

Archaeology of the 1891 Shearers' War: the main strike camp at Barcaldine, Queensland

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The 1891 shearers' strike camp at Barcaldine is the focus of an archaeological and heritage management design program. In July 1989 archaeological excavations and historical research was carried out at Lagoon Creek and at the Alice River, near Barcaldine in west central Queensland. This work when matched with recently discovered pictorial information confirmed that Lagoon Creek was indeed the location of the main strike camp. Additional archaeological research brought to light a number of artefacts, both portable and landscape features. Once the fabric of the site was defined and the significance of the place established it proved possible to suggest that the interpretation plan focus upon a low-key presentation with reconstructions being limited to a ghost camp, or a series of tent frameworks evocative of the place at its time of abandonment. The authors of this report are respectively a Lecturer at the University of Canberra in the Cultural Heritage Management program, an Assistant Curator of Private Records at the Australian War Memorial and a Landscape Planner specializing in the interpretation of historical landscapes and gardens.

THE CENTENARY, 1891 TO 1991

To mark the centenary of the 1891 shearers' strike the Tree of Knowledge Committee plans to erect a workers' commemorative centre at Barcaldine, Queensland and to develop for presentation to the public the main strike camp at Lagoon Creek. As the strike camp is listed on the Register of the National Estate it is imperative that any works undertaken at the site do not diminish the significance of the place. With this requirement in mind, archaeological investigation of the strike camp was undertaken to define the significant attributes of the place, to allow for the preservation of those elements and to assist with the developmental planning process. A preliminary archaeological investigation took place in October 1988¹ with a more sustained and intensive study being undertaken in June 1989.² The latter included a preliminary recording of the Alice River Settlement.

Following the 1989 archaeological investigation, a working paper titled *The 1891 Shearers' Strike Camp Barcaldine - Development and Interpretation Concept* was prepared. This conference paper is a compilation and distillation of the archaeological report and the interpretation concept plan for the Barcaldine strike camp. The artefactual content of the Lagoon Creek strike camp and the Alice River settlement are fully described in Egloff and O'Sullivan and are not discussed in detail in this paper. In order to condense the two unpublished reports into an article of journal length it has been decided not to discuss the Alice River settlement site in this paper.

A POPULAR IMPRESSION

The shearers' strike of 1891 is considered to be a watershed in Australian political history; the event which triggered the transformation of a loosely knit workers' movement into a political force which led to the election of the first labour representative to a parliament. Thus the focal place of these events has national as well as international significance. Before we launch into the history and archaeology of the place let us explore from whence cometh our popular notions of the events of 1891.

Henry Lawson penned two poems at the time of the strike which speak eloquently for the heated emotions generated by the shearers' strike of 1891 and the depth of despair as the strike was brought to a bitter end. To some extent these feelings have become part of the popular history of Australia. Written at the height of the strike in May, *Freedom on the Wallaby* declares those immortal words, 'They needn't say the fault is ours, If blood should stain the wattle'. Those lines are considerably different in tone from *On the Wallaby* written immediately after the strike in August, 'Now the tent poles are rotting, the camp fires are dead'. A single word in the title, 'Freedom', there so poignantly in the poem penned before the strike, erased in despair in the later version; 'When my tent is all torn and my blankets are damp, And the rising flood waters flow fast by the camp'. It is fair to say that Australians today either have a highly romanticised image of the 1891 shearers' strike or know nothing at all about it. In essence, the 1891 dispute was a strike, but, owing to the prominent role played by the military in putting down the shearers' strike, it was perceived at the time that a revolution was at hand. The wholesale arrest, injustice and harsh treatments imposed on union leaders have led historians to refer to the strike as a war.³

Although the strike failed in the short term to achieve its objectives, it is generally agreed that ramifications of the strike ushered in significant changes which remain in the Australian political system. Foremost among these changes was the role of workers in politics. In 1892 T. J. Ryan became the first endorsed labour candidate to be elected to Parliament. This was the beginning of the labour movement as a force in Australian politics. A more immediate result of the strike was an uneasy agreement between pastoralists and shearers, whereby the pastoralists acknowledged the union but reserved the right to employ non-union labour. It was recognized that the 1891 strike created a volatile atmosphere where mayhem had been expected but was avoided through admirable constraint. In the future this caused both groups to take a more compromising line, evident in the 1894 shearers' strike which was both shorter and less hostile than that of 1891.

One of the main results of the strike was the spawning of socialist-utopian movements. The best known of these was the New Australia movement organised by William Lane. Between 1893 and 1904 approximately 500-600 Australians sailed to Paraguay where two co-operative settlements, New Australia and Cosme, were founded. Both ultimately failed as socialist experiments, although the settlements continued and today descendants of the settlers can be found there. Many of the emigres were involved in the 1891 strike, or were so disenchanted with events that they saw no possibility of achieving a just society in Australia. Strikers began a co-operative settlement at the junction of the Alice River and Cedar Creek, just south-east of the town of Barcaldine. The Alice River settlement achieved both local and national attention, although it eventually failed.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Nationalism and the flowering of the labour movement marked the 1890s as crucial years in Australian history. As that decade opened tensions in the pastoral industry increased. Profits were down, expenses were up and the nation was heading for a depression. As the 1891 shearing season opened in January of that year, the graziers and the shearers were firmly entrenched in mutually unacceptable positions. Additional factors such as the coming of the railroad served to heighten rural tensions as large numbers of teamsters found their livelihoods endangered.

Barcaldine with its strategic location at the head of the Central Railway in western Queensland, became a focal point in the conflict. From January to June of 1891 strike camps were formed throughout central Queensland with more than 1,000 shearers camping in the immediate vicinity of Barcaldine. In opposition to this force were the troopers, both mounted and artillery, which camped in the town. Troopers guarded the railhead and watched the strikers, and the strikers watched the troopers.⁴

Official records detailing the political and military aspects of the strike are available and recently a surviving eye-witness to the events, Margaret Riley, daughter of a striker, was interviewed by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation at the age 106 for the radio series *The Promised Land*. However, she speaks little of the day-to-day strike activities but vibrantly recalls the shearers' demonstrations in the town. Less is known about the silent majority of shearers whose first hand accounts have yet to be discovered.

Photographs of the strike camp in the collections of the John Oxley Library, Brisbane, for the most part have been published (Fig. 1).⁵ Within these books is a photograph of a blazed tree said to mark the place of the main strike camp. It was assumed that this tree had been chopped down or burned long ago.

With respect to the location and occupants of the camps in the vicinity of Barcaldine, Svenson provides the following estimates:

Alice River, minimum population of 50 and a maximum of 50

Blue Bush Swamp, no population statistics are provided

Lagoon Creek, minimum population of 600 and a maximum of 1,100

One mile, minimum population of 200 and a maximum of 200

Four mile, minimum population of 300 and a maximum of 300.⁶

Svenson also gives a description of the Lagoon Creek camp:

Lagoon Creek Camp became the main camp for the footmen at Barcaldine. Situated a few minutes walk from town, a thousand men had gathered there by early March, the same population as that of the adjoining town. The tents in this camp were laid out in three regular lines; many were covered with boughs to keep off the sun, providing a picturesque appearance. Two flags flew at the entrance to the camp: one was the Southern Cross, the other bore the word 'FREEDOM'. These flags symbolised the camp's motto, 'Freedom under the Southern Cross'. A fire smouldered before every tent, the men at this stage being responsible for their own cooking. Water was easily obtained from the saturated earth by sinking wells two to three metres deep. No strike pay was issued. Men with money were expected to provide their own food, while those without means went to the strike committee and were given an order for rations which they presented to a storekeeper in town. The rations were limited to beef, flour, baking powder, tea, sugar and tobacco.⁷

From these references it is not clear where the main camp was located but there would appear to be a consensus of opinion that the camp was close to town, except for the reference to a place named 'Bogabri', the name of a property some three kilometres distance from Barcaldine.

The only known representation of the camp other than the published photographs is a painting signed Chapman and labelled 'UNION CAMP BARCALDINE 1891' (Fig. 2). This painting was discovered in the office of the Australian Workers Union. The artist is not known, nor is it known if the picture was drawn from a visual perspective obtained either during or after the strike. It is conceivable that the artist never saw the camp but drew the picture from second-hand accounts. The rendition of the camp puts it well outside of the township, yet prominent features in the township are visible on the horizon in a westerly direction judging from the sunset in the background. A bore derrick is a prominent feature and a two storeyed building, most likely the Queen Victoria Hospital (burned and rebuilt on the same site), are visible. The camp looks as if it is built symmetrically on the sand hill with an east-to-west orientated row of tents on either side of a cleared central area which extends almost to the distant horizon. A watercourse, most likely Lagoon Creek, is to the north with the camp very close to the creek. The creek is filled with water. A library tent is depicted, as are horses, men playing cricket, a camp fire with billy, pants drying on a line and two short secondary rows of tents set behind the two primary alignments. In the central foreground there is a large tree which possibly could be a depiction of the 'blazed tree' which is discussed later in this report. Between the town and the camp is a small settlement which can be interpreted as a group of houses which once stood in the vicinity of the Barcaldine cemetery.

The Queen Victoria Hospital was extant during the time of the strike having been opened in 1888, but no bore was being drilled at that time.⁸ The first and only bore drilled prior to 1891 was sunk at the railway goods yard in 1888 followed by the Ash Street bore in 1893. Just why a derrick is shown in the painting is not known, unless the derrick remained at the goods yard site until a further use for it was found.

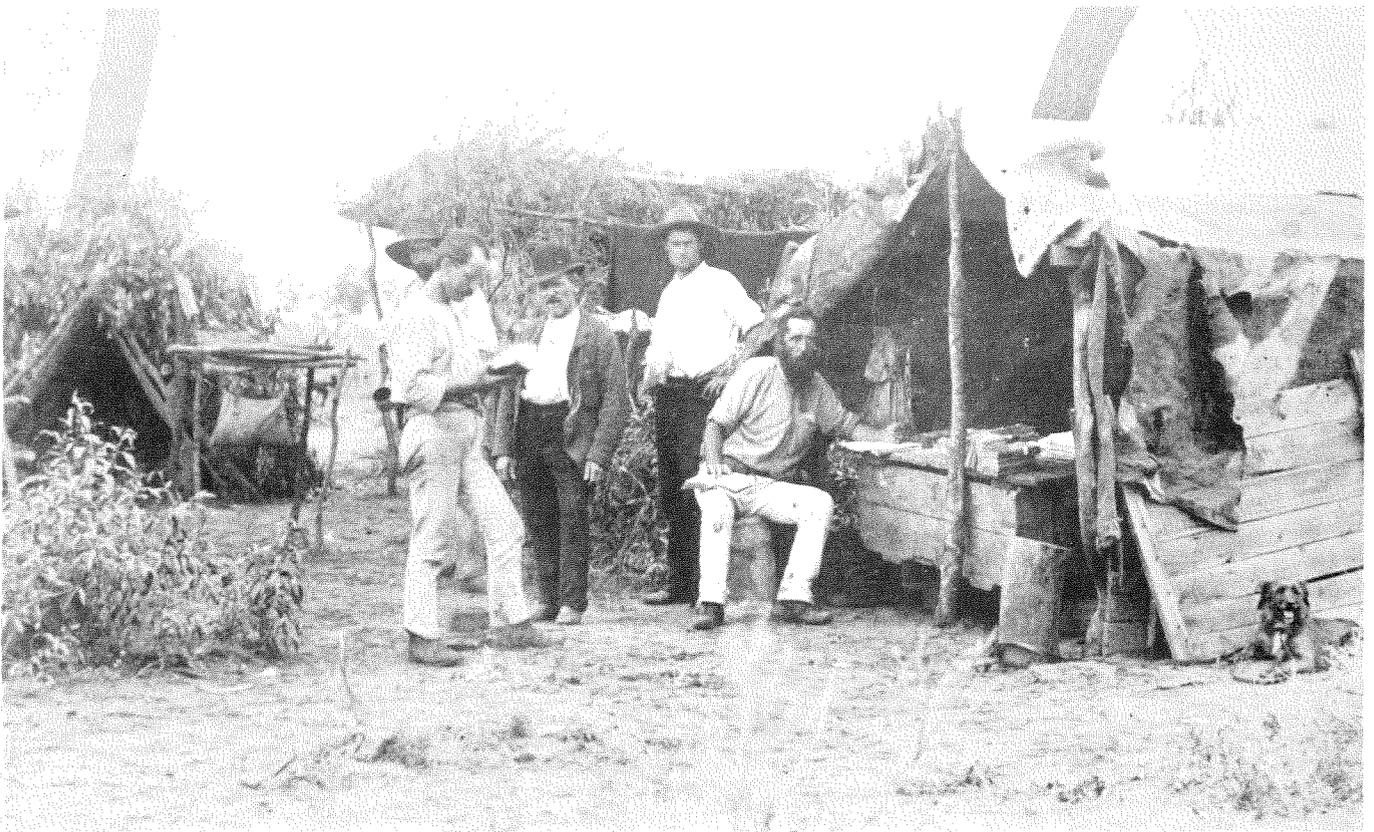


Fig. 1: The Barcaldine strike camp library (courtesy of the John Oxley Library, Brisbane).



Fig. 2: 'Union Camp, Barcaldine 1891', a painting signed 'Chapman' showing Lagoon Creek on the right and the town of Barcaldine in the distance.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LAGOON CREEK CAMP SITE

Four independent sources of information can be used to verify the location of the 1891 shearers' strike camp site. The first of these sources is the recollections of Mr. Vincent Mather, a lifelong resident of Barcaldine. As a young lad (he was born in 1904) Vincent accompanied Mr. Joe Schamburg and a carter named Mr. Tom Burke to O'Regan's paddock, to the north-east of the camp site. To reach the paddock they travelled north-east on the road right-of-way which wound its way along the southern bank of Lagoon Creek. Their transport was a dray pulled by 11 horses. On one occasion, Mr Burke pointed out an ant-bed oven, 25-30 metres off the road, and said that it was the shearers' strike oven. At that time the remains of the oven were about '6 feet long' and '2 foot 6 inches to 3 feet high'. Vincent's recollection of this instance in his boyhood was no doubt heightened by the fact that his father was one of the strikers. Mr. Joseph Mather was accused of being involved with the burning of the Lorne woolshed. As one of the 52 prisoners tried in Rockhampton, he received a three-year sentence but was released after serving six months.

The second source is the only known graphic illustration of the shearers' strike camp, a stylized painting signed 'Chapman', which came to light during recent historical investigation and is discussed above. The painting appears to represent the relationship of the camp to the town and in turn to Lagoon Creek. Third, published photographs of the strike camp show it to be in the bush with a slight rise in the background and fourth, the blazed tree offers further confirmation that this is the site of the shearers' camp. Today, the words are gone but the blaze is readily recognizable on the north-east side of an old eucalypt in what is believed to be the northern sector of the strike camp. The origin of this blaze is not known.

PATTERN OF LAND USE

Throughout at least the last 40,000 years people have inhabited Australia. Although remarkable transformations have taken place to the landscape, particularly during the close of the Pleistocene, about 10,000 years ago, any location which presents a favourable place in terms of natural resources for sustenance and shelter usually displays some evidence of use by prehistoric peoples. As the Lagoon Creek camp is situated in a sheltered location on the southern bank of an ephemeral creek it is reasonable to predict that the Aboriginal inhabitants of the landscape made use of the place during prehistoric times. There is abundant evidence that this was the case in the form of flaked stone artefacts scattered in the vicinity of the shearers' camp site. The artefacts do not speak for any particular activity but most likely relate to the generalized economy of the region. The location would have been ideal for a base camp where groups of people exploited the immediate surrounds for vegetable foods and perhaps a more extensive area during the hunting quest.

Upon settlement by Europeans in the 1860s the area became incorporated into the Barcaldine Downs property. With the advent of more intensive settlement smaller properties were established. Barcaldine was founded as a township in 1888 and a road reserve was surveyed over the prehistoric camp site. Less than a kilometre to the east the Foxhall Village Reserve was surveyed and pegged at the same time. The lots at Foxhall were never taken up due to concern about the supply of water and the road was never formed. However, the right-of-way was used by drovers bringing sheep and cattle to the wool scour and goods yard

at Barcaldine. Drovers used this route apparently before, and most certainly, after the 1891 strike.

For a number of years until recent times residents of Barcaldine regularly collected firewood in the area. It seems to have been the custom when gathering wood to take a load of trash out from the town and discard it at the margins of the road reserve and into the woods. From Barcaldine to the site of the strike camp the road reserve is littered with discrete piles of rubbish, no doubt the remains of this practice. Boy Scouts from Barcaldine State School camped in this area prior to the Second World War. It is likely that the Home Defense Guard held manoeuvres and also camped near or on the site during the Second World War. Both groups, have either intentionally or by chance would have left items behind either as discarded rubbish or as lost personal possessions.

Today the northern side of the road reserve is fenced as it borders a grazing property. The southern boundary shows evidence of once having been fenced. Emus and kangaroos frequent the place as do feral pigs. With such a layered pattern of historical land use over the last 100 years it is to be expected that remains from the various activities would be somewhat intermingled and if emanating from roughly contemporary but distinct events, the remains could prove to be difficult to associate with a particular happening.

FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Archaeological research was to look closer at the remains of the main camp at Lagoon Creek and the distribution of the artefacts, and to attempt to discover the nature of sub-surface deposits. It was considered essential that the archaeological survey be able to define sectors of the site where there was no significant fabric remaining from the 1891 strike and to designate these areas as applicable for appropriate site development.

A number of problems faced the archaeologists at the camp site, not the least being the short term of occupation, a matter of months, by the strikers. A very real problem was the selective removal of artefacts by natural forces and no doubt by collectors. It is more than likely that all of the area has been gone over by bottle and relic collectors. It is apparent that all materials not extremely resistant to decay have perished in the acidic soil. It was hoped that there might be buried caches of either bottles or rubbish, or perhaps occupation strata, which might have been in a more protected environment than the surface deposits and thus be more intact. A search was commenced for such a deposit at first using non destructive methods such as a metal detector and then a small posthole auger. When none of these methods yielded any results two backhoe trenches were dug so as to bisect the site (Fig. 3).

While these procedures were being followed collections of artefacts were being made in designated sample units and the camp-oven fire-bed was being cleaned and partially excavated. Troweling of the area revealed six possible postholes, four within the unit and two just beyond the northeastern and southeastern corners. The four holes within the unit form an approximate square, each side between 2.0 to 2.5 metres in length with a northeast to northwest alignment. This concurs with oral accounts that the ant bed oven was once covered by a pole-and-roofed shelter. The hole nearest the eastern perimeter of the unit area was 140 mm in diameter, and was excavated to a depth of 480 mm. Such dimensions would fit with the placement of unsawn timber as a post to a height of approximately two metres above ground. Fragments of wood were recovered from the holes nearest the eastern perimeter and beyond the northeastern corner.

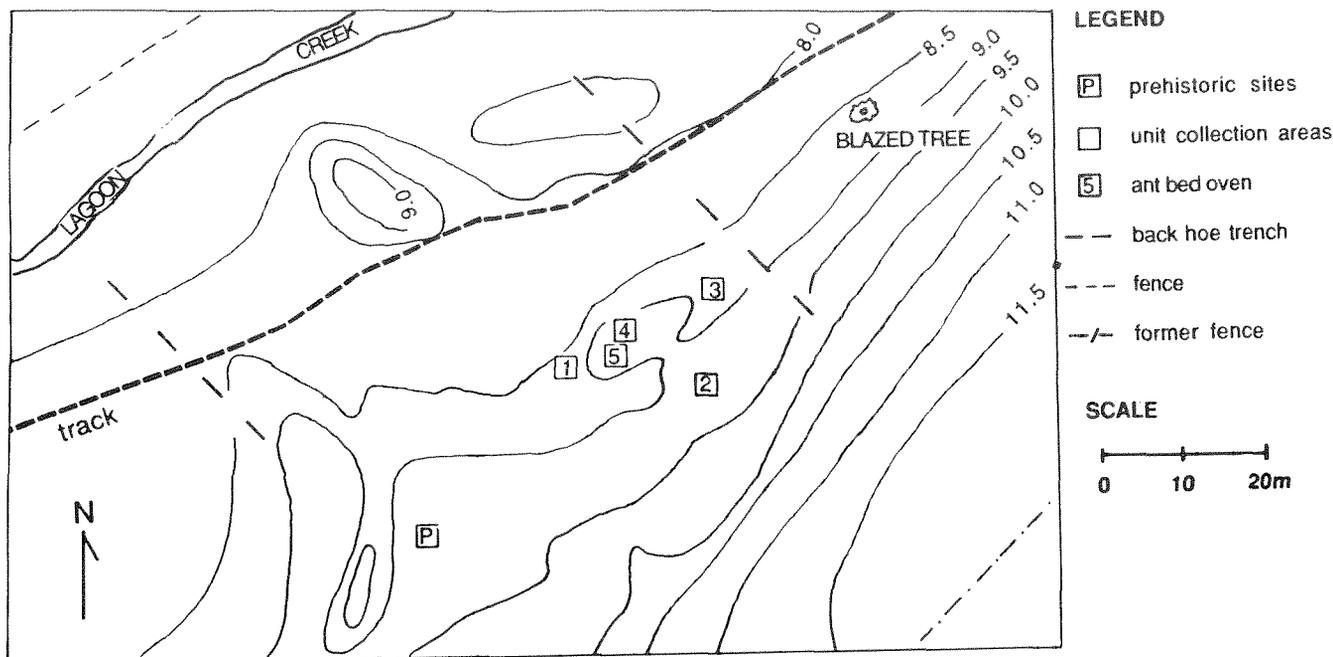


Fig. 3: Archaeological map of the Lagoon Creek strike camp.

Artefacts found at the Lagoon Creek camp included a large number of Aboriginal stone artefacts located at the southern perimeter of the camp. One particularly dense concentration was selected for study in detail.⁹

MATERIAL CULTURE

Material from the Lagoon Creek Camp was varied but, as discussed earlier, almost all fabric which readily decayed such as leather, cloth, paper, canvas and so forth was gone, decay being partial on ferrous items, with the best preservation being found on ceramic, glass and non-ferrous artefacts. At the strike camp there were many artefacts which would be appropriate to the activities carried out at a strike camp in particular metal and glass food containers, eating utensils, cartridge cases and bits of horse gear.

It is known that some of the striking unionists were armed with firearms, but how many were armed and what weapons they possessed is not known. Svenson states that 'There is no evidence that the Strike Committee spent one penny on arms' and that 'few unionists had modern repeating rifles'.¹⁰ Contemporary pictorial evidence reinforces this view with, for instance, a photograph of unionists practising rifle drill using sticks;¹¹ and the drawings of 'Shearers prepare to meet the enemy'¹² shows only the front line to be equipped with rifles. Unfortunately this drawing does not show sufficient detail to identify the weapons.

It is likely that those armed with firearms were simply taking a weapon possessed for their personal use into the strike camps, which would have resulted in a motley collection of arms. Common firearms of the period were probably all represented, including single-shot Snyders and the Martini-Henry rifle and the lever-action Winchester Model 1873 rifle. The only definite information known is that '... on May 21 the Strike Committee forbade arms and ammunition within camps or within available distance of any camps', in an attempt to remove any excuse for dispersal of the camps. Opposing them the police and militia were armed with carbines, revolvers, a Nordenfelt gun, and 9 pounder cannons.¹³

The 11 cartridges collected at the Lagoon Creek strike camp are of three different calibres. Five are .22 calibre, the most common calibre cartridge made since the late nineteenth century up to the present. Four of these items are fairly recent, dated to the period 1880-1935. The cartridges would have been fired from any one of a number of .22 weapons available during this period, eg. Ballard, Remington, Stevens, Wesson, Winchester, rifles and revolvers. Two 44/40 and four 32/20 calibre cartridges were collected from the Lagoon Creek strike camp. These would have been used in Winchester lever-action rifles and other weapons such as the Henry carbine. In summary, seven of the eleven cartridges found at the strike camp can be used as chronological markers for the broad period 1873 to 1937, and may have been deposited before 1891

There is virtually no published material on metal wax vesta matchboxes in Australia. McCarthy found a similar collection of matchboxes at Pine Creek to that collected from the Barcaldine sites and gives a brief account.¹⁴ McCarthy falls back on New Zealand analyses of matchboxes found on archaeological sites. These constitute the most valuable published material on the subject. Foremost among these is Dimitri Anson's work. Anson cross-dated 400 wax vesta containers from 17 sites in New Zealand, which with historical research and comparative constructional characteristics of the bases enabled them to be used as 'a useful and durable resource for relative and absolute dating of historic sites'.¹⁵ Other material of value from New Zealand includes Wynne Spring Rice's article,¹⁶ which enabled specific dating of 61 wax vesta matchboxes to the period 1876-1887, and in the same journal series is Stuart Bedford's which developed a system for classifying tin wax vesta matchboxes.¹⁷ Unfortunately these sources all concentrate on New Zealand, which has only some relevance to the Australian context. Boxes imported from overseas found at Barcaldine (e.g. BELL & BLACK No 4, about 1880 in date) were also found on New Zealand sites, which enables comparative dating to be made. Many of the boxes discussed in the New Zealand literature however were manufactured in New Zealand for the domestic market, and so have little relevance to Australia.

Further problems regarding the dates when a particular style of matchbox was likely to be deposited on a site are due to lengthy periods of manufacture of particular types; and their reuse for an indefinite period. Metal wax vesta matchboxes were probably a normal part of a shearer's material culture in 1891, preferable to the cardboard matches which were also in use in the latter nineteenth century. The matchboxes were constructed of soft tin plate (approximately 0.5mm thick) which was cut, folded and crimped together.¹⁸ Some had painted labels, while others had embossed lids. By the end of the nineteenth century metal matchboxes were being made in Australia as well as being imported from overseas, particularly from Britain and Belgium. Four such matchboxes were collected from the strike camp. All are in extremely poor condition, being mis-shapen and corroded.

All of the recovered matchboxes have embossed lids carrying such information as manufacturer's name, location and trade marks. They are all approximately the same size, corresponding to the dimensions given by Anson in his study of a mining site in New Zealand for his type 13, ie. 70 mm by 35 mm by 23 mm. It is presumed that three of the recovered items were imported from Britain. Companies such as 'BELL & Co.' began producing vestas in New Zealand in 1895 in order to undercut cheap Belgium matches. Presumably a similar move was made in Australia. Since any 'BELL & Co.' boxes produced in New Zealand carry this information embossed on the lid, it would be logical to suppose any made in Australia would be embossed with this information. Since none of the artefacts carry this, and three are stamped 'LONDON', the evidence suggests they were all imported prior to 1895. Two particular 'BELL & BLACK' items can be dated to 1880 as the time of manufacture following Anson and Bedford. The 'BELL & Co' boxes can be dated to a manufacturing range of 1871-1911, which can be further defined to 1871-1895 using the above hypothesis.¹⁹

The development of the tin can as a metal container for perishable foodstuffs has been well documented, particularly by American archaeologists James T. Rock²⁰ 'Cans in the countryside' and Jane Busch²¹ 'An introduction to the tin can'. Both of these articles provide descriptions of the tin can from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the introduction of the sanitary can in 1904. Each includes pictorial and diagrammatic representations and so are particularly useful in analysing tin cans. The development of the can and the types of cans available throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century can be summarised as follows. Hole & cap cans became available in 1810. Each of the joints was hand soldered and a hole approximately 20 to 30 cm in diameter left in the top. Foodstuffs were inserted (or stuffed) into the can through this hole which was then sealed with a disc of soldered tin plate. By 1820 this process evolved into the hole-in-cap type which was identical except that a small hole (approx 2-3 mm) was left in the soldered top plate to allow steam to evaporate during cooking. This was then sealed with a drop of solder. By 1847 cans were being made with stamped can ends. This was a machine process whereby the ends of the cans were cut oversized and lapped over the side of the can body and then soldered. By 1883 the soldering process was completely automated. The next major development was locked double sided seams in 1888, replacing the lapped side seams. By 1898 this process had developed to include the base and top seams as well as the side. No internal soldering was required with the double seam process. The logical development of this was the solderless sanitary can which came into production in 1904.

Using cans as chronological markers is an appropriate strategy, but with the reservation that cans manufactured using one technique might not have been filled until a later date, and further time might elapse before the can was opened and the contents consumed. Thus in 1891 hole-in-cap, lapped seams, stamped ends, and double locked seams may all have been in use. This was found to be the case at the site of the battle of the Little Big Horn.²² All beverage cans in 1891 would still have utilised external soldering of the joints and many would still have internal soldering.

Twelve cans or fragments of cans from the Lagoon Creek camp site were analysed. The majority of cans, and ferrous metal artefacts in general, have suffered extreme degradation at this site due to the acidity of the soil. However, although the 12 artefacts analysed were all in a poor condition and severely corroded, each lent itself to analysis in that at least the seam joints were evident. The two most comprehensively intact examples are hole-in-cap types with lapped side seams and stamped ends. This enables their period of manufacture to be dated to c. 1847 to 1888. They are embossed on their bases 'J T MORTON LONDON'. Research on this company may further define their usage and period. The base of one and the lid of the other are perforated with punched holes approximately 6 mm in diameter presumably for removal of the contents: this suggests a liquid contents, possibly condensed milk although on the other hand holes could have been punched to enable steam to escape during cooking. As the holes are near the periphery of the lid the former is more likely: one would expect that a steam venting hole would be more central in the top of the can. Other cans at this site had lapped side-seams with stamped ends, double-locked side-seams with stamped ends, and examples with double-locked side and end-seams. All of these cans have externally machine soldered seams and point to their period of manufacture being in the range of 1883-1904.

Three cans, or fragments of cans, of a different type of material were also collected from the strike camp site. Two of these are tobacco cans. At this stage in the analysis no information is available concerning one 3/04, embossed with 'BRITISH AUSTRALIAN TOBACCO CO', and the fragment has no manufacturing details evident which would allow it to be dated. The second tobacco can is complete, and is twentieth century in origin. It is embossed with 'W.D. & H.O. WILLS LTD SYDNEY AUSTRALIA'. The base and body of the can is made in one rolled section with no joints, with a push-on type lid. From information supplied by the present management of W.D. and H. O. Wills it is believed that these were not made in Australia before 1906. The third fragment (1/162) is the lid, push-on-type, of a can once containing cocoa. It is embossed with 'C.J. VAN HOUTON & SONS', 'VAN HOUTON'S PURE SOLUBLE COCOA 4 OZ', 'GUARANTEED', 'WE . . . P HOLLAND'. No information is available on the origins and marketing of this brand. The site is littered with cans or the remains of cans. The eleven items analysed represent the range of cans at the site; and of these eleven, eight could possibly have been deposited in 1891.

The published literature on nails is by no means extensive, which complicates further the difficulties inherent in analysing nails from archaeological sites. McCarthy in *Pine Creek Heritage Zone Archaeological Survey*, and Coutts in *Captain Mills Cottage, Port Fairy, Victoria*, describe nails found in late nineteenth century Australian archaeological sites. Both these writers comment on the difficulty in analysing nails, particularly as chronological markers, with a high degree of certainty.

The main source for the nail analysis was Robert Varman's 'The nail as a criterion for the dating of buildings and building sites', in the *Australian Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*.²³ Varman discusses the development and types of nails in the nineteenth-century including wrought or forged nails, cut nails, cast or moulded nails and wire nails. Analysis of nails with a view to using them as chronological markers is fraught with difficulties. First, the nails are invariably in poor condition due to hammering and subsequent corrosion, which can make it difficult to identify an item as belonging to a particular type. Second, if it is possible to assign the nail to a particular type which has a specific period of manufacture it does not mean they were actually used during that period. Nails may have been held in stock for many years, or in some instances re-used.

Nineteen nails were collected from the Lagoon Creek strike camp. They fall into two categories of manufacture, wire and cut. Both these types of manufacture were common for nails used in Australia in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Four of the wire nails with 'rose heads' (four facets) were dated to 1870-1900 and a further three rhomboid headed nails could conceivably have been deposited on the site in 1891, being used to fasten posts or other framing materials used in the camp's structures. Of particular interest was the nail recovered from what may have been a post hole in Area 2. This may be a rose-headed nail, but it is in such poor condition that it is impossible to positively determine its type. Eight brads (small cut nails) were collected. No date range is given for these as they were made from the eighteenth century on, being used as house-building nails until the 1820s, thereafter almost exclusively as horseshoe nails. If these were deposited on site in 1891 this would be their probable use, although they may have been used for other purposes. The flat-head nails probably date from after the turn of the century. Ten of the nails, including examples of all collected head types, were recovered from Unit Collection Area 4. It is perhaps relevant that 15 of the 19 nails found were from collection areas where evidence of post-holes was also found.

There is a great deal of information available about bottles, but little on bottles on Australian sites is in sufficient detail to assist with archaeological analysis. This point is made by Peter Coutts in *Captain Mills Cottage, Port Fairy, Victoria* in the Records of the Victorian Archaeological Survey. Here Coutts briefly surveys the available literature, classification systems, and analysis of the bottles found at Captain Mills Cottage. This work is enhanced by detailed drawings and flow charts for dating bottles by diagnosis of the manufacturing techniques evident.²⁴ Another general work on dating bottles which was consulted is David Hutchinson's, 'Identifying bottles', which provides specific data on aspects of bottles, such as colour, shape seams, lips and stoppers, bases, lettering, pontil marks, colour change, seals, vent marks, and defects. Although brief, this work is particularly valuable.²⁵ A number of articles on later nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century bottles were consulted. Each investigates a specific aspect of archaeological bottle analysis. Jane Busch considers the implications of reuse for the analysis of bottles from archaeological sites.²⁶ Olive R. Jones traces the development of these bottles in North America and Britain.²⁷ George L. Miller and Cathrine Sullivan outline the chronology of patented developments of automatic and semi-automatic bottle blowing machines between 1880 and 1920.²⁸ Edward Staski focuses on drawing conclusions regarding alcohol consumption from nineteenth century bottles found on archaeological sites.²⁹

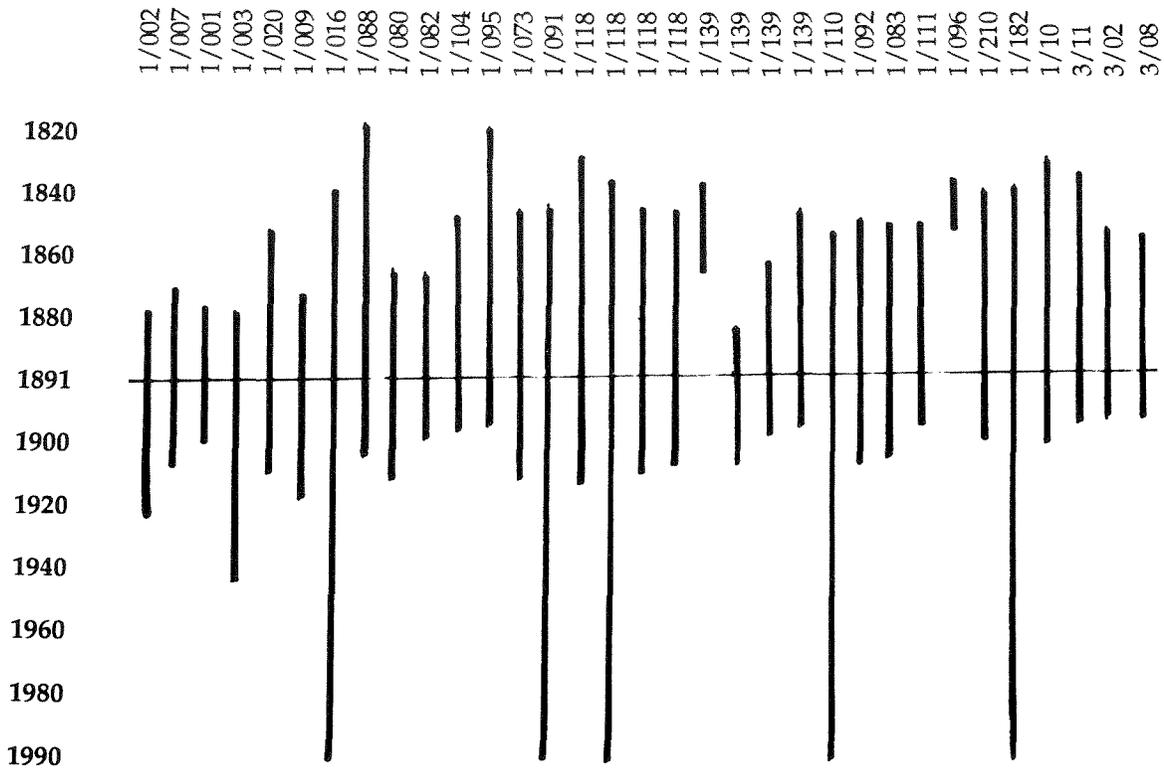
George L. Miller and Anthony Pacey describe the gradual standardisation of bottle shapes brought about by mechanisation in the period from the late nineteenth-century to 1930.³⁰

In addition, some specialist publications and bottle catalogues dating to the early 1900s were consulted. These included Barnett & Foster, which illustrates a number of bottles and bottling machines in use at that time. Meadowcrofts' *Machinery & Appliances* details a variety of bottles and bottling machines. Stevenson & Howell list a variety of essences and oils available with some bottles illustrated. Russel and June Dunn give details and illustrations of Codd bottles.³¹ Ronald R. Switzer provides details and illustrations of nineteenth-century bottle technology, classification, makers and marks recovered from the steamer Bertrand which sank in 1865 with a consignment of bottles aboard.³²

The principal aim of the analysis is to place artefacts in a date range and determine if the bottle glass reflects a particular cultural pattern. To facilitate this items were analysed according to characteristics of their manufacture, eg. mould seams, neck and base finishes, embossing, closures and other diagnostic features which have a known production date range. Of course this does not mean that the item was deposited *in situ* during that period, merely that it was in production and may have been on the site. Needless to say any item manufactured after 1891 could not have been part of the strike camp activities. For example, embossed lettering or trade marks indicate an item was produced after 1860. Mould seams also reflect periods of manufacture: a continuous seam from the base to the lip being produced by an automatic bottling machine after 1903-1904, a seam terminating 3-6 mm below the neck finish indicating it was manufactured by a semi-automatic bottling machine circa 1880-1920; and a two piece mould with the base and neck formed in separate moulds indicates production between 1840-1880. Similarly neck and base finishes can be used as chronological markers. For example the laid-on ring-neck finish evidenced by a bead of glass laid on the neck about 6 mm from the lip, which was introduced to enable a cork to be wired on to contain effervescent liquids, indicates production between 1840 and 1920. A rounded base is indicative of a torpedo-shaped aerated water bottle designed to be laid on its side, which have a production range from 1814 to 1907. Closure systems are also indicative of the period of manufacture, for example moulded glass stoppers were used from 1860 to the present, Codd spherical glass stoppers (internal) from 1873 to 1920, crown seals from 1892 to the present, and metal screw caps from 1900 on.

In analysing the diagnostic features of bottles it is preferable to use more than one of the above in order to minimise the probable date range. However, when only a few samples are complete and most are in fragments, as is the case with the bottle glass artefacts collected from the Lagoon Creek strike camp, dates must frequently be suggested which are based on only one of these features of the manufacturing process. Comments on some of the bottles from the Lagoon Creek strike camp may illustrate these processes. Item 3/08 is a complete specimen with a laid on ring causing an external bulge. It is a Codd bottle, ie., incorporating Codd's patented internal closure system, and so is post 1873. Two mould seams reach from the base to within 3 mm of the lip, indicative of manufacture by a semi-automatic machine circa 1882-1920. Item 3/02 is another complete specimen with a laid on ring neck finish, dating from 1840-1920. It has embossed lettering, narrowing this date range to 1860-1920. It has two-mould seams but a one-piece kick up which further refines this

Table 1: Time chart of bottles found at Lagoon Creek strike camp.



dating to circa 1880. Items 1/007 and 1/020 are base fragments of torpedo bottles. Since these bottles have a production range of approximately 100 years the absence of the remainder of these bottles, particularly the neck fragments, becomes a crucial limitation. However, there are features present which allow some reduction in the range of its date of production. For example, 1/007 displays a continuous mould seam from one side to the other, which indicates it was made between 1870 and 1900. Item 1/020 has an embossed mark which means it was produced after 1860.

Similar procedures were used in dating all of the bottle glass specimens analysed. The time-chart (Table 1) shows that 31 of the 33 bottles analysed were in production in 1891; and the remaining two ceased production circa 1880. Potentially then all of these items may have been used on the Lagoon Creek strike camp in 1891. However, it is equally likely that the bottles were produced post 1891, or if produced prior to that date, deposited on the site at some later time. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the analysed bottles represent the kind of bottles in use in 1891 which could be expected to be part of contemporary material culture of the strike camp. Their functional contents range from drinking fluids (aerated waters), sauces, etc, to pharmaceuticals.

The standard reference source for ceramic analysis is Geoffrey Godden's *Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks*.³³ The principal section is an alphabetical arrangement of data by maker's name, with sections and marks, period and place of manufacture listed. Its use is thus primarily in providing details about particular trade marks. A total of 305 ceramic fragments were recovered from the Lagoon Creek strike camp. No complete/intact ceramic items were found. The vast majority of the fragments at the strike camp came from Unit Collection Area 3 (295 items).

Most of these fragments contained little or no informational value. Only five items carried part of complete inscriptions or trade marks. However, many of the other fragments are obviously a match with marked pieces, so the number of identifiable fragments is significantly higher than five. The types of ceramic artefacts recovered are for the most part white bodied or transfer printed earthenware. To a far lesser extent stoneware, bone china, decal prints and porcelain are represented. Ceramic production for mass consumption in 1891 was mainly earthenware, although porcelain and stoneware were certainly produced for particular functions by specific manufacturers.

Three fragments recovered from the Lagoon Creek Strike Camp have been dated and so merit particular mention. A white bodied earthenware fragment, part of a table plate, (1/070) carries a registration mark on its base. This mark has been traced and indicates that it was manufactured between January 1893 and January 1894. Obviously this item could not have been in use at the site in 1891. Two other finds, however, may have been used at the camp in 1891. A transfer printed earthenware plate fragment (1/130) has been identified as being produced by W.H. Grindley and Co. between 1891 and 1914. Another white bodied earthenware fragment (1/168) was produced at the works of J.K. Davis at Hanley between 1881 and 1891. It is feasible that one or both of these pieces may have been deposited *in situ* in 1891. The case is much stronger for the Davis fragment than for the Grindley, not least because of the dates of manufacture. In addition, the Grindley fragment came from Unit Collection Area 3 which points to its being part of a much larger and apparently later dumping of broken sherds; whereas the Davis fragment was located in isolation at Unit Collection Area No. 4. In summary, the ceramic analysis indicates that most, if not all, of the recovered fragments are the result of post 1891 deposits. However, it is possible that

some of the fragments may have been at the Lagoon Creek strike camp site during the striking shearers occupation.

Little has been published in Australia about button typology, and what has been written is of marginal value in analysing non-military button collections. The lack of literature on the subject has been recognized as a problem for some time. Stanley J. Olsen notes it nearly 30 years ago in 'Dating early plain buttons by their form', in *American Antiquity*.³⁴ As its title indicates, this article briefly traces the major developments in button manufacture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example cast and stamped techniques, and the materials used in their construction. This enabled some tentative dating of the buttons from the strike camp to be made. Peter Coutts in his discussion of buttons from Captain Mills Cottage at Port Fairy, Victoria, is one of the few historical archaeology publications which considers buttons. Coutts states that there is difficulty in using buttons from archaeological sites to infer cultural activities or to use as chronological markers.³⁵ This is due to the wide overlapping of technical innovations in button manufacture and to the dearth of information available on the subject of button manufacture and use. In the latter part of the nineteenth century buttons were made from a range of materials including shell, bone, metal, glass, ceramics, wood and leather among others. Dating by materials of construction or method of manufacture, eg. moulded, hand-made, pressed, stamped, does not enable precise conclusions to be made. This will remain the situation until such time as more information on button manufacture and use is brought to light and integrated with the information from Australia's historical archaeological sites. This hopefully would enable some broad profiles to emerge.

Table 2 shows that the majority of the buttons from the Lagoon Creek strike camp were trade marked, made of non-ferrous metal, stamped and moulded in manufacturing technique, perforated with four holes and decorated with either die-stamping or embossing. The most common size was in the range of 16-17 mm. The buttons probably date from circa 1870 into the twentieth century. It is postulated that these are probably trouser buttons (those most likely to be lost). A ceramic moulded button with two holes (1/169) is most likely from an undergarment. The homogeneity of the button collection is of some interest as it indicates that the majority of the buttons found were deposited on the site at about the same time. There are two particular facets to this homogeneity which bear further discussion. Firstly, 12 out of the 14 buttons were of similar materials, ie non-ferrous metal, and secondly, nine buttons carried trade marks: six die stamped 'Ask for

crowns' and three embossed with 'BEST RING EDGE' and 'BEST SOLID RING'. No information has been found concerning these trade marks. Buttons were collected from three of the five collection sites at the strike camp. The majority, ie. seven of the 14, came from Unit Collection Area 2 of the Lagoon Creek strike camp.

John Seymour in *The Forgotten Arts* describes a variety of traditional crafts, for example textile and home crafts, and workshop crafts; and the materials and techniques of construction.³⁶ The section on blacksmithing (pp. 69-77), and saddle and harness making (pp. 122-129) describes nineteenth-century horseshoes and other horse apparel, with illustrations which assist in analysis and identification.³⁷ Three horseshoes were collected from the Lagoon Creek strike camp. The three shoes from the strike camp site are all similar in that they are semi-circular, have toe clips, fullering either side, and nail holes. It is not possible to assess their age as horseshoes have changed little over a long period of time, except that farriers now buy shoe blanks in various sizes instead of bending the shoe from heated metal. None of the collected shoes have calkins or show signs of being veterinary shoes. In addition, two artefacts were collected which are probably parts of bridle and harness gear. These consist of interlocking metal rings 48-55 mm in diameter. Again it is not possible to accurately date these as they have remained virtually unchanged. Four artefacts are from horse harness, being buckles that secured harness strapping. One is a bridle buckle and the other three are stirrup buckles. The fabric, shape, and function of these items has not changed in the last hundred years, and so it is not possible to accurately date them. It is known that some of the strikers at the camp in 1891 were mounted, and so horsegear artefacts can be considered to be part of the material culture of the camp. Since it is not possible to use the collected horsegear artefacts as chronological markers with accuracy, the best that can be said is that these artefacts represent items which were probably in use at the strike camp in 1891.

Information on the items classified as 'miscellaneous' has been procured from a mixture of general and specialist publications. Time has not sufficed to allow comprehensive searches of information, and/or information relating specifically to 1891. Nevertheless, sufficient data has been accumulated to comment on these miscellaneous artefacts in their context. A segment of a large cooking vessel, presumed to be a camp oven, was retrieved from Unit Collection Area No. 5. Its presence at this location is consistent with the primary function as a communal cooking area. The retrieved fragment is of cast iron, has an approximate 90 degree turn, and has a leg

Table 2: Buttons from the Lagoon Creek strike camp.

Acc. no.	Classification	Fabric	Manufacture	Size (dia.)	Attachment	Decoration
1/227	trade marked	non-ferrous	stamped (moulded centre)	17mm (4 hole)	perforated	die-stamped 'ASK FOR CROWNS'
1/057	trade marked	non-ferrous	as above	17mm	as above	as above
1/059	trade marked	non-ferrous	as above	17mm	as above	as above
1/059	trade marked	non-ferrous	as above	17mm	as above	as above
1/058	trade marked	non-ferrous	as above	17mm	as above	as above
1/032	trade marked	non-ferrous	as above	13mm	as above	embossed 'BEST SOLID RING'
1/056	patterned	non-ferrous	as above	16mm	as above	die-stamped
1/066	patterned	non-ferrous	as above	16mm	as above	die-stamped
1/159	plain	non-ferrous	as above	16mm	as above	none
1/169	plain	ceramic	moulded	11mm	perforated (2 hole)	none

attached. Its configuration is consistent with camp ovens available in 1905.³⁷ No extant catalogues for cooking gear prior to this date are available; however, it is a reasonable hypothesis that such apparatus would have been in common use circa 1891 and that they would have changed little until well into the twentieth-century. It is considered probable that this item was in use at the strike camp in 1891 and represents utilitarian communal activities of the strikers. One of the most conspicuous items in the material kit of nineteenth-century shearers were blade shears. Each shearer had to have his own blade shears, which might last only a week.³⁸ One fragment of a set of blade shears was found at the strike camp in a shallow gully approximately midway between Unit Collection Areas 2, 3, and 4. The fragment found is part of the spring of the shears, and corresponds with contemporary pictorial evidence of blade shears.³⁹ Two rivets join the two separate halves of the shears at this point. The fragment is in reasonably good condition, although it has been subject to corrosion and will require conservation. Although it is of course possible that this item was deposited on the site either pre- or post-1891, its presence is particularly indicative of the striking shearers' time at the campsite. It is worth noting that blade shears were being replaced by machine driven shears in the early 1890s, and so it is unlikely that this item was a later addition on the site.

A miscellaneous item of some significance is the tin whistle found in Unit Collection Area 4 (1/170). It is likely that it was hand made rather than machine manufactured, although it bears a striking resemblance to commercial tin whistles available circa late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.⁴¹ The whistle is made of a rolled piece of tin (copper) with a lapped seam, with five fret holes of 5 mm diameter set at regular intervals of 20 mm from centre to centre. The holes are perfectly circular and may have been made by punching the sheet metal prior to rolling it into a cylindrical shape. A 6th fret hole is just visible at the lower end, which has been broken off. The whole whistle has been flattened. Although there is nothing to suggest that this item was deposited on the site in 1891, it exemplifies the type of musical instrument that would have been in use at the strike camp, echoing the strike leaders concern with cultural as well as political activities. The *Australian Republic* reported on 30 May 1891 that 'In the Barcaldine Camp there is... a band... who give a concert twice a week.' It is possible that the tin whistle is a relic of this band's instruments.⁴²

An interesting artefact is the shovel fragment (3/01) found buried in the road (at approximately 100 mm depth) in the vicinity of the blazed tree. The fragment is readily identifiable as a shovel, with a 'v' reinforcing plate rivetted onto the back. Unfortunately this item is in extremely poor condition as a consequence of corrosion. Two uses of shovels during the shearers' occupation of the strike camp are postulated: firstly as an implement to excavate latrines and drainage channels;⁴³ and secondly as a pseudo rifle to use during drill sessions. It is known that sticks were used for this purpose, but at the time of writing the use of shovels in drill exercises is unsubstantiated. Four items of tableware cutlery were also recovered from the strike camp site; a fork, a teaspoon, a tablespoon, and a knife. These items were dispersed throughout the site. The fork (four-pronged) and the two spoons were manufactured by either moulding or cold pressing methods, and are comprised of copper nickel alloys which have been electroplated. These three items are in a reasonably stable condition. The knife fragment is made of ferrous metal and is in a poor condition due to corrosion. The handle of the knife, probably of wood or bone, is

missing. All four of these items may have been in circulation in 1891, as the manufacturing technology was well known by that date and displayed in contemporary catalogues.⁴⁴

Portable artefacts recovered by the archaeological team are not the only relics of the shearers' strike worthy of analysis, preservation and interpretation. In addition to such artefacts there are immovable features which the striking shearers constructed *in situ*, thereby leaving their particular cultural imprint on the landscape. At the Lagoon Creek strike camp there are two such features extant, the ant bed oven and the blazed tree. The archaeological survey failed to find traces of any other features, such as the soak at the western perimeter of the sand hill from which water was procured, buried garbage dumps or other subsurface remains, but it is possible that such features lie waiting to be revealed in any further archaeological investigations. However, the two extant features mentioned are of such intrinsic importance to a balanced interpretation of the material and philosophical culture of the shearers' strike that some brief analysis of them is warranted.

The ant bed oven was the central feature of Unit Collection Area 5. The consolidated mound of compacted clay and ash which forms the remainder of the oven is spread over an area 2.4 by 2.2 metres. The significance of the ant bed oven should not be under-estimated. Being a communal cooking area it must have been a focal point of camp life. Artefacts recovered in its excavation, for example the camp oven, wax vesta matchboxes, and the revealed post holes point to this interpretation as a much used feature of the camp. Oral evidence substantiates this view.

The blazed tree was discovered after carefully searching a considerable distance of Lagoon Creek. It is located at the presumed northern perimeter of the camp, where it would have been readily visible to travellers heading towards Barcaldine. It is not known whether the shearers cut the blaze. The original inscription (see Harris 1970: 87) 'UNITED WE STAND DIVIDED WE FALL A.L.F. THE STRIKE O CAMP 1891' has long since disappeared, but this does not detract from the feature's significance. The blaze represents the shearers' determination in their struggle, and an announcement of their presence.

Equally pertinent are the artefacts which were part of the shearers' material culture but were not found at the strike camp. A close analysis of photographic records taken in 1891 of the strike camp provided a check list of such items. These included: smoking pipes, both clay and briar; tobacco cans; billy cans and large drums (5 to 12 gallons) for cooking; eating utensils such as tin or enameled plates, mugs, and large basins; other food and beverage containers such as sardine, beef cans, tea, etc; bottles which contained alcoholic spirits, for example whisky; the necks of water bags; coins; tent pegs; more evidence of shearing (only one part of blade shears was recovered); relics of bush furniture and other structural features such as horse tethering posts; a rubbish dump; evidence of fireplaces in addition to the ant bed oven; and a cleared area for sports and parades. The lack of these artefacts and features at the Lagoon Creek strike camp in large measure can be explained by a number of causes. Firstly, by the end of the strike, if not before, the shearers were generally impoverished, and anything of continuing utilitarian value would not have been left behind when the strike camp was abandoned. For any objects lost or discarded the acidity of the soil would then, over time, have wrought havoc on any organic or ferrous metal items, either obliterating them completely or leaving unidentifiable fragments.

The interpretation of the Lagoon Creek strike camp is based upon both historical documents and archaeological research. Much of the information relating to the physical nature of the strikers and their camp has not been discussed before. It must be stressed that there are no first hand accounts of life in the main strike camp. To date studies of the strike have focused upon the chronology and geography of events, and the injustices of labour relations. On the whole the evidence when gathered together presents a convincing array of data which supports the proposition that the historical remains at Lagoon Creek mark the location of the main strike camp. Problems arise from the fact that the strike camp was not the only cultural event to occur at that place. Separating pre-strike activities such as the remains of the camps of drovers and post-strike activities of the nearby towns folk dumping rubbish has not been entirely successful. It is the visual record in the Chapman drawing, the presence of the blazed tree and the testimony of Mr. Vincent Mather, the son of a striker, regarding the ant bed oven which intersect and support the statement that this is indeed the location of the main strike camp.

As mentioned earlier, artefactual evidence is ambiguous in that it is all but impossible to disentangle what could be discarded of the striking shearers from rubbish deposited by wood gathering towns folk. Many objects found on the surface of the strike camp are indicative of what one would expect at the shearers' camp: the horse gear, shears, tin whistle, eating utensils, spent cartridge cases and metal match boxes. It has not been possible to positively identify the recovered artefacts as being in use at the strike camp in 1891. However, it is more than likely that many of the analysed items were deposited in 1891. These statements are not mutually exclusive, but point to the difficulties in using artefacts from Australian historical sites, particularly the last 100 years, as either chronological markers or as being diagnostic of a particular occupational status such as a shearer. We should not presume that all of the evidence has been brought to bear in our consideration of the Lagoon Creek strike camp as only that material held in public sources has been consulted. Taking into account the large number of shearers and troopers present in the Barcardine district at the time of the strike, no doubt there is more information which lies within private hands in the form of diaries, photographs and letters.⁴⁵

Lagoon Creek strike camp presents an interesting exercise in historical archaeology, one which may serve as a model for interpreting short term ephemeral events. This camp is not like that of an industrial activity such as mining which is focused upon production. Rather it was a place for gathering together and carrying out day to day activities such as washing clothes and eating and sleeping. As such the evidence of those activities will be mundane and nondescript for the most part. There would be few items unique to shearers which could serve as a signature of their presence. Unlike a military camp where there are embossed regimental buttons, specific issued cartridges and items of gear marked as belonging to the Crown, shearers wore what everyone else wore and camped much the same as a drover or teamster or squatter. Indeed the shearer may have been a drover, teamster or squatter seeking a few wages to augment his other earnings. In terms of structures, a camp of tents with pole frames which during its occupation may have been sited on a quagmire will not leave much by way of physical evidence one hundred years later. This would certainly be the case for a camp located on the edge of a sand hill with a highly corrosive soil which is subject to wind and water erosion.

The archaeological study addressed two problems. The first being to test the hypothesis that the site at Lagoon Creek was indeed the location of the main strike camp. A second matter to be considered, if indeed the initial proposition proved to be true, was what would be an appropriate contemporary use for a place which featured so prominently in the annals of Australian history? Would it be prudent to bring people to this place and allow them to have access to the historical features or would visitation and the infrastructure developments necessary to support an interpretation programme compromise the significance of the place? That question was addressed specifically in the developmental proposal by Ramsay and Egloff.⁴⁶ In that report the feasibility of a relatively low key presentation of the Lagoon Creek strike camp is discussed in detail with accompanying concept designs. From an archaeological stand-point there would seem to be no persuasive reason for not allowing access to the camp site provided that the major features were protected and an interpretation programme was in place with some degree of site supervision. Areas required for parking and traffic management were identified and searched specifically for artefactual or structural remains which might be damaged if development were to proceed. The archaeological survey cleared a substantial area on the periphery of the strike camp for infrastructure development. To some extent the restricted nature of the archaeological materials has made it feasible to present the site to the public.

Protection of the blazed tree and the ant bed oven can be carried out with standard fencing and protective shelter. A major cost in presenting the strike camp will simply be providing all weather access along the existing right of way. Facilities and interpretive displays need not be overly elaborate, simply functional and easily renewable. Five approaches are considered as feasible (Fig. 4).

1. Construction of a shearers' ghost camp consisting of bush pole tent frames.
2. A material culture exhibit featuring types of objects which would have been in use by the shearers.
3. An audio presentation explaining the event.
4. A reconstruction of an ant bed oven where billy teas and damper could be served.
5. Erection of a simple bush shelter and seats around the ant bed oven where presentations could be made.

The original ant bed oven and the blazed tree will be linked to these features with pathways and protected by appropriate shelters and fencing as well as interpretative signage.

The interpretation theme to be employed at the Lagoon Creek strike camp is one of the 'ghosts of the past, featuring reconstructions of the frames of tents as would have been left by the shearers when they removed the canvas and decamped in June of 1891. This type of a presentation would not trivialize the place nor would it lead to excessively expensive 'living displays'. If the site is to live it must live in the minds of people, and that can best be done by having a site presenter/caretaker who has lived the life of a shearer in the central west of Queensland, a person of that place, that way of life and of those times which continue into the present.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was funded by the Department of Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories, the Barcardine Tree of Knowledge Committee and the Council of the Shire of Barcardine. A team from the University of

Canberra, Australian National University and Monash University was assembled to undertake the archaeological and historical field work. This team consisted of Fiona Cleaver, Brian Egloff, Dale Kerwin, Helen Marshal, Michael O'Sullivan and Martin Sullivan. Juliet Ramsay undertook the landscape development and interpretation plans while Michael O'Sullivan carried out the artefact analysis.

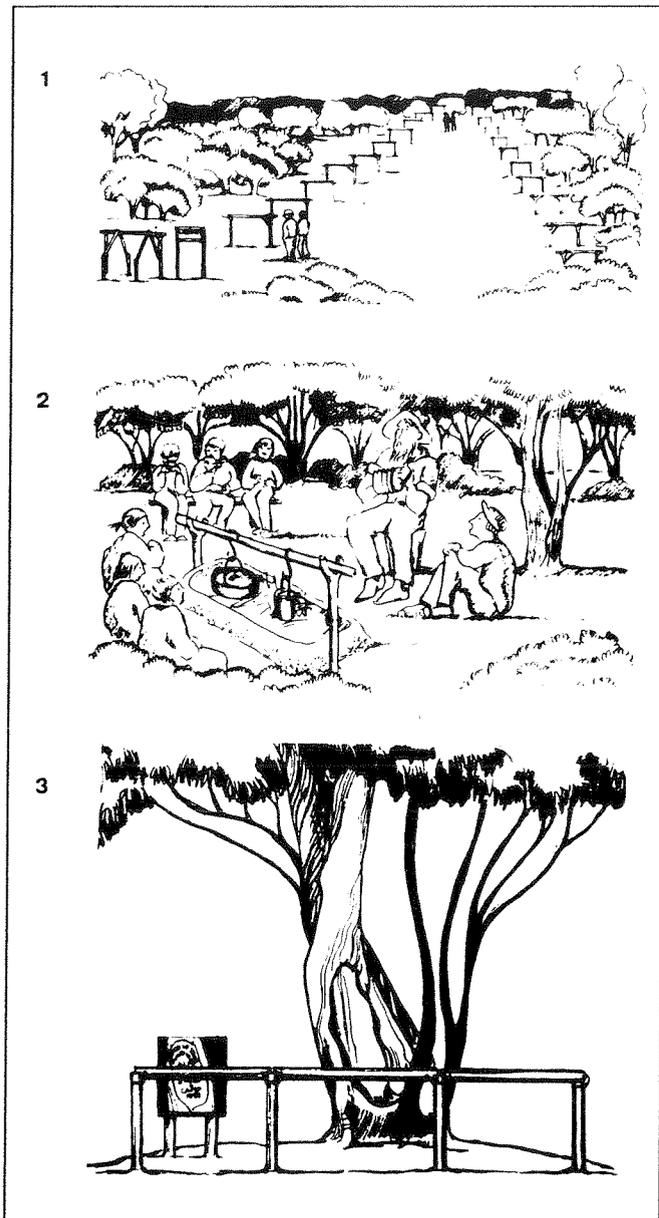


Fig. 4: Concept drawing for the 1891 Lagoon Creek strike camp: 1: The ghost camp - a row of tent frames constructed from bush poles and erected on an alignment as illustrated in the Chapman painting; 2: Facsimile ant-bed oven for group activities such as evening damper parties; 3: The blazed tree with a bush pole barrier and an interpretation board illustrating the writing on the blaze in 1891.

NOTES

1. Egloff 1988.
2. Egloff & O'Sullivan 1990.
3. Svensen 1989.
4. Hoch 1986.
5. *Longreach Leader* Commemorative Issue of 1933.
6. Svenson 1989: Appendix F.

7. Svenson 1989:113 (Source *Brisbane Courier*, 16 March 1891).
8. Hoch 1986.
9. Refer to Egloff & O'Sullivan 1990.
10. Svenson 1989:156.
11. Svenson 1989: illustration following 178.
12. Harris 1970:85.
13. Svenson 1989:296.
14. McCarthy 1986.
15. Anson 1983:115.
16. Spring-Rice 1982.
17. Bedford 1985.
18. Anson 1983:125.
19. Anson 1983:131.
20. Rock 1984.
21. Busch 1981.
22. Scott et.al. 1989:215-221.
23. Varman 1980.
24. Coutts 1984:383-387.
25. Hutchinson 1981.
26. Busch 1987.
27. Jones 1983.
28. Miller & Sullivan 1984.
29. Staski 1984.
30. Miller & Pacey 1985.
31. Dunn 1987.
32. Switzer 1974.
33. Godden 1964.
34. Olsen 1963.
35. Coutts 1984:301-320.
36. Seymour 1984.
37. Ms. Kirsty Wehner of the Australian National University Library inspected the artefacts and advised on their functions.
38. Cuffley 1984:62, Fig.c768.
39. Svenson 1989:43
40. Stone & Garden 1978/1984:54-55, 58-59; Partridge 1973:193.
41. Cuffley 1984:121.
42. Sullivan n.d.
43. Svenson 1989:117.
44. Cuffley 1984:56-85.
45. Refer to Coupe 1989:275 for a previously unpublished photograph; Adam-Smith 1982: 97 & 129 illustrates shearers at cooking places similar in appearance to that excavated at the Lagoon Creek camp.
46. Ramsay & Egloff 1989.

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