3.0 Results of the Archaeological Investigation

3.1 Methodology
The site was excavated using an open area stratigraphic methodology. This approach maximises the identification of temporal relationships in the archaeological record during excavation. Initial clearance of the site was expedited by the use of a 20-tonne and 7-tonne excavator to remove twentieth-century levelling fills and demolition material. The site was then divided into three archaeological areas before intensive hand excavation and recording. The three archaeological areas corresponded to the initial subdivision of the block and represented boundaries that were respected by development until recently (Figure 3.1). Test trenches were used in several locations to better understand localised stratigraphy. A total of 18 test trenches were excavated throughout the site. Table 3.1 summarises the location and purpose of each of these test trenches. Context numbers were allocated with reference to each archaeological area and individual features. Interpretive relationships between the features in each area were established and recorded during excavation. These associations form the basis of the archaeological analysis. The relationships are displayed schematically in the Harris Matrix for the site (Section 11).

Figure 3.1: Site survey plan showing the archaeological areas. These areas correspond to the original subdivision of the block. North is at the top of the image.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Trench</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plan No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 1, Woolpack Inn, east end through mixed fill.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 4, Woolpack Inn, through grey subsoil, 7354.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 5, Woolpack Inn, through grey fill, 7353.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 2, Woolpack Inn, southeast corner, showing depth of footings, 7309.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 5, Woolpack Inn, southwest corner, showing depth of footings, 7309.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Room 1, Woolpack Inn, southwest corner to show depth of footings, 7309.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southwest corner of Area A, close to George Street, through early fill 7385.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Renamed TT 9).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southwest corner, showing deep cut through the natural clay. (Renamed TT 9).</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southwest corner of site, long trench running east-west joining up TT 7 and</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TT 8, showing large cut 7436.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Long trench running north-south showing early fills. Perpendicular to and</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>joining TT 9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Cut through the natural clay showing large brickfields era cut 7436.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>T-shaped test trench through fills within area of No. 716 George Street</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>showing large circular cut 7600.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Trench running east-west through fills, 7529 and showing wall footings, 7402</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>at No. 716 George Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Trench running east-west through fills, 7529 and showing wall footings, 7402</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>at No. 716 George Street, west of TT 13.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Southeast of TT 14 within No. 716 George Street, showing fills and postholes.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Test trench through early cut/gully (7601) and its fills at rear of No. 714</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>East of TT 16, test trench through early cut/gully (7602) and its fills at</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rear of No. 714 George Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1m x 1m test pit butting wall 7443, showing tree bole and burnt soil.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Summary of all the test trenches excavated on site. Each of these test trenches was annotated on plan (see Volume 3, Section 10 of Excavation Report).
3.1.1 Archaeological phases

The archaeology of the site was divided into several phases (Table 3.2). The phases used were area-specific in response to the historical idiosyncrasies of lot development across the study area. Historical information including plans, Rates Assessments and other primary records were used to determine appropriate phasing of the archaeological remains. The phases were used in conjunction with stratigraphic information to interpret the relationships between contexts during excavation.\footnote{For a more detailed description of the excavation results from each area refer to the Trench Reports in Volume 2.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Area A</th>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Area B</th>
<th>Area C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aboriginal Occupation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aboriginal Occupation</td>
<td>Aboriginal Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1788–c.1823: Brickfields and pottery manufacture and early village</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1788–c.1823: Brickfields and pottery manufacture and early village</td>
<td>1788–c.1823: Brickfields and pottery manufacture and early village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>c.1823–c.1880: The Woolpack Inn with numerous licensees</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>c.1823–c.1840: Post-Brickfield occupation by former convicts and families</td>
<td>c.1823–c.1840: Vacant land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>c.1840-1860s: Redevelopment of the lot</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>c.1840–1860s: Commercial development</td>
<td>c.1840–1860s: Commercial development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>c.1882-c.1902: Bank building – the Mercantile and later Commercial Bank and warehouses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1860s-c.1890: Rebuilding phase associated with general cleansing of the block</td>
<td>1860s-c.1890: Rebuilding phase associated with general cleansing of the block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>c.1903-onwards: Mick Simmons buildings, alterations</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>c.1890 onwards: Rebuilding replaces shops with buildings that survive into twentieth century</td>
<td>c.1890 onwards: Rebuilding replaces shops with buildings that survive into twentieth century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Chronological phases developed for the archaeological remains from each site area. The development of Area A was different to the other areas of the site.
A note on the changing street frontage

Although beyond the limit of excavation, information about the changing nature of the street frontage was provided by historic maps and archaeological remains on the site. Throughout the historic period, the northeast corner of Campbell and George Streets was not a right angle, despite the fact that these roads run perpendicular to each other. The odd alignment at the corner had its origins in the Brickfield period where the road to Parramatta forked, running briefly along the northern side of the creek to meet two tracks from the west (Figure 3.2).

During Phase 4 lot boundaries were set and Campbell Street was established running west at the location of the fork in the road. The gentle curve of the road to the southwest was kept, despite the sharp angle of Campbell Street to George Street, and the lot boundaries at the street frontage reflected this (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.2: The site location is indicated by a red circle where the road to Parramatta forks on the north side of the creek. Detail from Plan of the town of Sydney in New South Wales by Jas. Meehan, NLA map f105b.
As early as 1830, Hallen recorded a fence extending from the north of Lot 3 into the street, annexing a small portion of land from the road (Figure 3.4). This would later correspond to the corridor of land occupied by No. 712 and was probably instrumental in determining the size of the subdivision. This is discussed in more detail in Section 3.7.1 below. By the 1840s the road had widened in the north, and both Lots 3 and 4 lost some land to it. However, the alignment of the building at No. 714/716 and the Woolcott and Clark plan of 1854 suggest that Lot 3 was once again reclaiming land from the street. This is discussed in greater detail in Section 3.7.1.2 below. This was in a period of general permissive occupancy and was when parts of the block were considered among the worst slums in Sydney. In the 1860s, the street frontage was restored to its 1830 alignment, excepting the concessions made to the road in the 1840s. It remained that way until the early twentieth century (Figure 3.5).
Figure 3.4: Hallen’s field sketch c.1830 showing a boundary fence extending into the street. This would later correspond to the location of No. 712. Detail from Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p.5.

Figure 3.5: Interpretive plan showing the changing street frontage at Lot 3. Original boundaries are taken from Hallen’s 1830 survey. 1840s/50s projections are based on archaeological evidence discussed in Section 3.7.1.2 of this report. City Section Survey Plans, 1833, Section 02, City of Sydney Archives: Historical Atlas of Sydney.
3.2  Phase 1: Natural Landscape
The site at 710-722 George Street was situated on the cusp of a change in the underlying geology. Beyond the hill to the north, the clayey soils and open woodland associated with the Wianamatta group shales once gave way to the shallow, sandy soils and dense and tenacious vegetation characteristic of the underlying Hawkesbury sandstone.

The soil landscapes of the area included Blacktown and Lucas Heights on the Wianamatta shales, and the Gymea soil landscape on the surrounding sandstone to the north and northwest. The site was close to the border of the two shale soils and represented a transition to a more open landscape, with the Lucas Heights soils giving way to those of the Blacktown landscape to the south. In addition, deep creek fluvial deposits flanked the nearby streams that fed Cockle Bay.

The Lucas Heights soil landscape is common on landforms that mimic those of the study area: gently undulating slopes, crests, ridges and plateau surfaces. The soil landscape consists of silty sands in the upper layers and sandy clays at the base of the soil layers. These are soils that are moderately to highly erodible. The soil landscape suggested that prior to 1788, Brickfield hill was likely to have been graced with alluvial terraces at the base and Lucas Heights soils on the slopes, supporting sclerophyll open forest and low eucalypt woodland with a sclerophyll shrub understorey. In fact, pollen analysis of the topsoil indicated a landscape characterised by *Allocasuarina/Casuarina-Eucalyptus* forest or woodland with a grassy rather than shrub-rich understorey. When approached from Sydney Cove this change in vegetation from sandstone forest and scrub to relatively open and seemingly grassy woodland no doubt aided the early detection of appropriate clays for brickmaking, which were exposed at the surface and discovered by a working party shortly after establishment of the British settlement.

Remnants of the soils and clays characteristic of the Lucas Heights landscape were present across the site in varied states of truncation and preservation. The natural landscape will be discussed in terms of Areas A, B, and C, as lot-specific activity was a major factor in determining the preservation or modification of the soil landscape.

3.2.1  Area A
In Area A, there was no evidence of the original topsoil, and the remnants of a modified A2 horizon were only present on the highest ground in the east. This part of area A was spared the disturbance created by the construction of the Woolpack Inn and its outbuildings during the mid to late 1820s. The remaining A2 horizon was a grey-brown, tightly compacted mix of fine sands and clay particles. It exhibited signs of contamination and disturbance in the form of fragments of sandstone, sandstock brick and other highly fragmented items of historic material.

The rest of Area A had been reduced to B1 horizon natural yellow clay (7355/7667) by the time the first buildings were constructed. This may have been due to erosion after land clearance, and was almost certainly exacerbated by the brickmaking and pottery manufacturing activity in the area. The proximity to the road and the presence of a large and deep pit (7436) suggested that during the Brickfield period this part of the site witnessed considerable activity. The erodible nature of the soils meant that they were highly susceptible to movement on the slope after clearance, and activities further up the hill would have no doubt impacted particularly on the land immediately

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2 Herbert 1983.
3 Benson and Howell 1990:7-11.
5 Connell Wagner Pty Ltd 2002:7-10.
6 Broadbent 2010:46.
7 Section 9.6
8 Worgan 1788.
adjacent to the road. The B horizon that remained was a compact yellow clay with grey mottling. It had few inclusions, excepting some decayed stone fragments. The soil profile was observed in excavated features and wall trenches. Soil and pollen samples were taken of this B1 horizon (Figure 3.6, samples #19, 20 and 88).

![Figure 3.6: B horizon clays (7668) exposed at the base of a large pit (7660) in Area A. The yellow-orange subsoil can be seen in section, here contaminated with darker material. View to the west. Scale 1m.](image)

The underlying C horizon clays had been exposed during the Brickfield period through the excavation of two large pits along the southern boundary of the site (7436, 7660). The C1 horizon consisted of compact red (orange) and grey mottled clay with no inclusions (7446/7668). Soil samples were taken of the natural C1 horizon clay (samples # 31, 32 and 87).

### 3.2.2 Area B

In Area B the natural soil horizons on the street frontage were still largely intact but showed signs of erosion and displacement during wet conditions. In the east of Area B the natural deposits were truncated to the B horizon clays, similar to those observed in Area A (Figure 3.6). Levelling of the site after the Brickfield period was probably responsible for the truncation of the soils in the east. Gullies that ran downslope in the west were filled in with largely A horizon material prior to subdivision. The cheapest and most efficient method for this infilling would be the redistribution of soils from the east of the lot. This would have also served to level the gentle slope from northeast to southwest in Area B.

The surviving topsoil (7472/7450/7458) consisted of mid- to grey-brown fine silty clay and sand with some charcoal flecking. Historic artefacts such as fragments of brick and lead-glaze pottery littered the deposit which would have been highly mobile when wet. Within the topsoil layer (7472) was a tree bole (7473). This was slightly irregular in plan and measured 1.4m by 800mm and was 140mm in maximum depth. It contained a dark humic loam with fine roots. It also contained some intrusive items as the fill was soft. Pollen sample No. 47 was taken of topsoil context 7472 and submitted for palynological analysis by Mike Macphail. The results showed a pollen assemblage dominated by casuarina. Miospores of non-local native plants such as Old Man Banksia and
frequent numbers of fern spores were also present. These species would be unexpected on a relatively dry site. The overwhelming dominance of casuarina suggested *Allocasuarina/Casuarina* - *Eucalyptus* forest or woodland with a grassy understorey.9

An A2 subsoil (7621/7527/7404) was represented in several locations by a compact and very pale yellow-brown silty clay loam with flecks of charcoal and occasional iron-oxide staining. This layer was pale and largely devoid of mineral colouring, except for a single patch of localised iron concentration (7456). The soil in this location displayed orange-brown swirling patterns that may have been produced by the movement of iron-oxide by water through the soil profile. The 'swirling' was probably produced by the settling of concentrated iron particles after individual deluge events. This process would have occurred sub-surface and was not an indicator of exposure.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 3.7:** The eroded A2 soils in Area B. The high iron content has resulted in red staining in the yellow soils (7456). The footing in the right of the image is the southern flank of No. 716 (7488). View to the west. Scale 1m.

Further mobility of the soil profile was indicated by undulating and rutted remnants of subsoil towards the street frontage. Where observed, the subsoil averaged 250mm in depth. B horizon deposits were represented by medium to heavy yellow-orange clays with infrequent ironstone inclusions (7610). They were exposed at the east and in the south of Area B. The B horizon was numbered 7622, 7623, 7610 and 7514 respective to location and was sampled by Roy Lawrie, soil scientist.

### 3.2.3 Area C

In Area C, a diluted pattern of the Area B truncation extended northward, leaving remnants of topsoil localised at the street frontage, and only A2 horizons exposed in the east. The cause of this action was less clear in Area C, although the motivation may have been one of levelling the surface through truncation in the east only, as there was little evidence of re-deposition.

At the street frontage, the intact A1 horizon was a mid-brown sandy clay loam (7386). This one-time surface material contained charcoal, tiny brick and stone fragments and some small artefacts

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9 Section 9.6
(including lead-glaze pottery). Soil and pollen samples were taken of the topsoil (samples 49, 50, 55, 56, 61 and 62) which varied in depth from 80-170mm. Sample No. 49 was submitted for palynological analysis by Mike Macphail. The pollen assemblage closely resembled that of context 7472 in Area A but, unlike that sample, it displayed unequivocal evidence for introduced vegetation in the form of pine and dandelion pollen. It suggests that the overlying wall (context 7441, the foundation of 710 George Street) was built on weed-infested ground. Fern spores, including those of the rainbow fern were frequent, suggesting the site was occasionally flooded or the soil or stonework was sufficiently damp to support ferns.

The A2 horizon represented the last natural surface across most of the site. It consisted of two deposits (7535, 7549). The upper deposit (7535) was a pale yellow-brown fine sand and silt composite, becoming more compacted and clayey with depth (7549). This deposit had a maximum depth of 250mm. The only inclusions were small ironstone gravels (<2mm). Soil samples 51 and 52 were taken for pollen and soil analysis. The lower subsoil (7549) was compact, yellow-brown clayey silt with a small sand content. This deposit was culturally sterile with occasional ironstone gravels (<3mm) and was mostly evident at the eastern end of Area C. Soil samples 57 and 58 were taken. The remains of a burnt out tree root/bole (7559/7560) were evident cutting through the A2 horizon.

The B horizon in Area C was represented by very compact yellow clay (7536). It was exposed in construction cuts only. Soil samples #53 and 54 were taken of the clay.

3.3 Phase 2: Aboriginal occupation

Prior to 1788, the site was part of the Eora territory. The Eora people comprised several clans that shared a common language and a saltwater economy. They inhabited a varied landscape that stretched from the Georges River in the south to Pittwater in the north, and inland along the drowned river valley mouth to Parramatta.¹⁰

The Cadi clan occupied the southern side of Port Jackson, extending from South Head to Long Cove, and incorporating the study area. The antiquity of the Cadi people remains unknown, but archaeological evidence has confirmed a continued presence of Australian indigenous stone technologies and exploitation of the resources around the harbour over several thousand years.¹¹

There was no stone evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the site at 710-722 George Street, although palynological analysis of the 1788 topsoil suggested open grassy woodland characteristic of the frequent/cool fire regimes practised by indigenous groups.¹² While local erosion events may have been partially responsible for the lack of stone evidence, larger-scale geographical factors are also known to have played a significant role in the use and discard of stone tools, and may explain the absence of artefacts at the site.¹³

The underlying geology of the area would have been largely unhelpful in providing the raw material for stone tools. Larger pieces of the Indigenous tool kit (such as ground-edge hatchets) were manufactured from stone quarried over at least 20km away, and mainly more than 50km from the

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¹⁰ Willsteed, Smith & Bourke 2006, Eora : Mapping Aboriginal Sydney, 1770-1850, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, N.S.W.
¹¹ Willsteed, Smith & Bourke 2006.
¹² Section 9.6
¹³ See Brown & Hincks 2009. Disturbance alone cannot always be used to explain the absence of Aboriginal artefacts. Recent work at Oppy Reserve in Western Sydney has shown that on a wide and highly eroded dirt track, signatures of spatial patterning in artefacts collected from the surface were still identifiable despite heavy disturbance and water erosion over a 40 year period.
In 1788 this was beyond the land of other clans and beyond that of the Eora people, suggesting that there was some degree of effort (if not difficulty) in obtaining them. The smaller elements such as barbs and cutting tools were manufactured from stones sourced in the western Cumberland Basin, which were also between 35km and 60km from the area.

Archaeological evidence suggests that even without considering cultural boundaries, increasing the distance from source to use often results in conservative approaches to material and manufacturing techniques. Evidence of this type of material conservation was observed at a rockshelter site in Balmoral (within the 1788 Eora territory). Aboriginal activity may be poorly represented in the area if these material conservation practices remained constant over time. Because the site at 710-722 George Street occupied a landform type classified as a ‘sparse’ zone (where only low-density scatters of artefacts are typical even in areas rich with resources), archaeological evidence would be minimal or non-existent if conservative attitudes to the resource prevailed. The lack of evidence for Aboriginal occupation at the site satisfies this interpretive model.

3.4 Phase 3: Brickfield and pottery manufacturing (1788-c.1823)
This phase witnessed the initial clearance of the site, and the use of the general area as a clay quarry for brick and pottery manufacture. A village was established shortly after clearance, and grew around the sites of clay extraction and processing. Lesueur’s 1802 plan suggests that the site was once within the Brickfield Village. The village was about a mile south from the settlement, and reached by the road that later led to the more fertile plains of Parramatta. The village straddled a substantial creek that flowed into the mudflats at the head of Cockle Bay. Water was vital for the processing of clay for the Brickfields, and kilns and processing sites occupied the positions closest to the creek (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Detail of an 1802 plan showing Brickfield village, George Street (Route de Parramatta), and the creek feeding Cockle Bay. The red circle shows the approximate location of the site. North is at

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17 Jo McDonald CHM 2005:141.
3.4.1 Land clearance and erosion

Archaeological evidence relating to this period suggested that land clearance in the area, and particularly upslope to the north, had a detrimental impact on the newly exposed surface (Figure 3.9). Runoff travelling down the slope of Brickfield Hill created wide gullies and depressions in the highly erodible soils of the Lucas Heights landscape. The change in runoff dynamics seemed to affect the southwest of the site the most, with wide and relatively deep gullies in the vicinity of 718 George Street and ruts and depressions in the (once waterlogged) B horizon clays beneath the Woolpack Inn. Evidence of erosion in Area B suggested that that part of the site had remained vacant during the Brickfield phase. Topsoils were largely absent from Area B, and surfaces appeared smoothly weathered, with little evidence of cultural activity beyond land clearance.

Gullies and depressions were partially exposed in several locations across the site, suggesting that water moved freely and frequently down the slope during this phase (Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11, Figure 3.12). In all instances the gullies had been filled in with either local topsoil and clays or pottery wasters. This may not have occurred until the end of the Brickfield phase, to prepare the ground for street-front building and subdivision. Typically, the eroded banks of the gullies and depressions were smooth and gently sloping, with anomalous undulations and turns that implied a certain amount of dynamism to the actions of water on the slope. The pattern of erosion also suggested a discontinuous flow, with successive deluge events creating new paths and variations in the channels. It is likely that development (or the lack of) upslope had an effect on the erosion of the soils at the site. The gullies and depressions were probably not filled in successfully until the dynamics of the water movement had settled somewhat. There was evidence of an early attempt at backfilling in the southwest corner of the site in the vicinity of No. 718. In this instance, the imported topsoil (7450) had continued eroding and the gully was not successfully plugged until a fill of tightly compacted pottery wasters was dumped into the cavity.
Figure 3.9: Interpretive plan showing the remains of erosion features across the site (Plan 19, Section 10).
Figure 3.10: The exposed gully (7489) beneath the footings of No. 718 George Street (7341). The grey soil (7450) in the foreground has been introduced to replace the eroded ground but it also shows signs of erosion and waterlogged exposure. View to the northeast. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.11: The base of the gully (7481) beneath the footings of No. 716 (7488) and No. 718 (7468). The trajectory to the southwest (the lowest point of the site) can be seen clearly in this image, as can a divergent depression in the lower left of the photo. View to the southwest. Scale 1m.
Restrictions caused by subsequent development on the site meant that large, uninterrupted sections of the gullies were almost impossible to expose, and in some locations, small areas of water-worn subsoils were the only indicators of dynamic water movement on the site. However, some trends were noticeable. The gullies headed west and southwest across the site, following the slope to the corner of Campbell and George Street. Notably, two later drains (7339 and 7636) mimicked these natural flows.

3.4.2 Brickfield village and early structural evidence

Lesueur’s plan of Sydney shows buildings in the village set well back from the street frontage. Unfortunately, the degree to which the map is accurate is unknown (Figure 3.13). However, the topography of the site (sloping down from the northeast to the southwest) would place the mapped structures on higher ground, away from the eroding surfaces at the roadside. The higher parts of the site were mostly reduced to B horizon clay, or inaccessible due to modern construction, and so the location of these structures could not be confirmed or challenged by the archaeological evidence.

A map from 1807, with subsequent tracing in 1850 (Figure 3.14), suggests a much more haphazard layout of the Brickfield village, over a much wider area. It also carries the comment: “These houses are irregularly built – with few of them good”. Perhaps in support of this, a cluster of postholes dating to the Brickfield phase was found near the street frontage in the central portion of Area B (contexts 7551, 7552, 7554, 7556, 7606, Figure 3.15). Their relative locations suggested repeated attempts to mark a single point in the landscape and may have been part of a fenceline or the corner of a building. But as no other postholes could be confirmed from this period, these features are difficult to interpret spatially. The repeated installation in the same location would suggest poor building or constant repair, in keeping with the remarks attached to the 1807 map.
However, an alternative interpretation may be that the postholes were for structures associated with brick or pottery manufacture, such as a workshop, drying sheds, or shelters. Ball’s letters to the Colonial Secretary regarding the use of his land refer to a workshop and garden he used for drying his wares. Although there is no reference to the exact location of the garden, or to drying structures within it, the climate and local site conditions may have made it necessary to occasionally erect temporary shelters to protect the wares from excessive heat, rain or ground moisture. The even drying of green pottery is crucial to ensure successful firing and it is unlikely that unfired vessels could be dried outdoors throughout the year. Historical accounts of brickmaking often describe drying shelters and mobile forming emplacements close to kilns and other pottery manufacturing areas but archaeological traces for such temporary structures have proved difficult to locate on similar historic sites. The postholes could represent a recurring activity associated with pottery production that required temporary structures to be erected in this area. Also if the houses were considered to be poorly made, then any impermanent structures would leave little trace apart from irregular post-holes.

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18 Pearce 2007:152; Appendix 4.3.
19 Pearce 2007:152.
20 Also refer to Section 4.2 and Stocks, App. 3 ‘Brickmaking techniques’ in Casey & Lowe, in prep, *Archaeological Investigation 19-41 Reservoir Street, Surry Hills*, for discussion of working areas.
Figure 3.14: Detail of a c.1850 copy of an 1807 map showing scattered elements of the Brickfield Village. North is to the top of the image. *Plan of the town of Sydney in New South Wales* by Jas. Meehan, NLA map f105b.

Figure 3.15: Plan of the posthole cluster (circled in red), Area B showing repeated attempts to secure a post within the same general area. The limit of excavation is at the left of the image, close to the George Street frontage. North is at the top of the image. (Extract from Plan 8, Section 10).
3.4.3 Evidence of early industry

Two large pits were dug along the southern boundary of the site in Area A during this phase (7436, 7660). Both pits continued beyond the southern limit of the archaeological excavation. The largest pit (7436) was up to 750mm deep. It was located in the southwest corner of the site, close to George Street and in the future location of the Woolpack Inn (Figure 3.16).

This large pit was at least 5m wide and 5m long but its full extent was beyond the limits of excavation to the west and south. It appeared loosely rectangular, with its eastern edge running parallel to the angled corner of the road (on a northwest-southeast alignment). The pit cut through the subsoils and B horizon, bottoming on grey and red C horizon clays (Figure 3.17, Figure 3.18). That the pit stopped at the change in clays may betray its purpose as a clay extraction pit for the manufacture of bricks or pottery, although the poor drainage properties of grey clays would have also made a suitable base for a reservoir. It is quite possible that the pit served both functions, as ready access to water was important for processing clays before moulding and firing. In any case, it appeared that the pit was left open for some time, as a fine, dark and organic sediment had accumulated to a depth of 400mm in the lowest parts of the pit (7449/7399/7385).

Contained within this sediment was a George II Britannia coin (dated 1799) and a rim sherd from a green shell-edged pearlware plate (dating between c.1780 to c.1840), the only ceramic found in the pit that was not of local manufacture. Sample No. 29 was taken of this material and submitted for palynological analysis by Mike Macphail. The pollen assemblage included microfossil evidence of raw sewage but not in sufficient numbers to confirm that this was the primary function of the pit. Other pollen in the accumulation suggested that the material incorporates sediment that had accumulated within Allocasuarina/Casuarina forest or woodland. Possible sources are forest or woodland growing on Brickfield Hill or around the head of Cockle Bay during this phase. Casuarina wood or local detritus from any of these sources may have been used to cover over human sewage deposited in the pit. 21

Figure 3.16: Detail (with additions) from an 1823 plan showing the approximate locations of the two large pits associated with the Brickfield period (indicated by black circles). The Woolpack Inn was built over the location of the deepest pit by this time. The site boundary is shown in red. The pits are 30.8m apart. Detail taken from Harpers Map of Sydney, 1823, S.2.1264.roll., SRNSW.

21 Section 9.6
Cartographic information and patterns of spatial organisation that have been observed at other nineteenth-century archaeological sites suggest that a cesspit is unlikely to be located at the street-frontage on such a significant thoroughfare. In support of this, the representation in the palynological analysis suggests that the sewage may represent opportunistic use (i.e. dumping of chamber pots) prior to backfilling. Small-scale clay extraction remains the most probable motivation for the excavation of this large pit in the B horizon. It is unlikely that it was associated with the large-scale brickmaking operation in the early years of the village, as the volumes required for that undertaking do not suggest the extraction of isolated pockets of clay in the area of the village. This pit may have been part of a smaller clay extraction or clay processing area for an independent brick or pottery industry such as that of Thomas Ball. Dumps of pottery wasters on the site (see below, section 3.4.4) support this interpretation.

Figure 3.17: Test trench (TT10) through the large pit 7436 showing the grey clays at the base and the dark grey organic sediment in section. View to the northwest. Scale 1m.
The second pit (context 7660) located 30m upslope to the northeast, was shallower at 660mm. It was loosely rectangular at the initiation of the cut but had somewhat irregular and unevenly sloping sides. It measured at least 4m x 3.2m, with its longest side parallel to the angled corner of the road (on a northwest-southeast alignment) but the full extent of the pit was not determined (Figure 3.19). This pit cut the B horizon shallowly and was largely excavated through the fine yellow subsoils. If this pit had been intended as a clay extraction pit, it was soon abandoned, with little of the appropriate clay excavated. Its sides had the irregular characteristics of soils subject to sustained changes in water depth and localised erosive collapses. It may have been dug as a small reservoir, or water erosion may have occurred after the pit was abandoned.
A third and ambiguous feature (7647/7649/7651) was located mid-way between the two pits. It possessed both natural and cultural characteristics and was initially recorded as three separate contexts (Figure 3.20). A convincing cut was not present, in that the shape and slope often suggested patterns of erosion. However, the alignment with the other pits and the depth and size of the feature (300-400mm deep and covering a wide area of 5m x 2.5m) suggested something of a deliberate action. It may have once been a shallow pit or dam subjected to heavy overflow and erosion or it may simply represent a deeply eroded cavity. Despite its ambiguity, it suggests that water management and retention was an issue on this part of the site. The alignment and shared characteristics of the pits suggest that all three features may have once been associated with that issue.
3.4.4 Levelling and backfilling prior to subdivision

Several levelling events occurred at the end of the Brickfield phase. The large clay extraction pit (7436) was completely filled in, the gullies were plugged and redistributed topsoils were spread across exposed clays and uneven surfaces. It appeared that the block was being prepared for subdivision and sale. The remains of Thomas Ball’s local pottery industry were represented by tightly compacted fills that were almost exclusively composed of lead-glazed pottery wasters and kiln furniture. The fragments of pottery may have been present on the site in large discard dumps or piles that were re-used as required for kiln furniture in subsequent firings before later opportunistic use to fill disused pits and gullies. In Area A there was some evidence to suggest that the material had remained on site as surface dumps for ten years or more before it was used to fill the water-worn cavity, even though the main components of the fills were pottery waste associated with Thomas Ball’s pottery operation (7647/7649/7651 and 7660 discussed in 3.5.1.1). Fragments of pottery ranged from 5mm to over 150mm in size with many larger exceptions.22 They were well-mixed within a matrix of soft clays, sandy subsoils and silts.

3.4.4.1 Backfilling

In the wide mouth of the gully (7489) at the southwest corner of Area B, the fill (7460) consisted of mostly lead-glaze pottery and baked clay fragments within a silty clay topsoil-like matrix. Analysis of the pottery indicates that these were wasters and were discarded due to vessel failure during manufacture (Section 4). Burnt clay fragments were also present, though in lesser numbers. Several items of kiln furniture were also found. This fill contained the majority of ceramics recovered in Area B, with the 958 items (13641 sherds) representing 65.4 per cent of the assemblage.23 All but two of these ceramics were locally manufactured. One item was blue

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22 Refer to Section 4.

23 Some variation in the exact percentages of pottery items recorded in this section may occur as the lead-glaze assemblage was still being studied while parts of this report were being prepared.
transfer-printed pearlware manufactured in the United Kingdom and dating between c.1800 to c.1870; the other was blue handpainted porcelain manufactured in China dating from c.1790 onwards.  

Elsewhere the gully was backfilled with redeposited topsoil, subsoil and clays. A typical example was revealed in section within Test Trench 17 (Figure 3.21). At the base was a layer of dark greyish-brown silty clay with charcoal flecking. This fill was 80mm in depth, and may represent an accumulation of sediment in the gully prior to backfilling. Above this was a pale grey silty clay layer with charcoal flecking (7545). The only visible artefact in this fill was a fragment of glass bottle neck of unknown date. This fill was only 40mm in depth. Capping the depression were two additional imported fills (7629, 7628). Context 7629 was the lowest, a mottled orange clay and pale grey silty clay fill 30mm in depth. This was followed by a dark reddish-orange clay with dark red decaying ironstone nodules (7628). This fill extended beyond the limit of the eroded gully. The final fill recorded in the test trench was context 7575. This consisted of dark reddish-brown clay with decaying ironstone nodules with a moderate amount of charcoal inclusions throughout. Also within this fill were ceramic and burnt clay fragments. This fill was 130mm in depth and extended beyond the limit of the eroded gully. These fills all appeared to be redeposited natural subsoils and clays. As the east of the site was largely truncated, and in some locations beyond the upper limit of the B horizon, it is highly likely that the undulations in the west of the site were levelled with material from the higher ground in the east.

![Figure 3.21: Section of Test Trench 17 showing the backfill of redeposited clays and subsoil. The amorphous cut of the gully can be seen at the base of the trench. View to the north. Scale 1m.](image)

The large pit associated with the pottery industry in Area A (7436) was backfilled with at least two introduced fills identified above the shallow deposit (7449/7399/7385) that accumulated when the pit was left exposed at the end of the Brickfield period (section 3.4.3). At the base of Test Trench 11 was a localised fill of ‘green’ brick fragments, brick wasters and lead-glaze fragments (context 7400). It was between 60mm and 220mm deep and was similar to pottery waster fills found in other cavities on site (see above: contexts 7660, 7651, 7649, 7647 and 7489). Capping this, and

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dominating the backfill of the pit was a compact yellow and grey redeposited clay containing occasional sandstock brick and sandstone fragments, some charcoal and burnt wood (contexts 7391/7430/7439). Lying prostrate within this fill were two timber posts, partially exposed in Test Trench 11 (Figure 3.18). Fragments of lead-glaze pottery were also littered throughout. A total of 49 ceramics were recovered from the fills contained in the cut. Forty-eight of these items were locally manufactured lead-glazed, slipped and self-slipped earthenwares. Although this fill was dominated by clays and contained very little A horizon material, it remains consistent with the backfilling of the gullies and other features. The combination of lead-glaze pottery wasters and bulk clay fills connects the other fill events on site that were of exclusively natural material or wasters, and ties the varied backfilling actions to a single event.

3.4.4.2 Levelling

A series of introduced topsoils acted as shallow levelling fills and may have supported pasture grasses or something of a garden during the 1820s and 1830s when much of the site was largely undeveloped. Although some areas of topsoils may have related to Thomas Ball’s garden that is known from documentary sources,\(^\text{25}\) the introduction of these soils probably occupies a transitional phase between the end of the Brickfield period and the subdivision and consolidation of ownership for various properties on the block. As the soils were undoubtedly modified by lot-specific activities during Phase 4, they will be discussed relative to the archaeological areas that corresponded to the Phase 4 boundaries. There was no evidence of imported material in Area C, which concurs with the absence of brick or pottery manufacturing on the lot.

Area A

In the area beneath the Woolpack Inn was a mid-grey, fine, compact clayey silt with charcoal flecks and decayed stone flecking (7354). The soil capped the B horizon compact yellow clay (7355) that had been exposed during the Brickfield period. Soil samples were taken of the imported material (samples #15, 16, 17 and 18). Three other shallow topsoil fills skirted the perimeter of the Woolpack in localised patches above the initial fill (7354). All had the same particle characteristics as context 7354. There were slight variations in the density of charcoal and sandstone inclusions, but otherwise these imported soils appear to have been from the same source.

Area B

A layer of introduced topsoil (context 7305) capped the backfilled gullies in Area B. It was dark brown, sandy clay loam with inclusions of charcoal, sandstock brick/burnt clay fragments, some sandstone, lead-glaze and pearlware pottery. It appeared throughout Area B, though it mostly survived in the southern part of the area and towards the street frontage.

The remaining discussion of the archaeological results is presented by area according to the different development phases that were identified on each part of the site. Area A is discussed separately, divided into three main phases of occupancy that followed the cessation of Brickfield activity up to the twentieth century (Section 3.5). Areas B and C shared a similar development history with up to four separate occupation phases identified and are discussed together in Sections 3.6 to 3.9. A final summary of results completes the chapter.

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\(^{25}\) Casey 1999:7.
3.5 Area A: Phases 4-6 - Post-Brickfield occupation

After the Brickfield period had ended, the newly created lots began to form their own archaeological signatures, with lot-specific developments and activities that required separate interpretations. The following phases of activity identified on the site are discussed in terms of archaeological areas with Area A corresponding to Lot 2, Area B refers to Lot 3 and Area C is the southern portion of Lot 4 (Figure 3.22).

Figure 3.22: Interpretive plan showing the archaeological features and projected building configurations (grey) during Phase 4 in Area A and Phases 4 to 5 in Areas B and C. (Plan 20, Section 10).
3.5.1 Phase 4 Area A: c.1823 – c.1880s

Area A was part of the larger property acquired by Thomas Buckton in 1823 from Johnson. By the time William Harper made his 1823 survey of Sydney, lot boundaries had been established and there were at least two buildings recorded on the study site, including a large rectangular structure on the street-front at the corner of Campbell and George Streets. This is probably an early incarnation of the Woolpack Inn (that was already known in 1824) built by Thomas Buckton as a similar building in this location appears on Hallen’s c.1830 plan (Figure 3.23). It is unlikely to be a remnant of the Pottery as according to Ball’s sale arrangement entered into with Johnson in 1822, he was to retain access to, and use of, his kiln, workshop and the garden where he dried his wares. These were probably located to the rear of the block. This agreement suggests that for a short period at least the site was used for multiple activities.

Although pottery activity had ceased by this time there were still large accumulations of material from the earlier phase located on the site. It appears that during the early stages of the post-Brickfield phase the area remained divided. The northeastern portion of Lot 2 may have remained largely unoccupied throughout the later 1820s until final backfilling and levelling was completed in the 1830s. In the southwestern portion of the block facing George Street, construction of the stone Woolpack Inn and brewing activity commenced in the early or mid 1820s. The Woolpack Inn continued to operate on the site until it was sold and demolished for new commercial buildings in the early 1880s. This section discusses the final levelling activity first followed by the archaeological evidence for construction and occupation of the Woolpack Inn.

Figure 3.23: Harper’s 1823 plan showing the two structures on the site. The site boundary is shown in red and the lines of the structures have been enhanced. Detail taken from Harpers Map of Sydney, 1823, Cat. No. S.2.1264.roll, SRNSW.
3.5.1.1 Backfilling and Levelling

The large and amorphous water-worn cavity (Phase 3, contexts 7647/7649/7651) was finally backfilled sometime after 1834 (Figure 3.9). The cavity comprised several depressions/pits which together contained six fills allocated different context numbers on the basis of the particular pit or feature they came from (7647 contained fills 7661, 7648, 7645; 7651 contained fills 7652, 7646; and 7649 contained fill 7650). The fills were all littered heavily with pottery fragments (Figure 3.24). Although the lot had passed through several owners’ hands since the pottery period, it appears that much of the waste from pottery activity remained on the property until it was used as backfill in the 1830s or 1840s. This material may have been present on the lot in discard dumps or piles that had not been moved since the end of the pottery period. It is feasible that the quantity of material represented in the fills may have remained unobtrusively at the peripheries of a lot of this size for several years during this relatively undeveloped phase. Its use as fill is likely to have been an opportunistic action to level ground pocked with water-worn cavities and disused pits, such as occurred in Lot 3 (Area B).

The filling of the water-worn cavities may have coincided with the installation of drainage on this part of the site (see section 3.5.1.5 below). The cavities highlighted water management issues on the site. A brick drain (7636) was built along the line of these three features suggesting that it may have been built to address the same water management issues that created the cavities, or control water drainage/waste removal as use of this part of the site changed.

The westernmost fill (7650) was in a gully-like cut extending towards the street-front. It consisted of a 230mm deep mix of yellow clays combined with a large concentration of broken lead-glaze ceramics and sandstock brick or baked clay fragments. It filled a small and smooth sided extension of the depression (7649). In the east were two fills (7652 and 7646). The lower fill (7652) contained

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26 This date is based on the latest imported ceramics found in the fills, in Ward 2010, Ceramics Report, volume 2, section 9.1 of this report.
about 20 per cent lead-glaze pottery wasters while the upper fill (7646) contained at least 50 per cent lead-glaze ceramics along with small inclusions of charcoal and sandstone, and little brick. In both of the eastern fills, the combinations of broken objects were within a matrix of mid grey-brown silty clay. The central and deepest part of the cavity contained three fills (7645, 7648 and 7661).

Fill 7645 was the uppermost fill. It consisted of 90 per cent broken ceramics, mostly local lead-glazed wares, with occasional bone and brick fragments, shells and frequent charcoal to a depth of 500mm. Of a total of 16199 sherds, only ten ceramics (15 sherds) were imported. All but one of the items were manufactured in the United Kingdom, the exception being a sherd of a blue handpainted Chinese porcelain plate. The date range of the ten ceramics is generally very broad although the presence of transfer prints in brown and green indicates that all or part of the fill was deposited post-1830s, and a plate with a transfer-printed “Burmese” pattern indicates that the final backfilling event occurred at least later than 1834.27 Fill 7648 was the middle fill. It was similar to fill 7645 but was dominated by redeposited yellow clay. It too was littered heavily with ceramic and brick fragments, oyster shell and charcoal. Fill 7648 contained a total of 118 sherds, of which just one item (consisting of nine sherds) was imported. This was a handpainted pearlware plate made in the United Kingdom and had a broad date range of c.1780 to c.1870.28 The lower fill (7661) was made up of grey/yellow mottled clay with only occasional lead-glaze ceramic fragments.

Figure 3.25: Hand-painted pearlware plate from the fill 7648. This item was produced in the UK after 1780. Russell Workman, scale 10cm.

Within pit 7660 were six closely-knit fills (7659, 7662, 7663, 7664, 7665 and 7666). The upper layer 7659 was cleaned back to reveal the extent of the cut 7660. Lead-glaze ceramics (69) were found in the surface layer of the pit but it was the upper fills (7662 and 7663) that contained the majority of the lead-glaze ceramics and burnt clay fragments. Each of these backfills represented a series of dumps that were difficult to differentiate because of the large, overlapping fragments straddling the interfaces. Fill 7662 was the only one of the five fills to feature any imported ceramics. It contained 17003 sherds, of which just nine sherds (five items) were imported, all identified from very small sherds. The date range of the imported ceramics was very broad, however the presence of a brown

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27 Section 9.1
28 Section 9.1
transfer print sherd indicates that the final backfill occurred post-1830. The lower fills (7664, 7665 and 7666) contained few ceramic and brick inclusions and mostly consisted of redeposited silt and clays which may have accumulated within the reservoir before the backfilling process. Soil samples #89 and #90 were taken from these lower fills.

The presence of conjoining sherds among the lead-glaze ceramics in different pit fills in this area confirms that the accumulation of vessel wasters relates to the same phase. Joining sherds from fills 7645 and 7662, the latter the fill of the large pit east of the water-worn cavity 7649/7647/7651 (#85255, #88460), establish a clear relationship between these deposits. Conjoins were also noted from sherds found in fills 7646 and 7662 (#85225, #88498). Although limited in number this indicates that these fills came from same source (a pottery discard pile or dump) before being redistributed within the surface depressions. The latest dated items within these fills indicate that additional rubbish was starting to accumulate on the site, possibly during the construction and early occupancy of the Woolpack Inn, if not from other houses in the vicinity. A George IV penny dated from 1827 in fill 7646, and the few examples of imported ceramics from post-1830 fills 7645 and 7662 indicate that these levelling fills were not sealed until at least the early 1830s.

Several levelling fills were also recorded on the part of the Lot where the Woolpack Inn would be built. In the southern corner of the Lot two fill layers (7326, 7390) were recorded either side of the Woolpack Inn’s southern wall, overlying the large cut (7436) from the Brickfield phase. Excavation revealed them to be stratigraphically identical, and cut by the wall footings. The fills therefore pre-dated the Inn, effectively capping the remains of pottery manufacture in this area. In what would later become the interior of Room 1 a further layer of material were recorded (7351). Identified as a sandy fill it may have helped support the footings in this damp corner of the site.

In the northern Woolpack area were two shallow deposits, identified as introduced topsoils (7333, 7354). Context 7354 was found throughout the area of the Woolpack sitting above the remains of the surviving natural yellow clay (7355). This lowest fill was a charcoal-flecked, grey clayey silt above which was 7333, a grey-brown sandy silt. They were introduced after the Brickfield period but before the construction of the Inn as the wall footings (7309) cut through both. Also cutting these deposits, in the area that would become Room 5, was the remains of a shallow rectangular feature measuring 2m x 2m that was cut into the natural clay (7352). The purpose of the cut is unknown but it shows that this part of the site was likely to have been associated with Brickfield-phase activity. The few artefacts found in the fill (7353) may have been intrusive from later underfloor deposits and yielded little information on its original function.

### 3.5.1.2 The Woolpack Inn

On acquiring the property Buckton erected fences which can be seen on the c.1830 sketch plans and built several substantial structures on the property which he later sold to William Cuthbert with ‘buildings consisting of four dwellings’ (Figure 3.26). The property may have been purchased as part of a forced sale that was ordered by the Sheriff in 1829, as prior to 1830 Cuthbert had sold a subdivision (Lot 2) to G. Porter who sold it on to John Sharpe. Between the end of the Brickfield period and the late 1820s the history of the lot is somewhat vague apart from occasional references to publicans or tenants listed as residing on the property. By 1830, the value of the building was recorded in Hallen’s fieldbook as £500, suggesting it was a substantial structure of relatively high-quality which agrees with contemporary descriptions (Section 2.3.1). The uncertain history of early

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29 Roy Lawrie, soil scientist consulted on the site during the excavation.
30 Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, c1831, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5. SRNSW. Refer to Section 2.3.1. Hallen’s c.1831 sketch plan of shows fencelines at the rear of Lot 2 which have been marked in and then crossed out which connected with George Street via a gate to the south of the Woolpack. These may correspond to Ball’s work areas but there is no indication as to where the kiln may have been located.
occupation and ownership coupled with the large extent of the block make it unsurprising that different parts of Lot 2 may have been used for a variety of purposes.

Archaeological evidence of the Woolpack Inn during the earliest stage of this phase was restricted to sandstone footings, construction cuts and debris. Although underfloor deposits were found in the ground floor rooms, these accumulations were not exclusively representative of the early period. Unfortunately, the occupation deposits themselves are temporally indivisible. Artefacts that may have been deposited during this phase have been designated as such by their manufacture dates. Palynological analysis of the underfloor deposit provided environmental information related to this phase.

Figure 3.26: Field drawing made by Hallen c.1831 show several fences within the study area and a gate on the southern George Street side of the Woolpack building. Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5.

Construction environment
Some clues about the construction environment were able to be extrapolated from the deposits underneath the Woolpack Inn. The underfloor deposits of the Woolpack were largely accumulations of artefactual material mixed within the underlying imported soils. An independent soil matrix that is usually associated with long-term accumulations was for the most part absent from the artefactual build-up beneath the inn. The pollen analysis of these deposits therefore is thought to represent the underlying soils rather than an independent accumulation of sediment associated exclusively with occupation.

Palynological analysis of samples from underfloor deposits suggested that the imported soils used for levelling beneath the inn were from an area with an abundance of casuarinas. That casuarinas were still in any great number on the site is unlikely given the dramatic effects of water erosion during the early period. Analysis suggested that the levelling soils that were introduced before construction (context 7354) and upon which the underfloor material was deposited were imported
from swampy land near Cockle Bay, where the appropriate species would have been represented. This is a likely scenario, as the grey soils beneath the Woolpack Inn were different in colour, and had a finer grain size on average than those naturally occurring on the site. The implication is that the site was quite open, and by this time casuarinas were only in any abundance near the creek. A painting from 1796 shows large amounts of vegetation had been cleared from the area in the early years of occupation (Figure 3.27).

Figure 3.27: A painting depicting the Brickfield Hill in 1796. The extensive land clearance shown in the area suggests it is unlikely that remnants of forest survived on the site until 1823. Source: McCormick 1987:Pl. 36; painting by Edward Dayes, c.1796, from the Petherick Collection, NLA, Accn No. R.282.

Species analysis of fragments of insect exoskeleton in the underfloor deposits suggested consistently damp conditions. This information combined with the depth of the footings suggested that the site was still heavily waterlogged in this area. On the cleared slope, water would have travelled rapidly to the lowest points in the landscape during deluge events. The location of the Woolpack Inn was the lowest point on site, and was also very close to the lowest point in the wider landscape, marked by the creek around 100m to the south.

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31 Section 9.6
3.5.1.3 Footings and construction

The sandstone rubble footings of the street front structure in Lot 2 described a rectangular building 14m (45 feet) long and 9m (30 feet) wide. It had up to five ground floor rooms featuring three fireplaces between them. The longest side of the building was oriented along the angled corner of George and Campbell Streets (Figure 3.26). The foundation (7309) was constructed with sandstone rubble and roughly cut blocks laid in one or two rows to produce a footing of around 600mm width throughout. Where a piece of sandstone had only one straight face, that face was presented to the exterior. Smaller pieces of rubble packing and grey-brown sandy loam filled the cavities left by the ill-fitting elements of the footing. Internal room divisions were represented by the same substantial footings, suggesting that the building was two-storey from the outset, utilising the internal walls of the ground floor to support the upper level. A two-storey house containing 10 rooms had been built by on the site by 1830 which is referred to along with a ‘brewery’, suggesting that both relate to the Woolpack Inn.32

A test trench in the southwest corner of Room 1 (TT6) revealed that the foundation was at least 800mm deep (five substantial courses). Construction debris composed of sandstock brick fragments, crushed sandstone, yellow mortar and white plaster (7320, 7336) was recorded in this room, probably left inside the building before a floor was put in and would have helped support the footings in this damp area of the site. A coin found within the fill layer 7320 dates from 1826. This suggests that the final building phase was not completed before 1826, or it represents an early intrusive artefact from the underfloor deposit.

In other areas, the footings were considerably shallower, with only two thin courses in the north (Room 4) and three stepped and rubble-plagued courses in the southeast corner of Room 2. The depths that were dug to in order to achieve stability in the southwest corner below Room 1 suggest that this area (previously occupied by the large pit 7436) was still heavily waterlogged and somewhat mobile at the time of construction, therefore requiring the additional fill layers discussed in section 3.5.1.1.

Additional construction material

In the interior of Room 1 further layers of material were recorded (7351, 7320). Identified as sandy fill and construction debris, they were left inside the building before a floor was put in. Both fills would have helped support the footings in this damp corner of the site. Further deposits identified as construction debris were found under the Woolpack underfloor deposits and footings in Room 2, and extending to the east and south outside the building footprint (7379, 7423). These deposits were made up of crushed sandstone, sandstock brick fragments, mortar and occasional artefacts such as lead-glaze pottery and appear to have settled into shallows or depressions in the landscape.

In the southern half of Room 2 beneath the underfloor accumulation and partially covered by 7379 was a layer of crushed shell mortar (context 7384). The shells were burnt and the fragments were quite large (up to 20mm in length). This shell layer appeared to be evidence of an early mortar mix. Notably, the mortar used in the construction of the sandstone footings consisted largely of a grey-brown sandy clay loam, and contained only rare fragments of shell. The large shell-to-sand ratio in context 7384 was incommensurate with the mortar used in the footings, and was probably used exclusively to bond the brick superstructure, which was recorded in the Assessment Books but not represented in the archaeological record.

Layout

32 Sydney Gazette 26 January 1830.
The internal corners of the rooms were either obtuse (in the northwest and southeast) or acute (in the southwest and northeast). The lack of right angles in the layout can be explained by the use of the northwest corner of the lot as a point of reference for construction. The northern wall was aligned with the northern boundary of the lot and the western wall with the alignment of George Street. This was common where maximisation of internal space was a priority on an oddly shaped, small lot. However, as space was not restricted on the lot at this point, the alignment in this case may signify a very relativist method of laying out the plan of the foundation. The alignment indicates that construction was initiated in the northwest corner of the lot, using only the boundary markers as guides. The northern and western walls were laid out first, and all others were constructed using measurements in such a way as to check parallel relationships only. This is a very simple method that requires no triangulation, and may be a reflection of the inexperience of the builder. The result of this method would be the alignment shown in the archaeological record (Figure 3.28).

Figure 3.28: Archaeological plan of footings of the Woolpack Inn. The red lines show probable room divisions in locations where the foundation was disturbed by twentieth-century activity. Rooms 5 and 2 may be part of the same large space, as may be rooms 1 and 3. The corner of Campbell and George Streets is to the right. The remains are drawn to scale and the southern wall (at the right of the image) is 9m long. (Extract from Plan 4, Section 10).

Spatial analysis of window glass in the underfloor deposits revealed few clues about the configuration of windows in the lower storey (Figure 3.29). Considerably greater amounts were found in the rear rooms (Rooms 2 and 5), both of which were thought to be concerned with food preparation (see discussion of underfloor deposits below). Within the rooms, fragments were
scattered widely, and several occurred against dividing walls where windows were unlikely. This was more likely to be a reflection of sweeping regimes than an indication of layout.

Figure 3.29: Schematic diagram of the Woolpack Inn showing distribution of window glass fragments in the underfloor deposits of the lower-storey rooms. Thick black lines indicate room divisions and exterior walls. Each square represents 500mm x 500mm. The front of the building is at the bottom of the diagram (represented by Rooms 1, 3 and 4) and the rear is at the top (Rooms 2 and 5).
Figure 3.30: The remains of the footings of the Woolpack Inn, showing extensive twentieth-century disturbance in the centre. The sandstone rubble footing is here overshadowed by the much larger concrete and sandstone footing of the later Mercantile Bank. View to the northeast.

In the case of all rooms, later construction had damaged a great deal of the Woolpack footings, and so their original dimensions were lost (Figure 3.30). The rooms at the front of the building (Rooms 1, 3 and 4) were 4m (13 feet) wide. Those at the rear were smaller with a width of 3m (10 feet). Room 4 may have represented the average room size on the ground floor, with estimated dimensions of 4m x 4m (13ft x 13ft).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room Number</th>
<th>Length (m)</th>
<th>Length (ft)</th>
<th>Width (m)</th>
<th>Width (ft)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 and 3 combined</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>approx. 27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>approx. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 and 5 combined</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>approx. 33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>approx. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>approx. 4</td>
<td>approx. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>approx. 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Room dimensions on the ground floor of the Woolpack Inn.

Several postholes (7356, 7360, 7364, 7366, 7373, 7377, 7380, 7382) were also identified north of Room 5 and to the east of Room 4 most of which cut the imported topsoil 7354 (Figure 3.32). A further posthole was situated just inside the eastern wall of Room 4 which was in the same rough alignment as several of those in Room 5, which were adjacent to northern wall of the room. The postholes are fully described in Section 8.1, Trench Report A, Table 3.1. No artefacts of any note were found within the shallow fills excavated from the postholes that could help establish their temporal position. They appear to have been outside of the building and may relate to external structures associated with the early Woolpack occupancy phase or its construction, as they suggest a rectangular wooden structure alongside the walls. As for the cluster of postholes in Area B they do not show clear spatial patterning and are difficult to interpret. But like the postholes in Area B several could date from a slightly earlier phase. One posthole cut through the introduced exterior soil that stopped at the building’s outer wall (7333) but the...
remainder cut through the same introduced fill (7354) as the construction footings. They could either date from the Woolpack's construction, or an earlier Brickfield phase structure.

If they relate to the earliest occupancy of the building they could also be evidence of room division, repair or addition incorporating the area into Room 5. Two lines of the postholes cut this part of the building into three sections of around 3m x 1.8m. Not all had post-pipes but those that did indicated that cylindrical posts of around 150mm diameter had stood in these locations. The postholes were between 350mm and 500mm long and 270mm and 400mm wide and loosely rectangular.

![Figure 3.31: Room 5 of the Woolpack Inn showing various postholes cutting the imported topsoil beneath. View to the east. Scale 1m.](image)

**Fireplaces**
The remains of fireplaces were found in Room 1, Room 2 and Room 4. Room 2 contained the only fireplace with a hearthstone still in its original position (7325). The hearth consisted of two large, flat, well-cut blocks of stone (1230mm x 700m x 80mm). The stones were supported with sandstone rubble and a bedding layer of buff-coloured sand (40mm deep). Black charcoal and ash (7334) skirted the structure and coated the upper surface of the stones (Figure 3.32). Given the location of Room 2 (at the rear of the building) and the evidence of extensive use, it is likely that this room was the kitchen. Other fireplaces were only represented by the footings that supported the hearths. These were constructed from the same rough-cut stone as the rest of the foundation and were finished with a single row of sandstock brick that sat immediately beneath the hearthstone. The fireplaces were built into the western wall of each room.
Underfloor Deposits

Because of the wide date ranges, and the conflated stratigraphic nature of an underfloor deposit, no artefacts could be securely tied to this or any other phase. This deposit therefore represents a gradual but temporally indivisible accumulation. The discussion of the underfloor material has been included in this phase as it is the earliest possible date for deposition, and almost certainly includes among its fragments artefacts from this period. However, this material is by no means as exclusive to this phase as other features discussed in this section. In all cases the underfloor accumulations were excavated with reference to a 500mm x 500mm grid, in 50mm spits with stratigraphic constraints (Figure 3.33). Most of the rooms contained lead-glaze pottery sherds from items that were not manufactured after 1823. Given that these sherds were present in many fills across the site, it is likely that these items protruded into the underfloor deposits from the levelling fills below.
Figure 3.33: The remains of the Woolpack Inn showing underfloor deposits (shaded) and grid excavation squares. (Plan 23, Section 10).
Room 1
The underfloor deposit within Room 1 (context 7323) was mid-brown, fine clayey sand with occasional brick, stone and charcoal fragments. The deposit was most evident in the northern half of the room and became increasingly rubble-strewn and disturbed further south (Figure 3.34). The underfloor deposit was only 30-100mm deep and most squares only contained one spit (less than or equal to 50mm). Soil samples 1 and 2 were taken from the underfloor deposit. The decayed remains of wooden joists were evident running east-west through Room 1. The rotten wood had a width of around 100mm and appeared in inconsistent lengths at locations where the underfloor deposit had risen to the level of the joists. The remains were roughly 460mm (1.5 feet) apart. No evidence of bearers survived.

![Figure 3.34: Room 1 of the Woolpack Inn showing the somewhat rubbly underfloor deposit. View to the east. Scale 1m.](image)

The accumulation in Room 1 contained 34 ceramic items. Eighteen were locally manufactured slipped and lead-glazed earthenware, although some contamination from levelling and backfills beneath the inn may be responsible for these items. Other items had broad date ranges that covered the lifetime of the inn, and none could be secured to this phase. The 34 ceramics were all represented by very small sherds originating in Australia, the UK and China. Twenty-seven items were of unidentified function, with the remainder consisting of ginger beer bottles, plates and saucers.\(^\text{34}\) Similarly, food and beverage items comprised the majority of glass items (61.7%) from the underfloor deposit in Room 1. Beverage bottles were all for alcohol, including beer/wine, champagne and gin/schnapps. Food-related items were mostly glass tableware items (26) and also included two oil bottles. Date ranges for these items covered this early phase, but were also quite broad. Most glass tableware was press-moulded (post 1820) with some items either with panelled

\(^{34}\) Section 9.1
sides (1830 TPQ) or ground and polished pontil scars (1835 TPQ). One stemware foot was of earlier
fold-over manufacture (1840 TAQ).35

There were 603 fragments of animal bone in the underfloor deposit of Room 1.36 Elements of shee
p, pig, cow, fish and scavenging rodents were present in the deposit. The number of fragments in
the underfloor of Room 1 was consistent with the other rooms at the front of the structure. These
rooms were considered to be public places for eating and drinking. However, Rooms 1 and 2
(Room 2 was at the rear) also shared some notable characteristics. Significantly for the assemblage,
the rooms were thought to be of different function (Room 2 was interpreted as the kitchen). Room
2 also contained more than double the amount of bone fragments found in Room 1. Despite these
differences, similar high frequencies of bone fragments from sheep feet and pig’s teeth were found
in both of these rooms. The high percentage of these parts of the animal is not in itself remarkable,
as objects must generally be small enough to pass through the gaps between floorboards, and does
not necessarily indicate a dietary preference for these parts of the animal.

The similar percentages of these elements in the two rooms is however more anomalous, as the
two rooms are thought to have quite different functions (food preparation and dining). The
elements that are discarded during preparation should be different to those discarded during
dining. This may be explained by exploring a non-function-specific relationship between the rooms.
For instance a doorway between Rooms 1 and 2 might encourage a single sweep of the two rooms
during cleaning, spreading refuse from one into the other and between the floorboards of both.
Room 1 and Room 2 also contained a similar number of sheep bone fragments (153 and 166
respectively) with similar percentages of elements represented, despite the disparity in the overall
counts for each room. As sweeping would not necessarily select for species in this way, excepting
species characteristics that are related directly to size, this may be an indication of preferential
selection and movement of the sheep bone fragments by rodents.37 Rats and rodents account for a
large proportion of the recovered bones in Area A (31%). The highest frequency of rodent bones
are from the underfloor deposits and ninety per cent of all bones in Area A with evidence for rodent
gnawing come from the underfloor deposits.38 Despite a dividing footing, gaps created by the
rubble construction may have enabled rodents to move freely between the underfloor cavities of
the two rooms.

Room 2

The underfloor deposit in Room 2 (context 7324) was more extensive than in Room 1. The deposit
was mid grey-brown fine sandy fill containing large quantities of charcoal particularly around the
fireplace and some small fragments of sandstock brick, stone and mortar. Soil samples were taken
(samples 11 and 12). Most of the grid squares yielded less than 50mm of deposit and the
accumulation was only over 50mm deep in the vicinity of the fireplace. The decayed wood remains
of joists and bearers were manifested as shadowy organic pockets within the underfloor deposit
(Figure 3.35). The joists were running east-west and were around 460mm (1.5 feet) apart. The
bearers were wider and running north-south at intervals of 1.54m (5 feet). The rotten wood
remains were inconsistent in length with widths of no more than 100mm. The remains of sandstock
bricks on their sides along the same orientation as the joists indicate that these bricks were
probably used as support for the floor boards or bearers.

35 Harris 2010, Glass Report, volume 2, section 9.3 of this report.
36 Fillios 2010, Faunal Material Report, volume 2, section 9.4 of this report.
37 Rats will either eat food on the spot, or hide it or carry it to a preferred location based on the estimated time it will take
to consume. See Suckow, Weisbroth & Franklin 2006:207.
38 Section 9.4
The underfloor accumulation in Room 2 had a higher relative frequency of glass tableware items, some of which may have dated from this phase, as some items were known to have been in production in the 1820s and 1830s. There were a variety of datable attributes exhibited on the glass tableware, including ground and polished pontil scars (1835 $TPQ$), gilding and apple green coloured glass (1820 $TPQ$), press-moulded (1820 $TPQ$) and panelled glass (1830 $TPQ$). Ceramics from the underfloor deposit in Room 2 were also indicative of food consumption (tableware and teaware-related items). Tableware was identified by four plates, and teaware by cups (13), breakfast cups (2), saucers (16), and a small plate. Most of these items had broad date ranges. Of the 124 ceramics, 107 items belonged to types that were produced in the period up to 1830, and 119 of them in the period up to 1860. Fifty-eight items were of specifically local Australian manufacture. These items were self-slipped (2) and lead-glazed (56) earthenwares represented by unidentified body and base sherd. These items were not produced after 1823 and are likely to be contaminations from the soils below.

There were 1476 fragments of bone in the underfloor deposit in Room 2. The high number is thought to represent food preparation and waste associated with the kitchen. Similar numbers of fragments were present in the underfloor deposit of Room 5, also at the rear of the structure, and adjacent to Room 2. Bones from fish, cow, pig, sheep and rodents made up the assemblage. Rooms 2 and 1 contained most of the pig remains found beneath the floorboards of the inn. Further characteristics of this assemblage have already been discussed with reference to Room 1 above.

Room 3
Activities in Room 3 were represented by the northern portion of the room only, as twentieth-century construction had destroyed the remainder (Figure 3.36). An area of 4m x 1.5m of

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39 Section 9.3
40 Section 9.1
underfloor accumulation (7335) was excavated, yielding 58 ceramics, 451 bone fragments and 99 glass items. The deposit was mid grey-brown, fine clayey sand with some lighter grey sandy pockets. It contained small stone, sandstock brick and charcoal inclusions. Soil samples 5, 6 and 7 were taken from this deposit. Shadowy organic remains of joists no more than 100mm wide and at intervals of 450mm were excavated within this deposit.

Figure 3.36: The underfloor deposits in Rooms 3 and 4, showing the rotten remains of joists (Room 3) and bearers (Room 4). View to the east. Scale 1m.

Locally manufactured and imported ceramics were identified in the accumulation, with 23 items from the United Kingdom and 34 from Australia. A salt-glazed stoneware bottle that had no identifying manufacturer’s mark to indicate definite country of origin may have been manufactured in the UK or Australia. The 34 Australian manufactured items were lead-glazed coarse and fine earthenwares, all represented by unidentified body sherds. These items may represent contamination from the levelling fills below. The other ceramic items in the assemblage had broad date ranges, but all were in production by 1840, and may have been in use during this early phase. Food and beverage items comprised the majority of glass items from the underfloor deposit in Room 3. They included 20 items of glass tableware (stemware, tumblers, and other items too fragmented for form to be determined). Beverage items were represented by alcohol bottles, including beer/wine, champagne and gin/schnapps. All items had broad date ranges roughly correlating to the lifetime of the inn, and all were in production by 1820. A single item (a plain blown tumbler) had a production date range within this phase (1820-1830).

There were 451 bone fragments present in the underfloor deposit in Room 3, 57 of which were sheep bones and almost half of those were toe bones. This was the lowest percentage of sheep bones from the front rooms, and was similar to that of the kitchen at the rear (Room 2). However, Room 3 was heavily truncated and spatial distribution of furniture or apertures in the room may

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41 Section 9.1
42 Section 9.3
43 Section 9.4
have influenced what appeared within the only archaeologically accessible part. It is therefore
difficult to compare with the other rooms of similar function at the inn.

**Room 4**

Room 4 contained a mid-brown silty underfloor deposit (context 7331). This deposit was between
30mm and 75mm deep and almost non-existent at the western end of the room. Soil samples 3
and 4 were taken from the accumulation. Within the underfloor deposit were the decayed wood
remains and impressions of three floor bearers running in a north-south direction (Figure 3.36). The
bearers were 100mm wide and roughly 1.2m apart.

The underfloor deposit in Room 4 yielded 82 glass items, 337 bone fragments, and 64 ceramics.
The ceramics were dominated by lead-glaze sherds from unidentified items. As in the other rooms
of the inn, it is possible that these items may have protruded into the underfloor deposit from the
levelling fill below as they were not manufactured after 1823. Other ceramics in the deposit also
remained largely unidentifiable, with the exception of the remains of two plates, three cups and
two stoneware bottles. The date ranges for these items corresponded loosely with the lifetime of
the inn, with no specific relation to this phase. Some temporal information was gleaned from the
glass in Room 4, with most bottles being of types manufactured with technologies that had been
phased out by the 1850s. The glass in Room 4 was dominated by alcohol bottles (beer/wine,
champagne and gin/schnapps). Six food-related items were identified, including three condiment
bottles and three items of glass tableware. Other functionally identified items included a watch
 crystal and a snuff bottle. The tableware had date ranges from the late eighteenth to the late
nineteenth century.

Of the 337 bone fragments in the underfloor deposit, 75 were sheep, with the largest percentages
representing ribs (29%), vertebrae (28%) and toe bones (25%). Room 4 had the highest percentage
of ribs (at least double those of the other front rooms and rivalled only by Room 5 at 25%). The
remaining assemblage was made up of fish, cow, pig and rodent bones. As in the rest of the
underfloor deposits, cattle bones were uncommon, and when present, severely fragmented.

**Room 5**

The underfloor deposit within Room 5 (context 7337) was mid-dark brown, sandy clay loam
containing shell, organic material, small brick fragments and artefacts. It was generally no more
than 30mm deep. Soil samples 9 and 10 were taken from the accumulation. It contained 102 glass
items, 1793 bone fragments, and 49 ceramics. The underfloor deposit in Room 5 suggested that it
may have been part of the kitchen, along with Room 2.

The ceramics were of local and imported origin, with the identified items representing tablewares
of broad date range that were all in production by 1840. These items included two bottles, two
jars, two plates, six cups, six saucers, three egg-cups, a platter and two plates. Six lead-glaze items
represented (unidentified) objects that were out of production by 1823, but no other items could
be specifically related to this phase. The underfloor deposit in Room 5 had a high relative
frequency of window glass (23.5%). Food-related items consisted of condiment bottles (pickle
bottles and club sauce type stoppers) and glass tableware (stemware, tumblers and other
tableware items too fragmentary to identify). Beer or wine and champagne bottles and two Codd
bottle openers for aerated waters were present. Personal items included a perfume bottle stopper
and a non-prescription eye glass lens similar to one found in Room 1. Except for the Codd bottle

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44 Section 9.1
45 Section 9.3
46 Section 9.4
47 Section 9.1
stoppers (produced after 1875), all of the glass items had broad date ranges that corresponded to the lifetime of the inn, and none were identified as being specific to this phase. Notably, there were no gin or schnapps bottles in Room 5, despite the fact that these items had a relative high frequency in other rooms. The high frequency of these items may however be misleading with regard to the drinking habits of customers, as the Woolpack Inn would also have served beer and wine from casks, whereas gin and schnapps were frequently imported in bottles until the 1870s and champagne would have been imported and sold in bottles only.48

Room 5 contained the most bone fragments but contained the lowest percentage of sheep bones, half of which were vertebrae, and only 17% of which were toe bones. This combination was somewhat distinctive among the underfloor deposits and was a direct inversion of the sheep bone statistics in Room 2 (also at the rear). The remainder of the bone fragments represented fish, cow, pig and rodents.49

3.5.1.4 Cesspit
A rectangular sandstock brick cesspit (context 7658) served the Woolpack Inn. It was 23m from the rear of the building (Figure 3.38, 3.39; Plan 3, Section 10). It was built along the southern boundary of the lot, which is known to have been established before 1830. The cesspit first appeared on plan in 1865, but the bricks suggest a much earlier date, placing its construction within this phase (Figure 3.57). Three walls of the cesspit survived; the southern end had been damaged by modern concrete footings and no traces of the southern wall remained (Figure 3.38). The surviving cesspit area was 460mm deep, 1.6m long and 1.4m wide, with a natural clay base. The walls were five courses deep, built of sandstock bricks laid in two rows with one course headers and the next stretchers. The upper course consisted of a row of headers laid on edge. The bricks were pale orange in colour measuring 240mm x 106mm x 62mm. The mortar was fine yellow-buff clay with charcoal and shell flecks. The bricks displayed a rectangular, shallow, hand-pecked frog thought to have been used between 1830 and 1850, although this has not been well established and these bricks are currently difficult to date accurately. The dimensions and mixed characteristics of the bricks also place them within this early phase. Samples of the bricks were kept (samples 68 and 69).

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48 Section 9.3
49 Section 9.4
3.5.1.5 Drainage

A sandstone drain (context 7447) was located at the rear of the building, against the exterior of Room 2 (Figure 3.38). It had a clay base with rubble sides that are likely to have once supported capping. The drain lends further ammunition to the interpretation of Room 2 as the kitchen of the building, where most of the refuse would have been produced. No artefacts were found within the fill removed from the drain (7448).

A brick drain (context 7636) was located at the rear of the building (Figure 3.38, Figure 3.39). It ran along the southern periphery of the site which was an established lot boundary by 1830. Only 1.8m of the drain was uncovered, a small segment of the original extent suggested by a robbed out trench which indicated that the drain was initially over 25m long. The drain was constructed from sandstock bricks laid on their sides in rows to create a concave base and sides. The bricks were marginally smaller than average (230mm x 100mm x 65mm) with a rectangular frog measuring 130mm x 45mm x 10mm. The clay bricks were well mixed and were manufactured between 1800 and 1850.
Figure 3.38: Remains of the brick drain (context 7636) that ran along the southern boundary of Lot 2. Scale 500mm.

Figure 3.39: Image showing the approximate location of yard features with reference to Hallen’s 1830 field sketch. Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5.
3.5.1.6 Later occupancy, 1840s – 1880

By 1845, the Woolpack Inn was a two-storey, twelve-roomed brick building with a shingled roof and a detached wooden structure in addition to stabling and sheds. It was valued at £140 and occupied by James Stewart who had been the licensee there since June 1842. The land was still owned by William Sharpe. The value had risen to £475 by 1855 and the number of rooms went up to 14. In the late 1850s and early 1860s there were between 13 and 14 rooms at any one time, illustrating some flexibility in the fabric of the dividing walls.

Archaeological remains from the underfloor deposits could not be confidently secured to this phase. The underfloor deposits of the downstairs rooms were littered with glass bottles and ceramic and glass tablewares that had broad date ranges. However it is possible that many of them were deposited during this busy phase of development in the southern part of town.

The archaeological remains for the last phase of the Woolpack relate to the backfilling of the cesspit and its demolition. The backfilling of the cesspit may have occurred before the demolition of the hotel, as plumbed toilets may have been installed as early as the 1870s.

3.5.1.7 Cesspit backfill

The cesspit contained three distinct sand fills, representing one backfill event. At the base was a grey yellow sandy mortar mixed with brown humic sand (7655). It was 210mm deep and capped with dark brown to black humic sand with some yellow and grey mortar mix (7654). This fill was up to 160mm deep and contained a range of artefacts (bone, shell, ceramic and bottle glass fragments). Finally the uppermost fill (7653) was brown sand with some coal inclusions. It was 120mm deep and included bone, bottle glass, rusted metal and ceramic fragments. Artefacts with similar date ranges from the deposits supported the proposition that backfilling occurred as a single event, sometime after 1860 and probably around 1870.

The cesspit contained 24 ceramics and overall the decorative types represented were generally indicative of the range available from at least the mid nineteenth century onwards (Figure 3.40). The identified shapes were predominantly associated with food - its serving, storage and consumption, with consumption the most commonly recognised. The items represented a breakfast cup, three ginger beer bottles, a child’s mug, a dish, an egg-cup, two ewers, a ginger jar, a jug, three plates, a platter, a poe, a saucer and a tureen. Decorative types were generally indicative of the mid nineteenth century onwards, two of the patterns in particular also supported this – “Albion” (1858-1937) and “Costumbres Espanoles” (c.1861-1873). Three basemarked items indicated that the backfill occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, post-1861.50

Sheep bones dominated the faunal assemblage, and almost all of these were from the legs and feet (the only exceptions being fragments of pelvis and scapula, where the legs joined the body). Two leg bones from unidentified birds and fragments of pig and cow bones were also present. Cow bones represented ribs, pelvis and vertebra. The only pig bone was from the jaw.51

50 Section 9.1
51 Section 9.4
Almost all of the glass artefacts in the backfill came from the middle sand deposit (context 7654). Datable artefacts included twenty-four bottles, seven items of tableware and a piece of crown window glass. All bottles were made after 1820 and before 1920 and one third of the bottles had an 1850s TPQ. Beer and wine bottles mostly had an 1820s to 1850s/1870 date range. All datable items were consistent with the occupation of the Woolpack Inn. Representation of food and beverage items was consistent with a household or an establishment such as the Woolpack Inn (over sixty-one per cent). Beverage bottles were exclusively alcohol with the majority being beer/wine and most of the tableware was tumblers or stemware. The relative frequency of medicine bottles (25 per cent) was generally not expected in the assemblage of a public establishment, such as an inn, however, it could be indicative of health concerns of the publican or his/her family. Most of the medicine bottles were generic forms that were used by chemists and patent medicine manufacturers. The content was identified for only two bottles, a castor oil bottle and a cough remedy bottle. The perfume bottle could easily have been from the publican’s family or a guest at the inn. The bottle’s shape was much the same as those used by Germany’s Farina perfumery, which was popular throughout the nineteenth century.52

3.5.1.8 Demolition evidence
The Woolpack Inn survived at least until 1880, when John Pries was in his eighth year as licensee, and the public house had been known for seven years as the Woolpack Hotel. There was no listing in the Sands directory for the hotel in 1881 or the Assessment Books for 1882, and by that time Pries was licensee at another hotel (the Pries Family Hotel, George Street North). This suggests that the hotel had already been pulled down and construction of the new building was under way. By 1883 The Mercantile Bank had adopted the place in the Sands Directory at No. 722, and its imposing shape dominated plans at the corner of George and Campbell Streets by 1888. The craftsmanship and materials used to build the footings for the bank were far superior to any that the lot had so far witnessed, and this building ushered in a new period, reflecting the increased value of the land in this part of town, and the changes in function and status that were to dominate the block for a hundred or so years to come.

The demolition debris from the Woolpack Inn was mostly yellow-beige sandy material with fragments of white plaster, sandstock bricks, grey sand shell mortar and buff sandy mortar. This

52 Section 9.3
material was the only evidence pertaining to the superstructure. Some of this demolition material also had some of the occupation deposit mixed through it with occasional finds of pins, slate pencils and kaolin pipe stems. These were possibly from the first floor space.

Some of the rooms within this structure were given separate context numbers, in the hope that room-specific information about the fabric or finishes would be present. The demolition debris in Room 2 consisted of whole and broken sandstock bricks, charcoal inclusions, buff sand mortar/render, lumps of painted render and set mixed with grey-brown sand and clay. This deposit was deepest around the fireplace and covering parts of the fireplace within Room 2. The whole bricks measured 220mm x 105mm x 60mm. They were flat with no frog and had manufacturing dates of between 1800 and 1850. They were poorly mixed and dark orange in colour. The fireplace in Room 4 was also covered with demolition material around the hearthstone and back wall of the fireplace. A thin layer of demolition debris (7330) only 90mm deep was carefully removed by hand from the rest of the room as it was pressed tightly into the underfloor deposit and was sitting directly above the joists and bearers which survived in Room 4. There was little information to be gained from the demolition material other than the brick and mortar construction. There was no room-specific information within the demolition material that might have told us about the nature or function of the interior spaces.

3.5.2 Phase 5 Area A: c.1880-1902
Following the demolition of the Woolpack Inn the site underwent a major change in occupancy from a public hotel to separate commercial ventures. This was also the first major change to the building footprint for many decades as well as to the way in which the rear areas of the site were accessed.

3.5.2.1 The Mercantile Bank
The Mercantile Bank was built between 1881 and 1883 and occupied the northern side of Lot 2, as far east as the boundary with the yard of No. 712 (Figure 3.41). Mirroring the building on the southern side of the lot was a structure of similar dimensions, also occupied by the bank and connected by a covered entryway. By 1888, this southern building was occupied by the Australian Widows Fund Life Assurance. The two buildings shared identical footings and are considered here as one structure.
The site had been levelled after the demolition of the Woolpack Inn, which was reduced to its rubble footings (Figure 3.50). The new foundation was up to 1.24m deep and destroyed a significant portion of the Woolpack footings. The footings of the Mercantile Bank (7307, Figure 3.43) were of large well-dressed sandstone blocks laid header-to-header up to five courses deep. The external walls (north, south and west) consisted of a single row of large well-cut blocks measuring approximately 850mm x 650mm x 280mm. Some of the blocks were as long as 1150mm and although mostly 650mm wide some were as wide as 760 mm. Pick/cut marks were visible running diagonally on the surface and face of the stone. The external walls were four to five courses deep. The stones were tightly packed together with compact buff sandy lime mortar (mortar samples 13, 14 and 15).

The two buildings occupied by the bank utilised the entire street frontage of Lot 2, with footings stretching from boundary to boundary in the southwest half of the lot (Figure 3.44. Overall, the footings described a building 17.5m wide and at least 18m long, including the 2.3m wide interval of the covered entryway that ran down the centre of the building from the street frontage.
Figure 3.42: The footings of the Mercantile Bank at the southwest corner of the lot. The rubble foundation of the Woolpack Inn can be seen within these footings. View to the southeast. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.43: Large and well-cut sandstone blocks used in the foundation for the Mercantile Bank. View to the northwest. Scale 1m.
3.5.2.2 Drainage

A stone-lined trench (7657, Figure 3.45) travelled from the boundary of 722 in a northwest direction then turned north towards 720 George Street. The sandstone was in the form of small irregular-shaped rubble pieces that acted as a packing fill around a brown salt-glazed stoneware pipe.
3.5.3 Phase 6 Area A: c.1903 onwards – twentieth-century development

In 1903 both 720 and 722 George Street were occupied by the large and expanding business of Mick Simmons. According to the Sands Directory in 1903 Mick Simmons Ltd operated as tobacco merchants, importers of hairdressers’ requisites and all sporting materials. By 1928 the business went on to have the Head Office located on this site at George Street along with the manufacture and importing of sporting goods, fishing tackle, toilet and hairdresser requisites, radio equipment, talking machines and records, men’s mercery, wholesale and retail sole agents for Pain’s Imperial Fireworks. By 1932 Mick Simmons Ltd had also acquired 718 George Street (Figure 3.46).

The archaeological evidence from this phase was limited to concrete and steel reinforcement and additions of concrete and dry-pressed brick walls to the rear of the buildings. The large concrete footings caused considerable disturbance at the rear of the property, especially in the area of the pottery waster pits. Mick Simmons Ltd remained at this address until 2000 when the buildings were demolished and the site was temporarily used as a car park until construction commenced in 2008.

Figure 3.46: An image from the 1930s showing the large commercial structures adorning the lots of the study area. View to the northwest from the southwest corner of George and Campbell streets with a crows outside the Mick Simmons store waiting to see Don Bradman. ML, SLNSW

3.6 Areas B and C: Phase 4 - Post-Brickfield occupation

By the time William Harper made his 1823 survey of Sydney, and lot boundaries had been established there appears to have been a large rectangular structure recorded on Lot 3, on the property of Thomas Ryan. This lot corresponds to Area B in the excavation records (Figure 3.23). According to this plan, the part of the site represented by Area C had not yet been built on. This part of the site was the southern portion of a large lot extending beyond the limits of excavation to...
the north. Areas B and C were found to have followed a similar developmental path and share the same archaeological phasing (Table 3.2).

Figure 3.47: Site survey showing the original boundaries of Lot 3 in red. The original boundaries were taken from the angles shown in Hallen’s 1830 survey, which appear accurate with reference to the modern boundaries of Area A and other known angles on the site. This image shows that the street-front during this phase was beyond the limits of excavation. North is at the top of the image. Original boundaries from City Section Survey Plans, 1833, Section 02, City of Sydney Archives: Historical Atlas of Sydney.
### 3.6.1 Phase 4: Area B (Lot 3), c.1823 –c.1840

Between 1823 and 1840, Lot 3 was the subject of some dispute. Michael Joyce was the original owner, who leased the land to James Ryan sometime before 1830. However, it was not until 1835 that the land was securely in the hands of the Ryan family. In the intervening years a third party had claimed that the land had been sold to him some years previous, and the dispute had taken some time to settle.\(^53\) It appears that Michael Joyce had built the first known building on the land, recorded by Hallen in 1823 (Figure 3.48). It was a rectangular building, slightly smaller than those on Lot 2 with its longest side oriented to George Street, but set a little way back from the road. Fences ran from the sides of the house to the adjoining boundaries of Lot 2 and Lot 4. A sale advertisement of Buckton’s estate in 1830 refers to a tenant on Lot 3, a Mr James, who leased a ‘skilling’ at 6 shillings per week, considerably less than the rent paid for the adjoining buildings on Lots 1 and 2.\(^54\) By 1830 Hallen’s field sketch records the building as valued at £180.

![Figure 3.48: Two plans by Hallen dated to 1830 showing Lot 3. The image on the left is a field sketch, while the formal plan is shown at the right. The angles of the property are considerably different in the two images, but the noted angles on the sketch correspond to that of the formal plan. It is likely that Hallen traced Harper’s plan for his notes and then corrected the angles in his formal survey. Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5 (left image); detail from City Section Survey Plans, 1833, Section 02, City of Sydney Archives: Historical Atlas of Sydney (right image).](image)

It appears that by 1830, some liberty had been taken with the lot boundary in the northwest corner, as a short fence extended the property a little way into the road (Figure 3.48). This was to set a precedent for further encroachments in the following decades (see Phase 5 below).

The archaeological evidence from this phase was limited to scattered postholes, an attempt at well-digging, a rubbish pit and a sandstock brick box drain. The postholes could not be identified with any known structures, and no structure could be convincingly extrapolated from the arrangement of the postholes. The reconfiguration of George Street meant that the potential remains of fencelines and the front of the rectangular building depicted on Hallen’s field sketch were beyond the limits of excavation beneath the modern footpath (Figure 3.47). Because archaeological evidence for this phase was relatively poor, this street front area would have been significant for

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\(^53\) Sydney Herald 24 September 1835, p2.

\(^54\) Sydney Gazette, 26 January 1830.
the interpretation of the archaeology in the rest of the lot. Overall, 110 sq metres of the original 505 sq metres (20 perches) appears to have been beyond the limit of the site if Hallen’s 1830 survey is accurate.

3.6.1.1 Postholes
The postholes were located in two loose clusters at the north and centre-west of Area B (Plan 9, Section 10). In all cases the packing fills resembled subsoil and topsoils known to be on the site during this phase. There were few inclusions and no evidence of later material, helping to place them within this period.

The postholes in the northern cluster appeared to represent repeated attempts to mark a location with a post. Three postholes in this cluster cut and recut each other, with two outlying at a short distance. They were of similar dimensions and were sub-rectangular, at around 320mm x 370mm. Post-pipes for these features were slightly less consistent, with maximum dimensions for each post falling between 80mm and 130mm. These features are likely to represent a fence. The dimensions of the pipes indicated that the posts were relatively insubstantial, suggesting simple markers rather than a fence that was actively employed to keep out livestock or intruders. The insubstantial posts may also represent part of a skillion as is referred to in an 1830 advertisement55, although this could not be established from the archaeological evidence.

The central-western cluster of postholes and its outliers showed no clear patterning or inter-relationship. Any attempts to recreate the shape of a structure according to posthole alignments were frustrated by absences in the projected series or else demanded the creation of unlikely engineering solutions to explain the suggested configuration. The absence of post-pipes in all but one of these postholes also frustrated attempts at interpretation. Six rectangular postholes were identified containing fills with subsoil characteristics. The postholes shared similar dimensions deviating only marginally from 270mm x 250mm in plan. The only post-pipe (context 7486 within posthole 7484) had dimensions of 170mm x 100mm. These postholes were in a location that loosely corresponded to the estimated location of the southern wall of the structure depicted on Hallen’s field sketch, but such a structure could not be envisaged from this evidence (Figure 3.48).

3.6.1.2 Rubbish pit
A loosely rectangular pit dating (7508) from this phase contained a number of artefacts in a matrix of dark grey sandy loam (7509). The pit was 4.5m long and at least 810mm wide. Its original dimensions had been disguised by building activity in subsequent phases. The pit contained brick fragments, oyster shells, bottle glass, pottery and bone. A pearl-edged plate loosely dated the fill of the pit from between 1780 to 1860. The stratigraphy of the site placed the rubbish pit more specifically within this phase. The depth of the fill was 160mm.

3.6.1.3 Box drain
A drain and sump (Figure 3.49, Figure 3.50) ran down the slope from the estimated location of the structure on Hallen’s field sketch. The drain (context 7339) was covered except for a 500mm x 300mm aperture at the location of the sump (7339). It was most likely constructed to collect roof runoff and channel it beneath the road, thereby preventing waterlogging of the area southwest of the structure.

The box base was constructed of complete sandstock bricks (c.230mm x 110mm x 70mm) with a ‘hand pecked’ and very shallow rectangular frog. These bricks may have been made as early as 1830, and although a secure date has yet to be established for these types of bricks, their other

55 Sydney Gazette, 26 January 1830.
characteristics (fabric and dimensions) suggest they were manufactured in the early decades of the century. The bricks were laid header-to-header as a ‘running bond’. This bond was altered at the eastern end of the drain where it curved to the north. The bricks were laid diagonally stretcher-to-stretcher. The arched cover was constructed of sandstock bricks laid horizontally face-to-face with a gap of c.15-20mm between each brick to help make the ‘arch’ shape. The bricks of each section of the arch were bonded with a fine silty clay shell mortar. The overall surviving length of the drain was 5.5m from the sump to where it exited towards George Street and the limit of excavation. The drain had a minimum internal width of 290mm, and a minimum outside width of 520mm. This drain exhibited the same type of construction method used in one of the early drains excavated at the Government Stables. The stables drain was built between 1817 and 1821, but with flat sandstock bricks. The fill of this drain (7431, 7432) contained bottle and window glass with broad date ranges from around 1810 to 1870-1880.

![Image of the sump at the northern end of the box drain (context 7339). Scale 500mm.](image)

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3.6.1.4 Cylindrical cut

A large, cylindrical cut (7600, Figure 3.51) was found near the centre of the lot (Fig. 3.43). It had a diameter of 1.6m. It was cut through the post-Brickfield levelling fills and the subsoil. The full depth of the cut was approximately 1.3m. It was backfilled with dumps of heavy orange/red clays and grey silty subsoil-type fills. There was no evidence to suggest that the vertical sides of the cut had ever been lined. It is likely to have been quite close to the back of the structure sketched on Hallen’s plan. A well in Area C (Lot 4) was sunk 4m deep to reach water, so had this been a well-digging attempt, it was abandoned at an early stage of excavation. Notably the diameter of the cut was almost identical to that of the (Phase 5) well in Lot 4 (Area C) which had a cut diameter of 1.68m.
3.6.2  Phase 4: Area C (southern part of Lot 4), c.1823 – c.1840
Area C describes an east-west oriented corridor of land. This part of the site was the southern portion of a large lot extending beyond the limits of excavation to the north. By 1823 it formed at least part of the southern portion of Lot 4. If Harper’s plan was accurate in 1823, then Area C was not originally at the boundary with Lot 3. However, it appeared to occupy an equally vacant stretch of land, and there was no archaeological evidence to determine whether Harper was accurate (Figure 3.52, Figure 3.53). According to the 1823 plan the part of the site represented by Area C had not yet been built on.

The lot was formally granted to George Richards in 1831, and the limited information available suggests that he was the original occupant of the lot after the block was subdivided. Although Lot 4 contained a number of buildings by 1830, none occupied the land described by Area C. This portion of the lot was fenced off from the rest.
Figure 3.52: Harper’s 1823 plan showing that Area C occupies a vacant part of Lot 4. The site boundary is indicated by a red line.

Figure 3.53: Hallen’s 1830 field sketch showing the structures on Lot 4 outside the excavation area. Area C occupied the vacant southern part of the lot. Although this sketch shows what appears to be the incorrect Lot 3/4 boundary for 1830 (see section 3.5.2 above), Hallen’s angle measurements do correspond to the later survey, and so we can confidently assume that the fenced portion of land corresponds to that of Area C. *Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney*, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5.
There was no archaeological evidence within Area C that was attributable to this phase. However, because of the discrepancies concerning the 1823/1830 lot boundary, it was considered possible that some of the postholes in the north of Area B corresponded to activities in Lot 4. The lack of evidence in Area C makes it likely that these features occurred after the boundary change and belonged to Lot 3 or else are related directly to boundary-marking activities (see section 3.5.2.1 above).

3.7 Phase 5 Areas B and C: Residential and commercial development c.1840 - c.1860

During this phase, activity intensified on the block, with Lots 3 and 4 becoming crowded with brick and timber buildings on the street front. On Lot 2, the Woolpack Inn continued trading as its neighbours (and potential customers) multiplied on the adjoining lots. As the sandstone footings of boundary-hugging structures were laid down, the Phase 4 inter-lot divisions became solidly established, and on the street front new liberties were being taken as buildings encroached onto George Street. It appears that some of these changes had begun as early as 1837, as the General Post Office Plan for that year (Figure 3.54) shows more than the isolated structures of 1830 adorning the corner of Campbell and George Streets. However, the representations appear somewhat stylised for this part of the block, and attempting to attribute the archaeological remains to these structures has questionable merit. It is however possible that the archaeological remains of the timber structure at No. 718 (in 1845 known as No. 164 George Street) represents one of these early buildings, as its orientation hugs the curve of the street in contrast to its northern neighbours.

Figure 3.54: General Post Office Plan of 1837. The site indicated by the curved corner of Campbell and George Streets can be seen near the centre-left of the image.

3.7.1 Phase 5: Area B (Lot 3), 1840 - c.1860

Lot 3 witnessed the most activity during this phase, with up to seven separate structures gracing the street front during its most congested period. Two brick buildings dominated the northern part of the lot, while wooden structures vied for the remaining space in the south. All of the buildings were
divided or added to during different periods of this phase, as commercial needs or accommodation demanded. The Ryan family retained ownership of the lot throughout this phase (Figure 3.55).

The main property divisions in Area B during this period correspond to numbers 712, 714/716, and 718/720 George Street. There was also a right of way between the latter properties. A summary of the archaeological and historical evidence for buildings within Area B is provided in Table 3.3.

Figure 3.55: Plan of locations used in this phase in Area B (Plan 10, Section 10).
Table 3.4: This interpretation of the continuity of structures in Lot 3 is based on the archaeological evidence and on information in the Assessment Rates Books for the period. Coloured shading may represent a single structure (as in the brick building at 712) or a location within the lot (right of way). The building at 718/720 may have originally been a four-roomed, single-storey wooden structure that was split several ways during this phase.

3.7.1.1 No. 712 George Street

During Phase 5 this location was referred to by four different street numbers (Table 3.5). It was not known as No. 712 until after 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1848</th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>1861</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>712</td>
<td>2 storey, 4 room, brick</td>
<td>2 storey, 4 room, brick</td>
<td>2 storey, 5 room, brick</td>
<td>2 storey, 5 room, brick</td>
<td>Merged with 710</td>
<td>2 storey, 4 room, brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>714/716</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, brick</td>
<td>1 storey, 4 room, brick</td>
<td>1 storey, 5 room, brick</td>
<td>1 storey, 5 room, brick</td>
<td>1 storey, 3 room, brick</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right of way</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, wood</td>
<td>Yard and stables</td>
<td>Yard and stables</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>718/720</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 3 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 3 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5: Street numbers corresponding to No. 712, and their relevant years during Phase 5.
The building at No. 712 was built before 1845 (at an unknown date), on an alignment with the brick building at No. 710 to the north (Lot 4, Area C). This junction of the two lot boundaries once marked the point at which the north-south line of George Street turned sharply to the southeast, to create the angled corner at the junction of Campbell Street (Figure 3.56).

It appears that by the time the structure at No. 712 was built, the road had been widened at this northern part of the lot, truncating the northwest corner of the lot and creating a north-south street frontage at the location of No. 712. Although there is no detailed plan of the site during this phase, it is likely that the building at No. 712 was built up against the new boundary, and that the 1840s frontage was similar to that shown on the 1865 Trigonometric Survey of Sydney (Figure 3.57).

In 1845, the structure at No. 176 (712) George Street was a baker’s shop. It had an attached bakehouse and shed, and was two storeys high with four rooms. It was built with brick, had a shingled roof, and was valued at £65. It was probably built during the late 1830s/early 1840s. The Assessment Books show that it had similar characteristics and a similar value to its northern neighbour at No. 178 (710). Its comparative value and configuration suggests that it had similar dimensions, and makes it highly likely that the structure at No. 176 (712) shared the street-front alignment of its Lot 4 neighbours.
Archaeological evidence of the structure at No. 712 included sandstone footings (7603, Figure 3.58) and a sandstock brick cesspit (7625, Figure 3.59). The building extended at least 6m from the street front and was up to 5m wide. Although the remains of the front of the building were beyond the limit of excavation, all indications are that it was as long as 9m, echoing its neighbour to the north. Certainly by 1865 (Phase 6) the building was a little over twice as long as it was wide, supporting this proposition. The footings were of roughly cut sandstone blocks, aligned as a double row, bonded with small stones and a sandy/pale brown mud mortar. The average block size was around 400mm x 200mm x 200mm but sizes varied greatly in the eastern (rear) wall. A construction trench had been dug that exceeded the footing width by 500mm (context 7619). A foundation for a dividing wall split the structure on a north-south axis, creating a rear room with a width of 3.5m and a length of around 4m (the northern footing had been destroyed by later activity). This room was the most archaeologically complete space in the house. It was loosely rectangular with corners of 95° and 85° in the southwest and southeast respectively. At the front of the house, the limit of excavation constrained the space to around 1.8m x 4m, although the projected dimensions were around 3m x 4m. The footings averaged 500mm in width and were 200mm (or one course) deep, except the southern wall which was 400mm (or two courses) deep.

Throughout this phase, the historical record indicated that the building changed its configuration only marginally, alternating between an arrangement of four and five rooms. This suggests that at least one division in the house was of a somewhat insubstantial fabric, and that there may have been three rooms on the lower storey. In 1858, there was no value or configuration record of the structure in the Assessment Books, and the property was listed as unoccupied, but its immediate neighbour in Lot 4 to the north was recorded as doubling in value and rooms from the previous entry. This may indicate that the property had been temporarily annexed by Harris and Grogan’s
business at No. 722 (710) next door. Between 1858 and 1861 the timber shingled roof was replaced with slate, and the relatively low value of the building (£50) was raised to £91.

Figure 3.58: The rear room of the structure at No.712 George Street. Concrete has been added to the southern wall and the northern wall has been replaced by a later footing. The internal space showed no evidence of flooring or occupation debris. The partially exposed remains of the front room can be seen beyond. View to the west. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.59: The cesspit (7625) at the rear of No. 712. The sandstone and machine-made brick wall at the left belongs to a later, unrelated structure. View to the east. Scale 1m.
There was no evidence of occupation from Phase 5 in the structure at No. 712. A cesspit (7625) at the rear of the property contained only material relating to its backfilling in Phase 6 (Figure 3.59). The cesspit was located 17m from the rear of the house, in the easternmost corner of Lot 3. It was built with mostly complete sandstock bricks, though some were broken (and possibly re-used). The bricks had varied characteristics, with some flat and others bearing a rectangular frog. The bricks were dated to between 1830 and 1860. The coursing method was random and the bonding material was a sandy shell mortar. The base was of exposed B horizon clays. There was an internal skim wall against the southern wall, suggesting a repair. The skim wall was constructed using the same bricks as those throughout and may have been an early alteration. All walls were 220-230mm wide, accommodating coursing in either two rows header-to-header or a single row stretcher-to-stretcher. The cesspit had internal dimensions of 1.5m x 900mm (with the addition of the skim wall) and had a depth of 800mm.

3.7.1.2 No. 714/716 George Street
This location refers to several street numbers during Phase 5 (Table 3.6). It is a spatial reference only. The structure was never known by these numbers, nor did it correspond directly to the positions occupied by the later buildings. It has been used here so that general comparisons can be made between this and later phases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1848</th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>1861</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No number recorded</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>537</td>
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<td>652</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Street numbers corresponding to the location No. 714 /716 during Phase 5.

The building at this location was built after 1830 and before 1845 and probably after the structure at No. 712, as it continued the north-south street-front alignment adopted by its northern neighbour. Plans from 1843 and 1854 suggest that this north-south alignment (and associated extension of the lot into the street) was extended all the way to the Woolpack Inn, although inaccuracies in some parts of these plans suggest that some caution should be applied to this interpretation (Figure 3.60). The inconsistencies with these plans and those that came before and after could also reflect other transgressions and liberties that were being taken across the block as this part of town grew ever more slum-like in the mid-nineteenth century.

There was a precedent for this kind of transgression. Annexing parts of the street at the Lot 3 street frontage had begun as early as 1830, when Hallen recorded a fence extending from the north of the lot into the road (Figure 3.61). Although the road had since claimed this and more back from the front of the lots (Figure 3.57), it appears that in the south of the lot, new liberties were being taken.
Figure 3.60: Woolcott and Clark’s 1854 plan showing the changed alignment. The 1830 Lot 3 boundary is shown in red. However, inconsistencies with the lot shapes and sizes across the block may indicate that this map contains some inaccuracies. City of Sydney Archives - Historical Atlas of Sydney.

Figure 3.61: This image is a detail of Hallen’s field book sketch from 1830. His sketch shows a transgression of the lot boundaries, where a property fence has extended into the street at the point where the alignment changes. The figure 161 indicates that the alignment shifts by 19° at this point, but the fence is shown at odds with the change. Field Books, Survey of the City of Sydney, A. Hallen, SR Reel 2628 (2/5195), Item 347, p5.

The archaeological remains at the location of No. 714/716 substantiate some of the claims made by the plans (Figure 3.62). The footings suggest that the lot had annexed another few square metres of George Street as the building of this structure was at right angles to the one at No. 712, rather than at the 19° offset that the 1823 structure adopted. The footings were 9m wide and may have
been up to 11m long if the street front alignment established by No. 712 was sustained. The exposed length of the building within the limit of excavation was little more than 4.5m. The footings represented a one-storey brick structure that contained up to five rooms and two shops/houses. They were very similar in nature to those of its northern neighbour. A dividing wall created near right angles with the two east-west oriented footings. At the rear of the divide were attached skillion rooms (represented by postholes) and there were at least two rooms within the sandstone footing until 1861, when one large space was created.

Figure 3.62: Detail of an archaeological plan of the northwest corner of Lot 3. The remains of the footings of the houses at location Nos. 712 and 714/716 can be seen with interpretive projections (pale grey lines) extending to the street-front. The structure at No. 714/716 is shown with a length of 9m including the attached skillion rooms (Extract from Plan 10, Section 10).

The footings (7402) were between 400mm and 500mm throughout (Figure 3.63, Figure 3.64). They were constructed with rubble sandstone, mostly irregular in shape but some were roughly square or rectangular. Between the larger stones (600mm x 300mm x 200mm) was a bonding material consisting of small stones and mud/shell mortar. The footings survived to a depth of approximately 200mm or one course. Four postholes described the northeast corner of the skillion rooms. They were all sub-circular and had similar dimensions of between 300mm and 360mm maximum length.
Only two post-pipes were detected. They indicated that the posts were cylindrical with diameters of about 100mm.

Figure 3.63: The southern wall footing of the structure at No. 714/716 (right of image). The fireplace support can be seen in the foreground and a dividing wall in the centre. Test trenches reveal that the structure was cut into imported topsoils. The naturally occurring subsoils can be seen at the base. View to the east. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.64: The northern wall of the structure at No. 714/716. The southern footing of No. 712 can be seen in the right of the image. View to the west. Scale 1m.
The footings were cut directly into the imported topsoil and subsoil. A wall trench (context 7438) was clearly seen along the inside and outside of the eastern wall. The wall trench was 600-770mm wide with vertical sides and a flat base to a maximum depth of 280mm. An interior extension of the footing into the front room on the southern side may have been a partial support for a fireplace however the projected location for the corresponding side was beyond the limit of excavation. Evidence for flooring support did exist in the room to the rear of this. Two groups of two sandstock bricks were set in to the levelling fill 7528 just 200mm off the footing for the southern side wall and c.1m apart from each other. These bricks may have acted as supports for a wooden floor for this room. There was no remaining evidence for the occupation of this building such as underfloor deposits or a cesspit associated with this phase.

3.7.1.3 Right-of-way
This location represented an access point to the rear of the properties on Lot 3 as well as occasionally being occupied by a yard and stables or a street-front office, or stores (which may have been at the rear). These structures were always of timber and were never described as residential. The different uses for this piece of land suggest that structures were either transient or very simple and open constructions which allowed a variety of uses. The archaeological remains of these structures are likely to have been restricted to postholes. As part of this area was later built on by the structure at No. 716, considerable disturbance was caused by the digging of footing trenches in the probable location of these structures. As a result, no evidence could be found for the occupation of this space during Phase 5. It is possible that the drain (7339) was still in use during this phase, although there was no archaeological evidence of this.

3.7.1.4 No. 718/720 George Street
This location refers to several street numbers during Phase 5 (Table 3.7). It did not represent the street numbers 718 and 720 until 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1848</th>
<th>1855</th>
<th>1856</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>732</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Street numbers corresponding to the location No. 718 /720 during Phase 5.

A structure was built between 1830 and 1845, and may be the first among the Phase 5 structures to have been built on this part of the Lot. This building adheres to the 19° change in street alignment, echoing the early structure that appeared on the 1823 and 1830 surveys. Between 1845 and 1861, this building never represented less than two houses or shops. It appears to have been a four-room timber structure that was adaptable to use by up to three separate businesses and residents, as the four rooms are split several ways in the Assessment Books of the Phase 5 period (Table 3.8).
Configuration and use of the timber structure at No. 718/720 George Street.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Configuration</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, wood</td>
<td>2 shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>1 storey, 2 room, brick</td>
<td>2 shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1 storey, 3 room, wood</td>
<td>2 shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>1 storey, 3 room, wood</td>
<td>2 shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
<td>2 shops, 1 shop/house combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1 storey, 1 room, wood</td>
<td>3 shop/house combinations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Configuration and use of the timber structure at No. 718/720 George Street.

The archaeological evidence relating to this location was limited to a fireplace support and suggestions of a wall. Some (archaeologically compromised) occupation material relating to this phase was recovered from the area in front of the fireplace, but evidence for the rest of the structure was destroyed in the early 1860s (Phase 6) when the structures on the Lot 3 frontage were redeveloped.

Structural evidence
Evidence for the structure consisted of the base of a brick fireplace, a posthole and a brick base for walling. The brick fireplace footings (context 7394) were built using flat sandstock bricks that may have dated to the 1820s but were likely re-used, as broken bricks were included (Figure 3.65). The support was two bricks wide and bonded with silty clay and a sandy clay mud mortar. Two courses survived and in total the fireplace was 1.3m in length and 700mm deep. The bricks were mostly complete, though occasional broken bricks were included. Associated with the fireplace was a possible occupation-related deposit (7397). This consisted of orange brown sandy clay with moderate charcoal flecking and small fragments of sandstone. This was a maximum of 100mm in depth. This material is likely to be a mix of fill and occupation-related material. It contained fragments of seven ceramic items, including some early lead-glaze pottery sherds, a plate fragment from an object not manufactured after 1840 and two unidentified items with wide date ranges that transcend the archaeological phases for the site.

Located to the south of the fireplace and on a north-south alignment was a line of sandstock bricks (context 7467) occupying a short distance (1.1m) between the fireplace and a posthole (Figure 3.66). It was built with incomplete bricks in a single line with some ill-fitting sandstone pieces. It was 190mm in width. It partially covered the posthole fill (7521), suggesting it would have abutted the post (located roughly in the centre of the posthole). The posthole was ovoid, with a maximum length of 600mm, a maximum width of 400mm, and a depth ranging from 280mm to 380mm. It contained a sub-rectangular post-pipe (7525) measuring 120mm x 60mm and 80mm deep.
Figure 3.65: The fireplace support within the timber structure at No. 718/720. View to the east. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.66: The southern edge of the brick alignment (7467) and the posthole (7521) after excavation. North is to the left of the image. Scale 500mm.
The brick arrangement is likely to have been the base or skirting for a wooden slab wall, supported by the post in posthole 7521. The line of a southern wall was suggested by a second posthole 3.5m west of context 7521 (posthole 7495). This was found below the gully fill of pottery wasters (context 7460). It was likely to have been later than the levelling event, but undetectable in the large pottery fragments of the matrix. This second posthole was circular in plan with a diameter of 300mm and a depth of 180mm below the base of the pit, giving it an approximate depth of 380mm.

**Occupation deposit**

A 70mm deep occupation-related deposit (context 7395) was spread over an area of 5.5m x 6.5m on the western side of the fireplace (the inside of the structure). This material was disturbed by later activity and was also contaminated by the pottery waster fills below; however it did contain artefacts that loosely fitted within the period associated with the occupation of the structure. The remaining deposit was excavated within a 500mm x 500mm grid and in 50mm spits, and sample sieved. From the sieving it was clear that the deposit was quite disturbed. The deposit consisted of dark greyish brown sandy silt with some organic content. It contained brick and sandstone fragments throughout, along with charcoal, bone, ceramic, shell, glass and a coin. The ceramics were largely lead-glazed pottery, signifying contamination from the fills below. However, nine imported items including a pepper shaker, two plates, two saucers, and a serving dish were represented (Figure 3.67). These items had broad date ranges, excepting one of the plates which was not manufactured after 1840. Although this deposit lacked stratigraphic integrity, this item does add some ammunition to the interpretation of this structure as the earliest of this phase.

![Image of imported ceramics](image-url)

**Figure 3.67:** The imported ceramics represented in the occupation deposit 7395. Russell Workman, scale 10cm.

### 3.7.2 Phase 5: Area C (southern part of Lot 4), 1840 - c.1860

Area C also witnessed building in this phase. The block became increasingly congested as all of the Lot 4 frontage was occupied with shops and dwellings. A single, large building and a northern laneway were the structural characteristics of this phase in Area C. It was built before 1845, although as the building illustrations on the 1837 General Post Office Plan are somewhat stylised (Figure 3.54), it is difficult to determine whether the structure was standing at this early date. The plan does however show that construction was increasing along George Street prior to 1840, and by the time the building in Area C was constructed it was likely part of an already crowded lot. The location of the building in Area C is represented as No. 710 George Street, although it was not
known as this number until 1880, and this location represented several street numbers during Phase 5 (Table 3.9).

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Table 3.9: Street numbers corresponding to the location No. 710, and their relevant years during Phase 5.

3.7.2.1 No. 710 George Street

Although the date of construction is unknown, the structure’s footings (7441) were very similar in style and material to those of its southern neighbours at No. 712 and No. 714/716. In 1845 it was represented in the Assessment Books as a two-storey, six-roomed brick shop with a shingled roof. Its value was £5 more than its neighbour at No. 712 but it was a considerably larger structure. Thomas Daly was in residence and Samuel Power was the owner but by 1848 the Daly family were in residence and ownership, and they owned the property throughout the remainder of Phase 5. Its configuration changed a little over Phase 5, with the most notable increase in rooms probably reflecting the use of No. 712 as an extension of the premises in 1858 (Table 3.10: see section 3.6.2 above). The Grogan grocery business occupied the premises from at least as early as 1855, and continued to make use of it as a shop and finally a house and store in 1861. The Phase 5 archaeological remains of the structure at No. 710 were restricted to a well, some sandstone and brick paving, an underfloor deposit and the footings of the shop/dwelling.

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<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>8 rooms</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
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Table 3.10: Configuration of the structure at No. 710 throughout Phase 5.

Footings

The foundation of the building (7441) described a structure 8m wide and up to 11m long (by projection based on plans and the limits of the lot boundary). The exposed remains were 8m x 8m and included a dividing footing that split the structure into a front and a rear room (Figure 3.68). The rear room was 6.5m x 3.2m with angles of 100° and 80° in the northeast and southeast corners respectively. The front room was exposed to an area of 6.5m x 3.5m, but it may have been as large as 6.5m x 5.5m. The footings were of roughly cut, rectangular blocks of sandstone laid in two rows with smaller packing stones and buff shell sand mortar between the blocks. The footings were 460-500mm wide throughout, and up to three courses deep. Sand/shell mortar had been liberally applied to the top of the stones in the southeast corner to create a level surface, suggesting that this may have been the point at which the footing met the superstructure. The lower courses of stone only contained a mud mortar. A 350-500mm wide wall trench cut the remnant topsoil, and the footings were sitting directly on the natural yellow clay (7536).

To the east of these footings the partial remains of a wall (7443) running roughly parallel to the main structure were recorded (Plan 15). This wall was constructed of rubble stone with no evidence of mortar and only a 4.1m length of a single course remained. The wall and shallow footing were slightly narrower than the main building (440mm) and presumably supported only a single-storey building, such as shed or other additions that appear on the 1865 survey plan (Figure 3.57). The projected wall was on the same alignment as the rear footings and wall (7603) of 712 George Street in Area B (Figure 3.62) but without evidence of any underfloor deposit it was not possible to further date this feature.
The front room contained a fireplace support (7576, Figure 3.69) built into the interior of the north wall. It was rectangular in shape, constructed with a neat row of roughly cut but neatly fitting rectangular blocks in two courses. The central cavity was filled with irregularly-shaped stone rubble. The entire support was 580 x 600 x 300mm. There was no hearthstone.

Figure 3.68: The large front room of the structure at No. 710 George Street. The remains of the footings have been outlined in red. The fireplace and the paving can be seen near the top of the image. View to the north. The dark remains of cuts containing timber planks and associated fill (7543, 7544) were visible following excavation of the underfloor deposit (7444) and construction fill (7519). Scale 1m
Construction debris

Patches of material associated with the construction of the building (7519) yielded glass artefacts that supported an 1840s construction date. Datable beer/wine bottles were manufactured before 1850. Window glass was very thin crown glass (1.0-1.4 mm) that was not imported after the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, glass stemware had a central knop that was in fashion between 1780 and the 1840s. Of the few ceramics found in the fill, the latest TPQ dates were c.1830 or just later, with dates for final manufacture extending to c.1860s/1870s.

Underneath the construction debris several shallow cuts (7540, 7453) were revealed cutting into the natural clay (7536). These cuts were located within the bounds of the room footings (7441) and contained planks of wood of varying sizes (Figure 3.68). The fills (7541 and 7544) around the wooden planks were similar to 7519 and there was no evidence of cuts through 7519. It is likely that when the interior changes took place to this building post-1860, the old floor surface was removed from Room 1 and all fills and deposits were cleared back to the natural clay (7536). When the internal renovations took place the timbers may have been used to support scaffolding and the traces of this then covered by associated construction debris (7519).

Underfloor deposit

The front room of the building at No. 710 contained an underfloor deposit (7444) that was littered with ceramic and glass artefacts, with date ranges spanning the nineteenth century (Figure 3.70).

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57 Section 9.3
58 See Appendix 5.4 for Ceramic catalogue.
Because of the wide date ranges, and the conflated stratigraphic nature of an underfloor deposit, no artefacts could be securely tied to this or any other phase, but the underfloor deposit consistently overlay the construction fill (7519). This deposit therefore represents a gradual but temporally indivisible accumulation. The discussion of the underfloor material has been included in this phase as it is the earliest possible date for deposition, and almost certainly includes among its fragments artefacts from this period. However, this material is by no means as exclusive to this phase as other features are discussed in this section.

The underfloor deposit (7444) consisted of mid- to dark brown coarse grained clayey sand with inclusions of sandstock brick, sandstone and shell fragments and frequent charcoal flecking. The deposit was inconsistent in depth (between 20mm and 110mm), and often amounted to less than 50mm. It was excavated in a 500mm x 500mm grid, in 50mm spits as stratigraphic constraints. The excavated underfloor deposit covered an area of approximately 6m x 3m, although an unknown quantity existed beyond the limit of excavation to the west.

Imported ceramics manufactured in the United Kingdom dominated the ceramic assemblage in this underfloor deposit. The appearance of lead-glaze ceramic fragments in the underfloor deposit was probably the result of contamination from levelling fills below. The 61 imported items, representing 78.2 per cent of the ceramics, were indicative of the overall domination that the United Kingdom had achieved within the worldwide ceramic marketplace as a whole by the mid nineteenth century. A total of 15 decorative ceramic types were represented in the underfloor deposit and these generally indicate some of the variety of ceramics that were available to the consumer within the Sydney marketplace as the nineteenth century progressed. The items had long periods of manufacture and were certainly available for the lifetime of the structure. Thirty-five items had identifiable characteristics, representing a breakfast cup, three bottles, nine teacups, a dish, seven plates, 12 saucers and a single teapot. Forty-three items remained unidentified. The assemblage
indicates domestic use, suggesting that a second room (beyond the limit of excavation) was the street-front representative of Grogan’s grocery business.  

Glass from the underfloor deposit yielded much the same information as the ceramics. Items with wide date ranges dominated the deposit, although over half of the bottles represented were manufactured after 1850. The underfloor deposit had a high relative frequency of window glass (see Figure 3.29). Food and beverage items comprised just over forty-three per cent of the room’s underfloor deposit. Food-related items consist of condiment bottles such as oil, vinegar pickles and chutney, as well as club sauce type stopper used in sauce, oil and vinegar bottles. Beverages were represented exclusively by alcohol bottles, including beer/wine, champagne, gin and gin/schnapps. There were a variety of pharmacy-related items, including five castor oil bottles, a vial, a 4mm hexagonal tube and seven generic patent medicine/chemist bottles. The artefacts in the glass assemblage again suggest domestic consumption over grocery stock, but paint a more general use of the ground floor space than the exclusively food and beverage items represented by the ceramics.

There were 1380 fragments of bone in the underfloor deposit, representing sheep, cow, pig, bird, rodent and fish. Sheep bones were in the greatest quantity, with most coming from the trunk of the animal.

Paving
On the northern side of the building was an area of sandstone and brick paving (context 7537; Figure 3.71). The sandstone elements were well-cut flagstones 70-80mm in height arranged in a neat row up to 600mm wide and at least 4m long against the northern side of the footing. 1.3m of broken and whole sandstock bricks laid in up to four haphazard rows continued the path eastwards. The paving was laid on modified loamy topsoil. This aperture between buildings may be the one represented on Woolcott and Clark’s 1854 survey (Figure 3.72), although the incoherence of the represented properties with established lot boundaries makes this interpretation somewhat insecure.

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60 Section 9.1
61 Section 9.3
62 Section 9.4
Figure 3.71: The paving on the northern side of the structure at No. 710. The paving continued beyond the limit of excavation. View to the west. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.72: Detail of Woolcott and Clark’s 1854 survey showing the possible location of the alley on the northern side of No. 710 (circled). North is to the top of the image.
Well
A sandstock brick well (7520, Figure 3.73, Figure 3.74) was located 3.8m from the rear of the building. The well was cylindrical to a depth of 4m with an internal diameter of 1.46m. The bricks were all flat sandstock bricks bonded with mud mortar in a stretcher bond. There were small gaps between the bricks in the well known as “putlog holes”. These small gaps were used to insert a short plank of wood for getting in and out of the well during its construction. The bricks measured 240 x 115 x 70mm. As the bricks were all flat sandstock bricks it is likely that this well was constructed around the 1840s and would be contemporary with the structure at No. 710. The well contained five fills. Artefactual and palynological analyses suggested however that none corresponded to this phase (see Phase 6 below).

Figure 3.73: The well during excavation, showing later disturbance in the form of a concrete footing. View to the east. Scale 1m.
Figure 3.74: The interior of the well after machine excavation removed the eastern side. The well was 4m deep. View to the west.

3.8 Phase 6 Areas B and C: 1860s to c.1890 – Commercial and residential redevelopment

During this phase several major changes took place that indicated a positive move from the slum-like conditions of the mid-nineteenth century. For the most part, these changes took place in Lot 3 (Area B). Rebuilding in Lot 3 saw the construction of three new two-storey buildings and a reinstatement of the original Lot 3 boundary south of No. 712. In the southern part of Lot 4, the yard of the two-storey building at No. 710 was filled with stores and commercial activity continued throughout Phase 6 (Figure 3.75).
Figure 3.75: Interpretive plan showing the archaeological remains and projected configurations of buildings in Phase 6. (Plan 21, Section 10).
3.8.1 Phase 6: Area B (Lot 3), 1860s-c.1890
Area B (Lot 3) underwent significant change at the start of Phase 6. All but one of the shops and dwellings that had characterised the street-front during Phase 5 were pulled down between 1861 and 1863. Only the structure at No. 712 (then known as No. 724) remained. By 1863, three new two-storey buildings had been constructed (Figure 3.76). The new buildings had between six and seven rooms each and included shops fronting George Street. The buildings remained throughout Phase 6 and were still standing at the turn of the century. During Phase 6, bakers, milliners, confectioners, saddlers, a tobacconist, a boot manufacturer and a hairdresser were among those who sold from the shops lining the street frontage of Lot 3 (Figure 3.77).

Figure 3.76: Overlay of the archaeological plan with the 1888 survey showing the correlation between the Phase 6 remains and the historical plan. This overlay gives some indication of the extent of the remains beyond the limit of excavation. Detail taken from City of Sydney 1888 / W.F.P. & A.W.M. Sydney & Suburban Map Publishing Co., 1888 NLA ref: MAP RM 722, Tile b1.
3.8.1.1 **No. 712 (No. 724 until 1880)**

The building at No. 712 remained standing throughout this phase, although in 1863 it appeared to be in quite a poor state compared to its new southern neighbours. Its value stood at less than half of those it shared the lot with. By 1867, however, either the new buildings had deteriorated rapidly or improvements had been made at No. 712, as all properties shared the same value of £130.

The building was occupied by a confectioner for most of this phase (Edward Fitzgerald in 1865, Jeremiah Callaghan for at least 10 years including the period 1873-1883, and the Cahill brothers in 1888). A baker and a hatter utilised the premises in the intervening years. By 1888 buildings occupied most of the land, and at the end of this phase in 1891, the premises are described as a shop and bakehouse. The archaeological evidence that could be securely dated to this phase was limited to the backfill within the cesspit (7625). This may have occurred sometime in the 1870s when plumbing was installed.

**Cesspit backfill**

Within the cesspit (7625) was a dark brown silty material with a high organic content that may represent cess material from the last use of the pit (7630). It was less than 100mm deep and contained only glass artefacts. The artefacts consisted of three beverage bottles, including gin/schnapps bottles, a beer/wine bottle and an aerated water bottle. The gin/schnapps bottles date from the turn-of-the nineteenth century, the aerated water bottle had an 1820–1920 date range and the beer/wine bottle had an 1850–1920 date range.63

The main backfill was context 7627, a fill of building rubble and sand. Only eight ceramics were recovered from the cesspit backfill, all manufactured in the United Kingdom. Two identified

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63 Section 9.3
transfer-printed patterns were recognized and two items had conjoins with another context (a cesspit backfill, context 7632, associated with No. 714 George Street; Figure 3.78). This suggests that material from the same source such as a rubbish dump was used to fill all of the cesspits on the lot at the same time, prior to the plumbing installation.\textsuperscript{64}

The glass from the backfill of the cesspit represented 36 items. Like the ceramics, they had wide date ranges, and the majority of artefacts represented food and beverage items. Food-related items were condiment bottles, a stopper and tableware. Condiments included pickles and oil. The stopper was a club sauce type used as closure for sauce, oil and vinegar bottles. Tableware consisted of tumblers, one stemware piece and an open dish. Beverage items were mostly alcohol bottles (beer/wine, champagne and gin/schnapps) and one aerated water bottle. Household items were ornamental (a vase and a lid). Service items were a lamp chimney and shade from a vertical wick lamp. There was also a perfume bottle that imitated a scroll flask. The high relative frequencies of glass food and beverage items were consistent with refuse from a residential setting.\textsuperscript{65}

The backfill contained no bone or shell. Context 7630 which may have been related to the last use of the cesspit contained only one shell fragment (\textit{Ostrea angasi}, or mud oyster).

![Figure 3.78: The two items with conjoining sherds between cesspit fills 7627 and 7632 (cesspits 7625 and 7626 respectively). Russell Workman, scale 10cm.](image)

\textbf{3.8.1.2 No. 714 (No. 726 until 1880) and No. 716 (No. 728 until 1880)}

The buildings constructed at Nos. 714 and 716 at the start of this phase were brick structures with slated roofs. The archaeological remains consisted of sandstone footings and cesspits at the rear of the yards. The two-storey buildings at Nos. 714 and 716 were constructed together with continuous footings and a party wall. The footings that survived consisted of a single course of sandstone blocks within a wide construction trench. The front of the buildings followed the 19° offset of the lot boundary, and an attempt to avoid acute angles in the corners of the rooms.

\textsuperscript{64} Section 9.1
\textsuperscript{65} Section 9.3
resulted in wedge-shaped structures and yards. The main footing for No. 714 and No. 716 (7488) consisted of comparatively well-hewn and substantial blocks of sandstone in one row 700mm wide. The main rear and southern side wall footings survived as well as the party wall footing which was slightly less substantial.

Two internal spaces were clearly described on the ground floor of each building, although the footing for the interior wall had been removed in both cases, and only a robber trench remained (Figure 3.79). The rear rooms at Nos. 714 and 716 were 3.2m x 4.7m and 3m x 4.7m respectively. Given the relatively narrow width, angles close to 90° were able to be maintained in the corners of the rear rooms, although some compromise was made to keep the east and west walls as close to parallel as possible. Manipulating the two geometric components helped the rooms maintain some illusion of rectilinearity. At No. 716, angles of 83° and 97° were measured in the northwest and northeast corners, and at No. 714, where the wedge was more exaggerated, angles of 74° and 106° were suffered to keep the walls parallel.

No. 714 utilised the southern wall of No. 712 to the north. It had no northern footing of its own. An extension at the rear was laid with the same foundation stones, indicating that it was part of the original layout. The extension had internal dimensions of around 2.8m x 2m.

Figure 3.79: The rear room at No. 714. The robbed-out dividing wall can be seen as a strip of darker soil in the centre, parallel to the back wall in the foreground. View to the west. Scale 1m.

Exposure of the entire footing was restricted by the limits of excavation and at the front of the buildings the rooms were only partially uncovered. The excavated internal space at the front of No. 714 was 5m x 4m. The plans dating to this phase indicate that there may have been a further 2-3m x 5m beyond the limit of excavation towards the street-front (Figure 3.76). The implications of this are that there was an additional ground floor room beyond the site boundary. During this phase the building contained up to seven rooms, and as No. 714 was sharing its northern and southern
walls, an additional dividing wall would have helped support the upper storey over such a large space (Table 3.11).

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<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
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Table 3.11: Configuration of No. 714 during Phase 6.

The excavated internal space at the front of No. 716 was also 4m x 5m (Figure 3.80). An additional 2-3m x 5m may have once been part of the ground floor but was beyond the limits of the site. Again, this space may have represented an additional ground floor room. No. 716 contained up to eight rooms during this phase (Table 3.12).

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<td>6 rooms</td>
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<td>8 rooms</td>
<td>5 rooms</td>
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Table 3.12: Configuration of No. 716 during Phase 6.

The internal space of both buildings was at its most divided between 1877 and 1882. At this time, No. 714 was occupied by William Dunlop (a chiropodist) and Loughnan Cornelius (a tobacconist), and No. 716 was being put to good use by Samuel Joseph Kerr and his boot warehouse, with writing master J.C. Hall Fitz-John also in residence.

Figure 3.80: The footings at No. 716. The party wall with No. 714 can be seen at the right, while the rear wall is in the foreground. View to the west. Scale 1m.
Cesspit at No. 714

The cesspit (7626), at No. 714 was located just 5m from the rear of the building. Its shape described three sides of a rectangle, with the fourth dictated by the boundary alignment at the rear of the lot. As in the rest of the construction at No. 714, this showed a desire to maximise the available space, a stark contrast to just 30 years previous when a single structure stood in open grounds within the same lot. The cesspit was constructed from neatly cut but not dressed rectangular sandstone blocks (Figure 3.81). The sandstone blocks of the cesspit appeared to have been laid directly against the walls of the construction cut, as no packing for the stone blocks was visible at the surface, and the cut through the yellow B horizon clays (7610) was undetectable. The cesspit was a minimum of three courses deep and measured 2080mm x 1420mm x 280mm overall. Both whole and partial rectangular sandstone blocks were used in its construction. The blocks were 300mm wide with varying lengths (420mm-960mm). The walls of the cesspit were one course wide with the courses laid header-to-header alternating to the one below, creating a ‘running bond’. Evidence of a buff/yellow coloured sandy mortar was found between the blocks. The cesspit had a sandstone flagged base. It was similar to the cesspit construction at Nos. 716 and 718.

![Figure 3.81: The cesspit at the rear of No. 714. The angled wall at the back reflects the line of the alley that ran along this side of the lot boundary. View to the east. Scale 1m.](image)

The cesspit contained four sandy fills (7634, 7633, 7632, 7631), although conjoins during artefact analysis revealed that all belonged to the same backfilling event. In addition, fragments of artefacts were found that conjoined with those found in the cesspit at No. 712 to the north (Section 3.8.1.1: No. 712). The implication is that all cesspits in the lot were backfilled at the same time, coinciding with the installation of plumbing on the block.

The ceramics recovered from this cesspit were predominantly associated with food – its serving and consumption – and appear to indicate that these items were perhaps put here as part of a final dumping and clearing out of household materials when the cesspits were connected to the main sewer line and then backfilled with domestic refuse. The five “Willow” pattern items, a tureen and four plates (Figure 3.82), suggest that matching dinnerware had been in use, and the presence of another decorative ware, sprigged bone china in a recurring design (Figure 3.83), supports this. All
items had date ranges comfortably covering the mid-nineteenth century, with some items not manufactured after 1870, supporting a c.1870s date for the backfilling events.  

The glass within the cesspit supported the proposed date of backfilling, with temporal information gleaned from the artefacts suggesting a probable deposition in the late nineteenth century and most likely c.1870. The 37 items included bottles for personal grooming products, medicine, condiments and alcohol, as well as glass tableware and lamp chimneys and a shade. Only one of the fills (7632) contained any bone. Sheep were represented by two fragments of femur, one rib and metacarpal. Cow was represented by a fragment of rib and scapula. There was no shell within the cesspit.

![Figure 3.82: Items from the cesspit at No. 714 (fill 7632) including four willow pattern plates. Russell Workman, scale 10cm.](image)

![Figure 3.83: The sprigged bone china ware recovered from the cesspit at No. 714 (context 7632). Russell Workman, scale 10cm](image)

Cesspit at No. 716
The cesspit at No. 716 (7635) was located against the rear of the building. As in the case of No. 714, maximising space was a primary concern; the cesspit was constructed in a triangular form between

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66 Section 9.1
67 Section 9.3
the alley and the back of the building (Figure 3.84). Like its northern neighbour, it was constructed from rectangular sandstone blocks. It was a minimum of two courses deep and measured 2300mm x 2000mm x 600mm. Mostly whole rectangular sandstone blocks were used in its construction. On average they measured 250mm x 250mm with lengths varying between 150mm and 900mm. The walls of the cesspit were one course wide with the courses laid header-to-header alternating to the one below, creating an off-centre ‘running bond’. Evidence of a greyish/beige sand, shell, charcoal, and clay mortar was found between the blocks. The cesspit had a sandstone-flagged base made up of mostly rectangular well-cut, smoothly faced sandstone blocks, at times cut to fit the triangular shape of the structure. There was no evidence of cess material in this pit.

![Figure 3.84: The sandstone cesspit at No. 716. The longest side describes the boundary of the alley at the rear of the lot. View to the east. Scale 1m.](image)

The backfill of this cesspit (7640, 7641, 7642) contained only seven ceramics (a pudding bowl, two cups, two saucers, a child’s mug and a pot). All possessed broad date ranges spanning most of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. None of the seven ceramics featured basemarks, identifiable patterns or had conjoins with any other context. The cesspit backfills also contained 21 glass artefacts, representing 10 individual items. The uppermost fill layer (7642) contained the most glass items (eight), including window glass from after 1870, plate mirror glass, and a bottle for one of the many Ayer’s famous patent medicines (with date ranges of 1838-1939). In the fill layers below there were remnants of schnapps bottles that were manufactured between 1800 and 1850.

3.8.1.3 No. 718/720 (No. 730 until 1880)

The new structure at No. 718 resembled its northern neighbours in many ways (Figure 3.85). It had sandstone footings utilising large and well-cut stones that hugged the boundaries in its small corner of the lot. Room shape was unconventional to maximise interior space, and only one room could claim to be close to rectangular. During this phase the structure at No. 718 was split into two

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68 Section 9.1
69 Section 9.3
premises, and the property annexed areas of the laneway to the west and above the covered entry between itself and No. 716, allowing it to boast of ten rooms in 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1867</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1882</th>
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<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>3 rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 rooms</td>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>2 rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.13: Configuration of No. 716 during Phase 6.

Throughout Phase 6 at least part of the premises was occupied by a saddler or harnessmaker. After 1873 it was shared with a hairdresser (Arthur Leston) and this may coincide with extensions to the premises and the blocking of the laneway (as represented on the City of Sydney 1888/W.F.P & A.W.M. plan, Figure 3.76). The blocking of the laneway is only likely to have occurred after plumbing, as before this event access to the cesspits would have been needed for the purpose of cleaning. The later extensions are likely to have been timber, as no footings were found. The archaeological remains of No. 718/720 during this phase were restricted to footings and a cesspit.

No. 718 occupied the triangular wedge at the southern end of Lot 3. Its sandstone footings represented three ground floor rooms, the largest of which was at least 4.4m x 4.5m. This room may have been up to 1.5m x 4.5m bigger in the west, based on projections from historical surveys. The two other rooms were roughly triangular, although odd angles and many-sided spaces were common throughout this structure. One of these rooms had street-front access and the other was located at the rear of the premises. Both had an area of around 8m². The footing was 500mm in width and survived to a depth of two courses or 700mm throughout. For the most part, the footing was constructed with a double row of long rectangular sandstone blocks laid header-to-header, followed by a large square sandstone block c.500mm x 500mm, and then a double row of long blocks again. At the rear, only square blocks were used. There was no occupation deposit associated with this phase.
Cesspit
The cesspit (7347) was similar in construction to its northern neighbours and almost identical in shape to that of No. 716 (Figure 3.86). It was located just 1.2m from the rear of the building. Its construction utilised rectangular sandstone blocks, although these were much more roughly cut than those used in other cesspits on Lot 3. It was four courses deep and measured 2m x 1.25m x 1.17m overall. Mostly whole rectangular sandstone blocks were used in its construction. All of the blocks were well-cut but poorly dressed, with visible tooling marks (i.e. vertical and diagonal notches) and measured 200mm wide x 250mm high with lengths varying between 950mm and 400mm. The walls of the cesspit were one course wide with the courses laid header-to-header alternating to the one below, creating a ‘running bond’. Evidence of a dark grey coloured clayey sand mortar was found between the blocks. The cesspit had a sandstone-flagged base made up of mostly rectangular well-cut yet poorly-faced sandstone blocks, at times cut to fit the triangular shape of the surrounding structure.

The cesspit contained no deposits pertaining to its use. The backfills of the cesspit yielded 570 glass artefacts, representing a minimum of 88 items. Two very sandy fills, dumped in succession (contexts 7342 and 7387), surrendered all of the glass artefacts. The upper deposit (7342) contained seven glass bottles dating to between 1850 and 1920. Identified bottle forms included two champagne type bottles and one generic medicine bottle. The next fill layer (7387) contained 63 glass items. With the exception of one piece of plate glass, they were all bottles. The plate glass artefact was a single piece of glass measuring 125mm x 63.5mm x 6.3mm will all four edges finished. The bottles included five of beer or wine, 22 of champagne and 28 of gin/schnapps. It is worth noting that the beer/wine bottles could be refilled at the pub or hotels from casks, whereas gin/schnapps and champagne would have been imported and sold in bottles only during this period. Five of the gin/schnapps bottles had date ranges of 1800–1850, 11 were from 1820–1870 and seven were...
manufactured between 1850–1900. Dates for the beer, wine and champagne bottles all fell within these ranges, with the champagne bottles appearing only after 1850.⁷⁰

The 23 ceramics that were found in the cesspit backfills were predominately associated with food, in particular its consumption (tableware and teaware). They included a tureen, five plates, a cup, and three saucers (Figure 3.87). The 15 food-related items represent 65.2 per cent of the cesspit’s ceramic assemblage, with the one other identified item associated with personal hygiene (a ewer). The remaining seven items were all catalogued as unidentified, both in function and shape, reflecting the overall small size of the ceramic sherds found in the three fills. The ceramics were generally indicative of domestic household refuse.⁷¹

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**Figure 3.87: The 23 ceramics from the cesspit at No. 718 (7342, 7387, 7401). Two locally-made lead-glazed earthenware sherds are at the top right. Russell Workman, scale 10cm.**

Bone within the fills was largely restricted to context 7401, excepting a fragment of pig humerus from context 7387. The faunal assemblage included 11 rat bones, 3 cow ribs, a chicken vertebra and fragments of pig astragalus (foot bone) and femur. Sheep bones dominated the assemblage, and all were foot or shin bones excepting two fragments of rib and a femur (thigh bone) fragment.

**3.8.2 Phase 6: Area C (southern part of Lot 4), 1860s-c.1890**

The Phase 5 building at No. 710 continued to be in use throughout most of Phase 6, although by 1888 it had been pulled down and replaced by a large elongated structure that may have been split to accommodate two or three businesses (Figure 3.88). It appears that the Phase 5 building was demolished sometime in 1882 or 1883 as suggested by the notes of the Assessment Books and the occupants listed in the Sands Directory. The archaeological remains pertaining to the original Phase 5 building were limited to the backfilling of the well and the construction and then backfilling of two cesspits after they became redundant when plumbing was installed.

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⁷⁰ Section 9.3
⁷¹ Section 9.1
No. 710 was occupied by grocers (first Thomas Grogan and then in the late 1860s the Lenehan Brothers) until the early 1870s. That decade saw Edward Lidbury’s Berlin wool and fancy warehouse and John Mulholland’s fancy toy bazaar take up residence. In the early 1880s, shortly before the Phase 5 building was demolished, it was occupied by a tobaccoist as well as the fancy bazaar. By 1865 there were at least two large structures at the back of the premises that were accessed by a lane from the street-front. The construction of these two buildings may have prompted the relocation of the cesspit, and the building of a second, as the lot witnessed increasing activity during the 1860s.

![Figure 3.88: An overlay of the archaeological plan and the 1865 Trigonometric Survey of Sydney (represented by red lines) showing the relationship between the archaeological remains and the historical plan. The cesspits are shown at the eastern end of the yard against two Phase 6 structures. (Extract from Plan 21, Section 10).](image)

**Cesspits**

Two cesspits (7418, 7419) were found in Area C. Both were constructed from sandstock bricks manufactured in the 1850s, although the bricks appeared to be recycled. The cesspits probably date to the early part of this phase when activity in this part of the lot intensified and much of the land at No. 710 was occupied by buildings. The construction of the cesspits probably coincides with the building of the large structures in the yard. Relocating them to a place accessible from the street-front would have been the only way to get them emptied on this part of the lot.

The cesspits were located 8m from the rear of the 1840s building, at what were then the northeast and southeast corners of the yards. The northern cesspit (7418) was constructed from sandstock bricks and was a minimum of eleven courses deep (Figure 3.89). It measured 1.7m x 1.35m x 820mm. Both whole and broken sandstock bricks were used in its construction. Some of the bricks were flat while others had shallow rectangular frogs (110mm x 30mm x 10mm) and measured 230 x 115 x 70mm. The bricks with the frogs can be dated to c.1850s but all appear to have been either reused bricks or seconds. The flat bricks had a date range of 1800-1850. The walls of the cesspit were two courses wide with the bricks laid header to header forming a stretcher bond. Only one course of the north wall was visible. Evidence of a buff coloured sandy shell mortar was found between the bricks. The cesspit had a natural clay base.

The backfill of this cesspit (7459) was all late nineteenth-century fill. The fill was mostly brownish-grey sand with large brick, sandstone, render and plaster inclusions. There was no artefact rich cess
deposit which suggests that these cesspits were completely cleaned out before they were backfilled. Only 15 ceramics were recovered from the cesspit backfill, six of which were whole salt-glazed stoneware penny ink bottles. In addition were fragments of two plates, a platter and three saucers (Figure 3.90). None of the ceramics featured basemarks or had conjoins with any other context.

![Figure 3.89: The northern cesspit at No. 710 (context 7418). View to the northeast. Scale 1m.](Image1)

The southern cesspit (7419) was also constructed from re-used or sub-standard sandstock bricks in a stretcher bond. This cesspit was less substantial, however, with walls just one row wide. Only five courses of this structure remained. The bricks were again a mix of broken sandstock bricks. Some

![Figure 3.90: Ceramics within the northern cesspit backfill at No. 710 (7418). Russell Workman, scale 10cm.](Image2)
had rectangular frogs and there were also some diamond-shaped frogs. A sandy bedding (mud mortar) was between the bricks. It contained occasional shell specks. This pit also had a natural clay base. Only the eastern end of the structure survived.

The backfill (7445) was similar to that found in 7418, a yellow-grey clay loam with brick and charcoal inclusions, few artefacts and no evidence of any cess-like fill. Only three ceramics (10 sherds) were found in the cesspit backfill, none of which featured basemarks, identifiable patterns or had conjoins with any other context. The fragments were from a toiletry box, a saucer, and an unidentified lead-glazed item (Figure 3.91).

![Figure 3.91: Ceramics from the backfill of the southern cesspit (7419) at No. 710. Russell Workman, scale 10cm.](image)

Well backfill
The Phase 5 well (7520) at No. 710 was backfilled prior to the construction of the large building in the 1880s. During the 1860s and 1870s it occupied a place in the centre of the yard, and may explain why the yard structures during this time were built in such a way as to leave the area around the centre of the lot empty. Although conjoins were found between two ceramic items in well fills 7645, 7466, 7567, 7568 (the upper four fills) and between one glass item in the lower four fills, the overall nature of the deposits within the well suggest that it was not filled in a single event. The upper two deposits (7465, 7466) contained a mixture of demolition debris to a depth of c.1.5m which was removed by hand. The remaining fills, which were removed by machine and sieved (7567, 7568, 7569), were noted to represent a change in the nature of the deposit. These deposits consisted of dark brown loamy sand which became darker and wetter with increasing depth. The lower levels contained higher concentrations of artefacts and less demolition debris. It is noted that the dates of a few items in the main well fill suggest an early twentieth-century date but it is considered likely these artefacts were disturbed into the material due to the machine excavation of the well deposits.

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72 Excavation records assign the upper fills to later phases associated with demolition.
The base fill (7569) consisted of waterlogged and coarse-grained dark grey sands and some organic material. Brick and stone fragments and an abundance of artefacts littered the deposit. Palynological analysis of this material revealed trace numbers of the sewage indicator *Cloacasporites*, and it was noted that the pollen assemblage strongly resembled those recovered from nineteenth-century cesspits in Sydney and Parramatta. The material probably represents a period during which the well remained open but was not in use. This may have been a short time before backfilling, when refuse was dumped into the hole for reasons of convenience. If the well was not in use when the cesspits were backfilled, then it is possible that the remaining material from those structures was cleaned out and dumped in the much deeper hole in order to expedite their backfilling and modification. The remaining fills were of demolition material and rubble, with the top metre containing some concrete and machine-made bricks. The location of the well was covered over by a building in the 1880s.

Analysis of the five fills (7569, 7568, 7567, 7466, 7465) in the well identified that the backfilling occurred as one event. This was confirmed by the presence of ceramic conjoins identified between the fills. Twenty-six identified ceramic shapes were recovered from the well, represented by 175 items, with the remaining 33 items being unidentified (unidentified body and base sherds). The shapes within the well reflect a backfill of household domestic rubbish. Items associated with food – its serving, storage and consumption – dominate the assemblage, with 123 items representing 70.3 per cent of the identified shapes found (Figure 3.92, Figure 3.93). This domination of artefacts associated with the consumption of food reflects the greater risk of breakages for items that were commonly used every day, and often more than once a day. Teaware items in particular feature in high numbers here, with 28 cups, 18 saucers, nine breakfast cups, three slop bowls, two teapot lids, three eggcups, 13 small plates and one milk or cream jug. Tablewares also features highly, with 23 plates being the second-most commonly identified shape after the 28 cups. The serving of food was represented by the shapes of five jugs, four platters, two tureens, a dish and a ladle; food storage by seven jars and a bung jar; personal hygiene by four ewers, two chamber pots and an ointment/toothpaste jar; medicinal by two ointment jars; household maintenance by 13 blacking bottles, household ornamentation by a figurine; and writing by nine ink bottles and a penny ink bottle. There were 19 stoneware bottles, identified only with the function of container as they were represented by body or base sherds and their specific shape/function remained unknown.

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73 Macphail 2010, Pollen Report, volume 2, section 9.6 of this report
74 Ward 2010, Table 2.38.
Dates for glass artefacts from the upper most layer of the well were consistent with the modern building material that was found near the top. Glass from the next three underlying layers all appear to date from the 1850s. All fill layers were similar in their representation of item function.
Glass from the uppermost layer was limited to a few bottles, but their food and beverage function was consistent with underlying layers. The consumption pattern, exhibited by the bottles and tableware was consistent with a household. There were a few items that were most characteristic of a residential setting, including perfume bottles, a mirror, hair restorative and castor oil bottles.

3.8.2.1 1880s structure

After the 1840s building was demolished, the large sandstone footings of the new structure were laid directly on the surface of demolition material and exposed topsoils (Figure 3.94). Additional, less substantial footings were present within the larger foundation (Figure 3.95). Maps from later periods suggest that the footings belonged in this phase, and may have formed the foundation of internal walls. The 1888 survey notes the building as that of Fox Bennett & O'Connor and the Sands Directory listing for the same year shows the New York & American Novelty Co. and a ‘clothiers and tent makers’ in residence (Figure 3.96). The building is split into 710 and 710½ by the end of this phase.

The footings describe a large rectangular structure 9m wide and at least 21m long (overlays of historic plans suggest that it was around 23m long). The exterior wall footings and a central interior divider were constructed from large sandstone blocks laid header-to-header in a single row. In some places two courses remained, but for the most part, the footing was represented by a single course of stone. The blocks were between 500mm and 600mm wide and stood around 330mm high. They were cut to varied lengths but averaged around 1560mm. The internal footings described parallel lines that ran the length of the interior at an interval of 4.4m. They were constructed from roughly-cut sandstone blocks that were only loosely rectangular and bonded with a mud mortar. An early cement adhered to the top of the footings and was used to bond the machine-made shale bricks that formed the superstructure.
Figure 3.94: Interpretive plan showing the remains of the 1880s footings in Area C. Projected connections have been suggested with shaded grey areas. (Extract from Plan 22, Section 10).
Figure 3.95: The footings of the 1880s building at 710 George Street. The large blocks of the central divider are flanked by the rougher-cut stones that formed the foundation of internal dividing walls. View to the west. Scale 1m.

Figure 3.96: 1888 survey showing the building of Fox, Bennett and O’Connor at No. 710. Detail taken from City of Sydney 1888 / W.F.P. & A.W.M. Sydney & Suburban Map Publishing Co., 1888 NLA ref: MAP RM 722. Tile b1.
3.9 Phase 7 Areas B and C: 1890 onwards – twentieth-century development

During this phase commercial activity on the block intensified and the block was no longer characterised by the semi-residential buildings that had once dominated the site (Figure 3.97).

Figure 3.97: Interpretive plan of the site showing remains and projected relationships relevant to this phase.
3.9.1 Phase 7: Area B (Lot 3)

The 1860s buildings remained standing into the early twentieth century. By 1901, the yards had all but disappeared as the buildings annexed more space to the rear. There was no archaeological evidence of these modifications. The buildings appear to have been demolished in the early to mid-twentieth century. Comments on the 1901 plan read “all very dilapidated”. Subsequent building phases were not the focus of this excavation (Figure 3.98).

Figure 3.98: Image showing the correlation between the archaeological remains and the plan of 1901. The 1860s footings still describe the structures accurately at the start of the twentieth century. Detail from Fire Underwriters Association of NSW, c1901: City of Sydney detail survey maps ‘Ignis et Aqua’ Series, Sheet II Vol. 1, ML MAV/FM4/10537.
3.9.2 Phase 7: Area C (southern part of Lot 4)
The 1888 building was in a state of disrepair by the early twentieth century. Comments on the 1901 plan read “Building dilapidated, Stock hazardous” (Figure 3.99). However, the New York Novelty Company continued to occupy the premises until 1918. The building may not have survived much longer. Subsequent construction on the lot was not the focus of the excavation. It is noted that the two-storey shop-front which replaced the 1888 building was demolished just prior to commencement of archaeological work.

![Figure 3.99: Detail from a 1901 plan showing the building at No 710. Detail from Fire Underwriters Association of NSW, c1901: City of Sydney detail survey maps 'Ignis et Aqua' Series, Sheet II Vol. 1, ML MAV/FM4/10537.](image)

3.10 Overview of Findings
The site showed no evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the area. Pollen analysis of material from the site revealed that the 1788 landscape was characterised by open casuarina woodland with a grassy understorey. Erosion evidence suggested the land was cleared rapidly with subsequent water action carrying away much of the loosely compacted topsoil, and dynamic gullies were created on the slope of Brickfield Hill.

Thomas Ball’s pottery made use of the site in the early 1800s, when brickmaking and pottery manufacturers were concentrated in the area. Evidence of Thomas Ball’s pottery was found in the form of large quantities of pottery wasters, small reservoirs and part of a large clay extraction pit.

By 1823 the haphazard and permissive property boundaries had been consolidated and three lots formed the study area. By the mid 1820s the Woolpack Inn was built in Lot 2 on the southern part of the site. Archaeological evidence of the Woolpack included foundations, underfloor deposits, a cesspit and drainage. The underfloor deposits yielded large quantities of alcohol bottles consistent with the use of the building as a public house. Some spatial interpretation was also possible from this material, with one room in particular being associated with food preparation. It was at the rear of the building and was probably the kitchen of the inn. Evidence of dining and drinking was apparent in all of the ground floor rooms. The hotel occupied the lot until 1881.

On Lot 3, in the centre of the site, a timber structure had been built by 1823, but no convincing archaeological evidence of this was found. The first evidence of structures in Lot 3 was from the early 1840s or very late 1830s. Remains of a timber structure and two brick structures were found...
from this period. Sandstone footings and a cesspit belonged to the brick structures, but there was no evidence of occupation deposits. The timber building was represented by a fireplace and some occupation-related material that had been unfortunately contaminated by other historical events. The alignments of the buildings during this period suggested that some liberties had been taken with the street-front boundary, and the brick structures may have extended beyond it into George Street.

In the northern part of the site (Lot 4) the earliest evidence came from the remains of a brick building constructed in the early 1840s or very late 1830s. This building was represented by sandstone foundations, an underfloor deposit, a well and two cesspits. The structure lasted until the early 1880s. The underfloor deposit was an accumulation covering 30 or 40 years in one ground-floor room. It largely represented domestic use, although the premises were used as a grocery store over much of this time.

In the early 1860s Lot 3 was redeveloped and three new two-storey structures were built on the lot. These buildings were represented in the archaeological record by sandstone footings and cesspits. There was no occupation material from these buildings. The buildings were added to over their lifetimes so that by 1901 structures covered the whole lot. They were demolished in the early twentieth century.

Cesspits throughout the site reflected backfilling events only. Although littered with domestic artefacts, conjoins were found across lots and no deposit could be related directly to occupation of a single building. The cesspits were most likely backfilled in the 1870s with items of household rubbish such as broken crockery and bottles. Significantly there was very little organic material and faunal remains were rare in the fills.

On Lot 2 and Lot 4, large commercial buildings took the place of the earlier structures in the 1880s. The archaeological remains from these buildings consisted of large sandstone footings only. These structures remained until the twentieth century. In the late twentieth century, the remaining buildings were demolished and a car park occupied the site.