The Fern Avenue Collection – Assessment, Interpretation and Repatriation

Fig.1 – ‘England Type’ bone handled toothbrush as compared with the toothbrush excavated from Fern Avenue (Fig. 2).

This report has been produced as part of the assessment for ARCH 8508 Directed Study in Archaeology graduate topic in the Department of Archaeology, Flinders University.

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Executive Summary

This project involves accessing the Fern Avenue Fullarton Jam Factory (1879-1920s) collection excavated in 2000 by Jody Steele and Tim Owen. In conjunction with the Unley Museum and the Fern Avenue Community Gardens Group the collection will be evaluated for items worthy of repatriation to either group. Recommendations will also be made for incorporating interpretation of the artefacts into any existing on-site interpretation.

After locating the Fern Avenue artefact collection in the Flinders Archaeology Research Laboratory, it was briefly analysed and a list of artefacts complied. The boxes contained a variety of artefacts ranging from scrap metal and ceramics to broken glass bottles and building materials. An initial research preservation assessment was conducted and the conclusions drawn were not positive. Unfortunately the majority of artefacts, especially anything metal, are badly corroded and extremely fragile. Some of the larger pieces of ceramic and glass bottle, although weathered, are a lot more stable.

After assessing the artefacts in the Fern Avenue collection, comparisons were made with other known Jam Factories around Adelaide operating during the same time period. There appears to be no other similar assemblages in South Australia. As the collection appears to be a typical historical archaeological collection and not particularly indicative of the Fullarton Jam Factory itself, local significance was ascertained to be the most relevant. For the local Unley community and the Community Gardens Group, the site and artefacts are significant because of the strong local links with the Jam Factory and its produce.
A meeting with the curator of the Unley Museum Kate Walker and a representative from the Community Gardens Group Cecile Storrie was arranged for a viewing of the Fern Avenue collection to determine any artefacts that may be repatriated to either party. The Unley Museum declined the acquisition of anything from the collection due to the lack of distinctive Fullarton Jam Factory presence and the poor condition of the material.

The Community Gardens Group, however, were more than happy to take full possession of the collection and to incorporate some of the artefacts into a new garden landscape planned for the Jam Factory site. The plan includes a pergola structure, paved area and mosaic of the Fullarton Jam Factory logo. Ceramic, glass and the more durable metal artefacts from the collection will be incorporated into the paving and mosaic. A few of the more unique and interesting artefacts will be kept on display in the pergola and the rest of the unused material reburied on site with proper interpretive signage. This plan is being strongly recommended for the future of the Fern Avenue collection as it is deemed the best way to ensure the collection is preserved and interpreted for future generations as well as returning to the location of discovery.

A further recommendation that this project will propose is that before the collection is released from the Flinders University Archaeology Laboratory is for all of the artefacts to be analysed and recorded in detail and another significance assessment conducted thereafter. This will ensure that the archaeological information will be not be lost and will be available for any future work relevant to the Fullarton Jam Factory site.
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Introduction

The Fern Avenue site is currently a community gardens project sponsored by the City of Unley Council, administered by the Alternative 3 Inc. Group. Local residents are able to sub-lease plots within the 0.7 acre block of land to grow various plants such as fruit trees, vegetables, flowers or herbs. The site is over 120 years old and is part of Adelaide’s post European settlement and the cultural development of the City of Unley.

The Fullarton Jam Factory (Fern Avenue) site was first bought to the attention of the Department of Archaeology at Flinders University by the City of Unley Council in December 1999. Features of what appeared to be the remains of foundations, walls and scattered artefacts were uncovered by the youth environmental group Green Corp. The ‘finds’ were bought to light when excavation work had commenced on an area that was to become a water feature in the south western section of Unley Council’s community gardens in Fern Avenue. Excavations ceased when the possibility arose that the remains of the Fullarton Jam Factory (operational on site from 1879 to the early 1920s) had been found.

In 2000, Flinders University archaeology students participated in the archaeological field work and investigation of the site. The area was recorded, photographed, drawn, mapped, features plotted and total station readings taken. Students contributed to the retrieval of data and artefacts from ten trenches. The cleaning and cataloguing of artefacts was undertaken at the University Archaeology Research Laboratory after the field work had been completed.
The material and structural remains of the Fern Avenue site indicated that there is sufficient information within the site and its environs to interpret most, if not all, of its significance. The identification and interpretation of as much of the material remains as possible is essential to understanding the site, its content and its context. The study of material remains and artefacts together with the written record, as noted by Lawrence, ‘can shed light on subjects ranging from trade networks, colonisation, capitalism, urbanisation, mass consumption and industrial process, to the development of colonial and past colonies identities’ (Lawrence 1998:8).

The Unley Council is pro-active in preserving its uniqueness and encourages its constituents to consider their heritage through museum displays, brochures and community groups such as The Unley Historical Society. The Council’s aim is ‘to maintain and improve the unique heritage, character and visual appearance of Unley’ (The City of Unley 1998:20). Another primary stakeholder in the Fern Avenue site is the Unley Museum. The Unley Museum ‘acts as a repository of information on local history particularly in its building and heritage (Planning SA 1999:55). The Unley Museum is interested in accessioning some of the artefacts from the Fern Avenue collection. Together with the local council and community groups, the Museum hopes to protect at least a portion of the collection for future generations.

There is one more interested stakeholder in this story. The Community Gardens Group has played an active role in the Fern Avenue area of the gardens since the project began. The
Fullarton Jam Factory site has great local significance for this group who want to see the site and artefacts clearly interpreted to complement the archaeology. With a similar view to the Unley Museum, the Community Gardens Group would like to be able to create a modern day link to the jam factory that once stood proudly on the Fern Avenue site.

**Literature Review**

To use the term historical archaeology, there has to be consideration between the two disciplines. Mrozowski (1988) suggested that historical archaeology must have a ‘purpose’. Bickford (1981) had previously written that historical archaeology must be ‘selective’. The historical archaeologist must therefore apply appropriate research methods in order to create as unbiased a report as possible. The collection of data should not be the major
focus of historical archaeology. The data should act as the foundation on which to build and supply information. Without historical documentation, the Fern Avenue site and artefact collection, by itself, would not provide enough information for correct interpretation. In this case, the archaeological record is in desperate need of the historical documentation.

Fig. 4 Map of site location, 16-18 Fern Avenue, Fullarton (Firth 2001).
History of the Fullarton Jam Factory

The Fullarton Jam Factory was located within the perimeters of Fern Avenue, Fisher Street, Windsor Street and extended through to Wattle Street.

The factory was established and owned by Mr Thomas Fairbrother from 1879 (Firth 2001) until his retirement in 1907, when it was taken over by his son, Thomas Franklin Fairbrother (Firth 2001). Fairbrother gained much of his experience during his seventeen years employed at the Wattleville Jam Factory. When he bought the property it was in poor condition. The nearby Glen Osmond Creek had flooded the neglected vines so he built a retaining wall on either side of the creek. The Fullarton Jam Factory was enlarged several
times during its operating lifetime. Thomas Fairbrother’s grandson had stated that the Fullarton Jam Factory was a single story, stone and brick building. Its western wall sat on the edge of the creek in Windsor Street, facing Eton Street, and its southern wall lining the creek where its course takes it through the property (Firth 2001). The Jam Factory produce was exported around Australia and even to New Zealand, Britain and South Africa. The factory continued to operate until it was dismantled in the 1920s (Firth 2001).

The reasons behind the closure of the factory are unknown and according to Firth, information about the location and use of machinery within the factory is also missing from the historical photographs and records (Firth 2001). The area is now used as a communal area for local residents to grow organic fruits and vegetables. The only remaining physical remnant of the factory above the ground is the western wall which once served as the entrance to the factory via Windsor Avenue (See Figure 6 below).

Fig 6. Western stone slate wall (Photo D. Pardoe in Firth 2001).
The Jam Industry in South Australia

Firth’s research of jam factories operating around the same time as the Fullarton Jam Factory indicates that there has been no other archaeological research or excavation conducted at such sites (2001). Historical resources indicate that the industry was an important part of South Australia’s past (Firth 2001). The following table is a collaboration of the other jam factories operating in Adelaide at the same time as the Fullarton Jam Factory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murray’ Biscuit and Jam Factory</td>
<td>Coromandel Valley</td>
<td>1845 - 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance and Company</td>
<td>Unley</td>
<td>1861 - 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wattleville</td>
<td>Fullarton</td>
<td>1850 - 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fullarton Jam Factory (Hanton and Co.) Originally</td>
<td>Wattle Street, Fullarton</td>
<td>1880 - ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>known as Wattleville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Terry</td>
<td>Unley Park</td>
<td>1897 - 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glengyle</td>
<td>Balhannah</td>
<td>1897 - 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenhurst</td>
<td>Gumeracha</td>
<td>Dates unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingleside Jams</td>
<td>Houghton</td>
<td>1903 - ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen Ewin</td>
<td>Houghton</td>
<td>1842 - 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fullarton Jam Factory</td>
<td>Fern Avenue</td>
<td>1880 - 1919</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Jam factories operating during the same time period as the Fullarton Jam Factory.

The Fullarton Jam Factory no longer exists as a standing structure. What remains are excavated foundations, artefacts and a small fraction of recorded history. Little has been documented on the cultural aspects of the factory workers, or the actual manufacturing process of jam making. A description of the factory, its layout, size and function has been documented, however briefly (Firth 2001). To fully understand how the Fullarton Jam Factory functioned and the role it played within the industry of jam manufacturing it has
been necessary for the research to account for the other jam factories of the same time period ranging from 1845 to 1920. The Fullarton Jam Factory falls within this period, being established in 1880.

Firth (2001) explains how her research into historical records indicated that the jam manufacturing industry was relatively uniform throughout the early 19th and late 20th centuries. Making jam was a simple process, requiring three main ingredients: sugar, fruit and water. The equipment required was minimal so factories could be established with a minimum amount of space or fuss.

It has been noted that the jam manufacturing industry in South Australia emerged for two different reasons (Firth 2001). The first was instigated by the fruit growers and orchardists who had an abundance of fruit during the summer months. This meant a ‘glut’ in sales with prices plummeting. Many found that manufacturing jam was a profitable way of ridding themselves of their excess fruit. Jam manufacturers like Charles Terry, Thomas Fairbrother and George McEwin found that by purchasing fruit directly from the growers they could expand their industry and tap into what was becoming a lucrative market (Firth 2001).

As the industry became more popular and competitive larger factories began to place pressure on smaller industries. The first year of World War One saw factories like Glenygle close down due to the high cost of sugar and tin plate. Thomas Fairbrother closed the doors of the Fullarton Jam Factory in 1919; suggesting he could no longer compete in the market (Firth 2001).
Archaeological Investigation

In March 2000, PhD candidate Jody Steele assisted by Tim Owen from the Flinders University Archaeology Department collaborated with the City of Unley Council to undertake archaeological investigations and a site survey to ascertain whether anything of archaeological or historical significance could be revealed. Originally aiming to unearth a well to become part of a water feature for the Community Gardens (Firth 2001), foundations and sections of a stone wall were revealed. ‘After preliminary archaeological surveys and artefact collection the potential of the site was realised and a proposal for extensive fieldwork was written’ (Steele and Owen 2001:50). Subsequent permission was granted by Heritage SA to undertake excavations on the site.

Geophysical surveys were conducted on the site to establish any possible features underground. This allowed excavations to commence in areas that demonstrated a high potential for revealing factory floor or structural features. A surface artefact survey was also

Fig. 7 Trench locations during the archaeological excavations at the Fern Avenue site (Firth 2001).
undertaken on the site. The results found a site rich in cultural remains. It must be taken into account however, that post occupational material will inevitably affect the original archaeological record. It is unreasonable to expect an urban archaeological site like Fern Avenue to remain undisturbed for a period of 80 years or more. Steele and Owen have noted that, ‘it is believed that no significant intrusive activities have taken place that could have possibly disturbed the archaeological record’ (Steele and Owen 2001: np). Any surface materials left on a site would have been subjected to some form of displacement. Environmental factors (such as water and soil movement) and the dumping of waste on a site over time should be considered when analysing surface artefacts. Therefore, interpretation of all surface materials must be treated with caution. Paul Bahn suggests that ‘all artefact deposits, however deep, were once surface layers, subject to the same destructive processes as those outcropping on the surface today’ (Bahn 1996:166).

A total of ten trench sites were excavated within the 300 square metres of the south western section of the Fullarton Community Gardens (see Fig. 7 and Table 2). Each trench location was planned with a specific intention or over an already identifiable feature. Initial excavation was carried out in three trenches. One trench was located over underground foundational structures revealed through gardening disturbance. Another trench was located over an area that the geophysical survey had indicated may contain a structural feature. The third was located in order to identify any relationship between the structures in the other two trenches.
Manual hand excavation techniques were applied to all trenches on the site as the soil, site conditions and features were easily accessible and even visible in some areas. The trenches were excavated in a vertical fashion, ‘vertical excavation … is intended to provide as much information as possible about soil layers and past occupation without excavating the whole site. In vertical excavation, only small parts of a site are excavated with trenches and small excavation units’ (Orser and Fagan 1995:167). Each spit was removed in 10 to 15 cm intervals (Firth 2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trench Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Depth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The south western corner of the site.</td>
<td>2 x 4 m</td>
<td>1.50 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Located five metres to the north of Trench 1, adjacent to the gate in the western wall.</td>
<td>1 x 2 m</td>
<td>0.40 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Located to the east of Trench 2.</td>
<td>1 x 1m then expanded to 2 x 2 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Located due north of Trench 2.</td>
<td>Expanded to 6 x 8 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Located within the most eastern boundary of the site.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Located on the perimeter of the site boundary within one metre of the northern fence line.</td>
<td>1 x 2 m</td>
<td>1 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>West of the Trench 4 and the north of Trench 2.</td>
<td>2 x 2 m expanded to 3 x 2 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Located between Trenches 1 and 2.</td>
<td>2 x 2 m expanded to 2 x 2.5 m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Located directly against the western wall on its eastern side.</td>
<td>1 x 0.5 m</td>
<td>0.20 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Located to the north of Trench 1 and the south east of Trench 8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.20 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Trench locations and dimensions. Some data missing from the archaeological record.

A range of historical artefacts were removed during excavation. These included various metal shards associated with machinery from within the factory, historical ceramic shards,
and large quantities of glass and indiscernible metal. Apart from the initial analysis of the physical remains and Firth’s 2001 thesis, there has been no in depth analysis or interpretation of the artefact collection. Firth briefly analysed the physical remains and then generally analysed the remaining artefact collection by category: ceramics, bottles, glass, building materials, metal, buttons, shells, and other miscellaneous items. Firth’s analysis will be taken into account when assessing the significance of the collection.

**Methodology**

Once located, sorting through the collection became the next challenge - thirteen boxes of weathered material. Some of these artefacts were already in poor condition at the time of excavation. The metallic artefacts were heavily corroded. Rust has enveloped 90% of the metal material in the collection, making it hard to identify original dimensions and in some cases function. A previous attempt to sort some of the boxes was evident from old labels but the majority of the collection was mixed. Each box was carefully unpacked, each artefact examined briefly and recorded along with any extra information about the artefact from any visible labels that were still remaining (see Appendix 2 for a basic artefact catalogue of the 2009 Fern Avenue collection). The catalogue recorded box, trench and spit number; date of 2000 cataloguing, a description of the raw material and current condition.

While cataloguing the current collection, anomalies with the labelling became evident. The Fern Avenue excavation was a public archaeology program that involved members of the public and a few school groups. Some of the artefact labels in the collection were incorrect
or incomplete while some labels included how many artefacts were in a bag, the date, catalogue number and dimensions; many had no labels at all. For example, five eight year old school girls eagerly signed their names on a bag of ceramics without recording any significant information. This made it a lot more challenging to gather an idea of the whole collection. A further obstacle in the analysis of this collection was the sheer amount of artefact bags. Many similar artefacts (such as the tiny shells) were actually individually bagged. This only creates excess and wastage of a non disposable item. It also makes sorting a collection extremely tedious for the archaeologist who has to open every bag to look at a number of artefacts of a similar type and function.

In the process of sorting through the artefacts, an original catalogue was found in the depths of the Archaeology Laboratory computer system. This was extremely detailed and was compiled around the same time as the collection was brought to Flinders University. After comparing both sets of data, it became apparent that some of the artefacts in the original catalogue were no longer in the 2009 collection. Some of the prominent pieces missing from the collection included four pieces from clay tobacco pipes and a brass earring. Other items that appear to be missing may have just altered in appearance or deteriorated over the years in transportation or storage. As they are such interesting and well preserved artefacts, they may have been acquired for the Archaeology Department’s teaching collections stored in the Humanities Laboratory 112. An incomplete collection will effect the assessment of significance.
Assessing the Significance – Criteria

The collection will be assessed for significance as a whole using a number of categories listed in such publications as the 1999 *Burra Charter* and the 2009 *Significance 2.0* manual. These include national, state, local and archaeological significance as well as historical, scientific, aesthetic, and social significance. Representativeness and the archaeological context will also be considered in order to thoroughly complete the assessment. The collection will be broken down into subcategories and each of these assessed separately.

Over some eighty years, the Fullarton Jam Factory site has been subjected to a variety of activities. The large surface collection, therefore, must be treated with caution as it may be highly disturbed. There are a number of artefacts that are clearly from later periods on the site, such as plastic scraps. However, the surface artefacts will be incorporated with the archaeological excavated finds and interpreted accordingly with the overall significance of the collection. Finally, any interesting or unique artefacts will be assessed individually in order to help clarify if such an item would be worth repatriating to either the Unley Museum or the Community Gardens Group.

To assist in repatriation of the Fern Avenue collection to either the Unley Museum or the Community Gardens Group, a catalogue of artefacts has been produced. After the significance assessment of some individual pieces and the entire collection, items of possible interest were marked and set aside for viewing by the above parties. A joint meeting was arranged with the curator of the Unley Museum and a representative of the
Community Gardens Group to look through the entire collection and at the material specifically set aside.

**Discussion**

It must be taken into account that the Fullarton Jam Factory was an industrial site. Much of the material culture would have been transported onto the site from varying locations by people from differing socio-economic backgrounds. The lifestyle or cultural background of the workers can not be surmised from the artefacts of the site alone, historical documentation and an assessment of the physical remains of the site must also be taken into account.

The collection of artefact material from the Fullarton Jam Factory was undertaken primarily using two distinct survey methods and over two years of excavations. The initial assessment of the site’s potential to reveal archaeological information incorporated a surface collection and interpretation of the artefacts recovered. Hester, et. al (1997:35) noted, ‘surface collections can provide valuable data on site conditions, temporal periods, site function, material density, spatial variability, and artefact patterns, among other things’. However, Hester, et. al (1997:35) further noted that the surface collection can ‘skew’ the archaeological record over time throwing the integrity of the artefact into doubt.
Interpretation of the collection

Ceramics

The fragmentary nature of ceramic artefacts found both on the surface and in situ provided little in the way of total object or piece identification. The shards were a range of sizes but predominantly 2 x 2 cms. However, reasonable assumptions could be made about function and style, with some shards from plates and bowls. One tea cup handle was found, manufactured from white and pale blue porcelain. Generally, the ceramics in the collection measured between 1 and 5 cms, most providing little in the way of identifiable markings or designs.

One particular ceramic fragment had a distinctive transfer print design. Transfer print in most circumstances survives well in the archaeological record. This fragment of cream porcelain, located on the surface, was decorated with a transfer design and a registration number. The registered number is that of Brownie Downing (Figure 8), a female Australian artist who specialised in and produced items in circa 1940 depicting Aboriginal ‘Piccaninny’ children (Carter’s Price Guide to Antiques 1996:37). Firth measured and compared the piece to Carter’s Guide and noted that it was part of a 10 cm dish or wall plaque (2001). No other ceramic finds depicting Australiana were noted on the site. This surface ceramic find post-dates the operation of the factory by twenty years; placing it outside the history of the Jam Factory. This piece of ceramic was not identified in the 2009 cataloguing of the material and is therefore assumed to be missing.
Glass Bottles

As with ceramics, bottles tend to make up a significant amount of the material remains located in colonial Australian sites. Characteristics such as size, shape, colour and weight assists in identification and interpretation. Historical archaeological sites typically contain a variety of bottle artefacts. Small medicine bottles, sauce and condiment bottles, perfume bottles and wine and ginger beer bottles are usually abundant not only as complete objects but also as shards (Firth 2001). Glass artefacts, more often than not appear, on the surface in situ and in a broken state.

Excavation and surface artefact collection of the Fullarton Jam Factory revealed little in the way of variety in the total bottles found. One clear glass container may have been a medicine bottle due to its height of 7 cm and its width of 1.5 cms (Firth 2001). Another was considered to be either a food or eucalypt oil bottle of a more recent date as the neck had a screw top lip. The most remarkable find appeared in Trench 3, which revealed a single deposition of broken bottles, principally black in colour. Jones and Sullivan have noted, ‘true black is extremely difficult to obtain. What has often been referred to as black glass is actually a dark green’ (Jones and Sullivan 1985:75). There is no evidence of jam jars in the assemblages; the majority of the glass artefacts are indicative of personal consumption. They are thought to have been bought to the site by the workers, or once empty may have been reused for liquid storage (water, cleaning products, chemicals, etc) (Firth 2001).

Two distinctly different bottle necks were located in Trench 1, spit 3. Figure 9 illustrates a dark green bottle neck with a double collar or lip. Wire winds from the opening to the middle
collar of the lip which indicates that it secured a cork similar to that of a champagne bottle (Firth 2001). ‘Tooling’ or turn marks appear below the collar which suggests that the bottle had been removed from a mould by metal callipers, leaving marks around the neck. Figure 10 shows a clear or pale green opalised bottle neck with a ‘blob-top’ (Boow 1991:65). Boow (1991:65) dated this particular finish circa 1840-50. The ‘blob-top’ finish was formed after the bottle had been removed from the mould by the pouring of molten glass around the opening and lip of the bottle. The neck has been identified by Boow (1991) and Jones and Sullivan (1985) as belonging to a wine bottle.

The surface and trench excavations revealed fragments and shards of glass varying in colour from light brown, clear, dark and light green. Trench 3 revealed a dark green bottle base in situ, however no other trench sites featured the extent or number of pieces which were located in Trench 1 (Firth 2001). The quantity, fragments and location of bottles found indicates a single ‘dump’ where all broken glass on site could be deposited, as no other bottle assemblages or bottles were located elsewhere.

**Glass Stopper**

A single glass stopper came from Trench 3 (Figure 11). No other closure was located within the site. The clear stopper measured 4.5 cms in length with a tapered shank 1.5 cms at the
top and 1 cm at the base. The small size indicates that the stopper may have come from the seal of a medicine bottle (Firth 2001). Boow (1991:152) notes that glass stoppers were intended to be used more than once. The stopper could be replaced after each use and it was much more practical than a cork which can break or shrink. While a precise date was not found by Firth (2001), she found that similar stoppers such as those used for vinegar, sauce and perfume bottles date around the late 19th and early 20th century.

Nails, Bolts and Screws

The wide range of styles and functions of nails can make them ‘suspect as chronological markers’ (Ritchie 1986:439; Nayton 1992:75-91 and Wells 1998:75-91). Building materials such as nails, bolts and screws are reused and modified and can be implemented in ways other than their original intended function. The manufacture of such items has changed little over the years and therefore poses a challenge to dating. Nails, bolts and screws are extremely common on historical sites. They can enter a site during construction, expansion and demolition. They are disposable, generally cheap and easily lost during the building process. Although some are corroded and have severe rust concretions, such building materials are well represented in the Fern Avenue Collection.

Different metals used in the manufacturing process are subject to different variables of degradation. Some survive better than others in sub-surface conditions (Firth 2001).
Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the most rusted nail, bolt or screw is the oldest. ‘Cultural information from nails is thwarted by the lack of information on sources of origin, dates of introduction and main periods of popularity of specific types’ (Ritchie 1986:439).

Most nails, screws and bolts appeared to be the type and style currently used within the building industry (Firth 2001). In Trench 8, however, three distinctively different nails were found compared approximately 10 - 20 cms (see Figure 12). Three square headed and flat sided nails of different sizes indicated that they may have been hand-forged (Wells, 1998:78-99). Hand-forged nails were made by blacksmiths, hammered to form flat sides (Wells 1998:78-99). The head of the nail was also hammered forming a square shaped head. These particular nails were set apart from the more modern rounded item also found on site.

**Other Metal Artefacts**

Numerous metal artefacts were located both on the surface and *in situ* (Figure 13). All had been subjected to weathering and other environmental changes over a significant period of time and therefore suffered deterioration through corrosion, disintegration and flaking making many of them extremely hard to identify and record. Metal strips of iron and aluminium were prominent in the surface collection. Moulded and twisted wire artefacts were located in Trench 5. Metal washers and round discs of a variety of sizes were located...
in most trench sites, particularly Trench 6 (Firth 2001). However, substantial amounts of identifiable metal were not assembled in such a way as to indicate any particular activity or function taking place in one area of the site. Nevertheless the metal objects do indicate that they were originally functional pieces associated with machinery or equipment.

All of the metal artefacts in the Fern Avenue collection are small and portable. No larger items associated with the Fullarton Jam Factory were found at the time of excavation. Small items like a key and open padlock were found in Trenches 5 and 10 respectively. They did not match in size; therefore it can be assumed that they were not a pair. Three round metal discs measuring 5 and 6 cms in diameter were found in Trench 8 which were considered part of the soldered lids of jam tins, a direct link with Fullarton Jam Factory and will be separately assessed further on in this report.

*Coins*

Something noticeably absent from the Fern Avenue site was coins. Connah has suggested that historic archaeological sites in general have occupants who ‘were walking around with holes in their pockets or purses’ (Connah et al. 1978:59). This was certainly not the case at Fern Avenue. The distinct lack of coins may suggest that the factory workers did not need to take money to work. Thomas Fairbrother purchased much of his fresh fruit from local
growers who delivered it to the factory but he may not have paid them on site (Firth 2001).

How were the fruit growers and the workers paid? As Connah et al. (1978) note, coins are usually extremely commonplace at many historic sites around the world and can be very useful for dating a site. Unfortunately, this is not the case at Fern Avenue.

**Shells**

A number of small conical and bivalve shells occurred in the upper stratigraphic layers of the site. Wilson and Gilbert define these shells as ‘common on beach debris’. They are usually white and are located on soft sand in the low tidal regions of Southern Australia (Wilson and Gilbert 1989:154-159).

The deposition of the shells throughout the site could be attributed to the use of unrefined beach or river sand as a building component of mortar (Firth 2001). Some larger shell fragments were located; however, the assemblage is too small to indicate a specific event. The size and maturity of the shells suggest that they did not form part of any Indigenous middens. Documentation on shell deposits is severely lacking in the historical archaeological record.
Miscellaneous Items (buttons, bone, charcoal, toys, toothbrush)

Buttons

Buttons in many cases are gender and age specific. Decorative styles and colours may indicate they have come from a female or child’s garment, whereas the plainer black, brown, grey or navy may be more likely to be a man’s’ (Firth 2001). Buttons appear in many sizes and can be made from bone, shell, wood, metal or plastic.

The two buttons located in Trench 7 are plastic, one four holed and the other two (Figure 15). ‘Two or four holed sew through buttons are described as a trouser button…and were used to fasten work shirts or trousers’ (Lindbergh 1999:52). Lindbergh does not distinguish between metal or plastic so no date has been recorded for the button types. Both of these buttons are used today so dating them is difficult. Buttons, as with many other material cultural artefacts found on historic sites, are reusable and may be sewn onto an item for which it was not originally intended.

Bone

Fragments of animal bone were located throughout the site; however, insignificant remains were considered not to have any impact on the archaeological record (Firth 2001). There
were only a handful of faunal skeletal remains located in the collection and it is assumed that they were most likely those of rodents or small birds.

Charcoal
Charcoal pieces of varying sizes were scattered throughout the Fern Avenue collection. The majority appeared to have been located in Trench 4, 5 and 7 which are all in close proximity to one another on the northern side of the site.

Toys
A metal toy car and a quoit were located on the surface of the site. These artefacts were likely to be of a modern period and had no association with the Fullarton Jam Factory (Firth 2001).

Toothbrush
The toothbrush was discovered in Trench 5 around 5 – 10 cms below the surface. ‘Archaeologists typically give toothbrushes little thought and quickly assign a functional meaning to them when found’ (Orser and Fagan 1995:91). It may have been recycled as a cleaning implement. Overall the piece is in quite good condition apart from a split in the handle. Burial more than likely destroyed the bristles. The handle and head are remarkably intact but there is clear evidence of borer holes. The toothbrush has been identified as bone,
possibly from the shin, thigh or pelvis bone of a cow or ox. The original bristles were assumed to have been made from pigs’ hair (Ritchie 1986:509 and Shackel 1993:43).

The bone handled ‘England Type’ (Figure 1 and 2) brush to have a ‘mean date range of 1881-1894’ (Mattick 1998:91). The ‘England type’ and the bone toothbrush found in Trench 5 have very similar stylistic traits. The rounded square head, the width and length, the rounded handle base, the bristle and ventilation holes are all remarkably similar. The use of bone for toothbrushes declined after World War Two. There was a dwindling supply as bone was also used to make soap during the war (Ritchie 1986:14). Plastic handled brushes entered the market place and sold well as they were factory made, cheap and disposable (Firth 2001).

**Missing items: A brass earring and four pieces of clay tobacco pipe**

A few of the more prominent artefacts appeared to be missing from the boxes. The disappearance of these items was only noticed once the final recording of the collection had been documented and a comparison was made with other artefact records from the site and Firth’s thesis. The fact that these artefacts are missing could affect the overall significance of the collection and the significance of the pieces themselves. Somewhere in the years between excavation and 2009, these five artefacts were taken out of storage and their location is presently unknown. As previously mentioned, there is a chance that they have been added to the Archaeology teaching collections in the Humanities Laboratory 112.
Artefacts are the material cultural remains of the past; they are the indicators which provide the data from which information can be ‘read’. Archaeologists consider them as the equivalent of historical documents (Order and Fagan 1995:75). They should not be considered as inanimate objects that simply date the past; they should be considered as the objects that tell us about the past. Each and every artefact at one stage was a product of human interaction, either by its use, function or manufacture. Archaeologists need to look beyond the archaeological record, and that not get ‘bogged down’ by numbers and typologies. The archaeologist needs to go beyond simply collecting and gathering data, rather they need to go further and look at artefacts as cultural indicators of past human activity and behaviour (Miller et al. 1999:1-10).

Significance assessment in Australia has been recognised in heritage management since 1979 with the development of the Australia ICOMOS (International Council on

The Fern Avenue collection, while varied, is not as significant as first expected. For many collections, it is impractical to assess single items except in particular circumstances, such as nominating an item to a register. An alternative to the single item assessment is to assess the entire collection. The five primary criteria used for assessing significance in this project are: historic, artistic or aesthetic, scientific or research potential, social and spiritual significance (Russel & Winkworth 2009).

*Historical Significance*

By coordinating the history of aesthetics, science and society; a place may have historic value because it has influenced, or has been influenced by, an historic figure, event, phase or activity. It may also have historic value as the site of an important event. For any given place the significance will be greater where evidence of the association or event survives *in situ*, or where the settings are substantially intact, than where it has been changed or evidence does not survive. However, some events or associations may be so important that the place retains significance regardless of subsequent treatment (Australia ICOMOS 2000).

As a collection, Fern Avenue has a little historical significance. The artefacts represent a jam factory site that was operational at a time when South Australian jam was a thriving industry. The major artefact groups (glass, ceramic and metal) are all commonly found on
historical sites. The challenges of dating the material alter the historical significance of the Fern Avenue collection. Some artefacts are too badly corroded to decipher a time frame, and others have common functions that have not really changed since the 1800s.

**Scientific Significance and Research Potential**

In the *Burra Charter*, scientific significance is defined as ‘…the importance of the data involved, on its rarity, quality or representativeness, and on the degree to which the place can contribute further substantial information’ (Australia ICOMOS 2000). Although the *Burra Charter*’s focus is on heritage sites and it does not specifically address artefacts, its principles can be applied to movable heritage, and as such it has been the source for Acts and guidelines in Australia that address the significance of non-indigenous heritage objects (Schacht 2008).

Artefacts must provide data that can only be obtained through the archaeological investigation of archaeological resources. Information that merely duplicates what is already known, or that can be obtained from documentary evidence for example, would not qualify under this criterion, nor would an artefact or site that is ‘already well studied and documented and not requiring additional research’ (Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology 1994: 24). Loss of context decreases the significance of an artefact (New South Wales Heritage Office 2001a: 11), but it may still have the potential to provide information important to researchers (Clarke 2001: 61), as long as it satisfies other significance criteria. With the Fern Avenue collection featuring such ‘common’ historical artefacts as well as its poor and deteriorating condition, it would be difficult to see it being the centre of any future research as a whole.
Aesthetic or Artistic Significance

The Burra Charter defines aesthetic value as including ‘aspects of sensory perception for which criteria can and should be stated’. Such criteria may include consideration of the form, scale, colour, texture and material of the fabric (Australia ICOMOS 2000). The Collections Council of Australia’s Significance 2.0 manual explains that this criterion is concerned with the uncommon or exceptional, stating that ‘an object may be significant as a rare, unusual or particularly fine example of its type’ (Russel and Winkworth 2009). As an entire collection, it can be reasonably assumed that the Fern Avenue artefacts are generally not aesthetically pleasing or artistically significant. A few of the individual items, ceramic shards for example, may have a small aesthetic importance but the full collection does not comply with this criterion.

Social Significance

Social value embraces the qualities for which a place or collection has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group (Australia ICOMOS 2000). The rediscovery of the Fullarton Jam Factory is a large part of the culture and history surrounding the Community Gardens. Many of the Community Gardens members saw or assisted Steele and Owen in excavating the site in 2000. In order to recognise the physical remains of the jam factory, interpretative signage was erected in the Gardens nearby to the original dig sites. The collection brought to light from the Fern Avenue excavations does play a role in the local significance of the Fullarton Jam Factory to the Community Gardens and the City of Unley.
**Representativeness**

The Collections Council’s *Significance 2.0* manual states that an object may be significant because ‘it represents a particular category of objects, or activity, way of life or historical theme’ (2009). In the 1980’s Sandra Bowdler wrote a series of papers with a similar message. She proposed that ‘archaeological significance should be assessed according to timely and specific research questions on the one hand and representativeness on the other’ (Bowdler 1981:129). A resource may be considered to be representative of its type if it (Collections Council of Australia 2009:42):

- Exhibits substantially more elements typical of that class of item than other examples of its type,
- Contains elements that are a variation of the elements typical of that item type,
- Exhibits characteristics that represent an important development in the type,
- Is in better condition than others of its type,
- Has better association with its setting than others of its type.

Comparing the artefacts with the above statements, nothing in the Fern Avenue collection meets the representative criteria.

**Archaeological context**

It is widely accepted that the unique value of archaeological artefacts directly relates to their archaeological (stratigraphic) context. The Collections Council's *Significance 2.0* explains that provenance is central to establishing the research (scientific) significance of archaeological material: ‘Archaeological material removed from a site without having had its provenance recorded has little value, unless it has other significance, such as aesthetic’ (Collections Council of Australia 2009: 37). As Fern Avenue is without context, and has
been for the past nine years, it can be assumed that its research potential and significance has been dramatically diminished.

Apart from historical and social significance to the Community Gardens Group and the City of Unley, the overall significance of the Fern Avenue Fullarton Jam Factory artefact collection can be said to be of local significance rather than of a state or national level.

**Significance of the Artefact Groups**

As well as assessing the significance of the collection as a whole, it was important to break the collection down into its artefact groups to see if anything stood out as specifically significant.

**Ceramics**

The assemblage of ceramic pieces located at the site was diverse. The majority were transfer and flow ware print, as well as some thick and discoloured stoneware and earthenware (see Figure 19). No more than a few fragments matched in design, thickness or style. Most of the ceramic remains were thought to be fragments from plates or bowls (Firth 2001). Fine ceramics such as porcelain were absent from the assemblage, apart from the ‘Piccaninny’ piece. It is suggested that the ceramic artefacts formed part of the...
work environment, utilitarian items the factory workers bought with them from home. No other association to the factory can be explained as the manufacturing of jam did not require the use of plates, bowls or cups.

The ceramics found on site are not overly significant. The few pieces of ceramic that may be slightly aesthetically significant have common designs (such as blue and white transfer patterns) which have been found in a number of historic sites around Australia. The only ceramic that was of possible significance (aesthetically and historically rare) was the ‘Piccaninny’ shard. As a well preserved example of Brownie Downing’s work, it would have been a fantastic item to be repatriated to the Unley Museum. Unfortunately, the ‘Piccaninny’ piece was dated outside of the jam factory era and is assumed missing along with the brass earring and pipe fragments. In the best case scenario, it may have already been recognised as having potential significance and has been repatriated to the teaching collection.

**Glass**

The majority of bottles on the site came from Trench 1 over two stratigraphic levels and have been dated from the mid to late 19th century (Firth 2001). The large number of broken bottle bases from this area indicates that this may have been a refuse or dumping site. It appears that the majority of glass bottles found during the excavation were wine or champagne bottles. There is no evidence of jam jars being present. This could be because jam jars were used for sale purposes and therefore may have been more carefully handled than recreational bottles.
The dark green bottle bases were all thick, uneven and coarsely made. The contents of the bottles cannot be confirmed, however, it is suggested by Firth (2001:175) that they were wine bottles and in one instance a champagne bottle. While only a general date can be placed for the glass shards on the site, these artefacts are similar to the ceramic collection in that their significance is very low. Once again, these bottles were probably brought on to the site by the factory workers and were continuously disposed of in one spot so as not to litter the factory site. A weak argument could be made for social significance regarding the presence of wine and champagne on a factory site. It could be indicative of celebrations among the workers or even a type of ‘happy hour’ at the end of every week or month. As mentioned previously, the glass bottles have no direct relation to jam manufacturing activities and are common items on historical sites.

**Building Materials**

The building materials in the collection varied in size, function, shape and age. Nails were located throughout most trenches, as were metal fragments. Hand-forged nails were the only objects to indicate some kind of antiquity. These artefacts could be considered as part of the architecture of the factory, however, modern structures in the gardens such as three sheds, raised wooden garden beds and working benches cannot be discounted as being the source of the finds. It is also possible that these artefacts came onto the site in later years. Second-hand timber is stored in the north-west corner of the site and Firth noted that many of the planks contained old nails (2001). Larger items of structural metal were absent
from the excavated material which would suggest that removal or recycling has taken place over time.

The collection of building materials excavated from the Fern Avenue site is somewhat difficult to assess due to its corroded condition. Without a confirmed style, type or function, artefacts cannot be significantly assessed and must be discounted from the evaluation. Dating building materials is also challenging because form and function has not changed much over time in the construction industry. Something like a nail which could have been brought onto the site in later years may appear aged due to extensive weathering. The building materials in the Fern Avenue collection are too varied and have too many issues to be assessed confidently so they will not be considered significant in this project as an artefact group or individual pieces.

*Miscellaneous – Bone Toothbrush*

A bone handled toothbrush was recovered from Trench 5 and may have been recycled as a cleaning implement for machinery or valves. The *in situ* find indicated that the brush had been on the site for an extensive period of time. The date of manufacture, 1881-1894 (Mattick 1998:91) places it within the time frame of the Fullarton Jam Factory’s existence, suggesting that it was ‘lost’ on the site whilst the factory was in operation. This item could be aesthetically significant because of its well preserved condition. Historically or socially, the toothbrush may not be as significant because it remains somewhat of a mystery. Without its original context, the toothbrush is slightly significant as a unique anomaly found on a historic site.
The jam manufacturing industry in South Australia played an integral role in the early economic development of the State. It provided employment for many and lifted the State’s business profile due to exports and overseas competition. Fruit growing is synonymous with South Australia; it is an industry which has endured from early colonial settlement to the present day. If the Fern Avenue collection had an assortment of artefacts directly linking them to jam manufacturing activities then it would be quite a significant collection as little archaeological work and research has been conducted on jam factories in Australia. Unfortunately the collection at best is a typical example of archaeology collection from a historic site.

**Miscellaneous - Tin Lids**

Trench 8 revealed three round metal discs measuring 5 and 6 cms in diameter (Firth 2001). Interpretation and identification of the discs could not indicate what function they served or how they related to any other activities or artefacts located on the site. Firth suggested that they may have been the base or lid for jam tins (2001). Her research noted that the ‘hole in the top of the can’ closely linked the discs or lids top with this style popular after 1900 (Rock 1991:279). ‘Tin cans were almost always filled through an opening at one end. Once filled a cap was soldered into place’ (Rock 1991:280). The size of the discs suggests that they would fit well into the 1lb and 2lb tins that were

![Fig. 20 A similar ‘lid’ found in Trench 5 (Photo courtesy of Fern Avenue Collection, Flinders University 2000).](image)
predominantly used during the early 20th century (Firth 2001).

Challenges faced when assessing the significance of the Fern Avenue Collection

This collection is a very difficult collection to assess for significance. While part of a fantastic public archaeology program, the downside was it produced a collection consisting of a variety of material that is not really relevant to the Fullarton jam factory. The artefacts were not always excavated by professional archaeologists. The majority of labels were rudimentary while others were complete and detailed. The more detailed labels helped to identify what was incorrectly labelled and what was missing from the collection. The prominent missing pieces from the Fern Avenue collection are a concern for the overall significance of the material. Without context and historical research a collection by itself is very hard to assess. The few items that may have created a bit of a stir (the earring, pipes and ‘Piccaninny’ shard) have all disappeared from the current collection.

Recommendations for repatriation

The original recommendations for this project included repatriating the material in the Fern Avenue Collection. As the primary industry partner, the Unley Museum originally indicated a strong interest in accessioning some of the material for its own collection. Anything that did interest the Museum would be put into storage because of a lack of display space. It was evident that the Museum would not have room to house all thirteen boxes of the Fern Avenue material. While a few items may have been repatriated, the bulk of the collection would need to be dealt with differently. After meeting with the curator of the Museum and
going through the collection with her, they officially declined acquisitioning any of the Fern Avenue material as there was lack of any artefacts specifically related to the Fullarton Jam Factory or activities on the site and it would need a significant amount of conservation.

At the same meeting, a representative of the Community Gardens Group put forward an idea as to how to reuse of the collection. The Community Gardens Group are more than willing to take possession of the entire collection to use in a landscaping plan near the site of the Fullarton Jam Factory (see Figure 21).

Fig. 21 Fern Avenue Community Garden Landscape Plan (Image courtesy of the Community Gardens Group 2009).

Pieces of the collection (specifically the ceramic, glass and metal remains) would be incorporated into the floor of the pergola and mosaic to add an interesting feature. The
patterned ceramic fragments of the collection would be added to the mosaic in order to compile a representation of the Fullarton Jam Factory logo (Figure 22). Any artefacts not included in the floor design or mosaic has also been accounted for. Particular items of interest such as the bone toothbrush and children’s toys would be on display in cabinets under the proposed structure with interpretive signage constructed in conjunction with the Unley Museum. The remainder of the material would then be reburied in the same area of the 2000 excavations. Incorporating the materials back into interpretation of their original site is a fantastic way for an archaeological collection to be relevantly used in a modern way and is being strongly recommended.

A possible future project before any repatriation takes place to the Community Gardens Group could include a comprehensive analysis of the Fern Avenue artefacts. As Steele and Owen did not produce a report analysing any of the collection and Firth conducted a generalised assessment, a possible directed study, similar to this project, could focus on analysing each group of artefacts in detail. Each assemblage would then be documented and photographed before being repatriated. As the Flinders University Archaeology Laboratory has never deacquistioned any collections before, the project could also include the drawing up of official documentation to be filled out and signed by both parties involved in the transaction (Flinders University and the Community Gardens Group). This paperwork
could include specific requirements for the Community Gardens Group to abide by when taking control of the collection. For example, members from the Flinders University Archaeology Department must personally hand over and approve the new storage facilities for the collection; be present for the reburial of any unused material to ensure the proper procedures are followed and ensure all relevant government agencies are contacted (Department of Environment and Heritage). A Directed Studies student could also assist with historical research and perhaps prepare interpretive signage for the landscaped area and ensure that any activities involving items of the collection are fully recorded and photographed for any future research or interpretation.

Conclusion

Nine years after the public excavation of the Fern Avenue Fullarton Jam Factory a significance analysis and report have finally been conducted. The aim of this project was to locate, record and assess the significance of the Fern Avenue collection then recommend possible suggestions for the long term storage and preservation of the collection. Working in conjunction with the Unley Museum and the Fern Avenue Community Gardens Group, recommendations were to be made for the repatriation of the material.

Jam manufacturing in Adelaide around the turn of the 20th century was a prominent part of the South Australian business economy. The Fullarton Jam factory was established by Mr Thomas Fairbrother and operated from 1879 until the 1920’s. The archaeology of the site consisted of the discovery of physical remains (a historic stone and brick wall) and a series of ten trenches dug across the site revealing a significant portion of the current artefact
collection. A surface survey was also conducted providing more cultural material to include in the collection. Firth’s description of the history of the site and initial analysis of some of the artefacts recovered during the aforementioned excavations in 2000 assisted in the significance assessment undertaken for this report.

After locating the collection in the Flinders University Archaeology Department Laboratory, each of the thirteen boxes of artefacts were carefully sorted and recorded. A number of issues were noted during the recording such as incorrect or missing labels, missing artefacts and the poor condition of the majority of the collection. These problems made assessing the significance of the collection in its entirety extremely challenging. There is also limited literature on how to assess an artefact collection. The 1999 ICOMOS Burra Charter and the 2009 Collections Council Significance 2.0 manual were the primary sources of reference when conducting the Fern Avenue material significance assessment. A series of criteria were chosen to assist in the assessment of the artefacts. These included: historical, aesthetic or artistic, social, scientific or having potential for future research and representativeness. Unfortunately the significance of the collection was minimal. The artefacts recovered from the site are indicative of any historic archaeological excavation. The few possible individual artefacts that may have been significant are physically missing from the collection requiring them to be discounted for the assessment.

After constant communications and a meeting with the curator of the Unley Museum and a representative from the Community Gardens Group, it was decided that nothing from the Fern Avenue collection would be taken by the Museum. A lack of indicative jam factory
artefacts and the general deterioration of the collection indicated to the Museum the
collection would be better off elsewhere. The Community Gardens Group proposed a
brilliant idea that incorporates the collection back onto the original site as an interpretive
and decorative display. A landscaping plan including a paved structure and mosaic of the
Fullarton Jam Factory logo has been planned by the Community Gardens Group for an
area near the physical remains of the factory. The plan includes incorporating various
objects from the collection into the paving and using a significant portion of the ceramic
artefacts for the mosaic. The remainder of the material will either be reburied on site with
proper documentation or certain items of interest put on display with interpretive signage
about the collection and site nearby.

To fully speculate, hypothesise, or confirm the collection’s full potential would be
irresponsible. A recommendation for a future project was also made aiming to further
interpret the artefacts to completely understand their integrity, heritage, historical and
cultural significance. The collection which includes glass, ceramic, bottles, a bone handled
toothbrush, metal and other building material can add to the interpretation of the cultural
and social aspects of the Fullarton Jam Factory as a historic site. This collection is full of
miscellaneous objects that could possibly show future potential if thoroughly researched.

It is terribly important that ‘small things forgotten’ be remembered…we must remember
these bits and pieces, and we must use them in new and imaginative ways so that a
different appreciation for what life is today and was in the past, can be achieved (Deetz,
An overall significance assessment of the collection was conducted but a detailed study and analysis of the material remains may discover future potentials and a reassessment may need to occur before any of the material is repatriated.

Research into institutional collections is an important venture that will always be an ongoing process. Often there are too many collections and not enough time to go into the proper detail needed to extract full significance. Collections like Fern Avenue have passed through many hands and after nine years have only been analysed and reported on twice. Instead of continuously excavating historical sites, perhaps it is time to go through some of the historical collections in storage and conduct a proper analysis. Then in the future, other historical archaeologists will have the opportunity to compare, contrast and gather information from many more sources. Any future archaeological research that is conducted on historic jam factory sites around Australia and in South Australia, can only enhance the significance and understanding of historic sites like the Fullarton Jam Factory and their retrospective collections.
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