

# Material Culture and the Construction of Hierarchy at the Conservatorium Site, Sydney

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*Two sets of evidence found are examined to illustrate how hierarchy was mediated at Government House, Sydney during the mid to late nineteenth century. Analysis of household inventories establishes the parameters for how the material culture of furniture and furnishings was used to express a set of hierarchical principles which controlled the lives of the servants and staff of Government House. People's positions in the hierarchy was expressed through the use of specific items of furniture, types of timbers, fabrics, and the presence of matching or non-matching toilet sets. This evidence provided an interpretative framework through which to explore the artefacts recovered from the main rubbish dump during the archaeological program at the Conservatorium Site so as to develop an understanding of the meaning of the material culture of Government House.*

## INTRODUCTION

The archaeological program at the Conservatorium Site was part of a major State Government works project managed by the NSW Department of Public Works & Services (now NSW Department of Commerce). The focus of the archaeological program was to excavate and record the extensive remains of the 1820s landscape associated with the construction of the neo-gothic Government Stables (1817–1821), and other sets of archaeological evidence, including those associated with the building itself. The controversy surrounding this project and the public interpretation outcome have been discussed elsewhere (Casey 2005). This paper is based on analysis undertaken for the excavation report (Casey & Lowe 2002). A copy of this report has been lodged on Casey & Lowe's webpage.<sup>1</sup>

A research question was written to provide an appropriate framework for examining the evidence of the rubbish dump:

The material culture associated with the occupants of both the stables and Government House should

provide tangible evidence of hierarchical behaviour within a pre-eminent household in Australia. This evidence should assist in understanding the lifeways of these occupants which should shed light on how this hierarchy was maintained and mediated through material culture. This evidence for hierarchical behaviour should be understood in the context of the defining of Australia in the late nineteenth century as an 'egalitarian and prosperous' society. (Casey & Lowe 2002:4)

This question was framed to address the meaning of the artefacts recovered at this site relating to the occupation of the area by the residents of Government House and the Government Stables and was designed within specific theoretical frameworks of power and hierarchy associated with the institution of the Governor of New South Wales and their representation of vice-regal power in the early colony of New South Wales. It developed themes explored in other research questions in the excavation report concerning the landscape of First Government House and the Sydney Domain and how it was remade during the first 33 years of British settlement (Casey & Lowe 2002:3–4; Casey 2002).

## THE DEPOSITS AND ARTEFACTS

A series of artefact-bearing deposits were found during the archaeological program at the Conservatorium site, notably the main rubbish dump (context 850) probably used from the 1840s into the early twentieth century, a c.1860s backfill of a cistern, deposits in garden beds in the western grounds of the stables, and other deposits throughout the site (Fig. 2). The focus of this paper is on the main rubbish dump though other deposits are occasionally mentioned as they provide interesting comparative data. All artefacts from this site were catalogued as outlined in Casey 2004. Some of these artefacts are on display within the Sydney Conservatorium of Music downstairs foyer.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The residence of the Governor of New South Wales, Government House, Sydney was completed sufficient for occupation by Governor Sir George Gipps and his wife in June 1845, shortly prior to their return to England. The Governor of New South Wales had considerably more

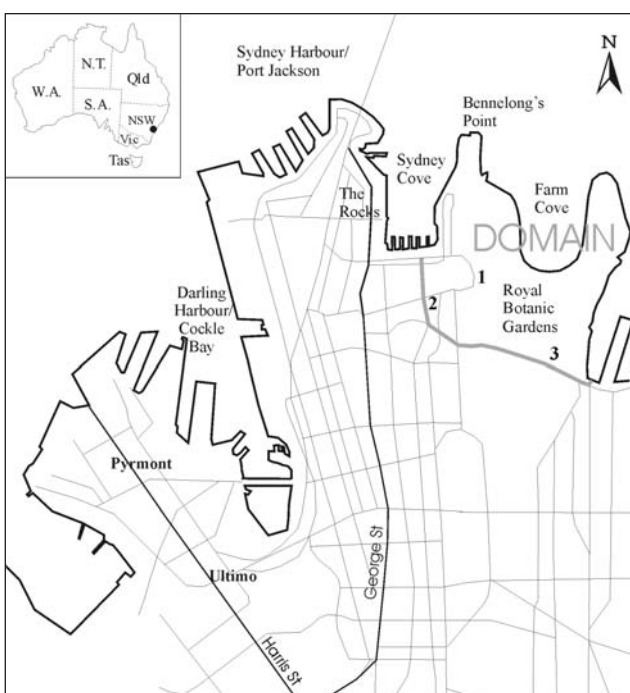


Fig. 1: Location plan. 1. Conservatorium of Music; 2. First Government House; 3. Approx. position of 1792 Domain boundary.

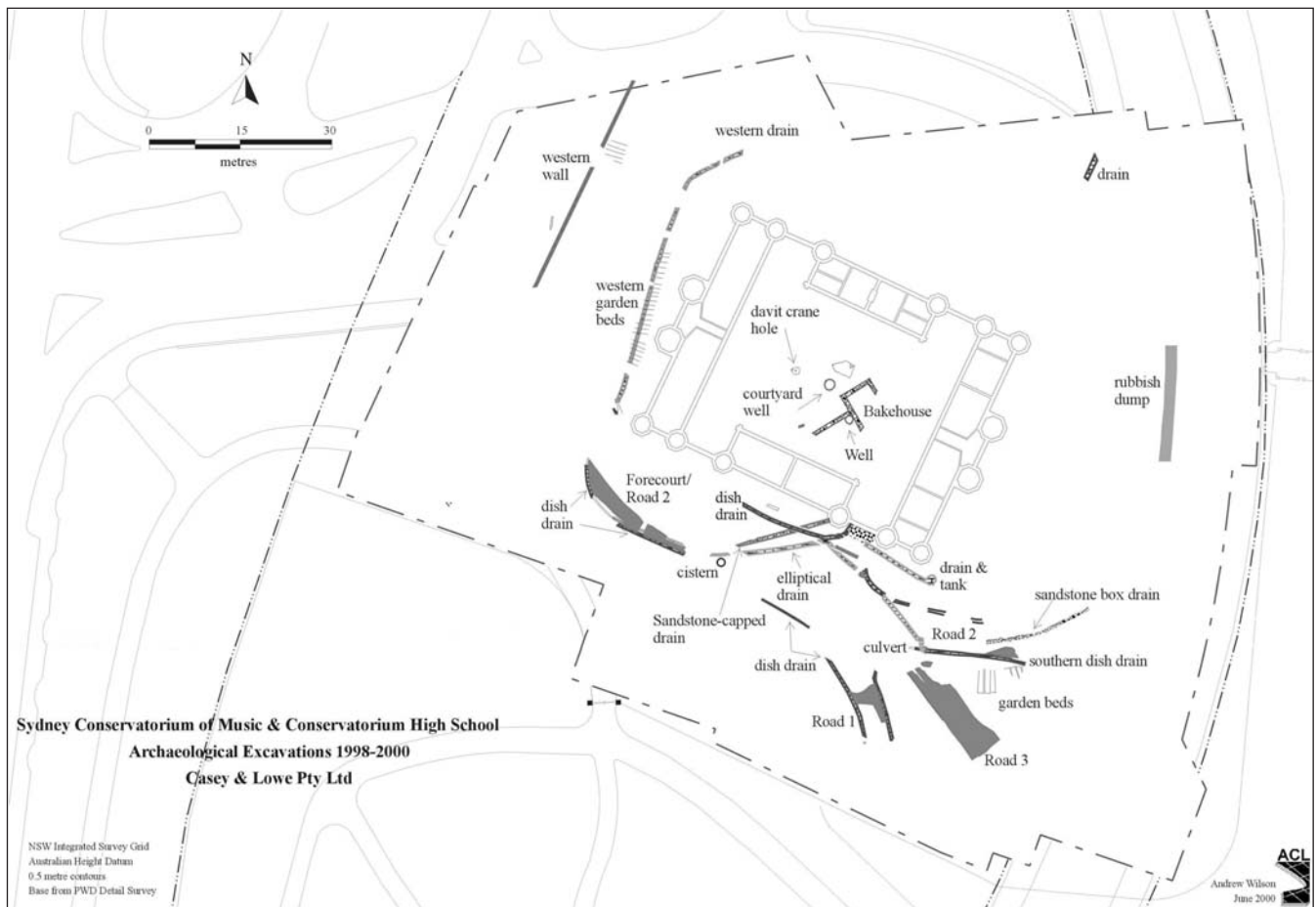


Fig. 2: Site plan.

authority during the nineteenth century than the current State Governor who has been reduced to a figurehead position, although they are still appointed by the Queen of Australia and they open and prorogue State parliament.

Following constitutional reform in the 1850s the four main colonies achieved 'responsible government'. The governors' duties were now principally administrative but they did have the power to veto government legislation. With the Federation of the Australian states in 1901, Government House in Sydney became the second residence of the Governor-General, whose main residence was in Melbourne, Victoria. In 1912 the Governor-General was 'evicted' from the state-owned house and moved across the harbour to the current residence at Admiralty House. Following legal disputes and appeals to the Privy Council in 1915, it once again became the home of the Governor of NSW. The first Australian was appointed as Governor in 1946; previous to this the Governors were appointed by the British crown and were often high profile members of the British aristocracy. Among these were the Earl of Belmore, Lord Carrington who was a close friend of the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Jersey, and the Earl of Beauchamp (Atkinson 2004:253-54; McGregor 1997). During the nineteenth century, Government House was the home of one of the leading citizens of New South Wales and Australia, who was British by birth and allegiance.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the assumptions behind the above-mentioned research question is that material cultural analysis should reveal how hierarchical behaviour is physically manifested in these artefacts. Among the other assumptions that allow for the interpretation of hierarchy are that choices about purchases

and goods made available to the various residents of the house and the differences and similarities about access to these goods, and the way they are used, and who uses them are meaningful and constructed within the social and cultural contexts of Government House.

The basis of these assumptions is an understanding of how a Government House of moderate size was organised and how people and accommodation were categorised within the house and its various outbuildings. An important source for understanding this household are household inventories made in the early twentieth century when the house was operated by the State Government for the newly appointed Governor-General, as his second residence. The inventories are useful because of the way in which levels of importance were placed on accommodation for the various members of the household. There are three inventories known from the early twentieth century. They were recorded in 1902, 1908 and 1911, shortly before the stables was turned into the Sydney Conservatorium of Music between 1913-1915.<sup>2</sup> Specific details of these rooms are analysed for formulating a model of how hierarchical behaviour was manifest through the material culture of the house. Similar use has been made of probate inventories in the United States (Beaudry 1988).

To explore the issues raised in the research question and observations it is necessary to review some of the theoretical context in which this question was posed; theories of consumption and material culture. These help in analysing how artefacts, furniture and furnishings are rendered meaningful within the society that purchased and used them.

One of the main issues affecting consumption practices are why we buy what we buy, and why we do not buy other things. Choices made by individuals or families or neighbourhoods or particular social groups about the items they purchase are not

isolated or separated from society and culture but informed and structured by them. 'The consumer goods on which the consumer lavishes time, attention and income are charged with cultural meaning' (McCracken 1990:xi). People or consumers 'use the meaning of consumer goods to express cultural categories and principles, cultivate ideals, create and sustain life styles, construct notions of the self, and create (and survive) social change'. McCracken defines consumption as the process by which consumer goods and services are 'created, bought and used' (McCracken 1990:xi).

Daniel Miller observed that it is 'in the array of commodities as brought to life in the consumption practices of the household that moral, cosmological and ideological objectifications are constructed to create the images by which we understand who we have been, who we are, and who we might or should be in the future' (D. Miller 1995b: 35).

With regard to the concept of 'choice', Miller further observed that it:

... is revealed to be very far from some autonomous, independently generated act. Rather it is a limited condition that bears the burden of histories of social category formation in terms of class, gender and other parameters, the normative adjudication of families and peers (D. Miller 1995b: 36).

Paul Glennie on the meaning and significance of consumption concluded:

Goods usually had multiple meanings, frequently combining utilitarian, ornamental and private associations, and these meanings connected to notions of identity and social ideology. Divisions between public display and private use were far from clear-cut...Meanings and uses were ascribed to objects as they were incorporated into practices, which might be ritualised or spontaneous, and whose character changed over time... Women, in particular, used consumer goods both to establish their families' abstract attributes (status, lineage), much as men used land, and to recognise and negotiate personal qualities of taste, sociability and worth (Glennie 1995:179).

Glennie proposes that an important aspect of the meaning of goods is that they can mean different things in different places and can have a range of parallel meanings at the same time.

Theories of consumption reveal that archaeologists work with objects created in a social context formed by culture until, at some point in their existence, they come to reside within an archaeological context. The role of artefacts is not passive as 'they influence the course of social interaction (Hodder 1982), and influence the course of social change' (Schiffer 1983:676).

Mark Leone, developing from Hodder, looked at the recursive or active quality of material culture. He contends that people express their lives in the things surrounding them and in that expression and use; daily life is reproduced and bought together into existence each day and each generation. Therefore knowledge of the local context of use and meaning is essential if we are to understand the material culture and mental order that made it (Leone 1987:235–261).

In *Personal Discipline and Material Culture* Paul Shackel (1993) focused on archaeological data derived from ceramics and toothbrushes to measure the dissemination of the ideas of personal discipline throughout society. He contends that markers, such as greater diversity in plate sizes and the growing functional diversity of ceramics in an assemblage, can be interpreted as an indication of the increasing segmentation found at the dinner table, which helps to reinforce a new standardised way of eating. This was

behaviour that standardises and segments and requires one dish per person and a variety of dish sizes for different courses in the meal, butter dishes, dessert dishes, meat dishes, etc. An assemblage with this assortment would be an indication of a new etiquette that reinforced a segmenting trend and in turn disciplined people's behaviour at and away from the table (Shackel 1993:5). Shackel proposes that:

as behaviour became standardized and regimented, it encouraged the development of a modern discipline that allowed for a successful manufacturing process and promoted the consumption of goods, such as ceramics, that reinforced this behaviour every day and at special, ritualised meals (1993:30).

These sorts of practices were also thought to produce individuality but it is suggested here that they are essential aspects of the maintenance of hierarchy at Government House.

Anne Yentsch in *A Chesapeake Family and their Slaves* (1994) analysed the archaeological evidence from the site of Governor Calvert's seventeenth-century house. This site contained remains of the house, its various buried garden and yard spaces including an early orangery as well as quantities of artefacts associated with the life of the Governors, their families, staff and Negro slaves. Yentsch's archaeological framework of inquiry was built on an anthropological understanding of the enculturation of space and social relations and with a strong historical context based on primary documents and personal biographies of the inhabitants. This deeply contextualised archaeological synthesis and analysis sought to elucidate the nature of symbolism embedded not only in the spaces of this site but also in the artefacts. Yentsch surveyed her evidence, both spatial and artefactual, as material cultural with a recursive cultural role and multivocality.

Symbolism and its role in cultural discourse are central to Yentsch's thesis as she observed: 'archaeologists and anthropologists agree that cultural discourse utilizes metaphor to convey meaning. Symbolism and symbolizing, evident in metaphors, are pan-human activities; their cultural expressions are endlessly varied but historically situated' (1994:310). An essential component of symbolism is that it operated as non-verbal communication which consisted of a 'potent, visual symbolism – pomp, ceremony, conspicuous consumption – that had worked for hundreds of years in European countries, where few men knew how to read written words, but all people knew how to decipher the tangible, touchable, seeable evidence of power' (1994:281).

Yentsch's approach is based on the work of Marshall Sahlins and Clifford Geertz. Geertz observed in *Local Knowledge* that 'at the political center of any complexly ordered society... there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing' (quoted in Yentsch 1994:281). The assertion made by those using these symbols is that they had a legitimate claim to their social hierarchy and their position within the governing of the society. The role of symbolism, its enculturation, expression of power and centrality to the ordering of social relations are important elements in the analysis of the meaning of the Conservatorium site artefacts and its landscape (Casey 2002).

## GOVERNMENT HOUSE INVENTORY, 1908

### Contents of Bedrooms

Some of the bedrooms in the 1908 household inventory (Government House Inventory 1908) were analysed to create a framework for interpreting the artefacts recovered from the site. In order to facilitate this analysis a distribution table was created as a basis for comparison between the different types

of bedrooms (Appendix 1, Tables A, B). Bedrooms were chosen because many of the artefacts recovered from the large rubbish dump were associated with bedrooms and personal hygiene. In addition, bedroom furnishings provided details about early twentieth century perceptions of requirements for the day-to-day activities of the governor's family, as well as the staff and servants. It is likely that in such a conservative environment, where the furniture was owned by the State Government, that many of these items had been present within the house for some time and the rules and the structures of the organisation operated almost independently of the governor and their family as these frequently changed and were imposed from outside.

There is a consistency in the types of furniture available in the various levels of the rooms, suggesting a systematic process behind the ordering of what goes into a specific type of bedroom (Appendix 1, Tables A, B). The presence of dressing or washing tables in all the bedrooms except the male servants' bedrooms presents a striking contrast. The male servants' rooms occasionally had tables with mirrors to serve the same purpose, but not specialised items of furniture. This same pattern was present in the toilet 'set of ware' (ewer, basin and soap dish), wastepaper baskets and toilet pedestals generally found in all bedrooms except the male servants' bedrooms. The male servants did not wash in the same room they slept in but rather used the communal bathroom down the hall. All of the female servants' rooms had washing facilities with a mixture of matched and unmatched ware. Unlike the men they were not allowed to appear outside their bedrooms without being properly clean and tidy.

No ornaments were listed in the inventory of the servants' rooms. If they had them they were personal possessions, while the main bedrooms had some paintings or a clock. Boudoir 6, which was not a bedroom but probably a sitting room, had Dresden china ornaments as well as flower pots, none of which were present in the bedrooms. Other differences are represented by the presence or absence of gas brackets, the variety of furniture for storing clothing and the types of woods used to make this furniture, the type and range of floor coverings, the variety and number of curtains and blinds and the range of seating and their coverings.

Markers of difference were the types of fabrics used in furnishings and the timber used in furniture associated with members of the family. They had furnishings in silk and chintz and furniture in walnut and silky oak which were not found in any of the servants' rooms. Cedar furniture was found in both types of rooms but pine was only found in the servants' rooms. Holland blinds, mosquito nets, feather pillows, wire and hair mattresses, and lace top valences were some of the few items found in most of the bedrooms, indicating they were seen as the basic requirements for sleeping quarters. The main bedrooms and the female servants' accommodation had Brussels's carpets while the male servants' rooms had linoleum floor coverings with a piece of bedside carpet. Only the sitting room has oriental carpets, perhaps suggesting a variation between public and private spaces.

The above brief overview of the 1908 inventory sets forward the analysis and supports the view that material culture, the objects used in daily life within Government House, were mostly categorised and ordered according to who could use them and how. In addition, some of them were invested with ideological choices and meaning. The female servants had to wash and tidy themselves before they left their rooms as they could not be seen in public or private, outside of their rooms, in any state of disorder. This was a circumscribing of their behaviour: they were to meet standards being set by someone else. The issue of personal hygiene and discipline will be discussed in more detail below.

### Categories of artefacts mentioned in the 1908 inventory

The inventory also contains lists of ceramics stored in various rooms. Stored in the housemaids' room were pieces of a blue-patterned breakfast set with cups and saucers, plates, bread and butter plates, slop basin, sugar basin, milk jug, egg cups, covered muffin dish and a butter dish (Government House Inventory 1908:28). In addition there were blue and gold plates, meat dishes, white and gold bread and butter plates, stoneware jugs, inkwells, bread platters, metal teapot and a kettle. Stored in the kitchen were a range of ceramics and glass items used for cooking: 'K' basins, pie dishes, pudding basins, store tins, French fire-proof dishes, jelly dishes, and various jugs. There was a blue and gold dinner service with four different types of plates and ten types of serving vessels. Another dinner service in the 'Lichfield' pattern (Gothic cathedral) had four types of plates and five types of serving vessels. In addition there were many assorted serving vessels, various patterned plates (odd, not matching), as well as 'common white plates', and dozens of other types of items used for cooking. Most of these were stored in the kitchen with some others in the baking room.

There was a 'stewards' room dinner service with white and gold vessels with four types of plates as well as three types of serving vessels. There were other serving vessels in unidentified patterns. Other sets included a Worcester breakfast and tea service, a 'blue Minton fibre pattern' breakfast and tea and coffee service. Stored in the housekeeper's sitting room was Lord Carrington's blue and gold dinner service which consisted of 20 meat dishes, 93 soup plates, 677 plates, 85 small plates, 67 coffee plates and 66 tea cups. There were more vessels in the butler's pantry as well as large quantities of glassware including 447 champagne glasses and various spirit glasses, decanters and jugs. Among the extensive range of items kept in the housekeeper's store room were Foley, Minton and Belleek teapots as well as white and gold chambers, toilet jugs, and basins and soap dishes which would have been part of the 'sets of ware' found in the bedrooms. Three dessert services were identified: Dresden, Crown Derby and Royal Worcester. The 'best' dinner service was the Coalport service with six types of serving vessels and four types of plates and one type of bowl among which were items that had been repaired, some mended with rivets, or cracked. For example, of the 11 covers for vegetable dishes only two were undamaged. Other table, serving and cooking wares were stored in the southern wing of the stables. Among these ceramics were 'common white' wares as well as various vessels in 'white', 'white and gold' and different patterns (Government House Inventory 1908: 34-42, 44-45, 49-53, 68-69).

Among the ceramics were a broad range of shapes used at the dinner table, for breakfast or dessert or for taking tea and coffee. There were dinner services that were for 'best' and others that were relatively good but were for large-scale public events, such as Lord Carrington's dinner service which is a thick earthenware (surviving pieces are held in Government House), and some used for the servants, probably the 'white and gold' or the 'common white' wares. Each dinner service contained a variety of forms, such as the dinner, salad, soup, dessert and cheese plates as well as soup tureens, sauce tureens, vegetable dishes and covers, meat dishes, salad bowls, fish drainers, and gravy dishes. These reflect a complex range of dishes and courses that were fed to the governor's guests and family. Many of these specialised serving vessels were not found in the commoner types of wares that would have been used by the servants, indicating that these forms were only to be used for the governor, his family and guests.

This pattern superficially conforms to that suggested by Shackel, where an assemblage with an assortment of

specialised forms was likely to be an indication of a new etiquette that reinforced a segmenting trend and in turn disciplined people's behaviour at and away from the table (1993:5). Yet at the Conservatorium site this pattern was about supporting and maintaining existing models of behaviour within an environment that contested such behaviour, that of individuality and a new etiquette. The governor's family and guests wished to maintain and be seen to maintain differing standards of food and service as marking boundaries within a hierarchical establishment.

The above review of the 1908 inventory supports the contention that material culture was used by the residents of Government House as part of establishing and maintaining behaviours which supported and reinforced the *status quo* of governor, staff, servants and yard staff. Many of the governors had bought out their own senior administrative and domestic staff as well as their own 'crates of furniture, pictures, pate, china, books, linen, jewellery, clothing, including servants' livery' (Toy, quoted in McGregor 1997:143). This material culture both represented and actively constructed the rules of behaviour by which the various residents of the house were to live by, and the types of behaviour and material goods that they were allowed to enjoy. The presence of ten different types of plates to be used at a meal in the dining room, when the governor had important guests to dine, meant there needed to be food and wine to be served on them. This required servants to select, prepare and cook the food, and then to serve it to the table, transferring it from the kitchen to the dining room, remove each course and return the used vessels and glasses to the kitchen and scullery. Someone then had to wash the dirty dishes and return them to their storage places. This type of lifestyle could only be supported where numbers of servants were available to perform these tasks because of the range of hierarchical behaviours and specialised jobs.

The serving of food at the dining room table would have been one of the main events in which the hierarchy and the specified roles of the various residents of Government House were ritually enacted to their extreme, with most of the residents having a 'role' which they were to appropriately perform or risk punishment. In addition, the type of food served to the Governor, his family and his guests with a variety of food courses and wines, salads, and desserts would have presented a stark contrast to the food served in the small servants' hall with its stout and two or three courses. Perhaps typically this would have been an entrée of soup, a main course with vegetables and a dessert or sweet. Elaborate and complex displays of material culture was one of the main ways in which people established and maintained barriers, both physical and mental, as part of the upholding and maintaining of established social hierarchies.

## THE MAIN RUBBISH DUMP – CONTEXT 850

The main archaeological evidence surviving within this area was a large rubbish dump, context 850, buried underneath the backfilling of the City Circle railway tunnels.<sup>3</sup> This rubbish dump covered a known area approximately 25 m long by about 20 m wide between the western and eastern railway tunnels (Fig. 2). It was clear from the southern section of the bulk excavation that this rubbish dump continued to the south into an area not excavated and now buried underneath the new building. The amount of artefacts collected from this deposit was approximately a 10 percent sample. Artefacts were collected over a 2 m width along the length of the deposit. More artefacts were concentrated towards the central and southern parts of this deposit.

The remains of 1069 items were collected (Tables 1, 2). The number of whole items (273) was a notable aspect of this

rubbish dump, as well as the amount of sherds placed together where in many cases more than half of the sherds from a vessel were found. The artefacts were buried in a loose dark grey/black sandy matrix mixed through with lots of charcoal. The charcoal is suggestive of sweepings from kitchen and bedroom fireplaces. The quantity and condition of the artefactual evidence was surprising and therefore we were encouraged, on depositional grounds alone, to believe that we were dealing with a primary rubbish deposit, one in which the rubbish had not been brought in from any great distance and which was probably sourced from both the stables and nearby Government House, 300 to 400 m to the north. Later documentary research and the finding of the inventories supported this interpretation. Additional research found an 1861 reference to the use of the eastern end of the stables grounds, 'between the fence and the government stables which seems to be of no use except for shooting rubbish' (Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly 1861).

**Table 1: Range of main artefact groups from context 850.**

Category	MIC	%	Frag	%
Architectural	4	0.4	4	0.3
Ceramic	557	52.1	1015	67.4
Glass	468	43.8	426	28.3
Metal	14	1.3	33	2.2
Miscellaneous	26	2.4	27	1.8
Totals	1069	100	1505	100

**Table 2: Main functions into which the artefacts from Context 850 were sorted.**

General Function	MIC	%
Alcohol	349	32.6
Architecture	20	1.9
Beverage	36	3.4
Clerical	23	2.1
Food	475	44.4
Household	23	2.2
Personal	41	3.8
Personal/food	1	0.1
Pharmaceutical	60	5.6
Recreation	18	1.7
Service	3	0.3
Yard	11	1.0
Unidentified	9	0.8
Total	1069	99.9

The 1069 artefacts included architectural (4), ceramic (557), glass (468), metal (14) and miscellaneous (26) items (Table 1). The artefacts were grouped into a range of general functions or associated activities (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol 6, Appendix B for tables; Casey 2004). The main identified functional categories were: food (44.4%), alcohol (32.6%), pharmaceutical (5.5%), personal (3.8%), beverages (3.4%), household items (2.2%) and clerical (2.1%). These seven groups constituted 94.3 percent or 1002 artefacts from the rubbish dump, including a few (0.6%) from uncertain categories (Table 2).

When compared with the other major contexts from this site the proportion of alcohol and food artefacts is similar to another rubbish pit (context 684) but is generally dissimilar to most of the other deposits or contexts due to the low representation of architectural remains (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol. 6, Appendix B, Table 2). In the functional categories with smaller representation context 850 has the highest proportion of pharmaceutical (5.2%), beverage (3.4%) and clerical (2.1%) artefacts (Tables 2, 3). This evidence is significant when analysed within each functional group.

**Table 3: Breakdown of the general function groups within the larger contexts at the Conservatorium Site, according to percentages (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol 6, Appendix B).**

General Function	Cistern				900s Garden Beds	1004/1005/1034
	850	603-611	684	719		
Alcohol	32.6	6.3	32.9	25.9	17.7	8
Alcohol/Food	0	0.7	-	0.1	0.1	-
Architecture	1.9	43.7	16.6	24.9	17.4	26.7
Beverage	3.4	-	1.8	2.6	1.0	-
Clerical	2.1	-	1.4	1.6	1.4	-
Economy	0	0.2	-	-	0.1	-
Food	44.4	17.7	37.2	16.8	37.9	39.5
Food/H'hold	-	-	-	-	-	0.2
Food/Spirits	-	-	0.2	-	-	-
Household	2.2	6.3	2.1	3.4	4.0	0.4
Military	-	-	-	-	-	0.2
Music	0	-	-	-	-	-
Industry	0.1	-	0.5	0.2	0.2	-
Personal	3.8	8.0	1.8	1.0	4.9	0.6
Personal/Food	0.1	-	-	0	-	-
Pharmaceutical	5.6	1.0	2.1	2.4	1.6	-
Pharm/Personal	-	-	-	-	0.2	-
Recreational	1.7	2.3	0.2	0.4	4.2	4.3
Service	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.7	-
Store	-	-	-	-	0.2	0.2
Transport	-	-	0.2	0.2	-	-
Work	-	0.2	-	1.0	-	-
Yard	1.0	6.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	-
Unidentified	0.8	6.7	1.8	18.4	6.9	19.8
%	100	100	100	100	100	100
MIC	1069	615	435	804	858	486

## Food

The food-associated artefacts from the dump were grouped into 11 different food sub-categories, the largest of which were tableware (37.6%), teaware (26.3%), condiment (14.5%) and serving vessels (9%) and then a variety of other groups which had much smaller occurrences (Table 4). The frequency of tablewares, as the largest type of artefact found, is not uncommon although on later residential working-class sites it is more common to find a higher proportion of teawares rather than tablewares (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol 2, 107, Table 14.5). The high representation of condiments is unusual (Table 4) both at this site and at other residential sites in Sydney (Casey 1999:14, Table 9). The only other known site with a large proportion of condiments was a vinegar factory in Sussex

Street where condiments formed 71.9 percent of the artefacts (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol 2, 107, Table 14.5). On these other sites the proportion of condiments was 1.9 to 6.4 percent of all food artefacts. Table 4 illustrates that in some of the other contexts at the Conservatorium site condiments were as high as 8 percent, which is still 6.5 percent less than the main dump (850).

## Tableware

Tablewares are dominated by dinner plates (102), 9.5 percent of items found in the rubbish dump, and bread and butter plates or entrée plates (39), 3.6 percent (Table 6). Other items include 15 drinking glasses of various types including tumblers (10) and stemmed glasses (4). The drinking glasses from the site are generally considered to be 'of high quality' (Smith 2002). Other ceramic tablewares included bowls (7), rice bowls (4), egg cups (5), and soup plates (4).

The plates were found in a diverse range of decorative types and patterns (Table 8). The most frequent were the various whitewares (plain and moulded), both semi-vitrified and fine earthenwares, which together formed 43 percent of all plates. The next most common were banded whitewares (9.6%), blue-transfer print (8.4%), and purple-transfer print (6.3%). The plain and moulded whitewares were highly evident in both tablewares and serving wares (Figs 3, 4). While the moulded patterns have attractive names such as 'bordered hyacinth', 'forget-me-not' or 'four-square-wheat', the mouldings are often difficult to identify and any items placed near each other would not be noticeably dissimilar, although some of the geometric patterns exhibit a more notable difference in their patterns. Plain and moulded whitewares are considered to be one of the cheapest types of decorated ceramics (G. Miller 1980).

Banded whiteware, which is a simple painted band or bands applied to the vessel (Fig. 3), was found in four different patterns on the plates but mostly in one or two variations. This decoration was also found on small plates, soup plates, cups and saucers and serving dishes. The blue transfer-printed plates were in six different patterns, including three of the most common decorative patterns found on Sydney sites: 'Willow 3' (2), 'Asiatic Pheasant' (3) and 'Albion' (3). The purple transfer-printed plates included two versions of the Cable pattern: double helix and rope (Fig. 4). Throughout the Conservatorium site the two 'Cable' patterns was found on 53 different vessel forms with plates (32) being the most common. Context 850 contained 18 vessels in either of the two 'Cable' patterns.

**Table 4: Breakdown of food-related vessel forms from a range of contexts at the Conservatorium Site (Casey & Lowe 2002: Vol 6, Appendix B, Table 850.3).**

General Function	Specific Function	850		1004/1005/1034		Cistern		Western Garden Beds		684	
		MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%
Food	Condiment	69	14.5	-	-	2	1.8	24	7.4	13	8
	Container	17	3.6	8	4.2	-	-	15	4.6	-	-
	Food	10	2.1	-	-	2	1.8	3	0.9	5	3
	Preparation	6	1.3	25	13.0	1	0.9	3	0.9	3	2
	Preparation/Container	-	-	5	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Preparation/Serve	4	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Preparation/Store	-	-	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Preserve	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Serve	43	9.0	6	3.1	5	4.6	28	8.6	11	7
	Store	18	3.8	1	0.5	5	4.6	8	2.5	1	1
	Tableware	179	37.6	103	53.6	76	69.7	110	33.8	77	47
	Tableware/Serve	4	0.8	2	1.0	1	0.9	-	-	1	1
	Tea	125	26.3	39	20.3	17	15.6	130	40	52	32
Total		476	100	192	100	109	99.9	315	100	163	101



Fig. 3: Ceramics from the main rubbish dump, 850. These include quantities of heavy utilitarian earthenwares, banded whitewares. Note the stout bottles at the rear.



Fig. 4: Artefacts from the main rubbish dump, purple, blue and green transfer-printed vessels and gilded bone china cups and saucers with other items from the rubbish dump.

### Teaware

Teawares were represented mostly by cups (76) and saucers (43) (Table 6). Other teawares included a rather large Rockingham teapot with Chinese figures on the sides, as well as a gilded white bone china sugar bowl, and four coffee cans. Overall, teawares formed a large percentage of the corpus of artefacts from context 850, 11.7 percent (Table 5). Within the food-related artefacts they constituted 26.3 percent or more than a quarter of the food artefacts. Yet this was a smaller proportion of food-related items when compared to the western garden beds (40%) and context 684 (32%). Generally these teawares represent a lower frequency when compared to other urban sites (Casey 1999:14, Table 9).

Teawares were found in 23 different wares and in a variety of patterns (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, 57, Table 850.15). Gilded whitewares (28%), plain (16%) and moulded (14%) undecorated semi-vitrified earthenwares were the most frequently found teawares (58%). These were followed by hand-painted (8%), banded (8%) and sprigged wares (6%) in whiteware and bone china. Many of the other decorative types had only a single example. The predominance of gilded white teawares, some with a gilded tealeaf pattern on the bottom of the cup, is unusual on earlier and mid-century sites in Sydney where transfer-printed patterns tend to dominate (Casey 1999:11, Table 3). On late nineteenth-century sites the presence of gilded teawares can be more common than transfer printed wares (Casey & Lowe 2005:70, Table 4–8; Appendix 2.1:8–9).

Table 5: Range of general and specific functions in context 850.

General Function	Specific Function	850 MIC	%	
alcohol	alcohol	1	0.1	
	beer/wine	115	10.8	
	champagne	56	5.2	
	closure	1	0.1	
	gin	1	0.1	
	gin/schnapps	40	3.7	
	spirits	27	2.5	
	stout	107	10.0	
	wine	1	0.1	
	architecture	non-structural	4	0.4
roof		3	0.3	
structural		7	0.7	
window		6	0.6	
beverage	aerated water	28	2.6	
	ginger beer	8	0.7	
clerical	stationery	8	0.7	
	writing	14	1.3	
food	condiment	69	6.5	
	container	17	1.6	
	food	10	0.9	
	preparation	6	0.6	
	prep/serve	4	0.4	
	preserve	1	0.1	
	serve	43	4.0	
	store	17	1.6	
	tableware	179	16.8	
	tableware/serve	4	0.4	
	tea	125	11.7	
	household	furnish	1	0.1
		light	3	0.3
maintenance		11	1.0	
ornament		8	0.7	
security		1	0.1	
personal	clothing	1	0.1	
	groom	12	1.1	
personal/food	hygiene	26	2.4	
	jewellery	1	0.1	
pharmaceutical	hygiene/serve	1	0.1	
	castor oil	8	0.7	
	med/toilet	42	4.0	
recreation	medicine	10	0.9	
	smoking	17	1.6	
service	toy	1	0.1	
	light	1	0.1	
	sewer	2	0.2	
store	container	1	0.1	
	garden	11	1.0	
yard	container	5	0.5	
	unidentified	4	0.4	
Total		1069	100	

Many of the cups are breakfast cups rather than teacups, notably the moulded white semi-vitrified fine earthenwares and the gilded bone china with the tea leaf pattern. The choice of the moulded white semi-vitrified earthenwares cups, with its thicker, more robust fabric, makes it clear they were chosen to serve an utilitarian purpose rather than a decorative one. These cups are vastly different to the fine bone china green transfer-printed teacup with rich gilding found in the cistern (Casey & Lowe 2002:257). The thick and heavy cups are seen to represent those cups used by the servants and possibly the staff, while the fine bone china cup with gilding from the cistern is seen as more typical of those used by the Governor's family and visitors. Note that in the inventory there was a 'fibre' pattern teaset, none of which was found in the dump. How do the gilded bone china cups fit into this pattern? They perhaps relate to the middle group of the staff, or are part of a chronological phase of purchase.

**Table 6: Range of general and specific functions attributed to artefacts from context 850.**

General Function	Specific Function	Shape	850 MIC	%	General Function	Specific Function	Shape	850 MIC	%	
alcohol	alcohol	bottle	1	0.1	food	tableware	plate	102	9.5	
	beer/wine	bottle	115	10.8			plate-small	39	3.6	
	champagne	bottle	56	5.2			rice bowl	4	0.4	
	closure	stopper	1	0.1			rummer	1	0.1	
	gin/schnapps	bottle	40	3.7			soup plate	4	0.4	
	gin	bottle	1	0.1			stemware	4	0.4	
	spirits	bottle	27	2.5			tumbler	10	0.9	
	stout	bottle	107	10.0			unid	1	0.1	
	wine	bottle	1	0.1			tblw/serve	bowl	4	0.4
	architecture	non-structural	flashing	1			0.1	tea	coffee can	4
pipe			2	0.2	cup	76	7.1			
staple			1	0.1	saucer	43	4.0			
roof		tile	3	0.3	sugar bowl	1	0.1			
		structural	bolt	3	0.3	teapot	1	0.1		
brick			1	0.1	décor	1	0.1			
nail			3	0.3	candle stick	3	0.3			
window		flat	3	0.3	maintenance	black bottle	11	1.0		
		plate	2	0.2	ornament	décor/flat	1	0.1		
		stay	1	0.1	jar	1	0.1			
beverage	aerated water	bottle	27	2.5	unid	4	0.4			
		marble	1	0.1	vase	1	0.1			
	ginger beer	bottle	8	0.7	security	padlock	1	0.1		
clerical	stationery	clag	9	0.8	clothing	button	1	0.1		
	writing	ink bottle	6	0.6	grooming	brush	1	0.1		
		inkwell	2	0.2	comb	3	0.3			
penny ink		5	0.5	perfume	8	0.7				
food	condiment	slate	1	0.1	hygiene	ewer	13	1.2		
		oil/vinegar	23	1.9	chamber	8	0.8			
		pickles/chutney	23	2.2	toilet/toothbrush box	1	0.1			
		preserve	1	0.1	toothbrush box	2	0.2			
		sauce	16	1.5	toothpaste pot lid	1	0.1			
		stopper	6	0.6	wash basin	2	0.2			
		container	bottle	11	1.0	brooch	1	0.1		
			closure	4	0.4	jewellery	1	0.1		
			cont	1	0.1	hyg/serve	ewer/jug	1	0.1	
			jar	1	0.1	castor oil	bottle	8	0.7	
	food		bottle	10	0.9	medicine	bottle	9	0.8	
	preparation	bowl	2	0.2	ointment jar	1	0.1			
		pie dish	3	0.3	med/toilet	bottle	36	3.4		
		saucepan	1	0.1	jar	4	0.4			
		prep/serve	bowl	4	0.4	lid	2	0.2		
		preserve	jar	1	0.1	recreation	smoking	pipe	17	1.6
		serve	bowl	2	0.2	toy	vessel	1	0.1	
			comport	1	0.1	light	shade	1	0.1	
			dish	2	0.2	sewer	toilet	2	0.2	
			jug	15	1.4	store	cont	jar	1	0.1
			platter	15	1.4	yard	garden	flora	1	0.1
	tureen		8	0.7	pot	9	0.8			
	storage		ginger jar	3	0.3	pot saucer	1	0.1		
			jar	15	1.4	unidentified	container	bottle	4	0.4
			tableware	bowl	7	0.7	unidentified	tin	1	0.1
	comport		1	0.1	unid	4	0.4			
	decant	1	0.1							
	egg cup	5	0.5							
								Total	1069	100

The relationship between plates and cups and saucers is revealing of purchase patterns. The plates were found in 12 different types of decoration in at least 37 different patterns, while the cups and saucers were in 23 different decorative styles and 41 different patterns. Only three kinds of decorations were found on both the teawares and plates: green transfer-print 'Rhine', purple transfer-print 'Cable' double helix pattern, and five of the moulded whiteware ceramic patterns (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Tables 850.7, 850.16).

The general impression from the above overview is that based on the evidence from the rubbish dump only the plainer and cheaper ceramic decorative wares were purchased in both tableware and teaware forms. For example, in banded whiteware all forms are found, including serving vessels. A similar pattern is observed in the moulded whitewares with their

plethora of designs on tablewares, serving, teawares and hygiene-related uses, such as ewers and chambers. This model is also observed in plain whitewares. The purchase pattern demonstrates that banded whiteware, moulded and plain whitewares were acquired as multi-purpose use sets rather than for specific purposes, such as morning or afternoon tea, or breakfast. The purchase pattern is not evident in gilded white bone china where the presence of only one dinner plate was found. They were therefore purchased almost exclusively for drinking tea. There are a variety of forms aside from main teaware forms, cups and saucers and bread-and-butter plates, which includes egg cups, and a slop bowl, which suggests the use of these as breakfast sets. The occurrence of gilded candlesticks (2) does illustrate an occasional use beyond breakfast services.



**Table 7: Range of ceramic decorative types.**

Decoration	MIC	%
annular ww	1	0.2
banded	40	9.6
bl flow	4	1
blktp	11	2.6
bltp	30	7.2
bltp pearl	5	1.2
bristol gl	6	1.4
brntp	6	1.4
brntp mou	1	0.2
celadon	4	1
clobbered	3	0.7
cream w	3	0.7
gilded, hp	5	1.2
gilded	50	12.0
gl mou	2	0.5
glazed	3	0.7
grntp	5	1.2
hp	15	3.6
hp ww	1	0.2
lustre	1	0.2
lustre, hp, flow	1	0.2
majolica	1	0.2
multi tp gild	1	0.2
peasant	1	0.2
ppl tp	26	6.3
provincial w	5	1.2
salt gl	1	0.2
red tp	1	0.2
rock glaze	1	0.2
selfslip	10	2.4
sponge	1	0.2
sprig	8	1.9
tp, hp, gild	1	0.2
white bone china	53	12.7
white moulded bone china	67	16.1
whiteware	38	9.1
whiteware moulded	4	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>416</b>	<b>99.3</b>

**Table 8: Plates were found in a range of decorative styles.**

Shape	Decoration	MIC	%	
plate	banded	17	16.7	
	blue flow	2	2.0	
	black tp	4	3.9	
	blue tp	11	10.8	
	brown tp	3	2.9	
	gilded	1	1.0	
	green tp	1	1.0	
	purple tp	10	9.8	
	whiteware/stone	21	20.6	
	whiteware/stone moulded	23	22.5	
	whiteware	8	7.8	
	clobbered	1	1.0	
	<b>Total</b>		<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>

### Condiments

Condiments were identified as the third largest group of artefacts associated with food-related activities (Table 4). Compared with the other major contexts from the Conservatorium site the proportion of condiments is nearly double other chronologically comparable contexts (contexts 684 and western garden beds). Remains of 69 vessels, mostly bottles, were found that had contained oil or vinegar (23), pickles or chutney (23), sauce (16) and preserves (1) (Table 6; Fig. 5). The oil/vinegar bottles included brands by 'Lea & Perrins', and 'George Whybrow'. One of the pickles/chutney

bottles was embossed with 'GEORGE WHYBROW RELISH'. Some of the sauce bottles had contained Worcestershire Sauce (Smith 2002).

The presence of such a high proportion of condiment bottles is seen as being the by-product of the lifestyle of the governor and his family. The presence of all these condiments indicates the preparation and serving of many meals that included salad dressings, sauces and relishes. These meals would have been prepared for the governor and his family and for State occasions. Formal meals, either for family or for guests, would have been prepared on a daily basis, and probably twice a day. It is here that the high proportion of condiments in the rubbish dump supports a more frequent use than found in a typical Sydney household. This is one of the few areas where the artefacts from the rubbish dump are thought to provide information about the 'Governor's Table', and how and what they were eating, rather than the food habits of the staff and servants.

### Serving Vessels

While the overall proportion of serving vessels is not especially high at 9 percent, compared with the western garden beds (8.6%) and context 684 (7%), it is twice the percentage of serving vessels found in the cistern (4.6%) and three times the proportion from the earlier 1800–1815 Verbrugghen Hall contexts (3.1%). Yet as a 9 percent proportion of all food vessels this appears to be in the normal range for other residential sites in Sydney (Casey 1999:14, Table 9). One of the features of the rubbish dump is the frequency with which large parts of serving vessels were found, and the variety of serving vessels beyond the typical platter (15). These other forms include jugs (15), tureens (8), dishes (2), bowls (2) and comports (1) (Table 6). Some of the tableware forms are cross overs between serving vessels and another comport was included in the tableware group. While the proportion of serving vessels is not especially notable, the range of vessels forms (6) and the actual number (43) is interesting as it is more extensive than generally found at other sites. The type and range of serving vessels is presumed to relate to the communal meals eaten by the servants in the servants' hall and the staff and represents more complex meals and standards of consumption than found in ordinary residential households in urban Sydney.

Serving vessels were found in eleven different decorative wares (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Table 850.6). Most



Fig. 5: Mainly food-related bottles, notably oil and vinegar from the main rubbish dump, 850.

servicing vessels were in blue-transfer print (7) and purple-transfer print (4). The majority of the blue transfer-printed vessels were 'Asiatic Pheasant' (2), 'Willow 3' (2), and 'Albion' (1) patterns. These are some of the most ubiquitous pottery designs found on urban sites in Sydney. The other two designs 'Clyde' (1) and blue transfer-print pattern no. 234 (1) have simple decorations and are not especially fine wares. The four purple transfer-printed vessels are all versions of the Cable pattern, either the double-helix or rope pattern (Fig. 4). In general the serving vessels fall into the class of 'utilitarian' and 'ordinary' wares when compared with the finer ceramics found in the cistern or are known to have been included in inventories of Government House and discussed above. These decorated ceramics are simple, basic and easily and cheaply purchased and were much more likely to be used for the serving of meals to the Governor's staff and servants. This interpretation is firmly supported by the evidence of the household inventories.

### Alcohol

A large range of whole (148) and near complete alcohol bottles were recovered from the rubbish dump (Table 9). The most frequent were beer/wine (115), stout (107), champagne (56), and gin/schnapps (40) and spirits (27) (Fig. 6). In all, evidence for 349 alcohol bottles came from context 850. When compared with other major contexts from the site there are some interesting results. There is little comparison with the earlier contexts in the Verbrugghen Hall and the 1860s cistern, but there is a similar pattern with other contemporary contexts, especially with champagne and the gin/schnapps bottles.

There are some differences with the evidence for the consumption of stout, a dark brown beer. In the large rubbish dump remains of 107 stout bottles were found, many of which were whole (Ward 2002). These stout bottles, along with their contents, were mostly imported from Scotland:

all impressed marked examples being of Scottish manufacture and all based in Glasgow. The most commonly represented is H. KENNEDY/BARROW-FIELD/POTTERY/GLASGOW (1866–1929) (41), followed by PORT DUNDAS/GLASGOW /POTTERY COY (c1850–1930) (11), with a few examples each from MURRAY & CO/GLASGOW (1870–1898) (3) and GROSVENOR/GLASGOW (c1869–1926) (3). Stout appears to have been consumed on site in large quantities from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. (Ward 2002)



Fig. 6: Alcohol bottles from context 850.

Of the other main contexts found at the site only two had stout bottles in any quantity, contexts 684 and 719 (Table 9). If it was assumed that because three rubbish dumps, considered to be associated with the occupation of the stables and Government House, contained large proportions of stout then perhaps the staff, especially the grounds staff living in the stables, were drinking this beer. Yet the deposits from the western garden beds had no sherds of stout bottles but had considerable evidence for beer/wine bottles (102), eight of which were whole, and 23 champagne bottles. The western garden beds were in a fenced garden area only accessible from the stables building and the artefacts within it are more likely seen as the results of deposition activities associated with the occupation of the stables.

At other urban archaeological sites beer/wine bottles usually had the highest occurrence, frequently much higher than that proportion found in the Government House rubbish dump (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Table 850.18). The occurrence of stout bottles in the dump is high compared with other sites in Sydney. It is 100 percent higher than Poplar A and slightly under that at 20 Albion Street (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Table 850.19). A number of sites had none or few stout bottles at all. One of these sites, Poplar B had an extensive early twentieth-century hotel bottle dump yet contained no stout bottles although it did contain considerable glass beer/wine bottles, many of which were probably used for beer.

Table 9: Alcohol bottles were found in range of forms.

General Function	Specific Function	850		Verbrugghen Hall 1004/1005/1034		Cistern		Western Garden Beds		684		719	
		MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%	MIC	%
alcohol	alcohol	1	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	beer/wine	115	33	31	79	38	97	102	67.1	57	39.9	113	54.3
	champagne	56	16	-	-	-	-	23	15.1	28	19.6	36	17.3
	closure	1	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	container	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
	gin/schnapps	40	11.5	7	18	-	-	24	15.8	16	11.2	14	6.7
	gin	1	0.3	1	3	-	-	-	-	2	1.4	1	0.5
	sarsaparilla	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-	-	-
	spirits	27	7.7	-	-	-	-	2	1.4	4	2.8	6	2.9
	stout	107	30.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	21.7	38	18.3
	wine	1	0.3	-	-	1	3	-	-	4	2.8	-	-
	unidentified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	349	100.1	39	100	39	100	152	100	143	100.1	208	100

It is possible to say that the high representation of stout bottles is a 'marker' artefact at the Conservatorium Site. This means that it represents behaviour that was typical at this site, much more so than at other sites. But what does the high absolute count of stout bottles and the high proportion of stout bottles actually mean? Does it simply represent purchase and consumption practices or does it also reflect disposal practices? It is common to find fragments of stout bottles, and not uncommon to find whole stout bottles, even as many as ten or 15. It is unusual to find so many whole stout bottles and certainly unusual to find so many whole bottles. The whole bottles are a by-product of the disposal practices of items purchased purely for their contents rather than their intrinsic use or for any other function. These bottles were not recycled: they were thrown away once the original contents were used.

When examined within the context of the site, where other deposits had quite high proportions of stout bottles, it does affirm the impression offered by the artefacts from the large rubbish dump, context 850 (Table 5). Yet no stout bottles, not a single one either fragmentary or whole, were found in the western garden beds. This area was only entered from the grounds of the stables and was most likely used exclusively by the occupants of the stables. This absence of stout bottles is surprising when the minimum item count (MIC) of 858 items found in these beds was generally high (Table 3).

Although stout was not being disposed of in the western garden beds other alcohol-related refuse was found, including remains of 102 wine/beer bottles. Does this pattern represent differential consumption of alcohol within the stables accommodation areas or is it purely a product of disposal patterns? It is not possible to state one or the other with any certainty. What can be observed is that the stout bottles are most likely to represent the consumption of beer within a residence rather than elsewhere at a local hotel or pub. It is also likely that stout was purchased as part of the board and lodgings provided to servants working for the Governor rather than the provision of beer by the staff to themselves. It is perhaps this purchase pattern that the stout bottles most tellingly represent.

Further evidence to support this interpretation is the presence of 'beer jugs' on the 1902 inventory for Government House, one in the servants' hall and the other in the 'new kitchen' (Government House Inventory, 1902, pp. 22, 25). The 1908 inventory mentions two 'earthenware beer jugs' in the Butler's pantry (1908 Inventory p. 49). This suggests that beer was being drunk communally within the servants' hall, and perhaps elsewhere, at Government House. It may also mean that the large rubbish dump reflects more specifically the activities associated with the serving of meals at Government House rather than at the stables, as perhaps testified by the absence of stout in the western garden area. In addition the large supply of stout bottles from the one source also suggests the bulk purchase of the stout from a single supplier by a single purchaser rather than purchases by a number of different consumers.

The high relative and absolute counts of champagne bottles from the dump presumably relates to the purchase and consumption of champagne for the Governor, his family and for official functions and entertaining. All the contexts dating to the second-half of the nineteenth century from the Conservatorium site have a similar proportion of champagne bottles (Table 9). The main difference between context 850 and the other deposits is the presence of so many whole bottles rather than just bases or body sherds.

Consideration of the rubbish dump context 850 needs to take into account that this was a 10 percent sample. If the proportions hold true for the whole dump, there would be 560 champagne bottles, which would still only form 16 percent of

artefacts recovered from the rubbish dump. These champagne bottles are representative of a much larger corpus of bottles that would have been used at Government House.

Beer/wine bottles form the dominant evidence for consumption of alcohol on most urban sites but the introduction of stout into the overall proportions reduced its dominance to only a third of all alcohol-related artefacts. At other sites it is about 50 percent or much higher (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Table 850.19)

## Pharmaceuticals

Pharmaceuticals formed 5.6 percent of all artefacts from the rubbish dump, a total of 60 artefacts (Fig. 7, Table 2). This is the highest occurrence of this type of artefact from all contexts at this site (Table 3). This group included castor oil bottles (8), 'Florida water' (1), 'Citrate of Magnesia' (2) and 'Solution of Magnesia' (2), 'de lacto phosphate de chaux', Paris (2), 'essence of linseed' (1), 'Henry's colonial ointment' (1), 'Moultons Pain paint' (1), 'Mrs Allens Hair restorer' (1), 'Trichpherous for skin and hair' (3), 'Phosphare de chaux' (4), and 'Mrs Winslows soothing syrup' (1). The country of origin for only half of these bottles is known; most were imported from the UK (19), with the remainder from France (6) and the USA (5) (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, Table 9, Table 850.19).

These products were often seen as a panacea for all ills; they frequently contained alcohol and were often specifically marketed at women (Fitzgerald 1987:191). These 'medicines' also contained morphine or cocaine. The recommended uses for some of the items found at the site are fascinating, such as Henry's Colonial Ointment reputedly used to cure eruptions, sore heads, inflamed eyelids, ulcerated legs, tender nipples and bad breasts; apparently it was highly efficacious. Other items were intended to aid in the restoration of hair. The presence of so many of these items illustrates how some members of the household had a certain amount of disposable income to purchase these more expensive items and that issues of appearance and health were important to the residents of Government House. While categorised as pharmaceuticals many of these items were associated with people's individual appearance and their health and fall mostly into the patent medicine group. Analysis from another site, the Red Cow Inn, Penrith, noted that all patent medicines were from the USA, not from France or Britain (Harris 2005). The different purchase pattern at the Conservatorium Site may relate to the British nationality of the persons likely using these items,



Fig. 7: Range of pharmaceutical and patent medicine bottles found in the main rubbish dump.

perhaps purchasing them in Britain and bringing them out to New South Wales, rather than buying them in Sydney.

## Personal

Some items from this rubbish dump were for 'personal' use. Some of them such as the pharma-ceutical are discussed above. This section focuses on grooming and hygiene.

### Grooming

There were 12 items from the dump associated with personal grooming (Table 5). These include a brush, three combs and eight perfume bottles. The combs were generally of three types: those for combing the hair, for adorning the hair and what is commonly called a 'nit' comb. Five of the perfume bottles were made in France for 'E. Rimmel' and two of these bottles listed him as a 'perfumer' in London and Paris. A 'Rimmel' bottle was also found in the western garden beds (948/4465).

Aside from context 850 the only other contexts to have more than two perfume bottles were the western garden beds. Perfume bottles are generally perceived to demonstrate the presence of women and the use of refined, imported and expensive products. It is also possible that men were using perfume to disguise their less than perfect hygiene habits. The cataloguer commented that the 'Rimmel' bottles were of 'high quality' (Smith 2002). It is more likely that the governor and/or his wife were the purchasers of these bottles, and perhaps brought them out from England. It is also possible that some of them belonged to other female members of the household but only those who had a certain level of income to dispose of on luxuries rather than necessities.

### Hygiene

The items in this category are generally those used for day-to-day personal hygiene (Table 6) and includes ewers and wash basins, poes or chamber pots, soap dishes and sponges, toothpaste/powder containers and boxes. Surprisingly there were no toothbrushes which are a common artefact on Sydney sites. Chambers and ewers were found in moulded whitewares (Fig. 4) and also in coloured-transfer prints. One of the toothpaste containers is a fine example of a cherry toothpaste lid with a profile of a young Queen Victoria.<sup>4</sup> This appears to have been a not uncommon type of toothpaste as it has been found on a number of sites, such as First Government House, Cumberland/Gloucester Street in the Rocks and 66–72 Reservoir Street, Surry Hills.<sup>5</sup>

A quick review of two inventories for Government House made in 1902 and 1908 illustrates the prevalence of what were termed 'sets of ware' in most of the bedrooms, both of the governor, his family, their staff and their female servants. The main bedrooms that housed the governor, his family and their guests generally contained '1 Set ware. 1 caraffe and up.' and frequently contained a pair of china candlesticks. Bedroom 9, which in 1902 was called the 'Princess of Wales Bedroom', contained '1 Double set of blue and gold toilet ware including slop pail'. In some of the female servants' quarters the set of ware was referred to as 'odd', indicating that the pieces did not have matching patterns. The housemaid's storeroom contained:

- |                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 16 Odd toilet basins | 1 Enamelled chamber       |
| 2 do. jugs           | 6 Caraffes only and 3 ups |
| 6 Commode pans       | 9 Odd brush dishes        |
| 3 Odd chambers       | 10 Odd soap dishes        |

Many of these items would have constituted the 'set of ware' referred to, specifically the washing basin, ewer (jug), chamber pans and soap dishes. In the 12 bedrooms in the male servants' quarters only one contained a set of ware or the carafe and ups (1908 Inventory pp. 21–23, 29–31). This suggests that the male house servants were restricted to using the two bathrooms in this area rather than having an individual set of ware to use in the privacy of their own quarters.

### Clothing

There were few clothing items from the main rubbish dump but we did find buttons from other contexts which provided evidence for uniforms, these were military and livery buttons (Figs 8, 9). Other uniform buttons included a NSW Police button and a jacket button with an eagle and an Irish harp.

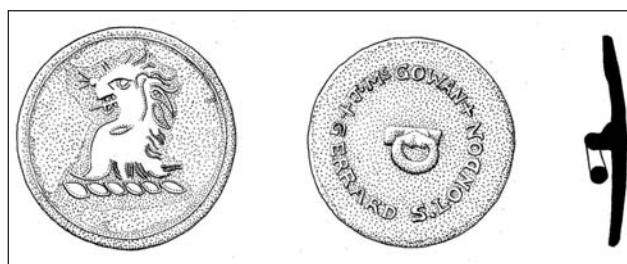


Fig. 8: Livery button with lion, dia. 24 mm. #662/cat. no. 6130. (Franz Reidel)

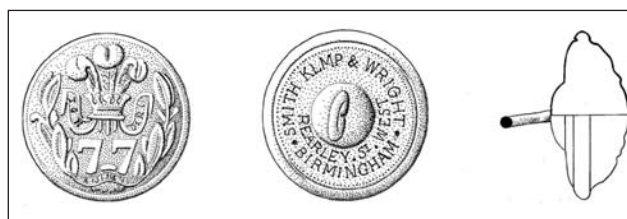


Fig. 9: Officer's button from the 77th Regiment, dia. 24 mm. #720/cat. no. 6158. (Franz Reidel)

### Recreation

Other than the 17 clay smoking pipes from the rubbish dump there were few indications of artefacts associated with recreational activities in the main dump. Remains of 32 pipes were found in the area of the western garden beds (Figs 10–12). Some of the pipes are interesting as they exhibit the symbols of the United Kingdom, the rose, thistle and four-leaf clover, as well as two with the royal crown symbol. It is notable that three of these pipes with royal symbols or the symbol of Great Britain with the rose, thistle and four-leaf clover, came from the same deposit, context 924. These pipes may all have been thrown out at the same time, possibly coming from the Mess Room of the Governor's orderlies who were located within the southwestern rooms of the stables from the 1850s.

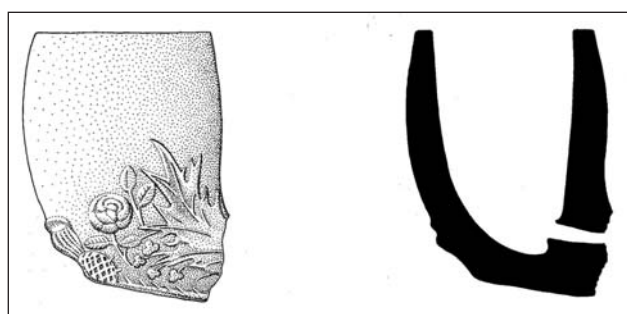


Fig. 10: Pipe bowl with rose, thistle and four-leaf clover. Remains of pale pink colouring. H. 32 mm, dia. 17 mm #924/cat. no. 6250. (Franz Reidel)

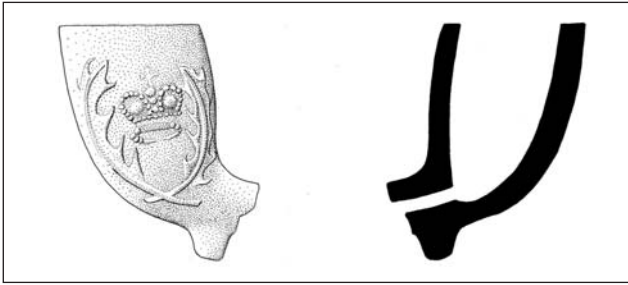


Fig. 11: Pipe bowl with crown and oak leaves. H. 38 mm, dia. 16 mm. #924/ cat. no. 6251. (Franz Reidel)

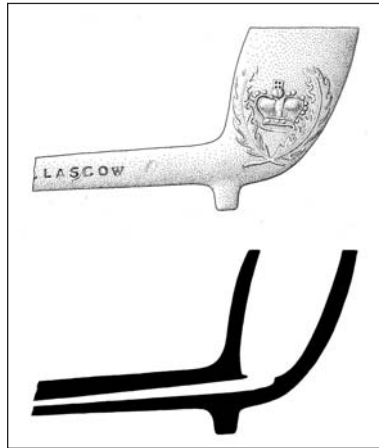


Fig. 12: Pipe bowl with crown and oak leaves by White, Glasgow (1806–1891). H. 38 mm, dia. 16 mm. #924/cat. no. 6252. (Franz Reidel)

## DISCUSSION: MEANING OF THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE RUBBISH DUMP

What does the large rubbish dump tell us about life at Government House? Following the above analysis we have a much better understanding of how the artefacts from this dump were associated with Government House and the stables. It can now be understood with certainty that many of the ceramics are utilitarian and relate to the servants' foodways and the servants' table. Such artefacts include the plain and moulded white ceramics, banded whiteware and stout bottles. The serving and eating of food in the servants' hall probably used the same type of service for all or most meals. In addition the variety of patterns in the cheaper utilitarian wares may suggest some chronological variation of the type of dinner services since the removal of Government House to its current site in the 1840s. Perhaps the patterned services were used in the mid-century and the whitewares were used at the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century.

In contrast many of the glass artefacts tell us a story about the Governor's table, such as the consumption of champagne and wine on State and/or private occasions, the use of oil and vinegar and sauces for the making of the daily meals and dressing of salads. Part of the reasons for this differentiation between ceramic and glass artefacts is that the glass ones were mostly disposable items purchased only for their content and they therefore tell different things about the consumption habits of the occupants of the site. In contrast the good quality ceramics were so 'valued', as illustrated in the inventories, they were not thrown away but repaired and kept and inventoried as part of the 'assets' of the house. In contrast the cheaper ceramics were thrown away as they were little valued and did not warrant repair.

When interpreting the main groups of artefacts from the Conservatorium site the 1908 inventory can be explored in relation to items that would have once been stored and used in the rooms of Government House. In addition these artefacts

flesh out other aspects of life at the stables and Government House and help reveal how hierarchy was established, mediated and maintained. The inventory has proven useful, mostly as a way of firmly establishing a material culture framework in which to more appropriately address the social context of use for the artefacts recovered from the excavation. The inventories became more significant documents once the artefacts were found and needed to be analysed, the inventories could now be looked at in a new way and given new meaning.

The range of items associated with hygiene, grooming and adornment found in the various archaeological contexts assist with furthering the analysis of how female and male behaviour was circumscribed by the hierarchical environment of Government House. As discussed above, washing sets were common in all but the male servants' bedrooms to assist with the daily rituals of personal grooming: washing hands and faces, cleaning nails and sponging marks off uniforms. There were 27 items associated with hygiene found in the main rubbish dump (context 850). There were pharmaceuticals designed to improve a person's appearance, such as 'Florida water' used to enhance the complexion, 'Mrs Allens Hair restorer' and 'Trichpherous for skin and hair' to help regrow hair that has fallen out or to inhibit the receding hairline. Other items for grooming were French and English perfumes, and brushes and hair combs. The imported perfumes were presumably expensive and originally purchased by the more affluent members of the household rather than the servants. In addition the female servants probably did not use hair combs while at work or they were not visible, as they typically wore hair coverings. Access to and use of these goods was probably therefore limited to those in the upper part of the hierarchy and helped to physically mark the role people played in the hierarchy.

Other ways to establish people's position in the hierarchy was to put them in uniform so they could be labelled. Examples of this are badges and buttons fallen off uniforms and found in the stables forecourt. There were military, police and livery buttons belonging to people who were employed in the grounds of Government House and the stables. Typically these buttons were brass and were highly visible on the various uniforms. The uniforms and buttons sought to establish the legitimacy of the person wearing the uniform and their role of service for the governor or the State and emphasised the official position of the governor. These uniforms represented the power of the person the wearer worked for rather than any power possessed by the individual.

Another way to emphasise and reinforce the allegiance of the servants and staff was to provide them with goods that bore the symbols of the state and therefore the symbol of the persons to whom they owed obedience. The use of royal crowns and the symbols of Great Britain on clay smoking pipes found in the western garden beds suggest that the residents of the stables were provided with pipes as part payment for their duties. These pipes bore the symbols of their employer and the country and King to whom they bore allegiance. It is also possible that the users of these pipes purchased them to flaunt their role and position in society at large, thereby reinforcing the hierarchy of the British Empire and their role within it. The use of such symbolism and its meaning has previously been suggested as being relevant to Irish or Australian identity in New South Wales.<sup>6</sup> Therefore in this case it may be relevant to British identity at the Government Stables in colonial New South Wales and the established colonial hierarchy.

Many of the artefacts recovered during the archaeological work add to and extend the perception of hierarchy as strongly influencing the type of goods purchased and how these goods

were used. One of the strongest impressions gained from the ceramics recovered from the rubbish dump was their generally low quality, with very little porcelain or finer earthenwares. Most items were robust, thicker earthenwares, with some bone china but not of a particularly fine quality. It was unlikely the governor and his family or guests would have used any of these ceramics. The only items from the large rubbish dump they would definitely have enjoyed were the contents of the champagne bottles, the finer glassware and condiments from the condiment bottles, and the toiletries and pharmaceuticals discussed above. All in all the disposal of fragile items or ones that had no intrinsic value (as it was their contexts which had value), such as glass bottles and drinking vessels, were the only items appearing to represent non-servant related activities.

It was only when the inventories were made available that the accuracy of this impression was confirmed and the reasons for it were also confirmed. It was assumed that if no finer or more expensive ceramics were found in the rubbish dump then the broken items must have been disposed of separately or differently. As already mentioned there were a number of different good quality dinner, breakfast, tea and coffee and dessert sets identified in the 1908 inventory. In many cases a number of the vessels in each set were identified as being damaged or repaired and were curated and stored rather than thrown out with the other rubbish onto the dump. They were more expensive and therefore they could not be causally thrown out like the cheaper ceramics. This different treatment for the finer ceramics reflects the hierarchy of choices for those who were the true residents of the house and those who worked there. The ceramics purchased for and used by the servants were cheaper and therefore disposable, whereas the more expensive broken items had to be stored and inventoried and someone had to make a decision to dispose of them. In some cases it was clear that the broken ceramics on the 1902 inventory were also on the 1908 inventory, suggesting that few people were willing to make this decision. It was simpler to inventory the broken ceramics rather than dispose of them and then have to explain what had happened to them. Their presence, so they could be accounted for, was more important than the disposal of broken items that were useless objects.

Other interesting aspects of the servants' sets were how they represented some of the complexity of the serving vessels found in the inventories, likely due to the communal nature of meals in the servants' hall rather than for the complexity of their meals. The vegetable dishes, tureens and meat platters were found in both types of sets, cheaper and finer quality. According to Shackel these represented a higher level of organisation in society and a new etiquette, but in this case they actually represent the maintenance of a longer social and cultural institution of service. In the case of the dinner services, the cheaper ceramics mirror the range of dishes found in the services used for the governor and his family and guests, and are perhaps suggestive of a royal association through the presence of gilded and white ceramics (77 vessels) as well as purple-printed patterns (66 vessels) (Casey & Lowe 2002: Appendix B, p. 13, Table 6). Use of gold and purple are traditionally associated with royalty. The frequency with which both these patterns are found on working-class sites is typically low, therefore the pattern at this site is meaningful rather than incidental. This relationship is therefore interpreted through the perspective of reinforcing the hierarchy. The communal meals in the servants' hall tend to emulate elements of the meals served to the Governor, his family and guests, but their meals were served on inferior ceramics and included beer rather than wine or champagne, had two or three courses in comparison to the four or more in the main dining room and the servants had to cook for and serve themselves. This was a pattern repeated at every meal of the day and every day of the year. It was a behaviour that reinforced who was

servant and master and it was only through following this model of hierarchical behaviour that the staff and servants would be successful in their daily tasks.

The material culture of Government House and the stables, with the use of a complex hierarchy of fabrics, forms, patterns, labels, and uniforms, circumscribe the behaviour of its users and residents and were essential in establishing and maintaining hierarchical behaviour in colonial society. The residents of Government House and the way in which they lived and interrelated was very much a part of British society and culture transported along with the convicts to New South Wales. As long as British culture survives in NSW so will remnants of its cultural patterns of behaviour along with the material culture and the class boundaries it established and maintained as a way of reinforcing the hierarchical nature of the society. If there were no servants and no large infrastructure for them to service then the rules of society would begin to change and its nature begin to change. Much of the material culture recovered from the rubbish dump was chosen as a way of reinforcing the patterns of this behaviour so as to ensure its survival.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The NSW Department of Public Works and Services was the client for this project between 1998 and 2001. Tony Lowe, co-director, provided invaluable support throughout the archaeological program and the extensive reporting and as always played the devil's advocate. Specialist artefact reports by Jean Smith, Rowan Ward and Jennie Lindbergh provided baseline data for this paper and their expertise and our discussions were important in refining some of the impressions and ideas that form the basis of this paper. Robert Griffin, curator Historic Houses Trust of NSW, had a keen interest in the archaeological program and informed me about the inventories and generously provided copies of them.

## ENDNOTES

1. [www.caseyandlowe.com.au](http://www.caseyandlowe.com.au)
2. Copies of these inventories were kindly provided by Robert Griffin, then curator at Government House. They are held by Australian Archives. 1902: NL18/1673, Item Box 32, Government House Inventory-1902.
3. Some of the artefacts from this rubbish dump are on display in the Sydney Conservatorium of Music downstairs foyer. It should be noted that we have amended some of our terminology in light of recent research on British pottery in Australia (Brooks 2005). We now refer to ironstone as semi-vitrified fine earthenware. While we agree that it is part of the continuum of earthenwares that ironstone is an inappropriate term, we also think that it is important to denote that many of these ceramics are thick utilitarian wares and have opted for a halfway response by adding semi-vitrified to the earthenware. This means that some of the references back to the original report will find different terminology. We used ironstone for fabric and described it as white glazed. This is now described as whiteware in the decoration field.
4. This toothpaste lid is on display in foyer display 5.
5. The First Government House example is on display in the Museum of Sydney foyer; the Cumberland/Gloucester Street example was published in Karskens 1999 (colour plate 28 following p. 128) and Casey & Lowe excavated one from 66–72 Reservoir Street, Surry Hills in 1999.
6. Denis Gojak, unpublished seminar paper.

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## APPENDIX 1

**Table A: Summary details of furniture and furnishings within some of the bedrooms in Government House, 1908 inventory. See below for details of analysis.**

General Function	Specific Function	%	% Summary
<i>Appearance</i>	Dressing tables	1.6	
	Mirrors	1.4	3.0
<i>Floor</i>	Covering	6.2	6.2
<i>Furniture</i>	Seating	14.2	
	Tables	3.4	17.6
<i>Household</i>	Furnishings	20.8	
	Ornaments	3.0	
	Storage	0.2	24
<i>Hygiene</i>	Accessories	2.3	
	Drinking	1.6	
	Washing	4.6	
	Waste	3.9	12.4
<i>Personal</i>	Privacy	1.3	
	Reading	0.4	
	Handwork	0.2	
	Writing	0.7	2.7
<i>Safety</i>	Fireplace	1.1	1.1
<i>Service</i>	Communication	0.2	
	Heating	1.2	
	Lighting	7.3	8.7
<i>Sleep</i>	Beds	4.2	
	Bedding	15.1	18.3
<i>Storage</i>	Clothing	5.7	
	Storage	0.2	5.9
	Total	100	100

**Table B: Analysis of some of the items inventoried in some of the bedrooms in the 1908 inventory of Government House.**

General Function	Specific Function	Item	Sub-total	%	Total	%	Bedroom 1	Bedroom 2	Bedroom 3	Boudoir 6	Visiting Maid's Room (9)	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 1	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 2	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 3	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 2	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 3	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 4		
<i>Appearance</i>	Dressing tables	cedar dressing table	3	0.7							1	1	1						
		dressing table and looking glass	4	0.9			1	1	1			1							
	Mirrors	cedar cheval glass	1	0.2			1												
		looking glass	3	0.7								1				1		1	
		pier glass	2	0.5	13	3.0				1	1								
<i>Furniture</i>	Seating	foot stools	5	1.1						5									
		arm chairs	6	1.4						4		1	1						
		Austrian chair	7	1.6								1	1			1	2	2	
		cane seated chair	1	0.2												1			
		chairs, walnut	6	1.4			4	2											
		Chesterfield sofa and loose covers	1	0.2							1								
		couch in calico	2	0.5			1		1										
		couch in silk	1	0.2							1								
		easy chair	12	2.7			1	1	1	7		1		1					
		lady's chairs	3	0.7							3								
		piano seat	1	0.2							1								
		pine chairs	2	0.5								2							
		settee	0	0.0															
		silk cushions	3	0.7							3								
		silky oak chairs	2	0.5						2									
		small chair	4	0.9							2		1		1				
		sofa in calico	2	0.5							2								
	sofa in silk	1	0.2							1									
	wicker chairs	3	0.7							3									
	Tables	bedside table	2	0.5			1	1											
		cedar round table	1	0.2					1										
		folding card table	1	0.2													1		
		rosewood pillar table	1	0.2			1												
		small table	2	0.5						1	1								
		various tables	8	1.8	77	17.6					3		1	1	1	1		1	
		<i>Household</i>	Furnishings	curtain pole and rings	8	1.8			2	1	1	2	1	1					
				Holland blind	27	6.2			4	4	4	8		2	2	1	2	2	2
loose covers				11	2.5			1	1	1	6		1		1				
mosquito net				12	2.7			1	1			1	1	2	1	2	2	1	
pair chintz curtains	1			0.2						1									
pair cretonne curtains	5			1.1			2	1	1		1								
pair of lace curtains	10			2.3			2	2	2	4									
pair white muslin curtains	1			0.2								1							
pairs silk curtains	2			0.5							2								
short lace window curtains	4			0.9				4											
Venetian blind	10			2.3			7	1		1	1								
Ornaments	brass gilt clock			1	0.2					1									
	cabinet			1	0.2							1							
	candelabras in Dresden china			1	0.2							1							
	Dresden china clock			1	0.2							1							
	engravings			3	0.7							3							
	flower pot stand			2	0.5							2							
	large Dresden china vase		1	0.2							1								
	oil painting		2	0.5			1	1											
	whatnot		1	0.2							1								
	mantel cupboard		1	0.2	105	24					1								
<i>Hygiene</i>	Accessories		Austrian towel rail	1	0.2							1							
			cedar towel rail	5	1.1				1				1	2	1				
			silky oak towel rail	1	0.2						1								
			toilet can	1	0.2							1							
			walnut towel rail	1	0.2			1											
			water bottle and 2 glasses	1	0.2						1								
	Drinking Washing	caraffe and Up	7	1.6			1	1			1	1	2	1					
		double washstand with marble top	2	0.5						1	1								
		double washstand with marble top and mirror	2	0.5			1	1											
		earthenware foot bath	2	0.5						1			1						



General Function	Specific Function	Item	Sub-total	%	Total	%	Bedroom 1	Bedroom 2	Bedroom 3	Boudoir 6	Visiting Maid's Room (9)	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 1	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 2	Female Servant's Quarters Bedroom 3	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 2	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 3	Menservant's Quarters Bedroom 4		
<i>Hygiene (cont.)</i>	Washing	set of ware	7	1.6			2	1	2		1			1					
		set of ware (odd)	3	0.7									1	2					
		single washstand, marble top tile back	2	0.5									1		1				
	Waste	small washstand with basin holes	1	0.2										1					
		white & gold footbath	1	0.2					1										
		D.C. basket	3	0.7				1	1	1									
		earthenware slop pail	3	0.7				1	1	1									
		enamelled toilet can	2	0.5				1		1									
		pedestal	5	1.1				1			1	1	1			1			
		steel ash pan	1	0.2							1								
wastebasket		3	0.7	54	12.4		1			1		1							
<i>Personal</i>	Privacy	3-fold door screen	1	0.2						1									
		4-fold door screen	5	1.1			2		1				1	1					
	Reading	bookcase and secretaire	1	0.2						1									
		bookshelf	1	0.2										1					
	Handwork Writing	work table	1	0.2							1								
		office writing table	1	0.2							1								
	writing table	2	0.5	12	2.7				1	1									
<i>Safety</i>	Fireplace	fender	1	0.2								1							
		fender & fire irons	4	0.9	5	1.1	1	1	1	1									
<i>Service</i>	Communication	telephonette	1	0.2						1									
	Heating	coal shuttle	2	0.5								1							
		coal vase	3	0.7			1	1		1									
	Lighting	kerosene heaters	0	0.0															
		2 light electrolier	1	0.2					1										
		3 light electrolier	2	0.5			1			1									
		5 light electrolier	1	0.2							1								
		china candlesticks	6	1.4			2	1	2				1						
		electric table lamp	1	0.2							1								
		electrolier	2	0.5			1					1							
		gas bracket	3	0.7							1			1	1				
		single light brackets E.L.	7	1.6						2	2			1	1	1			
		single light E.L.	8	1.8			1	1					1				2	2	1
	standard electric lamp	1	0.2	38	8.7					1									
<i>Sleep</i>	Beds	half tester iron and brass bedstead	4	0.9			1	1			1				1				
		half tester iron bedstead	2	0.5							1							1	
		Italian single bedstead	1	0.2						1									
	Bedding	single iron 4-post bed	7	1.6									1	2	1	1	1	1	1
		bottom valence	1	0.2						1									
		feather pillow	14	3.2			2	1	1		1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1
		hair bolster	9	2.1			1	1	1		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
		hair mattress	10	2.3			1	1	1				1	2	1	1	1	1	1
		kapok bolster	3	0.7							1					1	1		
		kapok mattress	2	0.5							1					1			
		lace mosquito curtains	4	0.9			2	1	1										
		lace top valences	11	2.5			2	2					1	2	1	1	1	1	1
		wire mattress	12	2.7	80	18.3		1	1	1		1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
		<i>Storage</i>	Clothing	carved walnut wardrobe	1	0.2					1								
cedar wardrobe	2			0.5			1	1											
pine wardrobe	3			0.7									1					1	1
wardrobe, bevelled glass mirror	2			0.5				1		1									
cedar chest of draws 3'+	7			1.6			1				1	1	1			2			1
cedar chest of draws 4'+	7			1.6			1	1			1	1	1	1				1	1
pine chest	2			0.5												1			1
pine chest and mirror	1			0.2														1	
Storage	cupboard		1	0.2	26	5.9				1									
<i>Floor</i>	Covering		Brussels carpet	7	1.6			1	1	1		1	1	1	1				
			hearth rug	3	0.7			1	1	1									
		linoleum floor covering	3	0.7													1	1	1
		linoleum mat	2	0.5				1		1									
		Oriental rugs	7	1.6							7								
		piece of bedside carpet	5	1.1	27	6.2											2	2	1
Total			437	100	437	100	70	38	48	95	27	33	34	22	27	24	19		
Percentage					437		16.0	8.7	11.0	21.7	6.2	7.6	7.8	5.0	6.2	5.5	4.3		