



ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF THE MODERN CITY 1788-1900

# Assessment of Historical and Archaeological Resources of the Paddy's Market Site, Darling Harbour, Sydney

PENNY CROOK, LAILA ELLMOOS AND TIM MURRAY



Volume I  
of the Archaeology of the Modern City Series  
A HISTORIC HOUSES TRUST OF NEW SOUTH WALES PUBLICATION

Published by the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales  
61 Darghan Street, Glebe NSW 2037 Australia  
[www.hht.net.au](http://www.hht.net.au)

Published in Sydney 2003

© Archaeology of the Modern City Project Partners, 2003

Second edition, revised

ISBN 1 876991 04 6

*The views expressed in this book may not be representative of the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales or the other project partners and remain the responsibility of the authors.*

The Archaeology of the Modern City project incorporates two research ventures: 'Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City: Sydney 1788–1900' and 'Managing the Archaeology of Central Sydney and Melbourne 1788–1900'. Both projects are funded by the Australian Research Council Linkage Scheme and conducted by Project Partners: La Trobe University, the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Godden Mackay Logan Pty Ltd, the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, the NSW Heritage Office, Heritage Victoria and the Sydney City Council.



## Introduction to the Historical and Archaeological Resources Assessment Reports

This is one of seven reports concerning the assessment of historical and archaeological resources at sites selected for the Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City (EAMC). The series as a whole requires some introduction.

The assessment reports were written for each archaeological site by the EAMC team following the assessment of the status of resources available to the project. While they provide some background to the excavations and historical research undertaken at each site, the reports were not intended as a comprehensive history of such work. Rather, they are an assessment of whether the surviving *products* of that work were sufficient to justify further research within the scope of the EAMC project.

These reports were originally intended for review by Industry Partners only and have not been written for a general audience. It was decided many months after their preparation, that the contents were significant enough to warrant distribution to interested parties, despite containing some sensitive discussion of the work of peers.

All primary consultants discussed in the reports were provided the opportunity to comment on the presentation of their work prior to publication.

Any errors discovered in the assessment process are presented as matters of fact, and the EAMC assessment should not be read as a judgement upon the professionalism of the consultants and researchers discussed in the report.

Further, it is worth noting that the primary purpose of the EAMC reports should not be confused with a generalised evaluation of past work: resources considered to be inappropriate for EAMC work are not necessarily ruled out for use in other research contexts.

The systematic assessment of artefact catalogues in Australian historical archaeology is uncharted territory and the EAMC team had to develop their own methods to undertake this task. Any feedback on our approach and procedures is most welcomed.

We hope that the circulation of these reports will spark serious consideration of the many important issues raised by the need to systematically record data in heritage archaeology contexts.

*Professor Tim Murray*  
*Chief Investigator*



## CONTENTS

<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>7</b>
1.1 AUTHORSHIP.....	7
1.2 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	8
<b>2.0 SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>3.0 APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>APPENDIX ONE: ASSESSMENT OF RECORDS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PADDY’S MARKET SITE.....</b>	
<b>MARKET SITE.....</b>	<b>10</b>
1.0 Background.....	10
2.0 Historical, Archaeological and Conservation Work undertaken at the Paddy’s Market site .....	13
2.1 Historical Analysis.....	13
2.2 Conservation Work And Cultural Resource Management.....	14
2.3 Archaeology.....	16
3.0 Records and Reports.....	18
3.1 Historical Records and Reports.....	18
3.2 Excavation and Artefact Records and Reports.....	18
3.2.1 Stratigraphic Recording and Reporting.....	18
3.2.2 Artefact Recording and Reporting.....	19
4.0 Archaeological Analysis.....	20
5.0 Historical and Archaeological Interpretations of the Paddy’s Market site.....	21
5.1 Archaeological interpretations.....	21
5.2 Historical interpretation.....	22
<b>APPENDIX TWO: SAMPLING THE ACCURACY AND UTILITY OF THE ARTEFACT CATALOGUE.....</b>	<b>25</b>
1.0 History of the Artefact Assemblage and Catalogues.....	25
2.0 Terminology.....	27
3.0 Sample Size and Assessment Methods.....	27
4.0 Discussion of Issues .....	28
4.1 Needs of EAMC.....	28
4.2 The artefact catalogue of the Paddy’s Market site.....	29
4.2.1 Artefact Culling.....	30
4.2.2 The Type Series.....	31
4.2.3 Function Groupings.....	33
4.2.4 Portion.....	34
4.2.5 Inscriptions.....	34
4.2.6 Colour terminology.....	34
4.2.7 Integrity and Percentage Estimates.....	35
4.2.8 Artefact or Bag Mix-up.....	35
4.2.9 Mixed Bags.....	35
4.2.10 Material.....	36
4.2.11 Decoration.....	36
4.2.12 Box numbers.....	36
4.2.13 Other issues.....	37
4.3 Artefact Storage.....	38
4.4 Research Potential of the Paddy’s Market site Artefact Assemblage.....	38
5.0 Assessment of the Accuracy and Usefulness of the Catalogue .....	39
5.1 Implications.....	39
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>41</b>

## TABLES

Table 1	Conservation, archival and archaeological projects undertaken on the Paddy's Market site since 1988. ....	13
Table 2	List of personnel involved in the Paddy's Market site archaeological investigation .....	17
Table 3	Summary of excavation and artefact records and reports.....	19
Table 4	Fields used to compile the Paddy's Market site catalogue and those required for the EAMC database. ....	26
Table 5	Number of bags and estimated fragments sampled and in the Paddy's Market site artefact assemblage. ....	27
Table 6	Accuracy of records in the sample of the Paddy's Market site catalogue and a projection of the number of records likely in the assemblage as a whole. ....	30

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Paddy's Market site was excavated in 1990–1991 by Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants Pty Ltd in conjunction with Wendy Thorp for Jason Property Management on behalf of Rockvale Pty Ltd, and indirectly for site owners, the Darling Harbour Authority (DHA, now Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority [SHFA]).

The 'Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City' project (EAMC) has been established by the Archaeology Program of La Trobe University, and Industry Partners, to comprehensively analyse and interpret the large assemblages excavated from historical archaeological sites, which are held in storehouses across Sydney. The aim is to develop a clearer and more precise understanding of Sydney's past material, personal and working worlds from its archaeological remains, than has been previously attempted in Sydney.

The archaeological collection from the Paddy's Market site is among the suite of material selected for analysis in this project. Other collections include those from the Hyde Park Barracks, the Royal Mint, Susannah Place, First Government House, the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets site and possibly Lilyvale. Artefacts from each collection will be comprehensively analysed within their specific archaeological and broader historical contexts. Once each site has been successfully analysed and interpreted on its own merits, a program of inter-site research, analysis and interpretation will be undertaken to reach a new perspective on Sydney's past.

Prior to undertaking intra-site research, the records of each collection (excavation records and reports, the artefact database and related historical material) will be reviewed for their accuracy and utility within the research program.

A review of records pertaining to the Paddy's site archaeological collection was undertaken in October and November 2001.

This report outlines the details of this review and potential utility of historical and archaeological records of the Paddy's Market site in the EAMC project. The details are included as appendices. Appendix One provides an assessment of the documents and reports relating to the history and archaeology of the Paddy's Market site, including an overview of works on the site, and levels of analysis and interpretation offered to date. Appendix Two provides a detailed review of the artefact database.

This report was prepared in January 2002 for the Industry Partners of the AMC Project: the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales (HHT), the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority (SHFA), Godden Mackay Logan Pty Ltd (GML), the NSW Heritage Office, Heritage Victoria and the Sydney City Council. This report was revised in June 2002.

### 1.1 Authorship

Sections 1.0–3.0 were prepared by Penny Crook (Project Archaeologist). Appendix One was prepared by Laila Ellmoos (Project Historian) and Penny Crook. Appendix Two was prepared by Penny Crook. Tim Murray (Chief Investigator) reviewed this report.

## 1.2 Acknowledgements

Thanks to Chris Plummer, Andrew Basso and Pauline Boutros from SHFA and Matthew Kelly from GML for assistance with locating and accessing the artefact collection.

Thanks also to GML for providing us with copies of the report and permitting review of administrative files.

Thanks to Wayne Johnson (SHFA) for his clarification of the more complex details of the site's ownership history.

Thanks to Di Talty (SHFA), Richard Mackay (GML), Patrick Grant and Wendy Thorp for discussion regarding the excavation of the site and artefact-cataloguing of its assemblage. Specific thanks to Patrick Grant to converting an early version of the artefact database and providing us with an accessible copy of the data.

## 2.0 SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

The review of historical and archaeological records pertaining to the Paddy's Market site was undertaken between October and November 2001 by the EAMC team. The team reviewed all historical and archaeological reports held by the SHFA and original records held at the Mitchell Library, and undertook the analysis of a sampled portion of the artefact catalogue. Details of the review are included in Appendices One and Two. The major results and conclusions of the review are briefly outlined below.

While the majority of records in the Paddy's Market database are satisfactory and the catalogue as a whole is more accurate and more reliable than others assessed for the EAMC project, some data considered to be erroneous, questionable, inconsistent or ambiguous was identified in key fields during the sample (for example, data in the Type Series, Function, Portion, Colour and Percentage fields). While in the case of other sites, such errors were considered manageable despite being greater in number, because they could be physically inspected and verified, the fact that approximately two-thirds of the Paddy's Market site assemblage has been culled renders this task impossible. More importantly, while an accurate database would quicken the process, accurate minimum vessel counts cannot be prepared without physical inspection of the artefacts. Without minimum vessel counts, any analysis of the Paddy's Markets contexts would be incomparable to all other sites in the EAMC project for which minimum vessel counts will be prepared.

Given that the EAMC project only proposed to include either Paddy's Market or Lilyvale, the Paddy's Market assemblage will be excluded from the research program. Where appropriate and necessary, the site's Type Series will be used as a reference for other assemblage studies.

It is important to note that while Paddy's Market assemblage is less suitable than other artefact collections for the purposes of the EAMC research, it does still yield some research potential for specific artefact studies, limited contextualised assemblage studies and studies of the larger-scale patterns of residential and industrial occupation across the site, for which reduced confidence in function or activities fields is not of great concern. The excellent site records and reports will provide a solid basis for such work.

### **3.0 APPENDICES**

*Appendix One:* Assessment of Records Relating to the History and Archaeology of the Paddy's Market Site

*Appendix Two:* Sampling the Accuracy and Utility of the Artefact Catalogue

## Appendix One: ASSESSMENT OF RECORDS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PADDY'S MARKET SITE

### 1.0 BACKGROUND

Soon after landfall at Sydney Cove in 1788, the civic centre of the new settlement developed around Circular Quay (GML & Thorp 1993: 37). Darling Harbour to the west, then known as Cockle Bay<sup>1</sup>, divided the Pyrmont peninsula from the rest of the colony. Cockle Bay and Pyrmont were relatively unpopulated by Europeans until the middle of the 19th century, because these regions of Sydney were considered to be on the extremity of the main settlement, and in the case of Cockle Bay, was swampy land unsuitable for building on.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of European settlement in Australia, the headwaters of Cockle Bay stretched back towards the intersection of Sussex and Hay Streets. This part of Cockle Bay, later to be the site of the Paddy's Markets, was covered by water at high tides. However, from around 1813 onwards, the swampy marshlands of the Cockle Bay headwaters began to be dammed and used for industrial purposes. By 1815, John Dickson's damming works at Cockle Bay led to the formation of Mill Pond, which provided fresh water for Dickson's Steam Mill constructed two years previously in 1813 (GML & Thorp 1993: 39). Mill Pond later serviced other steam mills in the area, including Barker's Mill, erected in 1823.

In May 1818, a 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> acre allotment, which included the future site of Paddy's Markets, was grated to Surgeon John Harris. This was the final portion of land added to Harris's Ultimo Estate, which comprised 233 acres in total by this time (Ashton 1990, GML & Thorp 1993: 39-41). Four years after Harris's acquisition of this land, in 1822, reclamation works commenced in the neighbouring Brickfield Hill area (GML & Thorp 1993: 41, Ashton 1990).

By the late 1830s, Sydney was expanding, with the centre of burgeoning town moving southwards along George Street. This expansion and subsequent shifting of the town centre saw additional land reclamation in the Darling Harbour and Brickfield Hill areas from 1838 (Ashton 1990). Pyrmont, Ultimo and Darling Harbour became increasingly industrialised at this time, with activity focused on flour milling, factories, breweries, foundries, shipping and sandstone quarrying. Industrialisation was accompanied by an increase in the residential population, who generally worked close to their workplaces.

After Surgeon John Harris's death in 1838, the Ultimo Estate was willed to his brothers in Ireland, George and William, 'for their lifetimes', and on their deaths was then to be divided equally between their respective sons, also named John. As Shirley Fitzgerald has noted, the Ultimo Estate was not capitalised upon by the Harris family owing to the complications arising out of Harris's will, which meant that the bulk of the land here remained in the Harris family until the late 19th century (Fitzgerald & Golder 1994: 39-42).

---

<sup>1</sup> Cockle Bay was renamed Darling Harbour in 1826.

<sup>2</sup> According to Wendy Thorp, Cockle Bay was favoured by Sydney's Aboriginal population, as evidenced by the shell middens observed there during early settlement (GML & Thorp 1993: 37). See also Fitzgerald for more about the Aboriginal occupation of the Pyrmont Peninsula until the mid 1850s (Fitzgerald 1994: 23-24).

While some parcels of land from the Estate on George Street were subdivided and auctioned in the 1840s, and 14½ acres of land was resumed for a railway at Darling Harbour in the 1850s, the Harris family did not sell their land in the Haymarket area. One exception to this was the eastern portion of the Paddy's Market site that was sold to John Terry Hughes in 1838 (GML 1990a: 22).<sup>3</sup> Hughes established a flour mill there in 1845, first named for his business partner John Hosking, and then renamed a number of times between 1845 and 1909 by (and for) its subsequent owners as the Victoria Steam Mill, Smart's Mill and Pemmell's Mill (GML & Thorp 1993: 50).

Although the Harris family retained ownership of much of Ultimo Estate in the Haymarket area throughout the 19th century, they rarely developed their land there in this time (GML & Thorp 1993: 39-41). Instead, they tended to lease out their land in Haymarket, leaving the redevelopment of the Paddy's Market site in particular, to their lessees (GML & Thorp 1993: 41). James Stenson was the first lessee on the site in 1844. Although his lease was quite substantial in size, comprising 'the sites of the later 2-26 Engine Street and 82-84 Quay Street, as well as a 25 feet frontage to Hay Street', it appears that Stenson never developed this land (GML & Thorp 1993: 47). This was to come in the following decade.<sup>4</sup>

As industrialisation in the Haymarket area increased in the 1840s, a number of streets were gazetted and formalised, such as Victoria<sup>5</sup>, Quay and Hay Streets (GML & Thorp 1993: 47). Housing was built on the reclaimed land in the Haymarket area from this time onwards, in order to provide accommodation for the new population of workers in local industries. Between 1845 and 1848, a row of eight joined terraces was constructed at 90-106 Victoria Street, named the Victoria Terrace. It is presumed that these houses provided accommodation for the workers at the Victoria Steam Mill (GML & Thorp 1993: 51-53). Other housing was erected on Victoria Street around this time, later numbered 14-18 Engine Street.

Between the 1860s and the 1890s, Sydney underwent an economic boom. In these prosperous times, the population of Sydney grew substantially, which coincided with a shortage in rental accommodation. During this time, the Paddy's Market site, and Haymarket more generally, was a mix of residential accommodation and industries, such as factories, breweries, foundries and mills. More houses were constructed on the Paddy's Market site in the 1860s, including 28-30 Engine Street in c1862 and a row of joined terraces at 22-26 Engine Street in c1864 (GML & Thorp 1993: 73).<sup>6</sup> It is estimated that around 20 terrace houses were located on the Paddy's Market site, fronting Engine Street by 1865, presumably used by working-class people living close to the industrialised areas of Darling Harbour and Brickfield Hill (GML & Thorp 1993: 80).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hoskings Mill, later the Victoria Steam Mill, was located on the far east of the site and was not part of the investigation area.

<sup>4</sup> The Harris family's ownership of the Paddy's Market site was complex. In the 1860s the Government gave the Harris Estate £25,000 in compensation and granted them 'a slice of newly reclaimed land between Hay Street and the railway line' for the land they had given to the Government in 1849 for construction of a railway (Fitzgerald 1994: 41). The family had bargained on this railway link through Ultimo being a financial benefit to them, in terms of the development of wharves and warehouses further along their property in Pyrmont (however, the railway was not a success until the 1870s). It appears that this 'slice of newly reclaimed land' may have contained the Paddy's Market site (Johnson 1999). However, this would suggest that the Harris family did indeed sell off the Paddy's Market site from their estate, in addition to the portion of land sold to John Terry Hughes.

<sup>5</sup> Victoria Street was renamed Engine Street in 1875 (Fitzgerald 1995: 74). During the 19th century, Engine Street intersected the Paddy's market site, running east-west. While the Paddy's Markets were in operation between 1909 and 1988, Engine Street was reduced to a laneway between the two buildings.

Note the distinction between the gazettal of these streets, and their formation, through wood blocking and paving.

<sup>6</sup> Reference to vacant blocks at 18-20 Engine Street in the c1860s (GML 1993: 73).

<sup>7</sup> Houses located in the investigation area were numbered 16 Engine Street, as well as 22-26 Engine Street.

The Castlemaine Brewery constructed in 1869, and rebuilt in 1882, was to the rear of these houses on the other side of Mill Street.<sup>8</sup> The Tangyes Machinery Stores was adjacent to houses at 32–36 Engine Street, when it was established in c1887. Other industries on this block included McEwan & Co. Machinery Works (38–44 Engine Street), G. & C. Hoskins's Ltd. Engineering Works (46–60 Engine Street) and the Victoria Steam Mill at 62–88 Engine Street (the official address was listed as 91–123 Hay Street). Presumably these industries would have provided a conveniently located source of work for people living on Engine Street, but the resultant smells, sounds and pollution would undoubtedly have had an impact on their olfactory and aural senses.

At the turn of century, four acres of land surrounded by Ultimo and Thomas Streets to the southeast, Hay Street to the north and Quay Street to the west were selected by the City Council as the location for new markets to replace the nearby Belmore Markets on Campbell Street and to supplement the Queen Victoria Building Markets (QVBM) next to the Town Hall on George Street.<sup>9</sup> This site was chosen for its proximity to the coastal shipping wharves and railway goods yards at Darling Harbour, and the recently constructed Central Railway on the site of the former burial grounds. As well, markets had operated in this vicinity from the late 1820s, including the cattle markets established in 1829 at Brickfield Hill, and the hay and corn markets, for which the area was named, in the early 1830s. Another factor influencing the decision to locate a market here was that this was one of the parts of Sydney affected by the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague in early 1900, and consequently earmarked for resumptions and clearance (GML & Thorp 1993: 101–102).<sup>10</sup>

After some deliberation, the houses, mills and workshops on the site were resumed by the City Council in 1908, and demolished a year later. Architect and City Building Surveyor R. H. Broderick was selected to design the two market buildings located here, the first of which was officially opened in 1909. The second market building was erected a year later (Ashton 1990, Christie 1988: 85–89). Paddy's Markets expanded to other sites in the surrounding Haymarket until 1938, when Market Building 6 was constructed.<sup>11</sup> Between 1938 and 1975, the Market Buildings 1 and 2 were left empty, while the Paddy's Markets operated out of Market Building 6.

Several development proposals were put forward for the Paddy's Markets site between the early 1970s and the late 1980s, including educational facilities and a convention centre. During this time, the owner of the site changed a number of times, and included the Sydney Council, the Department of Education, the Department of Tourism and the Darling Harbour Authority (DHA). In 1989, the site owners the DHA, released an Expression of Interest to develop Paddy's Markets. Girvan were named the successful tenderer, with a scheme to develop the site as underground studios and a commercial tower, known as Studio City. In 1989, the market buildings were partially excavated and gutted for this development. When this scheme failed a year later, another proposal was put forward by Rockvale Pty Ltd to redevelop the site as a shopping centre topped with a residential tower.

<sup>8</sup> The Castlemaine Brewery was later replaced by the Vacuum Oil Company c1900s.

<sup>9</sup> Paddy's Market was the name given to the informal, carnivalesque market located on the empty block opposite the Belmore Markets during the 19th century. Belmore Markets was established on the other side of George Street, on Campbell Street in 1869 and rebuilt in 1892 (Fitzgerald 1992: 64, 67–68). Note that the QVMB was never intended, or used, as a market (Fitzgerald 1992: 66–69, Christie 1988: 81–82).

<sup>10</sup> Note the context of resumptions of slums at this time in other parts of Sydney and replacing them with 'infrastructure'.

<sup>11</sup> Market Building 6 was demolished to make way for the Entertainment Centre, constructed in c1979.

Prior to this second development, the Foreign Investment Review Board required that the site be archaeologically investigated in accordance with the *Australian Heritage Commission Act (1975)*. Consequently, an Archaeological Assessment was prepared by Godden Mackay Pty Ltd (now Godden Mackay Logan Pty Ltd [GML]) in October 1990. The excavation was undertaken between November 1990 and January 1991 by GML and Wendy Thorp for Jason Property Management (on behalf of Rockvale Pty Ltd), and revealed extensive structural remains and an assemblage comprising 100,000 artefacts. These artefacts were examined in the following months and all forms of evidence relating to the site—structural, artefactual and historical—was synthesised by GML and Thorp in their six-volume report for Rockvale Pty Ltd, issued in September 1993.

Following archaeological investigation, the site was bulk excavated and the new Market City shopping centre and residential tower was opened in 1997.

## 2.0 HISTORICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CONSERVATION WORK UNDERTAKEN AT THE PADDY'S MARKET SITE

Table I provides a detailed list of the projects that have been undertaken on the Paddy's Market site since 1990.

**Table I** Conservation, archival and archaeological projects undertaken on the Paddy's Market site since 1988.

Year	Details	Reports
1988	Paddy's Markets' stall holders relocated to Eveleigh Railway Yards	—
1990	Conservation Plan by Howard Tanner and Associates (including an historical overview, conservation guidelines, a structural assessment and a report on the industrial archaeology).	Howard Tanner & Associates 1990
Sept 1990	Test pits undertaken by GML	GML 1990a
Oct 1990	Baseline Archaeological Assessment by GML	GML 1990a
Nov 1990	Research Design by GML	GML 1990b
Nov 1990 to Jan 1991	Excavation by GML and Wendy Thorp	GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 3
Feb to Aug 1991	Artefact analysis	GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 4
Aug to Dec 1991	Data entry	—
Oct to Dec 1991	Reboxing of artefacts	—
Sept 1993	Final reports issued by GML and Wendy Thorp	GML & Thorp 1993
circa Aug 1994	Artefacts relocated to Government Records Repository	—
1994	Market stall-holders moved back to Paddy's Market site, while residential tower, The Peak, under construction.	—
1997	Residential tower, The Peak, completed and Market City opened to the public.	—

### 2.1 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The history of the Paddy's Markets has been dealt with in a range of books and articles that have tended to address the origins of the Paddy's Markets, at one stage an informal market opposite the Belmore Markets

on Campbell Street, its relocation on the other side of George Street and subsequent expansion within the Haymarket area throughout the early 20th century until around 1938. These accounts have also traced the history of produce markets in Sydney more generally, including the Greenway-designed City Markets on George Street, later rebuilt as the Queen Victoria Markets in 1898, and the new Belmore Markets on Campbell Street reconstructed in 1892, later converted to the Capitol Theatre. However, none of these accounts addressed the history and occupation of the site prior to the construction of Paddy's Markets. In other words, little attention has been paid to the past use of the site, from the time of European settlement until the early 20th century, as a mix of residential buildings and industries such as factories, breweries and mills.

The previous use of the site was first addressed in 1990, in the Conservation Plan for the Market Buildings 1 and 2 prepared by Howard Tanner and Associates. In this report, Paul Ashton and Judy Wing presented a historical report on the Market buildings, accompanied by a timeline and illustrative maps. This history of the site was later used in the Baseline Archaeological Report (GML 1990b) and the report on the Research Design (GML 1990a).

The most comprehensive interpretation of the Paddy's Market site was presented in the Main Report of the Archaeological Assessment Report in 1993, authored by Wendy Thorp, which aimed to synthesise the archaeological findings with archival resources (GML & Thorp 1993).

## 2.2 CONSERVATION WORK AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The Paddy's Markets were housed in Market Buildings 1 and 2 from the time of their construction between 1909 and 1910, and later expanded to other purpose-built buildings in the Haymarket area until the late 1930s. Between 1938 and 1975, the Paddy's Markets operated out of Market Building 6 only. The Paddy's Markets resumed operations from Market Buildings 1 and 2 from around 1975, at which time the Sydney Markets Authority opened the Flemington Markets. The Sydney City Council owned the Paddy's Market site until the 1970s, when it was transferred to the control of the NSW Government, under the auspices of the Department of Education. At this time, there was a proposal to incorporate the site into educational facilities for the Institute of Technology, which were to be distributed throughout Ultimo and Haymarket.<sup>12</sup> While the landowners changed at this time, the Paddy's Markets continued to be operated by the Sydney Markets Authority.

In 1982, the Shangri-La Hotel Group made a submission to the Premiers Department to construct a hotel and convention centre on the Paddy's Markets site. As a result, the ownership of the site was transferred to the Tourism Department, which undertook a feasibility study for a convention centre there. One recommendation of this study was that Sydney needed a custom-built convention centre, with the ultimate outcome being the establishment of the Darling Harbour Authority (DHA) in 1985, and the construction of the Convention Centre at Darling Harbour in 1988. Another result of the feasibility study was a decision by the Premiers Department to retain the market walls in any future development of the Paddy's Markets site.

Paddy's Markets were provisionally moved to the Darling Harbour goods yards between 1983 and 1985, owing to the Shangri-La Hotel Group's plans to redevelop the site (GML & Thorp 1993: 108). In 1985, the

---

<sup>12</sup> The UTS Tower on George Street was the first building in this proposal for the area in the early 1970s. In 1983, a library was constructed in the shell of the Market 3 building for the Institute of Technology, later University of Technology, Sydney.

ownership of the Paddy's Market site was transferred to the newly created DHA. The Paddy's Markets continued trading on the weekends at Market Building 1 and 2, and these buildings also functioned as a car park during the week.

Under the DHA, the site was a designated development area to be held over after 1988. However, pressure over the Darling Harbour development meant that the DHA released an Expression of Interest (EOI) to develop the site in 1987. In this EOI, which arose through discussions with Planning Minister Laurie Brereton and an expert panel of advisors, the DHA imposed constraints on development of the site. Although the *Darling Harbour Authority Act 1986* superseded legislation that normally applied outside the Darling Harbour development area, including the NSW Heritage Act 1977, one condition of development was the retention of the façade and the market function of the site, with a central commercial tower permitted (pers comm. Di Talty Nov 2001).

Girvan was named the successful tenderer for the site in 1989, with a proposal for underground film studios topped by a commercial office tower. This proposal, known as Studio City, also left Paddy's Markets relatively intact (pers comm. Di Talty Nov 2001). Construction work started that year, with the buildings gutted and the site partially excavated. With no alternative home for the Paddy's Markets, stallholders were temporarily moved to Pitt Street and eventually relocated to the Eveleigh Railway Yards, now the Australian Technology Park (ATP), between 1988 and 1994.

In 1990, Girvan became bankrupt, halting construction of the Studio City development. Another tenderer for the Paddy's Market site in 1989, Rockvale Pty Ltd, was instead selected to undertake their development proposal for a shopping centre topped by a residential tower.<sup>13</sup> The commercial tower constructed by Girvan was subsequently demolished, as it was not adequate for residential living.

As Rockvale's redevelopment proposal for the site involved international funding, the Foreign Investment Review Board became involved. The Foreign Investment Review Board consulted the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) to comment on the impact of development on the heritage of Paddy's Market. The AHC recommended a Conservation Plan be prepared for the site.

In 1990, Howard Tanner and Associates was selected to prepare the Conservation Plan for the Paddy's Market site (Market Buildings 1 and 2), although the developers of Studio City had already made the decision to 'gut' the buildings. The Conservation Plan had four parts:

- Historical Report (Paul Ashton & Judy Wing)
- Report on the Historical Structure (Howard Tanner & Associates)
- Industrial Archaeology Report (GML)
- Conservation Policy (Howard Tanner & Associates)

Shortly after completion of the Conservation Plan, GML informed the developers that the cultural heritage of Paddy's Market also needed to be addressed (pers comm Mary Knaggs November 2001).<sup>14</sup>

The archaeological potential of the site was touched on in the Conservation Plan, although there was more concern about the status of the industrial heritage at this time, which included movable heritage and

---

<sup>13</sup> A change in planning laws in the early 1990s meant that Rockvale was able to erect a residential tower on the site (pers comm. Di Talty November 2001). Note, however, that no residential housing was allowed in the Darling Harbour development area (under the DHA Act) and that NSW planning laws (such as the EP & A Act) also did not apply in this area.

<sup>14</sup> It seems that the cultural heritage was not addressed in the Conservation Plan.

industrial relics, presumably as this material was under immediate threat from development. The GML report on industrial archaeology recommended the preservation of at least one banana cooling room, to be incorporated within the new development. The report also recommended that the site be documented through an archival photographic recording and that movable heritage either be retained or donated to a suitable repository, such as the Powerhouse Museum.<sup>15</sup>

The Paddy's Markets buildings were classified by the National Trust in 1981 and listed on the Register of National Estate in 1984 as part of the Sydney Markets Group.<sup>16</sup> While the site is not currently listed on the State Heritage Inventory, it is included on the SHFA's draft State Heritage Inventory.<sup>17</sup> Surrounding buildings within the Haymarket Urban Conservation Area were included on the Register of the National Estate in 1990. A Statement of Significance was prepared for Paddy's Market in 1990 as part of the Conservation Plan (Howard Tanner & Associates 1990), which was later updated for the Research Design (GML 1990b) and also for the final archaeological assessment report prepared by GML and Wendy Thorp in 1993 (GML & Thorp 1993, see Vol. I, Executive Summary).

All that remains of the market buildings are their façades, retained as part of the original development consent by the DHA in 1989. No other features, namely interior features or archaeological remains, were preserved as part of the new development. The significance of the site today lies in its continuing use as fruit and vegetable markets serving the people of Sydney from 1909 until the present, despite the major alterations to the internal fabric of the markets buildings.

### 2.3 ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological potential of the site, as a mix of houses, factories, breweries and mills prior to the construction of the Paddy's Markets, was identified in late 1990 for the Baseline Archaeological Report and Research Design prepared by GML.

GML, in conjunction with Wendy Thorp, was selected to undertake archaeological excavations of the Paddy's Markets site. A team of 13 archaeologists and specialists, and several hundred volunteers worked from November 1990 and January 1991.

Over 100,000 artefacts and the remains of houses, yards and associated outbuildings, workshops and warehouses dating from the 1840s were preserved under the 1.5–3.0 m levelling fill and thick concrete floor of the 1909 Markets building.

The impetus of the excavation was 'an archival or recording exercise'; the archaeological record being used 'to describe in far more detail than any other surviving records the evolution and use of this part of the city from the earliest days of European occupation as well as the topography and environment that existed prior to that settlement' (GML & Thorp 1993: 27). This was largely owing to the fact that all extant archaeological remains were to be bulk-excavated for the Market City tower at the conclusion of the excavation. Unlike some major archaeology sites in Sydney (eg the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets site and First Government House) all subsurface remains were bulk-excavated after recording and there

---

<sup>15</sup> It is unclear whether these recommendations were undertaken—the location of the archival photographic record of Paddy's Market, or whether it was even carried out, is not known.

<sup>16</sup> Lots 1, 2, & 3 of DP 562950 vested in the DHA (now SHFA).

<sup>17</sup> Inventory number SHI 4500356, to be included on the State Heritage Inventory in 2002.

**Table 2** List of personnel involved in the Paddy’s Market site archaeological investigation (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 23–25).

	Excavation		Post-excavation
<i>Excavation Director</i>	Wendy Thorp	<i>Co-ordinator</i>	Wendy Thorp
<i>Senior site supervisor</i>	Graham Wilson	<i>Ceramics</i>	Mafalda Rossi, Graham Wilson, Wendy Thorp
<i>Trench supervisors</i>	Siobhan Lavelle, Sarah Dillane, Mary Casey, Dominic Steele, Anthony Lowe, Cos Coroneos	<i>Glass &amp; bottle stoppers</i>	Martin Carney
<i>Trench Assistants</i>	Mark Holloway, Matthew Kelly, Martin Carney, Nadia Iacono	<i>Building Materials</i>	Anthony Lowe and Jenni Lindbergh
<i>Draftpersons</i>	Franz Reidel, Jill Shepherd and Georgia Rennie	<i>Metal</i>	Rachel Sparks
<i>Photographer, Site Assistant</i>	Patrick Grant	<i>Other activity categories</i>	Wendy Thorp, Margaret O’Hea
		<i>Leather</i>	Graham Wilson
		<i>Animal bone &amp; shell</i>	Dominic Steele
		<i>Soil samples</i>	Roy Lawrie
		<i>Entological advice</i>	John McDonald
		<i>Palynological</i>	Mike McPhail
		<i>Conservation</i>	Sue Frost from Campbell Conservation and Mr Coenrad Haartman

are no further opportunities for excavation. (See Section 3.2 for details of the site records and reports prepared during excavation.)

After test-trenching in the vicinity of the Market I building (along Hay Street) excavation efforts were concentrated along the southern portion of this area—the former Engine Street frontage (GML & Thorp 1993: 5–10).

After removal of overburden, open-area manual excavation was undertaken in five trenches, separated by 1 m baulks, within a 29 by 35 m area (GML & Thorp 1993: 10–15). Underlying the floor and fill of the Markets complex, the excavation revealed the remains of:

- Mill Lane;
- a mid-19th-century sandstone and timber building and yards of later commercial and residential properties (Areas A1 and A2);
- a house and associated outbuildings at what became 16 Engine Street;
- five 1860s terraces, outbuildings, yards and their related services at 22–30 Engine Street (Areas A3, A4 and A5); and
- a small part of Tangye’s Machinery Stores and Warehouse (Area A5).

Following the completion of the excavation, nine archaeologists became involved in an artefact-analysis project that was undertaken later in 1991. A total of 34,203 bags of artefacts from all classes were processed. The artefact catalogue was entered into DbaseIV (version 2.0; GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 5: 4). Once the artefact analysis was completed, the specialists prepared reports on the type series for each artefact catalogue and the collection was culled. (See Sections 4.0 and 5.0 of this Appendix for a detailed discussion.)

Site-owners, the DHA (now the SHFA), received the reduced artefact collection, which is now stored at the Government Records Repository.

## 3.0 RECORDS AND REPORTS

### 3.1 HISTORICAL RECORDS AND REPORTS

Since the late 1980s, over 20 publications have been prepared for the Paddy's Market site and the surrounding Haymarket area. These include:

- archaeological reports;
- conservation reports;
- development documentation;
- educational programs;
- environmental impact statements;
- historical reports;
- maintenance and structural reports;
- published books (on Paddy's Markets and Pymont & Ultimo); and
- university theses (on Pymont & Ultimo).

Full bibliographic references for these publications are included at the end of this report.

The SHFA's documentation relating to the site is presently stored offsite at the Government Records Repository in Kingswood, although one box was moved to Foreshore House in late 2001.<sup>18</sup>

The Mitchell Library holds two research folders containing copies of research material related to the history of the site, collected between 1990 and 1991 by GML and Wendy Thorp.<sup>19</sup> This research material includes reproductions of historic maps and images, as well as photocopies and transcriptions of archival records, such personal papers, contemporary accounts of Darling Harbour published in journals and newspapers.

The records of the Harris family and John Terry Hughes (site owners from 1788 to c1910s) are located at the State Library of NSW and the National Library.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.2 EXCAVATION AND ARTEFACT RECORDS AND REPORTS

The records of the Paddy's Market site excavation have been donated by Godden Mackay Logan to the Mitchell Library and are now available as part of the Library's manuscripts collection. A detailed list of the records is provided in Table 3 below, and they are discussed in more detail in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

#### 3.2.1 STRATIGRAPHIC RECORDING AND REPORTING

The records created during the excavation of the Paddy's Market site are comprehensive and informative. Journals and context sheets for each trench were kept and there are colour slides and black-and-white prints, and plans and sections of features revealed during excavation (see GML & Thorp 1993: Volume 6).

---

<sup>18</sup> Box Number: KL78819

<sup>19</sup> MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/38

<sup>20</sup> RAAM Nos.: 14330 (18977), 10536 (14871) & 14946 (19633).

**Table 3** Summary of excavation and artefact records and reports.

Project	Original records	Reports
<i>Excavation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Area logs for A1, A2, A3 (MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/39)</li> <li>▪ Trench context sheets (MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/39 and 2221/40)</li> <li>▪ Register of Plans, Profiles and Sections (28 Nov. 1990 to 11 Jan. 1991; MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/36)</li> <li>▪ Log of Colour and Black-and-White Photographs (12 Nov. 1990 to 11 Jan 1991; MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/36)</li> <li>▪ Site and trench plans (MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/41X-42X)</li> <li>▪ Slides of the excavation (MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/43-45)</li> <li>▪ Black and white photographs of the excavation (MLMSS 6684, Add-on 2221/46-47)</li> <li>▪ 'Artefact Progress Sheets', ie Finds Sheets, listing and describing artefacts recovered from particular trenches.</li> </ul>	GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 3: Wilson (Stratigraphy and site phasing; Area A0, B1-B5, C1), Dillane (Areas 1 and 2), Casey (Area 3), Steele (Area 4), Lowe (Area 5)
<i>Artefact cataloguing</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ There are no artefact data sheets</li> <li>▪ Miscellaneous notes and diagrams of buttons and buckles</li> </ul>	GML & Thorp 1993: Vol 4 and Vol 5

On quick review of the trench journals and context sheets for Areas A0<sup>21</sup>, A1 (& A2), A3, A4, A5 (see ML Box 40), all would be sufficient for the EAMC team's, or other researchers' purposes. The journals contain detailed notes and sketches (including measured and inked plans in the case of Area A2).

The photographic collection of colour slides and black-and-white prints shows numerous views of the excavation and the Photographic Log provides a brief description of the view. This is supported by digitised plans and sections.<sup>22</sup>

These original records have been synthesised into detailed trench reports, prepared by each of the Trench Supervisors. The reports contain stratigraphic matrices and lists of excavated contexts, accompanied by discussion of the structures and deposits recovered in each Supervisor's area. All individual reports were drawn together in a synthetic, phasing report by Graham Wilson.

### 3.2.2 ARTEFACT RECORDING AND REPORTING

There are fewer records of the artefact-processing component of the project than there are for the excavation.

<sup>21</sup> 'Trench A0', refers to the overburden recovered from the areas of Trenches A1-A5. The deposits recovered relate to the construction and operation of the markets (1909-1990).

<sup>22</sup> Several original tracing-paper copies of site sections and the like were viewed at the Mitchell Library, but a large wrapped bundle of large-format, rolled site plans was not examined to avoid unnecessary handling of the material at this assessment stage of the EAMC work.

There were no original artefact data entry sheets per se. Rather, the artefact data was recorded on stamped paper bags in which the artefacts were held during processing. The artefacts were then rebagged in perforated press-seal plastic bags and the paper bags were discarded (Patrick Grant pers comm, 4 December 2001 and Richard Mackay pers comm 6 December 2001). There are no known recording sheets for the Type Series (which was the basis for culling), nor photographs of the colour coding system which was used for many artefact classes, although the latter was probably made (Wendy Thorp pers comm 7 December 2001).

There are no known records of precisely which artefacts were culled, nor is the fact that the collection was culled after recording mentioned in any volume of the excavation reports.<sup>23</sup> The fact that repeat-Type artefacts had been culled was discovered during discussions with Patrick Grant and Richard Mackay, and was verified by inspection of the GML administrative files for the excavation project.

Some notes clearly made during the artefact-processing project, relating to buttons and buckles (and probably drawn by Wendy Thorp), are held with the site records at the Mitchell Library.

Otherwise, information regarding the artefact-processing is contained in the Specialist Reports (GML & Thorp 1993: Vol 4). Several reports, for example, contained detailed descriptions of Type Series categories and subcategories (it was compulsory to do so; see Thorp 1993). However, even when present, often only the distinctive subtypes were listed in the report. Detailed descriptions for many types are absent, including, for example, several ceramic types.<sup>24</sup> (See Section 4.0 for a detailed discussion of the content of these reports.)

## 4.0 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Artefacts recovered from the Paddy's Market site were examined within artefact-class and function categories: glass, ceramics (in three groups), bone and shell; then 'Food Serve' (Metal only), 'Military', 'Domestic Use/Operation' and 'Hygiene', among other functional groups<sup>25</sup> (see GML & Thorp 1993: Vol 4).

After the identification of individual artefacts, artefact specialists prepared reports outlining the cataloguing process. Owing to budgetary constraints, the specialists were instructed to prepare short reports and were issued the following directives:

The intention of these short reports is to provide the reader with a guide to what is in each collection if they want to go back and use them for specific purposes. You are not being asked to evaluate specific assemblages or work out how they got there. It is not an analysis... This is a report that is entirely and only descriptive of a section of a larger collection. (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 3: 29)

---

<sup>23</sup> The report does discuss on-site sampling of building materials and organic materials, and the fact that unstratified material was not retained as part of the collection.

<sup>24</sup> Ceramic types for which there are no detailed descriptions include: Edgware, Hand-painted wares, Relief wares and Transfer-printed Brown, Green, Mulberry, Purple and Red (see Rossi 1993); Jackfield ware, Multi-glazed ware, Lead-glazed ware, some single-glazed wares (see Wilson 1993e); several transfer-printed sub-types (including flow transfer-print), Mocho, Moccha, Hand-painted unidentified (Thorp 1993a).

<sup>25</sup> Clothing; Clerical; Hygiene; Jewellery; Personal; Religious items; Sewing; Unidentified items; Recreational objects; Building materials; Craft, trade and industry; Domestic use/operation; Food preparation and storage; Food serve; Military; Economy; Transport-related items.

Consequently, the artefact specialist reports should be considered reports on the methodology of type series used to order each assemblage, rather than reports on the assemblages themselves. Nonetheless, some specialists did provide analytical comment regarding specific artefact classes. For example, Graham Wilson speculated about the source of the extensive leather assemblage that was recovered from the site and whether or not it could be linked to the site occupants (Wilson 1993f: 233–234).

## 5.0 HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PADDY'S MARKET SITE

The excavation and subsequent recording of the excavated assemblage of the Paddy's Market site was 'primarily concerned with providing a documentary record of...largely unrecorded and poorly understood mundane lives' (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 28). The 'cumulative evidence' arising from the excavation was seen to record 'the minutiae rather than the grand scale, the cottages rather than the mansions' (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 33). The results or interpretations arising from the excavation were presented in the Main Report prepared by Wendy Thorp.

In 1990, four main research questions were posed for the Paddy's Markets site, for the purpose of the Baseline Archaeological Assessment. The key topics of the Research Design were:

- the growth of Victorian Sydney;
- the archaeological dimension of slums;
- 'a worker's paradise'; and
- life, work and leisure.

These research questions were later refined through the process of excavation and analysis (GML & Thorp 1993: 27).

The section of the report titled 'The Development of an Urban Precinct' outlines the history of structures and occupants on the site over its five key phases, integrating historical data with knowledge derived from the excavation and artefact processing. These five key phases of use identified by Thorp are as follows (GML & Thorp 1993: 35):

- Phase 1: c1788–1836
- Phase 2: 1836–1845
- Phase 3: 1845–c1862
- Phase 4: c1862–1908
- Phase 5: 1908–1991

### 5.1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

In the Main Report, the archaeological record the Paddy's Market site is presented as 'fragmentary traces' of possible structures on Brickfield Hill in the first decades of colonial settlement, substantial evidence of the blue-metals and stone kerbing of laneways (eg Mill Lane) and more detailed portraits or 'snapshots' of life on the site, or at least in the structures that survived underground until excavation (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 37, 51). For example, life in the 1840s–1850s was illustrated by the structural remains from a dwelling, and associated outbuildings, at what became 16 Engine Street (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 53–60).

The dwelling at 16 Engine Street was a two-storey, split-level structure with a basement and a laundry or kitchen attached at the rear. Further back, at the centre of the block, was a structure, identified to be a smithy or some other industrial workshop, given the thick layers of loam, coke and ash on the floor—interpreted to be the family business—and an oft-repaired stable or storehouse suffering from damp. While some details of the main house were discussed—for example, the pale-pink walls of the upper storey—little else was possible given the paucity of underfloor remains, which provided only the information that the floors were likely to be constructed from substantial tongue-and-groove boards.

‘Snapshots’ such as this are presented within the context of the changing character of the mixed industrial and residential urban landscape in which the site was embedded, gleaned from historical commentary, images, plans and directories and archaeological data (see for example GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 60).

Similar details of the rooms, yards and configuration of terraces built along Engine Street in the 1860s were also presented (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 73–76), as well as some information about the occupants, based on council rates research (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 90). Based upon the relatively small amount of rubbish associated with these terraces that was left behind, there was some discussion of the ‘small evidence[s] left of internal lives...carried on within the personal spaces of the houses’, contrasting ‘the picture of external chaos’ of the industrial precinct.

These observations included the pink, yellow, blue and deep-red walls of the terraces at 22–26 Engine Street, decorated with elegantly moulded hearth surrounds, mirrors and flowers and a quantity of ‘collector’ shells. The large range of tablewares, suggested to be mis-matched sets, complemented the range of cutlery and some food service items. The kitchens were stocked with ‘large and small saucepans, baking dishes, kettles and a variety of tools such as skewers, fish scalers, meat hooks, kitchen weights and tea-strainers’ (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 95–96).

These descriptions of the terraces on Engine Street provide an inventory of the contents of all three houses (GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 2: 95–96), but do not specify what was found where. Endnotes refer to ‘Evidence of excavation, Area A4’, rather than specific context numbers, or specific pages or sections of the trench reports. At present, it is difficult to quickly relate specific artefacts with particular structures as no context data has been inputted into the database. However, using the trench reports while reviewing the artefacts database, it is clear that some of the more unique house contents referred to cannot be associated with 22–26 Engine Street. For example, only one of the four skewers found on site came from Trench A3 in which the terraces were revealed, and it came from fill (3195) which is presently identified as predating the construction of the terraces (see Bay 4 Stratigraphic Matrix, Casey 1993: 145).

In a section entitled ‘Project Appreciation: Answering the Questions’ (GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 2: 118–122)—the growth of Victorian Sydney; the archaeological dimension of slums; ‘a worker’s paradise’; life, work and leisure—some of these details were drawn into a broader consideration of the changing uses of the site: swampland infilled for a mill, then home to a mix of residential and industrial complexes of varying scales. For the residents, Thorp explores the idea of spheres of control, differentiating the building stock, pollution and surrounding noise with the personal world in which residents could manage their diet, health, clothing and relaxation with ‘small luxuries and leisure items’ (GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 2: 120, 121).

## 5.2 HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The history of Pyrmont and Ultimo more generally, that also takes into account the Darling Harbour area, has been addressed in several historical interpretations of Sydney, such as the publications on Pyrmont

authored by Shirley Fitzgerald and Hilary Golder in 1994, and Matthew Matthews some ten years earlier (Fitzgerald & Golder 1994, Matthews 1982). Paul Ashton's honours thesis on land ownership in Pymont and Ultimo in 1983, titled *Land, Landlords and Property Capital: The Urbanisation of Ultimo, 1794–1901*, also addressed the early history of these parts of Sydney.

In 1990, Paul Ashton and Judy Wing were commissioned to prepare a history of Paddy's Market for the Conservation Plan, based on Ashton's honours thesis, as well as additional research undertaken for the Pymont and Ultimo Heritage Study that same year (Anglin & Associates 1990). Ashton and Wing's historical report served as a contextual background for the remainder of the Conservation Plan, and was later used as the basis for the Baseline Archaeological Report (GML 1990a) and the Research Design (GML 1990b).

Ashton and Wing's history of Paddy's Markets relied heavily on secondary sources and made little use of comprehensive archival research. Instead, primary document research was undertaken later in 1990 for the purpose of the Research Design prepared by Godden Mackay. At this time, detailed research on the occupants of the Markets site was drawn from standard sources such as Post Office Directories and Council Rate Books and the raw results presented in the report (Godden Mackay 1990b).

The excavations of Paddy's Market in 1990–1991 were confined to a portion of the site that had contained residential accommodation between the 1850s and the early 20th century, located within the former Market 2 building, and bounded by Quay Street to the west, Mill Street to the north, Engine Street to the south and the Tangyes Machinery Stores to the east. This was known as the investigation area. Historical research undertaken for the Research Design, however, focussed on the industries outside this investigation area, such as the Castlemaine Brewery and the Victoria Steam Mill, while the only residential buildings researched were the Victoria Terraces at 96–103 Engine Street, which also lay outside the investigation area.

The most comprehensive analysis of the Paddy's Market site was presented in the Main Report of the Archaeological Assessment Report in 1993. This report, illustrated with photographs of the archaeological excavations, aimed to synthesise the archaeological findings with archival records. This work on the Paddy's Market site was considered to mark a new phase of archaeological work in Sydney, and as such was also considered a control for further work (GML & Thorp 1993: 27).

One of the main aims of the excavations at the Paddy's Markets site was to provide a record of the unrecorded and hitherto poorly understood mundane lives of working-class people, primarily their domestic arrangements, which could then be compared to other sites, such as Lilyvale, Goulbourn Street and Parramatta (GML & Thorp 1993: 28). The Paddy's Market site excavations and resulting site analysis were to be part of an ongoing response to the mythology of 'slums' (GML & Thorp 1993: 29).

Despite the intention to uncover the hidden lives of ordinary working-class people in order to counter the grandiose concerns of historical practice<sup>26</sup>, heavy use was made of sources from 'above', including observations of the Haymarket area from middle-class commentators, to describe the conditions of people who lived there. Further, there are no people in this history of the site—only one page of the main report

---

<sup>26</sup> Thorp claimed that history was concerned with the grandiose, not the ordinary, thereby demonstrating a fundamental misunderstanding of historiography and history practice (GML & Thorp 1993: 31). Instead, it is more correct to say there is a mind-set existing in history circles or more generally in society, that values the grand above the mundane. This comment needs to be qualified, to acknowledge the contribution of oral and labour histories as well as genealogy that seek to uncover hidden aspects of working class life day-to-day life.

deals with the *types* of people that may have lived there (GML & Thorp 1993: 90). Again, we come to the problem whereby sources 'from above' are used to describe working-class conditions, which are then countered by the results of archaeological excavations and other kinds of historical sources that reveal that these houses and the people who lived in them were actually exceptions to the picture presented in the accounts 'from above'.<sup>27</sup> As Grace Karskens has demonstrated with the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets site, archaeology has the potential to uncover hidden aspects of life that are *absent* from the written record, not only misrepresented in it.

According to Thorp, the main volume of the Archaeological Assessment Report was not intended to be a litany of architectural details, which were to be contained in the trench reports. Thorp's intention was to integrate the vast array of available sources (including documentary archaeological, geo-technical and palynological sources) to focus on the human condition, to provide a 'narrative of evolution and a portrait of a city in change' (GML & Thorp 1993: 28).

Despite her claims to the contrary, Thorp presented a largely architectural history of the buildings on the Paddy's Market site. For most of the report, the bulk of detail and description is focussed on the architectural features of surrounding industrial buildings, although these were not included within the investigation area, following on from the precedent set with the research design. Little attention was paid to the residential buildings on Engine Street that belonged to the investigation area, with the exception of the detailed analysis of 16 Engine Street (see Appendix One, Section 5.1). This detailed description of the surrounding industrial buildings creates an atmosphere, and goes to some length to explain what it may have been like to live in such a highly industrialised area. However, using these descriptions in conjunction with sources 'from above' means that narrative is focussed on asking *why* they could have lived there rather than explaining *how* they did.

---

<sup>27</sup> A similar trend has been noted for Susannah Place and Lilyvale. It seems that most working-class sites in Sydney that are examined in detail, using both archaeological and historical resources, are an exception to the 'rule' of the slum. As such, it seems that the problem is with the sources used (observations from middle-class commentators) and the prevalent assumptions or stereotypes rather than the available sources.

## Appendix Two: SAMPLING THE ACCURACY AND UTILITY OF THE ARTEFACT CATALOGUE

### 1.0 HISTORY OF THE ARTEFACT ASSEMBLAGE AND CATALOGUES

The Paddy's Market site was excavated between November 1990 and January 1991 by Godden Mackay Pty Ltd (now Godden Mackay Logan Pty Ltd [GML]) and Wendy Thorp for Jason Property Management on behalf of Rockvale Pty Ltd. The 100,000-odd artefacts were examined in the following months by specialists, including:

Wendy Thorp (Co-ordinator):	<i>Ceramics, Clothing, Clerical, Hygiene, Jewellery, Personal, Religious items, Sewing, Unidentified items</i>
Graham Wilson:	<i>Ceramics, Leather, Recreational objects</i>
Mafalda Rossi:	<i>Ceramics</i>
Martin Carney:	<i>Glass</i>
Dominic Steele:	<i>Animal bone &amp; shell</i>
Anthony Lowe:	<i>Building materials</i>
Jennifer Lindbergh:	<i>Building materials</i>
Rachel Sparks:	<i>Craft, trade and industry, Domestic use/operation, Food preparation and storage, Food serve, Military</i>
Margaret O'Hea:	<i>Economy and Transport-related items</i>
Mike McPhail:	<i>Palynology</i>
Roy Lawrie:	<i>Soil samples</i>
Sue Frost	<i>Conservation</i>

The data-entry was undertaken by Patrick Grant, using DbaseIV (version 2.0; GML & Thorp 1993 Vol 5: 4), and inputted to an artefact catalogue that was a precursor to the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets database. Hence, the field lists of the EAMC project and the Paddy's Market database in Table 4 (below) correspond closely.

The artefact data had originally been written on stamped paper bags. At the conclusion of the project, the artefacts were entirely rebagged and boxed according to guidelines set by International Conservation Services Pty Ltd. The stamped paper records were then discarded (Patrick Grant, pers comm, 4 Dec 2001 and Richard Mackay, pers comm, 6 December 2001).

The collection was also significantly culled around this time, in October 1991. While the 1993 Main Report states that of all artefacts recovered during excavation, the 'entire collection...is held by the [Darling Harbour] Authority' (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 23), all artefacts identified as repeats of the main Type Series were discarded in 1991 after completion of the cataloguing project (GML administrative files).

**Table 4** Fields used to compile the Paddy's Market site catalogue and those required for the EAMC database. (Bold = crucial or important to EAMC analysis)

<b>Paddy's Database</b>	<b>EAMC database</b>	<b>Paddy's Database</b>	<b>EAMC database</b>
Site	Site	ID marks	ID marks (type of transcript)
ID number	ID number	Transcript	Transcript
Trench Area	[contained in Unit]	Provenance	Provenance
Unit	Unit	Notes	Notes
—	Unit Area (square)		Image File
	Phase A (Phase From)		Image Caption
	Phase B (Phase To)	Condition	
	Artefact class	Conservation Treatment [1-4]	Conservation
<b>TS Name</b>	<b>TS Name</b>	Box Number	Box Number
<b>TS No</b>	<b>TS No</b>		Record admin fields: Date entered; Entered by; Date updated; Updated by; EAMC Notes; EAMC Checked
<b>TS Repeat</b>	<b>TS Details</b>		
Activity	Activity	<i>Animal</i>	<i>Species name*</i>
Function	Function	<i>Bone</i>	<i>Skeletal element</i>
Subfunction	Subfunction		<i>Other bone fields: No. complete bones; No. bone fragments; Portion of bone; Percentage of bone portion; Condition of bone</i>
Material	Material		<i>Condition description; Condition assessment; Attribute type; Attribute location; Attribute assessment; Ageing location; Ageing state; Tooth name; Tooth condition; Butchery location; Butchery type; Butchery orientation; Animal size; Animal max size</i>
Mineral	Mineral		
<b>Portion</b>	<b>Portion</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>Form</b>	<i>Seed</i>	<i>Seed</i>
	<b>Shape</b>	<i>Organic</i>	<i>Organic</i>
	<b>Technique of Manufacture</b>	<i>Shell</i>	<i>Shell fields: Shell scientific name; Shell common name; Shell no. complete; Shell no. fragments</i>
Modifications	Modifications		
Decoration	Decoration		
Ceramic Body	Ceramic Body		
Pattern	Pattern		
Colour	Colour		
	Tile strike		
Date	Date one		
	Date two		
	Date notes		
Quantity	Quantity		
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage</b>		
<b>Integrity</b>	<b>Integrity</b>		
	<b>Minimum Vessel ID Number</b>		
	<b>MV Notes</b>		
	<b>Conjoin ID Number</b>		
	Weight (g)		
	Length in mm		
	Width in mm		
	Thick in mm		

\* The italicised fields are those required for detailed analysis of bone and shell artefacts. While these will not be assessed as part of the EAMC project, the fields will remain in the EAMC database for future research.

About two-thirds of the collection was discarded at this time (see Section 4.2.1 for discussion). The remaining collection is now held at the Government Records Repository and can be examined is accessible by staff of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority.

Reports on the artefact assemblages were not commissioned until 1993 and were undertaken for Rockvale Pty Ltd. They were finalised in September 1993.

## 2.0 TERMINOLOGY

The following discussion includes the use of some database terminology. For this reason, the following distinctions between the collection, catalogue and database and some additional definitions have been provided.

The **collection** or **assemblage** is comprised of the artefacts excavated from the Paddy's Market site, presently stored in their boxes. The **catalogue** is the paper and electronic record of what is in the boxes. The **database** is a tool for presenting, searching and electronically storing the catalogue. Each catalogued bag of artefacts has been allocated a unique **Artefact Identification Number** (eg PM0110). Information pertaining to this bag is stored in a single **record** in the database (ie the record for PM0110). Each record is composed of a number of **fields**, which comprise the catalogue entry for that item, for example, 'Function', 'Type Name' and 'Quantity'. When referring specifically to a field name or its contents, the name is shown as a proper noun.

## 3.0 SAMPLE SIZE AND ASSESSMENT METHODS

In total, 879 artefact records (ie one or more artefacts grouped in one bag) were examined in the sample. The sample represents 2.6% of bags recovered from site and 3.0% excluding bone, shell and building materials; and about 8% of the collection as culled. (See Table 5.)

The sample was derived by randomly selecting boxes from the boxed collection. Every tenth box was selected from a list of all boxes until a target of 3% was reached. The sixteen selected boxes were requested from the Government Records Repository in Kingswood, and delivered to Foreshore House for physical inspection.

**Table 5** Number of bags and estimated fragments sampled and in the Paddy's Market site artefact assemblage.

	TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE		SAMPLE	
	Bags	Est. Frags	Bags	Est. Frags
<i>Assemblage excluding edible bone, shell &amp; bldg materials</i>	27,231	64,686	821 (3.0%)	1,304 (2.0%)
<i>Edible bone, shell &amp; bldg materials</i>	6,974	39,628	58 (0.8%)	126 (0.3%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>34,205</b>	<b>104,314</b>	<b>879 (2.6%)</b>	<b>1,430 (1.4%)</b>

Only some building materials (58 bags) were inspected and no edible bone, shell or unmodified organic material was examined. Unmodified bone and shell artefacts will not be analysed in the EAMC project and building materials will receive far less attention than other artefact classes, hence little or no time was invested in their review.

The artefacts were inspected box by box, and each artefact was examined for its appropriate correspondence with the records contained in the artefact database. A copy of the database prepared by GML, converted by Patrick Grant into Excel in February 2001, was used for this purpose. The converted data was imported into the EAMC Access database.

Where anomalies between the artefacts and their database record were discovered, they were noted in an additional database field entitled 'EAMC Notes'.

It was not possible to identify data-entry errors during the sample because, as mentioned, the stamped paper bags in which the artefacts were originally held and recorded were discarded after re-boxing in 1991.

The examination was undertaken between 12 October and 23 November, 2001, concurrent with other EAMC tasks.

## 4.0 DISCUSSION OF ISSUES

### 4.1 NEEDS OF EAMC

The Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City Project (EAMC) has been established to comprehensively analyse and interpret Sydney's major historical-archaeological collections. The project team will analyse all archaeological sites managed by the HHT within the Sydney CBD and two or three of the major sites managed by the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority. Altogether, the artefacts from these sites are estimated to comprise over one million in number.

Given the scale of the project, the analysis process needs to be as efficient as possible. This is why the bulk of the analytical work on the artefacts will be undertaken on a computer database. The accuracy and fullness of the information about function, colour, portion, form, quantity and diagnostic features in the database is critical to the database's effective utility in the analytical process.

The basis of meaningful artefact analysis and interpretation is the development of minimum vessel counts. A minimum vessel count is the minimum number of pipes, teacups or glass bottles, for example, in an archaeological context or entire collection, rather than the number of ceramic or glass fragments into which the objects shattered. Minimum vessel counts are calculated by selecting the highest number of diagnostic portion-parts in one artefact type. For example, if there are several hundred plain pipe stems, 20 mouthpieces and 70 fragments of pipe bowls, there must have been *at least* 20 whole pipes.

Unfortunately, the calculation of minimum numbers of vessels is not standard practice in Australian historical archaeology, and has not been undertaken for the sites under study. The project team will undertake such counts, but can only do so with confidence if the database is comprehensive and accurate.

Another excellent tool for efficient artefact analysis is a fully catalogued Type Series. This provides an easy mechanism for searching and grouping all bottles, tablewares and pen nibs, for example, of the same specific style or product and quickly sorts the diagnostic artefacts from non-diagnostic ones, to produce a

meaningful result. Pen nib Type 10, for example, may include all nibs stamped 'ECKERSTEIN'S BANK PEN', distinguishable from 'ECKERSTEIN'S CLERK PEN', or other bank pens.

In summary, the key needs of the EAMC team in regard to artefact databases provided to the project are:

- comprehensive records that provide information relevant to minimum vessels counts: quantity, portion and integrity;
- accurate and reliable records; and
- a well developed type series that is recorded in the database.

While most records in the Paddy's Market site database do meet the above requirements, some had significant errors, omission or inconsistencies, which are discussed below.

#### 4.2 THE ARTEFACT CATALOGUE OF THE PADDY'S MARKET SITE

Based on the sampled artefacts, the vast majority of records in the Paddy's Market site database (649) are considered 'Satisfactory'. Approximately 26% of the sampled records contained errors ranging from Minor to Significant, or were Questionable or Inconsistent. (See Table 6.)

Significant errors or omissions are typically those that affect the key fields required for minimum vessel counts, for example Colour, Material and Portion; or where other significant information, for example an inscription, was omitted. Any record that had erroneous information regarding the function or subfunction of the vessel, was recorded as having a significant error.

Questionable or inconsistent records include those for which the allocation of key fields, primarily function fields, was highly questionable but not absolutely incorrect, and/or varied from bag to bag. For example, where two similarly diagnostic ceramic saucer sherds are identified as a saucer in one record, and unidentified in the next. These inconsistencies are considered significant, but are segregated from the main assessment field 'Significant Errors'.<sup>28</sup>

Minor errors include recording four instead of three fragments; slightly mis-representing an inscription for which the manufacturer's names remained clear; or when an incised border around a button was not noted in the record.

Artefacts allocated to a Type Series group which is considered to have systematic flaws (such as the grouping of all hand-painted wares as 'sponged wares') were not recorded as having errors—minor or significant—owing to the Type Series alone. This is due to the fact that the manner in which the Type Series was created was not actually erroneous, simply different to the kind of Series the EAMC team considers ideal.

Similar artefacts that were not recognised to be of the same Type within the Type Series, were considered to have errors and in most cases, these were considered significant. Where the Type Series conflicted with other information in that record (for example, 'Condiments Jar' in the function fields, but 'Glass Unid' in the Type Name field, or vice versa), the records were also considered significant to have significant errors.

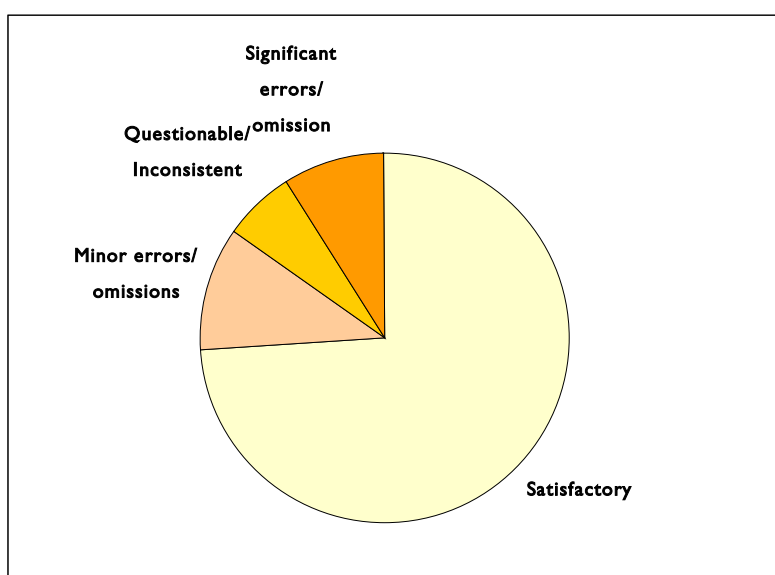
These issues are discussed in detail below.

---

<sup>28</sup> Note that where an artefact was inconsistent in this regard and had another significant error, it was recorded as having a 'Significant error'.

**Table 6** Accuracy of records in the sample of the Paddy’s Market site catalogue and a projection of the number of records likely in the assemblage as a whole.<sup>29</sup>

Assessment of Record	Nº Records	Projected Nº Records
Satisfactory	649 (73.8%)	25,225
Minor errors or omissions	96 (10.9%)	3,731
Questionable or inconsistent	57 (6.5%)	2,215
Significant errors or omissions	78 (8.9%)	3,032
Major problem	0 (0%)	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>880 (2.6%)</b>	<b>34,203</b>



#### 4.2.1 ARTEFACT CULLING

Artefacts that were repeats of the main Type Series of the Paddy’s Market site were culled in 1991. It seems that a ‘duplicate’, research set was also retained as 251 (28%) of the artefacts randomly sampled were Repeat Types and an additional 2,527 Repeat Types were allocated to boxes in the database.

There are no records of precisely which artefact bags were discarded. While there are inaccuracies in the Box Number field (as identified during the sample, see Section 4.2.12 below) and the some Types are without a box number, the fact that no box number is allocated is the best guide to the fact that the artefact was discarded.

<sup>29</sup> This assessment is based on whether the individual records are adequately representative of ‘what’s in the box’, within the parameters of the database’s information structure. It does not account for noted errors and inconsistencies in the Type Series, eg that several nail Types group ferrous and copper nails. These issues are discussed in Section 4.2.4.

On this measure, about 23,000 bags, or two-thirds of artefacts recovered during excavation, were discarded. That leaves about 11,000 bags in the collection presently stored in 175 boxes at the Government Records Repository.

The culling of such a large proportion of the collection poses major and insurmountable problems for the EAMC team's research, because inaccuracies cannot be checked and verified, unrecorded data can never be recovered and minimum vessel counts cannot be prepared. The following discussion of errors, omissions and inconsistencies noted in the sampled portion of the surviving collection should be considered in light of the fact that other, unsampled artefacts with the same problem cannot be verified and are now only represented by the database record.

#### 4.2.2 THE TYPE SERIES

The Type Series for the Paddy's Market site is extensive and has 6,205 sub-groups across all artefact classes. However, some inconsistencies were noted during the course of the sample.

Firstly, 1,711 records were not provided a TS Name and, with the exception of four records, were not provided a TS Number. Of these, 1,554 records relate to dietary bone which is traditionally excluded from a site Type Series. A further 310 were provided a TS Name but no TS Number. With the exception of dietary bone, the occurrence of such records, affects 1.4% of records in the catalogue and is considered negligible.

A total of 1,244 records were identified as Repeats of 177 Type subgroups that lacked a representative Type. In the reverse scenario, 255 Subgroups had more than one representative Type (affecting 575 records).<sup>30</sup>

Other more serious problem with the Type Series included the allocation of similar, and sometimes conjoining, artefacts to different type numbers; some questionable categories; and, for glass artefacts, the Typing of artefacts to functional groups in contradiction to the Activity, Function and/or Subfunction included in the record. Each of these cases is discussed in more detail below.

Eleven artefacts with matching patterns noted during the sample, and in some cases conjoined pieces, were allocated to different type categories. For example, ironstone tea saucers PM26579 and PM26580, of the same moulded decoration and with the same 'J. & G. MEAKIN, HANLEY ENGLAND' maker's mark, were allocated to 'Relief/Moulded Plain 65' (Type) and 'Relief/Moulded Plain 49' (Repeat), respectively. Similarly, 'Aerated Water Type 5' sherd PM01869 was noted to be 'probably related to 1872', but the latter was identified as representative Type for 'Aerated Water 4'.<sup>31</sup>

In the case of sprigged porcelain, several of the subtypes examined during the sampling process could not be readily distinguished from each other and some fragments within the one subtype seemed to differ (see TS Numbers 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 25).

Across the database as a whole, there are 36 records (0.1%) noted to be conjoined with artefacts attributed to different Type subgroups. For example, sherds PM19131, PM33309 and PM09405, all noted

---

<sup>30</sup> In both these cases, records for which there were no TS name and/or TS number were ignored.

<sup>31</sup> See also, PM26663 and PM23724, shell/branch border; PM10720 and PM10719, identified as being similar but Typed separately; blue band-and-line wares PM26510, PM26511 and PM26513.

to conjoin with each other, were identified as the representative Type for Aerated Water 51, Beer/Wine 37 and Beer/Wine 51, respectively.

Thirteen glass sherds (4.3% of sampled glass) that were attributed to particular functions in the main part of the catalogue record were allocated to Types of different function. In most cases, sherds recorded as 'unidentified' in the Function field were attributed to Condiments, Spirits or Beer/Wine type groups, or sherds identified as pharmacy-related in the function fields were attributed to 'Unidentified' type groups. In two other cases, a bottle otherwise described as medicine-related was Typed as 'Window Glass 49' (PM10427) and a flat white glass sherd (PM01446) was identified as a covering tile in the function fields, but attributed to an 'Unidentified' type group. Fortunately, such inconsistencies can be readily identified in the database. However, they do draw into question the effectiveness of the type series in grouping like and dislike artefacts, which is of significant concern given many artefacts no longer survive to be checked or verified.

Some Type categories were broad and may be more effective if distinctive types were provided their own subcategory. For example, the ceramic Types 'Relief/Moulded Plain' and 'Relief/Moulded Multi' include a range of plain and distinctive ceramic types including Rockingham ware (eg PM13317, PM13324, PM26639, PM26673), cane-coloured wares (eg PM26652, PM26623) and lustreware (PM26626).<sup>32</sup> In the case of glass, some broad categories for miscellaneous sherds, eg 'Condiments III', may have been more effectively broken down into 'fluted' and sherds with 'whirlies' etc. While these broad groups would make the task of minimum vessel counts slightly more difficult, they are considered a difference of style or approach, rather than an error in the Series itself.

Another, perhaps greater issue affecting the Type Series, is the fact that some Type groups are poorly described in the Artefact Specialist Reports (see Section 3.2 in Appendix Two) and several sub-types have no definition at all. For example, Edgewares, Beaded wares, Shell edge wares, Peasant wares and Sponged wares are not specifically defined, except to note how many sub-type groups were created and whether or not the sherds tended to be fragmentary or otherwise (see Rossi 1993). In other cases where the broader Type group is described and/or self explanatory, the specific distinction between Bristol Ware Type 2 and Bristol Ware Type 3, for example (see Wilson 1993e: 127), is not noted by all authors and in some cases only noted when that subtype is highly diagnostic (ie there are no definitions for Bristol Types 1, 9, 12, 16, 19-28).

In other cases, specific information was recorded in the Type Series description in the report, but not the record. For example, the lead seal attached to Beer/Wine bottle neck PM01243 was noted in the description for Beer/Wine 20, but not in the record itself.

Finally, there were three artefacts for which the type series grouping appears to have been mixed up or erroneously allocated. The black, floral transfer-printed plate sherd PM13307 was allocated to 'TP Black Scenic 1'; cobalt-blue medicine bottle PM10427 was attributed to Window Glass 49; and glass tumbler fragment PM10251 was allocated to Drinking Vessel 40, described as a 'fragment with 3 ovals engraved in it', despite showing no evidence of a band of ovals.

---

<sup>32</sup> In the case of lustreware, other artefacts were attributed according to this type. It appears that this particular sherd was attributed to Relief Moulded Multi 80, because it displayed beaded mouldings. There were no other type categories for Rockingham ware or cane-coloured wares.

### 4.2.3 FUNCTION GROUPINGS

The attribution of functional categories—Activity, Function and Subfunction—within the Paddy’s Market catalogue was satisfactory for most sampled records. For a small number, however, the allocation of Function and Subfunction was inconsistent or questionable. A similar pattern has been observed at other sites under review for the EAMC project.

In addition to some of the sherds discussed in Section 4.2.2 for which functions identified within the Type Series differed from those attributed to other fields, the determination of partially diagnostic sherds differed between some bags. For example, eight ceramic sherds that may be attributed, or at least noted to be, plates (PM13204, PM13205, PM23809), serving dishes (eg PM13184, PM13186, PM13442), tea cups (PM13432, PM13440) were recorded as ‘unidentified’; when at least 24 other similarly or in some cases less-diagnostic sherds were recorded definitively as tea cups, plates, serving dishes or jars<sup>33</sup>, for example.

In the case of blue-sprigged porcelain vessels, which are typically associated with tea vessels, the inconsistency was readily apparent. Thirty-two sherds examined in the sample were identifiable as tea cups or saucers, with distinctive rims and often saucer wells, yet six (17.5%) were recorded as ‘unidentified’. One of these records, PM26589, had a portion of a sprigged saucer greater than other sherds identified as such.

In the case of plates, two (PM13307, PM23724) identified as large were around 20 cm in diameter and perhaps better referenced as ‘medium’, and three (PM23731, PM23772, PM26523) identified as medium would be better identified as ‘small’, in accordance with other similarly sized plates.

A fragment of a Rockingham-ware sugar bowl, with recess for teaspoon, was erroneously identified as a teapot lid (PM13317) and two other domed lids suitable for a teapot, sugar bowl or storage jar were left unidentified (PM13374, PM26645).

With regard to glass bottles, it was often unclear why some sherds were attributed to Activity categories such as pharmaceutical (eg PM10300, PM10427), or to Type Series such as condiments (eg PM01821), when others were recorded as ‘unidentified’. Overall, there were only two records (PM10781, PM10784) that were truly questionable, as most glass records with ‘unidentified’ function included some note speculating about the function or subfunction.

Of the 74 sets of conjoined ceramic and glass sherds presently identified in the database, artefacts from 12 sets were attributed different Function or Subfunction groupings in their respective records. For example, the ‘unidentified jar’ PM26678 is noted to conjoin with the ‘tea pot’ PM27212. In most cases, the function of the most diagnostic sherds was recorded but one or two sherds, clearly from the same vessel owing to the conjoin, was recorded as ‘unidentified’ or left blank. In one case, one sherd of brown transfer-printed plate was identified as ‘large’ (PM03673) and the sherd it was identified to conjoin was recorded as ‘medium’. As with the type series (but perhaps to a lesser extent), these are readily identifiable from the database, but draw into question the validity of the function allocations.

---

<sup>33</sup> Tea saucers: PM26658; Large plates: PM13190, PM23759, PM23761; Medium plates: PM23741, PM23747, PM23760; Jars: PM13280, PM23783, PM13337; Tea cups: PM13312, PM13391, PM13392, PM13395, PM23728, PM23734, PM23778, PM26515, PM23828; Tea saucer: PM26536; Vase: PM13365; Jug: PM23755; Serving plates/dishes: PM26510, PM26573.

#### 4.2.4 PORTION

About 2,000 (7.4%) of the 26,000 sherds allocated a portion are described as being 'Multiple'. While in many cases the term was used when all or most elements of a vessel were present (ie, base, body, shoulder and neck, as was the case for perfume bottle PM10275), it was also used for artefacts comprising only part of a vessel, for example the lip, neck and shoulder (eg PM10308). These records are readily identifiable from the database and may be corrected for those artefacts that remain in the collection. Those that have been culled, however, cannot play any role in the minimum vessel counts, unless they are the only sherd of their type and/or are noted to be whole in the Integrity field.

In 33 other cases, multiple portions were attributed a single portion label. For example, six fragments identified as 'Body' were in fact body-and-rim or body-and-shoulder fragments and 17 identified as 'Rim' were either rim-and-neck or rim-to-shoulder fragments. Eight base sherds with substantial parts of the body were recorded as 'Base' only, rather than 'Base and Body'. Together, these comprise 5.5% of the glass and ceramic artefacts sampled. While this number alone is relatively small, when added to the 'multiple' portions, the Portion field is not as reliable as required.

#### 4.2.5 INSCRIPTIONS

For twenty-three inscribed ceramic, glass and synthetic artefacts, the transcript was either omitted or mis-recorded. Eight inscriptions were omitted altogether, including 'HARBURGER/GUMMI KAMM CO' on hair comb PM30439, among other less complete inscriptions on combs, buttons and ceramic and glass sherds (PM10719, PM13267, PM26183, PM30626, PM30629, PM32733, PM23787).

In twelve other cases, an inscription was noted, but it was either incomplete or slightly inaccurate.<sup>34</sup> For example, the text 'BLAC[K...]' and 'PO[WELL]' on medicine bottle PM10311 were recorded, but '[R]OA[D]' was overlooked. In other cases, the fragmentary text visible on very small body sherds was identified based on reading the text in one direction when they could conceivably be read in the other direction, ie the '...IS' recorded for unidentified bottle fragment PM10419 may be 'SY...'

In two other cases, the suggestions for missing text appeared to be quite presumptive, suggesting that the mark ending in '...NTINE' on ceramic sherd PM23672 was the pattern 'Valentine', from the series 'Wilke's Designs' by James and Ralph Clews and allocating dates accordingly. Not enough of the scene was visible to confirm the assumption and there are certainly other patterns ending in '...NTINE' to allow this identification to be made with much surety. In another example, it was suggested that the multi-word script ending '...NS' and '...ET' of PM10444 were fragments of the inscription: '[DIRECTIO]NS [ON THE PACK]ET'. In this latter case, the suggested text remained in brackets and was clearly suppositional.

#### 4.2.6 COLOUR TERMINOLOGY

In the Paddy's Market catalogue, variances within colour groups were coded, for example, Olive Green appears to be 'Green 10' and/or 'Green 12' and 'Green 11' seems to be 'Light Green'. These identifications were made during the sampling process, but many others cannot be readily identified or understood. For example, in addition to the verification that 'Green 10' and/or 'Green 12' are Olive Green, 17 other shades of green were attributed to sherds identified as Beer/Wine, which are typically Olive Green. Curiously, two shades of blue were also identified for sherds attributed to the Subfunction 'Beer/Wine'.

<sup>34</sup> PM01267, PM01839, PM10311, PM10333, PM10419, PM10419, PM10421, PM10442, PM26173, PM26181, PM33338, PM33366

In other cases, the colour codes could not be so easily interpreted, or correlated to the artefact's actual colour. For example, the colour of crimson hand-painted teacup sherd PM23728 was 'r/p/p 7'. This is likely to be a code for a shade of red/pink, but at present, there is no record of the colour coding to confirm precisely what it means.

In the other cases, the absence of definitions for the colour codes are more problematic. The colour of a small plastic fragment (PM01454) comprised of yellow and black layers was recorded as 'Black 3', which is acceptable if 'Black 3' is defined as 'black and yellow', but misleading in the absence of a key to the code.

Several plain whitewares were identified as 'Blue 33' (PM23761) or 'Black/Grey 9' (PM13280), for example and the colour of several 'Single/Cream' (Bristol-style) bottles was identified as 'Black/Grey' (eg PM13285). It is unclear, but certainly possible, that these colours attempt to distinguish various tints between whitewares or shades of cream. However, in the case of the white tablewares, given that the Type Name is 'Relief/Moulded Plain' or 'Relief/Moulded Multi' rather than 'Whiteware', there is no means of identifying that the sherd is actually white from the database alone.

#### 4.2.7 INTEGRITY AND PERCENTAGE ESTIMATES

In the Paddy's Market database, the Percentage field was completed by selecting from a list of ranges including: <10%, 10–40%, >40% and 100%. These categories are very broad and do not effectively distinguish between a sherd that is around 10% of the original vessel and one that is just under half its original size; nor one that is about half, from one that is near complete (see, for example, 'Near Complete' Gin/Schnapps bottle PM33841 identified as being '>40%'). Thus, it is not possible to get a quick grasp of whether this is a tiny or substantial fragment, for the purposes of minimum vessel counts.

Further, even within these broad categories, eight ceramic and glass sherds and one synthetic artefact were found to be mis-estimated. These include one sherd about 50% complete (PM13260) and another about 5% complete (PM13267), both allocated to 10–40%.

#### 4.2.8 ARTEFACT OR BAG MIX-UP

Three bags and records appear to have been 'mixed up' with other bags or records. The record for purple transfer-printed tea saucer sherd PM26664 describes three sherds with 'diamond border, intertwined zig-zag with ivy' and conjoining PM18974. Only one sherd was found in the bag for PM26664, and it was a very small fragment on which one could just make out the image of a leaf. Unfortunately, the conjoining sherd PM18974 could not be checked, as it was not in the sample selected from the Government Repository.

In other, more easily resolved cases, the single, wavy topped hair slide PM30639 was found in the bag for PM30638, recorded as being two teeth from a hair slide. The artefacts were returned to their correct bags during the sample. The inscription record for the 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' plate sherd PM13241, was actually that of its conjoin PM06911; ie '[TO]M'S CABI[N]' rather than '[UN]CLE TO[M'S CABIN]'.

It is possible that the teacup base PM26506, identified as a tea saucer, was mixed up with another sherd and/or was the subject of a data-entry error which cannot be verified.

#### 4.2.9 MIXED BAGS

Only five bags contained artefacts of mixed type, form or decoration (PM10719, PM01357, PM33345, PM26652, PM10308). The infrequency of these oversights demonstrates how thoroughly the Paddy's

Market assemblage has been sorted. In fact, there are some cases where similar artefacts from the same context could well have been bagged together (eg PM26735, PM26588).

#### 4.2.10 MATERIAL

A relatively small number of records contained erroneous or questionable material identifications. The two primary concerns were the identification of nine hair combs and similar items as 'plastic' rather than vulcanite; and the misidentification (10 records) or questionable recording (3 records) of some fine stonewares as porcelain<sup>35</sup>.

There was a handful of other cases where materials were mis-identified or questionable, including two kaolin marbles identified as porcelain (PM26423, PM26424), a shell collar-stud identified as bone (PM30266), two bone or horn buttons identified as casein (PM32462, PM32463); and three 'fine [plastic] "threads", c7.0 cm long' (PM30492) which appear to be pine needles or fine twigs.

With regard to individual artefacts comprised of more than one material, their Material fields records only one of the multiple material types. It may have been better to record both in the Material field, for example, 'Copper Alloy, Glass' for sherd PM00634, and create a 'Composite' artefact class.

#### 4.2.11 DECORATION

Some minor inconsistencies between the descriptions of decoration in different records were noted during the sample. For example, the incised border of three of the 93 buttons checked during the sample (PM32667, PM32703, PM32711) was not recorded, despite being noted on 13 other buttons.

With regard to ceramics, seven sherds identified as 'Handpainted – sponged' in the sample were clearly hand-painted, but not sponged. The distinctive pattern 'Corsina' was not identified on the substantially complete dinner plate PM26672 (attributed to 'TP blue fig 16'). In other cases, terms used to describe ceramic sherds were not clearly appropriate: for example, 'free style' was used to describe a border of shells and branches (PM23724). Some scenic sherds were described as figurative (PM23729) and two other free-style fragments were identified as scenic (PM26646, PM26676). The clover leaf, maltese cross and 'decorative impression' on sherds PM10736, PM13409, PM30926, respectively, could not be identified. Traces of gilt on two glass sherds (PM10255, PM10267) and one fine-earthenware sherd (PM23681) were overlooked.

#### 4.2.12 BOX NUMBERS

Twelve bags in the sample were not allocated box numbers in the database, these were added during the course of the sample. Another two were found in boxes different to those recorded in the database: PM01254 allocated to Box 2 was found in Box 1 and PM01600 was found in Box 122, not Box 160 as recorded.

Across the database as a whole, 23,420 bags (excluding the 12 mentioned above) were not allocated a Box Number. While this is likely to be because the artefacts have been culled (see Section 4.2.1), the number includes 355 artefacts identified to be the representative Types, which should not have been discarded.

---

<sup>35</sup> The misidentified sherds were PM13337, PM13394, PM23660, PM26525, PM26577, PM26582, PM26583, PM26668, PM26746, PM13374; the questionable sherds are: PM23659, PM26536, PM26579. These comprise 23% of the 56 food-related or unidentified porcelain sherds examined during the sample.

The Box List that accompanies the artefact database provides only ranges of artefacts, eg Box I is '1213 to 1880', not specifically which of those artefacts was retained and which was deleted. Hence the only way to check the accuracy of the allocated box numbers is to physically inspect every box.

#### 4.2.13 OTHER ISSUES

In addition to the problems identified above, a range of miscellaneous errors or oversights was identified. In two cases, information regarding the place of manufacture shown elsewhere on the record was not identified in the Provenance field (PM01213, PM01585).

There were five cases where the quantity was incorrect.<sup>36</sup> Some additional details like the remains of a lead seal on bottle PM01355 and the substantial render remains on sandstock brick fragment PM26466, were also omitted.

In other cases in which artefacts were unusual or uncommon, additional information would have been helpful (eg measurements on a rather thick decorative chain PM30294, probably a man's vest chain, on hair comb PM30624 and flow-blue bulging pedestal base PM13446).

These examples are few in number and these are considered negligible.

#### *Shoes*

The shoes from the Paddy's Market assemblage comprise an extensive and important collection. Thirty (6.4%) of the 472 bags of leather fragments relating to shoes were reviewed during the sample. The review revealed an extensively developed type series (see Wilson 1993f: 229–232). However, some shoe fragments do not appear to have been recorded to the same level of detail. Three of the bags (PM24673–PM24675, PM31019 for example) were preliminarily sorted and contain twenty or more fragments of shoes—bag PM24675 being recorded as 'unidentified' despite having a selection of near-complete boots and shoes and bag PM31019 being recorded as having only two fragments. In two cases, very detailed records omitted or mis-recorded some minor information: the decorative band was overlooked when boot PM31017 was described as 'unadorned' and an extra, unrelated fragment was included in the bag for well described shoe PM24629.

#### *Form*

Overall, the completion of the Form field, particularly for glass is satisfactory, although the field was not always completed (eg PM01231 and PM01236). In at least two cases, however, chamfered bottles were described as 'section rectilinear' (PM10309, PM10310) and a panelled oil/vinegar bottle was described as being of cylindrical form (PM10332).

#### *Conjoins*

While many conjoins are noted, most are not identified by Artefact ID Number but by context. In some cases it is unclear whether the number provided relates to the context or artefact. In other cases, no number is identified at all, simply a note: 'REJOINS FRAGS. FR. OTHER LEVELS' (PM04681). This is a result of the fact that Artefact ID numbers were allocated by Patrick Grant as bags were entered into the database,

---

<sup>36</sup> PM08906: one not six nails; PM26754: four sherds not three; PM30642: four fragments of hair pins not one; PM10719: three sherds not one. PM30638: three hair pins fragments, not two.

so artefact specialists could not specify particular numbers as they were working (Patrick Grant, pers comm, 4 December 2001).

#### *Data entry*

While data-entry records could not be assessed because they are not available, there were a few cases where errors may have been a result of data entry. For example, the colour was entered into the Portion field of record PM01240.

### **4.3 ARTEFACT STORAGE**

The Paddy's Market artefact assemblage is currently stored in 175 boxes at the Government Records Repository in Kingswood. While they are not accessible to the general public, the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority can recall the boxes at any time, and have them delivered within a few days of making the request.

The artefacts themselves are exceptionally well stored in perforated seal-lock bags with a paper tag inside and the artefact number written in permanent pen on the exterior. Fragile artefacts are wrapped in tissue paper and all examined boxes had dividers within the boxes to retain the order of the bags, and protect the artefacts from damage during movement. Metal artefacts are stored with Silica bags and humidity monitors.

Identification numbers are written on most artefacts, particularly those that are representative of their Type group.

Adhered to the underside of each box lid is a list of guidelines for the storage of artefacts prepared by International Conservation Services in February 1991.

### **4.4 RESEARCH POTENTIAL OF THE PADDY'S MARKET SITE ARTEFACT ASSEMBLAGE**

Setting aside the issue of culling, the research potential of the Paddy's Market artefact assemblage is high, but not exceptional. While the site provided a relatively intact archaeological resource of structural remains for five terraces and some parts of adjacent small- and larger-scale industrial complexes, the 100,000-odd artefacts are primarily associated with numerous filling episodes that prepared the site for frequent redevelopment.

The excavator Thorp also argued that the reason only a small amount of domestic rubbish remained in association with the Engine Street terraces was a result of municipal rubbish collection and cleansing operations following the plague outbreak of 1901 (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 117). This 'dearth of artefacts' prevented the excavators developing 'a detailed portrait' of Engine Street residents' standard of living, but certainly provided a more useful resource than that associated with other 1860s terraces or workshops identified from historical records, but for which no structural remains were uncovered (GML & Thorp 1993, Vol 2: 118, 60).

Since the excavation of the site, the culling of the collection has had a significant impact on the research potential of the assemblage. Research on the collection is now limited to: features of the site as documented in the site records and reports; that part of the collection which survives; and features of artefacts now discarded that were chosen to be included in the catalogue. That is, any research contingent on artefact weight, height, length or width, or the minimum number of vessels cannot be undertaken for

most artefacts, hence most stratigraphic contexts. Further, for those data recorded, research is limited to fields unaffected by inaccuracies, inconsistencies or ambiguities. Thus, as noted in the sample above, any research contingent on knowing which of the 'multiple' portions the sherd was actually comprised, or being certain of particular function allocations, would not be worth undertaking.

The collection does, of course, have some potential to inform some avenues of research. Specific artefact studies of representative Types, such as the identification of specific transfer-printed patterns or the further investigation of shoes and boots recovered from the site, may still be undertaken; and some smaller-scale studies not contingent on artefact colour, or for which Activity groups were more important than specific Function groups are also possible. The excellent records and reports prepared during and after excavation will ensure that any further study of the structural remains and their distribution across the site is also achievable.

## 5.0 ASSESSMENT OF THE ACCURACY AND USEFULNESS OF THE CATALOGUE

While the sample as outlined above revealed a more accurate catalogue than others assessed in the EAMC project, the culling of two-thirds of the collection prevents both the collection of other unrecorded data such as minimum vessel counts, and the verification or correction of the errors and inconsistencies that were noted (see Section 4.2.3). These particular limitations include:

- errors and conflicts concerning the Type Series which together render it questionable and in need of additional verification (major issues include: the allocation of similar and conjoining artefacts to different Types; conflict between Type Name and Function fields; and the lack of description in the Artefact Reports for many Types; see Section 4.2.2);
- questionable and inconsistent Function fields (see Section 4.2.3);
- the lack information regarding colour codes (see Section 4.2.6);
- ambiguous Portion terminology (see Section 4.2.4);
- omitted Inscriptions (see Section 4.2.5); and
- broad Percentage categories (see Section 4.2.3).

Other issues include:

- some minor inconsistencies and errors, considered negligible;
- the omission of box numbers for many records; and
- the ambiguous identification of conjoined artefacts.

Consequently, the Paddy's Market site artefact catalogue is not considered sufficient for the EAMC research program.

## 5.1 IMPLICATIONS

The questionable and inconsistent elements of the Type Series and Function fields are of greatest concern to the utility of the Paddy's Market artefact catalogue, and draw into question the accuracy of other allocations that are not apparently incorrect. While some inconsistent records can be identified from the database, they require physical examination to verify or correct.

Despite playing a lesser role in the overall analysis, verification of colour codes, portions and percentages would also require physical examination.

In the case of other sites, the EAMC team has resolved to undertake such correction during the inspection of artefacts for the minimum vessel counts. However, the culling of a large proportion of the assemblage removes this opportunity for review of most artefacts. It is not satisfactory for the EAMC team to proceed with analysis when some elements of approximately two-thirds of the catalogue may be incorrect and cannot be verified. Further, even if the database records are reliable, accurate minimum vessel counts can only be prepared with physical inspection. If minimum vessel counts could not be prepared for the Paddy's Market site, it could not be comparable with the other sites in the study.

Given that the EAMC project only proposed to include either Paddy's Market or Lilyvale, the former will be excluded from the research program, and energies will be concentrated on Lilyvale and the other sites in the collection.

## REFERENCES

- Anglin Associates 1990, *Pymont and Ultimo Heritage Study: Final Report*, 4 Vols, unpublished report prepared for the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning and the Sydney City Council.
- Ashton, Paul 1983, *Land, Landlords and Property Capital: The Urbanisation of Ultimo, 1794-1901*, unpublished BA Hons Thesis, Macquarie University.
- Carney, Martin 1993, 'Glass Artefacts' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 4-117.
- Casey, Mary 1993, 'Area 3' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 99-153.
- Christie, Michael 1988, *The Sydney Markets: 1788-1988*, Ultimo, NSW.
- City West Development Corporation & Margaret Park 1997, *Doors Were Always Open: Recollections of Pymont and Ultimo*, Pymont, NSW.
- Dillane, Sarah 1993, 'Areas 1 and 2' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 73-98.
- EJE Architecture 1997, *Ultimo/Pymont: Heritage and Urban Design Review*, unpublished report prepared for City West Planning.
- Fitzgerald, Shirley 1992, *Sydney 1842-1992*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Fitzgerald, Shirley and Hilary Golder 1994, *Pymont and Ultimo Under Seige*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Godden Mackay Pty Ltd in association with Wendy Thorp 1993, *Market City Development Paddy's Market: Archaeological Excavation*, 6, unpublished report for Jason Property Management Pty Ltd.
- Godden Mackay Pty Ltd 1990a, *Market City Development: Baseline Archaeological Assessment*, unpublished report for Jason Property Management Pty Ltd.
- Godden Mackay Pty Ltd 1990b, *Market City Development Paddy's Market: Archaeological Investigation Research Design*, unpublished report for Jason Property Management Pty Ltd on behalf of Rockvale Pty Ltd.
- Johnson, Wayne 1999, *Archaeological assessment: Ultimo rail corridor*, Ultimo, unpublished report for the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority.
- Karskens, Grace 1999a, *Inside The Rocks: the Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Lawrie, Roy 1993, 'Soil Inspection' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 330-331.
- Lindbergh, Jennifer 1993, 'Building Materials' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 166-181.
- Lowe, Anthony 1993a, 'Area 5' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 203-225.
- Lowe, Anthony 1993b, 'Building Materials' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 157-165.
- Matthews, Michael 1982, *Pymont and Ultimo: A History*, Southwood Press, Sydney.
- McPhail, Michael 1993, 'Palynology Analysis' in Godden Mackay (ed), *Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports*, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 298-329.

- O'Hea, Margaret 1993a, 'Economy' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 222-224.
- O'Hea, Margaret 1993b, 'Transport' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 225-226.
- Rossi, Mafalda 1993, 'Ceramics' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 118-124.
- Sparks, Rachel 1993a, 'Craft Trade and Industry' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 197-201.
- Sparks, Rachel 1993b, 'Domestic Use/Operation' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 202-206.
- Sparks, Rachel 1993c, 'Food Serve' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 207-213.
- Sparks, Rachel 1993d, 'Military' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 214-216.
- Sparks, Rachel 1993e, 'Food Preparation and Storage' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 217-221.
- Steele, Dominic 1993a, 'Area 4' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 154-202.
- Steele, Dominic 1993b, 'Bone and Shell' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 182-196.
- Tanner & Associates 1990, Markets 1 and 2, Haymarket (known as Paddy's Markets): Conservation Plan
- Thorp, Wendy 1993a, 'Ceramics' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 135-156.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993c, 'Clerical' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 243-250.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993b, 'Clothing' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 235-242.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993e, 'Hygiene' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 251-257.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993f, 'Jewellery' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 258-266.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993g, 'Personal' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993,

pp 267–273.

- Thorp, Wendy 1993h, 'Religion' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 280–282.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993i, 'Sewing' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 283–289.
- Thorp, Wendy 1993j, 'Unidentified Objects' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 290–297.
- Wilson, Graham 1993a, 'Report on the site stratigraphy and site phasing' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 3–39.
- Wilson, Graham 1993b, 'Report on Area A0' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 40–47.
- Wilson, Graham 1993c, 'Areas B1, B2, B3, B4 and B5' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 48–63.
- Wilson, Graham 1993d, 'Area C1' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 3: Trench Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 64–72.
- Wilson, Graham 1993e, 'Ceramics' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 125–134.
- Wilson, Graham 1993f, 'Leather' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 227–234.
- Wilson, Graham 1993g, 'Recreational Objects' in Godden Mackay (ed), Market City Development Paddy's Market Archaeological Excavation, Volume 4: Specialist Reports, prepared for Rockvale Pty Ltd, September 1993, pp 274–279.