

Artefacts and neighbourhood transformations: a material culture study of nineteenth-century North Dunedin

NAOMI WOODS

North Dunedin experienced major social transformations during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in relation to ideas and stereotypes regarding the residents and as part of the development of a shared identity. Artefacts from one primary study site (234–242 George Street) were analysed directly and another eight via the excavators' reports and artefact catalogues with the intention of identifying these transformations in the material culture record. The results, along with supporting evidence drawn from the historical record, were used to understand how these changes influenced the neighbourhood and the people living in it at this time.

INTRODUCTION

Dunedin is a small city of around 120,000 people in the southeast of New Zealand's South Island (Figure 1). This settlement location was initially chosen to take advantage of the sheltered natural harbour (Otago Harbour) (Forrest 1964). The Free Church of Scotland joined forces with Wakefield's New Zealand Company with the intention of creating a two-tiered, wholesomely Presbyterian settlement that might one day rival Edinburgh, the city from which it derived its name (Reed 1956:19). The first European settlers (most of whom were Scots) arrived in Dunedin in 1848 aboard the *John Wickliffe* and *Phillip Laing*. Many were hoping to escape the overcrowding, poor living conditions and rigid class system of Britain at the time and build themselves new lives (Wood 2005:5). For the first decade of its existence the settlement grew slowly and was focused around the area south of the Octagon (Figure 2). This was all to change, however, with the discovery of gold in the hills of Central Otago in 1861. The gold rush which followed saw a massive influx of wealth and people to Dunedin. The small frontier town in the 1850s developed into the wealthiest and largest city in New Zealand during the 1860s and 1870s (McLintock 1949: 478).

When Dunedin was founded in 1848, North Dunedin was initially viewed as undesirable for settlement due to the



Figure 1: Map showing the location of Dunedin.

presence of an extensive swamp and tidal inlet, but over the next 50 years it developed first into a residential area, then a mixed residential-industrial-commercial zone, before emerging in the twentieth century as the hub of the city's central business district. While this broad pattern of change has been well documented (Forrest 1990), little is known of the actual people who occupied this neighbourhood and how it (and they) may have responded to the transformations taking place around it. Late twentieth and early twenty-first-century developments in North Dunedin have given rise to a series of archaeological investigations which have yielded substantial assemblages of artefacts relating to a diverse range of residential, commercial and industrial contexts. To date there has been no attempt to bring these data together to assess what they can reveal about the neighbourhood as a whole; something which this research sets out to remedy. This paper focuses on one facet of the broader study of nineteenth-century North Dunedin (Woods 2013): whether it is possible to identify the major social transformations occurring during this period through the artefacts and how they can help us better understand the ways these changes affected the residents.

BACKGROUND

The North Dunedin study area comprises the flat land between the Town Belt in the west and the former shoreline of the Otago Harbour in the east, extending from Bell Hill in the south, to Logan Park and the Botanic Gardens in the north (Figure 2). This was chosen mainly because of the presence of a number of comparable archaeological sites that provided relatively extensive material culture assemblages. The social history of this area is also somewhat neglected, with most completed histories concentrating on the area just south of the Octagon (the oldest part of the city) and the suburbs of South Dunedin (Olssen 1995; Olssen *et al.* 2011; Stenhouse 2005). North Dunedin was largely unpopulated during the first decade of settlement due to its unappealing swampy land and the presence of a natural barrier in the form of Bell Hill. This spur, which rose to 150 feet (Figure 2), prevented all but the most determined horse or bullock drawn vehicles from accessing the Octagon and George Street directly from Princes Street (Reed 1956:57). Once this obstacle was removed (a process which was completed in the early 1870s (Reed 1947:272)) the North Dunedin flat became considerably more desirable, even more so once the swamp was largely filled in. These improvements resulted in a rapid northern shift of the town's central business district from its initial location (Figure 2) to George Street where it remains today.

A small number of academic theses on Dunedin's urban archaeology have been completed in the last few years. Davies

(2009) made the first attempt to synthesise the archaeological excavations undertaken in Dunedin before that date, focusing on the placement of assemblages from these excavations into a chronological framework but offering only limited interpretation of what this revealed about the city. Carter's (2011) investigation of the maritime cultural landscape of the Otago Harbour extended this research by demonstrating the importance of maritime industries, transport and trade to the formation and growth of the city. The vast majority of urban historical archaeological work done in Dunedin to date, however, has been related to cultural resource management. At least 26 sites were excavated in the Dunedin urban area during the period from 2000 to 2013, all as a response to proposed development. Many of these sites were probably not utilised to their full potential due to the site specific nature of the investigations. Often, as many authors emphasise (e.g. Carter 2011; Connah 1983; Karskens and Thorp 1992), a site's importance is only truly recognised when it is considered as part of the broader cultural landscape.

COMMUNITY STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

In archaeology, as in history and social anthropology, the potential for a community or neighbourhood to act as a useful case study when researching a particular culture or society or more general social processes and problems has long been recognised (Arensberg 1961:241; Harris 2012). There are, however, significant differences between researchers in the perception of what such studies involve. Cusick (1995) defines a community study as 'a study of a town or other small settlement at the household level, comparing numerous household sites, with information on the occupants compiled both from documents and excavation'. He argues that to truly understand a historical community and the social structures and processes that acted upon it, highly contextual archaeological evidence is required, such as material from household sites that can be securely linked with particular families or individuals. This requirement, as Cusick admits (1995:60), may cause a number of problems, for example by excluding excavated sites and material that could provide a great deal of evidence about the neighbourhood but lack clear links to specific people. Compiling an in-depth family history for every site in an area is also extremely time consuming, and while it is undeniably a good way to interpret the sites or households, most research projects lack the labour or time necessary to complete this to the required standard. Furthermore, sufficient historical data to do this are not always available.

Deagan (1983) used a slightly different approach for her study of the colonial Spanish community of St. Augustine in Florida through focusing on collecting evidence of "social variability and regularity" rather than undertaking the research in a household-by-household way (Deagan 1983: 6). Praetzelis and Praetzelis (2004) used yet another adaption for their study of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century community of West Oakland in San Francisco. They employed

a distinctly post-processual approach in which they utilised not just material from individual household sites but also general oral histories and local literature. Closer to home, La Trobe University's 'Archaeology of the Modern City' project had the intention of contributing to the understanding of several communities in Sydney and Melbourne through the material culture recovered during previous cultural resource management excavations. To facilitate this they developed two databases: the EAMC Archaeology Database and the People+Place Occupancy Database. The first was an attempt to find a way to catalogue material culture that would support meaningful comparisons between assemblages when combined with historical data (Crook and Murray 2006) and the second to connect this material to the people who lived and worked at each particular site through links with historical documents (Crook *et al.* 2006:5). This method proved to be effective and numerous publications have appeared which present important contributions to the understanding of these communities (e.g. Crook *et al.* 2005; Murray 2006, 2010).

This paper presents a different approach that can be more accurately described as a neighbourhood instead of a community study. Rather than focusing on the individuals or households that contributed to the formation of North Dunedin's archaeological record, the focus is on general trends in the nature of the area and how these changed through time, as revealed through the material culture. It is also an attempt to demonstrate that careful analysis of material culture can provide meaningful insights into population composition and transformation. This approach allows for the formation of a broad understanding of the neighbourhood within a much smaller time frame than is usually required for the targeted history method favoured by those discussed above.

METHODOLOGY

This paper focuses on artefacts recovered during cultural resource management excavations in North Dunedin. These are analysed and linked with broader events and processes that were occurring during the second half of the nineteenth-century in North Dunedin. Eight artefact assemblages were analysed in order to characterise the North Dunedin material culture assemblage (Table 1). Material from one site (234–242 George Street) was analysed first hand, but for the remainder of the sites only the excavators' reports and occasionally artefact catalogues were available. Relying on secondary information collated by a number of different researchers of course has its limitations, but for the most part these reports and catalogues were extremely descriptive and therefore rendered re-analysis of the material itself, if it had been possible, superfluous. Relevant aspects of the historical record were then consulted in order to ascertain whether the archaeological material supported or contradicted orthodox ideas about the neighbourhood's inhabitants and better understand the ways in which the social and economic transformations occurring at this time were affecting the area.

Table 1: Study sites with the date ranges of the deposits used and a summary of assemblages.

Site	Date range	Ceramic	Clay pipes	Glass	Minimum number of items/vessels			Total
					Metal	Fabric/leather	Other	
234-242 George St	~1860–1892	217	2	130	20	41	11	421
Wall St Mall	1850s–1880s	212	10	407	282	80	62	1053
73 St Andrew St	1860s–	11	0	4	present	0	2	17
Farmers Trading Co	1860s–1880s	336	24	458	265	64	152	1299
Moray Place	1870s–1880s	"few"	4	"few"	present	present	present	?
Countdown	~1850s–	0	0	0	13	0	6	19
Riego St	~1888–	135	0	49	13	19	12	228
Harbour Terrace	Late 1800s–	237	0	57	3	6	3	306
Total		1148	40	1105	596	210	248	3343

CASE STUDY SITE: 234–242 GEORGE STREET

Excavations took place at this site as part of the extension of the building at 234–242 George Street from July to November 2011. Archaeological assessments and monitoring were not organised prior to the onset of work, however, and it was only part way through the work that archaeological monitoring began. This resulted in a significant amount of material, much of which probably related to the very earliest European activity at the site, being lost or severely disturbed. Despite this a reasonably large amount of material was recovered by archaeologists when construction work recommenced. This was recorded and analysed appropriately and the site shed light on life in this area of North Dunedin during the late nineteenth century. Several contexts could be identified in the stratigraphy of the site, however only those contexts which relate to the nineteenth-century activity at the site are discussed here (Layers 3 and 4).

Layer 4

Layer 4 was the lowest layer of the site; a blue-grey clay layer found at the base of most of the trenches. This clay probably relates to a stream that ran through this area during the first decades of European occupation. The outlet can be seen in Figure 2. This is further supported by the large amount of water that collected in the base of the one of the deepest trenches (Trench 1) after it collapsed due to structural instability.

A large amount of artefactual material was found within this layer, and the anaerobic nature of the clay meant that organic material, such as fabric and floral remains, were preserved much better in this layer than the later deposits. In Trench 1 a layer of flax leaves separated the clay from the above deposits and acted as a seal for the material below. This

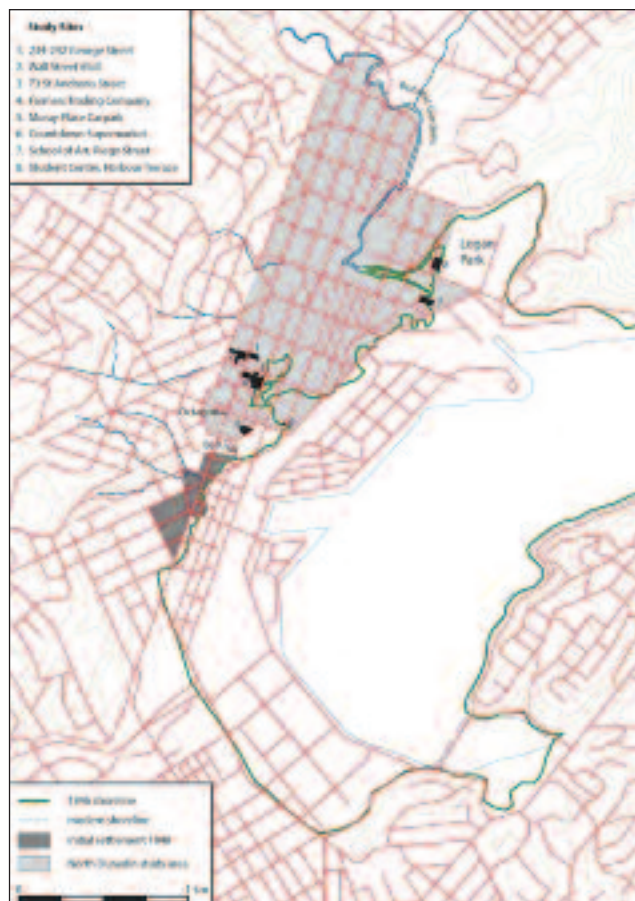


Figure 2: The North Dunedin study area and sites.

was not present in the other trenches, however, and there was some evidence of slight disturbance in places. There was also evidence that the mechanical excavation methods resulted in the contamination of this layer with material from higher up, but this was rare and generally easy to distinguish, for example three fragments of clearly mid-twentieth-century glass bottles were found while the rest appear to date to the mid-1880s at the latest.

Layer 3

A layer of mixed fill extended across most of the site just above the clay. It appears that this layer consists of re-deposited material from elsewhere, although the artefacts are generally very similar to those from Layer 4, so it is probable that it was sourced from nearby. The intention of depositing the fill here was probably to make the swampy land more serviceable. Within this layer there is at least one noticeable discrete dumping event consisting of an assemblage of pharmaceutical bottles, as well as a range of other material seemingly incorporated into the fill.

At the interface of this layer of fill and the layer above was an intermittent band of more-or-less sterile yellow silt. This is consistent with reports of a flood in November of 1894 which caused considerable damage to the surrounding businesses and covered the floor of the Drapery Association building (in the adjacent section to the site) in a two inch deep layer of silt (*Otago Daily Times* 5 Nov. 1894:3). This event acts as both a precise chronologic marker but also as an indicator of the level of disturbance of the material in the layer below. As there are several places where this band seems intact it can be surmised that a significant proportion of the artefactual material in Layer 3 has not been disturbed since it was redeposited here. This may not be of great importance as the material is still out of its original context, but it shows that the constant cycle of building and re-building that occurs in urban areas does not always destroy earlier archaeological deposits.

The site yielded a considerable amount of artefactual material, so much so that it was not feasible to recover it all. Instead, what was thought to be a representative sample of the material was collected for analysis and diagnostic portions of objects were favoured over less useful fragments. Despite the loss of some of the contextual detail of the material during the excavation a considerable amount of information regarding the nature of the surrounding neighbourhood was extracted from the artefact assemblage and several meaningful conclusions could be drawn (see Woods 2013).

RESULTS

Class

The idea of 'class' has been a popular topic in historical archaeology for decades and the term itself has been used in many ways (Orser 1988; Mayne 2008). The difficulties this creates have been well documented (e.g. Monks 1999). In this paper it is used in a Marxist sense (divisions of society based upon economic power and roles in the main systems of production [Orser 1988:739]), mostly in order to fit in with the existing historical accounts and records. In reality, dividing the Dunedin population into two categories ('middle' and 'working' class) is incredibly simplistic and does not represent the true complexities of the colonial society, however for the sake of this discussion it was viewed as the best way to illustrate what was occurring here.

The nineteenth-century middle-class capitalists of Dunedin had a clear mental picture of the working-class North Dunedin population which was more often than not at odds with how these residents saw themselves. Contemporary

accounts and the newspapers of the day abound with complaints about the heavy drinking, poor morals and slovenly conditions that were thought to be rife among the community. In 1860 the large quantities of bottles discarded in the streets was the subject of a public meeting, while the *Colonist* reported that spirit consumption in the town had trebled within the last three years even though the population had only just doubled in the same time (Reed 1956). The archaeological record could well be used to support this idea of heavy drinking as over half (53 per cent) of the glass bottle assemblage recovered from the area was alcohol-related (Table 2). There are, however, many factors which need to be taken into account with the bottle assemblage, such as recycling, misidentification and relative rate of consumption. As Petchey (2004:49) points out, alcohol bottles would have had a much shorter life span than other types of vessels due to the nature of their contents. When filled with beer or wine these vessels would have generally been emptied in one sitting, while the stronger spirits may have lasted slightly longer, although it is just as likely they too were consumed relatively quickly, especially in a social setting. Other products contained in glass vessels, such as pharmaceutical concoctions or condiments, would have been used at a far slower rate and so taken much longer to be discarded. It is also probable that at least a few of these 'alcohol' bottles held non-alcoholic contents, as the names given to these styles of bottles, such as 'black beer', 'champagne' or 'ring seal beer,' are usually, and not always correctly, taken as proof of the contents (Campbell *et al.* 2009:98). When these factors are taken into consideration, the residents responsible for the domestic glass assemblages were potentially not consuming as much alcohol as popularly assumed, especially as many of these deposits were built up over several years.

Table 2: Percentages of the glass bottle assemblages that are alcohol related.

Site	%
234-242 George Street	27
Wall Street Mall	55
73 St Andrew Street	27
Farmers Trading Company	67
School of Art, Riego Street	6
Student Centre, Harbour Terrace	25
Total %	53

The population boom that resulted from the Central Otago gold rush brought an influx of characters viewed as undesirable for the wholesome Presbyterian tone of the settlement. Many of these newcomers settled in the North Dunedin area where land and rent were still relatively affordable (McLintock 1949:425). The Chinese set up opium dens and brothels while Irish miners and railway workers were described as always drunk and disorderly and, even more worryingly, Catholic. This last issue became such a concern that in 1878 a quota was imposed on Irish immigrants by the Minister of Immigration (Olssen 1984). Many perhaps feared the influence these "undesirables" would have on the established population, concerns that were not helped by the relatively high number of young women that shunned traditional domestic service roles for jobs as barmaids, entertainers or even prostitutes (Olssen 1984).

A much more pressing concern was the conditions in which many of the working-class residents lived. North Dunedin was home to some of the poorest residents of the city due to the undesirability of the swampy land. The area's waterways were quickly polluted with all manner of waste and patches of vacant land, as well as backyards and road sides, became rat-infested rubbish dumps (McDonald 1965:210). As

unpleasant as this would have been for the residents, this allowed for the formation of many of the archaeological deposits that were vital for this research and also for the high levels of preservation of artefact types that are often lost, such as fabric and botanical remains. The small, often hastily constructed dwellings were often dilapidated and at risk of catching fire at any moment (Olssen 1984:78). This was seen as a problem for more than just those living in these conditions but as a public health hazard for the whole of the city. The Inspector of Nuisances, James Nimon, blamed a combination of the swamp itself and an 'almost utter disregard to cleanliness' shown by the poorer members of North Dunedin society, a view that was shared with many others (Wood 2005:45).

The idea that this section of society was generally slovenly was probably further influenced by the idea that in the colony upward social mobility was relatively easy. Many commentators (*Otago Witness* 25 March 1854:2; 22 Nov. 1873:1) drew attention to the wealth of chances available to immigrants compared with what they could expect back home in Britain and some could not understand how many members of the community were not taking full advantage of these opportunities. The reality was, however, that many of these immigrants were encouraged, and sometimes assisted, to relocate to colonies such as Dunedin with the two main intentions of providing cheap unskilled labour for these wealthier business and land owners and to relieve the strain on society in Britain that was at the time being caused by high levels of unemployment and poverty. This is a far cry from the altruistic idea of improving their circumstances (Bedgood 1980:21).

The North Dunedin material culture record shows, however, that these ideas about the working-class population were not altogether accurate. The apparent apathy towards the state of their homes described by Inspector Nimon and others was in their opinion the fault of the landowners, as most residents of North Dunedin rented their houses. Absentee landlords often gave little thought to the state of their properties, allowing them to become filled with rubbish, weeds and vermin. It was sometimes also the case that the reluctance to improve the conditions of these properties was driven by the notion that doing so would increase the rates payable by the landowner, something even John Hyde Harris, mayor during the mid- to late-1860s was guilty of (Wood 2005:46). There is also plenty of evidence that residents tried their best to improve their local surroundings, with an emphasis on material culture. Even in some of the most forlorn-looking homes could be found matching tea and dinner services (Wood 2005:28), with elements of such sets appearing in the North Dunedin archaeological record. This was especially apparent in the assemblage recovered from the Farmers Trading Company site which contained items from at least three matching sets (three 'Grecian', two 'Buckleugh' and two 'Aquatic' plates). Petchey (2009:40) notes that these vessels do not appear to be of very high quality, suggesting that residents who could only afford to buy seconds quality items still felt it was important to have a matching dinner service. China and other household items would have been the main way that people could make their spaces their own when they were unable to do so through the house itself.

Evidence of the process of industrialisation and a subsequent widening of the gap between rich and poor which was occurring in the city during the 1880s can also be found within the North Dunedin archaeological record, particularly in the fabric remains. Some of the earliest deposits at the Farmers Trading Company and Wall Street Mall sites contained well preserved items of clothing, including heavy boots, moleskin trousers and felt hats (Figure 3). These items are typical of the settler 'uniform' which was worn by men from most professions and classes (Ebbett 1977:30), a fact that



Figure 3: Felt hat from the Wall Street Mall site (image courtesy of Peter Petchey).

highlights the lack of any real distinction between employers and employees during the first decades of the city's existence.

The fine fabrics found at Wall Street, Farmers and 234–242 George Street provide an idea of the kinds of material that fashionable ladies would have been wearing: silks, lace and very finely woven wools and cottons. These, especially when it is taken into account that most dresses would feature heavy full length skirts, would not have held up well to the nearly knee-deep mud that was a feature of most North Dunedin streets until the end of the century (Wood 2005). The solution many women resorted to involved tucking their skirts into the heavy duty hobnailed boots usually favoured by men, examples of which were found at the 234–242 George Street, Farmers Trading Company, Wall Street Mall and Riego Street sites. This was jokingly referred to by many Dunedin residents as the 'Town Board of Dunedin uniform' in reference to the lack of attention given to the state of the main streets by those in power (Reed 1956).

Several of the 1880s contexts, such as 234–242 George Street and some of the Wall Street Mall deposits, contain artefacts relating to dress-making such as thread and fabric offcuts (Figure 4). These assemblages almost certainly relate to women employed by large clothing factories that had to take work home with them in order to earn enough to survive on, something which was to become a major concern for social reformers during this decade (Woods 2013: 112). This type of work caught the colony's attention when Reverend Rutherford Waddell exposed the long hours and meagre pay endured by these women in a series of public lectures around Dunedin in



Figure 4: Fabric offcuts from 234–242 George Street.

the 1880s: 'The Sigh and the Song of the Weary' in 1881 (*Otago Witness* 6 August 1881:9) and, more famously, 'The Sin of Cheapness' in 1888 (*Otago Daily Times* 20 October 1888:3). Waddell wanted to bring the plight of the women involved in this business to the attention of the wealthier members of Dunedin and New Zealand society and laid the blame on them for refusing to pay a fair price for items made by the working class, in particular clothing. The newly emphasised distinction between the classes can be seen in the range of high quality fabrics found in these contexts including silks, lace and very finely woven woollens which these women were working on for what many referred to as starvation wages. This was a worrying trend to the residents of the city as it signalled the reappearance of the conditions and societal evils they had escaped when they left Britain and had been so determined to hold at bay in their new city (Olssen 1984:235).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is another term used frequently in historical archaeology (McGuire 1982; Meskell and Preucel 2007), but it is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into a theoretical discussion of its use. Barth (1969:13) defines ethnicity as a classification of a person based on 'his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin or background'. While this definition is written with the individual in mind, it is just as applicable to groups and is especially relevant to neighbourhoods such as North Dunedin that are seen to have strong historical ties to a particular ethnicity, in this case Scottish. An important distinction is made here between Scottish and a more general British classification. During the last half of the nineteenth century Britain was very much a 'multi-national and ethnic conglomerate' rather than a homogeneous ethnic group (Symonds 2003:152). This is particularly evident in North Dunedin, where clear distinctions were made between those people with Scottish, English and especially Irish backgrounds (e.g. McDonald 1965:411). The North Dunedin material culture record can be said to contain some evidence of these distinctions, although they are perhaps not as obvious as the historical record claims. There is also evidence within the artefact assemblages that ideas about and the importance of ethnicity in North Dunedin changed as the nineteenth century progressed.

The city of Dunedin was initially planned by the New Zealand Company in conjunction with the Free Church of Scotland with the intention of creating a perfect Presbyterian community in the antipodes. At first settlers were selected from members of the Church, but after a year it became necessary to extend the search for ideal emigrants (Forrest 1990:25). Regardless of this, a large proportion of colonists were still of Scottish origin and many visitors to the town throughout the nineteenth century remarked upon the Caledonian qualities of the neighbourhood. Most people had a distinctly Scottish accent, Highland games were the most popular community events, Scottish songs were clear favourites (Olssen 1984) and whisky was 'the one pleasure' many of the otherwise prudish residents were said to have allowed themselves (Hargreaves 1992:5).

While manners of speaking and song preference are almost impossible to see in the archaeological record, there are certain qualities of the North Dunedin material culture assemblage that hint at this affiliation. The majority of the everyday household items were sourced from England and were rather generic in nature but several of the pieces that were intended to be displayed featured distinctly Scottish characteristics. This is particularly noticeable amongst items of teaware, with examples decorated with tartan-like designs (Figure 5), thistles (Chelsea Sprig) and patterns such as Balmoral and Buccleugh which would have, by their names alone, conjured thoughts of

the home country. The fact that it is pieces intended to be seen by visitors that bear these motifs suggests that at least some of the North Dunedin residents were making an effort to portray themselves as distinctly Scottish, presumably with the intention of distinguishing themselves from other ethnicities within the city, including the English. This would have become more of an issue with the influx of a variety of people during the gold rush of the 1860s, many of whom were viewed as less desirable than those with respectable Scottish and Presbyterian ancestry. Also of interest is the fact that these motifs and patterns are not present in the slightly later contexts, evidence suggesting that Scottish ethnicity became a less important factor in identity as the century came to a close.



Figure 5: Tea-cup sherd decorated with a tartan-like pattern from 234–242 George Street.

The North Dunedin archaeological record contains other artefacts that hint at other ethnicities that were potentially residing there during the nineteenth century. The vast majority of the material culture assemblage is distinctly British, although a few pieces of Australian origin (a plate bearing the Australian coat of arms found at Farmers [Figure 6]), Chinese origin (Chinese export porcelain from Farmers and tin-glazed ginger jar fragments from 234–242 George Street) and possibly Maori origin (woven bags from Wall Street) were found. While the Scottish part of Dunedin and its people's heritage is often celebrated, the other ethnic groups are sometimes forgotten. English immigrants arrived in numbers almost as large as the Scots (McDonald 1965:182) and the Irish population of the town was significant enough to cause concerns, as noted above. The English in particular are often ignored in historical studies such as these as they tend to fade into the background. Most of the material from New Zealand and other colonial areas is notably English so it is usually the pieces that stand out as belonging to other ethnic groups that receive most attention. A particularly patriotic plate decorated with the Australian coat of arms found at the Wall Street Mall site (Figure 6) could very easily have been brought over by someone hoping to make their fortune from the gold rush as large numbers of Australians, particularly from Victoria, were known to have been attracted across the Tasman at this time.

Most of the Chinese ceramics are very clearly export wares so they are not indicative of a Chinese community in the

vicinity of any of the study area sites, even though most histories of Dunedin record their notable presence within the city, particularly during the gold rush. Olssen (1984) provides a possible explanation for this apparent lack of evidence: they tended to keep to themselves and integration with the existing community was minimal. This was mostly due to the fact that almost all intended to return home to China once they had made their fortune or the gold ran out. There are other parts of the city that were known to be mostly Chinese neighbourhoods (such as the 'Devil's Half-Acre' south of the Octagon) so it is possible that North Dunedin never had a Chinese population of any significant size. More targeted research of specific North Dunedin sites would help with answering these questions.

Maori are also notable by their relative absence in the archaeological material. The only potential Maori objects recovered from the study area are three woven bags found by Petchey (2009:103), and it is not clear if they are of Maori manufacture at all. One of the factors in the initial selection of the site for the settlement was removal from the 'native troubles' that were causing concern in northern parts of New Zealand during the middle of the century (Forrest 1990:11), so this lack of evidence is not overly surprising. The accounts we have from the early European settlers regarding the local native population emphasise the separation between the two communities, the latter of which were generally restricted to areas outside the town such as Waikouaiti to the north, the eastern end of the Otago Peninsula and inland on the Taieri Plains (Wood 2005:18).

As the nineteenth century came to an end, the evidence from the material culture suggests that this emphasis on country of origin became much less important in North Dunedin. The patriotic patterns on tea and dinner services give way to a smaller variety of much simpler motifs and many New Zealand-made products appear in the archaeological record. It is during this period that class appears to have become a more important factor in neighbourhood dynamics than country of origin, especially since many of the residents of the city were by now at least second generation. As mentioned previously, the city had become visibly segregated with North Dunedin being home to a large proportion of the working-class population. Although the residents in this area would probably have come from a range of backgrounds, their common lifestyle and surroundings would have encouraged a sense of neighbourhood spirit and allowed for the emergence of a distinct Dunedin identity.

This process was occurring throughout New Zealand at this time. Smith (2008) refers to the time from around 1860,



Figure 6: Plate bearing the Australian coat of arms from the Wall Street Mall site (image courtesy of Peter Petchey).

when the native Maori population was first outnumbered by European settlers, through to today as the 'Kiwi' period. It was during this time that the New Zealand population began to assign themselves a distinct 'Kiwi' identity as opposed to simply being a range of co-existing ethnicities. The reverse side of the previously mentioned Australian plate bears the British coat of arms, which is interesting as it suggests that a similar emergence of a distinct Australian identity (as opposed to merely being British citizens living away from the homeland) was occurring at this time.

CONCLUSION

As a neighbourhood, nineteenth-century North Dunedin (and its residents) was the subject of various stereotypes. These included factors such as distinct and homogeneous ethnicity, slovenliness and heavy use of alcohol that have continued in historical accounts, but the archaeological material analysed during this research challenges many of these ideas. While alcohol bottles dominated most of the glass assemblages, this can be explained by relatively short use-lives of these bottles compared to the other types found. There is also clear evidence in the working-class domestic rubbish deposits that many members of the community took pride in their homes and included various fashionably decorated items in their décor, such as matching dinner and tea services. The city as a whole has always been considered quintessentially Scottish and there is some evidence of displays of Scottish identity in the artefactual remains. These are relatively rare, however, and the majority of the material could be more accurately described as British, if not English.

A number of social and economic transformations were clearly visible within the North Dunedin material culture record. The range of people coming from overseas to take advantage of the gold rush of the 1860s is visible, to varying degrees. A single patriotic Australian plate hints at immigrants from across the Tasman, but the Chinese community is not obviously represented. The widening gap between the 'middle' and 'working' class residents that resulted from industrialisation during the 1870s and 1880s can be seen, especially amongst the fabric remains. It is also apparent that ethnicity became a less important aspect of identity as the century came to a close as the material culture became more uniform and the Dunedin identity emerged.

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