Flinders University

The Long Look Back
Lifestyles of the working-class in 19th century South Australia

By

Thomas Henry Bowden
B. Archaeol., B. Litt(CreatWriting).

Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of

Master of Archaeology and Heritage Management
College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences
June 2025

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis interrogates what an assemblage of glass artefacts recovered from the central cesspit at the Rookery, Adelaide, reveals about working-class life in 19th century South Australia. The Rookery is a tenement housing site and, having only had limited previous research, its archaeology provides a wealth of information about the lifestyles of its inhabitants, and an insight into 19th century working-class people's lives in Adelaide more broadly. This study recognises that working-class people were necessarily participants in the capitalist consumer economy, but that their relationship to it was not purely purchase-consume-discard. Instead, it considers the impact that frugality, adaptation, recycling, and personal taste had on the acquisition of glass artefacts and their ultimate disposal.

For this, 1004 glass artefacts from the Rookery central cesspit were recatalogued, identified and classified. The catalogue data was processed quantitatively to understand functional types, likely contents of bottles and jars, manufacturing techniques, kinds and styles of buttons and beads, and relative dates for manufacture, use and disposal. The data reveal that the central cesspit was filled with artefacts between the 1860s and 1880s, corresponding to known historical renovations on site. One of the limitations is that a shared cesspit contributes to the anonymisation of the site's inhabitants, and, given the turnover of residents, makes it difficult to associate specific artefacts with individuals. Another was that not every artefact could be positively identified and therefore some were placed into broader categories such as 'bottle' or 'tableware'.

Across 13 contexts, 861 fragments provided a Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) of 446. Bottles (including stoppers) were the most common item, whether counted by fragments (708) or MNV (353). When considered by likely contents, alcohol bottles (not including spirits) were the dominant product, constituting 36.94% of the MNV, followed by pharmaceutical items (15.29%); non-alcoholic beverages, salad oils and sauces, spirits, perfumes, inks, cosmetics and 'other' were all less than 10% of the overall MNV. When compared to other working-class sites, such as Port Adelaide, the percentage of alcohol and spirits at the Rookery (40.23%) aligned more closely to a single-family cottage (33.51%), than a multi-family tenement (68.63%). This challenges previous ideas about the Rookery's 'slum' nature, such as its portrayal in contemporary newspapers as a hovel and one of Adelaide's many dens of vice. This 'slum' stereotype of lowly, moral-less and idle drunkards living in overcrowded, shabby and unhygienic housing had become common in 19th century Australia and was frequently invoked in reference to larger poor working-class neighbourhoods such as Little Lon in Melbourne and The Rocks in Sydney.

Archaeology can help unravel the complexity of 19th century capitalism and its impacts on working-class people in an Australian context. It is becoming more apparent that capitalism affected people differently, often on as simple a basis as where they lived – even within the same

city. Some individuals moved in and out of poverty over the course of their lives, but archaeology on sites like the Rookery proves that sweeping generalisations are unhelpful at best. The Rookery assemblage is the record of the experiences of people who were forced by circumstances to live in cheaper housing, some for a short time and some for many years. By comparing their situation with that of other working-class people, a richer understanding of how capitalism, poverty and class was felt at the individual level in South Australia can be developed.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis:

1. does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university

2. and the research within will not be submitted for any other future degree or diploma without the permission of Flinders University; and

3. to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed.....

Date.....26 May 2025.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As an archaeologist working in Australia, I would like to acknowledge and pay my respects to the Elders, past and present, of the Kaurna people, upon whose traditional lands both the Rookery and Flinders University are located. I acknowledge that the project of systematic colonisation, which eventually led to the Rookery's existence, was also the project of destruction for traditional ways of life for Kaurna people and wrought incalculable damage on their culture. This is a wrong we must labour to right.

There are many people who have assisted me during this lengthy thesis, and, while they already know how much I appreciate them, they deserve to be thanked publicly too:

Firstly, my supervisor, Professor Heather Burke, for her patience and guidance, good-humour, and excellent feedback during its write-up.

Dr Susan Arthure for helping me get started, providing tips and support, generously giving up her time to assist me in identifying tricky artefacts, and helping me find solutions to catalogue conundrums.

Simon Hoad, Technical Officer, for providing me anything I could need – tools, access to the storage room at inconvenient times, and a designated place to put my stuff.

Lucy McQuie, immortalised herein as 'McQuie (2022)', for patiently explaining the Rookery catalogue system to me several times and helping encourage me when I lost heart.

My exceptional volunteers, without whom I would still be labouring in the lab now, (presented in alphabetical order): Anne-Maree Anderson, Simone Brustolon, Deven Crawford, Atlanta Hawke-Gregory, Luke Korczynski, Emma Latimer, Mary Mckerlie, Cameron McVicar, Josh Wightman and Ryan Zanker.

The renowned Felix Marsh for his detailed 'pickle finish' illustrations, which will help provide a 'type specimen' for this unusual bottle finish.

The Marcs (Fairhead and Young), Craig, Jenna, Kelsey and Vito for their companionship and humour during the long lab sessions, as well as the long Tavern sessions!

And finally, my long-suffering family and partner for supporting me – and putting up with me – while I devoted so many years to this project. Thanks Mum, Dad, Hollie and Dylan – I could not have done it without you!

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING ADELAIDE'S LOST COMMUNITY

'The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there,' wrote L. P. Hartley in the 1953 novel *The Go-Between*. In looking back at the past, we look back with all the privileges and preconceptions of the present day, which can shape – and cloud – how it is viewed. Historical archaeology is one of the ways that we can overcome the murkiness of the history of the working-classes, which too often has been written by the 'victors': the politicians, the powerful, the wealthy, the upper class, and even the middle class (Leone 1999:7; Scott 1994:3).

However, as Hartley poetically summed up, the past – from the view of the present – is sometimes remote from us, and our understanding of how people lived, loved, and behaved is limited to the historical record, if it exists at all. If it does, this is the same historical record which is rarely faithful or completely fair to the 'common people', if and when they ever feature in it (Scott 1994:14).

The Rookery, located in a laneway off East Terrace and Grenfell Street in Adelaide's CBD, South Australia (Figure 1), was characterised by newspapers and historical accounts as a 'slum', calling to mind views and sketches of similar places in London and New York: dirty, crowded, disease-ridden, filled with depravity, vice, and people of few morals (*The Advertiser*, Tuesday September 1 1936, p.39). These typical images, which appalled and delighted the respectable middle classes reading their newspapers in comfortable parlours, received an Australian flavour when the social reformers and slum tourists of the 19th century discovered The Rocks, in Sydney, and the Commonwealth Block (including Little Lonsdale Street and known as 'Little Lon'), in Melbourne (Mayne 1993:2,107-108).

Established around 1849 by prominent Adelaide businessman and philanthropist, William Peacock, the Rookery was a series of tenement houses which gradually acquired the reputation, and thus the moniker, of being a 'slum' (Jones et al. 1997:4). But, while some ink was spilled about the Rookery in its time (e.g., *The South Australian Advertiser*, Thursday July 26 1866, p.3.; *South Australian Register*, Saturday August 10 1889, p.6) and in the decades after its demise (*Advertiser*, Tuesday 1 September 1936, p.39), it was not studied formally until the 1990 and 1992 excavations by Austral Archaeology and 1994 excavations by Back-Tracks Archaeology in the face of urban development. However, even these studies were constrained by time and money, so the work undertaken there was of limited scope, and did not permit much depth to be plumbed into the lives and livelihoods of the inhabitants. Other areas of Adelaide have received more attention, such as Port Adelaide, where, in contrast to the CBD, a significant amount has been written about the people, their lifestyles, and their work, from both historical and archaeological contexts (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map showing the Rookery, Quebec Street and Jane Street sites, Adelaide, South Australia.

This is perhaps due to the Port's centrality in the story of the colonisation of South Australia by Europeans from 1836 onwards, and its continuing relevance up until the advent of containerisation shipping in the 1960s. Work by Lampard (nee Briggs) (2000, 2003), Matic (2000, 2007) and Paterson (2015) have all explored the history and archaeology in and around the Port.

Research Aims

The central aim of this study is exploring the nature of working-class 'lifestyle' and how it is expressed through glass material culture at the Rookery. The Rookery assemblage will be understood in light of other working-class archaeology at Port Adelaide, and similar projects at contemporaneous Australian sites, such as Little Lon and Casselden Place in Melbourne and The Rocks in Sydney, and what they reveal about working-class people.

The overarching question for this research is:

What can an analysis of glassware artefacts recovered from the Rookery reveal about the lifestyles of the working-class in 19th century South Australia?

The aims for this project include:

1. Re-cataloguing all diagnostic glassware from the central cesspit at the Rookery.
2. Comparing the glass at the Rookery to working-class sites in Port Adelaide to understand consumption patterns and availability of glass goods in 19th century South Australia.
3. Considering the impact of Adams' (2003) time-lag theory on the approximate dates of final deposition of artefacts, in combination with the 'palimpsest' issues associated with cesspit deposits noted by Van Oosten (2017).
4. Appraising the depictions of the working-class inhabitants of the Rookery in newspapers and books of the time in light of the material culture found at the site.
5. Evaluating the glass material culture of the Rookery in comparison to contemporary working-class sites in Melbourne and Sydney to refine understandings of working-class consumer culture.

Research Significance

In their recommendations, Back-Tracks Archaeology noted that the artefacts recovered in 1992 by Austral had not been fully documented and suggested that the entire assemblage could be given to a Masters or PhD project for comprehensive analysis (Jones et al. 1997:3). This recommendation was not taken up until 30 years later, by McQuie (2022), but, given the enormity of the site and the number of artefacts recovered, she confined her work to the ceramics of the central cesspit. This project aims to complement the work of McQuie by focusing on the other major component of the central cesspit's assemblage, the glassware.

As stated by McQuie (2022:5), since South Australia was never a convict colony, the economic and social development of the state differed from that of its eastern neighbours; therefore, it is important to test whether the trends in socio-economic development and consumer culture as revealed by archaeological work in New South Wales and Victoria remain true in South Australia as well.

While McQuie's work focuses on the ceramics, glass is another ubiquitous, long-lasting, identifiable and revealing class of artefact and has great potential in illuminating more about the South Australian working-classes and their stories. Since particular kinds of consumer goods were contained in, or made of, glass, this opens a new dimension of research and can reveal other kinds of patterns that ceramics could not.

Another aspect of this study is that the 'working-class' is sometimes characterised monolithically; this study aims to identify the similarities and differences within the working-class in a single city during the same time period through artefacts of the same material. It will be left to others to explore the great potential of the other two cesspits and the cottages excavated by the 1992 excavation, as well as the faunal remains, metal objects, and miscellaneous artefacts of the central cesspit, including coins, pipes, game pieces, shoe soles, and more.

This project seeks to draw on nearly thirty years of 'slum' and working-class site studies in Australia (the so-called 'Slum Debate') and further afield to interrogate, understand, and explain the glass material culture of The Rookery, using the work of researchers like Crook (2000, 2005), Crook et al. (2002), Ellis and Woff (2018), Karskens (1999a, 1999b, 2001), Lawrence et al. (2009), Mayne (1993), Mayne, Murray and Lawrence (2000, 2008), Murray and Crook (2004), Murray et al. (2004, 2009), Owens and Jeffries (2016), Platts and Smith (2018), Ricardi (2017, 2020), Sneddon (2006), and Symonds (2011), to name but a few. Since Adelaide never possessed 'slums' on the scale of Little Lon or The Rocks, there has been very little work in this space, which means the overall map of working-class, high-tenant-turnover sites across Australia has a blank and reduces the ability of researchers across the country to effectively compare sites. For a better understanding of working-class lifestyles and consumer behaviour across the whole country, the more data points that are made available, the better. The work of McQuie (2022), this study, and ideally future research, will help to remedy this gap.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study, some of which are the product of the actual assemblage available for study. One consideration is that, since its excavation in 1992, several glass artefacts of the Rookery's central cesspit assemblage have gone missing, which means that the dataset created from the re-cataloguing will not reflect exactly what came out the ground. However, the

overall number of artefacts recovered from the cesspit are sufficient that this should not unduly impact the conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

Another consideration, which was noted by McQuie (2022:6), is that shared cesspits contribute to the archaeological anonymisation of working-class people, due to the difficulty of associating artefacts or even deposition layers with individuals, especially at sites with multiple residents and a high residential turnover. This impacts the glass under consideration for this study just as it does the ceramics, and all other artefacts recovered from the central cesspit.

A third consideration is that not all glass items can be effectively identified due to their fragmentary nature. This means that there are a number of artefacts which could only be broadly identified, as, for example, ‘tableware’ or ‘bottle’, without being able to be assigned to a specific sub-category, like ‘tableware dish’ or ‘champagne bottle’. The recording process, however, is sufficiently flexible to still allow the maximum amount of useful information to be drawn from an artefact, even if its specific function cannot be known.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2 reviews studies of glassware in historical archaeology, both in Australia and an international context, with particular focus on sites also considered to be working-class or ‘slums’. It will consider studies of how slums were characterised historically and archaeologically, the role of ‘consumer culture’, and whether the terminology of ‘slum’ imposes a view onto the lifestyles of the inhabitants that may not be borne out in the archaeological record. Finally, it will discuss the kinds of glass artefacts recovered from selected Australian sites.

Chapter 3 discusses the history of the Rookery, its formation, and what historical sources reveal about the people who inhabited the site.

Chapter 4 outlines the methods used for the study and how the assemblage of glass from the Rookery central cesspit was catalogued.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the catalogued Rookery central cesspit glassware.

Chapter 6 discusses what the glassware from the Rookery, with reference to selected Australian sites, reveals about the lifestyles of the working-class in South Australia during the mid to late 19th century.

Chapter 7 considers the conclusions to be drawn from this site’s analysis and offers a view toward potential future work.

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND THEIR GLASS

This chapter discusses prior research into how class has been considered archaeologically, the limitations of some perspectives, and in particular the potential of historical archaeology to characterise and illuminate the lives of working-class people. In light of these perspectives, this chapter also discusses how aspects of consumer choice play a role in forming sites, and conversely how the survival of artefacts shapes the way sites and their past inhabitants are interpreted.

Archaeology, the 'poor', and the working-class

Archaeology focusing on working-class and 'poor' individuals has been increasing in nature and scope over the past thirty years, seeking to better understand who is characterised as 'poor', why, and whether the way they are characterised by history is matched by material evidence (e.g. Briggs 2006; Karskens 1999a, 1999b; Owens and Jeffries 2016; Sneddon 2006). In the view of Symonds (2011:106; see also Scott 1994), one of the 'great strengths' of historical archaeology is its 'ability to recover evidence of the lives of the poor or disadvantaged' who are 'underrepresented' in documentary sources. Indeed, it considers the 'seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime' (Deetz 1977:161): the 'material texture' of the past, from which an understanding can be created (Mayne et al. 2000:139).

However, there is cause for concern that, in the rush to better understand working-class people, archaeology has fallen into typecasting individuals and groups without interrogating the role that perceptions (whether by researchers or in documentary evidence) play in colouring the interpretation of working-class sites (Owens and Jeffries 2016:806; Symonds 2011:106). Even the very definition of what makes a person 'working-class' is not settled. Mark Leone (1999:4) offers one potential definition, that the working class are those who must sell their labour in order to earn a living.

Equally, to begin to consider the archaeology of the working-class and the 'poor', the idea of what makes someone 'poor' must also be nailed down. Poverty is often portrayed as a one-dimensional phenomenon that can be easily bounded or described (i.e. you are either 'poor', or you are not) when the reality is much more dynamic and complex (Symonds 2011:107). Individuals can move 'in and out' of poverty throughout their lives, and in the 19th century an event as simple as a mine closure or death of the family 'breadwinner' could immediately plunge a family into poverty (Symonds 2011:107). Given the turnover of tenants and residents in working class sites and neighbourhoods, it is not unreasonable to wonder if these sites merely reflect the movement into and out of poverty, across the course of people's lives.

McGuire and Paynter's *The Archaeology of Inequality* (1991) was one of the early works to consider the idea of whether archaeology could expose material culture evidence of inequality, and to explore how it could present itself across different places and times, albeit with a North American focus. It presented a series of essays examining largely the archaeology of African-American slaves, and its authors discuss the master-slave and landlord-tenant relationship through the lens of domestic food wares (Ferguson 1991:28-29), differences in accommodation architecture (Orser 1991:40-54), and the impacts of industrialisation and merchant capitalism on urban versus rural citizens (Mrozowski 1991:79-101). Mrozowski (1991:89, 90, 91) argued that the company town of Lowell, Massachusetts, was an example of a site where the dominant capitalist ideology created a physical archaeology that could highlight inequality; in particular, Mrozowski noted the separation of the worker's houses from the rest of the town, and how the overseers had more expansive accommodation in prominent locations which accentuated (and enforced) the hierarchy.

It was Scott's compilation, *Those of Little Note* (1994), that sought to 'redress' how people who were considered unimportant by the dominant social, political and economic elite of their time were treated in the historical and archaeological record. Scott and her collaborators (particularly for this study, Hardesty [1994] and Spencer-Wood [1994]) expanded on the work begun by McGuire and Paynter (and contributors) to present case studies on North American sites that focused on the historical archaeology of slaves, Native Americans, working class people, and women (Scott 1994). In it, Scott (1994:7) argues that 'simplistic, binary, and ahistorical categories' as used by previous researchers in this space 'do injustice to the complex relations in colonial and postcolonial communities' by failing to appropriately address the complexity and variety of interactions that existed in the real world; emphasising that meaningful understanding of the past lives of marginalised people can only come from trying to see beyond a 'dualism' (e.g. domination/resistance or rich/poor).

Social history is driven by an interest in 'hidden people', although according to Mayne et al. (2000:139), social historians are often 'less interested in actual people' than in simple 'social types' whose 'collective lives' can be used to illustrate the past. In essence, the focus is less on the individual and more on how the individual can be used to illustrate a broader social group, social theme, or overall narrative (Mayne et al. 2000:139). Mayne et al. (2000:139) also criticise this view, arguing this kind of 'history-making' does not aid in understanding physical places from the past and simply smooths over the multiplicity of individual stories, people, neighbourhoods, and lives.

However, Owens and Jeffries (2016:807) argue that poorer people are often anonymous in historical records and more transient, making it harder to link artefacts and assemblages with particular people or particular times. Briggs (2006:76) acknowledges this in the case of Quebec Street in Port Adelaide, where few records of detail exist and a number of people only stayed a

short time at the site. In the nineteenth century, ‘people and their things seem constantly to have been on the move’ and the frequency of movement obstructs the methodology of connecting people with objects (Owens and Jeffries 2016:807).

On one hand, writers like Symonds (2011) encourage archaeologists to take a side and use the archaeology to show evidence of inequality, to give voice to the individuals of the past, and demonstrate how individual people survived and even thrived despite their circumstances; on the other, writers like Sneddon (2006) instead caution that focusing on individuals and individual stories leads to archaeologists diminishing the full impact of poverty and poor conditions on working-class people as a whole. It is best put by Leone (1999:3-4), who warns historical archaeologists that capitalism is a ‘complex, pervasive, and historically recent phenomenon’, but is also ‘itself a perplexing development’ that ‘archaeology may help illuminate’. Emphasising this, Potter (1999:51) stated two and a half decades ago that more historical archaeologists have begun to uncover and understand ‘what several different versions of capitalism – and resistance to capitalism – look like “in the ground”’.

In Australia, several historical archaeology projects focussing on working-class sites ‘in the ground’ have been conducted since the late 1980s. Many of these focussed on large urban sites in major capital cities, such as the entire city block known as the ‘Commonwealth Block’ in Melbourne, incorporating the streets of ‘Little Lon’ (Little Lonsdale Street) and Casselden Place (1987-2003); and The Rocks neighbourhood in Sydney, between Cumberland and Gloucester Streets and including Cribbs and Carahers Lanes (1994). Some smaller urban projects centred on single streets or single allotments, such as Mountain Street in Sydney (2006), Quebec and Jane Streets in Port Adelaide (2002-2003), and A’Beckett Street (2009) and Jones Lane (2017) in Melbourne. These sites have been used to compare and contrast material evidence and provoke discussion about the interpretations of the lives, lifestyles and values of urban working-class people in Australia.

Lampard (nee Briggs) (2006, 2009, 2011) studied two working-class sites in Port Adelaide, a tenement at Quebec Street and two single-family working-class adjacent cottages on Jane Street, named for their longest owners/occupants, the Farrow and McKay families. She compared the archaeology of both sites in relation to written records, uncovering that although still working-class, the Farrows and McKays both possessed a wide range of goods and tended to embody middle-class behaviours of temperance to differentiate themselves from their hard-drinking Port neighbours at Quebec Street (Briggs 2006:224). Given the working-class nature of these sites and the contemporary dates of occupation with the Rookery, the Rookery data will be examined in comparison to the Quebec and Jane Street assemblages.

The emergence of a ‘Slum Debate’

Given the amount of work undertaken at ‘slum’ sites in Australia, a tension in interpretation fired up in the early 2000s, known formally as the ‘slum debate’. At its most basic, one side saw slums as places of grinding poverty with little to alleviate the misery and the drudgery, in which, to borrow the often-used phrase, life was nasty, brutish and short. This view has been considered by almost all archaeologists studying Australian slum sites at one point or another, such as Karskens et al. (1999a, 1999b, 2001) in The Rocks, Sneddon (2006) at Mountain Street, Sydney, and Mayne and Murray at Little Lon (2001, 2004, 2008). But in all these studies, while poverty is at the forefront of the conclusions drawn from the material culture, the extent to which it was universal and completely inescapable, and the ways in which people dealt with it, are debated.

Later, Karskens (1999a:190-191) revised her opinion of slum material culture’s meaning and used the assemblage from The Rocks to argue that ‘sweeping generalisations over time about “slums” and “slum-dwellers” are unfounded’. These views are in line with the ‘other side’ of the ‘slum debate’, which seeks to instead view the archaeology of working-class inner-city sites as depicting tales of survival, resilience and optimism (Owens and Jeffries 2016:806; Sneddon 2006:1,2). These tales are constructed with an eye on the archaeology and not just the history, where looking at individual artefacts or household assemblages can give a better understanding of consumption patterns, lifestyle choices, and perhaps social mores followed by the individuals (Karskens 2001:77). In particular, Karskens (2001:77) states a ‘closer examination’ of the archaeology would suggest that working-class people actively shaped their worlds through their choices.

One of the biggest points of contention within this debate is the extent to which working-class people’s material culture reflects their participation in – or rejection of – the capitalist system and consumer culture. One idea advanced is that the concept of an ideology of ‘respectability’ or aspirations of social mobility can be measured against things such as consumer choice, by way of purchases reflecting the values or ideas of the owners and society at large (Ricardi 2017:142). However, not all goods possessed by working-class people, or indeed any people, are always bought new; many are traded, bartered for, pawned, bought second-hand, and even stolen (Little and Kassner 2001:64). Therefore, a purely ‘economic evaluation’ of an assemblage, based on the assumption that all artefacts were purchased, will not take into account those other methods of acquisition, even though they still reveal working-class tastes and desires (Casey 2003:85).

Another factor to consider is that second-rate items with imperfections in manufacture appear at working-class sites, which Crook (2005:15) suggests could be indicative of either people accepting the errors as simply part of the manufacture or being otherwise happy to have something nice that did not cost as much as the ‘best’ quality. After all, a mistake in the decoration or a small chip to a lip did not prevent objects from being usable; in fact, ‘damaged goods still had a price’ and people could purchase a wide range of goods cheaper simply for being ‘seconds’ (Crook 2005:20).

Comparatively, some goods were made cheaply and imperfections were just part of the production; therefore, the presence of flaws, Crook (2005:20) warns, does not automatically guarantee an article was a second-rate item.

Comparatively, the discovery of small 'indulgences' (such as jewellery, perfumes, and other trinkets) is sometimes 'attributed to emulation of middle-class domesticity' but may just reflect a desire for items of 'domestic comfort' that were within the means of even the poor, due to mass production or second-hand trading (Crook 2000:24). This is a view shared by Symonds (2011:107), who argues that poverty might be 'experienced in multifarious ways', which do not necessarily leave an archaeological trace.

The danger of using artefacts alone to tell stories is that a superficial approach to studying the quality and kind of artefacts available might not actually yield clues as to the *attitudes* and *lifestyle choices* of the inhabitants of working-class sites. In fact, consumer choices may not have been governed by 'frugality and necessity', but instead by a pride in oneself and one's domestic environment, even if the overall cost of the items was relatively low (Porter and Ferrier 2006:392).

However, this view has been criticised as well. Owens and Jeffries (2016:808) wonder whether perspectives like those of Karskens (1999a, 2001) place 'too great an emphasis on individual or household experience as opposed to collective struggles' and that the focus on domestic objects and 'narratives of consumption' replicates what they call a 'middle-class gaze' upon the past. This is particularly discussed by Sneddon (2006:1), who asks whether there has been a 'rush towards a revisionist archaeology of the slums' which seeks to find 'isolated pieces of material culture … that reflect the "brighter side" of living in abject poverty' in a manner which 'understates the difficulties experienced by the inner-city poor'. Owens and Jeffries (2016:806) agree, adding there is the potentially unintended side-effect that, in trying to portray a tale of 'needy individuals ultimately triumph[ing] against adversity', researchers are rewriting history to replace class-based inequality and oppression with individual inequality and oppression. The side of the 'slum debate' occupied by Sneddon et al. does not explicitly seek the goal of 'telling it like it is' by suggesting that all working-class life was purely poverty and discomfort with no 'agency, adaptability and variety', but it does seek to bear in mind that 'many of the inhabitants [of slum sites] would have felt that their lives were in fact overwhelmingly limited and one-dimensional' (Sneddon 2006:2,5).

Aside from the question of how to interpret the meanings of artefacts that working-class people possessed, there are some practical considerations about taphonomy and the survival of artefacts that must also be discussed. As the results from the Mountain Street site in Sydney suggest, site formation processes can sometimes give a 'very false impression of life in the slums', which masks 'poverty and discomfort', while suggesting an 'agency, adaptability and variety of life' that possibly never existed (Sneddon 2006:2). In this line of thinking, Sneddon (2006:5) also offers a view divorced from the main thrust of the 'slum debate', that sometimes the material culture might

exaggerate the appearance of poverty by virtue of what is deposited and how. Sneddon (2006:4-5) noted that when the Mountain Street site was cleared at the turn of the century, the population departed and likely took their most valuable and useful items with them, leaving only an assemblage 'dominated by broken and poor quality items'. Since The Rocks, Little Lon, and the Rookery were all cleared, in part or completely, around the early 1900s, the departing populations may have inadvertently caused the mischaracterisation of their own lives.

Commenting on the nature of how archaeologists consider the concept of 'slums', Sneddon (2006:3) asked, 'if we did not know that the Mountain Street site had been a slum, would the archaeology alone have identified it as such?' Indeed, much of the picture of what slums were like in 19th century Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide was created from the work of middle-class observers and social reformers, who 'sought out and visited the worst of places', 'focused upon certain aspects', and then 'employed … [a] well-known stock of rhetoric' to create a particular image of these places (Godden Mackay 1999:32; Owens and Jeffries 2016:806). The purpose of this behaviour was to encourage social change, to promote temperance or to encourage politicians and the government to demolish 'the slums' for the health of the cities; even when observers noted signs of 'cleanliness, domesticity and community' they 'failed to alter their prejudicial judgements' of working-class neighbourhoods (Godden Mackay 1999:32). The use of these 'slum stereotypes' galvanised clearance programmes and saw an end to many communities of working-class people in the inner parts of Melbourne and Sydney (Mayne et al. 2000:138). With this in mind, Mayne et al. (2000:142) boldly claim that 'slums are imaginary constructs', forming convenient ways to generalise the lives and behaviours of whole swathes of people, while ignoring the 'concentration of social disadvantage' in particular neighbourhoods, which was very real.

Naturally, there is space to meet in the middle, or more accurately, along the spectrum of views. Slum stereotypes 'mask a multilayered and complex world', but, while historical archaeology can 'create a more complete picture' of 'vanished communities', care must be taken to ensure that the data are not misrepresented, leading to a false picture of the lives and behaviours of past people (Sneddon 2006:8).

Historical archaeology, glass, and the working-class

Much has been made of the archaeology associated with urban consumption in Australia (e.g. Crook 2000, 2005; Owens and Jeffries 2016) and elsewhere (Na 2016; Ricardi 2017), but none of these explicitly focus on historical glassware, such as bottles, tablewares, etc. Generally, these studies tend to include a broader view of historical consumer-culture, which incorporates ceramics, some glassware, and other mixed media items, like eating utensils, adornment, and hygiene tools, etc. This is not unusual, but it does mean that often glass is used alongside other artefacts in analysis.

For much of the early colonial periods in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, bottles were imported from Europe until the development of local glass production, which intensified in the United States in the 1840s-1850s, began in Australia in 1866, and only became successful in New Zealand in 1922 (Boow 1991:113; Busch 1987:68; Platts and Smith 2018:78). Imported bottles did not arrive as merely containers of export products, but also by way of being ship's ballast, which was offloaded, washed, and refilled locally (Adams 2003:58). In the case of Australia, a British tax on colourless 'flint' glass which existed until 1845 caused a predominance of cheaper 'black' glass bottles used for wines and beers at early sites (Boow 1991:113).

Adams (2003:58) states that, while 'today wine bottles are viewed as a disposable item', in the 19th century they were regarded as something to keep and reuse, stating that in America some owners engraved their names or embossed seals on them. This view is best articulated by Busch (1987:68,69), noting that, with the development of commerce and transportation, the demand for packaged goods in sealable, sanitary containers like glass bottles rose. In an Australian context, Ellis and Woff (2018) studied bottle-washing businesses at 35-37 A'Beckett Street in Melbourne, just around the corner from the slums of Little Lon, noting that beer and wine bottles were the most common find (Ellis and Woff 2018:18, 21). The broader implication from this suggests that glassware could often be in use for many years after its original manufacture, or that bottles were kept by purchasers and used for other purposes before being broken and deposited at a site long after their original purchase (Ellis and Woff 2018:22).

The time lag between the manufacture and use of an object and its final deposition can apply to all kinds of artefacts, especially glass. To this end, Adams (2003:49-50, 53) explains the primary 'effects' which govern artefact manufacture-lifetime-disposal:

- Heirloom Effect (Adams 2003:49) – not everything in a newly-built structure will be new; some might have been gifted or regifted or passed down through generations.
- Frugality Effect (Adams 2003:49-50) – researchers should not automatically associate poverty with second hand or older items found at a site; it may also be the result of thriftiness or gifts.
- Curation Effect (Adams 2003:50) – people might have a 'good set' of items alongside their everyday ones, and because they use them less or are more careful with them, the risk of them breaking is lower and therefore their appearance in the archaeological record is less likely.
- Dumping Effect (Adams 2003:53) – during wars or blockades, countries might be forced to find other markets; for example, large quantities of British ceramics were dumped in Australia during the US Civil War (Brooks 2005:56-59).

The nature of glassware as both a cheap container and something that could be reused for long periods affects the way it is treated by people and means that sites could be littered with both single-use and multi-use glass items. As Karskens (1999b:95) states, 'changes were gradual, an evolution rather than a revolution. Many older-style utensils and objects continued to be used

alongside new ones.' Additionally, Adams (2003:50) noted that often the frugality effect is linked to poverty, or that poverty is sometimes used as the explanation for why older or second-hand items appeared at sites, but in reality, frugality is not solely the preserve of the poor. With glassware in particular, frugality can be linked to a 'hand-me-down' effect: just because an individual has no need for a bottle, does not mean it cannot still be used; it might be given to a friend or neighbour or family member, 'discarded from one household but remain[ing] in the system' (Adams 2003:50).

The rise of glass tableware in the home can also be attributed to changing social attitudes. Alcohol was predominantly drunk in pubs and hotels, but after around 1860 it became less socially acceptable for women to drink in public (Karskens 1999b:164; Lampard and Staniforth 2011:9). Generally, this kind of social rule would likely have been more rigidly enforced against 'respectable' middle- and upper-class women than working-class women, but the presence of glass stemware in working-class houses suggest that working-class people may have been conscious of these changing social values. In Lampard and Staniforth's (2011:10) view, alcohol was not merely 'consumed', it was also 'regulated by the right equipment' (i.e. wine glasses, decanters). With the right tableware came the 'gentility and control' which made it 'respectable consumption' instead of any other kind, and this was what made the difference in perception (Lampard and Staniforth 2011:10). The aspirational working-class woman, aware of what it might say about her reputation if she was seen drinking in public, may then have chosen to drink at home with glasses to show she was more refined. However, even women in the Rocks could only obtain alcohol from the 1860s onwards by purchasing a jugful to take home or sending their children, implying that some of the restrictions came from external pressure on pubs and inns to force women out (Karskens 1999:164). In contrast to women, it was an established part of working-class culture for men to decamp to hotels after work for a drink (Lampard and Staniforth 2011:9).

Glassware does not just include bottles and tableware. Porter and Ferrier (2006:375) included buttons, beads and marbles in a study of the miscellaneous artefacts from Casselden Place, in Melbourne, and justified the choice by arguing that such items, which do not easily fit into the major categories of an assemblage, can still provide information about the 'lives of the people', their 'access to leisure time, the degree of their disposable income, their tastes...'. However, they also acknowledge that it was 'difficult' to contextualise miscellaneous items due to a lack of published research on historic urban sites in Australia because there was 'no established baseline or Australian "norm" for comparison' (Porter and Ferrier 2006:377).

Lindbergh (1999:56), for instance, noted that there were very few studies concerning 'fancy' buttons by working class individuals in Australia, and cites the example of dark green (black) glass buttons. It is commonly believed that black glass buttons became popular in the 1860s, following Queen Victoria's entry into mourning for the death of the Prince Consort, as a way for people who could not afford jet buttons to also wear black, but Lindbergh (1999:54-55) suggests this practice

was probably not widespread. Furthermore, Lindbergh (1999:55) argues that at a working-class level, black glass buttons were no more popular after Prince Albert's death than before and that their incidence followed the trends of general fashion instead.

Moreover, the dizzying array of fashions that were cycled through by both men and women during the Victorian era makes it difficult to place glass beads and buttons. Willett and Cunnington (1981:122) wrote that 'very little has been recorded about the under-clothing worn by the "working man" of last century' [sic]. However, taken in consideration with Adams' (2003:49-50) frugality or curation effects, it could be suggested that working-class individuals may have worn or reused clothing longer without much regard for 'current' fashion, and thus an individual in 1860 might still be wearing an outfit cobbled together from clothing from up to ten years earlier. As buttons and beads are easily moved from one garment to another, and glass beads were typically used on 'better quality clothing', a glass button might be reused repeatedly on different pieces over time (Lindbergh 1999:54).

As an example of this, at Little Lon's Casselden Place, Porter and Ferrier (2006:379) argue that the recovery of 'decorative buttons, cuff links,' and other ornate items show the people who occupied Casselden Place 'were conscious of their personal appearance, and that of their families' and, moreover, were willing to 'invest money in this seemingly frivolous aspect'. However, some of these items could have been inherited or instead used cheaper coloured glass 'as a substitute for precious stones', which Porter and Ferrier (2006:379) found with the 'generally mass-produced…imitations of more costly pieces' of jewellery at Casselden Place. Frugality and necessity, Porter and Ferrier (2006:392) state, did not necessarily govern consumer choice all the time, and there was space for a 'pride in … personal appearance, and in … domestic environment' perhaps detached from aspirations of social mobility.

Working-class individuals were necessarily participants in the capitalist consumer economy, which diversified in the 19th and 20th centuries, but their relationship with it was not solely a chain of purchase-consume-discard. Instead, working-class people adapted glass objects to suit their needs, and while some did so with an eye on their reputation or social position, others used glassware because they needed to, because they liked it, or for other reasons. There is no 'typical' working-class relationship with glassware; instead, the use of glassware at different places and in different times is often representative of the views and behaviours of the occupants in that place at that time.

CHAPTER 3: THE ROOKERY IN HISTORY

This chapter outlines the historical background to The Rookery site, including the history of sewerage in Adelaide and archaeological work undertaken at The Rookery site in 1990, 1992, and 1994.

Adelaide's Sewers and Cesspits

To understand the Rookery's formation, some background to Adelaide's waste management system is required. Since colonisation, Adelaide's River Torrens had functioned as both a provider of fresh water and a sewer for the expanding city, but for much of the early existence of Adelaide it was a free-for-all (Hammerton 1986:2,3). It was only from 1848 that the night-soil men appeared, which was a private enterprise; later, hard rubbish was collected by the City Council at a cost of £4000 per year, through the employment of 12 carts and 24 men (Hammerton 1986:4,36).

The City Council had been pushing for deep drainage since 1864 and even attempted to convince Parliament to supply funds to construct it in 1870, to no avail (Hammerton 1986:35-36). However, newspapers whipped up public opinion in favour of deep drainage, as it was a 'constant and popular topic in city and country newspapers', particularly because of the outbreaks of typhoid (Hammerton 1986:51). Between July 1877 and January 1878, consulting engineer William Clark, together with City Engineer J. L. Hyndman, at the behest of the Council, prepared a report outlining a scheme for deep drainage, which Parliament then used to inform the creation of the *Adelaide Sewers Act 1878* (City of Adelaide 2024; Hammerton 1986:38-39). Hyndman began mapping the city in 1878 but died before it could be completed. Charles William Smith was appointed in his stead and completed the task in June 1880 (City of Adelaide 2024). The plans made by Smith and his 4-man team at 40 feet to the inch included a vast amount of detail of the streets, buildings, trees, poles, tramways, and other features of the city at the time (City of Adelaide 2024; Morton 1996:30). Smith used a series of notebooks, from which he and his assistants drew up the larger format plans to map the city street by street. The Rookery features in the Smith Survey in Notebook 2 on page 62 and is included on Plan 74 of Grenfell Street (Figure 2).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 2: Sheet 74 of the 1880 Smith Survey, showing the Rookery structures highlighted in yellow (after Smith, City of Adelaide).

Construction began on the sewers in 1880, and the waste began to flow through the first of the newly opened sewers from January 7, 1881 (Hammerton 1986:73). North Adelaide joined the system by 1883 and by 1888 the council districts of Hindmarsh, Thebarton, St Peters and the City of Adelaide were all connected (Hammerton 1986:73). The Engineering and Water Supply Department (E&WS) also mapped the city in 1883 to record the location of sewer pipes and services, including the placement of the toilets and sewer connections at the Rookery (see Figure 3) (Jones et al. 1997:9).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 3: 1883 E&WS Department plan of sewers and connections at the Rookery, with East Terrace on the right and Grenfell Street at the bottom; the nine cottages are visible in the middle of the plan and the three cesspits are visible across the courtyard (Austral 1992a:9).

Historic background of The Rookery

The development of Adelaide's sewer system provides context for why the Rookery site had cesspits and when and why these were closed up. Compared with sites like Little Lon and The Rocks, there is very little historical source material related to the Rookery site and only occasional mentions of it, or people connected to it, in contemporary newspapers. Compounding this scarcity of material, one of the other major difficulties in researching this site is that the name 'The Rookery' was not in use for much of its early existence, instead it was known as 'Peacock's Buildings' after its builder and owner, William Peacock (Austral 1992a:6). McQuie (2022:21) states that the name 'The Rookery' was not limited to the cottages but included the tannery area next door also owned by Peacock. Unfortunately, Peacock also owned another series of buildings on Hindley Street which were contemporaneously referred to as 'Peacock's Buildings', complicating the search for elusive references to the Rookery (*The Register* Wednesday 3 April 1912:5). The Rookery was also a colloquial epithet for a crowded slum in England.

The Rookery in history

Construction and use

Some documentary sources in the form of Rate Assessment Books by the Adelaide City Council reveal rough dates for The Rookery, with it being vacant land valued at £9 in 1847-1848, then containing 8 x 2-room cottages in 1849-50, before being extended to 9 x 2-storey 'dwellings' by 1850-1851; this suggests that the greater portion of the Rookery housing was constructed between 1848 and 1849 (Austral 1992a:6). The Rate Books later suggest that the rooms on the second floor were let out separately, so the nine dwellings functioned as 18 separate tenement spaces (Austral 1992a:6; McQuie 2022:21).

In a February 1849 lecture, newspaper editor John Stephens referred to the Rookery site as being 16 tenements (Stephens 1849:20), suggesting that the final dwelling may either have not yet been built or was under construction at the time of the 1849-1850 Rate Assessment, but finished some time before the 1850-1851 Rate Assessment (Austral 1992a:6; McQuie 2022:24). Throughout the remainder of its existence, the Rate Assessments refer to the site variously as either 18 tenements or nine cottages/houses of two rooms (Austral 1992a:6). Stephens (1849:20) describes the Rookery, with a reference to Peacock, as

> … newly-erected tenements, built by landlords, who can afford to build better, and whose professed sense of religious obligations ought at all events to have taught them humanity. There is in the neighbourhood of East-terrace, on the north side of Peacock's tanyard, a row of eight habitations, I cannot call them houses, divided into sixteen tenements, the upper of which are accessible only by means of open stairs, or rather step-ladders in the rear. These have one hundred persons occupying them, and all of whom are compelled to use the same convenience,

> which adjoins one of the ladders, and stands within two feet of the house. On the west side of the same buildings, there are twelve houses belonging to the same landlord, all thickly inhabited, and having but one privy amongst them (Stephens 1849:20).

Previous work by Austral (1992a) and Jones et al. (1997) both considered the Rookery to have been built by Peacock as housing for the workers at his tannery next door, but McQuie (2022:21) argues it is more likely that the Rookery was constructed as a money-earning venture to make use of a portion of Peacock's land.

The upper storey of the terraces was perhaps accessed from a communal balcony ending in a staircase, and later Jones et al. (1997:7) suggested a 'light annex' may have replaced the north-side laneway and balcony, so each upstairs room was instead accessed by an internal ladder/staircase in the annex. This would convert the 18 separate rooms into nine two-storey terraces, with a single upstairs and downstairs room. The entire structure was built of bricks, with an English bond double-brick footing to 230 mm wide, enclosing rooms of 3.6 by 3 metres (Austral 1992a:14). The cottages featured earth floors that were later replaced with floorboards, and when the annex was constructed, it was possibly timber-framed with wooden plank or sheet iron walls (Jones et al. 1997:12,13). The fireplaces and chimneys were constructed in the west wall of each cottage, and it appeared the hearths were extended when the floorboards laid to prevent fires spreading (Austral 1992a:13,19).

The cistern/underground tank under the paving in Area 02 of the 1992 excavation (north of the westernmost cottage, Area 01) was probably filled in some time before 1872 but not on account of piped water arriving to the Rookery (Jones et al. 1997:63,64). The presence of plaster in the bottom suggested the filling of the tank occurred after the plastering of the cottage walls, which itself occurred after the floorboards were laid in the cottages (Jones et al. 1997:66). There is some contention about when these renovations occurred, with Jones et al. (1997:66) stating the floorboards were laid in 1858 and the plastering of the walls occurred when the Rookery was untenanted in 1864-1868. However, McQuie (2022:24) suggests the plastering may have been later still, in 1889, in compliance with an order by the Local Board of Health which also included draining and paving the yards. It would seem more likely the cistern/tank was filled during or after the 1860s renovations as this aligns with the period Captain Richard Berry of the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society (ABSFS) took rent of the Rookery and he had promised to repair the cottages before renting them (Jones et al. 1997:66).

On 25 July 1867, the ABSFS created the Adelaide City Mission and appointed Berry to oversee it, and it was he who came up with the plan to lease the Rookery for 2 shillings and sixpence a week to house widows and 'other deserving people' (Adelaide Benevolent Society 2025; Linn 2012:43-

44,50). This being a success, Berry then sought other cheap housing throughout the city to expand the scheme (Linn 2012:53).

After Berry's employment with the Adelaide City Mission was terminated, he was appointed agent of the newly formed East Adelaide City Mission (EACM) during a meeting on 6 September 1887, which was to continue operations at the Rookery (Berry 1895:79; *South Australian Register* Thursday 8 September 1887:5). The East Adelaide City Mission used one of the cottages at the Rookery as an office (Berry 1895:79). Berry (1895:79) describes conducting afternoon Sunday schools in his offices at the Rookery, before the EACM secured the lease of the Ebenezer Chapel nearby as their mission hall and new offices.

Berry's departure is not mentioned in the official history of the ABSFS and so it is unclear whether the EACM operated under their control separate to the Adelaide City Mission, or whether it was an entirely standalone affair (Linn 2012:85). Berry himself died in 1908, but it is unclear if the EACM were still in operation at the Rookery when the site was condemned (*The Advertiser* Tuesday 21 January 1908:7; *Chronicle* Saturday 25 January 1908:43). In McQuie's (2022:106-108) collation of the Rate Assessment Books (1847-1904) and Town Clerk's Records (1892-1903), Berry is replaced as leaseholder in 1890 by a William Harris until 1892, before he in turn is replaced by agents acting on his or a Henry Harris' behalf. In 1894-1895, and again from 1897-1898 no leaseholder is recorded, before William Harris resumes for 1899-1900; finally, Henry Lockett Ayers and 'A.M. Ayers' become leaseholders from 1901 to 1903 (McQuie 2022:109-110). Throughout these changes, particularly from 1890 onwards, the Rookery cottages are still occupied by various tenants although not completely – in 1901 only three of the nine houses have tenants (McQuie 2022:109-110).

The Cesspits

Jones et al. (1997:14) noted that, of the three cesspits (called 'toilet blocks' by them) on the site, the central cesspit (Area 906) was constructed differently to the east and west cesspits. In part, its 'older brick fabric and rough construction', as well as the fact that some artefacts found in the central cesspit could not have been deposited prior to 1880, led them to argue that it had been built contemporary with the cottages and cistern/underground tank, but had gone out of service by 1868 and was then either filled with rubbish or remained in use until the sewers were connected (Jones et al. 1997:71).

The 'well fired' bricks and Portland cement (Jones et al. 1997:14) used in the east and west cesspits suggested they were more recent and all three are marked on the 1878-1880 Smith Survey as 'W.C.' with no marks or comments on the plan to suggest that the central cesspit was not then still in use. Later, around 1883, when the sewers were laid, the structures above all three cesspits were repurposed as toilet blocks with plumbed toilets connected to the sewer and the two remaining cesspits filled in (Jones et al. 1997:14). None of these three cesspits appear to be the

one referred to by Stephens (1849:20), which perhaps was built or paved over at some point and not discovered during the excavations.

McQuie (2022:74) argued for two possible explanations for the filling of the cesspits, with one being a cleanout associated with the 1860s period of no tenants and thus deposition of rubbish over a short period, and the other being a cleanout associated with the closing of the cesspits for the sewer arrival in the late 1870s and thus deposition of artefacts with a time-lag of 20 years applied to their 'in use' dates.

Condemnation, Demolition and Charlick's Market

A lengthy article in the *South Australian Register* (Friday 17 June 1898:6) mentions a tour by the Local Board of Health to various 'homes and hovels of the poor', and includes a mention of 'eight old houses, East-terrace, acre 94, condemned – these are miserable two-story dwellings of two rooms each, rent 3s. a week'. It is not stated why the Rookery had been reduced to eight houses by this point, unless the offices of the EACM were not considered to be a house by the board (assuming the EACM were still operating there at this time).

In October 1900, an article appeared in *The Advertiser* (Saturday 6 October 1900:11) concerning the powers of local boards of health to demolish 'insanitary and dilapidated buildings' as a result of Henry Lockett Ayers and Arthur Earnest Ayers (William Peacock's executors) being charged in Police Court for 'neglecting to comply with an order of the board' to demolish 'nine dilapidated dwellings situated off East-terrace, and known as Peacock's-row'. The article notes that the Local Board of Health had served a notice on the owners on July 6, 1900, requiring them to demolish the Rookery within 21 days, after the board had voted on July 2 to declare the houses 'unfit' (*The Advertiser* Saturday 6 October 1900:11).

An article in *The Advertiser* from July 1903 announced that

> Mr William Charlick, of Rundle-street east, purposes applying to Parliament on August 1 for necessary authority to establish a new market on land owned by him, and known as Peacock's tanner, Baker & Humbly's timber yard, and the Rookery (*The Advertiser* Saturday 4 July 1903:8).

The legislation authorising Charlick's market – to be called the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange – passed on 15 September 1903 (Stewart 2015).

Given that the Rate Assessments and Town Clerk's records show the houses were still tenanted in 1903 and that Charlick did not open his market until April 1904, it can be presumed the Rookery was demolished sometime in mid-to-late 1903 (McQuie 2022:110; Stewart 2015). Austral (1992a:123) state that the cottages were 'carefully demolished by hand', with efforts made to salvage timber and bricks, before clay fill was laid to level the site. Following the demolition, Jones

et al. (1997:71) state that the yard remained ‘open long enough for several dump deposits to be left on the surface’, to which they gave the unit numbers 02/02 and 15/02, before being covered in fill deposits prior to the construction of Charlick’s market.

Previous archaeological work at The Rookery

Austral Archaeology and the 1990 and 1992 excavations

In 1990, the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange was demolished, and the site cleared, leaving only the heritage-listed buildings constructed by William Charlick along Grenfell Street and East Terrace (Austral 1992a:1). Around this time, Austral Archaeology were commissioned by the developer of the site, Beneficial Finance Pty Ltd, to undertake a series of excavations to test the archaeological potential ahead of proposed major construction (Austral 1992a:1). The 1990 survey and test excavations revealed the remains of The Rookery cottages and Peacock’s tannery, which was adjacent to the cottages on the west side along Grenfell Street, and the resulting report recommended ‘further archaeological investigation of the entire area prior to redevelopment’ (Austral 1992a:1). However, ‘no further archaeological work was commissioned’ and the redevelopment was due to go ahead not long after the survey (Austral 1992a:1).

In a twist of fate which saved the archaeology of the Rookery, in 1991 the owner of Beneficial Finance, the State Bank of South Australia, collapsed in a spectacular fashion and halted any plans for the redevelopment of the site (Austral 1992a:1). In 1992 Austral was given funding by the Adelaide City Council to carry out a large-scale salvage excavation of as much of the Rookery site as possible; Peacock’s Tannery was not included in this work (Austral 1992a:1-2) (Figure 4).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 4: Austral Archaeology 1992 site plan showing area numbers (Austral 1992a:13).

For reasons unknown, Austral referred to the markets on the Rookery site as the ‘East End Market’, although its proper name was the ‘Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange’. The actual ‘East End Market’, bearing that name, is north of the Rookery on East Terrace, on the North Terrace side of Rundle Street and has no relation to the Rookery site and was historically a separate company.

To make effective use of the time they had, Austral devised a series of research questions for the excavation, such as the location of structures relative to what was in historical documents, the nature of artefacts recovered and what they said about the inhabitants, and the archaeological potential of sites like the Rookery (Austral 1992a:2).

Since the 1990 test excavation had determined the depth of overburden and the stratigraphy of the site, Austral were able to remove much of the overburden with a mechanical excavator before conducting the remainder of the work by hand (Austral 1992a:10). As outlined in their methods, Austral often used the shape and dimensions of the features themselves (i.e. the cottages or the cesspits) to determine the size of trenches (Austral 1992a:10).

Each major feature of the site received an overall Area number, and within that feature individual parts were known as Units and were assigned sequential numbers; this system was adapted from the Port Arthur recording system, itself based on the Harris Matrix (Austral 1992a:10). In their system, Austral state that a unit can ‘be any discrete thing – a solid mass, a wall, a pipe, a piece of timber’; these features were then recorded horizontally and vertically in relation to each other (Austral 1992a:10).

Soil removed in the excavation was sieved through 10 mm and 2 mm sieves before being dumped in the cellar of a market building demolished prior to the excavation in the southeast corner of the site (Austral 1992a:10-11).

Artefacts were sorted on site into two classes, which would later be reflected in how they were stored (See Chapter 4: Methods); these were Inventory items and Accession items (Austral 1992a:11). Per Austral’s (1992a:11) definition, Accession items were recovered from ‘disturbed deposits such as demolition or back fill units’, were ‘fragmentary in nature’ and of little value diagnostically; comparatively, Inventory items were from ‘disturbed or undisturbed contexts’ and had sufficient features, distinguishing marks or forms as to reveal ‘period, date, … place of manufacture, manufacturer, user, form and/or function’. In other words, Inventory items were diagnostic, whereas Accession items were less so.

Many of the artefacts were later cleaned and sorted into boxes during the cataloguing phase, according to a revised Inventory and Accession system, although many items were never

catalogued and thus were stored as ‘Unprocessed’ materials, being a mix of Inventory and Accession items (Austral 1992a:11; Leevers 2012).

Back-Tracks Heritage and the 1994 excavation

In December 1994, Back-Tracks Heritage Consultants were engaged on behalf of the Kinsman Group to excavate the portions of the site that Austral had been unable to during the 1992 work, specifically the cistern in the north-west corner and the north wall of the eighth and ninth cottages (Jones et al. 1997:1).

Like Austral, Back-Tracks devised a series of research focuses for the site, seeking to understand what artefacts were in the cistern, to analyse its construction, and to uncover when it was filled in and why; equally, for the wall area, to determine whether the remains were part of the eighth and ninth cottages, to uncover if these two were contemporary with the rest of the Rookery cottages and of similar construction, and to determine whether another cistern was located in the area (Jones et al. 1997:2).

Back-Tracks used much the same methodology as Austral, assigning each area to be excavated a number, and, to ensure compatibility and comprehension, they followed the nomenclature as used by Austral for the 1992 excavation (Jones et al. 1997:16). Like Austral, Back-Tracks assigned individual numbers to features within an area, defining units as things like ‘solid mass’, walls, drains, etc.; these units were entered into Stratigraphic Unit recording sheets which established their relationship to other units and allowed the creation of a Harris matrix for the site (Jones et al. 1997:16).

Primarily Back-Tracks excavated by hand, save for removing the 1992 fill by machine (Jones et al. 1997:16). Soils were then tested for pH, had their colour noted with a Munsell chart, and were sieved through 5mm and 3mm sieves (Jones et al. 1997:16). Additionally, each feature (unit or area) was photographed throughout the excavation in both black and white and colour film, with the usual photograph identification board and colour range poles (Jones et al. 1997:16). Artefacts were roughly sorted and bagged in the field by material type, as was done by Austral, before being taken to cataloguing and analysis later (Jones et al. 1997:16). Unfortunately, none of the artefacts recovered during the Back-Tracks excavation survive in the collection and their location is unknown at present.

The Rookery since 1994

Since 1994, The Rookery has only had one Honours and one Masters project study aspects of the collection, and there is no complete catalogue of the surviving material aside from a census of the boxes (not their contents) completed in 2012. Denny’s 1994 archaeology Honours thesis, entitled ‘Health and Poverty in the Nineteenth Century’, focussed on the medicinal and pharmaceutical bottles from the site and includes a catalogue in Appendix 2, but while each artefact record is

associated with an area and unit number, it does not include the artefact numbers given by Austral during the excavation, making it difficult to associate Denny's artefacts listed with the present collection (Denny 1994:49). Nevertheless, Denny (1994:40) estimated the bulk of the medicinal bottles from the entire site were patent medicines and not prescription, although she acknowledged the difficulty in identifying prescription bottles because of their generic appearance (Figure 5). She qualified her identifications by researching newspaper articles and advertisements for patent medicines and 'cure-alls' in *The South Australian Register* newspaper, sampled at five-yearly intervals between 1860 and 1895 (Denny 1994:26,44). Her conclusions were that the Rookery inhabitants relied on patent medicines commonly available during the period (Denny 1994:44).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 5: A generic pharmaceutical bottle from the central cesspit, ROO-115. Photo 8899.

McQuie's 2022 Master of Archaeology thesis, entitled '"The Deserving Poor": Uncovering the worldviews at The Rookery, Adelaide, through the study of ceramics', focussed on the ceramic artefacts from the central cesspit on the site, and studied over 7600 ceramic sherds. In this, McQuie recatalogued the entire ceramic assemblage from area 906, the central cesspit, in addition to undertaking the first research on the Rookery's history since 1994. Using sources not available to Denny in 1994, McQuie (2022:73-74,82-84) was able to strengthen the dates for when the cesspit features were filled with the artefacts and better explain the social context of its construction and the nature of its inhabitants.

The only other project concerning the collection was Leevers' 2012 census of the boxed artefacts, comparing the catalogues to artefacts present in each box. This project did not seek to research the collection or the Rookery's history. In Leevers' study of the Rookery collection, she outlined several issues with the Austral catalogues (1992b, 1992c) for the 1992 Inventory and Accession items. She identified that, although the Austral system for labelling and cataloguing was robust, it was not executed to the same standard across the excavation, with mislabelling and other errors creeping in (Leevers 2012:25). Leevers (2012:15) noted that some Inventory items were missing catalogue numbers, catalogue numbers had been

duplicated on different objects, items had been stored in different boxes to those listed in the catalogue, and items had been catalogued but left out of the printed catalogue.

For the Accession items, Leevers (2012:15) noted that there were items listed as being discarded which were not, items listed as kept that were no longer part of the collection (whether these were discarded at the time or removed later is unknown), duplicated catalogue numbers for different objects, items stored in boxes other than where the catalogue listed them, and a considerable number of items that were part of the Accession series but were not included in the printed catalogue (see Appendix III). Per her report (Leevers 2012:16), a 2003 catalogue by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources noted there were 150 boxes of Rookery material from all three excavations but only 70-80 boxes by 2012.

Leevers' conclusion was that attempting to study the 1992 Rookery collection from purely the printed catalogues alone would result in errors, therefore, any future work would require a complete re-cataloguing of the collection (Leevers 2012:25). This is what McQuie's (2022) work has completed for ceramics and what this thesis has undertaken for glass.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS OF STUDY

This chapter outlines the methods used for the study of The Rookery glass assemblage, its parameters and how artefacts were defined, classified, and dated.

The Rookery collection

Of the two Austral excavations, the 1992 work generated the largest number of artefacts from across nearly the entire site, as outlined in Chapter 3. McQuie (2022), based on her own work and that of Leevers (2012), estimates the 1992 collection in total comprises more than 15,000 artefacts, of which 50-60% are ceramics (McQuie 2022:55).

During excavation the three cesspits (east, west and central), along with courtyard features, were given area numbers in the 900s, while the cottages and features associated with them were given area numbers in the 10s (see Table 1 below). Of all the areas excavated by Austral, the greatest number of artefacts were recovered from the three cesspits, and the central cesspit (Area 906) contained the most glass (Austral 1992b). Given that it was not possible to catalogue all the glass from the site for the present study, the focus for this thesis was limited to glass recovered from the central cesspit, as this provides both a broad range of artefacts of different types, but also a manageable sample size.

Table 1: Area numbers of features excavated by Austral Archaeology in 1992 (Austral 1992a).

Area Number	Area Features
900	Laneway
901	Cobbled footpath
902	Area adjacent to East Cesspit
903	East Cesspit
904	West Cesspit
905	Hollow adjacent to Central Cesspit
906	Central Cesspit
907	Area between East and Central Cesspit
908	Area adjacent to west boundary of site, over drain/sump
01	Cottage #1 (Westernmost)
02	Paving north of 01
03	Cottage #2
04	Paving north of 03
05	Cottage #3
06	Paving north of 05
07	Cottage #4
08	Paving north of 07
10	Cottage #5
11	Paving north of 10
12	North site boundary (Bluestone wall)
13	Western site boundary
14	Cottage #6
15	Paving north of 14
16	Cottage #7
17	Paving north of 16

*There was no Area 09 in the original reports by Austral and Back-Tracks, but it does appear in Leevers (2012:21) as apparently being a paved area north of Area 03, with at least two stratigraphic units.

Due to issues of missing, mislabelled or misplaced artefacts, along with the frequent 'double bagging' of multiple artefacts under a single catalogue number, and the absence of any catalogue for the Unprocessed artefacts, the glass from Area 906 was entirely re-catalogued. Occasionally, the original Inventory catalogue was referred to for contextual information when re-cataloguing Inventory items (Austral 1992b).

Classification methods

In general, artefacts were recorded individually, except where pieces refit or were fragments that could only have come from the same artefact when excavated. In some instances, Austral had bagged several artefacts together as being of like material; these were separated and catalogued individually if they did not refit or appear to be from the same artefact.

The catalogue used for this study was created on Microsoft Excel for ease of access and long-term compatibility for future researchers. It was adapted from the catalogue used by McQuie for her study of the 906 ceramics to ensure consistency with how the Rookery collection was catalogued, and the BFK Cataloguing Guidelines (2022) from Arthure's project at Baker's Flat, to reflect the glass focus (Arthure 2023; McQuie 2022).

To avoid confusion, a new number was assigned to the artefacts being catalogued, starting from '1' and continuing sequentially. Additionally, the prefix 'ROO-' was added to the catalogue number to further indicate this number was part of the new catalogue series. It is recognised that McQuie's (2022) ceramic catalogue also began with ROO-1, but due to each assemblage from Area 906 being catalogued by material type, this should not present any problems for future researchers when strengthened by reference to the original Austral catalogues (1992b, 1992c).

All cataloguing of the Inventory boxes was carried out by the primary researcher; volunteers assisted with cataloguing the Accession and Unprocessed boxes, being assigned artefacts by the primary researcher according to their technical knowledge and confidence. Volunteers catalogued following the same process as the primary researcher, which is outlined below. Volunteers recorded their descriptions into their own electronic copy of the Excel spreadsheet, which the researcher then transferred into the Master version, editing in the process. Data was cleaned periodically to ensure that categories and names were consistent (i.e. opalisation instead of iridescence; delamination instead of foliating; and to standardise the terminology for finishes, base designs, or manufacturing techniques, etc.).

The following was entered into the catalogue for each artefact:

- Area/Unit number
- Original inventory number (if available; if unknown or not available, NA was entered)
- New inventory number (number assigned in the catalogue for this study and given the prefix 'ROO-')
- Storage (the number or letter assigned to the box the artefact was stored in)
- Name of object/form
- Diagnostic (Y or N)
- Modifications or re-use if visible (Y or N)
- Grouped (Y or NA) (Y for when items were bulk catalogued, such as sherds of window glass)
- Number of pieces
- Motifs/Trademarks
- Full description of artefact
- Dimensions (length, width, depth in mm)

- Weight (in grams)
- Completeness (expressed as a ranged percentage, i.e. 1-24%, 25-49%, chosen from a list)
- Colour (as per Historical Glassware Colour Wheel – see Appendix I)
- Element (e.g. body with base, neck only; chosen from a list – see Appendix II)
- Function type (e.g. bottle, jar, stemware; chosen from a list – see Appendix II)
- Form (e.g. Alcohol, Pickles, Sauce; chosen from a list – see Appendix II)
- Manufacturing technique (technique of production)
- Date range (earliest and latest)
- Manufacturer's name and location
- References used to describe and identify artefacts, along with research notes
- Initials of the cataloguer

For bottles and jars, the following were also recorded, if available:

- Base diameter (mm)
- Base thickness (mm)
- Kickup depth (mm)
- Presence of pontil mark (Y or N)
- Bore diameter (mm)
- Finish type
- Closure (e.g. cork, screw cap)
- Presence of an applied finish (Y or N; related to Finish type)
- Presence of stretch marks on neck (Y or N)

If a particular feature was absent, then 'NA' was entered into the relevant column.

When choosing categories from the Cataloguing Guidelines (see Appendix II), options also included Other and Unknown/Unidentifiable. Other was used for artefacts which could be identified but were not able to be placed within an existing category. Conversely, for artefacts which could not be identified conclusively or had no discernible features to place them in a category, these were assigned Unknown/Unidentifiable.

Specific methods for recording certain features

When entering the text of motifs or trademarks on glass, an ellipsis (…) was used to indicate missing text because MS Excel would interpret the traditional double dash (--) as a minus sign and cause errors; a forward slash (/) was used to indicate a new line in embossed text; and a semicolon separated by spaces either side (;) was used to indicate separations between text on different parts of an artefact.

If sufficient object body was present to determine manufacturing technique, it was noted with reference to either Burke et al.'s (2017) *The Archaeologist's Field Handbook* or Arthure's (2023) Baker's Flat recording sheets; otherwise, if mould seams were visible (i.e. on a bottle neck) but not enough object was present to determine what kind of mould, it was entered as 'Moulded'.

If an artefact was in fragments which refit, details such as height, width and thickness, along with weight, were measured as the complete article. This was also noted in the Description column when applied.

If an artefact was in fragments that did not refit, the height, width and thickness were typically taken from the largest fragment, but the weight was taken from all the fragments together. This was noted in the Description column when applied. The exception was Window Glass, which had dimensions taken from the largest and smallest pieces as well as the weight taken together.

On all cylindrical or circular-base bottles, width was always measured mould seam to mould seam and thickness (depth) along the other axis; if no mould seams were present, two perpendicular directions were chosen, with width typically being the wider of the two. Width and thickness were always measured just at or below the shoulders or the highest intact part of the body, to differentiate from the base width/diameter measurement.

Base thickness meant the presumed thickness of the glass at the bottom, not its width/depth. This is as used by Arthure (2023).

If a bottle possessed a completely flat base, the kickup was entered as '0 mm' to differentiate from bottles where 'NA' was entered because the kickup was not able to be measured (e.g. it was not part of the fragment present).

For intact tumblers and tableware, width and thickness (depth) were taken at the rim (in place of rim diameter); otherwise, the highest non-base part of a fragment if possible.

Window glass was bulk catalogued by being sorted by thickness and colour; then dimensions taken from the largest and smallest fragments, the number of pieces counted, and the whole group of similar-thickness and same-colour fragments weighed together.

Pickle Finishes

A finish commonly occurring on pickle jars could not be identified in the existing literature and therefore could not be identified by a common name. It was named a 'Pickle Finish' for this study due to its occurrence on those kinds of vessels, and this name was entered into the catalogue spreadsheet when recording (Figure 5). The criteria for its definition are as follows, with reference to Lindsey's (2015) online Bottle Closures and Finishes guide found on the Society of Historical Archaeology's website (https://sha.org/bottle/).

A ‘Pickle Finish’:

- Is more tapered than a Wide Patent Finish, a finish which typically features straight vertical sides (Lindsey 2015:1).
- Is shorter than it is wide, making it different from a conventional Oil or Ring Finish, which are defined as ‘having a height being about equal to or more than its width’ (Lindsey 2015:1).
- Is considerably wider than a typical Tapered Collar, which although bearing a superficial similarity to a Pickle Finish, is defined by Lindsey (2015:3) as having a wider base than height. A Pickle Finish differs in that its width or diameter is 30 mm or more, while a Tapered Collar describes a finish 30 mm or less in width/diameter.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 6: Typical Pickle Finish profile and illustration, of type example ROO-405. Illustration: Felix Marsh 2024.

Excluded data

All artefacts from the Inventory and Accession boxes were catalogued for completeness, even though it is recognised some artefacts in the Accession series were not of diagnostic value. However, the Unprocessed boxes contained numerous bags of grouped glass from various trench units, not all of which was useful. Many bags contained sherds of bottle body glass with virtually no diagnostic features. To ensure the maximum value of the artefacts catalogued for this study, bags of bulk glass in the Unprocessed boxes were sorted and only diagnostic fragments were catalogued. The non-diagnostic sherds were returned to their bags with the original labels.

In this case, 'diagnostic' was defined as any piece which was either a bottle base or neck with finish, a near complete article, a fragment of stemware or tableware, all window glass fragments, or a piece featuring sufficient distinguishing features to make it useful for research (e.g. enough of a bottle to determine manufacture, rare glass colours, or embossed labelling).

There was only one case of a complete bottle being omitted. In Inventory Box J, which contained predominantly glass from Area 906, there was one bottle which had no label. This bottle, a dark green wine bottle like ROO-92, was not catalogued due to its lack of provenance.

Dating artefacts

The dating of artefacts used predominantly the guides suggested in *The Archaeologist's Field Handbook* (Burke et al. 2017) reference section, along with other authoritative sources, such as the works of Ken Arnold (1985, 1987, 1997). Many of the aerated water bottles which featured manufacturer's marks were able to be dated using Shueard and Tuckwell (1993). Additionally, Lindsey's (2015) online Bottle Closures and Finishes guide found on the Society of Historical Archaeology's website was used for uncommon finishes or ones not described by Burke et al. (2017).

Artefacts were given an 'earliest date' or *Terminus post quem* (TPQ) if it was possible to determine when a feature, style, colour, etc. was first introduced into manufacturing; in some instances, if its introduction in Australia had a known date. Dates were always circa or approximate, except where research determined a specific date was correct. If no features could be connected to an earliest date, it was left blank. If an artefact's only dateable feature had a 'became common around' date, this was entered as the earliest.

Artefacts were given a 'latest date' or *Terminus ante quem* (TAQ) for much the same reasons, connected to the end of styles, manufacturing techniques, or manufacturers, if these could be determined. As with earliest date, if a style or feature went out of common use over a certain date range, and no concrete latest date could be determined, the end of commonality date was entered as the 'latest date'. When entering the latest date/TAQ into the artefact catalogue, Adams' (2003)

time lag was not factored in, as the catalogue is not about when artefacts were deposited in the ground. The only exception to this is, due to the Rookery site being demolished in mid-1903 and the cesspits being paved over during the construction of Charlick's Fruit and Produce Market in 1903-1904, all artefacts received the latest date of 'c1903' if no earlier 'latest date' could be determined. This is consistent with the policy outlined by Hill (1982:293) and reflects the impossibility of artefacts being deposited in the cesspit later than 1903.

Adams (2003:55,59) proposes a time lag of 15-25 years across most contexts in the United States, with a lag of 30 years for lower socio-economic sites, and so McQuie (2022:59), when applying this lag to the Rookery ceramics, decided to average these dates for a 20-year adjusted lag. Therefore, as Adams' (2003:54,58-59) time lag for glass artefacts was based on the work of Hill (1982) and for the sake of consistency with the work of McQuie (2022:59,65), this +20-year time lag has also been applied to the glass artefacts. However, unlike Hill's method, when preparing the approximate deposition dates in Table 10 (Chapter 5), the average +20-year time lag was applied without consideration for the types of glass artefact in each unit. This is because this table is simply an illustrative overview of the average 'in use' dates for artefacts (calculated from the median earliest and latest dates for each trench unit), along with their approximate deposition dates in general.

Minimum Vessel Count

Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) was completed for bottles, jars, tableware, and stemware in the assemblage.

MVC Function Type

The MVC for artefact type was quantitatively based on the number of individual bases or individual finishes (depending upon which there was more of) as the primary count, plus additional pieces which suggested further distinct individuals, as determined by, for example, artefact colour. For bottles, it was based on the number of individual bases plus additional pieces, whereas for jars it was determined by the number of individual finishes plus additional pieces. In both instances, 'complete' (i.e. whole) artefacts were assigned to bases when the primary count was for bases, or to finishes if the primary count was for finishes. For tableware and stemware, 'rims' substituted for 'finishes'.

MVC Form Type

The MVC for artefact form followed much the same system as for artefact type, using bases or finishes depending upon which was more numerous in each category, and then using colours to establish further individuals.

Artefacts not given a MVC

Some artefacts were not given a MVC due to the number of artefacts equalling the number of vessels, or because there is no system for establishing MVC for their category. This included buttons, beads, and fragments which could not be identified to any class of artefact.

Artefact Storage system

For consistency, McQuie's (2022:59) system of bagging and labelling was used for the collection. Artefacts were always returned to the box they were found in, even when the original Austral catalogues (1992b, 1992c) stated they were supposed to be in a different box. Where possible, bags were reused, but almost all artefacts were placed in a new appropriately sized plastic bag that could be zip-sealed for ease of access, unlike the old paper and plastic bags which had been folded and stapled closed, making for difficulty in access.

Each artefact was labelled using a two-part application of Paraloid, onto which was written the ROO number assigned in the new catalogue, before being sealed. This was not done on artefacts that were too small (such as buttons) or had no flat space to write on (such as glass bottle stoppers).

The artefact was accompanied in its bag by a Tyvek label upon which was written the new ROO number, the old Austral catalogue number, and the object name/description as used in the same-named column of the Excel spreadsheet. These details were also written on the outside of the bag.

In a few instances it was necessary to label separate fragments of the same artefact with the ROO number and add an 'A', 'B', 'C', etc. to differentiate. This was also occasionally done with pieces of window glass. In all cases, 'A' was the largest fragment, and in the bulk cataloguing of window glass, the one used for the 'largest piece' dimensions.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

The results of cataloguing the glass artefacts from the Rookery's central cesspit (Area 906) are presented in this chapter. The complete catalogue can be found in Appendix IV. In total 1004 artefacts were catalogued, comprising all the artefacts in the Inventory and Accession boxes, and the diagnostic artefacts from the Unprocessed boxes. The data is presented first by the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV), broken down according to trench units, function type, vessel contents, and manufacturing technique. After the vessels follows beads and buttons by colour and manufacturing technique, marbles by colour and diameter, and window glass by manufacturing technique. Lastly, a median age for each trench unit is proposed based on datable artefacts.

Due to the nature of the MNV system, which is designed to give a representation of the number of vessels in general based on the number of identifiable bases and finishes, not all artefacts are meaningfully represented by it (i.e. window glass, beads, buttons and marbles). Artefacts which cannot be represented by the MNV are instead presented as given total, rather than minimum, number counts.

Table 2 shows the number of fragments and MNV for all bottles, jars, stemware, tumblers and tableware from each stratigraphic unit and Figure 7 visually represents this to aid interpretation. Units 15, 21 and 25 all had a greater number of fragments, with unit 21 having the largest number overall. This unit corresponds to the 'artefact rich deposit' inside the southern drop pit of the central cesspit, while unit 25 is the companion deposit inside the northern drop pit (Austral 1992a:76).

Table 2: Fragment count and Minimum Number of Vessels (bottles, jars, phials, stemware, tumblers and tableware) by unit.

Area/Unit	Fragment Count	MNV
906/01	8	5
906/02	8	6
906/03	3	2
906/04	31	12
906/06	1	1
906/07	1	1
906/10	14	8
906/14	17	12
906/15	143	95
906/21	309	152
906/22	21	13
906/25	177	87
906/27	128	52
Grand Total	***861***	***446***

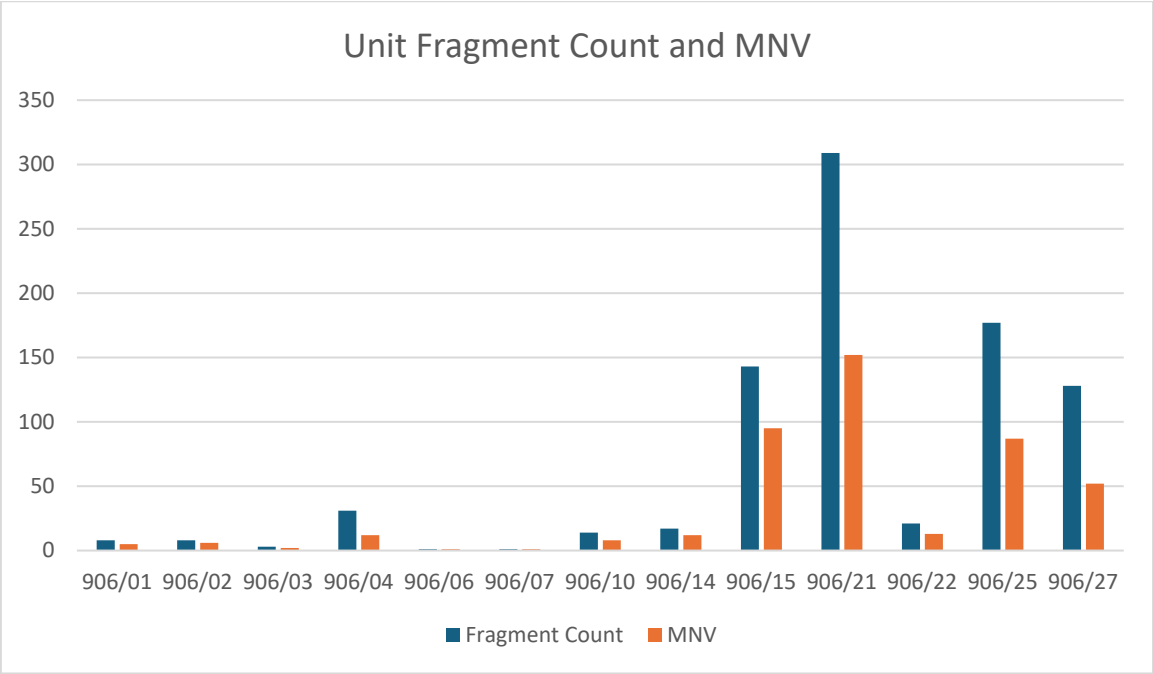

Figure 7: Fragment count and MNV (bottles, jars, phials, stemware, tumblers and tableware) by unit.

Table 3 considers the assemblage by principal function type, showing that bottles (including their stoppers) comprise a larger portion of the overall assemblage. There were no intact stemmed glasses in the assemblage, but the majority of the thick-based tumblers were nearly fully intact. Tableware primarily comprised bowls or dishes (n=11 fragments), some with ornate or sculpted sides, but there were no intact examples; the remainder of the tableware could not be identified to form (n=13 fragments). There were two candlestick fragments (a base and a body) which did not refit, along with two lamp chimneys and part of a lamp base. One object (ROO-48), described by Austral (1992b:454) as an ornate lamp base, was instead placed in the Unidentifiable category because it was potentially a fruit comport.

Table 3: Fragment count and MNV by function type.

Function type	**Fragment count**	**MNV**
Bottle (including stoppers)	708	353
Jar (including stoppers)	47	26
Stemware (wine or other)	23	13
Tumbler	58	32
Tableware - Unidentifiable	13	6
Tableware - Bowl/Dish	11	6
Lamp	3	3
Candlestick	2	1
Vase	5	3
Total	***870***	***443***

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 8: Examples of various non-bottle artefacts. Left, tableware bowl ROO-184 (Photo 8926); below left, cobalt vase ROO-599 (Photo 8983); below right, kerosene lamp chimney ROO-34 (Photo 8842)

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Table 4 and Figure 9 break down the vessel assemblage by contents. This excludes tableware, stemware, vases, lamps, candlesticks, beads, buttons, marbles and windowpanes.

Alcohol dominates the number of fragments (n=320) and therefore the MNV at 36.94%, while pharmaceutical (n=101) is the next largest category with 15.29% of MNV. The category Other featured three distinct artefacts which could be identified but did not fit other form categories; these included a sewing-machine oil bottle (ROO-1), a medical syringe with plunger (ROO-35), and an infant's feeding bottle (ROO-208). Unidentifiable contains vessel artefacts whose contents could not be confidently identified and thus assigned to one of the other categories.

Table 4: Fragment count and MNV by contents (including stoppers).

Contents	**Fragments**	**MNV**	**Percentage of MNV**
Alcohol	320	157	36.94
Cosmetic	2	2	0.47
Ink	2	2	0.47
Non-alcoholic	44	22	5.17
Perfume	14	9	2.11
Pharmaceutical	101	65	15.29
Pickles	44	20	4.70
Salad oil/Vinegar	57	28	6.58
Sauce/Condiment	31	26	6.11
Spirits	22	14	3.29
Other	3	3	0.70
Unidentifiable	170	72	16.94
Total	***810***	***425***	***100***

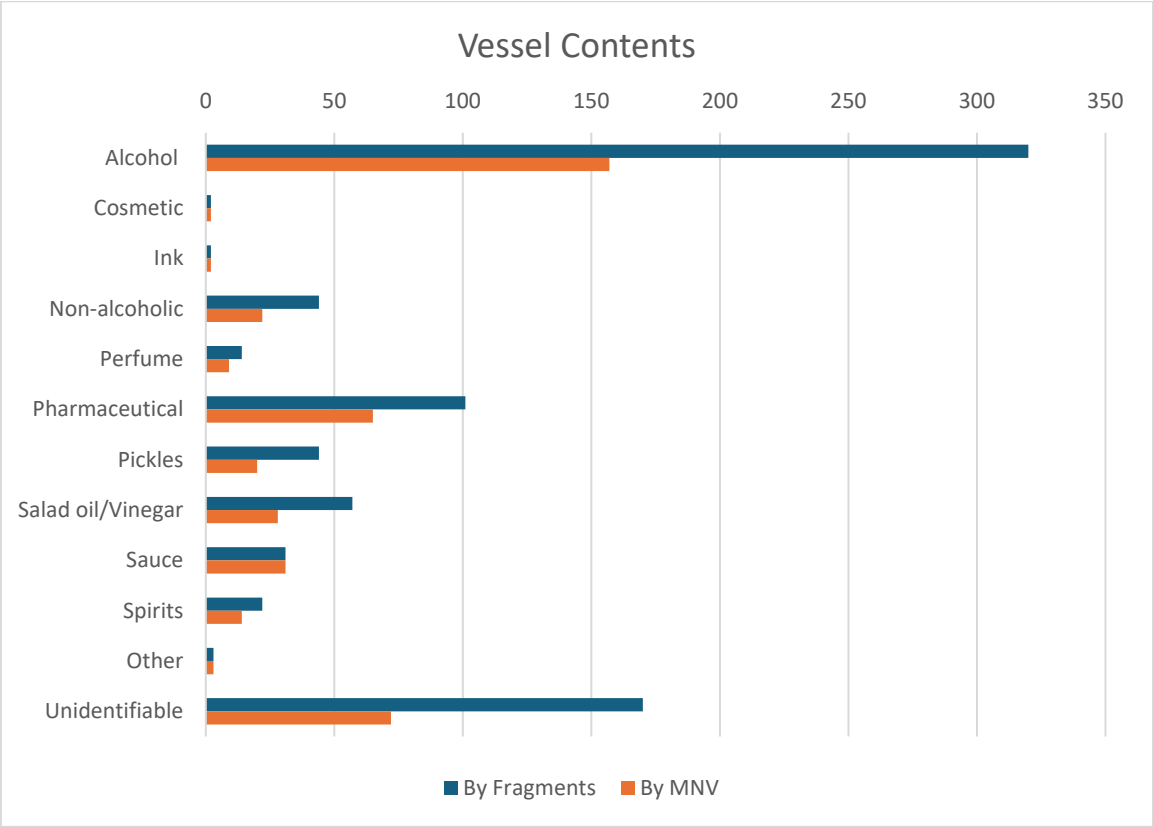

Figure 9: Fragment count and MNV by contents (including stoppers).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 10: Medical syringe and plunger, ROO-35. Photo 8845.

Table 5 shows fragment count and minimum number of vessels by manufacturing technique, excluding beads, buttons and window glass. The ‘Moulded’ category was used as a catch-all for vessels which were clearly mould-manufactured, but had insufficient elements to determine the kind of mould used. The most frequently identified manufacturing method was pressed glass, comprising tumblers and other tableware. The next largest category is 2-piece moulds with cup-bottom bases; this category is well represented across the major forms, including alcohol, condiments, perfume, pharmaceutical, pickles, salad oil/vinegar and spirits. The two fragments which are hand blown include a lamp chimney and a vase, while the three turn-paste artefacts include two bottles and a lamp chimney. Only one tumbler (ROO-889) appeared to be dip moulded, on account of it not having the rounded smooth interior characteristic of pressed manufacture. Only bottles which bore the ‘H. Ricketts & Co.’ trademark on the base are true Ricketts mould technique; there are two examples bearing this mark in the collection. Non-Ricketts 3-piece moulded bottles are therefore sorted according to their base design.

Table 5: Fragment count and MNV by manufacturing technique.

Manufacturing technique	Fragment Count	MNV
2-piece mould (stopper)	3	3
2-piece mould, separate base	17	17
2-piece mould, cup-bottom base	36	36
2-piece mould, post-bottom base	22	22
3-piece mould (Ricketts)	2	2
3-piece mould, base unknown	13	7
3-piece mould, no separate base	1	1
3-piece mould, separate base	18	18
4-piece mould, separate base	1	1
Dip mould (tumbler)	1	1
Dip mould, free blown neck and shoulders	20	16
Dip mould, neck and shoulders unknown	27	27
Full length 2-piece vertical keyed mould, separate base	1	1
Full length 2-piece vertical mould	31	24
Hand blown	2	2
Moulded	230	107
Pressed glass (without buttons)	75	38
Shoulder-length 2-piece mould, free blown neck	1	1
Turn paste	3	3
Unknown/Indeterminate	380	200
Total	***884***	***527***

Table 6 shows the number of beads and buttons, arranged by colour. Some of the shanked buttons (n=21) feature an embedded metal loop in the rear of an otherwise solid glass piece (pressed glass manufacture), whereas others (n=5) comprise a bead of glass held in a metal frame with a metal shank on the rear (likely lampwork manufacture, before insertion into the frame).

Table 6: Buttons and beads by type and colour.

Type	Count	% of bead/button assemblage
Shanked button		
Dark green/Black	16	55.17
Honey	1	3.44
White/Milk	9	31.03
Bead		
Dark green/Black	1	3.44
White/Milk	1	3.44
Sapphire	1	3.44
Total	***29***	***100***

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 11: Framed and shanked buttons, (L-R) ROO-221, ROO-226, ROO-227, ROO-250. Photo 8941.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 12: Dark green/Black shanked buttons showing diversity of designs. (L-R) Top row: ROO-217, ROO-240, ROO-241; Middle row: ROO-242, ROO-243, ROO-244; Bottom row: ROO-245, ROO-329, ROO-330. Photo 8937.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 13: The lone bead, ROO-251. Photos 8948, 8949.

Table 7 shows the eight marbles from the assemblage by their colour and design. All except one have a twist of 'toothpaste'-style striped coloured glass embedded in the centre of a colourless glass sphere. The colourless one has a pitted and rough exterior surface and could possibly be the marble from a Codd's patent seal.

Table 7: Marbles from the assemblage by colour.

Colour	**Count**	**Percentage**
Colourless	1	12.50
Colourless, with coloured central stripe	7	87.50
Total	***8***	***100***

Table 8 shows the eight marbles by their diameters, with a majority being 13-17 mm. The sole 25 mm diameter marble is the colourless one shown in Table 7.

Table 8: Marbles from the assemblage by diameter.

Diameter	**Count**	**Percentage**
13-17 mm	5	62.50
25 mm	1	12.50
31-32 mm	2	25.00
Total	***8***	***100***

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 14: The 13-17 mm marbles with coloured 'candy stripe' insets, (L-R) ROO-212, ROO-213, ROO-214. Photo 8933.

Table 9 shows the three primary categories of window glass manufacturing technique found in The Rookery assemblage. Windows manufactured using the crown glass technique dominate, while cylinder panes and rolled sheets are roughly equal. The count is from the 55 bulk catalogue groupings made by colour and thickness during the cataloguing, which comprise 1402 individual shards of glass overall.

Table 9: Window glass by method of manufacture.

Technique	**Count**	**Percentage**	**Dating***
Crown pane	35	63.63	Until c1870
Cylinder pane	10	18.18	c1830-c1910
Rolled sheet	10	18.18	After c1890
Total	***55***	***100***	

* Taken from Boow 1991:111; Burke et al. 2017:315; Freeland 1988:6,79.

Table 10 shows the median earliest and latest dates for the glass artefacts of the central cesspit (Area 906), arranged by Area/Unit. It also includes an average 'in use' date, along with an adjusted approximate deposition date (outlined in Chapter 4) as prescribed by Adams (2003) and Hill (1982), and used by McQuie (2022). The median earliest date of 1840 is from unit 902/04, while the median latest date of 1903 is from unit 906/07, a unit which contained only a single artefact. The averaged 'in use' dates range consistently across the 1860s decade, with the earliest being 1856 and the latest being 1874. The approximate deposition dates, assuming 20 years of lag from the 'in use' date, range between 1876 and 1894 but predominate in the early- to mid-1880s.

Table 10: Approximate date ranges of artefacts by unit.

Area/Unit	**Median earliest date**	**Median latest date**	**Average 'in use' date**	**Approximate deposition date***
906/01	1847	1884	1865	1885
906/02	1840	1879	1859	1879
906/03	1844	1879	1861	1881
906/04	1845	1877	1861	1881
906/06	1850	1870	1860	1880
906/07	1845	1903	1874	1894
906/10	1845	1884	1864	1884
906/14	1842	1877	1859	1879
906/15	1849	1882	1865	1885
906/21	1842	1870	1856	1876
906/22	1847	1877	1862	1882
906/25	1847	1888	1867	1887
906/27	1843	1889	1866	1886
Overall	***1845***	***1881***	***1863***	***1883***

* +20 years from average 'in use' date, as outlined in Chapter 4 Methods.

CHAPTER 6: WORKING-CLASS LIFE IN 19TH CENTURY ADELAIDE

This chapter discusses the potential scenarios for the construction, filling and abandonment of the central cesspit and what the material culture found in it says about the lives and lifestyles of the Rookery's inhabitants.

An Archaeology of the Cesspit

Area 906, the central cesspit at the Rookery, was identified in the 1990s as older than the east (area 903) and west (area 904) cesspits and was believed to be constructed sometime after the initial building of the Rookery in 1849-1850, as it did not align with Stephens' description of the site (Austral 1992a:65; Jones et al. 1997:14; Stephens 1849:20). There is contention between Austral (1992a:77) and Jones et al. (1997:14) about whether the central cesspit was in use when the east and west pits were constructed, abandoned before they were constructed, or in use simultaneously with them for several years before abandonment[1]. Nevertheless, Jones et al. (1997:14) noted that the central cesspit was constructed after 1850 and was still in existence in 1880-1881 when the sewers were laid, as evidenced by reuse of the standing structure above as a shelter for the new toilets. Earthenware pipes were found in situ during the 1992 excavation which had been laid through the old underground walls of the central cesspit and that accord with the pipes marked on the Engineering and Water Supply Department plan of 1883 (Austral 1992a:75-76) (see Figure 3). By comparison, in Sydney's The Rocks, sewers were laid sporadically through the 1850s, with some side-streets not gaining connection until later (Karskens 1999b:89). The Rookery was therefore unusual in gaining piped sewer connections from the beginning.

Filling the cesspit

As Van Oosten (2017:25) notes, cesspits are typically a 'palimpsest', frequently turned over, partially or fully cleaned out, and subject to an erratic deposition of either gradual deposits over time, a sudden mass-filling or a mixture of the two. In some instances, a cesspit is a 'closed find' when a singular disposal event occurs and the pit is sealed with no further disposal; in others, it continues to be 'open' and subject to clean-outs, further disposal, and turning over (Van Oosten 2017:24). Ricardi (2020:142) stated that cesspits in Melbourne were emptied every 6 months and therefore the last deposit before closure would be a 'rapid household deposition' by the final tenant or owner.

[1] A fresh comparison of the median earliest and latest artefact dates, in addition to average 'in use' dates (see Chapter 5, Table 10) for artefacts in all three cesspits would test these claims, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

According to the site's history, the Rookery was renovated in 1864-1868 when Captain Berry took over the lease on behalf of the Adelaide City Mission, following a period with no tenants on site (Jones et al. 1997:66). It is possible that there was a general cleanup of the cottages ahead of them being leased out by the Mission, when the rubbish was thrown into the central cesspit which may not have been in use as a privy at the time (Austral 1992a:77). This would align with Van Oosten's (2017:24) 'event' disposal, wherein a mixture of glassware, both older and contemporary, would be deposited *en masse*. Austral (1992a:76) stated there were no 'distinct' stratigraphic layers in the fill phase, which they believe indicated the filling took place 'over a short period of time'.

Austral (1992a:76) recorded several units within the central cesspit relating to the filling phase, as shown in Table 11 and Figure 15.

Table 11: Cesspit fill phase units, after Austral (1992a:76).

Area/Unit number	**Description**
906/15	Artefact rich fill in base of southern drop pit toilet
906/20	Charcoal flecked orange-grey clayey sand deposit in northern drop pit below 906/14
906/21	Artefact rich deposit inside southern drop pit toilet, lies below 906/15
906/22	Deposit in base of southern drop pit below unit 906/21
906/25	Artefact rich deposit in northern drop pit toilet below 906/20
906/27	Artefact rich deposit in base of northern drop pit toilet below 906/25

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 15: Excavation plan of Area 906, Central Cesspit (Austral 1992a:78).

The approximate deposition dates for the glass artefacts found in the central cesspit (See Chapter 5, Table 10), accounting for the 20-year 'time lag' as outlined by Adams (2003) and Hill (1982), range from 1876 at the earliest through to 1894 at the latest. Therefore, these artefacts were 'in use', on average, between 1856 and 1874. This covers a majority of the Rookery's early history, including the 1860s renovations. However, not every artefact will be subject to the time lag; some glass artefacts could have been thrown out immediately after use.

Following the 1860s renovations, the central cesspit could have remained 'open' for the next 12 years as a rubbish pit, collecting various regular deposits of household refuse (of both old and contemporaneous glassware) until the construction of the sewers began in 1880. At this time a second potential 'event' disposal could have occurred at, or shortly before, the construction of the

sewers. When the sewer construction began, the earthenware pipes required a foundation to sit on, which Austral (1992a:75) discovered was a brown and red-brown ‘clayey sand fill’. Table 2 (Chapter 5) showed the largest number of vessel fragments overall were located in contexts 906/15 and 906/21 (southern portion) and 906/25 and 906/27 (northern portion), all of which are located towards the bottom of the cesspit. The other contexts, relating to the sewer construction, post-sewerage and demolition, have far fewer vessel fragments overall in comparison.

Context 906/21, the artefact-rich unit in the southern half of the central cesspit, is dated by this study (Chapter 5, Table 10) to contain artefacts with a median earliest date of 1842 and a median latest date of 1870, giving an average artefact ‘in use’ date of 1856. When the 20-year time lag is applied, this brings the approximate deposition date to around 1876, only a few years before sewer construction. The coming of the sewers is something the Rookery residents were probably aware of and, as noted in Chapter 3, it is possible that Captain Berry discussed the possibility of a sewer connection with Peacock’s agents. Residents may, therefore, have taken the opportunity to do a ‘spring clean’ in their houses to dispose of unwanted rubbish.

The absence of a firm stratigraphy presents issues with unravelling the story of the cesspit, not helped by the longevity of glass artefacts in circulation before their eventual deposition. Through comparison with historical records it is possible to suggest some probable scenarios:

1. The rubbish in the cesspit dated from the 1860s renovation as an *en masse* deposit, and then a second *en masse* deposit occurred in the early 1880s ahead of the sewer construction.
2. The pre-sewer rubbish (such as might have been deposited with the 1860s renovation) was cleaned out at some point and a fresh *en masse* event of rubbish disposal occurred, which filled the pit in the 1880s. This fill would contain a mixture of 1880s artefacts and earlier artefacts dating back to the 1840s.
3. Similar to scenario 1, but where sporadic general rubbish deposition occurs between the 1860s and 1880s deposits and is mixed in with the single event deposits due to turnover or partial cleanout of the cesspit as per Van Oosten (2017:24).

These potential scenarios account for the bulk of the artefacts deposited between the cesspit’s construction and its closure.

After the cesspit

The laying of the sewers in 1880-1881 saw the closing of most cesspits in the city and by 1883 it is likely that none at the Rookery site were still in use. In the southern part of the central cesspit there is evidence of the demolition of the site in 1903, including mortar and rubble fragments and a grey ash layer all described as the ‘Post Demolition’ phase (Austral 1992a:75), after which the site was

levelled with an overburden of mixed clay in anticipation of the construction of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (Austral 1992a:75). Given that the entire site was paved over with the construction of the markets, it is virtually impossible that any further objects were deposited in the cesspit locations after 1903.

Dates for some artefacts conflicted with the proposed timeline for the filling of the pits, but Austral (1992a:74) acknowledged that, in between demolition and the spread of overburden, the tops of the cesspits must have lain exposed on the surface. The existence of Area 905, a 1.2 metre diameter pit filled with artefacts to 50 centimetres deep, that had been dug through the surface of the laneway, seems to confirm that rubbish disposal occurred post-demolition (i.e. 1903-1904) (Austral 1992a:73). Therefore, some of the artefacts with conflicting dates excavated from the central cesspit could be attributable to deposits made in the short space of time after the demolition but before the site overburden was spread and the paving laid.

Seventy-seven artefacts catalogued in this study were recorded from the post-1903 Demolition (906/06), Post Demolition (906/04) and Site Overburden (906/01, 906/02) phases. Twenty have an ‘Earliest Date’ in the 1890s, but only four date from the post-1903 phases; the others, a majority being tiny shards of Rolled Sheet window glass, are evenly spread through to the earliest phases. It is possible these pieces worked down due to taphonomic processes during the demolition of the site.

Although there is no definitive answer as to which scenario might be closest to reality, the archaeology generally confirms historical records of the renovations and the closing of the cesspits when the sewers were laid. Due to the kinds of artefacts buried in the cesspit as unwanted rubbish, the lifestyles of the inhabitants can now be revealed.

An Archaeology of Lifestyle

‘The seemingly banal actions of daily life are not trivial,’ writes Robin (2020:375) and, echoing Deetz (1977), it is in the material culture of small things that the lives of forgotten people, like those who lived at the Rookery, can be illuminated. To explore what the Rookery assemblage says about the lifestyles of the inhabitants, themes such as attitudes towards alcohol and temperance, food and service, personal appearance, and children’s recreation have been selected. These themes are similarly explored at South Australian sites by McQuie (2022) and Briggs (2006), and comparisons to Briggs’ work at Port Adelaide (Quebec Street, and the Farrow and McKay cottages at Jane Street) will be made.

Alcohol and Temperance

The results from the Rookery data show alcohol-related glass fragments dominate the assemblage, especially when compared to non-alcohol vessels[2]. What is not apparent, due to the generic nature of the dark green ('black') beer/wine bottles, is how many vessels originally contained beer or wine (Figure 16). Typically, beer was only bottled for consumption at rural sites, as urban dwellers would obtain beer in hotels, which was stored in casks and sometimes brewed on-site (Adair 1996:139; Arnold 1997:95).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 16: Examples of common Dark Green/Black beer or wine bottles, (L-R) ROO-22, ROO-16. Photos 8823, 8814.

In her analysis of the ceramics, McQuie (2022:79-80) found the Rookery residents also drank ginger beers and alcohol from stoneware bottles. Of these, she identified a ceramic MNV of 31 for alcohol and 89 for ginger beer, compared to the glass MNV of 171 (40.23% of the total glass assemblage) for alcohol and 22 (5.17%) for non-alcohol vessels. This is comparable to the alcohol MNV for the Farrow cottage (33.51%) and larger than the McKay cottage (25.00%). The non-alcohol MNV at the Rookery (5.17%) is also closest to that of the Farrow cottage (5.32%) and slightly larger than the McKay (4.17%). In both the alcohol and non-alcohol MNVs, Quebec Street is the outlier, having a considerably larger alcohol vessel MNV (68.63%) and no non-alcohol bottles (Table 12).

[2] 'Non-alcohol' is a catch-all class for beverages like soda water, lemonade, cordial, etc.

Table 12: Alcohol and Non-Alcohol MNV and percentages of overall MNV compared between the Rookery and Port Adelaide sites.

	Alcohol MNV (including Spirits)*	Non-alcohol MNV
The Rookery	171 (40.23%)	22 (5.17%)
Quebec Street	35 (68.63%)	0 (0%)
Jane Street – McKay cottage	12 (25.00%)	2 (4.17%)
Jane Street – Farrow cottage	63 (33.51%)	10 (5.32%)

*In this study, 'Spirits' is a separate category to other alcohols (i.e. wine, beer, champagne), whereas in Briggs (2006) the category 'Alcohol' includes spirits like gin, schnapps, etc.

That Quebec Street, which is more like the Rookery in terms of its number and turnover of residents, does not align in terms of alcohol and non-alcohol vessel percentages raises some interesting questions. Briggs (2006:106,189-190) suggested that the higher quantity of alcohol related glass (and complete absence of stemware wine glasses) at Quebec Street was the result of (predominantly male) residents choosing to consume alcohol at pubs instead of at home, and that the fragments found on site were possibly due to women choosing to consume at home, out of sight, to maintain personal reputation. She then states the smaller quantity of alcohol-related glass at Jane Street may have been the result of the Farrows and McKays embracing temperance, or moderation at least, to improve their familial reputations and signal their aspirations of middle-classness (Briggs 2006:190).

Comparably, McQuie (2022:76,79-80) studied the attitude of Rookery residents to temperance, reporting several pro-temperance Band of Hope ceramics and postulating that a commitment to abstention may have been a requirement for the subsidised housing provided by the Benevolent Society. Since working-class drinkers at pubs were 'highly visible', they could be easily labelled 'problem drinkers', but the use of stemware aided the appearance of regulation and thus the 'gentility and control' that made it 'respectable consumption' (Adair 1996:140; Lampard and Staniforth 2011:10). Even if teetotalism was not in practice to the extent the missionaries might have hoped, a MNV of 13 wine glasses and 32 tumblers suggests that some Rookery residents were drinking in moderation (Figure 17). This aligns Rookery residents more with the Farrows and McKays than Quebec Street residents.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 17: A Rookery wineglass, ROO-111. Photo 8896.

Nevertheless, Rookery residents also drank non-alcoholic drinks, as shown by the MNV of 22 (5.17%). These include ‘round-enders’ (also known as Maugham-type patent bottles), predominantly trademarked by Hall and Sons of Norwood, W.N. Crowder of Franklin Street, Billin & Wight of Flinders and Angas Streets, and J.O. Ladd of Rundle Street, who were all brewers of aerated waters and ginger beer (Figures 18, 19).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 18: A J.O. Ladd branded aerated water bottle, ROO-25. Photo 8828.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 19: A Billin & Wight branded aerated water bottle, ROO-24. Photo 8825.

The limited number of non-alcohol bottles in the assemblage (relative to alcohol) could be the result of residents returning the bottles to the manufacturers for refills. This behaviour is consistent with the findings of Ellis and Woff (2018:8-9) at a 19th century bottle recycling business at A'Beckett Street, Melbourne. Additionally, Davies (2006:348) reports that the aerated waters found at Casselden Place were manufactured exclusively within a 3km radius of the site and thus accessible on foot. Therefore, perhaps the few non-alcohol bottles found in the Rookery central cesspit were simply ones broken by accident, or the residents no longer wished to walk to the brewery for a refill and so disposed of the bottles. These drinks were perhaps enjoyed in tumblers, of which 58 fragments for a MNV of 32 were uncovered in the central cesspit, four times more than were found at the Farrow cottage, which had the largest number of tumblers at Port Adelaide (Briggs 2006:169) (Figure 20).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 20: Two different kinds of tumbler, (L-R) ROO-139, ROO-141. Photo 8911.

In summary, while temperance may have been an expectation or requirement by the missionaries for Rookery residents, the archaeology proves this was not borne out in practice. However, based on the percentages, Rookery residents were consuming alcohol more along the lines of the single-family cottages at Port Adelaide rather than the directly comparable multi-tenant 'slum' at Quebec Street. However, the presence of wineglasses suggests that Rookery residents, perhaps with an eye on their reputations, chose to moderate their drinking rather than give up alcohol entirely.

Food and Service

At the Rookery, 57 fragments of salad oil/vinegar bottles, for a MNV of 28, were uncovered (Table 13). A majority bear the elaborate designs popular from the 1870s onwards, with lengthy necks, multiple neck rings, and sculptured bodies (Burke et al. 2017:445). At least two are of the 'Goldfields Christmas Tree' variety, featuring an elegant, tiered pyramid-like shape (Arnold 1987:8). The distinctive and artistic designs were used to attract buyers as well as to make the bottle worthy as an ornament on the dining table (Stuart 1991:34) (Figure 21).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 21: Salad oil/Vinegar bottles showing the ornate designs. (L-R) ROO-72 which includes a blank lozenge for a paper label; ROO-612 with a fluted base. Photo 8867, 8988.

The vinegars were used to enhance the taste of meats, and the oils, of better quality than regular olive oil, to garnish salads or as the foundation for homemade mayonnaises (Arnold 1985:81). The popularity of this kind of bottle exploded with the 1850s Gold Rush, where a lack of access to fresher foods made sauces and spices desirable to enliven preserved or salted foods (Arnold 1985:79-80). Additionally, sauces and condiments like Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce and numerous products by George Whybrow are represented in the Rookery assemblage, with a MNV of 26. A majority of these are glass stoppers (n=22), while five bottles possess the distinctive ‘club sauce’ finish to indicate contents (Burke et al. 2017:447) (Figure 22).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 22: George Whybrow branded club sauce stopper, ROO-38. Photo 8847.

Table 13: Salad oil/Vinegar, Sauce/Condiment and Pickles vessels (including stoppers) MNV and percentages of overall MNV at the Rookery.

Salad oil/Vinegar MNV	Sauce/Condiment MNV	Pickles MNV
28 (6.58%)	26 (6.11%)	20 (4.70%)

Pickles of different kinds were available in wide-mouthed jars, some of which bear the 'pickle finish' (See Chapter 4). Forty-four fragments for a MNV of 20 were recovered from the Rookery. The name 'pickle' does not exclusively refer to pickled cucumbers, but also chutneys, mustards, preserved vegetables like onions, and more. This style of jar frequently features a hexagonal or octagonal body with wide cylindrical neck (Figure 23). It is not possible to determine if the Rookery folk purchased these products ready-made, owing to a lack of branding, or if they used these jars to store preserves of their own making – perhaps using cheaper, slightly spoiled fruit or vegetables. Briggs (2006:135) only found 11 identifiable pickle jars at the McKay cottage in Port Adelaide.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 23: A typical pickle jar, ROO-79. Photo 8876.

A direct comparison to Port Adelaide is difficult, as Briggs (2006:106,108) does not include stoppers in her MVC and includes sauces/condiments in the same category as salad oils/vinegars. Nevertheless, when the Port Adelaide glass is considered overall, there were very few sauce/condiment, salad oil/vinegar and pickle jars in the assemblage (Briggs 2006:106,108,135,169,170). Briggs (2006:108) suggested that the lack of these might be the result of easy access to fresh fruits, vegetables and meats which did not require additional seasoning, in comparison to Arnold's (1985:79-80) statement about lack of fresh foods on the goldfields. This is perhaps true of the Rookery as well, where the proximity to grocers and butchers might have made the addition of sauces less necessary. Without an analysis of the Rookery faunal remains, it is difficult to draw complete conclusions. It is also possible the Rookery folk, like Quebec Street residents, relied on things like garlic or spices not sold in glass vessels to augment meals (Briggs 2006:214).

To serve these meals, Rookery residents also possessed a number of glass tableware items. Following the removal of the 1845 excise on ‘flint’ glass, which also applied to pressed glass, the price of pressed glass items decreased significantly (Boow 1991:87). Therefore, despite having the appearance of an expensive decorative item, pressed glass tableware was readily affordable. Tableware at the Rookery is split into identifiable bowls or dishes and unidentified objects. Of the bowls, two fragments were moulded and nine were likely pressed (Figure 24). Of the 13 unidentified tableware, two fragments were moulded, ten pressed, and one unknown. These bowls or dishes could have been for the service of mustard, sugar, butter or salt.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 24: The bottom of a pressed bowl, ROO-269. Photo 8955.

The most unique item in this class is an elegant cobalt fruit comport, ROO-48, misidentified by Austral as a table lamp base (Figure 25). However, when compared to illustrations in Cuffley (1984:92), it is obvious the foot and stem would be too small to support the weight of an oil reservoir, burner and chimney. How this piece came into the possession of a Rookery resident, and found its way into the cesspit, is an intriguing mystery. Was it a gift, a possession from former times of better living, or perhaps souvenired – with or without permission – from a business or employer? Bearing Adams’ (2003) effects in mind, there are several potential explanations but frustratingly little to confirm the origins of this singular object.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 25: ROO-48, a fruit comport base and partial body. Photo 8853.

Personal Appearance

The ‘incidental’ nature of buttons leads them often to be neglected in archaeology, as rarely does the button reveal the garment it came from (Lindbergh 1999:50). Nevertheless, clothing and adornment form a major part of people’s lives and lifestyles, and buttons can be useful in illuminating aspects of this.

Prior to zippers being invented in the US in 1893, buttons, together with hooks-and-eyes, were the primary method of fastening until the Second World War (Lindbergh 1999:51). There is a tendency to associate elaborate or ‘fancy’ buttons with women’s clothing, but many items of men’s attire – such as waistcoats – would be adorned with expressive buttons (Lindbergh 1999:52). In fact, the ‘gaudier the better’ for men, as they were the primary market for buttons, but Lindbergh (1999:52) acknowledges the problems this presents for identifying button origins.

Shanked buttons, formed by either pressed glass with a metal loop inserted at the rear, or a lampworked bead of glass held in a metal frame, are the only buttons made of glass at the Rookery. Lindbergh (1999:54) states that framed buttons were predominant from the 1700s until 1870, when the pressed glass technique was invented, and that most shanked buttons date from 1875 onwards.

The Rookery buttons range in size and colour, but the majority are dark green/black (n=16), followed by white milk glass (n=9), and then a lone honey-coloured bead in a metal frame. None are of the later ‘self-shanked’ variety, where the glass itself is used to form a loop on the rear (Burke et al. 2017:325). Those enclosed in metal frames, such as ROO-221 (Figure 26), tend to be decorative with specks of mica across the face of the bead and range in size from 8mm to 13mm diameter. These could be from a man’s vest or waistcoat, as suggested by Lindbergh (1999:54) for similar buttons found at the CSR site in Pyrmont, Sydney.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 26: Enlarged view of ROO-221, showing mica specked ‘gold’. Photo 8941.

The dark green/black shanked buttons range in shape and size, with flat circular and square buttons being some of the largest, through to domed/half-sphere or smaller facetted spheres. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, while black buttons did become popular among the upper classes following Queen Victoria's adoption of deep mourning in 1861, Lindbergh (1999:55) counters that the working-class individuals at the CSR site likely were not following this fashion trend and it safe to assume this may have been true at the Rookery as well. Therefore, these dark green/black buttons were likely just popular 'Fancy Vest' buttons, to be found on men's waistcoats and items of better-quality clothing, such as good coats or 'Sunday best' (Lindbergh 1999:54). Many of the large unfaceted black buttons from the Rookery bear carved designs, such as a triskele, 6-pointed star, or elaborate sunburst, while several are simply plain square or circular flat buttons with chamfered edges on the front side (Figure 27). It is not stated categorically in the ACM or EECM histories but given the proximity of the Ebenezer Chapel to the Rookery, it may have been expected that residents attend church for Berry's evening service and thus wear their best clothes (Berry 1895:79-80).

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 27: Enlarged view of the elaborate buttons, ROO-242 and ROO-329. Photo 8937.

Lindbergh (1999:55) notes that the presence of buttons and other sewing materials in subfloor deposits of kitchens suggests individuals sitting around the fire mending clothes. For buttons to end up in the Rookery cesspit there are two potential modes of disposal, the first being accidental – a person making use of the cesspit has a loose button detach from their clothing – and the second deliberate – that the garment was not worth salvaging and was thrown out. That glass buttons, typically reserved for better clothing, were found at the Rookery suggests that whatever their social or financial situation, residents still took pride in their appearance. Perhaps this was due to a personal interest in appearing decently attired, or a desire to subvert the judgement of middle-class observers.

Recreation and Children

One of the most identifiable artefacts relating to children on 19th century sites are marbles. Before the 1910s, Germany was the primary producer of glass marbles, following the invention of 'marble scissors' in 1846 (Baumann 1991:47; Carskadden and Gartley 1990:55). Glass, along with clay, porcelain and alabaster, were all used for marbles, but ceramic marbles were easier and cheaper to produce and so are generally more numerous (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:55). Ricardi (2020:160) suggested glass marbles were limited at Casselden Place in Little Lon due to their cost, while Iacono (1999:77) noted the presence of glass marbles in the cesspit and subfloor of Cribb's Shop on Gloucester Street and concluded they must have been affordable or easily replaceable.

An Adelaide schoolboy in the 1860s reported that the most prized marbles were made of agate; a single agate marble being worth several glass marbles, which in turn were worth several plain polished stone or porcelain ones (Factor 1988:108,112-113). This account also noted that popular games typically involved keeping other children's marbles as the prize for winning and forfeiting your own for losing, indicating that skill as a player could net a child a haul of marbles they could not necessarily afford themselves (Factor 1988:112). Glass marbles were reported in Coen, northern Queensland, in the 1890s at a cost of two a penny, with prices relating to size for stone, porcelain and agates (Boyd 1970:18). Additionally, miners having the afternoon off frequently joined local children for a game, suggesting the playing of marbles could be a leisure pursuit for adults too (Boyd 1970:17).

Only eight glass marbles were found in the cesspit at the Rookery, compared to 65 across the entire Rocks excavation and three at the McKay cottage and 16 at the Farrow cottage in Port Adelaide (Briggs 2006:142,180; Iacono 1999:77). Briggs (2006:114) recorded only six stoneware marbles at Quebec Street and noted the assemblage lacked Codd-style aerated water bottles, meaning there was no evidence of Codd patent seals being used as marble stand-ins. Seven of the Rookery's eight marbles included the distinctive 'toothpaste' or 'candy-stripe' coloured twist inside a colourless ball, while only one was entirely colourless and may have been the ball of a Codd patent seal (Figure 28). However, there were only seven identified Codd-style bottle finishes in the central cesspit assemblage and no other Codd patent seal balls were discovered.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 28: Enlarged view of marbles (L-R) ROO-213 and ROO-214. Photo 8933.

The relative lack of marbles at the Rookery may be attributable to several factors. Iacono (1999:77) suggests that, if marbles were easily obtained or replaced, then it would not be a major issue for them to be accidentally lost or caught during cleaning and thrown out. Deliberate disposal seems unlikely given marbles were at the height of their popularity, particularly in the period 1870-1900 (Iacono 1999:77; Ricardi 2020:160). Briggs (2006:206) reports that children tended to play in the street and were only confined to yards if their mothers were concerned by respectability. In her view, the lack of marbles at Quebec Street may be due to children playing in the street, while the McKays and Farrows played in their respective yards and thus lost more marbles there (Briggs 2006:206). Similarly, the Rookery children may have played in the open laneway adjacent to the houses or out on East Terrace, or even in the parklands over the street, preventing the marbles from making their way into the cesspit during cleaning.

Conclusions

From the kinds of artefacts found in the cesspit, and bearing in mind Karskens' (1999a,1999b) and Sneddon's (2006) warnings about mischaracterising slum sites as being worse or better than historically described, the Rookery's inhabitants were, while perhaps poorer than some working-class people, overall not that much different from their neighbours. Particularly when compared to the Port Adelaide sites, the gradations within the 'working-class' label begin to appear: the Rookery people were perhaps somewhere between that of Quebec Street and that of Jane Street, leaning more to the Quebec Street end. They could afford a more varied diet owing to their location in the CBD, had access to more non-alcoholic drink options or perhaps were limited in their alcohol consumption on account of accepting charity from the missions. They moderated drinking with wineglasses and tumblers and at dinner they served food with salad oils and other condiments on cheap but elegant tableware. Finally, they dressed in clothes with flashy glass buttons imitating precious stones while their children played out in the laneways or across the street.

CHAPTER 7: THE LONG LOOK BACK

Fragments of items made from glass, discarded in a cesspit in Adelaide sometime in the late nineteenth century, briefly awaken the ghosts of those working-class people who lived there and illuminate some of their stories. Their lives can help us to understand the lives of others who lived then, those whose houses or workplaces have not been analysed by archaeology and who do not appear in the pages of historical narrative. In the words of Lowenthal (1985:213), 'just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness'. If we want to know where we are, we need to know where we have been.

By studying the glass of the Rookery and comparing it to that of Port Adelaide, a picture of working-class life begins to emerge. McQuie (2022:80) noted that her ceramic studies only told half the story and so this study has contributed to what she began. As many products are consumed or stored in glass containers, there is much that ceramics alone cannot reveal, such as temperance in practice. While McQuie (2022:76-78) did find pro-temperance ceramic artefacts, the quantity of alcohol bottles at the Rookery reveals that residents still partook in alcoholic drinks, but attempted to maintain their reputations by consuming alcohol with dainty wineglasses to ensure it appeared 'respectable'.

Nevertheless, this study has also highlighted the utility of glass as an artefact class, as it is not constituted solely of containers like bottles and jars, but also includes tableware bowls and dishes, tumblers, wineglasses, beads and buttons, marbles, windows, and vases, among many other items. While a study could have focussed purely on a single element, like temperance as revealed by alcohol bottles or health through the presence of patent medicine bottles, more value can be extracted from the Rookery assemblage by considering 'lifestyle' in general: eating and drinking, dressing and playing, buying and consuming.

This study reveals that, as Karskens (1999a,2001) found at The Rocks, the Rookery folk were not the lawless, immoral and wretched people of a Dickensian slum, as portrayed in contemporary newspapers. Rather, they were simply a working-class community, poorer than some others on account of needing subsidised housing from the Benevolent Society, but no 'worse' socially. When compared to some of their contemporaries at Port Adelaide—at least on the basis of their glassware—the Rookery folk tended to maintain a standard of living closer to that of the Farrows and McKays, who lived in single-family cottages, than the folk of the Quebec Street tenement.

As noted by Casey (2003:85), a purely 'economic evaluation' of the assemblage does not consider other methods of object acquisition. The fine fruit comport mentioned in Chapter 6 may well have been stolen, pawned, or purchased second-hand. Likewise, Adams' (2003:49,50) curation and frugality effects do add a degree of uncertainty to the timeline and cost of acquisition. However, the

presence of artefacts like the fruit comport or the pressed tableware suggests the Rookery folk were thrifty and still found the resources to acquire decorative objects for display.

Studying the incidental items, such as beads, buttons and marbles, was inspired by Deetz (1977) and his ‘small things forgotten’. The presence of glass beads and buttons reveal an interest in personal appearance by Rookery residents, which could still be obtained relatively cheaply. Clothing was ‘often transformative in its wearer’s own eyes’ and, while wearing second-hand clothing was ‘perfectly acceptable’, they could be improved with new glass buttons and other alterations (Cramer 2017:54,59).

The marbles of the collection give a brief glimpse into the lives of children, and the relative scarcity of marbles disposed of on-site hint at a wider connection to other neighbourhoods and houses outside the Rookery precinct. The Rookery did not exist in isolation from other streets, despite its placement, and the children playing marbles with others out on East Terrace or Grenfell Street are a reminder of the other small, working-class dwellings now lost to history in the Adelaide CBD.

To suggest that the lives of the residents who lived at the Rookery between 1849 and 1903 were all sunshine is a mistake; it denies them their struggles. Equally, to suggest that their lives were endless drudgery, with nothing to break the misery, is also incorrect. To present a ‘balanced and multifaceted’ view, life for Rookery residents was certainly difficult but the archaeology shows they found ways to adapt, to endure and to find comfort (Sneddon 2006:1,2). Nevertheless, the tragedy of the cesspit is that it anonymises possession. The items thrown into it might only be a fragment of a person’s total belongings – the unwanted and the broken rather than the sentimental and the intact. This makes it difficult to speak to how the economic situation was felt at the individual level.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 29: Small decorative perfume bottle, ROO-94. Photo 8887.

The Rookery is still a work in progress, and, owing to the relative lack of historical archaeology of 19th century Adelaide, it is an important contribution to the physical world of working-class life as found 'in the ground' (Potter 1999:51). These were working-class people, and we get only a glimpse of their experiences in the sparkle of a shard of glass.

Future research

Beyond the glass and ceramics is a wealth of other material categories to explore, from beads and buttons of bone and nacre, smoking pipes and leather artefacts, to faunal remains and building materials. The gradual completion of research into these different collection classes will help to fill in the blanks in the story of the Rookery's people, and 19th century working-class life in Adelaide more broadly.

An immediate successor to this project would be a direct comparison between the forms of glass found in the east, west and central cesspits and those found in the subfloor deposits of the cottages, as well as around the rest of the site. This could illuminate further rubbish disposal practices, as well as highlight any deliberate differentiation between what was thrown into the cesspits and what found its way under the floorboards. This research could reveal whether more glass beads and buttons were found in the cesspits (a deliberate disposal?) or under the floorboards (an accidental disposal?).

Beyond that, a comparison of the glass and ceramics found in all three cesspits could strengthen the proposed dates for the filling of these features, as outlined by McQuie (2022:83). The filling of the east and west cesspits relative to the central cesspit would reveal more about whether this was a singular, site-wide event; whether there were periodic cleanouts; or whether the filling was the result of dribs and drabs over time.

Building on the context of the Rookery, further historical investigation into the businesses nearby during the period of the site's occupation could reveal where some of the residents worked and what their life outside of their houses might have been like.

As McQuie (2022:84) notes, her study and this one are but a 'preliminary comparative sample', and for the Rookery's true archaeological potential to be realised, completing a re-cataloguing of the entire assemblage is required. For future researchers to better compare 19th century working-class sites in Australia, and around the world, the Rookery's contribution is needed.

REFERENCES

Adair, D. 1996 Respectable, sober, and industrious? Attitudes to alcohol in early colonial Adelaide. *Labour History* 70:131–155.

Adams, W.H. 2003 Dating historical sites: The importance of understanding time lag in the acquisition, curation, use, and disposal of artifacts. *Historical Archaeology* 37(2):38–64.

Adelaide Benevolent Society 2025 Our History. Retrieved 13 February 2025 from <https://adelaide.org.au/about-us/our-history/>.

Advertiser Saturday 6 October 1900, p.11.

Advertiser Saturday 4 July 1903, p.8.

Advertiser Tuesday 21 January 1908, p.7.

Advertiser Tuesday 1 September 1936, p.39.

Arnold, K. 1985 *Collecting Australian Found Bottles: Glass Part 1*. Maiden Gully: Crown Castleton Publishers.

Arnold, K. 1987 *Collecting Australian Found Bottles: Glass Part 2*. Maiden Gully: Crown Castleton Publishers.

Arnold, K. 1997 *Bottle Collectors Guide: Identification and Valuation Guide.* Golden Square: Castle Crown Publishers.

Arthure, S.A. 2023 A long, long way from Clare to here: An archaeology of the Irish in colonial South Australia. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Austral Archaeology 1992a Archaeological Report on the Rookery Site: Conservation/Excavation Report, Volume 1: Excavation Report. Unpublished report to the Corporation of the City of Adelaide, South Australia.

Austral Archaeology 1992b Archaeological Report on the Rookery Site: Conservation/Excavation Report, Volume 2: Inventory Item Catalogue. Unpublished report to the Corporation of the City of Adelaide, South Australia.

Austral Archaeology 1992c Archaeological Report on the Rookery Site: Conservation/Excavation Report, Volume 3: Accession Item Catalogue. Unpublished report to the Corporation of the City of Adelaide, South Australia.

Berry, R. 1895 *An old tar's yarn: Being the autobiography of Captain Richard Berry, of the East End City Mission, Adelaide, South Australia.* Adelaide: Whillas and Ormiston. Retrieved 20 February 2025 from <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-52808317>.

Boow, J. 1991 *Early Australian Commercial Glass: Manufacturing Processes.* Crown Copyright.

Boyd, S. 1970 The game of marbles in the 1890's. *Australian Tradition* 24:17–18.

Briggs, S. 2006 Portonian Respectability: Working-class Attitudes to Respectability in Port Adelaide through Material Culture 1840–1900. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Brooks, A. 2005 *An Archaeological Guide to British Ceramics in Australia, 1788–1901.* The Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology, Sydney, and the La Trobe University Archaeology Program, Melbourne.

Busch, J. 1987 Second time around: A look at bottle reuse. *Historical Archaeology* 21(1): 67–80.

Carskadden, J. and R. Gartley 1990 A preliminary seriation of 19th-century decorated porcelain marbles. *Historical Archaeology* 24(2):55–69.

Casey, M. 2003 Review: The archaeology of urban landscape, explorations in slumland by Alan Mayne and Tim Murray. *Australian Historical Archaeology* 21:85–87.

Chronicle Saturday 25 January 1908, p.43.

City of Adelaide 2024 The Smith Survey. Retrieved 4 June 2024 from <https://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/community/creativity-culture/city-archives/archives-collection/source-sheets-reference-guides/reference-guides/the-smith-survey/>.

Cramer, L. 2017 Keeping up appearances: Genteel women, dress and refurbishing in gold-rush Victoria, Australia, 1851–1870. *Textile* 15(1):48–67.

Crook, P. 2000 Shopping and historical archaeology: Exploring the contexts of urban consumption. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 18:17–28.

Crook, P. 2005 Quality, cost and value: Key concepts for an interpretive assemblage analysis. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 23:15–24.

Crook, P. and T. Murray 2004 The analysis of cesspit deposits from The Rocks, Sydney. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 22:44–56.

Cuffley, P. 1984 *Chandeliers and Billy Tea: A Catalogue of Australian Life 1880–1940.* Fitzroy: The Five Mile Press.

Davies, P. 2006 Mapping commodities at Casselden Place, Melbourne. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10(4):343–355.

Deetz, J. 1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Denny, M. 1994 Health and poverty in the nineteenth century. Unpublished Honours thesis, Visual Arts and Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Ellis, A. and B. Woff 2018 Bottle merchants at A'Beckett Street, Melbourne (1875-1914): New evidence for the light industrial trade of bottle washing. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22(1):6–26.

Factor, J. 1988 *Captain Cook Chased a Chook: Children's Folklore in Australia.* Ringwood: Penguin Books Australia.

Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants 1999 Executive summary. In Godden Mackay Logan (eds), *The Cumberland/Gloucester Streets Site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report,* volume 1, pp.1–50. Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority.

Hammerton, M. 1986 *Water South Australia: A History of the Engineering and Water Supply Department.* Netley: Wakefield Press.

Harris, E.J. 2010 Glass report: Darling Quarter (Walk), Darling Harbour, Sydney. Unpublished reported prepared for Casey & Lowe Pty Ltd.

Hill, S.H. 1982 An examination of manufacture-deposition lag for glass bottles from late historic sites. In R.S. Dickens Jnr (ed.), *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, pp.291–327. New York: Academic Press.

Iacono, N. 1999 Miscellaneous Artefacts Report. In Godden Mackay Logan (eds), *The Cumberland/Gloucester Streets Site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report*, volume 4ii, pp.13–120. Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority.

Jones, M.D., S. Lawrence and M. Denny 1997 The Rookery Archaeological Excavation Project. Unpublished report to Kinsman Pty. Ltd.

Karskens, G. 1999a New perspectives from the Rocks. In Godden Mackay Logan (eds), *The Cumberland/Gloucester Streets Site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report*, volume 2, pp.53–241. Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority.

Karskens, G. 1999b *Inside the Rocks: The archaeology of a neighbourhood.* Alexandria: Hale and Iremonger.

Karskens, G. 2001 Small things, big pictures: New perspectives from the archaeology of Sydney's Rocks neighbourhood. In A. Mayne and T. Murray (eds), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, pp.69–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lampard, S. and M. Staniforth 2011 The demon drink: Working-class attitudes to alcohol in nineteenth-century Port Adelaide. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 29:5–12.

Leevers, C. 2012 ARCH 8404 Directed study: East End Markets and The Rookery. Unpublished Directed Study report, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Leone, M.P. 1999 Setting some terms for historical archaeologies of capitalism. In M.P. Leone and P.B. Potter (eds), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, pp.3–20. New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Lindbergh, J. 1999 Buttoning down archaeology. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 17:50–57.

Linn, R. 2012 *The History of the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society 1849 – 2012.* Cherry Gardens: Historical Consultants.

Little, B.J. and N.J. Kassner 2001 Archaeology in the alleys of Washington, DC. In A. Mayne and T. Murray (eds), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, pp.57–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. 1985 *The Past is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayne, A. 1993 *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representation in Three Cities 1870–1914.* Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Mayne, A., T. Murray and S. Lawrence 2000 Melbourne's 'Little Lon'. *Australian Historical Studies* 31(114): 131–151.

Mayne, A. and T. Murray 2001 The archaeology of urban landscapes: Explorations in slumland. In A. Mayne and T. Murray (eds), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland,* pp.1–10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGuire, R.H. and R. Paynter (eds) 1991 *The Archaeology of Inequality*. Oxford: Blackwell.

McQuie, L. 2022 'The Deserving Poor': Uncovering the Worldviews at The Rookery, Adelaide, Through the Study of Ceramics. Unpublished Master of Archaeology and Heritage Management thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide.

Morton, P. 1996 *After Light: A History of the City of Adelaide and its Council, 1878–1928.* Wakefield Press: Kent Town.

Mrozowski, S.A. 1991 Landscapes of inequality. In R.H. McGuire and R. Paynter (eds), *The Archaeology of Inequality*, pp.79–101. Oxford: Blackwell.

Murray, T. and A. Mayne 2001 Imaginary landscapes: Reading Melbourne's 'Little Lon'. In A. Mayne and T. Murray (eds), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland,* pp.89–105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Na, J., I.M. McDonough, M.Y. Chan and D.C. Park 2016 Social-class differences in consumer choices: Working-class individuals are more sensitive to choices of others than middle-class individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 42(4):430–443.

Owens, A. and N. Jeffries 2016 People and things on the move: Domestic material culture, poverty and mobility in Victorian London. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(4):804–827.

Platts, M. and I.W.G. Smith 2018 Measuring use-wear on glass vessels to understand their reuse. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 36:77–85.

Porter, J. and A. Ferrier 2006 Miscellaneous artefacts from Casselden Place, Melbourne. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10(4):375–393.

Potter, P.B. 1999 Historical archaeology and identity in modern America. In M.P. Leone and P.B. Potter (eds), *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, pp.51–79. New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Register Wednesday 3 April 1912, p.5.

Ricardi, P. 2017 Working-class consumer behaviour in 'Marvellous Melbourne' and Buenos Aires, the 'Paris of South America'. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22:131–146.

Ricardi, P. 2020 *An Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Consumer Behavior in Melbourne, Australia, and Buenos Aires, Argentina.* Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

Robin, C. 2020 Archaeology of everyday life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 49:373–390.

Scott, E.M. 1994 Through the lens of gender: Archaeology, inequality, and those "of little note". In E.M. Scott (ed.), *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology*, pp.3–26. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.

Sneddon, A. 2006 Seeing slums through rose-coloured glasses: The Mountain Street site, Sydney, and its limitations in the search for vanished slum communities. *Australian Archaeology* 63(1):1–12.

South Australian Advertiser Thursday 26 July 1866, p.3.

South Australian Register Thursday 8 September 1887, p.5.

South Australian Register Saturday 10 August 1889, p.6.

South Australian Register Friday 17 June 1898, p.6.

Stephens, J. 1849 *Sanitary reform: Its general aspect and local importance, considered in a lecture delivered at the New Queen's Theatre, Adelaide, on Tuesday evening, 13th February 1849, together with practical observations on South Australia, applicable to the subject as affecting the sanitary condition of the colony.* Adelaide: John Stephens.

Stewart, H. 2015 Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange. SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia. Retrieved 21 February 2025 from < https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/places/adelaide-fruit-and-produce-exchange/>.

Stuart, I. 1991 Glass bottles from the "Loch Ard" shipwreck (1878): A preliminary study. *Australian Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9:31–36.

Symonds, J. 2011 Poverty and progress in the Age of Improvement: Evidence from the Isle of South Uist in the Outer Hebrides. *Historical Archaeology* 45(3):106–120.

Van Oosten, R. 2017 Cesspits and the P-P-P-P-problem: The pitfall of the Pompeii premise and the palimpsest. *Quaternary International* 460:22–29.

Willett, C. and P. Cunington 1981 *The History of Underclothes*. London: Faber & Faber.

APPENDIX I: GLASS COLOUR WHEEL

Colour wheel chart used to identify glass colours and retain cataloguing consistency. Produced by Flinders University Archaeology Laboratory.

Figure removed due to copyright restriction.

APPENDIX II: CATALOGUING GUIDELINES

Adapted from Arthure's (2023) Bakers Flat Project cataloguing guidelines for glass artefacts.

Data entry conventions

Absent features

If a particular feature was absent, then 'NA' was entered into the relevant column (e.g. if an artefact was a bottle neck and finish, columns relating to base diameter and thickness would have 'NA' entered to show it was not present). The purpose of this was to ensure that all features were recorded correctly in the spreadsheet, and by entering 'NA' it shows a feature was noted as being not present, rather than being missed by accident or the data accidentally being deleted from that column.

Other and Unknown/Unidentifiable

Other was used for artefacts which could be identified but were not able to be placed within an existing category. Therefore, to avoid erecting new categories for single artefacts, these were placed in Other and described accordingly. Conversely, for artefacts which could not be identified conclusively or had no discernible features to place them in a category, these were assigned Unknown/Unidentifiable.

Element

Portion of the object to which the artefact belongs. Some categories were added to facilitate the recording of tumblers and tableware specifically.

Complete	Body only
Body with finish	Body with base
Finish/Seal only	Body with shoulder
Neck with finish/seal	Base only
Neck only	Stopper
Shoulder only	Window
Shoulder with neck	Other
Body with finish/rim (Tumbler)	Body with rim/finish (Tableware)
Finish/Rim only (Tumbler)	Rim/Finish only (Tableware)

Function type

Overall function group to which the original object belongs.

Bottle	Stemware (wine or other)
Container	Game piece
Jar	Lamp
Phial	Window glass
Tableware (i.e. bowl, plate)	Other (including Buttons)
Tumbler (including Shot Glass)	Unknown

Form

Overall form of the original object, related to its function type. Some categories from Arthure's version were collapsed, such as medicines and poisons into just Pharmaceutical and whisky, schnapps and gin into just Spirits.

Alcohol (beer, wine, champagne)
Spirits (whisky, schnapps, gin)
Non-alcoholic (cordial, soft drink, aerated water)
Cosmetics
Perfume
Pharmaceutical (medicines, poisons, bitters)
Pickles (including chutney and preserves)
Salad oil/Vinegar
Sauce (exclusively club sauce)
Condiments (including relish)
Ink
Bowl/dish (tableware)
Plate (tableware)
Stemware (wine or other)
Tumbler (including Shot Glass)
Vase
Lamp base (stand)
Lamp glass (chimney)
Candlestick
Window glass
Other (for identifiable artefacts which did not fit the
Bead
Button
Marble (game piece)
Unidentifiable (for artefacts which had no discernible

Manufacturing techniques

Type of manufacturing process to form the object. As some processes share similarities and an incomplete artefact cannot always conclusively indicate which method was used, there are ‘catch all’ categories. Moulded is the catch all category for objects which are definitely mould manufactured but do not have enough seams or seams in selected locations to inform a specific method. Not all categories are represented in the assemblage.

Moulded (catch all)
2-piece vertical mould; separate base
2-piece vertical mould; separate cup-bottom base
2-piece vertical mould; separate post-bottom base
3-piece mould (Ricketts method)
3-piece mould; base unknown
3-piece mould; separate base
3-piece mould; no separate base
4-piece mould; separate base
Dip mould body; free blown neck and shoulders
Dip mould body; neck and shoulders unknown
Dip mould body; moulded shoulders
Full length 2-piece vertical keyed mould; separate
Full length 2-piece vertical mould
Shoulder length 2-piece mould; free blown neck
Turn pasted
Hand blown
Lampworking
Cut glass
Pressed glass
2-piece vertical mould (Stopper)
Crown Pane (Window)
Cylinder Pane (Window)
Rolled Sheet (Window)
Unknown

APPENDIX III: ACCESSION CATALOGUE DISCREPANCIES FOR GLASS ARTEFACTS

This table lists discrepancies in the Austral (1992c) Accession Catalogue when compared to artefacts actually present in the collection storage boxes.

Accession Box number	**Artefacts present in box (Original Catalogue Number)**	**New Catalogue Number (this study)**	**Per Accession catalogue: retained, discarded, or not recorded?**
8	906/15/-/01/-	ROO-206	Discarded
8	906/15/-/07/-	ROO-207	Discarded
8	906/15/-/129/-	ROO-208	Box 8
8			
9	906/15/-/32/-	ROO-209	Discarded
9	906/15/-/149/-	ROO-210	Box 9
9	906/15/-/163/-	ROO-211	Box 9
9	906/15/-/181/-	ROO-217, ROO-218, ROO-219, ROO-220	Box 9
9	906/15/-/182/-	ROO-221, ROO-222, ROO-223	Box 9
9	906/15/-/183/-	ROO-224, ROO-225	Box 9
9	906/15/-/184/-	ROO-226	Box 9
9	906/15/-/185/-	ROO-227	Box 9
9	906/15/-/186/-	ROO-228, ROO-229, ROO-230, ROO-231, ROO-232, ROO-233, ROO-234, ROO-235, ROO-236, ROO-237, ROO-238, ROO-239	Box 9

9	906/15/-/187/-	ROO-240, ROO-241, ROO-242, ROO-243, ROO-244, ROO-245	Box 9
9	906/15/-/188/-	ROO-246, ROO-247, ROO-248, ROO-249	Box 9
9	906/15/-/189/-	ROO-250	Box 9
9	906/15/-/195/-	ROO-212, ROO-213, ROO-214, ROO-215	Box 9
9	906/15/-/196/-	ROO-216	Box 9
9	906/15/-/198/-	ROO-251	Box 9
9	906/21/-/09/- to 906/21/-/14/- [bagged together without individual artefact labels]	ROO-252, ROO-253, ROO-254, ROO-255, ROO-256, ROO-257, ROO-258, ROO-259	Not recorded
9			
13	906/15/-/454/-	ROO-267	Box 13
13	906/21/-/144/-	ROO-266	Not recorded
13			
15	906/15/-/407/-	ROO-275	Box 15
15	906/15/-/408/-	ROO-276	Box 15
15	906/15/-/409/-	ROO-277	Box 15
15	906/15/-/410/-	ROO-278	Box 15
15	906/15/-/411/-	ROO-279	Box 15
15	906/15/-/414/-	ROO-280	Box 15
15	906/15/-/415/-	ROO-281, ROO-282	Box 15

15	906/15/-/416/-	ROO-283	Box 15
15	906/15/-/417/-	ROO-284	Box 15
15	906/15/-/418/-	ROO-285	Box 15
15	906/15/-/419/-	ROO-286	Box 15
15	906/15/-/420/-	ROO-287	Box 15
15	906/15/-/421/-	ROO-288	Box 15
15	906/15/-/422/-	ROO-289	Box 15
15	906/15/-/423/-	ROO-290, ROO-291	Box 15
15	906/15/-/424/-	ROO-292	Box 15
15	906/15/-/425/-	ROO-293	Box 15
15	906/15/-/426/-	ROO-294	Box 15
15	906/15/-/427/-	ROO-295	Box 15
15	906/15/-/428/-	ROO-296	Box 15
15	906/15/-/429/-	ROO-297	Box 15
15	906/15/-/430/-	ROO-298	Box 15
15	906/15/-/433/-	ROO-299	Box 15
15	906/15/-/434/-	ROO-300	Box 15
15	906/15/-/435/-	ROO-301	Box 15
15	906/15/-/436/-	ROO-302	Box 15
15	906/15/-/437/-	ROO-303, ROO-304	Box 15
15	906/15/-/438/-	ROO-305	Box 15
15	906/21/-/112/- to 906/21/-/113/- [bagged	ROO-306, ROO-307, ROO-308	Not recorded

	together without individual artefact labels]		
15	906/21/-/126/-	ROO-309	Not recorded
15	906/21/-/129/- to 906/21/-/131/- [bagged together without individual artefact labels	ROO-310	Not recorded
15	906/25/-/193/-	ROO-311	Not recorded
15	906/25/-/194/-	ROO-312	Not recorded
15	906/25/-/195/- to 906/25/-/203/- [bagged together without individual artefact labels]	ROO-313, ROO-314, ROO-315, ROO-316, ROO-317, ROO-318, ROO-319, ROO-320, ROO-321	Not recorded
15	906/25/-/204/-	ROO-322	Not recorded
15	906/25/-/219/-	ROO-323	Not recorded

APPENDIX IV: ROOKERY GLASS CATALOGUE

The complete catalogue of glass artefacts from Area 906 (Central Cesspit) at the Rookery is attached as a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.