Consumer practice at Viewbank homestead

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Understanding consumer practice is important for contextualising the material culture of the past. Previous studies on trade networks and shopping in Australia have demonstrated this contribution. This paper aims to contribute further by examining the consumer behaviour of an upper middle-class family. Analysis of the artefact assemblage from the Viewbank homestead, Melbourne, provides an excellent case study for this aim. The homestead was occupied by wealthy doctor Robert Martin and his family from 1844 to 1874. This paper examines the trade networks utilised by the Martin family, and compares this with the networks used by working-class people at Casselden Place, to illustrate how these networks indicate the social and economic structure of Melbourne. It also examines how the Martins were shopping and what this reveals of the factors of necessity and price in the context of a wealthy family.

INTRODUCTION

In essence, this paper is a case study of the archaeological pattern of the consumer practice of a middle-class family in nineteenth-century Melbourne. Consumer practice is the process by which people acquire goods, both for necessity and luxury, and is influenced by a range of factors including affordability, accessibility and desirability. The artefact assemblage excavated by Heritage Victoria from Viewbank homestead, between 1996 and 1999, comprises the material culture for this study. The wealthy Martin family, who occupied Viewbank from 1844 to 1874, are the focus of this paper. Dr Robert Martin was qualified to practice medicine but also engaged in extensive pastoral activities in the early colony of Victoria. He lived at Viewbank with his wife Lucy and their six children. Their wealth allowed for a comfortable, even privileged, lifestyle.

After establishing the middle-class status of the Martins and providing introductory information, the discussion in this paper will form two major sections. Firstly, the section on markets will discuss the origins of artefacts from the Viewbank assemblage in order to explore the trade networks linking Viewbank homestead to Melbourne, Australia and the world. These networks can embody the social and economic structure of the community and also changes to that structure. This section will include some evidence from the Casselden Place site, in inner-city Melbourne, to give perspective on whether the wealthy Martin family were participating in trade networks in similar ways to working-class people. Secondly, the section on shopping will investigate the processes of acquisition and the influence (if any) of necessity and price on the choice of goods. This paper is a small part of ongoing research on the Viewbank assemblage, with key themes including gentility, status and identity.

The study of consumerism in historical archaeology has grown since Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987) published her volume *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, which focused on consumer goods as indicators of socio-economic status. Subsequent studies of consumerism (for example Miller 1987; McCracken 1988) have interpreted consumer choices as having symbolic meaning. However, more relevant to this article are those studies which focus on trade networks and shopping in Australia. A number of such studies on consumer behaviour have recently emerged. Notable among these are Penny Crook's (2000) study of shopping in working-class Sydney, Mark Staniforth's (2003) use of evidence from shipwrecks to explore trade and social networks, Peter Davies' work on trade networks in working-class Melbourne (Davies 2006b) and on accessing goods in remote areas

(Davies 2006a:95–107), and Penelope Allison and Aedeen Cremin's (2006) work on trade catalogue use in rural New South Wales. Yet, what these studies do not address is the question of how a wealthy family utilised trade networks and purchased goods. To understand consumer behaviour in Australia it is important to consider the role of consumer goods in a situation of wealth and higher social standing. Factors of greater wealth and different social position will influence where, how and what people are buying. The Viewbank assemblage provides an important opportunity to investigate this behaviour.

Before going any further it is important to define the interpretation used here of the concept of an 'Australian middle class'. In common use 'middle class' refers to business and professional people, in contrast to the manual work that defines the 'working class', who do not have a ruling or establishment background. However, defining the middle class is very difficult using the conventional criteria of work, income or political stance (Young 2003:4–5). The boundaries between the classes were murky in the nineteenth century and not everyone fits neatly into these categories.

The ongoing debate on the nature of the class system in nineteenth-century Australia is largely centred on the question of whether Australia was a classless society or a singularly middle class society. In her study of colonial Australian gentility, Penny Russell (1994:13) argues that in the mid-nineteenth century 'neither birth nor breeding, titles nor honours, wealth nor land, were necessary or sufficient conditions for an entrée to Society'. Instead of focusing on the notion of a middle class, she emphasises genteel performance, values and good taste as necessary for admission to what she calls the 'colonial gentry' (Russell 1994:14). In contrast, in her book on middle-class culture in the nineteenth century Linda Young (2003:7, 8) argues that 'in the larger focus of transnationalism, the culture of the international middle class was neither 'British', 'American' nor 'Australian' but characteristic of 'Greater Britain', and maintains that this international middle class shared values and beliefs. Young (2003:10, 14) points out that in the early stages of the new Australian colony middle-class culture developed 'in the absence of either aristocracy or working class', and that as the century progressed this middle class became highly stratified and was no longer a homogeneous social group, yet she maintains the existence of the middle class in Australia none the less.

An argument against the presence of a middle class in Australia is the ease of social mobility. Class distinctions in Australia were blurred over the nineteenth century because of the aspirations of working-class people (Davison 2000:9–10).

Social mobility was possible in the colonies and indeed was one of the draw cards for people emigrating to Australia (Fitzgerald 1987:103). Nevertheless, class theory cannot be refuted by the difficulty of drawing neat lines between the classes (Connell and Irving 1980:21). As Young (2003:45) successfully argues, Australians striving to achieve the status of a 'gentleman' based on work status and income were effectively striving to become middle class.

The Martin family belong to both Russell's colonial gentry and Young's international middle class, and there is validity in both viewpoints. The strong cultural connection between Australia and Britain highlighted by Young (2003) and the shared cultural values of the middle-class between the countries makes the use of the term middle class useful and logical. This is particularly important in view of facilitating future international comparative studies. Also, there is a problem with disregarding the existence of a middle class in Australia in that much of the literature available to the historical archaeologist in Australia is international and therefore discusses the equivalent people as middle class (for example Fitts 1999; Wall 1992). Young's perception of the middle class in Australia acknowledges issues of social mobility and the different nature of the middle class and is a useful framework for the current study. I argue that the Martin family belonged to an upper middle class. While they undoubtedly held an esteemed position in society and considerable wealth, they did not belong to an upper class or aristocracy, like the governor or those from titled gentry.

Fig. 1: Viewbank location.

VIEWBANK HOMESTEAD

The Martin family lived at Viewbank homestead 15km northeast of Melbourne from 1844 to 1874 (Fig. 1). James Williamson had owned the property from 1839 but was having trouble meeting his mortgage repayments. In 1844 Robert Gear Esq. of Lewes, Sussex purchased the property for his daughter Lucy and her husband Dr Robert Martin (VPRS 460/P, Unit 1102, 150140/16440). Dr Martin (Fig. 2) was born on the Isle of Skye in Scotland (Billis and Kenyon 1932:95). He went on to study medicine and may have received a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh in 1824 (Australian Medical Pioneers Index 2006). An account by his granddaughter suggests that Dr Martin had been in the East India Service at some point and practiced medicine in the inner London suburb of Islington for a time (Genealogical Society of Victoria 1970:105). The Martins emigrated from England to Australia in 1839. As well as maintaining his genteel residence at Viewbank, Dr Martin owned extensive pastoral properties across Victoria. Though trained as a physician, it appears that he focused more on pastoral pursuits in the colony. He was a member of the Melbourne Club, the District Council of Bourke, trustee of St John's Church of England in Heidelberg, chairman of the Heidelberg Road Trust, and a Justice of the Peace (Russell 1994: 38; De Serville 1991:318). Robert and Lucy Martin had six children. Lucy, Annie and Robert were born in Islington, London before the family came to Australia and Charlotte, Emma and Edith were born in Melbourne (Genealogical Society of Victoria 1970:105; Niall 2002: xxii, 29). The children were born between 1833 and 1846, so Viewbank was home to children aged from infancy to teenage years. The household had servants including a highly valued housekeeper (VPRS
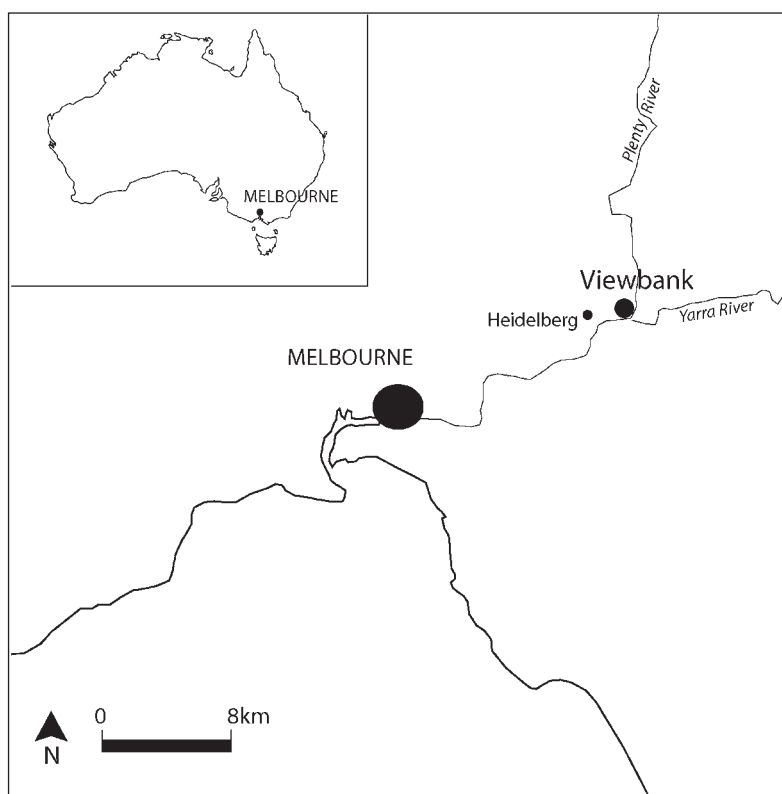
7591/P2, Unit 17, File 12–586, 27 January 1873, 11 February 1875 and Unit 87, File 26–805, 7 August 1882), and probably several outdoor and indoor servants. The Martin family moved away from Viewbank shortly after Dr Martin's death in September 1874.

Fig. 2: Dr Robert Martin. Photograph courtesy of Heidelberg Historical Society
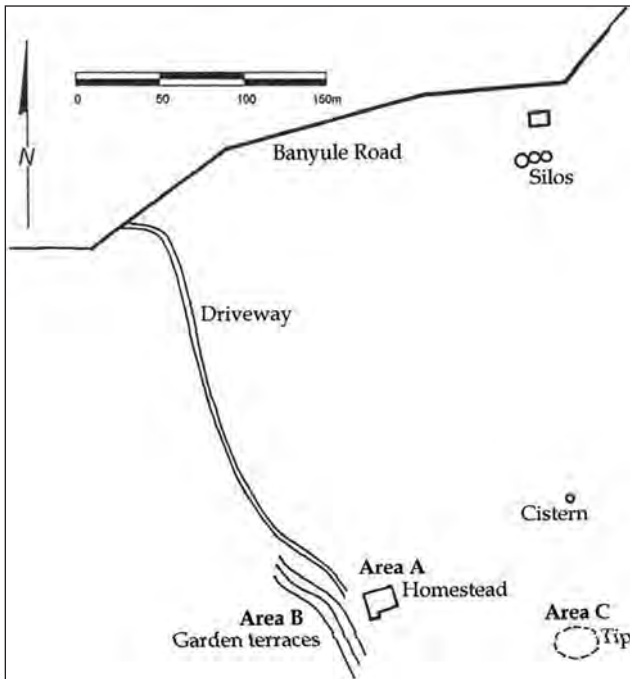
Fig. 3: Plan of the Viewbank site showing excavated areas. Adapted from plan by Heritage Victoria

From 1875 to 1922 Viewbank was leased to various tenants before Harold Bartram bought it in 1922 or 1923 and established a dairy farm. The homestead was demolished soon after (Niall 2002:34). In the 1970s the Bartram family sold the property to the Melbourne Board of Works and it eventually became part of the Yarra Metropolitan Park (HHS, Bartram Family file).

Heritage Victoria's excavations of the site were conducted over three seasons from 1996 to 1999 with a focus on the house and an associated tip, 100 m east of the house (Fig. 3). A small number of other trenches were excavated to identify garden features and outbuildings but none were found. Excavations revealed that the house had approximately 12 rooms on ground level and there was no evidence either archaeologically or historically of a second level to the house. Three phases of construction were identified: the first phase was a four-roomed house built in 1839 by James Williamson the initial landowner of Viewbank, the second phase was an extension built soon after the Martin family purchased the property in 1844 including grand rooms with marble fire-places to the front of the house and a room to the rear, whilst the third phase was another extension added to the back of the house in the 1860s, probably for servants' accommodation and a kitchen (Fig. 4).
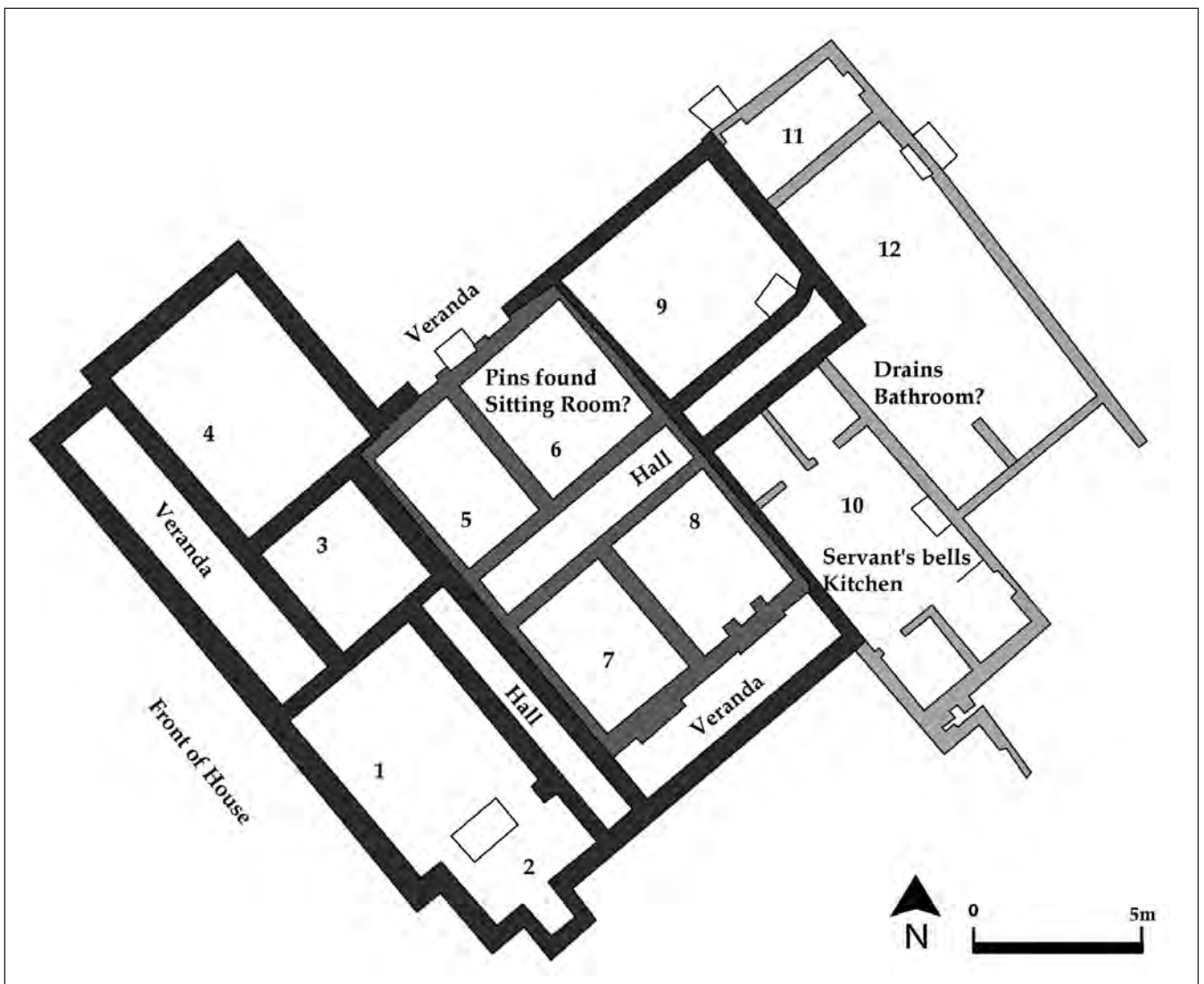

Fig. 4: Plan of the homestead showing phases of construction: Phase 1 (Williamson house) includes room 5, 6, 7 and 8; Phase 2 (the first Martin extension) includes rooms 1, 2, 3, 4 and 9; and Phase 3 (the second Martin extension) includes rooms 10, 11 and 12. Adapted from plan by Heritage Victoria

CASSELDEN PLACE

As mentioned earlier, the section on markets below will include evidence from the Casselden Place site. A rigorous comparison is outside the scope of this article. To some extent it has been necessary to base the comparisons here on the observations and conclusions in the Casselden Place reports. It has proved difficult to attempt comparisons of percentages between the Viewbank and Casselden Place assemblages due to the disparate ways data has been recorded and analysed for each site. This was particularly difficult in that the work done on the Casselden Place ceramics did not include minimum vessel counts. While these differences in data generation are not ideal, and though it would be preferable to use an assemblage which also used minimum vessel counts for comparison, Casselden Place remains the best available assemblage from a working-class site in inner Melbourne.

The Casselden Place archaeological site is situated between Exhibition and Spring Streets in Melbourne's central business district. Occupied from the 1850s onward, the area was one of working-class residence and employment, and included small businesses and a few large factories. At the turn of the century the area was changing with residences being demolished and more factories and businesses established. In the late 1940s, following the Great Depression and the Second World War, nearly all of the slum buildings on the site were demolished (Murray 2006:397–399). Excavations have been conducted at the adjacent site of 'Little Lon' by Justin McCarthy. Relevant here are the excavations in 2002 by Godden Mackay Logan, Austral Archaeology and La Trobe University at the site on Casselden Place. These excavations yielded few artefacts from structural deposits, but cesspit fills, dumps and occupation deposits produced over 300,000 artefacts (Murray 2006:401). The cesspit deposits probably date to the 1870s when sewers were built in the area and the old cesspits were used for domestic refuse. Artefact reports were compiled separately by individual specialists on different aspects of the assemblage. The most relevant to this paper are the reports and subsequent articles by Peter Davies (2004, 2006b) on the glass and stoneware containers; Christine Williamson (2004, 2006) on the domestic ceramic and glass; and Jenny Porter and Åsa Ferrier (2004, 2006) on the misc-ellaneous artefacts. These reports are not context based analyses but overall studies of the assemblages. The analysts of the Casselden Place assemblage used makers' marks, and occasionally observations on the type of artefact, to identify origins of artefacts in much the same way as that being used in this project for the Viewbank artefacts.

METHODS

A total in excess of 53,800 artefact fragments were recovered from the site. The original catalogue by Heritage Victoria was not suitable for archaeological analysis as it did not include sufficient detail nor use standardised terms. Identification and re-cataloguing were carried out on 21,069 of the artefact fragments over 14 months. Cataloguing included ceramics, glass, metals, and cultural bone and shell, but building materials and fittings were not re-catalogued as the information in the Heritage Victoria database was sufficient to address the research questions for this artefact type. The faunal assemblage has already been analysed by Sarah Howell-Meurs (2000) and this analysis will not be repeated here.

It was necessary at the commencement of this project to reconstruct the excavation using trench records but in many cases the information in the trench books lacked sufficient description for confident interpretation. Also, in the years since excavation was completed trench records for two

trenches in Area A, and all of Area B, have been lost.

Extensive splitting, tagging, bagging and sorting of arte-facts was required. Artefacts were often in bulk bags of mixed form and sometimes material. In many cases there was doubt over the provenance of artefacts and this was exacerbated by a change in the database system used at Heritage Victoria since the Viewbank excavations. Artefacts with low con-textual integrity were excluded from analysis.

In the years after excavation and before this research commenced, conjoining was carried out on a number of ceramic artefacts. This has made the weighing of individual fragments impossible. It was decided that the best way to accommodate this was to weigh the joined fragments together, then divide the weight by the number of fragments and record this amount in the database. Therefore, analysis based on weight for these ceramics will be accurate overall but not precise when broken down into individual deposits.

Deposits were selected for analysis according to the following criteria: they were stratified, were undisturbed by twentieth-century impacts, and had a high potential to be related to the Martin period of occupation. Deposits in areas without trench records were excluded because of the lack of contextual information. This approach provides a sample of artefacts from the house that has the highest likelihood of relating to the Martin family's occupation of the site. A total of 15 contexts from the homestead trenches and all contexts from the tip were included (Table 1).

The artefacts were processed in two phases: accession and type series. The advantage of this approach is that two separate catalogues are generated: one containing the fundamental attributes of the artefact and the other containing the interpretive aspects of each artefact type. This separation of identification and analysis allows for clarity on the inherent aspects of an artefact versus the interpretations the archaeo-logist has made of the artefact (Brooks 2005a:16–18). It also streamlines cataloguing as attributes common to a type only need to be recorded once (Crook et al. 2002:34).

Artefacts were grouped into types with matching material, form, processing, decoration and maker's mark or as many of these attributes as could be identified. Size was not considered in determining types, unless this implied a different function. Due to the fragmentary nature of the collection some poten-tially related artefacts may have been allocated to separate types, for example bottle finishes and bases.

Functional classification was included in the type series catalogue to facilitate analysis. Often artefact forms are comprised of a number of material types, therefore there is an advantage in considering an assemblage as a whole, organised by function (Miller et al. 1991). The functional categories are explicitly interpretive and treated with caution. It is acknow-ledged that the intended function of an object is not necessarily the actual function for which it was used and that one object may have different functions over time (Brooks 2005a:18).

The function key words used here were adapted from those recommended in Heritage Victoria guidelines (2004: 30–35). The Heritage Victoria key words are based on the American Getty Research Institute's Art and Architecture Thesaurus. The application of this system has been criticised because it is a museum-based system that does not consider accepted archaeological terminology (Brooks 2005b:11). However, the Viewbank assemblage is part of Heritage Victoria's collection and this system has been applied to other assemblages stored at Heritage Victoria. Maintaining some similarity to the system used by Heritage Victoria has value for comparing assemblages. Key words were changed or added where necessary. When this was done archaeological systems including those developed by Parks Canada (1992),

Table 1: List of contexts included in the analysis.

Area	Trench	Locus/ Feature	Description
A (House)	I	2	Topsoil of fill above wall, and fill in southern alcove of room 2. Fill was markedly different to that surrounding it and appeared to be some kind of refuse site.
A	I	2.1	Fill in southern alcove of room 1. Bound by exterior faces of wall and northern-most extent of alcove.
A	II	3	North-eastern half of room 8. A floor support runs through the centre of room 8. Fill is demolition rubble. Possible sub-floor deposit.
A	II	3.1	Below locus 3 and comprising yellow clay fill. Possible sub-floor deposit.
A	II	3.2	Below locus 3.1 and comprising yellow clay and small gravels. Possible sub-floor deposit.
A	II	4	Eastern half of room 8. Rubble layer similar to loci 2 and 3. Evidence of floor supports and possible sub-floor deposit.
A	III	3.2	Possibly the ground level below the floor in the Western most corner of room 6 near the external doorway. Deposit includes a concentration of artefacts that may have fallen below the floorboards.
A	III	12	Area protruding from the external wall into room 5. Possibly a fireplace. Appeared to have been filled in with artefacts remaining undisturbed below the rubble.
A	IV	2.4	Lower level of locus 2 in South-western half of room 9. Large stone rubble in this area. Bottom of level appears to be a floor or sub-floor surface.
A	IV	2.5	Plaster and mortar deposit below locus 2.4.
A	IV	9.1	Below the floor level in the storage room in northern corner of room 10. This locus represents the area of this room South-east of a central floor support wall. Large quantity of metal artefacts and window glass associated with destroyed floor surface.
A	IV	10.1	Below the same room as locus 9.1 but on the North-west side of the floor support wall. Large quantity of artefacts associated with destroyed floor surface.
A	IV	Feature 4	Small hearth feature in the Eastern corner of room 9, possibly an oven enclosure.
A	IX	3	Bottle cache against the exterior rear wall of the house alongside the chimney.
A	XI	19	Fill within a brick structure (possible fireplace) south of room 10. Concentration of 19th-century artefacts.
C (Tip)	I	Whole trench	Tip associated with the Martin period of occupation.
C	II	Whole trench	Tip associated with the Martin period of occupation.
C	III	Whole trench	Tip associated with the Martin period of occupation.

Sprague (1981), Davies and Buckley (1987) and South (1977) were consulted. The six broad activity categories were: domestic, kitchen, personal, recreational, social, tools/ equipment, and miscellaneous. As recommended by Mary Casey (2004:32), the functional categories were not seen as static, and were refined throughout analysis to adapt to emerging patterns and evolving research questions.

The dating of artefacts in the type series was not carried out in order to date the site, as historical records give dates for construction and occupation. Instead, dating was used to determine whether artefacts and contexts could possibly be associated with the Martin family's occupation of the site. For example, a bottle with a start date of 1920 cannot be associated with the 1844 to 1874 occupation by the Martin family. Caution must always be taken regarding the effect of time lag or the difference between the date of manufacture and the date of deposition. A variety of factors, including historical events, site location and differences in the period of time artefacts were used for, will significantly alter time lag (Adams 2003). However, when considered in association with other artefacts in the same deposit time lag issues usually become clear. A plate manufactured in 1860 may not have been disposed of until well after the Martin's left the site in 1874. Australian references were used in priority to overseas references for dating artefacts.

Fragment counts, weights and minimum number of individual (MNI) counts were all calculated in the type series catalogue. It is common to use at least one, and usually a combination of these methods; therefore including all three facilitates comparison with other assemblages. As demonstrated by Lynne Sussman (2000) fragment counts cannot be substituted for MNI counts in analysis. Artefact fragments need to be viewed as part of the object they represent to understand the occupants of a site (Sussman 2000:96). MNI counts were calculated for each type in the type series based on diagnostic features, such as bases and

finishes for bottles and rim circumferences for ceramics. Where only the body fragments of an artefact were present the MNI was listed as one, regardless of weight. Throughout analysis MNI counts were recalculated, using the database where necessary, to accommodate the problem of over-estimating numbers. For example, the highest number of bottle bases or finishes was used for the MNI for a particular colour of glass. This was done separately for Area A (the homestead) and Area C (the tip).

DEPOSITIONAL PATTERNS

Depositional processes at the homestead site are quite different to those for the tip. From the homestead contexts, approximately 57.4 per cent of fragments from the selected contexts dated to the Martin phase of occupation. In spite of focusing on sub-floor deposits, or those with little disturbance, a significant 42.3 per cent of artefacts dated to after the Martin family left Viewbank. These artefacts were probably associated with the period of tenancy of the homestead after 1874 or the period after the house was demolished. Particularly notable was the presence of machine-made glass bottles dating to after the homestead was demolished around 1922 which may indicate that the ruins were used as a bottle or rubbish dump after this time.

This was not the case for the tip where artefact dates support the hypothesis of the excavation director, Leah McKenzie (2005 pers. comm.), that the tip was associated with the Martin family and almost certainly used solely by them. Of the dateable artefacts, the majority (99.92%) recovered from the tip have date ranges that overlap with the Martin's occupation of the site. Only two artefacts pre-dated 1844 and two post-dated 1874. The deposits in the tip were fairly homogeneous, with conjoining ceramics noted through all levels and its close proximity to the house is unusual for a dumpsite. Given the uniformity of the deposit it is possible

that the tip represents a rapid deposition of household refuse as part of a major cleaning or site abandonment event (McCarthy and Ward 2000:113). Large numbers of complete vessels can be expected in 'clean-out' deposits (Crook and Murray 2004:51). About half of the ceramic tableware and teaware vessels found in the tip were part of matching sets, and though none were complete vessels many were near complete. Part of the Viewbank tip remains unexcavated and it is therefore difficult to know if missing pieces of near-complete vessels are still buried there. The evidence for a clear out event at site abandonment is inconclusive; instead the tip may have been the result of a gradual accumulation of rubbish over a period of time. Food scraps and disposable containers are likely to be the result of week-to-week refuse disposal (Crook and Murray 2004:51). The presence of a large number of condiment bottles, beverage bottles and food-related faunal material in the Viewbank tip supports this pattern of disposal. It is likely that the Viewbank tip was used for week-to-week rubbish disposal while the Martin family occupied the site and also used in a site abandonment disposal event.

ARTEFACT OVERVIEW

The 21,069 artefact fragments catalogued for this project weighed 178,059.5 grams and were comprised of five broad material groups: ceramic, glass, metal, organic and composite (Table 2). The largest material group was glass, followed closely by ceramic. Metal, organic and composite comprised a significantly smaller number of artefacts in the assemblage. A total of 97 different artefact forms were identified (Table 3) comprising 991 separate types in the type series.

Table 2: Summary of artefacts by material.

Material	Sub-Material	Frags	Weight (gm)
Ceramic	bone china	979	4743.5
	buff-bodied earthenware	4	8.2
	china	5	48.5
	coarse earthenware	23	208.3
	dyed-body ware	3	17.3
	earthenware	1	0.9
	parian	4	11.4
	porcelain	515	2038.1
	redware	374	11597.1
	stoneware	3	14.4
	stoneware (buff)	154	4785.6
	stoneware (grey)	25	885.6
	stoneware (marbled buff/grey)	15	99.9
	tin glazed earthenware	1	0.7
	unidentified	1	0.7
	white ball clay	12	29.8
	white granite	545	9858.1
	whiteware	4816	45027.6
	yellowware	78	971.8
Total ceramic		**7558**	**80347.5**
Glass	aqua	106	1617.8
	black	7	5.4
	blue	161	697.5
	brown	299	5417.6
	cobalt blue	95	302.3
	colourless	2314	12362.5
	dark green	6820	56305.4
	green	332	1286.8
	light green	2512	17674.8
	purple	3	16.3
	white	48	117.2
	yellow	5	11.3
Total glass		**12702**	**95814.9**

Material	Sub-Material	Frags	Weight (gm)
Metal	copper alloy	390	375.1
	copper alloy and gold alloy	1	0.2
	copper alloy and iron alloy	26	40.7
	copper alloy and silver	2	48.6
	gold alloy	3	1.4
	iron alloy	84	759.6
	lead	13	101.8
	nickel alloy	1	19.3
	non-ferrous metal	1	0.9
	silver alloy	1	5.7
Total metal		**522**	**1353.3**
Organic	bone	62	156.4
	paper	1	56.6
	shell	8	2.0
	silcrete	1	0.8
	slate	13	33.5
	stone	1	30.8
	textile	2	10.5
	vulcanite	5	0.2
	wax	1	3.2
	wood	21	23.4
Total organic		**115**	**317.4**
Composite	bone, wood and copper alloy	7	26.0
	copper alloy and leather	117	95.0
	copper alloy and textile	6	2.2
	copper alloy and wood	11	8.7
	copper alloy, glass and paper	1	1.2
	copper alloy, iron alloy and glass	3	3.7
	copper alloy, iron alloy and textile	2	4.8
	copper alloy, textile and ui organic	1	6.0
	glass and copper alloy	9	20.9
	glass and iron alloy	1	1.6
	iron alloy and not present	1	29.4
	iron alloy and textile	9	6.6
	shell and copper alloy	2	2.0
	wood and copper alloy	2	18.3
Total composite		**172**	**226.4**
Total		**21,069**	**178,059.5**

Table 3: Summary of artefact forms.

Form	Frags	Weight (gm)	Form	Frags	Weight (gm)
badge	1	8.8	lamp	2	46.1
basin	2	94.9	lamp chimney	175	370.8
bead	14	11.39	latch	1	3.2
bobbin	3	4.3	lens	2	4.2
bottle	11568	88821.6	lock	5	137.1
bottle cap	7	7.5	marble	3	22.6
bowl	261	2605.9	milkpan	438	17493.4
brooch	4	8.6	mug	144	859.2
brush	5	38.2	necklace	1	1
buckle	1	2.4	needle	1	0.4
button	70	64	paper	1	56.6
candlesnuffer	2	53.6	pen	13	17.8
cartridge	16	23.53	pencil	13	33.5
chain	1	1.7	phial	1	2.1
chamberpot	96	1082.8	pin	105	8
cog	3	6.6	pipe	12	29.8
coin	3	22.9	plate	1181	14183.8
comb	5	0.2	platter	300	8539.1
compass	1	1.2	ring	18	6.69
corkscrew	15	20.5	safety pin	8	4.6
covered bowl	23	200.3	saucer	586	3444
crayon	1	3.2	serving dish	149	2402.2
crock pot	57	2407.2	shoe	120	105
cutlery	1	19.3	spoon	5	18.5
dessert glass	1	82.2	stemware	167	1881
dice	1	9	stone tool	1	0.8

Form	Frags	Weight (gm)	Form	Frags	Weight (gm)
dish	35	299.6	stopper	20	566.6
doll	9	59.9	strap	3	81.4
domino	7	26	tablespoon	2	48.6
drainer	18	104.8	tassel	4	1.4
earring	1	0.3	teacup	691	3935.1
egg cup	7	28.8	teapot	3	66.7
egg timer	4	0.6	textile	2	10.54
ewer	137	1221.6	thimble	4	7
eyelet	4	5.2	tool	23	105.1
fan	3	1.2	toothbrush	47	120
fastening	15	12.7	toy saucer	2	18.7
figurine	12	102.7	toy sugar bowl	1	1.2
flowerpot	23	184.4	toy teacup	7	30.7
fork	1	15.6	toy teapot	2	18.5
hinge	1	0.6	tumbler	305	3386.5
hook	2	4.2	tureen	145	2499.9
hook and eye	56	6.06	ui flat	1065	5726.9
jar	268	2690.4	ui hollow	757	6225.9
jewellery	4	1	unidentified	1590	4074.19
jug	69	662.5	vase	16	197.1
knife	1	29.4	whetstone	1	30.8
knob	2	46.5	wire	82	39.62
ladle	4	89.7	**Total**	**21069**	**178059.5**

Of the six broad activity groups identified in the assemblage the kitchen group was by far the biggest (Table 4). The next largest groups were personal and tools/equipment, while the recreational, domestic and social groups were quite small. Artefacts in the miscellaneous category were all of unknown function.

MARKETS

This section will explore the origins of the goods the Martin family were purchasing. As demonstrated by William Hampton Adams (1991) in his work at Silcott, Washington, it is possible to examine the economic and social networks people engaged in by analysing the origin of artefacts they purchased. This engagement was facilitated by industrialised mass-production and new technologies for transporting goods which allowed for far reaching trade networks in the nineteenth century. In turn, interaction through trade helps to create the social and economic fabric of a community and nation (Adams 1991:347).

In this section the discussion of the origin of artefacts from the Martin's residence is limited to those with makers' marks, and where possible other features that positively identify their place of manufacture. Although this may not reveal all of the sources of goods in the assemblage, it does indicate the general patterns of acquisition of goods and available trade networks. From the analysis two very distinct patterns of origin for the artefacts emerged: one for the homestead and one for the tip. The breakdown of the identified place of manufacture is presented in Table 5. The country of manufacture could be identified for 25 per cent of the artefacts from the homestead contexts with 80.6 per cent manufactured in Australia. In the tip 5.9 per cent of artefacts could be definitely associated with a country of manufacture with 95.9 per cent made in England. This different pattern is the result of different depositional processes in the two areas. The tip is tightly associated with nineteenth-century occupation and the Martin family, while the homestead contexts include artefacts from both nineteenth-century occupation and early twentieth-

Table 4: Summary of artefacts by functional category.

Activity	Function	Frags	Weight	MNI	% of MNI
Domestic	Furnishings	184	600.5	12	
	Maintaining the Household	52	829.3	9	
	Ornamentation	56	499.4	9	
Total Domestic		**292**	**1929.2**	**30**	**2.1%**
Kitchen	Preparing Food	525	18,584.4	13	
	Serving and Consuming Food	2862	36,676.0	227	
	Serving and Consuming Tea	1424	8149.9	128	
	Serving and Consuming	2474	9168.5	145	
	Storing Food	8588	78,718.4	280	
Total Kitchen		**15,873**	**151,297.2**	**793**	**56.3%**
Personal	Accessory	30	36.5	25	
	Clothing	270	204.9	103	
	Grooming and Hygiene	340	4031.7	38	
	Health Care	98	1255.0	32	
Total Personal		**738**	**5528.1**	**198**	**14.1%**
Recreational	Children's Play	31	157.8	20	
	Competitive Activities	8	35.0	6	
	Non-competitive Activities	12	29.8	4	
Total Recreational		**51**	**222.6**	**30**	**2.1%**
Social	Currency	3	22.9	3	
Total Social		**3**	**22.9**	**3**	**0.2%**
Tools/Equipment	Sewing	113	19.7	78	
	Weapons and Ammunition	11	21.7	6	
	Work tool	24	135.9	3	
	Writing and Drawing	51	695.1	12	
Total Tools/Equipment		**199**	**872.4**	**99**	**7.0%**
Miscellaneous	Containers	3677	17,233.9	175	
	Unknown Function	236	953.2	80	
Total Miscellaneous		**3913**	**18,187.1**	**255**	**18.1%**
Total		**21,069**	**178,059.5**	**1408**	**100.0%**

century use of the site. Evidence from both areas of the site will be discussed below in order to examine these differences.

Table 5: Identified country of manufacture by makers' mark. Numbers are shown separately for the homestead contexts and the tip to highlight the difference between the areas.

Place of Manufacture	Form	Material	Home-stead MNI	% of Home-stead	Tip MNI	% of Tip
Australia	bottle	glass	10			
Australia – Melbourne	bottle	glass	17			
Australia – Melbourne	button	metal	1			
Australia – Melbourne	jar	glass	1			
Australia			29	80.6		
England	bottle	glass			18	
England	coin	metal	1			
England – Dewsbury	stopper	glass			1	
England – Liverpool	bottle	glass			1	
England – London	bottle	glass			2	
England – London	button	metal			1	
England – London	cartridge	metal	2		4	
England – London	jar	ceramic			1	
England – London	stopper	glass			1	
England – London	toothbrush	organic			3	
England – Nottingham	bottle	ceramic	1			
England – Staffordshire	chamberpot	ceramic			1	
England – Staffordshire	plate	ceramic			23	
England – Staffordshire	platter	ceramic			5	
England – Staffordshire	saucer	ceramic			2	
England – Staffordshire	ui flat	ceramic			1	
England – Staffordshire	ui hollow	ceramic			2	
England – Staffordshire	unidentified	ceramic			2	
England – Worcester	bottle	glass			1	
England – Worcester	stopper	glass			1	
England – York	bottle	glass	1			
England – Yorkshire	stopper	glass			1	
England			5	13.9	71	95.9
France – Bordeaux	bottle	glass			1	
France					1	1.4
Ireland – Belfast	bottle	glass	1			
Northern Ireland			1	2.8		
Ireland – Dublin	bottle cap	metal			1	
Ireland					1	1.4
Japan	bowl	ceramic	1			
Japan			1	2.8		
Scotland – Portobello	bottle	glass			1	
Scotland					1	1.4
Total			**36**	**100.0**	**74**	**100.0**

Australia: Rare Commodities

The breakdown of artefacts by place of manufacture shown in Table 5 raises the question of whether the Martin family were purchasing Australian goods. No artefacts from the tip were marked as being manufactured in Australia. This does not necessarily mean that the Martin family were not purchasing Australian produced goods. It is known from a list of debts upon Dr Martin's death that the Martin family purchased perishable goods locally: dairy, meat, bread, grain, fruit and vegetables (VPRS 7591/P2, Unit 17, File 12–586, 11 February 1875). The only archaeological evidence of this are bones from cuts of meat. Sarah Howell-Meurs' (2000:42) analysis of the faunal assemblage from the Viewbank tip indicates that much of the meat was purchased from a butcher as indicated by the absence of cranial and peripheral limb elements. However, some cranial and peripheral limb bones suggest that at least some complete carcasses were processed at Viewbank.

Of the 240 glass bottles recovered from the Viewbank tip none were marked as Australian-made, or having Australian-made contents. By the time the Martins arrived in Victoria there were six breweries operating in Melbourne but the quality remained poor. In the early 1860s there were 20 breweries in Melbourne, and by 1874 there were 31 (Deutsher 1999:87). During the 1860s there were also 80 breweries operating in 34 country towns in Victoria (Deutsher 1999:88). There were also 20 manufacturers of ginger beer, cordial and aerated water operating in Melbourne in 1863 (Davies 2006b:348).

It is important to consider that Australian manufacturers of beverages were using and refilling imported bottles prior to the commencement of the production of glass bottles in Australia. Many of these would have been unmarked bottles, but sometimes companies would also reuse marked imported bottles. In the nineteenth-century the second-hand bottle trade was a well established business with beverage manufacturers purchasing bottles from second-hand bottle dealers (Busch 1991). In Australia, there is archaeological evidence of this from a cordial factory in Parramatta which filled beer/wine bottles with its product (Carney 1998). This means that Australian manufactured beverages will be imperceptible in the archaeological record.

It became increasingly difficult for beverage manufacturers to obtain sufficient numbers of bottles and the demand grew for locally produced bottles. The Victorian Flint Glass Works was advertising for glassblowers in 1847 but it was not a successful endeavour (Graham 1981:15–16). A small supply of bottles for wine merchants began being produced in Sydney in the 1860s, when it was realised how much cheaper it was to produce bottles locally (Graham 1981:17). However, inter-colonial tariffs prevented much trade between the states. It was not until 1872 that the first major glass manufacturer in Melbourne, the Melbourne Glass Bottle Works Company, opened with other companies following (Vader 1975:14). As a result of this, while the Martins lived at Viewbank there was a very limited supply of locally-made glass bottles.

The use and reuse of imported bottles prior to the commencement of glass bottle manufacture in Australia explains the absence of glass bottles of Australian manufacture in the Viewbank tip but what about the stoneware bottles. These were produced in Sydney from early in the nineteenth century and in the 1850s the production of stoneware bottles began in Melbourne (Ford 1995:176–293). Only one of the stoneware bottles from the Viewbank tip may have been for aerated water or ginger beer, but was unmarked.

None of the artefacts recovered from the Viewbank tip had Australian makers' marks. However, a number of ceramic vessels from the Viewbank tip may have been made in Australia. Potteries had been established in New South Wales since 1800 (Casey 1999:7) and in Victoria from the 1850s (Ford 1995:176–293). From the mid-nineteenth century onwards Australian potters were predominantly producing utilitarian wares to avoid being in direct competition with British imports of tableware and teaware (Casey 1999:23). These potteries produced stoneware storage containers, flowerpots, cooking vessels, dairying vessels, basins, ewers, chamberpots and, frequently also, Rockingham glazed teapots, and Majolica glazed kitchen and decorative wares (Birmingham and Fahy 1987:8; Ford 1995:176–293). However, very few Australian-made ceramics were marked before the later nineteenth century making them difficult to identify in the archaeological record (Birmingham and Fahy 1987:7). In the Viewbank assemblage a number of stoneware storage containers and redware flowerpots were identified. Two Rockingham-glazed vessels, probably teapots, were also found, however, Rockingham-glazed vessels were also

produced in Britain (Brooks 2005a:41). The slip-glazed redware milkpans recovered from the Viewbank tip were probably Australian-made as they were becoming less popular in Britain (Brooks 2005a:42).

It seems that the Martin family were purchasing at least some Australian-made goods, though they were unmarked. As mentioned above, this contrasts greatly to the homestead contexts, which have deposits dating from the nineteenth century through to the twentieth century, including many artefacts with Australian makers' marks. Of these artefacts the majority were glass bottles: beer, medicine, condiment, ink and poison. All of the dateable Australian-made bottles come from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was also an Australian-made glass jar dated to after 1930, and a button with an Australian maker's mark dated by its decoration from 1838 to 1900. The prevalence of Australian-made goods in the homestead contexts is certainly the result of the deposition of artefacts on the site by subsequent tenants, after 1874 when the Martins had moved on. This pattern is identifiable because Australian-made goods and the practice of Australian makers identifying their products had become prolific by this time.

England: The Dominant Market

The predominance of English-made goods in the tip, which is associated with the nineteenth-century occupation of the site by the Martins, is unsurprising because of the dominance of the consumer market by England in the nineteenth century. Most notable among the positively identified English goods at Viewbank were the ceramic tableware and teaware vessels. It is widely noted that the vast majority of ceramics found on nineteenth-century archaeological sites in Australia were imported from England (Brooks 2005a; Casey 1999:23).

All of the tableware and teaware recovered from the tip with makers' marks identifying their origin were made by Staffordshire potteries. In addition, one of the chamberpots was made by a Staffordshire pottery. It is highly likely that the majority of the unmarked ceramics were also made in Staffordshire. By the mid-nineteenth century two-thirds of Britain's potteries were located in Staffordshire (Snyder 1997:5). America was the largest consumer of the Staffordshire products between the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 and the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861 (Copeland 1998:17). However, exports were also sent to Canada, Australia and other countries of the British Empire (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:103).

It is possible that the restricted availability of goods on the Australian market influenced what the Martin family purchased. One example of this may be the presence in the Viewbank assemblage of ceramics made by Staffordshire potteries, specifically for export to the United States of America. Many Staffordshire potteries catered exclusively for the large American market (Graham c.1979:2) with vessels which often included American national symbols and mottos, and decorations which appealed to American taste. When the American Civil War commenced in 1861 this market became restricted and the potteries quickly needed to find new markets for their wares. Newspapers documented how exports to the United States decreased, while in the subsequent years exports to Australia and New Zealand, among other countries, increased (Brooks 2005a:58–59).

The presence of vessels clearly intended for the American market in the Viewbank assemblage provides evidence that British exports originally intended for the United States were being dumped in Australia when they could no longer be sold in the United States (Brooks 2005a:59). One such vessel was a moulded whiteware jug which bears, as part of a printed maker's mark, *E Pluribus Unum* (from many, one) which was the national motto of United States from 1782 to 1956.

Further evidence is the relatively large amount of white granite ware identified at Viewbank. Moulded white granite vessels were made by Staffordshire potteries in response to changes in American taste that favoured simply decorated ceramics, and to compete with popular French porcelain (Ewins 1997:46–47). In America the popularity of plain white or moulded white granite and ironstone from the 1850s is well accepted (Miller 1991:6; Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 120–124). At Viewbank 11.9 per cent of the ceramic tableware and 10 per cent of the teaware was white granite ware (Table 6). There were two matching sets of white granite. One was in the 'Berlin Swirl' pattern and included two 10-inch plates, four platters, a flat vessel, seven teacups and three saucers. Two of the Berlin Swirl vessels bore the maker's mark of Mayer & Elliot, a Staffordshire pottery, and were impressed with the date 1860 (Godden 1964:422). Another two were marked with Liddle, Elliot & Son who changed to that name from Mayer & Elliot in 1862 (Godden 1964:235). The second set was 'Girard Shape' which included five plates of unknown size, a soup plate and a serving dish. These were made by John Ridgway Bates & Co. between 1856 and 1858 in Staffordshire (Godden 1964:535). These dates coincide closely with the beginning of the American Civil War.

The presence of white granite ware at Viewbank is almost certainly related to the American Civil War but the reason the Martin family purchased it is more difficult to explain. There is little evidence from other Australian sites to shed light on this. White granite has not been identified at many sites in Australia, probably to some extent because of the difficulty of distinguishing white granite from other wares, particularly when in a fragmentary condition (Brooks 2005a:25, 34–35). Alasdair Brooks' (2002:56), when observing materials held by Heritage Victoria, has identified white granite at sites from inner Melbourne, and country Victoria. However, no white granite was identified in the Casselden Place ceramic assemblage (Williamson 2004:21–22), possibly because of the different social group or the later time period.

The Martins may have purchased white granite sets because of fashion or desirability. George Miller (1980;1991) has demonstrated that in America white granite ware was relatively more expensive than other wares, such as whiteware. As such it would have been affordable for Australia's middle class but less accessible for working-class people. Also, Diana Di Zerega Wall (1992:79) suggests that white granite ware vessels in Gothic shapes became fashionable among the American middle class because of their association with the sanctity of churches, and contrast to capitalist markets. It is possible that the Australian middle class purchased white granite ware for this reason. Alternatively, it is possible that white granite ware was not fashionable in Australia and that it was purchased by the Martins as an everyday set or as a set for the servants. It has been noted in the archaeological record that there was a trend in Britain and its colonies in the nineteenth century for colourful ceramics, particularly those with transfer prints (Lawrence 2003:25–26). On the whole, the Martin family were following this trend with colourful ceramics comprising a significant majority in the Viewbank assemblage.

A number of specialised items were identified as being manufactured in London: ammunition, toothbrushes, perfume bottles, a button, a cherry toothpaste jar and a food storage jar stopper. A small number of glass food storage bottles and stoppers, medicine bottles and an ink bottle were manufactured in other English towns (Table 5). Eighteen glass oil/vinegar bottles also bore an English registration mark. These registration marks were issued by the London Patent

Office, usually to English manufacturers, but it must be noted that it was possible for foreign manufacturers to gain an English registration mark (Godden 1964:526). It is difficult to determine whether these bottles were shipped to Australia with the product inside or empty for filling by local producers. The perfume bottles were most likely shipped with their contents as the maker's mark was that of a London perfumer John Gosnell & Co.

Table 6: Summary of ceramic tableware and teaware material.

	Tableware		
Ware	**Form**	**MNI**	**% of MNI**
bone china	plate	8	
	platter	1	
	unid flat	2	
Total		**11**	**6.9**
porcelain	bowl	4	
	egg cup	1	
	plate	6	
	spoon	1	
	unid flat	3	
Total		**15**	**9.4**
white granite	plate	9	
	platter	5	
	serving dish	2	
	unid flat	3	
Total		**19**	**11.9**
whiteware	bowl	13	
	dish	1	
	drainer	3	
	egg cup	1	
	ladle	1	
	plate	49	
	platter	8	
	serving dish	10	
	spoon	1	
	tureen	7	
	unid flat	10	
	unid hollow	7	
	unidentified	4	
Total		**115**	**71.9**
Total		**160**	**100**

	Teaware		
Ware	**Form**	**MNI**	**% of MNI**
bone china	mug	1	
	saucer	13	
	teacup	41	
	unidentified	8	
Total		**63**	**49.2**
porcelain	saucer	5	
	teacup	8	
	unid hollow	1	
Total		**14**	**10.9**
redware	teapot	1	
Total		**1**	**0.8**
white granite	saucer	4	
	teacup	9	
Total		**13**	**10.2**
whiteware	mug	5	
	saucer	20	
	teacup	12	
Total		**37**	**28.9**
Total		**128**	**100**

From the Viewbank homestead contexts only a small number of objects had identifiable English place of manufacture marks: two bullet cartridges, an ink bottle, a medicine bottle and a coin. This may be partly because of the different nature of the assemblage from the homestead contexts which included very few ceramics and a large amount of glass bottles. The homestead contexts yielded 22 ceramic vessels, only one of which had a maker's mark and was made in Japan in the twentieth century. None of the remaining vessels bore an English maker's mark, though many were almost certainly made in England, such as the Asiatic Pheasants and Willow patterned plates.

The importance of the social and economic ties with England to the new colony of Victoria is certainly visible in the Viewbank assemblage. The small population of Victoria, and Australia generally, was reliant on the strong trading system of the Empire they were a part of, especially as local manufacturing was minimal at the time. The Viewbank tip assemblage shows that household items such as tableware, condiment bottles, and also medicine bottles and personal items were being imported from England to Australia in the nineteenth century. There is also evidence of English manufacturers utilizing the Australian market for selling goods that could no longer be sold in other markets, namely the United States of America.

Other Parts of the British Isles and Continental Europe: Supplementary Goods

A small number of items had makers' marks identifying their place of origin as other parts of the British Isles or Continental Europe. Two items from the tip were manufactured in parts of the then British Isles other than England. A lead bottle cap was manufactured in Dublin, Ireland and a beer/wine bottle was made by Cooper & Wood, Portobello, Scotland (Boow c.1991:177). From the homestead contexts there was a light green glass whisky bottle manufactured by Mitchell & Co. of Belfast, Ireland. These goods imply trade links with these places. Though not to the same extent as London, the important manufacturing and shipping centres of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dublin were shipping goods directly to Australia (Nix 2005:25).

From Continental Europe there was a cognac bottle imported from Bordeaux, France in the Viewbank tip. Also four porcelain dolls recovered from the tip were probably made in Germany which was the predominant producer of porcelain doll parts until World War I. Although France and England also supplied doll parts it was to a much lesser extent because mass-production in Germany allowed for the production of cheaper dolls (Pritchett and Pastron 1983:326). These goods may have been shipped to English or other British ports and then re-exported to Australia, rather than shipped directly from Europe (Nix 2005:38).

Asia: Exotic goods

Though not marked with makers' marks there were a number of artefacts identified as originating from China in the Viewbank tip. From the eighteenth-century British merchants in India were trading between ports in the Eastern seas in what was known as the 'country trade' (Staniforth and Nash 1998:7–8; Staniforth 2003:72–73). This brought Chinese export porcelain to Australia soon after European settlement in 1788. American whaling vessels also transported Chinese export porcelain to Australia until 1812 when the English/American War interrupted trade (Staniforth and Nash 1998:9). Networks expanded further when the British opened trade with China in 1842 allowing the development of an

independent trade network between Australia and China. Along with increasing numbers of Chinese migrants this led to the emergence of businesses trading in these goods in Australia. They were established to provide for Chinese communities but inevitably served European consumers as well (McCarthy 1988:145–146). This market was utilised to some extent by the Martin family.

A celadon spoon, two Chinese food jars and two jar lids were part of the Viewbank tip assemblage. Such items were made in China for a Chinese market, both domestic and overseas (Muir 2003:42). The jars were ginger jars made of coarse earthenware with slip glaze, one with a matching lid. The jar lids were both rough stoneware shaped like a saucer commonly used for sealing wide mouthed jars containing pickled vegetables or tofu (Wegars 2007). From the 1850s it became increasingly common to find Chinese jars in European households (Lydon 1999:57). The contents of ginger jars, and the jars themselves, were popular among Europeans in Australia. It is possible that Dr Martin purchased Chinese objects in Melbourne for their unusual or exotic qualities or simply for their contents. Ginger jars were also often given as gifts by Chinese people to their European friends or associates (Lydon 1999:57–58). Three further items—two bowls and a jar with brightly coloured polychrome overglaze decoration—were Chinese export porcelain made for sale to Europeans (Hellman and Yang 1997:174). These objects were fragmentary and it is difficult to discern the decorative patterns, though two of the vessels include human figures.

A decal printed, porcelain bowl with a hand-painted back mark depicting a swan and the lettering 'MADE IN JAPAN' was found in the homestead contexts. The use of this phrase dates from 1921 to the present, excluding the war years (Louis Berger and Associates 1996:26); therefore, this bowl cannot be associated with the Martin family.

In summary, while some Australian goods were available to the Martin family, there is little conclusive evidence in the archaeological record for their presence on the site. It is problematic to determine whether this was because Australian-made goods were unmarked at the time or because the Martin family had a preference for imported goods. English goods dominated the assemblage largely because of their availability in the colony but a social preference for them or a desire for them because of their familiarity cannot be ruled out. Trading power and dominance was not the only factor, there was also a demand for goods which enabled and expressed the values, behaviours and beliefs of middle-class gentility (Young 2003:7–8). The Martin family may well have had a desire to maintain ties to England but it is important to note that English-manufactured goods do not necessarily indicate English values or beliefs (Symonds 2003:153). Items from Continental Europe may well have been specialised objects not commonly available from England or in some way superior to English products: French cognac and German dolls. Similarly, goods from China added some exotic items to their possessions. Overall the assemblage indicates the general colonial trade networks and suggests the increasing availability of some types of local products, particularly glass bottles, by the end of the nineteenth century.

Casselden Place

The Casselden Place assemblage from inner city Melbourne will now be examined to shed some light on whether the Martin family were pursuing or accessing different markets to working-class people in the city. The chronological differences of the assemblages will also be examined to see the extent to which changes over time altered the origins of goods. While Viewbank was occupied from 1844 to 1874, Casselden Place represents a later occupation with the majority of artefacts coming from 1870s cesspit deposits.

The Casselden Place assemblage, unlike the Viewbank tip assemblage, included a number of artefacts identified as being made in Australia. For the glass and ceramic storage containers at Casselden Place, Davies (2006b:347–348) has used makers' marks to identify trade networks in much the same way as that being used in this paper for the Viewbank artefacts. He identified 20 bottle makers, four of whom were Australian, and 50 manufacturers of contents, 17 of whom were also Australian. He observed that 'residents chose most of their beverages, especially beer and aerated waters, from local producers' (Davies 2006b:347). Of the 17 Australian content manufacturers identified at Casselden Place only six of the containers had a date range starting before 1874 (Davies 2006b:349). Of these six, two were produced by Sydney stoneware bottle and ginger-beer manufacturers operating from 1835 and 1842, while the remaining four were made by aerated water companies based in Melbourne and operating from 1852, 1854, 1861 and 1864 (Davies 2006b:349). Of these four bottles, one was stoneware and the others glass.

As discussed earlier, the lack of marked bottles indicating Australian-made contents in the Viewbank tip may be the result of the lack of availability of local manufacturers of bottles, particularly glass bottles. Of the four Australian bottle makers identified in the Casselden Place assemblage, only two have dates of operation that coincide with the occupation of Viewbank from 1844 to 1874. One was T. Field, a Sydney stoneware bottle and ginger-beer manufacturer, who operated from 1842 to 1887 and the other the Melbourne Glass Bottle Works which operated from 1872 to 1915 (Davies 2006b:348).

Williamson (2004) looked at the origins of the domestic ceramic and glass artefacts from Casselden place using both positive identifications from makers' marks and tentative associations based on decoration or ware type. She identified one ceramic vessel as Australian-made from its maker's mark. This was a brown-glazed earthenware container made by James Sherwin who was operating a pottery in Tasmania from 1831 and exporting his wares to Victoria (Williamson 2004:55). Porter and Ferrier (2004:396) identified six Australian-made objects in their analysis of the miscellaneous artefacts by their makers' marks including buttons and toothbrushes. All were made in Victoria: Melbourne, South Yarra, St Kilda and Bendigo (Porter and Ferrier 2004:337, 396). The presence of Australian goods in greater numbers at Casselden Place can be attributed to the later time period and increasing production of Australian goods.

The predominance of English ceramics was also noted at Casselden Place. For the domestic ceramic assemblage Williamson (2004:41) identified the place of manufacture by using makers' marks and associating patterns with makers, for 6 per cent of the assemblage based on fragment counts. Of this 6 per cent, 82 per cent were manufactured in England with 68 per cent of this sample from Staffordshire (Williamson 2006:330). Small numbers were made in Scotland, Asia, Wales, Australia and France. These percentages are not directly comparable with the Viewbank percentages as they are based on fragment counts rather than MNIs and include tentative associations to country which are not based on makers' marks. However, if this is assumed to be representative of the Casselden Place ceramic assemblage, it suggests that the predominance of English ceramics, particularly from Staffordshire potteries, was present at both Viewbank and Casselden Place.

In addition to ceramics, glass and stoneware containers in the Casselden Place assemblage were imported from Britain and Europe. Of these containers, Davies (2006b:350)

observed that products other than beverages 'such as food preserves and condiments, alcoholic spirits, and perfumes, derived almost exclusively from British and European sources'. At the same time he noted that most of the glass and stoneware bottles found at Casselden Place were made in England or Scotland (Davies 2006b:350). Again, this is a very similar pattern to that noted at Viewbank.

As with the Viewbank tip assemblage some Chinese artefacts were recovered at Casselden Place. These may have belonged to Chinese occupants of the site and there is also evidence that non-Chinese people living at Casselden Place were purchasing Chinese stoneware jars and bottles (Davies 2006b:353). Williamson (2004:42) also notes that 177 ceramic fragments were of Chinese origin.

On the whole, this comparison with Casselden Place shows that the Martin family at Viewbank were accessing items from similar trade networks to people in inner-city Melbourne. The one difference is the lack of goods being marked as Australian-made. While this might be partly because the Martins were deliberately maintaining their social ties to England, it may also have been because of the domination of English goods in the market and the lack of locally manufactured items in the earlier time period. During the earlier years of European settlement, people in Victoria were dependent on international networks for the goods essential to daily life but in the later part of the nineteenth century Australia was becoming stronger both socially and economically. There was more access to locally-produced goods and perhaps a greater desire amongst people to purchase them for reasons of cost or desirability. It is likely that changing attitudes to locally-produced goods played a role in making them more desirable. A contributing factor in this may have been the Inter-colonial Exhibitions of Australian manufactured goods in Sydney and Victoria in the late 1860s and the 1870s (Ford 1995:51–56).

Shopping

Imported goods find their way to consumers through national, regional and local networks (Adams 1991:397). As Crook (2000) has demonstrated, the study of shopping can provide additional understanding of consumer practice, and the goods recovered from archaeological sites. There are different social dynamics and associations in the method of shopping. For example, in the Victorian era the department store became associated with the middle class, while working-class people were associated with open-air market shopping (Crook 2000:17). This section will explore how and where the Martin family were purchasing goods.

First of all, it is possible that the Martin family brought some household goods from England and that these represent part of the assemblage. An overglazed, black transfer-printed and enamelled vessel dates from 1750 to 1830 (Brooks 2005a:35, 43), which is prior to the Martins' arrival in Australia. The Martins probably brought this, and a number of other items with them. Some of the ways the family purchased goods in Victoria in the 1870s is indicated in a statement of duty after Dr Martin's death which lists his unsecured debts to a number of traders (VPRS 7591/P2, Unit 17, File 12–586, 11 February 1875) (Table 7).

Living an easy distance from inner-city Melbourne, the family would have been able to enjoy access to the full variety of goods available in the colony, which is supported by the list of debts to traders (Table 7). Fifteen of the traders to whom Dr Martin owed money were located in the inner city, ten of them located on, or adjacent, to Collins Street (Fig. 5). The prime thoroughfare of the city in the nineteenth century was Collins Street between Swanston and William Streets where, by mid-century, the shops carried a wide range of imported goods in fashionable shops, including household wares, furniture, clothes and jewellery (Priestley 1984:23–26). Generally the 'streets' were considered a moral and physical hazard but Collins Street was elegant and refined, a respectable place for ladies (Russell 1993:29; 1994:65). According to Clara Aspinall (cited from Russell 1994:65), 'here all things are conducted calmly, quietly, harmoniously'. To see and be seen on Collins Street was an important part of participating in society, an activity in which the Martins clearly engaged. Dr Martin would have purchased items while in the city for work, while the Martin women would have spent afternoons promenading and browsing the shops. This exclusive and fashionable area provided a pleasurable shopping experience.
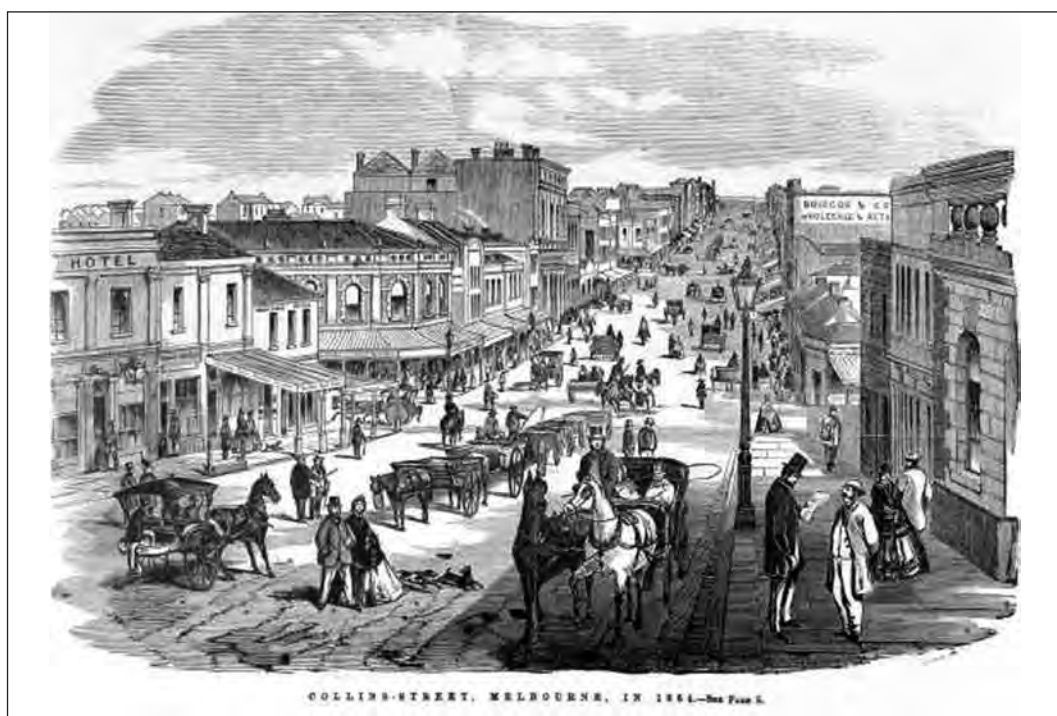

Fig. 5: 'Collins Street, Melbourne, in 1864'. Briscoe and Co. Ironmongers, where the Martin family purchased goods, can be seen on the right side of the street. Engraving published in The Australian News for Home Reader*s, Illustrated Newspaper File, State Library of Victoria.*

Table 7: Listing of unsecured debts to traders in a statement of duty regarding Dr Martin's will (VPRS 7591/P2, Unit 17, File 12-586, 11 February 1875), including details on traders from Sands and McDougall's Melbourne Directories (1874).

Trader Name	Type	Location	£	s	d	Reference	Notes
Graham Bros. & Co.	Merchants	91 Little Collins St, **Melbourne**	728	14	5	Sands and McDougall 1874: 471	James Graham is listed as 'Graham, Hon. James'.
Alston & Brown	Drapers (Silk Mercers, Drapers,Outfitters, Carpet Warehousemen & c.)	47 Collins St West, **Melbourne**	219	4	8	Sands and McDougall 1874: ii	
Shields & Co.	Cornfactors (Flourfactors and Grain Crushers)	corner Elizabeth and a Beckett Sts, **Melbourne**	104	7	4	Sands and McDougall 1874: 661	
Wm. Godfrey	Wine (and Spirit) Merchant	97 Collins St West, **Melbourne**	70	5	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 470	
John Sharpe	Timber Merchant		44	19	1	Sands and McDougall 1874:659	There is a John Sharp listed as a timber merchant at 151 Collins Street West. There is also a John Sharpe listed in **Heidelberg** but no trade is given.
A. (Archibald) Davidson	Grocer (and Wine) Merchant	112 Collins St East, **Melbourne**	44	9	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 422	
C. (Charles) W. Watts	Butcher	**Heidelberg**	10	12	11	Sands and McDougall 1874: 713	
Oldfield & Lindley	Timber Merchants (and Steam Sawmills)	Elgin, Station and Nicholson Sts, Carlton, and Nicholson and Argyle Sts, **Fitzroy**	5	6	11	Sands and McDougall 1874: 607	
George Studley	Baker	**Heidelberg**	1	3	11	Sands and McDougall 1874: 683	This is the only Baker by this name.
Briscoe & Co.	Ironmonger (and Iron Merchants)	11 Collins St East, **Melbourne**	5	10	6	Sands and McDougall 1874: 375	
Whitney, Chambers & Co.	(Wholesale) Ironmongers	7 Swanston St, and cnr. Collins and Swanston Sts, and 103 Flinders St East, **Melbourne**	1	11	1	Sands and McDougall 1874: 721	
By Lee	Ironmonger		1	4	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 541	This could be Benjamin Lee, Ironmonger at 177 & 179 Bourke St. East, or Lee, E & Co. Ironmongers 71 Bourke St West.
W. (William) R. Hill	Chemist (and Druggist)	63 Collins St East, **Melbourne**	5	1	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 500	
Charles Ogg	Chemist (and Druggist)	117 Collins St East and Gardiners-ck Rd, **Melbourne**	2	6	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 606	
W.H. Lamond	Coal (and Grain) Merchant	65 Flinders St East, **Melbourne**	6		10	Sands and McDougall 1874: 536	
J. (John) Holmes	Saddler	72 Bridge Rd	7	2	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 503	There is also a John Holmes, Nurseryman, in **Heidelberg**.
Vines & Carpenter	Shoeing Smiths (and Farriers)	53 Little Collins St West, **Melbourne**	4	2	6	Sands and McDougall 1874: 704	
T. (Thomas) Hodgson	Blacksmith	**Heidelberg**	6	5	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 502	This is the only T. Hodgson listed.
E. Forster	Saddler & c.		1		6	Sands and McDougall 1874: 852	Under saddlers there is an L. Forster at 31 Post-office Place.
William Lea	Saddler	34 Swanston St, **Melbourne**	2	13	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 540	
E. (Edward) Ryan	Bootmaker	96 Swanston St, **Melbourne**	1	15	0	Sands and McDougall 1874: 649	
Dunn	Grocer		3	15	11	Sands and McDougall 1874: 438	There are many listings under Dunn. This may be Frederick Dunn, Store-keeper at Heidelberg. Alternatively it may be T. Dunn, Grocer, in High St, Wr (?) or Terence Dunn, Grocer, in Sydney Rd, Coburg.
Crofts	Cheesemonger		4	6	2	Sands and McDougall 1874: 415	This is possibly the Provision Merchant at 40 Swanston St, Melbourne.
Klingender & Charsley	Solicitors	Bank Place, Collins St West, **Melbourne**	33	4	8	Sands and McDougall 1874: 533	
(John) Stanway	Crockery (Importer of China and Glass Ware)	175 Bourke St East, **Melbourne**	5	19	9	Sands and McDougall 1874: 661	

Fig. 6: 'Messrs. Alston and Brown's new premises, Collins Street West' 24 March 1864. This was one of the drapers frequented by the Martin family. Engraving published in The Australian News for Home Readers, *Illustrated Newspaper File, State Library of Victoria.*

The city shops frequented by the Martin family in 1874 included drapers (Fig. 6), chemists, wine merchants, grocers, ironmongers, a coal merchant, shoeing smith, saddler, bootmaker and an importer of china and glass ware (Table 7).

In the second half of the nineteenth century the rise of shopping arcades and department stores in inner-city areas stylishly accommodated middle-class shoppers (Kingston 1994:26). Department stores catered to the middle class and were out of the price range of working-class consumers (Crook 2000:19–20). Arcades incorporated a range of elegant shops protected from the elements, and the first in Melbourne was Queen's arcade in 1853, with a number of others following. Around the world, in the second half of the nineteenth century, many general stores and draperies developed into department stores (Kingston 1994:27–28). While this process in Sydney has been well documented, little historical work has been done for Melbourne. The evolution of department stores is difficult to trace in historical records in the absence of extensive research in the area. A number of stores, such as draper and haberdasher Buckley and Nunn which was established in 1852, gradually expanded into department stores though exactly when this took place is unknown (Priestley 1984:135). By the 1860s window displays of tempting goods lured pedestrians from the sidewalks into the shops (Brown-May 1998:52).

The Martins also purchased goods close to home. In Heidelberg, not far from Viewbank, there was a shopping village named Warringal which comprised a number of shops by 1848 providing the basic needs of daily life to residents in the area. Shops included a butcher, baker, miller, shoemaker, wheelwright and blacksmith, along with a brickmaker and a plasterer (Garden 1972:73). The statement of duty indicates that Dr Martin had debts with a butcher, baker and blacksmith in Heidelberg and possibly a timber merchant, nurseryman and storekeeper (Table 7). The Martins purchased the necessities of daily life for Viewbank from Warringal. Heidelberg was also a market-gardening area, with fresh produce including fruit, vegetables and grain crops readily available for purchase by the Martin family (Garden 1972:71–72).

Some affluent Australians ordered household goods and personal items directly from London stores to avoid the physical environment of shopping and to get the most up-to-date items (Kingston 1994:25). Also, trade catalogues were used extensively by people who lived remotely from cities and towns (Pollon 1989:233–234). Allison and Cremin (2006) have found historical and archaeological evidence for this at Old Kinchega homestead in New South Wales near the border with South Australia. It is difficult to determine from artefacts whether the item was ordered by the consumer from a trade catalogue or purchased from an Australian shop. For example, a toothbrush from the Viewbank tip bears the name of a London chemist 'GEO…LEWIS CHEMIST// PEARL CEMENTS/ …ENT/ LONDON' and was possibly ordered directly from London but may have been purchased from a local distributor who imported the item.

Archaeological indicators of where goods were purchased are largely limited to items such as buttons or combs that have shop names marked on them. No shop names were identified on artefacts in the Viewbank assemblage. Penny Crook (2000:24) suggests another way of using artefacts to view purchasing behaviour, which is that at a general level the mix of luxury and poor quality items in working-class assemblages might be the result of the influence of affordability and availability of second-hand goods in market bazaars. The opposite of this would be to assume that cohesion in an assemblage, such as matching sets of tableware and a consistent level of quality across an assemblage, would indicate shopping in centralised arcades, department stores and by mail. This certainly appears to be the case for the Martin family. In the Viewbank assemblage, 11 matching sets of tableware and three complimentary sets (including similar but not identical vessels), were identified along with and nine matching sets of teaware and three complimentary sets. This suggests that they were able to purchase a large number of vessels at one time. It would also have been possible for them to make follow up purchases of vessels in the same patterns at a later date. A large number of high quality drinking glasses were recovered: 13 tumblers and 25 stemmed glasses. Cut glass vessels, either in simple or elaborate patterns, were a prestigious item, superior to moulded vessels (Jones 2000:174). Almost all of the stemmed drinking glasses and tumblers at Viewbank were cut glass. Also three ewers and a chamberpot with flown black marble decoration were recovered from the tip. Not only were there matching toiletry sets but these sets also matched between bedrooms.

The adaptation and recycling of objects can be seen as an indicator of the necessity to make do when the availability of goods is limited, either through financial access or availability in the marketplace. Objects may be adapted from their original form to serve another purpose or repeatedly reused until worn out. For example at the remote mining community of Henry's Mill, Victoria domestic recycling was identified in a variety of ways including glass bottles reshaped into storage jars, and kerosene tins adapted for various uses (Davies 2001:161). No evidence of reuse or recycling such as this was identified in the Viewbank assemblage. This supports the notion that the Martin family had access to a wide range of goods and could afford to buy what they required for daily life.

In summary, the Martin family purchased goods in two distinct areas: near home and in the city centre. Necessity and convenience dictated that food and items for daily life be purchased nearby in Heidelberg, and occasionally in Melbourne. Household and personal goods were largely sourced from faraway places, yet purchased for the most part in the genteel atmosphere of Collins Street. This is a typical pattern of suburban growth. There is no evidence that the Martins were shopping in the suburbs between Heidelberg and the centre of Melbourne, or any other suburbs. This implies

that the social networks of the Martins and the activities of the family were centred in these places. Also, the sizeable debts that Dr Martin owed to various stores suggest that price was of little hindrance to the purchasing behaviour of the family and that he had the status and wealth necessary to maintain credit at a number of stores.

CONCLUSION

The Martins' consumer practice, as revealed by the archaeology of Viewbank homestead, speaks of interaction through trade, and at the same time allows us a glimpse of the creation and maintenance of the social and economic fabric of the Melbourne community. The manufacturing origins of the artefacts at Viewbank indicate the strong social and economic ties the colony had with England in its first 50 years. Evidence from Casselden Place and the post-1874 deposits at the Viewbank homestead site indicates that Australian-made goods were emerging and competing more strongly with imported goods towards the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early on in its history the Victorian colony was largely dependent on England for its livelihood but the gold rush in the 1850s ensured Melbourne's growth into a commercial centre, not only because of the wealth it created, but also the demand for services required by a growing population (Davison 1978:11). By the later part of the nineteenth century Melbourne, as a bustling viable city, was well established and became much wealthier than Sydney.

This paper shows that the Martins saw shopping as more than the acquisition of goods. The Viewbank assemblage is characterised by the fact that the Martins could afford the goods they wanted, imported or otherwise, and purchase them in the shopping environment they chose. The family had the means to shop in Collins Street and therefore did so. They shopped in ways perceived as fitting for the middle class and it formed part of their participation in 'genteel society'. They could participate freely in mass consumer culture, restricted neither by lack of money, nor limited access within the range of what was locally available.

My ongoing research on the Viewbank assemblage will next look at what the type of goods purchased by the Martin family can reveal about the individuals and their experience of life in the new colony of Melbourne. I hope that in the future I will be able to conduct rigorous comparative analyses using compatible data, generated using the same methods, to solidly highlight the differences between working and middle-class assemblages and the people behind them in nineteenth-century Australia.

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ABBREVIATIONS

HHS   Heidelberg Historical Society

PROV   Public Record Office of Victoria

VPRS   Victorian Public Record Series, Public Record Office of Victoria

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