Secret and Safe

Exploring the archaeology of concealed artefacts from the Ladies' Cottage of an Australian mental asylum

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Cover page image: The Ladies' Cottage Building. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 15/2/2018.

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Abstract

Archaeological studies have largely failed to make use of artefacts to try and understand the experiences of individuals living in mental asylums in the past. This thesis examines a collection of objects from the Ladies' Cottage of Willow Court Asylum in Tasmania in order to consider how artefacts can be used to understand the experiences of individuals from within this institutional context, by considering the behaviours of resistance, concealment, and ritual to exercise agency within a controlling and restrictive environment. A collection of ephemeral, fabric, and other artefacts reveals that despite the restrictions placed on individuals within the environment of a mental asylum during the mid-twentieth century, patients were able to exercise control over their own lives within this system through behaviours like the collection, alteration, and concealment of objects. Though the motivation for these behaviours is difficult to interpret because they were the result of mental illness, this analysis demonstrates the value of studying artefacts from a mental asylum context.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Associate Professor Heather Burke, for allowing me to work with her at the site of Willow Court and for her ongoing feedback and insight throughout the process of writing my thesis. I would also like to thank Peter Davies and Edwina Kay for their helpful feedback and comments on my thesis.

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Glossary

Broadcloth	A fine, high quality, plain weave fabric often made from cotton (Wilson 2010:39), with a slightly coarser weave and texture than poplin.
Brushed fabric	A fabric where "the surface fibres have been raised, napped or brushed during finishing to produce a soft, warm surface" (Wilson 2010:67).
Canvas	Thick, strong, durable fabrics constructed through a plain weave and often made from cotton (Wilson 2010:49).
Drill	"A strong, thick, durable woven fabric" (Wilson 2010:84) displaying a visible zig-zag effect due to its distinctive woven construction.
Jacquard	A fabric woven on a jacquard loom to create a pattern, often floral, in the weave of the fabric (Wilson 2010:136).
Moral therapy	"A nineteenth century response to 'madness' which typically attempted to improve the basic life circumstances of patients, and cure them through moral discipline" (Logan 2017:vii).
Poplin	A tightly woven, medium weight fabric (Wilson 2010:213).
Package	A compound object composed of more than one layer of different materials wrapped or folded together, then tied with some kind of tie; for example, a fabric strip, ribbon, rope or thread.
Parcel	A compound object composed of more than one layer of different types of materials wrapped or folded together, but not tied.
Selvedge	"The longitudinal edges of constructed fabrics…to prevent fraying of the outside ends from the body of the fabric and to give strength to the edges of the fabric" (Wilson 2010:314)

Chapter 1: A Unique Opportunity

Individuals living with mental illness have often been marginalised and discouraged from sharing their experiences, particularly historically. Within the discipline of archaeology, mental illness has principally been explored through studying mental asylum architecture and the asylum system (Allmond 2016; Longhurst 2017; Piddock 2007, 2016), but this has ignored how the experiences of individuals could be understood by studying artefact assemblages. This reflects a reticence in these studies to attempt what is perceived to be impossible:

> Artifacts when found do not always represent choices made by the individual living and working in the institution, but rather choices made by those administering the institution … For most institutions an alternative pathway has to be developed to allow us to understand the world of the institution and what life was like for both inmates and staff (Piddock 2016:562)

The social, behavioural and moral complexities created around mental asylums certainly make these assemblages more difficult to interpret than artefacts from other institutional contexts, such as destitute asylums, schools, hospitals or prisons. However, it is not impossible to gain new insights from such artefacts if an appropriate framework can be used to interpret them through their contexts.

Attempting to do this is, in fact, necessary to expand our understanding of the past. Funari (1999:316) stated that the role of historical archaeology is to recover "the active voice of the silent majorities". All institutionalised individuals, particularly the mentally ill, fall into this silent majority and the importance of attempting to recover their individual voices was highlighted by Piddock (2007:8):

> As institutional archaeology is an emerging field within historical archaeology, there is no established framework that can be used to shape questions or particular approaches to investigate these institutions…The unvoiced nature of those living within the walls of these various institutions has become more important because of what can be considered the dominant voice of those controlling the institutions.

Sites which allow this type of study, however, have proved to be rare and due to this it is even more important to ensure that these sites and their collections are studied in order to allow a greater understanding of the lives of patients in mental asylums, and return a voice to these individuals ignored by history.

Willow Court, New Norfolk

Established in 1826 as an invalid hospital, Willow Court operated as a mental health asylum from 1829 until 2001, making it Australia's longest, continuously operating mental health facility[1]. It is located in the town of New Norfolk, Tasmania, on the Derwent River north-west of Hobart (Figure 1). Willow Court is now a precinct with a number of surviving standing buildings (Figure 2), and after the closure of the facility some of these were retained by the local council but some were sold to private individuals including the Ladies Cottage building. The variety of these standing structures presents a picture of an asylum which developed to house patients from different backgrounds and with different care requirements. This means that the precinct itself represents a diverse range of experiences of institutionalisation: different genders, age groups, periods of time and care approaches,

[1] The institution went through several name changes over its lifetime, being known as the Lunatic Asylum New Norfolk from 1829-1859, the Hospital for the Insane New Norfolk from 1859-1915, the Mental Diseases Hospital New Norfolk from 1915-1937, Lachlan Park Hospital from 1937-1968 and the Royal Derwent Hospital from 1968-2001. The name Willow Court was attached to the oldest buildings in the complex during the 19th century because of the large willow tree in the courtyard of the Barracks building, and this name is now used by the local council on interpretive signage, therefore the name Willow Court will be used throughout this thesis for consistency.

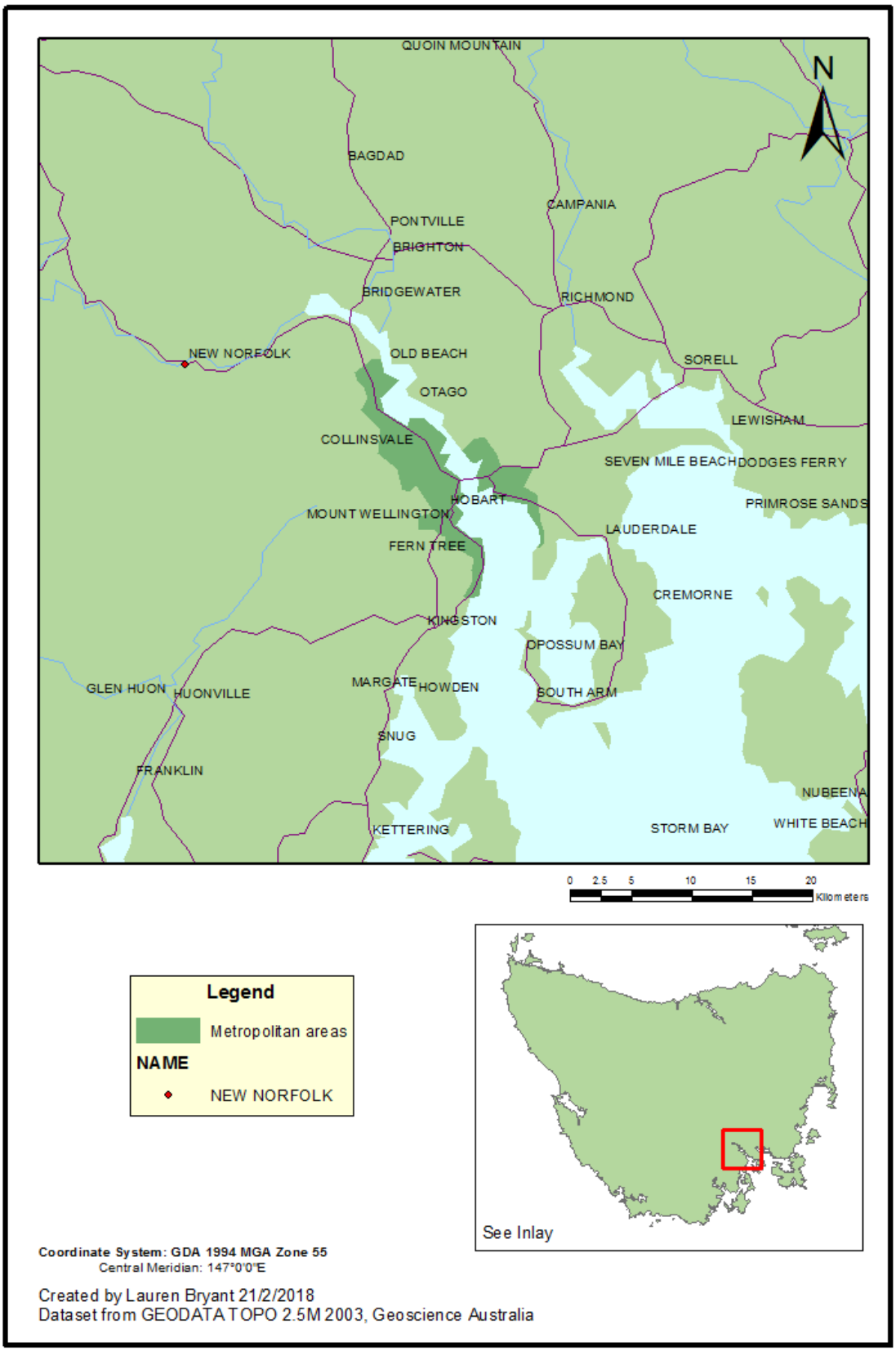


Figure 1: Map showing location of New Norfolk, Tasmania. Created by Lauren Bryant.

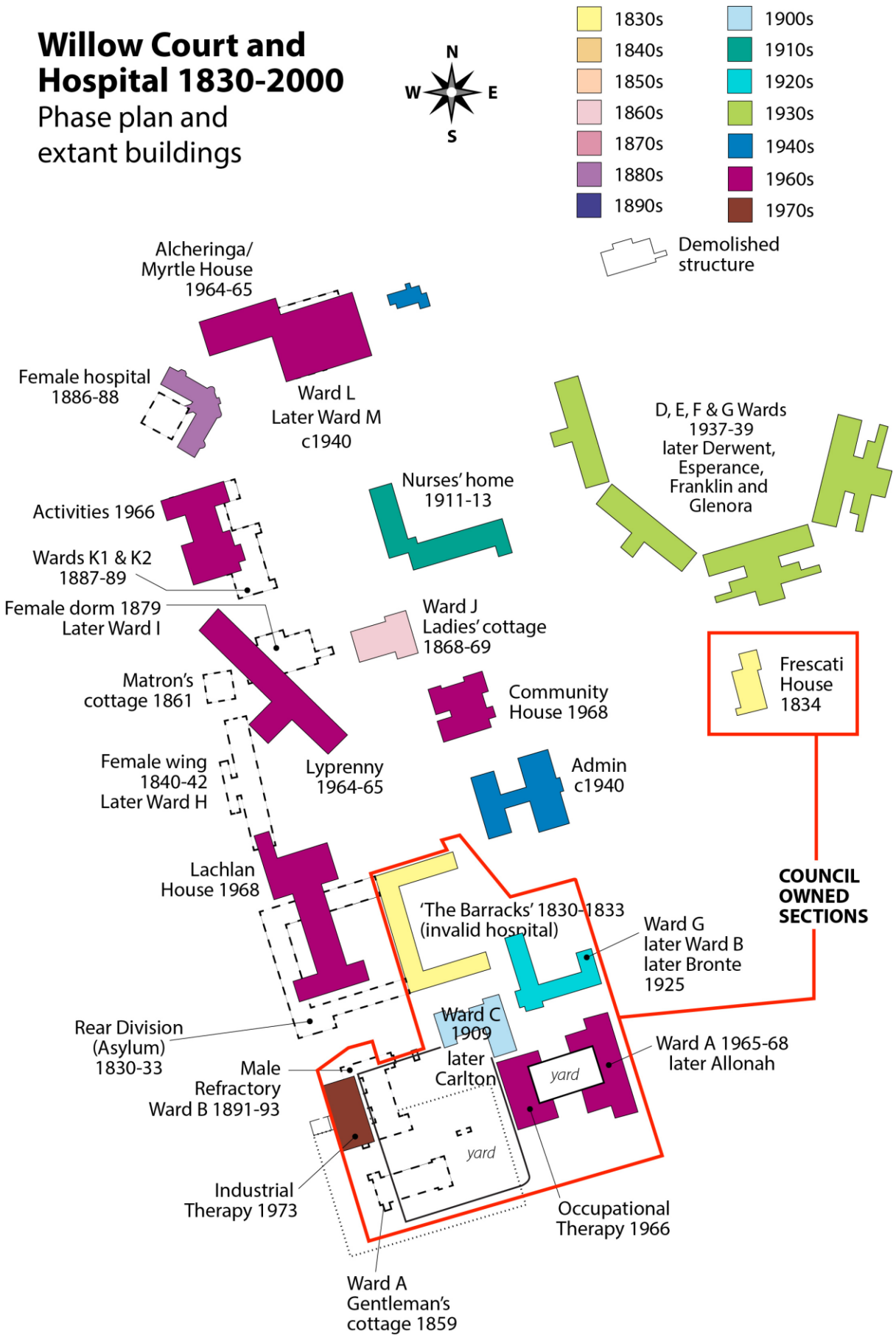


Figure 2: Willow Court precinct plan.

mental illnesses and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, since the site only ceased operating as a mental health hospital in 2001 and is now owned by various organisations and individuals, very little historical or archaeological research has been undertaken there to date, giving it considerable untapped potential for addressing questions concerning mental health and institutionalisation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Ladies' Cottage

The Ladies' Cottage was constructed between 1868 and 1869 for the care of paying female patients, and therefore represents one distinct demographic group which existed within this asylum precinct. Unfortunately, this building has a poorly documented chronology of use, but played a key role in the diversification of the asylum to accommodate a wider range of patients. The Ladies' Cottage is the home of one particularly unusual assemblage, consisting of several collections of artefacts retrieved at different times.

The Ladies' Cottage Assemblage

The Ladies' Cottage assemblage is highly unusual in composition, location and formation. The original 2013 Ladies' Cottage collection was discovered by the owners of the building, Haydn and Penny Pearce, during renovation works on the property in 2013, which required accessing the underfloor space of the enclosed front veranda. This veranda is bricked in on all sides and, due to the gradient of the land, its underfloor space varies from approximately 1.5m at the front of the building to 0 metres where it meets the ground level in the south-west (see Figure 3). Access to this underfloor area is possible through a trapdoor on the south-eastern side of the veranda (indicated in red on Figure 3).

Renovation work led to the discovery of a large quantity of historic artefacts under the south-eastern side of the veranda, including newspapers, letters, fabric scraps, clothing

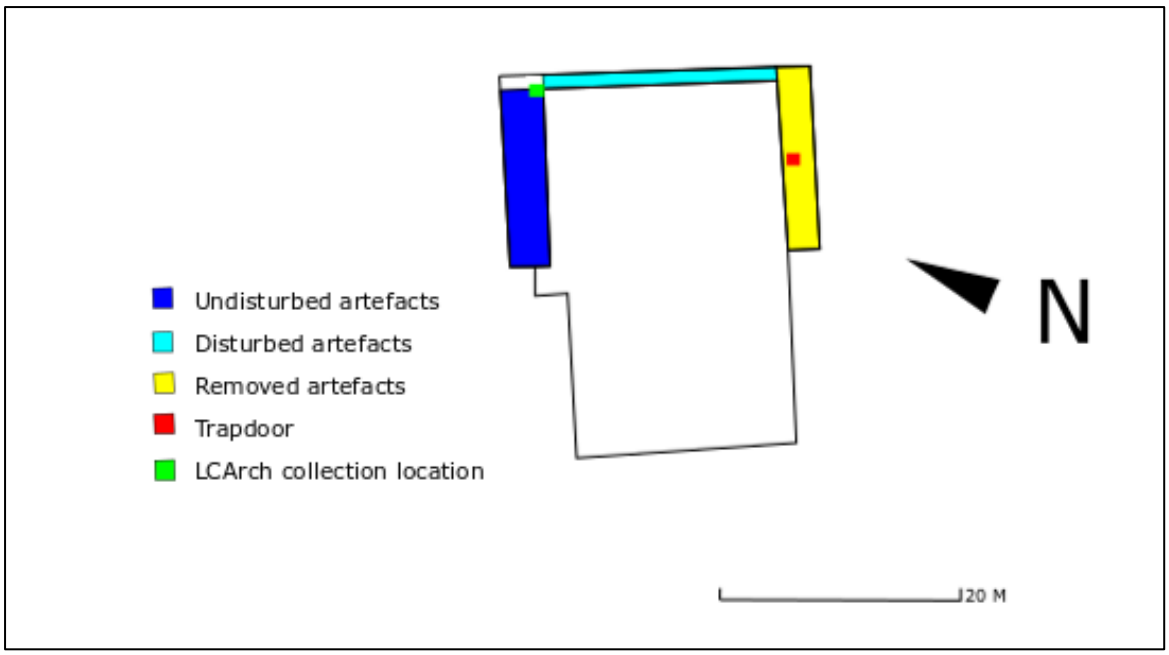


Figure 3: Plan of the Ladies' Cottage. Created by Lauren Bryant, 21/5/2018.

items, food packaging, construction materials, books, tea towels, smoking paraphernalia, sewing articles and personal items (Burke and Haas 2016:6). Although these were organised into discrete piles within this space (Haydn Pearce pers. comm. February 2016), they were removed as a bulk collection from the area indicated in yellow on the plan in order to allow the renovations to continue (Figure 3), dissociating them from their original context. At the time of the removal other intact piles of similar artefacts were noted by the Pearces, but not disturbed or removed. The amalgamated collection was subsequently subjected to preliminary study by Flinders University researchers as part of the 2016 Flinders University Field School at Willow Court (Burke and Haas 2016).

Analysis involved cataloguing the objects and creating a typology to show different artefact categories, then dating these artefacts where possible (Burke and Haas 2016:5-8). Three hundred and ninety-seven objects were catalogued at this time (Burke and Haas 2016:6). Among the more unusual items identified were a series of hand embroidered objects, including aprons, other clothing items and scraps of fabric (Burke and Haas 2016:18-20). The

embroidery was considered particularly unusual because of the recurrence of motifs from food packaging labels and the presence of seemingly random words and images (Burke and Haas 2016:18) (Figure 4), all embroidered in the same hand. A selection of three of these embroidered aprons were conserved and studied in order to reconstruct their object biographies as part of materials conservation research into this collection (Auld 2017). Auld interpreted these images as representing connections with the outside world to challenge "the perceived totality of the isolating, carceral asylum" (Auld 2017:68).

Figure 4: Embroideries from the Ladies' Cottage, from Burke and Haas (2016:19)

Another distinctive feature of this assemblage was the presence of what have been described as 'packages' or 'parcels', which suggest other unusual behaviours. Packages and parcels were both terms used to describe compound objects assembled presumably by the individual depositing these artefacts, although they encompass a number of depositional behaviours, including collecting different ephemeral items, such as newspaper articles or fabric scraps, wrapping or folding these together in layers, and transforming this through the use of a tie of some kind into a discrete new object. Like the other items, these objects were also hidden in the enclosed space under the veranda. At least one of the packages

identified in 2016 was composed of newspaper pages from different years, suggesting that the original components had been kept within the asylum before the creation of these compound objects and their deposition within the underfloor space. The repetition of this and other behaviours, such as the embroidery, suggests that this assemblage may have been amassed by the one individual (Burke and Haas 2016:28).

Because of the unusual location of this collection, the uniqueness of the artefacts present and their lack of precise provenance, it was decided during the 2017 Flinders University Field School to systematically remove one undisturbed section of the remaining artefacts, indicated in green on Figure 3.

These artefacts (LCARCH) had been deposited to form a discrete low mound (Figure 5), but reaching them necessitated disturbing some artefacts in the area indicated in light blue on the plan (Figure 3). The distribution of these artefacts indicated that they had been previously disturbed, and these were not discretely mounded but scattered throughout this

Figure 5: LCARCH Mound, photograph by Heather Burke, February 2017

area. Near the LCARCH mound, on the north-western side of the building as indicated in dark blue (Figure 3), were two other undisturbed piles that were not collected by researchers. The intent of systematically collecting the LCARCH mound was to understand in greater detail the behaviours which created the larger collection from the Ladies' Cottage. By studying the sequence and contents of one undisturbed mound, conclusions can be extrapolated to the wider Ladies' Cottage Collection and the behaviours it represents.

The LCARCH assemblage exhibited a number of similar features to the previously removed artefacts, suggesting that the entirety of the artefacts under the veranda were intentionally placed there, possibly by one individual. The presence of parcels and packages, the same forms and styles of embroidery, and similar ephemeral and personal artefacts suggests continuity between the LCARCH assemblage and the 2013 Ladies' Cottage collection, as well as repeated behaviours leading to the formation of this large, unusual collection.

Research Question and Aims

This thesis aims to expand the study of artefacts from mental asylum contexts as an important aspect of institutional archaeology, by answering the question: What does the LCARCH collection reveal about the experiences of individuals in the Willow Court Asylum? This will allow a greater understanding of the particular repeated behaviours evident at the Ladies' Cottage site. The aims of this research are to:

1. Establish how this highly unusual collection could have been created;
2. Establish a suitable framework for studying artefacts derived from the behaviours of mental illness within mental asylum contexts;

3. Establish a better provenance for the collection as a whole in order to allow a better understanding of the patient experience in the Ladies' Cottage;

4. Demonstrate the value of mental health studies within institutional archaeology.

Achieving these aims will demonstrate the archaeological value of the Willow Court precinct for the study of institutions in general and mental health in particular.

Justification

The study of institutions through archaeology has been pioneered by researchers because of its value in recovering lost voices from the past, since the voices of patients in mental asylums have been particularly neglected. The potential of the LCARCH collection to illuminate the experiences of an individual living in an asylum, particularly through the ephemeral items they valued during this time, makes it essential for us to understand this collection. Archaeologists have failed to make use of artefacts to study mental asylum sites, focussing on the architecture of sites through site plans and standing structures. However, studying architecture has allowed only a limited understanding of the lives of patients within this asylum, as it has a tendency to focus on the asylum systems rather than the experiences of individuals in the past. This artefactual study will allow a greater understanding of the site of Willow Court and will show how objects from within asylum contexts can represent the experiences of individuals living in these institutions.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2: A Unique Asylum

An exploration of the historical background of the mental asylum system in Tasmania, pioneered by Willow Court, and the context of life in the Ladies' Cottage.

Chapter 3: At the Crossroads of Research

A literature review of research from diverse fields which allows us to understand behaviour and significance in institutional contexts, particularly mental institutions.

Chapter 4: Methods

An overview of the methods used to recover and analyse the LCARCH collection.

Chapter 5: Results

The results of analysis of the LCARCH collection.

Chapter 6: A Unique Experience

Discussion of what the results of this analysis mean, and what these contribute to our understanding of experiences of mental asylums in the past.

Chapter 2: A Unique Asylum

The development of the mental health system in Tasmania, and Willow Court, was influenced by its colonial setting and the institutional systems popular in the United Kingdom. Being the first purpose-built mental health facility in the Australian colonies, and therefore evolving over 130 years, Willow Court faced a unique situation as it struggled to meet the expectations of the twentieth century with an infrastructure built in the nineteenth. The continued operation of this asylum until the twenty-first century has also limited the work able to be done at this site.

The Tasmanian Asylum Context

The Tasmanian asylum system was based on the wider concept of moral therapy, where patients were healed through a system and environment designed to improve their morality and character (Piddock 2016, 2007; Logan 2017). At Willow Court, this care was guided by several documents outlining the duties of asylum staff (Asylum Commissioners 1856; Anonymous 1921). Coleborne (2012:81) highlighted that, as the colonies began to deal with the issue of mental illness, they faced complications: "Mental health authorities were puzzled by the growing incidence of insanity in the colonial populations over time, and found it challenging to accommodate them, in both a literal and a metaphorical sense". Public attitudes towards the mentally ill in Tasmania are highlighted by the statement by Gowlland (1981:vii):

> It could well be a strange observation to make, but the writer has no doubt of its truth, - that there exists amongst many Tasmanians, varying degrees of fear of having contact with the patients in the, now, Royal Derwent Hospital, New Norfolk … As we see, to be committed to the New Norfolk Lunatic Asylum many years back, must have been a particularly shattering experience. The poor general construction, and the dingy, run-down appearance of the wards, would have, at least, filled the newly arrived

> patients with a sense of doom. We can almost imagine them praying, "- - goodbye God, - I'm in the New Norfolk Asylum.

One issue within the early asylum system was the tension surrounding responsibilities: to what extent were the families of individuals and the state responsible for the mentally ill (Coleborne 2009:308-311)? This debate impacted the asylum system in the colonies in several ways, which are visible within the structures of Willow Court. The first was the desire to introduce paying patients to supplement the budget of these facilities, which in turn led to greater segregation of patients according to gender and social class (Coleborne 2009:311-312). In her study Coleborne (2009:310) examined four mental asylums from colonial contexts in Australia with these common characteristics: all were close to an urban population centre, were operating as mental asylums by the 1860s, and had large patient catchment areas. Willow Court also fits these criteria and reflects these wider trends. Both government and public attitudes towards mental illness influenced beliefs about the treatment of patients, and how this could be achieved in this context.

Attitudes towards mental illness in colonial contexts influenced the asylum system in Tasmania, particularly in terms of how power and gender roles and expectations affected the experiences of women in the system, and these fit into wider historical debates about the nature of mental illness particularly for women. For example, Crabbe (1966:4) identified that "communication between the sexes was said to be effectively guarded against, but this, in view of later events, was probably wishful thinking". Other researchers have also identified some of the ways in which life at Willow Court was characterised by segregation, with buildings and work systems being designed to keep different sexes and social classes separate. Auld et al. (2018:6) suggested that this segregation was designed not only to separate, but to reinforce gender and class norms (see also Coleborne 2012:94). In 19th

century society, mental illness was seen as a threat, particularly when it originated with female patients: “This ‘threat’ was embodied by the sometimes violent or disruptive female asylum inmate, but also by the physically weak and demoralised figure of the insane woman whose responsibilities to home, husband, and family could not be met” (Coleborne 2012:84). Such systems dominated attitudes to female mental illness up until the mid-twentieth century, such that gender stereotypes and conformity to these, as well as segregation, were still heavily embedded parts of the mental asylum system in Australia. It was only in the late twentieth century that the United Nations Principles for the Protection of Persons with Mental Illness suggested that conformity or non-conformity to societal expectations or values should not be a factor in diagnosing mental illness (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1992:96).

During the Second World War asylums and individuals living with mental illness in Tasmania were governed by two different acts: the *Mental Deficiency Act 1920* and the *Mental Hospitals Act 1939.* These defined the rights and responsibilities of different parties, including institutions, individuals and the government, when caring for, or dealing with, individuals defined as mentally ill. The titling of these acts, aside from their contents, reveals that government attitudes continued to perceive mental illness as a threat, and something which needed to be isolated. Attitudes from within the asylum itself appear to contradict this, however, with Gowlland stating that in 1944:

> Dr. Brothers stressed the fact that a mental hospital was no longer an asylum in which unwanted and anti-social citizens were shut away for the term of their natural life, but it should be regarded as a hospital in which mental illnesses could be treated and cured. He said modern methods of treatment could do a great deal even in the present institution, but much more could be done if the surroundings were made more congenial and

> patients were given facilities to rehabilitate themselves. (Gowlland 1981:161)

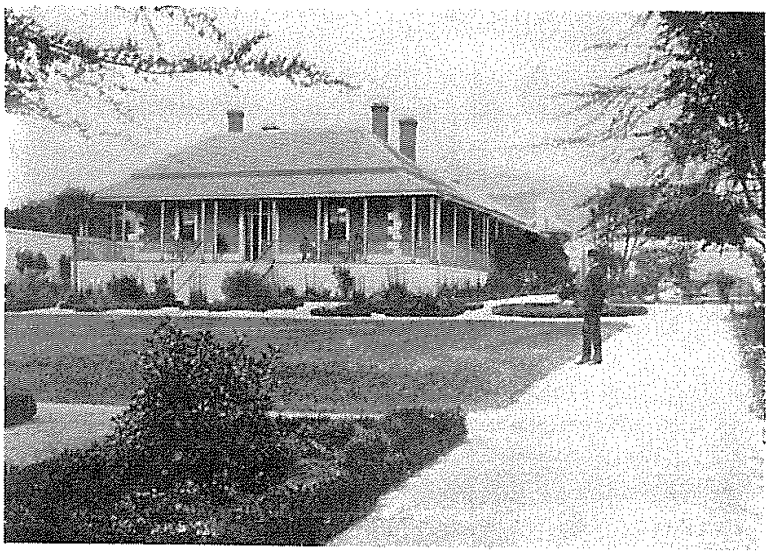
Internal segregation of patients was still seen as essential to the asylum system, however, (Gowlland 1981:162). All these principles and attitudes had an impact on the development of Willow Court as an asylum, and the systems which it instituted to help the mentally ill, but also the fears in local communities of being sent either 'down South' or 'up the river' to New Norfolk (Ratcliff and Kirkby 2001:129-130).

Willow Court: The First Asylum

Willow Court was originally built as a colonial invalid and surgical hospital to serve the needs of the Tasmanian colony and improve health facilities for convicts with physical ailments, with the first patients admitted on the 2nd of June 1827 (Godden and Mackay 1992:9; Gowlland 1981:1; Parton 1977:3). However, by 1828, the facilities were already described as insufficient and miserable (Gowlland 1981:3-4). Kamphuis suggested that, despite the limited facilities during its operation as a colonial hospital:

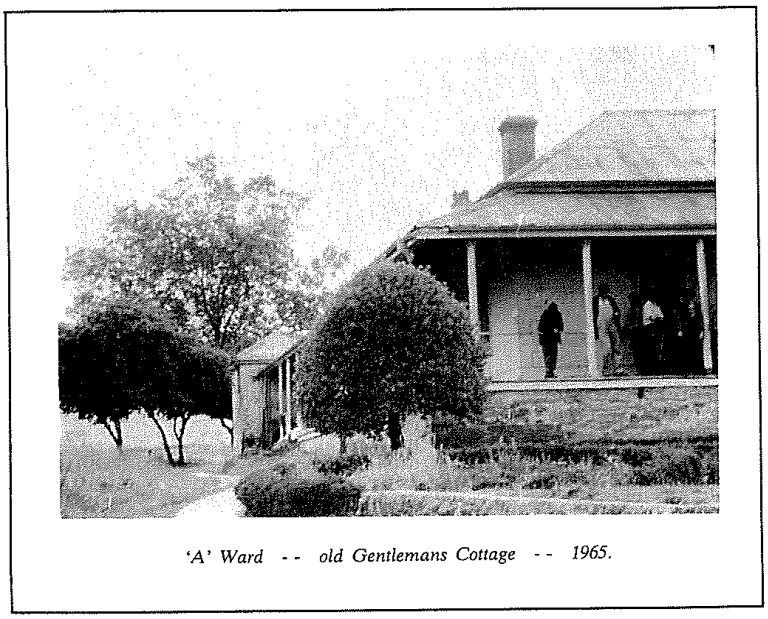
> Meticulous note-taking and regular visits from the attending doctor were routine features of every patient's experience at New Norfolk Hospital. Any alteration in an inmate's condition was carefully recorded, and any changes in diet or treatment noted. Convalescent patients were enlisted to check on seriously ill inmates, and duly notified nurses or doctors if a fellow patient experienced any unexpected deterioration. (Kamphuis 2011:391)

The first 'lunatic' patient was admitted in 1829 (Parton 1977:3). From 1830-1831 the Barracks building was constructed, with proposals for a purpose-built lunatic asylum being made in 1831 (Godden and Mackay 1992:14). Two years later this was fulfilled, and the facility began the transition from hospital to asylum: "The addition to the hospital for the accommodation of lunatics in 1833 was the first colonial accommodation specifically designed as an asylum… After a few years however insane patients were sent there and it



A. — Gentlemen's Cottage, A Ward.

Figure 6: Gentlemens' Cottage 1913, from Gowlland (1981:131).



'A' Ward -- old Gentlemans Cottage -- 1965.

Figure 7: Gentlemens' Cottage 1965, from Gowlland (1981:i).

gradually became limited to that class" (Godden and Mackay 1992:14). In 1833 records indicate that 16 male and four female 'lunatics' were occupying this facility, with early calls to allow greater gender segregation already occurring (Gowlland 1981:21-22). Patient numbers increased rapidly, jumping from 109 to 300 patients between 1834 and 1836 (Godden and Mackay 1992:17). This led to the introduction of one of the features typifying colonial asylums, which was the desire to ensure all patients who were capable of contributing financially to their own care did so because of financial concerns (Gowlland 1981:24-25). Another solution to the problem of overcrowding was that in 1848 the facility was converted to cater solely for the care of mentally ill patients, with all other patients being transferred elsewhere (Gowlland 1981:43). In 1855 the responsibility for the site was transferred to the colonial government from Britain (Parton 1977:4), with more calls being made in this year for better facilities to allow greater separation of patients,

including calls for residences to house 'superior' male and female patients (i.e. paying ones), and facilities for the 'worst' female patients displaying violent behaviours (Gowlland 1981:49-51). These requests were made again in 1859 by Bishop Robert M. Wilson, who suggested that the facilities were not suitably separating patients (Godden and Mackay 1992:19). As a result of this, and because of the constant problems of overcrowding, new buildings continued to be constructed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The construction of the Gentlemens' Cottage in 1859 (Figures 6 and 7) and the Ladies' Cottage in 1868 (Figures 9-11) were part of this, as they were specifically built in response to the calls for facilities for 'superior' paying patients (Godden and Mackay 1992:23).

The hospital also suffered during the wars of the twentieth century because of the limitations these placed on funding and staff. Patient numbers during these periods can be seen in Figure 8. Specifically during the Second World War due to the increase in patient numbers and a reduction in staff numbers, including some more experienced staff and doctors, the asylum was under greater pressure to care for patients adequately (Crabbe 1966:54-55; Gowlland 1981:159). This was made more difficult by the range of patients in the asylum and the range of conditions experienced by patients which were

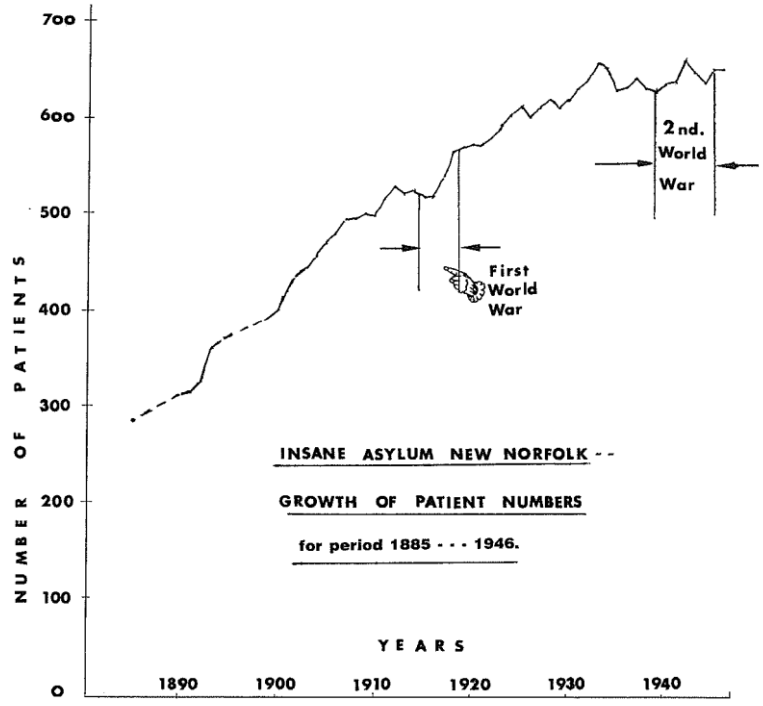


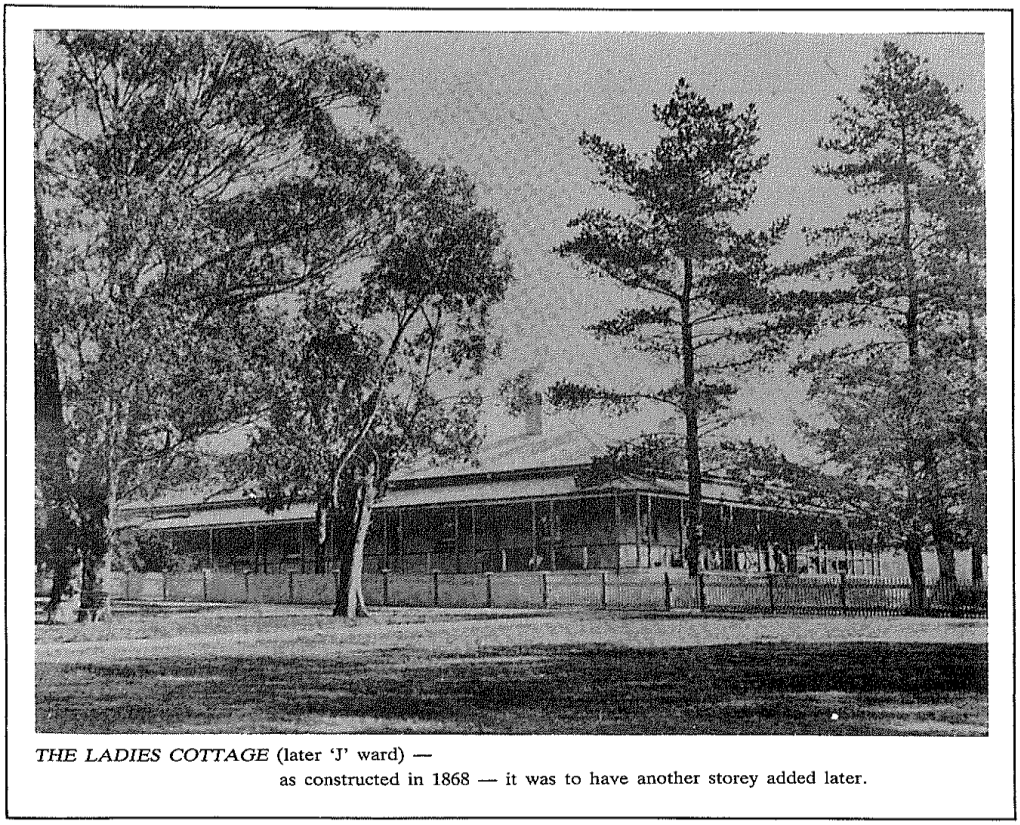
Figure 8: Patient numbers at Willow Court Asylum 1885-1946, from Gowlland (1981:161).

described using politically charged language reflecting attitudes to mental illness at the time (Fox 2008:128-129).

The Ladies' Cottage: 'Ladies' in the Asylum System

How to best cater for middle-class, female patients in the nineteenth century was a particular problem in the Tasmanian colony because of the lack of private asylums to cater for this section of society and limited alternatives to this, as reported in a Commissioners' Report on the asylum facilities in 1865:

> They are, therefore, either kept at home, -- a daily source of pain, and an incentive sometimes to disease in constitutions prone to it, and themselves the victims of ignorant, capricious, and mischievous treatment, -- or they are sent to the hospital at New Norfolk to be mingled indiscriminately with other patients whose very different antecedents and associations fret and humiliate them, and this precisely most in those lucid intervals which otherwise would afford an opening to skill and kindness to operate with a restorative effect. (Gowlland 1981:61).



THE LADIES COTTAGE (later 'J' ward) —
as constructed in 1868 — it was to have another storey added later.

Figure 9: Ladies Cottage as built, from Gowlland (1981:61).

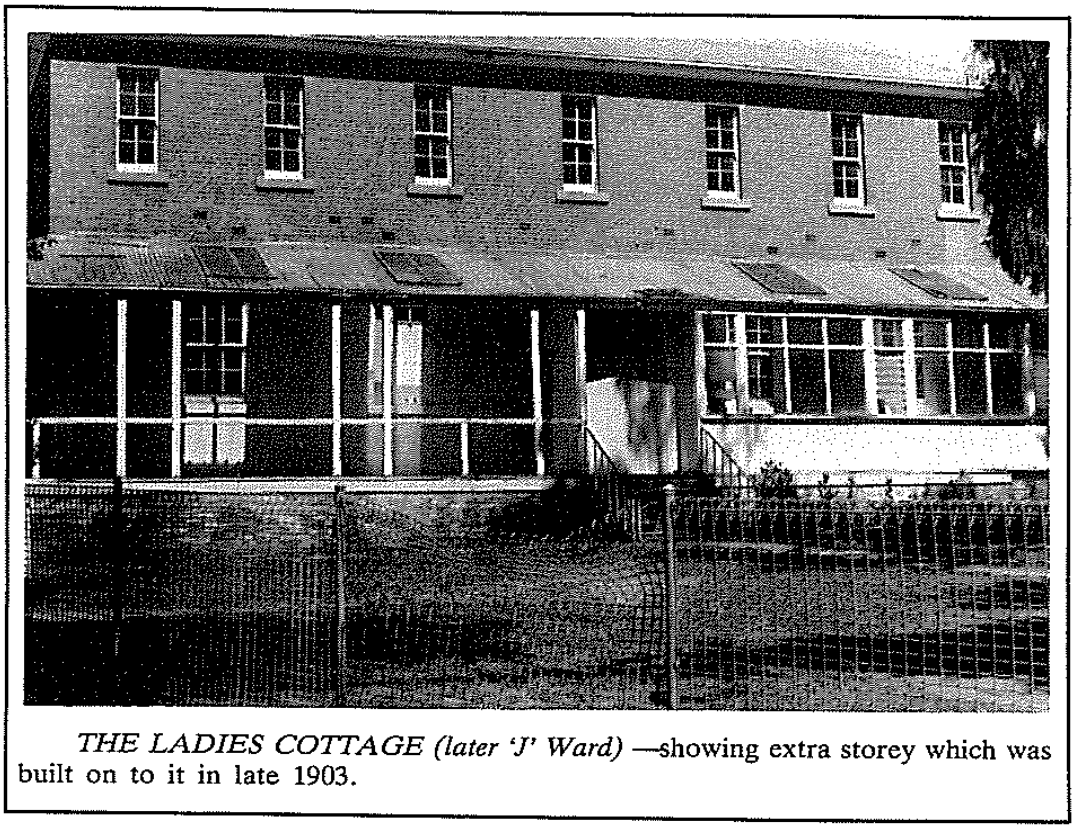
The original building was a single storey structure (Figure 9) completed in 1869. In 1888 a description of the building appeared in the local Hobart newspaper the *Mercury*:

> The ladies' cottage, in the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, is pleasantly situated, facing the east, with a garden in front. … the cottage … is a model of neatness and cleanliness. A wide and airy hall or passage extends right through the centre of the building. In front on either hand are the dining and drawing rooms, in the latter of which there is a piano for the use of patients. Bedrooms for patients and attendants and padded cells open right and left from the hall, also at the lower end the kitchen and bathrooms. The rooms are comfortably furnished, lofty and well ventilated, and the whole building thoroughly well adapted to the purpose for which it is used. A covered verandah which runs around three sides adds considerably to the appearance of the cottage and the comfort of the inmates. In this part of the institution there are at present 18 patients, who are attended by two nurses on day duty and one at night. The cooking for the ladies is done at the kitchen in the Cottage. (The Mercury 2 February 1888)

A similar description ran in the *Tasmanian News* (3 December 1895) a few years later:

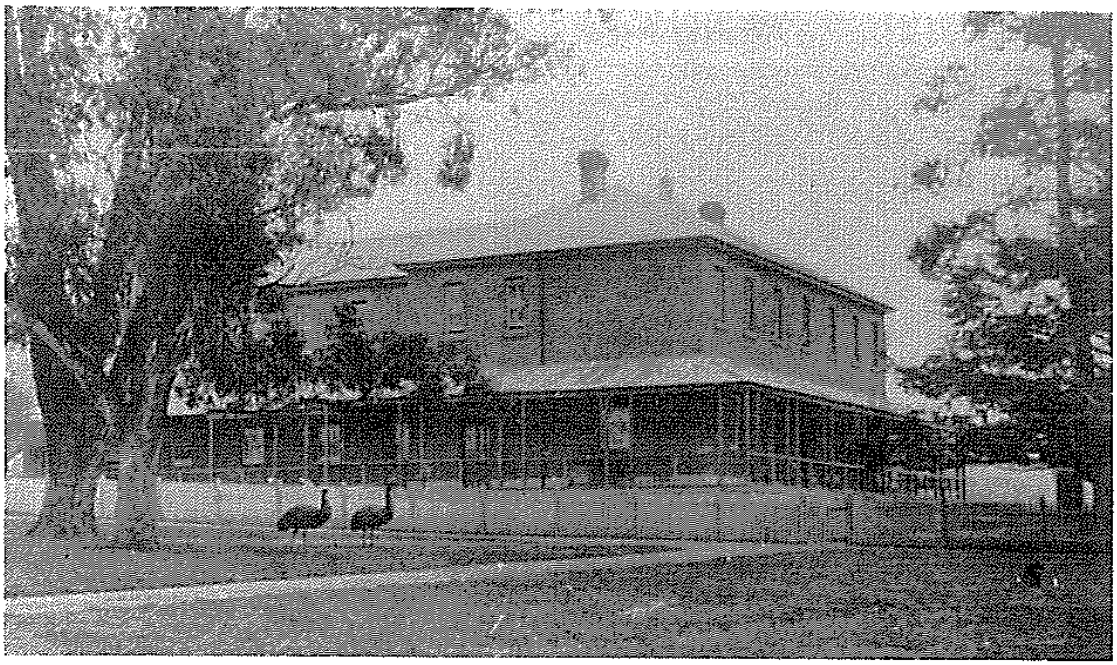
> Passing down a well-looked-after path, we came to the ladies' cottage, where those inmates whose friends pay for them are lodged. Their sleeping and sitting apartments and their diet are naturally better than the others, while in the front room is a magnificent Brussels square, which sets the sitting room to advantage. The dormitories are arranged in like manner to the opposite sex, the same care being taken of the various kinds of mania … A verandah runs right round this building, from which a splendid view of the surrounding Derwent Valley scenery can be obtained. The sleeping apartments in the main buildings are after the men's, the only difference being that the quilts are different so as to separate the bedding when in the wash.

In 1903 a second storey was added, allowing the building to accommodate an extra 25 patients, and later photographs (Figures 10 and 11) show this and the enclosed veranda (Godden and Mackay 1992:23; Gowlland 1981:118). Unfortunately, these are the only photographs that exist of this building and no records exist to indicate precisely when the veranda was enclosed.



THE LADIES COTTAGE (later 'J' Ward) —showing extra storey which was built on to it in late 1903.

Figure 11: Ladies Cottage with 2nd storey, from Gowlland (1981:119).



D. — Ladies Cottage, J Ward.
Note the free roaming emus in the Hospital grounds.

Figure 10: Ladies Cottage, from Gowlland (1981:132).

Previous Archaeological Work

Because of the long period of operation of this asylum, archaeological work there has been restricted. Early work involved architectural studies of the site working primarily from plans in order to understand the asylum as a product of the colonial institutional system (Piddock 2007). However, in recent years it has been re-explored as a valuable site to help our understanding of mental asylums through examining artefacts as a representation of the lives of individuals.

Susan Piddock (2007), as part of her doctoral research, examined only the architectural plans of buildings at Willow Court because excavation was not possible at this time. Using a comparative framework to compare the reality of asylums to the ideal institution envisioned by the government and reformers, Piddock found that Willow Court did not adhere to the ideal model, even though recommendations for this and adaptations to the complex were made throughout its history to attempt to improve the environment and render it effective as a curative space for patients (Piddock 2007:154-156, 218).

Since the commencement of work by Flinders University in 2015 more research has been done into the artefactual material remaining at this site, as well as the buildings themselves (Auld 2017; Auld et al. 2018; Burke et al. 2016b; Burke and Haas 2016; Logan 2017). These studies have looked at assemblages from different parts of the asylum and concluded that further work was necessary (Auld 2017:70; Burke and Haas 2016:29; Logan 2017:76). These investigations used different approaches to understand the asylum context and how artefacts represented patients' experiences.

Logan (2017:67-75) examined an assemblage from the Barracks building at Willow Court and considered how this represented both confinement and care at the facility. Logan's

(2017:3-4) study in part looked at diet through the faunal assemblage, as well as how the underfloor assemblage from three rooms might represent what he referred to as the 'underlife' at the asylum, expressing resistance to the complete control which institutions attempted to exert.

Both Burke and Haas (2016:3) and Auld (2017:1,57) examined the Ladies' Cottage assemblage and considered the behaviours which could have contributed to its formation, as well as how these could represent resistance (Auld 2017:2, 68; Burke and Haas 2016:27-29). The work by Burke and Haas (2016:4) highlighted the segregated nature of patients' lives at Willow Court, and also the range of materials represented by the evidence of 'underlife' discovered at the Ladies' Cottage (Figures 12 and 13), but without contextualising this collection it is difficult for more conclusions to be drawn. The preliminary analysis of these 2013 materials revealed that these were predominantly fabric, with some other ephemeral and personal items, and that the dates peaked from the 1920s-1940s.

In the research by Auld, three aprons from the Ladies' Cottage Collection were considered in further detail, and were used to construct object biographies considering the manufacture, use, decay and conservation of these objects (Auld 2017:13). This also considered how women's experiences of institutionalisation were impacted by gender constructs in the nineteenth century, and what these behaviours might have represented as links to the outside world, as well as being a way for patients to exercise control over their own lives and identities (Auld et al. 2018:6, 16; Auld 2017). Auld was restricted in what she could say to the three items she chose to examine in detail, however, so her ability to extrapolate to the wider collection was limited and focussed on conservation and individual object biographies rather than interpreting the collection to understand the experiences of this

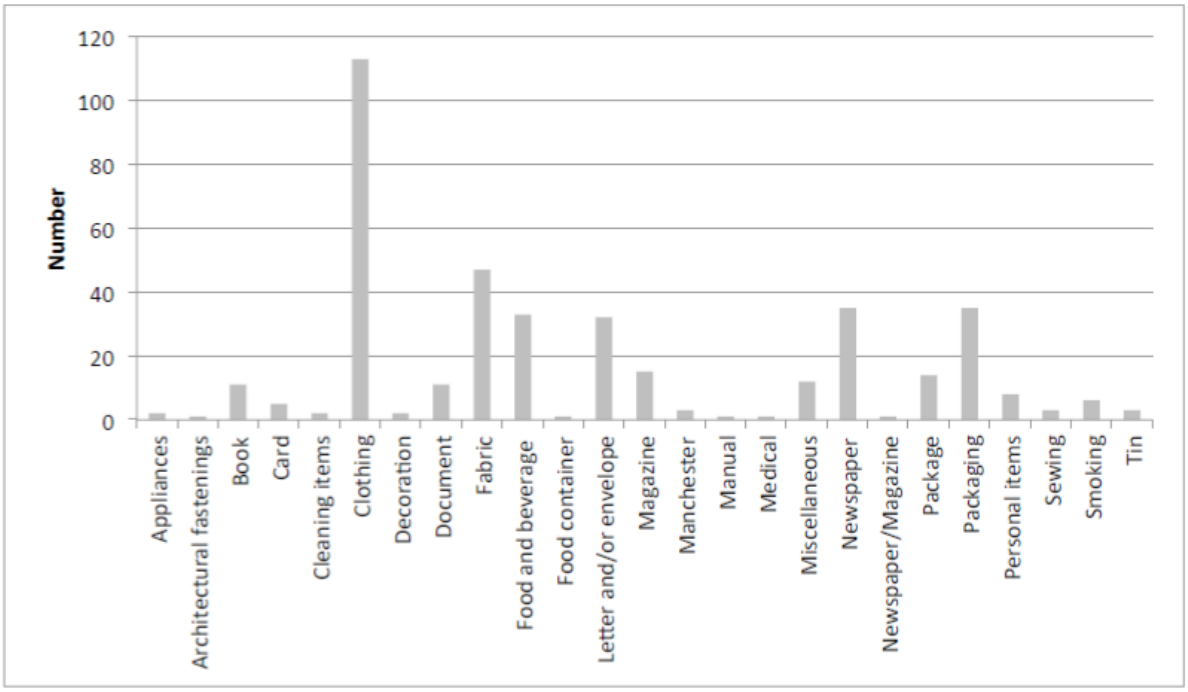


Figure 13: Assemblage makeup of Ladies' Cottage collection, from Burke and Haas (2016:7).

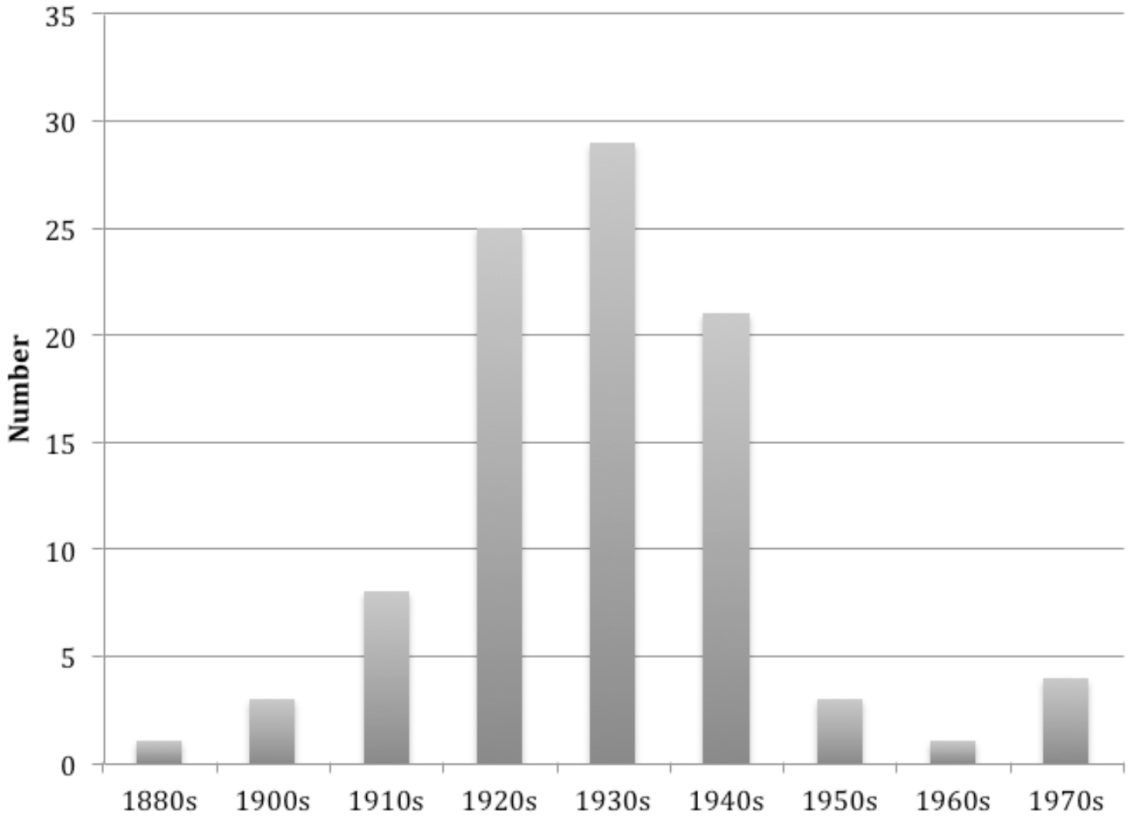


Figure 12: Date range for Ladies' Cottage collection, from Burke and Haas (2016:8).

individual. By providing context for the underfloor materials at the Ladies' Cottage and considering these at a larger scale, more will be able to be said about the experiences of whoever collected and compiled it.

The Ladies' Cottage at Willow Court emerged from a particular context in the development of the Tasmanian colonial asylum system, that was heavily influenced by attitudes towards gender and mental illness. The asylum environment in the mid-twentieth century, to which the Ladies' Cottage Collection was predominantly dated, continued to be influenced by these aspects; therefore, at this time existed as a highly segregated and controlled environment designed for the moral improvement of patients by controlling all aspects of their lives. Through more in-depth study of the archaeology at this site, a greater understanding of what life was like for patients is possible.

Chapter 3: At the Crossroads of Research

Mental health and 'deviance' in society has been researched in many ways and through different frameworks and disciplines. However, despite this, a satisfactory framework for understanding artefacts recovered from an asylum context has not been developed to allow researchers to understand how objects might reflect both the behaviours and illnesses of individuals and how this is different to the intended experience of patients within the system. As a result, the archaeological study of asylums finds itself at the crossroads of a number of research areas. Figure 14 shows the overlapping fields of research that are pertinent to studying the LCARCH collection.

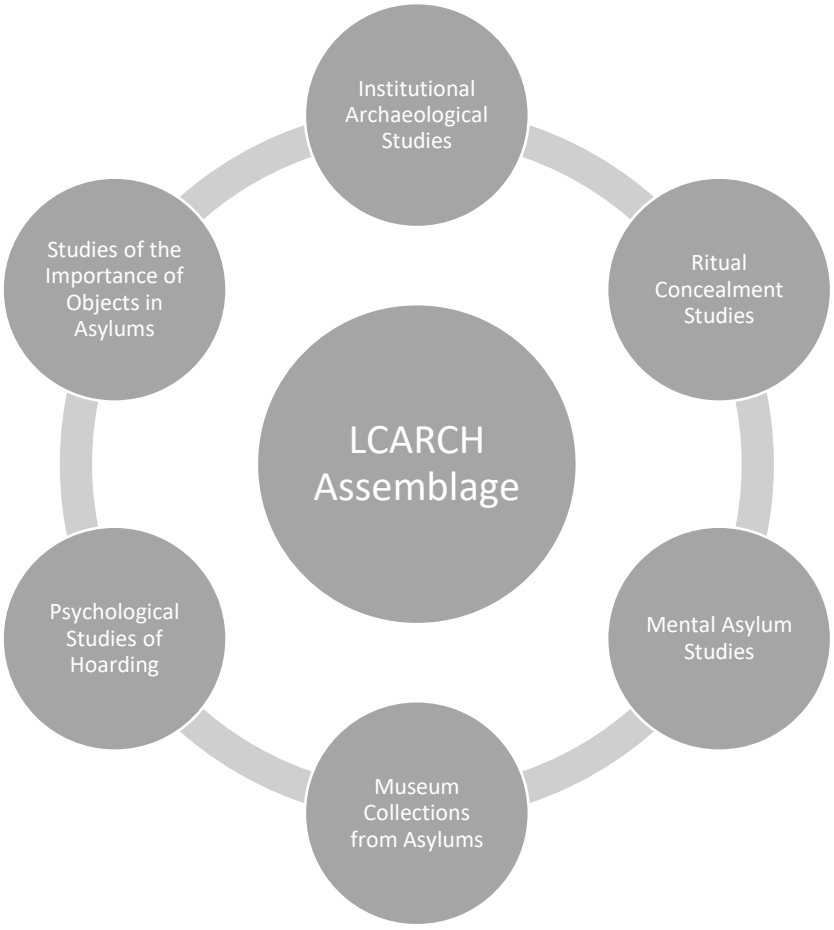


Figure 14: Literature relevant to Ladies Cottage collection.

Institutional Archaeological Studies

Institutional studies within archaeology have considered destitute asylums (Casella 2007; Davies 2013a, 2013b; Davies et al. 2013; Piddock 1996, 2001b, 2011; Spencer-Wood 2009), hospitals (Coleborne 2009; Fenelly and Newman 2017; Flexner 2010), schools (Casella 2007; Lindauer 2009; Rotman 2009), and prisons (Bush 2009; Casella 1999a, 1999b, 2007, 2016, 2013). These studies and researchers have been instrumental in expanding our knowledge of institutional systems around the world and the lives of individuals within these systems, however within this continues to exist gaps in our understanding of institutional sites, particularly in our understanding of mental institutions.

The earliest studies within institutional archaeology looked at religious sites, such as missions in North America, in order to understand life and gender roles (Baugher 2009:6-7). Feminist and gender theory have had a significant influence on such work, given that institutional contexts are often highly gendered environments (Piddock 2007:8). Not surprisingly, historical studies of institutions have been similarly influenced by gender studies and feminism (Coleborne 2007, 2015; Coleborne and Mackinnon 2003).

From the initial research questions coming from this feminist research, however, many approaches have been used to understand the archaeology of institutions and applied to institutional studies. As institutional studies have expanded within archaeology, a greater variety of sites have been considered in this research including of prisons (Bush 2009; Casella 1999a, 1999b, 2007, 2013, 2016), schools (Casella 2007; Lindauer 2009; Rotman 2009) and hospitals (Coleborne 2009; Fenelly and Newman 2017; Flexner 2010). These institutional contexts share some features with mental asylums in terms of the structure and control imposed on everyday life, and the stigma attached to these institutions, but

mental asylums also have unique aspects which make them difficult to study. One significant aspect which is common across institutional contexts is the aspect of uneven power dynamics created between those working at institutions and the individuals who are confined inside them. Studying power dynamics exclusively, however, does not allow researchers to understand the lives of individuals in the past, but only the structures and systems they lived within, so approaches allowing us to understand the perspectives of individuals are important (De Cunzo 2009:207).

Mental Asylum Studies

Explicit archaeological studies of mental asylums have had a much narrower scope, focussing on architectural and spatial site analysis (Allmond 2016; Longhurst 2017, 2015; Newman 2015; Piddock 2001a, 2007), and other approaches such as studying site-formation (Beisaw 2009) and inmate graffiti (Casella 2009) have also relied on the study of standing structures rather than artefacts.

Internationally Topp et al. (2007) used spatial and architectural analysis to consider a number of global debates relating to asylums, including their creation and design, use, role as structures reinforcing power relationships, and the differences between these buildings in different cultures, stating that they aimed to "to contribute to an understanding of these buildings and spaces as complex social, cultural, and medical phenomena" (Topp et al. 2007:2). This volume considered the complexity of asylum environments as being spaces individuals did interact with, rather than being completely rigid in their role and form.

At Purdysburn Asylum in Northern Ireland, Allmond (2016) considered how light and darkness were used to create an environment for the moral treatment of patients. The concept of moral treatment was developed in the nineteenth century around the concept of

improving the quality of life of individuals by improving their morality, linking these ideas both to situation and to moral character. Allmond (2016:19-21) suggested that, since light was linked to moral therapy, further study would be able to identify trends showing how the amount and quality of light afforded through window size and placement varied throughout the asylum, as control of and exposure to light was perceived to be an aspect of patients' treatment.

Newman (2015) examined the architectural qualities of the Brooke House, a mental Asylum in Hackney, London, as part of which she also considered the collection of architectural fragments associated with the interior finishes of the building, including cornice moulding, ceiling fragments, decorative brackets and panelling. She argued that these features represented attempts to improve this built environment throughout the eighteenth century (Newman 2015:160-166). The only non-architectural artefact examined in this study was a porcelain tea set, which was argued to emphasise the connections to domesticity and familiarity with everyday life which the architecture attempted to create as well (Newman 2015:167-170). Newman (2015:171) concluded that "early institutions were not simply passive structures designed to accommodate the mad, but encapsulated the individual practices and ideologies that lay the foundations for future treatment, management and later confinement of this sector of society".

Within Australia, Piddock is probably the best-known proponent of asylum studies, beginning with her work in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Piddock 1996, 2001b, 2011) focusing on the Adelaide Destitute Asylum. Although not a mental asylum, her project considered how this institution was a product of a larger system imported from Britain and designed for moral improvement. She concluded that debates about moral therapy and

English workhouse models were imported by English colonisers, leading to this influencing the establishment of these systems in Australia as they were adapted to the colonial context (Piddock 1996:415-416). Most importantly, her method focussed solely on archival sources and site plans since excavated material from this site was limited (Piddock 1996:14). This approach of examining only architectural plans has heavily influenced subsequent studies of asylum environments, both by herself and others.

Piddock's later extensive research (2001a, 2007, 2016), considered several mental asylum sites across Australia from their available plans, including the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum in Western Australia (Piddock 2016), Parkside Asylum in South Australia (Piddock 2007, 2001a) and Willow Court (Piddock 2001a, 2007). Throughout these studies Piddock considered the ideal of asylums created by British reformers and compared this model to its colonial counterparts to see how the reality differed from the ideal. One area which clearly demonstrated these ideals was in the segregation of patients based on gender and class, for example through the construction of the Ladies' Cottage, though this was always held back by practical issues such as funding (Piddock 2007:171, 178, 180, 203-211).

Similarly, Longhurst (2011, 2015, 2017) adopted Piddock's method to complete a number of studies considering Australian mental asylums. Her most recent (2017) compared site plans and physical architectural elements to show how buildings from four different sites in New South Wales built throughout the nineteenth century (Tarban Creek Lunatic Asylum 1838, Paramatta Convict Lunatic and Invalid Establishment 1849, Callan Park Hospital for the Insane 1878, Kenmore Hospital for the Insane 1895) reflected changes within the institutional mental health care system. From this she argued that, though these were established and designed with good intentions for helping individuals, overcrowding and

changing care practices quickly made existing structures obsolete (Longhurst 2017:18). Her work has also considered how the built environment was used intentionally in the care of patients, but contended that it did not always reflect official desires, and therefore shaped the agency of individuals within this system (Longhurst 2011, 2015).

By focussing solely on elements of architecture—whether architectural finishes and actual standing structures or simply architectural plans—these studies have been able to learn about the asylum system and daily life in these asylums but have not been able to look at the perspective of the individuals. The structures themselves overwhelmingly represent the official intent of the system, albeit one that is shaped by the economic, social and other realities of place and time. Further, concentrating solely on plans prevents the recognition of how these spaces may have been subverted, altered, or rejected though the day to day realities of lived experience. This bias in part derives from the difficulty in understanding objects from asylum contexts either because of limited assemblages, the continued operation of facilities or issues with interpreting the objects themselves (Longhurst 2017:2; Piddock 2016:562).

Museum Collections from Mental Asylums

In contrast, research from disciplines outside archaeology has considered more closely the role artefacts play in asylum contexts and to the mentally ill. One area where artefacts from mental asylums have been explicitly studied is in the context of museum collections, including those which represent patients' lives outside the asylum (Penney and Stastny 2009), the institutional system and medical practice (Coleborne 2001, 2014; Willis 1995), and the experiences and activities of patients within the asylum (Blakeman et al. 2013; Röske 2014).

Penney and Stastny (2009) considered ten suitcases of personal possessions of asylum patients selected from 427 suitcases discovered in the attic of the Willard State Hospital in New York. These suitcases were recovered, investigated, catalogued, the owners identified, and archival research undertaken in collaboration with researchers from the New York State Museum (Penney and Stastny 2009:17-18; The Community Consortium Inc. 2015). Penney and Stastny (2009) then used this material to tell the story of some of the patients. They highlighted what was, in their view, the importance of this project, stating:

> We had spent our careers speaking up for living people who got caught up in the mental health system. What possessed us to spend almost a decade in pursuit of the life stories of ordinary people who had died many years before, and whose stories would be told largely in our own words and not theirs? Why piece together biographies from remnants when there are living people perfectly capable of telling their stories and having them recorded for posterity? A keenness to rummage through personal effects undisturbed by their owners was certainly a factor; another was the knowledge that these individuals never had the chance to tell their stories outside the confines of psychiatry. (Penney and Stastny 2009:19)

This showed their desire to represent the voices of these patients, using a multidisciplinary framework of archival and artefact research to tell their stories (Penney and Stastny 2009). The objects in this study (Penney and Stastny 2009), however, were from suitcases taken from patients on their arrival at the asylum, so have the potential to illuminate the lives of patients outside but not inside the institution.

The exhibit in the Museum of Victoria based around the Brothers Collection of artefacts from Victorian mental asylums focussed primarily on medical apparatus, and was limited in its ability to tell the stories of patients because the objects represented the medical perspective (Coleborne 2001, 2014; Willis 1995). Charles Brothers was an English doctor who, in the mid-twentieth century, visited Australian mental asylums as part of his

involvement with the Mental Hygiene Authority, and during this time collected objects from different Victorian institutions (Willis 1995:111). He was the tenth Superintendent of Willow Court from 1936 to 1946 (Gowlland 1981:xv), although seemingly did not collect any material from this site. His collection included a number of artefacts representing the institutional system, and was displayed first at the Mental Health Library then subsequently at the Museum of Victoria (Willis 1995:111-112). Curators attempted to create a social history through these objects to present a broad perspective of what institutional life was like, stating : "Objects need to be placed in context, interpreted with regard to their function, symbolism, relationship to other objects and the ways they were actually used" (Willis 1995:112). From 1998-1999 an exhibit on the history of mental health was created from the Brothers Collection, and highlighted how even the display of these artefacts—separated from us by the physical barrier of glass, without the potential for interaction—creates negative connotations, as does as the choice of the types of artefacts we display (Coleborne 2001:105-106, 112, 2014:163). However, Coleborne (2001:107; 2014:164) also highlighted that more recent exhibits considering mental health and its history have been more positive, and suggested that this is due to attempts to represent the voices of patients rather than the perspective of the institutional system.

Other studies have considered objects which patients in asylums interacted with in order to consider the experiences of individuals. Some of these projects have specifically considered embroidered objects and how they represent the experiences of patients in mental institution contexts (Blakeman et al. 2013; Röske 2014). Blakeman et al. (2013:39) examined the textual embroidery on a tea towel done by a patient in an asylum in Missouri in the 1960s. According to them, "The patient was encouraged to embroider as a means of therapy, termed industrial therapy at the time, and was given scraps of thread by the

hospital staff" (Blakeman et al. 2013:39). This object was then researched by talking to two individuals who worked at the asylum at the time the tea towel was embroidered, to learn about the patient who did this (Blakeman et al. 2013:39). The text of the embroidery itself was analysed through coding (Blakeman et al. 2013:40-41) to show that, though in many cases it had ambiguous meaning, analysis of this object still allowed an understanding of the individual herself:

> A few instances are present that might reveal symptoms characteristic of schizophrenia, such as indistinguishable concepts and minor disorganization, but they are comparatively few. Music and emotion of all types dominate this piece of embroidery, and elements of the embroidery reveal a sense of person, place, and time. It is a reminder that patients should be viewed first as individual human beings; diagnoses do not define the individual. (Blakeman et al. 2013:44)

Another object embroidered with text is the jacket belonging to Agnes Richter, which is currently exhibited in the Museum Prinzhorn Collection at Heidelberg, in Germany (Röske 2014:228). This jacket was made from linen and woollen fabric, and embroidered with text which appeared to have had an autobiographical function (Röske 2014:228). However, due to the difficulty of interpreting Richter's handwriting and the old German writing, alongside damage to the embroidery itself, very little of the text could be interpreted (Röske 2014:228). Instead, research was done into the life of Agnes Richter to illuminate this jacket (Röske 2014:228). The researcher could not draw conclusions about the significance of this article, but concluded, "However one turns the puzzling facts, it becomes clear that this textile was more to Richter than just a garment. With it she expressed symbolically her situation" (Röske 2014:228). These rare and unusual objects allowed patients' voices to speak from asylum contexts, but also demonstrated the difficulty of interpreting items that are direct reflections of interior mental states that often differ markedly from the norm.

Studies of the Importance of Objects

A small number of studies have considered the importance and role that objects and ownership of objects plays within asylum contexts, both historical and modern. Hamlett and Hoskins (2013) explored the significance that clothing held within asylum systems. Using documentary sources, including patients' accounts, internal asylum documents and external reports, they considered three county asylums in England from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:96-97). They also considered current academic debates about the role that clothing plays in self-expression or the suppression of this, particularly in different institutional contexts (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:97). Hamlett and Hoskins (2013:97-104) considered the extent to which asylum clothing during this period was intended as a uniform, and how attitudes towards this standardisation of dress changed over time. They concluded that, though institutional clothing was intended to be part of the moral reform and improvement of patients, uniforms came to be condemned within the institutional system, even though practical considerations often led to the continuation of standardised dress (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:113). They also found that small acts of self-expression through the wearing of clothing, such as handkerchiefs, handmade collars and rings, were often encouraged and could be used by patients to express personal identity and emphasise links to the outside world. They could thus be seen as a form of resistance in this context (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:113). Other forms of subversive behaviour were also considered, such as destroying or ripping clothing, but they acknowledged that it is difficult to determine whether this behaviour represented resistance to the institutional system or a symptom of mental illness (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:113). While Hamlett and Hoskins acknowledged that an artefact-focussed, multi-disciplinary approach could be beneficial for research because "the study of material culture offers a

new way of assessing patient experiences and of considering the difficult question of patient agency" (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:95), their study was restricted because it adopted a documentary perspective on these issues.

Parrott (2005) also considered the role of clothing and home furnishings in asylum contexts by undertaking an ethnographic study of a medium security psychiatric facility for men and women in Britain. Parrott found that clothing was used by patients in many ways. For example, some appeared to give up on their personal appearance because of their situation, seeing being intentional about this as unnecessary within the asylum context (Parrott 2005:259). Others used clothing to emphasise links to the outside world by wearing items purchased by friends and family or by keeping up with fashions and brands, or through emphasising continuity through their clothing (Parrott 2005:257-258). However, Parrott (2005:258) also found that, for some individuals, having to get other people to purchase their clothing for them emphasised their own restrictions and reliance on others. While some patients went to extreme lengths to express individuality through their clothing, when it came to furnishings and decorating their living spaces most patients did not do this at all in order to emphasise the temporality of their living situation. In other words, they considered home furnishing as a project to plan for the future when they had a home outside the asylum (Parrott 2005:250-255). Parrott's study was limited by not being able to consider an artefactual assemblage, but concluded that possessions played a key role in resistance in the asylum context, concluding that "the institution has successfully made itself the principal value of concern to the patients, but one defined by opposition" (Parrott 2005:260).

Taken together, these studies demonstrate that objects probably held different importance for patients within an asylum context because of the limitations placed on them within this system. These papers raise directly the issues of subversion and resistance within an institutional system, and how these can be identified, particularly when behaviours can also be interpreted as the result of mental illness. Just as clothing provided patients with a physical reminder of links to the outside world, other objects, such as letters, newspapers, and other small personal items, could have functioned in this way.

Psychological Studies of Hoarding

Given that the Ladies' Cottage collection is both an assemblage of objects available within the institution and the end-product of a complicated series of processes, including collection, selection, assembly and disposal, it is appropriate to consider some wider frameworks for understanding these kinds of behaviours. One parallel may be the behaviours of hoarding, collecting and kleptomania, psychological approaches to which have focussed on living populations and how these behaviours can be identified. Stein et al. (1999:36) considered how understandings of hoarding and collecting have changed throughout the twentieth century, highlighting how early attempts to understand this behaviour used Freud's framework, which classified collecting and hoarding behaviours as characteristics of the "anal character". Stein et al. (1999:39-40) criticised the Freudian approach, suggesting that this framework could not distinguish between what could be considered normal collecting behaviours and abnormal hoarding behaviours.

Moving away from this framework, practitioners began to view hoarding behaviours as symptoms of other disorders, including Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD) and Obsessive Compulsive Personality Disorder (OCPD) (Stein et al. 1999:35). Stein et al. (1999:35) defined

hoarding as “the acquisition of, and failure to discard, possessions that are useless or have limited value”. They also identified that research into this topic had focussed on the justification of hoarding behaviours, the demographics of hoarding symptoms, and the range of materials commonly hoarded, while the prevalence of hoarding behaviours, their treatment and the factors influencing the presence of this behaviour were understudied (Stein et al. 1999:36-39, 43).

The first coherent definition of hoarding was developed in 1996 and focussed on features which distinguished it from normal collecting, including the fact that hoarded objects were valueless and the behaviour was detrimental to hoarders’ regular lives (Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols 2012:167). Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols (2012:167) argued that, over time, as this definition was refined and the symptoms studied in greater depth, hoarding came to be understood as a standalone disorder, rather than a symptom of other mental conditions. This was officially recognised by the inclusion of Hoarding Disorder (HD) in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association 2013)(see Table 1). In order to be diagnosed with HD, individuals need to fulfil all of these criteria and are then described according to the two relevant specifiers (Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols 2012:174). Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols (2012:166) characterised this new approach as part of a new way of thinking about behaviours in psychology, but also identified a concern some practitioners had that this approach might lead to the misdiagnosis of normal behaviours as disorders. To explore this further Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols (2012:165, 168) reviewed the literature about hoarding and collecting to consider whether the new definition of HD captured normal collecting behaviours. The results showed that it was unlikely for normal collecting behaviours to be misdiagnosed as HD, but they did acknowledge that more conclusive results would need to

be based on empirical study (Nordsletten and Mataix-Cols 2012:174).

Table 1: Definition of Hoarding Disorder, from American Psychiatric Association (2013):

Diagnostic Criteria:

A. Persistent difficulty discarding or parting with possessions, regardless of their actual value.
B. This difficulty is due to a perceived need to save the items and to distress associated with discarding them.
C. The difficulty discarding possessions results in the accumulation of possessions that congest and clutter active living areas and substantially compromises their intended use. If living areas are uncluttered, it is only because of the interventions of third parties (e.g., family members, cleaners, authorities).
D. The hoarding causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (including maintaining a safe environment for self and others).
E. The hoarding is not attributable to another medical condition (e.g., brain injury, cerebrovascular disease, Prader-Willi syndrome).
F. The hoarding is not better explained by the symptoms of another mental disorder (e.g., obsessions in obsessive-compulsive disorder, decreased energy in major depressive disorder, delusions in schizophrenia or another psychotic disorder, cognitive deficits in major neurocognitive disorder, restricted interests in autism spectrum disorder).

Specify if:

With excessive acquisition: If difficulty discarding possessions is accompanied by excessive acquisition of items that are not needed or for which there is no available space.

Specify if:

With good or fair insight: The individual recognizes that hoarding-related beliefs and behaviors (pertaining to difficulty discarding items, clutter, or excessive acquisition) are problematic.

With poor insight: The individual is mostly convinced that hoarding-related beliefs and behaviors (pertaining to difficulty discarding items, clutter, or excessive acquisition) are not problematic despite evidence to the contrary

With absent insight/delusional beliefs: The individual is completely convinced that hoarding-related beliefs and behaviors (pertaining to difficulty discarding items, clutter, or excessive acquisition) are not problematic despite evidence to the contrary.

Building on this initial research, Nordsletten et al. (2013) performed a study on behalf of Kings College London and the Institute of Psychiatry London into hoarders and self-identified collectors and assessed their conformity to the DSM-5 criteria. This study

confirmed their earlier conclusions by highlighting that collectors were unlikely to be misdiagnosed as hoarders because they displayed quite different behaviours (Nordsletten et al. 2013:235). Table 2 highlights the traits identified as collecting behaviours which were not exhibited by hoarders, including organisation and research related to their objects.

Table 2: Differences between collecting and Hoarding Disorder, from Nordsletten et al. (2013:235):

Feature:	Normative Collecting:	Hoarding Disorder:
Object Content	Very focussed; objects bound by a cohesive theme and the accumulation contains a more narrow range of object categories (mean≈6 in current sample)	Objects lack a cohesive theme and the accumulation contains a large number of different object categories (mean≈15 in current sample)
Acquisition Process	Structured; characterized by structured stages including planning, hunting, and organizing the collected items	Unstructured; characterized by a lack of advanced planning, focused searching and/or organization
Excessive Acquisition	Possible; less common; estimates in current study indicate 40% endorse the specifier, the majority of which is based in the acquisition of bought items	Very common; estimates consistently in excess of 80% and extend to both free and bought items
Level of Organization	High, rooms functional and collected items arranged, stored or displayed in an orderly fashion	Low, the functionality of rooms is compromised by the presence of disorganized clutter
Presence of Distress	Rare; for the majority of collectors the activity is pleasurable, though for a minority (n=2 in the current study) collecting may result in distress, not necessarily due to clutter (e.g. finances)	Very common; as distress is critical for diagnosis, all those with HD reported distress. In all cases this distress resulted from the presence of excessive clutter
Social Impairment	Minimal; collectors show high rates of marriage and the majority report forming and engaging in social relationships as part of their collecting behavior	Severe; hoarders consistently associated with low rates of marriage, increased rates of relationship conflict and withdrawal
Occupational Interference	Rare; scores on objective measures, such as the WSAS, indicate collectors do not experience significant impairment at work	Common; occupational impairment increases with hoarding severity and the current sample showed significantly higher levels of work-based impairment

Nordsletten et al. (2013) also highlighted the differences in the types of objects acquired by collectors and hoarders, which are summarised in Table 3. Why particular objects are acquired by hoarders was not explored in this study and there were a number of other limitations identified by the researchers, including the restriction of a small sample size, the fact that the participants were self-identified hoarders and collectors, the limited sample size in terms of the demographic the study represented, and the fact that home visits were

not possible for all participants to assess comparative visual levels of home clutter (Nordsletten et al. 2013:236).

Table 3: Objects acquired by hoarders and collectors, following Nordsletten et al. (2013:233):

	Collectors (N=20)	Hoarders (N=29)
Newspapers	2	23
Letters	5	26
Magazines	10	24
Notes	8	23
Receipts	1	21
Bills	0	24
Cardboard Boxes	5	17
Plastic Packages	2	12
Plastic Bags	3	19
Pens	5	23
Old Clothes	11	28
Clothing Rags	0	8
Wool/Fabric	4	8
Beads	3	4
Pins	1	7
Old Medication	2	19
Animals/Pets	0	1
Tickets	3	19
Wire	2	7
Tools	4	9
Videos/CDs/etc	12	25
Old Food etc	0	9

A study by Cefalu (2015) considered the representation and romanticisation of hoarding behaviours in popular media, and also the difference between the significance of objects for collectors and hoarders. Cefalu (2015:217-219) suggested that in the USA reporting around extreme cases of hoarding have been sensationalised to capture the public imagination, and that this public interest has obscured the boundary between normal collecting or untidiness and pathological hoarding. However, the most significant differences between these behaviours are the reasons objects were acquired by hoarders and the associations attached to them (Cefalu 2015:220-221). Reasons given for hoarding were not linked to

intrinsic value, leading hoarders to acquire often valueless objects: “hoarded objects are saved because the hoarder believes, however erroneously, that the objects will eventually prove important or meaningful” (Cefalu 2015:221). Cefalu (2015:222-225) also argued that hoarders acquire objects for the objects themselves and do not attach external meanings or significance to them, unlike collectors, who attach meaning to objects through processes of selection, care, research and categorisation. This is significant, as it allows an understanding of the process of hoarding and what is happening in the minds of individuals displaying these behaviours by demonstrating that the ‘value’ of these objects does not have to be justified or established according to external criteria, but can be given to otherwise worthless objects within the logic of the hoarder. Hoarding within the framework of HD does not serve any function but is a pathological symptom of the disorder.

Ritual Concealment Studies

The closest archaeological parallels to studies of hoarding are ritual concealment studies, though these come from very different social and behavioural contexts and are influenced by different criteria of value. These studies have considered a number of reasons why hiding objects has significance for individuals in different contexts.

In the Australia ritual concealment has been considered as an aspect of folk superstition, identifying a variety of practices such as “the deliberate placement of clothing, footwear and other objects into the void spaces of buildings, the symbolic associations of various everyday objects and materials, and the use of written and material charms across a variety of domestic and public contexts” (Burke et al. 2016a:46). This, they argued could have been the continuation of practices from other cultures such as British (Burke et al. 2016a:45-46; see also Houlbrook 2013). Burke et al. (2016a:46-47) suggested, however, that ritual

practice has been largely ignored by Australian historical archaeologists, and focussed on the need to identify it in the archaeological record, considering the significance of this, as well as the actions themselves, although these are difficult to interpret. They considered that in identifying ritual practice, the types of artefacts present, and the lack of other explanation for their existence in that location can indicate ritual practice (Burke et al. 2016a:47).

Berggren and Stutz (2010:173-174) considered how archaeologists use understandings of ritual in the past, and debates within ritual study, such as subjectivity of interpretation, the universality of ritual, models within ritual practice and the nature of the archaeological record. They focussed on two prehistoric case studies from Sweden in order to consider how it might be possible to identify rituals in the archaeological record that are visible through concealed objects surviving through practices such as burial (Berggren and Stutz 2010). In defining ritual, they also utilised the term 'structured depositions', which is descriptive rather than interpretive. They defined this as indicating:

> … that the archaeological situation is formed according to certain patterns. The repetitive pattern indicates that the actions that created the material followed a certain form. We may say that the actions were formalized. But how do we interpret this formalism? We cannot assume they were rituals. (Berggren and Stutz 2010:185)

Following practice theory, this assumes that it is possible to understand through the archaeological record what actions or process led to the formation of a site, but not necessarily the meaning behind this for the individual or group performing these actions (Berggren and Stutz 2010:191-193). For similar reasons, Oras (2012:65) argued for the use of the term 'wealth deposit' rather than hoard as a less "interpretationally loaded" term. Joy (2016) also discussed the importance of studying the processes and actions leading to the

deposition of hoards, considering Iron Age hoards from Norfolk in the UK. She stated that "Rather than becoming fixated on hoarding as a practice, hoards can alternatively be viewed as a convenient window for understanding processes of collection and accumulation that may otherwise remain invisible because collections did not enter the archaeological record" (Joy 2016:239-240). However, she defined hoards as being formed by a single deposition event, stating that the collection of these objects took up more time than the actual deposition and should also be considered (Joy 2016:240).

A final case study is the example of Miss Smith's chaise longue, which had a number of textile and other items concealed within it (Circuit 2017). This study considered the overlap between different areas of theory to understand the significance of this collection, including "the practice of concealment, material culture and social history, and … methods for investigating objects in order to make connections with human history" (Circuit 2017:3). Within this collection (Circuit 2017:48-49) identified what she termed 'bundles', which were multiple pieces of textiles wound together then tied with a strip of fabric. In considering the significance of these, Circuit remarked "It could have been her [Miss Smith's] spiritual midden, it could have doubled as a time capsule, the folding and winding of the bundles could also have served as part of a ritual" (Circuit 2017:149). These interpretations show the difficulty of understanding artefact significance in concealment situations, but also introduced several possible interpretations, as well as highlighting particular pre-depositional activities that added to the complexity and behavioural repertoire of the resulting assemblage. The international studies also utilised terminology and definitions which focussed on the nature of the behaviours themselves and their repeated nature as ritual, rather than on associations or meanings put onto these behaviours.

By considering different approaches to understanding mental health and institutionalisation through the fields of history, psychology and archaeology it is possible to see different ways of understanding how behaviours and concepts of behavioural deviance can be identified in the past. This body of literature has demonstrated that in different contexts, the reactions of individuals have led to behaviours such as concealment that should not be seen as deviant but are instead an expression of personal ritual. Within asylum contexts these behaviours are more likely to be viewed as deviant or subversive, but are often the exercising of individuals agency within these controlling systems.

The remaining chapters of this thesis will consider archival and artefactual materials relevant to this collection to understand the behaviours which contributed to its formation and the range of selection, collection and deposition behaviours exhibited through these artefacts. This will allow consideration of the extent to which this assemblage represents resistance within the institutional system or a pathological symptom of an experience of mental illness, as well as reveal some insights into the wider lives of the patients within the Ladies' Cottage during the Second World War.

Chapter 4: Methods

The LCARCH Collection was not buried, unlike many archaeological assemblages, but located on the ground surface beneath the enclosed veranda of the Ladies' Cottage building. This presented an unusual circumstance which required creativity in order to ensure the systematic removal of these artefacts, but also created unique challenges for recording artefact locations, cleaning artefacts and cataloguing. Not only was the veranda space restrictive and difficult to access through the trap door entrance, space limitations also meant that recording spatial data through means such as a total station or baseline offset was impossible. Restrictions on movement and lighting also challenged researchers. Once removed the objects were stored at Flinders University, then cleaned and catalogued.

Figure 15: LCARCH mound, photograph by Lynley Wallis, February 2017

Retrieval of Artefacts

The LCARCH mound is shown in Figure 15. Figure 16 shows this area after the removal of the contents. Although the raised profile of the mound was distinctive, it had few clear edges, merging in some areas into a general background scatter. Instead, the edges of the mound were determined arbitrarily. Collection included all items above ground level (the 'mound') and stopped wherever there were bare patches of earth or the density of material considerably lessened. Because of the restrictions of working in this space, this area was photographed to show the location of the mound, but no other spatial recording could be performed.

In order to represent the spatial relationships between objects they were collected as closely as possible in order from the top of the mound to the base. Artefacts were collected

Figure 16: Area after removal of LCARCH artefacts, photograph by Lynley Wallis February 2017

Figure 17: Removal and bagging of artefacts, photograph by Heather Burke February 2017

and placed in paper bags labelled with the date, site name, bag number (numbered in ascending order from the top to the bottom of the mound), and any additional location notes to indicate spatial information (see Figure 17). This resulted in the recovery of 75 bags (see Appendix 1). As can be seen from the table in Appendix 1, four bags were not found during examination of the collection, as during removal these numbers were unintentionally omitted. The 75 bags catalogued contained different numbers of artefacts because collection was defined by location rather than quantity (i.e. artefacts from the same location or level were collected together), with bag contents ranging from 1-26 artefacts in each individual bag.

Cleaning and Cataloguing of Artefacts

After removal, the LCARCH collection was stored in environmentally controlled storage in the Archaeology Lab at Flinders University in Adelaide. The artefacts were cleaned and

catalogued with the assistance of student volunteers from the Flinders University Archaeology Department.

Cleaning

All artefacts were dry cleaned due to the nature of the collection and its fragility. Each one was cleaned using small paint brushes and dental picks, where necessary, to remove surface dirt. If artefacts were folded, these were unfolded as much as possible without causing damage, although objects identified as packages and parcels were left intact until cataloguing. Cleaned artefacts were then returned to their original bags. All artefacts from a single bag were kept together throughout all stages of the process

Cataloguing

Cataloguing was undertaken using the program FileMaker Pro. Different recording forms were used to record relevant variables. Some variables were recorded for all artefact types: catalogue number, context, size (height, length, width/thickness as a box size), date, completeness (as a percentage range), condition (good, fair, or poor), and conservation issues. Catalogue numbers were assigned automatically by the FileMaker software during cataloguing, and the complete catalogue included artefacts LCARCH001-LCARCH441.

Size was recorded as the largest measurement (deemed length) and width as the largest measurement perpendicular to this. Measurements were recorded in 0.5cm increments, and measurements smaller than 0.5cm were recorded as 0.5cm. Completeness was recorded for objects in the fabric and ephemera categories, according to percentage ranges: 0-25%, 26-50%, 51-75%, 76-99%, or complete. Due to their nature, artefacts categorised as packages, parcels, threads, and fabric scraps were recorded as complete because these artefacts represented behaviours of dividing and recombining artefacts. In other words,

these objects were specifically chosen for their fragmented state rather than having been fragmented after deposition and the new object created with them was considered to be complete. Newspaper pieces were recorded as the percentage of the size of a single complete page. Other artefacts were recorded as a percentage of the complete original artefact. Completeness was not recorded for objects in the buttons and miscellaneous categories, as these already represented complete objects.

Other variables differed according to the type of artefact being recorded, which fell into one of four categories: ephemera, fabric, buttons or miscellaneous.

Ephemera

The ephemera category consisted of paper-based artefacts, such as newspapers, magazines, letters/envelopes, food/consumable packaging and packages/parcels that were predominantly paper. Because of the range of objects included in this category, artefacts were first classified according to type, then relevant attributes recorded as follows (Table 4).

Table 4: Attributes recorded for ephemera artefacts in LCARCH catalogue:

Newspaper/Magazine:	Letter/Envelope:	Food/Consumables Packaging:	Package/Parcel:
Genre (Advertisement, Story, Article)	Addressee	Material	Tie type
Paper/Magazine Title	Sender	Maker	Thickness
Printing (Black & White or Colour)	Sender's Address	Contents	Number of layers
Subject/ Key Words	Letter Transcript		

Also recorded for all ephemera was the presence or absence of added writing, such as hand-written notes.

Fabric

This included all fabric articles, such as towels, tea towels, garments, fabric scraps, thread and packages that were predominantly fabric. Variables recorded included: fabric type, colour (and pattern), embroidery (presence or absence, colour, thread type, wording, motifs), additional labels (presence or absence, type, wording) and any visible alterations.

Buttons

The cataloguing of these involved recording material, attachment method (type, eyes/shank structure, manufacture/construction method), motifs, trademarks, thickness and ligne size.

Miscellaneous

This category included all other materials not included in previous categories and included objects such as bones, metal objects, shoes, and pieces of paper. Due to the wide range of objects in this category, fewer variables were recorded for each. Variables included context, description, material, size (length, width, thickness), and any other relevant attributes.

Analysis

In order to understand the relationships between different artefacts, during cataloguing the contexts of artefacts were recorded following the system outlined in Figure 18.

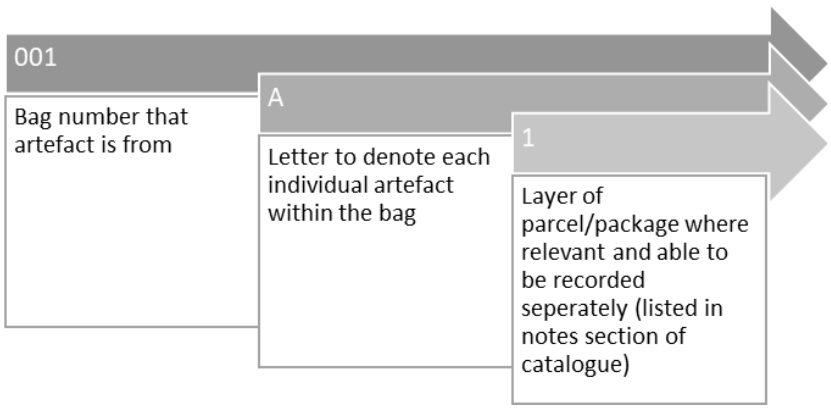


Figure 18: Context labelling system for LCARCH catalogue.

All individual artefacts were recorded separately. Compound objects (such as parcels) were treated as an individual artefact and the contents of each individual layer recorded in the notes section of the recording form in order to keep all of the information together. Where objects conjoined or there was evidence that they were originally one object, these were recorded together as one artefact and this was indicated in the notes section of the form.

Understanding location

The spatial relationship between objects can be understood by following their order of removal and any additional location notes recorded on the bags (See Appendix 1).

Understanding chronology

Due to the quantity of newspapers within the collection these were used to establish a date range. If no direct date was included on the newspaper fragment itself, research on Trove often provided an approximate date for events (for those newspapers not already digitised), or a direct date by identifying the precise page and text.

Understanding ephemera key words

Since the logic behind the collection of these items is unknown and is likely to have been influenced by the collector's particular mental health issues, all objects were catalogued on the assumption that there might have been some deliberate choice being made for their inclusion in the assemblage. In accordance with this hypothesis themes were identified for all newspaper articles using a number of key words to standardise this across the catalogue. In order to understand how common these types of articles and advertisements were in newspapers of the time, another newspaper from the time was examined in order to identify whether the themes discovered in the collection were representative of this time period, or whether the articles selected revealed bias towards particular themes. The

newspaper selected for this comparison was *The Mercury* from Tuesday the 7th of October 1941. This was selected because *The Mercury* was the most common title within the collection and 1941 was the most common year present within the newspapers in this collection; the date was selected at random from this year.

Artefact Storage

In order to preserve these artefacts upon their return to the owners of the Ladies' Cottage, each object was stored individually in a bag or acid free sleeve, with labels with their catalogue number, location description and the date of their cataloguing. Where possible, newspaper pieces were unfolded and stored flat in a single layer. Parcels and packages were re-packaged to their original form, if they had been opened, and stored as a compound artefact.

Archival Analysis

Based upon the names identified in association with the LC collection by Burke and Haas (2016:21-22), archival research was undertaken at the State Archives in Hobart, where records relating to Willow Court are kept. In this collection, records are restricted within 75 years of the current date, but outside this restricted period these are publicly available. This research involved accessing patient files and case books related to several patients who were selected based upon date range and their potential to be the patient involved in assembling this collection.

These records were read to understand the range of mental illnesses represented by the women in Willow Court and the behaviours exhibited by patients. One restriction of this research is that the admission papers and notes related to patients did not indicate which wards they were placed in, so there is no guarantee that any of the female patients for

whom records exist were inhabitants of the Ladies' Cottage, especially since several women's wards existed at Willow Court. As all of the names were derived from objects in the Ladies' Cottage collection, however, means that it is possible that all these women were patients of this ward. Another restriction was the large quantity of these records. Due to these restrictions, only the records of some patients associated with the collection were accessed to identify recurring themes within these, based on which patients' admission dates aligned with the dates for the Ladies' Cottage Collection and which patients were at the asylum for extended periods of time.

Due to the private and personal nature of these records, initials only have been used to identify patients throughout the body of this thesis. However, Appendix 2 contains the full names of the patients which were researched during this archival research.

Summary

Due to the unique nature of the LCARCH collection, several site formation processes need to be considered. Even though this assemblage was located beneath an enclosed veranda, it has been exposed to post-depositional disturbance, including contamination from later artefacts placed or lost under the veranda, insect and rodent damage and interference, water damage and exposure. This led to many of the artefacts being damaged and complicates analysis. The complications of understanding the spatial aspects of this mound also make analysis difficult, although because this represented a discrete pile and objects were removed as systematically as possible following the 'stratigraphy' of the mound, the numbering system can be assumed to represent roughly their sequence of deposition.

By using this and dates obtained from newspapers a timeline can be established for the deposition of the LCARCH collection. Analysis of this particular set of objects also reveals

patterns and illuminates the behaviours which contributed to the formation of this unusual assemblage.

Chapter 5: Results

Analysis and recording of the 440 artefacts making up the LCARCH collection allowed the identification of a number of trends. These will be presented firstly according to general trends and secondly according to the individual artefact categories of ephemera, fabric, buttons, miscellaneous, and packages and parcels. Finally, the archival research will be presented to identify repeated phrases and words within records relating to the asylum to allow this to be connected to the assemblage.

LCARCH Collection

A number of trends were identified within the LCARCH collection. All the objects were items readily available within the asylum context, and were both limited and generic. Of this assemblage, 75.2% was categorised as ephemera, 14.8% fabric, 9.8% miscellaneous objects and 0.2% buttons (Table 5).

Table 5: LCARCH collection categories:

Category	Number	Percentage of Assemblage
Ephemera	331	75.2%
Fabric	65	14.8%
Buttons	1	0.2%
Miscellaneous	43	9.8%
Total	**440**	**100%**

Twenty two percent of objects could be dated to a specific year, a further 5% could be dated to the Second World War (1939-1945), and 73% could not be dated (Table 6).

Table 6: LCARCH collection dating:

Dating	Number	Percentage of Assemblage
Specific year	95	22%
WW2	23	5%
Undated	323	73%
Total	**440**	**100%**

The range for the artefacts dated to a specific year is represented in Figure 19. This shows a peak between the years 1939-1941, within a spread from 1930-1945. Some isolated dates were identified in the 1980s.

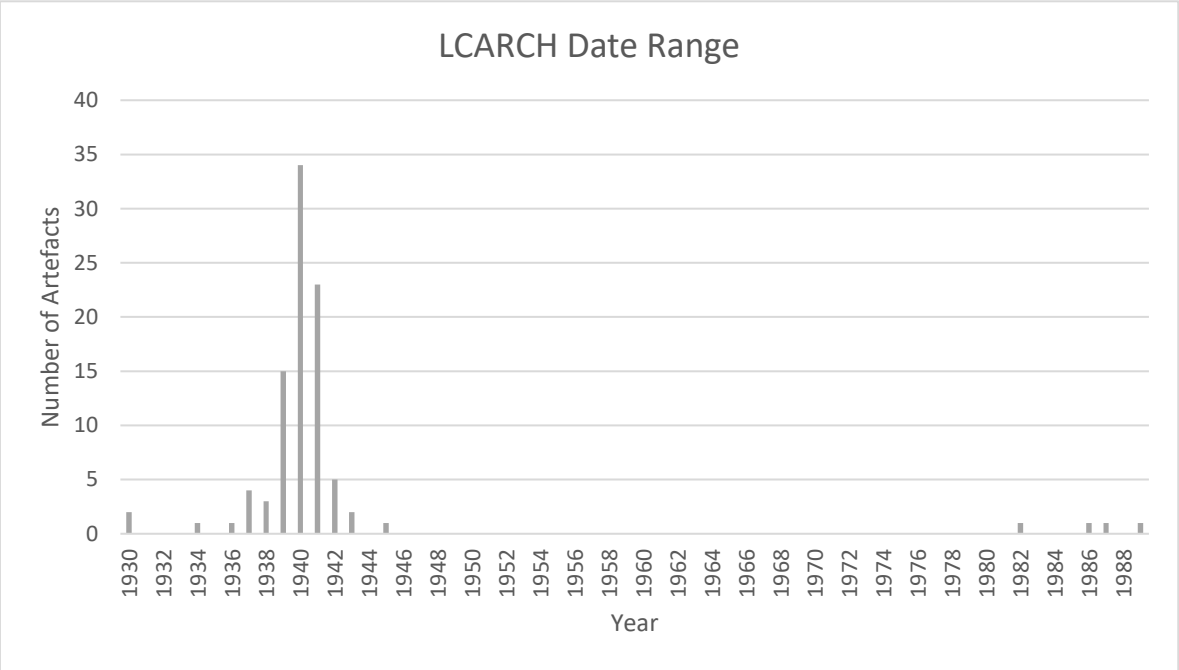


Figure 19: LCARCH collection date range.

Artefact completeness was recorded for the fabric and ephemera categories, but not for the buttons and miscellaneous categories as these were assumed to represent complete objects. The completeness of the different artefact categories and the overall collection can be seen in Table 7. In the fabric category 72% of objects were complete and 18% were 76-99% complete. In contrast, 62% of objects in the ephemera category were only 1-25% complete.

Table 7: LCARCH collection completeness:

	Ephemera		Fabric		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
not recorded	0	0%	0	0%	44	10%
1-25%	205	62%	5	8%	210	48%
26-50%	41	12%	1	2%	42	10%
51-75%	14	4%	0	0%	14	3%
76-99%	22	7%	12	18%	34	8%
complete	49	15%	47	72%	96	22%
Total	**331**		**65**		**440**	

Conservation issues similarly varied across the categories of ephemera, fabric, and miscellaneous (Table 8). Across all categories discolouration or staining was the primary issue affecting the highest number of artefacts.

Table 8: LCARCH collection conservation issues:

Conservation Issue	Ephemera	Fabric	Miscellaneous
Discoloured/Stained	297	59	21
Holes	90	23	3
Brittle	290	34	5
Missing parts	285	41	7
Rat Gnawed	22	1	0
Insect Eaten	13	0	2
Faded	129	34	1
Torn	209	26	6
Water Damaged	86	23	4
Worn	64	22	3
Frayed	4	56	4
Other	13	8	14

The number of issues recorded for individual objects in each category was also recorded (Table 9). On average, fabric objects had the most conservation issues, with each artefact having a mean of five conservation issues. Ephemera had a mean of 4.5 conservation issues, and miscellaneous had the lowest number of conservation issues, with a mean of 1.9.

Table 9: LCARCH collection conservation issues:

Number of Issues	Ephemera	Fabric	Miscellaneous
0	1	0	6
1	1	1	14
2	15	6	15
3	52	9	7
4	102	11	4
5	81	13	0
6	53	9	0
7	25	6	0
8	1	9	0
9	0	1	0
Mean	**4.5**	**5.0**	**1.9**

Table 10 shows the number of artefacts recorded as having good, fair or poor condition in the ephemera and fabric categories. In the ephemera category 26% of items were in poor condition, 69% in fair condition and 5% in good condition. In the fabric category 43% had poor conditions and 8% had good condition, higher than in the ephemera category, and 49% had fair condition (less than the ephemera category). LCARCH073 is an example of an object in poor condition, and is a mass consisting of three fabric scraps and one newspaper fragment that could not be separated due to the high level of water damage (Figure 20).

Figure 20: LCARCH073, newspaper and fabric artefact in poor condition. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Table 10: LCARCH collection condition:

Condition	Ephemera		Fabric	
	Number:	Percentage:	Number:	Percentage:
Poor	86	26%	28	43%
Fair	228	69%	32	49%
Good	17	5%	5	8%

Ephemera

There were 331 artefacts recorded in the ephemera category. As can be seen in Table 11, 76% of this was newspaper and 14% magazines, with these two materials constituting a total of 296 objects. Food and consumables packaging represented 9% of the collection, with five letters and one envelope making up the remainder.

Table 11: Ephemera categories:

Category	Number	Percentage
Newspaper	250	76%
Magazine	46	14%
Food/Consumable wrapper/packaging	29	9%
Letter	5	2%
Envelope	1	<1%

Alterations made to artefacts during use or deposition were also recorded for ephemera and packages and parcels (Figure 21). The most common alteration was tearing, which was present in 206 objects. The next most common was incorporation as a package or parcel layer (57 artefacts). Folding was also common (n=148), with the most common folding pattern being smaller than quarters (n=58), then halves (n=48), quarters (n=27), and other folding patterns (n=15). Forty-nine objects exhibited other alterations, including scrunching or crumpling, and being stuck to another object.

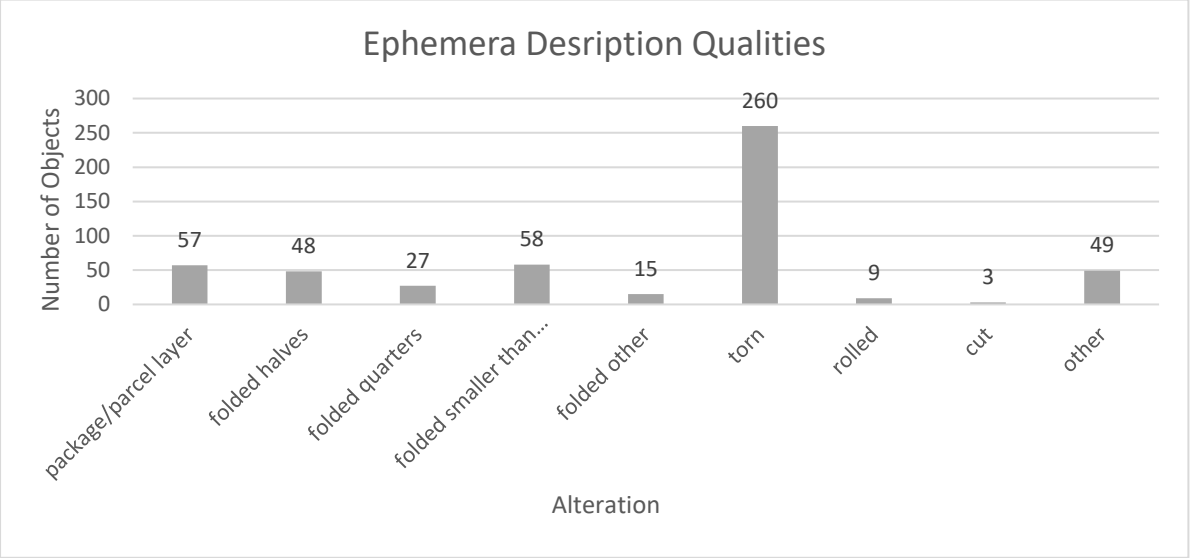


Figure 21: Ephemera description qualities.

Magazine and newspaper artefacts (together termed periodicals) were considered together because the types were very similar. Of these, 252 were black and white pages, and 44 were colour. Five of these had been altered through the addition of writing, such as LCARCH012, which had been annotated unintelligibly in pencil (Figure 22).

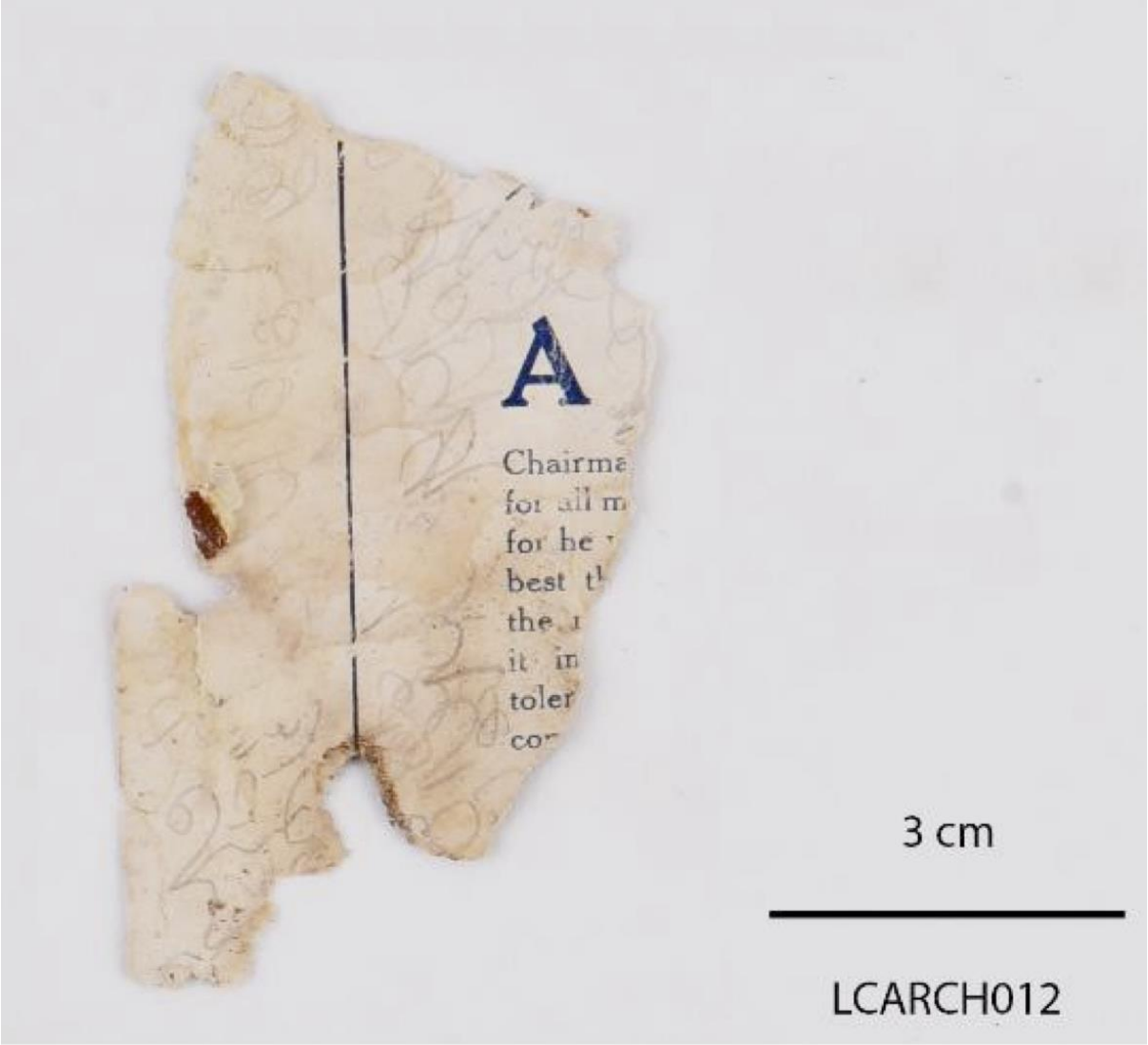


Figure 22: LCARCH012, magazine fragment featuring hand writing. Photography by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

The titles of magazines and newspapers were also recorded (Table 12). Two hundred and twenty-one pieces could not be identified to a particular title. Of those identifiable the highest number were from *The Mercury*, a local Hobart newspaper; 28 pieces from this newspaper were identified. Other Tasmanian newspapers were also represented, such as the *Evening Express Launceston*, *The Saturday Evening Express*, *The Weekly Courier*, and *The*

Examiner. Some fragments from *The Argus,* a Melbourne newspaper, were also identified. Other publications were national, such as *The Australian Women's Weekly, PIX, The Australian Woman's Mirror, The Australian Journal* and *The Inquirer*. International publications were also present, such as the *New Zealand Free Dance Annual, Punch, or the London Charivari* (LCARCH244)(Figures 23 and 24) and *True Story Magazine*, an American publication (LCARCH279)(Figure 25).

Table 12: Ephemera periodical titles:

Newspaper/Magazine Title	Number of Artefacts
Unknown	221
PIX	2
The Mercury	28
The Australian Women's Weekly	12
The Examiner	3
The Australian Woman's Mirror	7
The Inquirer	1
The Australian Journal	1
Woman	6
The New Idea	1
New Zealand Free Dance Annual	1
Cuticura Preparations Catalogue	1
Punch, or the London Charivari	1
Weekly Courier	1
Evening Express Launceston	1
True Story Magazine	1
Dressmaking	1
The Argus	2
The Camera Supplement	1
World Books	1
The Saturday Evening Express	1

Themes were also identified within these publications. Table 13 presents the frequency of each theme within the LCARCH collection compared to the sample newspaper.

Figure 23: LCARCH244, page from Punch. *Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.*

Figure 24: LCARCH244, page from Punch. *Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.*

Figure 25: LCARCH279, page from True Story *magazine. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.*

Table 13: Periodical themes:

Theme	Frequency Count Sample		Frequency count LCARCH	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Advertisement	23	17%	109	17%
World War 2	21	15%	60	9%
Local News	18	13%	56	9%
Health/Beauty	9	7%	54	8%
Classifieds	2	1%	33	5%
Fashion	1	1%	29	5%
Story	0	0%	28	4%
Sport	6	4%	25	4%
Celebrities	0	0%	24	4%
Racing	12	9%	22	3%
Cartoon	3	2%	22	3%
Politics	13	9%	20	3%
Home	0	0%	17	3%
Photographs	2	1%	17	3%
Agriculture	4	3%	15	2%
Food/Recipes	0	0%	12	2%
Entertainment	12	9%	11	2%
Cinema	0	0%	10	2%
Books	0	0%	10	2%
Economics	6	4%	9	2%
Sewing/Knitting	0	0%	9	2%
Horoscopes	0	0%	6	1%
Cars	1	1%	6	1%
Weather	1	1%	5	<1%
Gardening	0	0%	4	<1%
Letters	0	0%	4	<1%
International News	0	0%	4	<1%
Red Cross	0	0%	3	<1%
Transport	3	2%	3	<1%
Women's articles	0	0%	2	<1%
Radio	1	1%	2	<1%
Religion	0	0%	1	<1%
Art	0	0%	1	<1%
History	0	0%	1	<1%
Puzzle	0	0%	1	<1%
Personality Test	0	0%	1	<1%

For both the LCARCH collection and the sample newspaper, advertisements (LCARCH040) (Figure 29) made up 17% of the content. Other significant themes in the collection, which were also present in the sample newspaper, included sport (4%), World War Two (9%), local news (9%), classifieds (5%), health and beauty (8%), racing (3%), politics (3%), and entertainment (2%). The differences in the results between the sample newspaper and the LCARCH collection publications indicate a biased selection leading to their deposition, and examples of these publications can be seen in Figures 26-29.

Figure 26: LCARCH010, an example of WW2 newspaper content. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 27: LCARCH232, an example of WW2 newspaper content. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

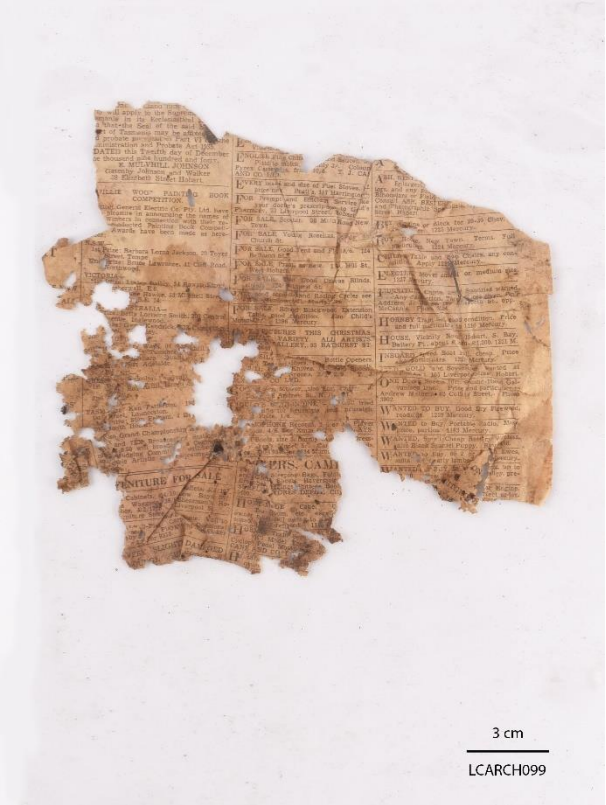


Figure 28: LCARCH099, an example of classified advertisements. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 29: LCARCH040, an example of a health-related advertisement. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Some categories were present only in the LCARCH collection, largely because the sample newspaper only represented one of the titles present in the assemblage. These included fashion (5%), serialised stories (4%), celebrity stories (4%), horoscopes (1%), sewing and knitting patterns (2%), international news (<1%), gardening (<1%), religion (<1%), and history (<1%). Examples of this content can be seen in Figures 30-32.

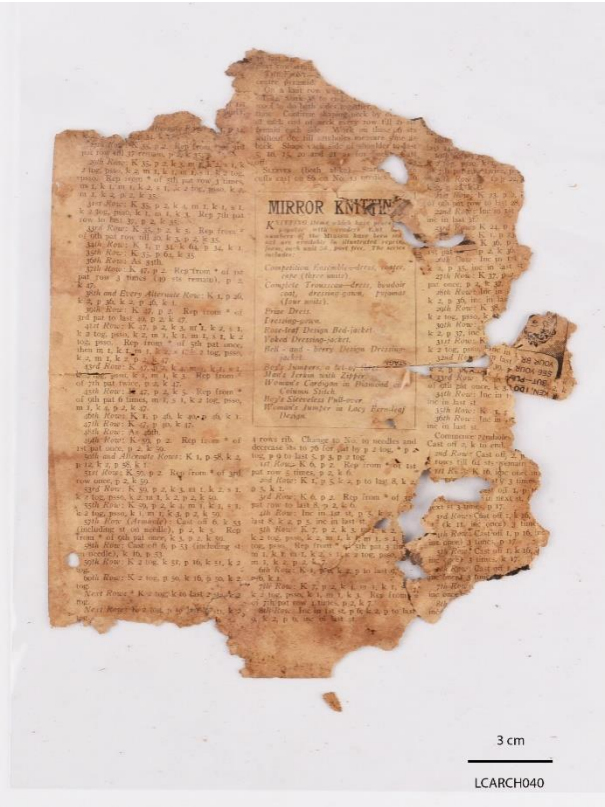


Figure 30: LCARCH040, an example of a knitting pattern in a magazine. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 31: LCARCH311, an example of a serialised story. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 32: LCARCH269, an example of horoscopes in a newspaper. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Twenty-nine objects were catalogued as packaging and wrapping from consumables, from a number of different products (Table 14).

Table 14: Packaging contents:

Contents of Packaging	Number of Artefacts
Unknown	15
Chocolate	2
Sweets	1
Other food	3
Health/Beauty Products	2
Tobacco Products	2
Sewing Products	3
Hardware	1

For fifteen of these the original contents could not be identified. Three objects were other food packaging and two were tobacco packaging; and for these five objects the type of packaging showed that these were modern rubbish contaminating this collection.

Within the identifiable packaging, two were packaging from chocolate (LCARCH035- Figure 33 and LCARCH253- Figure 34).

Figure 33: LCARCH035, chocolate packaging. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 34: LCARCH253, Cadbury chocolate packaging. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

One object was identified as being sweets packaging, one object was identified as packaging from a hardware item, a Yale lock, and three objects were identified as being

packaging from sewing products (LCARCH096)(Figure 35). Two were packaging from health or beauty products (LCARCH036)(Figure 36).

Figure 35: LCARCH096, sewing needles packaging. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 36: LCARCH036, Kolynos dental cream packaging. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

This packaging was made from a range of materials (Figure 37). Seventeen were cardboard, which was the most common material present. Seven were made from ordinary paper (rather than waxed paper), and five were plastic, indicating modern contamination to the collection.

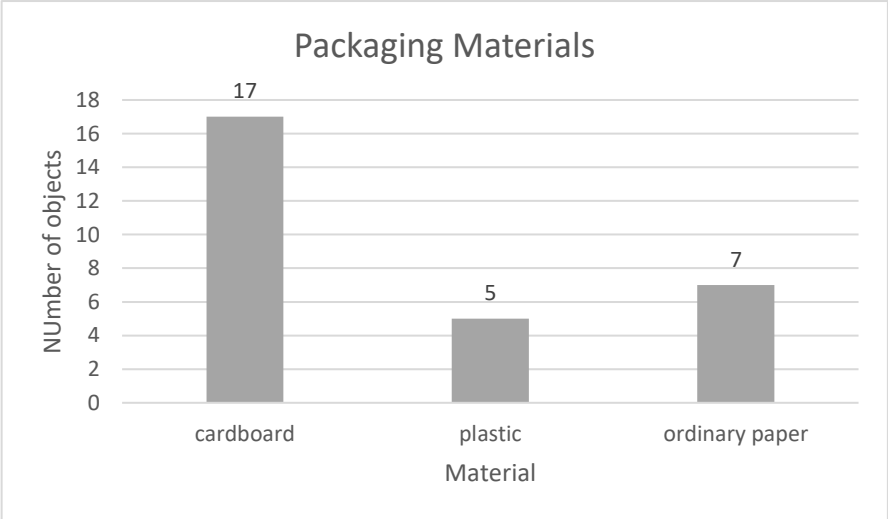


Figure 37: Packaging materials.

There were five letters and one envelope (LCARCH075)(Figure 40) in this assemblage. Of these only one had a complete name 'Mrs V. Kennedy', and appears to be a personal letter to a patient (LCARCH345)(Figure 38). The transcription of the remaining parts of this letter are as such:

> My...Isabel,.....letter....you....thus.....
> your....of....said he...right to put this...the floor...that's that) they would let him out of bed until they get the leather vest for him and think they have had to send away for it- I guess he will lie...
> They get it I think I told you about aunty Jess making a coronation robe the brau... 7 yards... well the lady...wore it... ..rowwed where... the robe to...she was ..... p.s all your relations send love to you and are blessed to know you are well and told them you were fine.

Two other letters had incomplete names such as LCARCH246 to 'Miss Step…', which appears to be written to the asylum regarding maintenance payments for a patient. LCARCH064 also had an incomplete name, being written to 'Mrs R. T…' and with the letterhead of the Mercury Newspaper Office in Hobart (Figure 39).

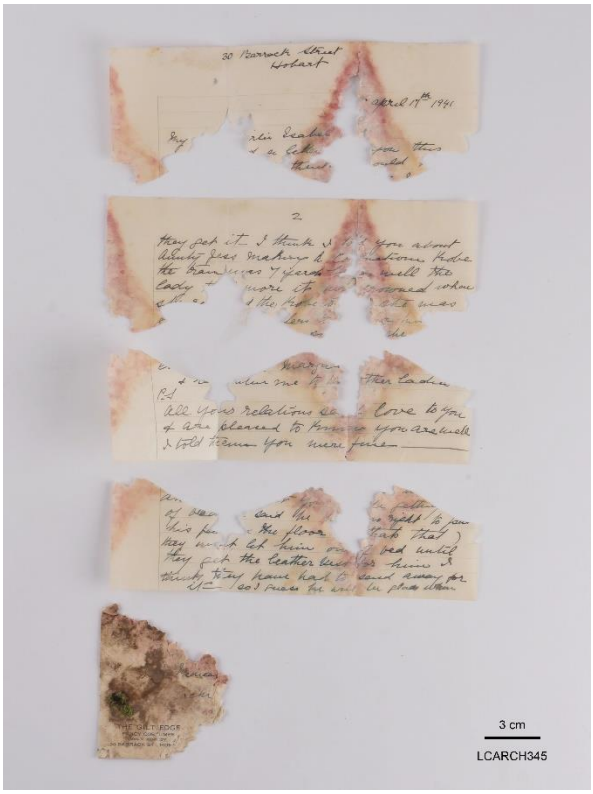


Figure 38: LCARCH345, letter to Mrs V. Kennedy. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

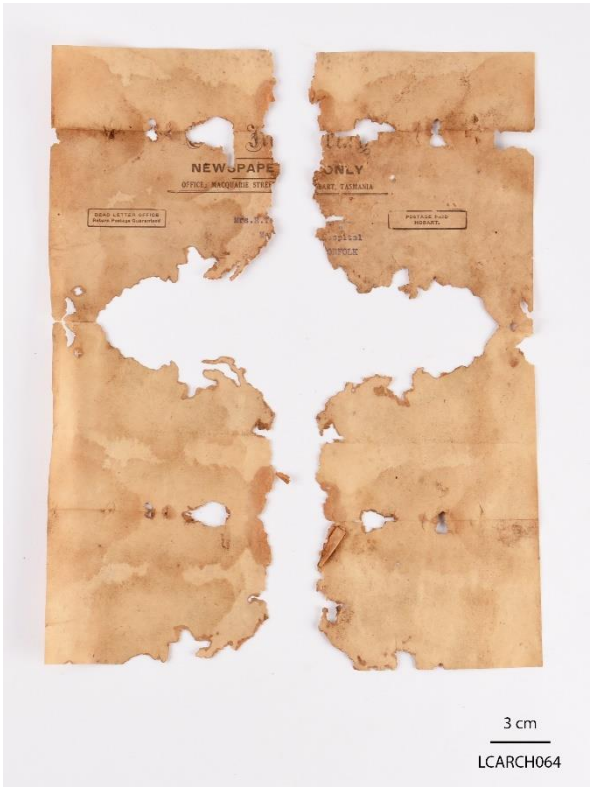


Figure 39: LCARCH064, incomplete letter to Mrs. R. T…. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 40: LCARCH075, incomplete envelope. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Fabric

There were 65 fabric objects in the LCARCH collection. Thirty-two of these were fabric scraps (Figures 41 and 42), fourteen were threads (Figure 44), twelve were towels (Figure 43), four were clothing objects (Figures 45 and 46), and three were tea towels.

Figure 41: LCARCH146, patterned fabric scrap. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 42: LCARCH412, patterned fabric scrap. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 43: LCACH131, towel with pattern reading 'Tasmanian Hospitals'. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

All the towels within the collection were the same design and pattern (Figure 43), and all were red except for one which had the same design in blue.

Figure 44: LCARCH095, bundle of cotton threads. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 45: LCARCH247, part of a garment. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 46: LCARCH021, bodice piece from a garment. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

These fabric objects had different material compositions (Figure 47). The most common material was cotton (58 objects). Two objects were made from cotton and wool, but all other categories had only one artefact each.

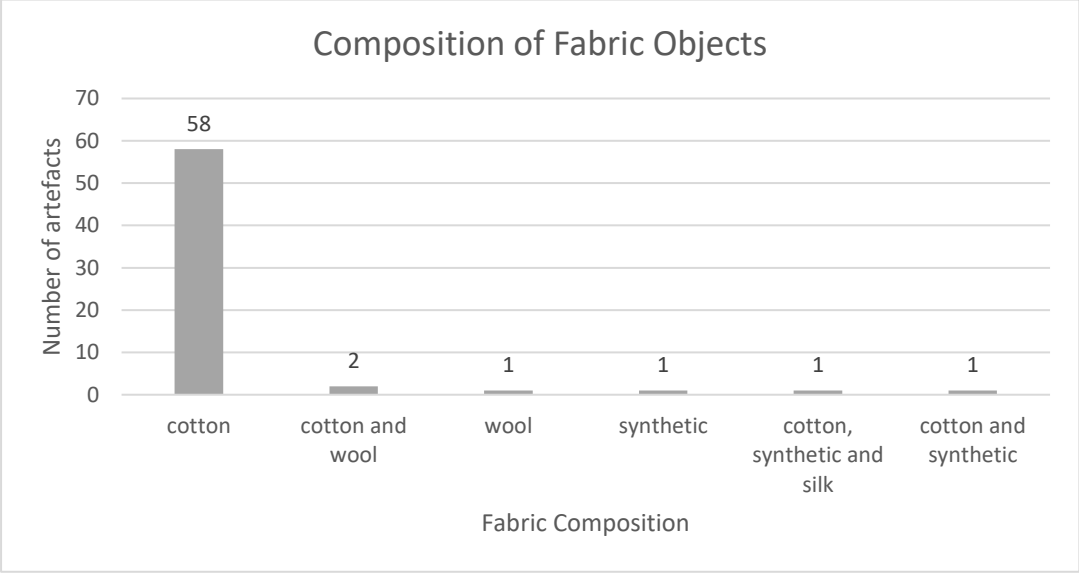


Figure 47: Graph showing composition of fabric objects.

A number of different alterations were also identified (Table 15). The most common was cutting or tearing (seven objects). Three fabric objects were altered into parcel or package layers, and two were altered by tying them together. Other alterations included unwinding/fraying, patching/mending, unpicking and objects stuck together.

Table 15: Alterations to fabric artefacts:

Alteration	Number of artefacts
Parcel/Package	3
Unwinding/Fraying	1
Patching/Mending	1
Cut/Torn	7
Unpicked	1
Stuck together	1
Embroidery	1
Tied together	2
Sewn	1
Other	1

Examples of alterations also included the embroidery on LCARCH124 (Figure 48), which contained the words 'Mozart', 'Bach' and 'Schubert', as well as some incomplete words and numbers in yellow and red embroidery thread.

Figure 48: LCARCH124, fabric scrap with embroidery. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Buttons

One button was included in the LCARCH assemblage, object LCARCH187 (see Figure 49). This was a round, wooden button, with a ligne size of 30L (2 cm diameter). The thickness was 0.5cm, and it featured a sew through attachment with four eyes. The material had deteriorated, but some deteriorated threads also remained in the sew through eyes.

Figure 49: LCARCH187, wooden button. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Miscellaneous

There were 43 artefacts in the miscellaneous category, representing a range of materials and types (Table 16). The most common artefact was tissue paper, with seven pieces, as well as six pieces of regular paper. These were catalogued in the miscellaneous category rather than ephemera because there was no evidence they formed part of an ephemeral object (packaging, letter or envelope, newspaper or magazine). There were four animal bones, probably avian, (Figure 50). There were two shoe pieces in the collection (LCARCH188)(Figure 51). Two pieces of twine were present (LCARCH209)(Figure 52), and one tin (LCARCH004)(Figure 53). A King from a deck of playing cards was also included (LCARCH009)(Figure54), as was a fruit stone (LCARCH028)(Figure 55), is a metal tube from hand cream(LCARCH060)(Figure 56), a metal sewing pin (LCARCH128)(Figure 57) and a match (LCARCH169)(Figure 58). LCARCH157 is a metal bottle top with a piece of paper folded inside it (Figure 59). LCARCH354 is a wooden comb, with some of the teeth missing (Figure 60). LCARCH430 is a piece of sheet music printed on paper (Figure 61).

Table 16: Miscellaneous objects:

Object Type:	Number:
Tin	1
Playing Card	1
Tissue Paper	7
Animal Bone	4
Fruit Stone	1
Hand Cream Tube	1
Paper	6
Needle Packaging	1
Metal Piece	4
Pin	1
Nail	3
Bottle Cap	1
Match	1
Shoe	2
Twine	2
Cord	1
Cardboard	2
Comb	1
Stamp	1
Straw	1
Sheet Music	1

Figure 50: LCARCH025, animal bone fragment. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 51: LCARCH188, a shoe fragment from cotton fabric and leather. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 52: LCARCH209, a piece of twine. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 53: LCARCH004, a metal tin. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 54: LCARCH009, a playing card. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 55: LCARCH028, a fruit stone. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 56: LCARCH060, a metal tube from hand cream. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 57: LCARCH128, a metal sewing pin. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 58: LCARCH169, a match. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 59: LCARCH157, a metal bottle top with a folded piece of paper. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 60: LCARCH354, a wooden comb. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 61: LCARCH430, fragments of sheet music. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Miscellaneous objects were made from paper, metal, bone and a variety of other materials (Table 17).

Table 17: Miscellaneous objects materials:

Object Type:	Number:
Metal	**10**
Ferrous	4
Copper	5
Other	1
Cardboard	**3**
Paper	**16**
Textured	1
Tissue	7
Other	8
Bone	**4**
Fruit Stone	**1**
Wicker	**1**
Hemp	**1**
Leather	**1**
Plastic	**1**
Wood	**2**
Metal and Paper	**1**
Fabric, Cotton and Leather	**2**

A number of alterations were also identified amongst these artefacts (Figure 62). Most were not altered, although five were folded, four were broken and four were scrunched. Other artefacts were combined with other objects, cut, tied in a knot, or had writing added.

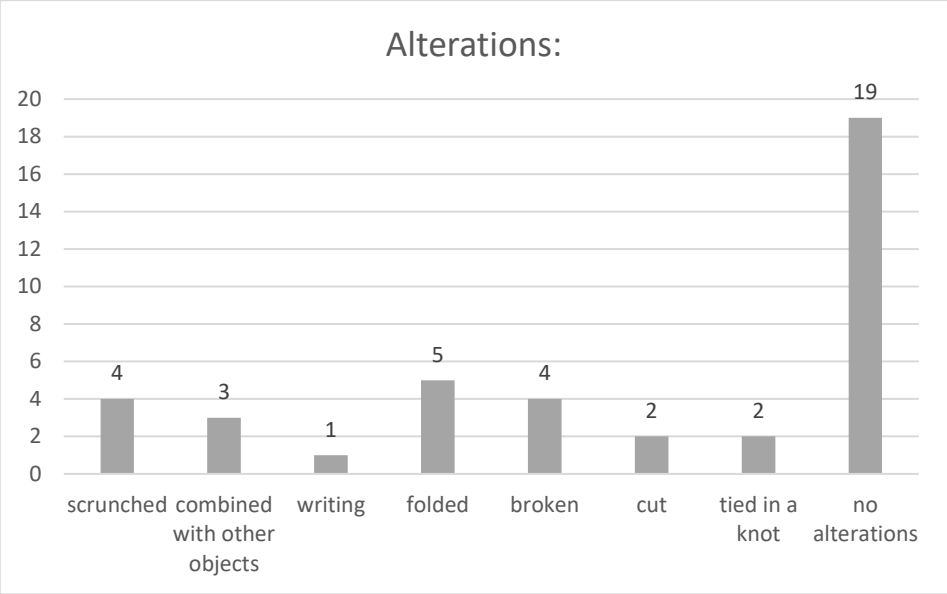


Figure 62: Alterations to miscellaneous objects.

Packages & Parcels

Packages and parcels were considered a distinct artefact type. Of the sixty parcels and packages identified, 57 were primarily paper-based and were placed into the ephemera category, and three were fabric-based. Fifty-two of these were untied (parcels) (Figures 63 and 64) and eight were tied(packages); all of the tied examples used strips of fabric or cloth strips (Figures 65 and 66).

The number of layers in each package or parcel also varied. As can be seen in Figure 67, for twelve of these objects the number of layers was unknown, primarily because they were very fragile and could not be opened to allow the layers to be counted. The most common number of layers was two (20 objects). Thirteen objects had three layers, seven had four layers and four had five layers. Some objects were identified with eight, nine, ten, and eighteen layers.

Figure 63: LCARCH002, an example of a parcel. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 64: LCARCH041, an example of a parcel. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 65: LCARCH015, an example of a package. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 66: LCARCH050, an example of a package. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

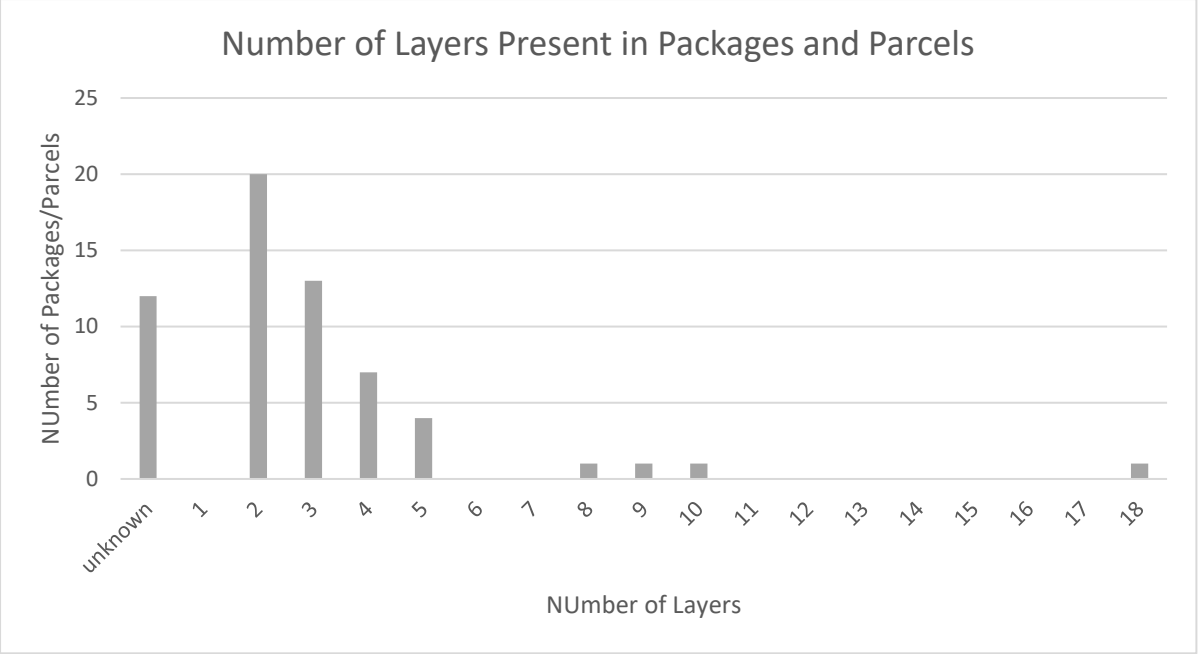


Figure 67: Layers in packages and parcels.

The folding patterns identified on these compound objects were also recorded, although for 22 of these packages and parcels the alterations and folding patterns could not be determined (Figure 68). Thirteen packages and parcels were folded into smaller than quarters, and eight were folded but not according to the above categories. Seven of these were rolled rather than folded.

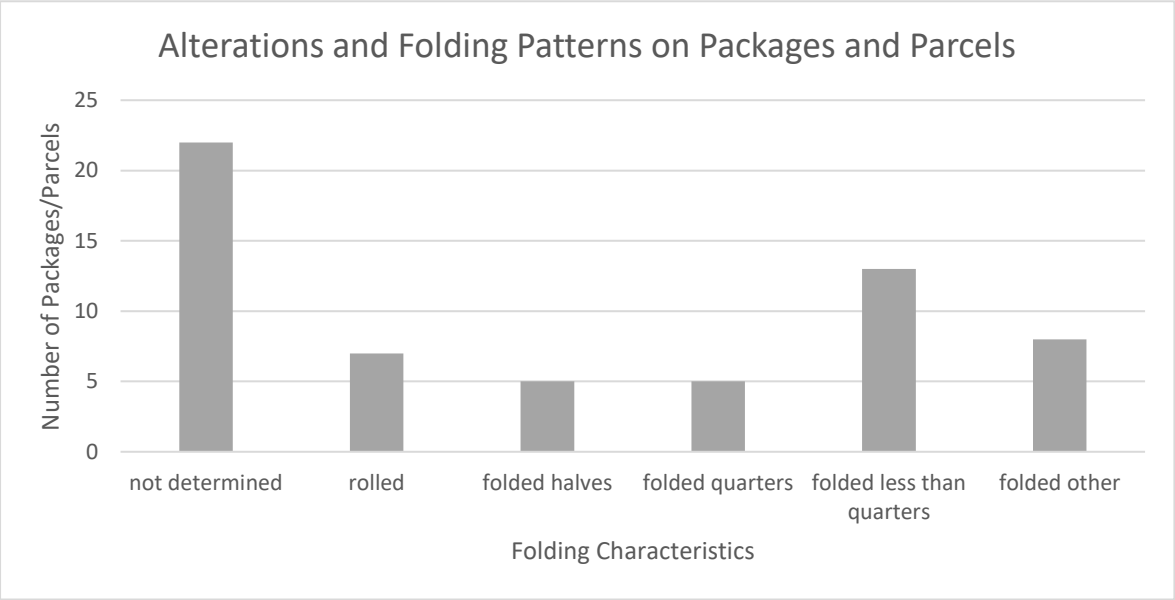


Figure 68: Alterations to packages and parcels.

Figure 69: LCARCH192, an example of a parcel. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 70: LCARCH240, an example of a parcel. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 71: LCARCH058, an example of a package. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

Figure 72: LCARCH048, and example of a parcel. Photograph by Lauren Bryant 21/8/2018.

LCARCH240, LCARCH058 and LCARCH048 are three objects made up primarily of fabric (Figures 70-72). LCARCH192 (Figure 69) shows the incorporation of consumable packaging into a parcel. These parcels and packages show some of the diversity that is present within this category.

Archival Research

In the original collection removed from the Ladies Cottage several names were identified (see Appendix 2). Some of these were used to undertake archival research to identify the behaviours that women displayed as recorded by doctors in casebooks, and the way that patients were described.

As can be seen (Appendix 2), the names attached to the original collection represent a long time frame. Appendix 2 also contains a summary of notes made in casebooks by doctors about these patients. There is a contrast in the language used between patients perceived to be “simple”, such as M.H., and those seen as dangerous or disruptive, such as the patients E.W. and E.W.. An interesting feature of these notes is the mention of escape attempts by patients, and particularly by E.W., who was noted to wander unsupervised at night. Destructive behaviours, particularly the destruction of clothing, were also noted, as well as the practice of needlework by patients. Mimicking behaviours were also noted for patient M.H..

Summary

A wide variety of artefact types were present in the LCARCH collection, but both across the collection and within the artefact categories trends can be identified. The majority of the collection was ephemeral items, which were highly fragmentary and in fair condition, but with a lot of conservation issues partly due to their fragmentary nature. This ephemera was

predominantly newspaper and magazine publications, representing a number of local, national and international publications and covering a wide range of themes with some preferentialism indicated in what articles were collected. The consumables packaging also represented a range of contents and materials, also showing some of the modern contamination present in this collection. Fabric items were also common in this collection, and these were fairly complete, but in poor to fair condition with many conservation issues. The miscellaneous items in this collection represented a great diversity of materials and objects. Across the whole collection there was a lot of evidence of objects being altered before deposition, for example the tearing of fabric and garments, embroidery, the tearing out of newspaper and magazine pieces, and particularly the parcels and packages present in the collection. The archival research also reflected a diversity of diagnoses and behaviours, which could help understand this collection for example embroidery, tearing clothing, and mimicking behaviours.

The epitomizing characteristic of this collection of artefacts is diversity, which is seen through the range of materials and the range of depositional practices associated with the artefacts examined.

Chapter 6: A Unique Experience

In the past sufferers of mental illness, particularly women, were marginalised and their voices silenced, but archaeology has the potential to tell these stories and illuminate the experiences of these individuals. The goal of studying the LCARCH assemblage was to consider what it could reveal about experiences within the asylum, and answer the question: What does the LCARCH collection reveal about the experiences of individuals in the Willow Court Asylum?

The research addressed the following aims:

1. Establish how this highly unusual collection could have been created;
2. Establish a suitable framework for studying artefacts derived from the behaviours of mental illness within mental asylum contexts;
3. Establish a better provenance for the collection as a whole in order to allow a better understanding of the patient experience in the Ladies' Cottage;
4. Demonstrate the value of mental health studies within institutional archaeology.

Secret and Safe: creating the assemblage

The nature of the LCARCH collection indicates that its creation involved multiple different processes. This raises several key questions:

- How was the underfloor space accessed?
- Was the assemblage accumulated by one person or several?
- What was the sequence by which the assemblage was compiled?

The first question relates to how this underfloor space was accessed in order to physically deposit the objects here. There are four possibilities. First, it is not recorded either in historical records or photographs when the veranda was bricked in to enclose the underfloor space. One possibility is that this area was open when the objects were deposited, allowing easy access to this space, though it would be unlikely that hospital staff would allow this type of behaviour to happen if the space and the piles of objects were clearly visible. However, the dating of the LCARCH collection to the late 1930s-1940s rules this explanation out, as photographs (Figure 10) show that from at least as early as 1903 this was enclosed. The bricks used in the enclosing of the veranda were convict made, evident from the visible broad headed arrows (Figure 73), suggesting these might have been reused to enclose this space after the destruction of an earlier structure.

Figure 73: Brickwork on veranda of Ladies' Cottage. Photograph by Heather Burke 17/2/2018.

A second possibility was that this underfloor space was not accessed directly but rather objects were deposited by putting them through loose boards, for example the wooden skirting board running around the veranda above the brickwork. This provides an explanation for how some objects accumulated, such as in Figure 74, where these objects have clearly been dropped down the sides of the veranda and remain upright and leaning against the stone footings of the structure. However, this does not explain why the majority of artefacts were located in discrete mounded piles in the central underfloor space.

Figure 74: Underfloor space Ladies' Cottage. Photograph by Lynley Wallis, February 2017.

A third possibility was that at some point the floorboards of the veranda were replaced, and the objects were placed under at that point, but again this does not explain the piling and spread of the collection across the entire underfloor area. The most coherent explanation is that this enclosed space was accessed through either the current trapdoor or a former one, and the objects were taken into the space and deposited. This not only implies intentionality in terms of placement and location, but also aspects of concealment, secrecy and repetition,

as the number of objects within this space and their dating indicate that the assemblage was accumulated over an extended period of time. There is no way to know how a patient could have gained continual and repeated access to the underfloor space, however, given that all patients would have been monitored to at least some degree.

The second question relates to the identity of the individual or individuals who did this: is it more likely to have been a single person or several different people? Auld et al. (2018:3-4) suggested in regard to the 2013 collection that "either several patients were hiding this material under the cottage, or that one patient collected all of the items together, possibly gathering them from others", but that the presence of embroideries in the same hand and the packages and parcels strongly suggested that this was done by one individual. Furthermore, the presence of embroidery and packages/parcels in both collections suggests that they were created by the same processes by this same individual. While it is difficult to speculate on how precisely a single person may have continually accessed the underfloor space without being seen and prevented, it is more likely for one person to have been able to do this than many, as a group of people exhibiting this behaviour was much more likely to be noticed.

Unfortunately, archival research was not able to identify any specific individual who may have performed these actions based on the behaviours identified by doctors, but it did identify a number of behaviours which were present in the asylum and which therefore could have contributed to the creation of this assemblage. It is clear that this individual was a patient in the Ladies' Cottage who was there throughout the 1930s-1940s. However, the record keeping of the asylum is not cohesive in this period, meaning that it would be very difficult to identify any one person who did this, even if these actions were noted by

hospital staff and recorded. For example, in the casebooks when one page was finished the doctor would simply find another page that had not been used to continue that patient's record, and note the page number this record was continued on. Fortunately the work of Cassidy (2009) has simplified this, as she compiled a list of all patients and recorded the numbers of their entries, their admission dates (and the names they were admitted under if this varied at different points, for example the use or lack of use of middle names), marital status, occupation, previous place of abode, observations and date of discharge or death. This makes it simpler to use these records in order to find a specific patient, but other issues such as the handwriting of doctors, the fact that a patient's ward was often not recorded on paperwork, and the large quantities of record books means that at present it has not been possible to positively identify this patient.

The process by which this assemblage was created is notable for its complexity, and the number of different actions which had to take place without this individual being prevented at any point within this process, at multiple times over a period of years (Figure 75). This not only reveals the incredible unlikelihood of the existence of this unique assemblage, but also indicates the significance and intentionality of this process, reinforcing the idea of this as a form of repeated personal ritual. The first stage involved the accumulation of these objects some of which would have been easily accessible, such as publications, towels, tea towels, and personal items. However, other sources were also used for this accumulation because of the letters addressed to different people, though whether these were stolen or found (for example in rubbish) cannot be determined. Research has shown that stealing was viewed through a lens of class and gender, which meant that while convicts and the working class were criminalised for stealing, this was often romanticised as kleptomania when it was associated with middle or upper class women (Domínguez 2009:6-14). However, the fact

that these were letters rather than objects of value such as jewellery suggests that these were collected rather than stolen. There are also indications that at this point objects may have been stored in a primary location before embarking on the second stage, for example object LCARCH133 which had one piece of newspaper from 1940 wrapped inside a piece dating to December 1939. Ephemeral objects such as newspapers usually have a short use life, but this and one other package from the LCARCH collection which contained one page with a reference to the invention of shake petrol (1940) and another referring to the division of Germany at the end of the Second War (LCARCH094), suggests that these were kept for longer periods than might be the norm elsewhere. It may also be possible that old publications were being donated to the asylum distorting the date of the assemblages.

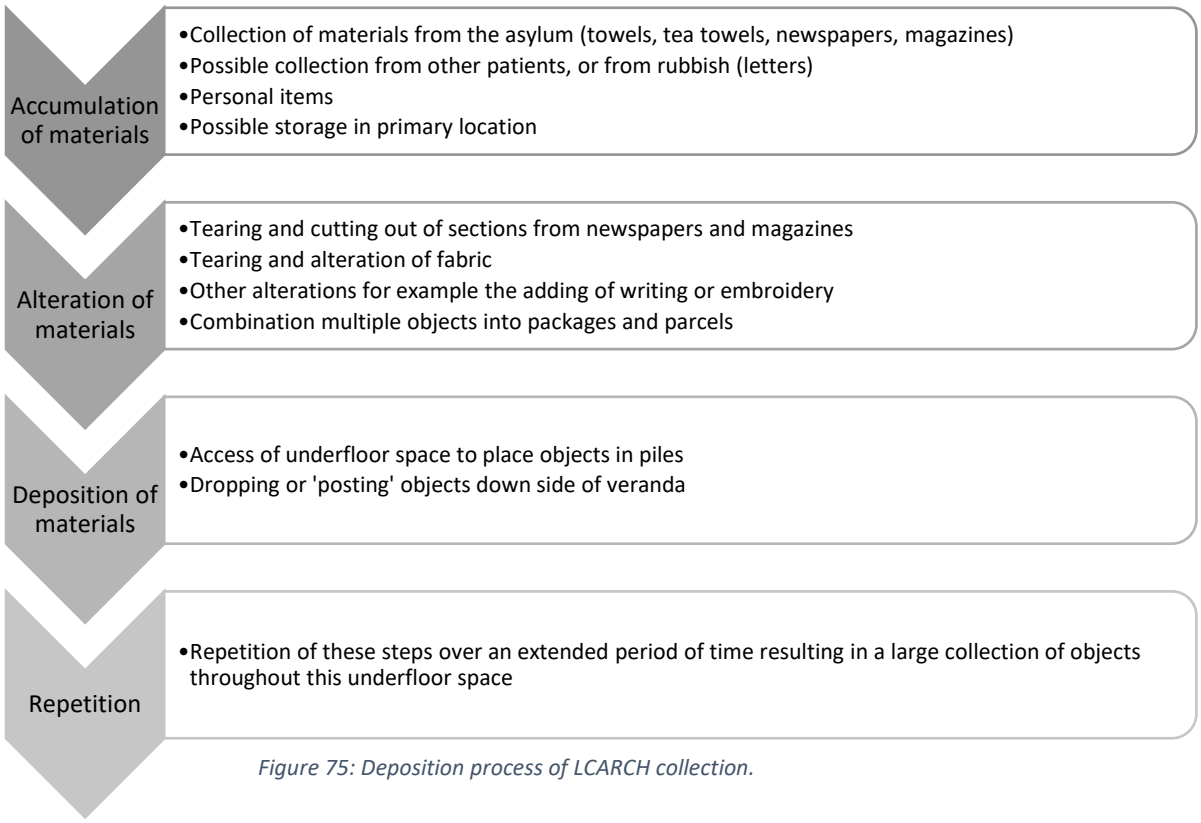


Figure 75: Deposition process of LCARCH collection.

The second step in this process was the alteration of these objects, and a notable feature of the LCARCH collection is the high degree of alteration that objects exhibit. The most common alterations were the compounding of objects to create packages and parcels, destructive behaviours (seen in the torn fabric scraps, towels, and garments), and the

tearing out of pieces from newspapers and magazines. Other examples include the selectivity shown in the articles, revealing interests in sporting, health and beauty, serialised stories and photos. These themes were all disproportionately represented in the collection, suggesting that the collector was drawn to particular content rather than randomly selecting articles. Other alteration behaviours included adding writing or embroidery. The existence of these behaviours is not unexpected, as many have been identified by researchers in other asylum contexts or can be seen in the casebook records examined. For example, doctors' casebook notes for several patients noted embroidery being done by patients (Table 18). The embroidered objects bear similarity to Agnes Richter's jacket and embroideries from the Missouri mental asylum, which were interpreted as expressions of these individuals' experiences performed in one of the only ways available to them in a restricting environment (Blakeman et al. 2013:39,44; Röske 2014:228). Destruction, particularly of clothing, is also something which has been noted in other modern asylum contexts as a form of subversion (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013:113), and destructive behaviours were noted in casebook notes for some patients (Table 18). Even the creation of parcels and packages bears similarities to the bundles created from textiles tied together then upholstered within the chaise longue owned by Miss Smith (Circuit 2017), as both contexts exhibit a complex depositional process, though the chaise longue is not from an asylum context.

Understanding significance in artefacts from asylums

This collection occupies a unique context, and as such caution must be used when trying to interpret the significance of behaviours within this context. In many institutional contexts simplistic analyses relying solely on an understanding of power dynamics fail to consider the

other factors influencing these assemblages, such as the ritual significance of behaviours (De Cunzo 2009:207). De Cunzo (2009) made these comments in the concluding chapter of a collected volume considering the archaeology of many different institutional contexts, including prisons (Bush 2009; Casella 2009), schools (Lindauer 2009; Rotman 2009), destitute asylums (Spencer-Wood 2009), and mental asylums (Piddock 2009), and suggested that archaeologists must go further than they had previously done in order to ensure they effectively studied institutions:

> Institutions engaged the mind and spirit by teaching ways of doing, making, knowing, and believing … Discerning how they did so with material culture as well as with words is our task. In the future, archaeologists will do well to follow Rotman's recommendation to tell *all* the stories of the institution, not just its primary one, and remember *all* the "small things forgotten" at institutional sites, no matter their size or number. (De Cunzo 2009:210)

To this end, research from a number of different fields was used to try and understand the potential significance of the LCARCH collection to the individual who performed these behaviours.

The first way to understand these objects, at the risk of pathologising the past, is to consider whether this assemblage lines up with modern psychological research regarding Hoarding Disorder (HD) and is therefore possibly the result of an individual with this condition. The question in this case is what would one expect of an archaeological assemblage formed by an individual with HD? The first indicator would be the collection of larger quantities of non-intrinsically valuable objects, such as newspapers, letters, magazines, packaging, old clothing, clothing rags and pins (Nordsletten et al. 2013:233). All of these objects were present in the LCARCH collection, but other aspects of this collection indicate that, rather than these objects holding no value for the individual collecting them, they were carefully selected and altered, and collected and deposited cohesively rather than randomly, neither

of which are characteristics associated with HD (Nordsletten et al. 2013:235). Other object types commonly accumulated by hoarders were not present, such as receipts, bills, pens and medication. This suggests that the collector accumulated objects widely from what was available to her and the composition of this reflects her environment. The deliberate placement of objects into a mound, the creation of packages and parcels, and the embroidery all indicate that these were not simply objects collected which had no explicit meaning to the collector. Furthermore, the selection of objects according to themes reflects collecting behaviours rather than hoarding. Apart from this, the LCARCH assemblage exhibits order through the elaborate processes involved in composing it, and then depositing it in a difficult to access location, none of which are typical of HD. These deliberate behaviours suggest that, on balance, this assemblage was not the result of symptoms of HD.

If these behaviours and objects had significance, how is it possible to understand them? Three divergent fields of research shed light on this: resistance, which is mainly theorised from institutional archaeology studies, concepts of identity creation from modern asylum studies and museum studies, and conceptions of ritual from concealment studies.

Institutional studies, as discussed, have used a framework of resistance to institutional powers to understand institutional assemblages (Casella 2009:10-14; Lindauer 2009; Logan 2017; Piddock 2007). The actions of the patient of the Ladies' Cottage—taking a range of objects, some of which belonged to the asylum, others to patients, altering and then subsequently hiding them—could be seen as an act of resistance to institutional authorities and systems. If this was the case, the success of the patient in resisting the institutional restrictions is evidenced by this large collection which was created and preserved through a

complex process undertaken by her without this being prevented by hospital staff. The concept of moral therapy involved controlling all aspects of asylum life, including environment and behaviour, so the behaviours identified in the creation of this assemblage undermine this system and its goals. Modern asylum studies have identified these expressions of resistance as well, in particular destructive behaviours (Hamlett and Hoskins 2013). However, in resisting the asylum the Ladies' Cottage patient was also using the limited resources available to her to control her sphere of influence, similar to how patients in modern asylums exercise control over their clothing and appearance to create and maintain links to the outside world (Parrott 2005). The presence of newspaper and magazine articles and letters could also have functioned in this way, helping this individual to feel connected to the outside world, such as through the articles on celebrities, and other topics such as health and beauty and fashion, which related to everyday life.

The possibility that the LCARCH collection could represent a personal ritual is also indicated by the repeated behaviours within this collection, particularly the creation of parcels and packages and concealment behaviours. Concealment research which examined objects with ritual meaning has shown that ritual behaviour and concealment can go beyond perceptions of spirituality to encompass other concepts of significance and should be studied in order to understand the process of ritual, as well as the significance behind it (Berggren and Stutz 2010:185; Joy 2016:240; Oras 2012:65). The LCARCH collection could be seen as the result of a ritual which had personal rather than religious significance, giving comfort to this patient as they repeated these behaviours, as in the case of the bundles found in the couch owned by Miss Smith (Circuit 2017). If all these factors are seen as culminating in the assemblage, this avoids assigning it a simplistic explanation and recognises the complexity of

human agency, even when this is operating within the restrictions of an institutional context and the often idiosyncratic patterns of a mental illness.

In sum, the LCARCH collection can be better understood as the product of a number of factors, including resistance to asylum structures, a way of controlling and creating an identity within the asylum context, albeit one that was created from generic items, a way of helping this individual feel connected to the outside world, and the result of a comforting personal ritual through repeated behaviours. This collector used what was available to her, and her own creative agency, to turn generic items into a time capsule representing herself. By creating this process and repeatedly enacting it, she used these everyday objects to create her own identity, which she represented externally through her ritual. This paints a picture of a woman who had an interest in a wide array of topics, including sport, fashion, and stories, and who valued order. The collection that was its result embodies this behaviour over a period of years.

Understanding provenance

One goal of this research was to use the LCARCH collection to better understand the objects removed by Haydn and Penny Pearce in 2013. This study has been able to provide a context for the LCARCH collection and identify a number of features which clearly link the two.

The presence of parcels and packages throughout both collections indicates continuity of this unusual behaviour, suggesting that the LCARCH assemblage represents a part of the larger assemblage of artefacts. In other words, both collections were assembled by the activities of the same person and via the same set of processes. The collection of objects removed in 2013 included many examples of embroidery (constituting approximately 27% of the collection, Auld et al. 2018:5), all in the same hand and therefore assumed to have

been produced by the same individual (Burke and Haas 2016:18-20). In the LCARCH collection another piece of fabric with embroidery in the same style was found. Another possible indication of commonality is the letter addressed to 'Mrs. R. T…' in the LCARCH collection, bearing the letterhead of the Hobart *Mercury* newspaper, which corresponds to object LC0189 from the 2013 collection which was described as a paper tube used to hold newspaper, from *The Mercury* newspaper, which was addressed to "Mrs R. T[removed], Mental Hospital, New Norfolk". A greeting card from the 2013 collection (LC0011) also bore this name. This suggests that any conclusions drawn from the LCARCH collection can also be applied to the unprovenanced artefacts removed in 2013.

There are some differences between the two collections, however. It can be noted that the objects removed in 2013 were predominantly fabric, including clothing and fabric scraps, while the LCARCH collection was predominantly ephemeral items, particularly newspaper and magazines. This could indicate some intentionality or categorisation in the placement of these objects by the individual, by placing like objects together, or that the different areas of the veranda represent different episodes of deposition during the patient's time in the asylum.

Through the use of newspapers and magazines a good date range was able to be established for the LCARCH collection (1930-1945). This aligns with the dates found for the 2013 collection, which, though objects were found dating from the 1880s to the 1970s, also clustered between the 1920s and the 1940s. The dates for the 2013 collection were also less specific because they were based on a wider range of objects than the publications used to date the LCARCH collection, and some of these have a longer use-life than ephemeral objects so could predate the actual collection of the assemblage. Some modern

contamination in the form of food and tobacco product packaging was also identified in the LCARCH collection, which could indicate that some of the later dates in the 2013 objects represent modern contamination, especially considering that the section of the veranda in which the 2013 collection was found was more accessible due to the location of the trapdoor.

The archaeology of mental institutions

Mental asylums are understudied in institutional archaeology, but this study demonstrates the value of studying artefacts from asylum contexts in order to understand what life was like in these institutions. The limited archaeological literature on mental asylums has, to date, presented a restricted view of asylums that focusses on built structures and institutional systems rather than artefacts, ignoring a body of evidence that has potential to help illuminate the lives of individuals living in these contexts in the past in completely different ways. As stated by Bush, multi-disciplinary approaches including all sources of information about sites are essential:

> With this approach, we can appreciate how the institutionalized create a recognisable place out of the unknown and understand how institutions with the same agenda can be so diverse. Multiple voices, including the archaeological record, provide the perspectives of place essential to a fuller understanding of the institution. (Bush 2009:153)

Though this thesis has raised more unanswered questions, such as the identity of the individual who created the LCARCH collection, it has shed light on the uniqueness of this collection, and provided an opportunity to examine and consider what life was like within the walls of this asylum. In opposition to narratives represented in doctors' notes of patients who were typified as either meek and depressed or violent and disruptive, this collection paints a picture of a woman who used the limited resources at her disposal to create an

identity for herself through repeated ritual behaviours in resistance against the total asylum system, exercising control over her own sphere of influence within this institutional context.

The artefacts studied also reveal the diversity of asylum assemblages, and the range of behaviours and objects these can represent. Assemblages from within institutional contexts will always be influenced by the institutions they come from, but also have the potential to demonstrate diversity both between different institutions, when more of these assemblages are studied to allow comparison, and within each asylum due to the different experiences of different patients. Indeed, it should be expected that due to the highly segregated nature of mental health institutions and the way these changed throughout their lifetimes, that the experiences of patients in asylums would be different depending on when they were in an asylum and the nature of their illness, as well as being heavily influenced by their gender and social class. Artefactual study can continue to reveal this diversity.

Mental health and institutions of mental illness continue to be stigmatised in modern society, which perhaps has made archaeologists reticent to study artefacts from within these contexts, but it is essential that these voices are brought to light through the study of such material. Using a framework considering the multiple facets and influences on individuals' lives within these institutions makes it possible to learn from the archaeological record at these sites without relying solely on architecture, allowing patients' lives to be illuminated from within. Institutional archaeology has a duty to continue to try to understand these individuals' experiences, even if this understanding will only ever be partial and complicated by the intervening filter of mental illness. This thesis provides a snapshot of life in the Willow Court Ladies' Cottage in the mid-twentieth century for one

individual, and continued study in this field and at this site will allow a greater exploration of the experiences of individuals in asylums through archaeology.

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Appendix 1: Location Notes LCARCH Collection

Context	**Location Notes**
001	No location notes
002	No location notes
003	No location notes
004	No location notes
005	No location notes
006	No location notes
007	No location notes
008	No location notes
009	Under (008)
010	West of sleeve (008)
011	On top of (012)
012	No location notes
013	Under (012)
014	No location notes
015	No location notes
016	No location notes
017	No location notes
018	No location notes
019	No location notes
020	Under (019)
021	Next to (020)
022	Under (021)
023	No location notes
024	No location notes
025	Next to (024)
026	No location notes
027	No location notes
028	Next to (027)
029	No location notes
030	No location notes
031	No location notes
032	Under (031)
033	No location notes
034	West of (033) and adjacent
035	Under (034), plastic straw under bundle
036	No location notes
037	On top of (038)
038	No location notes
039	No location notes
040	Next to (039)
041	Next to (039)

042	No location notes
043	Under (042)
044	Under (043)
045	Under (044)
046	Under (045)
047	Adjacent to (046), next to large pile
048	Under (047)
049	East of large pile
050	No location notes
051	**Number not used**
052	On top of (053)
053	No location notes
054	No location notes
055	Under tea towels (054)
056	No location notes
057	**Number not used**
058	To side of (052)
059	**Number not used**
060	Under (059)
061	West of main pile, south of second pile of towels
062	No location notes
063	Southern margin of pile
064	Under most recent towel
065	In dirt under main pile
066	South of main pile
067	At southern extremity, near wall
068	South against wall
069	Moving South-east
070	No location notes
071	No location notes
072	No location notes
073	No location notes
074	No location notes
075	No location notes
076	**Number not used**
077	No location notes
078	No location notes
079	No location notes

Appendix 2: Archival Research on Patients:

Due to the sensitivity of this subject matter, the details of individual patients have been removed from the body of this thesis. If you wish to access this appendix, please contact Dr Heather Burke (heather.burke@flinders.edu.au).