

4.0 Artefact Analysis

4.1 Research Questions for Artefact Analysis

Three short questions provide the basis for analysing the artefact from a range of contexts. It is hoped that these questions will allow us to address the larger scale research questions identified in Section 1.3 and 5. The most relevant questions for analysing artefacts from archaeological excavation are:

- What type and range of artefacts were found?
- What range of activities do the artefacts indicate were being undertaken at the site?
- What was the nature of the goods in terms of aspects of availability of consumer goods, and quality and variety of consumer goods and their evidence for interaction of the site with the world at large?

4.2 Artefacts Analysis

The following artefact analysis is designed to address the three baseline research questions raised above. This section draws on the specialist reports in Section 8 written by the specialist artefact cataloguers as well as additional analysis undertaken by Mary Casey for this report. Section 4 is a counterpart to Section 3 as it provides a synthesis of the artefacts and Section 3 a synthesis of the overall archaeological results.

4.2.1 Cataloguing of Artefacts

All artefacts were catalogued by a specialist team within the cataloguing system developed by Mary Casey in consultation with these specialists. The basis of this system has been published elsewhere and will not be repeated here.¹ The main elements of the cataloguing system are the use of minimum vessel or item counts and attribution of functional categories to the artefacts during cataloguing. This assists in the understating of how the artefacts related to the life of the people residing on the various properties that used and disposed of the artefacts and assists with future comparative analysis between other archaeological sites excavated by Casey & Lowe, notably those in Parramatta.

4.3 Overview of Artefacts

This section will start with a brief overview of the range of artefacts found at the site and will then focus on the three main artefact-bearing contexts from the site: the storage cellar, the well and the backfill of the brewery cellar. A total of 6348 sherds or fragments of artefacts were recovered during excavation, making a minimum total of 2108 items (Table 4-1).

| Category | MIC | % | MIC | % |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| Architectural/ Building Materials | 250 | 11.9 | 815 | 12.8 |
| Ceramic | 907 | 43.0 | 2040 | 32.1 |
| Glass | 442 | 21.0 | 3064 | 48.3 |
| Metal | 299 | 14.2 | 252 | 4.0 |
| Miscellaneous | 210 | 10.0 | 177 | 2.8 |
| | 2108 | 100.1 | 6348 | 100 |

Table 4-1: Categories of artefact found at the site.

Many of the artefacts (68%) came from Lot 102W with 20 percent from Lot 103 and only 12 percent from 102E (Table 4-2). Most of the artefacts from Lot 103 came for the backfill of the well 4101 (Table 4-3). In Lot 102E only five contexts had more than 20 artefacts (Table 4-4), these were either preliminary cleaning contexts or the demolition from the 1880s house. Lot 102W contained 68 percent of all artefacts (MIC) found on the site (Tables 4-2, 4-5). The main deposits in this area were the backfill of the brewery cellar (3514) and the deposits within the storage cellar (3957) (Table 4-5).

¹ Mary Casey 2004 'Falling between the cracks: method and practice at the CSR Site, Pyrmont', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 21:27-43.

The storage cellar contained 39 percent of artefacts found in Lot 102W and the backfill of the brewery contained 15 percent.

| Lot | MIC | % | # Frags | % |
|------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| 102E | 242 | 11.5 | 445 | 7.0 |
| 102W | 1440 | 68.3 | 4747 | 74.8 |
| 103 | 426 | 20.2 | 1156 | 18.2 |
| | 2108 | 100 | 6348 | 100 |

Table 4-2: Quantities of artefacts found within each separate property.

| Well Contexts Lot 103 | MIC | % | Comment |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| 4102 | 54 | 13.1 | some possible contamination |
| 4103 | 12 | 2.9 | some possible contamination |
| 4104 | 115 | 27.8 | contamination unlikely, same as 4135 |
| 4105 | 26 | 6.3 | limited possible contamination |
| 4106 | 9 | 2.2 | limited possible contamination |
| 4110 | 159 | 38.5 | limited possible contamination |
| 4135 | 38 | 9.2 | machine excavation |
| | 413 | 100 | |

Table 4-3: Contexts and quantities of artefacts from the well in Lot 103.

| Lot | Context No | MIC | % | Comments |
|------|---------------|-----|------|-----------------|
| 102E | 3401 | 38 | 15.7 | cleaning |
| | 3403 | 47 | 19.4 | demolition fill |
| | 3404 | 26 | 10.7 | demolition fill |
| | 3405 | 5 | 2.1 | |
| | 3406 | 20 | 8.3 | demolition fill |
| | 3407 | 9 | 3.7 | |
| | 3409 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3412 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3416 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3421 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3435 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3439 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3448 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3456 | 9 | 3.7 | |
| | 3457 | 21 | 8.7 | cleaning |
| | 3458 | 3 | 1.2 | |
| | 3459 | 1 | 0.4 | |
| | 3460 | 3 | 1.2 | |
| | 3461 | 8 | 3.3 | |
| | 3462 | 2 | 0.8 | |
| | 3464 | 5 | 2.1 | |
| 3465 | 6 | 2.5 | | |
| 3466 | 3 | 1.2 | | |
| 3802 | 1 | 0.4 | | |
| 3803 | 13 | 5.4 | | |
| 3804 | 8 | 3.3 | | |
| 3805 | 7 | 2.9 | | |
| | | 242 | | |

Table 4-4: Contexts in Lot 102E that contained artefacts.

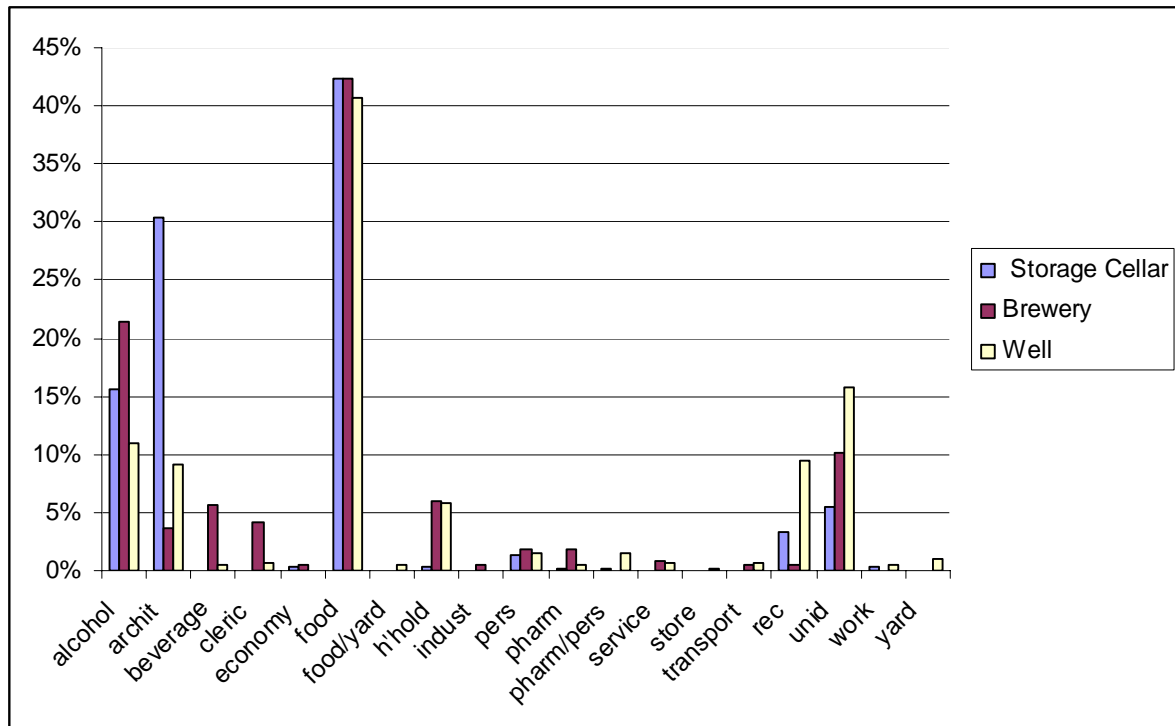
| Contexts Lot 102W | MIC | % | Comments |
|-------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| 7 | 4 | 0.3 | testing |
| 9 | 4 | 0.3 | testing |
| 2653 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3409 | 10 | 0.7 | |
| 3456 | 9 | 0.6 | |
| 3501 | 36 | 2.5 | cleaning |
| 3502 | 15 | 1.0 | |
| 3509 | 11 | 0.8 | |
| 3513 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3514 | 215 | 14.9 | brewery cellar backfill |
| 3517 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3519 | 5 | 0.3 | |
| 3521 | 5 | 0.3 | |
| 3522 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 3523 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3527 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 3534 | 33 | 2.3 | fill of pit 3533 |
| 3536 | 7 | 0.5 | |
| 3537 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3553 | 5 | 0.3 | |
| 3557 | 6 | 0.4 | |
| 3569 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 3575 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 3589 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3590 | 43 | 3.0 | demolition deposit |
| 3596 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3608 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3617 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3619 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 3621 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3643 | 8 | 0.6 | |
| 3674 | 17 | 1.2 | |
| 3682 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3683 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3684 | 44 | 3.1 | Fill of 3683, brewery drain |
| 3686 | 22 | 1.5 | |
| 3688 | 20 | 1.4 | |
| 3692 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3710 | 10 | 0.7 | |
| 3712 | 6 | 0.4 | |
| 3713 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3809 | 9 | 0.6 | |
| 3856 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3901 | 59 | 4.1 | cleaning to north of CZ |
| 3902 | 9 | 0.6 | |
| 3905 | 80 | 5.6 | Fill of pit 3904 |
| 3913 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3922 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3923 | 14 | 1.0 | |
| 3938 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 3951 | 2 | 0.1 | |

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| 3953 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3957 | 21 | 1.5 | |
| 3958 | 113 | 7.8 | fill of storage cellar 3957 |
| 3959 | 137 | 9.5 | fill of storage cellar 3957 |
| 3960 | 119 | 8.3 | fill of storage cellar 3957 |
| 3961 | 189 | 13.1 | fill of storage cellar 3957 |
| 3962 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 3965 | 6 | 0.4 | |
| 3977 | 10 | 0.7 | |
| 3984 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3992 | 23 | 1.6 | |
| 3994 | 4 | 0.3 | |
| 3996 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 4006 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 4019 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 4030 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 4050 | 24 | 1.7 | fill of storage cellar 3957 |
| 4053 | 2 | 0.1 | |
| 4069 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 4071 | 6 | 0.4 | |
| 4074 | 3 | 0.2 | |
| 4078 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| 4702 | 1 | 0.1 | |
| | 1440 | 99.9 | |

Table 4-5: List of contexts containing artefacts in Lot 102W. The main deposits are the backfill of the brewery cellar and the early storage cellar.

| General Function | MIC Storage Cellar | % | MIC Well | % | MIC Brewery backfill 3514 | % |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| alcohol | 91 | 15.6 | 45 | 10.9 | 46 | 21.4 |
| architecture | 177 | 30.4 | 38 | 9.2 | 8 | 3.7 |
| beverage | — | — | 2 | 0.5 | 12 | 5.6 |
| clerical | — | — | 3 | 0.7 | 9 | 4.2 |
| economy | 2 | 0.3 | — | — | 1 | 0.5 |
| food | 246 | 42.3 | 168 | 40.7 | 91 | 42.3 |
| food/yard | — | — | 2 | 0.5 | — | — |
| h'hold | 2 | 0.3 | 24 | 5.8 | 13 | 6.0 |
| industrial | — | — | — | — | 1 | 0.5 |
| personal | 8 | 1.4 | 6 | 1.5 | 4 | 1.9 |
| pharmaceutical | 1 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.5 | 4 | 1.9 |
| pharm/pers | 1 | 0.2 | 6 | 1.5 | — | 0 |
| service | — | — | 3 | 0.7 | 2 | 0.9 |
| store | — | — | 1 | 0.2 | — | — |
| transport | — | — | 3 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.5 |
| recreation | 20 | 3.4 | 39 | 9.4 | 1 | 0.5 |
| unidentified | 32 | 5.5 | 65 | 15.7 | 22 | 10.2 |
| work | 2 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.5 | — | — |
| yard | — | — | 4 | 1.0 | — | — |
| | 582 | 99.6 | 413 | 100 | 215 | 100.1 |

Table 4-6: Range of functions associated with the three main contexts from the PCC site. These are illustrated in Graph 4-1.



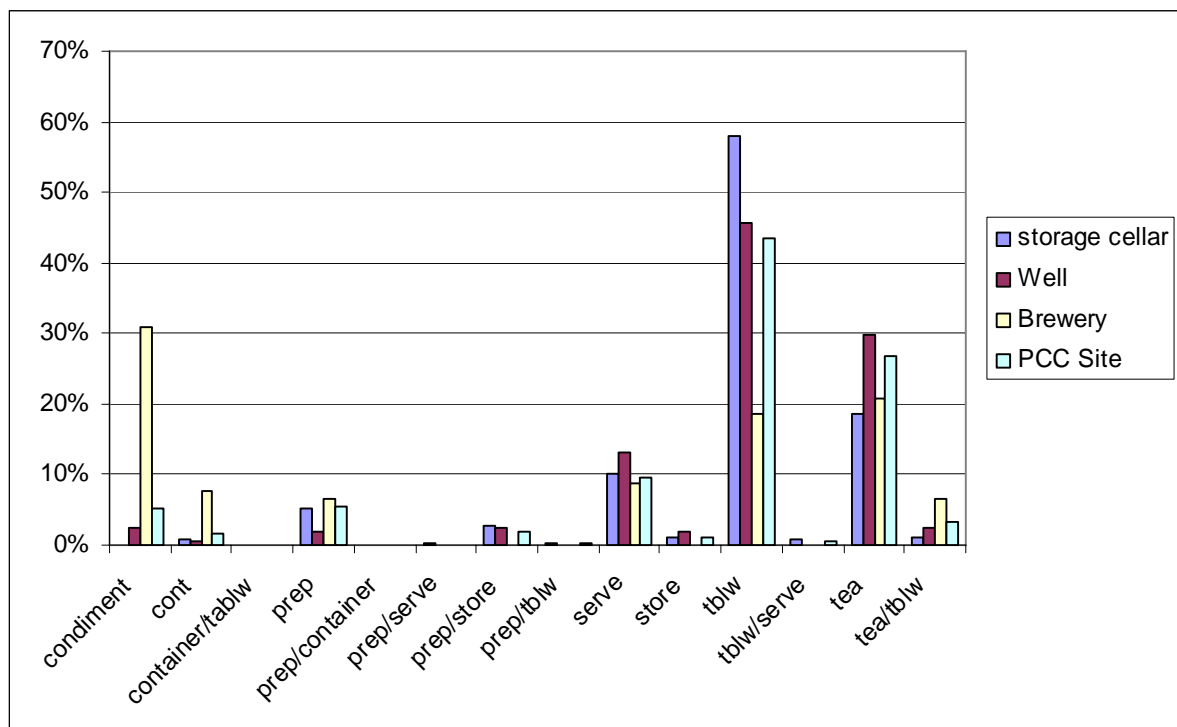
Graph 4-1: Graph of functional categories from the three main contexts from the PCC site, based on Table 4-6.

The artefacts from the main contexts fulfilled a range of attributed functions (Table 4-6, Graph 4-1). Among the most dominant of the functional categories was food and alcohol. Food-related artefacts were more than 40 percent in the three main deposits while alcohol was less evenly distributed with more of the artefacts found in the backfill of the brewery cellar (21%), more than the storage cellar

(15%) and the well (11%) (Table 4-6). The dominance of the architectural category in the storage cellar relates to the presence of so many early double-lug roofing tiles in this deposit which are thought to have come from the roof of the storage cellar (Section 3.3.2).

| Specific Function | MIC storage cellar | % | MIC Well | % | MIC Brewery | % | PCC Site | % |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| condiment | – | – | 4 | 2.4 | 28 | 30.8 | 40 | 5.2 |
| container | 2 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.6 | 7 | 7.7 | 13 | 1.7 |
| container/tableware | – | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 0.1 |
| preparation | 13 | 5.3 | 3 | 1.8 | 6 | 6.6 | 43 | 5.6 |
| prep/container | – | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 0.1 |
| prep/serve | 1 | 0.4 | – | – | – | 0.0 | 1 | 0.1 |
| prep/store | 7 | 2.8 | 4 | 2.4 | – | 0.0 | 15 | 2.0 |
| prep/ tableware | 1 | 0.4 | – | 0.0 | – | 0.0 | 2 | 0.3 |
| serve | 25 | 10.2 | 22 | 13.1 | 8 | 8.8 | 74 | 9.7 |
| store | 3 | 1.2 | 3 | 1.8 | – | – | 9 | 1.2 |
| tableware | 143 | 58.1 | 77 | 45.8 | 17 | 18.7 | 332 | 43.5 |
| tableware/serve | 2 | 0.8 | – | – | – | – | 4 | 0.5 |
| tea | 46 | 18.7 | 50 | 29.8 | 19 | 20.9 | 204 | 26.7 |
| tea/tableware | 3 | 1.2 | 4 | 2.4 | 6 | 6.6 | 25 | 3.3 |
| | 246 | 93.8 | 168 | 32.2 | 91 | 27.5 | 764 | 100 |

Table 4-7: Range of food-related artefacts from the main contexts and for the whole site.



Graph 4-2: Range of food-related artefacts within the three main contexts in relation to the whole of the site.

The food-related artefacts are dominated by tablewares in the storage cellar and the well while the backfill of the brewery presents a different profile with the largest group being condiments (31%), with a few more teawares (21%) than tablewares (19%). The dominance of tablewares in the storage cellar is interesting and presents a typical profile for earlier deposits. The presence of such a high proportion of condiment bottles in the brewery backfill is surprising as such quantities have typically

been associated with elite food consumption or with manufacturing of condiments such as vinegars.² In the case of vinegar manufacturing the quantities of bottles was much higher than 21 percent.

Lot 102W

Storage Cellar

Dating

The dating of the backfill of the storage cellar, following the discontinuation of its use, and the end date of the date of the artefacts is based on analysis from the three separate specialist reports:

- Ceramics report: no TPQ or ‘from’ dates later than 1840.
- Glass report: based on marks a date range of 1750s–1858 was given, noted the presence of a fragment of bottle glass dating from 1885.
- Metals, Miscellaneous, Building Materials report: a machine-made marble dating from 1850 otherwise all initial manufacture or ‘from’ dates of the known artefacts are earlier than pre-1840.

| From | MIC Storage Cellar | % |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 1688 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1720 | 30 | 6.1 |
| 1735 | 10 | 2.0 |
| 1750 | 2 | 0.4 |
| 1760 | 7 | 1.4 |
| 1761 | 8 | 1.6 |
| 1770 | 3 | 0.6 |
| 1780 | 130 | 26.3 |
| 1785 | 6 | 1.2 |
| 1788 | 165 | 33.3 |
| 1790 | 80 | 16.2 |
| 1800 | 23 | 4.6 |
| 1810 | 3 | 0.6 |
| 1815 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1820 | 11 | 2.2 |
| 1830 | 6 | 1.2 |
| 1840 | 5 | 1.0 |
| 1848 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1849 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1850 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1885 | 1 | 0.2 |
| | 495 | 99.9 |
| | | |
| | | |

| To | MIC Storage Cellar | % |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 1801 | 8 | 1.9 |
| 1806 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1810 | 149 | 35.2 |
| 1820 | 61 | 14.4 |
| 1830 | 16 | 3.8 |
| 1850 | 50 | 11.8 |
| 1860 | 5 | 1.2 |
| 1861 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1870 | 57 | 13.5 |
| 1880 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1890 | 12 | 2.8 |
| 1900 | 55 | 13.0 |
| 1914 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1918 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1920 | 1 | 0.2 |
| 1930 | 4 | 0.9 |
| | 423 | 99.7 |

Table 4-8: TPQ or ‘from’ dates for artefacts found in the storage cellar. To the right are TAQ or ‘to’ dates for artefacts found in the storage cellar. The ‘to’ dates means these artefacts were not manufactured after this date.

In many cases the dates of manufacture for the artefacts pre-dates the arrival of British settlement (1788), a total of 39 percent. It should be noted that the practice when cataloguing ceramics is to give items a start date of 1788 as they could not have been in New South Wales prior to that date. All of the items dating from 1788 are either the locally-made roofing tiles (150) or other metal construction artefacts such as nails (5), brads (2) or bricks (2), as well as a marble. This indicates that many of the artefacts were ‘early’ or ‘heirloom’ artefacts which were retained within the family for some time. A few artefacts date to as late as 1840s, 1850 and 1885 (Table 4-8). Based on the

² Casey 2005.

dominance of pre-1841 artefacts it is considered that the deposition of these artefacts was around that date but definitely no later than 1850. The glass sherd with the 1885 date is completely atypical of the main date range and suggests some contamination. While this sherd came from the bottom context (3961) the 1840-1850 backfilling date is still reasonable because the whole western face of the backfill was cut by a late twentieth-century hospital service trench which could easily have dislodged a later sherd into this deposit. As well, the storage cellar was subject to a robbery attempt by a bottle collector who dug out artefacts from the base of this deposit (3961) which also could have contaminated the deposit with later artefacts at this time.³

An unusual tile, which is part of the floor of a malt kiln (Photo 4-13) was found within the context 3960/26319 and is thought to be associated with the brewery construction phase. This supports the contention that the discontinuation of the use of the storage cellar, and its subsequent backfilling, was contemporary with the construction of the brewery.

Range of Artefacts

Glass⁴

A total of 136 glass artefacts were recovered from the storage cellar. Functional analysis classified 94 percent of these items into three identified groups: alcohol (79), food (35), and pharmacy (13). One bottle was classified as pharmacy/personal. In addition there were 30 window glass fragments in the architecture group. Alcohol-related artefacts are mostly beer/wine (76) with one bottle specifically identified as beer and one identified specifically as wine. One bottle was identified as a French champagne bottle.

The majority of food-related artefacts are tableware items, including tumblers (12), stemware (16), shot glasses (2), a dish and a salt cellar. In addition there are two food-related jars. One form is identified as a late eighteenth-century to early nineteenth-century 'wide-mouthed rum' bottle but research suggests that these bottles were most often used for pickles or preserves.⁵

It is considered that this glass assemblage resulted from the residential occupation of Lot 102W from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Early items, such as the French wine bottle (1688–1850), could be attributed to Anthony Landrin, a Frenchman who possibly lived there. Several tableware items also date to this early period, however, unlike bottles that were considered a somewhat utilitarian item during this time, tablewares would have been highly valued and maintained for longer periods of time. Finally, the majority of beer/wine bottles date from the late eighteenth century to early nineteenth century rather than from any later occupation of Lot 102W.

Beer/wine bottles were not typically kept by people unless they are being re-used because bottles were usually purchased for their contents rather than for the container itself, except perhaps for home made cordials or beer. This contrasts with tablewares which performed a specific purpose and are a type of material culture considered to represent the personal preferences of individuals, which relate to availability of goods in the market place, taste, purchasing power and group identity.⁶ In contrast to the above predictive model the presence of these bottles in this deposit may indicate that older types of artefacts were being stored or hoarded for some time and that these bottles were only being disposed of when the convict-hut house was being demolished and/or following the death of a resident when they were perceived as having no value for the new owner of the property.⁷ Other aspects of the glass artefacts that aid this interpretation are the presence of an older style salt dish dating from the 1750s and many artefacts which were manufactured prior to 1788.

³ See Section 7:30, photo 4-11 showing this disturbance.

⁴ Some of the following observations are taken from the specialist report, Section 7.3.

⁵ Munsey 1970:85, McKearin and Wilson 1978:192-193.

⁶ See Casey 2005 for a range of references on the meaning and nature of material culture.

⁷ See Casey & Lowe 2005a, *Archaeological Investigation 1 Smith Street, Parramatta* for a comparable early twentieth-century deposit for reuse of items and the wide date range.

Another explanation for the early date of these bottles in a deposit considered to date much later is that the possible hoarding may be the by-product of the lack of availability of glass bottles during the early colonial period which encouraged hoarding or the continued re-use of glass bottles. This may be further encouraged by the need to import all glass vessels from the UK as there was no local manufacturing in Sydney until 1866.⁸

Ceramics

The storage cellar contained a few near complete as well as more fragmentary lead-glazed vessels that are likely to be locally made in the Sydney Brickfields (Haymarket) between 1790 and 1840 (Photo 4-1 to 4-4).⁹ The shapes are generally utilitarian vessels and are mostly associated with food/preparation and personal/hygiene. Some of the forms from both the storage cellar and the pits to the north of the Conservation Zone appear to be attempts to imitate British ceramics and Chinese imports (Photo 4-4). Forms found include: poes or chamber pots (Photo 4-1, 4-3), a candle stick (Photo 4-4), a drainer (Photo 4-4), and pans or 'pancheons', a typical form used in dairying, breadmaking or other similar food preparation activities (Photo 4-2).¹⁰ The pan has a long tradition of use in Britain and elsewhere. The 'pan' shape disappears around the middle of the nineteenth century and was replaced by vessels such as mixing bowls and other utilitarian ceramics that had more specific functions relating to changing food preparation practices and could be mass produced. This form is a 'marker' between 'pre-modern' and 'modern' (rural vs urban) food preparation which is often represented by the introduction of stoves and the ability to purchase staple foods, such as milk, butter and bread, from a nearby supplier rather than it being necessary to be self-sufficient and provide all these staple food for oneself. Aside from the utilitarian items were finer locally-made lead-glazed ceramics (Photo 4-4), including part of two teapots. The lead-glazed vessels from the storage cellar represents one of the most intact deposits of locally-made pottery so far found in Parramatta or Sydney, aside from the excavations of the Irrawang Pottery in the Hunter Valley.¹¹

Among the other ceramics were fragments of 84 imported Chinese vessels, mostly porcelain (77) as well as some stoneware (7) (Photo 4-7 to 4-9). Included in these were a mixture of the some fine hand-painted cups and saucers (Photo 4-8) as well as the more common Nanking and Canton patterned export blue and white porcelain as well as a monochrome blue rice bowl (Photo 4-7). An oval-shaped serving dish (Photo 4-7, right) of this type has been found on three sites Casey & Lowe have excavated in Parramatta.¹²

| General Function | MIC | % |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| food | 75 | 89.3 |
| unidentified | 9 | 10.7 |
| Total | 84 | 100 |

Table 4-9: Chinese ceramics are mostly associated with food.

| General Function | Specific Function | MIC Storage Cellar | % |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| food | serve | 13 | 15.5 |
| | store | 2 | 2.4 |
| | tblw | 40 | 47.6 |
| | tblw/serve | 2 | 2.4 |
| | tea | 18 | 21.4 |
| unid | unid | 9 | 10.7 |
| Total | | 84 | 100 |

Table 4-10: Chinese vessels were used for a range of food-related functions.

⁸ Boow 1991:113.

⁹ Casey 1999.

¹⁰ Casey 1999.

¹¹ Excavations undertaken in the '970s by Associate Professor Judy Birmingham which are currently in the process of being written up.

¹² PCC site, 109 George Street, cnr George & Charles Street, all in Parramatta



Photo 4-1: Three lead-glazed pots or chamber pots from the storage cellar: 3958/21,611, 3959/21,620; 4050/21,647; 3959/21,126. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-2: Remains of two pans or pancheons probably used for dairying or making bread or other similar food/preparation, 3961/21,639; 3959/21,621; 3960/21,631, 4050/21,646. Scale 10cm.

Photo 4-3: Probable locally-made poe from the storage cellar. Note the remains of the handle on the right side. Note the pitting on the sides of the pot this is all over the base as well. 3960/ 21686, 3961/21,640. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-4: Other lead-glazed items including (clockwise from left): part of jar (3961/21,638), small pot, candlestick, base of vessel possible imitation of base of Chinese vessel), knob of teapot in 'annular creamware style', teapot spout and drainer. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-5: Possible dairying or storage pot from a series of pits to the south of the Conservation Zone. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-6: Possible locally-made washbasin imitating British annular creamware from a series of pits to the south of the Conservation Zone. Scale 10cm.



| General Function | Specific Function | Shape | MIC Storage Cellar | % |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| food | serve | bowl | 3 | 3.6 |
| | | dish | 2 | 2.4 |
| | | platter | 6 | 7.1 |
| | | tureen | 2 | 2.4 |
| | store | ginger jar | 2 | 2.4 |
| | tableware | bowl | 9 | 10.7 |
| | | plate | 31 | 36.9 |
| | tblw/serve | bowl | 2 | 2.4 |
| | tea | cup | 3 | 3.6 |
| | | saucer | 11 | 13.1 |
| tea bowl | | 2 | 2.4 | |
| teapot | | 2 | 2.4 | |
| unidentified | unidentified | handle | 1 | 1.2 |
| | | unid | 8 | 9.5 |
| Total | | | 84 | 100.1 |

Table 4-11: Chinese vessels came in a range of specific shapes.

This variety of finer hand-painted Chinese vessels from the storage cellar is unusual. While blue and white export porcelain is typical of early sites, up to c1840 and have been found at two other nearby sites in Parramatta excavated by Casey & Lowe, there were very few pieces of the finer type of Chinese ceramics.¹³ The publication of the ceramics recovered from the *Sydney Cove* (shipwrecked 1797) also only had blue and white Chinese export porcelain and none of the finer hand-painted overglaze types.¹⁴ These types of vessels, while obviously imported into the colony, are not frequently found as part of the ceramic corpus which is typically dominated by Canton and Nanking patterns. Aside from the PCC site they have been found at the Cumberland/Gloucester Street Site, the Rocks, with one item from 109 George Street, Parramatta.¹⁵ Those found at these sites are not nearly as fine as the types of porcelain exported into the US during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁶ Perhaps they can be seen as a better type of Chinese export porcelain but not the finer personalised commissions.

All of the identified vessel forms were associated with food serving, storage, tableware and teawares (Table 4-11). Tablewares dominate, with 46 percent of vessels being plates (31 items) and bowls (9 items). Teawares are quite frequent (21%) with a range of cups (3 items), saucers (11 items) and tea bowls (2 items) as well as two teapots (Photos 4-8, 4-9, 4-10). Most of the cups are the 'traditional' Chinese form without handles and none of the saucers have the 'well' to set the cup in. This indicates that most of the items being purchased had not been especially adapted for European or American markets.

¹³ With the notable exception of a Ming vessel found on the other side of George Street in 1987, Higginbotham 1987:11.

¹⁴ Staniforth & Nash 1998. It could be noted that these were the ones left on the ship and that those sold from the salvaged cargo may have been finer types of over-painted ceramics.

¹⁵ Godden Mackay 1999, Vol 4, Graham Wilson, specialist report, pp. 236, 336. This report does not discriminate between the early Chinese ceramics used within European households as opposed to the later nineteenth-century ceramics associated with Chinese occupants.

¹⁶ Mudge 2000; http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/ewpor/hd_ewpor.htm; or the two fabulous punch bowls produced showing scenes of Sydney McCormick 1987:182-185.



Photo 4-7: Chinese export porcelain, mostly from the storage cellar with a stoneware bowl base (bottom left) from the pits to the south of the Conservation Zone. Scale 10cm

Photo 4-8: Fragments of mostly fine Chinese porcelain, mostly hand painted over the glaze except for the blue Canton saucer which is hand painted underneath the glaze. Forms include saucers, tea cups, plates and a rice bowl. The armorial with the marriage doves is lower right. Nearly all of these came from the storage cellar except for bottom left. Scale 10cm



Photo 4-9: More fragments of hand-painted porcelain from the storage cellar. Scale: black & white gradations are 1cm.



Photo 4-10: Part of 'Nanking' pattern teapot from the storage cellar. Scale: black & white gradations are 1cm.



| Country | MIC Storage Cellar | % |
|---------------|--------------------|------------|
| Aus | 28 | 11.8 |
| China | 84 | 35.4 |
| Jap | 3 | 1.3 |
| UK | 118 | 49.8 |
| UK/USA/France | 4 | 1.7 |
| | 237 | 100 |

Table 4-12: Ceramics within the storage cellar came from four main countries.

The presence of the Chinese porcelain items within the house would have presented a stark contrast to the other contemporary British imports or locally-made imitations with their finer fabric and more delicate decoration. It is difficult to say with any certainty the 'role' played by the Chinese ceramics. If we consider that at this period Chinese ceramics in the UK would not have been easily available to all levels of society, and that Chinese ceramics were highly fashionable, then it may suggest that these ceramics, perhaps cheaper in Sydney than in London, may have been highly desirable and more accessible to all members of colonial society—including some emancipated convicts such as Samuel Larkin and his children.

While the locally-made lead-glazed earthenwares and the Chinese ceramics from the storage cellar have been the focus of discussion to date, they are not the main type of ceramics found in the storage cellar. The British imports dominate this group (Table 4-12) being 50 percent of the assemblage and consist mostly of creamwares and printed pearlwares. Approximately half the assemblage (118) was represented by two decorative types, with blue hand-painted Chinese porcelain (27%) being the most popular closely followed by plain creamware (22%), the main British import prior to c1830.¹⁷ The third most common decorative type represented was the local lead-glazed earthenwares (11%), while blue transfer-printed pearlwares only represented 8 percent (Table 4-13). Many of these transfer-printed wares had Chinoiserie decorations, imitating Chinese designs, with no hint of the more romantic designs that were to dominate the marketplace in later years.

The range of creamware forms was dominated by tablewares, mainly plates with only a few serving dishes such as platters, tureens and a teaware saucer (Table 4-14). This suggests that teawares were purchased in more decorative types of ceramic than the plain creamwares (Table 4-15, Graph 4-3). In the storage cellar the two most common teawares were blue transfer-printed pearlware (15) and Chinese blue hand-painted porcelain (13). The decorative type of teawares found within the storage cellar emphasises, the earlier date of many of the ceramics, in contrast with those with later dates in the well and backfill of the brewery (see below and Section 8.1). In addition, the virtual absence of whitewares (3) underscores the pre-1830s manufacturing date for many of the artefacts in the storage cellar (Table 4-13).

Table 4-15 and Graph 4-3 illustrate the different profile for the teawares found within the storage cellar, in contrast with the well and brewery backfill (3514). While blue transfer-printed pearlwares and Chinese blue hand-painted teawares dominated within the storage cellar, they were virtually absent from the well and completely absent from the brewery backfill. The types of decoration emphasises the early nature of the ceramics from the storage cellar but also the differences between purchasing patterns for the first and second-half of the nineteenth century in Parramatta, when there were more teawares than tablewares.

A comparison of tablewares and teawares from the storage cellar reveals a differential purchasing pattern for these two groups. Teawares were generally purchased in blue transfer-printed pearlwares (15), Chinese blue hand-painted porcelain (13), and some hand-painted Chinese porcelain (5) while the tablewares were predominantly plain creamwares (41) as well as Chinese blue hand-painted porcelain (36) (Table 4-16, Graph 4-4). Edgewares and annular creamware were only found on tablewares not teawares. There were some local lead-glazed teawares but none of the tablewares which are known from other sites.¹⁸ While the preference for Chinese blue hand-painted teawares and tablewares may suggest matching sets, the two main patterns, Nanking and Canton, are more likely to be found on either teawares or tablewares rather than as matching sets that include teawares and tablewares. Canton pattern is found on serving and tablewares while the finer Nanking appears more typically on teawares and only occasionally on tablewares and serving wares.¹⁹ This emphasises that teawares are not seen as being part of the same event as eating meals and that people, in this case the owners of the items in the storage cellar, have sufficient resources to purchase different sets of ceramics for taking tea and eating meals.

¹⁷ Specialist report, Section 8.1:38.

¹⁸ Casey & Lowe recent excavations at Pitt & Campbell Streets, Haymarket; Casey 1999.

¹⁹ Specialist report, Section 8.3:34

| Decoration | MIC Store Cellar | % |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| annular cream | 2 | 0.8 |
| bl hp | 65 | 27.4 |
| bltp pearl | 20 | 8.4 |
| brown tp | 2 | 0.8 |
| creamware | 53 | 22.4 |
| dual gl | 1 | 0.4 |
| edgeware pearl | 13 | 5.5 |
| edge whiteware | 1 | 0.4 |
| green tp | 1 | 0.4 |
| hp | 16 | 6.8 |
| hp creamware | 2 | 0.8 |
| hp gild | 7 | 3.0 |
| hp pearl | 8 | 3.4 |
| hp whiteware | 1 | 0.4 |
| lead glaze | 26 | 11.0 |
| mocha cream | 2 | 0.8 |
| moulded creamware | 1 | 0.4 |
| pearl | 12 | 5.1 |
| selfslip | 2 | 0.8 |
| unidentified | 1 | 0.4 |
| whiteware | 1 | 0.4 |
| | 237 | 99.8 |

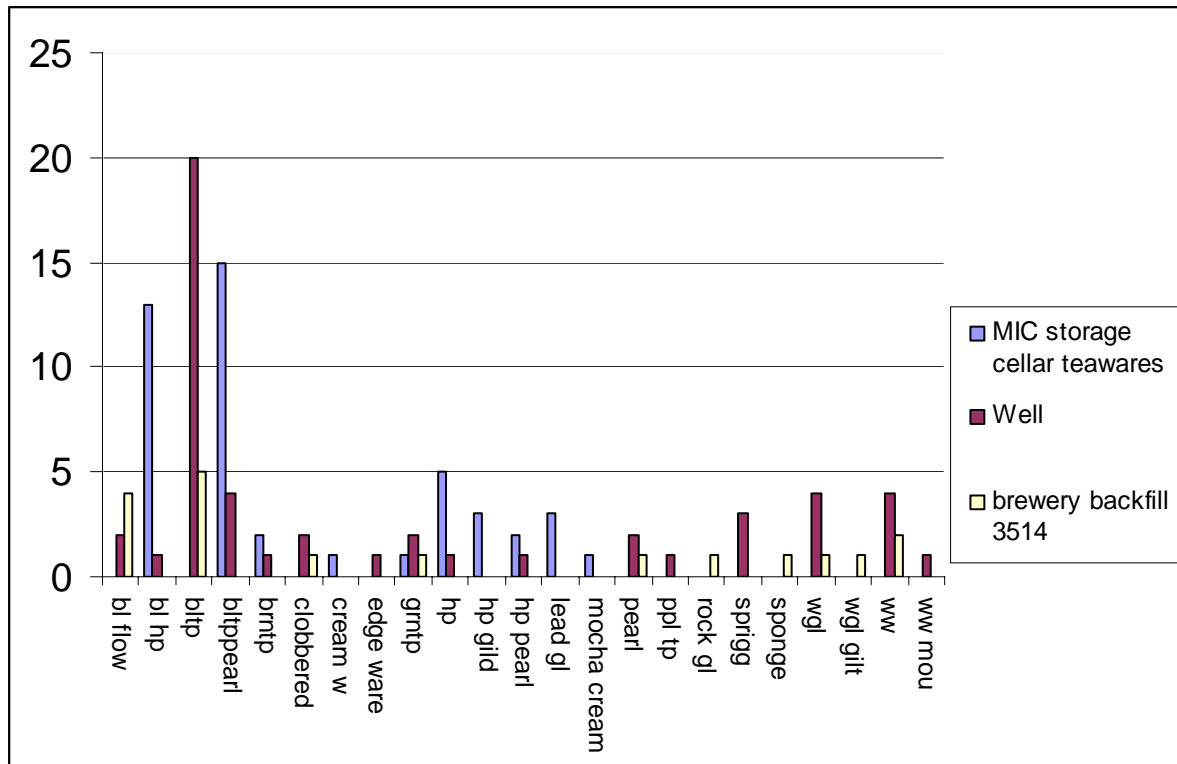
Table 4-13: Range of ceramics types from the storage cellar.

| Specific Function | Shape | MIC storage cellar | % |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| hygiene | poe | 2 | 3.8 |
| serve | plate | 2 | 3.8 |
| | platter | 1 | 1.9 |
| | tureen | 2 | 3.8 |
| tableware | bowl | 2 | 3.8 |
| | plate | 38 | 71.7 |
| | soup plate | 1 | 1.9 |
| tea | saucer | 1 | 1.9 |
| tea/tblw | small plate | 3 | 5.7 |
| unidentified | unidentified | 1 | 1.9 |
| | | 53 | 100.2 |

Table 4-14: Creamware vessels came in a range of shapes but mostly plates.

| Decoration | MIC storage cellar teawares | Well | Brewery backfill 3514 |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| bl flow | — | 2 | 4 |
| bl hp | 13 | 1 | — |
| bltp | — | 20 | 5 |
| bltp pearl | 15 | 4 | — |
| brntp | 2 | 1 | — |
| clobbered | — | 2 | 1 |
| cream w | 1 | — | — |
| edge ware | — | 1 | — |
| grntp | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| hp | 5 | 1 | — |
| hp gild | 3 | — | — |
| hp pearl | 2 | 1 | — |
| lead glaze | 3 | — | — |
| mocha cream | 1 | — | — |
| pearl | — | 2 | 1 |
| ppl tp | — | 1 | — |
| rock gl | — | — | 1 |
| sprigg | — | 3 | — |
| sponge | — | — | 1 |
| wgl | — | 4 | 1 |
| wgl gilt | — | — | 1 |
| ww | — | 4 | 2 |
| ww mou | — | 1 | — |
| | 46 | 50 | 18 |

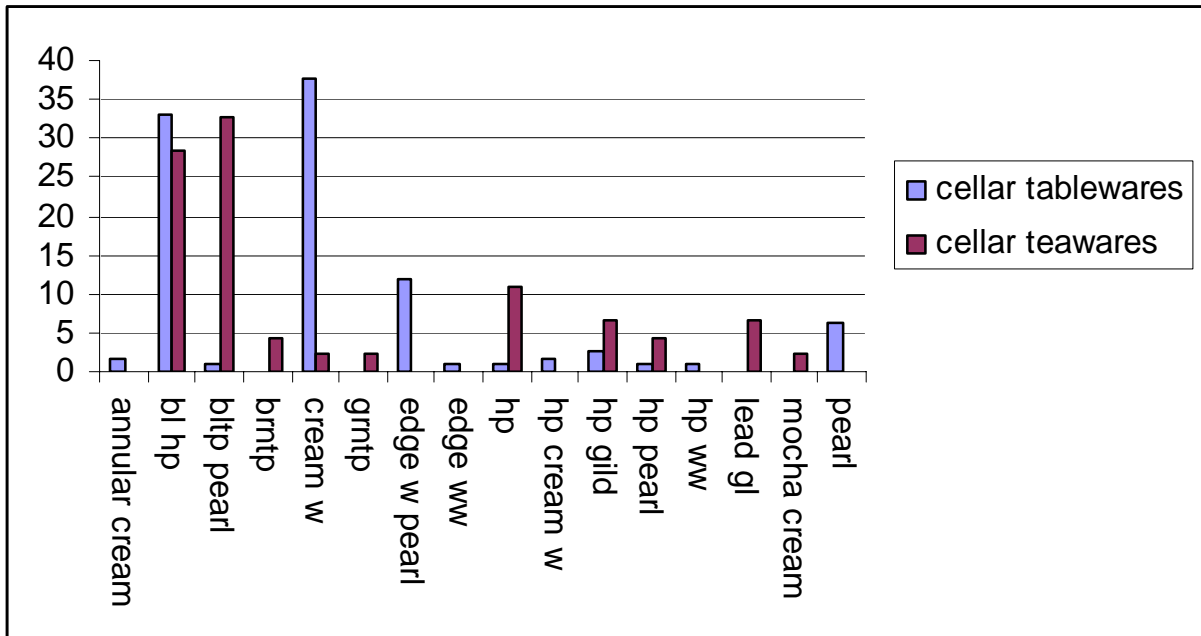
Table 4-15: Teawares come in a range of decorative types.



Graph 4-3: Graph of the teaware decorative types found in the three main contexts, using raw item counts not percentages.

| Decoration | Cellar MIC tablewares | % | Cellar MIC teawares | % |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| annular cream | 2 | 1.8 | | |
| bl hp | 36 | 33.0 | 13 | 28.3 |
| bltp pearl | 1 | 0.9 | 15 | 32.6 |
| brntp | | 0 | 2 | 4.3 |
| cream w | 41 | 37.6 | 1 | 2.2 |
| grntp | | 0 | 1 | 2.2 |
| edge w pearl | 13 | 11.9 | | 0.0 |
| edge WW | 1 | 0.9 | | 0.0 |
| hp | 1 | 0.9 | 5 | 10.9 |
| hp cream w | 2 | 1.8 | | 0.0 |
| hp gild | 3 | 2.8 | 3 | 6.5 |
| hp pearl | 1 | 0.9 | 2 | 4.3 |
| hp ww | 1 | 0.9 | | 0.0 |
| lead gl | | 0 | 3 | 6.5 |
| mocha cream | | 0 | 1 | 2.2 |
| pearl | 7 | 6.4 | | 0 |
| | 109 | 99.8 | 46 | 100 |

Table 4-16: Type of decorative wares found on teawares and tablewares.



Graph 4-4: Percentage of table and teawares from the storage cellar and decorative patterns.

Metals, Miscellaneous and Building Materials²⁰

The building materials found in the storage cellar were discussed in Section 3. The fills mostly contained bricks, tiles, a kiln floor tile and metal hardware but also several other items such as coins, whetstones, food and beverage containers, smoking pipes, broken scissors, a fork, and a horse spur. The floor tile from a malt kiln is unusual and made of fired clay (Photo 4-13). There were no artefacts relating to services, transport, clerical tasks or even storage.

The artefacts were mostly handmade or wrought with few being the product of introduced mechanisation. The whetstones, metal jug and scissors indicate the occupants of the Lot were fairly self sufficient, accustomed to maintenance and repair within and outside the household. The bone-handled fork with two prongs was typical of the period before the development of more diverse cutlery. The two copper lids were hand beaten and riveted and belonged to a matching set of possible kitchen pots or containers. The two possible farthing coins had perhaps been dropped in the garden and swept up unnoticed into the cellar during the final clearance.

The types of artefacts indicate the presence of children who liked to play marbles but this was also a game followed by adults. At least one person smoked in the vicinity of the cellar. They had a preference for plain pipes but also liked ones manufactured by William Murray in Glasgow and an unknown person with an initial "C". The pipes were practical for working men except for one with a long stem.

Photo 4-11: Two copper canister lids and two pronged fork. Scale 10cm.

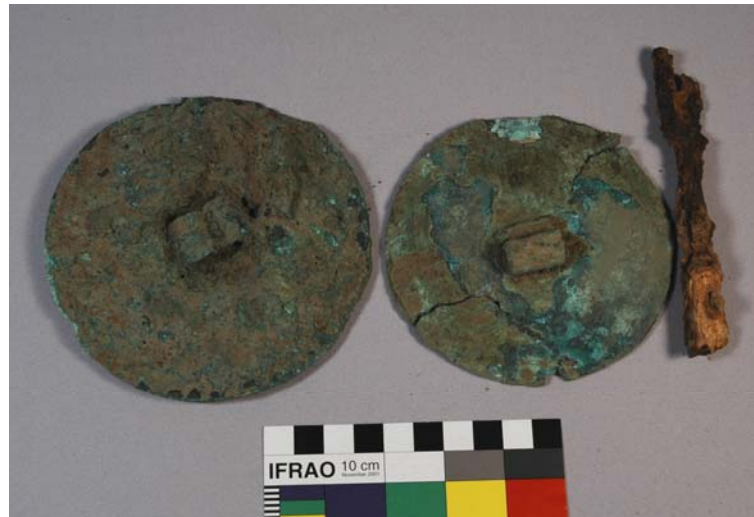


Photo 4-12: Large whetstone from the storage cellar. It would have been used for sharpening tools. Scale 10cm.



²⁰ Specialist report 8.3.



Photo 4-13: Building material from the storage cellar including a clay vent with a back with small holes which is a tile used in the floor of a malt kiln (top right). Single and double-lug clay roofing tiles and a brick from the wall of the storage cellar. Below is the reverse side of the malt kiln tile.



Photo 4-14: Miscellaneous artefacts from the storage cellar include a teaspoon, handle from furniture, metal boss, hand-made marble, gun flint and possible spur. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-15: Small artefacts from a number of contexts in Lot 102W and 102E. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-16: Children's artefacts from the Lot 102W and Lot 102E. Writing slate and slate pencils, marbles, leg of a doll and two items from a doll's teaset. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-17: Some of the pipes found at the site: three 'effigial' or face types all dating to the 1820s; brown and white German porcelain 4104/#26208; bowl with relief decoration or spur marks of ship & anchor 4104/#26202; the City of Gouda in The Netherlands 3401/#2608; and fluted bowl 3534/#26132. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-18: Four pipe bowls and fragments of pipe stems. From top left: small plain bowls with possibly marked cylindrical spur 4104/26201; with conical spur 4104/#26203; small plain bowls with conical spur 3534/#26133; with cut spur showing burning from use 4110/#26230; stem with mark of tobacconist "DIXSON/ SYDNEY" (1839-1904) 4110/#26228; bowl with spur mark "C", possibly of Sydney pipemaker William Cluer (1802-1821) 3959/#26177; long plain stem 3959/#26176; stem with mark of Scottish pipemaker "MURRAY/GLASGOW" (1830-1861) 3959/#26178; mouthpieces with glaze 4102/ #26197, or thickened with red wax and stem mark "[L]ONDON/ LACH[LANDER]" 3406/#26109; stems with marks of Scottish pipemakers "THO. WHITE & Co/EDINBURGH" (1823-1882) 3514/#26128, "TW & C[O]/[E]DINR" (1823-1882) 4105/#26224, "T. WHYTE/EDINR." (1832-1864) 3457/#26119, "W. WHITE/GLASGOW" (1806-1955) 4110/#26229. Scale 10cm.



Photo 4-19: Metal and sharpening artefacts from the storage cellar. This includes part of a Dutch hoe 4014/#26537; a steel wedge 3901/#26451; an iron file 3901/#26445 and a whetstone (hone) 3905/#26171. Scale 10cm.



Brewery Backfill

The backfill of the brewery (3514) contained 215 artefacts among the mostly demolition materials (Table 4-5). Forty-two percent the artefacts were food-related, 21 percent were alcohol bottles, and 6 percent were household. The first two groups of artefacts were similar to the pattern found in the storage cellar and the well while the storage cellar had few artefacts that fall into the general household category. The three contexts had a very similar percent of food items, all hovering between 40 to 42 percent (Table 4-6, Graph 4-1). In all cases the industrial-related artefacts were scarce with the brewery backfill only containing one item. Condiments dominated the food items which is atypical of a residential household or the other two contexts (Table 4-7, Graph 4-2). This suggests that the glass artefacts had a different use profile to the ceramic ones.

Dating

The dating of this deposit was discussed in some detail in Section 3.3.3, this analysis suggested that there was likely to have been contamination of this fill, probably from the later nineteenth-century occupation as well as the 1950s construction of the maternity hospital. In historical terms the brewery was demolished by c1865 and it is presumed that the backfill is mostly demolition associated with that phase but the analysis of ceramic, and metal and miscellaneous artefacts suggests that many of the non-structural artefacts were not associated with the occupation of the brewery but with the nearby residents, those living in the 1830s house on Lot 102W and the convict hut on Lot 103. During the 1840s and 1850s the brewery and Lot 103 were both leased to Patrick Hayes, the proprietor of the brewery.

Artefacts

Glass²¹

There are 111 glass items from the brewery backfill in Lot 102W. A total of 99 items contributed to temporal placement. The majority of chronological data was derived from the bottle assemblage (n=95). Press-moulded tableware (1820+) and Crown window glass (until 1870s) also contributed to temporal placement.

Functional analysis classified approximately 93 percent of the items into seven identified groups: alcohol (38 items), beverage (6), clerical (5), food (48), personal (1), pharmacy (10) and transportation (1 item). In addition there was one window glass fragment classified in the architectural group.

The majority of alcohol bottles are beer/wine (26). Other alcohol bottles include champagne style (1), spirits (4) and unspecified alcohol (3). Beverage-related artefacts consist of five aerated-water bottles and one marble stopper from a Codd-patented type bottle. Clerical bottles are all ink bottles. The bottles were a variety of shapes (circular, bell shaped, rectangular). One is embossed "Jangus" and one has a partial embossment for a different manufacture. Food-related items consist of bottles and tableware and were mostly bottles (39). Oil/vinegar bottles represent over 52 percent of food-related items. Other food bottles include pickles/chutney (4) and meat sauce (2). In addition, no specific function could be identified for eleven bottles. Tableware consists of four tumblers, two stemware, one bowl and an unspecified item. Pharmacy-related items consist of one pharmacy bottle, three patent-medicine bottles and seven gin/schnapps bottles. A Spooner's Navy boot dressing bottle is the one personal/grooming item and a bottle of Vici Leather Dressing for saddles or horse tack represents the transportation group.

The relative high frequencies of alcohol and condiment bottles (oil/vinegar, pickle/chutney and meat sauce) are more typical of a pub, club or hotel assemblage than a residential setting. Literacy was not the norm for the nineteenth-century working class but would be a necessity in a commercial enterprise such as the brewery. The relative frequency of ink bottles is consistent with that of a business. Leather dressing for saddles and horse tack most likely came from stables in the area. Items such as the medicine bottles and tableware are more often associated with a residential setting.

²¹ Taken from Specialist glass report Section 8.2

The results of analysis suggests an 1820s–1900s mixed residential and commercial affiliation for glass artefacts from the brewery cellar fill and indeed might represent a clean up of the area following demolition of the brewery.

Ceramics²²

Within the demolition fill 234 ceramic fragments were recovered, comprising 86 items. Do the ceramics reflect the buildings use as a brewery, or perhaps its later incarnation as a wool washery? Do the ceramics also indicate a brewery demolition time around 1865, or are they from another source entirely?

Twenty-five decorative types were represented within the demolition fill. Transfer prints are represented on 37 items (including flow wares and clobbered), with the next most dominant decoration being salt-glazed stonewares (18 items). Eleven identified transfer-printed patterns and one Chinese export porcelain hand-painted pattern were in evidence in the deposit, on 22 items. The identified transfer-printed patterns are as follows: ‘Albion’ (1), ‘Asiatic Pheasants’ (1), ‘Burmese’ (1), ‘Chantilly’ (1), ‘Chinese Marine Series’ (1), ‘Formosa’ (1), ‘Isola Bella’ (1), ‘Rhine’ (1), ‘Royal Rose’ (1), ‘The Maroon Slave & Virginia’ (1), and ‘Willow’ (11). The blue hand-painted Chinese porcelain pattern was the popular ‘Canton’. The majority of the identified patterns are commonly found in assemblages dating from the mid nineteenth century, such as ‘Albion’, ‘Asiatic Pheasants’, ‘Rhine’ and ‘Isola Bella’. The ubiquitous ‘Willow’ pattern is the most common, featured on 11 items, whereas the remaining patterns are all represented by only one item each. This decorative range, coupled with the vessel shapes recovered, is indicative of a more domestic deposit than one associated with a brewery.

The function and shape of the 86 ceramic items recovered within this brewery cellar backfill was very much domestic oriented. Food is the most dominant function, with items associated with its consumption, serving, preparation and storage dominating. Fifty-two food-related items were identified, with the majority of these being teawares and tablewares (cups 8, saucers 7, teapots 2 and plates 19), not the sort of items one would expect associated with a brewery. Serving-related items were also present in the form of platters (3), tureens (2), jugs (2) and a dish (1). The only ceramic evidence of alcohol in this fill is a single stoneware stout bottle. Although other bottles are present within the assemblage, they are also seemingly unrelated to the brewery, indeed the most common bottle shape is that of a blacking bottle (9). Other items also more commonly found in relation to domestic rather than industrial assemblages include the ewers (2), candlesticks (2), ointment /cream pot lid (1), water filter (1) and ink bottles (4). The presence of a child’s plate, in the brown transfer-printed pattern of ‘The Maroon Slave & Virginia’ (#20,835), is also out of place in a brewery-related deposit.

Metals and Miscellaneous²³

The cellar had been backfilled by a mixture of building rubble and broken objects (3514) many of which date to the middle or second half of the nineteenth century. Of the 43 items catalogued, 25 were found within the sump and drain. The rubble included sandstock bricks with shallow rectangular frogs dating from c1830 to 1880 (238 x 111 x 71-72mm). These probably came from the walls of the brewery or possibly from the cottage immediately to the south that had been originally built in the 1830s. Some of the small items (Photo 4-15), such as the beads, may have also come from the cottage and thrown in during the demolition and clearance of the whole area although as the new historical research has shown there may have been some use of the brewery in relation to Patrick Hayes operating a drapers shop. Walls were rendered in a light grey sandy thick lime mortar coated in white plaster and painted white, cream and salmon. The mortar adhering to the cinder brick sampled from the cellar was similar to that used as bedding for the flagged floor of the main building or the brewery. This brick also had a whitewashed side (Table 5: d*).

²² Taken from Specialist report, Section 8.1.

²³ Taken from Specialist report, Section 8.3.

The cellar rubble also contained a galvanised iron bracket, door thumb latch and some 17 items of metal hardware such as nails and spikes that were part of the non-structural features of the brewery or adjacent house. Although the nails were all hand forged, galvanising was not done before c1860.

Only two items can be definitely assigned an industrial function and may have been a part of the brewery process (see Section 8.3, Appendix 1.3). Several stages of the malting and brewing process needed the application of a pump, to transfer water or the wort to the appropriate container. A pump fragment found on the surface of Lot 102E may have been used by other businesses on the site (3401), it is possible that it was used within the brewery. According to the brass label it was a syphon overflow pump with self-regulating drum patented by Warner and Cowan (Photo 4-22).²⁴ The second item was a sheet of metal with tiny regularly-spaced holes (Photo 4-20). Larger sections of the same type of sheeting were found in the backfill but were not collected as they were too large. Fragments of metal barrel hoops were also found in this deposit.

Various perforated sheets, screens and filters were a traditional part of brewery equipment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were used to sieve liquids and dry the malt. These items were made of metal, cloth and clay. The iron sheet fragment found in the brewery demolition fill within the cellar had been hand perforated with regular tiny holes.

Overall, the artefacts from the brewery backfill (3514) are thought to constitute a mixture of materials contained within the building at the time of demolition and artefacts from the surrounding residential houses—the 1830s house at the front of Lot 102W and the convict hut/house on Lot 103, which was probably demolished about the same time as the brewery. As the demolition of the brewery and the backfilling of its cellar happened around the time the terrace houses on the George Street were built none of the artefacts within the cellar are likely to be associated with the terrace houses.

Summary

In general the artefacts from the brewery cellar suggest that there was no brewery operating within the premises at the time of demolition and that many of the artefacts relate to residential occupation although the high number of condiment bottles may relate to the sale of such items or the use of them in association with some other activity associated with the house and brewery. It is also possible that some of these artefacts were associated with the residents of Lot 103 due to the association of Patrick Hayes leasing both lots in the 1850s and 1860s.



Photo 4-20: Section of metal sheeting with tiny punctured holes, 3514/#26388. Scale 10cm

²⁴ Unfortunately the patent numbers are illegible.

Photo 4-21: Some of the artefacts from the brewery backfill: a large bracket, copper lid, part of an unusual clay tile, hook, and two parts of a gas fitting. Scale 10cm



Photo 4-22: Brass label of a syphon overflow pump with self-regulating drum patented by Warner and Cowan. Scale 10cm



4.3.2 Lot 103 – Backfill of the Well

The backfill of the well contained 413 artefacts, nearly all of the artefacts recovered from this property (Table 4-3). Many of these items were associated with food (40%), alcohol (11%), recreation (9%), building materials (9%) and household (6%) (Table 4-6). The well contained a high proportion of unidentified artefacts (16%) which in the case of ceramics rose to 30 percent (Tables 4-6, 4-7). The food category dominated all three of the main contexts from the PCC site (Graph 4-1). The well contained remains of 168 food-related artefacts (Table 4-7). Forty-six percent were tablewares and 30 percent were teawares with quite small counts in the other food categories (Table 4-7, Graph 4-2).

Dating

The glass analysis suggests an 1810–1870s date range for the contents of the well. There is no indication of dates for glass items later than 1870. The latest TAQ or ‘to’ date for basemarked ceramics was 1870 and the two TPQ or ‘from’ dates is 1855 for “Verano” and 1858 for “Albion”

pattern.²⁵ The latest TPQ or ‘from’ dates for the ceramics are two semi-vitrified earthenwares dating from 1840 which fits in easily with the pattern dates. The latest date for metal, miscellaneous and building materials artefacts was a post-1873 gas fitting (4110) and post-1880 sewing pins (4104, 4110). The sewing pins could easily be contamination because they move easily through the sandy deposits and are also easily lost but the presence of the gas fitting in context 4110 does suggest that the overall date for backfilling was after 1873. Other than the pins no other remains date later than 1873. The general assumption must then be that the well was probably backfilled during the 1870s. This appears to be later than the demolition of the brewery and the construction of the five terraces on George Street which all happened around c1865. Some limited contamination to context 4110 is indicated by the archaeological recording (Table 3-2). The date for the backfilling of the brewery therefore may have been between c1865 or shortly later in the 1870s.

Glass²⁶

There are 77 glass items from the well fill in Lot 103 or 18 percent of the artefacts from the well. Functional analysis classified approximately 95 percent of the items into six identified groups: alcohol (38), beverage (1), food (15), personal (3), pharmacy (8), and service (2). Six bottles were classified as pharmacy/personal. In addition, 42 fragments of window glass were classified in the architectural group. The majority of alcohol bottles are beer/wine (32). Six bottles are identified as ‘champagne’ style, which could have contained champagne, beer or wine. Food-related items consist of bottles (pickle and unspecified containers) and tableware (tumblers and stemware). Most of tableware has ground and/polished pontil scars (6) and two are possibly lead crystal. There are two lavender water and one perfume bottle in the personal group. The perfume bottle exhibits a partial embossment for E. Rimmel, London. Pharmacy-related items consist of one pharmacy bottle, one patent medicine bottle and six gin and schnapps bottles, which were marketed as patent medicines during the nineteenth century. In addition, there are six bottles with square or rectangular base and body profiles that were generically used for either patent medicines or personal grooming items. Two clear glass lamp chimneys comprise the service group.

The results of functional analysis suggest a possible residential affiliation for the glass artefacts from the well. The high quality tablewares, as well as the perfume, lavender water and medicine bottles are typical items that indicate a feminine presence in a household. While the presence in the assemblage of these items is not sufficient to definitively state a residential origin for the well’s contents, it is highly unlikely they resulted from activities associated with the brewery.

Ceramics²⁷

The well contained remains of 221 ceramic artefacts, slightly more than half the artefacts (413) recovered from the well contexts (Table 4-2). The food function category of tableware was the most dominant, representing 30.3 percent of the entire assemblage, with 67 items. Teaware followed closely behind at 22.6 percent (50), and together these two specific functions made up 30 percent of the total well contents. Serving items were also fairly highly represented, featured by 22 items (10%). Food preparation, storage, serving and consumption were all represented within the well. Plates were the most common shape represented, with 65 items, comprising 30 percent of the total ceramics.²⁸

Eighteen individual patterns were identified within the well, with all but one being transfer-printed and imported from the United Kingdom. The single exception was a blue hand-painted Chinese porcelain saucer in the “Nanking” pattern. Decorative types found in the well were mostly transfer prints (31) or 62 percent (Table 4-15). As discussed in the storage cellar analysis above this is a pattern more likely found in the second-half of the nineteenth century. There were only six Chinese ceramics in the well—remains of three ginger jars, two saucers and an unidentified artefact. This is a

²⁵ Section 8.1:24, Table 3.16.

²⁶ Taken from Specialist report, Section 8.2.

²⁷ Taken from Specialist report, Section 8.1.

²⁸ Specialist report, Section 8.1:21, Table 3.13.

quite different pattern to that of the storage cellar. This represents a more typical pattern for the second-half of the nineteenth century.

Did any of the cups and saucers, with identified pattern names or pattern numbers, appear to be part of particular teaset? Three patterns appeared on different teaware shapes, suggesting possible sets. A blue transfer-printed “Fibre” pattern cup could be associated with four “Fibre” pattern saucers. Perhaps also a brown transfer-printed “Fibre” pattern cup could be suggestive of a multi-coloured teaset. Four items with the blue transfer-printed pattern “Park Scenery” were also found, two saucers, a cup and a breakfast cup. Two green sprigged items, pattern number ‘6’, were found, breakfast cup and a cup.

Although not found on different teaware shapes, two patterns did also occur featuring the same pattern on more than one item. The green transfer-printed pattern “Amoy” was featured on two breakfast cups, and the blue transfer-printed pattern number ‘320’ also was found on two breakfast cups .

Four matching patterns occurred on tableware and serving items. The “Burmese” pattern featured on a serving dish, and a plate; pattern number ‘319’ was on a serving dish, platter, tureen and eight plates, and pattern number ‘324’ was on a platter, plate and a saucer, indicating that this table setting could be complimented by a matching teaset. It was, however, the ever-popular “Willow” pattern that occurred on the most number of items, 24 in blue transfer print and 12 in blue transfer-printed pearlware. These may have been from completely different sets or pieces may have been used concurrently. The plain blue transfer-printed “Willow” occurred on: serving dishes (3), platters (3), small plates (3) and plates (15). The pearlware “Willow” featured on platters (2), a small plate, plates (8) and a saucer.

Another pattern, number ‘321’, although not present on serving-related items, did show the availability of matching patterns in teawares and tablewares, being on a plate and a saucer. The remaining three identified patterns all featured on more than one plate, suggestive of at least being part of matching tableware services. “Irish Scenery” occurred on two plates, “Royal Cottage” was on three plates, and “Villa” also occurred on three plates.

Thirty-five salt-glazed stoneware bottles came from the well or 15.8 percent of the ceramics. These included blacking bottles (10), gin bottle (1), ginger beer bottle (1) and ink bottle (1). The majority were unidentified stoneware bottles (17) as well as a moulded salt-glazed jug.

The ceramic assemblage was dominated by three decorative types, blue transfer print (36.7%), salt glazed (15.8%) and blue transfer-printed pearlware (12.2%). The range of decorations represented by the remaining 35.3% was indicative of the choices and options available to the consumer in the marketplace leading up to the time when the well was backfilled.

The functional analysis of the ceramics indicates a residential association rather than an association with brewery activities. The range was also not the type expected to be found in association with the early convict hut or leaseholder phase of occupation, compared with those recovered from the brick storage cellar discussed earlier.

Metals, Miscellaneous and Building Materials

There were 116 metal, miscellaneous and building materials artefacts from the well—102 came from the lower fills (4104-6) and only 14 from upper (4102-3) or bottom machine dug (4135) fills (Table 4-3). The lower fills had a wide range of items which may have come from a combination of industrial and domestic locations. The architectural fragments included one flat sandstock brick and two roof tiles that dated from 1788. There were 29 nails—eight were hand forged (c1788-1890), two were cut and wrought (c1820-1870) and six were machine wrought (c1840-1870). A horseshoe, barrel hoop and the large cylindrical iron container (or possible machine part) were found in the well and may have come from the brewery.

Household items included a handle and a broken furniture castor from furniture, and a pressed metal cloak pin in a rosette design from a curtain tie back. The bootscraper may have been placed at the house or factory door. Sewing was represented by nine dress pins, of which four were machine upset-headed, a method developed in 1880. A glimpse of the clothing style of the female residents from the 1850s and 1860s was revealed by two buttons. One button was machine-made from mother of pearl and another from domed black glass.

In the lower fills the mostly adult male pursuit of smoking left some 34 items of clay pipes of which the most recent was made from c1840-1880 (Photos 4-17, 4-18). Imported pipes dominated the assemblage including the three earliest ones found on the site. Of these one had a plain polished bowl and two others had an identical relief design of a ship and anchor (c1790-1820). In following years at least one pipe was made in the vicinity of London, whereas two were made in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Sometime from 1838 to 1904 two more pipes were purchased from a Sydney tobacconist Hugh Dixson, who ordered them from Britain. Finally an unusual pipe bowl of brown glazed porcelain indicated the presence of a smoker with more expensive tastes and more sophisticated background (Photo 4-17). These pipes were made in Germany and were made of several components including a separate mouthpiece, perhaps of amber.

It is uncertain if the artefacts within the backfill of the well were associated with the convict hut/houses on Lot 103 or to the early occupation of the five mid to late nineteenth-century terraces on Lot 103. While it is possible that the artefacts from the backfill of the well in Lot 103 belonged to the residents of these houses it is only to the beginning periods of occupation. It is noted that this deposit may have a relationship with the occupant of the convict/hut house on Lot 103 and possibly with the residents of the house on the George Street frontage in Lot 102W. None of these attributions can be made with any certainty.

4.3.3 Animal Bone

From the overall site 1424 fragments of animal bone were recovered (Table 4-17). Those fragments that could be identified were mostly sheep (21%), cattle (14%), with small quantities of chicken (4.4%) and a little pig (1%). There were fragments of bone indicating the presence of pets, dog and cat but they were not in a burial which is unusual. Fifty-three percent of the bone assemblage was unable to be identified any further than sheep/cattle/pig, which indicates that it was fragmentary. Lot 102E contained a quantity of animal bone (11%) but no single deposit contained significant quantities (Tables 4-18, 4-19). Thirty-eight percent of the animal bone was from Lot 102W with the majority coming from context 3688 (103), the fill of a pit to the north of the Conservation Zone. Lot 103 had fifty-one percent (724 frags) of all the bone from the site. Again sheep and cow were the two main types of meat.

The animal bone from the well included 24 fragments of horse bone which is unusual in itself as horse bones are more typically found in horse burials, as with burying a pet.²⁹

Evidence of butchery is identified on two horse elements (refer to Figures 1- 5, Section 8.4):

- 1 left *Metatarsal III* (cut or chop marks)
- 1 right *astragalus* (saw marks).

Butchery marks generally result from three activities: skinning, disarticulation and filleting. Skinning cut marks are found around the shaft of lower legs and phalanges and along the lower margins of the mandible or on the skull. Disarticulation cut marks occur on the edges or articular surfaces of the ends of long bones and on the surfaces of vertebrae or pelvic parts. Filleting cut marks generally parallel the long axis of the bone.

| Type Code | Common Name | All site Frags | % | 102W Frags | % | 102E Frags | % | 103 Frags | % |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|-----------|---|
| | | | | | | | | | |

²⁹ Casey & Lowe found two separate pony and horse burials at the George & Charles Streets Site, Parramatta, as well as dog, cat and calf burials.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| CAT | Cat | 1 | 0.1 | 1 | 0.2 | | | | |
| CHAU | Snapper | 2 | 0.1 | | - | | | 2 | 0.3 |
| CHI | Chicken | 63 | 4.4 | 2 | 0.4 | 7 | 4.4 | 54 | 7.5 |
| COW | Cattle | 198 | 13.9 | 92 | 17.0 | 17 | 10.6 | 89 | 12.3 |
| CPN | Cow/Pig | 1 | 0.1 | 1 | 0.2 | | - | | - |
| DOG | Dog | 5 | 0.4 | 3 | 0.6 | | - | 2 | 0.3 |
| HOR | Horse | 24 | 1.7 | | - | | - | 24 | 3.3 |
| PIG | Pig | 13 | 0.9 | 10 | 1.9 | 2 | 1.3 | 1 | 0.1 |
| RAB | Rabbit | 4 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.4 | 2 | 1.3 | | - |
| RAM | Rodent | 1 | 0.1 | | - | 1 | 0.6 | | - |
| RAM | Rodent (NFI) | 1 | 0.1 | | - | 1 | 0.6 | | - |
| RAT | European Rat | 6 | 0.4 | | - | | - | 6 | 0.8 |
| SHE | Sheep | 304 | 21.3 | 80 | 14.8 | 83 | 51.9 | 141 | 19.5 |
| SMM | Small Mammal (NFI) | 14 | 1.0 | 1 | 0.2 | 4 | 2.5 | 9 | 1.2 |
| SPC | Sheep/Pig/Cattle | 750 | 52.7 | 316 | 58.5 | 42 | 26.3 | 392 | 54.1 |
| UNA | Unidentified Animal | 22 | 1.5 | 22 | 4.1 | | - | | - |
| UNB | Unidentified Bird | 1 | 0.1 | | - | | - | 1 | 0.1 |
| UNF | Unidentified Fish | 3 | 0.2 | | - | | - | 3 | 0.4 |
| XBI | Unidentifiable Bird | 1 | 0.1 | | - | 1 | 0.6 | | - |
| XMA | Unidentifiable Mammal | 10 | 0.7 | 10 | 1.9 | | - | | - |
| | | 1424 | 100.1 | 540 | 100.2 | 160 | 100.1 | 724 | 99.9 |

Table 4-17: Types of animal bone recovered from the site and individual lots.

| Lot | No of Frags | % |
|------|-------------|------------|
| 102W | 540 | 38 |
| 102E | 160 | 11 |
| 103 | 724 | 51 |
| | 1424 | 100 |

Table 4-18: Proportions of animal bone from the three lots.

| Context | Lot 102W Fragments | Context | Lot 102E Fragments | Context | Lot 103 Well Fragments |
|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|------------------------|
| 7 | 10 | 3401 | 2 | 4102 | 69 |
| 9 | 5 | 3403 | 37 | 4103 | 10 |
| 3456 | 14 | 3404 | 26 | 4104 | 386 |
| 3501 | 12 | 3405 | 4 | 4105 | 64 |
| 3502 | 6 | 3406 | 21 | 4106 | 12 |
| 3509 | 6 | 3407 | 2 | 4108 | 1 |
| 3514 | 7 | 3420 | 8 | 4110 | 182 |
| 3519 | 1 | 3429 | 2 | | 724 |
| 3522 | 16 | 3444 | 14 | | |
| 3534 | 11 | 3459 | 3 | | |
| 3536 | 27 | 3460 | 27 | | |
| 3557 | 2 | 3461 | 1 | | |
| 3569 | 22 | 3462 | 2 | | |
| 3589 | 7 | 3464 | 11 | | |
| 3593 | 2 | | 160 | | |
| 3612 | 2 | | | | |
| 3619 | 1 | | | | |
| 3621 | 10 | | | | |
| 3653 | 6 | | | | |
| 3663 | 15 | | | | |

| | |
|------|------------|
| 3674 | 1 |
| 3676 | 2 |
| 3684 | 70 |
| 3686 | 44 |
| 3688 | 103 |
| 3712 | 58 |
| 3901 | 1 |
| 3905 | 5 |
| 3923 | 15 |
| 3953 | 2 |
| 3959 | 9 |
| 3961 | 34 |
| 3992 | 14 |
| | 540 |

Table 4-19: Animal bone from various contexts.

Under a very basic analysis, it may be suggested that the marks identified conform to skinning cut marks. The mark identified on the astragalus are very unusual, as they are located on an interior surface of the hock joint. The cause or purpose of this mark is impossible to accurately identify.

These marks provide evidence of some form of utilisation of the horse after its death, possibly evidence of the use of horse hides or the consumption of horse meat by humans or pets (dogs). However, due to the very small sample size (1 horse, 2 cut marks), this assemblage does not provide conclusive evidence of any of the above activities and it is unlikely that any such activities were the primary reason for keeping horses on or near the site.

This is the first example of butchered and fragmentary horse bone that we know of from a residential site in Sydney.

5.0 Response to Research Questions

5.1 Research Questions

The following research questions were written as part of the research design for the excavation permit application.³⁰ They were intended to provide a range of overview questions for the site based on the potential for the site. Once the excavation is completed only some of the questions are still relevant as not all the predicted remains were found or some deposits may offer more opportunity for analysis and interpretation. The response to the research design is based on the results of the archaeological program and addresses the most important results rather than all of the archaeological remains that were recorded.

Convict and Free Life in Colonial Parramatta³¹

- What differences were there between the lives of free or forced or institutionalised settlers?
- How did the deprivations of a frontier life alter the way in which free people lived in early colonial Parramatta?
- Nature of early agricultural practices, evidence for dairying etc. Address this issue through both the analysis of archaeological features as well as through analysis of early pottery and pollen samples.
- Pottery was manufactured in Sydney and probably in Parramatta. It is typically found on early Parramatta sites where it is frequently unglazed. Our understanding of this pottery is fairly limited to date. Recent work by Mary Casey on the analysis of early pottery in Sydney (DMR site and Palmer's bakehouse at the Conservatorium of Music) has considerably added to our understanding of the type of forms manufactured and used at specialist sites but we know very little about pottery at Parramatta, its manufacture and the forms and their uses.³² The work at George & Charles Streets, Parramatta has considerably added to our understanding of the *corpus* of early pottery. This work has been catalogued and will be analysed in the near future.
- It is possible that John Blakefield, a baker, may have carried out commercial baking on this premises and there may be pottery and structural remains in the yard area that will assist with analysing this site and such evidence.
- Evidence associated with the occupation of this site by the Larkin family may reveal interesting insights into family patterns and behaviour.
- Consumption and commerce in colonial Parramatta (Appendix 4):
 - How does it link into issues associated with local, regional and global economies?
 - What does it tell us about cultural and social practices in colonial Parramatta, relating to lifeways, diet and other issues associated with consumption?
 - How do patterns of consumption further our understanding of how early residents of Parramatta used material culture in the construction of personal and group identity?

This series of questions will be addressed in the Response to the Research Questions.

Landscape of Colonial Parramatta

- How does the evidence from this site feed into the current perceptions of the convict-period landscape of Parramatta? Other issues to be considered are resistance to the way in which control manifested itself in the landscape and in daily life. Issues of power are central to the expression of landscapes of control (Appendix 4).
- Nature and affect of modification of the pre-European landscape.
- Evidence for the pre-European landscape.

³⁰ Casey & Lowe 2004.

³¹ I have drawn on some of the more relevant questions in PHALMS 2000 Figure 6.4, p. 167-175. Please note there are a number of important research areas which this research framework has not engaged with, such as constructions of gender identities, frontier theory, resistance to authority, the nature of early pottery and its relation to domestic site activities and early pottery manufacture.

³² Casey 1999; Casey & Lowe 2002.

- Remaking of the landscape, the social cultural and political context and how it was manifest in this landscape.³³ Are many of the same issues influencing the way in which the landscape was formed similar to those which affected the Sydney Domain?
- How does this site relate to the Parramatta Domain and the interaction between these landscapes and people who may have worked in the Domain such as cooper Anthony Landrin who resided within the study area and was known to work at the Government Cooperage and Samuel Larkin who was a government clerk, initially with two governors then with the Commissariat and Government Store?
- Order and amenity: is the layout of houses and other structures the result of cultural and social practices? What was the role of these practices in changing the landscape and modifying people's behaviour?³⁴

This series of questions will be addressed in the Response to the Research Questions.

Life in the Various Households within the four mid to late nineteenth-century house sites

- The range and variation apparent within the households where a range of families resided.
- Evidence for the nature of childhood and the way in which gender identities were constructed.
- The nature of the material culture and consumption patterns of the various households; how these remains related to the transformation of their environment from rural town and to an urban place.
- The four houses vary in size suggesting there may be economic differences present within the houses and how these might be represented within the archaeological evidence.
- Layout of the house and outbuildings and how this structured life in these households.
- Is there evidence for customary patterns (buildings, food, religious practice, cultural artefacts)?
- How was material culture used to represent personal and group identity?

This set of questions will not be addressed as on a little evidence of the structures was found there is uncertainty about which of the deposits and artefacts might be relevant to these questions.

The Emu Brewery

- Nature of the evidence associated with the brewery and if it is an example of technology transfer from Britain. Does it conform or is it different to traditional small-scale breweries?
- Do we have evidence for industrial and work practices with this complex?
- Is there evidence for how the building, works and infrastructure were altered for wool washing or other type of commercial activity related to the place?
- Does the archaeological evidence associated with the brewery assist in understanding how this site operated when it was situated on two properties not owned by the same people?
- Are there rubbish deposits associated with the brewery complex that assist in revealing the timespan over which brewing may have operated?

This series of questions will be addressed in the Response to the Research Questions.

³³ This general topic was the focus of Mary Casey's PhD thesis but in relation to the Sydney Domain (Casey 2002).

³⁴ Some of these issues were the focus of analysis in Casey 2002.

5.2 Response to Research Questions

5.2.1 Brief Theoretical Background

When writing a research design for an excavation permit application it is typical to write a series of questions for the range of potential archaeological remains that may be found on the site. Once the project is completed and the report is being written only some of these questions will be able to be answered as not all of the predicted remains will have been found. The focus of the response to the research questions is based on the results of the archaeological program as well as budgets and what are the most significant aspects of the resource.

The research questions and the response to them are written within the context of recent archaeological ideas and theory. The main ideas and theory that inform the questions and this report are those of cultural landscape, material culture and consumerism. By examining the results of the archaeological investigation within these theoretical concepts we begin to arrive at an understanding of the meaning of the archaeology at this site.³⁵ Cultural landscapes are places and spaces embedded with cultural meaning, by analysing the landscapes of colonial Parramatta we can gain insight into the contemporary social and cultural practices and how they informed the way in which the newly arrived residents of Parramatta engaged in the daily struggle of life in the new penal colony. The analysis of the early cultural landscape of Parramatta is covered in Section 3.4.

Material Culture refers to any and all elements of the physical remains of the archaeological excavation, the structural remains as well as the artefacts. Material Culture analysis takes as a given that the material world is a physical representation of the how the world works, the social and cultural elements of the world and how people interact in the world is embodied in the material products and practices of that world. The artefacts therefore become embedded with the meaning given to them by the cultural and social world that they form part of. The interweaving of theories of consumerism onto those of material culture allow for a further analysis and interpretation of other concepts that assist in conveying the meanings buried within the artefacts.

Consumption practices are important as they help us understand why we buy what we buy, and why we do not buy other things. Choices made by individuals or families or neighbourhoods or particular social groups about the items they purchase are not isolated or separated from society and culture but informed and structured by them. 'The consumer goods on which the consumer lavishes time, attention and income are charged with cultural meaning'.³⁶ 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'. McCracken defines consumption as the process by which consumer goods and services are created, bought and used'.³⁷

Paul Glennie on the meaning and significance of consumption concluded:

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.³⁸

Glennie proposes that an important aspect of the meaning of goods is that they can mean different things in different places and can have a range of parallel meanings at the same time.

³⁵ Casey 2002, 2005.

³⁶ McCracken 1990:xi.

³⁷ McCracken 1990:xi.

³⁸ Glennie 1995:179.

An important element of material culture is that it is not passive but rather it is active in that it influences how people think and behave as well as being embedded with cultural and social meaning.

A more detailed theoretical context was lodged with Casey & Lowe 2004 and published in Casey 2005.

Archaeological Analysis and Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes³⁹

Landscape archaeology now concentrates on the range of meanings ascribed to landscape. It includes analysis of how people interacted in the landscape, how groups perceived landscapes differently, the role of ideology and how it is embedded in the landscape, how landscape was manipulated for the construction of identity and a growing understanding about the use of symbolism in the landscape. The integration of social theory to understand landscapes has been used by scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds to engage with ‘concepts of memory, continuity, discontinuity, and transformation’.⁴⁰

Cultural landscapes are ‘relative and changing’ and ‘... at any given moment, landscapes— even as experienced by a single person—are multiple and contradictory;...they may work on different scales; and...are reconstituted and reappropriated over and over again’.⁴¹ Cultural landscapes are a manifestation of the social, cultural, economic and political worlds in which they are created. The approach of Raymond Williams allows for the investigation of how people engage with the landscape, a sense of multivocality, differential empowerment with associated tensions and the creation of people’s identity.⁴²

The interpretative perspective developed by Barbara Bender from Williams and others ‘permits questions about heritage and identity, allows people to *place themselves*, explores the social, cultural, economic and political relations within which people’s experiences of the world are embedded, and posits many ways of engaging, imagining, and contesting’.⁴³

Another important framework for interpreting landscape is that of Barrett’s which explores the issue of the outsider and how they view landscape. The disengaged observer’s way of seeing ‘and thinking manifests a power over nature and the labour of others; it is the power of those who stand back from the local and mundane engagements of human dwelling that are now to be objectively described, assessed and administered. The administrative gaze’.⁴⁴ Within this concept the production of two-dimensional representations allows for the mapping and cataloguing of people and places—a cartographic objectivity. This new gaze—way of seeing—removes people and places from the context of ‘lives as lived’ which was no longer important. It is from the position of disengaged viewer that land could be appropriated from those who wished to continue to use it in the traditional way of living. These voices of dissent had to be silenced and the objective view was to claim legitimacy to speak on their behalf and govern in their name.⁴⁵ Therefore the objective view of the administrator and law-maker disallowed the subjective and personal view of the individual. In this way governors such as Phillip, Bligh and Macquarie could change practices within the landscape because, as governors and as the top rung on the hierarchy, they could speak on the behalf of others and order the removal of houses, mills and other structures or practices that were individual and inappropriate in the landscape. In their perception of this landscape they were implementing orders for the greater public and social good. They, as colonial governors, could make changes for the

³⁹ Based on Casey 2002: ch 2.

⁴⁰ Ashmore & Knapp 1999b:3; see also Bender 1998; Darvill 1999; Fairclough 1999; Leone 1984, 1994; Rubertone 1989; Thomas 1993, 1996; Tilley 1994.

⁴¹ Bender 1998:34,

⁴² Bender 1992, 1998; Williams 1973, 1994.

⁴³ Bender 1998:6.

⁴⁴ Barrett 1999:23.

⁴⁵ Barrett 1999:23

greater good—that of empire—irrespective of what the ‘other’, convict, settler, soldier, emancipist, Aboriginal society, saw as appropriate or right for them.

Another issue of relevance to the analysis of the cultural landscape of Parramatta and the current interpretation of this place are the issue of privileging the moment of creation of a site or landscape, as being the point of most significance, rather than the influence of the site or landscape through its continued presence, the ‘chronology of appreciation’.⁴⁶ In archaeological practice this situation arose through stratigraphic dating which focuses on the physical evidence and the frequent inability to provide a *terminus ante quem* (point after which something is made) for the use of a place or structure. The use of functional ascription, the way in which the building was used, assists in the privileging of the reasons for construction. What is deemed to be significant to the archaeologists, the events or changes that leave residues, may not relate to the significant aspects of the occupants’ or users’ long-term relationship with the building or place.⁴⁷ It is important to investigate a place through multivocality and evidence for later use and attitudes towards the landscape. Perceptions and uses other than those envisioned and ordained by the ‘creators’ of the landscape can be recovered. This perspective had led to the privileging of Phillip’s landscape. In this section of the report this privileging is contested by suggesting that both Phillip’s design of the Parramatta township and the use of the ‘huts’ by convicts was insubstantial and quickly passed. That it was the free town which developed during Governor King’s (1800-1806) administration and furthered by Governor Macquarie (1810-1821) through expansion of the town plan and major infrastructure works such as the convict hospital, military and convict barracks, female factory and female orphan school and the rebuilding of St Johns. This is the Parramatta which produced the city of today not the insubstantial penal town of Governor Phillip.

5.2.2 Convict and Free Life in Colonial Parramatta⁴⁸

Question 1: What differences were there between the lives of free or forced or institutionalised settlers?

There is little archaeological evidence from the PCC site which allows us to discuss this question. We did not find any remains that we could categorically state were associated with the convict occupation as the remains of the convict hut itself should survive within the Conservation Zone and were not subject to archaeological investigation.

Many of the remains found in Lot 102W, that pre-date the brewery, are thought to be associated with the emancipated convict Samuel Larkin and his family and perhaps some of the artefacts belonged to Anthony Landrin. The absence of pits or deposits thought to be associated with the 1790s and early 1800s convict occupation of the hut is a pattern repeated on a range of sites, such as the Meriton site on the corner of northeast George & Charles Streets. While we know that it was proposed that the huts along George Street would accommodate approximately 10 male convicts, we found no evidence to assist with understanding these lives or behaviours. It is likely that much of the remains of the hut survive within the Conservation Zone and there may be some deposits or features that survive in the area immediately behind the hut. There is a paucity of artefacts that can specifically be defined as being associated with the occupation of these huts by convicts. The current interpretation of this behaviour is that the convicts had so little they did not throw anything out or that they had nothing and therefore had nothing to throw out. This view also informs the predictive model for convict hut sites. It is thought that the first 10m behind the hut zone is where deposits, features and artefacts are likely to be found and that beyond 10m there is limited potential for remains from that period. Therefore, at the most basic of levels the convicts had so little in the way of material culture

⁴⁶ Barrett 1999:22.

⁴⁷ Barrett 1999.

⁴⁸ I have drawn on some of the more relevant questions in PHALMS 2000 Figure 6.4, p. 167-175. Please note there are a number of important research areas which the PHALMS research framework has not engaged with, such as constructions of gender identities, frontier theory, resistance to authority, the nature of early pottery and its relation to domestic site activities and early pottery manufacture.

or artefacts that there is very little evidence that allows us to further our understanding about their behaviour, either as members of a group or as individuals.

This interpretation is supported by the letters of Governors Hunter and King where they describe the conditions of the huts in September 1800 (see Section 2.1.3). Both governors observed that the huts were mainly used to receive the newly arrived convicts but had been in disrepair for some time and were therefore not being used. They refer to the Parramatta huts in the same way as those at Toongabbie which was an agricultural settlement. These references suggest that the huts were only used intermittently by convicts arriving in the colony, who were then dispersed to other places, either to work on public works or on public agriculture or were assigned to work for people in the colony.

The disrepair of the buildings speaks to the discontinuation of their use or their intermittent occupation. This break in Phillip's intended use was probably related to the inefficient governance of the colony during the First Interregnum (1792-1795) and that Governor Hunter (1795-1800) probably did not reinstate their use and repair the huts.⁴⁹ It is possible there was intermittent use of any huts offering protection from the elements or if there was no alternative accommodation for the convicts they may have continued to live in whatever sort of accommodation may have been available. Therefore it is likely that initially the huts were used between July 1790 and 1792, their use continued for another few years, 1793, 1794 and possibly for a year or so later, before the wattle and daub huts became uninhabitable if they were not maintained as the weather would have affected the huts considerably. That they appear to be used and in reasonable repair in 1793 is suggested by the Brambila drawing (Fig. 3-9).

In Section 3.4 above the nature of the changing landscape and layout of George Street between 1790 and 1805 was discussed. It was observed that by c1805 all the convict hut properties along George Street were fenced when previously there were no fences. This is interpreted to represent the beginnings of private and personal possession of these properties and that it was unlikely they were any longer occupied by convicts. The absence of fences surrounding the huts in early images expresses the idea of the whole colony was a gaol with no need to erect fences around the convicts due to their isolation and that starvation and death, frequently at the hands of Aborigines, were the likely outcomes for attempted escapees. Building fences was difficult because of the green Australian timber, there were insufficient numbers of axes and the timbers were very hard. While many trees had been cleared they appear not to have been used for fencing other than the governor's residence (Figs 3-6, 3-9). The fences in this case were more likely built to keep the convicts out of the Governor's Domain and to protect anything growing there from night time raids.

These timber paling fences interpret the survey lines of a map which define the boundaries of the properties in real space and time, making the town represent what was on the map. The map is the masterwork because it is the legal document that is sent back to Britain, it is the legal document that continues to define these properties into the 1820s until another master map is created. These timber paling fences were used to create boundaries, define limits and impede access; possession while given only on a temporary basis to the leaseholders was frequently perceived to represent ownership and therefore could be transferred as personal property. These fences were not built to restrict people leaving the properties or to imprison them. These fences are about the transfer of land from Crown management to private land management – the alienation of Parramatta and a symbol of the beginning of its transformation from a penal agricultural place into a free settlement. Mapping represents the control and ownership of space and place, the administrative gaze of the coloniser.⁵⁰ Mapping expresses Imperial control by defining, designing and laying out the town, it testifies to the usurpation of earlier owners and occupants; it expresses the new organisation of the landscape and the people with each passing governor and the attempts to reconcile the social, economic and political concerns of the early residents of Parramatta.

⁴⁹ Casey 2002: Chapter 7.

⁵⁰ Barrett 1999.

Therefore while we have limited new archaeological evidence from this site about the differences between convict and free life, we begin to see that once the convict hut/houses were occupied by either free people or emancipated convicts, rather than being used for the temporary accommodation of convicts, that the establishment and maintenance of private property rights to the land by fencing properties was highly significant. Communal ownership is more directly expressed by the absence of fences, as with the early town. This openness expresses the free flow of individuals, soldiers and convicts, into the buildings, through the properties and township.

Whether the fencing of properties were instigated by Governor King to organise and ‘tidy up’ the landscape or by individual leaseholders of the properties to create personal boundaries, these fences represent a shift in thinking about Parramatta as gaol town, to a town occupied by free or freed persons who had responsibility for their individually bound properties. These fences are shown on the c1804 map as well as the c1805 painting. There is little indication in Evans’ c1805 painting that this was a convict settlement. There are few physical indications of penal institutions, even the convict hospital (far left of centre) looks little more than a few houses although it was a substantial group of buildings at this time, as seen on Brambila’s (1793) earlier drawing (Fig. 3-9), while the gaol on the other side of the river is not visible at all.

Question 2: How did the deprivations of frontier life alter the way in which free people lived in early colonial Parramatta?

Artefacts

There is no easy answer to this question. As Sections 4 and 8 indicate there was a large quantity of artefacts which we consider were associated with the early ‘free’ residents or emancipated convicts residing within Lot 102W, mainly associated with Samuel Larkin and his family and possibly a few with Anthony Landrin. An overview of these artefacts suggests that Landrin and his family had access to a wide range of goods, such as imported ceramics and glassware and the ability to purchase a range of locally-made pottery. While the locally-made pottery is not without flaws it appears to be available in a range of shapes and decorations. Therefore there was a variety of choice available in both local and imported wares.

The ceramics from the storage cellar, whose manufacture dates from the late eighteenth century to the 1830s, are thought to be mostly associated with the Larkin family who lived in the convict hut/house by 1824 to c1838. This is an extensive collection of artefacts with imported ceramics from China and Britain as well as locally-made utilitarian vessels. The range of Chinese porcelain is varied as seen by the quantities of hand-painted overglazed pieces. Notable is an armorial fragment with marriage doves (see pg 93ff, Photos 4-8, 4-9). These made up 30.4 percent of ceramics from the storage cellar. Among the British ceramics were quantities of creamware (Section 8.1, Table 3.8) with the plain creamwares forming 22.4 percent of the storage cellar assemblage. The quantity of creamwares does suggest that there was a dual hierarchy in tablewares: the Chinese porcelain being the more decorative wares while the creamwares may have been the everyday wares. There were considerable quantities of both the blue and white Chinese porcelain and the creamwares on tablewares. The decorated imported British ceramics were frequently found on teawares, mainly blue transfer-printed pearlwares (Section 8.1, Table 3.7). The overglaze hand-painted Chinese porcelain, such as the armorial pattern, constituted an unusual group (Photos 4-8, 4-9).

The ceramics from the storage cellar are seen as representing remains from much of Larkin’s and his family’s period of occupation of the convict hut/house. The range of ceramics represent a cross-section of the type of styles and patterns available in the early colony which still had trade links to China (probably through India) as well as those long-term links to Britain. Many of these could have been brought at any time between 1810 and 1835.

The glass artefacts perhaps suggests a different aspect of the storage cellar assemblage. It contained a lot of ‘older’ bottles and tablewares that were not ‘recent’, meaning that they had been purchased for their contents some considerable time previous to their disposal c1840. This suggests that the

glass bottles were being recycled due to the need to import all glass during this period. Unlike ceramics, other than stoneware bottles, there were no locally-made alternatives. Therefore, at least to the Larkin family, glass bottles had a value beyond their contents, they had value as containers which could be reused over and over again. By the time of their disposal these bottles were broken and/or no longer had any storage value. Therefore, perhaps the reuse of glass bottles during the early colonial period may be a clue to one of the deprivations. Also it probably indicates the production of homemade food and beverage, such as cordials, sauces, pickles and chutneys, illegally distilled goods, preserved fruit and jams. These types of foods were typically produced in eighteenth and nineteenth-century kitchens in places where people had to be self-sufficient and provide food outside the seasons they grew in. In 1822 Samuel Larkin obtained a license to sell alcohol from his George Street property and it is perhaps to this use that he put these bottles? Possibly decanting from larger storage containers into the bottles for sale to customers who returned the bottles when they next purchased alcohol?

The presence of 'older' bottles in relation to ceramics is unusual. Typically glass vessels on nineteenth-century urban sites and contexts have a more recent date than the ceramics and this inverse of the normal chronological relationship emphasises the likelihood of recycling of these vessels until their eventual disposal in the storage pit.

While there are likely to be other 'deprivations', considerably more work is required on the analysis, comparison and interpretation of these types of sites before we can move beyond initial observations. Such as the need to recycle glass vessels due to a lack of such vessels and their expense therefore. Another issue affecting expense is likely to be the exercise tax on glass, the tax was higher on clear flint glass and less on 'common' black bottle glass.⁵¹

Storage pits

At a general level the archaeological evidence for this site sits well with the archaeological remains found at other sites in Parramatta. The site had two convict huts probably erected in a typical manner, set back off the wide High Street. The occupants changed from convict hut to a single family residing in rebuilt hut/houses. At the rear of the early house on Lot 102W was a brick storage cellar with a clay tile roof for storing surplus food supplies or storage of grain or other possible items. Storage cellars have been found on some other early colonial sites, but we are unaware of any other brick ones. Other storage pits include barrel pits (Babes in the Woods;⁵² Lot 69 George & Charles), clay-lined pits (Lots 69 & 70 George & Charles), stone-lined pits (Lot 70 George & Charles) and a possible timber-lined storage pit (109 George Street). This practice of storing food supplies in a cool place, in the ground, was necessary as there were no alternative ways of storing surplus food. These types of storage structures are only found on early colonial sites and to our knowledge only in Parramatta. They may possibly be found on other contemporary sites. The use of storage pits would result from the absence of underground cellars for the storage of food and therefore specifically relates to the simple two-roomed construction of the early hut/houses. In addition, the heat of the Parramatta summer would have exacerbated the issues with storage of food. Burying the food in the ground in a lined structure is one of the easiest ways of providing a cool place to store food and to retard its spoiling. Some of these structures are seen as relating to the convict residents (clay-lined) while most are thought to relate to the leaseholder's occupation. It is noted that this last observation is an assumption based on uniform practice of two clay-lined pits on adjacent properties probably being made as part of the construction or even a rebuild of the hut. The other different storage techniques may indicate an individual solution to in-ground storage. In most cases the backfilling of the storage pits was undertaken towards the end of leaseholder occupation, indicating that they were still being used during much of that period.

⁵¹ Boow 1991:113.

⁵² Mary Casey supervised the excavation of these barrel pits in 1989.

Question 3: Nature of early agricultural practices, evidence for dairying etc. Address this issue through both the analysis of archaeological features as well as through analysis of early pottery and pollen samples.

This site had limited evidence for early agricultural practices. While we know about the production of early wheat and maize crops throughout this area where George or High Street was laid out there has been limited archaeological evidence for this practice. Recent findings at the Leighton's site on the southwest corner of George & Charles Streets and the Casey & Lowe site at 109 George Street, Parramatta has revealed some pollen evidence for early agricultural practises.⁵³ Due to the absence of manures the soil was quickly exhausted which then made it possible to use the cleared ground to lay out the new town.⁵⁴

While the pollen evidence from the storage cellar is ambivalent, suggesting that it is more likely to be from compost rather than from crops grown on the property, it does allow us to say that a range of crops were probably being produced in Parramatta or nearby and that these fruit and vegetables were available around c1840. These include cereals, vegetables (peas and members of the cabbage/turnip and umbellifer families), and fruit 'prunus' and a type resembling apple or pear. While prunus species include almond, apricot, cherry, nectarine, peach and plums we cannot say with certainty which prunus pollens were found.

While we had no specific historical or archaeological evidence indicating that there was a dairy on the site there is some indication among the range of lead-glazed earthenware pans that there may have been limited dairy activity. This may have been limited to purchasing of raw milk to separate cream to make butter or perhaps was associated with other domestic activities. Remains of 16 pans were found, five from the storage cellar and six from the pits to the south of the Conservation Zone (Section 8.1, 7.2, Table 7.2). Other vessels may have been used for making cheese or straining off the whey.

Two whetstones (3958, 3961) came from the leaseholder's storage pit fills. The large quartzite block (3961) was used over a long period of time being covered in oval grinding zones and deep v-shaped grooves. As a heavy object it would probably have been set within a work area. The whetstones were used to sharpen knives and tools, as well as shaping and polishing various hand-made items. Those of shaped quartzite were probably imported and provided a very hard surface. These may indicate the presence of metal tools such as shovels, spades, hoes or knives which may have been used to maintain the orchard trees known to have been on the property or other similar work.

Question 4: Pottery was manufactured in Sydney and probably in Parramatta. It is typically found on early Parramatta sites where it is occasionally unglazed. Our understanding of this pottery is fairly limited to date. Recent work by Mary Casey on the analysis of early pottery in Sydney (DMR site and Palmer's bakehouse at the Conservatorium of Music) has considerably added to our understanding of the type of forms manufactured and used at specialist sites but we know very little about pottery at Parramatta, its manufacture and the forms and their uses.⁵⁵ The work at George & Charles Streets, Parramatta has considerably added to our understanding of the *corpus* of early pottery.

No evidence, either historical or archaeological, has yet been found to indicate that pottery was being manufactured in Parramatta. Our current opinion, until further evidence is found, is that all early locally-made pottery was made either at the Brickfields, Surry Hills or Skinners pottery in the city, on the Tank Stream.⁵⁶ The assemblage of locally-made pottery from this site is one of the more significant collections found, especially those substantially intact vessel coming from the storage cellar. The gluing of the vessels from this site has revealed that some were substantially intact when

⁵³ Historical Archaeology Seminar, December 2005.

⁵⁴ Tench 1979:192-196, 263-264.

⁵⁵ Casey 1999; Casey & Lowe 2002.

⁵⁶ Casey 1999.

disposed of. This degree of intactness allows us to be able to expand our knowledge of the range of shapes from early colonial sites and the type of pots produced by local potters (Photos 4-1 to 4-6).

In addition we have begun to identify vessels probably made by the same potter. The nearly intact chamber pot (Photo 4-1) from the storage cellar, the one to the right in Photo 4-1 and a chamber pot from the George & Charles Streets site (Photo 5-1) have similar detailing of the foot, the two incised lines on the rim, and the shape of the pot all suggest all three pots were by the same potter.

As part of analysing the early pottery from this site all main vessels have been drawn and included into the type series established for the pottery and developed further for each site (Section 8.1, Appendix 1). In this way all of the significant vessels from each site can be compared to each other. This type-series is based on Casey 1999 and developed by Rowan Ward and Mary Casey. Rowan has been responsible for all the detailed work on the pottery for this site and her Specialist Report (Section 8.1/7.2) includes descriptions and analysis of this pottery.

All the locally-made pottery from the Parramatta sites excavated by Casey & Lowe will be subject to detailed description and analysis. It is hoped that once we complete the analysis of this pottery from the range of sites we are currently excavating we will be able to add considerably to information about the range of vessels being made, the types of clays being used, technology, and number of potters represented in the archaeology. Confirmation, through scientific analysis, that some of these vessels are definitely being manufactured in Sydney is also being sought.



Photo 5-1: Chamber pot/poe from the storage cellar (left) and one from George & Charles Streets. These two pots are thought to be by the same potter. Scale 10cm

Question 5: It is possible that John Blakefield, a baker, may have carried out commercial baking on this premises and there may be pottery and structural remains in the yard area that will assist with analysing this site and such evidence.

There is no evidence for the activity of John Blakefield or the presence of a bakery on this site. Therefore it is not possible to answer this question.

Question 6: Evidence associated with the occupation of this site by the Larkin family may reveal interesting insights into family patterns and behaviour.

Question 7.3: How do patterns of consumption further our understanding of how early residents of Parramatta used material culture in the construction of personal and group identity?

These two questions have overlapping responses and are therefore brought together to save some redundancy.

The contexts thought to be clearly associated with the Larkin family in lot 102W are those from the storage cellar and probably those from the pits immediately south of the Conservation Zone, in front of the convict hut/house. While there is only one conjoin between the ceramics in these two features the similar date range of these items and the concentration of the locally-made lead-glazed pottery indicates they are contemporary in date and therefore probably belonged to the same residents who occupied the house into the late 1830s, the Larkin family. Aspects of this particular assemblage are discussed in Questions 2 and 3 above and Section 4.

In addition to the issues considered in Questions 2 and 3 are the quantities of Chinese hand-painted overglazed pottery. Ninety-one percent of the Chinese export porcelain came from Lot 102W and many of these (111 items) are thought to be associated with the Larkin family's occupation of the site. The type and quantity of this pottery has been shown to be unusual in providing evidence for the different range of Chinese ceramic available in the early colony. The focus is usually on the Canton and Nanking blue and white ceramics but at this site there was a considerable quantity of hand-painted overglazed decoration. While some have previously been found on other sites, such as the Cumberland/Gloucester Streets site in the Rocks and at 109 George Street, Parramatta, the quantity and range represented by these various fragments is more substantial than previously reported. Not only do they indicate the range available within the Sydney/Parramatta market between 1810-1830 they also indicate the eclectic choices made by the Larkin family. Section Ceramics Report, Section 8.1(7.2) and Section 4.3.1 and Photos 4-7 to 4-10.

| Lot | MIC | % | Area | Feature | MIC | % |
|------|-----|-----|------|----------------|------------|--------------|
| 102E | 6 | 4.5 | A | | 6 | 4.5 |
| 102W | 122 | 91 | C | | 23 | 17.2 |
| 102W | | | D | | 15 | 11.2 |
| 102W | | | D | storage cellar | 84 | 62.7 |
| 103 | 6 | 4.5 | F | well | 6 | 4.5 |
| | | | | | 134 | 100.1 |

Table 5-1: Chinese ceramics found from the whole site.

Other than the Canton or Nanking patterned vessels, there are no matching sets or items in Chinese export ceramics. It is noted that the Canton and Nanking patterned plates dominate the table and teawares, suggesting that these are seen as being desirable and are not necessarily seen as being a poor cousin. They have been interpreted as being part of the finer dinner service used by the family while the plain creamware is the less impressive and probably an everyday service. These two types of ceramics were contemporaneous in time and therefore were likely to be used in the home during the same period and represent two different kinds of style preferences.

Quantities of Chinese export porcelain in Canton and Nanking patterns have also been found at the Meriton site on the northeast corner of George & Charles Streets, Parramatta while the Chinese ceramics found at 109 George Street, a total of 60 items, were all blue and white ceramics. These emphasise the unusual nature of the overglaze painted ceramics from the PCC site. These are therefore considered to represent the personal choice of the either Samuel Larkin or another representative of his family. The reasons for thinking that the choice may have been Samuel Larkin

was that he has been identified as a ‘flamboyant artist’ and therefore may have had a preference for what appeared to be a different style of decoration to that more typically found on the blue and white ceramics, although they were still clearly purchasing the Canton and Nanking patterns.

The Chinese artefacts, the lead-glazed pottery, and the British ceramics in the storage cellar and pits are seen to be choices made by Samuel Larkin and his family from the goods available in the shops in Sydney and Parramatta between c1805 and 1835 when Larkin died. This therefore limited the type of goods from which a choice could be made. All the residents of Parramatta and the main Sydney Cove area would have been restricted to these choices unless they placed special orders with importers who could acquire better goods or if they brought them into the colony themselves. The ceramics considered to be associated with the Larkin family are those most likely to reveal personal choice and group identity. They clearly had sufficient money to buy a range of different table and teawares and it was not necessarily the practice to choose teawares that matched the tablewares but the tablewares often matched each other. The choice of the hand-painted overglaze Chinese porcelain has been identified as unusual and therefore representing their individual choices.

Question 7: Consumption and Commerce in Colonial Parramatta:

7.1 How does the site link into issues associated with local, regional and global economies?

Who is manufacturing the artefacts found at the site?

What are the type of research issues raised by this question? The nature of trade relationships is one of the obvious questions relating to local, regional and global economies. The most direct way to address this question is to examine which countries manufactured the artefacts found within the site. One of the unstated and unanalysed assumptions underlying archaeological interpretation on urban sites in Sydney is the importation of manufactured goods, which forms the bulk of the artefacts found at an archaeological site, is the result of global capitalism and trade networks. New South Wales, as one of a group of six colonies of the United Kingdom, until Federation in 1901, probably imported most of its goods from the UK. This is after all one of the main reasons for imperial expansion and the establishment of a colonial system. The imperial power is seeking to expand its markets as well as buy cheap raw materials from the colonies and then sell them back as value-added manufactured goods. Is this the pattern we see in pre-1850s deposits and is it the same for the second-half of the nineteenth century or are there discernible changes?

By considering the trade patterns represented by the various manufactured artefacts from the site it is hoped to further our understanding of the trade relationships represented in the archaeological remains. Figure 5.1 represents the countries of manufacture, where known, for artefacts from the site as a whole. There was only one definite artefact from the USA, seven from Germany, four from Holland, and three from Japan. There were many more items from China (134) which was the source of a few more artefacts than Australia (107). It should be noted that this list does not include the country of origin for building materials as many of those were locally made in Parramatta and would not be imported from overseas. The dominant country from which items were manufactured and exported was the United Kingdom, 30 percent of the site’s artefacts (628) being made there.

The pattern for countries manufacturing ceramics and glass on early sites or in contexts is different to those of later nineteenth-century sites or contexts. As discussed previously approximately 30 percent of the ceramics from the storage cellar were imported from China (Fig. 5-2), while for the whole of Lot 102W only 19 percent came from China. These ratios are not necessarily the same for other sites dating prior to c1840, such as the Bakehouse (c1800-1815) at the Conservatorium of Music. Twelve percent of the ceramic assemblage from the Bakehouse came from China.⁵⁷ It has been suggested that on early Sydney sites Chinese ceramics formed as much as 25 percent of the ceramic assemblage.⁵⁸ Karskens has also stated that at the Cumberland/Gloucester Street excavations

⁵⁷ Casey & Lowe 2002:vol 1, ch 5, 128.

⁵⁸ Stanniforth & Nash 1998:10, quoting Corcoran and Varman.

Chinese export ware formed the majority of early ceramics. No detailed evidence or analysis is presented to support this statement.⁵⁹

Figure 5-2 reveals the prominence of the Chinese ceramics in Lot 102W and emphasise the lack of this material in Lot 103. Most of the artefacts in Lot 103 were from the well and were deposited around c1865. Artefacts from the United Kingdom are dominant in the early and later deposits but more so in the two lots where the artefacts mostly date to the middle of the nineteenth-century, Lots 102E and 103.

These data suggest that deposits dating prior to c1840 have a high proportion of Chinese artefacts, all of which so far have been ceramic. After this date Chinese artefacts almost completely disappear, except for the occasional ginger jar. This pattern changes around the 1880s to 1920s if the site is associated with the Chinese Diaspora or the overseas Chinese. An example of this in Parramatta is Lot 69, George & Charles Streets site, which was occupied by a Chinese market gardener, Ah Chee, and the backfill of a well contained many artefacts associated with this period of occupation, including numerous artefacts from China and/or Southeast Asia. These artefacts included glass and metal as well as ceramics and had a substantially different profile to the Chinese ceramics recovered from the pre-1840s deposits.⁶⁰ By this time the trade networks between Australia and China had been re-established but for totally different purposes—for the supply of the overseas Chinese rather than for the colonial population.⁶¹

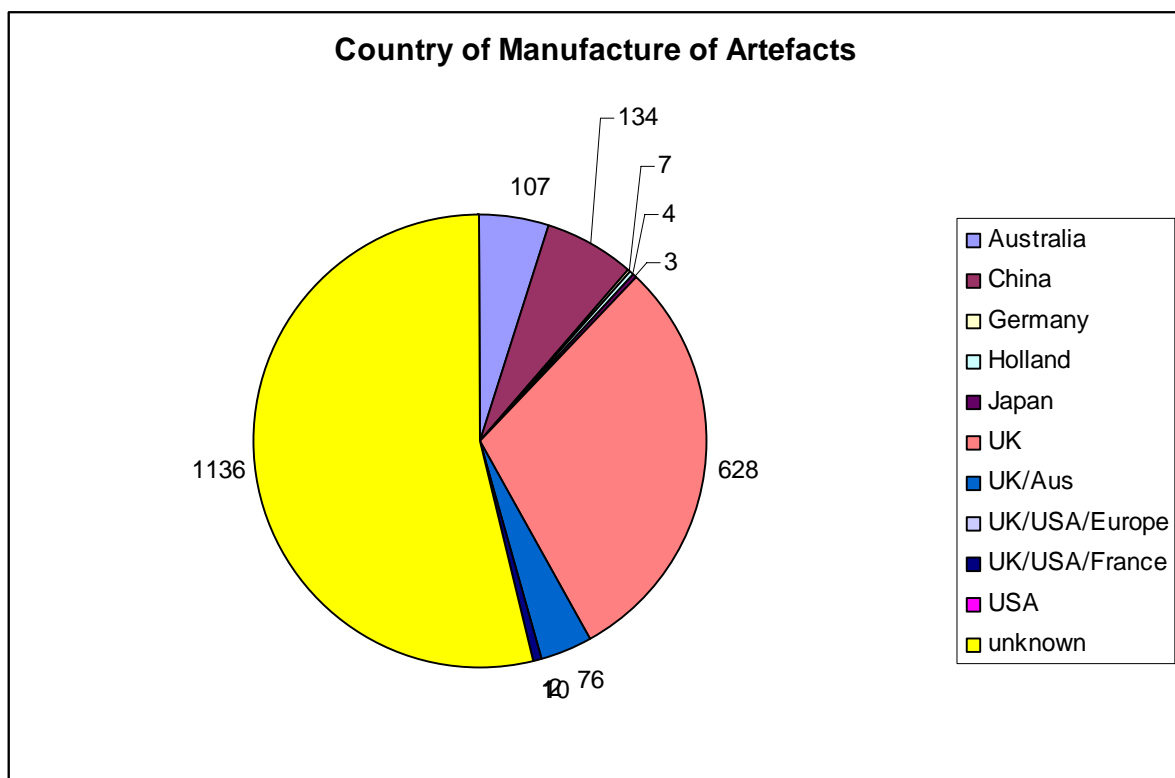


Figure 5-1: Pie chart showing the country of manufacture for artefacts from the site, item counts.

⁵⁹ Karskens 1999:71.

⁶⁰ The George & Charles Streets archaeological report is in progress and will deal with a more substantial analysis and comparison of the Chinese artefacts from that site as well as from PCC and 109 George Street. Other urban sites with overseas Chinese occupation are Silknet House, Mary Street, Surry Hills and 19-41 Reservoir Street, Surry Hills, both were excavated by Casey & Lowe.

⁶¹ Lydon 1999; *Australasian Historical Archaeology* vol 21, 'The archaeology of the overseas Chinese'.

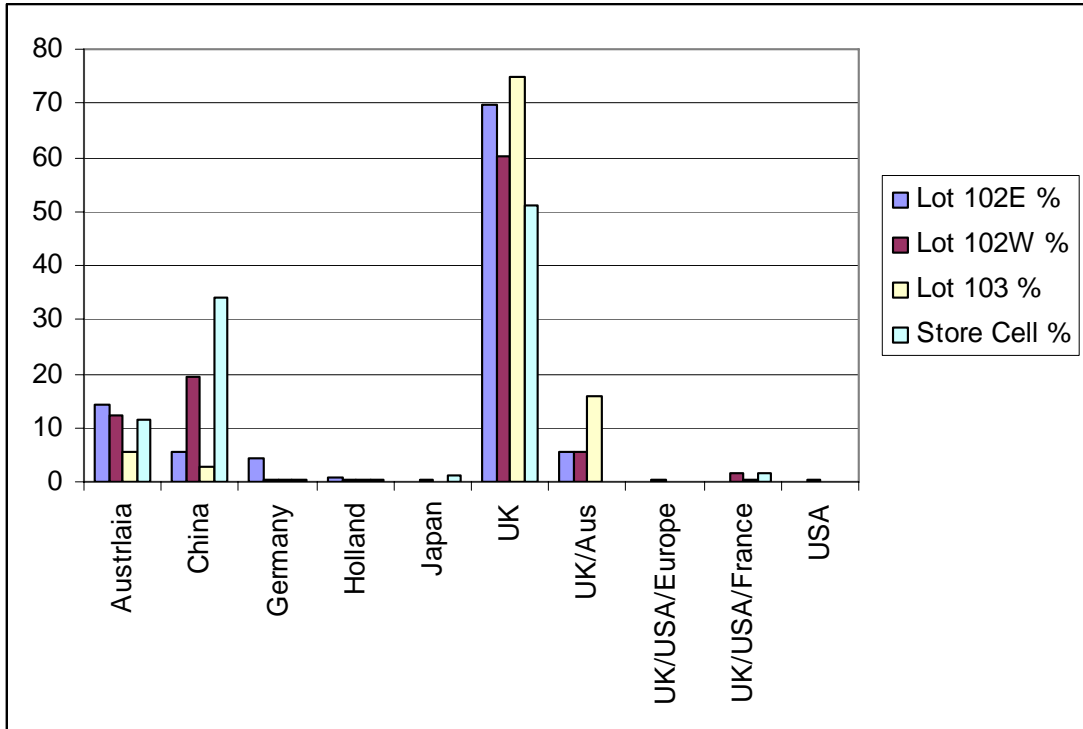


Figure 5-2: Percentage of artefacts from known country of manufacture, excluding artefacts whose country of manufacture is unknown.

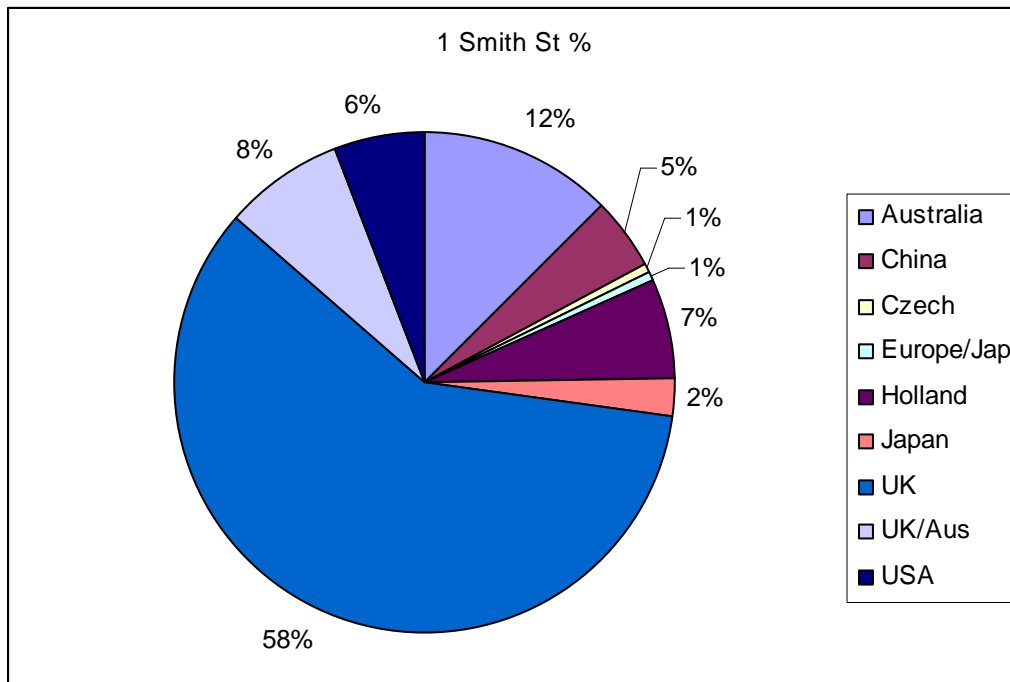


Figure 5-3: Identified countries of manufactured of artefacts recovered from 1 Smith Street, Parramatta.

These figures also show that deposits dating to 1860s/70s, such as the well in Lot 103, have fewer Australian-made ceramics and glass. There is a much greater reliance on imported ceramics and glass. This appears to be the by-product of no glass manufacturing in Sydney until 1866 and the small amount of ceramic production which is mostly restricted to stoneware bottles.⁶² The evidence

⁶² Boow 1991:113; Ford 1995.

for later nineteenth-century sites has not yet been analysed but will be examined for the George & Charles Streets site. Evidence for Australian manufacturing from a 1930s deposit at 1 Smith Street (4703) had 12 percent of items made in Australia, four ceramic items and 17 glass items. This deposit was considered to represent the recycling of considerable quantities of bottles which contained various liquids. Among the group of imported British glass bottles were those with local Sydney labels indicating a direct importing of bottles for local commercial distribution (Fig. 5-3). The dating of this deposit to the early 1930s also suggests that it was affected by the economic issues of the Depression in Australia. The 1 Smith Street deposit therefore does not necessarily represent a typical type of assemblage and the proportion of items made in Australia may be atypical for the period between 1860 to 1900.

Excise Duty and Type of Glass being Imported

Another issue that could be explored in the analysis of import patterns is how does the British excise on manufacturing of flint glass and black glass affect the type of bottles being imported as well as how does it influence re-use and recycling of glass bottles. The British government imposed excise duty on flint and black glass. Flint or clear glass was taxed at a higher rate than black or common glass. There were controls on the types of bottles that could be made in a flint or black glasshouse (place where black glass was manufactured). The excise duty was removed in 1845 which presumably led to more clear and non-black bottles being imported after this date.⁶³ Figure 5-4 shows a pattern of change in the variety and range of colours available within the approximately 25-year period between the backfilling of these two features. By this time there was access to eight additional colours but there is no clear preference for clear bottles in the well deposit. This is presumed to be the pattern in glass bottles substantially later than c1840 but as the Specialist Report indicates the dateable bottles in the well were mostly manufactured in the 1820s and earlier rather than later than 1845.⁶⁴ So in effect while there are some differences they may not necessarily be the result of the change in excise duty or there is only minimal flow-on resulting from the removal of the excise duty. This issue could be explored further in analysis of other deposits to determine if there is any substantial variability dating to the colour of glass bottles after 1845 and if it relates to the excise duty.

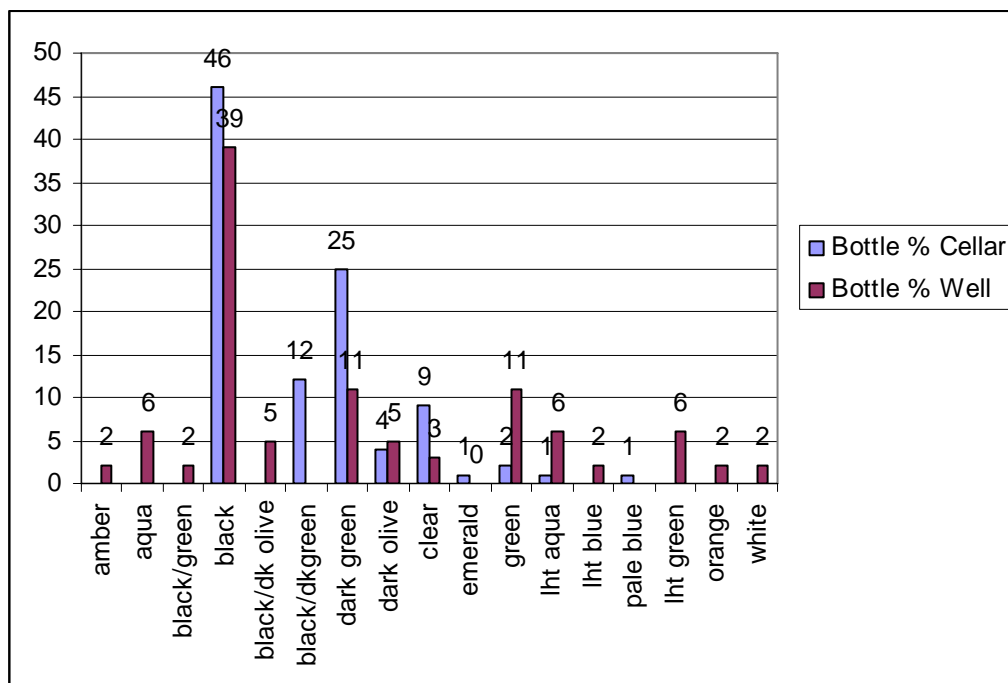


Figure 5-4: Graph of glass bottle colours from the storage cellar and the well. Most of the artefacts in the well date from c1790 to c1840 and the well ones date up to c1865.

⁶³ Boow 1991:113.

⁶⁴ Section 8.2: Table 2.3.

Question 7.2: What does the site tell us about cultural and social practices in colonial Parramatta, relating to lifeways, diet and other issues associated with consumption?

Question 13: Order and amenity: is the layout of houses and other structures the result of cultural and social practices? What was the role of these practices in changing the landscape and modifying people's behaviour?⁶⁵

Many of the points relevant to these two questions at the PCC site have been answered in the above questions. Only some further limited comments will be made.

At a general level the evidence for the social practices are not substantially different to any other contemporary site of which the author has detailed knowledge. The type of evidence for the social practices which illustrate the cultural environment to which the settlement belongs are: the layout of the structures, the storage and rubbish disposal areas, the demolition and rebuilding of structures to improve comfort and convenience or for commercial benefit. The cesspits of the later houses were behind the houses, as generally were the rubbish pits. The material culture—the artefacts—are those that we have come to expect from any early settlement, a mix of locally-made and imported Chinese and British pottery and glass and were typically deliberately disposed into the ground into purpose-dug pits or re-used existing structures such as the storage cellar. The type of artefacts found on this site is a result of a mixture of trade practices and personal choices. The degree to which specific objects represent an individual's personal choice and wealth, as well as being the results of subliminal social pressures, and therefore become a statement designed to express aspects of the social group to which the individual identified or sought to identify, is uncertain. These three facets of consumption inform the type of choices people make when purchasing any item. Aspects of the social and group identity were discussed in Questions 6 /7.3.

Bricks and pottery were manufactured using the same technology as would have been used in the United Kingdom. We see the technological and chronological changes in building materials from clay roofing tiles to iron and more modern roofing materials. These relate mostly to skills of the convicts and/or access to materials. The finding of a different type of early roofing tile at the Parramatta Children's Court site to those previously known from other early sites does indicate this type may relate to the different traditional practices in which various convict brick and tile makers were trained in regional United Kingdom.

Recent descriptions of a colonial site dating 100 years earlier than New South Wales and Parramatta revealed a totally different pattern of rubbish disposal, the throwing away of rubbish directly onto the ground rather than the more common disposal patterns seen on most urban sites in Sydney.⁶⁶ Of note is that sheet deposits have been found in the highly urbanised parts of the Rocks.⁶⁷ These issues will be investigated further in other archaeological reports to be written on Parramatta by Casey & Lowe during 2006.

Diet

The main information for diet comes from the faunal or animal bone evidence as well as limited pollen evidence from the backfilling of the storage cellar. Section 5.2.4 reports briefly on the overall results of the animal bone from the site, most of which represents meat eaten in meals at the site. The typical profile for animal bone is a dominance of sheep followed by cattle with only small quantities of pig. This site also has some chicken. It is noted that the Sheep/Pig/Cattle category is very large and therefore disguises what was possibly a larger proportion of sheep bone from the site. Overall these data are considered to be somewhat unreliable because of the size of the Sheep/Pig/Cattle category. Some butchered horse bone were found in the well deposit but it is uncertain if it was the by-product of skinning or the consumption of horse meat.

⁶⁵ Some of these issues were the focus of analysis in Casey 2002.

⁶⁶ Mark Horton, PHA Seminar, University of Sydney, 10 March 2006 'The archaeology of Scottish Pioneers in Darien, Panama, 1698-1700'.

⁶⁷ Murray and Crook 2004.

As noted in the discussion of the storage cellar and above in Question 3, among the food eaten at the site were cereals, vegetables (peas and members of the cabbage/turnip and umbellifer families), and fruit 'prunus' and a type resembling apple or pear. While prunus species include almond, apricot, cherry, nectarine, peach and plums we cannot say with certainty which specific prunus fruits the pollens represented.

5.2.3 Landscape of Colonial Parramatta

Question 8: How does the evidence from this site feed into the current perceptions of the convict-period landscape of Parramatta? Other issues to be considered are resistance to the way in which control manifested itself in the landscape and in daily life. Issues of power are central to the expression of landscapes of control.

This question has basically been answered in Question 1. Little evidence was found associated with the convict-period of occupation, partly because the main remains from this period – the convict hut – are within the Conservation Zone and were not subject to archaeological excavation but also because we believe that few of the early sites in Parramatta have remains associated with the convicts, other than the huts.

Question 9: Evidence for the pre-European landscape?

The township of Parramatta was built on a flight of Late Quaternary river terraces near to the tidal (and initially navigable) limit of the Parramatta River. Remnants of the Holocene floodplain, i.e. river terraces formed after post-glacial sea levels stabilised about the present day position about 6000 years ago level, occur up to 2m elevation on both sides of the river.⁶⁸

Archival and bore-log evidence indicate that the pre-settlement topography of the lowest (Holocene) terraces was highly irregular due to the prevalence of levee bank remnants (reduced to mounds) and back-swamp hollows.⁶⁹ Some of the latter held permanent freshwater and were used for water supplies (Fig. 3-4). Early plans show that one of the creeks draining the upper terraces crossed the eastern part of Lot 102E, immediately outside the study site (Figs 2.5, 3-4).

The soils within the PCC site and the surrounding hospital area were formed on a sequence of alluvial deposits, with older clayey sediments underlying a thick sandy strongly leached layer closer to the surface. The age of these alluvial sediments is uncertain but the strong degree of profile development suggests an advanced age, possibly pre-Glacial, for the underlying brightly mottled clayey layer. The overlying sand is not stratified but site 2 had several wavy silty bands. This probably represents incipient B horizon development and is often seen in other very sandy alluvial soils (e.g. the Nepean River) beneath younger more stratified layers (having many fine thin layers). This is probably post-Glacial material, deposited when the river experienced much greater fluctuations in flow than at present.

Prior to 1790, the higher terraces lining the Parramatta River supported eucalypt woodland or forest with a grassy rather than shrub-rich understorey. Casuarinas were either rare or absent and significant percentages of this pollen type are (a) mostly due to long distant transport and therefore (b) circumstantial evidence of European clearing (due to the low local pollen influx following destruction of the local native vegetation).

This forest was cleared using fire, allowing native grasses and liverwort populations to colonise exposed areas of damp mineral soils. 'Agricultural' weeds such as dandelions had become widely naturalised across the same area by the early 1800s.

⁶⁸ Mitchell 2003

⁶⁹ Lawrie 1982

Question 10: Nature and affect of modification of the pre-European landscape.

Prior to laying out the town of Parramatta (Rose Hill) (Nov 1788 to July 1790) the area was used for growing crops necessary to the survival of the early colony. However, prior to Sample 39 from 109-113 George Street,⁷⁰ there was no compelling fossil pollen evidence that ‘broad acre’ crops had been planted on any of the allotments fronting onto George Street, although grain may have been stored on some of these sites.⁷¹ It is also noted that in the excavation of the Leighton’s site on the southwest corner of George & Charles Streets substantial archaeological evidence thought to be associated with the early cropping was found.⁷²

The slope down to the creekline in the eastern part of the study area, in Lot 102E, was progressively filled as part of the process of building up the site. There was some initial fill for the brewery but for the construction of the 1882 house the levels were raised by up to 0.5m of redeposited sand, possibly from the western part of the site. There is evidence for subdivision of the properties with various fences and the relocation of fenced boundaries at various times, notably the two fence lines between Lot 102W and 102E. The use of the brewery property also produced high saline levels in the subsoils (Section 8.6).

There was no evidence for topsoil surviving within the study area. If this had built up it was removed, probably by the various erosion and building activities on the site, including the brewery and the twentieth-century maternity hospital.

Question 11: Remaking of the landscape, the social cultural and political context and how it was manifest in this landscape.⁷³ Are many of the same issues influencing the way in which the landscape was formed similar to those which affected the Sydney Domain?**Question 12: How does this site relate to the Parramatta Domain and the interaction between these landscapes and people who may have worked in the Domain such as cooper Anthony Landrin who resided within the study area and was known to work at the Government Cooperage and Samuel Larkin who was a government clerk, initially with two governors then with the Commissariat and Government Store?**

These questions have related themes and because there is only limited opportunity to address these questions, due to the nature of the archaeological evidence and because of the ongoing research and analysis Casey & Lowe are undertaking for Parramatta sites, they will only be addressed briefly.

There has been discussion in Sections 3 and 4 of aspects of a re-analysis of the early colonial Parramatta landscape, Governor Phillip’s layout of the Parramatta grid onto the earlier farming ground which had been cleared and cropped between November 1788 and July 1790. This speedy exhaustion of the soil, mainly due to lack of fertilisers, meant early agricultural land could be used for residential purposes and to provide better accommodation for the convicts who were still residing in Parramatta, while labouring on nearby agricultural. Once it was no longer feasible to produce successful crops in the immediate vicinity of Parramatta, public agriculture was moved Toongabbie and Castle Hill under Governor King, both of which had alternative accommodation for convicts.

Once the huts were empty, people would have been keen to occupy these properties. Many huts already had some limited infrastructure, such as wells but importantly many fronted onto High Street, the township’s main thoroughfare. The early known residents of Lot 102, Anthony Landrin and later Samuel Larkin, had both been employed in government service. Landrin was a cooper for Governor King (1880-1806) while Larkin was employed as a government clerk during Governors King’s and

⁷⁰ Casey & Lowe project, report in preparation, excavated Dec 2004.

⁷¹ Mike Macphail email to Mary Casey 22/11/2005.

⁷² Wendy Thorp, HA Seminar, Newtown, December 2005.

⁷³ This general topic was the focus of Mary Casey’s PhD thesis but in relation to the Sydney Domain (Casey 2002).

Bligh's administrations.⁷⁴ King had established a practice in Sydney of locating staff in houses close to government house so they were easily available for work, such as in the case of David Dickinson Mann and Thomas Alford.⁷⁵

Alford was the government gardener and was given a lease within the Sydney Domain.⁷⁶ Mann was King's chief clerk and Commissary when the Commissary was absent. In May 1804 he was referred to as under-secretary to the governor and appears to have held a number of administrative posts.⁷⁷ Mann built a house and other buildings on his lease, which was valued at £400 by 1808. According to Mann, 'It was at the particular insistence of Gov. King that I had built there, because it was handy to him, and he had a back gate which opened immediately on my place'.⁷⁸ Other Sydney Domain leases were to Commissary John Palmer and Nathaniel Lucas to build and operate windmills for grinding grain.⁷⁹

This practice may be seen as preferential treatment of favoured staff. While Larkin did not get access to this property until a later time, probably c1814 but definitely by 1824, Landrin was in possession by 1809 and possibly earlier. This suggests that his job as a cooper at the brewery, established by Governor King, led to his being given a lease on house and land close to where he worked. Aside from Landrin, and possibly Larkin, we see the same pattern with Blakefield who was a public baker working for the administration. The locating of staff close to areas where they worked of course makes sense from a logistics perspective. This type of pattern needs to be explored further to begin to understand how people gained access to these properties, with their convict huts, once their convict occupation was discontinued.

5.2.4 The Emu Brewery

Question 13: Nature of the evidence associated with the brewery and if it is an example of technology transfer from Britain. Does it conform or is it different to traditional small-scale breweries?

Site preparation

Site preparation required the fruit trees described as being on the property in 1824 to be cleared. At least three trees were removed from the northern part of the site, a fenceline demolished and possibly the brick storage cellar backfilled, probably with soil/compost and a range of artefacts from the Lot 102W convict-hut house although the house probably remained until after 1844. The brewery was built on level ground at the top of the slope with good drainage eastwards towards the creekline. Shallow fill, or perhaps alluvial deposits, were found in the eastern area which were cut through by the brewery drain.

The Structure

The brewery was a large rectangular two-storey stone structure, with a brick superstructure. It had a large cellar at the southern end and a flagged stone floor in the northern part (Plan 4, 4.1, 4.2). The brewery was aligned north-south, and faced southwards to George Street. It was set back off George Street behind an earlier house (Plan 4). The brewery was 42m (136.5 ft) long and 8m (26ft) wide (internal width), 9m external face to external face (29.5ft) at the northern end. The cellar void measured 11.75m x 6.65m (38.2ft x 21.6ft) and varied in depth from 1100mm (3.6ft) to 1400mm (4.5ft) from ground level (Photo 3-13). Evidence for internal configuration of the northern section of the building was provided by the presence of three regularly spaced stone pads which would have supported internal columns running north-south along the centre of the northern part of the brewery. A sump, located in the eastern end of brewery cellar floor, was designed to collect water and feed it

⁷⁴ Colonial Secretary's Index, Reel 6038; SZ758 p.250; Reel 6038; SZ758 p.352, State Records

⁷⁵ Casey 2002:143.

⁷⁶ Casey 2002:143.

⁷⁷ Fletcher 1979:1; Cramer 2000:35; Ritchie 1988:366, 367.

⁷⁸ Ritchie 1988:364, 367.

⁷⁹ Casey 2002:141-142.

into a box drain running northwards before turning eastwards to empty into the creekline (Photos 3-13, 3-16, 3-17). There was no base to the drain and the bricks were laid in a gravelly material. It may have been a possible soak pit below the brick drain. This gravelly fill was excavated to a depth of 550mm but it still continued deeper. The sump and box drain were made with flat sandstock bricks with no mortar. The sump was eight courses deep while the drain was up to six courses depth. The orange sandstock bricks measured 230 x 120 x 70mm.

The Demolition

As noted above nearly all of the stone and brick building materials used in the brewery were removed with the demolition of the brewery. The void of the cellar was backfilled with a large quantity of demolition material, rubble stone and broken sandstock bricks. The bricks in the demolition rubble were the same as those found in the drain and sump, suggesting they were related to the construction and demolition of the brewery. Also found within the demolition material were large pieces of metal, some with regularly spaced small holes and they would have acted as a type of industrial scale strainer within the brewery.

- **Do we have evidence for industrial and work practices with this complex?**
- **Is there evidence for how the building, works and infrastructure were altered for wool washing or other type of commercial activity related to the place?**

The extensive demolition and recycling of the building materials from the brewery have removed evidence which may assist with addressing the above two questions. Therefore there is nothing of substance that can be said on these two questions.

- **Does the archaeological evidence associated with the brewery assist in understanding how this site operated when it was situated on two properties not owned by the same people?**

It is only with the additional historical research undertaken by Associate Professor Carol Liston that clarification of the relationship between the brewery and its known operation on Lot 102W and any relationship with Lot 103 became clearer. Firstly, the archaeological evidence indicated that the northern part of the brewery was completely within Lot 102W while approximately 1m of the brewery cellar extended westwards into Lot 103. The new research found that Patrick Hayes was leasing both these lots for much of the 1840s and 1850s and included an inventory of the goods within his house. He operated a drapery business there at one stage, either in the house on the George Street frontage or the convict hut/house on Lot 103. So while the 1844 plan is inaccurate by indicating that about half the structure was within Lots 103 and 102W, most of it was actually in Lot 102W. As discussed previously, there was a shift in the eastern fence boundary to Lot 102W which may have indicated the approximate difference in the location of the southern part of the boundary between the two lots. Though it is unclear why the northern part of the brewery could be completely within Lot 102W but not the southern half.

- **Are there rubbish deposits associated with the brewery complex that assist in revealing the time span over which brewing may have operated?**

Two of the artefact specialists (Ward and Stocks) consider that the artefacts found in the backfill of the brewery demolition were unlikely to be associated with brewery-related activities as they were domestic in nature, possibly being thrown out from the nearby houses on George Street during the demolition of the brewery (Section 8.1, 8.3). The dating of the cellar backfill (3514) based on Parramatta rate assessments would suggest that it was demolished by 1865. Yet there are a number of artefacts in this deposit that date after this time. A gas nozzle and bracket found in the brewery rubble dates after 1873. Gas was not connected to Parramatta until after this time.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Stocks, Section 8.3.

The demolition fill contained 234 ceramic fragments, comprising 86 items. An ink bottle with a manufacturer's mark of Lovatt & Lovatt dates from 1895. Yet all the other basemarked ceramics (5) would fit into the pre-1865 date range. If we assume that the cellar was backfilled at the same time the brewery was demolished then we also need to assume that most, if not all the artefacts, should date prior to 1865.

Five glass artefacts were also found to date later than 1865:

- marble stopper and part of the body from a Codd-patented aerated water bottle (1875–1930s)
- an oil/vinegar bottle with a registered basemark, with the date of 6 Feb, 1879
- Vici Leather Dressing (leather dressing), (1880s+–1930s)
- pickles/chutney bottle from (1880–1940)
- bottle dated from 1893.

The dates of these eight artefacts, the time at which they were first manufactured, are in conflict with the historical evidence which suggests the brewery was demolished by 1865. If this is accurate it therefore suggests these eight items were introduced into the backfill of the brewery later than the demolition of the brewery. It is possible that the deposits of the brewery were disturbed by the post-1865 occupation of the site who may have continued to use it to some extent as their backyard and disposed of these later artefacts into later pits excavated into the demolition backfill of the brewery. It is also possible they were introduced into this fill at the time of the construction of the 1950s maternity hospital. A further source of disturbance may have been the c1990 demolition of the maternity hospital and the making of the carpark. The top of the backfill of the brewery was immediately below any carpark levelling material and therefore it would have been relatively easy to introduce artefacts into this deposit (Photo 3-18). In addition as this demolition material was excavated by machine, small intrusions or pits would not have been visible.

In summary, the archaeological evidence from the backfill of the brewery does not offer any substantive evidence to suggest that the brewery was demolished later than c1865. While later artefacts were found in the brewery backfill they could have been introduced during the later nineteenth century or with the building of the twentieth-century maternity hospital.

5.2.5 Life in the Various Households within the four mid-to-late nineteenth-century house sites

Questions posed were:

- The range and variation apparent within the households where a range of families resided.
- Evidence for the nature of childhood and the way in which gender identities were constructed.
- The nature of the material culture and consumption patterns of the various households; how these remains related to the transformation of their environment from rural town and to an urban place?
- The four houses vary in size suggesting there may be economic differences present within the houses and how these might be represented within the archaeological evidence.
- Layout of the house and outbuildings and how this structured life in these households.
- Is there evidence for customary patterns (buildings, food, religious practice, cultural artefacts)?
- How was material culture used to represent personal and group identity?

Little archaeological evidence was found that, with certainty, could be linked to the four mid-to-late nineteenth-century house sites and therefore this series of questions cannot be addressed. While it is possible that the artefacts from the backfill of the well in Lot 103 belonged to the residents of the three George Street terrace houses, it would only be to the beginning of their occupation. It is noted that this deposit may have belonged to the occupant of the convict/hut house on Lot 103 and possibly with the residents of the house on the George Street frontage in Lot 102W. It is also possible it was associated with all these residents as an easy place in which to dispose of artefacts. It is therefore difficult to answer this series of questions.

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