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Maritime Archaeology and Social Relations

British Action in the Southern
Hemisphere

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Maritime Archaeology and Social Relations

British Action in the Southern Hemisphere

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British Action in the Southern Hemisphere

Virginia E. Dellino-Musgrave

*University of Nottingham
Andover, Hants, United Kingdom*

and

*English Heritage
Portsmouth, United Kingdom*

 Springer

Virginia Dellino-Musgrave
University of Nottingham
183 Pilgrims Way
Andover, Hants
SP10 5HT United Kingdom

and

English Heritage
Fort Cumberland
Fort Cumberland Road
Eastney
Portsmouth, P04 9LD
United Kingdom

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To my husband, Ian Musgrave, without whose love and encouragement this book would have never been completed

PREFACE

The material expression of social relations at the end of the 18th century in remote areas has not been a particularly well explored area of academic enquiry. My interests lie in the meanings attached to and embedded in goods. Furthermore, because goods are carriers of meanings, people ‘create’, ‘negotiate’, and ‘express’ social relations, materially projecting their identities.

This book represents an extension of my Master’s thesis and developments of my doctoral research in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Southampton. Furthermore, it is the result of my involvement in the *HMS Swift* project and the expansion of my ideas in relation to social approaches in archaeology, the integration of land and maritime concerns, and material culture studies.

This research focuses on the impact of British maritime action in colonial contexts in the South Atlantic at the end of the 18th century. By integrating historical and archaeological data, I highlight the archaeological potential of wrecks and their cargoes through a wider understanding of British activities and European relations in remote areas. Consequently, this book represents some of my thoughts about ‘doing’ archaeology. Over the last sixteen years, I have been involved in ‘terrestrial’ and ‘maritime’ archaeology which has enabled me to explore different venues of generating archaeological interpretations. In this way, this book goes beyond a descriptive analysis of wrecks by exploring them and their cargoes as embodiments of 18th century social relations. This helps to build a social perspective of the ‘land-maritime’ worlds of that time. By linking social theory with the practice of pottery analysis, British action is examined locally through the construction and the expression of identities in Royal Navy and colonial contexts. These contexts are integrated globally linking land and sea by understanding the way that 18th century British activities worked within physical and social landscapes.

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Without all of you this final work would have not been possible.

Thank you so much...

Lograste seducirme con tu calor dorado,
Alimento de mi alma.
Pertenece al aire que respiro,
Eres la vida que completa mi ser con más vida.
Ay!... bendita seas!
Cuanto te necesito...
Cuanto sueño con las caricias de tu peculiar paisaje modelando mi espíritu,
Arcilla fresca entre tus manos.
Cuanto sueño con los relatos de tus fantásticas historias.
Me he sumergido en tus entrañas sin cesar,
Hasta que la realidad tocó a mi puerta.
Por un instante estuviste latiendo a mi lado.
Patagonia: ¿¿porqué te encuentras tan lejos?!
Virginia Dellino-Musgrave

You have seduced me with your golden warmth,
Breath of my soul,
You belong to the air I inhale
You complete my life with more life
Oh!... Bless you!
How much I need you...
I dream about the strokes of your unique landscape moulding my spirit
Fresh clay between your hands
I dream about your fantastic stories
I have submerged in the depths of your seas
Until reality knocked on my door
For one second your heart was beating next to mine
Patagonia: why are you so far away?!
By Virginia Dellino-Musgrave

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LIST OF ENGLISH-METRIC CONVERSIONS

This book refers to some contemporary imperial units of measurement. The following are approximate conversions:

1 inch 2.54 centimetres
1 foot 0.3 metres
1 yard 0.91 metres
1 mile 1.61 kilometres

1 pint 0.57 litres
1 gallon 4.55 litres

1 ounce 28 grams
1 pound 454 grams
1 ton 0.98 tonne

1 knot 1.85 kilometres per hour

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRM	Cultural Resource Management
GTPS-ICOMOS	Argentinean ICOMOS Underwater Heritage Working Group
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
INAPL American	National Institute of Anthropology and Latin Thought
HMS	His Majesty's Ship
MRPMB	Regional and Provincial Mario Brozoski Museum
NSW	New South Wales
VOC	Dutch East India Company

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

'Continuity and change, local and global, tradition and innovation were features of the enlarged, one world, but this world was also characterised by local identities and specificities' (Funari 1999: 52)

1.1 OVERVIEW

Global processes such as capitalism, colonialism and consumption are influenced by local forces and manifested in events at a local level. Therefore, the study of the local can provide new insights into broader social actions. From an archaeological perspective, this book explores British maritime activities in the 18th century on both local and global scales, with British shipwrecks and their contents being the material expression of British action. Were the local manifestations of these activities part of the British action of that time? Were they responding to colonial interests or were they product of other geo-political interests? These questions are explored through this book as the local manifestations of British activities. This provides a framework to analyse the varying histories at micro scales that were related in some way with broader social forces. The dynamics and complexities of British action are contextualised within the diverse social processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption. In this context, I argue that by integrating global and local approaches, archaeologists are able to appreciate the multi-varied and complex impacts of these processes and gain a wider understanding of how the 18th century social world worked.

The central goal of this research is to analyse British action through the changing social relations occurring in the 18th century, especially between 1760-1800, by exploring British wrecks and their cargoes. This main aim is articulated in further detail throughout the three themes pursued in this book. The first provides an account of archaeological

research in maritime and historical archaeology, relating to capitalistic and colonial studies and how wrecks are understood within this context. The second pursues an alternative theoretical framework following social theory and the theory of structuration (Giddens 1984), emphasising the materiality of social relations (Gosden 1994; Gosden & Marshall 1999). This materiality is analysed by exploring the construction and projection of British identities in the Royal Navy and in colonial contexts. My approach will lead to the interpretation of several identities for British contexts in the 18th century through the analysis of pottery assemblages, mainly from two wrecks (the *Swift* and the *Sirius*), and how this type of material culture was manipulated to pursue maritime activities and possible colonial strategies. The third integrates, compares and discusses British action and how it worked within the perception, the knowledge and the construction of social landscapes. By adopting this term, the 'social' integrates human inter-relations (mutuality) and human relations with the world (materiality) taking us away from environmental determinism (Gosden 1994: 82-84; Gosden & Head 1994: 113); and 'landscape' combines the space and the time frameworks where social action takes place (discussed in Chapter 4). Through this approach, the ultimate goal is to contribute to the integration of maritime and coastal areas going beyond the descriptive analysis of wrecks and cargoes by interpreting them as the embodiment of social relations. The general intention is to lead to a better understanding of social aspects of British action in the 18th century.

Global and local scales of analysis are combined in this research. Local scales are limited to a particular area or events whereas the global ones embrace a worldwide understanding. Global perspectives may work well at a macro level but they have limitations when applied to some problems at the micro level (Champion 1995a; Pomper 1995). My contribution lies in looking at specific case studies where local action is entangled in broader circumstances. In this book, the integration of the local within the global is considered useful as a tool for understanding social processes, such as capitalism, colonialism and consumption, and their impacts on the construction of social relations in certain areas.

The research is focused on two areas of study: the South Atlantic with emphasis on Patagonia (South Argentina); and the Southeast coast of Australia, with emphasis on New South Wales (NSW). At a local level, for the South Atlantic region, the shipwreck of the Sloop of war His Majesty's Ship (HMS) *Swift* (1763-1770) located in Puerto Deseado (Santa Cruz Province, Argentina) was selected as a case study. The 6th Naval Frigate HMS *Sirius* that sunk in 1790 of Norfolk Island was chosen for analysis for the Southeast Australia region. Both wrecks were under the orders of the British Admiralty and were commissioned to two British

settlements: the *Swift* to Port Egmont (the Malvinas/Falkland Islands) and the *Sirius* to Port Jackson (NSW). They are examined as examples of British maritime activities during the 18th century, in Patagonia and in NSW, analysing them within a framework that is contextualised in broader social actions (Dellino 2002: 105).

By plying between local and global scales, archaeology and material culture studies in general can make a rich contribution to understanding how the interplay of people and objects were driven by interests, motives and intentions (Gosden & Knowles 2001: xix; Hall 2000: 17-18). By exploring the *Swift* and the *Sirius* pottery assemblages, I identify British action through the interpretation of how British identities are constructed and projected in the Royal Navy ships, shore supply bases, and in new colonial spaces such as Port Jackson (see Dellino-Musgrave 2005). Cultural meanings are embedded and attached to objects, and these meanings are involved in the relationships between people and objects. The embedded meanings of objects are taken for granted because they are ingrained in human behaviours and habits. Attached meanings are mainly concerned with the construction and negotiation of social relationships; therefore, objects are consciously manipulated and negotiated (Staniforth 2003a: 2). These meanings are relatively flexible and dependent on the particular social contexts within which objects are used, manipulated and negotiated. In this way, the study of 18th century British shipwrecks and their cargoes and their comparison with similar assemblages from other sites or collections, can shed new light on the understanding and interpretation of British maritime activities during that time.

By understanding landscapes as social products, I analyse British action in the 18th century on a global scale. This analysis explores two basic dimensions of social life: mutuality and materiality (Gosden 1994: 82-84). By combining the information obtained from historical sources with the analysis of the material evidence offered by shipwrecks, cargoes, and the location of coastal settlements, I examine how British action worked within time-space in the South Atlantic and the Australian landscape. I focus on the acquisition of knowledge, perception and use of both maritime and coastal areas. I centre my arguments on how British activities were influenced by: a) the interaction with the physical landscape, *i.e.* environmental and topographic characteristics; b) inter-relations with other Europeans and natives; and c) the circulation of goods and people, contextualising them within the processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption (Chapter 8). By studying British action and its material products, I explore how ‘social landscapes’ were created, inhabited and experienced; how identities were created and projected the Royal Navy ships and in new colonial spaces; and which interests and motives were involved in this process. Thus, I analyse how maritime

activities worked within the temporality of landscapes in capitalistic and colonial contexts.

Social relations within landscapes are constructed and experienced differently. On a local scale, there are dissimilarities in the adaptation and renegotiation of the British strategies employed in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia (Chapters 6 and 7). However, when compared on a global scale, some common trends to both areas can be recognised, thus illustrating the dynamic and multi-varied nature of the processes of colonisation (Chapter 8). This comparative approach enables a better understanding of the emerging culture of 'British colonialism'. However, this analysis is biased with more emphasis placed on the South Atlantic region. The presentation of the Australian evidence does not provide an equally detailed analysis, but throws aspects of the 18th century British action into sharper relief.

In this research, ships are considered the key entities carrying material culture to satisfy specific needs and aims within maritime enterprises. The relationships between material culture and its associated meanings are explored by identifying indicators that could have helped Europeans:

- a) to legitimate and reassure themselves about their place in the world as a way to consolidate their power;
- b) to establish their own networks of social, commercial and geopolitical relations;
- c) to negotiate their social, economic and political position; and
- d) to distinguish and legitimate themselves from native groups.

European relations with natives and the processes of acculturation involved are not analysed in detail in this book because the focus is centred on the competition and activities undertaken by European powers to control different points on the landscape, contextualised with the historical processes of capitalism and colonialism. Within this framework, it is necessary to briefly describe in the following section the general historical context where this research is located.

1.2 GENERAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE 18TH CENTURY

During the 18th century, especially between 1750 and 1800, Europeans lived in a period of transformation where industrial developments, inventions and new scientific discoveries were taking place, within the context of a growing capitalistic system. This period contained complex social dynamics and 'revolutionary' movements of ideas that had an important impact on a global scale. For example, the 'Industrial Revolution' (1750) that according to Hobsbawm (1999: 12) was a product

of acceleration in economic growth caused and illustrated by the economic and social transformations occurring at that time. The huge expansion of sugar and tobacco plantations from late 17th century and the North-American Revolution (1775-1783) when the French in 1777, the Spanish in 1778 and the Dutch in 1780 joined the North American colonists against the British (see Conway 2000). The French Revolutionary Wars between 1789 and 1802 that saw the end of the French monarchy (Colley 2003: 296-297; Said 1994: 117-118, 303). Finally, the British settlements in the West Indies (e.g. Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and what became British Guiana as a result of the Napoleonic War), which played an important role in the British slave trade or what is known as ‘Triangular Trade’ -*i.e.* molasses (sugar), slaves and gold- that comprised circulation of people, goods and ideas between the British slave-trading posts in Africa, the British West Indies and Britain (see Marshall 1998; Williams 1973).

Significant changes in everyday living in European societies were provoked by these social transformations (for the British case see Colley 1996; Weatherill 1996). Furthermore, due to dynastic and economic competition between the major European powers, Europeans were living in unstable times (Williams 1973). The bellicose Anglo-French confrontation known as the Seven Years War (1756-63) was a consequence of these competitions (see Parry 1971: 113-129). British colonial power experienced a great development after the declaration of war in 1756, and the rate of British naval construction rapidly increased. Before the war, French warships were considered to be better designed and faster than the British ships (see Lavery 1983; Parry 1971: 119). Subsequently, the British shipping industry promptly flourished because they based their ship designs on those of the French (see Chapter 8). In contrast, after the declaration of war, the French shipping industry remained steady, and after some time declined.

In the 18th century, one of the main scenes of European action was the sea. Control over maritime routes implied not only economic but also political power. This package was part of a continuous process that would become known as imperialism in the 19th century (see Hobsbawm 1972, 1999). The possession of colonies played an important role because in many parts of the world, long-voyage shipping traffic was open to European competition. The principle of monopoly, where foreign shipping was excluded, could have been used to control this competition (Graham 1941: 5-6), the British East India Company being an example (see Chaudhuri 1978; Chapter 8).

Monitoring was not only performed by sea but also by colonies located in strategic places from which control could be enforced (Figure 1.1). For example, the British started trading with India in the early 17th century

which lead to the establishment of the British Empire in the area (Hughes 1989: 47). From Britain, the route to India was towards the south, passing by Portugal - Britain's oldest ally - to the coast of Africa (Figure 1.1). During the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, the British secured control and communication of the sea route to India by colonising different posts along it or, indirectly, by the existence of stations belonging to friendly powers where protection could be guaranteed (*ibid.*). Captured by the Anglo-Dutch force in 1704, Gibraltar served as a post for supplies, linking the route around the Cape of Good Hope (*ibid.*: 48). Ascension Island was another supply post, lying between the coast of Africa and that of South America - 3400 miles from Gibraltar and 1300 miles south of Britain - with the British taking possession of it at the beginning of the 19th century (*ibid.*: 51). The Cape of Good Hope was another strategic location linking maritime routes towards South America and the Indian Ocean. The British occupation in the area of Cape Good Hope started around 1795, during the transition from the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to British rule, which was finally effective in 1814 (Hall 1993). The island of Mauritius (in French *L'Île Bourbon*), under French dominion, was another useful resting place on the voyage to India (Whitworth 1988). It is located in the southern part of the Indian Ocean and its main harbour of Port Louis was conquered by the British in 1810 (Nelson 1990). These are just a few illustrative examples of some of the connections between British settlements at the end of the 18th century (Figure 1.1). Some of these connections are explored in this book mainly focusing on the settlements of the Malvinas/Falklands in the South Atlantic and Port Jackson in NSW where the *Swift* and the *Sirius* were commissioned respectively (Chapter 6). To shed light on the 18th century British activities, their global links and their significance are examined in further detail in Chapter 8.

1.3 RESEARCH CONTEXT

1.3.1 Introduction to Some Concepts

To help the reader, it is relevant to define the use of terminology and some concepts that I consider key in the development of this research. These terms and linked concepts are related to my research aims and questions (Sections 1.1 and 1.3.3) and I understand them as follows:

- **Action:** is seen as 'doing' (*sensu* Gell 1998). 'Doing' is involved in the construction of the self which is explored in

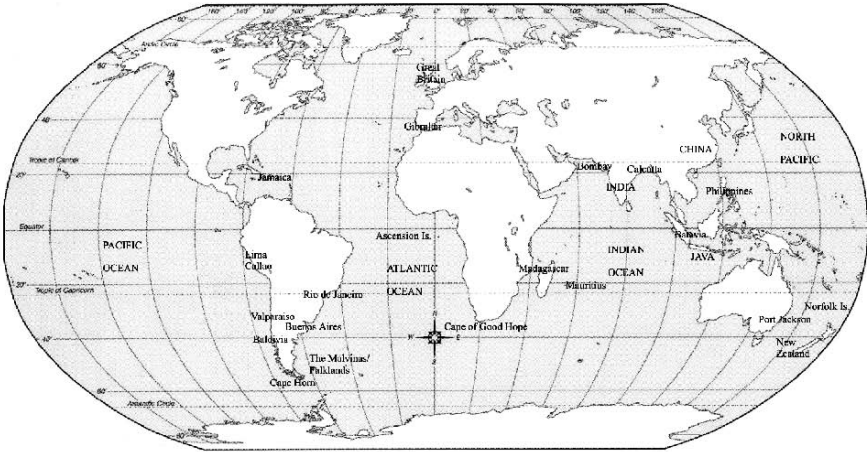


Figure 1-1. Map illustrating some strategic locations in the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century (Source: Chaudhuri 1978; Curtin 1984; Davis 1962; Foreman 1989; Frost 1980)

this book through the identification of patterns of production and consumption of ceramics in Royal Navy ships.

- **Maritime activities:** involve people who are undertaking diverse actions in relation with the sea and are actively moving on seas, interconnected waterways and adjacent coastal areas (*cf.* Chapter 2, Section 2.4). The influences on maritime activities can be conscious or unconsciously embedded in social relations.
- **Strategies:** according to the Oxford English Dictionary ‘strategy’ implies planning in advance for achieving a goal. However, it must be considered that unpredictable situations can contribute to modify those plans. Therefore, human ‘opportunistic’ responses to those unpredictable situations need to be explored when discussing strategies (*cf.* Chapter 8).
- **Processes:** continuous human actions that produce transformations throughout time and space in multi-varied ways.
- **British and Britishness:** in the 18th century, especially between 1740 and 1780, ‘Britishness’ for the English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish was ‘Englishness’. However, this

‘Englishness’ was perceived from outside – *i.e.* by the Spanish, French and other socio-political groups – as ‘Britishness’. Therefore, these perceptions were twofold: internal and external. Within a Royal Navy context, it was common to have English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish amongst the crew as well as other national/ethnic groups (*cf.* Swift Musters Book 1766-69). These people were under Admiralty orders responding ultimately to ‘His Britannic Majesty’. Consequently, since this book is concerned primarily with the British identities created by the Royal Navy ‘Britishness’ has multi-cultural and multi-ethnic connotations although subservient to the British crown.

- **Permanent settlements:** they were constructed to control specific areas and were occupied for continuous periods of time.
- **Colony:** a permanent settlement with a diverse social infrastructure and is under the political control of a foreign power.
- **Naval supply base or naval shore base:** a permanent settlement that is primarily focused on military purposes (e.g. supply of provisions, ships maintenance or repairs)
- **Temporary or semi-permanent settlements:** settlements temporary used for a specific purpose such as the exploitation of local natural resources (e.g. sea lions and whales), therefore, having a ‘transitory’ or ‘seasonal’ component related to the exploitation of these resources.

The concepts of **capitalism**, **colonialism** and **consumption** are not defined in this section because they are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Hence, after defining these terms, it is necessary to explain and define the research areas in the following section.

1.3.2 The South Atlantic and Australia

This research is focused on the areas of the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia. For practical reasons, the South Atlantic zone has been defined in the following way:

- Patagonian Coast: is the landmass of Argentina between 40° and 51° south latitude and between 63° and 69° east longitude;
- Austral (or South) Edge: is defined as being from 51° to 80° south latitude and 55° to 72° east longitude, which contains the Magellan Strait, Cape Horn and the Malvinas/Falkland Islands.

These two areas constitute the zone that is defined as the (Argentinean) South Atlantic (Dellino 2002: 106). The Southeast coast of Australia is

chosen as a comparative area of study to clarify aspects in relation to British action. I consider both areas comparable because at the end of the 18th century the British were regularly visiting Southeast Australia (specifically NSW) as well as the South Atlantic (mainly Patagonia). This could be because these areas were probably linking maritime routes that connected the British settlements amongst themselves and also with Britain. In geographical terms, Patagonia is located on the 38° parallel and NSW on the 30° parallel. Owing to the similarities of their geographical location, I would expect some co-occurrence in the availability of certain natural resources, especially those that were economically profitable at the end of the 18th century (Chapters 6 and 8). The British presence in Southeast Australia was stronger than in the north of Australia where the Dutch were dominant at the time. In Argentina, the Spanish presence was effective in Buenos Aires province, whereas Patagonia was forgotten until the British started to visit its coasts more regularly during the 18th century. Having defined the research areas, the next section proposes the research ideas followed throughout this book.

1.3.3 Research Ideas

This research proposes that during the ‘First Industrial Revolution’ the British focused their attention on significant places susceptible to the direct influence of maritime political power. Specific areas were selected for two main reasons: a) for their geopolitical location and, b) for the exploitation of specific local resources. On a political and economic level, the goal was to control important maritime routes and key coastal areas (Liss 1989; Parry 1971; West 1991). This control was related to tactics and strategies used for conquest, diplomacy, domination of other places or colonies through maritime routes, monitoring of specific areas, management and control of information, and decision-making processes, amongst others. Due to this fact, we should expect visits and re-visits evidenced by frequencies of British wrecks in:

- a) places easy to reach and from which it is possible to control historical maritime routes of trade;
- b) strategic geopolitical key places;
- c) the vicinity of safe and natural ports;
- d) coastal sites which allow an easy access to the economic resources in the area under study; and
- e) naturally risky areas for sailing because of variable and unpredictable climatic factors (e.g. Magellan Strait and Cape Horn).

Visits and re-visits to particular places would also provide a way of gaining knowledge and assessing the area. This could have led, for

example, to future decisions on settlement planning. British wrecks might be also considered as a result of frequent journeys of exploration, recognition and surveying the areas under study.

The 'First British Empire' employed tactics of controlling sea areas through the acquisition of coastal territories (Parry 1971; Samson 2001; West 1991; Williams 1973). If the interest was geopolitical, settlements and shipwrecks would be expected in strategic places which allowed the control of historical maritime trade routes, natural ports or harbours and places from which other places or colonies could be controlled. With an economic interest, coastal settlements and shipwrecks in areas with easy access to specific natural resources would be anticipated. Such natural resources with economic value in the 18th century included salt mines, pinnipeds and cetaceans amongst others. As a result, increasing amounts of factories (*'factorías'*) and temporary or semi-permanent settlements related to the seasonality of these resources would be expected. Several archaeological studies on whaling stations and fisheries have been done on the Southeast coast of Australia (Lawrence & Staniforth 1998). The activities involved in this sort of exploitation leave culturally specific archaeological remains. Contemporary sources reveal interesting differences in this practice. For example, historical references mention that the intrinsic problem of these pinnipeds (e.g. elephant seals and sea lions) was the great waste produced by ships hunting them along the Patagonian coasts (Silva 1984). Since large numbers of elephant seals and sea lions could be hunted, only the fatter sections of the animals were retained, leaving the rest as waste, with some Europeans killing animals with the sole aim of taking their skins. According to Silva (1984), the British killed many animals just taking small quantities of oil relative to the amount of waste produced. The Spanish action, however, applied a more total exploitation of all elephant seal carcasses (*ibid.*: 510-11).

To analyse these ideas, I combine two lines of evidence: the historical and the archaeological. Each of them is explored according to their characteristics and informative potential. For the purposes of this research, the historical information was organised in the following way:

- Primary sources: documents produced by those who directly experienced the event such as original letters from the Captain, Lieutenant, Master and Purser of the *Swift* and *Sirius*; and 18th century historical maps, charts and plans. I understand maps, charts and plans as the result of ways in which the world is perceived and experienced. Cartography, for example, was not just an adjunct to exploration and colonisation, it helped to create the conditions for such enterprises (Bender 1999: 32). In this book, historical maps, charts and plans are therefore considered as both the printed and results of knowledge gained

about certain areas as well as the means to evaluate them further. These types of primary sources are also other tools that contribute to the understanding of how landscapes were perceived and constructed by the British, in this case, in the 18th century (see Chapters 6 and 8).

- Secondary sources: documents that were produced and interpreted by historians.

The gathering of documentary historical information was primarily focused on the:

- 1) Compilation of historical documents relating to the subject under study to obtain a chronological framework and a general background of the socio-political situation.
- 2) Information about historical maritime routes of trade and natural ports/harbours with a geopolitical and economic interest, where archaeological components might be found.
- 3) Analysis of historical documents in direct relation to the *Swift* shipwreck (Burney 1813; Document 6 1762-64; Farmer 1769-1770, 1770; Raynor 1767; Swift Court Martial 1770; Swift Muster Book 1766-69, among others).
- 4) Compilation of bibliography already published for the Australian case, the HMS *Sirius* wreck (e.g. Henderson & Stanbury 1988; Stanbury 1991, 1994).
- 5) Registration of historical information in a computer database. For each document the following variables were recorded and analysed:
 - a) for navigational diaries, journals and other historical documents: geographical location, areas and notes of local resources; purpose of the journey; possible intermediate stops; cargo characteristics; diet on board;
 - b) historical maps: coastal details, location of ports and local resources, and registration of maritime trade routes.

These historical sources were principally gathered from: the National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom); National Maritime Museum (London, United Kingdom); General National Archive (Buenos Aires city, Argentina), National Academy of History (Buenos Aires city, Argentina); and the Argentinean Naval Library (Buenos Aires, Argentina).

1.3.4 The Case Studies

Of the identified archaeological sites available in the South Atlantic waters, the *Swift* case represents the most relevant one for analysing the problem under study. This is because of its role in the Malvinas/Falklands in 1769-1770 (Chapter 6), its accessibility from shore, available historical

information, and research permits in the area. For Australia, the *Sirius* was selected because of its duties when the British settled in Port Jackson (Sydney) in 1788 (Chapters 3 and 6). To explain both wrecks within the general context of capitalism and colonialism in the 18th Century, it is proposed that they were the material expression of the British maritime activities and/or strategies pursued. In addition, their cargo and provisions will have specific characteristics depending on the aims and activities of the expeditions already or to be performed (this issue is explored further in Chapter 7). For example, if the British were planning to build a new settlement, specific patterns in the pottery assemblages would be expected. The provisions would be related to the length of the journey and the archaeological evidence would be in relation to the length of time that the British activities were performed on land (e.g. temporary or permanent occupation).

A major part of the archaeological data used in this book is drawn from the assemblages of these two Royal Navy wrecks: HMS *Swift* and HMS *Sirius*. The first task during the year 2000 was to make an inventory and a computerised database of the materials that had been extracted from the *Swift* wreck. Specially designed forms were developed for this purpose and the main variables considered were: raw material, type of artefact, state of preservation, manufacturing techniques, identification marks (such as seals), and dimensions.

This book particularly focuses on the analysis of the pottery assemblage of the *Swift* wreck. For the *Sirius* case the data was taken from Stanbury (1994). Pottery is linked to eating and drinking habits and storage technology. It also involves aspects such as trade (e.g. Chinese porcelain) and the aim of the journey (e.g. if the British were planning to build a permanent settlement some specific storage provisions and sources for long-term survival would be expected).

By analysing the type, quantity and quality of the *Swift* and *Sirius* pottery assemblages, some aspects of the aims of the journeys and commercial interests are clarified. Ceramics are one of the most intensively analysed artefacts in historical archaeology as they are ubiquitous in most archaeological sites. They were commonly used, easily broken, and yet more durable than other forms of material culture, which ensures their survival in the archaeological record. They were frequently decorated linking certain groups of people to symbolic meanings at certain times. For the *Swift* case, the pottery assemblage includes storage containers, eating and drinking utensils. For research purposes, three variables of the general inventory have been selected: decoration, quality, and material types. These are linked to socio-economic status and symbolic meanings. For ceramic artefacts, the typological criteria of

Carswell (1985), Draper (1984), Emmerson (1992), Gaimster (1997), Marken (1994), and Noël Hume (1970) were followed.

Despite the fact that one specific type of material was selected for detailed study, the analysis is undertaken both at global and local scales by interpreting how material culture mediated social relations. Therefore, this book aims to transcend typological and descriptive studies by comparing and interpreting material culture within the social dynamics of the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia (Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

1.3.5 A Brief Summary

In summary, by interpreting landscapes and by exploring the social relations that people created and maintained in the past and how material culture was manipulated and negotiated, I add to the comprehension of British action in the 18th century especially between 1760-1800. The evidence offered by British settlements, British shipwrecks and the material goods that ships were transporting are evaluated as both social products and tools of control and colonial power. British action is analysed through understanding maritime areas, their link to coastal zones and their relation to areas with a high frequency of shipwrecks. Their aims were probably focused on the establishment of:

- key land possessions on a geopolitical level;
- control and access to maritime and trade routes; and
- exploitation of specific resources where they could be found in coastal locations.

1.4 ORGANISATION OF THIS BOOK

In the following pages I offer the reader a short summary of the organisation of this book which has been structured in parts and, within each part, chapters. Briefly, this book explores British maritime activities and how they worked within the social contexts of capitalism, colonialism and consumption in the 18th century. **Chapter 2** provides a brief summary of the frameworks followed in historical and maritime archaeology and discusses whether the distinction between the two is valid or not. This chapter is not a review of the history of archaeology because a comprehensive and extensive review of works dealing with archaeological theory published since 1960 has already been performed (e.g. Hodder 1994; Trigger 1989). Otherwise, this would result in several thousand entries. **Chapter 3** introduces the reader to the research effectuated in historical and maritime archaeology in Argentina and Australia. It also describes the development of the *Swift* and the *Sirius* projects as examples

of the current status of historical and maritime archaeology in both countries.

From a global perspective, **Chapter 4** sets up an alternative theoretical approach to understand studies focused on historical and maritime contexts. It explains the construction of time and space through social thought and its application in my current archaeological research. I approach time and space as mutually produced through social action, constructing an alternative archaeological framework for capitalistic, colonial and consumer interpretations based on temporality and landscapes. This incorporates British action as part of a broad dynamic social context. People not only establish human inter-relations but also relations with the world. Through the latter, and by applying the concept of materiality, I argue that people actively manipulated material culture throughout daily practices to construct, maintain and transform their social relations (Hodder 1992: 14; Hodder 2000a: 87; Shanks & Hodder 1998: 84; Shanks & Tilley 1992: 131). My arguments rest on the concept of *praxis*, which acknowledges a constant interaction between people and their material world. This is a key issue for consideration especially when studying capitalistic and colonial systems.

Altering the theoretical framework modifies the context within which interpretations of capitalistic, colonial and consumption processes are made. **Chapter 5** defines these processes through a social approach. It links capitalism archaeologically through the use and manipulation of technology. It assesses how this technology is applied in practical action or *praxis* to construct and express British identities as part of the processes of performing and pursuing British maritime activities.

In my analysis, I discuss at a local scale the specific areas where the *Swift* and the *Sirius* wrecks were sunk and the characteristics of the environment as a potential resource to be exploited. This is linked to the local historical context of these two wrecks (**Chapter 6**). Within this historical context, I analyse technology through the pottery assemblages of the *Swift* and *Sirius* to interpret the materiality of social relations through *praxis* in the Royal Navy and colonial systems (**Chapter 7**). This approach aims to demonstrate the potential for a multiplicity of meanings for ships and their cargoes through social practice that goes beyond the understanding of ships as 'pristine' isolated points on the landscape. This is then expanded into a wider context, comparing and discussing the two areas under study (**Chapter 8**). These areas are placed within a worldwide context and interpretations are drawn by connecting local, regional and global levels of analysis.

In conclusion, this book contributes to archaeological social theory studies by understanding social relations through the specificities of local material culture within the global circulation of people, goods and ideas.

By examining this circulation as a consequence of human action moved by intentions and motivations, important insights into British maritime activities can then be drawn through the manipulation and negotiation of the material world.

Chapter 2

LINKING HISTORICAL AND MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY

'We must never forget that we try to write in a present that is the creation of those past lives; a present whose turbulence and tensions can be traced back to the concerns and conflicts of those past lives; and also a present whose sense of its own history, identity and social and moral dimensions are re-cast by us in the way that we think, write and act' (Johnson 1996: 212)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally archaeology has been seen, especially in North and South America, as the study of non-literate, prehistoric and ancient pasts. These studies have also been mainly restricted to terrestrial research. Fortunately, archaeology as a discipline has been developing and this limited landward stance is not restricted merely to the study of the distant past anymore. Recently, there has been a growing interest in integrating land and maritime spaces. These two principal growth areas in the discipline have become known as historical and maritime archaeology. Historical and contact archaeology has generally been associated with the beginning and development of the 'Modern World', from the 16th century onwards (see Orser 1996a and Section 4.2.2). Maritime archaeology has mainly been related to the analysis of historic wrecks (see Babits & Van Tilburg 1998). In this chapter, I discuss the necessary definitions, differences and validity of the three interlinked processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption, in historical, contact and maritime archaeology. I also examine how material culture and written evidence can be integrated through an archaeological perspective.

2.2 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

This section is not intended to be a comprehensive review of works dealing with historical archaeology because this would result in several hundreds of entries (see South 1977: 2-29). Nevertheless, it discusses what it is understood by historical archaeology within the framework of this research. In general, the story of historical archaeology illustrates that it is not necessary to stick to the notion of prehistory as 'pure' archaeology; the archaeology of historic periods raises equally relevant and complex problems of interpretation (Cleland 2001: 2; Johnson 2000: 161). History is the act of selecting, analysing and writing about the past (Beaudry 1993a: 1) whereas archaeologists interpret what happened in the past through the analysis of material evidence. The integration between the study of material remains of past societies and written records has been associated with defining historical archaeology (Cleland 2001: 3; Funari et al 1999: 1).

In general, from a North American perspective, the recent development of historical archaeology can be understood as a method for studying the formation processes of the Modern World (Hall 2000: 2; Orser 1996a: 26-28; Orser & Fagan 1995: 11-14; Schuyler 1988: 37; Shott 2005: 2-4). Usually, the Modern World is attributed to the era that begins with European voyages of colonial discovery and exploration and continues to the present day. For example, several archaeological studies have been undertaken to further the knowledge about the European occupation of America (Deagan 1988; Hutchinson & Mitchem 2001; Ramenofsky 1987; Thomas 1989, 1990, 1991 among others). Others have studied European expansion and colonialism, the mechanisms of domination and resistance involved, and the economic and political structures generated by the spread of capitalism with a worldwide orientation (e.g. Johnson 1996; Leone & Potter Jr. 1988a; Leone & Potter Jr. 1999; Orser 1996a; Paynter 2000). These themes involve obvious maritime concerns; *i.e.* European expansion walked hand in hand with the circulation of goods, people and ideas and shipping was an important component on this movement. However, this approach seems to be forgotten by the above-mentioned studies. For example, Adams et al. (2001) examine the flow of commodities to Alaska but the maritime component is overlooked (Adams et al 2001). Matthew Johnson recognises that his studies have focused on the built environment and portable goods in England and that he has therefore omitted how these goods arrive to England (Matthew Johnson *pers. comm.* Nov. 2004), being shipping the evident answer.

Recently some researchers have focused on social processes of colonialism as well as the spread of a capitalistic world economy and how

they served to incorporate non-European societies as active agents within history (Funari et al 1999: 4). Some historical archaeological studies have emphasised the individual and their identity construction focusing on, for example:

- how consumer choice shaped people's identities (Webster 1999),
- how individuals manipulate material goods to construct and maintain social group identities and ethnic boundaries, and the role of individual creativity and innovation within that process (Fennell 2000, 2003), and
- how 'to struggle past' identity politics and the individual in colonial and capitalistic contexts by understanding people as products of social relations (McGuire & Wurst 2002).

2.3 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE 'MODERN' WORLD'?

To comprehend the formation of the Modern World, the processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption and their effects on different societies must be understood at both local and global scales (Chapter 5). But, what does it mean to be modern? How is modernity defined? (This issue is further discussed in Chapter 5). I argue that the 'Modern World' does not begin at a specific point in time. Rather, its definition, construction and reconstruction are the result of the continuous flow of past and present human actions. Historical archaeology does not study a time period or modern times that began some time around 1492 as argued by Orser (Orser 1996a: 27). Notions of 'medieval', 'classical' and 'historical' periods lead us to linear concepts where humans 'evolve' in different stages. Furthermore, the use of the term modern implies that there is something that is non-modern, thereby creating a fixed opposition that separates behaviour patterns into abstract categories that lack meaning (Latour 1993).

In this book, historical archaeology is considered to be a multidisciplinary field linked to anthropology and history which deals with the post-prehistoric past and which seeks to understand the global nature of post-prehistoric social life (Connah 2003: 149-151). By following this approach the archaeological discourse can be enriched as a whole (see Johnson 2000: 149-161). In this way, historical archaeology is not a different kind of archaeology (South 1977: 2). Just as archaeology analyses other moments or chronologies, historical archaeology can generate its own inferences about past human behaviour from the

archaeological record (Little 1994). The material remains of the past can be understood as a source of information about human history that is independent of written records (Lightfoot 1995; Trigger 1996). The process would otherwise be tautological, using archaeological evidence as the material expression of what was predicted to be found (Andr n 1998: 3; Beaudry 1993a: 1). Furthermore, material goods and written sources are social products. Material culture allows people to construct, maintain and transform social relations. It also contributes to the positioning of people in time-space through heterogeneous networks that bind people and things together (Thomas 2000b: 152). Although historical data can be biased because of political and social assumptions, it has the potential to offer different insights of how the world was perceived and experienced. Hence, a combination of different sources of data is needed but a deeper understanding of the material world will challenge these assumptions and this is where differences with history lie. Therefore, archaeologists study and interpret the human past through material remains, rationalising the difference between prehistoric and historic only in the presence of another source of analysis: the documentary record.

2.4 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CONTACT

The sea is one of the major components in culture contact studies. Much research has been performed lately relating to historical archaeology and culture contact studies (Auger et al 1995; Dobyns 1993; Gullov 1985; Ramenofsky 1987; Rubertone 2000; Wilson & Rogers 1993 among others). Because the bibliography on this topic is very extensive, I will mention a few examples to illustrate some tendencies in dealing with archaeological contact research. By integrating historical and archaeological evidence, Fitzhugh (1985) reviews European interactions with natives in the Eastern Arctic. He discusses the probable effects of these contacts especially focused on the Eskimo communities (*ibid.*). Hutchinson and Mitchem (2001) focus on culture contact and colonialism to develop a model regarding epidemic diseases and depopulation. They integrate demographic evidence from historical, archaeological and ethnographic observations. Silliman (2001) applies social theory and the theory of practice, based on Bourdieu (1990) and Giddens (1984) (discussed in Chapter 4), to colonial and culture-contact studies focusing on a case study in the 19th century in Northern California. By combining historical and archaeological data, Silliman (2001) investigates changes in the negotiation of politics of social position and identities in daily practices or what he defines as ‘practical politics’ (*ibid.*: 194). He analyses

how colonial material culture was used to convey social relations and strategies and the way that natives could appropriate those items to negotiate social positions and relations (Silliman 2001). By combining historical and archaeological sources, Gibbs (2003) considers the shipwreck survivor camp as a contact site to analyse the relationships between Europeans and natives and whether contacts were in the form of conflict or cooperation (*ibid.*: 136-137). I would like to highlight that only Gibbs (2003) of the above-mentioned authors explicitly combines terrestrial and maritime concerns. He clearly integrates the physical nature of the ship, the environmental constraints of life at sea, the predictable norms and social organisation on vessels and the physiological or crisis aspect when facing a wreckage situation (Gibbs 2003). However, the above-mentioned examples illustrate that culture contact studies may revitalise holistic anthropological approaches considering multiple lines of evidence (e.g. ethnohistorical accounts, ethnographic observations, linguistic data, native oral traditions, archaeological remains and biological remains) (Lightfoot 1995). Human societies were and are complicated entities. As part of the natural world they share its complexity by having a social entanglement of their own (Johnson 2000: 9). Therefore, the past needs to be viewed as intricate, ambiguous and peculiar rather than simple, straightforward and always conforming to general laws. Just as the world of the past fails to conform simple and singular notions about it, so historical archaeology and contact study theories need to be accepted as diverse and complex. This book, with a strong social orientation, draws on a wide variety of theoretical approaches on the basis that

‘a diversity of theory in archaeology is desirable and essential, rather than a problem’ (McGuire 1992: 7).

Consequently, I argue that culture contact studies should not be restricted to the study of contacts between native people and Europeans (e.g. Orser 1996a) because contacts can be intracultural (e.g. among the Europeans themselves) as well as intercultural. For example, did the contact between the British and the Spanish in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands condition British action? And what about the French and British presence on the Southeast Australian coast at the end of the 18th century? Were British settlements built in these areas, where competition with other European countries was always latent, to legitimise and reassure Britishness and the British position in the world as a way of consolidating their power? Or was British action also conditioned by the establishment of their own social networks involving commercial and geopolitical relations? How can this be observed in the material evidence? For example, fur trade companies established a network of multiethnic trade outposts by recruiting cheap sources of labour from across Europe, North

America, and the Pacific Islands (Lightfoot 1995). Is there any relationship between this and the situation in the South Atlantic in the 18th century? These questions and some preliminary answers are explored:

- a) locally through the examination of pottery cargoes by interpreting them as the material projection of British identities in the Royal Navy and colonial spaces (Chapter 7); and
- b) globally, by analysing British maritime activities through the construction of social landscapes (Chapter 8).

Wallerstein's work (1979a, b, 1980) has introduced the notion of World Systems Theory which has been widely used and discussed in contact archaeology (e.g. Champion 1995b; Jeans 1988; McGuire 1995; Rowlands 1987; Rowlands & Gledhill 1998). This theory is not presented in this book because it is not directly relevant to the aims pursued in this research. However, to summarise the main advantage in the Wallerstein model is that in historical archaeology the relevant systems were and can be understood within a worldwide perspective which facilitates comparative analysis at global levels. Nevertheless, the World Systems Theory is a functional theory that struggles to integrate the social dimensions of mutuality and materiality, in dealing with 'native' cultures, and in dealing with a world that is constantly changing (*cf.* Friedman 1994: 12; Leone & Potter Jr. 1988b: 7; Wolf 1982).

2.5 MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY

Maritime archaeology has strong links with both historical and contact study archaeology because so many underwater sites found to date are related to historical moments or as Beaudry defined it, documentary archaeology (see Beaudry 1993a: 1-3). Sites of maritime activity and sunken watercraft are segments of the archaeological resource because they were part of a dynamic landscape of human action; they were elements of a larger historical context (Anuskiewicz 1998).

The 'traditional' differentiation of underwater, maritime, nautical and marine archaeology has been made in the development of archaeology interested in submerged material culture (Muckelroy 1978). In this book, I understand underwater archaeology as referring to the environment in which the practice of archaeology is undertaken. Maritime archaeology is the study of material remains relating to human action on seas, interconnected waterways and adjacent coastal areas (Adams 2002; Orser 2002) including sites that are not underwater but that are related to maritime activities such as lighthouses, port constructions or shore-based whaling stations. Nautical archaeology, like maritime archaeology, can include sites that are not underwater but that are related to ships and

shipbuilding including ship burials, shipwreck remains in the terrestrial environment or shipbuilding yards. Marine archaeology relates to the study of the marine environment and its effects on archaeological remains. These terms are used for explanatory purposes in defining an area of research within archaeology rather than as separate entities, because the main goal of archaeology is to understand the human past whether the research is undertaken in prehistoric, historic, submerged or land contexts. What can be different are the physical environment, field techniques and classes of material culture analysed where the archaeological discipline is put into practice.

Shipwreck archaeology, as part of maritime archaeology, was traditionally the domain of maritime historians and classical archaeologists who have very different perspectives on the types of data they wish to collect from the material remains of archaeological sites (Lenihan 1983: 38). The early development of underwater and maritime archaeology was limited by diving equipment and techniques and a poor development of theoretical approaches (for further reading see Babits & Van Tilburg 1998; Barstad 2002; Broadwater 2002; Muckelroy 1978, 1980; Watson 1983, among others).

In European archaeology, the 1960s-1970s saw a rapid development in methods, techniques and scientific aspects that has now given way to self-conscious and more theoretically informed enquiry about the identity and goals of professional underwater archaeology (Barstad 2002: 4-6; Lenihan & Murphy 1998: 234-236; Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 81-94; Watson 1983: 24-27). Despite Muckelroy's latest work being done in 1980, his work, ideas and methods of explaining material culture still have a significant impact on current maritime archaeology. He was the first to define maritime archaeology in a wider way as 'the scientific study of the material remains of man and his activities on the sea' (Muckelroy 1978: 4). He also introduced systematic research with a strong 'processual' and explicit theoretical framework. His primary concerns were to explain archaeological problems and to understand human past activities rather than simply describing objects recovered from shipwrecks or any other submerged archaeological site within which the researcher is immediately confronted. From a functional perspective, Muckelroy (1978) underlined the idea that maritime archaeology is not just concerned with technical matters but with all characteristics of maritime culture where social aspects play a key role. He stated that archaeology, and its sub-discipline maritime archaeology, can be described by considering the problems towards which research is currently directed, the specific questions being raised, and the ways in which workers are seeking to answer them (Muckelroy 1978, 1998: 25). But can maritime archaeology be defined as a sub-discipline? Adams (2002) opens this debate by mentioning that 'as

maritime archaeology progressively developed its identity, a recurring question has been whether it is a discipline in its own right or, as Muckelroy saw it, a sub-discipline of archaeology, or simply archaeology' (Adams 2002: 330). From my point of view, historical, maritime and contact archaeology should be used as 'terms' to emphasise aspects of the problems being studied. Archaeologists study the human past whether its material expression is found on land or underwater and the discipline involving this study is archaeology itself.

Bass points out that 'perhaps the most crucial advance made in underwater archaeology between 1950 and 2000 was not technical, but philosophical. Archaeologists themselves began to dive and direct underwater projects.' (Bass 2002: 804). However, diving and direction of underwater projects are related to technical aspects of archaeological research. From my point of view, I believe that there has been a combination of both technical and philosophical concerns (see Dellino & Endere 2001: 224 and Section 3.2.1.1). Theoretical approaches to understanding shipwrecks and their cargoes as social products and their integration with land and maritime spaces are relatively recent (e.g. Adams 2003; Corbin 2000; McCarthy 2000; Souza 1998; Staniforth 2001a, 2003a; Stuart 1998; Veth & McCarthy 1999). Maritime archaeologists need to continue developing theoretical frameworks and models that contribute to the understanding of past human action. In this way, we would go beyond descriptive analysis especially when understanding material culture as part of a social world in constant transformation.

This book follows an integral analysis between land and sea because knowledge of both of these landscapes is important to anyone who intends to understand maritime aspects of the past. Nowadays, the relevance of maritime archaeology lies in the fact that further knowledge can be gained not only of ship construction and trade routes but also about social relations that can be derived from ancient cargoes, shipwrecks, forts and the location of temporary settlements. For example, by integrating historical and archaeological research, Breen et al (2001) contribute to understanding the event of the wreck *La Surveillante*, a French frigate lost in Bantry Bay (Ireland) in 1797, as a result of human activities and historical circumstances. The term maritime involves aspects that are cultural as well as environmental, metaphysical as well as material, and symbolic as well as functional. It includes the prominent interests of water transport technology, trade and exchange, waterborne industries, seafaring, coastal settlements, harbours and waterfronts, ritual and funerary deposits recognised as Westerdahl's definition of 'maritime cultural landscape' (also see Adams 2002: 328), briefly discussed in section 4.2.1.1. Today maritime archaeology is the study of material

remains relating to human action on water and adjacent coastal areas (*ibid.*) but above all it is about the social dimensions of mutuality and materiality developed through time-space (Chapter 4). For example, it has been mentioned that one of the latest achievements of maritime archaeology has been to demonstrate that the context of coastal and island sites are maritime as well as terrestrial, analysing them from a seaward perspective (Hunter 1994). Leone (1983) explores the Patuxent River on Chesapeake Bay and the relationship between land use, river conditions, towns and boat life as part of the impact that the capitalistic economic system has both at local and global levels. Stuart (1998) analyses sealing and whaling activities in South Australia through a landscape approach. He emphasises the integration between land and sea by defining landscape as an area of land, and seascape as an area of land and sea (*ibid.*: 99, discussed in section 4.2.1). This important recognition of linking land and sea spaces is key in this research, where I argue that by combining land and maritime perspectives a better understanding of British action in the 18th century can be achieved (Chapter 8).

2.5.1 Two Main Approaches: ‘Pompeii Premise’ versus ‘The Archaeology of the Event’

The archaeological study of wreck sites is common to natural and social sciences because shipwrecks can tell us about people, human behaviour and human cultures (Gould 2000: 2, 7-10). Therefore, shipwreck archaeology, as archaeology in general, is considered part of social sciences (Gould 1983: 22). Thus, underwater sites must be contextualised within an interdisciplinary framework. Many underwater sites have been presented as merely a description of the artefacts recovered resulting in extensive catalogues (e.g. Amsterdam 1986; Goddio & Jay 1988), avoiding theoretical issues and using micro scales of analysis focused simply on the description of wrecks (Lenihan & Murphy 1998). These studies have disregarded that even the ‘shipwreck event’ involves complex human relations, which comprises people with different experiences and perceptions of the world. Archaeologists interpret what happened in the past through material culture (e.g. shipwrecks and their associated contents). These interpretations are varied and conditioned by research questions, past and present knowledge gained by the researcher and social interests in its wider sense. However, recognising this limitation does not render archaeological research fruitless or unworthy of further exploration.

Consequently, shipwrecks can be analysed from two main approaches. The first one considers ships as unique events, as individual time-capsules. The concept of ‘time-capsule’ or ‘Pompeii premise’ neglects

topics such as post-depositional processes and environmental dynamics of the area under study. This has been part of an archaeological debate that occurred in the 1980s, between L. Binford and M. Schiffer, questioning assumptions that were being made about the ways in which sites were created and transformed (Binford 1981; Schiffer 1987). In this debate the concept of ‘time-capsule’ arises because many archaeological sites were not created like Pompeii where everything was ‘frozen’ in a single day in time. In shipwreck archaeology, the ‘Pompeii premise’ idea appears regularly because shipwreck sites involve aspects of a specific event (Gould 2000: 12-14), the shipwreck event, generally disregarding other cultural and natural factors that alter its natural formation. For example, it has been said that ‘a ship is an encapsulated society, a technological microcosm, and an expression of predatory, mercantile, or military endeavour unique to its particular time and associations’ (Martin 1997: 1). Nevertheless, shipwrecks cannot be considered as a direct reflection of the general society. They are complex entities involving a wide spectrum of different choices and individual decisions which are not necessarily a direct analogy of the general society (Adams 2001). It has also been argued that during historical times, the nautical archaeological record was complemented by documentary evidence and other sources of information like paintings, drawings, etc. Ships usually represent a massive capital outlay to states or mercantile companies, and consequently generate an abundance of paperwork: building specifications; accounts relating to running, maintenance and repair; tonnage and capacity calculations; manifests of cargo, provisions, equipment and armament; muster lists; etc. (Martin 1997). These can help to ‘reconstruct’ the specific event of wreckage. Nevertheless, shipwrecks are complex archaeological phenomena whose processes of loss, disintegration and eventual stabilisation (within the coastal, intertidal and undersea environment) can be sometimes difficult to understand and quantify.

The second approach, which is followed in this book, interprets wreck material culture in the form of cargo, understanding it in terms of social products from the societies from which it came. Watercraft and their associated material culture are understood as a consequence of motivated social actions (Adams 2001: 302) where wreck data does not only provide evidence for transport but also for production and consumption (Gibbins & Adams 2001: 281). This approach is linked to historical archaeology because it treats the transport of cargo as a step in a wider trajectory or ‘system of use’ where global mechanisms became useful tools (Staniforth 1999: 50). In this way, Staniforth proposes ‘the archaeology of the event’ as an alternative to the Pompeii premise (Staniforth 2001a, 2003a, b). Based on the *Annales* approaches he utilises Braudel’s three scales of history: 1) the short-term or *événements*: events and individuals, 2) the

medium-term or *conjunctures*: processes and social time, and 3) the long-term or *longue durée*: structures, worldviews, *mentalités*, and geohistory (Braudel 1979, 1980). He understands the shipwreck event as unique in time and space but also as a result of human actions and interactions and groups of people leading up to and including that particular event (Staniforth 2003b: 104). He analyses four particular wreck events in Australia: *Sydney Cove* (1797), *William Salthouse* (1841), *James Matthews* (1841) and *Eglinton* (1853) (Staniforth 2003a), but he adds that 'each wreck site and its associated archaeological assemblage represent an opportunity to incorporate the archaeology of the event into the examination of larger forces or conjunctures such as consumerism, capitalism, and colonialism.' (Staniforth 2003b: 104).

Burns (2003) focuses on the examination of the wreck event *Catherine*, a nineteenth-century Norwegian merchant sailor (Burns 2003). He studies this particular shipwreck, focusing on the ship's history and the changing social factors involved within it (e.g. shipbuilding, ownership, Norwegian economic strategies, etc.). His interpretations are therefore enriched when historical and archaeological sources are integrated to understand the wider context surrounding *Catherine* (see Burns 2003). However, Souza (1998) analyses specific shipwrecks in Dry Tortugas, located at the edge of the main shipping channel between Gulf of Mexico and Western Caribbean (Souza 1998: 10). She investigates the persistence of sail in the 'age of steam' focusing on a specialised sector of capitalistic, industrialised society; specifically the merchant cargo trade of the 19th century (*ibid.*: 2). By exploring human interaction with sea, Souza interprets the wreck events in the context of human interaction of groups whose ships operated in the area and identifies patterns of human activity and behaviour in the 19th century (see Souza 1998). This book examines, from a social approach explained in Chapter 4, the events of wreckage of the *Swift* and *Sirius* which are understood as experiential circumstances situated in specific time-space dimensions but interpreted in a wider context: the context of a world in constant dynamism and expansion.

Maritime archaeology, or at least shipwreck archaeology, derives from specific events; shipwrecks in particular or what Staniforth defines as 'the archaeology of the event' (Staniforth 2003a: 28-29, 2003b: 104). However, it is when that event, at an archaeological level, is incorporated into a larger scale of analysis that the potential of maritime archaeology, with some of its most powerful explanatory value, can be realised. For example, the archaeological evidence in combination with historical documentation can provide a better understanding of the history of these events (like shipwrecks) in relation to human action. This book argues that the originality in dealing with both written records and material evidence is that the official historical versions can be challenged by the

archaeological analysis and interpretation of material culture. Large-scale issues of cultural change and continuity are analysed in this book through the specific event of HMS *Swift* wreck which is then put into a global context of understanding going beyond the wreck itself. This particular case is understood as the result of collective and individual interactions as well as the unconscious responses to social processes like capitalism, colonialism and consumption. Therefore, it becomes necessary to expand the horizon imposed on the event itself. It is here where the interplay among local, regional and global scales becomes useful tools. Furthermore, the introduction of comparative case studies (of other particular events) allows the evaluation of changes over time going before and beyond the particular event. In this case, a comparative analysis is made of the British maritime activities at the end of the 18th century in the South Atlantic with Australian case studies in NSW and in particular with the analysis of HMS *Sirius* wreck. The presentation of the Australian evidence does not provide an equally detailed analysis, but contributes to clarify aspects of British action in remote areas (Chapter 8). Going beyond the boundaries of the site allows understanding of the general structures and social processes within a broader perspective being cross-cultural comparisons a key issue in this matter (Deetz 1991: 2, 7; Feinman 2000: 34-36; Funari 1999: 51-53).

It is well known that ships and boats were products of contemporary technology and social structures (Muckelroy 1978; Steffy 1994). Rivers, lakes and seas challenged the development and improvements in watercraft technology understanding 'water' as means of connecting societies rather than dividing them. Consequently, the material culture of water transport and its interrelated social factors should be analysed to further enhance our knowledge about past societies (Adams 2001). In this way, the relevance of studying a shipwreck, or any other kind of underwater site, is to place it in context within a regional and/or global scale of analysis (Gamble 1993), understanding the processes of change and, in my case study, colonial and capitalistic dynamics at the end of the 18th century. Archaeologists examine and explain changes in material culture formulating models and ideas, and with the adoption and refinement of these, social action can be interpreted. Some of that information still survives and archaeologists interpret these remains according to their own questions and theoretical frameworks.

2.6 THE COMBINATION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In historical and maritime archaeology, documentary and other sources as well as material remains are generally used (e.g. Adams 2001; Beaudry 1996; Botwick & McClane 2005; Keith et al 1997; Kepecs 1997; Miller et al 1991; Staniforth 2000). The basic premise of historical archaeology is that history, culture and objects are interconnected. This premise is followed throughout this book through a social approach (Chapter 4) and applied to local case studies (Chapters 6 and 7) integrated in a global framework (Chapter 8). Because of the nature of historical archaeology, it allows the analysis of material objects in conjunction with different texts (e.g. Cleland 2001: 3; De Cunzo 2001: 21-23; Staniforth 1999: 18, 2003a: 14). This emphasis on texts and documents in historical archaeology has a variety of implications and Beaudry (1993b) highlights some of them. For example, the use of the documentary record treated as material evidence through quantification and the textual analysis of selected elements of certain kinds of documents show new insights into the human past (Beaudry 1993b: 43). Hence, there is an interaction between the material world and the documentary sources that are its verbal counterpart (Hall 2000: 21).

‘When the seafaring nations of Western Europe began to expand across the globe ..., the effects were documented in the social and economic stories of many nations. The impact ... was generally described by the conquerors in victorious terms’ (Little 1994: 69).

People create documents; they are not neutral renderings of previous times. Documents were generally produced, especially between the 16th and 19th centuries, by specific sectors in the society (e.g. bourgeoisie and aristocracy), giving a biased vision of reality, and so they are much more than lists and records of what happened in the past. In this way, written sources can provide an insight of how the world was experienced and perceived in different social contexts (see examples in Chapters 6 and 8).

Historical archaeologists researching the capitalistic period have not shown enough interest in trade as it impacts on issues such as ethnicity, status and gender (Orser & Fagan 1995: 199-235). Yet one of the common claims related to maritime aspects is that economic activity has been well documented during recent centuries with records of shipping movements and detailed cargo lists being both available and comprehensive (e.g. England’s Shipping Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund project (English Heritage 2004: 14)). However, as Staniforth suggests, while the available documentary sources are sometimes extensive, they are frequently not comprehensive (Staniforth 1999). Similarly, I assume that the

documentary record is a fragmentary and limited one. Archaeology has the power to testify more concretely as to how goods were moving throughout space and how material culture maintained and reproduced social relations through time and space. Hence, I believe that through a social perspective and by combining historical and archaeological research examining daily activities, archaeologists can illuminate different aspects of the past. In this book, I analyse British action through material relations by interpreting the consumption of pottery in the Royal Navy and colonial contexts (Chapter 7). Action is moved by conscious and unconscious motives. These are explored through the movement and trajectories of goods, people and ideas by integrating the analysis of historical documents, cargoes, wreck frequencies, coastal settlements and British interaction within the perception of social landscapes in a global framework (Chapter 8).

Historical documents are generated from two sources: those who experience the event and those who interpret it. In archaeology, processes are studied through the interpretation of the archaeological record, with historical documents providing an additional line of analysis. Critical analysis and evaluation of historical documents and their relationship to the archaeological record is therefore required (Lightfoot 1995; Yentsch & Beaudry 1992: 10). Generally, most of the historical documents that remain today were official records and largely constructed from an elite, aristocratic perspective. Ahlström underlines that written material can also allow researchers to fill in the gaps of information remaining from purely archaeological investigations (Ahlström 1997: 15). On the contrary, archaeologists do not fill in the gaps with historical information. In this sense, researchers must be aware of making direct analogies and/or tautological assumptions using documentary records, which is not a proper method for archaeology. It must be recognised that archaeology and history walk together but by testing the documentary information against the material remains, it is possible to discuss official versions and offer an alternative explanation to the existing documentary information (Johnson 1996, 1999a). The various types of historic and archaeological data convey different information. This differing nature of material and documentary sources enriches past interpretations (Little 1994). An example in shipwreck archaeology of this differing nature is the Dutch East Indiaman VOC *Amsterdam* (1749). Parts of the hull were recorded in detail, uncovering a discrepancy between the data obtained from the archival documents and from the archaeological research undertaken (Adams 2003: 192-193; Gawronski 1986, 1987; Gawronski et al 1992). This discrepancy was explained by the fact that in 1744, some French ships were captured by the British and sold to the VOC. As mentioned in Chapter 1, French ships designs were very much admired in that time, and

according to the research performed at the *Amsterdam*, French ship construction and sailing qualities were subsequently noted and used for VOC ships (Adams 2003: 41-42, 192-193; Kist 1986: 43). Therefore, material and documentary sources allow the contextualisation of specific social settings critically and bring new understandings to social options, decisions and choices (Kelly 1997: 364).

The richness of the symbolic and material meaning preserved in historical documents should not be discarded but the material evidence takes precedence in the interpretation undertaken in this work. For example, through the notion of *praxis* the link between written sources and objects is explored in this research. *Praxis* implies a constant interaction between people and their material world. This concept and its applications are developed in detail in Chapter 4. Through *praxis*, historical information is used as a tool for specific archaeological interpretations, to explore some experiences and perceptions of the world in time-space and for more general contextual information. Nevertheless, material culture, the core of archaeology, is the active agent through which people's history is held and told to future generations (Yentsch 1993: 5). Archaeologists work with objects created in a social context formed through action until at some point in their existence they come to reside within an archaeological context (*ibid.*: 16). Therefore, the interpretations that we generate by analysing material culture are what enrich archaeology as a whole.

Consequently, to enrich historical archaeological research, it is important to integrate different spatial scales of analysis and variables which are derived from complex systems of human relations where social factors are the most influential. In this book, for example, these factors are integrated:

- a) through the interplay between local and global action by considering capitalist, colonial and consumer structures. British action is also explored through the acquisition of knowledge, which is understood and contextualised in a world perspective by comparing British action in the South Atlantic and Southern Australia (Chapters 4 and 8),
- b) by examining the material expressions of social relations (e.g. pottery assemblages recovered from the wreck of the *Swift* compared to those in HMS *Sirius*). The meanings embedded and attached to pottery (e.g. material distribution on the wreck, type and quality) and the processes of constructing and projecting identities are explored by integrating material and written information (Chapter 7), and
- c) by applying the concept of *praxis*, analysing the pottery assemblages of HMS *Swift* and *Sirius* and textual sources. Both

sources of data are combined to analyse how the materiality of social relations correlates in terms of Royalty, the Royal Navy, British commanders, sailors and the hierarchical decisions taken which were certainly valid in the social context of the 18th century (Chapters 7 and 8).

I assume that the material world was constantly implicated in constructing identities. For example, the everyday life domains and the conscious and unconscious expression of British identities manifested in the material culture transported in British ships and available in colonial settlements, the location of British settlements, their link with land and sea and other British colonies integrated in this way in a global chain of actions. Therefore, I argue that historical, contact and maritime archaeology are not different disciplines or separated from each other. They are combined in this book to bring a broad and better understanding of past human activities.

2.7 SUMMARY

This chapter underlined the idea that history and archaeology are bound to live together in the same general social and human science research field (Funari 1997: 198). Therefore, historical, contact and maritime archaeology cannot be considered as separate disciplines. As archaeologists our goal is to ‘rediscover’ the past and interpret it in the light of a present that it continues to shape (Mrozowski 1996: 472). I emphasised that archaeologists analyse human interaction with the world whether the research is based on prehistoric, historic, terrestrial or maritime contexts. It is in the understanding of past human action where historical and maritime research are linked. Furthermore, it has also been outlined that an understanding of the complexity of society, its features and changes, can only be gained from a pluralistic and interdisciplinary world perspective (Funari 1999: 58). In this sense, I agree with Funari (1999: 47-58) that we should shift our focus onto studies that transcend conventional boundaries between history and prehistory, modern and non-modern. We should explore similarities and differences in social contexts which are typical of societies with written records such as colonialism and capitalism, power and identity and relations between local, regional and global scales. These particular points are developed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

After establishing the general basis of historical, contact and maritime archaeology, the Argentinean and Australian contexts and two associated case studies are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL AND MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY: THE ARGENTINEAN AND AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDIES

'... academic disciplines are not free of social and political ties ...' (Champion 1991: 144)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present a brief introduction to South American historical archaeology and summarise the state of Argentinean historical and underwater archaeology. The creation of the *Swift* project, its financial situation and its current status is explained as an example of the current situation of Argentinean underwater archaeology. A brief summary of the development of Australian historical and underwater archaeology is also given, using the *Sirius* project as an illustration.

3.2 HISTORICAL AND MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY

3.2.1 A Brief Review of the Argentinean Case Study

Archaeological practice in South America has mainly been conditioned by the political environment which varies in each country (see Funari 1994; Fusco 1993; Politis 1992, 1999; Politis & Pérez Gollán 2004; Vargas Arenas & Sanoja 1999). Dictatorial governments from the 1960s to the 1980s affected Latin American countries such as Uruguay, Brazil, Chile and Argentina. Historical archaeology was the area of the discipline most affected, and was mainly characterised by a normative or culture-history orientated approach (see Fusco 1993: 208-9; Politis 1999: 2-3; Zarankin & Senatore 1996a, b: 3-5). Dictatorship inhibited the spread of new ideas; authoritarian leaders manipulated history and what 'should

be taught and learnt' according to their own interests; and researchers had to select their topic of studies to avoid persecution (Funari 1997; Politis & Pérez Gollán 2004: 362). In the 1960s, Brazilian and Uruguayan colonial and postcolonial contexts were studied by architects and historians focusing on collecting and describing artefacts (Funari 1994). In Argentina, historians have generally worked within an 'Euro-centric' perspective (e.g. Caillet-Bois 1952; Fite 1974; Martinic 1978, 1983). This dictatorial period in Latin America has obviously affected the development of archaeological research.

Historical archaeology was not systematically performed in South America until the mid 1980s when democracy started to rule Latin American countries (see Funari 1997; Zarankin & Senatore 1996a, b). For example, Brazil systematic research has been undertaken, from a post-processual perspective, on Jesuit Missions and plantations (see Funari 1991, 1997). In Uruguay, systematic work in historical archaeology has been developed in the city of Colonia de Sacramento founded in 1680 by Portugal (Fusco 1990; Fusco & Deagan 1997; Fusco & López 1992). Documentary and material evidence has been combined for better understanding of colonial society and its changes (Funari 1997: 195). In Argentina, some archaeologists and anthropologists, mainly following North American processual and evolutionary perspectives, have been studying inter-ethnic contacts and their impact on the local populations (e.g. Borrero 1991, 1992a, b; Goñi 1991; Lanata 1984 among others). These first attempts were made in the 1990s, and most of them were written from an anthropological perspective (see Pedrotta & Romero 1998). Recently, from a post-processual perspective, some researchers have focussed on the relationship between the spatial structure of sites and its socio-political connotations. By centring on the materiality of social relations they conclude that the manipulation of material culture can work as an avenue for the creation and maintenance of relations of power and domination (e.g. Acuto 1999; Nielsen 1995; Zarankin 1999). Funari and Zarankin (2002) discuss the processes of use of space and changes in middle-class households in the local area of Buenos Aires city since the late 18th century. By exploring the material construction of social relations, they relate changes observed in local households to both the wider capitalistic context and the local conditions that shaped people's daily lives (see Funari & Zarankin 2002).

Specifically, in Argentinean Patagonia not many archaeological studies have been undertaken relating to capitalism, colonialism or the use of landscapes within regional perspectives (e.g. Senatore 1997; Senatore & Zarankin 1999; Zarankin & Senatore 1996a). Studies in landscape use are relatively new, starting approximately 20 years ago with a focus on hunter-gatherer societies at different temporal scales (Borrero 1992a,

1994, 1998; Borrero & Lanata 1992; Lanata 1993, 1995; Lanata & Borrero 1994, among others).

Historical archaeology and studies of the process of capitalist expansion and colonialism and spatial studies are even more recent. For example, Senatore focuses on historical Spanish forts and contact archaeology in marginal areas (Senatore 1996, 1997). Pelaez is currently analysing the situation of hunter-gatherers at moments of European contacts and their colonial impact (Pelaez *pers. comm.* May 1999). Finally, the research presented on this book examines the impact of British action within capitalistic and colonial contexts in the South Atlantic at the end of the 18th century. Social relations are studied through the material projection of identities within those contexts. Therefore, shipwrecks and their cargoes are understood as the embodiment of British maritime activities, and considered as social products of possible stressful situations that could have caused them. Consequently, throughout this book I highlight the importance of integrating 'historical', 'underwater' and 'maritime' archaeology (*cf.* Chapter 2), and its potential to establish a comprehensive archaeology of maritime action. However, in Argentina, these kinds of studies are in their infancy.

Although Argentina is a country with some 3100 miles (approximately 5000 kilometres) of coastline few studies of maritime and underwater archaeology have been undertaken. Underwater archaeology is still a growing discipline. Its development was not relevant until some years ago because the underwater cultural heritage was not explicitly considered in either official or private policies regarding cultural heritage preservation (Dellino & Endere 2001; Endere 2000). This is mainly because of a lack of knowledge of the real potential of underwater archaeology and its investigation and preservation possibilities. In other words, despite the fact that Argentina possesses extensive coasts and a rich maritime and naval history, Argentineans have a lack of maritime consciousness in their traditions, and many aspects relating to the sea have been inexplicably forgotten. Fortunately, this situation has started to change.

Architects of the Argentinean committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) have carried out explorations of underwater sites without archaeological guidance (Elkin 2002; Elkin & Dellino 2001: 314-316). For example, since 1978 several underwater research projects have been undertaken in Argentina. Divers without any archaeological academic background made some recoveries at the end of the 1970s (e.g. logboat in Lake Nahuel Huapi). In the 1980s, the architect-diver García Cano performed some surveys:

- on the *Swift* wreck (García Cano 1994);

- at a site called *Las Encadenadas* located in the Central-South region of Buenos Aires province with the participation of the archaeologist A. Austral; and
- at *Monje* in Santa Fé Province with some archaeological participation as well (for further detail see Elkin 2002: 323-325).

Although they deserve credit for their concern and care of underwater cultural remains, these underwater activities should not necessarily be considered as archaeology because most of them did not involve a systematic scientific approach, especially regarding theoretical-methodological issues.

I agree with Elkin (2002) that the year 1994 can be considered a turning point for the birth of Argentinean underwater archaeology (Elkin 2002: 316; Elkin & Dellino 2001). In the last few years, Argentinean archaeologists became more aware of the potential of the underwater cultural heritage. In 1995 the creation of the programme ‘Investigation and Conservation of the Argentinean Underwater Cultural Heritage’ at the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Pensamiento Latinoamericano* (National Institute of Anthropology and Latin American Thought (INAPL)), under the National Secretary of Culture, can be mentioned as an example of this change of attitude towards Argentinean underwater heritage (see Elkin & Dellino 1998, 2001). The *Swift* project is encompassed within this programme and is described in section 3.3.1.

3.2.2 A Brief Review of the Australian Case Study

Historical Archaeology in Australia has been practised for more than 30 years, mostly influenced by theoretical approaches developed in North America (e.g. Beaudry 1993c; Orser 1996a). Australian works vary considerably, some emphasising a general overview of the history of historical archaeology (Connah 1993), others comprising extensive descriptive reports (Bannear 1991; McGowan 1985), and some attempting to integrate the excavation work into more general considerations of the past of a specific site or region (Allison 1998). Moreover, many studies in Cultural Resource Management (CRM) or mitigation actions have been done at historical sites establishing an important background for historical archaeology in Australia for more than 10 years.

In the 1980s, historical archaeologists started to recognise the importance of the sea (Henderson 1986). Connah (1993), in his review of Australian historical archaeology, includes maritime archaeology when referring to historical archaeology (*ibid.*: 7). I support this point which was discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Integrating continental and coastal spaces he outlines that all human settlers in Australia had to cross

the sea to get there. Hence, I argue that the archaeological potential of seas, shores and land spaces cannot be denied, the integration of these spaces being crucial in archaeology. Connah (1993) discusses some archaeological work done on historical shipwrecks in terms of contact archaeology, exploration, colonisation, and overseas trade focused on Dutch wrecks in Western Australia and the British cases of HMS *Pandora*, HMS *Sirius* and *Sydney Cove*. However, Connah pays little attention to artefact studies making only passing reference to artefacts (Lawrence 1998: 9), instead of outlining the role of catalogues in relation to research questions and the theoretical framework they articulate (Murray 2002: 13).

There have been three principal weaknesses in Australian historical archaeology: 1) a lack of artefact analysis integrated into a broader theoretical framework (Lawrence 1998; Staniforth 1999); 2) a limited quantity and quality of publications (Connah 1998); and 3) a failure to widely disseminate copies of descriptive excavations reports and artefact catalogues (Connah 1998: 5). Lately, research directions have been shifted from base-level archaeological interests (e.g. survey, excavation techniques and artefact identification) to more regional approaches. The change has been made towards discussing issues such as ideology (Burke 1999), consumption (Crook 2002), households archaeology (Allison 1998), material culture (Lawrence 1998), ethnicity (Lydon 1999, taken from Murray 2002: 9) including those generated through CRM, in terms of archaeological theory, cultural processes and social structures (McKay 1996). In this sense, it can be said that Australian historical archaeology has currently become more aware of building and articulating theory and data (Murray 2002). It is also crucial for historical archaeology to engage with other disciplines (*ibid.*: 10) and, for some archaeologists, integrating maritime and historical aspects has become an increasing concern.

Since the early 1960s maritime archaeology has been developing in Australia as a result of the discovery of Dutch trading ships of the VOC along the Western Australian coast (e.g. *Batavia* (1629), *Vergulde Draeck* (1656), *Zuytdorp* (1712) and *Zeewijk* (1727) wrecks). Consequently, since 1970, many maritime archaeological papers have been published relating mainly to Dutch wrecks (e.g. Green 1977). The Australian Federal Government passed its Historic Shipwrecks Act in 1976. It applies to all Australian waters adjacent to all states and territories encouraging them to develop maritime archaeology programmes (Hosty & Stuart 2001: 7).

Since 1980, the archaeological emphasis has been shifting towards a new range of facets of colonial and maritime history and technology by researching historic shipwrecks after the beginning of European colonial settlements in 1788 (Henderson 1986: 2; Staniforth 1987). For example, three eighteenth-century sites off the east coast of Australia have attracted

the attention from many maritime archaeologists (e.g. the rum trader *Sydney Cove* (1797) off Tasmania, the British warship *Pandora* (1791) off Queensland, and the *Sirius* off Norfolk Island). In recent years, Australian maritime archaeology publications have varied from an overview of the field in the mid 1980s (Henderson 1986), through methodological and technical concerns (Green 1990), works on specific wrecks (Gesner 1991, 2000; Henderson & Stanbury 1988; Nash 2001, 2002) or groups of wrecks (Anderson 1997) to site investigations and regional surveys (Foster 1996). Most of the publications written by maritime archaeologists in Australia in recent years have generally concentrated on individual site reports, thematic and site type interpretations, regional and national shipwreck surveys, artefacts conservation and catalogues, CRM and legislation (see Staniforth 1999).

In the last fifteen years, important improvements have been made concerning CRM approaches to Australia's historic wrecks, *in situ* conservation techniques, preservation and public education programmes. In this sense, strong community awareness has been encouraged about the need to protect submerged cultural heritage (McCarthy 2001: 17). Furthermore, some excellent artefact catalogues have been produced but little theory has been applied to interpret artefact databases, collections and assemblages. Nevertheless, Staniforth successfully applies to archaeology the explicit theoretical approach of the *Annales* school (see Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992; Staniforth 2001a, 2003a, b). He analyses the consumer society established in the Australian colonies between 1788 and the mid 19th century (Staniforth 1999, 2003a, b). Focusing on four case studies, he evaluates their material remains and the symbolic and cognitive meanings attached to them, highlighting the attitudes and negotiation of social relations manifested by early British colonisers (Staniforth 1991, 2001a, b). McCarthy's work is another example of new approaches to maritime archaeology in Australia (McCarthy 2000, 2002). He focuses on the wreck of the iron screw steamship *Xantho* which sank in 1872 on the Western coast of Australia (*ibid.*). By combining material and archival data, McCarthy attempts to move beyond particularist descriptions to actively examine and interpret the social context and behaviour of the people involved in this wreck (McCarthy 2000: 2, 190-199). These and other examples (e.g. Brooks 2002; Crook et al 2002) are indicating that the orientation of Australian maritime archaeology has been shifting from description to interpretation.

3.3 THE CASE STUDIES

3.3.1 The *Swift* Project

The *Swift* project is presented as an example of the current state of underwater archaeology in Argentina. The remains of the sloop HMS *Swift* remained totally unknown for over two centuries. In 1982, they were found by a group of local divers from Puerto Deseado, Santa Cruz Province, Patagonia (Figure 3.1). The search for the wreck was due to research by an Australian, Patrick Gower, descendant of one of the Lieutenants of the *Swift*, Sir Erasmus Gower. After the discovery, the province of Santa Cruz declared the site of historical interest and incorporated it into its cultural heritage register (provincial decree 1430/83). By then, however, the random removal of dozens of artefacts was taking place, to be stored at the Regional and Provincial Mario Brozoski Museum of Puerto Deseado (MRPMB).



Figure 3-1. Map of Patagonia

The *Swift* site is located some 40 metres from the north shore of Deseado estuary, and 60 metres west of the last wharf of the harbour

(Figure 3.2). The ship is orientated with the bow towards the northwest at a depth at high tide ranging from 13 metres at the bow to 18 metres at the stern.

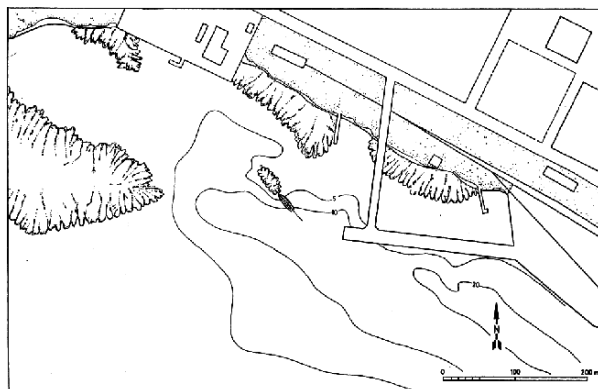


Figure 3-2. Location of the *Swift* wreck in the harbour of Puerto Deseado (Drawing: C. Murray 1993)

In 1986, the local Municipality contacted the Argentinean International Council of Monuments and Sites Underwater Heritage Working Group (GTPS-ICOMOS) asking for advice on survey, rescue and conservation techniques. At that time, there were no underwater archaeologists in Argentina and the activities undertaken by the GTPS-ICOMOS were done to the best of their ability but without scientific or archaeological academic formation. The conservation of the remains recovered was performed in the Brozoski museum. However, there were no academically trained specialists in the conservation of marine objects. Therefore, basic terrestrial conservation criteria were used. The GTPS-ICOMOS work was interrupted for several reasons, mainly financial. In 1994, again without archaeological participation, the Albenga private foundation carried out a new, non-intrusive field season at the site mainly aimed at completing the recording plan of the site (García Cano 1997, 1998).

In 1994, a new stage in Argentinean underwater archaeology began with the creation of the programme “Investigation and Conservation of the Argentinean Underwater Cultural Heritage” directed by Dolores Elkin at the INAPL (Elkin 2002). Its significance is that, for first time in Argentina, there was a team composed of archaeologists who are also scuba divers directing and developing the archaeological research (Elkin & Dellino 1998). From an interdisciplinary approach, the archaeologists-

divers Amaru Argüeso, Virginia Dellino-Musgrave, Mónica Grosso and Damián Vainstub; the museum conservator Alberto Orsetti; the marine biologist Ricardo Bastida; the professional diver Pancho Requelme; and the architect Cristian Murray; with the addition of several volunteers in the areas of archaeology, history, conservation and diving formed the basic team.

In 1997, within this programme and on the basis of an agreement between the government of Santa Cruz province and the National Secretary of Culture, a new stage of work on the *Swift* project began. The provincial authorities of Santa Cruz through Maria Isabel Sanguinetti, director of the Regional and Provincial Mario Brozoski Museum (MRPMB) and general co-ordinator of the *Swift* Project at that time, requested scientific-technical assistance. Since then the INAPL underwater archaeology team has been investigating the *Swift* wreck. It is the first time that a national organisation with specialised academic training based on cultural heritage has worked together with provincial and municipal authorities (Dellino & Endere 2001: 223).

This joint work between the INAPL and provincial and municipal authorities is highlighting and promoting the historical and cultural relevance of the *Swift* wreck. The excellent preservation of this wreck and its cargo highlights its archaeological potential (Bastida et al 2004; Dellino-Musgrave 2005; Dellino & Endere 2001; Elkin et al in press). Hundreds of objects have been registered and some of them have been recovered (approximately 300) including artillery in the form of cannons and ammunitions, tableware and kitchen utensils, and also some clothes, furniture and other personal objects (see Elkin et al in press). This book focuses on pottery assemblages because they provide important information about past societies concerning aspects of trade, vested interests, movement and trajectory of people and artefacts. The analysis of these aspects allowed interpretations about the material projection of British identities in remote areas during the 18th century (Chapters 7 and 8).

Up to December 1999, the National Secretary of Culture provided the majority of financial support to the *Swift* project. At the moment of publishing this book, this source of funding has been completely cut off due to changes of government authorities. The *Prefectura Naval Argentina* (Argentinean Coast Guard) and the Navy have always provided permanent logistical support. The *Swift* project was supported by the Antorchas Foundation whose grants were mostly invested in graduate research scholarships. Nevertheless, the Antorchas Grant was not enough to maintain the whole project. The *Swift* project suffers from a lack of financial support for salaries for permanent researchers involved in the

project, fieldwork seasons and conservation facilities seriously affecting its development and continuity (Dellino & Endere 2001: 224).

The Brozoski museum has two functions during the fieldwork season: laboratory for conservation treatments and a place for research activities. Currently, it has problems with a lack of space for the proper conservation, storage and display of the material recovered from the *Swift*. The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Charter (ICOMOS 1998) emphasises the availability of funds in advance but, specifically regarding infrastructural issues, some funds were recently given to the museum by the provincial authorities of Santa Cruz Government to improve its facilities. Since January 2002, because of the financial crisis in Argentina, those funds have ceased. However, some funding from the Municipality of Puerto Deseado has been recently given to the project, aiming to undertake a fieldwork season in November 2005.

Concerning conservation, the INAPL underwater archaeology team decided not to lift objects from the wreck until an effective preservation treatment could be ensured. Nevertheless, an agreement has been reached in the last field season (March 2003) between the Brozoski museum and the INAPL team adapted to the financial crisis that Argentina is going through. International co-operation (mentioned in the ICOMOS Charter, art. 15, 1998) became a crucial issue regarding conservation training. During the February 2001 fieldwork season, the British Embassy in Buenos Aires supported an exchange programme with the Collections Department of the Mary Rose Trust (United Kingdom). Through this institutional exchange, staff received more qualified training in conservation techniques and treatments applicable to submerged artefacts improving the previous knowledge that the team already had. This intends to be an initial step in the development of long-term international co-operative programmes which aim to preserve finds and prevent deterioration (ICOMOS 1998), safeguarding the shipwreck material for future interpretation and display.

The archaeological techniques applied to the underwater work at the *Swift* site were structured around the general project research goals and hypotheses. These included exploring possible contacts between the French and the British in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands; specific reasons for the *Swift* journey to the Patagonian coast; life on board of the *Swift*; and the material counterparts of the technological innovations of the time amongst others (for further detail see Elkin et al 2001: 148); and, within these my specific research topic (see Chapter 1; Dellino 2002). One of the first tasks was to draw a basic two-dimensional plan of the *Swift* site. This consisted of a baseline placed along the maximum length of the site which allowed each item of interest to be related to the base plan, and provide an adequate platform for the work. This basic plan was made during the two

field seasons undertaken in 1998. Since then, this plan became an indispensable point of reference providing a physical framework for the different tasks performed at the site (Figure 3.3).

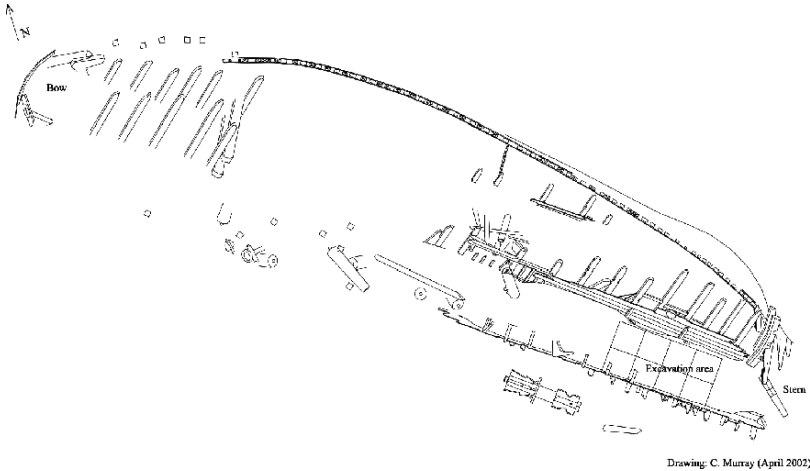


Figure 3-3. Plan of the *Swift* wreck site

The *Swift* wreck site presents particular diving conditions (*cf.* Elkin et al 2001). Consequently, the selection of the excavation zones was based on the following criteria:

- a) to maximise the safety conditions for underwater work,
- b) to represent sectors of the ship which were considered functionally different based on historical documents, and
- c) to focus on those sectors with high concentration of exposed materials where there is a greater risk of deterioration or loss.

Therefore, because of these criteria, it was decided to begin the excavation at the stern of the wreck, which is associated with the officers' quarters. Most of the material analysed in this book was recovered from the stern of the wreck potentially biasing the archaeological interpretations. However, data from other 18th century reported cargoes recovered from British wrecks and coastal settlements were studied allowing meaningful comparisons to strengthen my arguments going beyond descriptive analysis of wrecks and their cargoes (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

Because of the natural site conditions, a water dredge was used for the excavation activities allowing good control over sediment removal with a reduced risk of disturbing small or delicate artefacts during excavation. Whilst excavation was undertaken, the respective plans were completed with three-dimensional measurements. All artefacts were photographed, filmed and/or drawn *in situ*. Later some were extracted and transported to the Brozski Museum (MRPMB) of Puerto Deseado where the respective stabilisation and conservation phases are implemented.

3.3.2 The *Sirius* Project

The *Sirius* case study is presented as an example of the current status of Australian maritime archaeology. The British ship HMS *Sirius* was lost in 1790 in the turbulent waters of Kingston (Norfolk Island) (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 7).

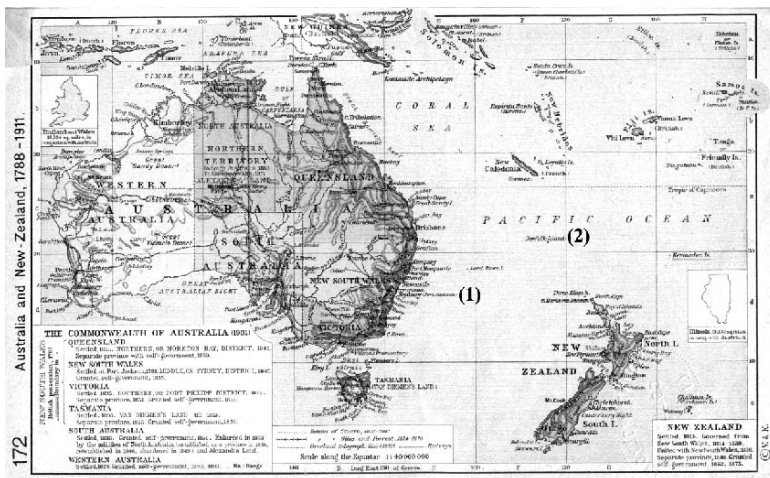


Figure 3-4. Location of Port Jackson (1) and Norfolk Island (2) in the Southeast coast of Australia (Source: The Historical Atlas by William R. Shepherd (1923: 172), On line: <http://www.luptravel.com/worldmaps/history-australia-pacific3.html>)

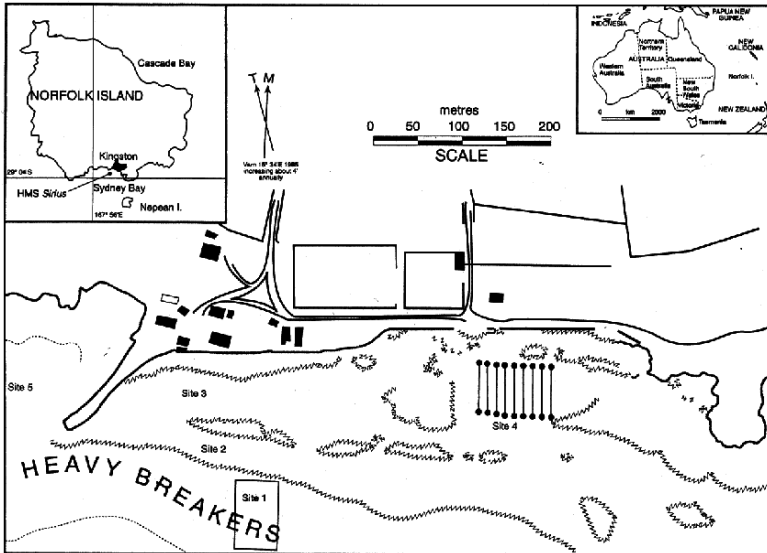


Figure 3-5. HMS *Sirius* wreck site location, in Sydney Bay, Norfolk Island (Source: Stanbury 1994: 2)

Norfolk Island is a territory of Australia, in the South Western Pacific Ocean, about 1000 miles northeast of Port Jackson (Sydney) (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). The wreck location has been known since it sunk. For example, throughout the 19th century one of the anchors remained visible on the wreck site at low tide and it was of great interest to visitors to Norfolk Island (Henderson & Stanbury 1988). However, it was not until 1982 in connection with the Australian Bicentennial Celebrations that a project was established to investigate the *Sirius* site. The Australian Bicentennial Authority provided funds and, in 1983, it was announced that a survey was planned to determine what remained of the wreck. Therefore, fieldwork seasons were undertaken in 1985, 1987 and 1988 within which the site was surveyed and mapped (see Stanbury 1994: 3). The surveying technique used was baseline trilateration (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 103-106), based on a relatively level horizontal plane across which to measure (for further details on this technique see Gould 2000: 36-38). Magnetometer search for iron objects was also performed over a gridded area on the *Sirius* site (for further details see Henderson & Stanbury 1988).

The *Sirius* project has been a very successful maritime archaeology project completed in Australian waters (Henderson & Stanbury 1988). The principal aims were to answer archaeological questions relating to the process of wrecking, the construction, fitting out and maintenance of the

Sirius and its sailing ability; to complete the conservation and documentation of the artefact collection and to develop a management plan for the *Sirius* wreck site (Stanbury 1994). A significant quantity of the artefacts was recovered from the wreck (e.g. rigging and fittings, different types of artefacts linked to armament, navigational instruments, case bottles, stoneware and Chinese porcelain are some examples) and published in an illustrated catalogue compiled by Stanbury (1994). The material culture assemblage from this wreck site has provided new understanding of the events of the wrecking of the *Sirius* on 19th March 1790 and Australia's early colonial history (Henderson & Stanbury 1988; Stanbury 1994).

The wreck of the *Sirius* is one of the shallowest and yet most dangerous dive sites in Australia. The site is hard to get to because of the white water surf conditions, seabed vegetation and marine life (Henderson & Stanbury 1988). Several site expeditions have been undertaken since 1985, investigations that have been helping to prove or disprove hypotheses relating to the colonisation of Australia. This is one of the main reasons why this wreck has been selected for my current research. The other one is that it was a Royal Navy ship at the end of the 18th century, and also because of the central role that this ship played during the 'First Fleet' voyage and the establishment of the first colonial British settlement at Port Jackson (Sydney today), NSW. Finally, Norfolk Island was strategically used by the British to provide provisions for their colonial settlement in Port Jackson, the *Sirius* being commissioned to pursue this goal in its last voyage (Chapters 6 and 8).

The Norfolk community knows that the wreck on their reef is one of 'colonial' Australia's most important sites but they are not actively involved or encouraged to interact with the site mainly because of its risky nature. Divers can access the area but are not allowed to remove anything. The Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976 and Norfolk Island Government Legislation provide the legal protection.

3.4 SUMMARY

The intention of this chapter was to present a brief summary of the current state of historical and maritime archaeology in Argentina and Australia presenting the *Swift* and the *Sirius* as examples. One of the most recurrent criticisms of maritime archaeology in general has been that it has focused on sites from the last 500 years and that it includes large amounts of descriptive information derived mainly from historical sources (e.g. archives and manuscripts). Placing individual wreck sites within their historical context is certainly important but understanding them as

material products of human action provides meaningful interpretations about past societies that have proved to be rare, especially in Argentina. Fortunately, the research focus has been changing in the last few years.

From both social and archaeological perspectives, this book explores maritime and historical issues. Ships and their associated artefacts are considered the result of social actions which reflect European powers in competition, their maritime activities and strategies applied and the identities expressed. In the next chapter, I explore some key aspects in relation to social theory and its archaeological application in my current research.

Chapter 4

MEANING AND SOCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

*‘Accepting that the social is a relational field rather than an object engineered by human minds, it becomes easier to recognise the inherently social character of material culture’
(Thomas 2000b: 153)*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Space and time are the two inseparable dimensions that archaeologists use to contextualise and interpret past human actions, but how are they understood? This book argues that time and space are mutually produced through human action; here they are discussed separately simply for organisational purposes. In this chapter, within a social approach, I propose an alternative construction of time and space which considers two basic dimensions in social life: mutuality and materiality (Gosden 1994). The archaeological application of this approach is explored through British action at the end of the 18th century as well as the British perception of space and time as reflected in the exploration of new lands and the planned colonisation of new territories (Chapter 8). Furthermore, social beings are created through interactions and involvements that engage them with others in daily activities (Section 4.2.3).

People engage with the world through materiality (*cf.* Gosden 1994). They justify themselves as ‘being-in-the-world’ (see Heidegger 1996), creating and projecting their social identities through the use and manipulation of goods (Chapter 5). People actively manipulate things according to their own necessities and interests allowing them to construct, maintain and transform their social relations. Therefore, material things contribute to the creation of complex interactions between people exemplified in capitalistic contexts (Chapter 5). In this way, material culture is understood as a dynamic signifying force with artefacts mediating social relations. The concept of practical action or *praxis* argues for a constant interaction between people and their material world (Section 4.3). The study of this materiality of social relations, using the

concept of *praxis*, enables an innovative examination of British action at the end of the 18th century challenging traditional maritime approaches (see Chapter 7). In chapter 5, I propose the methodologies used to understand how identities are constructed and expressed in the Royal Navy contexts and in new British colonial spaces. Its archaeological application is further developed in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.2 SPACE, TIME AND SOCIAL BEINGS

4.2.1 Space, Landscapes and Places

In general, processualists have explored space through economic and ecological approaches comprising mainly of: 1) space as a resource (e.g. Binford 1992; Dunnell 1992; Jarman et al 1972), 2) social relations in space (between people, nature and things) (Binford 1983b, c; Jarman et al 1972; Redman 1978), and 3) movement through space (Binford 1983a; Vita-Finzi & Higgs 1970; Wallerstein 1979b, 1980). Understanding space as a resource through ecological and economic approaches has been heavily criticised (see Gosden 1994; Hodder 2004; Ingold 1993; Preucel & Meskell 2004; Tilley 1994). This critique mainly argues that space has been dehumanised and therefore placed outside of context and time (Gosden 1994).

In this research, **space** is understood as a medium rather than a container for action. Space is involved in action (Gosden 1994; Tiller 1994: 10; see Figure 4.1), where action is seen as ‘doing’ (see Chapter 1). ‘Doing’ is involved in the daily construction of social relations. Therefore, space is created by social relations being space relational and differentially produced and experienced in daily practice. Hence, its constitution and dynamism takes place in the everyday activities of individuals and groups at both local and global scales. As Aldenderfer and Maschner (1996) noted ‘...whatever the theory, space is an intrinsic property of life and society’ (Aldenderfer & Maschner 1996: 18). Space is a general concept that only becomes meaningful as place. **Place** is a centre of cultural meanings and **landscapes** are constituted by a number of places (see Ingold 2002). Following Hirsch (1995), I argue that landscapes are constantly constructed in the process of living (Figure 4.1). This process relates everyday social life (or foreground) to a potential social existence (or background), both existing in a process of mutual implication (Hirsch 1995: 4-5 and 22-23). In Hirsch’s terms the foreground would be ‘place’ and the background would be ‘space’. Hence, space provides a situational context for places and its meanings are

derived from particular places (Tilley 1994: 15). Puerto Deseado (place) is contextualised in the South Atlantic (space). In this book its ‘meanings’ are analysed in terms of British social contexts, pursuing the idea that such places overlap according to different scales of action. Hence, the integration of local and global scales of analysis is key in this research (see Chapter 8). As illustrated in figure 4.1, places are interwoven with identities being part of continuous human action. In this way, place is contextualised according to the activities within which its inhabitants are engaged. This engagement with the world draws on a unique significance to each place. Consequently, I emphasise the interpretation of **landscapes** in terms of experience of ‘being-in-the-world’, by which I mean the way in which people deal with the world and construct it in relation to others (Heidegger 1996: 7-10). Being-in-the-world leads us to the concept of *habitus* developed by Bourdieu (1990); *habitus* underlies human behaviour, practices and the way that people identify themselves in relation to others (Bourdieu 1990: 56-61). People in social or spatial proximity who share certain experiences will share certain elements of the same *habitus* (Thomas 1996: 49) because *habitus* structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences (Bourdieu 1990: 60; further discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1). Furthermore, ‘being and knowing have different purposes; the latter can direct our attentions, the former directs our actions’ (Gosden 1994: 61).

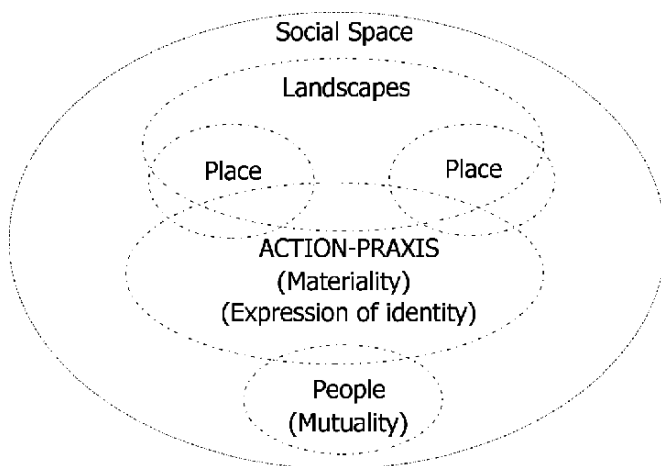


Figure 4-1. The author’s understanding of space, landscapes and places within human action

The way that the British perceived ‘space’ in the 18th century would have conditioned their actions, the way that the strategies of colonisation were developed and executed, new lands were explored and new colonies planned and established. Investment of time, energy and resources need to be justified in a world of constant expansion where possession of new territories represented power and control amongst competing colonialists. The ability of people to position themselves in time and space during the process of European colonisation depended upon interactions between them and the world (Chapter 8). Human experience, perception, attachment and involvement are all contextually constituted, providing particular settings for the creation of meanings. From my reading of historical sources (Chapters 6 and 8) it can be said that British experiences and perceptions of space varied, which I shall illustrate with reference to the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia. In this way, space is intimately involved in the formation of biographies (Tilley 1994) by the active construction of social relations through practice and experience.

Places are created and known through common experiences, symbols and meanings (Tilley 1994: 18). Place is both external and internal to the human subject, a personally embedded centre of meanings and a physical locus for action. For example, the identification of particular topographical features such as bays and inlets, mountain peaks, settlements and sites is crucial for the establishment and maintenance of identity. During his voyage to Patagonia Byron describes: ‘..., we saw a *remarkable rock*, rising from the water like a steeple, on the south side of the entrance of Port Desire; *this rock is an excellent mark to know the harbour*, which it would otherwise be difficult to find’ (Byron 1773: 50; my emphasis). This rock was even recorded by the Dutch sailor Le Maire in his voyage to the area in the 17th century (Destéfani 1984: 256 and Figure 4.2). Through informal talks with people from Puerto Deseado in the 2001 fieldwork season, this rock, currently known as ‘*Piedra Toba*’, gives identity to Puerto Deseado and its locales. It also carries a special meaning contained in the oral tradition that ‘if anyone touches the rock this person will come back to the beautiful and magic Patagonia’ (Omar Juanola *pers. comm.* Jan. 2001). Therefore, through the act of naming and the development of human associations, places become invested with meaning and significance.

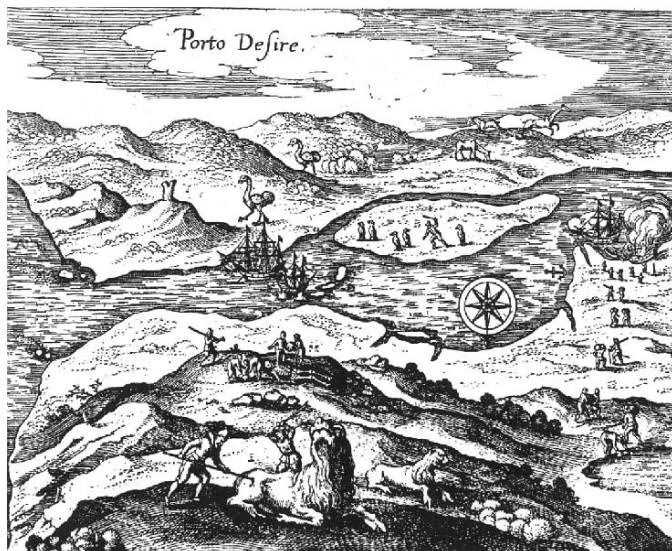


Figure 4-2. Map of Puerto Deseado according to Le Maire (1614-1618), illustrating the *Piedra Toba* on the top left corner. Map taken from *Mapoteca del Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales* (Buenos Aires), Armada de la República Argentina. Ref. No. A-8

4.2.2 The Interpretation of Social Landscapes

This research focuses on the interpretation of social landscapes, arguing that landscapes are components of human involvement in continuous action. In maritime archaeology the idea of ‘maritime cultural landscape’ has been introduced by Westerdahl (1992, 1994) who understood it as referring to remnants of maritime culture on land as well as underwater (Westerdahl 1992: 5; also see Parker 2001: 23-26). He understands it as the human utilisation of maritime economies: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping and its attendant subcultures (Westerdahl 1992: 5, 1994: 267). He emphasises the understanding of maritime landscapes in comparison to their terrestrial counterparts, arguing that cultural layers are concentrated on land as well as underwater. His economic approach takes ‘cultures’ as units of analysis rather than focusing on social relations. He also underlines the ‘density and geographical distribution of human activities’ (Westerdahl 1992: 6). Thus, space is considered external to action and solely as a surface for action, Westerdahl’s approach having some limitations. His geographical and economic emphasis minimises the understanding of social time, space, action, and ‘landscapes of habit’. Landscapes of habit are constructed by those habitual-taken-for-granted actions by which we live most of our lives (Gosden 1994: 182).

Furthermore, the concept of maritime landscape minimises social constructions by implying the existence of another landscape that is terrestrial or non-maritime. This use limits our understanding of cultural remains dispersed on the surface as something external to the social actions and perceptions that were involved in the construction of landscapes. Instead, in this book it is assumed that spaces and places relationally constitute wider contexts for social practices within landscapes (Tilley 1994: 22). Daily practice and habitual ways of acting provide the matrix of perception, appreciation and action (Bourdieu 1977: 83) whether these practices are undertaken on land or water. In this way, I move away from the dialectic notion of nature/culture arguing that people and environment are constituent components of the same world (Ashmore 2004; Darvill 2001: 39; Gojda 2001: 9; Ingold 1993: 154). Therefore, nature is present in the physical landscape (Pickering 1994: 149) but it is not external to it; it is not divorced from the social space. Nature becomes cultural in the ways that people use it or perceive it, culture being the specific content of social form (Friedman 1994: 34). Nature and culture are separate but at the same time linked in the social world.

From a cultural perspective, Stuart (1998) introduces the concept of 'seascape' defining it as an area of land and sea (*ibid.*: 99). Similarly, Phillips (2003) defines it as the point where land and sea meet (*ibid.*: 372). Stuart tried to understand social relations in sealing and whaling industries in Australia but found a limitation: 'Landscape studies have used the built environment as an analytical data set (e.g. gardens, cityscapes) however the lack of such features is characteristic of whaling and most notably sealing, thus reducing the data available for the analysis' (Stuart 1998: 100). To avoid this limitation, this book follows the idea that the sea provides an extra dimension to the way the world is understood and perceived (see Cooney 2003; Phillips 2003). Therefore, social relations are explored through the analysis of material remains such as ceramics (as part of the *Swift* and *Sirius* cargoes), wreck frequencies, settlements location, and the circulation of goods, people and ideas. Human action, whether on land and/or sea, is part of social relationships; land and sea being integrated through the idea of **social landscapes**. The 'social' assists in avoiding environmental determinisms by placing human action and social relations in context (Gosden & Head 1994: 113). The concept of 'landscape' integrates these, acting as a context where space and time are mutually produced and where social action takes place. Social landscape and the landscape of habit influence each other and are embedded in each other (Gosden 1994). Human involvement, through *praxis*, structures the **temporality** of landscapes by inscribing them with meaning. By addressing the varied activities and processes that occur

within time through the concept of temporality, we can explore the ways that people engaged with the world through materiality (see Table 5.1).

Material culture plays an active role in social action and places are understood in relation to others. In this book, ships and their cargoes are considered as carriers of social significance. Material culture is therefore internal and not external to our social being. Material culture is involved in action and it is through action, through 'doing', that social relations are created (Gell 1998: ix). While innovations are always possible, people still use long traditions and these traditions form a background from which actions flow through and within material and social settings. Previous knowledge and experience would form a reference system from which the British colonisers and explorers would draw further knowledge and potential future actions about landscapes. For example, regularly re-visiting places could ascribe them with greater intensities of social significance and value. The re-visiting of certain areas implies the accumulation of knowledge, and better assessments for the planning of future colonies. Hence, geography and material culture are intrinsically linked, becoming part of each other. They provide markers on the landscape, conveying social significance through memory and knowledge of places in past, present and future times.

In attempting to understand processes of European colonisation and expansion, this book links ideas relating to time, space and society. For example, regarding the establishment of human settlements in specific areas: Why that area? What motivated Europeans to choose that region and not another? What interests were involved? What were their perceptions of the landscape and the construction of it? How did Europeans create and project their identities in this new space? The repetition of actions in the same locality results in spots on the landscape that we call sites. The challenge lies in taking the study of material culture beyond the limits of the site; discovering social features which relate to actors' lives, the meanings and uses of artefacts that archaeologists study (Matthews 1999: 263). In my case study, action is not only understood at a regional level, it is structured across the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. But how? European activities are explored in relation to powers in competition through patterns of mobility at sea, their links to coastal areas, and their relation to navigational skills. As evidenced by the spatial distribution of wrecks in the South Atlantic, identification of densities and changes in material culture are analysed and discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.2.3 Social Time

In this book, time is not conceived as linear or as simply providing a chronological frame of reference. I understand time as a crucial element in human life and in order to comprehend it archaeologists need to use concepts which can involve temporality and change. Through the concept of temporality, time is understood in terms of human actions taking place in space. Actions occur within social contexts: their construction in the present must not be seen as having a fixed boundary because boundaries are continuously changing through social relations in time-space.

Table 4-1. Summary of frameworks for interpreting time

	<i>DESCRIPTIVE TIME</i> (= <i>measured time</i>)	<i>EXPERIENCED TIME</i> (= <i>temporality, social time</i>)
Characteristics	- it is linear \Rightarrow date-orientated - it is omnipresent - constructed in sequences	- created through social practice - different practices have different structures of time
Absolute time	- calendar time - scientific techniques (e.g. C14)	- physical limits to action - agreed collative referents
Relative time	- by association with absolute time	- part of temporal structures open to change

Gosden (1994) emphasises the need to conceptualise the way human practice creates and makes use of time, understanding time in a twofold way: **measured time** and **experienced or human time** (Table 4.1). The first can be seen as comprised of sequential moments, leading us to the notions of typologies and chronological sequences. In contrary, experienced time is not purely successive and challenges measurement. Past, present and future are complex products, with elements of the past retained and the future anticipated. The distinction between measured and experienced time is important in archaeology because we deal with both trying to understand human creation of experienced time within a chronological framework created by measured time. In this book, British action is analysed in two different areas: the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia. The focus is on the 18th century (measured time) and British activities are an example of experienced time, based on past and present social actions and perceptions, present interests and anticipated futures. The need to expand European domains in the form of new colonies and the strategies used are considered as related to past, present and future actions. There is a need to acquire knowledge about the area to be conquered, identify motives that justify that action, plan strategies of conquest, and consider future benefits that justify the investment of

energy and effort in the conquest strategies. Thus, the past is a resource for deriving knowledge to guide future social action. Moreover, situations of unpredictable risk and the ways people dealt with them must also be considered since these were quite common in long-sea voyages.

All action is timed action, using the imprint of the past to create an anticipation of the future (Gosden 1994: 17) – therefore, ‘the fundamental phenomenon of time is the future’ (Heidegger 1996: 14). Time, space and social relations are intrinsically linked together. Consequently, time and space cannot be tied to a singular linear meaning (Gell 1998). Because it is constructed in social reality, the possibility of change is always open. People and change are located in the *praxis* of actions in time and space. People’s position in the world is under constant construction in relation to others through daily practice. Thus, social identities are constantly constructed in the social dimensions of mutuality and materiality (Section 4.3.1). Hence, changes in patterns of practice have a reflexive relationship within the structure of social formations. Time and space become part of the structure of habitual action where they are created on a number of different levels through social action. Action has a regional structure to it: there are points in the landscape where people are intimately involved with the world and points where little activity is undertaken. This issue is explored through the frequencies of wrecks and coastal settlements in the areas under study (Chapter 8).

If time is created through social practice, and different practices have different structures of time (Shanks & Tilley 1987), then we would expect the British activities in the South Atlantic and in Southeast Australia to have similar structures of action. Nevertheless, social action varies according to different perceptions and accumulation of knowledge, and social space is therefore differentially constructed. Colonisation implied new spatial and social arrangements introducing new elements in the form of material culture (see Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999). In late 18th-19th centuries, new colonies were mostly dependent on outside sources. The colonising strategies used, trade patterns and the level and nature of dependency changed as the colonial settlement developed. The means of production needed to produce, package, store and transport consumer goods which were vital in establishing a colony (Staniforth 1999, 2001b, 2003a). In Australia, the period and degree of dependency on external sources of supply varied according to factors such as social demands in the establishment and importation of means of production into the colony; a process that introduced new elements into the material world (Butlin 1994). If these movements were similar in both areas under analysis we should expect similarities in landscape patterning and material culture. For example, the distribution of pottery can be seen as a lasting network of connections which extend in space. Densities of pottery designs and their

geographical distributions create a network of presences and absences, an extensive plot of connections over a vast area, structuring time and space and shaping and bonding the social world. Material culture can provide a sense of continuity through the vagaries of life. Here, the notion of 'dynamic traditionalism' can be used to explore how material culture creates traditions within a dynamic framework. 'Tradition ... represents the moral command of 'what went before' over the continuity of day-to-day life.' (Giddens 1984: 200). This particular form of material culture and symbolism can only be understood from within the flow of life, as it is used to bind people and help them cope with spatial and temporal problems.

4.2.4 Social Beings

In the previous pages, I have argued that people create space and time through action, being components of and not containers of action (Giddens 1984; Gosden 1994; Tilley 1994). Social beings are known through interaction and involvement, being engaged with others in a variety of activities during their daily life. In this way, human action creates space and chains of action create time and, at the same time, habitual actions are shaped by time and space (Gosden 1994: 19). Therefore, people are seen as the active element and the physical surrounding constitutes the raw material to be shaped by the social process (*ibid.*: 80). For example, consumer interests could have shaped the construction of British identities (Chapter 7); and British interests could have been focused on the presence of profitable resources in Patagonia and Southern Australian waters to satisfy those consumer interests (Chapter 8).

People understand and experience the world in different ways, which helps us to understand the relationship between 'being' and 'being-in-the-world'. Maps and charts cannot be divorced from the practices, interests and understandings of their makers and users. At the same time, the production and use of maps entail the ability to identify one's current or intended future with a spatial or geographic location. In other words, knowing where one is means identifying one's position in the world (Ingold 2002). But being-in-the-world means not only finding out where one is physically but also socially. People are products of history and all elements of human personality are socially created. Through *habitus* people construct their position in the world because *habitus* is a historical product (Chapter 5). It produces individual and collective practices in accordance with schemes generated by history (Bourdieu 1990: 54). Persons change through the process of interacting with the world in socially 'approved' ways (rules or regulated activities in Giddens' terms;

Giddens 1984) and create both a view of the world and a view of the self that helps to construct identities.

Cultural identities are continuously generated by people to reinforce their existence (Friedman 1994). For example, on long sea journeys, it was common for regular officers to take some of their own household possessions. This attitude illustrates not only some of people's *habitus* on board but also their contexts of origin (Chapter 7). In this way, identities are differential as well as always incomplete because of potentially infinite social relations. In different social situations, individuals can construct aspects of differentiation (Shennan 1994). Consequently, I argue that people should be considered as *actors in process*, in a constant state of creation and re-creation of the self. Identities are therefore fluid, open to change as life is experienced and if the opportunity arises open to negotiation and manipulation. Identities are constructed and projected in the process of daily living, keeping '... a sense that what is remembered will change the environment in which other will act.' (Denning 1992: 199). This book argues that British identities were re-created in the Royal Navy and new colonial environments through *habitus* by giving a sense of continuity, by keeping memory from the homeland alive, and by reproducing a system that the British already knew (Chapters 5 and 7). Habitual ways of acting are explored through the circulation and consumption of goods, especially variability in types of pottery, and settlement organisation and location amongst others (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). British identities were culturally and temporally situated and it was through social action and interaction that these identities were constructed. Such identities, generated in everyday practice, were constantly re-created and projected in the multi-varied experiences of living (Friedman 1994). This perspective implies that the social sphere is open to transformations which are constituted in practice. Identities are then established in *praxis* (see Shanks & Tilley 1987). Meanings are created through social relations and the interaction between people and their material world (*praxis*), these concepts being discussed in the following sections.

4.3 MATERIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THE MEANING OF THINGS

This book explores the materiality of social relations by analysing the embedded and attached meanings to objects in the Royal Navy, naval settlements and colonial spaces. Different approaches to the analysis of the meaning of material culture have been explored in archaeology. Various authors have argued that the role played by material culture, the material world or world of goods is one of the most important features of

capitalism and colonialism (Brewer & Porter 1993; Douglas & Isherwood 1979; Eaton 2003; Miller 1995a). However, difficulties in defining culture and theorising its relationship to material objects persist (see Beaudry 1996; Hides 1996; Preucel & Hodder 1996; Shennan 1994). A brief review of this issue is given in the following pages.

A holistic approach can be used to study culture because different aspects that structure society such as technology, economy, politics and ideology (including symbolism) are involved. Culture is integral to society thus more attention should be paid to social processes and to the imprint of cognition on material things (Yentsch & Beaudry 1992). Culture is not equal to people, it is not a universal mental process. It is a set of fluid perceptions and expectations subject to both change and continuity (Mrozowski 1996: 453). Therefore, different social forces and the historical context in which people live influence perceptions and expectations. That is why material culture can be understood as a 'signifying force' (Shanks & Tilley 1987: 104) and is 'meaningfully constituted' (Hodder 2000a: 87). Shackel claims that '... material culture is a communicator of varying messages and may symbolise status, wealth and/or group identity' (Shackel 1993: 80). For example, in mid 18th century colonial America, the amount of goods that people owned helped to differentiate themselves from others but people were further distinguished by the type of material that they possessed as an indicator of status (Shackel 1993). Consequently, artefacts mediate social relations; through material culture people construct a significant part of their world, as well as interact with others in society. This is part of the process of constructing identities in the Royal Navy, naval settlements and colonial spaces which are explored through the pottery cargoes of the *Swift* and *Sirius* wrecks (see Chapter 7). Despite the importance of food, clothing and shelter, material culture is more complex than simply satisfying the utilitarian or basic needs of people (Staniforth 1999). It contributes, for example, to the positioning of people in time-space through heterogeneous networks that bind people and things together (Thomas 2000b: 152). I explore these networks by analysing the circulation of goods, the location of settlements and the distributions of wrecks in the South Atlantic. Through this analysis, I interpret the connection with places, people and things (Section 4.4.2 and Chapter 8).

Trying to establish the meaning of things has not been an easy task. Many authors have assumed that objects, artefacts, or what archaeologists refer to as material culture, are culturally meaningful, arguing that material culture functions as a tool and/or as information, being organised by concepts and ideas which give it meaning (Burke 1999; Hodder 1992; Hodder 2000a, b; Thomas 2000b). Recently, there has been a growing interest in archaeology in the representation and interpretation of material

culture and the meaning of goods (e.g. Andrén 1998; Buchli & Lucas 2001; Gamble 1995; Hodder 2000a; Miller 1987; Shanks & Tilley 1992; Tilley 1993). Objects carry meanings which are often attached to people according to the shape, texture, colour, decoration, use and discard of the object (Kopytoff 1986). Moreover, these attached meanings are variable and differ according to spatial, temporal/historical, and social contexts. That is to say that they vary in relation to the role they play in social relations, how artefacts were manipulated and negotiated, and the way different cultures and individuals attach diverse meanings to a particular object in different times and contexts (Champion 1995a; Hodder 1999; Hodder 2000a; Shanks & Tilley 1987). The result is that the meanings of an object can vary in different cultural and historical contexts making 'meaning' a more dynamic concept. As Hall says, this means that

'... the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, re-historicised and read anew' (Hall 2000: 38).

In Structuralism there are two main influences in understanding meaning: 1) an internal view where meaning derives from the relationship between words and concepts disregarding the links between people and the world; 2) a focus on language for understanding all forms of meaning (Gosden 1994: 45-46; Shanks & Tilley 1992: 253-254). Others agree that all goods carry meaning and that cultural meaning resides in the relationships between goods and people (e.g. Chilton 1999; Csikszentmihalyi 1993; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981; De Cunzo & Herman 1996; Shackel & Little 1992). Similarly, I follow the premise that people are not in the world in a purely spatial sense. There is an **active involvement** in people's material and non-material surroundings. Meaning does not only arise from contact with the world and material symbols do not form a closed structure of their own. People shape the world as the world shapes them in daily social relations.

Culture has an active meaning but in archaeological practice we cannot get at those meanings (*i.e.* the direct manifestation of identities). So, how do we understand and interpret what meanings should be appended to material remains? Following Gell (1998), we can look at how 'doing' may structure potential meanings and the forms of life and the identities expressed in daily activities. This emphasis should not be placed fully on meaning because this would limit our interpretations, lacking of a sense of human action in the world and its temporal structures. In other words, archaeologists need to explore how meaning derives from human action and the temporal nature of both meaningful and habitual, unthought/unconscious action.

The significance of things of the world is revealed in the way they are implicated in a set of relationships with others (Thomas 2000b). Things

are actively manipulated by people and seen as meaningfully constituted, with meaning defined as ‘message + context’ (Gamble 1995: 88; Gamble 2001: 126). Messages are the basis for the interpretation of the past. Choices in goods consumption carry messages that are explored through forms, types, quantities and qualities in ceramic production (Chapter 7). Context is everything, the lifespace where meaning is both restored and regained through actions by individuals, groups and institutions (Gamble 1995: 88). This book explores the messages conveyed in everyday practices in capitalistic and colonial contexts. Social practice offers a vision of the world in terms of habitual forms and principles of structural order that can be manipulated, having an effect of misrepresenting and representing strategies of social positioning (Shanks & Tilley 1992: 155). Hence, ‘... material culture only has ‘meaning’ as part of a network of relations that exist, or have existed, between many subjects and objects within a context of social relationships’ (Walsh 1992: 157 quoted in Staniforth 1999). In analysing and discussing both the historical and social contexts at the moment that HMS *Swift* sunk, this research applies a contextual approach (Chapters 6 and 8). This analysis focuses on people who were involved in the decision-making process, and the choice, transport, use and discard of material culture implicated in the area under study. Archaeologists can suggest possible answers to questions through the analysis of material evidence by understanding what an object signified within its historical and cultural context or ‘contextual archaeology’ (*sensu* Hodder 1994). This social or cultural archaeology recognises the complexity and variability of culture in the form of particular societies and communities within their specific historical contexts, and acknowledges the important role that the individual plays within societies (Staniforth 1999). Material culture has been thought of as technology, as a social product and as a carrier of meaning and knowledge (McGuire 1992). The meaning we arrive at is created in the present (Thomas 2000b); thus, meaning is a construction in a particular historical time and within a specific social context. The meaning of goods should not be understood in isolation but in relation to that particular social context (Csikszentmihalyi 1993; Hodder 2000a; Lightfoot & Martinez 1995; Mrozowski 1996).

4.3.1 Activities, People and the Material World

People used things in different ways as a part of particular social activities, rather than just as devices to cope with the environment (Johnson 2000). Therefore, material culture and social spheres cannot be considered separately (see Hodder 2004). Material culture is actively linked to our social lives and people manipulate goods according to their

own needs and interests. The word 'goods' is more flexible than 'commodities', as goods are understood as those things or possessions that are portable without necessarily having commercial values - as opposed to commodities, which are objects that can be sold to make profit. Here, the restriction of the word commodity to the commercial world is obvious with the term 'goods' being more appropriate for the general goals of this research (see Chapter 5). Thus, the material world is not just a simple reflection of how society was or is organised because the production of material culture is a social practice (see Beaudry et al 1991; Corbin 2000; De Cunzo 1996; Funari & Zarankin 2002; Ingold 1999; Shanks & Tilley 1992; Silliman 2001). In this research, patterns of action are studied through the interaction of social groups with their material world. For example, patterns in the pottery assemblages of the *Swift* are analysed through everyday habits linking contexts of materiality (Chapter 7).

Goods play an active role in cultural construction and deserve to be treated as an independent line of evidence (Matthews 1999; Potter 1992). In other words, meanings of material culture are manipulated by social actors, rather than passively reflecting them, both maintaining stability and producing a change in the rules and norms governing everyday social relations (Burke 1999; Johnson 1993, 1996; McGuire 1992). It also structures human action and shapes the social ties that link individuals and groups. In this way, we look at how action structures potential meanings and life-styles and the identities expressed in those activities by exploring action rather than meaning (Gell 1998). In this book, British action is analysed in relation to coastal settlements, ways of land use and management and the consumer goods that the British wanted and needed to reach their aims and 'satisfy their needs' – goods that either were or could be stamped with the imprint of culture (Staniforth 1999; Chapters 6 and 8). Due to its ability to carry meaning, material culture physically organises space and action (McGuire 1992: 103). Material culture signifies complex strings of associations that recall and rework history. This continual reworking extends into the present, affecting the way in which history is understood and how material culture is interpreted (Hall 2000: 152-53).

In this research, I consider the social dimensions of mutuality and materiality. The former involves human inter-relations comprising ways in which people are combined and divided as well as people's interaction with spatial structures of reference. The latter entails human relations with the world forming complex links between sites of production and consumption (see Gosden 1994: 82-84). Hence, they cannot be separated from social action because social relations can only be set up through making and using things. People consciously and unconsciously work together creating relations with the material world. This book focuses on

how people are directed towards the world as well as how the structure of the humanly-created-world opens up certain possibilities and closes others. People socialise within a particular place, providing a sense of possibilities and a series of material opportunities and constraints. Consequently, human beings minimise alienation by approaching the world from the inside, as discussed in Chapter 5. Gosden (2004) clearly explained this point by using the Papua New Guinea example explaining that ‘commodities’ can be alienated from the people who produced them. Transactions are constructed between individuals who remain independent of each other, diminishing the alienation process (*ibid.*: 92-104). I explore mutuality and materiality through the actions of the British in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia; their needs and desires; their construction and projection of identities; and their connection with things, things that people made, transported, commercialised and/or exchanged in the 18th century world.

The relationship between people and the material world lead us to the important concept of *praxis* (Section 4.4). Practical action or *praxis* involves practical working relationships. *Praxis* is therefore understood as a constant interaction between people and their material world. In other words, work cannot be measured separately from relationships (Strathern 1988: 160). In a capitalistic society material things create a complex interaction between people and the various materials they use to justify themselves and their social identities. Social action involves the movement of people and material things through the connections within space. Landscape and artefacts form a complex mixture of conscious and unconscious acts because human actors interact between the exercise of habit and thought. When everything develops as planned, habit is enough but when unexpected situations break down thought is required (Giddens 1984). Through the study of South Atlantic and Australian spaces I analyse this mixture of acts within British action. For example, competition between European countries for a specific area could have caused unpredictable and stressful situations. Therefore, the action applied would need to be thought through and adapted to those variable conditions (Chapters 6 and 8). Habit and thought are not separated; they are different elements of a single structure of action. This is explored by analysing patterns of material culture and their spatial distribution. I follow the argument that

‘Material culture entails the social relations that are the conditions for its existence. It exists not only in a context but it also helps to form it. It both structures human action and gives reality to the social ties that bind people together. It serves both as a model of and a model for social action’ (McGuire 1992: 104).

Hence, this book analyses the idea that material culture, within the 18th century social context, could become a vehicle for constructing identities, to reinforce positioning, legitimacy of status, and control.

For a better understanding of the problem under study this book claims a global scale of analysis with examples drawn from Britain and its impact on the South Atlantic and, to a lesser degree, Australian waters.

‘The whole world is subject to study, since one of the central planks of capitalism was the development of world markets and the integration of the globe...’ (Johnson 1993: 333).

Different aspects of material life were not simple or undifferentiated. Their transformation in the period between 1500-1800 was exactly that -‘a transformation’: it was not a quantifiable rise in the complexity or segmentation in material practices (Johnson 1993). In 16th century Britain, for example, there were changing patterns in food preparation and consumption, as well as changes in their social context, which were expressions of the changing patterns of social and material life (Deetz 1977; Johnson 1993). Thus, the reasons for using particular materials and the values embedded and attached to different goods are affected by changing technologies and perceptions which provide new insights into the understanding of material culture (Lubar & Kingery 1993). The capitalistic process is as much about changing ways of signifying meaning as the meanings themselves (Johnson 1993, 1996).

Material culture is therefore the product of thoughts, values and actions which have been determined by learned cultural meanings (Bavin 1989; Lubar & Kingery 1993). Cultural meaning provides the basis by which society organises and shapes its material world. Material culture has the potential to reveal the shared understandings of society and groups within it (Bavin 1989), and herein lies the importance of studying social processes through material relations. By applying the concept of temporality, social relations become fluid because they are transformed by action through time-space. In the following section, the aim is to demonstrate how changing social relations are materialised in the context of action.

4.4 PRAXIS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES THROUGH MATERIALITY

In the previous sections I explained my understanding of social being and the construction of identities and meaning, and briefly introduced the concept of *praxis*. Now it is necessary to discuss the ways in which social relations construct identities through practice and their material expressions. The ways to interpret production and circulation of material

culture in the context of social relations are also outlined in this section. In this research, material culture is seen to represent people, their social relations and personal biographies (see Gosden & Marshall 1999). Artefacts are explained in two ways, by moving: 1) from the objects themselves to investigating them in the context of *praxis* (Chapter 7); and 2) from technology and techniques to investigating the social spheres of networks and interactions (Chapter 8).

Praxis comprises a constant interaction between people and their material world (Shanks & Tilley 1987), with subjects and objects interwoven with each other (Gosden & Marshall 1999). Because this research centres on the relationship between people and objects and its constant transformation in the social dimension of materiality, *i.e.* human relations with the world (Gosden 1994), the use of the term *praxis* or practical action is considered appropriate. Social relations and *praxis* are linked together in social action, where action is seen as ‘doing’ (*sensu* Gell 1998). ‘Doing’ is involved in the construction of the self which is explored in this book through the identification of patterns of production and consumption of ceramics in Royal Navy ships. Hence, social action is the general framework within which *praxis* is developed. In this context, *praxis* is understood as the practice of social relations through knowledge and experience (Marx 1971). Social relations are therefore established and maintained in *praxis*, thus social life is essentially practical. For example, ceramics are made and decorated by knowledgeable social actors. Therefore, the production of material culture is a social practice; a meaningful practice situated within social, political and economic structures which enable action (Shanks & Tilley 1992: 137). An understanding of objects cannot be arrived at through a simple description of their attributes because goods are portable, being mobilised and sustained by social action. Identities are created by the personification of social action and through *praxis* artefacts are the material expression of those identities. Issues relating to British action in the South Atlantic are clarified by using the concept of *praxis* to explore the material expression of Royal Navy identities. If subjects and objects are understood separately, action is based on the material instead of being socially contextualised in human inter-relations and human relations with the world.

Marx, in his philosophy of *praxis*, underlines the idea that human thought (knowledge) is inextricably part of human activities by understanding social change through knowledge and practice (Marx 1971). Similarly, Lukács (1971) understood knowledge as coming through *praxis* and not simply through contemplation. In other words, to know is to do. Gramsci (1971) expanded this idea arguing that knowledge derives from social relations, not objects, and that specific historical conditions

bring action and ideas into being. For these thinkers, the world is composed of relations and these relations give character to individual entities. People and objects are bound up in a network of relations which gives them identity. I agree with this statement but I am expanding it to say that actions and ideas can only be understood in terms of the social practice in which they are involved. In this sense, the notion of *praxis* is intrinsically linked to people where the creation of histories is centred on being-in-the-world and the construction and reconstruction of the self. Hence, in this research, material culture is viewed as representing social relations because the material world is part of us, and not an external environment where we move and act.

The past is characterised as an infinite number of events resulting from past human action. Although past human actions transform the way an object is perceived, it can have several levels of meaning. However, this does not imply that there can be limitless archaeological interpretations (Wylie 1994). Artefacts are products of mental constructions and carry cultural meanings because they are used by people to not only cover necessities but to also tell others about themselves and the world as they perceive it (Yentsch & Beaudry 1992: 11). Hence, I consider ships as social mobile entities carrying portable material culture with embedded and attached meanings, which are explored by analysing the *Swift* pottery assemblage through the concept of *praxis*. These cultural meanings are governed by the relationships between people and objects. The embedded meanings of objects are taken for granted because they are ingrained in human behaviours and habits. Attached meanings are mainly concerned with the construction and negotiation of social relationships. Therefore, objects are consciously manipulated and negotiated in action thereby reflecting and conveying 'ideas' about action (see Staniforth 2003: 2). These meanings are dependent on the particular social contexts within which objects are used, manipulated and negotiated. In this way, material culture (artefacts and the built environment) can be understood as the embodiment of social relations. British shipwrecks and their cargoes are part of this embodiment and their study will shed new light on the understanding and interpretation of British action during that time.

The intention of this research is to go beyond typological and descriptive technological analysis where so little about the social sphere can be explained. Networks and interactions can be considered as an expression of *praxis*. Networks are relevant to archaeological research because they vary enormously according to space and can be evaluated through people's activities and their material expression (e.g. movement of goods over space). Potentially, networks have an on-going flow and they are only useful in exposing the flows of action in society (Gamble 2001: 83). This fact is analysed and discussed by examining the

relationships between the production of artefacts, structures of manufacturing artefact forms and their circulation and consumption (Dobres & Hoffman 1999; see Chapter 8). Thus, the focus on purely technological aspects must be shifted to the notion of materiality giving space for social interaction in the form of planning, production, use, circulation, consumption and discard of material culture. It is within this context that artefact analysis procedures, especially historical pottery, are drawn on this research (Chapter 7). The local information of the pottery cargoes of the *Swift* and *Sirius* is therefore combined to explore the dynamism of the networks and interactions that the British activities pursued (Chapter 8).

4.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has set up the theoretical ideas that are followed in this book. These can be summarised thus:

‘... people and the world are inseparable, both continuously affecting each other while the system of reference creates the spaces and times in which action is organised’ (Gosden 1994: 20).

Time and space are intrinsically linked together in a relationship that is explored by studying social practices embodied in material relations. In this way, I understand the movement of goods and people through shipwrecks and their cargoes as the embodiment of British action (Chapter 8). This research follows the assumption that time is created through social practice and varying practices structured time differently, linking measured and experienced time in a social context (Section 4.2.2). The application of these ideas in archaeological interpretations has been explained through the notion of *praxis* linked to the materiality dimension, issue being exemplified with the two case studies analysed in this book developed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The definitions of space, places and landscapes (Figure 4.1) have been separated for explanatory purposes but they are all linked together, feeding from each other in a continuous construction outlining their dynamism in the social world. Social landscapes are part of human action and their creation, re-creation, use and management by the British in the South Atlantic is explored through the combination of documentary and material records. I interpret these data at both local and global scales in Chapters 6 and 8 respectively, aiming to identify patterns of mobility on sea and coastal areas helping to clarify British action.

It has also been suggested that past identities can be constructed through social relations visible in the present through the contexts of mutuality and materiality. Identities are constructed and projected through

continuous human action and its material expression explained in Chapter 5. I also draw on anthropological notions of social relations, attempting a new approach in the construction of goods/European biographies. Social actors continuously manipulate the material world altering rules and norms that govern everyday social relations (Johnson 1996). Therefore, material culture is understood as the product of dynamic social relations and part of the structure of these relations serving as a model of and model for social action. In this way, material culture forms the physical space that structures human interaction within the society; material culture being actively linked to our social lives and constantly manipulated in human action.

Now that the theoretical bases have been explained, it is necessary to define some of the terms I have briefly mentioned in previous pages: capitalism, colonialism and consumption. Furthermore, the way they are understood, within the social framework that this research follows, is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

CONSUMING CAPITALISM AND COLONIALISM

'They have weakened the timeless Things; they have killed their father Time; Joining hands in the gloom, a league from the last sun. Hush! Men talk today o'er the waste of the ultimate slime, And a new Word runs between: whispering, 'Let us be one!'
(Kipling 1994: 181)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Recent investigations in historical archaeology and the archaeology of the Modern World have focused on the intersection of culture with the political and economic formation of the Modern World through capitalism, colonialism and consumption (e.g. Matthews 1999: 263; Orser 1996a: 22, 57-88). These concepts are not just abstractions but were, and are, processes materially active in the everyday construction of social and cultural life (Matthews 1999). In capitalistic societies,

'Deepening involvement with the material world increased the scope and depth of mutuality. Transformations in material and social relations can only be understood when taken together' (Gosden 1994: 184).

In this chapter, I argue that the different material expressions linked to the processes of capitalism, colonialism, and consumption are examples of the means by which people in the past dealt with the social realities imposed on them by the development of societies. These realities influenced their views of the self and of the world (Matthews 1999: 263). By exploring Puerto Deseado, the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, Port Jackson and Norfolk Island as places and analysing the material relations that were created within those places, I will examine how the British constructed a view of the world and of the self in remote areas (Chapters 6 and 7). The aim of this chapter is therefore to explore capitalism, colonialism, and consumption as global and social processes that changed the way people interacted with each other and with the wider world. My

intention is to examine how a social theoretical framework (see Chapter 4) can be applied to the historical process of change by asking:

- a) how social and material relations are constructed in a capitalist society,
- b) how colonial systems are created within the dynamics of past human action, and
- c) how identities are built in a socially defined context (see Table 5.1).

Capitalism, colonialism and consumption represent the social context within which the exploration, invasion, settlement planning and finally establishment of British settlements in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia took place at the end of the 18th century. Thus, to consider capitalism, colonialism and consumption as separate historical processes is artificial and arbitrary. These three processes will be explored separately, in this chapter, for analytical research purposes only. In reality, these processes are interlinked within time and space and it is difficult to conceive one without the other. Hence, these three entities are overlapped and discussed together in the conclusions of this chapter.

5.2 CAPITALISM AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

It is difficult to establish a simple definition of capitalism (Johnson 1996, 1999b) and many descriptions of it have been suggested. Most have focused on industrial development, objectification, alienation and power, which are discussed in this section. I offer an alternative way of studying this social process, its archaeological applications and its link to maritime archaeology.

5.2.1 Defining Capitalism

From an archaeological perspective some of the most influential considerations of capitalism include the research undertaken by Johnson (1996), Leone (1999a, b; Leone & Potter Jr. 1999), McGuire (1992), Orser (1996a), and Shackel (2000). Complex bodies of interdisciplinary theory are necessary in most archaeological studies of capitalism and range from consumption theory to postcolonial themes (Birmingham 1995; Buchli & Lucas 2001; Leone & Potter Jr. 1999). Thus, the historical archaeology of capitalism not only becomes a central element in rethinking the archaeology of historical times but also in a substantive re-analysis of our discipline as a whole (Johnson 1999b: 230-231).

Most authors agree that capitalism has a strong relation to material things, their production, consumption, and the social values placed upon

them (e.g. Braudel 1979; Hopkins 1979; Leone & Potter Jr. 1988a; Marx 1971). It is clear that the capitalistic process changed cultural attitudes, ideas, world-views, work practices and life styles in different places. In other words, it changed relationships between people, and between people and things. Consequently, from the study of material culture in its context, greater information can be obtained about changing social, ideational and economic patterns attendant upon the feudal/capitalistic transition that documents alone cannot provide (Johnson 1993: 329).

Through a historical materialist analysis, capitalism can be considered as a total system that generates specific economic and socio-political relations (e.g. Marx 1971). In this context, capitalism has been associated with mercantile, industrial mass production in general and factory processes in particular (Marx 1971; Weber 1947). Social relationships between the capitalist/merchant/industrialist and the wage labourer changed the social dimensions of mutuality and materiality (see Section 4.3.1). However, we cannot understand social processes by analysing economic or political characteristics separately. As a result, Rowlands and Gledhill (1998: 42) suggest looking at capitalism as a formation embracing all or at least many aspects of social life. It has been argued that particular ideological, social or economic elements of the system vary at regional and local scales without necessarily affecting the relations that make up the totality (Rowlands & Gledhill 1998; Rowlands & Kristiansen 1998). This 'universal' conception does not allow the consideration that the impact of capitalism varies at local and regional levels as it is played out differently in each society. In other words,

'One of the peculiar features of capitalism is the way it can take very different local cultures and sweep them up into a global network.'
(Johnson 1999b: 225).

Friedman (1994: 235) outlines that global systems such as capitalism must be conceived in terms of reference that account for people's *praxis* in different organisations at a local level that, when integrated, make up the global process. The global links the local to the macro-processes of the larger world. Thus, disorders at global level can generate local commotions. For example, the economy surrounding South American plantations created a new social order but, in turn, played havoc with the indigenous populations (*ibid.*). Similarly, I understand capitalism as a global social process involving varying social networks at different scales. Hence, we cannot understand global processes without analysing their local and regional expressions and *vice versa*. Global scales of analysis are relevant to place things in context when analysing capitalist societies (Leone & Potter Jr. 1999). However, regional expressions differ as landscapes are experienced, perceived and created differently. This point is analysed further in Chapter 8 where local and global scales of analysis

are integrated, by comparing the British construction of social landscapes for the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia, exploring how British maritime activities worked within those landscapes.

In capitalistic studies, Hegel's term of objectification appears frequently. For example, Miller (1987: 32) applies some of Hegel's ideas to understand the process of objectification as a dynamic relationship between humans and objects, seeing it both as a process of externalisation and differentiation. Thus, the relationship between humans and objects cannot be separated. Based on this statement, objectification is understood in relationships: 1) between humans and 2) between humans and artefacts, the latter being understood as humanly produced (Miller 1987). In this book, the term objectification is used to assert social processes. Mutuality and materiality are explored through consumption and the different relations that the process of objectification embraces. Materiality is examined through the analysis of cargoes of pottery, understanding objectification as the manner in which people and things are mutually constructed as having social value (Chapter 7) because,

'Through creating, exchanging and ordering a world of artefacts people create an ordering of the world of social relations' (Tilley 2002: 32).

The process of objectification involves the construction of embedded and attached meanings and values, social relationships, and self-understandings of those meanings and values through material forms (Myers 2001: 20; Tilley 2002: 32). Objectification is part of the process of constituting identities, or as Miller defines it 'the process of becoming' (Miller 1987: 81). Objectification contributes to definitions of the self by helping to construct British identities responding to both conscious and unconscious actions which are analysed through pottery production, consumption and circulation (Chapter 7). In the 18th century, there was a wide array of pottery types, qualities, and/or designs which can at the same time represent conflicts in society or the emergence of competing and alternative traditions (Miller 1987: 160). An understanding of these contending and conflicting forces could help to clarify diverse motives and interests, which are in turn indicative of the application of different maritime activities in remote areas (Chapters 7 and 8).

Marx's concept of the alienated process of production is founded on the premise that humans are naturally good but have been corrupted by capitalist society (see Giddens 1971: 224; Marx 1971). Marx argues that the capitalistic order serves to demystify and to sharpen the alienation of people from society (Marx 1971). Capitalism serves to increase the productive powers of society by maximising alienation: specifically the alienation of the working class (*ibid.*). Marx places the alienating effect of objectification through the labour of capitalistic production. By following this perspective, alienation implies that products stand opposed to people

as alien powers (Gosden 1994: 71). In this way, alienation has a negative connotation whereas, according to Hegel, alienation had a positive use, defined as an essential moment of estrangement necessary for historical development (Miller 1987: 27). Miller (1987) rescues Hegel's definition and analyses daily practical activities of consumption in which a transformation of the alienated goods into inalienable culture can be achieved. Miller understands this transformation as a strategy of self-creation that is performed when people express their will through exercising choice, within the constraints of the available goods and services (Dant 1999: 32-33; Miller 1995b: 41). Humans are products of history (*i.e.* memory and tradition) and the elements of human action are socially created (Giddens 1984). Human beings undergo constant change in a continuous process of interaction creating both a view of the world and a view of the self, which does not necessarily imply alienation. Being-in-the-world (*sensu* Heidegger 1996) and the construction of identities are intrinsically linked to the view of the world and the self, *i.e.* an ongoing process of self-creation both as an individual and as a social group. Society and the individual are intrinsically related in a complex web of social relations that bring them into being, while the choices available are both limited and enabled by the social relations people enter into (McGuire & Wurst 2002: 89). For example, living in a foreign land can cause a certain degree of alienation. I argue that through the act of consuming similar goods as in the homeland, bonds can be maintained (*i.e.* memory and traditions). This act would not necessarily imply further alienation. Moreover, in the 18th century colonial world, European identities were frequently constructed in relation to the 'Other' (Wolf 1982). This could be understood as an alienating act (e.g. Europeans = 'civilised' *versus* the 'Other' = natives = 'uncivilised'). British identities, in this case, were legitimised in daily practice by possessing specific material goods and thus conveying particular social behaviours. This could reinforce the idea of 'civilised accepted manners' in opposition to 'the uncivilised' or native world. I argue that by following this dialectic relationship and simply understanding products and people as alien powers have limitations since social relations are more complex than this. Things are experienced and perceived differently according to the context in which we live our lives. Things are different from people but since people created them, they are not necessarily alien. Human products are the result of objectification. As Gosden (1994) outlines,

'In them (human products), human powers and energy are given concrete form. This objectification of human powers is not always an alienation of them' (Gosden 1994: 70).

Neither things nor people have an essential and fix set of properties because all are bound in a network of relations which gives them their

character. Through the concept of *praxis* I integrate the relationship between people and things where knowledge, experience and perception are constantly under construction (Section 4.4). Everyday routines are founded in traditions and habits. Hence, archaeologically, material culture and social beings should be seen as active forces in the creation of social life.

In general, the manufacture of goods through mass production on the one hand, and the relationships between owners and producers on the other, has been understood as a result of capitalism. Both objects and capacities of people are brought into definite social relations under the control of capitalists (Burke 1999; Wells 1989). Three aspects are involved in this control: 1) control of things over natural resources; 2) control of the labour of direct producers through the formation of wage labour and powers vested in the capitalist to alienate labour power; and 3) control of the productive process itself (Wells 1989: xii-xiv). Thus, capitalism is seen as a set of systematically interlinked relationships (Burke 1999: 6). Burke (1999) assumes the utter dominance of capitalism as a social system in Western society, and that the existence of underlying political, economic and social problems leads to inequality. My analysis is not reduced to the capitalist-worker relationship because society is not solely based on this dialectic relation. For example, by comparing the Admiralty and non-commissioned sailors, we could extrapolate this dialectic relationship to that of the capitalist (Admiralty)-worker (ordinary sailor). However, this direct analogy simplifies the context. Several conflicting interests, at different levels, are involved as part of complex social processes, capitalism being an example.

It can be argued that capitalism separates the context of production of material goods and services from the physical and social context of household relations (Burke 1999). This separation has historically signified a growth in material living standards, in terms of the purchasing power of households and the goods found within them (Johnson 1993). Power is exercised, from many different spheres, by virtue of people's immersion in the social field (Thomas 2000b). Relations of power may take many forms and induce major transformations of social relations (Champion 1995a). People derive power from the network of social, material and ideological relations of which they form a part. People interpret their material surroundings in different ways depending on the positions in the network they occupy (Thomas 2000b). Hence, power exists in the social relations between people and/or a group of people. Although power is available to everybody only some people have access to it, with respect to a person's ability to act or intervene in a set of events and alter them in some way (McGuire 1992: 132). In the 18th century, competing forces in specific areas existed (see Chapter 1). In the

Malvinas/Falklands, the British, French and Spanish were contending for the same place whereas it was mainly the British and the French that were interested in the Southeast coast of Australia (Caillet-Bois 1952; Frost 1980). The ways that power was exercised in the British world are explored through the identities constructed and how they were projected in competition (Chapter 7, Section 8.3.4 and Table 8.5). Control of certain areas implied the exercising of power, but how was this constructed?

Power is the means of achieving things through human action. Foucault (1970, 1977) analyses how the world is ordered, stressing the centrality of power in social life through social practices in general. Social practice involves power over people which is constructed in everyday life (Foucault 1977: 27). Thus, power involves control: the capacity of some people to influence, under certain circumstances, the action of others. Power can be both creative, because it is linked to knowledge, and oppressive because not everyone has access to it (Foucault 1970: 316-317). Therefore, power and knowledge are intrinsically connected. According to Foucault (1970), things are ordered through signs that constitute empirical forms of knowledge, as knowledge is based on experience, identities and difference (*ibid.*: 57). We construct this knowledge in relation to others. In this way, Foucault understands power to represent ourselves, and this representation establishes a system of material signs (*ibid.*: 179). As a result, I argue that social processes, such as capitalism, are constituted in daily social practices involving relations of negotiation, manipulation and power thus contributing to construct and transform human action. Their material relations or what Foucault defines as ‘signs’ - in which power is represented - are analysed by considering trade patterns, maritime routes, circulation of goods, settlement patterns and wreck frequencies (Chapter 8).

5.2.2 Capitalistic Studies in Maritime Archaeology

Maritime archaeology should be central to capitalistic studies because ships are more than just cargo carriers. The development and expansion of long-distance shipping allowed the movement of ideas, people and material goods across the oceans. Sunken vessels are potential sources of archaeological information that need to be explored. By integrating both maritime and land perspectives, capitalism can be understood as a social process rather than a ‘thing’, and can thus be approached as if ‘it unfolds through the production of physical and social landscapes’ (Burke 1999: 4). The concept of market exchange provides a context for long-distance exchange, trade and the development of the shipping industry (see Souza 1998; Staniforth 2003a). I argue that chains of action linking people and places are needed to produce and use particular items for specific goals, as

will be highlighted through the analysis of the pottery cargo of the *Swift* in comparison to that of the *Sirius* (Chapter 7).

By encouraging expansion and the colonisation of new lands, the British Admiralty played an important role in the 18th century. Consequently, the two British wrecks of the *Swift* and the *Sirius* are analysed in capitalistic and colonial contexts. Both ships were under the command of the Royal Navy, a political entity that could also respond to social demands (see Chapter 6). In this period, the British visited and revisited the South Atlantic, and colonised South Africa, Australia and the former French colonies of North America (Colley 1996; Farry 2005). I believe that these actions were linked to the demands of society in general. This link is explored through the perceived and experienced landscapes in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia (Chapters 6 and 8), pottery assemblages and the construction of British identities in the Royal Navy, naval settlements and new colonial spaces (Chapter 7). Various natural resources unavailable in Europe (e.g. spices, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, cetaceans and pinnipeds among others) were highly in demand in European countries. As these resources were generally located in dispersed geographical areas (Chapter 6), new technologies had to be developed to satiate those demands. The strategies applied by different competing European interests were probably fuelled by those demands. These various forms of action involved a greater coordination of individuals within the group. This is explored through the interpretation of British perceptions and experiences in the construction of social landscapes and British interactions with the physical environment. Their materiality is analysed in the location of British settlements and frequencies of wrecks, their access to natural resources and their connection with other settlements and maritime routes (Chapters 6 and 8).

Through the analysis of ships, their cargo, the passenger and crew's personal belongings in conjunction with historical records, critical views about the development of the world can be composed. For example, the frequent inter-oceanic trade and the way in which value was ascribed to exotic possessions, highlighting both position and status, are interesting archaeological issues. Hall (2000: 45) analyses the co-circulation of rare and valuable goods together with preconceptions of the world within the colonial systems for South Africa and Chesapeake. The development of the shipping industry, trade and the movement of exotic goods have been considered, from an 18th century perspective, as a way of defining European ways of living in a changing social world bringing the equation 'modern' *versus* 'tradition' into discussion.

5.2.3 The Capitalistic World: the Modern World?

Capitalism has generally been inscribed in the dynamic relationship between things, values and people relating to the origins of the modern way of life (Hall 2000; Johnson 1993; Wells 1989). However, what does it mean to be modern? Capitalism has been linked to the notion of ‘being modern’, in opposition to traditional ways of living (Weatherill 1996: 64; Miller 1987: 170). This division between modern and traditional separates patterns of behaviour into abstract categories without meaning (Latour 1993; see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that this distinction was common in the context of the 18th century (Braudel 1979; Weatherill 1996). This opposition of ‘modern’ and ‘tradition’ gives priority to one side over the other according to chronological time. For example,

‘modern’ = 18th century = new
versus
 ‘tradition’ = 16th/17th century = old

This ‘formula’ can be linked, in archaeological terms, to specific assemblage types in measured time but disregards social relations. Durable pottery assemblages for example could last through time, by being still in use or in re-use during ‘modern’ times. Instead, I argue for the need to interpret social groups in their own context, and the potential of forming alternative identities (Chapters 7 and 8). The British constructed identities through *praxis* examined, in this book, in the material evidence left by wrecks, cargoes and settlements which are interpreted as social products of everyday practices (Chapter 4, 7 and 8).

It has been argued that the Modern World began with the European voyages of colonial discovery and conquest in the 15th century and continues to the present day (Hall 2000: 2; Orser 1996a: 27). However, in Chapter 2, I argued that the ‘Modern World’ does not begin at a specific point in time. It is part of social processes that have developed over time. As an alternative, I prefer to use a wider term such as the ‘social world’, understanding its actors as the result of the continuous flow of past and present human action. People experienced the world differently and this cannot simply be explained through the concept of ‘modern’. The use of the term ‘modern’ implies that there is something that it is ‘non-modern’. Through these two oppositions human behaviour is separated into two abstract categories instead of being recognised as part of ongoing social processes. How we perceived and experienced the world is what varies, thus in this way the world is understood to be socially constructed, *i.e.* the social world.

Actors are embedded in a social context which defines their goals and constrains their actions. The interaction between actors is an on-going

process therefore I partially disagree with the assertion that ‘... societies with similar social structures generate similar types of tensions’ (Brumfiel 2000: 249). One might assume that Western European countries involved in exploration and colonisation had at their base a set of economic structures driven by a capitalistic system that generated similar patterns (e.g. Hall 2000: 18). The social structures in the British colonies could be similar to the social structures in the homeland but, at the same time, these would be different due to disparities in experiences and perceptions of social and physical landscapes (Chapters 6 and 8). Their material expressions would vary according to the activities undertaken and local particularities such as environmental characteristics. Although the underlying basis could be similar, for example, competition and access to resources in varying societies can generate contrasting activities and responses because they involve actors with diverse interests. This could explain the archaeological variability in contexts such as the colonial transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake where different uses of material culture are rich indicators of the plays of power (Hall 2000). I argue that human action is unpredictable and cannot be categorised as ‘modern’ *versus* ‘non-modern’. On the contrary, it varies according to many responses (e.g. experiences, perceptions, knowledge, etc.), which can be seen in the variability of material culture and the different meanings embedded and attached to it.

The exploration of wrecks and settlements in Patagonia and NSW by interpreting the activities that these represent will allow us to recognise local manifestations that are part of wider and dynamic chains of action of the 18th century social world (Chapters 7 and 8). There are a few studies drawing global inferences from local research (e.g. Funari & Zarankin 2002; Hall 2000; Johnson 1996). For example, Hall (2000) analyses 18th century colonial Chesapeake through circulation of goods and architectural features on the landscape, reaching the conclusion that

‘The local can only be understood within the global, and the global (...) only exists in its local expressions’ (Hall 2000: 47).

But, how are the particularities of British action identified in a colonial context in this book?

5.3 COLONIALISM: SHAPING IDENTITIES

Colonialism and the expansion of European powers into the New World, Africa and the Indo-Pacific after 1500 AD have been identified as key topics of study in historical archaeology (Birmingham et al 1988; Dyson 1985). However, there has been little exploration of these issues from a maritime perspective (Ritchie 2003; Staniforth 2000, 2001b,

2003a). This section aims to explain some archaeological approaches to colonialism and the way it is understood in my research, where both maritime and historical perspectives are linked. People's intentions and motives were connected to the particularities of the 18th century, the various British activities undertaken, and the construction of identities manifested through specific material expressions. Shared experiences of everyday life reassured British identities in the new colonies by consuming and producing characteristic material goods. A model to understand this material connection through the construction of identities in a British colonial context is proposed in Section 5.3.1.

Recently, considerable research interest has been focused on colonialism but its understanding has not been an easy task (e.g. Carr & Walsh 1994; DiPaolo 2000; Ewen 1990; Falk 1991; Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999; Mrozowski 1999). As a global phenomenon colonialism is generally associated with: a) its impact through intrusion, conquest, economic exploitation and the domination of native people (Rowlands 1998), and b) the factors affecting, changing and determining many aspects of the lives of the colonisers and colonised people. According to Orser (1996a: 58-66), from a North American historical archaeology perspective, the study of interactions between natives and colonisers should be the principal area of interest of colonialism studies. Nevertheless, Orser's approach is limited because colonialism involves more than just the interaction between natives and colonisers (Rowlands 1998: 328). Many parties were involved in producing colonial contexts and inter-coloniser interactions, such as those implicated in European competition. British action is analysed in the South Atlantic where competing Spanish and French forces were evident (Chapter 8). The 18th century British trends driven by global interests and motives could be perceived as similar. Nevertheless, the locally applied activities would vary according to physical and social landscapes, being shaped by and for the successful completion of their aims (see Chapters 4 and 8). I analysed the local through the patterns of coastal settlements location and wreck frequencies in Patagonia integrated with the global contexts of capitalism and colonialism. These patterns are explored as part of the British maritime activities as a reaction to European competition in the 18th century (Chapters 6 and 8).

Although colonialism is a worldwide phenomenon, as Hall claims for capitalism (Hall 2000: 47), it is enacted at a local level. In this sense,

'Colonialism represents an ideal subject for cross-cultural comparison because it is, at the same time, a culturally specific local phenomenon as well as a system that transcends specific regions and time periods' (Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999: 9).

Through a comparative analysis of Patagonia and NSW I explore colonial systems locally (Chapters 6 and 7). In chapter 8, I contextualise my arguments by analysing simultaneous activities occurring on different scales. Some of the activities include long-distance interaction between the homeland and the British colonies, and the effects of the transport and supply of provisions and goods for a considerable number of people. Colonial relationships are inserted in chains of actions in which exploration, trade, resource exploitation and political alliances are involved (Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999). Experiment, knowledge, experience, instability and innovation were key elements in colonial contexts which constantly shifted the dimensions of the world in which people lived. Thus, by exploring people's daily activities we can integrate social and material relations that contributed to the construction and projection of British identities in remote areas (Chapter 7).

The circulation of people, goods and ideas are implied when analysing colonial movements. Many colonial connections that otherwise would have remained invisible were made apparent by the presence and flow of objects. Within this context, objects are understood as active agents in shaping identities and communities. The movement of artefacts in everyday life mediates social relations and creates different experiences. The way people think of themselves and their place in the world is determined by their actions and intentions (Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999: 9). Social relations therefore exist through the manifestation of actions (Gell 1998: 26). Thus, objects cannot be understood by merely describing their attributes. Pottery, for example, is mobilised and sustained as part of the social process of creating identities, and identities are materially expressed in the use, manipulation, and negotiation of artefacts through *praxis*. In this research, *praxis* is understood through five forms of manifestation: difference, memory, *habitus*, routinisation and positioning (Table 5.1). Although these manifestations are presented separately, in daily practice they fluidly combine and recombine. The shape and structure of each person's life and identities are created through space and time (Table 5.1). Even though time and space are addressed separately for research purposes, one is linked to the other and actively constructed and reconstructed.

Table 5-1. The proposed model to interpret identities in a socially defined context

SPACE	SOCIAL CONTEXT	TEMPORALITY	UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL CONTEXTS THROUGH... (Giddens 1984; Gosden 1994; Tilley 1994)	LOCATION OF IDENTITY	CASE STUDIES: CHAPTERS 7 AND 8: SOCIAL INTERPRETATION	
South Atlantic & Southern Australia	Capitalism & Colonialism & Consumption	S O C I A L A C T I O N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conscious & unconscious action - Knowledge & experience direct our actions and motives direct our attention - Experience → significance of human action in making history - Tradition through routine and social memory - Material culture provides a thread of continuity through changes in life - Cultural construction in time & space by agreed referents, i.e. the <i>habitus</i> - Ontological security in the social institution - Result of life grounded in habit deriving from people's everyday actions ⇒ elements of repetition - Result of socially learnt ways of action - Day-to-day life routines founded in tradition & habit - Positioning of relationships through daily life - Everyday practice & material settings - Biographies of people, objects and their relationships 	<p>DIFFERENCE</p> <p>= variation via change</p> <p>MEMORY</p> <p>= subject via structure</p> <p>HABITUS</p> <p>= time via space</p> <p>ROUTINISATION</p> <p>= structure via subject</p> <p>POSITIONING</p> <p>= space via time</p>	P R A X I S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Location of settlements & wrecks Distribution of resources Patterns of consumption Artefact accumulation Pottery production & manufacture Visits & re-visits Wreck & settlement patterns Artefact distributions & variability Patterns of repetition in pottery assemblages Frequencies of wrecks Patterns of consumption Spatial distribution of goods Construction of landscapes

5.3.1 Knowledge, Experience and Identities

People are reflexive agents involving processes of thought, knowledge and experience. **Memory** is engaged in these processes and perception is linked to it. **Perception** is defined as a flow of activities integrated with human action in time-space (Giddens 1984). It is organised via anticipation whereby persons anticipate new incoming information while simultaneously processing it mentally (*ibid.*: 46). In this way, anticipation is the medium whereby the past affects the future, and thus is a product of **memory** and experience. Memory is involved in every person and in his or her process of knowledge and thought. Memory is linked to **traditions** recalling past experiences, expressing them in the present, and setting up the basis for the future. Material things as well as past events are contained within memory. Archaeologically speaking, memory is concerned with landscapes, houses and the 'small things' of everyday life (*sensu* Deetz 1977). Memory is also involved with the ways in which such material things circulated in the global networks that colonial settlements brought with them (Hall 2000: 2). Material objects existed in the past, though the presence of some of them in the present can call the past into mind (Thomas 1996: 53). This continuity between past and present is analysed in patterns of consumption in naval and colonial spaces. Their links to the homeland are explored through the study of pottery forms, types, quantities and qualities (Chapter 7). Households and other items are taken into consideration as well as part of people's construction and view of the self in new environments like the Malvinas/Falklands or Port Jackson. Meanings that things carry participate simultaneously in different social domains and material elements have the potential to reveal something else about the world, transcending documentary evidence and oral tradition (Deagan 1982; Gibble 2005; Hall 2000, 2001; Little 1994; Paynter 2000).

Memory is the means of recapitulating past experiences by focusing them upon the continuity of action, leading to the concept of **habitus** (Bourdieu 1990: 52-65; see Chapter 4). *Habitus* is described as a pattern of thought-feeling. It is constructed in action, from experience and perceptions, linking past, present and future. *Habitus* is the space of people's actual engagement in settings of practical activity. It is not expressed in practice, it subsists in it (Ingold 2002). It underlies human practice and the way that people identify themselves, act and choose their own strategies (Bourdieu 1990: 61), ensuring their reproduction, endurance, transformation or change. For example, British experience, knowledge, skills, intentions, motives, and awareness of being-in-the-world were different to those of other Europeans.

These can be interpreted through the distribution of settlements and wrecks on the landscape and it is at this point where *habitus* mixes dispute and negotiation (see Dobres 2000: 140 and Chapter 8). In this way, the concept of *habitus* allows the understanding of identities as material phenomena that shape and are shaped in social practice (Jones 2000).

Identities are mediated by social relations which people sustain in the practice of **routinisation** involved in their daily lives (Giddens 1984: 50). Founded in tradition and habit, routine is integral to the continuity of identities. The success of colonial movements often depended on subtle shifts in habit (Lyons & Papadopoulos 1999: 12). However, critical or unpredictable situations can change daily routines thus provoking stressful situations. It is the human response to these changes that needs to be explored. For example, although European voyages followed established sailing routes, the journey was not always easy. Unpredictable weather conditions could provoke changes in course and destination. This increased the risk of wrecking as through probably sailing into unknown areas while a change in course could possibly provoke bellicose situations if other European ships were encountered (see Dampier 1927: 72-74).

Human actions are motivated by different intentions, reasons, and interests, all contributing to construct identities. Material culture, when consumed, can be manipulated or negotiated to signify or produce **difference** helping to the identification of the self. For example, Bourdieu's analysis of the cultural expression of taste describes a 'system of cultural distinction' in which taste expresses the individual's position in a network of power relations (Bourdieu 1984: 465-470). This book explores differentiation through patterns of production, consumption and circulation of artefacts as a process of social self-creation and identification in which artefacts are '... directly constitutive of our understanding of ourselves and the others' (Miller 1987: 215). I therefore argue that people differentiate themselves in multiple ways in the daily practices of production and consumption (Bourdieu 1984). In capitalistic and colonial societies artefacts are multiplied, elaborated, appropriated, and employed in framing activities as a form of self-knowledge, self-definition, and self-identification (Pfaffenberger 1992: 507). Identities provide maintenance, duration and projection into the future thus guaranteeing cultural continuity. The British activities undertaken to guarantee this continuity are analysed by examining the pottery cargoes of the *Swift* and the *Sirius*. Both ships were commissioned to two specific British settlements: the naval supply base of Malvinas/Falklands and the colony of Port Jackson respectively (Chapter 6). I analyse their cargo to explore material relations in pottery consumption and the role that artefacts played in new 'colonial' systems (Chapter 7).

Social systems exist in and through social practices and the actors who conduct these social practices are positioned or situated in time-space. Being-in-the-world implies social involvement constructing self-identity – *i.e.* a place and a position in the world (see Section 4.2.3). **Positioning** involves the specification of identities within a network of human inter-relations and human relations with the world. I explore positioning in relation to others by exploring 18th century European powers in competition, European interactions with natives, and the way that natives' knowledge was used and manipulated to pursue colonial strategies (Chapter 8). In terms of material culture, the positioning of subjects/objects and its social significance is interpreted at local level by analysing daily patterns of pottery consumption in the Malvinas/Falklands and Port Jackson. Within the global context of mass-production and the circulation of goods the local and the global are integrated through the domain in which objects merge with people by virtue of the existence of social relations between persons and things, persons and persons and persons via things (Gell 1998: 12) (Chapter 7). *Habitus* and positioning are used to discuss identities. Their difference lies in that fact that positioning emphasises time over space (Giddens 1984: 84) whereas *habitus* emphasises space over time (Bourdieu 1990: 53).

In summary, this section explains what I understand by 'colonialism'. It also sets up a model to explore the way that maritime activities worked in *praxis* within the construction of British identities, and how identities were constructed and expressed in time-space relations within the colonial context of the 18th century. Past behaviours, motives, intentions and choices were involved in a web of social relations and their materiality is examined through the production and consumption of goods.

5.4 PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF IDENTITIES

This section looks at how objects are created and used in social relations and the way this process influences the construction and expression of identities by exploring patterns of production and consumption. Many studies have linked consumption in relation to the circulation of commodities in social life (Appadurai 1986). Commodities, being the physical expression of consumption in the world of material culture, have an economic exchange value (Appadurai 1986). However, the majority of discussions focusing on commodity have derived of a Marxist approach, and give priority to issues of labour and production (Marx 1971; Miller 1995a: 142). In Marx's view, labour is the key to understanding commodities (Carroll 1999; Marx 1971). I briefly argued in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1), that

in this research the term ‘goods’ is more appropriate than commodities because the connotation of the word ‘commodity’ as a link to the labour and commercial world is avoided. In this way, I define goods as things or possessions that are portable and have social value.

Consumption has been defined as the acquisition of goods on the basis of their utility value, *i.e.* provision of basic human needs (Buchli & Lucas 2001: 21). I argue that goods have useful value since people consume goods to maintain and reproduce their social relationships and identities. In this way, archaeology provides a crucial contribution by allowing the study of social aspects through material relations as well as challenging the documentary record (see Chapter 2). Consumption should be understood as being part of the same social process as capitalism and not merely the result of it (Douglas & Isherwood 1979). Consumption needs to be recognised as part of the social world because it mediates the material world and people (Brewer & Porter 1993). Consumption implies the use of material possessions (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 57) and it is through social relations that people give them social value. This book follows the idea that consumption is part of the overall biographies of objects, so that things may be consumed many different times in diverse settings (Gosden 1999). Thus, production, consumption and circulation of material culture are crucial factors in understanding identity processes in *praxis*. Consumption as a social phenomenon and its standards are socially determined, thereby providing the context for the production, circulation, exchange, use and discard of goods (Carroll 1999: 133). A materialistic approach focusing on consumer goods; specifically on the processes by which they are produced, transported, bought, used and discarded and the meanings attached to them is followed in this book. The focus is mainly on post-production processes through historical archaeology studies, which can provide valuable information on the material aspects of consumption.

Technology is the medium to archaeologically explore the processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption. We therefore begin from the material artefacts presented to us as part of a descriptive approach to the interpretation of it from a social approach which is summarised as follows:

- from the objects themselves to investigate *praxis* (Chapter 7)
- from the collection of objects to investigate chains of action (Chapters 7 and 8)
- from technology and techniques of objects to investigate: a) patterns of consumption in shaping identities (Chapter 7), and b) circulation of goods and social relations through the interpretation of social landscapes (Chapter 8).

Technology, as embodied material practice, is socially charged and materially grounded. Social relations, in mutuality and materiality, give meaning to the artefact world (Figure 5.1).

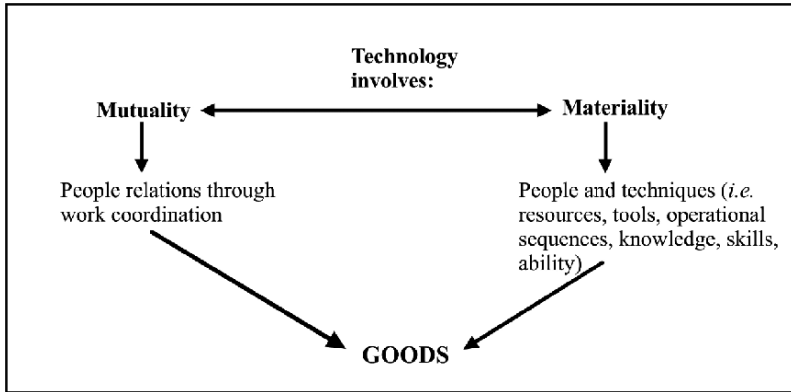


Figure 5-1. Technology as a social phenomenon

Artefacts are understood as a set of individual and group choices involved in wider social networks. People are the medium through which technological practices are materialised and work to maintain tradition (Dobres 2000: 148). People enact technologies through socially organised activities (*ibid.*: 128). By ‘doing’ they reproduce and transform their social relations. In this way, technology is thought of as action and interaction.

Technology is a set of social relations and system of meanings that has a humanised nature (Pfaffenberger 1988: 241 and 244). It is a social phenomenon which has a history linking it to the history of society (Pfaffenberger 1992). Goods are the result of a productive process of consumption that links people, technology and techniques all of which constantly shaping each other (Figure 5.1). For example, high quality pottery results from the experience and skill of the potters, a long tradition in pottery making (Draper 1984), and the mutuality and materiality that technological processes involve. Technology is the means to shape the world, but it also shapes people (Gosden 1999). Therefore, techniques and technology offer contextually situated avenues into social relations (Dobres 2000). Technologies are developed according to social needs and it is through the processes of identity that these needs are explored (Chapter 7).

Technology is always linked with production and consumption and it is an active process in which all social relations are continuously redefined.

They exist in a cultural tradition constructed both in time and space. Thus, spatial patterns of distribution of material culture can change through time and space and also the social relations to which it refers and relates (Shanks & Tilley 1987). People give meaning to and take meaning from material experiences that can be understood when situated in the social contexts from which they came. Through *praxis* the emphasis is on the acquisition of knowledge as a resource for promoting people's interests and defining parameters of mutuality and materiality (Dobres 2000: 139). Therefore, activities are best understood in terms of overlapping social and material arenas. Thus, we need to understand how knowledge is articulated, codified, and displayed in taken-for-granted routines of everyday material production. It is through understanding the everyday *habitus* of artefact production and consumption, that we can throw light on the importance of technology for expressing and materialising identities (Chapter 7).

A successful technological innovation occurs when social and technological elements have been modified in such a way that they work together effectively (Pfaffenberger 1992). There are also unpredictable events which can alter human action in different ways but, in general, the social sphere is indissolubly linked with the dynamic technological and the economic web of relations (Pfaffenberger 1992: 498). For example, performance of long overseas voyages contributed to: a) a combination of technological innovations (*i.e.* improvements in shipbuilding techniques and navigational instruments), b) acquisition of knowledge and experience through exploration and the production of bodies of data to which future voyagers could access, and c) an understanding of the surrounding physical environment (e.g. winds and currents). I follow Dobres (2000: 138) in defining **performance** as acting while interacting and experiencing the world. Thus, technological innovation lies in skilled people's performance, meaning that people act in different levels of competence, knowledge, reflection, skill, intention and motives; a way of constructing identities.

The process of consumption of goods can be used to alter identities (Buchli & Lucas 2001: 24). For example, European activities were dynamically different and applied in varying social contexts. Traders have various sets of agendas based on the demand for diverse objects in the market place (Gosden & Knowles 2001: 17). The links connecting communities with one another are created on regional and global scales through relationships of power and exchange, relationships that are reinforced by the social value of goods helping to construct and/or alter identities. Hence, production, transport, exchange and consumption of artefacts set up a whole series of social relations. The desired products influence what is produced, and because artefacts create social relations, their production is tied into a social network.

From the study of consumption, as a result of the changing relationships between things and people, new life-styles can be revealed (e.g. new drinking and eating habits (utensils for hot drinks, knives and forks), decoration (drawings), acquisition of information and contacts with the wider literary world (books), etc). The attention of historical archaeology is now focused on the role played by consumer goods in the construction and negotiation of the ‘modern’ world (see Buchli 2002; Mullins 1999). The increasing circulation of new products and the inclusion in market-exchange circuits of goods have been important components of capitalistic societies (Miller 1995a). Moreover, the separation of the production of goods from the consumption of those goods, that underlies the rise of capitalism, encouraged an increased need for sea transportation and more sophisticated international trade networks. Mercantile capitalism was fundamental to the growth of systems of colonial exploitation and was fuelled by the emergence of the consumer society (Staniforth 1999: 46).

5.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the notions of capitalism, colonialism and consumption highlighting that they are part of the same social process and influenced the way that people interacted (Table 5.2).

Table 5-2. Summary table of the key aspects discussed in Chapter 5

Social Processes	Temporality	Material relations	Social interpretations (Chapters 7 and 8)
Capitalism	S	Trade patterns and circulation	Experience
	O	of goods	
Colonialism	C		Perception
	I	World geography:	
	A	- locality of colonies ⇒ control	Knowledge
Consumption	L	& expansion	Position in the world
	A	- type of settlement and location	
Consumption	C	- frequencies of wrecks	Identities
	T		
	I	Technology and patterns of	Construction of
	O	consumption	social landscapes
	N		

In this book, 18th century British action is contextualised within global processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption. I interpret British action within a social framework by exploring material relations through the production, circulation and consumption of goods (especially pottery), trade patterns, frequencies of wrecks and location of coastal settlements (Chapters 7 and 8).

Linking space and society is essential for understanding social relations in mutuality and materiality (see Chapter 4). I have argued that capitalism influences social relations where social demands conditioned material relations that can be explored through patterns of production and consumption (Chapter 7). These demands are connected with technological innovations, development, experience and acquisition of knowledge linked to the growth of over-seas trade, shipping, exploration, and conquest of new lands. The process of colonisation can be seen as the unfolding of new spatial and social arrangements. For example, the selection of specific places linked to trade routes, other colonies and access to critical resources for survival can illustrate some of the dynamics in which colonial systems are created (Chapter 8). Colonisation has social implications affecting groups in motion - *i.e.* colonisers, natives and those remaining in their home country (Gosden 1994: 24). Archaeologically speaking, we should expect to see the effects of colonisation not only in areas of new settlements but also back in the 'homeland' through the processes of production, consumption and circulation of goods.

The activities applied within the contexts of capitalism, colonialism and consumption are dependent on the particular motives and interests involved. These affect the way that people construct identities in *praxis*. Relations are embodied in a diversity of everyday social practices and life events that involve particular displays of production and consumption (Rowlands 1998: 331). Therefore, mutuality and materiality are examined in the identification of patterns of production and consumption of goods and how identities are created and expressed in late 18th century British settlements (Table 5.1). Goods have social value when they enter into the process of consumption. It is in this process that people maintain and reproduce their social relations and materially project their identities. The archaeological application of these ideas is discussed in Chapter 7 through HMS *Swift* and HMS *Sirius* case studies.

The *Swift* and the *Sirius* cases are understood within a specific historical context which is considered during the analysis and discussion of this research, thus complementing and setting the scene where British action took place. Hence, in the following section the environmental and historical contexts for both cases are explained, contexts that were involved in the social processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption.

Chapter 6

UNDERSTANDING PLACES ON THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND ON THE SOUTHEAST COAST OF AUSTRALIA

Our land is patterned with its past past and it is a pattern of great complexity that grows daily more complex. This pattern tells us not only about our country but also about ourselves'
(Connah 1993: 1)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on British maritime activities at a local level exploring the historical contexts and the characteristics of the physical landscapes for Patagonia and NSW. For Patagonia, I emphasise the Malvinas/Falkland Islands where the *Swift* was commissioned and Puerto Deseado where HMS *Swift* was wrecked. For the Australian case, I focus on Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. HMS *Sirius* was wrecked on the latter, being the main vessel at the British NSW colony of Port Jackson commissioned to obtain supplies and establish links with other parts of the Eastern world. I highlight some environmental factors, the resources available in these areas, and the perceptions that British voyagers had of these places at the end of the 18th century. This will contribute to the identification of some motives that fuelled British action in remote areas; action that was relevant and/or critical for the success of colonial systems at a local (Chapter 6 and 7) and global levels (Chapter 8).

I argue that the environmental features of places where British action was practised must be examined in order to understand the social construction of landscapes (Chapter 8). British action, as part of the social processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption, is discussed at a local level in this chapter but it is integrated at a global scale in Chapter 8. In this way, local cases are understood within the global context, and at the same time, the global is comprehended by analysing its local expressions (Hall 2000; see Chapter 5).

6.2 ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF PATAGONIA

In this section, the information presented is based on environmental and historical data. The analysis of the structure of the physical landscape (see Chapters 1 and 4) in Patagonia contributes to explore how places were perceived and experienced by the British voyagers. This study therefore aids in the comprehension of the British construction of social landscapes in the South Atlantic at the end of the 18th century (Chapter 8). Examining the historical context in the area helps to contextualise and clarify how the perception and experience of those places conditioned in some way the British activities applied in remote areas (Chapter 8).

The Atlantic coast of Patagonia extends from the Colorado River in the north to Tierra del Fuego in the south, covering almost 3000 km² (see Figure 3.1). The Magellan Strait has divided the continental and insular sectors since the early Holocene, approximately 9,000 years ago (Otero et al 1998).

Continental Patagonia is generally characterised by three major environmental zones: 1) the Andes with forests and lakes; 2) the steppe with a low topography, arid weather and xerophilous black topped vegetation; and 3) the coast which is also arid but with abundant marine resources. There are wide estuaries in the Colorado, Negro, Chubut, Deseado, Santa Cruz, Coyle and Gallegos rivers, which are the only significant permanent sources of fresh water. Fresh water is a critical resource for survival. Different British sailors in the 17th and 18th century mention that these sources were mainly restricted to coastal areas. This historical data relating to water resources has been recurrently mentioned referring to specific places. For example, abundant fresh sources of water could be found in the Argentinean Austral Edge, especially in Magellan Straits and south of Tierra del Fuego (e.g. Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; Dalrymple 1775). There were also some sources available in the south of Santa Cruz Province and in the Malvinas/Falklands, but in Puerto Deseado this resource is scarce (Byron 1773; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973; Wallis 1773).

The use of landscapes and the lithic materials available have been utilised differently according to varying social contexts and needs. Patagonian topography is represented by high mountains in the Andean Range, which descend to a terraced plateau in the centre of the region generally terminating at the Atlantic Ocean in a series of cliffs or littoral low ridges that offer natural shelter (Otero et al 1998). Historical sources mention that the survivors of the *Swift* used these shelters to keep themselves dry and protected from the wind during their stay in Puerto Deseado (Gower 1803: 48 and 50). The potential lithic raw materials that

the coast provides are marine pebbles mainly known in the area as 'Patagonian pebbles'. Historical documents on this issue related to the *Swift* wreck mention that 'the beach afforded pebbles, of a size to be used as small shot' (Gower 1803: 50). Muskets could be perceived as tools representing power. The British, by keeping their muskets 'active' by using pebbles as shots, could maintain certain power in unknown lands with unknown and unpredictable dangers (e.g. presence of other European powers such as Spain in the Patagonian case). On the contrary, the indigenous groups used these marine pebbles for survival, as a source of lithic raw material for flint knapping providing tools for hunting (e.g. Borrero 1991b; Manzi 1996; Massone 1984).

Patagonia is unique because it is the only region with such arid conditions at these latitudes. Thermal variations are quite modest due to the peninsular characteristics of the South American edge (Coronato 1992, quoted in Otero et al 1998). To the north of the Deseado River the weather is temperate. To the south it is cold temperate, whilst both have a plateau of semi-arid variation. Rainfall is scarce averaging between 100 and 200 mm annually on the coast. The wind is one of the most typical features of the Patagonian climate. Winds in this region originate in the Pacific Ocean, shedding their humidity in the Andes, producing abundant rains; they then sweep with great intensity into the wide barren plateau (Otero et al 1998).

The Patagonian Atlantic coastal flora is unvaried, characterised mainly by bush steppe or scrub (Cabrera 1976). The presence of herbs and spices was important for 18th century sailors for commercial purposes. Sources of fresh vegetables also were essential for scurvy prevention. Therefore, for the British, the significance of places such as Magellan Straits and the Malvinas/Falklands was derived from the natural availability of resources for both daily living and potentially commercial activities. For example, historical sources mention that herbs and spices such as peas, pea-tops, wild celery and fruit like berries were abundant in the Argentinean Austral Edge but scarce in the Atlantic coast of Patagonia (for a detailed description see Wallis 1773: 384-85; also *cf.* Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973). When in Magellan Straits, Commodore Byron outlines that

'... we found plenty of wild celery, and a variety of plants, which probably would be of great benefit to seamen after a long voyage.' Byron 1773: 72).

In the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, specifically Port Egmont, Byron describes

'... those who have contracted scorbutic disorders, during a long voyage, here are wild celery, and wood sorrel in the greatest abundance...' (Byron 1773: 85).

The botanist Mr. Banks and Captain Cook regularly outline the consumption of fresh vegetables in long voyages being routinely adopted by the Navy at the end of the 18th century.

Wood is abundant or present in the Magellan Straits and south of Tierra del Fuego (Byron 1773: 71). Nevertheless, it is mainly scarce in the rest of the area and this scarcity is mentioned frequently in historical documents (e.g. Byron 1773; Dalrymple 1775). In 1670 Narborough had reported that 'there was not enough wood in Patagonia to make a handle for an axe' (Narborough 1694: 27). In the eighteenth-century Anson confirmed Narborough's report with the landscape not having changed in seventy years and still not a single tree could be seen (Heaps 1973: 63). In the Malvinas/Falklands wood is scarce (e.g. Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973; Wallis 1773). Going from these Islands to Magellan Straits or South of Tierra del Fuego in search for wood represent one or two days voyage. Thus, having a permanent settlement in the Malvinas/Falklands contributed to provide access to this critical resource key for survival but also useful for erecting houses and naval purposes (e.g. fixing masts and maintenance of ships in general). While being based in Port Egmont, Captain Raynor, in charge of the *Swift* in 1767, proposed to send two ships to Port Famine in Magellan Straits in search for wood (Raynor 1767: Jan 10th 1767). The order was

'to cut wood for erecting storehouses (in Port Egmont), and fuel for winter which we shall stand in great need of.' (Raynor 1767: Jan 10th 1767).

Therefore, the attached meanings that the British would have towards the Malvinas/Falklands were related to its geographical position and the present and future potential links, *i.e.* to resources and/or maritime routes that this location could enable (see Chapter 8).

There is an irregular distribution of terrestrial mammals on the Atlantic coast. Examples include the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the red fox (*Pseudalopex culpaeus*), the skunk (*Conepatus humboldtii*) and small rodents. The guanaco is a medium-sized terrestrial mammal with gregarious habits, which has lived in Patagonia since the end of the Pleistocene era and is highly exploited by indigenous populations. Historical sources mention that 'during our walk, we saw several guanacos, a species of deer, but larger' (Gower 1803:54). Byron described them as well and emphasising the desert conditions of Patagonia he mentions that he 'had watched the guanicoes, and seen them drink at the salt ponds.' (Byron 1773: 56). This lack of terrestrial mammals is supplemented by the abundance of marine mammals such as pinnipeds and cetaceans as well as marine birds and molluscs. For practical purposes I summarise this information in table 6.1:

Table 6-1. Summary of resources in Patagonia frequently mentioned by 18th century British journals (Source: Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973; Wallis 1773)

Resource	Description	Area
Pinnipeds	Abundant	Coast of Santa Cruz (e.g. Cape Blanco, Puerto Deseado) Magellan Straits South of Tierra del Fuego The Malvinas/Falkland Islands
Cetaceans	Abundant	South Atlantic Coast South of Tierra del Fuego The Malvinas/Falkland Islands
Wild-fowl	Abundant	Coast of Santa Cruz (e.g. Cape Blanco, Puerto Deseado, San Julián) Magellan Straits South of Tierra del Fuego The Malvinas/Falkland Islands
Molluscs	Scarce	Pacific coast of Magellan Straits
	Abundant	Coast of Santa Cruz (e.g. Cape Blanco, Puerto Deseado, San Julián) Magellan Straits South of Tierra del Fuego The Malvinas/Falkland Islands
	Scarce	Pacific coast of Magellan Straits

I argue that the availability and accessibility of resources for survival and future commercialisation offered by some specific places in Patagonia were significant for the action of the British. Historical documents repeatedly reference the presence of abundant resources in Coast of Santa Cruz, Magellan Straits, south of Tierra del Fuego and the Malvinas/Falkland Islands (Table 6.1). In the south coast of Patagonia Byron observes that

‘... the sea appeared as red as blood, being covered with small shell-fish of that colour, somewhat resembling our crayfish, but less, of which we took up great quantities in baskets’ (Byron 1773: 48).

Byron is referring to krill, a small crustacean found close to the Antarctic. It constitutes the main food for whales and it is rich in proteins for human consumption. Krill can indicate the presence of whales in the area, bearing in mind that whaling products were commercially important in the 18th century (Gojak 1998; Gullov 1985; Kostoglou & McCarthy 1991; Stuart 1998). Byron outlines the abundance of cetaceans, pinnipeds and wild-fowl in the Malvinas/Falklands (Byron 1773: 61). On the return to these islands Gower, the Lieutenant of the *Swift*, adds that

‘We had hail, sleet, and intervals of rain all the passage, and were accompanied by whales, seals and a variety of birds.’ (Gower 1803: 64)

These factors suggest that having a permanent settlement in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands would allow the British to exploit these

resources with more regularity and accessibility. Therefore, other British ships travelling to the South waters could get provisions on this base to continue their journey. Byron perceives the harbour of Port Egmont in the Malvinas/Falklands as

‘... one of the finest harbours in the world. The mouth of it is S.E. distant seven leagues from the low rocky island, which is a good mark to know it by: ... The whole navy of England might ride here in perfect security from all winds. In every part of Port Egmont there is fresh water in the greatest plenty, and geese, ducks, snipes, and other birds (...) wood however, is wanting here, except a little that is found adrift along the shore, which I imagined came from the Strait of Magellan.’ (Byron 1773: 84-85)

Therefore, I believe the British settlement in Port Egmont offered the best choice due to its natural qualities: good and safe harbour, easy to find, and with access and presence of natural resources for survival and potential commercialisation (e.g. water, fish, wild-fowl, seals, sea lions, molluscs, penguins and whales) important in the 18th century capitalistic and colonial contexts (issue further explored in Chapter 8).

6.2.1 Europeans in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands

Towards the end of the 18th century, France and England tried to open the trade route via the South Atlantic through the Magellan Straits to enter into direct contact with the Peruvian-Chilean market (Liss 1989). Furthermore, by the early 1770s the British government was sending 1000 convicts annually across the Atlantic with the aim of

‘...removing these undesirable members from British society, of giving them the benefit of a change of environment, and of providing the colonies with a cheap labour force’ (Frost 1980: xi).

Some members of the House of Commons suggested sending convicts to the West Indies and the Malvinas/Falklands (Frost 1980: 3). Thus, expeditions to Spanish America and West Indies needed to be planned.

In 1764 the French explorer Bouganville departed for the South Atlantic. In that year, Bouganville seized the “Malouines” Islands, later to become the Malvinas, in the name of King Louis XV. The Spanish Crown immediately claimed its sovereign rights to the islands, demanding that the French abandon the land (Goebel 1927: 225-230). The French Court accepted these demands peacefully and in 1766 Bouganville returned the islands which remained subject to the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires (Hidalgo Nieto 1947).

At the same time the British Admiralty had decided to establish a supply base in the area and Commodore Byron commanded this mission. In 1764 he arrived at Puerto Deseado (Caillet-Bois 1952: 119; Goebel 1927: 231) and one year later he anchored on the West Malvina/Falkland

(‘Saunders’ isle, later ‘*Trinidad*’). Within a short time, Port Egmont was founded, comprising a fort and a harbour and the Islands were seized in the name of His Majesty George III (Byron 1773: 86; Goebel 1927: 232). Therefore, in 1766, there were British and French settlements co-existing in the archipelago.

In 1768, the Spanish Court responded to the British invasion of the islands, ordering the expulsion of the British using force if required (Hidalgo Nieto 1947). From Buenos Aires two vessels were sent under the command of Captain Rubalcava, who arrived at Port Egmont on February 1770 (Caillet-Bois 1952: 122). The frigate *Tamar*, the sloops *Swift* and *Favorite*, and the transport *Florida*, combined with a battery on land represented the opposing force. Captain Rubalcava demanded that the British abandon the plaza without any success (Caillet-Bois 1952; Hidalgo Nieto 1947). Here lies the beginning of the conflicts between Spain and England, through claiming two rights: 1) the Right of Sovereignty claimed by Spain, and 2) the Claim of Discovery and Settlement claimed by England (Caillet-Bois 1952). A few days later, after this event, the *Swift* departed from the Malvinas/Falklands to undertake observations and surveys around Patagonia. Unfortunately her mission could not be completed, having been wrecked in Puerto Deseado on the 13th March 1770 (Section 6.2.1.1).

In May 1770 Captains Rubalcava and Madariaga left Montevideo sailing towards the Malvinas/Falklands with a fleet composed of six well-armed ships. The Spanish arrived at Port Egmont in June, finding only one British ship, the sloop *Favorite*, 16 cannons and 156 men (Caillet-Bois 1952: 124). Once again, the Spanish and the British could not reach a peaceful agreement (Document 2 1770; Document 3 1770; Farmer 1769-1770). Outnumbered, the small British garrison was obliged to surrender and the Spanish conquered Port Egmont on the 10th June 1770 (Cawkell et al 1960: 31; Goebel 1927: xiii). HMS *Favorite* was sent back to Britain arriving in September that year. Nevertheless, the ‘diplomatic crisis’ (*sensu* Goebel 1927) persisted between these two countries. In 1771, an order for restitution was signed between Spain and Britain (see Goebel 1927: 316-363) but the reservation of rights by Spain was declared through ‘the secret promise’ (for further details see Goebel 1927: 316-363). As a result, the British returned to the Malvinas/Falklands with a fleet under the command of Captain Scott (*ibid.*: xiv). Nevertheless, the British withdrew their garrison from Port Egmont in 1774 (Cawkell et al 1960: 34-35; Goebel 1927). When the British went back to Britain, a plaque was left reiterating British rights over the Malvinas/Falklands saying

‘In witness whereof this plaque is set up, and his Britannic Majesty’s colours left flying as a mark of possession’ (Goebel 1927: xiv)

By the presence of two significant material elements, the British flag and the plaque, I believe that the British tried not only to ensure the islands' possession, but also to reinforce Britishness 'in their absence', and the British position and power over those latitudes (see Chapter 8).

Spain reasserted its rights in the Malvinas/Falklands, particularly the East Malvina/Falklands, which was acquired from an agreement with the French. These rights passed to Argentina after its independence from Spain in 1816. In 1832, two British warships, the *Clio* and the *Tyne*, were dispatched to the Malvinas/Falklands. The *Clio* first arrived at Port *Soledad* (East Malvina/Falkland). This event provoked a revolt between the Argentines living in the Malvinas/Falklands and the British which had resulted in the murder of the Argentine governor of the Islands. Therefore, in 1833, the Argentineans had to vacate the area. Since then, the islands remain under the British Crown (for further details on the history of the Malvinas/Falklands see Cawkell et al 1960; Caillet-Bois 1952; Goebel 1927; Hidalgo Nieto 1947).

6.2.1.1 HMS *Swift*

Some historical documents state that a great portion of the coasts of the Malvinas/Falkland Islands and of continental Patagonia was still unexplored in the 18th century (see Beatson 1804; Gower 1803; Historical Chronicle 1770). However, other documents indicate that by the end of the 18th century the Malvinas/Falkland Islands were well known and charted (Document 15 1769: Folio 36). It was decided that the 263-ton sloop *Swift* should be used to rectify this 'lack of information' especially regarding the Patagonian coast (Swift Court Martial 1770: 2). In comparison to other sloops of that time, the *Swift* had a significant depth in the hold and this could have represented a disadvantage for performing coastal explorations and surveys (Murray et al 2003: 105). However, the *Swift* had two cutters which would have been used for these purposes.

The *Swift*'s initial orders were to protect the British settlement in the Malvinas/Falklands because of the possibility of imminent confrontations with the Spanish (see Figure 6.1; Farmer 1769-1770: Oct 23rd 1769; Document 11 1769: 25th September 1769; Document 15 1769: Folios 31, 35 and 36).

While in Port Egmont, according to Admiralty orders, HMS *Swift* departed from this harbour on March 7th 1770 to survey isles and bays on the Patagonian coast and Austral Edge (Swift Court Martial 1770: 2). If they were carrying out observations and surveys around Patagonia, why was this interest in an area that was under the Spanish domain and potential political conflicts could be provoked? The reasons could be that:

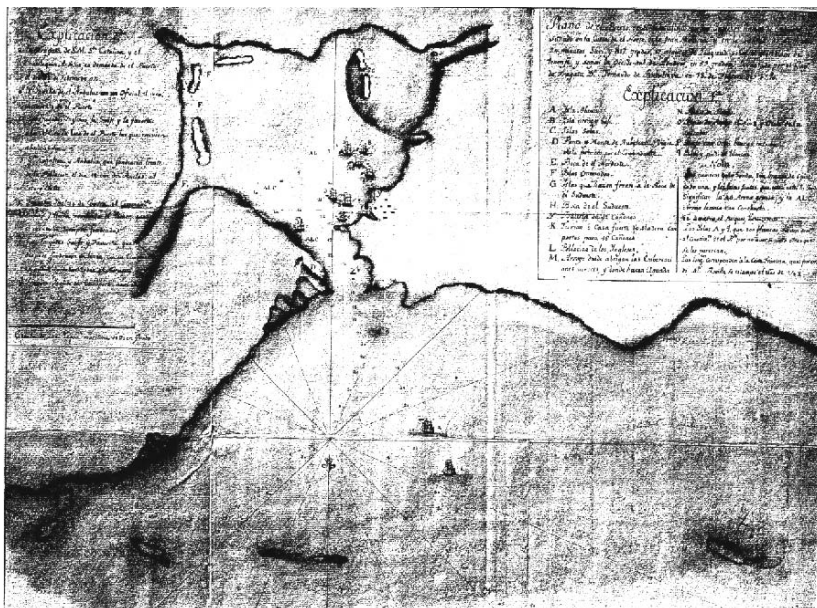


Figure 6-1. Map of Port Egmont during Rubalcava expedition in February 1770, showing the location of the *Swift* and *Tamar*. Source: *Mapoteca del Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales* (Buenos Aires) Ref.: National Library, map 61, Geo. 1-3

1) by knowing the availability of resources in Patagonia, the British settlement in Port Egmont was possibly used as a naval storage station to provide provisions to other British ships or allies travelling to the Southern waters; and 2) by knowing the area and what is available, the British could be in a better position to assess risks for their maritime enterprises and in this way minimise the potential of losing their strategic position in the South Atlantic (McNall Burns 1980; Seignobos 1966). But, how important was the base of Port Egmont to maintain this strategic position? I think this was related to British geo-political decisions to monitor and control French actions, and to a certain extent those of the Spanish. The British probably perceived the presence of these European powers as a potential threat to their colonies in the West Indies and their sugar exports and also the route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. In this context, the British base at Port Egmont could represent a strategic place for the protection of other colonies (e.g. the West Indies and the future colony of Port Jackson (NSW)). Therefore, these potential conflicts and the competition between European powers probably encouraged the British to explore new areas on the Southern waters and set up the British settlement of Port Egmont.

During the *Swift*'s journey, a strong gale from the south started. When the Patagonian coast was spotted, they were close enough to Puerto Deseado to attempt entry into the estuary, which had been previously explored by Byron's 1764 expedition. E. Gower, the Lieutenant of HMS *Swift*, knew this area because he had been part of Byron's crew (Document 19 1764-1765; Figure 6.2). On the 13th of March 1770, the *Swift* sank after being stranded on a rock hidden by the high tide, with most of the crew managing to survive (Gower 1803).

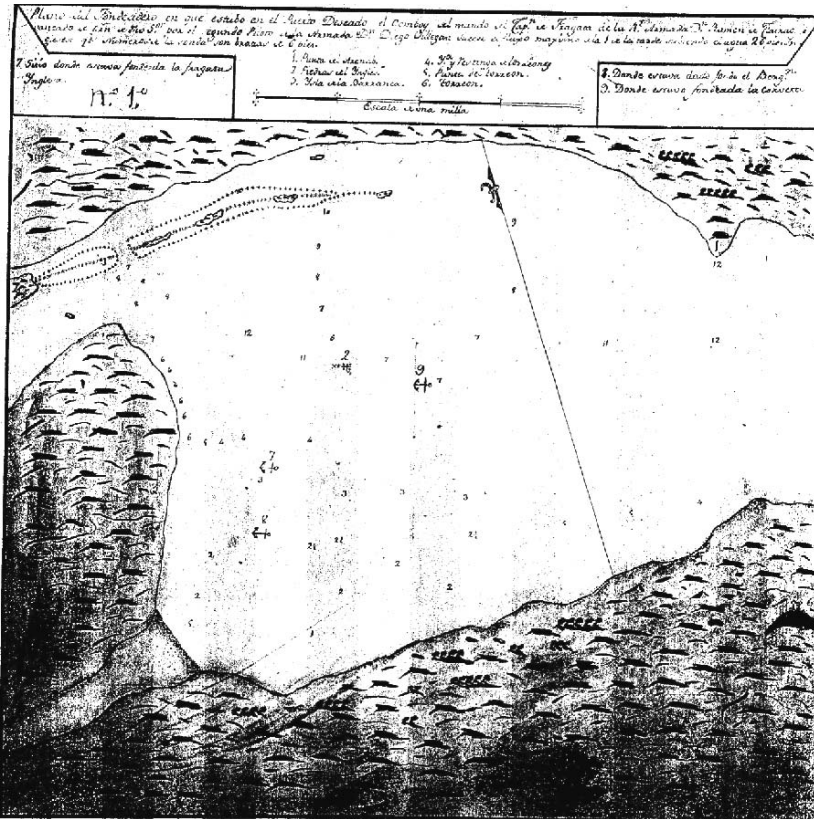


Figure 6-2. Map of the harbour of Puerto Deseado showing where the 'British ship' (probably the *Swift*) was anchored. Source: Archivo General de Simancas XIX-40

With the first freezing days of the Patagonian winter approaching, with little hope of survival and with no one on the Malvinas/Falkland Islands knowing of their whereabouts, the master of the *Swift* William White and six men decided to sail to Port Egmont in search of help (Gower 1803;

Swift Court Martial 1770; Swift Muster Book 1766-69). They set off in the six-oared cutter fitting it out as best as possible for the risky journey (Beatson 1804: 3; Gower 1803: 51-2 and 69). They arrived at the Malvinas/Falklands informing them about the wreckage and, a month later, the *Swift* survivors were rescued by the sloop *Favorite* under the command of Captain Maltby (Caillet-Bois 1952: 124; Gower 1803: 70-72). They returned to the Malvinas/Falklands and they remained there before returning to Britain in September 1770.

6.2.2 Puerto Deseado

Puerto Deseado is located on the north-eastern coast of the Santa Cruz Province. The Patagonian coast has a large tidal range variation of 8 or 9 metres in some areas. In Puerto Deseado the tidal range usually fluctuates between 3.5 and 5.5 metres generating strong tidal currents due to the amount of water entering and leaving the estuary. This wide fluctuation has been in the past one of the environmental factors contributing to shipwrecks, the *Swift* being an example (Section 6.2.1.1).

The principal feature of Puerto Deseado is that its harbour has been well known since historical times as a good natural port in close proximity to specific natural resources (e.g. salt mines, penguins, sea lions and elephant seals rookeries). In the Deseado Estuary Nature Reserve the local fauna includes sea lions, commerson dolphins, and a wide variety of birds such as Magellan penguins, cormorants, gulls, oystercatchers and Antarctic doves. The historical and archaeological data from the *Swift* wreck could support the idea of British exploitation of natural resources either for survival or for possible economic profits. During the December 2001 fieldwork season, at the stern of the ship a bowl and a 'pint type' glass, each with an egg inside, were discovered. The eggs were identified by one of the Marine Biologists in Puerto Deseado as Emperor Penguin eggs (Dr. Frere *pers. comm.* December 2001). Emperor Penguins are not common in the area of Puerto Deseado but they are in the Malvinas/Falklands, the last registered stop of the *Swift*. This would suggest that natural resources were provided in the Malvinas/Falklands as part of the provisions for the trip to the Patagonian coast.

The historical data recurrently emphasises the variety of resources in Puerto Deseado. The Lieutenant of the *Swift*, for example, mentions the presence of:

- salt supplies:
'... in the valleys near the sea, found a quantity of salt, and brought some with them' (Gower 1803: 55);
and Byron adds that the lack of water along Deseado river

‘... was a discouraging circumstance ... had watched the guanicoes, and seen them drink at the salt ponds.’ (Byron 1773: 56)

- terrestrial animals: guanacos, hares, foxes (Gower 1803: 54);
- marine mammals: seals (currently sea lions), penguins (Gower 1803: 52);
- molluscs: mussels, ostriches (rheas) (Gower 1803:54-5); and
- birds: they saw several types of birds such as hawks, sea-gulls, penguins and sheldrakes which are

‘... birds as large as ducks, and when on the wing very much alike’ (Gower 1803: 51-52).

Byron also highlights this variety of resources mentioning that in Puerto Deseado ‘...there were thousands of seals and penguins...’ (Byron 1773: 14). And, he continues describing that

‘I went farther up the harbour, and landed upon an island that was covered with seals, of which *we killed above fifty*, and among them many that were larger than a bullock, having before half loaded our boat with different kinds of birds, of which, and seals, *there are enough to supply the navy of England*’ (Byron 1773: 15; my emphasis).

Later on, surveying the interior of the estuary, Byron adds that there is ‘... a great variety of wild fowl, particularly ducks, geese, widgeon, and sea-pies, besides many others for which we have no name. Here is also such plenty of excellent mussels, that a boat may be loaded with them every time it is low water’ (Byron 1773: 20). ‘I found there such a number of birds, that when they rose *they literally darkened the sky*, and we could not walk a step without treading upon their eggs. ..., the men knocked down many of them with stones and sticks, and carried off *several hundreds of their eggs*.’ (Byron 1773: 57; my emphasis).

The scarcity of fresh water in the area is recurrently emphasised by various British sailors. In the 17th Century, Narborough mentions the lack of fresh water in this harbour (Narborough 1694: 26). A century later Byron emphasises the same, highlighting the salty soil and arid area (Byron 1773: 17). Gower, during their stay in Puerto Deseado due to the wreckage, adds that

‘We then divided in search of water. About noon, some of the people returned, having found two wells, or pools, of brackish, dirty, black water’ (Gower 1803: 49).

Wood is certainly scarce in the area, historical sources mentioning that ‘... I searched the shore, but found no Wood, and very little fresh Water: on the hilly and large Downs, very few Bushes, but dry, long Grass growing in tufts and knots; the Soil is gravelly and dry ...’ (Narborough 1694: 26).

‘..., I landed, and walked a little way into the country, which as far as I could see was all downs, without a single tree or shrub.’ (Byron 1773: 15).

When surveying Puerto Deseado estuary Byron adds that

‘Wood indeed is scarce; however in some parts of this coast there are bushes, which in a case of necessity might produce a tolerable supply of fuel’ (Byron 1773: 20).

After exploring the environmental and historical contexts for Patagonia and some significant places for British action, I examine in the next section, the characteristics of the physical landscapes of Southeast Australia.

6.3 ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT ON THE SOUTHEAST COAST OF AUSTRALIA

This section also combines environmental and historical data. I focus only in the area of NSW because the *Sirius* was commissioned to help in the colonial activities undertaken on the British settlement in Port Jackson (Sydney) at the end of 1780. I believe that the comparison between the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia will contribute to understand British action in sharper relief (Section 6.4 and Chapter 8).

6.3.1 New South Wales

The British fleet arrived at Botany Bay (coast of NSW) in 1788, the colonisers perceiving this land as ‘*Terra Nullius*’ meaning a place without civilisation (Shaw 1966: 49, 58-78). NSW weather is warm with semi-tropical summers particularly in the lower central area. In the whole region rainfall is heaviest from March to June. Historical sources outline that the climate is very good and the means of support attainable (Clark 1955: 27). The interior plains are generally dry while the coast is very humid with fertile soil. The coast of NSW was considered a place where the colony in Port Jackson, located in the area of Botany Bay (3 leagues southward from Port Jackson), could support itself without depending on regular supply of provisions from Britain (Clark 1955: 26). The fertility of the soil, presence of two critical resources for survival *i.e.* fresh water and wood, and wide variety of flora and fauna made this consideration possible. In the 18th century, while in Botany Bay, Banks mentions that

‘Land much as yesterday, fertile but varying its appearance a good deal, generally however well clothed with good trees’ (Banks 1768-1771: 12th May 1770).

Other sources outline that

‘... the proportion of rich soil was sufficient to support a very large number of people ...’ (Clark 1955: 27)

The settlement at Port Jackson was part of a strategic plan to establish and maintain a permanent British presence in the Eastern and South Pacific waters (Frost 1980: 111-141, discussed in Chapter 8). This idea of a 'self-sufficient' colony made the coast of NSW and especially Port Jackson a significant and potential place to settle a British colony. The historical sources highlight that the cultivation of the land required very little skill of labour, activity that convicts could do (*ibid.*: 33). But during the first years of Port Jackson settlement (1788-1790) there were repeated stories of shortage. Even though agricultural activities were successful (Clark 1955: 51), this idea of self-sufficiency was an illusion. During these years, the settlers suffered from lack of provisions. Port Jackson needed resources from other colonies and places (e.g. India, Cape of Good Hope and China) to support its people. The *Sirius* was one of the ships employed to search for provisions on several occasions (*ibid.*: 51-2, 56).

'... it was necessary to order the *Sirius* to go to the Cape of Good Hope in order to procure grain, and at the same time what quantity of flour and provisions she can receive...' (Clark 1955: 57).

Also HMS *Supply*, the other ship commissioned to Port Jackson, was sent to Cape of Good Hope or Batavia to provide food supplies (*ibid.*: 57, 62). In this way, Port Jackson was dependant on inter-colonial trade for its own survival.

As mentioned previously, critical resources for survival were considered important when settling a colony. Knowing the physical features of the landscape could help to identify these resources easily, point further explore in Chapter 8. For example, the NSW coast is backed by massive scarps, cut by canyons which may lead to waterfalls, a good indicator of sources of fresh water (Spate 1968: 24). Historical documents outline that the country was well supplied with fresh water and wood (e.g. Clark 1955: 27). While in Botany Bay Cook highlights that they

'... procure wood as well as water in great abundance.' (Cook 1768-1771a: 505)

Besides, the geological formation of the canyons is carboniferous which gives it the peculiarity of having large coalfields (Wallace 1879), an important resource for emerging industrialised countries in the end of 18th and 19th century. Darwin, when in Port Jackson in the 1830s draws a clear example on this matter. He outlines that

'Possessing coal, she (Australia) always has the moving power at hand. From the habitable country along the coast, and from her English extraction, ...' (Darwin 1997: 422).

Its wildlife is characterised by kangaroos, koalas, and a wide variety of wildfowl, fish and marine mammals including dolphins and seasonally whales. Historically, the fishing and whaling industry had a big impact on this area. The history of British fishing and whaling activities in the South

Pacific started approximately at the same time that the first British settlement in NSW was founded. The British ship *Emilia* entered the Pacific from Cape Horn in 1788 returning to Britain with its cargo of whales in 1790 (Gojak 1998: 11). The British ships *Britannia*, *William* and *Ann* were also employed to performed whaling activities in Australia at the end of the 18th century (see Gojak 1998). These activities were shore-based with whaling stations strategically operating from the shore. The Port of Sydney was a significant focus for whaling vessels in the early 19th Century (*ibid.*). However, Norfolk Island did not become an important centre for deep-sea whalers until mid 19th century (*ibid.*).

The flora of NSW includes edible vegetables, sources mentioning in particular a sort of wild spinach (Clark 1955: 27). There is also abundant wood for timber and fuel, sufficient to build the number of buildings that might be considered necessary (Clark 1955: 27). Eucalyptus, for example, is common in the Australian landscape and it is exploited in NSW. The qualities of eucalyptus oil have been recognised since the early years of Australia's European settlement. Its oil is used mainly for medicinal, industrial, perfumery, and flavouring purposes, the latter being little produced in Australia. Archaeological remains attributed to a distillery for eucalyptus oil was found in NSW and other examples can also be found in other parts of south-eastern Australia (see Pearson 1993). Furthermore, some eucalyptus species were valuable for the growing shipping industry in combination with other tree species such as Pine and Oak also abundant in the area of NSW (Davis 1962; Wallace 1879; see Chapter 8). These species are also present in Norfolk Island. The British settlement built in Port Jackson was linked, at the end of 18th century, with regular voyages to Norfolk Island, place being used to provide different kinds of provisions for Port Jackson and settlement for convicts (see Section 6.3.2).

6.3.2 Norfolk Island and the Wreck of the Sirius

Norfolk Island is a small and fertile volcanic outcrop which has a great variety of native plants. Predominant among its trees is the stately Norfolk Island pine, which is useful in the shipping industry. The climate is subtropical, mild and with little seasonal temperature variation. Most of the 32 km coastline consists of almost inaccessible cliffs, but the land slopes down to the sea in one small southern area on Sydney Bay, where the capital of Kingston is situated.

In the late 18th century (1774), Cook reported that Norfolk Island was uninhabited, claiming possession of the Island for the British Crown (Cook 1773a). Norfolk Island was the site of one of the earliest European settlements in the Southwest Pacific. In January 1788 Britain's First Fleet

had arrived at Port Jackson to establish the penal colony of NSW and, two months later, as a symbol of possession the British flag was raised over Norfolk Island (Clark 1962). From 1788 to 1814 the British established a penal settlement with both convicts and free settlers (Clark 1955: 74-77). The occupation of Norfolk Island was to serve to: 1) provide food for Sydney, such as maize, wheat, potatoes, cabbage, and various fruits; 2) make available timber, masts and sails from pine and flax for the refurbishment of British ships, and 3) prevent the island falling into the hands of the French.

Norfolk Island is akin to New Zealand, with native flax (for naval purposes and textile manufacture) and pines offering good timber for building houses and shipbuilding (Clark 1955: 74; Cook 1773b: 565-66). Thus, Norfolk Island was an interesting place for the prospect of obtaining naval stores from the South Pacific. The costs of transporting and maintaining a settlement in NSW were of considerable expense, but the strategic location and profits of this investment were worth it (see Cook 1773b: 126-141).

6.3.2.1 HMS *Sirius*

HMS *Sirius* was built for the India trade (Frost 1980: 137) and played an important role in the founding and early development of the Port Jackson colony (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 8). The *Sirius*'s significance lies in the fact that it was mainly used to provide goods and provisions from other British colonies in the East which were scarce in Port Jackson. HMS *Sirius* was contributing to the maintenance and survival of the colonisers in Port Jackson. In 1790, Norfolk Island received some 300 new people and the British ships *Sirius* and *Supply* to its shore. They brought two companies of Marines and new convicts from Port Jackson, where dwindling supplies of food had become a serious problem (Frost 1980). Unfortunately, the 540-ton *Sirius* and most of its provisions were lost in Norfolk Island waters (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 7). The continuing influx of convicts from Port Jackson during the following few years saw Norfolk Island as a labour camp for Port Jackson's most difficult convicts. Nevertheless, by 1814, the island was empty. The expanding colony of NSW had no further need to import food from Norfolk. The people who had occupied it were shipped back to NSW. The structures of the settlement were razed or pulled down in order to dissuade passing ships from reoccupying the island and to make it less appealing for escaped convicts.

6.4 SUMMARY

This chapter combined environmental and historical information to identify some variables that could have been relevant when applying British strategies. A brief summary of the environmental characteristics for the two areas under study is presented in table 6.2 identifying the main resources which are frequently mentioned in historical sources.

Table 6-2. Comparison of general environmental conditions in Patagonia and the coast of New South Wales (Source: Banks 1768-1771; Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Clark 1955; Cook 1768-1771a; Cook 1773a, b; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973; Wallis 1773)

General Environmental Conditions		
	Patagonia	New South Wales
Climate	Arid, very cold and dry	Semi-tropical, humid and warm
Rainfall	Scarce	Abundant
Critical Resources		
Water	Scarce	Abundant
Wood	Scarce	Abundant
Soil	Salty	Fertile (especially on the coast)
Vegetation	Scrubs	Eucalyptus Acacia Pine and Oak
Cetaceans	Whales	Whales Dolphins
Pinnipeds	Sea lions Seals	-
Fish	Abundant	Abundant
Molluscs	Abundant	Abundant
Wild-fowl	Abundant & varied	Abundant & varied
Herbs & Spices	Abundant	Abundant
Timber (shipping and/or building construction)	Scarce	Abundant
Salt	Present	-
Minerals & rocks	Granite Obsidian Flint pebbles Some gold	Coal Sandstone Limestone Granite Diamonds Gold Iron

I believe that the choices of places such as Puerto Deseado, the Malvinas/Falklands, Port Jackson and Norfolk Island to establish naval supply bases and temporary or permanent settlements were not random (see Chapter 8). British interests were mainly strategic in the sense of connecting areas where links between land and sea could be established through easy access to both resources for survival and lucrative ones (e.g. the link of the Malvinas/Falklands and Magellan Straits mentioned in Section 6.2). British action prioritised gaining possession and control over natural resources to generate profits. Throughout this chapter it can be inferred that, in general, the British emphasis was mainly focused on natural resources suitable for survival as well as economically profitable and desirable for commercialisation and European consumption. For example, at the end of the 18th century, birds were an exotic resource for European communities and were considered luxury items. Rodger emphasises the profitable sale of these animals at a London bird market (Rodger 1988: 70). In NSW and Patagonia there are great varieties of birds regularly described in historical documents, such as this description of the Andean condor:

‘Among the birds one was very remarkable: the head resembled that of an eagle, except that it had a large comb upon it; round the neck there was a white ruff, exactly resembling a lady’s tippet; the feathers on the back were as black as jet, and as bright as the finest polish could render that mineral: the legs were remarkably strong and large, the talons were like those of an eagle, except that they were not so sharp, and the wings, when they were extended, measured, from point to point, no less than twelve feet’ (Byron 1773: 15).

It also becomes apparent through historical documents that the observation of nature (e.g. animal behaviour) was a way of finding out where some natural resources were available (e.g. Byron 1773: 56). Therefore, knowledge about the physical characteristics of a place was important to assess the accessibility and control over natural resources (see Chapter 8). The emphasis on specific resources is expressed through documentary records that repeatedly mention resources such as wildfowl, whales, seals, sea lions, penguins, and salt for consumption and for preserving animals’ skins especially in long-sea voyages. These resources were present in the places analysed for the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2) reinforcing the idea of meaning and significance that the British attributed to these areas to satisfy their needs and interests.

The British considered the coast of NSW a meaningful area to settle their colonies due to the physical characteristics of the NSW landscape. The resources available in NSW (see Table 6.2) were more promising to maintain a settlement than those in Patagonia and, in fact, it was on the

NSW coast (specifically Sydney harbour) where the first British settlement was built. Despite the initial drawbacks that this British settlement had, its location contributed to maintain the continuity of the British colony in Port Jackson. Through my analysis of historical documents, I argue that the location of Sydney harbour was important when establishing this settlement, not only as a penal settlement but also for obtaining natural resources and naval stores from the area; for example from Norfolk Island and New Zealand (Frost 1980: 23). Port Jackson offered sheltered, safe anchorage, refreshment and was amenable to fortification (Cook 1773a: 304, 310-11). British ships could be sent into the South Seas whenever it was necessary. Besides, Port Jackson was a place where the British used the convicts' labour to increase the nation's capacity to protect her position and commerce in the East (Frost 1980: 121). The rich soils offered the settlers the possibility to cultivate exotic plants and spices in the area to commercial advantage (Frost 1980: 27). Thus,

'European cattle should thrive there, as should corn and pulse.' (Frost 1980: 39)

The area had also the potential to meet the needs of the colonists and visiting ships. There were native resources on land and sea (e.g. wildfowl, trees offering an abundant supply of fuel and building materials, molluscs and fish among others) offering prospect of settlement growth (Cook 1773a).

In contrast, Patagonia is generally characterised by desert conditions. However, the British kept their interest in it, expressed through historical documents and the regular visits to the area. Fresh water and wood are two critical, yet scarce resources in Patagonia. Nevertheless, there are some key places where these resources can be found. Therefore, the Malvinas/Falklands, Magellan Straits and south of Tierra del Fuego represented areas of attraction for European action. Furthermore, specific regular use of these areas from both European and native groups could imply eventual competition for those resources. I also argued in this chapter that the Malvinas/Falklands was utilised as a naval supply settlement. It offered a good base to exploit wood sources available in Magellan Straits as well as to have access to the natural resources available on the Patagonian coast (Byron 1773). This would outline, especially from a British colonial point of view, the significant position of this place in the Patagonian landscape (see Chapter 8).

The *Swift* and the *Sirius* wrecks are located in strategic places. Puerto Deseado is near other natural ports or harbours that offer good natural sources (e.g. San Julian Bay, Cape Blanco and San Jorge Gulf) and it is 300 miles away from the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. The latter could be considered as a geo-political key place offering control over the

Patagonian coast and access to its resources. Norfolk Island offered provisions and resources that were in great need for the inhabitants in Port Jackson and it is 600 miles away from this British penal settlement. The political nature of the mission of both ships could arise because they were under the command of the British admiralty. However, I believe that, especially for the *Swift* case, her mission was not only political. There could also have been economic interests involved in the *Swift* mission when she left the Malvinas/Falklands. Puerto Deseado has an easy access coming from the Malvinas/Falklands and also has the potential for the exploitation of the specified natural resources mention in tables 6.1 and 6.2. In contrast, the last years of the *Sirius* were apparently devoted to provide provisions for the British colonial settlement in Port Jackson to ensure the survival of its inhabitants.

In summary, by exploring historical and environmental factors to understand British action at a local level, I identified that the British selection of places focused on access, availability, and control. These motives fuelled British action in remotes areas giving significance and meaning to places such as the Malvinas/Falklands, Puerto Deseado, Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. These motives also influenced settlements and wrecks distributions on the physical landscape further explored in Chapter 8. Following from this analysis of the motivation and circumstances behind coastal settlements and wreck location, the next chapter explores the portable material culture transported on Royal Navy ships. I focus my analysis on the pottery assemblage recovered from the *Swift* and the *Sirius* wrecks. I explore how British identities are expressed and constructed in *praxis* and how British action can be explored through this analysis. It is also examined how the British interrelated with coastal settlements in their respective theatres of operations, *i.e.* the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia

Chapter 7

BRITISH IDENTITIES THROUGH POTTERY IN PRAXIS

'We see artefacts as products of rational thought as well as conduits of emotion. They are about borrowing status, as well as forming identity... They are products of capitalism and rebellions against it' (Leone 1999b: 18)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been largely based on a recent paper published by the author in the *Journal of Material Culture* (see Dellino-Musgrave 2005). This chapter explores British action by applying the concept of *praxis*, or practical action, to the analysis of the materiality of social relations. This goal is achieved through the investigation of ships and the biography of their objects to identify patterns of production and consumption. I particularly focus on pottery cargoes and historical data mainly of the *Swift* and the *Sirius* wrecks, applying the concepts developed in Chapters 4 and 5. I concentrate on local scales looking at objects and the social relations they construct in Royal Navy ships, exploring the different ways that identities are expressed and projected (see Table 5.1). Due to the fragmentation of the *Sirius* pottery assemblage (Section 7.2.1) I considered it appropriate in some cases to establish a comparison with pottery cargoes from other 18th century British wrecks such as the *Sydney Cove* (1797) off north-eastern Tasmania and *Pandora* (1791) off the Great Barrier Reef (Queensland) to strengthen my arguments. Furthermore, this chapter analyses British material relations within the places of Malvinas/Falklands and Port Jackson, taking into account the characteristics discussed in Chapter 6.

The dynamism of capitalistic societies resulted in social transformations that were intrinsic to daily living in the 18th century and expressed in the material world. As part of this capitalistic context material culture was shipped across the globe to maintain and reproduce

social relations (*cf.* Staniforth 2003). Hence, the study of the materiality of social relations and the expression of identities of this era is essential to our understanding of the action of the British. By projecting identities the British could express difference, reinforce power, and maintain the continuity of British values and links with other British settlements and the ‘homeland’. Royal Navy ships were carriers of portable goods that had embedded and attached meanings. The study of the cargoes of these ships will therefore provide invaluable information of these meanings and how identities were projected as part of British action.

7.2 POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE AND ITS GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

British identities were expressed in military outposts or supply bases such as Port Egmont by emphasising difference in relation to ‘others’ (*sensu* Wolf 1982). The materiality of the social relations established in these places contributed to highlighting social differentiation not only on ships and at shore bases but also from other Europeans. It was principally the Spanish, the British and the French competing between themselves and with natives societies in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia (Chapter 8).

As a consequence of European competition (see Chapters 1, 6 and 8), the importance of difference was enhanced as a way of demonstrating power and promoting memory in new spaces. New spaces can be perceived as ‘weak’ in memories and experiences (see Chapter 8). This ‘weakness’ can be ‘strengthened’ through the material possession and display of goods, which hold personal biographies (see Gosden & Marshall 1999; Tilley 1994). Therefore, it is assumed that the *Swift* pottery assemblage described below carried the embedded and attached meanings that people attribute to objects. These meanings contribute to developing a sense of security, maintaining and reproducing social structures - what Giddens defines as ontological security (Giddens 1984: 64, 75 and 86). Through the material goods consumed, a sense of continuity and security across space can then be achieved when settling a new supply base or colony. In this way, ontological security is maintained in the *praxis* of pottery consumption through the social reproduction of British values. This is expressed in the material evidence recovered to date from the *Swift*, which comprises 141 ceramic artefacts with a considerable variety of pottery types illustrated in figure 7.1 and identified as:

- Earthenware (e.g. fine grained ochre-coloured earthenware, creamware and slipware (also see Elkin et al in press)) representing 26 per cent (36 artefacts) of the total.

- Stoneware (e.g. saltglaze, ‘bellarmine’ type, redware and rhenish) represented by 46 per cent (65 artefacts). I define ‘bellarmine’ type to be those artefacts composed of a very hard ceramic fired at high temperatures and are generally characterised as grey bodied stoneware coated with an iron-oxide slip. These properties offer good storage for provisions and most of the artefacts are containers or jugs. These ‘bellarmine’ type containers are also known as brown English stoneware containers, which were descendants of the German Rhenish stoneware (Noël Hume 1970). Large quantities of German Rhenish stoneware or ‘beard man stoneware jars’ – an image that was characteristic on this type of container - were imported from Germany to Britain in the 16th century (Gaimster 1997). In the late 17th century this hard stoneware started to be manufactured in London and was widely produced later on in different parts of Britain (Draper 1984: 33). HMS *Swift*’s saltglaze ‘bellarmine’ type containers do not present the characteristic ‘beard man’ image (Figure 7.2. For comparative purposes see Gesner 2000: Figures 144-47). The absence of this stylistic indicator could suggest that in the 18th century this type of stoneware was produced in Britain (*cf.* Draper 1984; Gaimster 1997; Gesner 2000: 112).
- Chinese Export porcelain (e.g. underglazed, overglazed and combined) represented by 28 per cent (40 artefacts) (for further details of the *Swift* assemblage see Elkin et al in press).

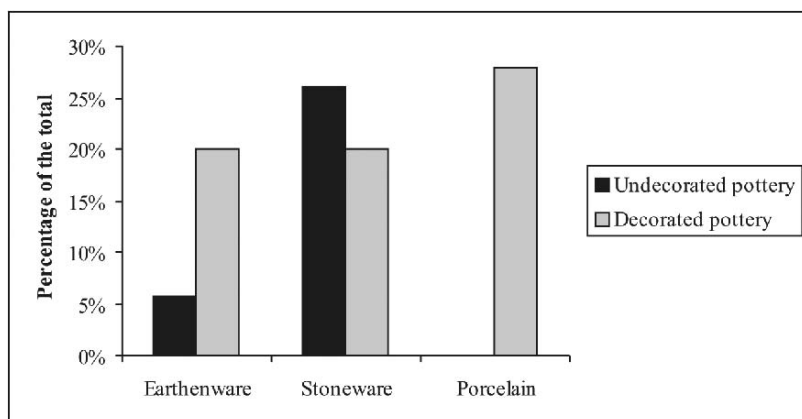


Figure 7-1. Percentage frequencies of undecorated (n = 45) and decorated (n = 96) pottery types in the *Swift* assemblage (n = number of vessels)



Figure 7-2. Saltglaze 'Bellarmine' type containers. *Swift* assemblage. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: V. Dellino-Musgrave (2001)

Material culture provides a thread of continuity in the process of constructing identities in new physical landscapes (Gosden 1994: 31). For example, most of the artefacts mentioned above have been recovered from the stern of HMS *Swift* and have been attributed to the officer's cabins. Furthermore, a significant percentage of the *Swift* pottery assemblage are good quality wares with decorative patterns (68 per cent; see Figure 7.1) such as underglazed, overglazed and relief decoration (Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6). This materiality could express social differentiation on board the ship, *i.e.* officers *versus* sailors as well as a bond between the officers. Saltglaze dinner plates with distinctive parallel marks have been found on the *Swift* assemblage, possibly reflecting personal ownership amongst officers. This could therefore represent the material reflection of a common bond between officers (see Section 7.5 and Figures 7.7 and 7.8). Furthermore, this social differentiation could have been translated to the settlement in Port Egmont. If this was the case, the higher percentage of decorated items than undecorated ones in the *Swift* cargo is interpreted as the reinforcement of 'Britishness' in the Malvinas/Falklands settlement (Dellino-Musgrave 2005). As times were difficult in the South Atlantic due to European competition, the material expression of identities would project 'Britishness' being perceived by other Europeans as a symbol of power and potential threat. The act of building a British settlement in the Malvinas/Falklands and the type and quality of goods consumed ensured the continuity of 'Britishness' across space. Hence, these material expressions were used in *praxis* as a way of enhancing difference in a highly competitive world.

Consequently, the *Swift* pottery variability and consumption of good quality wares could be interpreted as the *habitus* of a Royal Navy ship as part of the conscious and unconscious material trappings of everyday life

(see Bourdieu 1990: 52-60 and Chapter 5). *Habitus* underlines human behaviour, practices and the way that people identify themselves in relation to others (*ibid.*: 56-61). Hence, pottery variability and good quality wares expressed the material manifestation of habitual activities associated with the Royal Navy in the 18th century such as difference: a) on board as an indicator of social status, and b) with other Europeans through the figurative ‘display’ of the goods consumed.

7.2.1 Decorative Patterns as Lifestyle Indicators

The *Swift* ceramic cargo could be described as utilitarian due to the presence of dinner ware (e.g. plates, platters, sauceboats), tea ware (tea pots, bowls, saucers), toilet ware (chamber pots, jars) and storage ware (mostly stoneware jars), among others (for further details about the general *Swift* cargo see Elkin et al 2001; Elkin et al in press). These goods are utilitarian but more importantly they are carriers of meanings. We therefore need to expand this explanation by exploring the meanings embedded and attached to material goods. Following Miller (1987), goods are constitutive of our understanding of ourselves and others (Miller 1987: 215). For example, some of the artefacts recovered from the *Swift* were mass-produced (Figure 7.3). In the 18th century, industrial and technological developments made possible standardised productions and mould-made sets, amongst others, are the material expression of standardisation. It is widely known that press-moulded creamware and saltglaze types were manufactured in Britain. Earthenware and stoneware types, particularly creamware and saltglaze, were manufactured in press-moulds with relief decoration (Figure 7.3). Several plates and platters with elaborated rims have been identified, based on Noël Hume’s classification (Noël Hume 1970: 116, Figure 35). For example, ‘bead and reel’ saltglaze, ‘Barley’ pattern saltglaze, ‘Queens shape’ creamware, and ‘feather-edged’ creamware have been recognised.

Because moulded sets reflected social functions, such as the habit of drinking tea and other forms of behaviour, I argue that the understanding of ‘ourselves’ was related to ‘proper’ behaviour materially projected through the display of decorative designs in tea ware, such as the ‘Oriental-like’ decorations found in the *Swift* assemblage (Figure 7.4. Also see Weatherill 1996: 189). Moulded sets were associated with a specific group of people, ways and manners of living. In this way, particular groups of people could be bound in *praxis* through the goods consumed. The use of decorated dinner sets (Figures 7.3 and 7.5) and tea wares (Figure 7.4) made physical and visible statements about that bond as well as differences between diverse social groups. For example, on the



Figure 7-3. Creamware and saltglaze plates and platters. *Swift* Assemblage. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: V. Dellino-Musgrave (2001)

one hand, tea drinking habits were not common among the French in the 18th century but they were popular amongst the British. Thus, the significant quantity of tea sets found in the *Swift* wreck could be interpreted as the material expression of British social behaviour and their Britishness (Braudel 1979; Emmerson 1992; Weatherill 1996). Furthermore, through the documentary records that I have analysed, when Captain Cook made contact with the natives in Australia, he gave them a shirt to cover their nudity. But, they used it around their head like a turban (Cook 1906: 81). This example illustrates the ‘proper behaviour and social values’ expected from somebody with a specific social position like the Captain of a ship. This materiality would contribute to the construction of the self, expressing who we are and where we come from. In this way, differences with other Europeans and ethnic groups could be highlighted. On the other hand, at a ship level, the tea ware and dinner sets recovered are attributable to the *Swift* officers, bonding this specific group together. In *praxis*, this bond was necessary to effectively run a vessel (see Rodger 1988). This group would overlap with other groups lower down in the ship’s social structure in a complex web of social relations. This leads us to the *Swift* crew and the way that they bonded together. Only a few wooden plates were recovered from the *Swift* attributable to its crew. Therefore, the material expression of the bonding of the *Swift* crew is an aspect that needs to be considered in future research to further explore the complexity of the social relations at the various levels of the ship’s social structure.

7.2.2 Pottery Imitation and Definition of Ourselves

One of the characteristics from the mid-18th century onwards was experimentation in pottery production, trying to imitate or copy Chinese porcelain and its designs which were considered as a social indicator of good taste, manners and style (Adshead 1997: 28). Dry-bodied redware or ‘red porcelain’ types have been recognised in the *Swift* assemblage (Figure 7.4, identification based on Noël Hume 1970: 120-121). Teapots were the most common form adorned with very thin and cleanly moulded sprigged ornament in rococo motifs (Figure 7.4). The examples recovered in the *Swift* assemblage are marked on the base with pseudo-Chinese seals and were probably produced in Staffordshire or Leeds. Experiments in porcelain imitation started in Britain in the mid-18th century and they later became more accessible to different social spheres (Draper 1984: 53). Some British pottery makers like Spode and Wedgwood copied Chinese landscape motifs and developed their own Chinese designs (Potter 1999: 65; Staniforth & Nash 1998: 4). Through this act of ‘copying’ material culture some ‘exotic’ designs were therefore incorporated as ‘local’, as a way of identifying specific ways and manners of living. So, the adaptation and adoption of what was originally ‘exotic’ to suit British taste, was now perceived as ‘British’ because these goods could be ‘re-produced’ and purchased in Britain (Dellino-Musgrave 2005: 229).



Figure 7-4. Dry-bodied redware teapot with pseudo-Chinese designs. *Swift* assemblage. Artef. No. 1-95. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: D. Vainstub (2002)



Figure 7-5. Creamware sauce-boat with a feather-edged border. Matching set with some of the plates in Figure 7.3. *Swift* assemblage. Artef. No. 1-15-4. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: V. Dellino-Musgrave (2001)

Decorative motifs in the *Swift* pottery assemblage (Figures 7.1, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5) and the possession of specific goods in a Royal Navy environment is interpreted as a social context to memories and personal significance. The representation of high quality wares in the *Swift* pottery assemblage is 77 per cent of the total pottery collection. The quality has been identified by the author of this book according to manufacture techniques based on macroscopic observations such as the physical characteristics of the ceramic materials. I classified clay plastic quality according to the size and amalgamation of the crystals, the fired qualities (e.g. manufacture defects due to poorly fired clay) and the surface treatment (for further details see Arnold 1989; Rice 1987; Vandiver 1993). Among officers, it was common on long sea voyages to take household possessions with them. For example, the *Swift* was commissioned to be fitted for Foreign Service to the South Atlantic, specifically the Malvinas/Falklands, and was victualled with provisions for eight months (Document 5 1770: folios 27 and 49). Another documentary resource highlights that the *Swift* and its crew had to remain in the Malvinas/Falklands for twelve months (Document 1 1756-1800: folio 86). The Storeship *Florida* commissioned to the Malvinas/Falklands at the end of the 18th century received the same orders, carrying stores for six months (Document 5 1770: folio 50). The significant amount of quality goods found on the *Swift* and described at the beginning of section 7.2 is consistent with the studied historical documents about the *Swift* officers expecting to spend some time away from Britain, with a possible long stay in Port Egmont. Furthermore, the physical distance from other British settlements probably encouraged the *Swift* officers to carry more personal goods with them because the closest British settlements linked to the Malvinas/Falklands were in the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope,

and the future colony of Port Jackson in Australia. In this way, the physical distance could be diminished by the goods consumed, assuring continuity by calling into memory Britain, the ‘homeland’ (see Section 7.3.1).

The *Sirius* officers also knew that they were going to spend some time away from Britain and the settlement that they were building in NSW was only going to be their temporary home (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 123). However, merely 25 fragments of pottery have been found in the *Sirius* assemblage (data taken from Stanbury 1994: 93-102). The *Sirius* pottery assemblage is quite fragmented, probably because of the process of wreckage and the turbulent waters where the wreck is located (Henderson & Stanbury 1988: 7). The *Sirius* was commissioned to take convicts and provisions from Port Jackson to Norfolk Island the year that it sank. This fact supports the idea that the *Sirius* crew did not need to take many ceramic wares with them for this short and specific journey. Their base was in Port Jackson, and Norfolk Island is only 1000 miles northeast from Port Jackson (see Figure 3.4). Furthermore, as opposed to the Malvinas/Falklands case, the connection of Port Jackson with the British colonies of Calcutta, Bombay and Cape of Good Hope required only a few days of sea-voyage (see Frost 1980 and Figure 1.1). This explains the relevance of inter-colonial trade in Australasia and material culture dependency of Port Jackson discussed in Section 7.3.1 and Chapter 8 (also see Staniforth 2003a).

7.3 PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND HABITUAL ACTIONS

The production of goods, and within it the development of technology, comprises meaningful acts of engagement with the world where technical strategies and designs can materialise, reproduce, and transform social values, cultural predilections and consumption (Dobres 2000: 148). For example, at the end of the 18th century, increasingly refined table manners were developing. Kingston (1994) exemplifies this point when referencing a letter written to Joseph Banks in 1792, saying ‘... one of the reasons why the colony at Botany Bay was not attracting free settlers was that they could not be assured of obtaining there the kinds of goods essential for a civilised standard of living.’ (Kingston 1994: 5, quoted in Staniforth 1999: 98). So, it could be assumed that there was a need to maintain ‘civilised standards of living’ not only in new British settlements but also on Royal Navy ships. This was probably part of people’s social values and cultural predilections as well as a way of guaranteeing a secure environment (*sensu* Giddens 1984). In this way, by constructing a similar

system as in the homeland, people could create a familiar surrounding in an ‘unfamiliar’ environment. New patterns of social discipline congruent with capitalism were produced when these specific standards of living were transported to new British settlements and Royal Navy ships, keeping alive tradition and memory through the goods consumed. The manipulation of material culture in specific ways constructed ‘civilised behaviour’ and what was considered ‘socially accepted’. For example, the general characteristics of dinner and tea ware in the *Swift* pottery assemblage are: 1) the presence of matching sets (Figures 7.3, 7.5 and 7.6), 2) the large proportion of decorated items and matching designs (Figures 7.1, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6), 3) the quantity, and 4) the very good quality. This might reflect the material relations associated with ‘proper table manners’. This materiality also expressed the rules and everyday practices already established in the society that they came from. Therefore, by keeping habitual table manners and routines from the homeland away from home, the *Swift* crew was assured of retaining their Britishness, ensuring the social reproduction of British values and reproducing them in the naval settlement of Port Egmont.

British goods transported by Royal Navy ships, such as the *Swift*, were expressing and projecting present identities thereby giving these goods social value. The presence of refined but popular accessible British wares form 47 per cent of the *Swift* pottery assemblage recovered to date. This is similar to the approximately 45 per cent of the pottery assemblage from HMS *Pandora* off Queensland (Australia) (see Gesner 2000: 147-159). This illustrates a gradual shift from consuming expensive and exotic goods to refined and widely accessible items in Royal Navy ships, reflecting British cultural attitudes not only in British settlements but also in the homeland (see Weatherill 1996). At the beginning of the 18th century habits were changing in British society that were reflected in the goods consumed (*ibid.*). The good quality of Wedgwood, Leeds or Staffordshire wares was evidence of high quality and mass-produced products coherent with capitalistic prototypes (e.g. creamware, saltglaze and redware types identified in the *Swift* assemblage).

Chinese export porcelain also represents some of these changing habits. It was particularly recognised during the 16th and 17th centuries as the highest quality ceramic available and was collected by royalty, the aristocracy and other wealthier classes, within and outside Europe (Carswell 1985). By the 18th century, however, Chinese export porcelain was mass-produced. It had passed into everyday use (see Lucas 2004). Tea drinking habits emphasised good manners for anyone claiming to be a ‘lady’ or a ‘gentleman’ and

‘The aristocracy was less worried about losing their dignity by associating their social inferiors once they were confident that the latter would behave themselves properly’ (Emmerson 1992: 13).

Tea, routed in a strong Chinese tradition, was adopted in Europe. European middle classes demanded large quantities of Chinese porcelain to meet the demands of drinking and eating habits in the form of tea and coffee cups and saucers, bowls and dinner plates (Staniforth & Nash 1998: 6). These highly desirable goods were now accessible to the middle class and were charged with symbolism and embedded and attached meanings associated with status definition, lifestyle, proper behaviour and good manners. For example, pottery and artefacts in general have been recovered from the stern of the *Swift* wreck (the officers’ sector) where the excavations have been mainly focused (Figure 7.6; Chapter 1). The Chinese export porcelain recovered was manufactured in China, especially for the European market (see Staniforth & Nash 1998: 4-6). I identified it as mainly characterised by hand painted porcelain with cobalt oxide blue pigment before glazing or what is known as underglazed ‘blue and white’ porcelain. This characterisation has been based on Carswell (1985) and Staniforth & Nash (1998). Comparisons with similar finds from other colonial sites and wrecks have been undertaken by the author of this book as well as other researchers of the *Swift* team, which supports this classification (Amsterdam 1986; Noël Hume 1970; Staniforth & Nash 1998).



Figure 7-6. Chinese export porcelain matching set, underglazed decoration. *Swift* assemblage. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: D. Vainstub (2002)

In the *Swift*, some porcelain vessels have an underglaze blue ‘Pagoda Riverscape’ pattern similar to some artefacts recovered from the *Sydney Cove* (see Staniforth & Nash 1998: Figures 13 and 14), and a European wreck in the South China Seas (see Amsterdam 1986: Fig: 5033). A double-roofed pagoda on a rocky riverbank, leafless trees and shrubs, an island and other figures represents the tendency in the designs of the *Swift* porcelain vessels with a band of trellis-pattern at the rim (Figure 7.6). Underglaze blue painted porcelain was economic to produce as it was fired once in contrast to the other ‘common’ types of Chinese export porcelain of this period, or the overglaze polychrome painted wares, which had to be fired twice (Staniforth & Nash 1998: 4). The latter has also been found in the *Swift* pottery assemblage. Some of them present a combined decoration with an underglaze blue band and overglaze designs with polychrome enamel colours and a distinctive rose flower, generally, in the interior of the vessel (for comparative purposes see Staniforth & Nash 1998).

Most of the colours of the overglaze paint in these types of vessels in the *Swift* assemblage have faded but, in some cases, a ‘pink like’ pigment has been identified. These overglazed polychrome types were produced in the late 18th century and became known as the *famille rose* (rose family) because of this distinctive rose-pink coloured enamel (see Feller 1982; Kerr 1986: 94-119). These floral decorations and landscape scenes were Oriental iconographies that appealed to the European market. In this context, these ‘exotic’ designs were adopted by the European market and perceived as an indication of status, good manners and taste.

Colley (1996) observes that London was loaded with the world’s goods giving a constant reminder of the city’s unique diversity, its own foundation, identity and the nation’s wealth (*ibid.*: 68). This expresses the growth of British commerce in the 18th century, which opened up the availability of exotic and/or luxury goods for consumption that soon became accessible to the rest of the society. The significant percentage of Chinese Export porcelain in the *Swift* pottery assemblage exemplifies this availability, but was this type of porcelain transported for personal consumption on this ship? or was it transported for future commercialisation? or may be both?. For example, the wreck of the *Sydney Cove* (1797), off north-eastern Tasmania, was transporting an important ceramic cargo from Calcutta to Port Jackson (Sydney), which included an extensive shipment of Chinese Export porcelain goods (see Nash 2002; Staniforth & Nash 1998). It was a merchant ship and its cargo illustrates strong inter-colonial trade networks (Nash 2002: 57). Conversely, HMS *Swift* was under the Admiralty orders and without apparent commercial purposes. However, this aspect needs further research due to the possibility of mixed missions, in this case military and

commercial. Furthermore, refined Wedgwood creamware circulated across the globe in Royal Navy ships and the *Swift* and *Pandora* collections are some examples (for *HMS Swift* see figures 7.3 and 7.5). For *HMS Pandora* cf. Gesner 2001: 104-106). This type of pottery can be described as elegant, with style and good taste and accessible to middle as well as upper social classes. This is embodied in the *Swift* pottery variability. To reinforce people's identities and the construction of the self by possessing types of goods that others probably could not have access to, people generated new social needs. Therefore, social groups' identities could be expressed in the possession of certain types of goods, although artefacts would be experienced individually. At the same time, difference with other groups could be enhanced and positioning not only on board but also in the naval settlement of the Malvinas/Falklands could be expressed in the variability in decoration patterns. Like Weatherill (1996: 9), I think that this construction of the self was part of everyday activities in Britain, its colonies and naval settlements. The possession of material culture played a key role in the construction of the self and Weatherill (1996) refers to it as an automatic activity. I would rather say that it was an activity that was performed in taken-for-granted routines and was therefore reproduced on the Royal Navy ships (cf. Gosden 1994).

In summary, because patterns of consumption were transforming at the end of the 18th century, British society demanded more of certain goods, with quality standards being maintained at the same time. This general trend indicates that the social standing and codes of good manners already established in British societies would neither have been disregarded in its settlements nor in Royal Navy ships, although each group and person would express their identities in different ways. In this way, a secure environment could be assured even far away from home. Technology was also responding to specific social needs and demands and mass production could be considered an integral part of the process of objectification (see Miller 1987) by which we create ourselves, *i.e.* our identities through experienced everyday practices.

7.3.1 Memories from the Homeland

In the habit of transporting things from the homeland, memory and continuity are understood as a link between time and space, acting as an archive of British identities and past experiences. Objects have a continual presence, recalling the places where they come from into memory. When establishing a settlement in a new land, memories of the past could be seen through the possession of familiar things that linked colonisers with their homeland, such as the possession of goods coming from Britain. For example, due to the excellent preservation of artefacts, 47 per cent of the

Swift pottery assemblage has been identified as British pottery (*i.e.* 12 per cent British earthenware and 35 per cent British stoneware). For the *Sirius* case, due to the high fragmentation in the pottery assemblage only 20 per cent has been identified as British. This difference could be attributed to both the fact that, for the latter, 52 per cent of the assemblage has not been identified due to the high degree of sherd fragmentation, and also because of the specificity of the *Sirius* journey (Chapter 6 and Section 7.2.1). However, the *Swift* pottery assemblage would support the idea that social and personal pasts involve the remembering of habitual ways of acting, like codes of eating and drinking, which were available in particular places and times.

So, why was the *Swift* carrying a significant amount of high quality wares? What set of choices and motives lay behind the consumption of these goods? (also refer to Section 7.6). Following Dobres (2000), technological practice is more than routinised, traditional and patterned material behaviours. It is about motives and social desires (Dobres 2000: 131; also see Braudel 1979: 186). Therefore, I argue that the selection and circulation of material culture, at the time the *Swift* sunk in the Patagonian coast, was not random. The large proportion of high quality products amongst the pottery assemblage recovered from the *Swift* until the present could indicate that they were either used by the officers of the ship or had been exported to the Malvinas/Falklands to be used by the officers in charge at that British base (Figure 7.1). There is no doubt that the British were planning to have a naval supply base in Port Egmont in 1764-1774. This statement can be supported by the contents of the inventory of the British stores, provisions and personal items taken by the Spaniards when they took possession of Port Egmont in July 1770. The inventory includes: 411 hammocks, 3 stone store houses, 160 casks for preserving stores, a significant amount of armament, naval stores, different tools and food supplies (Document 2 1770; Farmer 1769-1770). The number of hammocks and the significant armament would indicate the sort of numbers the British were planning to garrison. In this context, and bearing in mind the characteristics of the pottery cargo of the *Swift*, qualities and quantities of things tell us that objects are not static entities. Objects are part of the material processes within which identities are constantly created through time and space. For example, people managing and/or administrating the naval settlement at the Malvinas/Falklands (e.g. Captain Hunt, see Document 2 1770) 'needed' specific material goods in certain quantities and qualities to create their social position in this new land, and to maintain memory and continuity from the homeland. Insecurity could arise by inhabiting a 'foreign' land, without being able to identify known referents or patterns. Therefore, security would be constructed by re-creating identities from the homeland, keeping existing

habits and by consuming ‘familiar’ goods connecting the Royal Navy personnel moving around the world with Britain.

From an 18th century European perspective, some of these high quality goods could also have been intended for export and/or exchange with the natives due to their visual attraction, social value and meanings attached to it. This topic escapes the main goal of this book. However, I believe that we need to explore in further detail how European goods affected social relations in native cultures especially for the Patagonian case. Social relations gave objects new sets of contexts and effects (Gosden & Knowles 2001: 22). These relations must be seen as an ongoing series of mutuality and materiality experiences in constant construction and variation as Gosden and Knowles analysed in the Papua New Guinea case (see Gosden & Knowles 2001). Hence, for Patagonia, further archaeological research is needed to unfold European and native relations and how these were constructed and reconstructed.

Consequently, material goods were important in the establishment and negotiation of social relations in the colonies but they were also significant indicators linking the colonisers’ lives with their homeland. In the North American colonies, for example, colonists

‘... dressed like Britons back home, purchased British manufactured goods, (...) spoke English and retained intact many of the folk ways, family ways, and sex ways of their place of origin’ (Colley 1996: 141).

Staniforth (1999, 2003a), for the Australian case, analyses the cargo of the *Sydney Cove* which sank in 1797 on a voyage from Calcutta to the new British penal colony in Port Jackson (Staniforth & Nash 1998: 1). He concludes that

‘... the cargo as a whole can be seen as indicative of the material dependence of the colony not just for the basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter but for certain specific kinds of alcohol, tobacco, shoes and other items that fulfilled culturally determined needs and provided the colonists with material goods that enabled them to establish and negotiate social relations in the new colony’ (Staniforth 1999: 48).

This material culture dependency of the colony was not only from Britain but also from British colonies in the area, highlighting the importance of connecting significant British colonies amongst themselves (see Section 7.2.1 and Chapter 8). Throughout the cases analysed, I believe that by maintaining similar patterns in the consumption of goods, British colonies could build a certain degree of ‘cohesion’ gave the British colonisers a sense of belonging, continuity and security that otherwise they would have lacked so far away from home (see Chapter 8). Therefore, through temporality, materiality acted as a bond among British colonies, the colonisers, and Britain.

Underlying habits are collective technological and consumption practices. For example, material culture from the *Swift* and *Sydney Cove* wrecks, both located in two different spaces, presents alike tea wares and porcelain assemblage (Figure 7.6 and see Staniforth & Nash 1998: 19, 40-41 for comparative purposes). This similarity in the goods consumed was maintained through time-space reducing, in some ways, the sense of ‘physical distance’. It could indicate that British tea habits were strong enough to call into memory the ‘homeland’ and be transposed to new settlements located in different and distant parts of the world (e.g. Patagonia and NSW). By following patterns from the homeland, habits played an essential role in materialising and reaffirming social representations of the world, minimising the feeling of physical distance, linking people and places in continuous chains of action in time-space.

7.3.2 Interpretation of British Habitual Action Through Storage Wares

In this section I argue that the selection of goods was motivated by people’s missions which focused their attentions, and by ‘being-in-the-world’ which directed their actions. Some of the motives of the *Swift* journey can be explored by analysing both historical data and the storage ware of cargo ships. The main mission given to the *Swift* and its commanders was to protect the British base in Port Egmont (Document 15 1769: Folio 36). Historical sources mention that the *Swift* had to be:

- ‘fitted out for foreign service’ (Document 14 1769; Document 15 1769; Raynor 1767)
- ‘put into good condition for foreign service as well as other necessary works’ (Document 14 1769)
- ‘...Florida Storeship being ordered to be fitted out at Deptford, to carry a supply of provisions to Port Egmont, for the use of His Majesty’s Ships stationed at the Malvinas/Falkland’s Island, resolved that an account be transmitted to the commissioners of the Victualling of the provisions which were on board the *Tamer* Frigate and *Swift* Sloop at these Islands’ (Document 1 1756-1800: Folio 86)
- ‘victualled with all species of provisions (except beer) that she can stow and to be supplied with Brandy’ (Document 5 1770: Folio 49).

Through my research of historical documents, the Admiralty’s orders to the captains in many instances were vague, e.g., to be ‘fitted out for foreign service’ which could be interpreted in different ways. This was a specific strategy in which the Admiralty provided a certain freedom of

action to captains. This freedom was used in various ways but choices and motives would generally respond to the Crown's interests.

Historical sources emphasise that the *Swift* was going to spend a long time away from Britain and other significant British colonies such as Jamaica and Calcutta. Archaeologically speaking, it is not surprising that good quality storage containers for preserving food in long sea journeys were found in the *Swift* assemblage. One storage container has been identified as an earthenware oil jar. Through an exhaustive research, Coleman has concluded that this type of container was probably Italian in origin (Elkin *pers. comm.* August 2003) as opposed to Noël Hume who classifies these type of containers as Iberian in origin (Noël Hume 1970: 143, Figure 54). Similar jars have been recovered from other Royal Navy vessels from the 18th century, for example, the naval British Frigate HMS *Pandora*. The *Pandora* oil jars were probably an Italian product (see Gesner 2000: 109 and Figures 138-139). By using this type of container, olive oil would preserve better on long journeys and it was given to the crew as a substitute for butter (*ibid.*).

The rest of the *Swift* containers have been identified as stoneware saltglaze 'bellarmine' type which is a very hard ceramic offering good storage for provisions (Figure 7.2) such as animal fat (e.g. suet, see Document 18 1756-1770 and also Rodger 1988: 82-86). These stoneware containers came in various capacities. The most common sizes were the quart and a gallon. A sample of the contents was extracted from some of the *Swift* saltglaze 'bellarmine' type jars that were found sealed. The content is undergoing mass spectrometry analysis at the Faculty of Pharmacy and Biochemistry of the University of Buenos Aires (Elkin *pers. comm.* May 2004). This could be animal fat, which in the 18th century was highly valued particularly in situations where the availability of plant carbohydrates was limited (Hamilton 1993). In the 18th century, it was common to store provisions for long journeys using 'bellarmine' type containers (Dellino-Musgrave 2005: 225; see Section 7.2). Gaimster (1997) presents a detailed analysis of German stonewares. He based his study on different British, Swedish, Danish and Dutch collections coming from wrecks and land sites (see Gaimster 1997). In relation to stoneware production in Britain he observes that

'In order to keep up with demand, reproductions and forgeries of originals (German wares) were made in significant quantities' (Gaimster 1997: 8).

The saltglaze 'bellarmine' type stoneware finds in the *Swift* collection could possibly be attributable to: a) officers' personal possessions (one chamber pot probably German in origin), and b) ship's equipment (e.g. storage containers, Figure 7.2). The *Pandora* assemblage only has storage containers (Gesner 2000). The sherds from the *Sirius* are difficult to identify and only a few have been related to storage. Nevertheless, the

Sydney Cove has personal possessions in its pottery assemblage but the references I had access to do not mention stoneware goods (Nash 2001, 2002; Staniforth 1999, 2001b, 2003a; Staniforth & Nash 1998). Therefore, relations to ships' missions can be established:

- a) The *Pandora* was commissioned to find and recapture HMS *Bounty* (Gesner 1991). Items to store provisions for a long journey would be needed. The 'bellarmine' type containers present in its assemblage would reflect this.
- b) The *Sirius* was commissioned to transport convicts from Port Jackson to Norfolk Island. In such a short journey only the 'necessary' was carried which would be manifested by the few sherds attributable to storage goods.
- c) The *Sydney Cove* was transporting an important ceramic cargo from Calcutta to Port Jackson (Sydney), which included an extensive shipment of Chinese export porcelain goods. It was a merchant ship and its cargo illustrates strong inter-colonial trade networks, highlighting the dependency of the colonists in Port Jackson on the selection of foreign goods, stores and equipment in the colony (Nash 2002: 57). I argue that the scarcity in storage containers could support this idea because the crew of the *Sydney Cove* was not planning a long journey or to build a new colonial settlement. They were providing goods from other British colonies to Port Jackson and its range of action was limited to the India trade. Besides, I think that the presence of high quality personal goods (see Staniforth & Nash 1998) could be associated not only with the officers in the ship but also with high-class people in the colony intending to reproduce and maintain their Britishness away from 'home'.
- d) The *Swift* was commissioned to protect the British base in Port Egmont. Provisions needed to be stored properly for a long journey. They were probably transporting some storage facilities to supply Port Egmont. The storage equipment identified supports this statement. Personal goods, for the moment, are related to the officers' position in the ship and were possibly transported to the Malvinas/Falklands to reassure their identities and positions in this new naval supply settlement.

7.4 ROYAL NAVY SHIPS AND THEIR ROUTINES

This section explores the variation of routines due to the shifting local views and perceptions of the world through the British selection of ceramic types, forms, matching sets and number of vessels in use (see Leone & Potter Jr. 1999). Whilst dinner, tea, toilet and storage ware recovered from the *Swift* may have been used on the voyage, they were probably also intended for use in the settlement of Port Egmont. However, people's eating, drinking and cleaning routines gave embedded and attached meanings to the *Swift*'s sets of dishes, tea wares, toilet wares and other items that helped them to identify themselves in foreign places with known patterns back in the homeland. The type and quality of the items used were associated to rules of public use and how people presented themselves as individuals (cf. Fennell 2000, 2003; Leone & Potter Jr. 1999; Schroedl & Ahlman 2002).

Routines were changing in the 18th century and measured time became central to organising daily life. For example, Wedgwood pottery production was regimented enforcing specific designs and disciplined work routines, which were imposed upon individuals to maintain order and productivity (Leone & Potter Jr. 1999: 203). Foucault (1977) explains how disciplines began to be imposed in specific locales (e.g. home, schools, hospitals, prisons) during the 18th century. He sees how power is based in an organised home with structured eating habits in conjunction with other institutions helping to exercise this power (*ibid.*: 203). Deetz (1977: 40) refers to the 18th century as the age of reason based on order and control. Following Giddens (1984: 87), routines persist through social change and routinisation has a key role in maintaining a sense of security. Security is founded on a social body of control within predictable routines that allows planning ahead (*ibid.*). For example, life on board the *Swift* in this case, or any ship, was not easy. There was a set of rules constituting and reflecting activities that comprise everyday routines that were strictly followed (Parker 2001; Rodger 1988). These rules were involved in assuring social positions and were generally related to the rights and obligations associated to a particular social identity or social category (Giddens 1984: 89). Thus, the reflexive application of rules ensured the reproduction of the patterning of encounters across time and space (*ibid.*). Within predictable routines and the 'ordered' use of specific spaces, materiality was helping to enforce rules founded on authority and discipline. The distribution of goods at the stern of the *Swift* would support this idea. Furthermore, it is clear that from the analysis of the documents written by some of the *Swift* officers, order and discipline were constantly maintained on board through ordinary routines such as fixed rations of drink and food provided at specific times (Document 9 1763-69).

Excessive drinking was considered an offence and punishment was the common response to offensive behaviour (Document 9 1763-69: 12, 14). Unpredictable behaviour (e.g. drunkenness or mutiny) was a disruption and an attack to the ordinary routines of life, breaking pre-established rules. The punishment that resulted was a socialised response associated with 'security', regularity and a predictable framework of social life. On board, the behaviour of the *Swift* crew was monitored and under the control of high ranking officers. Officers could be identified with authority and punishment could be used to re-enforce their position. Thus, routine had to be 'worked at' continually by those who sustained it in their day-to-day conduct to maintain British hierarchies.

The consumption of material goods assured life style and good manners by continuously maintaining social hierarchies and transmitting power in the ship as well as in the British settlements at the end of the 18th century. The habits of tea drinking, for example, influenced daily living and how identities were constructed through a variety of utensils associated with making and drinking tea (Weatherill 1996: 159). The tea ware recovered from the *Swift* and *Sydney Cove* wrecks sustain this idea (for the latter refer to Staniforth & Nash 1998). As mentioned in previous pages, the visual transformations introduced in material culture, such as tea sets, were associates with good taste, lifestyle and social positions. Matching tea sets and blue and white Chinese export porcelain recovered from the *Swift* could be interpreted as the material expression of some of these transformations (Figure 7.6). Chinese porcelain was stunningly different in style and colour from any other domestic utensils of the time (Weatherill 1996: 159). Hence, the routine of drinking tea and the possession of Chinese porcelain were associated to specific social manners and status. This routine was maintained in HMS *Swift* and possibly in the British settlement of Port Egmont. This is also reflected in Port Jackson based on the conclusions that arise through the analysis of the pottery cargo of *Sydney Cove* (Staniforth 2003a; Staniforth & Nash 1998). Therefore, routine was integral to the continuity of British people's personality, the projection of their identities and their social reproduction across time-space (Giddens 1984: 60). Routines helped to sustain in *praxis* not only a sense of security and social reproduction but also positioning and power structures on the ships as well as on new British settlements.

7.5 POSITIONING AND POWER STRUCTURES

The archaeological concentration of high quality wares in the stern of the *Swift* wreck, ascribable to the officers' sector, could indicate that these

goods were significant in creating personal identities and, at the same time, reflecting social positions. The ongoing process of creating personal identities can be fuelled by projecting who we are and where we come from. The idea of the individual became well established in the 18th century (Deetz 1977). In the colonial settlement of New England, Deetz (1977: 59-60) showed that a pattern of individual plates were beginning to be used as sets and each person at a table was getting his own plate. In the *Swift* assemblage, three saltglaze plates with three distinctive lines on the base were identified (Figure 7.7) and one with four lines (Figure 7.8).

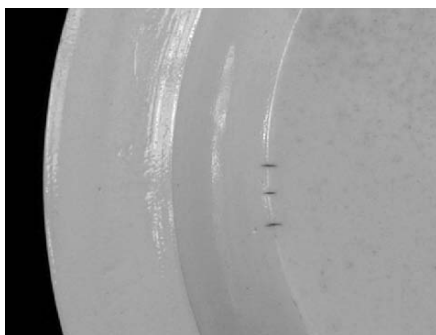


Figure 7-7. Saltglaze plates details. *Swift* assemblage. Artef. No. 1-131. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: D. Vainstub (2002)



Figure 7-8. Saltglaze plate detail. *Swift* assemblage. Artef. No. 1-124. MRPMB, INAPL. Photo: D. Vainstub (2002)

It can be assumed that users, and not makers, put on these parallel marks because they are frequent on the *Swift* personal possessions (e.g. dinner plates). Gesner (2000) suggests the same for the marks found on dinner plates in HMS *Pandora* assemblage, which are letters and could represent initials of the owners (*ibid.*: 100-101). Therefore I suggest that these incisive lines on the *Swift* dinner plates could: a) indicate a way of individualising goods, b) indicate marks of possession or ownership, c) express individuals' positions, and d) help to distinguish people as individuals and also as members of a specific group (e.g. the officers of the *Swift*), reflecting in this way their power and hierarchical positions. Schroedl and Ahlman (2002) analyse the construction of personal identities in the Caribbean during the British occupation (1690-1854). They identified initials, parallel and curved lines on British and slaves' personal goods such as bowls and plates. The application of familiar symbols to goods is interpreted as the expression of difference and personal identities or individuality within the same group (Schroedl & Ahlman 2002: 39-42). Similar to Schroedl and Ahlman (2002), I argue that the *Swift*'s objects would reflect traditions and differences among the individuals within the crew. These expressions of individuality, especially among the officers of the *Swift*, could fortify discipline on board and unity and power of the hegemonic group (Dellino-Musgrave 2005). This is because social relations are created collectively even though people experience, perceive and choose individually. In this way, these marks could be also interpreted as a 'collective' way of identifying the officers' position in the ship and possibly in the new British settlements. The crew of the *Swift* would not only know the owner of the wares and the position of that person in the ship's world but also in the British settlement of Port Egmont.

Material culture is central to our interpretation of the performance and the appearance of capitalism, colonialism and consumption. Braudel (1979), analysing everyday habits in capitalistic societies, argues that 18th century European consumption was based on luxury, which not only signifies vanity but also social success. Therefore, material expression of social prestige projects certain power and roles and status on board were strongly indicated through the type and quality of goods recovered from HMS *Swift*. For example, good quality toilet wares, tea ware (mainly Chinese porcelain and saucers), earthenware sets and stoneware plates were found in the specific place ascribable to the officers' sector (in particular the captain's cabin). This distribution and concentration of these types of high quality artefacts mostly at the stern of the *Swift* wreck represents a specific social sector expressing social status which conveys distinct power relations, *i.e.* that of officers *versus* sailors. The quality of manufacture could be considered as a potential marker of status,

hierarchy, class and prestige (Bavin 1989). The type and designs of these objects and the decoration on some of them had attached meanings that were representative of a particular hierarchic group. This major concentration of quality materials in the stern could be explained by the fact that a 'well-to-do officer' could carry a good deal of goods to sea (Rodger 1988: 67). Furthermore, we must not forget that routines on board were strongly ingrained. Duties, authority and responsibilities of the *Swift* officers' were reinforced in the regulation of daily practice through materiality. Hence, through the type and quality of the consumed goods, the 'ordinary' sailors did not 'easily' forget hierarchical positions and the crew in general would underpin their position in a world ruled by embedded routines. So, the material expression of these routines and the spatial material relations identified on the *Swift* would reconfirm order, control, power and positioning by reinforcing the officers' roles and their position in the world: the ships' world. These high quality goods were representative of luxury, which in human action identified the way that some people defined themselves. This luxury marked their status and roles in material culture which was there to provide regularity and predictability that the culture could otherwise have lacked so far from home.

7.6 SUMMARY

Throughout this chapter I have discussed how British identities were expressed in the materiality of social relations. This has been achieved by utilising the concept of *praxis*, tracing archaeological transformations in the material projection of 'being-in-the-world' (*sensu* Heidegger 1996). Table 7.1 represents a summary of the discussions raised in previous pages.

Although this interpretation could be biased because excavations have focused on the stern of the *Swift* wreck, I believe that

- a) type, quantity and quality of goods consumed not only re-enforced **difference** between officers and the rest of the crew but also with other Europeans in the *praxis* of expressing 'Britishness', assuring power and authority as well as lifestyle and good manners. Britishness could have also acted as a 'social glue' to bond Royal Navy groups together as well as distinguishing them from other social groups,
- b) patterns of production and consumption of British goods effectively reduced the physical distance by remembering home abroad. This offered a sense of continuity with the homeland by calling into **memory** who we are and where we come from,

Table 7-1. Summary of expressed identities in the discussion of *praxis* for the understanding of British action at the end of the 18th century (refer to Table 5.1; see Dellino-Musgrave 2005)

SPACE: South Atlantic & Southeast Australia		
TIME: end of 18 th century		
CONTEXT: Capitalism, Colonialism and Consumption as Social Processes		
BRITISH ACTION	IDENTITIES EXPRESSED	DISCUSSION OF <i>PRAXIS</i> THROUGH POTTERY
Reinforce hierarchies, Britishness and group bonding	Difference	Patterns of consumption and production of goods
Remember the homeland abroad	Memory	Pottery production and manufacture
Sense of security, continuity of British values	<i>Habitus</i>	Artefact distributions and variability; patterns of production
Reinforce power	Routinisation	Patterns of repetition in pottery assemblages; cargoes' characteristics
Power through discipline and authority	Positioning	Spatial distribution of goods on wrecks; type and quality of goods consumed

- c) **habitual actions** and ingrained **routines** on board of the *Swift* provided a sense of security (*sensu* Giddens 1984) and continuity in the *praxis* of consuming British goods. It was in this *praxis* that material culture provided a thread of continuity in the process of reinforcing hierarchical positions through order and authority, reproducing power structures on Royal Navy ships and maintaining the social reproduction of British values, and
- d) **positioning** was maintained in the daily practice of consuming specific types and qualities of the pottery wares reproducing power relations and discipline on board.

Material culture has been understood as a social product, a carrier of meanings and knowledge helping to create society through the actions of individuals and by structuring those actions in ways individuals may not be aware of (McGuire 1992). In this way, material culture is interpreted as mediating human action. Goods are therefore manipulated and negotiated in social relations.

To contextualise this research within a global approach, in the following chapter I move on from the analysis of the material culture that ships transported to a wider scale by exploring trade route patterns, European competition, wreck frequencies, settlement distributions and how landscapes were constructed in social space and time.

Chapter 8

INTERPRETATION OF BRITISH ACTION THROUGH SOCIAL LANDSCAPES

'... comparison with other places places and other people can emphasise the richness and diversity of human experience, deepening our understanding of ourselves.' (Lawrence 2003: 21)

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter integrates the local understandings of British maritime activities (see Chapter 6 and 7) within the global processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption (see Chapter 5). The interpretation of British action is achieved by examining the construction of social landscapes, where time and space are combined as the frameworks within which human action takes place. Therefore, by understanding the way British action worked within physical and social landscapes (see Chapter 4), this research goes beyond the analysis of the ship itself and descriptive approaches (see Chapter 2). The global action of the British in the 18th century was driven by intentions and motives outlined below (see Chapter 4). I have already demonstrated that ships were material tools socially created to put intentions and motives into action. Therefore, both ships and the material culture that they carried were and are social products.

While traditional scholarship, in general, might have correctly correlated colonial European action with the availability of natural resources (e.g. Silva 1984; see Chapter 6), on the basis of the analysis of historical and archaeological data presented in this book, my research indicates that other factors also influenced British maritime activities:

- a) exertion of power through the control of specific areas,
- b) access to resources and maritime routes through the strategic location of settlements, and
- c) acquisition of knowledge by visiting and re-visiting places as well as interacting with natives.

These three main factors are interlinked, constructed and reconstructed in human action. However, for analytical purposes they are presented separately. **Power** is explored through the exploitation of natural resources because it allows access to and control over them (see Chapter 6). Power is also analysed through social relations by examining the British reaction towards the presence of other European powers, *i.e.* in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia, and British relations with natives. **Access** is researched by studying the circulation of goods (see Chapter 7), the location of coastal settlements, their connection with land and sea routes, and their links with other British settlements. **Knowledge** is explored through the habitual British action of visiting and revisiting places, arguing that these contributed to conveying power, control, and access over the two areas under discussion. Therefore, how we act is conditioned by human inter-relationships and relationships with the world. This chapter is then organised into two main sections in which I explore the ways that these three motives were acted out within the creation of social landscapes:

- how action was influenced by interaction with the environment (Section 8.2), and
- how action was influenced by inter-relations with other people (Section 8.3).

Finally, by integrating these two sections, I discuss the construction and projection of British identities within which social landscapes were constructed, perceived and experienced (Section 8.4). By identifying patterns of activities within these landscapes, this research demonstrates that social landscapes were produced by human action. For a deeper understanding of British action in the South Atlantic, a comparative analysis with the Southeast Australian region based on the available literature is undertaken throughout this chapter. In this way, ships are contextualised within social relations by exploring chains of action, networks and interactions (see Chapter 4).

8.2 SOCIALISED PHYSICAL LANDSCAPES

The physical landscapes (*i.e.* environmental and topographic characteristics) of Patagonia and NSW have been described in Chapter 6. The focus was on places such as the Malvinas/Falklands, Puerto Deseado, Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. The *Swift* was commissioned to the Malvinas/Falklands and the *Sirius* to both Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the latter wrecking in Norfolk Island and the former in Puerto Deseado. On a local scale, the significance of these places was highlighted through the availability, access and control of specific natural resources

for human consumption and economic exploitation (see Tables 6.2 and 8.1). This section combines this information, integrating both local and global scales by locating settlements in physical and social landscapes (see Chapters 4 and 6). Their distribution in the physical landscape illustrates that they generally corresponded spatially and temporally with environmental features important for human survival, and possible economic profit, illustrated in table 8.1.

Table 8-1. Summary of historical and archaeological data in relation to settlements and resources in Patagonia and Southeast Australian coast (see Chapter 6)

	Patagonia	Southeast coast of Australia
Explorations	Focused mainly on the coast	Focused mainly on the coast (then explored inland)
(Coastal) Settlements	Temporary (Puerto Deseado) Permanent (the Malvinas/Falkland Is.)	Semi-permanent (Norfolk Is.) Permanent (Port Jackson)
Emphasis on the following natural resources:	Water Wood/Timber Salt Fish Cetaceans Herbs, vegetables and spices Pinnipeds Wild-fowl	Water Wood/Timber Coal Fish Cetaceans Herbs, vegetables and spices

Through my analysis of historical and archaeological data, I identify a relationship between the location of British temporary and permanent settlements (Section 8.2.1), natural resources (Section 8.2.2), and their connection with land and maritime spaces (Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2). British action is explored within this context, examining how the British perceived and experienced landscapes that are spatially referenced and socially constituted.

8.2.1 Locating Settlements in the Landscape

By combining historical and archaeological data, I discussed in previous chapters that the British naval supply base on the Malvinas/Falkland Islands and the colony of Port Jackson were dependent on external resources such as:

- a) the supply of material culture to maintain a sense of Britishness in new settlements (Chapter 7),
- b) the supply of material and natural resources for survival, continuity and success of the settlements (Chapters 6 and 7), and

- c) the exploitation of raw materials in new areas for consumption and/or future commercialisation (Chapter 6).

I have observed that when considering these factors British colonies, supply bases and temporary settlements were generally located in places:

- a) with access to natural resources from the coast and from land,
- b) with harbours offering good natural qualities to ensure the success of the British maritime activities,
- c) linked to maritime routes facilitating the transport of the raw material exploited for export and/or consumption, and
- d) connected to other places and/or other British colonies for the supply of material goods and resources.

The acquisition of land in the form of colonies was the first resource used by European countries to expand their areas of control and to consolidate their power (McNall Burns 1980). This is expressed in the South Atlantic during the 18th century by the location of Spanish forts in the Santa Cruz Province, the British and French settlements in the Malvinas/Falklands (the west and east Malvinas/Falkland respectively), and the presence of British and Spanish temporary settlements for the exploitation of specific natural resources (Alvarez 1978; De Paula 1974; Deodat 1945a, b; Silva 1984; see Chapter 6 and Section 8.2.2). By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the predominant maritime power in the world (Frost 1980: 54). In this world-wide context, Britain needed:

- natural resources for general consumption (e.g. products derived from salt, cetaceans and pinnipeds; *cf.* Chapter 6 for further details),
- natural resources for naval consumption (e.g. naval timber, masts, hemp and flax to build and maintain ships), and
- places from which British squadrons could operate.

Therefore, British action was strongly linked to the physical landscape of certain areas as part of the social dynamics of the 18th century. As explored in Chapter 6, the permanent and temporary British settlements along Patagonia (e.g. the Malvinas/Falklands and possibly Puerto Deseado) and Southeast coast of Australia (e.g. Port Jackson and Norfolk Island) could satisfy British colonial needs (Tables 6.1 and 8.1). Furthermore, these settlements provided not only exploitable natural resources but also convenient links to regional and global maritime routes (see Section 8.3.1).

Regional and global links could be reinforced through visiting, re-visiting and surveying specific places to assess whether the area had the necessary access to natural resources. Harbours such as Port Egmont and Port Jackson were valued thanks to their good ‘natural qualities’. Therefore, they were perceived by the British as convenient places to satisfy their needs and contribute to the success of their activities (see

Chapter 6). When assessing the ‘natural qualities’ of a place, security for ships, access to natural resources, and openness to land and sea would be considered important variables for the survival of the British crews and colonists. Thus, the British would prioritise the use of good harbours to perform their activities in safe and secure surroundings. This idea is supported by the frequency that good quality harbours are mentioned in historical sources for Patagonia and the recurring visits to these places (Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Heaps 1973; Wallis 1773; see Section 8.3.2). These regular visits are materialised by the high frequency of British wrecks along the Austral Edge (Figure 8.1) and by the detailed charts for the area (e.g. Byron 1773; Wallis 1773).

Cartography was a practical and visual tool for colonial policy serving as a guide for exploration and material conquest (Mrozowski 1999: 154). Maps and charts were the result of the ways the world was perceived and experienced and were an analogue for the acquisition, management and reinforcement of knowledge and colonial power (Bender 1999: 32; Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Hill 2004). Therefore, maps and charts were both the result of human action and provided some basis for future activities. My analysis of historical cartography of Patagonia has showed that Spanish charts presented inland details whereas British charts were generally focused on describing coastal details, exemplified in figures 8.2 and 8.3.

This focus on the coast could be interpreted as part of British action responding to broad commercial and political interests. Coastal descriptions would allow assessment of the position of possible future coastal settlements. With these settlements maritime links would also be ensured (Section 8.3.1). As can be seen from figure 8.4, British temporary settlements in the Patagonian coast and the permanent settlement in the Malvinas/Falklands were shore-based (see Byron 1773; Caillet-Bois 1952; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; De Paula 1974; Deodat 1945a, b; Goebel 1927; Lenzi 1980).

This concentration on the coast rather than inland was part of British action which enabled the British to obtain access to and control of entry and exit points over land and sea. The fort distribution observed in figure 8.4 could also be viewed as the consequences of British and Spanish geopolitical interests in the 1770s and 1780s. Therefore, this distribution of forts could be interpreted as the Spanish response to block Royal Navy provisioning and monitoring. The physical location, the presence of particular natural resources, and the characteristics, intensity and recurrent use and management of landscapes determined the selection of places such as the Malvinas/Falklands, Puerto Deseado, Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. In this way, settlements were dependent on their

contextual situation and the activities performed. Lenzi (1980: 231-32) mentions the presence of an abandoned 18th century British temporary

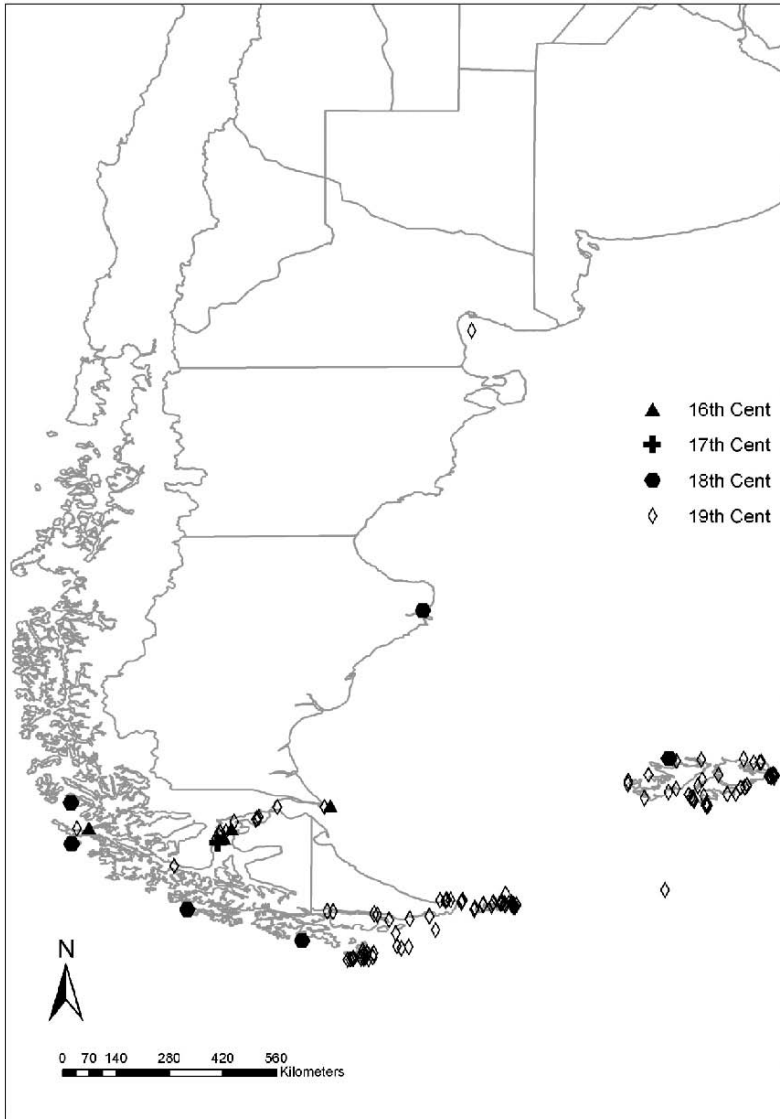


Figure 8-1. Distribution of British wrecks in Patagonia (Source: Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires city; De Paula 1974; Fitte 1974; Hepper 1994; Vairo 2001)

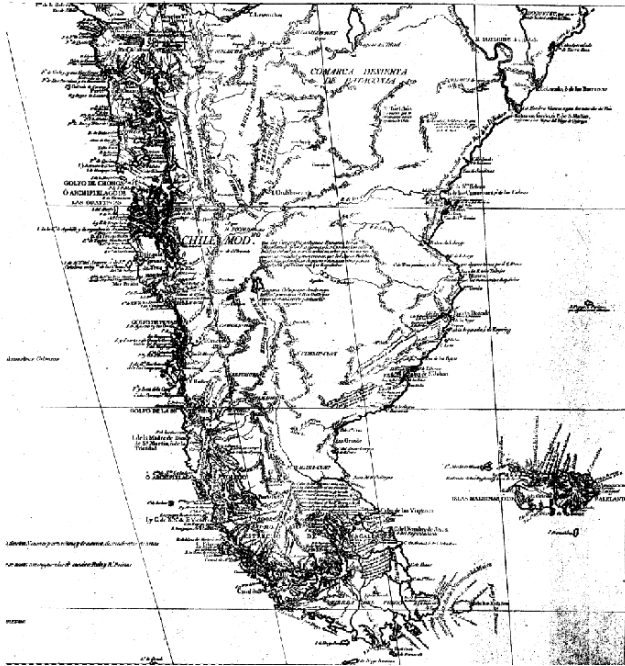


Figure 8-2. América Meridional (1775) by Cruz Cano (Spain). Source: Mapoteca del Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales (Buenos Aires), Armada de la República Argentina. Ref. No. P-4

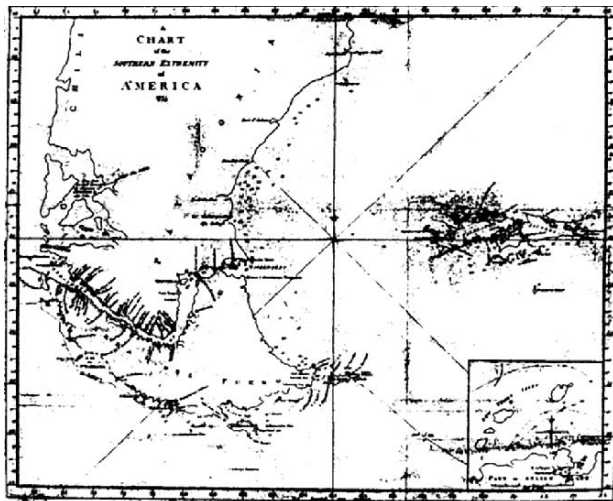


Figure 8-3. A Chart of the Southern Extremity of America (1775) by James Cook. Source: Dreyer-Eimbcke 1996: 233

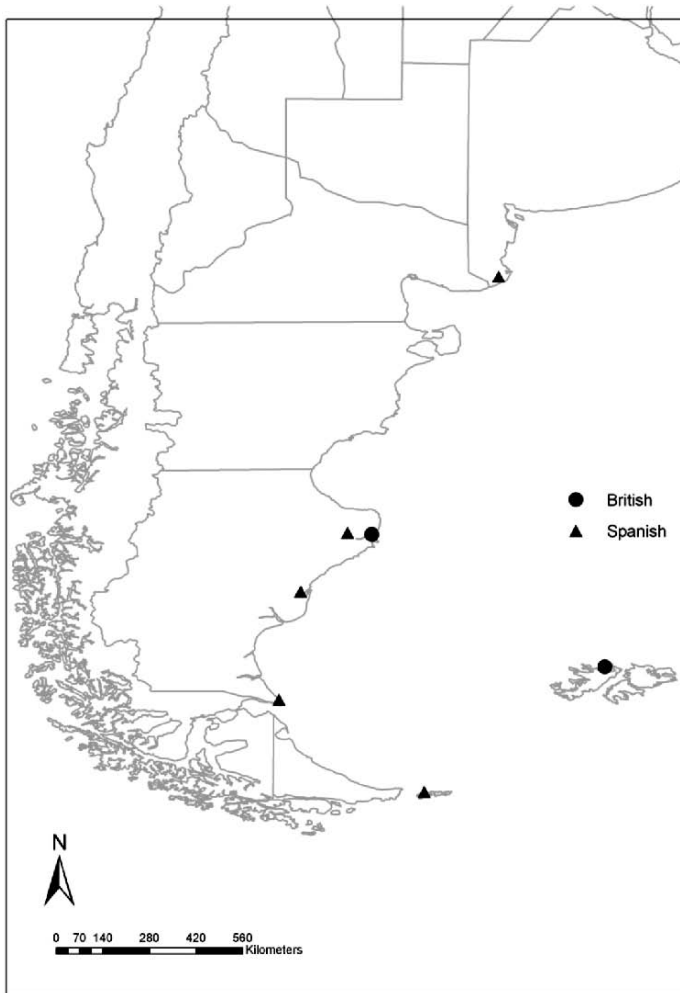


Figure 8-4. Distribution of Spanish and British forts in Patagonia in the 18th Century (Source: Byron 1773; Caillet-Bois 1952; Carteret 1773; Cook 1773a; De Paula 1974; Deodat 1945a, b; Goebel 1927; Lenzi 1980)

settlement on the coast of Puerto Deseado. The activities in this type of settlement were conditioned by the exploitation of seasonal resources. The length of time spent in the settlement would be related to the productivity of the exploited resources and the accessibility to the sea, necessary for transportation. Most of the natural resources described by British voyagers in Patagonia were also located on the coast (see Chapter 6). Similarly, Gibbs (1998: 46) identifies some common patterns in the location and organisation of British whaling stations in Western Australia such as the

pattern of usage of the station and processing of the raw materials, and the strategic location from which different places could be exploited at the same time. This relationship between the location of settlements and the presence of specific natural resources is further explored in the following section.

8.2.2 Understanding British Action Through the Distribution of Resources

The British presence in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia had the explicit aim of controlling strategic posts. Throughout this book, I have drawn attention to fresh water and wood as primary constraints in the location of permanent settlements (see Chapter 6). Hence, these two critical resources for survival can be considered as points of attraction for establishing and guaranteeing the success of European colonies. However, at the end of the 18th century, access to wood was not only important for survival. It was also needed to satisfy the high demands of a growing and expanding British shipping industry as well as maintaining British naval power. The scarcity of oak timber for the use of the navy is mentioned in historical documents (Document 17 1757-1770: 28th Nov. 1769). Establishing settlements in areas where wood was abundant could be one way to solve the problem of scarcity. An example of this strategy was Port Jackson, which offered plenty of fresh water and wood resources (see Section 6.3). Its link to Norfolk Island and New Zealand's timbers could have also been significant when planning this settlement (see Chapter 6; Figure 1.1). However, the permanent British base on the Malvinas/Falklands offered sources of fresh water but wood was scarce in the area, thus illustrating a different strategy. This is because wood would be accessed relatively easily from other parts of the Austral Edge (see Chapter 6). In this way, the Malvinas/Falklands provided a strategic post linking the Austral Edge and the Atlantic coast of Patagonia, where natural resources could be 'easily' found and exploited.

Puerto Deseado in contrast remained a temporary settlement probably because it is a desert area, scarce in fresh water and wood resources (Chapter 6). So, why the recurrent interest in this harbour? The activities undertaken by the British associated with Puerto Deseado were determined by socio-economic factors, a product of 18th century social dynamics. Puerto Deseado is only 300 miles away from the Malvinas/Falklands. It is a good natural port where ships can be anchored and has economically important resources such as cetaceans, pinnipeds and salt mines, some of them 'enough to supply the British navy' (Byron 1773: 15). Sealskins, for example, were important because they returned a great profit and were highly in demand in the Chinese market (Flanning

1924). Fur trading would imply that there was an intensive exploitation of animals for both furs and food, the latter reason being generally underestimated in the literature (Hamilton 1993). The South Atlantic was important for the production of salt, which was often used in the process of long-term storage of seal furs, and sea lion skins and for drying, smoking or salting meat (Flanning 1924). Different European sailors recurrently highlight the exploitation of these resources in the South Atlantic (e.g. Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Wallis 1773). These European activities in Puerto Deseado are illustrated in figure 4.2 (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, the European exploitation of cetaceans and pinnipeds would leave faunal remains and bone patterns that should be different to the native patterns of exploitation who tended to preserve the exploited species (for Argentina: see Lanata 1995; for North America: see Hamilton 1993. Both authors underline the same concept). These differences would express the different social contexts in which Europeans and natives were taught and brought up. Nevertheless, to support this idea, future work is necessary to identify and analyse further temporary coastal settlements in Patagonia. Networks and human inter-relations constructed through these European activities are explored in the following section.

8.3 NETWORKS AND INTERACTIONS

Networks through which people, objects and information circulated were important in the development and expansion of capitalism, colonialism and consumption during the 18th century. The British created and maintained interests in different parts of the globe, compiling a body of knowledge and perceptions about the world. Having knowledge of the world and its physical landscapes allowed the connection of people through the creation of networks and the construction of social landscapes. This connection was maintained by the circulation of particular items throughout distant places, which were interwoven with the global processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption (see Chapter 7). Within the global context of these processes, social demands increased and, as a consequence, so did trade and the shipping industries which were both growing by the end of the 18th century (see Davis 1962). Therefore, action needed to be coordinated in time and space. Its social dynamics are explored in this section by linking settlements, the circulation of goods and people's position in the world (Section 8.3.1); how the accumulation of knowledge contributed to future decisions (Section 8.3.2); and how contact with natives (Section 8.3.3) and competing European powers (Section 8.3.4) shaped social relations according to their interests.

8.3.1 Settlements, Circulation of Goods and People's Position in the World

Early 18th century Britain was a nation in transition rising towards its commercial, naval and colonial supremacy at the end of the century. Social structures were constantly changing and with the 'First Industrial Revolution' social demands for new goods emerged (see Chapter 1). The circulation of goods increased on a global scale and also habits of consumption varied especially from the mid-18th century onwards (*cf.* Chapter 7). These demands encouraged new developments in the manufacturing industry, technology, communication and transport, processes that required a great movement of goods, people and ideas. Each interaction with the landscape was mediated by some form of technology, such as the development of shipping technology in the 18th century (see Chapter 1). Colonialism involved human action over large areas and so European expansion and the shipping industry were intrinsically linked.

The rapid development of the shipping industry and trade in the middle decades of the 18th century was linked to the increased competition among the expanding European powers (Davis 1962). The British shipping industry underwent a particularly rapid development following the Seven Years War against France (1756-63; see Parry 1971; Chapter 1). French ship designs were more flexible and manoeuvrable but after Great Britain won the war, the British strategically 'copied' some of these designs. The British based the HMS *Swift* design on the French ship *Epreuve*, which had admirable hull lines and was captured during the aforementioned war (Elkin 2003; Murray et al 2003: 104). As a result, the *Swift* was an agile ship, seaworthy for long voyages and more stable than other British sloops in the Navy. This tactic of 'copying' helped the British to considerably improve their shipbuilding techniques, to enhance their means for exploration and colonisation, and to reinforce their position in a competitive world (see Lavery 1983). Thus, the development of new technologies in shipbuilding linked distant regions, places and people (see Steffy 1994).

Land and sea were perceived as media for connecting people and their associated landscapes. Controlling sea routes and conquering specific places signified economic and political power; processes that would lead to what is known as imperialism in the 19th century (see Hobsbawm 1972, 1999). For example, the strategic location of coastal settlements in the South Atlantic and Australia (see Chapter 6; Figure 8.4) suggest that communication and cohesion between British colonies was important. Therefore, I argue that the distance that people perceived was not necessarily the actual physical distance. Building and maintaining

cohesion among British colonies through dynamic chains of action could reduce the perceived distance and also reinforce British social identity. This cohesion would bond people and places, help to sustain power and control, and assure British position over a particular area.

Specific patterns of movement built up by selecting particular coastal settlements in the South Atlantic and Australian regions played an important role in constructing or maintaining the monopoly on trade routes (see Curtin 1984; Frost 1980). Shipping companies contributed to this purpose. For the British, there were two main companies: the East India Company dominating direct trade between the East and Great Britain and the South Sea Company controlling trade in South America. The activities of the latter were short because its operations were overwhelmed by political as well as maritime hazards (Davis 1962: 98). The intense European competition for the South Atlantic caused considerable political tension (see Section 8.3.4). Unpredictable maritime hazards such as the area of Cape Horn, the main route linking the Atlantic with the Pacific, contributed to increased wrecking due to frequent storms. On the contrary, the East India Company was a successful enterprise during the 18th century with its vessels regularly carrying a great variety of goods such as silk and porcelain from China via NSW (Davis 1962: 41). The transport of these goods was frequently performed through inter-colonial trade, such as between British settlers in NSW and British traders in India, mainly based in Calcutta (Frost 1980: 16). Records of the cargoes of shipping arrivals at Port Jackson from India exemplify this as shown in table 8.2, where it can be seen that 75% of the ships originated in Calcutta.

Table 8-2. Current record of known arrival of vessels at Port Jackson from India at the end of the 18th century (Data taken from Staniforth 1999: 100-101)

Year	Name of the vessel	Port of departure	Cargo
1792	<i>Atlantic</i>	Calcutta	Rice, flour, rum, wheat, livestock
1793	<i>Shah Hormusear</i>	Calcutta	Speculative cargo and livestock
1794	<i>Arthur</i>	Calcutta	Rum, beef, pork, calico
1794	<i>Experiment</i>	Calcutta	Spirits, sugar, piece-goods, provisions
1794	<i>Fancy</i>	Bombay	Rice, flour and seed wheat
1795	<i>Endeavour</i>	Bombay	Rice, pease and livestock
1796	<i>Arthur</i>	Calcutta	Beef, pork and calico
1796	<i>Experiment</i>	Calcutta	India goods and provisions
1796	<i>Britannia</i>	Calcutta	Rice, salt provisions and livestock
1797	<i>Deptford</i>	Madras	Speculative cargo and rum
1798	<i>Hunter</i>	Calcutta	India goods and livestock
1799	<i>Rebecca</i>	Calcutta	Goods worth £20,000

Before 1783, the British had a monopoly on salt, saltpetre and opium trades in Bengal (India). Although banned from those trades, other Europeans started to actively operate around the area. Nevertheless, their activities were under British regulations, which included the inspection of cargoes and payment of duties (Frost 1980: 111-112). The East India Company established factories on shore to manage its Asian business between voyages, and the Crown through the British Admiralty also contributed to this enterprise. Sovereignty over territories was not acquired until the mediation of the British Crown who, then, would pass it over to the Company (Curtin 1984: 155). British private traders were involved as well, helping to develop the monopoly of the East India Company (*ibid.*: 156). Establishing a monopoly ensured high returns. By settling a colony on the coast of Southeast Australia a web of commercial possibilities under British rule was opened and consumption met the demands in the British colonies as well as in Britain. Furthermore, trade represents not only commercial transactions, but also new forms of materiality expressed in the particular lifestyles analysed on a local scale in Chapter 7 (see also Weatherill 1996).

In the context of the discussion above, it could be argued that the capacity of countries like Britain to successfully invade or colonise new areas was dependent on international and inter-colonial trade links maintained by shipping transport in the South Atlantic and the East Indies through the British settlements in the Malvinas/Falklands and NSW (see Staniforth 1999, 2003a). The location of these colonial settlements was important in allowing strategic links with other areas which can be summarised as follows:

- South Atlantic allowed access to: the Pacific through Cape Horn or Magellan Straits; the Atlantic through route to Brazil possibly continuing to Jamaica or route to Cape of Good Hope; and natural resources in the Patagonian coast and Magellan Straits
- Southern Australia allowed access to: South America and Philippines; Indian and Pacific Oceans; North Pacific fur trade; east Indies; coast of China; African coast; and natural resources in the area, New Zealand and Norfolk Island.

Through these links, I suggest that social landscapes were structured by the demands of the wider colonial system where maritime contacts were crucial when seeking successful enterprises. These maritime contacts enabled the British to pursue a monopoly in commercial activities and to effectively control the action of other European powers in the area. These interests were related to the British engagement with the coast and, at the same time, in defining their position in the world. The British settlement in the Malvinas/Falklands, *i.e.* Port Egmont, offered: a) the development

of regional and global commercial activities, b) a key position to monitor European shipping traffic in the South Atlantic, c) control over the Pacific trade route, and d) a staging post on the voyage to Australia. Cape Horn and the Straits of Magellan connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans but, even today, they are hazardous places for sailing due to unpredictable environmental changes. However, if the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was blocked due to a European dispute, the alternative way to Australia could be via the Malvinas/Falklands (see Chapter 6 and Section 8.2.1). Despite the increase in the number of wrecks, the habitual use of these passages was a necessity, but also meaningful to join places and people. Another example of the British engagement with the coast is the settlement in NSW, *i.e.* Port Jackson, which allowed the British to:

- open trade in manufactured goods with South America and to compete probably with Spain,
- develop trade in the Asian region (*cf.* Section 8.2.3)
- control the North Pacific fur trade, and
- obtain food and naval supplies regionally (Frost 1980: 23, 27).

Therefore, the location of these British coastal settlements connected places, people and the circulation of goods and ideas. This package was part of the British construction of social landscapes in the 18th century, which was driven by motives of access, knowledge, and power (see Hirsch 2003).

By exploring social landscapes in the British settlements, it can be argued that all social relations have a spatial aspect and the positioning of people and groups of people determine to some extent the form and nature of the relationships between them. People pursued their own aims by controlling places as well as the circulation of objects. Maintaining differences in the consumption of goods between groups could be interpreted as an on-going process expressed in varying cultural forms linked through complex social webs and chains of actions. Possessing specific goods created group bonding, social standing, prestige and power. Colonies were ‘implanted settlements’ established by European societies in varying and distant places (Stein 1999: 30). These settlements were established for long-term residency. Their social mark or distinction was constructed by incorporating identities as a community with histories and biographies that were tied back to their homeland. New colonies were ‘weak’ in memory and experience. Possessing specific types of goods and the larger significance of objects hold personal memories. These memories provided the material markers that were inscribed with meanings, which later re-articulated the process of constructing British identities in colonial spaces. Therefore, action and interaction were linked in *praxis* by maintaining similar habits of consumption in the British colonies to those back in Britain in the form of memory and interaction

with the past (Chapter 7). The British followed fashion patterns in consumption in terms of identities, location and action, and 'landscapes of habits' were created (see Gosden 1994: 182).

As was evident from the manufactured goods found on the *Sirius*, much of the pottery recovered from the *Swift* could also have worked as a medium through which social identities were interactively reproduced and projected in new British settings; *i.e.* Port Jackson and Port Egmont respectively (see Chapter 7). For example, 73% of the total of the pottery goods recovered from the *Swift* came from Britain and China and, to a lesser degree, goods from Germany and possibly Italy have been identified. However, the provenance of 25% of the recovered pottery assemblage remains unknown. The high percentage of British goods might suggest that: a) the mass production of British goods were satisfying the demands of British societies by the end of 18th century, b) British goods were popular because they were cheaper yet with high quality manufacture maintained, and c) British identities were assured and reinforced through this general tendency of consuming British goods (see Chapter 7). This circulation of British goods to the South Atlantic could be interpreted as a strategy of differentiation, as a means of ensuring the continuity of Britishness (see Chapter 7). Social landscapes were constructed by expressing this difference, and therefore, reinforcing Britishness. Britishness contributed to exercising and articulating relations of power not only within the colony itself but also within inter-relationships between other Europeans, and Europeans and natives; *i.e.* as being-in-the-world (see Chapter 4). As discussed in Chapter 7, British pottery and Chinese porcelain were probably highly consumed to maintain social British habits in the Royal Navy and new colonial settings. The characteristics of the *Swift* pottery cargo support this idea and also suggest that the material relations in the British settlement of the Malvinas/Falklands strengthened British identities and positioning. By possessing certain types of goods that others might not possess, the difference between colonies and members of a colony was enhanced (see Chapter 7). Material culture then became meaningful as an indicator of lifestyle, status and place of origin when creating and materially projecting British identities. For example, the 250kg cargo of Chinese export porcelain that the *Sydney Cove* was carrying from Calcutta to Port Jackson (Staniforth & Nash 1998) probably contributed to intensifying 'difference' in the NSW colony. Besides, Cook's remarks on his voyage to Tierra del Fuego and his interaction with natives highlight 'difference' through the natives' lack of curiosity. Europeans perceived this as a sign of the natives' 'brutality' reinforcing, in this way, European 'superiority':

‘Curiosity seems to be one of the few passions which distinguish men from brutes; and of this our guests (referring to the natives) appeared to have very little.’ (Cook 1773a: 45)

In this way, the movement of goods helped to strengthen difference rather than diminish it. The acquisition of knowledge underlies within this movement of goods, people and ideas, and is further explored in the following section.

8.3.2 Experiencing Landscapes Through the Accumulation of Knowledge

Human action is constructed through daily living, expressing an understanding of what is required at a specific time and space (Barrett 1999: 26; Strohmayer 1997: 166). This understanding draws upon previous experiences as a means of recognising what action may be required. Analysing how the British experienced and constructed landscapes in the 18th century involves exploring biographies of people, landscapes and objects. To visit and/or inhabit the landscape is to look about, observe, and to take action according to specific motives and interests. Past and present actions contribute to the acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge was derived from daily experiences recorded in journals, navigational diaries, charts, and subsequent recurrent visits. This accumulated knowledge was consciously and unconsciously used and manipulated in different ways. For example, in the 16th and 17th century the British sailors Cavendish, Cowley, Dampier and Narborough explored the Patagonian coasts. The geographer H. Moll (1711) used the knowledge produced by these sailors to chart the South American coasts, an act that provided further information about this area for the South Sea Company (Heaps 1973: 21). The South Sea Company mainly had commercial interests but most of the vessels sent to explore the South Atlantic coasts were under Admiralty orders; the *Swift* exemplifies this (see Chapter 6). A similar observation has been made for the East India Company, in which commercial entities and the Admiralty worked together to maintain a monopoly in the East (Curtin 1984: 155-57; see Section 8.3.1). Therefore, British commercial and political forces shared knowledge and experiences by ‘working’ together, pursuing geopolitical and expansionist interests as well as colonial ‘needs’. These interests and needs were combined in complex webs of interactions which satisfied British social demands of power and positioning in a competitive world (see Sections 8.2 and 8.3.1).

But how was knowledge accumulated, structured, used and manipulated? European shipping and trade developed not only through technological improvements but also by accumulating knowledge of

prevailing wind and current patterns. The 18th century sailing ships could battle against prevailing winds and currents when the necessity arose but only with difficulty. It was costly in time, effort and ultimately resources. As all voyaging is an exercise in risk management as well as balancing costs, routine voyaging was established in patterns that utilised the predominant circulation of ocean currents and the prevailing winds. Hence, supply stations were established along shipping routes (Frost 1980: 55). For example, from mid-18th century, a typical sailing pattern for British ships to the South Atlantic involved leaving the homeport in winter or spring, proceeding to Madeira for supplies, continuing to and/or refreshing at either Jamaica or the Cape of Good Hope, heading towards and along the coast of Brazil, perhaps refreshing at Rio de Janeiro. Then they would continue along the Patagonian coast reaching Cape Horn or the Magellan Straits and resume their voyage to the Pacific (e.g. Cook 1773a, b). Winds and currents vary with latitude in the Atlantic, Pacific, and southern Indian Ocean and the route described above follows the prevailing winds (see Frost 1980). Therefore, Europeans used this knowledge to enhance the success of their maritime enterprises. Nautical charts also contributed to this improvement and social/colonial demands in commerce and trade were probably the fuel lying behind it. For example, in her analysis of the North America coast, Kaplan (1985) highlights that in the 18th century long-distance trade networks were maintained by linking settlements along the coast. Baleen, oil, feathers, ivory and sealskins were traded in the south where the final destination was the European market (Kaplan 1985: 62). The colonial exploitation of these resources demanded local knowledge of when and where that resource was available (Flanning 1924). The absence of an established market could expose the colonists to the risk of being left with perishable skins and oil (see Steven 1965). The transport of these products to Europe needed to be ensured. Therefore, knowing and recording an area and utilising intermediate posts on long-sea journeys could contribute to: a) the assurance that the circulation of goods would meet the great demand in Europe, b) guarantee present and future commercial and trading activities, and c) minimise the risks of loss of ships and their cargoes (see Chapter 7; Sections 8.2 and 8.3.1).

Inhabiting landscapes involves understanding those landscapes through references to earlier experiences (Barrett 1999: 29). Structures of reference were constructed by knowing and recognising landscapes pregnant with past and present experiences. Experience is therefore developed in *praxis*, the *praxis* of living, which enhances the ability of inhabiting a new place and the confidence of knowing how to act. It is in these acts of knowing and recognition of places that landscapes were charged with meanings and significance (see Chapter 4). An example of

these acts of recognition and acquisition of knowledge would be expressed through the regular British visits to the South Atlantic in the 18th century. This is evidenced by various historical accounts (e.g. Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1768-1771b; Dalrymple 1775; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Wallis 1766-68, 1773). For example, when in Patagonia, Byron described the British presence mentioning

‘...we soon after found an old oar of a very singular make, and the barrel of a musquet, with the *King’s broad arrow* upon it. ...I imagined it had been left there by the Wager’s people, or perhaps by Sir John Narborough’ (Byron 1773: 54, my emphasis).

The King’s broad arrow mark was an indicator that ships were under the command of the Royal Navy. Several arrow marks have been found in the *Swift* artefacts such as windows panels, sand glasses and cooking ware, amongst others. HMS *Pandora* fastenings, window panels and carronades (Gesner 2000: Figures 2-3, 49-50 and 85) and HMS *Sirius* fastenings (Stanbury 1994: 17, 31 and 51) are other examples. Through Byron’s description, the King’s broad arrow would be calling into memory the British presence in the area. This also provides evidence for previous visits and indicates that knowledge of the area may be ‘currently available’.

Re-visiting an area suggests that the British were not moving across the space randomly and frequencies of shipwrecks can be interpreted as

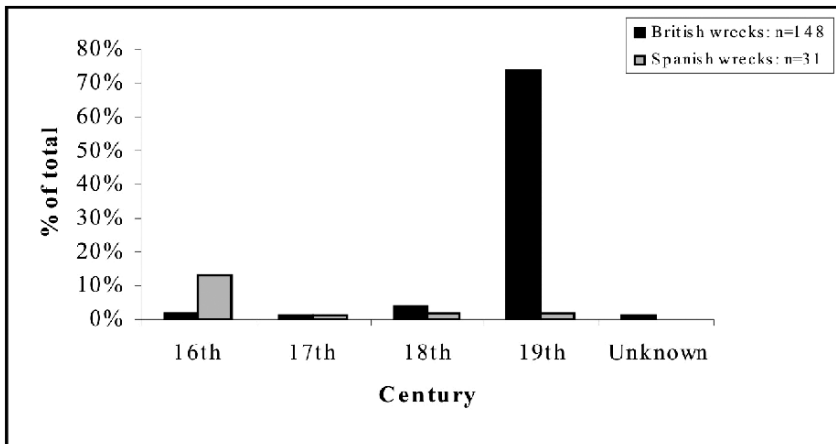


Figure 8-5. Comparison between percentage of reported Spanish and British wrecks in Patagonia (Source: Shipwreck database at the Archivo Nacional de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina; De Paula 1974; Fitte 1974; Hepper 1994; Vairo 2001)

the result of those movements (Figure 8.5). These movements were part of British action in which interests and motives shaped the strategies applied locally for the successful completion of their global aims. Acquiring and manipulating previous knowledge about the South Atlantic could convey power: power to control and monitor access to areas, to plan future actions, and enhanced positioning which was reinforced by the strategic location of British settlements (see Figure 1.1). Previous knowledge was retained by the generation of good coastal descriptions for the Patagonian area with the Malvinas/Falklands already well charted (see Byron 1773; see Section 8.2). For Australia, detailed assessments were made before taking the decision to establish a colony in Port Jackson (see Clark 1955). Thus, past and present experiences and planning future actions were joined in the habit of recurrence by visiting and re-visiting places, expressed in the frequencies of British and Spanish wrecks in Patagonia (Figure 8.5). In this context, British life interests and motives fuelled the acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge was not only acquired in the interaction with the physical landscape but also through human inter-relations, which are further explored in the next section.

8.3.3 Acknowledging Natives: Knowledge as a Powerful Tool

Power and knowledge are intrinsically connected and, therefore, knowledge can be understood as a powerful tool (see Chapter 5; Foucault 1970, 1977). Knowledge was not only accumulated from both previous voyages and contact amongst Europeans but also by inter-relations with natives. In this context, native knowledge could be considered as a resource that can be manipulated and negotiated by Europeans through the generation of good relationships and/or through their exploitation and subjugation. I believe that in some cases the relationships with natives were part of British action to consolidate their position in a new world. Some historical sources mention the establishment of social networks with natives; like the accounts of James Cook and Joseph Banks and their relationship with Australian Aborigines (Cook 1773a: 79-110). On several occasions, the contact with natives was very useful with knowledge gained about unknown or unexplored areas. The accounts of Banks and their interactions with the Australian Aborigines are examples of how further knowledge was obtained about a new space, such as natural and medicinal properties of herbs, and where wood and sources of fresh water were located, amongst others (see Banks 1768-1771; Cook 1768-1771b). Even though this new space was differently experienced and perceived because the British and native social contexts were dissimilar, previous accounts and contact with natives were valuable for planning future

actions. For the Australian case, Cook and Bank's accounts were very encouraging and, in a way, decisive when planning a permanent settlement in NSW (Reid 1876). Their recurrent contact with natives became another useful tool not only to gather local knowledge but also to reinforce power. In Patagonia it is known that the British had good relations with the natives. Spain believed that the British were using these relations to conquer this Austral area (Rodriguez 1970: 20). British knowledge could therefore represent power and possibly convey a certain threat to the Spanish.

In order to understand others we need to construct a notion of ourselves as part of the daily processes of constructing and expressing identities (see Chapter 4). Identities are constructed through a sense of 'the self' and 'the other' derived from practical interactions through human inter-relations and the material world in which people live. From an 18th century perspective, material goods were a significant factor in distinguishing European lives among Europeans themselves and the 'civilised' coloniser from the 'uncivilised' such as indigenous communities. For example, when Cook stayed in Success Bay in Tierra del Fuego and when exchanging goods with natives, he wrote

'... they (the natives) would not taste any strong liquor neither did they seem fond of our provisions' (Cook 1768-1771c: Jan. 14th 1769).

The fact that the natives were not fond of British liquors highlights the differences between the two groups and the varying social contexts that they came from. The meanings attached to these material goods were significant for the British but not for the natives. Thus, possessing and consuming European goods could be interpreted as a symbol of 'civilisation' contributing to reassure the colonisers' identities (Chapter 7). In this way, European goods circulating throughout distant areas conferred a sense of continuity and preservation of the idea of 'civilisation', providing at the same time certain power. As Dening (1996) observes in the Pacific during the 18th century,

'... expeditions from England, France and Spain followed one another ... to contribute to the civilising process of natives out of their superior arts and greater material wealth. It was a time of intensive theatre of the civilised to the native, but of even more intense theatre of the civilised to one another. The civilised jostled to see what the Pacific said to them of their relations of dominance. They vied in testing the extensions of their sovereignty and the effectiveness of their presence ... They shouted to natives, ... to communicate with those that do not share our language, the meaning of flags and cannons and property and trade, and lessons of civilised behaviour.' (Dening 1996: 109)

Therefore, objects define us and are defined by our social context but not everybody uses objects in the same way. The ways that material goods

convey meanings and social significance depends on the social context in time-space and here is where archaeological interpretations can contribute to go beyond typologies and descriptive catalogues. As previously discussed, Britishness was declared and displayed to others through materiality. Simultaneously, power, control and positioning in a competitive world were strengthened not only over the colony itself but also as an indicator for other Europeans and natives of the British presence in the area. In this way, landscapes were socialised as a way of defining Britishness. Hence, type, quantity, quality and variety of purchased goods are considered important variables when exploring 18th century social relations (see Chapter 7). The competition with other European powers is explored further in the following section.

8.3.4 Competing Powers

At the end of the 18th century, the strategic location of the South Atlantic zone for maritime commerce justifies the European competition for its domination (Sections 8.2, 8.3.1 and 8.3.2). This sector was crucial to developing and improving the maritime traffic between the South Atlantic, the Pacific and the Oriental regions (Caillet-Bois 1952; Hidalgo Nieto 1947). European countries in the South Atlantic during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries hunted sea lions, fur seals and whales, in a zone that was mainly controlled by the Spanish (Flanning 1924; Silva 1984). For this reason, Spain was concerned about the Patagonian coast and the Austral Edge (Parry 1971), and started to implement new strategies to defend these areas. This attitude generated bellicose friction between European countries:

‘During mid 18th century the presence of foreign ships had increased in the edge of the American continent. This portion of the map opened a huge variety of secret commercial possibilities concerning faunal sea natural resources and sea lion rookeries of Patagonia and the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. This fact would widen the commercial markets for European manufactures and also re-value Cape Horn that opened the way to the Pacific Ocean. This situation was complicated for the Spanish Royalty because they realised that their influence over those Austral lands were in danger’ (Silva 1984: 509).

European powers could perceive things as unstable in the South Atlantic because ‘security’ was threatened by several competing European powers. The location of British permanent settlements could be interpreted as both to inhabit and to control areas as a way of reinforcing a sense of ‘security’ and the British position. The location and distribution of Spanish and British settlements in the 18th century along the Patagonian coast, presented in figure 8.4, illustrates that these settlements were

located in good bays or harbours (e.g. from north to south: San Matías Gulf, Puerto Deseado, San Julián Bay, Cape Vírgenes, Staten Island and Port Egmont), connecting important maritime routes on a global scale (see Section 8.3.1). Hence, the location of settlements would become significant by potentially enhancing social networks with other places thereby maintaining the British position on a global scale. In this way, being-in-the-world was strengthened (see Chapter 4) and landscapes were socialised with several implications for the competing powers.

When the British decided to establish a settlement in Port Egmont, Port Jackson and on Norfolk Island there were at least two European powers in conflict. For example, the presence of the British in the South Atlantic especially at the end of the 18th century could be perceived as a potential threat to the Spanish. Figure 8.5 has shown that the frequency of Spanish wrecks in the area was predominant during the 16th century. These wrecks could be interpreted as the embodiment of the Spanish activities and the material expression of their predominance in the region during that time (see McNall Burns 1980; Seignobos 1966). Conversely, British wrecks increased during the 19th century. These frequencies of British wrecks could be understood as the product of the increasing British power and maritime activities (e.g. commercial exploitation of whales and sea lions) around the Austral Edge, especially after 1833 when the British took possession of Port Stanley (later Puerto Soledad) at the Malvinas/Falklands (*cf.* Chapter 6). This is also illustrated in figure 8.1 where the majority of the 19th century British wrecks are mainly located around the areas of the Malvinas/Falklands, Cape Horn and the Magellan Straits. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the 18th century the Spanish, after searching San Julián Bay (Santa Cruz Province) and discovering a sign with the name of the British sailor John Wood on it, they built the Fort of Floridablanca in that bay in 1781 (Lenzi 1980: 217). The location of the fort principally had a defensive mission. However, some of the activities undertaken were also focused on the exploitation of marine resources (e.g. whales and sea lions) and salt mines (Burucua 1982). The Spanish also built Fort San Carlos in Puerto Deseado in 1790 because of the British presence in the South Atlantic (Alvarez 1978). This Spanish reaction was characteristic during colonial expansion, where coastal forts represented both defensive tools and symbols of power. The coastal location of the 18th century Spanish forts along the Patagonian coast would indicate both an attempt to reinforce their position in the area and that they perceived the possible British military threat as coming from the sea (see Figure 8.4). This military threat was probably linked to the Spanish alliance with France and the United States in the American War of Independence in 1775-1783 (see Conway 2000). Spain needed to strengthen its power because it was decaying by the end of 18th century

(De Paula 1974), embodied in the decreasing frequency of Spanish wrecks towards that time (see Figure 8.5). The British probably perceived this weakness, which opened up exploration opportunities in areas that offered promising economic potential. This would be supported by documentary sources such as British journals, diaries and charts, which illustrate the incremental and regular explorations, visits and re-visits to the South Atlantic during that time (e.g. Burney 1813; Byron 1773; Carteret 1773; Cook 1768-1771b; Dalrymple 1775; Dampier 1927; Gower 1803; Harris 1769; Narborough 1694; Wallis 1773; Walter 1747).

Conversely, during this time, the French were aware of the commercial potential of the products available in Australian lands and the Pacific and of the British intentions of building a settlement in the east coast of Australia (Frost 1980: 96). By settling in NSW the British would capitalise on the right of discovery established by Cook in 1770 and his preliminary surveys. Thus, they could prevent the French from occupying the area, and would also be adding better control of the eastern commercial routes (Frost 1980: 123). The act of building a permanent settlement in these areas while other European forces were around could have been used as a strategic way of reinforcing the British position in a colonial and highly competitive system.

8.4 FINAL THOUGHTS

The 18th century was a period of social transformations, which were the product of the processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption. As expressed in Chapter 1, the central goal of this book was to examine the impact and influence of these transformations on British maritime activities in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia. This goal has been achieved by integrating local and global scales of analysis. On a local scale, an analysis has been made of both the physical landscape of places and the movements of people and goods within these two areas (see Chapters 6 and 7). On a global scale, human action has been analysed by the British use and manipulation of physical landscapes (Section 8.2), and the establishment and negotiation of social networks, human inter-relations and their material relations within those landscapes (Section 8.3). Material relations shaped, transformed and ensured British identities. I therefore argue that it was in the construction and projection of identities that social landscapes were created. In these social landscapes, British intentions and motives were pursued through the action they applied. This action was complex, flexible and versatile as they were part of 18th century Royal Navy actions and opportunism, socio-political tensions in the South Atlantic in 1764-1774, in South-east Australia and the Pacific in

1788-1814, and in the South Atlantic after 1833. Many interests were involved at that time; however, I have observed some general trends. I have identified five forms of expressing identities, which are interlinked in *praxis* (see Table 5.1). However in this book they have been analysed separately for organisational purposes, allowing interpretations about British action. Based on previous analyses and discussions (see Chapters 6 and 7; Sections 8.2 and 8.3), I suggest that British action focused on:

- access, control and power over land and sea by locating settlements in strategic places enabling links to maritime trade routes,
- re-creating a system in the colonies that was already established in the homeland by keeping memory and traditions alive, therefore creating a sense of security and assuring British cultural continuity,
- reinforcing power and Britishness through the habitual actions of visiting and revisiting places and through the type, quality and quantities of goods consumed in the British settlements,
- gaining knowledge by repeated visits to specific places as another strategic way to obtain and reinforce power, and
- monitoring and accessing the South Atlantic and the Southeast coast of Australia as well as reinforcing Britishness in new spaces.

British action, the identities expressed by them, and their material relations within the constructed social landscapes are summarised in Table 8.3.

Table 8-3. Summary of British action in the discussion of social landscapes

SPACE: South Atlantic & Southeast Australia		
TIME: end of 18 th century		
CONTEXT: Capitalism, Colonialism and Consumption as Social Processes		
BRITISH ACTION	IDENTITIES EXPRESSED	DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL LANDSCAPES
Access, control and power over land and sea; group bonding	Difference	Trade and maritime sailing routes; distribution of wrecks; distribution of resources; location of settlements
Reinforce a system that is already established	Memory	Circulation of goods; visits and re-visits
Differentiation and power; reinforce Britishness	<i>Habitus</i>	Circulation of goods; re-visits
Gain knowledge	Routinisation	Frequencies of wrecks; recurrent visits to places
Control, monitoring and access; re-create Britishness in new colonial spaces	Positioning	Distribution of settlements; types of settlements; consumption of goods

Movement in space was restricted by a combination of the lack of resources both for survival and future exploitation, the need to maintain links with other British colonies or significant places, and the unpredictable environmental conditions. However, by strategically locating settlements on the landscape some of these restrictions were eased. This location of settlements provided physical, social and economic security in distant areas, creating social landscapes by connecting places and people. The colonial action of linking places and people allowed communication, interaction and control over large areas. In the dispersion and arrangement of groups of people and the connections between them is where the social aspects of life lie. For example, the cohesion of the British naval settlement of the Malvinas/Falklands and the colony in NSW would reduce the 'perceived distance' between them. This cohesion was achieved by maintaining similar social structures as the homeland, linking them in shared values, habits and principles reinforcing Britishness as well as providing a sense of security at the same time. Therefore, the placement of settlements and their cohesion could convey power and allow the effective control of areas such as the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia where European competition was rife. The British also tried to maintain their cohesion through inter-colonial connections, emphasising their 'distinctive identity' through particular patterns of consumption of goods, thus reinforcing **difference** with other Europeans and with the natives (see Chapter 7). This differentiation enhanced British power, control and position in a competitive world. In this way, nested within that larger system of connections, local relations in British settlements were actively developed (see Chapters 1, 6 and 7; Sections 8.2 and 8.3).

Connecting people and places was important when constructing naval settlements or colonising new areas. However, **memory** and experience could be 'weak' in newly-founded places. Knowing places provided markers on the landscape, giving them social significance and memory through time. Knowledge and experience were accumulated by frequent visits to places. A sense of belonging and continuity could then be built up from human experiences. In the action of transporting familiar goods that were considered socially significant from the homeland, familiar paths were maintained in habits and routines, winding memories and stories around places (see Chapter 7). In this way, 'weakness' could be strengthened because a sense of the self, place and belonging would be constructed. This would also create a sense of security and reinforce British position in the world. The British sense of place, extended out from the locale and from the present encounter, was contingent upon a larger temporal and spatial field of relationships (see Bender 2001: 84). Therefore, within memory underlies a 'tension' that existed between the

local and the global, the familiar and the unfamiliar, and the known and the unknown. Ingrained in the dynamics of daily living, this tension left its mark on the established material relations. Through these material relations, a sense of place and a sense of the self were continuously created and re-created in time-space.

This sense of place and the self were constructed within the social demands of capitalist and colonial systems. In this context, British daily living created *habitus*, positioning and memory of activities in the recurrently visited areas. Thus, *habitus* fed into social landscapes. The mass production and the circulation of goods with their consequent standardisation connected habitual ways of life. These linked Britain and its settlements and the British settlements themselves as points of production, consumption and exchange, representing forms of control and power within the social landscape. A whole series of relationships and networks enhancing social positions were generated by these processes. However, the production process is never one-way. People's social identities are produced through interaction with both the material world and people, with goods having meanings embedded in and attached to them. In this context, objects are manipulated and negotiated as a means of provisioning, animating and maintaining social relations. Therefore, 18th century British society and its colonies should be seen as a flux of forces moved by both relations of mutuality and materiality. By looking for streams of action and the materials that sustained them in the past, evidence for them in the present can be provided (Gosden 1994: 192).

Throughout this research, it has been assumed that social behaviours were disciplined through the 'strategic' *habitus of recurrence* by visiting and re-visiting places, which lead to the effective control of specific areas (see Tilley 1994). British coastal activities along Patagonia and Southeast Australia would illustrate this *habitus* (see Table 8.1). This focus on the coast could be interpreted as a product of British action which was possibly moved by ideas of controlling and moulding landscapes to conform to commercial and geopolitical expectations. This repeated habit of going to specific areas expressed in the spatial distribution of British wrecks and temporary and permanent British settlements in Patagonia and NSW would indicate the meanings attached to these coastal areas. These meanings can be interpreted as: symbols of power on both local and global scales; profitable areas that could open up new maritime enterprises; and tools to exercise power by exploiting natural resources and controlling maritime spaces (see Chapter 6).

In the habits and **routines** of visiting and re-visiting places knowledge was also accumulated. The acquisition of knowledge about specific environmental or topographic characteristics was linked to people's action in time-space (see Chapter 6). People are always immersed within their

surroundings through an active and daily social engagement. This intimate connection between people and their surroundings leads to social landscapes. I have observed that routine voyaging, the location of British settlements, and the articulation of those voyages and settlements within the physical and the created social landscapes were influenced by motives and intentions of control, access and connection of places and people (see Section 8.3.2). However, these motives and intentions structured the human manipulation of environmental factors in ways that could not always be predicted due to the constraints of both physical and social landscapes (see Sections 8.2 and 8.3). The British would experience social landscapes, associating different areas with varied economic and social values, building histories, perceptions and biographies. Therefore, the selected places became meaningful through the use, manipulation and negotiation of social landscapes.

The selection of places also created and projected **positioning** on regional and global contexts (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). British action connected people and places through the dynamics of travelling to and establishing settlements in ‘strategic’ areas. Places were therefore understood within wide networks of experiences and interactions. These networks and interactions helped to create and project the British position in the 18th century world. The analysis of movements of people at both regional and global scales contributed to clarifying some aspects of how the British, through their social engagement with the world around them, created social landscapes as a way of defining themselves in competitive and complex contexts (see Section 8.3). I specifically explored positioning through the analysis of the *Swift* and the *Sirius* wrecks and their links with the shore-based settlements of Port Egmont and Port Jackson and their spatial connections with the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia.

Within the socio-political contexts of the Malvinas/Falklands and NSW, the cases of the *Swift* and *Sirius* provide evidence of British action. These ships reflect that British strategies were versatile, adaptable to unpredictable and varied environmental and historical circumstances (Dellino 2002: 107; see Chapter 6). Both ships were under Admiralty orders, which were flexible enough to be adaptable to the unforeseeable social dynamics at the end of the 18th century (see Chapter 6). Although these ships were employed for various commissions that differed according to diverse social contexts, I have observed some general trends. The *Swift* and *Sirius* were located in places where access to various natural resources either for exploitation or consumption would help British local (*i.e.* the colony) and global economic interests (see Chapter 6). These ships were in areas where natural and safe harbours were accessible, helping to maintain and control multiple maritime links. The *Swift* and the *Sirius* were also the material embodiment of the British

presence in the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia possibly perceived by other Europeans as a potential threat. The location of these wrecks in these areas could therefore be interpreted as:

- the result of anticipated acts due to potential stressful political situations because of the presence of other European powers in the area,
- the result of present economic motives and interests due to the global demands of that time,
- the result of future geopolitical ambitions of conquering new areas,
- the reflection of present interests in maintaining British cultural continuity, and
- symbols of power; *i.e.* the material expression of British position in the world.

In summary, throughout this research, I have followed the premise that people are always engaged with the landscape that they move through (Bender 2001: 78, see Chapter 4). British action and the expression of British identities in the landscape were multiple, involving complex webs of social and material relations. The action of the British was moved by motives of exertion of power, access and acquisition of knowledge about places and people. The varying nature of British activities and their social expressions were materialised locally, with the *Swift* and *Sirius* exemplifying this (see Chapters 6 and 7). Furthermore, the embedded and attached meanings attributable to different places would be linked within the social frameworks of the groups involved. Within this perspective, the approaches of environmental determinism were challenged and the environment was treated as a space in which human skills were deployed (see Gosden & Head 1994: 113; Layton & Ucko 1999: 8; Chapter 4). British maritime activities created an overall social geography within which people's conscious and unconscious decisions were not just predicated on local circumstances but were turned into a broader set of horizons. Through my analysis of the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia, I highlighted that comparisons with other places and the people involved can help to emphasise the richness, diversity and complexity of British action. By putting the wrecks of the *Swift* and the *Sirius* into context, I have moved outward from viewing ships themselves as isolated phenomena towards understanding them as social products.

8.5 INNOVATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

The innovations of this research are both theoretical and methodological. The focus on social theory and theory of structuration

represent a different approach to traditional maritime studies. The methodological innovations of this research derive from its concern with the material expression of social relations challenging economical and technological perspectives.

Current historical and maritime archaeology studies stress the use of global scales of analysis, addressing issues associated with exchange over large distances. Research, mine included, has focused mainly on the processes of colonialism or emergent capitalist relations, and the increasing entanglement of local communities throughout the world into global exchange networks (e.g. Falk 1991; Orser 1992, 1996). Archaeologists need to continue exploring the potential offered by the integration of global approaches, global and local comparisons and local analysis. In this case, I believe that this book contributes to enriching the understanding of British action locally, as well as products of social relations in capitalistic, colonial and consumer worlds, and the transformations that these social processes embraced.

The extensive theoretical work presented in this research was considered necessary to establish an alternative context for archaeological studies dealing with capitalistic and colonial contexts. In this sense, this book has offered a different story to traditional maritime archaeological studies. Comparisons from other British wrecks and settlements and other assemblages located in Britain are essential offer a different picture of capitalistic and colonial processes of expansion, unfolding their local and global impacts.

The comparative analysis undertaken throughout this book between the South Atlantic and Southeast Australia has contributed to a better understanding of British action and colonial societies in the 18th century. It has also illustrated the dynamic social nature of the colonisation process and the adaptation and renegotiation that occurs within local contexts (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). Therefore, in this book, I did not try to formulate universal rules of human behaviour. In contrast, I highlighted the importance of comparing several British settlements, wrecks and their cargoes, emphasising the richness and diversity of human experience, deepening our understanding of British action and within it, the construction and projection of British identities in the Royal Navy and new colonial spaces.

This book has demonstrated that ships and their cargoes were 'mobile' material culture with embedded and attached meanings. This material culture was transported to remote areas by sea and used in the acquired territories and also in Britain. The selection of material culture went hand in hand with the material projection of British identities. This particular aspect was analysed through type, quantity, quality and variety of consumer goods, especially pottery. This study was analysed at a local

scale (Chapter 7), incorporated later into a global scale of analysis (Chapter 8). Therefore, the multi-varied and complex impacts of processes of capitalism, colonialism and consumption were integrated, allowing a deeper understanding of how the 18th century social world worked.

Throughout this book, I have demonstrated the potential that lies in using social theory in historical and maritime approaches and the possible directions that interpretations can take when exploring British action through the material expression of shipwrecks and their cargoes within local and global contexts. By combining historical and archaeological data, I have highlighted the archaeological potential of shipwrecks by offering an alternative interpretation of British action through the construction of landscapes and identities in the Royal Navy and colonial contexts. By using historical data I did not assume that historical documents are right or wrong. People with different perspectives and experiences write historical documents. I used these sources of information to illustrate how people perceived and experienced the world differently, framed in the varying taken-for-granted social contexts that we are brought up in.

The relationship between Europeans and natives has been explored briefly in this research because of a lack of historical and archaeological information. While developing my research I realised that analysing this issue in greater detail would have been useful and is something for future consideration. More regional studies regarding European contact with natives are needed. In the case of exchange, the use that natives gave to these European goods and how these affected mutuality and materiality in the natives' social contexts needs to be further explored.

To conclude, I see a challenge for archaeology in understanding material culture at a local scale integrated within global contexts where movement of people, goods and ideas are involved. Global impacts can be analysed through local particularities and local identities can be understood within global contexts. The continuous and reciprocal dynamism between the global and the local in such comparative studies broadens the understanding of diverse and rich stories of human action through material culture. This whole package was part of 18th century social relations. Wrecks, their cargoes and their associated coastal settlements have been understood as the embodiment of human experience and interactions connecting land and sea at the crossroads of local and global contexts.

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