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AUSTRALIA

Developing an Archaeology of Childhood Experiences in Australia 1788 - 1901

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Abstract

'How we appraise [children's] present and their future depends on what we know about the past' (Fass 2008:12).

Children form a major part of society representing a significant demographic component. Baxter (2005a:10) argues that children represent up to 60% of the population responsible for the creation of the archaeological record. The challenge is in developing the competency to recognise them as well as develop effective theoretical and methodological approaches to better allow inferences about their lives. My research addresses this challenge with an archaeological investigation of European childhood in Australia spanning the years 1788 - 1901. This period encompasses the colonial era – an era rich with complex social rules, rights and expectations; an era in which children were supposedly enculturated via a process of socialisation with ideals and values imposed upon them in order to achieve a range of desired and expected outcomes as determined by adults. As Baxter (2005a:23) argues, explanations regarding the transmission of cultural knowledge from adults to children have long been associated with the concept of socialisation. However, many issues and situations in this process were negotiable. The concept of socialisation is problematic in that it denies children's agency. Sociological research demonstrates that children are 'active social agents who interpret, select and appropriate ideas and behaviours in particular ways' (Damon 1977:8-9). They have their own sense of self with their own identities, priorities, hopes, fears and views – in a real sense, their own culture and are capable of interacting and negotiating with other people and their environment in complex and varied ways. Recognising that children are social actors who are not merely affected by society nor do they simply internalise society and culture, but rather they actively contribute to cultural production and change, is therefore fundamental to understanding children's agency. Theoretical developments in contemporary studies of childhood reveal a better understanding of the relationships between children, society and culture, and the creativity and autonomy of children and peer cultures in contemporary societies (see Corsaro and Fingerson 2003:125).

Influenced by previous studies generated by both classic and contemporary theorists, this multidisciplinary study draws on theoretical developments in childhood research in the fields of social psychology, sociology, history, anthropology and archaeology in the archaeological

analysis of childhood in colonial Australia. Because artefacts, including toys, are imbued with meanings that are dependent upon their social context, the research focuses on types of child-related material culture and children's use of such items during their play and learning. Comprising data from 18 sites and museum collections throughout Australia the research provides a synthesis of childhood experiences during the colonial era and a rare glimpse into the everyday lives and minds of the children themselves. Unique in its methodological and theoretical approach, the research integrates social cognitive theory (a core property of agency theory) as outlined by Bandura (2006) with the various approaches to agency studies in archaeology, as outlined in Dobres and Robb (2005) and the application of the sociological theory of interpretive reproduction developed by Corsaro (1992; 1997) as the overarching approach. Whilst not denying the reality of degrees of adult influence and attempts of socialisation, interpretive reproduction focuses on childhood as a social construction resulting from collective action amongst children and between children and adults. It replaces traditional notions of socialisation with the view that children are co-creators of society who engage in a process of appropriation, reinvention, and reproduction, in the past and present, rather than a process of adaptation and internalisation. Utilising interpretive reproduction as the overarching theoretical framework has allowed greater visibility of children's culture, agency and the creativity of the children themselves as opposed to society's perceived expectations of the adults they were to become. Moreover, analysis shows that whilst adults controlled the sourcing, purchase and selection of material culture they deemed appropriate for the children, according to their ideals, hopes and aspirations, some children had a considerable degree of agency, creativity and choice, suggesting that it was not so much what the adults intended for the children but what the children intended for themselves.

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Acknowledgements

I awoke one morning over ten years ago and asked myself a question, the answer to which would completely change the course of my life. I asked myself, if I could do anything with my life and there were no boundaries, what would it be? The answer came quickly with a resounding 'I would be an archaeologist'. It was always a dream. My next question was, 'what is stopping me'? There were of course boundaries, some real some imagined. I could have put it all in the too hard basket and forgotten the whole conversation with myself. However, once that tantalising idea entered my mind, I could not let it go, especially as the idea of living with regret did not appeal to me. Rather, I chose to identify those boundaries and investigate whether or not I could overcome them. I did not know if I was up to the task but I would never know if I did not try. And so here I am. Exploring the past is an adventure, and I have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity to explore the lives of children in the past and there are many people I must thank for making this possible.

It is said that a PhD is a lonely undertaking, and indeed there were times I felt this acutely. However, during my time at UQ, I have made many friends who were always there with support, encouragement and advice. Firstly, I would like to thank my advisor Dr Jon Prangnell for his guidance and encouragement and particularly for instilling a desire to explore archaeological theory and ask questions about how and why we do things the way we do in archaeology. Secondly, thanks must go to Professor Janeen Baxter for alerting me to the theoretical developments in sociology regarding the study of children and childhood. I was intrigued when she said, 'socialisation, we've moved on'. That one statement changed the course of my research before I had even begun.

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Key Words

Childhood in the past, interpretive reproduction theory, material culture.

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1 Introduction

Children should not be peripheral in archaeological studies of human societies. Cross-culturally children are active participants in economic, social, political and religious systems. Indeed, children are an essential contributing factor in the success of these systems and the societies in which they function (Baxter 2005a:11). They represent a significant demographic component, comprising up to 60 percent of the population at most excavated archaeological sites (Baxter 2005a:11). Children contribute to the archaeological record; the challenge is in developing the competency to recognise them along with the development of effective theoretical and methodological approaches to better allow inferences about their lives. This research is about developing an archaeology of childhood. It is about the material culture of childhood and identifying children's experiences, behaviour and culture, all of which, are influenced by the social interactions between children, their peers and adults.

Children are the future of every community, since its perpetuation relies on the effective training and adaptation of each successive generation (Belsky *et al.* 1984; Sofaer Derevenski 1994a). Early studies of children in the archaeological record have mainly focused on sub-adult skeletal remains. While analysis of mortuary remains can reflect children's care, nutrition and mortality, they are unable to reveal information on children's everyday activities, social interaction and behaviour. Studying children from mortuary remains was popular largely because of the view that material culture associated with children and childhood is often ephemeral and 'highly enigmatic' (Wylie 1990:31). This view mirrored that of early studies of women in archaeology. The exclusion of women and children from archaeological interpretations has resulted in biased accounts of the past. The problem is not so much concerned with sources but rather, just as it was with early studies of women in archaeology, greater theorising and reconceptualising is essential in providing visibility of children in the archaeological record (Conkey and Spector 1984). A number of theoretical issues challenge childhood research, namely associated with the definition of terms and the ambiguities related to defining the child and childhood.

The concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' have dominated theoretical debate in archaeological research on childhood and children (e.g. Baxter 2005; Hug 2008; Lillehammer 1989, 2000,

2008; Roder 2008; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Whilst there have been theoretical developments in the archaeological literature associated with the study of children, alternative definitions and constructions of childhood must be culturally situated and children must be viewed as cultural and social actors if accurate interpretations are to be made from the archaeological record (Baxter 2008:172). Recognising that children are social actors who affect and are affected by society and culture is essential to understanding early child development and socialisation.

Dommasnes (2008) argues that the socialisation of children is a fundamental aspect of all human societies. Sofaer Derevenski (1994a:3) states, 'the process of socialising children into their various roles and duties is a mechanism for change and continuity, as well as the production and reproduction of cultural knowledge'. This belief follows Hirschfeld's (2002) anthropological premise that culture is learned and not inherited and central to the ways in which many archaeologists have approached the study of childhood. The ways in which cultural information is imparted to children has been at the forefront of theoretical debate about childhood in archaeology for some time (Baxter 2005; Kamp 2001; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000). Over the past few years, social psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and archaeologists have reconceptualised early child development and suggest that understanding socialisation relies on a better understanding of children's agency. Understanding the relationships between children, society and culture, has allowed sociologists to gain a greater understanding of the creativity and autonomy of children and peer cultures in contemporary society (Corsaro and Fingerson 2003:125). Moreover, there is a greater awareness of the ways in which power relations and economic policies impact the quality of children's lives by either enhancement or limitation. However, what of the children of the past? How might we better understand their agency? What theories and methods can be employed to render past children's culture, autonomy and creativity more visible?

Questions and Aims

This thesis explores what it means to be a European child in colonial era Australia between 1788 -1901 and how children's experiences are reflected in childhood related material. The research aims to explore the experiences of European children by examining the relationship between children and child specific material culture. It seeks to discover the 'life expressions' of the children themselves. The research is contextually and culturally specific

with its focus on European children and childhood during the colonial era. During the colonial period in Australia, the majority of children were either Indigenous or of European background. Between 1788 and 1840, over 80,000 involuntary and voluntary immigrants arrived from Britain, Ireland and to a lesser degree, other British colonies. Between 1851 and 1861, with the onset of the gold rush, over 600,000 immigrants arrived, the majority from Britain and Ireland with 60,000 being from continental Europe. Although mostly European, the gold rush saw other ethnic groups arriving including Chinese, American, New Zealand and the South Pacific however in far fewer numbers (Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales online). The types of material culture included in the study have been recovered from colonial contexts, and therefore the study is restricted to the colonial period from 1788 to 1901. There are no artefacts relating to Indigenous children. A choice was made at the onset of the research to not include artefacts associated with Indigenous children as a study of how Indigenous children's experiences are reflected in childhood related material culture specific to Indigenous culture is a topic worthy of investigation in its own right. For an examination of Indigenous children's toys and play see Haagen 1994. Ethnicities other than Britishness are difficult to determine in the material culture and therefore, the interpretation focuses on the ethnic majority who were British.

Whilst there were a variety of ethnic backgrounds in Australia during the colonial period, the majority of the children were European, having immigrated from Europe or that were born in Australia to European parents. Designed to add to the body of literature of children and childhood in archaeological research, this dissertation also aims to improve archaeological competence in recognising the effects of children and their behaviour in the archaeological record. It also seeks to make visible the relationships and expressions of the children themselves via the archaeological record. This entails the use of specific theories borrowed from social psychology and sociology with an additional goal of investigating the suitability of interpretive reproduction theory as an alternative to socialisation theory in acknowledging and understanding children's culture and experiences. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

- What does it mean to be a child in colonial era Australia?
- How are children's experiences reflected in the material culture?

Addressing these questions requires a review of the literature associated with childhood studies, both contemporary and in the past.

Rationale

While social, political and religious aspects of societies and cultures have long been considered important topics in anthropology and archaeology, the history of childhood has largely been neglected until recently. The adult world has conventionally predominated history and childhood has been seen as an irrelevant subject matter (Thomas 2008:3). Anthropologists have lamented the marginalisation of children in anthropological research (Gottlieb 2000; Hardman 1973; Hirschfeld 2002; Schwartzman 2008). Similarly, archaeologists have questioned the lack of attention in the literature to the archaeology of children and the modern tendency to marginalise their importance in reconstructions of the archaeological past (Baxter 2000; Kamp 2001; Lillehammer 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000a). The exclusion of children from archaeological enquiry is due to a number of unique challenges. For example, various researchers have highlighted the ambiguous relationship between children and the material and the historical record (Bonnichsen 1973; Hammond and Hammond 1981; Lillehammer 1989). Documentary sources often theorize and idealize children, however significant insight is rarely offered into their lives and the lived experience of children (Calvert 1992a). Moreover, the difficulty in arriving at a practical definition of the notion of 'child' and 'childhood' similarly contributes to the neglect (Prangnell and Quirk 2009). This is largely due to temporal and cross-cultural differences in the definition of 'child'. Despite such cultural variations however, childhood is a category unique to the human species existing in all human cultures and societies (Baxter 2005a:1). Notwithstanding such challenges, attitudes have changed dramatically in recent years and the study of children of the past is now becoming popular among researchers with new studies frequently appearing. Indeed, it can now be said that the study of childhood in the past has come of age. Thomas (2008:3) suggests two reasons for this popularity. The drawing of attention to the formative nature of childhood experience upon the adult personality, influenced by Freud, Piaget and various other psychologists and psychoanalysts and the desire to move away from inquiries of the governing elites to exploring the experiences of minority groups within societies including ethnic minorities, women, the poor, the elderly and children. Worldwide, there is a multidisciplinary drive to face the challenges associated with childhood research and a number of societies and various research clusters have emerged including the Society

for the Study of Childhood in the Past (University of Birmingham), the Centre for the History of Childhood (University of Oxford), the Society for the History of Children and Youth (Marquette University Milwaukee), Children in History (University of Houston) and Children and Childhood in Human Societies which comprises researchers from seven Canadian Universities, two museums and five international institutions.

My research adds to this increasing body of knowledge by addressing the challenge of identifying the experiences of children during the colonial era in Australia through analysis of a range of child-related material culture. Whilst not denying that children were exposed to varying degrees of adult influence, the research concurrently challenges traditional ideas of socialisation and that children were socialised and therefore, were without agency.

Interpretive Reproduction as an Alternative to Socialisation

This thesis critiques traditional notions of socialisation and its practical application in studies of childhood both contemporarily and archaeologically because the concept itself denies children's agency. I contend that whilst adults may have held ideas of socialising children, the children were oblivious to the concept. Whilst not disputing the validity of socialisation studies, I argue that the application of socialisation theory is more suitable when examining the child's world from an adult perspective, however its application is not suitable when examining the child's world from the child's perspective. Rather than focusing on socialisation and adult intentions concerning the relationship between children and material culture, interpretive reproduction (Corsaro 2005) addresses children's intentions and their interactions with material culture, and the relationships between children, siblings, peers and adults. In this vein, children's experiences, attitudes, culture and agency become more visible. This shift in focus from adult perspectives to children's perspectives is important for a number of reasons.

The shift in focus to researching children as topics in their own right has evolved from recognition that children have been marginalized in anthropological and archaeological research (Schwartzman 2005:123). The importance of shifting focus from children as topics rather than tools to be used for investigation of the 'really important' topics of interest such as adult political organization and adult material culture is highlighted by Park (2005) who

states that throughout his experience as an archaeologist he recalls only three instances where children were mentioned. Park (2005:53-54) argues that in each example

children and childhood were never the focus of the archaeologists' interest. Instead, in the first case, children's graves were a means to learn about the (adult) political organization of a society; in the second case children were seen as a site-formation process affecting the material culture produced by adults; and in the third case children were invoked as a means of separating out seemingly aberrant potsherds so that they would not confuse the stylistic and other kinds of analyses that were being applied to the remaining 'adult' potsherds.

In 2006 Schwartzman (2005:123) argued that archaeologists needed to address a number of challenges in the archaeological study of children. Most importantly was the recognition that children and childhood are legitimate topics of research in archaeology. It followed on that archaeologists needed to develop a framework for the interpretation of childhood behaviour and their relationships and how these are reflected archaeologically. Moreover, Schwartzman (2005:123) suggested that this framework should be utilised in the reinterpretation of previously collected childhood related material culture as well as to discover new evidence of children and childhoods in the past.

In response to these challenges, archaeologists have now developed, and continue to develop a framework for studying children and childhood in the past (see Baxter 2005a). Borrowing concepts and theories from cultural anthropology, sociology, history and psychology.

Schwartzman (2005:125) defines six key assumptions which underpin current archaeological research on childhood:

- The nature of children (as active, not passive, participants in social life) and the variety of their experiences and opportunities (as these are influenced by gender, age, class, and race/ethnicity differences);
- Socialisation as a process of negotiation and interpretation between children and adults as well as children and children;
- The relationship between local and global worlds (specifically the idea that children can never be separated from broader social, political, and economic contexts and forces);
- The idea that the Western understanding of childhood is only one among many ideas and ideals that societies have produced about childhood;

- The importance of examining how the researcher's understanding of childhood may influence his/her interpretation of the meaning of childhood in other cultures, and
- The value of working across subfields in anthropology as well as with other disciplines (e.g., combining ethnographic and ethnohistoric material with archaeological records) to help reveal the role of children in historic and prehistoric communities.

Sociologists have long considered the construction of childhood and have recognised that notwithstanding adult attempts at the socialisation of children, children themselves shape their own culture as well as influence the culture of adults (James and Prout 1990). Cultural ideals, formed from their own understanding of the world around them, are passed on to one another, often without adult influence, via speech, interaction and play.

Archaeologists have since followed suit and subsequently rejected strict ideas about socialisation, particularly those emphasising a one sided attempt in the communicating of knowledge across generations (Baxter 2005a; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). A number of previous archaeological studies of children and childhood have subscribed to the assumption that socialisation is a process of negotiation and interpretation between children and adults and children and children and have emphasised socialisation. Various studies have focused on the ways in which the transmission of cultural knowledge is achieved primarily through the creation and use of artefacts and the social spaces in which that interaction occurs (Bagwell 2002; Baxter 2000, 2005a,b; Crown 1999, 2001, 2002; Green-field 2000; Kamp 2001; Park 2006; Wilkie 2000). Baxter (2008:171) argues however, that 'archaeologists who are focusing on children as children have not stated their focus to be in direct opposition to studies that emphasize socialisation and cultural transmission'. This dissertation differs in that whilst it recognises the existence of socialisation, it is not the only way that culture is transmitted. It therefore rejects ideas of socialisation and the cultural transmission of culture by adults by focusing on children as individual agents creating and transmitting their own culture through their experiences among their peer groups.

Overview of Theoretical and Methodological Approach

Building on the existing theoretical literature on childhood agency and the archaeological study of children internationally and within Australia, the study draws on a variety of

theoretical and methodological approaches from various disciplines using agency theory and interpretive reproduction theory as the overarching approach.

Traditionally researchers have attempted to examine childhood behaviour by using scientific methods including spatial analysis and archaeological patterning. However, such a positivist, functional and etic approach with a narrow focus on behaviour does not fully explain childhood experiences and childhood agency. This study therefore rejects the idea that historical reasoning should be based on analogies to the natural sciences (see Collingwood 1946:5; and Johnsen and Olsen 1992:423). Furthermore, because knowledge is socially constructed within a society as opposed to being a neutral body of data independent of cultural practices and values, a social constructivist approach is used.

Because ‘archaeological interpretation, as any other interpretation, always takes place from the vantage point of the present’ (Johnsen and Olsen 1992:432), meaning will therefore be born from the interplay between the past and the present. The research is emic in its approach and predominately employs a qualitative hermeneutic/dialectic methodology for the overall design of the study. Such an approach provides flexibility by allowing for the use of multiple methods of enquiry in providing interpretations of meaning (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2). The research therefore focuses on the social construction of meaning as well as describing and illuminating a meaningful social world.

Understanding the ways in which children participate in society, peer relationships and adult relationships are fundamental in understanding the cultural construction of childhood and the creation and maintenance of cultural categories including age and gender that shape the social landscape. As Brumfiel (2000:250), suggests, ‘...sense of identity, that is the actor’s ideas about what kind of person he or she is and how people like that ought to act’ is ‘particularly influential in determining agency’. Moreover, certain forms of social division such as rank, class and inequality leave fairly obvious traces in the archaeological record whereas other forms of social divisions such as age, gender and ethnicity are less visible. Notwithstanding, the later forms of social division are often central components of the social arena in which agents operate (Brumfiel 2000:250). The research therefore develops from analysis of culturally specific understandings of what it means to be a European child in Australia from 1788-1901. Because of the ambiguities associated with the meaning of childhood and complexities associated with age as a category of analysis, an emic approach is taken in

defining the child. Ascribing a numerical age to children therefore varies according to interpretations of specific contexts and circumstances. Agency theory and interpretive reproduction theory are applied to each type of data allowing greater visibility of the lives of the children and their relationships among themselves, their families and communities.

Thesis Structure and Content

Two key themes are explored in this thesis, including children's experiences and children's agency. Chapter 2 discusses the ways in which researchers have approached childhood studies presenting an overview of approaches to childhood research in various disciplines. with an explanation of the ways in which these literature streams relate to the research design. The discussion also includes the problems associated with the ambiguity of terms and the theoretical developments in childhood studies.

Definitions for both 'experience' and 'agency' are provided in Chapter 3 along with an outline of the theoretical and methodological challenges associated with childhood research. Addressing these challenges has resulted in a number of theoretical developments in childhood research particularly in sociology and the discussion includes the ways in which sociologists have approached the study of children's experiences particularly the development of socialisation theories and the progression of interpretive theories. The ineffectiveness of applying traditional concepts of socialisation to childhood studies is illustrated and the new interpretive theories that better account for childhood agency, including interpretive reproduction, are explained in terms of their applicability to the research.

Chapter 4 presents the data and examines the methods associated with site and collection selection, classification and sample size. The data comprises a wide range of childhood related material culture gathered from 18 archaeological sites and museum collections from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. Each site and collection is presented individually and includes a background to the history and the archaeology and photographs of the associated childhood related material culture. Some interpretation of the sites' features and artefacts is presented where appropriate throughout the chapter, however a more comprehensive interpretation is offered in Chapter 5.

The discussion in Chapter 5 brings the thesis together with an interpretation of childhood experiences during the colonial era in Australia and illustrates how these experiences are reflected in the archaeological record. It presents a comprehensive discussion providing interpretations and conclusions drawn from the analysis of the data in line with the thesis research questions. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a revisiting of the research questions and a summary of the findings. It reiterates what it means to be a child in colonial era Australia along with the utility of applying interpretive reproduction theory in archaeological studies of children and childhood thereby allowing greater visibility of children's experiences, particularly agency as reflected in the material culture of childhood.

2 Approaches to Childhood Research

Introduction

‘Children and teenagers can constitute up to, or even more than, 50 per cent of any given society, and the range of their experiences are just as influenced by the spectrum of social, economic, legal and environmental factors as those of adults’ (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:2). However, Darian-Smith and Pascoe (2013:2) suggest that it is rare for children to hold the same powers, privileges and responsibilities as those afforded by adults. Moreover, adult expectations heavily influence children’s lives with such expectations largely formulated from our understandings of the definition of children and childhood (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:2). To date there has been very little scholarly enquiry relating to the cultural heritage of children and the representation of childhood in museums, heritage sites and material culture (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:2).

Although the historical scholarship of children and childhood has expanded over the last 20 years, until recently, there has been a paucity of studies focusing on the interpretation of childhood related material culture in Australia (Davies and Ellis 2005:15). Indeed while Lawrence and Davies’ recent (2011) book, *An Archaeology of Australia Since 1788* provides a synthesis of archaeological work carried out in Australia on the post-contact period covering a period of over 200 years, it contains a mere three and half pages devoted to the lives of children. One explanation for this lack of scholarship in the area of childhood research is the use of outdated theoretical and methodological approaches. The following literature review presents an overview of the various approaches to childhood research and explains the ways in which these literature streams relate to the research design.

A review of the theoretical and methodological approaches utilised in childhood studies in the past has provided a basis for this research, while the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis focuses on archaeological approaches to childhood through time and space, childhood agency and the application of ‘interpretive reproduction theory’ (Corsaro 1992; Corsaro and Fingerson 2003). Additionally, this work provides an interpretation of the material culture associated with childhood. Literature relating to the anthropology of childhood provides a background to the development of childhood studies. Critical to this

discussion is the conceptualisation of the child and the manner in which researchers have theorised the concept of child and childhood over time. By detailing how historians and folklorists have approached studies of children in the past, greater understanding of the development of historical analysis and associated complexities is possible. Similarly, developments in the fields of sociology and social psychology provide a starting point to archaeological studies of childhood with previous methods and approaches in archaeology examined. In particular, the ways in which children produce and participate in their own peer groups and society and the process of how children appropriate and assimilate information from the adult world, and how children process this information are themes that this research explores in an archaeological context. Equally, the literature from social psychology offers insight into human development and intraindividual change. As Cowgill (2000) argues, 'if agency is important, we need to learn much more about the agent, and this means learning much more about how human brains and minds work'. Furthermore, he stresses the importance for archaeologists to keep abreast of developments in the fields of neuroscience, cognitive psychology and evolutionary psychology. In line with this view, the literature from social psychology illustrates the theoretical foundation for the development of more refined concepts within social psychology and sociology. The manner in which contemporary sociologists and social psychologists approach childhood development provides the stimulus for exploring the use and potential of interpretive reproduction theory in archaeological studies of childhood agency.

The Anthropology of Childhood

Children have identities. Those identities, formed in childhood, become the foundation of the identities of the adult. From an early age, children make linkages to their past depending on their level of individual development and cognitive ability. These linkages are formed through both the informal and formal learning of language, culture and the history of communities via communication with adults (Dommasnes 2008). The intergenerational sharing of values and codes developed in the past plays a pivotal role in defining a society. But what does it mean to be a child? When does a child relinquish childhood identity and assume adult identity? At what age do we draw the lines between childhood and adulthood?

Attempts to answer such questions have resulted in the inconsistent use of seemingly simple terminology. Inconsistencies in defining the child have thus contributed to the cross-

disciplinary gulf in studies of young humans. Childhood is a cultural and social construct with such cross-cultural variability that attaining consistency in defining the child is all but impossible. However, perhaps the question of whether it is required or not needs addressing. If consistency in defining the child remains elusive and indeed is not required, how then can researchers begin to define the world of a child?

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child explicitly and unambiguously defines the child as ‘every human being to the age of eighteen years unless, under the law of his/her state he/she has reached his/her age of maturity earlier’ (Boyden and Hudson 1985). Contemporary definitions of childhood heavily influence our understandings of children’s heritage (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:3). Throughout history, to the present, the legal definition of ‘child’ can mean anytime from conception to approximately three years of age, ending at any age between twelve and twenty-one (Orme 2001; Wileman 2005). According to these definitions however, biologically, a child can also concurrently be a parent. Depending on social context, the life of a child is bureaucratically defined in Western society, for example, the age a child begins school or the attainment of legal rights (Montgomery 2009). Generally, however, until they reach social maturity, any young person remains and is regarded as, a child (Montgomery 2009). Notwithstanding, Boyden and Hudson (1985) argue that assigning a chronological age in the definition of childhood is problematic because of the ways in which children’s relationship with adults changes over time.

Some researchers argue that the biological basis for childhood cannot be contested (Kralik *et al.* 2008). However, Dommasnes (2008) warns of its limitations due to certain variables. For example, just as human lifespans have varied in the past, the duration of childhood could also vary (Dommasnes 2008). Moreover, Dommasnes (2008) argues that cultural categories are not constant and therefore some societies may not have included a category of child or childhood at all. Notwithstanding the variability in cultural categories, the age of childhood and phases of childhood are culturally specific and not developmentally derived. Social anthropologists have therefore become less concerned with identifying and applying universally applicable sub-divisions of childhood (Crawford and Lewis 2008).

It is generally accepted among researchers that childhood and the child’s world and culture cannot be defined solely in terms of the physical. It is a sociocultural construct which must relate to the social environment of childhood (Baxter 2005b; Joyce 2000; Kamp 2001;

Lesnik-Oberstine 1998; Mouritsen and Qvortrup 2002; Olwig and Gullov 2003; Rothschild 2002; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 1997, 2000; Stephens 1995). Studies of childhood therefore require more than attention to patterns in physical, cognitive and motor development. Understanding the social environment of childhood requires examination of a number of key factors including the relationships between children, their peers and adults, the transmission of culture to children, adult influence and the strategies that children develop independent of adult influence – all of which have been key focal points studied by historians.

The Social Environment of Children: The role of adults, siblings, friends and peer groups

Children are fundamental to the recognition and continuation of kinship, and children's roles within their families and the roles played by siblings, friends and peers are highly significant in the course of a child's life. Indeed kinship is central to the manner in which children learn to understand their culture (Montgomery 2009:104). Parents play a significant role in imparting knowledge of kinship to children. However, the term 'parent' is almost as complicated in its definition as that of 'child'. It too is highly dependent on context, particularly contextual understandings of kinship and family formation (Montgomery 2009:104). Goody argues that there are five tasks in parenthood; 'bearing and begetting, endowment with civil and kinship status, nurturance, training, and sponsorship into adulthood' (Goody:1982:8).

'Endowment with civil and kinship status' (Montgomery 2009:106) is important in understanding children's position within society. When a child is born, it is born into a pre-existing set of social relationships and the birth of a child may alter various aspects of these relationships. Depending on circumstances and cultural context, a child becomes the transformative agent in various situations. They can become the means for forming families and giving status. For example, the social status of the parents may alter because of the birth legitimizing a marriage and transforming a couple to a family. A birth can also prompt transfer of property and activate lineage rights (Montgomery 2009:106). Montgomery (2009:106) argues that while adults endow children with civil rights and kinship status, (a task of parenting outlined by Goody (1982:8) conversely, children confer the same rights and status on adults. For example depending on the governing social rules concerning marriage and whether a child is born in or out of wedlock, the social status of the parents may be affected as well as the social status of the child within that society. This may have significant long-term effects on the child affecting his or her life chances and opportunities. Conversely,

a child legitimately born to a high status couple will have higher social and civil status (Montgomery 2009:106).

Nurturing of children encompasses many aspects of children's lives, and caregivers, whether they are parents or others, are responsible for food, shelter, and providing the physical needs of children (Montgomery 2009:6). Moreover, Montgomery (2009:106) argues that if parenthood is also about 'social reproduction,' then one of the roles of parenting is to raise children who successfully integrate and become active members within society. This involves learning the socially approved models of childhood and adulthood, even though children will in turn, shape and alter those models (Montgomery 2009:106). Montgomery (2009:106) further suggest however that anthropologists have illustrated that there is no singular form of nurturing or a correct path to adulthood. Moreover, nurturance is as dependent on cultural and environmental considerations as it is on biological ones (Montgomery 2009:106). Adults may consider 'social reproduction' as a necessary role of parenting, however children are often less aware of such adult intentions and necessity. Montgomery (2009:106) adds further that anthropological studies of childhood have revealed that there is no universally correct form of nurturing or path to adulthood and that nurturance and adulthood is as reliant upon cultural context as they are on biological influences.

Whilst children themselves play an active role in the formation of families, people of varying ages, both inside and outside of families contribute to the raising of children with various relationships existing and forming throughout this process. The relationships between parents and children are arguably the most significant however, the roles of siblings, friends and peer groups are equally important and another source of anthropological research. Similar to definitions of 'child' and 'parent' the term 'sibling' needs to be contextually defined with the meaning of sibling being highly diverse cross culturally (Montgomery 2009:121). Montgomery (2009:121) argues that siblingship frequently brings with it obligations and duties. Who is considered a sibling and who is not influence children's lives significantly. Moreover, Montgomery (2009) argues that 'children are often partly socialized by and through other children and that the responsibility that children have for each other is immense' (2009:121). Older siblings play a key role in younger siblings lives, with much of their time spent in the company of older siblings assigned with their care. This is particularly relevant for girls who are often responsible for substantial childcare (Montgomery 2009:122). Montgomery (2009:122) states that the reasons that girls are given this responsibility is

unclear, however, she further suggests that in many cases it is viewed as childhood work, (specifically girls' childhood), or as a means of socialising girls in preparation for their future roles as mothers.

The relationships between children outside the home have also been a focal point in psychological studies and studies of child development, peer relations and friendships in children's lives. These studies are prolific in the psychological literature (Montgomery 2009:126; for an extensive review see Hartup 1983). Predominately located within a Western context, this literature reveals a shift in influence from parents to peer groups. Findings suggest that adolescents rely on friends and members of their peer groups as much as their parents and in some cases, even more so (Bukowski *et al.* 1996; Steinberg and Silverberg 1986; for a cross-cultural analysis of peer group influence, see Chen *et al.* 2006). Hartup (1983) argues that the significance of peer relations in relation to socialisation is equal to that of parents. Indeed, Harris (1998:357-358) argues further that peer groups are more influential in socialising children than parents.

Within studies of peer relations, psychologists have examined the gender division particularly associated with play in middle childhood. Research in psychology suggests that there is a universal desire for children to seek out members of their own sex for play (Hartup 1983:110). Hartup (1983) suggests that irrespective of age, children associate with children of the same sex and 'like' them better. Montgomery (2009:127) states that whilst gender division in play is well documented in Western societies, in non-Western societies there is no gender division. In anthropological studies, focus is on the cultural context in which peer cultures are formed (Chen *et al.* 2006). Studies of gender division in Western children rely heavily on data from schools and as such, results are overemphasized. For example, Thorne's (1993) research suggests that inside school, children separated according to gender, playing in single-sex groups however outside of the context of school, such divisions were more ambiguous. Thorne (1993) argues that the gender division during play is therefore fluid and flexible with boys and girls moving backward and forward between playgroups.

Approaches to Childhood Research in History

Historians are aware of the unique difficulties of researching and documenting childhood history. Despite the acknowledgement that 'no one interested in the relevance of history to

understanding the human condition can ignore the importance of historical perspectives on childhood' (Stearns 2008), the establishment of the history of childhood as a field of study has been slow, greatly hindered by unusual methodological difficulties. Notwithstanding this, historical scholarship of children and childhood has rapidly expanded in recent years.

Philippe Ariés' *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) remains the most influential work on the history of childhood. Ariés' thesis led to a debate about the historical development of the conception of childhood. Drawing primarily upon French sources, Ariés (1962) explored the idea and conception of childhood and what distinguishes children from adults. Ariés' interpretation is primarily based on depictions of children in medieval art where children appeared as miniature adults (Ariés 1962). Ariés argues that during the Middle Ages, an awareness of the separation of adults and children was lacking. Because children in medieval society performed the same tasks as adults, engaged in the same pastimes and wore the same clothing as adults they were considered as juvenile members of adult society.

Closely linked to these ideas is the question of the emotional bond that existed between adults and children during the European Historic Period (Ariés 1962). During the 16th century childhood was considered a time of innocence and sweetness. Children were idolized and coddled by adults and seen as a source of entertainment (Ariés 1962:130). From the 16th to the 17th century, in reaction to the coddling period, the moralists of the time, emphasized childhood as a period of immaturity and that children required training and discipline (Ariés 1962:130). Ariés argues that it was not until the 17th century with the emergence of the nuclear family that parents began to view their children as different from themselves (Ariés 1962). This early focus on morals and education led to the development of child psychology greatly influencing conceptions of childhood in contemporary societies (Ariés 1962). Ariés therefore illustrates a progression from a period where there was no conception of childhood to a period of coddling, followed by a moralistic and disciplinary period in preparation for adulthood (Ariés 1962). Corsaro (2005:64) argues however, that it is a mistake to assume that Ariés considers this evolution was inevitable or a positive occurrence.

Ariés' ideas on childhood led to the development of theories on the evolution of the family (deMause 1974; Shorter 1977; Stone 1977). However whilst researchers began to engage in childhood studies, early studies remained focused on adult conceptions of childhood rather than the lives of the children themselves. Although a number of Ariés' ideas are now

considered untenable (Corsaro 2005:62), his work is of major significance for the history of childhood. Most significantly, Ariés argued that childhood is a social construction and that children should be taken seriously and their lives examined from their perspective rather than that of adults. His work has influenced a growing number of historians who now examine children's lives from children's perspectives.

Play, work and children's contributions to the family and societal reproduction

Childhood is a time when children acquire skills and competencies that they require to establish their 'place' within society. Notwithstanding, this process of learning and skill acquisition occurs concurrently with activities associated with play – play that is generally considered to be fun, carefree, generally meaningless and devoid of seriousness (James 1998; Schwartzman 1978). Barnes and Kehily (2003:4) argue

play is often regarded as one of the most distinctive features of childhood – something that all children have in common, and which makes their world strikingly different from that of an adult. Indeed, for many people it is children's capacity for play, their enthusiasm for play and the importance attached to being allowed to play that defines what childhood is about. Children differ in the games they play of course, not least according to their age and gender, but all children play.

The analysis of play and games, among adults and children alike, and the material culture associated with play has a long history among anthropologists (see Culin 1891,1899; Roberts *et al.* 1959; Rossie 2005; Schwartzman 1978; Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Tylor 1879). Early studies were generally descriptive promoting early 20th century theories of diffusionism and culture contact. Generally however, anthropologists have been most interested in games that had clearly observable rules and structures that could be analysed and utilized in comparative studies (Montgomery 2009:142). In the infancy of childhood research, anthropological publications rarely included or discussed aspects of children's play suggesting that the field held little significance for anthropological enquiry. A dominant theme being that children's play was regarded as mimicry of adult activities and socialisation. Children's activities such as 'play fighting' and 'playing house' represented notions of socialisation and therefore constituting a non-productive and trivial activity. Contemporarily however, the concept of play is a serious avenue of research amongst anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists who acknowledge that play is essential for the wellbeing of a child. It is now recognised that play is a major contributing factor in the attainment of developmental goals in children so much so that play has been referred to as the 'work of childhood' (Montgomery 2009:142).

Recent notable historical studies (see Hanawalt 1993; Katz 2004; Nasaw 1985;) provide significant insights into children's lives from their perspectives, particularly associated with play and work and their contributions to family and society.

Nasaw's (1985) study focuses on lower working class urban children and childhood in the United States from between approximately the late 1890s to 1920. The children in the study were mostly preadolescent children of recent immigrants to the United States, including Irish and Italian. Drawing from primary sources such as oral histories, autobiographies and secondary sources such as biographies and novels, the roles children played in their family life, including their economic contributions toward the survival of their families as well as the children's autonomy are documented from the children's perspective. As Nasaw (1985:Preface) states, he has approached the children as

sentient, intentional beings desirous and capable (within limits) of acting on and within their social environments. The children were subjects of history but like all historical beings they grew up in a social world they had not created. They were autonomous and free but within limits not of their own choosing.

In addition, Nasaw draws on photographs of children at work and play taken by 20th century photographers, reformers and journalists. Usually considered secondary sources, Nasaw (1985:Preface) states that these images became 'primary source material as interesting and informative in their own right as the narrative accounts of life on the streets'. Nasaw (1985) examines the lives and experiences of children and the cities in which they grew up, examining children at play and at work during an era in which it was expected that children work in their spare time after school, on weekends and during the holidays.

Similarly, Hanawalt's (1993) study of children's experiences in medieval London provides insights into children's play, work and quality of life. Hanawalt (1993:63) acknowledges that life was difficult for children during the medieval period in London, with high disease, risk of accidents and high mortality rates, yet play rather than serious work was still a large part of children's lives. She argues that adults recognised that children needed to play and that they would play. Throughout medieval London children would play ball games, games of tag, run races, play with hoops and imitate adult ceremonies such as royal entries, Masses and marriages (1993:78). Moreover, Hanawalt (1993) argues that there was no callous attitude toward the death of children and the neglect or abuse of children was uncommon. She further

argues that there was no conception of children beyond the infancy period (Hanawalt 1993:7).

Hanawalt's study is significant because it challenges previous studies which claimed that children were mistreated during the medieval period and that children mixed with adults as soon as they were considered capable of being without their mothers or caregivers (Ariés 1962 see also Shorter 1977; Stone 1977). Her detailed descriptions of children's play and games illustrate that as early as the 14th century, children were active agents, creating and participating in their own peer cultures (Corsaro 2005:70).

The crossing over of play and work

Whilst children's play, work, socialisation and education are separate topics of analysis in childhood research, demarcating boundaries between them is difficult (James 1998). The separation is highly dependent upon historical and cultural contexts (Niewenhuys 1996; Zelizer 1985). For example, in contemporary Western society, play and work are separate concepts where adults work and children play. Contrastingly, separateness between play and work is less evident among the Mikea children of Madagascar who engage in foraging for fun (because there is little else for them to do) rather than because of any economic or nutritional requirements (see Tucker and Young 2005). Assigning children's activities definitively to categories of work, play, or socialisation is therefore highly problematic. Block and Adler (1994) refer to this ambiguity between play and work as a grey area which they refer to as 'play-work'. The blurring of the boundaries between play and work resulted in the devaluing of children's contribution to the household.

Anthropological studies have shown that the adults often do not recognize children's economic roles; however, studies also show that children themselves often undervalue their own work by not considering their contributions in economic terms. Hull's (1975) analysis of Javanese children revealed that parents draw linkages between levels of pressure and responsibility with the concept of work. They considered their children's labour as an indulgence rather than work because of the lack of pressure and adult responsibility. They did not consider activities such as tending farm animals, care of other children, and collecting firewood as work, even though these activities would occupy children for many hours a day (Hull 1975). Parents viewed children under 15 years of age as an economic drain on the household unless they were involved with paid labour, in which case they became active

contributors to the household. Nasaw's (1985) study of working-class urban children in the United States during the late 19th – early 20th century illustrates the crossing over of play and work and the ways in which children simultaneously contributed in important ways to the family as well as society.

In the late 19th – early 20th century, working class families in the United States expected their children to contribute to the family income in any way they could. Junking, scavenging and stealing were prevalent in urban centres providing the opportunity to obtain a wide variety of useful items including food and fuel. Children therefore actively contributed by supplementing family income with free produce such as fruit and vegetables and coal and wood (Nasaw 1985:97).

With the introduction of child labor laws in the early 20th century, most children were required to attend school and as such any who were working had to cease full time work including being able to scavenge on a full time basis (Nasaw 1985:117). Boys and girls continued to work part time outside of school hours in the home and on the streets. The jobs children undertook varied according to their environment however, some jobs that urban children engaged in were similar to those of rural children. For example, just as children in rural areas collected produce and firewood, so did urban children. Urban children, both boys and girls, recognised the value of junk discarded by adults. They were experts at junking, scavenging city streets, back lots, dumps, railroad tracks, construction sites and urban wastelands for anything that could be recycled and used at home or sold for cash (Nasaw 1985:88). Junking was seen as a pastime, as common as playing baseball or skipping rope. The proceeds from the sale of junk provided poor children with an income which gave them purchasing power allowing them to enjoy luxuries such as movie tickets, sweets, toys and games (Nasaw 1985:96). As Corsaro (2005:76) suggests, scavenging and junking in inner cities may seem a far less enjoyable activity than berry collecting, hunting, and fishing - activities enjoyed by rural children, however, children enjoyed scavenging. Nasaw (1985) argues that it provided them with a sense of autonomy. City dumps, especially those containing non-decaying refuse were natural meeting places for children where they were free to play and do as they please (Nasaw 1985:93).

Whilst both boys and girls scavenged, street trading was seen as unladylike and considered dangerous and although in most cities girls could be found trading goods and newspapers on

the streets, protection by the law was afforded to few (Nasaw 1985:103). The more common roles for girls included chores around the home and grocery shopping. Such household chores contributed to the running of the household however Nasaw (1985:106) argues that these chores were secondary to their childcare responsibilities and their roles as 'little mothers'. Baby-tending was not seen as a chore but rather something that little girls did in the afternoons after school, like embroidering or skipping rope (Nasaw 1985:107). Nasaw (1985:107) argues that 'in many working-class families, the babies and small children were effectively raised by their older sisters'.

Prior to the late 1970s children's status as workers within a domestic context, was unrecognised with work being viewed as a means of socialisation in order to prepare them for their future roles as adults as opposed to the view that their contribution allowed other members of the family to pursue paid work (Montgomery 2009:151). This is particularly salient in analyses of girls and domestic work or childcare responsibilities – such domestic duties being considered as 'playing house' or as a type of training/education rather than labour (see Oakley 1994).

Children's active contributions to their family's subsistence illustrates that children contribute to two cultures – their own peer cultures and adult cultures. Nasaw's study of immigrant children and their childhood experiences in late 19th century and early 20th century America demonstrates the ways children learn lessons within a new environment with new cultural fields that as Nasaw (1985:198) argues 'were not interred with their childhoods, but were cast forward to frame their perceptions of the society they would join as adults'.

In a more contemporary study, Katz (2004) examines the process of development, capitalism and global change through the perspective of children's lives particularly through the politics of children's play and their acquisition and use of environmental knowledge (Katz 2004:ix-x). Exploring the lives through ethnographies of children in a Sudanese village called Howa, Katz observed various children's daily activities including fetching water, cattle herding and meal grinding as well as play and rule breaking. From her observations, Katz was able to tell a story of the children, their families and the communities they created. Within this context, the dynamic between work and play is evident. Katz (2004) argues that the makeup and meaning of children's work and play is transformed as they learn less about traditional sustainability, such as the cultivation of crops and more about participation in the wage

economy. Katz (2004) argues that the result was the loss of traditional knowledge associated with self-sufficiency originally passed down through their elders. However, the children were able to create new forms of play relating to the new focus on wage production.

Katz (2004) notes that while the children were working more with less return, they nevertheless continued to play. This refusal to surrender play to the pressures of intensified labour suggests a resilience, reworking, and resistance to global capitalism therefore representing a form of social production/reproduction where through play and games children make new worlds – worlds that reflect the possibilities available to them within the resources that they combine with their own aspirations (Katz 2004:98).

In contrast Katz (2004) also explores children in a Western context with an examination of children in Harlem in the United States where similarly to Howa, there has been a trend with the deskilling of youth in inner city and minority neighbourhoods in response to capitalist development. Drawing parallels with the diminishing traditional knowledge of the children in Howa, Katz correlates the deterioration of public education in the urban US and the deskilling of inner-city youth and minority neighbourhoods. Through these two case studies, Katz (2004) demonstrates how social, political and environmental changes affect childhood and its material practices and that children are social actors throughout these transformations. Moreover, throughout these processes, children's work and play intersect and are altered by the processes, notwithstanding, children simultaneously have the capacity to further frustrate these processes (Katz 2004:x). In this way, play marks social transformation and is therefore transformative (Katz 2004:107).

Katz's findings suggest that children were not being prepared or socialised for any future work they were likely to encounter. They learned skills and knowledge passed down from adults and adapted to new ways of doing things through imitative and inventive play (Katz 2004:xi).

As Katz (2004:xi) argues

children's play – even their dramatic play – is never simply imitative but is also inventive. If in their play children are engaged in making meanings, then the very act of playing encompasses new possibilities for making sense or nonsense of the world. It is precisely this imaginative and potentially subversive aspect of play that rebounds in social reproduction.

Katz (2004:96-97) further argues, that while it appears that almost all children participate in dramatic play that enables them to fantasise symbolically with the social roles and responsibilities they will be expected to undertake as adults, she adds that

these activities are misunderstood if they are seen solely in relation to the reproduction or maintenance of these communities. They are as much, if not more, fantasy and invention as they are social learning. While the script may be one that follows and closely mimics certain familiar material social practices such as those associated with farming, school, or shopping, each enactment is original. The children are actors, not simply re-actors imitating the life they see around them.

These studies help to bring children's lives to the fore illustrating that children were active and influential agents in past and contemporary societies. They demonstrate that children contribute in important ways to the historical record, social reproduction and change whilst operating collectively and simultaneously within the adult world and their own peer cultures. Notwithstanding their contribution to historical studies of children and childhood, they do not explore children's lives, interactions and culture from the material realm. Moreover, while the expansion of scholarship has been considerable, the subject of children and childhood however has not yet significantly reshaped history courses and textbooks. Indeed, Paris (2008) argues that in standard textbooks childhood and children remain at the periphery.

Historical studies of childhood in Australia

Despite the theoretical and methodological complexities of researching, writing and doing childhood history, over the last twenty years there have been a number of notable studies conducted by Australian historians (e.g. Crotty 1998; Dow and Factor 1991; Fabian and Loh 1989; Featherstone 1981; Inglis 1981; Karskens 1997, 1999a, 2001; Kociumbas 1997; Larson 1994). One significant publication arose from papers presented at the 8th Biennial Conference of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria in 1979 (Featherstone 1981). In celebration of the International Year of the Child, this volume covered topics such as the perception of 'young Australia' between 1870-1900, the idea and the reality (Inglis 1981), and the development of reading amongst young Australians between 1800-1900 (Ingham 1981). Other aspects of the colonial child covered in this volume include growing up in the 1850s (Jones 1891), outcast children in Melbourne (McConville 1991), children's health during the 19th century (Southby 1981), children's play (Factor 1981), the influence of music on children in education (Stevens 1981) and recollections of Australian childhood (Murray-Smith 1981).

Notwithstanding, the contribution to the understanding of the colonial child from historians' accounts, most interpretations have evolved from an adult perspective through diaries, letters and other historical documents. Researchers have not been successful in documenting childhood experiences and the associated material realm and presently little is known about the historical experiences of childhood in Australia; particularly, how those experiences are reflected in the material culture of childhood.

Factor (1998) argues, whilst there has been some attempt at documenting childhood experiences in Australia, interpretations are found wanting. For example, Kociumbas' (1997) historical research on childhood in Australia provided what Factor (1998:203) describes as 'a sustained inquiry focused on the experiences of children'. Yet while the study incorporates a multidisciplinary approach in an attempt to articulate the experiences and ideologies of childhood in Australia, Kociumbas' interpretation has been described as 'one dimensional' and as an 'old-fashioned history' (Factor 1998:203). Factor further reviews Kociumbas' work for its conceptual constraints. For example, while the research suggests a focused inquiry into children's experiences, it lacks account of 'the more robust and rowdy features of the working class', including historically documented acts of resistance of both women and children and acts of solidarity against 'the system' (Factor 1998:203).

Kociumbas' history is however, often drawn upon in archaeological interpretations of childhood in Australia (see Casey and Lowe 2000). Similarly, while Karskens (1997, 1999a) has written extensively on the Rocks in Sydney, Davies and Ellis (2005:16) argue that Karskens' interpretations of childhood do not successfully explain the child specific material culture at the site. This may be indicative of the differences between historical approaches and archaeological approaches. These earlier studies have focused on the material culture associated with children and childhood, however historians have now also branched into drawing on intangible heritage in exploring children's experiences in the past.

Historical studies of children's intangible culture: Folklore/playlore

Darian-Smith and Pascoe (2013:9) argue 'if material culture constitutes an important part of the heritage of children and childhood, intangible heritage offers another way into understanding children's lives in the past'. Some scholars consider the study of children's intangible heritage as a relatively new pursuit (see Smith and Akagawa 2009). However, inquiry into the transmission by children of their own culture and concerns regarding the

preservation of children's intangible culture is at least two centuries old (see Davey *et al.* 2013:40) and is referred to as folklore or playlore. While this research focuses on the material aspects of children's culture and the ways in which agency is reflected in the material culture, the interactions between the children and the material culture, which creates the opportunity for agency, occur through folklore and playlore. Indeed a large number of artefacts included in this current study relate to children's folklore/playlore and therefore represent children's cultural heritage.

UNESCO has identified five key 'domains' which characterize the traditions it has characterized as Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003: Article 2). These five domains are oral traditions and expressions including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events and traditional craftsmanship. Oral traditions and expressions include play rhymes and chants, taunts, jokes and riddles. Performing arts incorporates games involving handclapping, skipping and string. Social practices are often combined with rituals and include games involving counting in rhyme form, divinations, role-playing and other imaginative games (Davey *et al.* 2013:41). Folklore studies differ from other fields of research in that they are concerned with children's own culture, rather than adult perspectives (Davey and Factor 1980). Children's folklore consists largely of playground lore, such as rhymes, games, taunts, jokes and riddles, which are passed on from one generation of children to another, are modified, transformed, lost and resurrected (Davey *et al.* 2008:42-43). Folklore *for* and *about* children consists of nursery rhymes, folk tales, stories, proverbs and sayings, pencil and paper games that are informally passed on by adults and are subject to transformation over time (Davey *et al.* 2008:42-43).

The early drive of enquiry into children's folklore stemmed from the concern for the potential disappearance of traditional cultural customs (Davey 1982) and detailed accounts of children's play activities and children's games, particularly those believed to be facing extinction exist (see Gomme 1898). Such early accounts of children's folklore, laid the foundation for the more famous works of the 20th century, which suggested that children had their own culture separate from adult culture and that the games were the most obvious manifestations of that culture (see Opie 1993; Opie and Opie 1969, 1997, 2001).

Knapp and Knapp (1976) ascertain that folklore is an anonymously authored transmission of memorable phrases utilising repetition to aid memory. Davey *et al.* (2013) suggests that most

folklorists would agree with this statement. Such oral transmission of culture requires face-to-face contact and strongly connects with group identity, linking the past to each other (Knapp and Knapp 1976). The types of intangible cultural heritage transmitted by children include songs, rhymes and rituals. Turner (1969) argues that as children's folklore endured into the twentieth century, folklorists began to observe that in conjunction with longevity and conservatism in children's games and rhymes, considerable innovation exists (Turner 1969). Davey and Factor (1980) argue that folklore studies differ from other childhood studies in that they are genuinely concerned with children's own culture as opposed to adult perspectives. Moreover, Factor (1988) argues that much of children's folklore or playlore appears to be universal, is sometimes shared with adults, and is mostly learned from other children. She further adds that such oral transmission is subject to processes of deterioration, preservation, variation and innovation (Factor 1988). Notwithstanding, the transmission of children's folklore is not insulated from the influence of adults (Lownestein 1988; see also Factor 1988).

Historical studies of children's material culture

Given the limited documentary traces of children's lives in the past, analysis of material culture offers an alternative avenue for researching children's cultural heritage (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:7). Pascoe (2013:209) highlights the parallels between the issues that plague documentary sources and the representation of children in documentary and museum contexts, with the analysis of childhood related material culture. For example, many child-related objects were and continue to be made to appeal to adults, purchased and gifted to children by adults and are therefore far more representative of adult perceptions and aspirations of childhood than children's actual realities (see also Schlereth 1990:91). Whilst there are many and varied childhood related objects including nappies, cots, slates, and bottles, to name but a few, material culture analysis of children has predominately focused on toys – objects considered as the archetypal symbols of childhood and which range from mass produced manufactured objects to simple handmade objects made from locally obtainable natural materials (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:7). Often children themselves will produce their own toys and imbue them with their own created meanings that may contradict adult intentions. Moreover, Rossie's (2008:364-71) research of North African children's production of handmade toys from natural and waste materials illustrate that such toys not only convey children's creativity but are manifestations of children's individuality. As such, analysis of childhood related material culture offers insights into the perceptions of adults and

children alike (Darian-Smith and Pascoe 2013:7). Indeed Baxter (2005) argues that material culture analysis provides an avenue for archaeologists to ascertain adult aspirations which they attempt to convey to their children and the community as well as infer children's perceptions, acceptance and or alteration of adult ideas via their own manipulation or modification of material culture. Darian-Smith and Pascoe suggest that 'if the material culture of children often reveals as much about adults as it does children, the study of children's own collections offers rare insights into the minds of children in the past' (2013:8).

Early historical studies of play however, focused more on the social aspects of play rather than the objects associated with play. Sutton-Smith (1986:26) argues that the 'predominant nature of play throughout history has been play with others, not play with objects'. This is largely due to the ambiguity associated with playthings. Children would appropriate objects according to specific themes of play under which circumstances everyday objects would undergo transformation into toys. Such objects could include sticks and stones, tyres, tin cans and coat hangers. The meanings associated with these objects are therefore not fixed – they are in a constant state of fluidity. Studies dealing with the material culture of play were therefore far more problematic than the social aspects of play. Mergen (1992) proposes that, 'toys have meaning only when children play with them' and if toys 'are meaningful to the child they will be reused and remembered' (Mergen 1992:106). Mergen (1992:106) further argues that a shift in attitudes towards toys occurred in the 1870s and suggests that children began to relate ownership of material possessions with status and in turn, developed a desire to collect and accumulate toys for their own sake (Mergen 1992:88). Toys thus also became a means for defining the child and childhood culture. A study of 19th century dolls in the United States by Formanek-Brunell (1992) illustrates how these two attitudes overlap.

Through an analysis of autobiographies, Formanek-Brunell (1992) determined that prior to the Civil War, doll play was infrequent and related more to socialisation activities such as learning sewing and domestic skills. After the war however, dolls became objects of status with middle and upper class girls being encouraged to indulge in fanciful play with their numerous dolls and to display their elaborately dressed dolls during tea parties and whilst visiting (Formanek-Brunell 1992:108). This practice was adopted by girls in varying degrees however evidence suggests that the girls somewhat rejected the notions of feminine socialisation by not internalising the adult values that were being placed upon them. The girls developed their own agendas, appropriated and used the dolls for their own purposes

(Formanek-Brunell 1992:108). For example, autobiographical data contains accounts of girls rebelling against demure tea parties by sliding dolls down bannisters on tea trays and by 'smashing their unsuspecting dolls to bits' (Formanek-Brunell 1992:126). Such accounts illustrate acts of physical mistreatment and torturing of dolls by their owners; constituting rebelling among girls (Formanek-Brunell 1992:126). Moreover, as Corsaro (2005:128) argues, these accounts illustrate how children appropriated adult models, rather than merely internalising them.

Key issues and challenges

Stearns (2008) highlights a number of key issues and challenges confronting historians in the history of childhood. Of major significance are the problems associated with obtaining information from children themselves, as opposed to adult insights, suggestions and adult-created material culture. Closely associated is the problem of locating appropriate sources. While there have been advances in research on play and material cultures of children, childhood history still tends to be written through adult filters and is mainly centered on adults and drawn from adult sources. Whilst focus should remain on children, the childhood sphere cannot be separated from the adult and it is more than acceptable for researchers to speculate how adult behaviour affects certain aspects of the experience of childhood (Stearns 2008). Factors of social class, race and ethnicity and gender are similarly key issues that should concern historians as the field expands. Moreover, there is a geographical disproportion of historical research of childhood and studies from the Western world predominate. Stearns (2008) suggests however, the challenge to address this imbalance is recognised by researchers. Hawes and Hiner (2008) argue that the main issue for historians of children is to avoid being dominated by theoretical debates and historiographical trends, which may detract attention from children and deny them historical agency. Moreover, they argue that the value of keeping a focus on children as the primary topic mirrors the historiography of women. This saw a shift from the emphasis on oppression to an acknowledgment that oppression did not diminish women's historical agency or indicate that they had little or no ability in influencing the lives of others or in shaping their own lives (Hawes and Hiner 2008). Another issue in the study of children and childhood is the complexity associated with determining age.

The Problematic issue of age

Saxton (2008) argues, 'practitioners are called upon to devise new ways to open doors onto the experiences and imaginations of children'. Furthermore, Saxton (2008) suggests the utility of using material culture to shed light on childhood experience, and indeed this is the approach taken in this study. Historians, however, have drawn attention to the historical relevance and utility of age as a category of analysis. Age functions as a means to 'describe expected processes of maturation and to allot legal statuses and categories of responsibility' (Mintz 2008:91). It functions in complex ways, is a subjective experience with multiple meanings and acts as a chronological indicator that measures a person's development through the life course (Mintz 2009:91). During the twentieth century, age was linked to developmental highlights and distinct norms and expectations (Mintz 2008). In modern bureaucratic societies, age provides an ostensibly neutral organising category used in the structuring of institutions such as schools and classrooms (Mintz 2008:92). Mintz (2008) suggests that historians have adopted a dynamic diachronic approach, which helps in the understanding of the ways in which age categories and age consciousness, or an awareness of age has shifted over time. For example, age consciousness and fascination with age in contemporary societies differs greatly from that of earlier societies. Mintz (2008) argues that age categories in earlier societies were vague compared to the rigid age categories and the intense age consciousness of Western societies in the twenty-first century. Some researchers argue that using age based categories as developmental stages presents a Western notion of child development (Chudacoff 1989; James and Prout 1990) and indeed, many societies cannot attribute categories based on chronological age (Fortes 1984).

Because our understanding of age based categories is based on a Western approach to studies of Western children, age as a category of analysis is not applicable to childhood development in non-Western contexts (Mintz 2008; Panter-Brick 1998). This viewpoint illustrates the need for a contextual approach in studies of childhood and children by exploring the meaning of age and what it entails in particular historical eras within a single society (Mintz 2008:92). Paris (2008) emphasises the necessity of writing history inclusive of a 'greater awareness of age, including attention to children's voices and ideologies of childhood'. Understanding the historical relevance and utility of age as a category of analysis is therefore central to historical scholarship into children and childhood, however using age based categories is problematic.

Because age categories are culturally distinct and cannot be assumed or transferred from one period in time to another, archaeologists have been warned to not transfer ideas about contemporary lives into the past and not to impose ethnographical and historical beliefs on past lives (Rothschild 2002). Yet this is precisely what this thesis does in its application of a social and behavioural theory designed for use in the contemporary study of children and childhood.

As mentioned previously, childhood is a cultural and social construct that varies cross culturally. Attaining consistency in defining the child is not therefore possible nor is it required. Morss (2002:52) extends the argument further by questioning whether children should be treated simply as 'humans'. Similarly Mayall (1994) argues the possibility that children are not different from adults except for differences in the ways they are treated. While many children's experiences are subject to adult directives, children are concurrently active agents in their own lives. As Lee (2001:47) argues, researchers need to view children as active human beings contributing to an active social life rather than 'human becomings' and passive recipients of socialisation.

Determining children's age from biological evidence in archaeology is a far easier task than determining children's age from childhood related material culture recovered from archaeological sites. However, the presence of child related artefacts in archaeological deposits (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) always suggests that children were present at a site. The combination of historical documents may aid our understanding of the age of a child, however ascribing specific age categories other than in the broadest sense is not necessary when making connections between material culture and the ways in which that material culture may reflect childhood experiences. In this study, some of the ages of the children are discernable from the historical data, however specific ages of some children cannot be precisely determined and interpretations of age are generalized to that of young child or adolescent.

Archaeological Approaches to Childhood (International and Australian)

Despite the complexities associated with age, gender and ethnicity, internationally, archaeological studies of childhood over the past twenty years have increased dramatically. The archaeology of children as a subdiscipline now explores themes such as the history of

archaeological research of children, identification of sources, the conceptualisation of children and childhood, children's roles in society and the material culture of children (Dommasnes 2008:xv).

Sofaer Derevenski's work in childhood research in historical archaeology has made major inroads in providing a theoretical framework for historical archaeologists by using developmental psychology and gender theory in her analysis of how children learn and attain gender roles (see Sofaer Derevenski 1994b, 1997:194-195, 2000). Sofaer Derevenski emphasises three important elements of an archaeology of childhood: the importance of the perception of child and childhood; the inter-generational relationships between adults and children; and the importance of material culture to children.

In her archaeological study of children and material culture in 19th century America, Baxter (2005) combines Sofaer Derevenski's three essential elements with a greater sense of context. Baxter (2005a:1) defines childhood as 'a prolonged period of dependence during which children mature physically and acquire cultural knowledge necessary to become accepted members of society'. Studying the ways in which cultural information is transmitted and transformed, Baxter's (2005a) research focuses on material culture patterning and the construction of space and place by children. Taking a contextual approach, Baxter (2000) emphasises the relationships between families, communities, society and the environment. A degree of controversy exists regarding a contextual approach. For example, Johnsen and Olsen (1992:428) argue the redundancy of the term 'contextual' archaeology and critique Hodder's contextual approach developed in the 1980s (see Hodder 1986). Conversely, Yates (1990:271) states that approaches to understanding can be nothing but contextual. Johnsen and Olsen 1992:428 stress that what is important is specifying which contextual relations are central to our understanding. Indeed, decisions' regarding which contextual relations are central to our understanding rely on the research at hand, the specific research questions and the methodological approach. Baxter's research methodology stresses the idea of process and relies on the study of formation processes in the archaeological record by using spatial modeling, archaeological patterning and artefact distribution analysis. Her approach relies more on observation in her understanding of children in the past rather than exploring the dialectical relationship between the past and present (see Wylie 1989:12).

Whilst a focus on formation processes can reveal certain aspects of childhood behaviour, because childhood is a socio-cultural construct, dynamic and contextual, studies benefit from a more hermeneutic philosophical approach rather than one that emphasises formation processes. Moreover, past events occurring in specific historical contexts cannot be understood by using scientific methods. Johnsen and Olsen (1992:425) state that

because the meaning of past material culture is equated with the one intended or thought by the producer/user, the only way to grasp it is to know the relevant context as completely as possible, relating the whole and the parts in a hermeneutical circle.

Problems associated with definitions of childhood add to the complexities of childhood research, with definitions also contextually dependent, varying cross culturally. Some definitions are limiting, for example, Baxter's (2005a:1) definition of childhood as 'a prolonged period of dependence during which children mature physically and acquire the cultural knowledge necessary to become accepted members of society', assumes that children have no input over production of material culture and social ideologies. It implies that knowledge is acquired as opposed to being created. It also fails to represent well-documented periods in history among various cultures both pre-industrial and industrial where adults were dependent upon the socio-economic contributions of children (see Blurton Jones *et al.* 1994; Classen 1992; Hawkes *et al.* 1995:688-700; Kamp 2008; Sillar 1994:4; Sofaer Derevenski 1994b:12). Moreover, there are variations among cultures in the expectations held by adults in imparting an appropriate set of gender roles and behaviours and the ways in which children attain them. As most researchers would agree, adults are undeniably part of the dynamic for without adults, there would be no children (Kamp 2008) and vice versa. While adults play integral roles in children's lives and experiences, children are social actors who have the ability to influence their own circumstances and that of their future and are not merely by-products of adults.

More recently, scholars have turned to questions relating to children, identity and the past and the ways in which such questions can be explored by using interdisciplinary approaches (Dommasnes and Wrigglesworth 2008). Current international scholarship focuses on children of the past ranging from the Palaeolithic to the Middle Ages using various methodological perspectives. A key contemporary theme is the understanding, 'finding' and identification of children from often nuanced evidence that they have left in the archaeological record

(Dommasnes 2008:XVI). These traces can range from children's finger, hand and footprints (Kralik *et al.* 2008:1-15), to the more tangible such as toys and objects associated with child rearing. Such evidence can tell much about children's everyday activities including social aspects of children's lives, work and play. For example, Kralik *et al.* (2008:1-15) have identified children's bodily presence and activities including play and creativity, production and manufacturing from Neolithic and Medieval imprints.

A study by McKerr (2008:36-50) on children and material culture in historic Ireland illustrates the ways in which archaeologists have recognised children in earlier archaeological research. McKerr's approach investigates how children in past societies have related to material culture. McKerr (2008) suggests that archaeologists have misunderstood this relationship. She further argues that because children play with 'adult' things in preparation for their own adulthood, most of the artefacts represented in the archaeological record were from children of various ages. She also highlights the importance and interpretational significance of noting the absence of child-related artefacts in the archaeological record and the reasons why such absences exist; for example whether items are absent due to preservation issues or whether the absence can be attributed to a lack of necessity (McKerr, 2008:43). Because McKerr did not find any nursery equipment such as infant's bottles, feeding cups, teething rings or rattles, (objects viewed as important personal belongings in modern childrearing practices), she cautions against imposing a 'present-centered' concept of childhood on the past. However, this implies that 'historic Ireland' is devoid of any nursery equipment and that the reason for their absence is either lack of preservation or lack of necessity. This seems unlikely however and a number of other explanations may account for their absence. While children may play with adult things, McKerr (2008) infers that children's use of adult artefacts relates to the socialisation process in that it prepares them for their own adulthood. Furthermore, there are numerous issues to consider in the absence of child-related artefacts. While necessity is a variable, availability, class, race, ethnicity and wealth are other factors for consideration.

While British archaeologists have long recognised the potential for the archaeology of working class neighborhoods, and the domestic archaeology of nineteenth-century Britain, childhood has largely been overlooked by archaeologists (Crewe and Hadley 2013:89-90). Crew and Hadley (2013) argue that the social agency of children and constructions of childhood have only recently begun to be addressed (see Casella and Croucher 2010:170-176;

Crew and Hadley 2013). Indeed Wilkie (2000:100) states that ‘within historical archaeology children’s intentions and experiences as reflected by their material culture are not discussed. Children’s artefacts are discussed as by-products of parents’ attempts to instill values into their children’. Although a number of Australian archaeological studies have offered some interpretation of the experiences of children and their influences upon the archaeological record (see Barker 2008; Casey and Lowe 2000; Davies and Ellis 2005; Ellis 2001; Mayne and Murray 2001; Prangnell and Quirk 2009), Ellis (2001) is of the opinion that the historical experience of childhood is an area of research that lacks thorough investigation by Australian archaeologists. Whilst some studies are more recent, they lack thorough interpretation of children’s experiences from analysis of material culture. One reason for this deficiency is that consultants conduct much of the archaeological work undertaken in Australia. Whilst many consultancy reports are publicly available, time and financial constraints have hindered thorough examination of the more obscure artefacts, especially those relating to childhood, which often fall under the category of miscellaneous artefacts. This paucity of interpretations of childhood experiences, in turn, greatly hinders comparative analyses. Mayne and Murray (2001:2) suggest that historical archaeology has been reluctant to proceed from producing discrete data inventories to providing syntheses of interpretations. Moreover Mayne and Murray (2001:2) state that

by interweaving documentary, oral and material evidence, both archaeologists and historians are compelled to develop concepts and arguments with which to interrogate these diverse sources, to highlight their significance and to pursue the questions that arise when juxtaposing and melding these data sets.

Moreover, the paucity of archaeological interpretations of children’s experiences in Australia may be attributable to out-dated methodological approaches. Most studies to date have focused on artefact types, spatial distribution, availability and procurement. Most of these issues centre on adults as opposed to the children themselves and childhood agency. Gaining a greater understanding of the interactional dynamics between children and material culture requires methodologies borrowed from other disciplines including psychology and sociology.

Psychological and Sociological Approaches to Childhood

Theories on human development in psychology are dependent upon the perception of individuals as active or passive, the importance placed on biological factors, the social environment, social interaction and the concepts of the nature of development or change (Corsaro and Fingerson 2003:126). For example, Piagetian theory (1950) focuses on the

stages in cognitive development, age and experience – agency is attributed to children. The relationships of children among themselves are seen as more conducive to development than the authoritative relationships with adults. Systems theorists view human development differently utilising models that stress synthesis of multiple levels of analysis, with an emphasis on programs, stages, structures and representations that motivate action at different ages. Thelen and Smith (1998:568) criticise such mechanistic views and suggest that ‘development is something that is formed and constructed by its own history and system-wide activity’. Focus is therefore on processes with outcomes seen as being part of further developing processes.

Rogoff (1996) and Wertsch’s (1998) views on human activity and development have stemmed from refining sociocultural theory and expanding upon earlier concepts developed by Vygotsky (1978). Vygotsky (1978:86) places emphasis on ‘semiotically mediated activity’ and ‘the zone of proximal development’. For example, Vygotsky argues that human activity is mediational and reliant upon language and other cultural tools. The ‘zone of proximal development’ refers to the ways in which children’s everyday activities, occurring within a particular zone, are mediated. This zone represents the distance between the level of development established by independent problem solving conducted by the children themselves and the level of prospective development as a result of adult guided problem solving or problem solving in collaboration with more experienced or capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978:86) (see figure 1).

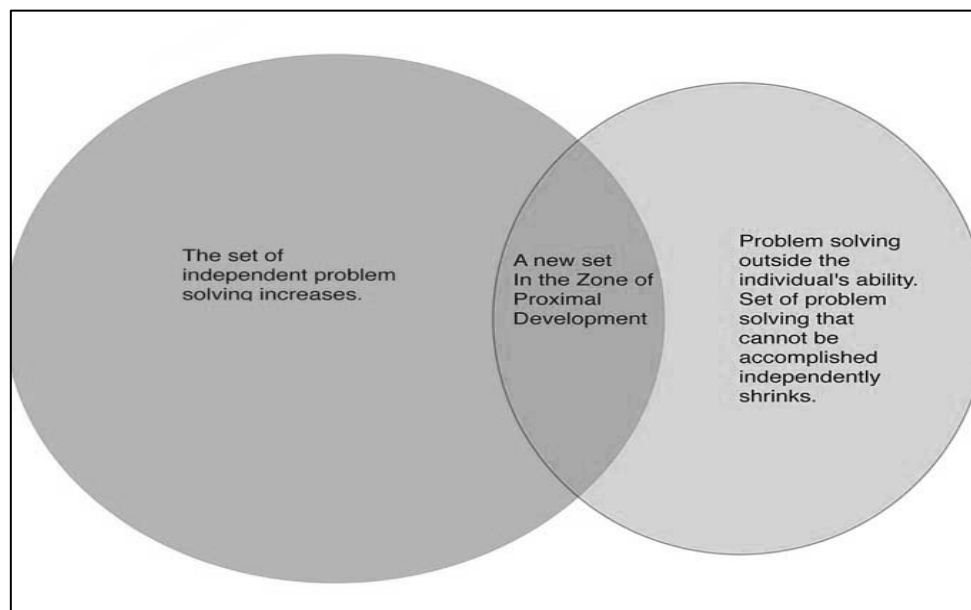


Figure 1. Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development (Photo adapted from Harlan 2011).

Understanding changes or transitions in children's lives requires examining the ways in which children's involvements in the activities of their community change as opposed to focusing on change brought about by individual activity. While sociologists and anthropologists in particular have recognised that an emphasis on the individual rather than the shared characteristics of human development is required in order to understand children's agency, Rogoff (1996) suggests a combined analysis at the community, interpersonal and the individual level is required, studied not as separate static units of analysis but rather together with fluidity. For example, Rogoff (1995:155) points out that 'any event in the present is an extension of previous events and is directed toward goals that have not yet been accomplished'. Previous events or experiences resulting from collective or shared activities, for example those occurring as a result of interaction between children, peers and adults, therefore culminate not as stored memories that are manifested in the present, but as a prepared event primed by the individual's previous input. Whilst emphasis may be on the individual and individual experience, this experience cannot be disconnected from the larger context of the community and therefore analysis must be inclusive of the wider community.

Similar to Rogoff's (1996) ideas, Corsaro and Fingerson (2003:125) argue that although an emphasis on individual agency is required, emphasis must also be placed on the social contexts of children, children's experiences and peer relationships. They therefore suggest that the study of childhood and children should include examination of individual agency but should also be framed within the social context of groups of children which provides a more effective basic unit of analysis. Notwithstanding, Corsaro and Fingerson (2003:125) state that 'theories that focus on individual development can complement sociological theories of the collective development of humans'. Rogoff's theory aligns with Thelen and Smith's (1998) systems theory and interpretive approaches in the study of childhood (Corsaro 2003:125).

The Problematic Issue of Socialisation – A Denial of Agency

Many archaeologists consider that children are the future of every community, since its perpetuation relies on the effective training and adaptation of each successive generation (Belsky 1984 *et al.*; Dommasnes 2008; Sofaer Derevenski 1994a:3). Sofaer Derevenski (1994a:3) states that 'the process of socialising children into their various roles and duties is a mechanism for change and continuity, as well as the production and reproduction of cultural knowledge'. Dommasnes (2008:xix) argues that socialising is a process that occurs in every

society at various scales. A number of archaeological studies of children have focused on socialisation, education and identity and some have argued that the expansion of scholarship that addresses the theme of the process of knowledge transfer from adults to children is necessary. For example, Dommasnes (2008: xix) questions the lack of anthropological and historical scholarship relating to the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and why this process of learning has not become a more central issue among researchers. Whilst not denying that throughout the life stage, humans learn and develop skills and knowledge that are valuable in the perpetuation of societies, the process of how this occurs, particularly the process of socialisation is contentious.

The concept of socialisation is problematic in that it assumes that the end-point of learning is already known, and what remains to be discovered is how the child comes to know it (Benthall 1992:23). Children themselves have the ability to shape their own culture as well as influence the culture of adults (James and Prout 1990). Cultural ideals, formed from their own understanding of the world around them, pass from one child to another, often without adult influence, via speech, interaction and play. The process of input or stimulus, internalisation, interpretation and reproduction, or indeed reinvention provides the stimulus to create cultural knowledge. The very idea of socialisation therefore denies children's agency. 'Prior to the 1980s, sociological research had rendered children invisible, even when the issue being studied was an aspect of children's lives' (Fattore *et al.* 2005:21). Since then sociologists have recognised that children's needs, aspirations and priorities are self-defined and that they differ from those defined for them by adults. Moreover, in order to explore the voices of children and respond to children's realities, it is necessary to liberate adult senses (John 2005:11). This new paradigm embraces the reconceptualisation of children which recognises the autonomy of children rather than considering children as humans in the making as junior adults.

Replacing Socialisation Theory with Interpretive Reproduction Theory

Sociologists have long grappled with the issue of socialisation and, in response to its complexities have developed new and innovative interpretive theories, which are better suited to studies of children's agency in the past or the present. Interpretive theories developed by sociologists, utilised in studies of socialisation (see Corsaro 1997), can be applied to other aspects of childhood research including agency. Interpretive theories view socialisation as a

process involving adaptation, internalisation, appropriation, reinvention and reproduction. Emphasis is on the importance of group relationships and interactions, for example, the ways in which children's culture is created, shared and negotiated among themselves and adults via various activities (Corsaro 1992, 1997; Corsaro and Fingerson 2003; James *et al.* 1998). The notion of interpretive reproduction suggested by Corsaro (1997) accounts for the ways in which children participate in society. Corsaro and Fingerson (2003:129) argue

the term 'interpretive' captures innovative and creative aspects of children's participation in society. Children produce and participate in their own unique peer cultures by creatively appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns. The term 'reproductive' captures the idea that children do not simply internalise society and culture, but also actively contribute to cultural production and change. The term also implies that children are, by their very participation in society, constrained by the existing social structure and by social reproduction.

Conclusion

Cross disciplinary research has identified a number of themes which exist in studies of children and childhood. For example, what is the nature of the child and childhood and is it consistent throughout time and space? Have children always fundamentally thought and behaved the same, and if so, is it the case that childhood experiences and behaviour throughout time and space occur in response to factors which constrain agency? Is it fundamentally universal through time and space that children's needs, aspirations and priorities are self-defined and differ from those defined for them by adults? Is a 'present-centered' concept of childhood applicable to studies of childhood in the past? Are contemporary paradigms, developed and based on current understanding of the world and contemporary society applicable to the past and past societies given the conceptual variations and differing views and values of past societies?

Meaningful definitions of child and childhood and the problems of applying such categories across time continue to dominate theoretical debate among archeologists and childhood researchers in general. It is widely agreed however, that the concept of child is culturally variable and inconsistent throughout time and space and therefore childhood researchers are reluctant to adhere to an overarching model that categorises children and childhood.

Therefore, a universal definition of childhood should not exist and is indeed unobtainable.

Thus, the meaning of childhood needs to focus on a localised evidence-based definition,

highly dependent upon cultural context. Applying a 'present-centered' concept of childhood on the past may not be practical in all cases; however, it is highly dependent upon posed context, theme and questions.

The theme of socialisation also dominates the most up to date literature on the archaeology of children and childhood. While socialisation exists to some degree in most societies, archaeologists need to recognise, as sociologists and social psychologists have, that viewing children and childhood, past and present, through a more interpretive lens allows a greater focus on children's agency and experiences rather than the ways in which the adult world imposes upon them. Moreover, all archaeological interpretation stems from the present and is based on a contemporary understanding of the world. This is particularly evident in our greater understanding of the process of socialisation, childhood development and behaviour. As such, contemporary understanding of childhood is applicable in interpretations of children in the past. The literature review also highlights the benefits of adopting an interdisciplinary approach in the archaeological study of children whereby current knowledge in various fields including sociology, cognitive and evolutionary psychology can help in learning more about agents and agency. By combining a greater awareness of the ways in which children and childhood have been approached in other disciplines, particularly contemporary sociological research, with analysis of the archaeological record, interpretation can move fluidly from the present to the past in the understanding and explication of childhood experiences and agency.

3 Utilising Agency Theory and Interpretive Reproduction Theory

Introduction

If children create meaning and have experiences on their own terms, independent of adult interpretations and conceptions, it is essential to consider the issues that influence, and are important, to them. This research utilises a number of theoretical and methodological tools to explicate questions that connect children of the past to their lived experiences by asking what did these children care about? What did they believe? How did they feel about things, events and experiences in their lives? Through a detailed analysis of various child-related material culture, the answers to these questions are detailed and explained.

The recognition that children are social actors who both affect and are affected by society and culture is fundamental to understanding children's agency. With an added understanding of the relationships between children, society and culture, the creativity and autonomy of children and peer cultures in contemporary society are now better appreciated (Corsaro and Fingerson 2003). But what of the children of the past – how might their agency be better understood? What theories and methods would allow the visibility of past children's culture, autonomy and creativity? This thesis examines children's experiences and agency by using social cognitive theory (a core property of agency theory) as outlined by Bandura (2006) and the various approaches to agency studies in archaeology as outlined in Dobres and Robb (2005) along with interpretive reproduction theory developed by Corsaro (1992, 1997).

When archaeologists speak about human experience and human action, they are generally referring to agency. The application of agency theory enables archaeologists to explore and understand how 'acting, feeling, and relating subjects constitute themselves under circumstances beyond their full comprehension or direct control (Dobres and Robb 2005). Agency theory is therefore an appropriate theoretical starting point in the study of childhood experiences. Indeed, it would be impossible to examine childhood experiences without considering agency and agency theory. Because this research seeks to understand children's experiences and actions and therefore their agency, and because experiences lead to actions and actions lead to agency, it is necessary to explore the meaning of experience, how

experience has been theorised over time and how the perception of experience relates to childhood agency.

Beginning with an outline of historical perspectives of childhood and incorporating a discussion of the development of the philosophy of experiences, a discussion of the development of the various models of socialisation and the progression to more interpretive theories including interpretive reproduction follows. Tracking the progression of the theoretical developments in childhood research in this manner illustrates the significant changes in the way researchers have approached the study of children and childhood over time particularly regarding the progression from, and the challenging of, traditional theories of socialisation and child development.

Historical Perspectives of Childhood

The notion of childhood is a culturally constructed concept, one that has evolved and shifted over time and across disciplines. The modern view of children and childhood emerged in Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries. At that time, the prevailing view was that childhood was a separate, vulnerable developmental stage of life. This view coincided with changing views about family life in general, labour and education (Caputo 1995; Christensen and Prout 2005; James *et al.* 1998). During this period various philosophies of childhood were developed stemming from the philosophical reflections of how humans come to understand things and how ideas and experience are linked to the formation of knowledge. Because this thesis seeks to understand children's experiences and how those experiences are reflected in material culture, it is important to explore the development of the philosophy of experience itself. One of the most influential philosophers on experience was the British philosopher John Locke (1632-1704).

In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689: *Essay I i 8*) Locke, argues that children's minds were devoid of intrinsic tendencies – their minds were *tabula rasa*, or blank slates, requiring moulding and shaping through education and experience. Locke relates experience to ideas and argues that ideas are the most basic unit of human thought. Lock was not so much concerned about what ideas were but rather what they do, that is, the epistemic function of ideas in representing something else. Ideas represent human thought and are the objects of understanding (Locke 1869: *Essay I i 8*). The fundamental feature of ideas

according to Locke, was not what an idea is in itself, but rather what an idea does, for example, how it functions as a representation of something else.

Locke argued that ideas are not innate in the human mind and are acquired over time. Moreover, no one idea is universally shared amongst humans (Locke 1689 Essay I iv). Every human occurrence is therefore borne through individual or shared experiences, either immediate, or remembered (Locke 1689 Essay I iv). Therefore, all human knowledge is ultimately derived from an evolving process of thought, ideas and experience.

Because any instance of human thought is mediated by ideas, Locke sought to illustrate the origin of ideas (Locke 1689 Essay II). Locke explains the concept of a mind void of all characters without any ideas and how knowledge is formed via experience

Let us then suppose the Mind to be, as we say, white Paper, void of all Characters without any *Ideas*; How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store, which the busy and boundless Fancy of Man has painted on it, with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of Reason and Knowledge? To this I answer in one word, From *Experience*: In that, all our Knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives itself (Locke 1689 Essay II i 2).

This again refers to children's minds being devoid of intrinsic tendencies. Children's capacity to think is something that is cultivated over time. Locke argues the primary experiences that new born infants experience are hunger and pain. Further sensory ideas from which infants can interpret and learn to distinguish between other familiar things or sensory experiences develop over time. These ideas lead to their ability to reflect on their experiences and mental functions which in turn allow them to acquire ideas about the process of reflection itself (Essay II i 21-24].

Later, Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) argued against the puritan view of children being innately evil (see Kellett *et al.* 2004), suggesting that children were good by nature and that society was a source of corruption. Similar to Locke's emphasis on education, he proposed developing child centeredness and channelling children's inventiveness via education, resulting in the institution of the kindergarten (Freeman and Mathison 2009:2).

Contemporary thoughts on experience suggest that the two phenomenological principles that demonstrate the perception of experience are consciousness and intentionality (Dahlberg *et al.* 2001:58). Dahlberg *et al.* (2001:58) argue that consciousness underpins our basic

understanding of an object as it brings together past intentions associated with the object and the present relationships with it. Other researchers have endeavoured to distinguish experience from other types of sensory or biological relations with the world (Freeman and Mathison 2009:15). For example, Van Manen (1990) defines lived experiences as experience gained prior to the mind giving it an interpreted meaning. In another example, Dewey (1934) makes a distinction between experiences which are purely physical or chemical transactions between people and the environment, and those that are ‘instruments of expression and communication’ – experiences imbued with meaning. Dewey’s theory is therefore both purposeful and reactive in suggesting that people participate in the world in ways that depend on previous experience, and this dependency forms the response to new experiences (Dewey 1934). Thus, a child engages in a purposeful action and at the same time responds to the action reacting to the experience.

Notwithstanding the variations in philosophical outlooks over time, there was a consensus that children were fundamentally different from adults (Freeman and Mathison 2009:2). The recognition of childhood as a cultural construction came with the advent of cultural anthropology in the 20th century. Research and analysis of children’s activities and experiences in varying cultural contexts, challenged the idea of a universal developmental process (James 2001). The processes of socialisation became the focus during the 1930s and 1940s. Society considered children as ‘competent interpreters of the social world’ (James 2001:246). For example, although centred on the concept of socialisation, Margaret Mead’s (1971) study of the coming of age in Samoa challenged previously held views of biological determinism by focusing on the role that context and culture played in childhood development and by examining children’s social interaction with parents, playmates and teachers. The departure from the focus on processes of socialisation occurred gradually by recognising the importance of close observation of children and by examining children’s understandings and interpretations of their social world. The view that children were developmentally immature and incomplete gave way to a new perception of children being active constructors of social meaning (Caputo 1995; Christensen and Prout 2005; James *et al.* 1998). Researchers began to acknowledge the active role of children in society, not as passive receptors, but rather, co-creators of that society (Freeman and Mathison 2009:4).

This significant shift in the conceptualisation of childhood has resulted from early philosophical arguments on the nature of childhood and the development of socialisation

theories to new ideas and ways of looking at children and childhood in anthropology and sociology – ideas that are now beginning to trickle into archaeology and the study of children and childhood in the past.

The Sociological Study of Children’s Experiences: The Development of Socialisation Theories and the Progression of Interpretive Theories

Socialisation theories

Adler and Adler (1998) identify three common socialisation models of childhood: developmental; normative; and social constructionist. Early paradigms emphasise the role that biology and environment play with differing standpoints on the contributions of the perspectives of individual children (Freeman and Mathison 2009:4). Developmental models of socialisation consider childhood as a stage of development. This approach views a child as being incomplete, immature and irrational, one who develops and progresses cognitively biologically and psychosocially over time (Erikson 1963; Morss 1996). This view considers children as being the outcomes of the socialisation process (James and Prout 1997).

Christensen and Prout (2005:48) argue that there are three elements underpinning this developmental viewpoint, including naturalness, universality and rationality and state that

the child is seen as progressing from simplicity to complexity, from irrational to rational behaviour, from a stage of biological immaturity, passing through a developmental process and moving into fully developed human status as adults.

The developmental model has stemmed from Darwinian evolutionism, supporting the idea that childhood was a natural, evolutionary and progressive process – a model which G. Stanley Hall (a founder of studies of childhood in the United States) heavily supported (Freeman and Mathison 2009:5).

Normative models draw on Locke’s belief that children are blank slates that require shaping through education. Behaviouralism and social learning theories underpin these models with a focus on the ways in which children internalise social norms and the role that various stimuli play in that process. Drawing heavily on behaviouralism and psychology, these models have significantly influenced childhood studies particularly in the United States (Freeman and Mathison 2009:6). For example Watson, in his book *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928), following a logical positivist empirical scientific approach to childhood studies, argues that children react to and learn appropriate behaviour in response to positive and

negative stimuli which is internalised providing them with the means of learning societal norms. The child is therefore a passive recipient of the adult culture surrounding them. However, this has been widely challenged by contemporary researchers and it is now widely agreed upon that humans do not merely respond/react to external influences and that people take a more dynamic role in their own socialisation by internalising the consequences of their actions and formulating responses (see Corsaro 1992, 2005; Corsaro and Fingerson 2003; Formanek-Brunell 1992; Freeman and Mathison 2009; James and Prout 1990; James *et al.* 1998; John 2005; Qvortrup 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b; Rogoff 1995, 1996; Wertsch 1998). Earlier deterministic models in which the child plays a passive role in society, and was regarded as a 'novice' having the 'potential to contribute to the maintenance of society and an 'untamed threat' who must be controlled through careful training' (Corsaro 2005:7-8) have been replaced. Constructivist models which view children as active social agents who construct their own social world and understand their place within that world (Corsaro 2005:7), are currently dominant.

Social constructivism is an interactionist perspective that adopts the view that humans, children and adults, are agents who are more involved in their own socialisation process. In this view, the effects of individual contexts and personal attributes of an agent, including age, gender or race are diminished but are regarded as interactive, complex, dynamic and fluid (Freeman and Mathison 2009:4-6). Children are actors acting within their social environment whilst simultaneously being shaped by that same environment. Children interpret the world around them; internally processing the information according to their own perspectives (Freeman and Mathison 2009:4-6). This contextual and individualistic view of childhood negates any universal notions of childhood and requires consideration of history, society and culture in order to give precedence to children's perspectives. This more individualistic contextual approach to childhood research has led to the development of constructionist frameworks for theories of learning, cognition and pedagogy that currently guides research and the new social studies of childhood (Freeman and Mathison 2009:4-6).

Constructivism and constructionism are similar concepts. Both view knowledge and reality as being socially constructed and contingent upon human practices formed from interaction between humans and the world around them, transmitted within a social context (Crotty 1998:42). There are however differences between the two concepts in the elements that are emphasised in this relationship between humans and the construction of knowledge.

Constructivism has its foundations in rational philosophy and developmental psychology where a focus is on the ways in which an individual actively engages with the environment. In this sense, each individual's experience is unique and the ways in which an individual constructs their reality is valid and worthy in its own right (Crotty 1998:58). Constructivists view individuals as mental constructors who mentally construct their experiences not merely reflecting the world around them but rather create their realities mentally through experience resulting in the potential for vast and varying numbers of realities (Gergen 1999:236). Meaning is therefore a mental construct.

Conversely, constructionists oppose the idea of an individual or separate mind because of the view that humans interact in a social world governed by language, rules, norms and social connections. Constructionism's origin is in interpretive sociology. Emphasis is therefore on the social construction of meaning and the influence of language and discourse in the formation of meaning (Freeman and Mathison 2009:13). Crotty (1998:58) argues that 'social constructionism emphasises the hold that culture has on us: it shapes the way in which we see things (even in the way in which we feel things!) and gives us a quite definite view of the world'.

Both paradigms have influenced researchers of children and childhood. James and Prout (1997) have expanded the social constructionist view to emphasise the breadth of childhood and view children and childhoods as shaped and constituted socially. From a developmental psychological standpoint, Vygotsky (1978) has advanced constructivist theories by placing emphasis on socio-cultural context suggesting that individual learning is the outcome of children's social and cultural engagement with the world. Both epistemologies overlap in that they both highlight the constructed view of reality as created by the individual and their engagement with the social world in which they live. This overlapping has led to the development of social constructivism. Social constructivism is contextual, viewing the individual as mentally constructing their world within a socially constituted environment, thus forming the basis of experiences (Gergen 1999:237). A social constructivist approach therefore rejects the common assumption that children's life experiences are universal across time and space (Freeman and Mathison 2009:14). Fisher (1991:15) defines eight characteristics of a social constructivist perspective:

- Realities are constructed as and from experience;
- Truths are relative to the context of observation;

- Knowledge is a construction from social and individual assumptions and developed via language;
- Meaning is both an internal and social construction through interpretation;
- Knowing is an ongoing process of interpretation of present events from within the observer's interpretive framework;
- Science is an interpretive process by which observers test consensually derived distinctions for their utility;
- Each element in a social system is recursive and provides conditions of operation for other elements in the social system;
- Persons have agency and choice, although they are constrained by recursive interactions between self and the environment.

A social constructivist perspective in contemporary sociological studies of children and childhood relies upon direct observation of children's lived experiences by seeking to 'understand children's experiences through words, images and actions children convey in their interactions with others and researchers' (Freeman and Mathison 2009:14). This approach is also conducive to the study of children and childhood in the past and it is the epistemological choice of this study. Indeed, Corsaro's theory of interpretive reproduction, is consistent with social constructivism however Corsaro's theoretical orientation is social psychological with a focus on internal processes. This does not mean however that external processes are not taken into account and indeed any study examining agency cannot be without consideration of both internal and external forces.

Agency

For the purpose of this study which examines the children's experiences through their engagement with the material world, the meaning of agency is expanded to include a process of inter-subjective engagement with the objects and society (Barrett 1994, 2005), the constitution of the person as a psychological being, and the construction of prescribed societal distinctions through expressive action (Clark 2005; Joyce 2005; Walker and Lucero 2005). As Robb (2001:1) suggests agency is not a simple concept, '...it is not a 'thing'; it's a quality of many things and the relationships between them', and a number of theoretical issues exist.

Dobres and Robb (2005) argue that a number of key theoretical issues require continual deliberation in archaeological studies of agency, including ‘definitions, intentionality, scale, temporality, material culture and politics’. The application of agency theory in this study is less concerned with temporality and politics but rather requires addressing key issues including definition, scale, experience and material culture.

Defining the concept of agency is a difficult and contentious issue. It is a highly ambiguous concept which can mean ‘everything and nothing’ (Dobres and Robb 2005). Such ambiguity renders it extremely difficult to define definitively (Dobres and Robb 2005). Dobres and Robb (2005) argue that agency is not a ‘sophisticated paradigm’ and must be theoretically elaborated. Moreover, they argue it is no longer acceptable in archaeological studies of agency to merely ‘add actors and stir’ (Dobres and Robb 2005). The complexity of the concept requires that agency be ‘problematised critically and productively’ (Dobres and Robb 2005). It has been associated with the ‘individual; individually unique cognitive structures; resistance to social norms; resistance to power inequalities; the capacity for skillful social practice; freedom from structural constraints; and free will’ (Dornan 2002).

Most agency theorists subscribe to at least four general principles including:

- the material conditions of social life;
- the simultaneously constraining and enabling influence of social, symbolic and material structures and institutions, habitations and beliefs;
- the importance of the motivations [intentions] and actions of agents; and
- the dialectic of structure and agency (Dobres and Robb 2005:8).

Agency, in the simplest terms then, is the ability to act. It is the inner motivation for action and indeed can also be the inner motivation/choice for non-action. It is an acknowledgement that people act purposefully and that the external world is altered as a direct response to those actions (Dornan 2002). In any given circumstance, agency may be construed in a number of ways resulting in significant variability in the meaning of agency. Agency therefore is a highly subjective concept, open to interpretation and specifically and uniquely constructed for the study at hand.

Society, the Individual and Agency

Contemporary understanding of the relationships between society and the individual and agency theory stems predominately from the writings of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. The central focus in Bourdieu's practice theory focuses on social asymmetry and class. Bourdieu argues human domination, resistance to accepted social patterns of inequality, social asymmetry and class as foremost constituents of the structure-agent dialectic. Bourdieu views human action as being the result of unconsciously internalised dispositions, otherwise known as the concept of 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu suggests that the experiences of the external world entirely determine individual habitus. Agent's interests are defined without 'consciousness or will' (Bourdieu 1990). This view however denies the independent choice of the actor and or any kind of deliberate transformation (Alexander 1995; Bohman 1999), condemning the actor to what Carmaroff (1985) describes as mindless reproduction of the actor's world.

In contrast, Giddens' theory on structuration views social structures as both constraining and enabling (Giddens 1979; 1993). He argues that social practice can allow for creativeness and originality in every occurrence. Giddens emphasises the impassivity of humans and the capability of individual actors to have a 'practical consciousness' with the ability to reflexively monitor their conduct based on their knowledge of the underlying social institutions (Giddens 1979). While Giddens' structuration theory accounts for 'purposes, reasons and motives of action' (Giddens 1979), it is limited in its accounting of intentionality and leaves little room for complex motivations and desires of the individual (Dornan 2002).

Agency and actors in archaeology: Collective agency, individual agency and intentionality

Addressing agency archaeologically has led to varied theoretical approaches which are often contradictory (Dornan 2002:309). Embedded in these theoretical variations are differential competing focal issues for example, 'intentions versus consequences, knowledgeable actors versus ideological dupes and individuals as creative constructors versus individuals as culturally determined' (Dornan 2002:309). Researchers have grappled with these issues resulting in the critical analysis and current theoretical development of agency studies in archaeology. Dornan (2002) argues these five most influential approaches within the field are, 'a focus on collective agency (Shanks and Tilley 1987), individual intentionality (Hodder 2000) a rational actor approach (Bell 1992), unintended consequences of social struggle

(Pauketat 2001), and practical rationality as manifest within social struggle (Joyce 2005:71-91)' (Dornan 2002:309).

Following on from Giddens, Shanks and Tilly (1987) approach agency with the view that 'individuals are competent and knowledgeable while at the same time their action is situated within unacknowledged conditions and has unintended consequences' (Shanks and Tilly 1987:116). The focus is on collective action. Dornan argues this approach is utilized in archaeological contexts which seek to understand the effect of class or gender systems on collective decision-making or the construction of identity of different social groups (Dornan 2002:310). In contrast to Shanks and Tilly's collective agency perspective, Hodder (2000:22) argues that agency should be approached by examining agency through the 'lived lives' of individuals'. This view is a departure from Hodder's earlier argument of approaching agency theory through shared meanings and practices. Hodder (2000:23) argues this change in outlook better accommodates intentionality and creativity of the individual. Bell (1992:39) however, posits that because individuals have potential for a wide variety of ideas and motives, interpretation of the motives of individuals requires examining the collective actions of individuals. In contrast to Hodder, Bell (1992) argues that agency approaches are best applied in contexts of human activity where ideas and motives are collectively shared. In this way, generalisations and assumptions about rationality can be avoided.

Pauketat offers an alternative view and argues in contrast to Bell, that an agency methodology should not be individualistic and suggests that an agency perspective is based on the belief that people's practices, representations and actions are generative (Pauketat 2001:79). Moreover, Pauketat (2001:86) posits that in order to produce effective explanations, an agency approach necessitates interpretation of an extensive body of data where the ultimate goal is to seek proximate causes of social reproduction and change rather than definitive causes. In summary, Pauketat (2001) argues that understanding historic processes and finding answers to questions of why change occurs will only be made possible through 'cumulative, painstaking, data rich, multi-scalar studies of proximate causation', i.e. 'large scale studies of who did what when and how' (Pauketat 2001:86-87).

Pauketat (2001) views an agency approach as an effective analytical tool which allows us to reinterpret data from a new and more effective and accurate perspective however, it is not without its critics. For example, Dornan (2002:313) argues that whilst Pauketat's view is

compelling, the idea that ‘practices are, quite literally, embodiment of people’s habitus or dispositions’ (Pauketat 2001:80) negates a conscious actor approach by focusing on the unconscious basis of action. Dornan (2002:313) argues Pauketat (2000) therefore suggests that it is not essential to seek meaning in archaeological interpretations of agency because meaning resides only in the ‘moment of interaction’ and because ‘people act often without any conscious understanding of what their actions mean’ (2000:16) – an assertion that Dornan suggests neglects one of the most promising aspects of an agency approach in archaeological studies.

Similar to Pauketat’s views on agency as an analytical tool, Joyce’s (2005) new interpretation of the founding of Monte Alban (a large pre-Columbian archaeological site in the Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán Municipality in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca) illustrates the effectiveness of an agency approach. Joyce (2005) defines agency as the ‘actions of individual social actors embedded within a broader socio-cultural and ecological setting’ (Joyce 2005:71). Joyce’s model of the rise of Monte Alban is explicated by a focus of the ‘intrasocietal dynamics of social change’. Joyce illustrates these changes with an explanation of the commoner resistance and the ways in which social change is the unintended consequences of a struggle for and resistance against growing social power of the elite, highlighting a process of social negotiation (Joyce 2005: 71-91). Progressing from Bourdieu (1977), Joyce advocates a combination of consideration of internalised structures and human psychology and the ways in which personality develops within the structural environment (Joyce 2005:72). Such an approach is based on social cognizance and allows for the adoption of an agentic perspective toward human development, adaptation and change (Bandura 1986; 2000).

Because agency is socially and structurally embedded, it is simplistic to assume that a clear boundary exists between individuals and society (Dornan 2002:316). Dornan argues that understanding agency is difficult at the individual level without taking into account the interaction between the inner life of the individual including thoughts and feelings and outer sociocultural structures within which they are expressed (Dornan 2002:316). Humans have the ability to internalise purposefully and in turn, engage in active, purposeful and intentional action. Understanding agency in the past therefore requires theories of agency which account for the complex and historical nature of social relationships within the context of local experience and by investigating the subjective inner realms of individuals (Meskel 2001:188).

By attempting to access the inner conscious life of individuals using theories of agency as analytical tools, researchers can gain insights into how people interpret experience and act within their world (Dornan 2002:317). Indeed, Dornan (2002:319) suggests that

we must develop a more nuanced understanding of the ongoing hermeneutic between the shared nature of being human (through evolutionary, cross cultural psychological, neurophenomenological, and cognitive research) and of the unique historical contexts within which individuals construct identities and goals.

Psychology of Human Agency: An Agentic Perspective

Humans make choices and plans. They act deliberately with purpose and intentionality and are not mere victims of their environmental circumstances. Whilst their environment may influence certain choices and actions, humans are not shaped by environmental pressures but rather have the ability to work with and override their environmental constraints. They have the ability to comprehend, calculate and modify the course of events within their lives (Bandura 2006:164). Bandura (2006) suggests that it was the human capacity to symbolise which allowed humans to go beyond their immediate environmental constraints to gain more power and to shape the circumstances of their lives. Therefore, they are not merely products of their circumstances but rather contributors. Humans create, preserve and transform the environment rather than merely react to it enabling ‘changes which involve a socially embedded interplay between the exercise of personal agency and environmental influences’ (Bandura 2006:167).

This agentic perspective toward human development, adaptation and change is the foundation of social cognitive theory. A social cognitive perspective adopts the idea that agency plays a role in causal structures at both individual and collective levels. It therefore rejects the division between human agency and social structure because of the notion that humans create social systems which in turn influence and impact people’s lives (Bandura 2006:164).

There are four core agentic properties to human agency in a social cognitive perspective; intentionality, forethought, self-reactiveness and self-reflectiveness (see Table 1). Whilst these four properties relate to agency at the individual level, most human pursuits involve the participation of other agents, so in reality, there is not absolute agency (Bandura 2006:164-165).

Three modes of agency exist within the framework of social cognitive theory: individual; proxy; and collective agency. Everyday experience incorporates a blend of all three of these modes of agency. At the individual level of agency, people influence their own experiences within their environment. However, one does not always have control over the events and conditions that impact their lives and as such their agency may be socially mediated or exercised via proxy. When conditions are out of the control of the agent, they will influentially draw on the resources of others in order to achieve desired outcomes (Baltes 1996; Brandtstädter and Baltes-Gotz 1990; Ozer 1995). Indeed people rarely operate fully autonomously within their lives and many desired outcomes are only made possible via interdependence on others where various skills and resources can be pooled collectively.

Table 1. The four core properties of agency as defined by Bandura (2006:164-165).

Intentionality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The formation of intentions and plans of action and strategies to realize those intentions • Accommodation of self-interests • Commitment to shared intention and coordination of interdependent plans of action
Forethought (individual and collective)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal extensions of agency, for example goal setting as motivators • Anticipatory self-guidance • Visualisation of goals and anticipated outcomes
Self-reactiveness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-regulation • Ability to construct appropriate courses of action • Motivation and regulation of execution of course of action
Self-reflectiveness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metacognitive capability to reflect upon thoughts and actions • Self-awareness of personal efficacy, soundness of thoughts and actions, meaning of pursuits • Ability to make necessary corrective adjustments

Collective agency thus allows the individual to act in concert with other agents in the attainment of goals (Bandura 2000). Bandura (2006:165) suggests that the key element to collective agency is the conjoint belief in people's collective ability to achieve given attainments. Collective agency involves interaction, co-ordination and synergistic dynamics.

Studies have revealed that the co-relation of collective efficacy is directly related to the level of interdependence within a social system, for example if the interdependence within a social system is extensive, the perceived efficacy of the collective is higher (Stajkovic and Lee 2001). Whilst collective agency can offer the means of achieving desired goals, people do have a degree of control over their self-development and life circumstances. Fortuitous circumstances however can also play a role in the life course (Austin 1978; Bandura 1986; Stagner 1981).

The Formation of Personal Agency and Personal Identity in Children

Because the self is socially constructed via experiences within the environment, when a child is born it enters the world devoid of any sense of selfhood or personal agency. The development of personal agency occurs via a process of perceiving, understanding and recognising causal relationships. For example, the perception of events, understanding causation through action and ultimately recognising the self as being an agent of that action results in development of behavioural abilities in infants. Learning about causal relations occurs within the first few months of an infant's life. Lent (1982) and Mandler (1992) suggests that an infant will most likely learn cause and effect within their environment through repeated observation of the actions of others.

A child learns at an early age that their action produces certain outcomes. Moreover, they both observe and directly experience the effects of their actions (Millar and Schaffer 1972; Watson 1979). However the development of personal agency is not only dependent upon the recognition and understanding that they can make things happen but also that they are the causal agents of their actions (Bandura 2006:169). The construction of selfhood involves the combination of internal reflections of an individual's experiences as well as their social experiences. Infants become increasingly aware of self as they learn language and referent labels, for example they learn to differentiate themselves from others and are able to associated images of themselves with their names. However they cannot do this with images of other people (Lewis and Brooks-Gunn 1979). At approximately twenty months, a child develops the ability to describe themselves as being the agents of their actions as well as being able to describe associated intentions (Kagen 1981). In response to increasing personal and social experiences, a child gradually becomes aware of their capabilities and their distinct self (Bandura 2006:170). Indeed a child is significantly influenced by their social experience.

For example, the development of an infant's agentic capabilities is heavily influenced by a significant level of purposeful regulated guidance from others (Karniol 1989). Parents or primary caregivers influence infants' actions by exposing them to various objects designed to encourage and promote cognitive and physical development and skill acquisition which is highly conducive in the development of a sense of personal identity and agency in the early formative years of life (Bandura 2006:170).

Personal identity is the concept of who and what a person is. Agents create and reinforce personal identity through their experiences, connections and relationships over time (Korsgaard 1996). Korsgaard (1996) argues that people project themselves into the future, shaping their life course by formulating plans of action, enacting goals, aspirations, and social commitments. Personal identity is therefore constructed over time having continuity within an individual's social reality (Bandura 2006:170). Closely related to the development of personal identity is the belief about personal efficacy, a belief that Bandura (1997) argues underpins human agency. Bandura (2006) argues the belief of personal efficacy (that is, a person's belief that their actions can produce desired outcomes) is the catalyst to act or persevere under difficult circumstances. It is the motivating factor which drives people to action (Bandura 2006:170). Personal efficacy is a factor which heavily influences the process of decision making and the choices people make at critical junctures of their lives thus having the potential to profoundly influence the life course. It affects whether people think optimistically or pessimistically – thinking patterns that impact goals, inspirations and expectations and whether people are motivated or not. For example, people with low efficacy hold a defeatist attitude believing their actions are or will be futile when under difficult circumstances. They are more prone to giving up whereas people with higher levels of efficacy will persevere having the belief that their efforts will produce favourable outcomes during difficult circumstances rendering them far more resilient to adversity (Bandura 2006:170-171).

In line with the above mentioned theories on agency, agency applied in this research is at the scale of the individual as well as that of groups. Whilst there is a focus on individual agency, personal intentionality and individual interests, it also centres on social collectivities and the processes through which children's peer cultures are constructed and transformed. It is in the totality of a child's experiences among the environment and the people surrounding them in their lives that influence their lives and experiences. Moreover, in seeking to understand the

inner conscious life of individual children and in order to gain insight into their everyday lives, general experiences and the interplay between internal processes and external action, agency is examined by applying the sociological theory of interpretive reproduction as developed and defined by Corsaro (2005). That is, childhood is regarded as a social form with children being viewed as being similar to adults, actively engaging in society, both affecting and being affected by society.

Interpretive Reproduction Theory

Corsaro's social psychological approach integrates an Orb Web model of children's developing memberships in their cultures with the theory of interpretive reproduction. This innovative approach in sociology focuses on childhood as a social construction (Corsaro 2005:24). It therefore recognises children as social actors and highlights the ways in which children actively and creatively engage with their peers, adults, and the adult world in the construction of their own unique series of peer cultures, ultimately contributing to the reproduction of childhood and society. Corsaro (2005:44) explains interpretive reproduction most eloquently by stating that the

...focus is on *childhood* as a social construction resulting from the collective actions of children with adults and each other. Childhood is recognised as a structural form and children as social agents who contribute to the reproduction of childhood and society through their negotiations with adults and through their creative production of a series of peer cultures with other children. This new view of childhood as a social phenomenon replaces the traditional notion of socialization with the concept of interpretive reproduction. Interpretive reproduction reflects children's evolving membership in their culture, which begins in the family and spirals outward as children create a series of embedded peer cultures based on the institutional structure of the adult culture. Overall, the notion of interpretive reproduction challenges sociology to take children seriously and to appreciate children's contributions to social reproduction and change.

Moreover, Corsaro (2005:18) argues

the term 'interpretive' captures innovative and creative aspects of children's participation in society. Children produce and participate in their own unique peer cultures by creatively appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns. The term 'reproductive' captures the idea that children do not simply internalise society and culture, but also actively contribute to cultural production and change. The term also implies that children are, by their very participation in society, constrained by the existing social structure and by social reproduction.

Corsaro (2005) effectively illustrates the concept of interpretive reproduction with the 'Orb Web model' (see Figure 2). As a heuristic device, Corsaro (2005) suggests that the model 'captures interpretive reproduction in a spiral in which children produce and participate in a series of embedded peer cultures' (Corsaro 2005:24).

The model contains a series of radii illustrating locales or fields that make up various social institutions including family, economic, cultural, educational, political, occupational, community, and religious. These fields exemplify the various settings in which institutional interaction, communication and behaviour occurs (see Bourdieu 1991). The radii illustrated locales or fields can be likened to conduits by which cultural information flows. For example, family interaction occurs in a variety of locales including, the home, the family car, parks, and at various family functions. Educational activities occur in a variety of locales also however they predominantly occur in classrooms, libraries, sporting fields or venues and music practice rooms. Depending on the context and type and availability of education, educational activities can also occur within the home (Corsaro 2005:25). Whilst these fields are stable structures, they are not static and change over time and cross culturally. For example, the number of radii (institutional fields or locales) varies depending on cultural and temporal context (Corsaro 2005:26). This flexibility allows for specific tailoring according to context.

Family is central to the notion of interpretive reproduction. The family of origin lies at the centre of the web model and connects all cultural institutions for children who enter the culture through their families at birth (Corsaro 2005:25). Children in contemporary societies participate in other institutional locales, interacting with non-family children and adults, from an early age. These interactions within familial and non-familial institutional fields result in the production of peer cultures which are formed by each generation of children in a given society (Corsaro 2005:25). Four distinct peer cultures are represented in the model by various shaded spirals, preschool, preadolescent, adolescent and adult.

While features of peer culture are conveyed by older children to younger children, peer cultures do not pre-exist. Children do not encounter them or are confronted by them. Moreover, they differ from the institutional fields within which they occur. Although peer culture is affected by the interactional experiences with the adult world and within the institutional fields, children's peer cultures are innovative and imaginative collective

constructions, which Corsaro (2005:25) states are ‘collectively spun on the framework of the cultural knowledge and institutions they come in part to constitute’.

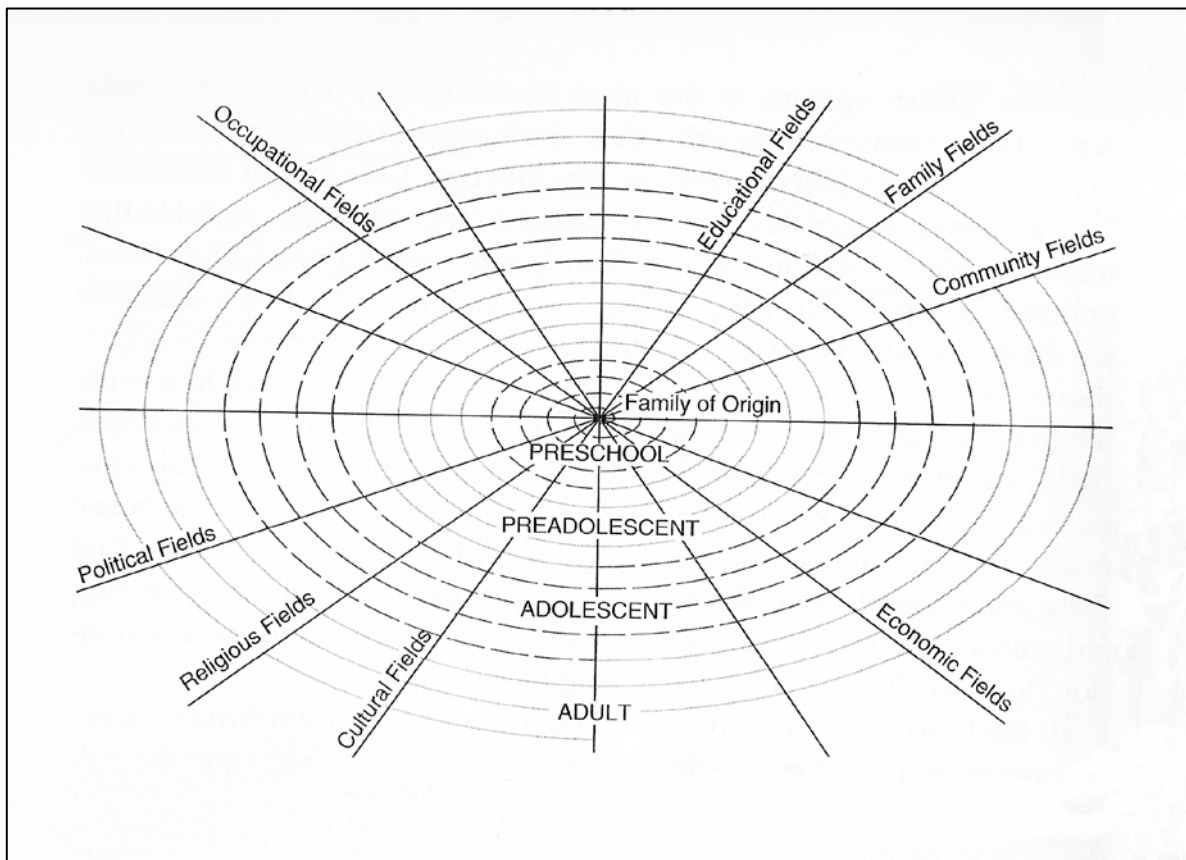


Figure 2. Corsaro's Orb Web model (Corsaro 2005:26)

Conceptualising Childhood: A Structural Approach

A structural approach to the study of childhood as outlined by Qvortrup (1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b) is based upon three main assumptions: that ‘childhood constitutes a particular structural form’; that ‘childhood is exposed to the same society forces as adulthood’; and that ‘children are co-constructors of childhood and society’. Qvortrup (1991) argues that compared to other conflicting views of childhood which focus on childhood as a period of life, conceptualising childhood as a structural form allows researchers to move away from individualistic, adult oriented and time bound perspectives providing the means for greater depth of sociological enquiry. Qvortrup (1991) places earlier perspectives in three categories: the psychological perspective; the psychoanalytic perspective; and the life course perspective. The psychological view focuses on individual personality. Similarly, the psychoanalytic view focuses on the individual however, the focus is on adulthood with reflective investigation of the childhood experiences of the adult. The life course perspective blends both individual and non-individual approaches. All of these earlier perspectives focus on the time bound

processes which transform children to adulthood, viewing adulthood as a predicted result of the processes of socialisation (Corsaro 2005:30). Moreover, in contrast to a structural perspective, they are idiosyncratic and deny the impact of societal influences on childhood. Qvortrup (1991:14) argues that a fundamental feature of a structural approach is the view that childhood is a social form integrated in society and that children are similar to adults, actively engaging in economic production and consumption, affecting and affected by development and events occurring within society.

Interpretive Reproduction in Children's Peer Cultures

Corsaro (2005:41) stresses that children's production of peer culture is not merely a reflection or simple imitation of adults or the direct appropriation of the adult world. Children absorb, and creatively process and evaluate information from the adult world in the process of constructing their own distinctive peer cultures. This process of elaborately and creatively appropriating, expanding upon and transforming information from the adult world in turn simultaneously contributes to the reproduction of adult culture in a different form (Corsaro 2005:41). Indeed this process, which results in the reproduction of adult culture in a different form by the next generation, provides the catalyst for culture change.

Interpretive reproduction is creative appropriation (Corsaro 2005:41). Creative appropriation consists of three types of collective action which contribute to cultural production, reproduction and change within a given society. The first is children's creative appropriation of information and knowledge from the adult world. The second is children's production and participation in a series of peer cultures throughout the lifecycle, and the third is children's contribution to the reproduction and extension of adult culture (Corsaro 2005:41).

Children's Peer Cultures: The Backbone of Interpretive Reproduction

Children's peer cultures and children's participation in cultural routines provide the backbone to Corsaro's theory of interpretive reproduction. Corsaro (2005:109) argues that 'children produce a series of local peer cultures that become part of, and contribute to, the wider cultures of other children and adults within which they are embedded'. Moreover, these processes are contextual varying over time and cross culturally. Understanding these variations in the processes of the production of children's peer cultures has become a central topic in sociological research. Given that sociologists have identified changes in these

processes over time and within various contemporary cultures, it is prudent that archaeologists should endeavour to understand these processes within archaeological contexts. Researchers should not discard these processes because peer culture is a public phenomenon. Understanding these processes requires an interpretive approach which focuses on the children themselves and the ways in which children produce, use and share activities, routines and objects among themselves and their peers. This approach makes a distinct departure from a functionalist view of culture and concentrates on the role and participation of children in cultural production and reproduction (Corsaro 2003; Corsaro and Eder 1990).

Influences and Effects on Children's Development: Peer Cultures and Parents

Children's participation in cultural routines is central to interpretive reproduction theory. Corsaro (2005:111) argues that children's memberships in their peer groups and in adult cultures rely on the collective production and participation in routines. However, the interactions between children and adults produce various fears and uncertainties. This is because of the subordinate role of the child and the power of adults and their cognitive role in the production of cultural routines. This interaction exposes children to extensive cultural information that can be difficult to process and understand. Moreover, Corsaro (2005:111) suggests 'it is an important assumption of the interpretive approach that important features of peer cultures arise and develop as a result of children's attempts to make sense of, and to a certain extent to resist, the adult world'. Corsaro (2005:111) further argues that in an interpretive approach, children's peer group activities and their collective production of a series of peer cultures hold equal significance to their interaction with adults. Further, various features of peer culture have the ability to influence adult child routines within the family and other cultural settings, thereby influencing the individual's evolving membership in both their own culture and other children's culture as well as in the adult world.

The degree of parental effect in childhood development is a contentious issue. In a review of early research on the parental effects on children's personality, Harris (1998) and Gladwell (1987) criticise early researchers for not considering the extent of the effects of genetics and of peer influence. Harris' (1998) review, draws on the work of behavioural geneticists who argue that the degree of influence of genetics and environment on a child's personality are equal. Findings from studies in behavioural genetics on the effects of shared and non-shared

environments, for example, both internal and external familial contexts, reveal that parents had little or no effect on the adult personalities of children who shared the same home and parents (Harris 1998; Plomin and Daniels 1987). On the merit of these findings, and various anthropological and sociological studies, Harris (1998) argues whilst parents do have a significant effect on their behaviour within the context of the family, children's developmental outcomes are less dependent on parents and more dependent upon peers or their social contexts. Findings therefore also suggest that socialisation strategies utilised by parents have little influence on the developmental outcome of children's personalities.

Children's Transition from Family to Initial Peer Cultures

While peers and peer culture play an integral role in children's evolving membership in their culture, parents and families also are a major factor in interpretive reproduction. Initial peer cultures do not evolve from direct confrontation with the adult world. Children experience input from the adult world, not individually but within cultural routines that initially occur within the context of the family. Information initially mediated by adults informs these cultural routines (Corsaro 2005:112). Parents usually decide about the early peer interactions of children and their structure within families. For example, parents decide in what peer groups and institutions children will participate. Corsaro (2005:112) argues that these decisions are dependent upon the cultural conditions, values and practices that vary cross culturally and over time. Children's decision making regarding non-parental care or early education is limited. However, children's experiences in such settings and in such routines evaluated by adults better prepare children for the transition from early childcare and education to formal schooling (Corsaro 2005:113). Earlier engagement with parents in various cultural routines within the family greatly influence the relationships that children develop between themselves and key adults in their early lives including teachers, coaches, counsellors and others, as well as their peers (Parke and Ladd 1992). Indeed, children seek in adult caretakers and peers, the same kinds of emotional bonds and feelings of security initially experienced within the context of their families (Giddens 1991; Ladd 1992). Corsaro (2005:114) suggests that these early desires to attain and maintain security provide the basis for the initial formation of children's peer cultures. Corsaro (2005:114) further argues that it is a 'strong factor in children's valuing of participation and communal sharing in their peer cultures friendships'.

The way in which adults view friendship influences children's initial perception of friendship at an early age. Corsaro (1979, 1985, 2003:115), argues that because adults tend to associate friendship and sharing, children use the concept of 'friend' as a label for other children they are familiar with and whom adults have designated as such. As children get older and enter preschool, their perception of friendship alters in that they relate sharing and friendship to attempts to generate as well as protect various interactive activities. The notion of a friend or friendship shifts from being a mere label applicable to a specific child to that of a shared experience of playing together with a number of children who are friends. A child may not be considered a friend if he/she is not accepted into the context of the shared experience. These shared experiences amongst friends occur in specific areas where children protect their play from other children (Corsaro 1979, 1985, 2003:115). This protectiveness regarding play extends to the material culture associated with play as play things/objects become part of the symbolic and material aspects of children's cultures.

Symbolic and Material Aspects of Children's Cultures

Guarinello (2005:19) argues 'it is now almost common sense that artefacts communicate, or are rather means for communication...'. Moreover, material culture functions as a symbolic system and investigation of the embedded symbolic meanings in material culture is at the forefront of archaeological interpretation (Guarinello 2005:19). The process of extracting meaning from childhood-related material culture requires an understanding of childhood symbolic culture and children's symbolic expression. Childhood symbolic culture is the various representation or expressive symbols of children's beliefs, concerns and values (Griswold 1994:3). Corsaro (2005:116) suggests that there are three primary sources of childhood symbolic culture including children's media for example cartoons and films, children's literature, particularly fairy tales, and mythical figures and legends such as Santa Claus and the Tooth Fairy. Whilst adults are primarily the mediators of information from these sources, exchanged within cultural routines and context of family settings, children quickly appropriate use and transform the information from symbolic culture as they produce and participate in their own peer culture (Corsaro 2005:116).

Literature and Fairy Tales

A number of textual analyses of children's books and fairy tales using a variety of theoretical perspectives exist. Most notably in this field of research is Bettelheim's (1976) *The Uses of*

Enchantment. Bettelheim (1976) adopted a psychoanalytical interpretation of classic fairy tales, although Bettelheim was criticised by Tatar (1992) who adopted Fish's (1980) idea of interpretive communities. Interpretive communities are practices or strategies communally shared by community members for organising experiences. However, Tatar (1992) suggests that most children's literature and studies focus on the interpretive communities of adults. Corsaro (2005:17) argues these early studies fail to capture children's perspectives, because their analyses do not include children or a combination of both adults and children constructing interpretive communities over time.

Material aspects of Children's Cultures

Childhood material culture can include everyday objects such as, clothing, books, crayons, pens and paper and of course toys. Because children, particularly very young children, have very little power as direct purchasers of material culture, much commercially produced material culture associated with childhood is reliant upon adult purchasing power and consumerism. As such, it is impossible to extract adult influence from various commercially produced products. However there is a degree of parent child interaction and negotiation which occurs regarding the acquisition or use of toys and children's play associated with toys (Corsaro 2005:126). Historians (see Formanek-Brunell 1992; Mergen 1992; Sutton-Smith 1986) and contemporary marketing researchers (see Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Holloway and Valentine 2000; Hunt and Frankenberg 1990; Kline 1993; Seiter 1993) have studied the relationship between adults, children and material culture. Studies (see Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Formanek-Brunell 1992; Holloway and Valentine 2000; Hunt and Frankenberg 1990; Kline 1993; Mergen 1992; Seiter 1993; Sutton-Smith 1986) show that children develop as individuals whilst simultaneously collectively and imaginatively appropriate, use and imbue toys with meaning, both within the context of the family as well as within their peer groups (Corsaro 2005:126). Corsaro (2005:126) argues that findings from such studies (see Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Formanek-Brunell 1992; Holloway and Valentine 2000; Hunt and Frankenberg 1990; Kline 1993; Mergen 1992; Seiter 1993; Sutton-Smith 1986) are consistent with the concept of interpretive reproduction by demonstrating the significance of the ways in which children's combined actions contribute to the production of unique peer cultures as well as reproduction and change in adult society.

The Relationship between Children and Material Culture

There is general agreement in archaeology of the idea that human existence and human social life depends on material culture (Hodder 2011:155). Indeed humans and material culture co-constitute each other, that is, humans depend on material culture and material culture depends on humans. Moreover, material culture depends on other material culture (Hodder 2011:154). Hodder (2011) characterises these relationships as ‘human-thing entanglement’. Whilst objects appear to be separate and bounded, they are at the same time dependent on other objects in a system of interdependency involving others including other, human, institutional, legalistic and bureaucratic agents (Latour 1996, 2005).

Hodder argues

anything is dependent on the other things used to make it, to use it, to repair it, to discard it. It bears the marks of these other things, and archaeologists have long been adept at the study of the traces on things to see how they were used and made.

Moreover, Hodder (2011:159) argues, ‘archaeologists have been at pains to emphasize that the interactions between things also involve bodily engagement’. These behavioural chains between humans and objects or bodily engagement with objects incorporate and emphasise social, ritual and ideological factors (Hodder 2011:159). Within the context of this research however, the focus is not so much on the material aspects or character of the material culture but rather the chains of behaviour and interactions between the material culture and children and childhood. However, as Hodder (2011:167) suggests whether humans, (and in this case the focus is specifically on children) copy or transform material culture or other children, as they do, often depends on the material character of things, the potentials offered by the material itself as well as the availability of technologies. Hodder (2011:167) argues that

humans can copy in an instant; they are memetic beings as much as they are bound by habitus. Ideas can spread like wild-fire. Humans actively transform things as part of social strategies. Whether they do or do not imitate depends on the ways in which humans and things are embedded within entanglements.

Indeed, children are masters at copying, either the actions of adults or their peers. They actively transform things including objects and other children as part of social strategies. However, they also have the ability to absorb interpret and produce new and innovative outcomes or what Corsaro (2005) refers to as interpretive reproductions. Indeed, it is this entanglement between children and material culture and discovering the imbued experiences and agency of children within objects that is the focus of this research.

Discovering Children's Experiences in Material Culture

This research seeks to understand children and childhood experiences through the analysis of material culture. This requires analysis of various forms of childhood related material culture where the main aim is searching for traces of agency, experiences and imbued meaning. However, whilst we know that objects carry imbued experiences and meaning, what types of experiences and meaning of childhood are identifiable within everyday objects associated with children? There are a wide variety of meanings that can be bestowed upon an object. Some meaning stems from shared and collective knowledge while others are more personal where significance perhaps stems from a constructed reality (Wood 2009:152). The meanings of some objects reflect a connection between the individual, their sense of self and their reality (Wood 2009:152). A wide variety of objects can represent the experiences and meanings of childhood which is the concept underlying this study. These objects form the context of lived experiences from which a person constitutes self and identity (Hocky and James 2003; James 1993). As Wood (2009:153) suggests, such objects become 'metaphors imbued with self-definition, markers of history, experience, and relationship'.

Three assumptions are evident in the analysis of material culture and its relationship to experiences: the idea that objects contextualise and mediate experiences; objects provide structure and form to lived experiences; and objects form part of an experiential exchange between humans and objects (Wood 2009:154). Objects therefore become mediators or translators of information, which in turn provides opportunities for the expression of imagination and creativity (Wood 2009:154). These everyday objects connected to children's everyday experiences then become 'biographical' in that they are imbued with the personal characteristics of their owners and those experiences reflecting individual identity, sense of self and agency (Czikszenmihalyi and Rocheberg-Halton 1981; Hoskins 1998:7; Sutton-Smith 1986; Whitmore 2001; Wood 2005).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical and methodological concepts best suited for the context of this research and which provide the framework for the analysis of material culture related to children and childhood in order to gain an understanding of children's experiences and agency. Tracking historical perspectives of childhood and contrasting the progression and theoretical advances from traditional and more outcome-based approaches to socialisation to

new interpretive theories that better account for agency, this chapter highlights the inability for traditional concepts of socialisation to recognise effectively the two primary tenets of the new sociology of childhood. Firstly, that children are active, creative social agents who play significant roles in constructing their own unique cultures while simultaneously contributing to the production of the adult world, and, secondly, like social class and age groups, childhood is a structural form – a category of society (Corsaro 2005). Moreover, this chapter highlights that the theoretical and methodological advances made in the sociological study of children and childhood provide useful conceptual tools for archaeological study of children and childhood. Specifically, Corsaro's theory of interpretive reproduction, represented by the Orb Web model, illustrates how children participate in their own unique series of peer cultures, creatively appropriating information from the adult world via a number of diverse locations in which these interactions or behaviour occurs. This information is then used to address children's own peer concerns ultimately resulting in children contributing to cultural production and change.

The progression and development of agency theory as well as the identification of shortfalls of earlier models across various disciplines, suggests that examining agency, particularly agency in the past, requires a multivariate approach. This multidisciplinary approach, incorporating concepts from anthropology, sociology and archaeology, draws on a combination of agency theory, interpretive reproduction theory and material culture theory, providing a sound platform for analysis, interpretation and the formation of a complex narrative of the experiences of children and childhood within an archaeological context.

Because this thesis seeks to understand the inner conscious life of individual children and gain insight into their everyday lives, general experiences and the interplay between internal processes and external action, as previously mentioned, agency is examined by using two theoretical perspectives: social cognitive theory (a core property of agency theory) as outlined by Bandura (2006), along with interpretive reproduction theory developed and defined by Corsaro (1992, 1997). That is, childhood is regarded as a social form with children being viewed as being similar to adults, actively engaging in society, both affecting and being affected by society. Whilst both theories take an agentic perspective acknowledging children as social actors and both similarly reject the processes of socialisation, key differences exist. For example, Bandura's (2006:164-165) theory on agency adopts a social cognitive perspective whereby agency plays a role in causal structures at both the individual and

collective level. Bandura highlights three modes of agency within the framework of social cognitive theory including, individual, proxy and collective agency. Whilst acknowledging that most human pursuits involve the participation of other agents, the focus is more on individual agency in line with the four core properties of agency as defined by Bandura in Table 1.

Contrastingly, Corasaro's (1992, 1997) interpretive reproduction theory adopts a social psychological approach where the focus is on childhood as a social construction resulting from the collective actions of children with adults and each other and the complexity of social structure. This social psychological approach focuses on children's collective activities and with a collective productive-reproductive view. It is non-individualistic in that children's social development is not solely the result of private internalization of adult skills and knowledge.

Whilst Pauketat (2001:87) suggests that meaning is not an essential aspect of an archaeological search for agency and that it is not necessary to consider meaning in archaeological interpretations (Pauketat 2001:87), a multidisciplinary approach as outlined in this chapter suggests that it is indeed possible to identify and extrapolate meanings associated with agency from archaeological data. Whilst understanding meaning is not necessary, according to Pauketat (2001:87) if achievable, it is one of the most promising aspects of an agency approach and worthy of pursuit. The following chapter presents data from 18 sites and collections located across various Australian states and includes a wide variety of material culture associated with children and childhood ranging from 1788-1901, including, toys, games, books, drawings, images and other objects. These objects have been analysed within the parameters of the theoretical and methodological approaches discussed in this chapter.

4 The Material Culture of Childhood: Methods and Data

Introduction

The study includes data from 14 archaeological sites and four museum collections. The artefacts from these sites and collections reflect a variety of domestic settings, both urban and rural as well as including two maritime sites that illustrate the economic and importation aspects associated with childhood related material culture. Artefacts, especially toys, have imbued meanings that are dependent upon their social context. This study focuses on the types of child-related material culture and children's use of such items during their play and learning particularly those artefacts that have been altered or embellished in some way by children. Such embellishment, modification and adaptation alter these objects from their original form and possible meanings associated with adult intentions to imbue new meanings that reflect the child's own mind and aspirations, thereby reflecting agency.

The sites are domestic, contemporaneous settings including households of different socio-economic means, and geographic locations. Although ethnically the study is restricted to European children, some sites are historically documented as being culturally and ethnically diverse although such diversity is highly ambiguous and difficult to see archaeologically. Whilst the focus is not concerned with intra-site variability in artefacts and their distribution, the range of sites in the study allows for some inter-site comparison, comparison of artefact types and availability providing a means for interpretation of childhood experiences in a variety of domestic settings.

Site, Artefact and Collection Selection

The inclusion of archaeological sites and museum collections was based on an assessment of their ability to provide relevant and reliable data as a basis for interpretation and the answering of the research questions. Two key criteria are used in site selection. First, the site/collection had to contain child-related material culture within the time frame of the study. Determining whether sites or collections contained child-related material culture involved investigating archaeological site reports, theses and documentary records of previously excavated sites. It also involved contacting various museums, museum curators,

archaeological consulting companies and archaeologists from various Australian states who held knowledge of the existence of children and child-related artefacts from various sites and collections. Second, the sites and collections had to contain childhood related material culture relating to the everyday experiences of children and or include photographs and historical documents that had the potential to reflect agency.

Throughout this process of identifying child-related artefacts, there existed an underlying impetus to explore the possibility for the existence of direct traces of the children themselves, for example, any physical manifestations such as embellishment or alteration performed by the children. Artefacts were examined, photographed and recorded into a data-base specifically designed for the research.

Categories

Because the research examines children's experiences and agency, the artefact categories were selected according to their association with the everyday lives and experiences of children and their agency. Within these two broad categories are sub-categories relating to the fields outlined in Corsaro's Orb Web model. These include, artefacts, photographs and documents relating to:

- Family: everyday family life;
- Community: children's involvement in the community;
- Economic: children's involvement in economic activities;
- Cultural: children's involvement in cultural activities;
- Religious: children's involvement in religion;
- Political: children's involvement in politics;
- Occupation: children's occupations and
- Education: children's educational activities.

Sample Size

The study comprises a mix of urban and rural sites, museum and library collections and shipwrecks. The sample contains 12 terrestrial sites, two maritime sites and four museum/library collections as follows:

Table 2. Breakdown of sites by type.

Terrestrial sites/collections (urban)	Terrestrial sites/collections (rural)	Maritime sites
Casselden Place (Vic) Cohen Place (Vic) Cumberland Gloucester Street (NSW) Devonshire Arms Hotel (Vic) Lilyvale (NSW) Rockpool (NSW) Royal College of Surgeons (Vic) Saltwater Crossing (Vic)	Corinella (Vic) Gilbert Family Collection (SA) Lucy Family Collection (SA) Melbourne Museum Collection (Vic) Peel Town (WA) Short's National Hotel (Vic) Unitarian Collection (SA) Viewbank (Vic)	<i>Fiji Shipwreck (Vic)</i> <i>Loch Ard Shipwreck (Vic)</i>

Whilst the individual sample size from each site and collection varies considerably, as a complete body of data, the overall size of the sample in the study provides a solid foundation allowing for a synthesis and a comprehensive analysis of Australian children and childhood experiences throughout Australia from 1788-1901.

Overview of Analytical Methods

Data collection occurred with the following analytical and focal parameters in mind:

1. A focus on children's experiences as reflected in childhood related material culture and demonstration that children exercise agency operating in their own culture via their own social networks within peer groups;
2. A focus on children's agency as reflected in childhood material culture and demonstration that socialisation is an adult concept relating to adult attitudes and aspirations and quite separate from children's attitudes and aspirations; and
3. A focus on how children exercise agency and demonstration that this is reflected and made visible in the archaeological record through various objects by applying interpretive reproduction theory thus challenging socialisation theory.

Organisation and Presentation of Data

For coherency, ease of reading, discussion and contextual understanding, the sites and data are presented by state beginning with New South Wales followed by Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. No site or collection has precedence over another.

New South Wales

The Rocks: Lilyvale Cottage – History and Background of the Site

The Lilyvale site is a residential block in The Rocks, Sydney, bounded by Cumberland Street to the west, Essex Street to the south and Gloucester Street to the east. The site now comprises the ANA Hotel as well as three renovated buildings dating from the 1840s, which include Lilyvale Cottage (176 Cumberland Street), the Butchery Buildings (178-180 Cumberland Street) and the Hart's Buildings (10-14 Essex Street) (Crook *et al.* 2003). Excavations in 1989 resulted in the recovery of a number of child-related artefacts indicating the presence of children at the site.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, Lilyvale was predominately a working class neighbourhood comprising a number of dwellings and shops (Crook *et al.* 2003:12). Because archaeological investigations have focused primarily on the structures associated with the site and because of minimal research regarding the residential population of the area between 1788 - c.1830, very little information is available relating to the people who lived in this neighbourhood. Researchers argue that, similar to the nearby sites of Cumberland and Gloucester Streets, the inhabitants of the Lilyvale site during this period were convicts or ex-convicts (Crook *et al.* 2003:12). Moreover, most interpretations focus on the people who owned the land and buildings associated with the Lilyvale site.

Built in 1821-22, Geranium Cottage originally occupied the present site of Lilyvale Cottage. Geranium cottage contained four rooms, a cellar, detached kitchens and a two stall stable at the rear of the property (Thorpe 1994:4.2; *Sydney Gazette* 15 September 1825). The cottage, originally built and owned by William Sibley (a dealer of Brickfield Hill) sold in 1835 to Robert Fopp (a butcher) who later sold it to Michael Farell (an innkeeper) in 1838. Farell replaced Geranium Cottage with a two-storey brick house, which became known as Lilyvale Cottage (Thorpe 1994:4.3). Between 1845 and 1847, the cottage underwent extensions, eventually including eleven rooms, a kitchen, a coach house and stables (Thorpe 1994:4.3).

The cottage functioned as an inn and boarding house from the 1850s until the early 20th century, and was known variously as the 'Cumberland Hotel' (1855-57), 'Clare Tavern' (1858), 'Hen and Chickens' and 'Athol Blair' (Crook *et al.* 2003:18). The occupation of Lilyvale is unclear however, and although the property was apparently advertised for rent in 1847, Thorp (1994:4.3) suggests that there is some speculation that Michael Farrell and his

family also lived at Lilyvale whilst it functioned as a boarding house/tavern. After the death of Michael Farrell in the early 1880s, the cottage and surrounding land passed on to George Farrell and Ann Samuels, who let it. It operated as a boarding house run by Mrs Brooks between the years 1880 to 1890. William Bird took up residence from 1890 to 1905, after which time it was taken over by Ann O'Donoghue who ran it as a boarding house once again until 1915 (Thorp 1994:4.3).

Whilst records do not show evidence of the presence of any children at the site, there are claims that the extensions to the cottage were 'to accommodate Mrs Farrell's very large family' (Walker 1930:309). Whether or not this is indeed the case, the material culture recovered from the site indicates that children did undeniably live and play there. Moreover while it is difficult to ascribe toys in terms of gender, a wide variety of toys were recovered including those traditionally played with by girls and those traditionally played with by boys. Some of the child-related artefacts recovered from the site include a variety of metal toys (see Table 3, Figure 1), a carved wooden animal (see Table 3 Figure 2), dolls' tea sets (see Table 3 Figures 3-4), dolls of varying types and sizes (see Table 3 Figures 5-7), a rubber ball (see Table 3 Figure 8) and a variety of gaming pieces (see Table 3 Figures 9-14). A number of paper artefacts, which rarely survive in the archaeological record, were also recovered including a fragmented paper doll of a soldier and a range of playing/collectable cigarette cards (see Table 3 Figures 15-18).

Table 3. Various child-related artefacts from the Lilyvale cottage site.



	<p>Figure 1. Various metal toy fragments x 7. Materials comprising tin, iron and lead. Spoked wheels, metal whistle top, metal toy key.</p>
	<p>Figure 2. Interpreted by the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority as a hand carved wooden cow, however it may also represent a sheep.</p>



Figure 3. Dolls bone china tea set fragments (2 cups with handles).



Figure 4. Dolls bone china tea set pieces (lids, one rectangular and two round).



Figure 5. Dolls head (hand painted). White glaze over white bisque. German ca.1845-1855.

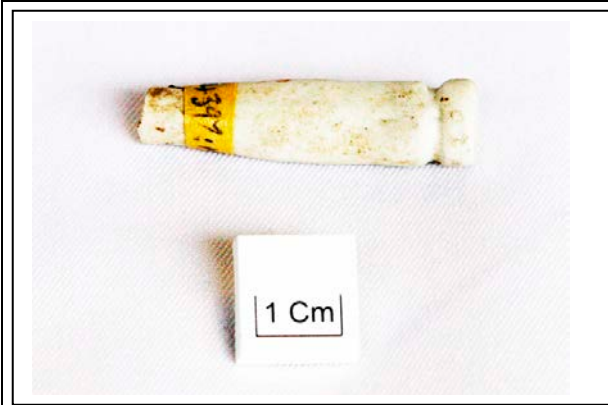


Figure 6. Various bisque dolls arms.



Bisque dolls arm, threaded at shoulder and missing hand.



Bisque dolls arm, missing hand.



Figure 7. Glass dolls eye, no iris.



Figure 8. Rubber ball core.



Figure 9. Two bone gaming pieces, draughts.

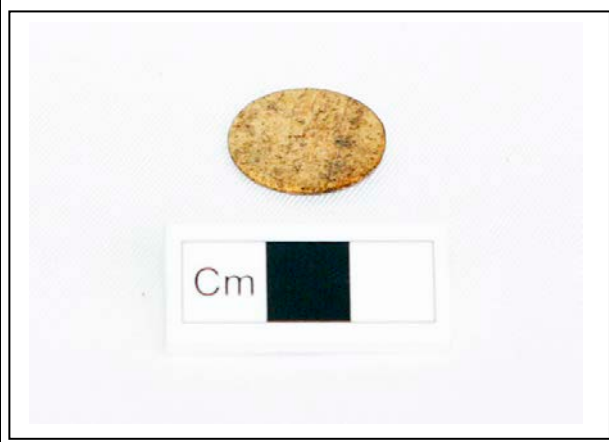


Figure 10. Bone gaming counter.

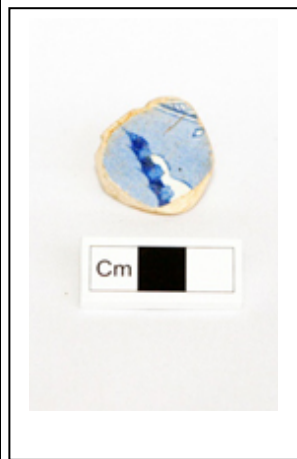


Figure 11. Two hand ground gaming pieces. Left: Ceramic counter blue and white willow pattern fragment. Right: Limestone dice, no evidence of numbers.



Figure 12. Bone domino fragments x 3.

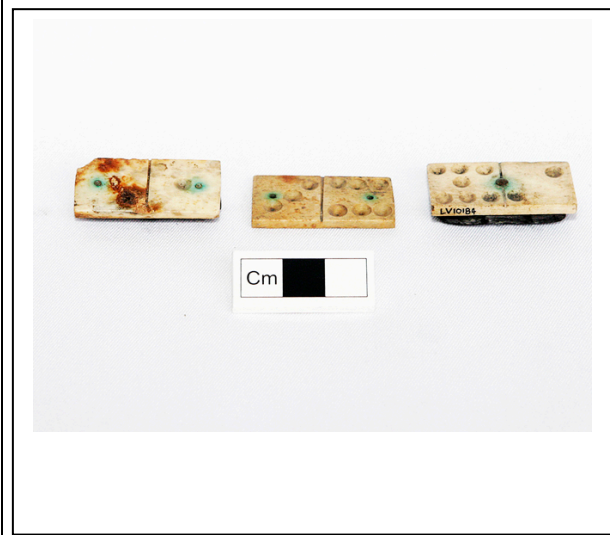


Figure 13. Bone/ivory domino fragments x 3.



Figure 14. Worked bone chess piece (pawn).



Figure 15. German/Prussian paper doll soldier.

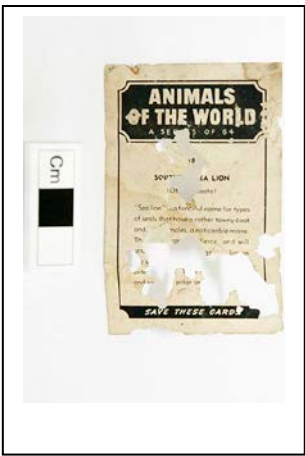
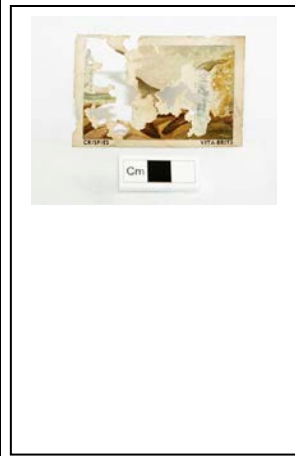


Figure 16. Left: Front side of fragmented animals of the world series collectable card from 'Crispies', 'Vitabrits' cereal box depicting southern sea lion. Right: Reverse of card with text 'save these cards'.



Figure 17. Left: Collectable cigarette card (Standard) head of V. Gardiner Howard Carlton on front. Right: Reverse of card. 'Standard, Cork Tipped, V.Gardiner Howard Carlton, Cigarettes Pure and Sweet'.

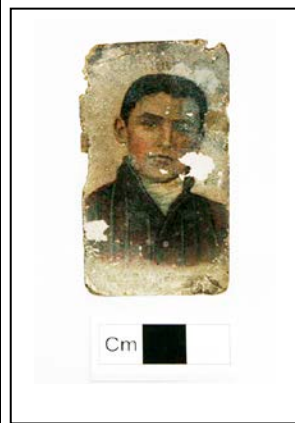


Figure 18. Left: Collectable cigarette card with photo of M.W. Payne (1885-1963) (Cricket Archive online) depicted on front. Right: Reverse of card. 'This Picture is No 63 of a series of prominent Australian Cricketers, which are issued by the manufacturers of 'Capstan' cigarettes. Every packet of cigarettes contains a picture'.

The Rocks: Cumberland/Gloucester Street – History and Background of the Site

The Cumberland Gloucester Street site measures 2,650 square metres, comprising sections of two city blocks located between Cumberland and Gloucester Streets. Situated in Australia's most important historical precinct, The Rocks in Sydney, it represents a rare surviving element of a convict and ex-convict community during the period of Australia's early European settlement in the late 1700s. Between 1902 and 1915, The Sydney Harbour Trust conducted large scale clearing. Since then the site has been used for light industrial and public utility purposes (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:13). In 1994/1996, the site owners and Consent Authority, Sydney Cove Authority, proposed that the site be developed for residential purposes and recommended that the site undergo comprehensive archaeological investigation prior to construction. In January 2008, the development of a Youth Hostel (YHA) was approved. Today, the YHA stands on the site, in stark contrast to the past streetscape (see Figures 3-7). Further archaeological investigations have been undertaken in 2005, 2006 and 2008 revealing more than 750,000 artefacts and the remains of 46 separate buildings (Godden Mackay Logan.com.au: 2011). A significant number of child related artefacts were recovered from properties associated with the Cribb family and the Byrne house.

George Cribb, a convict butcher occupied an area of the site between 1810-1833. Initial use and occupation of the southern half of the Cumberland/Gloucester Street site occurs in 1811, although Godden Mackay Logan (1996a:27) state that documentary evidence for the manner in which the Cribb family initially utilised various parts of the property remain uncertain. By 1822, Cribb had constructed a substantial building along Cumberland Street comprising three conjoined houses with extensive yards and outhouses which he leased to three families: John and Mary Seabrook, Thomas Kinnard and Catherine Murphy and their three children; and Mary Massagora and her son John (Karskens 1994:28).

Richard Byrne arrived in 1800. A stonemason, Byrne met Margaret Kelly in 1805. Although they never married, between 1806-1818 they had six children all of whom were born in the property bordered by Cribbs Lane, Cumberland Street and a rock face on the east. By 1811 the property contained two houses (Godden Mackay Logan 1996a:357). Between 1823 and 1834 the Byrne house was extended (Godden Mackay Logan 1996a:357). Richard Byrne became a publican in Cumberland Street in 1832 and died not long after. The Byrne family occupied the original house until the 1850s and the house was demolished ca. 1860-61

(Godden Mackay Logan 1996a357). Numerous toys were recovered from the underfloor deposits from the property.

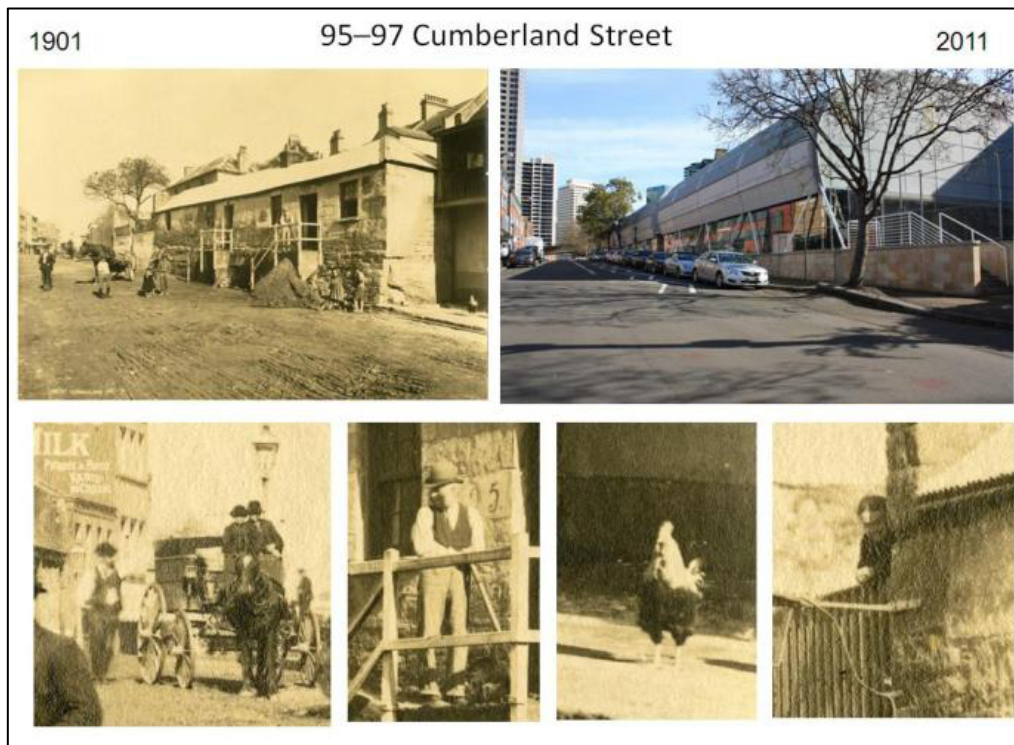


Figure 3. Comparative collage showing 95-97 Cumberland Street, The Rocks Sydney from 1901 and 2011 (Photo collage: Galloway 2011).

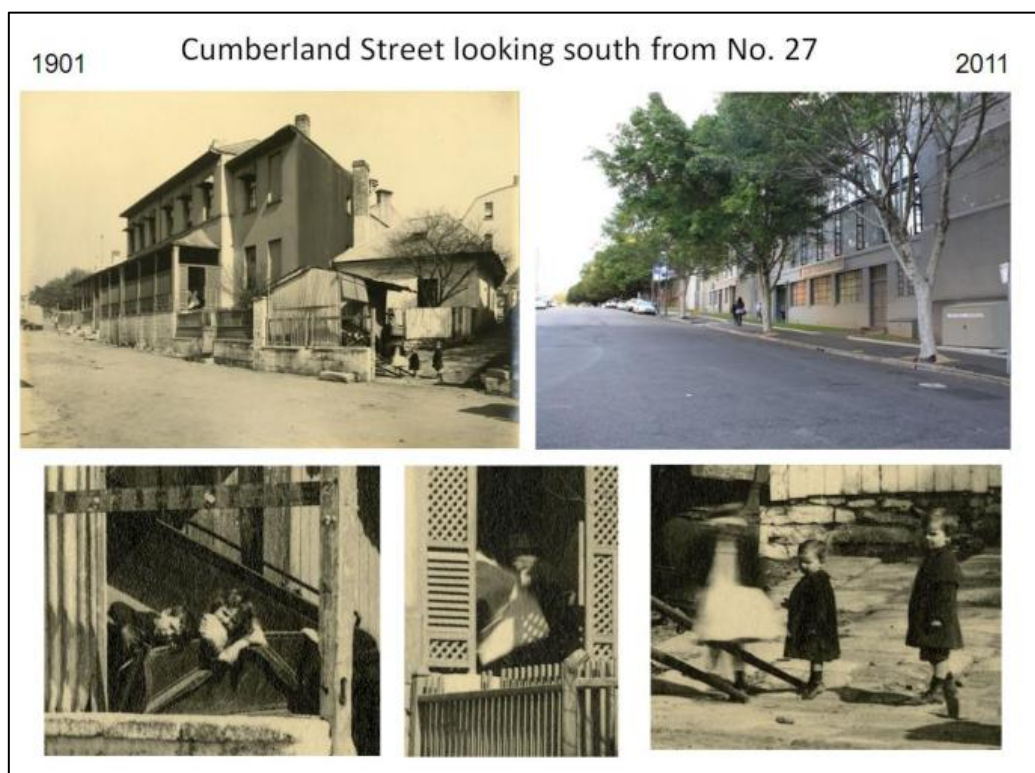


Figure 4. Comparative collage showing 27 Cumberland Street, The Rocks Sydney looking south from 1901 and 2011 (Photo collage: Galloway 2011).

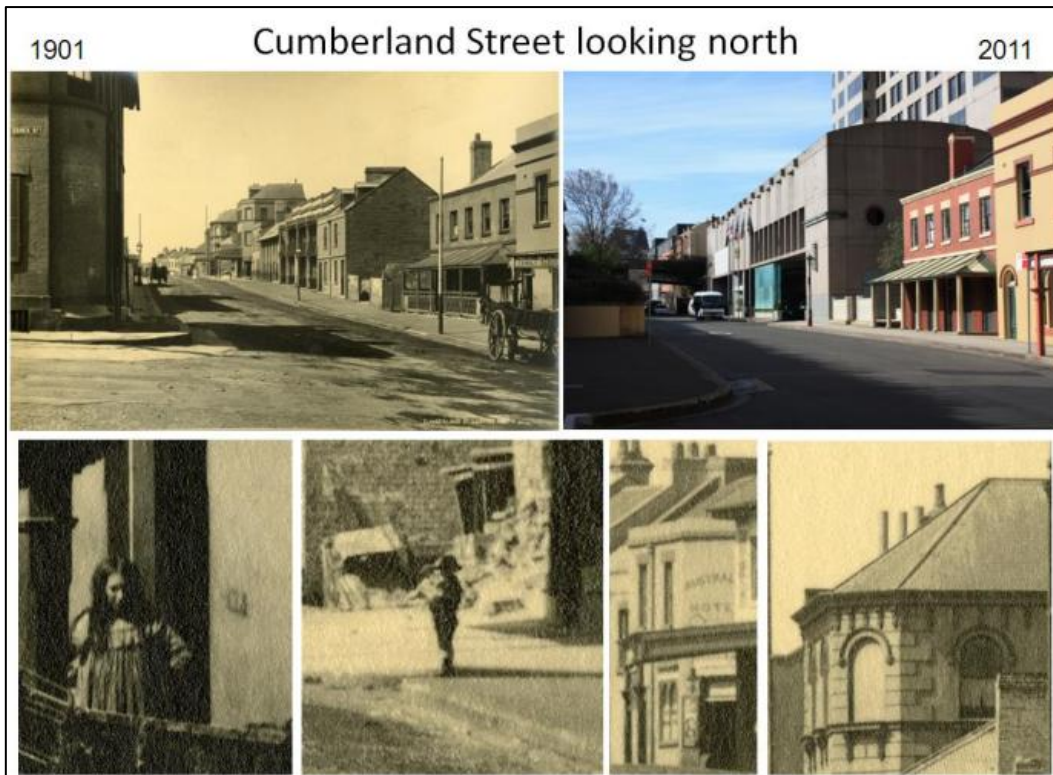


Figure 5. Comparative collage showing Cumberland Street, The Rocks Sydney looking north from 1901 and 2011 (Photo collage: Galloway 2011).

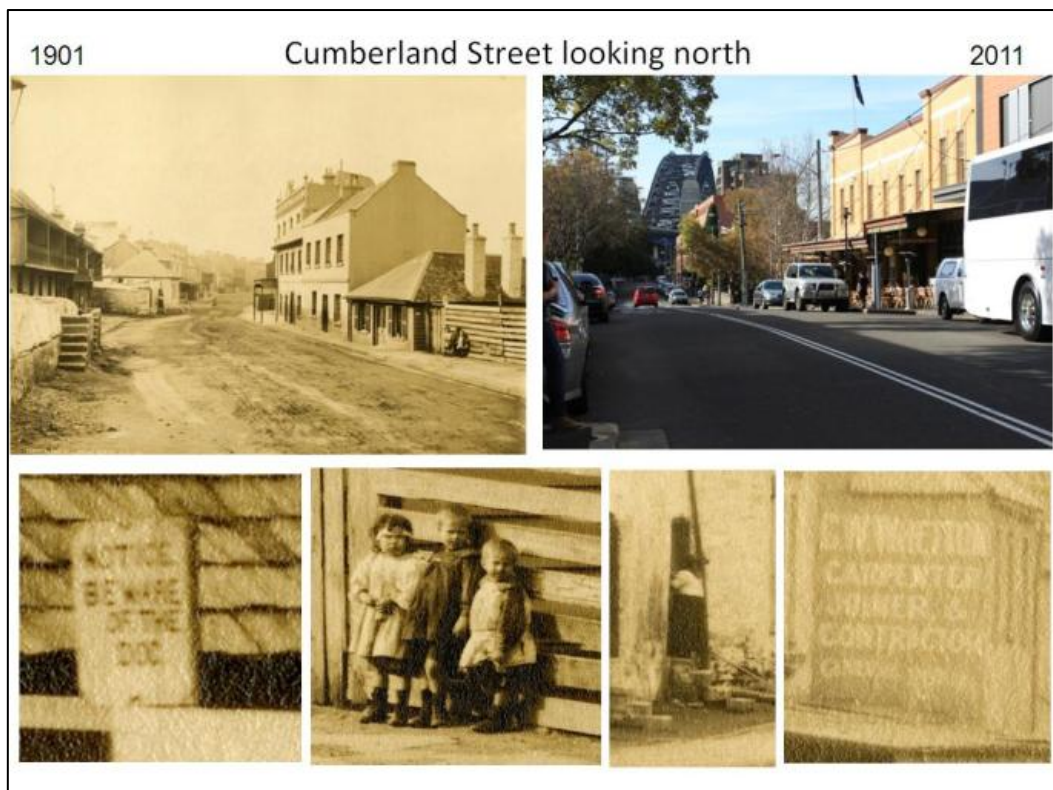


Figure 6. Comparative collage showing Cumberland Street, The Rocks Sydney looking north from 1901 and 2011 (Photo collage: Monique Galloway 2011).

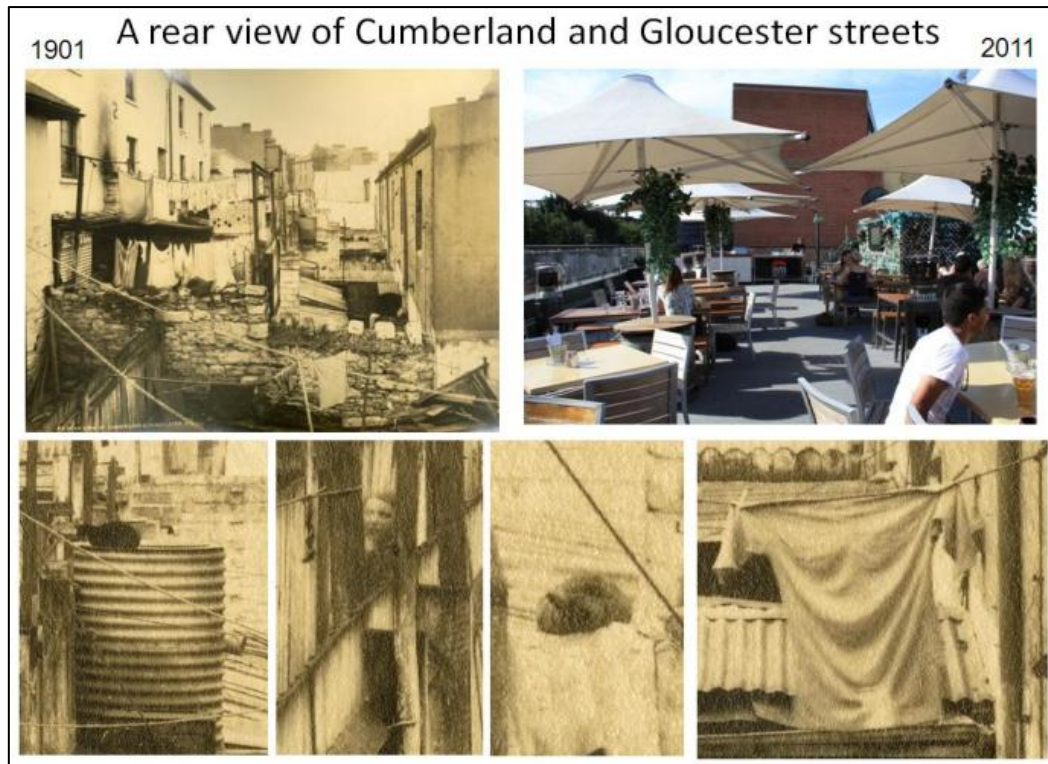


Figure 7. Comparative collage showing rear view of Cumberland Gloucester Streets, The Rocks Sydney from 1901 and 2011 (Photo collage: Galloway 2011).

Childhood related artefacts

A large collection of toys, many of fine or unusual quality, found at the site confirmed the presence of children (see Table 4). Toys including dolls, dolls' tea sets and marbles are well represented in the assemblage however, a comparatively lower quantity of other toys were analysed by Godden Mackay Logan. By far the largest collection was marbles with common limestone and baked clay varieties dominating the assemblage. These were mostly found in earlier deposits relating to the earliest site occupation with few other toys recovered from the same early occupational phases. Sixteen dominoes and five dice were recovered along with glass doll eyes, and metal toys. Fragments of bone china and bisque doll parts and dolls' tea sets were plentiful (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:75). Toys recovered from properties including the Cribb properties and the Byrne house are of particular interest in terms of abundance and paucity.

The majority of the toys were excavated from underfloor deposits; however, some were retrieved from cesspit refuse, particularly the marbles of rarer materials such as agate and porcelain. The largest concentration of all marbles came from a cesspit and underfloor deposits from a shop owned by a convict butcher, George Cribb. Documentary evidence

identifies Cribb as residing on the property from 1811 to 1827. By 1822, Cribb had expanded the property to include three conjoined dwellings, one of which was a residence for the Cribb family whilst the other two properties were leased to other families (Godden Mackay Logan 1996a:27). Godden Mackay Logan (1996b:35, 75) argue that because these marbles were discarded at the height of their popularity and were complete and of quality materials they were either easily lost or easily affordable and replaceable. Spatial analysis of most of the toys revealed that the artefacts were not confined to particular areas of the house. For example, toys were well distributed between both front and back rooms of the house suggesting that children were not confined to specific rooms in the house during play which contrasts with the idea that children were kept out of sight during the 1800s (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:75).

Doll parts

Aside from the abundance of marbles, there appears to be a scarcity of toys from deposits from earlier phases of site occupation. One exception however is a small bisque painted doll recovered from a pit in the Byrne house, which was owned by Richard Byrne and Margaret Kelly (who never married) and bore six children between 1806-1818. The Byrne family remained in the house up to the 1850s (Godden Mackay Logan 1996a:357). The bisque doll was the only toy (other than marbles) recovered from the Byrne related deposits (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:76). Given that there were six children at the site, the paucity of toys from earlier deposits at the Byrne property is interesting. Later excavations of the site however unearthed a substantial number of doll fragments (see Table 4 Figures 1-15) including glass eyes, Frozen Charlotte dolls (see Table 4 Figures 5-6) and fine a German made bisque doll (see Table 4 Figure 7).

Dolls' tea sets

A large number of dolls' tea sets of various materials including fine earthenware and porcelain were recovered from the site (see Table 4 Figures 16-23). A number of fragments were recovered from occupation deposits in 128 Cumberland Street, 1 Carahers Lane and 4 Cribbs Lane all contained fragments and as such the presence of children is inferred in these households. Some of the pieces recovered from the underfloor deposits from 128 Cumberland Street may be associated with the childhood of Miss Doyle who lived there from 1866 to 1917 (Godden and Mackay Logan 1996b:76). Godden Mackay Logan notes in particular a porcelain fragment of a fruit stand (see Table 4 Figure 18) and questions whether it

‘...illustrates a microcosm of the larger adult world where such items are a common table requirement?’ They argue that it ‘seems oddly specialised’ to be a child’s toy and question whether it may represent an educational piece ‘used to familiarise ‘thee little woman’ with her tools of the future?’ (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:76). Since excavations in 1994 other similar fragments which could be viewed as ‘oddly specialised’ have been unearthed including a flan dish (see Table 4 Figure 19) and a tureen lid in the shape of a chicken (see Table 4, Figure 20).

Marbles

Excavations of various cesspits and underfloor deposits have unearthed in excess of 800 marbles with over 70 different types identified. Materials include porcelain, fine stoneware, kaolin, terracotta, glass, agate, marble and limestone (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:77) (see Table 4 Figures 24-33). Godden Mackay Logan (1996b:77) suggest that because of the high number of limestone marbles (over 630) they were the most common marble type played with by the occupants of the site. Moreover, they suggest that they were the least valuable and although prolific at the site, they were not necessarily the favoured choice (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:77).

A large number of marbles came from the cesspit and underfloor deposits in the Cribb shop. The Cribb family managed a block of three conjoined properties, residing in one themselves and leasing the others to various tenants including Thomas Kinnard and Catherine Murphy who had three children (Godden Mackay Logan 1996a:27). An agate marble recovered from the Cribb shop cesspit fill dates from between 1851-1880. Agate marbles were expensive however, by the latter half of the 19th century they had become the marble of choice for players (Bauman 1991:18). Although discarded along with other marble types including those of less value for example, glass, porcelain and earthenware varieties, Godden Mackay Logan argues that rather than being discarded, such highly valuable and tradeable marbles may have been accidentally lost and swept into the cess pit during cleaning (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:77).

The marbles from the site span a long period from c1810-c1880. There is a lack of glass marbles from earlier occupational deposits as glass marbles did not occur until after 1846 when marble scissors were invented in Germany (Baumann 1991:47), however a

considerable number of glass marbles have been recovered from more recent excavations (see Table 4 Figures 25, 30).

Gaming pieces

Sixteen domino pieces (for example see Table 4 Figure 34) and five dice including one wooden and one hand ground limestone were identified with the pastimes of children (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:75) (see Table 4 Figure 35).

Metal toys

Parts of dolls and toy figurines including a lead figure, a tin soldier (see Table 4 Figure 36), a lead horse and rider (see Table 4 Figure 37), a lead alloy wheel (see Table 4 Figure 38) a toy carriage (see Table 4 Figure 39) and a boat were analysed by Godden Mackay Logan (1996b:76). All came from underfloor deposits, with none dating earlier than c1833-c1851. (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:76). A small metal kangaroo was also retrieved from more recent excavations (see Table 4 Figure 40) however its use or purpose is not known.

Miscellaneous toys

Also found from underfloor deposits dating from no earlier than c1833-1851 is a child's toy convex glass watch face, painted red on reverse with white Roman numerals with a fixed time of 4.00 (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:76) (see Table 4 Figure 41). Early excavations unearthed the remains of five purse frames and clasp parts. Godden and Mackay Logan (1996b:74) associate their use with women. However, during more recent excavations, a small metal purse frame and clasp was discovered which appears to be a child's toy purse (Galloway pers comm. 2009) (see Table 4 Figure 42).

Thimbles

Two small children's thimbles were recovered (see Table 4 Figure 43). Godden Mackay Logan (1996b:61) suggests that 'the presence of this thimble may indicate a child's assistance in domestic tasks or training in skills which would benefit the household and its income as well as her education in a skill required later in life as a wife or domestic helper'. Moreover, they further argue that the presence of colonial era thimbles, particularly silver varieties and those inscribed with short messages, made for children may be indicators of stable socio-economic status and community acceptance of Victorian ideals of domesticity and femininity. They may be interpreted as both objects relating to play and tools in training and

familiarising young girls with their role in the household and the wider community (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:61).

Jewellery

Two small plain copper alloy bands, possibly worn by children came from underfloor material from 128 Cumberland Street (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:68). Another small fine misshapen metal ring with a flower was recovered from more recent excavations indicating that children wore jewellery (see Table 4 Figure 44).

Education/clerical

Excavations yielded various educational/clerical artefacts including glass and ceramic ink bottles, slate writing implements, slate pencils, graphite pencil leads, pens, and pen shafts (see Table 4 Figures 45-51). Indeed slate pencils and writing slate fragments were prolific with several hundred being recovered (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:78). Both adults and children used writing tools and such artefacts are a good indicator of the presence of children and literacy in the archaeological record (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:78). One piece of writing slate had noughts and crosses etched into the surface which Godden Mackay Logan (1996a:78) interprets as being a game of one or more children. The spatial distribution of these artefacts site-wide also indicates that, similar to toys, writing activities were not confined to any particular rooms which had underfloor contexts as they are present in deposits from both front and back rooms in all the houses (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:78).

Interpretive reproduction and creative appropriation of the adult world

Of special interest to this research is an English made clay pipe fragment (see Table 4 Figure 52) which was recovered during the 2008 excavations, of which there is no site report to date (Monique Galloway pers comm. 2009). Clay pipes are commonly recovered from historical archaeological contexts due to the popularity of smoking (Bradley 2000:104), an activity usually associated with adults. The pipe is unique in that it has been engraved with child-related motifs including upper case letters of the alphabet a,b,c and d and a stylised horse. The pipe is very plain with an undecorated surface. The pipe shows evidence of damage with a large chip in the bowl. It is impossible to determine whether the damage occurred prior to deposition or whether it was post depositional. However, it is possible that the damage may have been the reason for the discarding of the pipe by its adult owner subsequently giving it

to a child to play with. Many similar clay pipes of the era were more decorative with basket weave and numerous other patterns (for example see pipes from Melbourne Museum collection, Figure 55 and Dane and Morrison 1979), however it is the plainness of this pipe which provided an ideal surface for engraving. The pipe represents an example of interpretive reproduction in that the pipe reflects a child's 'joyful and creative reproduction and embellishment of the adult world' (Corsaro 2005:3). In this instance, a child has appropriated the object and altered it in such a way that its purpose and meaning has changed from that of an adult related artefact, for the purpose of smoking, to a child's toy. Moreover, the incised motifs reflect the inner thoughts of the child and what held importance to him or her at the time.

Miscellaneous child-related artefacts

Other artefacts relating to everyday life and experiences relating to child care include a casein lice comb (see Table 4 Figure 53), and two feeding spoons, one being bent metal (see Table 4 Figure 54) and one wooden (see Table 4 Figure 55).

Table 4. Various child-related artefacts from the Cumberland/Gloucester Street site.



	<p>Figure 1. Assorted painted bone china dolls heads and limbs.</p>
	<p>Figure 2. Assorted painted bone china dolls heads and fragment.</p>



Figure 3. Assorted bone china dolls arms and hands with perforation.



Figure 4. Assorted painted bone china dolls legs and painted shoes.



Figure 5. Bone china Frozen Charlotte doll.

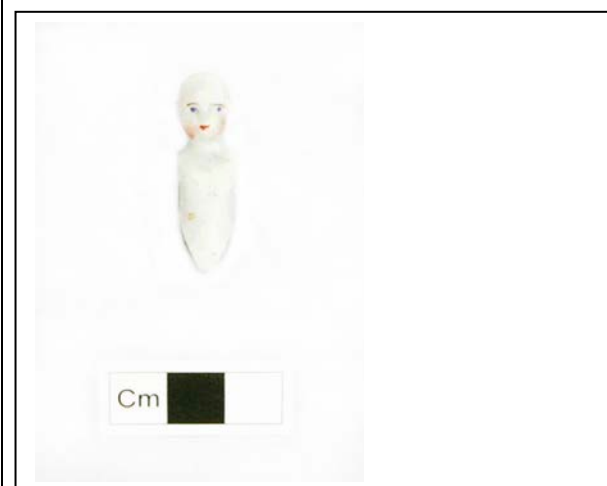


Figure 6. Painted bone china Frozen Charlotte doll.



Figure 7. Painted porcelain dolls head. Made in Germany.



Figure 8. Painted bone china dolls head.



Figure 9. Painted bone china dolls head.



Figure 10. Painted bone china Chinese style dolls head.



Figure 11. Painted bone china dolls leg.



Figure 12. Two small white glazed bone china torso figurines.



Figure 13. Painted bone china doll figurine with skirt, sash and one leg.

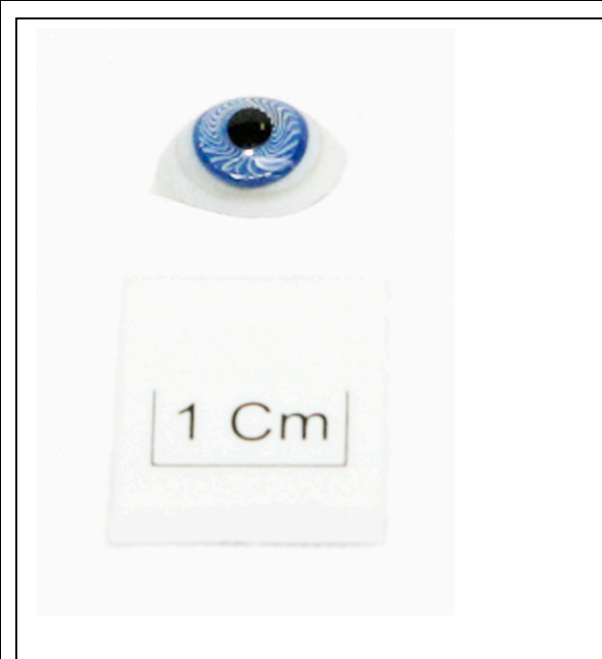


Figure 14. Glass dolls eye.



Figure 15. Pink painted bone china dolls head fragments with hand painted eyebrows and lashes.



Figure 16. Bone china dolls tea set decorated plate.



Figure 17. Bone china dolls tea set cup.



Figure 18. Bone china fruit stand/bowl.



Figure 19. Bone china dolls tea set flan dish.



Figure 20. Bone china dolls tea set tureen lid in the shape of a chicken.



Figure 21. Bone china blue jug with handle fragment, blue dish with green and red fragment.

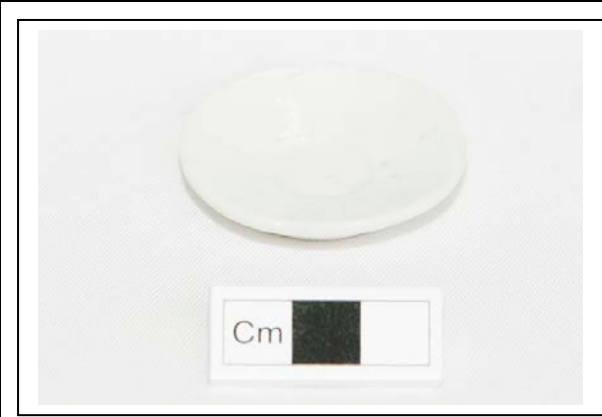


Figure 22. Bone china dolls tea set saucer.



Figure 23. Assorted bone china dolls tea set saucers and sugar bowl with lid.



Figure 24. Assorted marbles.



Figure 25. Assorted glass marbles.



Figure 26. Assorted hand painted ceramic marbles.



Figure 27. Assorted hand painted ceramic marbles.

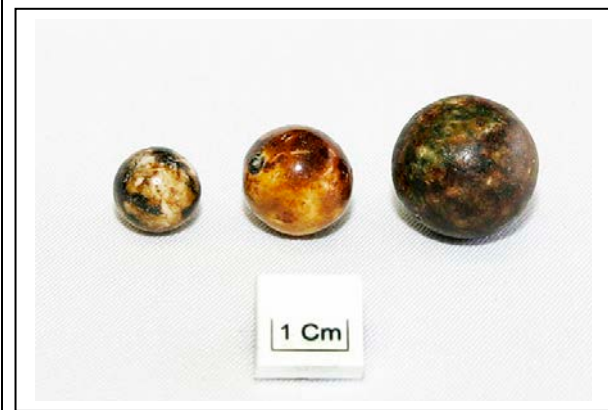


Figure 28. 'Bennington' marbles of various sizes.



Figure 29. Fancy glass marbles.



Figure 30. Marbles, one glass, one yellow limestone.

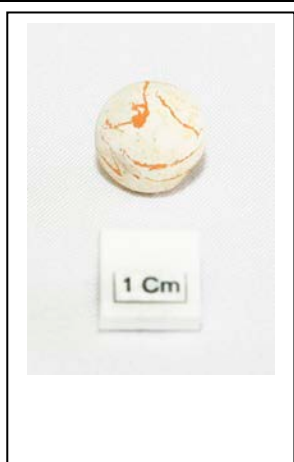


Figure 31. Marbles. Left: Agate. Right: White kaolin and with terracotta swirl.

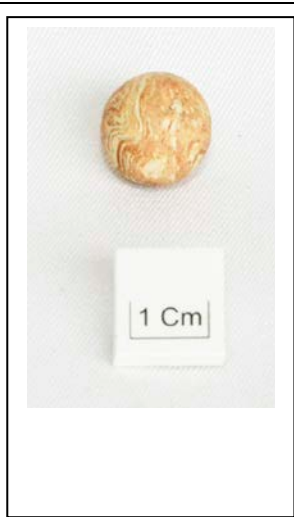


Figure 32. Marbles. Left: Sandy brown limestone. Right: Red rippled.



Figure 33. Stone marble.

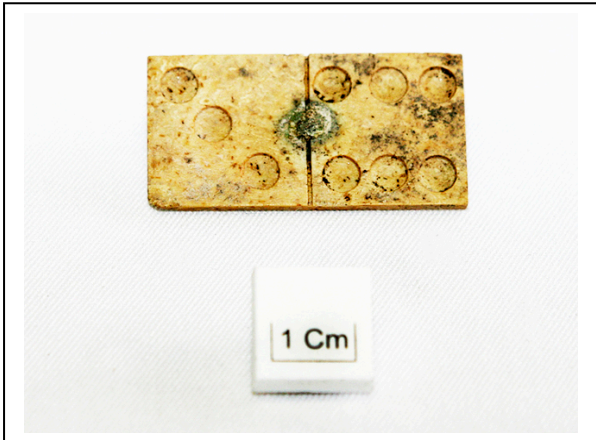


Figure 34. Examples of worked bone domino gaming pieces.

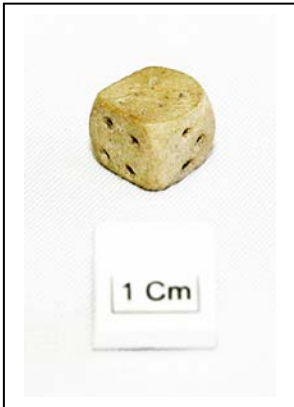
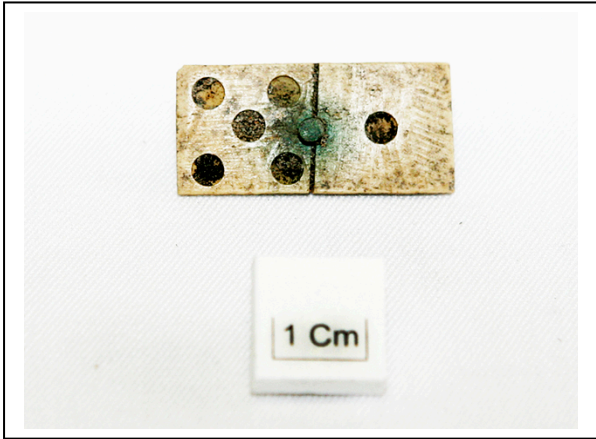


Figure 35. Left: wooden die. Right: handmade, hand ground limestone die.



Figure 36. Metal soldier with disarticulated head and hand.



Figure 37. Painted lead metal horse with rider.



Figure 38. Lead alloy toy wheel.



Figure 39. Metal toy carriage (Photo: Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority).



Figure 40. Metal kangaroo ornament fragment.



Figure 41. A child's toy convex glass watch face painted red on reverse with white Roman numerals. Time is fixed at 4.00.



Figure 42. A child's metal purse fragment, metal closure.



Figure 43. Two child sized thimbles.



Figure 44. A child's misshapen metal ring.



Figure 45. Glass ink bottle.



Figure 46. Stoneware ink bottle.



Figure 47. Slate fragment with incised lines and slate pencil.



Figure 48. Slate pencils of varying sizes.



Figure 49. Slate pencils of various sizes.

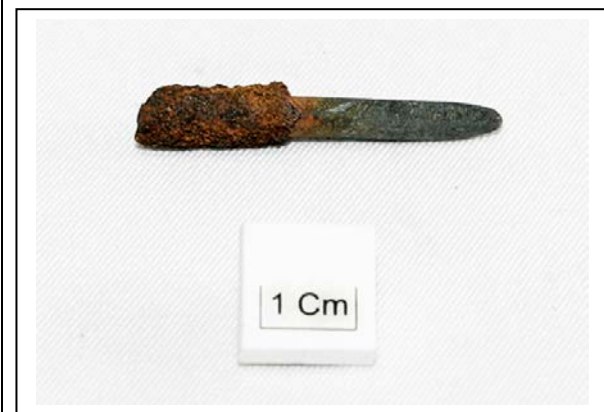


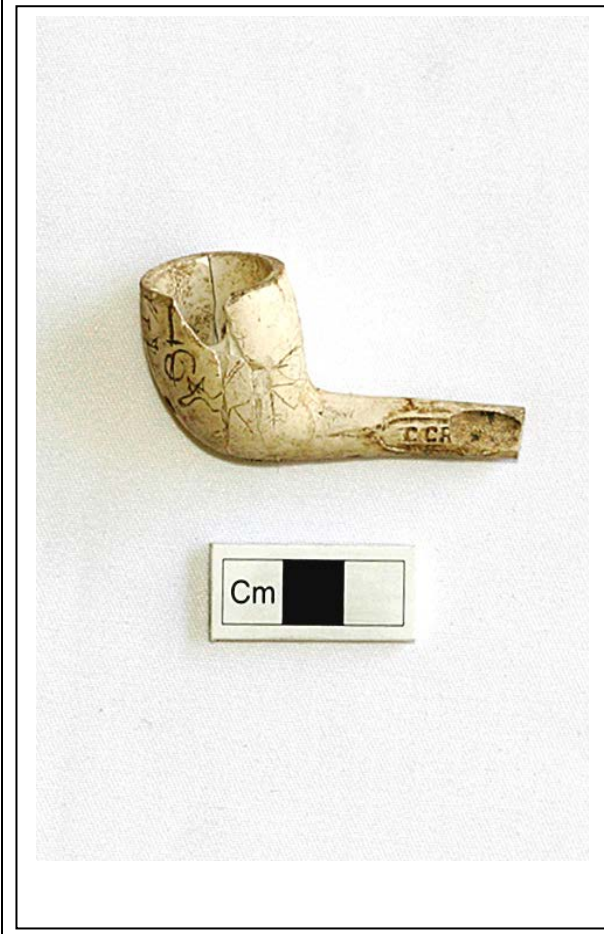
Figure 50. Slate pencil in corroded metal holder.



Figure 51. Large slate marker with text "MARKER C. CONRADTY NUERNBERG MAR".



Figure 52. Clay pipe fragment showing incised letters A, B, C, D and London trade mark.



Reverse view of clay pipe showing incised stylised horse and trade mark letters CCR.



Figure 53. Casein lice comb.



Figure 54. A child's bent metal feeding spoon.



Figure 55. A child's wooden feeding spoon.

The Rocks: Rockpool – History and Background of the Site

In July 2009 archaeologists conducted a salvage excavation to recover material found in the northern crawl space between the wall and the pitched roof of a Victorian era commercial building in George Street, The Rocks, Sydney now known as Rockpool (Monique Galloway Special Heritage Project Officer, Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority pers comm. 2009) (see Figures 8-9). The deposit contained a variety of materials which had been collected by rats over a number of years (Monique Galloway, SHPO, SHFA, pers comm. 2009). From dates identified on newspapers, the majority of the material in the deposit dates between October 1877 and 1914. One magazine however dated to 1988 (Monique Galloway, SHPO, SHFA, pers comm. 2009). While street numbers in the Rocks have changed since the 1880s, George Street's numbers did not alter significantly so the address of the Rockpool site lies between 107 and 109 George Street (Monique Galloway SHPO, SHFA, pers comm. 2009).



Figure 8. Rockpool facade viewed from George Street (Photo courtesy of Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority 2009).



Figure 9. View of northern crawl space of 109 George Street where the rats nest was located (Photo courtesy of Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority 2009).

Considered by the Australian National Trust as potentially the oldest remaining building of its type in Sydney, the site is historically significant as it represents a fine example of a homogenous and well-scaled row of mid Victorian shops in the Neo Classical style, which remain virtually unaltered (Australian National Trust 1977). The site was originally part of the grounds for the colony's first hospital. In 1816, the hospital was demolished and the site

became part of an area that was used as a stone quarry (Godden Mackay Logan 2007:10). The land was later granted to Mr Broughton, however the recording of his wife's name Elizabeth on early maps suggests that he gave the land to his wife. The Broughtons did not develop the land until 1832 or 1833. Subdivided into four lots in 1841, Lot 1 being the present 109 George Street and Lot 2, 107 George Street, the land became a commercial area dominated by a series of small retail businesses including a shoe shop, bakery, a saddler, confectioners, various hotels, outfitters and clothiers, fish shop, restaurant, cafe and hairdresser (Godden Mackay Logan 2007:10). In 1842 107 George Street was sold by Elizabeth Broughton to John Donohoe, who later purchased 109 George Street. Records indicate that in 1848 Donohoe owned both buildings, one being a wooden, single storey shingle roofed shop with a bakehouse and store room over a shed at the rear and the other, similarly, a single storey wooden shop with a shingle roof. In 1849 records indicate only one building belonging to Donohoe suggesting that the two were combined (Godden Mackay Logan 2007:10).

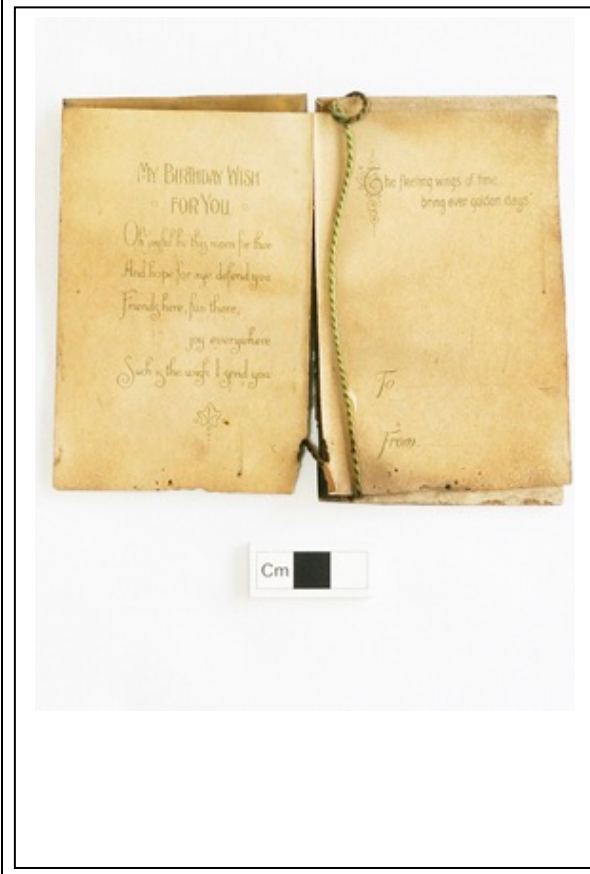
Patrick Freehill purchased the property from Donohoe in 1854 and operated a bakery. Rates records from 1855-56 describe the property as comprising a two-storey, three room shop made of brick and wood with a three storey stone shed/store at the rear of the property as well as another three storey store made of stone which was utilised for ovens and a stable (Godden Mackay Logan 2007:11). In 1868, Freehill sold 109 George Street, then known as the Shipwrights Arms to Reverend P Young. Freehill continued operating his bakehouse/store from 107 George Street for approximately another ten years. By 1880, 107 George Street was still operating as a bakery but was then owned by Samule Garret. The adjoining property at 109 George Street was trading as 'The Shipwrights Arms Hotel' under a new owner, Lawrence Corcoran. Between 1900 and 1910, 109 George Street became the Chicago Hotel. By 1910 it was functioning as a fish shop and later it became a café. Similarly, 107 George Street served a variety of purposes. Between 1900 and the early 1920s, it was a clothes shop, run by Mrs K Symonds and later by W H Kent and Co. A few years later it operated as a hairdresser (Godden Mackay Logan 2007:11).

A significant amount of material culture relating to childhood was recovered from the site including comic strips (see Table 5 Figure 6), novels (see Table 5 Figures 8-9), an educational instruction book (see Table 5 Figure 11) a dolls dress (see Figure 10) and a sketch book (see Figures 11-13).

Table 5. Various child-related artefacts from the Rockpool site.



Figure 1. Birthday card tied with green cord. Paper and celluloid. Birthday card cover. Cover text: 'Best Wishes'.



Inside text: 'My Birthday Wish For You oh joyful be this morn for thee and hope for aye defend your Friends here, fun there, joy everywhere Such is the wish I send you the fleeting wings of time bring ever golden days. To....From....'. No evidence of being used.

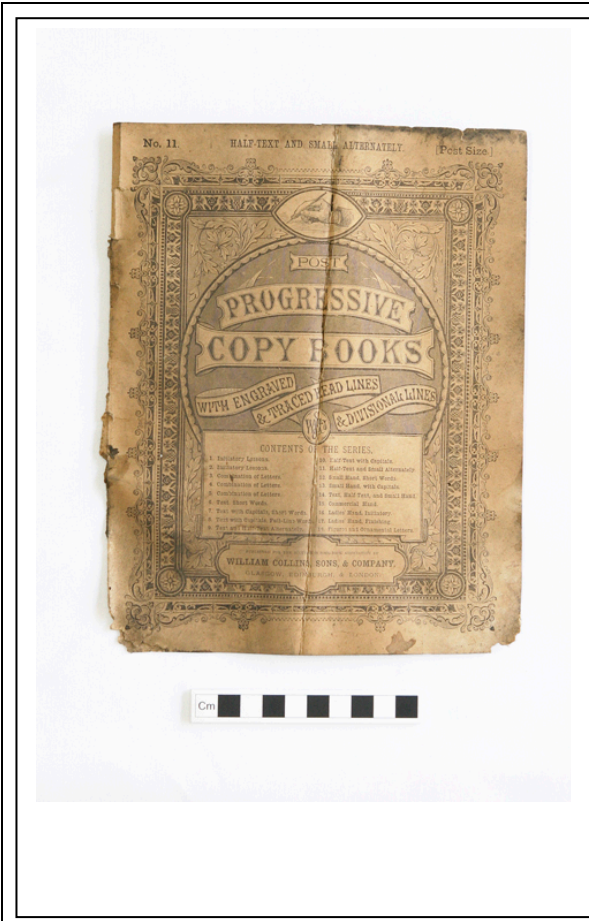
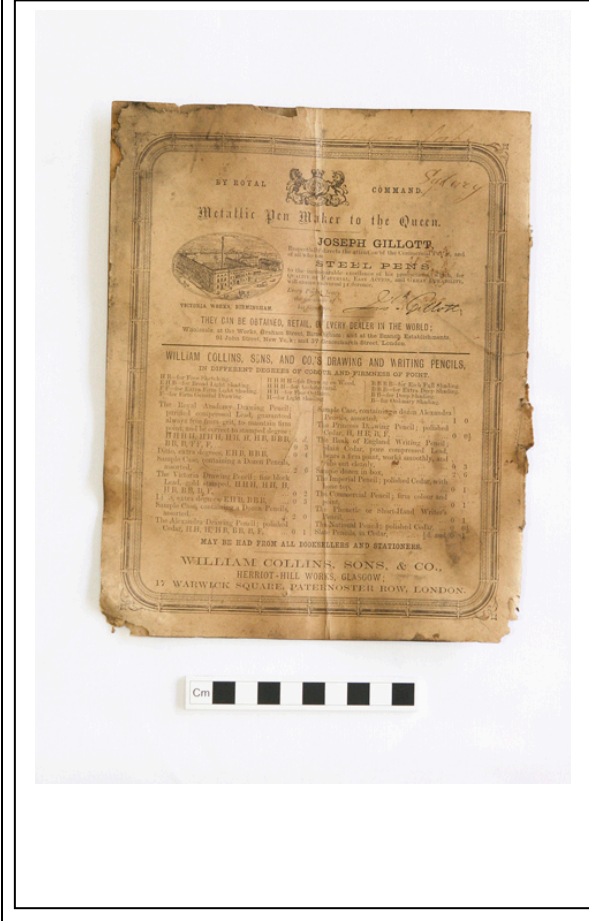


Figure 4. Progressive Copy Book with engraved and traced headlines and divisional lines. Front cover.



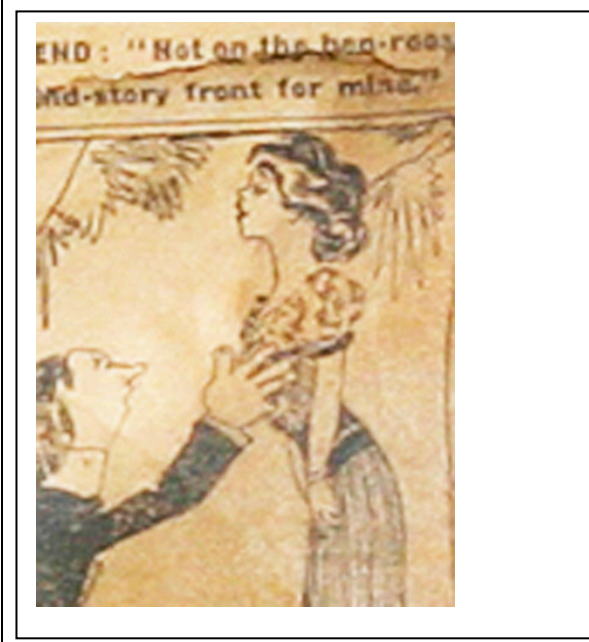
Reverse of front cover and advertisement for metal pen maker to the Queen.



Figure 5. *Good Stories* magazine containing '140 stories 140 illustrations, best six pennyworth in the world'.



Section from *Good Stories* magazine, *Round the London Theatres*. Cartoon caption: 'No Danger' 'Tilly: Well I do call that cheek, wearing my bathing dress!' 'Milly: Oh that's alright dear; I'm not going in the water'.



Close up of a cartoon from *Good Stories* magazine *Illustrated Bits*.



Figure 6. Front page, title: *The World's Comic* No. 868 Vol XXXXII (dated April 17, 1909).



Figure 7. Magazine. Title: *The Big Budget*. 'Splendid Long Complete Story', 'Name of Justice'. Caption: 'The lad whipped out his revolver and fired at his antagonists'. Partially charred.



Another page from *The Big Budget*.



Figure 8. Novel (fiction). Book cover title: *Tales for Little People, Ali Baba*.



Inside cover with advertisement and list of other books in the series.



Page 4-5 with a child's inscription in pencil 'red all through'. Partially charred.



Page 5 close of up pencil inscription 'red all through'.

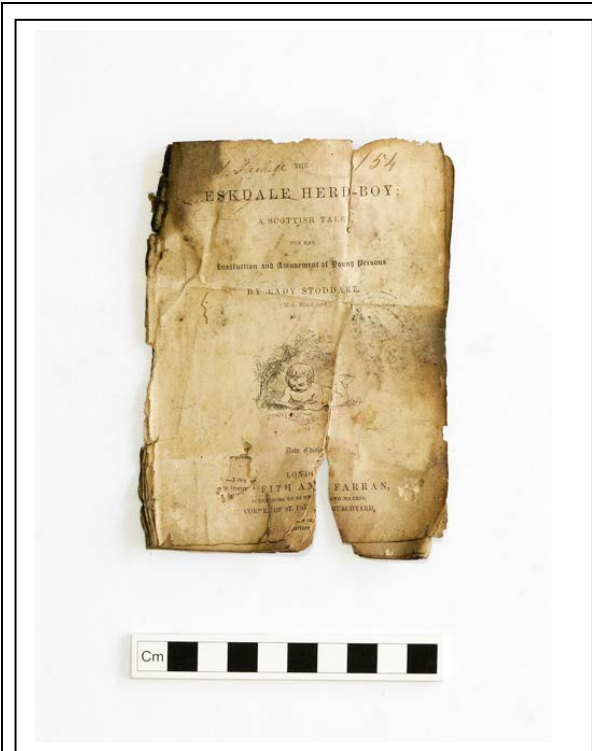


Figure 9. Novel (fiction). *The Eskdale Herdboy A Scottish Tale for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons.*



Inside first page.



Internal pages.

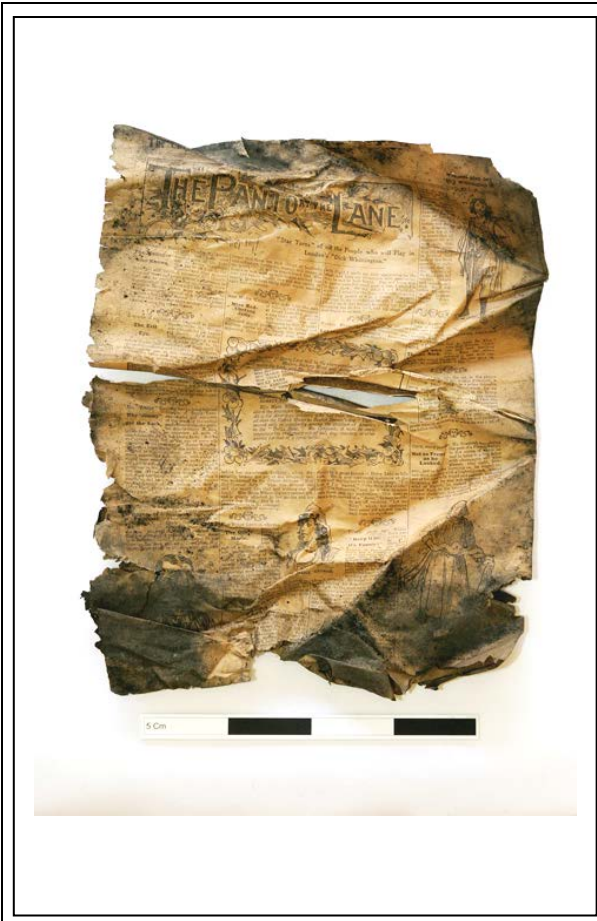


Figure 10. Magazine. Title: *The Christmas B.B.* Featuring *The Panto at the Lane*. Slightly charred.

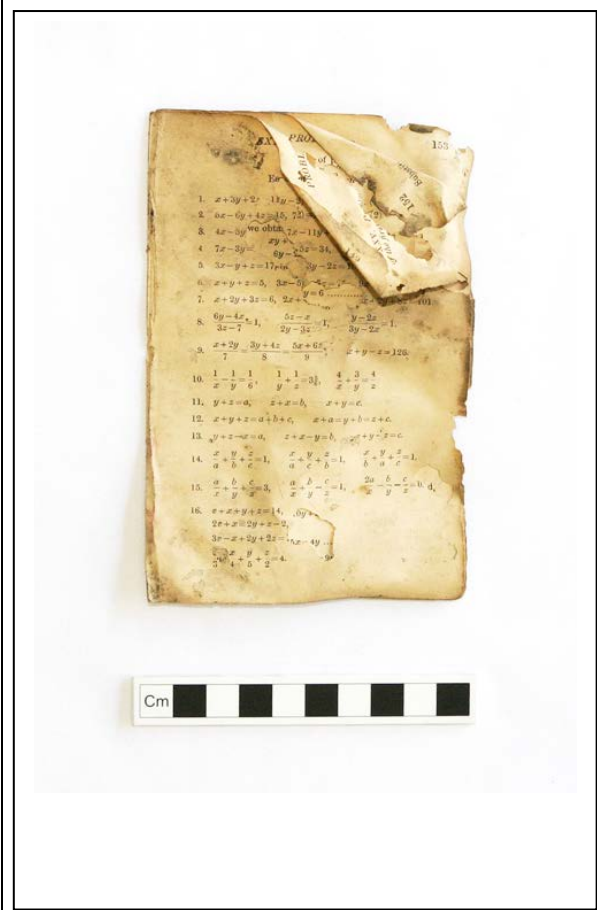


Figure 11. Algebra textbook with examples.



Figure 10. Cotton dolls dress.

The signature of one of the children, who occupied the Rockpool site, Richard King, unambiguously links him to the salvaged material (see Figures 12, 13).

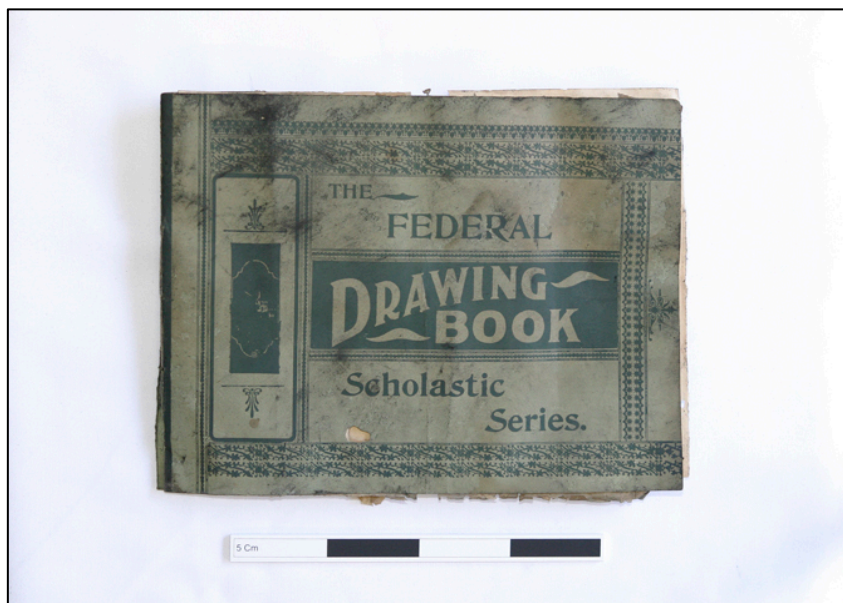


Figure 11. Richard King's drawing book. Text reads: The Federal Drawing Book Scholastic Series.



Figure 12. Drawing of clothed woman with large bust and bustle from Richard King's drawing book, signed by Richard King. Photo has been digitally enhanced to show detail.



Figure 13. Drawing of naked woman in front of mirror and fireplace. Signed by R.King titled 'behind the scenes'. From Richard King's drawing book. Photo has been digitally enhanced to show detail.

Victoria

Cohen Place – History and Background of the Site

Cohen Place lies north from Little Bourke Street in Chinatown, between Russell and Exhibition Streets in Melbourne. There is uncertainty regarding who the site was named after. It may have been named after Cohen's Pawnbroker in Little Lonsdale Street, or Cohen Brothers Upholsterers in Lonsdale Street. Originally known as Browns Place, and now known as Cohen Place Plaza, the entrance was flanked in 1895 by a Chinese Mission Hall and the Minister Arms Hotel. In 1999, the Heritage Council conducted an excavation of a site in Cohen Place, under what is now the Chifley Hotel. Excavations revealed significant architectural remains and thousands of historic artefacts from the nineteenth century providing an insight into the lives of 19th century residents (Heritage Victoria 1999) (see Table 6 for the child related artefacts from Cohen Place). The toys unearthed from the site, include jacks, marbles, dolls furniture as well as dolls' tea sets (see Figures 14-16), china dolls (see Figures 18-20) spoked wheel toys (see Figure 17) and a metal whistle (see Figure 21) and which are similar to toys played with by contemporary children (Department of Planning and Community Development 2010). Many artefacts provide evidence of children playing, women sewing, self-education and pride in appearance and their homes.

The 1999 excavation of Cohen Place uncovered five late nineteenth century structures (Ellis 2001:34). The structures share spatial and temporal similarities and relationships between residents were close. Whilst the childhood related material culture shows no fundamental differences, household ethnicity differs with two of the dwellings having being occupied by families of Chinese descent and three of European descent (Ellis 2001:34-35).

Table 6. Child-related artefacts from Cohen Place (educational and recreational only) (adapted from Ellis 2001:46).

ARTEFACT TYPE	Quantity	MNI
EDUCATIONAL		
Slate pencil	91	67
Writing Slate	3	2
RECREATIONAL		
Crayon	1	1
Paint-box dish	3	2
Doll	15	13
Marble	112	112
Tableware	10	8
Wheeled	1	1
Total	236	206

House 1: ca. 1854 - 1923

Martin Ferns, an Irish labourer, built House 1, in ca.1854. Being a cottage of stone and brick construction and originally single storey, another storey was added in the 1880s. Martin lived in this cottage with his wife Honora Herbert and their four children – Margaret (born in 1842), Thomas (born in 1844), Mary Ann (born in 1846), and Michael, (born in 1848) (Ellis 2001:35). After Martin’s death in 1889, his son Michael continued to live in the cottage – his marital status unknown (Ellis 2001:35). A Chinese family, whose name is unknown, occupied the cottage from 1894 to 1923. It is unknown if any children occupied this residence during this period (Ellis 2001:35). Excavations of house 1 recovered nine child-related artefacts from the structure’s interior (Ellis 2001:35). In addition to owning this residence, Martin built a second dwelling referred to as House 2.

House 2: ca. 1880s - c. 1912

Being of brick construction and double storey, this cottage saw a steady number of successive occupants. Initially occupied by a music teacher, Herman Moritz and his wife Marie in the 1880s, the cottage was then occupied in the 1890s by Margaret Vaughan, followed by the Tongs c. 1900 – 1912 who started their family comprising Alice (born 1900), Elsie (born 1902), Ethel (born 1906) and Phylis (born 1910) (Ellis 2001: 35). Excavations of House 2 revealed a larger number of artefacts from the interior with 21 recovered (Ellis 2001:35).

House 3: 1859 - ca. 1911

House 3 was a cottage of siltstone construction faced with brick. Irish immigrants Patrick and Catherine Lacey occupied the cottage from 1859. Whilst the couple did not have any children together, Patrick Lacey may have had a son from another relationship born in ca. 1861 also named Patrick (Ellis 2001:36). It is not known however, whether Patrick junior resided in the cottage at any time. In addition to this residence, the Laceys also owned a grocery store in the city. After the death of Patrick senior in 1896, Catherine took in boarders to supplement her income until her death in 1911 (Ellis 2001:36). Material culture retrieved from the house includes 21 childhood related artefacts (Ellis 2001:36).

House 4: ca. 1857 - 1900s

Irish immigrants Thomas and Mary Vaughan shared this stone dwelling with their three children, Thomas, Benjamin and Margaret. Excavations revealed a great number of slate pencils, writing slate fragments and sewing related material culture. Indeed, these 151

artefacts comprise the majority of the assemblage of childhood related artefacts recovered from Cohen Place. Described as a shop, and because of the number of sewing related artefacts, archaeologists interpret the building as being a dressmaker's or dressmaking school as well as a domestic residence (Ellis 2001:36).

The Vaughans, Ferns and Lacey families were neighbours and close friends. After the death of Thomas Vaughan senior, Mary moved into house 2, with Benjamin and his family (which included children) remaining in the House until ca. 1900 at which time a Chinese family, whose name is unknown, rented the house.

House 5: ca. 1889 – 1900s

Of stone construction, and which may have been of double storey, House 5 served as a general store and home for Thomas and Mary Stewart from ca. 1889. Whilst it is unknown whether the Stewarts had any children occupying the house, excavations uncovered 30 child-related artefacts. It is possible that these artefacts are associated with the building's function as a shop (Ellis 2001:36).



Figure 14. Dolls tea set lid, white glazed bone china.



Figure 15. Dolls tea set cup, white glazed bone china.

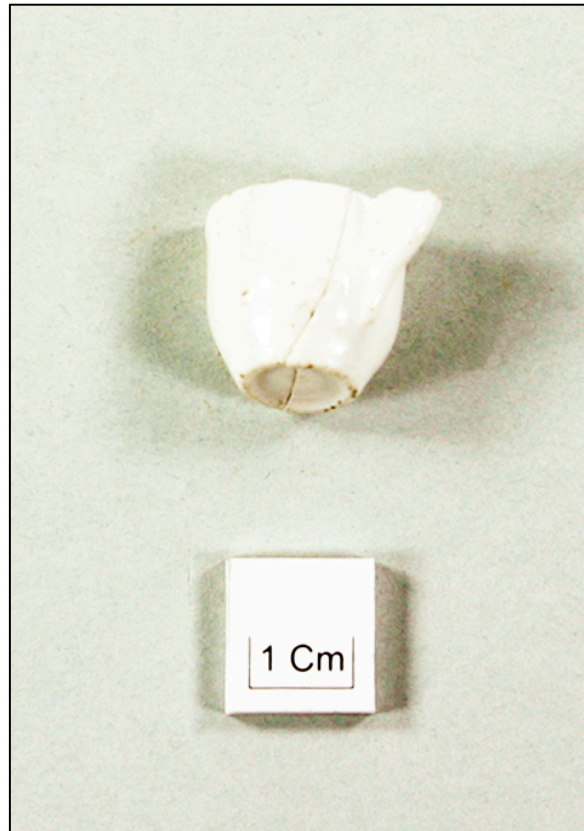


Figure 16. Dolls white glazed bone china tea cup.



Figure 17. Spoked wheel, copper alloy.



Figure 18. Dolls leg fragments, porcelain with red paint.



Figure 19. Dolls leg, porcelain.

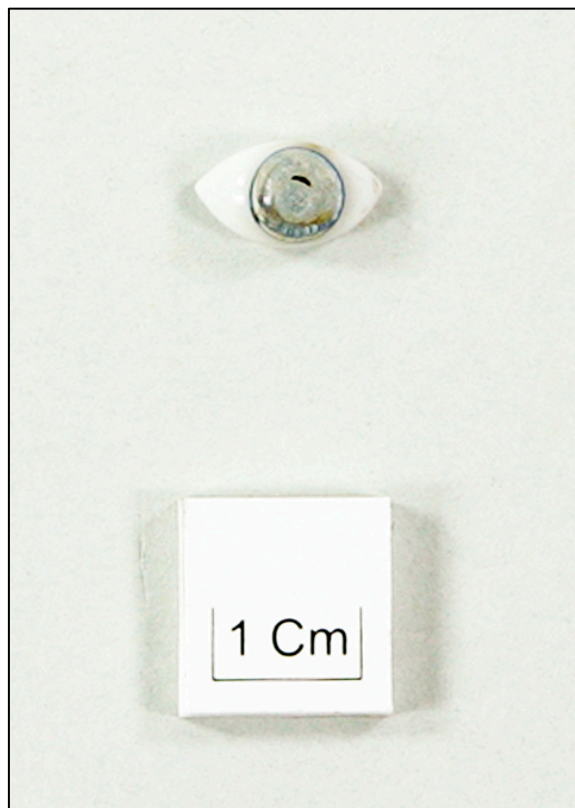


Figure 20. Dolls eye, glass.

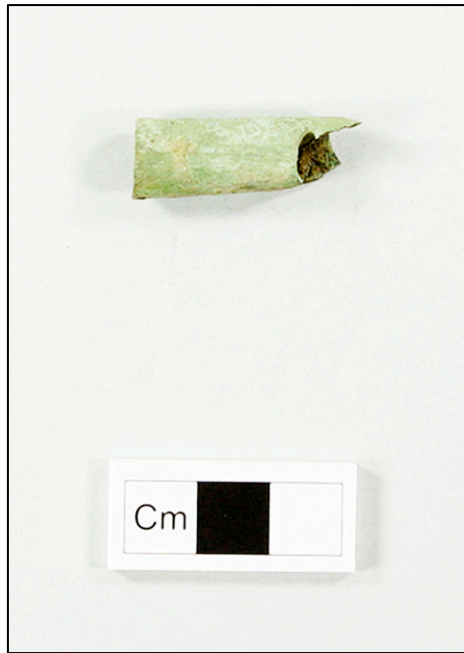


Figure 21. A child's whistle fragment, copper alloy.

Corinella – History and Background of the Site

In the early 1980s, consulting archaeologists set out to locate the 1826 settlement at Corinella, Western Port Bay in Victoria. The investigation revealed two domestic sites dating from 1872-1920 (Coutts 1985). Both dwellings were of wattle and daub construction. One home belonged to T.L. Hamilton, a fisherman and farmer, and his family ca. 1878-1920 until the house was destroyed by fire in ca. 1920 (Coutts 1985:14, 146, 160). The other belonged to William Preece, a farmer, and his family ca. 1872-1920s (Coutts 1985: 82-83).

Both families were of working to middle class (Coutts 1985: 83,160). The child-related artefacts from the Hamilton house used in this study were recovered either from within the structure itself or from a feature interpreted as a tank or a well (Coutts 1985:146). The child-related artefacts from the Preece house were recovered either from a dump site or near the house foundations (Coutts 1985:75).

The assemblages from both sites share spatial, temporal and socio-economic similarities with several child-related artefacts recovered. However, several child-related artefacts identified by the consulting archaeologist are not present in the assemblage held by Heritage Victoria and their whereabouts is unknown and are therefore not included in this study. These include a crayon, children's footwear and several slate fragments (Coutts 1985:127-8, Ellis 2001:40). The child-related artefacts within the assemblages held by Heritage Victoria include, slate

pencils, a marble, a doll fragment (see Figure 22), dolls tea set tableware (see Figure 23), a mug (see Figure 24) and two rubber balls (see Figure 25). Photographing the slate pencils and the marble was unnecessary, as there are many examples of similar artefacts from other sites included in the study.



Figure 22. China dolls leg.

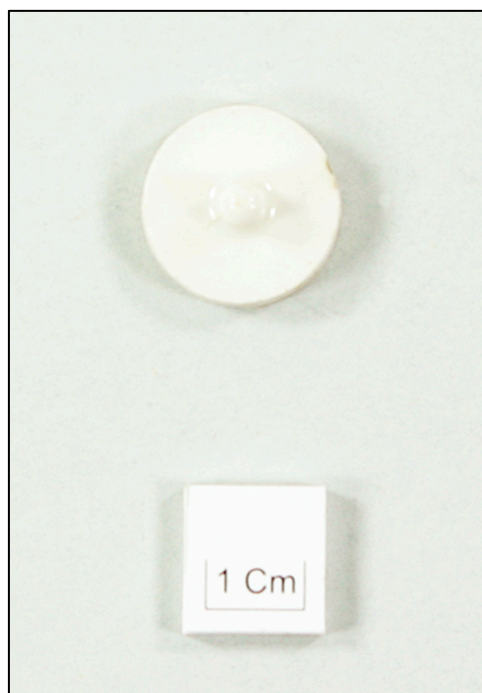


Figure 23. Undecorated toy tableware sugar bowl lid.



Figure 24. Earthenware 'nursery' mug – 'The house that Jack built'. Green transfer print pattern. Primarily manufactured in Britain ca. 1828-1870. Of middle price range (Flick 1983:21,27; Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 145).



Figure 25. Rubber balls. Solid, roughly spherical with cracked surface.

Casselden Place – History and Background of the Site

The Casselden Place site is located in inner city Melbourne and forms part of the former Commonwealth Block. Lonsdale, Little Lonsdale, Exhibition and Spring Streets bound the site. The Victorian Heritage Inventory (H7800-1209) lists Casselden Place as a site of high heritage values derived from the rich history of the precinct of 'Little Lon' which comprises two areas to the east and west of the Casselden Place site and which has undergone extensive archaeological and historical investigations since 1988 (Godden Mackay Logan 2004a:30). In 2002, prior to the proposed construction and development of the Commonwealth Block, Casselden Place underwent extensive and systematic archaeological investigations. Adding to the assemblage of features and artefacts retrieved from previous excavations conducted at 'Little Lon', the excavations at Casselden Place revealed the remains of a late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban residential/light industrial streetscape adding to knowledge of the larger precinct as a whole.

A culturally diverse neighbourhood including men, women and children, Casselden Place comprised various ethnic and racial groups and was very much an immigrant and working class community. Many of the original occupants of 'Little Lon' were recently arrived British and Irish immigrants. Whilst not as numerous, German gold-rush immigrants also settled in the area during the 1860s and 1870s (Godden Mackay Logan 2004a:52-53).

Previous cultural heritage assessments of 'Little Lon' conducted during the 1970s and 1890s characterised the precinct as an inner city slum – a poverty-stricken dysfunctional community rife with crime and violence. Interpretations emphasised accurately the consequences of rapid and under regulated inner city expansion of the time, inadequate infrastructure and endemic disease (Department of Administrative Services 1987:153-154; see also Butler 1985 and Ryan 1979). However, a new methodological approach adopted by Mayne and Murray (2006) during the Casselden Place excavations involving a more thorough integration of archaeology and history challenged the prevailing slum myth of the precinct. Reanalysis, resorting and classification of the artefact assemblage from 'Little Lon' combined with analysis of the more recent Casselden Place assemblage and analysis of previously overlooked historical data including property and probate records, birth, death and marriage certificates redefined the area as a vibrant multicultural immigrant community that was far

richer and more complex than previously thought, one that may have been underprivileged, but was buoyant (Mayne 2006:318-319).

Although characterised as a working class neighbourhood, the study reveals that while many residents clearly experienced economic hardship with the homes in the area being humble, usually consisting of two main rooms, artefact analysis suggests that the economic circumstances of many of the residents of Casselden place permitted them to enjoy many 'extras' which were widely available for purchase during the nineteenth century. Such items include jewellery, expensive tea sets, dolls, toys and games, figurines, ornaments, and items associated with hygiene and grooming, all of which suggests an environment where there existed for many, a certain degree of disposable income allowing for greater choices and enjoyment of family and leisure pursuits (Godden Mackay Logan 2004a:41-52).

In the late 19th century, Casselden Place was a culturally and ethnically diverse community incorporating a significant number of Chinese people as well as other minorities including Assyrians, Italians and Indians, living and working in the area (Murray and Mayne 2002). Such ethnic diversity however has been difficult and all but impossible to identify from the archaeological assemblage. There is a 'relative lack of direct and unambiguous evidence of ethnic or cultural difference among residents' (Godden Mackay Logan 2004a:53). However Godden Mackay Logan (2004a:53) suggests a number of possibilities for the lack of ethnically specific material culture including more efficient rubbish collection off-site and the paving of yard surfaces in the later nineteenth century (see McCarthy 1990). There is also the possibility that the lack of availability of culturally distinct material culture other than those items commonly imported to Melbourne from the United Kingdom may be a factor (Godden Mackay Logan 2004a:53).

Child-related artefacts

Various child-related artefacts including dolls, marbles, toys, writing slates and pencils were found in significant numbers across the site, indicating the presence of children as well as providing probable evidence of both group and individual indoor and outdoor recreation and play (Porter and Ferrier 2006:388). Other recreational artefacts that were identified in fewer numbers include toy eyes, miniature crockery, balls, spinning tops, toy wheels, baby's rattles, chess pieces, dice, dominoes and harmonicas. Porter and Ferrier (2006:388) argue that the presence of such child-related artefacts at the site indicate that children's recreational needs

were being met by their parents who provided them with the toys and the time to play. Furthermore they argue that this contrasts with studies which suggest that children and childhood in 19th century Australia was fraught with hardship, exhaustion and little hope for the future (see McDougall 1991) (Porter and Ferrier 2006:388).

Artefacts in the miscellaneous assemblage total 4,824 and have been grouped under various broad categories; however artefacts relating to children which will be discussed fall under the categories of recreation, education, health and hygiene. Recreational artefacts discussed include subgroups of dolls, dolls' tea sets, board games, spinning tops and marbles. Educational artefacts include slates, slate pencils, moralising china, and health and hygiene artefacts include lice combs. Of the 4,824 artefacts in the miscellaneous assemblage, toys and games total 87 or 2%, marbles total 533 or 11% and health and hygiene total 280 or 6% (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:295).

Recreation: Dolls

The Casselden Place assemblage includes eleven doll fragments made of bone china or painted bisque likely dating to the mid to late nineteenth century (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:297). Five include head and shoulders which indicate a composite body, five (or six) solid heads and a bone china torso (see Figure 26) (Godden Mackay Logan: 2004c:295).



Figure 26. Bone China dolls torso.

One particular doll dating from 1860s to 1870s is a highly detailed bisque head with moulded features, which may indicate that it was expensive. However, Godden Mackay Logan (2004c: 297) suggest that because of the painted features and the darkness of the hair it may indicate that it is an early bisque doll or a lower cost variety of the more popular blonde bisque dolls with eye and hair inserts (see Figures 27-28).



Figure 27. Painted bisque dolls head (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).



Figure 28. Painted bisque dolls head – reverse side (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).

The assemblage includes various other doll fragments including a glass eye and limb fragments, both glazed and bisque varieties. The majority have grooves at one end of the limb for attaching a cloth body with either string or elastic. One example is a chubby and highly detailed bisque juvenile dolls leg which has a possible manufacture data of post 1880 when juvenile dolls were more popular than adult dolls (see Figure 29) (Godden Mackay Logan: 2004c:297).

The doll assemblage from the site reflects a variety of styles dating from 1840 to 1910. The price ranges for these dolls ranged from inexpensive to costly, however most were in the low to medium price range with painted features and typical designs (Godden Mackay Logan: 2004c:298).



Figure 29. Highly detailed bisque juvenile dolls leg.

Dolls' tea sets

Twenty-six porcelain dolls tea set fragments were identified from the Casselden Place site (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:298). The distinctiveness and irregularity of the majority of the pieces suggest that they were handmade. However, two conjoining pieces of a saucer appears to be press-moulded indicating that they were mass-produced. Few of the pieces are from matching sets indicating that there were multiple miniature tea sets at the site (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:299).

Gaming pieces

The assemblage includes a small number of gaming pieces including chess pieces (see Figures 30-31) and dominoes reflecting that children and adults played and had time for such games (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:299). Due to the short length of the dominos, they are most likely European rather than the Chinese variety which are longer (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:299). Godden Mackay Logan suggests that because the items were largely intact they were probably unintentionally lost rather than disposed of.



Figure 30. Assorted wooden chess pieces (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).



Figure 31. Assorted wooden chess pieces (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).

Spinning tops

A cesspit at the site contained three spinning tops, all carved from wood. One is rougher and clearly hand carved (see Figure 32) whereas the others are lathe turned with one bearing engraved bands around its circumference (see Figure 33) (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:300). Light in weight, the hand carved top has had a metal peg driven into the bottom giving it the form of a 'peg top'. The top has a number of perforations around the widest part of the body and Godden Mackay Logan (2004c:293) suggests that these perforations may be a result of the winning opponents driving their pegs into the losing player's top which was a customary practice.



Figure 32. Hand carved spinning top (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).



Figure 33. Lathe turned spinning top (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan 2004 in Crook *et al.* 2006).

Marbles

The most prolific child-related artefacts in the assemblage are marbles with 573 recorded including 47 different types classified according to material, decoration, type and colour. The majority of the marbles in the assemblage are inexpensive, and of the plain limestone or unglazed ceramic type (see Figure 34). Included were 50 glass and 207 stone marbles (predominately limestone). Painted or glazed ceramic marbles totalled 24% of the assemblage (Godden Mackay Logan 2004(c):301). Godden Mackay Logan notes that compared to the percentage of glass marbles recovered from nineteenth century American sites, the assemblage from Casselden place was far greater. They argue the possibility that glass marbles were cheaper and easier to access than in America, despite most glass marbles from this period being imported from Germany (Baumann 1970:102-105), and the proposition that they were the most prevalent marble variety from the 1870s to 1900 (Webb 1994:28). Godden Mackay Logan suggests that this may indicate that some of the residents had sufficient economic resources to indulge their children's passion for marbles by providing them with more costly varieties. However, it is also possible that some of the marbles in the assemblage date to the early twentieth century when machine manufacturing made glass marbles more economical (Godden Mackay Logan 2004(c):303).



Figure 34. An assortment of inexpensive plain and handpainted limestone marbles.

Marbles were found in various contexts including sub floor deposits, yard, cesspit and other occupation deposits however, they are also found in demolition and disturbed deposits. The largest concentration of marbles found at the site (36 in total) was found in a non-disturbed context in a subfloor deposit from a room corresponding to 48 Lonsdale Street which was both a residential dwelling and a shop (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:303). Historical records of the inhabitants of this property list the various occupants with varying occupations over time including a dealer, dressmaker, butcher, cabinetmaker and a boot maker (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:303). Godden Mackay Logan argues that the concentration of marbles from this underfloor context suggests that it may have been the secret and intentional hiding place under a floorboard for a residing child. Most marbles were accidentally lost and intentional discarding is unlikely. However, it was common practice to deposit refuse under floorboards. Godden Mackay Logan suggests that the marbles were more likely to have been deposited accidentally rather than intentionally discarded (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:303).

Godden Mackay Logan (2004c:305) state that the most commonly found marbles at the site were the inexpensive earthenware types. However, despite their popularity and commonality, Ellis (2001:97) argues that earthenware marbles are absent from Australian retail catalogues. Webb (1994:20) states that children often made their own earthenware marbles, and Ellis (2001:97) suggests this may be the reason for their absence from Australian catalogues. The presence of this type of marble at Casselden Place supports the view that children were indeed making their own (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:305).

Health and hygiene

Artefacts relating to health and hygiene total 280. Artefacts specifically relating to personal grooming and hygiene of children include hairbrushes, toothbrushes, combs, and lice combs, although determining adult toothbrushes and hairbrushes from those belonging to children is difficult. Of all the items relating to personal use, lice combs were the most abundant with 111 identified (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:335).

The presence of artefacts relating to cleanliness and grooming indicate that to some extent, the residents of Casselden Place valued cleanliness, had an awareness of health and hygiene and were conscious of their personal appearance (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:395). The

presence of 111 nit combs suggests the presence of lice and attempts to rid children and possibly adults of them.

Education/writing

There are considerable numbers of educational artefacts relating to writing, drafting and drawing in the Casselden Place assemblage. The assemblage totals 375 artefacts, slate pencil fragments predominating at 93%. Other fragments include other pencil types, writing chalk and fragments of writing slate (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:356). The presence of slates and slate pencils at sites can be associated with the occurrence of children and literacy across archaeological sites (Iacono 1999).

A notable item within the assemblage is a large corner piece of writing slate measuring approximately 4mm in thickness and exhibiting irregularly spaced hand etched horizontal lines between 12mm and 22mm apart on both faces (see Figure 35). There are also several initials carved in the surface including several 'J's on both sides and a small 'P' on one side. The fragment has attachment holes at the top indicating that it was either wire bound or framed (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:360). Godden Mackay Logan argues that the etchings demonstrate 'ageless childish behaviour' and an 'expression of ownership and identity' (Godden Mackay Logan 2004c:360).



Figure 35. Large corner piece of writing slate with hand etched initials (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan in Crook *et al.* 2006).

Moralising china

A number of fragments of moralising china were recovered from Casselden Place including two mugs and approximately five transfer-printed plates featuring moralising phrases (Godden Mackay Logan 2004(b):394) (see Figure 36). The presence of moralising china suggests an interest in the moral education of children and encouraging self-control, self-improvement and hard work (Murray 2006:405).



Figure 36. A variety of moralising china fragments from Casselden Place featuring moralising phrases and images (Photo: Godden Mackay Logan in Crook *et al.* 2006).

Urban childhood at Casselden Place

The Casselden Place assemblage offers a window into mid-nineteenth century urban living in Melbourne. Porter and Ferrier (2006:388) argue that ‘by the mid-nineteenth century, the period covered by the Casselden Place assemblage, childhood was understood to encompass a series of distinct phases of life’. Gender stereotypes were established which lead to a profusion of gender specific toys. Earlier theories by Wilkie (2000) suggest that certain gender specific toys, for example dolls and tea sets were given to girls to reinforce female identity and the ideals of domesticity. Moreover, he suggests that the purchasing of expensive toys for girls by working class parents may represent a desire to socially elevate their daughters to middle class status. This also extends to the purchase of educational tools (Wilkie 2000). However, Porter and Ferrier (2006:388) question the existence of an agenda aiming for upward mobility and argue that perhaps the motivation for such purchases is

merely indicative of the usual indulgence of parents providing toys for their children irrespective of class affiliation.

The number of educational items in the assemblage including slates and slate pencils attest to the importance of education which was clearly an important aspect of everyday life in the working class neighbourhood of Casselden Place and indeed may have been higher than anticipated (Porter and Ferrier 2006:388-91).

The number of toys and remnants of games including dolls, marbles, chess pieces and dominoes indicate that children enjoyed a degree of recreational time, playing either solitarily or amongst their peers, playing competitive games both indoors and out. Whilst play and education is reflected in the assemblage, child labour is not as easily discernible although child labour such as dressmaking by young girls was occurring in the district at the time (McDougall 1991). The presence of child size thimbles at other archaeological sites of the same period indicate that children often engaged in needlework or dressmaking, (see Cumberland Gloucester Street, The Rocks, Sydney, New South Wales and Clarence/Peel Town, Western Australia sites). However the thimbles found at Casselden Place, were sized for adult fingers with none found to be child sized (Porter and Ferrier 2006:389).

The miscellaneous assemblage contains a rich and varied collection of everyday childhood related material culture relating to play, recreation, education and hygiene. Parents brought home dolls and toys for their children, sometimes expensive, sometimes not. It is evident that residents of Casselden Place had access to a wide variety of products including those imported from England and Germany during the latter half of the nineteenth century and that choices were not necessarily linked to frugality or necessity. Although some toys were handmade, parents clearly indulged their children with manufactured expensive and imported toys. Overall children's educational and recreational needs were provided for as well as their personal appearance, health and hygiene (Porter and Ferrier 2006:390-91).

Analysis of the material recovered from the Casselden Place site, particularly from more recent excavations combined with more rigorous analysis of historical records has challenged previously held theories that Casselden Place and Little Lon was a slum district and a place of filth, neglect, poverty and hardship. Moreover, much of the early analysis of Casselden Place has focused on description within a disciplinary context of theories to explain the nature of

early nineteenth century urban sites including theories relating to ethnicity, class and domesticity, an approach largely borrowed from studies of major North American cities. Whilst the utility of such approaches are firmly established in North America, they remain unevaluated in the Australian context (Murray 2006:407).

Although historical records have shown that Casselden Place was a community of mixed ethnic groups, the material culture from Casselden Place does not clearly reflect ethnicity and it is highly ambiguous. This is particularly evident in contexts of migration and the establishment of new identities (Murray 2006:409). Moreover, given the consistency of toy types and varieties, class, ethnicity and domesticity is even more ambiguous and difficult to determine in children and their peer groups.

Devonshire Arms Hotel – History and Background of the Site

The former Devonshire Arms hotel (see Figure 37) was erected in Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Melbourne by Francis Clarke, a businessman and Melbourne City Councillor and dates from ca. 1843-1986 (Victorian Heritage Database). The Hotel received its license in 1843 and prior to its demolition in 1986, it was known as the oldest extant Hotel in Melbourne (Ellis 2001:32; Victorian Heritage Database). The name of the hotel reflects the early social origins of Fitzroy. Clarke recognised that a large proportion of the population of Fitzroy during the 1840s were immigrants from the south-west of England. As such, the name reflects the significant social function of the hotel as a meeting place and an integral factor for the local English community in Fitzroy (Victorian Heritage Database). Excavations of the backyard of the Hotel property, conducted in 1986, prior to demolition revealed child related artefacts including a marble and two fragments of ‘moralising’ china (see Figure 38) (Ellis 2001:32).



Figure 37. The Former Devonshire Arms Hotel (Photo: Victorian Heritage Database online).



Figure 38. Earthenware plate fragments. Moralising china. Includes part of base. Brown TUG pattern on interior, writing around rim ‘...PORTAN...are behind tim...’, in the centre is a woman in a hat standing behind a young boy scratching his head? – brick wall in background. Moulded, primarily from Britain C. 1828-1870. Middle price range. Brown TUG 1828-early 20th Century. Children’s tableware of earthenware: c. 1800-1870 (Flick 1983:21,27, Majewski and O’Brien 1987:145, People’s Publishing Company 1885:159)

The Fiji (1891) – History and Background of the Shipwreck

Weighing 1471 tons, the *Fiji* was a three masted barque built in Belfast, Ireland for the Liverpool based shipping company, W.J. Mayers, Son & Co. Constructed of iron and lined with cement, the international trading vessel set sail on the 7th September 1891 from Hamburg, bound for Melbourne. Unable to weather strong southerly winds, the *Fiji*, captained by Captain Vickers along with a crew of 24, was driven onto rocks near Moonlight Head, located on the Great Ocean Road in southwest of Victoria (Department of Planning and Community Development 2010; Doak 1998:50; Heritage Victoria Shipwreck Database). Although there were a number of survivors, the wreck resulted in 13 deaths, 12 being crewmembers and one local rescuer.

The ship carried a general and mixed cargo including 260 cases of dynamite, 400 German built pianos, artist supplies, furniture and china (Department of Planning and Community

Development 2010). Also included in the cargo was a large variety of children’s toys (see Table 7) including, ‘...78 cases toys, Beath, Schiese and Co.;...,4 Cases toy, etc, Wet-zell;...49 cases toys and pianos, Levy Bros. And Co.;...35 cases toys, Sargood, Butler and Nichol;...,7 cases dolls, 5 cases toys, Lazarus Rosenfeld and Co.;...29 packages toys, H. Tillman’s and Co.;...196 cases toys, & c.’ (as cited in the *Warrnambool Standard* 09/09/1891:3). News of the disaster spread rapidly and an account in the *Warrnambool Standard* on the 9th of September 1891, explains how both the sea and shoreline were littered with cargo items after the wreck,

...a great variety of toys [was] to be seen in every direction – rocking horses and miniature ships predominating...scores of [the] miniature vessels were to be seen riding on the crest of the waves...Bulky pockets could be seen on almost every person who ascended the cliffs... some [with] quite a collection of toys to make the juveniles happy (The *Warnambool Standard* 09/09/1891:3).

One of the survivors, Julius Gebauhr, substantiated this account in a letter written in 1953 stating, ‘Yes, there were a lot of toys in the *Fiji* and I remember the many rubber balls lying around on the beach together with other toys, rocking horses, dolls, etc...and of course many things just disappeared before they could be gathered and shipped to be sold’ (Gebauhr 1953). Messrs.W. Duthie and Co. purchased the wreck and cargo on the 12th of September 1891 for the sum of £270 (The *Warnambool Standard* 12/09/1891:3). Heritage Victoria now houses only a small sample of the childhood related artefacts (see Figures 39-50). The collection was obtained via the nationwide Historic Shipwrecks Amnesty program implemented in 1985 – a program aimed at divers who may have taken objects from shipwrecks prior to the enactment of the 1976 *Commonwealth Shipwrecks Act* (Anne-Louise Muir, Collections Officer, Heritage Victoria, pers comm. 2013).

Table 7. Child-related artefacts from the *Fiji* (adapted from Ellis 2001:46)

	Quantity	MNI
EDUCATIONAL		
Slate pencil	6	3
RECREATIONAL		
Ball	18	18
Doll	46	46
Figurine	2	2
Tableware	16	16
Unidentified	2	2
Wheeled	65	64
Total	155	151



Figure 39. German made, hollow, unpainted two piece moulded bisque porcelain dolls head. Middle to high price range, ca. 1891 (Ellis 2001).



Figure 40. German made, hollow, glazed, two piece moulded dolls head and shoulder, no remnants of paint. Sew through attachment, middle price range, ca. 1891 (Pearson 1992:43; Prichett and Pastron 1983:327).



Figure 41. Bone china figurine, unpainted, ca. 1891.



Figure 42. German made assorted bone china dolls arms and leg, solid glazed, two piece moulded, middle to high price range, ca. 1891, (Pearson 1992:41; Fainges 1990:13).

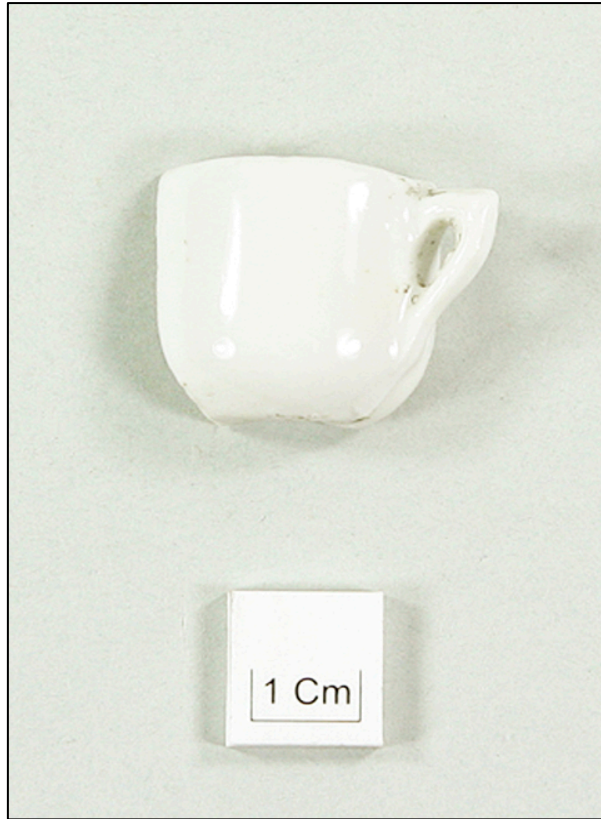


Figure 43. German made glazed bone china undecorated dolls tea set tea cup, low price range, ca.1891, (Flick 1983: 48-57).



Figure 44. German made glazed undecorated bone china dolls tea set saucer, low price range, ca. 1891 (Flick 1983:48-57).



Figure 45. German made glazed undecorated bone china dolls tea set sugar bowl and creamer, low price range, ca.1891 (Flick 1983: 48-57).



Figure 46. Assorted glazed bone china dolls tea set saucers, low to middle price range, ca. 1800 - early 20th century (Flick 1983:48-57).



Figure 47. Various glazed and decorated bone china rabbit figurines, ca. 1891. Most show water wear.



Figure 48. Various glazed and decorated cat figurines, ca. 1981. Most show water wear.



Figure 49. Various glazed and decorated monkey figurines, ca. 1981. Most show water wear.



Figure 50. Various glazed and decorated bone china pig figurines, ca. 1891. Most show water wear.

The Loch Ard (1878) – History and Background of the Shipwreck

The wreck of the *Loch Ard* is one of the most infamous of Victoria's shipwrecks. On June 1st 1878 on her fifth voyage, the 1,693 tonne iron hulled Scottish built clipper sailed from Gravesend, London, destined for Melbourne. Carrying 51 passengers and crew, six of whom were children, and cargo valued at £53,700, the ship met with disaster off the Victorian coast near Port Campbell (Loney 1971:11, 1979:16; Stuart 1991: 31-32). Striking the reefs off Mutton Bird Island, the ship sank within minutes sparing only two passengers, Tom Pierce and Eva Carmichel (Loney 1971:11, 1979:16; Stuart 1991:31-32).

Establishing salvage rights quickly, ten days after the wreck, the rights sold at auction to the partnership of Howarth, Miller and Mathews of Geelong, Victoria for the sum of £2,120 (Loney 1971:12; Stone 1979:3). Whilst some of the cargo made it to shore with easy retrieval, the majority of the cargo remained onboard (Stuart 1991:31). Salvage attempts however were unsuccessful, and indeed, the ship commissioned to the salvage effort, the *Napier*, was wrecked in Port Campbell harbour in September 1878 (Stuart 1991:31).

The exact location of the wreck remained unconfirmed until its discovery in 1967 by Stan McPhee, a local scuba diver from Warrnambool (Loney 1979:17). Upon publication of the find, significant looting ensued, causing considerable damage with the removal of many artefacts (Loney 1979:17), with looters resorting to the use of explosives to pry loose items (Stuart 1991:31). Indeed, in 1981, the Victorian Sub Aqua Group (1981:5) described the looting of the site in their diving club newsletter stating: 'In excess of 30 divers were hammering, chiselling, levering, scraping, crawling and swimming wherever the eye could see...'. The site is now protected from further damage and looting by the Commonwealth.

Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976.

Although recovery of the original cargo transported from England is minimal, amongst the recovered items were a number of child-related, mostly recreational artefacts (see Table 8). These include 'china' doll limbs, undecorated toy tableware, rubber balls and rubber figures. Metal artefacts include a part of a metal soldier and 36 metal wheels from numerous wheeled toys (Ellis 2001:60). Other items include toy brass cannons and balls and doll house furniture. With the exception of one rubber doll (see Figures 51-52), Heritage Victoria's Conservation Laboratory does not house any other child-related artefacts from the assemblage. It is unlikely that the child-related items recovered from the wreck formed part

of the ship's cargo and it is more likely that they belonged to the six child passengers on board.

Table 8. Child-related artefacts from the *Loch Ard* (adapted from Ellis 2001:60).

	Quantity	MNI
EDUCATIONAL		
Slate pencil	3	3
RECREATIONAL		
Ball	1	1
Doll	4	4
Figurine	3	3
Gun	1	1
Tableware	5	5
Wheeled	36	36
Toy brass cannons with lead Balls*	2	2
Doll house furniture*	1	1
Total	56	56

Note: Items marked with an asterisk indicate artefacts not recorded by the Maritime Heritage Unit however, they are noted in the 1979 skindiving article from the Victorian Sub Aqua Group (Stone 1979:29).



Figure 51. Front view of taupe coloured hollow toy rubber soldier complete with helmet, epaulettes and bandoliers across chest and cutlass on reverse. Marked on the back is the word 'Depose' identified via microscope suggesting manufacture in France. Identified as a French dragoon guard of the Franco-Prussian war by L Rait. In 1914. Butler Brothers of Chicago USA sold similar soldiers by the dozen for 79 cents (Rait 1989: 218-9; Schroeder 1971:162).



Figure 52. Reverse view of Figure 49.

Museum Victoria Collection – History and Background of the Collection

In the 1850s, Frederick McCoy, the Director of the National Museum of Victoria, purchased a substantial number of mining and machinery models, thereby commencing the development of the Technology collection at the Melbourne Museum. In 1986, the History collection formally commenced refocusing on the social history of Victoria and Australia (Museum Victoria History and Technology Collection online 2011). The two separate collections merged in 2001, forming the History and Technology collections, comprising 260,000 objects, 300,000 images and 42,000 items of trade literature (Museum Victoria History and Technology Collection online 2011). Within this collection are a number of sub-collections, one of which is the Childhood and Youth Collection. This collection, commenced in the 1980s, contains various objects relating to children and childhood, many of which reflect their worldviews, play lore, experiences and ideas. The extensive collection comprises approximately 2237 objects including games, toys, school material, clothing and costumes, domestic items and child-related organisations and issues (Museum Victoria History and

Technology Collection online 2011). Whilst much of the collection is without provenance and falls outside the dates of this thesis (dating from the 1940s), there are some highly significant 19th century provenanced objects, as well as material culture from archaeological sites in and around Melbourne.

Examples of some of the more notable objects include a child's game of a set of numbered blocks (see Figure 53), owned and used by Miss Bertha Johnston of Malvern who was born in the 1880s (Museum Victoria History and Technology Public Inquiry Report 2010:8).



Figure 53. Registration No: SH901571. Set of numbered wooden blocks that fit neatly into a wooden tray of coarsely milled wood. The upper surface of each block has bevelled edges and each block is stamped with a number 1 – 16 (Museum Victoria History and Technology Public Inquiry Report 2010:8).

However, one of the most extraordinary objects in the collection is a 'Nürnberg Fillies' wooden doll, ca. 1805 – 1810 (see Figure 54). Considered as the oldest provenanced doll in Australia, the doll has a remarkable history recounted through the journals of Mary Smith (nee Spencer) and her daughter, Maryanna McManus (nee Spencer).

Also known as 'Peg Wooden', 'Dutch Doll', and 'Penny Woodens', dolls such as these were made in Bavaria and the Austrian Tyrol at the beginning of the 19th century. Their refined artisanship suggests a high level of care and skills indicating the dolls were more than a cheap mass produced plaything. The dolls range in size from 15cm up to 60cm, with some so small they could fit into a walnut (Coleman 1975:14).



Figure 54. Registration No: SH880534. 'Nürnberg Fillies', wooden doll, ca. 1805 – 1810. The doll has an elongated body, spoon-like gesso-covered hands, jointed hips and knees, gesso-covered lower legs and pink, painted slippers. The head carving and body is skilfully done and the face is well painted with much detail. Made in Austria (Museum Victoria History and Technology Public Inquiry Report 2010:4).

Mary Spencer was born in 1808 in Mildenhall Suffolk England. She was the eldest of three children to parents who ‘though poor were exceedingly honest and industrious and careful’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). Mary’s parents were not educated, having ‘not the smallest degree of letter learning’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). Notwithstanding her parents’ lack of education, Mary states ‘they endeavoured to bring us up in a decent a way as possible and gave us what little education as we have and all they could afford’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5).

Mary received an education in Sunday school with the parish minister of Moulton where they resided, who taught her how to read and write. She was a solemn child who ‘never knew what it was to enjoy anything like other children’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). She states that ‘they can be happy at such a time when there is no other care upon them; but not so with me for there was always something to check my pleasure as there was mighty fear of God resting upon me at an early age’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). Mary was conscientious and would punish herself for any wrongs by going without meals and ‘setting [herself] to ‘hard work’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5).

On March 31st 1841 in the parish church at Eton, England, Mary married Stephen Spencer. It is unknown at what age Mary was given the doll, or by whom. However, what is known is that the dolls’ journey began when Mary and her husband sailed from England to Australia on June 6th 1842. Upon arrival, they spent three months in Sydney in a lodging house, and then moved to a farm, ‘Comleroi’, near Singleton in the Hunter Valley region. In 1845, they moved 200km away to ‘Iron Bark’, settling for 13 years before moving to ‘Mt Abundance’ station near Roma in 1858. In 1844 Mary gave birth to their first child, a daughter, Maryanna. Mary gave the doll to Maryanna (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5).

Mary’s daughter, Maryanna McManus recalls the difficult living conditions in what she describes as a vermin infested ‘miserable hut’ which was occupied by, and shared with rough stockmen (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report

2010:5). Mary adds that ‘they, she and Stephen, had the use of a dirty bedroom opening off the kitchen’ with ‘Mary and baby daughter sleeping on one bark bunk and Stephen on the other’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5).

Maryanna’s relationship with her mother was clearly a close one. She speaks highly of her mother and praises her for the manner in which she was raised stating that her mother was ‘kindness itself, and all sorrow, or sickness or trouble had her sympathy and assistance too if she could give it’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). Moreover, she praises her mother’s dressmaking skills and her needlework adding, ‘mother did all the sewing for the family’ (Spencer in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). ‘What pride she took in dressing me, and how nicely she made all my frocks’ moreover, ‘she was a lovely needlewoman and her fine sewing was a real work of art’ (McManus in Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5). Such endearing comments made by Maryanna illustrate the close connection she had with her mother. The doll embodies this relationship between Maryanna and her mother. Showing extensive evidence of wear resulting from many years of play, love and cherishment by two generations of girls, the doll represents a treasured heirloom, being highly valuable and treasured by the daughter because it was highly valued and treasured by her mother.

Mary died in 1866 after eight years at Mt Abundance, and is buried on the property. Information from the family regarding the date of Maryanna’s death differs and as such, it is uncertain whether she died in 1926 or 1933. After her death, the doll was passed on to other family members who treasured it also until its acquisition by Museum Victoria in 1988 (Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:5).

Another significant range of artefacts held in The Museum Victoria Collection is a series of smoking pipes (see Figure 55). The donor, as a child used to ‘blow bubbles’ with these three clay pipes. They are therefore representative of the way in which children appropriate adult material culture, in this case, of a specialist function, reinterpreting them and ascribing new functions to suit their own purposes.



Figure 55. Registration No: SH880706. Three white clay pipes, used by the donor as a child to 'blow bubbles'. The bottom pipe has the pattern of a harp and greenery on the bowl, the middle pipe has a basket weave pattern on the bowl, and the top pipe has a sailing ship on the bowl. Used early 20th century (Museum Victoria History and Collections HT Public Inquiries Report 2010:6).

Royal Australasian College of Surgeons (RACS): Site of the 'National Model and Training School' – History and Background of the Site

The Royal Australasian College of Surgeons stands on an inner city Melbourne block bordered by Spring Street, Victoria Parade, Nicholson Street and Albert Street, incorporating 25-290 Spring Street and 2-40 Victoria Parade. Prior to the construction of the college, this inner city block was the site of a school called variously, the National Model and Training School (1854-1862), Melbourne Central Common School (1862-1872), Melbourne State School (1872-1904), Melbourne Continuation School (1905-1912), finally being known as the Melbourne High School (1912-1927) (Dolling *et al.* 2003).

Construction of the Model School commenced in 1853 (Clark 2001:1-2). The school opened for business one year later on the 18th September with 79 boys and 49 girls attending on the first day (Allan 1934). The infant school however was incomplete at this stage due to last minute changes. On the 9th of October, the infant school was completed and three months

later, the school accommodated 700 pupils (Newnham 1985:131). Over time, this figure increased to 1,721 (Allan 1934:12).

The Model School's significance lies in its history associated with education in Victoria. Prior to 1851, religious groups and private individuals provided education (Burchell 1980:38). Although a denominational School board already existed, the investigation of the education system in 1851 by a Select Committee resulted in the creation of a Victorian non-denominational board of education, known as the 'National School Board' (Sweetman 1940). The construction of the Model School as a non-denominational education facility for the instruction of both boys and girls and for the training of teachers was the first significant project embarked upon by the 'National School Board' (Burchell 1980:38). By the early 1870s, Melbourne had 87 common schools with 17,500 enrolled children with gender and socio-economic status not having any significant influence on attendance (Larson 1994:71, 93). The school represents the earliest example of a publicly financed and administered educational facility in Victoria until its demolition in 1933 making way for the construction of the RACS (Dolling *et al.* 2003:1).

As a heritage listed site (H870), the proposed redevelopment of the site including the demolition of the east wing of the existing RACS necessitated an archaeological investigation in July 2001. The preliminary report indicated the potential for the presence and *in situ* preservation of significant sub-surface architecture and archaeological deposits containing artefacts. This became apparent due to the covering of the remains by a deep deposit of building rubble from the demolition of the school building and a subsequent layer of clay prior to the construction of the RACS. This potential was supported by historical documents which indicated that the school had a basement (Clark 2001). Archaeological investigations carried out in 2002 revealed a number of child-related artefacts including at least 52 toys, the largest number being from the basement rooms (Dolling *et al.* 2003:129). Artefacts recovered include a variety of dolls, six in total (see Table 9) (see Figure 56), six dolls tea set items, (see Table 10), three balls, (see Figure 57), and 37 marbles of various types (see Table 11), (see Figure 58). Other child-related artefacts include a range of drafting, drawing and writing equipment (see Table 12) including, 13 ink bottles and three wells, writing slate and pencils (see Figures 59-61) a paintbrush and a copper alloy geometry compass (see Figure 62) (Dolling *et al.* 2003:125-138). Children of both sexes were taught knitting and sewing at the

school (Murray-Smith 1981:82) and 12 copper alloy dressmaking pins were recovered from the site (Dolling *et al.* 2003:138).

Table 9. Dolls by type (adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:130).

TS No.	Object	Material	Date Range	Total
482	Eye	glass	undetermined	1
479,480	'China' doll	porcelain	c. 1840-1900	2
477, 478	'Penny' doll	porcelain	c.1850-1930	2
481	Bisque doll	porcelain	c.1870-1930	1
Total: 6				

Table 10. Dolls tea set items by type (adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:130).

TS No.	Object	Decoration	Country	Date Range	Total
485	Hollowware	relief	undetermined	c.1800-1920s	1
486	Plate/Saucer	relief	undetermined	c.1800-1920s	2
484	Teacup	relief	undetermined	c.1800-1920s	2
483	Teacup	Gilding and decal	Japan	c.1921-present	1
Total: 6					



Figure 56. China dolls leg fragment.



Figure 57. Three organic rubber balls.

Table 11. Marbles by type (Adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:130).

TS No.	Common Name	Material	Date Range	Total
487	Undetermined	limestone	c. 1700-1915	2
488	'Commie'	earthenware	Pre - 1920	4
489	'Bennington'	stoneware	c.1870s.1900	8
490	'Fancy Bennington'	stoneware	c.1870s-1900	1
491	'China'	porcelain	c.1800-1910	12
492-494	'China'	porcelain	c.1850-1910	3
495,496	'Clearie'	glass	c.1846-1920s	2
497	'German swirl'	glass	c.1846-1920s	5
Total:				37



Figure 58. Assorted marbles.

Table 12. Drafting, drawing and writing equipment (Adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:137).

Object	Quantity
Bottle	19
Compass	1
Inkwell	4
Paintbrush	1
Pencil	8
Slate Pencil	182
Writing slate	72
Total: 287	



Figure 59. Assorted slate fragments. Left fragment with perforation, centre and right fragment incised.



Figure 60. Slate fragment incised on top right corner with an upper case letter A.



Figure 61. Assorted slate pencils of varying size.



Figure 62. Copper alloy geometry compass.

Playgrounds

From its inception, the school comprised three distinct playgrounds, one for infants seven years and under, one for girls and one for boys. A substantial fence demarcated the girls and boys playgrounds. This significant separation enabled a comparison of the child-related material culture identified at the site (Table 13 and Figure 63) (Dolling *et al.* 2003:133). However, this was not possible for the infants' playground because although the playground is separate, the girls' entrance to the school was in a similar area. Dolling *et al.* (2003) argues that this would have resulted in interactive play, blurring any distinctions relating to age. Moreover, no childhood related artefacts were recovered from the infants' playground (Dolling *et al.* 2003:133).

Table 13. Toys from individual playgrounds (Adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:133).

	Doll	Marble	Saucer	Total
Girls' playground	1	2	1	4
Boys' playground	0	10	0	10

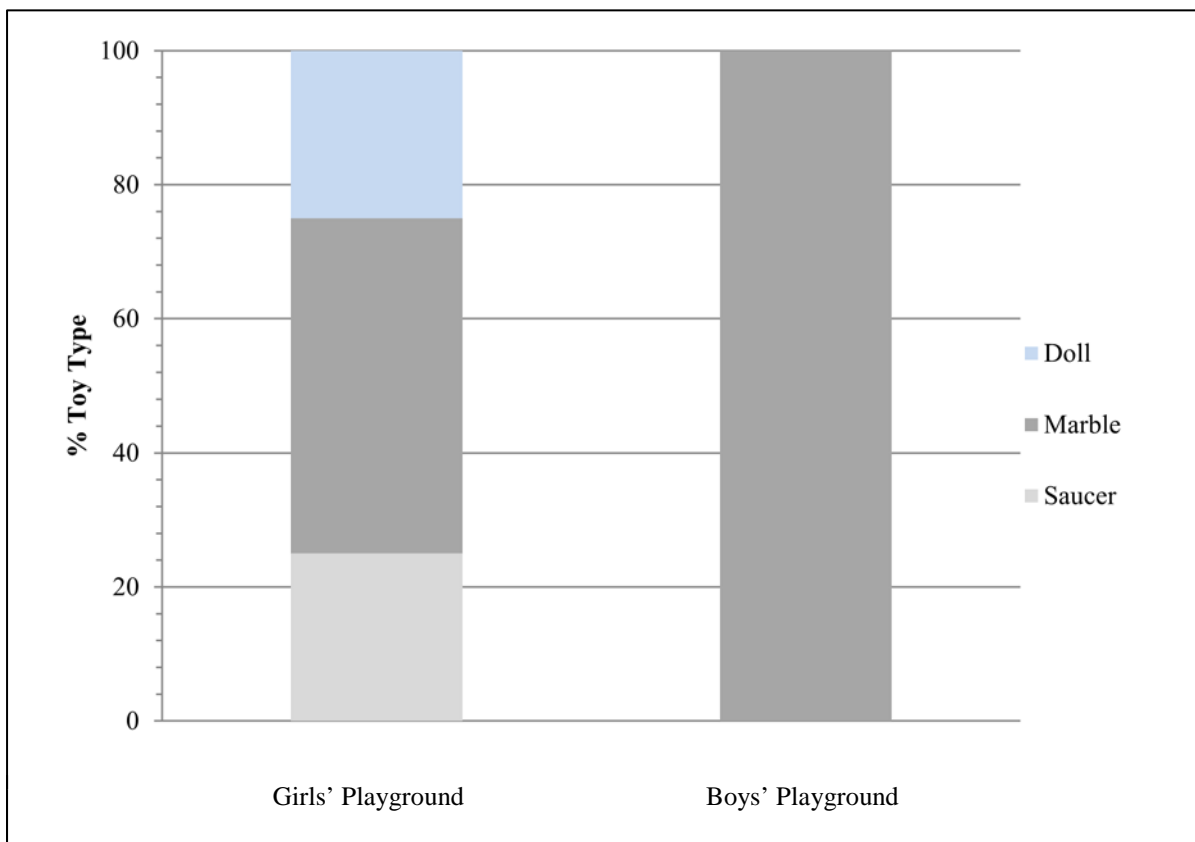


Figure 63. Percentages of toy types of play-related assemblages from gender-segregated playgrounds based on artefact quantities. Percentages are based on artefact quantities and include only artefacts recovered from secure deposits (Adapted from Dolling *et al.* 2003:130).

Notwithstanding the small size of the assemblage, Dolling *et al.* argue the presence of marbles in the girls' courtyard suggest that girls as well as boys were playing with marbles. This may be significant as various archaeological studies relate the presence of marbles with the experiences of boys only (e.g. Yamin 2000). However, it is possible that the two marbles recovered from the girls' playground were there due to reasons not associated with play.

Saltwater Crossing – History and Background of the Site

The Saltwater Crossing site is a house and associated dump site located at what was once 55 Moreland Street, Footscray, Melbourne. Dating from ca. 1883-1989, the dump site is associated with two early residences, one of which was located at 55 Moreland Street, owned and occupied by John and Susan Searle between 1883 and 1889 (Ellis 2000:37). After John Searle's death in 1889, Susan Searle remained in the house until 1910. Listed with the occupation as a grocer from 1897, Susan Searle operated a general store from this address between 1900 and 1907 after which a number of other residents occupied the house until Council acquisition in 1989 (Amorosi and Nicolson 2000:12).

Child-related artefacts recovered from the site include a doll house clock (not held by Heritage Victoria at the time of the study) and four marbles (only two of which were held by Heritage Victoria at the time of the study) (see Figure 64). Although not many child-related artefacts were recovered from the site, they have been included in the study to contribute to the synthesis of childhood related material culture throughout Australia during the study time period.

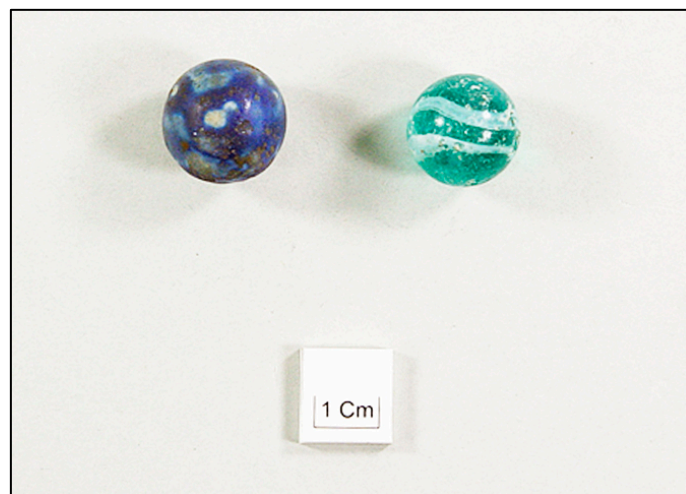


Figure 64. Two of the four marbles retrieved from Saltwater Crossing including a blue 'Bennington' (left) and a green glass with white swirl (banded opaque).

Short's National Hotel – History and Background of the Site

Short's National Hotel is located in Gisborne Victoria and dates from ca. 1854-1924. Originally owned in 1854 by W.J.T. Clarke, the hotel sold approximately one year later to Francis Arthur who operated it until 1861 when Joshua Coop bought the license. Approximately one year later, Robert Short purchased the hotel, residing with his wife, Letitia (nee Dunlop) and their four children, aged 5 and under: John, Agnes, Anne, Robert and William (who died later that year) (Luebbers 1994:5). In 1990, Robert senior died leaving Letitia as the sole operator of the hotel until her death in 1903. Bequeathed to, and run by her son John until his death in 1911, operation continued with John's wife Lily who along with her six children occupied the hotel until its demolition in 1924 (Luebbers 1994:10).

The 1994 excavation of the Short family residence revealed 11 child related artefacts associated with the Short family. These include one doll fragment (see Figure 65) four dolls tea set fragments, (only two of which were held at Heritage Victoria) (see Figures 66-67) and six marbles (see Figure 68), (Ellis 2001:39).



Figure 65. Painted bone china dolls leg.

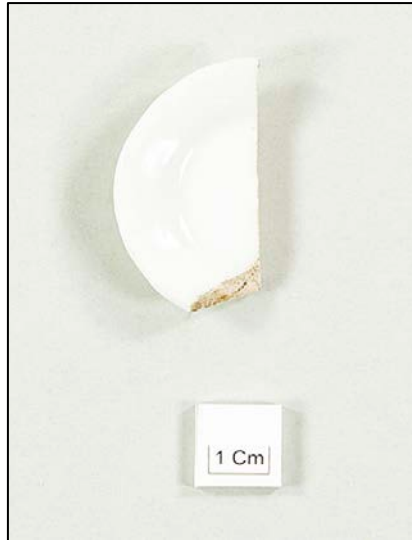


Figure 66. Bone china dolls tea set saucer fragment.

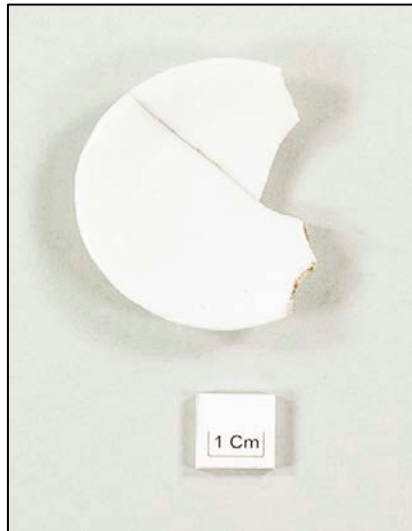


Figure 67. Bone china dolls tea set saucer fragment.

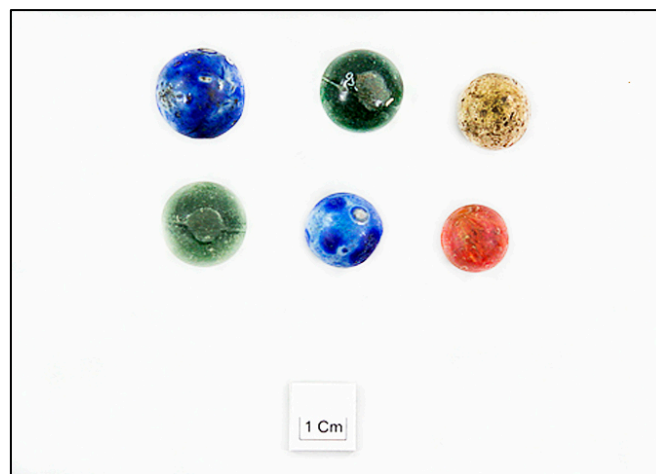


Figure 68. Assorted marbles.

Viewbank Homestead – History and Background of the Site

Situated at the confluence of the Yarra River and the Plenty River in Heidelberg Victoria, Viewbank homestead is an example of one of the earliest pastoral settlements within the metropolitan area of Melbourne. Edward Willis (1816-1895) first settled on the property in 1837 (Billis and Kenyon 1932:141; Spreadborough and Anderson 1983). Being of a two-phase construction, the primary homestead consisting of four rooms, was constructed by James Williamson (a pastoralist) in 1839 with Dr Robert Martin (a wealthy squatter) later acquiring the homestead in 1843, adding to the homestead between 1850 and 1860 (Victorian Heritage Database 2010; Department of Planning and Community Development 2010).

James Martin, a medical practitioner, married Lucy Gear in London where their first three children, Lucy, Sarah Anne Jane (Annie) and Robert William Kirby (Willy) were born (Hayes 2008:56). The family initially arrived in Sydney and travelled to Melbourne in 1839 (Hayes 2008:57). Their fourth child, Charlotte was born in Victoria prior to the family taking up residence at Viewbank (Hayes 2008:57). Daughters Emma and Edith were born while the family lived at Viewbank (Hayes 2008:57).

From 1922 to 1974 the property operated as a dairy owned and run by the Bartram family. The site comprises the remains of the original homestead including the extension, remnant plantings, outbuildings, tracks, gateposts and archaeological deposits associated with the 1930s dairy such as silage silos and a depot shed (Victorian Heritage Database 2010). With its undisturbed extensive subterranean remains of the main homestead and associated outbuildings, the homestead is archaeologically significant as the survival of undisturbed early pastoral settlement sites in Victoria is rare (Victorian Heritage Database 2010).

Archaeological investigations undertaken between 1996 and 1999 revealed that Viewbank was one of the first grand homesteads built on the periphery of Melbourne city prior to the Goldrush (Department of Planning and Community Development 2010). Excavations unearthed a range of artefacts associated with the Martin family providing insight into the lives of a 19th century wealthy pastoralist family. A minimum of 29 artefacts relating to recreation were identified (Table 14) with artefacts relating to children's play dominating this category.

Table 14. Recreational-Children's Play (Adapted from Hayes 2008:196).

Function	Quantity	MNI	%
Children's Play	29	18	62.1
Competitive Activities	9	7	24.1
Non-competitive Activities	12	4	13.8
Total	50	29	100

Child-related artefacts recovered include a variety of toys and recreation materials, for example, dolls (69-70) and dolls' tea sets, a metal toy pistol (see Figure 71), wheeled toys (see Figure 72), marbles and a crayon. Seven artefacts associated with competitive activities include five dominoes, a die, and a fish gaming counter (see Figure 73) (Hayes 2008:198-199).



Figure 69. China dolls leg fragments of various sizes.



Figure 70. Painted china dolls feet fragments with heeled boots.



Figure 71. Metal toy pistol fragment.



Figure 72. Metal spoked wheels x 8.

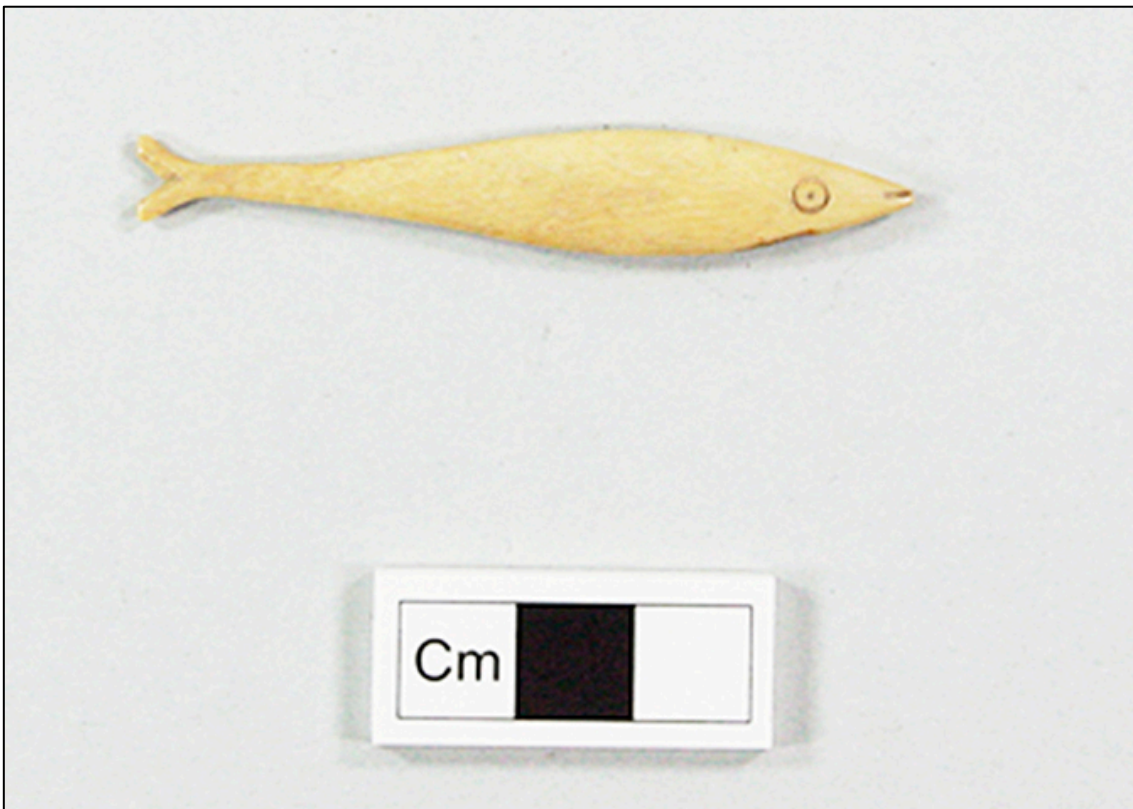


Figure 73. Carved bone gaming piece in the shape of a fish.

South Australia

The Gilbert Family Collection – History and Background of the Collection

The Gilbert family was one of the earliest free settler families who settled in South Australia. Joseph Gilbert (1800-1881) (see Figure 74) sailed from Plymouth in the *Buckinghamshire* on the 1st December, 1838 and landed at Holdfast Bay on the 21st of March, 1839 (Morphett 1949) (see Figure 75). His father had outfitted him with a frame house and a quantity of corrosive sublimate for curing scab in sheep and the cash value of the portion of his inheritance. Joseph wasted no time building his house in Hindley Street in Adelaide upon arrival and purchased a horse in order to scour the countryside for suitable property. He bought a portion of land on the Para River along with 300 ewes and 10 rams. After exploring the Barossa hills, Joseph settled at a property he named ‘Pewsey Vale’ (see Figures 76-77) and established himself as a pastoralist and vigneron. Other activities included importation and acclimatisation of fallow deer and thoroughbred horse breeding (Morphett 1949). The ‘Pewsey Vale’ property was extensive and included a large stone dwelling, stables, fowl-house, two stockyards and a labourer’s cottage. Twenty-three acres were enclosed with post and rail fences and twelve acres were cultivated with wheat, barley, maize, and potatoes, with one and a half acres of gardens (Morphett 1949). In 1848, Joseph married Anna Brown (see Figure 78). Anna’s brothers relinquished their interest in the adjoining property and homestead known as ‘Wongalere’. From then on, the two properties were worked and managed jointly (Morphett 1949).

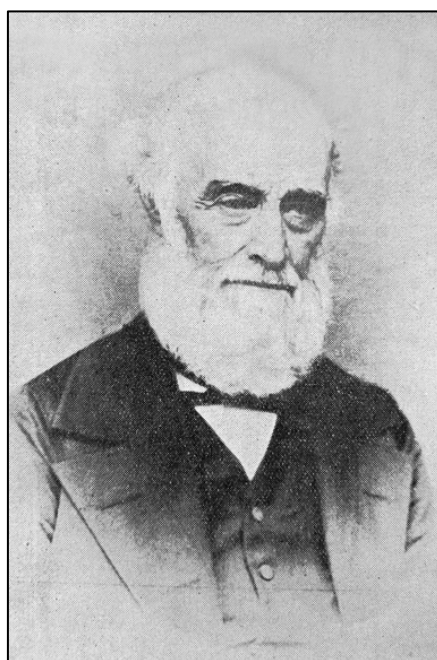


Figure 74. Joseph Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG45/7).

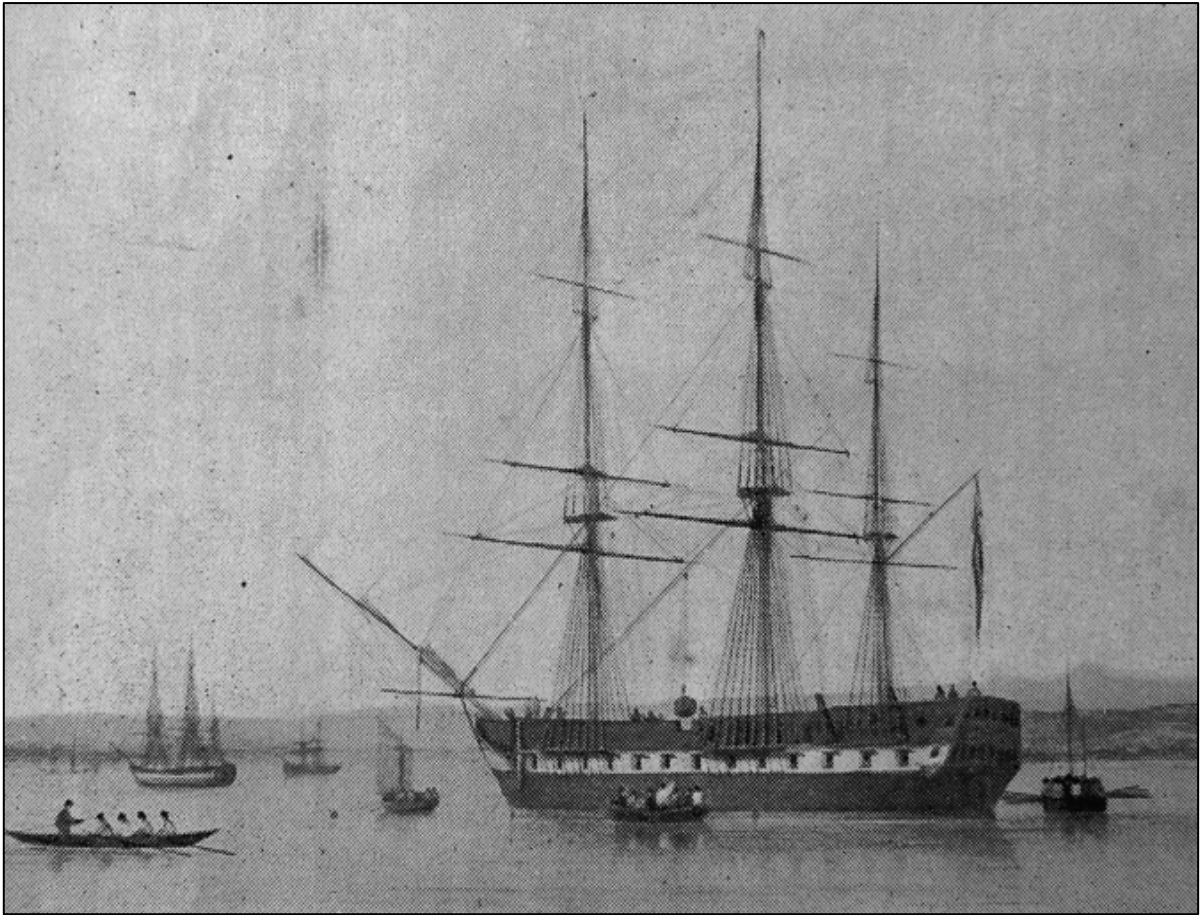


Figure 75. *The Buckinghamshire* (State Library of South Australia: PRG45/7).



Figure 76. Greeting card showing 'Pewsey Vale' homestead in the early stages of development. Taken from an album of greeting cards and photographs, ca. 1890-1920 (State Library of South Australia: PRG457/7).



Figure 77. 'Pewsey Vale' homestead showing a more established garden. Taken from an album of greeting cards and photographs, ca. 1890-1920 (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 78. Anna Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).

Joseph and Anna Gilbert had four children, Jane (Lady Edward Stirling), born October 1848 (see Figure 79), William, born October 1850 (see Figure 80), Sarah, born August 1854 (see Figure 81) and Anna, born January 1856 (see Figure 82). Jane and Sarah were educated at home by governesses whereas William was sent to boarding school, St Peter's in Adelaide, at the age of nine. William wrote home regularly sharing his experiences of boarding school with his parents and his sisters often enquiring about the goings on at 'Pewsey Vale' whilst he was away, always signing them with 'I remain your affectionate son' or 'brother' (see Table 15). Morphett (1949) describes William as being 'not very strong' and was sent away to board with Archdeacon Dove at the Rectory in Walkerville where he was tutored along with a number of other small boys.



Figure 79. Jane Gilbert daughter of Joseph and Anna Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).



Figure 80. William Gilbert son of Joseph and Anna Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).



Figure 81. Sarah Gilbert daughter of Joseph and Anna Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).



Figure 82. Anna Gilbert daughter of Joseph and Anna Gilbert (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).

Table 15. Various letters written by William Gilbert to his parents and siblings whilst attending St Peter's College and Wakerville (State Library of South Australia).

	<p>Figure 1. First page of a letter written by William Gilbert to his mother on January 28, 1860 whilst boarding at St Peter's College. He writes to inform his mother of the ripening of the grapes and peaches in town as well as the number of new boys arriving at the school (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/4/1).</p>
	<p>Second page of same letter (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/4/1).</p>
	<p>Figure 2. First page of a letter written by William Gilbert to his mother on October 12, 1861 whilst boarding at St Peter's College. He explains how he intends to write once a week. He also gives details regarding the number of new boys arriving at the school and mentions one boy who did not return due to measles. He tells how the flowers are in bloom in the greenhouse and enquires about his pet dogs, 'Sweep' and 'Rover' and their growth. (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/4/2).</p>
	<p>Second page of same letter (State Library of South Australia: PRG466/4/2).</p>

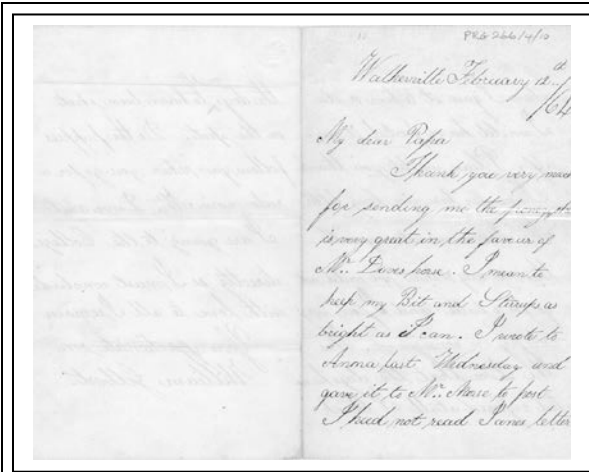
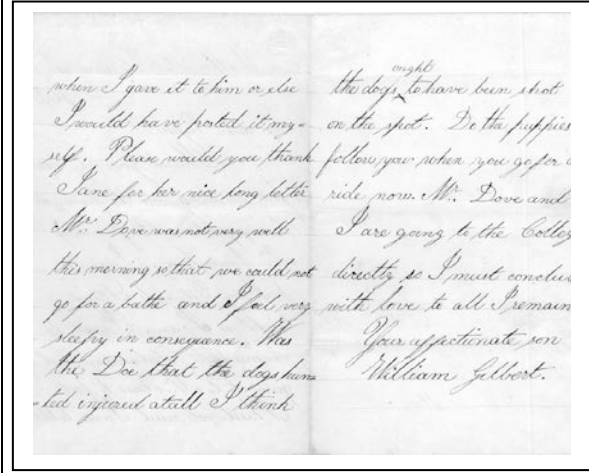


Figure 3. First page of a letter written by William Gilbert to his father on February 12, 1864 whilst boarding at Walkerville. In a much neater hand than letters to his mother, William thanks his father for sending money. He also advises that he means to keep his 'Bit and Stirrups as bright as can be'. He adds that he has written to his sister Anna and wishes his father to thank her for her long letter. Due to the Archdeacon Dove being ill, the boys could not go for a 'bathe'. He also enquires about the doe that the dogs hunted and whether it was injured, condemning the dogs for such behaviour (State Library of South Australia:PRG266/4/10).



Second page of same letter (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/4/10).

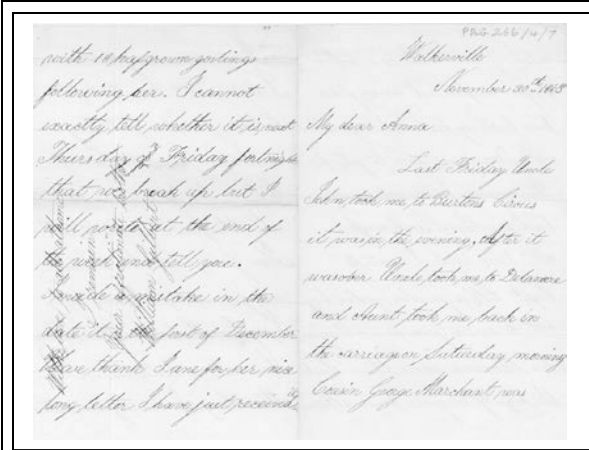
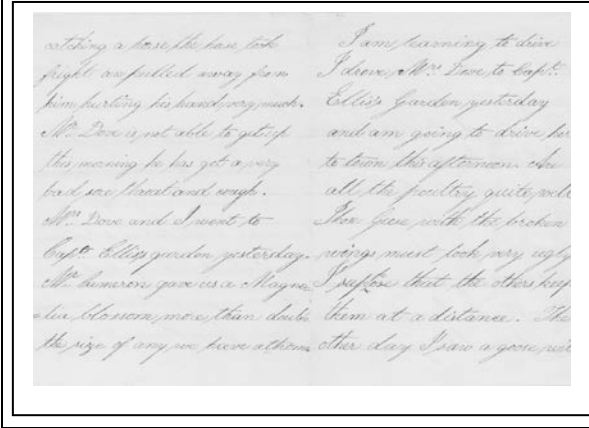


Figure 4. First (right side) and last (left side) page of a letter written by William Gilbert to his sister Anna on November 30, 1865 whilst boarding at Walkerville. This letter describes William's visit to Burtons Circus in the evening and how his aunt and uncle took him to Delamere and back in the carriage. He writes an account of how his cousin George Marhant hurt his hand whilst catching a horse. He also explains how Archdeacon Dove is ill and how he is learning to drive. He drove with Mrs Dove to Captain Ellis's garden where he was given a Magnolia bloom more than double the size of any at home. He enquires about the health of the poultry including the geese and he asks Anna to thank his sister Jane for her long letter (State Library of South Australia).



Second page of same letter (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/4/7).

William sailed to England at the age of fourteen for further education at Clifton. He remained at Clifton under tutors and at Cambridge until 1870, when his father requested his return to Australia to help manage his father's land holdings. The estate had since grown to include the 15,000 acres at the homestead station of 'Pewsey Vale', 6,000 acres at the Rhine, a further large land holding at Mt Bryan and another in Yorke's Peninsula (Morphett 1949). The homestead at 'Pewsey Vale' had been extended and the property boasted a church, built in 1861, a reservoir, extensive stables for the breeding of race horses, a garden and home paddocks as well as a school house for the children of the workmen housed in cottages around the homestead (Morphett 1949).

In 1870, when William was twenty years old, his father sent him to visit his properties and northern stations in order for him to gain experience. William's experiences in the interior driving cattle and horses, led him to convince his father to lease '1,500 square miles near Alice and Owen Springs, known as the 'Macumba' run, on the Finke River' (Morphett 1949). William's sister Sarah, married Captain J.A. Fergusson, brother and Private Secretary to Sir James Fergusson, the then Governor. Two years later, William's mother died of pneumonia. In 1877 William's other sister Jane married Dr Edward Stirling. Anna however remained unmarried and kept house at 'Pewsey Vale' with her father and William upon his return from the northern properties. In July 1879, William married Mary Young Clindening, daughter of Dr William Clindening who arrived in Australia in 1853 with his wife, nee Mary Driffield (Morphett 1949). William and Mary lived at 'Wongalere' from 1879 until his father's death on 23rd December 1881 at the age of 82, at which time, William and Mary took over the management of 'Pewsey Vale'. William's unmarried sister Anna joined her sister Sarah to help with her family as they accompanied her husband on various military appointments around the world including England, India and Colombo (Morphett 1949).

The Gilberts were a large family (see Figure 83). During their time at 'Pewsey Vale', William and Mary bore eleven children, two of whom died in infancy. William remained at 'Pewsey Vale' until his death in 1923 after which the family home and property was sold and Mrs William Gilbert and her four daughters relocated to north Adelaide. Later, three of the daughters moved to Mt Lofty after WWII (Bayfield 1983:2). William's son retained the homestead at 'Wongalere', which today lies submerged in the South Para Reservoir (Gilbert 1973:57).



Figure 83. The Gilbert family at 'Pewsey Vale'. From Back Row: Henry, also known as Harry (1880-1947) , Joseph (1884-1915), William Jnr (1887-1967), Mary Young Gilbert (1854-1939), John Driffield (1893-1917), Catherine (1891-1931), Emily (1892-1974), Marjory (b.1888), William Gilbert (1850-1923), Thomas (1889-1938), Dorothy (1885-1973) (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/29/1).

Ethnographic data

The following ethnographic data provides information regarding the day-to-day lives of the children from William and Mary Gilbert of 'Pewsey Vale'. The data is in the form of two reminiscences written by Dorothy Gilbert. One transcript was at the request of her great niece, Susan Eade, in June 1968 and the other in the form of a letter to her nephew, Mr W.A. Gilbert between August 1972 and January 1973. Dorothy's accounts highlight various themes or categories including childcare, education, discipline, recreation and entertainment, play, mealtime traditions, social relations, religion, pets, and the everyday activities of the children. Given the age of Dorothy Gilbert at the time she wrote her reminiscences, there exists the possibility for a degree of inaccuracy due to potential memory loss. However, her sister, Marjory Gilbert, who edited Dorothy's reminiscences correcting some mistakes in the transcription and providing additional information, supports Dorothy's accounts.

A number of 'under nurses' or 'nursery housemaids' cared for the Gilbert children throughout their childhood. Dorothy explains the unavailability of their mother due to her almost continual state of pregnancy or as Dorothy states, when her mother was 'out of action' (Gilbert 1973:58). The children held one nurse in particular, Miss Molero, (also Dorothy's God-mother) in very high esteem and Dorothy states she 'had a tremendous influence on [their] childhood' (Gilbert 1968). Henry Gilbert referred to her as 'Dear Mo' however, the rest of the children referred to her as 'Ummie' (Gilbert 1968). Miss Molero gave many books to the children and was largely responsible for their early training and pre-school education whilst at home. Dorothy writes

...Mother had the help and companionship of Miss Molero, who took each ex-baby in turn as her responsibility till it was tough enough for the general nursery. She also supervised the household when mother was out of action ran a Sunday School for the many children on the property, played the organ, conducted a choir practice among the household maids and the older girls and we joined in when old enough. She also nursed the sick (Gilbert 1973:58).

Learning was memorable for Dorothy, however she has a greater recollection of the indoor and outdoor games that were played as part of their education. Miss Molero was '...intensely interested in the Kindergarten system of learning through play, which was just reaching England from Germany and was relayed to [the children] by [their] Aunts Sarah and Anna who wrote weekly...' (Gilbert 1968). The children's aunts often sent educational books and toys from England. Dorothy recalls some of the instructional books; 'I remember an instructive little book of multiplication tables and additions, a history primer with dates and interesting facts' (Gilbert 1973:58). Other nurses taught the children Music and French with one instructing them in Latin.

The children were not always on their best behaviour. Dorothy considered Joe to be 'rather backwards when lessons were concerned and very naughty about climbing forbidden trees when the nurses' back was turned' (Gilbert 1968). Indeed the children were often naughty and Dorothy states 'we quarrelled and slapped each other lots of jibs, were disobedient and rude like all children' (Gilbert 1968). Punishments for such behaviour ranged from being 'shoved in the corner' facing the corner until an apology or a repentance was offered to sitting up on a high chair until the same result was achieved. However, extra naughtiness saw the children locked in the bathroom. This practice however came to a halt when on one occasion

Willie got even with the nurse by turning on all the taps and getting all his clothes wet through. The greatest disgrace of all was to be undressed and put to bed when everyone else was having fun out in the sun-shine (Gilbert 1968).

Dorothy recounts, as the children grew older all that was required for discipline was a word of correction from the parents. The children were never whipped. Indeed Dorothy recalls that later in life she heard her father say that he considered it a 'confirmation of failure on the part of parents if they found it necessary to whip a child' (Gilbert 1968). Schoolroom punishments included being 'kept in, extra lessons and curtailed freedom to ride, go for walks, [and] play outdoor games' (Gilbert 1968).

The children played together in the day nursery on wet days with what Dorothy describes as 'endless toys, puzzles, brick building [and] mechanical toys we were allowed to wind up ourselves, a lovely bear on wheels, a peacock which raised its tail as it strutted. When the nurse would endure the mess, we blew bubbles' (Gilbert 1968). Dorothy and Marjory shared a dolls' house and would fashion their own miniature pieces of furniture from match or chocolate boxes. Learning to sew at an early age, Dorothy was always dressing and redressing her dolls (Gilbert 1968).

The children always welcomed school friends when they came to stay and play. School friends would often visit and stay during the holidays. Entertaining at 'Pewsey Vale', whether school friends or dignitaries, was a regular occurrence. Dorothy recalls how she could not understand how many school friends would begin to wonder mid-term whether there would be an invitation to 'Pewsey Vale' in the holidays and states that '...our recreations were of the simplest and fitted in with the seasonal working of the property' (Gilbert 1973:62).

Quite often, the children would visit friends for afternoon tea, and the family would entertain guests at dinnertime. Guests would often include the local clergyman or on occasions, the Governor. Dinner was a formal occasion where everyone was 'dressed' with evening gowns appearing when the Governor visited. Dorothy writes how the children and guests would eventually retire to the drawing-room for music or games (Gilbert 1973:63) (see Figure 84).

Religion played a large part in the daily life of the children. Dorothy recalls, 'At Pewsey we had alternate morning and evening services 11am or 7pm. After the morning service the

clergy-man came to lunch and after the evening one he generally stayed the night' (Gilbert 1973:65). Dorothy remembers a typical day in the 'mid nineties' (1895) as beginning at 8am with the assembly of all household members for prayers read by father. Lessons began at 9am with a few verses read from the Bible. The timetable and curriculum was strict. There was a tea break at 11am followed by lessons until 12.45pm, when they would tidy for lunch.

Activities differed according to age, Dorothy writes

During the morning Kitty [Catherine], Emmie [Emily] and John would have played until nurse was ready to take them [for] a short walk. John would still have been in his pram at that stage, the other two would probably have picked up pinecones to store for the winter fires, or windfall apples to feed to the deer later in the day (Gilbert 1973:69).

Lessons would resume after lunch for an hour followed by a walk or ride with the governess on 'very quiet ponies' accompanied by the rabbit dogs to give them exercise also (Gilbert 1973:69). The children were required to perform small tasks during these walks such as reporting holes in fences, checking waterhole and trough levels which Dorothy suggests made them 'feel important and useful to Father' (Gilbert 1973:70). Tea was at 5pm after which came the 'highlight' of the day, 'children's hour'. The nurse 'Ummie' was heavily involved in the goings on. 'She taught us to knit and sew and embroider, even the boys did cross stitch and made scarves on specially made wooden frames' (Gilbert 1968). Dorothy explains

When brushed and tidied we went to the drawing room for the children's hour, here everybody did something with their hands, embroidery, cross-stitch or plain hemming, which Emmie found very dreary and called 'duster stitch' (Gilbert 1973:70).

The children's hour was not just about reading aloud and sewing, card games such as 'Beggar my Neighbour', 'Grab' and 'Old Maid', were played along with educational card games such as 'The Countries of Europe', 'The Counties of England', 'The Kings of England', 'The National Gallery' with classic artists and their works. Fairytales were popular and 'the very tiny children had lovely picture books' (Gilbert 1968). Nursery rhymes would be sung around the piano and as the children grew older, they graduated to 'Scottish students song book, Gilbert and Sullivan and the light operas of the day' (Gilbert 1968). The children would sing similar songs and games on Sundays; however, they would have a biblical theme (Gilbert 1968).

William Gilbert would normally be involved with the children during children's hour and would play draughts, backgammon and halma with them. Dorothy states 'He was usually there most of the time reading, against our background noise' (Gilbert 1968). In summer, the children would spend the hour in the garden

...we learnt to cut back the dead rose heads and trim other flowers, we fed the deer on windfall apples, then had some wild running games, and cooled off in the swimming bath. Sunday afternoon Father always set aside for us, no matter who the visitors were (even the Governor) the children were included. We took the dogs, and while they hunted, we lighted fires in winter and scoured the pipe-line in summer and when we got to the reservoir pleaded for a row in a leaky canvas boat. It was a lovely stretch of water, but weed made rowing difficult and rather dangerous. We were never allowed to take the boat out without a grown-up in charge (Gilbert 1973:70).

As Dorothy suggests, William Gilbert was fond of spending time with the children and participated in various recreation activities with them including fishing and hunting (85-87). The children enjoyed other activities at 'Pewsey Vale' including playing musical instruments (see Figure 88), reading and playing with dolls (see Figure 89), gymnastics (see Figure 90), dressing up in fancy dress (see Figure 91) and tending sheep and other farm animals (see Figure 92).



Figure 84. The Gilbert Family Drawing Room at 'Pewsey Vale' (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 85. William Gilbert fishing with the boys (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/48/12/1).



Figure 86. The Gilbert boys on a hunting trip (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/48/10/3).



Figure 87. William Gilbert with rifle and pheasant (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 88. John Gilbert with his violin (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 89. John, Catherine and Emily Gilbert reading and playing on the 'Pewsey Vale' homestead veranda (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 90. John Gilbert practising gymnastics at 'Pewsey Vale' (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).



Figure 91. Catherine and Emily in fancy dress on the veranda at 'Pewsey Vale' (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/12/16).



Figure 92. Emily tending her lambs at 'Pewsey Vale' (State Library of South Australia: PRG266/43).

Aside from tending to the livestock on the property, the children enjoyed a number of pets. These include a cat named 'Pershia', several rabbiting dogs; a Major Mitchell cockatoo called 'Lord Tennyson' as well as a wild magpie that they tamed so that it would lie on its back and fall asleep in their laps (Gilbert 1973:67). Later came Scottish terriers and cocker spaniels.

Today, 'Pewsey Vale' still operates as a winery, although the original homestead and outbuildings no longer stand. What is left however is an extensive collection of material culture, including, photographs, letters, diary notes, books, toys and games, which has now been bequeathed to the State Library of South Australia. The books, dissected puzzles, card and table games and magic tricks are fine examples of late 19th century children's entertainment and education. Predominantly, most of the books, toys and games belonged to William and Mary's nine children. One game however, 'The Fishing Game' ca. 1856, belonged to William Gilbert as a child (see Figure 93). The books span three generations of Gilberts with some having belonged to Anna Gilbert (see Table 17) and her son, William Gilbert (see Table 18).



Figure 93. 'Fish Ponds' 'A Parlour Game'. Game consisting of 3 fishing rods with string and hooks and numerous wooden pieces representing fish, ca. 1856.

Due to the large number of books in the collection, it was necessary to sort them into various categories including first, second and third generations. Other categories include, books given by notable persons (see Table 18), books given by siblings to siblings (see Table 19), books given to all the Gilbert children (see Table 20) and books belonging to individual children (see Table 21). Other material culture categories include; various toys and games (see Table 22), magic tricks belonging to Henry Gilbert (see Table 23), books about magic owned by Henry Gilbert (see Table 24) and card games (see Table 25).

First generation books

Table 16. Books belonging to Anna Gilbert nee Brown 1812-1873.

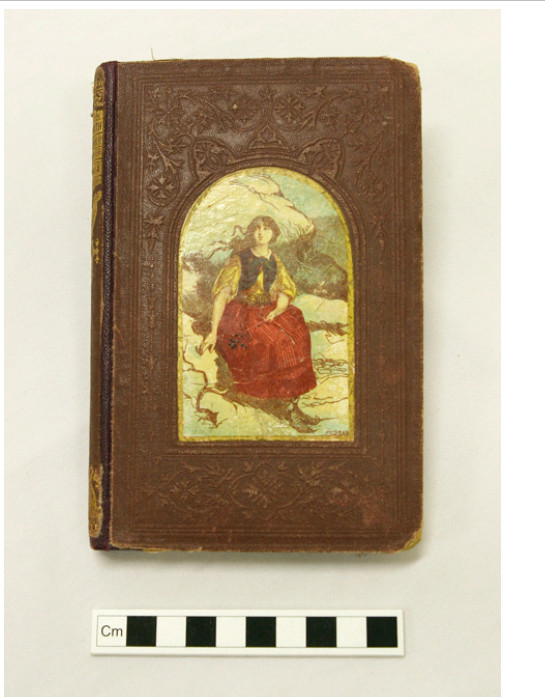

	<p>Figure 1. Cover, <i>Elizabeth, or, The Exiles of Siberia</i>.</p>
	<p>Figure 1. cont. Inside cover, <i>A Tale from the French of Madame Cottin</i>, Edinburgh, William P. Nimmo'. Inscription: 'Miss Clendinning. 2nd Prize for Writing. 2nd Class 17 Div Xmas 1867'.</p>



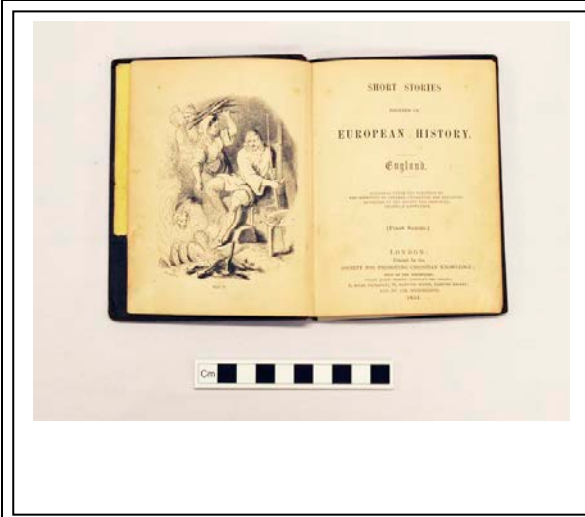
Figure 2. Set of 5 instructional books: *First Steps in General Knowledge, Animal* (1856), *Mineral* (1854), *Vegetable* (1856), *The Surface of the Earth Part II* (1856), *The Starry Heavens Part I* (1856). The *Surface of the Earth* book mentions author as Mrs Charles Tomlinson, others do not specify author. All books published by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Hanover Street, Hanover Square, London. Books belonged to Mrs Gilbert 1812-1873 for the instruction of her children.



Title page.



Figure 3. A series of four History books. All books published by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Hanover Street, Hanover Square, London. Books belonged to Mrs Gilbert 1812-1873 for the instruction of her children.



Title page of *European History* 1st Series.

Second generation books

Table 17. Second generation books belonging to Jane, Sarah, Anna and William Gilbert.

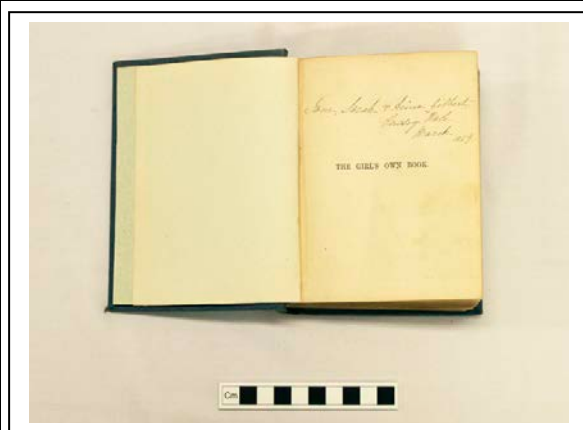


Figure 1. *The Girls Own Book* by Mrs Child, Author of *The Mothers' Book*, *Frugal Housewife*, The Seventeenth Edition, Entirely Re-Edited by Madame De Chatelain. Embellished with Engravings, London William Tegg and Co., Cheapside 1856'. 'Preface Addressed to Parents. Inscription page 'Jane, Sarah, & Anna Gilbert Pewsey Vale March 1859'.

Title page.

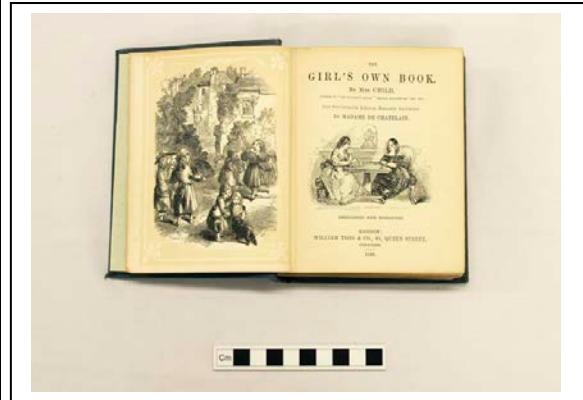
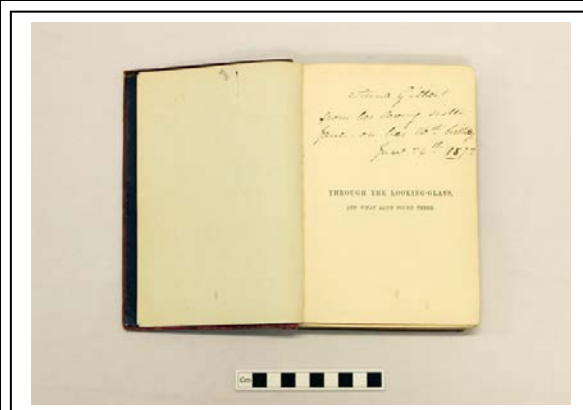
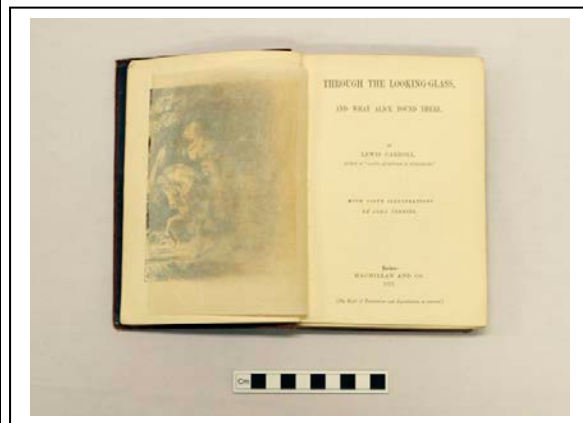


Figure 2. Inscription page, 'Anna Gilbert from her loving sister Jane, on her 16th birthday June 14th 1872'. *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There*.



Title page, *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There* by Lewis Carroll, Author of 'Alice' Adventures in Wonderland'. 'With fifty illustrations by John Tenniel. London Macmillan and Co. 1872'.



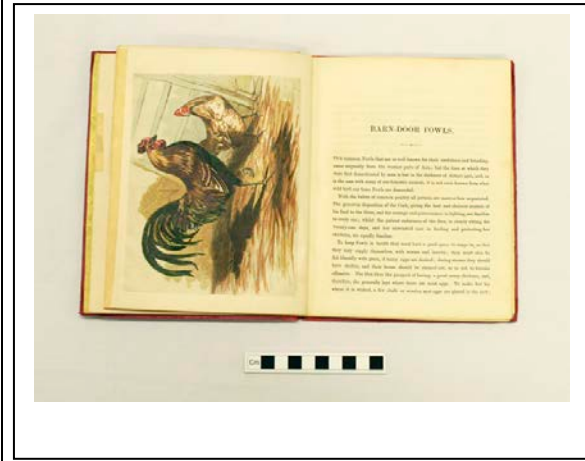
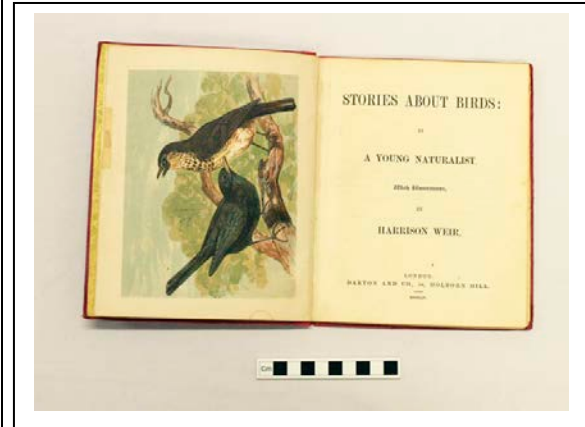
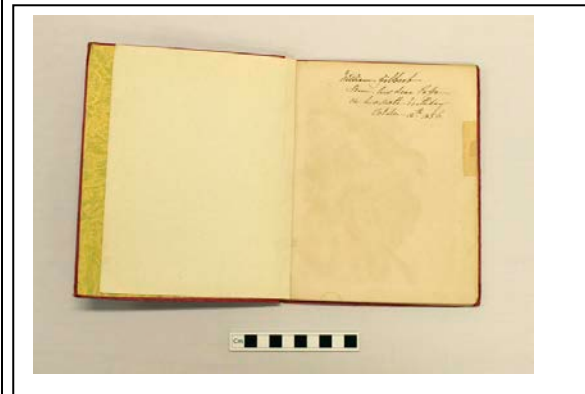


Figure 3. *Stories about Birds* Illustrated by Weir'. Inscription page, 'William Gilbert from his dear Papa on his sixth birthday October 12th 1856'. Inside title, *Stories about Birds: by A Young Naturalist. With Illustrations, by Harrison Weir. London MDCCCLIV*'. Colour plate of rooster.

'This book is distinguished by its fine colour plates reproduced by George Leighton. It was published in 1854, the year after Weir and Leighton had collaborated in the production of *The Poultry Book*, one of the outstanding illustrated books of the mid-nineteenth century' (State Library of South Australia). This book is highly significant as it is referred to in PRG266 8/29 page 166 of a Manuscript of the History of the Gilbert Family of Abbatston Manor and Puckshipton Manor in County Wiltshire, England and of 'Pewsey Vale', Lyndoch, South Australia, by Emily Gilbert. Entry on page 166 reads: 'When he was six years old William was given a picture book, and on the fly leaf is written in fine beautiful writing 'William Gilbert from his dear Papa on his sixth birthday October 12th 1856'. Eighty years later, there is scarcely a page torn, only the binding worn with much opening and shutting. He treasured it greatly, being [specially] proud of the page across which struts a rooster. He was taught to care for his possessions...'. (State Library of South Australia). This book given to William by his father may have inspired his scientific mind and encouraged him to become a naturalist himself, an interest that passed to his son Henry. There is also a very small pencil drawing of a bird in the margin next to the colour plate image on left of the inside title page.

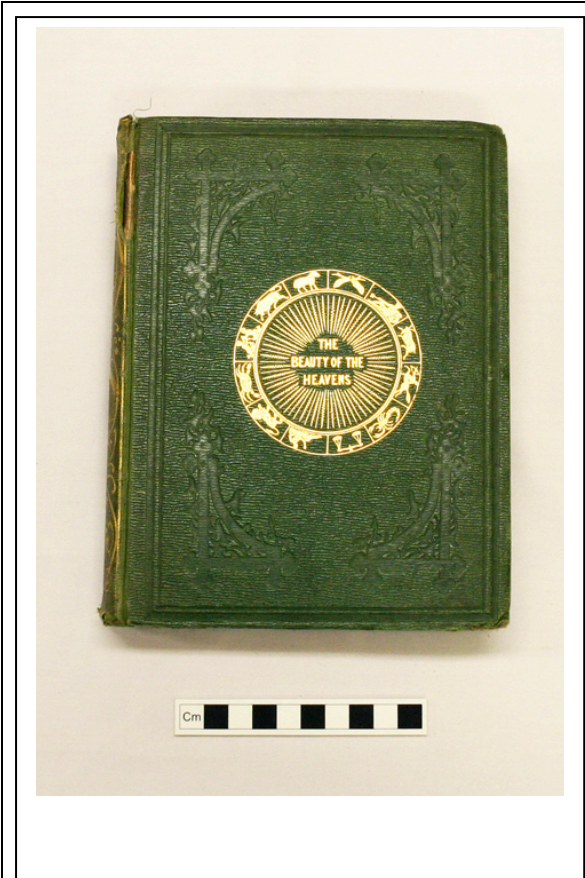
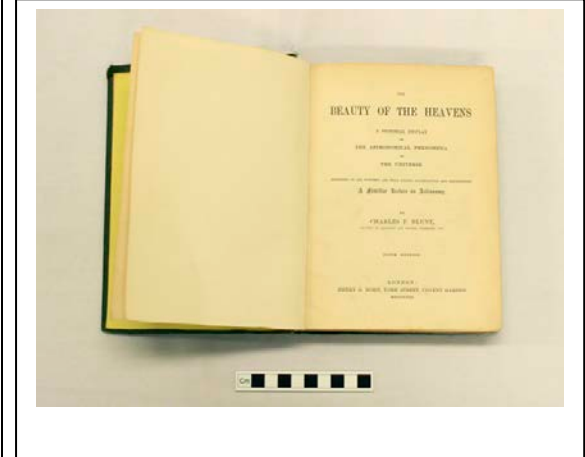
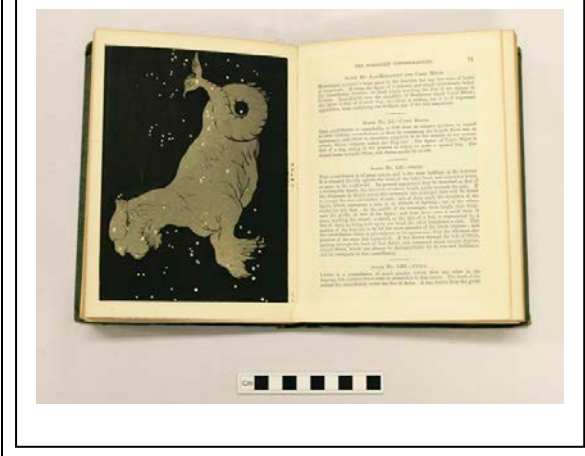


Figure 4. *The Beauty of The Heavens.*



Title page, *The Beauty of the Heavens A Pictorial Display of The Astronomical Phenomena of The Universe. Exhibited in one Hundred and Four Scenes, Accompanying and Illustrating A Familiar Lecture on Astronomy. By Charles F. Blunt, Lecturer on Astronomy and Natural Philosophy, ETC. Fifth Edition. London. Henry G.Bohn, MDCCCLVIII*.



Page 70-71 showing the constellation CETUS.

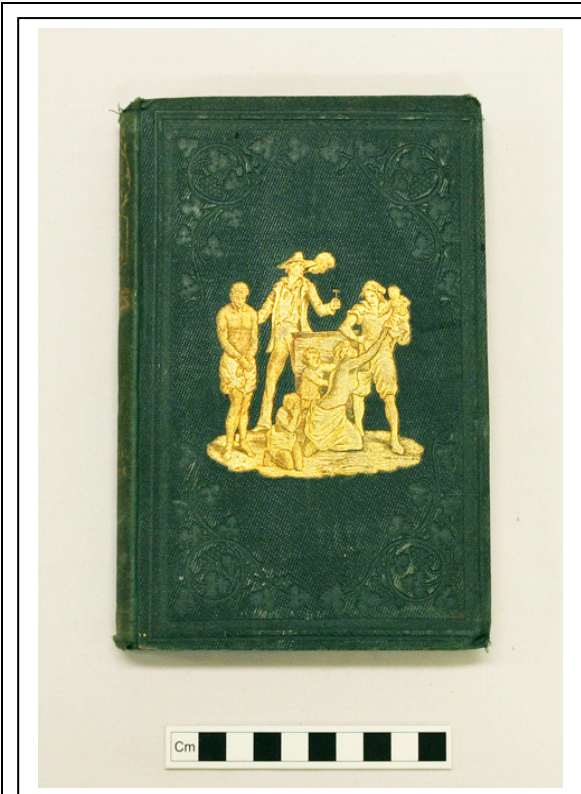


Figure 5. Cover, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America*. Book given to William when he was twelve years old.

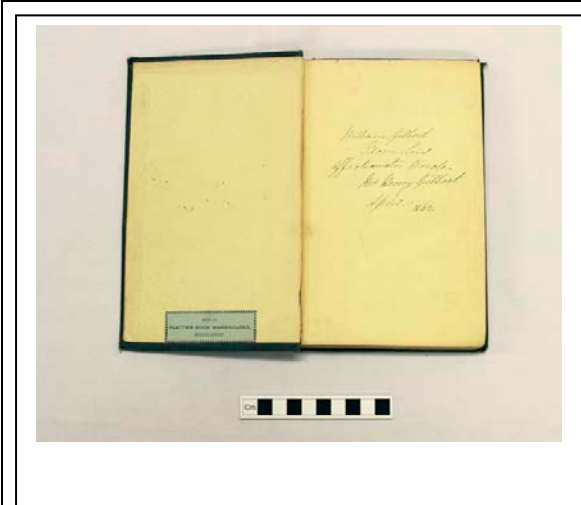
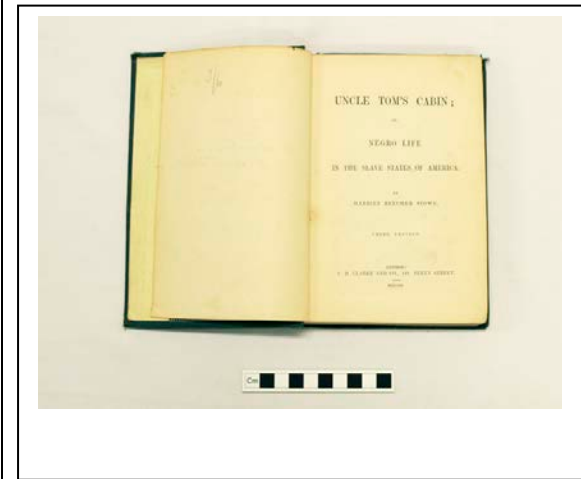


Figure 6. cont.: Inscription page, 'William Gilbert from his affectionate uncle Mr Henry Gilbert April 1862'.



Title page *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Negro Life in the Slave States of America*. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Third Edition. London C.H. Clarke and Co. MDCCCLII'.

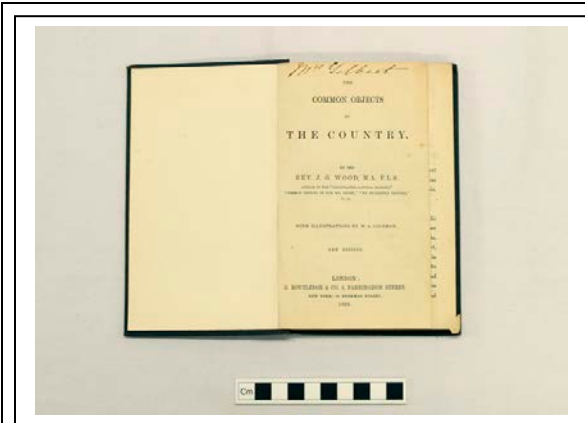
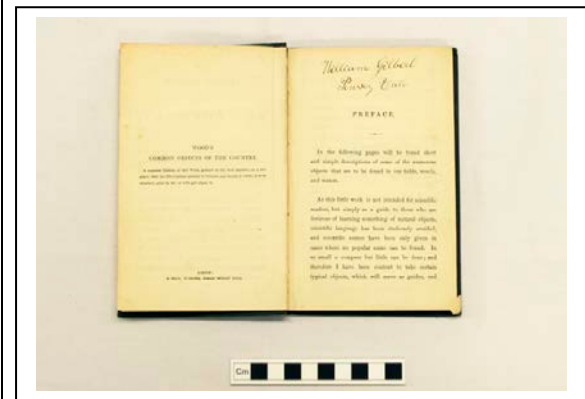


Figure 7. Title page, *The Common Objects of The Country* by the Rev. J.G. Wood, M.A. F.L.S author of the *Illustrated Natural History, Common Objects of the Sea Shore, My Feathered Friends, &c. &c.* With Illustrations by W.S. Coleman. New Edition. London G. Routledge & Col 1858'. The book originally belonged to William's mother Mrs Gilbert for William's instruction but was given to William.



Preface page with William's name handwritten in his young hand.

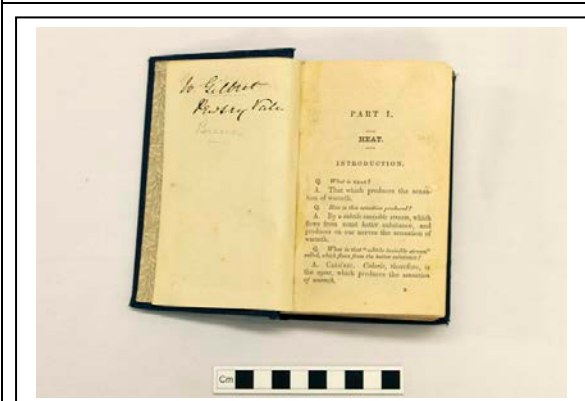
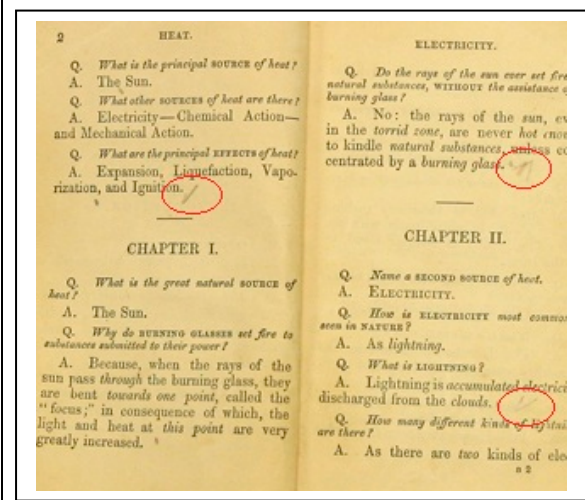


Figure 8. *Guide to Science* by Brewer (missing inner title page). Book belonged to William Gilbert. Text book used for study. Various instances of pencil marks e.g., ticks, possibly used to test himself. No date. Inscription reads: 'W Gilbert Pewsey Vale'.



Pages 2 and 3 with showing pencil marks (circled in red).

Third generation collections, books, toys games and collections belonging to the 9 surviving children of Anna and William Gilbert; Henry, Joseph, Dorothy, William, Marjory, Thomas, Catherine, Emily and John

Collections

The Gilbert collection includes two specimen boxes created by Henry Gilbert (Harry) (see Figures 94-100), one of which earned a Prize in The Williamstown Exhibition in 1888 when Henry was 8 years old. Specimens included coral and eggs from various bird species including curlew, wild turkey, pelican, albatross, penguin, native pheasant, short-tailed petrel, wood swallow, warbill and sparrow hawk. Other egg specimens included crocodile and alligator.



Figure 94. Prize winning specimen box collected by Harry Gilbert in 1888 when he was 8 years old.



Figure 95. Prize label for specimen box. Text reads: Williamstown Exhibition First Prize awarded to Master Harry Gilbert for Collection of Sundries 26th October 1888.

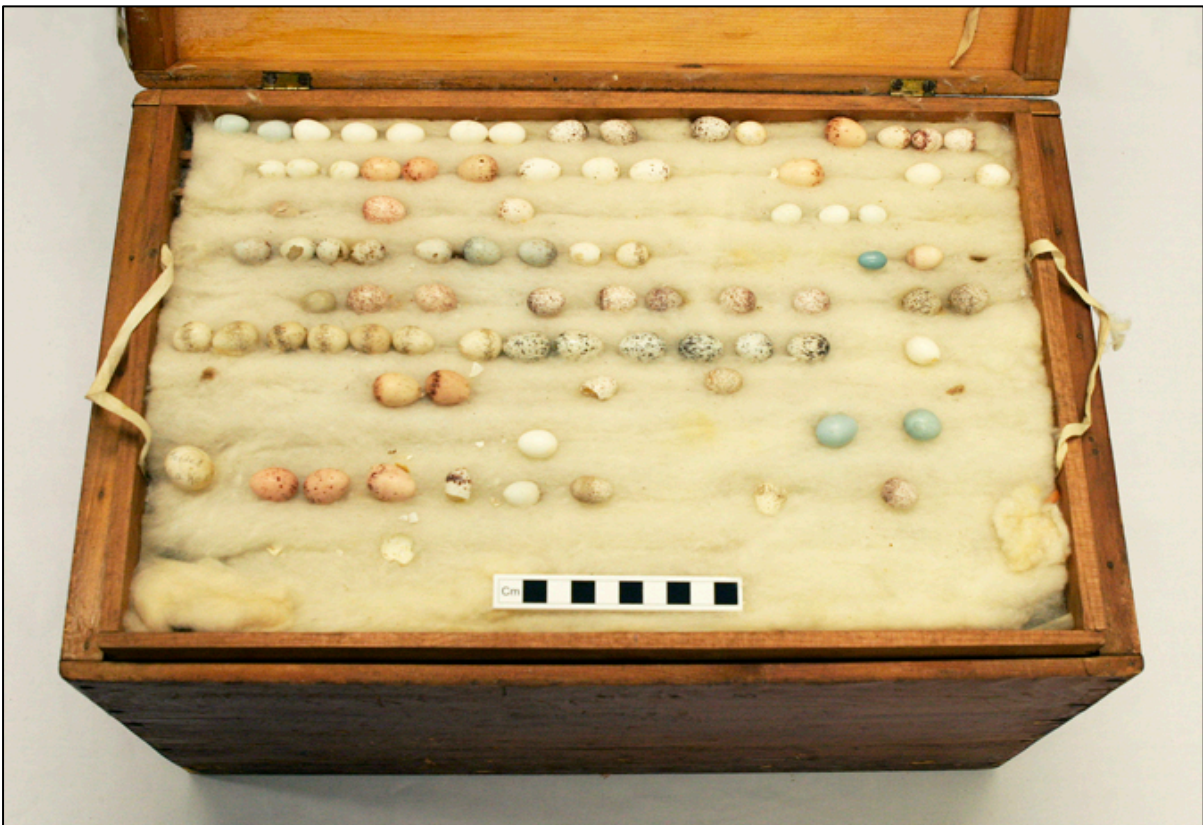


Figure 96. Top layer of specimen box containing eggs from various bird species. Some labelled including Hooded Parakeet.



Figure 97. Second layer of specimen box (no labels).



Figure 98. Third layer of specimen box. One egg labelled Cat Bird.



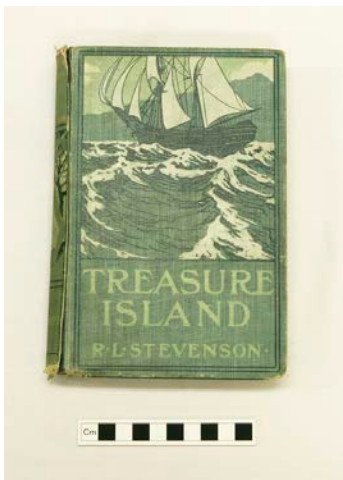
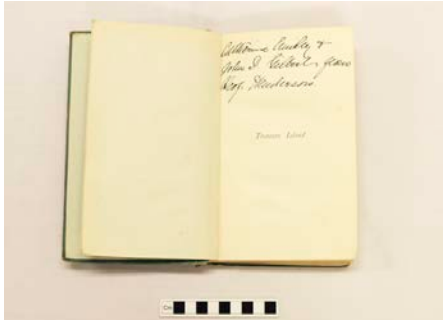
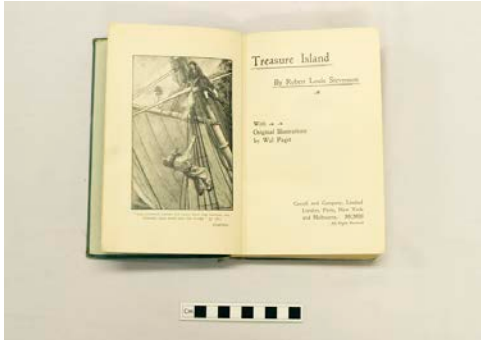
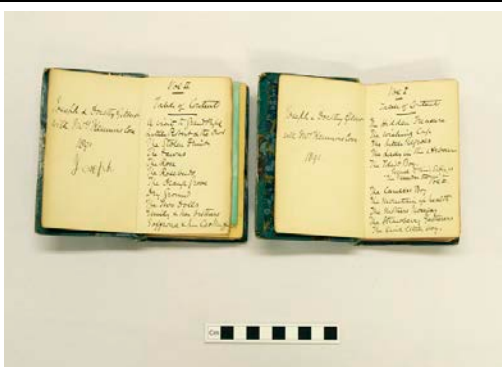
Figure 99. Fourth layer of specimen box. Two eggs labelled including, Wonga Pigeon and Magpie Lark.



Figure 100. Bottom layer of specimen box. Some species labelled include Emu, Golden Pheasant, Franculin Black Swan, Common Goose and Black Duck specimens.

Third generation books, toys, games, magic tricks and cards

Table 18. Books given to the Gilbert children by notable persons.

	<p>Figure 1. <i>Treasure Island</i> by Robert Louis Stevenson.</p>
	<p>Inscription page, 'Catherine, Emily and John D Gilbert from Professor Henderson'. George Henderson was Professor of History at University of Adelaide 1903-1923 (Australian Dictionary of Biography: G.L. Fischer. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, online).</p>
	<p>Title page with illustration, <i>Treasure Island</i> by Robert Louis Stevenson with original Illustrations by Wal Paget. Cassell and Company Limited London MCMIII'.</p>
	<p>Figure 2. A collection of penny and two penny reward books by Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851); a prolific and successful author of evangelical tracts and stories for children who was foremost among the moral writers of the period as the sternest mentor of the faults and failings of childhood (State Library of South Australia). This copy originally belonged to Mrs Kennion, wife of the second Bishop of Adelaide. Given to Joseph and Dorothy Gilbert in 1891. Although both books were intended for Dorothy and Joseph, Joseph has laid claim to one of the books by writing his name in his young hand in one.</p>

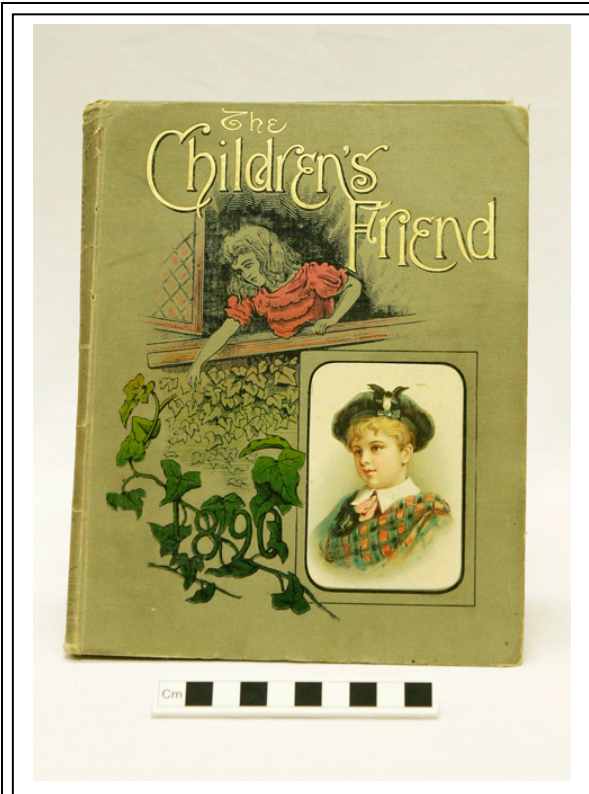
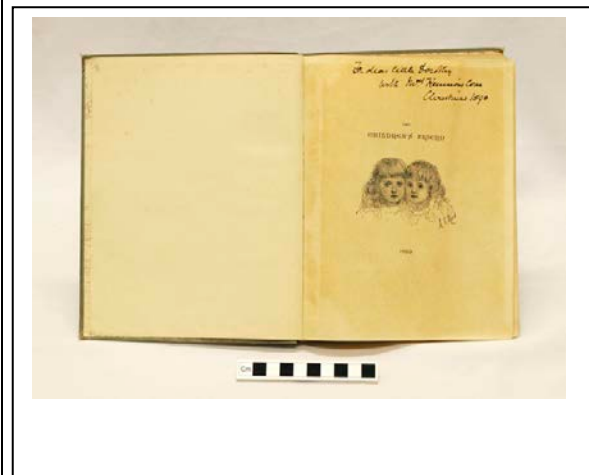


Figure 3. Top: Cover, *The Children's Friend*. Book given to Dorothy by Mrs Kennion, wife of the Bishop of Adelaide.



Inscription page 'For dear little Dorothy with Mrs Kennion Love Christmas 1890'.



Title page with illustration. *The Children's Friend* Vol. XXX S W Partridge & Co London. The book is a yearly edition with stories, puzzles, religious quotes, scriptures, prayers, songs with music, information relating to travel to other countries, other cultures games, the story of Columbus, illustrations, education, amusement, natural history stories, playtime pictures and stories.

Table 19. Books given to the Gilbert siblings by Gilbert siblings.



Figure 1. *Robinson Crusoe* (miniature book). Evidence of siblings giving siblings books as the previous generation did also. Book is in very good condition.



Inside title page and inscription, 'Joseph Gilbert from Harry August 7th 1889', written in Harry's young hand.



Next page with illustration of Robinson Crusoe depicted as a child.



Last double page with illustration of Crusoe and Friday depicted as children.

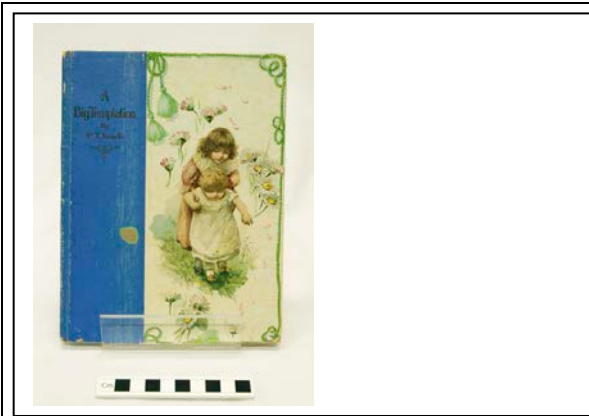
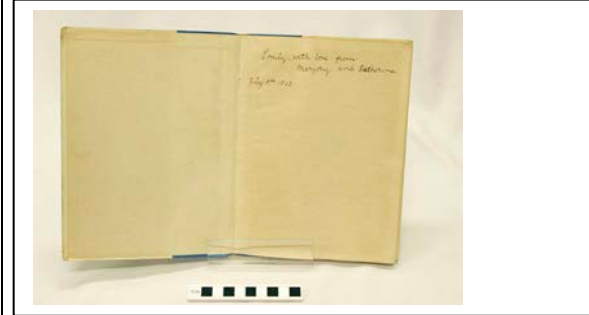
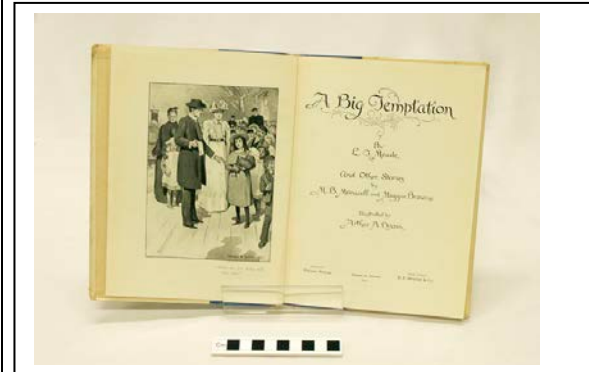


Figure 2. *A Big Temptation*. The book is in very good condition with unmarked pages. Books to siblings from siblings (evidence of a tradition carried on from earlier generations).



Inscription page, 'Emily, with love from Marjory and Catherine. July 9th 1903'.



Title page, *A Big Temptation* by L.T. Meade, and Other Stories by Manwell and Maggie Browne illustrated by Arthur A Dixon, Ernest Nister, London Printed in Bavaria'.

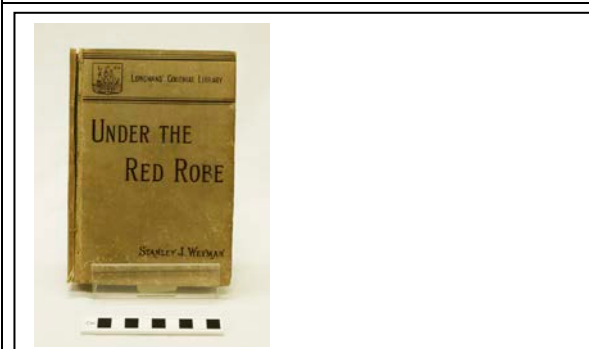
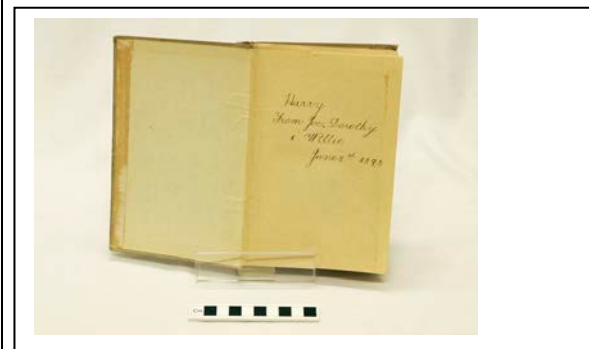


Figure 3. Cover, *Under the Red Robe* by Stanley J. Weyman Author of a 'Gentleman of France', 'the House of the Wolf' 'The Story of Francis Cludde'. With twelve illustrations by R.Caton Woodville. Longmans Green and Co. London 1894' Books to siblings from siblings (evidence of a tradition carried on from earlier generation. Evidence of being well read with cover falling apart and loose pages.



Inscription page 'Harry from Joe, Dorothy and Willie June 8th 1895'.

Table 20. Books given to all Gilbert children.



Figure 1. *Hand Shadows* by Henry Bursill. Book is unscribed, given to all the children, well looked after except cover is worn.



Title page. *Hand Shadows To Be Thrown Upon the Wall: A Series of Novel and Amusing Figures Formed by the Hand from Original Designs by Henry Bursill* Third Edition London Griffith and Farran. Published in 1859'.

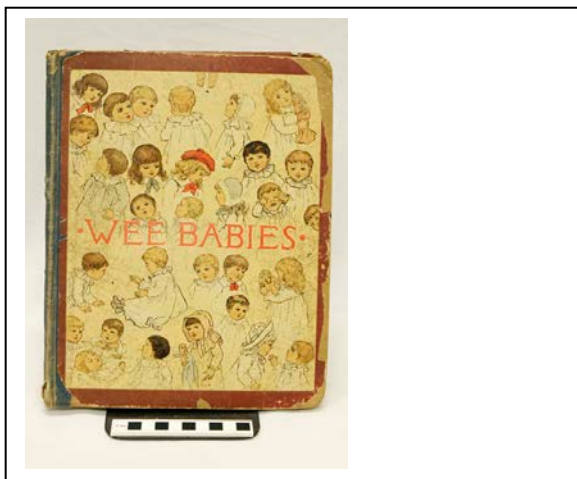
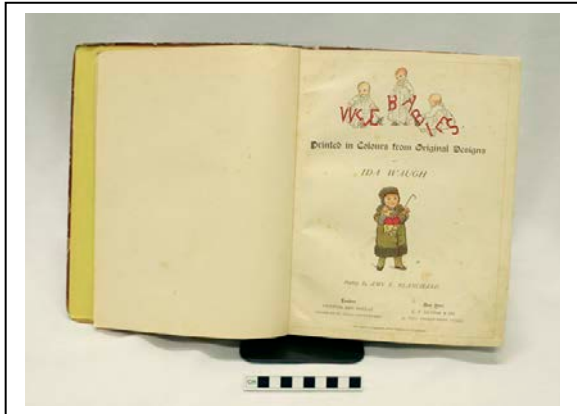


Figure 2. *Wee Babies*. Picture book given to all children, unscribed unmarked but heavily used and repaired.



Title page, *Wee Babies* Printed in Colours from Original Designs by Ida Waugh Poetry by Amy E Blanchard, Griffith and Farran London'. No date.



Figure 3. *Picture Pages for Little Folks of all Ages*. Ernest Nister London, Printed in Bavaria. Book is missing inside title page. No date. Picture book, no inscription. Evidence of heavy use and repair.

Photo of Cinderella page showing wear and repair.



Figure 4. Cover and Title page, *Only for Very Good Children*. Ernest Nister Printed by E Nister at Nuremberg (Bavaria).



Photo book illustration of a boy teaching a younger boy and writing on a slate.

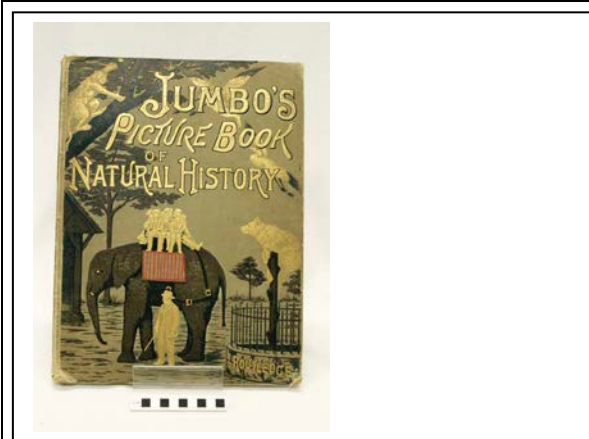
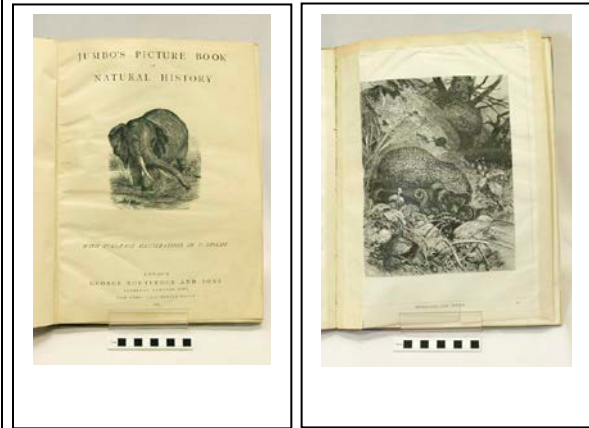


Figure 5. *Jumbo's Picture Book of Natural History* Uninscribed picture book given to all the children. Evidence of heavy use, wear and tear and repair.



Jumbo's Picture Book of Natural History with full-page illustrations by F. Specht George Routledge and Sons, London. 1883'. Bottom right: Photo of page with hedgehog and adder showing wear and repair.



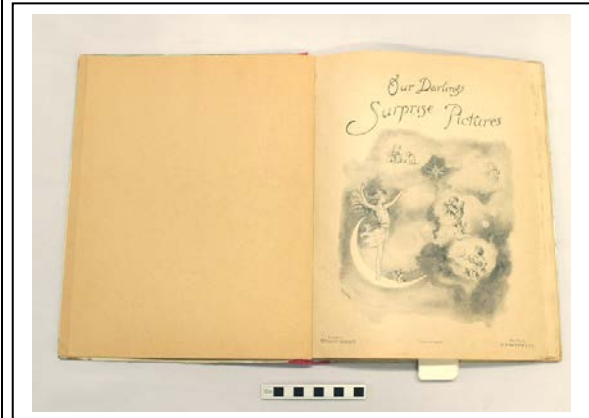
Figure 6. *Picture House With Ever so Many Stories* No date. Uninscribed Picture book given to all the children, evidence of heavy use, wear and tear and repair.



Title page, *Picture House With Ever so Many Stories*. Ernest Nister, London. Printed by E. Nister at Nuremburg (Bavaria)'. Bottom right: Photo of page with image showing children playing cat's cradle.



Figure 7. *Our Darlings Surprise Pictures* No date. Uninscribed picture book for all the children with moving sliding pictures. Evidence of heavy use wear and tear.



Title page, *Our Darling Surprise Pictures*. Ernest Nister London. Printed in Bavaria'.



Illustration before movement.



Illustration after movement.

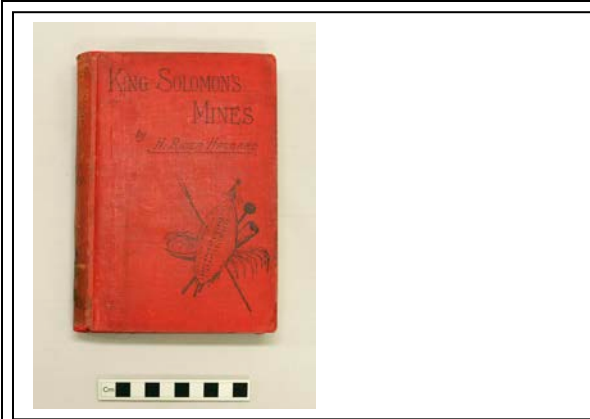
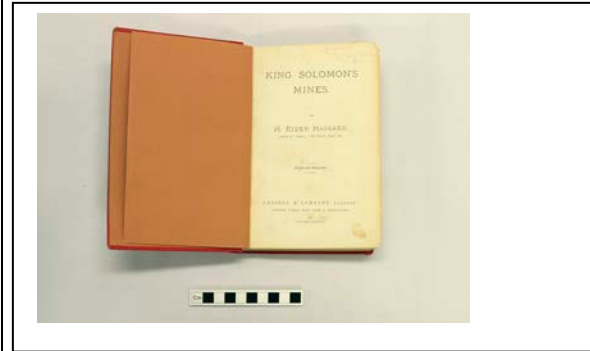


Figure 8. *King Solomon's Mines*. Classic book given to all the Gilbert children. Stained and well read.



Title page, *King Solomon's Mines*, H Rider Haggard Author of 'Dawn' 'The Witch's Head' Etc. Eighteenth Thousand, Cassell & Company, Limited, London 1886'.



Figure 9. *The Child's Pictorial*. A Magazine for children. Photo of two issues used by all the Gilbert children, well read, evidence of heavy use, wear and tear and repair.



Figure 10. Cover, *The Blue Bells on the Lea and Ten Other Tales in Verse*. 'Written by Juliana Horatia Ewing depicted by R Andre. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Lith in Holland by Emrik and Binger London'. Right: Inscription page, 'For all the little folks at Pewsey Vale from Mr and Mrs M.T Jacob Xmas 1890' Book given to all the children, book in bad state of disrepair, evidence of being well read, wear and tear and repair.



Next page illustration.

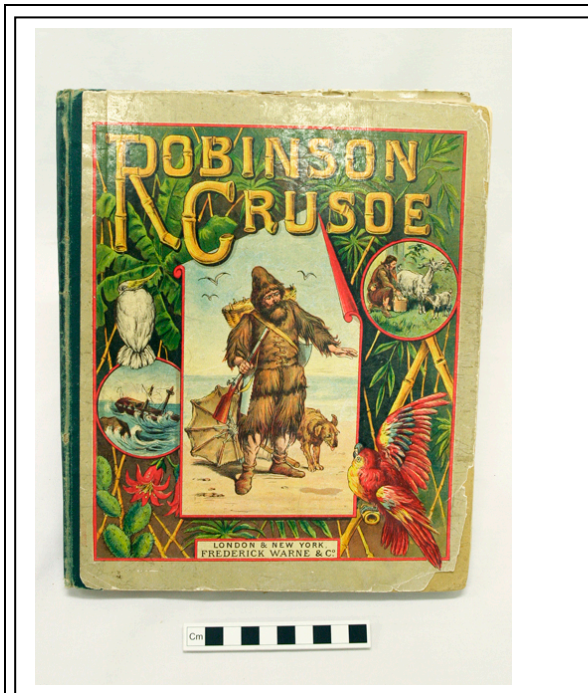
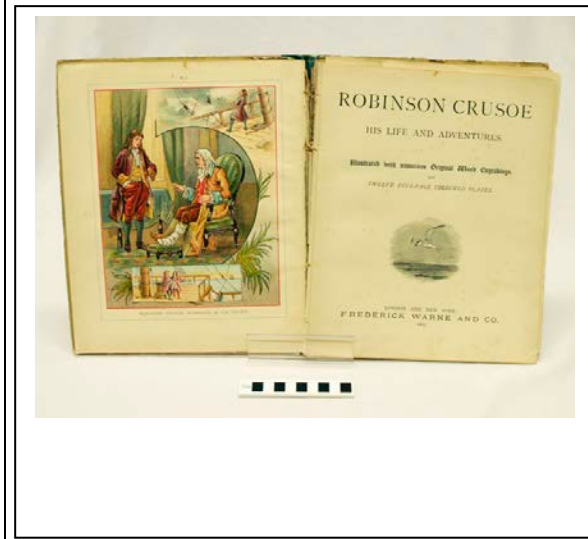


Figure 11. Cover, *Robinson Crusoe His Life and Adventures*. Classic novel given to all the children. Bad state of disrepair, evidence of being well read with wear and tear, pages falling out.



Title page, *Robinson Crusoe His Life and Adventures* Illustrated with numerous original wood engravings and Twelve full-page coloured plates. Defoe, Frederick Warne and Co. London 1887'.

Table 21. Summary of Books belonging to individual Gilbert children.

Summary of Books belonging to individual children				
Child	Year of Birth	Books (recreational)	Books (instructional)	Total No. of Books
Henry	1880	13	1	14
Joseph	1884	5	2	7
Dorothy	1885	1	1	2
William	1887	1	2	3
Marjory	1888	0	1	1
Thomas	1889	1	1	2
Catherine	1891	7	4	11
Emily	1892	2	1	3
John	1893	1	2	3

Table 22. Various toys and games belonging to the Gilbert children.

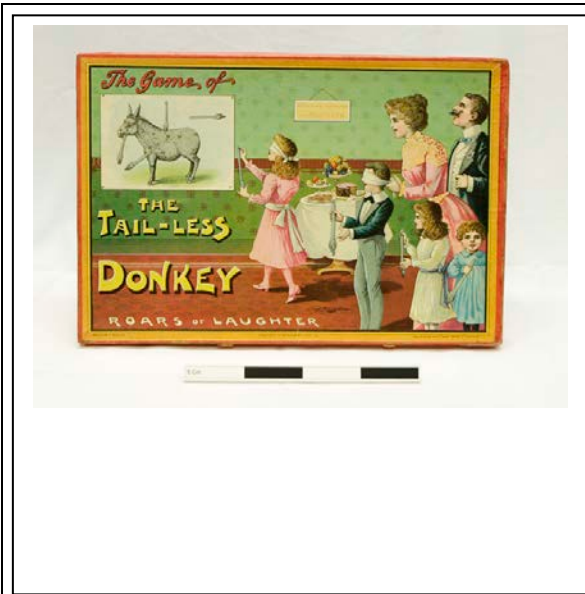


Figure 1. *The Game of the Tail-less Donkey*. Photo of cover of box. Game designed in England, manufactured at the 'Spear' Works in Bavaria.



Donkey poster the Tail-less Donkey game showing one of 6 cardboard tails included.

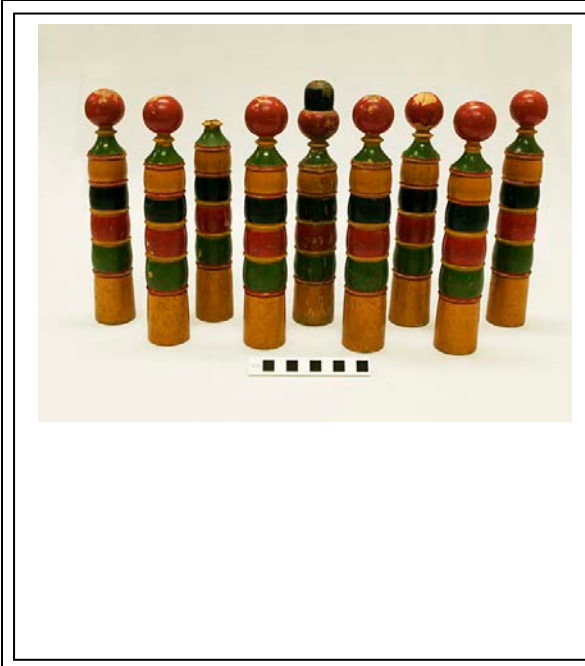


Figure 2. Nine multi coloured wooden skittles. One with top broken.



Figure 3. 'Multiphone' music box with 5 interchangeable barrels (5 tunes) patented in America and Europe.



Photo showing inside of music box.



Figure 4. Parquetry board with peg holes. Cribbage game board (ivory/bone inserts).



Figure 5. Domino playing cards. Dominos on one side and various coloured scenes on reverse.



Figure 6. *Little Sweethearts Pastime*. Cut out paper dolls. Made in Germany. Belonged to Catherine - name written in pencil on box.



Figure 7. *Upidee* Horse racing game. Complete set 'Upidee the Great Race Game. A most amusing game for children with many new and interesting variations'. Published by Hildesheimer & Faulkner, London E.C. Printed in Germany.



Figure 8. *Basket-Plaiting and Embroidering* O. Newmann & Co., London. Made in Germany. Empty box.



Figure 9. Three clay pipes. 2 with basket weave, one plain. Plain has text London, E. Bag.

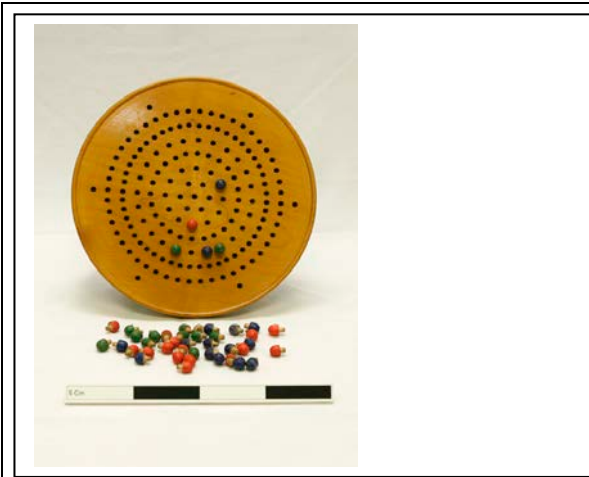


Figure 10. Solitaire game. Wooden disk with holes and coloured plugs.



Figure 11. *The Popular Game Annex Complete with Men, Board and Rules*. 'One Shilling'. Annex game with red and black cardboard counters.

Table 23. Various magic tricks belonging to Henry Gilbert.



Figure 1. Magic trick. Photo of side with flap missing.



Side with 4 flaps. Red folder with black linen spine, plain red one side, red and gold oriental pattern on reverse.

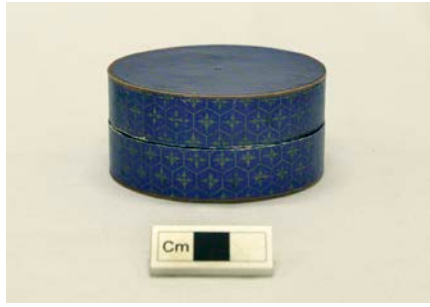


Figure 2. Magic trick. Blue and gold round box in 3 pieces.



Photo of box separated into its parts. Lid of box has round cork pieces fixed in position; container has 3 loose round pieces of cork, (belonged to Henry Gilbert).



Figure 3. Set of 6 nested round boxes,(belonged to Henry Gilbert).



Figure 4. Top left: Black trick vase (belonged to Henry Gilbert).



Black painted vase in two parts.

Table 24. Book about magic tricks owned by Henry Gilbert.

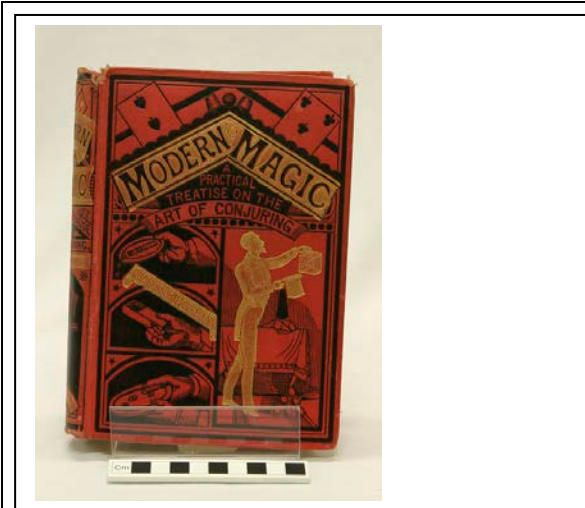
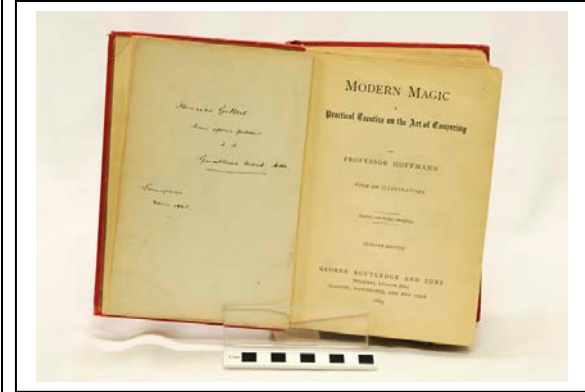
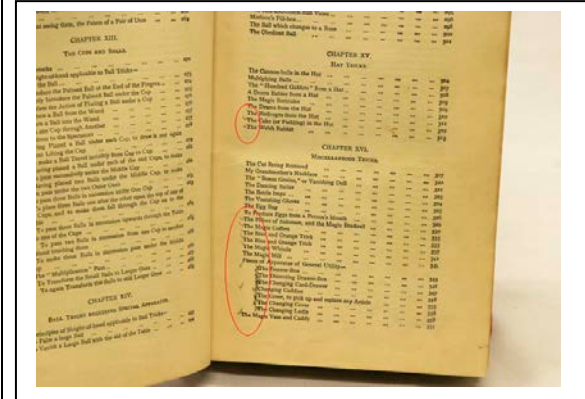


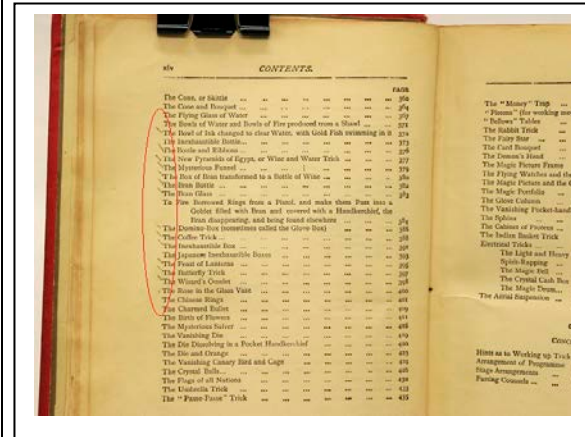
Figure 1. *Modern Magic a Practical Treatise on the Art of Conjuring*, by Professor Hoffmann with 318 illustrations seventh edition George Routledge and Sons Glasgow 1889. Inscription reads: Henrico Gilbert. boni operis promio d.d. Gualterus Ward A.M. Semaphore Xmas 1890. (Semaphore was the Prep school Henry attended, he was 10 years old when he received this book. There are pencil notations in the index next to various tricks.



Title Page with inscription.



Pencil notations in index (circled digitally in red).



Pencil notations in index (circled digitally in red).

Table 25. Various card games belonging to the Gilbert children.

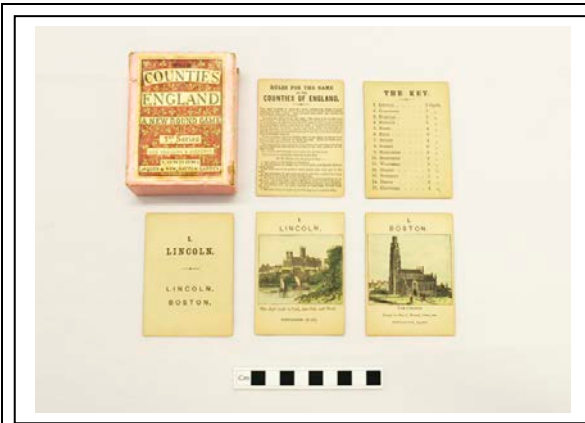


Figure 1. *The Counties of England* set of playing cards. ‘The Counties of England A New Round Game 1st Series one shilling & sixpence London Jaques & son, Hatton Garden’. (some cards are missing).



The Counties of England. ‘A New Round Game 3rd Series One Shilling & Sixpence London Jaques & son, Hatton Garden’. (complete).



Figure 2. *The Dickens Game*. Introducing Characters from the Novels of Charles Dickens Parker Brothers Publishers Salem, Mass. Cards for literary instruction of Charles Dickens and characters from his novels.



Figure 3. *Lexicon* ‘Waddingtons Lexicon Card Game The Game of Skill and Excitement and Interest’. Made in England by John Waddington Ltd Leeds.



Figure 4. Set of 100 cards depicting royal figures and their lines with between 3 and 7 cards for each royal noting a corresponding historical event.



Figure 4 cont.



Figure 5. *Anno Mundi A Scripture Recreation for the Young*. Card game for religious instruction 'One Shilling London, Jaques & Son. 199'.



Figure 6. *The National Gallery (British School) A New Game*. Card game for the instruction of art appreciation (published by J Jacques and son London).



Figure 7. *Runft – Quartett*. Set of 60 cards for the instruction of classical painters and their works (German).

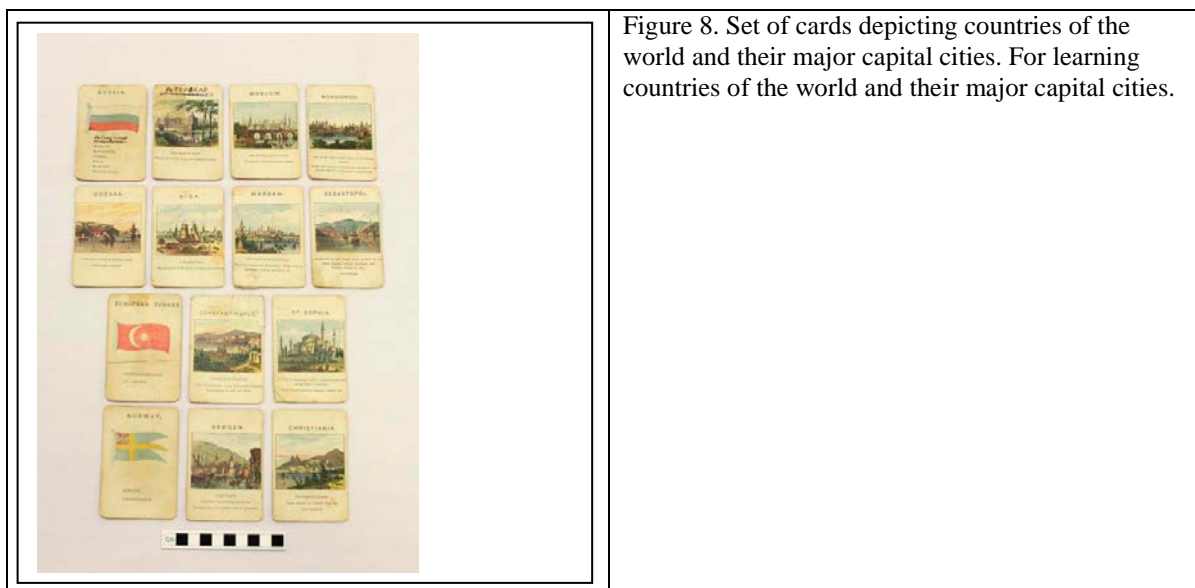


Figure 8. Set of cards depicting countries of the world and their major capital cities. For learning countries of the world and their major capital cities.

The Lucy Collection – History and Background of the Collection

Eliza Anne Everard (1823-1909), the daughter of Dr C.G. Everard visited Gloucester, England from South Australia in 1853. Here she met her cousin, Ralph Everard Lucy (1816-1908), whom she would marry later that year on 19th September. By the 1st of November, the couple were onboard the *Edouard* with their servant Polly bound for Adelaide. On the 24th of November 1854, Ralph and Eliza bore twins, Alfred Everard Lucy and Henry Lucy. However, Henry Lucy died at birth. The birth of Emily Lucy followed on the 24th August 1857. Another son who was unnamed and who only survived for a few days followed in 1859. The 17th of May 1860 saw the birth of William Everard Lucy (1860-1939) (see Figure 101) and their last child, Edith Annie Lucy was born on the 9th of May 1863. The family lived at ‘Alderley’ (renamed ‘Stonehenge’) Modbury, South Australia from 1873 until 1938. In 1892 William married Edith Davey and lived with his parents until he inherited the property in 1908. William and Edith bore four children between 1893 and 1905, Ivy (1893-1985), Ethel (1898-1981), Everard (1900-1980) and Evelyn (1905-1978) (Ireland 1993:17).

The Lucy Collection comprises an assortment of books, toys and games spanning two generations of Lucy children. Donations of the books and toys from family descendants occurred between July 1978 and March 1991 (Valerie Sitters pers comm. 2009, content services librarian State Library of South Australia). Two books from the original donation were not located, one falling outside the date range of the study. Only books and games falling within the date range of this study have been included. Some toys and games however were not available as they are on permanent display at the South Australian Library however

between 80-85% of the collection was made available. Most of the early books in the Lucy collection belonged to William Everard Lucy as a child (Table 26, Figures 1-9). These are identifiable by the inscriptions of W.E. Lucy or a variant. The inscriptions however are written in an adult hand (parent) with one book bearing a child's inscription/copy of his name in pencil (see Table 26 Figure 5).

The book titled, 'The Boy Joiner and Model Maker' bears direct evidence of being distinctly and personally handed down to the next generation, from William Everard Lucy to his son Everard Lucy (1900-1980). According to the inscription, William acquired it in 1877 when he was 17 years old and passed it to his son Everard Lucy (1900-1980) in 1913 when he was 13 years old (see Table 26 Figure 7). This suggests the book was highly significant to William as a boy and one, which he believed, would be of similar significance to his son. William's collection clearly reflects his youthful interest in recreational pursuits including puzzles and magic tricks however, not all the books were recreational - many were educational. Many of the educational books bear numerous pencil markings and inscriptions within the text and margins reflecting William's studious nature (see Table 26 Figures 2, 4-6). A book belonging to William's sister Emily, also bears numerous pencil notations (see Figures 104-106). This thirst for learning stems from William's grandparents. William's grandfather, William Lucy (1780-ca. 1840) was a private tutor for a number of families and kept a school at Wotton-Under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, England and his wife Elizabeth was a teacher (Ireland 1993:6). Ralph Everard Lucy, would often receive parcels of books from his mother in England. In 1857 Ralph and his wife, Eliza, wrote to his mother thanking her for the books and pictures she had sent to William's older brother Alfred Everard Lucy

... the books Alfred was quite delighted with "the house that Jack built" pleased him much but we think 'the little old woman' took his fancy most he seemed to think it funny that she should have to take physic: "the Illustrated Alphabet" is still in good preservation though he uses it every day having learnt all his letters but six from it... Should you meet with any Nursery Rhymes will you please copy them however trifling as we should be glad of them (Lucy 1857. Item PRD459/5 State Library of South Australia).

The extract suggests that Alfred was a studious child. Moreover, the request for Nursery Rhymes 'however trifling', suggests that the parents were just as concerned with developing their children's imaginations as they were with their academic development. This is also evident by the mix of recreational books and games and educational books within the collection.

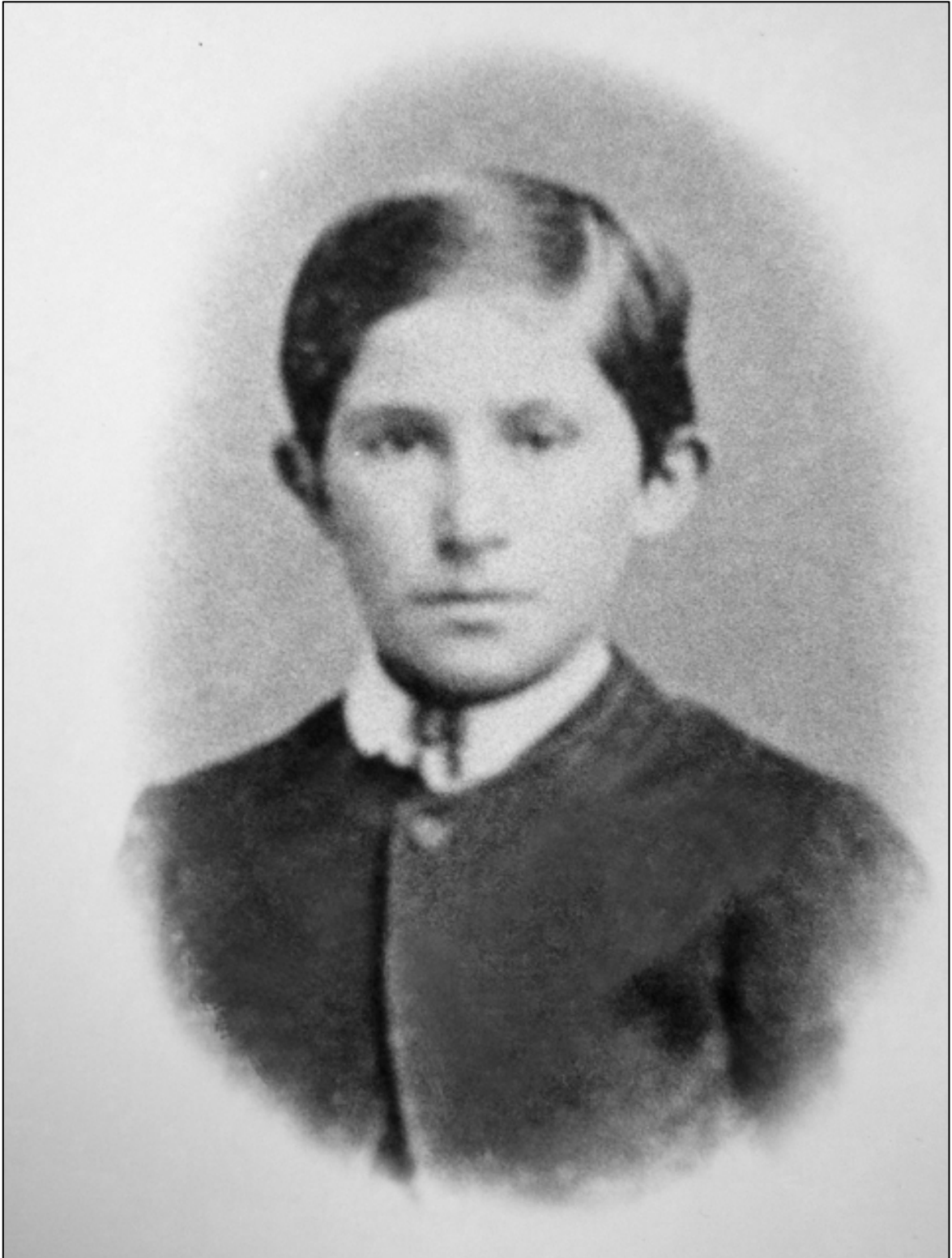


Figure 101. William Everard Lucy (1860-1939) (Photo courtesy of State Library of South Australia).

Table 26. Books and puzzles belonging to William Everard Lucy.

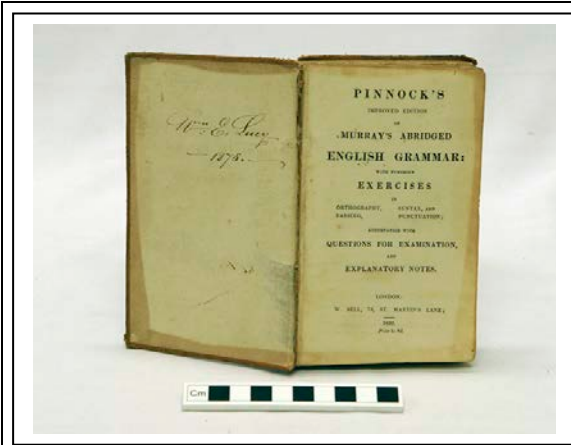


Figure 1. *Pinnock's Improved Edition of Murray's Abridged English Grammar: with numerous exercises in orthography, syntax and parsing, punctuation accompanied with questions for examination and explanatory notes.* W. Sell London 1830. Inscription reads: W E Lucy 1875. Well used, general soiling, fragile spine.

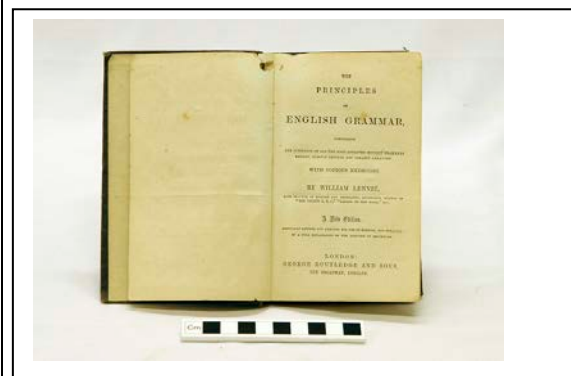
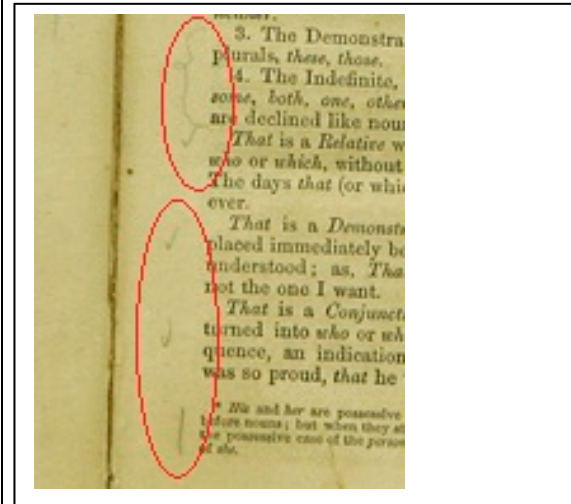


Figure 2. *The Principles of English Grammar: The Substance of all the most approved English Grammars extant, briefly defined and clearly arranged. With copious exercises by William Lennie. A New Edition.* George Routledge and Sons London (no date). Book shows evidence of extensive use and is falling apart at the spine. Numerous pencil notations throughout book.



Inscription reads: William E Lucy May 23rd 1870.



Page 17 showing pencil notations including ticks, lines and brackets (circled digitally in red).

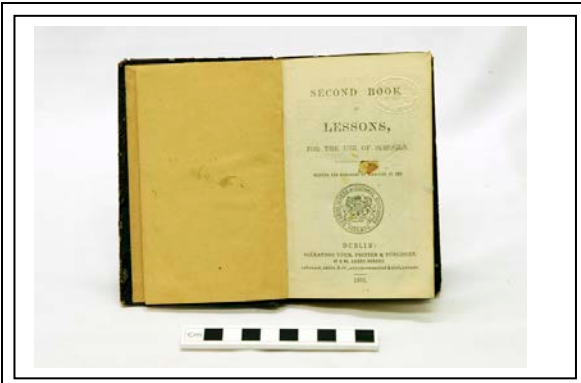
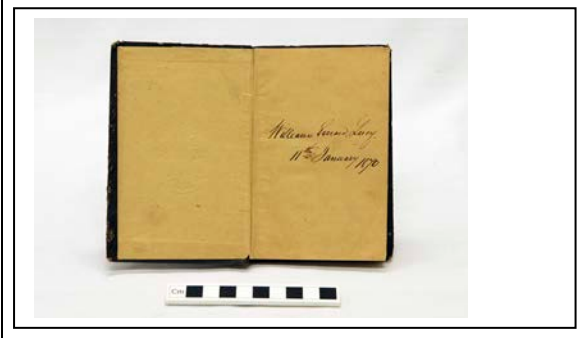


Figure 3. *Second Book of Lessons for Use of Schools*, Printed and published by directions of the Commissioner of National Education Ireland, Dublin. Alexander Thom Printer and Publisher 1869.



Inscription Reads: William Everard Lucy 11th January 1870. No obvious marks.

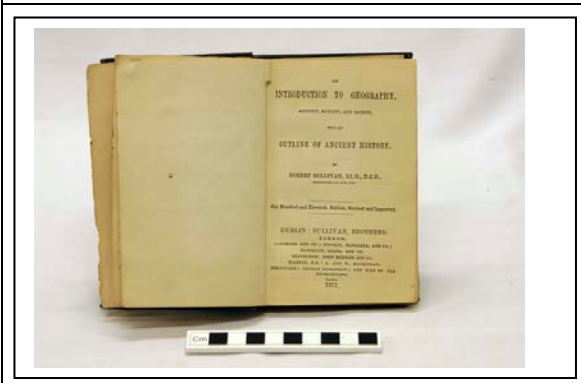
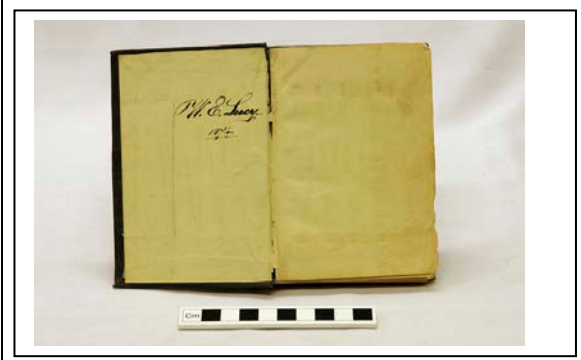
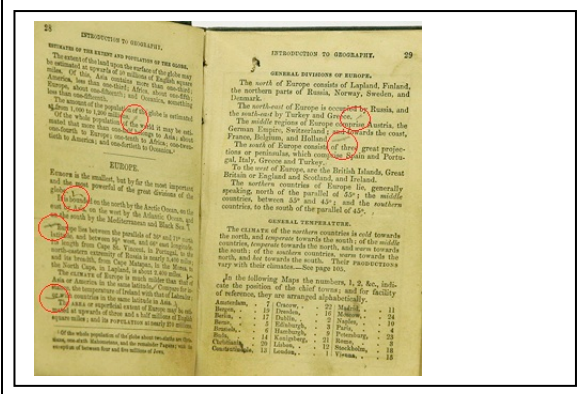


Figure 4. *An Introduction to Geography Ancient, Modern and Sacred with an outline of ancient history* by Robert Sullivan LL.D TCD Barrister at Law etc. One hundred and eleventh edition revised and improved Dublin: Sullivan Brothers London. 1872.



Inscription reads: W E Lucy 1874.



Pages 28-29 showing several passages underlined and ticked in pencil (circled digitally in red). Book shows evidence of heavy use.

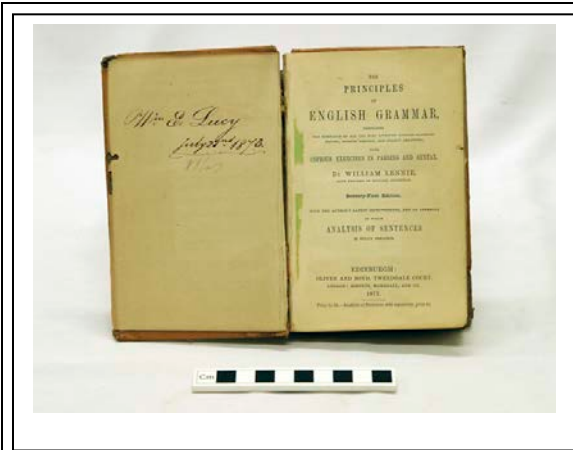
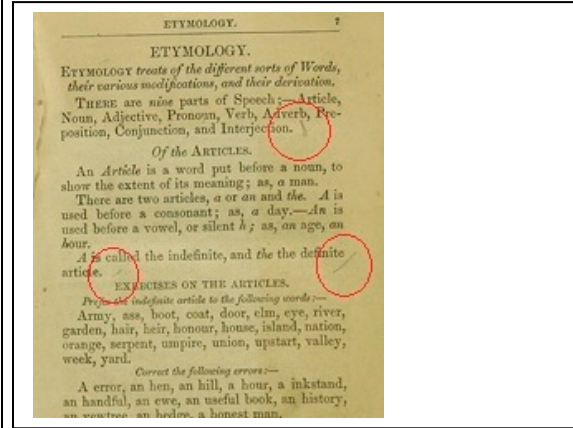
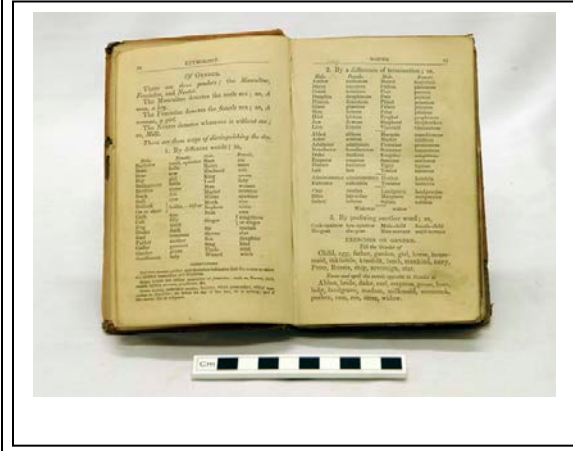


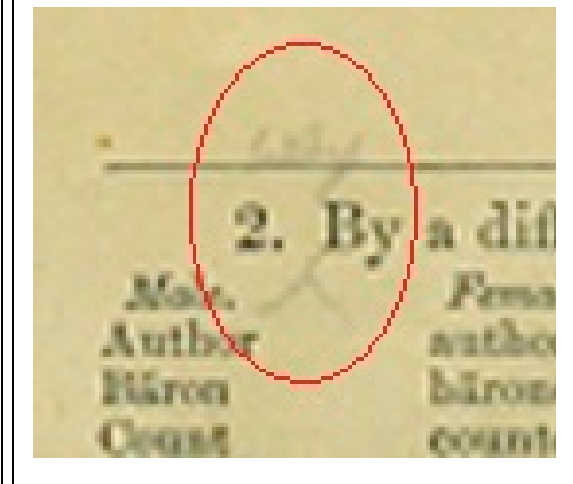
Figure 5. *The Principles of English Grammar*. Comprising the substance of all the most approved English grammars extant, briefly defined and neatly arranged; with copious exercises in parsing and syntax by William Lennie late teacher of English Edinburgh Seventy-First Edition, with the author's latest improvements and an appendix in which analysis of sentences is fully treated. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd. 1872. Inscription reads: W E Lucy July 22nd 1873 with a childish W E Lucy written below the date in pencil.



Evidence of heavy use with several pages missing. Pencil markings on page 7 (circled digitally in red).



Page 12 and 13. The word 'why' is written in pencil in three separate places, next to each example of distinguishing sex in the English language.



Close up of one example of the word 'why' written in pencil on page 13 (circled digitally in red).

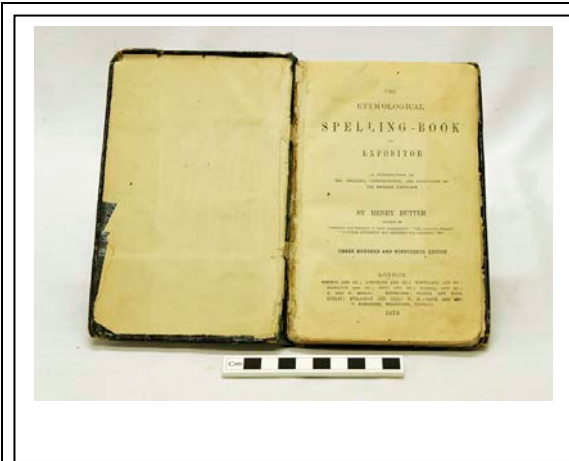
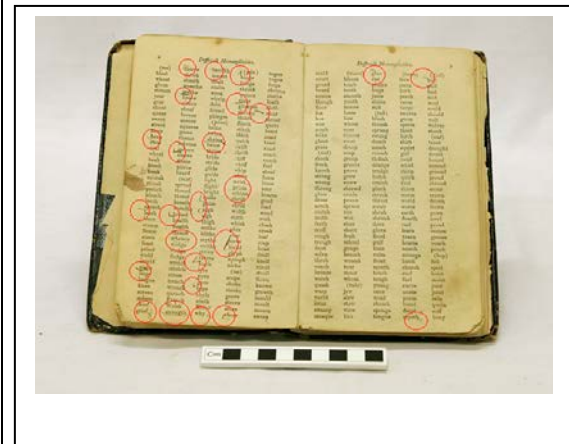


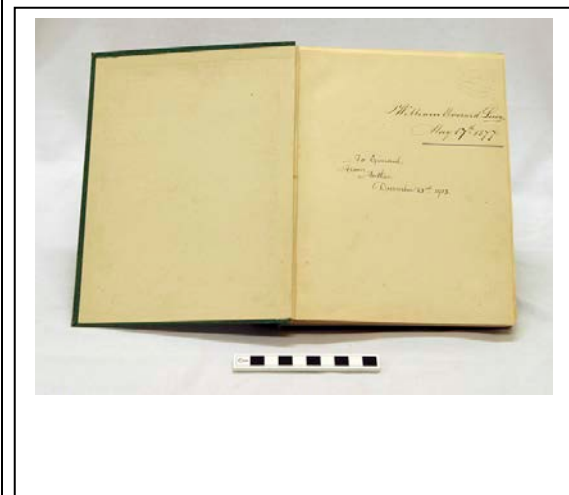
Figure 6. *The Etymological Spelling Book and Expositor: An Introduction to the Spelling, Pronunciation and derivation of the English Language.* By Henry Butter. Three Hundred and Nineteenth Edition. London. 1870. Simpkin and Co. Book shows extensive wear with numerous pencil notation marks.



Page 8 and 9 showing pencil notations (circled digitally in red).



Figure 7. *The Boy Joiner and Model Maker* containing practical directions for making numerous articles for use and ornament, mechanical toys, models, with descriptions of various tools and the method of using them. By Ellis A Davidson with nearly 200 illustrations Cassell Petter & Galpin London 1874.



Inscription: William Everard Lucy May 17th 1877. To Everard from father December 23rd 1913. The book was originally given to William when he was 17 years old and was handed down to his son when he was 13 years old. Evidence of extensive use with torn pages and worn spine. No markings.

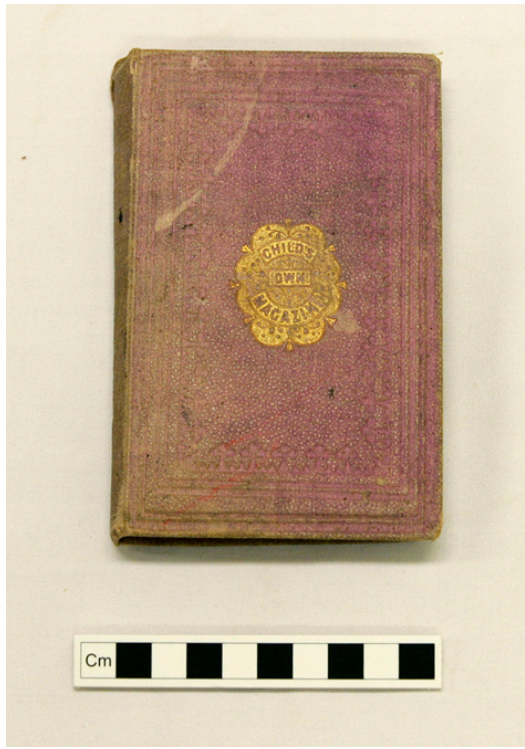


Figure 8. *The Child's Own Magazine for 1866*, Sunday School Union London.



Inscription reads: William Everard Lucy 17th May 1867 from dear Mamma.



Book cover and spine is heavily worn and damaged. Well read and stained.

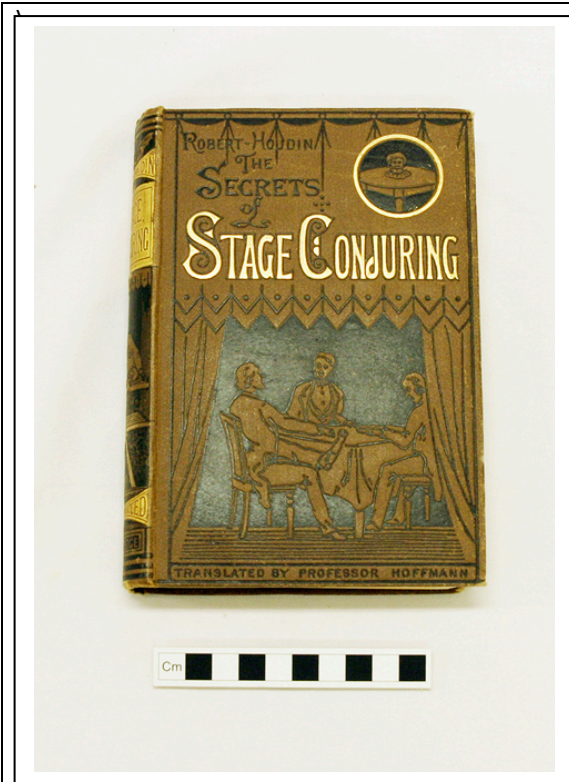
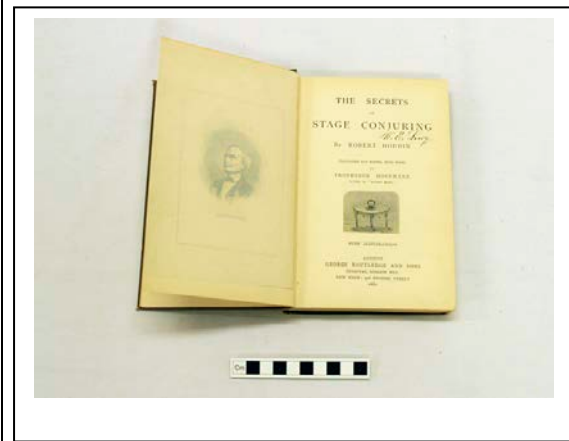


Figure 9. *The Secrets of Stage Conjuring* by Robert Houdin translated and edited with notes by Professor Hoffmann author of “Modern Magic” with illustrations George Routledge and Sons London 1881.



Inscription reads: W E Lucy. Book is in good condition.



Figure 10. *Arithmetical Puzzles; Mechanical Puzzles; Miscellaneous Puzzles*; three titles by Professor Hoffmann, F Warne & Co New York dating from 1895-1898. Well used and heavily damaged.

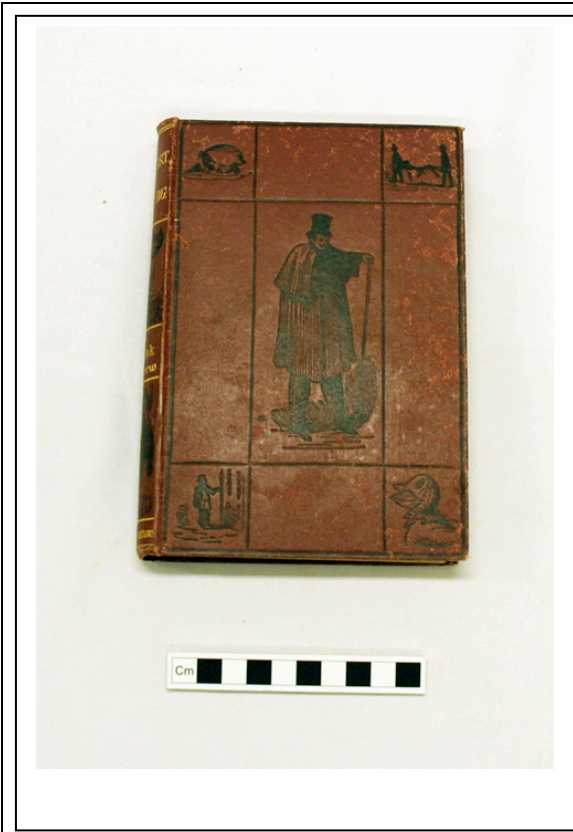
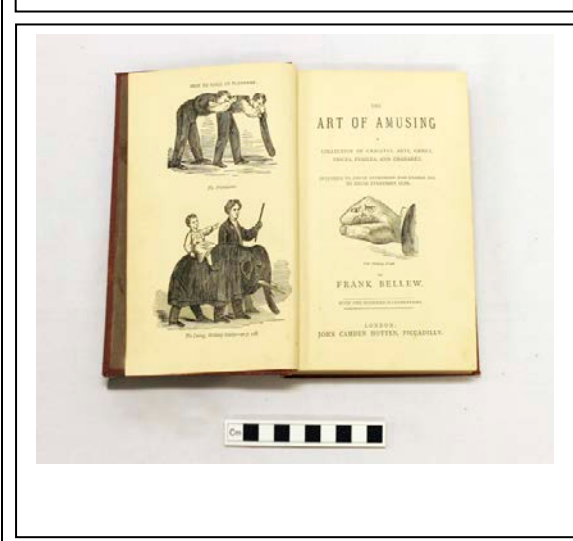


Figure 11. *The Art of Amusing* a collection of graceful arts, games, tricks, puzzles and charades. Intended to amuse everybody and enable all to amuse everybody else. By Frank Bellew. With two Hundred Illustrations John Camdem London. Some pages torn.



Inscription reads: William Everard Lucy Jan 7 1875.



Title page and illustration.

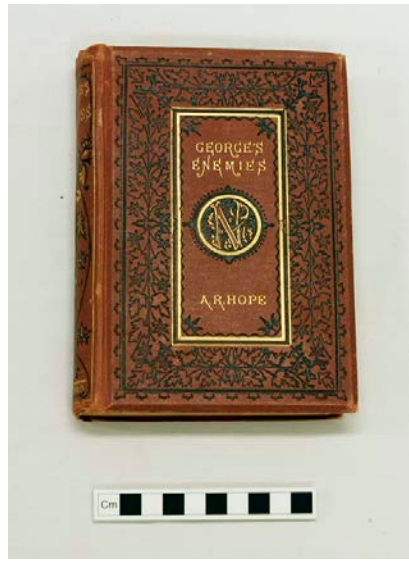
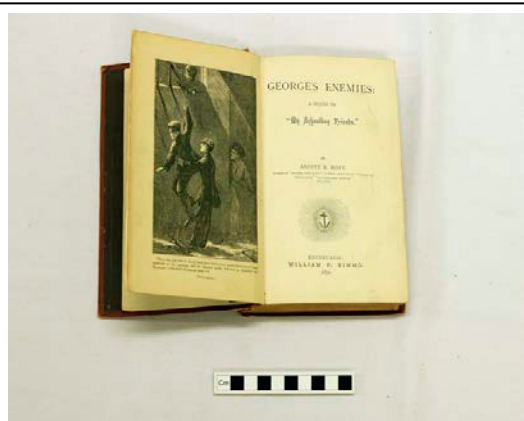


Figure 12. *George's Enemies A Sequel to My Schoolboy Friends*. Book awarded to William Everard Lucy. Inscription reads: Presented to W E Lucy 17th May 1875. Book is in good condition.



Title page of *George's Enemies A Sequel to My Schoolboy Friends* by Ascott R Hope William P Nimmo Edinburgh 1872.

One of the oldest books in the collection belonged to William's father Ralph Everard Lucy when he was five years old, *The Dew-Drop; Or The Summer Morning's Walk* by F.B. Vaux, published in London by Darton, Harvey and Darton in 1816 and is inscribed 'Ralph Everard Lucy – 1st July, 1821' (see Figures 102-103). Only one book is identified as belonging to William's sister Emily (see Figure 104-106). No other books are identified as belonging to Alfred or Edith. Two books were without inscriptions either because there were none or pages were missing (see Table 27). This suggests the possibility that these books were for the use of all the children. The Lucy collection comprises many books that were given as awards to William's four children for scholarly achievement at school or Sunday school (see Table 28 Figures 2, 5-6, and 8-10). Indeed this trend began with William receiving books as awards also. Ivy (1893-1985) (see Table 28 Figures 1-4), Ethel (1891-1981) (see Table 28 Figures 5-6), Everard (1900-1980) (see Table 28 Figures 7-8) and Evelyn (1905-1978) (see Table 28 Figures 9-10) all owned books and all received books as awards (Ireland 1993).

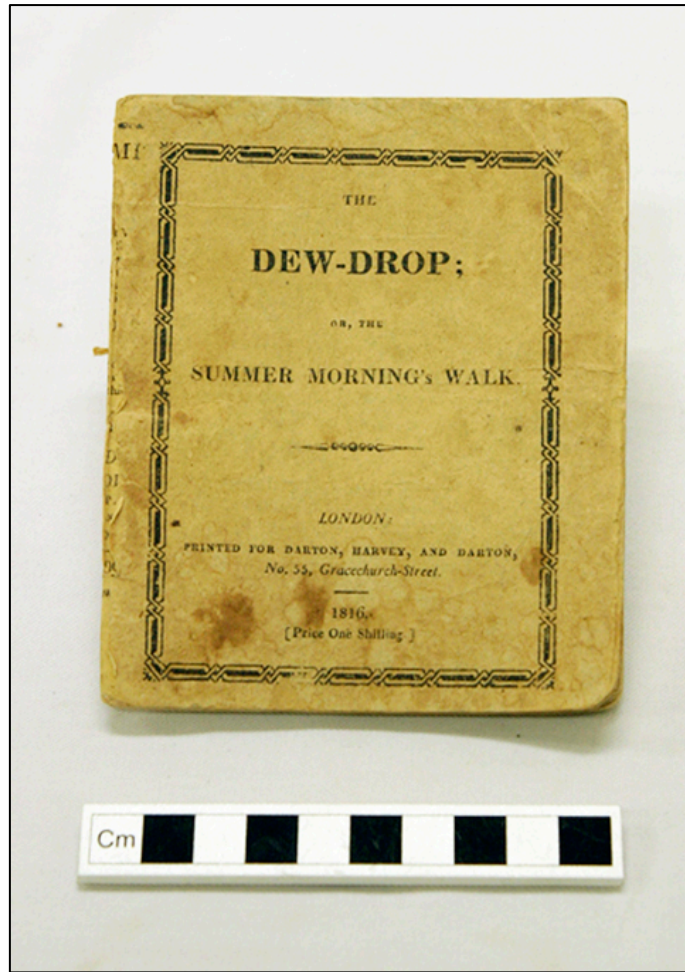


Figure 102. *The Dew-Drop; or the Summer Morning's Walk* by F.B.Vaux. London: Printed for Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1816.

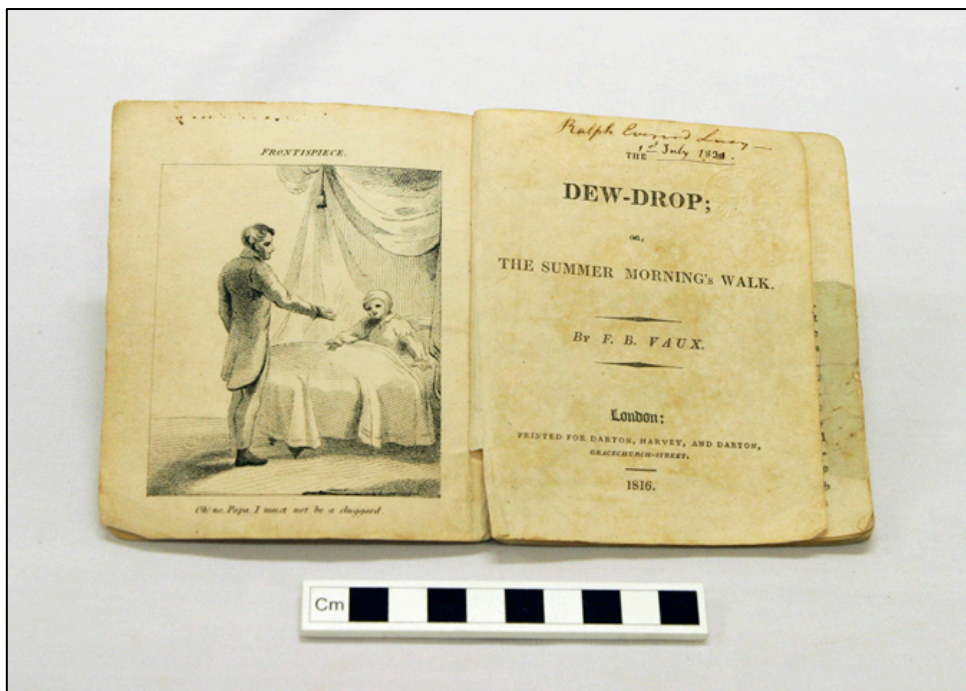


Figure 103. *The Dew-Drop; or the Summer Morning's Walk*. Inscription reads: Ralph Everard Lucy 1st July 1821.



Figure 104. Book belonging to Emily Lucy. Pinnocks *Catechism of the History of England from the Earliest Period to the reign of George the fourth*, Printed for Geo B Whittaker London 1822. Inscription reads: Miss Lucy May 1866. Well used pages, some pages missing and heavily soiled. Page 29 has hand written annotation (1649) written in ink. Book has numerous pencil marks.



Figure 105. Inside title page of *Catechism of the History of England from the Earliest Period to the reign of George the fourth*. Inscription reads: Miss Lucy May 1866.

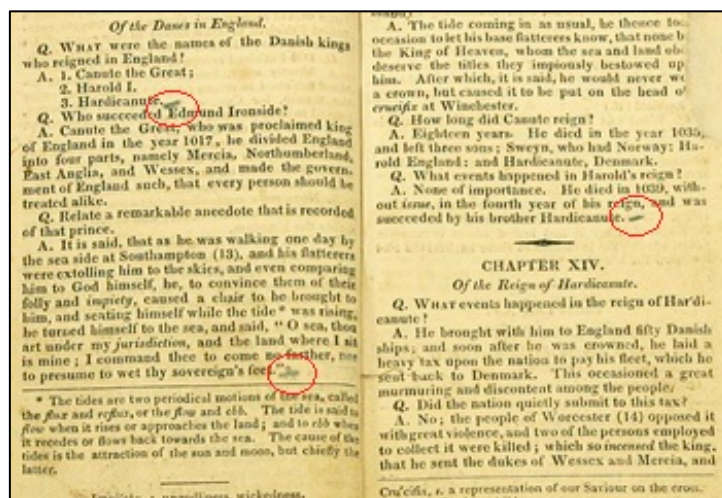
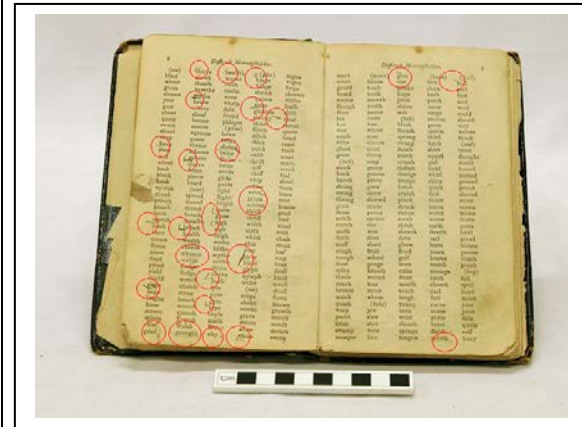


Figure 106. Pencil notations (circled digitally in red) in the *Catechism of the History of England from the Earliest Period to the reign of George the fourth*.

Table 27. Uninscribed books belonging to the Lucy Family.



Figure 1. *The Etymological Spelling-Book and Expositor An introduction to the spelling, pronunciation, derivation of the English language* by Henry Butter. Three Hundred and Nineteenth Edition. Simpkin and co, London 1870. No inscription, pages missing. Book shows evidence of heavy use and wear. Many pages have pencil notations and underlining.



Photograph of pages 8-9 showing pencil notations and underlining (circled digitally in red).



Figure 2. *Children's Games with Verses*, The Star Series of Toy Books, Designed in England by Gottschalk Dreyfuss and Davis London, Printed in Bavaria. Extremely well used and damaged, stitching deteriorated, pages torn, no inscription or date.



Inside page with illustration.

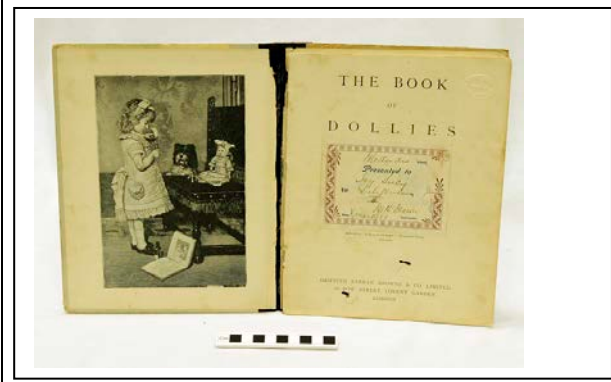
Table 28. Books belonging to William Gilbert's four children.



Figure 1. Book belonging to Ivy Lucy when she was four years old. *Puss in Boots*, Charles Perrault 1897. Inscription reads: Ivy Lucy Xmas 97. Evidence of very heavy use, very damaged.



Figure 2. Book belonging to Ivy Lucy. *The Book of Dollies* (no author) London, Griffith Farren Browne and Co Ltd.



Inscription reads: Medindie School Presented to Ivy Lucy for diligence II M H Brown Head Teacher Xmas 1901.



Figure 3. Book belonging to Ivy Lucy given to her as a Christmas gift in 1893, the year she was born. *Dear Old Santa Claus* London, Raphael Tuck and Sons. No publication date.

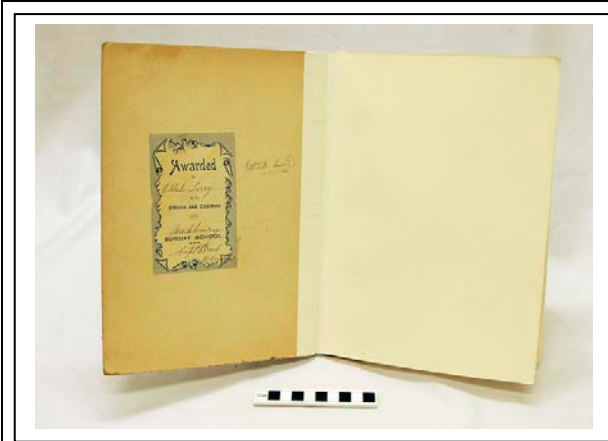


Figure 5. cont. Inscription reads: Awarded to Ethel Lucy by the officers and teachers of the Modbury Sunday School Sept 30 1906 and 16 Sundays.

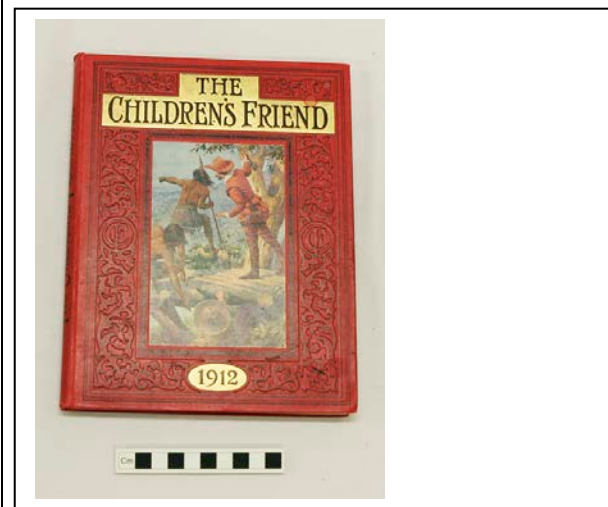
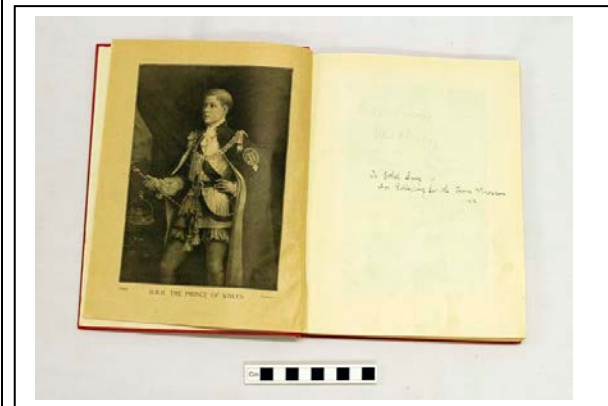
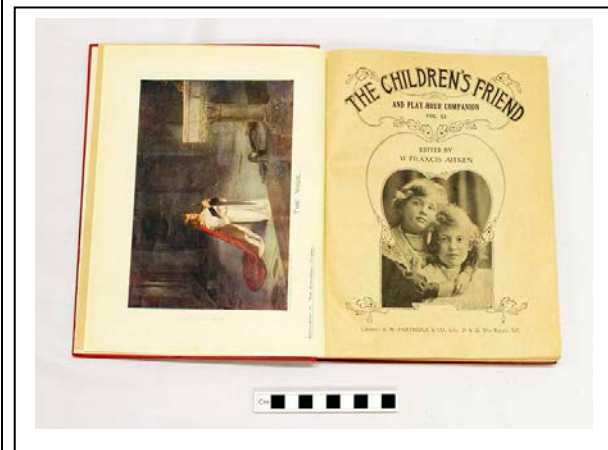


Figure 6. Book awarded to Ethel Lucy when she was 14 years old. *The Children's Friend and Play Hour Companion* Vol. I, Edited by W Francis Aitken S W Partridge & Co London.



Inscription reads: To Ethel Lucy for collecting for the Home Mission 1912. In pencil – Ethel Lucy Modbury.



Title page with illustration.



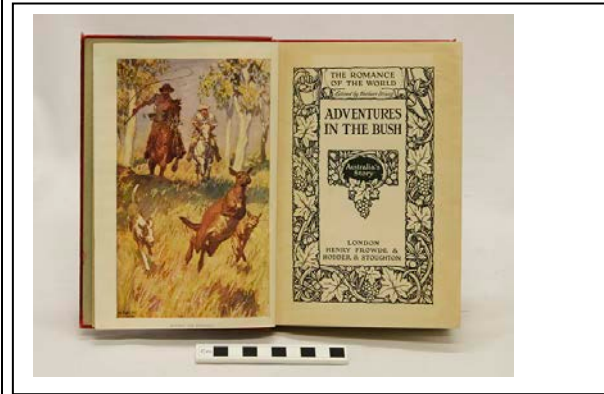
Figure 7. Assortment of books belonging to Everard Lucy. From left to right: *A Strange Craft and Its Wonderful Voyages* by Edward S Ellis London Cassell and Company 1909. Inscription reads: Awarded to Evarard Lucy Modbury Methodist SS. October 4th 1914, 220 marks 45 days. *Teddy's Button* by Amy Le Feuvre London Religious Tract Society (no publication date). Incriptions reads: Presented to Everard Lucy by the officers and teachers of the Modbury Sunday School. Sept 26 1909 73 marks. *The Little Folks Nature Book* by S H Hamer, London, Cassell and Company (no publication date). Inscription reads: Presented to Everard Lucy by the Officers and teachers of the Modbury Methodist Sunday School Oct 9th 1910 36 days 148 marks. *Lost in the Forbidden Land* by Edward S Ellis London Cassell and Company 1909. Inscription reads: Presented to Everard Lucy from the Modbury Methodist SS 12.10.13.



Figure 8. Book belonging to Everard Lucy. *Romance of the World II Australia's Story. Adventures in the Bush*. Edited by Herbert Strang, London Henry Frowde & Hodder & Stoughton (no publication date).



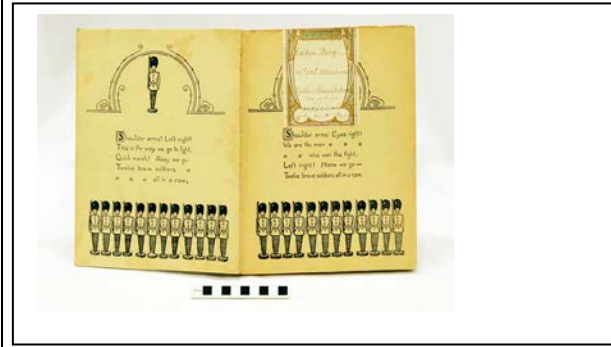
Inscription reads: Awarded to Everard Lucy for regular attendance Gilles Plains Dec 19,12 H W Richardson HD teacher.



Title page with illustration.



Figure 9. Book belonging to Evelyn Lucy. *Rub-A-Dub-Dub*, or to London town, no imprint.



Inscription reads: Awarded to Evelyn Lucy for good attendance Gilles Plains School Dec 19th /12. H W Richardson Signed HD Teacher.

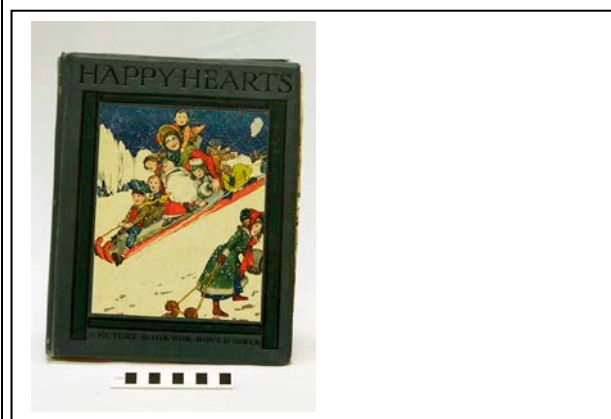
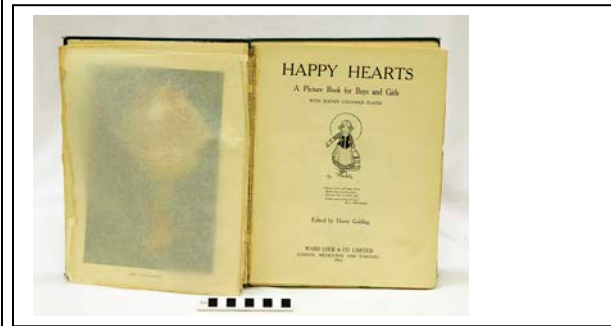


Figure 10. Book belonging to Evelyn Lucy. *Happy Hearts A Picture Book for Boys and Girls* edited by Harry Golding, London Ward Lock & Co 1912.



Inscription reads: Presented to Evelyn Lucy from The Modury Methodist SS 12-10-13. Book shows evidence of extensive wear and tear.



Title page showing worn fly page and spine.

The Lucy Collection includes a variety of classic Colonial era toys and games. One of the oldest items in the collection is a wooden paint box dating to 1868 containing paints, paint pots, brushes, crayons with a lift out tray (see Figure 107) however, it is not certain who this paint box belonged to. The collection also includes a slate which was owned by William Everard Lucy as a boy which has his name burnt in the timber frame (see Figure 108) and a series of magic tricks (see Figure 109).



Figure 107. Wooden paint box containing paints, paint pots, brushes crayons with lift out try. Label reads: 'the great merit of these colours is that they are warranted not to contain any poisonous matter.' Inscription on bottom of box: 'A E Lucy Nov 24 1868'.



Figure 108. Slate belonging to William Everard Lucy. 'W E Lucy' burned in the timber frame at the top.

Coupled with the various wooden and metal magic tricks and puzzle keys William owned are books about magic titled ‘The Secrets of Stage Conjuring’(see Table 26 Figure 9) and the ‘The Art of Amusing’ (see Table 26 Figure 11) a collection which clearly represents William’s love and fascination for magic.



Figure 109. Assorted wooden magic tricks and puzzle keys owned by William Everard Lucy as a boy

William’s love of books was passed down to his children and he and his wife Edith ensured that the children were well read by providing educational books as well as recreational books. Life for the Lucy children was balanced between education, work and play. Their eldest daughter, Ivy recalls their life at ‘Alderley’. Ivy states that her sisters, Ethel and Evelyn and her brother, Everard attended the Modbury primary school and helped out on the farm before and after school. They fed the horses and milked the cows (Bayfield 1984). Ivy also recalls specific toys and games that their parents provided (see Table 29).

Table 29. Toys and games belonging to second generation Lucy family children.



Figure 1. 24 red and white chess men. Wooden box with Chinese lettering (Chinese pieces).



Figure 2. *The Game of Time*. Made by National (Australian Co, in Victoria) with 4 lead game pieces in the shape of father time.



Figure 3. Double sided board game. *Mother Goose's Christmas Party* with central metal spinner (McLoughlin Bros New York 1904). Reverse side Jack the Giant Killer.



Reverse side of double-sided board game. *Jack the Giant Killer*.



Figure 4. *The New Game of Fox and Chicken* board Game. Heavily used.



Figure 5. Game of *Checkers*. Complete set of The Embossing Company's Checkers Yorkite 1 1/8 Made in the USA.



Figure 6. *Mrs Grundy The Comical Ring Toss* Made at the Spear Works in Bavaria.



Figure 7. *Peter Coddle's Trip to New York*. 'Being a Whimsical wonderful account of what happened to him on his journey'.



Figure 8. *The Standard Games*. 'This is the best box of parlour games' Designed in England Manufactured 'Spear Works in Bavaria'.



Figure 9. Table Croquet game, Bavaria J W S & S.



Figure 10. Stereoscopic viewer. 'The Fine-Art Photographer's Publishing Company London'. (1902).



Side view of Stereoscopic viewer.

Of special interest are a range of mechanical German made (ca.1895) wind-up toys that their father provided (see Figures 110-112). Ivy recalls

we lived far away from any shops and as it took several hours to get to Adelaide by horse and sulky we rarely went there, but sometimes Father brought home as a treat a mechanical toy or a special game. We could read only when the jobs were completed and we had washed our hands – but not on Sundays. The mechanical toys were brought out on very special occasions and used under the strictest supervision (Bayfield 1984).

Because of the careful handling of the toys and games, particularly the wind-up toys, the toys and other games in the Lucy collection are excellently preserved. For example, most of the toys and games are in their original boxes.



Figure 110. Clockwork beetle in original box dated ca. 1895, given to the Lucy Children by their father. H A A & S London, made in Germany.



Figure 111. Clockwork crocodile dated ca. 1895, given to the Lucy Children by their father. H A A & S London, made in Germany.



Figure 112. Clockwork seal dated ca. 1895, given to the Lucy Children by their father. H A A & S London, made in Germany.

Unitarian Collection – History and Background of the Collection

On the 2nd October 1859, the Children's Library of the Unitarian Church of South Australia, believed by the State Library of South Australia, to be the first Children's Library in Australia, was formed 'by the exertions of the ladies of the Church' (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: The Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). The Library began with 109 volumes and 21 subscribers. The aim of the library was in 'the hope of stimulating a desire for reading amongst the children of the congregation' (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). Moreover, the library's creators hoped that it would 'long continue to form a bond of union with those to whom the future of the Church [would] be entrusted' (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). Taking great care in selecting the books, their doctrinal and moral tendencies were of highest priority (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). The collection provides a rare glimpse of a functioning 19th century children's library.

However, whilst some books are religious, a large number combined both amusement and instruction (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). In 1861 the annual report showed an increasing membership 'affording national amusement and healthy intellectual occupation to the younger members of the Church' (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online). Usage figures recorded in the annual reports clearly reflect the library's sustained attractiveness with the congregation's youth. Despite its popularity, by 1864 subscriptions had reduced from 105 to 55. Library catalogues were issued every few years despite such a significant drop in subscriptions. By 1877, the Library was self-supporting continuing to operate successfully for many more decades (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online).

The collection was at its richest between 1859 and the First World War. The library began to decline with fewer books added due to the opening of more libraries in Adelaide. The library comprising 700 books was closed in 1969 and was placed into storage for 21 years before

being incorporated into the Children's Literature Research Collection upon donation to the State Library of South Australia in 1990 (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online).

The hand written inscription 'Unitarian Christian Church Children's Library' distinguishes all Unitarian Church Children's library books (see Figure 113 for a sample of the books in the collection). They also bear an inked number corresponding to each book's number in the catalogues (Valerie Sitters, Content Services Librarian, State Library of South Australia, pers comm. 2010). Many of the books show heavy signs of use wear, some having lost title and other pages. Many, however, are in good condition due to protection by the holland covers made by the library committee to help preserve them. These unsightly, uninviting and greying covers, with the book numbers inked in black on the spine, aided in extending the life of the books (Valerie Sitters, Content Services Librarian, State Library of South Australia, pers comm. 2009).

Well represented in the Unitarian Church Children's Library is the popular 19th century science fiction author, Jules Verne. A copy of his novel *Dropped from the Clouds* (see Figure 114-116) shows the signs of heavy use wear contributed by many readers. The novel is part 1 of *The Mysterious Island*, which is a sequel to *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, the story of Captain Nemo and his submarine 'Nautilus'.



Figure 113. A selection of books from the Unitarian Collection (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia).

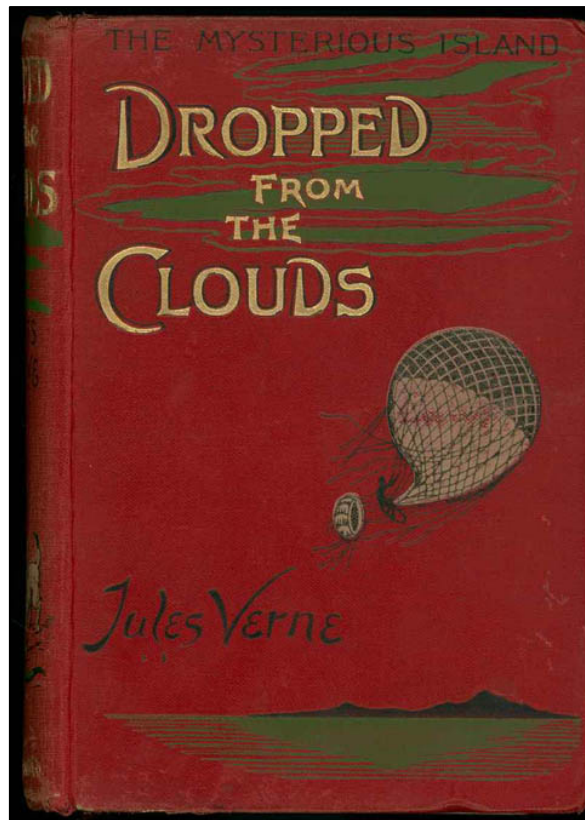


Figure 114. An example of a children's classic novel, *Dropped from the Clouds (the Mysterious Island: Part 1)* by Jules Verne.

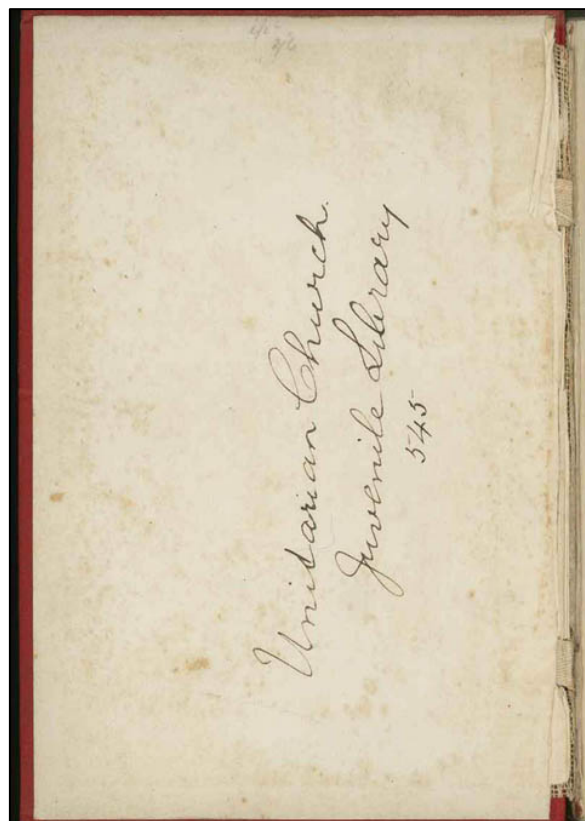


Figure 115. Inside cover inscription in *Dropped from the Clouds (the Mysterious Island: Part 1)* by Jules Verne.

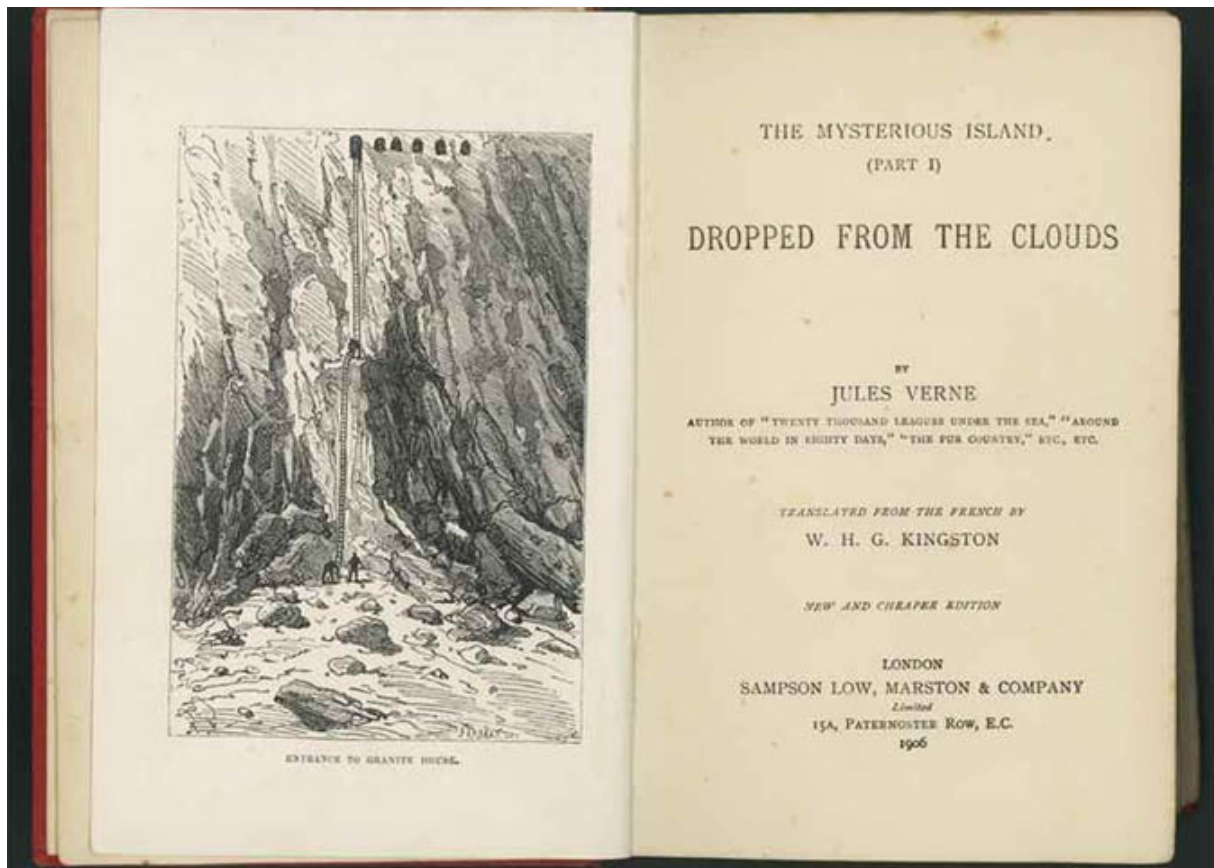


Figure 116. Title page in *Dropped from the Clouds (the Mysterious Island: Part 1)* by Jules Verne.

Western Australia

Clarence/Peel Town – History and Background of the Site

Between 15 December 1829 and 14 May 1830, three ships sailed from England carrying between them over 500 men, women and children destined for the shores of Cockburn Sound Western Australia (Burke 2007:145; Burke *et al.* 2010:5). Thomas Peel and his partner Solomon Levey, a prominent merchant in England, had negotiated an exchange with the Colonial Office in order to establish a large-scale settlement in the Swan River Colony (Burke 2007:147; Burke *et al.* 2010:5). The Colonial Office allocated 50,000 acres to Peel in exchange for the transportation of goods, equipment, livestock and labour to the colony. However, this was conditional upon Peel's arrival in the colony with a large number of immigrants and substantial assets before 1 November 1829 (Burke 2007:147; Burke *et al.* 2010:5). The first of Peel's ships, the *Gilmore*, carrying 166 settlers, arrived six weeks late on 15 December 1829 (Burke 2007:147; Burke *et al.* 2010:6). Peel's late arrival of the *Gilmore* resulted in Peel's allocation of land being forfeited by the colony's Lieutenant Governor James Stirling who had already allocated Peel's allotment due to demand. Peel was allocated

another 250,000 acres however until new arrangements could be finalised between Peel and Stirling, the passengers of the *Gilmore* had no choice but to make camp in the sand hills off Cockburn Sound (Burke 2007:147; Burke *et al.* 2010:6). The temporary settlement expanded on the 12 February 1830 with the addition of 176 colonists from the second ship, the *Hooghly* (Burke 2007:148; Burke *et al.* 2010:6). Two months later on the 14 May, settlement numbers increased further with the arrival of 152 colonists on the third ship, the *Rockingham* (Burke 2007: 148; Burke *et al.* 2010:6;) The stranded settlers established a camp that was to be their home for the next eight to ten months (Burke 2007:146; Burke *et al.* 2010). In 1830, Western Australia's non-indigenous population was approximately 1400, Thomas Peel's group of settlers therefore represented up to one third of the population at that time (Burke 2007:160).

The diary of George Bayly, second officer of the *Hooghly* provides an account of the camp's conditions. The settlement comprised an assortment of structures, ranging from converted horse and cow crates and houses made from various materials including tarpaulins, thatch and prefabricated timber structures brought from Britain (Bayly 1830). For these early settlers, life in the colony was a daily struggle. The settlers endured overcrowding, a lack of resources, summer heat, and illnesses such as scurvy and dysentery resulting in the death of many. Fatalities were also due to pneumonia and childbirth complications including stillbirth. There is also an account of one child dying of convulsions after having consumed a large quantity of alcohol (Bayly 1830).

The settlement site is situated in Beeliar Regional Park 14 km south of Fremantle, Western Australia (Burke 2007:145). In 2007, archaeological investigations of the site began. The excavations of four structures revealed a collection of between 30,000 and 40,000 artefacts from undisturbed contexts (Burke 2007:152). Site 2 and Site 4 are of particular interest to this research. A significant number of child-related artefacts have been recovered from Site 2 which is historically known to have been occupied by the Crisp family (Burke pers comm. 2010). Among the artefacts recovered were 32 brass thimbles, 300 brass pins (see Figure 117) several brass clothing hooks and eyes and a pair of tailor's scissors (Burke 2007:151). Twenty-eight of the thirty-two thimbles recovered were for children's fingers (117-118). Recovered from Site 4, was a two-toned filigree child's ring (Burke pers comm. 2010) (see Figure 119). Also recovered from the site was a number of seashells – the context and location of which suggests that they were the result of collecting for purposes other than subsistence (Burke pers comm. 2010) (see Figure 120).



Figure 117. Left: Examples of sewing related artefacts. From left: an adult's brass thimble, a child's brass thimble, a brass pin.



Figure 118. Top row: 4 adult brass thimbles. Bottom row: Various sized children's brass thimbles.

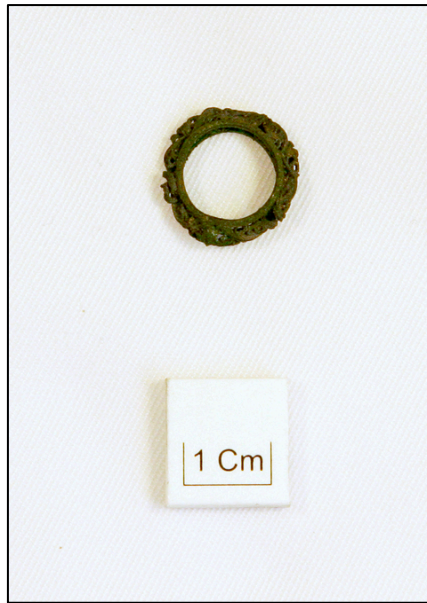


Figure 119. A child's filigree two-toned metal ring.

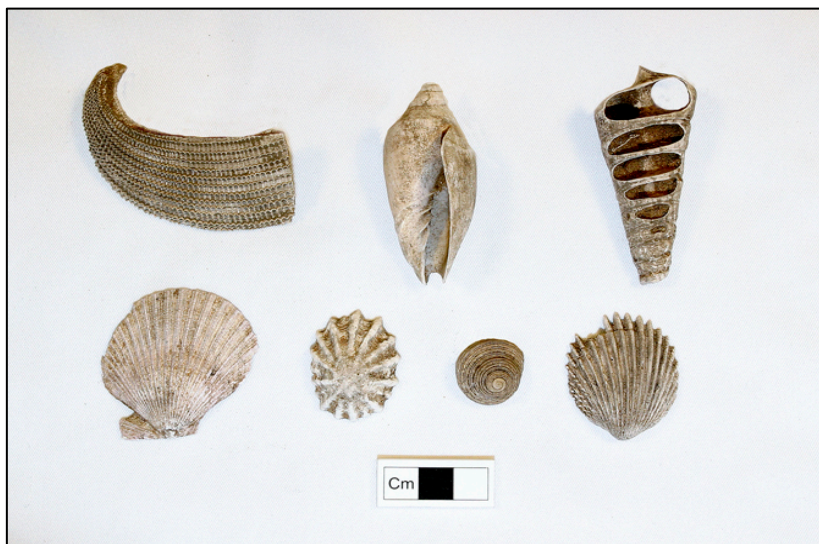


Figure 120. Assorted sea shells/collectibles.

Conclusion

This chapter has showcased a wide variety of childhood related material culture from 18 sites and collections throughout Australia. The artefacts selected for inclusion in this study represent a sample of objects used in children's daily lives. From books and educational artefacts such as slates and slate pencils, and various toys and games including, dolls, dolls' tea sets, metal wind-up toys, marbles and board games, these objects reflect children's everyday experiences. Moreover, the artefacts are also associated with the various institutional fields and locales, as outlined in Corsaro's Orb Web model, in which experiences are generated through interaction and behaviour among peers and adults. These

fields include the family, community, economic, cultural, religious, political, occupational and educational. It must also be remembered however, that the relationship between children, artefacts, behaviour and the fields in which they occur are not static and are fluid. Some artefacts, experiences and behaviour are associated with several fields. For example, some artefacts such as slates, slate pencils and instructional text books are clearly associated with education. However, because children learn at home and within the greater community, artefacts associated education may also include toys, games and books that are both educational and recreational. Such objects may therefore be associated with a number of fields including family, community education and religion.

Whilst most of the artefacts in the study fit within the institution fields outlined in Corsaro's (2005) Orb Web model, there is one group of artefacts that although they are representative of interpretive reproduction, they cannot be easily placed within any institutional field within the Orb Web model. These include artefacts associated with creativity and innovation, specifically the drawings by Richard King. King's drawings reflect an individual's private creativity and innovation at the exclusion of peers and adults. These drawings are discussed at length in the following chapter.

Whilst diverse, the sample is not exhaustive and there are more archaeological sites in Australia where childhood related artefacts have been identified. Notwithstanding, inclusion of every site and every artefact relating to children is beyond the scope of this thesis. Coupled with various historical documents, photographs and ethnographic data, the richness of the sample as a whole, is effective in allowing a synthesis of children's experiences spanning a period of over 120 years. Whether from urban or rural contexts, well to do or modest means, these objects reflect a variety of children's experiences. They are not silent, meaningless things – they are mediators or translators of information, providing the opportunity for childhood expression, imagination and creativity. They are biographical in that they imbue personal characteristics of their owners and their owner's experiences reflecting individual identity, sense of self and agency. Whilst this chapter provides some interpretation, the following chapter draws on the body of data as a whole in an in depth analysis and discussion in alignment with the theoretical and methodological approaches and the research objectives of the study. Finer grained analysis of various individual artefacts provides an avenue for a discussion on children and agency, socialisation and interpretive reproduction theories and the relationship between these concepts and the material culture.

5 Revealing Children's Experiences in the Archaeological Record

Introduction

This research utilises a psychological approach which integrates an Orb Web model of children's developing memberships in their cultures with Corsaro's (2005) theory of interpretive reproduction. This approach, applied in sociological studies of childhood focuses, on childhood as a social reconstruction, which evolves from the collective actions of children and adults (Corsaro 2005:24). In this view, children are social actors who engage in creative interaction with their peers and adults in the formation of their own peer cultures, which results in the reproduction of childhood and society, ultimately leading to cultural production and change. Interpretive reproduction is therefore an evolving process where children create their own peer cultures based on the institutional structure of adult culture (Corsaro 2005:44). Children produce and participate in their own peer cultures by creatively taking and appropriating information and concepts from the adult world and applying the information within their own cultural contexts (Corsaro 2005:18).

As previously discussed, early studies of children and childhood in archaeology have focused on socialisation. This follows on from much of sociology's early thinking about children and childhood. Socialisation is seen as a deterministic model, which deems a child to be a passive receptor of society and culture – an appropriation by society. The term itself however denies children's agency. In contrast, the constructivist model views children as active appropriators of society. As Corsaro argues, 'socialisation is not only a matter of adaptation and internalisation but also a process of appropriation, reinvention and reproduction' (Corsaro 2005:18). Replacing earlier linear theories, interpretive reproduction views children as spontaneous participants, and active members of both childhood and adult cultures. Viewed in this way, all children's experiences and the products of those experiences can be considered as interpretive reproductions.

Couched in Corsaro's theory of interpretive reproduction, the data presented in Chapter four is analysed by utilising Corsaro's Orb Web model. As a heuristic device, the model illustrates

the way in which the theory conceptualises the process of interpretive reproduction by capturing children's interpretive reproductions which are embedded in the web of experiences children weave with others throughout their life course (refer Chapter 3, page 57-59). The model centres on the idea that children are always participating in and are part of two cultures, children's and adults – two cultures which are intricately interwoven (Corsaro 2005:27). The radii of the model represent a range of locales or fields that comprise various social institutions for example, family, community, economic, cultural, religious, political, occupational and educational. Children are actively engaged in these diverse locations in which institutional interactions or behaviour occurs (Bourdieu 1991). It is in these varieties of locales where children's engagement with material culture occurs. Applying the theory of interpretive reproduction to the data in this way allows for the teasing out and visibility of the embedded collective, dynamic and innovative features of children's peer cultures and their relationships and interactions from the material culture.

Framed within the context of the research objectives presented in chapter 1, the following discussion focuses on specific categories of experience which are reflected in the material culture. Categories include creativity and innovation; self-discipline and motivation; play and recreation; education; work (including the overlap of work and play); religion and moral instruction and supervision and punishment. The discussion examines the relationship between the children and the material culture itself, particularly the ways in which children utilize, alter, and create material culture as a reflection of their own unique culture and their agency operating with the fields or locales outlined in Corsaro's Orb Web model.

The fields/locales in Corsaro's model are contextually dependent and include family, community, economic, cultural, religious, political, occupational and educational. Moreover, Corsaro's model is specifically tailored for the study of contemporary children in sociology. The model therefore has been adapted to suit an archaeological study of Western children and childhood in colonial Australia. For example, in this study, there is evidence which ties in with seven of Corsaro's fields/locales. Although there is no evidence of remunerative child labour, there is evidence of occupational fields and economic fields. Because there is no archaeological evidence that supports children's engagement in political fields, the political field is the only field in the model that is not applicable to this study.

Many of the categories of experience identified occur within a variety of fields/locales. They are not static and restricted to one field. For example, many experiences occur as cultural routines falling within the family, therefore any experiences falling within the field of family can also be considered as falling within the cultural field, i.e. the culture of the family. Creativity and innovation falls within the fields of family, community, cultural and educational, with the exception of artefacts associated with private experiences in the absence of peers and adults. Self-discipline and motivation also falls within the fields of family and cultural however, it is predominantly associated with education. Play and recreation is linked to the fields of family, cultural, community and religion. Education is clearly linked to the educational field, however it is also linked to family, cultural and community. Work is associated with economic and occupational fields however, in this study it is also linked with family and cultural fields. Religious and moral instruction is clearly linked to the fields of religion and education but also falls within the fields of family, cultural and community. Finally, supervision and punishment is associated with family, culture and education.

While the discussion explores the links between the material culture, children's experiences and the connections to the fields/locales in which children's experiences occur, the discussion also explores the inner or cognitive elements that drove or inspired the experiences of the children. These include free will and choices, children's emotions and concerns, their worries, self-expression, thoughts, feelings, and sentiments.

Creativity and Innovation

Children exercise creativity and innovation throughout their lives and within their experiences. During the creative process, children display innovative purposeful/intentional action and self-motivation. Children's interpretive reproductions, creativity and innovations are identifiable in material culture by various traces including alteration, adaptation, and embellishment, particularly of adult related objects or themes. A wide variety of artefacts can reflect children's creativity and innovation and a number of artefacts have been identified including artefacts associated with artistic activities such as painting and drawing and embellishment and artefacts related to collecting and collections.

Painting and drawing

Just as play and speech are avenues of expression, painting and drawing offer children an avenue to express themselves and transmit strong messages, both positive and negative as well as things of no significant importance (Farokhi and Hashemi 2001:2221). The act of drawing allows children to express their happiness, fears, joys, dreams and pain, reflecting their personality (Farokhi and Hashemi 2001:2221; Oğuz 2010:3003). Farokhi and Hashemi (2001:2221) argue that children who draw are happy children and further suggest that it is rare for children not to draw and that this may indicate trauma.

It is not surprising then, providing colonial children had access to painting and drawing equipment, that they would have enjoyed such creative and expressive pursuits. Indeed, wooden paint boxes were popular with children and the Lucy family collection contains a fine example which bears the date 1868 (see Figure 107). The study also includes an example of a 'Federal Drawing Book' which was retrieved from the space between the wall and the pitched roof of a colonial era commercial building at the Rockpool site in The Rocks Sydney (see Figures 11-13). Because paper rarely survives archaeologically due to poor preservation, the sketchbook is rare. Moreover, it contains drawings produced by an adolescent male representing an exceptional example of late 19th – early 20th century childhood drawings.

Drawing is a symbolic expression of the inner psyche or the unconscious providing a means of releasing unconsciously repressed mental energy (Farokhi and Hashemi 2001:2221-23). Children's drawings reflect an image of his/her mind (Thomas and Silk 1990). It is through drawings that children express their views, their interpretations of their previous experiences and their subconscious wishes, feelings and perceptions of the outer world (Farokhi and Hashemi 2011:2219; Serin 2003). Crook (1985) suggests that it is widely recognised that insights into children's thoughts and feelings about the world around them are possible from analysis of the content of children's drawings. The drawings from Rockpool are no exception and analysis of the content and subject matter of the drawings provides insight into the mind of an adolescent boy by the name of Richard King.

Bearing the signature of Richard King, both drawings are portraits of women. One drawing depicts a clothed woman with a large bust and bustle and one is more erotic depicting a naked woman in front of a mirror and fireplace titled 'behind the scenes'. Notwithstanding the nature of King's drawings, they reveal more about his inner psyche than the subject matter

does. It is this inner psyche which motivates and influences the act of drawing and the nature of the drawing itself. However, children's drawings are influenced by both internal and external factors. Whilst children produce artwork via their own creativity by themselves, they are also inspired by outside influences. For example, Oğuz (2010:3003) argues there are two main categories that influence children's drawings, the first category are factors specific to the child including maturation, intelligence, motivation, general state of arousal and anxiety, physiological state, prior experiences, individual differences and child psychology. The second category relates to environmental factors such as family, school, teacher, peer groups, socioeconomic and cultural status. Other factors which prove a child's inner motivation include happiness, enjoyment, and the enthusiasm of creating something (Oğuz 2010:3004). Analysis of the context and subject matter of King's drawings reveals a number of points relating to the King's age, his inspiration and themes in his drawings.

The subject matter and style of the drawings suggests that Richard King was an adolescent boy who may have been exploring his sexuality and imagination. The interpretation of King as an adolescent is based on a number of stylistic characteristics. Typically, drawings by school age children are more detailed and present differentiated sexual characteristics within the drawings, for example hairstyles and clothing (Malchiodi 1998). Research on the psychology of children and human figure drawing indicates that at the age of eight, various features typically appear including breasts (female), fashionable clothing, trousers or stockings, and the structure of the hair in females (Brown 1990; DiLeo 1970; Kellog 1979; Mortensen 1984; and Norford and Barakat 1990). As children get older, they become more critical of their drawing and drawings become more realistic (Lowenfeld and Edwards 2000).

The positioning of subjects in human figure drawing is also significant and can indicate approximate age of the child. For example, early representations of people in children's drawings are always full-faced and facing forward. Between the age of eight to ten years, people are depicted in profile. However portraits will include two eyes, in a similar style to ancient Egyptian and Picasso paintings (DiLeo 1970). DiLeo (1970) argues that this transition represents a shift from children depicting people according adult perceptions rather than their own perceptions. At this stage, other features may be included such as three-dimensional objects (Lowenfeld and Edwards 2000). Objects are drawn on the horizon as well as in the foreground. These features are represented in King's drawings with the inclusion of a painting and a chair in the background. By the age of twelve, children's self-

consciousness and cognitive skills of reflection increase and drawing is less likely undertaken for fun. Moreover, beyond the age of twelve, there is very little change in the quality and content of human figure drawing with the exception of artistic children (Skybo *et al.* 2007:17).

Children's drawings are based on what they know or their view of the world and are in their own unique style. Their perceptions, functions, emotions and motor skills interact during the process of drawing (Farokhi and Hashemi 2001:21220). The naïve style of King's drawings particularly the disproportion reflected in his depiction of the female form, and the way in which he has emphasised the bustle in the clothed drawing and similarly in the nude drawing, suggest that he had an inaccurate perception of the female form and that he was guessing how a woman might look when undressed. Although King's drawings are not accurate depictions of reality, artistic development does not necessarily follow predictable states and progression toward realistic depictions of reality (see Cox 2005). Cox (2005:18) suggests that

when the purpose of drawing is no longer tied to the assumed intention to depict the world, as it is 'neutrally' seen, a new perspective is opened up. We can look at children's drawing not so much in terms of categorizing the artefacts, which are produced, but in terms of looking at the activities that produce them and at the children who are engaging in those activities. It shifts the focus towards what is going on when children draw.

This does not mean that King was not attempting to depict a 'real' woman but rather he was using a representation to express an emotion or idea in an imaginative or abstract manner. He was able to bring shape and order to his experience through the activity of drawing, which actively constructed and defined his reality rather than passively reproducing a 'given' reality.

Other features suggest a childlike representation such as the signing of the portrait of the kangaroo by King, featured in the background. Moreover, the features in the drawings are in line with the developmental stages of children in relation to human figure drawing. In addition, various magazines of the day and a number of romance novels were also found in the same deposit as King's sketchbook, from which King may have drawn inspiration. For example, the drawings bear a remarkable resemblance to various illustrations of women in the *Good Stories* magazine (see Table 5 Figure 5).

It should be noted however, that the definition of adolescence is just as problematic as that of the child and indeed adulthood and the boundaries between childhood, adolescence and adulthood are culturally, temporally and often gender specific. Definitions can vary within a particular social system. For example, *the Oxford English Dictionary* (2013) defines adolescence as: ‘The process or condition of growing up; the growing age of human beings; the period which extends from childhood to manhood or womanhood: youth, ordinarily considered as extending from 14 to 25 in males and from 12-21 in females’. In this example, the duration of adolescence differs between male and female with male adolescence considerably longer than female adolescence. A more common contemporary definition of adolescence in Western society associates adolescence with the teenage years between 13 to 18 for both males and females, with 18 being an age where certain rights associated with adulthood are applicable such as the legal consumption of alcohol.

The clandestine location of King’s sketchbook along with other romance novels and magazines suggests colonial era ideas about childhood sexuality. The view that children are sexually innocent is central to Western constructions of childhood (Montgomery 2009:181). Montgomery (2009) argues that despite the debates about whether children should be kept ignorant about sex or the question of whether they have sexual feelings or not, does not negate the idea that childhood is a sacred space where discussions on childhood sexuality is confronting. Whilst Montgomery’s work examines children’s sexuality in a contemporary context, arguably in colonial era Australia and indeed possibly, internationally, similar sentiments regarding childhood and sexuality may have existed. Moreover, whilst there is a general acknowledgement that during puberty children’s sexual feelings and desire for experimentation increases, it nevertheless is a cause for much parental anxiety and attempts at adult control (Montgomery 2009:181). Montgomery (2009) adds however, that cross-cultural studies indicate that the Western viewpoint that childhood sexuality is universal and governed by biological drives seem very different elsewhere and such sentiments are not ubiquitous. The concealment of King’s sketchbook and other erotic literature in the roof cavity suggests that because of the erotic themes depicted, King felt it necessary to hide them, as parents/adults would have disapproved of such eroticism. The drawings therefore also suggest an element of rebellion and a challenging of social norms and adult authority. They also suggest a very private activity/experience in the absence of peers or adults which is why the drawings cannot be easily placed within any institutional field in the Orb Web model.

Childish embellishment of adult related material culture

Similarly, a clay pipe recovered from the Cumberland/Gloucester Street site in The Rocks in Sydney, reflects artistic and innovative creative expression (see Table 4 Figure 52). It is incised with the letters A, B, C and D on one side, the reverse side of the pipe shows an incised stylised horse – motifs that reflect the inner mind of the child and what held importance at the time. The pipe is a fine example of transformative reuse and interpretive reproduction as it represents a child's embellishment of an adult tool, transforming the function of the object from one thing to another – from tool, to toy. The child has transformed the pipe through child agency, both physically and creatively into a phase of functioning as a toy before its final discard. Therefore, the child acting as an agent was influential in the depositional pathway of the object, by initiating a temporary or transitional phase in the depositional process thereby contributing to the lifecycle of the pipe. In this case, the pipe clearly showed physical evidence indicating its use as a toy, however identifying toys archaeologically is problematic because all objects have the potential for use as toys.

Collecting and collections

Another means of expressing creativity and innovation is through collecting. McKinley (2007) argues that everyone collects something. Root-Bernstein (2011) suggests that creative people are often collectors. Closely tied with a passion for knowledge, collecting exercises a variety of significant mental tools required for creative thinking and teaches aesthetics and pattern identification. Moreover, the act of collecting provides an intellectual and sensory stimulus, which is essential to motivate personal creativity (Root-Bernstein 2011). Collecting was a popular activity during the colonial era. During the 18th and 19th centuries, aristocratic collectors collected, fossils, shells, zoological specimens, works of art and books. Such collections were kept and displayed in 'cabinets of curiosities' (McKinley 2007). The practice of collecting however was not restricted to adults and a number of artefacts relating to collecting by children were identified from various sites. For example, a variety of collectable cards were found at Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figures 16-18). Many collectable cards came from cereal boxes such as 'Crispies' and 'Vitabrits'. Cards were often educational in that they illustrated a wide range of topics with differing depictions on each card. These examples illustrate animals of the world and sportsmen. Similarly, cigarette cards were also popular items however; it is likely that adults gave them to children. Children also collected greeting cards and often pasted them into scrapbooks. The Gilbert family collection contains two such scrapbooks filled with Christmas, New Year and Birthday cards, one belonging to

Henry Gilbert, given to him by his Mother Anna in 1886 when he was six years old and one belonging to Joseph Gilbert, given to him by his Aunt Sara as a Christmas gift in 1894. An unused birthday card was identified in the cache of items found in the roof space of the Rockpool site (see Table 5 Figure 1). The reasons why it was retained as part of the cache cannot be determined however, the context of the card amongst other written material including magazines, novels and a sketchbook suggests that it formed part of a collection belonging to Richard King.

Other collectibles include miniature figurines. A large number of bone china figurines in the form of various animals including rabbits, mice, monkeys and pigs were retrieved from *The Fiji* shipwreck (see Figures 47-50). Imported from England by the crateful, such inexpensive figurines as these would have been ubiquitous and popular among children. Crawford (2009:60) argues however, the use of miniatures is not restricted to children and that whilst a small object may be a toy, it may symbolise adult interests and purposes. Indeed, identifying whether an object served an adult use or purpose or whether it was child-related is problematic.

Identifying natural objects in the archaeological record as toys is particularly challenging and relies on evidence which demonstrates that an artefact was a toy rather than an object serving an adult function (Crawford 2009:58; Rossie 2013). Any natural objects including rocks, sticks, animal bones and shells can become toys or keepsakes when collected by children. Crawford (2009) suggests that children who bring such objects into the social world will also remove them from the social world, thereby influencing the depositional pathways of natural artefacts. The context of natural objects, for example, the location and unnatural proximity to other objects is the key in identifying a child's use as a toy (Crawford 2009:64). Collection of natural objects by children not only suggests a thirst for knowledge but also indicates a passion for natural history. There is considerable evidence for the collection of such objects, for example, a specimen box from the Gilbert family collection created by Henry Gilbert (see Figures 94-100) suggests that he had a keen interest in biology and natural history at an early age. Henry created the multi layered specimen box comprising a wide variety of natural specimens including coral, bird's eggs and crocodile and alligator eggs when he was eight years old for his prizewinning entry in the Williamstown exhibition in 1888. A similar collection of natural specimens, albeit much smaller, was identified at the Clarence/Peel Town site in Western Australia (see Figure 120). The context and location of the seashells

suggest that they were a collection gathered by a child or children for the purpose of play, or recreation and were not for subsistence purposes.

Children can exercise creativity and innovation almost anywhere. Creative pursuits such as painting and drawing occurred in the home, at school, on the street, or indeed in any other outdoor location, performed alone, within a group of peers or in the presence of adults. The subject matter of Richard King's drawings however, suggests a solitary activity, one far from the eyes of potentially admonishing adults. Collecting was also a means of children's expression and a reflection of their interests with a wide variety of objects having the potential for collection. Collecting natural specimens such as bird eggs and seashells is clearly an outdoor activity popular among colonial era children as illustrated by the specimens collected by Harry Gilbert and the children at Peel Town. Such creative activities are considered as hobbies and leisure or recreation activities. Similarly, play offers children a means of creative expression.

Play and Recreation

Toys

The category of material culture that most links children with play is toys. As with other types of material culture, the imbued meanings associated with toys, depend on their social context (Sofaer Derevenski 1994:13). The social context of play relates to the cultural context of play and the type of play behaviour. Western theorists regard childhood play as a significant and distinctive activity (Garvey 1990), one which is grounded in human biology (Hughes 1991). All children play. It is a unique feature of childhood – a commonality amongst children (Barnes and Kehily 2003:4). Lancy (2007:274) argues that anthropologists have observed children playing in every society and as such similarly considers play as a culturally universal phenomena. Play is complex and studies show that meanings associated with play are multifaceted. Montgomery (2009:134) claims that play cannot be studied without reference to socialisation or education, or without considering the connections between play, work and the economic role of children – topics that feature in this discussion.

Not all objects played with by children were specifically intended for child use. Three examples of this were identified in the study, all of which are smoking pipes including the incised pipe from Cumberland/Gloucester mentioned previously. The Museum Victoria

Collection contains three clay pipes which are documented as being used by a child to blow bubbles (see Figure 55). The pipes are in pristine condition and do not show any evidence of ever been used by an adult for smoking. Similarly, the Gilbert family collection contains three clay pipes (see Table 22 Figure 9). Originally not intended for use as toys, the pipes were undamaged with no evidence of use as a smoking tool. Unlike the inscribed pipe from The Rocks, these pipes are devoid of any child-related markings. Documentary evidence indicates that the Gilbert children used these pipes specifically for blowing bubbles. It is highly likely, albeit undocumented, that the pipes would have been used in mimicry of adult smoking.

Play, toys and socialisation

The study of child's play is controversial particularly regarding the question of whether child's play is intrinsically motivated (Gottfried 1986) or whether it comprises a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Baxter 2005a; Mergen 1995; Schwartzman 1986; Sutton-Smith 1993, 1994). Play originating with children as an aspect of their physiological and cognitive development is considered intrinsically motivated. Conversely, play that is structured by adults where adults encourage children to explore particular behaviours and skills is considered extrinsically motivated. Schwartzman (1976, 1986:13-14) has identified both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated play in a variety of contemporary cultural contexts. Moreover, Schwartzman (1976, 1986) argues that there are two types of play, child-structured and adult-structured. For example, in child-structured play children's toys and play are created by the child autonomous of adults. In adult-structured play, the adult supplies the toys to the children whose play is then guided, conforming to adult agendas (Schwartzman 1976).

Baxter (2005:62) argues that for the purposes of an archaeology of childhood, play motivation is significant. Moreover, Baxter (2005:63) posits that child-structured play is less visible archaeologically because of the ambiguousness of the definition of a toy. This is because child-structured play, particularly children's imaginative games, did not always incorporate artefacts identified as toys.

However, spatial distribution and context can play a role in identifying objects as toys, for example see the shell collection from Clarence/Peel Town (page 243). Moreover, not all toys were commercially produced, some were handmade either by adults or children. For example

hand ground gaming pieces such as ceramic counters and dice identified at Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 11) may represent children's creativity and innovation in creating objects for play independent of adults. It is possible however, that adults may have created such handmade gaming pieces for gambling purposes. Another example of a handmade toy in the form of a carved wooden animal was identified at Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 2). Again it is difficult to conclusively determine whether the figure was carved by an adult or a child. The childhood accounts by Dorothy Gilbert illustrate another example of children creating play objects independent of adults. Dorothy states that she and her sister Majory would fashion their own miniature pieces of furniture from match or chocolate boxes for a dolls house they shared. These objects however were not identified in the Gilbert collection. These are examples of child produced toys and child-structured play.

Baxter (2005:63) suggests that 'dominant patterns of children's behaviours, as well as resulting artefact distributions in the archaeological record, should be linked closely to behaviours and uses of space that are sanctioned and structured by adults'. Moreover, she argues this would incorporate Schwartzman's (1976) adult-structured play category, in which children use toys provided by adults in play activities that reflect adult agendas. However, focusing on artefact types, children's play and social space links children's culture and their ideals to the 'imperial' practices of adults. It does not necessarily follow, however that the material culture associated with Schwartzman's (1976) concept of adult-structured play infers socialisation. Adults may consider toys as socialisation tools, instrumental in conveying information and reinforcing cultural messages about proper roles and behaviours (see Calvert 1992a, 1992b; Formanek-Brunell 1992; Masters 1986; Mergen 1992; Sutton-Smith 1986), however, children's perception of toys differ to that of adults. Children have no understanding of socialisation as a process that involves them or requires something of them. Children did not play with toys with their development needs in mind nor did they merely mimic adult roles but rather were more imaginative and inventive, creating their own play worlds (see Katz 2004). It is in this imaginary play world where children's agency is evident. Whilst parents may have provided toys for children, the ways in which children engage themselves with the objects reflect their agency rather than the socialisation attempts of the adults. Indeed, Sutton-Smith (1977) contends that play is not a process that socialises children but rather that play is something that 'potentiates' children. Moreover, Fortes (1970:54) specifically cautions against viewing children's activities as little more than

imitations of the adult world. Indeed evidence suggests that in various circumstances, children were able to maintain a level of agency in their play activities.

The ambiguity is in the definition of adult-structured play and child-structured play. The problem with the notion of adult-structured play is that it implies socialisation and therefore denies children's agency. Whilst adults may provide toys for children, it does not necessarily follow that the associated play is adult-structured. Child-structured play autonomous from adults can still occur when adults have provided the toys. This depends largely on how children and child related material culture are theorised. For example because the majority of child related material culture, including toys, is provided by adults, if viewed through Schwartzman's (1976) definition of adult-structured play and the lens of socialisation, all such material can be viewed as objects reflecting adult agendas and attempts at socialisation. In this view, almost all of the child related material culture included in this study could be considered objects associated with adult structured play and socialisation. Conversely, however, viewed through the lens of interpretive reproduction, where the focus is more on the interactive relationship between the objects and the children, with less of a focus on the origin of the objects, the status of the toys as socialisation tools becomes redundant.

Two types of child-structured play therefore emerge: play activities that incorporate toys which have been created by the children and played with autonomously from adults (such as those discussed on page 180); and play activities that incorporate toys provided by adults but which are played with autonomously from adults. Herein lays the difference between utilising socialisation theory and interpretive reproduction theory in studies of children and material culture. Indeed, because of the theoretical and methodological approach utilised in this study the majority of the toys identified in this study fall into the category of child-structured play - that is, they are toys provided by adults for children to play with autonomously from adults. Adult-structured play, where children play the game but are not controlling or creating the types of play they are engaged in, therefore becomes less visible than child-structured play.

Indeed only two examples reflecting adult-structured play were identified in the study. The only unambiguous example of adult-structured and guided play is illustrated by a variety of German made, metal, mechanical, wind-up toys from the Lucy family collection (see Figures 110-112). Transcripts from the accounts of Ivy Lucy indicate that these toys were 'treats' which were only brought out on very special occasions and which were used under strict

supervision. The immaculate condition of the toys testifies to such care and minimal use. Under these circumstances, the presence of the adults hindered any robust imaginative play involving the toys thereby limiting the children's agency. Interestingly, accounts from the Gilbert family indicate that the Gilbert children also had mechanical toys and Dorothy Gilbert states they were allowed to wind them up themselves indicating that the Gilbert family children had more agency in these particular play activities than the Lucy family. The only other category of artefact which suggests adult-structured guided play are the educational card games identified in the Gilbert family collection (see Table 25). These card games would have been used by adults in a supervised educational context. These types of games illustrate the crossover between play, education and work.

Many toys and other artefacts in the study suggest that the children were indeed active agents in their play activities. This is especially relevant in doll play. During the latter part of the 19th century, parents used dolls as 'vehicles in feminine socialisation' (Formanek-Brunell 1992:108). Dolls were seen as a means to instil skills associated with mothering, social graces and etiquette deemed useful in girls' future careers as homemakers (Formanek-Brunell 1992:108). However, whilst adults viewed dolls as socialisation tools, historical sources suggest that young girls viewed their dolls rather differently with some types of doll play not conforming to adult models. For example, doll play often incorporated expressions of violence, control and hostility. Girls would nail spikes into their dolls, intentionally smash and cut dolls and break off limbs. A common type of doll play amongst young girls included killing their dolls in order to perform a doll funeral (Formanek-Brunell 1992:122).

Whilst it is extremely difficult to determine intentional breakage of dolls archaeologically, we know that intentional breakage occurred (see Formanek-Brunell 1992) and that dolls were objects imbued with agency. There can be little debate that in a child's imagination, the perception of a doll is that it is a person, acting as an agent with their own lives and with their own decision-making capabilities (Cameron 1997:21). A child therefore humanises the doll imbuing it with the full gamut of human emotions and mental faculties. Cameron (1997:21) further argues that when the child leaves the fanciful play world, the doll then reverts to 'an inert physical manifestation of the person who lives in this extra-mundane world'. The dolls power or agency does not come from within but rather the child agent bestows such power upon the doll (see Picton 1995). Therefore, children are the active agents albeit only by virtue of the artefacts into which they envision agency (Kasfir 1995:85). This not only applies to

doll play but any type of imaginary play. Dolls and artefacts relating to doll play were identified at numerous sites, for example dolls made from various materials including, bone china and bisque and such as those found at Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figures 5-7), Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figures 1-15), Cohen Place (see Figures 18-20), Corinella (see Figure 22), Casselden Place (see Figures 26-29), The *Fiji* (see Figures 39-42), Museum Victoria Collection (see Figure 54), Royal Australian College of Surgeons (see Figure 56), Short's National Hotel (see Figure 65), and Viewbank (see Figures 69-70). Dolls from other materials include a rubber doll from the *Loch Ard* (see Figures 51-52) and paper dolls from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 15) and the Gilbert Collection (see Table 22 Figure 6). Other artefacts relating to doll play include dolls' tea sets from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figures 3-4), Cumberland Gloucester (see Table 4 Figures 16-23), Cohen Place (see Figures 14-16), Corinella (see Figure 23), The *Fiji* (see Figures 43-46), Short's National Hotel (see Figures 66-67) and a dolls dress from Rockpool (see Figure 10).

Games such as board games, whilst provided by adults would have been structured and controlled by the children themselves and numerous examples were identified for example, games were identified in the Museum Victoria Collection (see Figure 53), the Gilbert family collection (see Figure 93; Table 22 Figures 1-2, 4-5, 7, 10-11) and the Lucy family collection (see Table 29 Figures 1-9). A variety of gaming pieces were found at numerous sites including dominoes from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figures 12-13) and Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figure 34), chess from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 14) and Casselden Place (see Figures 30-31), draughts/checkers from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 9) and dice from Lilyvale (Table 3 Figure 11) and Cumberland/Gloucester (Table 4 Figure 35). Various unidentified gaming pieces were also identified for example a bone gaming counter at Lilyvale (Table 3 Figure 10) and a carved bone gaming piece in the shape of a fish from Viewbank (see Figure 73).

Games such as chess and dominoes were played by both adults and children. However, chess may have predominately been associated with males. A recollection by Eliza Chomley, on her 'harmless larrikinism' of her youth in Melbourne during the 1860s supports this view. Eliza recalls how as a thirteen year old girl, her Grandmother who had a background of English polite society, viewed her staying up late playing chess and backgammon with her aunt as 'scandalous' (Jones 1981:37).

Marbles were the most prolific gaming pieces identified and were found at Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figures 24-33), Casselden Place (see Figure 34), Royal Australian College of Surgeons (see Figure 58), Saltwater Crossing (see Figures 64, 68). Marbles and marble games are particularly useful in the study of child-structured play and children's behaviour associated with gamesmanship and social development – development which is initiated and promoted by the children themselves within their peer groups autonomously from adults. Opie and Opie (1997) have documented three basic versions of the game of marbles with a highly varied complex system of rules. Playing marbles is a child organised and structured activity which provides children the opportunity to engage in negotiable rule governed play.

Marbles is predominately an outdoor activity however some children also play marbles indoors (Evaldsson 1993: 87). This may explain why marbles are often found in under floor archaeological contexts. When children play marbles in groups, many matches are played simultaneously. There is no main match and the matches are not connected. Each is arranged separately (Evaldsson 1993:87). However, whilst there are many ways to play marbles, there is only one goal for all matches and that is 'to win marbles' (Piaget 1932:4). Studies of contemporary children playing marbles reveal that whilst a game usually only involves two players, there is always a gathering of children present who function like a co-operating audience. Children talk constantly and negotiate the rules of the game whilst it is being played. Surrounding children comment and compete with other players to find opportunities to play and exchange marbles (Evaldsson 1993:87). Through playing and trading marbles, children learn the value of the various types of marbles (all marbles have different names and values) and the process of negotiation and bargaining (Evaldsson 1993:88). Various external reference scales determine the value of a marble and its collectability to the owner including sentimental value, quality, material, design and size. Larger marbles are more valuable than smaller varieties and stone marbles have less value than glass. Marbles with a special design are particularly prized (Evaldsson 1993:88). Parents who purchase marbles for their children are more aware of their economic value than the children themselves and try to influence their children to not give away expensive varieties. This is largely due to the different values ascribed to marbles by adults and children. For example adults evaluate the value of a marble based on objective criteria. Children evaluate the value of marbles during playing and trading. The evaluation requires ongoing specification of the values of the marbles via mutual assessment of the relative value as well as the determination of the general preferences and

situated motives of the playing participants (Mishler 1979:223). This is achieved via a series of verbal exchanges and negotiations where children collectively create their own system of preference (Evaldsson 1993:88). The game of marbles involves a complex series of peer interactions where ownership, display of different positions and social identities are formed. Moreover, whilst playing marbles, children challenge status, ownership and rules. Despite the recurrent conflicts arising during these interactions, children simultaneously support others and create alliances whilst assuming their role as mediators, negotiators, accusers and defendants (Evaldsson 1993:107).

Lancy (2011:492) argues that the game of marbles and similar games provide children with the perfect 'mental gym' by providing activities such as rule governed play and flexibility in applying the rules without guidance or interference from adults. Because of the dynamics and behaviour associated with the game, marbles are artefacts that embody children's agency.

Other miscellaneous toys relating to child-structured play include a variety of metal and wheeled toys for example those found at Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 1), Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figures 38-39), Cohen Place (see Figure 17) and Viewbank (see Figure 72). A metal whistle was identified from Cohen Place (see Figure 21), spinning tops from Casselden Place (see Figures 32-33), a metal pistol from Viewbank (see Figure 71) and rubber balls from Lilyvale (see Table 3 Figure 8), Corinella (see Figure 25) and the Royal Australian College of Surgeons (see Figure 57). Metal toy soldiers were identified from Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figures 36-37) as was a metal kangaroo ornament, a toy watch and a purse (see Table 4 Figures 40-42).

The Gilbert family collection contains a music box in excellent working order (see Table 22 Figure 3). The condition of the music box may indicate that it was operated under adult supervision however the Gilbert children were afforded a considerable level of autonomy in their play activities so this may not be the case. Contrastingly the Lucy family had less autonomy as illustrated by the accounts of supervision of the windup metal toys. The Lucy family collection contains a stereoscopic viewer which similarly to the German-made wind up metal toys, may have been operated under adult supervision (see Table 29 Figure 10).

Other Recreational Activities and Gender Division

All of the sites included in the study contained artefacts associated with children's play indicating that children played with a wide variety of toys and games, however, some children had access to a wider variety than others. Various other recreational activities including fishing (see Figure 85), hunting (see Figures 86-87), playing musical instruments (see Figure 88), gymnastics (see Figure 90), dressing up in fancy dress and attending parties (see Figure 91), and basket plaiting and embroidery and sewing (see Table 22 Figure 8) were identified from the historical data such as ethnographic information and photographs. These activities were identified in the Gilbert and Lucy family collections. Basket plaiting, embroidery and sewing are activities that are generally considered as relating to women and girls. Beaudry (2010:148) argues that because sewing is so universally associated with women, artefacts associated with sewing are often viewed as direct evidence of women and women's activities. Beaudry (2010:149) further argues that archaeologists have had a universal tendency to associated straight pins with women and sewing, even though pins were used for a variety of purposes other than sewing. Interpretation of pins must therefore rely on context. Indeed, context can greatly influence gender identity (Beaudry (2006:35-42). Understanding context of artefacts relating to sewing is greatly assisted by critical analysis of documentary, pictorial sources and ethnographic information. Fortunately, in this study such evidence was available allowing interpretation of some of the artefacts relating to sewing and gender division possible. For example, the lack of gender division in needlework, is supported by ethnographic accounts provided by Dorothy Gilbert in which she indicates that the Gilbert boys also engaged in such activities, doing cross-stitch and making scarves on specially made wooden frames after dinner in the drawing room during the children's hour (see page 181). Moreover, Murray-Smith (1981:82) states that at the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons site (previously the National Model and Training School 1854-1862), both sexes were taught knitting and sewing. Further gender division in play is also evident in the demarcation of the National Model and Training school playground into three separate areas, one for infants (7 years and under) one for girls, and one for boys. Marbles recovered from both the boys and girls playground, suggest that girls as well as boys played with marbles. However, the marbles recovered from the girls playground may be been the result of non-play related behaviour, such as boys throwing marbles at girls from across the playground. Hunting and fishing however were gender specific activities that were restricted to boys in a rural context. There is no evidence to suggest that girls participated in these

activities. Gymnastics and the playing of musical instruments are not necessarily limited to rural areas and children from urban areas could also have enjoyed such activities.

While much of the literature from psychology suggests a universal desire for children to seek out other children of their own sex to play with (Montgomery 2009:126), and that this division occurs in Western society in middle childhood, gender division in play is less evident in rural areas when the availability of other children is limited. For example, Figure 89 shows John Gilbert playing with his sisters, one reading and one nursing a doll, on the veranda at 'Pewsey Vale'. Indoor activities brought children of both sexes together in play and sometimes included the parents. Drawing rooms, for example the Gilbert family drawing room at 'Pewsey Vale' (see Figure 84) were spaces where children engaged in reading classic novels and fairy tales and flicking through picture books (see Table 18-20, Table 27 Figure 2 and Table 28). Board and card games were popular in the parlour also (see Table 22 Figures 1, 4-5, 7, 10-11; Table 29 Figures 1-8), as was reciting poetry and singing nursery rhymes and light opera around the piano. Other performance activities in both the Gilbert and Lucy families included the performing of magic tricks (see Table 23 Figures 1-4) (and Figure 109) and hand shadows (see Table 20 Figure 1). Ethnographic information from the Gilbert family tells of indoor play and recreational activities occurring in the day nursery on wet days and in the drawing room after dinner often to entertain visiting guests.

Books and Reading

Examining the physical properties of artefacts, including analysis of use wear, can aid interpretations about an artefact's function, application and level of use. Usually applied in the context of lithic analysis, this method was particularly effective when examining the books in the study. Indeed books are one category of material culture that features heavily in this study. Examination of the books revealed physical traces created by the children's interactions with the books. Such traces of use wear in this context include notations, dog earring, torn pages, worn and faded covers, stains and any other structural damage. These physical traces represent children's relationships and attitudes towards these objects. In some cases however, dependent on other factors, a lack of damage or wear can also indicate attitudes. The books featured in this study are categorised as recreational, educational, religious and classic novels and are discussed in their respective context. Classic novels are discussed in the section *Play, education and work*.

Recreational books

The Rock Pool site contained a number of recreational magazines and books. Magazines found at the Rock Pool site include *Good Stories Magazine* featuring *Illustrated Bits*, *Round the London Theatres* and a short story, *For Better or for Worse* (see Table 5 Figure 5); *The Worlds Comic*; (see Table 5 Figure 6) the *Big Budget* (see Table 5 Figure 7) and the *Christmas B.B.* featuring the *Panto of the Lane* (see Table 5 Figure 10). Novels include *Tales for Little People, Ali Baba* (see Table 5 Figure 8) and *The Eskdale Herdboy, A Scottish Tale for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons* (see Table 5 Figure 9). There is evidence which suggests that some of the magazines and books from the Rock Pool site are well read. For example, the novel *Tales for Little People, Ali Baba* bears an inscription in pencil at the top of one of the pages that reads 'red all through'. Further, as mentioned on page 262 various illustrations in the magazines provided inspiration for the drawings produced by Richard King and he would have referred to them often. The Unitarian collection contains a large number of books relating to amusement (see pages 243-245) many of which show signs of heavy use wear. The recreational books from the Gilbert and Lucy family collections however, are the most telling.

Indeed, the majority of the recreational books in the study show evidence of being well read. This is particularly evident in books given to all the children in the Gilbert family (see Table 20). Books shared by all the children include a variety of picture books, games activity books, fairy tales, classic novels and other tales of adventure. Nursery rhymes and fairy tales were especially popular with the Gilbert children with the collection comprising two well-used copies of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* and a copy of *Our Favourite Nursery Tales*. Storybooks include *Stories Told to a Child* and *Stories from Homer*. Other books that show evidence of heavy use which were shared by all the Gilbert children include classic novels such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *King Solomon's Mines*. These Classic novels and other tales of adventure such as *Voyages and Travels of Count Funnibos and Baron Stilkin, Masterman Ready or Wreck of the Pacific Written for Young People* reflect a thirst for adventure.

Some of the most popular picture books were those produced by the German printing company Ernest Nister in Nuremburg. Nister produced many children's books of superior quality with exceptional illustrations and printing (University of North Texas Library, rare books exhibits 2013). Both the Gilbert and Lucy collections contain Ernest Nister books. The Gilbert children shared a number of Nister books including *Picture Pages for little Folks of*

all Ages (see Table 20 Figure 3), *Only for Very Good Children* (see Table 20 Figure 4), *Picture House with Ever so Many Stories* (see Table 20 Figure 6) and *Our Darling Surprise Pictures* (see Table 20 Figure 7). *Our Darling Surprise Pictures* is a fine example of a dissolving book, a technique that Nister refined and which contributed to the history of movable books in the late 19th century (Montanaro 1993: xv-xvi). Dissolving books are based on the venetian blind principle. Pictures in the book are divided into several equal sections by corresponding horizontal or vertical slits. The picture transforms into another picture when pulling a tab at the side or bottom of the illustration (Montanaro 1993: xv-xvi). This book shows evidence of heavy use, wear and tear which suggests it was extremely popular with the Gilbert children. Other Nister books show similar evidence of their popularity with heavy wear and tear and repairs including *Picture Pages for Little Folks of All Ages* and *Picture House with Ever so Many Stories*. There are however some Nister books that are in excellent condition. For example the book *Only for Good Children*, is in very good condition which suggests the reading of this book was either a form of reward reserved for children whose behaviour was exceptional or it was not popular, however given that it is a Nister book, the latter is unlikely. Similarly, the book *A Big Temptation* (See Table 19 Figure 2) given to Emily in 1903 when she was eleven years old by her sisters Marjory and Catherine, shows very little evidence of use. This does not necessarily indicate a lack of popularity but rather suggests that the book was highly treasured by Emily as a gift from her sisters. Emily's sister Catherine also owned a Nister book – *The Language of Flowers*, given to her in 1901 on her tenth birthday by her Godmother. Similarly, the book is in immaculate condition suggesting it was a much-treasured item. Aside from the books that show little evidence of use, all other recreational books would have been heavily referred to during the children's hour in the drawing room at 'Pewsey Vale'.

The oldest well looked after book in the Gilbert collections is *Stories about Birds* given to William Gilbert in 1856 when he was six years old by his father (see Table 17 Figure 3). William's daughter, Emily Gilbert recalls the importance of this book to her father in her accounts,

when he was six years old William was given a picture book, and on the flyleaf is written in fine beautiful writing "William Gilbert from his dear Papa on his sixth birthday October 12th 1856". Eighty years later, there is scarcely a page torn, only the binding worn with much opening and shutting. He treasured it greatly, being especially proud of the page across which struts a rooster. He was taught to care for his possessions... (Gilbert, State Library of South Australia PRG266 8/29)

A number of interpretations are offered in relation to the Gilbert family recreational books in relation to their condition and their owners. The good condition of the books may be due to a number of factors. They may not have been popular or well-read because they may have been given to the children when they were too young to read, or conversely, at an age where they read less or the story did not appeal. For example, Joseph was given books when he was four or five years of age at which time he may not have been able to read. He was also given *The Jungle Book* at the age of seventeen. Although a classic tale, at seventeen, the story may not have interested him. Alternatively, they may have been cherished items that were handled very carefully when read as in the book *Stories about Birds* belonging to William. Another example is the book *Dolly's Own Story* belonging to Marjory, which was given to her when she was ten years old as a prize for needlework in 1895 and as such, she may have treasured it as a trophy. Books relating to prizes are discussed in further detail in the section *Supervision, naughtiness, punishment and reward*.

Other books including music books such as *Old Songs For Young Voices*, religious books such as *Friends of the Olden Time*, *In the Garden of Eden* and *The Story of the Bible* along with other instructional books like *The Childs Instructor or Learning Made Easy* were more for instructional purposes, however their format was such that they blur the lines between recreation and education. These books are discussed in more detail in the section *Combining play education and work*.

Play, Education and Work

The books in the Lucy family collection are fewer in number in comparison to the Gilbert family collection. The sample includes 23 recreational books and seven educational books. Of the recreational books, two books, *Children's Games with Verses* and *Puss in Boots* show evidence of very heavy use damage, deteriorated stitching and torn pages, which suggest that they were extremely popular. The book *Puss in Boots* was given to Ivy Lucy in 1897 when she was only four years of age. It is unlikely that Lucy would have been able to read at this age; however, the extensive damage suggests that she flicked through it on numerous occasions and it would have been a favourite. Other books that showed evidence of heavy use and therefore popularity include: *The Boy Joiner*, *Arithmetical Puzzles*, *Mechanical Puzzles*, *Miscellaneous Puzzles*, *The Art of Amusing*, *The Child's Own Magazine for 1866*, and *Happy Hearts, A Picture Book for Boys and Girls*. These books had torn pages and soiling and many

were falling apart. The inscription in the book *Happy Hearts, A Picture Book for Boys and Girls* indicates that it was presented to Evelyn and Lucy from the Modbury Methodist Church Sunday School. Indeed the Lucy children received many books as prizes or awards from Sunday School teachers for diligence and good or regular attendance. With the exception of *Happy Hearts, A Picture Book for Boys and Girls*, which was falling apart, all of the other books given as awards were in good condition. This does not necessarily mean that the books were not a popular choice for reading but rather they may have been regarded as trophies to be treasured and preserved.

Unlike the Gilbert Family collection, The Lucy family collection contains only one Nister book titled *Dolly Dear* given to Ivy Lucy in 1899 when she was six years old (see Table 28 Figure 4). The book shows evidence of heavy use, which suggests that it was a popular choice for Lucy notwithstanding that she may or may not have been able to read at the time.

Both the Gilbert and Lucy families owned several recreational books ranging in topic from picture books, games, activities and puzzles, and nursery rhymes. These books were popular among the children with many in a state of disrepair. The only evident difference between the two families is the number of books awarded to the Lucy children by Sunday school teachers. This is because the Lucy children received their religious education at Sunday School whereas the Gilbert children received their religious education at home (see page 181). It does not imply that the Lucy children were more conscientious toward religious instruction than the Gilbert children. Indeed, religion and moral instruction played a significant role in the lives of the children and the children's education. Aside from books, a number of artefacts relating to education including religion and moral instruction have been analysed, further revealing children's attitudes to their education.

Education: Religious and moral instruction

Moralising china is often found in Australian archaeological contexts. The fragments included in the study were retrieved from the Corinella site (see Figure 24), Casselden Place (see Figure 36) and the Devonshire Arms Hotel (see Figure 38). Also known as, motto china, moralising china for children was manufactured between 1820 and 1860 (Flick 1983:23; Karskens 1999b:138). The presence of moralising china suggests an interest in children's education and moral instruction by adults and attempts at socialisation. However, whilst moralising china may have been bestowed upon children by parents as a means of instilling

principles of morality, self-control, self-improvement and hard work (Flick 1983), evidence from the Gilbert and Lucy families suggest that the children in these two families in particular valued religious and moral instruction and took it upon themselves to actively engage in their religious education. This is evident in the valuing of the prize books awarded to the Lucy children by Sunday school teachers as previously mentioned.

Books are the predominant artefacts relating to religion and analysis of the books support a number of interpretations about the attitudes of the children towards religion and religious education. For example, the context of a prayer book found at the Rockpool site (see Table 5 Figure 2) is interesting as it forms part of a cache of other material including romance stories and erotic sketches – items which seemingly contradict a religious or moral standpoint. Whilst we know that Richard King drew the erotic sketches, it is unknown whether the prayer book also belonged to him, notwithstanding, the cache of objects, including the prayer book represents a collection of highly valued possessions.

Documentary evidence indicates that the creators of the Unitarian collection carefully selected books according to their doctrinal and moral tendencies (State Library of South Australia, Children's Literature Research Collection: Unitarian Church Collection 1859-1920s South Australia, online) (see Figures 113-116). However, whilst the collection comprises some religious books, a large number combined both amusement and instruction. The importance of providing avenues for the fantasy and imagination of children is evident in the number of science fiction novels, especially the classic tales of Jules Verne. These books in particular show evidence of heavy use wear and as such were extremely popular amongst the children. Whether the children preferred science fiction to religious books cannot be ascertained, however the primary aim of the library was to promote reading amongst the children of the congregation and it was clearly successful in doing so.

Joseph Lucy's attitude toward religion is reflected in a collection of penny and two penny reward books authored by a prolific and successful author of evangelical tracts in the 18th century. One of the books (see Table 18 Figure 2) originally belonging to Mrs Kennion, wife of the second Bishop of Adelaide and friend to the Gilbert family, was given to Joseph and Dorothy Gilbert in 1891 when Joseph was seven years old and Dorothy was six. Whilst the book was a gift for both the children, Joseph's appreciation for the book is evident with his laying claim to it by writing his name in the inside front cover.

Ethnographic data from the Gilbert family suggests that religion played a large role in the life of the Gilbert children and further supports the attitudes of the children toward religious education. For example, the reminiscences of Dorothy Gilbert mentions that Miss Molero (a nurse held in high esteem by the children, and Dorothy's Godmother) gave many books to the children and was largely responsible for their pre-school education including religious instruction (see page 181). Dorothy also states that the children had alternate morning and evening services at 11am or 7pm. Daily family life typically included prayers read by their father at 8am, followed by lessons at 9am with verses read from the Bible. Religious instruction was an important part of the daily life of both the Gilbert and Lucy families and both families enjoyed learning and attending Sunday school (at home or externally), reading Bible stories and attending services. Indeed education in all its forms was of prime importance, not just in the minds of the adults and teachers, but also in the minds of the children who appear to have enjoyed their education. A number of artefacts associated with education including artefacts associated with writing, literacy and studying have been analysed.

Writing and literacy

Writing materials such as slates and slate pencils are widespread in Australian archaeological sites (Davies 2005). Whilst such objects may be associated with adult literacy (for an example see Higginbotham 2005), they are commonly associated with children and education (Davies 2005). Lawrence and Davies (2011:322) argue that the abundance of slates and slate pencils is evidence that indicates the presence of children as well as evidence of the importance placed on education by parents and establishments in colonial Australia. Indeed a number of slates are identified in the study (see Table 4 Figure 47) (and Figures 35; 59-60, 108), along with slate pencils (see Table 4 Figures 48-51) (and Figure 61) and other artefacts relating to education such as glass ink bottles (see Table 4 Figures 45-46). A copper alloy compass was identified from the Royal Australian College of Surgeons (see Figure 62) and whilst it may be associated with adult use, the fact that the block was the site of a school prior to the construction of the college, suggests that it is most likely child-related. Other items relating to writing, including a 'Carlton' writing tablet and a Progressive copybook with engraved and traced headlines and divisional lines for learning to write (see Table 5 Figure 3-4) were recovered from the Rockpool site. An algebra textbook was also identified at the site (see Table 5 Figure 11) suggesting that schooling was important at this inner city location. As

with various other items retrieved from this site, the owner of the book is indeterminable however, it may have belonged to Richard King. Indeed, the number of education books identified in this study supports the importance of education in both urban and rural areas in particular. This is particularly evident from the number of books and educational items identified in the Gilbert and Lucy family collections.

Educational books: learning and studying

The Gilbert and Lucy family collections comprise numerous examples of educational books including textbooks. Ethnographic data from the Gilbert family and the accounts from Dorothy Gilbert, highlight the importance of the education of the Gilbert children and the significance of books. Dorothy recalls how the Gilbert children were cared for by a number of ‘under nurses’ or ‘nursery housemaids’. These nurses/housemaids were responsible for the care and education of the children, while their mother was unavailable due to what Dorothy describes as a continual state of pregnancy (Gilbert 1973:58). All the children were home schooled at Pewsey Vale, however, when the boys were old enough to attend high school, they attended boarding school. The girls continued their education at home. Nurses were highly influential in the children’s education teaching them a variety of subjects including religion, mathematics, history, music, English and grammar, French and Latin.

One nurse in particular, Miss Molero, (Gilbert 1968) was very popular with the children and was largely responsible for their early training and pre-school education whilst at home. Miss Molero gave several educational books to the children, many of which were imported from England. Similarly, relatives living in England who would write to the children weekly also provided educational books and toys. Book topics include general knowledge (see Table 16 Figure 2), natural history (see Table 17 Figure 4) and science (see Table 17 Figure 8). Whilst adults chose the books to give to the children, similar to the analysis of the recreational books included in the study, the ways in which the children interacted with the books reflects the attitudes of the children toward their education irrespective of adult intentions. The condition and physical traces left by the children themselves reflects such interaction. For example, a number of books contain evidence that suggests that the children had a high degree of self-discipline and motivation in learning and studying. For example, a textbook belonging to William Gilbert (1850-1923) titled *Guide to Science* contains various instances of pencil marks (ticks) (see Table 17 Figure 8). These ticks suggest that William used the book as a study guide, possible to test himself reflecting conscientiousness and a study habit that

William adopted as a strategy for learning. Similarly, pencil notations in a book titled *Modern Magic, a Practical Treatise on the Art of Conjuring* indicate that William's son Henry also adopted this practice of making pencil notations in books. The ticks in the index of the book may indicate the various magic tricks that Henry performed and perhaps mastered.

Similarly, a number of books in the Lucy family collection bear pencil notations made by the children within the text and margins. For example, a book owned by Emily Lucy titled *Catechism of the History of England from the Earliest Period to the Reign of George the Fourth* bears a number of pencil notations indicating that she was a studious child with an interest in history (see Figures 104-106). Most of the educational books in the Lucy collection however, belonged to William Lucy. Of William's six educational books included in the study, four contain numerous pencil notations and underlining including, two different editions of *The Principles of English Grammar* (see Table 26 Figures 2,5), *An Introduction to Geography Ancient, Modern and Sacred* (see Table 26 Figure 4) and *The Etymological Spelling Book and Expositor, An Introduction to the Spelling, Pronunciation, Derivation of the English Language* (see Table 26 Figure 6). The three books relating to English, grammar and spelling in particular, suggest that William had a keen interest in mastering the English language. Further, the physical condition of the books indicates heavy use. Coupled with numerous pencil notations and underlining, these physical traces suggests that William was studious child, self-motivated and disciplined in his study habits, using the books as a study guide for learning. For example, the new edition (no date) of the book *The Principles of English Grammar*, given to William in 1870 (see Table 26 Figure 2) bears a number of pencil marks, including brackets and ticks, relating to pronouns and adjective pronouns. Similarly, physical evidence in the 1872, 71st edition of *The Principles of English Grammar* (see Table 26 Figure 5) indicates that William had a questioning mind and a particular interest in etymology, more specifically, the etymology of gender. For example, on pages 12 and 13 in the abovementioned book, William has underlined the word 'sex' and written the word 'why' above each of the three methods used to distinguish sex in English. William is therefore questioning these methods and perhaps why this distinction is even necessary. The inscription in the front cover of the book is dated 1873 and written in an adult hand in ink indicating that William received the book when he was 13 years old. He has written his name in pencil below the inscription. Given his age at the time, it is possible that he held a degree of confusion regarding gender differences other than the obvious physical differences between male and female and questioned how these differences transfer to the English language.

Other instructional books belonging to William include *The Secrets of Stage Conjuring* (see Table 26 Figure 9) and *The Art of Amusing, A Collection of Graceful Arts Games Tricks Puzzles and Charades* (see Table 26 Figure 11) and *The Boy Joiner and Model Maker* (see Table 26 Figure 7). It is clear that magic tricks were a popular pastime for children, particularly boys as both Henry Gilbert and William Lucy owned books and toys relating to magic tricks and performing for the amusement of others (see Table 23 Figures 1-4 and Table 24 Figure 1) (and Figure 109). There is no evidence to suggest that girls participated in learning and performing magic tricks and it therefore appears to be an activity practiced by boys only. *The Boy Joiner and Model Maker* book shows evidence of extensive use with torn pages and worn spine and as such, must have been a popular book for William Lucy.

So far, this discussion has offered a number of interpretations from the material culture relating to play, recreation and education. Some artefacts relating to play, recreation and education however have not been discussed here because their function extends to that of work. These artefacts are discussed later in the section *Combining play, education and work*.

Children at work

Children's experiences were not confined to play, and recreation. Work featured in their lives however there is no evidence which indicates remunerative work. Artefacts associated with work, although non-gender specific, include thimbles, and a number of which have been identified. As previously mentioned (see page 85), the presence of a thimble, designed specifically for a child may indicate that children assisted in the domestic sewing activities of the household (Godden Mackay Logan 1996b:61). Girls' sewing is often viewed as an activity promoting socialisation whereby a girl may learn the necessary skills, which would benefit the household as well as her future. However, ethnographic information from Dorothy Gilbert suggests that girls were not forced to learn to sew even though they learned it at a young age; they enjoyed it as a pastime, for example, sewing dolls clothes for their dolls. Dorothy states that their nurse, taught her and her sister to knit, sew and embroider. As previously mentioned, these activities were not gender specific as the boys did cross-stitch and made scarves (see page 181). If sewing is an activity which is viewed as part of the socialisation process with the aim of preparing girls for their future roles as wives or domestic helpers, given that the Gilbert boys and boys attending the National Model and Training School in Melbourne engaged in needlework, suggests that sewing in the Gilbert family and indeed the Colonial era was not related to socialisation but rather was more of a

recreational activity among children. The only exception is 'plain hemming' that Emily Gilbert found 'dreary' (Gilbert 1973:70) and thus could be considered as a household chore.

Artefacts relating to sewing were recovered from two sites, the Cumberland/Gloucester site and Clarence/Peel Town. Two child-sized thimbles were identified from Cumberland/Gloucester (see Table 4 Figure 43) indicating that children engaged in sewing at the site, whether for work or pleasure however, cannot be determined. A considerable number of sewing related artefacts were recovered from Clarence/Peel Town. Thirty-two brass thimbles were identified, 28 of which were for children's fingers (see Figure 117-118). Burke (2007:151) argues that the presence of such a large number of artefacts suggests that sewing or darning occurred and that children did many of the chores associated with adults. Given the difficult conditions experienced by the inhabitants at the site (Burke 2007), it is unlikely that children's engagement in sewing relates to leisure or socialisation but rather their sewing was specifically a contribution of labour for the family and perhaps the community.

Other work activities relate to childcare and household chores. Notwithstanding the size of the Gilbert family, the Gilbert children were never responsible for childcare. Ethnographic information suggests that whilst their mother was 'out of action' due to her continual state of pregnancy, the children had a succession of nurses who would assist their mother with childcare duties. Hired help however, was largely dependent on wealth and status. In contrast, inner city residents in The Rocks and Casselden Place would not have been as fortunate to afford to pay for childcare and such duties often fell upon older children particularly girls. Many historic photographs show young children playing in inner city streets with infants or toddlers in the care of older siblings.

Whilst there is no material evidence for children's involvement in household chores, there is ethnographic evidence suggesting that for the Gilbert family children, household chores were highly regimented daily activities (see page 181). Throughout the course of a highly structured day, the children's chores would involve walking around the property, collecting pinecones for kindling, and windfall apples for animal fodder and tending animals (Figure 92). They were required to perform small tasks such as monitoring fences and checking for damage, monitoring water trough levels and gardening and exercising the 'rabbit dogs' (Gilbert 1973:70). Did the children consider these chores as work? As discussed in chapter two (page 18), attempting to demarcate the boundaries between play, recreation, education

and work is often challenging and the lines, which separate are arbitrary and dependent upon a wide range of circumstances. Indeed these activities represent a combination of recreation, education and work.

Because various chores were conducted throughout the day during walks around the property, accompanied by the governess and family pets, they blur the lines between work and recreation. It is unlikely that the children considered these activities as work even though they knew they that were contributing to the running of the property. Moreover, whilst they may not have considered their contributions to the running of the property in economic terms, they were not undervalued. They knew they were important activities, ones that, as Dorothy suggests, made them ‘feel important and useful’ to their father (Gilbert 1973:70) which in turn gave them a sense of pride and achievement.

Combining Play, Education and Work

As previously mentioned, many artefacts blur the lines between play, recreation and education. Qvortrup (1993a:14) suggests that schooling is an investment in the future economic health of any modern society and that formal schooling in modern industrial societies is therefore considered as work and children’s contribution to society. Schooling provides an avenue for the production of knowledge; children and their teachers therefore become co-producers of knowledge. Notwithstanding, the view that schooling is work is not widely accepted amongst adults or social scientists. Qvortrup (1993a) suggests that this unacceptance relates to traditional developmental and socialisation theories, which focus on the process of adults preparing children for their future as adults as opposed to appreciating their present contributions.

The merging of play, recreation and education/work is reflected in the educational books, including classic novels, instructional books and educational card games. For example, the Gilbert family collection comprises numerous classic novels and educational card games. Classic novels include: *Through the Looking the Glass and what Alice Found There* (see Table 17 Figure 2), *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (see Table 17 Figure 5), *Treasure Island* (see Table 18 Figure 1), *Robinson Crusoe* (see Table 19 Figure 1; Table 20 Figure 11) and *King Solomon’s Mines* (see Table 20 Figure 8). As mentioned earlier (see page 264), educational

card games (see Table 25) are one of only two examples of adult-structured play where the adults would have controlled activity.

Some picture books and activity books were also educational. For example, the Gilbert children shared a copy of *Jumbo's Picture Book of Natural History* (see Table 20 Figure 5). Evidence of heavy use and wear, tear and repair suggest that it was very popular with the children. The Gilbert children also shared a various instructional books including a book and kit on *Basket-Plaiting and Embroidering* (see Table 22 Figure 8), which according to ethnographic information, (see page 181) would have been shared by all the children including the boys, and *The Child's Instructor or Learning Made Easy*. The latter being a complete course of elementary instruction by means of toys, pictures and stories. This book was given to all the Gilbert children and shows evidence of heavy use.

Other educational/recreational books include music books such as *Old Songs For Young Voices*, religious books such as *Friends of the Olden Time*, *In the Garden of Eden*, *The Story of the Bible* and *The Holy Child*. Aside from the book *Old Songs For Young Voices*, these books relate to religious instruction. All display evidence of heavy use; indeed some are in such a state of disrepair they are falling apart which suggests that religious instruction was greatly practiced by the children.

Ethnographic information indicates that indoor and outdoor games were integral to the children's education as well as being popular. As discussed on page 179, Dorothy Gilbert recalls that whilst learning was memorable, she held a greater recollection of the indoor and outdoor games that were played as part of their education. Their nurse was highly aware of the Kindergarten system of learning through play and was significantly influential with the children in this regard. Dorothy states that educational books and toys were often sent to the children from their aunts in England who were just beginning to see the advent of the Kindergarten style of learning in England (Gilbert 1968). The number of instructional card games owned by the Gilbert children also reflects the popularity of learning through play. Educational card games include *The Counties of England*, *The Dickens Game*, *Lexicon*, *Royal Figures and their Lines*, *Anno Mundi: A Scripture Recreation for the Young*, *The National Gallery*, *Runft – Quartett*, *Countries of the World and their Major Capital Cities* (see Table 25). Such card games taught children a wide variety of topics including geography, literature, royal lineages, religion and art history through repetition and memory building.

Whilst there is considerable evidence of the combining of play, education and work in the Gilbert family collection, there is very little evidence in material culture from other collections in the study. There are four examples in the Lucy family collection which reflect this crossover. For example, a series of three puzzle books; *Arithmetical Puzzles*; *Mechanical Puzzles*; *Miscellaneous Puzzles* belonging to William Lucy suggests that he enjoyed challenging himself by solving puzzles utilizing and developing his mathematical and other problem solving skills. *The Boy Joiner and Model Maker* book is more of an instructional guide providing practical directions for making both useful and decorative items including mechanical toys and models. Originally given to William Everard Lucy in 1877 when he was 17 years old, the book was handed down to his son Everard in 1913 when he was 13 years old (see Table 26 Figure 7). The book shows evidence of extensive use with torn pages and a worn spine, suggesting that the book was enjoyed by two generations of Gilbert boys. This practice of intergenerational transference of objects is a recurrent theme and is discussed further in the section *Perpetuating traditions*.

Naughtiness, Discipline, Punishment and Reward

Supervision, naughtiness, punishment and reward are difficult concepts to identify archaeologically. However, naughtiness can be inferred from material culture identified in the Gilbert family collection. For example, the book *The Young Fur-Traders or Snowflakes and Sunbeams from the Far North* owned by Henry Gilbert, given to him in 1892 when he was 12 years old, bears nine random rubber stamp impressions of the 'Bell' brand in the first six pages of the book. It is impossible to determine who was responsible for defacing the book. However, Henry was particularly fond of his books owning the most compared to his siblings (see Table 21). Although a number of his books bear notations in pencil, these notations acted as a study aid. Given that he was a studious child and 12 years old at the time, the defacing with a rubber stamp is unlikely to have been perpetrated by Henry himself and more likely to have been an act of naughtiness by one of his younger siblings. Another instance relates to a collection of penny and two-penny 'reward books' given to both Dorothy and Joseph Gilbert. Although both books were gifted to both children, Joseph has laid claim to one of the books (Volume II) by writing his name in his young hand in one (see Table 18 Figure 2). It is also possible however that this was a mutually agreed upon transaction between the two children.

Ethnographic data from the accounts of Dorothy Gilbert provide other evidence of naughtiness, discipline, punishment and reward. Dorothy recalls that the children were not always on their best behaviour. For example, she tells of her brother's naughtiness in being a reluctant student, preferring to climb forbidden trees when unsupervised (Gilbert 1968). Her accounts reveal that the children were often naughty, quarrelling, slapping each other and being disobedient and rude (Gilbert 1968). Such behaviour did not go unpunished (see page 179-180). Dorothy's account also tells of an incidence of vengeance by William towards the children's nurse in response to being locked in the bathroom due to being excessively naughty. Parental discipline was never extreme and the children were never whipped, all that was needed was a stern word of correction. Schoolroom punishments were detention and various restrictions from riding, walking and playing (Gilbert 1968).

There is no material evidence suggesting naughtiness in the Lucy family, or indeed in any of the material culture from other sites and collections in the study, which is not to say that they were never naughty. There is evidence of reward for good behaviour by way of being given books as prizes and awards. Books were given to all the Lucy children for various good behaviour including diligence, collection for charity, and good or regular attendance at Sunday school (see Table 28 Figures 2, 5-10).

In the Mind of the Child: Sentiments and Emotions

As previously illustrated, much of the material culture analysed in this study offers insight into the everyday lives of children including their agency. Identifying the nuanced traces of cognition in material culture is often more challenging, however a number of the analysed artefacts reflect childhood cognition, providing a rare glimpse into the minds of the children themselves. For example, various artefacts, historical documents and ethnographic data provide evidence of children's self-expression and inner processes including sentiments and emotions, such as pride, consideration for others, concern, worry, and naivety. For example, analysis of the condition of the books offers a number of insights into the behaviour and attitudes of the children including what drove/inspired them. Pride is an inwardly directed self-conscious emotion, which refers to a fulfilled sense of connection toward an individual's or another's choices and actions. It is a product of praise and independent self-reflection (Tracy *et al.* 2009; Weiner 1980). Childhood related material culture recovered from the Rockpool site bears evidence that reflects childhood self-expression and pride. The book

titled *Tales for Little People* contains the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*. Page 5 of the book bears a pencil inscription that reads 'red all through' (see Table 5 Figure 8). This suggests that the book has been well read. The age, identity or the gender of the author of inscription is unknown. However, the average mental age required for children to be able to read and write is 6-6.5 years of age (Güngör *et al.* 2002). Notwithstanding, the inscription is a direct expression of pride, achievement, satisfaction and pleasure gained from reading the story in its entirety, which in turn reflects a degree of self-respect and self. It is interesting to note also that the word 'red' is misspelled yet the more complex word 'through' is spelled correctly. This suggests that although the child was capable of reading, his/her other English skills were not advanced which suggests that the child was young.

Letters written by William Gilbert whilst boarding at St Peter's school in Adelaide express a wide range of emotions, sentiments and concerns. Moreover, the content of William's letters reflects an acute awareness of the interests of others and the welfare of the animals at home. For example, in letters written to his mother in 1860 and 1861 when he was 10-11 years old, he would inform her of the ripening of various produce in town, and the blooming of flowers. He also expressed interest in the welfare of his pet dogs at home, enquiring after their health and development (see Table 15 Figure 1-2). His concern for the goings on at home and the welfare of the livestock on the property did not wane throughout his boarding school years. This is supported by a letter written to his sister Anna in 1865 when he was 15 whilst boarding at Walkerville school in Adelaide in which he enquires about the health of the poultry including the geese (see Table 15 Figure 4).

Letters to his father differed from those written to his mother particularly regarding subject content. For example, whilst he spoke of ripening produce and flowers to his mother, the subject content discussed with his father centred more on practical matters. In a letter to his father dated 1864 he thanks his father for sending him money and promises to keep his 'Bit and Stirrups as bright as can be'. Similarly, he enquires about the dogs, however, on this occasion he expresses concern and worry regarding a hunting incident where the dogs may have injured a doe at which he expresses condemnation for their behaviour (see Table 15 Figure 3). Moreover, William's handwriting in his letters to his father is far neater than letters to his mother. Whilst this may indicate a development in writing skills over a period of 3/4 years, coupled with his promise to keep his bit and stirrups polished, suggests that William felt a need to impress his father and gain his approval more so than his mother. Indeed,

ethnographic accounts from Dorothy Gilbert further supports the children's desire to impress their father. Dorothy states that the chores that the children performed with regard to the running of the property, (for example tending animals, see Figure 92) made them feel important in their father's eyes. They saw their services as useful and felt a sense of pride in achieving them. Moreover, Dorothy's accounts indicate that the Gilbert children took their lifestyle for granted and that they were somewhat naive about the experiences of their peers compared to their own. Dorothy recalls how during the school holidays, 'Pewsey Vale' would entertain school friends and dignitaries. She was baffled that school friends in particular would wonder if there would be a mid-term invitation to 'Pewsey Vale'. Dorothy held the view that their recreational activities were 'the simplest' and that they fitted in with the seasonal working of the property.

Sentimentality and the perpetuation of traditions

Material culture from a number of sites and collections reflect sentimentality and the perpetuation of traditions. These themes are particularly evident in the practice of generational and intergenerational transfer of objects. Wood (2009:152) argues that the meaning of childhood and childhood experiences are saved within everyday objects and suggests that these meanings differ significantly from communally shared knowledge, to individual significance and constructed realities. Such objects are imbued with personal significance and different levels of meaning which transcend a singular purpose and context over the life course of the object itself. Wood (2009:153) argues further that the meanings of childhood objects saved by adults are not merely nostalgic memorabilia but rather are tangible representations of the individual's identity. Meaningful objects therefore become actively engaged in an experiential transaction between the individual and the object (Wood 2009:155).

The 'Nürnberg Fillies' wooden doll, ca. 1805-1810 from the Museum Victoria Collection represents a fine example of an experiential transaction of a meaningful object (see Figure 54). Originally belonging to Mary Smith, the doll was handed down to her daughter, Maryanna McManus. As discussed on page 154, documentary evidence suggests that Maryanna had a close relationship with her mother. The doll embodies this relationship representing a treasured heirloom, highly valued by two generations. The books from the Gilbert and Lucy family collections however provide the most prolific examples of material

culture that embodies sentimentality and the perpetuation of traditions established by earlier generations.

Books evidently held a significant meaning for both the Gilbert and Lucy families. The very practice of inscribing the books with details of who gave the book and to whom, along with the date and often the occasion, is a practice transferred from one generation to another. Indeed, these inscriptions aid the interpretation of the imbued meanings and histories associated with the books. They also suggest that both families were mindful of record keeping for posterity.

Some books were handed down through several generations. The oldest books in the study that were handed down include a series of instructional books belonging to Anna Gilbert (1812-1873) (see Table 16), and the book *The Dew-Drop; Or The Summer Mornings Walk* (see Figures 102-103). One of Anna Gilbert's instructional books titled *The Common Objects of the Country* bears two inscriptions in different handwriting, one of Mrs Gilbert (Anna) and on a different page, "William Gilbert" indicating that Anna Gilbert was the original owner who handed the book down to her son (see Table 16 Figure 7). The book *The Dew-Drop; Or The Summer Mornings Walk* is the oldest book in the study. The inscription in the book indicates that it was given to Ralph Everard Lucy when he was five years old on the 1st of July 1821.

The giving of books as gifts and prizes and awards for achievement was a tradition evident in both the Gilbert and Lucy families. Parents, relatives, notable persons from outside the family and sibling gave books. Although not a child at the time Anna Gilbert was awarded a book as 2nd prize for writing in 1867 when she was 55 years old (see Table 16 Figure 1). The Lucy collection comprises a number of books given to the children as awards (see Table 28 Figures 2, 5-10).

Books were also given as gifts to children who were too young to read. The book titled *Dear Old Santa Claus* was given to Ivy Lucy as a Christmas gift in 1893, the year she was born suggesting the book was more of a commemorative gift to celebrate Ivy's first Christmas (see Table 28 Figure 3). Siblings often gave books to their siblings either as gifts or hand-me-downs and indeed this tradition spans two generations of the Gilbert family children. For example, *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There*, was given by Anna

Gilbert (daughter of Joseph and Anna Gilbert) in 1864 when she was eight years old, to her sister Jane for her 16th birthday (see Table 17 Figure 2). This practice continued with the next generation amongst the children of William and Mary Gilbert. *The Untearable Scrapbook*, a scrapbook containing Christmas cards, various other greeting cards and decorations given to Joseph Gilbert by his Aunt Sarah at Christmas in 1894 when he was ten, was given by Joseph to his sister Marjory three years later when she was six years old. It is difficult however to ascertain which child filled the scrapbook with cards. In 1889 nine year old Henry Gilbert gave a miniature picture book of *Robinson Crusoe* to his brother Joseph who was five (see Table 19 Figure 1). Siblings gave some books jointly for example, in 1903 when Emily Gilbert was eleven years old she received the book *A Big Temptation* as a joint gift from her sisters Marjory and Catherine (see Table 19 Figure 2). Similarly, in 1895, when he was fifteen, Henry Gilbert received the book *Under the Red Robe* from three of his siblings, Joseph, Dorothy and William (see Table 19 Figure 3). Another book which was handed down was *The Boy Joiner and Model Maker* as discussed previously on page 218.

Fields/Locales of Interactions and Behaviour

Corsaro's Orb Web model (see page 59) reflects a number of fields or locales including, occupation, educational, family, community, economic, cultural, religious and political fields in which children's experiences are embedded throughout their life course. The model captures the idea that children are active participants in two cultures, that of adults and of their own and that these two cultures are complexly interwoven. Examining children's evolving memberships in these two cultures and the ways in which they interact with their peers and adults requires analysis of their collective activities amongst themselves and among adults. In order to examine children's collective and social activities, it is necessary to extrapolate from the data the fields/locales in which children's activities occurred. This involves making linkages between the children, the associated material culture, the behaviour and the institutional fields in the Orb Web Model.

As Corsaro (2005:26) suggests, the structure of the model is crucial and variations in the number of radii (institutional fields or locales) and the nature and number of spirals are culturally and temporally dependant. For example, in its entirety, the model is well suited for the sociological study of contemporary children. In contemporary sociological contexts, children's behaviour is directly observable and artefacts that children interact with are

secondary sources of information. In trying to interpret behaviour of children in the past however, behaviour is clearly not observable and artefacts are the primary source of information on which inferences rely. In this context of colonial era Australian children, where there is no direct observational data, only material data, the model requires adjustment. Although most of the data fits well within one or more fields in the model, including family and community, economic, cultural, religious, occupational and educational, with some overlapping occurring, some fields are not represented in the data at all. For example, whilst there is evidence for children in occupational fields, there is no evidence for remunerative occupational activities, nor are there data to support children in political fields. That is not to say that children, whether in an urban or rural context did not engage in remunerative work or that they were politically active, but rather there is no evidence in the material culture I have examined to support such activities.

A wide range of children's interactions and activities are associated with the family. This is particularly evident in the Gilbert and Lucy families, both of which are from rural contexts. Material evidence illustrates that the Gilbert and Lucy families were heavily involved within the structure of the family. Whilst, they engaged in collective activity with their peers, they had considerable engagement with adults including nurses, teachers and parents. Peer interaction very often involved siblings, which is indicative of the isolated location of both the Lucy and Gilbert families. Although, school friends often stayed at the Gilbert residence during the school holidays.

From the variety of books games and toys in the Lucy family, linkages can be made between the children's behaviour and interaction within the fields of family, community, religion and education. These interactions included both adults and peers in recreational, play and educational activities. Similarly, there is substantial evidence for a variety of locales in the Gilbert family. The nature of the material culture from both families suggests that the children engaged in play and recreation involving the presence of adults within the home, usually the drawing room, albeit with variations in the level of autonomy. Evidence suggests that the Gilbert children had a higher degree of agency and autonomy with many activities being enjoyed either individually or with their peers in and around the Gilbert property. Within both families, an adult such as a nurse or a parent oversaw some activities, however, not all, allowing the children a degree of autonomy and agency in their play and recreational activities.

As reflected in the material culture, and within, and in line with the structure of the Orb Web model, various locales and behaviour intersect. Children from both the Gilbert and Lucy families engaged with parents, peers and the community during recreational, educational, cultural and religious activities. Education (including religious instruction and worship) occurred within the home as well as outside the home at boarding school and Sunday school. Data shows that while their education and religious activities were highly structured by adults, the children maintained a degree of autonomy and agency in their study habits and their decision-making. The awarding of books from teachers (particularly Sunday school) indicates that they enjoyed their schoolwork and their religious education making conscious decisions to excel. As discussed previously, some scholars view schooling and children's non-economic contribution in the home as work. There is evidence from various sites including, The Rocks and Clarence/Peel Town which indicate that children engaged in non-remunerative occupational and economic activities including chores, sewing and childcare. Whilst these activities did not provide any kind of financial return, they nevertheless constituted an economic contribution to the family.

All of the material culture included in the study represents some form of childhood experiences. From artefacts associated with creativity and innovation, play, recreation and work, to those associated with education and religion, most reflect children's behaviour and interactions with peers and adults. As previously discussed, agency is also evident. The only exception is material culture relating to the everyday care of children by adults. These include a lice comb and two children's feeding spoons from the Cumberland Gloucester Street in The Rocks (see Table 4 Figures 53-55). These items reflect aspects of the daily lives of children and as such were deemed significant for inclusion in the study; however, they are more indicative of parental attitudes particularly toward health and hygiene. Similarly, three child-sized rings recovered from Cumberland Gloucester Street including a misshapen flower ring (see Table 4 Figure 44) and a small filigree ring recovered from Clarence/Peel Town (see Figure 119) indicate that children wore jewellery. However again, whilst these objects reflect children's experiences, they are more indicative of parental attitudes towards gift giving and the desire to provide adornment for their children. Because care of children can be provided by adults, family members as well as those outside the family this category of artefacts falls within the fields of family and community.

Whilst most of the data fits well within one or more of the institutional fields in the Orb Web model, there are some artefacts associated with creativity and innovation that do not fit easily into any institutional field. Specifically these are the drawings by Richard King from the Rockpool site. Whilst King's drawings may have been both internally and externally inspired, the nature of the drawings themselves suggest a very private and personal undertaking – a solitary activity that would have been performed without interaction with either peers or adults. Moreover, the clandestine context of the drawings also suggest that King did not wish anyone to see these drawings and that they were for his own personal enjoyment. These were 'secret' items, produced in secrecy. Whilst still being exceptional examples of a child's creativity, innovation and interpretive reproduction, they represent a product of non-social behaviour and therefore cannot be placed within a location relating to institutional or social interaction. Herein lies the difference between the applicability of the Orb Web model as used in contemporary observational studies of children's behaviour and studies of children in the past. Secret behaviour by children does not occur in a social context and is therefore not observable, unless a child decides to share such an experience in which case it is no longer secret. Objects related to secrecy are indeed rare in the archaeological record. Objects related to secrecy produced by children, are even rarer.

Conclusion

Whilst some sites yielded less data than others and whilst some data provides more opportunity for interpretation than others, any data set cannot be expected to be equally weighted in terms of volume of material or interpretive potential. As a whole, the material culture relating to children and childhood included in this research is extensive and diverse reflecting the everyday lives of children, their experiences and their culture. All of the artefacts included in the research contribute to the overall interpretation and findings. The results are a sum of the research's parts both small and large. As illustrated by numerous examples, children's experiences have left a variety of physical traces in the archaeological record that have allowed the imbued meanings associated with children and their behaviour to become more visible and a number of interpretations have been made. For example, the physical traces made by the children in books suggest that whilst adults chose the books for the children according to their intentions and attitudes, the ways in which the children interacted with the books reflects their intentions and attitudes toward their education, irrespective of adult intentions. They chose to be studious. They had a willingness to learn

and they adopted practices that aided their learning whether it was for work or pleasure. However, because the adult realm cannot be entirely separated from the realm of children, it cannot be denied that parents had a degree of influence over the children and attempts at socialisation existed. Notwithstanding, the children were unaware of socialisation attempts by their parents, indeed they would have been unaware that such a concept even existed. Analysis of the material culture has demonstrated that children had varying degrees of agency, and that agency is imbued in the material culture. Whilst adults controlled the sourcing, purchase and selection of material culture they deemed appropriate for the children, according to their ideals, hopes and aspirations, some children had a considerable degree of agency, creativity and choice. The children had choices as to whether they played, utilised, ignored or discarded the objects suggesting that it was not so much what the adults intended for the children but what the children intended for themselves. They themselves were agents, acting and creating in response to their decisions – decisions and actions that were based upon their reality and the creative appropriation of ideas and objects from the adult world. Children were free to express themselves creatively and uniquely producing artefacts, which reflect their own culture, their thoughts, aspirations and imaginations- in some instances, taking objects from the adult world, transforming them through creative embellishment, from one state of purpose to another to reflect their world. Most artefacts are reflections of an interactive relationship between children, peers and adults in a social context however some are products of a non-social context. Through their creative use and manipulation of material culture children actively engaged in the reinvention and creation of the society and culture in which they grew up.

6 Conclusion

‘Children’s culture is an integral part of the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity, representative of both the social and physical constraints of children’s lives but also their active participation in creating the society and culture in which they grow up.’ (Rossie 2013:208).

Advances need to be made if we are to further our understanding of children and childhood in the past. Despite the increase in the study of children in the past over the last 20 years, critiques of the ways in which archaeologists approach the study of children, childhood and their relationship with the material world are discussed, yet rarely practically challenged. Expanding our knowledge of children in the past requires critical reconsideration and re-examination of the theoretical underpinnings that drive the research. Moreover, beyond theoretical considerations, the construction of knowledge in archaeology, particularly in the archaeological analysis of children and childhood requires an initial awareness of the ways in which researchers approach the data. In many cases, data collection often occurs without bearing children in mind with child related artefacts generally ending up on the periphery in miscellaneous categories in consultancy reports. This research differs from previous studies of children in archaeology in its theoretical and methodological approach. Collected with children in mind at the onset according to the research design, and uniquely analysed by applying sociological theory, the data represents a substantial sample of child related material culture from 18 sites across Australia allowing a synthesis of childhood experiences from 1788-1901. This unique theoretical and methodological approach coupled with detailed analysis of the child-related material culture has enabled the explication of questions that connect the material culture and the lived experiences of the children.

Answering the research questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine the lives and experiences of colonial era European children in Australia between 1788-1901 and to explore the effects of children and their behaviour in the archaeological record. Two specific questions are addressed:

1. What does it mean to be a child in colonial era Australia?
2. How are children’s experiences reflected in the material culture?

Question 1 relates to explaining children's experiences during the colonial era in Australia. Elucidating these experiences required exploring a number of sub-questions, such as did they have agency, what did the children care about, what were their attitudes and beliefs, and how they felt about things, events and experiences in their lives? Question 2 relates to how this was achieved. In order to explain question 1, question 2 requires addressing first as this question drove the theoretical and methodological approach.

How are children's experiences reflected in the material culture? Illustrating the effectiveness of the methodological approach

Answering the research questions required a multidisciplinary approach drawing on theories from sociology and psychology, and applying them with archaeological theories and methods. This was a departure from traditional studies which have attempted to examine childhood behaviour by using scientific methods such as spatial analysis and archaeological patterning; methods which are not effective in explaining childhood experiences, particularly agency. The application of interpretive reproduction theory in the overall approach was stimulated by the idea that children are social actors who affect and are affected by society and culture. They constantly reconstruct their thoughts according to their agendas in order to make sense of their world. This approach focuses on children's creation of themselves. Regarding children in this way is fundamental to understanding children's agency.

Exploring children using this approach is timely, as archaeological explanations of children in the past have struggled to move beyond ideas of socialisation, focusing on socialisation through division of labour, games and play, with behaviour often explained in terms of childhood imitation of adult behaviour. Whilst not denouncing the validity of socialisation theory itself, approaching the study of children through ideas of socialisation interprets children's lives and behaviour through adult eyes and adult agendas. It fails to account for childhood agency and autonomy and denies certain social identity-forming influences such as child specific peer interactions that are often independent from adults. The adult sphere cannot be entirely separated from the childhood sphere yet these two worlds are distinct. The boundaries between the world of adults and children however are very indistinct and are fluid. This thesis explored the distinction and the fluidity of these boundaries along with the efficacy of interpretive reproduction theory in elucidating the child's world separately from adults. One of the key issues, which effectively highlights the utility of interpretive reproduction theory in archaeological studies of children, concerns the ambiguity in the

definition of adult-structured play and child-structured play. As discussed on page 263, researchers have identified two types of play, adult structured play where adults provide the toys and child structured play where children create the toys and play autonomously from adults (see Schwartzman 1976). Adult structured play implies socialisation thereby denying children's agency. Viewed in this way, all of the play objects in this study, with the exception of those created by children themselves become items associated with adult structured play reflecting adult agendas and attempts at socialisation. However, child structured play can still be autonomous from adults even when adults have provided the toys. This division extends beyond the realm of play and is implicit in other childhood behaviour. Although adults provide the majority of child related material culture, it does not follow that children's interactions with such objects are representative of adult structured play, behaviour or socialisation. When viewed through the lens of interpretive reproduction theory, the objects no longer relate to adult agendas and socialisation but rather reflect the interactive relationship between the objects and the children. The origin of the artefacts therefore becomes less significant and the focus shifts to the behaviour associated with the children and the objects once in their possession. Shifting the focus from meanings associated with adults therefore allows the imbued meanings associated with children and their behaviour to become more visible in the material culture, illustrating the effectiveness of the methodology. For example, as discussed on page 263-264, only two examples reflect adult structured play, these include, the German made wind-up toys from the Lucy Family collection and the educational card games from the Gilbert family. Moreover, the limitation of agency with the Lucy family children in their play associated with the windup toys is more indicative of power relations than socialisation attempts. All other artefacts in the study, with the exception of those relating to the everyday care of children by adults (see Table 4), are therefore related to child structured play or behaviour.

Whilst all of the material culture in the study reflects children's experiences, a number of objects saliently reflect children's agency and the way children creatively appropriate information, objects and ideas from the adult world and transform them to address their own concerns and culture. These include the drawings by Richard King from The Rockpool site (see Figures 12-13), the inscribed smoking pipe from the Cumberland Gloucester Street site (see Table 4 Figure 52) and various books from the Gilbert and Lucy family collections.

As discussed on pages 254-256, King's drawings are a representation of his perception of the female form, albeit not a realistic representation of the female form. Rather they are his interpretation based on his experiences. They are not a passive reproduction of a 'given' adult reality. They represent a creative and imaginative expression of his emotions and ideas. Similarly, the incised pipe reflects a child's innovative creative expression. The pipe is an example of an adult related object that has been creatively appropriated and altered in a way that reflects the inner mind of the child and what held meaning to the child. The pipe also reflects agency as the child, acting as an agent, was instrumental in influencing the deposition and lifecycle of the object. The most significant examples of agency however is evident from the physical traces left by the children in the books from the Gilbert and Lucy family collections – traces that reflect the interactional relationships between the children and the books. For example, the condition of the books and the intentional notations reflect children's decisions relating to whether they would read the books, how often they would read and the utility of the books as a study guide. They were therefore very much in control of their own decisions relating to aspects of their entertainment and education. Whilst adults selected and procured the books according to their agendas, the way in which the children interacted with the books and the physical traces made by the children themselves reveal their choices, attitudes, and values.

The Orb Web model has been instrumental in the methodological approach. The model integrates with the theory of interpretive reproduction. It illustrates the concept by presenting interpretive reproduction in a spiral in which children produce and interact in a series of peer cultures. A series of institution fields or locales where children's interactions and behaviour occur radiate from within the spiral (Corsaro 2005:26). The model is culturally and temporally specific. In a contemporary sociological context where children's behaviour is directly observable, children's interactions are able to be linked to one or more fields where the observed behaviour occurs. In this context, whilst the behaviour may include a variety of objects, the ways in which children interact with those objects are directly observable. The behaviour is therefore the primary source of information and the material culture provides supporting evidence. Because past children's experiences and behaviour is clearly not observable, the only means that archaeologists have at their disposal to aid interpretation of children's experiences and behaviour is the material realm. Material culture therefore becomes the primary source from which experience and behaviour is interpreted. The first step then in interpreting children's experiences and behaviour in the past is to identify child

related material culture. The material culture is then observed and analysed for traces of the children. Interpretation of children's experiences and behaviour can then be made by analysis of the observable traces left by the children themselves. Once behaviour has been interpreted further linkages can then be made between the behaviour and the institutional fields within the Orb Web model where that behaviour may have occurred. This approach allows for a more robust interpretation of children's behaviour and interactions and the locales where that behaviour occurred. Not all fields were represented by the data in this study illustrating the temporal specificity of the model. For example, there was no data to support children's experiences within occupational fields associated with remunerative work, and political fields. This is likely because these fields are more associated with adulthood and they may be a reflection of children's non-participation in these fields due to historical context. Some material culture and behaviour was associated with multiple fields and some could not be associated with any fields due to them being produced in a non-social context. Notwithstanding, slight manipulation of the model allows robust interpretation of past children's experiences and behaviour from material culture.

What does it mean to be a child in colonial era Australia?

As a whole, all the artefacts included in this study reflect children's experiences. Some artefacts however, reveal more about children's lives than others do. They are biographical in that they reflect children's expressions, imagination, creativity and various personal characteristics of their owners including their attitudes and beliefs. A number of salient points are drawn from the analysis which furthers our understanding of what it was like to be a child in colonial era Australia. For example, the artefacts and other data, particularly those related to play, reveal much about the types of toys children were playing with, access to toys, where play occurred, and how children interacted with each other and parents during play.

Children were playing with new toys and sometimes the latest fashionable toys, not recycled ones, with the exception of the recycled adult pipes, which were adapted/alterd from the adult world. Children also made their own toys from readily available materials. Girls made their own dolls house furniture and sewed their own dolls clothes. Play activities occurred in a variety of places. Children were not restricted to particular rooms designated for play however as seen with the Gilbert and Lucy families, the drawing room was a place where both children and adults would interact in game play and performance on nightly basis. Children also engaged in outdoor activities, for both work and recreation. Because of higher

density living and smaller inner city townhouses, inner city children were limited in their play areas, often venturing out into the streets to play. This differs from the play spaces that children from the Gilbert family and possibly the Lucy family enjoyed. As Hartup (1983:110) argues, there is a universal desire for children to seek out members of their own sex for play. However, the ability to seek out playmates of the same sex is highly dependent on context. Children from urban areas had greater access to playmates of the same sex compared to rural children and as such, urban peer groups would have been larger and more varied. This may also explain the high number of marbles identified from urban contexts as a game of marbles usually entails a number of participants. Because of the lack of choice of playmates for children in rural contexts, except on the occasions when children were invited to stay in the school holidays, children of both sexes played together (see Figure 89). It is interesting to note also that no marbles were identified in the Gilbert and Lucy collections however, this does not necessarily mean that they did not play marbles.

The number and types of play objects identified in the study indicates that Australian children had access to the same childhood related objects as other Western children overseas. Imported from the UK and Germany, toys were either from shipped goods, or as gifts from overseas relatives. Imported toys were not necessarily expensive. Barker's (2008) comparison of the cost of living and cost of toys at the turn of the 19th century revealed that many bisque and china dolls as well as dolls' tea sets were not particularly expensive and were available from shops and mail order catalogues for the equivalent of the price of a loaf of bread. Children from all areas and economic backgrounds had access to similar objects, for example, books, dolls, magazines, and writing implements. Children had access to the best quality imported toys regardless of socio-economic background or geographical isolation. Indeed, because expensive toys were frequently recovered from sites presumed to be working class such as Casselden Place and The Rocks, indicates that working class children enjoyed the latest expensive toys (particularly dolls and marbles) as their wealthier rural counterparts. Children from wealthier families may have enjoyed a wider variety of more expensive dolls, whereas as working class children may have enjoyed fewer. Although there is no material evidence for dolls or marbles from the Gilbert and Lucy family collections, photographic and ethnographic evidence indicates that the Gilbert children did play with dolls. Aside from dolls and marbles however, there are distinctions in the quality of the toys and games between wealthier and working class children. Although children had access to the best quality toys, and although expensive varieties of toys have been identified in sites interpreted as working

class areas such as The Rocks and Casselden place, the ability for parents to provide even modestly priced toys is highly dependent upon a number of constraining factors including household income and the number of children within the family. Moreover, some of the more expensive varieties of toys may have been hand-me-downs from older siblings or family acquaintances.

Many toys such as marbles and dolls are often viewed as gender specific however, identifying gender division in toys and play is difficult. As Hartup (1983:110) argues, research suggests that there is a universal desire for children to seek out members of their own sex for play. Whilst there is no material evidence for gender division in toys and play, because there was a lack of choice of playmates for children in rural contexts, except when invitations were accepted for children to stay in the school holidays, children of both sexes played together (see Figure 88). This may have differed from inner city children who had more access to playmates of the same sex. In which case, for example, boys played with marbles and girls played with dolls.

Education

The number of artefacts relating to education including slates, slate pencils and educational books identified in this study supports the importance of education in both urban and rural areas. Literary artefacts identified in the inner city location of Rockpool and the books owned by the Gilbert and Lucy families indicate that both urban and rural children enjoyed reading books, magazines and stories. However, there are clear differences between the level of education and the style of education between rural and inner city children. These differences are mostly driven by levels of wealth, class, and gender roles. Because of isolation, rural children were taught at home whereas urban children attended school. Wealthier families' such as the Gilbert family sent their boys to boarding school when they were deemed old enough, at approximately nine years of age. The content of letters written by boys whilst attending boarding school indicates that while they were studious, they experienced a degree of homesickness. Girls continued their education with governesses within the home. Rural children also received religious education at home and attended church on Sundays. Some children, such as the Lucy family children received their religious education at Sunday school. Inner city children may have done the same however there is no material evidence to support religious or moral instruction aside from fragments of moralising China recovered from inner city locations such as Casselden Place and the Devonshire Arms Hotel. Whilst

moralising china is more indicative of adult attempts at socialisation and instilling principles of morality and self-control, children themselves took a keen interest in religion, valuing religious and moral instruction. This is especially evident with the Gilbert and Lucy families who actively engaged in their religious education. This enthusiasm is also supported by the books received by the Lucy children as awards for attendance and studiousness at Sunday school. Further, a prayer book identified at Rockpool suggests that religion played a role in urban children's lives also.

Socialising the agent: A contradiction in terms

Toys and objects children play with or indeed work with (for example books) are symbolic and imbued with cultural meanings. Those meanings differ between adults and children. Were they socialisation tools? Adults may have considered them as such, however, children had no understanding of the concept. During the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, parents gave young girls dolls to encourage ideals of domesticity and to prepare them for the future social roles as mothers and nurturers (Baxter 2005a:43). Given contemporary sociological observations of children and the acknowledgement that they are not passive receptors of the adult world, we cannot assume that the giving of dolls and dolls' tea sets socialised girls in the past. This implies that children were not thinking, evaluating, individuals with minds of their own. Despite some evidence suggesting adult attempts at socialisation such as moralising china, one of the key findings in this thesis is that although adults attempted to socialise their children, children were far more proactive in their own development. They actively engaged with the material culture provided for them and made conscious decisions exercising choice regarding how they utilised such material. The children's internal processes, their imagination, creativity and the influence of their peers, fuelled these interactions more so than the parents did. The material culture, particularly the physical traces made by the children themselves, reflects their purposeful, intentional action, creativity, innovation, self-discipline, emotions and agency.

As discussed in chapter 2, this re-evaluation of socialisation and childhood raises a number of questions about the fundamental features of childhood, the nature of the child and whether it is consistent through time and space. Have they always behaved the same, if so, are their experiences and behaviour in response to agency constraints? Is it fundamentally universal through time and space that children define their own needs, aspirations and priorities and that they differ from those defined by adults? Are contemporary paradigms based on current

understanding of the world and contemporary society applicable to the past and past societies given the variation and differing of views and values of past societies? Barnes and Kehily (2003) argue that play is something that all children have in common. Play can therefore be considered a fundamental feature of childhood consistent through time and space. Whilst games may differ according to a range of variables such as age and gender, children express the very human need to explore and learn through play from a very early age. If the need to explore and learn is a fundamental human trait related to survival, it is therefore arguably consistent through time and space. Societal constraints and degrees of power relations such as enforced parental oppression may influence children's experiences in which case their agency becomes limited. Notwithstanding, children have, and may always have had the ability, dependent upon age and cognitive capability to define their own needs, aspirations and priorities which may well differ from adults. This drive for independence is also a fundamental aspect of child development. Indeed in contemporary societies, when children abandon needs determined by adults, there exists the potential for children to 'learn the hard way' due of lack of experience. Analysis of the material culture in this study has revealed that colonial era children did have a degree of agency and that they did define their own needs aspirations and priorities, which stand in contrast to parental desires and attempts to socialise.

How were the research questions answered?

A number of factors are instrumental in answering the research questions. Three key strategies are adopted. These include the application of a unique theoretical and methodological approach, an exploration of the social relationships of children and viewing material culture differently in accordance with interpretive reproduction theory. The development of a unique methodological approach applicable to the study was first and foremost. This involves the use of interpretive reproduction theory and the Orb Web model (Corsaro 2005). Applying this contemporary sociological theory within an archaeological context, allows children to be viewed differently. For example, children have been viewed as individuals and active agents with social identities. They were not reduced to passive inert automations but were empowered as actors and constructors of their own lives acting intuitively, initiating actions through their own choices. Moreover, and in line with the theory of interpretive reproduction, the idea that children's artefacts are by-products or tools of socialisation and parents attempts to instil values into their children is rejected. Secondly, exploring the social relationships of children and the ways in which children, interact with adults and peers and the process of knowledge formation by way of appropriation,

internalisation, interpretation and reproduction of the adult world is also integral to the research. These are the core principles of interpretive reproduction theory and the Orb Web model. Thirdly, following on from the above strategies, the uniqueness of the methodological approach influenced the way in which the material culture was analysed and interpreted. The material culture was analysed by making contextual linkages between artefacts and the children's behaviour, actions and choices as well as the social relationships between children, peers and adults.

In summary, the unique theoretical and methodological approach allowed for interpretations associated with the materiality of children and their reflected experiences and behaviour to move away from traditional ideas of socialisation and the views and aims of adults. The focus has therefore been more on the children's lives, their behaviour and experiences. Exploring the social relationships of children has allowed a better understanding of the social and individually constructed identities of the children to come to the fore rather than viewing them as defined through preconceived notions of social life. Approaching the research in this way has meant that in exploring the materiality of children the material culture of children has been interpreted with reference to the children themselves and not by reference to the adults. Artefacts have thus become statements made by the children rather than statements made by adults.

What has been identified and illustrated?

This thesis has identified and illustrated a number of points. Firstly, that colonial era children had agency and that children's interpretive reproduction is tied with agency and the ability to make internal choices about actions and behaviour. Whilst adults may have chosen and purchased the various toys, games and books, the ways in which the children utilised them, or not, indicates a level of free will and choice.

Secondly, the research has illustrated that interpretive reproduction and agency are visible archaeologically through material culture. To illustrate, consider the definition of interpretive reproduction where

...focus is on *childhood* as a social construction resulting from the collective actions of children with adults and each other. Childhood is recognised as a structural form and children as social agents who contribute to the reproduction of childhood and society through their negotiations with adults and through their creative production of a series of peer cultures with other children Corsaro (2005:44).

Considered further, Corsaro (2005:44) argues the term ‘interpretive’ captures innovative and creative aspects of children’s participation in society’, and that ‘children produce and participate in their own unique peer cultures by creatively appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns’. The term ‘reproductive’ captures the idea that children do not simply internalise society and culture, but also actively contribute to cultural production and change’ (Corsaro 2005:44).

There are two key points in this definition relevant to identifying interpretive reproduction in material culture. One relates to collective action and the other to creative appropriation for example:

- Childhood is a social construction resulting from *collective actions* of children with adults and each other; and
- Children produce and participate in their own unique peer cultures by *creatively appropriating* information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns.

Therefore if all of the artefacts included in this research represent some form of childhood behaviour and/or some form of interactional and collective behaviour between children, their peers and adults, then all of the artefacts are representative of interpretive reproduction. Objects that reflect a direct and creative appropriation of information from the adult world are even better examples. This being the case, all the artefacts included in this study, with the exception of those related to personal grooming and feeding such as lice combs and feeding spoons, reflect interpretive reproduction. Artefacts such as the incised pipe and the drawings by Richard King from the Rockpool site are examples of a direct and creative appropriation of information from the adult world and indeed, these types of artefacts are indeed rare in archaeological deposits as are artefacts which directly reflect agency, particularly in the absence of other historical data such as ethnographic accounts. However, agency is evident in a number of artefacts included in this study albeit from museum collections. These include various books and toys from the Gilbert and Lucy families.

Identifying interpretive reproduction and agency illustrates that, notwithstanding the variations and the differing views of colonial era society compared to contemporary society, contemporary paradigms can be successfully applied to the archaeological study of children in the past, dependent upon posed context, theme and questions. Moreover, the research

illustrates that the categorisation of children is a relative concept negotiated through context and the materiality of the experiences of the children themselves. Further, by examining the materiality of children's experiences, children's roles as users and consumers of non-children's artefacts has been illustrated. This is particularly evident in the transformation of various smoking pipes from adult tool to toy.

This thesis has achieved the following:

- It has successfully answered the research questions including what it means to be a child in colonial era Australia, and how children's experiences are reflected in the material culture. Moreover, a number of sub questions were explored including what children cared about, what were their attitudes beliefs and feelings about their experiences and how they interacted with material culture;
- It has contributed to the existing body of literature on archaeological studies of children and childhood in Australia and internationally and furthered our knowledge of children and childhood experiences and our understanding of what it means to be a child in colonial era Australia; and
- It has furthered our understanding of the ways in which children can be theorised in archaeological contexts in Australia and internationally and successfully demonstrated the utility of interpretive reproduction theory in archaeological studies of children in the past.

New insights in the archaeological study of children: Changing the way we view children and childhood in archaeology

This thesis is unique in that it has successfully explored and articulated ideas that until now have not practically and thoroughly been investigated in archaeological studies of children and childhood. Moreover, it is unique in that it has provided a synthesis of childhood experiences in colonial era Australia never before achieved in the one body of data. It has illustrated that there is so much more we can learn about children through their material culture if children and childhood are theorised differently to traditional ways of approaching studies of children and childhood in archaeology. Moving away from socialisation theory allows researchers to explore the lives of children through children's eyes rather than the eyes

of adults and attempts of socialisation. In this way, research can focus on what children did with the objects presented to them, how they thought about and utilised them rather than focusing on the origin of the artefacts and adult intentions. Examining the interactive relationship between children and their related material culture using a contextual interpretive approach underpinned by interpretive reproduction theory allows us a glimpse into the mind of the child, and a means to tease out their experiences including agency, their values, concerns, and motivations. As Joyce (2011:147) argues, a contextual interpretive approach shifts archaeologists out of deep-seated assumptions about artefacts and people in the past. This aim is achievable through a process of recontextualisation which includes combining various lines of evidence and by metaphorically putting the artefacts back into the hands and worlds of the owners and users. In this case, back into the hands and worlds of children.

Future research

Interpretive reproduction theory (Corsaro 2005) sets the framework for the research agenda in studies of children and childhood. It provides a platform from which archaeological studies of children's experiences can be examined more thoroughly and rigorously. More specifically, viewing childhood in this way allows researchers to explore the imbued meanings in material culture including agency. I recommend that researchers move away from attempts to interpret children and childhood through adult eyes and the lens of socialisation theory and adopt interpretive reproduction theory as a more effective means of elucidating children's lives and experiences through their eyes and the traces they leave behind.

The application of interpretive reproduction theory in this thesis has contributed to a greater understanding of what it means to be a child in colonial era Australia. It has successfully illustrated a number of childhood experiences which would not have been visible using socialisation theory. In doing so, it has revealed finer grained aspects of children's experiences including the influential factors implicit in those experiences such as differences in gender, wealth and socio-economic status.

Interpretive reproduction theory and the Orb Web model have great potential to inform archaeological and historical studies of children more broadly. For example, the model represents the ways in which cultural information flows, illustrated with the use of various locales or fields that exemplify the various settings in which institutional interaction, communication and behaviour occurs. Whilst these fields are stable structures, they are not

static and can change cross culturally and over time allowing for flexibility in the application of the model and unique tailoring to specific contexts. This means that the model can be tailored to suit any context from the ancient past to more contemporary historical periods. By examining the locales and fields where children's activities and interactions occur, thereby revealing the ways in which cultural information flows, and through a process of recontextualisation that includes combining various lines of evidence, we can learn much about the lives and experiences of children and childhood in the past.

The applicability of interpretive reproduction theory and the Orb Web model in archaeological contexts is not without its challenges. For example, interpretations of the lives and experiences of children are reliant upon 'finding' and identifying often nuanced evidence that children have left in the archaeological record. Moreover, the key notion underpinning interpretive reproduction theory is peer culture.

Identifying interpretive reproduction and peer culture in material culture is therefore dependent on identifying child related material which reflects children's peer group interactions. Such objects may relate to both play and work. Once these objects have been identified however, a wide variety of questions can be explored, including; what children do with the objects presented to them; how they think about them; how they use them; how children creatively appropriate information, objects and ideas from the adult world and how they transform them to address their own concerns within their own culture. Where possible, the combining of other lines of evidence such as historical data and ethnographic data provides an opportunity for more robust interpretation. By using interpretive reproduction theory researchers can explore children's cultural routines including their peer group activities and their collective production of peer cultures. Utilising agency theory at the individual level and interpretive reproduction theory together allows greater scope in examining both the interactive relationships between children and their peers as well as offering a glimpse into the individual minds of children. In this way children's experiences including their agency, the things that they value, their concerns and motivations can be teased out from material culture.

This thesis has focused on European children in colonial era Australia. Whilst a number of differences have been identified between the experiences of urban and rural children, the findings suggest that there is further scope for comparative studies. The challenge for the

future is to apply this methodological approach in studies of children in the past in other cultural contexts. For example, the overarching questions of what it means to be a child and how children's experiences are reflected in material culture can be explored and compared cross culturally and over time. Furthermore, the findings suggest that children's developmental outcomes are more dependent on their peers and their social context than their parents and that socialisation strategies utilised by parents have little influence on the developmental outcome of children's personalities. Moreover, notwithstanding the provision of certain objects by adults, when children play with such objects, it does not follow that their play constitutes adult centred play. The only exception to this is when there is direct evidence of diminished agency and adult control during play as was seen in the Lucy family children – a finding which was highly reliant upon historical and ethnographic data.

Exploring the lives of children in the past from material culture is dependent firstly upon the existence of child related material at a particular archaeological site and the context of the material. Determining whether the material relates to children's activities at the individual or group level and whether the material relates to play, work or both is significant. Depending upon the existence and level of child related material at any given site, a number of questions and comparative studies can be explored for example, the dynamics associated with play and work and how these two phenomena merge and how this differs cross culturally. If there is evidence to indicate children's engagement in economic production, questions relating to how children's activities change over time and how they adapt through play and social interactions amongst themselves can be also be explored. Such changes may be associated with changing political and environmental pressures, the advent of new technologies and the ways in which children's traditional practices and roles change. As illustrated by Katz (2004), where there is evidence of socio economic, political and environmental change in any given society, and where there is child related material culture relating to children's behaviour, interactions and societal contributions in relation to or in response to such phenomena, cross cultural comparisons can be made across time and space.

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