Streets and stamper batteries – an 'industrial' landscape of gold mining townships in nineteenth-century Queensland

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Gold exploration and mining in late nineteenth-century Queensland led to the development of many small, ephemeral mining townships. These townships had distinctive social landscapes, informed by the cultural values of nineteenth-century regional communities with a recursive relationship between the social and industrial landscape (both physical and cultural). The townscape itself was an active component in the construction and perpetuation of social identity within the mining towns and constructions were further informed by the overpowering influence of the mining landscape. The mining town of Mount Shamrock is used as an example of the application of such a landscape perspective enabling a complex and fine-grained picture of the construction of social identity in the historical landscapes of mining towns to emerge.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The mining towns of nineteenth-century Queensland were distinctive social landscapes informed not only by the cultural values of the time but also by their own spatial and temporal situation. The Upper Burnett is an example of an area where mining was a predominant feature. The district is comprised of a large pastoral and mining area on the upper reaches of the Burnett River west of Bundaberg in Queensland, and takes in the towns of Monto, Eidsvold, Biggenden and Gayndah (Figure 1). The region was progressively settled by Europeans from the 1840s to the 1890s as a result firstly of the expansion of pastoralism, and later the establishment of mining, and the policy of resuming land for agricultural selection (Johnston 1982). This settlement occurred against a backdrop of the political and economic landscape of Queensland at that time.

In 1859 the colony of Queensland separated from New South Wales. The period following Separation was one of instability – major political changes were taking place, with self-government, the election of (not always stable) administrations and continual pressure as a result of fluctuating economies (Fitzgerald 1982:127-129). Natural disasters also contributed to economic difficulties with floods, cyclones and droughts adding to the burden of an already fiscally-challenged colony (Thorpe 1996:163-5).

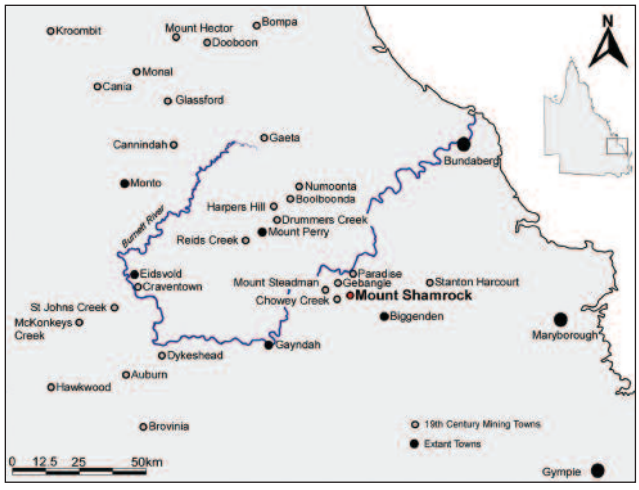

Figure 1: Map of the Burnett showing larger cities, regional centres and the distribution of nineteenth-century mining towns in study area.

The discovery of gold in 1867 at Gympie, south-east of the Upper Burnett, was critical at a time when the new colony was almost bankrupt (Fitzgerald 1982:129-130). Mining in the region quickly took hold and by the late nineteenth century had become the dominant industry (Loyau 1897:56). More than 25 mining towns and hamlets were settled in the Upper Burnett in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Figure 1) after gold was discovered first at Cania in 1870 and at Mount Perry in 1871. Over the next 20 years discoveries were progressively made at, amongst others, Chowey Creek in 1871, Reid's Creek west of Mount Perry in 1879, Mount Shamrock in 1886, Eidsvold in 1887, Paradise in 1889, and Monal in 1891 (Dunstan 1913).

The townships of Eidsvold, Paradise and Mount Shamrock are typical of mining towns in the region. All three were established as a result of mining and were populated by a range of men, women and children. Occupations included miners, shopkeepers, hoteliers, administrators, teachers, carters, timber getters, midwives, tradespeople like bakers, saddlers and seamstresses, doctors, lawyers, and mine managers and owners (Census of the Colony of Queensland 1891). Eidsvold, unlike many other gold towns in the district, proved to have an enduring permanence and is still in existence today. Mining operations continued there until the early 1920s. Nevertheless, these were small scale fields in comparison to the better known fields of Gympie or Charters Towers and insignificant when set against the overall gold production in Queensland of almost 18 million ounces over the 35 years between 1877 and 1912 (Kerr 1992).

These three towns (Eidsvold, Paradise and Mount Shamrock) can each demonstrate elements of landscapes used in the construction of social identity. They also exemplify the integration of livelihood and community. In these settlements, the context of mining and industry was integrally bound up with the social landscape. In this paper, archaeological examinations of Mount Shamrock are compared against historical and archaeological findings from the townships of Eidsvold and Paradise, and are used to shed light on the cultural landscapes of gold mining towns in Queensland more generally. By examining townscape, industry, differential access to land, and the context in which these occurred, it is possible to demonstrate how landscape was used in the construction of identity in nineteenth-century mining towns.

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STRUCTURING OF SPACE – A WAY IN

Landscapes have been conceptualised as compartmentalised components like building blocks or as a continuum of space/place with changing densities of occupation, physical structures, and meaning. This second view encompasses ideas about phenomenology, experiences of being-in-the-world, the recursive relationship between people and place, and the embeddedness of meaning and histories in landscapes that are accessed by movement and narrative. There is a vast array of literature addressing these interpretations of landscape (e.g. Anschuetz *et al*. 2001; Bender 1993; David and Thomas 2008; Ingold 2000; Johnson 2007; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Layton and Ucko 2000; Strang 2008; Thomas 2001) but the first step in doing an archaeology of landscapes is to go back to the 'compartmentalised components' to consider space, structures, boundaries, and artefact scatters to enable the identification of the factors involved in the construction of landscapes. In historical archaeology, this can be underpinned with interpretations of how people lived-in the landscape based on documentary, photographic and oral history evidence, and can be overlain by experiential reading and encounter. But to start, to understand principles like structuring in the landscape, there is a need to 'get to' the components, to deconstruct space, place and material culture to see how these relate to meaning and identity and to determine how the social can be found in landscape.

Space within landscapes can be regarded as lived (Thomas 2001:172), brought into being by human experiences, and as a material entity 'produced or mediated by human behaviour' (Delle 1998:37). As such, space is structured, despite having 'no substantial essence of itself' (Tilley 1994:11). Spaces are 'amenable to reproduction or change because their constitution takes place as part of the day-to-day praxis or practical activity of individuals or groups in the world' (Tilley 1994:10). In turn, everyday practice can be reflected in the archaeological record, demonstrating how space was used and illuminating possible meanings (Thomas 2001:180-181). Lightfoot *et al*. (1998:202) considered space to play an active role in the creation of social identities and within cultural practices and they acknowledged that the way space is structured facilitates social process.

David (2002:31) also recognised that the structuring of space can be provided by built structures and activity areas, and identified hospitals, schools, paths, village greens and gardens as prescribed behavioural spaces. Built structures provide a number of ways to negotiate and structure space and architecture 'embodies and expresses certain principles of order and classification' (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996:40) so that structures are not only contextually encountered but themselves provide context transmitting ideas about social ideology (Burke 1999; Graves 2003; Leone 1984:26). Therefore, any examination of social space should consider organisation and the use of space, together with how architectural structures frame space and contextualise activities.

However, over-emphasis on the role of architectural structures in defining space can neglect socially-activated spaces that have no built structures. Meaning can be fixed equally to a natural feature (e.g. Taçon 1999) or the locality of an event or an area of activity in the wider landscape (Prangnell and Mate 2011). In other words, a locality can be transformed into a socially-constituted space owing to experience or events, not just structures.

These views lead to an emphasis on the role of town layout, spatial segregation and the form of built structures as modes of discourse to transmit the ideology of social landscapes in mining towns. Therefore, examining the layout of a town, the use of space and the built structures enables consideration of the social organisation in the landscape, and the effects of industry on the landscapes of these towns.

Townscapes

The geographical distribution of settlements, buildings and structures on mining landscapes reflects in part physical determinants such as topography, water availability, transportation routes and mine location (Hardesty 2003:92). However, the type and distribution of settlements, their layout, and buildings and structures in a landscape also reflect cultural concepts of settlement and community (Hardesty 2003:92; see also Knapp 1998). Built structures create a focus for social activity and a means of constructing social identity (Burke 1999:31-32; Tilley 1993:80). In particular, social identity can be articulated through the style, size, layout and decoration of a house, the plants, structures and perspectives of gardens (Burke 1999:143-153; Kealhofer 1999:58-59; Leone 1984), and the location of a structure within a town, a 'social topography' (Hardesty 1998:88), where the location of residences, workplaces and civic institutions in prominent positions in the landscape transmit social identity and power, facilitating inclusion in, and exclusion from, social groups (Burke 1999:165, 180; Delle 1998:10; Graves 2003:38).

The distribution of buildings and structures, together with the structuring of space, can be considered an identifiable component of people's efforts to construct social order. Space in an historical context applies not just to open space, but also to areas enclosed through roads and routes, the enclosure of pastures and the parcelling of land in selection and so on. These spaces, together with homesteads and gardens, areas of operation or activities (the task-scapes of Ingold (2000:520)), and places where travel and narrative took place (Armstrong 2001:47), all join together to make up the cultural landscape. Further, the identification of spatial arrangements in townscapes, examining areas of occupation and hierarchical structuring of spaces, also allows the assessment of differentiation between groups of people (see Lightfoot *et al*. 1998). Civic layout can also be considered as a material expression of cultural traditions, the creation of public spaces and places playing a role in the (re)creation of cultural identity (Armstrong 2001:47; Gosden 2004:2; Graves 2003). Thus the identification of these spaces, by examining spatial patterning, aids in the interpretation of that landscape.

The approach to settling a town in nineteenth-century Queensland allowed for the parcelling of land which in effect created 'lots' or 'property' that restricted access for people other than the selectors (Byrne 2003). The town layout also defined areas of activity, for example residential areas, areas where administrative buildings were often grouped, areas of industrial activity (although this did not seem to preclude the building of residences for example on machinery areas) and areas of 'relegation', with topography used to aid the transmission of ideology – on high (with outlook, commanding position, away from unhealthy dampness) versus low (close to the flooding river).

The early layout of the town of Eidsvold (Figure 2) demonstrates this distinction. The discovery of gold in Eidsvold in 1887 led to a 'rush' with a busy township quickly emerging:

> Within a year of the beginning of the rush, Eidsvold was a large canvas town with eight public houses, eight stores, two bakers, two butchers and all other trades except a shoemaker, Roman Catholic church, Salvation Army barracks, two sawmills, a dancing saloon and a population of 1200 (O'Connor 1948:64).

Eidsvold is located approximately 4 km from the Burnett River. In the nineteenth century, it was bounded on the west by a hill and on the east by Harkness and Boundary Creeks, with

the main part of town situated between the creek and the hill. The mines were located on the top of the hill overlooking the town, with the Mining Warden's residence situated on the eastern side of the hill close to the mines and above the town (Figure 2). A number of large residential blocks were located downhill from the mining leases, situated high on the hill in imposing positions, on the rise above the flats. Smaller residential and business lots containing miners' residences, hotels, bakeries and stables were situated on the flats adjacent to the two creeks. This graduation of land lots appears to reflect differences in status in the community (a 'hillside stratification' Knapp 1998:11-12). This is a feature that has been noted elsewhere, for example in examinations of company-run mining towns in the USA (Metheny 2002: 169-173). The location of the mining warden's house on the hillside overlooking the town is in a position of power, especially considering the far reach that was apparently within the mining warden's interest (QSA Brief Guide 13 nd). Civic areas such as the courthouse, school and various churches were also in prime positions, reinforcing the apparent hierarchy imprinted on the town through its layout. The police barracks were located on the outskirts of town, possibly showing ideas about protection from the outside world, and placing the evidence of crime and misconduct at the periphery. Chinese market gardeners were similarly situated beyond the creek at the periphery.

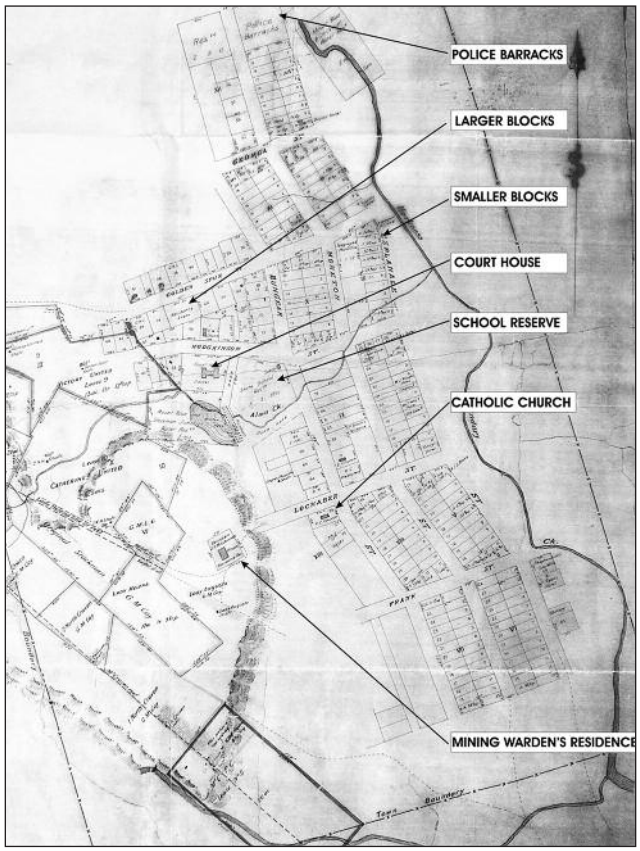

Figure 2: Plan of Eidsvold Township c. 1895 showing location of various buildings and residential lots (QSA SRS 2029/1).

Paradise was established after the discovery of gold in 1888 (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:5). By 1890, a settled township emerged boasting the ubiquitous hotels, together with blacksmiths, grocers, butchers, a sawmill and soft drink factory. Up to 700 people had settled in Paradise at its peak (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:1). township was located on the banks of the Burnett River, with the majority of the settlement situated on a slope leading up to a ridge behind the township

Figure 3: Paradise Township 1891 showing location of various areas (QSA SRS 1873/1).

in the east (Figure 3). The main street ran along the river and commercial and administrative buildings were concentrated in this area (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:16) together with the first machine area nominated in Paradise (Mining Warden Biggenden 1886–1909). The layout of the township of Paradise (Figure 3) is in some ways similar to the layout of Eidsvold – the courthouse and the school reserve situated in positions of prominence, the location of the police on the outskirts of town, the Chinese market gardens beyond the town boundary and the mining area located behind the town. Businesses along the main street were on the river flats while houses were predominantly clustered on the slopes above the flat, although little stratification related to status was observable in the location of houses. As will be discussed shortly, the relative lack of difference in locations between small and large houses corresponds to the structuring found at Mount Shamrock and the relatively limited social hierarchy that was found in these two closely related communities.

The main mining area at Paradise, containing seven mines, was located behind the township, commencing on the ridge above the town and continuing down the slope to Paradise Creek (Tennent, Isokangas Pty Ltd 2003:7-8). The mines at Paradise operated over the 11 years from 1890 to 1901 (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:67). However, the mining disappeared as quickly as it arrived, with the town 'all but deserted by 1904' (Prangnell *et al*. 2005: 93) as people moved onto other fields in the district.

THE STRUCTURED LANDSCAPE OF MOUNT SHAMROCK

One of these fields was Mount Shamrock, where gold had been discovered in 1886. Initially settled by British and German residents, Mount Shamrock grew organically in its earliest days. While in some ways mirroring the population of Paradise and Eidsvold, there were no Chinese occupants, possibly due to the relatively small scale of the settlement. This mining town was largely abandoned when nearby

Paradise was settled, with many families moving from Mount Shamrock to the new town. However, people returned to Mount Shamrock once mining operations at Paradise began to decline (Mining Warden Biggenden 1890–1933). Mount Shamrock was located on a river flat above Didcot Creek. The main street contained both business and residential lots. The mine and associated processing areas were somewhat removed from the town itself, approximately 500 m away on the hill above the township, bounded in the north by Chowey Creek. There was one primary mine at Mount Shamrock, owned and operated by a number of people over its life. More than 20,000 ounces of gold were produced at Mount Shamrock in the first 15 years of operation (Ball 1901:7) and mining continued, often in a piecemeal fashion until the 1930s. By 1935 the township of Mount Shamrock had faded out, eventually disappearing as Paradise had done, leaving only archaeological traces.

Although occupied into the twentieth century, Mount Shamrock was initially located and structured in the nineteenth century, and consciously or not, the residents created the structure of the landscapes, following the rules of society at that time, which to some degree are identifiable. There were several elements in the structuring of space that reflected social organisation both within the town and more broadly: defined activity areas for mining, dwelling and business; areas for lower status activities; and limits on access based on ethnic grounds and through the parcelling of land (seen in the portioning of land and physical fencing limiting the access of people other than the land owners).

As settlements associated with the procurement of natural resources must be located in proximity to those resources the primary motivator for settlement at Mount Shamrock was the presence of the mineral deposit. The town's first tents and humpies were located relatively near the mines (Figure 4). Proximity to water was also an important consideration. Dwellings were therefore distributed on the flats on both sides of Didcot Creek, extending south on the western side of the creek. Although Mining Warden Edmund Craven was credited with selecting the location of the town in 1887 (*Maryborough Chronicle* 23 June 1887), the area already contained camp sites and established businesses, and residents had constructed buildings. Suitable topography in close proximity to the mine however was not the only factor in the selection of the residential area. Despite the existence of suitable ground at the eastern base of the mine hill, people elected to camp away from the mines, around 500 m south of the prospectors' claims. This created the first form of structure in the landscape, a designated area for mining, largely isolated from the residential area. This separation may have been driven by a desire to be buffered from the noise and dust of mining. The only domestic structure in the mining area located archaeologically appears to have been the Mine Manager's house, situated between the base of the hill and the dam. Although domestic, this residence was directly related to mining operations, as the first mine manager Joseph Lalonde oversaw the installation of the first processing equipment on the field and continued to oversee mining operations during the first year of operation.

The mining and processing area occupied a position of dominance on the hill above the town. Although mine workings were not directly visible from the town, the hill was imposing (Figure 5) and would have been a marked presence in the landscape. The Mining Warden's tent, used for administrative business, was seen as the 'principal public structure on the field' (*Maryborough Chronicle* 12 February 1887). It was located at the top of the hill, looking across the various claims. This position, overlooking everything, was similar to that of the Mining Warden's residence at Eidsvold and the Court House in Paradise and made a palpable statement regarding the power of the Mining Warden.

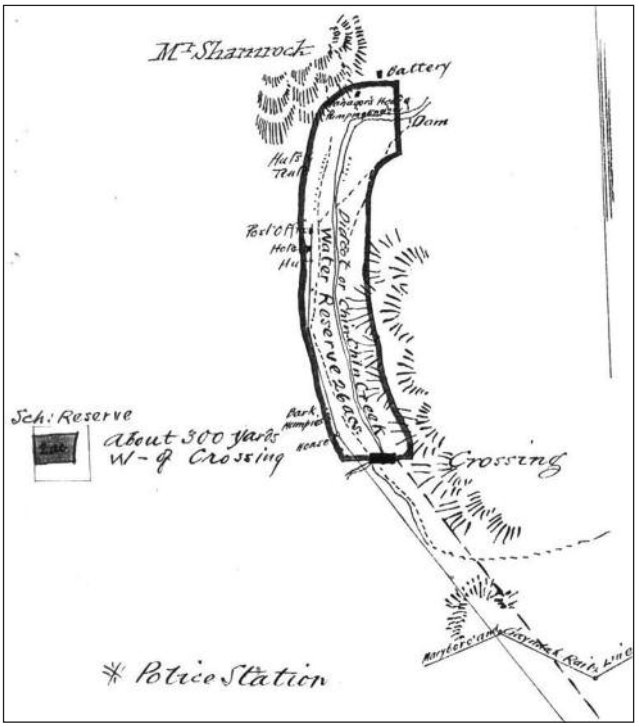

Figure 4: Plan of Mount Shamrock showing location on police station, mine managers house, water reserve, post office, hotel, humpies and tents (QSA 15567).

Figure 5: The mine hill at Mount Shamrock as seen from the town flat (Photo Courtesy of Nick Burrell).

The school was also located in a place of prominence, at the top of the second hill in Mount Shamrock (Figure 6). The selection of this position by residents can be considered deliberate as adequate flat land was available behind the

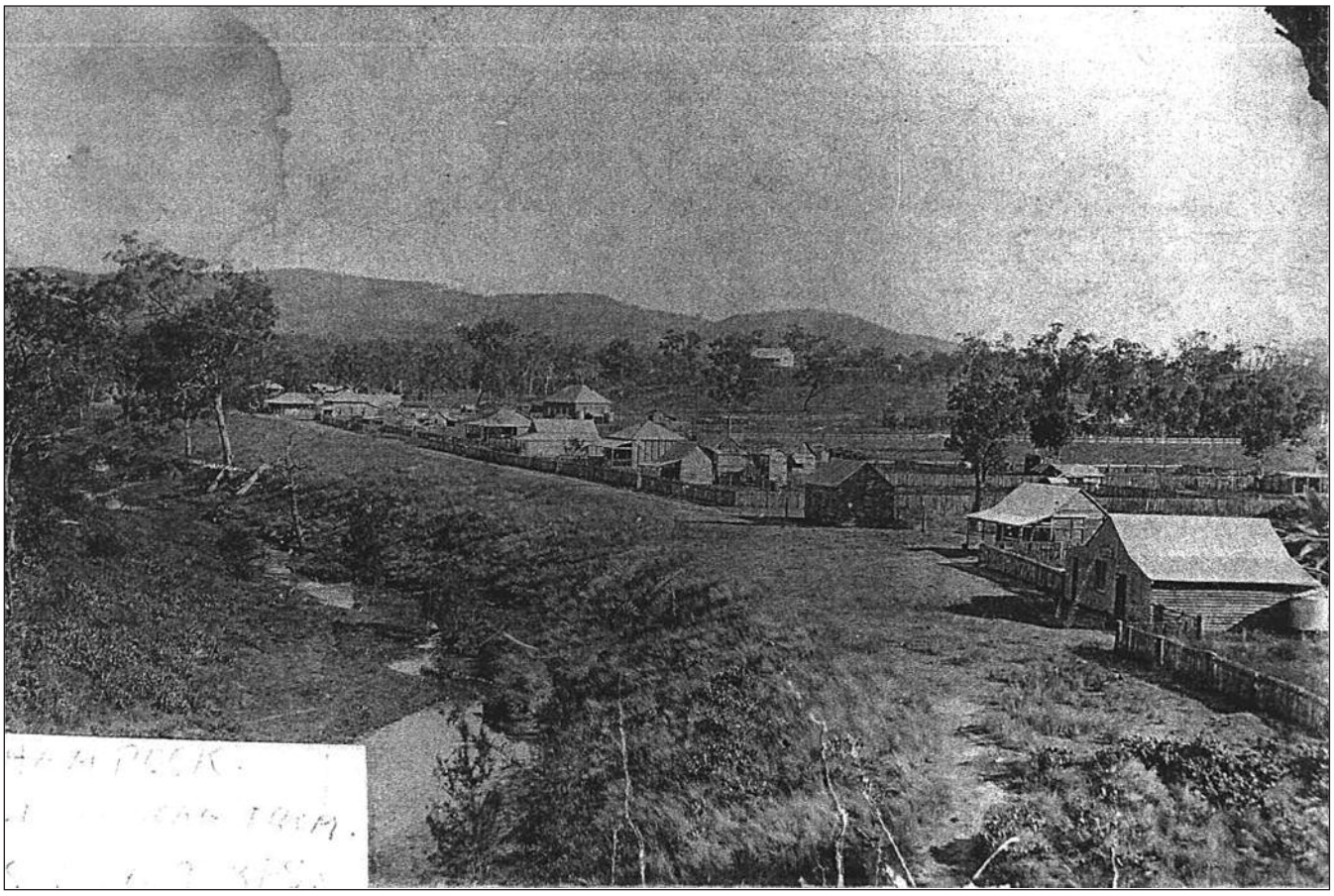

Figure 6: Mount Shamrock township, 1908. A variety of house types and fencing styles (predominantly picket fences) are identifiable. The school is highly visible in the middle of the picture above the houses. The assembly room is the large building on the town flat, behind the houses and businesses (John Oxley Library, Image No 101260).

residential and business area. Churches and administrative buildings such as courthouses in nineteenth-century Queensland settlements often occupied a hill top position but there were no municipal or administrative buildings in Mount Shamrock. Instead, the school building fulfilled these roles, being the venue for public performances, community dances and other entertainment, the location where visiting clergymen held church services and the venue for elections, public meetings and receptions for visiting dignitaries. The location was not selected for practical reasons; there was considerable debate over location between residents when the school building from Paradise was moved to Mount Shamrock (QSA 15567). Despite identification of more suitable and accessible locations, the school remained in a focal position on the hill, overlooking the town, visible to all.

In contrast to the prominent position of both mine and school, the residential and business area was located on the town flat, with residences spread along the main street for the length of the town. Businesses were predominantly located closer to the mining end of town, the first area settled (see Figure 4). As the township became more settled, businesses and residences extended south along the west side of Didcot Creek and the township became naturally bounded by the creek. Recreation areas were located on the western side of the residences on Main Street, where a cricket ground appears to have been situated. A second area south of Didcot Creek was variously described as a racecourse, recreation ground and cricket ground (Department of Mines, MP13500; Johns 1892–1942; Mines Department 1914).

While colonial cadastration is often attributed as the main factor in the organisation of mining towns in the late nineteenth century, the fine-detailed examination of the evolution of spatial organisation, the size and configuration of land parcels, and individual selection of location demonstrates that, in fact, individual agency was largely at play in the choice of location and size of land and buildings. Homestead Leases at Mount Shamrock were established by residents, rather than being officially surveyed, and hand-drawn sketches accompanied applications (Mining Warden Biggenden 1890–1933). The selectors generally adhered to the legislative requirements and there was a degree of consistency in the size of lease boundaries. However, archaeological and documentary evidence show that not everyone took up the designated amount of land, with variability in the amount and shape of land selected. For example, the Miners' Homestead Lease held by Thomas Berrie was approximately half an acre in size and the block irregular in shape. In some instances, people flouted the requirements while ostensibly operating within them. Some leases, such as that held by Michael McKeirnan, were larger than the allotted area. There were also places where, at least in the 1900s, no lease was taken despite the fact that people were living there, for example the archaeological remnants of Granny Bayntun's house and garden together with documentary evidence of another cottage occupied at different times by the Denzler, Mann and Baker families (Anon n.d.; Johns 1892–1942; Police Service Commissioners Office 1891–1942) show the cottages were located in the gazetted Water Reserve.

The evidence from these two residences suggests that there were at least two houses not officially selected or leased from the Lands Department in the normal manner. While not necessarily poor, the families living in these cottages were of lower social status within the community hierarchy (Mate 2013). The location of these houses closer to the creek and the

lack of official status of their land holdings appear to show that there was some physical structuring of the town's social order. Nevertheless, across the town as a whole, the relative lack of division and hierarchy of space observable in the structuring of the residential and business area of Mount Shamrock corresponds with the town being a small and fairly egalitarian community where access to wealth and status lay in the hands of people who actively engaged in a discourse of identity, promoting and mobilising their own status (Mate 2013).

The roadways and paths identified archaeologically at Mount Shamrock were another aspect of structuring in the landscape. They acted as a 'channel for movement' (Tilley 1994:17). The roadways to and from the mine, the coach road, and the tracks to Biggenden, Degilbo and Paradise all guided and restricted movement through the landscape. Further, fencelines had a role in guiding movement, influencing not only where people could go but also their experience of the landscape. Fences specifically allowed access to some and restricted access to others, creating nominal but obvious barriers. By fencing, residents were signifying meanings they had given to space and asserting ownership.

The most distasteful activities were placed at a distance or out of sight of the main street of town. For instance, two dumps were identified, one located archaeologically in the gully at the north boundary of the school, the other (its location known to fossickers) over the creek bank, on the eastern edge of the township. Similarly, the slaughter yards were situated southwest of the town; and the cemetery was situated the requisite distance of one mile south of the town. However, attitudes to, and structure in, the landscape and domestic space changed through time. The spatial structure of Mount Shamrock changed with changing cultural mores, the advent of the Great War, the provision of better transport and the closer settlement of the region. There was a greater separation of town and mine, particularly as the residents became more involved with agriculture and less with mining. There were also changing scales of landscape with new modes of transport, both in the provision of rail after 1905 and in the arrival of motor vehicles. There were even changes in the structure of the township, the school for example becoming less of a focal point in the community when an Assembly Room was established around 1905.

BUILT STRUCTURES

It was not only in the structuring of space that cultural rules and social projections of status occurred – social identity is also articulated through the size and style of housing and the structure of gardens. In Eidsvold, this was particularly apparent with administrative buildings such as the courthouse, the post office and banks all appearing to be places of distinction as a result of both location and the architecture employed (Figure 7a-c). This is apparent when these buildings are compared to mining cottages in the lower part of the town, or the well constructed timber buildings with verandas are contrasted with the 'tent town' of early miners (O'Connor 1948:64).

Similarly, in Paradise, the courthouse was a relatively imposing building in a town of relatively unimposing buildings (Figure 7d) reinforcing the importance of this institution through its appearance. The government buildings in general were more substantial than other buildings in the town (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:18). There was some differentiation in house size, dependent on status. For example, prominent

Figure 7: Administrative buildings in the Upper Burnett (a) Eidsvold Courthouse (Queensland State Library, neg. no. 184257; (b) Eidsvold Post Office (Queensland State Library, neg. no. 184256); (c) Eidsvold National Bank (Queensland State Library, neg. no. 13287); (d) Paradise Courthouse and Allen Street, Paradise (inset) (Photo courtesy of Biggenden Historical Society).

families such as the Shuttleworths had large houses while other, less well-off, families had smaller dwellings (Prangnell *et al*. 2005:17, 31, 46; Quirk 2007). Archaeological evidence suggests these buildings were predominantly built of timber on stumps with shingle or corrugated iron roofs, many with brick or stone fireplaces (Prangnell *et al*. 2002).

Bell (1998:31-33) suggests that miners' houses were diverse in form and material although most commonly made of timber frames with sawn timber and later iron-cladding, while the size of houses, their locations and the general configuration of settlements varied as a result of design processes. At Mount Shamrock, the material used for permanent structures is consistent with Bell's (1998) typical miner's cottage, namely predominantly wooden structures with iron or shingle roofs. Archaeological evidence shows brick was used for some flooring or paving but was mainly present in fireplaces. Archival and photographic evidence shows that tents and bark humpies were used before permanent houses were established. There was little archaeological evidence for these although some canvas eyelets were found. The dominant house form was single storey, timber construction, generally mounted on timber stumps although even in the 1900s some bark humpies were still evident.

The size, location and presentation of buildings provide some of the clearest social indicators available from the archaeological record at Mount Shamrock. Larger public buildings such as Berrie's Hotel, the school and Assembly Room reflected the nature of buildings catering for groups of people. The differences in the size of domestic residential structures suggest some differences in the status of the residents. For example, the mine manager Parry's house was much larger than lower status dwellings, such as that of neighbour, Pierce Williams.

Architectural elaborations, including plaster decorations, ornate fire-place components, cast iron decorations and pressed-metal ceiling decorations, along with external decorations, such as timber cladding, painting, ornate veranda structures, picket fences and gardens, may be indicators of status. Archaeologically, there is some evidence that kerosene tins were used for cladding (although it appears this was particularly on ancillary buildings). Post and wire fences identified were predominantly associated with functional structures including businesses and the school, and lower-status dwellings, including that of Granny Bayntun. Longer-term settled dwellings had evidence of picket fences. Archaeological survey showed that gardens included both functional vegetation such as fruit trees and decorative plants including jasmine, palms and rose bushes. Decorative picket fences and ornamental trees suggest the desire to project both a settled and civilised appearance.

Decisions about the selection of particular plots of land and the location of houses within individual leases are indicators of individual agency. At Mount Shamrock, the location and orientation of individual houses on each lease varied, as did the presence and location of ancillary buildings. Archaeological and photographic evidence shows that houses faced the main street but were set at different distances from the roadway, another matter of individual choice. However businesses were located right on the boundary between the Miners Homestead Leases and the roadway, perhaps a social convention. Miners Homestead Leases were effectively personal spaces, bounded by fences. Access to property was somewhat limited by fencing but it was as much symbolic, delineating space and marking boundaries. Nevertheless, verandas may have constituted social space as visiting was a common occurrence (Bilbrough n.d.). In contrast, the interiors of houses can be considered to have been intimate space, where entrance was through invitation. Hotels and businesses, as well as the functional spaces of work places, roadways and the school made up public space. In these places access was less restricted and many people made use of these areas. Roadways in particular were not just transport routes but were used for recreational strolls (Bilbrough n.d.; Johns 1892–1942). Although the mine was also a destination for occasional recreational visits, it was also a somewhat restricted area, being a predominantly male space. Women instead made use of shops, rather than the hotels, as public spaces, often meeting and socialising at various shops in the evenings (Bilbrough n.d.).

Residential architecture and the material culture of structures contributed to construction of social identity. This was particularly apparent in the relative size of dwellings and in the presentation of gardens. The articulation of identity was a reflexive notion, giving and taking meaning; a self-fulfilling prophecy of 'this is how I present myself and in turn take that meaning from my projections'. By constructing residences that symbolised a particular status, residents were then able to conform to, affirm or assume that status.

MINING LANDSCAPES

Another element of the built historic landscape in the Burnett was the presence of mines. It is important that the industries operating in these places are included in the array of social influences acting on communities. Mines and machines as built structures were imposing – visible from townships – and they represented employment, wealth and the power of mine owners, and were an integral part of the structuring of the landscape.

The industrial context of these towns pervaded every aspect of the residents' lives; the physical environment, with the ever-present noise, dust and visible features of mining and processing like mine shafts and stamper batteries were an accepted part of the landscape. Certainly, the archaeological evidence from Mount Shamrock shows the relative proximity of processing remnants such as cyanide tailings, mullock heaps, and trackways to the domestic areas (Mate 2013).

Similarly, in Paradise the haulage road for ore went straight past the courthouse and a major stamper battery was located directly opposite the imposing edifice of the courthouse in the main street of town (Figure 7d). Further to this, archaeological evidence from Paradise suggests that the house of James McGhie, a prominent and relatively well off local businessman and mine owner was located adjacent to and on the same block as the town battery (Prangnell and Murphy 2006). It is certainly clear that domestic and industrial landscapes in this environment were inseparable. The mining landscape in Eidsvold was also highly visible, with mullock heaps and mine heads dotting the landscape (Figure 8). An industrial monument such as a windlass can represent more than just a piece of equipment operating at a mine – it can represent a person's activity; it can represent part of a visual landscape; it can symbolise ownership or control (Palmer and Neaverson 1998:7).

Therefore it is clear that there is a recursive relationship between the social and industrial landscapes, in terms of both their relative physical location and cultural attitudes to mining, demonstrated by industrial workings situated in townships like Eidsvold, Paradise and Mount Shamrock. The landscape of any new settlement is composed in part of the events and activities that have occurred there, these events and activities being the things that help to contextually compose the landscape of a settlement and create meaning and attachment to that landscape. Gold mining was a major context of these towns in the nineteenth century; it was an integral part of people's lived experience and was elemental in the construction of their identity. It was also a physical reality of the landscapes of the mining towns in the Upper Burnett.

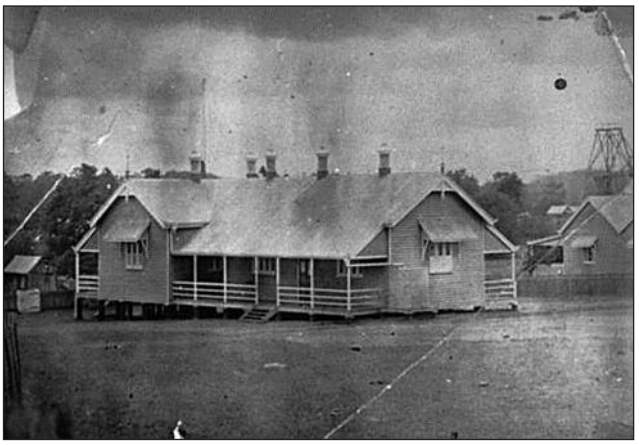

Figure 8: Eidsvold School and residence, with mine headframe in background (Queensland State Library, neg. no. 184260).

CONCLUSION

The social landscape of Mount Shamrock was informed by townscape, reflecting people's ideas about status together with culturally constituted ideas about what was important. The people of the Upper Burnett had specific ideas about what constituted a town, including 'essential' components such as schools, post offices, courthouses. The distribution of mining settlements across the landscape reflected physical determinants like topography, water availability, transportation routes, and the location of the ore body. However, elements of social constraints such as land ownership and consideration of the acceptable proximity of residences to mines shaped the form of settlements. Cultural rules at work dictated the appropriate way to lay out a town, and guided the location of the school, slaughter yard, dump and cemetery. The actions of individuals come through both in the selection of particular land lots, and in the choices they made when constructing their dwellings. At the same time, these settlements were integrally placed in a mining landscape, which impacted the residents' everyday life and placed context around people's lived experience.

Although not an important area in terms of gold mining, it is apparent that the mine towns of the Upper Burnett provide a window to the social landscape of Queensland in the nineteenth century. Evidence of the spatial arrangement of towns and the role of built structures in perpetuating social identity contribute to our understanding of these gold mining communities. In examining the distinctive and integrated social landscapes of gold mining towns, an integrated landscape of meaning and experience is discovered which highlights individual decisions and attempts to construct and present a particular identity in a mining landscape.

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