

Working-Class Consumer Behavior in “Marvellous Melbourne” and Buenos Aires, The “Paris of South America”

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Abstract Recent work in Melbourne, including the papers in this volume, has shed new light on the archaeology of this major nineteenth-century urban center. But how does Melbourne compare to other important contemporary cities, particularly those outside the British Empire? This paper compares “Marvellous Melbourne” against the “Paris of South America,” Buenos Aires, with a focus on exploring consumer behavior and transnational trade. Two case studies are considered, Casselden Place (Melbourne) and La Casa Peña (Buenos Aires) and while some differences are encountered, the overall similarity in results points to the interconnectedness of the world during the period under study.

Keywords Casselden Place · La Casa Peña · Globalization · Consumer behaviour · International comparison · Melbourne · Buenos Aires

Introduction

Historical archaeological studies in the past have extensively explored consumer behavior (e.g., Mullins 1999; Spencer-Wood 1987). Some researchers have looked internationally to compare results (e.g., Brooks 2002; Lawrence 2003) and others have stressed the importance of such comparisons (e.g., Murray and Mayne 2001; Orser 1996). However, when dealing with urban sites within the British Empire, comparative studies in the past have tended to focus on other British colonies, former British colonies and Britain itself, at least in the English-speaking literature (e.g., Crook 2011; Karskens 2003; Klose and Malan 2000).

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Recently, researchers have highlighted the potential of South American urban archaeology for broadening our understanding of consumer culture and global interactions during the nineteenth century (e.g., Brooks and Rodríguez 2012). This paper extends the approach by comparing consumer behavior at two sites, Casselden Place in Melbourne and La Casa Peña in Buenos Aires, focusing on consumer behavior and transnational trade.

In order to investigate consumer behavior, it is necessary to explore the role of consumer choice. The concept of consumer choice was established as a means of understanding why particular goods are chosen for acquisition over others. This has been explored in the past by a range of disciplines (e.g., Appadurai 1986: 3; Douglass and Isherwood 1980: 72; Spencer-Wood 1987). In essence, many of these studies have made the connection between the acquisition of goods and the outward expression of the self. Exploring choice in consumer behavior has the potential to reveal much about people's daily lives. However, it is important to recognize that choice may in fact be limited by a range of factors including class (Wurst and McGuire 1999) and ethnicity (Mullins 1999). This paper investigates the role of choice, class, and ethnicity in consumer behavior and argues that although all of these factors contribute to consumer behavior, they were overshadowed in the nineteenth century by larger forces such as globalization and accessibility of cheap, mass-produced goods.

Casselden Place

The Casselden Place site was located within the “Commonwealth Block” in the northeastern corner of the Melbourne Central Business District (CBD), bounded by Spring, Lonsdale, Exhibition, and Little Lonsdale Streets (Fig. 1). The neighborhood was colloquially known as “Little Lon” and became densely populated between 1850 and 1875. It was a working-class locale housing predominately recently arrived British and Irish immigrants. It was also home to people from a range of other nationalities (e.g., German, Indian, Lebanese) to a lesser extent (Mayne 2006: 324). Alongside many of the domestic residences were a range of businesses including hotels, stone-masons, butchers, and various other small shops and factories (Mayne 2006: 320).

Essentially, Little Lon was a poor and multicultural neighborhood that was considered by many middle-class contemporaries, and portrayed by later historians, as a slum and Melbourne's chief red light district. The presence of brothels, pubs, and opium dens in the area fuelled such allegations, and as a result Little Lon was considered a place of vice, disease, and immorality. Meanwhile, the popular poetry of C. J. Dennis described Little Lon's inhabitants as “low, degraded broods” (Dennis 2012 [1914]).

While numerous archaeological studies have been undertaken within the Commonwealth Block, this study focuses on the results of archaeological investigations conducted in 2002 by Godden Mackay Logan, La Trobe University, and Austral Archaeology prior to major redevelopment works at the site (Godden Mackay Logan 2004 1: 1). The background and some initial results of this project have been published previously and will not be repeated here (see Hayes and Minchinton 2016; Murray 2011, 2013). This paper focuses on the artifact assemblage from a single allotment within the Casselden Place site, Lot 35 Little Leichardt Street (Fig. 2). This lot was chosen because it was one of the designated

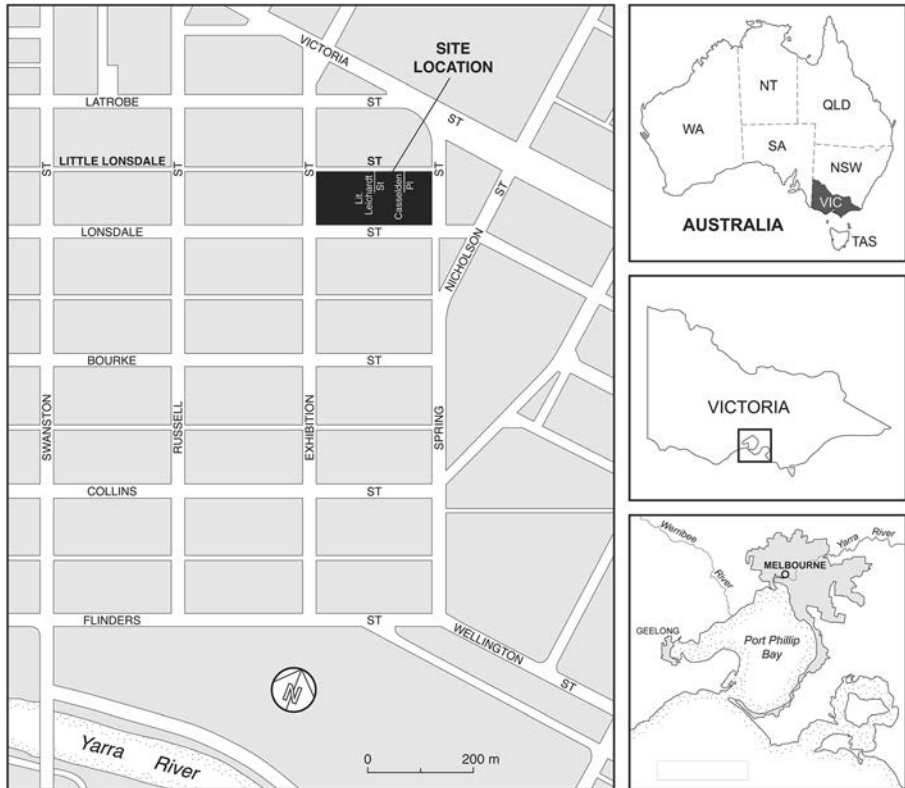


Fig. 1 Location of the Casselden Place site within the Commonwealth Block, Melbourne (Figure by Ming Wei)

hotspots due to the quantity and archaeological integrity of deposits and the variety of the documentary sources available.

La Casa Peña

The Casa Peña site was located on the corner of Defensa and San Lorenzo Streets, San Telmo, south of the Buenos Aires CBD (Fig. 3). During the 1840s it became the residence of an upper-middle-class family by the name of Peña. During the 1870s, however, the family moved out following a yellow fever epidemic in the area and the dwelling was subdivided into three rental properties. Two properties became what are known in Argentina as *conventillos*. These were a typical form of working-class tenement housing. Individual rooms were leased to singles, families, or groups with shared bathroom facilities and yard space. They often housed recently arrived European immigrants (Italian, Spanish, and French). However, many immigrants from a range of other nations and other Argentinean provinces lived in *conventillos* as well (Ramos 2005: 11).

This type of housing accommodated the poor, and, similarly to Little Lon in Melbourne, *conventillos* were considered to be slums by contemporary observers and



Fig. 2 Lot 17, Casselden Place, Melbourne. A similar dwelling to the lot studied for this paper (Photograph by the author)

later historians. As with Little Lon, *conventillos* were also portrayed negatively in popular culture including within tango. Many tango lyrics contain references to *conventillos*, often portraying them as destitute (e.g., *Margot* by Carlos Gardel and Jose Razzano [1919] in Sabugo 2005). Due to their overcrowded and unsanitary living



Fig. 3 Location of the Casa Peña site in the suburb of San Telmo, Buenos Aires (Figure by Ming Wei)

conditions, *conventillos* were seen as disease-ridden, destitute and their inhabitants as lacking in moral standards (Sabugo 2005: 54).

In addition, during subdivision the white colonial façade of the original Peña dwelling was replaced by a white-washed stone façade. At the time of conducting these alterations the house measurements were taken from the valuation records, which stated that the property measured the same distance along Defensa Street as along San Lorenzo Street. This was not the case, however, as the house was 2.67 m longer along San Lorenzo Street. Consequently, the original colonial façade was left intact along the 2.67 m long strip, which included an entry door and a balcony, resulting in what is now known as “La Casa Mínima” or “La Casa del Esclavo Libertó” (“The Miniature House” or “The House of the Freed Slave”; Fig. 4). Because La Casa Mínima appeared to be a separate property, a twentieth - century myth was created claiming that the house was given to a freed slave in return for his services (Schávelzon 2005: 108).

The Casa Peña site was excavated between 1994 and 1995 by the Centre for Urban Archaeology at the University of Buenos Aires (Zarankin and Senatore 1995). This project was undertaken as a rescue excavation prior to redevelopment works carried out on the property. All the available artifact material excavated at La Casa Peña was analyzed for this study.



Fig. 4 “La Casa Mínima,” 2010 (Photograph by the author)

La Casa Peña was excavated in two phases. Phase 1 involved the excavation of 1 m × 1 m test pits throughout the property, and Phase 2 involved a series of open excavations throughout the areas of highest archaeological potential as determined by the results of the test pits. A total of 50 m² of the property was archaeologically excavated (see Zarankin and Senatore 1995).

Methods

The Casa Peña dataset consisted of domestic ceramic, glass, metal, and miscellaneous artifacts. No other artifact types were available for this study with faunal, botanical, and the majority of metal and building materials either discarded, lost, or not conserved following the excavations. In order to maintain comparability between the two assemblages, the same artifact types (ceramic, glass, metal, and miscellaneous) were then analyzed for Casselden Place. In addition, only artifacts that were stratigraphically intact and had suffered little or no post-depositional disturbance were analyzed from the Casselden Place assemblage, including a subfloor deposit and a barrel cesspit. The cesspit was timber-lined and likely to have been constructed prior to 1861 and closed by mid-1860s (Hayes and Minchinton 2016: 20).

Artifacts were initially sorted into broad material categories including ceramic, glass, metal, and miscellaneous. Ceramic artifacts were sub-divided into ware type, decoration, pattern, color, form, and function. Glass, metal, and miscellaneous artifacts were divided by form, function, color and manufacturing technique for glass artifacts and material type for metal and miscellaneous artifacts.

Following the sorting, artifacts were then catalogued using the EAMC database. This is a Microsoft Access database that was developed in 2001 as part of the Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage project entitled “Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City, 1788-1900.” This project was conducted by La Trobe University and industry partners; the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales (NSW), the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, Godden Mackay Logan, the Heritage Office of NSW, the City of Sydney and Heritage Victoria (Crook and Murray 2006: 5).

Limitations

The major limitation encountered during the analysis involved the Casa Peña assemblage. It became clear during the sorting that no record of stratigraphic and contextual data was kept in association with the artifact material. There were very few notes or labels on the bags or on the artifacts themselves and no artifact catalogue or database existed prior to the EAMC catalogue for the collection. The few bags and artifacts that did have notes on context were not sufficiently detailed. The brief site report that was compiled following the excavations does not provide an artifact catalogue or a list of each individual artifact with their descriptive attributes. There was no possible way of relating the artifacts with their corresponding contextual and stratigraphic location. As a result, it was difficult to isolate those artifacts that related specifically to the *conventillo* phase of occupation from the earlier and “wealthier” Peña family phase of occupation.

However, this was not entirely impossible. Looking at the Casa Peña assemblage as a whole, artifacts could be divided into three phases of occupation based on manufacturing dates. The first is the pre-Peña phase, which does not include any artifacts manufactured after 1840, the decade in which the Peña family moved in. The second is the Peña phase, which does not include artifacts dating post 1870, the time in which the property was subdivided into a *conventillo*. The last is the *conventillo* phase, which dates from 1870 onwards. A medicine bottle with an embossed date of 1894 is an example of the *conventillo* phase. A Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce stopper dating from 1840 to 1858 is an example of either the Peña or *conventillo* phase. Artifacts that post-date 1840 could belong to the Peña or the *conventillo* phase, but could not belong to the pre-Peña phase. Artifacts that post date 1870 belong to the *conventillo* phase but could not belong to the earlier phases.

With most of the assemblage, however, broader date ranges must be considered in order to take into account factors such as time lag, recycling, and reuse in the life of consumer goods. For instance, the ceramic assemblage can be divided into the following two periods of manufacture: mid to late eighteenth century, and early to late nineteenth century. The earlier period consists of ware types such as creamware and pearlware and specific pattern types such as Rococo for shell-edge decoration. The later period consist of whiteware, transfer-printed decoration in various colors and patterns such as Willow, Italian, British Flowers, and Asiatic Palaces. Taking into account factors such as time lag based on use and life span of ceramics, this would correspond to the two major occupation phases in the property: the Peña phase and the *conventillo* phase. However, it is also acknowledged that many of the earlier ceramics could also have been used during the *conventillo* phase and that many of the items included in the *conventillo* phase may have belonged to earlier phases.

Results

The combined cesspit and subfloor artifacts for Lot 35 at Casselden Place comprise a total of 2,704 fragments weighing 80.628 kg. The combined minimum number of objects in the assemblage is 427. Figure 5 presents the total figures for the cesspit and subfloor deposits. It shows that the highest number of artifacts is in the beverage storage group. This is followed by beverage service, food service, and clothing. All other activity groups are represented to a much lesser extent.

The artifact assemblage from La Casa Peña comprised a total of 4,467 fragments weighing a total of 86.41 kg. The total minimum number of objects in the assemblage is 496. Figure 6 demonstrates that the highest number of artifacts was in the food service category followed by clothing, beverage storage, beverage service, pharmaceutical, and recreation. Other activity groups (excepting the unidentified category) are represented to a much lesser extent.

A discussion of all artifact categories is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, only tableware and beverage storage vessels will be assessed. Of the items in the food and beverage service categories (tablewares) from La Casa Peña's *conventillo* phase, the vast majority are whiteware with few other ware types present. This is similar to Casselden Place. In terms of food service vessel form, dinner plates are the most common in both assemblages (Tables 1 and 2). Differences begin to emerge in other

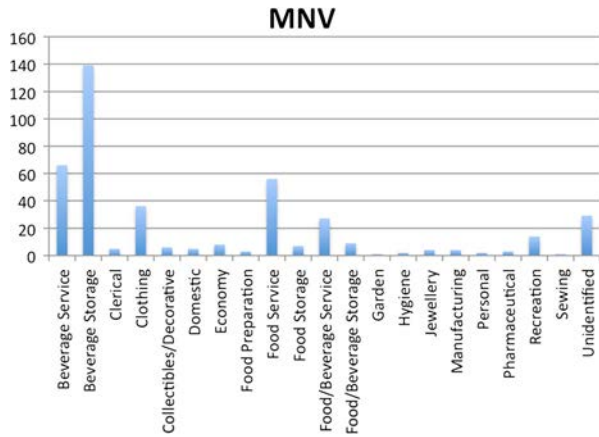


Fig. 5 Minimum number of vessels at Casselden Place by activity group

vessel forms. For example, the Casselden Place assemblage has a higher number of different types of serving vessels (e.g., eggcup, butter dish; see Table 1).

In terms of beverage service vessel form, teacups predominate in both assemblages but there is a greater total number of teacups in the Casselden Place assemblage than in La Casa Peña. Overall there is greater variety of vessels in the Casselden Place ceramic beverage assemblage, which as well as teacups included saucers, mugs, one teapot and one jug (see Table 1). The Casa Peña assemblage, apart from teacups, contained a single teapot lid (buff-bodied earthenware, see Table 2).

Similarities occur in the types of decoration for whiteware vessels in the two assemblages. The vast majority of vessels are transfer-printed with few examples of flow-printed (Fig. 7) and hand-painted vessels. In terms of color, blue predominates in both assemblages. Black is the next most prevalent color in the Casselden Place

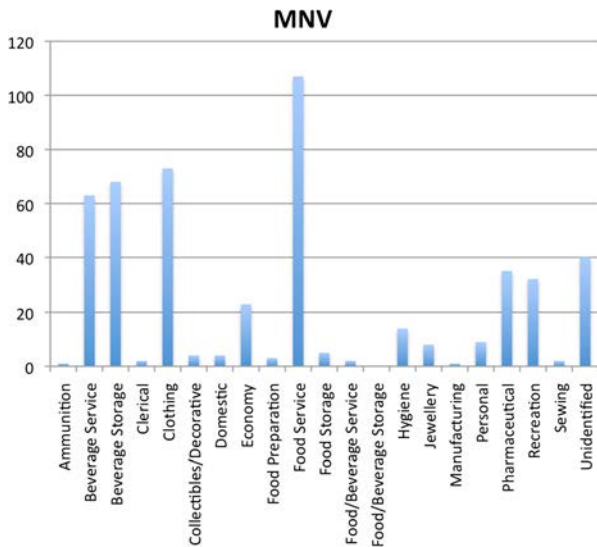


Fig. 6 Minimum number of vessels at La Casa Peña by activity group

Table 1 Summary of vessels by function and form at Casselden Place

Function	Material	Form	MNV	Quantity
Beverage Service	Ceramic	Teacup	40	98
		Tea/Coffee Cup	0	1
		Muffin	10	18
		Mug	2	2
		Tea Pot	1	1
		Jug	1	1
	Glass	Unidentified Ceramic	3	9
		Tumbler	3	24
		Wine Glass	3	3
		Unidentified Glass	3	11
		Total beverage service vessels		66
Food Service	Ceramic	Bowl	4	26
		Strainer	1	5
		Eggcup	1	2
		Dinner Plate	16	63
		Muffin Plate	2	3
		Soup Plate	1	3
		Twiffler	5	15
		Butter Dish	1	2
		Platter	1	1
		Unidentified Plate	9	29
		Unidentified Serving Dish	0	2
		Unidentified Vessel	11	108
	Metal	Plate	1	14
		Unidentified Serving Dish	1	1
		Unidentified Cutlery	2	2
Total food service vessels		56	276	
Beverage Storage	Glass	Aerated Water	5	39
		Beer	1	4
		Beer/Wine	109	1170
		Beverage	16	190
		Gin/Schnapps	4	38
		Wine	2	6
	Ceramic Organic	Beverage	2	9
		Cork	0	1
		Total beverage storage	139	1457

assemblage with limited examples of other colors, which is the same for La Casa Peña. Where patterns could be identified for food service vessels, Willow is the most common in both assemblages (Fig. 8); however it is much more prevalent overall in the Casselden Place assemblage. British Flowers is the next most common pattern in the Casa Peña assemblage, while at Casselden Place it is Asiatic Pheasants. Few examples of other patterns were present at both assemblages. With regard to beverage service vessels, no pattern types were identified in the Casa Peña assemblage and only a few in the Casselden Place assemblage including British Flowers, Watteau, and Fibre. All vessels with identifiable patterns and/or makers' marks in both assemblages were manufactured in Britain.

Differences were noted in the glass beverage service vessels between the two assemblages. Namely, there was a greater variety of vessels recorded at La Casa Peña

Table 2 Summary of vessels by function and form at La Casa Peña

Function	Material	Form	MNV	Quantity	
Beverage Service	Ceramic	Cup	4	11	
		Jug	2	15	
		Tankard Mug	10	43	
		Teacup	20	66	
		Saucer	1	1	
		Teapot	1	1	
	Glass	Unidentified Ceramic	0	13	
		Decanter	1	1	
		Dessert Glass	1	2	
		Jug	1	9	
		Shot Glass	1	1	
		Tumbler	14	54	
		Wine Glass	4	15	
		Unidentified Glass	3	6	
		Total beverage service vessels		63	238
Food Service	Ceramic	Bowl	25	181	
		Dinner Plate	33	225	
		Muffin Plate	15	79	
		Platter	6	50	
		Soup Plate	2	17	
		Supper Plate	4	29	
		Tureen	2	8	
		Twiffler Plate	9	26	
		Unidentified Plate	4	44	
		Unidentified Plate/Bowl	2	9	
		Unidentified Vessel	1	167	
		Various	0	80	
		Metal	Spoon	1	5
			Unidentified Cutlery	3	6
	Total food service vessels		107	926	
Beverage Storage	Glass	Aerated Water	1	6	
		Beer/Wine	35	1374	
		Beverage	13	433	
		Gin/Schnapps	11	263	
		Wine	1	1	
	Ceramic	Beer	2	20	
		Beverage	4	45	
		Unidentified Container	1	18	
	Metal	Wine Bottle Seal	0	1	
	Total beverage storage vessels		68	2161	

Table 2 includes all vessels in the Casa Peña assemblage for all phases of occupation, not just the *conventillo* phase

(e.g., decanter stopper, jug, shot glass, liqueur glass, see Table 2) with a greater range of ornamentation than Casselden Place.

A total of five matching sets were identified in the Casselden Place assemblage, all of which comprised transfer-printed whiteware items in patterns including Willow, Asiatic Pheasants, British Flowers, and Watteau. Food service vessels in these sets comprised plates of various sizes and a bowl. Beverage service vessels included teacups and saucers. The Willow pattern sets contain the highest number of vessels in both assemblages ($n = 7$ at Casselden Place and $n = 3$ at La Casa Peña). In the Casa Peña assemblage, there were a total of eight matching sets comprising transfer-printed



Fig. 7 Flow “Lahore” pattern twiffler plate from Casselden Place

whiteware items in patterns including Willow, British Flowers, and Italian. There was greater variety of matching food service vessels at La Casa Peña, which included plates of various sizes matching with beverage service vessels, namely teacups and a jug. Other matching beverage service vessels included a hand-painted tumbler and jug set and fluted tumblers.

The main difference between the assemblages in terms of beverage storage vessels is the higher quantity of vessels at Casselden Place compared to La Casa Peña ($n = 139$ and $n = 68$ respectively, see Table 1 and Table 2). The vast majority of bottles (glass



Fig. 8 Transfer-printed Willow pattern dinner plates from La Casa Peña

and ceramic) in both assemblages comprised beer/wine bottles ($n = 110$ in Casselden Place and $n = 37$ in La Casa Peña). Of the remaining identified bottles, the next most common were gin/schnapps bottles at La Casa Peña ($n = 11$) and aerated waters at Casselden Place ($n = 5$). Where makers' marks were identified, bottles at Casselden Place originated from Britain, and likewise Britain and France at La Casa Peña.

Although function has been attributed to beverage storage vessels, it is possible that bottles were used for a particular purpose to begin with and were then re-used for something else. According to Busch (2000: 175), bottles may have been reused with other liquids around the home or may have been returned to manufacturers or distributors for refiling or redistributing.

Discussion

The results of the study have highlighted two main differences between the assemblages. Both concern the way food and drink were consumed and both can be interpreted in light of consumer choice, class, and ethnicity. The first difference concerns beverage service vessels, particularly the fact that there were greater numbers of teacups identified at Casselden Place than at La Casa Peña. Considering that La Casa Peña was occupied over a longer period of time than Casselden Place, this is an interesting difference. The older pearlware and creamware assemblages comprise only one teacup each. The remainder of the Casa Peña assemblage contained a total of 14 teacups compared to 31 at Casselden Place. There was also greater variety of ceramic beverage vessels at Casselden Place including saucers, mugs, a teapot, and a jug while at La Casa Peña, other than teacups, only one teapot lid was identified. Similarly, a greater number and variety of glass beverage service vessels were identified at La Casa Peña including, a decanter stopper, jug, shot glass, liqueur glass, four wine glasses, and 13 tumblers. The Casselden Place assemblage contained three wine glasses and four tumblers.

With regard to matching sets, the Casa Peña assemblage contained evidence of matching sets that extended across both beverage and food service vessels, while at Casselden Place this was not identified. Matching sets at Casselden Place were either beverage (specifically tea) serving vessels or food service vessels.

Douglas and Isherwood (1980: 72) argue that consumer goods are carriers of meaning and that the meaning attached to goods can vary from individual to individual. This can be expressed through consumer choice and the concept of respectability can be measured against this premise. For instance, the differences in the beverage service vessels reflect how genteel values may have been adapted differently not only by the working and middle classes, but also by people living in different places and of different ethnic backgrounds. The link between gentility and working-class respectability has been highlighted previously (see Karskens 1999; Yamin 2001). We know that the ceremony associated with tea drinking was an important aspect of nineteenth-century British middle-class genteel practice, particularly when shared with others. The presence of matching sets of tea vessels, which were likely purchased in a piecemeal manner at both sites, suggests that working-class people chose to adapt this genteel practice to their own means. However, the greater number of tea serving vessels at Casselden Place suggests that this practice was perhaps of greater social importance in Melbourne than in Buenos Aires.

This does not mean that genteel values did not influence working-class consumer choice in Buenos Aires, but rather that the two cities were influenced differently. Ceramic beverage service vessels tended to match items in the food service assemblage at La Casa Peña, where a greater variety of glass beverage service vessels were also present. This suggests that greater importance was placed on displaying a fuller table and that sharing meals and beverages among family, friends, or neighbours was perhaps of greater social importance than the ceremony of drinking tea. Families in Buenos Aires may have commonly used tea and coffee drinking vessels during breakfast or other family meals rather than as a vehicle for entertaining guests. In addition, *maté* may have been the social equivalent of tea in Buenos Aires, although no specific evidence of its consumption was located in the Casa Peña artifact assemblage.

Drinking *maté* was (and remains) a common social activity in Argentina. The drink consists of yerba mate, a leaf tea that was largely imported throughout the nineteenth century from surrounding nations with warmer climates such as Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Historically, it was consumed by local Indigenous Guaraní people but it was not long after colonization that the Spanish and later immigrants also adopted the custom (Folch 2010: 7). *Maté* requires particular equipment for its preparation including a *bombilla* (drinking straw) typically made from metal or wood, and a gourd which could be made from a variety of different materials such as metal, wood, and calabash squash.

The second difference related to beverage storage vessels. Beverage bottles (predominately alcoholic) were significantly higher in number at Casselden Place than they were at La Casa Peña. Considering that La Casa Peña was occupied for a much longer period and comprised several different tenements, it is surprising that it was not this site that produced the larger numbers. It is possible that people other than the tenants such as their landlord or neighbors filled the cesspit at Casselden Place. However, the fact that Casselden Place was occupied for a much shorter period of time makes this an interesting point, which may be explained by differences in cultural practices.

The ways in which alcohol is consumed vary throughout different cultures as sociological and anthropological research has revealed (e.g., Heath 1995; Wilson 2006). Wilson (2006: 3) suggests that alcohol consumption is “important in the production and reproduction of ethnic, national...and local community identities not only today but also historically.” Consequently, as alcohol helps to establish cultural identity, it also helps to highlight cultural differences. This is demonstrated by comparing the main immigrant groups to nineteenth-century Melbourne and Buenos Aires.

Recent studies have revealed that people in Italy, Spain, and France tended to regard alcohol as an essential part of everyday life, closely linked to the consumption of food. Traditionally, in these societies intoxication was socially acceptable in exceptional or festive occasions but otherwise generally not encouraged (Heath 1995: 79–80, 157, 255). On the other hand, people from Britain have tended to view alcohol consumption as a recreational activity and as an important aspect of social (and not necessarily everyday) life (Dingle 1980: 237; Heath 1995: 295). Although Victorian temperance movements discouraged habitual drunkenness, a general ambivalence towards drinking was traditionally observed in Protestant Britain as opposed to Catholic Mediterranean nations, which advocated moderation (Dingle 1980: 238; Heath 1995: 289). According to Dingle (1980) drinking was widespread and excessive in nineteenth-century Australia. Therefore, although British people may have consumed alcohol less

frequently than people from Italy, Spain, or France, it was generally done so in greater quantities.

Caution needs to be employed when using contemporary social research to explain past behavior and it cannot be assumed that these were the views held by residents at either Casselden Place or La Casa Peña. However, it does assist in highlighting the existence of general, traditionally held differences in terms of alcohol consumption throughout different societies.

Despite these differences it was expected that the two sites would be significantly more unlike due to variations in culture, political networks, and the vast distance that separates them. Contrary to expectation, both sites were instead quite similar in terms of consumer behavior. They both contained a wealth of domestic tablewares along with many other goods (see Ricardi 2015 for a full comparison of both assemblages), which were often similar in type and decoration. When only the *conventillo* phase is considered, the most common tableware types at both assemblages are blue transfer-printed whiteware vessels. Few examples of vessels displaying other types of decoration or colors were identified at either assemblage. Where patterns could be identified, Willow was the most common at both sites and all other identified patterns were also manufactured in Britain. If the older Casa Peña pearlware and creamware vessels are also considered, identified patterns among these vessels were also manufactured in Britain. Both assemblages also contained some matching sets of ceramics. Moreover, despite the differences reflected in quantities, both assemblages also contained the same types of beer/wine, gin, and aerated water bottles and where place of manufacture could be determined, both assemblages contained bottles manufactured in Britain.

Consumer choice, class, and ethnicity would all have influenced consumer behavior at Casselden Place and La Casa Peña. However, these would not have been the only factors. Much larger forces would have had an impact on the kinds of choices that were available for people to make. The expansion of worldwide trade through globalization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant that the same types of mass-produced goods could reach peripheral cities such as Melbourne and Buenos Aires with greater speed and ease than had previously been possible (Engerman 1996). The break down of former trade barriers (e.g., the *Navigation Acts* in Australia and colonial ties with Spain following independence in Argentina) caused a drop in import prices and a rise in export prices, generally increasing trade. Meanwhile, local manufacturing industries in these cities struggled to develop and the ones that did were largely restricted to producing goods that were not in direct competition with imported goods (Cotter 1970: 165; Dorfman 1970: 60–68). As a result, both were largely dependent on imports particularly cheap, mass-produced goods that were readily available. Consequently, it is easy to understand how the same types of goods, such as Staffordshire tablewares and British bottles would find their way to residents at both Casselden Place and La Casa Peña.

Conclusion

This paper has found that consumer choice, ethnicity, and class all played a role in consumer behavior, but these factors existed under the wider umbrella of industrialization, globalization, free trade, British monopoly in manufacturing, and limited local

manufacturing industries. The importance of this approach lies in the fact that it compares two such different peripheral cities. By looking further afield than within the British Empire (or its former colonies) we gain a better understanding of the modern world. Further comparative studies such as this one are needed not only to understand consumer behavior but also to understand the nature of life for working-class people and immigrants living in nineteenth-century urban centers such as Melbourne and Buenos Aires.

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