes used to embrace all types of flat culinary utensils with or without a cutting edge; however, prefer 'cutlery' when referring to culinary utensils with a cutting edge, especially various forms of	Spoons, forks

	knives used for food	
Food	Use for any material that can be digested or absorbed by the body of a human or other animal and used as a source of energy or some essential nutrient, to build and replace tissue, or to relieve hunger	Bone, shell
Fuel	Material used to produce heat or power by burning	Coal
Furnishings	Artefacts originally created to facilitate human activity and to provide for physical needs of people in or around a building generally by offering comfort, convenience, or protection	Table, knobs, caster
Lighting device components		Lustres, gas piping
Medical		
Ornaments	Use for decorative forms that are an integral part of a building or object but are not essential to its structure. Use also for decorative objects attached to or worn by humans and animals. For objects signifying an honour bestowed upon an individual, usually worn on the person, use 'decorations'. Regarding techniques of embellishment in general, use 'decoration (process)'	
Textile materials	Collocates descriptors for the general category of materials produced by weaving, felting, knotting, twining, or otherwise processing natural or synthetic fibres so that they cohere into a form or unit; traditionally excludes fibreboard, paper, papier-mâché, and papyrus, which, though also fibre products, are considered as separate types of material	
Timepiece components		
Utensils	Refers to tools, implements, vessels, or articles of furniture that are relatively small and are useful or necessary in a kitchen, dairy, or elsewhere in a household. It also refers to such items designed for use by an artisan, mechanic, or farmer, or used in the services of a church, temple, or other place of worship	Weighing scale weight, meat skewer
Personal		
Costume	Artefacts worn or carried for warmth, protection, embellishment or symbolic purposes	Bead, button, shoe, jewellery, textile
Equipment for personal use: grooming, hygiene and health care		Hair comb, syringe, tooth brush, hair brush, eye glasses
Containers for personal grooming		Cosmetic jar, tooth powder, container,

and hygiene		perfume bottles, shaving mugs
Containers for healthcare		Chamber pots, pill boxes, bleeding bowls
Personal, miscellaneous		
Recreation		
Pipes (smoking equipment).	Devices usually consisting of a tube with a bowl at one end and a mouthpiece at the other; used for smoking tobacco, opium, and other substances.	
Play (recreation)	Recreation involving at least some bodily exercise or hands-on activity, especially in children and immature animals as part of their process of learning adult behaviour and exploring their environment.	Doll, tea set items, marbles, ball
Recreational artefacts for competitive activities		Gaming pieces, dominos
Recreational artefacts for non-competitive activities		Jar of watercolour pigment, clay pipe, musical instruments
Recreation, miscellaneous		
Societal / Religious		
Money	Anything in general circulation which by common agreement serves as a medium of exchange as payment for goods and services and for the settlement of debts, acts as a measure of value within and between communities, and passes without question or endorsement.	Coin, token
Registration tag	Government (local, state or federal) issued tag, designed to prove that registration has taken place	Dog registration tags
Religious objects	Use broadly for objects associated with or used in public or private religious worship in any culture	Rosary beads, religious medals
Decorations	Use for objects associated with commemoration, either general or specific to a named person	Commemorative medals, jubilee medallions, war service medals
Tools / Equipment		
Adhesive	A substance, in the form of a liquid, paste, powder, or dry film; used for sticking or adhering one surface to another	
Agricultural equipment		Items associated with farming not

		gardening
Animal work equipment		Horseshoe
Coating	Use generally for any substance spread over a surface, usually for protection or decoration	Paint, varnish
Drafting, drawing and writing equipment		Ink bottle
Educational functions		Writing slate
Fishing and trapping tools and equipment		Fishing weight
Horticultural tools and equipment		Items associated with gardening not farming
Paint	Any dispersion of a pigment in water, oil, or organic solvent	DO NOT use for ceramic glaze or overglaze
Tools and equipment, miscellaneous		
Sewing tools and equipment		Needle, thimble
Tools	Use for objects, especially those hand-held, for performing or facilitating mechanical operations	
Weapons and ammunition	none	Pistol, bullet, bullet cartridge
Miscellaneous (unknown)		
Objects that cannot be identified in any of the above categories should be tagged as Miscellaneous (unknown)		

Flinders University Archaeology Department Guide to Glass Colour

Numerical list of proclaimed district councils and municipalities for the purpose of the Dog Act in South Australia.

Taken from Ransom, N. 2005 *Collared: A History of Dog Registration in South Australia*. Campbelltown: Neil Ransom, pp.50-53.

District Number	Location	Date Proc.
	Corporations	
1	Palmerston N.T– Outback areas Community Development Trust	1885
2	Southport N.T. – Wakefield Regional Council	1885
3	Yam Creek N.T. Burrandie N.T. Copper Coast	1885 1892
4	Daly Waters N.T. Katherine N.T. Roxby Downs	1885 1892
5	Barrow's Creek N.T. Alice Springs N.T. Northern Areas Council	1885 1892
6	Borooloola N.T.	1892
7	Campbelltown	1947
8	Payneham (Now Norwood Payneham & St Peters)	1947
9	Whyalla	1945
10	Walkerville	1945
11	Marion	1944
12	Enfield (Now Port Adelaide Enfield)	1944
13	West Torrens	1944
14	Mitcham	1944
15	Renmark (Now Renmark Paringa)	?
16	Burnside	1936
17	Prospect	1934
18	Woodville (Now Charles Sturt)	?
19	Port Elliot	1925
20	Murray Bridge	1924
21	Naracoorte	1924
22	Port Lincoln	1921
23	Garden Suburb (Col. Light Gardens)	1921
24	Port Augusta West	1868
25	Victor Harbour	1914
26	Davenport	?
27	Petersburg (Now Peterborough)	1884
28	Semaphore Henley & Grange	1884 1916
29	Quorn Kanyaka Quorn	1885 1969
30	St Peters	1883
31	Maitland Adelaide Hills	1883
32	Gladstone	1883
33	Thebarton	1883
34	Laura	1882
35	Edithburgh	1882
36	Port Wakefield	1881
37	Yorketown	1879
38	Jamestown	1878
39	Port Pirie	1876
40	Burra	1876
41	Mt Gambier	1876
42	Pt Augusta	1875
43	Hindmarsh	1874
44	Wallaroo	1874
45	Goolwa	1872
46	Kadina	1872
47	Moonta	1872
48	Unley	1871
49	Clare	1868
50	Strathalbyn	1868
51	Adelaide	1851
52	Brighton (Now Holdfast Bay)	1858
53	Gawler	1857
54	Glenelg	1857
55	Kapunda corporation	1865
56	Kensington & Norwood	1853
57	Port Adelaide	1855
	District Councils & Drainage Districts	
58	Aldinga District Willunga	1857 1933
59	Alexandrina Central Yorke Peninsula	1861 1969
60	Angaston	1869
61	Barossa East Minlaton	1856 1888
62	Barossa West Barossa	1856 1888
63	Belvidere	1866
64	Bremer	1867
65	Brighton Marion	1867 1933
66	Burnside	1861
67	Clare & Gilbert Valley Clare	1868 1967
68	Clarendon	1869
69	Crafers	1866
70	East Torrens	1853
71	Echunga	1866
72	Encounter Bay	1866
73	Flaxman's Valley Broughton Redhill	1869 1888 1933

74	Gilbert Riverton	1874 1933
75	Wirrega Snowtown	1884 1888
76	Highercombe	1853
77	Woodville	1876
78	Kapunda District (Now Kapunda & Light)	1866
79	Kondoparinga	1861
80	Light Gawler South	1867 1899
81	Macclesfield (Now Onkaparinga)	1861
82	Mitcham	1867
83	Morphett Vale	1856
84	Mount Barker	1861
85	Mount Crawford	1854
86	Mount Gambier East Mount Gambier	1876 1933
87	Mt Gambier West	1876
88	Mudla Wirra North	1876
89	Mudla Wirra South Mudla Wirra	1867 1934
90	Munno Para East Munno Para (Now Playford)	1853 1854
91	Munno Para West	1854
92	Myponga Pt Germain Mt Remarkable	1856 1888 ?
93	Nairne	1853
94	Noarlunga	1869
95	Nuriootpa Freeling	1867 1933
96	Onaunga	1867
97	Onkaparinga	1853
98	Para Wirra	1854
99	Campbelltown	1868
100	Port Elliot & Golwa (Now Alexandrina)	1876
101	Port Gawler (Now Mallala)	1856
102	Caurnamont	1885
103	Queenstown & Alberton Renmark Irrigation. Trust	1879 1902
104	Rapid Bay	1856
105	Rhynie	1856
106	South Rhine Springton (Now Mt Pleasant)	1865 1888
107	Payenham	1883
108	Stockport	1865
109	Strathalbyn	1868
110	Talunga (Later Gumeracha)	1853
111	Tanunda (Now Barossa)	1855
112	Tea Tree Gully	1858
113	Tungkillo	1855
114	Upper Wakefield Saddleworth & Alburn	1868 ?
115	Walkerville	1855
116	West Torrens	1853
117	Willunga	1853

118	Yankallila	1861
119	Yatala North Salisbury	1868 1934
120	Stanley	1868
121	Black Springs Wilmington	1868 1888
122	Hamilton	1874
123	Saddleworth	1868
124	Waterloo	1868
125	Yatala South	1868
126	Penola (Now Wattle Range)	1869
127	Port MacDonnell (Now Grant)	1869
128	Robe	1869
129	Naracoorte (Now Naracoorte & Lucindale)	1870
130	Alma Plains	1870
131	Green's Plains Kadina	1871 1933
132	Blyth	1872
133	?	
134	Prospect	1872
135	Hanson	1872
136	Burra Goyder	1872 1969
137	Lacepede	1873
138	Apoinga	1873
139	North Rhine Keyneton & Swan Reach	1873 1934
140	Dublin	1873
141	Grace	1874
142	Julia	1874
143	Mt Bryan	1874
144	Dalkey Owen	1875 1933
145	Booborowie	1875
146	Palmerston	1874
147	Belalie (Now Jamestown)	1875
148	Melville Yorke Peninsula Yorketown	1875 1876 1933
149	Booyoolie Laura	1876 1933
150	Narridy Kanyaka	1876 1888
151	Georgetown	1876
152	Tatiara	1876
153	Gladstone	1876
154	Truro	1876
155	Birkenhead (Kennion) Beachport	1887 1933
156	Rosewater Renmark Town	1877 1933
157	Mannum (Now Mid Murray	1877
158	Hallett	1877
159	Dalrymple	1877
160	Balaklava	1877
161	Caltowie	1878
162	Lucindale	1878

163	Neales	1878
	Eudunda	1933
164	English	1878
	Robertstown	1933
165	Hall	1878
166	Kulpara	1878
	Bute (Now Barunga West)	1933
167	Port Wakefield	1878
168	Clinton	1878
169	Mt Muirhead Drainage District	?
170	Lincoln (Now Lower Eyre Peninsula)	1880
171	Beachport	1882
172	Mayurra Drainage District	1882
	Millicent	
		1933
173	Tantanoola Drainage District	1882
174	Monarto	1882
175	Crystal Brook	1882
176	Yongala	1883
177	Stirling	1883
178	Mobilong	1884
179	Spalding	1885
180	Hutt & Hill Rivers	1885
181	Angas	1885
182	Benara	1885
183	Woolundunga	1888
184	Hawker (Now Flinders Rangers)	1888
185	Peterborough	1888
	Coglin	1933
186	Carrieton	1888
187	Orroroo (Now Orroroo Carrieton)	1888
188	Terowie	1888
189	Morgan	1888
190	Blanchetown	1888
191	Meningie (Now Coorong)	1888
192	Kingscote (Now Kangaroo Island)	1888
193	Franklin Harbour	1888
194	Elliston	1888
195	Streaky Bay	1888
196	Dudley	1933
197	Warooka	1889
198	Mundoora	1892
	Port Broughton	1933
199	Pirie	1892
200	Condowie Plains	1886
	Streaky Bay	1892
201	Portecra (Hd of Hynam)	1885
	Fowlers Bay	1892
202	Pt Wakefield	1878
	Morgan	1886
203	Bungarce	1878
	Lochaber	1886
	Overland Corner	1892
204	Wallaroo Mines	1878

205	Near Wallaroo	1878
	Penang	1886
	Coonalpyn	1892
206	Moonta	1878
	Renmark	1892
207	Port Lincoln	1878
	Farina	1892
208	Venus Bay	1878
	Waukaringa	1892
209	Streaky Bay	1878
	Near Mannum	1892
210	Fowlers Bay	1878
	Pt. Augusta West	1892
211	Worlds End	1878
	Wonoka	1892
212	Blanchetown	1878
	East Wellington	1892
213	Overland Corner	1878
214	Mongolata	1878
215	Point Pass	1878
	Baldina	1886
	Blinman	1892
216	Wellington	1878
	Oodnadatta	1892
217	Meningie	1878
	Beltana	1892
218	Mundalla	1878
	Custon	1886
219	Robe	1878
	Warcowie	1892
220	Rivoli Bay	1878
	Beachport	1886
	Cowell	1892
221	Tarpeena	1878
222	Melrose	1878
	Paratoo	1892
223	Stirling North	1878
224	Farina	1878
	Matt	1892
225	Warooka	1878
226	Virginia	1878
	Diamentina	1892
227	Cygnet River (KI)	1878
	Mt Eba	1892
228	Winninninie	1878
	Waukaringa	1886
	Mt Freeling	1892
229	Port MacDonnell	1878
	Yunta	1892
230	Point McLeay	1878
	Kingston	1886
231	Mannum	1878
	Maree	1892
232	Kulpara	1878
	Lochiel	1886
	Strangway Springs	1892
233	Wilmington	1878
	Charlotte Waters	1892
234	Hogleton	1878
	Port Augusta West	1886

235	Koolunga	1878
	Manna Hill	1892
236	Redhill	1878
	Tilleys Swamp	1892
237	Crystal Brook	1878
238	Keilli	1878
	Mundoora	1886
239	Appila-Yareowie	1878
	Yarrowie	1886
240	Pt Pirie West	1878
241	Telowie	1878
242	Whyte – Yarcowie	1878
243	Maitland	1878
244	Port Vincent	1878
245	Wonoka	1878
246	Yacka	1878
247	Yongala	1878
	Parnaroo	1886
248	Yatina	1878
249	Pekina	1878
250	Orroroo	1878
	Brinkley	1933
251	Spalding	1878
	Canowie	1886
	Tumby Bay	1933
252	Barunga	1878
	Sharp's Well	1886
	Lameroo (Now Southern Mallee)	1933
253	Kalkabury	1878
	Authurton	1886
	Loxton (Now Loxton Waikerie)	1933
254	Ardrossan	1886
	Cleve	1933
255	Mount Rat	1886
	Peake	1933

256	Minlaton	1886
	Pinnaroo	1933
257	Minlacowie	1878
	Brentwood	1886
	Waikerie	1933
258	Warrow	1886
	Browns Well	1933
259	Napperby	1878
	Warnertown	1886
	Paringa	1933
260	Tarcowie	1886
	Karoonda (Now Karoonda East Murray)	1933
261	Hog Bay River (KI)	1886
	Berri (Now Berri Barmera)	1933
262	East Wellington	1886
	East Murray	1933
263	Lancelot	1886
	Coldogla	1933
	Barmera	1975
264	Willochra	1886
	Kimba	1933
265	Yabmana	1878
	Franklin Harbour	1886
	Minnipa	1925
	Le Hunte	1933
266	Mattawarrangala	1886
	Murat Bay	1925
	Ceduna	
267	Wandearah East	1886
	Coonalpyn Downs	1975
268	Morchard	1886
	Elizabeth	1964
269	Terowie	1886
	Monarto Development Corp	1975
270	Blinman	1886
	Coober Pedy	1886

Appendix E Trouser and uniform button manufacturers

The tables below list the makers, numbers of 4 hole and 2 hole buttons, and earliest dates for the trouser and uniform buttons in the Baker's Flat artefact collection.

TROUSER BUTTONS			
MAKERS' MARKS	**4 HOLE**	**2 HOLE**	**EARLIEST DATE**
Named businesses			
A BOWLEY & Co MELBOURNE	1		1880s+
ALEX RILEY GLASGOW	1		1868+
B & B LONDON	1		1850s+
CH SHAKESHAFT KAPUNDA	20		1920s?
COULTAS & CO ADELAIDE	1		1880s-1946
DOOLETTE & CO ADELAIDE	1		1870s-1902
FICKLING ADELAIDE	1		1872-1880s
G & W SHIERLAW	1		1860s-1880s
GARDINER & Co BRISTOL		1	1850s+
GEO P DOOLETTE ADELAIDE	2		1870s-1902
GP DOOLETTE ADELAIDE	1		1870s-1902
H GARDINER & Co BRISTOL		2	1850s+
HALL & McLEAN ADELAIDE	2		1880s+
HE & M MOSES UNIVERSITY CUT		1	1845-1898
J JOHNSTONE	2		1850s+
J McANNA ADELAIDE	3		1870s-1910s
J MOSS NO 1 ADELAIDE	1		1860s-1880s
J WEBSTER GLASGOW	4		1850s+
JAMES COULTAS PERTH	1		1896-1940s
JOHN & CLEARY FREMANTLE	1		1893-1903
JOHN KERIN ENNIS	1		1840s+
JV LAWTON & CO ADELAIDE	1		1906-1922
MARTIN BROTHERS ADELAIDE	1		1850s-1913
McDONALD & WALTER	2		1880s-1904
McDONALD & WALTER ADELAIDE	1		1880s-1904
MOSES LEVY & CO LONDON	2		1850s-1878
RE HOWIE ADELAIDE	1		1890s -1930s
S HARRIS LEICESTER	1		1850s+
SA Wn Co ADELAIDE	1		1850s+
STROUD 52 FLEET ST	1		1870s-1900s
SW SILVER & CO CLOTHIERS &c LONDON	1		1850s-1875
TAYLOR & Co RICHMOND	2		1850s+
W ALLEN GAWLER	1		1850s+
W GOTT GUNDERLAND	1		1850s+

WILLIAMS BROs & Co ADELAIDE	1		1850s+
... & SAVAGE	1		1890s+
... & SON LONDON	1		1850s+
..ST ..FON … CROWN	1		1850s+
Generic brands			
ADVANCE AUSTRALIA	1		1850s+
BEST RING EDGE	24		1850s+
BEST SOLID EYELET	3		1850s+
BEST SOLID RING	2		1850s+
BULL DOG	1		1850s+
DOUBLE RING EDGE	13		1850s+
EVERSAFE PATENT … BREV…		1	1850s+
EXCELSIOR	95		1850s+
IMPERIAL	2		1850s+
IMPROVED FOUR HOLES	1		1850s+
IMPROVED PATENT		11	1850s+
NE PLUS ULTRA	4		1850s+
OUR OWN MAKE	9		1850s+
PARAGON		1	1850s+
PATENT L & E	1		1850s+
PREMIER BRAND	2	1	1850s+
PREMIER MAKE	4		1850s+
SOLID BAR		1	1850s+
SUSPENDER	9		1850s+
SUSPENDER BUTTON	1		1850s+
THE CLIMAX	24		1850s+
TOWN MADE	1		1850s+
Hand made	2		1850s+
Unidentifiable due to weathering	11	2	1850s+
Unbranded	70	10	1850s+
Total	**345**	**31**	

UNIFORM BUTTONS			
Marks	**Maker**	**No. of items**	**Earliest date**
Australian Commonwealth	Stokes & Sons Melbourne	1	1901-1910
Australian Military Forces	Stokes & Sons Melbourne	1	1901+
British coat of arms	N/A	1	1850s+?
British coat of arms	Firmin & Sons Ltd London	1	1875+
British Royal Artillery crown and three guns	N/A	1	1833-1873
Constabulary	N/A	1	1838+
Gaols & Prisons SA	Stokes & Sons Melbourne	3	1893+
Royal Sappers & Miners	N/A	1	1837-1856
South Australian Railways	Buttons Ltd Birmingham	3	1909+
South Australian Railways	Firmin & Sons London Dublin	1	1856-1875
South Australian Railways	Firmin & Sons London	2	1856-1875
South Australian Railways	Firmin & Sons Ld London	2	1875+
South Australian Railways	Stokes Maker Melbourne	14	1856-1873
South Australian Volunteers	Firmin & Sons London	10	1854+
South Australian Volunteers	Firmin London	1	1870s+
South Australian Volunteers	Shierlaw	1	1854+
Unidentifiable	Firmin & Sons London	1	1850s-1875
Total		**45**	

Appendix F Ratepayers of Baker's Flat

The area known as Baker's Flat is a portion of the land designated as Section 7598, situated in the Hundred of Kapunda. The Hundred of Belvidere abuts the Hundred of Kapunda, and includes the remainder of Section 7598; at various times, part of this land also appears to have been considered as Baker's Flat.

The information in the table below is sourced from an affidavit by Thomas Jeffs, Clerk of the District Council of Kapunda, dated 11 January 1893 (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). He states that from the year beginning 1870 to the year ending 1887, the **owners** of section 7598 paid the rates due. From 1888, the **occupiers** of section 7598 paid the rates due. This was still the case in 1892, but they were never assessed as owners.

PAYMENT OF RATES FOR SECTION 7598, DISTRICT COUNCIL OF KAPUNDA					
Person assessed as owner		**Person assessed as occupier**			
Years	**Name**	**Assessment #**	**Name**	**Area**	**Property**
1870-1887	Arthur Hardy and others				
1888-1892		181	Ann Bolton	4 acres	Ruins and land
1888-1892		182	Ann Bolton	5½ acres	
1888-1892		183	Honora Clancey		Hut 2 rooms
1888-1892		184	Vacant		Ruin
1888-1892		185	John Woods		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		186	Thomas Donnellan		3 roomed hut
1888-1892		187	Mrs Daly	1 acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		188	John Meaney		3 roomed hut
1888-1892		189	Pat Griffey	2 acres	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		190	Michael Donnellan	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		191	Michael Sexton	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		192	Pat O'Halloran		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		193	Dennis McInerney	¼ acre	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		194	John Flannigan		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		195	Austin Quin	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		196	Thomas Lennane	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		197	Thomas Jordan	1½ acres	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		198	Honora Driscoll		3 roomed hut
1888-1892		199	Catherine Sexton		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		200	Donald Driscoll		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		201	Norah Davern	1 acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		202	Symon Ryan	¼ acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		203	James O'Loughlin	½ acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		204	Mrs Lahiff		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		205	Pat McNamara	½ acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		206	Fitzpatrick		3 roomed hut
1888-1892		207	John Quigley	½ acre	3 roomed hut
1888-1892		208	Anthony O'Halloran		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		209	Mary Considine		3 roomed hut
1888-1892		210	Michael O'Brien	1 acre	2 roomed hut
1888-1892		211	Ann Daveran		2 roomed hut
1888-1892		212	D. Driscoll and others	340 acres	Huts and pasture

The information in the table below is sourced from an affidavit by Martin Shea, Clerk of the District Council of Belvidere, dated 14 January 1893 (*Forster et al. v. Fisher* 1892). The area referred to is the portion of section 7598 south of the River Light, in Belvidere.

PAYMENT OF RATES, SECTION 7598, DISTRICT COUNCIL OF BELVIDERE			
Person assessed as owner		**Person assessed as occupier**	
Year	**Name**	**Name**	**Area**
1867-1868	*No owner's name*	Timothy McInerny, Mary Toohey	Not recorded
1868-1869	*No owner's name*	John Conolan	140 acres
1869-1870	*No owner's name*	John Conolan	140 acres
1870-1871	Arthur Harvey	John Conolan	140 acres
1871-1872	*No owner's name*	John Conolan	140 acres
1872-1873	G.W. Waterhouse, W. Milne & Co.	John Conolan	140 acres
1873-1874	G.W. Waterhouse, W. Milne & Co.	John Conolan	140 acres
1874-1875	Hawkes, Fisher, Hill and others	John Conolan	140 acres
1875-1876	Hawkes, Fisher, Hill and others	John Conolan	140 acres
1876-1877	Hawkes, Fisher and others	John Conolan	140 acres
1877-1878	Hawkes, Fisher and others	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1878-1879	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1879-1880	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1880-1881	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1881-1882	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1882-1883	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Murtagh, Michael and Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1883-1884	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1884-1885	Hawkes, Spence & Co.	Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1885-1886	Hardy, Hawkes, Spence and others	Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1886-1887	Hawkes, Spence and others	Patrick Conolan	140 acres
1887-1888	Hawkes, Spence and others	Michael Conolan	140 acres
1888-1889	Hawkes, Spence and others	Michael Conolan	140 acres
1889-1890	Hawkes, Spence, Milne and others	Michael Conolan Andrew Goorty	140 acres Remaining land
1890-1891	Hawkes, Spence, Milne and others	Michael Conolan Andrew Goorty	140 acres Remaining land
1891-1892	Hawkes, Spence and others	Conolan brothers Andrew Goorty	140 acres Remaining land
1892-1893	Hawkes, Spence, Davenport and others	Conolan brothers Andrew Goorty	140 acres Remaining land

Appendix G Landowners of Baker's Flat

The area known as Baker's Flat is a portion of the land designated as Section 7598, situated in the Hundred of Kapunda. The Hundred of Belvidere abuts the Hundred of Kapunda, and includes the remainder of Section 7598; at various times, part of this land also appears to have been considered as Baker's Flat.

The information in the table below, which details the known owners of the Baker's Flat land, is sourced from records of the South Australian Land Titles Office, the *Forster et al v. Fisher* 1892 court records, papers associated with the Ngaiawang Folk Province held in the archives of the South Australian Museum, the *Kapunda Herald*, and personal communications with Simon O'Reilley, Kapunda.

YEAR	DATE	EVENT	OWNERS
1845	24 Oct	490 acres granted, section 7598	James Poole, William Howard, Mary Baker and her son John Baker
1850	6 Aug	66 acres transferred	John Baker to William Henry Clarke
1850	11 Sept	67 acres transferred	John Baker to William Henry Clarke
1855	19 Dec	106½ acres transferred	William Henry Clarke to Henry Ayres, James Holmes?
1856	14 May	133 acres mortgaged	William Clarke, James Longman?
1857	1 June	Mortgage transferred	James Longman? to William Clarke
1858	9 Dec	133 acres transferred	William Elder, John Taylor
1864	9 May	Mining licence granted	Anthony Forster, Arthur Hardy, John Taylor, John Hart, John Bentham? Neales, Edward James, Thomas Daniels, Charles Daniels
1878	*After the Kapunda copper mine closed, the land appears to have changed hands numerous times, but these owners have not yet been able to be traced.*		
1892	12 Oct	Supreme Court of South Australia, writ no. 47 of 1892, *Forster et al. v. Fisher*. This detailed the plaintiffs that owned shares of 490 acres of section 7598, in preparation for sale, stating that considerable amounts were due for land tax and rates in respect of various shares, and that the present trespassers had no right or titles to any part of section 7598	Plaintiffs: Anthony Forster, Allan McFarlane, Robert Barr Smith, Thomas Elder, John Brodie Spence, George Young, Charles Hawkes Todd Hart, Charles James Henthorn Merton Todd, Emily Lavinia Hart, Samuel Davenport, William Milne, John Charles Marshall Taylor Defendant: Francis Joseph Fisher

1894	30 Nov	Court case in Adelaide to settle a payment dispute with the surveyors. Refers to the recent sale of Conolan's Block, the ~140 acre section south of the River Light.	Conolan brothers (140 acres south of river)
1899	4 Sept	Order by the Supreme Court of South Australia that an area of section 7598 of about 192 acres can be sold to George Gardner Colebatch (trustee).	*No further details available on whether this sale went through*
1900	14 July	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres	Kapunda Horseshoe Copper Mining Syndicate
1902	25Mar	Four lots sold. Lots 1 and 2, part section 7598 in Hundred of Belvidere, 86½ and 46¾ acres. Lots 3 and 4, part section 7598, Hundred of Kapunda, 9¼ acres and Hundred of Belvidere, 10½ acres. Lot 5, mineral rights, part section 7598, Hundred of Kapunda, 39 acres, passed in. With the titles was an eviction order for the removal of trespassers if necessary	Lots 1 and 2 sold to H.B. Barker (agent). Lots 3 and 4 to J.B. Spence
1913	26 June	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres	David James
1921	1 June	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres leased to Patrick Howard Driscoll on a three year term	David James
1927	27 Sept	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres	Leslie Noake Tilbrook and William Charles Martin
1928	23 May	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres. A Land Titles search shows that the land was transferred to Emily Louise Taylor on 23 May 1928, and immediately transferred to Patrick Howard Driscoll	Emily Louise Taylor
1928	23 May	Portion of section 7598, about 187 acres. A statement by George Hazel recorded on 3 March 1975 records: 'After the O'Callahans left, the whole block was bought by Paddy Driscoll, whose father or grandfather had been one of the original settlers, then when Paddy died it was bought by Dick Hampel, and is now owned by his sons.'	Patrick Howard Driscoll, farmer
1953	24 Apr	Portion of section 7598	Hampel family (current owners), farmers

Appendix H Catalogue and photographs of metal artefacts

The artefact catalogue and photographs are attached in electronic files:

- Excel file named BFK Metal Catalogue 2014-08-04.xlsx
- Folder containing 2,096 cropped photos, all in jpg format