From the Ashes:
Children at the Coach and Horses Hotel

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This thesis is my own work containing, to the best of my knowledge and belief, no material published or written by another person except as referred to in the text.

Signed: Dated:

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Synopsis

The following dissertation is based on an examination of the child-related artefacts recovered from the site of the original Coach and Horses Hotel in Ringwood. This assemblage, because of its site formation processes, represents a unique time-capsule of Edwardian childhood experiences and family life in an urban hotel environment. The child-related artefacts offer insights into the possible use of children's toys as signifiers of social mobility, aspirations and respectability, as well as changing social attitudes towards childhood and women's participation in the workforce. Significantly, most of the child-related artefacts can be identified as belonging to one individual. These artefacts provide an understanding of this child's experiences, which were invisible through documentary evidence alone.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview and Aim of Study

> *Hotel and Dwelling House Destroyed at Ringwood*
>
> *At about 3.30 on Wednesday night at Ringwood a fire took place, which completely destroyed the old Coach and Horses Hotel, with the adjoining residence of Mr Clarke. Travellers [sic] along the White Horse road for the past 40 years are familiar with the old building, and in the merry coaching days many were the parties entertained neath its hospitable roof. Now all that remains of it are a few smoking beams and the curled up sheets of iron, which prove how rapid its destruction was. Mr O'Meara, the licensee, with his children were in the parlor when the fire originated, and were barely able to make their escape from the flames* (*The Reporter* 25 October 1907).

The above extract describes the fire which quickly engulfed and destroyed the original Coach and Horses Hotel in Ringwood, Melbourne. The following dissertation is based on the analysis of the child-related artefacts excavated by Christine Williamson, Heritage Consultant from the site of the hotel in June-July 2005 during the Eastlink road construction project. Structural remains among the deposit potentially indicate that shortly after the fire the site was cleared, with the remains of the burnt hotel and its contents buried as a single deposit (Christine Williamson pers. comm. 2008). This deposit of material culture, which survived the deposition and subsequent taphonomic events, forms what may be considered a time-capsule that offers a unique glimpse into

the lives of the people who occupied the hotel up until its destruction. As part of the research for this dissertation, the child-related artefacts in the assemblage were identified and classified and a detailed study of these objects undertaken. Because of the manufacturing date of the artefacts and their stratigraphic context, these artefacts have been identified as the material remains of the five O'Meara children, who occupied the hotel at the time of the fire in 1907.

Material culture studies though are not simply about identifying and classifying objects but also about interpreting and understanding the social and symbolic meanings associated with these objects (Cochran and Beaudry 2006:191). Until recently in Australia there have been few studies which have focused on interpreting children's material culture in terms of the individual and social experiences of childhood (Davies and Ellis 2005:15). In most archaeological reports child-related artefacts are usually only identified and classified in terms of function or as evidence that children were present at a site (Derevenski 2000:10). However, studies from America have shown that the investigation of children's artefacts can offer detailed information on children's lives and their experiences as individual social actors. It can also offer insight into the symbolic role of children's material culture within discrete households as well as within economic and ethnic social groups (Wilkie 1994, 2000; Yamin 2002). The main aim of this dissertation is to investigate what child-related material culture can reveal about Edwardian childhood and family life in an Australian outer urban hotel environment.

Outline of Study

To achieve this aim, Chapter Two examines previous archaeological paradigms and studies of childhood and child-related material culture in order to understand the methodological and theoretical foundations which influence this study. Chapters Three and Four provide an historical overview of the place and the people associated with the Coach and Horses Hotel. This moves the artefacts beyond an analysis centered on classification and description to one in which the social and symbolic meanings of the material culture may be inferred within their social context. The methodology utilised to catalogue and date the artefacts is discussed in detail in Chapter Five and is followed by the presentation of the results of the assemblage analysis in Chapter Six. The final chapter discusses these results and offers explanations for the presence and absence of particular toy types and related issues of consumerism and cost. This chapter also explores the social and symbolic meanings which may be inferred from child-related material culture and concludes by arguing that the small sherds of children's artefacts offer more than a glimpse that children were present at a site. There is very little documentary evidence of the O'Meara children, yet their artefacts allow an insight into the lives of the individual, their household and society.

Limitations of Study

The scope of this project did not extend to analytical comparisons between this assemblage and assemblages from other Australian studies which discuss child-related material culture (e.g. Ellis 2001; Karskens 1999; Godden Mackay Logan 2004; Davies 2006). Aside from these limitations, the principal reasons for this were that these studies

either represented a different temporal span or the numbers of artefacts recovered were too few to allow for meaningful comparisons to be made (e.g. studies from The Rocks and Casselden Place represent an earlier period and Henry's Mill a later period).

Although a thorough discussion of class is also beyond the scope of this dissertation, issues of class as a social category cannot be ignored (Wurst & Fitts 1999:2). In Victorian and Edwardian Australia, class divisions that existed in England were not so distinct (Larson 1994:193; Bavin 1987:16, 20). In 1883 Richard Twopenny, a visiting Englishman, remarked that in the colonies class boundaries were blurred and fluid, with the sons of tradesmen and professionals often having the same educational and economic opportunities (Twopenny 1883:90). During the nineteenth century, for the purpose of official records such as censuses, social and economic distinctions were made by classifying the occupation of the householder (Larson 1994:193). In this context, working-class usually refers to unskilled and semi-skilled labourers while middle class generally encompasses proprietors, administrators, managers and land owners (Bavin 1987:22). In this study, it is these distinctions by occupation that are used in discussions of working-class and middle-class as social categories.

A further limitation of this study, as with many archaeological studies, is that due to deposition and taphonomic effects the archaeological record is rarely complete. Contemporary records show that a broad range of child-related material culture was available to and probably present in most Edwardian households. Many of these items were manufactured from paper, wood, cloth, leather, metal, celluloid or a composite of

materials. These materials, unlike ceramic and glass usually do not survive burial events or exposure to the elements (Katz 1994:17, 29). Therefore, this study, like many others, depends upon the incomplete archaeological record composed of ceramic, slate and glass sherds to build a picture of the individual and social experiences of childhood.

Chapter 2: Previous Research

The first section of this chapter gives a brief overview of why archaeologists study material remains and how material culture may inform on past tangible and intangible behavior. The second section examines the development of archaeological research on children and the material culture of childhood. Prior to the 1990s children were peripheral rather than central to archaeological investigations. With the development of new theoretical and methodological approaches, research paradigms shifted from the use of artefacts to show that children were present in the past, to those which considered how material culture may inform on the individual and social experiences of childhood.

The Study of Material Culture

Material culture is the physical remains of human activities which informs on past human behavior (Deetz 1977:4). When archaeologists talk of these tangible remains many people outside of the discipline imagine that it is the grand monuments and exquisite treasure of past civilisations that we are concerned with. Yet for most archaeologists the treasure of the past is the refuse of everyday life. It is these small things, the fragments of china, glass and stone, which give us insight into the individual's experience of their world (Deetz 1977:259). In an archaeological context, material remains can represent the everyday routines associated with food preparation and consumption; or the less tangible concepts of ideology and cosmology (Miller 1987). Material culture, whether individually made or mass produced, constructs and projects the individual and social identity, shaping and reflecting social practices and relationships (Miller 1987:8-11). However, the objects of material culture are mute and have to be given meaning through

archaeological interpretation (Leone 1981:12). Ian Hodder (1991:164) has pointed out that the meanings inferred from material culture are necessarily influenced by the present as archaeologists relate their own experience to that of the past individual. He stresses that the meanings inferred from material objects are not necessarily the meanings ascribed to them by the individual in the past. Instead, what the archaeologist is interpreting are often the public and social concepts which are embedded in the object and which are reproduced in the practices of daily life (Hodder 1991:172). Daniel Miller (1998:7-9) suggests even the most mundane and practical objects, such as paper, possess social qualities not for simply being what they are, but for what they do socially. Tim Dant (1999:13, 153-154) argues that when we consider our surroundings we can see that many material objects in daily life have no practical use but are meaningful only in a social context as mediators of meaning between humans. Miller and Dant agree that all objects, practical or otherwise carry direct and indirect meanings for and about culture (Miller 1998:19; Dant 1999:154). To interpret these meanings, Hodder (1995:245) suggests that we place the object in its social context and examine the social strategies and practices of individuals within that context.

To understand the meaning conveyed by material objects we need to consider how the object may have been used from personal and social perspectives (Hodder 1987:1). An example of how material culture is used in a way that reflects social practices is in its use to promote social identity and status or as a signifier of social hierarchy (Miller 1987:135). Miller argues that in a fluid society, where it is possible to move between classes, material objects may also become the signifier of social aspirations (Miller

1987:135). Objects were used in the past, just as we use them in the present, to mark social differences or as a sign of material success and as such material culture conveys messages about contemporary ideology and cultural mores (McGuire 1991:104). Lawrence (1998:8) has suggested that objects and their meanings are therefore fundamental to the operation of cultural systems; particularly as members of social classes, in the past as well as in the present, employ a diverse range of goods and behaviors to define the social group they belonged to and to differentiate themselves from other groups (Lawrence 2003:290). In historical archaeology the study of mass produced material goods, such as nineteenth century ceramics, offers insight into consumer habits and economic trends (Miller 2000), while on a finer scale the study of material remains of the household shows how individuals transformed their environment (Lawrence 1995, 1998).

Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1996:272) have pointed out that a common theme which links all interpretations of material remains is how people have used material objects in everyday life as a form of cultural expression. Importantly, studies of material culture may be used to help fill in the gaps in our knowledge or overturn assumptions about past social and individual behavior. Simple everyday objects used and discarded in the past can also be a valuable source of information on the individual and social actions of the silent majority, whose voice is usually absent in documentary sources (Beaudry et al. 1996:294). However, it is only since the 1990s that historical archaeology has tended to move away from descriptive and generalised explanations of material culture to a framework which examines the symbolic aspect of objects to infer meaning. Beaudry et

al. (1996:274) argue that this framework allows archaeologists to investigate the ideological as well as functional role of material culture. This approach is concerned with the person behind the object rather that the object alone and moves the role of the artefact from passive to active voice. The development of this framework within historical archaeology follows a trend in anthropology and sociology towards understanding the contextuality and social meanings of systems and objects (Beaudry et al. 1996:274).

Previous Archaeological Research

The theoretical development of new perspectives in archaeological research, such as studies of ethnicity, class and gender, has historically followed behind similar developments in other disciplines. Likewise, the development of an interest in children and childhood within archaeology has followed behind similar trends in anthropology and sociology (Lillehammer 1989:89; Baxter 2005:7). Within these fields, interest in children was generally from an ethnographic perspective which concentrated on behavior, health and education. What characterised archaeological research of the first part of the twentieth century was that children and childhood were peripheral rather than central to any studies of past societies (Derevenski 2000:xv; Kamp 2001:2). In the 1950s, an archaeological interest in child burials as a source of information on prehistoric health, disease and population demographics appears to have arisen as an adjunct to other studies within an ethnographic framework (Baxter 2005:5). Most researchers in this period were interested in children not as active producers of the archaeological record but as passive social participants whose true value lay in what their death or burial could

reveal about past societies (e.g. Cockburn 1971; Hassan 1973; Hodson 1977; Sattenspiel & Harpending 1983; Webb 1984).

The 1980s saw a change in how children were perceived in archaeological research, with children now considered producers and modifiers of the archaeological record. However, this focus was not on children as social actors with a positive contribution to the archaeological record, but concentrated on children as a taphonomic factor in site formation and destruction. Richard Wilk and Michael Schiffer's (1979) paper on the archaeological signature of vacant lots was one of the first to discuss children in this manner. In their report they argued that children's play and activities had a profoundly negative modifying effect on the archaeological record; particularly as games played outside and away from private spaces were usually destructive (Wilk and Schiffer 1979:532). This was followed by Norman Hammond's (1981) article on the results of his experimental replication of a child at play at an artificial trash pile. Hammond likewise concluded that children modified the archaeological record and furthermore substantially disturbed pre-existing artefact distributions (Hammond and Hammond 1981:635). However, it is important to note that Hammond's study was not an actualistic study and any play activities that were documented were the conscious and considered actions of an adult, not a child. Jane Eve Baxter (2005:58) in her critique of these studies suggests that they are limited in their usefulness because they examine behavior away from the home space and are discrete observations. Wilk and Schiffer, and Hammond and Hammond's studies may have focused on the negative effect of children on the archaeological record,

but their significance was in stimulating debates on children as contributors to the archaeological record.

Grete Lillehammer's seminal paper of 1989 marks the beginning of new theoretical and methodological approaches which placed children, childhood and their associated artefacts at the centre of archaeological investigations. Lillehammer stresses that the child's world needs to be discovered in order to understand the adult world of prehistoric societies. She argues that it is partially via children that culture is transferred and altered through their relationship and engagement with their natural and cultural environments. The material evidence of children therefore represents cultural continuity and change, as well as everyday cultural and social experiences and interactions (Lillehammer 1989:90-96, 102). In 1994, the journal *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* published a volume exploring the role of children in prehistoric societies and contemporary literature. This volume concentrated on theoretical and methodological approaches to studying children and childhood outside of the usual categories of birth, parenting and toys, which is usually dominated by the adult rather than child's social experience (Derevenski 1994:4). Lynn Meskell in her contribution argues that the individual and personal experience of death is visible in the mortuary assemblages associated with child burials from Deir el Medina, Egypt. She suggests that the range and quality of grave goods suggest individual rather than state rituals were practiced and that personal intentionality rather than social aspirations or socio-economic status influenced their placement (Meskell 1994:41-43). However, Meskell's investigation of the personal experience of

death does not focus on the experiences of children as these experiences are necessarily those of the adult responsible for the burial.

Articles in the journal avoid discussions which center on toys; although, Bill Sillar examines the role of children and miniatures in Andean culture. He argues that both were used to communicate to the deities through ritual and sacrifice and as such were central to state ideology and cosmology (Sillar 1994:58). Sillar shows that the association of children and miniatures in Andean society occurs not only in prehistory but right up to the present, thereby supporting Lillehammer's assertion that the material remains of childhood represent cultural continuity as well as change (Lillehammer 1989:90). Tony Ballantyne (1994) was one of the first researchers to consider the spatial dimensions of childhood. He argues that missionaries used space to contest Maori childhood and in doing so reorder Maori society into a European ideal. This was achieved by altering family living space from the Maori traditional dwelling which accommodated the extended and inter-dependant family group to a European modeled structure which housed the independent family unit. The missionaries also attempted to reorganise Maori society by breaking down traditional status and gender roles. Women and girls, regardless of their traditional status, were expected to conform to their new roles in the domestic sphere, while men and boys were assigned outside work thereby effectively isolating both from traditional joint-economic pursuits (Ballantyne 1994: 101-105). Sillar (1994), in common with Ballantyne and Meskell, avoids discussions of children which associates them with toys, focusing instead on spatial organisation to understand how Maori childhood was contested.

Joanna Sofaer Derevenski argues that associating children with toys is characteristic of most archaeological research which includes children (Derevenski 2000:10). Where toys are not present, children are rarely discussed as there is a perceived difficulty in knowing what other deposits can be associated with them. Derevenski refers to this as the perceived invisibility of children. She points out that that this perception also existed in gender research and marks a close relationship between gender and age studies. Both gender and childhood are social constructs and, just as children are usually invisible in archaeological investigations, so too were women, with artefact association the main criteria for identifying the presence of both in the past (Derevenski 2000:8-11). Archaeological interpretations prior to the 1980s were generally from an androcentric perspective as evident from popular themes such as 'man the hunter' (Nelson 2005:128). In the 1980s archaeologists began to question why interpretations of the past were gender exclusive (du Cros and Smith 1993: xvii). Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984:28), in addressing the issue of gender bias, stressed that the archaeological record is limited when gender dynamics are not considered. Conkey and Joan Gero (1991: 14) suggested that a model of gender as agency needed to be adopted in order to engender the past. They also recognised that gender roles and relationships are socially constructed and are therefore part of the social as well as individual experience (Conkey and Gero 1991:13-15). Derevenski (1994:11) highlighted that the diversity of experiences of women and men due to race, class and gender should also include children if the full range of human experiences are to be examined. Derevenski (1997:194) later expanded this argument to show that the study of gender cannot be separated from the study of

children as gender identity is a social construct partially learned by children through their interaction with material culture.

Yet, as women became visible in archaeological research throughout the 1990s children and their experiences still remained largely invisible. Lillehammer (2000:17) and Kathryn Kamp (2001:3) suggest this is because children are usually considered part of the identity of women and the domestic sphere. Studies which did consider children frequently had analogous themes to those developed in earlier gender studies. A comparison between articles by Rita Wright (1991) on women in pottery production, and Kamp et al. (1999) on children's fingerprints on ceramics, show that both focus on the participation of women and children in pottery manufacturing. Articles by Joan Gero (1991), Caroline Bird (1993) and Alice Gorman (1995) on women as tool makers, and research by Nyree Finlay (1997) and Linda Grimm (2000) on children as stone tool producers, likewise share similar themes. Kamp (2001) argued that archaeologists were still tending to ignore children and childhood in mainstream research. She suggests that this is because children are either considered of little economical, political or social significance; or their material remains are considered either too intangible or entangled with those of adults to investigate (Kamp 2001:2). Kamp emphasised that the importance of children's material culture is in the insights it can offer into individual agency as well as the experiences of childhood from the child's point of view (Kamp 2001:24-27). This approach was examined by Lillehammer (2000) within a theoretical and methodological framework and applied to a case study by Laurie Wilkie (2000).

Lillehammer (2000:19), in exploring new approaches to studying children, suggested that new methodologies need to be adopted as traditional data collection, analysis and presentation is not done with the child in mind. She argues that a new theoretical approach is one which considers the world of the child and how children interact with their natural and cultural worlds. This approach focuses on children's activities to identify and interpret childhood experiences rather than relying on cultural concepts of childhood which are temporally and passively constructed (Lillehammer 2000:19-20, 24). Lillehammer's approach places the child in the role of active subject in their social and material life. Laurie Wilkie (2000), in utilising a new approach to discuss children's intentions and experiences, produced one of the most significant studies of children as independent social actors. In her case study from Santa Monica, California, Wilkie analysed the remains of broken dolls in a refuse pit associated with a single, historically documented, family which resided there from 1920-1922. She argues that the over represented doll heads compared to the paucity of doll limbs indicate that the dolls were deliberately broken. This destruction of expensive bisque doll heads possibly represents the young owner's response to the birth of her younger sibling in 1921. As such, the assemblage represents a form of social dialogue which articulates the child's experience of her change in status and identity from an only child (Wilkie 2000:103-104).

Wilkie argues that toys were also used as a form of dialogue on race and class, as evident in her studies from the Oakley Plantation, Louisiana. Here the documented paternal relationship between the Matthews sisters and their black employees is evident in the assemblages as second-hand gifts of tableware, jewellery and toys given to their servant,

Silvia Freeman (Wilkie 1994:306-308). Gifts of dolls and tea sets from the Matthews' personal collection to Silvia's children also appear to reflect class distinctions rather than promote social aspirations. Wilkie argues that toys such as tea sets were possibly intended to reinforce socio-economic roles by promoting play that imitated the children's future work as servants. She suggests that the children were not passive recipients of these toys and this is evident in the disposal of the tea sets as complete objects among the garbage (Wilkie 2000:105-106). However, it is probable that these toys were given simply as gifts without any of the underlying complex social meanings suggested by Wilkie. Wilkie (2000) argues that evidence of children as independent social actors is also visible outside the domestic sphere. Children create extended social networks through play, religious institutions and education which can be investigated archaeologically through material remains. Wilkie also demonstrates that children's economic importance is visible archaeologically through their contribution to household labour. Her excavations of faunal remains at Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas suggest that the young children of slaves contributed to their household economy by gathering small, easily obtainable, inter-tidal shellfish. She suggests that their contribution provided not only extra provisions for their families but also a degree of economic independence. Wilkie argues that these social and economic contributions of children need to be considered in order to fully understand households as economic and social units (Wilkie 2000:109-110). Wilkie also states that toys commonly fulfill an ideo-technic function by reflecting cultural mores and a desire for upward social mobility (Wilkie 2000:102). However, Rebecca Yamin (2002:118) suggests that toys from poorer working class families may have also simply represented parental investment in

children's leisure activities. Yamin examined the assemblages from two working-class districts in New York occupied predominantly by Irish immigrants whose children usually had to work in order for their families to survive. Yamin suggests that toys, slates and slate pencils found at these sites signify parental investment in their children as children, not merely as workers (Yamin 2002:118).

Until recently very little research has been done on children in Australian archaeology (Davies and Ellis 2005:15). Apart from Claudia Haagen's (1994) study of bush toys, investigations into Aboriginal childhood generally focused on ethnographic observations of family life (Thomson 1975, 1983; White 1983; Meehan and White 1990); while studies of colonial children usually focused on education, labour, health and descriptions of children's games (Featherstone 1981; Factor 1981, 1985; Reiger 1982; Larson 1994; Kociumbas 1997). Research into Australian childhood was further restricted by imagined divisions of colonial childhood into the slum child and the genteel, middle class child (Inglis 1981). Archaeological investigations at the Rocks, Sydney (Godden Mackay 1996; Karskens 1997, 2001) and 'Little Lon', Melbourne (Godden Mackay Logan 2004) helped challenged this stereotypical image. The assemblages from these excavations suggest that access to toys and education items were not restricted by socio-economic status. Children from these areas possessed dolls, tea sets, marbles, writing slates and moralising china (see Porter & Ferrier 2004). Susan Lawrence (2001) proposed that geographic isolation in Australia did not appear to limit children's access to toys or other consumer items. This theme was developed further by Adrienne Ellis (2001:9) in her broad study of child-related artefacts recovered from a range of terrestrial, rural and

urban sites in Victoria. Ellis' study was the first explicit Australian archaeological investigation of the range of toys available to colonial children. She argues that assemblages recovered from these sites offer evidence that, regardless of finances, class or geographical distance, Victorian children had access to the latest toy types imported from America and Britain (Ellis 2001:21-22). Ellis points out that this finding is at odds with the view of Victorian childhood recorded by many historians (Ellis 2001:63). At the same time, similar findings from archaeological investigations of traditional 'slum' areas in England and America were likewise questioning historically documented accounts of the lives of the poor and working-class (Mayne and Murray 2001:1; Yamin 2001:167; Belford 2001:115). Excavations by Peter Davies at Henry's Mill, Victoria, support Ellis' view of Victorian childhood and its associated material culture. Here, despite the remoteness of the settlement, which was populated by a predominately working class community, a wide range of contemporary and relatively expensive toys were recovered (Davies and Ellis 2005:20; Davies 2006:82).

Apart from the case studies discussed, children and childhood have rarely been addressed in Australian archaeology. Some research has been conducted into how the household as a social unit enriches our understanding of the past by providing evidence of social as well as personal behavior and relationships (Allison 1998). Other discussions of children within the domestic sphere have highlighted their contribution to the household economy and the formation of a sense of community in ephemeral settlements (Lawrence 1995:178, 189). Yet children are rarely considered outside of the domestic sphere as independent social actors. A possible reason is that due to the limitations of time and

resources in many projects traditional methodological approaches to data recording and analysis are either never completed; or as an expedient measure during classification the material culture of childhood is grouped with domestic household items (Lawrence 1998:9). The difficulties of identifying child-related material is another factor as miniature objects cannot always be securely associated with children (White 1975:21) or domestic items discounted as objects of child play (Lawrence 2001:7). Jane Baxter (2005:15) argues that children's material culture needs to be studied to understand children as cultural actors. She maintains that toys are contentious objects of control and resistance which play a role in the socialisation of children. As such they reflect the adults' desire to control the actions and meaning of childhood directly and indirectly; as well as the child's resistance to this control by giving the toys a different repertoire of meaning. Baxter argues, that while it is often difficult for archaeologists to identify the material culture associated with children, it is an important source of information on children's behavior and the social messages adults wished to convey to and through their children (Baxter 2005:22-31, 43-47).

Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas (2000) have demonstrated that child-related material culture can embody social ideals through the use of space within households. In their study of contemporary domestic space they suggest that the presence of separate spheres specially decorated for and usually exclusively used by children, represent an idealised childhood (Buchli and Lucas 2000:134). Baxter (2005) argues that, although parents used material culture to mould children into the image of the ideal child, studies of the spatial distribution of children's material culture give insights into how children resisted

this ideology. She suggests that artefacts found in children's unstructured play areas, away from adult supervision, show that play does not appear to conform to gender roles or social ideals (Baxter 2005:78).

Material culture and its meanings have been considered here in brief, for it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to deal with the complexities of material culture in full. What has been highlighted by this overview is that material culture can inform on past cultural mores and ideology related to social status, identity, and social aspirations. On a more individual scale, material objects have the potential to offer insights into the experience of childhood and social relationships; and the use of functional and symbolic objects to reflect and reject social ideology. In order to interpret the functional and ideological meaning of material culture, artefacts need to be considered within their archaeological and historic contexts (Beaudry et al. 1996:285). The following two chapters examine the historical and social background of the place and people associated with the child-related material culture assemblage which is central to this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Historical Ringwood: a glimpse into the past

Like many early Victorian settlements, Ringwood's growth and development through the 1850s to the 1880s was closely linked to the discovery of gold and the building boom of 'Marvellous Melbourne'. This section traces the development of Ringwood and the effect of the economic depression in the 1890s on its industry and growth, to which the fortunes of the Coach and Horses Hotel were closely linked. The history of the Coach and Horses Hotel from construction to destruction is outlined followed by an overview of the people associated with the hotel from 1873 to its destruction and rebuilding in 1907.

Ringwood: Early Beginnings

Ringwood, situated c. 25 km east of the Melbourne city centre, was first settled by Europeans in the early 1840s. At first, cattle runs and squatters dominated the region but the quest for timber for building, mining and industry saw an influx of timber cutters. Timber was originally harvested from the Stringybark Forest, where present day Ringwood is located and later from the forests of the Dandenong Ranges and Gippsland (Anderson 1988:6-9). The earliest known structure on the site of the Coach and Horses Hotel was the Log Cabin Inn constructed by a man called Thomas sometime around 1850. Thomas built his bush hotel on one of the better formed dirt tracks used regularly by the timber carters and their bullock teams (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:8; Debney 1999:5). This track, which was known as the Main Gippsland Road, was part of the communication network that serviced Melbourne's growing need for timber in the building boom throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Melbourne's demand for timber was

so great that logging was often referred to as ‘that other gold mine’ as timber cutters’ wages were sometimes higher than that paid to gold miners (Griffiths 1992:31). With wide-scale logging in Gippsland and sawmills established in the ranges north and east of Melbourne the bush hotel was ideally situated to service the growing timber industry traffic (Griffiths 1992:35). The social life of the bush for agriculturalists, pastoralist and labourers as well as the timber carters revolved around bush hotels like the Old Log Inn, further ensuring its success (Buley 1905:180; Dingle 1984:34).

The Main Gippsland Road, later renamed Whitehorse Road and Maroondah Highway, was also the main route to the nearby goldfields in Warrandyte (Figure 1). Gold was discovered in Anderson’s Creek at Warrandyte as early as 1851 and by 1855 a township was established. However, gold mining only continued on a limited scale from 1870 to 1890 (Houghton 2001:3-4). Gold mining was carried out on a larger scale at Reefton and by 1879, a population of 1,722 people were said to be residing in the Warburton area (Carroll 1988:13). The township of Lilydale, founded in 1859, was another settlement that transported goods to Melbourne via the Maroondah Highway and Ringwood. Lilydale prospered during the 1870s with the expansion of agriculture and viticulture. Vineyards were first planted in 1838 in the Lilydale district and by 1866 covered more than 300 acres, producing over 30,000 gallons of wine (Aveling 1972:61-66).

From the 1850s until the coming of the railways in the 1880s, the settlement at Ringwood was an important stopping place for travellers and carters who journeyed by coach and horse to and from Melbourne and the important commercial, mining and agricultural

centers in the Yarra Valley. At least three more hotels were opened by the 1890s to cater to the growing needs of those passing through as well as to the permanent population in Ringwood, which had grown to almost 500 people by 1882 (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:9, 29). The construction of these hotels, the Burnt Bridge Hotel c.1871, the Antimony Mines Hotel c.1878 and the Club Hotel c.1877, are evidence of the growth and importance of Ringwood as a stopping place on a major transport route between city and country (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:8-11; Anderson 1974:66; Anderson 1988:69, 76).

Figure 1. White Horse Road Ringwood c.1908
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

Ringwood in the 1890s: Boom to Bust

The extension of the railway from Hawthorn to Lilydale in 1882 facilitated the development of local industry and contributed to the growth of the settlement. In 1869 antimony, used for medicinal purposes and in making pewter, vulcanised rubber, mechanical bearings and paint pigment, was discovered in the Ringwood district.

Between 1869 and 1896, five antimony mining companies were operating (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:15; Anderson 1988:43). Brick-making clay had been discovered earlier in Ringwood and with the coming of the railway brick and tile manufacturing could be conducted on a viable commercial scale. The Ringwood antimony mines and brickworks employed over 180 men when in full production and housing demand for the railway workers, miners, brick and tile employees and their families led to the sub-division of land and the expansion of Ringwood East (Anderson 1988:57-58). The construction of the railway created cheaper and easier transport between Melbourne and inland settlements such as Lilydale, allowing other less accessible resources such as lime to be mined economically (Harrington 1996:23; Harrington 2000:21, 41). It not only became more convenient but also fashionable to use the train in preference to the coach as a form of transport (Paynting and Grant 1987:76). The popularity of the train as holiday transport rose in the 1880s and it became a common occurrence on weekends and holidays for day tourists from Melbourne to visit Healesville and Lilydale as well as other scenic areas around Melbourne (Dingle 1984:149).

Just as the building boom had directly affected the growth and development of the Ringwood district, so too did the building and land bust of the 1890s. The economic depression adversely affected local Ringwood industries of antimony mining, brick and tile manufacturing as well as economies in out-lying regions (Aveling 1972:95; Anderson 1988:52). The Lilydale agriculture and tourist trade slowed down (Aveling 1972:95). Gold mining at Warrandyte was now reduced to quartz mining on a limited scale

(Houghton 2001:32) and timber was no longer required for the building industry or the antimony mines. By 1896, antimony mining in Ringwood had become uneconomical as the surface deposits of antimony became exhausted. Mine shafts were extended until fuel costs for operating the winches were greater than the mines' output and leases were abandoned (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:15; Anderson 1988:50). Some of Ringwood's industries that managed to continue operating on a reduced scale are recorded to have maintained junior employees on reduced or 'starvation' rates. High unemployment in the district altered the natural as well as economic landscape of Ringwood. People began to be more self-sufficient, growing fruit trees on their blocks and by 1895 extensive peach, apple, pear and cherry orchards were established (Anderson 1988:70, 126). This altered the economic and cultural landscape of Ringwood from one of mines and factories to one of agriculture. The 1890s boom and bust of Ringwood's economy directly affected the fortunes of the Coach and Horse Hotel.

The Coach and Horses Hotel

By the 1880s the Old Log Inn was replaced by a more substantial double fronted weatherboard building and had become an important staging post for Cobb and Co on the Melbourne to Lilydale route (Figure 2). Possibly this had originated sometime in the late 1860s when Cobb and Co opened up new coach routes and began to successfully tender for and operate Victoria's mail delivery service (Everingham 2007:37). George Wiggin, whose father was a buyer of horses for Cobb and Co, believed that the wooden hostelry which his father purchased in 1872 was built around 1867 *(Ringwood & Croydon Mail* 1924). Certainly by 1869 Cobb and Co were operating a daily mail and passenger service

from the Coach and Horses Hotel to Lilydale which catered for the transport of up to 16 passengers (Figure 2). The hotel was also a staging-post for the Warrandyte area daily passenger coach which was run by Hussey's, a small privately owned coach service, (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:19). The hotel's association with Cobb and Co led to its renaming as the Coach and Horses Hotel. The hotel, as a second changing stage from Melbourne, would have been expected to provide meals and accommodation for passengers as well as fresh horses for the coaches (Everingham 2007:25). One of the notable guests who enjoyed the hospitability of the hotel was Governor Henry Loch, who stayed there on one occasion thereby entitling the hotel to display the Governor's patronage certificate if desired (*Ringwood & Croydon Mail* 1924).

Stabling for the Cobb and Co horses was provided out the back of the hotel and a large water tank was constructed to water drovers' stock as well as the stage coach horses. The availability of surface water in Ringwood was considered a problem until the late 1880s (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:9). No doubt the provision of a water tank contributed to the popularity of the Coach and Horses as a stopping off place for travellers even after three more hotels were constructed in the area. George Wiggin, son of the proprietor of the Coach and Horses, was employed as a Cobb and Co driver for twelve years, and is believed to have set an unbroken record for 25 hours on the run from Melbourne to Wood's Point in 1870 (*Ringwood & Croydon Mail* 1924). He later became a proprietor of the Coach and Horses in 1885 and is said to have entertained customers with recounts of his exploits as a Cobb and Co driver (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:11; Anderson 1988:74; Martin 2006:4).

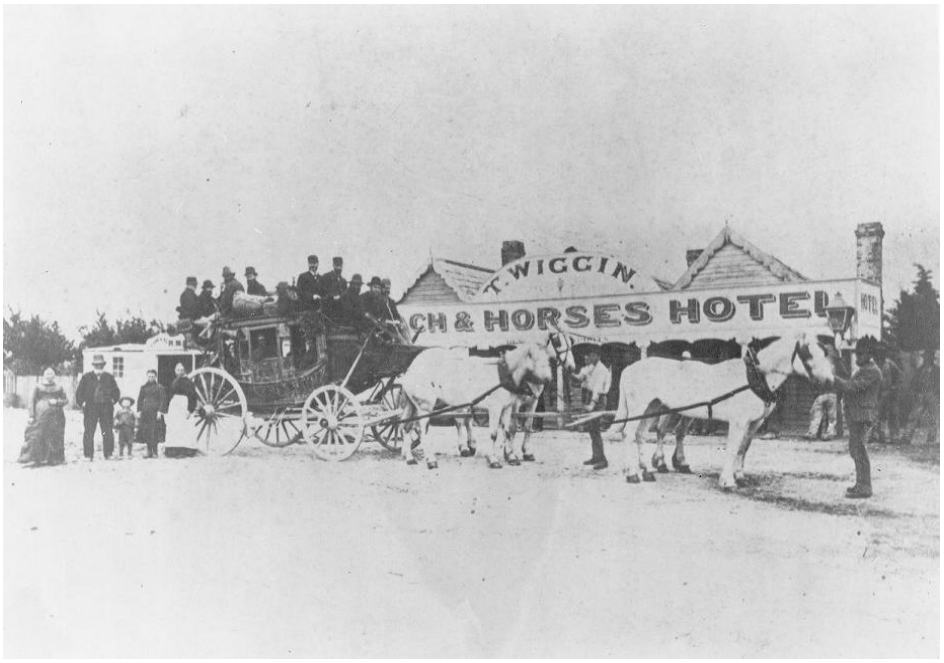

Figure 2. Coach & Horses Hotel c.1881
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

The area around the Coach and Horses Hotel reflected the hotel's growing prosperity as an important staging place and a central part of the settlement. By the 1870s a store and post office were constructed on the block adjoining the hotel and a butcher and blacksmith's were built nearby (Anderson 1988:73). These properties have been identified as Wiggin's butcher shop, Hamill's blacksmith and Stirling's store and post office (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:29; Anderson 1974:81; Martin 2006:3). In 1882, the railway was extended from Hawthorn to Ringwood and was to have a significant impact on the Coach and Horses' transport business and its position in the central business area. George Wiggin, proprietor of the Coach and Horses, provided the food for the dinner at the official ceremony to celebrate the opening of the railway goods shed on 28 November 1887 (Anderson 1988:59, 121). The trains however were to take over from the hotel and its associated stage coach services as transporters of mail,

goods and people (Gibbs 1984:55). The railway also had an effect on the hotel's business by relocating the transport centre away from the hotel. Prior to the 1880s the township of Ringwood centered on the area around the Coach and Horses Hotel. But, with the coming of the railway the central part of town changed to Ringwood East where the railway siding and station were constructed in close proximity to the antimony mines and brick works (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:20).

On the 23 October 1907, the original weatherboard Coach and Horses Hotel burnt down, but fortunately the licensee and his family escaped without injury. The fire completely destroyed the hotel, all its contents and a neighbor's nearby residence, leaving the hotel a ruined pile of charred timber and twisted iron. Witnesses reported that the fire was so intense and rapid that even if the fire brigade and a full water supply had been available they would have been unable to save the property (*The Reporter* 1907). The premises, but not its contents, were insured and a new weatherboard structure of 12 rooms was constructed at the same location but sited closer to the road side junction of the Maroondah Highway and Madden's Road (Figure 3). This new structure, called the Coach and Horses Hotel, was purchased by the Madden family in 1909. The Madden family remained associated with the building until the 1939 when they constructed a new two story brick hotel across the road (Debney 1999:13). The name Coach and Horses was transferred for the third time to this new brick hotel which remains operational today. The weatherboard building on the site of the original Coach and Horses remained occupied by various commercial businesses until its acquisition and subsequent demolition as part of the Eastlink extension (Martin 2006:5). It is interesting to note that

the original stables from the old Coach and Horses Hotel were still *in situ*, albeit with significant modern additions and modifications, at the time of demolition (Debney 1999:9).

Figure 3. The new Coach & Horses Hotel c.1910
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

People of the Coach and Horses Hotel

The first owner of the Coach and Horses Hotel was reportedly a man named Thomas who erected a bush shack structure on the site in 1850. It appears that Thomas sold this property to John Stirling who erected further buildings, including a store, before Thomas Wiggin became the first officially listed licensee in 1873 (Martin 2006:1; Anderson 1988:73). It is Thomas Wiggin's grandchildren who are the first recorded children to occupy the hotel. From 1885 until fire destroyed the hotel in 1907, four families with a total of 16 children occupied the site (Table 1). Because of time-lag in artefact manufacture, use and discard, some of the child-related material culture recovered from the site may be associated with children who occupied the hotel prior to its destruction. Therefore, the following section identifies all the families and the ages of their children who were resident at the hotel from 1885 until 1907.

Licensees of Coach & Horses	From	To	Notes
Thomas Wiggin	1873	1882	Purchased the hotel in 1873, license was taken over by his wife Mary Ann in 1882
Mary Ann Wiggin	1882	1889	George Wiggin joined his mother, Mary Ann in managing the hotel in 1885
Robert Mashiter	1889	1898	Mary Ann's son-in-law, he took over the license after her death in 1889
Fanny Mashiter nee Wiggin	1899	1901	Fanny took over the hotel following her husband Robert's death in 1898
James Heffernan	1902	1903	Leased the hotel for two years
Herbert Hayes	1904		Leased the hotel for one year
Frank Whitty	1905		Leased the hotel for one year
Cornelius O'Meara	1906	1906	Cornelius' wife Mary took over as licensee in 1907
Mary O'Meara	1907	1908	Licensee when hotel burnt down in October 1907
Caroline Madden	1909	1939	Purchased the rebuilt Coach & Horses Hotel, later built another new brick hotel across the road & transferred the name over. Family remained resident until the 1940s.

Table 1. Licensees of the Coach & Horses Hotel 1873-1939.

Thomas & Mary Ann Wiggin: licensees 1873-1889

By 1873, when Thomas Wiggin became licensee of the Coach and Horses, the hotel had undergone a transformation from a rough bush shack to a substantial weatherboard hotel. By 1869 the hotel was a well established staging-post for Cobb and Co and other privately-owned coaching services, meeting the needs of passengers and horses on the run from Melbourne to Lilydale and beyond (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:19). Thomas Wiggin, a licensee of the White Horse Hotel in Box Hill, purchased the Coach and Horses Hotel, its surrounding land and the adjoining butcher shop, grocer's shop and associated dwellings, in April 1873 (see Table 1 for list of licensees). Thomas and his wife Mary Ann had three adult children, George, Henry and Fanny, who

became involved with the business (discussed in more detail below). Following an accident Thomas died in 1882 and was succeed by his wife Mary Ann who remained licensee until 1889. Mary Ann was assisted in the management of the hotel by her son George Wiggin.

George Wiggin: 1885-1889

Thomas Wiggin's eldest son, George, had joined Cobb and Co upon leaving school and was employed as a driver for twelve years. He appears to have lived an industrious life as he owned and ran the Club Hotel in Ringwood from 1887-1885 and from 1878-1889 he was the first Ringwood resident to represent Ringwood in the Lilydale Shire Council (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:4, 11; Anderson 1974:69; *Ringwood & Croydon Mail* 1924). It is believed that following his father's death, George joined his mother, Mary Ann, in managing the Coach and Horses Hotel from 1885-1889. George and his wife, Elizabeth, had two girls, Alice and Victoria. Alice died at the age of ten while George was resident at the hotel (Table 2).

Surname	First Name	Birth Date	PROV Reg. No.	Ages when resident at Coach & Horses Hotel
Wiggin	Alice Louisa	1879 (Died 1890)	24258 (12453)	Aged 6 to 10 years
Wiggin	Victoria Eliza	1882	13987	Aged 3 to 7 years

Table 2. Children of George Wiggin & Elizabeth Belinda Fox Residents of the Coach & Horses Hotel from 1885-1889.

Robert and Fanny Mashiter: 1889-1901

Thomas Wiggin's daughter Fanny and her husband Robert Mashiter occupied the grocer's shop next door to the Coach and Horses Hotel (Martin 2006:3). Robert took over as licensee of the hotel in 1889 following the death of Fanny's mother, Mary Ann Wiggin. Fanny and Robert had five children of their own and it is probable that Fanny

and Robert also took responsibility for their nephews and niece, who were left orphans after the death of Fanny's brother Henry Wiggin and his wife Eliza in 1891. School records indicate that Mashiter and Wiggin children attended the local state school together in the 1890s (Baines 1972). Tables 3 and 4 are a summary of Robert and Fanny Mashiter's and Henry and Eliza Wiggin's children who were associated with the Coach and Horses Hotel from 1885 to 1901.

Surname	First Name	Birth Date	PROV Reg. No.	Ages when resident at Coach & Horses Hotel
Mashiter	Robert Thomas	1879	21150	Aged 10 to 22
Mashiter	Lucy Ann	1882	21052	Aged 7 to 19
Mashiter	Albert Edwin	1884	27331	Aged 5 to 17
Mashiter	Edith Emma	1887	14527	Aged 2 to 14
Mashiter	Leonard Willan	1890	27068	Birth to 11

Table 3. Children of Robert Mashiter and Fanny Wiggin licensees of the Coach & Horses Hotel 1889-1901.

Surname	First Name	Birth Date	PROV Reg. No.	Ages when associated with Coach & Horses Hotel
Wiggin	Samuel James	1877		Birth to aged 14
Wiggin	William Henry	1878 (Died 1879)	20989 (7086)	
Wiggin	Thomas Nathaniel	1880	6687	Birth to aged 11
Wiggin	Alfred Ernest	1881	21439	Birth to aged 10
Wiggin	Elsie May	1884	4888	Birth to aged 7

Table 4. Children of Henry Wiggin & Eliza Hayes proprietors of shop adjacent to the hotel 1876-1891. Children may have lived with the Mashiter Family at the hotel from 1891-1901 following the deaths of their parents.

Following Robert's death in 1898, Fanny purchased the hotel and remained its licensee until 1901 (Martin 2006:4). From 1902 to 1903, John Heffernan leased the hotel from Fanny. His tenancy was followed by even shorter periods of occupancy by Herbert Hayes in 1904 and Frank Whitty in 1905. These short periods of tenancy suggest that the business was not perhaps as profitable as it had been formerly and Ringwood was still recovering from the economic downturn of the 1890s. There are no records of the presence of young children at the hotel during the tenancy of these licensees.

Surname	First Name	Birth Date	PROV Reg. No.	Ages when resident at Coach & Horses Hotel
O'Meara	Jeremiah	1893	69	Aged 13 to 15
O'Meara	Cornelius	1894	25680	Aged 12 to14
O'Meara	Jonathon	1896	21740	Aged 10 to 12
O'Meara	Daniel Alphonsus	1898 (Died 1899)	15473 (10550)	-
O'Meara	Mary Ellen Eileen	1900	20673	Aged 6 to 8
O'Meara	Timothy Michael	1903	49	Aged 3 to 5
O'Meara	Vincent Michael	1908	6560	Born during final year of tenancy

Table 5. Children of Cornelius O'Meara & Mary Sullivan licensees of Coach & Horses Hotel 1906-1908.

Cornelius and Mary O'Meara: 1906-1908

In 1906 Cornelius O'Meara became licensee of the Coach and Horses. Cornelius had previously lived as a tenant in South Melbourne since 1893 (*Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory* 1893-1910) and this appears to have been his first foray into the hotel business. While his earlier occupation is unknown, it is probable that he was a farm labourer as his occupation was listed as a farmer in the 1906 list of voters in the Shire of Lilydale (Anderson 1974:143). During the O'Meara family's tenancy the hotel burnt down sometime around 3.30 pm on October 23, 1907. On the day of the fire Mary O'Meara was out driving with a friend and Cornelius and the children (see Table 5 for children's details) were in the parlor when a fire started in another part of the hotel. Cornelius and the children managed to escape the blaze but the fire was so intense and rapid that the hotel and all its contents were destroyed. *The Reporter* newspaper recorded that curled up sheets of iron were testimony to how fierce and rapid the fire was. While the building was insured by the Victorian Insurance Company the contents were not covered. This would have been a very heavy financial loss for the O'Meara family, particularly as extra stock had been ordered in for the local races and sport events

organised to celebrate the King's birthday in the coming week (*The Reporter* October 25 1907:2). The fire is reported to have completely destroyed the building to such a degree that salvage of any of the building materials appears to have been considered impossible (*The Reporter* 25 October 1907).

In 1907-08, Cornelius' wife Mary became the registered licensee (*Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory* 1906-1908). Interestingly, during this period Cornelius is listed in the Lilydale rate payer's book as a farmer, suggesting that he may have returned to his previous occupation as a labourer due to financial necessity. In 1909, the O'Mearas moved to Surry Hills where Cornelius leased the Royal Hotel until 1911. However, in the final two years of tenancy at the Royal Hotel Mary O'Meara once again took over as the registered licensee. This appears to be the final attempt by the O'Mearas to run their own commercial establishment. Records show that after a few residential address changes (see Table 6) the O'Mearas were back living in South Melbourne by 1917 (*Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory* 1909-1929).

1893-1898	9 Withers Street, South Melbourne
1899-1902	17 Reed Street, South Melbourne
1903-1905	70 Reed Street, South Melbourne
1906-1908	Coach & Horses, Ringwood
1909-1911	Royal Hotel, Surrey Hills
1912-1914	No record in Sands & McDougall Directory
1915-1916	Oakleigh
1917-1929	Boyd Street, South Melbourne

Table 5. Sands & McDougall listed addresses for O'Meara Family 1893-1929.

The following chapter discusses the O'Meara children who documentary sources show were the last residents of the original weatherboard Coach and Horses Hotel before it was

destroyed by fire that Wednesday in October 1907, and it is this period to which the assemblage discussed in Chapter 5 is dated.

Chapter 4: Childhood at the Coach and Horses

In order to infer meanings from objects, artefacts need to be placed within their social contexts. This moves the artefacts beyond classification and description in order to infer the social and symbolic meanings of the objects (Hodder 1995:245). The following chapter examines the childhood experiences of the O'Meara children within the social context of the early twentieth century. The first section briefly explores nineteenth century attitudes and ideology which shaped and influenced the concepts of modern childhood and family life. This is followed by a discussion on Edwardian childhood as it may have been experienced by the O'Meara children. Contemporary school records and recorded oral histories from Ringwood provide a detailed account of what school life was like in the first decade of the twentieth century. Contemporary accounts and mail order catalogues also offer an insight into the wide range and types of toys and games available in Edwardian times.

'The Century of the Child'

The documentary and archaeological evidence, discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, suggests that the child-related material culture which is central to this dissertation dates to the destruction of the Coach and Horses Hotel by fire in 1907. Because the O'Meara family occupied the hotel from 1906 to 1908 this chapter necessarily focuses on investigating their children's experience of childhood. Edwardian children were born into what was described as the 'century of the child' when modern attitudes to childhood were well established and practiced (Robertson 1974:422). Historians argue that more than any

other period in history, the Victorian era profoundly influenced the attitudes to childhood and childcare which set the foundation for modern parental behavior (Bailey & Gayle 1946; Aries 1962; Robertson 1974). By the time the O'Meara children were born modern attitudes to childhood were firmly established in most Western societies and childhood was widely recognised as a distinct and special phase of life (Aries 1962:133; Robertson 1974:423; Cunningham 2005:58; Karskens 1999:179). Over the preceding centuries the attitude to children had gradually changed from one which considered them small adults on the periphery of the adult world to one in which children came to have a central place in private and public life (Aries 1962:133; Robertson 1974:428). As the modern idea of childhood developed, new parenting styles were promoted which saw the socialising and education of children as part of the enlightened parents' responsibility (Robertson 1974:423).

An interest in children's physical and moral welfare was considered not just a private but also a public responsibility (Robertson 1974:426). In the mid-late nineteenth century legislation was introduced to protect working class children against industrial work, neglect and abuse (McConville 1981:43-46; Larson 1994:118-120). Free non-sectarian education was introduced in Victoria in the 1870s and by 1890 the school leaving age was set at thirteen. Census records and school statistics from this period show that parents chose to limit their children's work inside and outside the home to increase their education opportunities (Larson 1994:67-99, 124-125). By the 1900s medical practitioners had begun to introduce a hygienic regime of child rearing which emphasised cleanliness and routines (Kociumbas 1997:150). The introduction of a clean water

supply and an improved sewer system saw an improvement in public health generally (Southby 1981; Dingle 1984:166). At the same time a more scientific approach to child care alongside the regulation of proprietary medicines saw a dramatic decrease in infant mortality (Finch 1999). But as infant deaths decreased in the 1890s birth numbers were in decline. Birth control was practiced to limit the number of children born while at the same time that an increasing awareness of parental responsibilities was emerging (Larson 1994:52).

The Edwardian Family

The emerging modern concept of childhood as a phase of life during which children were nurtured, protected and educated required considerable parental economic and emotional investment. A desire to provide these may have been one reason behind the declining birth rate recorded in the Edwardian era (Larson 1994:52). During this period the average size of families dropped from seven children in 1890 to five children by 1911 (Larson 1994:27; Austin 1965:75). This trend was not limited to any particular social group but was practiced by a broad range of society. It caused such social and political alarm that a Royal Commission was set up in 1903 to investigate its cause and effects (Hicks 1978: xvii, 139). At the same time that families were choosing to limit the number of children born, women's roles in society were changing. More socially acceptable professions outside domestic duties were becoming accessible to married and single working class women (Dingle 1984:168). Some employment, such as sales and clerical positions and work associated with clothing or millinery, was not only considered socially acceptable but respectable. In 1880, the Victorian Government's policy of

employing the widows and daughters of public servants meant that 34 post offices out of 71 were managed by women (Bevege, James and Shute 1982:53). By 1903, one in three factory workers employed in Victoria were women (Ryan and Conlon 1989:78) and for some working class single women employment opportunities offered financial independence. However, for most women working was not a matter of choice but of economic necessity (Kingston 1975:57-59; Frances & Scates 1993:8). This is suggested in the 1901 census which recorded that 27% of Victorian breadwinners were female (Heagney 1935:16).

The Victorian ideal of family life, with its clearly defined appropriate gender roles associated with the cult of domesticity, was being publicly challenged like never before. The stereotypical ideal of separate private domestic spheres for women and public work spheres for men was never strictly adhered to, usually because of economic necessity (Reiger 1982:378; Kirkby 1997:25). Blurred boundaries between men and women's roles within the family and workplace have been documented for earlier periods on the goldfields (Lawrence 2000:101) and within working class urban communities (Karskens 1999:144-145). In most cases, work and home life for women were usually intertwined and associated with domesticity. But it was the growing number and range of culturally acceptable professions available to women in the Edwardian era which was to not only impact on the Victorian ideal of father at work and mother at home, but also on attitudes to children and childcare (Heininger et al. 1984:19).

With the changing role of women in the work place attitudes to childcare changed, with care increasingly provided by a substitute or from a distance (Heininger et al. 1984:19). Smaller families meant that there were fewer playmates and fewer older children to supervise younger children within families. This appears to have led to the development of more games and toys which children could play without supervision or alone (Sutton-Smith 1986:46; Heininger et al. 1984:19). Dozens of board games and jigsaws were produced as well as toys such as meccano and plasticine (Whittaker 2001:7-23). The mass production and popularity of soft toys and teddy bears in the early years of the twentieth century saw a shift away from hard dolls to cuddly toys, which suggests a new approach to childhood (Sutton-Smith 1986:238). Edwardian childhood is recorded as being more relaxed than that experienced in the Victorian era (Ackerman 1913:88; Reiger 1982:375). Children were no longer portrayed in public photographs as cherubs or angelic innocents but were now pictured as cheeky, mischievous individuals (Heininger et al. 1984:26-27). At the end of the nineteenth century it was widely believed, due to the now established modern attitudes to childhood that the twentieth century would be the century of the child (Robertson 1974:422), and it was this era into which the O'Meara children were born.

An Edwardian Childhood

Very little documentary evidence is available, apart from birth and death records and a photograph, which can offer a picture of the O'Meara children and their lives. Fortunately, an unpublished book by J. A. Baines was found in Ringwood Historical Society archives which contained some transcribed school records, a comprehensive

history of Ringwood State School 2997, and documented oral accounts of school life by past pupils who attended Ringwood State School in the first decades of the twentieth century. The following section offers a detailed examination of what childhood may have been like for the O'Meara children based on this documentary source.

Cornelius and Mary O'Meara had seven children, one of whom was born in Ringwood in their final year as licensees of the Coach and Horses (see Table 5). A baby boy had earlier died in infancy and of their six surviving children there was only one girl, Mary Ellen (*Public Records Office Victorian Birth, Death and Marriages Indices* assessed October 2007). The O'Meara children, of whom at least three were of school going age when the family resided at the Coach and Horses Hotel, attended Ringwood State School No. 2997 from 1906-1908. The school leaving age for most Edwardian children was fourteen, with few continuing on to further education (Larson 1994:189). Therefore, the eldest child, Jeremiah, may have only attended school for a year as he was thirteen when his parents moved into the district. The second eldest boy, Cornelius, known as Neil, was a member of the school football team (Figure 4). In the early decades of the 1900s physical exercise was introduced into state schools and children were encourage to participate in sports (Kociumbas 1997:161). The curriculum for Australian schools had changed between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to reflect a new sense of nationhood. By 1905 text books were specially produced for Australian schools with themes that encouraged a sense of being Australian rather than a part of Great Britain (Buley 1905:246-248). John and Mary Ellen O'Meara would have also attended Ringwood State School from 1906-1908; as John was aged ten and Mary Ellen six when

they moved to Ringwood. Mary Ellen would have been taught by Miss Kelly who took infants, first class and second class (Baines 1972: 15). The O'Meara boys would have been taught by Miss Coleman, the middle school teacher, and Mr. Hocking, who was head teacher from 1898 until 1915 (Baines 1972: 22: Anderson 1988:105).

Figure 4. Ringwood State School Football Team c.1906. Neil O'Meara is fourth from the left in back row. (Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

Although children were still physically disciplined in the early twentieth century, physical punishment at home had diminished (Robertson 1974:414-417). However, this had not extended to schools and children were often caned or strapped regularly as a form of punishment and to maintain control over large class sizes (Daniels 1989:16). Mr. Hocking appears to have been liberal with physical punishment and past pupils have recalled that he was not adverse to strapping children on their first day of school (Anderson 1988:105). Ringwood State School remained a traditional single roomed classroom until 1912. The middle and senior classes, aged up to fourteen, were seated at

nineteen long desks in the central section of the room while being taught by Miss Coleman and Mr. Hocking. The junior grades, taught by Miss Kelly (Figures 5 & 6), were arranged on tiered seats in a gallery at the back (Baines 1972:15, 21). Until 1912 Australian schools had six classes and unlike modern education formats children did not necessarily pass through a class per year. A certificate of exemption could be awarded in class four or at the age of twelve, allowing children to finish their schooling (Daniels 1989:4).

Figure 5. Ringwood State School 1906
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

In the early decades of the twentieth century nib pens and ink were widely used in schools but children from infants to grade three usually used writing slates and slate pencils. Slate pencils were preferred over chalk as they generated less mess and lasted longer (Daniels 1989:8). A common practice by children to clean their slate was to spit

on it and rub it clean with their sleeve. This was recorded as a constant irritation to both teachers and parents (Anderson 1988:105; Davies 2005:66).

Figure 6. Ringwood State School 1907
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

Ringwood State School 2997 was situated in the centre of Ringwood near the old post office run by Marianne Thompson from 1883 to 1913 (Ringwood Historical Research Group 1964:22). As well as catering to the postal needs of the community, Marianne ran a small business selling milk, books, sweets and other miscellaneous items from her premises. School children often went across to the post office at lunch time to buy a penny worth of sweets (Anderson 1974:81). Sir Ronald East, who attended Ringwood State School from 1906-1911, recalled that slates, slate pencils and toys were also sold at the post office and it was here that he purchased his first toy train for 3d. Marbles were

popular with the boys and he remembers swapping five marbles for a broken bicycle, which he repaired with old pram wheels (Baines 1972:21). Another past pupil recalled that in the early decades of the twentieth century there was no yard duty by teachers at the school and the children, boys and girls, used to run wild around the paddocks and bush during break times. She notes that the girls were not restricted to quiet games of 'house' or dolls but often played 'chasey' ending up some distance away near the Coach

Figure 7. Ringwood State School 1908. Miss Colemans' Class.
(Photograph courtesy of Ringwood Historical Society).

and Horses Hotel (Baines 1972:28). However, gender specific activities were enforced in the classroom with separate subjects such as sewing for the girls, run by Miss Kelly or Miss Coleman; while the senior boys attended weekly woodworking classes at Box Hill (Baines 1972:21). The school yard was dominated by a large old gum tree at the White Horse Road entrance which past pupils recall the gum nuts provided ready-made counters

for the infant class. Several gum trees lined the back school fence where boys played games of cricket and footy. The girls usually played under a row of pine trees along the Ringwood Street fence, where games of house were often disrupted by the boys conducting a 'raid' (Baines 1972:28). Figures 5, 6 and 7 are photographs of Ringwood State School children when at least three of the O'Meara children, Neil, John and Mary Ellen, would have attended.

Edwardian Toys & Games

Childhood in the early decades of the twentieth century appears to have been a comparatively relaxed and ordered existence in which children had a great deal of freedom from adult supervision in their leisure time. This freedom though appears to have been curtailed indoors where quite games had to be played. Outdoor play was generally unstructured with games of 'chasey', marbles and hide and seek to name a few (Baines 1972:28; Reiger 1982:374-384). Indoor play would have involved board games, books and toys designed to encourage quieter play. Alongside home-made toys, a wide range of children's play things were available commercially in Australia; although few were manufactured locally (Ellis 2001:20). Some British manufactured toys were exported to the colonies of Canada, India and Australia (Brown 1996:49). However, Germany was the main manufacturing centre and most prolific producer of toys from 1870 to 1916 and exported large numbers of toys to Britain, America and Australia in the early 1900s (Fainges 1991:117). Demand for German manufactured teddy bears after 1903 was so great that by 1907 the Steiff company were producing over one million bears a year and had to expand their premises three times between 1903-1908 (Jaffe

2006:150). An indication of the scale of ceramic, also known as bisque, doll production is evident in the records from some of the German factories. Ovens used by porcelain factories to fire bisque doll heads were capable of firing over 7,000 doll heads each a week (Coleman 1968:406). One toy manufacturing company, Fleischmann, by 1870 is recorded to have employed a total of 32,000 workers, directly in factories and indirectly as outworkers (Darbyshire 1996:55). At the end of the nineteenth century Australia played a significant role in the manufacture of many Germany bisque dolls. Sheep skins from Australia were exported to England and Germany to be tanned and used in the manufacture of kid bodies for bisque dolls (Coleman 1968:419). In the early 1900s German bisque doll heads were imported into Australia in large numbers where they were attached to cloth or composition bodies in workshops and sold locally (Fainges 1991:114). German firms also manufactured doll heads for export to America where they were sometimes assembled and sold as an American product (Hillier 1968:179). Retailers in America also advertised a range of doll types and sizes as directly imported from Germany, fully dressed and of good quality for prices ranging from as low as 25 to 75 cents (*Sears and Roebuck* 1908:1048-1049).

While many toys were too fragile or perishable to survive in the archaeological record (Ellis 2001:19-22), historical documentation and personal reminisces give us a more specific insight into the type and variety of toys available. Sir Ronald East's recollection of toy trains, marbles and writing slates sold at the Ringwood post office shows that toys were readily available in rural areas. Toys were also available at large department stores, many of which set up specialised toy departments in the early 1900s. Around the turn of

the century mail order catalogues were widely distributed by department stores offering affordable goods directly from the manufacturers (Fawdry and Fawdry 1979:62). The Mutual Store, established in Flinders Street, Melbourne in 1872, was one well known Victorian store which offered mail order services. A wide range of goods, including children's china and toys, were advertised in its 1900 and 1907 catalogues; delivered free to Melbourne and surrounding suburbs or for country areas free delivery to the nearest railway station (*The Mutual Store Limited* 1900:11). Foy & Gibson in Collingwood and Fitzroy, MacLellan & Co in Prahran, Hooper & Co in Footscray and Edments in Bourke Street ran similar services offering affordable goods by mail order up until the 1930s (*Foy & Gibson* 1900, 1913-14; *MacLellan & Co* 1910; *Edments* 1927; *Hoopers* 1907; *The Mutual Store* 1907). The popularity of mail order catalogues from which you could order almost anything, from a carriage to a spoon, is evident in the history of the American company, Sears and Roebuck. By 1901 their catalogue was so popular that people now paid to receive the previously free advertising catalogue; and by 1906 subscriptions had surpassed the two million mark (Emmet and Jeuck 1950:61, 92). The growing market for toys in the early decades of the twentieth century is evident in the 1913 catalogue of the British firm Gamage, in which almost three hundred pages were devoted to advertising children's toys and games (Fawdry and Fawdry 1979:62). A glance through the *Age* newspapers published in the early years of the twentieth century shows that advertising toys was a serious business in Melbourne with toy advertisements taking up considerable space (*Age* 13 December 1900, 19 December 1904).

Many of the toys advertised in mail order catalogues ranged in price from less than one shilling up to twenty shillings for toy trains and engines (*The Mutual Store Limited* 1900:320). Dolls ranged in price from four and half pence up to sixteen shillings depending on size, material and quality (*Foy & Gibson* 1913-14). As a result of the 1890s depression employment and wage rates had dropped dramatically and did not return to pre-depression levels until the 1920s (Larson 1994:23). The economic downturn also appears to have affected toy prices. This is evident in Hooper & Co toy catalogues in which the same model doll was advertised for the same price over a succession of years (*Hooper & Co* 1907, 1909-10). Access to manufactured toys was not restricted to wealthy children as penny toys were produced and sold in large volumes. At the turn of the century one British gentleman, Ernest King, fascinated by the quantity and range of types available, purchased every German manufactured penny toy for sale on London streets that he could find. His collection, numbering 1,650 toys, was later donated to the London Museum (Jaffe 2006:50). Adults may have been the main purchasers of toys for their own amusement or as gifts for children but toy manufacturers were realising that children were a market force to be considered. In the mid-nineteenth century doll designs were modified from depicting the adult features of the lady fashion doll to one more appealing to children with features representing an eight-ten year old child (Fainges 1991:59; Darbyshire 1996:63). The growing popularity of 'cuddly' toys in the Edwardian era saw the introduction of licensed character merchandising of literary characters as early as 1902, with Beatrix Potter's Peter Rabbit soft toy (Jaffe 2006:51). In North America in the early 1900s paper dolls were used as a form of advertising. These dolls came in envelopes printed with the name and address of the supplier of

children's clothes identical to those worn by the paper doll (Peers 2004:27). This was no doubt a clever marketing ploy but also one which realised the potential of children as consumers. Within Australia paper dolls were manufactured which represented famous and popular public personalities such as Dame Nellie Melba (Armstrong & Jackson 1990:67).

The above section has explored the range of toys available to children in the early decades of the 1900s as evident from documentary sources and given an overview of what childhood was like in Ringwood during this period. The following section examines the type and range of toys visible archaeologically at a specific site which can be linked through historic documentation to a single household.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Structuring the Assemblage

Within Australian historical archaeology children's toys and other child-related artefacts are rarely investigated in detail. This appears to be a result of traditional methodological approaches which usually group child specific artefacts within a broad classification of domestic household items (Lawrence 1998:9; Ellis 2001:26). The value of identifying and classifying children's assemblages separately has been explored by Ellis (2001) on a broad scale and by Davies and Ellis (2005) on a more site specific scale. One difficulty facing archaeologists when attempting to identify objects as child-related material is that child size or miniature objects do not necessarily signify that an item was produced for or associated with children. One clear example of this is the use of miniature objects for ritual and symbolic purposes in religious rites and burials (Park 1998:275; Sillar 1994:53-55). Even when miniature artefacts are associated with child burials it is still problematic to determine if the objects represent ritual use, or were simply play items used by a child in life (Lillehammer 1989:100).

Within the early historical era many of what may be considered 'toys' were often manufactured for adults. In the seventeenth century games of chance and rhyming words, which to day are recognised as children's games, were adult pastimes (Aries 1962:69, 89). Likewise, miniature tableware and ceramic figurines produced in the eighteenth century were rarely produced for children to play with but as ornaments to be displayed and admired by adults (White 1975:21). In the early nineteenth century

‘fashion dolls’ were not dolls intended for children but were ceramic milliner’s models used to display the latest adult fashions in dress and coiffures (Darbyshire 1996:31). Identifying child specific material and toys produced from the mid-nineteenth century onwards is less problematic as historical documentation such as toy trader magazines and retail catalogues usually include pictorial representation and descriptions of toys manufactured for children. Only artefacts which were clearly and unambiguously diagnostic as child specific items were selected from the complete assemblage from the Coach and Horses Hotel for cataloging and analysis within this dissertation.

The exception to this was the inclusion of writing slates, slate pencils and ‘codd stopper’ marbles. Writing slates and slate pencils were commonly used by adults as well as children, making it difficult to identify who owed or used these artefacts (Davies 2005:67; Nayton 2001:10). However, slates and slate pencils were recorded to have been used by young school children well into the early decades of the twentieth century due to their economy (Davies 2005:63). Writing slates were also widely advertised as an educational toy in major Australian wholesale and retail catalogues in the early 1900s (*The Mutual Store Limited* 1900:320; *MacLellan & Co* 1910:80; *Grace Brothers* 1928-9:122) and are therefore included as child-related artefacts. Children’s china and baby feeder artefacts, associated with a functional role as food related items, have been included in the analysis as these are indisputably items manufactured for children use. Although the codd bottle glass marble stoppers in this assemblage have been recovered from a hotel site where an abundance of this style of bottle would be expected to be present (Arnold 1990:191-219), they have been included as a distinct marble type within

this analysis. Ellis (2001:30) has pointed out that the use of codd stopper marbles by children is well documented and it is justifiable to include them in an analysis of child specific assemblages. The presence of codd stopper marbles at the urban site of Little Lon and the absence of a corresponding number of codd style bottles has been said to indicate that that children deliberately gathered these glass stoppers to augment their marble collection (Murray and Mayne 2001:96). The relation of codd bottle stoppers to the hotel context will also be considered in this study and in order to differentiate the glass bottle stoppers from marbles manufactured as specific play items this marble type has been identified as 'codd' marbles within the assemblage (Figure 8).

Figure 8. 'Codd Marbles'
(Artefact Catalogue identification number CAH06391).

The Data Catalogue

Cataloguing is a descriptive process which records artefact attributes that inform on the essential data related to the artefacts' position in space and time, as well as listing attributes which provide information on form (Crook, Lawrence & Gibbs 2002:29). The artefact catalogue here was designed with mandatory attribute fields recommended by Heritage Victoria in order to provide as much information as possible on temporal

position and form (Heritage Victoria 2004:8-9). The mandatory fields for all artefacts were: artefact number, provenance, function and material. Optional attribute fields, such as doll ear and eye size and type, were included as these fields offered a more detailed description of artefact form to address research questions on the type and quantity of children's artefacts represented in the assemblage (see Artefact Catalogue on accompanying CD).

The importance of trying to create a database which may be useful for other researchers has been discussed in detail (see Brooks 2005a). With this in mind, Heritage Victoria's standard keyword lists for function and material have been employed for consistency. Artefact attributes of decoration, method of manufacture, manufacturer where known and manufacturing date range were recorded as well as artefact component and completeness. The dating methodology is discussed in further detail below. The completeness of each artefact was recorded as interval data of 0-24%, 25-49%, 50-74%, 75-99% and 100%. Artefact sherds which could be conjoined were noted. For all artefacts the maximum width, length and thickness was recorded to the nearest millimeter using vernier calipers.

Six artefact types were identified: writing slates, toy tea sets, baby feeders, children's china, marbles and dolls. Within each artefact group, further attribute fields were included which offered a more detailed and specific description of that artefact type. Writing slates and slate pencils were included within the same artefact group as both represent a literacy function. For writing slates incised lines and edge modification

which indicated that the slate was framed were noted only when clearly diagnostic (Figure 9). Slate pencil sections were categorised as complete, top, medial or nib.

Figure 9. Writing Slates
(Artefact Catalogue identification number CAH02662).

Sussman (2000:96) has pointed out that sherd counts and object counts are two discrete categories as objects can, and usually do, fragment into numerous sherds of different sizes. She argues that while it is important to show the total number of sherds present (representing the degree of fragmentation) the object count is a more accurate measure in quantitative analysis (Sussman 2000:96-97). The assemblage was quantified by firstly counting all the fragments for each artefact type, described as the Number of Individual Sherds Present (NISP); followed by a count of the Minimum Number of Individual objects (MNI). It is recognised that the MNI calculation provides a more accurate representation of the number of objects present within an assemblage (Sussman 2000:96; Brooks 2005b:22). However, when calculating the MNI for certain toy types, such as marbles and toy table ware, it is also necessary to distinguish the number of sets present as these toy types were rarely sold as individual items. Marbles were commonly sold in bags containing at least 25 or more of the same marble type or occasionally as a mixed

lot (*Grace Brothers General Catalogue* 1928:122). Therefore it may be logical to consider that 25 marbles of the same type equal one bag of marbles, i.e. one toy, and can be referred to as a set. Likewise, toy tea and table ware were known to be usually advertised and sold as complete tea sets, and not as individual pieces (*Foy and Gibson* 1900; *Edments Cash Stores* 1920). The MNI for toy tableware sets was calculated by identifying a piece as part of a set by comparison of form/features such as decoration, ware, material and size (South 1977:93).

In order to determine the minimum number of bisque dolls present, each component was recorded as complete, left, right or medial elements where identifiable. Diagnostic features such as right and left ears were measured in order to ascertain if paired elements were present (see Figure 10). Paired elements were then used to determine the Minimum Number of Items (MNI), i.e. dolls, in the assemblage. This method is widely used in faunal analysis as it is recognised as one of the most effective methods to counteract the effect of fragmentation and breakage when calculating the MNI (Davis 1995:35-36).

Left and right eyes were another doll element used to determine the MNI. Where sherds retained only a section of the eye socket and no other diagnostic feature (such as ear, mouth or nose) painted eyebrows were used to determine whether it was a right or left element, as eyebrows taper markedly from the medial section of the face outwards. Ceramic doll legs and arms were included in MNI counts of left and right doll elements. Although the size of doll limbs appears out of proportion to the bisque heads in the assemblage it is known from contemporary retail catalogues and surviving intact dolls

that attachable ceramic doll limbs, manufactured from the mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century, were produced comparatively smaller than the accompanying doll bodies and heads (White 1966:79; Fainges 1991:12).

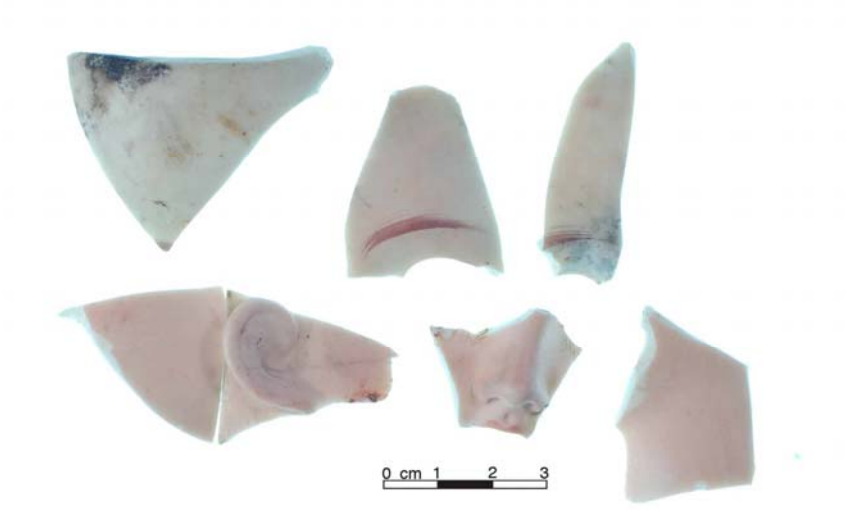

Figure 10. An example of doll elements used to determine MNI (Artefact Catalogue identification number CAH00894).

Dating the Assemblage

Contemporary newspapers, trade journals, retail catalogues as well as registered, company names and trademarks are recognised sources of information on the type, cost, availability and production dates of mass produced consumables of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones 2000:144-146). Toy factories rarely kept records so contemporary retail and wholesale catalogues are generally the only reliable source of information on toy types and availability. Antique and collector's books were utilised to provide data on production beginning and end dates and makers' marks for bisque dolls (see bibliography and Appendix 1 for details of sources). It is worth noting that care should be taken when using collector's reference books for dating purposes, as the

provenance for toys listed in some books may refer to the first known date of purchase rather than production. The manufacturing beginning and end dates for some artefacts within this assemblage were unavailable from documentary sources while others covered a broad time span. Nevertheless production dates have been included where known in order to provide reference points to bracket the site and to determine if the archaeological dating supports the documentary evidence of site occupation.

Dating is a fundamental part of archaeology and within historical archaeology historical documents and contemporary records alongside archaeological data provide a useful tool for dating sites (Lucas 2006:34-37). Archaeologists commonly use artefacts such as ceramics, glass, nails, clay tobacco pipes and tin cans to provide a date range for site use and occupation (Burke and Smith 2004:358-380). Stanley South (1977:217-219) argues that one way to use ceramic artefacts to interpret site occupation periods is to calculate the mean ceramic date. The mean ceramic date formula is calculated using the median manufacturing date, the frequency and the number of each ceramic type identified in the archaeological sample. This technique has been applied to dating other artefacts such as glass vessels but is recognised as limited in providing a secure chronology for site occupation (see Adams 2003). Sample size and recovery techniques, which cannot always be controlled by the archaeologist, can skew the mean ceramic date (South 1977:219). Another problem associated with using this formula is its use of the sherd count which, as discussed previously, is a fragment rather than an object count and is therefore not statistically reliable (Sussman 2000:96). For this reason the mean ceramic date formula was not utilised as a dating tool for artefacts in this analysis.

William Adams (2003:38-39) argues that when using artefacts to date sites the time-lag between artefact manufacture, distribution, use and discard need to be considered. Other factors which usually affect the time-lag of an artefact are its physical properties, whether it is made from glass or metal, and cultural factors such as product cost, introduction, availability and popularity. Adams points out that the time-lag between introduction, availability and popularity for most products does not necessarily apply to toys. Unlike many other mass produced items, toys are usually manufactured in large quantities and widely distributed on an untested market, where demand for a new toy type can often outstrip initial supplies (Adams 2003:49). This was certainly the case in Australia during the First World War when supplies of German produced bisque dolls were unavailable and local manufacturers tried unsuccessfully to produce enough dolls to fill the market gap (Fainges 1986:9). Time-lag accounts for the variability which occurs at many sites between artefact production dates and site occupation dates. Adams (2003) maintains that ceramic and glass artefacts are useful in dating a site when considered in conjunction with historical evidence and documents relating to site occupation, use and abandonment. He suggests that the production date for artefacts cannot be used to date sites directly but offer insight into household and individual behavior and are useful reference points to bracket the date of a site within its historical context (Adams 2003:58-60).

Dating dolls precisely is difficult as popular doll types were often made over a long period of time (Coleman 1968:7). Many ceramic (bisque) dolls manufactured in the mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth century were inscribed with the makers' mark and/or the country of origin on the back of the head or at the base of the neck. These registered

marks can be reliable indicators of the *terminus post quem* production date. Dolls which carry only the maker's initials were generally manufactured prior to 1922 (see Figure 11). After this date the maker's name was usually written in full to comply with copyright laws. From 1890 many dolls were inscribed with the country of origin due to tariff acts. But as this mark was not required to be permanent, the absence of an incised country of origin mark does not necessarily indicate a date prior to 1890 (Coleman 1968:8). Country of origin marks which are shown as the country name only indicate a date after 1890. When the name of the country of origin is preceded by the words 'made in' this suggests the doll was produced after 1898 (White 1966:2002, 1975:21).

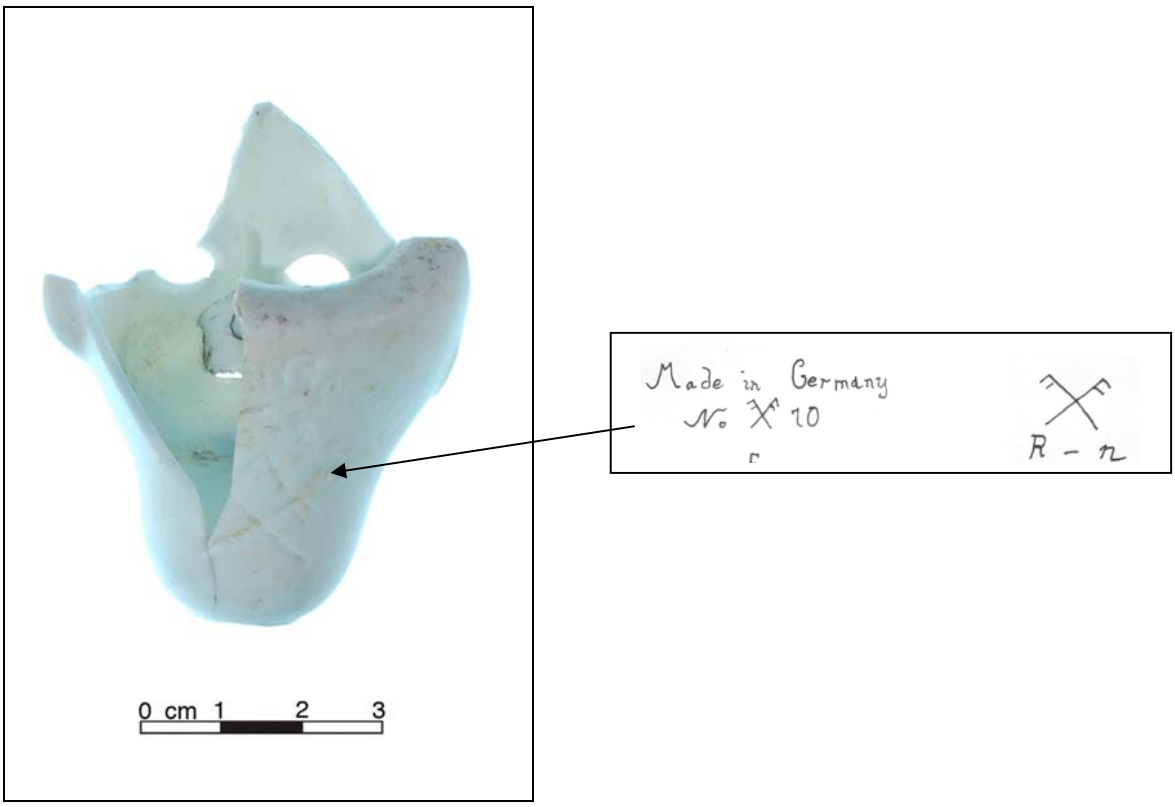

Figure 11. An example of the Rauenstein firm's registered marks. With Artefact Number CAH06529 showing partial mark of the Rauenstein distinctive crossed flag symbol (see Fainges 1991:130).

Dolls produced by French and German doll factories from 1884 are usually marked with the letters DEP meaning that the design has been registered (White 1966:201; White 1975:21). Many bisque doll heads have the mould number incised on the back of the doll head or shoulders (Figure 12). Identifiable maker's marks and mould numbers provided the most chronologically secure production dates for bisque dolls in the assemblage with manufacturing techniques and form attributes providing a broader time frame (see Appendix 1 for more information on dating bisque dolls).

Figure 12. Maker's Mark A. M. 390 inscribed on back of bisque doll head (Artefact Number CAH02864).

Miniature objects manufactured as household ornaments usually display a registered maker's mark but such marks on children's porcelain toys, apart from dolls, are rare (White 1975:21). The absence of registered marks on the miniature tea set items in the

assemblage suggests that these were children's toys rather than ornaments. The absence of any identifying mark makes it difficult to assess the date or place of manufacture. Some tea set items could be broadly dating by decoration (Brooks 2005b:37) However, dating the undecorated ware by comparison with contemporary toy tablewares advertised in retail catalogues was not possible. Toy tableware that was advertised was usually decorated ceramic or tin ware (Davies and Ellis 2005:20; Arnold 2004: 25-38; Cuffley 1984:100). Although not usually advertised, it appears that this type of undecorated white toy table ware was manufactured on a large scale by German porcelain firms who also produced bisque doll heads (Coleman 1966:33). From the 1870s these firms manufactured large quantities of 'bathing dolls' or 'pudding dolls' made from the same type of clay as the undecorated white tableware. One German toy manufacturer, Heubach, Kämpfe and Sontag, advertised in 1891 that they exported bathing dolls to France, England, America and Australia (Coleman 1966:32-33, 43). Bathing dolls, small complete ceramic dolls, commonly referred to as pudding dolls, and undecorated toy tablewares, do not appear in contemporary retail catalogues yet are found in large numbers at historical sites. It is probable that ceramic tea sets and pudding dolls, being mass produced and low cost items, were not considered necessary to advertise.

Dates for the plastic toy tableware artefacts in the assemblage were based on the colour and texture. During the late-nineteenth century a wide range of objects from buttons to dolls was manufactured from early plastics of celluloid and vulcanite. Both celluloid and vulcanite deteriorate over time and rarely survive well in heat or damp (Katz 1994:17, 29). The first commercially viable plastic made from casein was patented in Germany in

1899 of which various colours could be achieved by surface dying after manufacture. However, over time a crazed pattern develops on the surface which warps and cracks when subjected to damp conditions. Early bakelite, the first truly mass produced synthetic plastic was patented in 1907; but the products were brittle and colours were restricted to dark brown, green or black (Mossman 1997:48). In 1929 plastic was developed which could be easily moulded and produced in light bright colours. But it wasn't until mass production became possible in the 1940s and 50s that plastic toys and other household objects were produced from durable plastic in bright colours on a wide scale (Mossman 1997:52-57).

Children's china tableware is likewise difficult to date as earthenware tea and dinner ware was produced specifically for children from the 1820s. Many of these wares were decorated with scenes from nursery rhymes, moral verses or letters from the alphabet (Flick 1995:19). Dating of the children's china in this assemblage was based on ware and decoration (Brooks 2005b:37); one sherd dated by this method has an image of a teddy bear (Figure 13). This toy type first appeared in 1903 and its popularity grew so rapidly that by 1907 German production of teddy bear toys had increased from 3,000 to one million a year (King 1973:140; Pearson 1992:156).

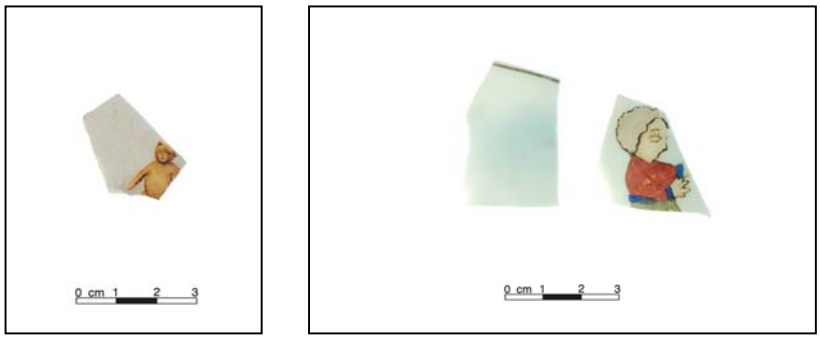

Figure 13. Children's China Tableware (CAH00998 & CAH06564).

The glass marbles in the assemblage were dated by identifying characteristic landmarks associated with form and decoration, indicating if they were hand made, early machine made or late machine made. Dating of the 'codd' marbles was based on the manufacturing dates for this style of bottle closure in Australia. Ceramic marbles were dated by their distinguishing material and decoration (see Appendix 2 for discussion on dating marbles). Slates and slate pencils are recognised as difficult to date particularly as writing slate was in use from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, long after paper became affordable in the early 1900s (Davies 2005:63-64, 67).

Although the three baby feeders in the assemblage have embossed logos which are easily deciphered (Figure 14), dating the feeders proved problematic. One bottle has 'Made in France' embossed alongside a distinctive Nestlé trade mark symbol based on the coat of arms of Henri Nestlé who developed and patented the infant formula in 1867. By 1906 Australia had become the second largest export market for Nestlé products and this led to Nestlé establishing a factory in Australia in 1908. However, Nestlé do not have any records of the production or export of this type of baby feeder (Tanja Aenis: pers comm. February 2008; Denis Rohrer: pers comm. February 2008). Therefore the baby feeders were dated by manufacturing technique, shape and size. Although baby bottles came in a variety of sizes, larger sizes which held up to sixteen ounces were usually produced before 1900. After 1900 smaller feeders became standard with the majority holding eight ounces (The American Collectors of Infants Feeders Website February 2008).

The presence of fire damage/scorch marks was recorded where clearly identifiable on all artefacts. However, the absence of evidence of fire damage may be due to taphonomic effects or the cleaning process the artefacts were subjected to following excavation.

Figure 14. Embossed Nestlé logo on baby feeder
(Artefact Catalogue identification number CAH 00254).

Chapter 6: Results

This section shows the range and quantity of children's artefacts present in the assemblage from the Coach and Horses Hotel. Table 6 displays the NISP, representing the number of pieces/fragments present and the MNI, representing the number of objects present. The high NISP (71) compared to MNI (14) of bisque doll parts indicates that there was a high degree of fragmentation of this toy type. One miscellaneous tea set item was identified but was un-diagnostic as a toy tableware pot or cup. Column four (number of identified toys present) in Table 6 shows that six distinct toy tableware sets and eight marble sets (25 marbles of the same type equals one set) were identified.

Artefact Description	NISP	MNI	No. of Identified Toys Present
Toy Saucer	7	4	
Toy Pot	2	1	
Toy Cup	3	3	
Toy Plate	1	1	
Toy Teapot	7	3	
Toy Jug	1	1	
Toy Lid	1	1	
Misc Tea Set Fragment	1	1	
Toy Tableware Sets			**6**
Marbles	18	18	
Codd Marbles	33	33	
Sets of Marbles			**8**
Pudding Dolls	2	2	
Bisque doll limbs	6	3	
Bisque doll glass eye	1	1	
Bisque doll heads	71	14	
Ceramic Dolls			**16**
Writing Slates	17	3	
Slate Pencils	3	1	
Baby Feeders	4	3	
Children's China	3	2	

Table 6. Comparison of NISP& MNI of all children's artefacts & sets of toys present in assemblage (n=181).

Figure 15 is a graphic representation of the Table 6 in which the MNI of individual toys and toy sets are compared as proportions. Presented this way it is clear that the 14 bisque dolls dominate the assemblage (36%) followed by eight sets of marbles (21%) and six tea sets (15%). Miscellaneous items consisting of two pudding dolls (5%), two pieces of children's china tableware (5%) and one slate pencil (3%) are represented in low numbers.

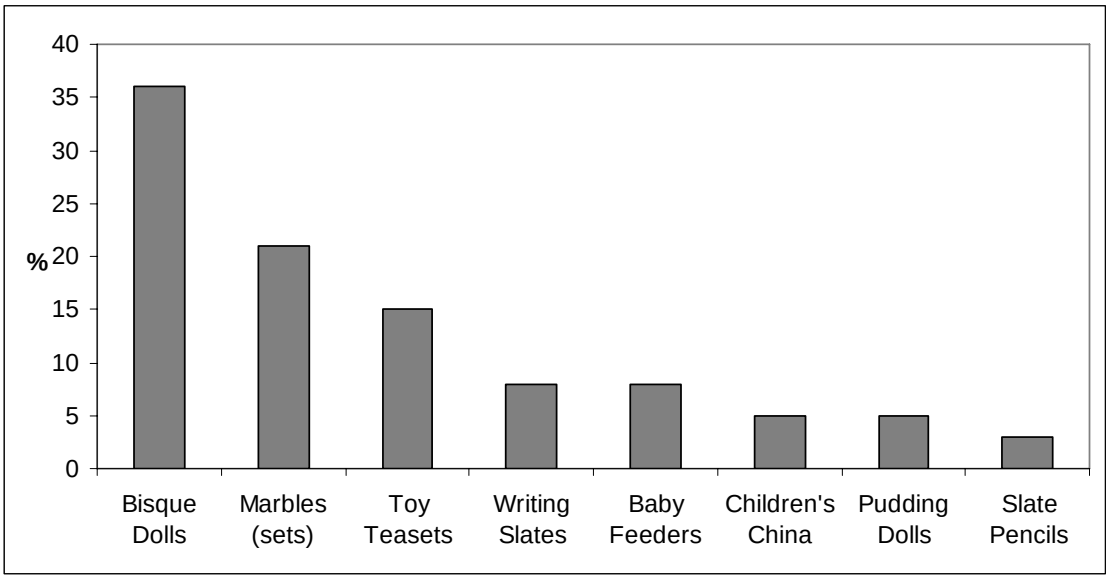

Figure 15. Comparison of child specific artefact types & proportions within assemblage (n=39).

Table 7 is a breakdown of the number of toy tea set pieces in the assemblage and Table 8 displays the number of tea set types present. Of the six discrete tea set types identified, one was decorated with a polychrome pattern and one was manufactured from plastic (Figure 16).

	Saucer	Pot	Cup	Plate	Teapot	Jug	Lid
Porcelain - Undecorated	3	1	3				
Porcelain - Relief					1		1
Plastic - Relief	1			1			
Decal (painted flowers)					1		
Earthenware – Painted					1	1	
Total (MNI)	4	1	3	1	3	1	1

Table 7. MNI for toy tableware by decorative type (n=14).

Fabric Type & Decoration	Colour	No. of Tea Sets
Porcelain - Undecorated	White	2
Porcelain - Moulded Relief	White	1
Plastic - Moulded Relief	Blue	1
Porcelain - Decal	Polychrome	1
Earthenware - Painted	Green	1
Total		6

Table 8. Number of tea set types present in assemblage identified by fabric type & colour (n=6).

Figure 16. Six tea set types present in the assemblage (from top left to right CAH06536, CAH06540, CAH02715, CAH06534, CAH05124 & CAH03961. See accompanying CD for artefact and photographic catalogues).

The number and percentage of marble types are shown in Table 9. While codd marbles dominate the assemblage (65%), the most frequently occurring commercially produced marbles are Benningtons (12%), followed by early machine made opaque marbles (8%), with commoney marbles (2%) occurring the least.

Marble Type	Production Dates	MNI	%
Codd	1870-1920	33	65%
Commoney	1870-1920	1	2%
Machine Made Cat's Eyes	1920-1950	2	4%
Polychrome Swirl	1846-1920	2	4%
Porcelain	1850-1910	3	5%
Early Machine Made Opaques	1900-1920	4	8%
Benningtons	1870-1900	6	12%
Total		51	100%

Table 9. Number & percentage of marble types & marble sets represented within the assemblage (25 of one marble type = one set).

Table 10 shows that within the doll assemblage two doll types were identified; bisque (88%) and pudding dolls (12%). Doll ear elements proved the most effective method to determine the MNI for bisque dolls (Table 11). Only three of the 14 bisque dolls had ceramic limbs (Table 12) and the most common method of limb attachment was a moulded hole by which the limb was sewn to a cloth doll body (Figure 17). Table 13 shows that two doll head types were identified within the bisque doll assemblage. Shoulder-heads (81%) were the most frequently occurring of the bisque doll head type.

Ceramic Doll Type	NISP	MNI	%
Bisque Doll Heads	71	14	88
Pudding Doll	2	2	12

Table 10. NISP, MNI & percentage of doll types represented in assemblage (n=73).

	Element				
	Ear	**Eye**	**Mouth**	**Leg**	**Arm**
Left	8	3	2	3	1
Right	3	2		2	
Left & Right	6	6	7	0	0
MNI	14	9	9	3	1

Table 11. MNI for bisque dolls calculated by counts of left & right elements (n=79).

Limb Description & Attachment Method	Number
Above Knee Groove	1
Moulded Hole on Thigh	4
Hole through Arm	1

Table 12. Attachment method of ceramic doll limbs (n=6).

Figure 17. Doll limbs represented in assemblage showing different attachment methods (CAH02375, CAH06497, CAH06240 & CAH02879).

Head Type	Number	%
Socket-head	3	19%
Shoulder-head	13	81%

Table 13. Number and percentage of bisque doll head types within assemblage (n=16).

Fourteen doll ear elements were identified of which ten were left elements. The measurement of doll ear lengths and widths indicates that a range of doll head sizes are present (Table 14).

Head Style	Ear Element	Max Length (mm)	Max Width (mm)
Unidentified	Left	25	14
Unidentified	Left	21	13.5
Unidentified	Left	17	10
Socket-head	Left	21	14
Shoulder-head	Left	21	15
Unidentified	Right	19	10
Socket-head	Left & Right	incomplete	11
Unidentified	Right	19	11
Unidentified	Left	21	13
Shoulder-head	Right	13	7.5
Shoulder-head	Left	25	13
Shoulder-head	Left & Right	19	11
Unidentified	Left	incomplete	incomplete
Unidentified	Right	13	8

Table 14. Doll ear elements showing maximum length and width (n=14).

Within the doll assemblage makers' marks, mould numbers and/or country of origin was evident on fourteen head and shoulder sherds. Seven sherds had clearly identifiable maker's marks which could be linked to three German doll manufacturers. Three bisque doll heads were produced by Armand Marseille and another three by Cuno & Otto Dressel with one identified as manufactured at the Raustein porcelain company (Table 15). These marks along with the marks indicating the country of origin show that eight of the fourteen bisque dolls were definitely manufactured in Germany (Figure 18).

Artefact Identification Number	Maker's Mark	Production Start Date	Production End Date	Reference
CAH04447	Cuno & Otto Dressel	c.1885	c.1920s	White 1975:19
CAH04984	Armand Marseille	c.1900	c.1920s	Cieslik & Cieslik 1986:78
CAH06529	Raustein	c.1892	c.1930s	Fainges 1991:130
CAH02864	Armand Marseille	c.1900	c.1920s	Cieslik & Cieslik 1986:79
CAH05054	Cuno & Otto Dressel	c.1891	c.1920s	Fainges 1991:70
CAH06559	Armand Marseille	c.1890	c.1920s	Coleman 1968:428

Table 15. Maker's marks & production dates.

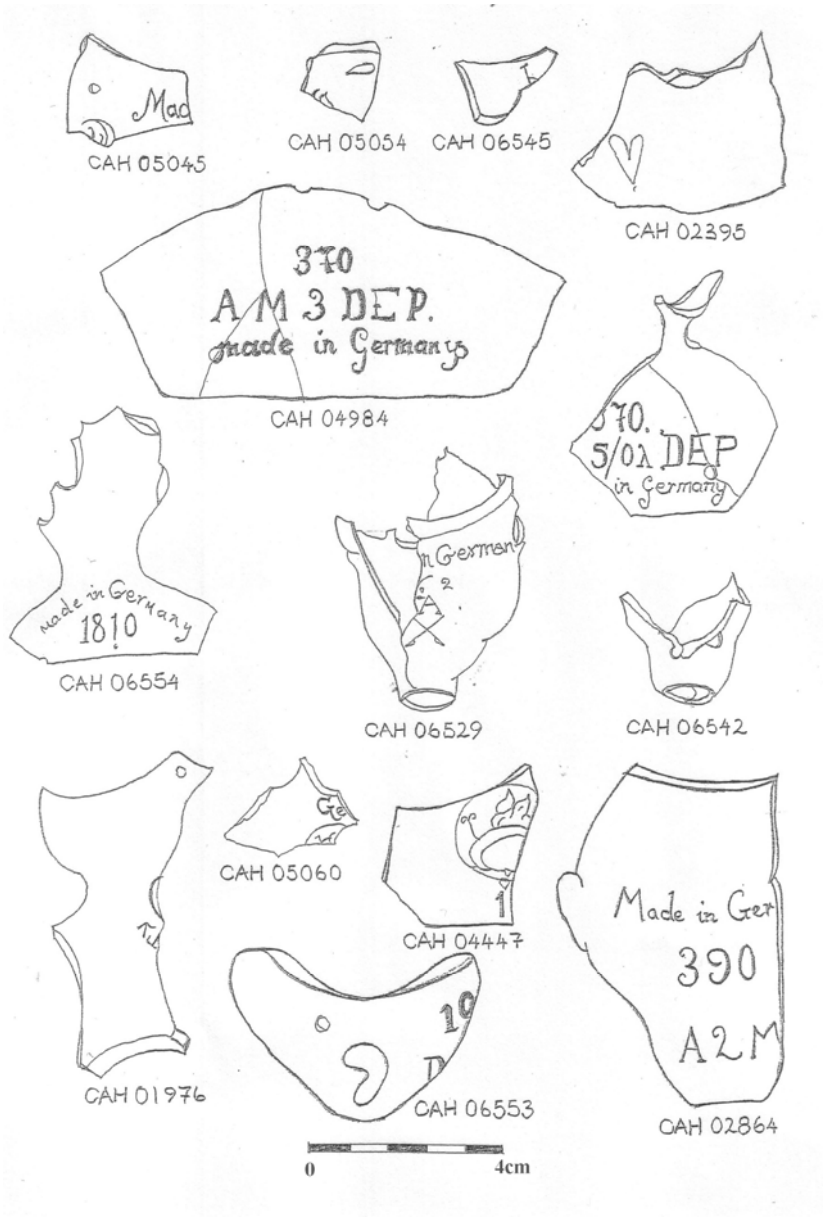

Figure 18. Maker's Marks
(see Appendix 1 for details on identifying maker's marks on bisque doll heads).

The words 'made in' are incised on five of the bisque doll heads indicating a manufacture date after 1891 (Table 16). Table 17 shows that for all artefacts which could be securely dated most fall within the date range of 1890-1920 (see Appendix 1 for a guide to dating German bisque dolls).

Artefact Catalogue Identification Number	Country of Origin	'Made In'	Partial Unidentified Letter	Partial Letter	Unidentified Maker's Mark	Mould Number	Partial Mould Number	D.E.P.	Maker's Initials	Cuno & Otto Dressel	Armand Marseille	Raustein
CAH01976				*	*							
CAH02395					*							
CAH02864	*	*				*			*		*	
CAH04447							*	*		*		
CAH04984	*	*				*			*		*	
CAH05045				*						*		
CAH05060	*									*		
CAH06529	*	*					*		*			*
CAH06542					*							
CAH06545			*									
CAH06553				*								
CAH06554	*	*				*						
CAH06559	*	*				*		*			*	
CAH00723				*								
Total	6	5	1	4	3	4	2	2	3	3	3	1

Table 16. Maker's mark, country of origin & mould numbers evident on bisque doll sherds (n=14 of which 11 marks were located on left & left/medial elements). See Appendix 1 for data on identifying bisque doll manufacturers by mould numbers and makers' marks.

Artefact Description	1846	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Armand Marseille Bisque Dolls												
Raustein Bisque Doll												
Cuno & Otto Dressel Bisque Dolls												
Ceramic Pudding Dolls												
German Swirls Marbles												
Early Machine Marbles												
Porcelain Marbles												
Bennington Marbles												
Commoney Marble												
Codd Marbles												
Cat's Eye Marbles												
Writing Slates & Slate Pencils												
Glass Baby Feeders												
Plastic Toy Tableware												

Table 17. Production date range for artefacts in assemblage
(darker shaded section represents the period O' Meara family occupied the Coach & Horses Hotel).

Chapter 7: Discussion & Conclusion

This chapter discusses the results presented in Chapter 6. The time-lag evident in the assemblage is examined and explanations offered for the presence and absence of particular toy types. The number of bisque dolls in the assemblage is discussed in terms of cost and Australia's participation in global consumerism. The large range of low cost, mass produced children's toys from this period show a changing attitude to child care associated with the changing role of women in the workforce. Significantly, the symbolic and social meanings which can be ascribed to the children's artefacts offer an insight into the use of material culture as signifiers of social aspirations and respectability.

Artefacts and Time-Lag

The documentary evidence presented in Chapter 3 indicates that the assemblage is associated with the O'Meara children who occupied the Coach and Horses from 1906 to 1908. Fire destroyed the hotel in 1907 and the resultant spoil heap became a time-capsule representing the lives of the individuals and household who had occupied the hotel at the time of the fire. A few of the artefacts in the assemblage may be associated with earlier occupants but people generally take their possessions with them when they move. The exception to this is objects which are lost accidentally or deliberately. While the majority of the child-related objects in the assemblage may be confidentially associated with the O'Meara children, some may be related to earlier and later occupants. Small toys such as marbles are easily lost down drains and wells while other play objects may be accidentally or deliberately lost under floors and in play areas (Lawrence 2001:7;

Wilkie 2000:109). There is secure documentary evidence that children were present at the site from the 1880s to the 1940s (see Chapter 3). Lost and discarded toys may explain the time-lag evident at the site which is represented by the small number of early hand made glass marbles and the later machine made 'cats' eyes' marbles and plastic toy tableware.

Ellis (2001:62) has suggested that toys may be useful in dating sites. However, given the broad time range that some toys such as marbles and writing slates were in production and use, and the lack of dating evidence for others such as toy tablewares, this may be problematic. Where changes in manufacturing processes and style are evident, for example early machine marbles, baby feeders and ceramic dolls, it is possible to narrow down the time range. Likewise the maker's mark or country of origin on toys such as bisque dolls can provide a useful dating tool when available. These dating methods, when used in conjunction with the documentary evidence and known historical context for site occupation, support the argument that the majority of the assemblage is associated with one household, the O'Meara family.

Gendered Toys

The majority of the assemblage is composed of ceramic dolls and tea sets which are usually considered gender specific toys associated with girls. The absence of other toys usually associated with boys may be due to a few reasons. Firstly, the fire would have destroyed any evidence of wooden or rubber toys such as tops and balls. Even if lead or tin toy soldiers were present these may not have survived as recognisable artefacts. This

would also be true for many other unisex toys, infant toys, or toys intended specifically for girls or boys, which were manufactured from perishable material. Playing marbles could be considered a pastime for girls as well as boys but it was a game more commonly associated with boys (Baines 1972:21). Marbles made of non-perishable materials of porcelain and glass are present but in lower numbers than the ceramic dolls. Within the marble assemblage, 65% are codd marbles. As these glass marbles are stoppers from aerated drink bottles, their presence is not unusual at a hotel site. However, the codd marbles in this assemblage cannot be discounted as play items as children were known to have deliberately smashed aerated bottles to collect the glass marbles (Murray and Mayne 2001:96; Vader and Murray 1990:27).

What is notable is that commercially produced marbles are present in very low numbers compared to other children's play items. It is unlikely that cost would have been an influence as sets of marbles were cheaper than other toys such as dolls (*Grace Brothers* 1928). A possible explanation for the low numbers of boy related play items such as the marbles is that most of the boys' play was possibly conducted outside of and away from the home (Darian-Smith and Factor 2005:142). The three older O'Meara boys were aged from 11 to 14 in 1907 and the second eldest, Neil, was known to have been a member of the local school football team. It is likely that his older and younger brothers had similar outdoor pastimes. The youngest child at this time was Timothy who was aged between three and four and it is more than likely that the infant feeders and children's china tableware belonged to him. It is likely that most of the material culture, such as cloth toys and wooden blocks, which may have been associated with Timothy, was

manufactured of perishable materials and therefore did not survive the deposition or taphonomic events.

The Dolls

In the previous chapter it was shown that sixteen dolls are present in the assemblage of which two are pudding dolls and fourteen are bisque doll heads. Only three of the bisque dolls appear to have had ceramic limbs. The paucity of ceramic doll limbs in assemblages could be the result of collectors utilising historic dump sites for replacement limbs to repair antique dolls. Some antique doll collecting books have suggested that these dump sites are a good source for such material (Fainges 1991:71). Collectors who do so, whether as professionals or amateurs, may find that they are in breach of state or federal laws (see Turnbull 2006 for an in-depth discussion on collectors and heritage legislation). Archaeologists need to keep this possibility in mind when analysing toy assemblages. The assemblage from the Coach and Horses comes from what appears to be a largely undisturbed deposit (Christine Williamson pers. comm. 2008). Therefore, the paucity of doll limbs in this assemblage is more likely because most of the doll bodies were made from cloth or composition, which is unlikely to survive in the archaeological record (Ellis 2001:19-22; White 1975:141). This is also true of any doll limbs or bodies made from celluloid as celluloid is highly flammable and would not have survived the fire.

Bisque doll heads are very fragile and when damaged or broken it was not uncommon to purchase a replacement head for the doll body (Armstrong & Jackson 1990:17).

Therefore, do the 14 bisque doll heads in the assemblage represent multiple episodes of breakage and repair? Some of the doll heads may represent repaired dolls but it is evident from the identifiable registered maker's marks as well as left ear element measurements (see previous chapter) that at least six different doll types and sizes are present in the assemblage. Two doll heads are incised with the Armand Marseille mould series 370. Dolls produced from the 370 mould were shoulder-head dolls (the head and shoulders were cast as one piece). These dolls had wigs, limbs of composition and brown or blue glass sleeping eyes. Both have mould size numbers which gives us the doll size and body type. The doll made from the 370 mould number 3 series was 20 inches long and had a cotton body sewn onto a shoulder-head. The doll with the 370 mould size number 5/OX was seven inches long with a kid body. The other Armand Marseille doll from the mould series 390 is a socket-head doll and the markings on this doll indicate that it was 20 inches long and manufactured c.1905 (White 1975:141-142). Socket-head dolls had moveable heads which were fitted into a neck socket or shoulder section on a composite body (Fainges 1991:145). Socket-head dolls in the 390 series usually had jointed composition bodies with movable limbs (Roeder 1985:88). Shoulder-heads made for cloth dolls could not be attached to composition bodies manufactured for socket-heads and vice versa (see Figure 19, photograph of an Armand Marseille 390 series doll). The presence of socket-head and shoulder-head dolls along with the different mould sizes provides evidence that a range of doll sizes and types are present in the assemblage.

That seven year old Mary Ellen O'Meara had a range of different size and styles of German imported dolls should be of no surprise. Australia has had a long history of

importing utilitarian and luxury goods from Europe and other trade networks (Staniforth 1995:159). Lawrence (2003:20-21) has pointed out that not only was there a wide range of goods imported into Australia but these goods were similar to the goods available in other far flung parts of the British Empire. Whether in Toronto, Cape Town or Sydney the same products could be purchased, and Australia in the nineteenth century formed an enthusiastic part of this global consumer market. This included the importation of German made toys and dolls from the 1880s until 1914, when the First World War disrupted production allowing local and Japanese manufacturers to compete (Fainges 1986:9; Darbyshire 1996:55). The competitiveness of German goods is evident in British import records from 1870 to 1913 which show that 77% of British imported toys came from Germany (Brown 1996:64).

Figure 19. Armand Marseille Socket-Head Doll c.1900.
Maker's Marks AM 390 15/OM (Photograph courtesy of National Museum of Ireland).

British toy makers also exported toys to the colonies of Canada, India and Australia on a smaller scale to German manufacturers who dominated the market (Brown 1996:45-49). German toy factories had a locally available cheap labour force and were located near

good transport networks and easily accessible raw materials. This allowed them to cheaply mass produce a wide range of toys from ceramic dolls and tea sets to lead soldiers and toy trains making it difficult for other manufacturers to compete (Darbyshire 1996:55, 139-149). By 1910, Germany manufactured two thirds of the ceramic dolls available in the European market at a quarter of the cost of the equivalent French products (Von Boehn 1932:164-165). Although toys were imported into Australia on a large scale, records of the exact quantities are sketchy as importers often listed goods as utility china-ware in order to avoid paying duty on dolls and toys (Rait 1989:4).

It has been argued that regardless of socio-economic background or geographical isolation Australian children had access to the best quality imported toys (Davies and Ellis 2005:20; Ellis 2001:63). Yet imported toys were not necessarily expensive. The mark 'Made in Germany' is synonymous with today's 'Made in China' tag as German toys were exported *en masse* to near and far markets where they were advertised in mail order catalogues and sold cheaply. Cheap prices were important in the early twentieth century toy market as competition from English, American and Japanese manufacturers began to increase (Flick 1995:23-27; Brown 1996:47-49). An idea of the cost of toys is evident when the cost of living at the turn of the century is compared to the cost of toys. Prices and wages remained stable and hardly changed from the depression of the 1890s until the 1920s (Larson 1994:23). Average wages for labourers in Melbourne in 1896 ranged from seven to ten shillings per day (Coghlan 1969:2050). The average price, per pound weight, for general food items in 1900 was; tea one shilling and six pence; sugar two shillings; meat four pence and; bread six pence. When compared with the price for

imported ceramic dolls it is clear that dolls were far from expensive. In 1907 Hoopers of Footscray were advertising bisque headed dolls with jointed bodies for nine and half pence and again in 1909-10 the same doll was available for the same price (*Hoopers* 1907, 1909-10). In 1908, Anthony Hordern & Sons of Sydney advertised various styles and sizes of jointed, dressed dolls with china heads from nine pence up to two shillings and six pence (reprinted in Arnold 2004). Foy & Gibson, of Collingwood and Fitzroy, were advertising in 1913 that they had 20,000 dolls to choose from. China headed dolls started at three pence and jointed dolls with sleeping eyes from three shillings. Other toys, such as tea sets, rubber balls, skipping ropes and picture blocks, were priced at six pence (*Foy & Gibson* 1913-1914:145). These price comparisons show that a wide range of imported bisque dolls were available in shops and through mail order catalogues, many for the same price as a loaf of bread or a rubber ball (Table 18).

Tea	1s 6d
Sugar	2s
Meat	4d
Bread	6d
Ceramic Doll	3d - 3s
Bag of 25 Marbles	6d
Rubber Ball	6d
Skipping Rope	6d
Picture Blocks	6d
Toy Tea Set	6d

Table 18. Price comparison between food items & toys c.1900-1914.

Toys as Symbols

Consumption, particularly of non utilitarian objects, is not simply a passive action constrained or shaped by economy. Therefore it is important to consider the symbolic and cultural meanings behind consumer choice, why objects are bought, used and displayed (Cook, Yamin & McCarthy 1996:50). In the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth

century, toys such as dolls were usually given to young girls to encourage sedate, nurturing play which prepared them for their future social roles (Baxter 2005:43). Wilkie (1994, 2000) has focused on the symbolic role of tea sets and dolls as a form of social dialogue in reinforcing gender, socio-economic and social roles. It is possible that given the number of dolls and tea set types present Mary Ellen would have played 'tea parties'. In doing so she would have unconsciously mimicked the adult world of the hotel in which the provision of meals and accommodation were a daily occurrence. Such games centered on entertaining, service and manners would have socialised Mary Ellen into the role her mother had.

Ardyce Masters (1986) suggests that more than any other toy, dolls are cultural communication tools which are used by adults to impart attitudes and roles to children. She suggests that the array of dolls available to consumers through time can give a snapshot of cultural systems and the ideals they attempted to project (Masters 1986:293-294). A shift in how childhood and children were perceived was noticeable in the early years of the twentieth century. As discussed earlier, children's education and health was now considered a public affair and childhood a period of happiness free from economic responsibilities. There was a noticeable shift in how children were depicted in stories and images (Figure 20). Gone were the angelic, innocent portrayals of children popular in the Victorian era as Edwardian children were shown as mischievous, cheeky individuals (Heininger et al. 1984:26-27). By 1910 'character dolls', with realistic and sometimes even unattractive, baby features began to replace the 'dolly faced' doll with its idealised features of a young child (Darbyshire 1996:63). There was also a corresponding shift in

toy types away from hard dolls to soft, cuddly toys such as teddy bears in the early 1900s (Pearson 1992: 156; Sutton-Smith 1986:238). Plasticine, toy farmyards and zoos, rag books, clockwork figures, jigsaws, board games, Hornby train sets and Meccano became popular Edwardian toys (Whittaker 2001:18-23; Flick 1995:23-27). The range of toys and games which could be played alone increased at the same time that women's role in society was changing.

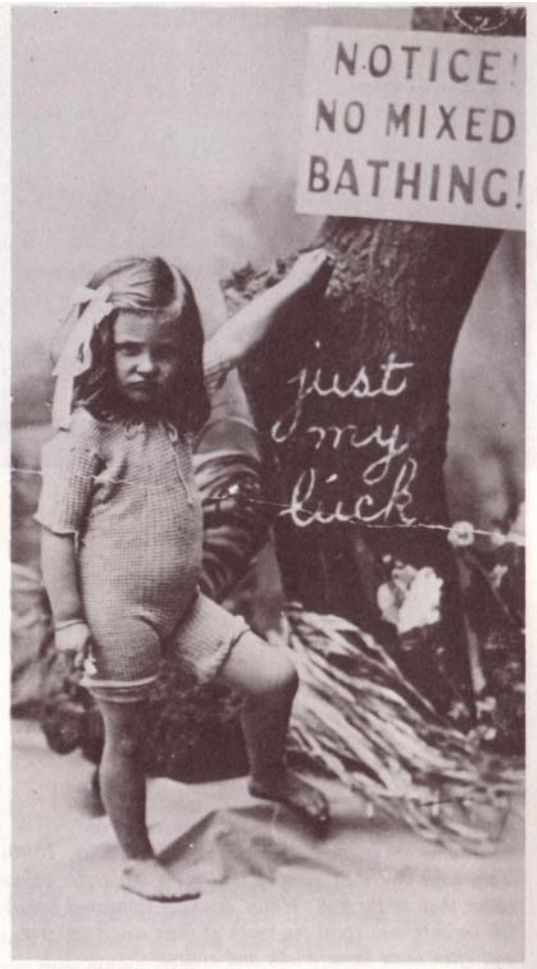

Figure 20. The changing image of childhood c.1900 (Taken from Fabian & Loh 1985:30).

By the early-twentieth century it became more common for women to seek employment outside the home to support their families as more professions not associated with domesticity or the domestic sphere became available (Reiger 1982:378). One example is factory work which became increasingly available and acceptable as a form of employment for young working class girls (Kirkby 1997:75; Larson 1994:112). As discussed in Chapter 4, by 1901 females represented 27% of Victorian breadwinners (Heagney 1935:16). The changing role of women appears to have contributed to a changing attitude towards child-care, as women were busy working and children were given less supervision (Ackermann 1913:87). Toys are often given to children to occupy them without the necessity of too much parental involvement (Sutton-Smith 1986:23). This may explain why Mary Ellen O'Meara had so many dolls to occupy her time. Her mother Mary, as the registered licensee of the Coach and Horses Hotel in 1907-1908, would have had her hands full with an establishment to run and a young family. In hotels like the Coach and Horses where meals and accommodation were provided the work would have been physically demanding and the hours long (Kirkby 1997:35).

Toys may also be purchased to surround children with images of material achievement and social position (Sutton-Smith 1986:87, 246). In fluid societies such as Australia, where rigid class boundaries did not exist, material objects could be used as signifiers of social aspirations rather than as static symbols of class (Miller 1987:135-136). Heather Griggs (1999:94) suggests that material culture associated with the Five Points Irish community in New York was used by economically and socially mobile families to differentiate themselves from the working class of which they had previously been

members. It is possible that the toys, along with the other material culture from the hotel, may be a symbol of the O'Meara family's social mobility and aspirations; particularly as the Coach and Horses appears to represent Cornelius O'Meara's shift from labourer to proprietor (see Chapter 3). Documentary evidence suggests that Cornelius struggled to maintain this position as after his first year as licensee he relinquished the running of the hotel to his wife Mary while he appears to have returned to his previous occupation. It is possible then that the O'Meara's conspicuous consumption was not the result of spending newly found wealth but was more likely an attempt to maintain their social position by an outward display of material goods.

Conspicuous Consumption & Respectability

Australians since early colonial times were active participants in global consumerism, purchasing objects which asserted their modernity, social position and respectability (Lawrence 2000:134; 2003:21). Melbourne's working class placed a high premium on respectable living and fashioned a society in which it was possible to demonstrate and maintain respectability (Larson 1994:54) through the active participation in consumer society and the choice of consumer wares (Lawrence 1995: 189; Fitts 1999; Yamin 2001:166). Janet McCalman (1983:92) pointed out in her study of class and respectability in Richmond, that the Irish community more than any other British cultural group was usually anxious to present a respectable public image to counteract the stereotypical image of the 'dirty and drunken Irish'. She argues that within the working class Irish community economic and social respectability were intertwined as a sense of respectability was only achieved by maintaining a steady income.

Where tensions existed between the social ideology of women's public roles and the realities of everyday life, material culture played a significant part in maintaining a sense of respectability (Lawrence 2000:179). It is possible that the O'Meara family needed to maintain a public and private persona of respectability through their display of consumer items and this may be reflected in the high number of child-related objects present in the assemblage. Mary managed the hotel in the last two years of their tenancy and although women had played a central role in owing and running colonial hotels, at the turn of the century bar work was still not considered a respectable occupation for women (Kirkby 1997:19). The Victorian Royal Commission of 1882-84, which was established to investigate general conditions of employment, singled out women working in bars as in every respect objectionable and demoralising (Kirkby 1997:73).

Yet, many women did work in hotels; some through choice as the pay was better than domestic service and others through economic necessity (Kirkby 1997:25, 48). Most were respectable women simply trying to make a living. However, the temperance movement through public protests and contemporary newspapers through cartoons, maintained an image of the woman behind the bar as one of dubious reputation. It wasn't until the early twentieth century that bar work for women began to lose most of its association with low morals. In hotels which offered hospitability the presence of a woman was seen as less objectionable, as hospitability was closely associated with domesticity. The breweries had no objection to women working in hotels as they considered that the presence of women could contribute to the respectability of a place

(Kirkby 1997:25-100). This was achieved not just by their presence but also by the material culture with which they surrounded themselves which defined them as respectable members of society. The use of material culture such as tableware and ornaments as displays of respectability in working class homes, which were often remote, transient or located in the less salubrious urban neighborhoods, has been well documented (Lawrence 1995, 2000; Yamin 2001; Karskens 2001; Briggs 2005). Private and public displays of respectability appear to have extended to children and their related material culture. Susan Briggs (2005:225), in her study of working class neighborhoods in Port Adelaide, suggests that for some families respectability was maintained by children playing at home and not out in the street. Therefore, toys played with in private, such as ceramic dolls that were too fragile for outside rough and tumble play, would have formed an important part of the display of respectability linked to children.

Summary

The material culture in the assemblage examined for this dissertation informs us not just about the individual experiences of an Edwardian childhood and the range of toys, particularly dolls, available but also offers insights into the household and society. The presence of so many dolls, which documentary sources link to seven year old Mary Ellen O'Meara, suggests a cherished and indulged child. Yet, if we consider the amount of imported toys which were widely sold at low cost in the early decades of the twentieth century, a large collection of ceramic dolls for one child may have been the norm rather than the exception. The sheer number and variety of toys available for Edwardian children reflects the changing social attitudes towards childhood and women's

participation in the work force. As women increasingly joined the workforce, children would have been expected to occupy themselves without too much parental involvement. During this period more toys were manufactured which encouraged quiet, unsupervised and independent play. Mary Ellen's toy collection may simply have been purchased to keep her entertained while her mother managed the hotel.

At the same time, the toys may be symbols of social aspirations. Mary Ellen's parents appear to have been active participants in the consumer culture using material objects to signify their social aspirations and mobility. This is reflected not only in the child-related material culture, but also in the range and quantity of household-related ornaments present in the remainder of the assemblage. For the O'Meara family, their tenancy of the Coach and Horses appears to have been an attempt to move up in the world from labourers to proprietors of their own business. As such, material objects would form an important part of their outward display of social position. Material culture was also used as a display of respectability. Although many women worked in and managed hotels, working in bars had not been considered by many a respectable profession for women. Women who worked in hotels would have had to ensure that their respectability was publicly displayed through their choice of material culture which would have defined them as members of respectable society. Toys which occupied children in the house and kept them from playing in the streets would have played a central role in private and public displays of respectability. What is important to remember is that symbolic use of toys, as with all material culture, is rarely restricted to a single use or meaning. The

child-related material culture associated with the O'Meara family possibly represents many of the functional and symbolic uses discussed in this chapter.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has investigated what child-related material culture can reveal about Edwardian childhood and family life. The material culture of childhood examined here offers insights into the functional and symbolic use of child-related artefacts associated with society, the household and importantly the individual. On a social level the material culture of childhood reflects the emerging modern attitude to childhood associated with the changing social role of women in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Coach and Horses child-related material culture is important for the information it provides about Edwardian family life in an Australian outer urban hotel environment. Within households child-related artefacts may be seen to have played a significant functional and symbolic role as signifiers of social mobility and aspirations as well as a means of maintaining a public and private persona of respectability. The child-related artefacts are a reminder that the hotels of that era served a very different purpose to those of today. Hotels were the centre of communities, providing a social space with meals and accommodation, usually managed by women whose public and private domestic spaces were closely intertwined. Therefore, it is not unusual that children's items are present in a hotel environment where children may have played while their parents worked.

Significantly, the quantity and range of child-related artefacts within the assemblage offers insight into Australia's role in the global consumer market. From the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century, imported German toys were mass produced, readily available and affordable to all socio-economic groups. The presence of these toy types is a tangible reflection of Australian society's active participation in global consumerism on a scale rarely visible on a comparative scale in other sets of material culture.

Although the site was only occupied for a short period by the O'Mearas, the assemblage associated with this family represents a large contribution to the archaeological record. Many child-related assemblages are recovered from under floorboards or cess pits where material was deposited over some time. However, this assemblage, because of its site formation processes, represents a unique time-capsule of Edwardian family life. Importantly, while documentary records offer little details of the O' Meara children beyond birth and death dates, the archaeological record provides information of the children's individual experiences. Of the six children identified as present during this period, one individual can be seen to have left the largest archaeological signature. This too contributes to the uniqueness of the Coach and Horses archaeological site where most of the child-related material culture can be identified as belonging to one individual, Mary Ellen O' Meara. The exploration of the child-related material culture from the Coach and Horses Hotel has enabled us to provide some colour and movement to our understanding of the life of this child, which would have remained invisible had we relied on documentary evidence alone.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Dating Bisque Dolls

Appendix 2

A Simple Guide to Dating Marbles

Addenda CD

Digital Copy of Artefact Catalogue & Photographic Catalogue.

The photographs of bisque doll fragments and toy marbles used as an illustrative guide in Appendix 1 & Appendix 2 are artefacts that form part of the Coach and Horses child-related assemblage. Photographs of complete dolls are of examples from the doll collection held at the National Museum of Ireland. This collection was kindly made available for research as part of this dissertation. All photographs have been reproduced with permission.

APPENDIX 1: Dating Bisque Dolls

German Doll Production 1870-1920s

This section offers a guide to identifying and dating German made porcelain doll heads, which are often found on Australian historical archaeological sites. This discussion focuses on German manufacturers as German doll-makers dominated the world market in terms of production and distribution from 1870 to 1920. At the 1873 Vienna Exhibition Germany had 42 exhibitors, the majority of whom received medals or honorable mentions. It was reported that 30 of these German manufacturers exported their goods all over the world, most of these goods being porcelain doll heads and complete dolls (Coleman 1966:82). French doll-makers continued to receive the top medals of gold and silver for the quality of their porcelain dolls, but produced only a small number of dolls for the export market. This is evident in comparisons of French revenue from the production of porcelain dolls in 1878, which represent only 1% of German revenue in 1873 (Coleman 1966:84-85). This is not surprising when the average price of a French bisque doll head was 40 centimes, compared to 10 centimes for a similar German product (Von Boehn 1932:164). German porcelain factories also produced doll heads for French and American doll manufacturers (Fainges 1991:66). These doll heads were often marked with the German manufacturer's trade mark as well as the other doll maker's mark. Records show that in 1903, German toy factories were producing approximately 20 million bisque and 20 million composition doll heads (Coleman 1966:102).

Most German bisque doll heads imported into Australia in the early 1900s were attached to cloth or composition bodies in local workshops for sale through mail order catalogues and stores (Fainges 1991:114). The production and sale of German bisque dolls was severely disrupted by the First World War. This allowed local manufacturers to develop production and markets and resulted in Germany never regaining supremacy as world doll manufacturers. However, some German porcelain factories still manufactured bisque doll heads for export to Australia up to the 1930s with local doll-makers assembling the dolls under their own distinctive label (Fainges 1986:9; Fainges 1991:117).

Identifying the precise dates of manufacture of bisque doll heads is difficult as many manufacturers produced the same style of doll over a long period of time. By using makers' marks, registered trade marks and mould numbers as well as doll head styles, it may be possible to identify the manufacturer and production dates for a particular doll type. Patented and registered marks offer the most reliable *terminus post quem* and provide a reference point for the start date of production (Coleman 1968:70; Cieslik & Cieslik 1986:6). Likewise, letters such as DEP or DRGM (meaning German registered patent) marked on the back of bisque doll heads are useful indicators of production dates. The doll head style may also be a useful guide to dating, as noticeable shifts in popular doll features can be seen with the introduction of the 'character doll' in 1909 which replaced the 'dolly face' style which had been popular since the late 1860s (Fainges 1991:59; Darbyshire 1996:63; Goodfellow 2004:14). These doll styles are discussed in further detail below. Most German porcelain factories produced a number series to identify the style and size of their doll head moulds. This number series is a useful tool

in identifying the doll manufacturer and occasionally the date that mould model was introduced (Cieslik & Cieslik 1986:6). Complete doll heads are rarely found in archaeological assemblages. However, even fragments of doll features may be useful for identifying the manufacturing process and thereby provide a broad production date. For example doll heads manufactured from pressing the clay into the mould generally predate those manufactured from pouring techniques (Coleman 1968:404).

Four of the major German manufacturers; Armand Marseille, Simon & Halbig, Kestner and Cuno & Otto Dressel, are discussed here in detail. These porcelain factories were considered among the largest producers and exporters of bisque doll heads during the early twentieth century (Fainges 1991:107, 141-142) and their products are therefore more likely to be found in archaeological contexts which date to this period than that of other manufacturers. A discussion of bathing dolls has likewise been included as this ceramic doll type is frequently found in Australian archaeological assemblages (Ellis 2001:151). The following section is by no means a comprehensive guide to identifying and dating German bisque doll heads but is offered as a starting point for further research. The select bibliography listed at the end of this section should be referred to for a more in-depth guide to all German, French and American bisque doll heads manufactured from 1870 to 1920, and Australian dolls manufactured from c1918.

Identifying Features/Marks

Bisque Doll Head/Mould

Bisque is an unglazed, matt finished porcelain produced from Kaolin clay and used in the manufacture of ceramic dolls. Bisque doll heads were manufactured by one of two methods. The first involves pressing the clay into the mould and in the second method the slip was poured. Doll heads produced from the pressed method generally predates those produced using the poured method. The French doll maker Jumeau is known to have used the pressed method for his doll heads up to 1885 or later. From 1894 most doll heads were manufactured by the pored method (Coleman 1968:404). After the paste had hardened sufficiently to hold its shape, the doll heads were removed from the mould and the eye sockets and mouth were cut out. At this stage on some doll models the teeth and applied ears were attached. The head was then fired at a high temperature. When cool the doll features were painted on before a second firing at a lower temperature. The doll head mould was usually produced by master mould makers, with the same doll head style often reproduced in different sizes over a number of years. After approximately 50 castings the mould usually needed to be replaced (Coleman 1968:404-408; Fainges 1991:47).

Composition

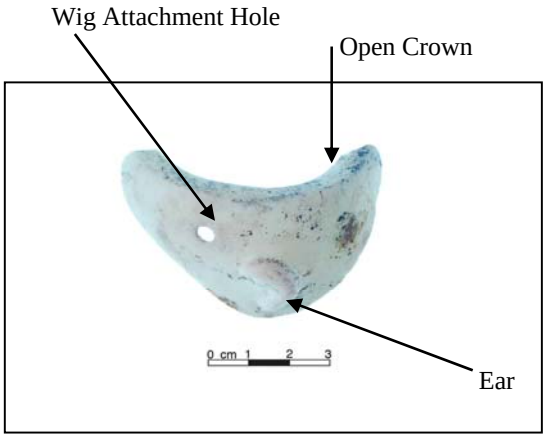
A mixture of ingredients, usually paper, sawdust or flour that is held together with glue or paste (e.g. papier-mâché). This material is fragile and rarely survives in the archaeological record. Composition was often used for doll bodies and limbs with bisque doll heads during the late nineteenth-early twentieth century (Coleman 1966: v).

Jointed body on Armand Marseille Doll 390 series c.1912 (Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland)

Country of Origin "Made in…"

From 1890 most bisque doll heads were inscribed with the county of origin due to tariff acts. As this mark was not required to be permanent it may have appeared as a label or stamp on the doll body rather than an incised mark on doll heads produced in the 1890s (Coleman 1968:80). This would have more than likely been the case for dolls produced from moulds manufactured prior to the commencement of the acts. Where the country of origin is listed only as a single word (e.g. Germany) this indicates a date after 1891.

When the country name is preceded by the words ‘Made in..’ this suggests a date after 1898 (White 1975:21).



Crown/Pate

Late nineteenth century porcelain doll heads usually have an opening at the top of the head which was filled with a layer of cardboard to which the wig was attached. Some heads have up to four holes in the porcelain to secure the wig. One hole is usually present just above each ear, another on top of the head and a fourth at the base of the skull (White 1966:23-24).

DEP

Depose in French and *Deponiert* in German, means registered design or trademark. These letters are frequently found on the back of doll necks manufactured after 1884. The actual word ‘trade mark’ was added to some dolls after the passing of the *Trademarks Act* in 1862. As a general guide the word Trademark appears in 1881, Schutzmarke in 1875, Fabrikmarke in 1876 and DEP after 1884 (White 1966:201).

Dolly Face & Character Dolls

From the mid-nineteenth century, bisque doll head designs changed from depicting the adult features of the lady fashion doll, to representations of the idealised features of an eight to ten year old child. This style is generally referred to as a ‘dolly face’. In the early years of the twentieth century there was another noticeable shift in the style of doll head to the realistic, sometimes even unattractive, baby features of the ‘character doll’ which became widely available and popular from 1910 (Fainges 1991:59; Darbyshire 1996:63).

Armand Marseille 390 series ‘dolly face’ c.1905

Simon & Halbig character doll c.1910

(Photographs courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland)

Doll Names

Doll heads with an inscribed name (located at the back of the head) can usually be securely dated as these names were generally registered trade names (White 1966:201). For example, Armand Marseille registered the name *Florodora* in 1901, and Cuno & Otto Dressel registered the trade names *Fifth Ave Dolls* in 1903 and *Jutta* in 1906 (White1966). A comprehensive list of registered trade names is available in the references listed below.

DRGM

Deutsches-Reichs-Gebrautzt-Muster means a German registered design patent. This mark appears on some bisque doll heads manufactured after 1891 (Fainges 1991:71). DRGM on a doll head indicates that the design was registered for at least three years but no longer than six (six years being the limit for exclusive rights). The letters DRWZ appear on some toys manufactured after 1919, indicating that the trademark was registered for ten years. Another mark which may appear on some toys manufactured after 1922 is GmbH alongside a place name. From 1949 DRGM appears as DRBM when the word *Reichs* was replaced by *Bundes* (White 1975:21).

DRP

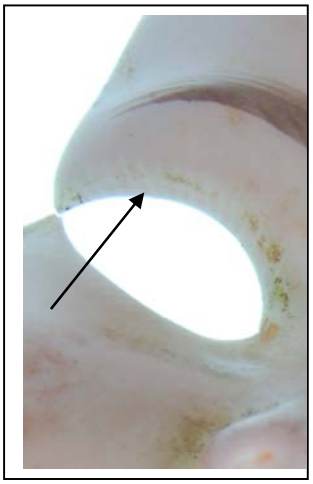
Deutsches Reich Patent, meaning German Patent, occasionally appears on doll heads manufactured after 1884 (White 1975:20).

Eyebrows

Eyebrows were usually painted on bisque doll heads but some firms, like Kammer & Reinhardt, produced doll heads with moulded eyebrows (White 1966:54). Kestner produced doll heads with eyebrows of hair and fur (mould number 195) and these are easily identified by two long holes positioned above the eyes where the hair/fur was threaded through. This design was first patented in 1909. Kid-bodied bisque-head dolls with hair eyebrows were priced from 50 cents upwards and were one of the most popular lines in America by 1912 (Coleman 1968:104, 221).

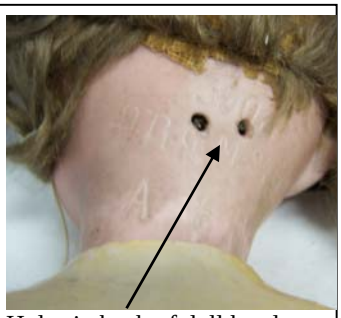
Eyelashes

Coleman (1968:221) suggests that both upper and lower eyelashes were painted on dolls with stationary eyes, and only the lower lashes are present on sleeping eyed dolls. However, an examination of the German and French bisque dolls in the collection of the National Museum Dublin showed that dolls with sleeping eyes had both upper and lower lashes applied. Therefore, the presence/absence of painted upper lashes is not a reliable method to determine whether doll glass eyes were fixed or sleeping. The picture on the right shows that although the painted eyelashes are no longer evident there remains a shadow where they once were. The presence of this shadow may be useful in identifying doll elements to determine the MNI (see Chapter 5).

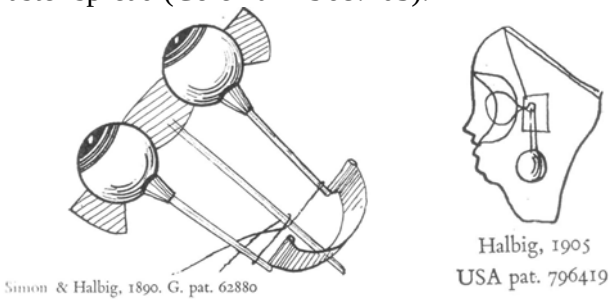


Eyes (Blown Glass Eyes)

German workshops produced three quarters of the world's demand for glass doll eyes from c.1880s to c.1914 (Coleman 1968:417). Sleeping eyes were glass eyes set in bisque doll heads which closed when the doll was placed in a recumbent position. By late 1880s it was common for most bisque dolls to be fitted with sleeping eyes (White 1966:58). Sleeping eyes were made by joining two spherical glass eyes to a wire bridge with a weight suspended from the centre. When the doll is held upright the weight points to the floor and when the doll is laid down the weight swings to the back of the head (see Simon & Halbig patents below). This sleeping eye mechanism was the most popular type. Other inventive eye mechanisms appear on more expensive doll types from c.1901-c.1920s. These mechanisms allowed the eyes to move from side to side (Fainges 1991:74). Bisque doll heads with sleeping eyes usually have two holes in the back of the head where the eye mechanism was tied during transportation (Fainges 1991:73; White 1966:61-62). The presence of these holes is useful to identify whether the doll was produced with sleeping or fixed eyes. Fixed eyes were immobile glass eyes set into place using wax and/or plaster spread (Coleman 1968:405).



Holes in back of doll head where eye weight was tied during transportation (Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland)

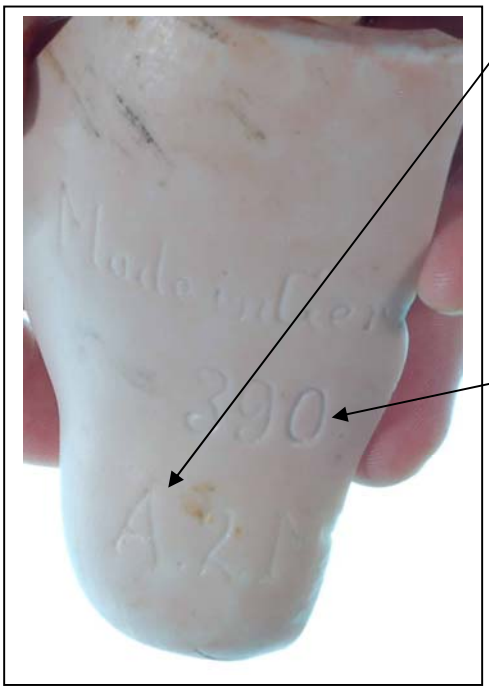


Simon & Halbig 'Sleeping Eyes' 1890 & 1905 Patents (Taken from White 1966: 60-61)

Ears
Most German bisque doll heads manufactured from the 1870s onwards have moulded ears. Applied ears, attached to the doll head after it was removed from the mould, only appear on large model dolls and some French dolls (Pearson 1992:13; Darbyshire 1996:98). The presence of small holes in the ear lobe indicates that the doll originally came with earrings. Most French dolls and the better quality German dolls came with earrings in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century (Pearson 1992:13).

Flange-neck
Commonly found on baby dolls with cloth bodies after 1910, this type of bisque head has a groove in the base of the neck allowing the cloth body to be secured to the bisque head (Fainges 1991:75).

Maker's Marks
Maker's marks, registered designs and mould numbers are usually found at the back of the doll's neck on socket-head dolls and the rear shoulder of shoulder-head dolls (White 1975:142). Registered marks often varied with some manufacturers using different variations of their trade mark at the same time (White 1966:230-231; for example see Armand Marseille marks illustrated below). Some doll heads display the trademark and/or mould number of both the manufacturer of the bisque head and the doll maker who assembled the complete doll (White 1966:201; Fainges 1991:142).



Manufacturer's Initials
Prior to 1922 most bisque doll head manufacturers' names were displayed as initials. After 1922, the maker's name was usually written in full to comply with copyright laws (Coleman 1968:8). However, this is not a hard and fast rule as some doll-makers' names appear in full on doll heads before this date (White 1975:142).

Mould Numbers
These numbers rarely represent production dates but usually refer to the mould size or style or both (White 1966:200). Single or two figure numbers usually refer to size (see the example of Kestner numbers listed below). Several firms used the same mould numbers, therefore doll manufacturer can rarely be identified by mould number alone (Coleman 1966:103-104).

Mouth/Teeth

Dolls with an open mouth showing teeth were produced from the 1890s (Pearson 1992:12; Fainges 1991:107; White 1966:26). Larger heads generally had four teeth and smaller heads two (Coleman 1968:406). The picture on the right shows how teeth were attached to the inside of the doll head before firing.

Shoulder-head

This is a term used for bisque doll heads where the head and shoulder are moulded as one piece (Darbyshire 1996:99). Shoulder-heads are usually found on dolls with kid or cloth bodies. Shoulder-head dolls manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century usually have three holes in the front and three in the back where the head was sewn to the doll body. Later shoulder-head dolls have two holes in the front and two in the back, or no holes. Shoulder-head dolls with no holes were attached to the doll body by means of a very strong glue (White 196:2).

Socket-head

This attachment is usually found on bisque dolls with jointed bodies made of composition, or a mixture of wood and composition. The bottom of the doll's head is hemispherical in shape and fits into the neck socket on composition bodies, or the shoulder section of swivel head dolls. Socket head baby with cloth bodies were produced from c.1909 (see **Flange-neck** above). These are often referred to as dome socket-heads and are easily identifiable as this type did not have a crown/pate opening (Fainges 1991:145).

Major German Doll Manufacturers

Kestner

Kestner was one of the largest toy factory owners in Germany by the late 1840s. From 1890 until 1910, the company produced both shoulder-head and socket-head dolls (Fainges 1991:107). Kestner is one of the few porcelain factories known to have manufactured the entire doll, not just the head.

- In 1891, Kestner advertised that his bisque dolls came with either cloth, kid or jointed composition bodies (Coleman 1966:43). Kestner's distinctive crown trademark first appeared on his bisque doll heads in 1895 (Coleman 1966:43).

Kestner Mark 1895

Kestner Mark 1915

- Kestner doll heads usually display both a letter and mould number indicating the size of the doll (e.g. A5, B6, K14). After 1892, these marks were usually accompanied by the initials JDK (Kestner's initials) and the words 'Made in Germany' (Fainges 1991:107).
- Doll heads produced by Kestner with mould numbers 171, 180, 186, 187 and 195 do not carry the initials JDK, but are known to be Kestner heads of 1909 or later. Mould number 195 was used for bisque doll heads with fur eyebrows (Coleman 1966:103-104).

Armand Marseille

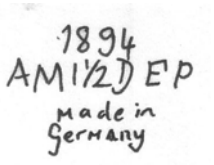
Armand Marseille was the most prolific German porcelain doll head manufacturer from 1865-c.1930. The company was known for producing bisque doll heads which were considered cheap, pretty and saleable. From 1900, until the First World War disruption to production, the Armand Marseille 390 and 370 bisque headed doll series were imported into Australia in large numbers (Fainges 1991:13-14, 114; Darbyshire 1996:55).

- Early Armand Marseille dolls are usually marked with the model number 1894-AM-DEP-Made in Germany, with the mould number often set in between the letters AM and DEP (see example illustrated below). This doll series usually had fixed or sleeping glass eyes, wool wigs and kid, or jointed, composition bodies (White 1975:141).
- The 370 series shoulder-head dolls had wigs, sleeping eyes and kid or cotton bodies. The lower arms and legs were usually composed of composition (a kind which crumbles easily). This series was manufactured from the 1890s to c1930 (Cieslik & Cieslik 1986:78).
- The 390 series are socket head dolls with jointed composition bodies (White 1975:141-142). This series was manufactured from 1890 to c.1930 (Fainges 1991:114).
- White (1966:231) suggests that after 1900 the initials AM were gradually replaced by the full name Armand Marseille and the letters DEP disappeared on

some moulds. However, Armand Marseille continued to use the initials A.M. on some bisque doll heads produced in the 1930s (Fainges 1991:134; Coleman 1966:107).

- The letters D.R.G.M. usually appear on Armand Marseille dolls after 1909 (Pearson 1992:102).
- Various anchor trade marks for doll heads were registered by Armand Marseille in 1910, and the following mould numbers introduced: 500, 520, 560A, 600, 620, 621, 630, 640a and 800 (Fainges 1991:116).
- In 1912 the mould number 390*n* was introduced along with mould numbers 250 and 252 (Fainges 1991:116). The 400 series mould number is believed to have been used after 1926 (Darbyshire 1996:58).
- Armand Marseille produced bisque doll heads for Australian doll making firms Laurie Cohen and Hoffnungs in the 1930s. These were usually flange-neck doll heads with the initials A. M. followed by one of the following mould numbers; 318, 341, 351, 352, 382, 384 or 518. Celluloid arms and legs for these dolls were imported from Japan and attached to cloth bodies made in Australia (Fainges 1991:34).

The Armand Marseille maker's marks shown below are a small sample of the range and style of registered marks used by the company from 1894 to 1920. Many of these designs can be used to provide a secure *terminus post quem* for most Armand Marseille doll heads (Cieslik & Cieslik 1986; White 1966, 1975).



c.1894

c.1910

Registered 1912

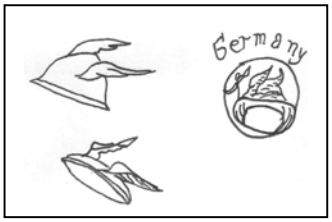
c.1920

Cuno & Otto Dressel

Cuno & Otto Dressel are the oldest known toy makers for which records exist. Established in 1789, the company produced bisque doll heads from 1870 to 1926. Records of the Melbourne Exhibitions, held in 1880 and 1888, show that Cuno & Otto Dressel displayed dolls of every description (Fainges 1991:68; Coleman 1968:200). Cuno & Otto Dressel were known for their great variety in good looking doll heads which were available for low prices. Other German manufacturers produced doll heads for Cuno & Otto Dressel (e.g. Armand Marseille, Heubach and Simon & Halbig). The maker's mark of these firms may also appear on bisque doll heads alongside the Cuno & Otto Dressel mark. For example, Cuno & Otto Dressel doll heads marked *Jutta* or with mould number 1349, were manufactured by Simon & Halbig. These doll heads were incised with the maker's marks of both firms (Coleman 1968:339, 571).

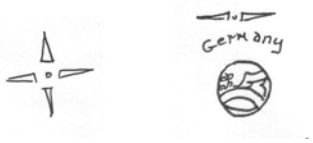
- Cuno & Otto Dressel registered the distinctive *Holz-Masse* (winged helmet) sign as a trademark in 1875 (White 1968:339).
- *Jutta* was a registered trademark name for a doll with a bisque head and jointed composition body produced by Cuno & Otto Dressel from 1906-21 (Fainges 1991:70).

- Most Cuno and Otto Dressel bisque dolls manufactured after 1912 have the *Holz-Masse* trade mark stamped on the front of the body rather than the back of the head (White 1975:144).



Cuno & Otto Dressel *Holz-Masse* mark (shown on the left) appears as a winged helmet in 1875. By 1885 the winged helmet is enclosed in a circle with the country of origin marked above (White 1975:19).

Below is a sample of maker's marks frequently used by Cuno & Otto Dressel from 1891 to c.1920 (Fainges 1991:70).



Cuno & Otto Dressel Maker's Mark on doll fragment

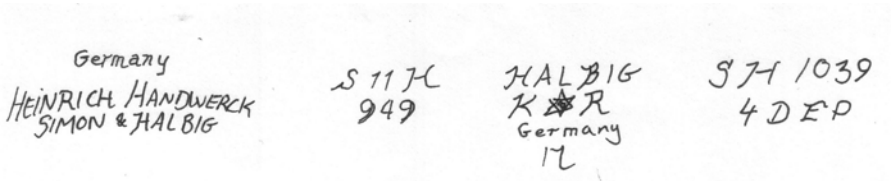
Simon & Halbig

From 1870-1930 Simon & Halbig were the second largest German manufacturer of bisque doll heads after Armand Marseille (Fainges 1991:141-142).

- All models of bisque doll heads manufactured by Simon & Halbig have open mouths showing teeth (White 1975:153).
- S & H was registered as a trademark in Germany 1905. It appears that Simon & Halbig dolls manufactured prior to this date did not carry the ampersand (Coleman 1966:67; White 1975:153).
- S & H above or below a star in between the letters K and R (see below) indicates a manufacture date after 1909 when the Simon & Halbig and Kammer & Reinhardt firms combined (White 1975:153).
- German patents for moveable glass doll eyes were issued to Simon & Halbig in 1890, 1891, 1893, 1903, 1905 and 1914 (Coleman 1968:568).
- One of the most popular Simon & Halbig designs was mould number 1079, a dolly faced version. Mould number 1010 was produced in the early 1880s and mould number 1160 was advertised as late as 1916 (Fainges 1991:141-144).
- Simon & Halbig used a four-figure mould number for their doll heads. Mould numbers ending with 9 were socket head dolls, ending with 0 were shoulder-head dolls (Fainges 1991:144).

719	909	1009	1160	1249	1329
739	939	1010	1129	1250	1349
759	949	1040	1159	1260	
	950	1059	1199	1269	
	970	1079		1279	

- Simon & Halbig manufactured doll heads for other doll-makers with the mould number of both firms usually both appearing on the doll head. Cuno & Otto Dressel, Kammer & Reinhardt, Heinrich Handwerck and C. M. Bergman are among the better known doll-makers to have used Simon & Halbig doll heads (Fainges 1991:141-144).
- Apart from their shoulder-head dolls, Simon & Halbig doll heads are usually clearly marked and easily identifiable (King 1973:125). A sample of Simon & Halbig maker's marks are illustrated below.



Mark used c.1910-1914 | 1888-1904 | Registered 1909 | Registered 1891

Bathing Dolls/ Frozen Charlottes/ Pudding Dolls

Bathing dolls are frequently found on historic archaeological sites in Australia. This type of doll is a complete ceramic doll manufactured using a simple 2 piece mould. Bathing dolls were produced in large numbers by nearly all German porcelain factories in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Fainges 1991:14-21, 142-144).

- This doll type is known as a bathing doll (Badekinder), frozen charlotte, penny doll or pudding doll. The name bathing doll refers to the fact that these dolls, unlike part bisque or cloth dolls, could be immersed in water (Fainges 1991:21, 42). The name frozen Charlotte is believed to come from a contemporary New England ballad about a young lady who went for a sleigh ride without her wrap and was frozen stiff. As this doll type usually had immovable arms and a stiff body, the name frozen charlotte became popular for all-china dolls without joints (White 1966:103).
- Penny doll or pudding doll is the most popular name for this doll type. The name pudding doll developed from the popularity of the smaller dolls exported to Australia, America and England as pudding or cake favours from around 1906 (Fainges 1991:25-27, 42).
- Sizes range from 2 cm up to 30 cm, although the larger size dolls are rare. Early bathing dolls are usually naked with the arms moulded close to the side of the body or one arm flexed across the chest.
- Most bathing dolls were undecorated glazed or unglazed white porcelain but some dolls manufactured in the early twentieth century were painted and highly decorated. Later dolls may also be identified by their moulded bonnets and/or clothes' and many had moveable arms attached to the body by string.
- Similar miniature all-bisque dolls, produced by Japan and sold in Australia after 1910, are usually marked Nippon and are easily distinguishable by a more porous finish, which is paler and whiter in colour (Fainges 1991:27).

Pudding Dolls (excavated from the Coach & Horses Hotel site).

German porcelain factories with records for the production and export of bathing dolls and the known dates of production are listed below (Fainges 1991:14- 21, 142-144):

- Kling 1886-1926;
- Heubach, Kampfe & Sontag 1888-c.1900 (present at the 1888 Melbourne Exhibition, and in 1891 advertised that the firm exported bathing dolls to Australia);
- Hertwig & Co 1888-1913 (in 1888 advertised that bathing dolls exported to Australia);
- Kestner 1888-1925;
- Kammer & Reinhardt 1890;
- Kloster Veilsdorf 1893-1940s;
- Armand Marseille 1893 (produced jointed bathing dolls from this date);
- Bandorf & Co 1893-1913;
- Max Herman & Robert Conta 1893-1923 (their trade mark of a knight's arm with a sword and shield can often be found on the sole of bathing dolls' feet. Another distinguishing feature of some of their bathing dolls is a clenched fist with a hole inside);
- Simon & Halbig 1895-1913 (some bathing dolls produced by Simon & Halbig may be marked with the number 800);
- Bahr & Proschild 1905;
- Goebel 1908;and
- Buchold Max 1913- 1920 (in 1920 advertised bathing dolls with bonnet heads, stiff bodies and moveable arms).

Select Doll Bibliography

The following select bibliography is a guide to publications which offer comprehensive illustrations, information and dates for the registration of makers' marks, mould numbers and trade marks/names found on bisque dolls.

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Goodfellow, C. 2004. *Dolls*. Shire Publication, Buckinghamshire.

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White, G.1975. *Toys, Dolls, Automata Marks and Labels*. B. T. Batsford Ltd, London.

APPENDIX 2: A Simple Guide to Dating Marbles

Earthenware Marbles c.1870 - 1920

Clay and stone marbles are considered the earliest type of toy marbles to be produced commercially (Baumann 2004:22). These inexpensive, common low-fired marbles are often referred to as 'commies' in contemporary accounts (Carskadden & Gartley 1990:56). By the late 1880s, Germany and America were producing this marble type in large quantities. While it is impossible to distinguish between German, American or small scale British manufacturers, German production and export of clay marbles dominated the world market until the First World War disrupted production. One German marble factory is recorded to have employed 20 men who produced over 3,000 marbles an hour using a hand mould to produce the best selling 15 mm diameter marble. The factory also had three machines capable of producing 20,000 marbles per hour. However, machine made clay marbles were of a lower quality than commercially hand made clay marbles (Baumann 2004:22-23). Earthenware marbles are also occasionally known to have been homemade as they were easily produced from pottery quality clay (Carskadden & Gartley 1990:56). Commies usually occur in natural clay colours of tans, reds, browns and greys and are often unglazed and undecorated. Decorated commies became popular in the 1890s and decorations commonly occur as irregularly shaped criss-cross lines, lines of paint running in circles or bright splashes/speckles of various colours. Earthenware marbles are rarely perfectly round with many appearing oblong or flat sided (Baumann 2004:24).

'Commie' or Earthenware Marble

Porcelain c.1850 - early 1900s

By the 1850s some German porcelain factories had begun to specialise in the production of porcelain marbles (Baumann 2004:31). These marbles usually called 'chinas', were manufactured using fine white kaolin clay fired at high temperatures. Glazed and unglazed chinas were usually decorated with hand-painted designs of lines, leaves or flowers (Carskadden & Gartley 1990:57). The most popular design was that of simple parallel lines of different colours encircling the marble. The pigments used to decorate porcelain marbles could not withstand high temperatures required during firing so

decorations were painted over the glaze. Because of this glazed porcelain marbles tend to loose their decoration quicker than unglazed porcelain marbles (Baumann 2004:31-33). Paul Baumann (2004:31-36) has a comprehensive guide, accompanied by colour photographs, of the range of decorated chinas which were produced by German and American manufacturers in the nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century glazed and unglazed chinas remained cheaper than German hand made glass marbles (Carskadden & Gartley 1990:57).

'China' Porcelain Marble
(Discoloration is due to taphonomic processes)

Stoneware c.1870 – early 1900s

One of the most common types of marble in the nineteenth century was the German stoneware 'Bennington' marble. Benningtons are easily identified by their distinctive bright manganese blue and brown colours, which often have a mottled appearance. These colours were the only two glaze types that could withstand the high temperature used in firing (Baumann 2004:24-25). Another distinguishing feature of the Bennington is the numerous 'eyes' on the surface. These are circular areas lacking glaze where the marbles touched each other during firing (Carskadden & Gartley 1990:57).

Bennington Marbles showing distinctive 'eyes' caused during firing

Hand Made Glass Marbles c.1850 - 1920

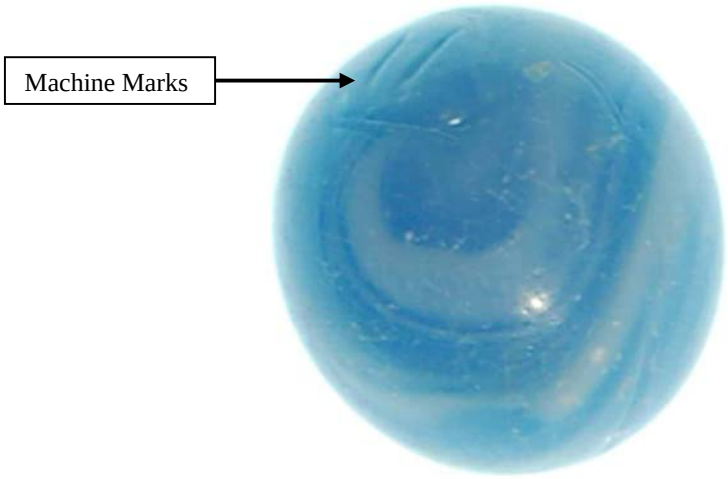
Hand made glass marbles were produced commercially in Germany from 1846 to c.1920 (Randall 1971:103). Although America, and Britain on a smaller scale, also produced hand made glass marbles, German marble production dominated the world market (Baumann 2004:40). Hand made glass marbles can be identified by irregular spots at opposite ends of the marble. These spots are the points where the marble was cut from the glass rod. One spot usually appears rougher, having been cut and ground down, while the other end is smoother, having been pushed up into a 'rounding cup' (Randall 1971:104). The most common design is the German Swirl made of clear glass with a spiral of various colours of glass in the centre. The spiral twists to meet, or almost meet, at the ground end of the marble (Randall 1971:104). The spiral, or core of hand made glass marbles are usually solid or divided; more complex core designs are considered rare (Baumann 2004:61-64).

German Swirl hand made marble with solid core

German Swirl hand made marble with divided core

Early Machine Made Glass Marbles c.1900 - 1926

Early machine made marbles can be distinguished from modern marbles by the presence of roughened ends with evidence of grinding and cutting present at one end. Unlike the hand made glass marbles, which are clear glass with a coloured core, early machine made marbles have an opaque or translucent colour as the base. Another identifying feature of early machine made marbles is that they usually have a thick application of swirling glass very near the surface which can sometimes be felt. By 1905, early machine made marbles were been produced on a commercial scale by American companies (Randall 1971:105).



Early Machine Made Marble

Later Machine Made Marbles c. 1950 - present

Later machine made marbles are usually referred to as 'cats eyes'. This type is easily identifiable by its smooth exterior and the coloured blade-like pattern in the centre of the colourless marble. This type was mass produced in Japan from the 1950s to the present. Earlier types of this marble are generally free from air bubble inclusions, while later ones are not (Ellis 2001:176).

Machine Made Marbles
(the marble on the right with fewer inclusions, pre-dates the marble on the left)

Addenda CD

Digital Copy of Artefact Catalogue & Photograph Catalogue.