

Goldweights of the 19th Century Australian Colonists

Laura Potter

Contents

Introduction	5
Illustrations	7
Afterword	45
About	55

Introduction

Gold has long been used as a basis for trade, and different cultures each developed their own unit of measurement for weighing gold. Typically, these units were derived from natural items that were regular in shape and a consistent weight. Europeans based their system on barleycorns, in the Mediterranean and Middle East they used carob seeds, and in India the ratti seed. These units of weight retain their relevance today, either through language or as literal measurements.

By contrast, the Akan people of West Africa developed a unique means of measuring precious metals. Their skilled goldsmiths fabricated intricate brass sculptures, known as ‘goldweights’, to ensure that gold was fairly and reliably traded. These finely crafted small objects also communicated stories and illustrated tribal myths or legends. Original Akan goldweights are now preserved in a few museums and private collections.

Indigenous Australians are believed to have inhabited the continent for over 40, 000 years, yet there is no record of any attempt to regulate gold as a mechanism for commodity exchange. In 1851 the discovery of the first ‘payable’ gold in Australia brought an

influx of foreign settlers in search of wealth, and consequently these migrant prospectors encountered no native weights and measures for gold.

The Australian goldrush settlers were confronted by spectacularly alien flora and fauna, and faced all manner of environmental hardships. In this strange and exotic land, the diggers were inspired to develop their own set of illustrative and instructional goldweights, similar to those found within African culture. Each brass form was used to communicate some aspect of life on the goldfields, and most were laced with a healthy dose of settler mythology.

Using evidence gathered from first-hand accounts of the settlers' experiences, experts have attempted to unravel the meanings behind the *Goldweights of the 19th Century Australian Colonists*.

Illustrations

The Fly or 'flyweight'

Type: Fauna

Weight: 1fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.01

By far the most abundant, consistently sized flora or fauna encountered by the settlers was the fly. It was therefore adopted as the basic unit of mass within the Australian goldrush system, with one brass fly being equivalent to 150 actual flies. Each 'flyweight' could be refined for measuring smaller quantities, through removal of one or more legs and wings.



The Token

Type: Social

Weight: 5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.02

Love tokens were given by convicts to their wives and families, prior to leaving home aboard transportation ships. Typically made by engraving or punching coins, they bore farewell messages and declarations of love. This 'token weight' bears an arrow and is believed to be a warning to 'honest' diggers, to remain cautious at a time when a man's past and true nature might easily be concealed.



The Rope

Type: Mechanical

Weight: 6fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.03

The colonists who went looking for gold were not highly skilled, nor were they in possession of sophisticated mining equipment. They used extremely basic tools such as buckets, picks and shovels. Rope was also an indispensable mining commodity.



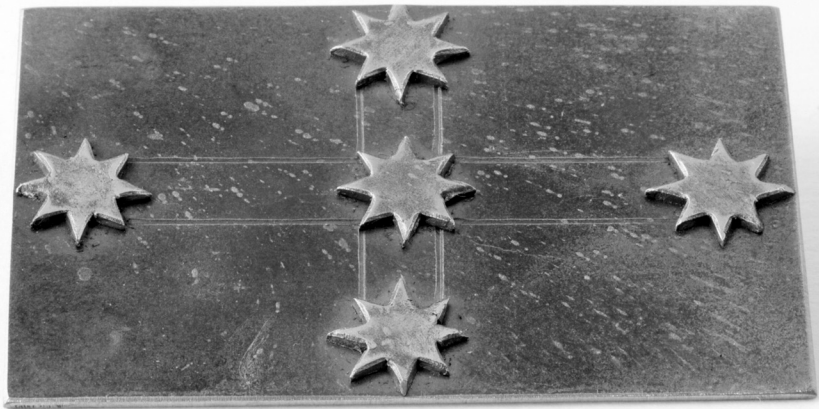
The Flag

Type: Political

Weight: 8fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.04

In 1854 the miners of Eureka in New South Wales clashed with authorities over licensing fees, police corruption and other perceived acts of injustice. Using the Southern Cross as a template, the gold miners created the Eureka Flag as a symbol of their solidarity and intent to defend their rights. During the tragic and violent climax to the Eureka Stockade, 22 diggers lost their lives.



The Map

Type: Political

Weight: 8.5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.05

Upon arrival, settlers needed to know where exactly the goldfields were located. Reliable maps were therefore extremely important. The first 'payable' gold was discovered in 1851 at Ophir in New South Wales, and six months later at Ballarat, Victoria. Eventually, rich gold deposits were discovered across the entire continent.



The Macquarie

Type: Political

Weight: 9.5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.06

This weight takes the approximate shape of an earring that belonged to Mrs. E. Macquarie. Governor Lachlan Macquarie allegedly possessed the first gold discovered in NSW (c. 1815) and used it to make earrings for his wife. The story is much debated, as the first official 'find' was not made until 1851. Some speculate that the earlier discovery was suppressed, for fear that a gold rush would upset law and order in a community comprised mainly of convicts.



The Fang

Type: Fauna

Weight: 10fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.07

This weight depicts a large tooth or 'fang' and is thought to refer to a creature from Aboriginal mythology known as the 'Bunyip'. The creature is disparately described and depicted, to the extent that no single representation of its appearance can encapsulate its legendary (terrible) physique. It is likely that early European settlers believed the Bunyip to be real.



Unknown (foreign)

Type: Unclassified

Weight: 10.5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.08

This roundel is of unknown origin and meaning. Given that it carries the word 'foreign' in relief, it probably relates to immigration and status, although to which particular immigrant populace it refers, and for what reason, remains a mystery.



The Eucalypt

Type: Flora

Weight: 11fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.09

The abundance and novelty of the eucalyptus would have had a significant impact on European settlers, most of whom would not have seen such plants before. Captain Cook collected a sample on his third voyage in 1777 but by the time the first studies were published in Europe, colonists had already migrated and were settling in Australia.



The Ring

Type: Social

Weight: 12fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.10

The oversized ring is undoubtedly a reference to marriage, or rather the shortage of marriage, within early settlements. There were few women on the goldfields during the early years. The lack of matrimony gave young men a taste of freedom, and opportunities for adventure. However the absence of family life also generated instability and it was difficult to establish a sense of 'home'.



The Die

Type: Social

Weight: 11.5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.11

The dubious morality of the mining community is widely documented. Across a spectrum of vices, which made life in the settlements more palatable, gambling clearly played an important role. It not only provided revenue for taverns and brothels, it occasionally acted as an opportunity to relieve stress and boredom through arguments and brawling.



The Plait

Type: Political

Weight: 12.5fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.12

By 1861 there were over 12,000 Chinese diggers in the goldfields. Europeans regarded the Chinese with a mixture of admiration at their work ethic and resentment at their success. During the worst anti-Chinese riot (Lambing Flat 1861) reports suggest that the Chinese were assaulted and their plaited pigtails cut off. It is not known if this weight was made in commemoration, or in defiance.



The Platypus

Type: Fauna

Weight: 13fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.13

It is not clear whether the miners had direct contact with platypuses. As with many things, their knowledge may have been a patchwork of native and earlier colonists' stories. Whatever the reality, this goldweight is clearly only a rough sketch of a platypus, and was interpreted by modelling body parts from three or four different animals.



The Snake

Type: Fauna

Weight: 15fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.14

One of the dangers faced on a daily basis came from large venomous snakes. One account, by a woman whose husband went to the trouble of building her a house, explains that her floorboards had to be shipped (at great expense) from Canada, because pine did not shrink like other woods and so did not leave gaping holes for snakes to crawl through. Most people lived in tents.



The Nugget

Type: Mineral

Weight: 16fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.15

Naturally, a large gold nugget was the dream of every digger on the fields. Some spectacular specimens were indeed discovered in Australia, and it is maintained that the largest nugget ever found came from Victoria in 1869. This weight appears to be a gold nugget, but it is in fact pyrite or fool's gold. Its message is to beware of false hopes and promises, and guard against tricksters and swindlers.



Unknown (lump)

Type: Unclassified

Weight: 19fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.16

The precise form and meaning of this weight are unknown. It is highly probable that it represents 'tailings' from a sluice box, which are essentially waste materials left over once any valuable material has been removed from a sample. It is unlikely to have been cast from animal dung, although this is a widespread interpretation.



The Quartz

Type: Mineral

Weight: 64fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.17

Gold mining was an extremely difficult and time-consuming way to make a living. The colonial miners were often poorly equipped, expending large amounts of physical energy in return for very small quantities of gold. If a digger had access to the appropriate machinery, quartz crushing was the most profitable mining technique.



The Nobbler

Type: Social

Weight: 168fw

Ref: GAC.11.01.18

Drinking was a major colonial vice. Miners, who were bored, lonely and miserable, regularly consumed excessive quantities of alcohol. 'Nobbler' was settler slang for a glass of rum or brandy, and such was the devastating social impact of alcohol abuse, it is unsurprisingly the heaviest goldweight found in the region. The brass form itself was almost certainly cast from the inside of a shot glass.



Afterword

The work featured here was originally produced for an exhibition of British and Australian jewellery, entitled *Transplantation*. The exhibition theme was based on the fact that, between the early 17th and mid 20th Centuries millions of British people began new lives overseas. Some were forced to leave by governments bent on Colonisation or *Plantation*: an unpleasant metaphor used to suggest that ‘healthier stock’ was being introduced into an environment where the native strains were considered weak or in some way substandard.

In response to the themes raised by this exhibition, I developed a set of counterfeit artefacts based on the evidence I could gather relating to real historical events. The first direct action in this process was to buy a series of British newspapers from the mid 1800s, each of which contained some reference to the transportation of people (and other things) to Australia. This then led to further reading around the gold mining settlements, economic and environmental hardships, treatment of indigenous populations and the Victorian desire to impose ‘civilisation’ upon what was considered a coarse and uncultured landscape.

Records of historical events are a form of legitimised story telling, and there is much fiction laid down amongst the fact. A number of authoritative and comprehensive (Australian) websites provided detailed information about the settlers' experiences, and books about African and Aboriginal art and culture were also utilised. None of these sources are referenced in this book.

With this work I decided to create a fiction by stitching together what facts I could find: assembling them from my own point of view. As a maker who enjoys researching social and cultural histories, especially with regard to notions of preciousness and value, these subjects allowed me to tie a number of strings of interest into one series of objects. European colonial mechanisms of power and control are collided with both Aboriginal and African craft and storytelling, giving rise to a curious (fictitious) measuring system for gold.

The result is documented here: a series of small brass castings entitled *Goldweights of the 19th Century Australian Colonists*. All are entirely fake in terms of their proposed origin and function, but the individual background stories contain more than a grain of truth.

Opposite:

How to succeed in Australia, article published in;
The Tablet. Vol. 14. No. 709. November 12, 1853.

of arms, even if they should be beaten; Europe is too deeply interested in preventing to exert itself to force the Emperor of pretensions, since they themselves have to limit possible in the way of concessions have made up their minds to die with rather than make further concessions. Therefore absolutely rejected this new reasons which have determined them it at the same time that this project was in the name of the four powers, there France and England the answer—the note—by which Count Nesselrode expressed of understanding the Vienna note. *Entre coup* was the advice given to the western powers not to accept the Vienna very clear and frank promises of support the Turks have therefore deemed themselves consider these new propositions as *non* answer to these new overtures is the entry have several days since passed the they have not yet appeared before Con-

positions of Prussia and Austria were listened to England and France, and that the orders were sent to the end of Asia to stop a little before; nevertheless, the new delay fixed. In place of the 23rd of October, it is the opening of the campaign has been not know what is expected to arrive at something must necessarily be extended by the Turks is the one pro- France. It must be concluded that expect within that time some important conclusion of some negotiation which is

expressed her regret that all her efforts reconciliation should have failed, has writes that in any case she will observe a yesterday officially took the Russians under her protection. Almost all com- left. The others, that is to say, the consulate, the post office, &c., took day by the Germania, a steamer berian Lloyd's, which they freighted for

of my return into the town I am in- ver of Russia to the declaration of war at, as was to be expected, it terminates s. But I have no means of verifying

EVENTS ON THE DANUBE.

Submarine Telegraph.

Vienna, Nov. 8th.
Bucharest writes as follows to under date the 6th of Nov. :—

3rd of November the Turks crossed irtukai to Oltenitza, to the number of

eral Parlof attacked them with 9,000 orisk cannonade, a combat with the between the two armies.

maintained their positions at Oltenitza, ten.

ended three hours.

ns lost several officers and 136 privates rior officers, 13 subalterns, and 479

Turkish side is not known.

upy Kalsrache, 2,000 have established and in front of Giurgevo, and 12,000

Telegraph and European Telegraph.

Vienna, Tuesday Night.
the 6th the Turks occupied the island crossed unobserved to Wallachia at a battle ensued which lasted twenty-

known. It is rumoured that Giurgevo

suggestion, the privileges granted by his august ancestors to the members of the different Greek communities. Those words produced a great effect on all the Greeks.

SPAIN.

DEATH OF MENDIZABAL.

M. Mendizabal died at his residence in Madrid on the morning of the 3rd inst. The malady which carried him off was a pulmonary catarrh. He met his fate with the greatest resignation, and preserved his faculties to the last. On the evening of the 2nd, after having previously settled all his worldly affairs, he received the Last Sacrament, and prepared himself for death. His funeral was to take place on the Sunday following (the day before yesterday). Though M. Mendizabal had for some years ceased to occupy a prominent place among politicians, yet he was looked up to to the last with respect even by those who dissented from him.

Though he was for some time past seriously, and even dangerously, affected by a complication of disorders, and though little or no hopes remained of his recovery, yet his death was not believed to be so near at hand.

AUSTRALIA.

HOW TO SUCCEED IN AUSTRALIA.

An amusing and practical correspondent writes from Melbourne, showing how money is made in the colony. There is, he says, "A vast amount of distress among the gentlemanly, no capital, no hard-work people—people who will not go on the roads and earn 10s. a day, because they have never done it, and it's below them; but, believe me, if a man comes here without capital he must work or starve; and the work that is wanted is, hand, not head work. I do anything to pick up a shilling—carry a box, help to dig the foundation of a house—and what I have lately made some money at has been duck shooting. The way I set about it is this—I start off in the afternoon for one of the numerous lagoons, situate from five to ten miles off, and take with me on my back, besides my gun, a blanket, hookpot, pannikin, tea, and sugar, bread, &c. On my road I often get stuck in a bog or lost in the bush, but, *nil desperandum*, on I go, and at length reach my destination. At sunset I take my station at some thick reeds—perhaps up to my hips in mud and water, and there await the evening flight of the ducks, teal, black swans, &c. At last, bang! bang! goes old Joe Manton; and splash, splash, tumble the ducks into the lake. Then for an hour it's lead and fire, and then gather together the dying and the dead. I now try and find out a soft place under some friendly gum-tree, light a fire, make a cup of tea (when on board ship I thought I should become a solid lump of 'plum duff'; now I really believe I shall be converted into a huge teapot, for I drink tea by the quart, not by the cup), roll myself in my blanket, and off to sleep. Up again in the morning before the sun, take my place in the rushes, see the ducks turn out to wash their faces, and give them a hearty salute; after which pack up, and away to Melbourne, call at the clubs and hotels, and sell my ducks, and if I fail there, it's 'Duck, O; Wild duck! Widgeon or wildfowl!' in the streets; and the best of all is, this kind of sport pays at 18s. a pair of ducks, 20s. a goose, 5s. and 6s. a pair for teal—a good night's work tell's up. Now, your poor proud man won't do this, because, faith, he never did such a thing in England, and it's so low to sell ducks, and therefore he starves, and nobody pities him, and he either turns shepherd in the bush, or works his way home as a ship-steward. But there is one sad cause of distress—namely, that caused by illness from the common and often fatal complaint, diarrhoea. Then a man or woman without money is indeed in a sad condition. All I can say is, God help them, for few else will. For the working man this country is the finest in the world, and he is sure of a fortune if he does not take to 'nobbler's' (small 'glasses of brandy or rum.) Drunkenness is the very curse of the country..... I must now really turn in with the fleas (they are anxiously waiting for me), and finish this another time. I have to be up before sunrise to fish, as fishing pays 20s. a dozen, large and small; so good night!—J. G., licensed waterman, No. 119, at your honour's service."

hour, and the heroism of his doing to the balance of the sacri- ficed the usefulness of his titles has deserved well from these Blessed Paul appears in minds of men to admire and his brethren, and of the people, tinnally for the same people, miracles which, at his invocation since his solemn Beatification hope that God, by a more well-beloved servant, will g- against widely-spreading erro- hence the solemnities of Paul are not alone desired by Most Holy Cross and Passio- but are earnestly requested by mon consent, and by certain the Holy Roman Church, who letters of petition.

Therefore, when in this day- tion of Sacred Rites, held in petition of the Very Rev. F. Provost-General of the Cong- Cross and Passion of Our Lord this cause; the Most Eminent Cardinal Constantino Patrizi, B- Most Eminent and Most Re- bruschini, Bishop of Porto, Sa- chia, Prefect of the said Sac- the cause, proposed the follow- Commission is to be signed cause of Blessed Paul of the and Most Rev. Father appoint- Rites, after hearing the Rev. Promoter of the Holy Faith, a voce, wrote in answer, "aff- Holiness."

The 17th day of September, A faithful account of all th- made to Our Most Holy Lord by me the undersigned Secre- Congregation, his Holiness de- of the Sacred Congregation, a- the Commission for the resumi- Paul of the Cross, Confessor, month and year.

A. CARD. I.

Loco X. Sigilli.

DOX. GIGLI.

SYNOD OF THE DIOCESE

(From our Co-

It is with great pleasure I readers the holding of the fi- country since the Reformatio- re-establishment of the Hiera- under the presidency of Bisho- dral Church of this town.

The Clergy of the diocese, p- Birmingham in the course of and in accordance with very- ried out by the Revs. B. Ivers, were located amongst the pri- by whom they were most hos-

This morning the commen- and imposing ceremonies, inte- berations of the Synod, were a- the cathedral bells, which com- stirring effect at an early hou- o'clock.

At half-past eight o'clock t- crypt of the church, and pro- had been previously prepar- sented an imposing effect. T- with a profusion of flowers a- the pillars, &c. A square was church. The Bishop's throne the high altar, and seats were

visitors of
ress of a stru-
ed. No doubt
vours in order
We hope that
at the character
for promptness,
plowness of the

ing, on our own
position of the
een convulsing
y, indeed, natu-
of that remote
resent case, an
ject of the con-
ession apprised
y encountering
ter fortune, in
t, such was the
veloped, that,
the British ven-
ding especially
posed to regard
ence to the go-
different view
at Hong Kong,
s.

mmenced some
Quangsee and
circumstances
satisfactorily ascer-
tained insurgents
mentioned, and
m the strength
ects in question
racter for the
eir inhabitants,
experience of
For some time
esented as the
e are inclined,
position offered
ually, however,
over the impe-
-east in the di-

now say, the late
raction, and in-
n conquest. It
rns, in the year
d in subduing
of their own on
ave ever since
e invading race
n less than that
ndia. The best
rs are Tartars,
inese, and the
ly intrusted to
urrection took
bversion of the
We are distic-
tical character
the progress of
late it has been
mised the de-
our of a prince
ncluded a king,
be changed for
had been con-

We are not
aims are repre-
s name is Tien-
we are in-
personage has
"kings" have
ll we can safely
e enthronement

that jealousy alone would induce them to side with their Sovereign. We apprehend, in short, from these and other discernible elements of antagonism, what Mr. Gladstone, apparently with some anticipation of the truth, called "a state of chronic rebellion," and it must be recollected that the recent extension of the disturbance to some of the chief tea districts may produce consequences which were escaped while the contest was confined to the more southern or central parts of the empire. The provinces on which we depend for one of the necessities of our daily life, and indirectly for no inconsiderable portion of our revenue, are already so disorganised and impoverished as to be suffering greatly in their commercial pursuits, and it is hard to put a limit to the inconvenience we might endure from any serious check upon the production and export of tea.

AUSTRALIA. THE GOLD DIGGINGS.

Accounts have been received from Sydney, *via* Panama, dated the 15th of January. With regard both to the gold mines and the general course of trade, they are interesting and satisfactory. The production of gold, it is stated, was rapidly increasing, and the accounts were equally favourable from almost all districts. At Turon the water was rapidly subsiding, and great results were expected, the average return at present of each claim being alleged to amount to about ten ounces per day. At the southern diggings, in the neighbourhood of Braidwood, the returns are reported to continue large, the average weekly sum per man being thirty to forty ounces. In the north, at the Hanging Rock, the diggings are said to be nearly deserted; but at a spot called Rocky River all employed were doing well. The statements from the Victoria frontier, in relation to the yield at the Ovens, were very encouraging. New discoveries had been made, and the number of miners at work was estimated at 6,000. A private escort company had been formed at Sydney to proceed to these mines, and had started its first expedition on the 13th of January. According to general report, a very large quantity of gold was waiting for transmission to Sydney, and it was thought likely that the escort would return with a ton weight. The difficulties with respect to vessels getting away appear to have diminished. The Kate had sailed for London on the 12th with 28,977 ounces of gold, worth 115,000*l.*, and the Cuthberts on the following day with 445 ounces. The John Taylor had also sailed with 11,847 ounces, the Joshua with 5,732 ounces, and the Sir Robert Sale with 13,836 ounces; the latter all from Victoria. The steamer Sarah Sands was to sail from Sydney for Liverpool, *via* Melbourne and the Cape of Good Hope, on the 27th of January. Among the sailing vessels about to depart for England were the Washington Irving, on the 17th; the Lydia, Windsor, and Waterloo, on the 20th, and the Cheapside on the 21st of January; the Cyrus, on the 1st of February; the Anglesey, on the 10th; the Templar, on the 12th; the Carnatic, on the 20th; and the Vimiera, Black River, and Catherine Jameson, at dates not specified. The Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Shanghai was expected from Singapore about the 1st of February, and would be despatched during the same month. The price of gold was 72*s.* 9*d.* for Victoria, and 70*s.* 9*d.* for New South Wales. The discovery that spurious gold had been mixed with the genuine had caused much excitement. Some of the persons had been apprehended, and a man named Carey was committed for trial. It was not supposed that much of it had reached Sydney, but that a large quantity had been shipped from Melbourne. The demand for consumable goods continued very large, especially for beer, spirits, wines, spices, coffee, cheese, hams, pickles, and cured fish. Flour was in less request, and sugar, although taken in large quantities, had declined 30*s.* per ton. Metals, paints, &c., owing to the scarcity of mechanical labour, were not saleable to any extent.

The Auckland, New Zealand, advices on this occasion reached to the 21st of December, and reiterate the previous favourable statements regarding the prospects of the Coromandel gold-field near that settlement. The Lieutenant-Governor had held a meeting with the natives with regard to the measures to be adopted in relation to their rights, which had ended satisfactorily.

only at the moment
form more or less
making them public
"Some one may
this in the *Univers.*
of the entire world
your great and gene-
Cardinal Wiseman,
of England, asked
a circular to that ef-
they responded by
tinction, to the mo-
weeks the whole of
in this pious aim.
has several times re-
that appeal, so th-
kindled anew, and
understood that I h-
shall perhaps be
thinking, after the
sent, that I can ma-
cause is too importa-
considerations, and
advantages I have o-
"Thus I venture,
to invite all France,
sociate themselves i-
it with that spirit o-
tory of this countr-
great cause of char-
which God has gi-
ployed in the work
"They will ask o-
that I wish them to
not propose any ru-
symbol of union, a
Church expresses
Mother of God, '
tu sola interemisti
works to Her to wi-
magnificent abund-
every Catholic—m-
every day one *Ave*
most urgent deman-
in this cause, and I
to every one what h-
myself, in the first
the Church, which
particular, for in d-
to give counsel, v-
under their inspira-
taking is of the hi-
ness is nothing less
fervour of all the r-
are those who ough-
religious movement
cert, or each one o-
in his diocese? T-
tail some loss of ti-
the more powerful,
legitimate organs,
thus produce itself,
pensated.

"I entertain the
disposed to give at
the Bishops of the
it is sufficient to
may be, if they m-
Church in France
journal or by any
I should make so-
has occupied my a-
I shall do so with
dient servant in J-

"London, April

NOVENA OF R
THE TRUE CR
SAVIOUR JES
To begin on the 2
May, Feast o
O ever-sweet J

165. [GOLD DIGGERS]. **The Tablet**. Vol. 14. No.681. April 30, 1853. Large folio, 16 pp., disbound. Accounts of the gold diggings, featuring information regarding rates of production and the price of gold. A small report on men from Australian dioceses proceeding to Rome to complete studies in 'the school of propaganda.' **\$75**

Previous:

Australia (The Gold Diggings), article published in;
The Tablet. Vol. 13. No. 618. April 30, 1853.

About

Laura Potter considers herself a jeweller, even when she is not making jewellery. For her this describes an approach to the world, and to making objects, rather than a strict set of skills employed in the production of wearable things. Instead of considering jewellery as a defined subject, she pokes around the edges of what it is, what it isn't and what it might be. Issues around adornment, preciousness, craft and materiality are key concerns within her practice, and running parallel is a regard for the roles and responsibilities assigned to personal possessions in contemporary life. Her work has contemplated many topics, and maintains no particular loyalty to any technique or substance. She employs whatever means she can to make a point.

Goldweights of the 19th Century Australian Colonists

Laura Potter

www.laurapotter.co.uk

All text © Laura Potter 2011

All photographs © Matt Ward 2011

Works originally produced for:

Transplantation: A Sense of Place and Culture

Curated by Professor Norman Cherry