

Ceramics and Status in Regional Australia

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Ceramics from Graham Connah's research at Lake Innes, New South Wales, are compared with ceramics from the site of Willoughby Bean's Parsonage, Gippsland, Victoria. Previous analysis of the assemblages from five sites associated with servants at Lake Innes considered them in terms of evidence for social status. Bean's Parsonage provides an example of a middle-class household that can be contrasted with the 'hierarchy of servitude' identified at Lake Innes, shedding further light on ways in which gentility is potentially manifested in archaeological evidence. The size and variability of the ceramic assemblages has proven to be a far more reliable test of known status differences than comparisons of distributions of more expensive bone china and porcelain. Gentility is reflected within the material culture assemblage as a whole and single measures such as the presence of more expensive wares are more effectively combined with other techniques such as the analysis of forms and the presence of sets.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we want to take up Graham Connah's interest in the manifestations of status in the archaeological record, comparing the results of the ceramic analysis in his study of the Lake Innes Estate, near Port Macquarie, New South Wales with recent research on the ceramic assemblage from Bean's Parsonage, a regional site in South Gippsland, Victoria. In comparing these two sites we are following a tradition of research on rural settlement in which Graham has been a leading exponent. From his initial academic base at the University of New England Graham has written particularly about the archaeology of the pastoral industry. First at Saumarez, then at Winterborne, Regentville, and Lake Innes, Graham has also pursued an interest in a particular segment of colonial society: the squatters who sat at the top of the rural hierarchy. Notably, with the exception of his work at Bagot's Mill (Connah 1994), it has been the domestic parts of the sites that have been of greatest interest to Graham, with an emphasis on buildings and architecture. A recurring theme in all of these studies has been that of failure, for as Graham has noted, not only did the landed gentry fail to maintain their early dominance in colonial society but 'the extensive nature of the surviving evidence results rather from failure than from ... earlier achievement' (Connah 1998:9). The failures Graham has documented have illustrated the twin struggles of colonists generally to come to terms with the Australian environment and of well-to-do colonists specifically to reproduce European ideals of a landed aristocracy.

The research at Lake Innes is the most recent example of Graham's approach to rural sites. Like most of

Graham's projects, this one has been a long-term program of research and excavation that has enabled him to develop a detailed understanding of many aspects of the site. The excellent preservation of numerous sites on the former estate of Major Archibald Clunes Innes enabled Graham to extend his research program beyond the home of Major Innes and his family, and Graham and his team also surveyed and excavated sites associated with convict and free estate workers and with industry on the estate. The result has been a fine-grained, comprehensive study of estate life that is unparalleled in Australia (Brooks and Connah 2007; Connah 1998, 2001, 2007, 2009). The archaeology illuminates aspects of convict experiences beyond the more familiar stories of those in cities

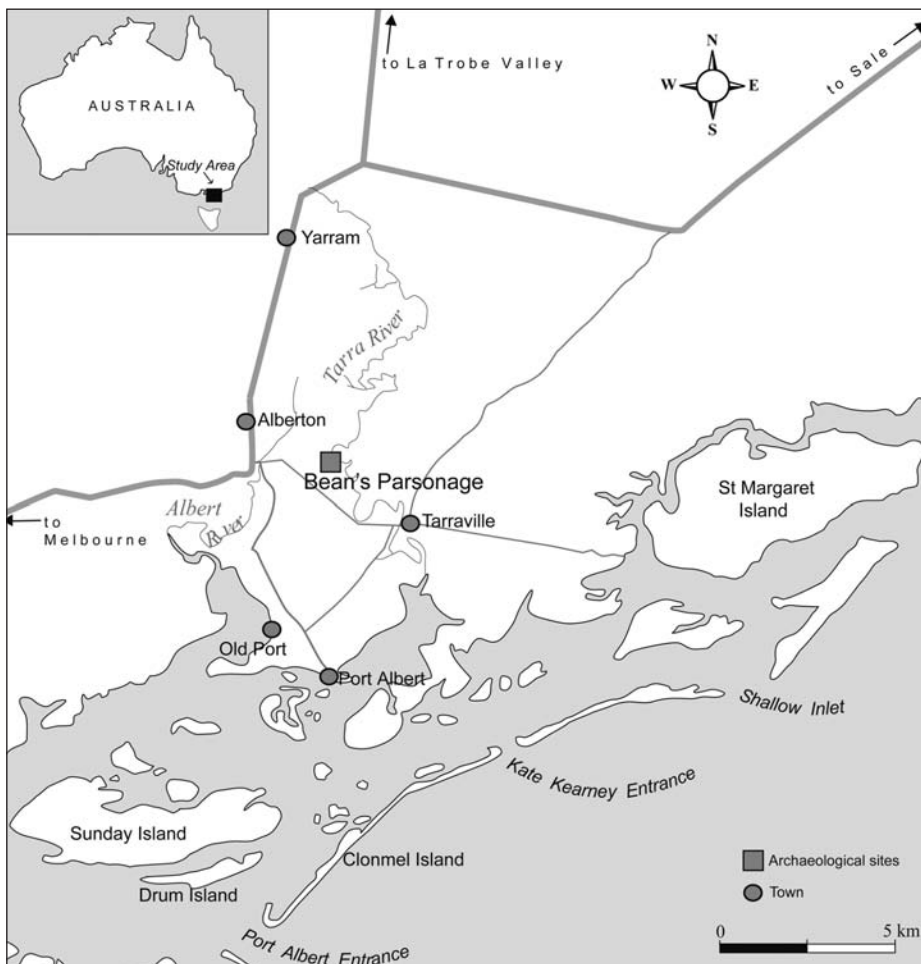


Figure 1: Site location and major settlements in Port Albert district (drawn by Helene Athanasiadis).

and goals, and also demonstrates how people in the upper levels of colonial society enacted their aspirations to grandeur as they attempted to re-create British estates in the Australian wilderness.

One of the themes in Graham's Lake Innes research has been that of social status. At Lake Innes Graham, (together with this paper's co-author Alasdair Brooks, who carried out the ceramic analysis), has used the archaeological evidence to argue for a hierarchy of servitude. The Lake Innes hierarchy reaches from the humblest convict labourers to the grandest colonial aristocracy, but it does not include the middling people, the free settlers of genteel status who also sought to better themselves in the colonies. The assemblage from Bean's Parsonage fits neatly into this gap, providing information regarding a group about which there has been comparatively little archaeological research in Australia. By comparing the ceramic table and teawares from Bean's Parsonage with those from Lake Innes it is hoped to shed further light on the way ceramics were used in the negotiation of status in the Australian colonies around the time of the gold rush.

Bean's Parsonage is in the vicinity of Port Albert (Figure 1), first settled by British colonists in 1841. The port enjoyed a brief heyday as the main point of entry to Gippsland before the development of other shipping routes in the 1860s (Adams 1990, Lennon 1975). The Rev. Willoughby Bean was appointed Gippsland's first permanent Anglican priest in 1849, and for ten years he and his family made their home there on a small rural property between the settlements of Alberton and Tarraville. When the Beans left the district, the site was soon abandoned and reverted to agricultural use. In 2006–2007 the authors led a team of archaeologists from La Trobe University working at the site as part of the Australian Research Council funded Life on the Edge project.

Bean's Parsonage, which was occupied from 1849–1859, is a decade later than the sites at Lake Innes which were occupied in the 1830s and 1840s, but all the sites have tightly dated and thoroughly analysed ceramic assemblages, and all are from regional areas that were then in the early stages of British settlement. The assemblages at Lake Innes come from buildings occupied by convict and ticket-of-leave servants, while the Beans, as a clergy family in the established church, were both independent and genteel, and themselves had several servants. The assemblages are thus complementary, and, between them they cover nearly the full range of ranks present in the colonies at the time. The assemblages recovered from the main house at Lake Innes post-date the main Innes family occupation of the property (Brooks 2007: 185, 188–9), and are therefore excluded from the current discussion.

STATUS AND CLASS IN AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Class and status provide a framework for analysing the Bean assemblage in the context of those from Lake Innes. By the 1840s, the middle classes were a recognisable category within British society, a large and at times amorphous group that was neither titled and in receipt of income from land nor compelled to perform manual labour. Linda Young (1998, 2003) has noted that two of the key characteristics that defined middle-class status were the employment of at least one servant and the ability for one breadwinner in a family (the male head of household) to support his wife and children without the need for them to work. In 1861, Isabella Beeton noted that a British household with an income of £150–£200 should, at the very least, hire a 'maid of all work' (Beeton 2006:8).

Young (2003) has argued that the generalised culture of the middle classes formed a *habitus*, or world view, which she has described as gentility. Genteel culture was shaped by evangelical Christianity, morality, propriety, and a minutely regulated observation of etiquette. It was enacted in the performance of rituals such as visiting and elaborately formal meals, and in the strategic acquisition of consumer goods to denote the skilled appreciation of appropriate taste in matters of dress and home furnishing. Beeton's *Household Management Guide* again serves as a template for what was expected of a middle-class British family in this period (Beeton 2006:1–20, 916–984), though expectation and reality did not always coincide. In the Australian colonies, Young has argued that the middle classes were particularly influential because of the general absence of titled aristocracy to serve as a ruling class and social model.

Archaeological signatures of the middle classes in Australia have not yet been established. One problem has been lack of detailed historical analysis of the middle classes here. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Hirst 1988; Russell 1994; Young 1997), the history of the middle class in Australia has been overshadowed by labour history and convict history. The egalitarianism that has been so pronounced in Australian society has suppressed discussion of class other than in terms of struggles between rich and poor, while those in the middle have been largely overlooked, with the culture of gentility disparaged as 'un-Australian' (MacIntyre 1998:131; Ward 1977:39). Paralleling this historical disinterest, historical archaeologists have paid far less attention to class than to issues such as ethnicity and gender. Bavin (1989) sought to identify class distinctions in the architecture and urban design of working and middle-class Melbourne suburbs, but in most cases status and class have been included only implicitly, so that high status has been assumed for the occupants of sites such as Regentville (Connah 1986; Wilson 1988), or First Government House (Proudfoot et al. 1991) and low status for the occupants of the overcrowded inner-city neighbourhoods such as Melbourne's Little Lon (Mayne et al. 2000, Murray and Mayne 2001) and The Rocks in Sydney (Karskens 1999, Lydon 1995). Where class has played a role in analyses, Australians have tended to take what Wurst (2006:191) describes as a gradational approach to class, with the emphasis on using class as a social category rather than attempting to analyse conflict between classes or the interplay of domination and resistance. Further, most archaeological studies, and particularly those driven by the requirements of rescue archaeology, have focused on the working classes and the elites rather than on the middle classes (Karskens and Lawrence 2003).

The most fully developed Australian study to critically examine issues of class *per se* is Heather Burke's (1999) study of ideology in domestic architecture in the New England town of Armidale. Burke used architecture as a means of analysing social identity and ideology among different groups, and the ways in which style was used as part of the process of negotiating relationships. This remains one of the few notable examples of a process-oriented approach to class in Australian historical archaeology, and there has yet to be anything comparable. Australians continue to be more interested in questions of how individuals and families negotiated their own positions within colonial society than in how disadvantage or resistance operated at a systemic level. In Australia the interest in describing the culture of class, whether working class or middle class, has been partly an outgrowth of research about gender, as archaeologists sought more nuanced ways of understanding the range of domestic goods found in urban and rural assemblages (e.g. Briggs 2005; Hayes 2008; Karskens 1999; Lampard 2009; Lawrence 2000; Quirk 2008). It has not been driven by Marxist scholarship or

concerns about social inequality, but rather by interest in elucidating the factors influencing individual lives.

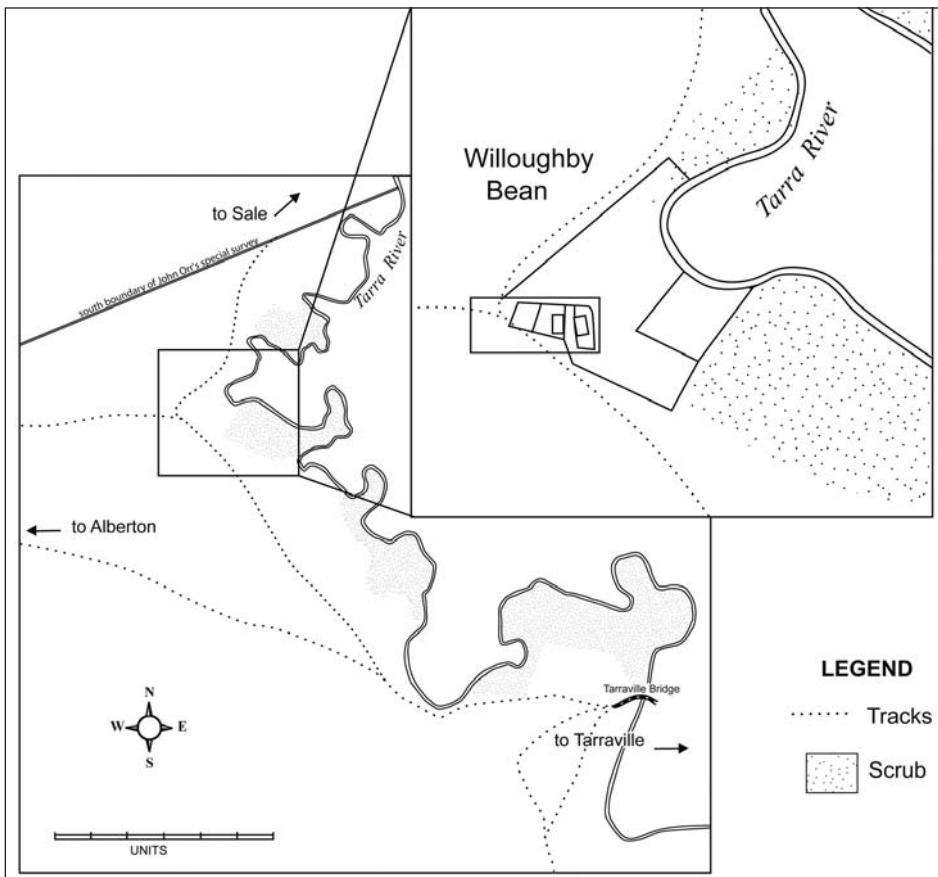
This is most clearly evident in a growing body of work in which scholars are developing more nuanced ways of analysing the material construction of social categories. Several scholars explored the concepts of ‘respectability’ and ‘gentility’ as they might be applied to the analysis of the material culture of working-class and middle and upper-class sites respectively (Young 1992, 1998; Karskens 2001; Lawrence 2000:100). While not attempting to rigidly define either class-based sensibilities or their archaeological signatures, these studies have started to acknowledge the importance of socio-economic status in colonial life and its manifestation in the archaeological record. Building on this work, several other scholars have recently undertaken further studies in order to refine our understandings of the relationship between status and assemblages (Briggs 2005; Crook 2008; Hayes 2008; Lampard 2009; Quirk 2008).

THE REV. WILLOUGHBY BEAN AND HIS FAMILY

The Rev. Bean was a colourful character well-known in the Port Albert district, with pastoral responsibility for an area reaching from the Gippsland coast to the slopes of the Great Dividing Range. The site of his residence is still known as ‘Bean’s Parsonage’, but his was not the only family to live there. It appears that the first building on the site was a stockmen’s hut built by men working for the powerful squatter Lachlan Macalister in 1841. Earlier that year Macalister’s manager, Angus McMillan, had led the first party of colonists to overland to the port, thus opening the cattle trade across Bass Strait to Van Diemen’s Land (Adams 1990; Lennon 1973). A pastoral run was established there in 1843 by William Wade, who sold it to James Wentworth Davis in 1845.

Davis, his wife and adult son had recently arrived in the colony from Van Diemen’s Land. Together with several servants they planted a large garden and fruit trees and enlarged and improved the hut. In 1848 Davis described it as ‘a very comfortable weather-boarded cottage, and out offices’ (Pullman 1982:121; Davis 1980:8). Davis’ claim to a pre-emptive right on the land was rejected by the colonial government, and in 1849 he sold the cottage to the Rev. Bean. After the Beans left the district in 1859 they briefly rented out the property before a fire destroyed the house in 1861 (Shire of Alberton Rate Books 1863–1864; *Gippsland Guardian* 17 May 1861).

Willoughby Bean came from an established English family with longstanding connections to the military and the church, and was a relative of the Australian war historian and journalist C.E.W. Bean (Napier 2006). Bean first emigrated to Australia in 1824 when he was one of the earliest British settlers in the Central Coast region of New South Wales, his soon-to-be wife Harriet Batley arriving there in 1831 (Bean 1945). This is the period in which Major Archibald Clunes Innes was building his estate near Port Macquarie, though there is no evidence that the two families knew each other. The Beans returned to Britain in 1843 or 1844 and Willoughby studied theology at St. David’s College, Lampeter, Wales. He was recruited by Bishop Charles Perry of Melbourne and returned to the colonies in 1848, being ordained by Perry in Melbourne that year before being sent to Gippsland (Maddern 1977:10). A local census taken in 1853 recorded Bean, his wife Harriet, their three children, a relative of Harriet’s named Emily Batley, and a probable servant, Peter Johnstone, living at the parsonage. Other documents refer to additional male and female servants also living on the property at various times (Yarram Historical Society 00087 1853 Census; Sale Anglican Archives, Bean, ‘Rough Register of Marriages’). Bean was not a success as a parish priest and was recalled in December 1859 (Bishop Parry Letterbook, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne; see Brooks et al. in press for further discussion).



There are several sources of information about the buildings on the property. The Commissioner of Crown Lands Itinerary for the early 1840s records the structure built by Macalister’s men as a ‘log hut’, and by 1845 when the Davis family had taken over it was described as a ‘weatherboard’ building accompanied by an acre of garden (Pullman 1982:119). An 1851 map shows what appear to be two buildings surrounded by several fenced paddocks (see Figure 2). James Davis ran an orchard and dairy and was probably responsible for these agricultural improvements, some of which at least the Beans maintained (Pullman 1982:117; Victorian Lands Office). When the Beans purchased the land from the Crown in 1858, after living there for several years, the lot held improvements valued at £1,150 (Cox 1988:36). Advertisements

Figure 2: Plan of Bean’s property (from original Alberton Reserve map 1851 held by Victorian Lands Office, redrawn by Helene Athanasiadis).



Figure 3: Undated sketch, believed to be of Bean's Parsonage (courtesy Gippsland Regional Maritime Museum).

for the sale of the property in 1859 describe bush and post-and-rail fences, four acres of ploughed land and another acre planted in potatoes (*Gippsland Guardian* 8 September and 7 October 1859). The same advertisements describe a 'comfortable cottage of eight rooms', which included drawing, dining, and bedrooms and a separate kitchen. There are also two contemporary drawings of the house. One undated sketch at the Gippsland Regional Maritime Museum shows two structures surrounded by a fence with a pond in the foreground (Figure 3). A second sketch, held by the archives of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and believed to date from 1851, shows a typical single-storey colonial cottage with hipped roof, verandah across the front, and a brick chimney at either end. Both images also show extensive gardens around the house. Davis and Bean are both known to have made improvements to the house, and records of the local merchant Turnbull and Co. show that the Beans purchased building supplies throughout 1851 and 1852.

ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE BEAN PARSONAGE

By 2005, when archaeologists first visited the site, it was a grazing paddock with no visible archaeological features. A sandy ridge runs east-west across the paddock which slopes gently down toward a dam on the north side. Vegetation is a mix of introduced pasture and weed species now dominated by capeweed (*Arctotheca calendula*). A surface scatter of artefacts, including dark green (or 'black') bottle glass, brick fragments, and pieces of transfer-printed ceramics, indicated the probable location of the parsonage in the south-eastern corner of the paddock. Mapping and collection of the artefact scatter and a sub-surface gradiometer survey were carried out in 2005 in collaboration with Dr Hans-Dieter Bader of GeoMetria Heritage Management (Brooks et al. 2009). Although it was known that the site had been ploughed at some time prior to 1987, the results of the geophysical investigation suggested that some archaeological features had remained and a three-week excavation accordingly took place in November 2006.

A series of seven trenches were laid out across the site on what the survey work had indicated were the most promising sub-surface features (Figure 4). Given the disturbed nature of the site, no natural stratigraphy was expected to survive in the upper levels of the soil, and these were excavated in arbitrary spits. Where possible, excavation followed the site's original stratigraphy, which did survive in places below the ploughzone, the average depth of which across the site was ten

cm. However, the extremely dry soil conditions caused by several years of intense drought made the identification of natural stratigraphy difficult if not impossible in most cases. Trench A was the largest trench at 5 m x 5 m, and was located in the area where the concentration of brick fragments overlapped with a sub-surface anomaly, suggesting there had once been a chimney in the area, and, it was hoped, a kitchen. Although no evidence of brick construction was found, excavation did reveal part of a drainage ditch that continued westward into Trench C. Trench C, 5 m x 2 m in area, was situated where the gradiometer indicated an intersection between two lines of anomalies thought to be former fences. It now appears that these anomalies indicate a drain that runs for 50–60 metres across the southern edge of the site. While there may once have been an associated fenceline, no other evidence of this has survived.

Trenches D and F, again 5 m x 2 m, were located where the gradiometer had indicated possible pit features. The anomalies in Trench D proved to be a purpose-dug rubbish pit that extended for half a metre beneath the disturbed ploughzone layer. This pit was lined with wood, some of which showed signs of *in situ* burning, and contained butchered bone, glass, ceramics, metal, and ash. Some of the artefacts also showed signs of burning, suggesting that the contents of the pit were set alight as part of the disposal process. Trench F contained no features and few artefacts with the exception of an intact iron cask hoop approximately 40 cm in diameter. Trenches L and H were 1 x 1 m test pits put in as controls where neither the gradiometer nor the surface scatter had indicated concentrations of activity, and no archaeological remains were found there.

Trench E, 5 m x 2 m, was located to the north of Trench C and cut across the second line of anomalies detected in the gradiometer survey in a location where a concentration of glass artefacts was recorded on the surface. This trench showed clear evidence of a cut along the line of the anomaly, dividing the trench into two halves. To the west lay the base of the sandy topsoil as in the rest of the site, while to the east was a deposit of dark, organic loam rich in artefacts. The loam was at least 40 cm deep, and spatially it extended beyond the

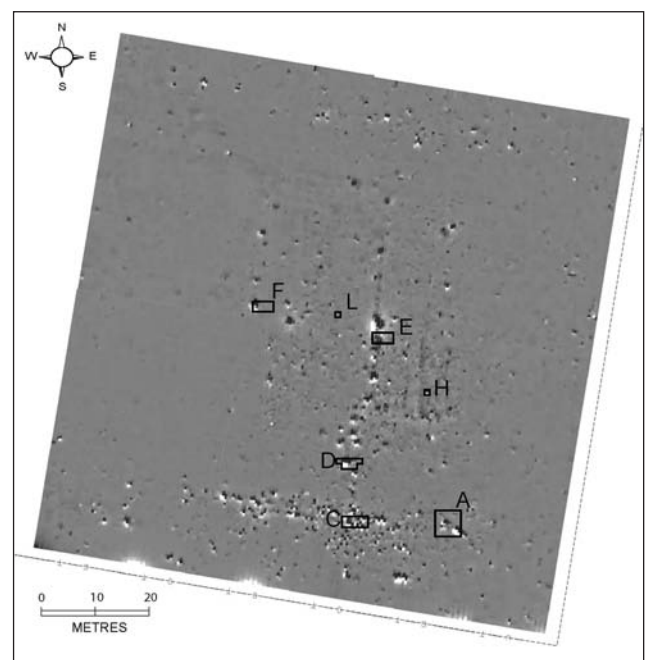


Figure 4: Plan of trenches superimposed on magnetometer results (Hans-Dieter Bader and Rudy Frank).

trench to the north, south and east. The artefacts from this location included both smaller (e.g. beads, buttons, and jewellery) and higher quality (e.g. lead crystal stemware) items than the rest of the site. While it is possible that this was another pit, it is also possible that it is the location of the house that burned in 1861, and that this is therefore the remains of a sub-floor deposit. An overlay of the 1851 map with the geophysical results and excavation trenches shows a close match between this location and what appears on the map to be a structure.

The excavations did not uncover any direct structural evidence of the house or outbuildings, but did produce a rich artefact assemblage. Over fourteen thousand artefact fragments were found (not including brick fragments), all of which can be associated with the period of the site's use as a residence. Most identifiable metal objects were nails and hoop iron. Glass included dark green cylindrical and square bottles, condiment bottles, medicine bottles, pieces of crystal stemware, other table items and window glass. The ceramic assemblage included clay tobacco pipes, flower pots, and storage jars in addition to numerous tablewares which will be analysed in greater detail below. The pieces are highly fragmentary but nevertheless shed light on the conditions of life in a frontier community.

THE BEAN CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

The artefacts considered here are treated as a single assemblage for the purposes of this discussion, although they were recovered from four excavated trenches and as surface artefacts collected from across the site. Although as discussed above some of the trenches did include traces of distinct features, there was not sufficient surviving evidence to distinguish the original living spaces or discard areas at the site. Conjoins within the ceramic assemblage indicated matches between trenches as well as within trenches and both horizontal and vertical displacement of artefacts was observed within the deposits. The general effects of ploughing on the site's stratigraphy are discussed in Brooks et al. (2009).

The total ceramic assemblage (excluding clay pipes, brick fragments, buttons and toys, but including flowerpots and chamberpots) from the site consists of at least 281 vessels across twelve basic ware types and 15 identified forms. All British ceramics terminology here follows *An Archaeological Guide to British Ceramics in Australia, 1877–1901* (Brooks 2005), and MNI counts were done across the site as a whole. With the exception of certain vessels discussed below, the majority of vessels in the assemblage appear to have been made prior to the 1860s. As only four pieces had maker's marks the assemblage was broadly dated using manufacturing techniques and identified patterns. Transfer-printed designs were the most common decorative type and included numerous vessels in the colours introduced in the 1820s and 1830s, such as mulberry, brown, green and black, and the flown designs also introduced in the 1830s. Identified marks from this period consisted of a willow pattern transfer printed flat vessel featuring the mark of Mellor, Venables and Co. (1835–1851; Godden 1991: 432) and a green transfer-printed saucer featuring the mark of Francis Morley and Co. (1845–1858; Godden 1991: 449). Identified patterns with a known production range included eight vessels in the 'Eton College' pattern (1822–1834), two vessels in 'Forest' (1828–1864), and one in 'Marino' 1834–1861. (Williams and Weber 1986:360, 601; Williams 1978:488).

A small number of items can be directly attributed to the brief use of the site by tenants in the early 1860s after the Beans left. These include the seven white granite vessels, a ware type whose arrival in Australia is closely tied to the start

of the American Civil War (Brooks 2005, Brooks 2009), and two transfer-printed plates, one featuring the mark of Ralph Hammersley (1860–1905; Godden 1991: 305), and the other featuring the mark of Pinder, Bourne and Co. (1862–1882; Godden 1991: 495). As the latter post-dates the 1861 fire which destroyed the home, it may indicate some continued visitation in those years while the Beans were still attempting to sell the property. No other vessels can be definitely ascribed to the post-Bean period. There is indeed a general lack of vessels that can be definitively associated with the post-1860 period. Similarly, no vessels can be definitively ascribed at this stage, whether temporally or stratigraphically, to the site's two brief periods of occupation that pre-date Bean's arrival. There are a small number of potentially early vessels, but the only items that definitely pre-date Bean in manufacture are a few small fragments of white saltglazed stoneware (c.1720–c.1790; Miller 2000:10). As the latter not only pre-dates the European settlement of Gippsland, but also the European settlement of Australia, there is no specific reason to ascribe them to the earlier occupations. All of the datable clay pipes post-date 1846, and the dateable bottle glass is typical of styles that Boow (1992) states were introduced to Australia between 1845 and 1850.

Time lag, or the period between the manufacture of a vessel and its disposal, must also be considered here (Adams 2003). It is feasible, indeed likely, that the later tenants owned older vessels that had been made and acquired prior to their occupation of the site, as well as the new items that could not have belonged to the Beans. In this regard it is noteworthy however that the tightly datable items fall into two broad groups based on when their manufacturing began. One group consists of items that began production in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s and which had gone out of production by the early 1860s, while the other group consists of items that began production in the early 1860s (or at least appear in Australia at that time) and which continued to be manufactured for several more decades. Of all the identifiable older patterns, none began manufacture in the 1850s, although some were still in production then. Anyone acquiring those vessels new in the 1850s would have been conscious of purchasing slightly old-fashioned patterns. We simply do not know enough of tastes or purchasing patterns in colonial Australia to rule this possibility out, and we do not know enough of the tenants to speculate about when they were acquiring their household goods. However, the production dates for the earlier group of ceramics does fit with what is known of the Beans' history. Harriet Batley Bean travelled to New South Wales in 1831 where the couple soon married. They returned to England in 1843, and came back to the colonies in 1849. Any of these occasions could have presented the opportunity for Mrs. Bean to acquire new china, and all correspond to the known production dates of some of vessels at the site.

Excluding the nine vessels known to post-date the Beans, the assemblage consists of 272 vessels across eleven basic ware types and 15 identified forms (Table 1). While it cannot be definitely assumed which or how many of those vessels may have been brought to the site by the tenants, it is likely that most of them belonged to the Bean household. The Beans lived at the site for a longer period than any other known residents and also had a large household that included children, servants and other relatives. Both of these factors could be expected to result in a sizeable archaeological signature, and it is assumed here that, even if individual vessels featured in Table 1 may be associated with brief earlier and later occupations, the overwhelming majority of the materials belonged to the Bean household. As it was not feasible to isolate stratigraphically distinct elements within the assemblage, it is also assumed here that the deposit accumulated throughout the period of the Beans' occupation.

Table 1: Bean minimum vessel counts, not including post-1860 materials.

	pl	pt	bw	ld	cp	sc	jg	jr	bt	tp	sa	ec	cb	fp	ib	fl	hl	un	totals
Whiteware																			207
transfer prints																			164
<i>black</i>	11	1		2	5	1											1	2	23
<i>brown</i>	1				3	1											2	1	8
<i>blue</i>	27	1	5	6	4	8	1			1	1	1				6	19	1	81
<i>green</i>				2	4	1										1	4		12
<i>purple</i>	1				7	3											1		12
<i>mulberry</i>																	1		1
<i>flow blue</i>	1				2	2										1	2		8
<i>flow green</i>																	1		1
<i>flow black</i>	3				1	1											2		7
printed & moulded	5		1		1												3	1	11
banded																2	10		12
annular																2	6		8
moulded								1									4		5
edged																	1		1
cut-sponged						1											1		2
undecorated	4							1									8	2	15
White Granite																			7
Moulded (Berlin Swirl)	4				1	1											1		7
White saltglazed stoneware																		1	
undecorated																	1		1
Bone China																			13
Gilt	1																1		2
painted																	1		1
painted & moulded			1		2	1													4
sprigged						1											1		2
undecorated	2			1	1														4
Porcelain																			3
undecorated																2	1		3
Chinese Porcelain																			2
painted			2																2
Buff earthenware																			2
Rockingham-type									1										1
moulded																	1		1
Dyed-body																			1
Blue moulded																		1	1
Yellowware																			11
annular																	1		1
mocha													1						1
moulded			1					1									1		3
undecorated			1					3									2		6
Redware														1			2		3
Stoneware																			29
saltglazed								12	2							4			18
Bristol-glazed				1				7	2										10
slip glaze																		1	1
Chinese Stoneware								2											2
Totals	60	2	11	12	31	21	1	27	4	2	1	1	1	1	4	14	79	9	281

Key to vessel form abbreviations (top row): pl=plate; pt=platter; bw=bowl; ld=lid; cp=cup; sc=saucer; jg=jug; jr=jar; bt=bottle; tp=teapot; sa=salt cellar; cb=chamberpot; fp=flowerpot; ib=ink bottle; fl=unidentified flat; hl=unidentified hollow; un=unidentified

COMPARING THE BEAN ASSEMBLAGE WITH THE LAKE INNES ASSEMBLAGES

Table 2 shows a summary of minimum vessel counts for the five servant-related site assemblages at Lake Innes, the full details of which have been published in the ceramics section (Brooks 2007:183–194) of the Lake Innes report (Connah

2007). Site 2 was a servants' cottage northeast of the stables, Site 3 was a labourers' hut in the servants' village, Site 5 was the coachman's dwelling, Site 6 was the blacksmith's hut, and Site 7 was a cottage at the home farm. A more detailed discussion of each assemblage can be found in Connah (2007) and Brooks and Connah (2007).

Table 2: Summary of ware types at Lake Innes (minimum vessel counts).

	Site 2 (house servants)	Site 3 (labourers)	Site 5 (coachman)	Site 6 (blacksmith)	Site 7 (home farm)
Whiteware	46	9	34	31	30
transfer prints	35	4	26	21	28
<i>black</i>	5		2		1
<i>grey</i>					1
<i>red</i>	1				1
<i>blue</i>	20	2	12	19	16
<i>green</i>	4		4	1	4
<i>brown</i>	2	1		1	
<i>flow blue</i>	3	1	5		2
<i>flow purple</i>			1		
<i>flow black</i>			2		
painted	3	2	1	6	1
<i>polychrome</i>	1				
<i>painted&enamelled</i>	2	2			
<i>polychrome enamelled</i>			1		
<i>blue painted&poly enamelled</i>					1
annular			1	1	
moulded	1		1		
sponged			3		
banded	1				
shelledge - green <i>(even scallop impressed bud)</i>	1				
shelledge - blue <i>(even scallop impressed)</i>				1	
moulded&painted rim	1			1	
green-glazed and moulded			1		
industrial slip		1			
undecorated	4	2	1		1
none present				1	
Creamware (all undecorated)			1	1	
Pearlware			3	2	
transfer print, blue			1	1	
blue mono painted&enamelled			1		
none present			1	1	
Refined red earthenware (white slip interior)			1		
Buff-bodied earthenware (rockingham-type)	1				
Bone china	3		7	3	2
moulded, enamelled	2		1		1
gilt banded	1		1		
enamelled			1		
moulded			1		
sprigged				1	
undecorated			1		
none present			2	2	1
Chinese porcelain			4	1	
polychrome enamelled			4		
blue monochrome painted				1	
Hard-paste porcelain (grey-bodied, moulded)				1	
Yellowware (annular)	1		1		
Redware			2		
slipped			1		
undecorated			1		
Stoneware	9		5	3	5
Bristol-glazed			1		1
saltglazed			2	2	3
unid.red-brown glaze			1		
moulded			1		
iron oxide slip glaze					1
none present				1	
Totals	60	9	58	42	37

The most immediately striking difference between the Lake Innes assemblages and the Bean assemblage is that the latter is much larger. At 272 vessels, the Bean assemblage is more than four times larger than Lake Innes Site 2, which features 60 vessels. The Bean assemblage is in fact larger than all five of the Lake Innes sites put together – combined, the servant-related Lake Innes sites contain 206 vessels. While some of these differences in assemblage size can potentially be ascribed to differences in length of occupation period (Site 3 in particular seems to have only been occupied briefly) temporal differences of this nature are inadequate in and of themselves in explaining the difference in assemblage size given that other Innes sites, such as Site 2, may have been occupied for at least as long as the Bean site (Connah 2007: 151–153).

Archaeological factors such as stratigraphic context, discard behaviour and excavation strategies may also be partially responsible for the differences in assemblage size. The disturbed nature of the ploughzone from which the Bean artefacts were recovered explains the fragmentary nature of that assemblage, but as the analysis at both Bean and Lake Innes has been based on minimum numbers of vessels rather than fragment counts this should not dramatically affect the comparisons. A total of 67 m² was excavated at Bean's, a larger area than Site 2 (61 m²), Site 3 (46 m²), Site 5 (20 m²), and Site 6 (49 m²) at Lake Innes, although less than the 88 m² excavated at Site 7. Moreover, the excavation at Bean's included a rubbish pit and external yard areas, both spaces in which rubbish would be discarded. In contrast, all of the excavation trenches at Lake Innes were concentrated on the interiors of the buildings, most of which (Sites 2, 5, and 7) are believed to have had wooden floors. Large quantities of broken glass and ceramics would be unlikely to accumulate in these circumstances. Further highlighting this difference, objects liable to accidental loss such as pins, buttons, and coins, were numerous at Lake Innes but are rare at Bean's (11 buttons and two beads but no pins or coins), despite the use of similar excavation methods (hand excavation and sieving of all deposits) at both sites.

However, the spatial distribution of the fragments recovered at Bean's suggests that site formation processes are not the only contributing factors. Of the 1511 fragments in the assemblage, 176 (12 per cent) were from the rubbish pit but 549 (36 per cent) were from Trench E, probably the location of the house. The house area thus had a much higher artefact density to those excavated at Lake Innes, nearly 55 fragments/m² compared to between 1 and 11 fragments/m² at the Lake Innes houses. The Bean house alone also has a much greater number of vessels than any of the Lake Innes sites, as fragments of 147 of the 272 vessels identified at Bean were recovered from Trench E, believed to have been the location of the house.

This leads to a consideration of other factors, of which the most compelling are the differences in the size and status between the Bean household and the others. As noted previously, the Bean household consisted of at least seven individuals in 1853: Bean, his wife Harriet, their three children, Emily Batley, and the probable servant, Peter Johnstone. Other servants are known to have been associated with the property at different times. In contrast, Connah (2007:152) believes that the largest of the Innes assemblages was generated by a household of no more than two, consisting of a married couple. This difference is perhaps self-evident, but a discussion of variation in form and decoration between all of the assemblages allows for a more fine-grained consideration of the issue of status variation between the Bean and Lake Innes assemblages.

STATUS COMPARISONS

On any qualitative social measure, the Bean household was from a higher socio-economic group than any of the servant-related sites at Lake Innes. Status differentiation existed within the Lake Innes servants, from trusted liveried coachmen through to poor labourers, and this differentiation is clearly visible within the archaeological evidence (Brooks and Connah 2007:143–145; Connah 2009). But even if we take the highest status Lake Innes servants for comparison, a minister of the Anglican Church, whatever the circumstances of his personal finances, would have been perceived to have had a respectable status wholly removed from that of an estate owner's coachmen.

Form and decoration variations within the assemblages in question allow for testing whether these status differences are visible through material culture analysis. This analysis was not undertaken in the original ceramic-based discussion of servant hierarchy at Lake Innes (Brooks and Connah 2007), so further allows for the testing of existing conclusions within that specific context. Figures 5 and 6 show the number of vessel forms and the number of decoration and ware combinations at the Bean and servant sites. In each case, the greatest variation of form and decoration occurs at the higher-status Bean site. Differences between the Lake Innes sites are more complex, with full discussion of the evidence presented in Brooks and Connah (2007). They allow for a slightly more nuanced consideration of the original status-based conclusions for the servant sites. Site 5 was originally held to be the highest status servant site based on the architectural and spatial evidence. Sites 6 and 2 were the next highest – though conflicting data made it hard to separate them clearly – Site 7 then followed, with Site 3 the lowest-status (Brooks and Connah 2007:144). In this variation analysis, Site 2 consistently features ahead of Site 6. It is possible that the proximity of Site 2 to the main Lake Innes house and the coachman's residence may be influencing assemblage size and variability. It has also previously been argued (Brooks and Connah 2007:144) that the large number of coins, and nature of the structure, at Site 2 may indicate that the site was indeed higher-status than Site 6 despite the relatively higher percentage of porcelain recovered from the latter that possibly indicated the opposite, and this analysis seems to support that conclusion. Certainly Graham listed Site 2 in the 'Housing Trustworthy Servants' section of the Lake Innes report (Connah 2007:139–156), while the blacksmith cottage of Site 6 was listed in the 'Housing Servants of Lower Rank' section (Connah 2007:157–182). There are nonetheless still some similarities between these two sites; while Site 2 undoubtedly has the greater variation of form, the two sites are nearly equal in variation of ware and decoration.

It is particularly important to stress in this context that there is not a direct correlation between assemblage size and assemblage variation. Site 2, the cottage north-east of the stables, has the largest of the servant assemblages, but Site 5, the coachman's quarters, has the greatest variation within those assemblages. Therefore, while it may seem intuitive that larger assemblages feature greater variation, this is not absolutely so. Assemblage size and assemblage variation must be considered together.

While assemblage variation may have supported the known status variations within the sites, another comparison between the Bean assemblage and the Lake Innes assemblages is perhaps more surprising. The differences in relative porcelain distributions across the sites do not conform with the distributions originally observed for the Lake Innes sites. In the original analysis (Brooks and Connah 2007:143), nearly 20 per cent of the highest-status Site 5 consisted of bone china and porcelain, the lowest-status Site 3 contained no porcelain

at all, and the other three sites were in-between (Figure 7). Were the hypothesis that higher-status pre-Gold Rush sites should contain more bone china and porcelain to be transferred from Lake Innes to the Bean household, we might expect that at least 20 per cent of the Bean site assemblage would consist of these fabric types. Instead, the percentage of porcelain within the Bean assemblage is only six per cent – beneath both Sites 5 and 6, and barely above Sites 7 and 2. Even accepting that Site 2 is probably higher-status than the porcelain distributions may indicate, these data do not support porcelain-based status differentiation between the Lake Innes and Bean sites.

It would therefore seem that while assemblage variation has served as a useful means of testing and comparing site status across Australian regions in the pre-Gold Rush period, porcelain distributions have not. Even the original analysis cautioned against using this relative porcelain distribution technique post-1850 (Brooks and Connah 2007:143), but it would seem that its application is even more limited. It may be that it is useful only in pre-Gold Rush situations where sites exist in close proximity to each other and share a similar social context. It could also be that the Lake Innes distributions reflect conditions specific to that estate; that the relative porcelain distributions reflect either a connection between Lake Innes House and the servant quarters, or perhaps reflect a conscious attempt by some of the estate servants themselves to differentiate their status within the estate by acquiring more expensive items to use and display within their households.

If the Bean household chose to actively display their status through material culture, it was done by means other than through porcelain. Evidence of an attempt to project status and gentility perhaps comes through the presence of pattern sets within the Bean assemblage (Table 3). Caution should be used in the identification of pattern sets within Australian assemblages; given how common Willow, Asiatic Pheasant and – a little later – Rhine and marble-type pattern objects were, it is open to question whether the presence of multiple vessels in these patterns represent an intentional attempt to acquire matching vessels, or merely reflect the acquisition of the most readily available items. This tension between conscious choice and availability remains unresolved in Australian historical archaeology. In the case of the ‘Eton College’ pattern at the Bean site, however, there can be little doubt that this marks intentional acquisition (Figure 8). There are at least eight vessels in this pattern in the Bean assemblage, and while this may not be a large number in and of itself (some three per cent of the assemblage), the range of

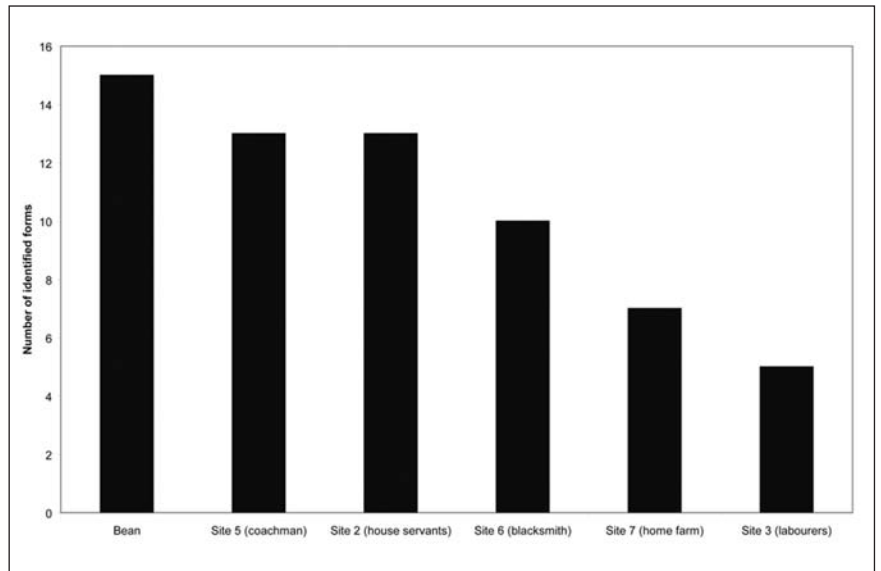


Figure 5: Form variation in the assemblages from the Bean and Lake Innes sites.

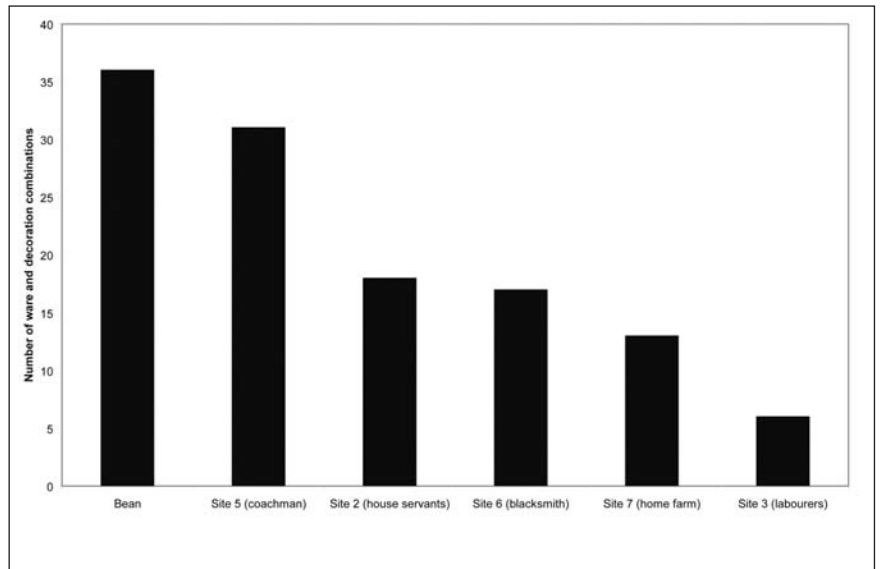


Figure 6: Ware and decoration variation in the assemblages from the Bean and Lake Innes sites.

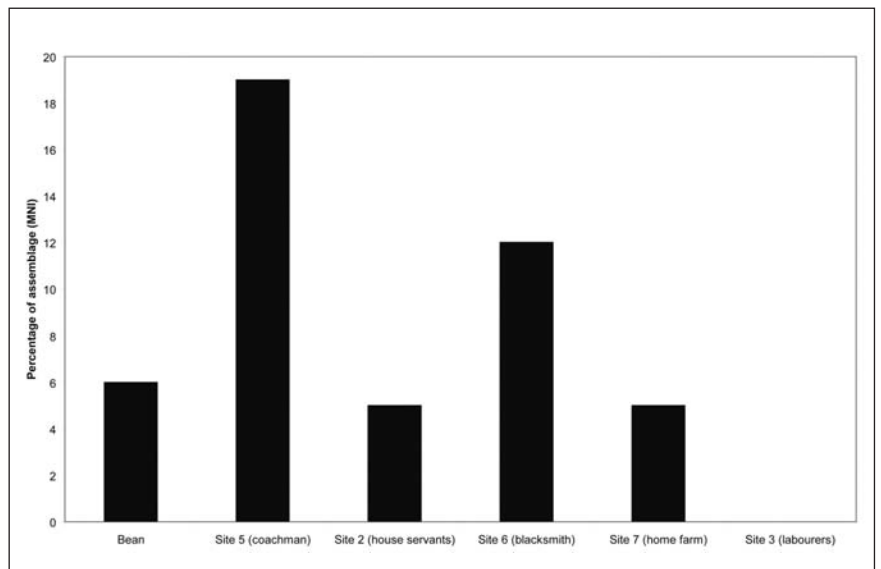


Figure 7: Porcelain (all types) as a percentage of the Bean and Lake Innes assemblages.

Table 3: Matching or complimentary objects at the Bean site (shown as minimum number of vessels).

Pattern	Total	Cup	Saucer	Bowl	Plate	Breakfast plate	Side plate	Lid	Platter	Salt cellar	Teapot	Unid	Unid flat	Unid hollow
Willow	25		1	2	8	6		6					2	0
Eton College	8			2	3		1		1	1				
Chinoiserie	6	1			1								1	3
Floral	6	1			2							2		1
Rhine	6				5				1					
Fibre	5		2								1	1		1
Floral (flow blue)	5	2	2											1
gilded band	4	1		1	1									1
Chantilly (black)	3	2						1						
Floral (flow black)	3	1	1											1
Chantilly (blue)	2		1											1
Cracked Ice & Prunus	2			1	1									
Figurative	2	1												
gilded Tea Leaf	2	2						1						
Sprigged	2		1											1
Vermicelli	2		2											

forms (plates in various sizes, and a bowl, salt cellar, and platter) in a pattern otherwise unrecorded at the other sites investigated by the Life on the Edge project suggests this is an intentional matching set. With the exception of four matching cups and saucers at Site 6, there is nothing remotely similar at the Lake Innes servant sites, which are characterized by pattern variability rather than similarity (Brooks and Connah 2007:141–142). There is much pattern variability within the Bean assemblage too, but there is still at least one clear matching pattern set within the overall variability.

In addition to ceramics, other forms of material culture also speak to middle class status. Several examples of cut crystal glassware were found at the site, including at least three stemmed glasses and one tumbler. An advertisement for a clearance sale held when the Beans left the district refers to a dining table, books, and a ‘fine tuned piano by Broadwood’, all necessary equipment used in the performance of a genteel lifestyle (*Gippsland Guardian* 7 October 1859). It is equally possible that evidence of gentility appears in other more subtle ways within the ceramic assemblage. Quantifying the number of different forms present is not only a means of comparing the Beans’ goods with those at Lake Innes, it also sheds light on the kinds of tables that could be set.

Table settings reflect cultural practices intimately associated with etiquette and status. The Beans, with at least 15 different ceramic forms in a wide range of patterns as well as crystal stemware, had the equipment to lay a table capable of facilitating the elaborate dining rituals that went with the genteel habitus. Their Eton College service included enough different forms for a multi-course meal with serving dishes. They had at least six other serving bowls and platters in different patterns, and lids for a further ten. Other more specialised forms included an egg cup and a salt cellar. The range of forms and patterns present suggests that it was also possible for the Beans to use different dishes on different occasions. Although historical archaeologists are still some way from fully understanding the role of quality and value in the selection of ceramic tablewares (Crook 2005), the presence of vessels in patterns that are highly common (Willow, Rhine, Asiatic Pheasant, Fibre), somewhat less common (Chantilly, Forest) and uncommon (Eton College, Marino) point to distinctions between ‘good’ and ‘everyday’ china. As we know they had servants, it is possible that some of the dishes, perhaps in the familiar Willow or Rhine patterns, were reserved for their use. Specialist forms such as the egg cup, as well as numerous matching cup-and-saucer pairs also

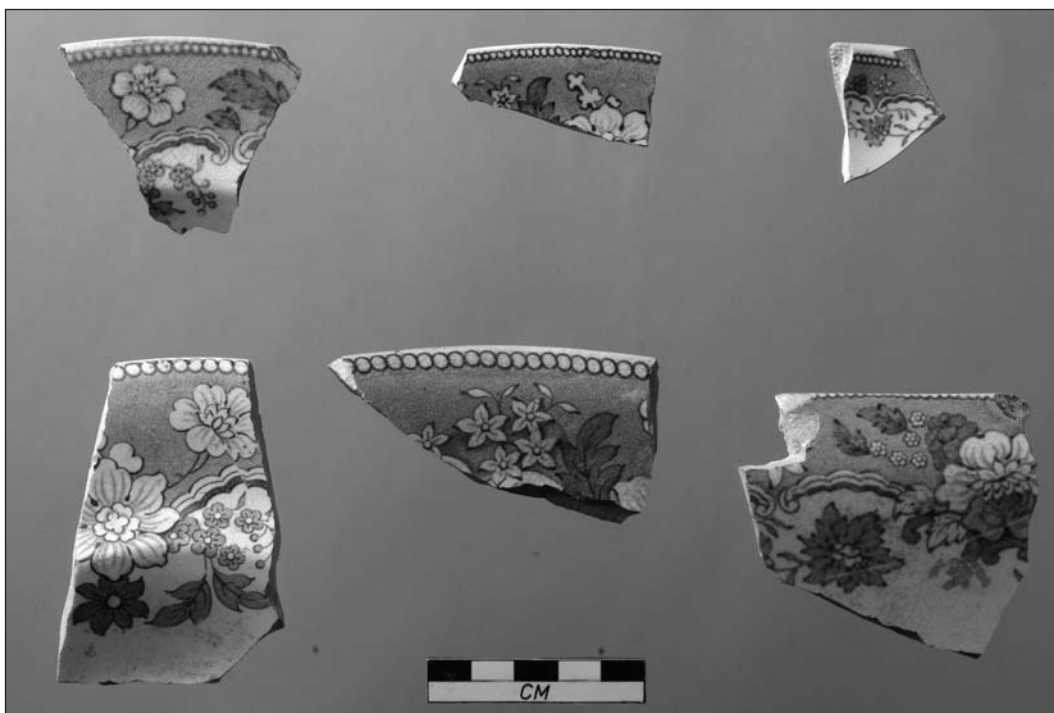


Figure 8: Fragments of Eton College pattern (photograph by Rudy Frank).

hint at the use of different dishes on different occasions through the day.

CONCLUSION

In sum, the size and variability of the ceramic assemblages has proven to be a far more reliable test of the known status differences between these geographically varied early settlement sites than were comparisons of the more expensive bone china and porcelain. In so far as the latter do reflect status hierarchies, they do so only in the specific context of Lake Innes. The differences in porcelain quantities at Lake Innes may perhaps reflect site-specific striving towards gentility and visible status; at the Bean household, gentility seems to be reflected within the material culture assemblage as a whole and the nature of the one definite matching pattern set within that assemblage.

The nature of the archaeological evidence for the Beans' genteel status reflects the need to consider the full range of household equipment used at a site. Single measures such as the presence of more expensive wares are more effectively combined with other techniques such as the analysis of forms and the presence of sets, a strategy that has also been successful when analysing other middle class assemblages such as that from Viewbank, Victoria (Hayes 2008); Paradise, Queensland (Quirk 2008) and Port Adelaide (Lampard 2004). Other types of goods such as glassware, and in this case documentary evidence for furniture, point to more holistic lived experiences of status. Middle class status was more complex than simply possessing expensive goods. It was about having the cultural and economic capital to enact a genteel way of life. Following prescribed rituals of dining was an important part of gentility and the aspect to which archaeological evidence most readily applies, but it also extended to personal hygiene, appearance, recreational pursuits, manners, morals, and tastes.

Both Archibald Innes and Willoughby Bean failed to maintain their economic position on the Australian colonial frontier. Innes' attempts to replicate the landed estate of the British gentry, complete with servants who observed their own internal status hierarchy, collapsed under the financial strains of the financial depression of the 1840s. Bean, perhaps counter-intuitively, found himself in increasing financial difficulty just as the Gold Rush was transforming Australia into one of the wealthiest economies on earth. Yet it seems likely that the effort of maintaining the respectable life of a minister of the established Anglican church contributed in some way to Bean's difficulties. Financial contributions from his parishioners were consistently lower than anticipated, and Bean's bishop in Melbourne admitted privately that he expected Bean to struggle financially almost from the beginning, even while reprimanding Bean for his financial problems. Therefore, though the material culture at the Bean site may reflect his high social status within the local community, it should not be assumed that this status in any way reflects financial security or general wealth.

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