Annales-Informed Approaches to the Archaeology of Colonial Australia

ABSTRACT

Archaeologists have generally been slow to recognize the value of Annales approaches to their discipline, and maritime archaeologists, in particular, have been even slower. The analytical framework used in this paper draws on applications of Annales approaches to archaeology in what is termed the "archaeology of the event." The resulting holistic approach places the specificity of the event within the wider cultural context. Furthermore, terrestrial historical archaeology has largely ignored the potential that cargo material, derived from maritime archaeological excavations, has to contribute to understandings of colonial settlement. This paper moves beyond the usual functional approaches to the analysis of the meanings of material culture. A major part of the archaeological data used here is drawn from the cargo assemblages of four post-settlement shipwrecks excavated in Australian waters during the past 30 years: Sydney Cove, James Matthew, William Salhouse, and Eglinton. This paper provides a theoretical and methodological model for the systematic analysis of consumer goods that can be used to better understand cultural aspects of colonial settlement.

Introduction

In order for Europeans to successfully colonize places like Australia, and before it the Americas, it was necessary to establish trade networks that provided adequate supplies of culturally appropriate food, drink, and other consumer goods for the population who, willingly or otherwise, traveled to the new land. This paper focuses primarily on some of the material culture being imported, sold, used, and disposed of during the earliest phases of settlement in three Australian colonies: Port Jackson (Sydney), Port Phillip (Melbourne), and the Swan River colony (Fremantle and Perth). The archaeological data used are drawn from the artifact assemblages of four post-settlement colonial-period shipwreck sites dating to the late-18th and first half of the 19th centuries: Sydney Cove (1797), William Salhouse (1841), James Matthews (1841), and Eglinton (1853). Each site has been archaeologically excavated during the past 30 years (Henderson 1975, 1976; Baker and Henderson 1979; Henderson and de Burgh 1979; Henderson and Stanbury 1983; Staniforth and Vickery 1984; Strachan 1987; Nash 1996; Staniforth 1997b, 1999; Staniforth and Nash 1998). These data are compared with data from archaeological assemblages from terrestrial archaeological sites in Australia dating from 1788 until approximately the middle of the 19th century.

It is argued that, while the dates of these shipwrecks span a period of more than 50 years (1797–1853) and the vessels were destined for three significantly different colonies with their associated temporal and historical characteristics, some common patterns associated with British colonial settlement emerge. Three of the vessels (Sydney Cove, William Salhouse, and James Matthews) sank within 12 years of European settlement of the colony to which they were destined, while the fourth (Eglinton) sank only 23 years after the settlement of the Swan River colony. At the time that each of these vessels sank, the colony that it was bound for had both a small population and a severely restricted capacity to create, harvest, or otherwise produce the material requirements for a growing population. Each vessel was carrying what could be described as a speculative cargo in that, as far as can be determined, none of the vessels had ever made a voyage to Australia before their final, unsuccessful voyage. Furthermore, none of the owners or charterers of the vessels appears to have had direct personal experience with the Australian colonies or the conditions that prevailed there.

Sydney Cove (1797) was representative of the early phase of trade between India and Australia that was such a significant part of the trade network for the Port Jackson colony in the years before the 1820s. During this period, merchants in Great Britain saw little value in sending cargoes of goods to a convict settlement with a tiny population, and the country trade (British) merchants resident in India took advantage of this opportunity for trade.

William Salhouse (1841) represents an attempt to establish a direct commercial link between two British colonies without the usual transshipment in Great Britain. This was a unique and

Permission to reprint required.
An unsuccessful attempt to institute intercolonial trade between Canada and Australia.

James Matthews (1841) was an example of a cargo that represented the personal choice of one or two individuals who had the economic capacity to charter a whole, if small, vessel. This cargo speaks of small-scale and individual choices about material goods to suit personal preferences and needs rather than large-scale and commercial decisions about what might sell in the marketplace.

Eglinton (1853) was very much representative of the typical, and by far the most common, trading network that existed between Great Britain and the Australian colonies throughout most of the mid-19th century. The cargo of Eglinton is probably the most representative of the four in terms of the kind of mixed commercial cargo being imported into the early Australian colonies.

Each of the four vessels discussed in this paper represents a slightly different facet of the long-distance carriage of material culture to the early Australian colonies. The cargoes were selected in different parts of the British Empire (India, Canada, and Great Britain itself) but from what was quickly becoming a globally derived material culture. The people who made the choices about what to send had a similar overall aim in mind: to select functionally useful material that would sell in a newly established British colony. Clearly there are differences that resulted from the differing availability of certain types of material in a particular port at a particular time, and the selection process was certainly affected by diverse local circumstances. Also evident in these particular shipwrecks is an underlying evolutionary pattern of change over time as trading supply lines became more firmly established. Nevertheless, one common feature was the persistent demand for a variety, quantity, and quality of suitable types of food, drink, and other consumer goods. These needs arose from culturally derived behaviors and attitudes and helped to ensure that the goods had rather more than utilitarian meanings.

The Annales School

The analytical framework used in this paper draws on archaeological applications of some of the approaches of third-generation Annales School historians such as Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie in an approach referred to as the “archaeology of the event” (Staniforth 1997a). It is only in relatively recent years that archaeologists have become interested in the work of these French historians. The best known include Fernand Braudel, Ladurie, and Jacques Le Goff, who form part of what has come to be known as the Annales school of historiography (Braudel 1973, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984; Ladurie 1975, 1979; Stoianovich 1976; Le Goff 1980, 1985; Le Goff and Nora 1985). A number of works have begun to appear in the last decade or so that discuss the application of Annales-informed approaches in archaeology (Hodder 1987; Little and Shackel 1989; Trigger 1989:332–337; Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992; Dark 1995:180; Gurevich 1997:158–161).

With the rise of interdisciplinary studies during the past 30 years, it should come as no surprise that history and archaeology should begin to cross what was, after all, an artificial gap created by specialists on both sides. Thus the belated recognition by archaeologists that many Annales historians have for decades been pushing to break down the barriers between disciplines. At the same time, among archaeologists, there is an ongoing search for a more holistic approach to archaeology informed by the social history and, more recently, the cultural history approaches of the past 20 years. In Australia, this approach is demonstrated by journals such as the annual Australian Cultural History and Australian Historical Studies.

The conceptualization of an Annales school is perhaps too narrow a reading of what has been a fairly diverse group of scholars with considerable differences in their theoretical approaches and methodologies. It also pays little attention to the changing concerns of these French historians over time as they both affected and were affected by changes in theory and methodology within the social sciences. As Richard Bulliet has suggested, “for many historians it [the Annales approach] has seemed less to provide a specific formula to follow than an opportunity to gain a hearing for new and adventurous ideas” (Bulliet 1992:133). This can be seen as similar to the liberating effects of post-processual approaches on the discipline of archaeology in terms of providing opportunities for the development of new ideas and new approaches. It
may also explain why archaeologists have been exploring *Annales* approaches in the last decade rather than 20 or 30 years ago when these ideas were current in historical circles. At that time, most archaeologists were still struggling to come to terms with the positivist, hypothetico-deductive "New Archaeology" approaches, which steadfastly resisted any alignment with history.

In this respect, one of the fundamental concerns of *Annales*-informed scholarship is an interdisciplinary approach to the past that draws on archaeology, history, anthropology, sociology, geography, and psychology. Archaeologist Christopher Peebles (1991:111) has characterized *Annales* approaches by "an absence of dogmatism, a certain non-pathological eclecticism, a general commitment to research directed towards the solution of explicit problems, and longstanding efforts to include the methods and products of the social sciences, especially anthropology and economics, as part of historical methods."

One of the key concepts within *Annales* approaches is Fernand Braudel's three scales of history: the short term, concerned with événements (events and individuals or individual time); the medium term, concerned with conjonctures (processes or social time); and the long term, concerned with the *longue durée* (geographic or environmental structures, geo-history and worldviews or *mentalités*) (Braudel 1981, 1982, 1984). Generally speaking, the greatest interest among archaeologists has been focused on the *longue durée*, macro or long-term history, which is usually measured over centuries or millennia. Macrohistory takes into account the geophysical structures such as climate, geomorphology, and global location, within which human actions take place. The work of Immanuel Wallerstein on world systems theory, for example, derives most heavily from Braudel and has been widely adopted by archaeologists (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989; Sanderson 1995). The concept of the *longue durée* accords with the long time frames studied by many archaeologists as well as their anthropological inclinations (Hodder 1987:1–8; Little and Shackel 1989:495–509; Cobb 1991:168–182; Funari 1997:190; Kepecs 1997:193–198).

Archaeologists have shown far less interest in short-term history or the history and archaeology of the event and individual actions, at least in part, because much of the archaeological record does not lend itself to event-based interpretations. Consequently, archaeologists are far less familiar with the work of the so-called third and fourth generations of *Annales* historians than they are with the writings of Braudel (the second generation). It has been the third generation of *Annales* historians like the medievalists Le Goff, Georges Duby, and Ladurie who have directed interest towards the lives of ordinary people (Aries and Duby 1985). In this context, Le Goff has suggested, "Ethnology's immediate contribution to history is surely the promotion of material civilization (or material culture)" (Le Goff 1980:232). He further suggests that one of the first things that a historian will encounter in a search for "the ordinary man who does not—did not—burden himself with a mass of documentary records" is "the archaeology of everyday life, of material life" (Le Goff 1980:234). The work of *Annalistes* like Duby, Ladurie, and Le Goff has examined the interactions between the three time scales and refocused attention on the event, or the everyday happening, as a valuable source of information on the way people viewed their world.

Maritime Archaeology and the "Archaeology of the Event"

Maritime archaeology, or at least a very large part of the archaeology of shipwrecks, derives from specific events, in particular, the shipwreck event. The archaeology of any individual shipwreck like Sydney Cove, William Salthouse, James Matthews, or Eglinton is an example of the archaeology of the event. Each wreck site and its associated archaeological assemblage also represent an opportunity to incorporate the archaeology of the event into the examination of larger forces or conjonctures such as consumerism, capitalism, and colonialism. Wreck sites also reflect the transfer of cultural attitudes from Great Britain to the colonies such as those associated with dining, tea drinking, and personal hygiene.

The shipwreck event is, at one level, unique in time and space. It is the result of the actions and interactions of individuals and groups of people leading up to and including the particular event. Indeed it is the focus on the uniqueness or singularity of the shipwreck event that has in the past resulted in the critique
ment-based interpretations, stuffs are far less familiar—called third and fourth historians than they are useful (the second generative third generation of medievalists Le Goff, among others who have directed the attention of ordinary people in this context, Le Goff’s immediate contribution to the promotion of material culture” (Le Goff suggests that one of the an will encounter in a man who does not—did a mass of documentary everyday life, of 1980:234). The work Ladurie, and Le Goff’s attention between the three! attention on the event, as a valuable source of any people viewed their and the

or at least a very large number of shipwrecks, derives particular, the shipwreck of any individual shipwreck, the name of Salthouse, inton is an example of a shipwreck. Each wreck site assemblage entity to incorporate the site into the examination jonctures such as conidionalism. Wreck serfs of cultural attitudes colonies such as those tea drinking, and perils, at one level, unique is the result of the interests of individuals and built upon and including need it is the focus on rarity of the shipwreck resulted in the critique leveled at shipwreck archaeology as being a form of historical particularism. This leaves the archaeology of the event open to the charge of being of little relevance in anthropological scholarship or for an understanding of culture. As a result, it is necessary to expand the horizons of the archaeology of the event by introducing comparisons with other particular events to allow changes over time to be evaluated. More importantly, it is necessary from particular case studies more generalized explorations of those structures and processes (jonctures) that underpin cultural attitudes and preferences.

It is also clear that the archaeology of the event can benefit from a more rigorous application of generalizing theoretical perspectives. Behind the individual, the specific, and the particular lie the general, the universal, the equivalent, the comparative, and the structural. The past also needs to be viewed as complex, ambiguous, and particular rather than simple, straightforward, and always conforming to general laws. As Greg Denning has written, “Signs, by the making of them, are never certain” and their interpretation is complex, ambiguous, and constructed (Denning 1995:38).

The concentration within archaeology on the issue of chronology is of limited interest when one is dealing with the archaeology of the event. The chronology of the event is often absolute and, in the case of the shipwreck event, specific to a particular day in history. Instead, important facets of the archaeology of the event are associated with the particular features of the archaeological site itself, including the spatial arrangements as well as the amount, types, and functions of the artifacts that comprise the archaeological assemblage. In the case of shipwreck sites, these features might include how the cargo was packed, how much there was, the types of cargo, the spatial relationships between the items, and exactly what type of material culture was available at a particular time in history. Furthermore, there are clear post-event issues of taphonomy and shipwreck survivor and salvage behaviors that need to be taken into account (Gibbs, this volume).

One of the problems faced by any archaeologist attempting to relate individual, named people from the historical record, through artifacts found in the archaeological record to particular events in space and time is the difficulty of integrating all three—people, artifacts(s) and event—into a single narrative. In many cases, the archaeological record simply does not support such a conflation. However, the archaeology of the shipwreck event can provide us with an opportunity to examine a group of people (some of whom may be known and named); an associated group of artifacts in the form of the ship, cargo, and personal belongings; and a single historical event—the shipwreck event.

This paper moves beyond the usual functional approaches to the analysis of the meanings of material culture. By analyzing the meanings of things, it is possible to demonstrate the range of meanings that can be attributed to an artifact over its life history. It is important to go beyond a simple description of the objects that are excavated from an archaeological site. The words that are assigned in some (and perhaps many) artifact catalog descriptions sometimes hide or obscure the meaning of an object in its original historical and cultural context rather than reveal it, particularly when that meaning changes between cultures as well as over time. Such an approach to the analysis of material culture has been seriously underutilized in Australian maritime archaeology. It involves understanding the phases of use, discard, and reuse of artifacts in establishing the physical and temporal trajectories of objects—their life histories (Staniforth 1996). The analysis of the life histories of artifacts is an area of growing interest to archaeologists (World Archaeology, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” 31[2]; Lawrence this volume).

Capitalism, Consumerism, and Colonialism

It is clear that successful long-term colonization was dependent on the transfer of population to the colonies, and in order to keep that population in the colony, it was necessary to ensure a regular and sustained supply of suitable food, drink, and material culture. In part, this supply of goods met the basic needs of the colonists for food, clothing, and shelter. More importantly, it allowed them to be comfortable in the new land, to distinguish themselves from the indigenous population, and to establish, maintain, and negotiate social networks.

During the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, the British mercantile
capitalist system underwent considerable expansion, creating a network that was largely based on the business and familial links between individuals and small companies in Great Britain and the British colonies across the globe. In the case of Sydney Cove, such links are visible in the activities of Campbell and Clark of Calcutta and, subsequently, Sydney. In William Salhouse, we can see that these links extended as far as Great Britain, British North America, and the Australian colonies in the form of Green and Company of Liverpool, R.F. Maitland and Company and Augustin Cuvillier and Sons of Montreal, and H.G. Ashurst and Company of Melbourne. Eglinton was under the controlling interest of William Felgate and Company of London. This demonstrates the primary connection that supplied most of the material needs for the Australian colonies throughout much of the latter part of the period under study: the trading route between the United Kingdom (UK) and the Australian colonies (certainly from the 1830s onward).

This pan-British trading network is critically important in understanding the extent and nature of cultural continuity that existed in British colonies. Many of those who chose the types of goods that were sent to Australian and other British colonies—the suppliers of material culture—were born and raised in Great Britain. Therefore, they shared a worldview or mentalité that arose out of the extensive similarities in their socio-cultural background and upbringing. Even those born in the colonies with somewhat different ethnic and religious backgrounds, such as the francophone Catholic Augustin Cuvillier in Montreal, worked within certain cultural norms. The suppliers were also constrained by a legislative and administrative framework, including the Navigation Acts, the imposition of import duty on goods from foreign sources, and the East India Company monopoly in the Eastern Seas.

The conjectures of capitalism, consumerism, and colonialism forced the mercantile capitalists to choose and transport certain kinds of food, drink, and other consumer goods to newly established British colonies. Material that they knew would be suitable for people who were essentially like them or, at least, who they felt that they understood in terms of catering to the specific demands that arose from culturally ingrained attitudes, preferences, and processes. Grace Karskens (1994:1, 1997, 1999) has argued that the residents of The Rocks were "very materially minded people." The evidence provided by the variety, types, and quality of Chinese export porcelain from sites like First Government House and Cumberland/Gloucester Streets certainly supports this (Godden Mackay and Karskens 1999; Wilson 1999). Furthermore, this evidence suggests that from a very early date, convicts, such as George Cribb and his two wives Sophia Lett and Fanny Barnett, had gathered sufficient economic capacity (or wealth) to be able to afford to purchase not only individual Chinese export porcelain plates but, in some cases, sets of tea and dinner wares in addition to plates and toletry sets.

On the basis of excavations in a well in Barrack Street, Cape Town, Martin Hall and his colleagues (1990:84) have argued, the tendency to continue with the use of Oriental ceramics into the 19th century suggests that families such as the Cruywagens and the Cairncrosses were cocking a snook at the powerful wholesale merchants of Cape Town and their advocacy of the latest styles in British refined earthenwares, propagated twice a week in the advertisements of the South Africa Commercial Advertiser.

Certainly domination and resistance is one way to read the continued incidence of Chinese export porcelain in urban Cape Town sites. An alternative reading of the comparatively large amounts of Chinese export porcelain on sites in Sydney is that the colonists obtained their material culture from anyone that could and would supply it, and that, therefore, it was partly a question of availability. If the British merchants would not send British refined earthenwares in sufficient quantities to meet demand in the tiny colony at the other end of the earth, then the colonists would, and clearly did, obtain and use Chinese export porcelain from British merchants resident in India. Furthermore, the continued use of Chinese export porcelain, albeit alongside some British earthenware, might be read as symptomatic of a more traditional and conservative approach to material culture in the colonies, where it took some time before new fashions and styles could be transferred and become established in the colony. This was, perhaps, a result of a lack of knowledge about the latest fashion in the metropolis, but it was also because, to be successful, any
material culture being used for display had to be understood by the majority of the population. Chinese export porcelain had been available for a long time, and its quality and durability was widely known and appreciated.

The results of research into the Chinese export porcelain part of the cargo of Sydney Cove, for example, have clearly demonstrated that it is possible to distinguish between dinnerware, tea wares, and toiletry wares with their separate and distinct associated cultural meanings (Staniforth and Nash 1998:20–42). It is at the level of the archaeology of the event and by incorporating the event into the longer term and the larger scale (conjonctures, mentalités and the longue durée) that maritime archaeology in Australia potentially has some of its most powerful explanatory value.

What were some of the material goods being imported, purchased, and used by the early Australian colonists at Port Jackson (Sydney), Port Phillip (Melbourne), and the Swan River colony (Fremantle and Perth)? The case studies of Sydney Cove, William Salthouse, James Matthews, and Eglington demonstrate that there was a wide variety of goods that can be categorized into three main types. The first group consisted of utilitarian or essential items associated with the basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter, like salted meat, salted fish, textiles, shoes, and building materials such as timber, bricks, and roofing slates. The second group was made up of things associated with leisure or recreational activities, such as alcohol and beverage (tea) consumption. The third group included items, such as visiting cards, where the sole or at least major function was to enable their owners to establish and maintain their position in society.

Closer analysis, however, reveals that many of these seemingly simple, functional objects and leisure-related items had a number of complex embedded and attached meanings. These meanings reveal aspects of deeply ingrained cultural attitudes in addition to those meanings attached to them by their owners and that related to the person’s place, or perception of it, in colonial society. This paper examines several categories of material goods and discusses the implications that the meanings of such goods have in terms of the transfer of a modern worldview (or mentalité) to Australia during the late-18th and early-19th centuries. Nevertheless, in a paper of this length, it is only possible to touch lightly on some of the case studies and on the complex and diverse cargoes that these vessels carried.

Building Construction Materials

Three of the four vessels considered in the case studies were carrying building materials as part of their cargo: William Salthouse (sawn timber), James Matthews (roofing slates), and Eglington (bricks). There is no denying how useful such building materials would be in a new colony, if only for the mundane task of building houses for recently arrived immigrants.

For a discussion of the transfer of a modern worldview or mentalité to the Australian colonies, perhaps the most interesting artifacts were the 6,000 roofing slates in the cargo of James Matthews. These slates, had they managed to successfully get them ashore, would have been functionally very useful for roofing the de Burgh brothers’ new house. Certainly slate was functionally superior to wooden shingles: a slate roof would keep out the rain better and longer than a shingle roof. Nevertheless, all that was needed to construct a shingle roof was some degree of skill and the necessary tools (axe, adze, saw, hammer), which took up very little space aboard the ship bringing them to Australia. Six thousand roofing slates, on the other hand, were extremely heavy and occupied a considerable volume on what was a small vessel. What possible justification would there be for bringing a heavy cargo of roofing slates out to the Swan River colony? Perhaps it was not as simple as to keep the rain out?

Arriving in a colony where initially, at least, no one could be sure what class or socio-economic level a person was from, one of the best ways to signal status was by means of one’s house: how large it was and how expensively it was constructed. Public messages about status were communicated through the external features of the house, in particular the roof and facade. Slates became widely used throughout Great Britain in the 19th century as a roofing material on everything from working-class urban terraces to castles. Nevertheless, in Ireland, the previous home of the de Burgh brothers, slate remained a relatively expensive roofing material compared with thatch until the 1850s. The “widespread adoption of slates on vernacular houses (only) occurred in the second half of the nineteenth
century" and was frequently paid for by money sent home from the colonies (Aalen 1997:154). Thus for the de Burghs, a slate roof clearly symbolized their aspirations to middle class or better status.

On the one hand, a slate roof represented an example of cultural continuity where the de Burgh brothers were bringing with them a roofing material with which they were presumably familiar and satisfied. It would enable them to materially recreate at least a small part of the United Kingdom in the colonies. On the other hand, these particular slates can also be understood in terms of the social status that they would have signaled to everyone who walked past the front door. In addition, as a result of being uncommon or rare, a slate roof took on new meanings in the colonies as a symbol of permanence and wealth. Clearly the de Burghs were hoping to have one of the few and, perhaps, the only slate roof in the Swan River colony as a sure sign of their elevated status.

Alcohol

Alcohol was one of the commodities that always seemed to be included in any mixed cargo for the colonies. Alcohol consumption was common in the early Australian colonies. Even among the poorest elements of colonial society, alcohol use (and abuse) was widespread. From the very beginnings of settlement at Port Jackson in 1788, alcohol consumption was a feature of cultural life at all levels. Alcohol was widely considered to be a necessary commodity. While for some, rum was "a source of degradation and debt," Noel Butlin argues that it was also "a superior good to be included in any basket of commodities offered in exchange for services rendered" and thus "an incentive" and "a significant contributor to effort and efficiency" (Butlin 1993:172).

The precise amounts of alcohol being imported into the early Port Jackson colony is unknown, primarily as a result of limited historical documentation, including the fact that the first newspaper in the colony (Sydney Gazette) was not published until 1803. Extensive data are, however, available for the later 19th century (Dingle 1982). From the case study of Sydney Cove, we do know that much of the alcohol was transported in bulk in large casks rather than in bottles. At the time, bottles were increasingly used as packaging for better quality alcohol, which suggests that the bulk of the alcohol cargo was not of the highest quality available.

Furthermore, examination of the advertisements in the Calcutta Gazette suggest that most of the alcohol, in particular the rum, available in Calcutta and, therefore, consigned aboard Sydney Cove, originated in India. In the late-18th century, rum had become a widely recognized product of the West Indies, specifically Jamaica, and Jamaica rum was a common descriptor appearing in contemporary newspapers. The application of the descriptor "Jamaica" was, however, not only a statement about the source of the rum but also served as a claim to quality that ensured a higher price than other types of rum. Campbell and Clark, for example, were advertising chests containing a dozen bottles of Jamaica rum for sale in Calcutta in 1796 (Calcutta Gazette 1796: 4). There is no suggestion, however, that the rum consigned aboard Sydney Cove was Jamaica rum. If this had been the case, then it is almost certain that the historical documentation would have indicated its origin, if only because it would have ensured a higher price for the quantity of rum that was successfully salvaged. Instead, the documentary sources consistently describe the bulk of the alcohol component of the cargo as either spirits or Bengal rum.

The flexible way in which terminology was employed at the time add to the possibility that the alcohol cargo of Sydney Cove may, in fact, have been arrack and not rum. Rum is made from molasses, which is a by-product of the production of crystalline sugar from the sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum). Sugar cane was not the only source of sugar, however. It can also be obtained from coconut, palm, and date palms. Arrack is made from palm sugar obtained from the common Indian date palm (Phoenix sylvestris), which was the most important source of palm sugar in India during the 18th century. As arrack was a far less desirable and less valuable product than rum, this may partly explain why Campbell and Clark consistently referred to the alcohol as spirits or rum. Furthermore, arrack was probably less familiar than rum to the recently arrived British colonists, making it even more likely that Campbell and Clark would try to pass arrack off as rum given the opportunity (Staniforth 1999:129–130). Unfortunately, neither
solutely increasing quality alcohol, alk of the alcohol cargo quality available.

In the late-18th century recognized specifically Jamaica, and sugar appearing ers. The application of was, however, not only a source of the rum but a quality that ensured a type of rum. Campbell were advertising chesters of Jamaican rum for (Calcutta Gazette 1796: 405; however, that the Sydney Cove was Jamaica case, then it is almost documented if only because it would XmlDocument for the quantity of sugar salvaged. Instead, it consistently describes component of the cargo or rum, which terminology was the possibility that Sydney Cove may, in fact, be a rum. Rum is made a by-product of the sugar from the sugar rum). Sugar cane was sugar, however. It can be nut, palm, and date palm sugar obtained date palm (Phoenix syl-

...the archaeological nor the historical evidence is available to conclusively settle this question.

**Tea Drinking**

Tea was first introduced into Europe from China in the early-17th century (Evans 1983: 17). Tea drinking became a widely practiced social ritual during the next two centuries in Great Britain and the British colonies in North America and Australia. Integrated research on tea drinking in America during the 18th century has clearly demonstrated links between more elaborate tea sets, increasingly ritualized behavior, and notions of social status (Roth 1988:439–462; Emmerson 1992:1–42).

The presence of Chinese export porcelain tea wares on the wreck site and more than 48 chesters of tea among the salvaged cargo of Sydney Cove are indicative of the transfer to the colonies of what was a socially widespread and growing British cultural attitude in the second half of the 18th century about the importance of tea drinking (Staniforth and Nash 1998:27–37). The majority of the tea wares in the Sydney Cove assemblage consisted of a matching tea bowl (cup) and saucer dish (saucer) in the traditional Chinese form: small tea bowls without handles and saucers without the locating indentation for the tea bowl. Despite the presence of different qualities among the tea wares—one of a better quality than the other—it was the absence of sets of tea ware that was most striking. This is particularly the case since tea sets in Chinese export porcelain had been available for some time, as the evidence from the wreck of the VOC ship Geldermalsen clearly indicates (Christie’s Auction House 1986). Presumably Campbell and Clark believed that sets of tea ware would not sell in the small settlement at Port Jackson and simply did not include them among the packages of Chinese export porcelain that they consigned.

Fragments from very similar tea bowls and saucers have been found at a number of archaeological sites in the Sydney area. They range from First Government House to a well on the Cumberland Street property of convict butcher George Cribb (Bickford 1983; Bickford and Petrie 1993; Karskens 1994, 1997, 1999; Godden Mackay and Karskens 1999; Wilson 1999). Generally the incidence of porcelain tea wares has been interpreted by archaeologists as having status implications (usually associated with higher status) and as indicative of everything from the presence of women on sites to more complex notions about the reutilization of family meals (Baugh and Venables 1987; Wall 1994; 122–125). In the case of Sydney Cove tea wares, it is the absence of sets of tea ware that is most revealing. It shows how the processes or conjunctions of mercantile capitalism, in particular the profit motive, shaped the choices, first, that the merchants actually made and, second, that the consumers were subsequently able to make.

**Personal Hygiene**

Sydney Cove and probably other country trade vessels were involved in supplying Chinese export porcelain toiletry sets to the colony at Port Jackson (Staniforth and Nash 1998:20–25). Shards of very similar individual items that made up toiletry sets have turned up on terrestrial archaeological sites from the earliest sites of European settlement in Sydney, including First Government House (Bickford 1983; Bickford and Petrie 1993) and Cumberland/Gloucester Streets in the Rocks (Godden Mackay and Karskens 1999; Karskens 1999).

What does this say about attitudes to cleanliness and personal hygiene in early Sydney? Ordinarily ceramic toiletry sets consisting of a jug, bowl, and chamber pot have been associated with the Victorian era when these items became extremely common. It is interesting that such sets should have been available in Sydney at the end of the 18th century. Their consignment to Port Jackson may reflect British merchants' ideas about washing and living in hot climates. It has also been convincingly argued that objects associated with personal appearance and hygiene (such as toothbrushes and hairbrushes) can be interpreted both as supporting structures of domination and social differentiation as well as symptomatic of the increased importance placed on individuality and outward appearance in modern society (Shackel 1993:116–117, 143, 152–157).

The presence of archaeological evidence of toiletry sets on such different sites as First Government House, home of the early governors of the colony and their many servants, and in a well on the property of a convict tradesman indicates that the ownership and use of objects, once
considered directly indicative of social status, is not always as simple or straightforward as some archaeologists would like to think. Nevertheless, the presence of soap in the cargo of Sydney Cove, when read in combination with the presence of the Chinese export porcelain toiletry sets, provides us with an early date of evidence of the transfer of cultural attitudes to personal hygiene and cleanliness from the UK into the early Australian colonies.

Printing Plates

Seven copper alloy printer's plates were found during the excavation of Eglinton. All had names and other information engraved into one or both sides of the plate. None of the plates could be linked with any certainty to a settler then resident in the Swan River colony. Only one of the seven plates had a name that could be linked to one of the passengers aboard Eglinton. The printing plate (EG 690b) had the letters "LARG" (presumably denoting the size of the printing plate—large) on one side and the name "Fauntleroy" (in reversed lettering) on the other, but, importantly, there was no address on this particular plate. Mr. Robert Fauntleroy, his wife, three sons, and a daughter were cabin passengers aboard Eglinton when it was wrecked (Perth Gazette 1852:3).

Address or visiting cards were primarily intended for use in the establishment and negotiation of social position. By the mid-19th century, visiting cards were an essential display item for anyone with aspirations to middle-class or upper-class status in Great Britain. It is likely that Robert Fauntleroy was bringing with him a partially complete printing plate in order to have it engraved with his new address in the colony. Visiting cards could then be printed in the colony to ensure that he and his wife could be received in polite colonial society.

Just two days before Eglinton was lost, the following advertisement appeared in the Perth Inquirer (1852:4):

Ladies and Gentlemen's Address Cards, and every description of Copperplate Printing, executed at the Inquirer office in first-rate style and on the lowest terms. For the present, parties must supply their own plate. Inquirer Printing Office: Letter Press Printing executed at this office in a superior style. New and fancy type material have just been received from England, and further supplies shortly expected. Every description of work performed in the usual business like manner. Copperplate printing also performed.

It is possible that all of these plates were being brought out by Robert Fauntleroy, or they may have been consigned to someone already in the Swan River colony. Either way, the addresses were of no possible use in the colony and, therefore, are considered likely to have been used as examples to allow an individual to choose a particular lettering style from a number of different styles. This probably explains why the lettering styles were totally different on each of the five lines of text on the printing plate for Thomas Flockton & Sons, Turpentine & Tar Distillers, Varnish & Colour Manufacturers, Potters-fields, Horslydown & Spa Road Bermondsey (EG 690c).

Conclusion

This paper has employed an Annales-informed approach. It uses the archaeology of the event and a concern with événements (events and individuals) in order to discuss the larger structural processes (conjonctures) of consumerism, capitalism, and colonialism that have underpinned the modern world system and, ultimately, prevailing worldviews or mentalités.

The newly arrived colonists were essentially modern people complete with most of the features of a modern mentalité, including a firm belief in what they saw as the superiority of a civilized lifestyle based firmly on the possession of suitable material culture and the consumption of acceptable food and drink. As a result, the material goods found in the cargoes of these four vessels demonstrate considerable evidence of cultural continuity, which takes the form of the global spread of common patterns of behavior and cultural attitudes derived from Great Britain: eating certain types of food and the drinking of alcohol and tea were directly transferred from the homeland to the colony. There was not only a demand in the colonies for food, alcohol, and tea, but this material had to be of the right or at least an acceptable type. Furthermore, there had to be a variety, a sufficient quantity, and a range of qualities of such goods available. Finally, there also had to be a supply of suitable objects from which to eat or drink these consumables.
of these plates were bent Fauntleroy, or they 3d to someone already
any. Either way, the isible use in the colony sidered likely to have 
allow an individual to ng style from a number probably explains why otally different on each in the printing plate for ns, Turpentine & Tar our Manufacturers, Pot- 
Spa Road Bermondsey

ed an Annales-informed chaoology of the event ments (events and indi-
ass the larger structural of consumerism, capital have underpinned the d, ultimately, prevailing
onists were essentially with most of the fea-
ality, including a firm as the superiority of a firmly on the posses-
ulture and the con-
food and drink. As a s found in the cargoes monstrate considerable iniety, which takes the id of common patterns attitudes derived from tain types of food and and tea were directly melan to the colony. emand in the colonies 1, but this material had ast an acceptable type. o be a variety, a suf-
ge of qualities of such , there also had to be ets from which to eat

One of the important perceptions held by many immigrants during the 19th century was that the level of wealth, particularly in the form of tangible, material goods was a significant factor in distinguishing the lives of the “civi-
zied” colonists from those of the “uncivilized” indigenous population. Seen in this light, ma-
terial culture both signaled ideas about civilization to others as well as reassured individuals about their place in a civilized world. This extremely significant point has been largely unrecognized or at least under-appreciated across a range of academic disciplines until relatively recently. It is an example of what Barbara Little (1997: 236) has referred to as a “dominant, non-vulgar ideology,” which resulted in the situation where “nearly everyone within the European global market owned ceramic tableware and tea ware because it was nearly always culturally appropriate to do so. One alternative, that of owning no appropriate equipment, would result in being defined as culturally ‘other’: uncivilized.” The particular food, drink, and other consumer goods, the portable material culture that people wanted and needed in the early Australian colonies, were constrained by the conjunctures of consumerism, capitalism, and colonialism that, in turn, structured their cultural preferences. Those who had money, like Robert Fauntleroy or the de Burgh brothers, could bring with them or purchase suitable goods and, thus, demonstrate their command over material goods. For those with less money, material goods still acted as an incentive for betterment within a growing global capitalist economy, reinforcing the ideology of consumerism and the associated notions about achieving prosperity in the colonies.

REFERENCES


Calcutta Gazette (India) 1796 Calcutta Gazette, 20 October:4.


KARSKENS, Grace
1999 Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood. Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

KEPEC, Susan

KNAPP, A. Bernhard (Editor)

LADURIE, Emmanuel LeRoy

LE GOFF, Jacques

LE GOFF, Jacques, and Paul Nora

LITTLE, Barbara J.

LITTLE, Barbara J., and Paul A. Shackel

NASH, Michael

PEEBLES, Christopher

PERTH GAZETTE (AUSTRALIA)
1852 *Perth Gazette*, 10 September:3.

PERTH INQUIRER (AUSTRALIA)
1852 *Perth Inquirer*, 1 September:4.
Approaches to Combining the Historical Records. Journal Method and Theory, 4(3/4):

SHACKEL, PAUL A.

STANFORTH, MARK
1999 Dependent Colonies: The Importation of Material Culture into the Australian Colonies 1788–1850. Doctoral thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, SA, Australia.

STANFORTH, MARK, AND MICHAEL NASH

STANFORTH, MARK, AND LIBBY VICKERY