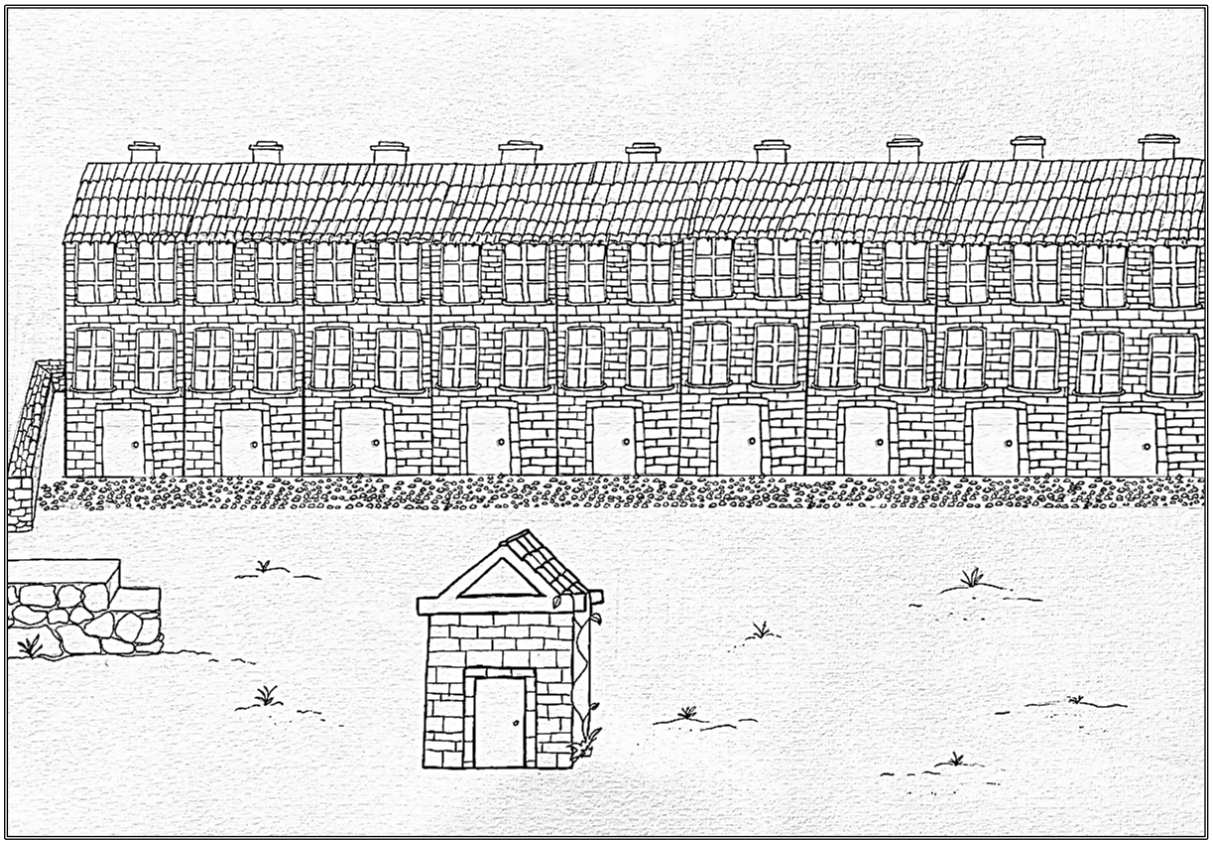
“THE DESERVING POOR”

Uncovering the worldviews at The Rookery, Adelaide, through the study of ceramics.



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Abstract

Nineteenth century precarious communities, or 'slums', have been a focus of historical archaeological research and debate in Australia and internationally over the past 50 years. Many studies have focused on the financial expenditure of slum occupants and on their outward emulations of respectable behaviour, practised in order to situate themselves within the middle class or high society. The literature on the archaeology of these precarious communities is enriched by the study of slum artefacts through the lens of local cultural contexts.

This research focuses on a dataset of 7,656 ceramic artefacts excavated in the 1990s from the central cesspits of The Rookery, Adelaide, South Australia, a tenement block located within a nineteenth century urban slum. The research question concentrated on an assessment of the usefulness of artefact-led study in slum contexts, combining artefactual and documentary evidence to uncover the worldviews held by the occupants. Current research on The Rookery is limited and until now, firm conclusions regarding aspects of its construction, structure, occupation, and demolition have not been presented. As one of the only urban Adelaide slums to have been excavated, this site offers a unique opportunity for the study of poverty in the nineteenth century.

The identification of local cultural contexts is vital in understanding the nuanced meanings behind historic ceramics. In this case, knowledge of religion, temperance, and philanthropy in the early days of the South Australian colony assisted with the identification of highly fragmented 'moralising and educational' artefacts within the assemblage. Further study of the artefacts, through the lens of the religious climate which was present during The Rookery's existence, facilitated evaluation of the worldviews and personal values held by its occupants.

Temperance plates from The Rookery were viewed as objects of social discourse in order to explore the fundamentally unfair relationship between charitable givers and charity recipients in nineteenth century Adelaide. The concept of 'the deserving poor' was used by charitable givers as a means of exercising control over the working class, and the potential of this relationship to be exploited by both parties is a reflection of the complex interconnections between poverty, religion, and state. The role of objects as social indicators of submission and rebellion is revealed through ceramics at The Rookery.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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Signature: 

Date: 13/11/2022

Acknowledgements

The study area for this project is located in Tandanya, on the Traditional Lands of the Kaurna people, who were displaced from their campgrounds in the parklands during colonisation. I would like to acknowledge their continued connection to Country, and honour their Elders past, present, and emerging. I recognise that it is a privilege for me to live, work, and study on unceded Kaurna Country.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Heather Burke, for her insight, feedback, and support throughout the process of completing this thesis, and for the provision of artefact storage materials.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Rookery was a row of tenement houses in the east end of Adelaide, South Australia, built by William Peacock circa 1849 (Jones et al. 1997:4). Urban slums in the nineteenth century were infamous for being overcrowded and disease riddled, and The Rookery was no exception. Before construction was even completed, it was described in 1849 by John Stephens, newspaper editor as:

> … a row of eight habitations, I cannot call them houses, divided into sixteen tenements, the upper of which are only accessible by means of open stairs, or rather step-ladders in the rear. Their dimensions are only ten feet by twelve feet each. These have one hundred persons occupying them, and all of whom are compelled to use the same convenience, which adjoins the ladders, and stands within two feet of the house. Many have died in them of fever, and others are dangerously ill of it.
>
> (Stephens 1849:20)

The row was commonly referred to as Peacock's Buildings or Peacock's Row, but earned its colloquial name due to its similarities with the dirty, dense nests of rook colonies. The term 'rookery' was often used to describe slums in eighteenth and nineteenth century England, and its first use has been attributed to the poet George Galloway, who, in 1792, defined a rookery as "a cluster of mean tenements densely populated by people of the lowest class" (Battersby 2011).

Adelaide's Rookery was condemned at the turn of the twentieth century, during the early stages of an intense period of slum clearances by the City of Adelaide Council (*Advertiser* 1899:6), and its demolition made way for the establishment of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (Jones et al. 1997:7). The following map (Figure 1.1) was adapted from J. Williams' 1880 City of Adelaide lithograph, and shows the regional location of the study area and the location of Town Acre 94, where The Rookery was situated.

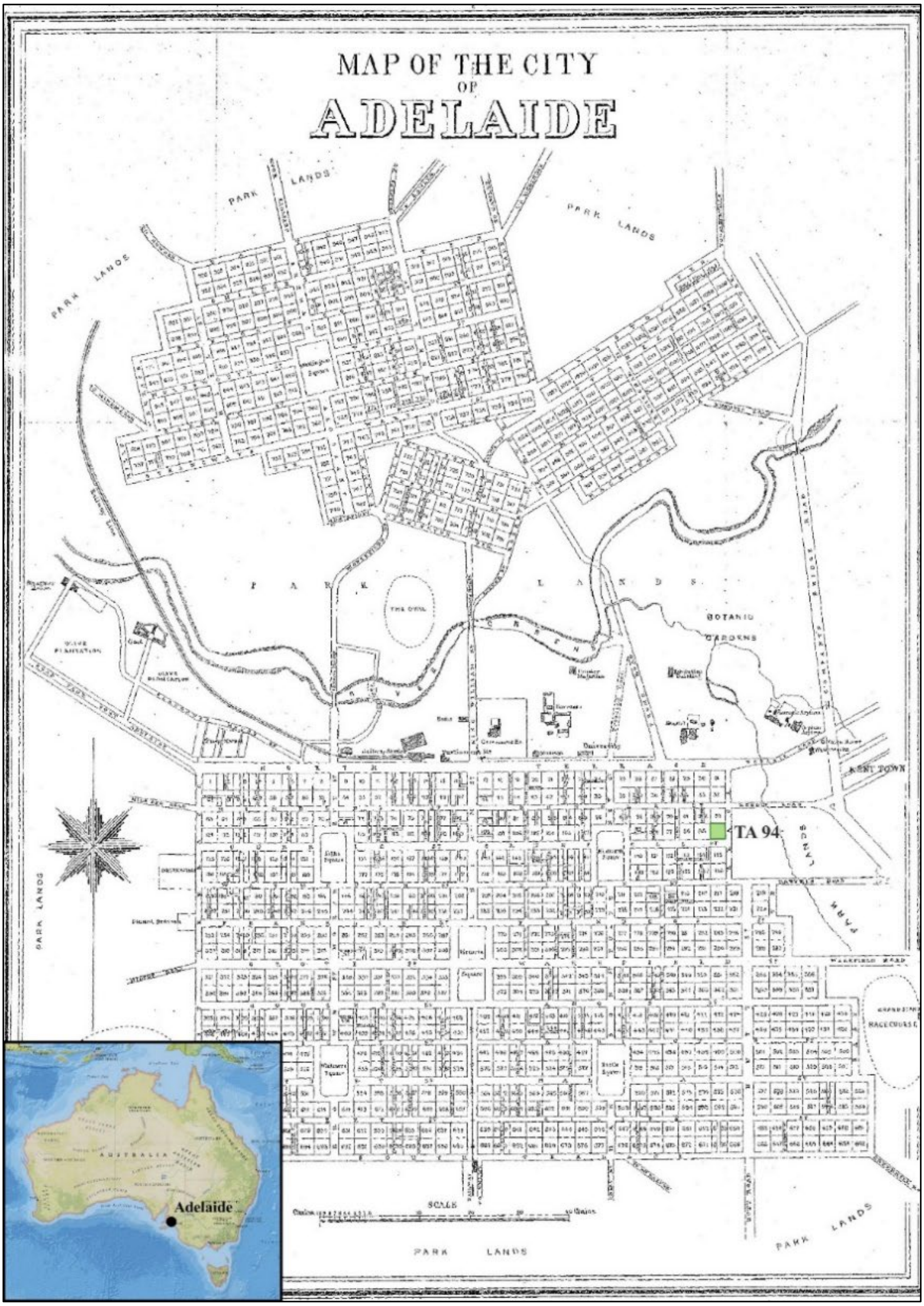


Figure 1.1: City of Adelaide town acre map, 1880, showing location of Town Acre 94 (Data SA, ESRI).

Three excavations took place at The Rookery in the 1990s and, as a result, thousands of artefacts were excavated from the site. Most remained uncatalogued, and are currently stored at Flinders University, South Australia. Apart from the original excavation reports (Austral Archaeology 1990 and 1992; Jones et el. 1997), the collection has so far been used in just two directed studies (Leevers 2012; McQuie 2021), both investigating the curation of the collection rather than research per se, and one Honours thesis (Denny 1994), and therefore provides unexplored research potential.

This research presents a study of the worldviews held by the occupants of The Rookery through their material culture, and contextualises these ideas through an investigation of the interconnectedness of the universal experience of poverty and the local cultural contexts, specific to Adelaide, within which the impoverished occupants of The Rookery lived.

Archaeologists studying ceramics from nineteenth century urban slums tend to project a mimicry bias – that is, they focus on comparisons with middle and upper class sites, using luxury items and popular transfer print patterns to conclude that working class slum occupants were using objects to emulate the middle and upper classes, by creating an illusion of wealth and respectability in their homes (Sneddon 2006:2). While these comparisons are intriguing, they often do not allow for interpretation of the independent values of slum occupants, who may in fact have owned an array of ceramic items for reasons other than emulation.

There has also been considerable research conducted into the concept of poverty as a discrete social class, a lived experience, and a set of expectations imposed upon those who are poor by those who are not (Mayne 1993; Mayne and Murray 2001; Orser 2011; Spencer-Wood 2011; Spencer-Wood and Matthews 2011; Symonds 2011; Walker et al. 2011). In measuring poverty, Symonds (2011:566) explains that absolute methods use devices such as the 'poverty line' to quantify socio-economic status according to wealth, while relative methods identify poverty by the limitations it imposes on participation in a society (Symonds 2011:566). Symonds argues that holistic analysis of the specific social constructs that promote exclusion and powerlessness is favourable over absolute and relative measures (Symonds 2011:566). At The Rookery, exclusion is evident in the spatial segregation of slums from wealthier neighbourhoods, and powerlessness through the reliance of the occupants on charity.

The analysis of ceramic artefacts through the lens of local cultural contexts (Karskens 2003:36), in this case religion and poverty, with consideration of Symonds's ideas of exclusion and powerlessness (Symonds 2011:566), enables better identification of the worldviews and personal values that influenced people's ceramic purchasing and ownership decisions. Karskens' idea of relevant, historic-cultural, or local cultural contexts denotes the specific aspects of society which relate to the site being studied, such as local laws, economies, environments, and religions (Karskens 2003:36–37). In applying this to The Rookery, this study will further Karskens' approach of artefact-led research as a revised method for understanding life in nineteenth century Australian slums. The contexts of religion and poverty were chosen for this study as a result of preliminary analysis of artefactual and historic evidence, which identified a number of ceramic artefacts with religious associations, and established the low socio-economic context of The Rookery neighbourhood.

This research focuses on the material culture of temperance and its association with notions of 'the deserving poor'. The research aims were influenced by the presence of temperance plates in the ceramic assemblage and the consideration of how such items are related to local cultural contexts. To understand this, the research concentrates on ceramic beverage bottles and temperance plates recovered from the central cesspits at The Rookery. Mass produced transfer printed wares were analysed only to offer broad comparisons between The Rookery and other slum sites. As such, other aspects of the ceramic assemblage, such as cost analysis and identification of matching sets, were beyond the scope of this project.

Finally, it is acknowledged that the use of the term 'slum' passively contributes to the stigmatisation of low socio-economic neighbourhoods and precarious communities, which are characterised by their shared experience of financial insecurity and uncertainty (Mayne and Murray 2001:1). At present, there is no widely accepted alternative term to describe such sites, and the application of multiple new terms would hinder the accessibility of research and comparison of these sites. Terminology is further discussed with respect to the slum debate, but a major contribution to this debate is not within the scope of this project. Therefore, the term 'slum' will be used throughout this project in lieu of a widely accepted alternative.

Research aims

This project aims to explore core sets of personal values associated with ceramic objects in order to understand some of the processes driving the purchasing and ownership decisions of people who lived in The Rookery in the nineteenth century. The question being asked in this research is:

How does the consideration of local contexts, in the study of nineteenth century slum ceramics, assist in understanding the worldviews and personal values of slum occupants?

The thesis aims to:

1. Catalogue ceramic artefacts from the central cesspits of The Rookery.
2. Identify the influence religion and poverty had on the material and lifestyle choices made by occupants of The Rookery.
3. Address the issue of mimicry bias in slum archaeology.
4. Establish a model for studying slum ceramics based on their association with specific local cultural contexts.

Research significance

This project challenges the mimicry bias which has been dominant in the archaeology of slum ceramics, and advances a method for understanding slums through local cultural context based analysis. The results of this research clarify some of the worldviews and individual values held by working class people in nineteenth century urban Adelaide and contribute to a broader understanding of some of the factors that influenced their decision-making processes when it came to material goods.

This research reinvigorates the debate surrounding slum analysis in Australia, which was begun by Ward (1976), challenged by Mayne (1993) and Mayne and Murray (2001), furthered by Karskens (2003), Sneddon (2006) and McGuire (2008), and extended more recently by Murray and Crook (2019), many of whom based their studies on sites in Sydney and Melbourne. Murray and Crook's amalgamation and reevaluation of data from The Rocks and Commonwealth Block sought to develop a standard by which comparative transnational studies of nineteenth century urbanisation could be interpreted (Murray and Crook 2019:1–2). Because it was not a convict colony, South Australia's development and subsequent urbanisation was effected differently to that in New South Wales and Victoria (Harris and La Croix 2020:586), the main differences being that the state was settled entirely by willing

migrants, and free or cheap convict labour could not be relied upon to develop cities and farms. As one of the first archaeological studies of a South Australian 'slum' site, this research tests models developed elsewhere to assess the potential for different perspectives on urban Australian slums, and to aid in understanding the idiosyncrasies present among the urban working class.

Research into The Rookery will provide preliminary information about urban slums in Adelaide, which will enable local, national and transnational comparisons to be made. By offering a postmodern approach to slum analysis through the application of multiple perspectives, such as material culture and local context, and from the under-researched location of Adelaide, this project challenges and contributes to the broader understanding of what life was like in the early colonial days of Australia's major cities.

Limitations

This project is limited by a number of factors, both physical and theoretical. First, the ceramic artefacts from the central cesspits are highly fragmented, which has reduced the retention of diagnostic features. The recording process was therefore designed to capture the basic information required to answer the research questions, in terms of pattern, form, function, ware type, manufacturer, dimensions, and date.

Second, the nature of a shared cesspit means that artefacts cannot be attributed to individual owners. This level of forced anonymity contributes to the ever-persistent erasure of individuality which tends to prevail in the study of slums and poverty, and encourages the tendency to interpret assemblages at a coarse rather than a finer grained scale (Murray and Crook 2019:111).

Chapter outlines

Chapter Two reviews the literature on slum archaeology and ceramic studies. This chapter introduces the slum debate and situates The Rookery within its scope.

Chapter Three introduces The Rookery, including its location and chronology, and establishes the local cultural contexts in which The Rookery existed. This chapter also summarises previous archaeological work on the site, and outlines the theories put forward by previous researchers.

Chapter Four describes the methods used for data collection, research, and analysis, and provides justifications for these methods based on similar studies and sites.

Chapter Five presents the results of the artefactual analysis and historical research.

Chapter Six provides an interpretation of the results in the context of the research aims and discusses the hypotheses which have been drawn from the project.

Chapter Seven is a conclusive summary of the project, which situates the research within the broader scope of the analysis of poverty and precarity.

Chapter 2: Thoughts and theories on social identity

This chapter offers an appraisal and summary of the historical archaeological research produced to date on slums and understanding social identity through objects. There are two primary debates threading through the literature on slums. One centres around the validity of the usage of the term 'slum', and whether it is a real place (and, if so, what constitutes it) or simply a language convention. The second addresses the level of poverty and suffering experienced in so-called slums, and whether it is over- or understated in the archaeological record.

The literature on objects as indicators of class, identity, and self-expression is more complex. Archaeologists studying slums often do so by analysing the similarities and differences between these and middle and upper class sites. By attributing perceived or assumed values to objects, researchers have tended to disregard the local cultural contexts of each site, and have instead focused solely on how working class people used objects to imitate respectability. Removal of such biases through use of documentary records was advocated by Grace Karskens (2003), and significantly advanced by Andrew Sneddon (2006).

Slum theory

Though only conceptualised in the mid-nineteenth century, slums have, in recent history, been the subject of excitement, fear, and disgust among those who do not live in them (Ward 1976:323). In academic theory, slums have been the subject of two major debates: the first suggests that they do not or did not exist, and the second argues that they are consistently too heavily romanticised or condemned. The first, established by David Ward in his 1976 article, The Victorian slum: an enduring myth?, found itself intertwined with the second when the so-called 'slum debate' reached its peak in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Ward's geographical examination of slums provided a pioneering study into social segregation during the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent urbanisation of Victorian societies (Ward 1976:323–324). Ward suggested that, rather than slums being a product of social segregation, they were a product of themselves — that is to say, poverty led to deviant behaviour and illness, which resulted in poverty, which led to deviant behaviour and illness (Ward 1976:324).

This paradigm was reminiscent of the prevailing public attitudes towards the working class during the nineteenth century, later so comprehensively identified by urban historian Alan

Mayne (1993) in his response to Ward. In *The Imagined Slum*, Mayne studied nineteenth century newspapers from San Francisco, Birmingham, and Sydney to identify social attitudes towards precarious communities (Mayne 1993:4–5). He found that in the final decade of the nineteenth century there was a general shift from blaming individual people for their poverty to recognising that the perpetual poverty cycle was instigated by downfalls in wage systems and the housing market (Mayne 1993:131–132). In the same study, Mayne suggested that the middle class reporters who described these slums may have exaggerated the squalor in order to make themselves appear more respectable by comparison, and to excite or disgust their readers (Mayne 1993:100).

Addressing the slum myth, Mayne argued that, rather than being a material space, slums are a language construct and a product of bourgeois opinion (Mayne 1993:1–2). He contended that the application of a universal name for these impoverished districts sought to disqualify individual experiences, which could vary based on country, race, age, income etc. (Mayne 1993:2). Mayne and Murray proposed the umbrella term of 'working class neighbourhoods' to describe districts commonly known as slums, to prevent occupants from being further segregated from the rest of society (Mayne and Murray 2001:1).

In his study of politics in archaeology using the material record of labour strikes, Randall H. McGuire argued that the erasure of the slum concept disregards the idea of collective agency and its influence on social action among the people who lived in working class neighbourhoods (McGuire 2008:228). He resonated with Ward's idea of perpetual motion, although McGuire's justification was not to blame poor people for their situations, but to blame the capitalist system which has created modern society (McGuire 2008:226–227). McGuire further articulated the idea of collective agency as a response to precarious living situations by saying "individuals do not just live in society; they must make a society to live" (McGuire 2008:228).

Slum identity and the individual

The idea of individuality in slum societies was explored by Murray and Crook, who used historical and archaeological data to match artefacts with the individuals who owned them in order to combat the notorious anonymity of slums (Murray and Crook 2019:13). The application of this idea to The Rocks, Sydney, and Commonwealth Block, Melbourne, allowed them to speculate on the relationships amongst occupants, and between occupants

and landlords. They were also able to identify patterns of occupation density across each site, which enabled stronger site chronologies to be developed (Murray and Crook 2019:13).

Another researcher who promoted the study of individuality in slums, and whose work was essential to the slum debate in the 1990s and 2000s, was Grace Karskens in her study of The Rocks, which aimed to produce a comprehensive history of the neighbourhood and uncover the worldview held by convicts and early European settlers (Karskens 1997:5,7;1999:59;2003:34). In her 1999 book, she explained:

> In the same way that convict dress was rejected in favour of dressing well and to one's own taste, so too the fine and ordinary tablewares are a resounding assertion of adherence to the then modern modes of consumption, the determination to establish a measure of comfort and refinement at the table.
>
> (Karskens 1999:70)

Although creative narrative is often more amenable to a book format, Karskens' descriptions of nice toys, decorative crockery, and fashionable clothes from The Rocks present a somewhat romanticised view (Karskens 1999:59). By comparing the often-exaggerated historical record and the relationship between cost and social value placed on material things, as described by Mayne (1993:100), with archaeological evidence, Karskens argued that the historical record was accurate in attributing high social value to 'luxury' items at The Rocks, such as jewellery, toys, and ceramic transferware (Karskens 1999:50).

In a subsequent study, Karskens reevaluated her earlier work and demonstrated an inductive approach to analysing site assemblages by allowing the artefacts to guide her questions, rather than defining questions prior to excavation (Karskens 2003:36). She established five themes through which to view The Rocks: the impact of the Industrial Revolution; women's lives and experiences; standards of living; the role of government; and the modern perspective of a working class slum and its reputation in history (Karskens 2003:34–35). Her reconstruction of the lives of working class slum occupants revealed that, although middle class values (such as leisure time) were seemingly of great importance, occupants' poor financial situations prevented them from practising these values (Karskens 2003:43). This was further prevented, according to Karskens, by the need for working class women and children to enter the workforce – an idea that would have shocked the middle and upper classes, but one which Karskens says was accepted and 'natural' at The Rocks (Karskens 2003:43).

While Karskens agreed with Murray and Mayne that lumping slum occupants into a single society removes agency from individuals living in poverty, archaeologist Andrew Sneddon argued that identification of individuals can distort the way we perceive slum assemblages and create an illusion of luxury (Karskens 2003:51; Sneddon 2006:4). In his study of the Mountain Street slum in Sydney, Sneddon aimed to identify site formation processes, particularly in poorly drained areas and cesspits, which could affect the validity of slum analysis (Sneddon 2006:1–2, 4). Sneddon pointed out that when people move house they tend to take their most valued, valuable, and functional possessions with them (Sneddon 2006:5). In his discussion of ceramic discard time lag, William Hampton Adams explained that heirlooms and expensive items are usually better cared for and kept for much longer than everyday ceramics, which must be considered when attempting to interpret sites (Adams 2003:49–50, 60–61). To combat this, Sneddon encouraged comparison of material culture with historic sources to more accurately understand what life was like in slums (Sneddon 2006:5). For example, a document from 1890 revealed high levels of disease, flooding of yards, houses, and cesspits at the Mountain Street site, as well as close proximity to noxious trades, such as slaughterhouses (Sneddon 2006:6). None of these factors were immediately obvious in the archaeological record, yet contributed significantly to understanding the level of suffering and overall quality of life experienced by the occupants (Sneddon 2006:6). The inclusion of these factors in a study of slum identity yielded similar results to Mayne's newspaper study in revealing the true nature of these spaces. Conversely, while Mayne suggested that newspapers were exaggerating the squalor of slums, Sneddon's use of historical evidence, in his opinion, served to validate the conditions experienced by slum inhabitants (Mayne 1993:100; Sneddon 2006:8).

Though both Karskens and Sneddon warn other archaeologists to proceed with caution when exploring slum identity, they differ in their reasoning: Karskens argued that individuality should be respected, while Sneddon contended that, by focusing too much on the narrative of individuality and small luxuries, the lived experience of poverty is forgotten (Karskens 1999:59; Sneddon 2006:5).

Although it is tempting to identify The Rookery occupants' small luxuries through their artefacts, Sneddon's approach of synthesising the archaeological and historic records to ascertain the true nature of a site (Sneddon 2006:5) has been applied in this study. The romanticisation of slums, which has been a common theme in the transnational literature of

slum archaeology (Briggs 2006; Brighton 2001; Karskens 1999, 2003; Ricardi 2020; Stewart 2019; Yamin et al. 1997), is not necessarily misguided. The reality of what life was really like in many of these places is difficult to accept, particularly considering that the urban landscapes of many former slums have changed exponentially since the nineteenth century. "Seeing slums through rose-coloured glasses", as Sneddon puts it, may be an attempt by archaeologists to demonstrate the strength and resilience of slum occupants, despite their situations (Sneddon 2006:1).

Social identity through objects

Having identified the fine line slum archaeologists must straddle between faithfully representing poverty and not overstating luxury, it is necessary to view this debate in the context of objects. Anthropologist Jonathan Friedman says of the relationship between consumerism and the construction of social identity, that "one is what one makes oneself to be" (Friedman 1994:10). This thought encompasses both Ward's and McGuire's ideas but relates it to the notion of purchasable goods as indicators of class and status (Friedman 1994:7). Contrary to McGuire, Friedman presents a romanticised view of society – one in which individuals can be whatever they make themselves, failing to take into account the many levels of privilege and poverty which exist under capitalism, the majority of which do not allow for, or curtail, certain forms of self-creation.

In a study of the Five Points slum in New York City, Stephen A. Brighton (2001) drew conclusions about what life was like for slum inhabitants. Brighton studied nineteenth century ceramic artefacts and was able to identify expressions of religion, politics, and ethnicity through these items (Brighton 2001:22–25, 28). Part of Brighton's research discussed the way Five Points occupants used ceramics to express middle class values in an attempt to convey respectability and gentility (Brighton 2001:23–24). His research found that working class households spent a considerable portion of their income on possessions that emulated Victorian middle class values, and argued, like Karskens (1999), that tenets such as well-educated and well-behaved children, good taste, and leisure time were upheld by slum households to emulate those values (Brighton 2001:28). Murray and Crook interpreted ceramics from The Rocks and Commonwealth Block similarly and, based on descriptions of 'nursery pottery' by Sally Kevill-Davies (1991:66–76), they categorised objects relating to religion and children as 'moralising and educational china' (Murray and Crook 2019:240). This category expands on those of function and pattern by analysing them together to

understand the reasons particular objects were owned, providing richer artefactual evidence against the backdrop of the local cultural context of a site.

At Five Points, Brighton also categorised objects according to their relationships with local values (Brighton 2001:25–26). Despite publishing during the thick of the slum debate, Brighton did not explicitly engage in it through his work, although the conclusions he drew from Five Points inspired a new angle of debate and, perhaps, a solution. Rather than attempting to romanticise slums, overstate suffering, render the occupants anonymous, or name every individual occupant, Brighton softened the financial lens through which slums are almost always studied, by also looking at the way the inhabitants of Five Points used their ceramics as vessels to express other forms of identity apart from classed ones (Brighton 2001:16–17). To achieve this, he studied personal objects in terms of their relationship with local cultural contexts associated with politics, religion, and Irish culture in order to understand the range of personal values and worldviews held by the Five Points occupants (Brighton 2001:25–26). His research showed that the occupants maintained their personal values while also conforming to some aspects of Victorian respectability, which opposed their reputation of being "morally corrupt and devoid of values" (Brighton 2001:28).

In understanding why and how values are connected to objects, Beaudry et al.'s study on material culture as social discourse presents the argument that objects are representative of an individual's desire to situate themselves within society (Beaudry et al. 1991:154–155). The display of objects, they argued, only achieves an individual's desired outcome if their audience understands the symbols and unspoken rules of that particular society (Beaudry et al. 1991:155). It is, as Sneddon warned, difficult to conclude from artefacts alone that their users were emulating middle class values, rather than holding them in their own right (though perhaps at lesser financial cost) (Sneddon 2006:5). What this means for studying archaeological assemblages is that, without knowing what an individual valued, and their societal relationship to, and consequences of, those values, the importance or meaning of their objects cannot be assumed.

In her comparative study of working class sites in Melbourne, Australia, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, Pamela Ricardi used an approach similar to Brighton's to interpret meaning from artefacts linked with social affiliations, such as religious objects (Ricardi 2020:14, 198–199). Understanding objects as 'vehicles of self-expression' Ricardi argued that the presence of jewellery, perfume bottles, and hair oil represented value being placed on appearance and

luxury (Ricardi 2020:195). Exploring this further, she suggested that social affiliations such as religion, hobbies, and occupation, can be studied as indicators of social class, an idea which is at risk of contributing to the mimicry bias which is common in slum archaeology (Brighton 2001:25–26; Ricardi 2020:14).

Defining value

In her 2008 doctoral thesis, Penny Crook encouraged the reader to separate value from cost and quality (Crook 2008:278). Value is often calculated as the sum of quality and cost, but Crook argues that the value someone assigns to an object cannot be understood without knowing that person's financial situation and history (Crook 2008:279). While acknowledging that cost does play a role in purchasing decisions and thus it is likely that wealthier households had higher ceramic expenditure than working class ones, Crook also argued that what people buy is not scaled according to income: households which have similar incomes may spend different percentages of that income on ceramics (Crook 2008:275–276). This, she attributed to value (Crook 2008:257), or the perceived importance given to objects based on "functional utility, trivial pleasures, sentimental attachments, social ranking, cultural affiliation, 'identity construction' and ideological identification" (Crook 2008:26).

Crook identified a range of 'motivations' beside cost and quality which might lead to the purchase, maintenance, and/or acquisition of an item (Crook 2008:257). These include functionality, aesthetics, sentiment, religion, ideology, and status, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Crook 2008:257). An interesting observation by Crook is that values are not always self-determined: they can be placed upon a household or individual from internal or external forces, or a combination (Crook 2008:257).

Crook's work loosely reflects archaeologist Chris Caple's 2006 study of objects as social indicators and their meanings within an archaeological context. Caple defines the meaning of objects as instruments (functional), symbols (meaning), and documents (history), which are then categorised as social indicators, products of manufacture, trade goods, functional implements, and information records (Caple 2006:6–16). These ideas are similar to Crook's 'motivations', though less exhaustive (Crook 2008:257). Although Caple's conclusions are drawn from a range of sites and time periods, his recommendations for a comparative approach to objects can be applied to slum ceramics through the comparison of pattern popularity across sites. Caple suggested that factors such as copying (or mimicry),

availability, functionality, and symbology must be considered when drawing worldviews from an artefact (Caple 2006:45). Caple's critical approach reflects Sneddon's argument that artefacts and sites should not be taken at face value, while echoing Brighton's and Karskens' ideas of artefacts being the product of a range of symbolic, functional, economic, and ideological choices.

Crook and Caple were not the first to discuss the many factors involved in assigning value to an object. Marx (1887:27–33, 36), for example, argued that money is only the final factor contributing to the value of an object, an idea that Crook agreed with, calling cost a 'superficial' element of value (Crook 2008:279–280; Marx 1887:40). Crook supported this idea through the study of trade catalogues, which frequently advertised 'cheap' items to the middle class; she argued that low cost did not always equal low value, particularly when advertised to an audience who valued frugality (Crook 2008:279–280). In a study of South Australian newspaper advertisements, Elizabeth Wright confirmed the idea put forward by Caple regarding price and availability of items: ceramic prices in South Australia varied frequently due to consumer demand, availability, and the economy, meaning that, in South Australian contexts, cost should be viewed as superficial (Wright 1996:53–54).

In identifying 'luxury' items (toys, decorative crockery, fashionable clothes) at The Rocks, Karskens pointed out that mass production during the Industrial Revolution brought respectability within reach of those who, until then, would not have dreamed of owning luxury objects (Karskens 1999:49, 93–94). She noted that this change was "an evolution, not a revolution", and that increased consumerism was not adopted all at once (Karskens 1999:95–96). The advent of mass-produced goods meant that items lost their novelty value, as household items were no longer unique or special (Berg 2005:146–147; Karskens 1999:96), implying that objects, such as ceramic transfer printed wares, may not be valid indicators of social class in contexts during and after the Industrial Revolution. Murray and Crook's research in Sydney and Melbourne found that, while ceramics can hint at an attempted mimicry of respectability, the ownership of certain ceramics is not proof of this behaviour (Murray and Crook 2019:220). Alternatively, a study such as Brighton's of objects which are often owned without consideration of cost, such as religious items, provides better insight into the values of working class and other marginalised people during and after the Industrial Revolution (Brighton 2001:28).

The application of a multiple perspective approach to the study of social identity through ceramics from The Rookery will offer a new perspective on the slum debate. The establishment of The Rookery's local cultural contexts prior to examination of the artefacts will enable an understanding of social identity in its own context, rather than via the lens of mimicry and respectability.

Chapter 3: The history and context of The Rookery

The historical background for this study details aspects of the foundation and beginnings of the South Australian colony, with the goal to establish the local cultural contexts of religion and poverty within which The Rookery was situated. A history of The Rookery, based on primary accounts, is described with respect to its owner, occupants, and location. As there is scarce contemporary knowledge of The Rookery (see Austral Archaeology 1990 and 1999; Denny 1994; Jones et al. 1997), it was necessary to consult historic documents and primary sources in order to produce a comprehensive background of the site for this study.

The city's poor

The worldviews held by occupants of The Rookery can be contextualised through an understanding of the relationship between labour, employment, and poverty and various local cultural contexts, in this case middle class philanthropy, education, religion, and temperance.

George Fife Angas, early South Australian pioneer, said of his goals for the colony that "my great object was in the first place to provide a place of refuge for pious dissenters of Great Britain" (*Advertiser* 1939:22). His wealth allowed him to donate generously to the establishment of civic buildings, churches, and educational institutions in South Australia, an act which was taken up by many of his well-off peers (Prest et al. 2002:407–408). Angas' dreams of religious and civil liberty were shared by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a Quaker who believed that Great Britain's social issues — such as unemployment, poor health, and religious conflict — were a result of overpopulation and could be rectified by relocating its citizens to South Australia (Bloomfield 1961:126). Wakefield devised a method of systematic colonisation, whereby emigrants were guaranteed employment upon their arrival. South Australia's population boomed as a result, with the arrival of 12,000 assisted migrants between 1836 and 1840 (Harris and La Croix 2020:586). Unfortunately, the drought of 1838–1840 and the British financial crisis of 1839 resulted in an economic depression in the early 1840s, which quickly made the plan unsustainable (Fitz-Gibbon and Gizycki 2001:13; Harris and La Croix 2020:592–593).

Although rural work and the colony's employment guarantee have been credited with saving South Australia from total bankruptcy, unemployment was still rife during the depression as the labour force increased but jobs did not (*Adelaide Observe*r 1843:4; Harris and La Croix 2020:603). In August 1843, the *Adelaide Observer* (1843:4) commented on the underpayment of workers, noting that "[there is] a class that exists in all communities whose

sole object it is to acquire wealth by taking advantage of the competition resulting from a crowded labour market". As a result of the job crisis, in 1858, the *South Australian Advertiser* distributed a list of the names and addresses of "persons willing to work at day labor in town or country". Out of approximately 120 candidates, both J. Bramlin and Joseph Tubbs lived at The Rookery (*South Australian Advertiser* 1858:2). Despite the exodus of labourers to the New South Wales and Victorian goldfields, author Robert Harrison claimed that in 1859 the job deficit was so great that 60 people applied for a position as ticket porter on the railway (Fitz-Gibbon and Gizycki 2001:17; Harrison 1862:152–153). Employment for The Rookery's occupants did not appear to improve, as three 'work wanted' advertisements were published in the newspaper in 1886. The first was posted by William Merrifield, and read "Employment as labourer wanted by married man; any kind of work" (*Express and Telegraph* 1886:4). The second was by Frederick Reeve and read "[work wanted] by married man, labourer, in garden or other work, willing to do anything" (*Express and Telegraph* 1886:4). Finally, an unknown occupant wrote "Good needlewoman will go out by the day, 1s., with machine — 'M.G.V.,' No. 2" (*Express and Telegraph* 1886:2). These advertisements indicate the financial situation and desperation of some of The Rookery's occupants.

As competitive as the labour market was, those who did find work could expect to be reasonably well-accommodated; statistics from the 1840s and 1850s suggest that during the mid nineteenth century, an unskilled worker employed full-time in Adelaide could rent a four-bedroom house for just 12–17 per cent of their income (Frost 1991:36). The implication here is that one did not have to be especially well-off to afford a large family home. In fact, many workers chose to increase this expenditure to 20 per cent of their income, opting for 5–6 bedroom detached homes in Goodwood and Unley (Frost 1991:37). For the unemployed and underemployed, however, adequate housing was scarce. After witnessing increasing levels of sickness and death among new immigrants to the colony, a group of wealthy Wesleyan Methodists – including businessowner William Peacock – met in 1849 to discuss the severe lack of government sustenance and aid for poor people (Linn 2012:14–15). This meeting resulted in the formation of the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society (ABSFS), which aimed to provide nonsectarian Christian support to 'the deserving poor' (Linn 2012:17; Theakstone 1987:36). In the Society's first six months, it had assisted more than 40 families in obtaining accommodation and employment upon their arrival in South Australia (Linn 2012:17).

Partly as a result of Angas' early initiatives and those of the ABSFS, wealthy South Australians tended to develop a missionising attitude towards both working class immigrants and Aboriginal people, whereby they used religion as a motivator for philanthropy and often encouraged the conversion of their recipients (Prest et al. 2002:407–408). For example, the ABSFS drew a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor and, as such, they were more likely to aid a sober Christian mother who was incapable of work, than an able-bodied man with a tendency to drink (Theakstone 1987:36). In this context, the concept of 'the deserving poor' may provide a possible motivation for an individual to take up temperance or religion in general: as well as being a positive financial choice for struggling families and individuals, sobriety could also be a determining factor in whether or not one was deemed worthy of receiving charitable aid. Sobriety was a key value of the ABSFS, and was reflected in early Adelaide society by the popularity of temperance (Theakstone 1987:36).

As a movement, temperance began in the United States of America in the early eighteenth century, when Indigenous people began to reject and discourage drinking after witnessing the damaging effects it had on their communities (Mancall 1995:102). The movement was quickly taken up by Presbyterian missionaries and spread to Great Britain and Ireland, where independent temperance societies were established by church dissenters and Irish Catholics alike (Davison 2022:601). North American temperance became a middle and upper class practice, with abstinence connected to respectability, while in the United Kingdom, temperance was favoured by the working and lower-middle classes, as they recognised alcoholism as a major contributor to financial strain (Davison 2022:601). In Australia, when temperance reached the eastern colonies, it was taken up by the middle class who, in turn, preached it to the working class as a means of eradicating poverty and illness (Allen 2013:150–151). Though originally aimed at adults, a subgroup of the temperance movement formed in Leeds, UK, in 1847, and was concerned with educating children under 16 years about the dangers of alcohol (Edgington 2010:1). This group, dubbed the Band of Hope, hosted regular meetings in which children were encouraged to sign the pledge of total abstinence (Edgington 2010:1).

Figure 3.1 Women attend the South Australian Woman's Christian Temperance Union convention, Pirie Street, Adelaide, 1894 (State Library of South Australia: B56711).

Temperance first gained popularity in Adelaide in the early 1840s and had a resurgence in the 1880s. Rather than promoting moderation, Adelaide temperance advocates tended to practice teetotalism, the total abstinence from alcohol (Adair 1996:142). The first official temperance group in Adelaide was the South Australian Total Abstinence Society (SATAS), formed in 1839 (Adair 1996:142; *South Australian Register* 1851:3). In 1851, SATAS hosted the first Band of Hope children's meeting in South Australia, and its popularity was such that, in 1855, the *Adelaide Observer* reported that Band of Hope groups in Adelaide consisted of more than 600 members (*Adelaide Observer* 1855:3). Children happily displayed their membership with banners, prize medals, and ribbons (*South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail* 1868:12, 1876:10), evidence of the temperance movement's use of objects as social discourse. In addition to providing pastoral care for children, the Band of Hope offered sport and music lessons, outings, and Sunday school, since many children were unable to attend school after the government discontinued its financial support for parish childhood education in 1851 (Miller 1986:18–19; *South Australian Register* 1876:6).

The Rookery: “Miserable dwellings”

The Rookery was a two storey row of nine attached units with nearby cesspits, built by businessman and politician, William Peacock, between 1848 and 1849 (Adelaide City Council 1849; Stephens 1849:20). Although this coincided with Peacock’s involvement with the formation of the ABSFS, it is not clear whether the tenements were built by him as housing for the poor, or as a separate venture unconnected with his philanthropic leanings. Previous literature (Austral Archaeology 1992a:1; Jones et al. 1997:1) has referred to them as worker’s cottages built to service Peacock’s tannery, which opened a decade prior, but documentary records do not allude to that. Instead, it is likely that Peacock built the row in order to profit from the remainder of Town Acre 94, which he owned, but was not using. The entire site, including the tannery, was known colloquially as ‘The Rookery’, even in the nineteenth century, due to its poor sanitary conditions and dense habitation. In the late 1860s, the row was rented by Richard Berry, on behalf of the Adelaide City Mission and the ABSFS, to provide housing for poor people.

The row was situated on Town Acre 94, Adelaide, bordered by Rundle Street to the north, East Terrace to the east, and Grenfell Street to the south (Figures 1.1 and 3.3), and was a later addition to Peacock’s growing portfolio of tenements and cottages. Although built as nine adjoining terraces, the structure of the Rookery consisted of 18 tenements, since each upper and lower storey functioned as a separate unit with a stairway and balcony at the rear. The two-storey building can be seen in Thomas Pierce’s drawing (Figure 3.2), which featured in the *Australasian Sketcher* (10 July 1875), and the nine structures of The Rookery are shown clearly on the 1880 Smith Survey of Adelaide City (Figure 3.3), although it appears the easternmost unit, while attached, does not include a verandah or balcony. In 1849, The Rookery was described as only 16 tenements, which suggests the eastern unit was a later addition, built between 1849 and 1852 (Adelaide City Council 1852; Stephens 1849:20).

Figure 3.2 "Adelaide". Supplement to the *Australian Sketcher* 10 July 1875. The Rookery building is visible in the centre of this segment. (State Library of South Australia: B1452).

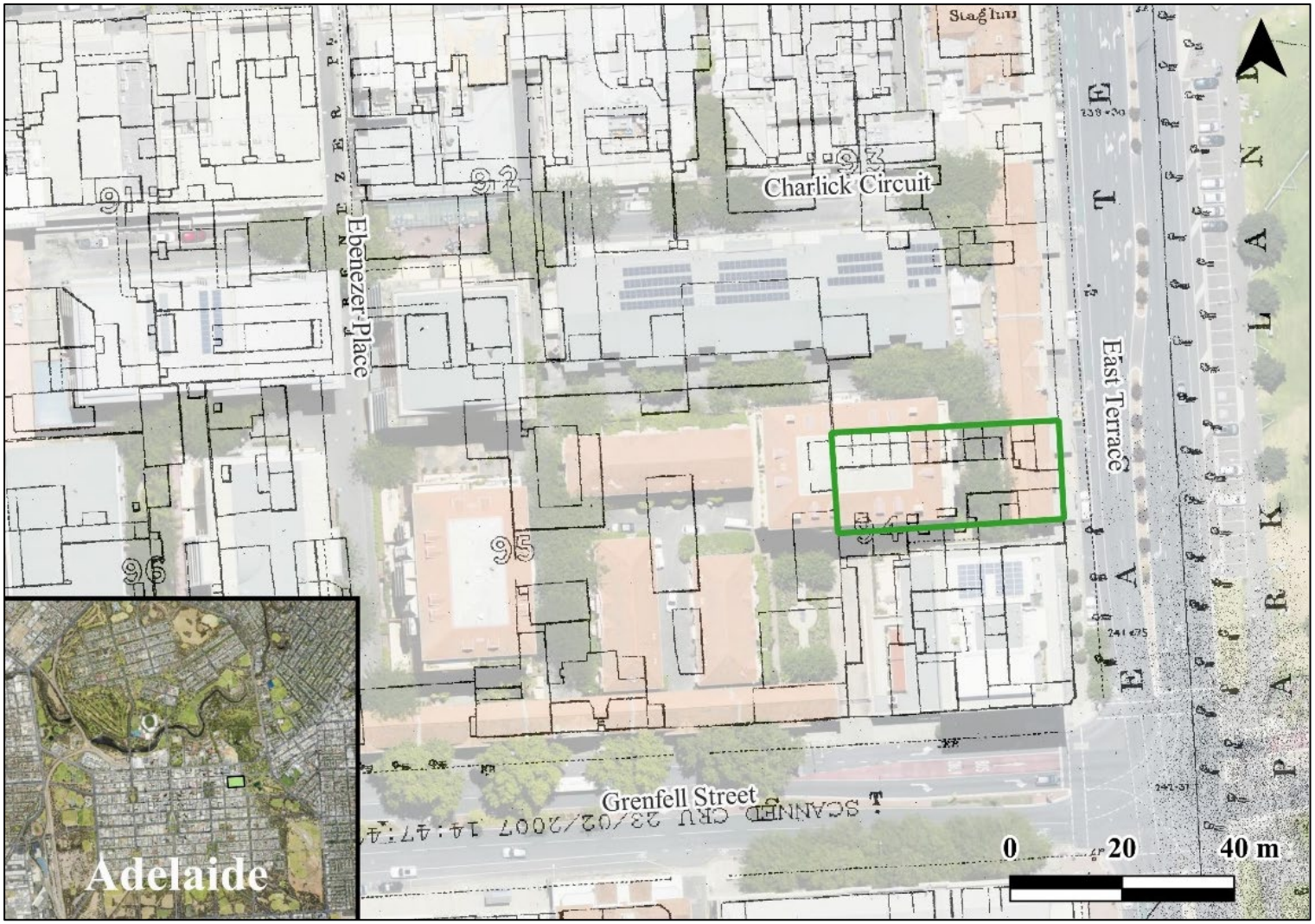


Figure 3.3 Location of The Rookery shown on the 1880 Smith Survey of the City of Adelaide, superimposed over the contemporary landscape shown on Geohub South Australia V2 satellite imagery (City of Adelaide, Data SA).

Construction

Based on the first records in the Rate Assessment Books, Austral Archaeology suggested that The Rookery was built between 1849 and 1851 (Austral Archaeology 1992a:115). Jones et al. interpreted the same data to mean that construction began between 1849 and 1850, but was not completed until 1851 (Jones et al. 1997:67). John Stephens' public sanitation lecture, published in February 1849, however, clearly refers to sixteen tenements as existing by that date (Stephens 1849:20). Stephens describes the rooms as 10 feet by 12 feet, which is consistent with the structural remains recorded during the 1992 excavation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:116; Stephens 1849:20) and confirms that 16 of the 18 tenements had been completed by January 1849. In March 1848, the Rate Assessment Books recorded the acre as "enclosed land", and The Rookery was first described as 18 tenements in 1852. Based on this, it can be postulated that construction of The Rookery began between March 1848 and January 1849, by which time the majority of tenements had been completed, with the final two added by 1852.

Structure

Following excavations in 1992, Austral Archaeology suggested that The Rookery was a single-storey row of nine brick houses, facing south, with a long, paved, ground-floor verandah at the rear and a high bluestone wall directly behind the property. They identified a set of steps on the northern side of the row which led up to the tannery, and indicated an elevation difference of approximately 600mm. Austral Archaeology suggested that the roof was either shingles or galvanised corrugated iron (Austral Archaeology 1992a:116). They also identified three renovation phases: the laying of timber floors and extension of hearths; plastering of the internal walls; and subdivision of the verandah. Austral was unable to determine dates for these phases, but it is possible that the first renovation occurred in 1867–1868, when Richard Berry took up his lease with the promise to fix up the cottages (Austral Archaeology 1992a:117–118; Berry 1895:72–73). The second phase, which involved plastering the internal walls, may have coincided with an order given by the Local Board of Health in 1889 "to clean and whitewash the inside of Peacock's Buildings, off East terrace, and pave and drain the yards" (Austral Archaeology 1992a:117–118; *South Australian Register* 1889:7).

Based on excavations in 1994, Jones et al. suggested that The Rookery was a two storey building accessed by a wooden balcony or multiple stairways (Jones et al. 1997:68). In

addition to the Rate Assessment Books, which clearly list the building as two storey in 1849 and 1852–1854, both Stephens (1849) and the *South Australian Register* (1889) make reference to the second storey being accessed by an "open staircase" or step-ladder (Stephens 1849:20; *South Australian Register* 1889:5). The 1992 excavation revealed paving and post holes in Area 11 (Figure 3.13), which Austral Archaeology suggested was associated with an enclosed verandah, but may instead be remnants of the stairway or ladder (Austral Archaeology 1992:116). Figure 3.4 shows an artist's impression of The Rookery, based on the amalgamated historical and excavation data.

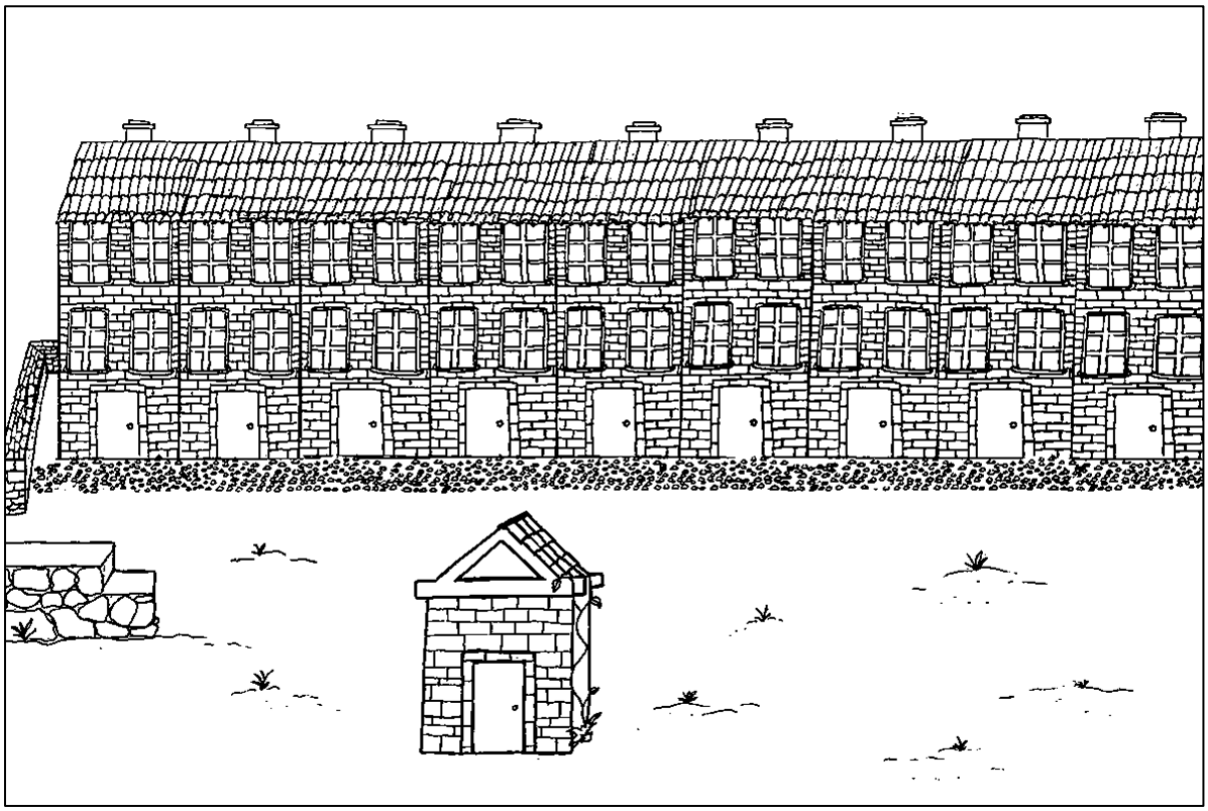


Figure 3.4 Artist's impression of The Rookery, based on the results of this study, Taneka Denniss, 2022.

Occupation

The density of people living in The Rookery at any one time cannot be fully understood, though it is expected to have been lower in years when units were listed as 'unoccupied'. This is because the rate assessors would have recorded a single member of each household, rather than every occupant. Owing to the nineteenth century social context, it can be assumed that when a man is listed, there may or may not be a wife and children also occupying the house, but when a woman is listed, there may be children, but probably not a husband. It is known from the historical record that in 1849 there were approximately 100 persons

occupying the building, which, at the time, was divided into 16 tenements (Stephens 1849:20). This high number of occupants may account for the large quantity of ceramic artefacts recovered from the central cesspits, but it is not known how long this level of occupation persisted before Berry's acquisition of the property.

The Rate Assessment Books indicate that The Rookery was unoccupied from 1864 to 1868, which may indicate a period Berry described in his autobiography (Adelaide City Council 1864–1868; Berry 1895:69). Berry explained that Mrs. James Steele collected rents at The Rookery "for a time", before the task was given to Mrs. James Brown (Berry 1895:72–73). According to the Rate Assessment Books, 'James Brown' became The Rookery's leaseholder in 1873 and continued as such until Richard Berry was listed in 1876. Richard Berry remained the leaseholder until 1890, when it changed hands to William Harris (Adelaide City Council 1873–1890). Given that the Adelaide City Mission began in 1867 and The Rookery was reinhabited in 1869, it can be deduced that The Rookery was acquired by Berry in 1867 or 1868. Berry stated that nine families had benefited from his acquisition of The Rookery, which indicates that each unit was rented as a two-storey cottage to a single family, considerably reducing the occupation density recorded in 1849 (Berry 1895:69–70; Stephens 1849:20).

Following his termination from the Adelaide City Mission in 1889, Richard Berry and the Reverend James Lyall formed the East End City Mission and rented a house in The Rookery for their offices. Their names do not appear in the Rate Assessment Books, however, a short period of tenancy may explain this; in 1890 an 'East End Mission Hall' is listed in the property description for the former Ebenezer Chapel, which Berry and Lyall occupied after The Rookery (Berry 1895:79; Adelaide City Council 1890). There is an undeniable sense of circularity in the fact that both the very first poor housing Berry provided and his final mission hall were linked, not just by their east end location, but by their builder, William Peacock.

Occupants

Table 3.1 summarises the property descriptions for The Rookery from 1847–1904, as recorded in the City of Adelaide's Rate Assessment Books. Multiple listings for the same year have been aggregated, such as when 'house' was listed nine times, indicating nine houses. These descriptions indicate that, for at least five years (1852–1853 and 1855–1857, and probably in 1854), the building was let out as 18 tenements. From as early as 1859, the

building was let out as nine two-storey cottages. In 1903, the property was described as containing ruins and one house, before being listed as ‘land’ in 1904.

Analysis of the City of Adelaide’s Rate Assessment Books from 1847–1903 and Town Clerk’s Records from 1892–1903 show that occupation levels of The Rookery fluctuated across its period of existence, at least at the time of year when the rates were assessed (Figure 3.5). A complete list of Rate Assessment Book descriptions can be found in Appendix A.

Occupants were not recorded by the rate assessor between 1847–1852, and the building was unoccupied in 1865–1866, before its acquisition by the ABSFS. Occupancy was steady at or near capacity between 1871–1882, when the property was let as two-roomed cottages (n=9, 9, 8, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9, 9), but dropped in 1883–1884 (n=4.5, 4.5), then reached capacity again in 1885. Occupancy peaked in 1892 (n=10) and again in 1900 (n=10), before decreasing to a single occupant in both 1902, when the property was intact, and in 1903, when the property contained ruins and one house (Table 3.1). The records for 1864 list the occupier as ‘Peacock’s Buildings’, and records for 1867 and 1868 list the occupier as ‘Peacock and Son’. In keeping with the project’s methods, occupancy for these years was estimated to be 4.5 people per year. If the building was, in fact, unoccupied during this time, its second period of disuse would span 1863–1868

Year	Description of property
1847	Acre enclosed with two rails and paling, cultivated
1848	Enclosed land
1849	Two roomed cottage dwelling
1850, 1851	Not assessed
1852	18 tenements one room each being a two storey brick building
1853	18 tenements one room each, all units in one two storey building
1854	Two storeyed brick building let out in separate apartments
1855, 1856	18 tenements one room each
1857	18 tenements
1858	House cottages
1859	Cottage with two rooms
1860–1863	House(s)
1864	? Eight cottages unithouse
1865–1868	Nine cottages
1869–1882	House(s)
1883, 1884	Nine houses
1885–1902	House(s)
1903	House and ruins
1904	Land

Table 3.1 Property descriptions as recorded in the City of Adelaide Rate Assessment Books.

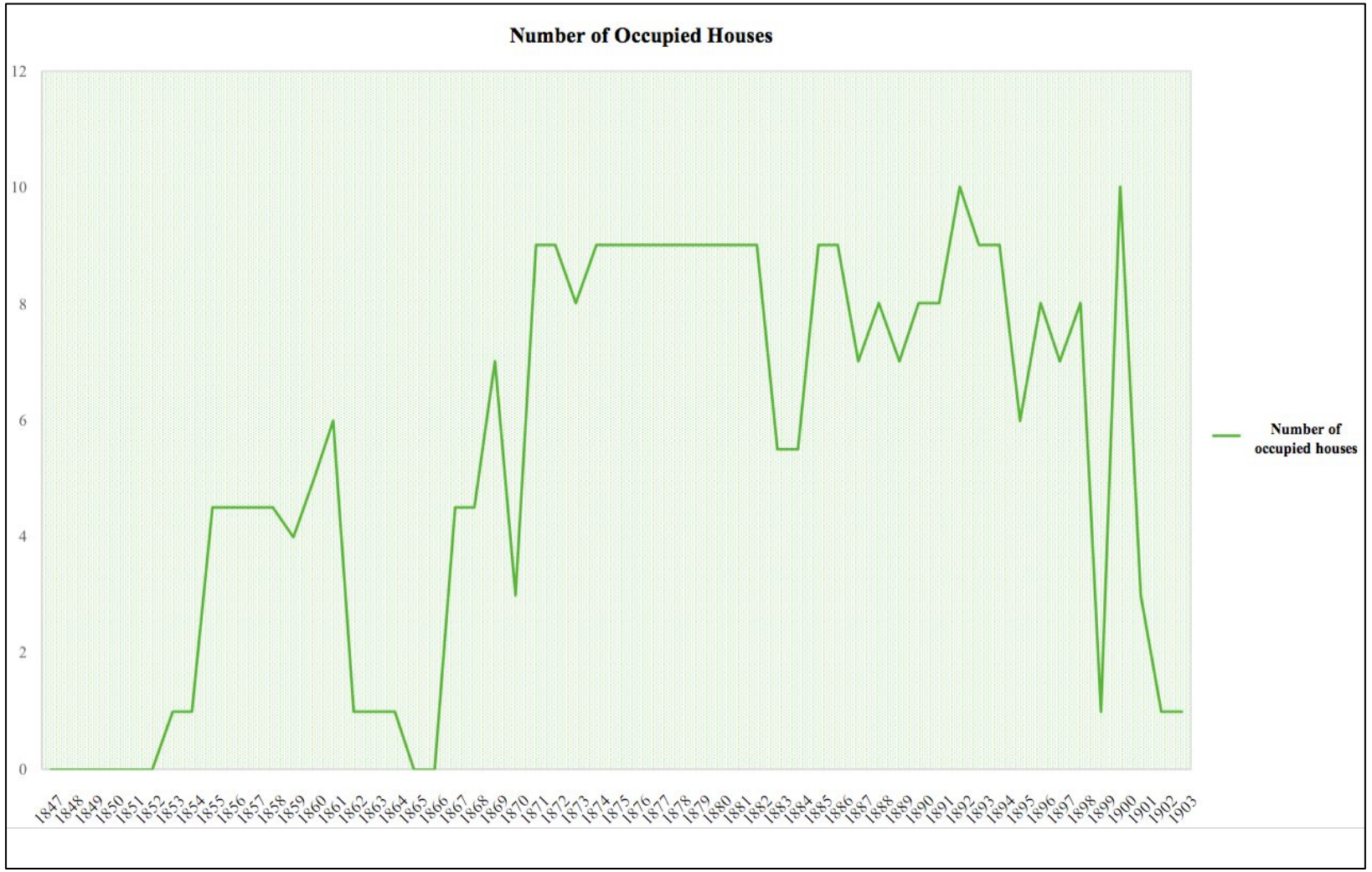


Figure 3.5 Number of occupied houses at The Rookery from 1847–1903.

The following timeline (Figure 3.6) shows the occupants of The Rookery as recorded in the Rate Assessment Books from 1847–1868, which is the period of time prior to, and inclusive of, its possible abandonment. During this time, Mary Wymer held the longest tenancy (n=3 years), from 1859–1861.

A second timeline (Figure 3.8) shows the occupants of The Rookery as recorded in the Rate Assessment Books from 1869–1904 and the Town Clerk's Records from 1892–1903, which also show the leaseholder, when listed. If the rate assessments are an accurate listing of The Rookery's occupants, it appears that many individuals departed The Rookery only to return after a period of time. The individuals who occupied cottages for the longest periods were Harriet Haigh (n=17 years), Mrs. Gibbons (n=12 years), Ann Short (n=10 years), Johannah Baker (n=8 years), and William A. Townsend (n=7 years). Ellen Nalty lived there for a total period of five years, and was the only remaining occupant in 1903.

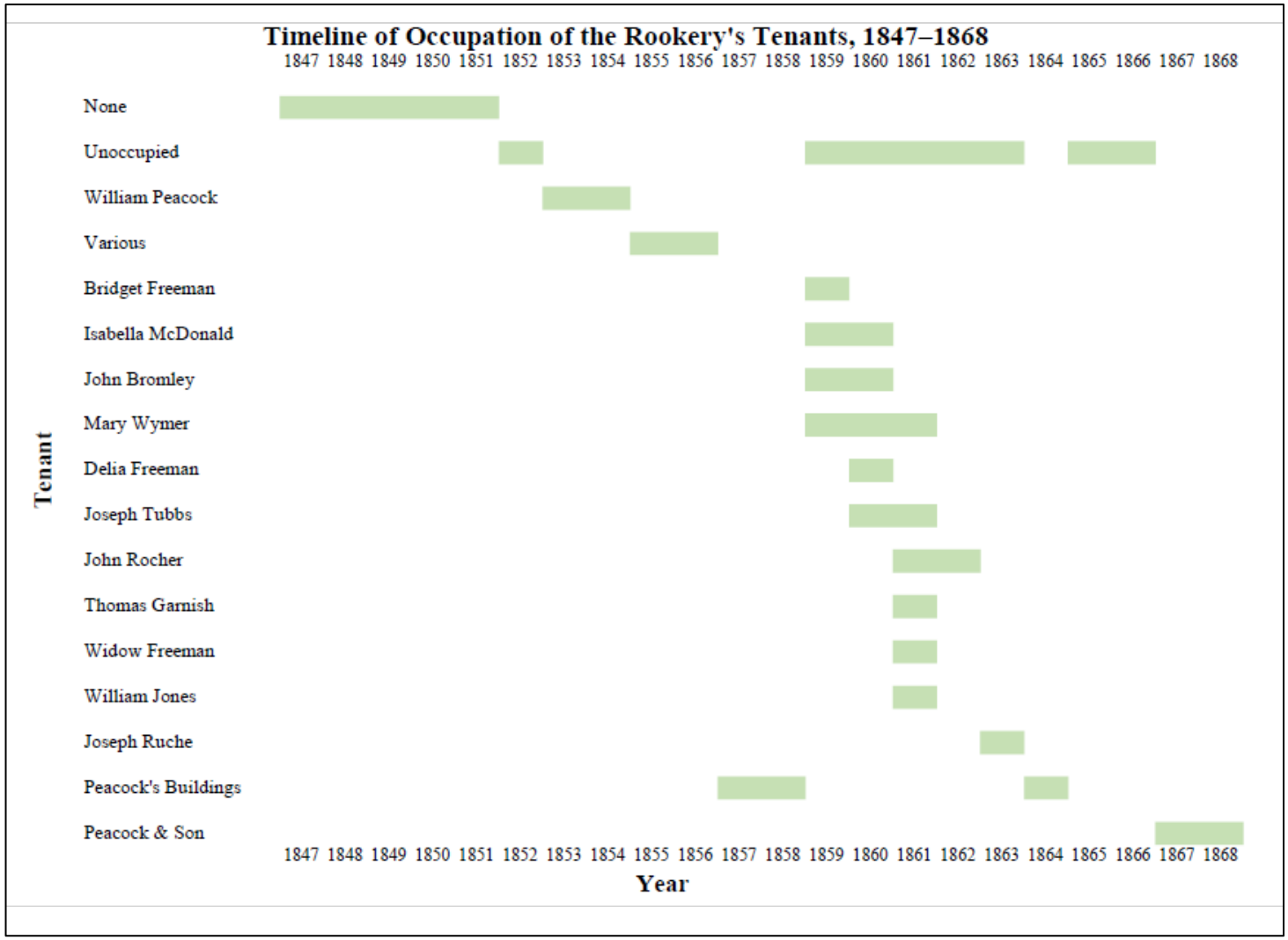
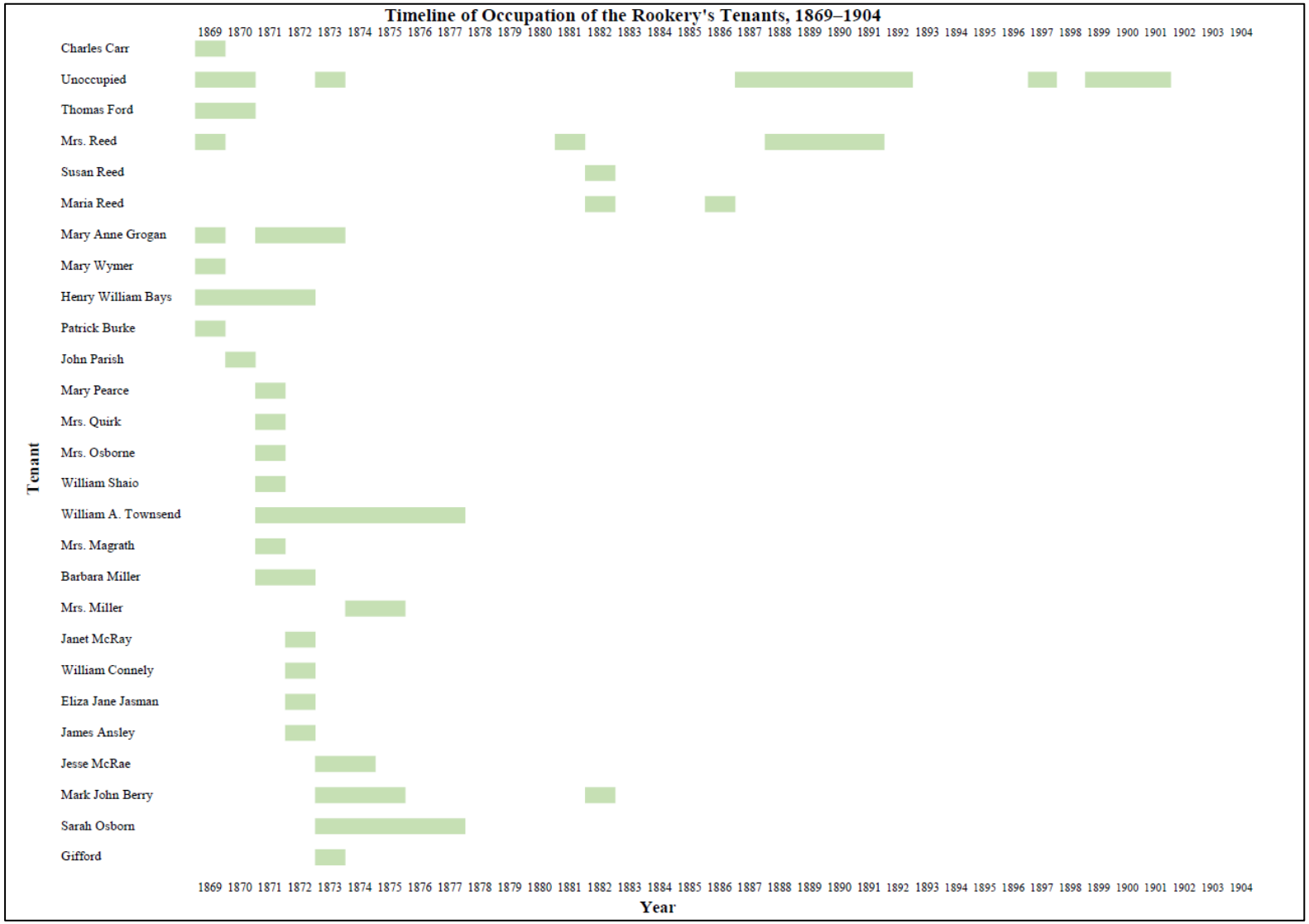
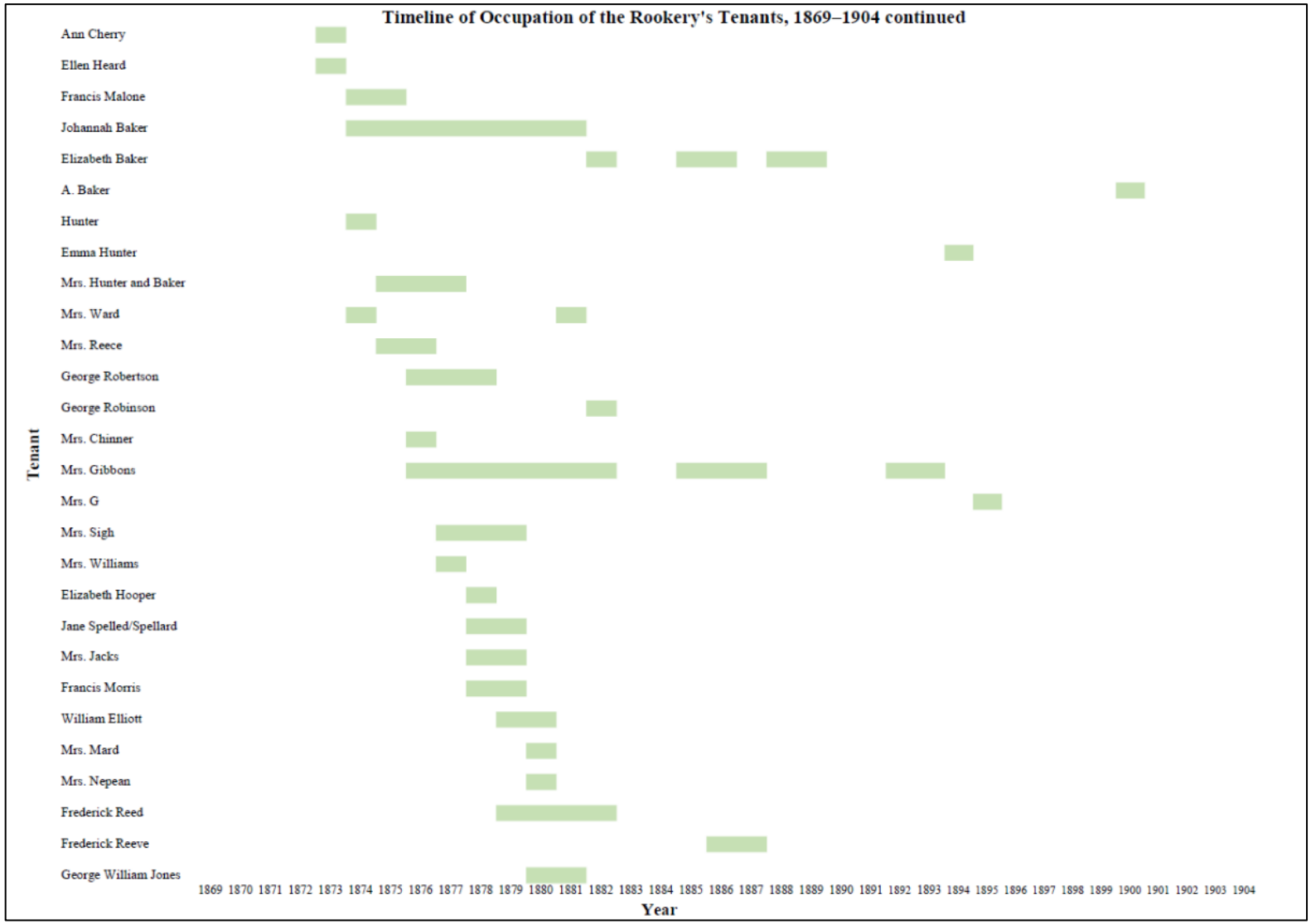
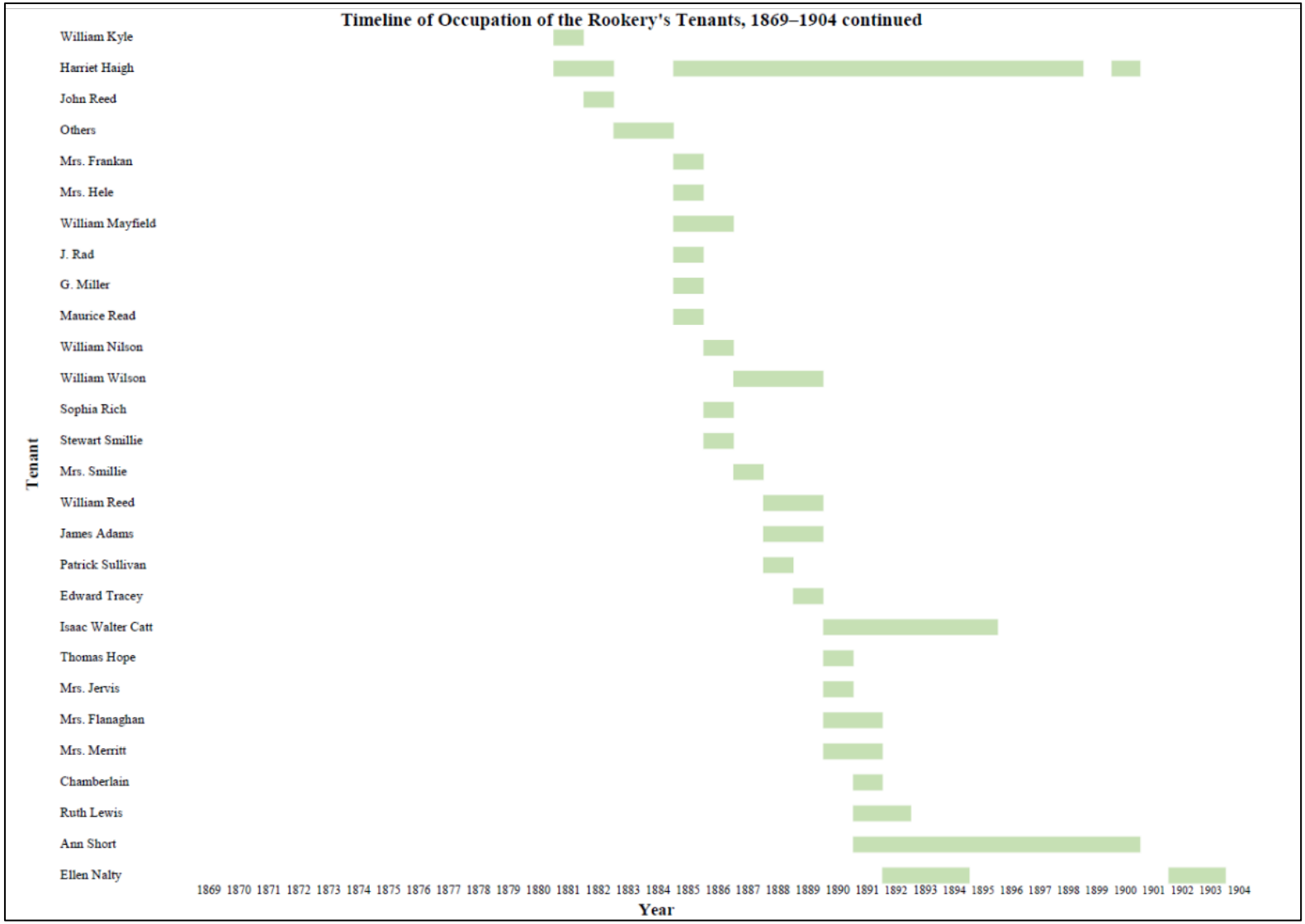


Figure 3.6 The Rookery's tenants by year, 1847–1868.


Timeline of Occupation of the Rookery's Tenants, 1869–1904
1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904
Charles Carr
Unoccupied
Thomas Ford
Mrs. Reed
Susan Reed
Maria Reed
Mary Anne Grogan
Mary Wymer
Henry William Bays
Patrick Burke
John Parish
Mary Pearce
Mrs. Quirk
Mrs. Osborne
William Shaio
William A. Townsend
Mrs. Magrath
Barbara Miller
Mrs. Miller
Janet McRay
William Connely
Eliza Jane Jasman
James Ansley
Jesse McRae
Mark John Berry
Sarah Osborn
Gifford
Tenant
1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904
Year


Timeline of Occupation of the Rookery's Tenants, 1869–1904 continued
Ann Cherry
Ellen Heard
Francis Malone
Johannah Baker
Elizabeth Baker
A. Baker
Hunter
Emma Hunter
Mrs. Hunter and Baker
Mrs. Ward
Mrs. Reece
George Robertson
George Robinson
Mrs. Chinner
Mrs. Gibbons
Mrs. G
Mrs. Sigh
Mrs. Williams
Elizabeth Hooper
Jane Spelled/Spellard
Mrs. Jacks
Francis Morris
William Elliott
Mrs. Mard
Mrs. Nepean
Frederick Reed
Frederick Reeve
George William Jones
Tenant
1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904
Year


Timeline of Occupation of the Rookery's Tenants, 1869–1904 continued
William Kyle
Harriet Haigh
John Reed
Others
Mrs. Frankan
Mrs. Hele
William Mayfield
J. Rad
G. Miller
Maurice Read
William Nilson
William Wilson
Sophia Rich
Stewart Smillie
Mrs. Smillie
William Reed
James Adams
Patrick Sullivan
Edward Tracey
Isaac Walter Catt
Thomas Hope
Mrs. Jervis
Mrs. Flanaghan
Mrs. Merritt
Chamberlain
Ruth Lewis
Ann Short
Ellen Nalty
Tenant
1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904
Year

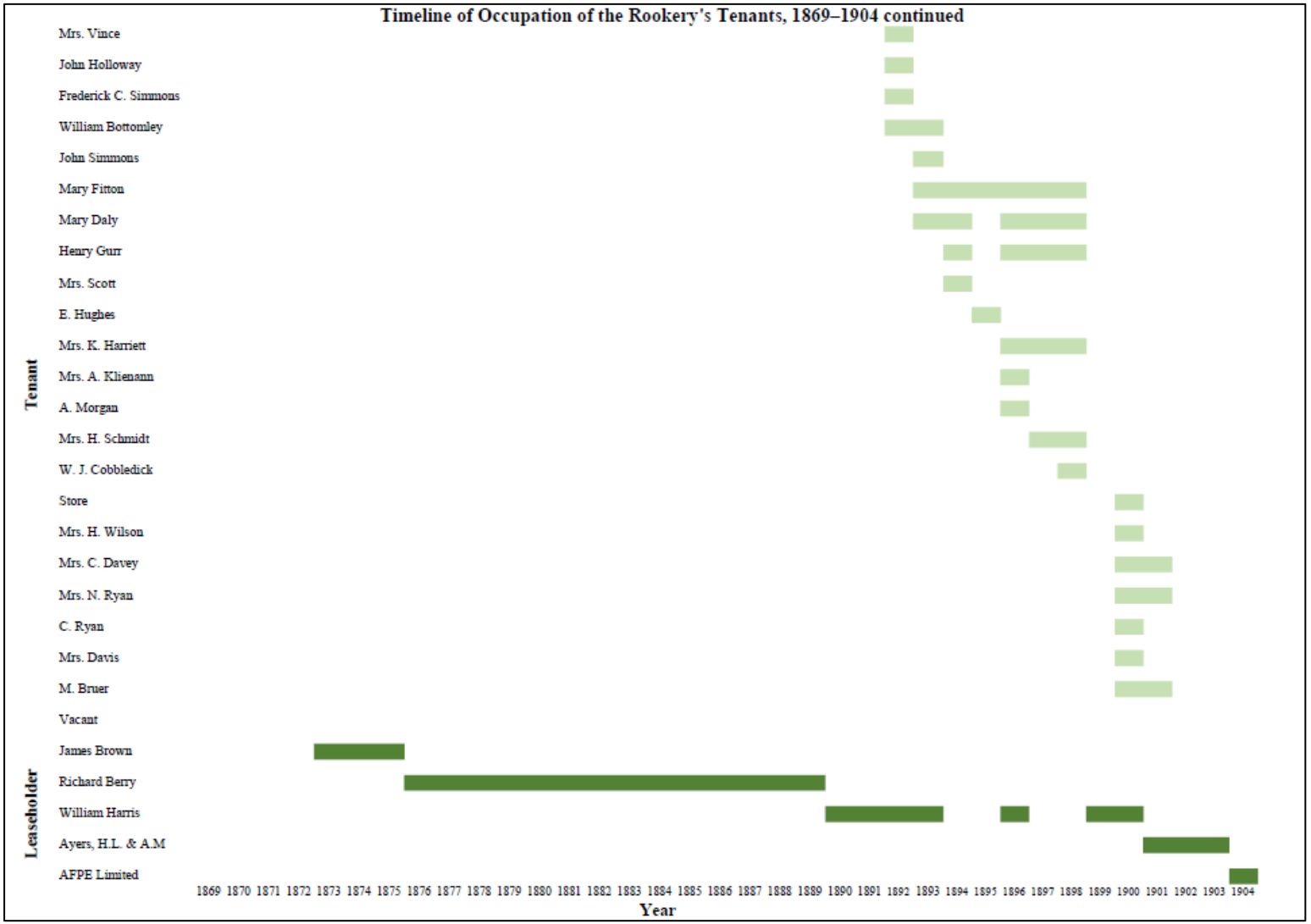


Figure 3.7 The Rookery's tenants (light green) and leaseholders (dark green) by year, 1869–1904.

Figure 3.8 indicates the gender distribution of The Rookery's occupants (all years), based on the assumption that traditionally gendered names were used in the period of occupation. The majority (53%, n=62) of occupants were women, with men representing 38% (n=45) of occupants, and occupants whose gender could not be postulated making up the remaining 9% (n=11).

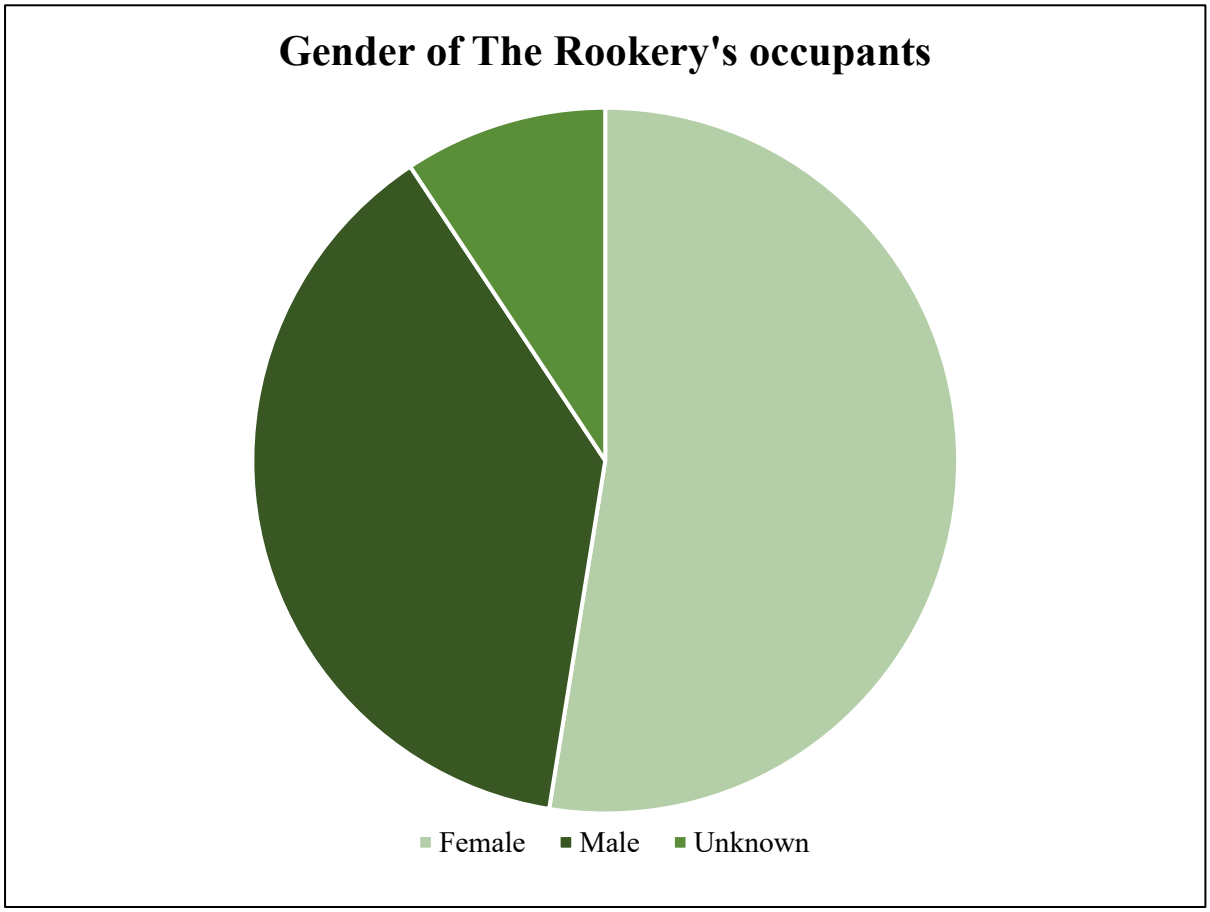


Figure 3.8 Gender distribution of The Rookery's known occupants.

Adelaide's east end: "A great nuisance, a great stink"

A brief history of some aspects of Adelaide's east end at the time of The Rookery's existence helps to contextualise the possible experiences of its occupants, and describe life in general for Adelaide's poor. Today, East Terrace is home to manicured parklands, grand stately homes, and vibrant pubs and eateries. While many of the grand homes were built by colonists, and therefore co-existed with The Rookery, the northern end of East Terrace was a very different place in the early days of the colony (Stone 2012:386). While occupants of the stately homes on the southern end of East Terrace enjoyed views of the Victoria Park racecourse, by the early 1850s parts of the parklands near The Rookery were being used as

commercial rubbish dumps, likely servicing the many factories, shops, and inns on Grenfell and Rundle Streets (Anderson 2017). Figure 3.9 shows a dilapidated cottage near East Terrace, taken circa 1890. It is labelled as one of The Rookery's buildings, however its single-storey, detached construction is completely different to descriptions of The Rookery, and it therefore may have been one of the other structures on Peacock's Town Acres.

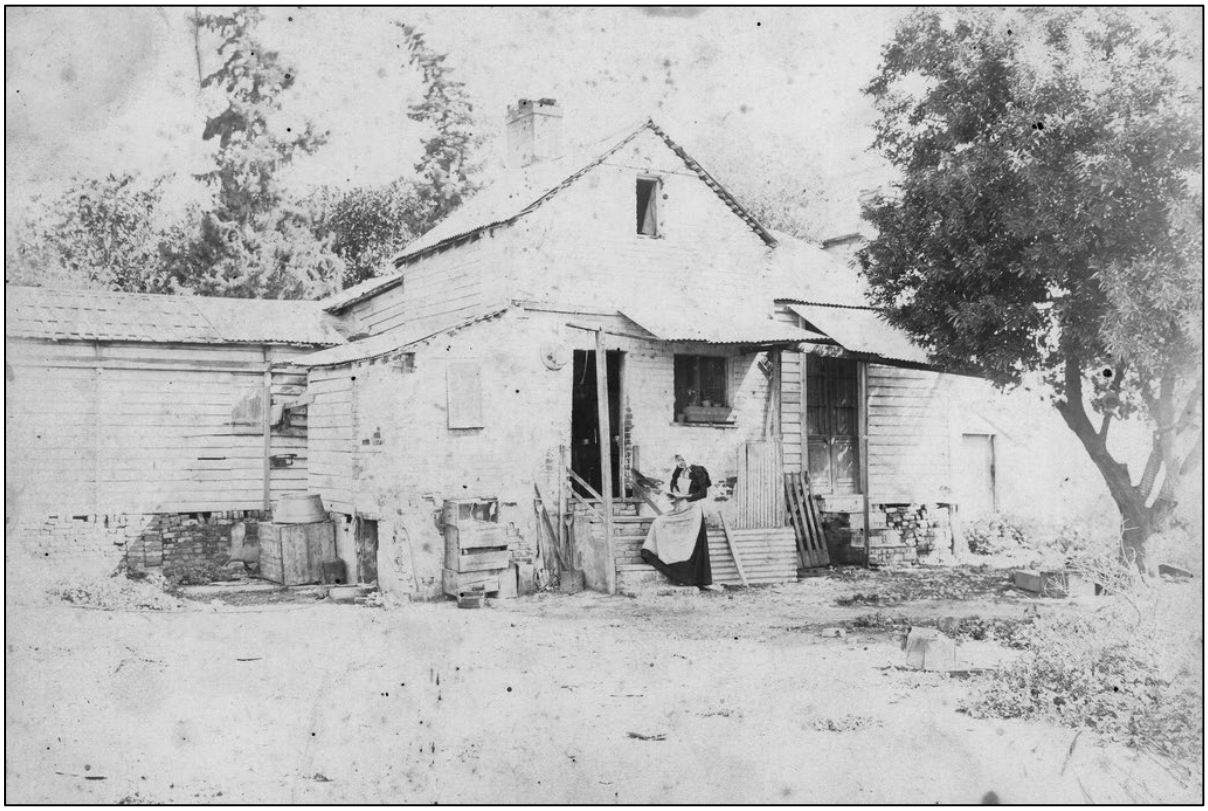


Figure 3.9 Timber cottage off East terrace, c.1890 (State Library of South Australia: B7933).

From 1839 to 1868, Peacock and Son's tannery (Figure 3.10) occupied Town Acres 94 and 95, and the noxious smells and substances it emitted became a topic of complaint for nearby residents. In 1856, William and his son, Joseph Peacock, were charged with allowing impure tan-water to flow from their premises to the East Terrace parklands and botanic gardens, and ordered to install proper drainage (*South Australian Register* 1856:3). In 1861, they were charged with the same offence (*South Australian Register* 1861:3). The Rookery building (Figure 3.4), situated between the northwestern part of the tannery and the parklands, and with an elevation approximately two feet lower than the tannery, would have been the recipient of this tan-water on its path towards the parklands (Austral Archaeology 1992a:116). On one occasion when a complaint was brought forth, a court heard that "there was a great nuisance, a great stink and a great epidemic arising from Mr. Peacock's tannery.

Half the population would be carried off if something was not done" (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1866:6).

Figure 3.10 Tan-yard employees pose in front of wattle bark at Peacock's tannery, Grenfell Street, c.1871 (State Library of South Australia: B10165).

Awful as it was, the tannery was not the only neighbourhood source of noxious smells and substances. Burford's soap and candle factory, which opened in 1840, was situated on the southeastern corner of Grenfell Street and East Terrace. In 1883, the police court heard that the boiling of "fat, tallow, entrail, and offal of beasts and other substance, by reason of which said premises divers nuisances, offensive and unwholesome smokes, smells, steam, and stench…were from thence emitted and issued" (*Adelaide Observer* 1883:35). In addition to the nuisances caused by the tannery and soap factory, archival records show that the council received countless nuisance complaints about the neighbourhood, which included cattle roaming the streets, stagnant water, and a yard full of horse manure (Municipal Corporation 1858).

When The Rookery was formally acquired by the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society (ABSFS) in 1867, Richard Berry, city missionary and member of the ABSFS, wrote:

> I observed that a large proportion of [the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society's] funds was used in paying rent for poor people, to prevent them being turned out of their houses. Having noticed a row of nine empty houses off East Terrace, in a very dilapidated condition, I made enquiries about them. They belonged to Mr. Peacock, and his agent promised to let me have the nine for the first three months for putting them in repair, and thereafter for two shillings and sixpence per week.
>
> (Berry 1895:69)

Berry arranged repairs and moved in "widows and other poor people", turning The Rookery into housing for those whom Berry and the ABSFS deemed "the deserving poor" (Berry 1895:69–70). The success of Berry's housing scheme was reflected upon in 1884, with the *South Australian Register* (1884:5) reporting:

> There was a place in the city called 'The Rookery.' It had not a nice character then, and it was itself being pulled to pieces, as that character had been long ago. The residents therein were mostly widows, or poor old folks of the class sketched herein further up. There is a stipulation that all the tenants shall be respectable and sober. They may be Jew or Christian, Catholic or Protestant. They maybe total abstainers or they may not be.

Despite Berry's repairs, The Rookery's condition did not appear to improve, and it was regarded as a public nuisance throughout its existence, even though it was integrated into the city's sewerage and drainage scheme in 1883 (Figure 3.11).

In the Board of Health's 1889 report on the slums of Adelaide, they described the cramped, ramshackle nature of The Rookery:

> [The] Nine two-roomed houses – most of them inhabited – in a row extending westward from East Terrace, behind the old tannery, and belonging to the Peacock Estate, were in better condition, but the back fence along the whole row was within reach of the hand from the back door, there being no yard, and this limited space was monopolized by an open staircase to the upper rooms. The closet accommodation was furnished by a row of creeper-covered privies about thirty or forty feet off, but right opposite the front doors. Three shillings a week was the rent of these places.
>
> (*South Australian Register* 1889:4)

Although the *South Australian Register* reported in 1898 that the "miserable dwellings" of The Rookery had been condemned by the Local Board of Health, it seems an official notice of condemnation was not served until the 2nd of July, 1900 (*South Australian Register*

1898:6; Town Clerk's Office 1900). The notice was contested by the Trustees for Peacock's Estate, who suggested converting the premises for industrial rather than residential use (Town Clerk's Office 1900). Their idea was rejected and by 1903, all except one unit were in ruins. According to the Rate Assessment Books, The Rookery was completely demolished between 1903 and 1904 to make way for William Charlick's Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange.

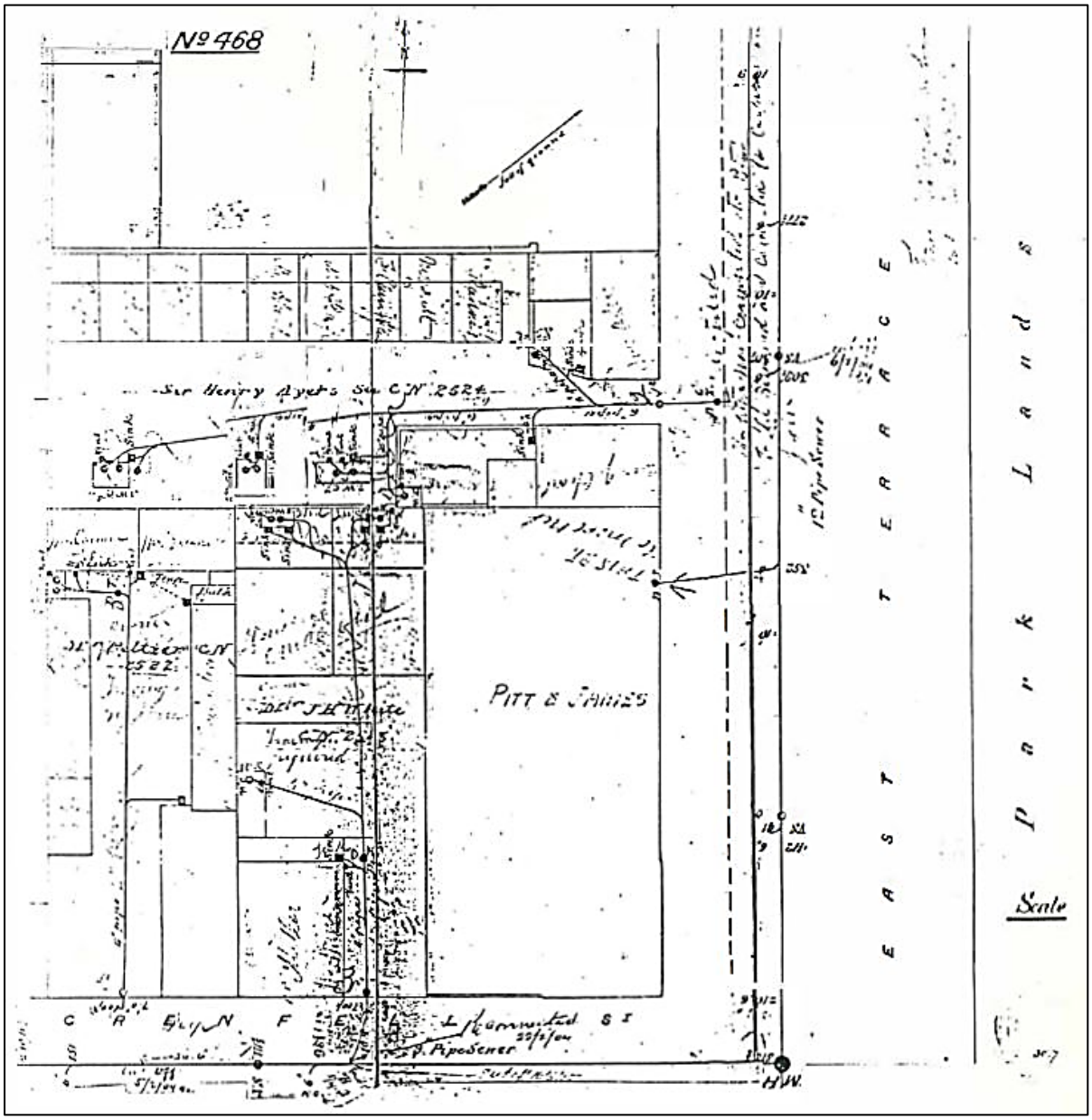


Figure 3.11 Town Acre 94, Engineering and Water Supply plan of sewerage and drainage, 1883 (Austral Archaeology 1992a:9).

The duality of William Peacock

From construction to demolition, The Rookery, with its noxious smells, poor upkeep, and overcrowding, was infamous among sanitary inspectors and members of the public alike. The

blame for its condition can be placed on William Peacock (Figure 3.12), whose religious and philanthropic public persona was at odds with his exploitation of the working class.

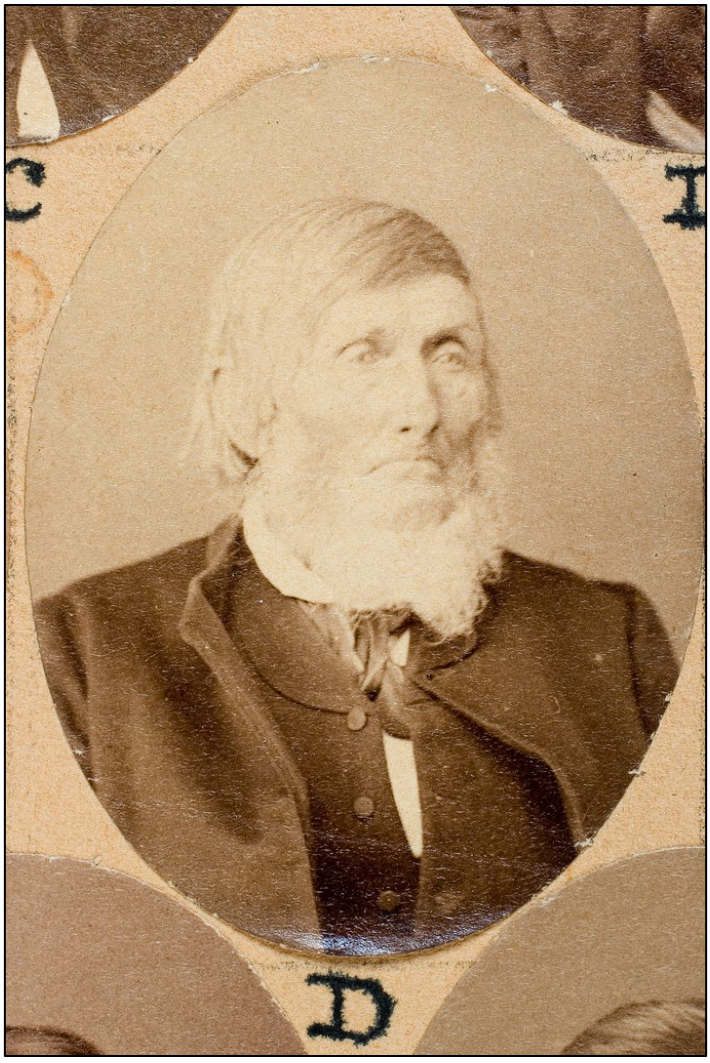


Figure 3.12 William Peacock, photographed in 1872 by Henry Jones (State Library of South Australia: B47769/15D).

Peacock brought money with him when he sailed to the new colony on a chartered ship. His wealth was quickly multiplied through the opening of his tannery, and his investments in the Burra copper mines and two insurance companies (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1866:7). He was elected to the Adelaide City Council in 1842, and later sat on the Legislative Council. In 1851 Peacock, with I.J. Barclay, established the Congregational Ebenezer Chapel in Ebenezer Place, just off Rundle Street, which included a schoolroom (*Adelaide Observer* 1896:16; *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1862:1). Adelaide's rapidly increasing population meant that by the late 1850s the parish had outgrown Ebenezer Chapel; as a result, in 1861, Peacock contributed to the construction of a new Congregational church in Hindmarsh Square (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1862:1). Congregationalism became

increasingly popular among the working class in the English-speaking world during the nineteenth century, as it provided a means of self-improvement through education. In the 1860s, one in twenty South Australians identified as Congregationalist, a percentage said to be the highest in the world outside Britain (Pitman 2005:90). Peacock's promotion of Congregationalism was consistent with his liberal form of governance, which he practiced during his time in Parliament, and for which he was remembered in newspaper obituaries (*Evening Journal* 1874:2; *The South Australian Advertiser* 1874:6).

Peacock's charitable, spiritual, and liberal proclivities present a picture of a generous and compassionate man of strong morals. It is curious, then, that newspaper accounts of his behaviour as a landlord and in court suggest that, in reality, he was quite the opposite. In his 1849 lecture, Stephens described another tenement block located to the west of The Rookery, as well as tenements at the back of Hindley Street, both owned by William Peacock, and both in similar condition to The Rookery — "all thickly inhabited" and with one privy between them (Stephens 1849:20). Peacock's apparent disregard for the health and safety of his tenants suggests that his pious persona may not have proved genuine in the face of easy money earned through exploitation. In 1851 his behaviour was criticised by Mr. Hewitt of the South Australian Company. He noted that Stephens's statements:

> Though published some two years since, had never been contradicted by Mr. Peacock; and he must therefore conclude they were true, and if true, were a disgrace to anyone calling himself a man — much more a religious man.
>
> (*South Australian Register* 1851:4)

As if the smells which infiltrated The Rookery were not bad enough, proceedings were brought against Peacock in 1849 for the complaint of a pig-stye on his tannery premises, which was "at least a foot deep with slush and dirt", and caused neighbours to keep their doors and windows shut against the smell (*South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal* 1849:3). Peacock glibly dismissed the court matter as "child's play", claiming "it [is] painful to be placed in such a position by a few boys and a briefless barrister" (*South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal* 1849:3).

In March 1866, the *Adelaide Express* reported that a fire "of five or six feet" had broken out in the chimney of one of The Rookery cottages, which caused great alarm as the roof was shingled and the buildings densely inhabited (*Adelaide Express* 1866:2). The fire was promptly extinguished by the Fire Brigade before it could spread (*Adelaide Express* 1866:2).

Despite Peacock's wealth and his shares in insurance companies, however, The Rookery was uninsured at the time of the fire, leaving him financially liable for costs (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1866:7). In July, more legal proceedings were brought against him, since he had also failed to pay £10 3s. 6d. to the Fire Brigade for extinguishing the fire. Peacock claimed that, as he did not call the Fire Brigade, it was not his responsibility to pay. As the itemised costs were read to him by the plaintiff's lawyer, Peacock's conduct was recalled as follows:

> (Here a whistling sound from Mr. Peacock startled the Court.) Mr. Bruce hoped Mr. Peacock would restrain his feelings. The complaint seemed to run in the family. The other day he was disturbed by Mr. Joseph Peacock, and now Mr. Peacock was following in his son's suit, and meeting his remarks with cheers and derisive laughter. He then went through the items, and maintained that they were fair and reasonable, and he commented upon the conduct of the defendant in grudging to pay the expenses of the Brigade in putting out a fire in one of a row of houses with old shingle roofs, uninsured, he being the largest shareholder in the only two local Insurance Companies.
>
> (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1866:7)

Peacock's insolent and apathetic manner in court, and the reasons for which he attended court, are in stark contrast with the benevolent façade he presented and wished to be remembered for. His supposed benevolence enabled him to benefit monetarily in other ways: even when Richard Berry and the ABSFS acquired The Rookery to provide low-cost housing to the working class, Peacock's condition, in addition to a weekly rental fee, was that the ABSFS must pay for and arrange all repairs (Berry 1895:69).

Previous archaeological work at The Rookery

Austral Archaeology

Following the closure of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange in 1985, site redevelopment proposals were submitted by a number of corporations, with the construction rights being awarded to the Beneficial Finance Corporation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:1–2). In 1990, prior to redevelopment works, Austral Archaeology was employed to conduct a series of test excavations, although development plans were put on hold until 1992 when, through the encouragement of Austral Archaeology, the Adelaide City Council allocated funds for a salvage excavation. The site was divided into 'areas' for the excavation (Figure 3.13), with eight of the nine cottages mostly accessible, as well as the southern cesspits and laneways.

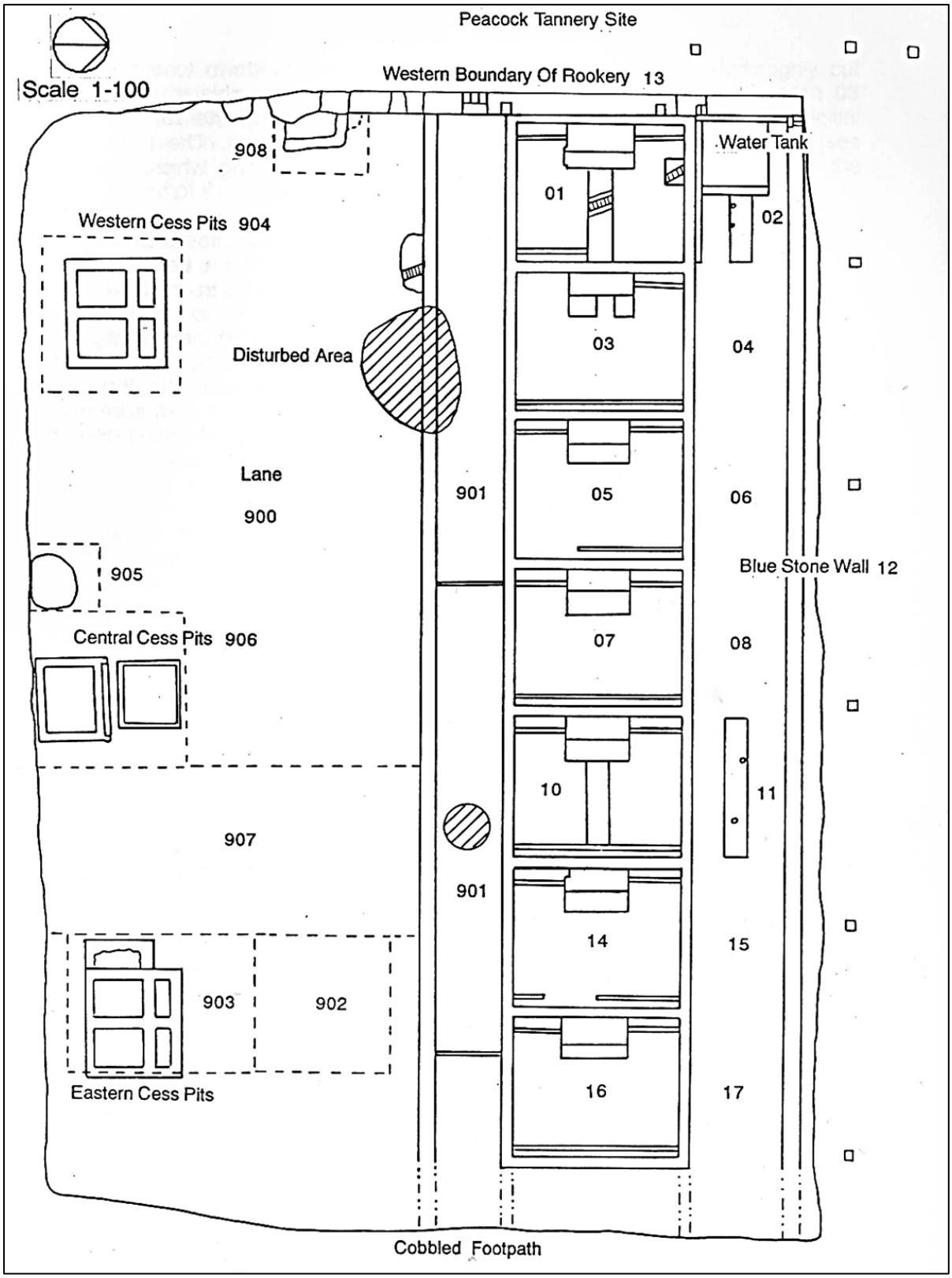


Figure 3.13: Site plan showing area numbers of the 1992 excavation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:13).

The excavation and subsequent report were completed in 1992, but funds were exhausted before the cataloguing could be completed, despite the use of volunteers. As a result, Austral Archaeology estimated that only 30-40% of the assemblage has been catalogued, and it was done so with priority given to what the researchers deemed to be the most diagnostic artefacts, i.e., artefacts with multiple diagnostic features, such as completeness, date, manufacturer, user, form, and function (Austral Archaeology 1992a:85).

Austral Archaeology: Methods

Austral Archaeology consulted historic plans to understand the site layout and to suggest the best locations for trenches which would reveal rich artefact deposits and remnant buildings (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10). Their initial excavation in 1990 had established the depth of overburden and demonstrated that the site had high archaeological potential (Jones et al. 1997:12).

As the 1992 project was a salvage excavation, Austral's plan was to reach the full depth of human activity, removing materials as they went (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10). To understand stratigraphy and spatial relationships, they used an adapted version of the Port Arthur recording system, which was originally adapted from the Harris Matrix System (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10). The Harris Matrix ensures that contexts are recorded horizontally and vertically, so that, when viewed as a graph, the order of deposition for each context or unit can be determined (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10).

Austral used mechanical excavation to remove the site overburden, before employing hand tools, including picks, shovels, trowels, and brushes, for the remaining work (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10). The entire site was mechanically excavated down to the 1990 excavation level, which then exposed previously unexcavated structures, allowing the site to be divided into areas for hand excavation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:14).

Soil from the most artefact-rich units was sieved using 10 millimetre and 2 millimetre sieves (Austral Archaeology 1992a:10–11). On site, artefacts were washed and sorted according to fabric type, before being separated into groups of 'inventory' and 'accession' items, the former being artefacts deemed diagnostic based on date, manufacturer, user, form, and function, and the latter being highly fragmented items or items recovered from previously disturbed deposits (Austral Archaeology 1992a:11).

The site was photographed vertically where possible, and photographs were taken of each area before and after excavation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:11). Photographs were recorded

using forms which listed the film name and number, photo number, orientation, description, date, and photographer (Austral Archaeology 1992a:11). Some photographs were printed in black and white in the report, and a record of all photographs was included in the report's appendices.

Austral Archaeology catalogued artefacts according to the adapted Harris Matrix used for the excavation. Time and funding constraints meant it was not possible to catalogue the entire assemblage, so they established a priority sampling system (Austral Archaeology 1992a:85). The sample chosen for first priority was the underfloor deposits from two of the cottages, the underground water tank, and some units from the central cesspits (Area 906) fill phase, while second priority was given to underfloor deposits from three more cottages, the eastern cesspits, and a drain (Figure 3.13) (Austral Archaeology 1992a:85).

Artefacts from these areas and units were re-sorted into 'inventory' and 'accession' categories, though this time the requirement for an inventory item was that it had *multiple* diagnostic features (Austral Archaeology 1992a:86). Only those objects that were deemed diagnostic based on completeness, date, manufacturer, user, form, and function were recorded in the inventory and accession catalogues, while the remainder was "rough sorted and boxed" (Austral Archaeology 1992a:85). The two catalogues, inventory and accession, were also adapted from the Port Arthur system (Austral Archaeology 1992a:86). Ceramic descriptions were adapted from Copeland (1980), and colours recorded using the *Methuen Handbook of Colour* (Austral Archaeology 1992a:86).

Inventory artefacts were recorded using two different methods: complete and 'unusual' items were recorded on a full page to allow for lengthy descriptions and additional variables, while the remainder, identifiable by the letter 'P' in the catalogue, were recorded only in brief terms (Austral Archaeology 1992a:86).

Variables recorded for inventory artefacts were:

Name of object

Type/pattern no.

Manufacturing technique

Condition

Completeness

Weight (grams)

Fabric

Function

Manufacturer

Place of manufacture

User/dates in business

Dates

Matching pieces

Storage

Despite setting guidelines for ceramic descriptions, standardised terms were not used. For example, the catalogue variously refers to stoneware ink pots as ‘penny ink pot’, ‘penny ink’, ‘bottle? Ink', ‘penny ink bottle’, ‘stoneware ink bottle’, ‘penny ink container’, ‘ceramic ink bottle’, ‘ceramic ink pot’, and ‘ink bottle’ (Austral Archaeology 1992b:286, 402–403, 413, 447, 504, 89, 24). These discrepancies mean that, if the existing catalogue was to be digitised, simple analysis would be difficult. Additional catalogue lines were used to record descriptions, interpretations, and references (Austral Archaeology 1992b).

The following variables only were recorded for accession items (Austral Archaeology 1992c):

Fabric

Function

Weight

Storage

Brief description

The catalogue was completed on a program called Hypercard, which is not able to be converted for use with modern technology (Justin McCarthy, pers. comm. 2021). For this reason, and owing to the non-uniformity of the 1992 catalogue, it was decided that all artefacts for this study would be recorded as new.

Austral Archaeology: Results

The three cesspits excavated in 1992 correspond spatially with those shown on the Smith Survey (Figure 3.14), and neither Austral Archaeology nor Jones et al. identified a cesspit elsewhere on the site (Austral Archaeology 1992a:13). These cesspits are located approximately 7.5 metres (24.6 feet) (Figure 3.14) from the front of the row. It is unusual, therefore, that in Stephens' 1849 lecture he described the only 'convenience' as adjoining the rear ladders and standing "within two feet [60cm] of the house" (Stephens 1849:20). This suggests that a cesspit to the north of the row pre-dated those which were excavated to the south and, owing to the fact that a water cistern was located on the western rear side (Austral Archaeology 1992a:13), it was likely situated centrally or towards the eastern end of the yard. As the yard was not ordered to be paved and drained until 1889, the remains of an early cesspit may have been underneath the paving uncovered during excavations (Austral Archaeology 1992a:53–55; *South Australian Register* 1889:7).

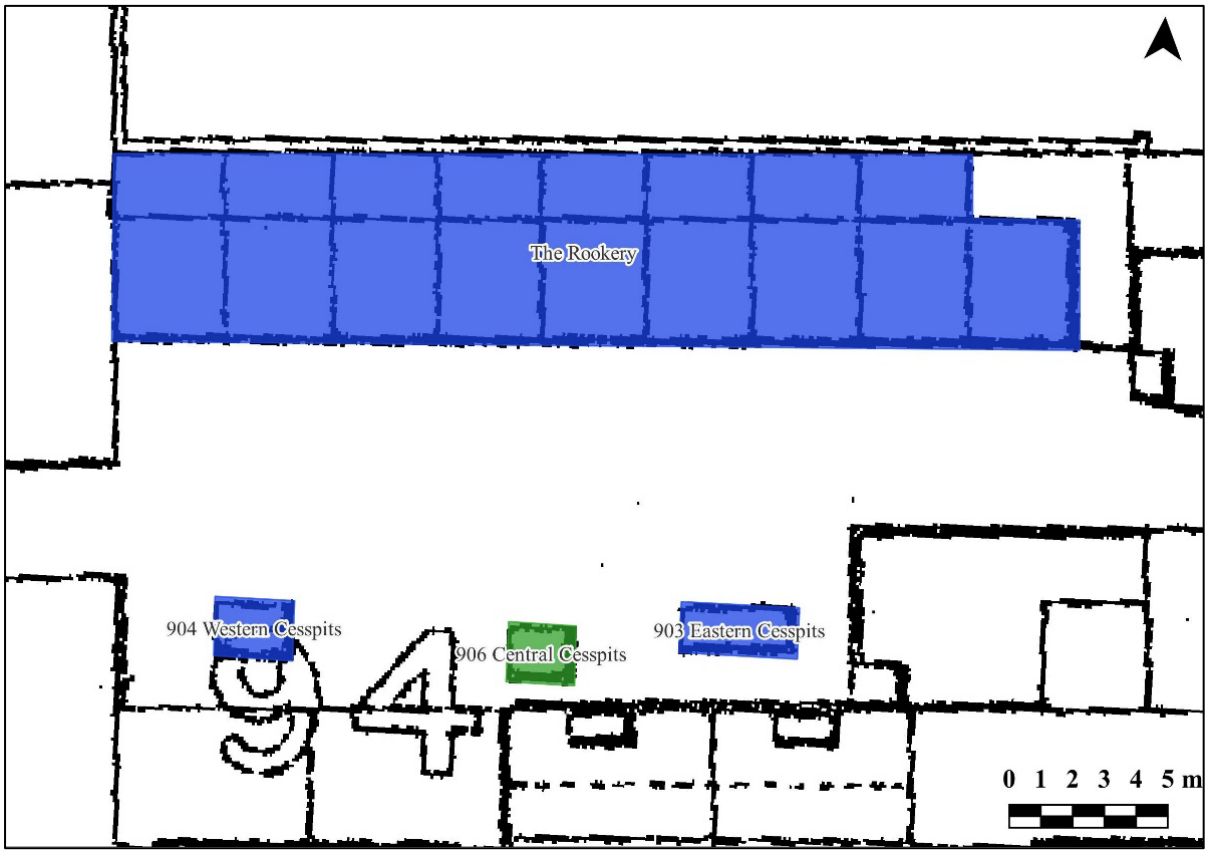


Figure 3.14 Main structures of The Rookery, shown on the 1880 Smith Survey of the City of Adelaide (Adelaide City Council). Area 906, the subject of this study, is highlighted in green.

In the central cesspits, Area 906 (Figure 3.15), excavations revealed a series of artefact deposition phases, with Austral Archaeology devising a system of units to differentiate between stratigraphic layers and features. They defined 33 units for Area 906, which were separated into likely stages of deposition. Table 3.2 shows Austral's stages of deposition based on stratigraphy, soil changes, and artefact deposits. According to Leevers' visual analysis of the boxed artefacts, only 12 of the 33 units contained artefacts; the rest were built features or fill (Leevers 2012:18, 20, 24). Austral Archaeology's report was unable to determine when the cesspit was filled, but postulated that site chronology could be understood through more rigorous artefactual analysis. This study will identify likely date ranges for each unit and, in conjunction with primary source material, seek to propose a date for the major cesspit fill phase.

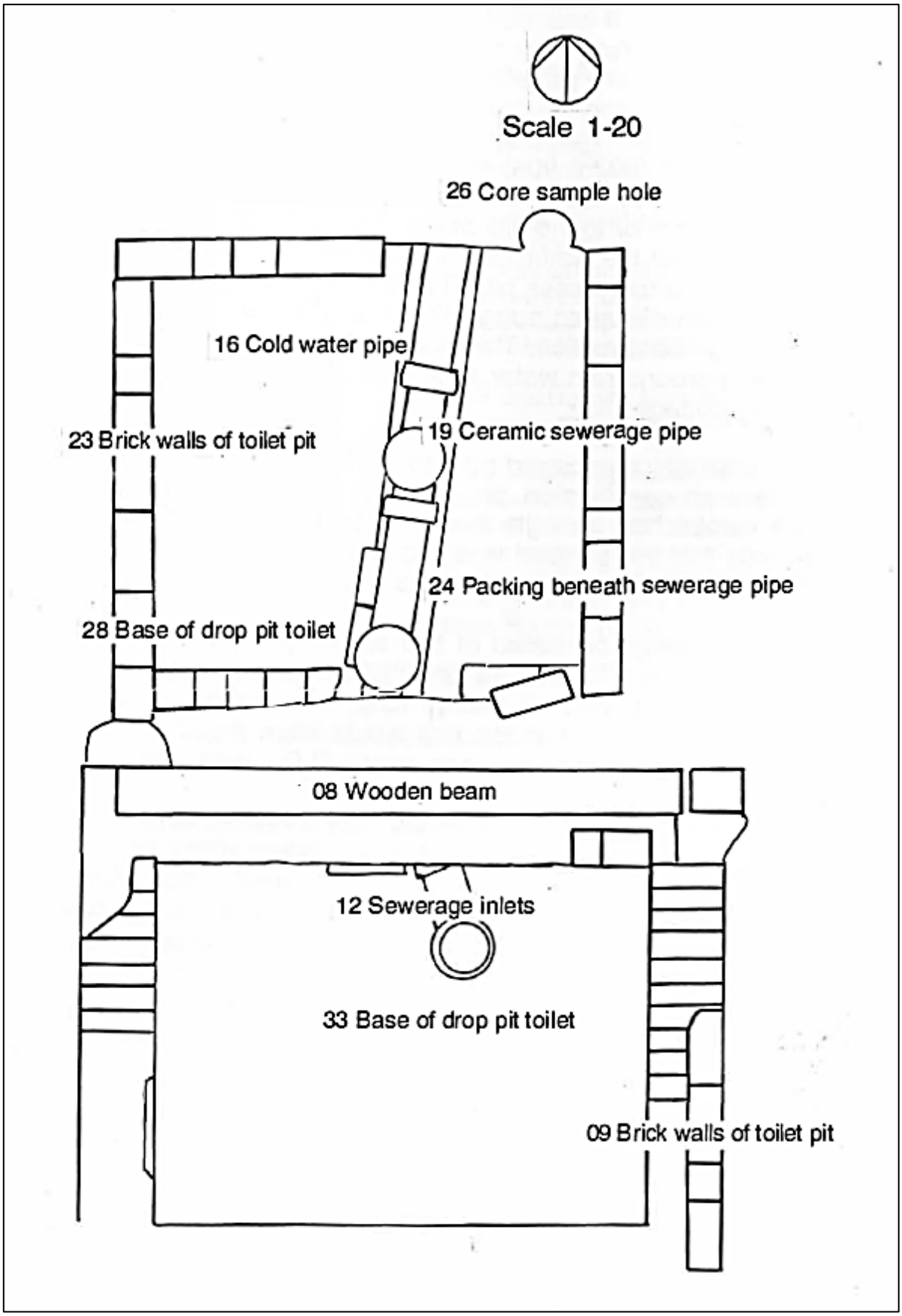


Figure 3.15 Excavation plan of Area 906 from the 1992 excavation (Austral Archaeology 1992a:78).

Phase	Unit No. & Description
Recent Activity	05 Core sample hole. 26 Core sample hole. 29 Core sample hole.
Site Overburden	01 Mixed clay fill used to establish common level across site. 02 Brown grey mixed clay at south end of trench.
Post Demolition Activity	04 Grey ash and rubble deposit capping and filling top of southern cesspit.
Demolition Phase	06 Mortar and rubble fragments lying beneath 906/04 in southern drop pit.
Post Sewerage Phase	03 Brown sandy clay deposit capping northern cesspit. 07 Sandy clay deposit capping northern cesspit brickwork which was stained red brown by brick dust.
Sewerage Construction Phase	08 Wooden beam lying between northern and southern drop pits. 10 Brown clayey sand fill in southern drop pit toilet above and around sewerage pipes, blue slag in soil matrix may indicate deposit was industrial waste. 11 & 12 Inlets for sewerage pipe in southern drop pit. 14 Red brown clayey sand fill in northern drop pit toilet above and around sewerage pipes, blue slag in soil matrix may indicate deposit was industrial waste. 16 Rusted cold water inlet pipe running north south in southern drop pit. 17 Rubble deposit around cold water pipe 906/16. 18 Mortar and portions of the base of a water trough. 19 Ceramic sewerage pipe running across the northern drop pit from inlets 906/11 & 12. 24 Beam and brickwork packing beneath 906/17. 31 Hole in northern wall of northern drop pit, through which sewerage pipe 906/16 enters area.

	32 Hole in wall between northern and southern drop pits, through which sewerage pipe 906/19 runs.
Cesspit Fill Phase	15 Artefact rich fill in base of southern drop pit toilet. 20 Charcoal flecked orange grey clayey sand deposit in northern drop pit below 906/14. 21 Artefact rich deposit inside southern drop pit below 906/15. 22 Deposit in base of southern drop pit below 906/21. 25 Artefact rich deposit in northern drop pit below 906/20. 27 Artefact rich deposit in base of northern drop pit toilet below 906/25.
Brick Drain Introduction Phase	30 Brick drain running from tank in Area 02, enters southern drop pit on western side.
Pit Construction Phase	09 Brick walls lining southern drop pit toilet. 13 Compacted clay on east side of toilet footings, which had been cut down to level below level of the lane surface. 23 Brick walls lining northern drop pit toilet. 28 Base of northern drop pit toilet. 33 Base of southern drop pit toilet.

Table 3.2 Stratigraphic analysis of Area 906 from the 1992 excavation, based on the Harris Matrix (from Austral Archaeology 1992a:75–76).

Back-Tracks Heritage

In 1994, Back-Tracks Heritage was hired to complete salvage excavations in the remaining two houses and water tank, and produce a report (Leevers 2012:3). The Back-Tracks Heritage report (Jones et al. 1997) used historical research and their own excavation data, including a minimum 2,191 artefacts, to provide a new interpretation of the site. Jones et al.'s main findings were: that the cistern provided clean water to occupants of The Rookery before it was filled in, mostly with household rubbish, between 1864 and 1868; that the two easternmost cottages matched the remaining cottages in size and building materials, and were therefore portrayed correctly on the 1880 Smith Survey and 1883 E&WS sewerage plan; and that the row was most likely two-storey, rather than single storey, as Austral Archaeology had theorised (Jones et al. 1997: 64, 66-68).

The Back-Tracks excavation did not include the central cesspits, nor any cesspits, as their archaeological potential had been exhausted by the 1992 excavation. Consequently, the artefacts recovered by Back-Tracks were not rigidly analysed in this study, as they were not located within the sample area of the central cesspits. Back-Tracks' report and artefact catalogue were examined but did not explicitly list any temperance artefacts, so the data from this excavation was therefore most useful for the purpose of comparing and understanding the construction, structure, and occupation of The Rookery.

The discussion chapter of this thesis will outline and assess the various hypotheses presented by Austral Archaeology and Back-Tracks, and reconsider their accuracy based on the results of ceramic analysis from the central cesspit.

Post-excavation studies

Since publication of the Back-Tracks Heritage report, only three research outputs are known to have been produced using the (approximately) 76 boxes of artefacts recovered from the site Denny (1994) studied the health and hygiene of The Rookery inhabitants using solely bottles and glass artefacts, mostly from Area 906, and determined that there was a distinct relationship at The Rookery between poverty and ill-health.

Leevers (2012) examined the artefacts from all three excavations and identified a number of issues with the collection, including its completeness. Notably, she found that the South Australian Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources (DEWNR) listed 155 boxes of material from The Rookery, meaning more than half of the collection is unaccounted for (Leevers 2012:16). Further, she noted that the 1992 catalogue was

incomplete, and that many of the artefacts had deteriorated from improper storage conditions (Leevers 2012:25–26).

McQuie (2021) examined the 76 remaining boxes of artefacts to determine the research potential of the collection 29 years post-excavation. She suggested that the collection could be used in a variety of future research projects, and recommended that due to the incompleteness of the 1992 catalogue and the deterioration of the artefacts, all artefacts from this phase should be re-catalogued and stored correctly.

Other works, such as Pecanek (1999) and O'Malley (1998) have made mention of The Rookery, but none have delved deeper than the use of Austral Archaeology's incomplete artefact catalogue from their 1992 excavation or Jones et al.'s catalogue from the 1994 Back-Tracks Heritage excavation (O'Malley 1998; Pecanek 1999).

Conclusions

From the detailed site description extracted from the documentary record, it is clear that The Rookery aligns with Galloway's 1792 definition of: "a cluster of mean tenements densely populated by people of the lowest class" (Battersby 2011). This evidence situates the site within the broader context of slums, and allows for comparative studies to be conducted between The Rookery and other slum sites, such as The Rocks and Commonwealth Block.

Historical research into the general state of Adelaide in the nineteenth century provides a basis for understanding the local cultural contexts of the site and its occupants. The key points of interest are Peacock's façade of philanthropy which he maintained while making money from his dilapidated rental properties, and Berry's and the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society's views on 'the deserving poor'. These attitudes provide a lens through which the material culture of The Rookery must be viewed, despite the complications this poses when attempting to identify the occupants' values.

Chapter 4: Methods: Beyond excavation

Defining ceramics

For the purpose of this study, ceramics were defined as any item made from, or partially from, clay, which could be used to answer questions about personal value and consumer choice. This broadly included teaware, tableware, personal hygiene items, such as wash basins and chamber pots, food and beverage storage vessels, medicinal, household storage, and cosmetic containers, tobacco pipes, toys, plant pots, and decorative items. This did not include building materials, such as bricks and plumbing pipes. It also did not include ceramic buttons and marbles, both of which can also be made from non-ceramic materials and would be better used in studies which account for an entire artefact type.

Data sampling

Leevers (2012) identified discrepancies in the 1992 catalogue and compiled a list of units with unprocessed material. A total of 76 boxes of artefacts from The Rookery were stored in the Flinders University Archaeology Research Laboratory, four more than reported in Leevers' 2012 directed study (Leevers 2012:7). Leevers counted 3,640 artefact bags, plus an additional box of material from the excavations (Leevers 2012:7) and, considering that the majority of bags contained multiple artefacts, it is reasonable to assume that the collection contains more than 15,000 artefacts. From visual analysis it was estimated that ceramic artefacts comprise 50–60% of the collection. Due to the sheer size of the ceramics collection, it was necessary to employ a sampling system in order to make this study viable within the scope of a Masters thesis.

Due to the high number of tenants recorded by Austral Archaeology, and considering the difficulty researchers have faced in matching slum artefacts to their owners (see Murray and Crook 2019; Karskens 2003), it was decided that a sample should be chosen which maintained anonymity and represented the site occupants as a single group, rather than attempting to study individual households.

Murray and Crook (2019) spoke to the value of cesspit assemblages in capturing a view of daily life and how it differs between societies (Murray and Crook 2019:102). They explained that, while cesspits are used to dispose of general household rubbish during the course of their operation, the major source of artefacts comes from cesspit fill phases, which often coincided with the installation of plumbing (Murray and Crook 2019:7). The enclosed

location of The Rookery, which could be accessed through a narrow laneway off East Terrace or via the tannery, suggests that the row's cesspits were presumably not used by passersby, meaning it is likely that the cesspit fill was deposited by the occupants. The presence of general rubbish collected over a period of cesspit usage, as well as a large concentration of rubbish from a fill event, will both be useful in determining what values The Rookery occupants constructed from their belongings. Therefore, it was decided to draw the sample from the cesspits. To narrow the scope further, the central cesspits, Area 906, was chosen as the sole focus for this study.

Organising the sample

The report by Austral Archaeology and its accompanying artefact catalogues did not suggest which Inventory and Accession boxes contained artefacts from Area 906. Therefore, all boxes had to be manually searched. Each box containing artefacts from Area 906 was sorted and every ceramic artefact, or bag containing ceramic artefacts, was removed.

Each of the original boxes that contained Area 906 ceramics, but did not already have an Inventory box letter (A–O) or Accession box number (1–16), was assigned a two-letter identifier, from AA to AX. The box number, letter, or identifier was recorded in the catalogue and on the original artefact bag, so that artefacts could be replaced in their original boxes upon completion of this study.

Cataloguing

Most artefacts were recorded individually, regardless of how they had previously been catalogued. Occasionally, artefacts were grouped together and recorded as one. To ensure that the maximum amount of data was captured, a stricter version of the Heritage Victoria grouped artefact cataloguing guidelines was adopted for this project:

1. Fragments smaller than approximately 50x50x5 millimetres;
2. No pattern, or no identifiable pattern motifs (such as flowers, animals);
3. Fragments with identifiable elements (such as footring, rim) were grouped within their elements;
4. Fragments were from the same area and unit and;
5. Did not conjoin with or match any other artefacts.

Artefacts were grouped together based on technological ware type and/or other key qualities, for example, as undecorated whiteware, blue transferware or glazed porcelain.

Cataloguing was completed by the researcher and a team of volunteers who had varying levels of knowledge and experience. A document was provided to all volunteers (Appendix C) which detailed cataloguing terms and processes, to ensure uniformity of entries and to avoid multiple descriptions of the same item type. For example, ink pots were recorded as 'ink pot' and not 'ink well' or 'ink bottle'.

The Rookery artefact catalogue was created using Microsoft Excel and adapted from three sources: the EAMC Artefact Database v1.0 (2006) from the Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City (EAMC) project, which focused on slum sites in Sydney and Melbourne; BFK Cataloguing Guidelines (2022) from Susan Arthure's research into Baker's Flat, a nineteenth and early twentieth century Irish community in South Australia (Arthure 2014 and 2023); and Austral Archaeology's 1992 excavation catalogue.

For each artefact, the following administrative details were recorded:

Area/Unit

Original inventory/accession number (if previously catalogued)

Inventory number

Original storage box identifier

Initials of the cataloguer

A set of 17 variables was recorded for each artefact. These were:

Name of object/form (e.g., cup, plate, bowl)

Pattern (if identifiable)

Manufacturing technique (the technique used for production and/or decoration)

Maker's mark (if present)

Shape (holloware or flatware)

Element (e.g., base, rim, footring)

Completeness (complete or fragment)

Number of pieces (number of individual fragments being recorded in a single line)

Dimensions (millimetres)

Weight (grams)

Ceramic colour (decorative colour/s)

Paste colour (if visible)

Possible contents (e.g., alcohol, ginger beer, ink)

Ceramic type (earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, or kaolin)

Function (e.g., domestic, commercial)

Manufacturer and manufacturer's dates in business (if known)

Date range (if known)

Matching pieces/conjoins (details of artefacts which conjoin with the fragment)

Additional variables of base diameter, base thickness, and bore diameter were recorded for bottles. A short description of each item was recorded, as well as references for the dates and patterns which were identified. The abbreviation of 'ROO' was used for all catalogue numbers and box labelling.

Dating

In order to understand dates of deposition in slum assemblages, Murray and Crook (2019), in their revision of the archaeology of Sydney and Melbourne, encouraged the establishment of terminus post quem (TPQ) dates for artefacts (Murray and Crook 2019:204). These dates, which are often revised when viewed in conjunction with the historical record, can contribute to discerning site construction and demolition phases (Murray and Crook 2019:204). For this study, earliest and latest dates were recorded for artefacts where possible, using references to ware type, pattern, and manufacturer.

In his assessment of dating methods for historic sites, Adams (2003) recommends the application of a time lag adjustment when attempting to date artefacts and sites, as the date of manufacture for an item does not necessarily match its date of deposition (Adams 2003:41). Adams says the accuracy returned from the application of time lag is dependent on how the artefacts were dated, and whether a time lag has already been applied (Adams 2003:46). Artefacts which possess year cyphers or other explicit diagnostic features can be precisely dated to their year of production, but in many cases, as Adams explains, artefacts can only be dated within the context of their site (Adams 2003:45-46). This means that determining dates of deposition using both explicit diagnostic features and secondary source material invites error into the resulting deposition dates, which Adams concedes will persist until a complete resource catalogue of all ceramic types and their dates of production can be developed (Adams 2003:45-46). For this project, some artefacts were dated according to date of

production, if known, and others were given broad dates based on Australian site chronologies described by Brooks (2005).

Adams' comparison of ceramic dates across twenty different sites and site types in the United States enabled him to determine that a time lag of 15–25 years is applicable across most contexts, and lower socio-economic sites can present a time lag of around 30 years (Adams 2003:55,59). In keeping with these results, adjustments of 20 (the median of Adams' 20–25 year average) and 30 years (Adam's average for lower socio-economic sites) were applied to The Rookery. The conceptual time lag adjustments developed by Adams were used in conjunction with historical research and excavation data from The Rookery in order to propose the most likely date range for the site.

Minimum number of vessels

Minimum number of vessels (MNV) was calculated in accordance with recommendations made by Voss and Allen (2010), who argue that MNV should be calculated for all ceramics because it provides a basic overview of the distribution of artefacts across the site (Voss and Allen 2010:1).

Due to the fragmentary nature of the assemblage, rim diameter could be measured for only 129 fragments. The MNV was determined by summarising the ceramic ware type, colour, and pattern for each form, including those listed as ceramic body sherds. By grouping sherds of the same element and the same paste, glaze, and thickness from these categories, a minimum number of each vessel form was established. Qualitative MNV data was obtained for all items which were relevant to the question of value; this included items which were deemed religious, educational, or political.

Artefact storage

Artefacts were stored in plastic sample bags with write-on labels, then separated into boxes by their unit number. Earthenware was placed directly into the box, while porcelain and stoneware were given their own bags, to make it easier to find pieces later, if necessary.

The following details were recorded on each artefact bag:

ROO

Storage identifier

Area/Unit/Inventory number

Brief description of artefact

The following details were recorded on a Tyvek label placed in each artefact bag:

ROO

Area/Unit/Inventory number

Catalogue analysis

The catalogue was analysed using the Microsoft Excel 'Analyse Data', 'PivotTable', and 'Filter' tools, in order to retrieve the following results:

MNV

Average date range

Distribution of ware, form, and pattern type

Quantity, type, and distribution of artefacts associated with a variety of personal values, including children, politics, religion, and working class representation.

The above classifications were devised based on research into the meaning of recognisable patterns, i.e., *Uncle Tom's Cabin* plates are related to the book of the same name, which advocated for an end to slavery in the United States of America. The plate is, therefore, associated with the broader cultural contexts of liberalism, politics, and Americanism. In addition to transfer print patterns, artefacts associated with children were identified by both form and other decorative motifs, such as christening mugs and toys. Examples of each category are shown in Table 5.6.

Archival analysis

Historical research was undertaken to better understand The Rookery's structure, occupancy and chronology. Some tenant lists from the Adelaide City Council Rate Assessment Books were published in the Austral Archaeology report (see Austral Archaeology 1992a:132–137), but more research was conducted to expand on this information. Details from the Rate Assessment Books were recorded as they appeared in the books. When terms such as 'various' were used by the rate assessor, occupancy was estimated arbitrarily as 4.5 persons, being half of the total capacity of the building at the time. Archival research was undertaken online and in person at the City of Adelaide Archives and the State Library of South Australia.

The Smith Survey, available online from the City of Adelaide Council was georeferenced using QGIS, to provide spatial information for the location of The Rookery and its surrounding environment. The Smith Survey was completed just prior to sewerage and

drainage installation throughout the city (Jones et al. 1997:6). In addition to this, the E&WS sewerage and drainage plan of 1883 provides a similar view of the site, along with the location of new plumbing works.

Trove, the digital archive of Australian documents and newspapers, was searched to find mentions of The Rookery, Peacock's Buildings, and general information about slums in Adelaide. The resulting newspaper articles were used as primary source material to understand the nature of the site and of slums in Adelaide.

A search of the History Trust of South Australia's digitised collections catalogue, which contains 1,263 objects, was conducted to determine the existence of temperance artefacts in South Australian museums, but no such artefacts were present in the catalogue (History Trust of South Australia 2022).

Chapter 5: Results

All 7,656 ceramic artefacts from the central cesspits were catalogued, and a summary of the catalogue and its trends is presented in this section. A detailed summary of each unit can be found in Appendix B. The complete catalogue can be found in Appendix D.

Table 5.1 shows the total number of fragments and minimum number of vessels from each unit. Out of the 33 units identified, 13 contained ceramic artefacts. Seven fragments were found in a bag labelled '906', but their units were not recorded. Disregarding those seven artefacts with unknown provenance, units 01, 02, 07, and 20 each contained a substantially lower number of ceramics than the other units. Units 15, 21, and 25 had the greatest artefact density, with each containing more than 1,500 ceramic artefacts. The highly fragmented condition of the assemblage means that the minimum number of vessels is significantly lower than the total number of fragments, at 2,828. As in the total fragment count, the least dense units according to minimum vessel count are 01, 02, 07, 10, and 20.

Area/unit	Fragment count	MNV
906/01	63	35
906/02	55	33
906/03	406	98
906/04	355	150
906/07	28	23
906/10	110	40
906/14	152	149
906/15	1829	786
906/20	50	17
906/21	1683	596
906/22	209	126
906/25	1981	504
906/27	728	266
Unknown	7	5
Grand Total	**7656**	**2828**

Table 5.1 Fragment count and minimum number of vessels by unit.

Figure 5.1 shows the MNV based on those with identifiable forms. Counts of vessels have been calculated by number of fragments (n=1929) and by MNV (n=1087). These data show that cups were the most common form, and chamber pots the most highly fragmented vessels.

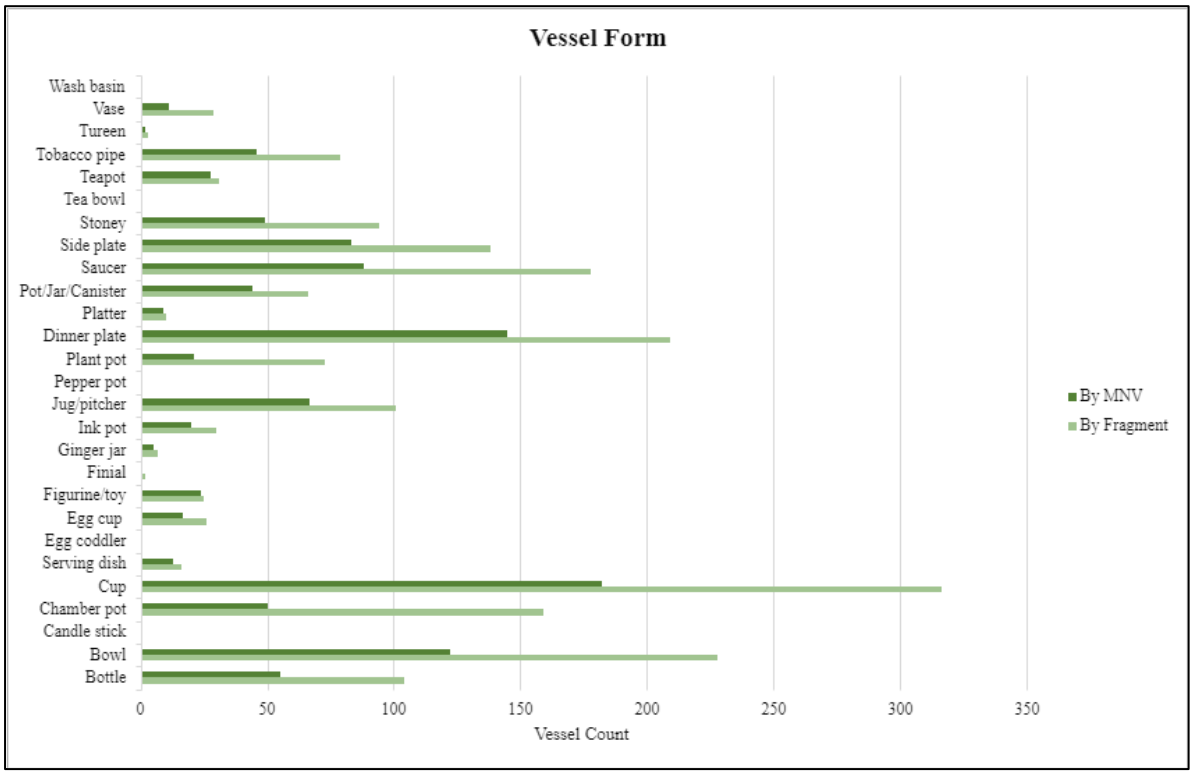


Figure 5.1 Minimum number of vessels and fragment count by form.

Table 5.2 shows the possible contents of stoneware beverage bottles, with ginger beer being the most common and mineral water, the least.

Possible contents	**MNV**
Unknown	51
Alcohol	31
Mineral water	8
Ginger beer	89
Total	**179**

Table 5.2 Minimum number of stoneware beverage bottles by possible contents.

Figure 5.2 906/21/2244 Stoneware bottle, manufactured by J. Bourne, Derbyshire, c.1817–1835. Image #4326.

Table 5.3 shows the number of fragments for each broad ware type: pipe clay/kaolin, earthenware, porcelain, and stoneware. Unsurprisingly, the majority of artefacts were earthenware, which makes up 80.61% (n=6171) of the assemblage. Porcelain had a slightly higher count than stoneware, with 11.74% (n=899) and 6.75% (n=517) of the assemblage, respectively. The remaining 0.9% (n=69) of artefacts were fragments of kaolin tobacco pipes.

Ceramic type	Fragment count	Percentage of assemblage
Pipe clay/kaolin	69	0.9%
Earthenware	6171	80.61%
Porcelain	899	11.74%
Stoneware	517	6.75%

Table 5.3 Ceramic artefacts by broad ware type.

Table 5.4 shows the approximate date range for the artefacts in each unit, and an approximate date of deposition according to the revised Adams' time lag. There is no pattern present whereby the chronology follows the stratigraphy of the trench (Figure 3.15). Disregarding the seven artefacts with unknown provenance, which are all bone china and therefore have an approximate date of post 1794, the average earliest date is 1815 in unit 10. The average latest date of the artefacts is 1870 in unit 25. The average date of all artefacts is 1839, but excluding the unprovenanced fragments, this date increases to 1842.

Area/unit	Average earliest date	Average latest date	Average date	Approximate date of deposition
906/01	1817	1859	1838	1858
906/02	1816	1859	1837	1857
906/03	1823	1860	1841	1861
906/04	1826	1867	1847	1867
906/07	1820	1863	1842	1862
906/10	1815	1867	1841	1861
906/14	1819	1866	1842	1862
906/15	1828	1863	1846	1866
906/20	1817	1859	1838	1858
906/21	1825	1855	1840	1860
906/22	1827	1858	1842	1862
906/25	1823	1870	1847	1867
906/27	1827	1863	1845	1865
Unknown	1794		1794	1814
All	**1820**	**1862**	**1839**	**1859**

Table 5.4 Date range of artefacts by unit.

Figure 5.3 ROO 906/27/725 Refined earthenware teacup with year cypher, 15th August or October, 1862. Image #4065, #4067.

Figure 5.4 ROO 906/21/905–915 *Sicilian* chamber pot, manufactured by Pountney & Allies or Pountney & Goldney. Dated to 1815–1849. Image #4239.

Table 5.5 shows the 20 most common ceramic patterns, and the quantity of artefacts recorded with no pattern (n=3085) and those with an unidentifiable transfer printed pattern (n=1884). Willow was the most common identified pattern (6.68% [n=512] of the entire assemblage), closely followed by Flow Blue (6.36% [n=487]). The 20 most common patterns are predominantly on refined earthenware, with the exceptions of Chelsea Sprig (n=104) and Parian (n=30), both of which are porcelain, and factory slip (n=294), salt glaze (n=39), and Bristol glaze (n=26), which are stoneware. The 20 most common patterns make up 32.24% (n=2468) of the entire assemblage.

Pattern	Number of fragments	Percentage of assemblage
None	3085	40.29%
Unidentifiable	1884	24.61%
Willow	512	6.68%
Flow Blue	487	6.36%
Factory slip	294	3.84%
Banded	243	3.17%
Albion	151	1.97%
Cut sponge	135	1.76%
Fibre	125	1.63%
Rhine	107	1.40%
Chelsea Sprig	104	1.36%
Rockingham	62	0.81%
Salt glaze	39	0.51%
Spatter	36	0.47%
Parian	30	0.39%
Asiatic Pheasant	27	0.35%
Bristol glaze	26	0.34%
Canova	22	0.29%
Cabled	21	0.27%
Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	17	0.22%
Sponge	16	0.21%
Greek key	14	0.18%
Total	**7437**	**97.14%**
Total of 20 most common patterns	**2468**	**32.24%**

Table 5.5 20 most common patterns by fragment count and percentage of assemblage.

Figure 5.5 ROO 906/21/629–630 Earthenware annular banded mug. Image #4389.

Figure 5.6 ROO 906/15/205–210 Refined earthenware *Rhine* dinner plate. Image #4182.

Figure 5.7 (left) ROO 906/27/3017–3019 Refined earthenware cut sponge teacup. Image #4381.

Figure 5.8 (right) ROO 906/25/1188–1189 Bone china *Chelsea Sprig* teacup. Image #4266.

Figure 5.9 displays the 20 most common patterns and their individual fragment counts.

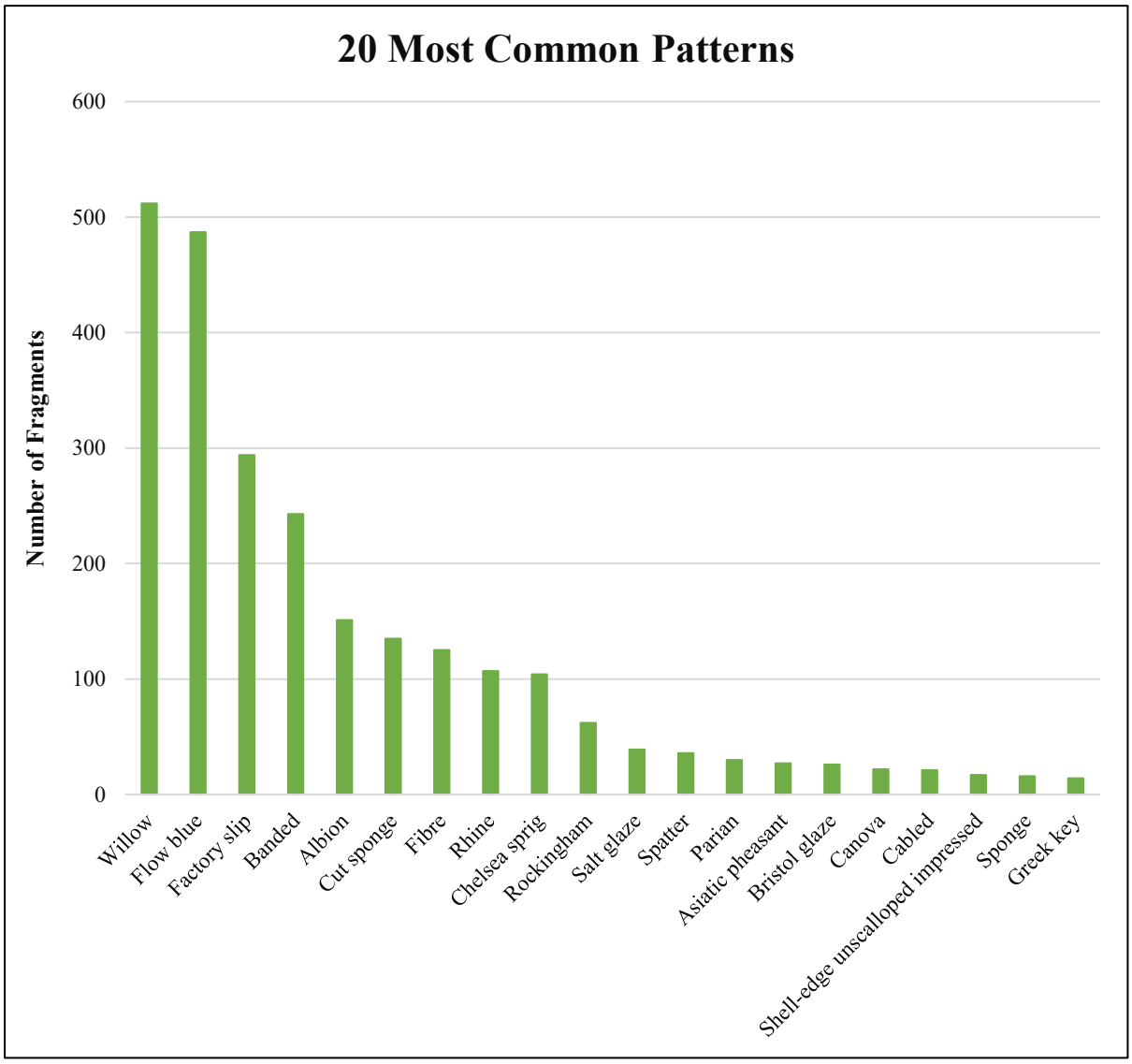


Figure 5.9 20 most common patterns by fragment count.

The vessels which can plausibly be attributed to personal values (n=27) are summarised in Table 5.6. All but one (*A Good Boy* mug) are side plates, and all were found in units 15, 21, 22, and 25. There are 21 vessels associated with babies and/or children, seven of which are miscellaneous temperance and Band of Hope plates, and nine of which are associated with religion. Four plates have been identified as being representative of American labour or political liberalism, including President Zachary Taylor (n=2), Poor Richard (n=1), and Uncle Tom's Cabin (n=1). Two side plates feature *The Potter's Art* transfer print series and have been attributed to working-class representation and labour.

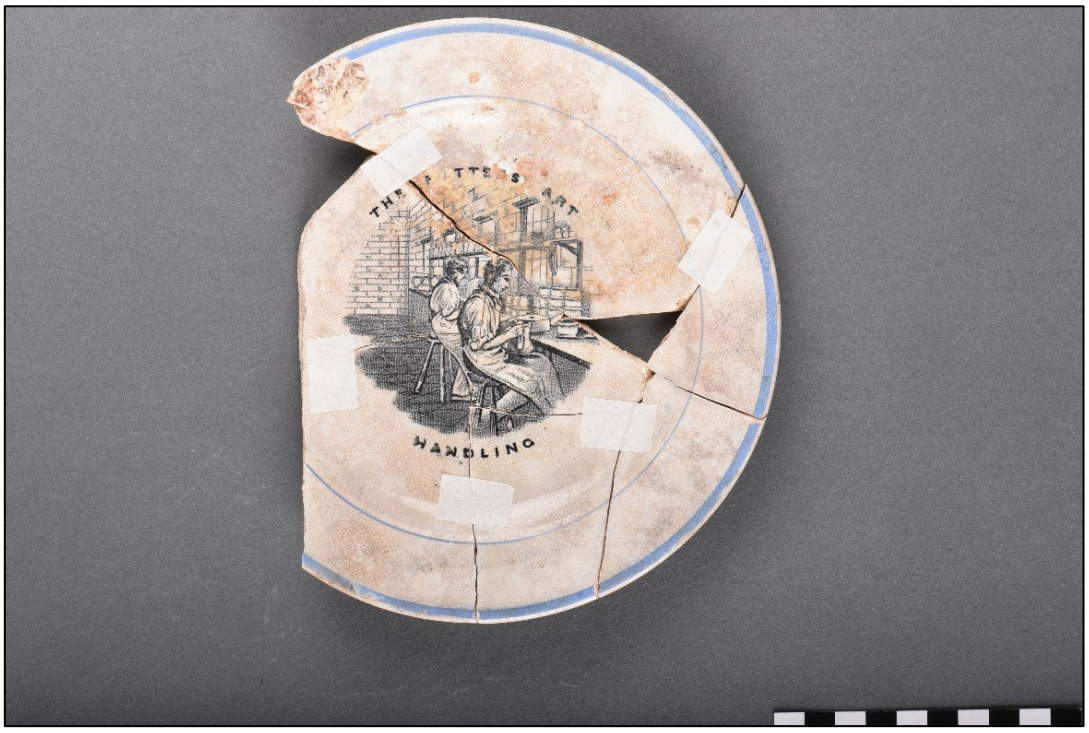


Figure 5.10 ROO 906/15/693–694, 1730–1735 Talking plate, *The Potter's Art – Handling*. Image #4186.

Figure 5.11 (left) ROO 906/15/900–902 Talking plate, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Image #4212.

Figure 5.12 (right) ROO 906/15/1630 Children's mug, *A Good Boy*. Image #4358.

Area/unit	Pattern	MNV	Associated value	Value subcategory
906/15	A Good Boy mug	1	Children	Good behaviour
	Zachary Taylor	2	Politics	Liberalism, American
	Alphabet	1	Children	Education
	Band of Hope	1	Children, religion	Temperance
	Talking plate	4	Children	Miscellaneous
	Temperance	1	Children, religion	Temperance
	The Potter's Art - Handling	1	Working class representation	Labour
	Uncle Tom's Cabin	1	Politics	Anti-slavery, American
906/21	Band of Hope	1	Children, religion	Temperance
	Pet Lamb	1	Children	Play
	Poor Richard	1	Children	Labour, American
	Talking plate	4	Children	Miscellaneous
	Temperance	2	Children, religion	Temperance
906/22	Temperance	1	Children, religion	Temperance
906/25	Band of Hope	1	Children, religion	Temperance
	Christening	2	Children, religion	Children, religion
	Talking plate	1	Children	Miscellaneous
	The Potter's Art - Packing	1	Working class representation	Labour
	Grand Total	**27**		

Table 5.6 Unit distribution and quantity of ceramic artefacts associated with personal values.

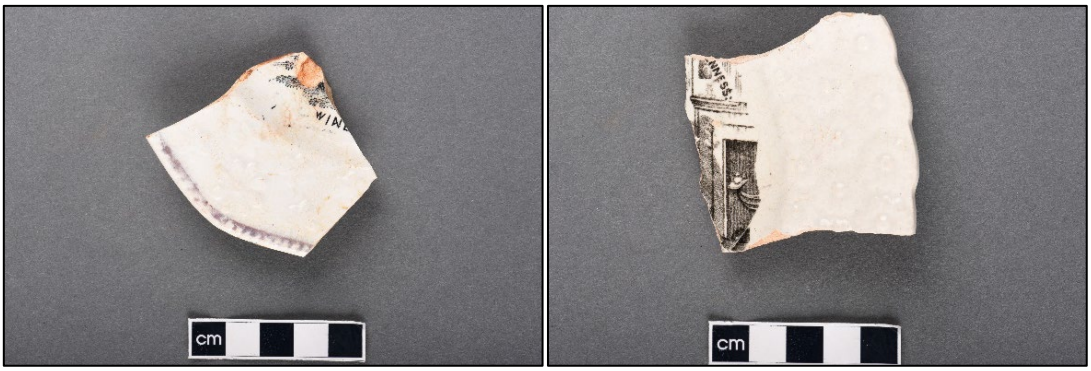


Figure 5.13 (left) ROO 906/22/989 Temperance plate, "Wine". Image #4158.

Figure 5.14 (right) ROO 906/15/1631 Temperance plate, *The Bottle 2: He is discharged from his employment for drunkenness*. Image #4155.

Figure 5.15 ROO 906/15/726–737 Temperance plate, *Band of Hope: The Sabbath Breakers*. Image #4400.

Figure 5.16 (left) ROO 906/21/654 Temperance plate, *The Drunkard's Doom*. Image #4109.

Figure 5.17 (right) ROO 906/25/3809 Temperance plate, *Band of Hope: The Mountain Rill*. Image #4086.

Chapter 6: Interpreting temperance

The purpose of this research has been to reconsider current interpretations of The Rookery and its occupants through cross-examination of the ceramic artefacts from the central cesspits, and the historic record. This has allowed for revised dates of construction, occupation, and demolition of The Rookery to be established, and for the structure of the building to be understood. Karskens' method of artefact-led research, the process of allowing patterns and unique artefacts in the assemblage to guide the research questions, has led to the study of temperance and, more broadly, the relationship between philanthropists and the poor who inhabited The Rookery (Karskens 2003:36).

The Rookery

Austral Archaeology, upon excavating the central cesspits, found the sides to have caved in, and speculated that they were structurally unsound. This analysis, along with the minimal human waste present, led them to hypothesise that the cesspits fell out of use at a point not long after their construction (Austral Archaeology 1992a:76–77). Austral Archaeology argued that the lack of distinct stratigraphic layers in the fill phase suggests that the cesspits were filled within a short time frame (Austral Archaeology 1992:76). Murray and Crook explained that cesspits were commonly used as rubbish pits, before being filled in during council sewerage installation (Murray and Crook 2019:102). Clean sand or soil was preferable for the fill, but large heaps of rubbish were often used instead, the tenants seeing an opportunity to rid themselves of items they no longer needed (Murray and Crook 2019:102).

When scaled to account for Adams's time lag (=average date+20), the date range for deposition of the artefacts is estimated to be 1857–1867, which may suggest that the cesspits fell out of use around this time. Artefacts from the cesspit fill phase, as defined by Austral Archaeology, range from 1858–1867; however, artefacts from the later cesspit capping and sewerage construction fill phases returned approximate dates of 1861 and 1862. This anomaly may be explained by rubbish being taken from elsewhere, or from inside the cesspits, to reuse in the capping and sewerage construction fill phases; according to Sneddon, chronological anomalies such as this are common in inner-city historical sites and are often the result of formation processes (Sneddon 2006:8).

The slum context of the site must also be accounted for when considering time lag, as lower-socioeconomic sites were found by Adams to have an average time lag of approximately 30

years (Adams 2003:55). Adams explains the 'frugality effect' and the 'hand-me-down effect', both of which may extend the discard lag of ceramics owned by households who could not easily afford to buy new things (Adams 2003:49–50). Other issues are the relationship between toys and children and the frequency of use of an item — it can be expected that an item belonging to a child would have a shorter use life than an item belonging to an adult, and that the more frequently used items would likely be broken more often. Furthermore, Adams' 'curation effect' suggests that items kept for display would likely have a longer ownership period than those used daily, such as tableware and toilet ware (Adams 2003:50).

Analysis of the artefactual evidence and the primary and secondary source material, with consideration of the issues described above, has led to the following two hypotheses for when the cesspits were filled:

1. A date range of 1857–1867 overlaps with the period of building abandonment from 1863–1868. While it is not known why The Rookery was abandoned, it was in dilapidated condition when Berry's lease began in 1867 or 1868 (Berry 1895:69–70). It is possible that The Rookery became uninhabitable in the early 1860s and occupants were forced to move out, prompting a mass cleanout event consistent with Adams' 'life cycle effect' (Adams 2003:51).

2. Given the extreme poverty experienced by slum occupants in Adelaide, who often could not afford bedding (*South Australian Register* 1889:5), a time lag of 30 years has been applied to the date range to account for the frugality and hand-me-down effects (Adams 2003:49–50). A date range of 1867–1877 may indicate a mass cleanout event in preparation for sewerage installation between 1881 and 1883. Alternatively, it is possible that Berry closed the cesspits to improve sanitation upon leasing The Rookery, prompting a mass cleanout event.

The difficulty of attributing a firm date to the site from the cesspit assemblage confirms Sneddon's observations regarding the Mountain Street site in Sydney. He first argued that site formation processes, particularly in areas with low elevation such as The Rookery, can significantly influence the stratigraphy of a site. He explained that another inaccuracy in attributing dates of deposition to slum assemblages is that their occupants are more likely than middle and upper class people to reuse, recycle, and repair items prior to discard (Sneddon 2006:3–4). These observations are consistent with Adams' frugality, hand-me-down, and curation effects, and the result in the case of the Mountain Street site and The

Rookery is that the cesspit assemblage does not indicate a clear site chronology, but offers only a broad date range (Adams 2003:49–50; Sneddon 2006:3–4).

Historic sources have therefore been vital in understanding the chronology and structure of The Rookery. In both instances, site formation processes and environmental and post-demolition processes have significantly reduced the potential to fully understand the site through excavation alone; as a result, cross-examination of the archaeological and historical records is imperative in understanding nineteenth century Australian slums (Sneddon 2006:2).

Ceramics as social discourse

The complexity of studying social discourse through ceramics is navigable both by comparing The Rookery's common artefacts with those from similar sites, and through understanding the local cultural context within which The Rookery was situated. The large scale at which this assemblage has been compared is intended to encompass Australian slum sites containing temperance artefacts, which are not common. Comparisons with large sites such as The Rocks and Little Lon also seek to demonstrate the value of relatively small assemblages such as The Rookery's, in answering questions about the worldviews of slum occupants.

Brooks argues that because the same transfer print patterns are commonly found on a range of nineteenth century Australian sites, it is not feasible to use decorative techniques to infer the financial status of site occupants (Brooks 2010:157–158). Nevertheless, a brief comparison of transfer print patterns from The Rookery and other slum sites reveals some similarities; this serves as an indication that comparisons of different artefacts may be useful in understanding The Rookery's nature as a slum site.

The common transfer print patterns identifiable in the collection are unremarkable when compared with other Australian slum sites. The most common patterns from The Rookery are Willow, Flow Blue, Albion, Fibre, and Rhine; these are consistently the most, or among the most, common patterns in nineteenth century urban Australian slum assemblages, as evidenced by artefacts from The Rocks, Commonwealth Block, and Port Adelaide (Murray and Crook 2019:231–232; Briggs 2006:98, 128, 161). In contrast, Asiatic Pheasant was one of the most common patterns found at The Rocks, Commonwealth Block, and Port Adelaide, but only makes up 0.35% (n=27) of The Rookery's assemblage (Murray and Crook 2019:231–232; Briggs 2006:98, 161). In an international scope, Willow dominates at The

Rookery and Five Points, NYC (Brighton 2001:19) and Willow, Rhine, Flow Blue, and Fibre patterns are present in the La Casa Peña, Buenos Aires assemblage, although the assemblage only contained 26 transfer printed vessels and therefore does not constitute a practical comparison (Ricardi 2020:223).

These comparisons make clear that ceramic choice, at least in terms of transfer print patterns, was relatively consistent across urban Australian slums, and was somewhat consistent with international trends. Similarities between assemblages from other slum sites also assist in identifying anomalies in The Rookery assemblage.

Temperance, morality, and the deserving poor

A major aim of this research was to identify the personal values associated with ceramic artefacts from The Rookery, in order to better understand the people who lived there. Furthermore, this project aimed to implement an alternative method for studying slums which did not rely on comparisons with wealthier households and/or neighbourhoods.

In Murray and Crook's analysis of The Rocks, Sydney and the Commonwealth Block site, Melbourne, they grouped ceramic artefacts associated with children, religion, temperance, and labour into the category of 'moralising and educational china' (Murray and Crook 2019:240–241). 'Moralising and educational' vessels constitute 0.95 per cent (n=27) of the 2,828 MNV from The Rookery. By comparison, Murray and Crook identified a total of 30 such vessels at The Rocks, from a minimum vessel count of 1,511 (1.99%) (Murray and Crook 2019:200, 240). On the Commonwealth Block site, only one vessel from this category was identified, from a minimum vessel count of 1,764 (0.06%). This comparison suggests that attitudes towards morality and education may have been similar at The Rookery and The Rocks, but not at the Commonwealth Block. Temperance plates are not commonly recorded on Australian sites, which could indicate lack of popularity for temperance items, but may also be due to the recorder not recognising their patterns, as non-internet resources are limited. Reevaluation of Australian historic household assemblages may provide insight into the distribution of temperance artefacts across working, middle, and upper class sites.

The presence of seven temperance plates (including three Band of Hope plates) in The Rookery assemblage indicates that at least some occupants were Christian (in particular Catholic, Methodist or Lutheran), teetotallers, and/or children, though there is some possibility that all artefacts belonged to a single person or household. The broad likely date of deposition (1857–1877) incorporates the initial peak of the temperance movement in

Adelaide and corresponds with Richard Berry's and the ABSFS's lease of The Rookery (Adair 1996:142). Like most of the ceramic assemblage, the temperance plates are highly fragmented. This could be indicative of heavy use, carelessness, or post-depositional processes, but this is not clear from the artefacts. There is no distinct difference between the fragmentation level of the temperance plates and other plates.

The deserving poor

Due to its middle and upper class social context in Australia, the practice of temperance by working class individuals can be attributed to their aspirations towards respectable behaviour, although it should be considered that there are many possible motivations for temperance (Briggs 2006:4). As previously discussed, temperance in Australia was generally led by the middle class, who attempted to convert the working class. In his study of American temperance, sociologist Joseph Gusfield identified the practice in the nineteenth century as a means for controlling subordinates, through conversion methods which he termed 'assimilative' and 'coercive' (Gusfield 1986:43, 69–71; Reckner and Brighton 1999:81–82). Assimilative methods were based on 'saviourism' and the belief that the potential convert truly wanted help, while coercive methods aimed to vilify and embarrass those who drank, and were employed when a person or group did not freely accept temperance (Gusfield 1986:69–71). While Gusfield's sociological approach is useful in explaining middle and upper class motivations for temperance, the motivations behind working class reception and acceptance of temperance are complex and varied.

Based on the level of poverty which occupants of The Rookery experienced, as described in the historic record, it is necessary to view temperance artefacts through the lens of 'the deserving poor' attitude held by Richard Berry and the ABSFS (Berry 1895:69–70; Theakstone 1987:36). The distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor is consistent with Mayne's research into societal attitudes towards slums, which showed that a widespread shift from blaming the individual to blaming the system did not occur until the end of the nineteenth century (Mayne 1993:131–132).

When distributing financial aid, members of the ABSFS would often visit the homes of their recipients to ensure that they were 'deserving' and that the money would go to a good cause, an action which reflects Gusfield's theory of coercive conversion (Gusfield 1986:69–71; Theakstone 1987:11–12). These home visits constituted a form of surveillance and would have meant that, as well as attending temperance meetings and making oneself known as a

teetotaller, a potential aid recipient could significantly increase their chances of receiving charity from the ABSFS if their home reflected Christian values, regardless of their sincerity. By understanding that the perceived social value of objects is dependent upon their audience, as explored by Caple (2006:45–46) and Beaudry et al. (1991:155), it can be inferred that the use of temperance plates by The Rookery's occupants could have functioned as clear social indicators of Christian values, which would have been well-received by the ABSFS. The use of ceramics as "participants in social action" (Brighton 2001:21) can be both 'selective' and 'manipulative', an idea which was explored by Briggs (2006:5) in relation to the Port Adelaide sites, and which relates to Ward's (1976:228) concept of transformative social action through collective agency.

In the context of The Rookery, while the display of temperance plates may therefore have helped occupants to prove their worth to philanthropists, it can also be supposed that those who benefitted from Berry's housing scheme (1869–1890) were already deemed 'deserving'. By comparison with Five Points, Brighton argued that slum occupants used ceramics to create a façade of "gentility and temperance" to oppose judgments placed on them by the middle and upper classes, all the while maintaining their regular behaviours out of the public eye (Brighton 2001:22). This ties in with Briggs' concept of selective respectability. The temperance plates from The Rookery suggest that occupants may have created a façade through which they could manipulate the middle and upper classes into providing charity.

Respectable children

While temperance in general was, according to documentary evidence, more or less a middle and upper class construct in Australia, the Band of Hope was formed specifically with working class children in mind (Shiman 1973:50). The presence of three Band of Hope plates at The Rookery indicates a direct relationship between children and organised temperance, which, in addition to 'the deserving poor' concept, may be reflective of the way life was for working class children at The Rookery. In 1887, the *South Australian Register* reported that Silas Wilson, a twelve year old resident whose father had recently been laid off work, had run away from home on an adventure and concocted an elaborate story when accosted by the police. Silas' behaviour, despite his attendance at a Congregational Sunday school, suggests that working class children of The Rookery may have been negatively impacted by their life at home (*South Australian Register* 1887:5).

Given the limited formal education available for poor children between 1851, when government funding was discontinued, and 1875, when primary education was mandated, children who were not employed in labour would have found themselves with considerable leisure time (Miller 1986:37). The Band of Hope was advertised to working class parents both as a way to keep their children from a life of crime, and as a means of improving their respectability which, in turn, may have promised them a stable future (Shiman 1973:50). Additionally, children's involvement in the Band of Hope, with its many activities and meetings, got them out of the house and off the streets, and served as child minding for working mothers. Contrary to Ricardi's theory on social affiliations as class indicators, the complexity of potential motivations for the practice of temperance by working, middle, and upper class people means that temperance in general cannot be studied as an indicator of class. Ricardi's theory is, however, specifically applicable to the Band of Hope, as a predominantly working class sector of the temperance movement.

Sincere temperance

Temperance was advertised to the working class as a method of self-improvement, and its main selling point from a religious aspect was that abstainers would be highly revered by God (*Adelaide Independent and Cabinet of Amusement* 1841:2; *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* 1883:22). Considering the Christian cultural context of The Rookery, including its proximity to the Ebenezer Chapel and its links to Peacock, the ABSFS, and the Adelaide City Mission, there is a possibility that occupants' motivations for practising temperance were legitimate. That is to say that they either abstained from alcohol for religious reasons alone, or because they resonated with the movement's (and therefore church's) justification of temperance. Without testimony from the occupants, it is not possible to know whether their motivations were sincere or not, but it is a consideration which may be explored through further research into individual occupants.

Temperance in practice

The question of whether The Rookery's occupants actually practised teetotalism might be answered through a synthesis of the glass and ceramic beverage bottle data, although the glassware remains to be analysed. Conclusions cannot be drawn in a study of only the ceramic bottles, although comparisons to similar sites can provide preliminary data through which to form hypotheses. The number of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottles recovered from the cesspit is extremely low as a percentage of all ceramic artefacts, which

may indicate that general food and beverage waste was being disposed of elsewhere, or that bottles were being reused.

Regardless, at The Rookery, stoneware bottles which were definitely related to alcohol (n=31) constitute just 1.09 per cent of the MNV and 18.24 per cent of stoneware beverage bottle fragments; when all the stoneware bottles with unknown contents (n=51) are included, they make up a maximum 2.9 per cent of the MNV and 30 per cent of stoneware beverage bottle fragments. Austral Archaeology identified eight glass whisky bottles out of 195 glass fragments from the central cesspits (4.1 per cent of fragments), but it can be expected that this analysis constitutes less than 30 per cent of the total glass fragments, and the results are, therefore, indicative only (Austral Archaeology 1992a:93).

Ginger beer bottles ('stoneys') represent 49.72 per cent (n=89) of the stoneware beverage bottles from The Rookery and 2.74 per cent of the ceramic MNV. At the Quebec Street, McKay Cottage, and Farrow Cottage sites in Port Adelaide, ginger beer bottles made up 2.74 per cent, 2.34 per cent, and 1.64 per cent of each ceramic MNV, respectively (Lampard and Staniforth 2011:10), indicating that ginger beer consumption was slightly higher at The Rookery. A comparison cannot be made with The Rocks and Commonwealth Block without data for The Rookery's glass bottles, since at both sites glass and ceramic beverage bottles were combined (Murray and Crook 2019:246). While it has been indicated that alcohol and ginger beer were commonly drunk as an alternative to unclean water (Lampard and Staniforth 2011:11), The Rookery's occupants had access to a water cistern, which could suggest that the consumption of these beverages was for pleasure, rather than safety, but it is also possible that the tannery run-off rendered the cistern's water undrinkable.

Analysis of the presence and absence of alcohol and ginger beer bottles provides preliminary data for the study of alcohol consumption, but does not draw definitive conclusions. Being unable to answer the question of actual alcohol consumption at this stage highlights the benefit of using multiple lines of enquiry when attempting to form firm conclusions about past people.

Conclusion

The application of local cultural contexts as a qualifier for artefactual evidence from slum sites was advocated by Karskens when studying The Rocks (Karskens 2003:36). This method identifies the cultural context in which slum occupants lived, which in this case was dominated by Christianity and poverty, and analyses the material culture through this lens,

using nonpredictive, artefact-led research questions to remove conceptual bias from the study. By broadly analysing the relationship between Christianity and poverty in Adelaide as the local cultural context of the site, before allowing the temperance artefacts to guide further research, this method has proven useful in understanding The Rookery and its occupants.

The artefacts alone, although highly fragmentary, present an array of different transfer print patterns, vessel forms, and materials. The adoption of temperance by the working class occupants of The Rookery counters Ward's (1976:324) theory of perpetual motion, which suggests that poor people were often helpless to improve their situations. While the method for acquisition of temperance plates by The Rookery's occupants — whether gifted, donated, borrowed, bought, or won — and whether they were discarded with spite or accidentally broken cannot be known with certainty, their presence in the assemblage still indicates some level of participation in the temperance movement. Regardless of whether or not The Rookery's occupants practised temperance in earnest, the movement offered working class people a means of improving their situation and, perhaps, a mechanism for ensuring charity and social support from philanthropic sources.

Chapter 7: Contextualising identity

The worldviews and personal values of The Rookery's occupants were driven by the local cultural contexts within which they lived. While religion and poverty were identified through documentary evidence as local cultural contexts, the presence of temperance plates at The Rookery led to a study of the site based on the interconnection of these contexts. The application of Karskens' (2003:36) inductive approach to historical archaeology was successful in determining some of the worldviews held at The Rookery, which supports her idea that an artefact-led study of slums can influence research design to reveal different things compared to a question-led study. Given the specifics of the local context within which The Rookery was situated, being its relationships with William Peacock, the Congregational church, and the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society, the concept of 'the deserving poor' has been a central theme in establishing the worldview of The Rookery's occupants. This concept is a consequence of financial inequality which, in turn, influences social hierarchies, the result being that those with money will always be in a position of power over those without, particularly when it comes to philanthropy (Parsell et al. 2021:42). Exploitation by The Rookery's occupants of the systemic power imbalance between the working class and the middle and upper classes, through their participation in temperance, may have been intentional or incidental.

Prior to this research, a history of The Rookery and its occupants had not been documented beyond an estimated timeline of construction and demolition, theories on the building's structure, names of some of the occupants and a brief analysis of health in association with a small assemblage of glass bottles (Austral Archaeology 1992a; Denny 1994; Jones et al. 1997). In this project, thorough interrogation of the historical record and artefactual evidence has revealed many aspects of the use and nature of The Rookery, which form a baseline study through which precarious communities in Adelaide can be introduced into the scope of national and transnational slum research.

This research has revealed that The Rookery was a dilapidated row of houses in an insanitary neighbourhood, built carelessly by a man whose religious proclivities were overshadowed by his financial greed. Occupancy fluctuated, at one time recorded as more than 100 people across 16 rooms (Stephens 1849:20), but maximum density for most years could not be ascertained from the Rate Assessment Books. The quantity and variability of ceramic artefacts is indicative of dense occupation and/or high mobility, when compared to the Five

Points tenements block at 472 Pearl Street, which had approximately 132 occupants in 1855 (Brighton 2001:17). The 472 Pearl Street waste dump was used between 1850 and 1870 and yielded a minimum 601 ceramic vessels (Brighton 2001:16), compared to The Rookery's 2,828 from a similar period. Built first as 16, then 18, apartments, The Rookery was later rented as nine two-storey cottages, and after a period of abandonment, it was leased by Richard Berry on behalf of the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society. From its initial construction, The Rookery was serviced by a cesspit in the rear yard, and later, three cesspit blocks across a laneway out the front. Consideration of Sneddon's (2006:3–4) caution regarding site formation processes in cesspits, and Adams' (2003:49–50) ceramic time lag, have enabled the hypotheses that the central cesspits were filled either in the 1860s as a consequence of an abandonment period, or in the 1870s in preparation for sewerage installation. The ceramic artefacts from the central cesspits have therefore provided insight into ceramic ownership at The Rookery up to this point.

Rather than suggesting that the presence of temperance plates simply indicated that The Rookery's occupants practised temperance, it was important to view these artefacts through the local cultural context of Christian philanthropy. This method established multiple interpretations for the way occupants interacted with their overarching financial situations. Critical analysis of primary and secondary documentary evidence about poverty, religion, and charity in early Adelaide, temperance, and current slum research from national and international perspectives, created a lens through which artefactual evidence of temperance plates and stoneware beverage bottles from The Rookery could be studied. This allowed for three interpretations of the worldviews held by its occupants to be hypothesised: the first was that The Rookery's occupants recognised that perceived piousness would afford them charitable aid, and they therefore aligned themselves with the concept of temperance in order to exploit 'the deserving poor' worldview held by the middle classes; the second was that temperance societies provided an educational pastime for working class children, which kept them off the streets, relieved child minding pressure from their parents, and influenced their ethics and habits to ensure they grew up to be both respectable and financially comfortable; the third interpretation was that The Rookery's occupants legitimately aligned with the movement, and practised temperance as a means of self-improvement.

All three interpretations of the worldviews which influenced the ownership of temperance plates indicate that The Rookery's occupants were conscious of the perpetual cycle of

poverty, described by Ward (1976:324) and Mayne (1993:131–132). Knowing that The Rookery occupants were aware of how their situations could be actively improved, speaks to the usefulness of ceramics as social discourse, as suggested by Beaudry et al. (1991:154–155), and shows that an object as simple as a side plate can be actively acquired, used, and deployed in order to situate oneself within a society.

Future research directions

In the end, the scope of this research focused down on just seven ceramic plates from a minimum 2,828 ceramic vessels from the central cesspits. Analysis of the glass alcohol bottle assemblage from The Rookery, and temperance plates from all excavation areas, could help to qualify the research presented here. The wealth of information to be revealed through analysis of the remainder of the ceramics and other artefact types, which include toys, beads, buttons, shoes, and miscellaneous glass and metal, is inconceivable; however, there are several directions for future research which directly build on this project's scope.

This research has demonstrated that the interpretation of worldviews and personal value-related objects contributes to a dynamic history of a site. Therefore, a study of the remaining moralising and educational ceramic artefacts, which include themes of education, religion, children, politics, working class representation, labour, and Americanism, would expand upon knowledge of the worldviews held at The Rookery. Studying these artefacts with respect to their local contexts is vital to their interpretation, so a broader study of these themes from a local, state, national, and international perspective is required.

Further research would be aided by a study of The Rookery's individual occupants, including their occupations, families, provenance, and religion. While the application of a shared group identity was appropriate in this study, as it dealt with community groups associated with religion and charity, a better understanding of what influences worldviews and personal values could be gained through knowledge of individual occupants.

Finally, this study constitutes a preliminary comparative sample which contributes to nineteenth century slum research. While only the ceramics from the central cesspits have been processed at this stage, it is hoped that the future completion of a full catalogue will enable comparisons of poverty in early Adelaide to be made with The Rocks and Commonwealth Block, as well as international sites such as Five Points. This will further diversify and strengthen current understandings of urban slums, and enable better

identification of the social constructs which contribute to the establishment and maintenance of precarious communities.

The role of historical archaeology, in this project, has investigated the relationship of dependence between The Rookery's occupants and the ABSFS, and identified the capacity for such relationships to be exploited by the charitable party. Recognition of the power imbalance between charities and recipients informs larger sociological understandings of the perpetual poverty cycle which, according to Parsell et al. (2021:169–171), is a critical step in relieving precarity in contemporary society.

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Appendix A: Summary of the Rate Assessment Books, 1847–1904 and Town Clerk's Records, 1892–1903

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1847			William Peacock		Acre enclosed with two rails and paling. Cultivated.
1848			William Peacock		Enclosed land
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1849			William Peacock		Two roomed cottage dwelling
1850					
1851					
1852	Unoccupied		William Peacock		18 tenements 1 room each being a two story brick building
1853	Peacock	William	William Peacock		18 tenements 1 room each, all units in one 2 story building
1854	Peacock	William	William Peacock		2 storied brick building let out in separate apartments

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1855	Various		William Peacock		18 tenements 1 room each
1856	Various		William Peacock		18 tenements 1 room each
1857	Peacock's Buildings		William Peacock		18 tenements
1858	Peacock's Buildings		William Peacock		House cottages
1859	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Bromley	John	William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Freeman	Bridget	William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Wymer	Mary	William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1859	McDonald	Isabella	William Peacock		Cottage 2 rooms
1860	McDonald	Isabella	William Peacock		House
1860	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1860	Wymer	Mary	William Peacock		House
1860	Tubbs	Joseph	William Peacock		House
1860	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1860	Freeman	Delia	William Peacock		House
1860	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1860	Bromley	John	William Peacock		House
1860	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1861	Jones	William	William Peacock		House
1861	Tubbs	Joseph	William Peacock		House
1861	Wymer	Mary	William Peacock		House
1861	Rocher	John	William Peacock		House
1861	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1861	Freeman	Widow	William Peacock		House
1861	Garnish	Thomas	William Peacock		House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1861	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1861	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Rocher	John	William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1862	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Ruche	Joseph	William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1863	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1864	Peacock's Buildings		William Peacock		? 8 cottages Unithouse
1865	Unoccupied		William Peacock		9 cottages
1866	Unoccupied		William Peacock		Nine cottages
1867	Peacock & Son		William Peacock		9 cottages
1868	Peacock & Son		William Peacock		9 cottages
1869	Carr	Charles	William Peacock		House
1869	Ford	Thomas	William Peacock		House
1869	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1869	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock		House
1869	Grogan	Mary Anne	William Peacock		House
1869	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1869	Wymer	Mary	William Peacock		House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1869	Bays	Henry William	William Peacock		House
1869	Burke	Patrick	William Peacock		House
1870	Ford	Thomas	William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1870	Parish	John	William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1870	Bays	Henry William	William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1870	Unoccupied		William Peacock		House
1871	Pearce	Mary	William Peacock		House
1871	Quirk	Mrs	William Peacock		House
1871	Osborne	Mrs	William Peacock		House
1871	Townsend	William A	William Peacock		House
1871	Grogan	Mary Anne	William Peacock		House
1871	Shaio	William	William Peacock		House
1871	Bays	Henry William	William Peacock		House
1871	Magrath	Mrs	William Peacock		House
1871	Miller	Barbara	William Peacock		House
1872	Pearce	Henry	William Peacock		House
1872	McRay	Janet	William Peacock		House
1872	Connely	William	William Peacock		House
1872	Townsend	William A	William Peacock		House
1872	Grogan	Mary Anne	William Peacock		House
1872	Jasman	Eliza Jane	William Peacock		House
1872	Bays	Henry William	William Peacock		House
1872	Ansley	James	William Peacock		House
1872	Miller	Barbara	William Peacock		House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1873	Townsend	William A	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	McRae	Jesse	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Grogan	Mary Anne	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Unoccupied		William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Berry	Mark	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Osborn	Sarah	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Gifford		William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Cherry	Ann	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1873	Heard	Ellen	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Townsend	William A	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	McRae	Jesse	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Malone	Francis	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Berry	Mark	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Osborn	Sarah	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Hunter		William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Ward	Mrs	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1874	Miller	Mrs	William Peacock	James Brown	House
1875	Townsend	William A	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Hunter and Baker	Mrs	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Malone	Francis	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Berry	Mark	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Reece	Mrs	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Robertson	Lee	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1875	Osborn	Sarah	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1875	Miller	Mrs	William Peacock execs	James Brown	House
1876	Townsend	William A	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Hunter and Baker	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Reece	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Robertson	George	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Osborn	Sarah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1876	Chinner	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Townsend	William A	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Hunter and Baker	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Sigh	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Robertson	George	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1877	Osborn	Sarah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1877	Williams	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Hooper	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Spelled	Jane	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Sigh	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Robertson	George	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Jacks	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1878	Morris	Francis	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Elliott	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Spellard	Jane	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Sigh	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Reed	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1879	Jacks	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1879	Morris	Francis	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Elliott	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Mard	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Nepean	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Zhargh	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Reed	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Jones	George William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1880	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Berry	John Mark	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Ward	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Kyle	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Baker	Johannah	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Reed	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1881	Jones	George William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1881	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Berry	Mark John	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Reed	Susan	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Robinson	George	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Baker	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Reed	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Reed	John	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1882	Reed	Maria	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1883	Robertson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	9 houses
1883	Others		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	9 houses
1884	Robertson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	9 houses
1884	Others		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	9 houses
1885	Frankan	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Hele	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Mayfield	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Baker	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1885	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Rad	J	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Miller	G	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1885	Read	Maurice	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Nilson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Rich	Sophia	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Mayfield		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Baker	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Reeve	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Smillie	Stewart	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1886	Reed	Maria	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Wilson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Unknown		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1887	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Reeve	Frederick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Smillie	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1887	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Wilson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Reed	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Adams	James	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Baker	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1888	Sullivan	Patrick	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Wilson	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Reed	William	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Adams	James	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Baker	Elizabeth	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1889	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1889	Tracey	Edward	William Peacock execs	Richard Berry	House
1890	Catt	Isaac Walter	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Hope	Thomas	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Jervis	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Flanaghan	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Merritt	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1890	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Catt	Isaac Walter	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Reed	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Chamberlain		William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Lewis	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1891	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Flanaghan	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Merritt	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1891	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Catt	Isaac Walter	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Nalty	Ellen	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Lewis	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Vince	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Holloway	John	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris	House
1892	Simmons	Frederick C	Caleb Peacock	Henry Harris agent	Two-story dwelling-houses
1892	Bottomley	William	Caleb Peacock	Henry Harris agent	Two-story dwelling-houses
1893	Catt	Isaac Walter	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Nalty	Ellen	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Simmons	John	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1893	Fitton	Mary	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Daly	Mary	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Bottomley	William	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1893	Gibbons	Mrs	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1894	Catt	Isaac Walter	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Nalty	Ellen	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Hunter	Emma	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Fitton	Mary	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Daly	Mary	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Gurr	Henry	William Peacock execs		House
1894	Scott	Mrs	William Peacock execs		House
1895	Catt	Isaac Walter	Peacock's estate		House
1895	G	Mrs	Peacock's estate		House
1895	Hughes	E	Peacock's estate		House
1895	Fitton	Mary	Peacock's estate		House
1895	Short	Ann	Peacock's estate		House
1895	Haigh	Harriet	Peacock's estate		House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1896	Harriett	Mrs K	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Klienann	Mrs A	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Morgan	A	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Fitton	Mary	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Daly	Mary	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1896	Gurr	Henry	William Peacock execs	William Harris agent	House
1897	Harriett	Mrs K	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Unoccupied		William Peacock execs		House
1897	Schmidt	Mrs H	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Fitton	Mary	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Short	Ann	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Haigh	Harriet	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Daly	Mary	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Gurr	Henry	William Peacock execs		House
1897	Gurr	Henry	William Peacock execs		House
1898	Harriett	Mrs K			House
1898	Cobbledick	W J			House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1898	Schmidt	Mrs H			House
1898	Fitton	Mary			House
1898	Short	Ann			House
1898	Haigh	Harriet			House
1898	Daly	Mary			House
1898	Gurr	Henry			House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Short	Ann	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1899	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Baker	A	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Store		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Wilson	Helen	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Short	Ann	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Haigh	Harriet	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Davey	Mrs C	Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Unoccupied		Peacock and others	William Harris	House
1900	Ryan	Mrs N			
1900	Ryan	C			
1900	Davis	Mrs			
1900	Bruer	M			
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House

Year	Surname of occupier	First name of occupier	Name of owner	Name of leaseholder	Description of property
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Davey	Mrs C	Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Bruer	M	Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1901	Ryan	Mrs N	Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1902	Nalty	Ellen	Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1903	Unoccupied		Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	Ruins
1903	Nalty	Ellen	Peacock's estate	Ayers, H.L. & A.M	House
1904	Vacant		The Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange Limited		Land

Appendix B: Unit summaries of ceramics from Area 906

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
906/01	Bowl	Unidentifiable	TP UG	5
		None	Glazed	4
	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	5
			Glazed Moulded Gilded	1
			HP OG	1
			HP UG	2
			Painted UG	1
			TP OG Gilded	1
			Not recorded	12
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	13
			TP UG Moulded	1
		Banded	Painted UG	2
		Albion	TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	1
		Bisque	Bisque	1
	Cup	Unidentifiable	TP OG Moulded Gilded	2
		None	Glazed	1
	Figurine	None	Glazed Moulded	1
	Side plate	Banded	Painted UG	4
		Cut sponge	Sponged	3
	Tobacco pipe	None	Not recorded	1
906/01 Total				**63**
906/02	Bowl	Unidentifiable	TP UG	6
		None	Glazed	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Gilded	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed	15
			HP OG	3
		Unidentifiable	Glazed	2
			HP UG	1
			TP OG	2
			TP UG	13
			TP UG Moulded	1
		Banded	Painted UG	1
		Cut sponge	Sponged	1
		Tealeaf	Glazed Gilded	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
	Cup	Unidentifiable	TP OG Gilded	2
		Banded	Painted UG	1
		None	Glazed	1
	Toy	None	Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
906/02 Total				**55**
906/03	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	5
		Bristol glaze	Slip cast	2
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	1
		Nassau Factory slip	Slip cast	1
	Bowl	None	Glazed	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	145
			Glazed Gilded	2
			HP OG	3
			HP OG Moulded	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			HP UG	3
			Moulded	1
			Painted	1
			Painted UG	6
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	114
		Flow blue	Flow	30
		Rockingham	Rockingham glaze	18
		Factory slip	Slip cast	17
		Banded	Painted UG	11
		Willow	TP UG	9
		Cut sponge	Sponged	8
		Albion	TP UG	5
		Parian	Coloured	1
			Coloured glaze	1
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	1
		Humphrey's Clock	TP UG	1
	Cup	Cut sponge Banded	Sponged Painted UG	6
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
		None	Painted UG	1
	Ink pot	Factory slip	Slip cast	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			1
	Side plate	None	Gilded	1
	Teapot	Rockingham	Rockingham glaze	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Not recorded	6
906/03 Total				406
906/04	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	5
	Bowl	Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
	Ceramic sherd	None	Coloured glaze Gilded	1
			Gilded	2

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed	81
			Glazed Moulded	7
			Glazed Moulded Painted UG	1
			HP UG	3
			Painted UG	7
			Painted Moulded	1
			Not recorded	29
		Unidentifiable	Moulded	1
			TP OG	4
			TP UG	55
		Factory slip	Slip cast	20
		Rockingham	Rockingham glaze	11
			Rockingham glaze Moulded	1
		Willow	TP UG	11
		Banded	Painted UG	6
		Cabled	Annular Finger painted	3
		Flow blue	Flow	2
			Flow TP UG	1
		Fibre	TP UG	2
		Albion	TP UG	2
		Cut sponge	Sponged	1
		Bisque	Bisque	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1
		Cut sponge Banded	Sponged Painted UG	1
	Cup	Unidentifiable	TP UG	12

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP OG	8
		None	Gilded	1
			Glazed	3
			Painted UG	1
			Not recorded	1
		Banded	Painted UG	2
		Cut sponge	Sponged	2
		Cut sponge Banded	Sponged Painted UG	1
	Egg cup	None	Applied mould	1
			Gilded	3
			Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	2
	Figurine	None	Painted OG	1
			Not recorded	1
		Bisque	Bisque	1
	Plant pot	None	Not recorded	1
	Plate	Unidentifiable	TP UG	5
			TP UG	19
		Banded	Painted UG	2
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			1
	Saucer	None	Gilded	4
	Side plate	Cut sponge	Sponged	8
		None	Glazed	1
	Teapot	Rockingham	Rockingham glaze	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	6
906/04 Total				**355**

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
906/07	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	10
			TP OG	1
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	3
		Fibre	TP UG	3
		Albion	TP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
		Banded	Painted UG	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
	Cup	None	Glazed	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			3
906/07 Total				**28**
906/10	Bowl	None	Glazed	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Gilded	1
			Glazed	44
			Glazed Applied mould	1
			HP OG	1
			HP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG Gilded	1
			Not recorded	30
		Willow	Not recorded	10
		Banded	Painted UG	3
		Flow blue	Flow	3
		Rhine	Not recorded	2
		Shell-edge unscalloped unimpressed	Painted	2
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
		Cut sponge	Sponged	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Albion	Not recorded	1
		Factory slip	Slip cast	1
		Mocha	Annular	1
	Cup	Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
	Plant pot	None	Not recorded	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Not recorded	1
906/10 Total				**110**
906/14	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast Moulded	1
	Bowl	Banded	Painted UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	47
			Glazed Moulded Gilded	1
		Unidentifiable	Flow TP UG	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
			Painted UG	1
			TP UG	38
		Factory slip	Slip cast	15
		Willow	TP UG	8
			TP UG	1
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	7
		Albion	TP UG	3
		Spatter	Spatter	3
		Banded	Painted UG	2
		Rhine	Flow TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Seaweed	TP UG	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Cup	Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	3
		Unidentifiable	Flow TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	2
		Willow	TP UG	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Plate	Banded	Painted UG	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			2
	Teapot	None	Glazed	1
	Vase	Unidentifiable	Applied mould	3
906/14 Total				**152**
906/15	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	19
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	4
		None	Glazed	3
			Not recorded	1
		Bristol glaze	Slip cast	1
	Bottle	Salt glaze	Slip cast	1
	Bowl	Unidentifiable	TP UG	14
			TP UG	6
		Greek key	TP UG	9
		None	Glazed	2
			Painted UG	1
			TP UG	5
		Willow	TP UG	6
		Banded	Annular	6
		Flow blue	Flow	2
		Fibre	TP UG	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
	Ceramic sherd	Unidentifiable	TP UG	3
		Rhine	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Gilded	2
			Glazed	445
			Glazed Gilded	2
			Glazed Moulded	4
			Glazed Moulded Gilded	1
			HP	1
			HP OG	1
			HP UG	5
			Moulded	1
			Painted OG	1
			Painted UG	2
			Painted UG HP OG Gilded	2
			TP UG	4
			Not recorded	3
		Unidentifiable	Flow TP UG	1
			Glazed Moulded	4
			HP OG	1
			HP UG	1
			Painted	1
			Painted UG	2
			TP UG	257
			TP UG	15

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			TP UG Moulded	1
		Flow blue	Flow	32
			Flow Gilded	1
			Flow TP UG	65
			Flow TP UG Gilded	1
		Willow	Flow	1
			TP UG	56
			TP UG	32
		Albion	TP UG	36
			TP UG	2
		Rhine	TP UG	27
		Banded	Annular	8
			Painted UG	16
		Fibre	TP UG	20
		Factory slip	Slip cast	17
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	16
		Cut sponge	Sponged	15
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	7
		Flow black	Flow TP UG	7
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	4
			TP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	4
			TP UG	1
		Spatter	Spatter	4
		Rockingham	Glazed	4

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Bristol glaze	Slip cast	3
		Greek key	TP UG	3
		Dulcamara	TP UG	2
		Asian	HP UG	2
		Parian	Not recorded	2
		Abbey	TP UG	1
		Parisian	TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG Spatter	1 Spatter
		"E"	TP UG	1
		Talking plate	Painted UG Moulded	1
		Mocha	Annular	1
	Chamber pot	None	Glazed	25
			Glazed	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	3
		Banded	Annular	1
	Chamber Pot	None	Glazed	1
	Cup	Fibre	TP UG	19
			TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	11
			TP UG	2
		None	Gilded	3
			Glazed	4
			Moulded	2
			TP UG	1
		Flow blue	Flow	4
			Flow TP UG	5
		Crystal	TP UG	8
		Banded	HP UG	7
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	3

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Greek key	TP UG	2
		Flow black	Flow TP UG	2
		Cabled	Annular	1
		"A Good Boy"	TP UG	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1
		Cut sponge	Sponged	1
	Dish	None	Glazed	2
			TP UG Moulded	3
		Canova	TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	1
	Egg cup	None	Gilded	3
			Glazed	8
			Glazed Gilded	1
		Unidentifiable	TP Unglazed	1
	Figurine	None	HP OG Moulded	1
	Ink pot	Salt glaze	Slip cast	4
		Factory slip	Slip cast	3
		None	Glazed	1
			Not recorded	1
	Jug	None	HP OG Moulded	24
			Moulded	7
		Banded	Annular	6
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG Moulded	4
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	4
	Pitcher	Flow blue	Flow Moulded	1
	Plant pot	None	Engine-turned	2

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed	2
			Not recorded	29
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Plate	Willow	TP UG	65
			TP UG	1
		Rhine	TP UG	36
			TP UG	3
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
			TP UG	5
		None	Gilded Moulded	3
			Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
			TP UG	2
		Albion	TP UG	4
			TP UG	2
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	4
		Shell-edge	TP UG	3
		Temperance	TP UG	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Platter	Willow	TP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG Moulded	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			6
	Saucer	Flow blue	Flow	21
			Flow TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	15
			TP UG	3
		Fibre	TP UG	11
			TP UG	2

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Spatter	Spatter	7
		None	Glazed	6
		Banded	Painted UG	5
		Parisian	TP UG	1
		Lazuli	TP UG	1
	Side plate	BAND OF HOPE The Sabbath Breakers	TP UG Moulded	12
		Banded	Painted UG	10
		Albion	TP UG	8
			TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	8
		Willow	TP UG	6
			TP UG	2
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	3
			TP UG	4
		THE POTTER'S ART' 'DLING' The Potter's Art - Handling	TP UG	3
			TP UG	3
		Alphabet	Moulded	1
			TP UG HP UG Moulded	5
		Cut sponge	Sponged	2
		The Potter's Art "HAND"	TP UG Painted UG	2
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	2
		Uncle Tom's Cabin Anti-	TP UG Moulded	2

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		slavery "UNCLE"		
		Talking plate	Moulded	1
			TP UG	1
		"GENERAL Z TAYLOR" "Born Nov 24th 1784"	TP UG	1
		Alphabet "A"	Glazed Moulded	1
		"ELECTED PRESIDENT OF AMERICA 1848"	TP UG	1
		Uncle Tom's Cabin	TP UG Moulded	1
		Alphabet "I"	Glazed Moulded	1
		Alphabet "LM"	Glazed Moulded	1
	Side plate	Cut sponge	Sponged	1
	Stoney	Factory slip	Slip cast	23
		Salt glaze	Glazed	1
			Slip cast	4
		None	Glazed	1
	Teapot	Unidentifiable	Glazed Moulded	8
		Rockingham	Glazed	3
			Glazed Moulded	4
		None	HP UG	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	3
			Not recorded	8
		Basket	Not recorded	1
		Unidentifiable	Not recorded	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
	Toy	None	Edge-moulded HP OG	1
			Moulded HP OG	1
		Flow blue	Flow	1
	Tureen	Willow	TP UG	2
	Vase	Parian	Moulded	5
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Wash basin	None	Glazed	1
906/15 Total				**1829**
906/20	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	27
		Unidentifiable	Painted UG	1
			TP UG	10
		Flow blue	Flow	5
		Willow	TP UG	4
		Factory slip	Slip cast	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1
	Plant pot	None	Not recorded	1
906/20 Total				**50**
906/21	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	30
		None	Glazed	3
		Bristol glaze	Slip cast	2
	Bowl	Unidentifiable	TP UG	21
			TP UG	2
			TP UG Moulded	5
		Flow blue	Flow	8
			Flow Gilded	1
			Flow TP UG	8

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Bird & Swans	Flow TP UG	8
		None	Glazed	6
		Asian	Painted UG	3
		Cut sponge	Sponged	2
		Rhine	TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Mocha	Annular	1
		Fibre	TP UG	1
		Banded	Annular	1
		Factory slip	Slip cast Engine-turned	1
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	1
		Marino	Not recorded	1
	Candle stick	None	Glazed Moulded	1
	Ceramic sherd	Flow blue	Flow	1
			Flow TP UG	15
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Coloured glaze	3
			Coloured glaze Engine-turned	1
			Gilded	5
			Gilded Moulded	1
			Glazed	334
			Glazed	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed Applied mould	1
			Glazed Gilded	3
			Glazed Moulded	28
			Glazed Moulded Painted UG	1
			HP	2
			HP OG	9
			HP OG Moulded	5
			HP UG	14
			HP Gilded	4
			Moulded	2
			Painted OG Moulded	2
			Painted UG	6
			Painted UG Moulded	1
			Painted UG Painted OG	1
			Painted Moulded	2
			TP UG	6
			TP UG Engine-turned	1
			TP UG HP OG	3
			Not recorded	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	306
			TP UG	2

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			TP UG Impressed	1
			TP UG Moulded	8
			TP UG Sheet	5
			Not recorded	1
		Flow blue	Flow	120
			Flow Gilded	1
			Flow TP UG	25
		Willow	TP UG	118
			TP UG	10
		Cut sponge	Sponged	41
		Banded	Annular	7
			Glazed	3
			HP UG	5
			Painted UG	11
		Canova	TP UG	20
		Sponge	Sponged	11
		Factory slip	Annular	1
			Slip cast	8
		Fibre	TP UG	8
		Wild rose	TP UG	7
		Asian	Painted UG	5
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	5
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	4
		Forest	TP UG	3
			Not recorded	1
		Flow black	Flow	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Flow TP UG	2
		Cabled	Annular	1
			Annular Finger painted	1
		Mocha	Glazed	2
		Rockingham	Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
		Lazuli	Lazuli	1
			TP UG Sheet	1
		Pet Lamb	TP UG	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
		Marino	Not recorded	1
		Flow blue Willow	Flow TP UG	1
		Isola Bella	TP UG	1
		Palmyra	TP UG	1
		Talking plate "TY"	TP UG	1
		Flow black Fibre	Flow TP UG	1
		Lustre	HP OG Lustre Applied mould	1
		Shell-edge even scallop impressed straight lines	Painted Moulded	1
		Italian Garden	TP UG	1
		Floral wreath	TP UG	1
		Albion	TP UG	1
		Nanking	TP UG HP OG	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Morea	TP UG	1
	Chamber pot	None	Glazed	16
			Glazed	3
			Glazed	3
			Glazed	2
			Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	19
			Glazed Painted UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Banded	Annular	25
		Sicilian	TP UG	11
		Cut sponge	Sponged	2
	Cup	Flow blue	Flow	11
			Flow Gilded	1
			Flow TP UG	4
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	12
			TP UG	1
		Cut sponge	Sponged	11
		None	Gilded	1
			Glazed	4
			Glazed Moulded	1
			Painted UG	1
		Tealeaf	Gilded	4
		Banded	Annular	2
		Sponge	Sponged	2
	Dish	Willow	TP UG	3
		None	Glazed Moulded	1
		Flow blue	Flow	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Egg coddler	Banded	HP OG	1
	Egg cup	None	HP OG	1
	Figurine	None	Gilded	1
			Glazed	2
			Glazed Painted UG	1
			HP OG Gilded	1
			HP OG Moulded Gilded	1
			Painted UG HP OG Gilded	1
	Finial	None	Glazed Moulded	2
	Ginger jar	Lustre	HP OG Lustre Moulded	5
		Flow blue	Flow	2
	Ink pot	Factory slip	Slip cast	5
	Jug	Cabled	Annular Finger painted	15
		None	Gilded	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
			Painted UG	12
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	10
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	2
		Rhine	TP UG	1
	Pepper pot	Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Pitcher	None	Glazed Moulded	4

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
	Plant pot	None	Not recorded	2
	Plate	Unidentifiable	TP UG	3
		Flow blue	Flow	2
		None	HP UG HP OG	1
		Temperance	Glazed Moulded Gilded	1
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	1
	Platter	Willow	TP UG	1
			TP UG	2
	Pot/Jar/Canister			12
	Saucer	Unidentifiable	TP UG	6
			TP UG	1
			TP UG Moulded	1
		None	Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
			HP OG	4
			HP OG Moulded	2
		Flow blue	Flow	2
			Flow Gilded	2
			Flow TP UG	3
		Lazuli	TP UG Sheet	5
		Fibre	TP UG	4
		Forest	Not recorded	1
	Side plate	Banded	Annular	1
			HP UG	5

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		None	HP UG	1
			HP Gilded	3
		Willow	TP UG	3
			TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
		Poor Richard "Handle your tools without mittens rem" "Constant drop"	TP UG Painted Moulded	2
		Band of Hope	TP UG Moulded	1
		Temperance	TP UG Painted OG Moulded	1
		Talking plate "AND"	TP UG	1
		Alphabet	Painted UG Moulded	1
		Talking plate	Painted UG Moulded	1
	Stoney	Factory slip	Slip cast	19
		None	Glazed	7
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	2
		Bristol glaze	Slip cast	1
	Tea bowl	Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Teapot	Cut sponge	Sponged	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	18
			Not recorded	2
	Tobacco pipe	None	Not recorded	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
	Toy	Unidentifiable "THE"	TP UG	1
	Tureen	Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Vase	Flow blue	Flow	2
		None	Glazed	1
906/21 Total				**1683**
906/22	Bottle	Salt glaze	Slip cast	2
	Bowl	Cut sponge	Sponged	6
		None	Glazed	2
			TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Glazed	29
			Glazed Engine-turned	2
			Glazed Moulded	4
			HP UG	1
			Painted UG	3
			TP UG	14
			TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	Painted UG	4
			TP UG	36
			TP UG	1
		Flow blue	Flow	4
			Flow TP UG	12
		Willow	TP UG	10
			TP UG	1
		Blue flow	Flow TP UG	7

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	6
		Banded	Annular	5
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	3
		Factory slip	Slip cast	3
		Spatter	Spatter	2
		Black basalt	Black basalt Moulded	1
		Wild rose	TP UG	1
		Cut sponge	Painted UG	1
		Seaweed	TP UG	1
		Canova	TP UG	1
	Chamber pot	None	Glazed	10
			Glazed Engine-turned	3
	Cup	Fibre	TP UG	2
		Mocha	Annular	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	1
	Plate	Willow	TP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Platter	Willow	TP UG	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			1
	Side plate	Willow	HP	1
		"WINE" Temperance	TP UG Moulded	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
	Stoney	Salt glaze	Slip cast	7
		Factory slip	Slip cast	3
	Tobacco pipe	None	Not recorded	2
	Vase	Flow blue	Flow	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
906/22 Total				**209**
906/25	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	13
		None	Glazed	2
		Unidentifiable	Glazed	1
		Nassau Factory slip	Slip cast	1
	Bowl	None	Gilded Moulded	6
			Glazed	8
			HP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	13
		Banded	Painted UG	9
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	2
		Willow	TP UG	1
		Factory slip	Slip cast	1
	Ceramic sherd	Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
		Flow blue	Flow TP UG	1
		None	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Gilded	20
			Gilded Moulded	2
			Glazed	739
			Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	39
			HP	1
			HP OG	4
			HP UG	5
			HP UG Moulded	1
			Moulded	4
			Painted	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Painted UG	13
			Painted UG Moulded	4
			TP UG	5
			Not recorded	16
		Unidentifiable	Glazed	7
			Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
			HP UG	1
			TP UG	423
			TP UG	2
			TP UG TP OG	1
		Albion	Glazed	1
			TP UG	64
		Willow	TP UG	59
			TP UG	3
		Banded	Annular	12
			Painted UG	20
		Flow blue	Flow	27
			Flow Gilded	2
			Flow Moulded	1
			Flow TP UG	1
		Factory slip	Slip cast	27
			Slip cast Moulded	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	21
		Fibre	TP UG	20
		Cut sponge	Sponged	11
		Rockingham	Glazed	6

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed Moulded	1
			Rockingham glaze	2
		Spatter	Spatter	9
		Rhine	Glazed	2
			TP UG	6
		Parian	Parian	4
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	3
		Shamrock	Gilded	2
		Sponge	Sponged	2
		Shell-edge unscalloped impressed	Painted Moulded	1
		Mocha	Glazed Moulded	1
		Talking plate	TP UG	1
		Mara	TP UG	1
		Vine	TP UG	1
		Parisian	TP UG	1
	Chamber pot	None	Glazed	16
			HP UG	13
	Cup	Unidentifiable	TP UG	24
			TP UG	3
		Banded	Annular Engine-turned	2
			HP	6
			Painted UG	8
		None	Gilded	7
			Glazed	6
			HP UG	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	8
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	5
		Fibre	TP UG	3

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		Flow blue	Flow	1
			Flow TP UG	2
		Cut sponge	Sponged	2
		Christening	HP OG	2
		Sponge	Sponged	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
	cup	Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
	Dish	Albion	TP UG	1
	Egg cup	None	Glazed	3
	Figurine	None	Glazed Painted UG	1
		Rockingham	Glazed	1
	Ink pot	Factory slip	Slip cast	7
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	1
	Jug	None	Glazed	2
			Glazed Moulded	4
		Flow blue	Flow	1
	Plant pot	None	Engine-turned	4
			Glazed	2
			Not recorded	18
	Plate	Willow	TP UG	5
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	4
		Flow blue	Flow Gilded Moulded	4
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	3
			TP UG	1
		Fibre	TP UG	2
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
	Platter	Unidentifiable	TP UG	2
	Pot/Jar/Canister			17
	Saucer	Unidentifiable	TP UG	29
			TP UG	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	14
		None	Glazed	7
		Ceylonese	TP UG	1
		Asiatic pheasant	TP UG	1
		Gem	TP UG	1
		Fibre	TP UG	1
	Side plate	Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	2
		Uncle Tom's Cabin	TP UG	1
		Band of Hope	TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	1
		The Potter's Art - Packing "POTTE"	TP UG	1
	Stoney	Factory slip	Slip cast	18
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	3
		None	Glazed	1
	Teapot	None	Glazed	1
			Glazed Moulded	1
		Unidentifiable	HP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	HP UG	1
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	6
			Not recorded	13
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	2
	Toy	None	Glazed	1
			HP	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Not recorded	2
	Vase	Parian	Parian	1
906/25 Total				**1981**
906/27	Bottle	Factory slip	Slip cast	6
	Bowl	Fibre	TP UG	6
			TP UG	1
		Rhine	TP UG	2
			TP UG	2
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG	2
			Not recorded	1
		Willow	TP UG	3
			TP UG	1
		None	Glazed	1
		Spatter	Spatter	1
	Ceramic sherd	Willow	TP UG	1
	Ceramic sherd	None	Gilded	4
			Glazed	199
			Glazed Moulded	4
			HP OG	2
			HP UG	1
			HP UG Moulded	1
			Moulded	6
			Painted UG	1
			TP UG	6
		Unidentifiable	Glazed Moulded	3
			TP UG	97
			Not recorded	56
		Willow	TP UG	23

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			TP UG	15
			Not recorded	6
		Flow blue	Flow	30
		Banded	HP UG	3
			Painted UG	16
		Albion	TP UG	15
			Not recorded	2
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	14
		Fibre	TP UG	12
		Rhine	TP UG	10
			Not recorded	1
		Factory slip	Annular Moulded	1
			Slip cast	9
		Cut sponge	Sponged	9
		Spatter	Spatter	3
			TP UG	2
		Rockingham	Glazed Applied mould	1
			Rockingham glaze	3
		Lazuli	TP UG	1
			TP UG Sheet	1
		Parisian	TP UG	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	1
		Parian	Parian	1
	Chamber pot	None	Glazed	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Cup	Unidentifiable	TP UG	6
			TP UG	1
			Not recorded	4
		None	Gilded	1

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
			Glazed	2
			HP UG	3
			Not recorded	1
		Fibre	HP OG	3
			TP UG	3
		Cut sponge	Sponged	5
			TP UG	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	4
		Forest	TP UG	1
	Dish	Willow	TP UG	1
			Not recorded	1
	Egg cup	Banded	Painted OG	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
	Figurine	Parian	Moulded	1
	Ink pot	Factory slip	Slip cast	4
		Salt glaze	Slip cast	1
	Ink pot	Factory slip	Slip cast	2
	Jug	None	Glazed	1
	Plant pot	None	Glazed	3
			Not recorded	1
	Plate	Rhine	TP UG	5
			TP UG	1
		Willow	TP UG	2
		Banded	Painted UG	1
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
		Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
		None	Edge-moulded	1
	Platter	Unidentifiable	Not recorded	1
	Pot/Jar/Canister			23
	Saucer	Unidentifiable	TP UG	1
			TP UG	2
			Not recorded	1
		Parisian	TP UG	3

Area/Unit No	Name of object/form	Pattern	Manufacturing technique	Sum
		None	Glazed	2
			Glazed Gilded	1
		Flow blue	Flow	2
		Chelsea sprig	Applied mould	1
	Side plate	Willow	TP UG	2
		Priory	TP UG	1
		Rhine	TP UG	1
	Stoney	Factory slip	Slip cast	4
	Teapot	Rockingham	Glazed	1
			Rockingham glaze	2
		None	Glazed	2
	Tobacco pipe	None	Moulded	1
			Not recorded	7
	Vase	Parian	Parian	14
		Vine	TP UG	1
906/27 Total				**728**
Unknown	Bowl	Tealeaf	Gilded	1
	Plant pot	None	Glazed	1
			Not recorded	4
	Plant pot	None	Not recorded	1
Unknown Total				**7**

Appendix C: Cataloguing guidelines

The Rookery – Ceramics Cataloguing Guidelines 2022

General

This catalogue was created using Microsoft Excel version 2108, and edited online via Microsoft OneDrive.

'ROO' is used as an abbreviation of the site name, The Rookery.

The following pages list each column name and the type of data required.

Area/Unit no

906/25, 906/27 etc.

906 is the central cesspit, which we are working on.

/25 etc. is the unit.

Original inventory number

Some of the artefacts have been previously catalogued - write the original catalogue number.

Inventory number

Assign a number to your artefact. Do not start from 1 at a new context – all will fall under area '906'.

To prevent overlaps when working together on the document, everyone will be assigned a starting number each day.

Name of object/form

Choose from this list:

Bottle	Pitcher
Bowl	Plant pot
Candle stick	Plate --> dinner plate
Ceramic sherd --> if you can't tell what something is, don't guess – ask or list as 'ceramic sherd'	Platter
Chamber pot	Pot/Jar/Canister
Cup --> specify mug or teacup in description, if known	Saucer
Dish	Side plate
Egg coddler	Stoney
Egg cup	Tea bowl
Figurine	Teapot
Finial	Tobacco pipe
Ginger jar	Toy
Ink pot	Tureen
Jug	Vase
Pepper pot	Wash basin

Pattern

No pattern = “none”

Unidentifiable pattern = “unidentifiable”

All ceramic patterns = use books and the internet to figure out the pattern name. Don’t write the colour unless it is in the name of the pattern i.e., “Blue Flow”

Manufacturing technique

For this project, specifics of manufacturing methods are not required. This column is concerned with the pattern or decoration technique. Choose one or more techniques from this list:

Annular	Handpainted
Applied mould	Impressed
Bisque	Moulded
Black basalt	Painted --> use if not known whether machine or handpainted
Coloured glaze	Parian
Edge-moulded underglaze/overglaze = “HP UG” or “HP OG”	Rockingham glaze
Engine-turned	Slip cast
Flow	Spatter
Gilded	Sponged
Glazed	Transfer printed underglaze/overglaze = “TP UG” or “TP OG”

Maker’s mark

Write or describe it as it appears. Interpretation will be written in the ‘description’ column.

Shape

Flatware = plates, platters, saucers

Holloware = mugs, cups, bowls, jars, teapots

If fragment is too small to tell, leave blank

Everything else e.g., tobacco pipes = leave blank

Element

Choose one or more from this list. Write in list form if multiple.

Base	Marley
Bowl --> for tobacco pipes	Rim
Footring	Side
Handle	Spout
Lip	Stem --> for tobacco pipes

Description

Write a short description of the artefact. Where possible, use a rim diameter chart to work out percentage of complete vessel.

Completeness

Fragment or complete.

Number of pieces

Almost all fragments are recorded individually, regardless of whether they have conjoining pieces. Some non-diagnostic fragments will be grouped.

Length/width/thickness

Use callipers to measure the maximum length, width, and average thickness of the fragment.

Base diameter/base thickness/bore diameter

For bottles only.

Weight

Weight of fragment in grams to 2 decimal places.

Ceramic colour

The colour or decorative colour of the finished piece e.g., a willow plate would be “white, blue”. Use basic colours and avoid terms which describe shade – these can be described in the ‘description’ column.

Paste colour

Record the original colour of the paste, as it would have been when clean.

Possible contents

If known, write the possible contents e.g., ink, ginger beer, food.

Ceramic type

Choose from the list. If further specification is possible, write the broad ware type here and the specific ware type in the description, i.e., for bone china, write “porcelain” here and “bone china” in the description.

Pipe clay/kaolin

Earthenware

Porcelain

Stoneware

Function

If known, choose a broad function category from this list:

Children	Food and drink
Commercial	Gardening
Cosmetic	Medicinal
Decorative	Personal hygiene
Domestic	Smoking

Manufacturer

Name and location of manufacturer if known.

Dates in business

Of manufacturer, if known.

Earliest date/latest date

Use books and the internet to decide on the best date range for the artefact’s manufacture. If specific references are not available, use a broad date range based on ware type, pattern type, colour etc.

Matching pieces

Write details of any conjoining artefacts or matching patterns.

Storage

This will be either a letter, two letters, or a number written on the bag. This is the original box it came from and needs to be recorded so that artefacts can be replaced at the completion of this project.

References

Reference pattern, manufacturing style, and any dates identified. Use the supplied list of notes and references, or seek assistance if using a different reference.

Photographed

Record the photo numbers of artefacts which have been photographed.

Notes

This is a justification for any dates and patterns recorded, or a summary of the reference used. Use the reference list provided to put as much information as possible, e.g., a whiteware bowl with willow pattern will need notes and references on whiteware, transfer print, and willow pattern. Seek assistance if using a different reference so that a new 'note' can be created.

Further research required

If the artefact appears diagnostic but no information can be found, write "yes".

Cataloguer ID

Your initials.

Bagging artefacts

Use a ballpoint pen to write on the white section of the bag.

If something is fragile, wrap it in acid-free tissue paper.

Use an acid-free pigment pen on the Tyvek label card.

On the bag

Box number/letter/letters (from original bag)

ROO

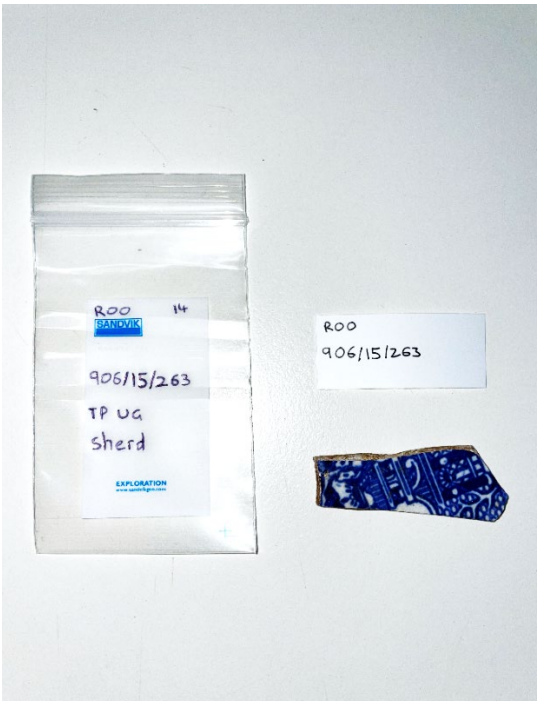
Area number/Unit number/Artefact number

Brief description

On the label

ROO

Area number/Unit number/Artefact number



Appendix D: Artefact catalogue

The complete catalogue of ceramic artefacts from The Rookery, Area 906, is attached as a Microsoft Excel Worksheet file named ‘ROO Area 906 Ceramics Catalogue’.