

## 8.0 Response to Research Design

### 8.1 Research Questions

The following research questions were identified in the excavation permit application in late 1996:

1. What evidence survives of the earliest housing in this part of Pymont?
2. What evidence is there for the standard of living enjoyed by the earliest residents? Later, when occupants can be associated with middle class and white-collar professions, is there artefactual evidence for different standards of living?
3. Where houses are connected with the same family for extended periods are there discrete domestic assemblages which can be attributed to their occupation, which can then be used to reconstruct the family's standard of living?
4. Is there evidence for cottage crafts or other unrecorded professions or works in the area?
5. Is there any evidence to suggest that this part of Pymont was a self-contained community or particularly isolated?
6. Has evidence for mid nineteenth-century shipbuilding or other early industry survived along the foreshores?
7. Dairying and its association with women (eg. Bridget O'Toole).

Some of these questions were framed for the whole of the potential archaeological remains within the CSR site. Not all these areas were excavated, either because testing identified that the potential resource did not survive within the study area or they were not covered by the sampling program or because they were generally assessed as having a low archaeological potential.

### 8.2 Nature of Housing

#### **What evidence survives of the earliest housing in this part of Pymont?**

In addition to this question the focus of the response will be to discuss the technology and nature of the housing found within the study area, within the context of issues raised in the 1859 and 1876 reports to the Legislative Council discussed in Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. Specific concerns of these reports were the condition and nature of the housing as the fabric of decaying housing stock, that was both badly built and inappropriate to Australian conditions, was perceived to have a recursive effect on its occupants. The physical decay of these houses was perceived to have an active effect on the morals of their occupants, making them immoral and unproductive, and in the case of women, bad wives and mothers. Were these houses badly built or of good materials, were they well ventilated and serviced or did some of them exhibit evidence of insufficient construction or idiosyncratic techniques? Were there specific chronological issues present in the floor plan, construction techniques, and other evidence that sheds light on the conditions in which the occupants of these houses lived based on the nature of the houses' fabric and other relevant evidence.

The earliest Pymont housing was not present within the area of excavation. The known chronology of the structural remains is:

#### **Group 1 – built by 1856**

- Area D: 69 John Street (Section 6; Plans 14, 15)

**Group 2 – built by 1858/59**

- Area C: 1 McCredie Street (Section 4, Plan 9)
- Area B: 67 and 69 Bowman Street (Section 5, Plan 6)
- Area E: 17 Mount Street (Section 7, Plan 17)

**Group 3 – built by 1861**

- Area C: 7 McCredie Street (Section 4, Plan 9)
- Area B: 2 New Street (Section 5, Plan 6)

**Group 4 – built pre-1865**

- Area A: 15 New Street (Section 3, Plan 1)
- Area C: 3 and 5 McCredie Street (Section 3, Plan 9)

**Group 5 – built post-1865 and by 1873**

- Area A: 17, 19 and 21 New Street (Section 3, Plan 1)

Group & House	Separate kitchen	Stone structure	Brick super-structure	No. Floors	No Rooms	Kitchen > 10 m sq	Vents	Cesspit	Annual Rating	Rodent Bones
<b>Group 1 – built by 1856</b>										
Area D: 69 John Street				1	?			not exc.		
<b>Group 2 – built by 1858/59</b>										
Area C: House 1	yes	yes		2	5	no		yes	31	201
Area B: House 67		yes		1& attic	3	yes		privy	20	
Area B: House 69		yes		1& attic	3	yes		privy	20	
Area E: House 17	yes	uncertain		1	3	uncertain			23	
<b>Group 3 – built by 1861</b>										
Area C: House 7			yes	2?	4?	yes	yes	yes?	33	522
Area B: 2 New Street				?	?	unknown		not exc.	?	
<b>Group 4 – built pre-1865</b>										
Area A: House 15			yes	2	4	yes	yes	yes	26	165
Area C: House 3		yes		2	3	no		yes	23	259
Area C: House 5		yes		2	3	no		yes	23	320
<b>Group 5 – built post-1865 and by 1873</b>										
Area A – House 17			yes	2	3	yes	yes	yes	23	81
Area A – House 19			yes	2	3	yes	yes	yes	23	61
Area A – House 21			yes	2	4?	yes	yes	yes	26	30

**Table R: List of various architectural features present in the houses excavated within the study area.**

The structural remains in Area D were insufficient to make any real contribution to this discussion. The structural remains of the four houses in Group 2 all shared physical evidence of early construction, whether it was in the layout of the rooms or the irregularity of the construction techniques. At both 17 Mount Street and 1 McCredie Street the kitchen was behind the main part of the house (Plans 9, 17). At 1 McCredie Street the kitchen was separated from the rear of the house by a stone-paved walkway while at 17 Mount Street the house was attached to the rear room of the house. No. 1 McCredie Street had two upstairs rooms and appears to be the only five-roomed house within the study area. There was a drainage channel dug underneath the house to let water drain through to the street but there was no evidence of vents in the rear or front walls of the house. Room 2 of this house was the only room of a house excavated within the study area that did not have a fireplace (Plan 9; Fig. 4.2). House 17 Mount Street was only a single-storey house and

had a total of three rooms. No evidence for vents were found but some parts of the wall were too low to retain this information.

The rooms of the two semi-detached houses built at nos. 67 and 69 Bowman Street were not square. The walls were of different lengths and the party wall ran across the two houses rather than along the line where they joined, between the two houses (Plans 6,7; Section 5.2.1.2). This was in contradiction of the 1837 *Building Act* which mandated that a party wall was to completely separate each house.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that these two houses were built for, and probably by, Martin O'Brien, a quarryman who was the head lessee from 1859 until Mrs Mary O'Brien was identified as the new head lessee. O'Brien possibly obtained the stone for the house cheaply or even for nothing but apparently lacked the basic skills of housing construction. The presence of a single wall running between the front room and the kitchen of the two houses may mean that he built the two front rooms of the house so that he and his family would have somewhere to live prior to building the remainder of the house, the kitchen. As the Council rates usually refer to 3 rooms it is presumed that there was an attic room but there was no window in the northern side of the roof (Photo 2.1). There may have been one in the western side which would have made this room heat up during summer as there would have been no cross ventilation through the attic space.

House 2 New Street was built by 1861 and may have been built earlier but was not recorded in *Sands*. The walls of this house were founded on cut bedrock in such a way as to cause problems with drainage. The use of the bedrock suggests that this was a fairly poor piece of land on which to build a house. In addition New Street was not put through for some time after this house was built which suggests that newly immigrated James Windon built his house on one of the cheaper pieces of land he could buy and erected a house which required limited funds to construct.

Of the houses discussed so far some definitely had both stone footings and a stone superstructure - no. 1 McCredie Street and nos 67 and 69 Bowman Street. It is uncertain if no. 17 Mount Street had a brick or stone superstructure from the archaeological evidence but the rates description (which are not always correct) suggests that it was both brick and stone (Section 7.2). It is also likely that no. 2 New Street (Group 3) also was built of stone but again the evidence was inconclusive other than stone footings. This suggests that sandstone was generally much cheaper than bricks, particularly in early houses.

The other house built by 1861 was no. 7 McCredie Street which was one of the better-built houses in the study area. No. 7 had well-cut and laid stone footings with a well-built brick superstructure (Section 4.4, **Photos 4.14, 4.16**). A single vent was cut into the front stone footing, south of the door (Plan 12). This two-storey house had two rooms on each floor and a lane along the northern side of the house to provide access to the yard and cesspit. While the configuration of the rooms was fairly typical, with the kitchen at the rear of the house, the fireplace was off-set into the corner of the room rather than in the centre of the wall (Plan 9). This suggests the possibility of a more efficient use of the kitchen space. The kitchen in House 7 was the largest kitchen in Area C but was smaller than all the kitchens in Areas A, B and E (Table G, Section 3.2.2.1). There was a vent cut into the eastern wall of the front room and a hole in the rear western wall of the kitchen that may have been knocked out to provide a vent but this is uncertain.

The Group 4 houses included House 15 in Area A which was the northern end of a group of terraces. It was the first terrace built in the row and was actually built as a free-standing house but clearly designed to be added to as part of a group of terraces. These four houses always had the same head lessee. House 15 had the largest kitchen of all the houses in Area A (Table G, Section 3.2.2.1). This house had an air vent in the rear wall but due to the degree of disturbance to the front wall it is unknown if there was another vent. This house had two rooms on the ground floor

---

<sup>1</sup> Freeland 1982:84-89.

and two rooms on the upper floor. It is typical of terrace house floor plans with two fireplaces in one side of the house.

The other two Group 4 houses were Houses 3 and 5 in Area C. These two semi-detached houses were built in the space between House 1 and House 7 McCredie Street. While they had the same floor plan as House 15 (Group 4) and House 7 (Group 3) their kitchens were much smaller (Table G, Section 3.2.2.1). Unlike Houses 15 and both were built of rubble stone. Only House 3 had a vent in the rear wall.

Group & House	Kitchen upper	Kitchen lower scheme	Kitchen Fireplace	Upstairs	Front Room	Front Room Fireplace	Windows	Exterior
<b>Group 2 – built by 1858/59</b>								
Area C: House 1	lino	Room 2 mustard-yellow paint	Room 3 pale orange plaster		cream painted plaster			blue above pink painted cement render
Area B: House 67	white-washed plaster				pink painted plaster			
Area B: House 69					cream painted plaster			
<b>Group 3 – built by 1861</b>								
Area C: House 7	pink wash / red wash on pink paint			cream painted plaster?	pink plaster / mid brown plaster /			grey limewash / pink cement render
Area B: 2 New Street								
<b>Group 4 – built pre-1865</b>								
Area A: House 15	white-washed plaster			cream painted ceiling	whitewash white paint			pale yellow cement render
Area C: House 3					yellow plaster / pink plaster			orange painted cement render
Area C: House 5	pink plaster				pink plaster / pink limewash / dark green plaster			pink cement render
<b>Group 5 – built post-1865 and by 1873</b>								
Area A – House 17	red/brown cement skirting above pale pink paint	pale pink		pale blue painted plaster & skirting?	mid-pink painted plaster / pale blue plaster / pale green plaster/	pink render		
Area A – House 19	red/brown cement skirting / whitewash / cream paint			black painted hearth	whitewash		pink rendered sill	orange cement render
Area A – House 21	whitewash / lino				bright orange paint / whitewash / brown paint			orange cement render

**Table S: List of paint schemes found associated with the various houses within the study area. Houses where there was no evidence of the paint scheme were removed from the table.**

The three houses in Group 5 were all built at the same time as part of a group of four terraces and were built onto the southern side of House 15 New Street (Plan 1, Table Q). According to Council rates Houses 17 and 19 had three rooms and House 21 had four rooms. This was consistently reported (Sections 3.3, 3.4, 3.5). While the historic photograph showing the terraces in 1878 shows House 15 slightly larger it does suggest that the other three terraces were the same size (Photo 2.1). Other evidence supporting that House 21 had an extra room was that it was usually rated 2 pounds more than Houses 17 and 19. The ground floor evidence shows no real difference in size to support an extra room upstairs and the size of the rooms in Houses 17 and 19 were both larger than House 21. The pattern of house construction in Area A was that the first house was probably built for the owners to live in and when they had acquired enough money they then built the other remaining three terraces. In the case of Area A the owner appears to have built a slightly better house with an extra room. This was a pattern evident elsewhere in Sydney, e.g. Paddington.<sup>2</sup>

The three houses in Group 5 all had similar surviving decorative schemes such as cement skirting boards in the kitchen with a reddish brown paint but the surviving evidence for the colour of the painted plasters shows that they were different, with pale pink, cream painted plaster and whitewash (Table S). The front room in House 17 had evidence of two and possibly three different wall colours at the same time – pink, pale blue and pale green painted plasters suggesting feature walls. This contrasts with the front room of House 21 which had evidence for bright orange paint, whitewash and brown paint.

Seven kitchens had evidence of finishes and four of these had some evidence of whitewashed plaster and two had evidence of pink washed or painted plaster as well as evidence for linoleum in two of the kitchens. Where the evidence for the upstairs rooms could be deduced there were two with cream paint and one with a pale blue painted plaster and cement skirting. There was evidence of exterior paint from six of the houses, three houses had orange cement render and three others had pink painted cement render.

Group & House	Stone	Brick	Bitumen	Cement	Front Verandah	Storm-water drainage	Evidence for laundry
<b>Group 2 – built by 1858/59</b>							
Area C: House 1	yes	yes					
Area B: House 67	yes						
Area B: House 69	?						
<b>Group 3 – built by 1861</b>							
Area C: House 7		some		poor	stone	yes	
Area B: 2 New Street	yes	yes					
<b>Group 4 – built pre-1865</b>							
Area A: House 15				some		yes	copper fire
Area C: House 3		small area	patchy	patchy	stone	yes	
Area C: House 5				poor	stone	yes	
<b>Group 5 – built post-1865 and by 1873</b>							
Area A – House 17	yes			good		yes	copper fire
Area A – House 19	yes			good		yes	copper fire
Area A – House 21	yes			good		yes	copper fire

**Table T: Details of the yard areas of various houses within the study area.**

<sup>2</sup> Kelly 1974.

When considering the issue of ventilation of the houses the visitors to this area were criticised the use of 'old fashioned' sash windows which they considered offered poor ventilation and injured the health to the occupants. This presumption was based on a poor understanding of how germs spread and the predominant theory at that time was that they were spread by miasmas - smells through the air. It is presumed that all of the houses in the study area had sash windows and there is some evidence to support this such as sash weights and some sash rope.

Another issue raised by the 1876 report was poor drainage and pooling of water associated with houses. The remnant fabric of the yards may shed some light on the condition of the houses and the provision of drainage. Many of the houses had reasonable evidence for the nature of the rear yards, the type of surfacing and the nature of activities undertaken within this area. The rear yards of the houses in Area A were all well made with cement surfacing and three of them had stone flagging underneath and extensive stormwater drainage. All the surfacing was directly above bedrock as the houses and yards were built on rock. There was little surviving *in situ* subsoil and no topsoil. All the yards in Area A were terraced with a step up from the area at the rear of the house to the deeper area at the back of the property. This makes the rear of the property higher than the house area. The surfacing of the yards in Area A were generally well formed and developed but would have been the latest surfaces in these yards and presumably they received reticulated water some time after the 1880s. Access to the cesspits was from the rear lane, Jones Lane.

It appears as if every space within the yards of these properties was fully utilised. In addition metal water pipes were connected after the cement surfacing was laid. The works in these yards tend to suggest that the owners / residents were attempting to manage a potential problem with either stormwater or some other type of water as there was no possibility of natural water soakage because of the bedrock and the natural flow would take it into the houses on the lower part of the site. Therefore if water was running off it would run into the back of the houses through into the underfloor areas. This assertion is supported by the presence of black bituminous paint applied to the lower parts of the wall in the area immediately outside the kitchen of House 17. This black bituminous paint was applied to three sides of this lower yard area on the surface and the bottom of the walls to stop water getting below the cement surface (Section 3.3.2.1, Photo 3.10). In addition there were stormwater drains at the rear of each house (Plans 1). It is likely that these yard areas were upgraded in the late nineteenth century, prior to the connection of reticulated water which appears to have happened quite late in Area C where the pipe stand was still in use in the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup>

Other evidence supporting the presence of water running through the underfloor areas is the presence of some mineralization of the animal bone found in the underfloor deposits (Table 53). Most of the houses in Area A and C had quantities of bone which had evidence of mineralisation. The bones in the kitchen underfloor spaces, those closest to the yard areas, had more bones with mineralisation than those in the kitchen. Mineralisation happens like fossilization. The calcium in the bones is leached out and is replaced by minerals from the surrounding environment. The process most likely to have caused this to happen in the underfloor areas is water moving through these spaces. The medium leaching out the calcium needs to be actively moving around the bones.

The yard areas in Area A were markedly different to those in Area C which had 'poor' cement surfacing above earlier brick surfacing. This may be the result of the continued occupation of these house for at least twenty years after the demolition of the houses in Area A. It is also likely that the Area A houses were better maintained by the single owner who received benefit from them than the various owners of the houses in Area C.

---

<sup>3</sup> Comment by resident, Clarrie Lawler.

One of the other issues raised about the condition of the houses was the presence of vermin within the houses. This was specifically mentioned in regard to four houses in Bowman Street, owned by George Wigram Allen a wealthy Sydney lawyer, in the 1876 'Eleventh Annual Progress Report', (see Section 2.2.3). The report noted that as the inspectors were 'Attracted by the dirty appearance of the second house we entered it to make a closer inspection. The tenant informed us that it was a stinking hole, and that vermin abounded in it. We saw no reason to doubt either statement but everything to confirm it'. The general pattern for rodent bones in Table Q was that the older houses had more rodent bones than those built after 1865 (Group 5) and that the houses in Area C generally had more than those in Area B. The largest occurrence of rodent bones was in House 7 followed by Houses 3 and 5. This pattern tends to support a pattern of difference beginning to emerge between the houses in Area A and C.

### **Conclusions**

The above analysis indicates that certain differences existed between the earlier and later houses excavated at the CSR site based on the analysis of building fabric and issues that assist in the analysis of living conditions such as mineralization of bone and presence of rodent bones. None of the houses built after 1860 had a separate kitchen which was an older house floor plan type (Table Q). More of the earlier houses were built of stone than later houses. All of the houses built after 1865 were made of brick rather than stone. Some houses had three, four or five rooms but generally three rooms was the most common if a house had two-storeys. Seventy per cent of the known kitchens were larger than 10 sq m but three were smaller and these were associated with stone houses built prior to 1865. Most houses had cesspits as there was no sewerage of this area until after 1875. The older houses had more rodent bone than the later houses which suggests that some of the rodent activity is related to housing conditions as well as to personal hygiene. These issues tend to support the overall trend that later houses were better built and provided better housing conditions. One of the other issues that needs to be considered, after further research, is whether some of the differences between Areas A and C relate to different attitudes by the landlord. The initial impression is that the houses in Area A were better maintained over the long term.

The general impression is that even though the earlier houses excavated within the study area were built about the same time as the 1859 report into the 'Conditions of the working classes', these newly-built houses were designed to provide poor long-term houses while those built later appear to have provided better housing stock. This is not to say that the publication of the 1859 report was necessarily a factor in the observed improvement in house building. This would need to be tested against other factors by further research.

### 8.3 Nature of Living

The original research question was:

**What evidence is there for the standard of living enjoyed by the earliest residents? Later, when occupants can be associated with middle class and white-collar professions, is there artefactual evidence for different standards of living?**

This question has been rephrased to reflect more appropriately the research contribution from the archaeological investigation of the CSR site which was considerably rethought as the analysis revealed important sets of data; as well as during the excavation phase when we realised the extent of the archaeological resources that survived within Area A and C. In addition the houses with middle-class occupants were not excavated due to issues relating to their archaeological potential.

#### New Question

**The material culture associated with the nineteenth-century occupation of the CSR site has the ability to inform us about day-to-day issues associated with the lives of the residents of Pyrmont. The material culture can provide information on living standards, consumer choices, construction of gender identity and the nature of childhood.**

**Therefore the material culture of the CSR site should add to our understanding about the social and economic influences on the residents of Pyrmont and how these influences affected their behaviour, as manifested through their choices about:**

- **where activities were undertaken within a house,**
- **what type of activities were undertaken within a house,**
  - **what, how and where to eat,**
  - **what to wear,**
  - **what was acceptable recreation for adults and children within working-class homes?**
- **what to buy.**

The above question on ‘what type of activities were undertaken within a house’ will also address the three listed sub-points.

The detailed analysis undertaken in Sections 3 and 4 provides the basis for the response to the above questions. The aim of this section is to put the results from the individual houses together to make sense of the overall pattern and to determine similarities and differences and then determine the potential sources of these similarities and differences with a focus on behavioural reasons.

### 8.3.1 Question: Where were activities undertaken within a house?

#### 8.3.1.1 Distribution Patterns

Distribution maps were produced for each of the main underfloor deposits with Areas A and C (Tables J, K, 28, 37).

##### Front Rooms

In the front rooms of the eight main houses within Areas A and C three overall patterns of distribution were found. **Firstly a pattern** where the artefacts were mostly distributed around the **perimeter** of the room indicating there may have been a mat or other floor covering in the central area which inhibited artefacts falling through the floorboards in the central area. This pattern was found in the front rooms of House 15 (Table J), House 17 and House 7 (Table 55). The second pattern was a **sparse deposition** of the artefacts but with no strong patterning and was found in the front rooms of House 19, House 21 (Table 55) and House 1 (Table 37.1). This pattern may reflect the presence of two small mats or a small mat and a piece of furniture. The third pattern was quite different and reflected a much **heavier deposition** of artefacts throughout the front room and was found in the front rooms of Houses 3 and 5 (Table 55) in Area C. This probably indicates that these two houses did not have floor coverings in the front room but it may also be accounted for by other issues that will be discussed in Section 8.3.2. These three patterns reflect two main patterns of behaviour. The first and second patterns relate to an infrequent use of this front room which was not the centre of household activity. The third pattern shows a much greater use of the front room, considerably more than in the other six houses. Therefore these two patterns suggest 75 per cent of front rooms were used infrequently while twenty-five per cent were used frequently.

The two front rooms in Houses 3 and 5, with their greater quantity of artefacts, showed that one of the main focal areas of distribution was in the area of the doorway nearest to the kitchen (Table 55). In the case of House 5, 50 per cent of artefacts fell within a metre of the western wall and in House 3, 58 per cent fell within 1.5 metres of the western wall. There was also another focal area near the sides and/or ends of the fireplaces. The area near the front doorway and window of both houses had a secondary focal area although this pattern was clearer in House 5 (context #314).

Some of the patterns identified above were also found in the bone distribution tables (Tables 32, 40). The first bone pattern was a sparse distribution of bone around the perimeter of the room and this includes a combination of the sparse and perimeter distribution in Houses 17 (Table 32.1), 21 (Table 40.1) and 7 (Table 40.8). The second pattern among the bone artefacts was an inconsistent distribution (sparse) with a focal area near the fireplace, Houses 15 (Table 32.8), 19 (Table 32.4) and 21 (Table 32.6). The third pattern, a general spread with heavy deposition in the doorway alignment was found in Houses 3 (Table 40.4) and 5 (Table 40.6). Focal areas are presumed to indicate greatest areas of activity or use of the artefact, either by humans or rodents or dogs or perhaps secondary deposition by humans.

	Perimeter	Sparse	Per. & Sparse	General spread - sparse	General spread - heavy	Focal @ fireplace	Focal @ doorway	Focal doorway align	Focal centre	Focal window	Between window and doorway	Corner
<b>AREA A</b>												
<b>House 15</b>												
front room	G	B				B						
kitchen					G B	B					G	B
<b>House 17</b>												
front room	G		B					B				
kitchen					G B	B					G	
<b>House 19</b>												
front room		B G				B						
kitchen					G B	B			B		G	
<b>House 21</b>												
front room		B G				B		G				
kitchen					G B		B	G	B			B
<b>AREA C</b>												
<b>House 1</b>		G										
front room			B			B		G				
<b>House 3</b>												
front room					G B	G	G	B				
kitchen					G B	G	G		B			
<b>House 5</b>												
front room				B	G		G B					
kitchen					G B				B		G	
<b>House 7</b>												
front room	G		B			G B						
kitchen					G B			G	G B			

**Table U: Distribution of general artefacts (G) and animal bone (B) and location of focal points. See Tables 55, 56 and 57 for main distribution tables which form the basis of this tabulation.**

### Kitchen

Generally the kitchens contained many more artefacts and bone fragments than found in front rooms. In the larger kitchens the overwhelming pattern in the kitchen was for a heavy distribution in one area (perhaps half the kitchen) with a sparser distribution of general artefacts elsewhere. In the smaller kitchens in Houses 3 and 5 the concentration was all over the room except for the squares along the edges which included any stepped footings within the 50 cm square. In contrast the focal area for the artefacts varies with the main focal areas being the doorway and window areas (Table U, Table 56). Various focal points were:

- between window and doorway: House 15, 17, House 19 (Table 56),
- doorway: Houses 21 and 5 (Table 56),
- doorway align: House 3 (Table 56)
- centre of the room: House 7 (Table 56)

The animal bone had a similar spread to the general artefacts in most houses in that they were concentrated in some areas with much less in other parts of the room (Table 57). Yet they had different focal points near the fireplace but also in the centre of the room and in the corner (Table T). This may suggest that there were different influences behind the reasons for the distribution within the two categories of artefacts. These patterns are likely to represent the results of different behaviours which affect the deposition of animal bone and general artefacts.

The presence of many of the kitchen focal points of activity being near the doorway or between the window and the doorway suggests that the presence of strong daylight in these areas was a

determining factor in the nature of activities undertaken in these areas. In the kitchens of Houses 3 and 5 the doorway was a dominant influence on the distribution of the sewing artefacts with the fireplace in House 3 and the window in House 5 (Table 45) being a secondary influence but the small size of these rooms may limit the meaning of the distribution to some effect. Table 45.6 stresses the underlying effect of the positioning of the doorway and fireplace on the distribution of sewing-related artefacts. Yet this is not the same pattern found in House 15 (context #18, Table K) where the focus of the sewing-related items was the window and the doorway with the fireplace being only a tertiary influence. This suggests that more sewing was undertaken in House 15 during daylight hours than in the evening, while in House 3 the residents undertook sewing in front of the fireplace as well as near the doorway. House 3 is the only other house in which there was probably some commercial sewing being undertaken. This may have been work more commonly undertaken in the evening by firelight and probably with the assistance of lamplight.

It is possible that the dominance of the animal bone distribution with focal points in the centre of the room as well as near the fireplace reflects the preparation, serving and consumption of food in these areas as well as some secondary deposition.

### 8.3.1.2 Summary

In summary there is a marked difference in the extent to which activities normally take place within the kitchen and the front room of a house. The kitchen is the place where a whole range of activities associated with the operation of the household take place and therefore produces a higher quantity of artefacts through loss or disposal. Occasionally a lesser number of front rooms will have different or more activities being undertaken within them than usual but commonly the front rooms were used much less than kitchens. The behaviours represented by the distribution of general artefacts and animal bone produce two distinct patterns. The distribution of general artefacts was more influenced by the location of openings as sources of daylight (window or doorway) while animal bone may be more influenced by closeness to the fireplace and / or centre of the room. These two latter patterns may represent use (preparation, serving and consumption) and discard of animal bone. It is possible that the presence of quantities of animal bone in the corner of the kitchen as in Houses 15 and 21 may represent sweeping activities into the corner of the room or overflow from a rubbish bucket or pail. This is more likely than the collection of bone through rodent activity.

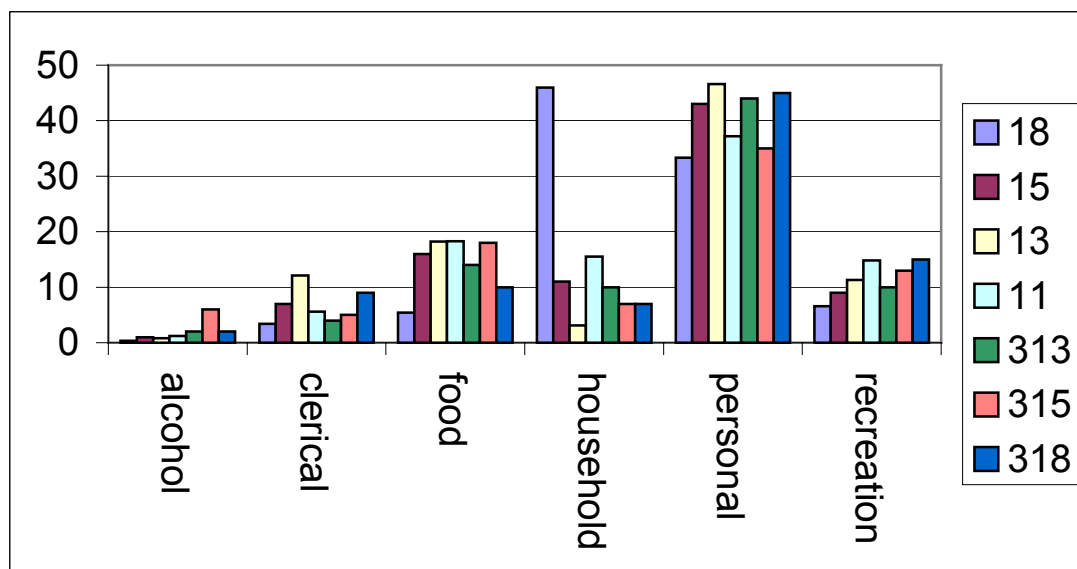
## 8.3.2 Question: What type of activities were undertaken within a house?

### 8.3.2.1 General Patterns

The intention behind the detailed description, analysis and the production of so many tables for Sections 3 and 4 of this report was to determine if the underfloor deposits presented meaningful patterns indicating predominate activities within a house or within the rooms of a house. Are there general patterns that we can expect to find in any second-half of the nineteenth-century house? Are they meaningful patterns? If these patterns are found not to be present are there specific reasons for this? Initial responses can now be written to these questions.

An examination of Tables 5 and 19 and their sub-tables shows that there are general patterns within each room where there are four main categories of activities that can be predicted depending upon the use of the room. In the three kitchen underfloor deposits in Area C the four main categories in order were: **personal, food, recreation and household** (Table 19.2). In Area A kitchens the four main categories were **personal, household, food and recreation** (Table 5.2). Why are there differences between these two patterns and how are they significant enough to shift the household category from fourth in Area C to second in Area A? The removal of context #18 from the analysis of the kitchen deposits in Area A produces a significantly different picture (Table 5.3). In

this smaller group the order is **personal, food, recreation and household** with clerical as the fifth largest group. This now replicates the pattern found in Area C. Graph A illustrates why context #18 created a shift in the household group because in context #18 it was substantially larger than the other six kitchen underfloor deposits. The general patterns for most of the other kitchens deposits was the same with personal, food, recreation and household in that order.



**Graph A: Distribution of main categories within seven of the kitchen contexts in Areas A and C, based on Tables 5 and 19.**

The detailed analysis of context #18 (Section 3.2.2.2) highlighted the difference between that context and the other underfloor deposits, showing that the probable instance of commercial sewing in the kitchen of House 15 was producing a different artefact profile to that of a normal residential abode. This evidence was found in three main categories of artefacts: household pins used for sewing, personal clothing buttons and personal adornment beads. As two of these artefact types were in the personal category they only served to emphasise the overall dominance of this category and the likely high artefact quantities that may fall into this group. An examination of the main category in context #18 shows that it was atypical, in that the household category was larger than the personal category and this was the only house in which this pattern was found. In all the other underfloor deposits, both kitchens and front rooms, the personal artefacts were the dominant category (Table 5) while in Area C personal artefacts were always the largest category (Table 19). The failure of context #18 to conform to this pattern therefore supports the suggestion that there were activities other than those of a regular home and regular kitchen activities being undertaken in this kitchen and that the detailed analysis which hypothesised that commercial sewing was being undertaken in House 15 Area A is likely to be correct.

The dominance of the personal category was also found in the front rooms of all houses in Areas A and C although there was quite a variation in the overall proportions of this category of the total range of categories (Tables 5.2, 19.2). There was no strong pattern for the ordering of the remaining categories as found in the kitchens. In Area A 'food' was twice the second largest category. In House 15 the 'household' category was the second largest category in accordance with the dominance of this category in the kitchen of this house. In House 19 'clerical' was the second largest category followed by food and recreation. Recreation was the third largest category in three of the houses and tied with 'household' in two houses. The overall pattern for the front rooms in Area A was the same as that for the kitchens when context #18 was included.

The individual front rooms in Area C showed little overall patterning other than the dominance of 'personal' artefacts. The other three main categories were generally the same but in no particular order. In all but one house food was the third or fourth category. The overall pattern for the front rooms in Area C was different to the kitchens with the order being household, food and recreation following the personal category. This suggests that the use of front rooms varied from house to house, such as in House 3 and 5 where many more artefacts were found in the front rooms.

The high frequency of personal items generally recovered for underfloor deposits is not found in any other types of archaeological deposit. While some personal items will be recovered from other contexts such as cesspits, wells and yard deposits they were generally those items deliberately disposed of rather than hundreds of items of everyday use lost during the undertaking of a specific activity or incidentally lost or broken as part of everyday use. The pattern and frequency of artefact distribution is believed to be associated with the frequency with which an activity was undertaken, i.e. sewing, or with which items were used such as cups and saucers, children's toys such as marbles, or loss of buttons or jewellery. Therefore the proportion and frequency in these houses is seen as statistically representative of the range and nature of activities undertaken within working-class homes. This is why the extensive remains of sewing activities in the kitchen of House 15 (context #18) is seen as atypical and therefore meaningfully representative of activities undertaken within this home that were not presented elsewhere and being significant enough to change the activity profile of the other three houses included within the overall proportions for Table 5.

The perceived importance of evidence for sewing in working-class houses stems from debates about the role of working women in nineteenth-century society. Maynard suggests that there was 'a vast private economy of home dressmaking and tailoring' and that historians have hardly acknowledged this 'private economy'. This market provided a lot of colonial-made clothing and possibly 'retarded' the development of the ready-made clothing market until the later nineteenth century. The number of women sewing in the home was not adequately represented in the official figures such as censuses. Maynard does stress that sewing was part of the 'household chores, ranging from mundane repairs to making bedlinen and curtains, as well as fine quality work such as embroidery'. The different aspects of sewing were class specific, 'with plain needle work an activity more suited to the lower classes' while 'embroidery and home dressmaking' belonged to the 'genteel' pursuits of the middle classes. The type of work undertaken within the home would have included needlework, dressmaking and millinery.<sup>4</sup>

### 8.3.2.2 Personal Category

Table V presents raw and percentage data for the specific functions or sub-categories into which the personal artefacts were placed. The two dominant categories included artefacts associated with adornment and clothing. A graph of the raw counts illustrates the dominance of context #18 in the adornment and clothing categories (Graph B). This is different to the graph of percentage rates which pulls context #18 back in the adornment categories giving it the smallest proportion of adornment artefacts in all kitchens while the clothing category is still proportionally dominant (Graph C).

#### Adornment

The analysis, in the previous sections, of the houses identified that beads are the main artefacts in the adornment category (Tables 6, 10). In some houses these were the only artefacts in the adornment category. As Graph B indicates there were very different frequencies in the various kitchens for the adornment category. Two houses had large quantities of beads - Houses 15 and

<sup>4</sup> Maynard 1994:126-127.

General Function	Specific Function	House 15		House 17		House 19		House 21		House 3		House 5		House 7	
		#18		#15		#13		#11		#313		#315		#318	
		mic	%	mic	%	mic	%	mic	%	mic	%	mic	%	mic	%
personal	accessory	5	0.4			1	0.3			7	0.8	2	0.6	4	0.7
	adornment	576	48.2	130	57.8	192	55.0	85	53	525	62.7	163	50.2	376	63.3
	clothing	566	47.3	84	37.3	136	39.0	67	42	232	27.7	131	40.3	191	32.2
	grooming	14	1.2	4	1.8	8	2.3	2	1	21	2.5	11	3.4	7	1.2
	health					1	0.3			4	0.5	2	0.6		
	jewellery	30	2.5	6	2.7	9	2.6	5	3	44	5.3	13	4.0	13	2.2
	pharmaceutical									1	0.1				
	religious	2	0.2							1	0.1	1	0.3	1	0.2
	time-keeping	3	0.3	1	0.4	2	0.6			2	0.2	2	0.6	2	0.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>1196</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>837</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table V: Specific functions within the personal category for the seven main kitchens in Areas A and C.**

3, and House 7 also had quite a lot. Generally the large quantities of beads were found in the kitchen rather than the front room except in House 3 which had quantities of beads in the front room as well as the kitchen. A similar pattern was found in House 5. The analysis of the adornment category in Houses 15 and 3 was taken to represent the commercial sewing use of beads, by sewing them onto either garments or accessories, such as bags, hats or shawls. It is also possible that there was some sewing of beads in House 7 that represents limited commercial sewing. This was also possible but less likely in House 5. Not all the beads were the type used for sewing onto clothes or accessories. Some were larger ceramic or glass beads attached to items such as milk jug covers or soft furnishings, and as used on lamp shades or curtains. In the houses with smaller quantities of beads, such as Houses 17, 19 and 21, it is presumed that these most likely fell from garments or other items while they were being worn and therefore represented normal loss by wear and tear. This category is presumed to be represented in all houses in the study area.

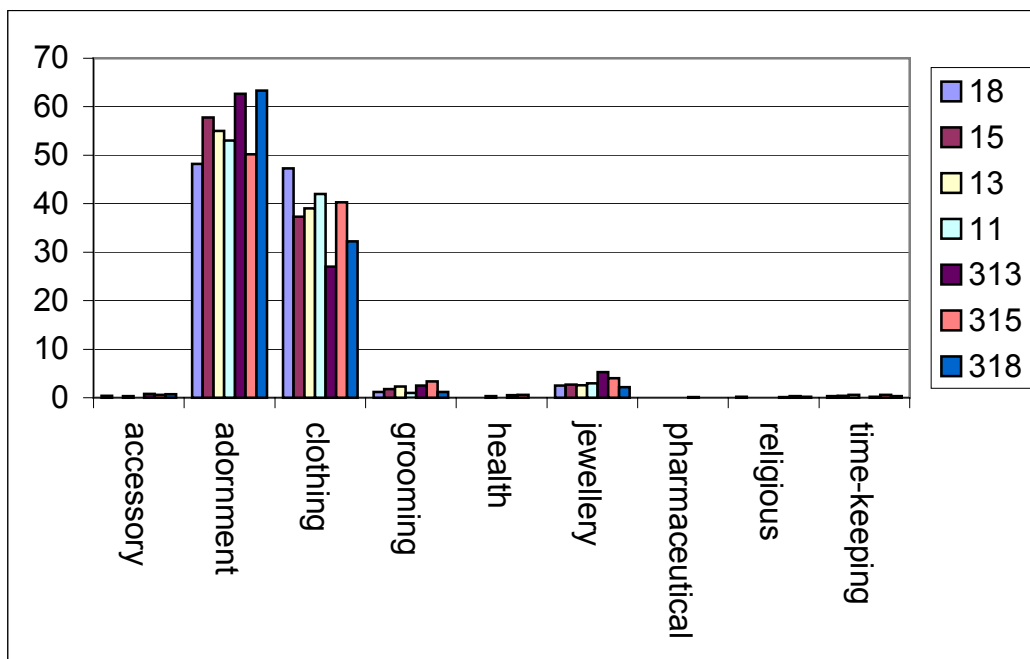
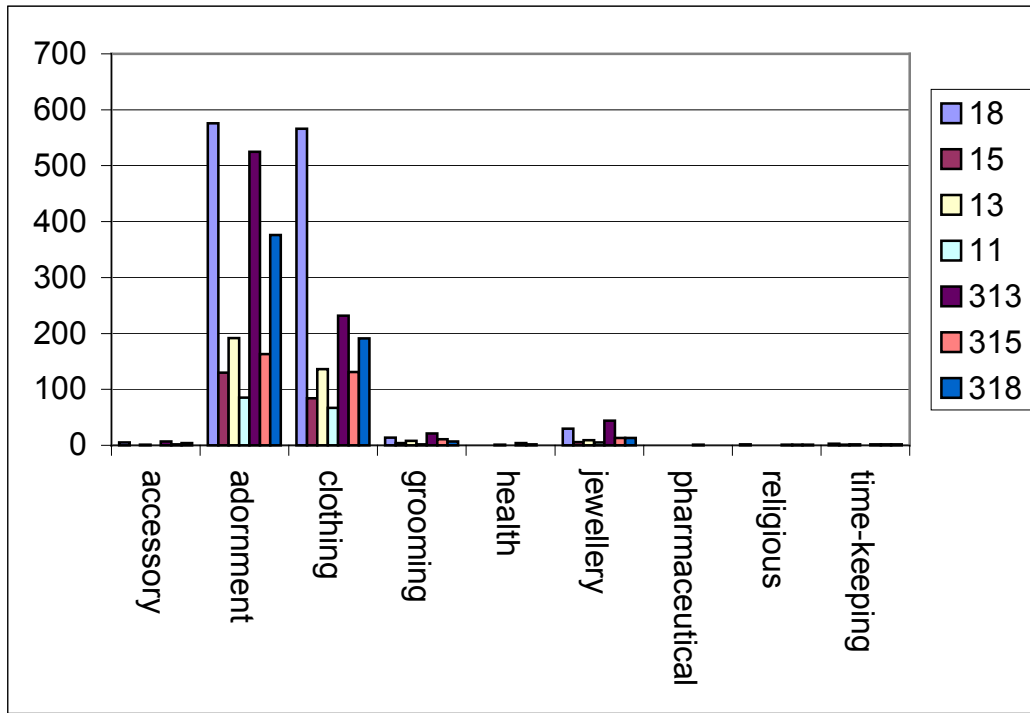
Why do I presume that the large quantities of beads were not just associated with the garments worn by the residents of the various houses? Firstly the comparative quantities suggest that the very large quantities of beads were less common. The interpretation of the evidence for House 15 was that there was already considerable evidence for sewing in that house. Both these facts taken together suggest that beads as well as pins, buttons, especially fabric-covered ones, and hooks and eyes, were all evidence for commercial sewing. In addition the loss of so many beads, as in House 3 where 736 beads were recovered from the underfloor deposits, is seen as representative of a much higher quantity of beads being present in the first place for so many to have been lost. Another scenario associated with the commercial sewing aspect is that some of the beads in Houses 5 and 7 may have been lost by the resident of House 3. If the woman who was sewing the beads in House 3 was visiting her neighbours she possibly took her sewing with her while she was having a neighbourly talk and cup of tea. In one instance the joining sherds from a sponge ware plate were found in the kitchen underfloor deposits of House 21 (context #11) and House 17 (context #15). This does support the visiting of neighbours with 'plate' of food.

### **Clothing**

The second largest personal category was artefacts associated with clothing. The main items in this category were buttons, and included other items such as hooks and eyes, press studs, safety pins, as well as shirt studs, the occasional cuff link and fragments of shoes (Tables 6, 10). The nature

and type of buttons were discussed in Section 3.2.2.2. Many of the buttons were metal trouser buttons, presumably from men’s work trousers, as well as buttons from men’s jackets (Tables 11, 12).<sup>5</sup> There were ornate glass buttons which may have been from men’s clothing, i.e. waistcoats, rather than women’s, as well as a range of porcelain buttons. Other button types included mother-of-pearl worn on underclothing of men, women and children as well as the smaller types on babies and dolls’ clothing.

**Graph B: Raw counts of personal artefacts, based on Table V.**



**Graph C: Percentage counts of personal artefacts based on Table V.**

<sup>5</sup> Lindbergh pers. comm.

### Jewellery

Jewellery followed by grooming were the next two largest personal sub-categories. All the houses in Areas A and C had jewellery (Table 15). Most of the jewellery was costume jewellery but there were a few pieces with gold and semi-precious stones, as well as some gold plate. The most frequent types were fake 'gems', that had fallen from fittings (probably brooches) or had been attached to clothing, brooches, fragments of chains and rings. All of the houses had at least one example of fake 'gems' and most had brooches and fragments of chains. In the eight houses 138 jewellery items were found with 52 per cent from Houses 3 and 15. The dominance of these two houses in both the quantity and variety of jewellery artefacts reinforces their overall dominance in the cultural artefacts category. It is possible that some or all of the fake 'gems' were used in the same way that the beads were, for sewing or gluing onto clothing or accessories. It is also likely that some were associated with the clothing or accessories of the inhabitants. Brooches or pins were frequently worn at the neck of a woman's dress.

Like all the artefact types most of the jewellery was found in the kitchen (Table 15). This would go against expectations where it would be thought that jewellery and finer objects would be found in the front room where they were most likely to be worn when there were guests. This expectation is somewhat supported by the presence of at least one piece of jewellery in the front room of seven out of the eight houses. Yet the consistent presence of jewellery within the kitchen areas does support the impression that when women were working in the kitchen they were wearing jewellery. The loss of the jewellery may have been before and after going out where the residents had dressed up or it may have been that they were worn as part of every day dress.

Jewellery and clothing items, as part of the personal attire of the residents and possibly their visitors, as well as the customers, do not necessarily represent activities undertaken within the home but instead the nature of their clothing and attitudes towards dress. With regard to the evidence for working-class attitudes towards dress in urban Sydney and Melbourne in the second-half of the nineteenth century Maynard suggests that there is little evidence. She notes that 'There are virtually no surviving garments and few documents help to form an accurate picture'.<sup>6</sup> She also observed that 'Information about how the separate roles of urban working-class colonial men, women and children were defined by their clothes is not substantial and emanates chiefly from middle-class sources'. In addition there was little perceived contrast (by the middle class sources) between the different groups of the working classes, although a few specific sub-cultures were known, such as prostitutes and larrikins.

The quantity and variety of artefacts found in these houses suggest that there was a consistent desire to dress in a manner that they could best afford and that jewellery was an important component of this attire. Many of the buttons were moulded glass or porcelain and presented a decorative appearance. As Lindbergh discussed, men's clothing often involved ornate or decorative buttons, more so than perhaps women's clothing.<sup>7</sup> As discussed in the theoretical section on consumption and material culture, 'Clothing was highly nuanced, central to self-identity, for the poor, notwithstanding their limited wardrobes'.<sup>8</sup> Maynard observed that 'The styles of dress were sexually differentiated in that men wore readymade moleskin trousers and jackets, shirts and strong boots, and the women print or stuff gowns, aprons, bonnets and shawls'.<sup>9</sup> The evidence from the CSR site suggests that jewellery was an essential component of most women's clothing in the second half of the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>6</sup> Maynard 1994:91.

<sup>7</sup> Lindbergh 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Glennie 1995:177.

<sup>9</sup> Maynard 1994:81.

Of the Australian situation Maynard believes that the working classes did not conform to the role or perceptions that the bourgeoisie and elite classes would have liked them to. They did not dress in a way that they could easily be perceived to be a member of the working classes. Maynard has suggested that in urban Australia perception of people by their dress did not fit into the pattern which was more evident in Britain or Europe. There were stories that let ‘one ascribe to colonial inhabitants a lack of orthodox signifiers of social distinction in dress’.<sup>10</sup>

Further detailed analysis of the jewellery, buttons and other clothing artefacts will provide a more valuable range of evidence on the nature of working-class dress and style and home sewing. This detailed analysis is outside the scope of this report.

### **Grooming & Hygiene**

A total of 117 grooming artefacts were recovered during excavation (Table 3). The majority of these were combs (55), perfume bottles (21) and pieces of mirror (16), as well as brushes (7), lipsticks (4) and hair clips (3) (Table 4). Seventy-six grooming-related artefacts were recovered within the eight houses in Areas A and C (Table 16). Among the combs were nit combs, as well as ones for combing the hair and for holding hairstyles in place. Where the combs are datable they were made from 1850 (1), 1869 (1), 1870 (1), 1875 (4), and 1907 (9). Where the combs were used to hold the hair in place they may have had decorative work, such as, ‘cut-out trefoils’ #18/6014, ‘decorative fret work’ #316/7376, and a ‘Spanish style’, #309/6994 or were quite plain. There were more combs dating to the early twentieth century than to the nineteenth century. This may indicate that attention to grooming increased in the early twentieth century.

While eight perfume bottles were found in Area C and none were found in Area A, nine were found in Area B which contained the remains of only two houses. The manufacture from dates for many of the perfume bottles in Area C was in the second-half of the nineteenth century, from 1840 (1), 1850 (1), and 1870 (5).

The hygiene items included five toothbrushes, four of which were found in Area B as well as the remains of a brown tp ewer. Only one toothbrush (#314/7187) was found within the eight main houses - a small bone toothbrush from House 5. As the brush is small it is possible that a child used it but this uncertain. There were no toothpaste containers. The absence of toothbrushes and toothpaste from most of the houses may be because they were not used at all or they were not used in the kitchen or front room and therefore were not lost in these two areas.

### **Religious Affiliations & Other Associations**

A few religious artefacts were found in some of the houses, their identification during cataloguing not always being clear. In House 15 two religious medals were found (Section 3.2). House 7 had a medal with the Virgin Mary. Houses 3 and 5 contained pieces of two rosaries, including a cross with Jesus. All the observed religious artefacts were associated with the Catholic religion. Two of the houses had some evidence for residents of Irish nationality. The presence of these religious items suggests that some of the occupants of this area were Catholic and practiced their religion and used its symbols on a daily basis. When I was growing up medals were pinned onto the underwear but not on the exterior of the clothing. Some may have been worn around the neck on a chain. For religious people rosary beads would be used on a daily basis for saying the rosary.

There was one other artefacts that could be described as religious - a solitaire with a freemason’s symbol patented in July 1879. It is unclear with which resident of House 1 this freemason’s item was associated as there were a number of changes during the period after 1879. It is interesting

---

<sup>10</sup> Maynard 1994:96.

that this symbol was associated with what were generally considered to be a member of the working classes but this may be an incorrect assumption for all of the residents. One other item found in House 3 indicates membership of another association, the Boy Scouts (#313/5016). This was presumably associated with an adolescent male member of a Scouting troop or perhaps with an adult who was a troop organiser.

### 8.3.2.3 Food Category

As discussed above food was consistently the second largest category to which artefacts found in the houses belonged (Graph A) but this count does not include the evidence of the animal bone counts (Graph D). The food artefacts relate to the acquisition, storage, preparation, serving, consumption and disposal of food. This section discusses the ceramic and glass artefacts as well as the animal bone and shell remains.

#### Acquisition of Food

The food remains included parts of animal bone from sheep, rabbit, fish and some chicken and cattle (Tables 8, 39). Sheep bone was generally the dominant identified animal species to which the bone belonged. It is likely that sheep, probably mutton, was purchased from a local butcher or from the nearby Glebe abattoirs. Rabbit and fish bones reoccurred in most of the houses. The demolition deposit of House 7 contained a rabbit trap and this house also contained the largest number of rabbit bones (199) found in a single kitchen context at the site. This suggests that one or more residents of this house used this trap to catch feral rabbits to supplement their diet. It is possible that for some of the occupants of House 7 rabbit formed nearly 50 per cent of meat consumed in the house as there were only slightly more sheep bones than rabbit bones. A few of the houses also had bullet cases that also may have been used for hunting rabbits. The rabbits were probably caught on the adjacent Ultimo Estate which remained undeveloped until the late nineteenth century.

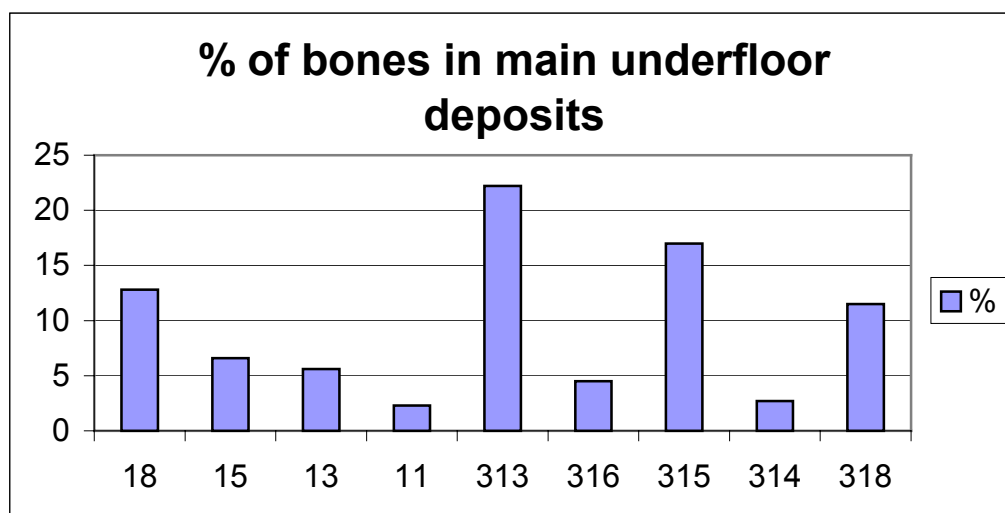
Some of the houses contained sinkers and fish hooks and most contained quantities of fish bones. It is likely that people caught fish from the nearby harbour to supplement their diet. House 15 contained the largest quantity of shells which probably represented shellfish collected around the Pyrmont shoreline (See Section 3.2). Only a few of the shells were Rock Oysters and most of them in context #18 were Sydney Cockles and Periwinkles. Most of the houses had some Mud Oysters, a species no longer found in Sydney Harbour.<sup>11</sup>

The occupants of the CSR site would probably have purchased most of the fresh meat from butchers but they also were able to acquire other cuts of meat such as rabbit by hunting and/or trapping them as well as catching their own fish and collecting shellfish. These would have supplied a healthy and cheap part of the local residents' diet.

Other types of the food were purchased in tin cans (Table 4). The lids of 77 tin cans were found in Area C with 45 in House 3, 26 in House 5, with 13 each in the kitchen and in the front room, and five in House 7 (Table 23). In House 3 many of the can lids were found as part of a layer on top of spit 3 (**Photo 5.9**) which indicates that their contents were most probably eaten over a short period of time and during the earlier, rather than later, occupation of the house. There were no tin lids found in the houses in Area A which presents a striking contrast to House 3. The type of food purchased in tin cans, some of them quite small, is unclear but was presumably pre-prepared food of various types and may have included canned meat.

---

<sup>11</sup> Colley Shell Report, Draft Archaeological Investigation, Conservatorium Site, Macquarie Street, Sydney. Volume 4: Artefact Reports.



**Graph D: Animal bones in main underfloor deposits in seven kitchens and front rooms of Houses 3 (#316) and 5 (#314), based on Table 2.**

Other pre-prepared food items purchased were condiments, such as oil/vinegars, preserves of fruits and jams and sauces. The site contained a fairly large quantity of condiments, 237 items in total (Table 3). These were the third largest food-related category after table and teawares. The most frequent types of condiments were oil/vinegar bottles (107), sauce bottles and stoppers (33) and pickles/chutney (25) (Table 4). There were also a number of condiment bottles of indeterminate type (60). The presence of potential oil bottles is interesting as one presumes that ‘dripping’ was used for cooking rather than oils that are common in modern Australia but not before post-war migration. Dripping was certainly an ever-present component of the lives of poorer families with the ubiquitous bread and dripping of the Depression period. It is possible that some of the oil/vinegar bottles were oil bottles but many of them may be vinegar bottles. The demolition (#303/11,221) of House 1 contained a French brand of mustard “MOUTARDE de MAILLE” / “Vinaigrier – Distillateur” / “FOURNISSEUR” / “des premieres Cours” / “DE L'EUROPE” / “PARIS”. When examined on a house-by-house basis there were more condiment items in Houses 15 and 3 than in the other houses (Table 23).

Other items purchased for consumption include beverages, among which were aerated water bottles (149), many of which had marbles, chicory bottle (1), coffee bottles (2), and ginger beer bottles (4). Among the twentieth-century purchases were milk (15) and soft drink bottles (Table 4). The purchase of aerated water bottles suggests that there was some concern about the quality of drinking water available to the residents of these houses. There was no reticulated water into the houses until after the Second World War and it is unclear how soon water was available on an outside pipe such as known from House 1. It was common during the nineteenth century for many houses to have stoneware water filters and to purchase water in bottles. Aerated water bottles are commonly found at archaeological sites.

### Storage

Overall at the CSR site there were only remains of 23 storage vessels (Table 3). This is a fairly small number compared with 742 tableware items or the 942 items of teaware. Most of the storage forms were bottles (9), a container (1), jars (6), lids (7), and a meat hook (Table 4). Some houses had no surviving evidence for storage vessels (Table 23). The storage of food is generally concerned with items which keep long-term such as non-perishables. These include flour, sugar, rice, and sago, but may include short-term storage of perishables, such as butter, milk and various

liquids. Storage wares are frequently a small overall proportion of the range of food-related vessels found at a site, ranging from 0.4 to 4.3 per cent.<sup>12</sup> Clearly the frequency of storage forms found in underfloor deposits will be less than found in rubbish dumps. Ceramic storage items are usually heavy-duty vessels such as stonewares. Some of the items listed under the container group (Table 4) may also be used for storage but they were included in this more generic group as their identification was uncertain.

### **Preparation**

This category includes artefacts used in the preparation of food, which includes all stages of food preparation such as mixing and cooking. Tables 3 and 4 list only ten preparation items found at the site. These included remains of bowls (7), basins (1), a kettle and a pie plate which was included in the serving category but which also relates to preparation. Most of these were not found in underfloor contexts (Table 23) but in the cesspits and demolition deposits. Another artefact not catalogued that related to cooking were the fireplaces in the kitchen. These would have been kept alight all day during winter. Only one of the kitchen fireplaces (House 5) had a metal stove in place (**Photo 5.13**) and it is possible that the other fireplaces also had metal stoves as many of the fireplaces had some rebuilding in dry-pressed bricks and elements of metal stoves were found in the demolition deposits. Therefore metal stoves may have been placed within the surviving fireplaces but did not remain *in situ* at the time of excavation. The metal stove in House 3 had two compartments, the smaller one was for the wood fire and the other one was the oven (eastern side). It would have had room for at least one large or two smaller metal vessels for cooking on the top hot plates. Therefore the introduction of a stove to this house allowed for the cooking, roasting or baking of items in the oven while previously there was only frying, stewing or boiling over an open fire. The reconfiguration of the fireplaces to fit the metal stoves suggests that many, if not all of the kitchens, were built with an open fireplace rather than a stove in the fireplace.

The meat cuts from the sheep found in the underfloor contexts included pieces from the rib cage which would be similar to what are in modern terms called cutlets or possibly racks of lamb, while the pieces of vertebrae probably came from chops. These two types were the most frequently found sheep bone fragments (Table 36). They would have been cooked by frying or stewing. There is minimal evidence for roasted meats but the presence of some elements of sheep skulls may suggest that these were roasted in the oven. The presence of a pie dish is also evidence of baking.

### **Serving**

Seventy-eight serving vessels were found within the study area, many of which were jugs (35), jars (17), bowls (13) and platters (4), with other occasional forms such as a pie dish and a tureen (Tables 3, 4). The evidence presented by the serving vessels is relatively limited. The presence of only four platters may suggest that they were not commonly used and that it was more common to serve food straight from the stove onto dinner plates rather than putting a communal platter in the centre of the table. In addition only one of these platters was found within an underfloor deposit. The serving of food directly from the stove is supported by the presence of a single tureen found at the site (context #63). None of the above were found in the eight main houses under discussion. The presence of so many jugs also suggests that the frequent pouring of liquids such as milk or water at the table which apparently resulted in their frequent breakage. All of these jars had some level of decoration on them which supports their use for taking food to the table. The 13 bowls in the serving category does suggest that there was some communal use of serving vessels, perhaps for greens/salads, vegetables, desserts or perhaps only on special occasions.

---

<sup>12</sup> Casey 1999:14, Table 9.

The presence or absence of serving vessels is thought to relate to the complexity or formality of dining rituals.<sup>13</sup> The evidence from the serving vessels from the eight houses suggests that there was not a developed or complex use of serving dishes which would support any formality at daily meals but there is limited evidence to suggest that occasionally there was some formality when eating food. The dishing up of food from the stove top allows for greater control over the amount of food given to individual members of the family. Therefore if not a lot of food was available it could be appropriately divided among the family, generally by the mother. These patterns are thought to be representative of working-class families' dining patterns which were unlikely to be present in middle class or elite practices.

### Consumption

The artefacts associated with the consumption of food generally fall into two groups - tablewares which includes dinner plates, egg cups, glass tumblers and stemmed glasses, cutlery and teawares, including cups and saucers, teaspoons, teapots and slop bowls (Tables 3, 4). These two groups dominate the food category. Also included in the consumption group are items such as the single baby's feeding bottle.

### Tableware

The dominant tableware form was the dinner plate of which 417 different plates were identified. These came in a range of different patterns (Table 25). The main underfloor deposits contained only 149 plates. Within the main houses 39 per cent of the plates were found in blue tp followed by 35 per cent in white ware, 20 per cent linear ware and 28 per cent in white glaze (Graph 3). The frequency of ceramic types for the plates is different to that for teawares (Graph 5). The dominant ceramic patterns for the 40 eggcups were white glaze (17) and gilded ware (16) with a two coloured transfer printed ones and a few other isolated types. There was a range of stemmed glasses (20), some of which were identified as 'fine' or 'very fine' by the cataloguer. While most of the fragments of the stemmed glasses were found in the kitchen, remains of two came from in the front room of House 7. Most of these would be wine or sherry glasses. Other drinking glasses include remains of tumblers (55), some of which were 'fine' and 'high quality' as well as decorated by etching of patterns as well as ribbing and panels. Again House 5 had remains of three tumblers in the front room and House 3 had one. Only a few of the stemwares (15) and tumblers (26) were found in the underfloor deposits of Areas A and C (Table 23). Where the form of the glass fragments was uncertain but they clearly belonged to a drinking vessel they were identified as 'glass'. Twenty-three of these were found, 19 in Areas A and C. Thirteen were in Area A, House 15 (7), House 17 (3) as well as Houses 19 (1) and 21 (2) and six in Area C (Table 23).

The drinking glasses are mostly presumed to relate to the consumption of alcohol. Only small quantities of alcohol bottles were found at the site (Tables 5, 19, 22). Of the eight houses in Areas A and C most of the alcohol evidence was found in Area C and mostly in Houses 3 and 5 (Table 22). These two houses also had the largest quantity of stemwares and tumblers (Table 23). This suggests that there is a direct relationship between the evidence of the glasses probably used for consuming alcohol and the presence of alcohol bottles. A largest proportion of the alcohol from House 5 was also found in the front room (77) as well as fair quantities in the kitchen (51) (context #314). There is a strong pattern which suggests that alcohol was not consumed in any quantity in three of the houses in Area A while it was more commonly drunk in the houses in Area C. This does not mean that the people who lived in Area A did not drink alcohol but it does mean that they most likely imbibed elsewhere, perhaps down at the local pub.

Other than flatware, which frequently had bone handles on the knives, the presence of other tableware forms/vessels was rare. Remains of 36 items of flatware, spoons (4), forks (7), knives

---

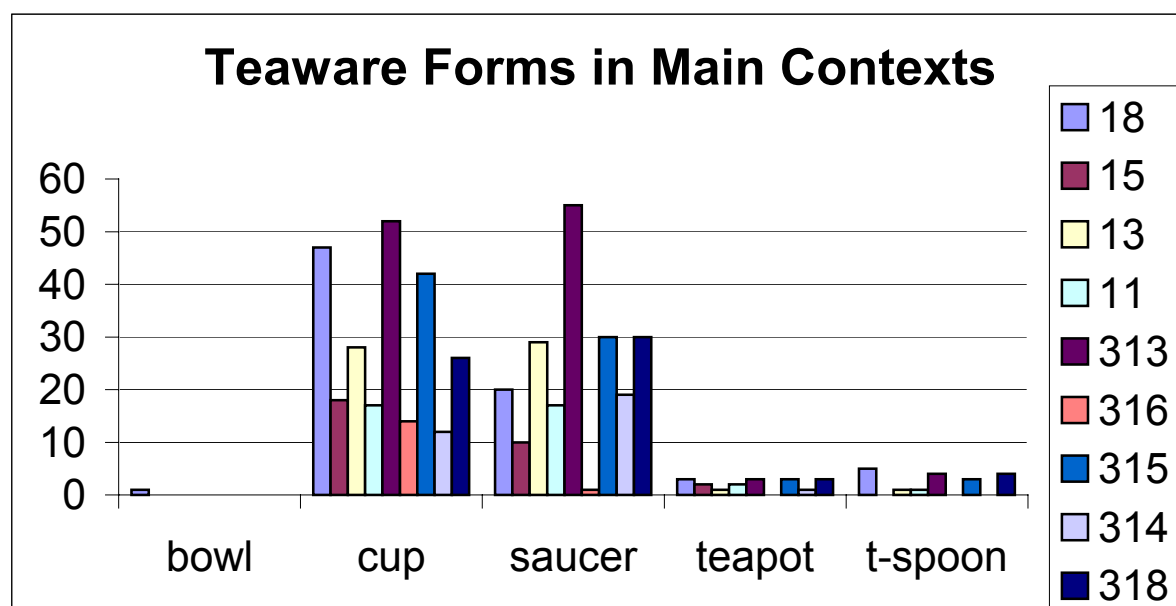
<sup>13</sup> Shackel 1993.

(6) and unidentified forms (18) were found in the seven main houses (Table 23). Other forms include covers (6) for dishes or tureens, as well as bowls (8) and bottles (8). The bowls presumably represent the consumption of soups or wet stews, such as Irish stew. These were found in much smaller quantities than the dinner plates. Most of the plates were dinner plates and where the diameter of the plates survived they were all either 200 or 220 or 240 mm, only two plates were smaller, one at 180 and one at 120. All the forms within Areas A and C were dinner plates. This suggests the absence or lack of use of bread and butter plates within these houses.

This supports that observation in the serving section that there is little evidence for the employing of more formal practices in consumption of food. Bread would have sat on the side of the dinner plate or directly on the dinner table. While this is a pattern perhaps more frequently found in societies such as Italy and Greece it was not the pattern of twentieth-century Australia. It is perhaps likely that bread may not have been buttered and was eaten unbuttered and therefore it could be cut and directly put onto plates or it may have been taken from a bread plate placed in the centre of the table. A common item manufactured in the late nineteenth century by the Lithgow and Bendigo potteries was decorated glazed bread plates which were actually used for cutting the bread at the table.

### Teawares

As noted above teaware forms were the dominant ceramic grouping found at the site (Tables 3, 4). Within the seven main houses there were remains of 504 teaware forms, 42.8 per cent of food-related artefacts from the main houses in Areas A and C (Table 23). The two main shapes were cups and saucers (Graph E). The most common teaware patterns were gilded, white glaze, linear and blue transfer print (Graph 5). When compared with the patterns found in tablewares the closest frequency matches were in linear ware and white glaze. There were no gilded tablewares.



**Graph E: Frequency of teaware forms (raw counts) in main underfloor deposits.**

Only some of the ceramic types and patterns were found on matching cups and saucers (Table 26.2). While the matching of gilded cups and saucers is presumed they are fairly generic as the gilding is usually restricted to thin lines, in one, two or three, or bands. White glaze and whitewares is basically undecorated and therefore match each other by default. A few specific

patterns were found on both cups and saucers. In House 15 there was a cup and saucer in 'Willow 3' (base mark, dated from 1895), and matching cup and saucer in linear 05 (4 items). House 17 had matching cups and saucer (3 items) in linear 5, a pattern found in 17 different contexts including six of the main underfloor deposits, dating from 1860 (Table 24.2). House 3 had matching cups and saucers in linear 5 (12 items), linear 9 (7 items), as well as purple tp 'Cable' (2 items). House 5 possibly had matching hand-painted and gilded set (6 items) and two items in linear 05. House 7 had matching cups and saucers in a brown transfer-printed 'Poppy' design (3 items) dating from 1912. Seven of the main houses had cups and saucers in both gilded ware and white glaze.

Occasionally some of the patterns found on teawares were also found on plates although there generally was a lack of fit. In Area A, House 15, blue transfer-printed 'Willow 3' pattern was found on a cup (1), saucers (2) and plates (2). In House 19 linear 06 pattern was on five plates and two saucers. In House 21 purple transfer-printed 'Cable' was found on one cup and one plate. In Area C, House 1 purple-transfer printed 'Cable' was found on one cup, one plate and one saucer. In House 3 linear 14 was on one plate and one saucer. In House 5 blue transfer print 'Willow 3' was on three plates and one saucer. In House 7 linear 6 was found on one plate and one saucer. Not all these sherds were from the underfloor deposits. This suggests that some of the ceramics were or could be purchased as part of a set of tableware which also included matching teaware forms. Generally the matching table and teawares found in Areas A and C were cheaper types, especially the linear forms. These vessels were mostly in earthenware but there were two china cups and two ironstone items. The variation in the fabric of the cups (china) may mean that some separate items were purchased to match an exiting set of tablewares.

The interpretation of matching tea and tablewares is that they were probably for use as a set. This is a modern purchase pattern and may represent a conscious development of formality at the table that may be part of everyday practices as the ceramics are a cheaper version rather than a more expensive type that may only be used for special occasions. This interpretation is influenced by practices of the recent past as well as information obtained in catalogues such as Silber & Feming.

Generally the ceramic patterns found on the teawares conform to expectations for the lower end of the market, such as whitewares, white glaze and linear wares which form 35.5 per cent of all decorative teawares (Graphs 4, 5). The largest group were gilded wares, the majority of which were on china fabric. This would suggest that these were slightly more expensive and desirable than the plainer wares and they were also more accessible than some of the more decorated types such as coloured transfer prints, many of which were on less refined fabrics such as fine earthenware and ironstone china. It is preferable to drink tea from fine china or porcelain because of the thinness of the cup's lip but these are also more expensive purchases.

As well as being a cheaper decorative style most of ceramics have cheaper fabrics, such as earthenware, with few examples of china and porcelain cups and saucers. The majority of the teapots were the ordinary mid-brown type in 'Rockingham' glaze (30), mostly in fine earthenware (29) and one in stoneware, with five in 'Jackfield' ware on a terracotta fabric, a single teapot in clobbered decoration on a fine earthenware body and one example of a gilded and moulded china teapot in House 21 (context #11) (Table 26.3). The gilded and moulded china teapot stands out as being the exception in this group of teapots. It is also possible that there were metal teapots in plated or solid silver but the ubiquity of 'Rockingham' teapots tends to counter the ability of the residents to afford such items.

House 21 is also the house with the most porcelain cups (2) and saucer (1). It also has a lid of a hand-painted porcelain item that was catalogued in the storage category. All of the porcelain items were hand painted and one of the cups also had gilding. House 19 had fragments from a blue hand-painted porcelain tea cup. In Area C there was only one item of porcelain teaware - a hand-

painted saucer in House 7. There were a few other examples of porcelain items but they were mostly decorative ornaments.

The general pattern found in Areas A and C for teawares was that except for the plain white ceramics and gilded wares and the occasional matching cup and saucer there was only some evidence to support the purchase of sets of teawares and only some evidence to support the presence of matching sets of table and teawares. Where there is dating of the ceramics types such as the late blue transfer-printed 'Willow 3', dating from 1895 and the brown transfer-printed 'Poppy', dating from 1912, the matching ceramic sets were from the latter part of the nineteenth century or the early twentieth century. The dating issue for much of the pottery is problematic as most of the ceramics without base marks have widespread date ranges. Linear ware dates from 1860 while coloured transfer prints date from 1830 and all were made into the early twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> The evidence indicates that cups and saucers were found in both utilitarian (the plain white ceramics and linear wares) and more decorative styles (coloured transfer prints, gilded and hand painted). This pattern perhaps suggests items used on a daily basis as against items used occasionally, for more social events.

The surviving range of teaware forms was limited to cups and saucers with some teaspoons and only one possible slop bowl. There was no evidence for sugar bowl forms or small milk jugs. This would suggest that the occupants of these houses did not have a highly developed tea ritual that required items other than the 'Rockingham' teapot and cups and saucers, which were not necessarily from a matching set. This suggests that the drinking of tea within these working-class houses was not undertaken in the same way as would be found in elite or middle-class households. Glennie has suggested that when 'rituals' or practices were absorbed into the working classes that they took on a different meaning to the same rituals found in upper levels in society. When tea-drinking became part of working-class lives this led to it 'dropping most ceremonial and mannered aspects for more utilitarian considerations of caffeine and sugar stimulation'.<sup>15</sup> The basis of this assumption is that because 'Consumer goods were acquired piecemeal, in a long series of *ad hoc* spending decisions, ... mere ownership, especially in small numbers did not imply adherence to associated discourses'.<sup>16</sup> While this is presumably true for the plainer utilitarian forms it is not necessarily the view to take of the finer teacups and teapot found in House 21. It is possible that some of the women participated in a slightly more formal approach to the drinking of afternoon or morning tea, such as in House 21. Not all women who lived in these houses necessarily had the same backgrounds and some may have had greater exposure, through employment or social contact, to middle-class or elite practices.

### **Disposal**

The evidence for the disposal of food remains, both organic or non-organic, within the houses does suggest that these residents had extremely different perspectives on what were appropriate ways to dispose of animal bone and other household rubbish to those held by modern westernised peoples. There was clearly no concept that animal bone needed to be disposed of outside the house. All of the houses had considerable quantities of animal bone found underneath their floors (Table 2). In the case of Houses 3 and 5 quantities of animal bone were also found in the front rooms. In these two cases this suggests that people were probably eating meals in the front room. This may have been the result of necessity rather than through choice. The kitchens of these two houses were smaller than the other kitchens, barely wider than the kitchen hearth (**Photos 5.9, 5.13**). They are unlikely to have allowed for larger numbers of people to eat around the kitchen table, therefore the dinner table was probably located in the front room. Therefore due to the constraint of the size of

---

<sup>14</sup> Information from Rowan Ward, ceramic cataloguer.

<sup>15</sup> Glennie 1995:180.

<sup>16</sup> Glennie 1995:180 referring to Martin 1993.

the kitchen these residents were forced to eat in the front room of the two smallest houses on a daily basis which would have meant this more public space was used on a daily basis for general household activities. Therefore the separation of potential public and private spaces was clearly dependent on the physical nature of the home. It is unclear how this physical constraint on behaviour influenced other perceptions and activities within the home. Did this mean that the people were poorer because their kitchen was too small to have dinner in or that they could not afford a proper front room to use as a parlour?

The general impression gained from the underfloor deposits is that there was some level of awareness that household rubbish was collecting in the underfloor space. Again this is most clearly seen in House 3 where the lids of 40+ tin cans were found. These appear to have been deliberately placed through the gap between the butt boards used to make the floor. In House 15 there is some suggestion that rubbish was either swept into the southwest corner or was placed into a pail in the corner of the kitchen which was allowed to overflow (Table 57). In addition the occurrence of rats or mice in the underfloor deposits of all houses in Areas A and B is testimony to the persistent presence of sources of food for vermin. The sources of this food would be all forms of food debris that was not adequately disposed of outside the house and yard area. Numerous rats, and in two houses pet cats, apparently died underneath the floors of these houses which would have meant the smell of decaying animal flesh. This suggests that there was a certain level of tolerance for household odours and that there was no developed sense of the source of smells from decaying household rubbish or that rubbish should be removed from the houses for permanent disposal. These are certainly some of the implications of observations made by the various council inspections discussed in Section 2.0. There was no general understanding of the role of germs in the spreading of disease or the role of rats and fleas in the spread of plague until the early twentieth century, even among people such as health inspectors who mostly thought that disease was caused by miasmas or odours.<sup>17</sup>

I do think that many of the residents were aware of the presence of small amounts of household rubbish underneath their houses but did not see this as an issue. After all, a lot of rubbish was thrown into Sydney Harbour by the nearby abattoirs and at the CSR site and this was considered acceptable.

### **Discussion**

Shackel focuses on archaeological data derived from ceramics and toothbrushes to measure the dissemination of the ideas of personal discipline through society. He contends that markers such as greater diversity in plate sizes and the growing functional diversity of ceramics in an assemblage can be interpreted as an indication of the increasing segmentation found at the dinner table, which helped to reinforce a new standardised way of eating. This was behaviour that standardises and segments and requires one dish per person and a variety of dish sizes for different courses in the meal, butter dishes, dessert dishes, meat dishes, etc. An assemblage with this assortment would be an indication of a new etiquette that reinforced a segmenting trend and in turn disciplined people's behaviour at and away from the table.<sup>18</sup> Shackel proposes that 'as behaviour became standardized and regimented, it encouraged the development of a modern discipline that allowed for a successful manufacturing process and promoted the consumption of goods, such as ceramics, that reinforced this behaviour every day and at special, ritualised meals'.<sup>19</sup> These sorts of practices were also thought to produce individuality. Shackel is working within the theories of capitalism and believes that this is one of the areas to which historical archaeology can make a major contribution.

---

<sup>17</sup> Curson & McCracken n.d:3 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Shackel 1993:5.

<sup>19</sup> Shackel 1993:30.

The evidence from the main houses at the CSR site was that while there were many individual plates there were few examples of segmenting forms. There was a plethora of plates, cups and saucers but there were few of the other forms, such as platters, gravy boats, condiment dishes, tureens, desert plates etc., that support the suggestion that these Pymont residents were being influenced by capitalist behaviours that should be present among the middle and elite classes. While most houses had some evidence of grooming behaviours only a few had toothbrushes and none had dishes, desert plates, or more fancy type of vessels and toothpaste containers.

There are a few images of kitchens that help us understand the nature of the kitchens found in these highly urbanised settings. A painting by Frederick McCubbin, *Kitchen at the Old King Street Bakery* (1884) of his mother's kitchen, shows many of the elements that have been identified in the report although I only came to know of this as I finished the report (*Fig. 8.1*). There is the fireplace with the later black metal stove surrounded by unmortared bricks which would help insulate the stove and concentrate the heat into the stove with limited loss of heat. In front of the fireplace is a hearthstone with a fender and beyond that a painted oilcloth. To the left of the fireplace is a water filter. On the mantelpiece and the wall above are a range of important items, all in various metals. These include a tea caddy, an ornate silver-plated teapot, candle sticks, a copper kettle with ceramic handle, and a coffee pot. On the wall are metal covers, a funnel and a pan. On the left is a window through which the sun penetrates onto a chair with dropped sewing. On the floor nearby is the sewing bag with items that had fallen from it, scissors and a reel of thread. Between the window and the chair is the kitchen table with a mug, a large jug, a cup and saucer, and a large metal container. On the right side is an airing rack (clothes horse) with a watering can. Behind the rack is at least one shelf.



**Figure 8.1:** Frederick McCubbin, *Kitchen at the Old King Street Bakery* (1884). Taken from Cremin 2001.

McCubbin's kitchen contains many of the items I would anticipate were in many of the kitchens at the CSR site. The kitchen in this painting is considerably larger than all of the kitchens excavated at the CSR site. The two kitchens in Houses 3 and 5 were only slightly wider than the fireplace and the other kitchens were not substantially larger. This McCubbin kitchen obviously had a lot of additional space and some quite expensive items on display. It was presumably a middle-class household.

One of the items missing from the McCubbin painting was a dresser. A dresser may be in the kitchen but not shown in the painting. Dressers were common items of furniture in a kitchen but the degree to which they were found in urban working-class households is uncertain. A photograph of a late nineteenth-century rural kitchen shows a range of vessels which suggests the kitchen was cooking for numbers of people working and living on the property (*Fig. 8.2*). The dresser is of real interest as it illustrates some of the types of items that were typically found in the houses at the CSR site but there are some interesting variations associated with feeding larger numbers of people, many of which would be adult males. At the top were two tureens and two jugs. Below this were six 'Willow' patterned teacups and six other cups hanging off the sides that were probably plain white but a few of them may have some decoration on the rim. There were at least eight white egg cups possibly with gilded decoration on the widest part of the body, and a clock. Below this were a large white platter, large glass tumblers and glass water jug, two moulded enamelled vessels and a glass cruet set. At the bottom are a series of plates and bowls and another platter. The woman who ran this kitchen is seated on a bentwood chair holding her cat.



**Figure 8.2:** 'The kitchen of Mrs O'Dohaghue's outback home at Wanaaring', New South Wales. Taken from Cremin 2001.

### 8.3.2.4 Recreation

#### Toys

A total of 1122 toys were found at the site out of 1366 recreation-related artefacts. This category was well represented in most of the houses in Areas A and C (Tables 7, 17). Substantially more of the toys were found in the kitchen, even in those houses where the front rooms had large amounts of artefacts.

Marbles were the most frequently found toy in all the houses, often being at least 60% or more of all recreational artefacts recovered from the houses. Toys, other than marbles, included parts of broken dolls, whole 'pudding' dolls, pieces of dolls' tea sets, a few lead soldiers and ships, a plastic bear, a wooden block and whistles. There was probably even a single home-made toy. Of the 944 marbles found only 71 were glass 'Codd' bottle types which would have been obtained by breaking an aerated water bottle. They were made between 1880 and 1910. It is presumed that generally the marbles would have been purchased for and used by boys but it is quite likely that young girls may also have used the marbles as well.

Following on from the above discussion on teawares the number of pieces from dolls' teaset is interesting. The items from the dolls' teaset include: teacups, saucers, dishes, ewers, jugs, plates, lid and uncertain vessels. These teaset were mostly plain white or moulded or with relief decoration but one cup and a saucer were found in House 3 in blue transfer-printed pattern (#351/8136, #326/8094). The common occurrence of different shaped vessels and the variety of their styles does indicate that there were a number of different teaset within each house. This suggests that they are representative of an extensive range of teaset. The number and variety suggest young girls actually played with these toys.

The ubiquity of pieces of teaset in all the houses reinforces that these were seen as suitable toys for young girls, as suitable as dolls. It is most likely that these teaset were given as presents to young girls by their parents or relatives or family friends. While some of them may have been purchased at the request of a child they were most likely purchased by adults because they were seen as suitable presents for young girls. They could play games with their dolls and friends which were acceptable and socialise them in suitable behaviour for when they were older. These were I think some of the reasons behind the purchase of doll's teaset and dinner sets. The training of young girls in suitable social behaviour was certainly a component of their education. It is also likely that these toys were aimed at the children of the middle classes, as well as the elite, and that where demand existed cheaper version of these toys were made for children of the working classes.

If Glennie's observation, that the meaning of items was transformed when they were used by the working classes is applied, how does this alter the interpretation? Firstly these items were frequently used and were made in utilitarian fabric that could withstand dropping and a reasonable degree of play. Perhaps they were used and used a lot within a different discourse. Some pictures of nineteenth-century dolls' houses and kitchens illustrate complex settings and equipment which would mostly not be played with but admired. Perhaps the difference is that these were an active component of play for a little girl who perhaps played with her brother or neighbours rather than a static and unengaged component of play. It is also possible that the pieces of the dolls' teaset were used as objects in more general games, such as part of a war game with soldiers, perhaps then they became barriers to take cover behind or hills to recover in battle.

The same interpretation of the purchasing and giving of toy soldiers is a similar symbol of what may have been a suitable employment prospect for young boys. This interpretation does not assume that these presents were necessarily purchased with the conscious understanding of the reasons why the adults purchased them but that they were seen by many people as suitable toys. These two types of toys are endowed with stereotypical nineteenth-century gender roles which the

children were taught to emulate. The male child is encouraged to undertake daring and adventurous activity, in the service of Queen and county, while the female child was being trained to stay quietly at home in the privacy of her front room and drink tea.

An analogy could be drawn between the toys and the activities represented by some of the artefacts within the house. Young girls were given dolls' teasetts to play with, along with their dolls and probably with other little girls, yet it appears that very few of their mothers had teasetts, irrespective of quality, which they used to entertain their family and friends. Young men played with lead soldiers, ships and cannons and some of them or their fathers joined the army as indicated by four Australian Military Forces buttons, #13/6157, #13/6537, #18/5332 and #318/7907, found in three houses. These date from 1871 and 1880. There were 12 lead soldiers found in Areas A and C - four were found in House 19 (contexts #313 and #5) and four were found in House 15 (context #18). Both these houses also contained three of the four military buttons. This relationship between children's toys and artefacts associated with adults requires further investigation to see how they illuminate and underline the way in which ideology about gender was embedded in such everyday artefacts and how they were used to construct suitable gender roles for children. It may also help us understand more about the infiltration of bourgeoisie ideology about women's roles through such rituals as afternoon tea.

### **Gaming**

Gaming is another category within the recreational group. The main artefacts in this group were dominos (20), counters (9) and die (5) (Table 4). Two dominos and one dice were found in House 15, one dice was found in House 19 and one domino in the front room on House 21 (Table 7). Twelve dominos were found in the kitchen and another three in the front room of House 3, a single domino and counter were in House 5 and House 7 contained five counters and one dice (Table 17). The gaming counter in House 5 (#314/11520) was made from an earthenware sherd decorated in 'Willow' pattern. Another counter made from ceramic was found in context #66/8319 in Area B. It was also made from a sherd of 'Willow Pattern'.

The fifteen dominos found in House 3 were three-quarters of all dominos recovered from the site. This is a large number of dominos. The dominos were found in spits 1, 2, 3 and 4 of context #313 which suggests that they were used throughout the occupation of the house. Another artefact from context #13/4060, spit 1, was a metal 'picture button' with a hand holding three black aces. This would suggest that at least one of the residents of House 3, presumably male because of the button, was very interested in gaming or gambling.

### **Pets**

Another aspect of recreational behaviour is pets. Two of the houses, Houses 1 and 15, had skeletal remains of pets (Table 8, 39). In House 15, remains (15 frags) of a cat were found underneath the floors of the kitchen and front room. In House 1 bones (108 frags) of a cat were found underneath the three downstairs rooms of the house. No other bones of pets were specifically identified within the other houses although it is possible that some of the rabbit bones were associated with a rabbit that was kept as a pet or perhaps some of the unidentified bird bones. Both Houses 1 and 15 had considerable evidence of rat, rodent and/or mouse bones in the underfloor deposits. It is possible that the cats were acquired to keep the rodent population at bay. The cats may also be responsible for the presence of the rat bones in the underfloor areas of the houses where perhaps they caught and killed them. Therefore these cats may have fulfilled the dual purpose of being a rat catcher and a pet.

### 8.3.3 What to Buy

An important aspect of the archaeological evidence from the houses at the CSR site is that the artefact profile – type and range of artefacts – found in all the houses is similar. They all have quantities of different-coloured glass beads, various buttons, and items of costume jewellery while some have items such as screws, mechanical wheels, and clock faces associated with the keeping of time, religious medals and rosary beads and items identifying them as members of an association (Tables 4, 6, 10, 53). All the houses contained fragments of cups and saucers, plates and eggcups and quantities of animal bone, including fish, sheep and rabbit. The archaeological evidence presents a similarity of choices made which reflects, on a general level, the type of social cohesion in access to markets and type of choices made as part of life's 'necessities' although some of these items were probably 'decencies' as well as 'luxuries'.<sup>20</sup>

The choices individuals or families or neighbourhoods or groups make about the items they choose to purchase are not isolated or separated for society and culture.<sup>21</sup> According to Grant McCracken, 'The consumer goods on which the consumer lavishes time, attention and income are charged with cultural meaning'. He contends that people or consumers 'use the meaning of consumer goods to express cultural categories and principles, cultivate ideals, create and sustain life styles, construct notions of the self, and create (and survive) social change'. He defines consumption as the process by which consumer goods and services are created, bought and used'.<sup>22</sup> Daniel Miller defines consumption as a process of objectification – it is 'a use of goods and services in which the object or activity becomes simultaneously a practice in the world and a form in which we construct our understandings of ourselves in the world'.<sup>23</sup> Miller sees the act of modern consumption as 'an attempt by people to extract their own humanity through the use of consumption as a creation of specificity, which is held to negate the generality and alienatory scale of the institutions from which they receive the goods and services'.<sup>24</sup>

With regard to the concept of 'choice', Daniel Miller observed that,

*it is revealed to be very far from some autonomous, independently generated act. Rather it is a limited condition that bears the burden of histories of social category formation in terms of class, gender and other parameters, the normative adjudication of families and peers, and the pressure of business attempts to ensure their particular profitability.*<sup>25</sup>

With regard to the meaning and significance of consumption, Glennie observed,

*Goods usually had multiple meanings, frequently combining utilitarian, ornamental and private associations, and these meanings connected to notions of identity and social ideology. Divisions between public display and private use were far from clear-cut... Meanings and uses were ascribed to objects as they were incorporated into practices, which might be ritualised or spontaneous, and whose character changed over time... Women, in particular, used consumer goods both to establish their families' abstract attributes (status, lineage), much as men used land, and to recognise and negotiate personal qualities of taste, sociability and worth.*<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> McKendrick 1982:1; McCracken 1990:17.

<sup>21</sup> Some of the following text was extracted from Section 2.2.

<sup>22</sup> McCracken 1990:xi.

<sup>23</sup> Miller 1995b:30.

<sup>24</sup> Miller 1995b:31.

<sup>25</sup> Miller 1995b:36.

<sup>26</sup> Glennie 1995:179, referring to Vickery 1993; Whitbread 1988.

Glennie suggests that women had a personal attachment to objects as their wills 'consistently reveal a self-conscious, emotional involvement in household goods, clothing and personal effects'.<sup>27</sup>

An important aspect of the meaning of goods is that they can mean different things in different places. For example the adoption of tea drinking by the working classes led to the changes in the practice of tea-drinking, 'dropping most ceremonial and mannered aspects for more utilitarian considerations of caffeine and sugar stimulation'.<sup>28</sup> The basis of this assumption is that because 'Consumer goods were acquired piecemeal, in a long series of *ad hoc* spending decisions, and mere ownership, especially in small numbers did not imply adherence to associated discourses'.<sup>29</sup>

### Conclusions

The mostly working-class families of the CSR site were usually composed of skilled men who undertook permanent and casual work nearby in the shipyards, abattoirs and wharves; and their wives who were usually responsible for the upbringing of the children and the undertaking of all stages of the food process - the acquisition, preparation, serving and disposal of meal remains. Much of the wife's time was spent undertaking these important duties. She was also responsible for the cleaning of the home. Where she possessed appropriate skills she may have undertaken outside work within the home, such as sewing, needlework or washing of laundry. Both houses, Houses 3 and 15, which had strong evidence for commercial sewing activities were also the houses with the majority of artefacts which may suggest that the source of the high quantity of artefacts was the relationship with the housewife who was successful at earning additional income, therefore giving the family greater access to consumer goods. It is generally thought that members of the working classes or urban poor were lucky to have one good income let alone two. Also the presence of additional money associated with the woman may be responsible for the larger quantities of jewellery and toys in Houses 3 and 15. It is also possible that where the women undertook paid work within the home that they may have been the only wage earner, if they were widowed or deserted or if their husband had been injured or could obtain only part-time work.

The evidence from the CSR site's houses indicates that where the kitchen was large enough it was the centre of household activity. The kitchen was where women stored, prepared, cooked and served food to their families, where the family ate the food, where the mother sewed in the sunlight from the door and window and, in front of the fire at night-time, where children played with and lost their toys and did school work, and where pet cats killed rats underneath the floorboards. In the case of Houses 3 and 5 the kitchens were too small and therefore these activities were shifted to the front room. House 1 was also different as the kitchen was detached from the house and had a flagged floor and therefore limited evidence was available to conclude how the residents were using the kitchen beyond storage, preparation and cooking of food. There was some evidence to suggest that food may have been consumed in Room 2 but the place where food was consumed may have depended upon each resident family.

Most of the kitchens contained hundreds of artefacts showing us the importance placed on how people looked, how they were dressed, and how they were groomed. The presence of jewellery, brooches, rings, earrings, pendants, hat pins, and pins are all about making the wearer conform to her ideal type or what she thought was attractive in jewellery. It is perhaps in this area that there is a greater ability to further understand the feminine ideals to which these working-class women aspired. Were they emulating the middle classes, were they flaunting themselves with garish jewellery or were these presents of affection and appreciation such as a brooch forming the word 'Darling'?

---

<sup>27</sup> Glennie 1995:179.

<sup>28</sup> Glennie 1995:180.

<sup>29</sup> Glennie 1995:180 referring to Martin 1993.

The evidence for the range of activities undertaken in the front room of the houses was not as structured as it was in the kitchens. The pattern of activities was inconsistent except for the personal artefacts which were always dominant (Table 5.2, Table 19.2). In House 15 there were only two food artefacts out of 112 items and 122 fragments of bone found in the front room which suggests that it was infrequently used for the consumption of food. In House 17 there were only 16 artefacts and 90 bone fragments which suggests that it was hardly used at all. This is a pattern present in many of the front rooms of the houses at the CSR site except for Houses 3 and 5 discussed above.

In most of the houses personal items were the dominant artefact group. Personal items include artefacts associated with adornment, clothing, jewellery, accessories, grooming, health and hygiene. The importance of these personal artefacts was perhaps surprising for working-class families but it does reveal that there was a concern for how people looked, for men as well as for women. It also indicates that the purchase of personal items was one of the main categories on which people spent money, presumably money that was available above what was required to feed and clothe the family. The money may have been spent by the individual but it is also clear that some items were purchased by the husband as a present to his wife as in the case of the silver brooch inscribed with 'Darling' in House 19 or perhaps by the mother or godparent for a baby as in House 17 where there was a gilded brooch of the word 'baby'.

The archaeological evidence tends to identify the range of activities associated with food as an essential and pervasive aspect of daily life. The counts of animal bone with the cultural artefacts would make the artefact counts of food exceed those for personal items. The ever-present food items are teawares and tablewares. The teacups and saucers came in a range of patterns but not necessarily matching ones. Only a few of the cups and saucers were in finer fabrics, such as porcelain and china. Teawares were mainly found in white or gilded and white ceramics. Most of the teapots were in Rockingham glaze and Jackfield ware. There was considerable variation between the ceramic types purchased for tablewares and teawares. Other than dinner plates there were few examples of elaborate tableware or serving vessels. Food was served directly from the stove onto dinner plates, most likely to maintain control over limited portions. In addition there was no elaboration of household meals which demanded a more complex ritual in the everyday practice of eating than that found in these working-class households.

#### 8.4 Other Research Questions

**Where houses are connected with the same family for extended periods are there discrete domestic assemblages which can be attributed to their occupation, which can then be used to reconstruct the family's standard of living?**

The analysis to date has not been aimed at answering this question. It is possible that with further analysis and historical research this question may be answered in a positive manner, especially in House 17 where most of the nineteenth-century artefacts should relate to the occupation of the house by the Britton family. The time constraints for producing this report do not allow for the elaboration of this research.

**Is there evidence for cottage crafts or other unrecorded professions or works in the area?**

The detailed analysis for commercial sewing in Area A, House 15 and probably in Area C, House 3 does support the presence of unrecorded work that was undertaken by women within the home. See the analysis of these two houses for further details. In addition I have hypothesised in the analysis of the fabric and yard areas of the houses in Area A that there was a possibility that some of these houses were undertaking some type of commercial laundry work but this is uncertain.

**Is there any evidence to suggest that this part of Pyrmont was a self-contained community or particularly isolated?**

There is evidence to suggest that the residents had similar access to markets and goods although the quantity and kind of goods vary. To determine if this evidence is fairly representative of all working-class residents in Sydney requires comparison with houses outside Pyrmont. This is outside the scope and time constraints of this report.

**Has evidence for mid nineteenth-century shipbuilding or other early industry survived along the foreshores?**

There was no surviving evidence for shipbuilding at the CSR site. Monitoring along the shoreline revealed that there had been extensive quarrying of the foreshore for CSR uses, whether for storage or building construction.

**Dairying and its association with women (eg. Bridget O'Toole).**

Archaeological testing and monitoring of the area containing the site of the O'Toole dairy revealed that bedrock was high and that there was little potential for archaeological remains in this area within the Harvey Street Precinct.

The only surviving archaeological remains associated with a dairy were the remains from Area D, 69 John Street. Only part of this area had any archaeological potential and it generally consisted of high bedrock with some cement surfacing, typical of twentieth-century dairying, and some stone footings which may have related to the Kincade's house. There were no artefacts found in association with these footings. The results of the archaeological excavation have little contribution to make to the question of dairying.

## 9.0 References

- Aird, W. V. 1961 *The Water Supply, Sewerage and Drainage of Sydney*, Halstead Press, Pty Ltd, Kingsgrove.
- Alford, Katrina 1984 *Production or Reproductions? An economic history of women in Australia, 1788-1850*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Anderson, G.F. 1955 *Fifty Years of Electricity Supply*, Sydney County Council, Sydney.
- Anglin Associates with Andrew Wilson 1990 'Pyrmont and Ultimo Heritage Study', unpublished report for the Council of the City of Sydney.
- Aplin, G. 1982 'Models of Urban Change: Sydney 1820-1870', *Australian Geographic Studies* 20:144-151.
- Aplin, G. (ed) 1988 *Sydney Before Macquarie, A Difficult Infant*, NSWUP, Sydney.
- Ashton, Paul 1990 Thematic History, in Anglin Associates & Andrew Wilson, 'Pyrmont and Ultimo Heritage Study', unpublished report for the Council of the City of Sydney.
- Atkinson, A. and M. Aveling, (eds) 1987 *Australians 1838*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney.
- Beaudry, M.C.  
1984 'Archaeology and the Historical Household', *Man in the Northeast* 28:27-38.  
1988 'Introduction', *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1-3.
- Buckley, K. & K. Wheelwright 1988 *No Paradise for Workers, Capitalism and the Common People in Australia 1788-1914*, OUP, Melbourne.
- Butlin, N.G.  
1964 *Investment in Australian economic development 1861-1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.  
1965 'Long Term trends in Australian *Per Capita* Consumption', in K.J Hancock (ed) *The National Income and Social Welfare*, ch. 1, Melbourne.
- Casey, Mary  
1999 'The Governor's Domain - a transformed landscape', conference paper Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology, Bendigo'.
- Casey & Lowe Associates  
2000 Archaeological Investigation, Conservatorium Site, Macquarie Street, Sydney, for NSW Department of Public Works & Services, Vol. 1-5, draft.  
1996 Archaeological Assessment CSR site, for Howard Tanner on behalf of Lend Lease.  
1994a Archaeological Assessment, Point and Cross Streets, Pyrmont, report for City West Development Corporation  
1994b Archaeological Assessment Systrum Street, Ultimo, report for Ercole Palazzetti Architects.  
1993 Archaeological Assessment Grand Coral Development, Bulwara Road, Pyrmont, report for Baker Associates Architects on behalf of J & J Allen.
- Coghlan, T.A. 1893 *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales*, 7<sup>th</sup> issue, Government Printer.
- Cremin, Aedeon (ed.) 2000 *1901, Australian colonial life at Federation. An illustrated chronicle*. UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Cuffley, Peter 1984 *A catalogue of Australian life, Chandeliers & Billy Tea 1880-1940*, The Five Mile Press, Knoxfield.
- Curson, P. 1985 *Times of Crisis, Epidemics in Sydney 1788-1900*, SUP, Sydney.
- Curson, P. and K. McCracken nd  
*Plague in Sydney, The Anatomy of an Epidemic*, NSWUP, Sydney.
- Dixon, Miriam 1976 (1999) *The real Matilda. Women and identity in Australia - 1788 to the present*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 4<sup>th</sup> edition.
- du Cros, Hilary and L. Smith, 1993 *Women in archaeology. A feminist critique*, Dept. of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra.
- Dyster, Barry 1989 *Servant & Master*, NSWUP, Sydney.

- Edwards, N. 1978 'The Genesis of the Sydney Central Business District 1788-1856', in M. Kelly (ed), *Nineteenth-Century Sydney, Essays in Urban History*, SUP, p.37-53.
- Fitzgerald, Shirley  
 1987 *Rising Damp, Sydney 1870-90*, OUP, Melbourne.  
 1990 *Sydney 1842-1992*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Fitzgerald, Shirley and Hilary Golder 1994 *Pymont & Ultimo Under Siege*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney
- Freeland, I. 1982 *Architecture in Australia*, Penguin, Melbourne.
- Frost, Alan 1987 *Arthur Phillip, 1738-1814. His Voyaging*, OUP, Melbourne.
- Glennie, Paul 1995 'Consumption within historical studies', in Daniel Miller (ed.) *Acknowledging consumption. A review of new studies*, Routledge, London, pp. 164-203.
- Godden Mackay 1994 Yellow Block Quarry, Archaeological Assessment, unpublished report for CMPS&F and Readymix Group.
- Grimshaw, Patricia, M. Lake, A. McGrath, and M. Quartly, 1994 *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood.
- Groom, B. & W. Wickman 1982 *Sydney - the 1850s, The Lost Collections*
- Karskens, Grace  
 1997 *The Rocks, life in early Sydney*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.  
 1999 *Inside the Rocks. The archaeology of a neighbourhood*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Keating, Christopher 1991 *Surry Hills, The City's Backyard*, Hale & Iremonger: Sydney.
- Kelly, Max & Ruth Crocker 1978 *Sydney Takes Shape*, Doak Press, Sydney
- Kelly, Max 1974 'Eight Acres: Estate sub-division and the building process, Paddington, 1875-1890' in Schedvin C. & McCarty, J (ed) *Urbanization in Australia: the Nineteenth Century*, 57-70.
- Kelly, M. (ed) 1978 *Nineteenth-century Sydney, Essays in Urban History*, SUP, Sydney.
- Kingston, Beverly 1988 *Glad Confident Morning*, The Oxford History of Australia, Vol. 3, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Kociumbas, Jan 1997 *Australian Childhood, A History*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, Sydney.
- Klein, Terry, J. McCarthy & S. Renaud, 1996 'Urban Archaeology. 1996 Annual Meeting, Cincinnati. Workshops on the Status of Urban Archaeology in the United States: An Opportunity for Discussion', *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* 29 (4):13-15.
- Leone, Mark  
 1987 'The Georgian order as the order of merchant capitalism in Annapolis, Maryland', in Mark Leone and Parker Potter jr. *The Recovery of Meaning. Historical Archaeology in the eastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, pp. 235-261.  
 1992 'Epilogue: The productive nature of material culture and archaeology', *Historical Archaeology* 26(3):130-133.
- Leone, Mark & C. Crosby 1987 'Epilogue. Middle-Range Theory in Historical Archaeology', in *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, (ed) Suzanne Spencer-Wood, Plenum Press, New York.
- Leone, Mark & P. Potter (eds) 1987 *Recovery and Meaning*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.
- Linge, G.J.R 1979 *Industrial Awakening: A Geography of Australian Manufacturing 1788 to 1890*, ANU Press, Canberra.
- Little, Barbara 1994 'People with history: An update on historical archaeology in the United States', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 1:5-40.
- Little, Barbara (ed.) 1992a *Text-aided Archaeology*, CRC Press, Boca, Raton.
- Little, Barbara 1992b 'Text-aided archaeology' in Little, B (ed.) *Text-aided Archaeology*, CRC Press, Boca, Raton, pp. 1-6.
- Lindbergh, Jennie 1999 'Buttoning down archaeology', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 17:50-57.
- Lydon, Jane

- 1999 *Many Inventions: The Chinese in the Rocks 1890-1930*, Monash University Press, History Series, Melbourne.
- 1993 (1995) 'Archaeology in the Rocks, Sydney, 1979-93. From Old Sydney Gaol to Mrs Lewis' Boarding-house', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 11:43-51.
- 1993 'Task Differentiation in Historical Archaeology: Sewing as Material Culture', in Hilary du Cros and Laurajane Smith *Women in archaeology. A feminist critique*, Dept. of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra, pp. 129-133.
- McCracken, Grant 1990 (1986) *Culture and Consumption*, Indiana University Press.
- Matthews, Michael 1982 *Pymont & Ultimo, A History*, Southwood Press, Sydney.
- Maynard, Margaret 1994 *Fashioned from Penury*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Mayne, A.J.C.  
1982 *Fever, Squalor and Vice. Sanitation and Social Policy in Victorian Sydney*. UQP, St Lucia.  
1993 *The Imagined Slum. Newspaper representation in three cities, 1870-1914*, Leister University Press.
- Miller, Daniel (ed.) 1995a *Acknowledging Consumption. A review of new studies*, Routledge, London.
- Miller, Daniel 1995b 'Consumption as the vanguard of history', in Daniel Miller (ed) *Acknowledging Consumption. A review of new studies*, Routledge, London, pp. 1-57.
- Mrozowski, S. 1988 'For gentlemen of capacity and leisure: The archaeology of colonial newspapers', in Mary Beaudry (ed.) *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 184-191.
- Potter, Parker. 1992 'Middle-range Theory, ceramics and capitalism in 19th-century Rockbridge County, Virginia', in Little, B (ed.) *Text-aided Archaeology*, CRC Press, Boca, Raton, pp. 9-23.
- Russell, Penny 1994 'A wish of distinction', *colonial gentility and femininity*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- Ross, Anne 1988 'Tribal and linguistic boundaries: A reassessment of the evidence', in Aplin, G., (ed) *Sydney Before Macquarie, A Difficult Infant*, NSWUP, Sydney.
- Schmidt, P. and S. Mrozowski 1988 'Documentary insights into the archaeology of smuggling', in M. Beaudry (ed.) *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 32-42.
- Schuyler, Robert 1978 'The spoken word, the written word, observed behaviour: The contexts available to the archaeologist' in Schuyler (ed.) *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, Baywood Publishing, New York, pp. 269-277.
- Silber & Fleming 1990 *The Silber & Fleming Glass and China Book*, facsimile, Wordsworth Editions, Ware.
- South, Stanley  
1977a *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, New York: Academic Press.  
1977b *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*, New York: Academic Press
- Spencer-Wood, Suzanne  
1987a *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, New York, Plenum Press.  
1987b Millers Indices and Consumer-Choice Profiles: Status Related Behaviours and White Ceramics, *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, Plenum Press, New York.
- Stone, Sharman 1991 *Australian Sea Shells*, Claremont, South Yarra.
- Sydney City and Suburban Sewerage and Health Board 1876 'Eleventh Progress Report', Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 16 August 1876.
- Toussaint-Samat, Maguelonne 1992 (1994) *A History of Food*, tans. Anthea Bell, Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Turbet, Paul 1989 *The Aborigines of the Sydney District Before 1788*, Kangaroo Press, Sydney.
- Vamplew, Wray 1987 *Australians, Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates.
- Wall, Diana di Zerga

- 1994 *The Archaeology of Gender, Separating the Spheres in Urban America*, Plenum Press, New York.
- 1991 'Sacred Dinners and Secular Teas: Constructing Domesticity in Mid-19<sup>th</sup> New York', *Historical Archaeology* 25 (4):69-81.
- Wilke, Richard and W. Rathje 1982 'Household Archaeology', In *Archaeology of the Household: Building a Prehistory of Domestic Life*, R. Wilke and W. Rathje (ed), *American Behavioral Scientist* 25 (6):617-639.
- Wotherspoon, Garry 1983 *Sydney's Transport, Studies in Urban History*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Yentsch, Anne
- 1988a 'Legends, houses, families, and myths: Relationships between material culture and American ideology', in M. Beaudry (ed.) *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 5-19.
- 1988b 'Farming, fishing, whaling, trading: Land and sea as resource on eighteenth-century Cape Cod', in M. Beaudry (ed.) *Documentary archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 138-160.
- 1988c 'Material Culture and American Ideology' in Mary Beaudry (ed) 1988 *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.