

A doomed business: the material culture of Ann Jones and the Glenrowan Inn

SARAH HAYES¹

At the start of June 1880, Ann Jones was running a successful inn at Glenrowan, but by the end of the month her home and business lay in ruins. The Kelly Gang had holed up in her bar in their attempt to fend off the Victoria Police, and ultimately Ann's property was burnt to the ground. While Ann is in many ways a footnote to the Kelly story, the siege has left an important record of the ordinary life of an uneducated Irish woman in nineteenth-century rural Victoria. She has received much more attention than others like her, both in the historical records and in having her home excavated by archaeologists. As such, the artefacts recovered from the site along with the historical record provide a rare opportunity to examine how material culture was used to establish a respectable business and personal position in colonial society.

Ann Jones' attempt to build a life for herself at Glenrowan in north-eastern Victoria was dealt a devastating blow in June 1880 when the Kelly Gang chose to hold hostages in her inn. She had only opened her business, the Glenrowan Inn, the year before, after an earlier business running a tea-room in Wangaratta had failed (Shaw 2012:73). The family, now bankrupt, had to find an alternative way to make ends meet. Her husband, Owen went to work on the railways in Gippsland while Ann took their six younger children to Glenrowan to start another business. While Ann's story deserves attention for its historical relevance alone, it also provides rare insight into an ordinary family trying to make a life in the colony. The Glenrowan siege made Ann Jones famous and as such there is an extensive record of her life and activities. This level of information is rare for a working-class woman in Australia in this period. Further, if not for the Kelly Gang, Ann Jones' home and business in rural Victoria would never have been the focus of an archaeological excavation. Drawing on this rare combination of evidence, this paper uses material evidence from the inn to examine Ann Jones' ongoing efforts to establish a respectable business and improve her position in society.

The material culture reviewed here was recovered from the first season of excavations at the Glenrowan siege site. The site is listed on the National Heritage List and the Victorian Heritage Register, and was the subject of an archaeological excavation by Adam Ford and Dig International for the Rural City of Wangaratta in 2008–2009 (Ford 2008). Glenrowan is located about 220 km north-east of Melbourne on the main road to Sydney. The dig at Glenrowan sought tangible evidence of the siege – the infamous gunfight between the Kelly Gang and colonial authorities took place at Ann Jones' Glenrowan Inn from the evening of the 27th into the morning of the 28th of June 1880. While the dig uncovered evidence of the siege and the subsequent burning of the inn, it also recovered artefacts related to Ann Jones, her family and business.

The Jones family was broadly typical of immigrants who sought to improve their lives in Australia. After arriving in Victoria, immigrants often moved around in pursuit of opportunities, leading to varying degrees of success and failure determined by a wide range of factors such as background, ethnicity, religious belief, gender, marital status, class, education and health, but perhaps also luck. Social mobility in nineteenth-century Victoria was real and obtainable but it was

by no means a given. Times were hard after the gold rush and land boom eras came to a close.

Material culture provides evidence for the ways in which people express their class position and their attempts to alter that position. The concept of cultural capital developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984) and Anthony Giddens (1973) is particularly useful in interpreting material culture in historical archaeology (see Wall 1992; Lawrence 1998:8; Mayne and Lawrence 1998; Shackel 2000:233; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Russell 2003; Young 2004; Rotman 2009). According to Bourdieu (1984:77), class distinction is 'most marked in the ordinary choices of everyday existence, such as furniture, clothing or cooking'. Gentility and respectability have been usefully linked to cultural capital by a number of researchers (e.g. Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001:647; Russell 2003:168; Young 2004). In Australian historical archaeology, respectability has been associated with working-class attempts at social mobility (Lampard 2004; Quirk 2008; Prossor *et al.* 2012), but also a desire to belong to a specific group within the working class (Karskens 1999). For the purpose of this paper, respectability is not considered as a fixed notion that can be accurately reconstructed, but rather as an etic value useful for research. Respectability in Victorian society is defined here as being determined primarily through possessions and deeds, both of which were not predetermined by familial status or upbringing, and as being strategic in nature with a strong emphasis on materialism. This paper focuses in particular on how material culture was used to convey respectability in order to improve the success of a business and personal position in society.

THE GLENROWAN SIEGE SITE

The Glenrowan siege site is located on Siege Street, Glenrowan, close to the railway station that existed there in the nineteenth century (Figure 1). The 2008 excavation season aimed to uncover evidence of the siege and also of the Glenrowan Inn generally (Ford 2008). While the excavators hoped to uncover both the inn and the residence behind it, time limitations meant that the residence could not be excavated. The inn comprised five rooms: a parlour, bar and dining room at the front and two bedrooms at the back (Figure 2).

The site of the Glenrowan siege represents a complex series of depositional events. The first building at the site was Ann Jones' residence and two years later she added the inn in late 1878/early 1879 (Terry 2012:6-7). Over this period artefacts associated with the use of the site as a hotel would have been deposited in and around the inn. On the 28th June 1880 the inn was burnt down to force an end to the Kelly siege

1. Archaeology, La Trobe University, Bundoora VIC 3086.
s.hayes@latrobe.edu.au



Figure 1: Location of the Glenrowan Inn (black) within the Glenrowan Heritage Precinct (grey) (drawn by Ming Wei, La Trobe University).

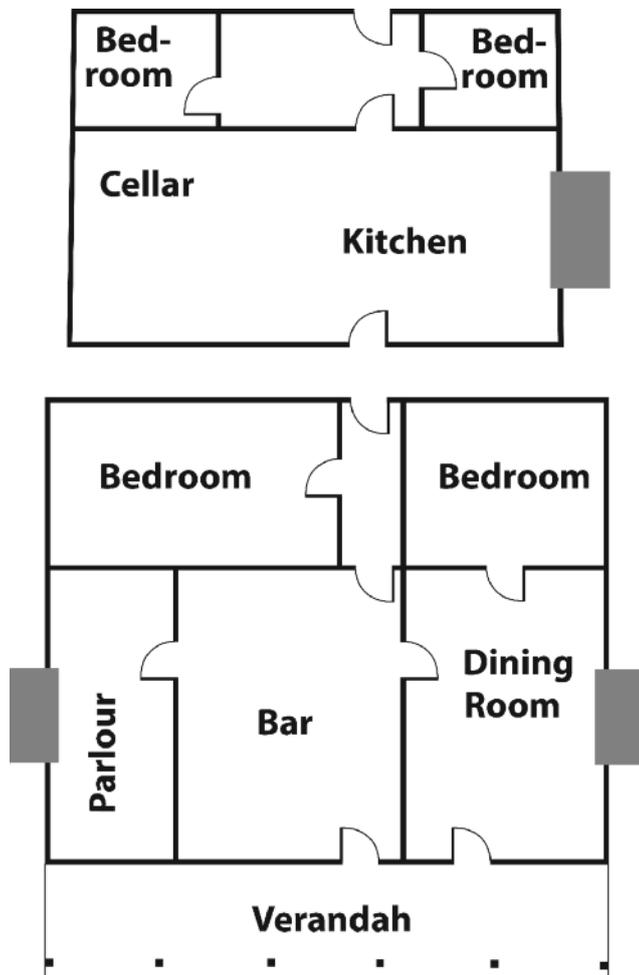


Figure 2: Schematic plan of the Glenrowan Inn and Ann Jones' residence (adapted from Ford 2008:30).

(Corfield 2003:190). The siege resulted in the deposition of firearm projectiles and burnt materials that were in the building at the time. After the siege, Ann and her children continued to live on the site, first in a makeshift hut and later in a new building constructed using government compensation

money. Ann was denied a new trading licence, however, and she was forced to rent the property to the police before returning later and opening a wine store (Shaw 2012:285, 292). The deposition of domestic and business items would have continued during this phase of occupation. The wine store burnt down in 1891. As such, some of the burnt materials recovered from the site may be associated with the siege, and others associated with this later 1891 event. Prior to World War I, a substantial wine store (locally known as the wine shanty) was built in the same location and remained there until it was demolished in 1976 or 1977 and artefacts may have been deposited during this period. It is also clear that a large amount of general rubbish was deposited on the site after 1977.

A number of other factors have resulted in disturbance to deposits. Souveniring of items associated with the siege occurred within days of the event, particularly ballistics but probably also other items, and has continued ever since. This process has removed many of the artefacts relating to the siege and of interest archaeologically. Further disturbance has also resulted from a non-archaeological excavation across part of the inn approximately 20 years ago. The area north of the inn has also been further disturbed as a result of vegetable gardening.

The 2008 excavation commenced with the clearing of vegetation and test excavation in 2 m x 2 m squares to establish the nature of the upper soil layers. This was followed by mechanical excavation in one large trench over the entire inn area until cultural deposits were reached. All cultural deposits were excavated by hand, with deposits and features recorded using the single context recording method. (Ford 2008:42-43). All deposits (except for the mixed overburden) were sieved (Ford 2008:60). Artefacts were managed on site by Fenella Atkinson and conservator Karina Acton, and were processed in the field according to Heritage Victoria's guidelines (Ford 2008:35, 43).

Cataloguing of artefacts from the May 2008 excavation season at the Glenrowan Inn was conducted by the author at La Trobe University with a team of student volunteers between August and December 2008. Artefacts were catalogued using the Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City (EAMC) database, which is a customised, relational Microsoft Access database that incorporates artefacts, contexts and type series

(see Crook *et al.* 2006; Crook and Murray 2006 for details). The standardised lists that form part of the database for function, material type etc. were used and minimum number of individual (MNI) counts, conjoins and matching sets were all recorded following EAMC guidelines (Crook and Murray 2006:29-34).

THE ARTEFACTS

11,180 artefact fragments were recovered from stratified deposits at the Glenrowan Inn. The assemblage was highly fragmentary with 42.2 per cent of the material (based on fragment counts) being less than 5 per cent complete. A large amount of architectural material and unidentified artefacts were recovered from the site but will not be discussed here (see Hayes 2008b for a full discussion). Deposits including burnt glass and charcoal are likely to be associated with either the burning of Ann Jones' inn during the siege, or the burning of the second building constructed by her. Deposits associated with the construction of the second building are likely to include artefacts associated with the use of the inn and the siege. Most of the artefacts, however, were recovered from contexts associated with all phases of occupation at the site, with only a few deposits directly associated with the first inn or the siege (such artefacts will be highlighted in the discussion below).

The dating of artefacts was carried out primarily in order to associate artefacts and deposits with various phases of the history of the site. The majority of artefacts recovered from stratified contexts included in the analysis were from the nineteenth century. Dates could only be given to a very small proportion (6.5 per cent of the MNI) of the artefacts, which was largely due to the highly fragmentary and undiagnostic nature of much of the assemblage. Of the MNI of dateable artefacts, 75.7 per cent had date ranges which overlapped with the occupation of Ann Jones' inn prior to the Glenrowan siege (Table 1). Although unstratified surface deposits were excluded from analysis, a number of artefacts (18.9 per cent) dated to the twentieth century use of the site as a wine shanty.

The majority of artefacts from stratified contexts within the inn dated to the nineteenth century and these can reasonably be assumed to be associated with Ann Jones and her occupation of the site, both before and after the siege. Ann Jones occupied the site from 1876 until the end of the century, with only a brief period in which she rented it to the police. After the siege, she continued in her attempt to establish a business and although she was unsuccessful in obtaining a license her acquisition of material culture in this period is still relevant to the focus of this paper. The nineteenth-century assemblage is more consistent with the domestic and business operations of Ann Jones than with use as police offices. The bulk of the nineteenth-century artefacts were food service and food storage items. A much smaller number of items were related to other activities such as health, hygiene, clothing, writing and recreation (Table 2). The following discussion focuses on the nineteenth-century artefacts that overlap with Ann Jones' use of the site.

Eating and drinking

Artefacts related to preparing food, eating and drinking dominated the Glenrowan Inn assemblage, as would be expected for a country pub. The 'Food Service' ceramics were predominantly whiteware with bone china, porcelain, white granite, dyed-body ware and cream-coloured earthenware all represented in smaller numbers. Five different vessel forms were associated with serving food: 15 plates, three platters, two drainers, two bowls and two tureens. Three vessel forms were associated with serving tea: seven saucers, five teacups

Table 1: Summary of dateable artefacts by phase.

Phase	Start date	End date	Fragments	MNI	Weight (g)
Ann Jones' inn	1600	1920	41	8	942.7
	1780	present	17	4	111.4
	1790	present	47	2	401.4
	1820		21	2	38.2
	1821	1920	2	0	10.1
	1821	present	13	2	140.4
	1828	present	154	14	922.9
	1834	present	67	4	558.3
	1835		1	1	3.2
	1835	present	10	1	8.7
	1845	1890	52	5	383.3
	1846	1920	1	1	5.1
	1850	present	10	2	53.9
	1851	1882	2	0	5.5
	1860	present	42	5	447.8
	1862	1870	3	2	16
1862	1882	1	1	9.5	
1868	1908	13	2	795	
1880	1900	16	1	207.4	
1880	1935	1	1	5.3	
Total			501	56	4271.1
Ann Jones' second building	1885		2	2	2.7
	1890	present	3	2	25.5
Total			5	4	28.2
Wine shanty	1915	present	21	3	20.2
	1920	present	7	7	21.4
	1922		1	1	9.3
	1928		1	1	1.4
	1930	present	1	1	3.2
	1936		1	1	1.4
Total			32	14	56.9
Date unknown			10642	1063	34,991.65
Total			10642	1063	34,991.65
TOTAL			11180	1137	39,347.85

Table 2: Summary of activity groups.

Activity	Fragments	MNI	Weight (g)
Food Service	787	69	3365.1
Food Storage	4121	52	16,178.9
Clothing	8	8	9.3
Food Preparation	40	7	474.3
Hygiene	106	7	611.6
Diet	26	6	153.4
Recreation	7	5	19
Clerical	20	4	40.7
Economy	4	4	20.9
Pharmaceutical	30	3	46
Collectibles/Decorative	8	2	10.1
Domestic	57	2	21.4
Aboriginal Tool	1	1	1.8
Garden	8	1	127.5
Personal	1	1	0.6
TOTAL	5224	172	21,080.6

and a mug. The majority of ceramic food service vessels were decorated with a transfer-print, mainly the common varieties such as 'Willow', 'Asiatic Pheasants' and 'Rhine'. Also represented were 'Fibre', 'Cable', geometric and floral patterns. Five white granite moulded 'Berlin Swirl' vessels were also recovered. Of the tea service vessels, gilt banded and moulded decorations including sprigged were the most common. None of the tea service vessels were transfer-printed.

A number of matching sets were identified in the 'Food Service' ceramics. The largest set was 'Berlin Swirl' white

granite, which included a 10-inch plate, soup plate, plate, tureen, unidentified hollow vessel and possibly a platter, although this was fragmentary and had minimal decoration present on the rim. Makers' marks on some of the fragments suggest that this was an 'actual' matching set (following EAMC definitions) made by Pinder, Bourne and Co., a Staffordshire pottery operating between 1862 and 1882 (Brooks 2005:70). There was also an 'Asiatic Pheasants' transfer-printed set comprising four complementary vessels: a plate, bowl, platter and tureen. Other 'complementary' sets were the 'Rhine' set with three plates, one of which was an 11-inch size, and the 'Willow' set with a plate and a platter. No matching sets were identified among the teaware.

Table 3: Ceramic vessel forms by ware type.

Sub-material	Form	Sub-form	Fragments	MNI	Weight (g)	
Bone china	Tea	Cup	19	2	43.7	
	Tea	Saucer	17	3	47.2	
	Unid flat		15	2	20.1	
	Unid hollow		5	1	3.8	
Total			56	8	114.8	
Dyed-body ware	Tea	Saucer	1	1	17.8	
Total			1	1	17.8	
Earthenware	Tea	Cup	3	1	6.2	
Total			3	1	6.2	
Porcelain	Mug		20	1	55.1	
	Tea	Cup	9	1	10.8	
	Tea	Saucer	9	1	35	
	Unid flat		3	2	5.5	
	Unid hollow		3	3	8.1	
Total			44	8	114.5	
White granite	Plate		12	1	114.9	
	Plate	10-inch	11	1	126.4	
	Plate	Soup	12	1	52.2	
	Platter		4	1	26.1	
	Tureen		1	1	21.7	
	Unid hollow		5	1	29.1	
	Unidentified		10	0	27.9	
	Total			55	6	398.3
Whiteware	Bowl		8	2	130.2	
	Tea	Cup	3	1	14.4	
	Plate		141	11	889.5	
	Plate	11-inch	12	1	123.9	
	Platter		34	2	494.4	
	Serving dish	Drainer	2	2	7.3	
	Tea	Saucer	3	2	9.1	
	Tureen		19	1	146.5	
	Unid flat		71	11	215.3	
	Unid hollow		9	4	53.8	
	Unidentified		300	0	578.4	
	Total			602	37	2662.8
	TOTAL			761	61	3314.4

A minimum number of seven glass artefacts were associated with eating and drinking. Three bowls with no decoration present on the fragments, a dish with a sawtooth rim, and a dish decorated with pressed hobnails and diamonds were associated with serving food. Other glass fragments comprised a minimum of one tumbler, some of which was recovered from deposits associated with the second building. Some of these fragments were decorated with moulded panels. An opaque white fragment from a plate or saucer was also recovered.

A minimum of 23 glass bottles and one marble stopper recovered from deposits associated with all occupation phases

were related to food and beverage storage. A large number of dark green bottle glass fragments were excavated, and while these gave a minimum number of four bottles due to the fragmentary nature of the assemblage they would have represented many more. The other bottle types included two light green and one colourless condiment bottle, at least one square case gin bottle, an aerated water bottle, whisky bottle, schnapps bottle and an amber beer bottle. The aerated water bottle had a Codd finish and may be associated with the marble seal. The schnapps bottle was made by Udolpho Wolfe between 1880 and 1900 in Holland (Boow c.1991:208), some fragments of which were recovered from deposits associated with the second building. Gin and schnapps were often used for medicinal purposes in the nineteenth century.

In addition to the glass storage bottles, a minimum number of 16 ceramic storage vessels were recovered. Two coarse earthenware vessels were identified, one of which had a lid, and appeared to be Chinese in origin (Figure 3 and Figure 4). Among the 14 stoneware vessels, Bristol glazed, salt glazed and brown glazed decorations were all identified, some of which were also decorated with bands or impressed geometric patterns. In many cases, the ceramic storage vessels were too fragmentary to determine their form, but bottles, jars, crock pots and demijohns were all identified. A 'Bristol' glazed stoneware bottle was manufactured by Van Croft Co. for the Wangaratta Brewery, which operated between 1868 and 1908 and was located about 15 km north of Glenrowan (Arnold 1990:54, 218). The bottle was marked as 'YE OLD ENGLISH STYLE BREWED GINGER BEER'.



Figure 3: Chinese pot. Figure 3: Chinese pot.

Other artefacts related to eating and drinking were two metal bottle lids and a tin can, along with seven utilitarian ceramic vessels related to food preparation. Two were large bowls, possibly mixing bowls, while five were unidentified hollow vessels likely to be bowls or basins. They were all made from whiteware and had no decoration present. 'Diet' related faunal remains were only recovered in small numbers. The faunal material was in a highly fragmentary condition making species identification impossible in many cases. Cow bones and pig bones were identified, however, with the only evidence of butchery being a saw mark on a pig tibia. Two seeds and two shells were recovered, but could not be identified.



Figure 4: Chinese pot lid.

About the inn

A number of artefacts were associated with creating a cosy atmosphere for the inn. Fifty-seven fragments of lamp chimney glass, representing at least two lamp shades, were found within rooms of the inn and in contexts associated with the construction of the second building. A small fragment of a mirror may have been from a decorative mirror hanging in the inn, while a porcelain figurine was recovered in fragments from rooms and a posthole of the original inn. In addition, a colourless glass item with a bevelled edge appeared to be some kind of ornament. A flower pot recovered in eight fragments was made from unglazed terracotta with impressed bands on the body, and may have been used for either indoor or outdoor decoration. Flower pots were manufactured in Victoria from the 1850s onward (Ford 1995:176-293).

Personal

Eight buttons were lost by Ann Jones, her children or visitors to the inn. Five were iron alloy, two of which were four-hole sew through types. A cream-coloured moulded glass button with a two-hole sew through attachment was recovered from a hearth feature in the area of possible outbuildings behind the inn. Two cream-coloured buttons and utilitarian four-hole sew wood button appeared to be twentieth-century types.

Health and hygiene

Three medicine bottles and an ointment jar were associated with health and hygiene at the inn. A cobalt blue flat-sided bottle was found in fragments in burnt demolition deposits associated with the construction of the second building, and was therefore probably inside the inn at the time of the siege. It may have belonged to a guest staying at the inn or to a member of the Jones family. A small number of cobalt blue bottle fragments were also found in the demolition fill for construction of the wine shanty and therefore probably related to Ann Jones' second building. Also recovered from a deposit related to the second building was a whiteware ointment jar lid with black transfer-printed lettering that read: 'MORRIS'S/ IMPERIAL/ EYE/ OINTMENT/ ...ALLIBLE CURE/ FOR ALL/ ...EASES' (Figure 5). Other complete examples indicate that this reads 'infallible cure for all diseases of the eye'. Morris's was a Melbourne-based company operating around the turn of the century. A small machine-made amber bottle

made in the twentieth century by the Australian Glass Manufacturers (Boow c.1991:176) was also found.

Seven ceramic toiletware items were also found. Three of the vessels, a ewer, dish and hollow vessel, had the same transfer-printed green floral pattern and would have formed a matching set used in one of the bedrooms. The majority of these fragments were recovered from burnt contexts, and were concentrated within demolition deposits of the first inn prior to the construction of the second building, which indicates that they were inside the inn at the time of the siege. A red hand-painted banded chamber pot and ewer, dating to after 1860 (Brooks 2005:72), were also a matching set. These fragments were deposited in much the same way as the green floral set. In addition, a ewer with a black transfer-printed marble pattern and a basin with a floral transfer-printed design in green were recovered within the inn. All were probably related to the accommodation provided at the inn.



Figure 5: Whiteware eye ointment jar.

Other

Small numbers of other artefacts were recovered during excavation. Fragments of at least two clay smoking pipes were recovered within the inn: an unglazed pipe stem with a pinched mouthpiece, and an unglazed pipe stem with unidentified lettering. Three toys were also found including a German swirl colourless glass marble with a blue and white swirl recovered from the fill around a posthole associated with the inn (Figure 6). German swirl marbles were manufactured primarily in Germany, but also in Britain and the United States (Ellis 2001:174). Manufacture in Germany began in 1846 and continued until after World War I, while in the United States,



Figure 6: German swirl marble.

manufacture took place from 1880 to 1902. The remaining two toys were plastic and date to after 1915 (Miller 2000:17).

A minimum number of four clerical items were also recovered from the site. Fifteen fragments of ruled slate writing board were found (Figure 7). Two of these fragments were recovered from postholes associated with the second building, another was found in a pit used to burn rubbish after one of the fires and another was recovered from a burnt layer. In addition, a minimum of two slate pencils were recovered (Figure 8). As with the slate board, two of these fragments were found in burnt deposits within the inn. Slate pencils and writing slates were cheap and durable writing implements popular throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century (Porter and Ferrier 2004; Davies 2005: 63, 64). Slate writing equipment is usually associated with the education of children (Iacono 1999:78; Ellis 2001) but it may have also been used by adults for writing lists. In addition to these items a salt-glazed stoneware ink bottle was recovered from fill beneath a sill beam in the inn.

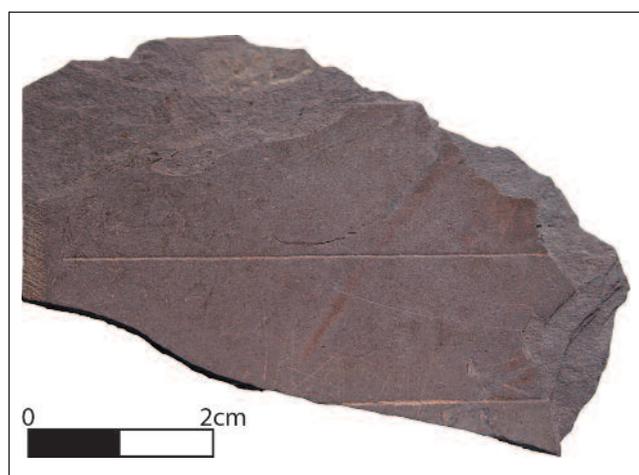


Figure 7: Slate board.



Figure 8: Slate pencil.

Several other items were found in small numbers. These included three coins dating to the twentieth century and a fourth coin with no legible date. In addition, a single Aboriginal silcrete flake was recovered from a deposit overlying a posthole of the inn. This find suggests that there were Aboriginal people in the area either before or during the period that the inn was built and subsequently burnt down.

Manufacturers

A minimum number of 13 artefacts bore makers' marks, and are summarised in Table 4. Three ceramic tableware items were made in Staffordshire, England, while two of the Australian made goods were a poison bottle, ginger beer bottle and eye ointment container. The poison bottle made by Australian Glass Manufacturers dated to the twentieth century and the eye ointment jar also appears to date to this period. While the Wangaratta Brewery was in operation from 1868, the bottle recovered at Glenrowan appears to be from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The Udolpho Wolfe Schnapps bottle was made in Holland, and a porcelain mug was made in Germany.

DISCUSSION

The mixed nature of the shallow deposits at the Glenrowan Inn means that relating deposits to particular phases on the site is difficult. The nineteenth-century material, however, relates to Ann Jones, her children and business either before or after the siege. As such, interpretations can be drawn about the role of material culture in building her life and business at this time in Victoria's history. The material culture of the siege itself is also briefly discussed here in the context of the impact of the conflict on the Jones family.

Ann Jones and the Glenrowan Inn

Ann Jones was born in Tipperary, Ireland in 1833 and was aged in her forties at the time of the siege. She had survived the Great Famine in Ireland and immigrated to Australia in 1854. Shortly after she married Englishman Owen Jones and they sought riches on the goldfields for a time. Life was hard for the family. A failed business led to the couple parting ways: Ann took six of their children to Glenrowan and Owen found a job on the railways in Gippsland. There were few options available to uneducated, working-class women for employment and income at this time, particularly for those with young children. Ann was ambitious and moved to Glenrowan to open an inn (Figure 9). She borrowed money from two local businessmen and relied on support from her eldest son and daughter. She chose a location close to the railway station in order to attract clients arriving and departing from Glenrowan (Wright and McDermott 2010:114, 116). In June 1880, Ann was only just beginning to recover from neuralgia and was still grieving for a daughter who had died in an accident the previous year (Jones 1995:233). At this time she was living in Glenrowan with five of her children: Jane (14), Johnny (Jack, 13), Owen (11), Jeremiah (7) and Heddington (2) (Terry 2012:48).

Ann had a clear desire to run a respectable business, after the earlier failure of the tea-room in Wangaratta (Shaw 2012:73). In Glenrowan she set about establishing a more respectable pub than her direct competitor at the nearby McDonnell's Inn and her sign advertised 'Best Accommodation' (Figure 10) (Molony 2001:173). In 1881 she submitted a compensation claim for the destruction of the inn

Table 4: Summary of manufacturers' marks.

Maker	Provenance	Start Date	End Date	Fragments	MNI	Weight (g)
Unidentified				5	3	34
Unidentified	Germany			20	1	55.1
Australian Glass Manufacturers	Australia	1930	present	1	1	3.2
Van Croft Co. for Wangaratta Brewery	Australia: Wangaratta	1868	1908	13	2	795
Morris's Eye Ointment	Australia: Melbourne			2	1	12.1
Unidentified				1	1	0.5
James Broadhurst	England: Staffordshire	1862	1870	3	2	16
Pinder Bourne & Co.	England: Staffordshire	1862	1882	3	1	15
Udolpho Wolfe	Holland	1880	1900	16	1	207.4



Figure 9: Ann Jones' inn before the fire, 1880 (State Library of Victoria image H96.160/164).

that detailed the items she had lost. These included 'Cooking Utensils, Cutlery, Crockery', 'Bar Furniture and Fixings', 'Furniture, Bedding', 'Stock of Ale, Wine and Spirits', 'Clothing for Self and 5 Children' and 'Jewellery' along with her supply of food (VPRS 4967 PO Unit 3, 18 November 1881). Contemporary accounts suggest that the inn was well furnished: initially Ann must have found the money to set up the inn in the way she desired. In order to make ends meet, however, Ann had later sold this valuable furniture to a Wangaratta businessman and then rented it back at two shillings and six pence a week (Jones 1995:233). A number of artefacts recovered from the site may have been purchased by Ann to help create an inviting atmosphere for the inn. These included a flowerpot, mirror, figurine, fragment of decorative glass and lamp glass.

Ceramic tableware and glass drinkware were essential to Ann Jones' trade, and it is possible that these items also held

enough value to be sold and then rented along with the furniture. The fact that she had 'Willow', 'Rhine' and 'Berlin Swirl' patterned tableware in matching sets suggests Ann Jones' efforts to present meals in a formal manner either to her family or her guests at the inn. In addition to the bar, historical records suggest that the inn included a dining room (Jones 1995:235), and it is likely that some of the vessels were used to serve meals to customers. Depositional patterns suggest that both may be the case, as ceramics were recovered from contexts associated with the inn and the second building. The presence of a 'Berlin Swirl' white granite dinner service is intriguing. Archaeologists in the United States have associated these simply decorated vessels with the middle-class (Wall 1992:79), and shown that they were relatively more expensive (Miller 1980; 1991). White granite was found at the upper-middle-class Viewbank Homestead site near Melbourne (Hayes 2008a:129; 2011a:40), but examples have also been identified at the inner-city, working-class site of Little Lon in Melbourne (Hayes 2011b). As such, the class associations of white granite in Victoria are ambivalent. Two condiment bottles were also recovered.

The expense invested in dinnerware was not matched with teawares. Only a small number of teacups and saucers were identified in the assemblage, and none comprised matching sets. This accords with hotel use, where food was served to guests, but tea was only of secondary importance to the drinking of alcohol. It is interesting to note that only one glass tumbler was recovered from the site and was associated with the second building. That being said, the high temperatures of the fire that ended the siege meant that most of the glass was melted beyond recognition, some of which was probably from drinking glasses. The enquiry into Ann Jones' compensation claim revealed that glasses, pewter pints, and cases of brandy, gin and wine were inside the inn when it burnt to the ground (VPRS 4967 PO Unit 3, 18 November 1881; Jones 1995:235). No pewter pints were recovered archaeologically, but these



Figure 10: Ann Jones' inn after the fire with sign advertising 'Best Accommodation' (State Library of Victoria image H96.160/186).

may have melted in the fire or were among the objects souvenired from the site after the siege. Though highly fragmentary, a large amount of beverage and alcohol bottle glass was identified in the assemblage. Case gin, beer/wine, whisky, schnapps and aerated water bottles were the specific types identified. Perhaps surprisingly for a drinking establishment of this era, only two clay pipes were recovered; however, this may be the result of site formation processes and the fragmentary nature of the assemblage.

The Glenrowan Inn provided accommodation in two bedrooms, and this would have been an important part of Ann Jones' business. Some artefacts may be associated with the provision of accommodation, including the ceramic toiletpot that may have been provided for guests in these two rooms. Recovered from contexts associated with the inn were a set of floral green transfer-printed toiletpot vessels including a ewer, dish and unidentified hollow vessel, as well as a matching red-banded chamberpot and ewer. A marble pattern ewer and green floral transfer-printed basin were also found. This expenditure on toiletpot and particularly the matching sets is consistent with Ann's interest in running a respectable establishment.

Ann Jones' daughter and four young sons were at the inn at the time of the siege. There is some evidence for their lives at Glenrowan in the assemblage. Slate pencils and boards, recovered from postholes for the second building and other burnt deposits, were probably associated with the education of Ann Jones' children. A German swirl glass marble was recovered from the fill around a posthole associated with the inn. This was the only toy found that could be associated with the Jones children.

The assemblage provides little information on the origin of goods and the trade networks accessed in Glenrowan in the nineteenth century. Of the small number of ceramics marked with their place of origin, all but one were made in Staffordshire, England. By the mid-nineteenth century, two-thirds of Britain's potteries were located in Staffordshire (Snyder 1997:5). By the 1880s the population of Victoria was still largely reliant on the strong trading system of the Empire of which they were a part. Locally made goods, however, were in circulation at this time and many of the unmarked artefacts in the Glenrowan assemblage are likely to have been made in Australia. Victorian potteries were established by the 1850s (Ford 1995:176-293) and were mainly producing utilitarian wares to avoid direct competition with British imports of tableware and teaware (Casey 1999:23). Australian potteries probably made many of the 14 stoneware vessels in the Glenrowan assemblage.

The white granite 'Berlin Swirl' vessels were likely to be associated with the inn prior to the siege. These vessels were made by Staffordshire potteries in response to changes in American taste that favoured simply decorated ceramics, and to compete with popular French porcelain (Ewins 1997: 46-47). They often incorporated American symbols or mottos. The presence of these vessels at Glenrowan, although made specifically for the United States, is the result of restricted access to the American market after the start of the Civil War in 1861. This restriction meant that Staffordshire potteries catering to the United States needed to find a new market for their wares, and Australia and New Zealand were among the countries to which imports of these goods increased (Brooks 2005:58-59). White granite may or may not have been sold cheaply in Australia and further archaeological evidence is required to answer this question.

There is evidence that goods from Europe also made their way to Glenrowan. A ceramic mug was marked as being 'MADE IN GERMANY' and a schnapps bottle was from Holland. It is likely that these goods were first shipped to

English or other British ports and then exported to Australia (Nix 2005:38). The Chinese pots found at Glenrowan reflect the presence of Chinese in the region. Trade networks between China and Australia were established largely to service Chinese communities, but they also served European consumers (McCarthy 1988:145-146). From the 1850s Chinese food jars were popular with Europeans both for their contents and for the vessels themselves (Lydon 1999:57). Like many in the Glenrowan region, Ann Jones was Irish. However, there were no Irish manufactured artefacts or items that reflect her Irish heritage in the assemblage.

The Glenrowan siege

The siege at the Glenrowan Inn markedly changed Ann Jones' fortunes. In June 1880 she was on the way to establishing a successful, respectable business and a secure living for her family but the siege destroyed her hopes. There were, undoubtedly, physical remains of the siege recovered by the archaeological work. Unfortunately it was almost impossible to distinguish burnt deposits associated with the siege from burnt deposits associated with the second Ann Jones building. Those deposits observed as being associated with the siege during excavation yielded very similar materials to all other deposits on the site. Also, any artefacts clearly associated with the siege were probably souvenired immediately after the event or in the years since. The main exception is examples of ammunition recovered from across the site.

The Kelly Gang were still holding hostages at Glenrowan Inn when police arrived from Melbourne and Benalla. The gunfight started almost immediately. In spite of souveniring at the site, a total of 99 ammunition-related artefacts were recovered during the excavation. These were analysed by retired Victoria Police firearm identification expert Henry Huggins (2008). He identified 28 projectiles as possibly being associated with the Glenrowan siege. These included possible lead shot projectiles, percussion caps, fired .303 calibre cases, a fully jacketed .303 projectile, 12-gauge cartridge heads, 577/450 Martini Henry cases and a primed .442 calibre case. Possible weapons used to fire these projectiles were the single shot breech loading 577/540 Martini Henry rifle, Colt revolving rifle, Colt Navy or Pocket Colt and Victoria Police issued revolvers which fired .442 calibre bullets (Huggins 2008).

The Glenrowan siege resulted in a number of tragic deaths and injuries, not just of Kelly Gang members but also hostages. Ann's son, Johnny (aged 13) was killed during the siege, and a bullet grazed Jane Jones' forehead (Jones 1995:234, 250). Jane died two years later from tuberculosis, but Ann believed that Jane never recovered from her ordeal and grief for her dead brother. Ann's grief and distress at the loss of her children remained with her until the end of her days (Terry 2012:177-178). Dan Kelly and Steve Hart were reportedly inside the inn when the police set fire to it to force an end to the siege. Reverend Mathew Gibney entered the inn after it had started burning and found two bodies burnt beyond recognition, thought to be Dan Kelly and Steve Hart, in the small skillion bedroom to the left of the passage at the back of the inn (Jones 1995:270). Burnt bone fragments were recovered mainly from rooms at the rear of the inn. Further scientific testing found that the bone fragments were too small, however, to enable their identification as human.

Once the siege was over, the inn lay in ruins. Accelerant used by the police to start the fire, coupled with substantial quantities of liquor within the inn caused the fire to reach extreme temperatures (Terry 2012:33). Other artefacts are harder to associate with the siege. Shattering window glass was recorded in historical accounts of the event (Jones 1995:249) and a proportion of the burnt window glass

excavated from the site would have resulted from the siege, highlighting the trauma and violence of the event. Artefacts recovered from deposits identified as being associated with the siege were highly fragmentary and represented a low minimum number. They were consistent with the type of artefacts expected to have been in the inn prior to the siege: a large number of beverage storage vessels and a smaller number of items for serving food. However, these artefacts are very similar to types recovered from other contexts across the site and they may in fact be deposits mixed with earlier and later materials. Everything that Ann had built and worked for was now gone.

A life altered

Ann Jones had been making a real go of things prior to the siege. There had been difficult times since she had opened the inn and desperate measures, such as selling and leasing her furniture. The inn was succeeding as a business, however, and operating at a profit (Corfield 2003:248; Shaw 2012:73). Ann stated at an enquiry into her compensation claim that she '... was doing a tidy business' prior to the siege (VPRS 4967 PO Unit 3, 18 November 1881). At a time when it was often difficult for Irish working-class immigrants to prosper in Victoria, she had been doing well enough at Glenrowan. Material culture including matching sets of ceramics, decent furniture and decorations were a part of what enabled Ann to position herself in society as a respectable business operator. However, her success in establishing a respectable business and bettering her position was seemingly resented in sections of the Glenrowan community: she claimed that some locals had treated her badly (Jones 1995:246).

The siege ruined everything for Ann who lost not only her son, but her business and home. She was never trusted by the Kelly Gang, but authorities suspected her of being a sympathiser. Debate continues, but her true alliance is, ultimately, unknown. Directly after the siege, Ann returned with her remaining children and built a simple dwelling in the backyard of the inn. She and her family relied on the generosity of neighbours at this time (Shaw 2012:274). After a week in this unsuitable housing the family left to join Owen in Gippsland. Ann was taken to trial for harbouring a felon during the siege, but at the trial the charges were dismissed. In spite of this, authorities refused to issue her with a new publican's licence. She was eventually awarded £265 compensation money for the loss of her property and goods, and subsequently used the money to construct a new weatherboard building on the site where she returned after one year in Gippsland. With no licence, she chose to operate a wine store, but was charged in 1888 for selling whisky without a licence. After moving away for several years, Ann returned in 1895 and converted the dwelling into a wine store and eatery. Tragedy continued for the family with Jane dying in April 1882. In 1886, Ann was awarded £100 compensation for the loss of her children, Johnny and Jane, as a result of the siege. Owen Jones died in late 1880 at the age of 60 and Ann remarried in 1891. She died in 1910, aged 80 (Corfield 2003:248-249; Shaw 2012:274, 285, 292-293; Wright and McDermott 2010:120).

CONCLUSION

The fact that Ann Jones was able to rebuild her house and her life at Glenrowan means that material culture relating to her life remains more dominant in the archaeological record than artefacts from the siege. The excavated material from the site of the inn is nevertheless evocative of the dramatic events that took place: the building was severely damaged by bullets and then destroyed by fire, with evidence of the gunfight and destruction of the inn visible in the archaeological record. The notoriety of the Kelly Gang and the fame of the siege mean

that few material traces of the siege itself remain at Glenrowan. The artefacts recovered by the excavation are dominated by those associated with Ann Jones and the reality of her life at Glenrowan.

The material evidence suggests that Ann Jones made an effort to present her inn as a respectable establishment. While the building itself was of poor quality, Ann furnished it well and stocked it with the best quality tableware, toiletware and decorations that she could afford. This paper adds important detail to the story of Ann Jones on how she sought to create a respectable and successful business. The archaeology provides significant new evidence for the role of material culture in social mobility in rural Victoria. The artefacts reveal how a woman like Ann Jones could make the best of an opportunity by presenting her simple country pub as a respectable establishment. As the landlady of the better pub in town, Ann also held a respectable place in the Glenrowan community; however, this did not mean that she was accepted by all. If not for the Kelly Gang and the siege, Ann may well have been successful in bettering her family's position in society. As a female, Irish, uneducated, working-class immigrant, Ann was doing as well as she could. Fortune, however, was not on her side: she suffered the failure of two businesses and the early deaths of six of her 14 children, events which clouded the remainder of her life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Adam Ford (Dig International) and Tim Murray (La Trobe University) for the opportunity to work on this project. I would also like to thank Rudy Frank and Ming Wei for their assistance with equipment. I am greatly indebted to the team of La Trobe University students who assisted with the cataloguing of the artefacts, in particular Paul Pepdjonovic, Joshua Flynn, Tiffany Liew, Jo Blackbourn, Anna Teuchler, Jo Wilson, and Lauren Prossor. Thanks also to Peter Davies, Edwina Kay, Jeremy Smith and an anonymous reviewer who provided feedback on this paper.

REFERENCES

- ARNOLD, K. 1990 *A Victorian Thirst*, Crown Castleton, Maiden Gully, Victoria.
- BOOW, J. c.1991 *Early Australian Commercial Glass: Manufacturing Processes*, Heritage Council of New South Wales, Sydney.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Translated by R. Nice, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- BROOKS, A. 2005 *An Archaeological Guide to British Ceramics in Australia 1788–1901*, Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology and La Trobe University Archaeology Program, Sydney.
- CASEY, M. 1999 'Local Pottery and Dairying at the DMR Site, Brickfields, Sydney, New South Wales', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 17:3-37.
- CORFIELD, J. 2003, *The Ned Kelly Encyclopedia*, Lothian Books, Melbourne.
- CROOK, P., L. ELLMOOS and T. MURRAY 2006 *Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City Project Databases*, Archaeology of the Modern City 1788–1900 Series Volume 13, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney.
- CROOK, P. and T. MURRAY 2006 *Guide to the EAMC Archaeology Database*, Archaeology of the Modern City

- 1788–1900 Series Volume 10, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney.
- DAVIES, P. 2005 'Writing Slates and Schooling', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 23:63-69.
- ELLIS, A. 2001 Toy Stories: Interpreting Childhood from the Victorian Archaeological Record, BA Honours thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne.
- EWINS, N. 1997 *'Supplying the Present Wants of Our Yankee Cousins...': Staffordshire Ceramics and the American Market 1775–1880*, City Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent.
- FORD, A. 2008 Glenrowan Siege Archaeological Project Excavation Report 2008, unpublished report to the Rural City of Wangaratta by DIG International, Geelong.
- FORD, G. 1995 *Australian Pottery: The First 100 Years*, Salt Glaze Press, Wodonga.
- GIDDENS, A. 1973 *The Class Structure of Advanced Societies*, Hutchinson University Library, London.
- HAYES, S. 2008a Being Middle Class: An Archaeology of Gentility in Nineteenth-Century Australia, PhD thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne.
- HAYES, S. 2008b Glenrowan Siege Archaeological Project: Artefact Report, unpublished report to La Trobe University and Dig International, Melbourne
- HAYES, S. 2011a 'Gentility in the Dining and Tea Service Practices of Early Colonial Melbourne's 'Established Middle Class'', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 29:33-44.
- HAYES, S. 2011b A Historical Archaeology of the Commonwealth Block 1850–1950: Artefact Processing Project Report, unpublished report to La Trobe University and Museum Victoria, Melbourne.
- HUGGINS, H. 2008 'Glenrowan: Report on the examination of firearms related artefacts', unpublished report prepared for Dig International, Melbourne.
- IACONO, N. 1999 'Miscellaneous Artefacts Reports', *The Cumberland/Gloucester Streets Site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report, Volume 4, Part 2*, Godden Mackay Heritage Consultants, unpublished report to Sydney Cove Authority, Sydney, pp. 11-118.
- JONES, I. 1995 *Ned Kelly: A Short Life*, Lothian Books, Melbourne.
- KARSKENS, G. 1999 *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.
- LAMPARD, S. 2004 'Urban Living: The Respectable of Jane Street, Port Adelaide', in D. Arthur and A. Paterson (eds) *National Archaeology Students Conference: Explorations, Investigations and New Directions*, National Archaeology Students Conference, Adelaide, pp. 26-32.
- LAWRENCE, S. 1998 'The Role of Material Culture in Australasian Archaeology', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 16:8-15.
- LAYDON, J. 1999 *Many Inventions: The Chinese in the Rocks 1890–1930*, Monash Publications in History, Melbourne.
- MAYNE, A. and S. LAWRENCE 1998 'An Ethnography of Place: Imagining "Little Lon"', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 57:93-107.
- MCCARTHY, J. 1988 'The New Gold Mountain: Chinese Non-settlement in Northern Australia', in J. Birmingham, D. Bairstow and A. Wilson (eds) *Archaeology and Colonisation: Australia in the World Context*, Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Sydney, pp. 139-148.
- MILLER, G. 1980 'Classification and Economic Scaling of Nineteenth-Century Ceramics', *Historical Archaeology* 14:1-40.
- MILLER, G. 1991 'A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880', *Historical Archaeology* 25:1-25.
- MILLER, G. 2000 'Telling Time for Archaeologists', *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 29:1-22.
- MOLONY, J. 2001 *Ned Kelly*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- NIX, M. 2005 'Silk Gloves and Cast Iron Boilers: A Study of Cargoes for Scotland to Australia, 1820–1824', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 23:25-39.
- PORTER, J. and A. FERRIER 2004 'Miscellaneous Artefacts', in Godden Mackay Logan, La Trobe University and Austral Archaeology, Casselden Place (50 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne) Archaeological Excavations Research Archive Report, report for ISPT and Heritage Victoria, Melbourne.
- PRAETZELLIS, A. and M. PRAETZELLIS 2001 'Mangling Symbols of Gentility in the Wild West: Case Studies in Interpretive Archaeology', *American Anthropologist* 103(3):645-654.
- PROSSOR, L., S. LAWRENCE, A. BROOKS and J. LENNON 2012 'Household Archaeology, Lifecycles and Status in a Nineteenth-Century Australian Coastal Community', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(4):809-827.
- QUIRK, K. 2008 The Victorians in 'Paradise': Gentility as Social Strategy in the Archaeology of Colonial Australia, PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane.
- ROTMAN, D. 2009 *Historical Archaeology of Gendered Lives*, Springer, New York.
- RUSSELL, P. 2003 'Cultures of Distinction', in H.-M. Teo and R. White (eds) *Cultural History in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, pp. 158-260.
- SHACKEL, P.A. 2000 'Craft to Wage Labor: Agency and Resistance in American Historical Archaeology', in M.-A. Dobres and J.E. Robb (eds) *Agency in Archaeology*, Routledge, New York, pp. 232-246.
- SHAW, I.W. 2012 *Glenrowan: The legend of Ned Kelly and the siege that shaped a nation*, Pan Macmillan Australia, Sydney.
- SNYDER, J. 1997 *Romantic Staffordshire Ceramics*, Schiffer Publishing, Atglen.
- TERRY, P. 2012 *The True Story of Ned Kelly's Last Stand*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- VPRS 4967 CCP File concerning the evidence taken before the Board appointed to enquire into claims made by Mrs. Jones for compensation for the destruction of the Glenrowan Hotel, Victorian Public Record Series 4967 Kelly Historical Collection – Part 3: Chief Secretary's Office PO Unit 3, 18 November 1881.
- WALL, D.D. 1992 'Sacred Dinners and Secular Teas: Constructing Domesticity in Mid-19th-Century New York', *Historical Archaeology* 25:69-81.
- WRIGHT, C. and A. McDERMOTT 2010 'Ned's Women: A Fractured Love Story', *Meanjin* 69(2):113-121.
- YOUNG, L. 2004 'Extensive, Economical and Elegant': The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies* 36(124):201-220.