

Uncertain Migrants: the History and Archaeology of a Victorian Goldfield Community

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The gold rush of the second half of the nineteenth century played a crucial role in arousing European interest in Australia as a place of settlement. All those that were drawn by the gold did not stay however and many people returned to their original homes in Europe, North America or Asia. For those who returned as well as for those who stayed temporary mining camps were places in which they first experienced life in Australia and for many it was in such camps that the decision to stay or return was made. The tension inherent in making that decision is manifested in the material remains of temporary mining camps. Documentary and archaeological records of Dolly's Creek, Victoria are used in this case study to analyse patterns of internal conflict in a short-term mining camp.

Temporary mining camps are an essential part of the process of locating and exploiting mineral deposits. During the gold rush of the nineteenth century thousands of small ephemeral towns existed and life in them was part of the migrant experience for many people. These towns represent a significant part of the initial phase of non-Aboriginal settlement in Victoria. They were for many people the first taste of colonial life, and it was during their stay in ephemeral towns that many migrants decided on whether to remain in Australia or whether to return to the homeland.¹ The tensions implicit in the making of that decision form the subject of this paper. The mining camps formed ambivalent spaces between 'home', somewhere else, and permanent settlement in Australia, and that ambivalence is revealed in archaeological and documentary evidence from particular mining settlements.² A case study for the current discussion is found in Dolly's Creek, a small alluvial goldfield located 30 kms south of Ballarat, Victoria (Fig. 1).

As mining camps, ephemeral settlements like Dolly's Creek form a part of the cosmopolitan frontier.³ Cosmopolitan frontiers are based on short-term extractive activities closely tied to national and international systems and in addition to mining include fur trading, certain types of agriculture, and military activities. Examples of cosmopolitan frontiers in the Australian context include sealing and whaling sites, telegraph stations, and military bases such as Port Essington.⁴ In cosmopolitan frontiers there is an inherently outward looking focus. Circumstances within the frontier are tied directly to outside events and indeed the very existence of the frontier is linked to economic and political forces that are external to it. The international price of gold for example had direct implications for the success or failure of mining ventures and of the towns that such ventures sustained. An awareness of the importance of such external factors was a part of the outward focus of mining settlements. Another part of the outward focus was the need to move on. Gold rushes were temporary events, occurring in a particular place for a finite length of time. When the gold was worked out or was found more easily somewhere else people moved. Implicit in the arrival at one mining camp was the departure to the next. The gold rush was a current that kept people moving and that

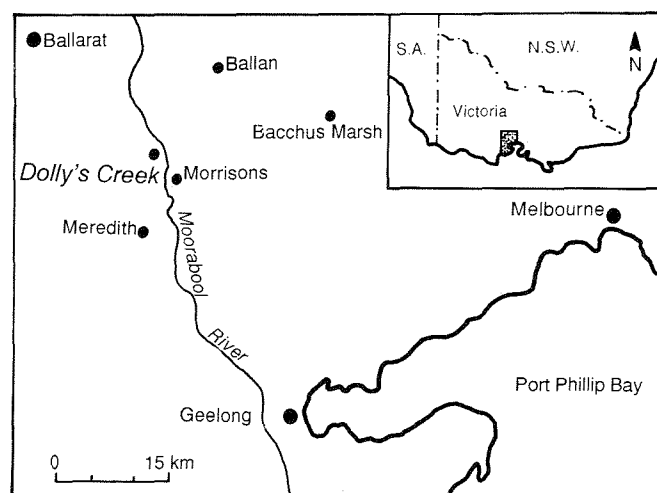


Fig. 1: Dolly's Creek, Victoria.

milited against their establishing permanent ties in a particular place.

Impermanence was the strongest characteristic of the outward focus of gold rush towns. Emphasising the transient nature of the gold rush experience was the fact that many of the inhabitants of goldfields towns were sojourners.⁵ They were men who had left their families behind in their homelands and they intended both to send money back and to return themselves. Economic and affective ties with people elsewhere were personal forces that drew the attention of inhabitants elsewhere. Impermanence marked not only the limited duration of personal attachment to the goldfield but also the physical structure of the goldfield. The ephemeral nature of the mining frontier was visible in the kinds of settlements built. The tent structures that served as houses and stores on the goldfields were easily and obviously transportable, and were not intended as permanent residences. The erection of sturdier structures of timber, stone, and brick was one of the indications that a camp was becoming a town and that it was both possible and desirable to remain in one place.

Existing alongside of these outward foci were forces that directed the attention of people inwards, towards the

settlement in which they were living. Foremost among these was the need to form a community, the need to establish ongoing relationships with friends and neighbours and to establish a sense of belonging. These activities are central to the colonisation process and can be seen in terms of the Swiss Family Robinson model which deals with the adaptation and change that occurs on arrival in a new country.⁶ According to the model, a new settlement goes through a series of stages, from an exploration phase in which the colony is dependent on imports, through a learning phase in which methods of production and adaptation are tested, and finally to a developmental stage in which successful methods are implemented. For the latter phases of learning and development to occur however migrants, the people that journey to the new land, must decide to become colonisers, the people that will build a new and permanent society. There must be a desire to form permanent ties in the new land and a willingness to invest time and labour in the building of community. Without the acceptance of the need to build community there can be no permanent colonisation. Physical evidence of adaptation and long term occupation suggests that the colonisation process has begun. Commitment to the new place is manifested in the development of social networks there and in the channelling of attention inward towards the community.

The development of bonds within the community is seen in patterns of social interaction. Churches and schools were formed on many goldfields, reflecting the coming together of those with similar interests and the need to maintain the institutions of a civilised society. Mechanics Institutes served a similar purpose as did friendly societies, while the latter also provided aid in emergencies.⁷ These organisations facilitated the formation of bonds between strangers that supplemented existing bonds between family members. While many goldfields residents were single men or sojourners, others were men, women and children living as families. For parents concerned about the health and welfare of the children that accompanied them, concerns about the development of local settlements may have far outweighed external ties. Educated miners and business people often had their own ideas about commitment to the local community. Economic stability and the growth of the settlement were significant factors in the success of commercial enterprises. Business and political leaders often saw gains to be made in encouraging further settlement and investment in the towns, although the miners resented any changes that would interfere with their abilities to obtain gold.

The interaction between forces directing attention away from the community and those drawing energy in toward the community created tensions in the lives of gold rush participants. Material culture was both a medium in which the conflict was played out and a mediator that played a role in negotiating the conflict. By analysing settlement patterns, structures and artefacts it is possible to monitor the interplay between forces in day to day activities. Impermanence and mobility were characteristic of the forces drawing people away from settlements, while permanence and adaptation to the new environment were associated with the development of a local community.

Within the parameters of these hypotheses attributes of particular items of material culture can be assessed. The building techniques and materials used in particular structures demonstrate the amount of adaptation to the local environment, while the labour involved in construction is a measure of what was deemed a

worthwhile investment. Complex structures suggest a long term occupation was intended while more simple structures suggest a shorter period of habitation. A limited variety of highly portable artefacts would also suggest a mobile, outwardly focused lifestyle while a more diverse and non-portable assemblage would suggest that the ability to move on was not as important. The spatial nature of the settlement may also provide clues about the orientation of its residents. Buildings may be tightly grouped around a central point, or they may be dispersed and focused outwards.

Physical and documentary evidence from Dolly's Creek suggests an ambivalence about the future on the part of the residents. Documentary sources indicate a very active community life and a variety of bonds between residents, while suggesting ways in which residents were drawn into the wider community. Archaeological sources demonstrate the transient nature of the bonds formed between neighbours and the absence of material investment in the community, and at the same time show some of the ways in which temporary stopping places were imbued with the feeling of permanent homes. Residents of Dolly's Creek were actively engaged in evaluating their own commitment to the settlement and their own role in colonisation, deciding whether to be visitors in the new land or to remain in it as colonists.

The analysis of physical and documentary data occurs in the context of historic ethnography, that is, as part of the exploration of the entire cultural system of the people being studied. All forms of available information are integrated into the study and used to trace meaning at a number of levels.⁸ The cultural environment that exists at Dolly's Creek is the residue of multiple events, each a part of a pattern of interaction. To understand the complexity of the interactions that created the remains, all aspects must be isolated and studied, and then must be re-integrated into the whole.⁹

HISTORY

The settlement of Dolly's Creek takes its name from the creek running through it, a small seasonal tributary of the Moorabool River south east of Ballarat, Victoria (Fig. 2). Gold was discovered along Dolly's Creek early in 1857 by prospectors from the mining town of Steiglitz. At the same time, gold was discovered on nearby Tea Tree Creek and along the Moorabool itself at what became known as Morrisons. Together the three settlements were known as the Moorabool diggings but they also retained separate identities. While Dolly's and Tea Tree were always shallow alluvial diggings worked by independent miners, deep lead mines at Morrisons attracted more outside investment and supported a more stable population. Between one and two hundred people went to Dolly's Creek at the time of discovery and the population gradually increased to a peak of more than 600 people in 1861. The rush quickly passed however, leaving a handful of people on the field throughout the 1860's and 1870's. By the 1880's activity had shifted to deep lead mines along the banks of the Moorabool River at Morrisons and to quartz reefs in the vicinity of Elaine, west of Dolly's Creek.¹⁰

Shallow gold deposits at Dolly's were worked in a variety of ways. Puddling machinery was built in 1857 but was not a favoured way of recovering the gold because of the gravelly nature of the soil. Sluicing the deposits was preferred whenever possible although water shortages were a continual problem. The availability of water was expected to improve after an extensive network of races was built to divert water from Lal Lal but even when the race system was completed the supply of water

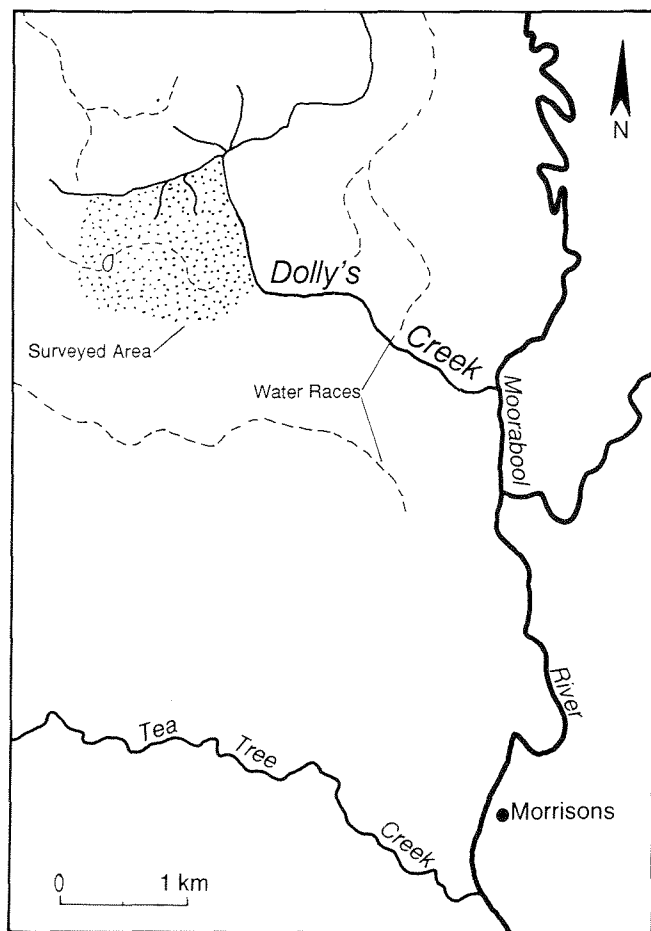


Fig. 2: The Dolly's Creek region showing surveyed area.

was only sporadic. Chinese miners arrived on the field in 1859 and continued to be active in the sluicing operations for some time but by the mid 1860s the population was fluctuating between a dozen people during the dry season and nearly 100 people during wet periods. Several large sluicing claims were taken out and in 1883 a five-head stamper battery was built to crush quartz from reefs in the surrounding area. By then the resident population of miners had dispersed and mining at Dolly's Creek itself had ceased.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s when the mining was at its height at Dolly's Creek the gold field supported a large population and a diversity of activities. Several stores, hotels, and a post office were located at Morrissions by 1859 which at that time was on the main road from Geelong to Ballarat. A new store and bakery were built at Dolly's Creek as well.¹¹ The first school in the area was built at Dolly's Creek in 1859 with a grant from the Denominational Board of Education.¹² The Victorian census of 1861 recorded 623 people at Dolly's, including 104 adult women, 300 adult men, and 219 children. Members of at least eleven ethnic or national groups were present, reflecting the ethnic diversity of the general gold rush population.¹³ In 1862 the railway was completed between Ballarat and Geelong and passed seven miles to the west of Dolly's Creek. In 1865 Dolly's Creek was reported to be a mining village of 225 people, with three hotels, a school and a steam sawmill.¹⁴ By 1878 however most of the hotels had gone and the school was relocated to Morrissions where most of the pupils then lived.¹⁵ The last hotel and the post office at Dolly's Creek closed in 1888, the same year the area was declared a forest reserve.¹⁶ The mining community had disappeared, its

members moving on to other fields or staying to take up selections and become farmers.

The school, the stores, and the race course are evidence of the networks that drew the people of Dolly's Creek into a community while the mining lasted. People came together to shop, to post letters and to build a school for their children. They came together on Boxing Day for the annual horse race, and they came together to play cricket. They came together informally to help one another as well. On one occasion when a miner failed to come home on Saturday night his neighbours joined his wife in the search, and when the man was found at the bottom of a mine shaft neighbours provided space for him to rest in a tent and went to Steiglitz for the doctor.¹⁷ On another occasion a miner was trapped in a cave-in and not only his work mates but the whole community joined in the effort to free him.¹⁸

Documentary evidence also suggests ways in which the community was fractured and drawn in different directions. The first miners in the area came from Steiglitz to the south, but Ballarat provided the capital required for the mines and the sluicing. Mining was under the jurisdiction of the Ballarat Mines Board but other aspects of community life came under other government jurisdictions. Dolly's Creek was part of the Ballan Road Board area despite being 35 kilometres from Ballan and only ten kilometres from Meredith, seat of another Road Board. Ballan, and hence Dolly's Creek, was part of the region which centred on Bacchus Marsh, 55 kilometres to the north east. For local government purposes however, Dolly's was part of the shire of Buninyong and hence part of the Ballarat region while Morrissions, a mile away on the other side of the Moorabool River, was part of the shire of Ballan and the Bacchus Marsh region. Meredith was part of the shire of Bannockburn and the Geelong region, but neither Dolly's Creek nor Morrissions were ever formally aligned with the local government there. Evidence indicates however that it was with Geelong that the people aligned themselves when they had the chance. On one occasion local residents petitioned the government to be made part of the Meredith Road Board area.¹⁹ News of Dolly's Creek was reported in the *Geelong Advertiser* more frequently than in the Ballarat papers, indicating that the local people saw Geelong as the logical outlet for their news, and that they themselves read the Geelong paper.

Further links with surrounding communities are revealed in other activities. Networks are revealed in the location of marriage ceremonies and burials, particularly in the period before the construction of churches at Morrissions in 1871 and a cemetery in 1872.²⁰ Marriages of local residents occurred in both Ballarat and Geelong, as well as in the homes of local people. Burials took place at a number of different locations, including Geelong and Bannockburn but most appear to have been at Ballan. The doctor, when required, was fetched from Steiglitz, the police from Meredith, and the coroner from Ballarat. In all what is suggested is a far reaching and diverse network of interactions in which the residents of Dolly's Creek participated. Rather than intensifying the sense of community by concentrating on relationships in one area or in one direction, contacts were dispersed and the community was diffused.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Twenty-five percent of the area of the former goldfield community at Dolly's Creek was surveyed as a stratified, non-random sample. The location of the sample area was determined by the concentration of house remains as noted during preliminary reconnaissance of the site. As a

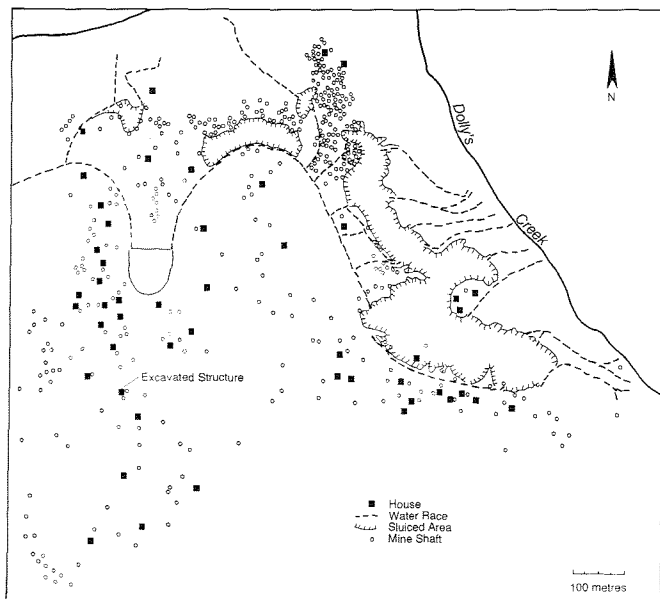


Fig. 3: Detail of the surveyed area.

result of the survey the remains of 60 house structures have been recorded in addition to over 600 mine shafts and test pits, several large sluicing areas and five kilometres of water races (Fig. 3). The map of the settlement reveals ways in which ambivalence about commitment to the community was manifested in spatial relationships, and indicates how space was used both to bring people together and to keep them apart.

Specific patterns in the way space was used are evident in the remains. The first pattern is the apparent focus on the creek as the centre of community life. Both industrial and domestic remains were found principally along the hillsides above the creek. The second pattern to be noted is the relationship of houses to the natural environment. The houses are all on the tops or sides of hills, none being located in gullies that might have been subject to flooding. The third pattern is in the relationship between domestic and industrial activity. The houses are located throughout the gold field and are not confined to any particular part of it. There is no separation of industrial and residential areas to be observed.

For the people that lived at Dolly's Creek the dominant physical feature would have been the creek itself. It had drawn the original prospectors into the area as they worked their way up the Moorabool River and its tributaries, of which Dolly's Creek is one. Most of the gold worked was located along the creek and on the hillsides above it and it is here that the industrial remains were located. Many of the houses are also located along the top of the hill above the creek. The creek provided a common element that linked residents of Dolly's Creek together, but even in bringing the community together the creek was an agent that provided for its dissolution. The creek suggested the fragmentation of the community because the creek was the conduit that led people to the outside world. The flat valley floor in which the creek flowed was the easiest route on foot between the settlement at Dolly's and the nearby town of Morrissions, and from Morrissions roads led to Ballarat and Geelong and to the railway at Meredith, drawing people outward in ever widening circles. The creek was an ambiguous symbol of the community, bringing people together around a common centre but at the same time leading them outward, away from that centre.

The steep hills and gullies physically shaped the settlement, reducing the amount of usable space and dictating where structures could be built. Residents operated within the topographic constraints to create a unified community and to maintain individual space. The formation of community was tied to visual contact between residents and this was facilitated by the location of the houses on the tops and sides of hills. Having neighbours nearby and accessible was a part of the corporate nature of the mining experience and was important for building social and business networks in a face to face community which depended on personal encounters. By building houses on high, central ground rather than in the isolated, far-flung gullies, the landscape was used to bring people together. The hills that raised the houses to prominence also functioned to preserve separation among individuals however. It is important to note that there is only loose grouping of houses. There is at least ten metres between houses, in most cases much more, and the space between houses was important for a number of reasons. It would have afforded a degree of privacy to dwellings that had bark or canvas walls. It would also have expanded personal living space. The houses were small, 3 x 5 metres inside, and many household activities probably took place out of doors. Separate houses in prominent locations and surrounded by space created barriers between strangers and protected self and family.

The ambiguities in the role of landscape, that brought people together while keeping them apart, are most fully resolved in the relationship between industrial and residential space. In the juxtaposition of industrial and domestic remains in the landscape a sense of cohesive community purpose was achieved. Domestic and economic activity did not constitute separate experiences; rather, each was a part of the total fabric of life. Work took place at mine shafts and sluices and living areas were immediately adjacent. Homes were built among mullock heaps and races. This is particularly true along the creek itself, where the industrial activity was most intense. Even further away from the creek, however, houses were often situated near mine shafts or smaller sluices. The noise of pick and shovel, of rocking cradle, and of water rushing in sluices would have permeated the homes. The dust and the mud created by the mining would have been just as pervasive as the noise.²¹ Mining became part of home life and home became part of the mines. Children would have played among the mullock heaps, sharing in the workplace of their parents. Abandoned mine shafts became convenient repositories for domestic refuse. In the integration of work and home life the community briefly found a focus.

HOUSES

The excavation of one of the houses at Dolly's Creek provides further insights into the ways in which notions of transience and ambivalence were played out in every day life. An area of 35 m² was excavated revealing the remains of a modest fireplace, two drainage trenches, and a gravel floor (Fig. 4). The trenches were located at right angles to one another, defining two sides of the structure. The third side was defined by the fireplace while the fourth side was defined by the location of an upright iron peg opposite one of the trenches. A patch of gravel 0.5 m² in area was located next to the fireplace and formed the doorway. Based on the amount of rock present it would appear that the fireplace was originally about one metre high and was probably surmounted by a wooden or corrugated iron chimney. In the absence of any footings, post holes or other structural remains the house is

assumed to have been a tent. Similar dwellings were recorded by several gold rush artists, including S.T. Gill, Eugene Von Guerard, and Edward Snell.²²

From the excavation it is evident that the occupants made every attempt to make their home as comfortable as possible. Generally the Dolly's Creek area is fairly dry but during the winter high rainfall can be a problem and several features in the construction of the tent demonstrate mechanisms for adapting to the wet weather. The drainage ditches diverted rainwater around the tent and into a nearby gully, a necessary feature as the tent was built at the base of a slope. The first built was Ditch 1, a shallow, round-bottomed feature at the rear of the tent, but it proved to be inadequate for the volume of water handled. Ditch 2 was built later and was both deeper and longer and went around two sides of the tent. In addition it was lined with rubble and metal sheeting to channel water more effectively. Another important construction feature was the gravel at the door. In a high traffic area like a doorway the clay soil would quickly have become impassable during wet weather so the gravel provided stability and drainage.

The building of the fireplace may have been a further concession to wet weather as it meant that occupants no longer had to cook outdoors over an open fire. Details in the fireplace construction suggest that it was not purely functional in purpose however. The fireplace was built of field stone and mud mortar but the inside of the hearth was lined with white pipeclay. The pipeclay may have been used for occasional repairs and maintenance of the fabric of the fireplace but it was found only on the interior of the hearth and there is no reason why the mud mortar could not have been used. Instead, the occupants went to the trouble of bringing pipeclay from the mines. Oral information regarding similar practices in the area fifty years later indicates that fresh pipeclay was applied daily.²³ The frequency of the task and the bright, white appearance of the pipeclay suggests that it was being used not only to maintain the fabric of the fireplace but also to cleanse and freshen the interior of the tent. The dwelling had only a dirt floor and canvas walls, but with diligence and imagination it could be made clean and comfortable.

The artefacts found associated with the tent also suggest attempts to instil comfort and civilisation into the mining camp. The stem of a glass cake plate was recovered, an artefact surely out of place among the usual accoutrements of a miner's swag.²⁴ The case of an ornate metal mantle clock was also found. Like the ceramics and glassware found on the site, both of these items were mass produced and readily available in the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless they indicate that the material culture of mining was complex and diverse.

Although there was a need to remain mobile and to have goods that were transportable, all possessions were not merely functional. Some were chosen because of their appearance, or because they conveyed social information. Items like the cake plate may have been reminders of home, retained out of nostalgia, or they may have been used to indicate that the occupants of this tent remained members of the 'civilised' western world, despite their peripheral position. Certainly the artefacts reflect ambivalence or even misinterpretation of the circumstances of alluvial mining settlements. These artefacts suggest that there was a very real desire to settle in one place, to establish roots, and to regain something of the European world that was left behind. They suggest that even by the early 1860s, ten years after the gold rush began, people still hoped that every gold camp could become a permanent town and that they would make their fortune and not be forced to move on.

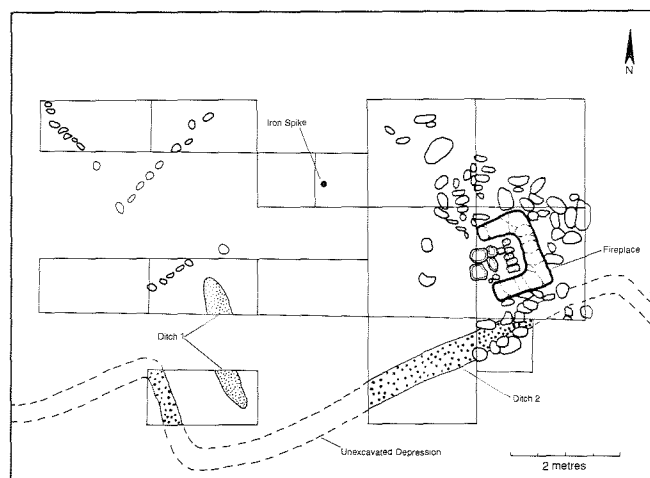


Fig. 4: The excavated structure, C75.

The mixed feelings of the residents of Dolly's Creek are revealed most clearly in the juxtaposition of the artefacts and the structure associated with them. While individual artefacts and construction details indicate comfort and stability and the desire to settle, the building that encompassed them was a tent, a building form notable chiefly for its portability. If the artefacts reflect nostalgia and civilised ideals, then the tent reflects realism and an acceptance of the circumstances of small-scale alluvial mining. Concessions were made to comfort but the intent was always to move on and the concessions could never be other than temporary so long as the dwelling and the settlement itself were ephemeral.

CONCLUSION

Community consists of the networks of relationships between people as they interact in day to day life. The social and human form of a community creates and is created by landscape and material items. Because of the dialectic between communities and the physical world the shape of a community as it once existed is revealed in its use of space. At Dolly's Creek what is revealed is the uncertain nature of life on an ephemeral gold field. This uncertainty is seen in documented accounts of interactions between individuals in the community, in the layout of the settlement, and in the structure and artefacts of one home in the settlement.

Naturally occurring topographic features in the area were instrumental in creating the physical form of the community at Dolly's Creek. The steep hills and gullies structured the position of buildings by limiting and locating usable land. By building on hillsides rather than in gullies residents were able to communicate visually across large distances. Lack of water in the summer led to seasonal depopulation of the community, and during the wet winter months the climate facilitated the spatial separation of the houses. Readily available water meant that residences did not need to be clustered around wells or water holes, as they did at Arltunga, Northern Territory.²⁵ Instead they could be spread out across the gold field, fixed in space by the proximity of workable gold rather than by the need for water.

The form of the natural landscape set the maximum bounds of the community but within these bounds space and landscape were manipulated to create and reflect community patterns. The creek was used to become both the geographic heart of the community and the point of access between the community and the outside world with which it was so intimately connected. Dolly's Creek was

self-sufficient neither materially nor socially and the creek became an important symbolic mediator in exchanges with the outside world. The buildings that physically accommodated the community were tents, inherently temporary in nature and suggesting the ultimate transience of the settlement. However the tents were positioned in such a way relative to one another that the visual, face to face character of the community was facilitated and for the duration of its existence strengthened. The tents were temporary but the lifestyles of their inhabitants reflected a more stable and civilised ideal. The clean white fireplace and the ornate clock that graced its mantle suggest a life made as comfortable and settled as possible.

Patterns of conflict and tension in the lives of the inhabitants of Dolly's Creek are embedded in the material domain of their existence. These patterns can be glimpsed when elements of that existence are isolated and analysed. The cosmopolitan nature of the community is seen in its connections with the outside world, in the social networks created, in the origins of the articles of material culture used, and in the ephemerality of the community as a whole. Colonising motives are also visible, however, in the close personal nature of ties formed within the community and in the determination to settle there for as long as possible and with as many artefacts of civilisation as possible. When the disparate aspects of physical and social life are re-integrated they provide a means of accessing the complex nature of daily existence.

NOTES

1. Diaries kept by miners on the gold fields record the circumstances of their making the decision to leave or to remain in the colony. Griffiths 1988:314; Howitt 1977.
2. Denning describes the beach as the boundary between individual island worlds, a physical and cultural metaphor for interaction between societies and individuals. Islands are the worlds created and lived in by people, dynamic and ever-changing, while beaches are the boundaries that must be crossed between them. People on the beach had to make a new life for themselves that differed both from the one left behind and from the strange, alien life of those that lived there already (Denning 1980:31-34, 129-130). In mediating the experience of the new place the community of Dolly's Creek acted as a beach, translating foreign roles into familiar ones and making discourse between the two possible.
3. Lewis 1985:253; Steffen 1980:xvii-xviii.
4. Allen 1973; Pearson 1983.
5. The concept of sojourners as migrants with no intention of remaining in the new place was developed by Sui (1952), particularly in relation to Chinese in the United States. As people only passing through, sojourners tended not to interact with other residents and tended to retain elements of their native culture, such as dress, diet, and language, rather than assimilating with the larger society. Hardesty has documented this archaeologically among miners on Nevada's gold and silver frontiers (1983). Amongst sojourners the practise of men and women sharing economic resources while living in separate geographic locations has been termed the 'world system household' and has been widely noted amongst many ethnic groups on the American mining frontier (Hardesty 1988:16-17; 1989:10).
6. Birmingham & Jeans 1983:6.
7. Examples of institutions on gold fields towns are municipal councils, Volunteer Rifle Brigades, fire brigades, Mechanics Institutes, hospitals, benevolent asylums, churches, and schools. All of these provided important stabilising influences that '...knit together communities...' (Grimshaw & Fahey 1982:101-102). A government official commenting on the development of gold fields towns in 1855 expressed the hope that the sale of land would similarly aid in community formation, saying, 'The proverbially unsettled lot of the miner has been improved, in prospect at least, by the recent establishment of townships upon the gold fields and the sale of both town and other lands in and around the districts...' (Goldfields of Victoria Royal Commission 1855:99-100).
8. Schuyler 1988:40.
9. Isaac 1982:356. Isaac's use of theatrical metaphors and ethnographic methods in his approaches to understanding eighteenth-century Virginia is discussed extensively on 353-357.
10. Information on mining and the settlements comes from the Quarterly Reports of the Mining Surveyors and from reports in the *Geelong Advertiser* covering the years 1857-1888. These two sources provide the fullest information on Dolly's Creek.
11. *Geelong Advertiser* 20/9/1859, 10/11/1859.
12. Education Department of Victoria 1973:814.
13. Census of Victoria 1861, Parish of Borhoneyghurk 'Ages of the People', 'Birthplaces of the People'. For the purposes of this discussion children have been defined as those between 0 and 20 years of age. Ethnic groups and nationalities represented include Australian, English, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, 'British colonies (not Australian) sic', French, German, 'other European Countries', and Chinese.
14. *Victorian Gazetteer* 1865:118.
15. *Education Department of Victoria* 1973:814.
16. *Geelong Advertiser* 18/12/1888.
17. *Geelong Advertiser* 23/7/1859.
18. *Geelong Advertiser* 1/5/1871.
19. *Geelong Advertiser* 18/4/1870.
20. *Victorian Government Gazettes* 1871:604, 1872:574.
21. Extensive use of sensory data such as sound and smell is used by Keegan in his book *The Face of Battle*, in which he reconstructs the experience of soldiers in battle (Keegan 1988:11).
22. Gill 1982, Griffiths 1988, Tippin 1982.
23. Interview with Mrs Elsie Bayard, 26.6.1991. Mrs Bayard recalls her mother making frequent trips to her father's mine to gather pipeclay and bring it home in a canvas sack. This would have been around the turn of the century.

24. There is an extensive discussion of a miner's gear in *Memoirs of Gold Digging in Australia* (Robe 1979:59-61). The diarist, Seweryn Korzelinski, describes the construction of the tent and its furnishings as well as the kitchen implements and cooking methods.

25. Holmes 1989:44.

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