

Inside Melbourne's "Little Lon"

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Article abstract

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Résumé:

Comment peut-on tirer des informations des dialectes des communautés disparues lorsque le savoir local n'existe plus? Comment tracer les paysages mentaux à l'origine de lieux quand ceux-ci ont été ensevelis sous les connaissances d'autres personnes et lorsque leurs formes concrètes ont été effacées par le redéveloppement? Cet article intègre l'histoire et l'archéologie en abordant ces questions générales. Il utilise une étude de cas du dix-neuvième siècle afin de démontrer que l'on peut se réapproprier les conditions réelles d'un micro-environnement urbain – le quartier « Little Lon » de Melbourne – à partir des réalités déformantes issues de perceptions extérieures.

Vignette

"Little Lon". So many tales revolve around the precinct's notoriety as a slum and red-light district. Andy often drew upon those images in the summer of 1988, as he imagined the place as it might have been a century earlier. But imagination was fractured by the dust and din from the demolition crews and their heavy earthmoving equipment, alongside the trench in which Andy was working. What a difference from the cool and quiet of the Public Record Office, in which Andy, a history student, usually studied. Now, a volunteer worker at an archaeological site in central Melbourne, he smeared on block-out and fly repellent and, perspiring in the summer heat, drank thirstily from his water bottle. He had quarter-filled a plastic bucket with oyster shells, fragments of clay pipe, and unknown debris from the spot where, on his knees, he had been carefully brushing. But now, stopping and shouting, he called the

supervising archaeologist to his side. Lady Godiva had emerged part-way from the earth. A small pottery figurine (Figure 1), headless, naked, seated on a horse. Spitting and rubbing with a finger at its base, Andy removed the caked dirt from the inscription that bore her name.¹

Interpretation

The place off Little Lonsdale Street where the figurine was excavated is only metres away from the site of Melbourne's most celebrated brothel. It had been rented since 1886 by the "queen" of prostitution, Madame Brussels,² who bought the property in 1905. Brussels' main brothel in Lonsdale Street backed on to the site. Annie Wilson, second only to Brussels in notoriety, also occupied the building between 1890 and 1892. Wilson's brothel was known as Boccaccio House, and it was here, in popular imagination fed by newspaper rumour if not in fact, that the colony of Victoria's parliamentary mace was paraded in drunken orgies after it had been stolen in 1891.³

Brothel or homeplace? Some have concluded that the figurine was a bawdy bordello plaything. Lady Godiva seemingly confirms Little Lon's reputation as the seedy reverse face of Marvelous Melbourne.⁴ Linking Little Lon with the city's "wicked past", the Age newspaper in 1990 characterised the archaeologists as "dig[ging]... beneath [the city's] new respectability to Melbourne's blackest slum."⁵ A reanalysis of the artefact and its historical context supports a different and more credible interpretation, with Brussels and Wilson featuring in only one episode of the story.

Their brothel had been built as a simple weatherboard home of two rooms and a kitchen in 1851. The house was bought in 1865 by David Cunningham, a painter, and his new wife Anne. They



Figure 1: Lady Godiva figurine. Source: Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University

lived in it for the next fifteen years. The Cunninghams were Irish. David had emigrated from County Tyrone in the early 1850s. Anne grew up in Londonderry, and had arrived in Melbourne in 1859. They lived in the cottage until David's death in 1879. Their three daughters grew up here (an infant son died in 1874). So identified with the neighbourhood had the family become that the lane where they lived was sometimes called Cunningham Place. After David's death, Anne rented the house in order to help pay off the mortgage. Brussels became her tenant. Anne lived with one of her married daughters in East Brunswick, and died there in 1904. She left the house to her daughters. They sold it to Brussels.⁶

The Lady Godiva figurine belonged neither to Brussels and Wilson, nor the Cunninghams. It was found on another homesite several doors down the lane. A wooden cottage of two rooms was built here early in 1851, one of a group of five such houses. They were replaced in 1877 by a row of six two-roomed brick cottages, owned by a local shoemaker (and later a newsagent), John Casselden, after whom the lane became known. Notwithstanding outside stereotypes, the Lady Godiva homesite was neither owned nor tenanted by prostitutes. The names of all its occupants have been traced throughout the nineteenth century. Many of them were labourers, and at other times a butcher, a dealer, a tailor, a coachman, a newsagent, and a steward rented the house. For these people, as for their neighbours the Cunninghams during the 1860s and 1870s, the laneway was a homely place. It was neither brotheldom nor slumdom, but a neighbourly place of working-class families.

We cannot be sure who owned and discarded the Godiva figurine, because of the many occupants, and the archaeological context in which the object was found. However there are several things we can say about it, and its place in the total archaeological assemblage of Casselden Place. First, the figurine was found in demolition fill, indicating that it had probably been abandoned before the demolition of the original houses in 1876, and thus well before Brussels' and Wilson's associations with the laneway. Second, Staffordshire figurines such as this were mass-produced, cheap, and readily available as domestic ornaments. The total assemblage at Casselden Place and in other parts of Little Lon contains many examples, ranging from a tableau of sheep in a field, through to little girls seated with dogs, and on to figurines with religious or historical themes, such as the "Death of Nelson". Third, we can note that the residents of the street were uniformly working people with families and commonplace jobs.

It is not necessary to read the figure of Lady Godiva as "wicked" or "perverse" in such a neighbourhood. Those who owned it may have seen her nudity as humorous, in much the same way as they appreciated the ribald songs and banter of the popular music halls of the day. Godiva herself was a famous historical figure. Perhaps her likeness held patriotic meaning similar to that of the figurine depicting the "Death of Nelson". The final observation we can therefore make is that although objects such as Godiva were items of mass consumption, we cannot assume that they were "read", understood or valued by their owners and by others in the same ways. While we can establish how much a Staffordshire figu-

rine cost in 1865, this is a very long way from supporting an assumption that its meaning or value were stable throughout its life history, right up to the present day when the excavators of Trench 04 found her. Godiva's nudity is not so easily interpreted as might first appear. Whatever she meant to those at Casselden Place, we can only observe her presence, attempt to re-create the context of her use, and be sensitive to the several possible, even simultaneous, meanings she might once have had.

Argument

Archaeology fascinates people. That fascination extends far beyond Egyptian pyramids and Priam's Troy. It takes in Mayan temples and Lake Mungo burials. It relishes snapshots of particular lives, such as Otzi the Neolithic iceman, and of dramatic events, such as the wreck of the *Titanic*.⁷ Popular interest in archaeology also includes the tracings of European contact with, and settlement in, the New World. Places across North America have annual archaeology weeks. Crowds throng to see excavation sites where the layers of city growth have been peeled back to reveal the earliest phases of European settlement. Frequently, their attention is caught by archaeological evidence of elite lives in early colonial times: the site of Montréal's first governor's residence at Pointe-à-Callière comes readily to mind,⁸ as does that of the Intendant's first palace in Québec City,⁹ or of Sydney's first Government House.¹⁰ However community interest extends as well to the material culture of urban working-class life in the New World. Australia's two biggest urban excavations have been undertaken in areas that had long been labelled as "slums".¹¹ Excavation at Melbourne's "Little Lon" extended from December 1987 to May 1988, drawing hundreds of volunteer excavators, and attracting wide media interest. In 1994, excavation of a large site in Sydney, between Cumberland and Gloucester Streets in "the Rocks" district, likewise stretched over five months. Some 400 volunteers worked on the site, and media publicity drew over 10,000 visitors to tour the excavation.¹²

How should archaeologists and historians engage with this community fascination about the material evidence of past lives? And, in the case of New World sites such as those at the Rocks and Little Lon, how can public understanding of such places be transformed by the archaeological and historical evidence that a big urban excavation can bring to light? Does interpretation of sites and their contexts enable us to reach a fuller appreciation of everyday life in poor city neighbourhoods during the nineteenth century? Exciting — albeit preliminary — findings are being reported from New World cities as diverse as New York City and Cape Town.¹³ Yet in Canada, historical archaeologists note with frustration that engagement with the material evidence of nineteenth-century city life has stalled.¹⁴ In this paper we flag possibilities for such research in Canadian cities, as we review the history and archaeology of Little Lon between 1850 and 1900. It is during this time period that our historical and archaeological data sets on Little Lon most converge, that a residential community established itself, and that distorting slum stereotypes about the place took root.

Inside Melbourne's "Little Lon"

It is often said that things bridge past and present. The significance of the Little Lon site (Figure 2) has been said to be that it can "connect us directly" to the past.¹⁵ The tangible qualities of material objects are seen to give present-day observers a sense of immediacy with the past from which those objects came. Yet, as the mixed messages associated with the Godiva figurine highlight, the connections we draw from material things are often illusory. The associations we make may be grounded in nothing more than ill-informed empathy, obscuring the multiple meanings and uses of things as they passed from hand to hand through time.

There is no ready-made bridge of consciousness between past and present that comes built-in with an object. It is the study of material objects and their archaeological contexts that bridges

past and present. Historic sites and the assemblages of objects embedded within them have frequently been likened to palimpsests: by stripping away the overlays — later attributions of meaning and significance as much as stratigraphic layers of usage through time — we are able to interpret the material tracings of past social worlds. Grace Karskens, reflecting upon her experiences as project historian for the Rocks "Big Dig", argues correctly that the narratives produced from such materialist historicism can become "conduits which reconnect popular and academic interest in the past".¹⁶ But we delude ourselves if — in seeking to apply the idea of the palimpsest — we pretend that the past is still there, hidden, preserved in things, awaiting our rediscovery. The social contexts for material objects, and for the past lives that produced, used, and discarded them, are created ex-

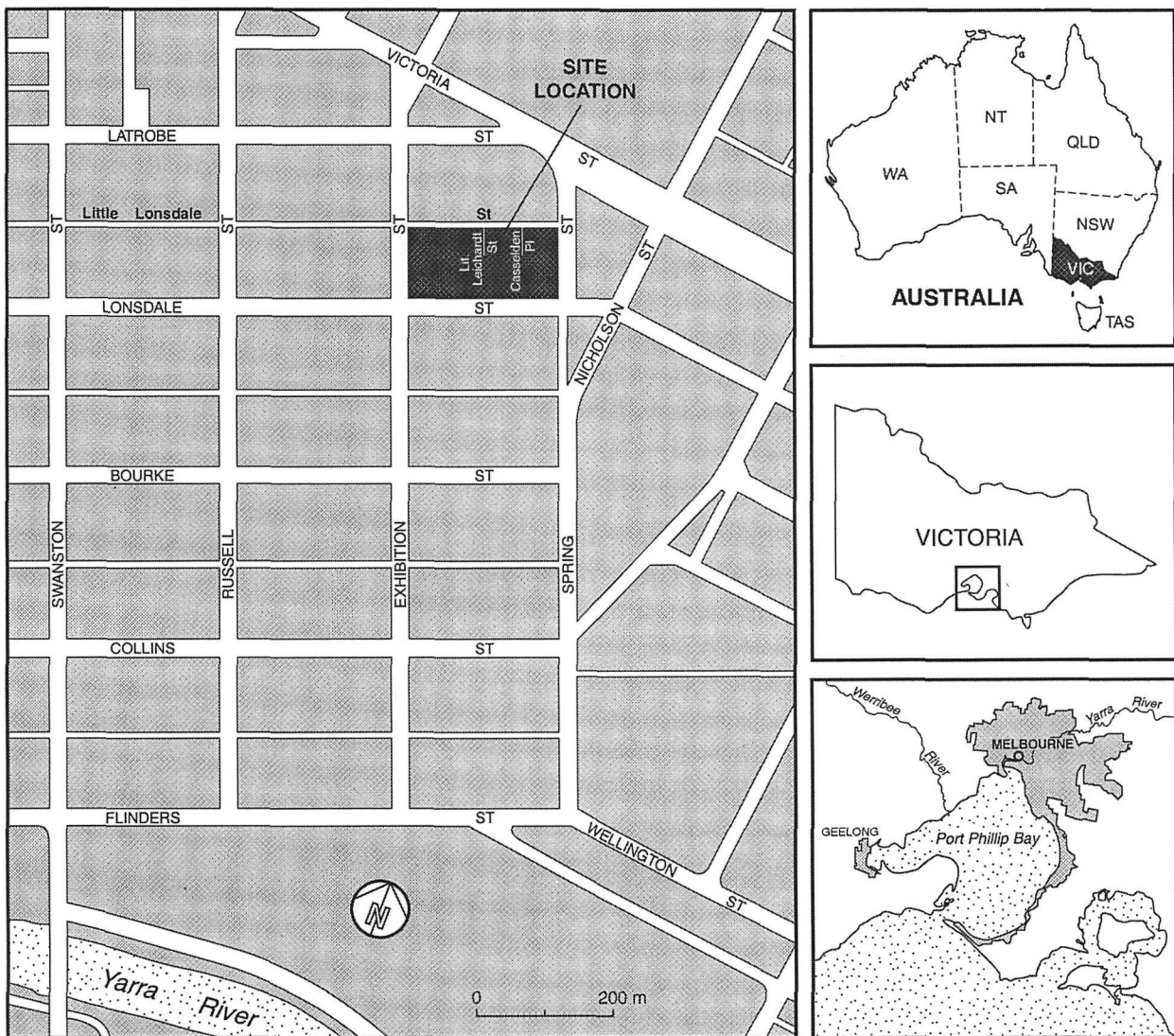


Figure 2: Location Map of "Little Lon" in central Melbourne. Source: Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University.

perimentally by us as we fashion interpretive descriptions about the likely meanings and uses of those things for others. Description and interpretation are locked in a recursive cycle, the nature of which is determined both by information and the ideas we bring to bear on its identification and analysis.

Reclaiming Little Lon for the Cunninghams and their neighbours demonstrates that it is possible to construct compelling historical narratives about the place without resort to outside stereotypes about brothels and slum culture. Neither need we cling to the associated pretence, once the patronising dogma of old-Left social history, that working-class landscapes must be imagined from the bottom up. Stories such as the Cunninghams' provide a blueprint for interpreting vanished communities from their insides out. Poor neighbourhoods: yes. But marginal places and outcasts: no.

Interpretation is grounded in the multiples of particular lives that, in sum, comprised a locale. It celebrates "the individuals stewed into masses by conventional historians."¹⁷ At this scale of analysis our interpretation can acknowledge individual agency and be alert for the resourcefulness of working-class women such as the widowed Anne Cunningham. Establishing a context for the house in which the Cunninghams lived and where Wilson and Brussels made a living becomes one of many criss-crossing pathways that must be followed in order to describe an evolving neighbourhood. By matching and comparing these fine-grained descriptions of people in place it becomes possible to construct broad yet richly detailed arguments about inequality in nineteenth-century cities.

Interpretation

Number 17 Casselden Place still stands in the laneway once known as Cunningham Place. It is located several houses north of the site of the Cunningham's home and Brussels' brothel, and four doors along the same cottage row from "Lady Godiva house". John Casselden had built the row of six brick two-room cottages in 1877. They were slate roofed, their brickwork neatly patterned in red and cream. The main room, opening off the street, was a mere 3.5 metres wide by three deep, and the dimensions of the adjoining room were even smaller. Each house had a rear brick kitchen less than three metres square, and a toilet in its small rear yard. Number 17 Casselden Place is classified by the Australian Heritage Commission as probably the last remaining nineteenth-century workers' cottage in central Melbourne. Eliza Ross, a London-born dressmaker, returned here from hospital with her newborn son Arthur in September 1880. She and her husband, Edwin, had rented the recently-built cottage since 1879. Perhaps they commiserated with the newly-widowed Anne Cunningham. Six months later Edwin, an asthmatic, himself died in one of the cottage's two small rooms. He was aged 56. He had worked as a gardener since emigrating from Scotland during the early 1840s. Eliza, a widow at 38, lived on in the cottage with her two small children until 1884. Thereafter, they move beyond our gaze.

Argument

Reconstructing vanished communities, even one so recently vanished as Little Lon, is a difficult task. The solidity and apparent immediacy of artefacts, such as the cottage where the Ross family lived, or the Lady Godiva figurine, necessarily dissolve into ambiguity once rigorous analysis and interpretation begins. The assumption of easy progression and continuity through layers of things and associations, implicit in simple characterisations of urban landscapes as palimpsests, also dissolves. One is confronted instead by inversions, gaps, contradictions, and dead ends. Number 17 Casselden Place (Figure 3), which Eliza Ross knew when it was newly built, and which she would have appreciated for the quality of its materials and construction, is cited by cultural heritage experts today as a link to the crime and vice of "Melbourne's infamous 'back slum'".¹⁸ We do not know if Arthur Ross survived infancy. His nearest sister had not, dying at 15 months of age in 1878, when the family was living in South Melbourne. We know nothing more about Eliza Ross after she moved from Casselden Place. Perhaps she changed her name, or left the colony of Victoria. Tracing poor tenants, and especially widows and children, is not easy.

The core of the problem about studying working-class precincts such as Little Lon is that they have gone, and that public knowledge of them, always skewed in any case by slum fantasies, has faded. Present-day city dwellers in Australia, Canada, and the United States are ignorant of the central-city neighbourhoods that endured as places of working class life well into the twentieth century. The complexities of such places — their pastiche-like variety of social worlds, and their complex patterns of continuity and change through time — are obscured by the homogenising, universalising, and changeless qualities of slum myths.¹⁹ Slum stereotypes underpinned slum-clearance programmes and redevelopment schemes which, between the late-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, absorbed such neighbourhoods into the central business districts. Little Lon, for example, had been a target for slum clearances since the 1890s, and in 1948 the Commonwealth Government compulsorily acquired the blocks on either side of Little Lonsdale Street, between Spring and Exhibition Streets. Much of the precinct was swept away during the 1950s and 1960s, and was rebuilt during the 1980s and 1990s as offices and shopping arcades. The archaeologists who excavate urban working-class sites characteristically know them as betwixt-and-between places, comprising weed spots and parking lots where communities once lived, and with surveyors' pegs marking out new freeways or high-rise towers.

The people, the places, and the accumulated memories that sustained these once vibrant and cosmopolitan working-class neighbourhoods have vanished. Excavation sometimes stirs family memories. For example, oral history opened a window on the Hayes household in Little Lon's Cumberland Place.²⁰ At West Oakland in California, historical archaeologists working on the site of the Cypress Freeway Replacement Project systematically used oral history "to revive forgotten memories and retrieve part of Oakland history that would have been lost forever."²¹ Elsewhere, how-



Figure 3: *Number 17 Casselden Place.* Source: Department of History, University of Melbourne.

ever, when the excavators and the visitors departed, the story telling, and with it the potential for tapping memories of place, ceased. Such excavations — notwithstanding community interest, the money invested, the effort expended, and the mass of data uncovered and catalogued — have not yet been developed into publicly accessible re-interpretations.

At Little Lon after the excavation work ended another year was spent on artefact cataloguing and documentation before the final report was completed in June 1989. This report comprised a five-volume data inventory, which the consultant archaeologists expected would facilitate further research and interpretation. However the report was never released, crucial excavation notes and photographic evidence have disappeared, and the artefacts sit in a museum warehouse.²² In Sydney, likewise, it was not until 1999 that the conclusions from the Cumberland Street excavations were presented in an accessible and interesting way to the community.²³ Until this happens comprehensively, non-specialists must view such vanished neighbourhoods from the outside, reliant on slum stereotypes, the places thereby made distant, their inhabitants abstractions.

This situation has persisted for over a decade since the excavation at Little Lon. Some would blame the nature of historical archaeology as it has developed since the 1970s. Most of the major excavations in Australia and North America have been undertaken by archaeologists working in the heritage industry, and funded either by developers or out of very limited government budgets. In this regime funding applies only to the direct mitigation of a threat to heritage. Funding rarely extends to post-excavation analysis, which is by far the most time-consuming and costly part of the business. Work may be offered less because of pressing research and conservation needs than "because the law requires a survey, or because there is money for testing, or because the agency just wants to check off the 'archaeology' box on the project implementation checklist."²⁴ Clients often do not allow for sufficient time or money to produce more than a basic site report and artefact catalogue, and archaeologists worry "how much we are truly adding to knowledge and to public discourse as a result."²⁵ In this climate, it has been argued by outside critics that analysis of archaeological assemblages has yielded unspectacular results, and that the money could have been spent more effectively to support documentary research. Only recently have governments given much thought to the dollar-earning potential of properly analysed and in-

terpreted archaeological sites or excavated assemblages. Thus *there is little or no tradition of sustained and intensive engagement between archaeologists and the urban sites they excavate, and because of this, little serious engagement with social historians beyond the random hiring of such people as consultants to heritage projects.*

This lack of engagement is both the cause and effect of a lack of an appropriate conceptual framework with which to interpret, and to sustain stories which animate, the particular contexts within which archaeological data have significance. Social history is commonly said to be driven by an interest in people, and especially by hidden people: minorities, the disadvantaged, the overlooked, the misunderstood. Yet social historians often appear to be less interested in actual people than in social types whose collective lives can be made to illustrate general historical points about structure and action. They eschew the minutiae of particular lives as being too mundane, parochial, or too fractured in their multiple and divergent outcomes to have significance in big-picture historical events. It follows, moreover, that such history making contributes little to understanding of places in the past, because it disregards both the individuals and the associated things that together comprised households, work places, and neighbourhoods. Without this local texture, historical landscapes are abstractions.

The strength of historical archaeology is that it begins with the material texture of such places: with what James Deetz called "the seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime, [and through which] the essence of our existence is captured."²⁶ Methodological tensions have constrained the effectiveness of this approach. However the most significant shortcoming, no matter which school of archaeological analysis one adheres to, is the near total absence of effective links between theory and the empirical data of archaeology. The principle of reaching an understanding of both individuals and the societies to which they belong is central to the purpose of archaeology. The challenge for historical archaeologists is to apply this principle to modern urban sites, which contain very large quantities of mass-produced material culture. In the absence of techniques for constructing social contexts specific to these "little and insignificant things", and which simultaneously sustain arguments of broad historical significance, artefact analysis from such sites has not to date produced rigorous inside-out descriptions of working-class neighbourhoods which contradict the outside-in generalisations about slums.

Vignette

February 1988. A blistering summer's day, the heat intensified by the hard-packed gravel surface of the carpark through which the sweating excavation team is working. The site is Casselden Place, diagonally opposite the home where Edwin Ross had died in 1881. The work is hard, not only because of the heat, but because the trench supervisor knows that excavation work in this area has to be completed by month's end. A disturbed demolition layer of brick, stone, and slate has been uncovered, but there remains almost no trace of any building foundations. The volunteer crew are on their hands and knees, probing with small picks and hand trowels. Por-

tions of a different material texture are being revealed. It is wood. Careful brushwork uncovers connecting surfaces. The supervisor recognises the lining boards of a primitive early cesspit.

Interpretation

Archaeologists recovered over 2,500 artefacts from the cesspit, comprising domestic refuse such as ceramics, glass, and personal items. These things had been discarded, probably during the 1870s, when the house was sewered and the old cesspit was filled in with rubbish.²⁷ The cesspit was located in the yard of a three-roomed timber house that stood here between 1851 and 1891. The house had been built by a labourer named Lewis Hawkins. It was bought in 1855 by John Moloney, an Irish labourer who had arrived from County Clare in 1849, aged 24. John lived here with his younger brother Edward and elder sister Hannah until his death in 1882. The threesome may also have taken in their younger sister Margaret after her partner Patrick Neylan died in 1866. Margaret had left Ireland with Hannah and their eldest brother Thomas in 1851. She lived in the cottage with Hannah after John died, and became its sole proprietor upon Hannah's death in 1886. Margaret built a brick house of three rooms over the site of the filled-in cesspit in 1886–7, and the old wooden house was demolished in 1891. She lived here until her own death in 1901, aged 82.

Argument

Common sense suggests that collaboration between historians and archaeologists would accomplish the fuller-textured, inside-out interpretations that are necessary in order better to understand vanished city precincts such as Little Lon. Social-history perspectives on urban poverty would thereby be given greater definition, by reference to particular people in particular places. Archaeological analysis, according to this line of argument, would select from the inventories of otherwise unremarkable things those assemblages whose contextualisation contributes to key subjects of broader historical interest. Such collaboration has frequently been called for in order to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the past. Deetz, for example, argued that the prime value of archaeology to history is that it addresses people — such as the Moloneys — who have either been excluded from the written record, or included in it by others in biased or minimal ways.²⁸ Archaeologists in the West Oakland project contend that the "commonplace nature of most material culture — broken dishes, food scraps — ... enable historical archaeologists to create detailed egalitarian historical constructs of the past that can provide insights not obtainable through documentary sources alone."²⁹ These kinds of statements are made time and again by archaeologists, but the real trick is to create a framework of analysis where artefacts can exist other than as fetishes, or heavily coded symbolic points of entry into past social worlds where logical circularity frequently masquerades as meaningfulness.

Had there not been heritage legislation designed to conserve the material aspects of Australia's history, there would have been no excavation at Little Lon, and judging by the mood which prevailed at the time of the excavation, no real motivation among social his-

torians to look more closely at the place. And had there been no cesspit to drive focused documentary research, historical understanding derived from documentary records alone would inevitably have marginalised the Moloneys, their house, and their possessions. John Moloney's will reveals that neither he nor Margaret could write. Probate records note that their house was condemned as a slum by the Board of Health in 1886. City ratebooks record the municipal rate assessors' pejorative descriptions of the Moloney's house during the 1860s and 1870s as a "wood shanty".³⁰ The Moloneys seemingly personify the Little Lon stereotype: illiterate, unskilled, trading Irish poverty for a New World slum. They were seemingly deviants to boot. Margaret had, shortly after her arrival in Melbourne, taken another woman's husband: Patrick Neylan, a labourer like her two brothers, and like them all an emigrant from County Clare.

The hollowness of outsiders' judgements is revealed through intensive collaborative work to tease out the particular social context for the material data found in the Moloneys' cesspit. This work makes plain that the Moloneys do not fit the slum image of rootless paupers. The family lived in Casselden Place for half a century. John Moloney was not a rich man, but he owned his house outright. He had worked successfully as a miner on the diggings, and invested in property. So did his defacto brother-in-law, Patrick Neylan, who owned a hotel in the adjoining inner suburb of Carlton. Margaret, the supposed upsetter of domestic propriety, left "£10 to the Dean [of]... St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne for masses for the repose of my soul". Patrick's will named her his wife, and Margaret in her turn bequeathed her house to the widow of her stepson.³¹ Like her brother and her partner, Margaret was not without means, and when the family home was condemned in 1886, she had it rebuilt in costlier brick.

The archaeology of the cesspit from the first Moloney house allows us to match domestic refuse with a particular family for a period of over a decade. Thus we can say, for example, that the Moloneys had several pieces of Spode china, some of it made between 1829 and 1833: in other words, it was either passed on from an earlier generation and brought with them from Ireland, or it was purchased second hand in Australia. They decorated their home with Staffordshire figurines, one commemorating the Death of Nelson and one a Shepherdess. The items are mundane, but that is their interest: these tracings from a poor household, with their overtones of domesticity, fly in the face of slum stereotypes.

Collaboration between archaeologists and historians can thus contradict the universalising axioms of slum myths. However collaborative work to date has not addressed the bigger challenge of how to extend materialist perspectives on mundane things and obscure people in particular places, so that we might construct broader interpretations of daily life in poor neighbourhoods in place of slum myths. Slums are imaginary constructs; but social disadvantage, and the concentration of disadvantage in particular neighbourhoods, are real. In order effectively to study the material tracings of urban inequality in the past, analysis must range across the entire artefact assemblage rather than being limited to

a fraction that can be linked by documentary research to identifiable households such as the Moloneys.

Collaboration alone is an insufficient basis for the comprehensive comparative study of poor neighbourhoods such as Little Lon. By setting out simply to fill in the spaces in an otherwise largely completed canvas, collaboration is unlikely to add significantly to understanding of the past, because it cannot alter the prevailing frameworks of enquiry.³² In this approach archaeology is accorded legitimacy simply as a handmaiden to history. Collaboration between archaeologists and historians at Little Lon during the 1980s was summed up by one participating historian with the comment that "I don't think archaeology is really going to tell us anything new about the area."³³ Such tunnel vision led Deetz to concede that the outcomes of much collaborative work have been disappointingly "unidirectional": proceeding according to "a one-way line of reasoning which is either to confirm the documentary evidence with the archaeological or vice versa and then conclude that the job has been done."³⁴

To do better than this we require an integrating approach that develops new interpretive emphases as archaeologists and historians compare and explain the material and documentary data that collaborative research has accumulated. Integration does not entail historians trying to be archaeologists and vice versa. They should apply the techniques that they are skilled in, not denying differences in methodology and data, but capitalising on asking one another the unexpected questions that derive from such differences. Answers are meshed, framing further questions and thereby continually reformulating the parameters of analysis. The historical contexts that are thereby drawn are richly textured with interlocking data. The conclusions derived from them may be unexpected, and drive new lines of enquiry. An open-ended pathway is revealed for interpreting the multivocal and discontinuous qualities of the past. Teasing out the contextual ambiguities of the Lady Godiva figurine at Little Lon is one small example of the potential of such integration to redefine and refine historical questions and conclusions. Deetz would call such an approach "multidirectional", arguing that the construction of plausible context for a site entails "working back and forth between the documents and what the site has produced, constantly refining and reformulating questions raised by one set of data by looking at it against the background of the other."³⁵ The essence of integration between history and archaeology is thus recursive, assisted by the application of hermeneutics to develop hard-edged materialist perspectives on vanished cultural landscapes in the past.

Casselden Place

Casselden Place (Figure 4) intersected Little Lonsdale Street near its eastern end, and ran parallel to Spring Street almost to Lonsdale Street. Anne Cunningham's home stood at its southern end. The house where John Moloney and Margaret Neylan lived stood halfway along the lane's eastern side. Casselden Place was 75 metres long, and about five metres wide. To its east and west, the lane nestled between the buildings and backyards of properties along Griffin Lane and Gorman Alley. Today its entrance pro-

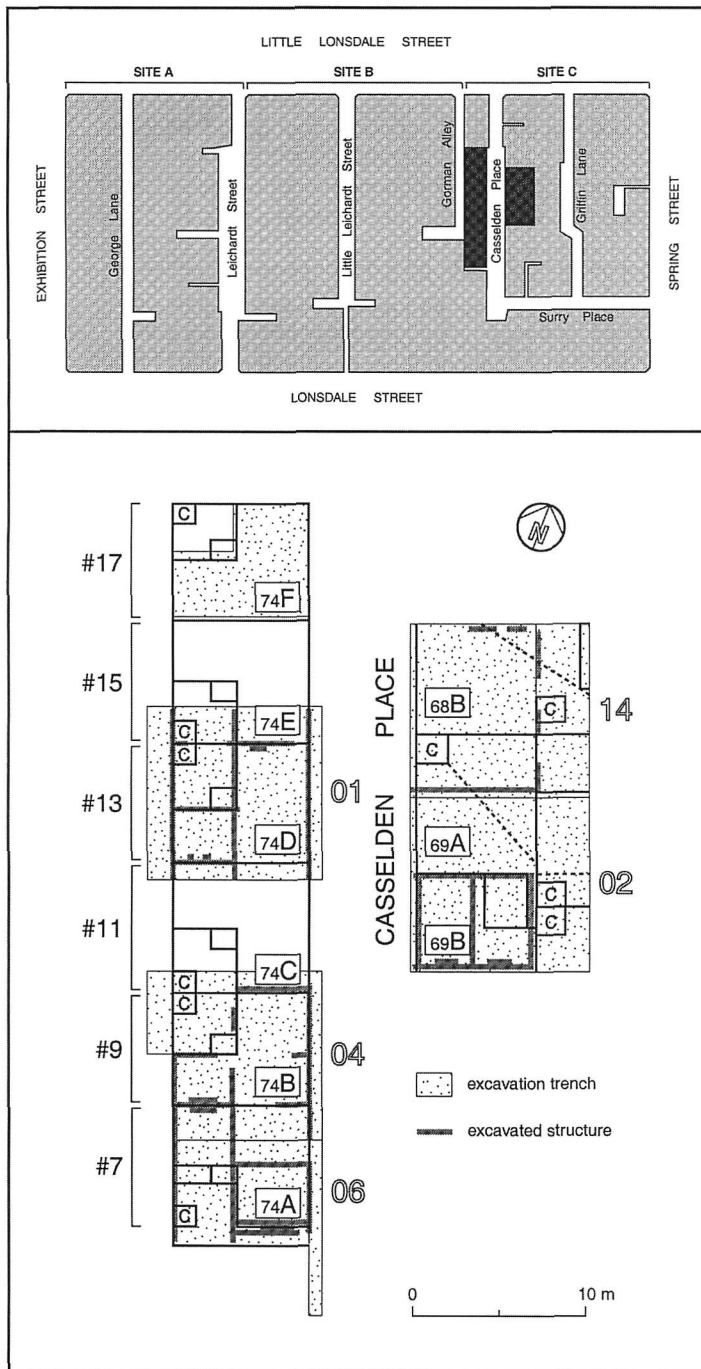


Figure 4: Location Map of Casselden Place within "Little Lon", and the excavated areas discussed in the text.
Source: Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University.

vides pedestrian access to the 42-storey Casselden Commonwealth Government office tower, which extends from Lonsdale Street across much of the former lane. Just inside the entrance stands the cottage in which Eliza Ross lived between 1879 and 1884.

It is possible to identify 19 locations along the lane as it evolved between 1850 and 1900, together with some 300 principal tenants (not including spouses, children, and sub-tenants) and 50 owners who were associated with them. Integrated archaeological and documentary data are available for nine of these sites: the Casselden cottages and, on the opposite side, the Moloney-Neylan site and a house site adjoining it. Analysis of the archaeological context of the artefacts (51,000 items from the row, and some 16,500 from the opposite side) reveals that the bulk of the total assemblage was deposited during the period of the wooden cottages (between 1851 and 1876). Significantly, despite the fact that the houses were occupied by different tenants whose patterns of tenancy differed, the structure of the archaeological assemblages from each of these locations shows remarkable similarities. Of equal importance is the fact that in these locations it is very rare indeed to get even a relatively unambiguous match between known individuals and specific items within the artefact assemblage.

Location 74A (a single cell in the excavation grid that corresponds pretty closely to what became Number 7 in Casselden's row, next door to the Cunninghams' home) has one of these rare cases. It is worth reporting the analysis of the context and its assemblage in a little more detail in order to demonstrate how this link was established. Existing plans and the excavated foundations of the later brick cottage provided a framework for reporting the spatial distribution of the assemblage, which is drawn from all periods of the history of the site (1851–1987). On this basis we can demonstrate that the south west quarter of the site was the yard of the brick cottage, and that this backed on to a small laneway/area of pitching. A fireplace was located in the brick cottage's northwest room (along its northern wall), which was built over the cesspit of the earlier wooden house. Two other fireplaces were also tentatively identified in the brick cottage's southeast room: one along the northern wall of the southeast room, and the other along the southern wall. A tree stump beneath the footings of the southeast room suggests the pre-European landscape of Casselden Place.

Some 28,300 items were recovered from the foundations of Number 7, about three times as much material as was recovered from any of the other houses. The majority of this material is assignable to areas that had been rooms within the later brick cottage, though not necessarily to the period of that structure. Indeed, most of the assemblage seems to relate to the wood house that stood here between 1851 and 1876. The vast majority of the artefacts were located in the northern rooms, and most of that from the northwest room were recovered from the cesspit of the wood house. It contained almost 7,000 items, which represents just under 25 per cent of the total from the site. Overall the proportions of the different materials present in the cesspit are roughly equivalent to those found across the rest of the trench. Differences in proportions of the fabric types found in each room were observed. Differences in the activities represented in each

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room were also recorded. The highest proportion of decorative and personal items was in the northwest and southeast rooms. The north east room contained a high proportion of cups, mugs, plates, teapots, clay pipes, cutlery, and pickle bottles. It also contained almost all of the 317 dressmaker's pins and most of the fabric pieces that were found on the site, indicating that this may have been a location where tailoring activities took place.

To whom did these artefacts belong? The documentary record allows us to establish that the two houses on this site were occupied by a succession of short-term tenants. Like much of the rest of Victoria at this time, the Casselden Place neighbourhood was one of young families with small children. Studies of the similarly working class suburb of South Melbourne have shown that during the 1860s more than 40 percent of the residents of that suburb were less than 15 years of age.³⁶ Mary Toomey and her husband Daniel, a labourer, emigrants from Ireland, rented the wooden house between 1864 and 1867. They squeezed into its two main rooms with their four small children. When they moved, the house was occupied by William Pugh, a painter from Londonderry, newly married to Jane Donaghy. They lived here until 1871, by which time they too had four small children. William Jobb, a blacksmith, rented the house during the early 1870s. He and his wife Eliza, from Londonderry, had lived around the corner in Little Lonsdale Street during the late 1860s, and in 1876 moved into one of

Casselden's new row houses before settling in Collingwood with their three young sons. A variety of other short-term tenants lived in the brick cottage on this site during the 1880s and 1890s. One of them was a costumier called William Ford. He lived at Number 7 between 1879 and 1880. Although this apparent fit is enticing, we do not claim that all of the artefacts associated with making clothes or working with fabric can be unambiguously associated with Ford. Indeed many of the tools (particularly the large number of bobbins) indicate that lace making was carried out in the house, possibly by one or all of the Irish women who lived there. Such piecework was one of the ways women were able to earn an income (Figure 5).

We have detected a robust pattern across the majority of these cottage sites. Generally they have similar assemblages that exhibit similar spatial distributions within the foundations of the later brick cottages. In all the houses the vast majority of items were recovered from the northeast rooms, with a significantly lower proportion being recovered from those to the south. Although there are many ambiguities in the spatial and temporal distribution of the artefacts, due partly to the complex formation processes operating on urban archaeological sites, we can surmise that the robustness of the pattern is probably a reflection of differences in room function. It seems likely that the northeast room was the main activity/living space, because here we find most of the artefacts asso-

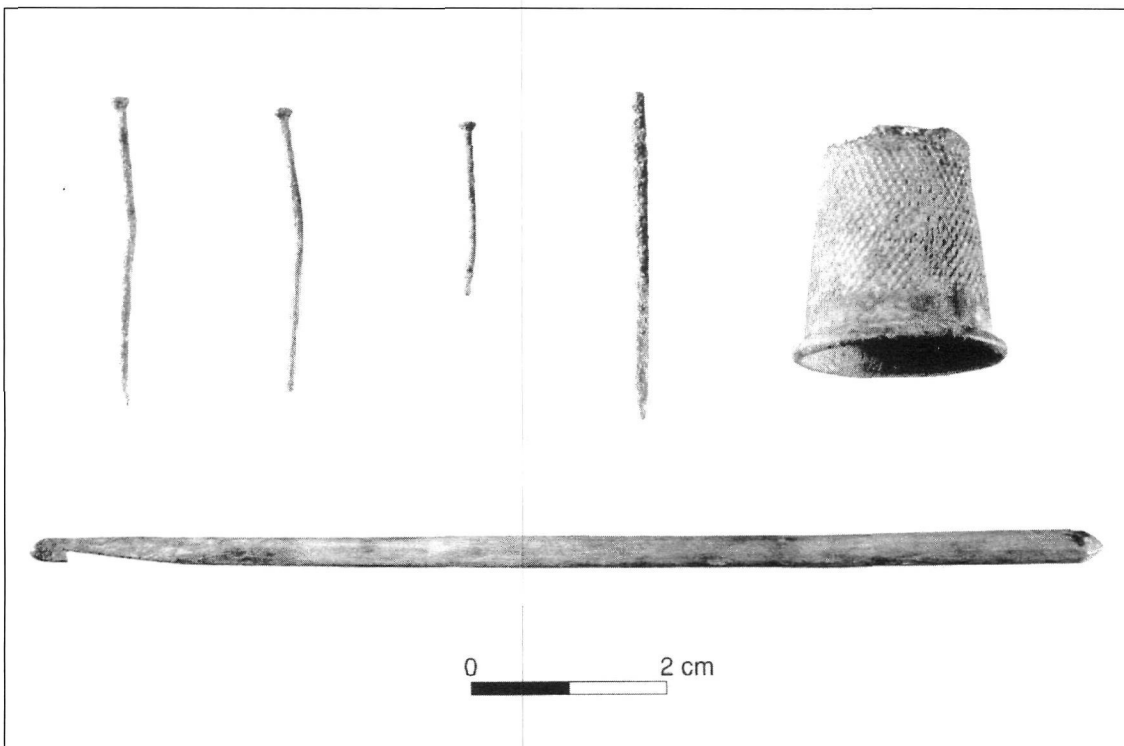


Figure 5: Pins, thimble and crochet book. Source: Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University.

ciated with recreation activities. In the northwest room we find a high proportion of material culture associated with domestic activities.

These generalisations do not allow us to pitch interpretation systematically at the level of individuals such as Ford or the Toomeys, and this has set up a stimulating tension between the predominantly broad sweep of the archaeological analysis with the fine-grained specificity of the historical documents. Consider Number 9 (where Lady Godiva was found), which was the next house north of Number 7. Ellen Connell from Dublin and her husband James Hart, a labourer from County Sligo, lived here as neighbours to the Toomeys. They and their three surviving children had moved from Little Lonsdale Street in 1862, not long after the death of their 10-month old son. A new daughter and son were born in the lane. When their second son died, aged 6 months, in 1866 the family moved again, to West Melbourne. Michael Cummings, a young Irish butcher, his Adelaide-born wife Mary Alphey, and their two infant daughters, lived here during the early 1870s. Thereafter, until its demolition to make way for the brick cottage row, the house was tenanted by another young couple, William Taylor and Elizabeth Hall. William, an English immigrant, laboured for a living. Elizabeth was Victorian born. She gave birth to a son here in December 1874. The Taylors moved into one of Casselden's new cottages, living there until the mid 1880s. Leonard Frewer, another labouring man, lived in the new brick house on the Lady Godiva site between 1879 and 1885. Frewer was a friend of the Cunninghams. When he moved into another of Casselden's row houses, Michael Carney, a newsagent, rented Frewer's former home until almost the end of the century.

Consider, likewise, Number 11, next north along the row. The original house had been rented by Thomas Moloney, John's elder brother, between 1857 and 1860. It stood diagonally across the lane from John's home. Thomas, together with his young wife Bridget and infant daughter, had travelled to Melbourne in 1851 with his sisters Hannah and Margaret. He worked as a carter. In 1861 the family moved two doors further along the street, renting another of Whelan's timber cottages. The house they vacated was rented in 1868 by Richard Atkins, an English boot maker. He had just married Hobart-born Mary Hobbins, a domestic servant. They and the Moloneys were to become lifelong neighbours in Little Lon. The Atkins lived in Casselden Place for almost 20 years, moving across the lane to another of Casselden's houses in 1875. Their five children all grew up in the neighbourhood, and when the family eventually moved in 1886, it was around the corner to Little Lonsdale Street. Richard died there in 1892, but his widow Mary continued to reside in the neighbourhood until her death in 1909. Thomas and Bridget Moloney lived in Casselden Place until their children had grown up. Their four youngest children were born here, only two of whom survived infancy. In 1881 Thomas and Bridget moved to Little Lonsdale Street.

We have little archaeology for Number 9, and none for Number 11. We would not have the documentary evidence, either, had there been no archaeology to contextualise from the rich excavation site next door. Stories such as that about the Atkins family need to be

interlaced with the differently-scaled analysis suggested by the material record for the neighbouring site at Number 7. In so doing, individual family portraits are usefully subsumed within broader arguments about overall conditions of living in Little Lon.

The documentary evidence about these house sites confirms that Casselden Place was a poor neighbourhood. Its houses were small, and were valued low by municipal rate assessors. They formed the bottom of the rental housing market: at a time when "ordinary houses" were let for 12 to 15 shillings and more per week,³⁷ two brick cottages of two rooms next door to the Moloney-Neylan house were let at seven shillings per week in 1884, and Casselden's brick row-houses rented at eight shillings each per week in 1888.³⁸ These small houses were crammed with people. In 1892 the principal tenant of the property next door to Margaret Neylan was fined "for allowing twelve people to sleep in one room, seven in each bedroom, and three or four in two other rooms".³⁹ The occupants were Indians. Many of the lane's residents were Irish immigrants. Facilities for hygiene — running water, waste removal — were basic. Rear yards held over-flowing cesspits, and rubbish was disposed beneath the floors. Life here was consequently hazardous for infants. Casselden Place was poor and crowded, but it was not a place of outcasts. There is no evidence to support outsiders' tales of endemic violence and criminality. Diverse manual occupations were represented, skilled and unskilled, manual and small-scale entrepreneurial. Children from labouring families — if they survived childhood — often moved into skilled trades and the professions. Tenants lived alongside owner-occupiers, and landlords lived in the street or close at hand.

The archaeological record of Casselden Place is far more equivocal. However the key point to emerge from its detailed analysis is the remarkably low level of variability in assemblage structure and composition between houses occupied by the same people — for example John Moloney and his sister Margaret — for twenty years or more, and those — such as the cottages in which Eliza Ross and Mary Toomey lived — which experienced a more rapid turnover of occupants. Although the houses were occupied by people of no great means, the archaeology reveals a wide variety of material culture being discarded in such places, ranging from tools of trade to dinner services (Figure 6). They purchased (and discarded) a great many material possessions associated with all aspects of everyday life. Like the middle classes, working people were avid consumers, fond of decorating their homes with all manner of knick-knacks and decorative objects. However, although we know that the Casselden Place assemblage was once owned by poor people, because of the lack of comparative material we cannot yet say whether this is what all such assemblages should look like in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. We have not yet conclusively established whether they are found elsewhere in Little Lon, let alone in other parts of Melbourne, in other cities of Australia, or in other cities in the New World.

Historical evidence establishes that the residents of Casselden Place formed an enduring community. Although there was a continual flow of people through the houses, movement was often between houses in the street and within the local neighbourhood.

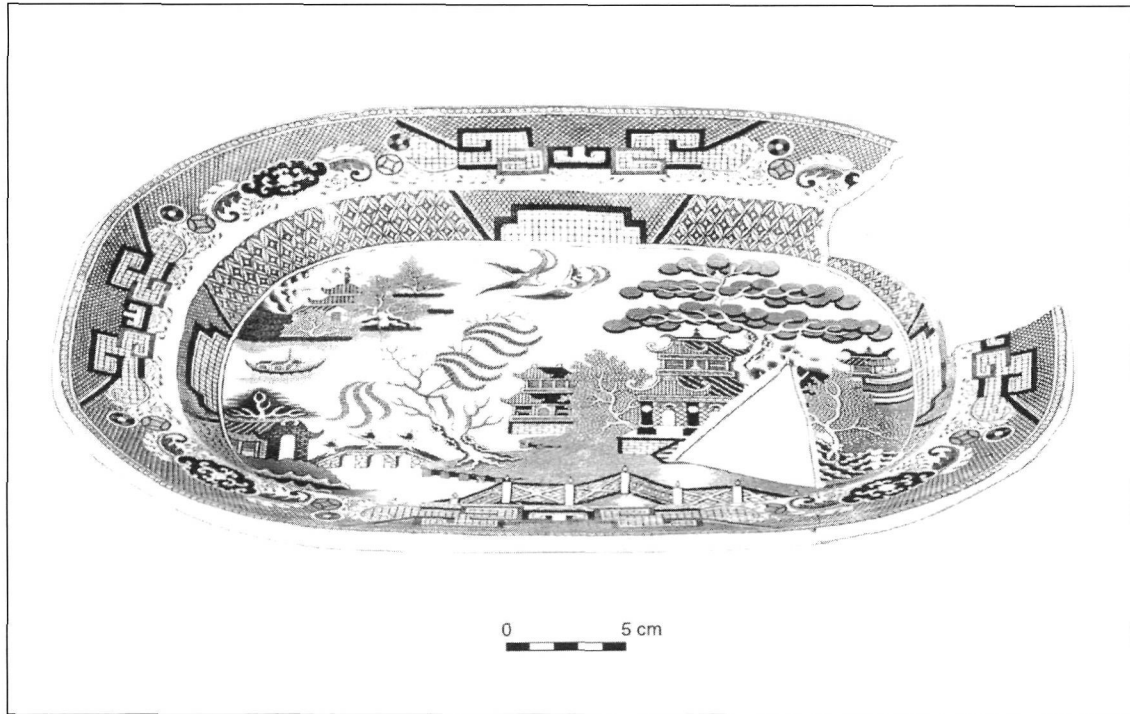


Figure 6: Willow pattern plate. Source: Department of Archaeology, La Trobe University.

Long-term residents maintained neighbourhood continuity and cohesion. They represented the community in times of distress: John Moloney's brother (and neighbour) Thomas Moloney was one of the jurors at a suicide inquest in 1859; when an epileptic youth from Whelan Lane died in 1872, David Cunningham was among the jurors.⁴⁰ Local networks were based in part upon kin: Elizabeth Hall, William Taylor's wife, was the niece of Richard Atkins' wife Mary Hobbins. Mary acted as witness for the birth registration of the Taylors' son in 1874. Elizabeth in turn was witness for the birth registration of the Atkins' youngest son in 1882. Local networks were sustained as well by neighbourliness.⁴¹ When David Cunningham wrote his will in 1879, he knocked on the nearby doors of friends to have the document witnessed. Richard Atkins and Leonard Frewer signed the will, and Atkins later signed Anne Cunningham's application for probate.⁴²

Casselden Place was a community constrained by economic disadvantage, but its residents were not passive victims of poverty. They devised strategies to survive within those constraints, and — by maximising their meagre assets — in some measure to subvert them. During the 1850s, while John and Edward Moloney earned wages as labourers, their sister Hannah kept cows in the yard alongside their house. A lifetime's hard work by David Cunningham was expressed in a £200 house and building society shares worth £31. After his death Anne Cunningham, clearly a resourceful woman, became landlord in order to wipe out the £100 debt still owing on the house, her one substantial asset.

Conclusion

These vignettes about Casselden Place derive from a synthesising ethnographic approach to archaeological and documentary data. Ethnography is grounded in fine-grained descriptions of particular people in particular times and places. As archaeologist Mary Beaudry emphasises, drawing "upon diverse texts to construct contexts is an analytical process, not to be mistaken for 'just telling stories'".⁴³ Her colleague Rebecca Yamin notes that the "process of writing ... is more than a style of presentation; it becomes a way of knowing."⁴⁴ To describe ethnographically from the data to hand is to interpret. The descriptions create context; they do not mirror it. Describing therefore is interpretation, and interpretation cannot be separated from imagination. Applying historical ethnography, as Karskens found in the Rocks, requires an imaginative leap beyond "the countable, measurable artefacts, safe in their boxes".⁴⁵ To tell stories about such sites is to experiment with the evidence, and by discarding or modifying stories that do not fit, to tease out possible contexts for that evidence. Imagination therefore is driven by the particularities of data, and by the parameters that we apply to the assemblages of data from the sites we study. Imagination is thus necessarily disciplined by hermeneutics.⁴⁶ The contexts which our stories construct are not based on whimsy and empathy, but upon the painstaking hermeneutical process of tackling backwards and forwards between multiple data sets and the accumulating strands of narrative that we spin.

In so doing, it is important to recognise that the places we study are, to a significant degree, imaginary landscapes. To occupy

space is to inscribe mental reference points and borders, meanings and associations, which together define and differentiate that space as familiar place. A sense of place underpins individual and group identities. Its idiomatic meanings encase and translate the built and human environments into reassuringly cohesive cultural landscapes. To describe the inhabitants of Little Lon as outcasts is thus fundamentally to misconstrue the locales within which these people identified themselves. A sense of place is maintained by folk tradition: in part by stories told and retold, and in part by the symbolic meanings that are recognised in the possessions with which people surround themselves. The stories and the symbols have local currency, making them transparent and their meanings easily shared. They are necessarily intimate. To outsiders, however, the meanings are opaque, the stories banal, the possessions paltry and mundane. It requires ethnographic imagination, conditioned by hermeneutics, to translate these data in order thereby to know these neighbourhoods from the inside.

In this approach, which Lawrence and Mayne have called an ethnography of place,⁴⁷ description is not only an interpretive tool but a communicator. It is necessary to tell stories that are as engaging today as the slum myths that overwhelmed local knowledge of these places in the past. Yamin showcased this approach after excavating New York's notorious Five Points "slum", fashioning "narrative vignettes" in order to connect household artefacts with residents in juxtaposition to slum stereotypes.⁴⁸ Although, as Karskens acknowledges from her experiences at the Rocks, "it is seldom possible to prove direct ownership or use of an artefact by a particular individual, such linkages must be postulated to give life to the stories of the place."⁴⁹

An ethnography of place, by integrating the interpretation of material data from particular home sites with family reconstitution analysis of their occupants, provides a matrix of household case studies upon which interpretation of the broader archaeological record from the entire excavation can proceed. The life stories provide pegs to sustain an engaging narrative that draws associations between particular lives and the broader archaeological record for which such individual matching is not possible. Equally important, they act as controls against which to check that the contextualisations we fashion at a more-general plane of analysis for material data of indeterminate ownership are in accord with this matrix of inside lives. Our arguments thus proceed from particular interpretations to broader scales of analysis, the particular continually mediating (and in turn being tested by) our identification of broader associations and patterns in the full historical record. As Murray cautions, it would be a serious mistake to assume that all meaningful narratives of Little Lon should be pitched at the level of the individual, or even of the family. This approach enables us to develop general arguments about a neighbourhood without resort to abstractions that obscure the complex social geography and cultural frameworks of place. Analysis can proceed without imposing our own bottom-down assumptions — democratically well intentioned but crudely patronising — about poor households and communities below.

This upward spiral of reinforcing argument melds a miscellany of small facts about obscure lives into richly-textured pictures of local neighbourhood life. But this alone is of limited historical significance. An ethnography of place constructs local case studies in order to compare them with other local-based reference points. We will better understand urban inequality in the nineteenth century when we compare Casselden Place with other locales within Little Lon, when we compare Little Lon with other neighbourhoods in Melbourne and elsewhere, and compare the patterns we identify within and between Australian cities with those in cities overseas. This must occur through the integration of history and archaeology, which enables the focused study of goods and places. Interpretation thereby proceeds from the particular to the general, rather than by starting with universalist and totalising perspectives about urban poverty which are then imposed upon particular places. By asking questions about context and comparison as one studies particular sites — parasite eggs in cesspits, for example, the distribution patterns of mass-consumption china wares, or variations in artefact type by room — one is able to frame answers to bigger questions about social class, gender, and ethnicity in poor neighbourhoods.⁵⁰

The resulting narratives thus require sensitivity to the variety of scales of interpretation which are possible on urban archaeological sites. After carefully establishing the constructedness of the slum as a category we need to be equally vigilant in order to avoid terminating analysis with the proposition of communities made up of individuals with agency. Notwithstanding the importance of debunking mythologies, the fact remains that the integration of archaeological and historical data at Little Lon requires us to compare and contrast between what we have identified at Casselden Place and that which can be identified from mid-to-late nineteenth century urban communities elsewhere in the New World. Such acts of comparison and contrast require a movement up a scale of generalisation where the texture of individual lives is lost. However it would be a mistake to argue either that this must be one-way traffic, or that gear changing between particular and general scales can occur without reference to differently-g geared traffic in the same hermeneutical flow of analysis. Our experience in thinking through and applying these ideas at Little Lon indicates that in order for us to understand the historical archaeology of Casselden Place we need to understand much more about how people here and elsewhere used, valued, retained, circulated, and discarded material culture in the mid-to-late nineteenth century New World.

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Notes

1. This passage draws in part upon information provided by Andrew Brown-May, 3 September 1998.
2. *Truth*, 31 March 1906, 4. See Philip Bentley, "'Edifices of Venereal Renown and Gilded Palaces of Sin': Madame Brussels: a life on the margins in mid to late nineteenth century Melbourne", B.A. Honours thesis, Department of History, Monash University, 1993. See also John Leckey, "The Brothels of Little Lon", in the Museum of Victoria's World Wide Web site, "Little Lonsdale Street", <http://www.mov.vic.gov.au/littlelons/index.html>.
3. See A.J. Ryan, *Historical and Architectural Development of the Commonwealth Centre Site bounded by Spring, Lonsdale, Exhibition and La Trobe Streets, Melbourne, 1837-1978* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Department of Housing and Construction, 1979), 44; also Keith Dunstan, *Wowsers* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1968), 174-78.
4. Chris McConville gave spatial definition to this reputation in "The location of Melbourne's prostitutes, 1870-1920", *Australian Historical Studies*, 19, no. 74 (April 1980), 86-97.
5. Norman Abjorensen, "The city's wicked past", *Age*, 5 June 1990, 11; see also Dunstan, *Wowsers*, 180.
6. Information about the Cunninghams, and other inhabitants of Little Lon, derives from an Australian Research Council-funded family reconstitution project by Lawrence and Mayne, and was collected by Kasia Zygmuntowicz. This project is using probate records, and certificates of birth, marriage, and death, to study the occupants of Casselden Place during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
7. A good measure of this fascination is the flow of articles on such themes that has been published during the 1980s and 1990s by *National Geographic* magazine.
8. See Pauline Desjardins and Geneviève Dugay (trans Käthe Roth), *Pointe-à-Callière: From Ville-Marie To Montréal* (Québec: Septentrion, 1992); Marc Boudreau (ed.), *Pointe-à-Callière: Experience the Past!* (Pointe-à-Callière, Montréal Museum of Archaeology & History, 1992).
9. See Marcel Moussette, *Le Site Du Palais De L'Intendant A Québec: Genèse et structuration d'un lieu urbain* (Québec: Septentrion, 1994).
10. Helen Proudfoot, *Australia's First Government House* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991).
11. Note Mayne's methodological critique of "slum" historiography in "A barefoot childhood: so what? Imagining slums and reading neighbourhoods", *Urban History*, 22, no. 3 (December 1995), 380-89.
12. Justin McCarthy, *Archaeological Investigation: Commonwealth Offices and Telecom Corporate Building Sites. The Commonwealth Block, Melbourne, Victoria*, 5 volumes (Melbourne: Commonwealth Department of Administrative Services and Telecom Australia, 1989). Grace Karskens, *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999). See Karskens, *Main Report: New Perspectives from the Rocks*, in Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants, *The Cumberland/Gloucester Streets Site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report* (Sydney: Godden Mackay Logan & the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, 1999), volume 2; also Karskens, "The Dialogue of Townscape: the Rocks and Sydney, 1788-1820", *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, no. 108 (April 1997), 88-112.
13. See A. Mayne and T. Murray (eds.), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
14. Interesting work is being undertaken in Québec. See *Québec: La Ville Sous La Ville* (Ville De Québec, n.d.); William Moss, Serge Rouleau, Céline Cloutier, Catherine Fortin, *L'Archéologie de la Maison Aubert-De-La-Chesnaye à Québec* (CELAT-Université Laval, 1998).
15. Russell Porter, Jo Lane, Jo Bell, & Ann Darrouzett, *Life at Little Lon*, Melbourne: Film Victoria in association with SBS Television, 1992).
16. Karskens, *New Perspectives*, 225.
17. Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 14, 86 (first published 1982).
18. Buildings committee citation, 20 October 1983, and statement of significance, file no. 5304, National Trust of Australia (Victoria). See the entry for 17 Casselden Place in the Australian Heritage Commission, *Register of the National Estate*; also *Interim Conservation Plan, Commonwealth Block Melbourne Victoria* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Department of Administrative Services, 1987), 150-54.
19. See Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993). Graeme Davison and David Dunstan argue similarly in the Introduction and first chapter of Graeme Davison, David Dunstan, & Chris McConville (eds.), *The Outcasts of Melbourne: Essays in Social History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985).
20. See Alan Mayne and Tim Murray, "'In Little Lon ... Wiv Ginger Mick': Telling the Forgotten History of a Vanished Community", *Journal of Popular Culture*, 33, no. 1 (1999), 63-77.
21. Suzanne Stewart and Mary Praetzellis (eds.), *Sights And Sounds: Essays in Celebration of West Oakland* (Anthropological Studies Centre, Sonoma State University, 1997), 1. This approach has also been used at Cumberland Street in the Rocks. See Karskens, *New Perspectives*, and Karskens "Crossing Over: Archaeology and History at the Cumberland/Gloucester Street Site, the Rocks 1994-1996", *Public History Review*, 5/6 (1996-97), 30-48.
22. Encouragingly, many of these artefacts will be displayed in an exhibition on Little Lon which is being prepared for the year 2000 opening of the new Museum Victoria. The Museum's director is the dynamic George MacDonald, formerly head of the Museum of Civilisation in Ottawa.
23. See Karskens, *Inside the Rocks*.
24. Ned Heite (Heite Consulting), "history of contract archaeology", Historical Archaeology electronic discussion list HISTARCH@ASUVM.INRE.ASU.EDU, 29 August 1998.
25. Dan Mouer (Virginia Commonwealth University), "Re: history of contract archaeology", *ibid.*, 28 August 1998.
26. James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996 edition), 161.
27. McCarthy, *Archaeological Investigation*, vol. 1, 108-9.
28. James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 12.
29. Mary Praetzellis (ed.), *West Oakland: "A Place to Start From". Research Design and Treatment Plan, Cypress I-880 Replacement Project* (San Francisco: California Department of Transportation, 1994), vol. 1, v.

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30. Will and probate papers of John Moloney, in Victorian Public Record Series (VPRS) 7591/P2, unit 112; VPRS 28/P2, unit 200; City of Melbourne rate books.
31. Will of Margaret Neylan, 18 October 1900, VPRS 7591/P2, unit 321.
32. This is exemplified by Max Kelly's *Anchored in a Small Cove: A history and archaeology of The Rocks, Sydney* (Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority, 1997). As applied to Little Lon, see Merrill Findlay, "Unearthing A City's Past", *Habitat Australia*, 18, no. 4 (August 1990), 29–31.
33. Porter, *Life at Little Lon*.
34. Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred*, 158.
35. *Ibid.*, 159.
36. Jane Beer, Charles Fahey, Patricia Grimshaw, & Melanie Raymond, *Colonial Frontiers and Family Fortunes: Two Studies of Rural and Urban Victoria* (Melbourne: Melbourne University History Monograph Series no. 6, 1989), 87.
37. P.T.A. Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1969), vol. 3, 1628 (first published 1918).
38. John Franz, statement of assets and liabilities, 29 July 1884, VPRS 28/P0, unit 331, item 28/27. John Casselden, statement of assets and liabilities, 11 October 1888, VPRS 28/P2 unit 245.
39. Town Clerk's files, quoted in McCarthy, *Archaeological Investigation*, vol. 1, 80.
40. Proceedings of an Inquest held upon the body of James Mahoney, 31 December 1859, VPRS 24, unit 74, file 1220/1859; proceedings of Inquest held upon the body of Henry John Booth, 7 May 1872, VPRS 24, unit 273, item 477/1872.
41. See Glassie, *Passing the Time*, 583–84.
42. Will and probate papers for David Cunningham, VPRS 7591/P2, unit 49; VPRS 28/P0, unit 224.
43. Mary Beaudry, "Introduction: Ethnography in Retrospect", in Mary E. D'Agostino, Elizabeth Prine, Eleanor Casella, & Margot Winer (eds.), *The Written and the Wrought: Complementary Sources in Historical Anthropology* (Berkeley: Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, no. 79, 1995), 3.
44. Rebecca Yamin, "Lurid Tales and Homely Stories of New York's Notorious Five Points", *Historical Archaeology*, 32, no. 1 (1998), 84.
45. Karskens, *New Perspectives*, 60. See Adrian Praetzelis, "Introduction: Why Every Archaeologist Should Tell Stories Once in a While", *Historical Archaeology*, 32, no. 1 (1998), 1–3.
46. See Hans-Georg Gadamer (trans. and ed. David E. Linge), *Philosophical Hermeneutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).
47. Alan Mayne and Susan Lawrence, "Ethnographies of place: a new urban research agenda", *Urban History*, 26, no. 3 (December 1999), 325–48.
48. Yamin, "Lurid Tales", 74–85; Rebecca Yamin, "New York's Mythic Slum: Digging lower Manhattan's infamous Five Points", *Archaeology* (March/April 1997), 45–53; see also the Five Points world wide web site at <http://R2.gsa.gov/fivept/fphome.htm>.
49. Karskens, *New Perspectives*, 61.
50. See, for example, Diana diZerega Wall, *The Archaeology of Gender: Separating the Spheres in Urban America* (New York: Plenum Press, 1994).