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The Road to Townsville's Early Success:

The engendered cultural landscape of Hervey Range and the community 'at its foot'

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a small, rural hamlet that was established in 1866 ‘at the foot’ of Hervey Range in Far North Queensland. The hamlet was centred on the Range Hotel, but was also known to have had a small blacksmith shop and a cemetery. The hotel was one of five built alongside Hervey Range Road, which linked the newly gazetted port of Townsville to the inland supply town of Dalrymple and the gold, silver and tin mines of the hinterland. The research undertaken to investigate this settlement was constructed around four main questions: can archaeological evidence contribute to our understanding of the cultural landscape of the hamlet; the social role of the Range Hotel within the community; how women experienced and actively contributed to early settler life; and whether social respectability was important to the residents of a hamlet that was centred on the provision of alcohol.

Archival and genealogy research revealed three new families who had resided in the hamlet, identified some of the social interactions and events, or *instances of community* (Yaeger & Canuto, 2000), that occurred during each of the hamlet’s 18 years of occupation and provided evidence for an additional five, previously unknown, internments in the small cemetery. Archaeological surveys and excavations located the remains of the blacksmith shop that was built by John McNeill, a related rubbish dump, a stone floor that is likely part of the Range Hotel’s stables and the possible site of the McNeill family home. These discoveries were used to examine the cultural landscape of the hamlet and appear to show that the settlement was probably divided into three separate, but related areas: a camping ground for the carriers and road workers, a business/residential area that included the hotel, stables, blacksmith shop and houses, and small cemetery. These areas were linked to each other and the wider landscape by Hervey Range Road.

The recovered artefacts were used to assess the resident’s social aspirations, using Quirk’s (2007) six archaeological indicators for middle-class ‘gentility’ and working-class ‘respectability’. Alcohol was often viewed as the ‘working man’s scourge’ and one premise of respectability was the avoidance of this vice. The prominence of alcohol related bottles found across the excavated sites should perhaps have implied that the residents did not desire respectability and yet the recovered evidence did not support this. People in the hamlet appeared to have had comfortable, if simple homes, desired

non-essential fashion accessories and used varied decorative ceramics to entertain both family and friends. These findings, therefore, suggest that respectability was achieved, even though alcohol was probably drunk by both the male and female residents.

This layered theoretical approach has produced a fine-grained narrative that highlights the experiences and active roles that individual males and females played within their families and in the wider community. The results add to the understanding of how early Far North Queensland was successfully settled, with the residents' daily lives likely mirroring those of many of the other early settlers. This work also demonstrates how the community was not a 'bounded' entity, but was in fact linked across the wider landscape through the fluid movement of people and the formation of fictive-kin networks (Prangnell and Mate 2011). The discussion on gentility challenges the idea that alcohol was the antithesis of respectability, instead concluding that the type of community, the varieties of alcohol bottles found and even the identification of triggers that may have led someone to start drinking all need to be taken into account when drawing conclusions from the archaeological finds at a particular site.

This thesis provides an important link to research that has already been undertaken in Townsville and on the pastoral stations and gold mines of the hinterland and also suggests further avenues of research. It also demonstrates how a layered theoretical approach can successfully investigate small communities and be used to highlight how ordinary people often led extraordinary lives. Discovering and telling their stories can help to enhance the past and reconnect it to the present.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Carrier - someone who drives a ‘dray’

Dray - a low, strong cart without fixed sides, used for carrying heavy loads, often pulled by large teams of bullocks or horses

Double banking - connecting two teams of bullocks or horses together in order to pull a loaded dray up a steep incline

Earthenware - a low-fired, non-translucent, porous ceramic that needs to be glazed to hold liquids. The most common type on Australian archaeological sites is ‘whiteware’, which is a type of white-bodied, clear-glazed refined earthenware. ‘Redware’ is a type of red-bodied coarse earthenware, often referred to as terracotta (Brookes 2005 pp. 26-31)

Hamlet - used in this thesis to denote a small cluster of homes/businesses that is not large enough to be denoted as a town, or even a township

Porcelain - a hard, non-porous, vitrified material formed by firing at high temperatures. The glaze often appears to be fused to the paste. This category also includes bone china, a soft-paste porcelain (Brookes 2005 pp.26-31)

Stoneware – a non-porous, highly fired, non-translucent ceramic, commonly coloured grey, buff and brown. Bristol-glazed stoneware is distinguishable by its industrial glaze, often in white or buff, although larger vessels often have a brown coloured upper third. Common vessels are jugs, bottles and jars. Salt-glazed stoneware has a pitted ‘orange-peel’ effect in a brown to buff glaze and is typically found on storage vessels and bottles (Brookes 2005 pp.26-31)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

Australia's colonial history has often focused on the quintessential Australian character, the 'bushman'. This archetypal figure was described by Ward (1958) as a courageous and rugged male who was loyal to his mates and whose success was measured by how he managed to tame the wild and rugged outback. The 'civilising' women who accompanied the men in this 'domestication' of the land are frequently forgotten, excepting the epic tales of a few 'gutsy Sheilas' (D. Lawrence 2011 p. 395). Female pioneers were not identified as actively contributing to the venture, but were deemed to be simply accompanying the men and dependent upon them. Women would, therefore, experience all the same hardships, but not always the same acknowledgement, wealth or success (Hunt 1986). Ideas of nationhood thus grew around a mythical, white, male figure and effectively excluded women, Aborigines and others from having contributed to Australia's history (Ireland 2003). Australian historical archaeological investigations, often directed by cultural heritage issues and public funding, can sometimes be in danger of perpetuating this mythology. Many of the sites under study frequently have a distinct male bias and involve the maritime industry, mining, defence, droving and pastoralism, with women noticeably absent from much of the narrative (Harvey 2013; Ireland 2003; Schacht 2010).

Research into women's experiences has, however, been highlighted by investigations into the 'cult of domesticity' and the ideals of Victorian gentility that were embraced in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century by the upper- and middle-classes of Great Britain. Women were now concerned with private domestic issues, the raising of children, the moral guidance of the family and the improvement of their position within the social class system. It was said that 'the sphere of Domestic Life is the sphere in which female excellence is best displayed' (Banks and Banks 1964 p. 58). The family became the idealised social unit with the wife and mother at its heart, providing nurturing and guidance (Hunt 1986; Summers 1975 p. 5). The working-classes also strived for some of these ideals, but focused more on those elements that could make them appear socially 'respectable', which was seen as a way to encourage and foster neighbourly bonds (Quirk 2007 p. 291).

Victorian ideals also spread to the new colonies and the concept that a 'woman's place is in the home' began to provide the cultural and acceptable norms for female

respectability. If women did not have a home then they risked ‘being on the street’, which was deemed both a moral and a physical hazard (Dixon 1976; Lydon 1999 p. 45; Summers 1975). Australia was seen as a country where lower- and middle-class immigrants could rise to the Victorian ideals of the gentry more quickly than if they remained at home. Once in Australia women were not simply pushed into the private, domestic role and space, but actively sought to constitute this prescribed form of femininity (Russell 1993 pp. 28-29). Having been excluded from the national mythology that extolled masculine virtues, women now wielded social influence from the security of their ‘civilised’ homes (Wall 1991, 1994). These social changes were not just confined to the large towns, but also spread to rural stations and mine sites, where pioneer women, often battling loneliness and isolation, still created ‘candles of civilisation’ through often thankless hard work (Allison and Cremin 2006; Cheney 1993; Quirk 2008; Russell 1993, p. 29). However, despite these endeavours the ‘true’ pioneer Australian woman became encapsulated in an exaggerated version of the Victorian ideal and was required to be,

childlike, pale and indeterminate, passive, submissive, mindless, genteel and “nice” to a greater extent than that required of their more self-assured equivalents in England. (Dixon 1976 p. 203)

This thesis will discuss and expand upon these images of Australian life for the early European settlers by examining the cultural landscape and gendered community of the heritage listed Range Hotel hamlet, which was located 40km west of Townsville in Far North Queensland. The results of documentary and genealogy research, surveys, excavations and artefact analysis will be used to identify how this, now isolated, rural space was adapted and changed into a multilayered and engendered place. The names of previously unknown residents and visitors, both male and female, have been identified, allowing for a fine-grained analysis that challenges the pioneering woman’s universal and stereotyped image. The focus of the study is restricted to the European settlers as information pertaining to Aboriginal people and non-European migrants, such as the Chinese, was not forthcoming in either the archaeological finds or in the available written documents. The names of some Chinese settlers who ran hotels in the District or on the local gold mines were found in contemporary local newspapers, but none related directly to the Range Hotel hamlet. It is also known that Aboriginal males were

employed by some of the squatters, but again references to this are extremely limited and are only briefly noted from the view of the squatter (Bennett 1927, Hann 1975). With this identified limitation the thesis will examine the social relationships between the known residents of the hamlet and the carriers who travelled through it. These relationships created a fluid community that maintained social ties and fictive-kin networks across the wider landscape (Prangnell and Mate 2011). This fluidity challenges concepts of community that maintain that only boundaries and frequent daily social interaction between members can instil the emotional ties that bound people together (Murdock 1949).

This research will add to the work that has been carried out on other types of rural Australian settlements, such as pastoral stations (Allingham 1977a, 1977b; Allison and Cremin 2006; Terry 2013; Terry and Prangnell 2009; Woodhouse 1993) and townships associated with primary industries and mines (Davies 2002; Edgar, 2014; S. Lawrence 1992, 2000; Mate 2010, 2013; McGowan 1992, 2003; Murphy 2010; Prangnell and Quirk 2009). Work at such sites has recently evolved from simply documenting the machinery and function of the site or mine to instead challenge the historical stereotypes that viewed such places as male dominated, alcohol-fuelled and set apart from evolving 'respectable' colonial society. This new approach showed that women and children were present and active within these types of settlements and the recovered artefacts demonstrated comfortable, respectable homes and a desire for stability. The role played by alcohol was now minimised, as working-class communities were collectively shown to be actively participating in the new Victorian philosophy. By implication such research also challenged the stereotype that the men living at such sites were 'alcoholic louts' to instead cast them in a more favourable and family-orientated light. Some researchers, however, have suggested that this type of research sometimes risks 'santis[ing] the working-class in the opposite direction' and 'obscures some of the diversity within the community' (Lampard and Staniforth 2011 p. 8; see also Karskens 1999; Young, 2003).

Research into Australian hotels and the food and alcohol associated with them has been undertaken by several authors (H. Burke 2001, 2013; Carney 1999; S. Lawrence 1995; Moore, 2000a, 2000b; Van Procter 1975; R. Ward 2005), with McGuire commenting that 'if you take the inn out of our history, you leave it filleted' (1952 p. x). The importance of alcohol can be witnessed by the government's early attempts to take

control over its importation, distribution and sale and later by the hotel regulations that listed the minimum requirements for a licence (Baglin and Austin 1977; Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988). Alcohol was viewed by the majority of people as a normal part of daily life for the earliest European arrivals, although later evangelical Christians viewed it as a vice that led to low morals and even depravity (Karskens 1997 pp. 10, 37). Within the mid-nineteenth-century temperance movement there were also different levels for the acceptance of alcohol. Some believed that all alcohol should be completely prohibited, others felt that spirits were deadly, but that beer was harmless, while another faction viewed drinking wine at home as normal, but decreed that public drinking was to be vehemently discouraged (Young 2003 p. 121). The gradual decline in men's alcohol consumption in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century was attributed to the increased allure of the quiet and relaxing suburban home, which now competed with the hotel for men's time and money. Women were viewed by many as the agents of this dry change because they were associated with the domestic, private sphere (Dingle 1980 p. 240; Powell 1988). These conclusions, however, appear to be at odds with other studies, which showed that colonial women were also drinkers, consuming about half the amount of alcohol as men (Butlin 1983 p. 26; Karskens 1997, 1999). This diversity of opinion on the role of alcohol in early settler communities provides a compelling background upon which to situate the research undertaken at the Range Hotel hamlet and the investigations into the resident's daily lives and experiences.

1.1 The Range Hotel Hamlet



Figure 1-1: Map showing the location of the three ports at Townsville, Bowen and Cardwell.

Townsville was established by John Melton Black in the Kennedy District of Far North Queensland in 1863/4. It was one of three new ports in the district vying for the trade from the inland pastoral stations and the hoped for gold fields. Cardwell, Townsville and Bowen each faced a similar problem. They needed to provide a good, safe port that was also linked to the inland supply centre of Dalrymple by an easily accessible road over the steep inland ranges (Figure 1-1 and Figure 1-2). Dalrymple contained several hotels, a blacksmiths, storage facilities, a saddlers shop, private houses and a local police station that also held monthly court sessions (Willmetts 1876, 1883). Cardwell, Townsville and Bowen all delivered an adequate port, but only Townsville provided a road over Hervey Range (also called Hervey's Range) that could be used by both horses and bullock drays laden with heavy loads of wool and provisions. In this thesis the road will be referred to as Hervey Range Road, although it was also called the road to Dalrymple, Cleveland Bay or Georgetown, depending on the direction of travel.

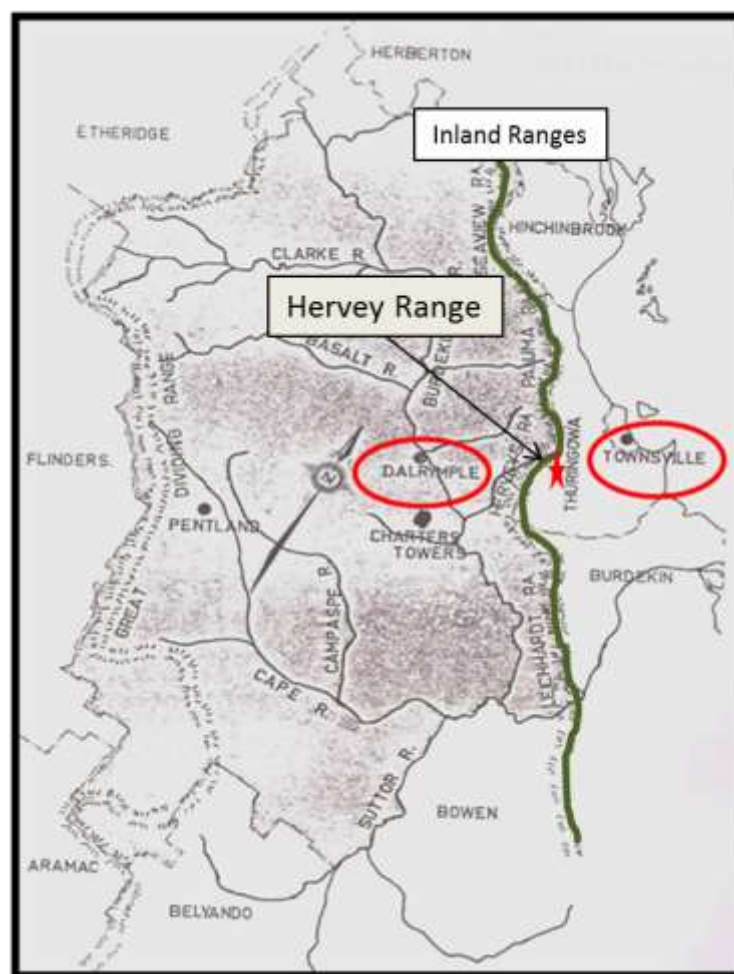


Figure 1-2: Early map of Dalrymple Shire showing Townsville, Hervey Range and Dalrymple. Scale 1:2000000 (adapted from Carmichael Neal 1984 p. xiv). The site of the Range Hotel hamlet is marked by the red star.

The Range Hotel hamlet was located along Hervey Range Road in a gazetted camping reserve at the foot of the range, 40km west of Townsville in an area referred to as Thornton's Gap (*Cairns Post* 1925; Pugh 1870 p. 258; Registrar General 1873d; Thompson 1872; Whippole 1923). The hamlet was established in early 1866 and prior to this research was known to include the Range Hotel, a blacksmith shop built by John McNeill, a government tollgate, a carrier's campsite and a cemetery. Unfortunately, the buildings have long since disappeared, with their original locations forgotten and only scant documentary evidence for their prior existence remaining. How the hamlet and its community were organised and operated within the landscape was, therefore, unknown. In 1884 the Range Hotel closed after only 18 years of operation and the surrounding hamlet rapidly declined, its buildings gradually dismantled over time. Three headstones are still present in the small cemetery, which is cleared of the encroaching bush on a yearly basis. The road itself remained open as one of the links to the interior until the 1970s, but is now called Page Road and is only passable with a 4WD. This probably follows the rough route of the original road, although in some places sunken and abandoned tracks serve as a reminder that its route likely varied over the years (Figure 1-3).

1.2 Research Questions

The research questions focused on examining and defining the engendered community of the Range Hotel hamlet and identifying how it was organised in and linked to the wider landscape. A strong focus was placed on the discovery and interpretation of the inter-relationships between the people and groups who lived in and travelled through the hamlet. The four main questions were:

- Can the archaeological evidence contribute to our understanding of the cultural landscape of the hamlet and to its relationship with the neighbouring early urban centres?
- Can the historical and archaeological evidence shed light on the social role and perceived centrality of the Range Hotel?
- What evidence can be found that relates to women's lives and occupations?

- Does the historical and archaeological evidence shed light on cultural discourses of Victorian gentility and respectability, particularly relating to the consumption of alcohol, which was often viewed as the antithesis of respectability?

1.3 Previous Research into Townsville's Early History

Townsville's establishment in 1864 by John Melton Black was initially undertaken without government approval and this, its early buildings and infrastructure and the economic reasons behind its success have been examined in several historical studies. Allingham (1977a) focused on the pioneering squatters of the Kennedy District hinterland, documenting their experiences and examining their contribution to Townsville's economy (see also Farnfield 1974). Griffin (1982) examined the social and economic growth of Townsville's pivotal early years from 1864-1884. She astutely acknowledged that conquering Hervey Range and getting access to the squatters of the hinterland was a vital part of Townsville's early history as 'without its large hinterland the town's existence and growth are hardly explicable' (Griffin 1983 introduction). Gibson-Wilde (1982) also examined the establishment of Townsville, but through the concept of *townscape*. She challenged the simplistic belief that Townsville's success was due to the discovery of payable gold, identifying instead that it was the availability of a road over the range that encouraged the miners to send the gold to Townsville. The town's success, therefore, was due to the careful assessment of the area by Melton Black for both its suitability as a port *and* for its potential road access to the hinterland (Gibson-Wilde 1984 p. 36; Stanley 1984 p. 115). Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde's (1988) *A Pattern of Pubs* gives a very brief description of all Townsville's early hotels, including those along Hervey Range Road, but the names of residents are generally limited to the publicans, without mention of family members.

Prior to its heritage listing in 2009 some limited archaeological work had taken place in and around the gazetted camping ground to examine potential Aboriginal and European sites. Brayshaw (1974, 1975) excavated four rock shelters, including the Hervey Range Shelter located to the southwest of the Range Hotel site, for her research into local Aboriginal traditional material culture. Campbell (1977) excavated Turtle Rock, also

located to the southwest of the Range Hotel site, and undertook a 5km walking survey of the area. He located some isolated flakes, a 'canoe-tree' and a milky quartz quarry, but no European historical remains (Campbell 1977 p. 11). Bell (1998) surveyed the Range Hotel Cemetery concluding that the layout of the three remaining headstones strongly implied the presence of up to 21 graves in three rows of seven. In 2000 a two-phase cultural heritage survey of the original Hervey Range Road was undertaken as part of an assessment for the Cable and Wireless Optus Realignment Programme (Hatte 2000). The first phase, done to assess any Aboriginal cultural heritage sites, was carried out in conjunction with three Wulgurukaba field officers. One Aboriginal rock painting of a small, 30cm tall, anthropomorph on the side of a large granite boulder was located within the camping site boundary. The new Optus route did not impact on this area, which is located to the far southwest of the camping ground (Sinclair Knight Merz 2000 pp. 33-34). The second phase aimed to identify historic European occupation and several potential sites were recorded, including a possible location for the Range Hotel close to some non-indigenous agave plants, the cemetery, a possible bottle dump and a 1970s Main Roads' work camp. The Optus Realignment work was organised so as to reduce any impact on these sites (Hatte 2000). These archaeological surveys confirmed the lack of physical and structural evidence for the old hamlet and determined that there was no obvious indigenous heritage in the area that is thought to have contained the main European occupation site.

The lack of obvious physical evidence for the area's original European occupation tempted developers to approach the land's present owners, Townsville City Council, with plans to build a speedway track in the area. This proposal prompted the council and the then Department of Environmental Resource Management to review the area's possible historical significance. In 2008 Dr Nigel Chang and Dr Shelley Greer from the Archaeology Department, James Cook University were asked to assess the site's archaeological potential. The area chosen for excavation had a dense surface scatter of historic glass artefacts and was located at the very foot of the range, just to the south of where the old road begins its ascent. A 1x10m trench was excavated down to sterile soil and revealed the edge of a bottle dump, now thought to be related to the carrier's campsite (Figure 1-3). A total of 11,036 bottle glass fragments were collected that weighed 32kg, but no evidence for any structural remains was found. Although no

complete bottles were recovered the glass fragments that could be dated were consistent with the known dates for the Range Hotel and camping ground (Clarkson 2008).

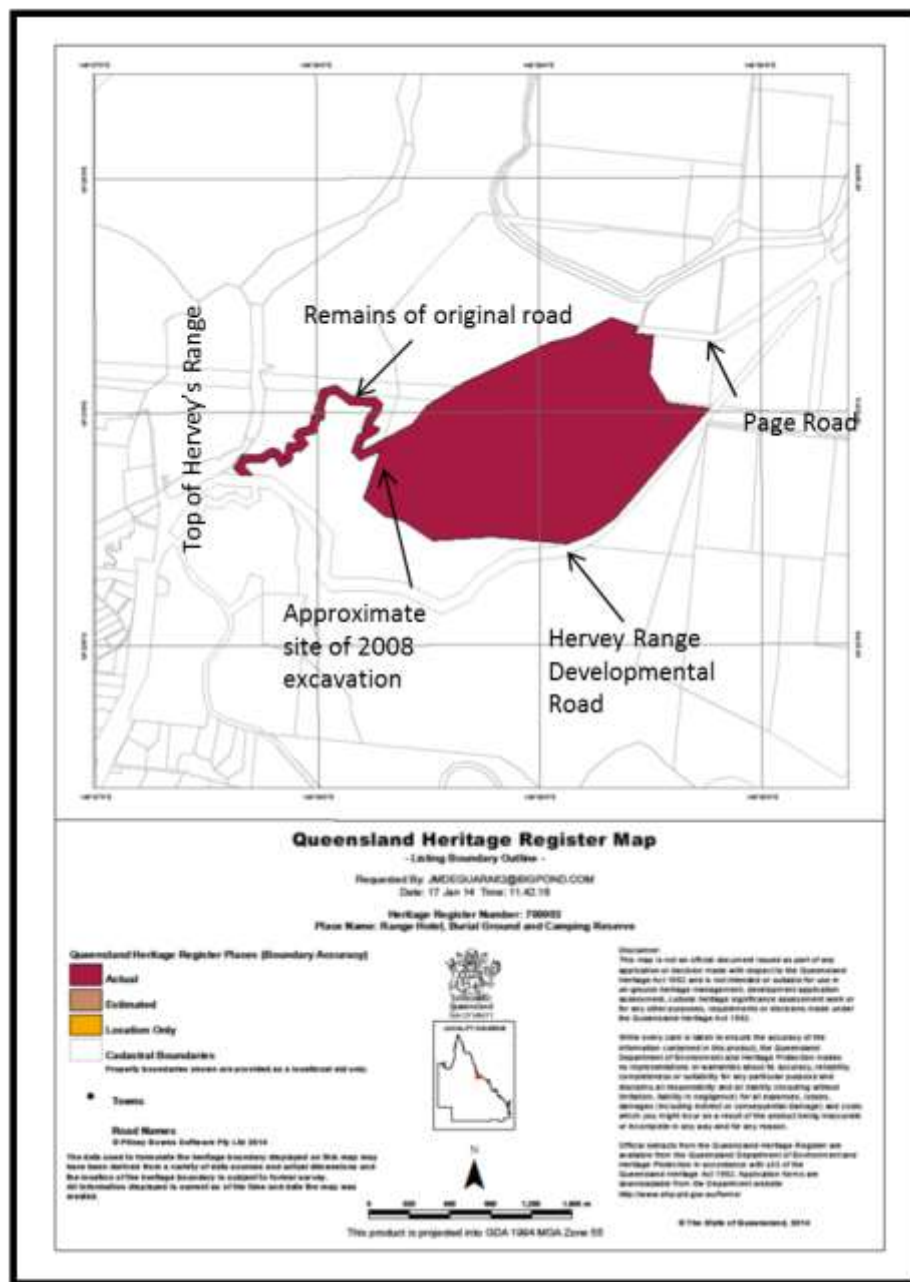


Figure 1-3 Map showing the boundaries of The Range Hotel, Burial Ground and Camping Reserve (adapted from Environmental Protection Agency 2009a).

The Range Hotel, Burial Ground and Camping Reserve was subsequently listed on the Queensland Heritage Register in 2009 under the category of 'archaeological place', only the third such listing since the category was introduced (Environmental Protection Agency, 2009b). It encompasses a large part of the 1872 gazetted camping reserve at

the foot of the range between Page Road and the new Hervey Range Developmental Road, which was constructed in the 1970s (Figure 3-1). The site's principle periods of significance are listed as 1865/6-1872 for the hotel and burials, and 1865-1870s for camping. As will be shown later both the boundaries of the site and the periods of significance, particularly for the hotel and burials, need to be re-evaluated and extended.

1.4 Research Rationale

Schacht (2010 pp. 70-76) produced a preliminary thematic framework for Australian historical archaeology by analysing journal articles, theses and books published between 1993 and 2009, whose subject matter documented Australian historical archaeological concerns. This work highlighted recent topics and identified gaps in knowledge. Schacht's (2010) final overarching research scheme was based on frameworks developed by English Heritage (1991), but also took into account themes previously listed by the New South Wales Heritage Office (1996) as being important to Australian archaeologists and heritage agencies. These types of frameworks are important as they can facilitate the comparison or synthesis of individual site investigations within similar state or national level research themes. This should allow for the maximum amount of archaeological information to be obtained in an era of limited resources and achieve more effective management outcomes (Iacono 2006). Schacht (2010) determined that the least common site types to have been investigated included cemeteries (two per cent of total) and commercial sites, such as hotels, inns and shops (two per cent of total). Hotel sites and cemeteries thus represent sites where additional research would be beneficial, potentially adding to the knowledge base rather than simply replicating it.

Schacht (2010 p.66) also identified geographical gaps in historical archaeological research with over 40 per cent of published sites located in New South Wales and Victoria and only six per cent located in Queensland. This limited Queensland based research was also discussed by Harvey (2013) in his overview of historical archaeology in Queensland. He again looked at peer reviewed archaeological publications identifying only 68 articles relating to Queensland historical archaeology that had been published over a 30 year period. This lack of published material is at odds with the

number of places of *archaeological value* that are listed on the Queensland Heritage Register, which has the highest such site listing in Australia with 179 places (Harvey 2013 pp. 432, 435). Unfortunately, only a few of these significant sites have undergone any research other than that required to achieve the listing, although some exceptions are the Mill Point Settlement (Murphy 2010) and Tower Mill (Hall, Prangnell and David 1996). The Queensland Heritage Register also has 14 sites listed under the specific category of ‘archaeological place’. These sites are varied and have different reasons for their listing, but all are noted to have the potential to increase awareness of what home and work life may have been like for the inhabitants of early colonial Queensland. Unfortunately the majority of these listed sites also appear to have not have undergone any additional archaeological research since being registered. This lack of research undermines Queensland’s archaeological contribution to early Australian history and to academic debate and discussion.

Research at the Range Hotel hamlet has the potential to offer insights into several of the themes and topics identified by Schacht (2010) as needing further investigation including early road systems, urban/rural fringe development, frontier hotels, grave site identification and blacksmiths’ shops. The fact that the hamlet is a ‘contained’ place that is relatively small in size and of limited duration also make it an ideal site for studying the development, maintenance and then decline of small rural communities. Previous research into Townsville’s early history has discussed and highlighted the significance of the road over Hervey Range in Townsville’s early history, but does not investigate the important contributions made by the communities who lived alongside it. The research has also been largely limited to the study of historical documents, with little archaeological work undertaken (but see Greer 2007), essentially limiting knowledge to those people who appear in the contemporary newspapers or government documents and to the few who wrote letters and kept diaries. This has, with a few notable exceptions (Cain 1991; Ellis 1981; L. Gray 1868; J. Young 1987), prioritised men with the experiences and contributions of women being under-represented or simply unknown. An integral part of the work undertaken for this thesis was, therefore, to identify both the men and women who lived in the hamlet. This will enable a similar re-evaluation of the male-dominated and alcohol-fuelled bush ethos noted at other rural sites (S. Lawrence 1995, 2000; Mate 2013; Prangnell and Quirk 2009; Purser 1991; Quirk 2008).

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis will progress as outlined below.

Chapter 2 focuses on the main theories and approaches of this work: cultural landscapes, communities and the ideologies of gentility and respectability. A discussion of each of these theories is followed by a review of the relevant literature and the models used to underpin this study. This highlights the fact that cultural landscapes are socially constructed by people and include not just the physical elements such as buildings and roads, but also the ephemeral experiences of the senses. A detailed narrative of the community was developed using an interactional-developmental approach, which examines how people create community through their relationships with each other. This approach also provides a temporal aspect by looking at historically-contingent *instances of community* (Yaeger and Canuto 2000 p. 3). The resident's community ties and social aspirations are then examined further using the related class-related ideologies of gentility and respectability (Young 2003; Karskens 1997, 1999). The discussion includes details of Quirk's (2007) two contrasting gentility models: the competitive, performance-dominated, middle-class 'gentility-as-strategy' model, and the cooperative, private, working-class 'respectability' model.

Chapter 3 details the strategies and methodologies used in this research, namely archival and genealogy research, surveys, excavation and artefact analysis. The archival research was an important part of the overall project and included extensive genealogical investigations, in addition to newspaper and government document analysis. The various survey strategies employed reflected the difficult landscape and tropical conditions that were encountered with each survey helping to locate potential areas for excavation. The five excavations all followed a similar pattern, which will be briefly outlined before discussing the post-fieldwork artefact analysis.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed look at the historical background of the area, starting with the founding and early history of Townsville. Understanding and documenting details of the town's early development, amenities and reasons for its ultimate success helps to contextualise the research and ground the discussions about why the Range Hotel hamlet was established and how it functioned within the wider landscape. A discussion about Hervey Range Road is followed by the known, if limited, historical details of the

five hotels along its length. The Range Hotel hamlet is discussed in detail and the results of the genealogy and archival research are presented. This identified three new families who resided in the hamlet and enabled details about the family members, including women and children to be found. It also provided evidence for an additional five, previously unknown, internments in the small cemetery. A discussion about the realities of bush living examines how house design, wildlife, climactic vagaries and sensory experiences all contributed to the residents' new reality.

Chapter 5 focuses on the results of the various archaeological investigations, which have identified the McNeill's blacksmith shop, a related rubbish dump, the floor of the hotel's stables, the possible site of the McNeill family home and additional burials in the cemetery. Each excavation area is discussed in detail and is followed by a description of the recovered artefacts. This is followed by an analysis and interpretation of each of the sites and concludes with a description of how the hamlet was potentially organised into three separate, but related areas within the linear landscape, each linked to the other and the wider area by Hervey Range Road.

Chapters 6 and 7 combine the various research findings to produce a layered narrative of what life may have been like for those who lived in the hamlet. Chapter 6 focuses on the results of the archival and genealogy research to discuss the hamlet's individual residents. This highlights *instances of community*, such as arrivals, departures, births and deaths that occurred during each of the hamlet's 18 years of occupation and also emphasises the fluid nature of the community. Ideas around fictive-kin networks and the differing roles played by individuals within the hamlet emphasises the fact that people actively pursued different identities and that this altered how they were perceived by others. Chapter 7 provides an analysis and interpretation of the artefact findings using Quirk's (2007) respectability model to answer questions about the social aspirations of the hamlet's residents. The findings show that respectability was achieved despite the consumption of alcohol by both men and women and hints at the fact that a breakdown of neighbourhood bonds following a family tragedy may have led to a woman taking her own life.

Finally, Chapter 8 draws together the results of the field work to discuss the holistic and multivocal cultural landscape in which this small community existed. It discusses how the landscape was changed by the early settlers, while it also constrained and dictated

how the road and the hamlet were constructed. A possible model for roadside hotels is then postulated before the research is reviewed and contextualised within the existing research framework. This shows how life in the hamlet echoed that of other small rural sites, such as mines and pastoral stations, but challenges the conclusions of many of these studies and of Quirk's methodology (2007) that the presence of alcohol implies a lack of desire for or attainment of respectability.

CHAPTER 2: THEMES AND APPROACHES

2 Themes and Approaches

The three main theoretical concepts upon which this thesis is built are cultural landscapes, concepts of community and the Victorian ideologies of gentility and respectability. This combination of approaches provides a multilayered and multivocal picture of life in this small and relatively short-lived hamlet, increasing the knowledge of how these small roadside communities contributed to Townsville's early history.

2.1 Landscape Archaeology

The concept of landscapes, at least from a modern Western ideology, has its beginnings in the Renaissance period when artists started to use perspective and geometry to create more realistic paintings of the countryside (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988), albeit from the ego-centric, single gaze of a male landowner or city-dweller (Bender 1999; Lemaire 1997 p. 2). These ideas reflected, promoted and maintained the new European view that modern man (and woman?) was an autonomous being, separate from the environment and no longer part of a sacred mythical space where ancestors were eternally present (Lemaire 1997 p. 7). The distinction between culture and nature extended into the early twentieth-century with the concept of environmental determinism. This was challenged in part by Carl Sauer from the Berkeley School of human geographers in his definition of cultural landscapes, which he defined as being 'fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result' (Sauer 1963 p. 343). Here culture is viewed as being super organic and separate from people (Wagner and Mikesell 1962). This approach, however, still distinguished between the natural and social aspects of a landscape, with an emphasis placed on the physical aspects of both culture and landscape. The landscape was viewed as a backdrop to the human action that was both acting *on* it, while striving *against* it (Brown 2007 p. 34; Darvill 2008 p. 61).

Archaeology came to the fore in landscape research with the publication of Aston and Rowley's (1974) book *Landscape Archaeology*, which led to the widespread use of this term, helped to promote the importance of integrating field work with landscape history:

The landscape is a palimpsest on to which each generation inscribed its own impressions and removes some of the marks of earlier generations...producing a landscape which possesses not only a beauty associated with long and slow development, but an inexhaustible store of information about many kinds of human activities in the past. (Aston and Rowley 1974 p. 14)

However, despite the positive repercussions this had for historical archaeological research, this approach tended to prioritise the 'archaeological site' over everything else (David and Thomas 2008 pp. 27-28). The focus, therefore, remained on the economic and subsistence patterns of human landscape use (Binford 1978, 1980) while symbolic or spiritual components were ignored (McNiven, David and Barker 2006).

The idea of place and its relationship to space and time is also important and has a direct bearing on how we can look at landscapes. In the 1960s era of the New Archaeology, space was seen as separate from time, something that existed in itself and for itself; space was conceived of as a universal container in which human activities took place. Space was divorced from agency and the structures of power and did not change over time, with the space of the Palaeolithic being the same as the space in modern Paris (Tilley 1994 pp. 8-9). According to Foucault (1972 p. 70) 'space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile', whereas time 'was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic'. The phenomenologists of the 1990s challenged this view, believing that space was socially produced and a medium for action, despite having 'no substantial essence of itself' (Tilley 1994 p. 11). The ideas that human experience and understanding of the world are mediated through the body were built on concepts such as *dwelling* and *being-in-the-world* (Heidigger 1977; Merleau-Ponty 1962). Here space attains meaning from the lived relationships that people have with places and the complex attachments that they have to physical aspects of the world (Basso 1996 p. 64). Phenomenologists argued that, rather than having a cross-cultural impact on people, different groups and individuals act out their lives in different spaces, and how that space is experienced will be related to gender, age, social status and spiritual beliefs (Bender 1992 p. 2; Tilley 1994 pp. 11-25). This foregrounds human agency, or 'the ability to act on one's own behalf', as the driver of history, rather than the abstract and universal laws of processual archaeology (Barrett and Ko 2009; S. Nelson 2004 pp. 145, 155).

Space and time come together in place and thus a place is not 'cut-out' from the rest of the landscape (Ingold 1993 p. 155), nor is it simply something physical like a house or

garden, but is instead an *event* (E. Casey 1996 p. 26). In addition places are not simply the passive targets for sentiments of attachment (Lerner 1986 p. 259), but are socially constructed by people. As such, places are characterised by the practices and experiences of those who are there, including elements such as the smells and sounds (Horning 2000; Ingold 1993 p. 155). Tilley described the idea of ‘a soundscape, a touchscape, even a smellscape, a multidisciplinary experience’ (Bender 1998 p. 81). Rodman (1992) emphasises that places can have multiple meanings and that the physical, emotional and lived realities experienced by people as active agents may change over time. She sees place as a unification of *location* (spatial distribution of activities), *sense of place* (attachment to place) and *locale* (setting for particular social activity), which when taken together acknowledge place as being socially and culturally constructed (Rodman 1992 p. 651 emphasis in original). It should also be recognised that although places may have centres, they do not have boundaries, as moving or journeying from one place to another along paths or tracks merely provides a different experience or viewpoint of a place (Ingold 1993 p. 156). Taken together these ideas can be used to try and define what a landscape is. Knapp and Ashmore (1999 p. 1) define it as ‘an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and conceptualised by people’, while Duncan and Duncan (1988 p. 125) state that landscapes should be seen ‘as transformations of social and political ideologies into physical form’.

2.2 Cultural Landscapes

The immutable association between landscape and people was aptly described by German geographer Otto Schlüter who in the 1900s wrote of the pre-existing *Urlandschaft* being changed into a *Kulturlandschaft*, or the landscape created by a human culture (James 1972 p. 230). There are several views of what constitutes a cultural landscape. One broad view is that as all of the Earth has been occupied, modified or influenced by humans, all landscapes are cultural. Other views call for degrees of human influence to be taken into account, with some landscapes existing largely in their natural state, while others have been extensively altered and modified by people (Choy 2009). As discussed by Aston & Rowley (1974) this modification and human influence is an ongoing process that builds upon previous alterations producing a palimpsest of changes. It is also important to remember that landscapes are rarely used by only one group of people. The background and cultures of different and

successive inhabitants of a place, therefore, need to be assessed and evaluated when trying to discover meaning. It is through these successive occupations that the landscape is experienced, described and given meanings, some of which may have been incomprehensible to others (Ireland 2003 p. 58).

Marsden (1990 p. 10) views the landscape itself as an artefact to be studied and that its significance comes from its function as a type of store, retaining ‘personal, family and community memories’. This approach provides evidence for how past cultures viewed and used the land. The landscape is also dynamic with the articulation between the natural and built environment used by people to convey and express their social identities and beliefs (Nassaney, Rotman, Sayers and Nickolai 2001). Lennon (2007) argued that other more intangible associative elements, such as large or small neighbouring or distant areas, itineraries or routes are also part of and contribute to a cultural landscape. These can be either physical or mental constructs that are embedded in people’s memory, traditions or spiritual practice with examples being Aboriginal dreaming tracks, the Silk Road and pilgrimage routes. Cultural routes, which could include roads, canals and communication networks in combination with their associated infrastructure have been conceptualised in the idea of *linear cultural landscapes*. This acknowledges both their tangible and intangible aspects, combining these with spatial dynamics and an inherent mobility not seen in other cultural landscapes. Cultural routes have the potential to generate different cultural landscapes over time as their routes, use or historic significance change (Suarez-Inclan 2002).

2.2.1 Archaeological Analysis of Cultural Landscapes

The methodologies used to achieve a cultural landscape perspective are based on the premise that archaeological work, done to record the stratigraphy of the past and identify artefacts, structures or features, needs to be combined with concepts of time and connections to present communities (Brown 2007; Mayne-Wilson 2001; Stuart 1997). Elements that need to be found and recorded are encapsulated in the US National Parks Services guidelines for documenting rural historic landscapes (1990 p. 9)

- ❖ Land uses and activities
- ❖ Patterns of spatial organisation
- ❖ Response to natural environment
- ❖ Cultural traditions
- ❖ Circulatory networks
- ❖ Boundary demarcations

- ❖ Vegetation related to land use
- ❖ Buildings, structures and objects
- ❖ Clusters
- ❖ Archaeological sites
- ❖ Small-scale elements e.g. gardens

Although this would appear to be a comprehensive list other ideas could also be of potential value. First, the impact of the land on the people occupying or travelling through it needs to be considered and secondly, it should be recognised that the land itself is not passive. There are in fact dynamic, physical forces that regularly play upon it (Mayne-Wilson 2001 p. 22), with some innate elements such as fire, drought and cyclones being of particular significance to any landscape study in North Queensland. This second point takes into account the importance of repeatedly visiting a 'site', so that it can be experienced in the present in a number of ways. According to Tilley (1994) an interpretation of landscape requires spending a great deal of time walking around and observing the place under study. This provides opportunities to intensively record views, landscape features, physical structures and intervisibility during different seasons, weather and time. The physical acts of walking, climbing and actively observing provide a way of fully engaging the human body with the landscape. Tilley (2004 pp. 219-225) contends that this type of fieldwork is 'empirical without being empiricist'. Critics of this approach raise several objections questioning its observational rigour and arguing that different people may observe and prioritise different landscape features. The assumption that the human body and how it experiences the world is universal is also questioned, arguing that the nature of 'Being' would have varied across time and space and that the style of writing can be 'hyper-interpretive', based on imaginings rather than actual facts (Barrett and Ko 2009 p. 283; Brück 2005 pp. 51, 54; Fleming 1999, 2005, 2006).

2.2.2 Australian Cultural Landscape Research

Australian historical cultural landscape research often focuses on rural landscapes and the more remote 'outback', as these, rather than urban settings, are often viewed as the authentic colonial Australian experience. It is also important to acknowledge, however, that insight into the varied aspects of the early colonial experience can be gained by looking at urban sites (Higginbotham 1987; Lydon 1993; Karskens, 1997, 1999). Research at urban sites would also ideally include examination of the town or city's

smaller, surrounding settlements, whose presence often enabled the larger centres to grow and prosper. The interaction of people between larger urban centres and their neighbouring rural settlements was often mutually beneficial, providing the elements and cultural ties required for the maintenance of both social arenas and yet the two are often examined in isolation from each other.

Several different themes have been used by cultural landscape researchers to examine the early colonial experience of immigrants in Australia including remaking landscapes to project ideology and power, landscape as a reflection of social and political policies, adapting the landscape to recreate the familiar and landscape as a means of identifying how communities are established and maintained. The landscape can be modified by people in differing ways to convey ideas of power and ideology with Ashmore (2004 p. 264) identifying this theme as 'prominent among the meanings of landscape'. Casey (2006), for example, looked at how the landscape of the Governor's Domain was transformed by each new Governor to reflect their British ideals, power and political views. This is similar to the ideas discussed by Leone (1984) in his examination of the William Paca Gardens, Annapolis, Maryland. Here the layout of the garden and manipulation of space to create perspectives and illusions of distance appeared to reflect a natural set of precedents and social hierarchies, thereby authenticating Paca's power and social standing. However, in both the examples cited above the view point is from the perceived position of power and does not assess whether the proposed ideological strategy had the desired effect on the people observing from outside.

Ideas around power struggles often reflect the social and political ideologies of the time and thus landscapes adaptations and changes can be seen to occur as government policies changed. The struggle of large scale pastoralists to maintain their hold on the land directly influenced the location of two rural villages in the eastern Riverina, New South Wales (Winston-Gregson 1984). The pastoralists aggressively acquired large tracts of land that effectively forced small landowners and service providers into small and ultimately unsuccessful nucleated villages. These were located in areas of convenience for the squatters, rather than in places that would ensure the villages' ongoing success. This aggression was directly related to government changes to land policies that were specifically designed to limit the squatters' monopoly and allow smaller free selectors access to land (Winston-Gregson 1984). The response from squatters was to actively resist the changes and they used the landscape to achieve this,

hand picking desirable lots to the detriment of others (Melbourne 1963 p. 297; R. Ward 1992, pp. 112-172). Pastoralism as a response to government policies is also discussed by Woodhouse (1993) who looked at the Holowiliena Station in South Australia. This station managed to survive and expand in a political environment that was responding to the economic problems of the times by encouraging an orderly expansion of settlement into Wakefield's 'wastelands'.

These landscape adaptations were not just confined to rural Australia. Burke et al. (2010) examined the layout of Peel town in Western Australia, the first 'free' (non-convict) colony, with new government policies providing private speculators with access to land in exchange for organising settlement schemes. The archaeology at the site provides evidence that the landscape was initially segregated into four cultural occupation areas. These were designed to maintain the class segregation and control of resources when convicts and the military made up the majority of immigrants. However, the new 'free' fare-paying middle- and upper-class British migrants were not prepared to maintain these spatial divisions, instead exercising their freedom to choose where they settled. This undermined the segregation of the groups, destabilising Peel's tenuous hold on authority and the township collapsed after only nine months of occupation (Burke, Di Marco and Meath 2010 p. 10).

Several authors have examined the way in which people try to recreate a recognisable landscape and by implication a familiar and acceptable way of life in a new place. This could be achieved in several ways, but one of the most recognisable ways, at least from an archaeological point of view, is through the importation of goods, such as food and drink, from home (Toulouse 1970). Staniforth (1995) looked at how 'a way of life' was exported to Australia by the British government in the late eighteenth-century, showing that it was not just the migrants themselves who were involved in recreating home in the unfamiliar landscape. He examined the cargo of two shipwrecks to show how an accepted cultural norm was exported to the colonies along with people. This process involved the extensive importation of familiar food, drink and material items, such as ceramics, that allowed for the ready establishment of recognised social status and hierarchies by the new arrivals. Thus settling into a new landscape could be transformed from 'threatening and incoherent' (Bradley 2000 p. 33) to something familiar and understood, where being in place and moving across the landscape once again felt comfortable. This reflects Isaac's (1982 p. 16) observation about colonial settlement in

America where ‘material reliance entailed also cultural and psychological dependence. With goods came tastes, standards and a whole set of assumptions about the proper ways of ordering life’.

Hill (1998) used the concept of recreating landscape to examine the abandoned gold mining settlement of ‘Welsh Village’, near Castlemaine in Victoria. She discussed how the new Welsh inhabitants may have felt ‘at home’ within the geology and hilly landscape of Castlemaine, as it was similar to the Welsh hills that they had left behind, where mining was a long-held tradition. Thus, with preconceived ideas and cultural traditions the migrants transformed this new land into something that resembled the small close-knit villages of their homeland. This was evidenced by the building materials, house designs and relative location of the mines (Hill 1998 p. 66). These physical acts of construction on the one hand and destruction on the other would also have created forms and loci for social activity and identity through the restructuring of the landscape (Tilley 1994 p. 17). Another aspect touched upon by Hill (1998 p. 66; see also Ritchie 2003 p. 10), but not discussed in detail, is the idea that many immigrants were trying to escape the hardships back home and had emigrated solely with the intention of becoming wealthy before returning home. This idea of temporary residence may have also influenced how and what they built.

This idea was expanded upon by Lawrence (1992) who looked at the artefacts and features located at Dolly’s Creek goldmine in Victoria. The form of the natural landscape, with its steep hills and gullies centred on Dolly’s Creek, limited the usable land and provided a bounded space in which the residents lived and interacted. The tent dwellings gave the appearance of a fractured and outward looking community who accepted that its members would soon move on. However, the placement of the tents on the sides of the hills in positions that allowed visual contact with neighbours and the presence of decorative consumer goods suggested a desire to be part of something more permanent (S. Lawrence 1992 pp. 36, 40; 1998, 2000). This demonstrates the internal conflict miners and their families may have experienced when trying to decide whether to be temporary migrants or to stay and become colonisers.

It can be seen from the above examples that a cultural landscape approach can be used to examine many different aspects of early colonial life and yet there can sometimes be a tendency to lose sight of the individual’s contribution to daily life and the social fabric

of a place and community. As concluded by Winston-Green (1984 p. 36) ‘if the problems of settlement and landscape analysis are to be addressed, then the realities of life for the miners, shepherds and graziers should be sought beyond the pit-head and the woolshed’. Although this is undoubtedly true he unfortunately appears to be ignoring the settler women and children who were also actively involved in the adaptation to and changing of the landscape.

2.2.3 An Engendered Landscape

The concept of cultural landscapes irrefutably links the landscape with people and this should include both men *and* women, although from many early archaeological studies it would appear that only men were present in both the prehistoric and historic past. The way that the past is produced often appears to reflect the ideology of the present and in particular the standpoint of those groups, for example, the often white, male and middle-class historians and archaeologists, tasked with recreating the past (Balme and Beck 1993 p. 63; Conkey and Spector 1984 p. 4). This androcentric bias is facilitated to some degree by the positivist/empiricist approaches of processual archaeological theories. First, they often privilege the large scale economic or technological processes of human endeavour, ignoring the generation or function of social relations and customs. As women (or minorities, children or the elderly) were not seen as having made a contribution to these ‘important’ economic/technological advances they remain invisible in much of the historic narrative, despite being co-creators of the archaeological record (Cheney 1993; Conkey and Spector 1984; Lydon 1995; C. Roberts 1993). Women were generally only acknowledged as being present ‘at the site’ if functional household artefacts were found and gender would then be added as another variable (Purser 1991). Secondly, the hypothetico-deductive underpinnings of such archaeological theories, where research success is measured by how close the results match the predictions, often concentrate on what is seen to be testable and knowable. The idea of ‘gender’ is somehow seen to be less ‘testable’ than other relatively abstract concepts, such as ‘style’ or ‘exchange systems’ (Conkey and Gero 1991 p. 14). Thirdly, this androcentric approach can affect and limit research frameworks and questions, as it dictates which artefacts are deemed important, the type of evidence collected and what answers will be seen as plausible (Wylie 1993). Finally, it imposes a set of culture-specific beliefs about the meaning of masculine and feminine and their associated social

roles. These beliefs privilege men as the only active agents of the past, with their varied viewpoints, roles and ideologies seen to be culturally significant. Women are assigned to a biologically-determined, homogenous group, devoid of significance, variability or cultural complexity (Lydon 1995 p. 74). Conkey and Spector summarised this attitude by saying '[i]n general, the contributions, activities, perceptions, and perspectives of females are trivialised, stereotyped, or simply ignored' (1984 p. 13).

Early feminist scholarship sought to correct this androcentric bias by placing women at the centre of enquiry. However, some early feminist researchers did not really challenge the underlying premises of male-dominated theories as they only focused on 'worthy women' and their contributions. They remained trapped in examining women who had succeeded in traditional male domains of interest or whose work was comparable to that achieved by great men, ignoring any distinctive qualities in their lives (Wylie 1991 p. 39). According to Leacock (1977 p. 17) women's roles remained homogenous, incomplete and stereotyped, subsumed by the cliché of male dominance and based on the analytical categories of biological determinism. Other researchers may have swung the pendulum too far the other way replacing androcentism with gynocentrism, again resulting in idealistic over-generalisations. Often they have re-evaluated existing research giving the interpretations a new gynocentric spin, using gender as another variable. One example of this is 'woman-the gather' (Dahlberg 1981; Tanner and Zilman 1976) challenging the concept of 'man-the-hunter' (Lee and DeVore 1968). These approaches generally maintained the underlying and accepted 'origin' theories and merely changed the central character (Fedigan 1986; Nelson 2004 p. 54). This is an example of Conkey and Gero's 'add women and stir' critique of simply adding women to existing androcentric frameworks (see Spencer-Wood 1998 p. 22).

An *engendered archaeology* has evolved from this early feminist work and aims to create an inclusive, less biased past. Gender here does not simply equate to male or female, as these are biological categories, rather than socially constructed cultural categories, but instead allows for all people in their contextually changing roles to be included in stories about the past (C. Roberts 1993 p. 17). It challenges us to identify present day cultural assumptions and examine how these impinge upon and limit how we look at and think about the capabilities, roles and identities of men and women in the past (Lydon 1995 p. 72). Attempts to define artefacts or spaces by simplistic binary oppositions that identify them as exclusively male or female are of limited use as they

ignore changing social and historical contexts. It is likely that the majority of artefacts were in fact used by both men and women, although this may have varied through place and time, thus implying that one 'sex' cannot be fundamentally more important than the other (Spencer-Wood 1998 p. 24). There is also no 'universal' female or male experience or any particular gender arrangement that exists through time and across cultures (Nelson 2004 p. 39).

'Finding' women in the past does not necessarily move this narrative forward, as simply naming women (or other 'minorities') does not ensure that they are seen or regarded as active participants of the past (C. Roberts 1993 p. 19). Instead we need to move the focus away from the remains of the past and the reified constructs of society and culture, to focus on the social patterns of the people who inhabited it (Gero and Conkey 1991 p. 15). In this way we can change the analytical scales of research, moving away from the broad and universal to instead focus on specific, historically-contingent concerns. This should allow new, more 'subject-centred' research questions to be defined. This will also explicitly acknowledge that people's experiences are not universal and that gender relations need to be understood in terms of cultural context, social class, ethnicity and history. A holistic approach acknowledges that women in the past participated as active agents in all aspects of life and were not simply confined to the domestic and private spheres. This allows us to see how gender 'worked' in all its complexities (daily roles, activities, relationships, interactions). These ideas bring the concept of agency to the fore.

People can have many identities based upon their gender, age, social class, ethnicity and even more ephemeral characteristics such as perceived talents or looks and different identities will come to the fore depending on who the person is interacting with and on the social situation. These multiple identities have *agency*, or 'the ability to act on one's own behalf', although obviously constraints to certain actions do occur (Nelson, 2004, pp. 145, 155). This contrasts to the functionalist view that individuals have pre-determined role to play within established systems (Lydon 1999 p. 18). Agency is mediated by what Bourdieu (1984 p.170) described as *habitus* or a 'structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices'. Habitus describes how the culture of a social group is embedded within an individual, emphasising that this unconscious process begins in childhood and provides a durable set of dispositions for how a particular person sees, acts and makes sense of the world (Bourdieu 1990).

Habitus is also generally ‘class-specific’, as although no two people’s lives will be exactly the same they will still experience very similar social patterns, processes and ideas when compared to someone from a different social class. The concept, however, also allows for social fluidity as age, travel, education, parental influence and a desire to emulate another social class can result in people using symbolic material in different ways according to changes in *taste*, which is then seen as a way of discriminating between social classes (Bourdieu 1990 pp. 58-59). Gardner (1995) sees the most important questions regarding agency and action as being ‘who does it?’, ‘for whom?’ and ‘who benefits or loses from the change?’ These types of considerations help to move the focus away from envisioning the need for whole societies or groups to act in order to promote change, focusing instead on the tensions and individuals behind the actions. These individuals can be male or female, come from any ethnic background, social class, religion or age, but unless specified the agent is often assumed to be a male (Gero, 2000). Finding specific evidence for action by women or any other minority (actual or through presumed invisibility in the archaeological record) is, therefore, important.

2.3 Communities

Research on communities fills the theoretical gap between large regional scale studies and household archaeology. However, definitions of what constitutes a community vary widely across time and academic disciplines. Communities are also different to other potential social groupings that can be maintained on emically defined characteristics, such as on ethnicity, kin, religion or lineage, and infrequent interaction (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Murdock (1949) believed in the human universals of the ‘nuclear family’ and ‘the community’ and he defined the community as the maximal group of people who normally live together in face-to-face association, either in a concentrated village cluster or in a neighbourhood of semi-scattered homesteads (Murdock 1949 pp. 79-90). This geographically or politically bounded definition was echoed by ethnographers Chambers and Young (1979 p. 46) in their studies of Mesoamerican communities. Lipe (1970 p. 86) believed that communities needed to have an integrative social function and should include at least three generations of people with mechanisms for passing the cultural beliefs on from one generation to the next. Homans (1961) concluded that a community resulted from the material interdependencies of people, which necessitated

social interactions that produced unconscious individual sentiments for other members of the group. This behaviourist view thus deemed the community to be a natural phenomenon based on and producing shared sentiments of solidarity (Isbell 2000). Redfield (1955) argued that the 'little community' was man's natural and primordial social unit and that each community was a holistic spatial unit with its own set of moral norms, characteristic personality and integrated ecosystem. However, this view was repeatedly challenged as it was recognised that even seemingly isolated communities had complex interactions and links with the outside world (Leacock 1977; Wylie 1991).

The realisation that no community was completely isolated also included the understanding that the inevitable cross-cutting ties between people and groups could lead to potential volatility. This volatility and the resulting changes within communities led to ideas based around fleeting 'imagined communities' that lived in the real world (Isbell 2000; Wylie, Okruhlik, Morton and Thielen-Wilson 1989). These networks of communities, each of which may have its own changing perspective, and the interactions between them highlight multilocality and multivocality. This acknowledges that 'each community, or each individual, is also part of a chain of attachment to places' (Rodman 1992 p. 651). Dobres (1988) suggested that ideas centred around agency allows individuals to play with and alter their identities, to accept or reject the identities put forward by others and to pursue the goals that they desire, although some constraints exist (Fedigan 1986). Thus, although being part of a community is an important focus for interaction it does not represent a person's only identity and it can often serve as an arena for competing and multiple scales of interaction that can change or create other identities (Goldstein 2000). This dispels the myth that communities are composed of homogenous groups of people, bound together by sentiment and solidarity in bounded places with little or no change occurring (Isbell 2000).

More recent attempts to clarify the situation focus less on the need for regular contact and rigid spatial boundaries and more on the idea that the community itself is a social construct that can be changed and reconstituted by its members, albeit within the material structural and societal cultural limits that exist beyond an individual's control (Canuto and Yaeger 2000). These ideas are more in line with Isbell's (2000) 'imagined community' and bring agency and practice theory into the picture. This allows the past to be populated by people who had their own self-interests at heart and would promote, negotiate or oppose agendas set by other interested and active agents. The buildings,

artefacts and landscapes now studied by the archaeologist were used in the past by individuals to construct identity, demonstrate power and affirm or express social relations (Isbell 2000 p. 249; Tringham 1995). Canuto and Yaeger (2000, p. 5) summarised these ideas, defining community as a 'dynamic socially constituted institution that is contingent upon human agency for its creation and continued existence'. Horning (2000), using the now abandoned Blue Ridge Mountains Hollows settlements as an example, stressed another important point. Communities are both physical and *mental* constructs with people viewing a community differently depending on their relationship to it as either a member, a descendant, a researcher or outsider (also see Mayne 2006).

It can be seen that over time and across disciplines the definitions of and theoretical approaches to the study of communities have gradually changed. Canuto and Yaeger (2000 pp. 2-3) have identified four theoretical approaches: structuralist-functionalist, historical development, ideational and interactional-developmental. The structuralist-functionalist approach focuses on the functions the community fulfils within a certain social structure. The community is seen as a natural group characterised by regular contact, shared experiences and a common culture. These ideas assume that the community is integrated and conflict free and does not consider either its origins or maintenance (Murdock 1949; Yaeger and Canuto 2000 p. 2). The historical-developmental approach rectifies some of these failings by implicitly examining why communities came to exist and the role external and historical factors had in their creation. It recognises that different conditions create different communities, but does not incorporate the fact that once created the community will exert its own transformative effects on the external conditions (Yaeger and Canuto 2000 p. 2). The ideational approach incorporates how people see themselves and their roles in a community. Identity is seen as something that can be changed depending upon the situation and is formed by recognising what qualities are shared with others and what characteristics are unique. External structures, which can affect self-identity, are often underestimated in this theory and are more thoroughly incorporated into the interactional-developmental model. This examines how relationships between people create and maintain communities and identifies that individual practices are the important stimuli for change, social interaction and reproduction (Yaeger and Canuto 2000 pp. 2-3).

2.3.1 Finding Communities in the Archaeological Record

Unfortunately in archaeological research the study of a community is often still equated to '*a cluster of artefacts and ruined structures that exist in space*' (Marcus 2000 p. 239, emphasis in original) or, put more simply, with *the site*. This unit of archaeological analysis parallels Murdoch's (1949) definition of community as a bounded, culturally-homogenous and static social unit encompassing people who would have viewed themselves and the world around them in a particular way. It also highlights that it can be very difficult to connect a concept defined in the present to the actual physical remains that now form the archaeological record. Processualist's preoccupations with behaviours, environmental adaptations and economic structure have also focused on the site as a reflection of the community. The questions asked have not generally improved our understanding of what constitutes a community or how we can use archaeology to change this (Yaeger and Canuto 2000 p. 4). Kolb and Snead (1997 p. 611) approached the problem of defining the community from a different angle using three archaeologically visible constructs: social reproduction, subsistence production and self-identification/social recognition. Unfortunately by advocating an approach premised on what may potentially be recovered from an archaeological site they also prioritised recognition of site/artefact over analysis of what it may represent. This approach potentially ignores concepts, such as agency, social creation, gender relations and individual manipulation, as reasons for change within society (Gero and Conkey 1991; Isbell 2000; Yaeger and Canuto 2000).

Several problems, therefore, arise when trying to examine communities from an archaeological perspective (Yaeger and Canuto 2000 pp. 9-12). First, the correlation between the etically defined spatial patterns of the material remains and emically meaningful social units needs to be identified (Marcus 2000 p. 232). A community cannot simply be equated to the archaeological site; it is not simply a spatial cluster of artefacts and features to be observed, but is instead a dynamic social process, which has to be inferred from the material remains (Goldstein 2000; Horning 2000). Secondly, issues surrounding scale and sampling need to be examined. A community cannot be analysed purely by the additive analysis of separate, but neighbouring households because, as discussed above, a community is more than a group of households linked purely by proximity. This is not to say that proximity, especially in a relatively isolated

setting, is unimportant. Living or working closely with other people will almost inevitably create some sort of reaction or emotion, but proximity cannot be the only consideration. The scale of analysis must therefore be large enough to encompass data on a variety of features that demonstrate both past activity and its material constraints such as houses, fences, rubbish dumps, access ways, roads and fields. This will allow wider connections to be identified (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Thirdly, the method employed must be able to recognise the engendered interaction of people in the past (Conkey 1995; Lydon 1995). Such evidence could include the proximity of houses or businesses, observable public and private spaces, socioeconomic disparity, artefact form and function, population size, settlement patterning and access patterns (Yaeger and Canuto 2000).

2.3.2 Concepts of Community

Many of the recent archaeological studies of community have challenged the original concepts that communities were represented by spatially bounded, residential groups of like-minded individuals who are all working towards the same end points based on mutual rights and obligations (although see Meher 2000). Ideas of contested identity where ‘people hold multiple roles and identities they access at different times for different purposes’ (Preucel 2000 p. 61) have now become central to discussions about communities (Barnes 2011). This also moves away from focusing on powerful individuals who appear to have more influence to effect change (Clark and Blake 1994) to instead examine the lives of everyday people and how they contributed to or were affected by social relationships and interactions (Milne 2002). Mayne (2006) explained how using archaeological questions can trigger alternative explanations about communities and provide ambiguity, challenging the accepted explanations and driving the research forward. His research combined historical record results with archaeological data in order to populate ‘Little Lon’, the ‘imaginary slum’ of a nineteenth-century, inner city neighbourhood of Melbourne with named people. This work challenged the view that these back streets represented a homogenised, dysfunctional community, providing instead a picture of a long lasting, vibrant, multicultural, if poor community (Mayne 2006 p. 322).

Murphy (2010) used archaeological research to identify indicators that can be used to assess how communities in the past were created, constituted, maintained and

influenced by both internal and external forces. Her study of the nineteenth-century Cootharaba sawmill in southeast Queensland emphasised that communities were not 'spatially bounded locations'. She identified that the interactions between its active members occurred on multiple scales of practice, each occurring at its own pace: domestic on a daily basis, local on a periodic basis and regional on an irregular basis (Murphy 2010 p. 33; see also Yaeger 2000 p. 129). These different scales of practice could be identified by evidence such as the spatial layout of sites/houses, the demographics of an area, modes of transport, signs of trade, social and leisure activities, attitudes to death, refuse disposal and industrial activities, amongst others (Murphy 2010 p. 67).

Mate's (2013) discussion of the Mount Shamrock township also focused on ideas of community as she examined why the mining town enjoyed a relatively permanent occupation for 50 years, despite not having a particularly large or deep mineral deposit. She attributed this longevity to several factors including the varied demographic makeup of its residents, community ties that were established and enacted by both men and women and an adherence to the social and administrative frameworks of the time. Social relationships within the community frequently involved 'fictive kin networks', where unrelated people and families became reliant upon each other, creating extended ties across the landscape as people moved from one place to another (Prangnell and Mate 2011 p. 323). Interactions between people thus occurred on a different premise to that of the British middle-class ideal, which centred itself first around the nuclear family, with extended family ties then forming the broader community connections (Fitts 1999 p. 39; Grimshaw and Willett 1981 p. 136). The main reason for this difference was the fracturing of extended family bonds caused when only some family members emigrated, resulting in a need to formulate new bonds and ties through friendship, marriage and children (Prangnell and Mate 2011 p. 323; Prangnell and Quirk 2009 p. 42; Lydon 1999 p. 87). Mate's (2010, 2013) research successfully showed that by integrating the social, domestic and industrial aspects of a goldmining town, a more complete picture of early settlements was both possible and desirable.

McGowan (1992) in his study of the Shoalhaven mines discussed how connections *between* mining settlements were also important, despite the fact that they were often spread across a rugged landscape. He concluded that these connections could often only be gleaned from the historical records, although he identified that the tracks and roads

seen to cross the landscape could also show to links between communities. This point was also emphasised by Lawrence (2000), although in her study it was a waterway, Dolly's Creek, rather than a road that provided the link. She noted that Dolly's Creek helped to facilitate an outside influence and provided access to doctors and police in neighbouring towns. The potential for both short and long term mobility between places was also not just limited to men, with visits by women to see and stay with family and friends also helping to reinforce community ties across the landscape (Purser 1991). This underscores how creating and actively maintaining social relationships was fundamental to the success of early settler communities. The ideals of Victorian respectability could have been used to specifically enhance these social interactions and to promote concepts of cooperation within working-class settlements.

2.4 Gentility and Respectability

Women of the bush have little to share, and nursing the belief that how they live is quite unknown to one another they have no inclination to entertain a caller.
(Barbara Baynton 1903, quoted in Dixon 1976 p. 186)

The 'cult of domesticity' and 'gentility' are concepts used to describe the mid-nineteenth-century middle-classes' aspirations to espouse the ideals of the elite or nobility of the Victorian era. These ideals were driven by the industrial revolution, the temperance movement, the rise of evangelical churches and the strict moral standards of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert (Mitchell 2009 pp. 11, 256). Unlike the nobility the aspiring middle-classes had to earn an income by their own labour in order to afford the taste and trappings of gentility, with contemporary and modern commentators defining the middle-class as having an annual income of between 50-1500 pounds (Young, 2003 p. 54). Although men often provided the income needed to purchase the material expressions of gentility, women also played an important role, providing the necessary civilising influence and moral guidance for the family that outwardly marked good society (Cheney 1993; Russell 1993 p. 29; Summers 1975). It was feared that men not constrained by such a civilised society, would inevitably succumb to social and moral decline. Women from the middle- and upper-classes who moved to the new colonies were viewed as being on a 'civilising mission' and were required to provide an impeccable personal example of the best and finest British social tradition (Allingham

1987). Thus, wearing the correct dress was not simply a reflection of personal preference, but provided a visible symbol of a woman's moral stature and a means for acceptance within one's preferred social group (D. Lawrence 2011). Tea drinking and social visits were middle- and upper-class female rituals marked by the need for the correct and currently fashionable tea service and proper etiquette. This all served to convey the respectability, good taste, manners and refinement the family wished to portray (Fitts 1999; Hayes 2007; Kruczek-Aaron 2002; Wall 1991). This *combination* of symbolic behaviour, core beliefs and material goods was essential for acceptance into the desired social group, with wealth simply providing the means to acquire the correct symbols (Fitts 1999 p. 40; Young 2003 pp15-19). Middle-class compliance was,

...not driven by money, though certain financial resources were necessary. More critically, acceptance by peers required fluent participation in a core of beliefs and rituals. Such practice amounts to mastery of the culture, informed by possession of the cultural capital which enabled the agency of lifestyle: gentility is a name for the culture of the middle class'. (Young 2003 p. 15)

The dominant concept of gentility was the separation of space into 'private female' domains and 'public male' domains. The social demonstration of this dichotomy of space was integral to the success or failure of achieving the desired social status (Russell 1993; Wall 1994). The home was seen as the 'woman's place' and she was judged by society, not only on the appearance and organisation of her home, but on her acceptance that this was where she belonged, that she had the correct 'sense of place' (D. Lawrence 2011; Russell 1993). Physical space within the house could also be socially constructed, both through an individual room's usage and by the type of the furnishings used and displayed. Kitchens were typically built at the rear of the house, either attached to it or in a separate building, while the more public rooms, such as the dining room or parlour, would be at the front and contain the most costly and ornate possessions. This use of space also provided messages, conscious or otherwise, to its users, as, once a space has been designed and its function allocated, material inertia ensured its ongoing influence on social organisation and gender relations (Hourani 1990). This ideal, however, could not always be achieved, especially in lower income households (Nassaney et al. 2001). It is also important to consider the stage of a person's or family's life-cycle when considering concepts such as space, with a newly married couple having different needs, income and expenditures than a couple with

several children (Prossor, Lawrence, Brooks and Lennon 2012; Rotman 2005; Wall 1994).

Gentility was not, therefore, a universal concept with unbending rules and behaviours that could simply be applied to all people who outwardly appeared to belong to the middle-class, nor were its ideals and material expressions only desired by that class. Elements were often adapted and borrowed by a diverse range of people for their own goals, while others made no attempt to employ this ideology at all (Lampard and Staniforth 2011; S. Lawrence 2003; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Spencer-Wood 1998 p. 25). Quirk (2007) differentiates middle-class gentility, with its emphasis on social competition and performance, from working-class respectability, an ideology with similar underlying premises and elements, but based instead upon cooperation. The working-class family valued the *respectability*, dignity and independence of productive work, of having a wife who could stay at home and look after children (even if she had to do some piecework within the home) and of having the means for a decent burial (Young 2003 p. 60). Thus, even for some working-class families work became a gendered issue with men earning money in the public space, while women ideally stayed in the private domain of the home (Young 2003 p. 18). A regular income also allowed families to join the consumer revolution and to improve their standard of living with items such as bed linen, decorative household wares and patterned ceramics. The working class may not have had the elaborate tea drinking rituals of the middle-classes, as they likely only entertained family or close neighbours, but they would drink tea out of the 'best cups' during these visits, thus outwardly showing their respectability. This adaptation of ritual also emphasised different their social aspirations, such as the need to belong to a community where mutual help was readily available (Wall 1991 p. 79).

2.4.1 An Archaeology of Gentility and Respectability

The use of material culture to identify social groups reflects Bourdieu's (1984 pp.1-2, 170) ideas about *taste* providing a visible social marker of class differentiation through the generation of 'meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions'. Gentility is demonstrated archaeologically through the study of architecture, design styles and material culture, especially domestic ceramics, home décor and dress. These consumer items also reflect that material items were '...often consciously and intentionally used by people to communicate conceptions of self to others' and that even the act of

shopping for the items was ‘a social dance in which carefully constructed meanings, roles and statements are exchanged, acted out and negotiated’ (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy (1996 p. 59, 60). Analysis of these items, combined with historical document research of named families or neighbourhoods can be used to assess how and why people made the choices they did. Gothic styling of houses, furniture and ceramics reflected the influence of religion, while the increased emphasis on nature was shown by floral motifs and the increased use of household plants (Fitts 1999 pp. 45-49; Praetzelis and Praetzelis 2001 p. 646). The temperance movement also played an important role in the expression of gentility. Alcohol was seen as a working man’s scourge to be actively discouraged in the homes of the genteel classes, with the role of enforcer often falling to the female of the house. Therefore, a low number or the absence of alcohol-related bottles and drinking vessels at a site could point to a household or neighbourhood that extolled the virtues of gentility. Some researchers, however, have suggested that this type of research sometimes risks ‘santis[ing] the working-class in the opposite direction’ and ‘obscures some of the diversity within the community’ (Lampard and Staniforth 2011, p. 8).

Ceramic artefacts have provided one of the main ways to evaluate the concept of gentility in the archaeological record. Material goods, or ‘cultural capital’, actively pass on and structure culture, which defines social class values such as tastes, skills and consumption patterns (Bourdieu 1977 as discussed by Hayes 2011 p. 34). Dining and tea service ceramics are particularly useful as they are deemed to have four assessable indicators of gentility: matching sets (both exact and similar), a variety of vessel forms, consistency across dining and tea services, and keeping up with fashionable patterns (Fitts 1999; Hayes 2011 p. 36). To be described as a table ware set there needs to be a minimum of three vessel types in the same pattern and for tea sets the presence of at least one matching cup and saucer and sugar or slop bowl, or several cups and/or saucers in a matching pattern. Complementary sets, which consist of closely matching patterns, can also be included (Fitts 1999 p. 50). However, Scott (1997) provided a cautionary tale to our use of functional categories for ceramics and glassware in her analysis of early British colonial and Anglo-American cookbooks. She demonstrated that functional categories need to be flexible to allow for the multiple uses some items had. Cups, for example, were used as measuring devices, for making rice soup, for rendering rennet, to mould cherry, grape and plum sauces, to boil dumplings, to mould

stewed gooseberries, to bake batter puffs, to cut out biscuits and to serve custard, gravy, melted butter and cream.

Quirk (2007) expanded on this methodology for identifying and assessing Victorian gentility in her work on the gold mining town of Paradise in Central Queensland. The genteel standards of the inhabitants of the small town were assessed through the investigation of six archaeologically identifiable indicators: domestic ceramics, home decor, dress, child rearing, avoidance of vice and refuse disposal (Quirk 2007 pp. 81-86). Eight households from across the town were investigated revealing a wide variation in the way families conformed to the supposed dominant ideology. In particular Quirk (2007 p. 291) noted that the working class families strove to attain the private, domestic aspects of gentility, such as childrearing, temperance and home comforts. They wanted to be seen as *respectable*, which would then help to foster neighbourly bonds and friendships, through mutual cooperation within the community. The middle-class families, however, appeared to invest heavily in the more public aspects of gentility through dress, luxury ceramics and waste disposal. She termed this *gentility-as-strategy*, seeing it as a competitive performance to impress others and increase social standing and power.

2.4.2 Concepts of Gentility and Respectability

Women's roles in Victorian times were generally viewed as being confined to the home. The home in this sense does not equate to the household as one of the criticisms of household archaeology has been the tendency to assume that investigations into the physical remains of houses equates to the examination of past domestic behaviour. Allison (1998 p. 17) argued that structural remains provide ideas about the cultural use of space, not about the people who lived there (see also Hendon 1996). Households are not discrete, homogenous units filled with people all working towards the same goals and making the same choices, but consist of people with conflicting needs, divergent goals and competing ideologies. These competing goals and desires can be examined by using the ideology of gentility, which provides a fertile theoretical basis for examining women's lives (Allison and Cremin 2006; Fitts 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Rotman 2005; Russell 1993; Wall 1991; Yentsch 1991b; L. Young 1998, 2003). Research focusing on gentility has been used to examine several different themes and

topics such as the use of artefacts, particularly ceramics, to identify, project or manipulate social class aspirations.

One of the earliest uses of ceramics to identify the ideology of domesticity and gentility was carried out by Wall (1991). She examined the ceramics from two mid-nineteenth century, middle-class New York homes, one from a poorer neighbourhood and the other from a rich one. She focused on the ceramics that represented two different domestic arenas: family meals and the drinking of tea with visitors. She concluded that both families had similar gothic-inspired, white granite ironstone table wares and vessels for family meals, but that the tea wares were markedly different. The richer family owned a second, gilt edged porcelain tea set in addition to a panelled ironstone set that matched their day-to-day tableware. Wall (1991 p. 79) believed that this provided them with a competitive way to display the family's social status and gentility to the larger community through elaborate tea parties and social visits (Fitts 1999; Russell 1993). However, the use of this demarcation between plain white everyday tea wares and the patterned tea wares used to promote status are less relevant to early colonial Australian sites. Unlike their American counterparts, the Australian consumers' of all classes preferred patterned, transfer-printed ceramics for the majority of their tableware (S. Lawrence 2003 p. 25).

Praetzellis et al. (2001) looked at how individuals who were not members of the white, middle-class establishment also adapted and manipulated the strong symbolic material culture associated with Victorian ideals to promote their own needs. Vallejo, a Mexican commandante, used his gothic styled home and English-made ceramics to support his political realignment towards America, while Yee Ah Tye used 'impression management' to promote his advancement in America. He did this while keeping his workers tied to their Chinese traditions, thus reducing their hope of social advancement (Praetzellis et al. 2001 pp. 647-649). The use of classic Victorian ceramics by African-American Pullman train car workers has been interpreted as a desire for personal dignity in a racist system, while the use of classic Victorian furniture and fixtures in the parlour of a 1890s Los Angeles brothel promoted the illusion of a relaxed and familiar setting for its customers (Praetzellis et al. 2001 pp. 649-652). Thus people could use the external trappings of gentility, or adapt parts of it, to promote certain cultural and moral aspirations, while still maintaining other aspects of a different culture or set of values.

Kruczek-Aaron (2002) provides another example of this in her examination of the family of Gerrit Smith, a nineteenth-century American politician. Documentary sources, which consist mainly of family correspondence, reveal conflict between Gerrit Smith and his wife and daughter. Gerrit viewed his wife Ann's fashionable taste and the extravagant displays designed to impress guests as a disease, preferring instead simple living and displays of sobriety. If documentary sources were the only available source of evidence this conflict would appear to have been won by Gerrit as the rooms inside the home were described in a way that seemed to conform to his simple tastes. However, the discovery of high quality and elaborately decorated ceramics at the site indicates that the females of the house successfully asserted themselves in the struggles over material culture, thus providing a different interpretation of what daily life in the household may have been like (Kruczek-Aaron 2002 pp. 179-180).

The exportation of Victorian ideals has been examined by Lawrence (2003). She compared how the two principle social groups of British migrants, the middle-class and working-class, brought their social experiences and accepted cultural ideals to the various British colonies (Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa). Generally, the arriving middle-classes continued to divide life along gender lines, separating it into public and private spheres. Men provided the income and social leadership, while women often remained in the private domain of home, supporting their husbands and providing the necessary perception of a civilised and moral life. Their houses quickly began to replicate those of the British aristocracy initially with Georgian designs, but then by the asymmetrical, eclectic influences of the Victorian era. Daily life also involved the consumption of the appropriate goods and services that reflected their desire to emulate the social standing and refinement of the upper classes (S. Lawrence 2003 pp. 22-25; S. Lawrence, Brooks and Lennon 2009; Young 2003). Meanwhile, the working classes were also trying to recreate the familiar, building one or two room cottages in the traditions and style that they were accustomed to, although adapting them to suit the available building materials and climate. They also aspired to be part of the consumerism of the gentry, acquiring household furnishings and colourful and varied transfer-printed tableware that helped to promote and reflect their desire for respectability (S. Lawrence 2003 pp. 23-26).

Specific examples of early Australian life in both large towns and rural settlements have been examined by several researchers. Karskens (1997, 1999; see also Crook et al.

2005) has examined the Rocks area of early Sydney using a combination of archival work and archaeological investigations. Up until the 1870s this overcrowded space included a wide range of social classes, but the years following that saw the place designated as a slum and, following an outbreak of bubonic plague in 1900, most of its original houses were pulled down to be replaced by industrial structures. The results of this extensive study provide a detailed view of early Sydney life that helps discredit the area's historical reputation as a poverty-stricken, filthy and fearful place, overrun with prostitutes, criminals and drunkards (Lydon 1999). The combination of maps, family histories, government documentation and archaeological findings has transformed the working-class 'persons of no consequence' who lived there into real human beings with names, aspirations and desires (Karskens 1997 p. 5). The artefacts reveal that peoples' tables were set with decorative tableware, that they used glasses and decanters and that they embraced modern technology, which produced nails, bricks, tiles, pre-cooked convenience foods, such as vegetables and herrings and that they were seduced by sauces, condiments and oils sold in increasingly elaborate bottles and jars (Karskens 1999 pp. 69-95). Social aspirations included being seen as a 'respectable family', demonstrated by domestic and dress standards, cleanliness, behaviour, such as tea drinking and the pursuit of 'rational recreations', rather than gambling, heavy drinking and fighting (Karskens 1999 pp. 161-163; Lydon 1999 p. 56). However, alcohol often remained as a prominent communal feature of early life, although with the initial expense of glass early drinking was done with shared glasses and by re-using bottles, decanters and jars that would be taken to the local hotel to be filled (Karskens 1999 pp.72-73). Bottles recovered from people's houses show that a variety of alcohol was enjoyed including schnapps, beer, wine and champagne. It is also known that women enjoyed drinking, although after about 1860 they would drink at home with friends rather than in hotels, as women entering these establishments were by then branded as prostitutes (Karskens 1999 p. 164). Alcohol was, therefore, not seen as a complete antithesis to respectability, or even gentility, with genteel advice manuals approving alcohol in moderation for both men and women. In fact abstinence often reflected a person's religious conviction and beliefs, rather than class status, with the term *sobriety* meaning moderation, rather than being teetotal (Karskens 1999 p. 166; Young 2003 p. 121).

Hayes (2011) assessed how Melbourne's early middle-classes used the outward displays of gentility to define, maintain and even promote their social position. Prosser et al. (2012) looked at a household in nineteenth-century Port Albert, a small coastal town near Melbourne, in an attempt to assess the successive families' status and standing in the wider community. One of the main tools used was the evaluation of the ceramics (Prosser et al. 2012 p. 818). The findings were then compared with other Australian household assemblages where the status of the family was known. The results challenged the assumption that an 'ordinary' family in a small town would only possess a limited variety of low quality ceramics, revealing instead that one of the house's earliest working-class occupants possessed a number of matching tea sets. Lydon (1993; 1999 p. 49) examined a specific type of working-class, that of a working female, when she examined how Mrs Lewis, the keeper of a boarding house in the Rocks area of Sydney, managed to balance the desire for respectability with the need to earn an income. This was achieved by the fact that, although she was working, she remained at home in the female 'private' space. This reasoning may also explain why running a hotel was seen as an acceptable female vocation, as hotels represented places where 'public and private space collapsed into each other, so that the values and attributes associated with these territories (including their gendering) were ambiguously interconnected' (Wright 2001 p. 59).

Studies in the more remote rural areas or bushland of early colonial Australia have convincingly shown that people living in mining towns and on pastoral stations enjoyed many of the same things that their counterparts in larger towns and cities did. Mining towns were often short lived and constructed mainly of tents and yet excavations have revealed features and artefacts that show the residents still wished to portray an air of respectable permanence (S. Lawrence 1992). Artefacts included mantle clocks, cake stands, jewellery and children's toys, which all allude to a desire for the same civilising material possessions as those owned by their urban neighbours (S. Lawrence 1992, 1998; Prangnell and Quirk 2009; Quirk 2008). The artefacts recovered from Caboonah, an isolated pastoral property in the Brisbane Valley of Queensland, showed that its owners made choices that they felt reflected their middle class status (Terry, 2013). The ceramics provided evidence of matching sets and vessel variety, while the family's temperance was implied by the low number of recovered alcohol bottles. Ceramics were also used to investigate the aspirations of the early working-class inhabitants of

the Old Kinchega homestead in western New South Wales from 1876-1950s (Allison and Cremin 2006). The majority of the ceramics, including children's tea sets and dolls were found on the cooler eastern verandah close to the laundry and this may have been where the women of the property and their friends congregated to drink tea, sew and do the washing. The study also highlighted the presence of children on the property, with the girls probably directed through play towards the gendered roles of motherhood and the rituals of tea taking (Allison and Cremin 2006 pp. 62-63; see also Prangnell and Quirk 2009 p. 42).

It is abundantly clear from this type of research that women were not only present, but were active members of early colonial communities, helping to structure both family and social relationships and maintain comfortable, respectable, family-orientated lives. This arena of research has helped to dispel the *bush ethos* myth that properties and mines in rural Australia were somehow marginalised from main stream society and were the sole domain of hard drinking men and a variety of machinery (Bell 1987; Menghetti 2005; Ward 1958 pp. 118-128; Wegner 1995). Men were also recast into a different mould and could now be seen as hard working and responsible as they strove to make better lives for themselves and their families. Other rural settlements, however, such as those associated with roadside inns and hotels, still have an image that revolves around the hard drinking, male traveller (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 pp. 19-20). It should be possible, using archaeological enquiry, to also create an engendered past in these small rural hamlets that challenges or confirms this perception.

2.5 Summary

The various themes and concepts discussed above have been used by both historians and archaeologists to investigate the past and to postulate why, when and how events unfolded. Written records provide many clues to the past and yet they do not provide a complete picture, potentially limiting what questions can be answered and even what questions will be asked (Karskens 1999 pp. 19-23). The written record offers an insight into the lives of those who consciously chose to record their activities, thoughts and daily occupations, recorded either contemporaneously or compiled later by others. These accounts, therefore, often have a bias toward the upper-classes, white males, people in positions of power, the notorious and the exceptional. This obviously results

in a biased overall record with many people, especially the poor, illiterate or young being absent from the picture, unless discussed from the culturally different viewpoint of someone else. A significant proportion of people, such as women, minorities and children remain invisible and thus questions about their lives and experiences are often not posited or else they are subsumed by generalisations and assumptions (Mayne 2006). Lydon (1999 p. 26) succinctly summarises the complexity of trying to understand the past from an engendered perspective with her observation that ‘...the historical record speaks most eloquently of the male world, while the archaeological record makes known the private domain, of women’s influences and aspirations’.

Historical archaeological investigations and approaches can both compliment and challenge accepted historical accounts in a number of ways. First, they can provide new physical information, such as lost structures and artefacts, which can either expand upon and provide colour to the historical account or, more importantly, provide alternate explanations (Kruczek-Aaron 2002 pp. 179-180). Secondly, historical archaeology has the potential to provide multiple strands of evidence from diverse sources (texts, maps, pictures, newspapers, surveys, excavations and artefacts), which can allow for independent and converging evidence to be used to test and construct fine-grained arguments about the past (Crook, 2011, p. 73). Thirdly, archaeological field work provides a completely different type of evidence from written records as for the most part it was formed in an unconscious and unintentional manner, potentially recording the activities of all members of a particular family or group (Lewis, 1984, p. 28, Karskens 1999). Thus it can provide information from single households through to entire regions, potentially answering questions from the particular to the general. Fourthly, archaeology can help to illuminate human processes and behaviours that can be linked over time, place or environment. Finally, archaeologists can propose alternate questions and hypotheses that seek to include and investigate people and communities that are hard to find or even invisible in the written records, so increasing our overall understanding of the past.

The Range Hotel hamlet is one example of a poorly recorded place and community. Historians have examined the establishment of Townsville in some detail and linked it to the squatters and gold mines of the hinterland, but little is known about how ordinary people lived and experienced this early part of Far North Queensland’s settlement. The historical accounts provide very little information about the hamlet, which is essentially

limited to the names of the publicans, the name of the first blacksmith and to the death certificates of the three people known to be interned in the cemetery. This paucity of written information combined with the lack of obvious physical evidence has resulted in the people who lived there being forgotten. The lack of 'historical' evidence has meant that their experiences and lives have not been understood, questioned or examined.

To address some of these problems this thesis uses the strengths of historical archaeology to recreate the complex and multilayered engendered cultural landscape of the Range Hotel hamlet. This provides a basis upon which to examine the gender relationships and attachments within the community that are time and space specific (Yentsch 1991a p. 255). These relationships will be investigated using the interactional-developmental approach advocated by Yeager and Canuto (2000), to produce historically-contingent *instances of community*. This approach emphasises the relationship between the interactions of individuals in a given space and the fostering of shared identity that these interactions produce. This will demonstrate that a landscape is always multivocal and can be contested as people, both male and female, actively use it to create or dispute self or group identity. Identifying and understanding a person's background, education and parental influences are fundamental to this process as these unconsciously determine habitus and thus how someone will see, react and view the world. If this can be understood then evaluations based on the recovered artefacts can help to examine and identify the social aspirations and ideals of the hamlet's residents.

Gentility and respectability were dominant ideologies of the time under study. Previous archaeological Australian studies of rural settlements have focused on showing that these communities were not dominated by men and alcohol, but were instead respectable family-orientated places, shown in part by of a lack of alcohol-related artefacts (Allison and Cremin 2006; S. Lawrence 1992, 1998; Prangnell and Quirk 2009; Quirk 2007, 2008; Terry, 2013). These findings are reflected in Quirk's (2007) identified archaeological indicators of respectability where an avoidance of alcohol is one of the key ideals. This contrasts to Karskens (1997, 1999) portrait of early Sydney where respectability was enacted even though both men and women were shown to have enjoyed drinking as part of their normal social life. The work at the Range Hotel hamlet with its community dedicated to the provision of alcohol will look at how respectability was played out by the individual residents in this small, contained and yet outwardly-linked settlement. Evidence looking at the resident's social aspirations and adherence to

or adaptation of the principles of respectability will be assessed using the methodology outlined by Quirk (2007). This will help to evaluate a different type of settlement to the previously studied pastoral stations, mining towns and urban centres and examine whether one methodology can be used across all settlement types. This process will also allow for an in-depth analysis of daily life within the hamlet and shift the focus from sterile macro scale ‘processes’ to a more subject-centred approach that is interested in the meaningful material and social practices of everyday life (Dobres 1995 p. 53). This focused ‘reconstruction of past lived experiences [is] a means of creating a more holistic picture of past individuals’ (Hodder and Preucel 1996 p. 422).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3 Methodology

This chapter will discuss the design and framework of the overall project and then describe how the various strands of evidence used for this study were investigated. Redman (1973) advocated four principles when designing a research project. The first is the need to use both inductive and deductive reasoning when planning the research design and later during the analysis of results. The second is the need to use analytical and reflexive feedback between the various stages of the research. This can help to redirect the subsequent stages (if necessary), allowing for refinement in techniques and reinterpretation of previous findings. The third principle is the use of probability sampling. This is desirable as time restraints, cost, access, observer variation, taphonomic effects, ground visibility, previous cultural activities and post-artefact deposition effects, mean that not all the area and/or material can be completely investigated (Fanning and Simon, 2002). The last principle is the need to use appropriate analytical techniques that link the artefacts or features with the hypothesis under question.

The research plan for this project had to be very flexible, occasionally opportunistic and also allow for repeated sampling of different areas. Repeated visits to the area under differing natural conditions, such as after a bush fire, and at differing times of the year provided an additional depth of understanding about the landscape (Bradley 2003 p. 154; Tilley 1994). The reflexive nature of the surveys and excavations provided regular opportunities for reassessing future plans allowing site interpretation to be continuously linked to the objective findings. Hodder (1997) discusses this link by citing the apparent contradictions in Joukowsky's (1980) and Barker's (1977, 1982) books on fieldwork. On the one hand they express the need for physical separation of the subjective opinions of the archaeologist from the 'hard facts' of features and artefacts, while also acknowledging that 'the interpretive element in the recording can never be completely isolated' (Barker 1982 p. 146) and in fact 'interpretation occurs at the trowel's edge' (Hodder 1997 p. 693).

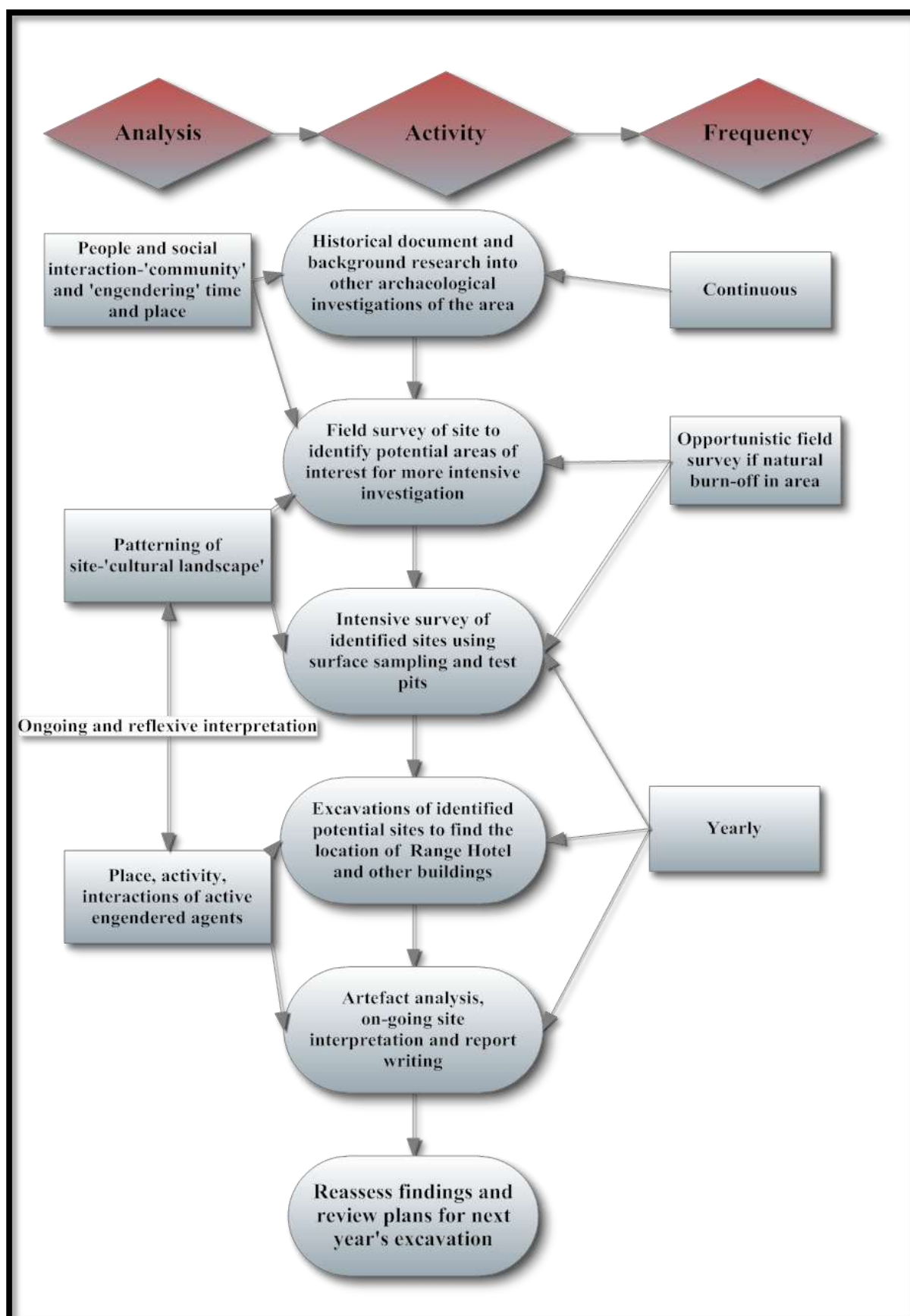


Figure 3-1: Flow chart showing the general organisation of research for the Range Hotel site.

3.1 Archival and Genealogy Research

Several types of documentary resources were used in this study with each type chosen for its potential to add a different dimension to the area and people under study. These varied sources helped provide a general background to the area and allowed for the identification and placement of people into the hamlet and the community. Local newspapers, for instance, were a useful source of contemporary information, discussing topics such as road conditions, mining camps, the outcome of meetings and social events, while ‘*letters to the editor*’ provided the views and feedback of the local (usually male) inhabitants. Factual records regarding licence applications, land and hotel sales, obituaries and updates on the inland gold mining operations also made up a large part of their contents and this helped to create a timeline for certain events. Townsville’s earliest newspaper the *Cleveland Bay Herald and Northern Pioneer* lasted from March to June 1866 and was quickly superseded, in various guises, by the *Cleveland Bay Express*, which is still available on microfilm. In 1876 the *Cleveland Bay Express* merged with the *Townsville Times and North Queensland Advertiser* (started in 1874) to become the thrice weekly *Townsville Herald*, and in 1884 this merged with the soon-to-be daily *Townsville Daily Bulletin* (started in 1881). Unfortunately the building housing this newspaper was destroyed by fire in 1912, with the loss of all its archival records. According to the National Library of Australia (2010) there are no remaining copies of the *Townsville Times* from 1875-1876, *Townsville Herald* from 1876-May 1888 and of the *Townsville Daily Bulletin* from Sept 1881-June 1907. Additional newspapers that proved of use to this study included:

- ❖ *The North Queensland Register* (Townsville)
- ❖ *Port Denison Times* (Bowen)
- ❖ *The Northern Miner* (Charters Towers)
- ❖ *The Cairns Morning Post*
- ❖ *The Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton)
- ❖ *The Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser*
- ❖ *The Capricornia* (Rockhampton)
- ❖ *The Queenslander*
- ❖ *The Brisbane Courier*
- ❖ *The Argus* (Melbourne)
- ❖ *The Sydney Morning Herald*
- ❖ *The Illustrated Sydney News*

Genealogy sources (Genealogy and Family History Records 2011) proved to be an excellent way of *finding* people who were otherwise lost to the historical record. Parents, siblings, wives and children could potentially be named and investigated, thus ‘filling out’ the households and community under study. Relevant birth, death and marriage certificates offered information about residence, place of birth/death, cause of death, medical attendants, occupations and parentage. This information helped to identify the type or *sort* of people who lived there and show that they represented a typical cross section of migrants and how their background or habitus influenced how they saw and experienced their new lives (Karskens 1999 p.50). Census records were also perused and although the Townsville censuses only started in 1903, they gave an indication as to whether people had stayed in the area in the long term.

Visual and diagrammatic resources offered a different perspective to the written documents, potentially enabling a better understanding of how places were linked to each other across the wider landscape. Early maps (Ham 1871; Logan Jack 1878; Jones 1869; Owen 1869), road surveys (Anon 1866) and diagrams of census divisions (Queensland Votes and Proceedings 1872, 1877) all offered information on the routes of early roads and, in more limited detail, of where and when hotels were established. The one available sketch of the Range Hotel (Figure 4-27) also gave some insight as to its size, shape and likely construction methods (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882b p. 4).

Other written historical sources included letters, diaries and reminiscences although only a few exist that were relevant to the place and period under discussion (Bennett 1927; Cain 1991; L. Gray 1868; R. Gray 1913; Hann 1975; Smith and Dalton 1995). These sources provide limited insights into daily life and travel although the majority, especially those written by men, tend to focus on the practicalities of life, such as the buying, selling and movement of animals, the weather, people encountered on their travels and one-sided accounts of interactions with the local Aboriginal people (Carrington 1871; Corfield 1921; L. Gray 1868; Smith and Dalton 1995; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1924). Reminiscences of carrier days, travel to the gold fields and nights spent around camp fires and in hotels were popular themes for newspaper and magazine articles from the 1920s-1950s, with Sundowner, Viator, Tramp and Bill Bowyong being regular contributors. They offered a slightly romanticised view of the carrier days, but did provide names, descriptions and comments on what travel was like in the earliest

days of the Kennedy District (Boland 1946; Borland 1939; Frere 1945; Sundowner 1954).

3.2 Archaeological Work

The archaeological investigations undertaken for this research included field surveys, walking surveys, excavations and artefact analysis. It was hoped that lost structures, such as buildings, culverts, roads and paths could be found that would help to situate the hamlet within the wider landscape and identify how people functioned and lived in the community. It is important to acknowledge, however, that there are potential and inherent problems resulting from the inference of past behaviour and intentions from the features and artefacts found during survey and/or excavation work. Several processes, including natural forces (erosion, post-depositional movement and taphonomic), cultural events (re-use, differential disposal, object abandonment or bottle collectors) and archaeological factors (observer variation, sampling and differential ground visibility) all require consideration when deciding how a particular site or non-site should be interpreted (Clarke 1978; Fanning and Simon 2002; Schiffer, Sullivan and Klinger 1978).

Three main factors directly impacted the research design for this project. First, the overall size of the heritage listed site complex, especially as only two small areas had been previously highlighted as being of possible European historical interest (Hatte 2000). This left potentially large areas to be assessed, surveyed and rated for archaeological remains. However, as it was likely that any historic remains would be concentrated alongside, or at least quite close to Page Road, the initial survey areas were concentrated along this area and then expanded as necessary. The second factor, shown in Figure 3-2, was the extremely dense and site-wide understorey groundcover that reduced the ground visibility to practically zero. The groundcover included Singapore daisy, outcrops of noxious, non-indigenous lantana and spear grass. This made surveying the area extremely difficult and required considerable time be spent simply on clearing areas prior to excavation work. The dense coverage also made walking potentially hazardous, with large vines, hidden rocks and fallen branches waiting to trip the unaware, while also providing a habitat for snakes. The survey in 2014, for example, was abandoned as the ground cover was too dense for a useful

structured survey and an aggressive, large brown snake was seen. However, even after the ground cover was temporarily reduced by two bush-fires, the resulting thick layer of ash provided a different and dusty alternative covering that still managed to disguise some features and hide the majority of the smaller surface artefacts (Figure 3-3).



Figure 3-2: Photographs showing the thick, dense understorey plants (upper two photographs courtesy Dr Nigel Chang).



Figure 3-3: Photographs showing the difference in ground visibility after a natural burn-off and after the wet season.

The third factor to be considered was the overall integrity of the site. It was noted that there were several past and present intrusions into the area, including the construction of transmission lines, the laying of OFC cables, the presence of animals across parts of the site and ground damage caused by both the environment and people. The row of high voltage power lines, constructed in the early 1980s, crosses the camping reserve before continuing on over Hervey Range, but it was impossible to locate any heritage or environmental impact statements from the power company (Figure 3-4). One employee from the company discussed the general principles behind the erection of the pylons. Essentially an access road, which is still present, was constructed to allow for the transportation of the pylon components, which were then erected on site. This would have caused localised damage around the pylon base, but little damage to the areas in between the pylons. The access road is still used for maintenance on the pylons.

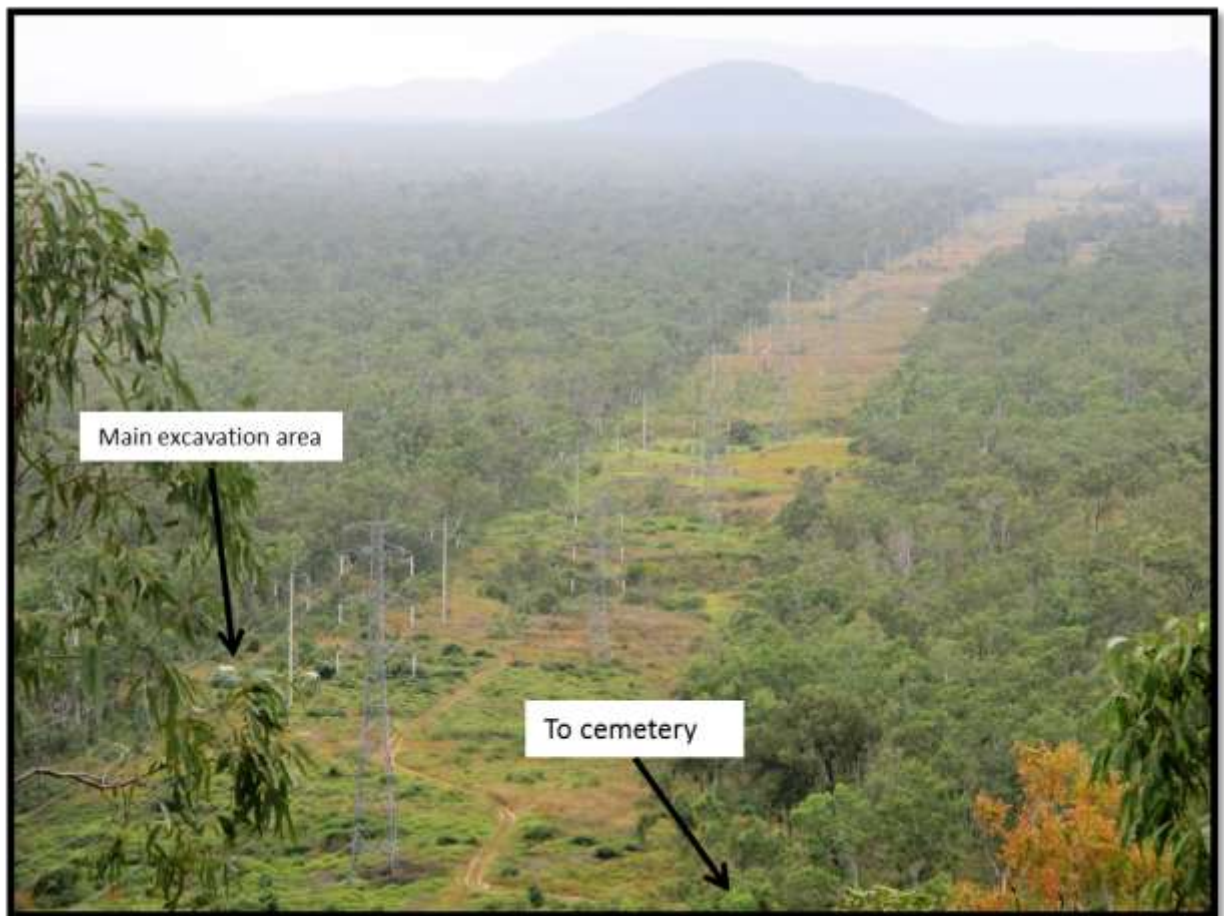


Figure 3-4: Photograph taken from half way up Hervey Range showing the line of pylons.

A second project in the area involved an upgrade to the Optus transmission lines that run under the middle of Page Road. An environmental impact assessment (Sinclair, Knight and Merz 2000) and a heritage assessment that considered both Aboriginal and European sites were undertaken prior to the commencement of work. No new Aboriginal sites were identified, but comment was made that the possible location of the Range Hotel lay about 70m to the south of Page Road (Hatte 2000). All work on the upgrade of the transmission lines was done to reduce any impact beyond the confines of the road.

Hervey Range road continued to be used as a stock route even after the hamlet closed and this could have impacted on artefact distribution, especially near the creeks. The inclement weather of North Queensland, with its mix of long, hot, dry winter months and monsoonal wet summers, combined with the sloping topography of parts of the site could have uncovered and moved many of the artefacts creating artificial 'assemblages' and 'sites'. Visitors to the area could also have damaged or altered the site complex in two main ways. First, access to the site complex is very limited due to the poor condition of Page Road with damage to the road and other tracks, such as those purposely built as fire breaks, aggravated by unauthorised access by 4WD and motorbikes. Secondly, the complete lack of intact bottles or ceramics suggests that bottle collectors and other enthusiasts, including those with metal detectors, may have removed artefacts in the past. Loss of these artefacts can potentially bias, or at least complicate, the artefact analysis.

3.2.1 Field Surveys

When the project was started the locations of any of the original buildings were unknown. Field surveys were, therefore, carried out to see if any surface remains could be identified that could indicate that a structure had once stood there. The field surveys were carried out at various times during the five years of work, both opportunistically after bush fires (2009 and 2014) when it was anticipated that surface artefacts or features would be more visible and during the planned weeks of excavation work that were undertaken each year from 2010 until 2014. The number of available personnel varied, ranging from four people for the surveys after bush fires and up to 15 during JCU undergraduate field schools. The intensity and type of survey undertaken reflected the changing personnel numbers.

OPPORTUNISTIC SURVEYS - POST BUSH FIRES

Two bush fires went through the site complex, the first in December 2009 and the second in March 2014. Four different areas were surveyed after these events with available personnel walking across each designated site in a north-south and then east-west direction at roughly 5-10m intervals to 50m in all directions. The main aim of these surveys was to identify any possible structural remains. The results were recorded on mud maps, their locations recorded on a handheld GPS and any potential areas of interest were photographed.

PLANNED SURVEYS - UNDERTAKEN DURING EXCAVATION WEEKS

Planned surveys took place during each week of the excavation work and were more intensive than those undertaken after the bush fires. The dense ground cover provided on-going limitations and this was addressed in a number of ways using a variety of survey techniques. In 2010 we investigated the area surrounding some agave plants, which were grouped 40-70m to the south of Page Road in an area previously identified by Hatte (2000) as being the possible location for the hotel (Clarkson 2011b). This area also had a fairly uniform and dense surface scatter of broken historical glass intermingled with some ceramic and metal artefacts. In order to cover the largest area in the available time transect lines were established that extended across the concentration of agave plants and down towards the creek to the north of the site (Figure 3-5).

The first line (Transect 1) went in a north-westerly direction down to the creek, while the second line (Transect 2) continued in the opposite direction across the agave plants towards the power lines. The transects were marked every 20m and from each of these marked points circles, with a radius of 3m and numbered sequentially from 1 in each direction, were established and cleared of ground cover. The location and height above sea level of the centre of each circle was plotted using a Total Station. All the surface artefacts from these cleared circles were collected and bagged, with a separate bag used for each of the circles.

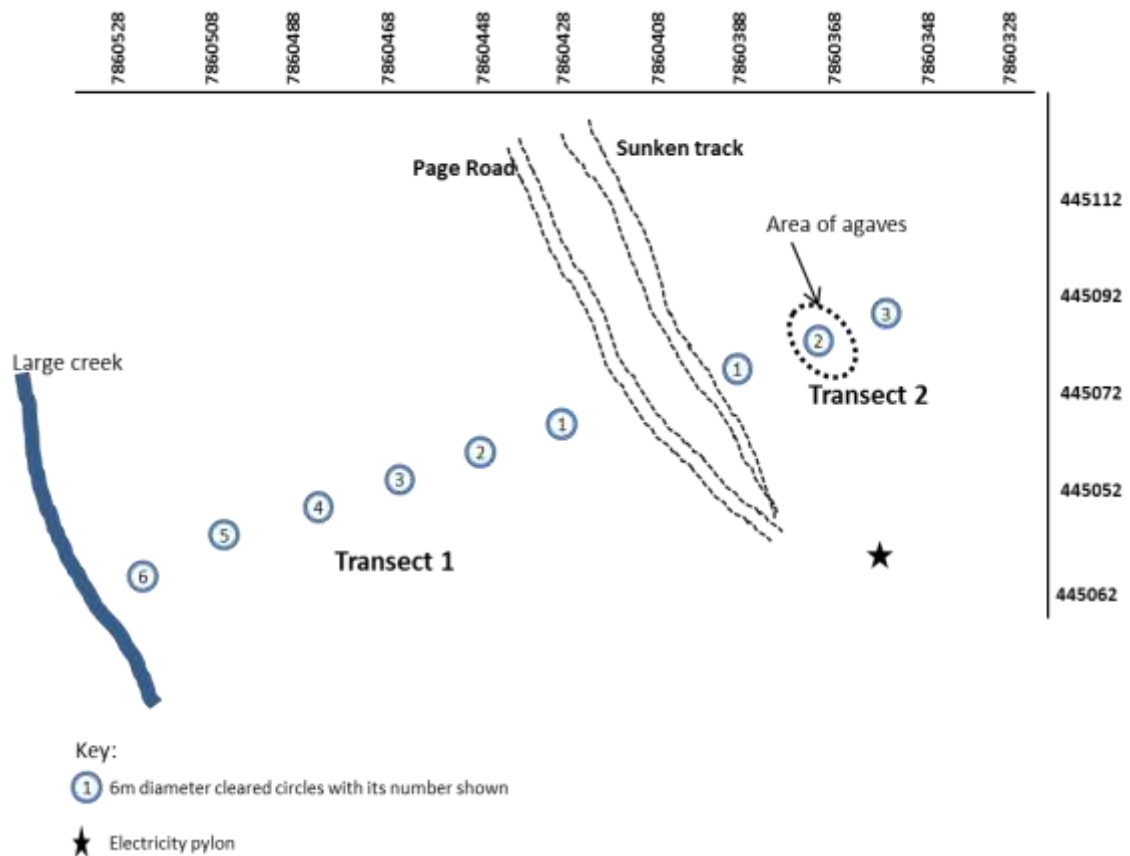


Figure 3-5: Sketch plan showing the location of Transects and Circles.

In 2013 the area around Circles 1 and 2 of Transect 1 was surveyed using metal detectors by a colleague from James Cook University. This survey covered a total area of 50 x 50m and surface features and artefacts scatters were recorded on a sketch map. A small 50 x 50cm test pit was also excavated in an area and all the recovered artefacts were collected (D. Nelson 2013). The unprocessed artefacts were kindly donated to be used and analysed in this thesis.

In 2012 an area to the northeast of the 2008 excavation site on the eastern edge of the current cemetery access road was surveyed as there appeared to be a low 30m long stone wall. The wall had likely become visible due to the increased traffic travelling over this track from our yearly excavations, council visits to clear the ever-encroaching bush from the cemetery and people using motorbikes and 4WD in the area (Clarkson 2013).

In 2013 the field work team walked up the old road from the foot of the range to the Heritage Tea Rooms at the top (formerly the Eureka Hotel). It was hoped that by

walking the track we would get an appreciation of what it may have been like to follow the bullock drays up the steep incline and to anticipate the relief that would have been felt on reaching the top (Figure 3-6). GPS readings were taken at various points along the way and notes were taken of all modifications (bridges, culverts, drains), while attempts were made to try and identify cuttings or remnants of the original track.

In 2014 the area around a newly discovered large stone floor and shallow dam (found after the bush fire earlier in the year) was intensively surveyed. This involved a team of six walking in a line approximately 3m apart, initially north to south across the site and then again east to west. This survey covered an area that started 40m to the south of the floor, extended 100m to the north and 40m east and west. Any possible features or collections of artefacts were recorded and their locations determined using a handheld GPS. A total station was later used to map the topography of the area in more detail.



Figure 3-6: Photographs showing the team walking up the old road.

GROUND PENETRATING RADAR

The cemetery is located to the south of the site complex on the far side of Palm Tree Creek. The area is demarcated by small wooden posts and contains three headstones, one of which has fallen over. Work in this area was directed at locating any unmarked graves using non-invasive techniques. In 2011 a small area between the two standing headstones was investigated using Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) - Figure 3-7.

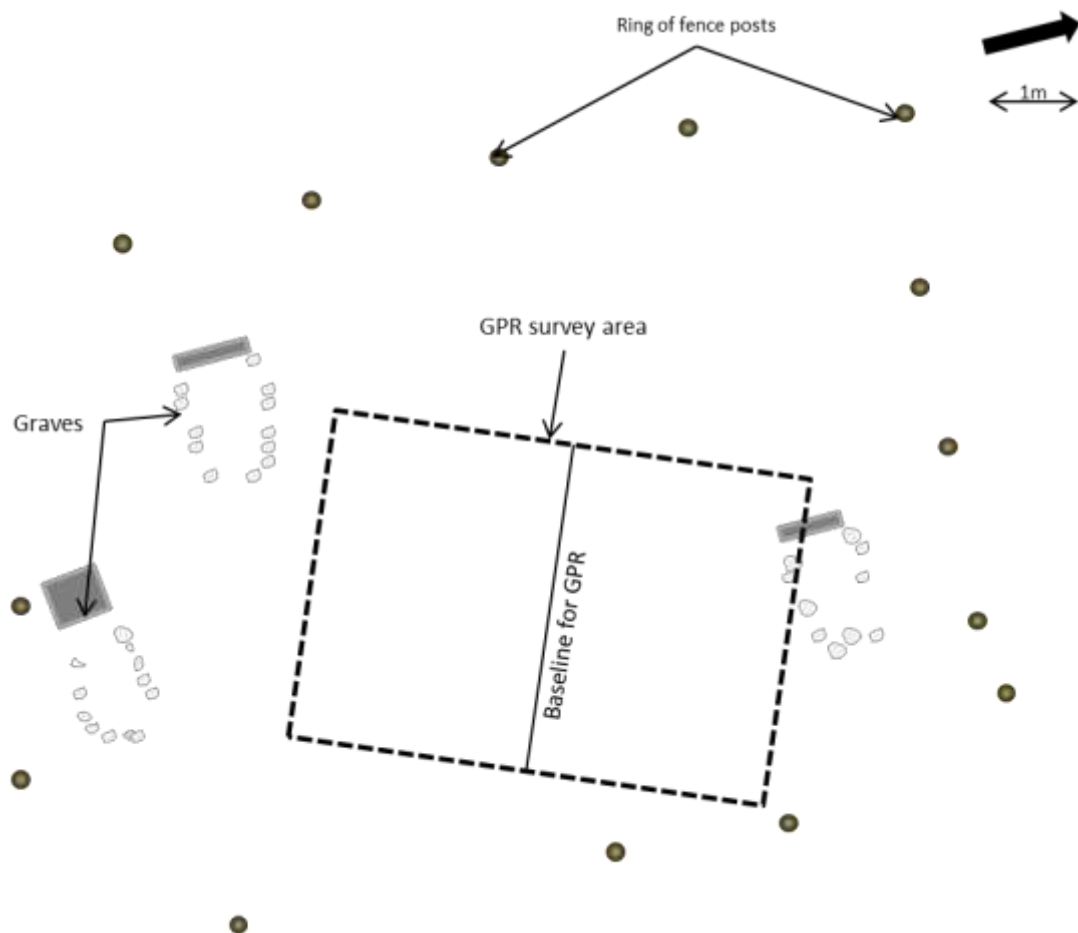


Figure 3-7: Drawing of the cemetery showing the location of the headstones and the area surveyed using GPR (demarcated by the dashed lines).

3.2.2 Excavations

Week long excavations were undertaken on a yearly basis from 2010-2014 with the extent and location for the following years work being dependent upon what had been found the previous year. These will be discussed in turn and their locations and relationship to the original 2008 excavation are shown in Figure 3-8.

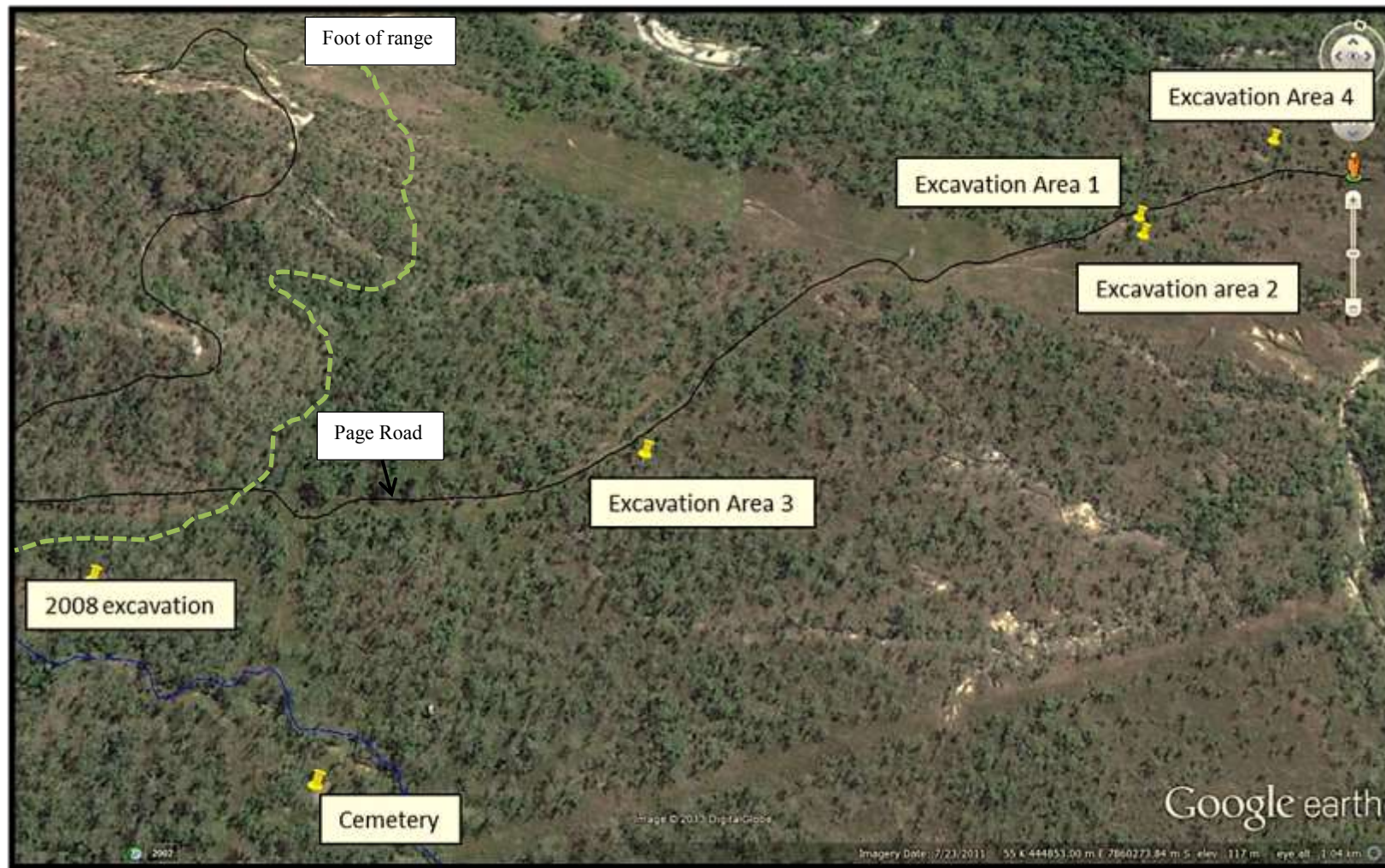


Figure 3-8: Aerial map showing the locations of the four new excavation areas alongside Page Road (adapted from Google Earth 2009).

EXCAVATION WORK - AREA 1

The area identified in Figure 3-8 as Excavation Area 1 was located between Page Road to the north and a large group of agave plants, which were located between 30-50m to south (Figure 3-9).

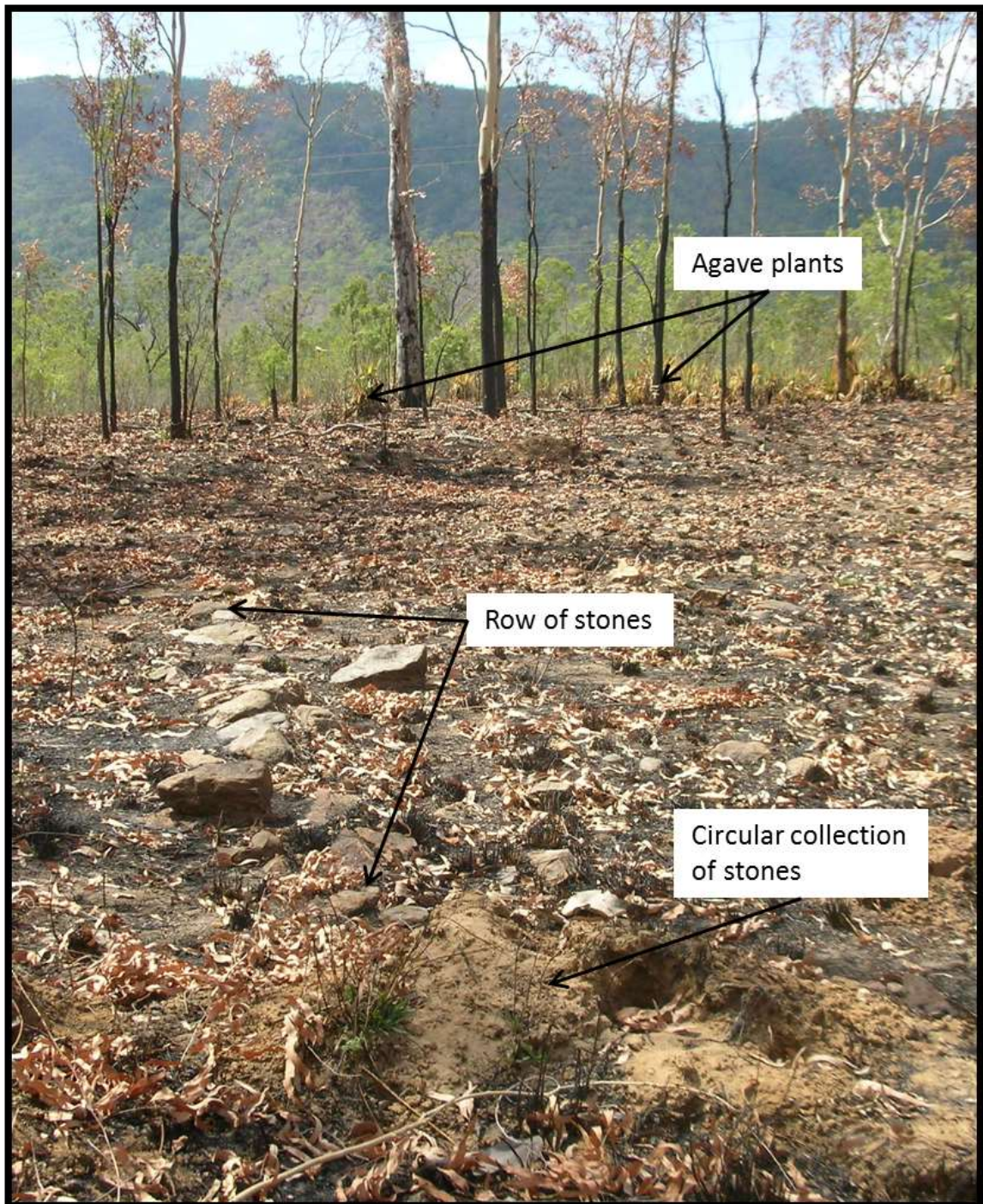


Figure 3-9: Photograph taken from Page Road after the bush fire in 2009 showing two possible stone features in the area between the agave plants and Page Road.

This area was excavated twice, initially in 2010 (called RH'10) and again in 2011 (called RH'11). The walking survey after the bush fire in 2009 had identified a lot of surface artefacts, but of most interest were two closely related stone features just to the south of Page Road (Figure 3-9). In 2010 two trenches were established, which cut across the two stone features in an L-shape. The first trench of 1 x 7m went from west to east with the second trench of 1 x 5m running at 90 degrees to its eastern edge. The excavated area was extended in 2011 to uncover the area in between the original two trenches (Clarkson 2011b).

Every year the excavations proceeded in a similar manner and this will be detailed here and not repeated for the subsequent excavations. The trenches were divided into 1 x 1m squares and labelled sequentially. The top soil was removed from each trench or square with further excavation undertaken in spits. If the artefact density was heavy then the squares were subdivided into halves or quadrants and excavated in these smaller units. The spits varied in depth from 5-15cm depending upon the amount of soil that had to be removed to keep the bases of the trenches roughly level, or until stones were encountered. Each of the individual spits from the squares or quadrants was given a unique sequential Context Number in order to ascertain where any removed artefacts had originated. Test pits helped to determine the depth of the cultural layer and were also used to investigate the areas immediately surrounding the trenches.

All the removed soil from the main excavation areas and test pits was sieved through 5mm mesh with the collection of each context's artefacts into fully labelled plastic bags. All contexts, features and structures were photographed, with surface sketch plans of each layer and stratigraphic drawings completing the recording process. The trenches and squares were all mapped at various stages during the excavations, as were the heights of some of the stones. Once the excavation was complete all the trenches and test pits were refilled using the sieved, removed soil.

EXCAVATION WORK - AREA 2

The transect survey in 2010 had yielded some positive information with the circles along Transect 2 (Figure 3-5) containing the vast majority of the collected surface artefacts. In 2012 the area around this transect line was further investigated using a series of test pits (TP) excavated every 5-10m along and between three marked parallel lines that were 10m apart. All artefacts from in the test pits were collected and

immediately counted. It was noted that test pits GG, KK, LL, RR and UU contained the most artefacts (Figure 3-11). A 1 x 8m east-west trench was established to investigate this area further (called RH'12 and shown as Excavation Area 2 in Figure 3-8). The site was revisited in 2013 and a second 1 x 10m trench was added at right angles to the first trench (RH'13). Initially all the artefacts from both trenches were collected, but when the numbers in two particular squares became overwhelming only the large glass fragments ($> 3\text{cm}$), bases, finishes, pieces with lettering and anything with potential dating features were saved. All metal and ceramic fragments independent of size were collected (Clarkson 2013).



Figure 3-10: Photograph showing the site prior to the second excavation in 2013-the wooden posts mark the western corners of the trench excavated in 2012.

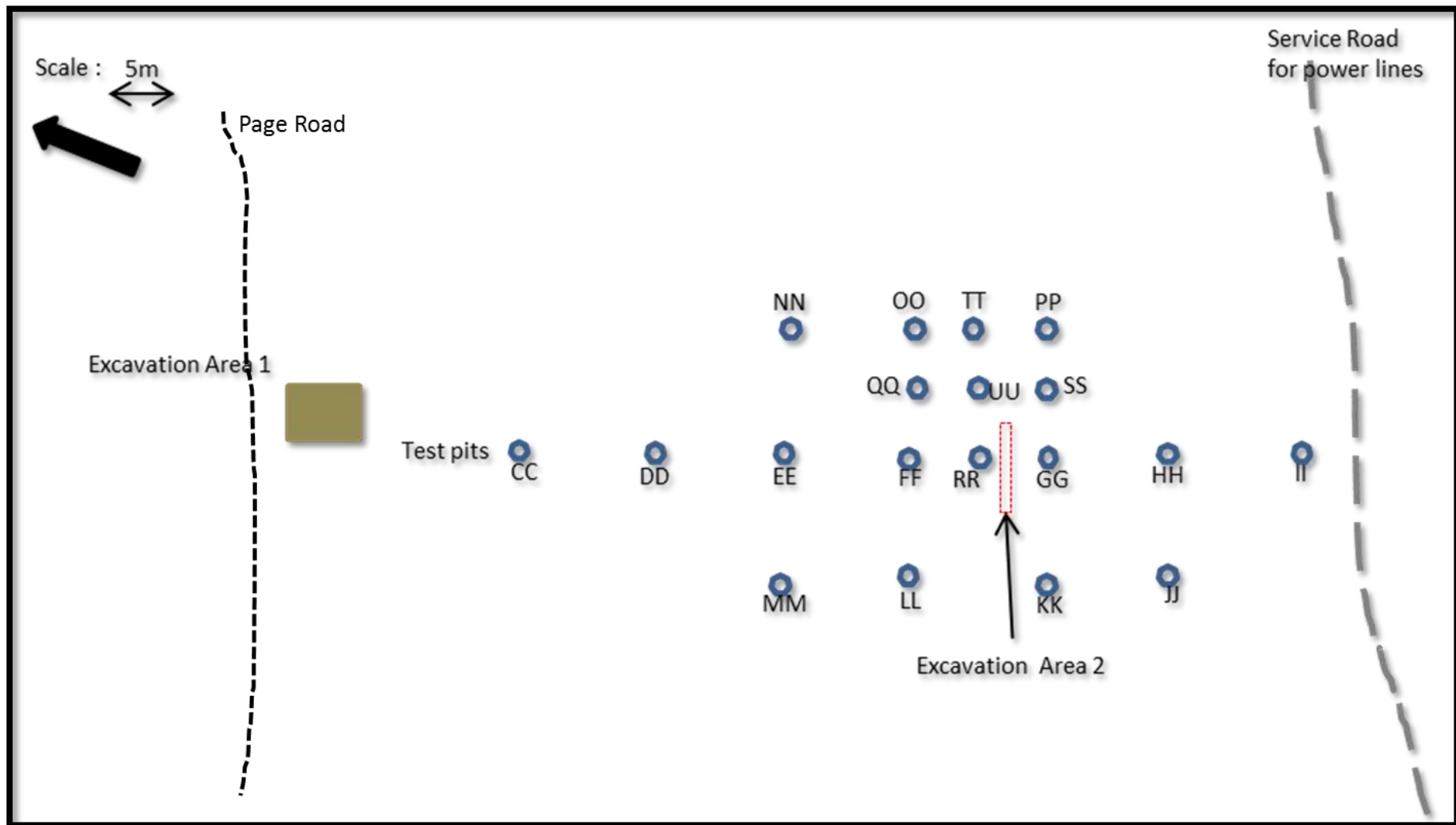


Figure 3-11: Sketch plan showing the location of the test pits and Excavation Areas 1 and 2 (test pits not drawn to scale).

EXCAVATION WORK - AREA 3

This site was located in the area surveyed in 2012 that contained a long low wall, running adjacent to the track that leads to the cemetery (Figure 3-8). There were also several other features including three long low mounds of soil, a possible post hole and a raised flat area to the eastern side of the wall. Two Squares, A and B, were excavated on either side of a mounded area located at the southern end of the long wall feature. Test pits TPH1-H8, excavated across the site alongside transect lines that ran from east to west, were used to investigate the stratigraphy of the site and to see if any artefact deposits could be found. The area between TPH1 and TPH2, located on either side of a second low mound, was then excavated as a long trench and called H9 (Figure 3-12 and Figure 3-13).

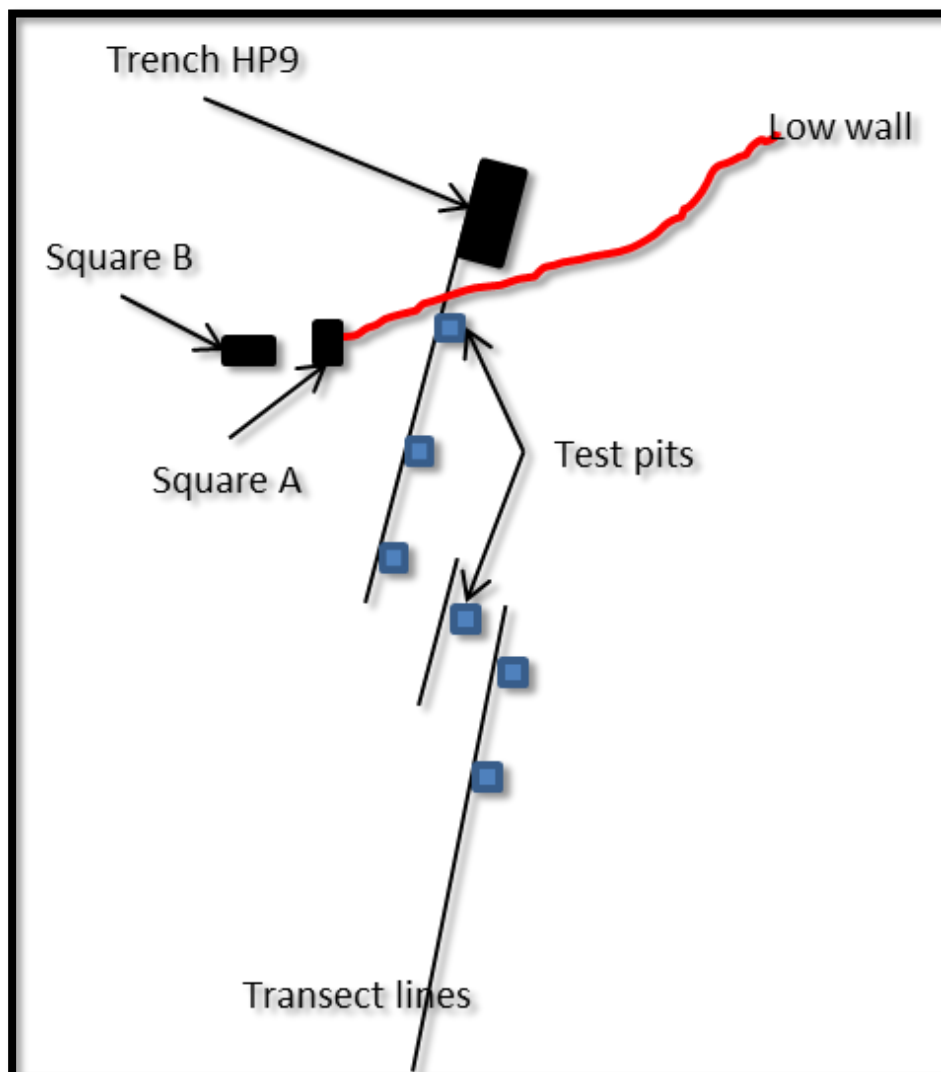


Figure 3-12: Sketch to show the location of Squares and test pits in relation to the low wall.

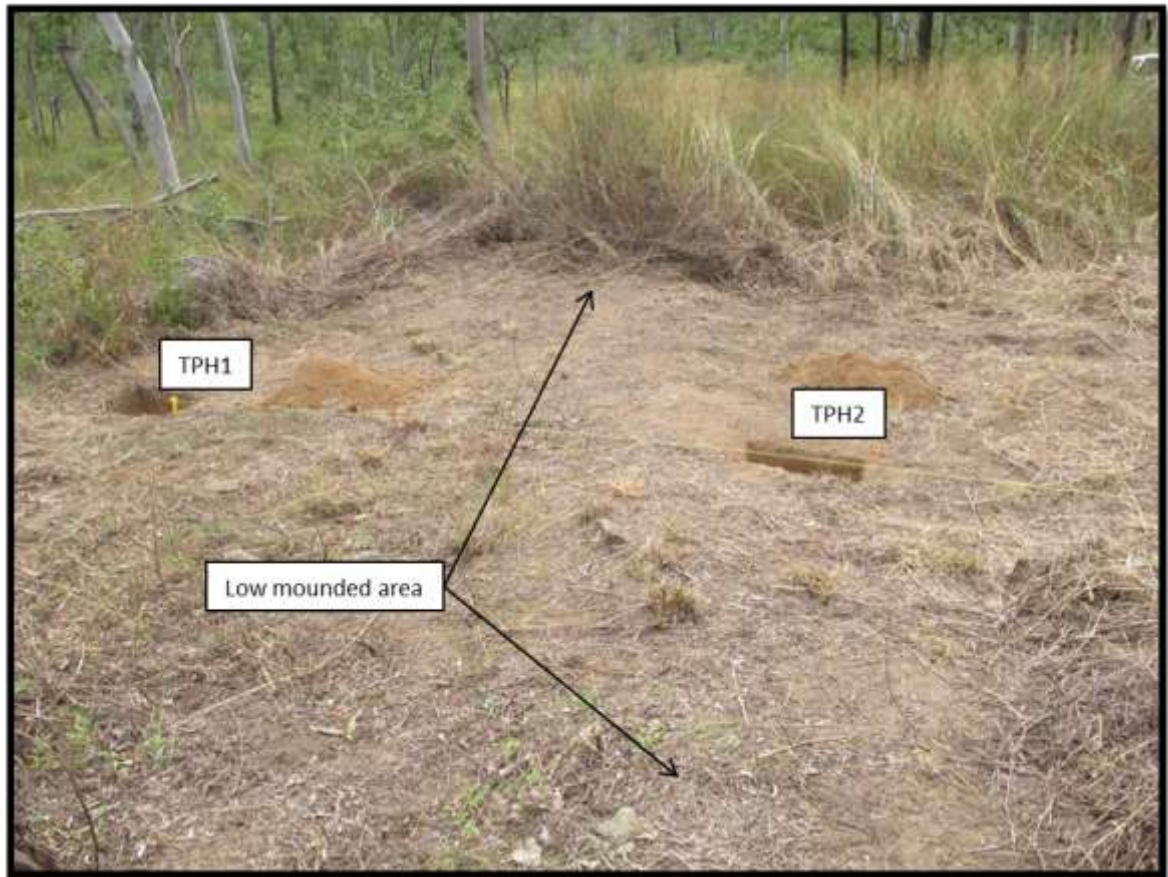


Figure 3-13: Photograph showing a low mounded feature and TPH1 and TPH2-later joined to form TPH9.

EXCAVATION WORK - AREA 4

This area incorporated the large U-shaped stone floor and was excavated in 2014 (called RH'14). It was located outside the heritage listed site boundaries to the north of Page Road as shown in Figure 3-8. All ground cover from the stone floor and the surrounding 1-2m was cleared of vegetation so that the individual stones could be seen and drawn. Three trenches were excavated each running east to west with all of the stones left undisturbed (Figure 3-14). These included:

- ❖ C50-Q50 - a 1 x 14m trench that cut across the two 'arms' of the stone floor. Squares I and J50 were extended 1m to the north to create squares 151 and J51
- ❖ T54-U54 – A 1 x 2m trench to the eastern edge of the stone floor in an area with scattered small rocks
- ❖ I46-L46 – a 1 x 4m trench to the south of the floor, with squares 146 and J46 extended by 1m to the north to create squares I47 and J47.

The removed deposit was not sieved as the number of artefacts was extremely low and they were easily seen and removed from the loose soil during the excavation. A total of seven 25 x 25cm test pits were also excavated on a line that extended eastwards from the end of Trench C50-Q50 starting at the 3m mark and extending out to the 10m mark. The test pits were of varying depths and depending on the findings some of these were extended producing a 3 x 0.25m trench between the original test pits at the 4m and 6m mark (Clarkson 2014).

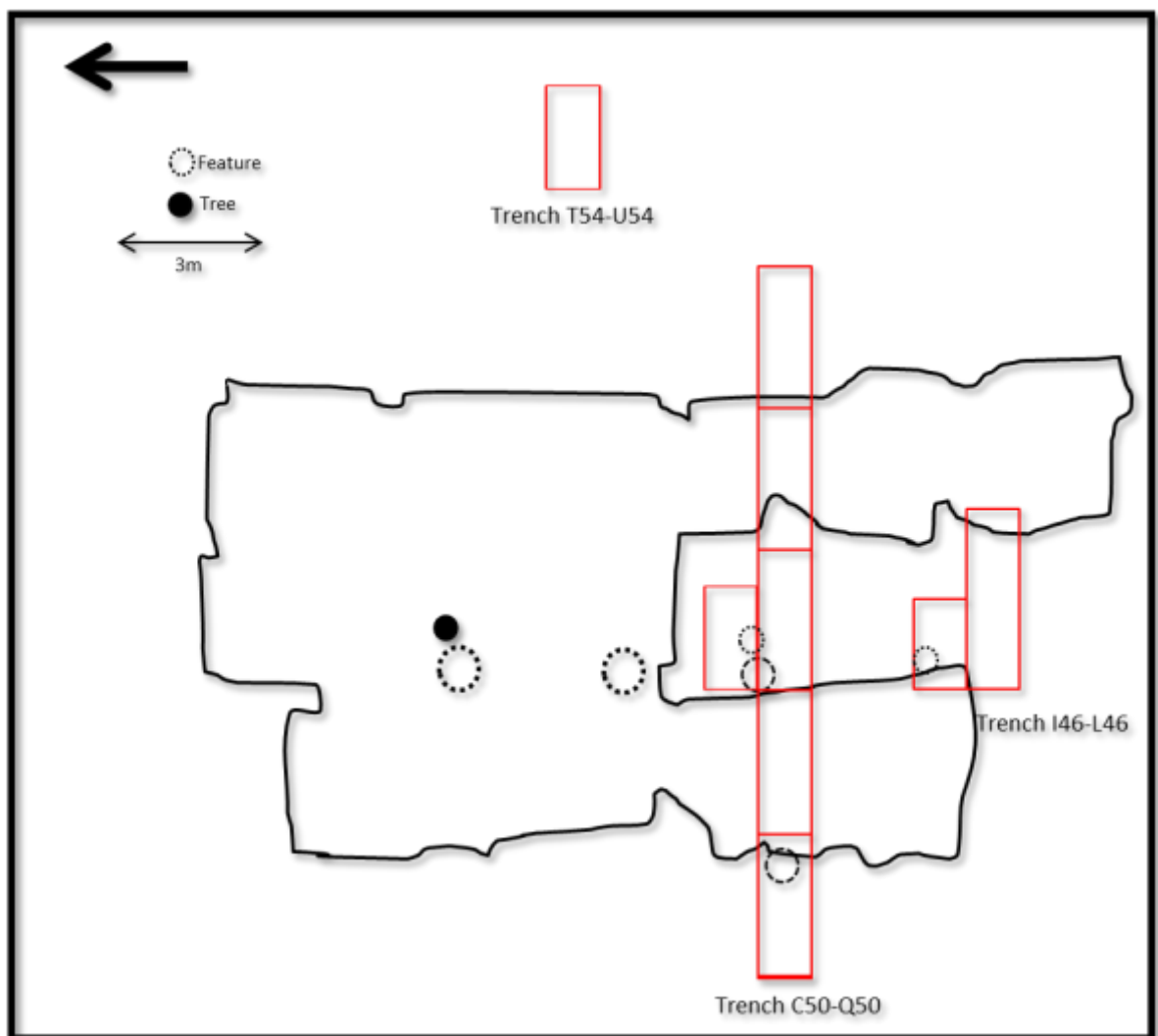


Figure 3-14: The outline of the stone floor is shown in black with the trenches outlined in red. The test pits were located to the east of Trench C50-Q50 and are not shown in the diagram.

3.2.3 Artefact Analysis

After each excavation was completed all the artefacts were cleaned, either using water and a toothbrush (glass and ceramics) or a dry toothbrush (metal). Once cleaned, they were allowed to dry and then sorted into basic artefact types:

- ❖ Glass fragments of all types (bottle, domestic, window, decorative)
- ❖ Ceramic fragments
- ❖ Metal fragments (worked and unworked)
- ❖ Miscellaneous.

Any artefacts that had the potential to offer additional information were separated as Special Finds. These included:

- ❖ Any artefact with possible identifying features, such as numbers or letters
- ❖ Large patterned ceramic fragments
- ❖ Interesting and identifiable metal pieces
- ❖ Miscellaneous items, such as buttons and clay pipe fragments
- ❖ Intact and unusual bottle necks/bases.

To enable further identification and analysis the glass fragments in each context were separated by colour and fragment type (finish, base or other) with each resulting collection counted and weighed. The bottle finishes were used to broadly date the fragments and to produce a Minimum Vessel Number as discussed below. The majority of the bases proved to be too difficult to identify due to fragmentation, although a few were recorded as Special Finds and used to identify contents. The type of bottle finish was also used to compare the dates of common usage for each bottle type with the known dates of the Range Hotel hamlet. The contents of some of the bottles could also be positively identified by lettering on the fragments and again the dates of usage (if known) were compared with the hotel dates (Dumbrell 1992; Fike 2006; Hutchinson 1987; Lindsey 2010; Miller and Sullivan 1991; Staski 1984).

One of the major difficulties in analysing bottle fragments is that their contents cannot always be safely determined by the bottle type or colour of glass. Recycling of bottles was common and thus their initial use, for example as a beer or wine bottle, may have been completely different to their secondary use, which could have been as a container for salad dressings, oil or sauces. The analysis for this project, therefore, divided the glass types into very broad categories based on colour: alcohol-related (dark/medium

green and brown), domestic (light green, opaque/clear, emerald and purple) and medicinal/poison (blue, light blue and aqua).

The ceramics were separated by broad ware type (earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, which also included bone china), then by pattern and finally by form/function (plate, saucer, cup, teapot etc.). If the form of the fragment was unidentifiable then an attempt was made to classify it as 'unidentified flat' or 'unidentified hollow'. If similarly plain or patterned, but otherwise unidentifiable rims or footrings/bases were found, these were further sorted depending on thickness and diameter. Any maker's marks and/or patterns were used to determine possible dates of manufacture and use. If pattern names could not be found then a 'name' was allocated to them that described the pattern, for example, 'blue chain', 'purple cable' or 'brown geometric'. These were then used to produce a Pattern Identification Chart (see Appendix 12.1).

THE MINIMUM VESSEL NUMBER (MVN)

Bottles: The MVN was calculated from an analysis of the bottle finishes. All the finishes in each context were sorted by type (e.g. champagne finish, pig snout finish) and then each type was divided further by colour and then counted. If broken finishes representing less than ½ a bottle finish looked as they could potentially have come from the same bottle they were both counted as one finish, rather than two. If a bottle colour was present in a context, but there were no finishes of the same colour in that context an extra bottle was added to the total for each colour. At Excavation Area 1 additional bottle colours *per square* were used, rather than context as the occupation layer was very shallow.

Ceramics: The MVN was calculated by attempting to allocate fragments into unique vessels. The ceramic fragments from each context were sorted first by ware, then by decoration and finally by form to create unique vessel groups and then individual items. This method produces a sensible minimum, although the number of undecorated vessels will usually be underestimated (Brooks 2005; Voss and Allen 2010).

3.3 Summary

A variety of methods were used during this study including archival research, the analysis of family history records, various types of ground survey and five excavations

at four main areas. Each of these investigative methods was used to answer different aspects of the research questions through their contribution to the main theoretical topics. The archival and genealogy work enabled the creation of a visible community of active people, each with different experiences, expectations and *habitus*. The surveys and excavations provided information on the cultural landscape to be deduced, while artefact analysis enabled patterns of consumption and taste to be analysed and compared with other sites and assemblages. The overall research framework allowed for a flexible and reflexive methodology and encouraged ongoing interpretations, which could then be used to adapt future work and to overcome unexpected finds or problems. The archival research in particular was a continuous process that was particularly focused on finding people who may have lived in, or frequently travelled through, the hamlet. The surveys were conducted at both planned and opportunistic times and were particularly important in identifying possible features in the landscape and directing the focus of excavations. The excavations were carried out annually, with each new location dependent upon the previous year's work or survey results. The post-field work artefact analysis was used to date the artefacts, to identify the type of items that were used by either the hamlet's residents or the frequent travellers and to analyse the particular ideology of gentility/respectability.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORY OF TOWNSVILLE

4 History of Townsville

One of the main purposes of this work is to create a more holistic picture of early settler life in Far North Queensland using the strengths of historical archaeological research. Traditional historical accounts often focus on a few named individuals who discovered, founded, built or invented something and ignore the lives, experiences and contributions of the vast majority of people. This broad view obviously plays an important role in helping to analyse how and why events happened, but often cannot explain events at a local level, or identify why trends and ideals were adopted in one place and not another. Women were present in the North Kennedy District of Queensland from its earliest days and made up approximately 40 per cent of the early Townsville population and yet they are rarely mentioned in the historical accounts. The analysis undertaken at the Range Hotel hamlet helps to redress this balance. Recreating the cultural landscape of this small, abandoned and poorly recorded place and identifying the engendered relationships of the community who lived there illustrates that men and women actively contributed to daily life and were an integral part of Townsville's success. To demonstrate this it is important to understand the background of the area so that historically contingent conclusions or inferences can be made. This chapter provides a brief history of early Townsville before focusing on Hervey Range Road and the hotels along its length.

4.1 Early Queensland History

The majority of the early migrants to Queensland came from Great Britain with the 1861 census showing that they made up 56.7 per cent of the total population (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901). The majority of these were the poor 'assisted migrants' who travelled in the often appalling conditions of steerage. Some were no doubt enticed to make the journey by the migration propaganda of people like Henry Jordan, Johann Heussler and George Randall. They extolled the opportunities for wealth and land-ownership in the 'delightfully cool' and 'always green land', where you could become 'monarch of all you survey' (Evans 2007 pp. 83-84). Events, such as famine in Ireland, also prompted many Irish to head overseas in the hope of achieving a better life, while Scottish women wanted to escape from the harsh industrial conditions of the towns or the endemic rural poverty (Piper 2008; Smith 2004).

In 1859 George Elphinstone Dalrymple explored the area around the Burdekin River in Far North Queensland and in 1861 the Kennedy District (see Figure 4-1) was opened up for pastoral occupation initially with sheep, but then with the more economically viable cattle (Carmichael Neal 1984).

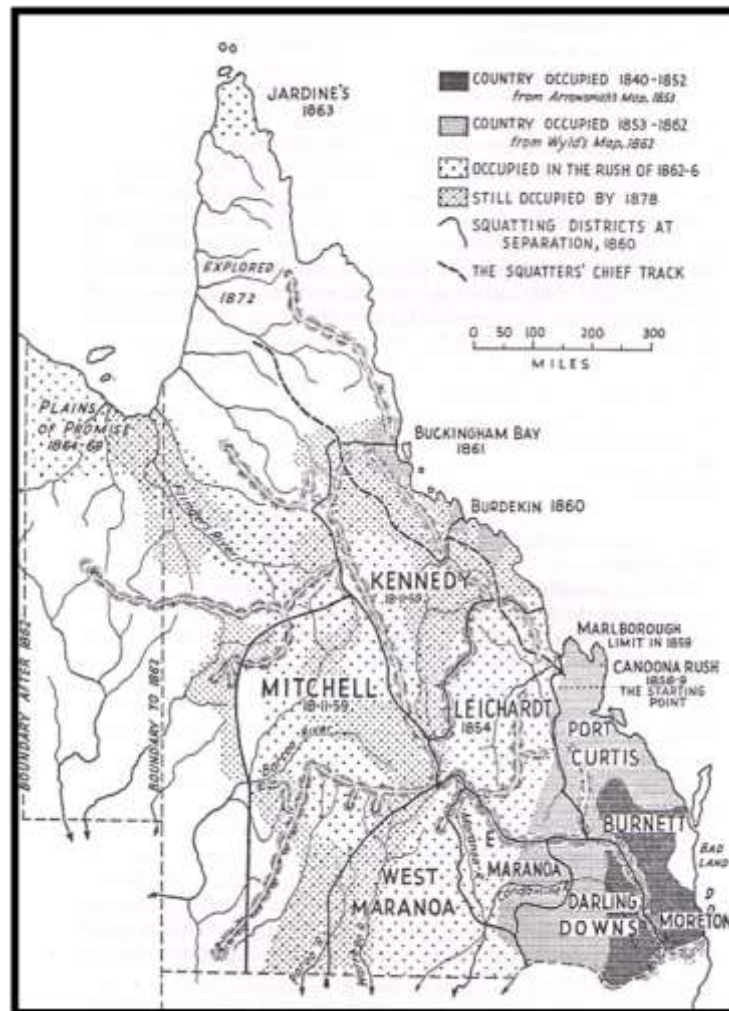


Figure 4-1: The early squatting occupation of Queensland (from S. Roberts 1964 p. 174).

Colonisation of North Queensland happened relatively slowly with the 1876 census showing a non-indigenous population of 27,489 of whom only 5,582 (20 per cent) were female, with this skewed demographic remaining until the 1890s (Bolton 1963 p. 194). To encourage the exploration of the northern tropics the Colonial Secretary Robert Herbert offered attractive terms to squatters with nominal charges for long leases (Farnfield 1974). However, despite the favourable land leases most early residents shared one thing in common. They disliked being governed from Brisbane, where the

government controlled them from afar with seemingly little regard for improving living conditions, roads or communications, despite the high level of taxes (Bolton 1963; *Port Denison Times* 1867c). This reflects Blainey's belief that distance and isolation limited the movement of both people and goods in Australia (1974 p. viii).

4.2 The Establishment of Townsville

"Towns'-ville," a hundred miles to the north-west, on an alligator-infested creek in a mangrove swamp, shut in by heated granite rocks. (Bennett 1927 p. 76)

Port Denison (Bowen) was officially founded in 1861 and quickly became linked to the interior pastoral stations by rough and frequently impassable teamster tracks. A major drawback, however, was the need to cross the wide and often flooded Burdekin River twice before reaching Dalrymple (Figure 4-2). Rockingham Bay (Cardwell) was established in 1862 following a visit to the area by Governor Bowen, who was searching for a secure port to service the squatters who had established sheep stations in the well-grassed Valley of Lagoons. Although only a few people had so far actually settled in this area, Dalrymple, who himself had interests there, agreed that this would be an excellent spot for a port even though the sea was too shallow meaning that boats had to remain some distance off shore connected to land by a 600m long jetty. There was also difficulty in finding a suitable path inland over the very steep Seaview Range. However, in 1864 Dalrymple, Arthur Scott and an Aboriginal guide called Cockey blazed a passable track over the saddle of the range crossing at what has become known as Dalrymple's Gap, although due to its steepness the track remained treacherous and expensive to navigate (Figure 4-2). The government, however, continued to spend large sums of money on upgrades to the track even though it actually only served a small handful of well-connected pastoralists in the Valley of Lagoons the (Gibson-Wilde 1984 pp. 19-21; Lennon 2007 p. 12).

In 1863 John Melton Black was convinced that a more suitable port could be found to the north of Bowen. Melton Black had migrated from England to Australia in about 1852 when aged in his early 20s, initially working as a carrier transporting goods and supplies between Melbourne and the booming Victorian goldfields. In 1855 he opened an ultimately unsuccessful theatre in Melbourne, before moving north in 1861 to

acquire grazing properties in the newly opened Kennedy District (Gibson-Wilde 1984 pp. 20-24). Concerned about the high cost of cartage to Bowen he sent his employees Andrew Ball and Mark Reid to find a suitable place in Cleveland Bay for a port and a boiling down works and they eventually found the mouth of the tidal Ross River. A port and wharves were quickly established and finding a reliable road over Hervey Range to the hinterland was a priority, with the route to be formally identified before any major expenditure was undertaken (Gibson-Wilde 1984 pp. 25-28). This insight can be seen on Black's (1864) drawing of the potential new town with a *road to the interior over sound country* marked in the lower left quadrant (Figure 4-3).

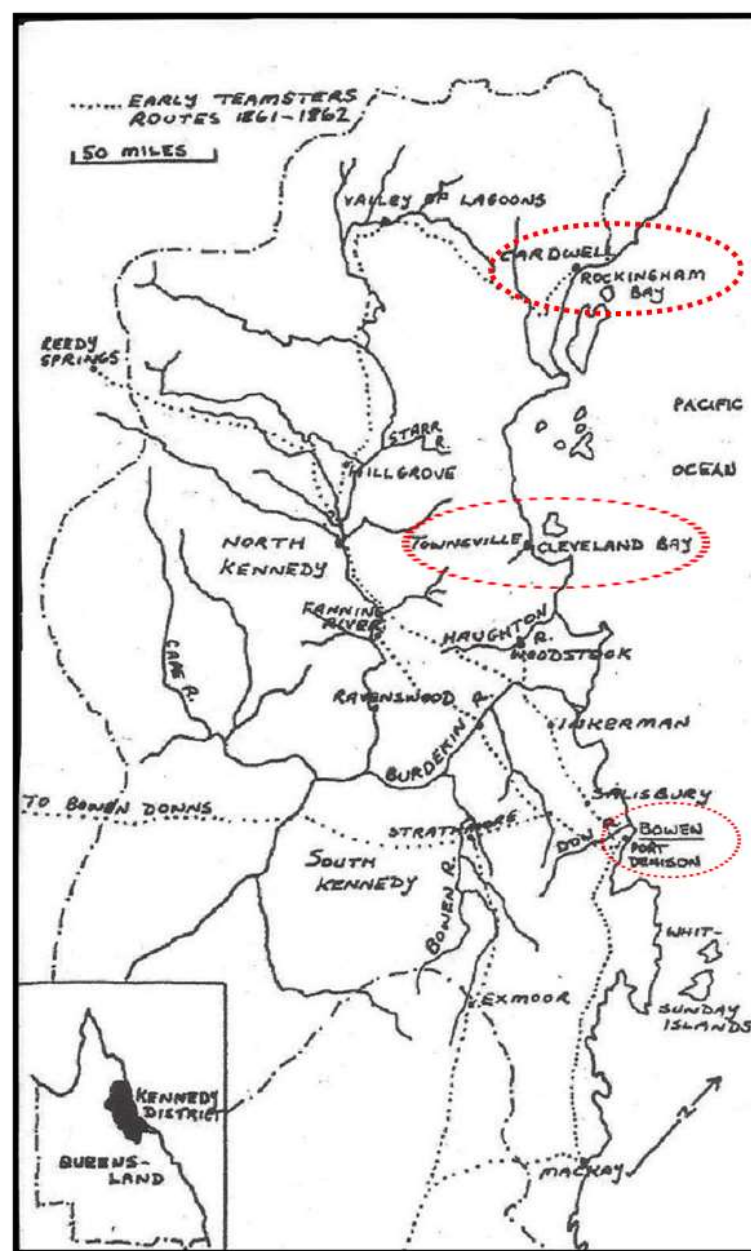


Figure 4-2: Sketch showing the locations of Cardwell, Townsville and Bowen (adapted from Stanley 1984 p. 24).

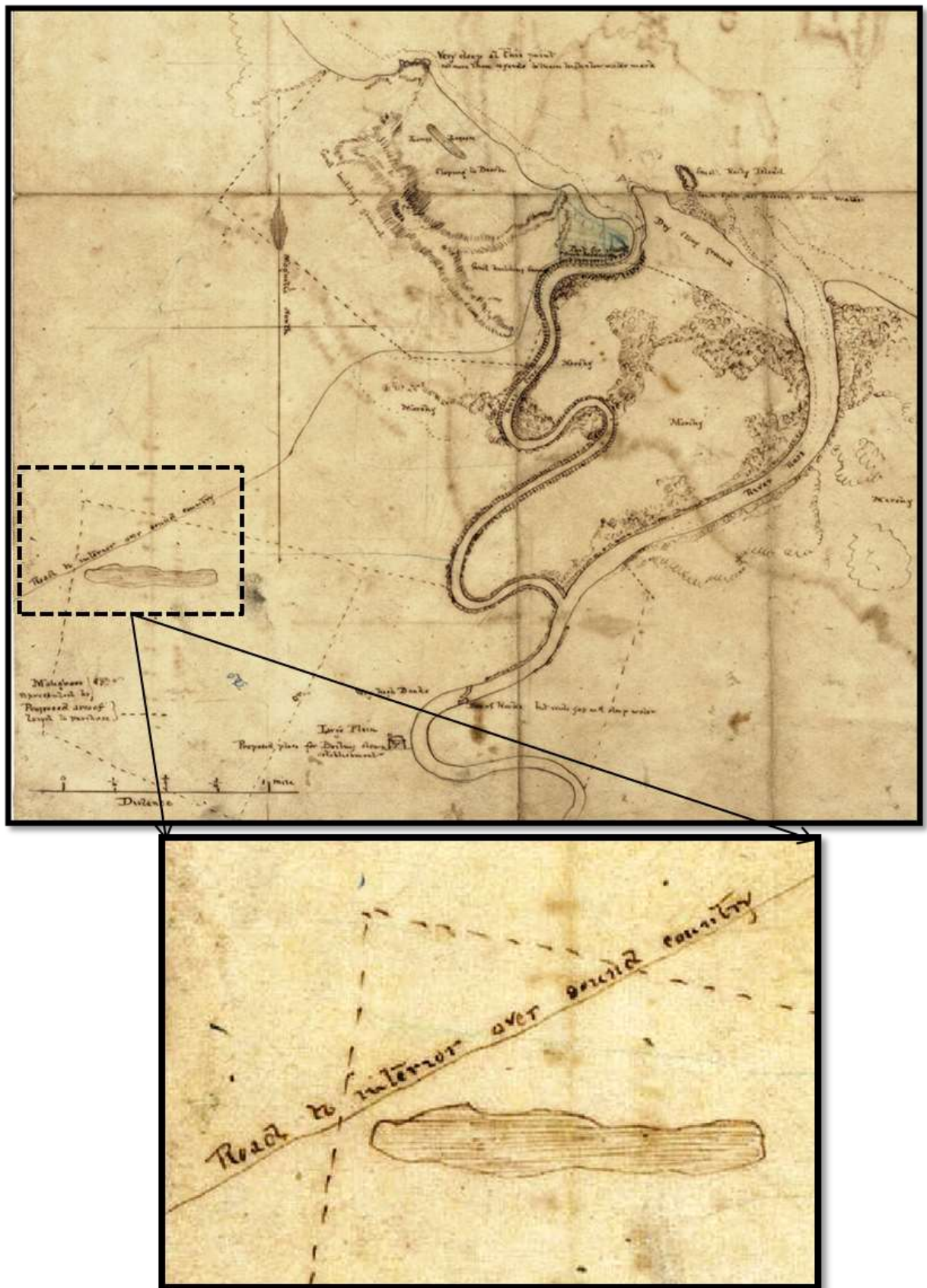


Figure 4-3: John Melton Black's sketch of the mouth of Ross Creek showing his plans for a 'road to the interior over sound country' shown and highlighted in the lower left quadrant (J. M. Black 1864).

Black's business partner in this endeavour was Robert Towns and he provided the money for the initial exploration. While the town was later named after him, he only made one three-day visit to the town in 1866 when aged 75 (Doherty 1934). Townsville was gazetted as a Port of Entry in 1865 and declared a municipality in February 1866, with Melton Black elected at its first mayor. Black and Towns's partnership did not last long and was dissolved in September 1867 (*Port Denison Times* 1867d). The early town was centred along Flinders Street, a rough muddy track that was often swamped by the tides from Ross Creek, and around the wharves and port (Figure 4-4 and Figure 4-5)

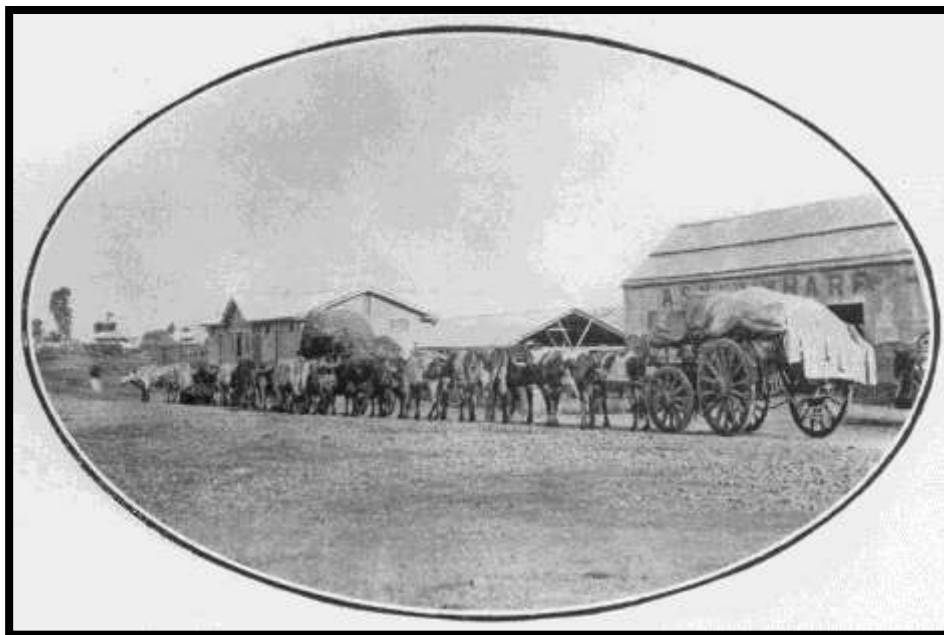
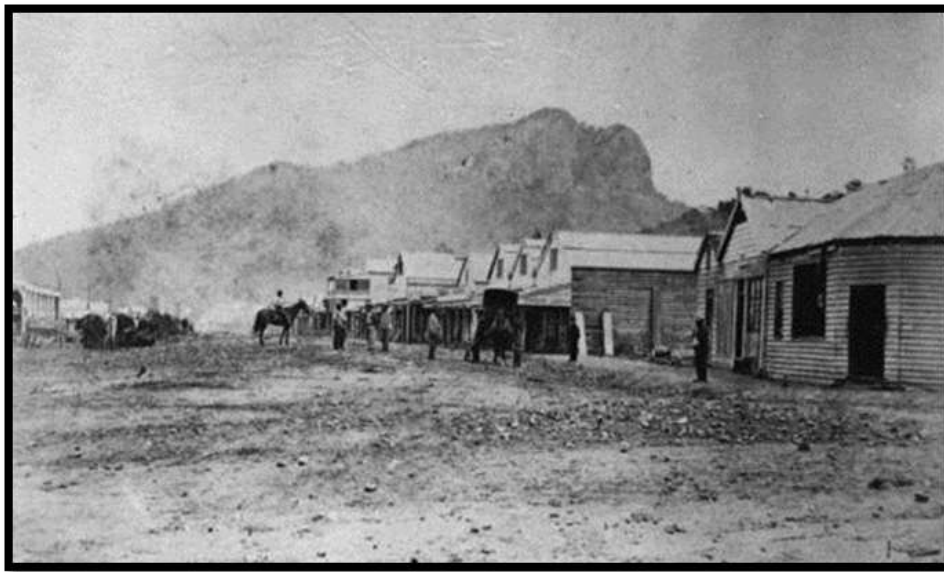


Figure 4-4: Photograph (upper) of Lower Flinders Street, ca. 1873 (Mathewson) and A.S.N Wharves and sheds (Anon 1870a)

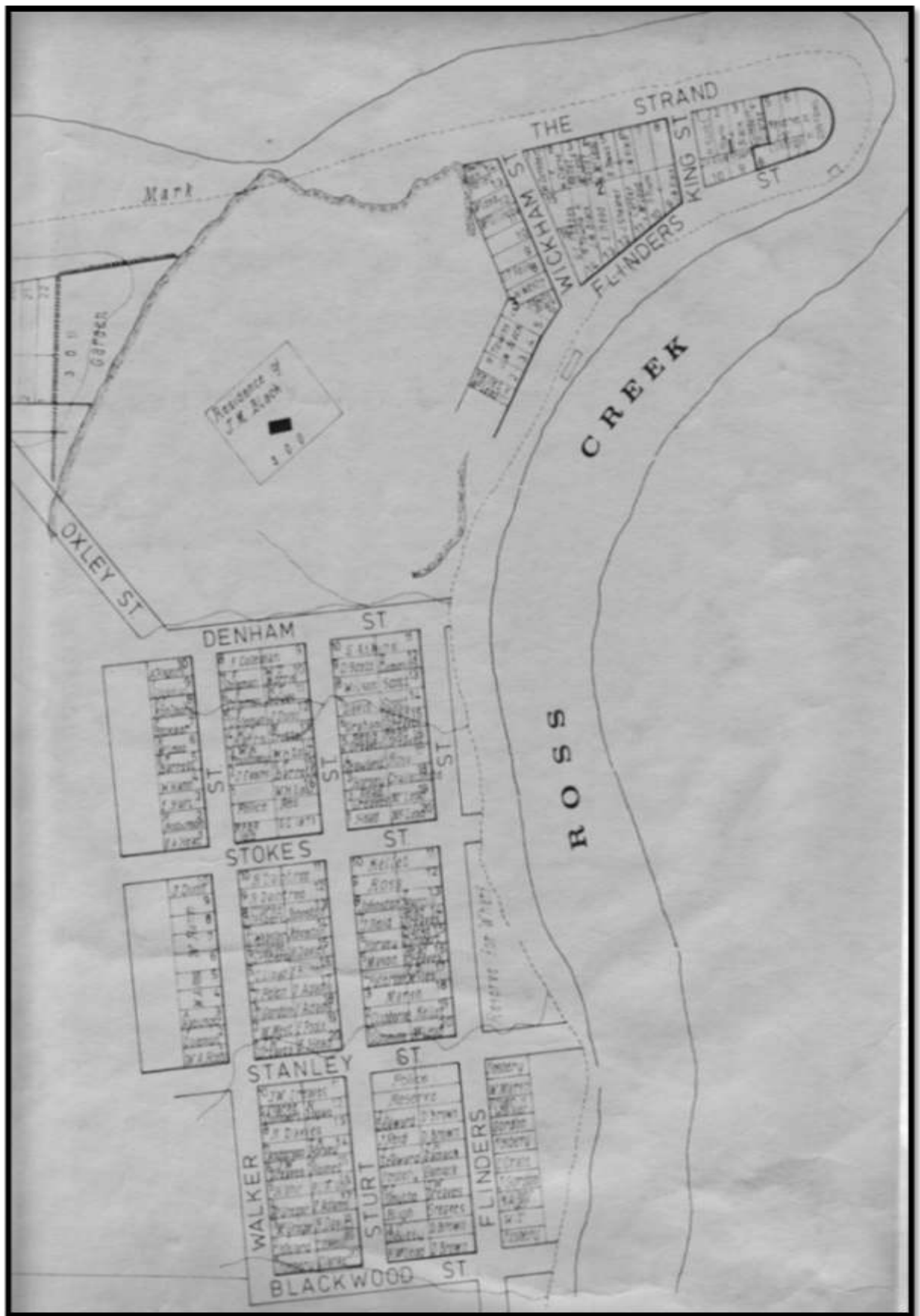


Figure 4-5: Plan of Townsville in 1865-the dotted line shows the high water mark (Anon 1975).

4.3 Townsville's Early Years

In 1865 a 1000 pound reward was offered for the discovery of payable gold within the vicinity of Cleveland Bay (*Port Denison Times* 1865c). A fortnight later George Osbourne and Michael Miles claimed to have found gold near Keelbottom Creek on the far side of Hervey Range, but as Robert Towns was their financial backer it is possible that more than prospecting was at play. Miles, for instance, wrote his letter of discovery to the Queensland Government from Sydney rather than Townsville and Robert Towns privately gloated that the goldfield would 'swamp Port Denison and Cardwell' (Bell 2000 p. 25; Gibson-Wilde 1984 p. 57). Gold was also discovered in January 1866 by Gibson at the Star River to the northwest of Townsville, although this was not very profitable (Figure 4-2). This disappointment was followed by a damaging cyclone in March 1867, which destroyed most of the fledgling town (*Cleveland Bay Express* 1867; *The Argus* 1867). Repairs to the town's hotels took priority over most of the other buildings and only a payable gold find at Cape River later in the year saved the town from a rapid decline (Aurifer 1936; Doherty 1934). Further discoveries at Ravenswood in 1868, the Gilbert River in 1869, the Etheridge in 1869 and at Charters Towers in 1871 ensured Townsville's ongoing prosperity and dominance over its rivals. One visitor to the town commented that,

'Townsville reminded me of a goldfields town at the zenith of the Victorian golden times – streets crowded, teams loading, shopkeepers busy, prices exorbitant and sellers indifferent to customers'. (*Port Denison Times* 1872)

4.3.1 Housing

Insights into what houses may have looked like can be gleaned from a limited number of photographs, which show that the early homes varied from canvas dwellings (Figure 4-6) and rough timber huts (Figure 4-7 and Figure 4-8), through to properly sawn timber constructions (Figure 4-9). A few people even listed their dwellings as ships or drays. Canvas homes were initially popular in the more rural districts of the Kennedy District decreasing in number by 1876, while most houses in the actual town were built of wood (Table 4-1). Stone and brick were unpopular building materials and this may have been related to the difficulty in acquiring these items (the first brick works opened in and the slow pace of construction when compared to readily available wood.

Dwelling type		Townsville				North Kennedy			
		1868	1871	1876	1881	1868	1871	1876	1881
Houses	Wood	76	238	456	875		545	1,140	1,733
	Stone	0	0	0	1		2	0	6
	Brick	0	9	0	16		0	1	2
	Metal	0	1	2	16		4	17	33
	Uninhabited	5	5	1	1		3	17	55
Other	Tents	6	16	69	134		523	169	235
	Ships	0	3	3	7		0	0	0
	Drays	0	3	9	0		15	2	1
	Others	0	14	1	10		21	1	11

Table 4-1: Table showing the different type of houses in Townsville and the North Kennedy District, 1868-1881 (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901).

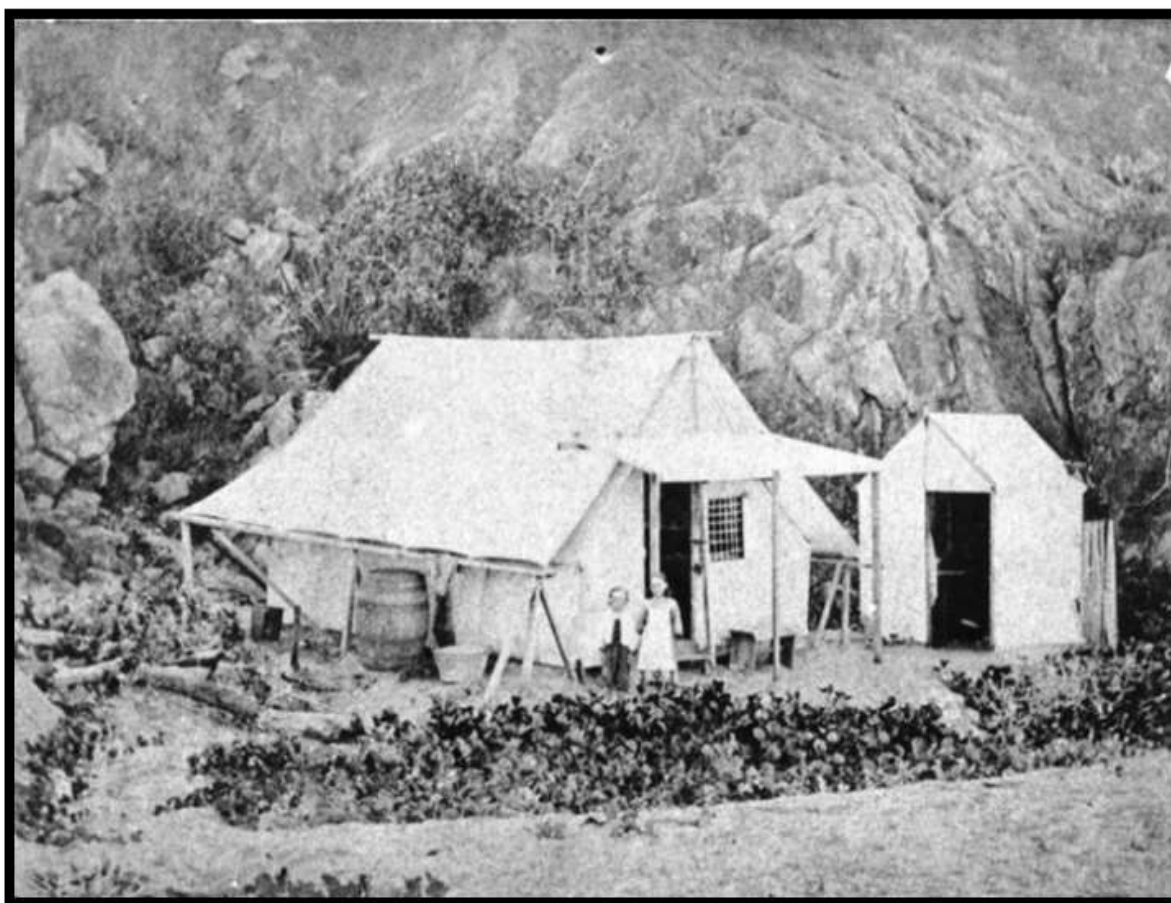


Figure 4-6: One of the first 'houses' in Townsville (Anon 1869).



Figure 4-7: A selector's family home, Black River, Townsville (Anon 1872b).

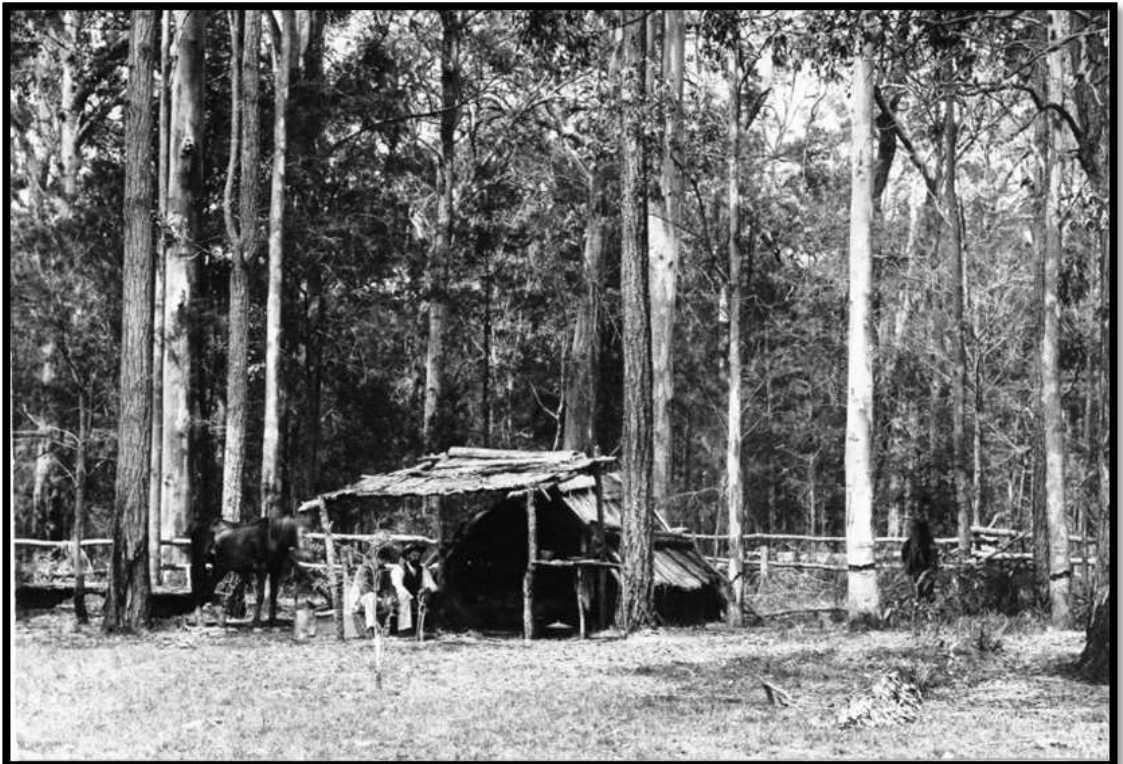


Figure 4-8: Early bush hut, Hervey Range ca. 1900 (Anon, 1900a).

The majority of homes were constructed using short slabs of locally available wood, which were generally 10cm thick and 1-1.5m in length. These were erected either vertically and fitted into a chiselled base plate and secured by horizontal wall-plates or slotted horizontally into supporting vertical supports (Figure 4-9). Gaps were filled with mud and sometimes old tents were used to line the inside to improve the weather proofing and aesthetics (R. Gray 1913 p. 108; Sumner 1974 pp. 48-49). Roofs could be made of hardwood shingles, although as hardwood was in short supply in North Queensland the more common material was bark, with about 60% of roofs in 1864 being constructed in this way (Sumner 1974 p. 53).

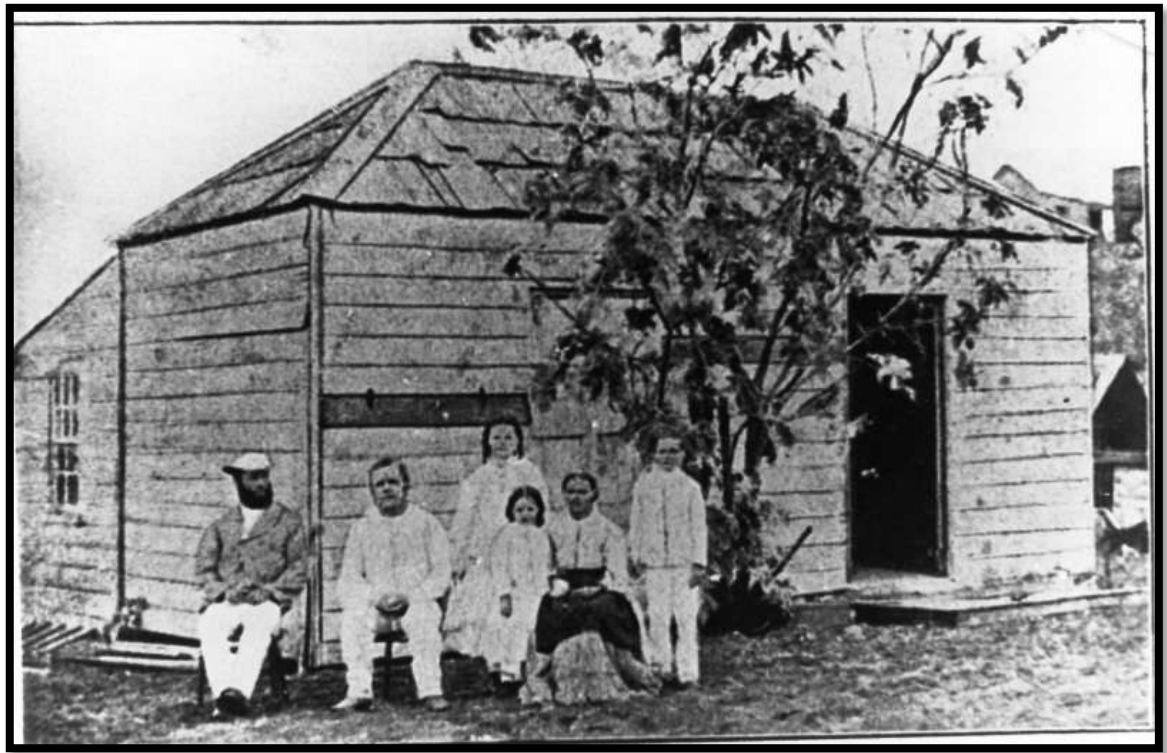


Figure 4-9: Early settler's family and home, Townsville ca. 1868 (Anon)

Further insights into early houses in the area can be gleaned from several other sources including the diary written by Lucy Gray in which she describes her new home at Hughenden, Joseph Hann's (1975) diary detailing the buildings of the family home at Bluff Downs and local historic sites that contain some original houses of the time period. Lucy Gray described her house as having three rooms, all of which opened out onto wide verandahs front and back. In keeping with the majority of the early houses in

the Townsville area it had walls made of slabs of wood and the unglazed windows were closed with wooden shutters. The roof was thatched with a gap between it and the top of the exterior walls (Allingham 1987 pp. 152-153). The homestead at Bluff Downs Station was ‘a wattle and daub construction...cool and comfortable with earthen floors...though not very sightly’ (Allingham 1977 p. 71). The separate kitchen was constructed over several days in August 1863 and was made of wood with a thatched roof (Hann 1975 pp. 41-44). A station worker’s home that was built in the 1860s also provides a visual appreciation of what the houses may have looked like, although the roofs in Townsville were more likely to have been shingle. This home contained three rooms: a bedroom, a living area and a kitchen (Figure 7-10).



Figure 4-10: Photograph by author showing the front of 1860 Glen Du Cattle Station worker’s home (100km south of Mt Garnet) and now in Herberton Historic Village.

4.3.2 Amenities

Amenities, such as hotels, banks, a school and a hospital were soon established and by the end of 1866 Townsville was described as ‘a thriving seaport, with considerable trade, two banks, several hotels, a newspaper and other appliances of civilised life’

(Doherty 1920 p. 28). In 1866 the first pioneer cemetery was established at West End and by 1874 businesses in the town were booming and included (Pugh 1874):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ❖ Accountants (1) | ❖ Grocers and general stores (8) |
| ❖ Agents: custom, land, shipping (7) | ❖ Hairdresser |
| ❖ Auctioneers (2) | ❖ Jewellers (2) |
| ❖ Bakers (2) | ❖ Newsagents (2) |
| ❖ Wool and fancy goods warehouse | ❖ Painter and glazier |
| ❖ Blacksmiths and wheelwrights (5) | ❖ Photographer |
| ❖ Boot makers (2) | ❖ Printer and publisher |
| ❖ Builders (3) | ❖ Saddler |
| ❖ Butchers (3) | ❖ Sail maker |
| ❖ Cabinet makers and joiners (5) | ❖ Servant registration office |
| ❖ Chemists and druggists (2) | ❖ Solicitors (3) |
| ❖ Chinese merchants (2) | ❖ Stationer |
| ❖ Confectioner | ❖ Timber merchants (2) |
| ❖ Cooper | ❖ Tobacconist (2) |
| ❖ Draper | ❖ Undertakers (2) |
| ❖ Fruiterers (6) | |
| ❖ Ginger beer and cordial maker | |

A variety of entertainment was also available from the town's earliest days with Mr Mollison of the Townsville Hotel hosting a ball and supper in September 1867, with his wife preparing the food (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867a). In November 1869 two events were advertised. The first was a night of music with songs, ballads, sketches and 'Negro Melodies', preceding a performance of the operetta 'The Swiss Cottage'. The second event offered a trio of acts including a comedy titled 'Naval Engagements', followed by hornpipe step dance concert and rounded off with 'the screaming farce Slasher and Crasher' (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869e).

The construction of Queensland's third railway, the Great Northern Railway, brought additional success to Townsville, as once again it triumphed over its southern rival of Bowen due to its lucky situation of being on the right side of the Burdekin River. As Bolton succinctly noted, 'Bowen had the better harbour, Townsville had the better politicians, and was on the right side of the Burdekin' (Bell 2000 p. 28). In October 1878 there was an advertisement for local tenders to clear the proposed path of the railway line, before construction on it began in 1879, with the line to Reid River opening in December 1880, before it finally reached Charters Towers 12 months later (Bell 2000; *Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* 1878a).

4.3.3 Population Statistics

The population of Townsville and the Kennedy District increased steadily over its earliest years, tripling its numbers between 1868 and 1871, although this probably did not include the indigenous population (Table 4-2). This was not as rapid a rise as that predicted by its founder Melton Black, who commented that ‘the Range Road fairly open, and the rocks cleared away from the Creek, will soon send us ahead, and enable us to double our population every six months’ (Doherty 1920 p. 29). In the 1871 census Townsville’s population had risen to 1,237 and 60 per cent of these were males, which reflected Queensland’s general population. This contrasted with the population of the North Kennedy District as a whole where over 80 per cent of the population were male. In the 1876 census the population in Townsville had more than doubled to 2,685, with 57 per cent being male, while the percentage of females in the more rural locations had increased to 32 per cent. By 1881 the population in Townsville stood at 5,041 with males still accounting for 57 per cent, while the percentage of females in rural areas had increased to 36 per cent (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901).

The different nationalities of the population living in Townsville and the surrounding North Kennedy pastoral district are shown in Table 4-2.

Country where born	1868		1871		1876	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
England/Wales	216	60	782	186	1115	401
Ireland	145	77	590	257	811	588
Scotland	75	30	287	59	305	110
Queensland/Australia	92	98	654	469	1359	1208
Tasmania/NZ	3	0				
British America	5	0	28	4	16	3
USA	8	1	16	3	34	3
India	9	1	8	1	11	5
China and Japan	24	2	446		392	1
Germany	45	0	159	14	257	99
France	0	0	24	0	24	4
Other foreign countries	15	1	92	1	283	129
Polynesia	103	0	37	0	53	1
Unspecified	16	0	10	0	10	1

Table 4-2: Table showing where the population of Townsville and the North Kennedy District where born, 1868-1876 (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901).

These figures are unlikely to include the indigenous population as they were usually ignored by the census collectors. The photograph shown in Figure 4-7, for example, shows a family posing beside their home at Black River and an Aboriginal woman is standing to one side perhaps implying that she worked as a ‘maid’, but it is unknown if she was counted in the census figures. Of particular note is the rapid rise in male migrants between 1868 and 187, who arrived not only from Great Britain, but from China and Japan. Many of the Chinese were attracted to the area by the newly opened gold mines, working there as miners or running the small hotels that quickly sprang up on the goldfields to serve the transient population (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869f). A large number of these migrants would have left Townsville and travelled along Hervey Range Road to reach the gold mines and yet there is very little documented evidence concerning this. It is to be presumed that many of these Chinese migrants would have stopped at the Range Hotel hamlet to rest, but no written evidence to this effect has been discovered, although one publican at the Range Hotel did employ a Chinese cook (Dickson 1879). It is, therefore, not known how they were viewed by other travellers, whether they drank in the hotel or not and if they camped with or separately from other travellers.

4.3.4 Occupations

The different occupations recorded in the 1876 and 1881 census are shown in Table 4-3, although this would probably not have included Aboriginal people. The initial classification of occupations in the 1861 and 1864 censuses was adapted from the English system, but this was modified for the censuses taken after 1868 to make it less complicated and again by the 1876 census making comparisons between the job categories over the years difficult (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901). As can be seen in 1876, 85 per cent of females were classed as ‘wives, widows or children at home or school’. Daily life for these women would have been hard with each day filled with domestic duties, such as cleaning, fetching water and preparing and cooking food in simple outdoor ovens or kitchens. They would also have had to look after children, maintain vegetable gardens and tend to a variety of livestock. Older children would have provided some assistance, but the adult female in the house would have shouldered most of the family responsibilities. In 1876 just under 15 per cent, or 164 women were employed, with only twelve women, whose identities remain

unknown, classified as having jobs in Order 2, which included law, medicine, divinity, arts and science. The majority of working women at this time, however, were employed as hotel keepers, lodging house keepers, eating-house servants, porters or office keepers.

The census in 1881 shows that the overall occupation statistics had changed very little with 82 per cent of females now classed as wives, widows or children and 17 per cent as employed. However, the breadth of jobs undertaken by women had now expanded to include labourers, industrial jobs, such as booksellers, printers, carpenters, locksmiths and even carriers. The reasons for this apparent change shift in employment are unclear. It could simply reflect the different reporting classifications for jobs between the censuses or be a reflection of the fact that as a small frontier town grew the need for more specialised and distinct jobs became a necessity.

The majority of employed women in Townsville's early years worked in a narrow range of occupations that were mainly concerned with the service industry. This type of employment, in addition to professions such as teaching and nursing, were the sort of 'respectable' jobs that could be held by women (Hunt 1986 p. 38). It was determined, for example, in 1869 that a female teacher would be desirable for the newly proposed school in Townsville, as its potential students were likely to be very young (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869d). Managing a public house was also seen as a reputable job and female licensees were thought to provide well-run, law abiding and civilised establishments (Gregory and Johnston 2004 p. 26; Hunt 1986 p. 38). Although most women took over hotel licences after the deaths of their husbands, some were single and others had husbands who worked elsewhere (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 pp. 57-59). Holding a publican's licence often enabled women to become 'socially active' with access to and control of socially valued knowledge and resources (Wright 2003 pp. 103-104). Female hoteliers also represented feminine authority and were often seen as surrogate mother figures, with patrons referring to them by their marital status ('Mrs C') or 'ma', unlike bar maids who were frequently viewed as sexual objects (Wright 2001 p. 68, Kirby 1977). Between 1869 and 1884 there were always at least one or two female publicans in Townsville and this number rose steadily until 1895 when there were ten named females running various hotels within the town (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988).

Occupations of the People of Townsville in 1876 and 1881

Year of census	Order 1- Government ¹		Order 2- Learned Professions ²		Order 3- Domestic Duties ³		Order 4- Personal Offices ⁴		Order 5- Commercial ⁵		Order 6- Pastoral ⁶		Order 7- Agricultural ⁷		Order 8- Carriers ⁸		Order 9- Industrial ⁹		Order 10- Labourers ¹⁰		Order 11- Public Burdens ¹¹	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1876	51		31	12	452	962	163	147	103	5	37	2	38		139		346		149		4	1
1881	51	2	52	28	851	1768	113	230	121	6	M 368 F 29				371	2	582	50	349	7	35	26

Table 4-3: Table showing the numbers of males and females employed in certain jobs in Townsville (adapted from Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901)

¹ Principal officers, messengers, clerks, police, labourers, railway, telegraph

² Law, medicine, divinity, arts, science

³ Wives, widows, children at home or at school

⁴ Hotel keepers, lodging house keepers, eating-house servants, porters, office keepers

⁵ Capitalists, auctioneers, brokers, bank officers and clerks, salesman, shopkeepers

⁶ Squatters, graziers, station managers, overseers, their wives, sons and daughters, shepherds, shearers

⁷ Farmers, gardeners, sugar and coffee growers and their relatives and families, farm servants

⁸ Carriers of men, animals, goods and messages, coach, cab drivers or conductors, draymen, carter, boatmen

⁹ Booksellers, printers, opticians, gunsmiths, cutlers, boat builders, carpenters, masons, manufacturers

¹⁰ Labourers, mechanics

¹¹ Pensioners, paupers, lunatics, prisoners

4.4 History of Hervey Range Road

After that, the country out back began to boom and it was not very long then before 300 bullock and horse teams merrily plied their callings over this road and as a consequence Townsville flourished for many a day. (Madden 1931)

Hervey Range was named after Mathew Hervey who was a partner in Dotswood Station, which was located on the far side of Hervey Range, close to Keelbottom Creek (Bode n.d. p. 82). In 1863 John Langton, a future resident of the Range Hotel hamlet, was the first pioneer to successfully cross Hervey Range with a bullock dray laden with supplies for the sheep pioneers who had already settled on the Burdekin River. This event marked a monumental day for the early settlers. He returned three weeks later with the very first load of wool to be brought down Hervey Range into the newly founded port of Townsville (Madden, 1931 p. 9). However, despite this success the bullock track remained a difficult proposition to climb ‘when every foot of the way was plodded along through clouds of dust and profanity’ (Madden 1931). This track was likely the same one followed by John Melton Black when, using a government grant of 1500 pounds, he organised construction of the road over the range that was finally opened in late 1865 (Griffin 1983 p. 72; *Port Denison Times* 1865b). The road was built by a work party of 60 men, supervised by an expert who had been brought in from down South (Griffin 1983 p. 99).



Figure 4-11: Newspaper article announcing the opening of Hervey Range Road (*Port Denison Times* 1865b).

From Townsville, Hervey Range Road extended west to cross the Bohle and Alice Rivers before ascending up and over the range at Thornton's Gap, which was named after William Thornton (Figure 4-14). He was an early pastoral pioneer who took over the running of Dotswood Station in 1862 and who discovered the well-watered pass through to the coast (*Cairns Post* 1925; Hooper 2006 p. 349). At the far side of the range the road then continued inland via Keelbottom Creek and Dotswood Station and crossed the Burdekin River before reaching Dalrymple. By 1868 the road inland from Dalrymple led out in several directions to the gold fields and pastoral stations (Figure 4-12).

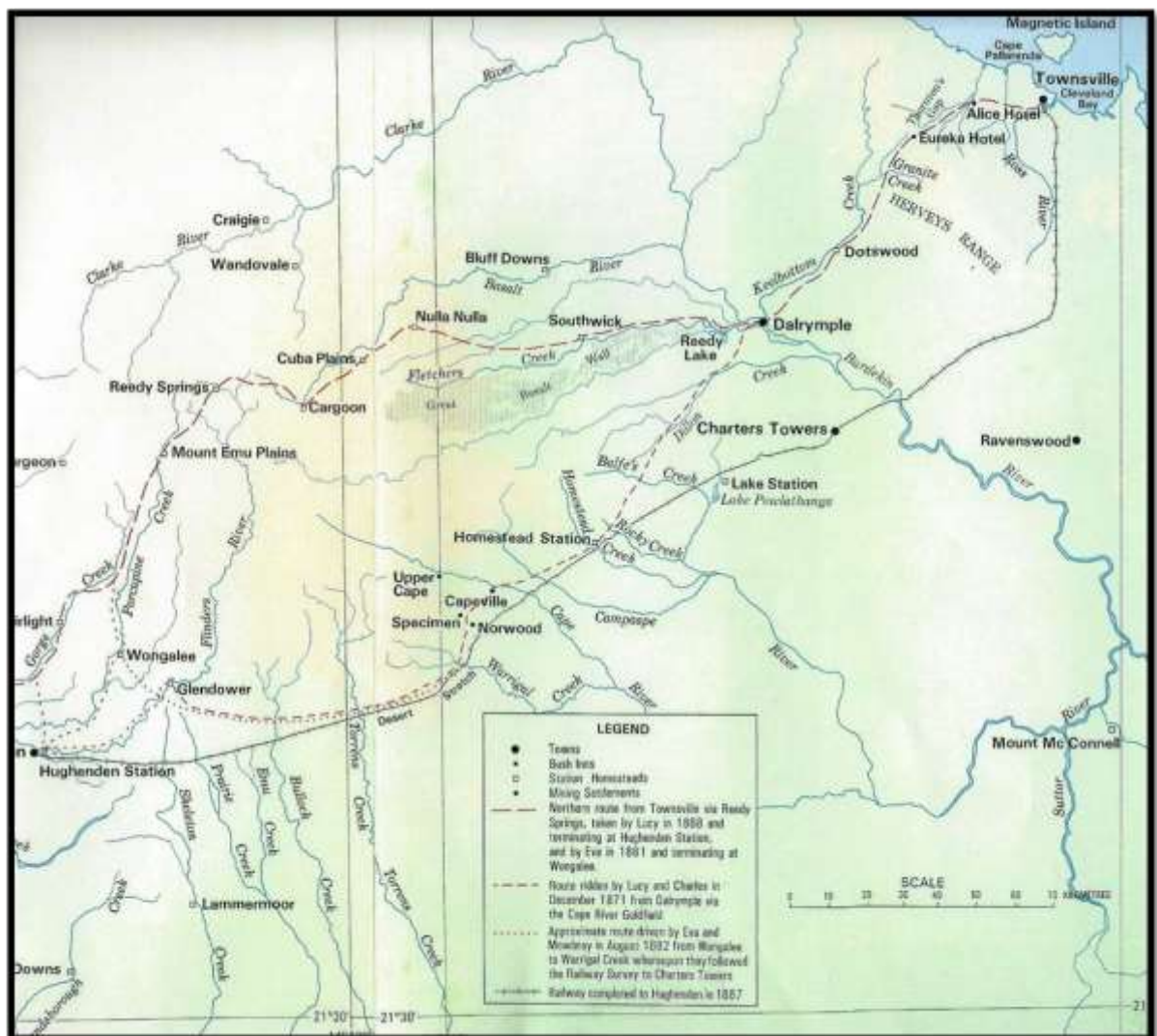


Figure 4-12: Map showing the routes taken by the Gray family as they travelled from Townsville to Hughenden between 1868 and 1882. The railway is also shown (Allingham 1987).

The first route passed through Reedy Lake, Reedy Springs, Richmond Downs and Fairlight and thence to Burke Town, later renamed Georgetown, a total distance from Townsville of 628 miles. A second road headed down to the Cape River gold fields via Homestead Station, a total distance of 152 miles (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1868a). A third route, not shown on the map and used mainly by the local squatters, travelled north to the Valley of Lagoons via Reedy Lake and Hillgrove Station, a distance of 218 miles. Sundowner reminisced that,

all the supplies to the early stations on the Burdekin, Basalt and Flinders were carted this way, also to the Cape Diggings and to the Etheridge and Gilbert goldfields. ...the areas north of the [Charters] Towers still used the Hervey's Range road until the railway was built from Townsville to the Towers in the late 'Eighties. (1953)

Even after Hervey Range Road had been completed it still took up to four days to travel from Townsville to the foot of the range as bullocks could only travel about 10km a day. Often the carriers would need to camp for several days at the foot of the range before getting their chance to continue their onward journey as two teams of horses (see Figure 5-3) or bullocks were needed to pull the wagons to the top (Carrington 1871 pp. 207-208; Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 217). It would then take another day to ascend the range due to the steepness of the climb (Vance and Copeman 1994 p. 9). The ascent was described as follows,

The road up the range begins with a straight pull of some 300 yards of a 1 in 2 grade. On this up grade there is no rest, no spot of level. A straight pull the whole distance. Then you go down a mountain ravine – with palms and dense foliage, on a fall almost as steep. In the bottom of this a stream of water was running from recent rain and across you face another climb of the same 1 in 2 grade for another 300 yards, or more, and you reach the top. On the grades cuttings have been made through the rotten granite rock. (*Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1924)

By 1867 the traffic on the road was increasing as people left for the Cape River diggings, with one man commenting that he had passed 11 drays on his return from the gold field and that at least another six had been waiting to leave (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867d). In July 1868 it was noted that 75 drays were on the road between Townsville and the diggings, with 35 loaded with stores and goods in one week alone (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868e). Soon

there were 300 bullock and horse teams plying their trade up and down the road, with at least 100 teams still using it on a regular basis in the 1870s, allowing Townsville to flourish (Madden 1931; Sundowner 1953).



Figure 4-13: Photographs of a horse drawn wagon ascending Hervey Range Road (Anon ca. 1900b) and (lower) photograph of a horse team on Hervey Range Road (Anon n.d.)

The ongoing rivalry between Townsville and Bowen for the gold trade was frequently played out in the local newspapers as each town tried to convince travellers that its port was the closest to the gold mines and had the better and shorter road (*Port Denison Times* 1868). In 1870 the Government Works Department surveyed Dipple's Track, which connected Bowen to the Cape River and Ravenswood gold mines, resulting in a quick rebuke from the editor of the *Cleveland Bay Express* who described the mission as 'an absurd attempt to divert the traffic to the new gold-field from its natural and proper direction' (Editor 1870). This comment led to a lengthy and indignant reply from the editor of the *Port Denison Times* (1870) who felt that Townsville always overstated its importance over Bowen and that in fact the government should always spend money on the best roads first (i.e. Bowen's), rather than throwing good money after bad on the poor roads from Townsville. Carriers were often encouraged to sign their names on letters to the newspaper editors verifying the good state of a road and the presence of ample water and food (Dipple 1870).

4.4.1 Maintenance of the Road

Work to improve Hervey Range Road seemed to be frequent and ongoing, despite the continual complaints about a lack of funding. In March 1866 one of the road workers was accidentally shot and killed by an inebriated colleague who had been drinking the 'famed powerful grog' sold at the nearby and newly opened Range Hotel. The man mistakenly took the light from fireflies for 'the blacks' torches and after an excited cry of 'the blacks are on us' fired his gun towards the light, killing his work mate (Bell 2000 p. 24; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869d). The place of this death, which is about one mile from the bottom of the range, is known as dead man's gully and is marked by a small grave. In September 1866 a new cutting for the road was opened and although not completely finished due to a lack of funds, Robert Williamson, a future publican of the Range Hotel, was the first carrier to make use of it.

At this time and for the next five years at least, a work gang usually consisting of two men maintained a camp at the foot of the range to continually attend to any repairs needed to the road (*Cleveland Bay Express and Northern Advertiser* 1866a; Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1871 pp. 5-19). In 1867 a surveyor's report described the road from Townsville to the Cape River diggings as generally good, although it advocated some minor expenditure to improve the few areas that became

very soft in wet weather and advised the bridging of dead man's gully. The road also appears to have been split into two in one area of the climb up the range, as the surveyor mentions a sign asking carriers with loaded drays not to use the 'new road' when coming down the range, so as to try and maintain a good smooth road for those going into the interior (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867d). In 1869 the Townsville Provincial Committee sent a letter to the Honourable T. H. Fitzgerald in Brisbane petitioning for a grant of at least 7,000 pounds to be made available for improvements to the roads into the district's interior, although only 250 pounds appeared to be granted in 1870 (*Port Denison Times* 1869b; *The Brisbane Courier* 1870a).

In 1867 the government, attempting to recoup some of its expenditure on the road, installed a tollgate at the foot of the range, to be leased out according to specific regulations (A Correspondant 1867; Palmer 1867). The regulations included items such as the requirement for a sign to be displayed that listed the charges, the need for a light at night and that the tollgate be attended at all times. The toll charges included sixpence for a single horse, with or without a rider, two shillings for a two-wheeled dray or wagon drawn by two horses, which increased to three shillings if the dray had four horses or bullocks, and two shillings for each four-wheeled dray pulled by four bullocks. There was also an excess weight toll with every load above 10cwt charged an additional three pence per cwt, with a typical three tonne load costing 12 shillings and sixpence. These weight expenses were in addition to the charges for the actual dray and bullocks (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867a). Some people were allowed free passage and this included the Governor, soldiers, ministers of religion, police on duty, road department labourers and children on their way to or from school. If the lessee failed to comply with these regulations or charges then he could be fined five pounds for each offence (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1868b). The tollgate keepers were, however, seemingly paid well for their efforts with the salary for 1870 advertised as 100 pounds per annum (*The Brisbane Courier* 1870b).

These high toll charges caused widespread anger amongst regular local carriers who were already heavily taxed, having to pay one pound per annum for a carrier's licence and five shillings to have their name painted on the side of their dray (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867a). The carriers accused the Brisbane government of heavily taxing the district without returning any of the money for local

projects and, after several protest meetings, a petition signed by 115 Townsville residents was sent to the government asking for the tollgate to be removed (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867e; Correspondent 1867, 1868; Ross 1868). It was also decided by general consensus that from 1st July 1868 the carriers would boycott the road and instead reach the interior via the Haughton and Reid Gap (Figure 4-14). The petition appeared to work as on the day the boycott was to start a telegram arrived announcing that no further tolls would be collected (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868e). However, this appears to be at odds with a report from June 1869 that stated that the Thornton's Gap tolls had raised just over fifty pounds in the previous five months (*Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser* 1869).

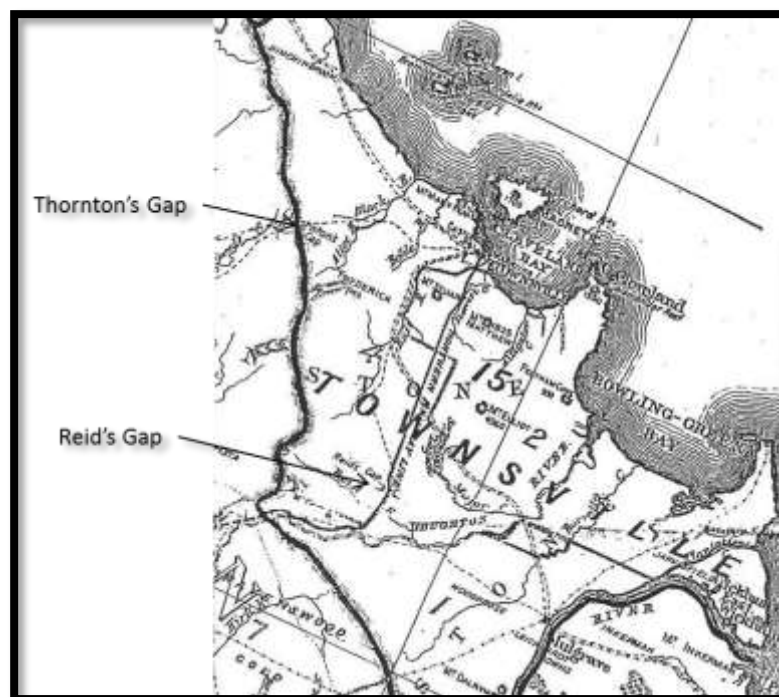


Figure 4-14: Map showing the location of Reid's Gap to the south of Thornton's Gap (Queensland Votes and Proceedings 1882)

The official removal of the tollgate occurred in 1871 (*The Brisbane Courier* 1871). Unfortunately, the repercussions remained with some carriers continuing to travel via Reid's Gap. This route is followed today by the modern Flinders Highway and the Mt Isa Railway. Once the railway reached Ravenswood Junction in 1881 the only traffic using Hervey Range Road was that headed for the Etheridge goldfield and the Lynd

district, although the opening of the Argentine silver field in 1882 did increase traffic again (Bell, 1996; Whipple, 1923). The road also remained the main road linking Townsville to Georgetown until the early twentieth-century (Gibson-Wilde 1980, p.7).

4.4.2 Upgrades to the Road

By the 1930s Townsville was surrounded to the west by a new Shire called Thuringowa, through which Hervey Range Road now ran. The road by this stage had become impassable for vehicles. This resulted in increased pressure from the tobacco farmers who were now trying to establish a viable industry on Hervey Range, but remained hampered by the lack of suitable road access to and from the port. They currently had only two options. The first was to use the very expensive route of approach via Mingela and Dotswood that was 130 miles in length, or they had to carry all their goods on their backs and climb up and down the old track, which was now referred to as 'Yellow Pinch' (Madden, 1931). There were also still some 15,000-20,000 cattle brought down the road each year from stations that remained without access to a railway. In February 1933 a meeting was held by the Chamber of Commerce and a motion passed for the road to be nominated as a developmental road, now that there was actually an industry (tobacco) to develop and thus a sum for its construction was allocated from the Intermittent Relief Work funds. The unemployed were drafted in to help build the road and of note is the fact that the workers were attached to three 'ranches' at the main workers camp at the foot of the range, although what these were comprised of is unknown. The road was declared a Main Road on 17th February 1933, a few weeks prior to its official opening on 23rd April 1933 (*The Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 1933). It was upgraded again in the 1950s, but traffic on the old road rapidly diminished when the new Hervey Range Developmental Road opened in 1975. This final road deviated markedly from the original in its climb over the range, now passing further south at Piper's Lookout, before re-joining the path of the old road at the top of the range close to the original Eureka Hotel.

4.4.3 Contemporary Sources/Opinions of the Road

Hervey Range Road was occasionally mentioned in the letters and diaries of those who travelled along it, with the journey usually couched in the recurring themes of the climate, the steepness of the road's ascent over the range and the hotels located along it.

In 1868, Lucy Gray (1868 pp. 15-17) documented her 11 day journey on horseback from Townsville inland to Hughenden, which involved the crossing of Hervey Range. After being told prior to leaving Townsville of a tree-lined road, she described her disappointment at seeing what she thought of as ugly, tall gum trees that offered little shade. The dust and heat were also prominent in her descriptions of the journey, as was the 'pale-drab' grass and the fantastic shapes of the anthills. The steep ascent over the range was tempered somewhat by finding some tropical fruit palms and wild bananas and, once at the top, the lovely views of the sea and mountains. This changed her opinion of the surroundings from ugly to 'soft and green'. These pleasant thoughts, however, quickly changed again once the journey continued west and the afternoon,

was very hot & dusty, stunted trees, brown grass, no shade, no water, no life; the horses plodding along knew how far they had to go, but I did not, & I was very tired of it. (L. Gray 1868 p. 16)

In her memoirs Mrs Fulford described the long and harrowing journey from Grafton to her husband's new place of employment at Lyndhurst Station, inland of Dalrymple. She had given birth to her daughter seven weeks earlier and for the first 100 miles she rode side saddle carrying the child in a sling in front of her. She vividly recalled carrying her child up Hervey Range Road in early 1871 after first spending the night camped at the foot of the range,

I walked up carrying the child, taking my time and keeping in sight of the cart coming behind me. The horses could only pull the cart up a few yards at a time, on account of the steepness, and the black-boy had to carry stones to choke the wheels to keep the cart from going backwards each time. It was a very hot morning and by the time we reached the top of the range my husband was attacked by 'fever and ague'. (J. Black n.d. p. 45)

A similar means of controlling the wagons, although using logs, rather than stones, was described by Corfield (1921), an early carrier who, due to a chain on the bullock dray snapping, lost the top of a finger while trying to quickly push a log under a wheel. Other accidents also occurred and in 1883, when James Kelso and Michael Tobin (publican of the Range Hotel from 1869-1870) lost control of a wagon, two horses died and others were injured when the wagon hit the posts of the old tollgate at the bottom of the hill (White n.d.).

Carrington (1871 p. 208) painted a vivid picture of the steep ascent, describing that it would take three or four men, using whips and choice language with ‘original blasphemy’, to encourage the reluctant bullocks up the winding road, parts of which ran along the edge of a precipice. Lucy Gray provided a more detailed account,

We saw some drays at the foot preparing to come up. They first put the bullocks of two teams, about 30, into one. The next step was a preliminary beating all round with heavy whips & sticks, the poor creatures not attempting to move until the word of command is given & then they start & pull up steadily, all the company shouting and swearing at them by way of encouragement. (1868 p. 16)

C. W. Bowley made the trip over the range in 1874 describing the journey as slow and dull, with little variety in the scenery of trees, coarse grass, sandy soil and dry creeks. After the steep ascent he comments on the beautiful tree ferns, which filled the gully on the other side of the range (Smith and Dalton 1995). By 1878 improvements in the rural properties along the road were noted with ‘fencing going on most vigorously’, renovations being made to homesteads, iron pipes being laid to convey water to gardens and new out buildings being erected (A Traveller 1878). Lucy Gray’s sister-in-law Eva made the journey inland in May 1881 and after camping for the night at the foot of the range she describes the steep climb up the road, using a bullock dray to transport the luggage, while their two horses were left to pull the buggy (Allingham 1987 p. 333). Her paintings provide an excellent image of what the journey was like (Figure 4-15 and Figure 4-16



Figure 4-15: Drawing by Eva Gray-their nurse carrying baby Norris across a creek (from Allingham 1987 p. 333).

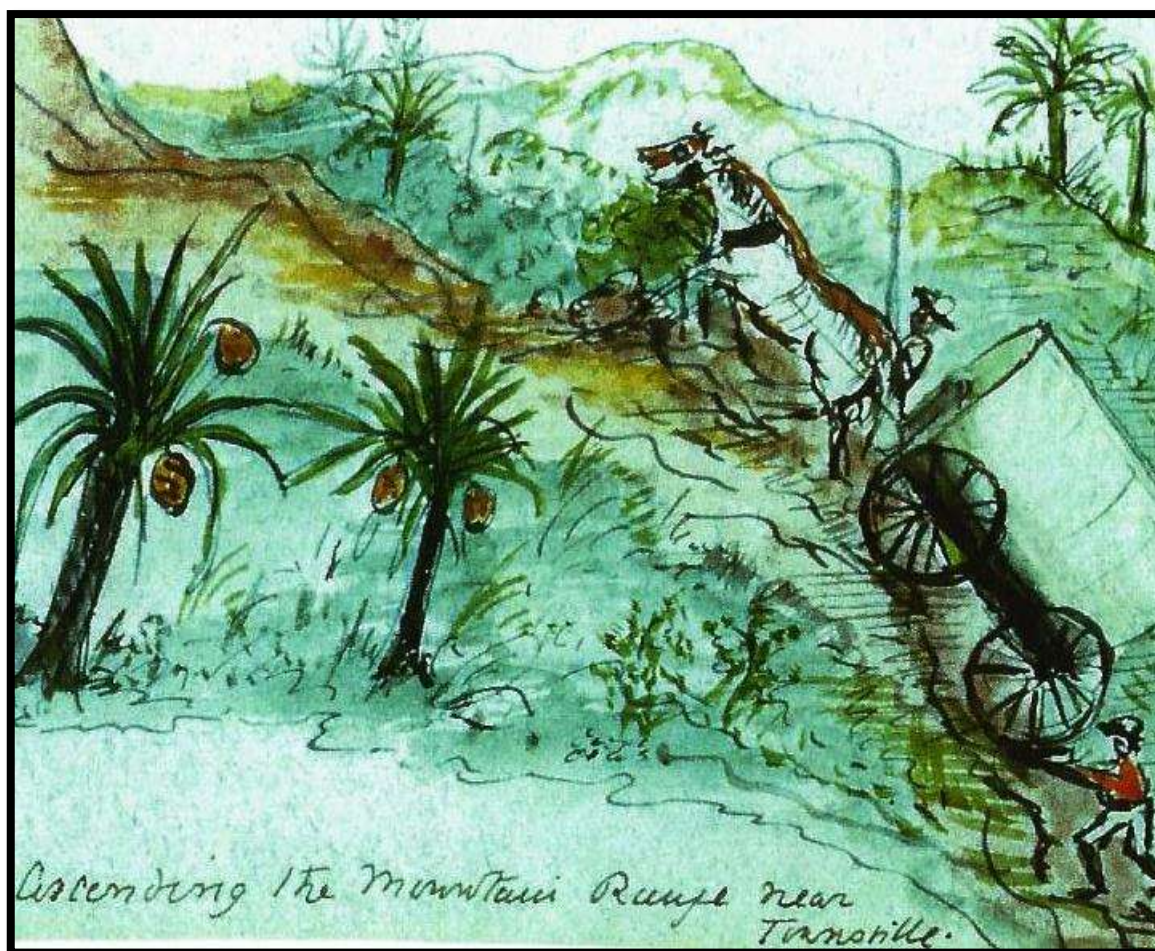


Figure 4-16: Drawing by Eva Gray showing the impossibly steep climb up Hervey Range (from Allingham 1987 p. 333).

4.5 The Hotels on Hervey Range Road

There were five roadside hotels built on Hervey Range Road between Townsville and Dalrymple: the Bohle, the Alice, the Range, the Eureka and the Plumtree Creek. The hotels were located at strategic intervals along the road with three located at river crossings and one each at the foot and top of the high Hervey Range. Unfortunately there is very little written about the Range Hotel and there are no visible surface remains of the actual building. Therefore, in order to assess how it and the other known businesses of the hamlet may have functioned in the community and sat in the landscape we can look at other hotels along the road so that some inferences can be made.

Bush inns and hotels were an important part of the community and social fabric of everyday settler life. Small roadside hotels were quickly established at strategic points along the main routes out to the interior and the goldfields. As bullock drays could only travel about 10kms a day, this would have been part of the decision about where to build a hotel, along with the need for a steady supply of water from a river or creek. Natural obstacles to movement, such as very large rivers or high mountain ranges were also good places for a hotel as people would often stop to rest before attempting to continue with their journey, thus creating a steady stream of customers. Hotels could often be quickly and easily erected by one or two people in a short space of time and 'an hotel, no matter how primitive, was as welcome as an oasis to an Arabian traveller' (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 9). They provided food, accommodation, stabling and camping sites and became communication hubs in sparsely populated areas, through the provision of newspapers, gossip and the distribution of mail.

The standards of roadside hotels could vary widely with Kerr (1994 p. 43) describing some as offering 'no-star accommodation', consisting of little more than a bush stretcher in a small cubicle with calico walls. A short story in the *Illustrated Sydney News* described the hotels on Hervey Range Road as 'awful places, my dear, with no ceilings, where you can hear every word that is said' (Bevan 1888 p. 13). However, there was a minimum requirement needed for a liquor licence under the Publican's Act of 1863. This entailed providing two clean sitting rooms and two sleeping rooms, separate to that of the owner's accommodation, and enough room and fodder for six horses. The name of the hotel was also to be displayed over the door and this sign had to be lit by oil or gas burners from sunset to sunrise (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 16).

News of the varying standard of roadside hotels had obviously reached the Grays as, prior to their journey inland from Townsville to Hughenden in 1868, they made arrangements to camp out each night, believing that the few inns along Hervey Range Road were 'generally noisy and dirty' (L. Gray 1868 p. 16). This was in keeping with the habits of the majority of travellers, with those few who did choose to stay at one of the hotels generally using their own bedding (Carrington 1871 p. 211). The emphasis in most of the rural hotels appeared to be primarily focused on the service of large quantities of alcohol, especially spirits, with the provision of food, seen as a secondary and less important necessity (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 pp. 8-19),

These hotels are also boarding houses, but this part of the menage is quite secondary to the other. The men make languid attempts to eat, at best, and the publicans are so kind as not to charge anything for board, to those who patronise the drinking part of the establishment. (Carrington 1871 pp. 74-75)

The preference for alcohol over food often led to some successful miners spending their new wealth feverishly and carelessly on alcohol at the hotels,

A party of wealthy diggers...would often sweep down on some roadside inn, and clear the place of all its drinkables, to the great profit of the landlord, who entertained not the slightest objection to the exchange of his alcoholic stock for heavy nuggets of the precious metal. (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882a)

4.5.1 The Bohle Hotel

The Bohle Hotel is briefly documented in *A Pattern of Pubs* (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988) and in the licensee applications in contemporary local newspapers, but its recorded history is otherwise poor (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1870a). It was located at the upper crossing of the Bohle River and it had six bedrooms and two living rooms (Figure 4-17). The first licence was issued in 1865 to Herbert Keller, followed by Daniel Faulkner in 1866-1870 and James Morris in 1871. A traveller (1878) going to Dalrymple in 1878 does not mention the Bohle Hotel and it may have closed due to less traffic. There are no known remains, but the location of the hotel is known and some survey work has been done by James Cook University.



Figure 4-17: Bohle Hotel shown on Logan Jack's Geological Map (1878).

4.5.2 The Alice Hotel

The Alice Hotel is also no longer standing, but was located on the south-western bank of the Alice River approximately 15 miles inland from Townsville (Tramp 1933). This differs from the placing of the building marked as PH in Figure 4-18.

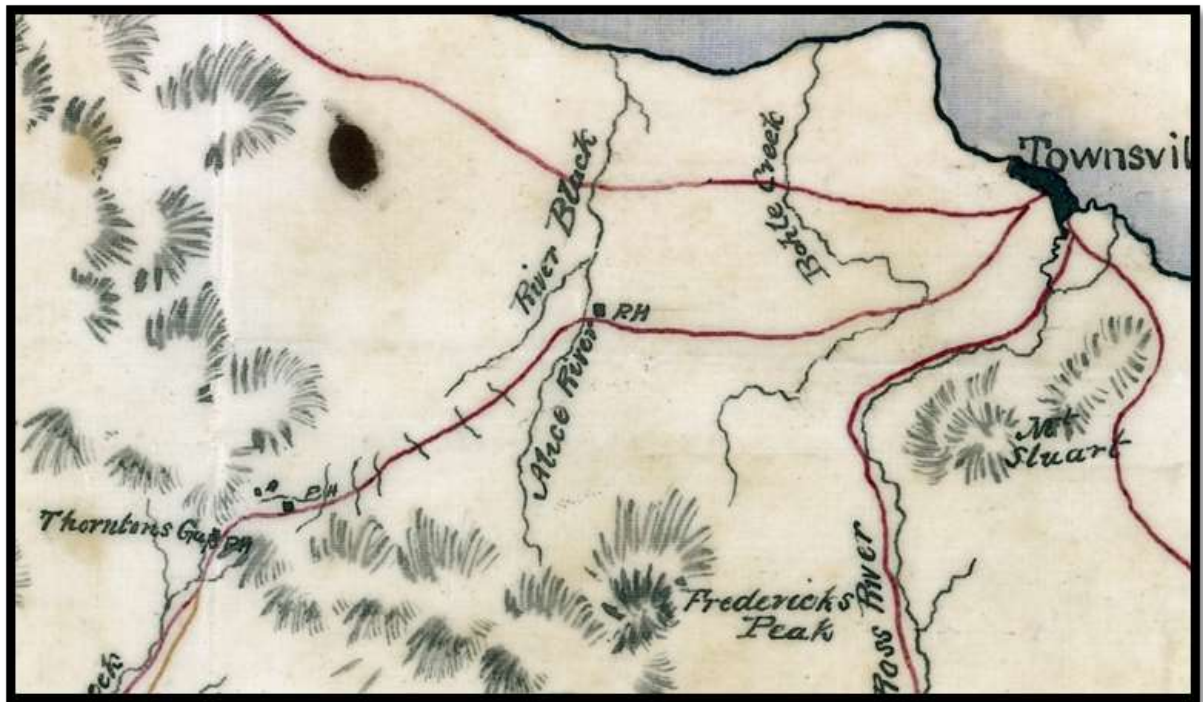


Figure 4-18: Early sketch showing the location of the Alice Hotel, marked PH for public house (Anon 1871).

The hotel contained two sitting rooms and four bedrooms and was built in 1867 by Thomas McCarey and his wife, early pioneers to North Queensland who had arrived in Townsville in 1865 to establish a dairy (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 117). It was described by Lucy Gray as a wooden house with a wide verandah where they rested, bathed and ate (Figure 4-19). She also described a,

‘big rough-looking woman.... [who] welcomed me like a sister and took me into the house & the funniest little box of a room nearly filled up with a large four post bed. ... My hostess brought me in an immense iron tub & bucket after bucket of water. This was an expression of great hospitality, as it was all brought up a steep bank from the creek behind the house. (L. Gray 1868 p. 15)

This description differs markedly from Lucy's draft notes where she calls the hotel 'rough and pokey' and describes her experience as,

I was shown to the bedroom & provided with a scanty supply of muddy water... . In the small bedroom one little window made to let in light but not air, two beds festooned with dirty mosquito netting and dingy red blankets for coverlets. (Allingham 1987 p. 416)



Figure 4-19: Sketch of The Alice Hotel from the diary of Lucy Gray (1868).

The hotel had several owners including a female licensee Anna Godson who ran the hotel on three separate occasions from 1888-1889, 1891-1892 and finally, after she had married George Walker, the owner from 1892 to 1896, for another seven years until it closed in 1903. It likely closed due to the decreasing traffic resulting from the opening of the railway (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 117). The site of the hotel is now in a private garden on the banks of the Alice River with the only definitive remaining evidence being tamarind trees, which once surrounded the building.

4.5.3 The Eureka Hotel

This was located at the top of the range and the original building was an unlicensed shanty built and run by A. C. Bailey who later took over The Great Northern Hotel in Dalrymple (Gibson-Wilde 1980 p. 6; *Port Denison Times* 1865a). The Eureka Hotel

was built in 1865 by Rowe and Hume on or near the site of the original shanty, using bush timber and split slabs at a cost of 700 pounds (*Townsville Herald* 1878). When advertised for sale in April 1869 it was documented as having a large main building that contained two sitting rooms, seven bedrooms and a spacious bar, with outbuildings comprising a detached kitchen, servant's rooms and fowl houses (*Port Denison Times* 1869a). Some of this detail can be seen in Figure 4-21 and Figure 4-22.

It is marked on Logan Jack's map (1878), shown in Figure 4-20, as the Eureka Hotel, but called Rowes on an earlier map (Anon 1866), and simply as an inn on the Townsville Census Maps (Queensland Votes and Proceedings 1872, 1877). Gibson-Wilde (1988 p. 155) has documented that from April 1868 Adam Phillips ran a blacksmiths nearby. However, the advertisement for this business may be misleading as it places the shop in 'Thornton's Gap - The Range' (Figure 4-30), with this name often used to designate the foot of the range, rather than the top of the range (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868b).

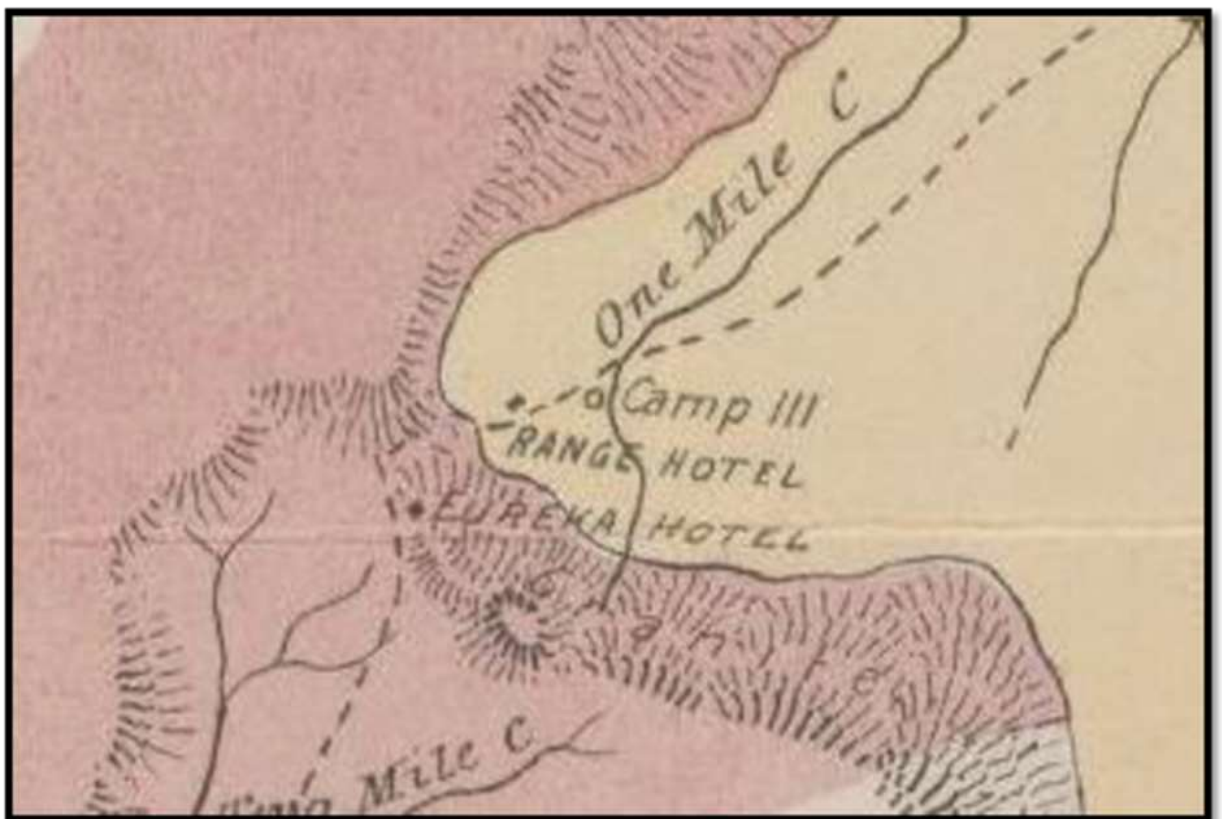


Figure 4-20: Sketch showing the Eureka and Range Hotels (Logan Jack 1878).



Figure 4-21: Photograph of the Eureka Hotel circa 1930 (Anon, 1930).



Figure 4-22: Photograph showing the Eureka Hotel in the background (Gibson-Wilde 1984 p. 18).

The first license was granted to Charles Rowe in 1865 and this was taken over by English widower William Randall in 1867 (Queensland Family History Society 1996), with ‘Viator’ (1933) mistakenly writing that Randall’s hotel was at the foot of the range. William’s first wife Harriet Whimp, whom he had married in England in November 1864, had died in Bowen in 1867 of peritonitis five days after giving birth to their first daughter Harriet Alice, who unfortunately died six days after her mother (Parish Registrar 1864; Registrar General 1867c, 1867d). George Carrington described Mr Randall as a ‘jolly fellow, and above all, a man of education’, who was aided in the running of the hotel by one man who acted as butler and general servant (1871 pp. 210-

211). By 1869 widow Georgina Maston was also being employed as a housekeeper and she married William Randall at the hotel in October of that year (Registrar General 1869h). In 1875 William Rolfe took over the licence of the hotel and after he was killed in a horse riding accident in 1883 his wife Joanna retained the licence until she retired in 1895, after which time her sons took over (*The Brisbane Courier* 1884).

The Eureka Hotel was favourably mentioned by travellers of the day, as after the steep climb it would have been a welcome site with its verandahs, sea views and garden (A Traveller 1878; Carrington 1871; L. Gray 1868; Smith and Dalton 1995),

...on the Range top, the old landmark, Rolfe's Hotel, called for a visit, and stirring were the nights when the teamsters assembled to drink 'good luck' for the trip ahead, and celebration of the mountain ascent achieved. (Tramp 1929)

The hotel had several name changes over the years being known as the Sanatorium between 1879-1883 in an effort to extol its healthy climate, as Rolfe's for the following two years and then back to the Eureka. In 1886 Joanna Rolfe renamed it the Range, creating some later confusion with the by now closed Range Hotel (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988). There is a small family cemetery near-by in which William, Johanna and two of their children are buried. Today the hotel is run as the Heritage Tea Rooms and is listed on the Queensland Heritage Register as a rare example of bush carpentry and as one of the earliest surviving slab buildings (Queensland Government 1992).

4.5.4 The Plumtree Creek Hotel

The Plum Tree Creek Hotel was located close to Keelbottom Creek on the far side of Hervey Range, close to the road (Figure 4-23). It was built by John Chisholm in November 1867 and was initially called the Dotswood Hotel. It had two sitting rooms and five bedrooms (*Port Denison Times* 1867a) and was described in very unfavourable terms by Charles Bowly, who declared it to be the roughest building he had ever seen. It was built with rough-hewn logs, had a bark roof, no ceilings and rough partitions between the rooms (Smith and Dalton 1995 p. 46). It also had the dubious reputation of charging more for drinks as it was located just beyond the line separating town and country drinks prices (A Traveller 1878). The name was changed to the Plumtree Creek Hotel in 1875, with the licence transferring to Henry Gibson in 1879, to Henry Earp in 1881 and finally to Alexander McCrea in 1884 before closing a year later (Gibson-

Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 152). There also appears to have been a small washhouse with a paved floor, a forge 30m to the east of the hotel and the possible remains of the outside toilet (Figure 4-22).

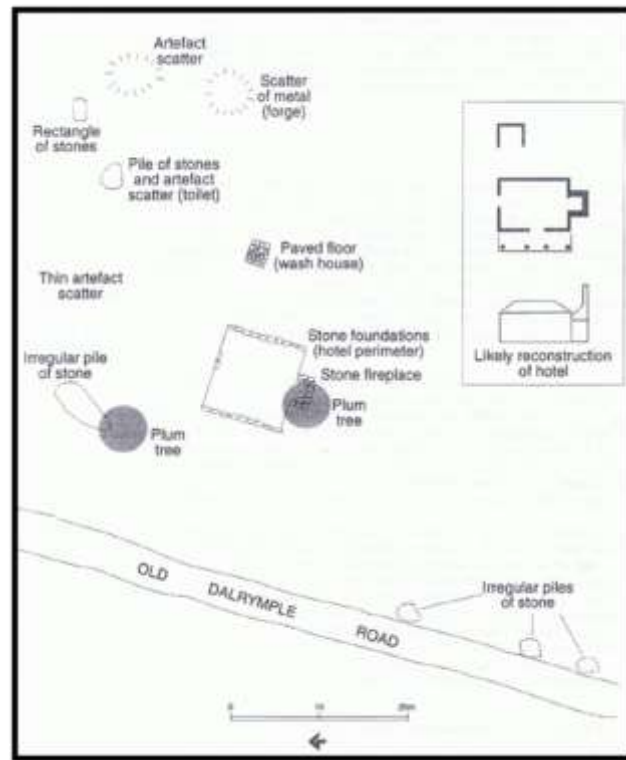


Figure 4-23: Sketch plan of the remains of the Plumtree Creek Hotel surveyed by Bell (1996).

4.6 The Range Hotel and Hamlet

As discussed above the rough locations of the other hotels along Hervey Range Road, even those that have long since disappeared (the Alice and the Bohle), can be gleaned from the historical records and maps of the day, but this is more difficult for the Range Hotel. In the written records it is described simply as being on the old road 'at the foot of the range', but as the actual route of the original Hervey Range Road is uncertain in parts, the exact location of the hotel is unknown. It is also marked on old maps, but its position relative to the road is not consistent. A road map from 1866 (Anon) locates the hotel on the southern side of the road and refers to it as 'Meads' (Figure 4-24), while on Logan Jack's geological map (1878) and the 1871 road trust map (Anon) it is called the Range Hotel and PH (public house) respectively and is drawn to the north of the road (Figure 4-25 and Figure 4-26).

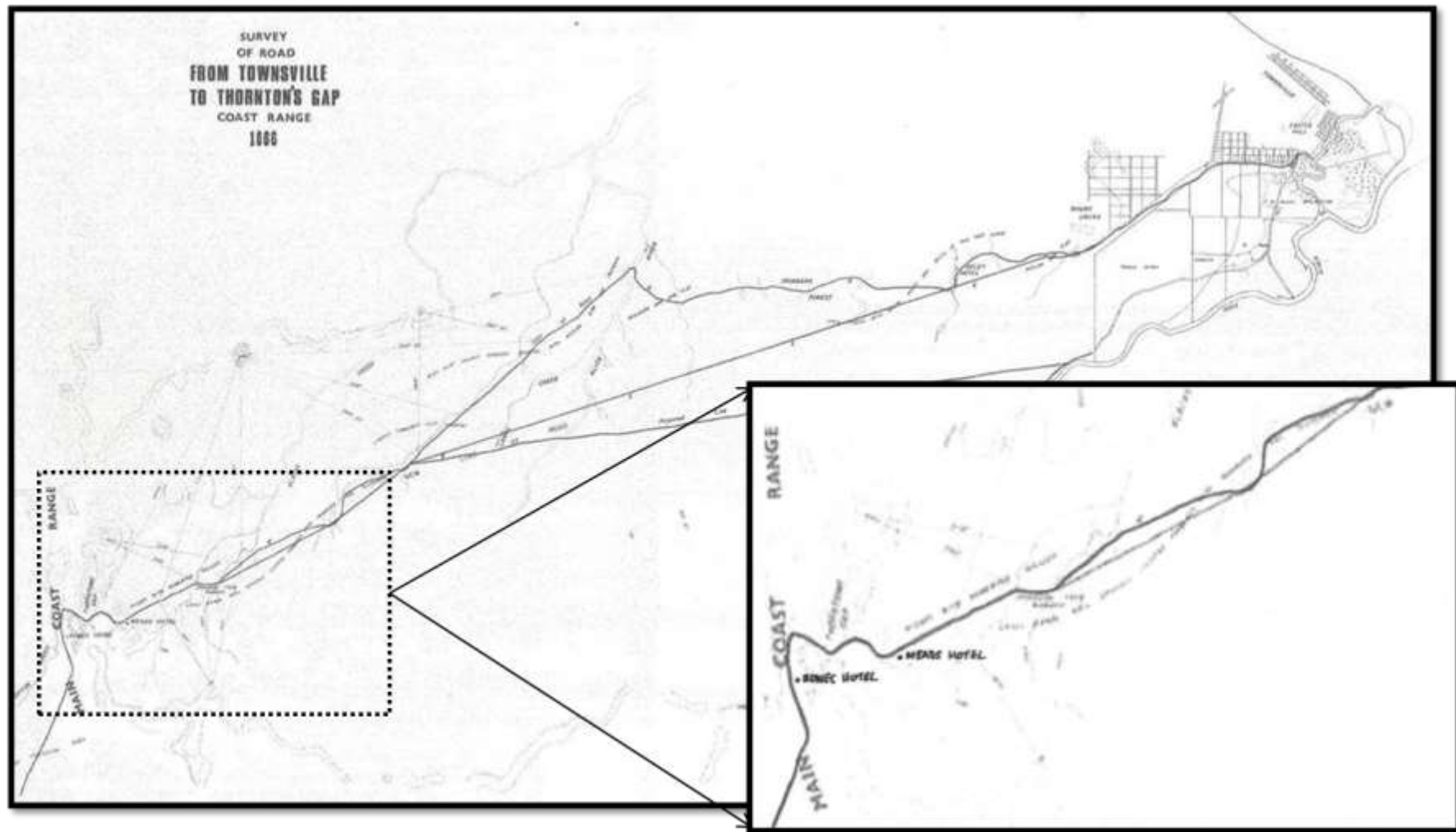


Figure 4-24: Sketch map showing the old Hervey Range Road with the Eureka Hotel (Rowes), far left and the Range Hotel (Meads) (adapted from Anon 1866).

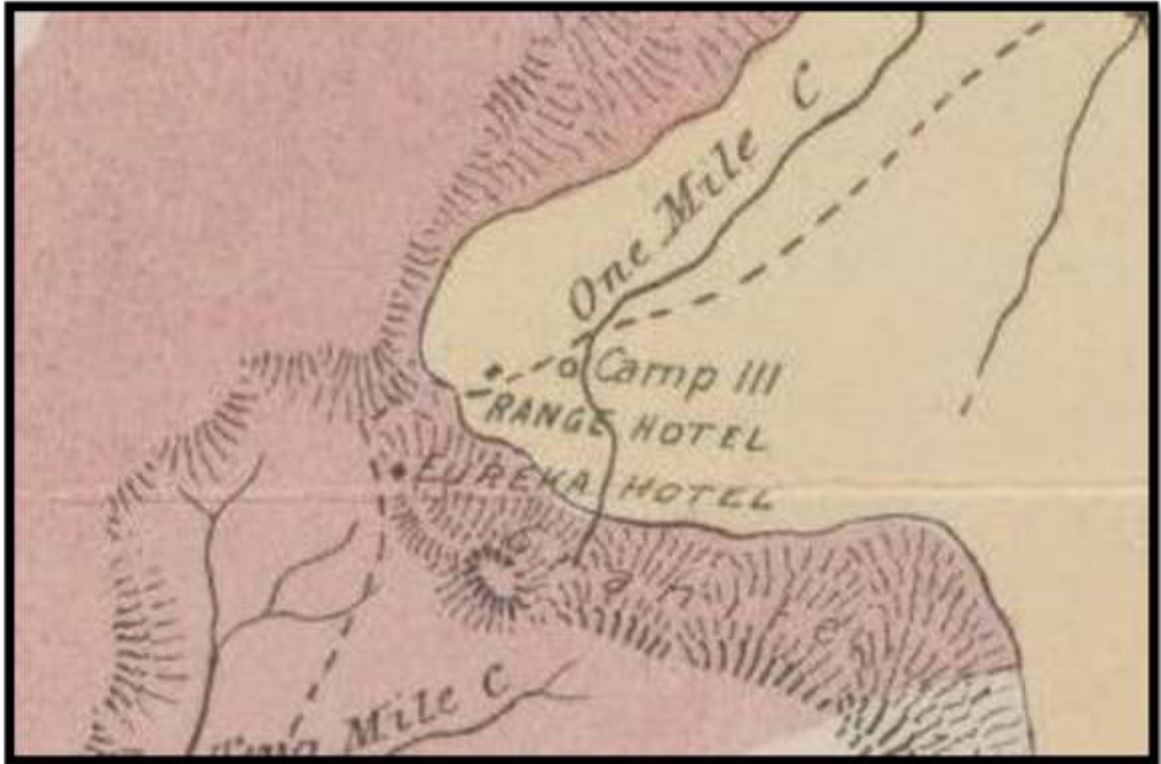


Figure 4-25: Sketch showing the Range Hotel (Logan Jack 1878).

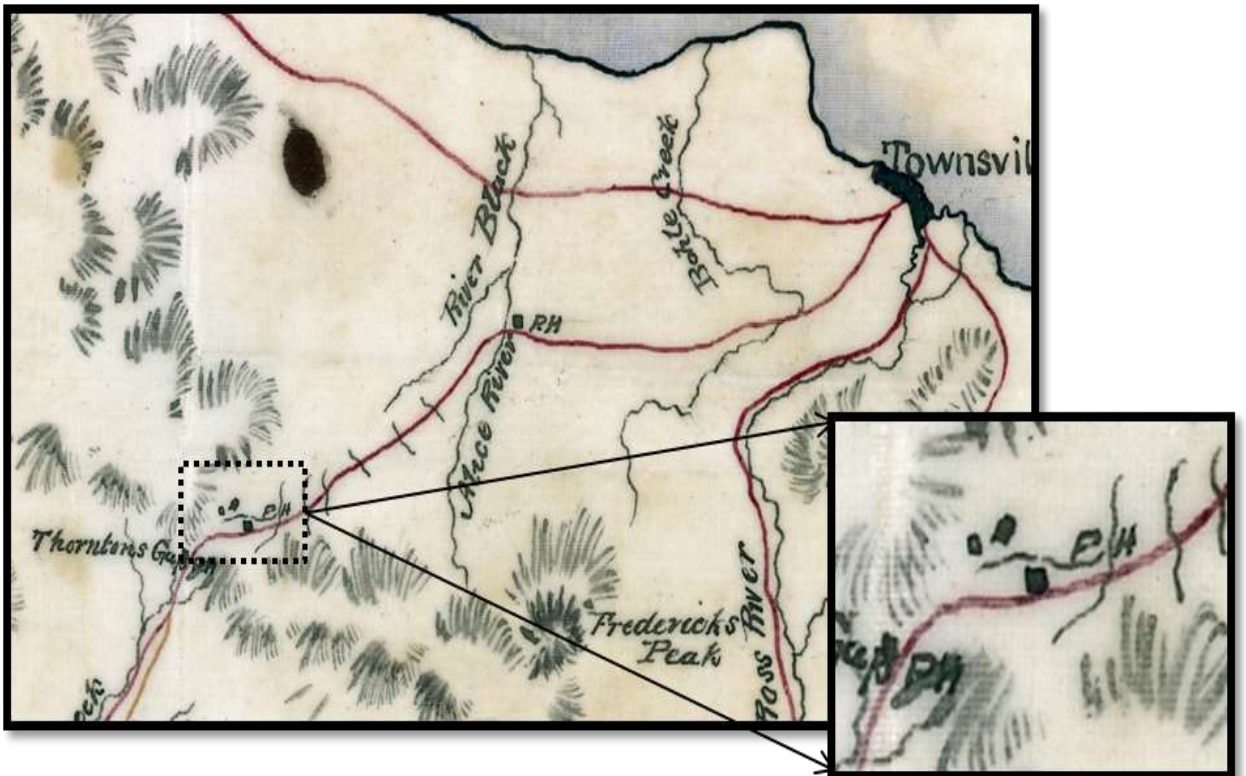


Figure 4-26: Sketch showing the Range Hotel site with PH and 3 small 'buildings' marked (adapted from Anon 1871).

The 1871 map (Anon) shown in Figure 4-26 also provides a clue as to the possible number of buildings in the hamlet. The map appears to show three buildings, one of which is marked as a public house (PH), that are located on either side of a possible creek. This would appear to be unlikely as it does not seem feasible that the hotel was built on one side of a creek, while the other dwellings in the hamlet were built on the far side. A creek would prove difficult to cross anywhere close to the hotel and spending time and money to construct another access track that led off Hervey Range Road at an earlier point would seem illogical. Another factor pointing to the map being a general representation of what was there, rather than an accurate portrayal, is that the Alice Hotel, shown on the same map to the north of the river, was actually located on the opposite side.

There is only one known sketch or picture of the Range Hotel (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882b), shown in Figure 4-27. Its overall size would seem to confirm its general description of having two sitting rooms, six bedrooms and rooms for the family, which can be found in the licence applications of the local newspapers (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a, 1869b). It also has a covered front verandah and appears to be built on low stumps and therefore have a wooden floor as can still be seen at what was the Eureka Hotel. There were several smaller buildings to its rear, one of which may have been the kitchen as it appears to have a chimney.

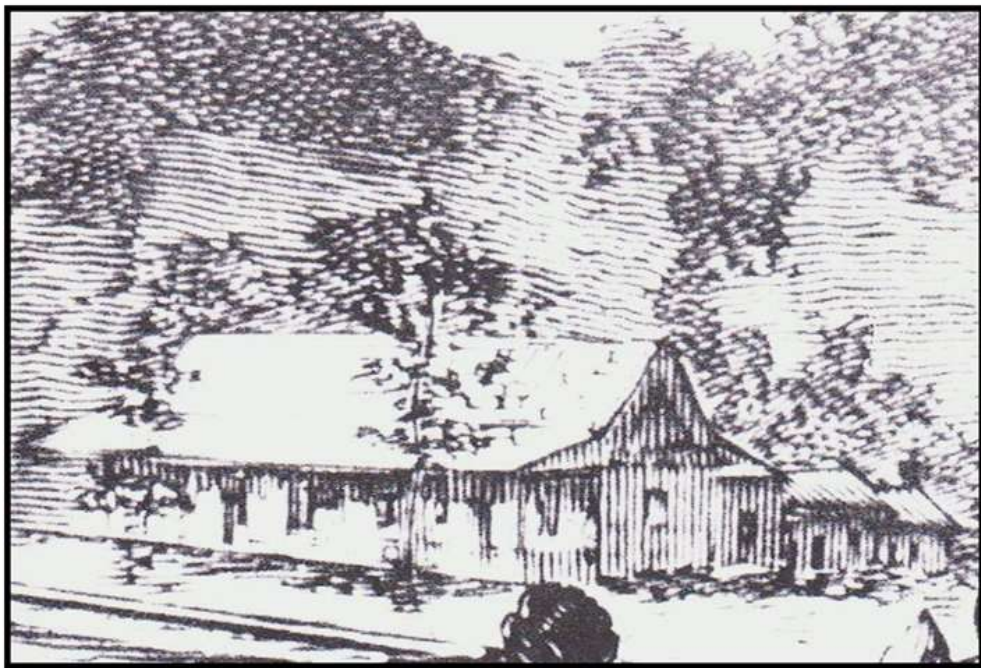


Figure 4-27: Sketch showing the Range Hotel (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882b p. 4).

Two travellers provide some limited additional information with the first commenting on the hotel's pleasant location on a slightly raised area of ground and that the owner had enhanced its appeal by planting Leichhardt trees (A Traveller 1878). A second visitor calls it a 'picturesque-like inn near the foot' (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882b p. 15). The hotel was also advertised by its proprietors in the local newspapers, with Robert Williamson offering 'every comfort for travellers as well as good stabling and secure fenced paddocks' (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a). Maurice Fox concentrated his advertising on the more discerning visitor with 'Capitol accommodation for travellers with first-class Table and cellar' (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1870c).

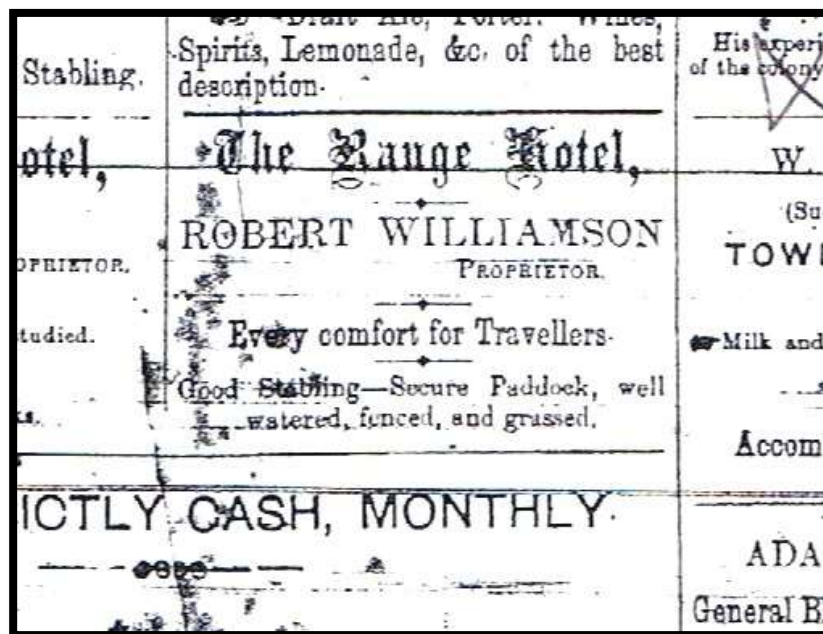


Figure 4-28: Newspaper advertisement for the Range Hotel (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a).

4.6.1 The Blacksmith Shop

The published historical accounts also mention a blacksmith's shop, built by John McNeill that was located 'at the foot of the range' (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868c; Gibson-Wilde & Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 217). This was advertised for sale on 11th March 1868 and it is likely that this is the same blacksmiths advertised as open for business by Adam Rowe Phillips on 28th March 1868 (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868b).

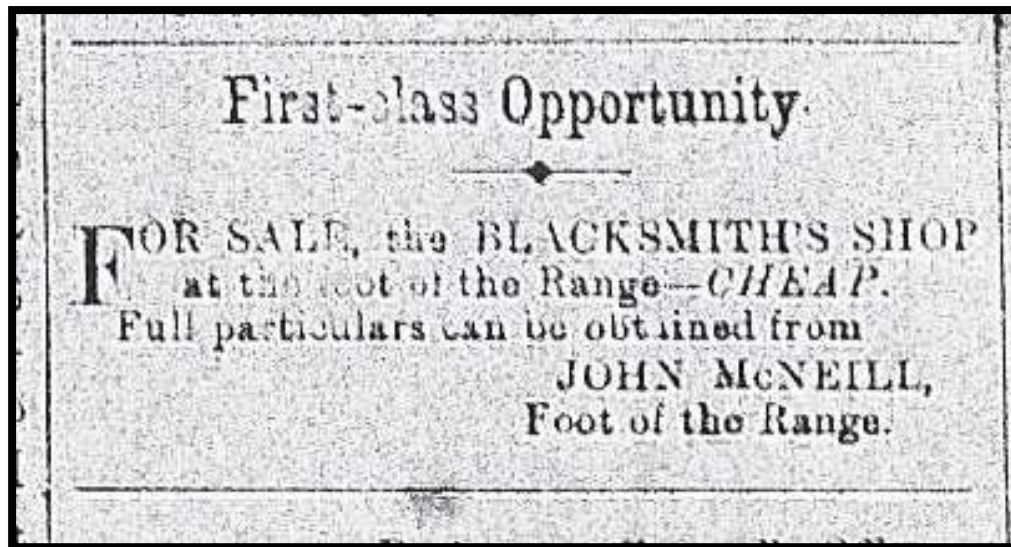


Figure 4-29: Newspaper advertisement for the sale of McNeill's blacksmith's shop (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868c).

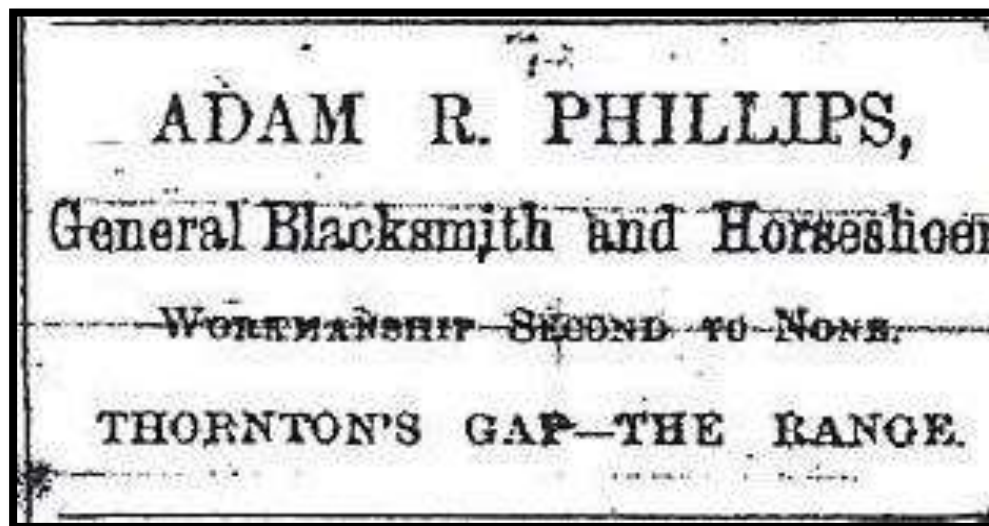


Figure 4-30: Advertisement for a blacksmith's shop at Thornton's Gap (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868b)

4.6.2 The Range Hotel Cemetery

There was also a small cemetery in the hamlet and three headstones are still visible today, although one of these has fallen over (Figure 4-31). The headstones were probably brought up from Brisbane already carved, leaving a local stone mason to add the inscription to the prepared surface (Bell 1998). The layout of the graves and headstones all follow the Victorian convention of facing east, with each grave edge demarcated by a ring of painted white stones. The headstone belonging to Francis Earl,

who died in March 1866, is thought to be the oldest in North Queensland (Bell 1998; Registrar General 1866d). The layout of the headstones suggests that there are as many as 18 unmarked graves present (Bell, 1998). The cemetery is currently maintained by Townsville City Council who clears the area annually.



Figure 4-31: The Range Hotel Cemetery.

4.6.3 Residents of the Range Hotel Hamlet

Prior to this research a certain number of people were known to have lived in the hamlet including the first blacksmith, John McNeill and the named hotel proprietors (Queensland Family History Society 1996):

- ❖ 1865-1867 James Edward Mead
- ❖ 1867-1869 Robert Williamson
- ❖ 1869-1870 Michael Tobin
- ❖ 1870-1873 Maurice Fox
- ❖ 1873-1874 Alfred Palmer
- ❖ 1874-1875 John Cameron
- ❖ 1876-1879 George Hume
- ❖ 1879-1880 Millicent Hume (widow of George)
- ❖ 1880-1881 Patrick Fogarty
- ❖ 1881-1882 Bridget Fogarty (widow of Patrick)
- ❖ 1882-1883 David A. Fraizer (married Bridget Fogarty)
- ❖ 1883-1884 Owen Kilday

The archival research undertaken for this thesis has now identified the names of the wives and children of the married publicans and has discovered that at least three additional families lived in the hamlet (shown in detail in Appendices 9.2 and 9.3). Alexander and Ada Cowper briefly ran a butcher shop there between 1868 and 1871, although no additional references to the locations of this business or their family home was found. John and Mary Langton lived in the hamlet from 1871 until 1874 (Registrar General 1869e, 1871b). It is also likely that Adam and Ann Phillips lived in the hamlet and not at the top of the range as previously suggested by Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde (1988 p. 155), with Adam Phillips taking over the McNeill's blacksmith shop between 1868 and 1873. Adam Phillips advertised that his blacksmith's was at Thornton's Gap (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868b), which could apply to either the top or foot of the range. However, John McNeill nominated his place of residence on official documents (his children's birth and death certificates) as being at Thornton's Gap and he definitely lived at the foot of the range. It seems logical that the person who bought the blacksmith's from him would also use this terminology, especially if they were not from the immediate area.

At least 16 children were born to families in the hamlet, with four of these delivered at the Range Hotel, while another four children were born to women who resided in the hamlet, but who travelled to Townsville to give birth before returning home. Isabella McNeill, wife of the first blacksmith John, delivered the majority of babies both in the hamlet and also at the neighbouring Eureka and Alice Hotels (Registrar General 1866b, 1867b, 1868a, 1868b, 1869a, 1869b, 1869d, 1869e, 1869i, 1871b, 1871c, 1872a, 1872b, 1872c, 1872d, 1873b, 1874a, 1876, 1877a). Records have also identified the names of several other people who may have lived in, or were at least visitors to the hamlet, including Patrick Watson, Johnnie Reynolds, George Gassie, the Littlefields, Mrs Healy and Mr and Mrs Grant, although further details of these people are unknown. A number of other currently unnamed people also lived in the hamlet, including the men of the road gang and employees of the hotel, such as the Chinese cook employed by George Hume (Dickson, 1879; Registrar General 1874a; Somerset 1873b). The 1871 census documents that 19 people were present at Thornton's Gap on census night, although how many of these were permanent settlers, road workers or merely travellers is unknown (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive, 1861-1901 p. 5-251).

The residents of the hamlet were relatively young and the majority of adults were aged between 20 and 29 on first arriving there, with the youngest being Millicent Hume. Children under the age of 18 made up 25 per cent of new arrivals, while 26 per cent of the residents were actually born in the hamlet (Figure 4-32). The oldest residents on first arrival were publican Owen Kilday aged 48 and John Langton and Arminius Danner, both of whom were aged 40.

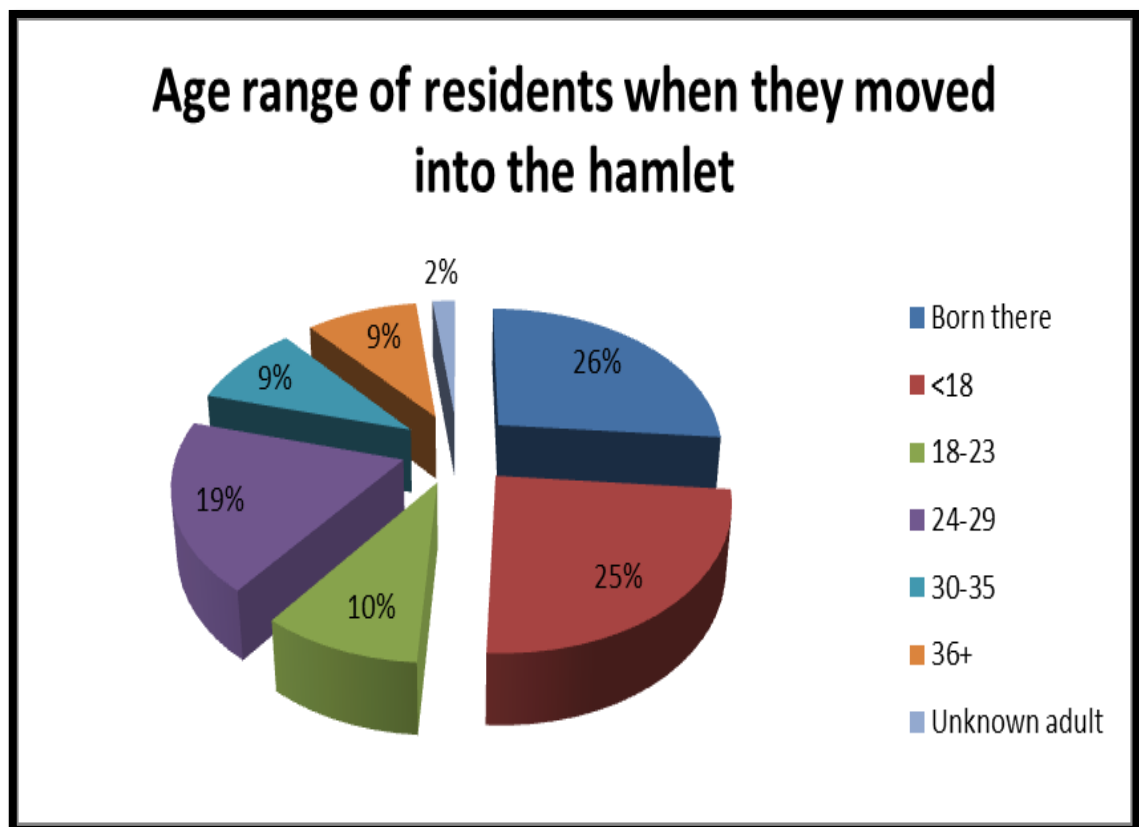


Figure 4-32: Pie chart showing the age of the residents when they initially arrived in the hamlet

The demographics of the *adult* residents are similar to those for Queensland in general, with most being migrants from Great Britain. The majority were English or Irish, although six people arrived from Scotland and one person came from Germany. There were also three first-generation Australian-born residents and all of these were of Irish descent and born in New South Wales (Maurice Fox, Mary Fox and Owen Kilday). Only two residents, Maurice Fox and Owen Kilday, both publicans at the hotel, had any known convict origins. When adults *and* children are taken into account the

demographics begin to change, with the hamlet having a much higher number of Queensland nationals compared to Queensland in general. This reflects the high number of children in the hamlet (Table 4-4 and Figure 4-33).

Where living	Country of Birth					
	Queensland	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Other- (including NSW)	Unknown
Queensland 1868	23%	25.5%	20%	8.5%	23%	
Queensland 1871	30%	22%	17.5%	7%	23.5%	
Queensland 1876	34%	21%	14%	5%	26%	
Range Hotel hamlet (1866-1884)	50%	18%	12%	11%	7%	2%

Table 4-4: Table looking at the nationalities of all the hamlet's residents and those of Queensland in general (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1861-1901).

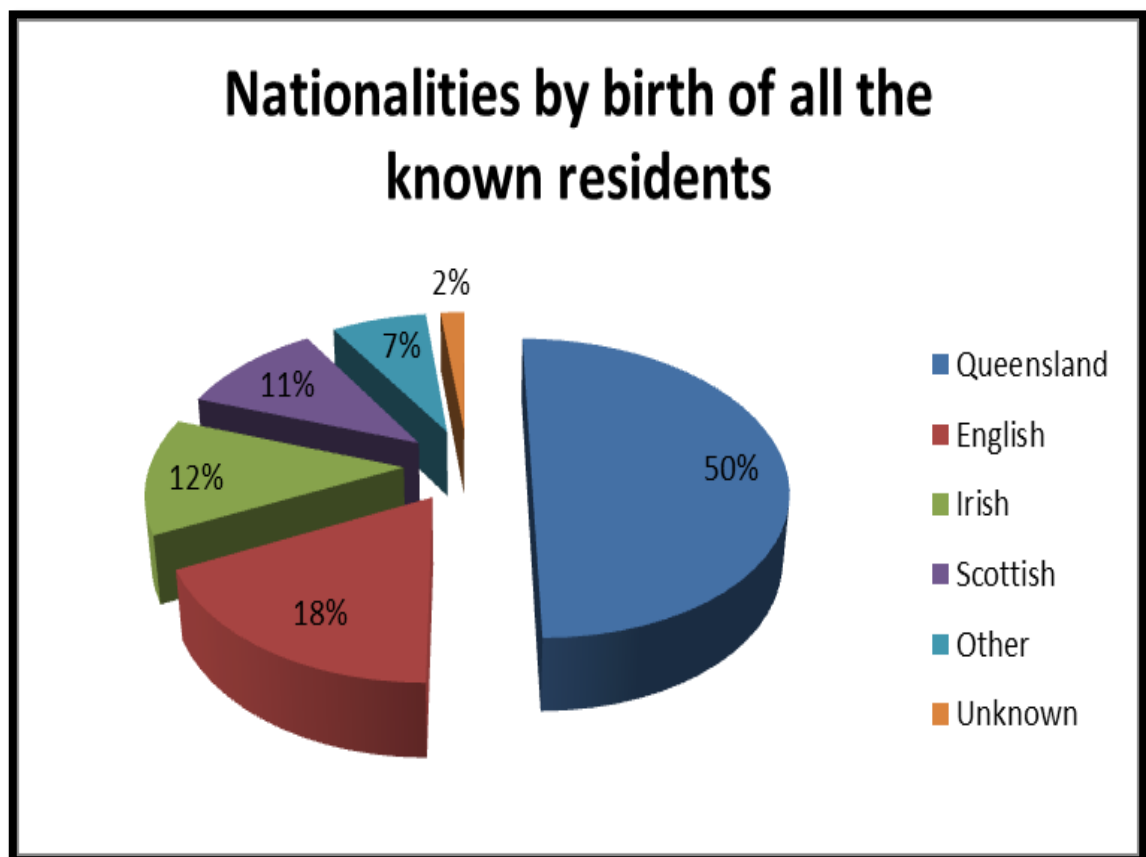


Figure 4-33: Pie chart showing the nationalities of all known residents of the hamlet.

John, Isabella and Janet McNeill were the hamlet's longest serving residents living there for about 12 years. A third of the residents lived there between three and four years and 15 per cent stayed between five and ten years, with only eight per cent saying longer than this. A significant number, 15 percent, only stayed for around 12 months and 11 per cent of residents tragically died there (Figure 4-34 and Table 4-5).

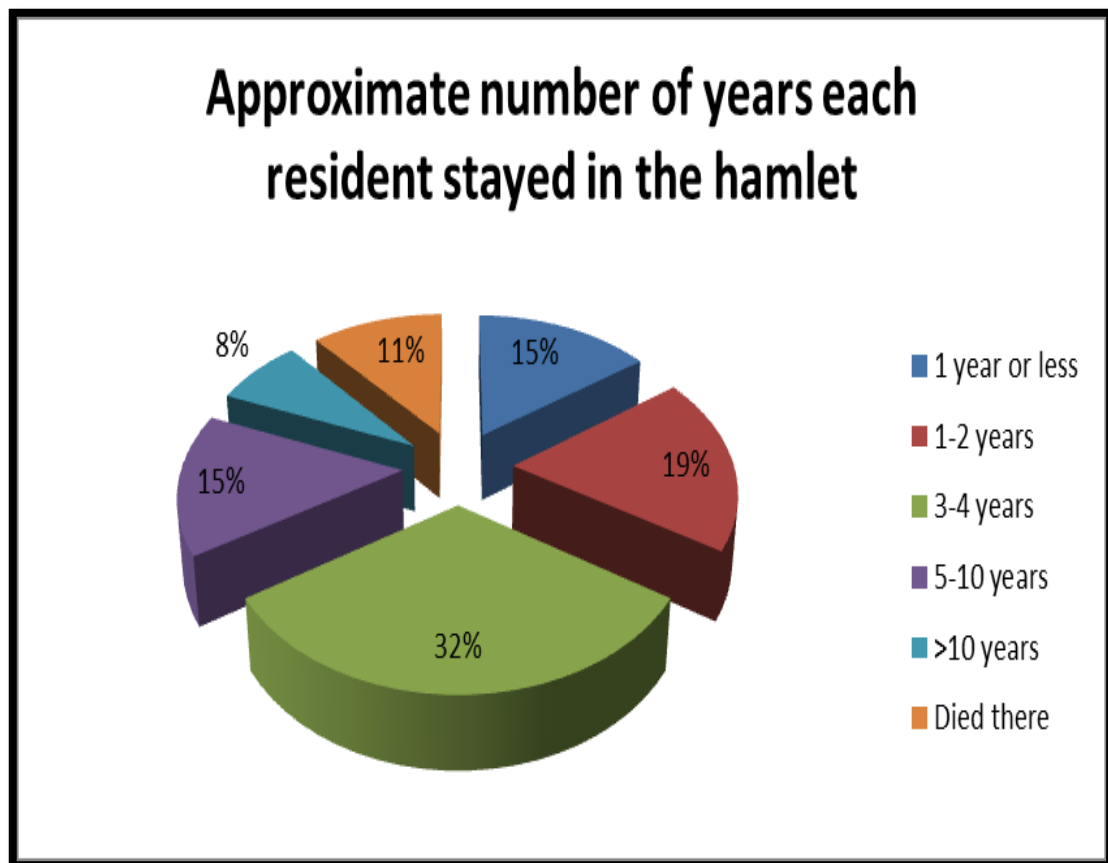


Figure 4-34: Pie chart showing how long people lived in the hamlet.

Seven people are now known to have died in the hamlet and they are all buried in the local cemetery: five died at the Range Hotel, one at the McNeill's home and one at the Langton's home (Table 4-5). The death of John Henry Bell from nearby Black River brings the total number of known internments in the cemetery to eight (Registrar General 1866c, 1866d, 1872e, 1873c, 1873d, 1879c, 1879d, 1881b).

Name	Birth and death date	Age	Place of death	Cause of death	Witnesses	Head-stone
Francis Earl	Jan 1839-12 th March 1866	24 years	Range Hotel	Fever	James Mead William Freer	Yes
Sarah/Eliza Mead	5 th -19 th March 1866	7 days	Range Hotel	Fever	Isabella McNeil Catherine Green	No
Duncan McNeil	Dec 26 th 1865-25 th Oct 1872	6 years	Range Hotel	Accidental poisoning	John Langton N. Bronton?	No
Elizabeth McNeil	30 th Sept 1862 - 19 th April 1873	10 years	At home-the blacksmiths	Snake bite	William Randall Alfred Palmer	No
Mary Langton	1845-6 th Dec 1873	28 years	At home-‘The Retreat’	Suicide by drinking Strychnine	Fitz-Roy Somerset George Rushton	Yes
John Henry Bell	Jan 14 th 1875-11 th May 1879	4 years	At home-‘Bellvue’, Black River	Inflammation of lungs	John Sharkey Michael Murphy	Yes
George Hume	1841-22 nd January 1879	38 years	Range Hotel	Disease of the heart	William Rolfe John Kennedy	No
Patrick Fogarty	1843-21 st April 1881	38 years	Range Hotel	Tuberculosis (Phthisis)	John Kennedy Henry Page	No

Table 4-5: Table listing the names, dates, age, place and cause of death for the marked and unmarked graves of the Range Hotel Cemetery

4.6.4 The Harsh Realities of Life in the Hamlet

The residents would have found their new environment very different to what they had been used to in Britain and Ireland and yet migrants often had a strong desire to live in a way that was recognisable and familiar. There must have been at least three or even four houses in the hamlet and these were probably all located to the west of the Range Hotel, close to the road (Figure 5-49). It is known that the Langton’s home was called ‘The Retreat’ and that it was located ¼ mile from the hotel, with the McNeill’s home in between the two and that George Gassie could see Mary Langton in her kitchen when he rode past on the road (Somerset 1873b). Some of the houses may, at least initially, have been tents rather than more permanent structures, especially if new residents were unsure as to how long they would stay in the hamlet. However, the McNeill’s home and the Langton’s ‘Retreat’ would likely have been more permanent wood and bark structures with the inquest into Mary Langton’s death revealing that her home had at least a kitchen, a sitting room and two bedrooms (Somerset 1873b). Kitchens in the

hamlet may have been integrated into the main house structures, but it is more likely that they were located in a separate area. Cooking facilities at this time were often little more than ‘gypsy fires under a bough shade...while a trench cut around the fire Carrie[d] the rain away. The baking [was] done in a camp oven’ (Allingham 1987 p. 145). Kitchens and cooking areas may thus have been a shifting part of the landscape, as facilities were moved after heavy rains or storms.

The design of many bush houses caused other problems as Lucy Gray lamented in her diary when she discussed her newly built house at Hughenden. The wooden house had a two foot space between the top of the walls and the thatched roof, designed for better air flow. Unfortunately, this also allowed feral cats to enter the house (Allingham 1987 pp. 152-153). The household problems posed by wildlife were summarised by the experiences of Mrs Waddell, wife of the manager at Kooraboora Station, Far North Queensland,

Infant in arms and with small tired children [she] faced the roughest of conditions.... Ants swarmed in her kitchen and over the set table.... Flying ants and beetles surrounded the kerosene lamps. Dingoes took the young goats, goannas the hens’ eggs, native cats slaughtered the poultry, hawks the young chickens [and] snakes invaded the house when the rains came. (Bolton 1970 p. 175)

Much of the wildlife in North Queensland would have been new to the inhabitants of the hamlet. New creatures would have included poisonous snakes, kangaroos, possums, parrots, curlews, cicadas and mosquitos, while other pests, such as wild dogs, spiders, ants and rats would have been more recognisable, but equally unwelcome. Lucy and Eva Gray frequently wrote about the distressing wildlife that they encountered, which included scorpions, mosquitos that came out after storms, flies that would devour those without flyveils and the white ants that ‘ate Mrs Anning’s buggy’ (Allingham 1987 pp. 336, 337, 349, 419). A common illness in the early settlers was ‘fever and ague’, an expression used to describe increasing tiredness, loss of appetite, intermittent chills and debilitating sweats. This was most likely to have been diseases spread by the seemingly ever-present mosquitos (Hann 1975 p. 87). The inherent danger of other wildlife would also have been brought starkly to the fore in the hamlet when, in 1873, 10 year old Elizabeth McNeill died after being bitten by a black snake (Somerset 1873a).

Early settlers attempted to ‘tame’ the natural bush by constructing fences around cleared paddocks and by creating vegetable gardens. Fences were used to prevent animals from straying and the presence of a good secure paddock was often listed on the newspaper advertisements for hotels (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869a). Domesticated animals such as cows, hens, goats and pigs were often reared for meat, eggs and milk, from which the cream would then be removed to make butter. These additional sources of food for the families were particularly important when the nearest town was a three-to-four day journey away (Allingham 1987 pp. 349, 355; L. Gray 1868 p. 15). Vegetable gardens potentially provided the greens and fruits that were often in scarce supply and could not easily be kept beyond a few days in the warm climate. Unfortunately success was sometimes limited as few things would grow in the poor soil, water was scarce in the dry winter months and anything that did manage to grow was often quickly eaten by bush-rats, possums and quails (Carrington 1871 pp. 210-211). The vegetable garden at Dotswood Station, for instance, was ‘fenced and nicely laid out’, but only had a few pineapples and watermelon growing in it due to the lack of water (Allingham 1987 p. 422). This description contrasts with that given of the Eureka Hotel where there was ‘a nicely kept garden with flowers growing profusely’ (A Traveller 1878). In the hamlet the Langton family were known to have had a large vegetable garden near their house, which was tended to by John Langton, as he referred to working there as his ‘usual work’ (Somerset 1873b).

The climate in North Queensland would also have caused problems, shifting from hot, humid summers that brought cyclones and monsoonal rains to warm, dry winters, often associated with drought. Whippole (1923) commented on the climate when recounting a journey he made along Hervey Range Road in 1891 when, even in May, which heralds the start of winter, the atmosphere at the foot of the range was damp and humid, while at the top the breeze was bracing and cool,

...never will I forget the exhilarating change as we went higher, higher and higher until we reached the top. Talk about a change. No human being could believe that it was possible to pass from one climate to another in so short a space of time. (Whippole 1923 p. 7)

In March 1867 a cyclone nearly destroyed the fledgling township of Townsville. The Eureka Hotel lost its tin roof, flooding the floor beneath, while the Bohle River flooded

to within 20m of the Bohle Hotel, which also nearly lost its roof. The road over the range was made completely impassable due to fallen trees, rocks that were strewn across the road and deep gullies that had been created by the water (*Cleveland Bay Express and Northern Advertiser* 1867). Floods were also common during the wet season with considerable damage done to both property and the road, often stranding people for weeks and temporarily swelling the number of travellers in the small roadside towns and hotels (Sundowner 1953). One major flood occurred during the 1869/1870 wet season with the Burdekin River rising so high that it ‘presented an appearance more like a sea than a river’ and ‘on the Dalrymple side the whole township was submerged to within a few feet of the roofs of the houses’ (Burgess 1923; Sundowner 1951).

Drought was also a recurring theme and the resultant bush fire risk would have potentially made life difficult for the residents (*Cleveland Bay Express* 1866; *Port Denison Times* 1867b). One newspaper correspondent believed that the loss of property, fencing, cattle and ‘hundreds and hundreds of miles of bushland’ to fires, was due to the carelessness of people leaving campfires unattended, or throwing away lit matches after lighting their pipes (Bushman 1876). Fire must have been a frightening concern for settlers with houses constructed of either wood or canvas. However, around small towns and along country roads the large and ever-present travelling stock herds may have helped to keep the undergrowth to a minimum, reducing to some extent the risk and spread of fire. However, the positive impact of these animals may have been tempered somewhat by their more negative attributes, with the smell of dung likely creating an ever-present stench, especially on hot, humid days.

A variety of smells would have permeated the landscape, from the welcoming aromas of food being cooked, to the unpleasant odour from animal droppings and human waste. The smell from the butcher’s that briefly operated in the hamlet between 1868 and 1870 would also have been noticeable, especially during hot summer months, with unwashed blood attracting flies and the smells of decomposition (Registrar General 1869e). The locations of toilets and rubbish dumps for the businesses and homes would also have been identifiable by their odour, especially if food waste was present. The smells from loaded drays carrying wool or hay would have changed in strength depending upon whether they were wet or dry, with the rain also causing household items to become mouldy and damp. Personal hygiene was unlikely to have been a priority for many of

the carriers and a hotel bar full of unwashed and sweaty men would have created its own unique atmosphere, enhanced by the smell of pipe smoke.

In the hamlet's heyday noise would have been a constant companion, gradually changing as the day rolled into evening and then night. Even before its actual occupation by settlers, Hervey Range would have reverberated with the shouting and swearing of the carriers using the early track over the range, the noise level increasing exponentially when the sixty men of the road work gang arrived in 1865 (Griffin 1983 p. 99; Madden 1931 p. 9). On still days these words may have carried for miles, providing advanced warning to those at the top that a dray was approaching (Carrington 1871 p. 208; L. Gray 1868 p. 16). The variety of languages and accents heard would have demonstrated the gamut of countries people came from: broad Glaswegian, lilting Irish, Cockney slang, Welsh, Liverpoolian, Chinese, German and more. Some of these men may have assisted James Mead and William Freer in building the Range Hotel, perhaps in return for free alcohol with the ensuing inebriation creating more noise in the form of shouting, singing, fighting and even gunshots (Bell 2000 p. 24; Cannon 1973 p. 91).

All of these sounds would have added to the on-going background noise of the bush: screams of cockatoos, the unmistakable cries of curlews and the intermittent laughing of kookaburras. Evening was heralded by the increasing crescendo of noise from cicadas and with the 'hiss and whimper of possums' mixing with the cries from cuckoos, morepecks and curlews. A regularly heard night-time noise described by one man 'as of an iron bar or hatchet clanging against a hollow tree', remained forever unidentified (Carrington 1871 pp. 214-215). Added to these night time noises for the carriers camping under their drays would have been cow bells, the sounds of hoofs as their animals moved around them, the crackle of camp fires and the drunken verbalisations and ramblings of fellow travellers. For the inhabitants of the hamlet all of these problems from house design, to the wild life, to the vagaries of the climate and the smells and sounds associated with daily life would have added to the overall experience of living in the hamlet and to the feelings and memories attached to it.

4.7 Summary

Townsville, although suffering some early setbacks, grew steadily from its meagre start with the discovery of payable gold in 1867 providing the impetus for the town's expansion. Melton Black's insight that transport infrastructure was as equally important as providing a good port meant that most miners sent their gold to Townsville, rather than to Bowen. A few photographs still exist, which show the tents and simple houses of the early town and its rural fringes and these probably reflect what the houses in the Range Hotel hamlet would have looked like. By 1874 Townsville had a variety of shops and amenities, including the essential green grocers, bakers, builders, carpenters, boot makers and blacksmiths, but it also boasted hairdressers, jewellers and a photographer. Residents could also purchase items that they felt reflected their social status or aspirations, such as non-essential household décor, fashionable dresses and decorative domestic ceramics. Professionals, such as accountants, doctors, lawyers and teachers also moved into the town to cater for the needs of the growing population. A significant number of women were present in Townsville's early days, making up 40 per cent of the town's population, although their numbers were less in the more rural areas of the Kennedy District. It is known that at least 15 per cent of the women in town were actively working, with jobs in the service industries being particularly popular as they were viewed as respectable occupations for females. However, little additional information about women or families is present in the written documents presenting a gap in the knowledge of social dynamics and engendered relationships in the area's early settlement.

Knowledge of the historical context is critical to understanding where and why places evolved and provides the background to people's interactions with, and connection, to place. As discussed above the Range Hotel was built at an important time in Queensland's and Townsville's early history. Exploration of the north often occurred before the necessary roads and infrastructure was built, creating enormous problems for the early pastoral settlers and their livestock. John Melton Black's determination to build a port *and* the necessary road inland to make it viable proved to be the undoing of his competitors and the beginnings of Townsville's success. Hervey Range Road, even with its inherent problems that included its steep ascent, frequent damage by inclement weather and constant underfunding, played a pivotal role in this endeavour. The hotels

and businesses along the road provided ‘small oases of civilisation’ to the travellers, pastoralists and miners and all appear to have been of a similar, if rough standard, with an emphasis on serving alcohol rather than food.

Hotels played a vital role in the settlement of North Queensland, with Gibson Wilde and Gibson-Wilde (1988 p. 2) describing hotels in the Kennedy District as literally arriving with the first settlers. This observation contrasts with Freeland’s comments that hotels ‘followed in the footsteps of the explorers, often ahead of the settlers’ (1966 p. 5). Roadside hotels and the blacksmiths that were often associated with them were an integral part of the early road infrastructure, which provided links across the landscape and connected the pastoral stations and gold mines to larger towns and ports. Unfortunately, despite its importance to settlers and to the success of gold mines, road infrastructure in the settlement of Far North Queensland was often a neglected after thought and was perpetually underfunded by the government in Brisbane. This created a constant tension between the inhabitants of the Kennedy District, who protested that their high taxes failed to deliver an increase in services, and the government who ruled from afar. The tension was exacerbated by the government’s decision to install a tollgate on Hervey Range Road, which resulted in protests by the regular carriers who finally boycotted the road, instead travelling further south to cross the range at Reid’s Gap. This social tension, the financial uncertainty of Townsville’s early years, a destructive cyclone and the vagaries of gold mining all formed the historic backdrop to life in the Range Hotel hamlet.

Although the historical review has provided some information about roadside hotels and road infrastructure some questions remain unanswered. How did these places sit within the landscape and were they as isolated as they now appear to be? How did the various residents experience living in this new landscape, especially as the majority had migrated from countries with very different climates? Did people endeavour to recreate the familiar home, family and societal norms that they were accustomed too prior to emigrating and, if so, how can this be identified and assessed? How did the community function within this space and was it inward looking and insular, merely centred on the hotel or were there important and identifiable social relationships that maintained community cohesion? What role, if any, did the travellers have in maintaining or extending the community connections across the wider landscape? With the known historical background in mind the following chapter will look at the results of the field

surveys and excavations to reveal what the archaeology of the Range Hotel hamlet has added to the investigation of these important roadside communities.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

5 The Results of the Surveys, Excavations and Artefact Analysis

This chapter will provide an overview of the results of the archaeological work undertaken for this thesis. The four excavation areas will be discussed in turn with scaled drawings, photographs and artefact summaries providing the important information and findings located at each site. Two additional surveyed areas will then be discussed: the site of a possible house that may have belonged to the McNeill family and the cemetery. This will then be followed by an overall interpretation of the various findings with reasons given as to why each area was designated as being a particular part of the hamlet. Alternative explanations for the various findings and reasons as to why they are less likely to be correct are also explored. A plan for the overall layout of the hamlet within the landscape will then be presented showing how its layout was connected to the road, which then provided a link both east and west allowing travellers, miners and pastoralists to move between the hinterland and port.

5.1 Stone Structure (Excavation Area 1)

The initial survey in 2009 had located two potentially interrelated stone features just to the southern edge of Page Road, about 800m to the east of the foot of the range. Prior to the excavation the first stone feature was thought to be a possible chimney base perhaps the one seen in the sketch of the Range Hotel (Figure 4-27) , while the second feature, which had two rows of stones running parallel to each other was also tentatively thought to be part of a building. Instead, the excavation revealed a forge and a second, seemingly related, area to the south west (Figure 5-1 and Appendix 10.4)

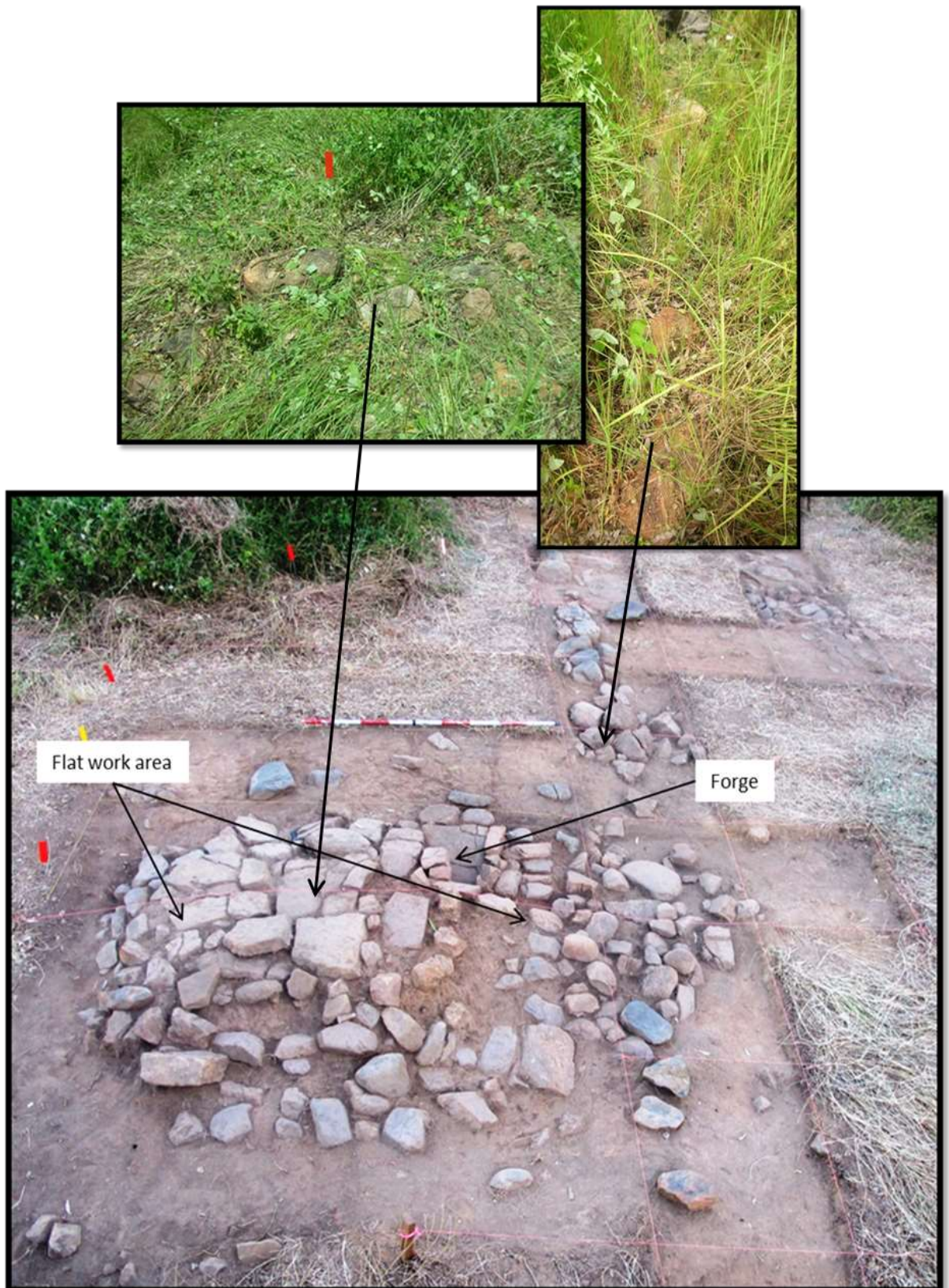


Figure 5-1: Photographs showing the two stone features of Excavation Area 1. Prior to excavation the possible chimney (top right) and one of the stone walls (top left). Lower photograph taken after the excavation showing the forge looking south from Page Road.

5.1.1 The Forge Area

This area has the two main elements needed for a forge: a bellows pit above which the forge was constructed and a place for the anvil (Clarkson 2011b). The once flat, but now undulating stone platform, which formed the base onto which the forge was built, was constructed of varying sized flat rocks. It extended 1.5m to the right of the small forge, 0.5m to its left and 1m to the rear. A post hole, located to the north east corner of the forge, could be part of the original forge walls or a space for the anvil, which was probably mounted on a large block of Australian hardwood (Hyett 2002 pp. 93-94). The platform was constructed on an area of ground that sloped down towards the north and to make it flat it was supported on three rows of stones that over time have collapsed outwards (Figure 5-2, Figure 5-3 and Figure 5-4).

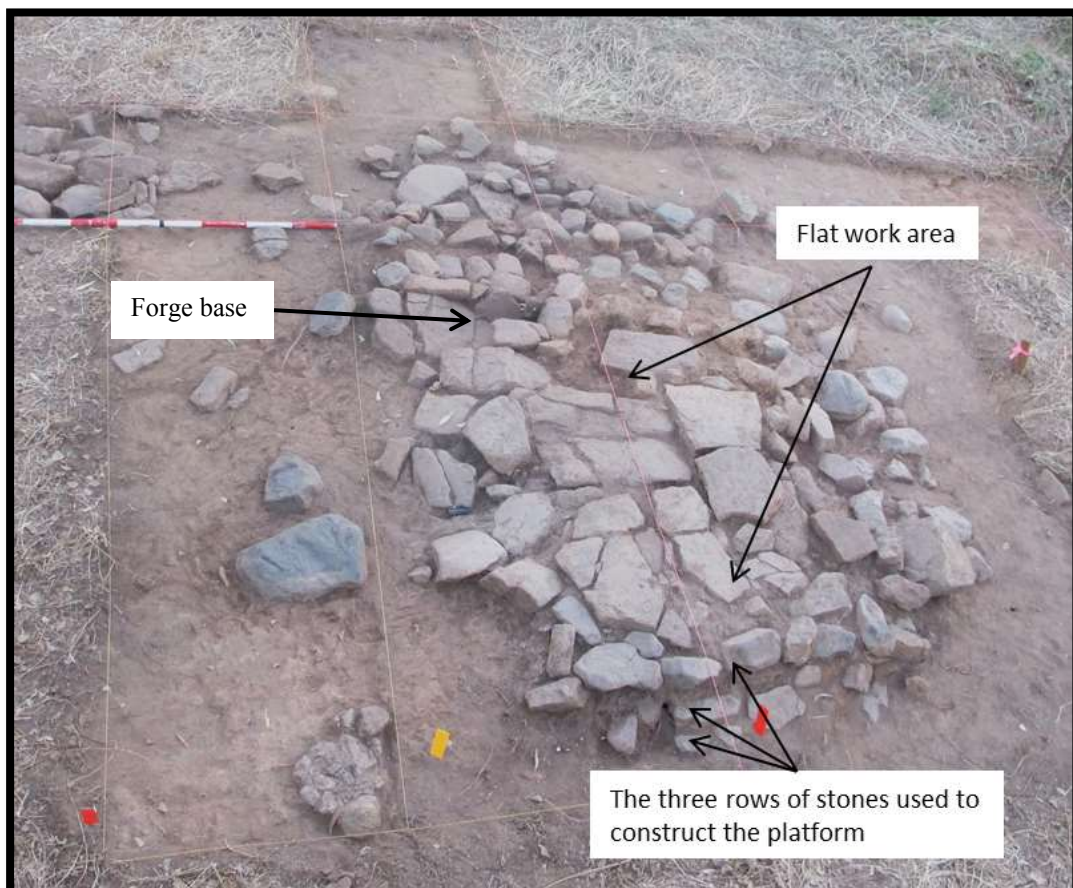


Figure 5-2: Photograph looking down on the stone platform facing west.

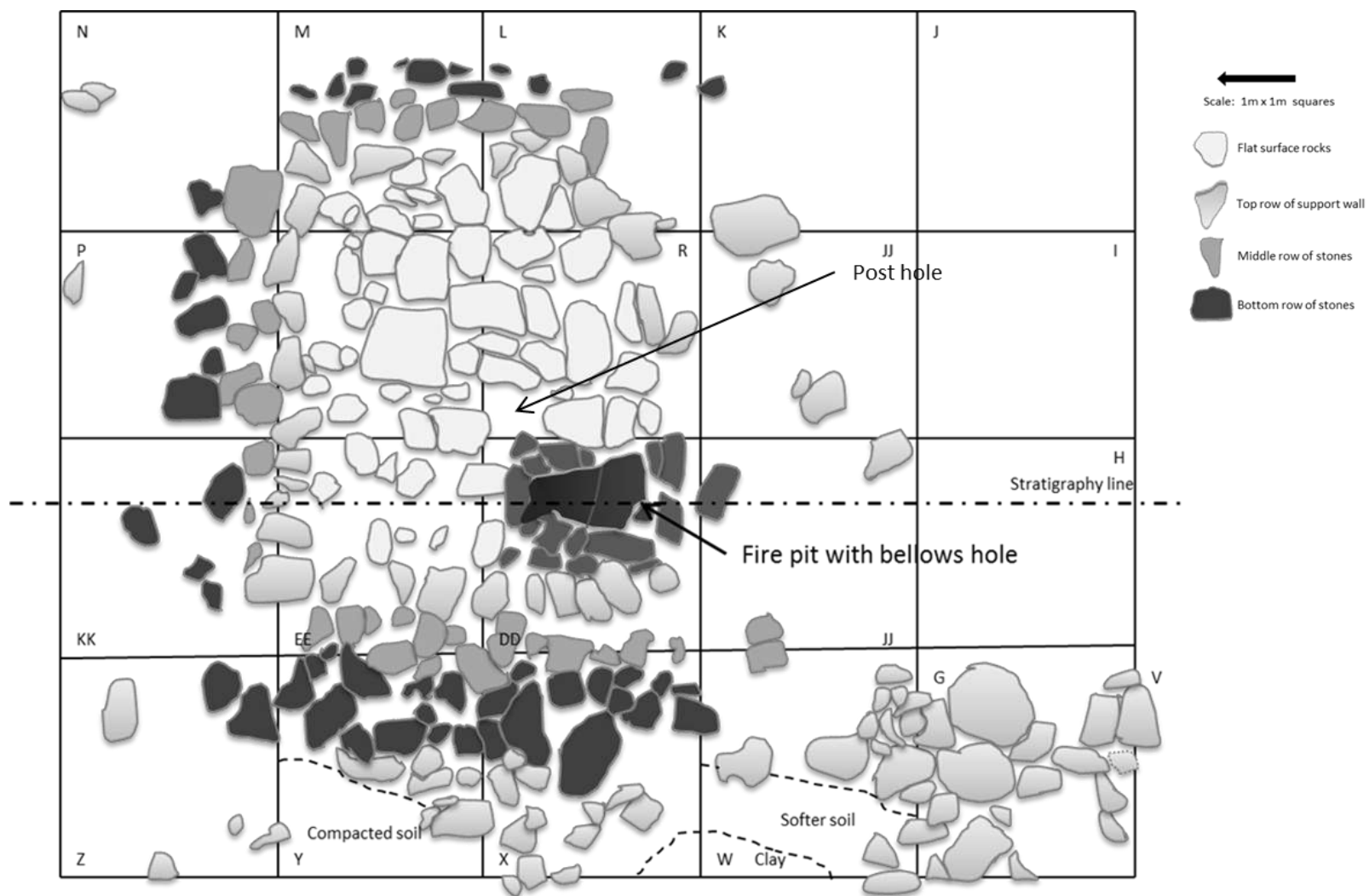


Figure 5-3: Scale drawing of the forge area showing its construction and the position of the stratigraphy line used for the plan shown in Figure 5-4.

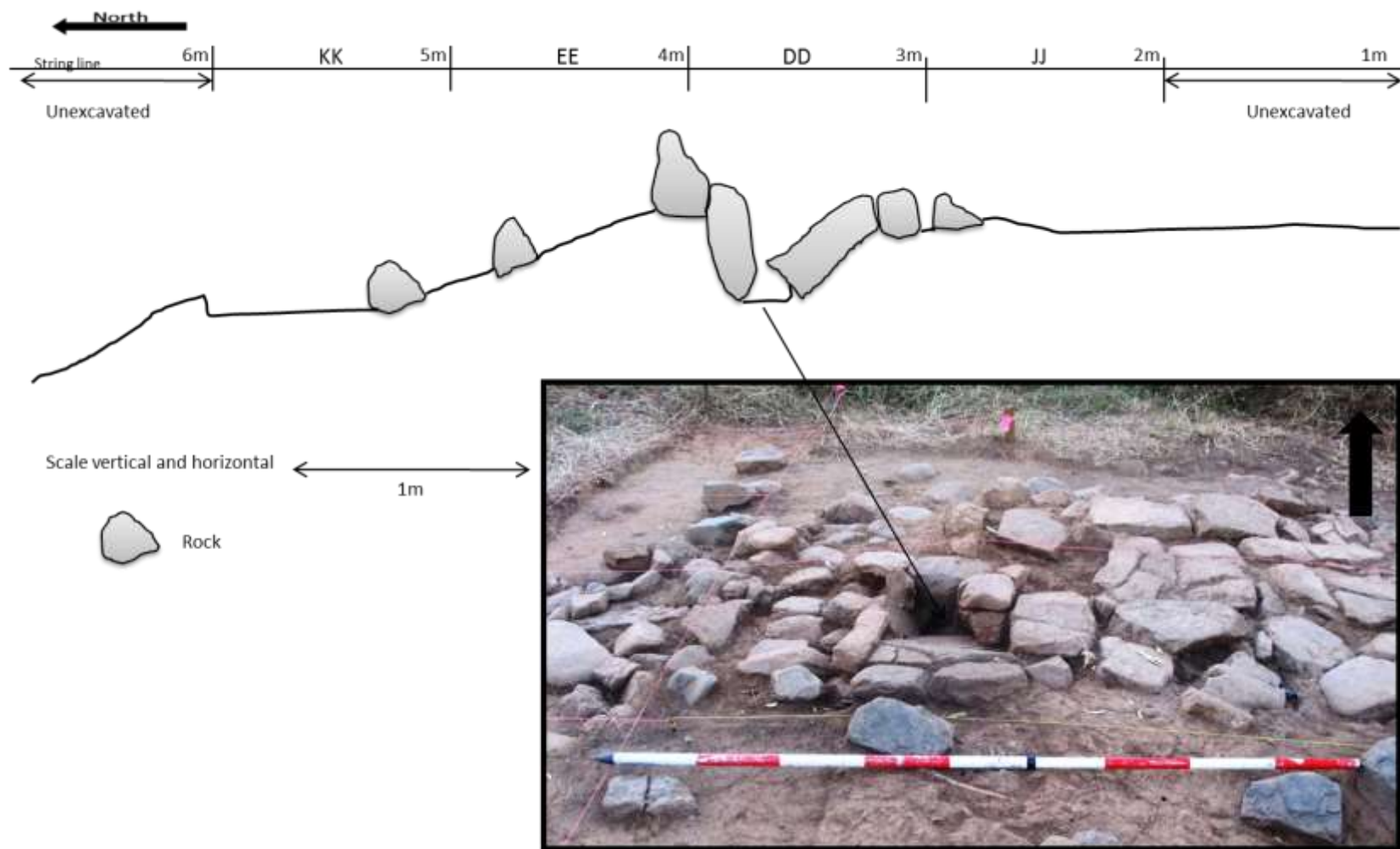


Figure 5-4: Scaled drawing showing the stratigraphy of the forge (line location shown in Figure 5-3) with a photograph of the bellow hole, taken looking north, inserted.

The forge is shown in detail below (Figure 6-8). Its sloping base is composed of a large flat stone, although this has cracked into two large and two smaller pieces. The stones around the edges appear to have been chosen for their shape and would originally have been built up to be much higher than this, creating an area on which the fuel was then burnt. The contents of the forge were removed separately as Feature 1 and consisted of silty loam with a high concentration of both large and small charcoal pieces, a large number of extremely small metal fragments and a button. Two fragments from a ceramic plate were irretrievably wedged beneath its southwest corner stone, but were noted to be the same colour and pattern as plate fragments that had been recovered from soil adjacent to them (Figure 5-5).



Figure 5-5: Photographs showing the forge in more detail with the plate fragments (SF1025), which were recovered directly next to the forge and the button (SF1024) also shown.

5.1.2 The Second Work Area

This area is located to the southwest of the forge and platform (Figure 6-4) and consists of a row of stones that may have been part of a wall, a flat area of small stones to the western side that could represent a floor and two post holes on the western edge located 1m apart. A small gold pendant (SF1023) was found in this area (Figure 5-6, Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8).

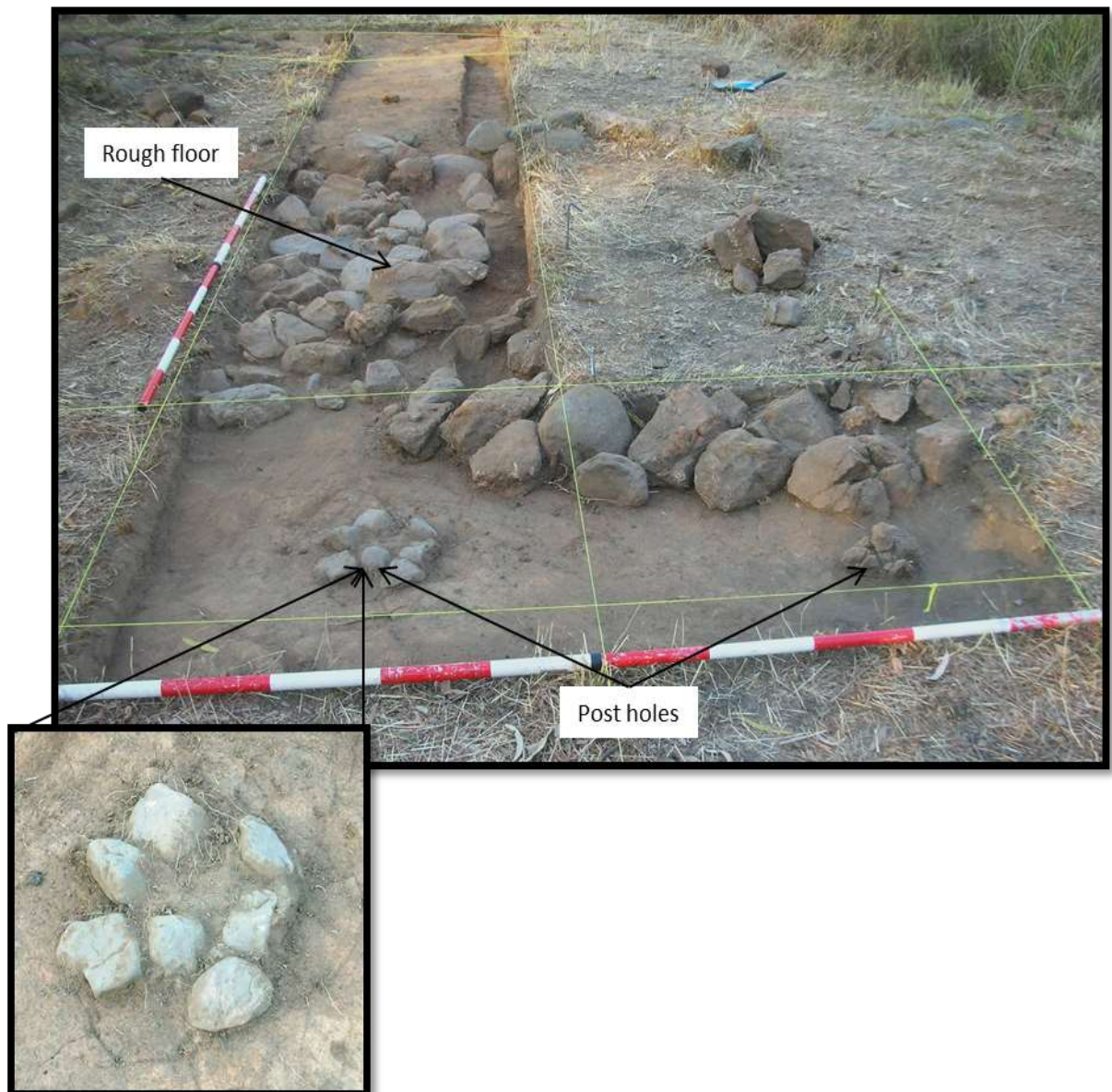


Figure 5-6: Photographs showing the second area prior to completion of the excavation (looking east) and one of the post holes in more detail.

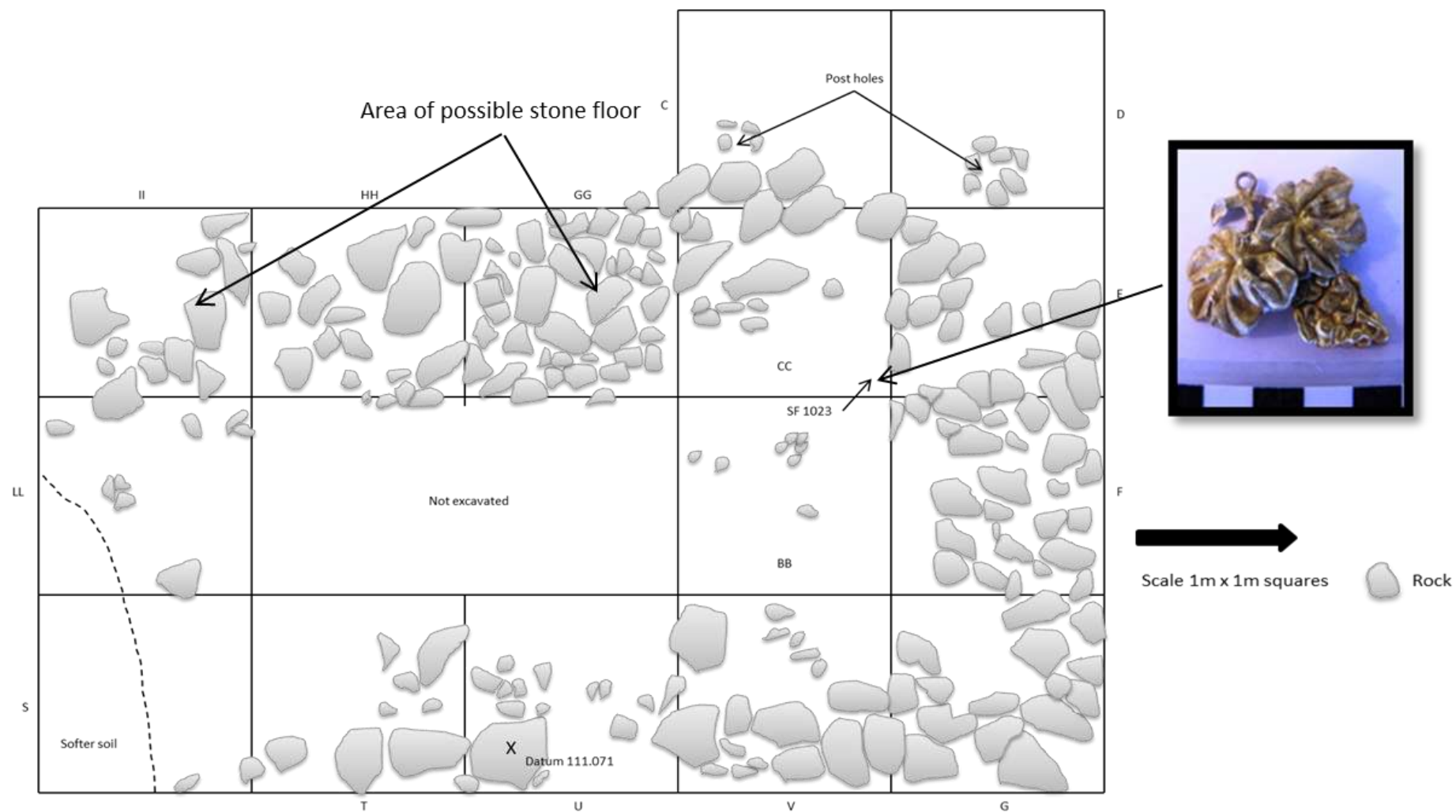


Figure 5-7: Scale drawing of the second stone feature with a photograph of the gold pendant (SF1023) and its location inserted.

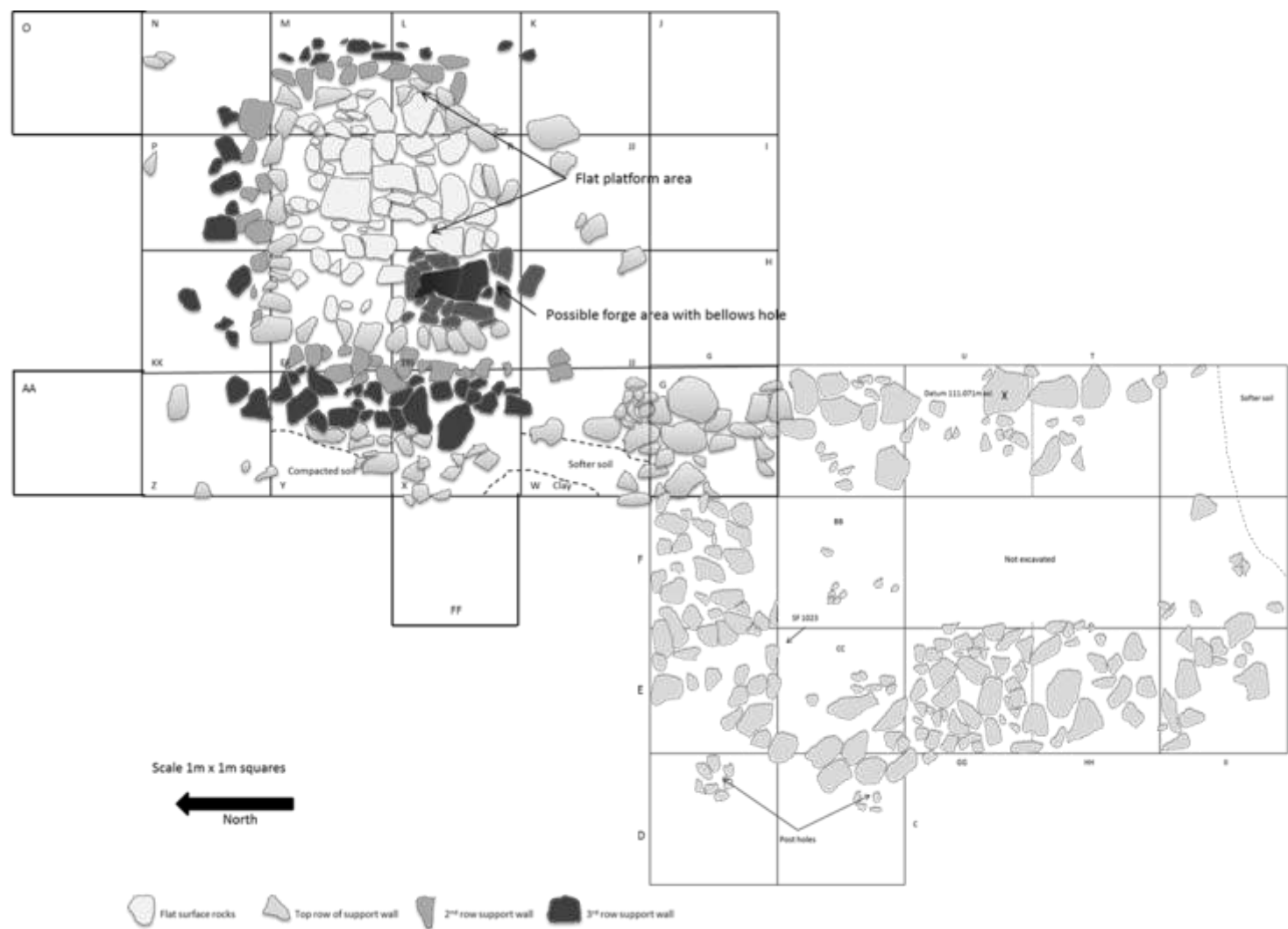


Figure 5-8: Scaled drawing of the whole site showing the layout and relationship between the stone features and the excavation squares.

5.1.3 Artefacts

A total of 1,040 artefacts, including 26 Special Finds (SF) were found during the excavations at the blacksmith site, as shown in Table 5-1 (also see Appendix 10.4).

Artefact type	Number of fragments	Combined weight of fragments (g) if applicable
Glass	840	2736
Ceramic	59 + 1 from a test pit	
Metal	130	
Miscellaneous	22	
Total	1,040	

Table 5-1: Table showing the type, number and weight of the artefacts from the blacksmiths.

GLASS ARTEFACTS

The analysis of the 840 glass fragments based on colour can be seen in Table 5-2, while their distribution across the site is shown in Figure 5-9. Over 69 per cent of the glass fragments appeared to be alcohol related, with 1.2 per cent classed as medicinal or poison. However, the calculated Minimum Vessel Number for bottles was 93 and when these were categorised according to colour and presumed use, 39 of these were designated as alcohol bottles, 48 as domestic and six appeared to be medicinal or poison related.

Glass fragment type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total	Minimum Vessel Number	Percentage of total bottle number
Alcohol (Dark/medium green, and brown)	582	69.3%	39	42%
Domestic (Light green, clear/opaque, emerald and purple)	248	29.5%	48	51.6%
Medicinal/poison (Aqua, light blue and blue)	10	1.2%	6	6.4%
Total	840		93	

Table 5-2: Table showing the number of glass fragments based on type and the Minimum Vessel Number.

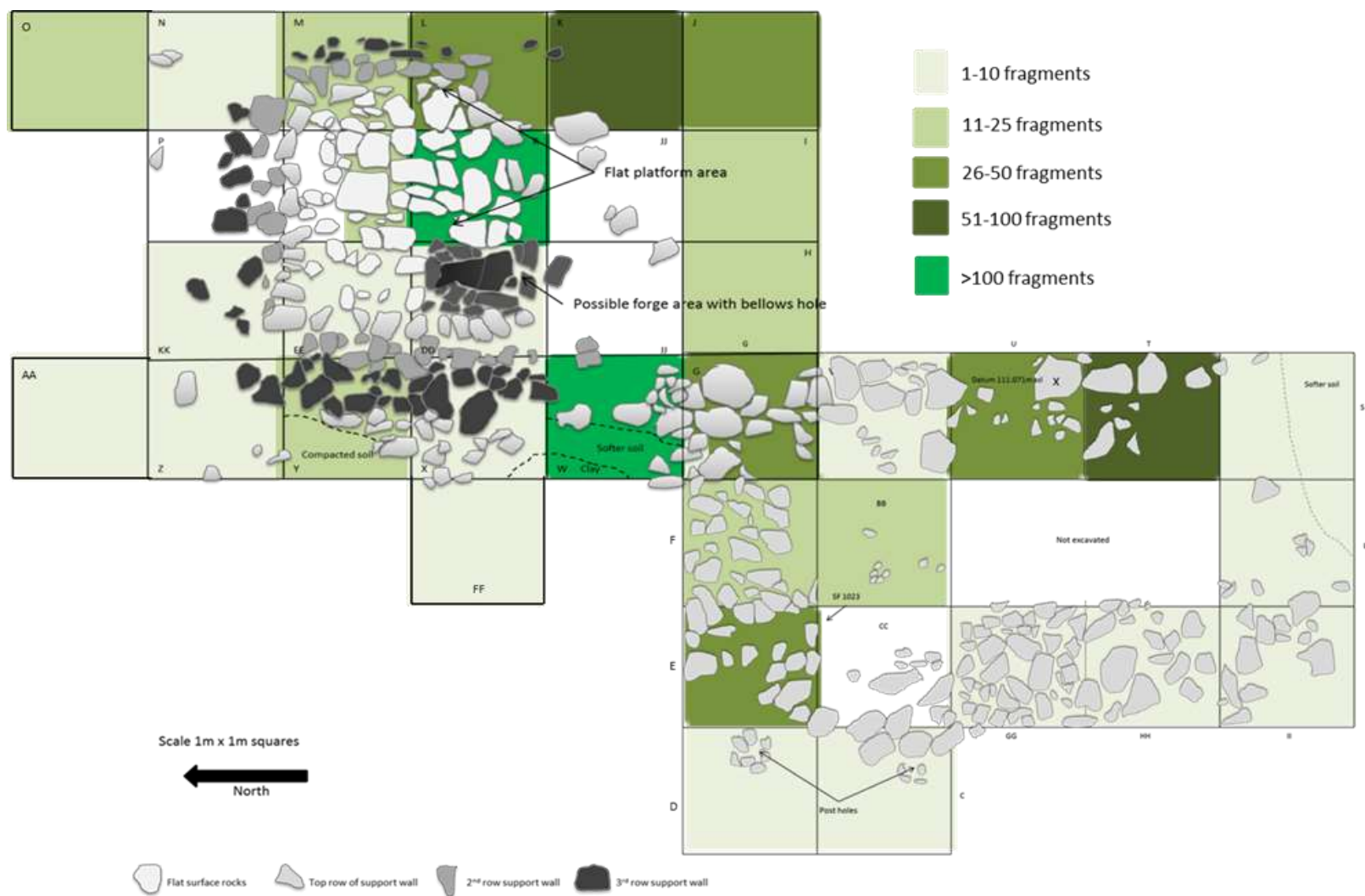


Figure 5-9: The distribution of glass artefacts across Excavation Area 1.

CERAMIC ARTEFACTS

A total of 60 ceramic fragments were recovered from the blacksmith site and 90 per cent of these were earthenware (whiteware), with the remainder being Bristol-glazed stoneware (Table 5-3).

Ceramic fragment ware type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total
Earthenware	54	90%
Stoneware	6	10%
Porcelain	0	0%
Total	60	

Table 5-3: Table showing the number of ceramic fragments.

The artefacts were distributed across the entire site, but 42 per cent were specifically on or around the forge, as shown in Figure 5-10. Several patterns were found including ‘blue chain’, blue banded, brown moulded, blue unknown, willow, brown geometric, and white with a grey band on the rim (see Figure 5-11 and the Pattern Identification Chart: Figure 10-1). There were also several plain white fragments, but it is impossible to tell from these if the whole vessel was white, or whether these are plain fragments from an otherwise patterned item. The Minimum Vessel Number for the whiteware was 13 and included:

- ❖ A willow pattern plate-remains of this were also found under the front edge of the forge, but could not be removed
- ❖ A blue banded pattern cup
- ❖ A small blue banded unidentified flat vessel (? saucer)
- ❖ A delicate plain white cup
- ❖ A geometric brown cup
- ❖ A large bowl/hollow vessel in ‘blue chain’
- ❖ A small unidentified ‘blue chain’
- ❖ A large unidentified ‘blue chain’
- ❖ A large plain white hollow vessel
- ❖ Four unidentified vessels.

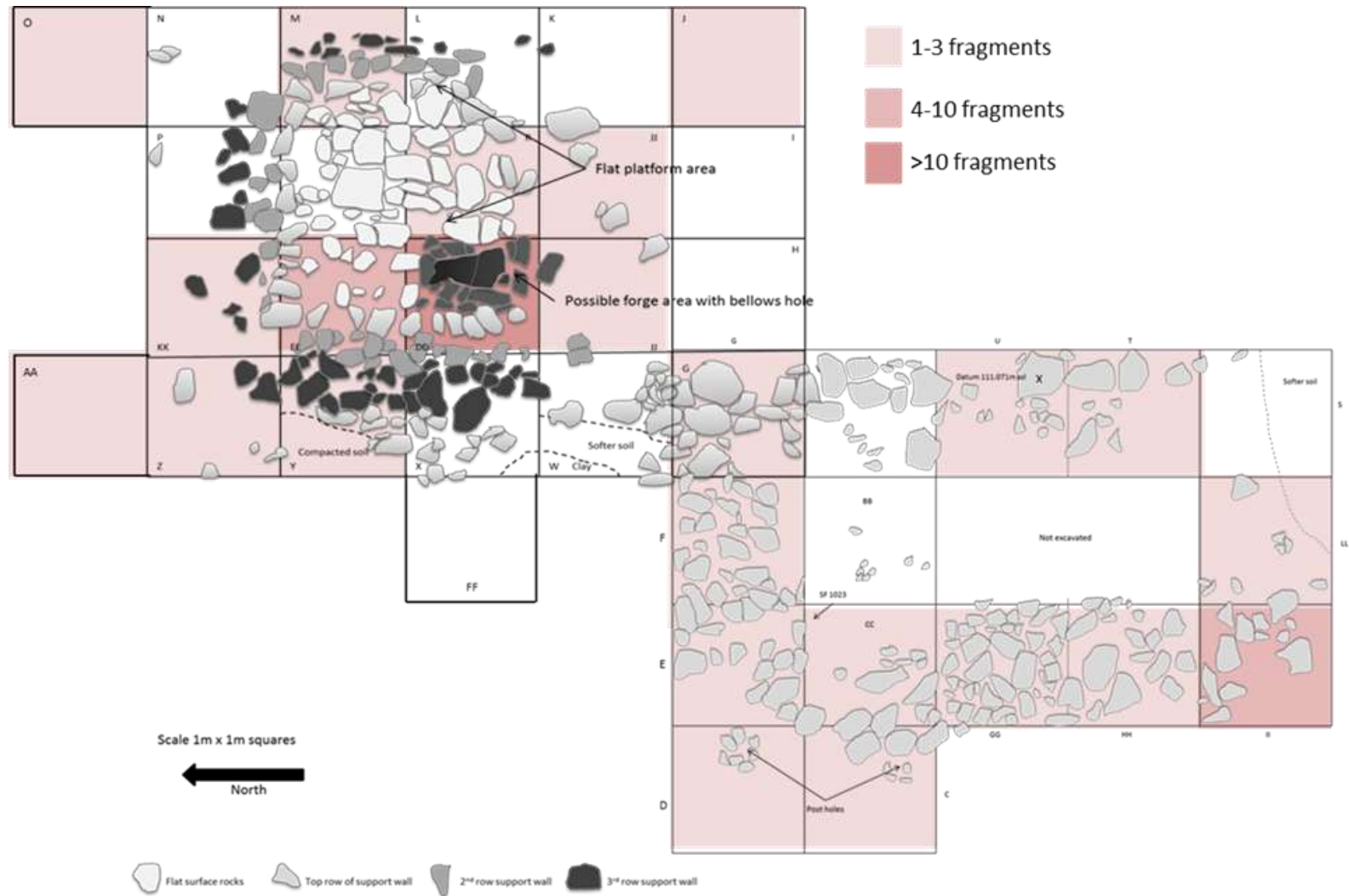


Figure 5-10: Sketch showing the distribution of ceramic fragments across Excavation Area 1.



Figure 5-11: Photographs showing the willow pattern plate (SF1025), a 'blue chain' unidentified vessel, a 'blue chain' large hollow fragment, a brown geometric cup handle, two cup rims and four plain unidentified fragments (clockwise).

METAL ARTEFACTS

The distribution of the 130 metal artefacts is shown in Figure 5-12 and the different types are identified in Table 5-4.

Metal fragment type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total
Nail	63	48.5%
Flat Metal	51	39.2%
Wire	1	0.77%
Bottle Seal	3	2.3%
Rivet	1	0.77%
Other (spoon, ball bearing, bottle top, small metal ring)	11	8.5%
Total	130	

Table 5-4: Table showing the number of metal fragments found at the blacksmiths based on type.

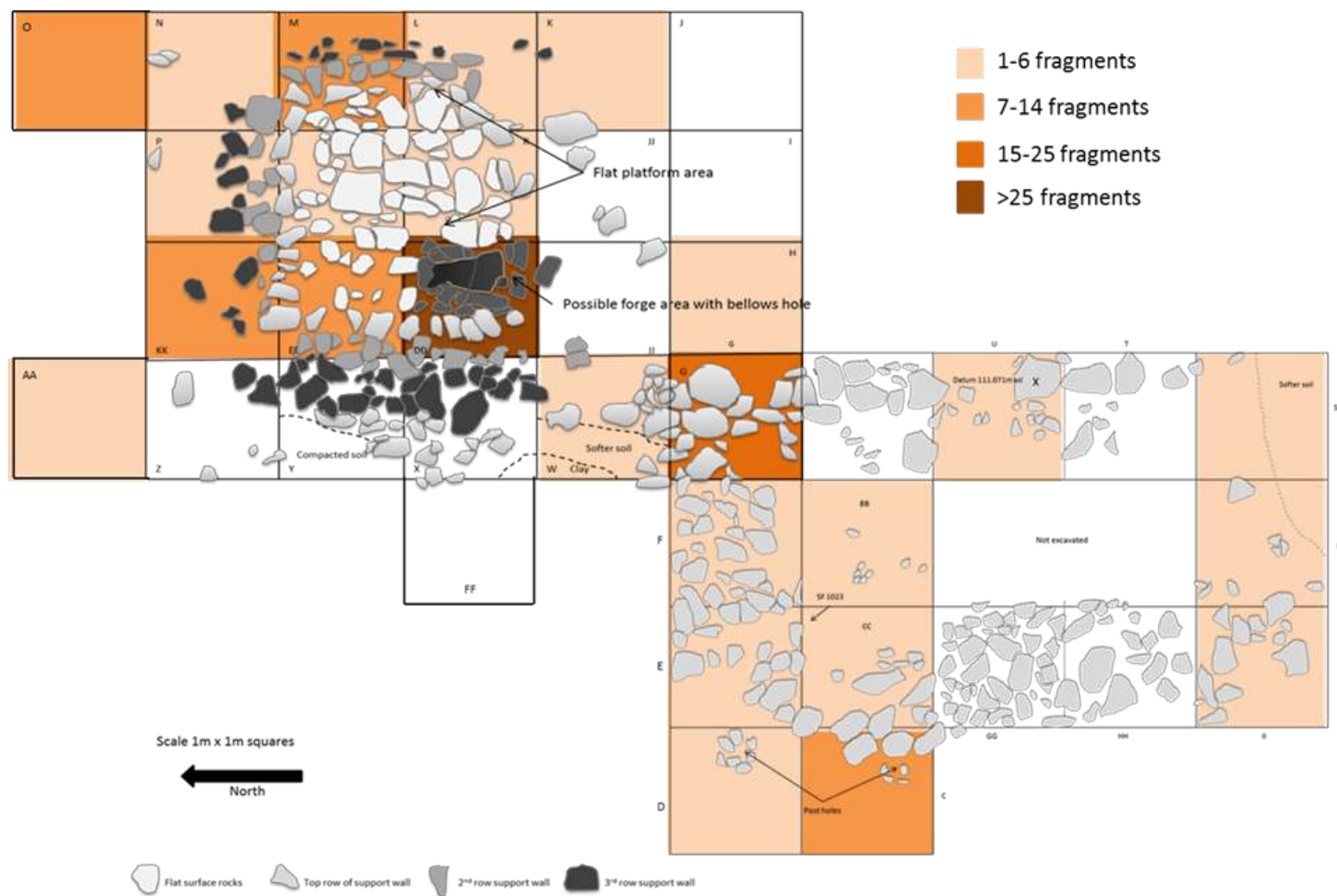


Figure 5-12: Sketch plan showing the distribution of metal artefacts across Excavation Area 1.

Although the total count is recorded as 130 this does not include all of the many, tiny fragments from Feature 1 (the forge), as many of these disintegrated on handling, due to their small size and rusty nature. The majority of the nails (60 out of 63) appeared to be of a type used for building or roofs and 71 per cent of these were located around the second work area, indicating that it may have had some sort of roof structure. The remaining three nails were horseshoe nails and were located on or close to the stone platform. The flat metal was generally comprised of nondescript, rusty fragments of unknown origin or use and they varied in size from 1-2cm up to 15cm. They could have been parts of containers, tobacco tins, storage tins, drays or cooking pots. A fragment from a spoon was also recovered and the two conjoined metal rings could have been part of a chain used to hobble horses. Three bottle seals were found, but due to their size and fragile nature these proved impossible to unfold or identify further.



Figure 5-13: Photographs of metal artefacts from the blacksmiths-horseshoe nail, roofing nail, spoon and conjoined rings that are probably part of a chain to hobble horses.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS

A total of 22 miscellaneous artefacts were found across the site (Figure 5-15) and the types and relative numbers are shown in Table 5-5.

Miscellaneous artefact type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total
Bone	3	13.6%
Button	4	18.3%
Wood	8	36.4%
Jewellery	1	4.5%
Clay pipe	1	4.5%
Other	5	22.7%
Total	22	

Table 5-5: Table showing the number and type of miscellaneous artefacts.

Four buttons were found, two of which were black with a raised pattern on and these were probably from female clothing, a metal eyelet from a pair of shoes or boots and a belt buckle (Figure 7-9). The small pendant was found towards the western edge of the blacksmith's and is made of 9 or 14 carat gold (Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-14). It has no maker's mark or other identifying features, but shows a level of sophistication that would have required a great deal of skill to produce.



Figure 5-14: Photographs showing the front and back of the gold pendant that was found at the blacksmith site.

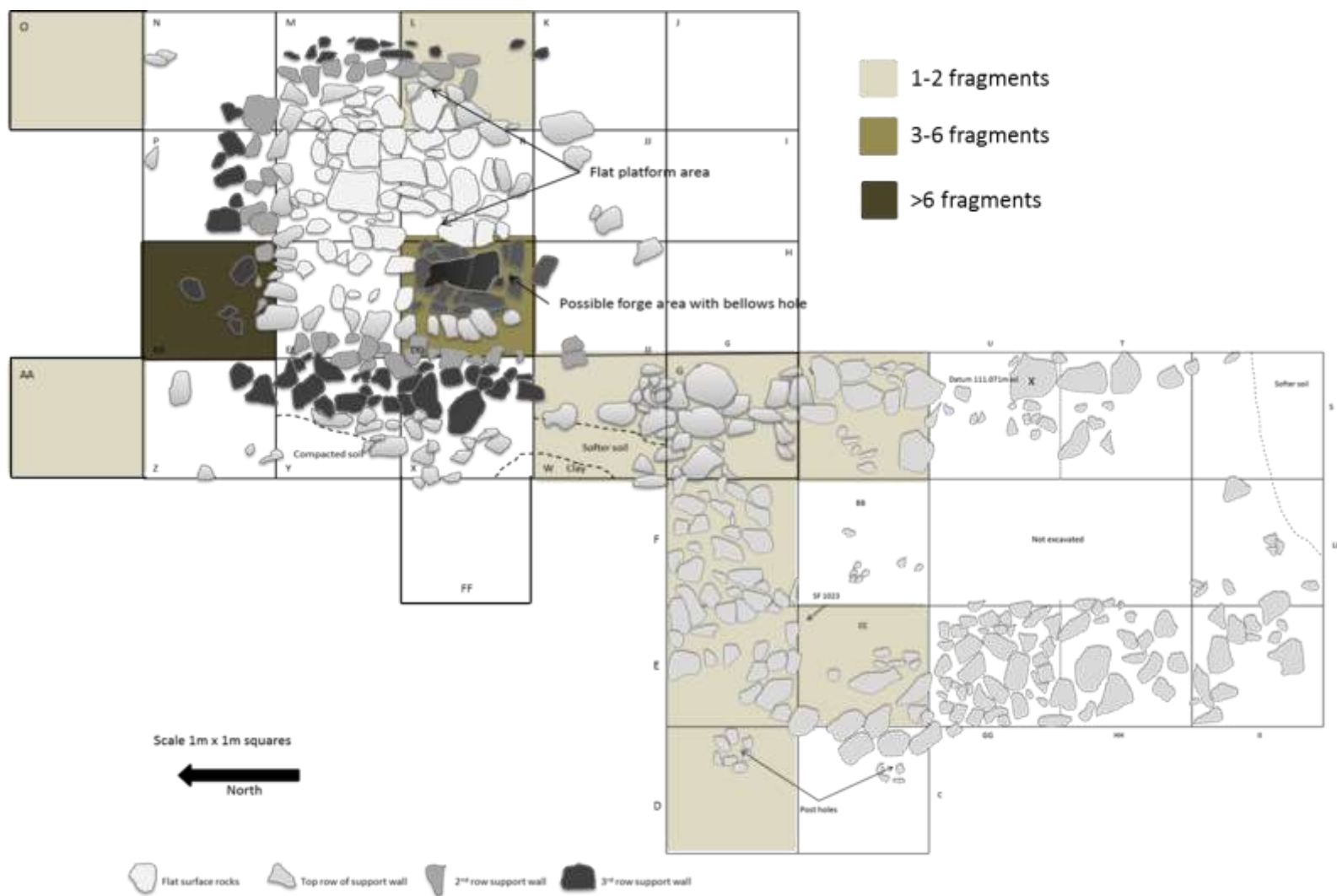


Figure 5-15: Sketch showing the distribution of miscellaneous artefacts across Excavation Area 1.

5.2 The Rubbish Dump (Excavation Area 2)

Excavation Area 2 was located about 45m to the south of the forge area and revealed a rubbish dump (Clarkson 2013). This was located amongst a large collection of agave plants on a flat area of ground that had obvious historic glass and ceramic fragments scattered over the surface. It was excavated in 2012 and 2013 following a general survey of the area that had used a series of test pits to identify areas with a more concentrated subsurface artefact deposit (Appendix 10.5). There was strong evidence, in the form of an obviously disturbed pit, that the rubbish dump had been previously found by bottle collectors. This may explain why no complete bottles or ceramics were found. This disturbed area was visible on the surface as a large, loose collection of broken and jumbled bottle fragments along the western edge (Figure 5-16 and Figure 5-17).



Figure 5-16: Photograph showing the 'bottle collector's feature (Feature 2 and 3) in the trench looking south.

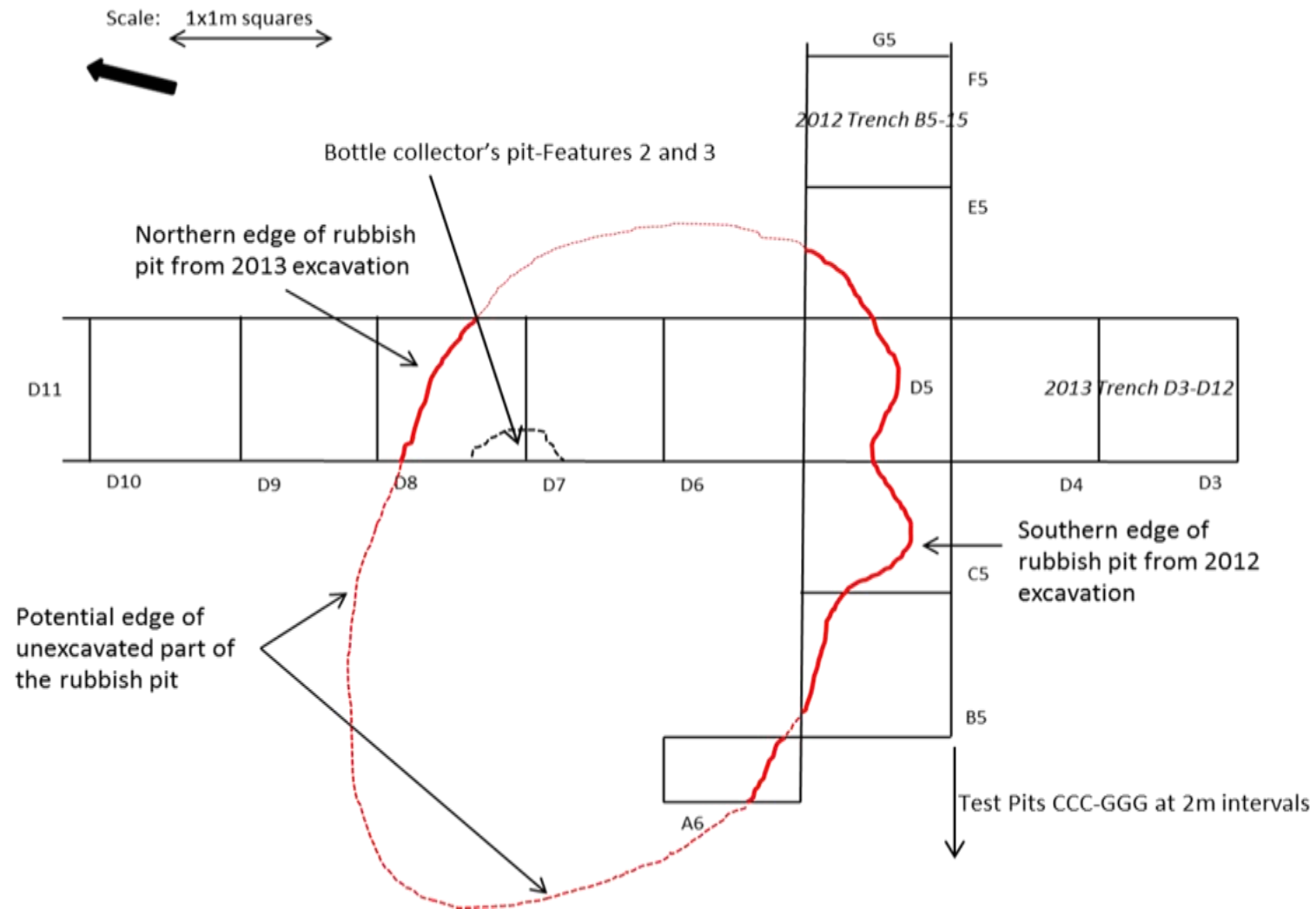


Figure 5-17: Scale drawing showing the layout of the trenches, the site of the bottle collector's pit and the likely outline of the dump.

5.2.1 Artefacts Retrieved from the Rubbish Dump

The dump measured at least 3x6m and it had a depth of 0.5m in the excavated section, with the edges of the pit sloping down to this depth from all sides to the natural orange coloured clay base (Figure 5-18 and see Appendix 10.5).



Figure 5-18: The rubbish dump looking north showing the edges, depth and density of artefact concentration.

A total of 20,359 artefacts were removed from the rubbish dump, (excluding test pits), with this total including 162 Special Finds (SF1029-SR1191). The artefact types, numbers of fragments and their overall weight can be seen in Table 5-6.

Artefact Type	Number of fragments	Weight of fragments (kg)-if applicable	Percentage of total artefact count
Glass	19,514	219.130	95.9%
Ceramic	593	6.790	2.9%
Metal	232	N/A	1.1%
Miscellaneous	20	N/A	0.1%
Total	20,359	225.92	

Table 5-6: The artefact types, numbers and weight from the rubbish dump

GLASS ARTEFACTS

A total of 19,514 glass fragments were removed and the numbers of fragments by colour and possible usage is shown in Table 5-7 and Figure 5-19. Over 73 per cent of the glass fragments appeared to be alcohol related, with 3 percent classed as medicinal or poison. However, the Minimum Vessel Number was 652 and 408 of these appeared to be alcohol bottles, with 256 of these coming from ‘champagne bottles’. There were also 149 domestic type bottles, while the remaining 95 bottles appeared to be medicinal or poison related, with 41 of these being the bright cobalt blue that was often associated with poison.

Glass fragment type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total	Minimum Vessel Number	Percentage of total bottle number
Alcohol (Dark/medium green, and brown)	14,325	73.4%	408	62.6%
Domestic Light green, clear/opaque, emerald and purple)	4,600	23.6%	149	22.8%
Medicinal/poison (Aqua, light blue and blue)	589	3%	95	14.6%
Total	19,514		652	

Table 5-7: Table showing the number of glass fragments based on type from the rubbish dump

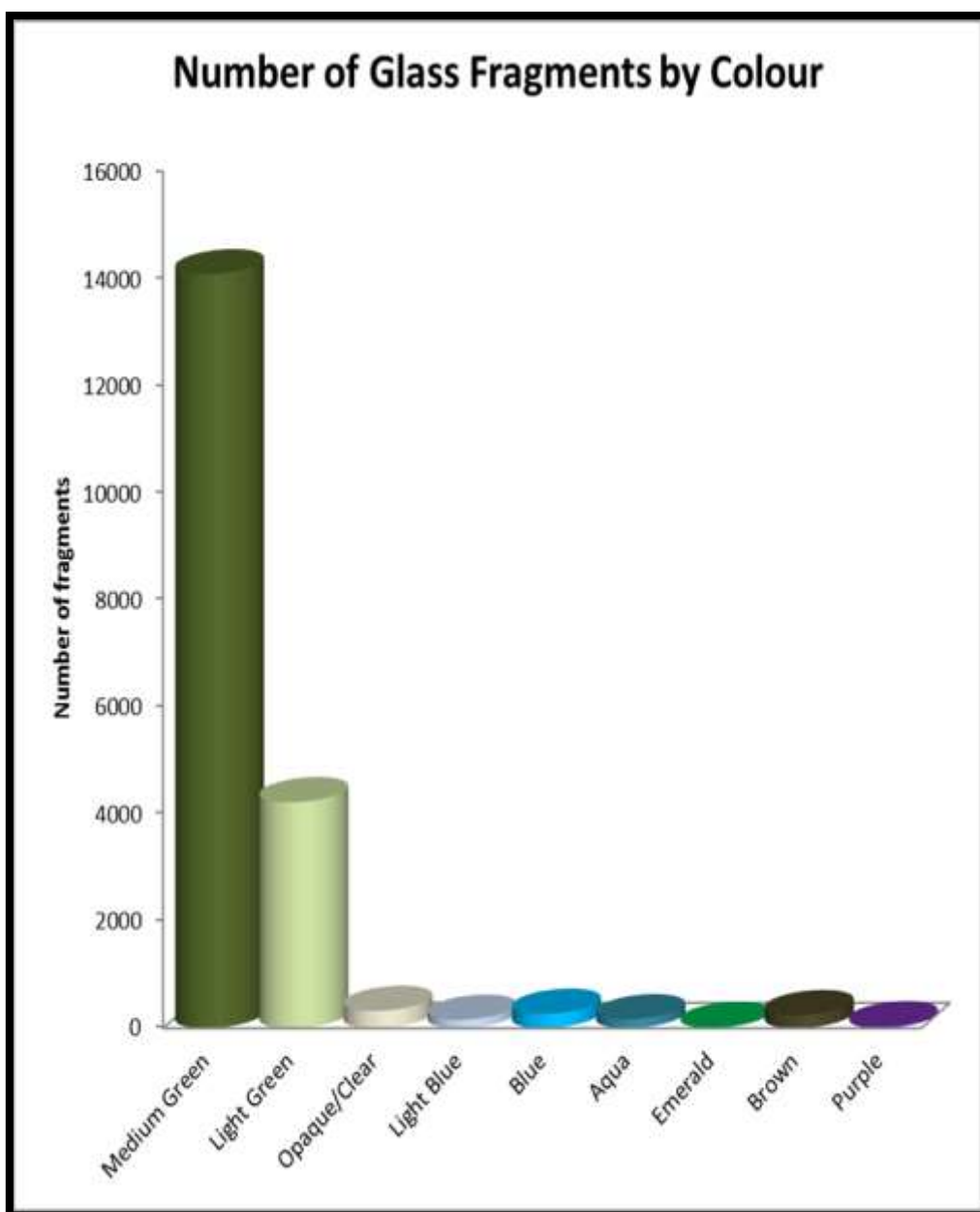


Figure 5-19: Graph showing the large variation in the number of glass fragments based on colour

It was possible to date some of the bottles, either by type of finish or known contents and these dates were then compared with the hotel dates (Table 5-8 and Table 5-9). The Minimum Vessel Number for the bottles was 625, with the vast majority of identifiable bottles spanning the time frame of 1866-1884. Twelve crown seal finishes and one reinforced extract type finish were the only types to be definitively manufactured after the known hotel dates. Most of these were found in the edges of the dump or in and around the disturbed bottle collector's pit (Table 5-8). The identified bottle contents are shown in Table 5-9.

Finish type of bottles	Minimum Number	Dates of manufacture of the different bottles						
				<i>Range Hotel Site Complex Occupation Dates</i>				
		1840's or earlier	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Applied double ring 'Perry Davis type'	10							
Grooved ring	3							
English deep lip applied finish	11							
Bead/ring finish-popular on medicine bottles	3							
Wide patent applied finish	33							
Applied mineral/double oil/long tapered collar	62							
Bristol glaze stone ware stout bottle necks	4							
Wide prescription-thin	3							
Crudely applied laid on finish-'pig snout'	8							
Laid-on ring finish	2							
Reinforced extract finish	1							
Patent/extract	5							
Brandy/wine finish	10							
Oil/ring/tapered collar	19							
Blob top	3							
Crown seal	12							
Champagne-bevelled top surface	132							
Champagne-flat or rounded top surface	124							
Total minimum number of bottles based on finishes				445				
Additional bottle count based on glass colour/Context				207				
Minimum Vessel Number				652				

Table 5-8: Table showing the approximate dates of manufacture for identified bottle makers/contents and their relationship to the dates for the Range Hotel hamlet

Finish and base type or name of manufacturer of known contents	Dates of manufacture of the different bottles						
			<i>Range Hotel Site Complex Occupation Dates</i>				
	1840's or earlier	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Davis Vegetable Pain Killer							
Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce							
Udolpho Wolfe's Aromatic Schnapps							
Aire & Calder Bottle Company							
A Van Hobeken & Co Distillers Sealed Gin bottle							
Dr Townsend's Sarsaparilla Albany NY-embossed							
J H Henke Schnapps Aromatico							
Lamonts Patented aerated water bottle							
Charles A. Voegler's St Jakobs Oel							
Cannington, Shaw & Company							
Mrs Allen's World Hair Restorer							
Flagon Reduit Echantillon Medicine bottle	Dates unknown						
Nuttall & Co beer bottle							
Felton Grimwade & Co Fluid Magnesia							
Chamberlain's Pain Balm							

Table 5-9: Table showing the approximate dates of manufacture for identified bottle makers/contents and their relationship to the dates for the Range Hotel hamlet

Decorative domestic glass artefacts were also recovered and included three pressed glass items, two that appeared to be similar in style and size, while the third was smaller in diameter and had a slightly different profile (Figure 5-20 and Figure 5-21). The two larger ones could be from the stem of a cake stand and the smaller one from a glass dish or bowl (S. Lawrence 1998 p. 131).



Figure 5-20: Photograph showing the glass cake stand stems.



Figure 5-21: Photograph showing the rim of a decorative glass item.

A small glass fragment (Figure 5-22) could be related to the glass stems or could represent another decorative item. Etched glass with a fern leaf design was also recovered (Figure 5-23).

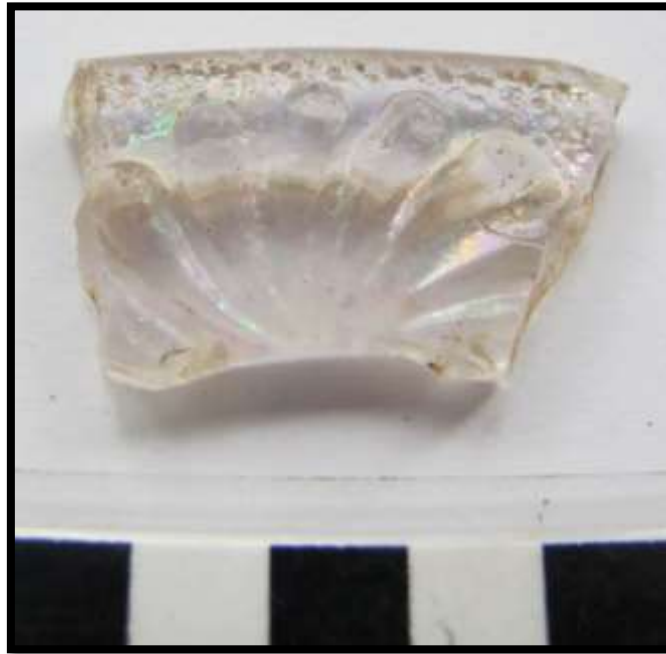


Figure 5-22: Photograph showing a decorative piece of glass.



Figure 5-23: Photograph showing a leaf pattern cut wine glass.

Some glass artefacts hinted at a concern with appearance and presentation, with a small glass owl-shaped bottle stopper that may have been from a perfume bottle and fragments from Mrs Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer New York. This remedy was first introduced in 1840 and embossed by 1855, with hair restorers being popular from the 1850s (Figure 7-8).

CERAMIC ARTEFACTS

A total of 593 ceramic fragments were found in the rubbish dump (Table 5-10) and some can be seen in Figure 6-27 (see also Appendix 9.1: Pattern Identification Chart: Figure 10-1).

Ceramic fragment ware type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total
Earthenware (redware and whiteware)	286	48.2%
Stoneware (Bristol-glazed and salt-glazed)	301	50.8%
Porcelain	6	1%
Total	593	

Table 5-10: Table showing the ceramics from the rubbish dump by ware type

The Minimum Vessel Number for the earthenware was 23 and included:

- ❖ A large 'blue leaf' hollow vessel
- ❖ A large hollow vessel with repeating blue stripes
- ❖ An unidentified brown moulded hollow vessel
- ❖ Two Rockingham teapots
- ❖ A plate with grown geometric pattern
- ❖ A large oval platter with purple cable pattern
- ❖ A large unidentified hollow vessel with blue banded pattern
- ❖ A small flat with faded red stripes on rim (? saucer or side plate)
- ❖ An unidentified small flat with 3 blue stripes
- ❖ A cup with three red stripes
- ❖ An unidentified small white porcelain hollow
- ❖ A plain white cup
- ❖ A large unidentified plain hollow
- ❖ A large bowl with 'blue Japanese lady' pattern
- ❖ An additional four unidentified patterned vessels and four plain vessels.

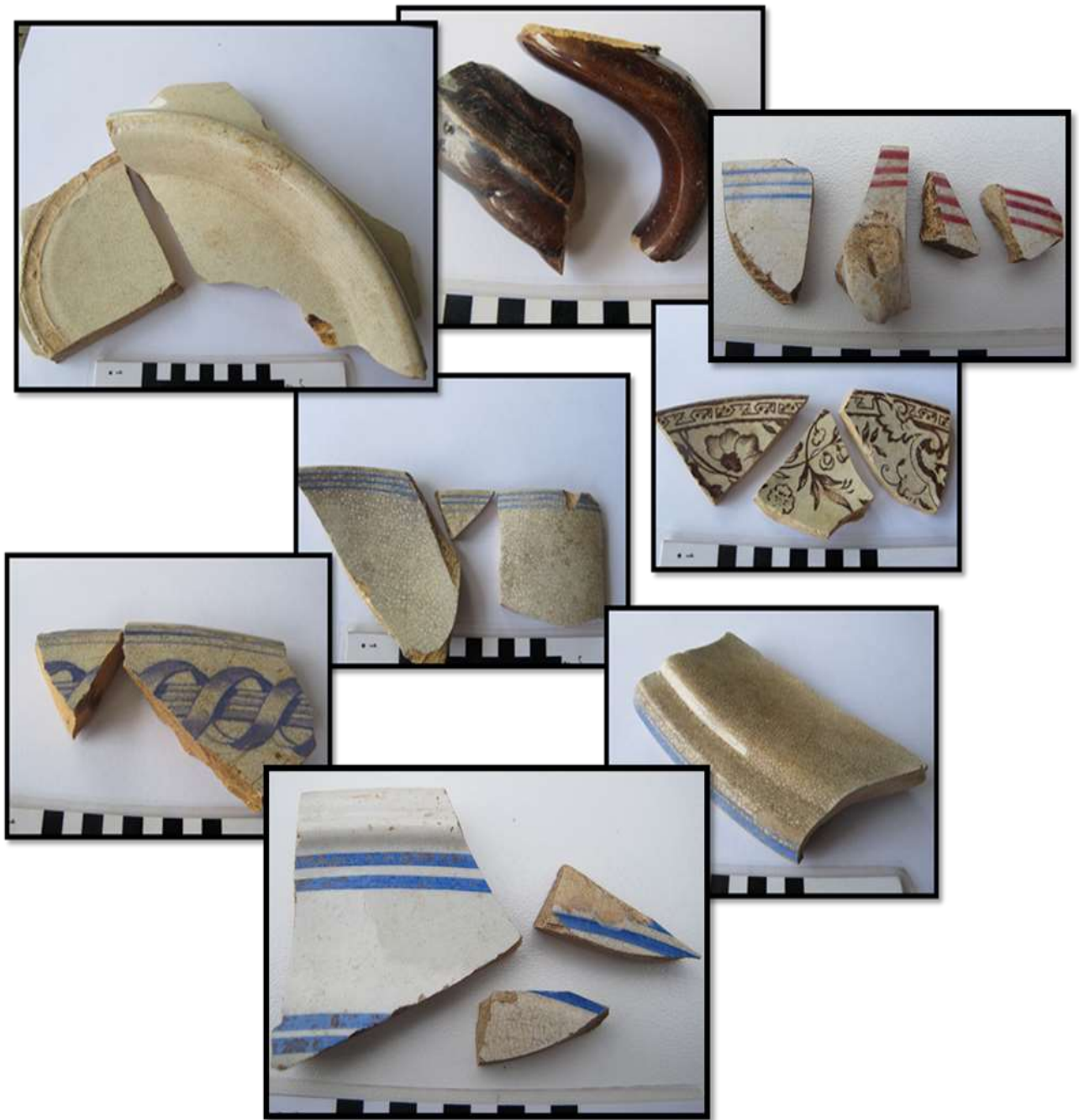


Figure 5-24: Photographs showing the footring of a large bowl, two handles from Rockingham teapots, blue and red striped cups, brown geometric pattern on a plate marly, the rim from a blue striped hollow vessel, a rim with repeating blue stripes, a purple cable pattern platter and three fragments from a cup with three blue stripes.

Several incised redware pieces were also recovered, which could be from plant pots or other simple decorative domestic pieces. The stoneware included small storage vessels, demijohns and bottles that may have contained stout. One maker's mark (LEY/HAM) was identified and can be attributed to CJC Bailey and Fulham, London 1864-1889, with Bailey taking over the original company from 1864 until 1889. This can be seen in Figure 5-25.



Figure 5-25: Photographs showing a Bristol glazed stone ware fragment with a Bailey & Fulham makers mark, a salt glazed bowl or jar rim and four incised redware fragments.

METAL ARTEFACTS

A total of 232 metal fragments were recovered including 7 pieces of slag, 111 unidentifiable fragments (47.8 per cent) and 67 worked, but otherwise unidentifiable pieces (28.9 per cent). The remaining fragments are detailed in Table 5-11 and some are shown in Figure 5-26.

Metal fragment type	Number of fragments	Percentage of total
Harness/dray	21	9.1%
Container	8	3.4%
Rivet	2	0.9%
Bottle seal	2	0.9%
Clothing	2	0.9%
Nails	5	0.4%
Wire	5	0.4%
Domestic	2	0.9%

Table 5-11: Table showing the numbers and percentage of recognisable metal fragments from the rubbish dump.



Figure 5-26: Photographs showing some of the worked metal from the rubbish dump that could be related to harnesses or drays.

5.3 The Low Wall (Excavation Area 3)

This was located on the small track that currently provides access to the cemetery. It consisted of a long, narrow row of stones and three ‘mounded’ features. The long rock wall was about 30m in length and the excavation showed that it extended into, but not beyond, a mounded area at its southern end (Square A). The trench that had been excavated across one of the other low mounds to the west of the wall revealed no recognisable structure or feature. Only three small fragments of glass were found during the excavation of this area (in H9) and these appeared to be modern glass (Clarkson 2013).

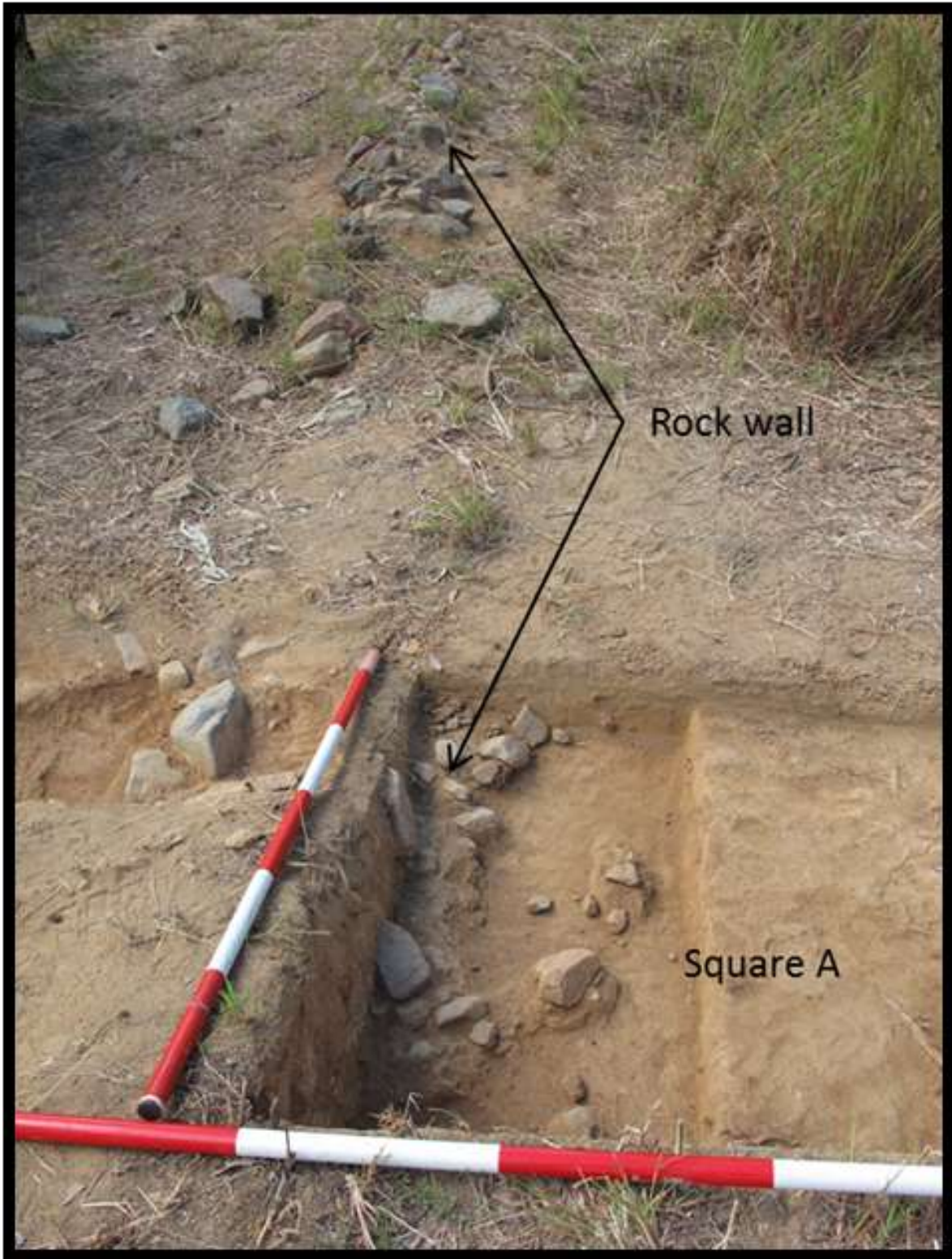


Figure 5-27: Photograph looking north showing the long wall extending into Square A located on one of the 'mounds'.

To the immediate east of the long row of stones was a raised flat area of land that had large boulders to the north. These appeared to be randomly placed and did not form part of a recognisable structure. Test pits on the eastern side of this flat area also failed to reveal any evidence for either a building or for historic use of the site. There was, however, evidence for an old abandoned track that appears wide enough to have been used by a bullock dray and this extended southwards towards Palm Tree Creek and the cemetery on the far side (Figure 5-28).

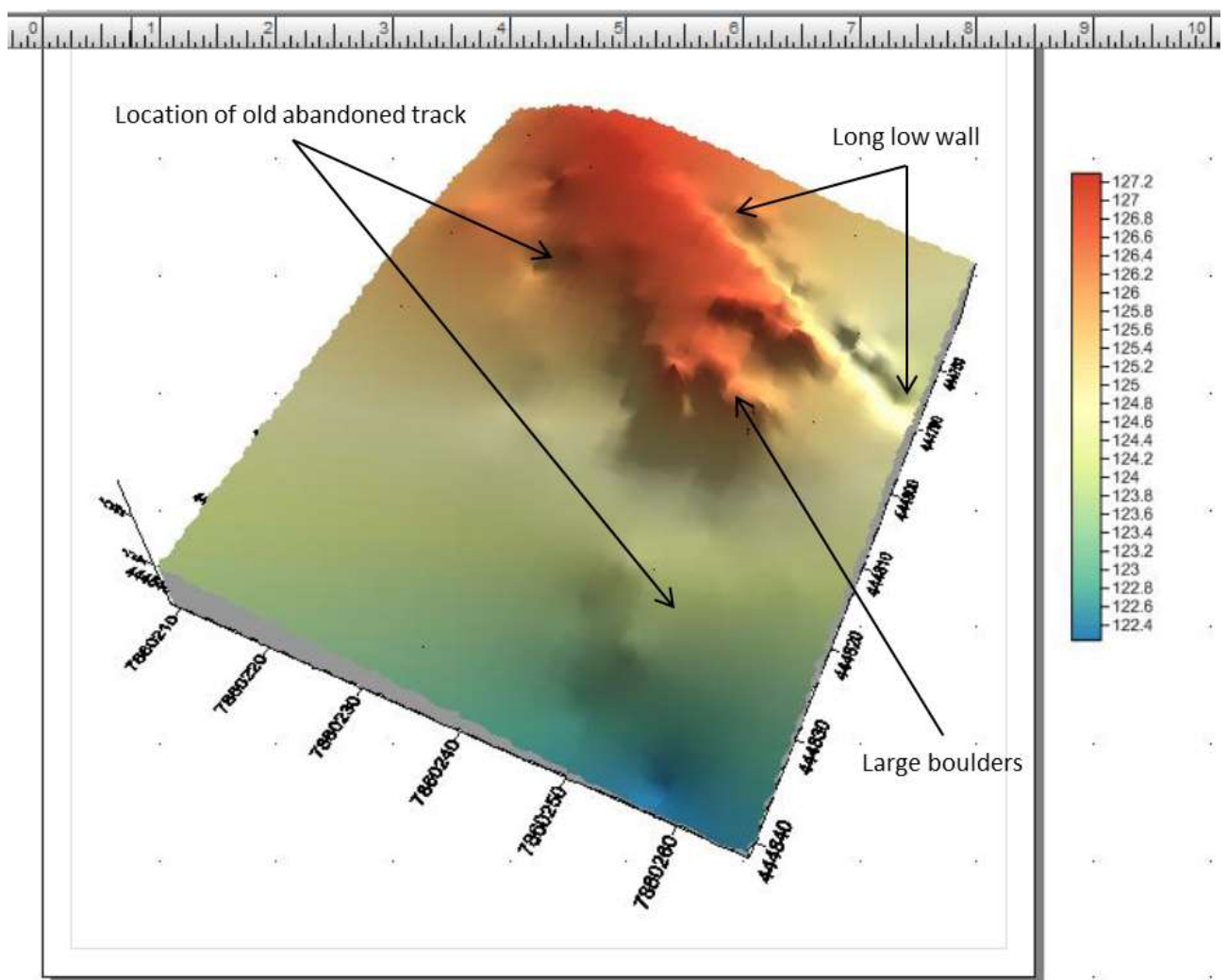


Figure 5-28: Plan showing the height above sea level of the wall and its associated features (courtesy of James Cook Archaeology Department).

5.4 The Stone Floor (Excavation Area 4)

This area is located approximately 400m west of the forge area, roughly 25m to the north of Page Road and has a large creek 100m to the north. It consists of a large stone floor with a small 15m wide dam near the southwest corner (Figure 5-29 and Appendix 10.6). The results of the surface survey of the surrounding area located 11 Features, mostly consisting of rocks or glass artefacts, but these were not collected or analysed further (Clarkson 2014).

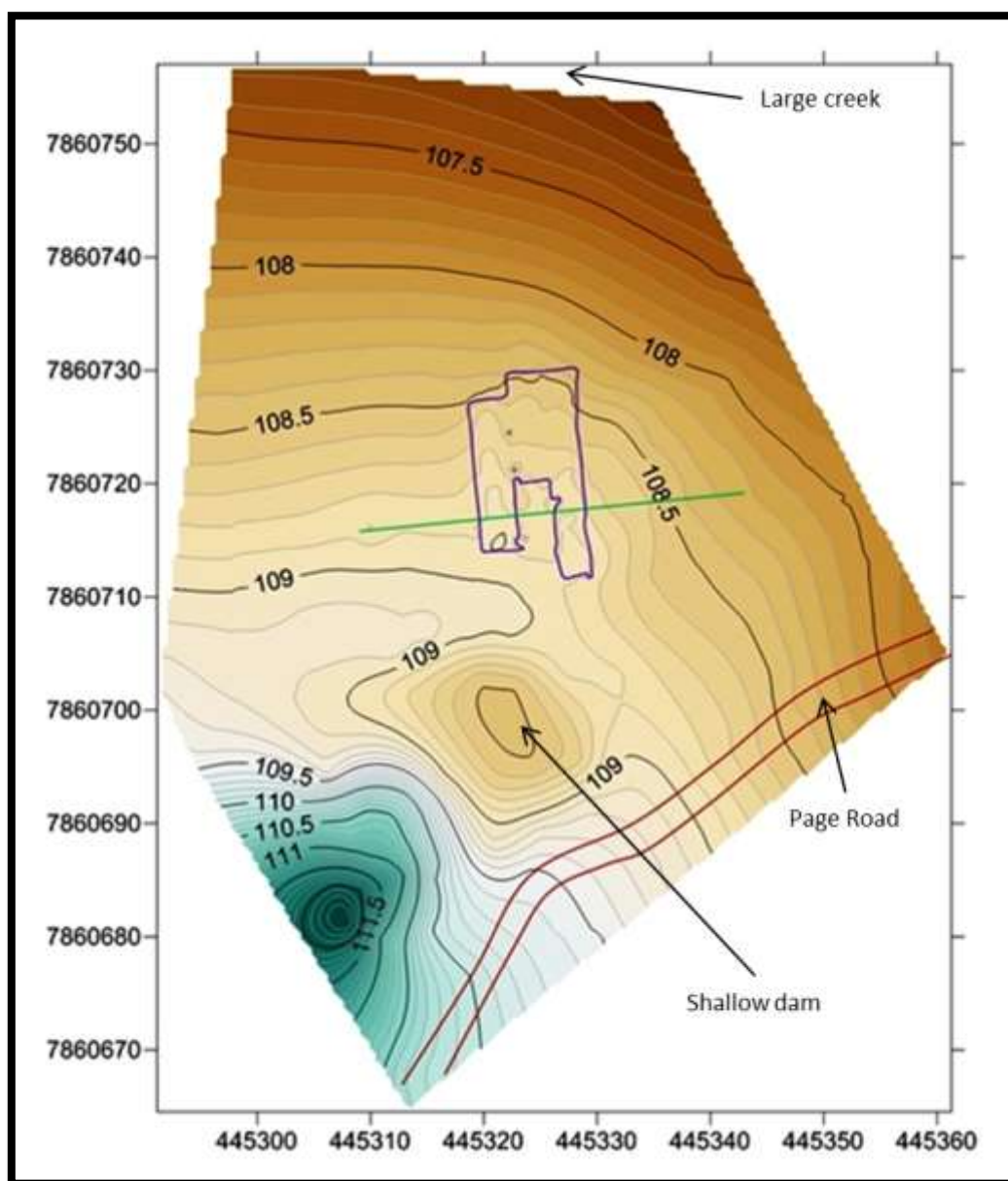


Figure 5-29: Map showing the height above sea level of the stone floor (outlined in purple) and the shallow dam and their relationship to Page Road (courtesy of James Cook Archaeology Department).



Figure 5-30: Photograph of the stone floor showing the layout of the trenches and features (courtesy Dr Nigel Chang).

The floor is 19m in length and 10.5m in width (Figure 5-30 and Figure 5-47). It consists of a main square-shaped area (approximately 10x7m), an unpaved 4x2.5m area in the northwest corner and two ‘arms’ forming an overall U-shape (western arm approximately 6x3.75m and eastern arm approximately 3x9m). The long edges of the structure have irregular ‘cut-outs’ in them, which do not contain stones. The north-south axis reveals a drop in height of 50cm from the southeast to the northeast corner and a 20cm drop from the southwest to northwest corner, while the floor from east to west remains relatively flat. The stones vary in size from a few centimetres to over 60cm, but all appear to be the same type of stone, resembling those found in abundance in the creek located 100m to the floor’s north. Trench T-U54 was located four metres to the right of Figure 5-30 and the test pits extended westward from the end of Trench C-Q50.

5.4.1 Artefacts from the Stone Floor

A total of 133 artefacts were recovered from the excavation, as shown in Table 5-12 (also see Appendix 10.6). It is significant that no ceramics were found.

Artefact type	Number	Percentage of total
Glass	88 (32 dark/medium green, 55 light green and 1 clear)	66.2%
Metal	44	33.1%
Miscellaneous-clay pipe	1	0.7%
Total	133	

Table 5-12: Table showing the number and type of artefacts found on and around the stone floor.

5.4.2 Test Pits to West of Stone Floor

Test pits were undertaken extending from the western edge of the stone floor, revealing intermittent sections of hard rubble that could potentially represent post holes (Figure 5-31).

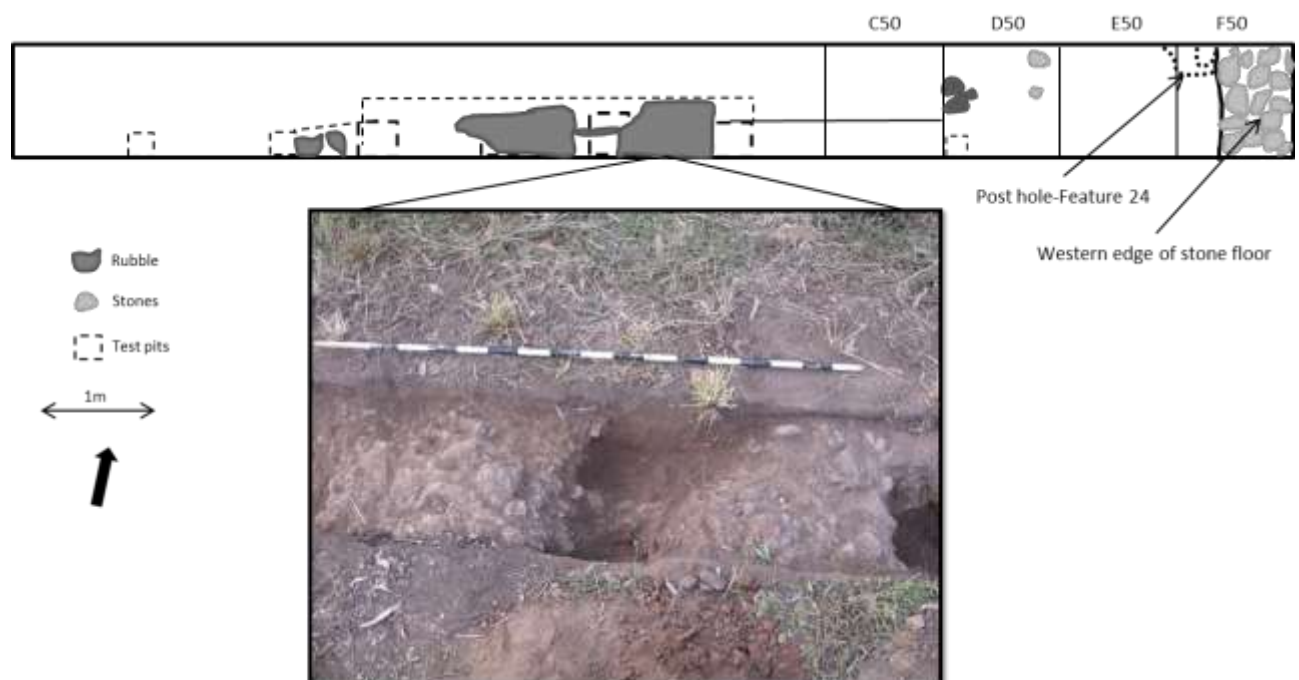


Figure 5-31: Scale drawing and photograph of the test pits to the west of the stone floor.

5.5 Survey of Area opposite the Forge

An area to the north of Page Road and opposite the forge was surveyed with transects in 2010 and with a metal detector in 2013. These surveys revealed a number of features, such as stone arrangements and surface artefact scatters that indicate that at least one building could have been in this location. The three stone features each measured at least 1 x 1m, but stones lying close by, but now not confluent with them, could also have been part of the original feature or structure (Figure 5-32). A small 0.5x0.5m test pit revealed a large number of ceramic fragments (D. Nelson 2013).

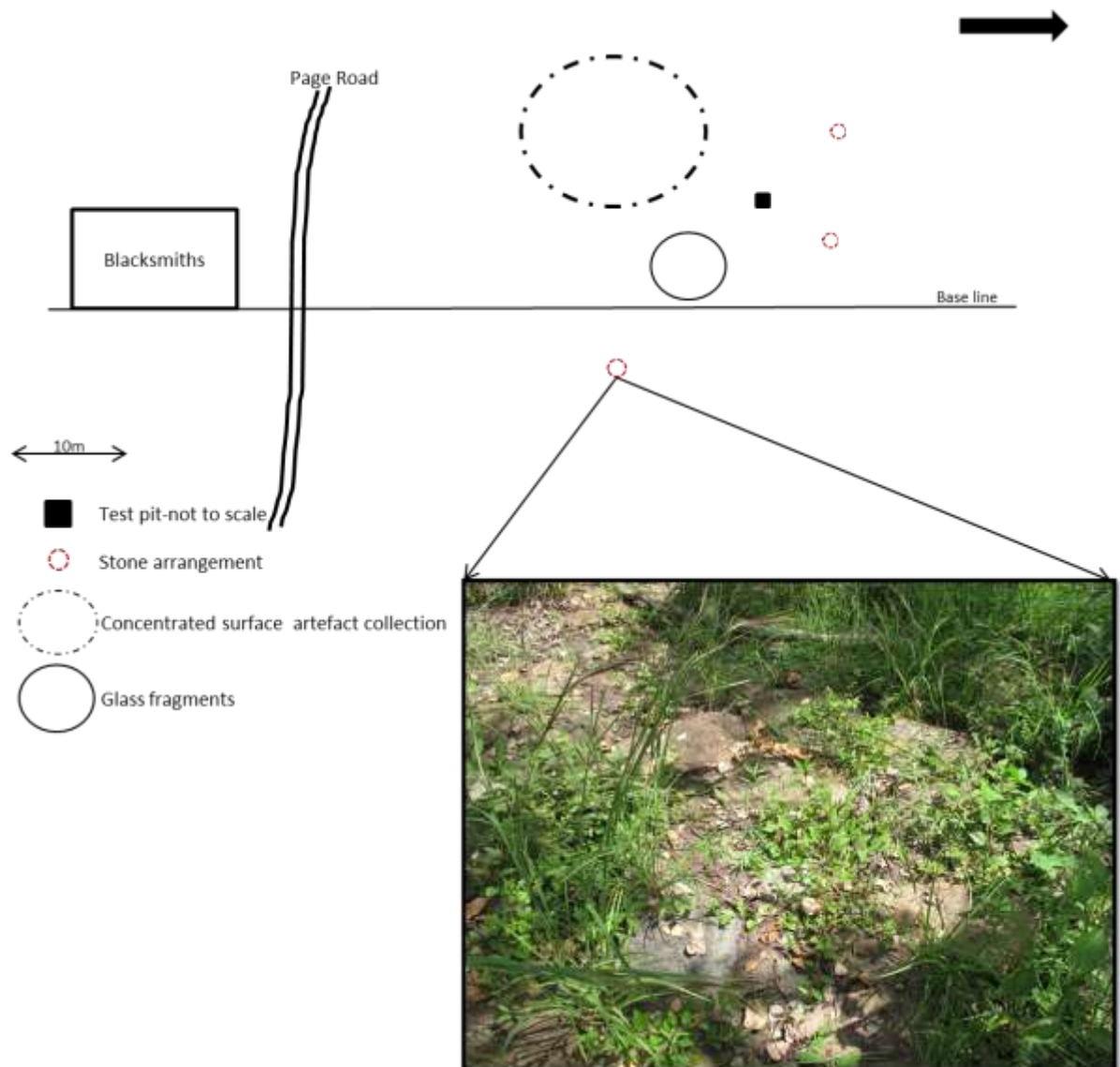


Figure 5-32: Mud map of survey area that could be the location of the McNeill's home with a photograph of one of the circular stone arrangements.

5.5.1 Artefacts Retrieved from the Site

A total of 333 artefacts were recovered from the 50x50cm test pit, comprising one glass fragment and 332 ceramic pieces. Comment was also made about the presence of small metal fragments, possibly from nails, which were not recovered (D. Nelson 2013). The glass fragment was light blue in colour and had the letters HN/LOND on. The main ware type for the ceramics was earthenware, although some stoneware was found as shown in Table 5-13 (see also Appendix 10.7).

Ware type	Number of fragments	Weight of fragments (g)
Earthenware (whiteware)	324	7,597
Stoneware	8	2,867
Total	332	10,464g

Table 5-13: Table showing the number and weight of ceramic artefacts by ware found at the house.

CERAMIC ARTEFACTS

The stoneware fragments consisted of two large vessels, probably demijohn jars and at least two other smaller hollow containers (Figure 5-33). One vessel is a 22cm buff coloured Bristol-glazed demijohn, while the second is a salt-glazed brown and dark brown vessel consisting of a 20cm diameter base and four additional body fragments. The remaining two fragments are Bristol-glazed rims from two different smaller unidentified hollow containers.



Figure 5-33: Photographs of one of the demijohn containers, a fragment of salt-glazed ware and the rims of two smaller containers.

The earthenware ceramic fragments represented a wide range of transfer-printed patterns and identifiable vessel forms (see Pattern Identification Chart: Figure 10-1). The Minimum Vessel Number was 36 and included:

- ❖ One oval and two circular shaped serving dishes with a 'blue chain' pattern, at least one of which had a matching lid
- ❖ A large oval platter with 'blue chain' pattern
- ❖ Two dinner plates with 'blue chain' pattern
- ❖ An egg cup
- ❖ Four matching egg cups with 'Chelsea sprigg' design
- ❖ A small flat vessel with 'Chelsea sprigg' (? shallow bowl related to the egg cups)
- ❖ A grey coloured moulded hollow vessel with a handle (? a jug)
- ❖ A grey medium sized unidentified hollow vessel
- ❖ Two dinner plates with 'Asiatic pheasant' design
- ❖ Four dinner plates with blue bands (1 thick and 1 thin)
- ❖ A large oval platter with purple cable design
- ❖ A small unidentified flat vessel with purple cable pattern
- ❖ Three large round plain white platters with moulding on marley
- ❖ An unidentified flat white with moulding on marley (pattern the same as above)
- ❖ Seven non-matching plain cups (one rim with gold stripe)
- ❖ A saucer and small plate with gold stripe at rim and shoulder.

At least seven cups were found, which included five handle fragments (Figure 5-34) and six different types of bases (Figure 5-35). All the recovered cup fragments were plain white, with the exception of one grey base and two rims with a single gold stripe on (Figure 5-36). It is not possible, with these limited fragments, to define the cups as being part of a tea set. It is likely that the seemingly plain cups would also have had decorations on the rims, such as the thin blue and red stripes seen on cups found in the rubbish dump or the blue banded pattern seen on a cup at the forge.



Figure 5-34: Photographs showing the various cup handles found at the possible house site.



Figure 5-35: Photographs showing the six different footing profiles of the cups found at the possible house site.



Figure 5-36: Photographs of vessels (clockwise-small plate, saucer and cup rim) with gold stipe pattern.

Five egg cups were recovered, four of which appeared to match and had a 'Chelsea sprig' design. There was also a small bowl with a similar pattern (Figure 5-37).



Figure 5-37: photographs showing an egg cup with 'Chelsea sprig' design and a matching bowl.

At least eight dinner plates were also found, two in the popular 'Asiatic Pheasant' design, four in a blue banded pattern and two in the 'blue chain' pattern (Figure 5-38). Additional large serving platters were also recovered, one in a purple cable pattern and three white ones that had a moulded pattern on the marley, with each of these patterns also each found on a smaller flat vessel. These patterns are, therefore, likely to have been part of larger sets (Figure 5-39).



Figure 5-38: Photographs showing the different patterned plates-'Asiatic Pheasant', blue banded pattern and two in the 'blue chain' pattern.



Figure 5-39: Photographs of platters in purple cable and white moulded pattern, which were also found on smaller flat vessels.

A light grey moulded hollow vessel with a handle was also recovered and this could represent a jug (Figure 5-40).



Figure 5-40: Photograph of a moulded grey vessel with a handle.

The 'blue chain' pattern was found on several larger fragments that appeared to be part of at least three serving dishes, one oval and two circular, one of which had a matching lid (Figure 5-41).



Figure 5-41: Photographs showing the base and possible rim from a serving bowl (top), the decorative lid from a serving dish and two differently profiled serving dishes with the one on the right probably belonging to the lid.

5.6 The Cemetery

The cemetery lies about 850m to the southwest of the blacksmiths (Clarkson 2011b). There are three headstones belonging to Francis Earl, Mary Langton and John Henry Bell (Figure 5-42). Francis Earl was 24 year old English squatter who died at the Range Hotel on the 12th March 1866 after a nine day illness, with his cause of death listed as 'fever'. Mary Langton was a 28 year old mother of three who committed suicide at her home in the hamlet in December 1873. John Henry Bell died at home on the Black River on 11th May 1879 aged four years from a lung infection that had started two weeks earlier (Registrar General 1866d, 1873d, 1879d).

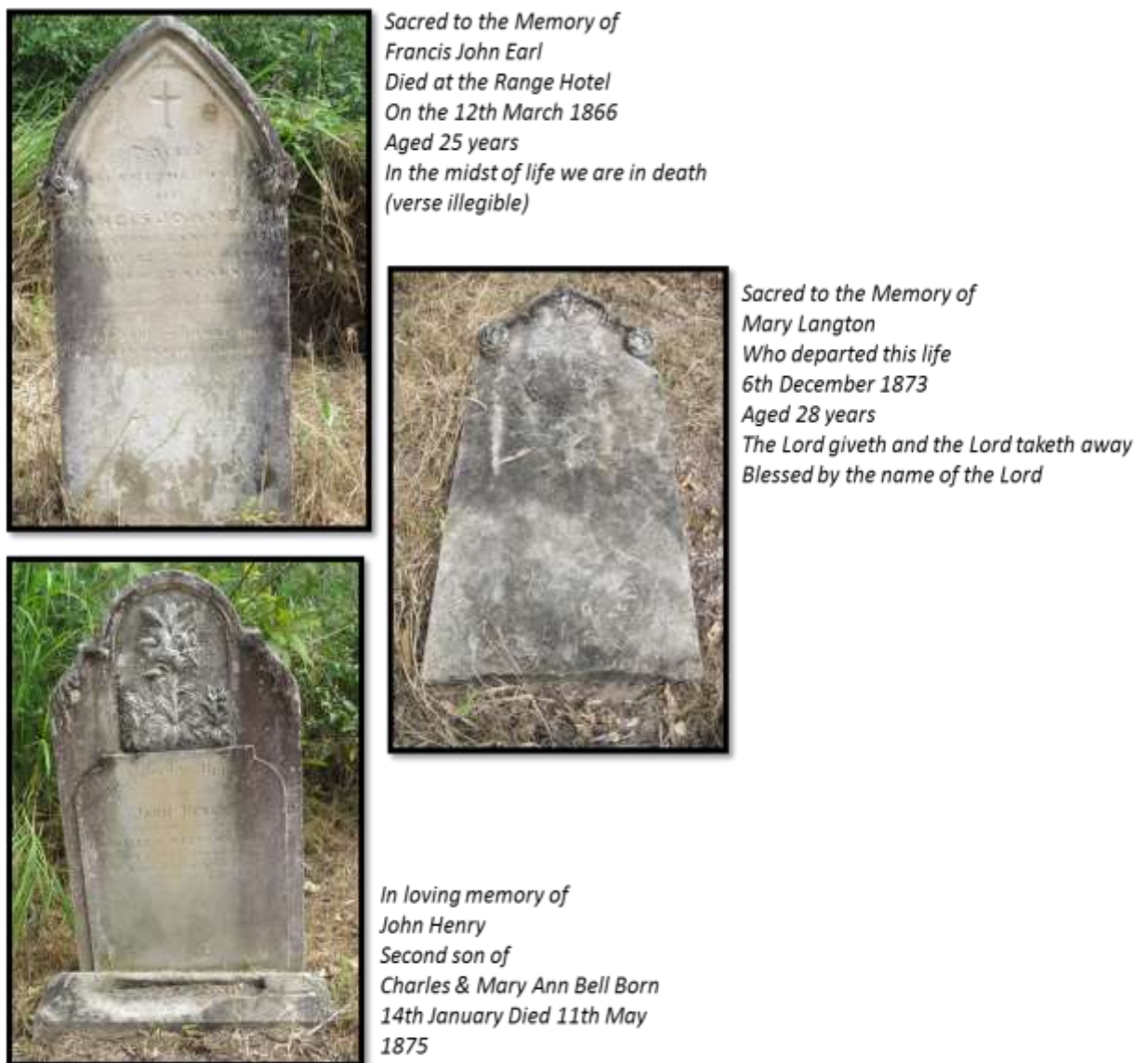


Figure 5-42: Headstones in the Range Hotel Cemetery.

The Ground Penetrating Radar results showed two possible anomalies that are consistent with the location of two unmarked graves (Figure 5-43). Further work would need to be undertaken to clarify these initial findings, with the use of a magnetometer possibly improving the results (Stanger and Roe 2007).

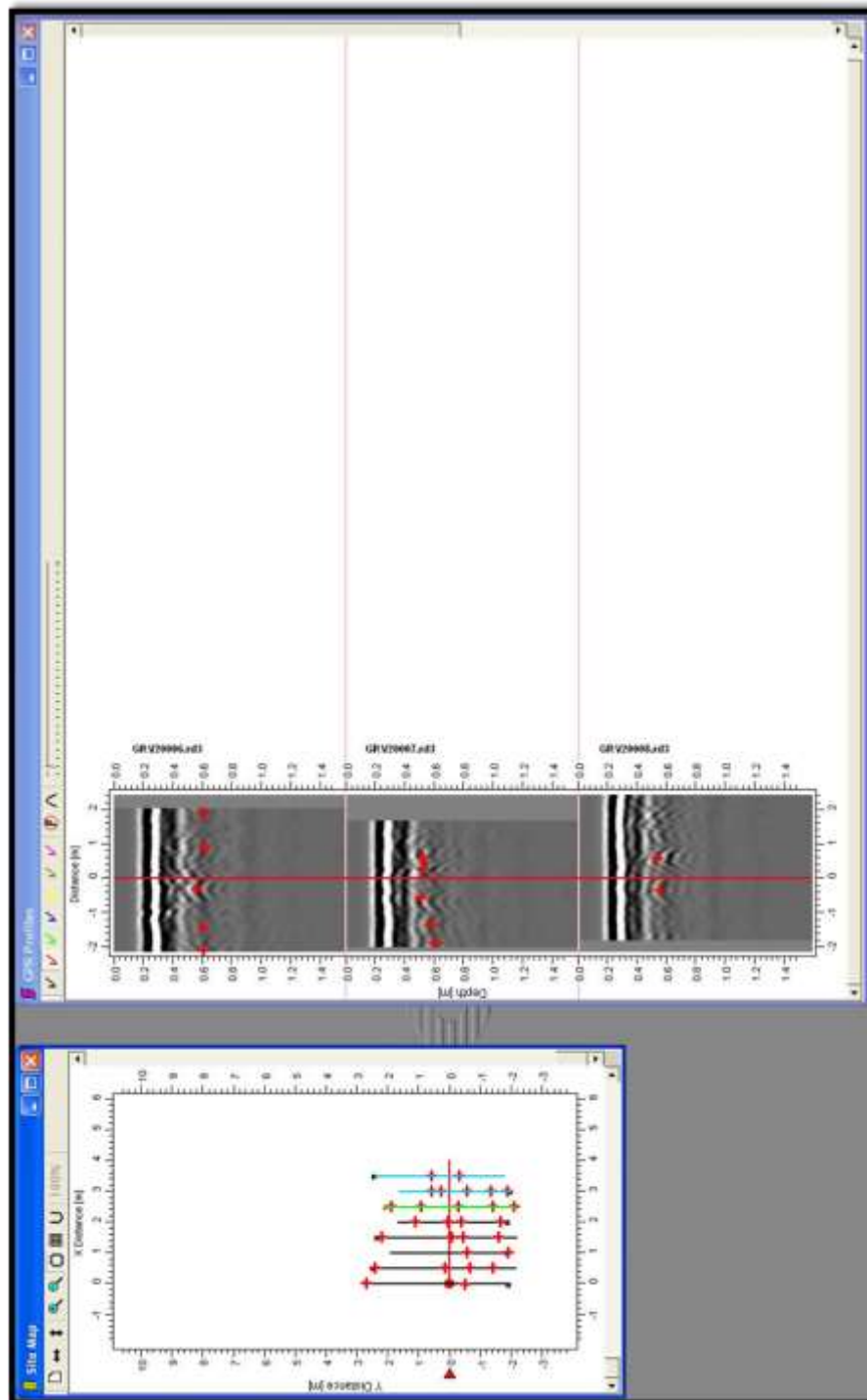


Figure 5-43: Ground Penetrating Radar results showing two anomalies

5.7 Interpretation of the Excavation Sites

5.7.1 Excavation Area 1: John McNeill's Blacksmith Shop

It is argued that the Excavation Area 1 stone structure and the related area to the south west are the site of the forge and blacksmith's workshop, built in 1866 by John McNeill (Clarkson 2011a). No evidence was found detailing exactly how the original building was constructed, but the post holes uncovered to the western edge of the second work area could have been part of a hitching rail or provided part of a roof support. The discovery of construction nails around both the forge and the cobbled floor implies that each had some sort of wall structure and/or roof. The building probably comprised two simple, wooden structures with a shingle or metal roof. Its internal layout and function can be assessed using Light's (1984) discussion of stand-alone Canadian blacksmith shops, where he concluded that they had four separate areas: a primary work space, a domestic area, storage areas and refuse dumps (also see Hyett 2002).

The primary work space of John McNeill's blacksmith shop was the forge and stone platform, with a second work space located to the south west. The forge base was embedded in a flat, raised stone platform that had a space for the anvil to the north east corner. The platform was constructed on a slight slope and had therefore been built up on its northern edge with at least three layers of stones in order to make it flat. The forge, which had shaped stones around its base, contained a dense collection of both charcoal and metal fragments and three horseshoe nails were found close to the stone platform. The walls of the forge would originally have been much higher, constructed of a mix of stones and hardwood (Figure 5-44 shows an example of this type of construction). Hardwood may also have been used for an anvil base and also potentially for the quenching tub (Figure 5-44). The second work area located to the southwest of the forge had a cobbled stone floor, which would have reduced the chance of rain turning the ground into a quagmire in the wet season. This area may have been set aside for activities that needed more space, such as the shoeing of animals or the repairing of carts and drays. The stones used to construct the forge, platform and second work area floor resemble those found in the large creek 100m to the north of the site (Figure 5-46). This is also the likely source of the water needed for the quenching tub, although it is also possible that the water came from the small dam near to the hotel or from a well (as

yet undiscovered). There is no remaining evidence for the bellows or any work benches and it is likely that all movable equipment was taken and recycled once the blacksmiths closed down, or was consumed by termites and white ants.



Figure 5-44: Photograph showing an 1880s blacksmith forge and hardwood quenching tub from Herberton Historic Village.

No definitive evidence was found for a discrete domestic area, where clientele congregated and the blacksmith ate his meals (Light 1984 p. 56). Domestic and social items, such as plates, spoons, cups and buttons, were found, but these were distributed across both work areas, rather than being demonstrably limited to a particular place. Although glass was found across most of the site it was most concentrated in and around the forge area and stone platform, with far fewer artefacts found to the northern edge or across the second work area. No glass was found at the front of the forge, which was presumably where the blacksmith would have stood for a majority of his time. This could indicate that he either quickly removed any broken glass to avoid injury or that the majority of drinking was done by his customers. A small piece of clay pipe and a large number of alcohol-type bottle glass fragments were found to the eastern edge of the forge, which could indicate that men stood alongside this edge of the forge, waiting for work to be completed.

5.7.2 Excavation Area 2: McNeill's Rubbish Dump

The location of this large rubbish dump implies that it was related to the blacksmith's shop, although its contents show that it was likely a mixed domestic and work-related dump. Although the actual blacksmith's shop now appears to be about 40m to the north of the dump, the original limits of the shop's use would have extended beyond the physical confines of the building, making the rubbish dump an integral part of the site. Approximately one quarter of the dump was excavated and it may have been even deeper towards the eastern edge. A large number of both worked and unworked metal artefacts were recovered, including some pieces that appeared to be related to drays or harnesses. The significant number of alcohol-related glass artefacts (MVN 408 multiplied by 4 if the whole dump had been excavated equals at least 1632 bottles) could have resulted from the family's consumption of alcohol and/or have been work related as blacksmith's shops were known to also have a social function within a community. The large number of ceramic fragments, however, points to a significant domestic use for the dump, as do the limited number of home décor and dress related artefacts. The McNeill family likely contributed the majority of refuse in the dump, although other residents could also have used it. The presence of a very small number of bottles (12) that had crown seal finishes also indicates that the dump or at least the area around it was used by travellers after the hamlet itself closed down (Table 5-8).

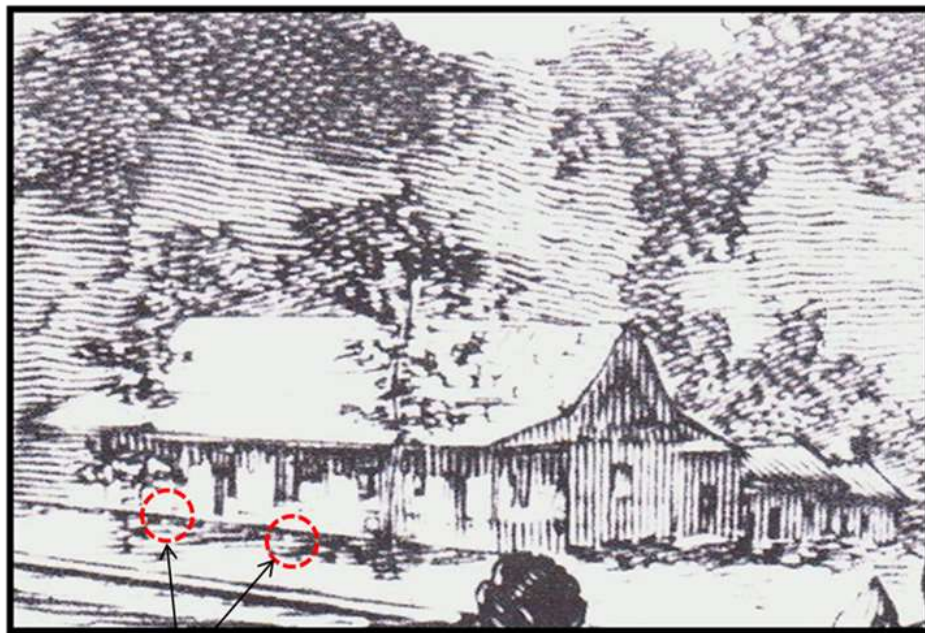
5.7.3 Excavation Area 3: Wall and Track to Cemetery

The purpose of the wall remains unknown, but the sunken track to its western edge likely connected the hamlet to the cemetery.

5.7.4 Excavation Area 4: The Range Hotel Stables

The stone floor could have been part of one of several known built structures in the hamlet including the Cowper's butcher shop, a residential house, the Range Hotel or the hotel's stable block. The floor is unlikely to have been part of the Cowper's butcher shop as, although there is no specific information on what it looked like, it was likely constructed in a similar way to the meathouses found on pastoral stations. These were often constructed of large slabs and had a thick, cement-like antbed floor, with the chopping blocks made of bloodwood or river gum (Carmichael Neal 1984 p. 15). The floor appears to be too large to be one of the houses, which as described in Chapter 4

were usually small and simply constructed, either raised on low stumps with a wooden floor or with a rough earthen floor. The newspaper sketch of the Range Hotel shows a long narrow building with a front verandah and at least two smaller buildings to the rear, the second of which may have a chimney (Figure 5-17). The main part of the hotel appears to have been built on low stumps, implying that it had a wooden floor, which is similar to the design of the Eureka Hotel (Figure 5-45). These known, if limited, details of the hotel's size and design and the background detail shown in the sketch reveal that the excavated large stone floor is very unlikely be the actual hotel.



? Low stumps



Figure 5-45: Sketch of the Range Hotel (adapted from Illustrated Sydney News 1882b p. 4) showing the low stumps (circled in red) and the Eureka Hotel (lower) as it stands today.

The limited number and variety of artefacts found during the excavation at the stone floor, especially the lack of any ceramics, also suggest that this building was probably not used for domestic purposes and was not a place where people spent prolonged periods of time. The few recovered artefacts consisted of worked, but otherwise unidentifiable metal, part of a hobbling chain, a nail, two flat metal straps and a buckle from a harness. The stone floor is likely to be the hotel's stables and storage area. The post holes discovered to the west of the floor, however, could be the location of either the small buildings at the rear of the hotel or of the hotel itself, although this would need to be confirmed by further excavation.

The stable block was probably constructed in stages, using stones from the nearby creek (Figure 5-47). The initial structure may have been 10 x 7m in size and consisted of a floor, laid with relatively large stones, with posts along its edges that supported a roof. Additional narrower areas to the west and south were probably added later to provide additional stabling as the passing trade increased. These narrower additions could have been stalls for horses as they are each 3-4m in width, allowing horses to be led in one side and then brought out of the other. The floor in these areas appears to be constructed of smaller stones, implying that the larger stones from the nearby creek had already been exhausted. There also appears to have been an attempt to create a drain between the main area and the narrower construction to the west (Figure 5-47).



Figure 5-46: Photograph showing the wide creek to the north of the old road.

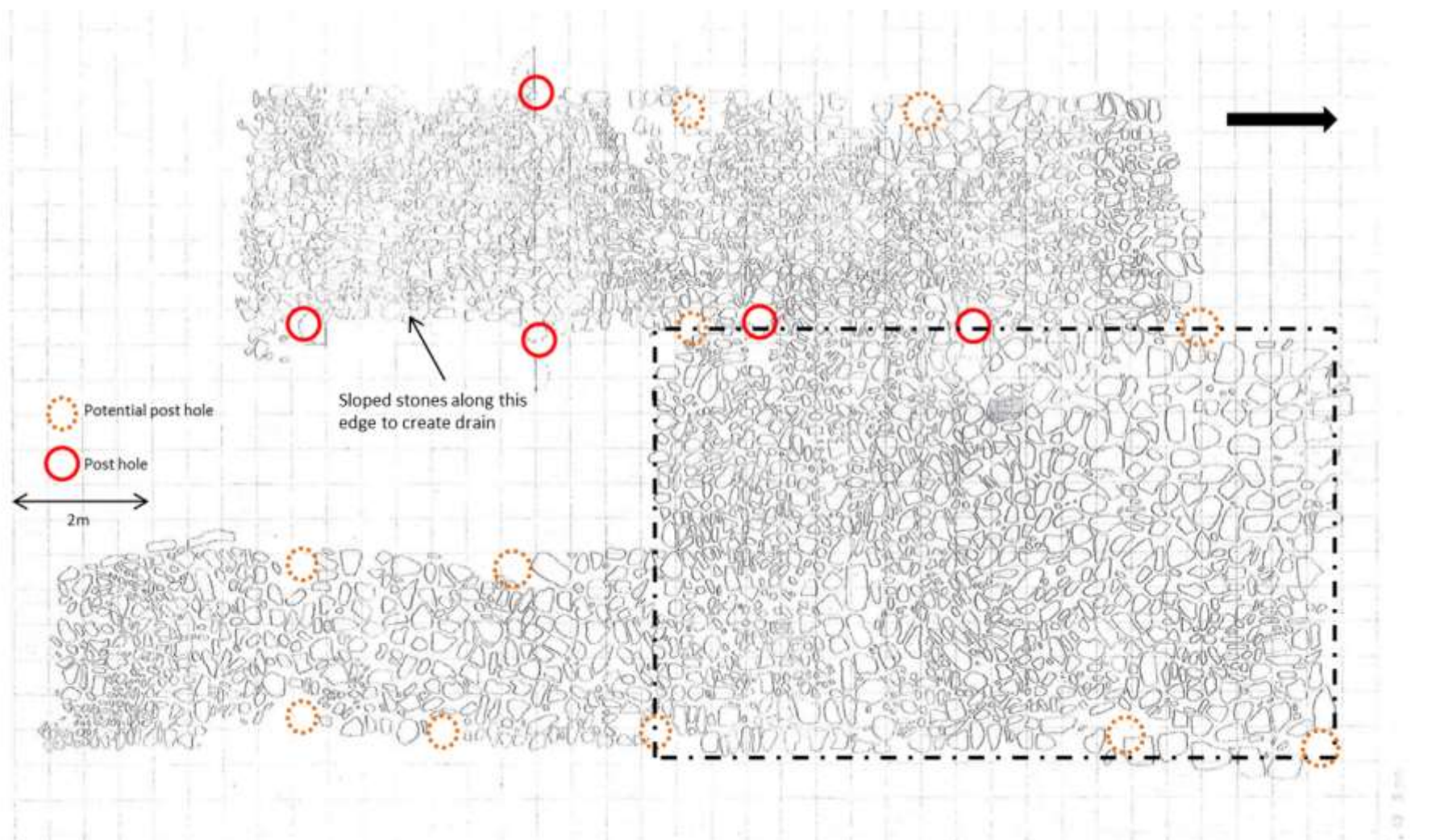


Figure 5-47: Scale drawing showing the layout of the stone floor, post holes and potential post holes, with one area outlined as the possible initial structure.

5.7.5 The Area Opposite the Blacksmiths: A Possible House

This area could be the site of one or more buildings, with the circular stone features possibly representing post holes for large weight bearing parts of the wooden structures, or parts of pathways at entrances (D. Nelson 2013). It could also have been the site of the Range Hotel, but the proximity to the blacksmith's shop makes this less likely, as the amount of available space for construction meant that the businesses did not need to be so close together. Each business would also have required a lot of additional space around it, with hotels, for example usually having outbuildings, stables, paddocks, washrooms, toilets and hen houses, while blacksmith's shops needed room for the bullocks, horses and drays to be worked on.

The dense collection of ceramic artefacts pointed to their being damaged in a single event with the person who recovered them saying that they appeared to have collapsed on top of each other (pers. communication Nelson 2013). Possible causes could be a climatic event that destroyed all or part of the building, a floor eaten by termites or white ants causing a cupboard or shelf to collapse or someone dropping the ceramics when trying to move them. It is also possible that this could be another rubbish dump, but the singularity of artefact type makes this seem less likely. In view of the proximity to the blacksmiths and the recorded detail that the McNeill's home was the closest residence to the hotel, it is possible that this was the original site of the home where John and Isabella McNeill lived for 12 years.

5.7.6 The Cemetery

The placement of the graves in the cemetery follows the Victorian convention of a grid-like layout with the headstones facing east (Sagazio 1996). Only three graves are now visible and these appear to lie in three rows with Francis Earl in the most eastern row, Mary Langton in a second row and then John Bell in a row behind. This allows for the location of the unmarked graves of Sarah/Eliza Mead, Duncan and Elizabeth McNeill, George Hume and Patrick Fogarty to be postulated (Figure 5-48). The now unmarked graves would originally have had some sort of visual marker, such as a wooden cross, and care was taken to look after the site, with the McNeill family, for example, planting flowers on six year old Duncan's grave (Logan and Albert 1873; Police Magistrate 1872). As the years passed by these markers and headstones would have ensured that

regular travellers would have been acutely aware of the increasing number of graves and the tragic stories behind all of the deaths (Whippole 1923). It would also appear from the potential layout of the newly discovered internments that several other burials remain potentially unidentified.

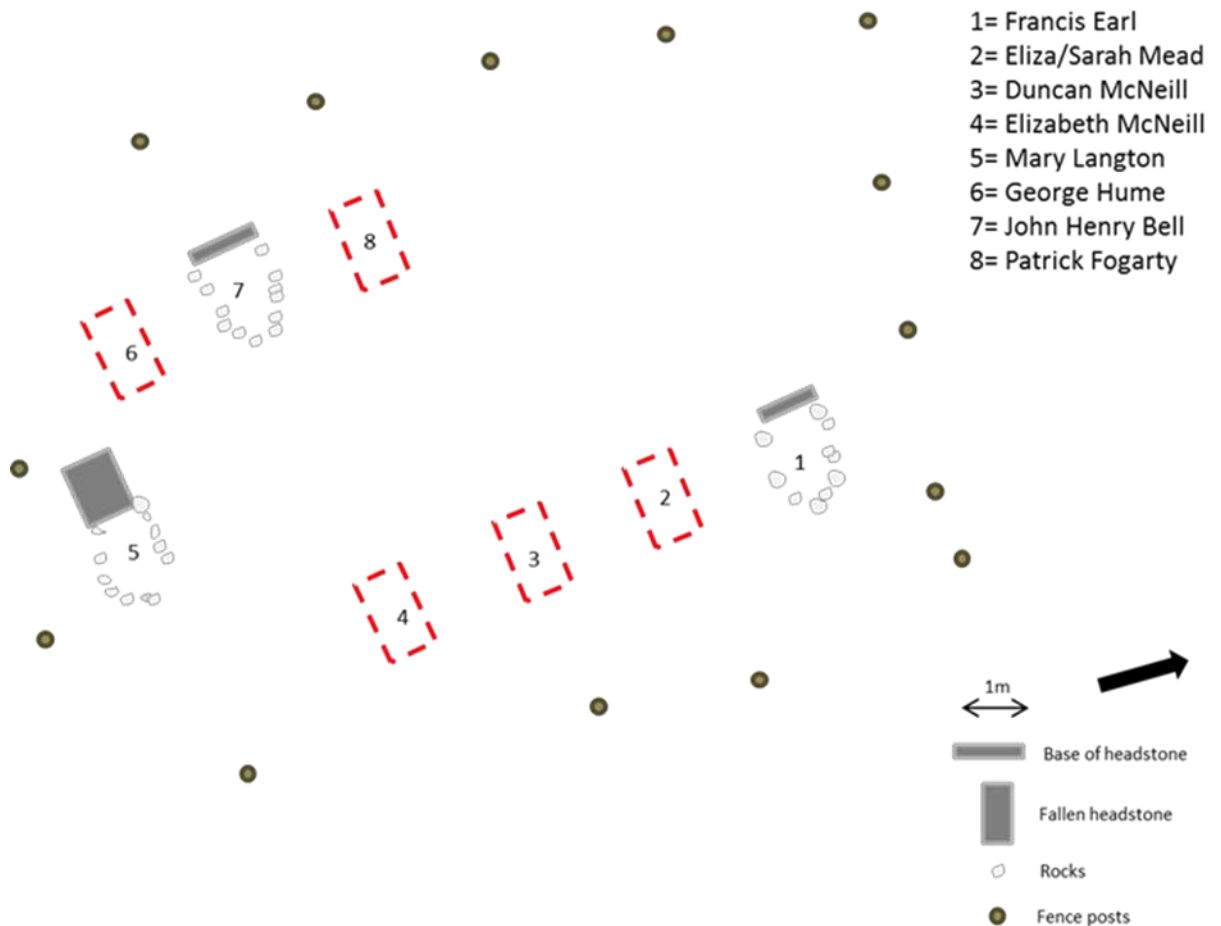


Figure 5-48: Plan showing the possible location of the identified graves in the Range Hotel Cemetery.

5.7.7 An Overall Interpretation of the Range Hotel Hamlet

The layout of the hamlet was influenced by several factors: the physical landscape, the route taken by the road, the need for carriers to wait to ascend the range and the untimely need for a cemetery. The hamlet appears to have had three separate, but linked areas: the mobile and shifting space of the carriers' and road workers' campsites, a more permanent residential/business area and the cemetery (Figure 5-49).

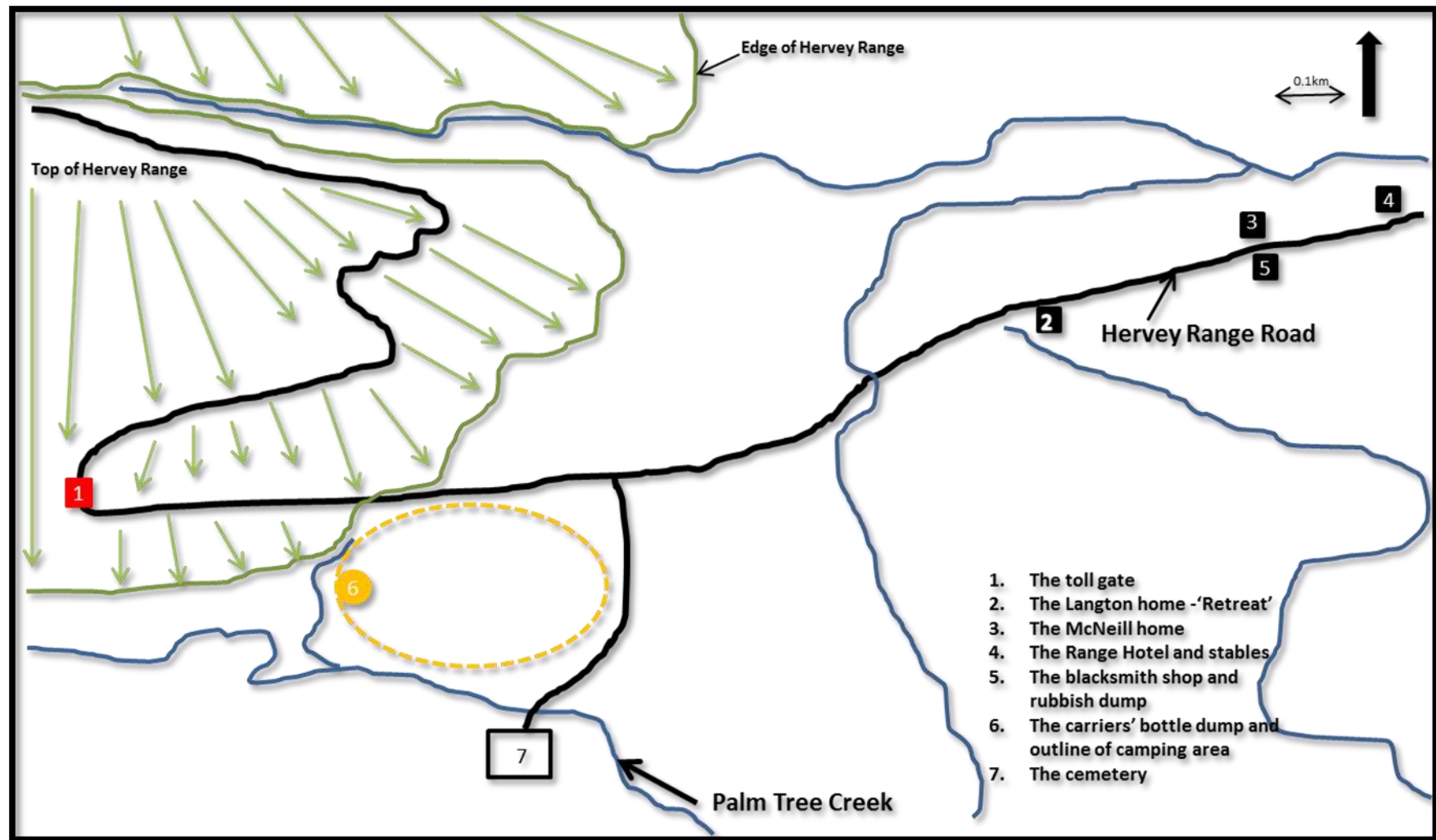


Figure 5-49: Sketch showing the possible layout of the Range Hotel hamlet

5.8 Summary

The surveys and excavations have identified several key physical elements of the hamlet, including the Range Hotel stables, the possible location of the Range Hotel, the blacksmith shop, a large rubbish dump, a possible house site belonging to the McNeill family and unmarked graves in the cemetery. Ideas of how these structures may have looked within the landscape and how they were connected to the other buildings can help to inform us about how the people living there experienced day to day life. The layout for the hamlet was influenced by several factors each linked to the other and the wider landscape by Hervey Range Road. The large number of artefacts, the majority of which were small glass fragments, point to the importance and prevalence of alcohol in the hamlet, a not unexpected finding in a place designed to service travellers. A number of varied patterned and plain ceramic artefacts were also found, potentially revealing another aspect of daily life for the resident families. Non-essential items, such as perfume bottle stops, hair restorer, jewellery and glass cake stands perhaps point to a desire to outwardly reflect a certain social standing. These findings and results will now be combined with the newly discovered documentary evidence to present a layered narrative of life within the hamlet and to recreate some of the residents' experiences, social interactions and relationships.

CHAPTER 6: THE COMMUNITY OF THE HAMLET

6 The Community of the Hamlet

Identifying the people who lived in the hamlet through detailed examination of the historical records has shown that they came from a variety of countries, backgrounds and social class. The publicans and other residents were of differing ages on arrival and stayed in the hamlet for varying lengths of time. The excavations have identified many of the physical elements of the hamlet and suggested a possible layout for the buildings, providing a background upon which to examine the people who lived there in more detail. The importance of Hervey Range Road, which travelled through the hamlet and linked the various elements to the wider landscape and local towns, is also evident, although a discussion of the community should enhance this connection. To evaluate and understand this small and constantly changing community some of the events that occurred in and around it will be examined using the relevant, but limited documentary sources. The identified interactions of the hamlet's residents will show how their different, but inter-related, experiences produced a shared connection to place. These events or *instances of community* (Canuto and Yaeger 2000 p. 5) will help to illuminate the active lives of the various residents and specify their roles within both their family environment and the wider landscape.

To achieve these aims the chapter will progress year by year from 1866 through until 1884 when the hotel closed, discussing the residents as they moved in, worked, had children, experienced tragedy and finally moved on to other locations. The chapter will also touch upon some of the carriers who travelled through the area and on their neighbours at the Eureka and Alice hotels. The pastoralists and carriers in particular were an integral part of the community, providing connections to the hinterland and to Townsville, with many of them well known throughout the district. Tom Courtney was one of the main carriers, but W.H. Corfield, Jim Wilson, Jim Reynolds, Jack Hearn, Bill Yates, Bill Wilson and Tom Hobbs were also prominent in the trade (Bennett 1927; Bowyang 1928; Bode n.d.; Burgess 1923; Carmichael Neal 1984; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868c; Corfield 1921; R. Gray 1913; Hann 1975). Others, such as John Langton, Robert Williamson, Alf Palmer, Maurice Fox, John Cameron and Michael Tobin were as equally well known, but as discussed below, also lived in the hamlet at various points in time. This intimates that living there must have had merits, as each moved there having witnessed life in the hamlet on a regular

basis. After leaving the hamlet several of these men returned to the carrier trade, which would have kept them in contact with the residents who remained behind.

In addition to the notable events it has to be remembered that each day would also have been filled with repetitive domestic tasks, such as cleaning, sewing, cooking and fetching water, as well as time-consuming outdoor work, such as weeding the vegetable patch, milking cows and tending to pigs and chickens. Women often carried out the majority of these duties and this was done while they also looked after small children and when breastfeeding or pregnant. Daily life would generally have been monotonous and gruelling in the heat, humidity and insect-filled air. This was not an easy place to live and as journeys into Townsville took about four days by dray, replenishing supplies and food would only have occurred on an infrequent basis. This would have made relationships between neighbours in the hamlet even more important with social visits between families providing vital support, company and an excuse to sit and relax, even if just for a few minutes. Some of these inherent realities of life in the bush will be highlighted before exploring the community in detail.

6.1 The Life of a Community Over Eighteen Years

1866

In February 1866 the two main businesses of the hamlet, the Range Hotel and the blacksmith's, were constructed and opened by the Mead and McNeill families respectively. James Edward Mead was born in Maidstone, Kent in 1832 and it is not known when he arrived in Australia. His wife Catherine Burke, was a 21 year old Irish migrant from Tipperary, who had arrived in Australia with her family in January 1853 when aged 11. Catherine had sailed on the *Beejapore* with over 1000 other passengers, with the ship quarantined in Port Jackson for 34 days due to an outbreak of scarlet fever and measles. A total of 56 people died, 55 of whom were children. James and Catherine married in November 1863 in Bowen, with his profession listed as sheep farmer, while she had been employed as a house servant. They had their first child there, a boy called James in September 1864, but he unfortunately died only one week later (Alleyne 1854; Registrar General 1864a, 1864b, 1864c, 1866b; State Records Authority of New South Wales 1853).

In April 1865 James Mead and another English squatter named Francis Earl applied for, but never stocked, the Heidelberg run in the North Kennedy District. James, however, appears to have given up on this venture quite quickly, moving to Hervey Range to build the Range Hotel in early 1866 with his new business partner, 30 year old Englishman William Gardner Freer. This new business arrangement was also brief, lasting only 10 months, before William was admitted to Woolaroo Asylum suffering from mental incapacity due to Albright's disease, dying there in September of 1888 (*Cleveland Bay Express and Northern Advertiser* 1866b; Queensland State Archives 2012; *The Brisbane Courier* 1865, 1888).

The phrase 'life and death mingled at the inn' (Foggo 1990 p. 2) must have rung uncomfortably true for 24 year old Catherine Mead. One of the hotel's first boarders was her husband's previous business partner, Francis Earl, who was ill and suffering with a 'fever'. It is likely that Catherine provided care for him, despite being in the late stages of pregnancy. She gave birth to her first daughter at the hotel on the 6th March and only one week later Francis Earl died (Registrar General 1866b, 1866d). The decision about where to bury him was probably made by, not only by the Meads, but also by the blacksmith, John McNeill and the carriers who were camping there at the time, as many would have known Francis prior to his death. His brother William Earl, who lived at the Hidden Valley Hotel, may also have been present at his funeral and provided the money for his headstone (Sundowner 1954). Tragically one week after this burial Catherine's now two week old daughter also died from a 'fever'. There is some confusion as to the child's name as she was called Eliza on her birth/death certificate, but Sarah on her later sibling's birth certificates. Her death from a 'fever' mimicked that of Francis Earl's and the infection may have been unwittingly spread from one to the other. Thus, a week after attending one funeral another small grave had to be dug in the newly created cemetery and another service held (Registrar General 1866c).

John Edward McNeill and his wife also arrived in the hamlet in early 1866. John was born in 1830 in Glasgow, Scotland to parents Duncan and Jessie, nee Mair. His wife Isabella Elizabeth Telfer, the youngest of seven children, was born on 5th March 1837 in Darshill, Renfrewshire, Scotland, to parents John and Janet, nee Smith. Her father was a block cutter with his sons following him into the profession, while Isabella likely followed her elder sister, Margaret, becoming a cotton spinner (Registrar General 1905; Scotland Select Marriages 1805; Scottish Census 1841, 1861). John McNeill also

worked in the cotton industry, but as a cotton yarn twiner, and he and Isabella may have met through work. They married on 10th June 1859 in Calton and resided at 52 Greenvale Street, Bridgeton with their first child Janet Ellen born on 6th December 1860. They had a second daughter Elizabeth on 30th September 1862 (Scotland Births and Baptisms 1860; Scotland Select Births and Baptisms 1862; Scotland Select Marriages 1859; Scottish Census 1861).

The family migrated to Australia sometime after Elizabeth's birth. The specifics and date of this trip remain unknown, but by 1st July 1864 John was working as a shearer and blacksmith, earning 55 pounds a year, at Bluff Downs Station in the newly opened Kennedy District of North Queensland. This station was owned by the Hann family, well known early settlers in the area (Hann 1975). The McNeill's third child Duncan was born at Bluff Down's on 26th December 1865, with Mrs Hann assisting at the birth (Registrar General 1866e). By February 1866 a new blacksmith had been employed at the station and the McNeill family had relocated to the Townsville area taking up residence along Hervey Range Road. With his newly acquired skills as a smithy and the burgeoning new port, John took the opportunity to build and run a small blacksmith's close to the newly opened Range Hotel (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape river Mining News 1868c*).

His wife, Isabella, who was only five years older than Catherine Mead, had a sobering start to life in her new home. Her first role was to act as midwife during Catherine Mead's delivery in early March at the Range Hotel, and after being called upon a week later following the baby's death (Registrar General 1866b, 1866c). This crucial help and support was all given while Isabella was caring for her two older children, then aged five and three, and breast feeding her youngest child, three month old Duncan. The presence of these three small children in and around the hotel must have added to Catherine Mead's despair, having now lost two children in the space of 18 months, and yet having the support of another woman in the male dominated environment would have been essential.

This would have been a busy first year for both the publican and the blacksmith with many carriers travelling to and from the hinterland to the port. The presence of the small work gang, left to complete on-going repairs to the road, would have added to a noisy, but profitable atmosphere at the hotel. The good income may have enabled the

publican to employ people, such as a general servant and cook to help with the day-to-day running of the hotel (Carrington 1871; Dickson 1879 p. 211; Registrar General 1869h). Regular carriers would have provided the hamlet's residents with news from the pastoral stations, Dalrymple, Townsville and the wider district in the form of gossip and perhaps by leaving newspapers behind to be read. Joseph Hann, a well-known early settler was also a regular traveller along the road transporting wool to the port. His diaries specifically mention stays at the Range Hotel on the 17th June and 21st August 1866 (Allingham 1977b; Hann 1975 pp. 98, 102).

1867

In March a cyclone hit Townsville causing widespread damage to it and the road, making travel practically impossible, stranding people along the road and increasing the reliance on neighbours. In August the discovery of the Cape River gold field led to a steady increase in traffic along Hervey Range Road. This would have initially increased the blacksmith's work, until the news of the proposed government tollgate spread across the district. The talk in the hotel and around the forge would now have been dominated by talk of taxes, increasing expenses and boycotts of the road. One newspaper editor summed up the general ill-feeling by describing the tollgate as simply a 'sinecure for the favoured individual who is lucky enough to obtain the appointment of keeper' (A Correspondant 1867; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869d; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867b; Daintree 1867). In September and October extremely dry weather was prevalent across the district, causing alarm at the new gold fields as the potential for mines to be rendered inoperable became a reality. This news, combined with the impending tollgate and the potential boycotts of the road, which would adversely impact business at both the hotel and the blacksmith's, may have dominated the McNeill's family life. This would have been especially troubling when Isabella realised she was pregnant again with their fourth child (A Correspondant 1867; *Port Denison Times* 1867b; Registrar General 1868a).

The number of children in the hamlet grew during the year when Catherine Mead had another baby girl, called Eliza, at the Range Hotel in June. She was helped again during the delivery by her neighbour Isabella (Registrar General 1867b). As rooms in homes and hotels of this era were usually divided from each other by thin walls that failed to reach the ceiling, the lack of privacy must have been difficult for both mother and

patrons, although the successful delivery was no doubt a cause for celebration. The McNeill's daughters, six year old Janet and four year old Elizabeth, were now of an age where they would be expected to help their mother with simple household tasks, as described by Lucy Gray in her visit to Mount Emu Station. There she found the girls helping their mother with cooking, watching the younger children and housework, while the boys were outside helping their father (Allingham 1987 p. 124). Schooling does not seem to have been an integral part of the children's life's in the hamlet, although travellers sometimes offered lessons at the places they stayed and so some limited education may have been forthcoming (Carrington 1871 p. 202).

At the top of the range The Eureka Hotel was now being run by 24 year old English widower William Randall and his business partner George Cooper, although this partnership was dissolved in November (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cardwell Advertiser* 1867c). The steady increase in traffic going over the range to the gold fields and the resulting benefit to the business would have, unfortunately, been tempered by the additional expenditure needed to repair the hotel after the recent cyclone, when the roof was blown off and water flooded the floor (*Cleveland Bay Express and Northern Advertiser* 1867).

1868

The blacksmith's was offered for sale in early March, perhaps in response to the boycott by some of the carriers who were now using the road that crossed the range at Reid's Gap, rather than pay the new, heavy toll fees (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868c). The blacksmiths was purchased before the end of March by 28 year old Englishman Adam Rowe Phillips. He was born in Devon in about 1840, arriving in Australia with his mother, Harriet and two siblings on the *Alfred* in September 1858. He married 22 year old, illiterate, Irish woman Ann Lee/Leo in Bowen in 1863. The couple then briefly ran the Bowen Hotel before moving in 1865 to the Valley of Lagoons and then to Cardwell, where Adam worked as a blacksmith. By the time they arrived at Thornton's Gap the couple had three children, Bernard aged four, Daniel aged two and Annie who was one (General Register Office 1839; Registrar General 1863a, 1863b, 1865a, 1867a; *Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser* 1865; State Records Authority of New South Wales 1858).

On the 18th of April Isabella McNeill safely delivered her third daughter, Ellen, helped by Ann Phillips, wife of the new blacksmith (Registrar General 1868a). In July the Range Hotel's licence was transferred from the Meads, who had left for the Cape River gold fields, to bachelor and previous teamster, Robert Williamson. No additional background information about him has been found (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914). The number of families in the hamlet grew again with the arrival of the Cowper family, 25 year old Alexander, his 26 year old wife Ada Eliza and their two year old daughter, also named Ada. Alexander was born into a farming family in Epsom, England and emigrated, presumably with at least one parent when aged four. Ada was born in Plymouth in 1844 to Thomas and Mary Smith, with her father working as a commercial traveller. She migrated to Australia in 1861 when aged 17 and met Alexander Cowper while living near the Don River, Bowen, marrying him in September 1865. Alexander listed his occupation on the marriage certificate as bullock driver, but on his first child, Ada's birth certificate he changed this to 'gentleman' (Registrar General 1865b, 1866a, 1877c, 1934). Once in the hamlet Alexander resumed work as a carrier, which meant lengthy periods away from the family home and this may have been why Ada travelled to Townsville in October to have her second child, Melville, assisted by Dr Callaghan and a Mrs Palmer (Registrar General 1868b). Isabella McNeill, now aged 31, may have provided much needed support to the two newly arrived families, including practical assistance, help with the children and social visits.

On the 11th October another future resident of the hamlet, John Langton, married Mary Toner in Townsville, with the newly married couple travelling through the hamlet on their way back home to Dalrymple (Registrar General 1868c). On Christmas Day, Isabella McNeill was at the Alice Hotel helping to deliver Thomas, the first child of the publican's Ann and Thomas McCarey. The hotel was 15 miles away, entailing a long ride and it may have meant Isabella leaving her family for several days. However, as Mrs Fulford described in her memoirs, this may not have necessitated leaving her youngest child, eight month old Ellen behind, whom she may have carried with her in a sling (J. Black n.d.; Registrar General 1869a).

1869

Robert Williamson did not remain at the Range Hotel for long, leaving the hamlet in January to move to Dalrymple where later in the year he took over the Gate Hotel from his business partner, John Langton. The Range Hotel's licence was transferred to John Langton's second business partner, newly married 24 year old Michael Tobin and his 22 year old wife Jane, nee Turley. They had married in Dalrymple two months earlier with John and Mary Langton acting as witness. Michael Tobin was born in County Carlow, Ireland in 1844, arriving in Australia on the *Hornet* in 1865 with his profession listed as groom. He initially began work in Townsville with Fryer and Carter before going into business with John Langton, describing his job as 'dealer' on his marriage certificate. His wife Jane was also Irish, born in County Down and she had arrived in Rockhampton in 1863 accompanied by a brother and two sisters. She moved to Townsville in 1865 and worked at the Commercial Hotel, before moving to Dalrymple where she was employed as a servant at Messers Marks and Castling. Her situation in life thus dramatically changed after marriage, as she moved from servant to hotel keeper and then quickly became pregnant (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869b; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914; Registrar General 1868d; State Records Authority of New South Wales 1865; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1921).

After selling the blacksmith's John McNeill had briefly worked as a labourer in the area, but he now seems to have made a brave or maybe financially necessary career change, becoming the keeper at the newly opened and much despised tollgate. The pay was advertised at 100 pounds per annum (Registrar General 1869i; *The Brisbane Courier* 1870b p. 2). This appears to have been a relatively good wage for the time, especially for a job that a newspaper editor disparagingly described as a 'sinecure', or an office that involves little or no responsibility, active service or labour. The wage compares favourably with that of much more labour intensive professions, such as bullock drivers who could earn two pounds a week and shepherds and stockmen who were paid between one and two pounds a week (A Correspondant 1867; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869d). The presence of the new tollgate may also have influenced Alexander Cowper's decision to leave the carrier trade with its associated high taxes and to instead open and run a butcher shop in the hamlet, although

little else, including its location, is known about this business (Registrar General 1869e).

In October the publican of the Eureka Hotel, William Randall married his widowed housekeeper, 27 year old English woman Georgina Maston, although whether this caused a slight scandal or was deemed a sensible union remains unknown (Registrar General 1869h). Meanwhile, the hamlet's numbers increased again this year with each of the four families in the hamlet welcoming a baby. In May Ann Phillips travelled to Townsville for the delivery of her fourth child, Robiena, and was assisted by Dr Callaghan and Mrs Noble. It is possible that Mrs Noble was a relative of Ann's, perhaps a sister or sister-in-law, as Ann travelled to Townsville again for the delivery of her next child, with Mrs Noble listed as witness, implying that the deliveries perhaps took place at her home. Ann likely stayed in town for at least two weeks after Robiena's birth as her husband, Adam, registered the baby there on the 16th June. The family may then have all travelled back to the hamlet together (Registrar General 1869b). On the 11th September Jane Tobin had a son, Thomas, delivered at the Range Hotel by Isabella McNeill. On 19th November Ada Cowper was present at the birth of Isabella's fifth child, another girl they named Mary Mair. On Christmas Day Isabella once again found herself away from home and delivering a baby, this time next door helping Ada to deliver her third child, Percy Thomas (Registrar General 1869d, 1869e, 1869i). The small hamlet now included at least 13 children, varying in ages from a few weeks up to the age of nine.

1870

The wet season during the first few months of this year was very heavy resulting in widespread flooding. This may have led to food shortages and to the pooling of resources between the four families now living at the foot of the range and the Randalls who lived at its peak. Travellers and carriers in the hamlet would have likely decreased in number as word of the swollen Burdekin River and lack of access to Dalrymple spread. This may have influenced the Tobin's decision to leave the hotel and in April the licence was transferred once again. The Tobin family moved to Townsville, where Michael resumed work as a carrier, which meant that he was still a regular visitor to the hamlet and likely remained part of the community (Australian Electoral Commission 1913; Burgess 1923; Sundowner 1951). The hotel's new publican was 23 year old

Maurice Fox, the Australian born son of Irish convict Michael Fox and his Irish wife Hannah, nee Doyle. Maurice's wife, 23 year old Mary, whom he had married in Rockhampton in June 1867, was also an Australian, born in New South Wales to Irish immigrants Patrick and Rosehannah Logue. Mary had been working as a servant on an Agricultural Reserve at the time of her marriage, while Maurice listed his profession as carrier. The couple moved into the hamlet with their six month old daughter, Rosehannah, with their first child Michael dying when he was only three days old (Australian Birth Index 1847; *Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1870a; Home Office: Settlers and Convicts 1837; Registrar General 1867e, 1869f, 1869g, 1869j).

In October the *Queanbeyan Age* (1870 pp. 2-3) reported that a 'most daring attempt at murder was made by the blacks' at the top of Hervey Range when Maurice Fox was attacked with a tomahawk. He had avoided most of the blows, but suffered a severe cut to his cheek before he was rescued by his companions. The newspaper did not report on what prompted the attack, or whether any of the alleged 'attackers' were also injured. This incident was followed in November by a disturbance at the Eureka Hotel when it was reported that a crowd of Aborigines had surrounded the building scaring the two women inside before assistance arrived and the group was driven off (Telegraphic Correspondent 1870). It is presumed that one of the women was the publican's wife, Georgina Randall. Again only one side of the story is provided by the newspaper with any actual intent for the gathering, friendly or otherwise, remaining unknown. These episodes were likely greatly exaggerated as it did not deter Maurice and his wife, Mary from continuing to live in the hamlet and he advertised the hotel in December, describing its capitol accommodation and first-class table and cellar (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1870c).

1871

In February the tollgate was officially closed, although the collection of money may have stopped earlier than this. John McNeill now returned to working as a labourer (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868e; Registrar General 1872b, 1874a; *The Brisbane Courier* 1871). At some point during this year the Cowper family left the hamlet, moving initially to Ravenswood and then to Charters Towers where they ran the Bush Inn (Registrar General 1871a, 1874b). By April another family had

moved into the hamlet with the father John, at least, already well known to the other residents. John and Mary Langton and their one year old son John Henry moved there from Dalrymple to live in a house they subsequently called 'The Retreat', although reasons for their move are unknown (Registrar General 1869c). John Langton was born in Leicestershire, England in 1832, migrating to Brisbane on the *Genghis Ghan* when aged 22, listing his profession as blacksmith (State Records Authority of New South Wales 1828). He was one of the first carriers to navigate the track up and over Hervey Range with a loaded bullock dray and his early partners in the carrier trade were Robert Williamson and Michael Tobin, both of whom became publicans of the Range Hotel (Madden 1931). By 1867 John Langton was living in Dalrymple, where in the November he had erected a large produce shed and by July 1868 he was running The Gate Hotel (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868b; *Port Denison Times* 1867c). He was also a steward at the newly created Burdekin and Flinders Jockey Club, which held its first meeting in June 1868. This is a reflection of his standing in the community and would have made him a visible member of the Townsville community in addition to his role as publican and carrier in Dalrymple (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868d).

In October 1868 John married Mary Toner a 22 year old, illiterate Irish migrant who was born in 1845 to Michael and Mary, nee Corr, who were farmers from Farlow, County Armagh (Registrar General 1873d). Mary had migrated to Australia when aged 18 and worked as a domestic servant for the Pridmore family in Townsville, with her marriage to John taking place in the Pridmore's house (Registrar General 1868c). The couple subsequently lived in Dalrymple, running the Gate Hotel for three years before the licence was transferred to Robert Williamson (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868d; *Port Denison Times* 1867c; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914).

While living at 'The Retreat' John Langton, now aged 39, resumed his work as a carrier. Mary had her second child at home, a girl called Rebecca, on the 8th April with her husband delivering the baby (Registrar General 1871b). The reason for John delivering the baby, rather than one of the hamlet's female residents is unclear, but it could simply have been a very quick labour, with little time to engage outside help. In October Ann Phillips travelled to Townsville again for the birth of her fifth baby, who was delivered on the 19th with the assistance of Mrs Roberts and again in the presence

of Mrs Noble, who had also helped with her previous delivery. This time Ann appears to have stayed in town for over a month, as she registered the baby, a boy they called Adam, on the 23rd of November (Registrar General 1871c).

1872

On 14th January Isabella McNeill gave birth to Margaret, her fifth daughter, assisted by Mary Langton (Registrar General 1872b). Shortly after this in late January Mary Fox left the hotel and travelled to Townsville, probably staying with her sister Margaret and her husband James Reynolds, for the birth of her third child, a girl she named Mary Ellen. She may have remained there for her confinement for at least two weeks, with her husband Maurice coming into town to officially register the birth on the 14th of February, before the family returned to Hervey Range (Registrar General 1872a; Somerset 1875). In June Isabella McNeill walked or rode up to the Eureka Hotel to deliver 30 year old Georgina Randall's first child, a girl called Mary Georgina. In August Isabella was at 'The Retreat' helping with the birth of Mary Langton's third child, a girl named Alice Mary. This was Mary's second delivery in the space of 16 months and she now had three children under the age of four, with a husband who worked as a carrier and was, therefore, often away for many weeks at a time (Registrar General 1872c, 1872d).

There were now at least 15 children in the hamlet and their presence and activities would have been an integral part of daily family life and part of the ebb and flow of community life. The McNeill children were growing up quickly, with six year Duncan probably starting to help his father, while the eldest daughter, 11 year old Janet, would have had increasing responsibilities around the house. She may also have helped to look after Mary Fox's two small children, including three year old Rosehannah, while Mary was busy in the hotel. At the blacksmiths, eight year old Bernard and six year old Daniel would also have begun to help their father, fetching and carrying materials, securing animals and working the bellows.

Visits between the families at the foot and at the top of the range were likely common, with William Randall noting that in all the times he had seen Mary Langton at the hotel she had never been drunk, although she was sometimes of an *excitable temperament* (Somerset 1873b). Visits between the four known families in the hamlet, namely the McNeills, the Foxes, the Phillips and the Langtons, were also probably regular

occurrences, as they lived in close proximity and all had young children. The women, excepting Mary Fox, each helped during the various and numerous deliveries of babies and would have provided support during the initial confinements after the births. One such neighbourhood visit took place on the 25th October when John McNeill and his son Duncan called into the Langton's house, before leaving to meet Isabella who had gone to the Range Hotel (Police Magistrate 1872). On arriving at the hotel, John went into the bar, while Duncan went to his mother who was in the front room. She left him soon afterwards to go into the bar to help serve two customers, as Mary Fox was already busy. Duncan soon followed her into the bar and when his mother handed him a bottle from under the counter he drank a mouthful of its contents, before immediately complaining that it was a 'nasty bottle'. He then fell down and started to convulse, before his father lifted him onto the sofa where he struggled to breathe. He died 20 minutes later (Police Magistrate 1872).

Duncan was buried the following day next to Sarah Mead in the Range Hotel Cemetery, with John Langton acting as one of the witnesses (Registrar General 1872e; Police Magistrate 1872). Investigations into the death revealed that the bottle he had been given was labelled 'Essence of Bitter Almonds', but was found to be old and slightly damaged. Although this drink was often used for medicinal purposes, it had in this case become extremely concentrated due to partial evaporation. This had turned the bottle's contents into a deadly poison resembling prussic acid, otherwise known as hydrogen cyanide (Police Magistrate 1872). Is it not known how Isabella coped with the knowledge that she had provided her son with the fateful drink, or how it affected the relationship with Maurice and Mary Fox, whom she may have secretly or openly blamed for her son's death. This event may, therefore, have created a temporary fracturing of the small community as residents and regular visitors assigned blame and offered support or condemnation to one or other of the families involved in the tragedy. The sudden death and its social aftermath would also have had an effect on the rest of the children who were living in the hamlet at the time, especially on Bernard and Daniel Phillips, who were probably Duncan's playmates.

1873

The Range Hotel changed hands again this year with Maurice Fox leaving for the gold fields, while his wife went to live closer to family on The Strand in Townsville

(Somerset 1875). It is not known why the couple decided to leave the hamlet or why they chose to subsequently live apart, but it is possible that their decision was related to Duncan's death and the ensuing social ramifications. Alf Palmer, another English immigrant, took over the hotel licence after moving to the area from Dalrymple, where he had been operating the Burdekin ferry for 18 months (*The Queenslander* 1871). The Phillips family also left the hamlet this year, moving to Georgetown, where Adam continued to work as a blacksmith and where Ann had another baby, called Polly in the October (Registrar General 1873a). Frequent visitors and travellers to the hamlet this year included Johnnie Reynolds, the brother-in-law of Mary Fox, John Cameron, George Gassie and the Littlefields, some of whom may even have resided in or close to the hamlet.

Unfortunately, this was to be an otherwise tragic year for the hamlet with two more untimely deaths. The first of these occurred on the 19th April, when ten year old Elizabeth McNeill left her house in the early afternoon intending to walk to the cemetery to put some flowers on her brother's grave (Logan and Albert 1873; Somerset 1873a). Soon after leaving the house her mother heard her scream and ran down the path to find her, where upon Elizabeth told her that she had been bitten on the toe by a black snake. She was not wearing boots. Isabella ran to her nearest neighbour Alf Palmer at the Range Hotel for help. He immediately accompanied her back to where Elizabeth was sitting on the path and, after discovering two puncture marks on her right big toe, administered first aid. This entailed cutting the toe with a knife and then blasting it with gunpowder three times. She was then taken back to the house complaining of a pain in her head and was given brandy to drink, by which time her father, now working as care-taker of Thornton's Gap, had arrived home. Elizabeth was obviously becoming more unwell at this time being described as *insensible* with a 'flushed forehead' and 'blackness around the mouth'. She continued to deteriorate rapidly, bleeding from the nose and then starting to convulse. She was kept outside in the air until sundown, with the heat and humidity likely adding to her misery. She died the next morning at 11am, by which time she was 'quite black' (Logan and Albert 1873; Somerset 1873a). She was buried the following day next to her brother with William Randall, licensee of the Eureka Hotel, leading the service. At the inquest by the police magistrate Fitz-Roy Somerset, her father proudly listed some of the funeral's many attendees, with Alf Palmer, John Langton and John Cameron given particular

mention. This probably reflected their good standing in the general community (Registrar General 1873c; Somerset 1873a).

The cemetery now had at least four graves, three of which belonged to children. The planned delivery of flowers by Elizabeth for her brother's grave shows the care that was likely taken in looking after the site and the importance placed on family. The small cemetery reflected the tragedy felt, not only by the families involved, but also by the many carriers who would have seen the children regularly as they grew up. Life in the bush provided risks even from simple everyday activities and, for the families with children, the cemetery must have been a constant reminder of the inherent dangers they faced. Worried parents may well have started to curtail some of their children's adventures and tried to keep them close to home. The McNeills must also have contemplated leaving the hamlet and yet the burials may have bound them even closer to the landscape, producing a strong emotional attachment to place. Elizabeth and Duncan had spent the vast majority of their lives in the hamlet and the whole landscape must have provided a repository of memories for the family that may have been hard to leave. The ongoing support from neighbours would also have been important, although Isabella may well have withdrawn into the security of her home, keeping her surviving children close. This may have been a time when her social visits lessened and she relied on other people taking the time to come and see her, temporarily relinquishing her normal central role in the social fabric of the hamlet. The children remaining in the hamlet would also have noticed a profound change in their lives by the end of this year with their numbers reduced from a high of 15 in 1872 down to only seven, with the majority of these aged under four. However, despite these tragedies and changes life in the hamlet moved slowly on.

On the 2nd December Isabella McNeill went to the Eureka Hotel to help Georgina Randall with the delivery of her second child, a girl called Alice Harriet, despite the fact that she herself was again in the very late stages of pregnancy (Registrar General 1873b). Immediately following Alice's birth Mary Langton went to stay at the Eureka Hotel to help Georgina in her confinement (Somerset 1873b). Mary returned home a few days later on the 6th December in the company of William Randall at around 1pm. Her husband John, who had spent the morning drinking in the Range Hotel, was now tending the garden, leaving this task when Mr Randall approached him to let him know that his wife was safely home. Mary then busied herself in the kitchen before

discovering that her two year old daughter Rebecca was missing. While she was out looking for her she met Johnnie Reynolds, George Gassie and the Littlefields on the road, none of whom commented that she appeared distressed. After finally finding Rebecca the rest of the day passed uneventfully with Mary preparing supper, which she then ate with her family before they all went to bed. John slept in one room, sharing a bed with his three small children, while Mary slept in a separate room. As recounted by witnesses at the resultant police inquest the rest of the night and the conversation between John and Mary Langton unfolded as summarised below (Somerset 1873b).

On the evening of 6th December 1873 John Langton, who had spent part of the day getting as 'drunk as a Lord' in the nearby Range Hotel, had just put his three small children to bed and climbed in beside them when he heard his wife Mary say 'I'll do for myself'.

John got up immediately and began to search for the bottle of strychnine in the box that was usually hidden at the bottom of a large closet in the sitting room. He had purchased it recently from Clayton the Chemist in Townsville in order to kill some native dogs by using laced meat.

'I have been too smart for you this time', she said as he was searching.

'Have you got it?'

'Yes, but I'm not done yet'.

Despite the reply John went back to bed, not believing that she would carry her threat into 'excitation'. Thirty minutes later Mary entered the bedroom, where John was reading by lamplight. She was carrying some bracelets and a watch chain, which she placed into the hands of her eldest daughter, two year old Rebecca, and said 'They may be useful to you, they are no use to me'.

John got up and followed Mary out of the bedroom and put the bracelets on the sitting room table, telling her to go to bed. 'No', she replied 'I mean to do it tonight'. John went to get dressed, but Mary followed him into the bedroom, giving him the strychnine bottle and a bag containing fifty-five pounds in notes and silver. John noted that the cork had been taken out of the bottle, but couldn't be sure that any of the strychnine was missing.

'Mary tell me if you have taken any'.

'God forgive me I have'.

'Tell me whether you have taken it or not'.

'I have'.

'Don't make a fool of me to fetch the neighbours about without it actually is the case'.

'I have taken it. God forgive me. God help my poor boy'.

John mixed some warm water and salt, but even before he could administer the emetic Mary started to spasm. John rushed to the nearby Range Hotel to get help from the publican Alf Palmer and on the way back called into the McNeill's house for further assistance. Upon returning John noted that his wife was 'sensible' and with help from

Alf Palmer and George Gassie, who had accompanied him, they gave Mary more salt and water, which she repeatedly spat out saying 'let me have peace'. John then mixed another emetic, this time using salt and mustard, and noticed a tumbler on the dining room table that appeared to contain partially dissolved strychnine. John remembered a scene four months earlier when Mary had threatened to take strychnine and wondered why he had replaced the bottle that he had thrown away following that threat.

When Mr and Mrs McNeill arrived at the house Mary was lying on the sofa screaming and convulsing. Mr McNeill held one of her hands, while George Gassie held the other. Mary's only son, four year old John Henry came and stood by the sofa crying, while Mary looked at him saying, 'My poor boy'. She died about 15 minutes later (Somerset 1873b).

She was buried the next day in the Range Hotel Cemetery, survived by her three children, John aged four, Rebecca aged two and a half and 16 month old Alice (Registrar General 1873d). Her suicide may have been the result of postnatal depression, aggravated by the prolonged periods that her husband spent working away from home and by the recent deaths of the two McNeill children that upset the normal dynamics of the hamlet. It is difficult to know how the small community coped with this additional, tragic and sudden death, but only a week after the suicide Isabella McNeill gave birth to a son, Robert. She was helped at the delivery by a Mrs Healy, although how she knew her is unknown and she may have been called upon at short notice. It is likely that Isabella had originally planned to have Mary Langton help her, as she had when Margaret was born the previous year (Registrar General 1874a). Isabella was now the only known adult female living in the hamlet, although Georgina Randall was still at the Eureka Hotel. The McCareys also left the Alice Hotel this year, moving to Cooktown and it is unknown who, if anyone, took over its licence at this time (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 117).

1874

Alf Palmer had probably not enjoyed his time as publican at the Range Hotel, having been called upon to assist at two particularly distressing deaths. The licence was transferred to 34 year old John Cameron, an unmarried man who was already well known in the hamlet and the wider district (Queensland Family History Society 1996). He was the middle of five children and was born in 1841 in Inverness, Scotland to parents James, a crofter, and Christina and by the age of nine he was working with his father. In 1862 he migrated to Australia on the *Utopia* from Inverness to Brisbane via

Rockhampton (Queensland State Archives 1862; Scotland Census 1851). By 1871 he had returned to Rockhampton, where he owned and ran the Argyle Hotel, which he advertised for sale in October 1872 as he was ‘relinquishing the hotelkeeping business’ (*Rockhampton Bulletin* 1872; *Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser* 1871 p. 3). However, by 1873 he had moved to Charters Towers to briefly run the Exchange Hotel, before moving again in early 1874 to run the Daintree Arms and Store in Gilberton. Unfortunately he had to leave these businesses, losing 5000 pounds in the process, when it was reported that the small town of Gilberton was abandoned ‘in favour of the blacks, whose murderous hostility and great numbers render[ed] the place no longer tenable with anything like safety’ (The Georgetown Correspondent 1874 p. 10). Again the validity of this statement as a factual account of what actually happened is subject to debate, as only one side of the events are reported.

It is presumed that John Langton and his three young children now also left the hamlet as when his daughter Rebecca died in March 1875 she was buried in West End Cemetery in Townsville. Of note is that she has the same design of headstone as her mother and it is likely that the two headstones were ordered and carved at the same time (Figure 6-1). John may have visited the hamlet to organise the placement of the headstone for his late wife, with the residents gathering at the cemetery to watch and reflect on why Mary had taken her own life.



Figure 6-1: The headstones of Rebecca Langton (left) and her mother Mary Langton (right).

1875

The Eureka Hotel changed hands in mid-1875, with the Randall's purchasing 45 acres of land in the Kennedy District and William returning to the job of being a carrier (*The Queenslander* 1875). The hotel was now taken over by its long-term publicans William and Johanna Rolfe and their five children, Augustus, William, Marianna, George and Walter, who varied in ages from seven to 17 (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988; Registrar General 1877b). In April a man named Keogh was brought to the Range Hotel after being found in a 'very weak state' between the Alice and Bohle Rivers. He had become lost and survived by eating wild tomatoes for several days, although he subsequently made a full recovery (*Rockhampton Bulletin* 1875). News of Mary Fox's recent and untimely death at the age of 27 in Townsville would have also reached the hamlet, probably via her brother-in-law Johnnie Reynolds. Mary had died at her home on the Strand on the 26th July from lung inflammation and heart disease after a short illness, while her husband Maurice was still on the Palmer goldfield (Registrar General 1875b; Somerset 1875). John Cameron remained as the publican of the Range Hotel until later in the year when he left to take up the licence at the Newmarket Hotel in Townsville.

1876

The next licensee of the Range Hotel was George Hume, who moved there in March with his wife Millicent. George Hume was born in 1841 in Durham, England the second eldest of seven children born to George, a cabinet maker, and his wife Jane, nee Smith. By the age of 20 he was working in Kent as a shipwright and lodging at the home of Sophia Shinn. He arrived in Australia in about 1861 and in June 1875 when aged 35 and despite the considerable age gap, he married 19 year old Millicent Bond. She was born in 1855 in Dover, Kent to parents John and Eliza, nee Sinclair, with her father working as a contractor. Millicent had arrived in Australia in about 1869 when aged 14 presumably with her parents, although no more details of this are known and it is not clear where she lived up until her marriage. The newly married couple then briefly continued to live at and run the Retreat Hotel, which was located on the foreshore in Townsville, before moving out to Hervey Range (Census Returns of England and Wales 1851, 1861; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914; Registrar General 1875c, 1879c; 1948).

In the McNeill household things changed once again with John McNeill becoming the road overseer at Thornton's Gap. This probably meant that he was now in charge of the small road working gang and this may have provided a more stable income than simple labouring. Only a few days after moving to the hotel 20 year old Millicent Hume was called upon to help with the delivery of 38 year old Isabella McNeill's eighth child, another girl they called also called Isabella (Registrar General 1876). This may have been because Millicent was now the only other known adult female in the hamlet, rather than due to any particular preference. In return Isabella McNeill may have provided Millicent with much needed support as she was still relatively young and may have initially found the Range Hotel hamlet very quiet after living in Townsville. She would have been used to having shops close by and in Townsville these were becoming increasingly well supplied with items, such as in-vogue styles of clothes and hats, that would have been of great importance and desire to any young lady wishing to reflect her social status. In fact Millicent was closer in age to Isabella's eldest daughter Janet, now aged 15, who may have been eager to hear about the latest fashions and social expectations, as visits into Townsville may have been infrequent and female visitors of her own age would have been uncommon occurrences.

1877-1878

Millicent Hume gave birth to her first child on the 16th April 1877 at the Range Hotel with Isabella McNeill acting as midwife. In May news may have reached the hamlet of the death of previous resident Alexander Cowper who had died from enlargement of the spleen at his home the Bush Inn, Charters Towers aged just 32. At the Eureka Hotel Johanna Rolfe gave birth to her sixth child, Soola Louise assisted by Mrs Kennedy who must now also have lived at the top of the range with her husband John, who was caretaker of 'Hervey Range' (Registrar General 1877a, 1877b, 1877c; *The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser* 1880). The McNeill's middle daughters, Ellen, Mary Mair and Margaret, were now aged ten, eight and five respectively and there may have been reciprocal visits with the Rolfe's older daughter, 12 year old Marianna.

1879

The Range Hotel was once again the location for another untimely death when on the 22nd January the publican, 38 year old George Hume passed away. His death certificate attributed this to heart disease (Registrar General 1879c), but from the description given

by witnesses at the subsequent inquest he actually appears to have hit his head during a drunken fall or fit (Dickson 1879). During the inquest into his death evidence was given by Jane Grant who had stayed at the hotel with her husband from the 9th January for a week. She commented on George's hearty drinking and recounted an episode where she had found him lying on the sofa making peculiar noises, complaining about a pain in his head and a feeling of choking. He had seemed to recover after being sat up and given a drink of water. The second witness at the inquest was Patrick Watson who had been living at the hotel in the absence of Mrs Hume who was staying in Townsville, although the reasons for this and her length of absence are unknown. Mr Watson described Mr Hume as 'suffering from the effects of drink about noon', when he heard him fall down in a fit in the passageway that led from his bedroom to the dining room. Mr Watson called for the hotel's 'chinaman cook' and sent him into the paddock for a horse, telling him to ride up to the Eureka Hotel for assistance from Mr Rolfe, who immediately attended with one of his sons. Mr Hume, however, could not be revived. Mrs Hume returned later that evening, although it is unknown if this was her scheduled return or if someone had ridden into Townsville to fetch her. George was buried the following day in the Range Hotel Cemetery with William Rolfe and John Kennedy, acting as witnesses (Dickson 1879; Registrar General 1879c).

The fact that help was sought from the Eureka Hotel probably means that the McNeill family had left the hamlet by this time, moving to Townsville, where John continued his job as a road overseer (Registrar General 1880). Janet McNeill was now aged 19, while the youngest child, Isabella was three. The move may have been for practical reasons, such as the need to find the older children paid employment or suitable marriage partners, or possibly following some sort of natural disaster that had adversely affected the home. In May 1879 there was another burial in the Range Hotel Cemetery following the death of four year of John Henry Bell from inflammation of the lungs. He lived with his parents, Charles and Mary at 'Bellgrove' at the nearby Black River, located between the Alice River and Hervey Range. They had recently moved to the area from German Gardens, in Townsville (now Belgian Gardens) and as Charles worked as a carrier he would have been a well-known face along the road and in the Range Hotel. John Henry was buried next to the recently interned George Hume (Registrar General 1875a, 1879d).

George Hume's widow, Millicent, who was still only 23, remained at the Range Hotel, becoming the official licensee in August. The following month, however, she married a 40 year old German immigrant called Arminius Danner. He had arrived in Western Australia in 1874 and slowly made his way across the continent to Queensland to settle on Sweers Island where he kept cattle. He left there to join the Ravenswood gold rush and he probably initially met Millicent at the hotel while travelling through the hamlet, perhaps revisiting the hotel on several occasions in order to maintain the relationship (Queensland Family History Society 1996; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914; Registrar General 1879e; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1923).

1880

The newly married Danners soon left the Range Hotel and moved to Denham Street in Townsville where, in June, Millicent gave birth to Ruby, again with help from Isabella McNeill who was living around the corner in Flinders Street (Registrar General 1880, 1881a). In July the Range Hotel licence was taken over by 37 year old Patrick Fogarty. He moved there with his 32 year old wife Bridget and their two young children, seven year old Mary Ann and three year old Julie Ann. Patrick was born in about 1843 in Tipperary, Ireland to parents William and Julia, nee Doolan. The family migrated to Australia in 1852 on the *Arglye* when Patrick was aged nine (Queensland State Archives 1852). He later lived for a time on the Albert River in southeast Queensland working as a stockman before marrying Bridget Moylan at St Stephen's Church in Brisbane in 1872. Bridget was the 24 year old daughter of a hotelkeeper and was also born in Tipperary, describing her occupation as 'lady' on her marriage certificate. She had arrived in Australia with her mother and six siblings in February 1866 on the *Legion of Honour* when aged 19 (Queensland Family History Society 1996; Queensland State Archives 1866; Registrar General 1872f, 1881c). When the family moved to the hamlet Patrick was probably unwell, suffering with the effects of tuberculosis. His wife Bridget may, therefore, have been responsible for the day-to-day running of the hotel, as well as caring for their children. However, being the daughter of a publican, Bridget was likely very well accustomed to this work and may not have found the role difficult.

1881-1882

In April 1881 Patrick Fogarty died aged only 38 with the death notice commenting on his long and painful illness. He was buried in the Range Hotel Cemetery with John Kennedy, caretaker of the top of the range, acting as a witness. His 33 year old widow Bridget initially took over the hotel license, although seven months after her husband's death, on the 25th November, she married labourer David Fraizer, a 30 year old Scotsman from Glasgow (Queensland Family History Society 1996; Registrar General 1881c, 1881d; *The Brisbane Courier* 1881). In January 1882 Bridget was briefly mentioned by a traveller going from Townsville to the Star River tin mines, who commented on the good night's sleep and excellent breakfast he had at the picturesque-like inn kept by Mistress Fogarty (*Illustrated Sydney News* 1882b p. 15). In August 1882 the hotel licence was transferred to David Fraizer (Queensland Family History Society 1996; Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914).

1883-1884

The Fraizer family remained at the hotel until July 1883, after which time they moved to Brisbane, where they had three more children before Bridget died aged 49 from 'bronchitis, anaemia and cardiac spasms' (Registrar General 1895). The Range Hotel licence was now transferred for the final time to 48 year old Owen James Kilday, who had recently married 31 year old Englishwoman Elizabeth Asher in Townsville. Owen Kilday was born in 1835 at Thunder River, New South Wales to Irish parents Owen and Sabina, nee Higgins. His mother had been sent to Australia in 1828 as a convict when she was found guilty of stealing calico, while working as a dairy maid and was given a seven year sentence (Queensland Family History Society 1996; Registrar General 1883; State Archives New South Wales 1828). Elizabeth Asher was born in 1853 in Leicestershire, England, migrating to Australia when aged 30 on the *Stirlingshire* (Queensland State Archives 1882). Owen and Elizabeth's first child Sabina Mary was born in March 1884 in Flinders Street, Townsville. Her father was listed on her birth certificate as being the publican at the Range Hotel, but as the hotel was known to have closed this year Elizabeth may have left for Townsville earlier than its official closing date, leaving Owen to finalise arrangements at the hotel (Registrar General 1884). By 1886 the family had moved to Georgetown where they had two more children before

Owen was shot and killed in August 1888 by a fellow carrier called Welsh over a money debt (*The Queenslander*, 1888).

1885 AND BEYOND

The hamlet now had no known residents, with the numbers having dwindled quite quickly after the Langtons left in 1874. Hervey Range Road was still used by traffic heading to Georgetown, the northern stations and the Cape and the Etheridge goldfields and by traffic heading to the tin and silver mines of Ewan. The only hotels now still open along Hervey Range Road were the Alice and the Eureka Hotels. The Range Hotel appears to have been slowly dismantled or simply rotted away. A traveller in 1891 later commented that he had seen some of the remains of the old ‘township’ at this time, including the posts of the tollgate, a large number of broken bottles and the cemetery, which had at least eight grave markers still visible (Whippole, 1923). No mention was made of any physical structures or buildings, even though the hamlet had only been abandoned for seven years.

The *instances of community* described above have shown how the resident’s interactions and relationships were affected by an individual’s background, by frequent births, by the comings and goings of other settlers, by social and financial opportunities, by illness and accidents and by government policies outside of their control. People reacted in different ways to the many changes, actively making choices and decisions that depended upon their age, sex, education, social class, support networks and their perceived roles within the community.

6.2 Community Interactions - ‘Fictive-Kin’

People’s identities are often constructed around and referenced by their relationships to others and by their perceived roles within society. Kin and social labels, such as mother, father, sister, doctor, servant or teacher often have inbuilt cultural expectations and thus people’s behaviour, status and expectations are intricately intertwined with the labels placed upon them. Family ties and connections can be lost or broken in many ways, such as death, divorce or simple distance, creating a shift in how a person is viewed by both themselves and the wider community. In the nineteenth-century migration was seen as a way of securing a better, safer or more prosperous life, but it often resulted in the loss of important family ties. The migration of British citizens, especially to a

country as far away as Australia, inevitably made maintaining contact with family members at home very difficult and this was generally limited to writing letters. Although this meant that news could be transmitted it would take weeks for letters to arrive. The long lists of 'letters waiting to be collected' printed in local newspapers could also indicate that many people had moved on before receiving overseas mail. Some people were lucky enough to migrate with close family members and were thus able to maintain some kin ties, although inevitably some blood relations would have remained in Great Britain. Emigration, therefore, often resulted in a need for people to reconstruct their identity and social relationships in order to create a new lived reality that reflected the cultural norms of 'home'.

At least six people in the hamlet emigrated with family: Catherine Mead, Jane Tobin, Mary Fox, Bridgette Fogarty, Adam Phillips and Alexander Cowper. It is also possible that Ada Phillips had a sister or sister-in-law with the surname Noble living in Townsville, and at whose home she had two of her children. The loss of family connection for the majority of the other residents was tempered to some degree by the birth of children around which a new 'nuclear family' could grow, but the loss of extended family would still have been an issue. Sisters, brothers, aunts and grandparents represented a wealth of support and knowledge that was no longer accessible to often vulnerable families. In order to bridge these gaps it was possible to build up a network of 'fictive-kin' who provided a type of surrogate family that could be called upon for advice and support and whose connections could extend across the landscape (Figure 6-2). This type of network provided a support system that allowed people to endure the difficult times and celebrate the good (Prangnell and Mate 2011).

Isabella McNeill may have provided a lot of support to the people in the hamlet and neighbouring settlements with her role as principle 'midwife' in the area cementing her intimate connections with many families. The deaths of two of her children within eight months of each other must have put a huge emotional strain on both her and her husband, temporarily reducing their central influence in the hamlet's social network. Isabella may have sought help and support from her fictive-kin network, particularly the Randalls and the Hann family, either through visits or letters. Her relationship with the Foxes at the hotel may also have reduced her social involvement within the hamlet as she strove to avoid unnecessary contact with those she held at least partly responsible for the deaths of her children and who reminded her of her loss (Figure 6-2). The

withdrawal from daily life by one of the hamlet's central figures may have inadvertently affected Mary Langton, with this change in her support network, especially when her husband was away, contributing to her increasing mental health issues.

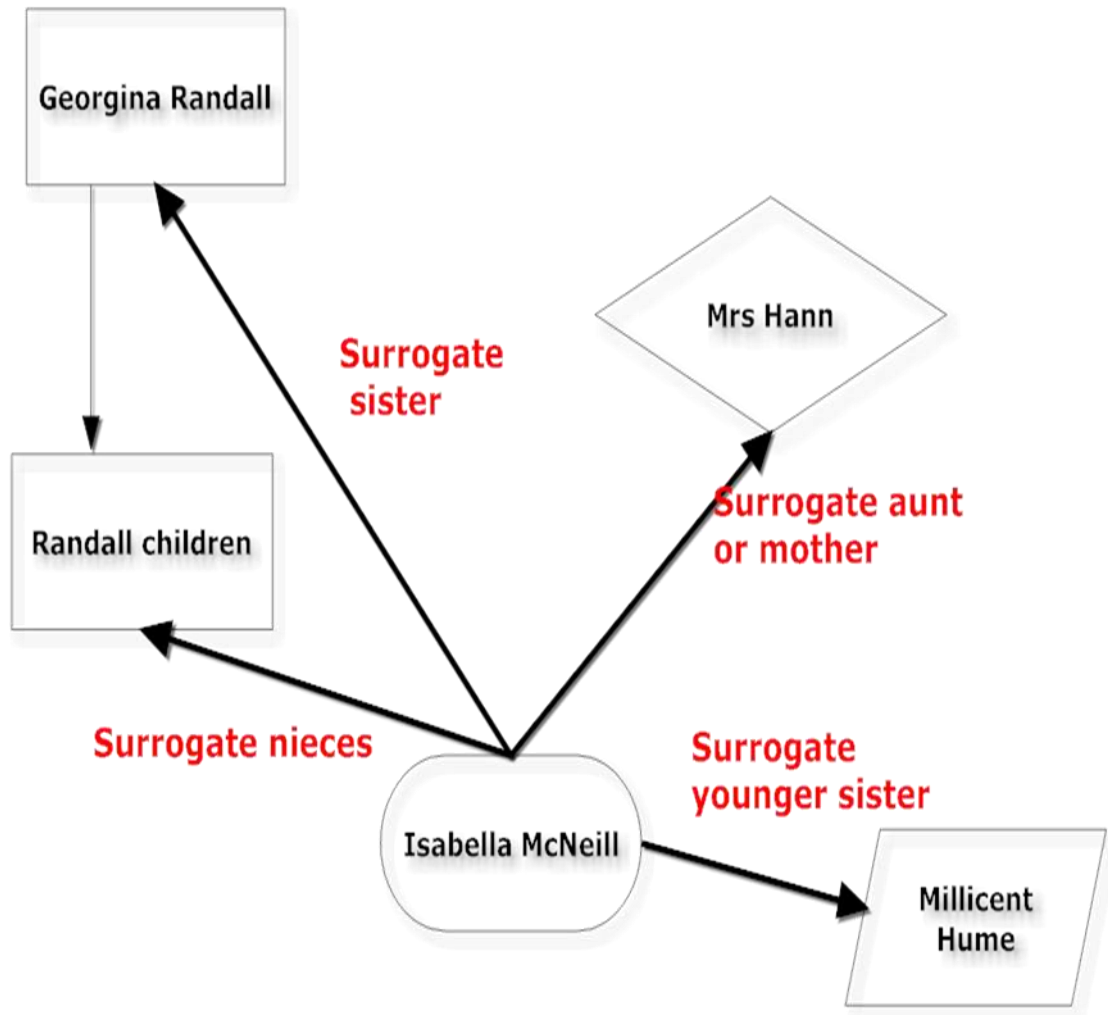


Figure 6-2: An example of a possible evolving fictive-kin network for Isabella McNeill.

6.3 Roles in the Community

Running a hotel was a popular choice for new migrants, although the majority of publicans at the Range Hotel came from backgrounds that were far removed from the hotel trade. James Mead was a sheep farmer, Robert Williamson a carrier, John Cameron came from a farming background, George Hume was a shipwright and Patrick

Fogarty a stockman. The backgrounds of four of the wives of the married publicans are also known with Catherine Mead, Jane Tobin and Mary Fox all working as servants prior to their marriage. Bridgette Fogarty was the daughter of a publican and thus the only member of the hamlet who seemed to conform to an expected role and she may have even encouraged her new husband into the hotel trade, as this was familiar and comfortable. This prior business knowledge may also have helped her when her husband died and she took over the hotel license. However, as with Millicent Hume, who also became the publican following her husband's unexpected death, both women quickly remarried and then left the hamlet, moving to Brisbane and Townsville respectively.

The frequent movement of people from one place to another seemed to typify life for the early settlers, with few people remaining in one place for long. This could reflect the flexibility of early North Queensland society that allowed and maybe even encouraged people to try new ventures and adopt different roles and identities without the stigma of failure. An on-going desire to 'improve one's status', either through a better paid, less labour intensive job, the acquisition of property or through marriage would also have been a driving force as the working- and middle-classes strove to emulate the Victorian elite or acquire more consumer goods. As discussed earlier, the majority of the hamlet's residents did not stay for long with most moving on before three years had lapsed. The exception to this was the McNeill family, who lived there for 12 years. As a couple with young children John and Isabella McNeill had to not only make a living in this new landscape, but also embrace an environment that was completely different to the one they had experienced prior to emigrating. Their short stay at Bluff Down's Station working for the Hann family, who were experienced English settlers, may have eased the initial transition, but Hervey Range presented an entirely new challenge. Their lives at this early point must have been very basic, with a tent dwelling and improvised cooking facilities. This early period of uncertainty would have been helped by the fluid community of carriers many of whom they would already have known from their stay at Bluff Downs and who had similar social backgrounds and aspirations.

As discussed earlier, the types of houses in the hamlet may have outwardly suggested that this was a poor settlement, but this is not likely to have been the case, as evidenced by John McNeill's active role within both his family and in the hamlet. Prior to

emigrating John had worked in the cotton mills in Scotland, becoming a sheep shearer and blacksmith on arrival in Australia, which then rapidly allowed him to build and run his own business in the hamlet. After selling the blacksmiths shop he did manual labour for a short time before becoming the tollgate keeper, a job that paid 100 pounds a year and would have been seen as non-manual employment. The money he earned, the non-manual nature of his job and the symbolic use of material culture all served to elevate him and his family, if not to middle-class status, then to the higher end of working-class (Young 2003 p. 54). This is likely to have been a much higher social attainment than he would have reached if the family had remained in Scotland. This demonstrates the fluidity of habitus, as although his background, upbringing and educational level would have seemingly dictated a certain path and view of life, he was able to actively change this through the use of material culture to show that his family had the necessary *tastes* to be accepted into a higher social status. His community standing was reflected by the attendance of many of the area's respected figures at his daughter's funeral. His wife's role in the community was of equal, if not greater, importance and her presence over the years provided a stable, supportive and nurturing environment that extended well beyond the hamlet itself.

Isabella McNeill's role of wife and mother would have been her primary persona as she strove to maintain her home in an unfamiliar and, at times, difficult landscape, while looking after her husband and children. She gave birth to six children during her 12 years in the hamlet and was thus pregnant and/or breast feeding for the majority of the time. She does not appear to have worked outside the home, with this reflecting the desirable ability of 'respectable' families to have a wife who remained within the private space of home to look after the children (Young 2003 p. 60). Her family commitments did not, however, stop her providing the majority of help to her female neighbours, both in the hamlet and at the neighbouring hotels. Support was given many times through the frightening experience of childbirth, which in a remote bush setting was fraught with danger for both mother and child, and then maintained through confinement, when the mother was often expected to remain in the home. Isabella also felt quite at ease visiting the Range Hotel on her own, even going behind the bar to help when it was busy, with her husband John showing no concerns about this. This visible social presence outside of the normal female confines of the home demonstrates

Isabella's multiple roles within the community and her own influence and identity that were quite separate to those of her husband and family.

One family who appeared to struggle in the hamlet were the Langtons, with Mary's unhappiness or mental health issues culminating in her suicide. They had moved into the hamlet from Dalrymple where John ran the Gate Hotel and would presumably have been at home for the majority of the time. This situation was in marked contrast to life in the hamlet where John resumed work as a carrier, leaving Mary and their expanding young family alone for prolonged periods. This would have contrasted greatly to Mary's experience of growing up when she was likely surrounded by siblings on her father's farm in Ireland. Reasons for the move are not known, but it is possible that Mary had been exhibiting mental health symptoms in Dalrymple, which either she or her husband felt would improve in a smaller, tighter knit community. References to Mary's 'excitable temperament' could be interpreted today as a symptom of mental illness, perhaps bipolar or post-natal depression, and her comment after she had taken the strychnine that she 'had been too smart for [John] *this time*' implied that this suicide attempt was not her first (Somerset 1873b). Another explanation could be that John had instigated the move as Mary's behaviour was beginning to cause embarrassment within their hotel or the township, or that she had started to drink heavily to try and alleviate her unhappiness. These types of external display of emotion was not deemed appropriate for people trying to emulate the higher social-classes as one of the underpinnings of gentility was self-control of body and mind (Young 2003 pp. 16, 82-84).

The move to the hamlet may have been initially successful as she did appear to be socially active within the community, helping Isabella during her delivery and visiting neighbours. However, Mary was also illiterate and although she had this in common with Ann Phillips, she could have seen this as a social barrier between herself and some of her neighbours. Mary, described quite unflatteringly as being 5ft 5in tall with brown hair, a fat round face and stout body, may also have felt intimidated by people such as Mary Fox who was 'tall and graceful' and would be seen wearing 'the fashion of the day' (Cairns Post 1924; Somerset 1873b). It is also known that John and Mary slept in separate beds, with John sharing his bed with all three children. This may simply reflect the understanding on John's behalf that his wife needed an undisturbed sleep, but the

division could also have been actively initiated and maintained by Mary as a means of ensuring that she did not fall pregnant again.

6.4 Links to the ‘Outside’: A Fluid Community

Definitions of community often call for regular contact in a bounded space, arguing that this is the only way to ensure that the social interactions needed to foster a shared identity and common understanding are occurring. However, the Range Hotel community was not just limited to the people who lived in the hamlet, but encompassed some of the people who regularly travelled through it. This included the station owners, the carriers, and on a group, rather than an individual basis, the miners heading for the latest find of gold, tin or silver. The names and actions of individual miners may never have been known to the residents, but even as an anonymous group of people, they would have impacted the hamlet in predictable ways, becoming part of the accepted cycle of daily life. The miners and indeed, other infrequent visitors, such as recently paid stockmen and shearers, would have briefly swelled the hamlet’s numbers, recreating the same type of impact as the previous group that had travelled through. Noise extending well into the night, the drinking of an excessive amount of alcohol, broken bottles and perhaps regret the next day would have become part of the community’s expectations and social life.

The hamlet’s fluid community extended from Townsville through to Dalrymple and beyond, with the frequent movement of people along Hervey Range Road maintaining the social links in this extended cultural space (Figure 6-3). This may have made living in the hamlet a less isolating experience than other types of rural living, such as on remote pastoral stations where visitors could often be few and far between (R. Gray 1913, pp. 178-179). This may also have helped to negate the potentially negative effects caused by the relatively high turnover of publicans at the hotel. This ongoing change could have resulted in a fracturing of the community and a lessening of social commitment and yet the social ties appear to have remained strong. This likely occurred because successive publicans were already known in the hamlet, as many were carriers who had travelled through on a regular basis and many continued to do so after they relinquished the hotel’s licence.

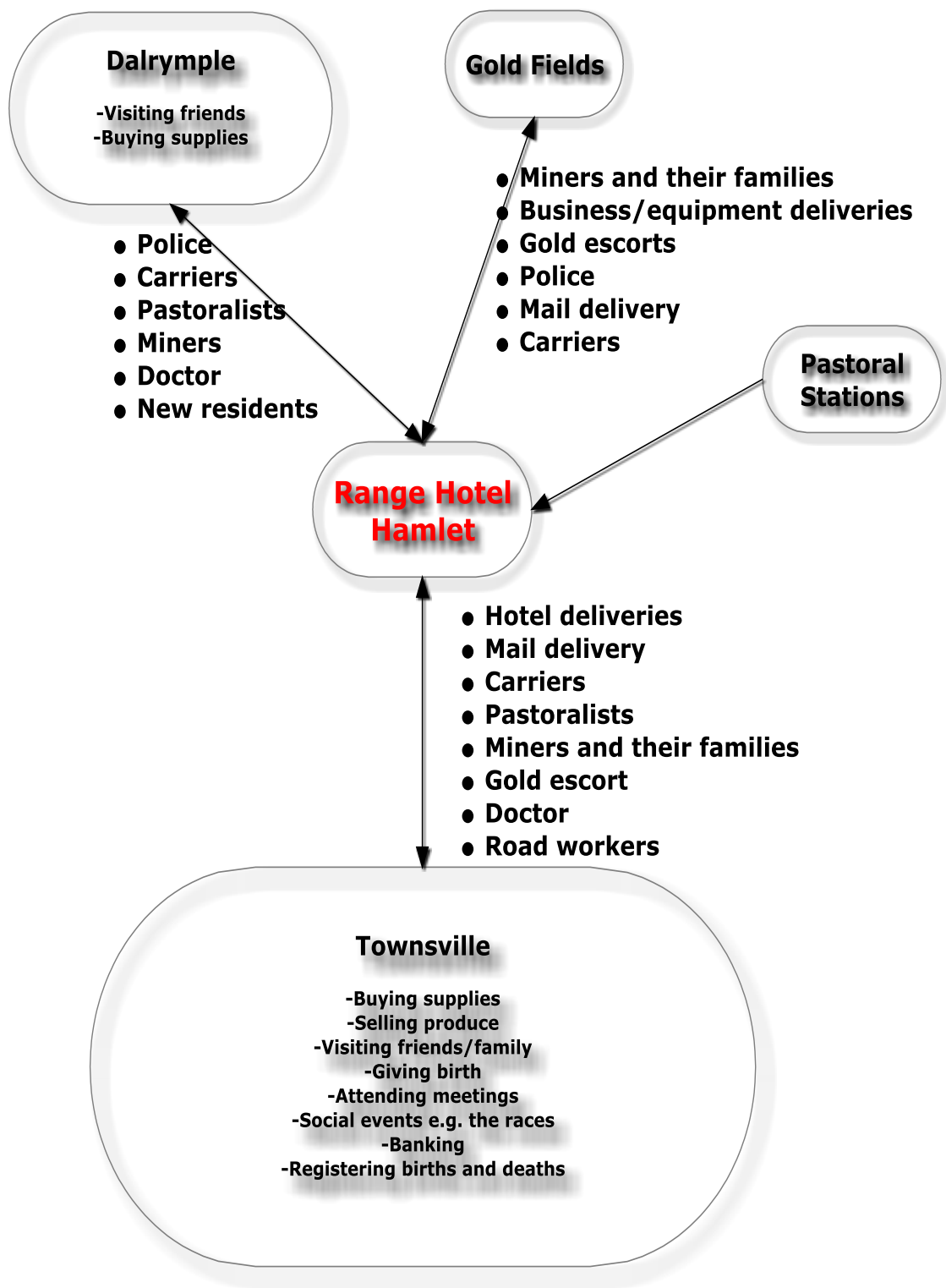


Figure 6-3: Diagram showing the links the community had to its neighbours and to people passing through.

6.5 Links to the Present

The Range Hotel hamlet, community and the cultural landscape of which it is a part are also linked to the present, through the archaeological remains, the historical documents and the resident's descendants. Three families in particular continued to play a role in Townsville's history. The McNeill family moved to Flinders Street in late 1879 and in May 1880, when aged 44 Isabella had her ninth and final child, a son called John, delivered with the help of Millicent Danner, previous licensee at the Range Hotel (Registrar General 1880). Isabella remains visible in the historical records as the named assistant on the birth certificates of several more babies (Registrar General 1879a, 1879b, 1881a, 1882):

- ❖ November 1879-John Edward Hansford (Denham Street)
- ❖ December 1879-Henry Hansford (cousin of above child)
- ❖ December 1882-Ethel Maud Gielis (Sturt Street).

No further information about John and Isabella McNeill can be found until the Townsville Census records started in 1903, by which time they were living in Walker Street with their eldest and still unmarried daughter Janet, who worked as a dressmaker. John was still working as a labourer aged 73 and subsequently died on 31st January 1905. Isabella remarried two years later when she was aged 70 remaining in Townsville until her death in 1919 (Registrar General 1901, 1905, 1907). Five of the McNeill's children married and raised families across Queensland, resulting in a total of at least 30 grandchildren.

In 1878 John Langton and Robert Williamson resumed their business partnership purchasing Maal Maal Downs in the North Kennedy District that had originally been part of Greenvale Station (*Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* 1878c; *The Brisbane Courier* 1878; *The Queenslander* 1879). No more information about John Langton is available until the Townsville census of 1903 by which time he was living with his new wife, Englishwoman Vignette (nee Rowe), the sister of Charles Saville Rowe, one of the early settlers of Townsville and the first licensee of the Eureka Hotel. The couple do not appear to have had any children together. By 1905 John and Vignette Langton were living on Fulham Road, Pimlico with John's occupation listed as grazier. Vignette died in 1908 in her home 'Endymion' at the age of 73 (Australian Electoral Commission 1905; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1908), while John died two years later

aged 75. They are both buried in West End Cemetery, Townsville next to the grave of John's daughter Rebecca (Figure 6-4). Mary and John's two surviving children, John and Alice Mary had at least 10 grandchildren between them.

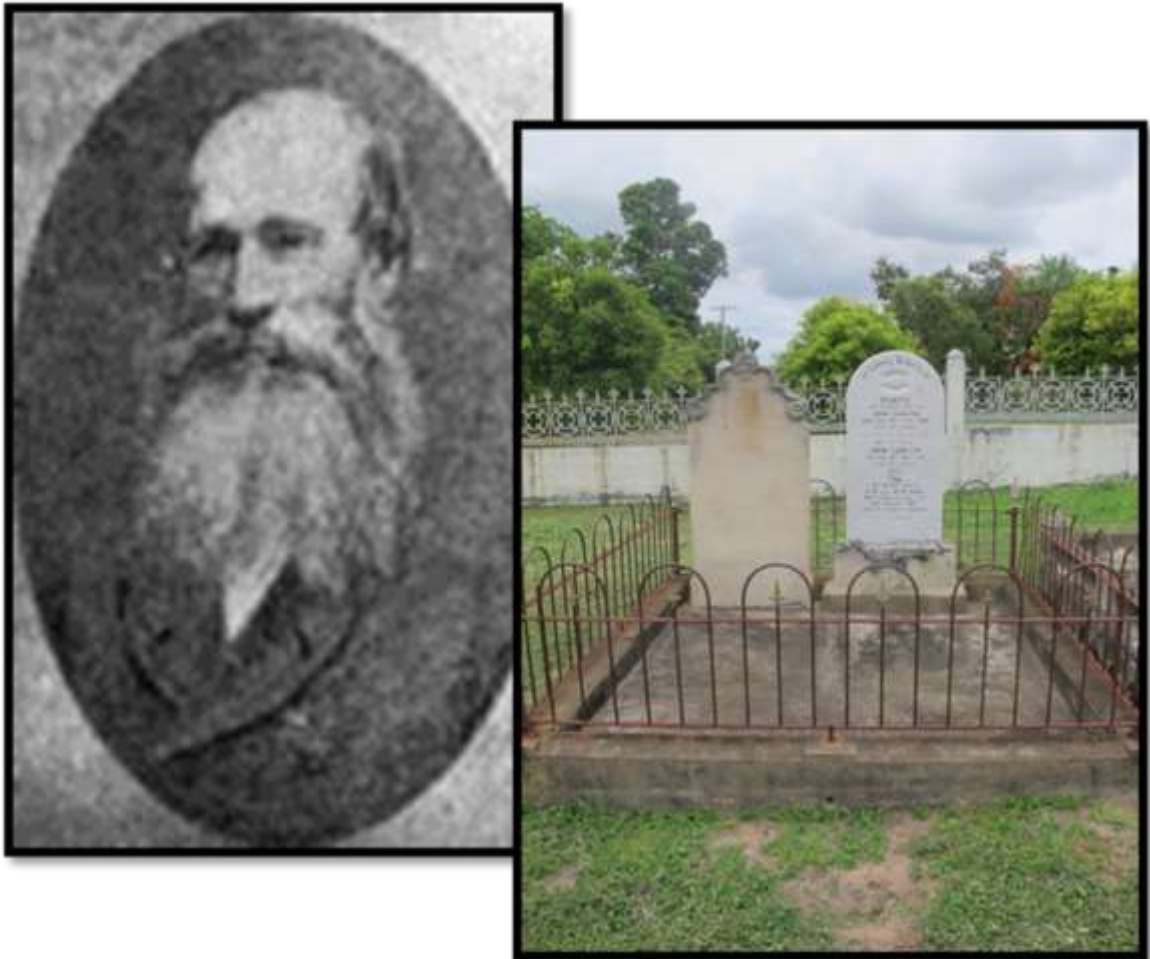


Figure 6-4: Photographs of John Langton-age unknown (Anon 1913). Rebecca Langton's grave (left) and John and Vignette Langton's grave (right).

The Hume/Danner family also have important links with Townsville. After leaving the Range Hotel, Millicent and Arminius Danner moved to the St Johns Wood Estate subdivision of Townsville and lived in a house called 'Myseterton', after which the present day suburb of Mysterton, with a slightly altered spelling, now takes its name (Townsville City Council n.d.). Arminius Danner worked across a large area of North Queensland as a telegraph line contractor, a job he continued to do until he was aged 74. Millicent and Arminius are also both buried in the West End Cemetery in

Townsville (Figure 6-5), with Millicent, described as a ‘busy little woman’, surviving him by 25 years and dying of ‘senility’ at the age of 93 (Australian Electoral Commission 1903; Registrar General 1948; *Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1923).



Figure 6-5: The headstone of Millicent and Arminius Danner.

In 1897 the eldest daughter of George and Millicent Hume, Millicent Jane, married Thankful Frederick Willmet (Registrar General 1879f). He was the 24 year old son of Thankful Percy Willmott, the English born founder of the Willmetts Bookstore on Flinders Street in Townsville and one of the city’s earliest mayors (1880-1881 and 1884). This shop is still part of the Flinders Street townscape and was listed on the Queensland Heritage Register in 1992, Place I.D. 600898 and is shown in Figure 6-6 (Department of Environment and Heritage Protection 1992).

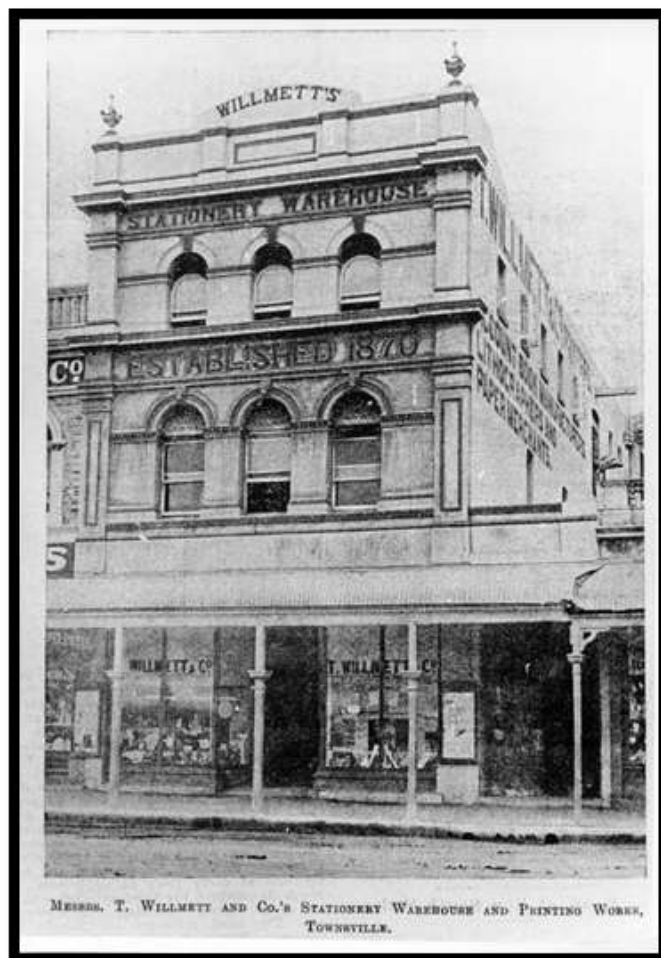
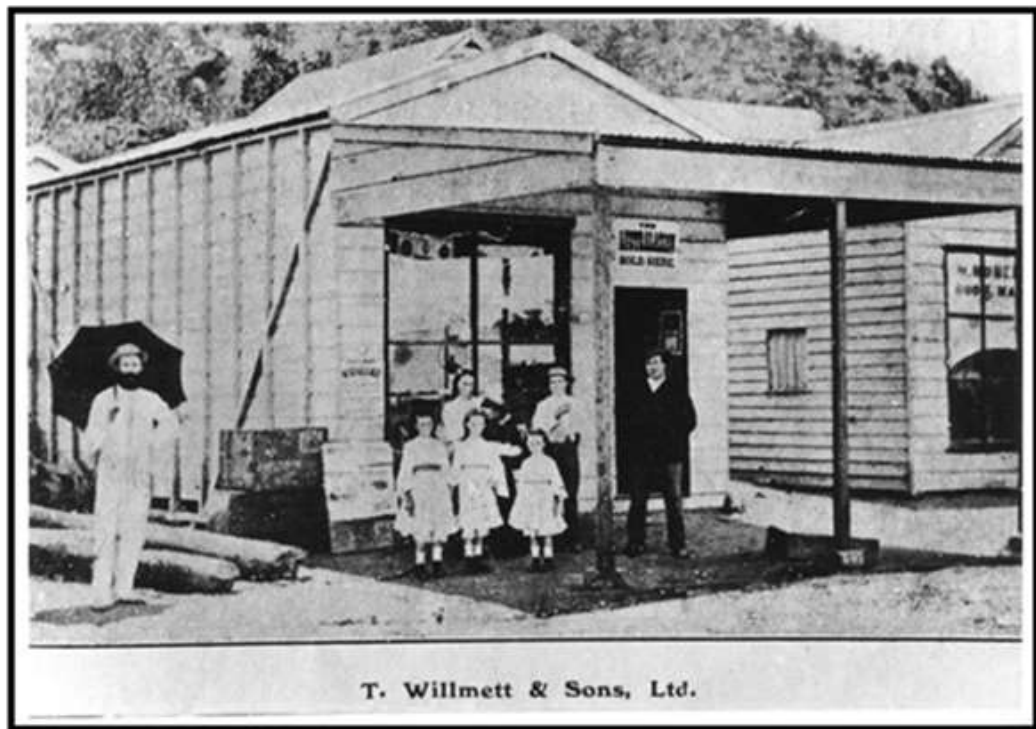


Figure 6-6: Photograph (top) of T. Willmett's shop in Townsville (Anon 1870b) and in 1913 (Fielding 2015)

6.6 Summary

Archival and genealogy research has provided the names of many of the hamlet's residents and allowed their backgrounds, family relationships and community ties to be identified. Children were born in the hamlet and several people died there creating events, social attachments and links that are not obvious from the previously documented history. The resulting social interactions and relationships appeared to forge bonds to the area, to the other residents and to the regular travellers that were stronger than the hamlet's short 18 year history would initially suggest. The fluid nature of the community and the resident's relationships with the carriers was aided by Hervey Range Road, which extended the linear cultural landscape of the hamlet far beyond 'the foot of the range'. The hamlet appears to have been at its height in the early-to-mid 1870s, when at least four families were present, each with varying numbers of young children, most of who were delivered by Isabella McNeill.

Establishing the roles and relationships that specific individuals may have played in the day-to-day life of the residents has challenged the preconceived centrality of the Range Hotel to the community. Instead it appears that people and their social relationships with family, friends and neighbours were fundamental to its cohesion. Establishing and maintaining social relationships with neighbours was particularly important, providing support during times of tragedy and when men were away for long periods of time working as carriers or collecting supplies from Townsville. The McNeill family were the hamlet's longest serving residents and Isabella in particular, played a central role in the lives of the women who lived there and in the neighbouring hotels. John McNeill was also a pivotal resident with his commitment to both his family and the hamlet shown by his relationship with his children and his readiness to change employment in order to provide for them. The McNeill family's 'success' in the hamlet contrasts with that of the Langton's showing that there was no homogenous universal male or female experience of early settler life. Understanding these different experiences and discovering the relationships and interactions between the residents provides a detailed background upon which to assess social aspirations and priorities and these will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: RESPECTABLE LIVES

7 Respectable Lives

Respectability was seen as a way of making and strengthening the community ties that were extremely important for early rural settlers. Many had lost their extended family connections after emigrating and the support, help and friendship of neighbours would have been vital for young families in unfamiliar surrounds. Artefacts recovered from excavations at rural settlements, such as pastoral stations and mining towns have shown that the families living there demonstrated a desire for permanence and home comforts implying that respectability was an important and practiced concept. The previously assumed dominance of alcohol and men at such sites and the negative connotations attached to this scenario, was replaced by a more family orientated and quiet picture of early settler life (Allison & Cremin, 2006; Kruczek-Aaron, 2002; S. Lawrence, 2000; Praetzellis & Praetzellis, 2001; Prangnell & Quirk, 2009; Quirk, 2008; Rotman, 2005; Terry & Prangnell, 2009). Research into roadside hotels and the working-class people who lived there is limited and the obvious role alcohol played in these places should provide an interesting comparison with other rural settlements.

The issue of space and its separation in ‘private female’ and ‘public male’ domains is central to the ideology of gentility, but this would have been a difficult concept to maintain for the early North Queensland settlers. As discussed earlier the design and layout of houses in the tropics relied on the availability of building materials and the hot climate, rather than on the idealistic rituals of Victorian sensibilities. The new environment, so different from that in Britain and Ireland, meant new ways of doing things and yet there was a strong attempt to live in a way that was recognisable and familiar. This can be seen in the way that ‘houses’ were laid out with Lucy Gray using a blue blanket as a curtain to divide the shepherd’s hut, where they were staying until their new house was built, into two ‘rooms’ (Allingham 1987 p. 146). Despite their practical limitations the blankets would have created a visual and psychological separation. The internal walls of houses usually had a large gap at the top and ‘rooms’ were often multifunctional containing both the kitchen, a supposedly private female sphere, with the more public male dining or living areas (Figure 7-1). Window treatments were usually simple wooden or tin shutters, often left open for air flow and when open would have provided little privacy from people and noises outside (Figure

7-1). Verandahs were also common and these areas in particular represented the melding of public and private domestic spaces.



Figure 7-1: Photographs of an 1866 cottage at Herberton Historic Village showing the low internal wall heights and the shutters.

The intricacies of Victorian domesticity and the changing trends and fashions were often detailed in local Queensland newspapers. Although newspapers were probably not readily available in the hamlet, they may have been purchased when visiting Townsville for supplies or left behind by travellers. This may have resulted in people reading newspapers that were slightly out of date, but the majority of them contained adverts, columns and notices that were repeated week after week, with little change. One correspondent to the *Townsville Herald*, who signed herself as 'The Lady' (1876), extolled some of Townsville's virtues, while also offering up some advice,

The broad, white, silvery beach providing a well ventilated wholesome nursery for the 'little one', or a lovers walk for the 'big ones', a splendid promenade especially by moonlight for every bright eyed Hebe with her gallant knight and for all those who love nature....The instalment of some seats by the beach for pedestrians to rest and admire the view would also speak for our civilisation.

The *Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* had sections that included 'The Ladies', which discussed the latest fashions and 'The Housewife', which included original recipes and household hints, while the *Townsville Herald's* weekly supplement had 'The Household'. This column was dedicated to food, the latest cures and medical treatment, fashionable hair styles, the fashions of Paris and advice on etiquette.

Discussions about food ranged from ‘how to kill and prepare roast fowls’ and ‘cook brains and sheep’s tongues’ to the more appetising recipes for orange marmalade, savory cake, tomato soup, Spanish fritters and corned beef hash. Advice about etiquette covered the correct way to eat soup, which ‘should be taken from the side of the spoon and the spoon should be turned away from the person when getting the soup out of the bowl’, to the subtleties of promenading when a ‘gentleman should take the outside of a walk when promenading with a lady’ (*The Townsville Herald Supplement* 1877). Another example of the reach of the cult of domesticity into middle-class lives is admirably revealed by the following advice from the Ladies’ Page of the *North Queensland Register* (1884),

To be fashionable now a dinner party must not count more than 12 guests at the utmost, however large the dining room may be. Flowers are still grouped around but no longer scattered on the tablecloth, which fashion has become disagreeable after a while. Old family plate is to remain on the sideboards; this takes away some of the brilliancy of the table, but the mellow colours of the porcelain have a great softness and charm of their own. (quoted in D. Lawrence 2011 p. 390)

This chapter will focus on assessing whether or not these civilising ideals extended beyond Townsville’s boundaries into the more remote roadside hotel communities. A ‘respectable’ community should be identifiable by the presence of simple home décor, inexpensive ceramics, items associated with children and a low number of alcohol bottles (Quirk 2007). The excavations at the Range Hotel hamlet produced a large amount of alcohol-related bottle glass and with the emphasis placed on the avoidance of vice as a sign of respectability this should, in theory, make the residents of the hamlet inherently ‘unrespectable’. This conclusion seems unlikely, however, as the relative isolation of the hamlet and the high number of births and deaths, would suggest that initiating and maintaining strong ties with neighbours would have been a priority. This apparent inconsistency will be examined and resolved by combining details gleaned from documentary sources with the results of the artefact findings, using Quirk’s (2007) six archaeological indicators as categories of analysis: home décor, refuse disposal, domestic ceramics, dress, child rearing and the avoidance of vice. The discussion will particularly focus on the McNeill family as they lived in the hamlet for the longest period of time and the majority of the excavated sites and recovered artefacts appear to be related to them. However, the lives of the Langton family will also be touched upon,

although information about them is limited to the inquest into Mary Langton's suicide (Somerset 1873b).

7.1 Home Decor

The initial cultural shock for some of the early female settlers was exemplified by middle-class Lucy Gray, who wrote of her feelings on arriving at Hughenden Station in October 1868. She felt that they had left all civilisation and everything belonging to their old life behind them, until she was greeted by her sister-in-law Charlotte 'with her white hands and pretty cool dress [she] did not look like roughing it, and inside long shelves of books, photos etc. looked very home like and comfortable' (Allingham 1987 p. 133). Furniture and familiar domestic items could have been obtained in a number of ways and were used to make the houses feel more like home. First, middle-class families may have brought items with them, either from Great Britain prior to emigrating or from the larger towns before they moved to remoter locations. Secondly, furniture such as chairs and tables could be made from local materials and it was common, for example, to make shelves from strips of bark hung from the rafters by twine or cord. Packing cases were often used as chairs or tables and saplings were used to make bedframes (Carmichael Neal 1984 p. 15). Thirdly, items could be purchased from or be given to them by friends already in the area and finally items could be purchased during trips to Townsville. Lucy Gray, for example, bought some furniture and crockery from a neighbour, while her husband did the shopping in Townsville for everything else from milk buckets, to teacups, to tin teapots (Allingham 1987 pp. 148, 153). However, despite all these attempts to recreate the known and familiar adjusting sometimes remained difficult, as shown by the comment '[t]he next day we went (not "home" that means England) but back to the station' (Allingham 1987 p. 164).

The range of goods available in Townsville gradually increased during the early years with Chas. A. Ward, Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer, Flinders Street, advertising his wares in the *Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* (1878a). Items for sale included drawing room suites and side boards, chests of drawers in maple and cedar, easy chairs, bedsteads and bedding (fibre, hair or straw mattresses and feather or hair pillows), all the latest novelties in American goods, toilet sets, looking glasses, vases, clocks and pictures. This demonstrates that people living in or around Townsville had access to

some of the basic furniture and accessories that were available in larger, more established towns. This provided them with the means to materially achieve and outwardly demonstrate their respectability or middle-class status if this was desired.

In the Range Hotel hamlet the limiting factor in consumer spending for some of the families may have been distance and supply rather than simply money. The Langton's, for example, had both a savings account in a local bank and 55 pounds in notes and silver in the house (Somerset 1873b). This represents quite a large sum of money, being the equivalent of 50 percent of his neighbour, John McNeill's, annual income. Their furniture consisted of at least two beds, a sofa, a dining table, a large chest and a lamp (Somerset 1873b). The fact that the Langton's called their house 'The Retreat', had several items of furniture and at least one lamp would seem to indicate that they endeavoured to create a comfortable and respectable home.

Very few household items were found during the excavations at the Range Hotel site complex. Some fragments of redware with impressed patterns were recovered and these may have come from plant or flower pots used to decorate the home. A part from a door handle was also found as were pieces from an oil lamp, including fragments from the glass hurricane and a wick-winding screw. (Figure 7-2 and Figure 7-3).



Figure 7-2: Photographs showing four redware fragments-found in the rubbish dump 2013.



Figure 7-3: Photographs the door handle component (top) and the metal screw used to wind the wick of an oil lamp-found in the rubbish dump.

7.2 Refuse Disposal

Disposing of rubbish by simply tossing it out of the door, or into the street was the norm during the eighteenth-century, but Victorian sensibilities in the mid-nineteenth century made this practice increasingly unacceptable and designated areas for rubbish disposal became more common (Crane 2000; Karskens 1999 pp. 82-86). It appears that the families in the hamlet had adopted this new convention with two specific dumps located in the hamlet, although there are likely to be several more across the site complex. The first rubbish dump was excavated in 2008 and was thought to be related to the carriers' campsite. The second, excavated in 2012/2013, probably belongs to the McNeill family due to its proximity to the blacksmith's shop, although it may also have been used for a short time by the Phillips family. This rubbish dump appears to contain both domestic and work related artefacts, including alcohol-type bottle glass, domestic glass, such as condiment bottles, food jars and decorative pieces, poison and medicinal bottles, metal and ceramics. The presence of these two rubbish dumps, however, does not automatically mean that everyone who lived in or travelled through the hamlet aspired to the same ideals. The presence of large amounts of broken glass across the, by now abandoned, hamlet was noted in 1891 (Madden 1931). This could reflect the habits of some of the previous residents and travellers or the debris could have simply accumulated once the hamlet was abandoned and the rubbish dumps fell out of use.

7.3 Meals, Tea Drinking and Domestic Ceramics

It can be shown that even in the early days of North Queensland's settlement genteel and respectable domestic rituals were important for both the hostess and guest. On her journey to Hughenden Station Lucy Gray makes specific comments on the food and service at various places along the way. At the Alice Hotel the publican's wife, Mrs McCarey, served 'tea, good bread, fresh eggs, butter, cream, fried bacon & pork...that she had reared, tended, fattened and finally cooked' herself (L. Gray 1868 p. 15). After leaving Dotswood Station the Grays were invited to tea at the Police Inspector's house, near to Dalrymple and here, even when not expected and on short notice, they were served a 'delicious tea with cream and excellent cake' (L. Gray 1868 p. 27). Archaeologically these domestic concerns can be identified by looking specifically at ceramic artefacts, with the idea of gentility and respectability inferred from matching or closely matching sets, the presence of a variety of vessel types and consistency across dining and tea services (Fitts 1999).

Ceramic fragments were found at the blacksmith site, at the rubbish dump and at the possible house site, with the majority made of cheap, plain or transfer-printed whiteware. Only six porcelain fragments were found, representing less than one per cent of the total assemblage, with the remainder made of stoneware. A total of 24 different transfer patterns were identified, with six of these located at more than one site, although no pattern was present at all three sites. The majority of these patterns were popular at the time and included banded-ware, stripes, cable, Willow, Asiatic Pheasant and Rhine. The popularity of blue and white ware and of *Chinoiserie* (the European interpretation and imitation of Chinese and East Asian artistic designs) is argued to represent the ongoing fascination with a particular mystical, feminine and static view of Chinese migrants who were otherwise often seen as alien and dangerous (Lydon 1999 p.p.57-58). A wide variety of vessel forms were also recovered representing plates, cups, saucers, teapots, large bowls and platters. Certain patterns were represented by more than one vessel type including a 'blue banded' cup and four plates, a 'brown geometric' patterned cup and plate, and two 'purple cable' patterned platters and a small plate. Another pattern consisting of three thin stripes was found on cups and saucers, in both red and blue. The discovery of two Rockingham teapot handles in the rubbish dump would seem to support Lucy Gray's perception that tea

appeared to be an important colonial drink being consumed ‘in the bush for dinner as well as breakfast and tea by all classes alike’ (Allingham 1987 p. 421).

Of importance to this discussion is the presence, or not, of ceramic ‘sets’, particularly tea sets and tableware sets. Several cups and possible saucers were found across the sites, although their fragmentary nature and the predominance of plain bases rather than patterned rims made linking most of these into matching sets impossible. However, one possible tea set was recovered at the McNeill house site and included a white cup, saucer and small plate, decorated with a gold stripe (Figure 5-36). These do not strictly fulfil Fitt’s (1999) criteria, which call for a tea set to include a cup, saucer and matching slop or sugar bowl, rather than a plate, but the delicate pattern does make them noticeably different to the other cups and saucers. Another possible set is a ‘breakfast set’, comprising of four matching egg cups and a small bowl in a Chelsea sprig design (Figure 5-37), although this type of set is not officially defined as representing gentility. The egg cup and bowl could have been used as shown in Figure 7-4. The small, delicate pattern is not seen on any other vessels, although some of the many ‘plain’ ceramics could have conceivably had this design on, enlarging the set to include small plates and/or cups.



Figure 7-4: Photograph taken at the Herberton historic village showing an egg cup being used in a small bowl.

One table ware set, defined as having at least three vessel types in a matching pattern, was found during the excavations, with the majority of fragments found at the possible house site. The ceramic pieces have an intricate pattern, here called 'blue chain', and the set consists of at least one oval and two circular shaped serving dishes, the lid from a serving dish, a large oval platter and at least two dinner plates (Figure 5-41). The set may have only been used on special family occasions as replacing any broken items may have been difficult or expensive. However, some small fragments of this pattern, from a hollow vessel and an unidentified flat vessel were also found at the blacksmith's forge. This could show a desire for a public display of respectability, or the items could have been mistakenly taken from the house by the children when taking food to their father. These findings along with the discovery of a spoon fragment, a willow-patterned plate, a cup and a bowl also imply that the blacksmith ate at least some of his meals while at work, using plates and cups that were not just functional, but also decorative. The variety of ceramic patterns found at the forge site show that his food was probably brought out on whatever tableware set the rest of the family was using that day, rather than there being a particular, maybe cheaper, set that was used for outside. This shows an element of desire to represent the family in a certain way in the dirty, but visible, public workplace.

Overall the ceramic artefacts appear to show that the McNeill family were concerned with the domestic material elements of respectability, even though the large number of ceramic vessels had a variety of common and seemingly non-matching patterns. There are several possible reasons for this with the act of purchasing items affected by several internal influences (basic needs for food or clothing, personal motivation, such as the need for prestige or self-respect, perception, learning or attitude) and external influences (product, price, availability or social class expectations) (Henry 1991 p. 5). A combination of these factors was probably responsible for the decisions about what the McNeill family bought. There was obviously a basic need to have certain items of crockery, although the presence of non-essential items, such as large decorative platters and serving bowls points to a personal desire to reflect a certain status within the hamlet. Matching pieces, such as the breakfast set and the richly patterned 'blue chain' tableware set point to a pride of ownership and these pieces may have been displayed openly inside the home, to be seen when friends or neighbours visited. It is likely that the price of both the necessary and socially desirable items played a part in determining

what was bought and when, as although John was known to have earned 100 pounds a year working as a toll gate keeper, and was, therefore, within the monetary definition of belonging to the lower middle-classes, this income probably varied through his different types of employment (blacksmith, labourer, toll gate keeper, road overseer). Thus the family could probably only afford to purchase items as needed, rather than having the money to purchase a complete matching set all at once. Popular designs may also have sold out very quickly, leaving only mismatched pieces available for purchase during the family's infrequent visits into town, or perhaps only certain elements of a set were readily available in Townsville (Crook 2000 p. 23). However, the presence, for example, of similar looking cups and saucers patterned with three blue or red stripes, could be seen as an attempt to present a closely matching tea set with which to entertain friends. The recovered tea wares, in combination with the two teapot handles and glass cake stands, show that although the rituals of tea drinking may not have reached the high standards of 'gentility', this 'British ritual' was still an important part of the social life in the hamlet.

7.4 Dress

Female and male standards of dress varied in the tropical north, with women's adherence and commitment to what was deemed suitable female attire, contrasting with the much more informal and casual male standards of dress. This difference served to reinforce gender roles in the untamed outback, where men were expected to have physical, active roles, while women provided a calm and civilising influence (D. Lawrence 2011). In Great Britain the Victorian fashions for women included corsets and large bell-shaped crinolines, with this style reaching a peak in the late 1850s and early 1860s. This impractical fashion was faithfully copied even in the tropical climes of North Queensland, with at least one woman killed when her large crinoline dress caught fire, while she was cooking outside. The subsequent newspaper report questioned why incidents like this were not more common when women persisted in wearing such unsuitable outfits (*Port Denison Times* 1866; see also Eden 1872 p. 29). The fact that this tragedy happened in 1866 shows that large crinolines remained fashionable in Australia for several years after the fashions had changed in England where, after about 1862, dresses became flatter at the front with a bustle at the back. Lucy Gray commented on this when she described how 28 year old Mrs McCarey at the

Alice Hotel was still wearing a ‘huge crinoline’, even in 1868. Mrs McCarey in turn made enquiries as to what kind of bonnets were being worn in England, showing that maintaining a fashionable appearance was an important part of women’s lives, even if access to the most up-to-date items was limited (Allingham 1987 pp. 416-418).

Advice on fashion could be found in the local newspapers, which appeared to be particularly focused on what was happening in Paris. The *Townsville Herald Supplement* (1877) reported that ‘this season’s white silk dresses have a milk white instead of a cream tint’, ‘brocaded velvet satin and silks are not worn by young ladies, with plain silks and gauzes considered more appealing’ and that ‘yellow was ideal for hats with small flowers used for adornment’. Hair styles were also discussed with ‘hairdressing now favouring plain styles, with last year’s ribbons and bows falling out of fashion’. The stores of Townsville were keen to provide the necessary materials and accessories to achieve these looks with Chas. Price & Co., Flinders Street advertising lace shawls in both black and white, lace sashes, cuffs and collars, fringed ribbons, trimmed and untrimmed hats, and Empire and Valenciennes lace sets (*Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* 1878d). These resources allowed women to actively maintain their appearance and social standing by altering and modifying existing clothes when new dresses or hats were in short supply (D. Lawrence 2011). Clothes, however, were not the only way to enhance one’s appearance with Clayton’s Dispensing Chemist advertising perfumes, such as Frangipani and Milefluer, puff boxes with violet powder, hair dyes and Gowland’s lotion for the complexion (*Northern Standard and Townsville Argus* 1878b).

Other resources for the type and variety of clothes worn by both men and women include the early photographs of Townsville with the pictures used earlier in the thesis to show the first houses also having people in them. Although the pictures are grainy some details concerning dress can be made out. It is to be noted that people may well be wearing their ‘best’ clothes in preparation for having their picture taken and their day-to-day clothing may have been slightly different, but even the fact that they ‘dressed up’ shows the importance placed on appearance. The family in the first photograph (Figure 7-5) are pictured outside of their simply built home in Black River (Anon 1872b), which is close to Hervey Range (full picture shown in Figure 4-7).



Figure 7-5: A selector's family home, Black River, Townsville (Anon 1872b).

In the photograph two adult males are casually dressed in shirts and trousers held up with belts, while a young male child appears to be wearing a much more formal jacket, with all three males wearing wide brimmed hats. The adult female on the right is presumably married to the man next to her and she is wearing a light coloured, long, high-necked dress that has a fitted bodice and three-quarter length fitted sleeves. The skirt appears to have a stiff petticoat or crinoline underneath and could have a small bustle at the back, which would have been quite fashionable for the early 1870s. She is also wearing a wide brimmed hat that appears to have some sort of frill or adornment on the brim. The remaining female appears to be Indigenous and she is wearing a much simpler and looser long dress with short sleeves and no obvious adornments. Her relationship to the family is unknown, but she may have worked as a 'maid' and her presence on the photograph could be explained in at least two ways. First, although she may have worked for them she was viewed as being part of the family and it was therefore natural for her to be included in the picture and to be smartly dressed. Alternatively, if the photograph was taken to be sent to family back home the visible inclusion of a 'maid' in the picture may have been a way of demonstrating social success or prosperity, despite the humble appearance of the house.

The second photograph (Figure 7-6, with full picture shown in Figure 4-9) shows a family outside their house in Townsville in ca.1868 (Anon). The two adult males and the male child are wearing buttoned up jackets and light coloured trousers. The two female children have long sleeved dresses that fall to their mid-calf, with bodices that are buttoned up to the neck. The younger girl standing next to her mother may be wearing bloomers that are just visible below her skirt. The children's mother is wearing a light coloured, high necked dress, which has a collar and long, slightly flared sleeves. She appears to be wearing a dark apron over the flared skirt, which has a frilled or fluted hem and she does not seem to have any fashionable crinolines beneath the dress.



Figure 7-6: Early settler's family and home, Townsville (Anon ca. 1868).

The third photograph (Figure 7-7) was taken outside Wilmott's store (Anon 1870b). It shows two adult men, an adult female and four children, one of whom appears to be a teenage boy. Of note are the dresses worn by the girls, all of which appear to be of a similar and very ornate design. The bodices are again high necked and are defined at the waist by a band of darker coloured fabric. The skirts are full and they are wearing bloomers underneath and boots on their feet.



Figure 7-7: Photograph showing the Wilmett family outside their shop (Anon 1870b)

The photographs of early Townsville residents do seem to show a concern with dress and the tropical climate does not seem to have deterred men from wearing jackets or stopped women from modestly covering themselves from head to toe. Similar styles of clothes are likely to have been worn by the people in the Range Hotel hamlet, with documentary resources providing one additional insight into how people at the Range Hotel may have dressed. The newspaper article describes a memory of the Range Hotel publicans Maurice and Mary Fox,

He was a fine-looking fellow and it was a treat to see him ride into Cooktown with his wife, who was tall and graceful, and a consummate horsewoman. Mrs Fox wore the long flowing habit which was the fashion of the day, a black hat suggestive of Hyde Park, and from it swept a blue silk veil. Their horses were also perfectly turned out thoroughbreds and fit to win races in the pretty good company of the North those days. (*Cairns Post* 1924)

A limited number of artefacts related to dress and appearance were found across the excavation sites, including buttons, a metal eyelet, a buckle and a gold pendant (Figure 7-9). The gold pendant could have been the possession of one of the hamlet's female residents, as it is known that Mary Langton, for example, had at least three brooches and a watch chain (Somerset 1873b). Evidence for the more ephemeral aspects of appearance was also discovered in the rubbish dump including a small owl-shaped,

glass perfume bottle stopper and fragments from a bottle of Mrs S. A. Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer (Figure 7-8).



Figure 7-8: Photographs showing the owl-shaped glass stopper and the fragments from a bottle of hair restorer



Figure 7-9: Photographs showing the buttons, the gold pendant, a belt buckle and an eyelet.

Although only a few artefacts relating to dress were recovered from the hamlet four of them, the ornate black buttons, the gold pendant, the glass bottle stopper and the hair restorer, point to a desire to present a certain image to society. Jewellery was often exchanged between men and women as love tokens and thus such items had both monetary and emotional value and would have been worn with pride and kept securely within the home. The gold pendant was, therefore, likely lost, rather than discarded, causing distress to its owner and perhaps remonstrations from the giver as to why it was not cared for more carefully (Karskens 1999 p. 59). The Langton's are also known to have had several pieces of jewellery, which implies that money was available to spend on items that were decorative and had emotional capital, rather than simply being practical. The precise and documented actions taken by Mary Langton after she took the fatal overdose included personally handing her jewellery to her two year old daughter. Even in her distress and pain the 'respectable' act of passing on these precious heirlooms, with their associated implications of a certain social standing and attainment, remained important to her.

7.5 Child Rearing

Although several children were born and raised in the hamlet, with the eldest McNeill child Janet, spending most of her childhood and teenage years there, no specific artefacts relating to children were found during any of the excavations. This could be explained by the children only having perishable homemade toys to play with, such as cloth or wool dolls and by the use of sticks for substitute catapults, guns or swords.

7.6 Avoidance of Vice

In a small hamlet that was centred on a hotel and established to provide services to travellers, miners and pastoralists, it is unlikely that the Victorian ideals of temperance would have been desired, practical or heeded. Alcohol-type bottle fragments were found in great numbers at each of the excavated sites, which could imply that the consumption of alcohol was not only tolerated, but widespread. Did this mean that people living in the hamlet desired respectability less than people living in other rural settlements or was temperance not seen as a necessary social display? Young (2003) and Karskens (1999), in contrast to Quirk (2007), both emphasise that alcohol, in

moderation and in certain circumstances, was enjoyed as part of normal social life by both men and women, whether they were aspiring to be viewed as genteel or respectable. Only if alcohol began to have negative social effects, such as interfering with work or leading to fights and criminal activity, was it viewed as a damaging and unwelcome pastime. Alcohol was used for socialising, for celebrating, enjoyed after a hard day's work and used as a tonic for the sick. Women generally drank at home, as this lessened the chance of other, more religious people possibly viewing them as drunkards, although they or their children could visit a hotel in order to replenish supplies in a decanter or recycled bottle (Karskens 1999 p. 73, 164).

Spirits, including brandy, whiskey and rum, were the most popular drink in Townsville's early days, as beer was often of a poor quality and did not last as long in the hot climate (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 35). Clifton and Aplin Bros. (1878) advertised their products in the local newspapers listing the types and brands of alcohol available, which included Hennessey's and Martell's brandy, Red Heart and Lounde's rum, Roedirer's and Piper's champagne and Woolfe's schnapps. Gin was a popular drink in England and its sweetened and flavoured taste appealed particularly to women with the 1830s 'gin palaces' glamorising it as an acceptable and desirable social drink. Gibney's Gin was one of the first varieties of gin to be exported to the colonies, but the export market was dominated by Dutch distillers who produced schnapps, a form of gin distilled with herbs (Moore 2000b pp. 53-54). Dutch distillers included A. Van Hobeken & Co. who operated in Rotterdam between 1800 and 1898 and Udolpho Wolfe from Schiedam who produced schnapps between late 1840 to the early 1900s. Schnapps was often advertised as a stimulant or tonic for those 'recovering from a severe illness' or for people who were 'nervous, languid or low spirited'. It also claimed to help those suffering with dyspepsia, nausea and rheumatism, or who were simply 'aged and decrepid' (*North Australian* 1885). An advertisement for Elliot's Champagne Quinine Wine promised similar help, describing it as the,

Best restorative for the young, weak and aged; it strengthens the whole system and stimulates the appetite and is invaluable for Indigestion, Nervousness, Gout, Rheumatism, Fever and Ague. Good for general disability and loss of appetite. A wine glass full twice a day. It is far superior to sherry or bitters. (Elliot Bros. & Co. 1878)

Alcohol *type* glass, was found at the blacksmith's shop and in large numbers in the McNeill's rubbish dump, although it is impossible to say definitively what these bottles once contained and whether they were used once or many times. The recycling of alcohol bottles for domestic purposes, for example, may have been a common occurrence, using whatever empty bottle was on hand. However, even if this was the case, to be recycled an alcohol bottle was probably used at least once in the hamlet for its original purpose. As discussed above it is also known that alcohol bottles were often reused as containers to replenish home supplies of alcohol from the local hotels. The alcohol bottles recovered from the blacksmith's forge probably reflect the drinking habits of the customers, rather than of the blacksmith and demonstrate the social aspect of this business. It is also likely to be an underestimate of how much alcohol was consumed there, as the area would likely have been cleared of rubbish and broken glass on a regular basis so as to avoid injury to the blacksmith or to the animals around the site. In the rubbish dump the highest numbers of identifiable finishes were from 'champagne bottles' with some of these still having the wire from the cork fastening attached. Other popular drinks in the hamlet appeared to include Aromatic Schnapps, gin, and brandy. Beer bottles were also recovered, but these appeared to be much less common and included the base of a Nuttall and Co. bottle, a Lancashire company (1872-1913) who made Cooktown Beer (Moore 2000a).

Although the alcohol bottles at the blacksmiths shop probably reflected the drinking habits of the customers, the large number of bottles evenly distributed throughout the rubbish dump must be an indication of the family's consumption. The blacksmiths was open as a business between 1866 and 1872 and if the alcohol bottles in the dump only came from customers then the bottle numbers should have noticeably decreased over time. The extrapolated number of bottles for the whole dump is around 1600, which over a 12 year occupation means that around 135 bottles were consumed each year, although it is not known if the alcohol consumption was steady each year. It is also extremely likely that in a relatively remote area the bottles were recycled several times, probably being refilled with alcohol at the Range Hotel once the contents had been drunk. Thus the actual number of recovered bottles is likely to be an underestimate of how much alcohol was consumed by the family. It is possible that John McNeill was the only member of the family to drink, with his wife Isabella remaining resolutely teetotal. However, the gin and schnapps bottles may point to her drinking alcohol in a

form that was considered socially acceptable for women. It is also known that Isabella visited and even served at the Range Hotel, although no mention is made of her actually drinking alcohol there and it is more likely, given her large number of children that she mainly drank at home with her husband or female neighbours. This may also be reflected by the finding of pieces from at least one ornately patterned wine glass (Figure 5-23) and glass from a faceted tumbler. Perhaps the long and arduous days spent cooking, washing, looking after children and tending to the animals and vegetable gardens took its toll on the female settlers with alcohol used, much as it is today, as a way to relax and cope with the daily grind. It is also possible that Isabella consumed alcohol, such as sarsaparilla and schnapps, for their advertised medicinal purposes, perhaps starting following the deaths of her two children. If this were the case then the 135 bottles a year may have been lower in the previous years, increasing in the years following the children's deaths.

In addition to the recognised alcoholic beverages, medicines often contained a high percentage of alcohol or opiates and for this reason are included in the discussion, although many people using them may not have considered them as a 'vice'. Advertisements for medicinal products that promised to cure a wide variety of complaints were very common, although paradoxically, many of these ailments, such as gout, indigestion, headache and liver complaints, were likely to have been caused by, or at least aggravated by, the alcohol in the medicine. It is also apparent that children were given these types of medicines with Mrs James of Nulla Nulla Station providing the following details in a letter to her sister. 'Every day I have this weary fever...even my poor little one is not spared. Quinine, Opium, Laudanum and Turpentine, and Brandy are almost daily requests from one and another' (quoted in Allingham 1977 p. 77). Some researchers have postulated that obtaining alcohol from medicinal compounds could have been a way for women to drink without going into a public house, thus maintaining an air of respectability (Geismar 1993 p. 68).

The identifiable medicine bottles recovered from the rubbish dump were predominantly different types of pain killers. The most numerous were small bottles of Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer, whose 'all natural' ingredients were mainly alcohol and opium. It was advertised as a cure for 'coughs,...cankered mouth or throat, liver complaints...and dysentery' (*The Sydney Morning Herald* 1867). Bottles of St Jakob's Oel, used for rheumatism, which contained turpentine, alcohol, camphor, carbolic acid,

capsicum and aconite, were also recovered. At least one bottle of Chamberlain's Pain Balm, used as a liniment for rheumatism and a bottle of Felton Grimwade & Co Fluid Magnesia were also found. Sarsaparilla bottles were also a common find in the dump. This drink often contained quite high concentrations of alcohol and was advertised as a 'blood purifier' and 'for those who abstain from alcohol it will act as a gentle stimulant' (Elliot Bros. & Co. 1878; Fike 2006). Dr Townsend's Sarsaparilla of Albany, New York, patented in 1846 also seemed to be very popular. An advertisement in 1866 claimed it to be the 'Wonder and Blessing of the Age. The most Extraordinary Medicine in the World....It cures without vomiting, purging, sickening or debilitating the Patient' (Fike 2006 p. 220). The large number of medicine bottle found in the dump probably relate to their use for the conditions that they claimed to cure, rather than as an illicit source of alcohol. The use of pain killers as a hidden way of obtaining alcohol is unlikely as the bottles were small, the taste was usually unpleasant and they were relatively expensive to buy (Lampard and Staniforth 2011 p. 11).

A large number of poison bottles were also recovered from the McNeill's rubbish dump with various types of poison commonly used around the home. Arsenic, for example, was often put into post holes to deter white ants (Carmichael Neal 1984 p. 15), while strychnine-laced meat was used to kill wild dogs. John Langton's fateful decision to restock his poison supplies, after previously disposing of them following earlier suicidal threats from his wife, led to one of the most traumatic events in the community. His reaction to her confession that she had taken the strychnine helps to assess both her previous behaviour and his concern with social standing. The fact that he initially doubted her statement that she had taken anything implies that either her prior threats may have been frequent and empty or that her mood and recent behaviour had seemed normal or at least better. His comment that he does not want to look like a fool in front of the neighbours could mean that in the past, perhaps when living in Dalrymple, he had gone to fetch help only for it to have been a false alarm. This could have led to unwelcome gossip, unwanted pity or even ridicule among his neighbours and business associates as they postulated why his wife would want to make such threats. His subsequent move to Townsville after his wife's death may have been done to avoid similar real or perceived responses to the tragedy within the hamlet.

7.7 Summary

An examination of the archival documents and the recovered artefacts appears to support a desire for social respectability within the hamlet. The houses within the hamlet were probably quite small, of basic construction and had little division, if any, between the public and private spaces. However, their occupants possessed items of furniture such as sofas, tables and chairs, created a homely atmosphere using decorative pieces such as lamps and pot plants, owned a variety of brightly-coloured, common ceramics and decorative glass ware and purchased elements of non-essential dress. This reflects Crook's (2000 p. 23) observation that the domestic assemblages of the working-classes sometimes appear to be mismatched with their seemingly inadequate houses. Evidence was found that women dressed modestly and were interested in appearing to be as fashionable as they could, despite the hot weather, distance from Townsville and the need to carry out domestic and outdoor work. Fancy buttons, perfume, hair restorer and jewellery all indicate a desire to wear, and the ability to afford, non-essential or luxury items. Decorative ceramics, such as the McNeill's 'blue chain' table ware set may have been on display within the home, showing a pride of possession and a certain level of social attainment.

Social visits in the hamlet were likely informal, frequent and reciprocal, and helped to reinforce friendships and neighbourly bonds. Tea and simple food would have been offered and although an effort may have been made to use matching, or at least similarly patterned cups and saucers, a genteel performance was not the social goal. Alcohol was also drunk within the homes with women using it as a way to relax and socialise, replenishing their supplies at the Range Hotel using empty bottles that were kept for this purpose. The women in particular used such visits to forge bonds with people that they could then trust to help them during childbirth, illness and when their husbands were working away. This social element of respectability may have provided a valuable source of support for Mary Langton, with the small community initially offering a settled and intimate network of friends. The tragedies that befell one of the hamlet's central figures, Isabella McNeill, may have altered and reduced this support network, ultimately culminating in Mary's suicide.

A large number of bottles were recovered from the rubbish dump and a high percentage of these appeared to have contained alcohol. Historical records also tell us that George

Hume died as a result of a fit or fall after drinking large quantities of alcohol, that John Langton got as 'drunk as a Lord' on at least one occasion and that women, including Mary Langton and Isabella McNeill were seen in the hotel. The alcohol-related bottle fragments recovered from the McNeill's rubbish dump points to the regular, social use of alcohol by John, which may or may not have been sanctioned by his wife. She in turn may be responsible for some or all of the schnapps, gin and sarsaparilla bottle fragments. It could be argued that at least some of the alcohol, such as schnapps, may have been viewed and used for 'medicinal' purposes. Its use could, therefore, still allow the drinker to see themselves as temperate and to be viewed by the wider, more lenient rural community as being normal and thus socially acceptable.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

8 Discussion

This research has successfully combined archival and genealogy research with archaeological research. This has demonstrated how the two approaches can complement each other, while the archaeological evidence also allowed different and more nuanced questions to be asked that moved the discussion and interpretation forward. This discussion will draw together the various strands of the research to present the cultural landscape and community of the Range Hotel hamlet and show this work intersects with other research into small rural settlements. It will then present a model for roadside hotels, which could be used to assess similar small communities. The final element in this chapter is a summary of additional work that could be undertaken.

8.1 The Cultural Landscape of the Range Hotel

Hamlet

The hamlet was an important part of a linear cultural landscape stretching from the port of Townsville inland to the pastoral stations and now abandoned gold, copper and tin mines of the hinterland beyond Hervey Range. The road was the vital element in this linear cultural landscape, physically and emotionally linking all the features and people together. The landscape included elements that did not remain constant over time with the path of the road changing over the years, the establishment and then closure of roadside settlements and fluctuating numbers and types of travellers that reflected the social and economic changes of the region. The fine-grained analysis of the hamlet's community has shown how the road connected the hamlet and hotel to the wider landscape through the fluid associations with regular travellers and by the active formation of fictive-kin networks. The hamlet and its surrounding landscape, although now physically depleted, is still connected to the present by the cemetery, by its historic links to the still standing Eureka Hotel (Heritage Tearooms) and through the many descendants of the residents who once lived there. People still visit the area today to hunt for metal, ceramics and bottles, perhaps not realising that these small fragments once represented the toils of labour, family life, respectability and social standing of the inhabitants who once lived there.

The natural landscape was adapted and changed by the early settlers, but their ambitions and needs were also constrained by, and in many cases dictated by, the landscape itself. Townsville's need to access the hinterland required that a road be built over Hervey Range, but the natural landscape dictated where that road was constructed. The road had to be passable by heavily loaded, bullock-drawn drays, which meant that the route could not be too steep, had to have a good supply of grass and also provide adequate water. Thornton's Gap appeared to fulfil these requirements and so this was the place chosen for the road to cross the range. The location of the ensuing roadside hotels was then dictated in part by the distance that the bullocks could travel in one day, but the landscape also intervened, by providing 'natural' barriers to movement. These barriers, which included the river crossings and high range, helped to create a readymade clientele for the hotels, as people would often stop and camp before continuing on over the obstacles. The final decision of where to build also relied on other landscape issues, such as the presence of flat land, the requirement for building materials, such as wood and rocks, and the need for an adequate water supply. For the new settlers these practical issues mattered more in the creation of place than the aesthetics of a space or the potential views from the verandah (L. Gray 1868 p. 16). In turn the loss of trees for the wood needed for buildings, fences and fires often had an adverse effect on the landscape with the loss of soil stability leading to landslides in the wet season and increased dust in the dry winters, especially when entire hills were denuded.

European occupation of the areas at the top and foot of Hervey Range would have begun to change the landscape in earnest in 1865 when the large road gang moved in and began work. There is evidence across the area for old abandoned tracks that may represent where the original road once passed, including several large cuttings at the bottom and top of the range. These routes may have been abandoned due to damage caused by rain, tree falls or overuse. Evidence for another abandoned road was also found to the east of the current track that runs to the cemetery and this may have been used by bullock drays to transport the coffins from the hamlet to the cemetery (Figure 5-28). Other smaller tracks, often edged with small stones, would also have crisscrossed the area as people moved from house to house, house to hotel, campsite to hotel and down to the creeks to bathe or fetch water. Marked paths had the advantage of reducing the grass cover as people constantly walked over the same ground, making it easier to avoid obstacles and hazards such as snakes, although Elizabeth McNeill's death showed

that this was not foolproof. These visible links would also have increased the chances of unplanned social interactions between people as they met on the pathways (Somerset 1873b).

As discussed earlier the hamlet appears to have been separated into three main areas: the carriers' and workers' campsites, the residential/business area and the cemetery (Figure 5-49). The area at the foot of the range, just to the south of where the road started its ascent, had a good water supply, was relatively flat and provided a good view of drays coming down. It was thus an ideal place for the main carrier's campsite to be located, as the carriers often had to camp for several days at the foot of the range waiting for their turn to use the road (Figure 5-49)**Error! Reference source not found..** There would probably have been up to six drays at the foot of the range on any one day, depending upon the time of year and predicted weather conditions (Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive 1871 pp.5-66). A bottle dump in the camping site was excavated in 2008 (RH'08) and it was probably just one of many bottle dumps that were scattered across the area, providing testament to the carriers' fondness for alcohol and its social acceptance within the community (Clarkson 2008; Madden 1931). The large number of stock animals that were regularly moved inland were probably held in the area around the campsite and outwards along the road towards the hotel, as the stockman and shepherds waited for an opportunity to continue their onward journey. The camping area would, therefore, not have had 'boundaries', but rather people would have camped wherever there was space close to the foot of the range. The most popular spots, however, would have been noticeable by the lack of vegetation and marked by the detritus left behind: bottles, metal, ceramic and other rubbish.

The initially large, but eventually much smaller road workers' camp site was probably also located in or close to this area. This would have been comprised of simple tent dwellings that could have been moved around the landscape as needed. The much maligned government tollgate (1867-1871) was probably visible from the camping area, as it was built on the first cutting at the base of the range, although no physical remains of it have been located (White n.d. p. 5). The installation of this tollgate was a tangible and physical reminder of the power the government in Brisbane had over its distant neighbours and encapsulated the detested political policies over which the locals felt they had little control. The response by the carriers to the imposition of the tollgate was to try and reassert their power by using the landscape, eventually finding an alternate

and toll free route over the range. Although this action was successful in their conflict with the government it had a profound and long lasting effect on the community of the small hamlet, with traffic along the road forever diminished.

The second area in the hamlet was the business/residential area and this included the majority of the built landscape (Figure 5-49). There were at least three businesses in the hamlet: the hotel, a blacksmiths and a butcher's shop. The Range Hotel complex was located on the eastern edge of the hamlet, while the McNeill's blacksmith shop, home and rubbish dump were located a short distance away, with the shop and home on opposite sides of the road, but in view of each other. This location concurs with Mrs McNeill's comment that she ran to the hotel for help when her daughter was bitten by a snake, as this was the 'next' and presumably closest residence to theirs. Closer to the actual foot of the range and about ¼ mile away from the hotel was the Langton's home, known as 'The Retreat' (Somerset 1873a, 1873b). The Phillips and Cowper families probably lived in this area as well, close to their businesses, although the specific locations for these are currently unknown. It is also possible that the Cowpers built and lived at 'The Retreat' and that the Langtons then took over this house, as they moved into the hamlet in the same year that the Cowper family left. The recovered household items and the known availability of goods in Townsville confirms that families in the hamlet were keen to try and reproduce the known and the familiar and thus transform the harsh and alien landscape into something more akin to home. Material goods were used to imply and maintain social connections and standards, which then influenced how people used and viewed the landscape

The Range Hotel complex included the hotel, a stable block, a small dam and more than one fenced paddock that would have provided feed for both farm animals and for traveller's horses (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a, 1870b; Dickson 1879). The hotel would have been a central focus for the hamlet and the property may have covered a large area, turning the bush into an organised and busy central hub. The hotel is known to have had six bedrooms and two sitting rooms, a bar and additional private rooms for the family (Gibson-Wilde and Gibson-Wilde 1988 p. 218). The kitchen was probably located in the small building with a chimney at the rear of the main hotel. Small out-buildings, such as hen coops, wash rooms and toilets would have been located short distances away (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1869c; Bell 1996). The main hotel structure appears to have been built on

low stumps and had windows on at least two sides that would have been closed with wooden or tin shutters (Figure 4-27). The long, open verandah across the front of the hotel provided a tangible and visible link between the natural, built and sensory landscapes. The verandah was a very visible public space, enticing thirsty travellers to stop and join those already relaxing upon it and whose voices could be heard before the hotel came into view. Sitting there would have provided views of the surrounding hills, while the roofs or smoke from the hamlet's other dwellings may also have been visible, reducing any sense of isolation. The verandah and bar would have been places to renew acquaintances, catch up with friends and hear news from Townsville, Dalrymple, the gold mines and the wider world. The regular carriers in particular would have found solace in the hotel and camping ground, as they were often away from home for months at a time. An enforced wait at the foot of the Range would have been eased by membership of this fluid community of similar travellers.

Travellers and settlers generally relied on horses and bullocks as their main method of transport, either to be ridden or for pulling a cart or dray. The welfare of horses and bullocks was thus very important and publican's often advertised that their hotel provided secure and good stabling (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a). John Langton, who ran The Gate Hotel in Dalrymple before he moved to the hamlet, advertised that his hotel had a 'five-stalled stable, two loose boxes and saddle room' (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1870b). The presence of a large stable would have been seen as an essential part of the Range Hotel complex, providing travellers with the assurance that their animals could be looked after. For similar reasons, blacksmiths were also a vital part of any community, especially one that was located several miles away from the nearest town. Although, in the strictest sense of the word, the majority of these were 'standalone' blacksmiths, many were built close to hotels. Each business benefitted from the other's presence, almost providing today's equivalent of a motorway service station.

Although primarily a working business, the hamlet's blacksmith shop was also a social place with people chatting and drinking as they waited for work to be completed (Light 1984). The young sons of both blacksmiths were also likely to have regularly seen at the forge as they helped their fathers with small jobs or fetched and carried supplies back and forth. The work and activities of the blacksmith and his customers would often have spilled out beyond the physical constraints of the building into the landscape

beyond. Equipment, supplies, and piles of slag and waste would also have been a shifting component of the landscape as items were used, reordered and finally disposed of. The boundaries of the blacksmith shop were, therefore, fluid in nature ebbing and flowing into the ‘empty’ space around the actual shop and fighting with nature for dominance, as can be seen in Figure 8-1, which shows a blacksmith shop in Townsville.

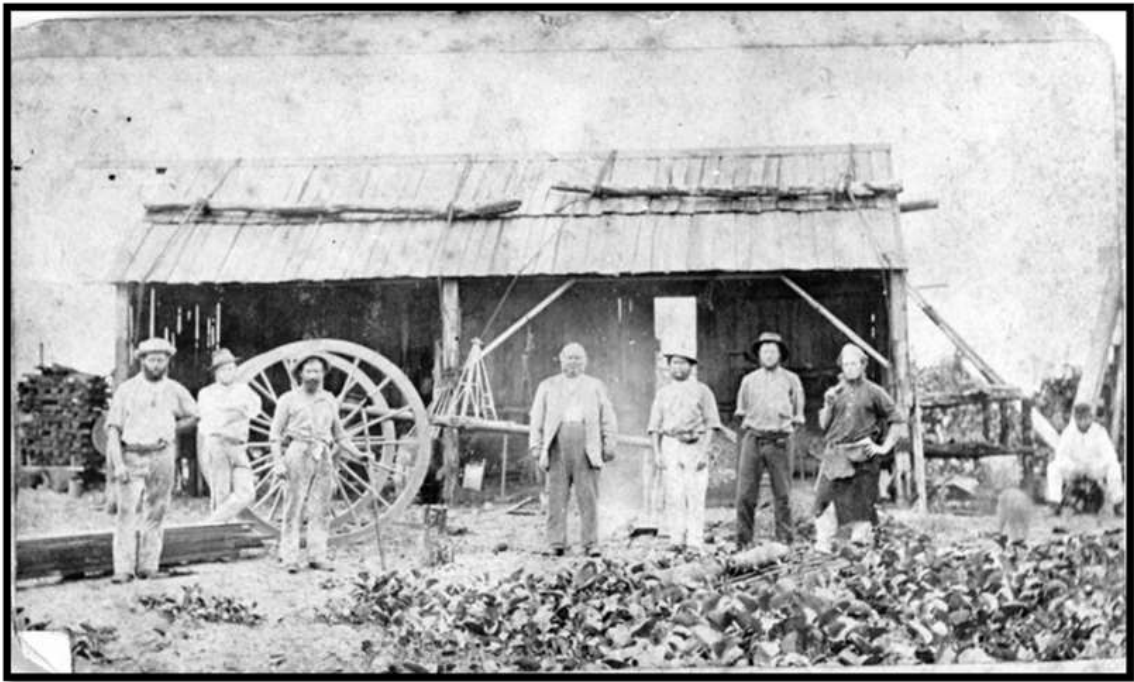


Figure 8-1: Photograph of a Townsville blacksmith shop from 1872-location unknown (Anon, 1872a).

In addition to the working businesses this part of the hamlet also contained the family houses, of which there were at least three and probably four. The houses would each have occupied their own space, separated by tamed and wild bush from the other occupied areas. It is important to acknowledge and include outdoor space when discussing the houses, as where people ‘lived’ was not restricted to the physical built structures, but also included yards, gardens and access pathways to rivers, wells or privies (Robin and Rothschild 2002). The potential hazards of bush living would have made establishing and maintaining community connections very important and some family members may have viewed even short distances between houses as another layer of unfamiliar separation. This could have been ameliorated to some extent by the tropical climate, which allowed and encouraged the space around the house to be used

as an extended living room, either as a simple cleared area or by the addition of verandahs. Verandahs were often used as a place for dining, as a living room and even as a bedroom, blurring the dichotomy between the contemporary western concepts of space that correlate indoor = private and outdoor = public space (Robin and Rothschild 2002 p. 164). All of these outdoor 'living spaces' would have increased the social interaction in this part of the hamlet as people and their activities could be seen more easily, providing a sense of inclusiveness and community that cannot always be achieved from behind closed doors. The recovered artefacts confirm that visits between neighbours and passers-by were common, with friendships and bonds cemented over a drink of tea or with a glass or two of wine or other type of alcoholic beverage. The individual houses, therefore, remained far enough away for families to create their own sense of place, while still being connected to the everyday life of the other residents and to people passing by.

The families in the hamlet would each have had small gardens, so that they could grow fruit and vegetables to augment their diet, and a fenced paddock in which to keep goats or pigs. The garden and animals would have needed regular attention, with the wives and children probably providing most of the care, feeding and watering, although it is known that John Langton also helped tend his family's garden. These parts of the landscape were thus an important component of family life and people would have spent many hours each day trying to prevent the bush and the wildlife from reclaiming these spaces. This may have provided a great contrast with how both men and women experienced life prior to emigrating. Isabella McNeill, for example, grew up in the tenements of Glasgow, sharing the indoor space with seven other family members and the limited outdoor space with many other neighbouring families (Scottish Census 1841). Her house in the Range Hotel hamlet may not have been significantly bigger or even less crowded than her childhood home, but the openness of its surroundings would have provided a very different atmosphere. Her new home's connection with the outdoors and the lack of intimacy with the neighbouring houses would also not necessarily have been seen as the positive and prized attribute that it is today, instead perhaps creating an initial air of relative isolation and trepidation.

The third area of the hamlet was the cemetery, located on the southern side of Palm Tree Creek (Figure 5-49). Deaths in the hamlet were not infrequent and as discussed earlier occurred at regular intervals throughout its occupation. This area was a

significant place for the residents, providing both a visual reminder of the challenges they faced living in the bush, while also increasing peoples' connectedness to place. The frequent births and tragic deaths increased the emotional attachment to the physical landscape, through the creation of memories that were inextricably linked to certain places, and the cemetery that provided a tangible connection to grief. The location of the cemetery away from the residential area, the busy road and the carriers' camping ground may have been chosen to appeal to the Victorian sensibilities of Nature and religion. Burial grounds were seen to be a 'sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum', fulfilling a civic role that improved the morals and taste of the general public (Murray 2003 p. 49). The cemetery is surrounded by hills and has a creek to one side, easily fulfilling one of its main moralistic and symbolic requirements, that of being an attractive and yet controlled part of nature; a place where grief could be expressed and a connection to the memory of the deceased maintained (Murray 2003). The boundaries of the cemetery, marked today by wooden fence posts, would have served as a visual marker that the area inside was different to that outside; this was a different 'place' to the surrounding bush. There is also evidence for the connection between the hamlet and the cemetery in the form of an abandoned sunken track, along which a dray could have carried the coffins to the cemetery, followed by the bereaved family and other mourners (Figure 5-28).

8.2 Roadside Hotels –A Model

The review of the archival records combined with the archaeological investigation of the Range Hotel has allowed a model to be produced that could be used to examine roadside hotels. Roadside hotels were:

- Built close to main roads that linked urban centres to rural businesses, usually mines or pastoral stations that could generate an income or prosperity for the centre.
- Part of linear cultural landscapes that linked the urban with the rural/remote with each dependant on the other for success, with the small hotels quickly failing if removed from the economic need of the urban centre. This could happen as a result of new, quicker transport links, the failure of a vital industry, such as a

mine closure, unhelpful government policies, such as a toll gate that reduces traffic or by the establishment of a new industry elsewhere in the district.

- Built strategically roughly 10kms apart so as to capitalise on the fact that bullock drays would generally travel this distance each day.
- Built close to natural obstacles, such as rivers or high ranges that required travellers to stop and rest before continuing on (Jacomb 2000).
- Simple, often rough structures that had verandahs, two sitting areas and between four and seven small bedrooms. This is more than the legal requirement of two bedrooms, which perhaps reflects that these roadside hotels were viewed, by their owners at least, as more than just drinking establishments. The kitchen was usually separate from the main building. Additional small out buildings housed basic washing facilities, toilets and there may have been servant's quarters. They do not appear to have had spaces for games such as billiard or bagatelle, which were often advertised in the larger hotels in towns (Queensland Government Gazette 1859-1914).
- Supplied from their own vegetable gardens and had farm animals raised for meat, eggs and milk
- Close to well-watered, secure paddocks for travellers' horses.

Three other possible components of these roadside hotels have also been identified: blacksmith shops, stables and cemeteries, but these were not common to all the hotels. This may reflect a hotel's specific location along the road, the size of the community around the hotel or the attachment of a particular family to place. Two of the hotels on Hervey Range Road, the Plumtree Creek and the Range Hotel, had a blacksmith forge, with the archaeology of the latter revealing a forge that was likely only used for shoeing and simple repairs, rather than for complicated and detailed lock smithing or decorative iron work. The Range Hotel was a three or four day journey away from Townsville and with a poorly maintained road this could often mean that simple repairs or reshoeing would be required before carriers attempted the steep ascent up the range. Similarly the Plumtree Creek was at far side of the range, again in an ideal location for teams that had either just come over the range or who were travelling in the opposite direction.

Stables are specifically mentioned as being part of the Range Hotel, while a sale notice for the Eureka Hotel mentioned stock and milk yards, but not actual stables. (*Cleveland Bay Express and Cape River Mining News* 1868a; *Port Denison Times* 1869a). Again the location of the Range Hotel may have made stables a more pressing requirement as travellers inevitably spent more time there due to its location at the foot of the steep range. It is also known that Maurice Fox, proprietor of the hotel between 1870 and 1873 kept thoroughbred horses and he may have been at least partially responsible for either building or extending the stables in order to better protect his investment as stealing or attacks on horses were not uncommon events at this time (*Cairns Post* 1924; *Port Denison Times* 1870b).

Two of the hotels also had cemeteries with that at the Eureka Hotel being a family plot, which reflects how long the Rolfe family lived there. This differs from the one at the Range Hotel, which is much larger and has graves from a number of different families. This reflects the fact that the Range Hotel hamlet had a larger community than those present at the other hotels and that it was simply too far to transport bodies to Townsville in the hot, humid climate. The cemetery also appears to have been used by the wider neighbourhood with John Henry Bell transported to there from his home at the nearby Black River. Even though five additional burials have been discovered the layout of the graves suggests that there are still a number of potentially unmarked burials hinting that additional families may have lived in the hamlet or local area. The findings at the Range Hotel, therefore, imply that the distance from the nearest town and a hotel's location in relation to large natural obstacles is important when considering what additional elements may be found at locations of historic roadside hotels.

8.3 Conclusions

The initial research questions focused on the landscape, the engendered community and ideas around respectability and the role of alcohol and aimed to see how this different type of rural settlement compared to other researched Australian sites, both rural and urban. In many ways the findings concur with the conclusions made by other researchers looking at the early settlement of Australia, such as the recognition that new migrants wanted to live a recognisable and respectable life, using the landscape and

material culture to signify both how they viewed themselves and how they wished others to see them. The houses and businesses in the hamlet, for example, were located in an area away from the camping sites and cemetery, allowing visible social connections to be maintained across the harsh landscape, while allowing the residents to be slightly set apart from the noisier and dirtier elements of the settlement. This reflects research into mining townships where the placement of tents, homes and businesses was influenced by both the landscape and by people's desires to recreate the respectable and familiar in an alien setting (Hill, 1998; Lawrence, 1998; Mate, 2011, 2013; Prangnell and Mate 2011).

Small settlements were not only linked internally, but were also outwardly linked to larger urban centres by well-used roads, rivers or paths. Although this is discussed to a limited extent by some researchers (Lawrence 1992; McGowan 1992) the importance of these urban/rural connections have often not been emphasised or examined (Schact 2010). The discussion of Hervey Range Road, the investigation of one of the road's small communities and the proposed model for roadside hotels provides a basis for examining these important connections. The success of larger urban areas often depended upon the contributions made by smaller rural enclaves, which produced the raw materials needed to create the wealth necessary for urban prosperity, expansion and diversification. Townsville's success depended upon the town attracting the goldminers, squatters and pastoralists to buy and sell their gold, sheep and cattle there, rather than in Bowen or Cardwell. Hervey Range Road and the hotels along its length provided the necessary and usable connection between hinterland and urban centre. However, this dependency ran both ways as the rural sites were reliant on favourable government policies, maintaining a steady stream of produce or gold to sell in the towns and on the hope that a bigger, better or richer rural competitor would not become established. The hotels and communities along Hervey Range Road, for example, suffered when the government erected a tollgate and after the large and profitable Charters Towers gold mine was discovered, which then attracted miners away from the hinterland gold mines that Hervey Range Road had originally served.

New arrivals to Australia crossed all social classes, although those deemed to be of elite or noble birth in Britain were few in number, allowing the working- and middle-class migrants a greater opportunity to advance up the social ladder (Young 2003 p. 34). The aspiring middle-classes focused on self-control, the correct upbringing of children and

genteel manners, relying on paid non-manual labour for an income that would also allow for non-essential goods that reflected a prescribed taste to be purchased. This outward show of *taste* reflected how people used symbolic material in different ways which was then seen as a way of discriminating between the social classes. This type of analysis has been used by researchers looking at mining sites and pastoral stations where the presence of certain types of household possessions, dress and ceramics and a lack of alcohol-related artefacts has been interpreted as showing that the community or family was striving for respectability, gentility and permanence (Quirk 2007). This thesis challenges the idea that alcohol was the antithesis of respectability, arguing instead that the conclusions drawn by Karskens (1997, 1999) and advocated by Young (2003) in their assessments of early Australian settlement and social class are a more accurate reflection of how alcohol was viewed by the early settlers. Abstinence was generally more related to religious conviction than to the outward expression of a particular social class. Therefore, finding alcohol bottles, decanters or glasses at a site does not necessarily imply that a person or family was of a low social standing. This thesis contends that the type of community, the varieties of alcohol bottles found and even identifying triggers that may have led someone to start drinking all need to be taken into account when drawing conclusions from the archaeological finds at a particular site. This in-depth analysis of community can only be achieved through the extensive use of genealogy resources, which should be an integral part of any investigation into past lives.

8.4 Further Work

This thesis expands and adds to the historical and archaeological research that has been undertaken in Far North Queensland, but also creates an impetus for additional projects, both in the immediate and wider area. Additional survey work at the cemetery using GPR and magnetometry may help to identify how many people were buried there and how the graves were configured within the cemetery's boundaries. Identifying additional graves, on top of the five internments that have already been found, would provide a definitive base upon which to undertake additional historical document research. Identifying more people would help to expand upon the discussion of community and show further links across the landscape.

Expanding the research out and away from the hamlet itself could explain the settlement of Far North Queensland on a larger, regional basis. Edgar's (2014) recently submitted thesis has looked at the cultural landscape of the Cape River gold field and his findings (unfortunately not available for the writing of this thesis) could be linked to the ideas of respectability and the 'fluid' community, with at least one family from the hamlet, the Meads, moving to this gold field. Another major link between Townsville and the hinterland was Dalrymple, the first inland settlement to be surveyed in northern Australia. It played a vital social and economic role in the expansion into the far north, once containing five hotels, several businesses and the camp of the local Native Mounted Police. Dalrymple was unfortunately prone to massive flooding from the Burdekin River and it was slowly abandoned, finally closing in the early 1900s. It is now located in the Dalrymple National Park, although some areas of the old township are privately owned. Visible remains include some gravesites, fences, pavements and old mine sites (Hooper 2006; Queensland Government 2014). Archaeological investigations of this old township would add to the understanding of the settlement of the north, provide a tangible link between the coast and the hinterland and add to the knowledge about the running of and customs of early frontier hotels. It would provide an opportunity to use the layered theoretical framework identified in this thesis so that a detailed analysis of the community and social life within the town could be established. It also has the added benefit of having a documented and accepted Indigenous presence in the form of the Native Mounted Police and evidence may be forthcoming as to how Aboriginal people experienced, influenced and reacted to the settlers' expansion. This idea is also being looked at by Flinders University, which has recently been awarded an ARC Discovery grant to look at the activities, lives and legacies of the Native Police in Queensland (Flinders University 2015).

Quirk's (2007) archaeologically determined models of gentility proved to be a valuable tool in this research as they provided a standardised approach that could be reproduced on other sites. However, the conclusion that the middle-class and working-class could be identified by how they adopted certain elements of gentility is not as clear cut as proposed. The identified social relationships and events within the hamlet confirmed the need for close friendships, but the recovered artefacts showed that 'respectability' was achieved despite the lenient attitude to alcohol. This conclusion should provide an interesting contrast to be made with work on gentility that has been carried out in other

countries, such as America and Great Britain, where the emphasis has been on ceramics, rather than other recoverable artefacts to see if similar adaptations were made elsewhere. This also concurs with Lampard et al's. (2011) conclusions that we risk 'sanitising' communities if the consumption of alcohol is always simply seen as the 'working-man's scourge', with no other reasons or conclusions postulated.

This thesis highlights the lives of ordinary, working-class men and women and shows how they adapted and even thrived in the harsh conditions of Far North Queensland. They were part of the invisible and often undocumented masses who migrated to Australia in search of a better and more prosperous life, often achieving this with little help or support from the government. Their experiences, especially those of early settler women, often remain hidden, with historical records by-passing their roles and contributions in favour of the wealthy, high ranking or notable few. This diminishes our understanding and leaves the story of Australian settler history poorer by their omission. These ordinary people often led extraordinary lives and telling their stories will enhance the past and reconnect it to the present.

CHAPTER 9: REFERENCES

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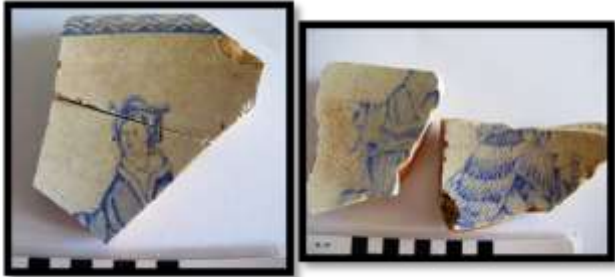





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CHAPTER 10: APPENDICES






10 Appendices

10.1 Ceramic Pattern Identification Chart

Photo-graph No.	Photograph of Pattern	Pattern Name or Description	Found at Excavation/ Survey Site
1		'Blue chain' and central motive	Blacksmiths McNeill's house
2		Purple unknown	Blacksmiths
3		Blue unknown	Blacksmiths
4		Blue banded-one thick and one thin	Blacksmiths McNeill's house
5		Brown moulded	Blacksmiths Rubbish dump

6		'Blue Japanese lady'	Rubbish dump
7		Rhine pattern	Rubbish dump McNeill's house
8		Two blue repeating stripes	Rubbish dump
9		Three red stripes with single stripe on reverse side	Rubbish dump
10		Three blue stripes with single stripe on reverse side	Rubbish dump
11		Faded red bands	Rubbish dump

12		'Blue leaf' pattern	Rubbish dump
13		Purple cable	Rubbish dump McNeill's house
14		Black with white/grey lines	Rubbish dump test pits
15		'Chelsea sprig'	McNeill's house
16		Grey moulded	McNeill's house

17		Gold edging on rim and gold line along shoulder	McNeill's house
18		Two different plain white with moulding	McNeill's house
19		Asiatic Pheasant	McNeill's house
20		White with purple stripe pattern	McNeill's house
21		Willow pattern	Blacksmiths




22		Brown geometric	Blacksmiths Rubbish dump
23		Purple with geometric inserts	Rubbish dump
24		Dark blue unknown	Rubbish dump

Figure 10-1: Chart showing the pattern names of the ceramics.

10.2 People Who Lived in the Hamlet

People Known to Have Lived in the Range Hotel Hamlet			
Year	Males	Females	Children
1866	John McNeil - 36	Isabella- McNeil - 29	Janet - 5, Elizabeth - 4, Duncan - 1
	James Mead - 34	Catherine Mead - 24	Eliza/Sarah died aged 2 weeks
	William Freer - 30		
1867	John McNeil - 37	Isabella McNeil - 30	Janet - 6, Elizabeth - 5, Duncan - 2
	James Mead - 35	Catherine Mead - 25	Eliza - 1
1868	John McNeil - 38	Isabella McNeil- 31	Janet – 7, Elizabeth – 6, Duncan – 3, Ellen - 1
	Robert Williamson		
	Alexander Cowper - 25	Ada Cowper - 26	Ada – 2, Melville <1
	Adam Rowe Phillips - 28	Ann Phillips - 22	Bernard - 4, Daniel - 2, Annie - 1
1869	John McNeil - 39	Isabella McNeil - 32	Janet- 8, Elizabeth-7, Duncan- 4, Ellen-2, Mary Mair <1
	Michael Tobin - 24	Jane Tobin - 22	Thomas <1
	Alexander Cowper - 26	Ada Cowper - 27	Ada - 3, Melville – 1, Percy <1
	Adam Rowe Phillips - 29	Ann Phillips - 23	Bernard - 5, Daniel - 3, Annie – 2, Robiena <1
1870	John McNeil - 40	Isabella McNeil - 33	Janet -9, Elizabeth- 8, Duncan -5, Ellen-3, Mary Mair < 1
	Maurice Fox - 23	Mary Bridget Fox - 23	Rosehannah - 1
	Alexander Cowper - 27	Ada Cowper - 28	Ada – 4, Melville – 2, Percy - 1
	Adam Rowe Phillips - 30	Ann Phillips - 24	Bernard - 6, Daniel - 4, Annie - 3, Robiena - 2
1871	John McNeil - 41	Isabella McNeil - 34	Janet -10, Elizabeth- 9, Duncan -6, Ellen- 4, Mary Mair -2
	Maurice Fox - 24	Mary Bridget Fox - 24	Rosehannah - 2
	John Langton - 39	Mary Langton - 26	John – 2, Rebecca <1
	Adam Rowe Phillips - 31	Ann Phillips - 25	Bernard - 7, Daniel - 5, Annie - 4, Robiena - 3, Adam <1
1872	John McNeil - 42	Isabella McNeil - 35	Janet- 11, Elizabeth -10, Ellen- 5, Mary Mair -3, Margaret <1
	Maurice fox - 25	Mary Bridget - 25	Rosehannah – 3, Mary Ellen <1
	John Langton - 40	Mary Langton - 27	John – 3, Rebecca -1, Alice Mary <1
	Adam Rowe Phillips - 32	Ann Phillips - 26	Bernard - 8, Daniel - 6, Annie - 5, Robiena - 4, Adam - 2
1873	John McNeil - 43	Isabella McNeil - 36	Janet – 12, Ellen – 6, Mary Mair -4, Margaret -1, Robert <1
	Alfred Palmer- 32		
	John Langton - 41	Mary Langton - 28	John – 4, Rebecca -2, Alice Mary - 1
1874	John McNeil - 44	Isabella McNeil - 37	Janet - 13, Ellen -7, Mary Mair -5, Margaret -2, Robert -1
	John Cameron -34		
1875	John McNeil - 45	Isabella McNeil - 38	Janet - 14, Ellen – 8, Mary Mair – 6, Margaret -3, Robert -2
	John Cameron - 35		
1876	John McNeil – 46	Isabella McNeil - 39	Janet -15, Ellen- 9, Mary Mair-7, Margaret -4, Robert -3, Isabella - <1
	George Hume - 35	Millicent Hume - 20	

1877	John McNeil – 47	Isabella McNeil - 40	Janet – 16, Ellen – 10, Mary Mair – 8, Margaret -5, Robert -4, Isabella - 1
	George Hume - 36	Millicent Hume - 21	Millicent Jane - <1
1878	John McNeil – 48	Isabella McNeil - 41	Janet – 17, Ellen – 11, Mary Mair – 9, Margaret -6, Robert -5, Isabella - 2
	George Hume – 37*	Millicent Hume - 22	Millicent Jane - 1
1879	Armenius Danner - 40	Millicent Danner (Hume) - 23	Millicent Jane - 2
1880	Patrick Fogarty - 37	Bridget Fogarty - 31	Mary Ann - 7, Julie Ann - 3
1881	David Frazer- 29	Bridget Frazer (Fogarty) - 32	Mary Ann - 7, Julie Ann - 4
1882	David Frazer- 30	Bridget Frazer (Fogarty) - 33	Mary Ann – 8, Julie Ann - 5
1883	Owen Kilday - 48	Elizabeth Kilday - 30	
1884	Owen Kilday – 49	Elizabeth Kilday - 31	

Figure 10-2: People known to have lived in the hamlet each year.

10.3 Demographics of the Known Residents

Location	Age when moved to area			Nationality					Marital status	Approx. years in area
	Born there	0-17	18+	English	Irish	Scottish	Australian	Other		
Blacksmith Shop										
John McNeill			36			Yes			M	12
Isabella McNeill			29			Yes			M	12
Janet Ellen McNeill		5				Yes			Child	12
Elizabeth McNeill		3				Yes			Child	Died there aged 10
Duncan McNeill		<1					Yes		Child	Died there aged 6
Ellen McNeill	Yes						Yes		Child	11
Mary Mair McNeill	Yes						Yes		Child	9
Margaret McNeill	Yes						Yes		Child	6
Robert McNeill	Yes						Yes		Child	5
Isabella McNeill	Yes						Yes		Child	3
Adam Rowe Phillips			28	Yes					M	5
Ann Phillips			22		Yes				M	5
Bernard Lee Rowe Phillips		4					Yes		Child	5
Daniel Lee Phillips		2					Yes		Child	5
Annie Phillips		1					Yes		Child	5
Robiena Lee Rowe Phillips	T'ville for birth						Yes		Child	4
Adam Thomas Phillips	T'ville for birth						Yes		Child	2

Range Hotel										
James Edward Mead			34	Yes					M	2
Catherine Mead (nee Burke			24		Yes				M	2
Sarah/Eliza Mead	Yes						Yes		Child	Died there aged 2 weeks
Eliza Mead	Yes						Yes		Child	1
Robert Williamson			?					?	S	1
Michael Tobin			24		Yes				M	15 months
Jane Tobin (nee Turley)			22		Yes				M	15 months
Thomas Tobin	Yes						Yes		Child	6 months
Maurice Fox			23				Yes		M	3
Mary Fox (nee Logue)			23				Yes		M	3
Rosehannah Fox		1					Yes		Child	3
Mary Ellen Fox	T'ville for birth						Yes		Child	1
Alfred Palmer			32	Yes					S	1
John Cameron			34			Yes			S	2
George Hume			35	Yes					M	Died there aged 38
Millicent Hume (nee Bond)			20	Yes					M	4
Millicent Jane Hume	Yes						Yes		Child	3
Arminius Danner			40					German	M	1
Patrick Fogarty			37		Yes				M	Died there aged 38
Bridget Fogarty (nee Moylan)			32		Yes				M	3
Mary Ann Fogarty		7					Yes		Child	3
Julie Ann Fogarty		3					Yes		Child	3
David Frazer			29			Yes			M	2
Owen James Kilday			48				Yes		M	1
Elizabeth Kilday (nee Asher)			29	Yes					M	1

Butcher shop										
Alexander Cowper			25	Yes					M	3
Ada Cowper (nee Smith)			26	Yes					M	3
Ada Cecilia Cowper		2					Yes		Child	3
Melville Cowper	T'ville for birth						Yes		Child	3
Percy Thomas Cowper	Yes						Yes		Child	2
Other Neighbours										
John Langton			40	Yes					M	3
Mary Langton (nee Toner)			27		Yes				M	Died there aged 28
John Henry Langton		3					Yes		Child	3
Rebecca Langton	Yes						Yes		Child	3
Alice Mary Langton	Yes						Yes		Child	2
William Gardner Freer			23	Yes					S	1
Totals	27		26	10	7	6	28 (25 children)	2		

Figure 10-3: The demographics of the known residents.

10.4 The Blacksmith Site

See separate Appendix A, which describes the following in detail:

- ❖ Contexts descriptions including type and number of artefacts found
- ❖ Glass analysis showing the colour, number, weight and fragment type in each of the contexts
- ❖ Ceramic fragments by context, weight, ware and form
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics
- ❖ Metal artefacts by context and type
- ❖ Miscellaneous artefacts by context and type
- ❖ Special Finds (SF1001-1027)

10.5 The Rubbish Dump

See separate Appendix B, which describes the following in detail:

- ❖ Context description including type and number of artefacts found
- ❖ Glass fragments by context, number, weight and fragment type
- ❖ Ceramic chart by context, number, weight, decoration and form
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics
- ❖ Metal artefacts by context and type
- ❖ Miscellaneous artefacts by context and type
- ❖ Special Finds (SF1029-1191)

10.6 The Stone Floor

See separate Appendix C, which describes the following in detail:

- ❖ Survey results and photographs
- ❖ Context description including type and number of artefacts found
- ❖ Glass fragments by context and colour
- ❖ Metal from on the floor and from the trenches

10.7 The Possible House site

See separate Appendix D, which describes the following in detail:

- ❖ Ceramic chart by context, number, weight, decoration and form
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics

Appendices

The Road to Townsville's Early Success:

The engendered cultural landscape of Hervey Range and the community 'at its foot'

Marianne Clarkson (BA Hons, MB ChB, FRACGP)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at

James Cook University

College of Arts, Society and Education

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A. The Blacksmith Site

- ❖ Contexts descriptions including type and number of artefacts found
- ❖ Glass analysis showing the colour, number, weight and fragment type in each of the contexts
- ❖ Ceramic fragments by context, weight, ware and form
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the recovered ceramics
- ❖ Metal artefacts by context and type
- ❖ Miscellaneous artefacts by context and type

DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL CONTEXTS AND SQUARES FROM THE BLACKSMITH SITE

Context & Feature (F)	Square & Layer: Spit	Dimensions of Context	Description of Context	Number and type of artefact				Special find No. & artefact type
				Glass	Metal	Ceramic	Misc	
1	Top soil Trench D-J	1m x7m	Compacted with a few glass fragments	9	0	0	0	
2	D 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted grey silty loam. Grey flecks ? ash	3	1	0	0	
3	E 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted	39	3	0	1	
4	F 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted	6	0	1	1	
5	G 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted soil with some charcoal fragments	11	15	0	1	SF1003-spoon SF1005-roof nail SF1006-metal ball
6	H 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted soil down to a hard red clay	13	3	0	0	
7	I 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm		14	0	0	0	
8	J 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm		19	0	4	0	
9	Top soil Trench K-O	1m x 5m	Compacted silty loam	12	1	0	0	
10	O 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted grey soil down to a hard red clay	10	1	0	0	
11	N 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted grey soil down to a hard red clay	3	1	0	0	
12	M 1:1	1m x 1m x 3-10cm	Compacted soil. Loose stones removed. Large charcoal deposit on eastern edge extending into L. Gravel-like material to east	6	8	0	0	SF1008-nail SF1009-nail
13	L 1:1	1m x 1m x 3-10cm	Compacted soil. Some loose stones removed. Charcoal deposit eastern edge	23	5	0	1	SF1011-bottle finish SF1012-nail SF1021-clay pipe
14	K 1:1	1m x 1m x 3cm	Silty loam down to hard red clay. Hard gravel-like material on border with Square L	71	1	0	0	

15	G-I 1:2	2.5m x0.3m x10cm	Southern edge of Squares. Small amounts charcoal in hard compacted soil	13	0	0	0	
16	C 1:1	1m x1m x 5cm	Grey, compacted soil. Revealed post hole	2	7	0	0	
17	E-G 1:2	2.5m x0.3m x10cm	Southern edge of Squares. Hard, compacted soil	5	2	4	0	
18	C 1:2	1m x1m x 5cm	Grey, compacted soil. Revealed post hole	1	2	1	0	
19	P 1:1	1.5m x1m x5-10cm	Loose soil around collapsed stones. Loose stones removed	2	9	1	2	
20	D 1:2	1m x 1m x5cm	Compacted soil. Post hole revealed	0	1	1	1	
21	E-G 1:2	2.5m x 0.7m x10cm	Hard compacted soil down to hard red clay	17	4	1	1	SF1013-metal cap
22	Q 1:1	1m x 0.5m x 5cm	Compacted soil down to flat layer of stones. Tree roots	16	3	0	0	
23	P 1:2	1.5m x1m x 3-10cm	Loose soil down to stones. Some charcoal	0	1	0	0	
24	R 1:1	1m x1m x3-10cm	Loose soil with concentration of broken glass in the northeast of square. Post hole to northwest corner	147	3	1	0	
25	M 1:2	0.5m x0.7m x2cm	Cleaning of gravel area in Square M	1	0	3	0	
26	Surface Trench S-AA	1m x 10m x 2cm	Friable silty loam with lots of dry grass/roots.	1	1	0	2	
27	T 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty/loam. Lots of roots.	62	0	1	0	SF1022 -bottle neck.
28	U 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty/loam. Lots of roots.	25	0	1	0	
29	G 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Sq. from 2010 so soil was just back fill.	0	0	0	0	
30	W 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm (south) - 10cm (north end)	North end deeper with sand, rest sand/loam. Two areas SE area of small glass fragments.	90	1	0	0	
31	X 1:1	1m x 1m x 20cm	Large mound of Sand over whole square.	0	0	0	0	
32	Y 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Friable sandy loam. Lots of roots.	0	0	0	0	
33	Z 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Friable sandy loam. Lots of roots.	1	0	2	0	

34	S 1:1	1m x 1m 5cm	Compacted silty/loam. Soil change edge rocks	8	0	0	0	
35	G 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam-fill from 2010	0	0	0	0	
36	W 1:2	1m x 1m x 3cm	Compacted silty loam to east with glass ++. Soil softer west side	38	0	0	0	
37	X 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam	3	0	0	0	
38	Y 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compact on west ½ - friable on east.	15	0	0	0	
39	Z 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam	3	0	2	0	
40	AA 1:2	1m x 1m x 10cm	Friable silty loam. North edge rusty soil	6	1	1	0	
41	V 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty/loam. Lots of roots.	1	0	0	0	
42	AA 1:1	1m x 1m x 3-6cm	Friable sandy loam. North end conc. rust coloured soil.	0	1	0	0	
43	BB 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Friable grey silty loam to base hard red soil .	24	3	0	0	
44	CC 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Friable grey silty loam to hard red soil at base.	0	2	0	1	SF 1023 – Gold pendant
45	DD 1:1	1m x 1m x 15-20cm	Sand down to layer of flat rocks. Charcoal+	0	1	2	1	
46	EE 1:1	1m x 1m x 10-15cm	Sand down to layer of flat rocks. Charcoal south edge.	0	0	0	0	
47	FF 1:1	1m x 1m x 6cm	Friable silty loam -base of natural dark earth.	3	0	0	0	
48	EE 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm (south)-20cm (north)	Friable silty loam and sand. Slopes down to the north.	1	1	1	0	
49	DD 1:2	1m x 40cm x 10cm	Sand down to flat rocks and red clay-like soil. Charcoal present	4	1	1	1	
50	Surface of Sq. BB & CC	1m x 2m x 2cm	Friable silty loam with lots of dry grass/roots.	0	0	0	0	
51	V 1:2	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam with hard red base soil	2	1	0	0	
52 F2	Surface of south half of Sq. R	1m x 0.5m x 2-6cm.	Friable silty loam. Mostly 2010 fill, but went deeper as well at southern edge.	32	0	0	0	SF1026- Bottle neck fragments x 2.

53	Surface of Sq. GG - II	1m x 3m x 3cm	Friable silty loam with lots of dry grass/roots.	0	0	0	0	
54	GG 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam on to a hard red base.	1	0	1	0	
55	HH 1:1	1m x 1m x 5-8cm	Compacted silty loam on to a hard red base.	1	0	1	0	
56	II 1:1	1m x 1m x 6cm	Compacted silty loam. Rocks appear to end at same level as SQ. S.	10	0	5	0	SF 1027- Base small white bottle.
57 F1	DD Stratigraphic Unit	60cm x 80 cm x 5-50cm deep.	Friable silty loam with charcoal++ including large pieces. Lots of metal fragments.	1	25 ++++	6	1	SF 1024 – Button.
58	DD 1:3	1m x 40m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam. Charcoal south edge.	5	1	7	0	
59	EE 1:3	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam down to burnt soil.	3	6	4	0	
60	JJ 1:1	1m x 2m x 2-5cm	Friable silty loam down to red clay-like burnt looking soil.	44	1	3	0	
61	KK 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm & top	Friable silty loam. Shiny ?metal shavings seen. Charcoal present.	9	12	3	8	
62	LL 1:1	1m x 1m x 5cm	Compacted silty loam.	1	1	1	0	
64	Surface of Trench K-O	1m x 5m x 1-5cm	Trench 2010-mostly fill from last year.	3	1	0	0	
Total				840	130	59 (+1 from test pit)	22	

Table A-1: Table describing the individual contexts and squares from the blacksmith site

ANALYSIS OF GLASS FROM THE BLACKSMITH SITE-CONTEXT, COLOUR, WEIGHT (G) AND TYPE

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	1									1															8			
Wt										1															9			
No.	2			2			1																					
Wt				5			1																					
No.	3			8			7			7						1			1						15			
Wt				37			8			8						1			13						9			
No.	4			1			3																		2			
Wt				1			5																		3			
No.	5						5			1			5															
Wt							2			1			3															

No & Wt		Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
			Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	6	6						4		1	5						1									2			
Wt								5		2	1						2									4			
No.	7	7			5			1																		8			
Wt					13			1																		9			
No.	8	8			16			1																		2			
Wt					25			1																		3			
No.	9	9	2		9			1																					
Wt			43		78			1																					
No.	10	10			6			4																					
Wt					9			9																					
No.	11	11				1	1				1																		
Wt						9	1				1																		

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	12			2			2		1	1																		
Wt				31			3		2	1																		
No.	13	2	1	19						1																		
Wt		29	66	59						3																		
No.	14			68			2																		1			
Wt				111			4																		1			
No.	15			5			1			7																		
Wt				9			3			8																		
No.	16									1															1			
Wt										1															2			
No.	17			2			1			2																		
Wt				4			4			4																		

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	18						1																					
Wt							3																					
No.	19						2																					
Wt							2																					
No.	20			3			6			8																		
Wt				6			28			9																		
No.	22			15			1																					
Wt				123			1																					
No.	24	4		142																						1		
Wt		162		340																						8		
No.	25						1																					
Wt							3																					

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	26									1																		
Wt										22																		
No.	27	1	1	46		1	10			1						1									1			
Wt		18	71	249		71	18			1						1									4			
No.	28			23			2																					
Wt				104			6																					
No.	30			44			37			9																		
Wt				100			45			30																		
No.	33			1																								
Wt				1																								
No.	34			3			4			1																		
Wt				6			20			1																		

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	36			10			23			5																		
Wt				9			15			7																		
No.	37			1			1		1																			
Wt				9			1		4																			
No.	38	1		13						1																		
Wt		17		50						6																		
No.	39						2																		1			
Wt							8																		4			
No.	40																								6			
Wt																									11			
No.	41																								1			
Wt																									1			

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	43			1			1			5														3	14			
Wt				1			3			7														5	25			
No.	47									3																		
Wt											19																	
No.	48						1																					
Wt							6																					
No.	49			1			1			2																		
Wt				4			4			6																		
No.	50			1			1																					
Wt				5			5																					
No.	52		1	31																								
Wt			83	82																								

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	54			1																								
Wt				5																								
No.	55									1																		
Wt										2																		
No.	56			5			5																					
Wt				23			7																					
No.	57						1																					
Wt							5																					
No.	58									5																		
Wt										22																		
No.	59			1						2																		
Wt				5						6																		

No & Wt	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	60	1		12			21			9			1															
Wt		4		21			48			15			1															
No.	61			2			6			1																		
Wt				3			37			4																		
No.	62						1																					
Wt							6																					
No.	64			3																								
				6																								

Table A-2: Table showing the glass fragments recovered from the blacksmith site by colour, weight and fragments type

CERAMIC FRAGMENTS RECOVERED FROM THE BLACKSMITH SITE

Context	Square	Fragment No.	Weight (g)	Ware			Decoration type or colour	Photograph No. in Identification Chart	Form
				Stoneware	Earthenware	Porcelain			
4	F	1	3		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified small rim
8	J	1	<1	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		3	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
17	E-G	1	<1		Whiteware		'Blue chain'	1	Unidentified small rim
		3	1		Whiteware		Plain	1	Unidentified
18	C	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
19	O	1	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
20	D	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
21	F-G	1	4		Whiteware		'Blue Chain'	1	Unidentified
24	R	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
25	M	1	<1		Whiteware		Purple unknown	2	Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Blue Unknown	3	Unidentified rim
27	T	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
28	U	1	<1		Whiteware		Blue Bands (one thick, one thin)	4	Cup
33	Z	2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
39	Z	2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
40	AA	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Cup rim
45	DD	1	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	6		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Unidentified
48	EE	1	1		Whiteware		Blue Bands (one thick, one thin)	4	Small bowl rim
49	DD	1	10		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
		1	29		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Unidentified hollow
		1	5	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		2	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	2		Whiteware		Plain white with thin grey band on edge		Unidentified rim

54	GG	1	3		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
55	HH	1	1		Whiteware		Blue Chain		Unidentified
56	II	2	2	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	2	Bristol glaze			Buff		Bottle base
		1	31		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Unidentified rim
57	DD	1	2	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	<1				Blue Chain	1	Unidentified
58	DD	1	5		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Unidentified rim
		1	14		Whiteware		Plain		Large bowl rim
		2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		3	51		Whiteware		Willow	21	Two plate rims and shoulder from plate-conjoining
59	EE	2	11		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Unidentified
		2	10		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Large bowl rims
60	JJ	2	4	Bristol glaze			Grey		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Cup handle
61	KK	2	4		Whiteware		Blue Chain	1	Large bowl rims
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
TPBB		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified

Table A-3: Table describing the number, weight, decoration and form of the ceramics recovered at the blacksmith site

MINIMUM CERAMIC (WHITEWARE) VESSEL NUMBER FROM THE BLACKSMITHS-DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 13 VESSELS

Square(s)	Context(s)	Ware type	No. of fragments	Combined weight (g)	Decoration	Pattern identification No.	Form
DD	58	White ware	3	51	Willow	21	Plate
EE	48	White ware	1	<1	Blue band (one thick, one thin)	4	Small flat unidentified
U	28	Whiteware	1	<1	Blue band (one thick, one thin)	4	Cup
AA	40	Whiteware	1	<1	Plain white		Cup
M	25	Whiteware	1	<1	Purple unknown	2	Unidentified
JJ	60	Whiteware	1	<1	Brown geometric	22	Cup
D, DD, HH, II, EE, KK	21, 45, 55-59, 60	Whiteware	12	36	Blue chain	1	Large unidentified vessel
M	25	Whiteware	1	<1	Blue unknown	3	Unidentified rim
E-G	17	Whiteware	1	<1	Blue chain	1	Unidentified small rim
DD	49	Whiteware	1	29	Blue chain	1	Unidentified large hollow
DD	58	Whiteware	1	14	Plain white		Large hollow vessel
DD	49	Whiteware	2	12	Plain white		Unidentified flat base and rim
GG	54	Whiteware	1	3	Brown moulded	5	Unidentified

Table A-4: Minimum Vessel Number and Description for the blacksmiths

METAL RECOVERED FROM THE BLACKSMITH SITE

Context	Square	Worked but unknown	Rivet	Bottle seal	Nails	Wire	Other
2	D						1
3	E			2	1		
5	G			1	11		3
6	H	3					
9	K-O				1		
10	O						1
11	N				1		
12	M				6		2
13	L				5		
14	K	1					
16	C	5			2		
17	E-G				2		
18	C	2					
19	O				8		1
20	D				1		
21	F-G		1		2		1
22	Q				2		1
23	P				1		
24	R				3		
26	S-AA	1					
64	K-O	1					
30	W					1	
42	AA				1		
43	BB	1			2		
44	CC				1		
45	DD				1		
60	JJ				1		
61	KK	12					
62	LL						1
57	DD	22			3		
49	DD				1		
48	EE				1		
51	V				1		
40	AA				1		
58	DD				1		
59	EE	3			3		
Total		51	1	3	63	1	11

Table A-5: Table showing the type of metal fragments recovered at the blacksmith site

MISCELLANEOUS ARTEFACTS FROM THE BLACKSMITH SITE

Context	Square	Bone	Button	Clay Pipe	Wood	Jewellery	Unknown
3	E	1					
4	F						1
5	G		1				
13	L			1			
19	O	1			1		
20	D		1				
21	F-G						1
26	S-AA		1				1
44	CC					1	
45	DD				1		
61	KK				6		2
57	DD		1				
49	DD	1					
Total		3	4	1	8	1	5

Table A-6: Table showing the location of the miscellaneous artefacts recovered from the blacksmith site

SPECIAL FINDS FROM THE BLACKSMITHS SITE

Special Finds (SF) Number	Context and Square or Transect	Description	Interpretation
1001	Outside trenches	Ceramic fragment 6 x3.5cm	Stoneware jar
1002	Outside trenches	¼ medium green bottle base	Unidentified
1003	G	2.5 x 3cm curved metal	Part of a spoon
1004	Outside trenches	2 conjoined metal rings each 5cm in diameter	Part of harness or chain
1005	G	Head of a nail	Roofing nail
1006	G	Small metal ball 6mm in diameter-heavy for size	Ball bearing
1007	Surface trench K-O	Nail	Horseshoe nail
1008	M	Nail	Horseshoe nail
1009	M	Nail 7.5cm in length-rusty	Round head nail
1010	D	Button	Button
1011	L	3 conjoining fragments of a medium green bottle neck	Champagne with bevelled finish-1880 onwards
1012	L	Rusty nail	Round head nail
1013	F/G	Squashed metal top	Unidentified
1014	Transect 1 Circle 1	Ceramic fragments 4 x5cm with purple cable pattern on	Unidentified
1015	Transect 1 Circle 1	Broken medium green bottle neck-no seams visible	Unidentified
1016	Outside Transect 1 Circle 1	Large round heavy metal object 18cm in diameter	Not collected. Probably part of a bullock dray
1017	Outside Transect 1 Circle 1	2 x 35cm long tapered flat metal object	
1018	Outside Transect 1 Circle 1	3 long thin metal objects measuring 20, 22 and 41 cm	
1019	Outside Transect 1 Circle 1	Ceramic fragment with a light blue and white fern pattern on	Not collected and unidentified
1020	Outside Transect 1 Circle 1	10cm stoneware Bristol glazed base	Not collected. Base of storage vessel

1021	L	2cm piece of clay pipe stem. Hole 6-7mm	Clay pipe
1023	CC	Gold jewellery pendant	9 or 14 carat gold pendant
1024	DD	Button	Same as the one SF1010
1025	DD	3 conjoining plate fragments-rim and shoulder	Willow pattern transfer
1026	R	Medium green bottle neck with rounded finish	Champagne bottle pre-1880
1027	II	3 fragments of stoneware ceramic base with 5cm diameter-Bristol glaze	Bottle base

Table A-7: Table of Special Finds from the blacksmith site

B. The Rubbish Dump

- ❖ Context description
- ❖ Glass fragments by context, number, weight and fragment type
- ❖ Ceramic chart by context, number, weight, decoration and form
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics
- ❖ Metal from the dump
- ❖ Miscellaneous finds
- ❖ Special Finds (SF1029-1191)

CONTEXT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RUBBISH DUMP 2012-2013

Context & Feature Number	Square(s) & Quadrant(s)	Context Description and Dimensions	Artefact Type and Number in quadrants if specified				Special Finds Number and Artefact Type
			Glass	Ceramic	Metal	Misc	
100	F5-I5 Trench surface	1x4m Dark brown friable, mulch-like material with some roots present and charcoal around a large surface log	20	1	2	2	SF1030: Metal strip
127	B5-E5 Trench surface	1x4m Dark brown friable, mulch-like material with some roots	265	7	1	0	
Layer 1: Spit 1							
101, 102, 103 & 104	F5 1:1 SWQ, SEQ, NEQ & NWQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange friable silty loam with lots of small roots. Some charcoal in the northern half of the square in the midline extending from Context 103 into 104	SWQ 466 SEQ 132 NEQ 162 NWQ 325 Total 1085	5	3	6	SF1040: Clear glass bottle neck SF1033: 30 aqua glass fragments SF1032: Medium green glass fragment from bottle seal
105, 106, 107 & 108	G5 1:1 SWQ, SEQ, NWQ & NEQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange friable silty loam with charcoal concentrate running across the centre of the square from the whole of NEQ down into the centre of the southern edge of the square	SWQ 55 SEQ 42 NWQ 70 NEQ 22 Total 189	2	1	0	SF1043: 12 aqua glass fragments- lettering on 3 larger pieces
109, 110, 111 & 112	H5 1:1 SWQ, SEQ, NWQ & NEQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spits Brown/orange silty loam with charcoal fragments. Some discoloured glass fragments	SWQ 45 SEQ 32 NWQ 53 NEQ 0 Total 130	1	0	0	
113, 114, 115 & 116	I5 1:1 SEQ, SWQ, NWQ & NEQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spits Brown silty loam with lots of roots in the SE corner of quadrant and wood fragments from the surface log	SEQ 0 SWQ 7 NWQ 12 NEQ 9 Total 28	2	0	0	
128, 129, 130 & 131	E5 1:1 SEQ, SWQ, NEQ & NWQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown silty loam with lots of roots and some charcoal fragments. Darker base in NE quadrant and lots of artefacts, especially in NWQ	SEQ 530 SWQ 314 NEQ 310 NWQ 976 Total 2130	46	19	4	SF1048: 2 large patterned ceramic joining fragment-(also see SF1056 & 1075) SF1049: 4 medium green glass fragments with lettering SF1050: 2 clear glass fragments with

							raised design SF1051: Medium green glass fragment with lettering
132, 133, 134 & 135	D5 1:1 SEQ, SWQ, NEQ & NWQ	Four 50x50cm and 10cm spit Brown silty loam with tree roots with lots of glass fragments, especially in the northern half. Some large charcoal pieces especially at southern edge. Some large metal fragments and large pieces of charcoal in the NWQ.	SEQ 383 SWQ 422 NEQ 1371 NWQ 359 Total 2535	73	24	2	SF1052: Medium green glass with lettering-(see also SF1046) SF1057: Clear glass bottle neck SF1064: Clear glass bottle neck SF1069: Window glass SF1070: ceramic fragment
136, 137, 138 & 139	C5 1:1 SEQ, SWQ, NEQ & NWQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown silty loam with an easily seen difference in soil colour across the southern half of the square-orangey clay to the south and a darker brown to the north. A lot of glass artefacts in the northern half of the square that continue down into next spit particularly in the NEQ	SEQ 380 SWQ 270 NEQ 769 NWQ 128 Total 1547	36	9	2	SF1071: Round head nail SF1072: Metal bottle seal SF1038: Gin bottle neck SF1039: Clear glass bottle neck SF1044: Clear glass bottle neck SF1045: Window glass SF1046: Dark green glass with lettering -(see also SF1052) SF1036: 3 earthen-ware pieces SF1036: Light green glass with lettering
140, 141, 142 & 143	B5 1:1 SEQ, SWQ, NEQ & NWQ	Four 50x50cm and 5cm spits Brown/orange silty loam fewer artefacts than in Squares C5 and D5. Lots of roots. Down to an orangey clay base across the majority of the square except in NEQ where the base is an artefact rich darker brown soil similar to that in Square C	SEQ 97 SWQ 326 NEQ 134 NWQ 450 Total 1007	10	12	0	SF1035: Light green glass with lettering
147	D10 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Brown silty loam with some charcoal (may be associated with burnt wood/log in the trench. Some red clay.	21	0	0	0	
148	D9 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Brown silty loam with some charcoal and lots of roots	94	4	0	0	
149	D8 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Brown silty loam with charcoal in eastern half extending to D9	186	9	0	0	SF1136: Aqua glass bottle panel
150	D7 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Darker brown loose soil with a lot of artefacts, which extend down into next spit	402	8	3	0	
151	D6 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Dark brown soil with a lot of artefacts, which extend down into next spit	370	12	1	0	
152	D5 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Dark brown soil-this square was excavated last year. Some artefacts were uncovered	152	3	0	0	SF1131: Aqua glass fragment SF1132: Seal and bottle finish SF1133: Light green glass fragment

							SF1134: Clear glass with pattern
153	D4 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Compacted clay layer with a lot of artefacts	497	27	9	0	SF1127: Metal ring SF1128: Metal artefact SF1129: Light blue glass fragments SF1130: Light green glass base SF1140: Various glass fragments with lettering SF1141: Medium green base
154	D3 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Friable silty loam with more compacted base	921	45	12	0	SF1123: Four aqua glass fragments SF1124: Metal buckle SF1125: Clear glass fragment SF1126: Six medium green glass fragments with lettering SF1139: Two conjoining ceramic patterned fragments
155	D11 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Friable silty loam. Few artefacts and down to hard clay	27	1	0	0	
156	D12 1:1	1x1m x 5cm spit Friable silty loam. Few artefacts and down to hard clay	15	2	4	0	
167	A6 1:1	1x 0.5m x 10cm depth (eastern edge of square) Compacted silty loam with most of artefacts to the northern edge	82	20	4	0	SF1138: Medium green glass seal SF1139: Champagne bottle finish with wire for cork still attached
Layer 1: Spit 2							
117	I5 1:2	1x1m and 5cm spit Brown silty loam removed down to orangey clay layer. Test Pit WW in SE corner 25x25cm and 10cm depth	25	4	0	0	SF1047: Opaque glass fragments with lettering
118	H5 1:2	1x1m and 5cm depth spit Brown silty loam removed down to orangey clay layer. Test Pit VV in SW corner 25x25cm and 10cm depth	9	0	0	0	
119	F5 1:2 SEQ	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam	51	0	0	0	
120	F5 1:2 SWQ	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam with small stones in NE corner. Lots of root. Discoloured green glass	16	0	0	0	
121	F5 1:2 NEQ	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam with gravel in SW corner. Charcoal lens on northern edge	59	0	1	0	SF1041: 4 aqua glass fragments one with lettering on
122	F5 1:2	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam and charcoal lens continues in from	37	0	0	0	

	NWQ	the adjacent NEQ					
123	G5 1:2 SEQ	0.5x0.5m and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam with charcoal concentrated towards the eastern edge.	2	0	0	0	
124	G5 1:2 SWQ	0.5x0.5m and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam with charcoal concentrated towards the western edge	2	0	0	0	SF1031: Aqua glass fragment with lettering on
125	G5 1:2 NEQ	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam with charcoal fragments	50	0	0	0	
126	G5 1:2 NWQ	50x50cm and 5cm spit Brown/orange silty loam down to an orange clay base	99	0	0	0	SF1034: 19 aqua glass fragments some with lettering on
158	D7 1:2	1x 1m x10cm depth To even the depth of the square. Hard grey 'ash' like area to the western edge of the square extending into the wall	731	15	1	0	
161	D6 1:2	1x 0.5m x 10cm (western half of square) Friable silty loam down to an orange clay base	298	12	2	0	
162	D8 1:2	1x 0.5cm (western edge) down to orange base Hard orange clay base of square slopes down to the southern edge to reach the level of the clay layer in D7	321	14	6	0	SF1142: Medium green glass fragment with lettering SF1143: Five aqua glass fragments
164	D10 1:2	0.5x0.5cm x 5cm removed from area to the south of TPYY Tiny glass shards only and none collected	0	0	0	0	
165	D9 1:2	1x 0.5cm x 5cm (western edge of square) A few artefacts in upper soil. Removed down to clay base, which extended into D8 and D10	21	1	0	0	SF1135: Light green glass stopper
Layer 1: Spit 3							
160	D7 1:3	1x 1m x10cm depth. Removal of soil around Feature 3 to a hard caly base in east and north quadrants, sloping down to the south of the square. Glass still visible in base of SW quadrant and in the southern wall where it went down to 24cm at deepest point.	601	25	13	0	
166	D6 1:3	1x 0.5m x 25-35cm spit (western edge). Taken down to hard clay base. Lots of glass visible along whole length in the western wall. Depth 45cm base of western edge	466	77	66	0	
Layer 1: Spit 4							

163	D7 1:4	1x 0.5cm and varying depth (western edge) Removal of the remaining soil in western half of square down the clay layer. Floor slopes down to SW corner to meet base of D6. Depth 20cm in NW corner, 40cm n SW corner and 33cm midway along southern wall	289	13	8	0	
Feature 1							
144	C5-B5 1:2	1x0.5m and 10cm sloping spit (from south to north) in Square C5 and 25x75cm and 10cm spit in Square B5 Artefact dense feature. Definite edge running from west to east across the squares. Artefact poor, orangey clay, sloping base to the south and a dark brown soil to the north- visible artefacts in the base of the spit. in the northern wall	1558	39	6	1	SF1073: Base from a C.S. & Co bottle SF1082: Window glass SF1083: Lamp glass SF1107: Clear glass fragment with DAVIS on
146	D5 1:2	1x0.5m and 10-50cm sloping spit (from south to north) Continuation of Feature 1 from Square C5. Brown silty loam down to an orangey base sloping down from south to north.	1456	47	6	2	SF1092: Fragment of Wolfe's Schnapps bottle SF1106: Metal button
145	C5 1:3	1x0.5m and 10cm sloping spit(from south to north) across northern half of square following the slope down to an orangey clay base. Dark brown friable loam down to the clay base with a narrow strip of dark soil remaining at the base of the northern edge. Large number of artefacts	694	17	7	1	SF1084: 2 earthen-ware necks SF1088: Ceramic fragment SF1089: 2 ceramic fragments SF1090: Window glass SF1091: Light green bottle neck
Feature 2							
157	D7/D8	0.65x 0.7m located on surface of western edge of D7 and D8. Loose pile of surface bottle fragments removed along with loose soil and artefacts below. Depth varied from 5-15cm (deeper in D7). Area with medium sized charcoal fragments on eastern edge and a lighter grey hard ash-like area to the north. A lot of artefacts visible in the base, but definite east-west line across D8 where artefacts disappear in north half.	747	6	5	0	
Feature 3							
159	D7	Area of very loose, dark brown, friable soil approx. 0.6x 0.6m (depth 5-10cm) down to orange/red clay base in the southern half of square surrounded by a harder soil to the east and a grey 'ash' layer to the west. Lots of artefacts recovered and still visible in wall with adjacent D6	297	8	1	0	
TOTAL			19,514	593	232	20	

Table B-1: Table describing the Contexts, Squares and Features of the rubbish dump.

GLASS FROM THE RUBBISH DUMP

umber & Context	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	100			4	3	1	4	2		6																		
Wt				202	43	12	52	22		18																		
No.	101	7	4	200	3	200	18		1	27						6												
Wt		385	19	517	75	517	75		27	39						9												
No.	102	2	1	109	2		10			4					2			1							1			
Wt		61	5	273	64		32			5					2			1							9			
No.	103	1	2	113			15							1		2			28									
Wt		82	16	310			28							11		9			92									
No.	104	6	4	259		1	42			12							1											
Wt		122	107	825		20	56			19							2											

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	105	6		42															7									
Wt		136		153																8								
No.	106	1		40						1																		
Wt		99		116							2																	
No.	107			51	1		6												12									
Wt																												
No.	108	2	1	11			5			1									2									
Wt		99	2	141			58			2										14								
No.	109	3	1	40						1																		
Wt		92	13	99						2																		
No.	110			27			5																					
Wt				58			19																					

Number & Weight	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.																												
Wt																												
No.	111			43			6			4																		
Wt				110			49			7																		
No.	114			6				1																				
Wt				15				6																				
No.	115	1		9			2																					
Wt		22		18			15																					
No.	116			8			1																					
Wt				39			30																					
No.	117	2		20			2			1																		
Wt		20		66			26			1																		

& Number	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	118			6			3																					
Wt				25			12																					
No.	119	1		43			2			3					2													
Wt		22		100			2			1					4													
No.	120			15			1																					
Wt				56			4																					
No.	121	3	1	46			5											4										
Wt		27	34	208			12											13										
No.	122	2		31			3			1																		
Wt		37		155			16			12																		
No.	123	1		1																								
Wt		81		11																								

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	124			1															1									
Wt				20																9								
No.	125	9		39						1									1									
Wt		139		133							2									3								
No.	126	3		73	1	1								2					19									
Wt		43		204	24	27									16					55								
No.	127	4	3	163	5	2	72			7					1	2									6			
Wt		108	95	707	98	11	328			12						27	5									31		
No.	128	15	4	372	3	1	97			9						4			2			1			21			1
Wt		433	101	1385	59	19	235			11						7			17			6			111			6
No.	129	14	3	188	5	4	87						2			3						2			6			
Wt		725	49	1227	175	51	494						13			4						10			28			

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	130	8	6	248	4		35			6						3												
Wt		188	242	1671	100		237			13						5												
No.	131	41	12	669	9	6	197	1		10			6		2	12			1						10			
Wt		1582	464	3917	167	104	1015			58			16		4	16			9						29			
No.	132	9	5	209	3	4	109		1	10	1		4			9						1			18			
Wt		393	262	1008	117	58	397		6	11	112		6			13						1			89			
No.	133	10	3	234	3		134			8			8			8									14			
Wt		278	80	1048	50		570			13			46			10									82			
No.	134	25	10	932	10	6	330			6	2	1	9			16	1		2			4			17			
Wt		1556	172	5678	301	104	1429			8	33	29	23			22	12		5			10			45			
No.	135	19	7	224	6	5	71		1	10	2					3						2			9			
Wt		656	126	2645	208	31	620		12	37	45					8						7			77			

Number & Context		Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	136	19	2	274	4	2	72							1		2									1	2		1
Wt		359	47	1868	156	15	412							5		4									1	44		12
No.	137	10	2	197	2	2	45		1	5						3									2			1
Wt		267	68	1144	33	19	245		9	11						5									5			37
No.	138	12	4	506	5	3	190	1		19	1	1	4			10			2			1			10			
Wt		602	279	2998	140	54	704	33		47	80	16	14			11			2			3			105			
No.	139	8	3	82		2	28	1		3									1									
Wt		332	46	514		11	146	24		6									3									
No.	140	2		65	1		22			2			2			2									1			
Wt		55		296	7		89			3			6			3									4			
No.	141	4	1	227			77	1		10			4			2												
Wt		108	8	659			142	4		13			7			1												

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	142	3		93			30			2			2			2									2			
Wt		61		398			74			3			14			4									5			
No.	143	13	9	305	3	1	77	1		11		2	13			10								1	4			
Wt		319	95	1327	139	28	183	16		17		36	19			13								6	11			
No.	144	45	14	1077	9	4	326	3	1	23	1		12			20			4			2			16			1
Wt		1945	499	7384	233	37	1504		13	92	4		51			30			22			2			33			
No.	145	25	14	457	12	5	144			10		1	7		1	8			1						9			
Wt		1934	568	4388	297	47	1213			40		10	51		21	16			8						60			
No.	146	73	25	1009	8	8	248		1	18		1	12	1	2	19		1	12			2			7			9
Wt		2673	945	9774	482	367	1631		6	82		12	80	9	26	56		15	36			10			47			100
No.	147	2		13			5									1												
Wt		64		80			25									23												

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	148	6	5	65	4		9	3																	2			
Wt		126	53	373	31		39	116																	2			
No.	149	20	5	117	2	4	32									3									2			1
Wt		563	129	945	47	19	217									10									44			11
No.	150	36	9	246	4		76				1	2	5			6			5			1			10			1
Wt		1391	126	2517	70	4	483				24	13	8			11			69			4			30			3
No.	151	34	2	265	1	2	47			2	1		1	1		6			2						5			1
Wt		908	28	2622	49	27	606			5	9		20	14		16			13						59			5
No.	152	11	2	104	5	1	17			1				1		5			3						2			
Wt		287	14	1186	144	13	172			8				8		27			41						21			
No.	153	28	10	288	11	2	117	1		5		2	8		1	13				2		3			6			
Wt		338	264	3294	474	29	868	22		31		19	39		6	30				68		18			44			

Number & Context	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	154	68	10	616	12	6	166	1	1	4			1			9		1	5				1	1	12			7
Wt		2945	317	3320	252	28	957	5	22	28			12			67		57	73				15	82	89			75
No.	155			20			5			2																		
Wt				105			10			32																		
No.	156	1		6			7			1																		
Wt		22		35			28			1																		
No.	157	90	19	449	21	1	120			8		1	7	2		4			4		1		2		12			6
Wt		5363	830	6416	1275	39	1105			138		5	56	19		10			15		8		46		100			34
No.	158	56	25	456	13		149	1		8	1		3	1	1	8			5						1			3
Wt		2651	772	4600	244		1227	14		188	19		11	1	4	24			122						1			15
No.	159	23	7	173	7	3	39			8	1	1	6			2		1	5				1		2			
Wt		1114	392	2560	137	27	383			128	31	6	30			11		17	65				227		11			

Number & No.	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	160	72	26	302	7	14	132			8				1		12	2	1	18						6			
Wt		5560	1070	5597	455	332	1656			89				7		30	73	22	121						49			
No.	161	29	13	172	7	6	59				1	1	3	2		2			1						2			
Wt		2100	683	3070	387	102	718				25	36	37	37		5			30						35			
No.	162	51	14	179	19	9	43				1					4									1			
Wt		4163	458	3158	783	121	454				127					25									24			
No.	163	45	11	163	2	2	52			2		1	5	1		2		1	2									
Wt		3169	258	2667	29	114	621			20		15	34	8		10		51	12									
No.	165	1	3	14			2				1																	
Wt		34	35	96			42				105																	
No.	166	140	75	120	24	11	45	2	3	13	1	3				15	2	1	3				3		4			1
Wt		13921	4100	4036	1025	431	938	25	37	331	128	12				39	173	31	105				263		58			30

Number & Context		Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other			
No.	167	6	10	32	5	1	11								4					1				12				
Wt		520	452	433	140	11	112								6					10				13				
Total Number		1128	387	12568	246	320	3654	19	10	293	15	17	124	14	8	246	6	6	153	2	2	19	7	2	233	2	0	33
No.	TPCC						1																					
Wt							2																					
No.	TPFF						1								3													
Wt							3								2													
No.	TPGG	6	5	228	1	1	77			14			2			3												
Wt		226	112	748	23	3	180			13			7			3												
No.	TPHH			1			1																					
Wt				1			1																					

Number & Test Pit		Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	TPJJ						1																					
Wt							4																					
No.	TPKK	3		36		1	18																					
Wt		15		60		6	25																					
No.	TPLL		1	3			1																					
Wt			21	18			11																					
No.	TPMM									1																		
Wt										1																		
No.	TPNN			5																								
Wt				7																								
No.	TPOO									1																		
Wt										1																		

Number & Context	Context	Dark/Med Green			Light Green			Opaque/ Clear			Light blue			Blue			Aqua			Emerald			Brown			Purple		
		Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other	Base	Finish	Other
No.	TPRR	3	2	128						3						3												
Wt		263	8	385							11						18											
No.	TPSS			8	1		3			1																		
Wt				70	26		8			1																		
No.	TPUU	1		1																								
Wt		10		1																								
No	TPXX	2					1																					
Wt		51					4																					

Table B-2: Table showing the glass fragments by colour, weight and fragment type from the rubbish dump and test pits

CERAMICS FROM THE RUBBISH DUMP

Context	Square	Number of fragments	Weight (g)	Ware			Decoration name, type or colour	Photograph No. From Identification Chart	Form
				Stoneware	Earthenware	Porcelain			
100	F5-I5	1	<1	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
101	F5	4	9	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
103	F5	1	<1		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Unidentified rim
105	G5	2	4	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
111	H5	1	<1		Whiteware		Grey Rhine	7	Unidentified
114	I5	1	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
115	I5	1	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
117	I5	2	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	5		Whiteware		Two blue repeating stripes	8	Unidentified
127	B5-E5	2	62	Bristol glaze			Buff		1 small base and 1 unidentified
		2	2		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified flat base
		2	28	Salt glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
128	E5	3	51	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		2	12	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	9		Redware		Terracotta		Unknown
		1	<1		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Plate
129	E5	2	33		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Conjoined rim fragments from large bowl
		5	56	Bristol glaze			Buff		1 small base and 4 unidentified
		2	38	Salt glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
		2	4		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
130	E5	3	16	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		2	10		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		4	11		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified

131	E5	9	15	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	8	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified rim
		5	26		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	4		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Plate
		1	6		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
132	D5	1	23		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Large bowl rim
		1	3		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	1			Porcelain	Plain white		Unidentified hollow
		1	7		Whiteware		Plain		Large bowl rim
		1	<1		Whiteware		3 red stripes	9	Unidentified rim
		1	1		Whiteware		Brown geometric	23	Unidentified
		1	6		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
		1	25	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
133	D5	1	6			Porcelain	Plain white		Unidentified hollow
		5	19		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	1		Whiteware		3 red stripes	9	Unidentified rim
		2	1		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Unidentified base and 1 unindented
		4	56	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
134	D5	4	52		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Large bowl rim and 3 unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
		3	4		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		8	19		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		12	127	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		2	47	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		2	18	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
135	D5	7	121	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		3	12	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		2	5		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified rim and 1 unidentified

		8	13		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	3		Whiteware		3 red stripes	9	Cup handle attachment and cup rim
136	C5	4	24	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		3	9	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	36	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		2	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified flat rim and 1 unidentified
		1	3		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified flat rim
		3	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		3	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
137	C5	1	3		Whiteware		Plain		Cup base
		2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified rim
		2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		3	21	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unknown
138	C5	1	<1			Porcelain	Plain white		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Cup base
		3	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	6		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		1	15	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		3	12	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unknown
139	C5	2	183	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	25	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
141	B5	2	8		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
142	B5	1	<1		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified
		1	6	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	3	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
143		1	3	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		3	240	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified base and 2 unidentified
144	B5-C5	2	12		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		14	288	Bristol glaze			Buff		2 unidentified small bases
		3	17	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified

		3	20	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	9		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		2	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		4	9		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified rim and 3 unidentified
		3	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	1		Whiteware		Plain		Cup base
		5	1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	<1			Porcelain	Plain white		Unidentified
145	C5	1	1		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified rim
		1	<1		Whiteware		3 red stripes	9	Unidentified rim
		3	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base and 2 unidentified
		1	1		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified rim
		2	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base and 1 unidentified
		1	18		Whiteware		2 blue stripes repeating pattern	8	Large unidentified rim
		4	115	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified handle attachment
		2	40	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
146	D5	2	105	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	5		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified
		3	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified rim and 1 unidentified
		1	8		Whiteware		Faded red bands	11	Unidentified flat rim
		2	5		Whiteware		Plain		2 unidentified flat rims
		8	22		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified flat rim and unidentified base
		1	10		Whiteware		Blue leaf pattern	12	Large bowl rim
		4	14		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified rim
		4	24	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified handle attachment and 3 unidentified
		7	34		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		4	46	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified

		1	26	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		6	155	Bristol glaze			Buff		1 unidentified small base, 1 finishes and 1 unidentified
		1	1	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
148	D9	2	26	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		2	44	Bristol glaze			Light brown		1 unidentified rim and 1 unidentified
149	D8	1	10	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
		2	7	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		5	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified rim and 4 unidentified
150	D7	1	37		Whiteware		Purple cable	13	Unidentified hollow
		2	2		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	2 unidentified rims
		1	23		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Large bowl rim
		3	9		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	12	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
151	D6	7	18		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	14		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified hollow
		3	46	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
152	D2	2	14		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	12	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
153	D4	2	7		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified hollow
		1	15		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
		1	9		Whiteware		Two blue repeating stripes	8	Large unidentified rim
		1	11		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Large bowl rim
		8	59		Whiteware		Plain		2 unidentified bases, 1 unidentified rim and 5 unidentified
		5	39		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		3	32	Salt glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
		5	91	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	16	Bristol glaze			Brown		Shoulder form large container
154	D3	1	3		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified hollow

		2	16		Whiteware		Purple pattern with geometric inserts	23	Unidentified
		1	30		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Large bowl rim
		2	4		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified rim and 1 unidentified
		4	15		Whiteware		Faded red bands	11	Unidentified base, unidentified rim and 2 unidentified
		6	29		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		8	100	Bristol glaze			Buff		Base of large container and 7 unidentified
		18	18	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
		3	81	Salt glaze			Brown		Base large container and 2 unidentified
155	D11	1	4		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
156	D12	2	1		Whiteware		Dark blue unknown	24	Unidentified
157	D7- D8	1	<1		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		4	65	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
		1	2	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
158	D7	1	16		Buff-bodied earthenware		Brown		Rockingham tea pit handle
		2	6		Whiteware		Faded red bands	11	Unidentified flat rim
		1	2		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified flat rim
		2	7		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
		3	6		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		2	21		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		4	92	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
159	D7	1	2		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
		1	8		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified rim
		1	60	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		1	25	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		3	23	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
160	D7	14	417	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified base and 13 unidentified
		1	47	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		3	30		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified

		2	57	Salt glaze			Light brown		Unidentified hollow rim and 1 unidentified
		1	15		Whiteware		Blue leaf	12	Large bowl rim
		1	20		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		2	19		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified rim and 1 unidentified
		1	1		Whiteware		Plain		Cup handle
161	D6	1	28		Whiteware		Purple cable	13	Large flat rim
		3	12		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
		1	12		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		6	132	Bristol glaze			Buff		1 bottle finish and 5 unidentified
		1	53	Bristol glaze			Brown		Bottle finish
162	D8	7	207	Bristol glaze			Buff		3 bottle fragments and 4 unidentified
		5	144	Bristol glaze			Brown		2 conjoined shoulder from large container and 3 unidentified
		1	4		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Unidentified rim
		1	12		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
163	D7	1	63	Bristol glaze			Brown		Rim from large container
		9	166	Bristol glaze			Buff		Bottle finish and 8 unidentified
		1	14	Bristol glaze			Light brown		Unidentified
		1	4		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified hollow
		1	5		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
165	D9	1	28	Bristol glaze			Brown		Handle attachment large container
166	D6	1	6	Bristol glaze			Brown		Shoulder form container
		2	6		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		25	494	Bristol glaze			Buff		Bottle finish and 24 unidentified
		7	88	Bristol glaze			Brown		Unidentified
		4	31		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		3	18		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Plate
		2	23		Whiteware		Brown moulded	5	Unidentified
		2	17		Whiteware		3 blue stripes	10	Cup rim and unidentified rim
		1	13		Whiteware		Blue leaf	12	Large bowl rim
		1	68		Whiteware		One thick and one thin	4	Large bowl rim

							blue band		
		27	380		Whiteware		Plain		Unidentified base
		1	27		Buff-bodied earthenware		Brown		Rockingham teapot handle
		1	6		Whiteware		Purple cable	13	Unidentified flat oval rim
167	A6	1	18		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified hollow
		2	3			Porcelain	Plain white		Unidentified
		4	24		Whiteware		Plain		4 unidentified bases
		1	5		Whiteware		Blue Japanese lady	6	Unidentified
		2	19	Salt glaze			Brown		Shoulder from container
		1	10	Bristol glaze			Brown		Bottle finish
		9	196	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified base and 8 unidentified
Total in Dump		593	6790g						
TPGG		1	1		Whiteware		3 red stripes	9	Unidentified rim
		1	<1		Redware		Terracotta		Unidentified
		1	4	Salt glaze			Brown		Unidentified
TPHH		1	3	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
TPKK		3	48	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
TPNN		1	<1		Whiteware		Grey pattern		Unidentified
		1	<1		Whiteware		Black with white/grey lines	14	Unidentified
TPRR		2	6		Whiteware		Brown geometric	22	Plate
		1	<1		Whiteware		Grey Rhine	7	Unidentified
TPUU		1	24	Bristol glaze			Buff		Unidentified
Unknown		19	41						
Total in Test Pits		32	129						
TOTAL		625	6919g						

Table B-3: Table showing the number, weight, decoration and form of the ceramics recovered from the rubbish dump.

MINIMUM VESSEL NUMBER OF CERAMICS FROM THE RUBBISH DUMP

Square(s)	Context(s)	Ware type	No. of fragments	Combined weight (g)	Decoration	Form
D5, D6, D7,	146, 166, 160	Whiteware	3	38	Blue leaf on white background	Large bowl
D12	156	Whiteware	1	<1	Dark blue unknown	Unidentified
D4, C5	153,145	Whiteware	2	28	Two blue repeating stripes	Large bowl
B5-C5, C5	144, 145	Whiteware	2	3	Brown moulded	Unidentified hollow rim
D6	166	Buff-bodied earthenware	1	27	Brown	Rockingham tea pot
D7	158	Buff-bodied earthenware	1	16	Brown	Rockingham tea pot
D6, E5, TPRR	166, 131, 128	Whiteware	7	25	Brown geometric	Plate
TPRR, H5	111	Whiteware	2	1	Rhine pattern	1 unidentified rim and 1 other
D6	161, 166	Whiteware	2	34	Purple cable	Large oval platter
D6	166	Whiteware	1	65	2 blue stripes (1 wide, 1 thin)	Large hollow vessel
D3, D5, D7	154, 146, 158	Whiteware	3	15	Faded red stripes	4 unidentified small flat rims
TPNN		Whiteware	1	<1	Black with etching on	Unidentified
D5, A6	133, 167	Porcelain	3	8	White	Unidentified small hollow
D3	154	Whiteware	2	15	Purple pattern with geometric inserts	Unidentified
D6	166	Whiteware	1	11	3 thin blue stripes	Unidentified small flat rim
D5, C5, TPGG	135, 145, 132, 133	Whiteware	5	3	3 thin red stripes	Cup
D7, C5, B5-C5, D6	160, 138, 137, 144, 166	Whiteware	5	4	Plain	Cup
D4, D5	153, 146	Whiteware	2	2	Plain	Rim from unidentified small hollow
D5, D6	132, 166	Whiteware	2	152	Plain	Large unidentified hollow
C5	136	Whiteware	2	8	Plain	2 unidentified rims
D4	153	Whiteware	1	4	Plain	Unidentified small hollow
D6, D8, A6, D3, D4, D5	166, 162, 167, 154, 153, 146	Whiteware	14	51	Plain	8 unidentified bases and 6 unidentified rims
D5, D3, D4, E5, D7, D5	132, 154, 153, 129, 150, 134	Whiteware	7	148	Blue Japanese lady	Large bowl

Table B-4: Table describing the Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics from the rubbish dump.

METAL FROM RUBBISH DUMP

Context	Square	Slag	Worked-unknown	Harness/dray	Container	Rivet	Bottle seal	Clothing	Nails	Wire	Domestic	Unknown	Total
100	F5-I5			1								1	2
101	F5		1										1
103	F5											1	1
104	F5	1											1
107	G5											1	1
121	F5											1	1
127	B5-E5		1										1
128	E5		1									12	13
130	E5											1	1
131	E5		2									3	5
132	D5		1									1	2
133	D5				1								1
134	D5		5	1								10	16
135	D5		2	1	1	1							5
136	C5		1				1		1				3
137	C5		1										1
138	C5		3		1							1	5
140	B5		1										1
141	B5		2	1	1					1		1	6
142	B5		2										2
143	B5		3										3
144	C5-B5	6	4	2									6
145	C5		3	3					1				7
146	D5							1				5	6
150	D7			2								1	3
151	D6					1							1

153	D4		1	1							1	6	9
154	D3		6					1	1	1		3	12
156	D12		1									3	4
157	D7/8		2	1								2	5
158	D7			1									1
159	D7		1										1
160	D7		4	2						1	1	5	13
161	D6				1				1				2
162	D8		4									2	6
163	D7		4	1						1		2	8
166	D6		11	1	2		1		1	1		49	66
167	A6			3	1								4
Total		7	67	21	8	2	2	2	5	5	2	111	232

Table B-5: Table showing the number and type of metal artefacts found in each Context and Square of the rubbish dump 2012-2013

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS FROM RUBBISH DUMP

Context	Button	Shell	Wood	Bone	Clay Pipe
100				2	
101-104		6			
128-131			3		1
132-135			2		
136-139		2			
144					1
145				1	
146	1			1	
Total	1	8	5	4	2

Table B-6: Table showing the number and type of miscellaneous artefacts in the rubbish dump 2012-2013

SPECIAL FINDS FROM RUBBISH DUMP

Special Finds (SF) Number	Context & Square or Test Pit (TP)	Description	Interpretation
1029	TPGG	Dark green glass fragment with a 2x2cm raised circular seal with letters AVH in the centre-(see also SF1032)	AVH was the seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co distillery in Rotterdam. Gin bottle. Company ran from 1800-1898
1030	100 Trench F5-I5	Metal strip 1.5x9cm in length with a sliding mechanism at one end	? sitting from a gun
1031	124 G5	Aqua coloured 3x3.5cm glass fragment with the partial letters RS	Sarsaparilla bottle
1032	124 G5	Dark green semicircular glass fragment with raised border and the partial letters ? AVH-(see also SF1029)	AVH was the seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co distillery in Rotterdam. Case gin bottle. Company ran from 1800-1898
1033	103 F5	Aqua coloured 7x4.5cm glass fragment with the letters ARI on and 29 smaller aqua glass fragments	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1034	126 G5	19 Aqua glass fragments with the 3 larger pieces having lettering on: AL; A; ?.	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1035	141 B5	Light green bottle fragment 3.5x3.5cm triangle shaped with letters LF on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1036	139 C5	3 earthenware fragments. Largest one is 16x9cm and is cream coloured. The 2 smaller fragments are brown.	Bristol glaze stone ware
1037	139 C5	Light green glass fragment 2x1cm with letters OH	No identification possible
1038	137 C5	Dark green neck and finish	Crudely applied blob finish from around 1880. Probably a case gin bottle finish
1039	137 C5	Clear glass neck and finish-(see also 1064)	Clear glass neck (2cm in length) and finish with a thin flared finish. Common on medicinal or druggist bottles and vials from 1800-1870
1040	101 F5	Clear glass bottle neck with missing finish	No interpretation possible
1041	121 F5	4 Aqua glass fragments with the largest 2x3cm having the letters SA	Sarsaparilla bottle
1042	TPRR	2 adjoining ceramic fragments each 2.5x3cm with a brown on cream geometric and flower pattern	Brown geometric and flower transfer pattern
1043	107 G5	12 aqua glass fragments, 3 with lettering	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1044	138 C5	Light blue/green glass bottle neck	Neck is 3.5cm in length with a 1cm double ring finish. Also known as the 'Perry Davis' type as common on his Vegetable Pain Killer bottles. Common on medicine bottles, liquor flasks and sauce bottles due to ease of corking and manufacture. Between 1840-1920, but especially from 1850-1910

1045	138 C5	1.5x1cm clear flat glass fragment	? window glass
1046	138 C5	Dark green glass fragment 4.5x3.5cm with 2 lines of letters APP/ATI-(see also SF1052)	J. H. Henke a distiller from Schiedam, near Rotterdam made Schnapps Aromatico around 1860-1870
1047	117 I5	Opaque glass fragment 4.5x3cm with letters ONT ?S on	Possibly a Lamonts Patented aerated water bottle. Designed in 1874 and patented in 1876. Popular in Australia especially by 1890
1048	129 E5	2 ceramic fragments which fit together and depict an oriental/Japanese lady in blue design on white/cream background-(see also SF1056 and SF1075)	Chinoiserie type transfer pattern. Edge of a bowl
1049	129 E5	4 medium green glass fragments all about 2x1cm with lettering on each piece O/P/CI/?F or P	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side. Produced from late 1840s into early 20th century
1050	129 E5	2 clear glass fragments with raised leaf and flower pattern 2x3cm and 2x2cm	No identification possible
1051	129 E5	Green glass fragment 2.5x2.5cm with letters on ?N and ?F or E	No identification possible
1052	134 D5	6x4.5cm medium green glass fragment with 2 lines of letters APP/ATIC-(see also SF1046)	J. H. Henke a distiller from Schiedam, near Rotterdam made Schnapps Arimatico around 1860-1870
1053	134 D5	2 green (not the same green) glass fragments. 1 is 5x4cm with the letters A/S and the second is 3.5x3cm with letters A ?F or P/S	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20th century
1054	134 D5	Light green corner and part of base from a bottle with letters UTS on 2 sides-(see also SF1061)	No identification possible
1055	134 D5	Clear glass fragment 3.5x2.5cm with letters AUS/MA. It seems to be the inlaid plate from a bottle	? Australian made
1056	134 D5	3 ceramic fragments with same blue on white/cream design. 2 pieces have leaves on and the third a crane type bird-(see also SF1048)	Chinoiserie type transfer pattern
1057	134 D5	Light blue glass bottle neck and finish. Neck is 2cm in length	Bead or ring finish. Mouth blown bottle with no seams on neck or finish ? tooled finish. Common on medicine bottles but also some condiment and sauce bottles. Early 1800s to
1058	130 E5	Clear glass fragment 3x2cm with letters KOBS	St Jakobs Oel bottle. Made by Charles A. Voegler Company Baltimore, an American company established in 1847. It was advertised as a pain killer curing rheumatism, sprains, sore throats, headaches etc
1059	130 E5	Green glass fragment 4x2cm with letters on ?ED	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20th century
1060	130 E5	Green glass fragment 3x2.5cm and letters HO ? on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20th century
1061	131 E5	Light green 6 sided bottle fragment with letters TS	No identification possible
1062	131 E5	Clear glass fragment 2x2cm with letters SIO	No identification possible
1063	131 E5	Clay pipe fragment 1.5cm in length	No identification possible
1064	135 D5	Clear glass bottle neck and finish (see also SF1039)	Clear glass neck (2cm in length) and finish with a thin flared finish. Common on medicinal or druggist bottles and vials from 1800-1870
1065	135 D5	Two white ceramic fragments with 3 thin red bands on. Area where a handle has broken off on one piece	Banded whiteware from a cup
1066	135 D5	Clear glass fragment with a raised pattern on (see also SF1050 and SF1100)	No identification possible

1067	135 D5	Medium green glass 5x3.5cm fragment from a square shaped bottle. Letters DA	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1068	135 D5	Light green 6x3cm glass fragment with letters WAL	No identification possible
1069	135 D5	Clear flat glass 3x2cm	Window glass
1070	135 D5	Small white ceramic fragment with 3 thin blue stripes on	Banded whiteware plate rim
1071	136 C5	Small round headed nail-rusted	No identification possible
1072	136 C5	Fragment of metal bottle seal/cap-no markings	No identification possible
1073	144 C5-B5	Dark green bottle base with letters C.S & Co 1633	Cannington, Shaw & Company complete bottle base. Company ran from 1875-1892 before becoming Cannington, Shaw & Co Ltd 1892-1913. Manufactured soda bottles. Three piece mouth blown bottle.
1074	144 C5-B5	3 fragments of clear glass -fit together to make the 3cm diameter base and lower part of a small jar or bottle. No seams on body	Three piece mouth blown mould. 1821-1900 but much less after 1880
1075	144 C5-B5	White ceramic 4.5x2.5cm fragment with light blue floral pattern on (see also SF1048 and SF1056)	Transfer pattern on refined earthenware
1076	144 C5-B5	Light green bottle base with letters A C B Co on	Aire & Calder Bottle Company. Probably a Lea & Perrins sauce bottle 1850s-1877 (see also SF1086 and SF1104)
1077	144 C5-B5	Clay pipe fragment 1.4cm with letters TTY on one side and an embossed square on the other	Possibly from word CUTTY. From mid nineteenth century Scottish manufactured pipes for colonial market. McDougall made the 'Sydney Cutty'
1078	144 C5-B5	Light green 4x2cm glass fragment with letters T JA	St Jakobs Oel bottle. Made by Charles A. Voegler Company Baltimore, established in 1847. It was advertised as a pain killer curing rheumatism, sprains, sore throats, headaches etc
1079	144 C5-B5	Light green 3.5x2cm glass fragment with letters & C on	No identification possible
1080	144 C5-B5	Light green 3.5x2cm glass fragment with letters ORE on	? from a St Jakobs Oel bottle, which was produced by a company in Baltimore from 1847
1081	144 C5-B5	2 green glass fragments. One has letter M on and the second letters AI/?P	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1082	144 C5-b5	3.5x3cm clear flat glass fragment	Window glass
1083	144 C5-B5	Small thin slightly curved clear glass fragment	? lamp glass
1084	145 C5	2 ceramic fragments. One is a partial finish and the second a complete finish	Buff coloured Bristol glaze stone ware finishes. Stout bottles from 1880-1890
1085	145 C5	2 light green glass fragments from different bottles. One with letters A ?F or P. The second has letter S on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1086	145 C5	Light green partial bottle base with letters A C and Co on	Aire & Calder Bottle Company. Probably a Lee & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce bottle 1850s-1877 (see also SF1076 and SF1104)
1087	145 C5	Small clear glass fragment in shape of an owl	? perfume bottle stopper
1088	145 C5	6.5x4.5cm cream earthen ware fragment with a blue stripe pattern	Banded whiteware bowl rim

1089	145 C5	Purple glass fragments x 2	No identification possible
1090	145 C5	3.5x1cm flat clear glass	Window glass
1091	145 C5	Light green glass bottle neck and partial finish	Applied double oil or double long tapered collar finish. This type of finish was to enable a wire to be secured over the cork. Common on mineral or beer bottles from 1820s but especially between 1840-1880s
1092	146 D5	Medium olive green flat glass fragment 7.5x7cm with letters OLFE'S on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1093	146 D5	3 light green coloured glass fragments which fit together to make word's LEA & PERRINS	Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce bottle. These bottles had a club sauce style finish. Company started in 1838 by John Wheeley Lea and William Henry Perrins, dispensing chemists from Broad St, Worcester, UK. These letters ran from the base to the shoulder on the body of the bottle
1094	146 D5	Amber fragment from an indented panel from a glass bottle embossed with letters AI/RER	Possibly from Mrs Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer New York. Introduced in 1840 and embossed by 1855. Hair restorers were very popular from the 1850s
1095	146 D5	Clear glass fragment with word KILLER on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1096	146 D5	Light green glass fragments x 2 ? related to each other. One has letters ESTE on and the other SHIR	Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce bottle. These bottles had a club sauce style finish. Company started in 1838 by John Wheeley Lea and William Henry Perrins, dispensing chemists from Broad St, Worcester, UK. These letters appeared around the shoulder of the bottles
1097	146 D5	2 light green bottle necks and finishes with metal covering around the necks and finishes	Applied double oil or double long tapered collar finish. This finish was to enable a wire to be secured over the cork. Common on mineral or beer bottles from 1820s but especially between 1840-1880s
1098	146 D5	Light green glass fragment with tops of large letters on ?SOY	No interpretation possible
1099	146 D5	Small light green glass fragment with letters ECHA on	Possibly from a Flagon Reduit Echantillon medicine bottle
1100	146 D5	Clear glass fragment with raised pattern on (see also SF1050 and SF1066)	No identification possible
1101	146 D5	3 light green bottle bases with lettering-JSG, B R and DN/2	No identification possible
1102	146 D5	4.5x2.5cmlight green bottle base with indented panel and letters 81	No identification possible
1103	146 D5	Light green square bottle base with indented circular area with numbers 895 on	French square shaped base. Cup bottom mould and mouth blown bottle of thick glass. Common mould type in mid 1800s to early 1900s
1104	146 D5	1 light green bottle base with the letters A C B Co 1 blue/green base with letter M on	Aire & Calder Bottle Company. Probably a Lea & Perrins sauce bottle 1850s-1877. 2 piece mouth blown with cup-bottom mould (see also SF1076 and SF1086))
1105	146 D5	Small flat clear glass	Window glass
1106	146 D5	Metal button with 4 holes in with words OUR OWN MARK on	No identification possible
1107	144 C5-B5	Clear glass bottle base with letters DAVIS on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer. Anterior panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1108	128 E5	Clear glass bottle fragment panel with the letters PAIN	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer medicine bottle. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1109	128 E5	Aqua glass fragment 4x5.5cm with letters SN	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments

1110	142 B5	Light green glass fragment 6x2cm with letters OR on	No identification possible
1111	142 B5	Medium green glass fragment with partial letters on AT/P	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1112	131 E5	Medium green glass fragment 6x4.5cm with letters C/PS? on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s into early 20 th century
1113	131 E5	Light green glass fragment with letters ?F AS on	No identification possible
1114	131 E5	Light green glass with raised pattern on (see also SF 1050,1066, 1100 and 1117)	No identification possible
1115	132 D5	Light blue glass panel with letters N KILLER on	Davis Vegetable Pain killer medicine bottle. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1116	132 D5	Ceramic fragment with blue geometric pattern on (see also SF1048,1056 and 1075)	Edge of a bowl
1117	133 D5	Light green glass with raised pattern on (see also SF 1050,1066, 1100 and 1114)	No identification possible
1118	133 D5	Medium green glass with letters N& on	Found in the kick-up part of the base. Nuttal and Co, Lancashire 1872-1913. Made Cooktown beer, champagne and OT Cordial (Moore, 2000)
1119	143 B5	Medium green glass fragments x 2 which fit together. Has a star like pattern on and words TR REGIS	REGISTERED TRADE but no other identification
1120	116 I5	Light green thick glass with letters TRA and ?ENT	No identification possible
1121	108 G5	Clear glass fragment with letters HA on	No identification possible
1122	108 G5	2 aqua glass fragments one with letters BA on	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1123	D3 154	Four aqua glass fragments including a neck and finish and two fragments with lettering on (END and 'S)	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1124	D3 154	Metal belt buckle with one side appearing to have had a shiny appearance in past	Man's belt buckle
1125	D3 154	Fluted clear glass	Stem from a cake stand (see also SF1180 & 1190)
1126	D3 154	Six medium green glass fragments all with lettering on (ED, EDA, ED, OLF, FE's, and HI)	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side. Produced from late 1840s- early 1900s
1127	D3 154	Metal artefact	Part of bullock or horse harness or from a dray
1128	D4 153	Metal artefact-nail like 5.5cm in length with 3 spiked cogs towards one end	Lamp artefact-used to wind the wick up and down
1129	D4 153	Ten light blue glass fragments which include 2 applied finish wide necked finishes and 4 other with lettering on (TF, E S, L and EET)	? from food jar
1130	D4 153	Light green glass base with letters SONS & C	
1131	D5 152	Aqua glass fragment with TOW on	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments

1132	D5 152	Medium green glass bottle seal with AVH on and an applied pig snout bottle finish	AVH seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co Gin distillery in Rotterdam. Company ran from 1800-1898
1133	D5 152	Light green bottle fragment with ? BR on	
1134	D5 152	Clear glass decorative fragment	
1135	D9 165	Light green glass bottle stopper	Probably from a condiment or sauce bottle
1136	D8 149	Brown/amber glass bottle panel with letters A ALLENS on	Mrs Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer New York. Introduced in 1840 and embossed by 1855. Hair restorers were popular from the 1850s
1137	A6 167	Medium green glass bottle seal AVH	AVH seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co Gin distillery in Rotterdam. Company ran from 1800-1898
1138	A6 167	Medium green champagne finish with flat top bottle neck with wire from cork still attached	Pre 1880 champagne/beer bottle
1139	D3 154	Two pieces of conjoining thick ceramic white ware with purple pattern on	Possibly from a wash bowl or chamber pot
1140	D4 153	Two opaque glass fragments with IN and DAVIS on One medium green glass fragment with ED on Light green glass fragment with VE T on Light green glass fragment with Co on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Unknown and Unknown
1141	D4 153	Dark green glass bottle base with signs of purposeful flaking	Bottle base used as 'core' for producing flakes
1142	D8 162	Medium green glass fragment with ARC and SH on	Aromatic Schnapps bottle
1143	D8 162	Five aqua glass fragments including one piece of a square base and another with BANY//NY on	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY. The bottles with Albany on are the earliest starting from 1839. Embossed bottles were discontinued in 1870s. Sold a s general cure for multiple ailments
1144	D7 163	Light green glass panel from a bottle with RIM/ELB on	From a Felton Grimwade & Co/ Melbourne// Kruses/ Prize Medal/ Magesia. Firm established in 1867 with Kruse's Fluid of Magnesia sold in 1868 as treatment for 'derangement of digestive disorders'. The firm combined with Bickford & Son's in 1902 creating Felton Grimwade & Bickford Ltd.
1145	D7 163	Metal buckle	Probably from a harness or bridle
1146	D7 163	?Metal artefact	Unknown
1147	D7 163	Medium green glass fragment with EDA on and a seal with AVH on	Aromatic Schnapps made in Schiedam, Rotterdam. AVH seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co Gin distillery in Rotterdam. Company ran from 1800-1898
1148	D7 163	Two pieces of aqua glass, one with END'S on. Square bottle	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend
1149	D7 163	Medium green bottle fragments with AM and D on, with a medium green seal with AVH on	Aromatic Schnapps made in Schiedam, Rotterdam. AVH seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co Gin distillery in Rotterdam. Company ran from 1800-1898
1150	D7 158	Two medium green bottle fragments with LPH and PH on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle.
1151	D7 158	Two light green glass fragments with lettering on	Unknown
1152	D7 158	Metal fastener with hinged portion	Fastener for something ? case

1153	D7 158	Five aqua glass fragments, one with DR T on and another from a square sided bottle with ILLA	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend
1154	D7 158	Light blue glass fragment with PHARM on it	A type of medicine bottle
1155	D7 158	Light green glass bottle fragment with embossed foliage pattern on	Unknown
1156	D7 158	Light green glass fragment with LOC on	Unknown
1158	D6 151	Square brown bottle base with VD LONDON on	
1159	D6 151	Light green glass fragment with AN/IN on	Probably some type of pain killer medicine bottle
1160	D6 161	Three medium green glass fragments with lettering on	From a Schnapps bottle
1161	D6 161	Two champagne finishes each with the wire for the cork still attached	
1162	D6 161	Medium green bottle fragment with FES on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s-early 1900s
1163	D6 161	Green/blue glass with ALB on	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY
1164	D6 161	Light green bottle fragment with ? OE on	? St Jakobs Oel bottle, which was produced by a company in Baltimore from 1847
1165	D7/8 157	Medium green bottle seal with AVH on-very crudely made	AVH seal of the A. Van Hobeken & Co Gin distillery in Rotterdam. Company ran from 1800-1898
1166	D7/8 157	Light green bottle base with 2934 C S & Co L on	Probably a beer bottle imported from the UK
1167	D7/8 157	Medium green finish with crudely applied string rim	Probably pre 1870
1168	D7/8 157	Three medium green glass fragments with letters UD, OPH and E'S (attached to a square base) on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s-early 1900s
1169	D7/8 157	Metal bottle seal with ACHEN & on	
1170	D6 166	Clear glass panel from a bottle with VEGE on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer medicine bottle. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1171	D6 166	Two crudely applied medium green string rim finish	Probably from gin bottles earlier than 1870
1172	D6 166	Dark green glass base fragment with an even base and evidence of flaking around the edge	
1173	D6 166	Brown glass bottle panel with RLDSH/ESTO on	Mrs Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer New York. Introduced in 1840 and embossed by 1855. Hair restorers were popular from the 1850s
1174	D6 166	Light green bottle stopper with LEA & PERRINS on	Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce bottle with a club sauce style finish. Company started in 1838 by John Wheeley Lea and William Henry Perrins, dispensing chemists from Broad St, Worcester, UK.
1175	D6 166	Two glass bottle panels which fit together to produce CINCIN NATI	? from Dr Guerlin's Nerve Syrup 1916

1176	D6 166	Four medium green glass bottle fragments including 1 square base with side panel with S/IC on and the other three have TIC/PPS, O W and M on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle. Schiedam. Aromatic Schnapps. Medicated gin originally produced in US despite having name Schiedam on the side.. Produced from late 1840s-early 1900s
1177	D6 166	Small Bristol-glazed ceramic fragment with LEY/HAM on	CJC Bailey and Fulham, London 1864-1889. Bailey took over the original company in 1864 until 1889
1178	D7 159	Pale blue glass bottle panel with BERLAIN/-BAL on	Chamberlain Pain –balm from Chamberlain Medicine Company. The company was originally founded in Iowa in 1872 by Lowell Chamberlain and by early 1900s there were branches all over the world including Australia
1179	D7 159	Amber bottle-thin modern fragment with NOT F on	From a VB beer bottle
1180	D7 159	Clear glass fluted stem	Possibly from a wine glass or other decorative household piece, such as a cake stand
1181	D7 159	Medium green bottle fragment with H on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle
1182	D7 159	Two light green glass fragments with & Co on	
1183	D7 159	Aqua glass fragment with Dr T on	Sarsaparilla bottle Dr Townsend/ Albany NY
1184	D7 159	Light blue glass bottle panel with AIN on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer medicine bottle. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1185	D7 159	Aqua glass bottle fragment with SARS on	Sarsaparilla bottle
1186	D7 160	Two clear glass with white etched pattern on-fern leaves	
1187	D7 160	Four opaque glass fragments with AVIS, DAVIS, LLE and LER on	Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer medicine bottle. Side panel. Established in 1840 by Perry Davis and sold until early 1900s by which time it was sold as a 'cure all'. Contained mainly opiates and alcohol
1188	D7 160	Three medium green glass bottle fragments including a seal with AVH on, and 2 panels with DOL and OL on	Udolpho Wolfe's Schnapps bottle
1189	D7 160	A 2cm long metal object with a hole extending through it	?part of a door handle mechanism
1190	D7 160	Small clear glass fluted stem	Domestic object possibly a cake stand
1191	D7 160	Dark green heavy bottle base with evidence of flaking	

Table B-7: Table listing and describing the Special Finds from the rubbish dump 2012-2013

C. The Stone Floor

- ❖ Survey results and photographs
- ❖ Context description
- ❖ Glass fragments by context and colour
- ❖ Metal from on the floor and from the trenches

RESULTS OF WALKING SURVEY AROUND STONE FLOOR

Feature Number	Grid Reference	Description of Feature
10	N7860727 E0445337	5 small rocks in a pile measuring 21x27cm
11	N7860738 E0445346	Rock arrangement-2 large rocks of 50cm and 5 smaller rocks
12	N7860731 E0445338	Rock arrangement around base of a tree spread out over 2m
13	N7860726 E0445340	2 large rocks on east-west alignment. Each measures about 35 x150cm
14	N7860729 E0445340	Rock arrangement consisting of 8 varying sized rocks in a half circle measuring 65cm north-south and 49cm east-west
15	N7860723 E0445334	Beginning of area with large rocks
16	N7860708 E0445337	Piece of brown glass 3cm in length
17	N7860719 E0445304	14 small fragments of brown glass
18	N7860690 E0445316	2 pieces of wire hanging from a tree
19	N7860760 E0445331	Large oval rock 46x40cm
20	N7860713 E0445315	Collection of crumbled rock including milky quartz
21	N7860756 E044532	Two large rocks aligned north-south with 4 smaller rocks in between them. Arrangement 2.1m in length

Table C-1: Table showing the Features of the walking survey around the stone floor.



Figure C-1: photographs of the Features located on the walking survey around the stone floor.

CONTEXT DESCRIPTIONS FORM THE STONE FLOOR

Context & Feature Number	Square(s), Layer: Spit	Context Description and Dimensions	Artefact Type and Number & Weight(g) in quadrants if specified			
			Glass	Ceramic	Metal	Misc
Layer 1: Spit 1						
150	I50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam to the east with the western half comprised of rocks from the stone floor	0	0	0	0
151	F50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Light brown silty loam to west with a darker patch of soil on northern edge next to the rocks from the stone floor, which form the eastern half of the square	0	0	0	0
152	E50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a light brown soil with orange patches containing a lot of glass fragments	19	0	1	0
153	D50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Light sandy silty loam with some small rocks	20	0	0	0
154	J50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a lighter brown layer with orange clay and charcoal in the northern half	0	0	0	0
155	K50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a lighter brown layer with orange clay across the centre	0	0	0	0
156	L50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a lighter brown layer with orange clay to the northern half and a darker soil to the east	0	0	1	0
157	M50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam in western third of square with the rest comprised of rocks from the stone floor	0	0	0	0
158	O50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a hard rubble base in eastern third of square with the remainder comprised of rocks from the stone floor	0	0	1	0
159	P50 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a hard rubble base that covers most of the square and extends into O50	0	0	0	0
161	Q50 1:1	1x1m x3cm spit Brown silty loam down to harder clay base	0	0	0	0
162	T54 1:1	1x1m x3cm spit Compacted brown clay. Base comprised of rough rubble type rock (different to the stone floor). NE corner no rocks and possible post hole in SW corner	0	0	0	0
163	U54 1:1	1x1m x3cm spit Compacted brown clay. Crumbled rock base along southern edge. Small and larger roots	0	0	0	0
164	C50 1:1	1x0.5m x10cm spit Brown silty loam	0	0	0	0

170	L46 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam down to a sandy layer with yellow coloured inclusions. Stone floor at eastern edge	0	0	0	0
173	I46 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam with the edge of the stone floor in the northern half of the square	2	0	0	0
174	J46 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam with the edge of the stone floor in the northern half of the square	14	0	2	0
175	I-J51 1:1	1x1.5mx5cm spit. Western edge of I51 is the stone floor. Two closely related dark circles of darker soil in base to southern edge extending into I50 and J50	4	0	0	0
177	K46 1:1	1x1m x5cm spit Darker brown friable layer removed down to a mottled dark clay base	1	0	2	0
180	I-J47	2x1mx5cm spit Brown silty loam from J47. Stone floor extends into most of I4 and in NE corner very dark soil	2	0	2	0
Layer 1: Spit 2						
165	I50 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Dark brown silty loam to the east with a circle of dark soil in the NE corner. Western half of the square comprised of rocks from the stone floor	0	0	0	0
166	J50 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Brown silty loam and orange clay. Darker circle of soil to northern edge	0	0	0	0
167	K50 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Orange clay and brown silty loam in patches across the square down to an orange clay base	0	0	0	0
168	L50 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Orange clay and brown silty loam in patches across the square down to an orange clay base	0	0	0	0
169	M50 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Medium brown soil to southern edge with a larger circle of dark brown soil removed from NW corner. Rest comprised of rocks from the stone floor	0	0	0	0
171	L46 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Sandy layer down to a more compacted base. Larger stones revealed across the western half of the square and a darker circle in SW corner	0	0	1	0
172	T-U54 1:2	1.5x0.5mx5cm spit across northern edge of the two squares. Large and small stone rubble matrix in western third and down to a hard red clay across the rest of the squares	0	0	0	0
176	O-Q50 1:2	2.5x0.5mx5cm spit. Soil and rubble matrix removed from southern half of squares down to a uniform orange clay base	0	0	0	0
181	D-F50	3mx0.5mx5cm spit Soil removed from southern half of squares down to orange clay base	0	0	0	0
182	K46 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Dark friable soil removed down to a mottled dark soil with lighter clay areas. A few large loose stones	0	0	0	0
184	I47 1:2	1x1m x5cm spit Two possible post holes revealed in NE quadrant	1	0	2	0
Layer 1: Spit 3						
179	I-M50	5x0.5mx5cm spit Soil removed from southern half of squares down to hard orange clay base. An additional 5cm was removed in Square 150 at edge of stone floor	0	0	0	0

183	J-K46 1:3	3mx0.4mx5cm spit Mottled soil and yellow clay with no additional stones seen in base	4	0	8	0
Features						
Feature 22 Context 185	I-J50 and I-J51	Two circular features located 20cm apart and each measuring about 35cm. Depth down to 20cm	0	0	0	0
Feature 23 Context 186	T54	Shallow 29x21cm depression in gravel area	0	0	0	0
Feature 24 Context 178	F50	40x35cm hole with a smaller 10cm hole to one edge with depth of additional 15cm. Rock located to one edge	7	0	0	0
Feature 25 Context 149 and 160	I-J57	1mx0.6m hole with a deeper 0.6x0.6m hole to the western edge. Rocks sloped inwards on the western edge	7	0	11	0
Feature 26 148	I-J54	1mx0.5m area with long axis east-west. Depth at around 40cm with deeper 10cm hole in middle of southern edge	6	0	1	0
Feature 27 Context 184	I-J47	0.8mx0.6m hole in the with a smaller 15x15cm hole to the NE corner with a depth of 13cm	0	0	0	0
Stone floor and Test Pit						
			1	12	0	0
Total			88	44	1	0

Table C-2: Table describing the contexts and the number of artefacts recovered from each square of the stone floor

GLASS ARTEFACTS FROM THE STONE FLOOR

Context	Square	Dark/Medium green	Light Green	Clear	Total
148	Post hole	3	3	0	6
149	Post hole	0	1	1	2
152	E50	7	12	0	19
153	D50	6	14	0	20
160	I-J57	1	4	0	5
173	I46	1	1	0	2
174	J46	3	11	0	14
175	I-J51	2	2	0	4
177	K46	0	1	0	1
178	F50	7	0	0	7
180	I-J47	0	2	0	2
183	J-K46	1	3	0	4
184	I47	0	1	0	1
On Stone Floor		1	0	0	
Total		32	55	1	88

Table C-3: Table showing the glass artefacts by context, square and colour from the stone floor

METAL FROM THE STONE FLOOR

Context	Square	Worked-unknown	Harness/dray	Clothing	Nails	Unknown	Total
148	Post hole	0	0	0	1	0	1
149	Post hole	0	2	0	5	0	7
152	E50	0	0	0	1	0	1
156	L50	0	0	0	0	1	1
158	O50	1	0	0	0	0	1
160	I-J57	0	0	0	3	1	4
171	R460	0	0	0	1	0	1
174	J46	0	0	0	2	0	2
177	K46	0	0	0	2	0	2
180	I-J47	1	0	0	1	0	2
183	J-K46	1	0	0	2	5	8
184	I47	1	0	0	0	1	2
Test pit		0	0	1	0	0	1
Stone floor		6	4	0	1	0	11
Total		10	6	1	19	8	44

Table C-4: table showing the number and type of metal artefacts found at the stone floor site

D. The Possible House Site

- ❖ Ceramic chart by number, weight, decoration and function
- ❖ Minimum Vessel Number for the ceramics

CERAMICS (WHITEWARE) FOUND AT THE MCNEILL'S HOUSE

No. of fragments	Weight of fragments (g)	Colour/Pattern Makers mark & date	Function	Photograph No. in Pattern Identification Table
6	169	'Blue chain pattern' with raised central flower pattern	Oval shaped lid for serving bowl	1
3	53	'Blue chain pattern' with raised flower detail	Serving bowl ? related to lid above	1
5	291	'Blue chain pattern'	Base of oval serving bowl	1
7	172	'Blue chain pattern'	Rims from oval shaped large bowl ? related to serving bowl above	1
7	73	'Blue chain pattern'	Rims from oval shaped large serving bowl	1
12	91	White with sprigged blue flower 'Chelsea sprig' 1820-late 19 th century	Four egg cups	15
3	38	White with sprigged blue flower	Saucer matching the egg cups	15
2	3	White plain with grey underneath	Egg cup base	
7	49	Grey moulded	Hollow vessel with handle ? jug	16
3	10	White with moulded white pattern	Unidentified small hollow	18 (right)
4	96	Grey	Rolled rim of large round hollow vessel	
2	47	Grey with moulded pattern RTH & BROS /ORDSHIRE	Base of small hollow vessel possibly related to above rim	
17	812	'Asiatic pheasant' OHCE/L :Old Hall Earthenware Co. Ltd, Staffordshire 1861-1886	Two dinner plates	19
4	418	'Purple cable pattern'	Large oval platter	13
1	2	'Purple cable pattern'	One unidentified rim	13
6	219	'Blue chain pattern'	Large oval platter	1
40	941	'Blue chain pattern'	Two dinner plates	1
44	1464	Blue banded Probably post-1860	Four dinner plates	4
1	2	Rhine pattern	Unidentified	7
1	14	Grey	Base unidentified	
14	961	Plain white with moulded pattern on marley E. & C. Challinor/ Fenton 1862-1891	Three round flat unidentified	18 (left)
3	59	Plain white with moulding on marley-same as above	Rim and marley of small plate	18 (left)
15	176	White with faded thin gold band along shoulder and rim	1 saucer and 1 small plate	17
6	48	White with faded grey along rim	Small unidentified flat	
3	16	Plain white	Small unidentified flat	

2	6	White with gold stripe along rim	Cup	17
8	71	Plain white	Rims from unidentified flat	
2	43	Plain white	Base from unidentified	
2	30	Plain white	Rim from unidentified flat	
2	30	Plain white	Base from unidentified	
3	26	Plain white	Base from unidentified	
2	112	Plain white	Base from oval unidentified	
6	237	Plain white	Two unidentified bases	
1	38	Plain white	Cup	
2	32	Plain white	Two cups	
1	15	Plain white	Cup	
4	17	Plain white	Fragments from at least three cup handles	
1	7	Grey	Cup	
1	17	Plain white	Cup	
1	10	Plain white	Handle attachment from cup	
6	108	Plain white	Two small unidentified flat	
1	45	Plain white	Cup	
1	9	Plain white	Unidentified base	
2	11	Plain white	Rim from lid of small hollow unidentified	
1	16	Plain white	Ridged circular knob shaped handle ? from a lid	
1	8	White with purple striped pattern	Handle fragment from large vessel	20
40	305	Plain white	Unidentified fragments	
18	180	Grey	Unidentified fragments	
Total				
324	7597g			

Table D-1: Chart showing the number, weight, pattern and function of the ceramics from the McNeill's house

MINIMUM VESSEL NUMBER FOR CERAMICS

No. of fragments	Combined weight (g)	Decoration	Form
9	222	‘Blue chain pattern’ with raised central flower pattern	3 round/oval shaped serving dishes
12	463	‘Blue chain pattern’	
7	72		
6	219	‘Blue chain pattern’	1 large oval platter
2	3	White with grey underneath	1 egg cup
12	91	White with blue Chelsea sprigg	4 egg cups
3	38	White with blue Chelsea sprigg	1 small unidentified flat
40	941	‘Blue chain pattern’ and central motif	2 dinner plates
7	49	Small hollow with handle	1 ?jug
5	21	White with moulded white pattern	1 unidentified small hollow with possible lid
2	47	Grey with moulded pattern RTH & BROS /ORDSHIRE	1 medium hollow vessel
1	14	Grey rims	
17	812	Asiatic pheasant	2 dinner plates
44	1464	Blue banded Probably post-1860	4 dinner plates
4	418	‘Purple cable pattern’	1 large oval platter
1	2		1 small unidentified rim
14	961	Plain white with moulded pattern on marley	3 large round flat platter
3	59		1 unidentified small flat
1	38	Plain white	7 non-matching cups
2	32		
1	15		
4	17		
1	17		
1	10		
1	45		
1	7	Grey	
15	176	White with gold stripes on rim and shoulder	1 saucer and 1 small plate

Table D-2: Table showing the Minimum Vessel Number for ceramics from the possible house site