Kapunda's Irish connections

In the 1840s and 1850s, Irish migrants to South Australia came from all sections of society—farm labourers and mine workers, pastoralists and farmers, professionals and tradespeople, entrepreneurs and capitalists. They included landless and poor Irish Catholics, middle-class Irish Catholics, and Anglo-Irish gentry of the Protestant Ascendancy. This full range of 'Irishness' could be observed in Kapunda, 75 kilometres north of Adelaide, which was described in the mid-nineteenth century as 'perhaps the largest secondary town in the Colony' with about 3,000 inhabitants.[1]

Charles Harvey Bagot arrives in South Australia

Amongst the first European colonists to arrive in the Kapunda area was Charles Harvey Bagot[2] in 1841. Bagot had been born at Nurney, County Kildare in 1788 'in the old family mansion'.[3] He was the eleventh of twelve children born to Elizabeth and Christopher Bagot, somewhat impoverished members of the Anglo-Irish elite. In his memoirs (which he completed between 1851 and 1854 when he was in his sixties), Bagot reflected back on his early years in Ireland, including his experience of the 1798 rebellion when he was ten years old. While acknowledging the toll that this rebellion took on his family's finances and health, he was sympathetic overall to the Irish rebels, noting that the Irish were 'forced into open rebellion by the horridly coercive measures' of martial law, floggings, burnings and other outrages by an 'exasperated and badly controlled soldiery'.[4]

After spending time abroad on active service in the British army, Bagot returned to Ireland in 1819 with his wife, Mary, and their growing family in the hope of settling there permanently. In 1821, his brother-in-law, Bindon Blood (married to Bagot's sister Harriet), offered him the job of land agent for his property in County Clare. He accepted this position gladly, and his relations with the local Irish appear to have been generally benevolent; he describes his house staff as an 'uncultivated but exceedingly civil and amenable Irish peasantry' and the local people as 'a simple inoffensive people, glad to accept employment and grateful for the little attentions to their wants and their comfort it was in our power to show them'.[5] Bagot and his wife appear to have taken their responsibilities seriously, and acted as arbiters in disputes and advocates in times of trouble, seeing the local people as friends.[6] After Bindon Blood moved to a nearby property in 1823, opportunities for social interactions between the families increased, and Blood and his daughters frequently stayed with the Bagots.[7] Although he had fully expected to live in Ireland for the remainder of his days, Bagot was increasingly concerned about ongoing troubles in Ireland and particularly by the potentially negative impact of the *Irish Poor Law Act* in 1838. Keen to provide for his family and knowing that his sons were very attracted by the Australian colonies, he made the decision to move to South Australia.[8]

In August 1840, with Mary and their five children, Bagot set sail on board the *Birman*, bound for Port Adelaide. He took with him a special survey of 4000 acres purchased by Sir Montague Chapman of County Westmeath, who had allocated to Bagot the right to select and manage the 4000 acres in return for one-quarter of the land. Chapman was another member of the Anglo-Irish establishment, whose ancestry was from Leicestershire; he later travelled to South Australia in 1852 to finalise his affairs with Bagot.[9] Also travelling on the *Birman* were 224 emigrants in steerage selected by the Colonial Commissioners.[10] They included 42 married couples (84 men and women), 18 single men, 23 single women, and 99 children aged fourteen years and younger.[11] Farewelling Bagot were his brothers, George and Edward, and Bindon Blood, all of whom had been staying with the Bagot family in Cork.

Bagot wrote a journal, unpublished, over the course of 1840 and 1841 describing his voyage from Cork to Port Adelaide, and his first year in South Australia.[12] Although the Colonial Commissioners had selected the steerage emigrants, this was at Bagot's request,[13] and it is clear that he knew at least some of them, as he laments the loss of Michael Hickey from typhus, just a day or two out at sea, 'who had been in my employment and for whom I had a sincere regard'.[14] Published research indicates that, in fact, most of the 224 Catholic emigrants were known to him[15]—although Hickey is the only one he refers to directly in his writings—and that they came from County Clare.[16] Drew states that Bagot was involved in selecting almost all of the emigrants, and that they were mainly people that he knew and trusted from his years in County Clare.[17] Following their arrival in South Australia, these migrants are reported to have moved north with other Irish migrants, some of them to join Bagot at Kapunda.[18] This would certainly fit with the positive reciprocal relationship that Bagot had developed with the Catholic Irish while living in Ireland.

The *Birman* arrived safely in Port Adelaide on 7 December 1840. By his second day in Adelaide, Bagot had already called on the home of his maternal cousin, William Oldham.[19] Oldham had been born in Dublin in 1811, educated at Trinity College Dublin, and had been living in Adelaide since 1838.[20] He accompanied Bagot on his land inspections south of Adelaide as he looked for suitable land to take up for Sir Montague Chapman.[21]

The rise and rise of Kapunda

By April 1841, after travelling great distances in search of land that met his needs, Bagot had settled at 'Koonunga', 80 kilometres north of Adelaide. Here he established a sheep run, farming some of the sheep on behalf of Frederick Hansborough Dutton, who owned land close by at 'Anlaby'. His ambition of being a successful sheep farmer changed dramatically when, in 1842, his young son, Charles, and Dutton's brother, Francis Stacker Dutton, discovered a rich vein of copper.[22] Neither Bagot nor Dutton initially owned the land on which the copper was found but, through some tactical manoeuvres, they managed to buy it without anybody else realising its potential value. The copper mine opened as a surface mine in 1844[23] and the township that developed close by became known as Kapunda. One of the first instances of the area being referred to as Kapunda, in fact, was in an article in the *Adelaide Observer* in 1845, which refers to the 'Kapunda Mines'.[24]

Output and employment at the mine increased every year for many years, and during this time, Bagot's connections with other Anglo-Irish men were well-honed. Firstly, in 1846, William Oldham was persuaded to come to Kapunda. He was appointed purser at the mine in 1847, and became mine manager on Bagot's retirement in 1848, a position he held until 1867.[25] Then, in 1847, Dr Matthew Henry Smyth Blood (of the County Clare Bloods) emigrated from Ireland.[26] He was appointed mine doctor by Bagot in 1848, and also became Kapunda's first medical doctor.[27]

Forth has argued that social ties and family relationships were particularly important for the Anglo-Irish in Australia and that as a result of their historic situation in Ireland, the Anglo-Irish tended to be close-knit and bound by strong feelings of solidarity.[28] This is evidenced in the case of Bagot, Oldham and Blood (Figure 1) who used their community and kinship bonds to help build successful new lives in South Australia. In Kapunda, they were acknowledged as the 'notable Irishmen'—respectable men of means, Anglo-Irish and Protestant.[29]

In 1852, the Kapunda copper mine suffered a downturn when most of the miners left for the Victorian gold rush. William Oldham later wrote how with nearly all the miners gone, it was 'with considerable difficulty' that the mine engine was kept going and the mine kept dry.[30] At one stage, only four miners

remained. However, during 1854 and 'especially in the early part of 1855', Oldham recorded that large numbers of workers either returned or came to work,[31] including significant numbers of Irish migrants.[32] These migrants—Catholic, with little means, not regarded as 'respectable'—were very different from the Anglo-Irish triumvirate of Bagot, Oldham and Blood.

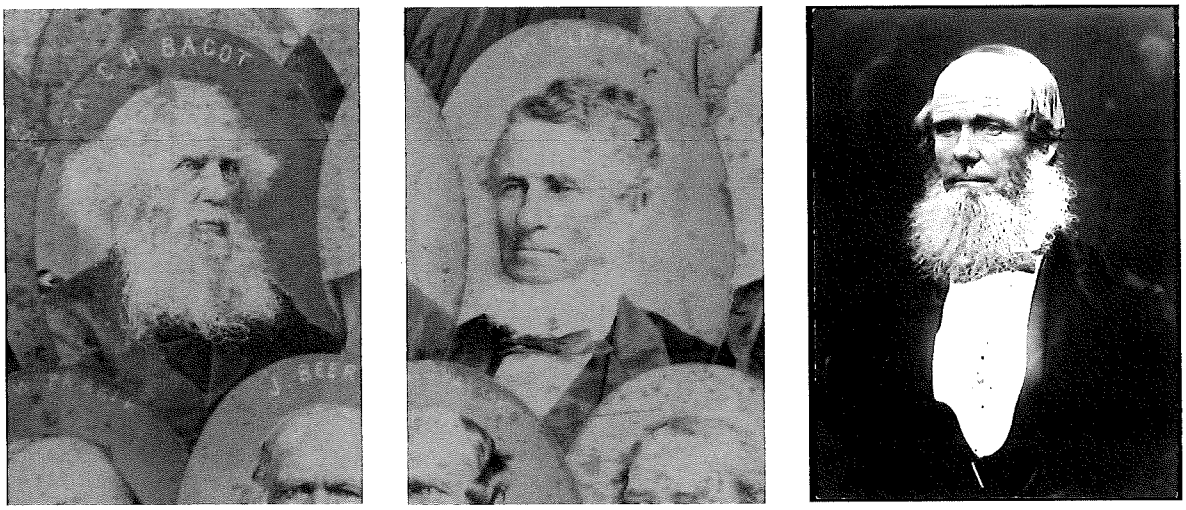

Figure 1 L to R: Captain Charles Harvey Bagot, William Oldham, Dr Matthew Henry Smyth Blood. Photos of Bagot and Oldham by Townsend Duryea, 1872 (Source: State Library of South Australia (SLSA), B 8235/1/210; B 8235/1/18L). Photo of Blood by unknown photographer, approximately 1860 (Source: SLSA B 9945).

The Irish arrive at Baker's Flat

The year 1854 is generally accepted as the time when this wave of Irish migrants, 'almost 100 per cent Catholic in faith', began to arrive in large numbers at Kapunda, mainly to fill the demand for mine labour.[33] Oral histories, newspaper death notices, and genealogical research indicate that many came from the south-west of Ireland, in particular County Clare.[34] This also fits with statistical reports indicating that, from 1840 to 1866, Clare was the greatest single source of assisted[35] Irish immigrants to South Australia.[36]

These new Irish found a rent-free place to live near the mine—an area of unused flat land known as Baker's Flat. And this is where an intriguing connection between Bagot, Sir Montague Chapman and the Baker's Flat Irish becomes apparent. The official name for Baker's Flat, sometimes known as Baker's Block, is Section 7598 (Figure 2). Recent research has uncovered the fact that this land, which straddles the river Light, was first surveyed in late 1841 at Bagot's request, and then selected as part of the 4,000 acre Chapman selection.[37] Although Section 7598 was allocated to Chapman at that time, it was swapped in 1842 for 500 acres near Dry Creek.[38] By 1845, 490 acres of the section were owned by Mary Baker and her son John Baker (hence 'Baker's Flat'), James Poole and William Howard.[39] In the following years, John Baker sold some portions of it, but continued to be associated with Section 7598 for many years, including when the Irish arrived in 1854.[40]

Although speculative, it is possible that Bagot could have facilitated the settlement of Baker's Flat by the Irish in 1854. At that time, the landowners were absent, the land was unused yet conveniently close to the mine which required workers, and Bagot knew the land intimately. Combined with his benevolent attitude and sense of responsibility towards the working Irish, and bearing in mind that some of the *Birman* emigrants are recorded as having joined Bagot at Kapunda,[41] it could well be that the appropriation of Baker's Flat by the Irish was not random.

Compounding this is the curious fact that, in 1845, Fr Michael Ryan celebrated Mass at the Kapunda mine 'two days in succession', on February 24 and 25.[42] Fr Ryan had barely arrived in Adelaide, yet one of his first duties was 'being despatched to "The Mines"'.[43] It indicates that there were already enough Irish at Kapunda to justify a pastoral visit, and with the Bagot connection, there may already have been Irish people living on Baker's Flat. Drew certainly speculates that the Irish were squatting on Baker's Flat during the late 1840s, and that they came to the area in response to an increased demand for labour after the first horse whim[44] was erected at the mine in 1845, enabling deeper underground workings.[45] It was a similar situation which brought the Irish in the 1850s—the introduction of steam technology enabled deeper workings and led to a need for more mine workers.[46] Either way, by 1854 there were 'significant numbers' of Irish migrants living on Baker's Flat and they are recorded as having quickly formed a 'close, fiercely Irish community'.[47]

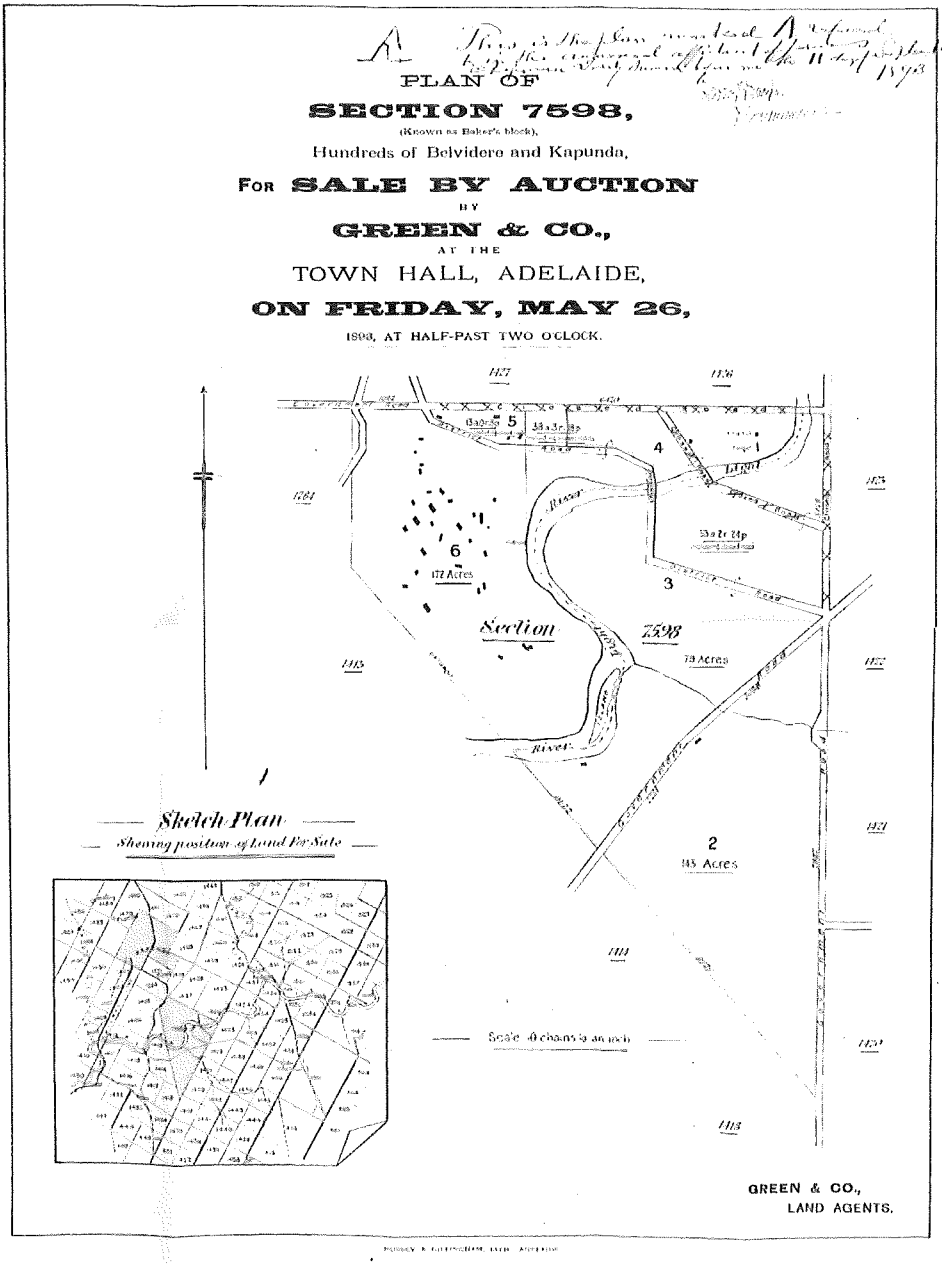

Figure 2 Survey plan of Baker's Flat, drawn in 1893 (Source: State Records of South Australia GRG 36/54/1892/47).

Digging in for the long haul

There are few accounts in the printed histories of the Irish settlement on Baker's Flat. A collection of memories about Kapunda was published in 1929, and it includes a description of how this 'lawless little community' evolved.[48]

> With no apparent owners about, by degrees in the course of time a number of squatters settled there, constructing for themselves shelters which developed into hovels of old iron, bags, tins and odds and ends, some with enclosures about them of a few square yards in which to pen up their geese at night. Amongst them they owned a large flock of these birds, which used to graze on the flat and disport themselves in the river. These little holdings clustered together haphazard without the slightest attempt at order or regularity. The inhabitants, squatting rent free, soon developed a community feeling quick to resent any attempted interferences with their acquired privileges.[49]

This account established the narrative for how the Baker's Flat community came to be perceived and continues to be remembered—as a hotchpotch collection of hovels, where the residents did not welcome interference of any sort. Other histories added details about 'small wattle and daub cottages with thatched roofs' where each family ran their pigs, goats and poultry without restraining fences 'of any description',[50] a state of affairs that led Baker's Flat to be viewed by the more affluent members of Kapunda society as a 'blot on the landscape'.[51]

Contemporary newspapers are littered with accounts of disorder and trouble on Baker's Flat. In 1860, for example, a letter to the editor of the *South Australian Register* drew attention to the 'almost utter absence of water-closets' amongst the 'hundred hovels on Baker's Flat'.[52] In 1864, a case against three men charged with using abusive and insulting language was dismissed by the magistrate as 'simply a Sunday's Baker's Flat shindy'.[53] John Lenane was charged with breaking into Mary Anne Russell's one-room mud hut in the dead of night, with a hammer in his hand, and stealing 16 shillings while she cowered next to the bed with her three children.[54] Thomas Griffy, a labourer living at Baker's Flat, was charged with being 'a pauper lunatic', after having attempted to cut his own throat while in an unsound state of mind.[55] James Neville, an old man of almost 80 years, was found in rags, barely able to move, on the floor of his 'wretched hovel on Baker's Flat', alongside a woman who was 'helplessly drunk'.[56]

Others in the community were living (or dying) according to the usual societal norms. In 1865, for example, P Flynes of Baker's Flat made a preliminary application for a licence to teach,[57] and was apparently successful.[58] James Wood died suddenly one morning of a massive heart attack, leaving a widow and large family destitute.[59] A sum of money was found on Baker's Flat, and handed into the Rev. T Jasper Smyth,[60] the local Anglican priest who, incidentally, was born in Ireland. Young Patrick Dundon kicked a football so hard that it broke Thomas Supple's arm, requiring the attention of Dr Blood.[61]

Irish folk traditions and customs were retained. Every Sunday afternoon, hurling was played, and every evening concertinas, fiddles and flutes provided music for dancing.[62] The dance floor was 'the virgin soil, flat and smooth, and hard as cement from the thousands of feet that gaily "kept the time" to the piper's or fiddler's tune'.[63] This dance floor is also recalled in an interview with Mrs Beanland, who had lived on Baker's Flat, and who remembered dancing at the full moon and on dry nights, on a 'hard patch of earth, and fires kept going to liven the scene'.[64] A particular area of compacted ground in the northern part of Baker's Flat is still known locally today as the 'dance floor'.

Houses on the Flat varied in quality. Descriptions of mud huts and old-bags-and-tin hovels dominate. But there is also evidence of Irish-style, whitewashed cottages with thatched roofs; an 1899 newspaper article describes Baker's Flat as 'dotted with picturesque white-walled cottages'.[65] In a series of interviews carried out in 1975, four Kapunda residents recalled between 30 and 60 houses on Baker's Flat that were mostly thatched, constructed as two or three rooms in a row, of whitewashed clay or stone, and given a new coat of lime and white clay every Christmas.[66] Dwellings like these were photographed by John Kauffmann on Baker's Flat in 1906 (Figure 3), and they clearly show the distinctive features of the nineteenth century Irish vernacular house. Such houses were typically rectangular in design, single-storey and one room deep. Windows and doors were in the long walls rather than in the gable ends, they had steeply sloped thatched roofs, and rooms that took up the full width of the house, with each room opening into the next.[67] Back in Ireland, even the one-roomed cabins occupied by the poorest labourers followed this general form, although in these instances, mud rather than stone would have been the main construction material.[68]

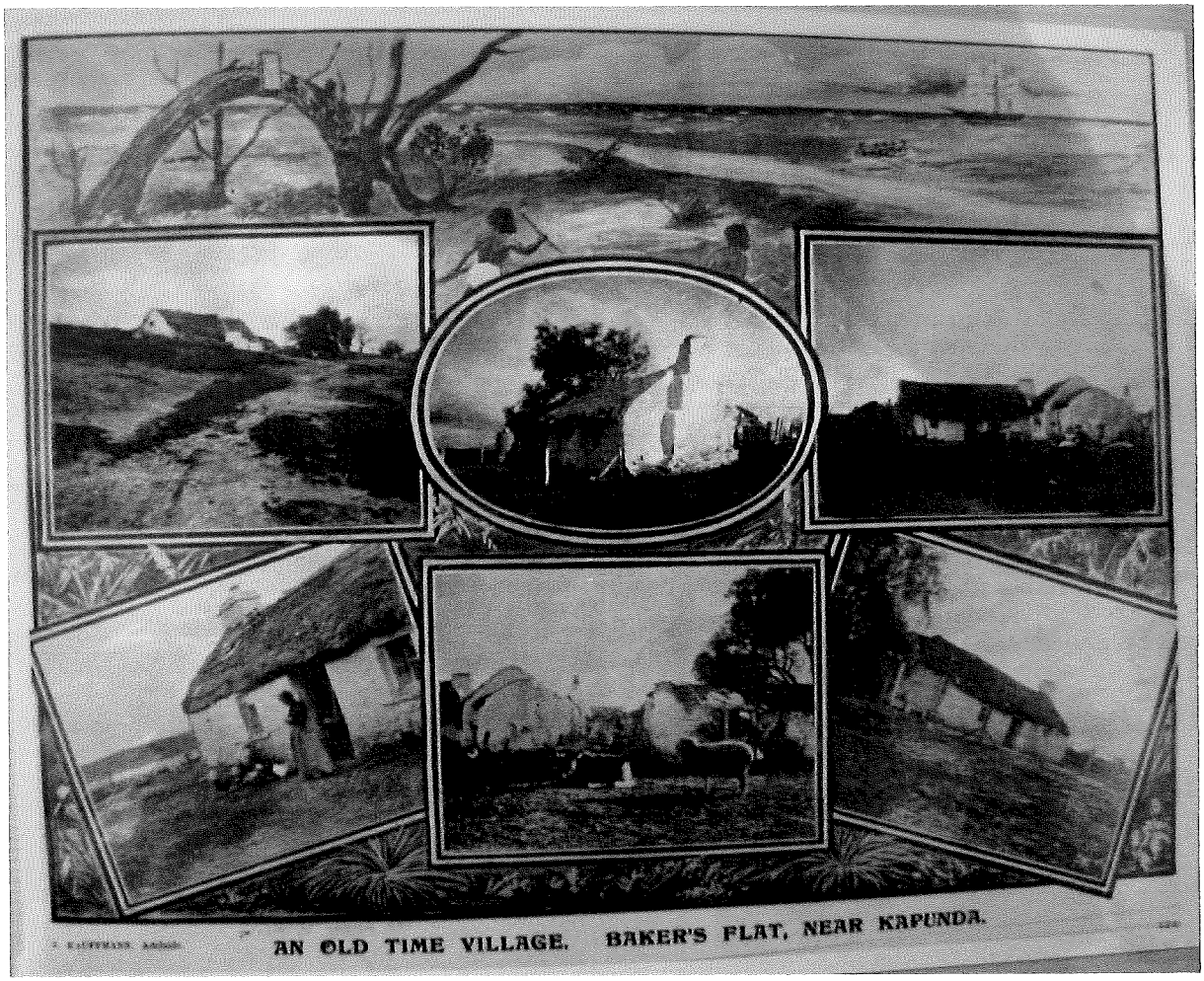

Figure 3 Baker's Flat houses in 1906, depicted in a series of photos taken by John Kauffmann, published in the *Christmas Observer*, 13 December 1906, Adelaide (Photo: Susan Arthure, courtesy of the Kapunda Historical Society Museum).

It is clear from Kauffmann's images that the Irish retained their vernacular building traditions on Baker's Flat for a long period of time, since they were still intact in the early 20th century. Interestingly, though, a letter to the *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer* in 1866 hints at earlier house forms, with a statement that the residents of Baker's Flat burrowed 'like a wombat into

the bowels of his mother earth' for shelter.[69] Archaeological excavations in 2016 and 2017 by the author[70] uncovered a dugout dwelling that matches this description. By digging into the slope of the hill, the builders of the dugout created walls from the calcrete bedrock. On the tops of these walls, which were about one metre in height, they made shallow cuts which may have held the supports for a thatched roof, some remains of which were found tumbled into the structure. Recycled iron sheets, fashioned out of old kerosene tins and similar items, were used to construct taller walls on top of the ones that had been dug out. Like the cottages photographed on Baker's Flat (Figure 3), this dugout dwelling also follows the Irish vernacular tradition. It is rectangular in shape and had a thatched roof. There are channels in the floor that span the full width of the house and whose function appears to be to delineate different living zones. The excavated artefacts are consistent with domestic activities, with, for example, ceramic fragments from many plates and tea cups (Figure 4), several teapots and jugs, and two chamber pots. It appears to have been lived in for an extended period, with artefacts that date from the mid-nineteenth century and later, and a newspaper fragment with the date 1938.

Figure 4 Some of the ceramic artefacts excavated at Baker's Flat in 2017 (Photo: Brendan Kearns).

The historical and archaeological evidence, then, is consistent with a long-standing, significant Irish settlement. Overall, the 1860s to 1870s appear to have been the most populous period, with estimates of between a 'hundred hovels'[71] and 170 'huts'[72] on the Flat during that time, and a 1936 article in the *Southern Cross* indicating that 'it is safe to estimate that the population of the "Flat" was five hundred for many years'.[73] By the turn of the century though, numbers had dwindled. The only known survey map, from 1893, shows 38 structures on the section (a cluster of rectangular shapes in the north-west quadrant, visible in Figure 2) and by 1902, there were just 32 occupied houses.[74] By the 1920s, only a handful of elderly people remained on Baker's Flat with the last family possibly being the O'Callahans, who had lived there since 1857.[75] Annie O'Callahan may have been the last resident; she died in 1948 at the age of 74 years, after living quietly on Baker's Flat 'the whole of her life'.[76] Her elder sister, Mary O'Callahan (Figure 5), had also lived on Baker's Flat and predeceased her in 1945.[77]

Trouble at Baker's Flat

Baker's Flat was occupied from at least 1854 to 1948, a period of 94 years. The more raucous exploits of its residents were recorded in newspaper articles, their demises were announced in newspaper death notices, and baptisms, marriages and deaths were recorded in the registers of the Catholic Church. It could be argued that, in general, the Baker's Flat Irish lived out their lives no differently from any

other member of the broader community—the respectable inhabitants would never have gained fame in the newspapers, and the drunken adventures and audacious burglaries might just have added spice to an otherwise ordinary community. But the Irish of Baker's Flat were different because they publicly advertised their Irishness in the types of houses they chose to build. They also actively controlled access to Baker's Flat, with any strangers or unauthorised visitors being obliged to 'give a satisfactory account of themselves' to the women, who were likely to react with brooms, sticks and kicks if a suitable answer was not forthcoming.[78] This helped establish the reputation of Baker's Flat as a community that was set apart and different. A further difference, which demonstrates how closely this community was intertwined, was a decades-long trouble regarding legal title to the land, where the Irish stood shoulder to shoulder in legal and physical battles against the landowners.

Figure 5 Miss Mary O'Callahan, one of the last residents of Baker's Flat (Photo: Collection of Peter Swann, Kapunda).

The catalyst for these troubles occurred in 1875 when James White, one of the legal owners at that time, decided to assert his rights to the land. After advertising that any stray horses and cattle found trespassing on Baker's Flat would be impounded, he sent his nephew and his shepherd there with a flock of sheep. The men were met by a group of women who greeted them with 'threats loud and strong',[79] armed with sticks and stones. With difficulty, and only after intercession by the local police officer, the sheep were driven off the Flat and back to the yards, with the women loud in their resolve not to allow the 'people's grass' to be eaten by Mr White's sheep.[80] Two years later, a similar question of title arose on the adjoining Section 1413, where the land had been squatted on and used for commonage for many years, with all indications that the squatters were those same Irish. Once again, James White attempted to move cattle onto the land, and once again, 'a mob of ladies' defended their rights to the land and drove the cattle off.[81]

The following three years passed fairly peacefully until 1880 when three men were sent by the landowners to erect a fence on Baker's Flat. Up to a hundred women 'turned out to drive off the would-be despoilers of their hearths and homes'.[82] The hapless fencers managed to dig a single posthole, but immediately one of the women leapt into it, declaring that any further excavation would have to be through her body. After taking counsel, the men wisely decided to retreat, and were sent on their way smartly by the women using brooms, sticks and shovels. In the court case which followed, the ringleaders were named as Ann Slattery, Mary Callaghan, Mary Lacey, Ann Hoare, Catherine Driscoll and Mary Jose.[83]

Things grumbled along until 1888 when it was reported in the *Kapunda Herald* that the legal owners intended to serve 'notices of ejectment' on the Irish occupiers.[84] The next few years were a flurry of activity, with 22 of the Irish successfully lobbying the Kapunda District Council to be inserted in the assessment book as joint owners of part section 7598 in the Hundred of Kapunda,[85] and unsuccessfully applying to the Belvidere District Council for the same thing.[86] This group appears to have been 'D Driscoll and others' who controlled 340 acres on Baker's Flat.[87] Across both councils, until about 1892, 35 individual Irish occupiers, in addition to those in Daniel Driscoll's group, paid rates on Baker's Flat.[88] At a total of 57 individuals, these ratepayers would have represented the majority of families living there. Driscoll was later described by the prosecution in a court case as the spokesman for the occupiers, and 'head robber—Barabbas'.[89]

A significant court case and Patrick McMahon Glynn

In 1892, legal action to reclaim the land began in the Supreme Court of South Australia over rights of possession.[90] Patrick McMahon Glynn represented the people of Baker's Flat during the case.[91] He did so for the entire duration of ten years, as well as representing several of the occupiers in other related court cases during that time.[92]

McMahon Glynn (Figure 6) had arrived in Kapunda in 1882. He had been born in Gort, County Galway in 1855, into a well-established Irish Catholic family, whose ancestry was a mix of merchants and old Irish aristocracy.[93] In 1880, at the age of twenty-five, he sailed for Australia where his aunt Grace was already well-settled as Sister Bernard, one of the founding members of Mary MacKillop's Sisters of Saint Joseph.[94] After initial difficulties finding work, Sister Bernard recommended him to the Adelaide firm of Hardy and Davis, who wanted 'a Roman Catholic Irishman' to open a branch office for them in Kapunda.[95] It is not clear why Roman Catholicism and Irishness were specific requirements, but one can speculate that it was because of the large Irish Catholic population at Baker's Flat. In any case, he went first to Adelaide in July 1882, and then to Kapunda the following month to open a branch office for the company.[96] He was the only Catholic lawyer in Kapunda and one of only a few in South Australia, and Gerald O'Collins, his grandson and biographer, noted that he 'quickly gained prominence with those of his own faith'.[97] He also took on the role of lead writer and editor for the local newspaper, the *Kapunda Herald*, where his articles were often pro-Irish and pro-land rights.[98]

Writing to his mother shortly after his arrival in Kapunda in 1882, he remarked that the Catholics 'as usual are the poorer class', while the Protestants are 'the wealthy and fashionable'.[99] McMahon Glynn was widely respected in Kapunda, both professionally and socially, and joined in with the local elite at parties, tennis, horse racing, swimming and dancing.[100] He was also accepted across the social divides, his biography stating that 'as a hard-riding huntsman he was the idol of the Irishmen of Baker's Flat, a ramshackle settlement on the edge of the town'.[101] And he clearly identified as Irish, noting in his diary in 1892 that 'Of course, I was a Celt …'[102]

Figure 6 Patrick McMahon Glynn. Newspaper cutting of Glynn as MP, Junior Member for Light (Source: SLSA B 16763/61). He was elected in 1887.

McMahon Glynn's pro-Irish and pro-land rights principles may have influenced his decision to take on the land rights case in 1892, but it is probable that it was also combined with a sense of obligation to his fellow Irish. Over the course of the ten year case, the court records and newspapers recount several failed attempts at eviction, an unsuccessful auction which received no bids, another in 1893 at which some of the land was sold including Lot 6 where the cluster of houses stood[103] (Figure 2) and the successful sale in 1894 of 143 acres south of the river to the Irish Conolan brothers, who had been occupying it for some years.[104] Even the land that was sold in 1893 remained problematic, with the Irish refusing to leave and when forced to do so just returning as soon as practicable—Andrew Goorty, for example, was evicted from a piece of land on which he had resided for about 12 years, but returned soon afterwards; Ann Bolton received an eviction order for the land she had been living on for almost 30 years, and simply refused to go.[105] The same Ann Bolton liberated two cows and their calves from a herd of 30 that were being impounded by representatives of the Kapunda District Council, and was represented in court by McMahon Glynn.[106] That case was dismissed.[107]

The final battle for Baker's Flat took place in 1902. After some of the land was sold to Robert Fawcett, he set about putting up fences. Over four separate evenings, about twenty men including Daniel O'Driscoll, Thomas O'Brien, Michael O'Brien jun., Martin O'Callahan and Andrew Griffy worked together to fill in postholes and pull down any fences that had been erected, using explosives where necessary.[108] McMahon Glynn used this case to continue the argument that his clients (the Irish occupiers) were 'rightfully in occupation' of the land.[109] The Irish lost and the case was found for the plaintiff who was awarded £5 damages with costs. Within days, Fawcett resumed his fencing, and it was noted in the *Kapunda Herald*[110] that the 'residents of the Flat have not interfered with the fencers in any way'. This appears to have been the last time that there were any notable clashes on Baker's Flat. From that time on, most mentions of Baker's Flat in the press are confined to notices of grass fires, accidents, floods and, increasingly, the deaths of older people, as the settlement slowly wound down.

Conclusion

It is clear that in the early days of European settlement, Kapunda had a significant Irish presence, albeit aligned in quite different groupings. The Anglo-Irish were part of the dominant elite, owning land and business ventures in the area. The Baker's Flat Irish lived lives characterised by poverty, Catholicism, a seeming propensity for trouble, and a willingness to engage both physically and intellectually with the legal system. Patrick McMahon Glynn, middle-class Catholic Irish, straddled both groups. But for all these differences, there was some sense of Irishness that suggests a degree of reciprocity and responsibility for each other. The histories imply that the working Irish made a deliberate decision to join Bagot at Kapunda, and all the indications are that he facilitated, at some level, their occupation of Baker's Flat. Patrick McMahon Glynn represented the Baker's Flat Irish in extended and complex court cases long after he had left Kapunda and was living in Adelaide.

This history demonstrates that Irishness in the colony of South Australia was complex and multi-layered. The Irish community contained members who represented the elite Protestant Anglo-Irish, the middle-class Irish Catholics, and the poorest of Ireland's emigrants. The community at Baker's Flat, perhaps instigated by Bagot to supply a habitable location near the Kapunda Mines, developed into a formidable settlement which attracted support for a lengthy legal battle aimed at securing homesteads and protecting long-settled homes. In this it demonstrates that Irish identity and concern for fellow countrymen and women was a potent element of colonial South Australia. It also illustrates how class and religious barriers were perhaps overridden by ethnic connections in times of strife and difficulty.

End notes

[1] Frederick Sinnett, *An Account of the Colony of South Australia Prepared for Distribution at the International Exhibition of 1862*, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1862, p.60

[2] Bagot's name has been mostly seen in print as 'Charles Hervey Bagot', with the middle name pronounced as 'Harvey' although spelled with an 'e'. Research published by Greg Drew in 2017 (*Captain Bagot's Mine: Kapunda Mine 1844–1916*) examined signed documents held by the Bagot family and in the State Library of South Australia, and confirms the correct spelling as 'Charles Harvey Bagot'. This spelling has been used in the content of this chapter.

[3] Charles Hervey Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir of Capt. Charles Hervey Bagot of the 87th Regiment*, The Pioneers' Association of South Australia, Adelaide, 1942, p.1

[4] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.2

[5] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.18

[6] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, pp.18-19

[7] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.19

[8] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.22

[9] Greg Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine: Kapunda Mine 1844–1916*, Greg Drew, Adelaide, 2017, pp.14, 19

[10] Charles Hervey Bagot, Draft Extracts From a Journal of a Voyage From Cork to Port Adelaide, South Australia, 1840–1841, unpublished manuscript held in the Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library, 1841, p.1; Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, pp.22-23

[11] Bagot, Draft Extracts, p.1

[12] Bagot, Draft Extracts

[13] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.22

[14] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.23

[15] Peter Moore, 'Half-burnt Turf: Selling emigration from Ireland to South Australia, 1836-1845', in Philip Bull, Chris McConville & Noel McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference July 1990*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1991, p.112

[16] Eric Richards, 'Irish Life and Progress in Colonial South Australia', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol 27 No 107, 1991, pp.220-221; Eric Richards, 'The Importance of Being Irish in Colonial South Australia', in John O'Brien and Pauric Travers (eds), *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, Poolbeg Press, Dublin, 1991, p.69

[17] Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, p.14

[18] Moore, 'Half-burnt Turf', p.110

[19] Bagot, Draft Extracts, p.9

[20] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.38; Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, p.15; George E Loyau, *Notable South Australians, or, Colonists—Past and Present*, George E Loyau, Adelaide, 1885, p.120

[21] Bagot, Draft Extracts, p.13

[22] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, pp.24-25; Francis Stacker Dutton, *South Australia and Its Mines, With an Historical Sketch of the Colony, Under Its Several Administrations, to the Period of Captain Grey's Departure*, T and W Boone, London, 1846, pp.266-267

[23] Dutton, *South Australia*, pp.268-274

[24] *Adelaide Observer (AO)*, 5 July 1845, p.5; Rob Charlton, *The History of Kapunda*, The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1971, p.9

[25] Bagot, *A Holograph Memoir*, p.38; Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, pp.15, 156; Loyau, *Notable South Australians*, p.120

[26] JL Symonds, 'The Making of Cadia Mine, Smelter and Village', unpublished paper prepared for the Cornish Association of NSW, Sydney, 2004, p.10

[27] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, pp.15, 101

[28] Gordon J Forth, 'The Anglo-Irish in Early Australia: Old world origins and colonial experiences', in Philip Bull, Chris McConville and Noel McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference July 1990*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1991, pp.58-59

[29] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.64; John A Daly, *Elysian Fields: Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia 1836-1890*, JA Daly, Adelaide, 1982, p.162

[30] Sinnett, *Account of the Colony*, p.62

[31] Sinnett, *Account of the Colony*, p.62

[32] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.18; Rob Nicol, 'Racial Minorities and the Settlement of Kapunda, Part 1', *Historical Society of South Australia Newsletter*, Vol 48, 1983, p.13

[33] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, pp.18, 64

[34] SA *Advertiser*, 31 October 1890, p.4; SA *Advertiser*, 29 September 1904, p.7; SA *Advertiser*, 17 July 1913, p.8; Beth Robertson, 'Full transcript of an interview with Anne Liddy on 19, 26 August 1985 by Beth Robertson for "SA speaks": an oral history of life in South Australia before 1930', State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, 1985; personal communication R Dundon 11 June 2013, L Heffernan 28 June 2013

[35] In the 19th century, assisted passage schemes supported emigration to the new colony of South Australia. From 1834 to about 1860, these schemes were financed primarily from the sale of Crown land, which then subsidised the passage of emigrants, usually labourers.

[36] Richards, 'Irish Life and Progress', p.221; Richards, 'The importance of being Irish', p.72

[37] Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, pp.17-21

[38] Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, pp.19, 38

[39] Susan Arthure, 'The Occupation of Baker's Flat: A Study of Irishness and Power in Nineteenth Century South Australia', MArch thesis, Flinders University, 2014, p.173

[40] Arthure, 'Occupation of Baker's Flat', p.173

[41] Moore, 'Half-burnt Turf', p.110

[42] *Southern Cross (SC)*, 10 June 1949, p.8

[43] *SC*, 10 June 1949, p.8

[44] A horse whim was used in mining to haul ore or water to the surface. The whim, worked by a horse, consisted of a large winding drum (capstan) with a vertical axle, rope and pulleys. As the horse pulled the rope round a circular platform, the drum turned, lowering the rope with an empty bucket and raising the rope with the full load.

[45] Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, p.38

[46] Drew, *Captain Bagot's Mine*, p.38

[47] Nicol, 'Racial Minorities', p.13

[48] Leslie N Tilbrook (ed.), *Memories of Kapunda and District by A Circle of Friends*, Kapunda Herald Print, Kapunda, 1929, p.32

[49] Tilbrook, *Memories of Kapunda*, p.31

[50] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.18; Nicol, 'Racial Minorities', p.14

[51] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.18

[52] *South Australian Register (SAR)*, 2 June 1860, p.3

[53] *Kapunda Herald and Northern Intelligencer (KHNI)*, 26 November 1864, p.3

[54] *KHNI*, 23 February 1866, p.3

[55] *AO*, 3 May 1873, p.5

[56] *AO*, 15 December 1877, p.11

[57] *SAR*, 5 December 1865, p.3

[58] Patrick Fynes, which appears to be a variant spelling of both Flynes and Foynes, arrived in South Australia in 1854, and moved to Baker's Flat the same year. His death certificate records his occupation as school teacher, and the family history records him as having been a musician and headmaster; *SAR*, 24 May 1854, p.2; *Kapunda Herald (KH)*, 24 April 1903, p.3; personal communication I Coverdale, May 2016

[59] *KHNI*, 21 September 1866, p.3

[60] *KHNI*, 26 April 1867, p.2

[61] *KHNI*, 23 July 1869, p.3

[62] Rev. Fr TJ Maloney, 'Early Days and Ways in Kapunda: Baker's Flat, No Man's Land—A Nursery of Catholicism in Australia', *SC*, 6 November 1936, p.29

[63] Maloney, 'Early days and ways', p.29

[64] HI Bettison, 'Transcript of interviews with WWG Townsend, M O'Brien, EE Fuller and Mrs Beanland, interviewed by HI Bettison, April 1975', in possession of South Australian Museum, Adelaide

[65] *Chronicle*, October 1899, p.18

[66] Bettison, 'Transcript of interviews'; George Hazel, 'Baker's Flat—unpublished account 1975', in possession of South Australian Museum, Adelaide

[67] Kevin Danaher, *Ireland's Vernacular Architecture*, Mercier Press, Cork, 1978, pp.9-12; Alan Gailey, *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland*, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1984, p.8; Barry O'Reilly, 'Hearth and Home: The Vernacular House in Ireland from c 1800', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol 111C, 2011, pp.193, 203

[68] Danaher, '*Ireland's Vernacular Architecture*', p.30; O'Reilly, 'Hearth and Home', p.199

[69] *KHNI*, 9 February 1866, p.3

[70] Susan Arthure, 'Australia's First Clachan: Identifying a Traditional Irish Settlement System in Nineteenth Century South Australia', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, Vol 45, 2017, pp.19-30

[71] *SAR*, 2 June 1860, p.3

[72] *KH*, 12 September 1902, p.3

[73] Maloney, 'Early Days and Ways', p.29

[74] *KH*, 12 September 1902, p.3

[75] *KH*, 12 September 1902, p.3

[76] *KH*, 20 May 1948, p.2

[77] *KH*, 14 June 1945, p.2; Hazel, 'Baker's Flat'

[78] *KH*, 18 July 1902, p.3

[79] *KHNI*, 21 September 1875, p.2

[80] *KHNI*, 21 September 1875, p.2

[81] *KHNI*, 3 July 1877, p.3

[82] *KH*, 7 May 1880, p.2

[83] *KH*, 4 June 1880, p.4

[84] *KH*, 9 March 1888, p.3

[85] *KH*, 16 February 1892, p.3

[86] *KH*, 14 June 1892, p.3

[87] Arthure, 'Occupation of Baker's Flat', pp.171-172

[88] Arthure, 'Occupation of Baker's Flat', pp.171-172

[89] *KH*, 3 April 1894, p.3

[90] 'Forster et al. v. Fisher, Records of the Supreme Court of South Australia', GRG 36/54 File 47/1892, State Records of South Australia, Adelaide

[91] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.49; 'Forster et al. v. Fisher'

[92] 'Forster et al. v. Fisher'; *KH*, 3 April 1894, p.2; *KH*, 4 July 1902, p.3

[93] Gerald O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn: A Founder of Australian Federation*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp.1-5

[94] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.21

[95] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.33

[96] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, pp.35-36

[97] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.39

[98] Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, p.44; O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.44

[99] Gerald O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn: Letters to his Family (1874-1927)*, The Polding Press, Melbourne, 1974, p.56

[100] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn: Letters*, p.49

[101] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.100

[102] O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, p.12

[103] *KH*, 20 May 1893, p.2

[104] 'Forster et al. v. Fisher'

[105] *KH*, 3 April 1894, p.2

[106] *KH*, 3 April 1894, p.2

[107] *KH*, 3 April 1894, p.3

[108] *KH*, 12 September 1902, p.3; *KH*, 4 July 1902, p.3

[109] *KH*, 12 September 1902, p.3

[110] *KH*, 26 September 1902, p.3