Chapter three

"With a climate much resembling an English one": an introduction to Armidale

Armidale is a small city in the state of New South Wales, located approximately half-way between the state capital, Sydney, and Brisbane, the capital of the adjacent state Queensland. The wider region which encompasses the city is known as New England and sits astride a particularly prominent section of the Great Dividing Range. Because of its height above sea level, Armidale and its immediate environs are often referred to as the Tablelands.

The first white people to enter what became the New England area were, in characteristic colonial fashion, male explorers. Surveyor-General John Oxley traversed the region with his party in 1818, followed by later journeys by other 'explorers' in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The site which would become the city of Armidale was a focus for activity as early as 1841. The population slowly increased until by 1851 Armidale was one of the three largest population centres outside of Sydney and its environs (Kass 1991, 9). It was proclaimed officially as a town in 1849, a municipality in 1863 and later a city in 1885.

My intention in presenting a history of Armidale is to give both a sense of the forms capitalism has taken here in the past and a gross idea of the groups which have been involved in its construction. As with the rest of Australia, it is not the case that capitalism has existed as a singular entity through all of Armidale's history, but has instead taken on a number of forms. It has been in continual development and redefinition as various sections of the population developed and as the role of Australia in the international economy changed. In line with this, the composition of

the 'ruling' group has also changed, as has the composition and nature of the workforce. Connell and Irving (1992) break down Australian history into five periods, which also correspond roughly to the situation in Armidale. Each of these periods is either characterised by a distinctive form of capitalism or by major class mobilisation which occurred in response to this:

1 Pastoral capitalism (1788 to 1840).
2 Mercantile capitalism (1840 to 1890).
3 The working class challenge (1890 to 1930)
4 Industrial capitalism (1930 to 1975).
5 Monopoly capitalism (1975 to the present)

I will only deal with the first four categories in this hierarchy as they apply to Armidale, as monopoly capitalism is too late in date to be relevant to the subsequent archaeological discussion.

Under pastoral capitalism, surplus value is appropriated through control over livestock, chiefly sheep and cattle, and their products. Until the 1840s, pastoral capitalism lacked the full technical (fixed capital) and social (wage labour market) relations characteristic of other forms of capitalism (McMichael 1984, 150). Surplus value in mercantile capitalism on the other hand is appropriated through control over trade or credit, rather than through the ownership or modernisation of the production process itself. Thus mercantile capital is composed of areas of capitalist activity specialising in the purchase and sale of commodities, rather than in production (Wells 1989, xvi). As opposed to mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism entails ownership over the production process itself. It is a developed form of commodity production which is based upon the use of machinery and non-human energy and the application of a complex division of labour to achieve improvements in productivity and thus greater potential for surplus value. Industrial capital includes those areas of

capitalist activity specialising in the actual production of commodities, as opposed to financing or circulating those commodities (Wells 1989, xv-xvi).

The categories in this hierarchy are both chronologically defined and theoretically distinct and designed to apply predominantly to the experience of capitalism as it took place in an urban setting. As they apply to Armidale and the New England region, both the chronological separations and the content of these categories needs to be revised. Capitalism in the New England region has moved through a similar sequence of forms in its 160 year European history—chiefly concentrating around pastoral, mercantile and to a limited extent industrial (although this is largely restricted to small-scale manufacture) capital. Armidale is a small town which existed in this net of wider relationships which constructed capitalism. Armidale and its region were both embedded in the large scale processes which informed these categories, although precisely how it articulated depended on particular processes which operated at the local level. As an heuristic device, Connell and Irving's categories not only provide a sense of the changing structure of the ruling class, as well as of the responses of the working class, but also of the forms of ideology which may have accompanied these categories. I will deal first with an outline of the composition and values of the groups themselves, before I move on to an introduction to their accompanying ideologies. As part of this process I will sketch the gross spatial elements structuring these relationships and the possible material manifestations of this.

A note on status and class

It is worth a preliminary note to consider the distinction between class and status, which are two specific, but different social relationships. Each of Connell and Irving's categories presents social relationships in terms of class rather than status; as a relationship between owners and non-owners of the means of production (Wild 1978, 3). In Connell and Irving's terms class is viewed as a relationship between an individual and the control of investments and resources, decision making, the physical

means of production and labour power (see Wright 1978; 1989). While I recognise that 'class' is a problematic analytical category (see discussion in Connell and Irving 1987 or Wright 1989 for example), it is a useful shorthand for expressing three crucial distinctions in the broad dichotomy of 'owners' versus 'non-owners' (see Wild 1978, 3):

- between the propertied and the propertyless
- between employers and employees and,
- between the leisured and the workers

People are not always categorisable in terms of the black-and-white distinctions of 'owner' or 'worker', particularly on the small scale which characterises Armidale. There are two crucial points to Wild's three distinctions: their shading helps to place people in a continuum from those elite members of the community who are propertied, own the means of production and do not work, to those at the other end who are propertyless and work for their living; and the position of a person on this continuum may in part be a contributor to the status with which they are accorded. Status is a relationship between people of disparate prestige, and a status group is one which shares a common lifestyle and generally accepted forms of conduct which are recognised as bases for interaction, such as dress, accent, or the application of membership sanctions in voluntary organisations (Wild 1978, 2). Not all people of the same class are necessarily accorded the same status however and this in part helps to explain ideological divisions amongst members of the same class. While in theory for example, all members of the working class are placed in the same antagonistic relationship to capital, it is not necessarily the case that all members of the working class consider themselves to be in the same group. While some merchants in Armidale possessed equal wealth to some pastoralists, they did not necessarily recognise each other as similarly prestigious. Likewise, there were similar status distinctions operating between workers. A person may be simultaneously an employer and a worker; propertied and an employee, which returns to the complex issue of the construction of social identity and how this may inform the construction of ideology.

One of the crucial aspects to Connell and Irving's differentiation between types of capital is a differentiation between status groups. It is possible that status, as well as class, is a basis upon which ideology is formed, possible even that status constructs different ideologies to class. Having said this, as part of sketching the gross relationships between owner and worker under each form of capitalism, I will also consider the relationship between status and class.

A HISTORY OF ARMIDALE AND NEW ENGLAND

Pastoral capitalism: the 'squattocracy' of New England (1830-1890)

The form of capitalism which came to order colonial Australian society in the first 52 years of settlement, once a limited labour market and the organisation of production along capitalist lines developed, was the sharply polarised structure centring on the assignment system within the pastoral industry (Connell and Irving 1992, 56-58). In many respects the emergence of a pastoral ruling elite was a direct reflection of the institutional centrality of the state, as pastoral capitalism initially emerged to provide the state with necessary supplies and was monopolized by a select group of officer-traders (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 34-36; Turner 1992, 161). Even after a 'private' economy had developed, the state continued to be a major supplier of the means of production, in particular in the form of land grants and convict labour (Turner 1992, 161).

Initially pastoralism was restricted to the Limits of Location, established in 1829 to define a manageable settlement area around Sydney. This area was not officially expanded until ten years later when, under the 1839 Crown Lands Act, the Governor Sir George Gipps proclaimed nine newly formalised pastoral or squatting disticts, one of which was New England (Atchison 1977, 173). Despite lying beyond the boundaries of officially sanctioned settlement until 1839, squatters eager to amass land and wealth were already present in New England running sheep and cattle at least

seven years earlier. 'Squatter' is a peculiarly Australian term, originally applied to persons who had occupied land for pastoral purposes without official sanction. The term later took on a distinctive class meaning, carrying a capitalistic suggestion and encoding a particular level of social prestige (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 267). The pastoral boom of the 1830s and 40s was the first of two major surges of capital inflow into Australia.

Between 1832 and 1836, the first large pastoral holdings were established in the New England region: *Wolka* by Hamilton Collins Semphill in 1832; *Gostwyck* by Edward Gostwyck Cory in 1833 and acquired by Henry Dangar in 1834; *Kentucky* by J. Chilcott in 1834, *Tilbuster* by William Dumaresq in 1835 and *Gyra* by Peter McIntyre in 1836. There is some debate over the dates for establishment of the other early station, Henry Dumaresq's *Saumarez*, with estimates ranging from 1834 (Oppenheimer 1988) to 1836 (Atkinson 1987); however it was certainly well established by the latter date.

The majority of these squatters were already holders of substantial landholdings in other parts of New South Wales (notably the Hunter region) and although their expansion into New England corresponds to the tail end of the period as defined by Connell and Irving, it was still very much an expression of pastoral capitalism. In terms of the original land grantees, wealth in the region was concentrated almost exclusively in land, stock, wages and equipment. Occupying land beyond the Limits of Location however meant more than just voluntarily moving beyond the bounds of 'civilised society': it also meant occupying land which was not officially recognised as 'ownable'. Although the government did not prohibit squatting beyond the Limits of Location, it did refuse to sell land there and technically the owner of all such properties remained the Crown. Squatters thus had no title to pastoral runs unless the land had been officially alienated through a grant. Most of the Hunter Valley properties belonging to the New England squatters were occupied as a result of the land grants system, however the 'ownership' of their New England runs was not so official.

By the 1820s sheep and cattle running had become the most profitable land-based economic activities and in 1840 Australia was providing 20 percent of all British wool imports, a figure which had risen to 53 percent by the late 1840s (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 80; Morris 1986, 8). The rapid expansion of the pastoral industry in Australia was closely geared to the industrialism of the English textile indutry. Australian wool rapidly replaced the German and the Spanish product and continued to do so throughout the nineteenth century (Morris 1986, 8-9). Pastoralism, or the export of wool, was unique in its possession of overseas markets. It has been estimated that by 1850 pastoralism constituted one of the largest concentrations of land ownership in the world: forty-two 'squatters' holding 13.6 million acres out of a total of 73 million occupied in New South Wales alone (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 3). In essence Australia was drawn into the world economy through the pastoral emphasis on wool production, the powerful pastoral class of wool producers establishing links to urban centres through merchant capital and to world markets through the London banking system (Turner 1992, 162).

As a consequence pastoralism was the dominant form of wealth in the colony, although there was a high cost of entry (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 81). In the 1840s estimates for establishing a station ranged from £500 to £8000 and as pastoralism often relied on patronage to secure the necessary land grants or convict labour, this virtually guaranteed that only established merchants or 'gentlemen' with imported personal or family capital from England could gain entry (Connell and Irving 1992, 43-44). When the colonial government instituted changes to the system which regulated squatting lands, they were also deliberately manipulating the social structure and regulating who could and could not gain entry. Within the Limits of Location this was manifested in a decision in 1831 to abolish the land grants system and to allow Crown Land to be alienated only by sale at a minimum price of 5 shillings an acre. This was a large enough sum to keep small graziers out, but not large enough to seriously hamper larger proprietors (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 49,72). It also effectively excluded ex-convicts or non-monied free settlers from acquiring land, while

allowing established landholders or emigrants with capital to monopolise it. Because of the high cost of entry, pastoralism was very much a gentleman's pursuit. It has been argued that in following this policy, the state was seeking to concentrate pastoral society into a sharp division between landowners and proletarians through artificially maintaining the price of land (Turner 1992, 161): '... it was not enough simply to arrange for labourers to go to Australia: in the interests of capital, they must remain labourers' (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 72).

Karl Marx (1902, 791-800) argued that the aim of these artificial prices was to transform the peasant into a wage labourer and the system was envisioned as a self-perpetuating one: the money accruing from sale of land was then used to assist the passage of emigrants from England—in other words to import still more labourers for the benefit of employers, particularly graziers (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 75). Until 1836 the earliest pastoralists in New England (Semphill, Dangar, Dumaresq) were essentially acquiring large tracts of land for free and would have been unaffected by these rulings unless they also occupied land within the Limits of Location. After 1836 a series of Crown Lands Acts saw the first attempts by the government to regulate the position of the squatters, in the institution of the system of Pastoral Districts under the supervision of Crown Lands Commissioners. After New England became a Pastoral District in 1839, squatters were required to obtain government licences at a nominal fee. The Crown Lands Commissioner, George MacDonald, had the responsibility for policing this obligation and for defusing the friction between landholders caused by such unregulated competitive acquisition.

During the late 1840s, the power base of the squatters began to come under increasing threat from the Crown's attempts to regulate the land apportioning system in Australia. Governor Gipps' suggested reforms of the squatting system in the 1840s met with severe opposition from the squatters and in 1847 their demands for pre-emptive leasing rights over pastoral lands were granted for a period of 8 to 14 years (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 92). Because these leases were exclusive for the term

of the contract, as was the option to purchase, the 'rights' of the squatter were protected absolutely from other interference for that period. Upon expiration of this leasing system in 1861, the Robertson Land Acts came into effect. This series of acts was designed ostensibly to alienate all Crown Land for the purchase of any selector and to regulate the amount of land which could be held by any one selector, large or small. Essentially they made land freely transferrable, like other commodities in a capitalist society (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 117).

Prompted by the growing parliamentary dominance of the urban bourgeoisie these land acts were intended as a political weapon against the economic power of the squatters (McMichael 1984, 245). Prior to 1847 the rights and titles to land of the squatters had been technically unstable, but because of the close patronage connection between pastoral gentry and government, their power base had been virtually absolute. This situation was threatened temporarily in 1847, until squatter privilege was re-established by long-term leasehold rights to their occupied land for the set period of fourteen years (McMichael 1984, 245). After 1861 and the Robertson Land Acts, pastoral rights and titles to land again became unstable in the face of what was intended to be more egalitarian competition.

Despite the increasing legal restraints on the occupation of land, established pastoralists were still able to accumulate or hold onto large estates and to circumvent free selectors acquiring significant portions of their leaseholds. Grace and Henry Dangar were able to accomplish this successfully for their Gostwyck estate in New England (Ferry 1988) as was Henry Arding Thomas at Saumarez (Ferry 1994, 220-239). Wells (1989, 74) sees the sequence of events from 1847 through to 1861 as a conversion from pastoral dominance as a political right to pastoral dominance as an economic right based on secure tenure. Unlike the situation in England, the pastoralists lost their privileged political right to the use of landed property as part of this process and the colonial aristocracy was placed increasingly on the defensive (Wells 1989, 74). Despite this, another boom in wool production lasting until the 1890s ensured that

pastoralism continued as a dominant form of capitalism and many wealthy pastoralists arrived in New England as part of this 'second wave'. The top wealth holders in New South Wales throughout the nineteenth century were always pastoralists and many of the graziers of New England were often included amongst this privileged elite (Ferry 1994, 300-301). The occupation of runs in New England was occurring against this background and the social distance which this implied was clearly remarked upon in New England. Thomas Tourle, the owner of *Balala* station, commented to his sister in the early 1840s that, 'New England is considered by far the most aristocratic part of New South Wales, almost all the young settlers are either Oxford or Cambridge' (quoted in Walker 1966, 24).

Wealth in terms of the original New England land grantees originated more in their privileged position within colonial society rather than with older family money. In New England, with three exceptions, all exploratory surveys and the pastoral expansion which subsequently followed hinged upon the presence of the Australian Agricultural Company (AAC) and the advantages which accrued to its employees (Atchison 1977, 140). A number of men involved with the AAC made good use of their knowledge, experience and connections to establish or advance their own interests. Henry Dangar for example, a surveyor with the AAC, made a number of early forays into the region and may have facilitated the movements of both Edward Gostwyck Cory and Hamilton Collins Semphill into pastoral holdings on the tablelands (Atchison 1977, 146). Dangar possessed the added advantage of family money held in estates in Cornwall (Ferry 1988) and himself acquired large pastoral domains in New England. Henry Dumaresq, in particular, through his position as Commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Company and also as brother-in-law to Governor Darling, was able to amass large grants of land spread over a wide area of eastern New South Wales. Likewise in his turn, Henry often supported other family members in a variety of ways, including his brother William who also squatted in New England (Atchison 1977, 146-7; Oppenheimer 1988). Later in the century the White family's extensive pastoral holdings in the Hunter Valley and New England were also

established as a result of James White's involvement with the AAC and although the Whites were a part of the 'second wave' of New England pastoralism, the pattern was familiar.

Under this gentrified social elite pastoralism created a hierarchical, patriarchal society, with a deep gulf of status, property and power separating those with wealth and those without. As a group pastoral social elite sought the traditional prestige of large land ownership and maintained cohesion through informal networks, such as marriage, women's contact (through correspondence, visits, entertainments and a general 'policing of gentility'), clubs, schooling and the magistracy, rather than formal political organisation (Connell and Irving 1992, 57; Denholm 1979). Largely because the system of transportation on which this attempt to create a pastoral ruling class was based came to an end in the early 1850s, a plantation-like structure of convict/pastoral relations did not come to dominate later Australian society (Connell and Irving 1987, 54; 1992, 58). Additionally, the squatting boom in the early 1860s caused further disruption to the assignment-based land owning structure, although this did not signal an end either to pastoral capitalism or to attempts to create a hierarchical ruling society. The case in New England continued to mirror the situation in other parts of New South Wales and in a sense was a smaller act in the overall drama. One of the key factors in promoting the rapid growth and dominance of pastoralism as a form of capitalism was the close connection between those who aspired to own large tracts of land and the government, both in the colony and abroad, which controlled it.

This symbiosis was nowhere more apparent than in the system of the magistracy. In 1858 for example, nine out of ten magistrates on the Armidale Bench were either squatters or station superintendants, the one exception being William Richard Bligh, who although not a pastoral property owner in New England was never-the-less a senior Government bureaucrat and the grandson of a former governor of the Australian colonies (Ward 1976). Connell and Irving (1992, 37) argue that the institution of the magistracy in particular articulated the scheme of partnership between state and

pastoralists into a manageable system. The origins of this system dated from the 1820s, when pastoral capitalism expanded and the pastoralists themselves became an arm of the state, as a 'a vast outdoor department of penal supervision' while the state in turn became a partner of the pastoralists, both supplying labour and guaranteeing its discipline. The magistrates responsible for the supervision and discipline of the convict labour force and the major pastoral land holders were one and the same individuals, a coincidence (though hardly coincidental) which reproduced the English combination of economic with legal power to create a local gentry (Connell and Irving 1992, 37-38).

The manufacturing of such a gentry was often facilitated by Governors who chose to exercise their patronage and select particular settlers to fulfil the magisterial and judicial functions traditionally performed in England by the aristocracy and the gentry (Denholm 1979, 166). In 1852 Godfrey Charles Mundy described Matthew Henry Marsh, of *Boorolong* and *Salisbury Court*, as 'one of the many gentlemen of superior condition and education, university men and others, practising bucolics in this country, who have gained for the squatters the title of the aristocracy of New South Wales'. This image was reinforced through the interconnections between state and capital, between patronage and prestige and between individual members and families of the 'ruling' class itself. The idea of a pastoral aristocracy did not necessarily imply the unequal distribution of wealth *per se*, but rather the conception of an hereditary elite: membership of the 'gentry' was thus far more about status and forms of social power than merely about wealth. The intricacies of marriage networks typify the elite cohesion maintained by the colonial squattocracy through marriage with other powerful colonial families and with minor members of English nobility (Denholm 1985, 175). This characteristic pattern extended well into the New England region and the late nineteenth century (figure 3.1).

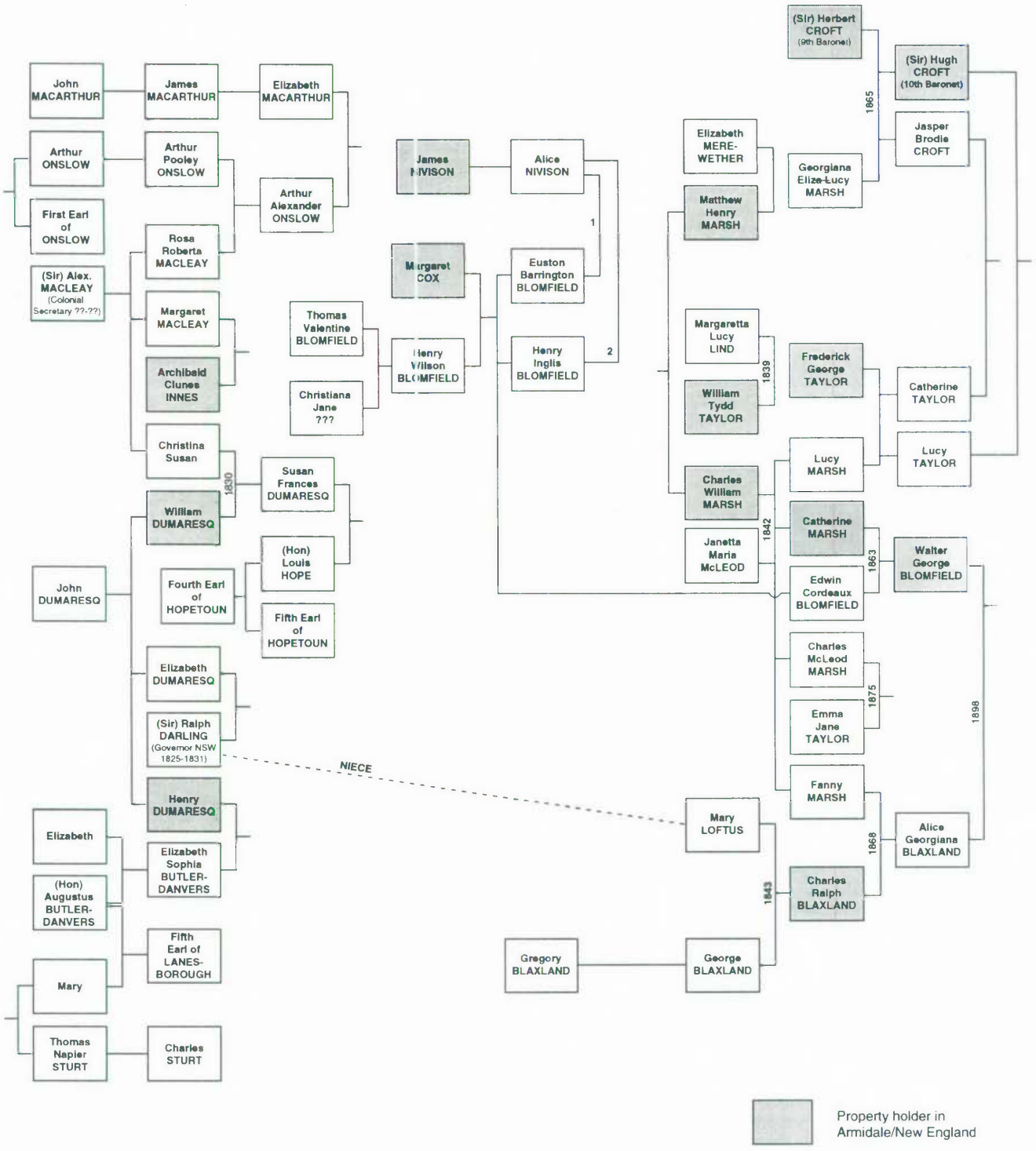


FIGURE 3.1: An outline of marriage networks influencing the pastoral presence in New England

Shepherds and shearers: the pastoral workforce

Because the first settlers of New England acquired their property through the land grant system which ran on patronage, there were two broad groupings of people during this time: a few propertied employers and a large group of propertyless employees. In 1841 for example, at a time when nearly half of the population were convicts, 71 percent of the New England population worked as labourers and 87 percent of these were employed as either shepherds or stockmen. In contrast only 1 percent of the population were classed as 'landed proprietors, merchants, bankers or professional persons'. Although transportation of convicts to New England ceased in 1851, the number of people employed as labourers was to remain fairly constant throughout the nineteenth century (see Gilbert 1982, chapter 2 and accompanying tables). The emphasis, however, gradually shifted from shepherds and labourers to shearers, stockmen and boundary riders (Walker 1963, 79).

Although convicts formed the bulk of propertyless employees in the 1840s, Aborigines were also sometimes included within this grouping. Governor Macdonald noted in his series of annual reports that Aborigines were being employed as shepherds, stockmen and house servants, and being paid in 'wages as other ordinary servants' (quoted in Gilbert 1982, 29). The gold rushes near Armidale in the 1850s, not only increased the demand for Aboriginal workers to be employed as 'shepherds, grooms and ... house servants', but also their wages, as some were receiving payments 'at the rate of £20 per annnum' (quoted in Gilbert 1982, 29-30).

It seems that, although convicts and Aborigines were both forced to become part of a dispossessed propertyless class, convicts may have been part of a different status group to Aborigines. Particularly during the first half of the 1800s, an opinion of Aborigines as innocent and noble savages and convicts as immoral degenerates was current, which prompted Commissioner Massie (Macdonald's successor) to point out to the Governor:

> the bad example constantly set to the Natives by Stockmen and Shepherds ... from such a class of persons the Aboriginal can only get in exchange for their natural simplicity, a knowledge of the most degrading habits and vices.
>
> (quoted in Gilbert 1982, 30)

This is a distinction in status which is accorded to each group by their employers of course and it is difficult to know how convicts and Aborigines regarded each other. Certainly both groups were often treated violently by squatters. Although there are many recorded instances of violent contact between Aborigines and squatters, particularly to the east of Armidale, and isolated recorded incidents on *SalisburyCourt* (see Blomfield 1981, 37-38, 46-47; Rich 1990, 110), not all squatters had such a violent attitude to the Aborigines. Of particular note were the Everett brothers, who occupied *Ollera*, approximately 40km to the north of Armidale, who not only employed Aborigines, but also successfully attempted to learn some of their dialects.

Pastoral capitalism and the construction of space

The initial pastoral properties in New England were both extensive and poorly serviced. Many of them were first established by employees sent by pastoralists into new areas to claim land on their behalf and most of their capital was invested in stock and wages. Goods were brought in by bullock dray and many pastoralists established private stores, inns, mail contracts, flour mills and stock agencies to supply their stations (Oppenheimer 1977, 158). Henry Dangar, Henry Dumaresq, William Dumaresq and the Dumaresqs' brother-in-law, Archibald Clunes Innes (who owned *Furracabad* to the north of Armidale and bought *Kentucky* from Chilcott by 1842) for example, all operated stores on their properties to supply their workers with basic goods and foodstuffs. The 'scheming and enterprise' of William Dumaresq and Innes together has prompted Alan Atkinson (1987) to argue that they may have been responsible for the site of Armidale becoming a major point in 'a triangle of supply and communication' between their stations at Port Macquarie, the Hunter Valley and New

England. Innes established a store at the present site of Armidale in late 1841 to supply his other New England runs (*Kentucky, Furracabad, Waterloo* and *Beardy Plains*) and expanded its interests by adding a postal service and mail run in 1843 (Atkinson 1987, 7-8). In the same year Dumaresq established an inn near the store to provide 'decent' accommodation for travellers (Atkinson 1987, 9).

The characteristic spatial pattening of pastoralism was a small nucleus of accommodation surrounding a headstation, with rudimentary service providers and several scattered outstations. This pattern was repeated on each station and the workforce was widely scattered. Many properties in the nineteenth century formed self-sufficient communities, complete with schools, public houses and churches. Prior to 1852, the squatters and their stores were supplied with goods exclusively from either Sydney or Port Macquarie. Communications at this time were rudimentary: in the 1840s mail was carried in on a packhorse and all goods by bullock dray. Cobb and Co did not begin passenger runs to the New England area until the late 1850s, and all the major overland roads were established by the mid-1850s (figure 3.2).

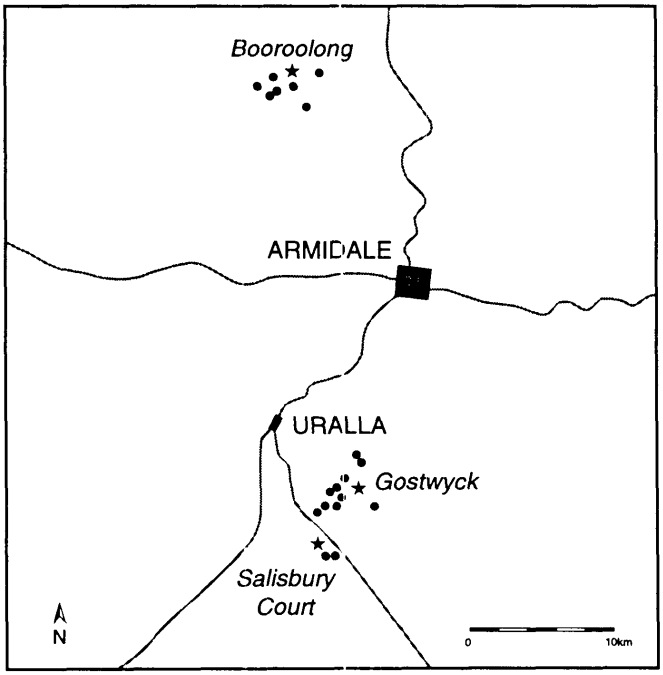


FIGURE 3.2: The spatial distribution of pastoral capitalism

Mercantile capitalism: the urban middle class alternative (1860-1890)

In the initial years of the colony merchants and pastoralists were commonly one and the same individuals and as capital was easily transferred between land, stock and trade, the merchants in no sense formed a separate class (Connell and Irving 1992, 59-60). Trade only became a more specialised activity after 1820, although most of it continued to be carried on by individuals or by private partnerships rather than by companies. This period opened with a surge of self-employment and with both the rapid expansion of capital markets during the gold rushes and a contraction in the degree of state intervention in the labour market. As the economy diversified, so too did mercantile capital, becoming organised on a variety of bases, such as banks, building societies, companies, business associations and insurance companies (Connell and Irving 1992, 83-84). As most rural land had been appropriated by the squatters, the main avenues for private investment lay in the growth of the urban centres and the leading capitalists who emerged in this way were mainly based in the capital cities, although in towns like Armidale there was also a level of mobilisation by country-town merchants and local manufacturers (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 8).

This growth in a new group and form of capitalism was so pronounced that by the 1840s a uniform colonial ruling class no longer existed and there was struggle for control of the state between rival social orders: plantation/pastoral capitalism versus *laissez-faire* capitalism (Connell and Irving 1992, 94). Although Armidale and New England were hardly at the centre of events occurring in the capital cities, they nevertheless experienced a similar struggle between competing forms of capitalism. Pastoral capital, entrenched in the rural hinterland, periodically clashed with mercantile capital, particularly over the direction intended for New England and this struggle was most frequently manifested through government. The squatters dominated the state parliament and some were often challenging political leadership through the particular issue of the revival of transportation. In 1852 the squatter of *Salisbury Court,* Matthew Henry Marsh, who was the only candidate to stand for New England in the

Legislative Assembly in 1851, agitated not only for the revival of transportation, but also for the separation of New England from the rest of New South Wales and for its inclusion with Moreton Bay. As a pastoralist it was in his own interests to prolong the supply of relatively cheap convict labour, however 'the town' (ie. the urban mercantile capitalists) was conscientiously opposed to this and he lost the election.

Later, in the early 1860s this political struggle between rival social orders became solidified through the competing agencies of the Legislative Assembly and the Municipal Council. As a legacy of the magistracy, those individuals representing New England in the colonial legislature in Sydney were predominantly conservative squatters, while exclusive dominance of the Armidale Municipal Council (incorporated in 1863) was held by urban mercantile capitalists.

In Armidale 'mercantile capital' was never really 'mercantile' in the same sense or scale as the leading merchants and financiers of the capital cities, who were directly linked to the London market. In Armidale mercantile capital was concentrated more in terms of at least five fairly distinct groups of people: professionals and senior bureaucratic officials; small contractors; self-employed businessmen such as shopkeepers or innkeepers; farmers and gold miners (figure 3.3). All of these occupations were established fairly early on and there was often an inter-connection between groups with many individuals participating in more than one sphere. Mercantile capital in Armidale was mostly held by storekeepers and innkeepers, such as John Moore, John Trim, James Tysoe, Franklin Jackes, Joseph Scholes, John Richardson and Edward Allingham or, later, the Hillgrove mine owners James Miller and Patrick McKinlay (Ferry 1994, 301). These urban mercantile capitalists have been variously referred to as the 'city fathers' or 'self-made men' (Walker 1966, 102) and their wealth came close to rivalling that of the squatters, although never exceeding it (Ferry 1994, 300-301). Although half of all the deceased estates exceeding £6000 in Armidale and its surrounding area belonged to pastoralists, the remainder belonged to urban storekeepers, professionals and mining entrepreneurs (Ferry 1994, 301).

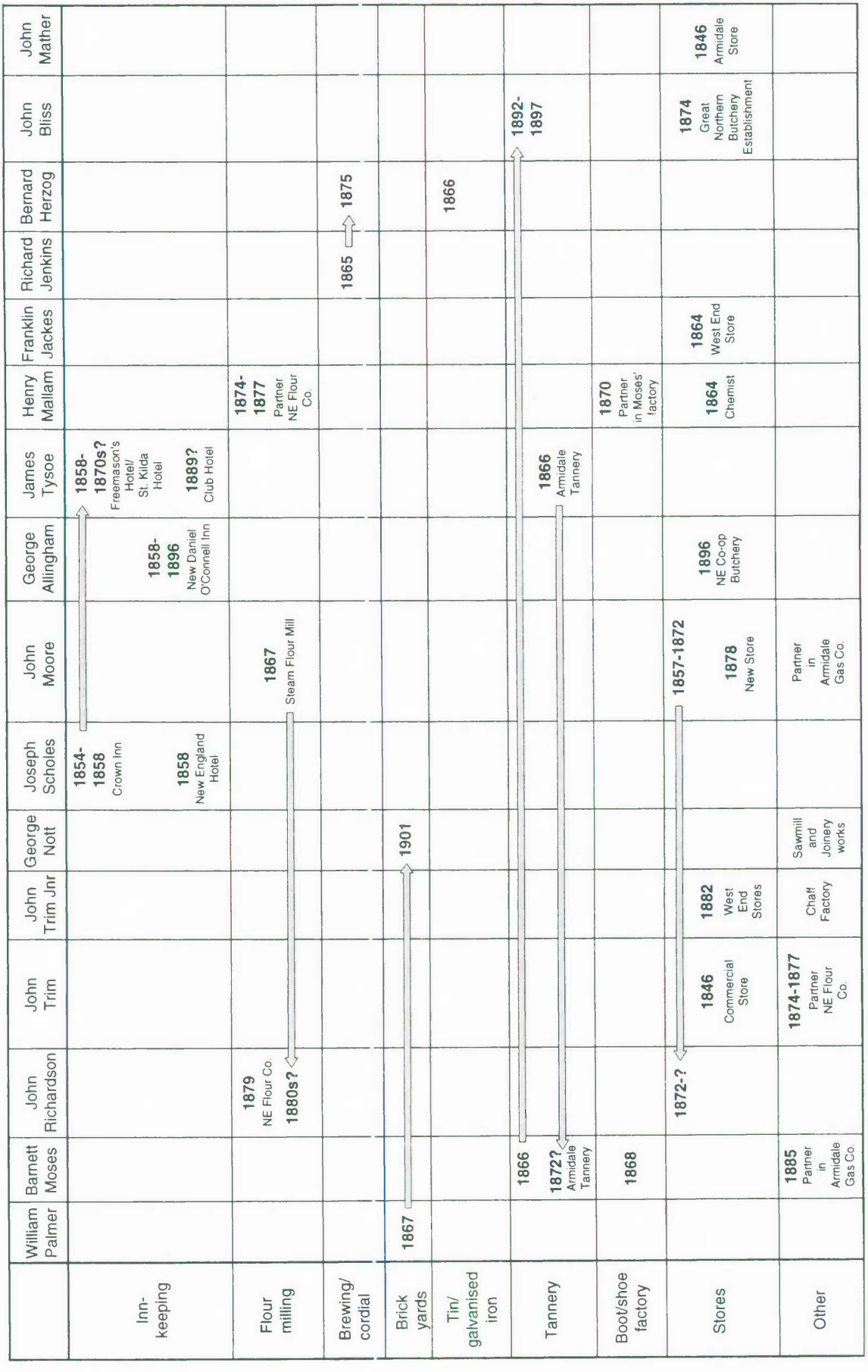


FIGURE 3.3: Some concentrations of mercantile capital within Armidale

There are many indications however, that. although New England pastoralists may have ranked among the top wealth holders in the state, urban capitalists within Armidale were relatively small scale compared to their counterparts elsewhere. There was a certain degree of overlap here, of course, in that some pastoralists, such as Innes and Dumaresq, initially owned stores and inns within the town, and some urban mercantilists, such as Edward Allingham and Franklin Jackes, later became farmers and graziers (see Ferry 1994, Appendix 5.1).

It has been argued that one consequence of gold mining was the development of such urban capital, along with new markets which favoured the development of an urban bourgeoisie in opposition to the pastoral class (McMichael 1984, 207; Turner 1992, 162). Although gold was 'discovered' in New England and in the vicinity of Armidale as early as the 1850s, this connection did not appear to generate much commercial benefit to Armidale until the establishment of the larger finds around Hillgrove, which for a time proved extremely lucrative during the 1880s and 1890s (King 1963, 98; Steel 1990). By this time the schism between pastoralism and urban mercantilism was not as pronounced as it had been twenty years earlier. The period from 1860 to 1890 saw the second major surge of capital inflow into Australia. This was concentrated in three areas: accelerated urban development in the two main commercial centres, Melbourne and Sydney; railway construction throughout Australia; and the wool industry (Morris 1986, 12). Increased capital investment during this time can also be seen in rural centres such as Armidale of course: the appearance of the town centre was greatly affected by the heavy expenditure on public buildings in the 1860s (Walker 1966, 102), the railway reached the town in 1883 and several large pastoral holdings were established around Armidale in the 1880s.

Constructing workers

Capitalism throughout this period was not just the meeting-ground for a clash between rival social groupings, but also a process of incorporating an ever-growing workforce.

Under the pastoral assignment system convicts were labourers for as long as their sentence lasted and had little grounds on which to bargain with their employers. As mercantile capitalism expanded however, so too did a pool of 'free' labourers and capitalism in both mercantile and pastoral spheres had to come to terms with this. As Connell and Irving (1992, 106-107) have argued, there was a 'hegemony in the making' during this time, which had little to do with the 'benefits of civilisation' or the 'advances of progress' and much to do with incorporating workers into a system which relied utterly upon their labour, but not upon their individualism.

Investment in a building society or a bank, for example, was helping to create a hegemonic situation by drawing workers within the system and making them dependent upon it (Connell and Irving 1992, 107). In 1886 anyone buying a home through a mortgage was also acquiring 'a stake in the country, and it is in his [sic] interest ... to avoid and fight shy of all revolutionary and disquieting or facetious movements, such as strikes, violent political agitation, or any[thing] calculated to hinder [the country's] advancement.' (quoted in Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 162). The key to hegemony, and hence ideology, is that people *participate* in it and that the dominant group dominate, not through coercion, but through pursuing policies which can be represented plausibly as in the interests of everyone (Bocock 1986, 63).

The Schools of Art and the Mechanic's Institutes can also be viewed as part of this hegemonic process, as can the various friendly societies or benefit societies. The lessons to be learned here were essentially about self-government and order: 'there was a great stress on rules, and on [the] penalties for breaching them, and on rituals and other formalities of meeting procedure, which inculcated orderliness and regularity' (Connell and Irving 1992, 106-107). The rituals may seem trivial, but they were a part of ordinary peoples' incorporation into a system of work.

Although he does not link it to capitalism, John Ferry has clearly articulated the stress which was placed upon respectability as a regime of rules during the 1860s and 1870s

in Armidale, manifest in the increasing strictures on the behaviour and conduct of bank employees; the tightening of legal sanctions governing a range of public order offences and the separation of the spheres of public and domestic life (Ferry 1994, 200, 202-204, 265-268). Hegemony was also constructed through a growing emphasis on colonial or national identification throughout this period. In contrast to the visions of the squatters, which were linked explicitly to English precedents as their wool-trade was linked explicitly to English capital and markets (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 83; McMichael 1984, 243), urban mercantile capitalism expanded in tandem with spectator sports and organised sporting events (Connell and Irving 1992, 106). These played a large part in creating a colonial or national identity amongst workers and capitalists alike. In Armidale organised horse racing appeared as early as 1842 and from this date spectator sport expanded rapidly. Cricket was played almost weekly from 1850 (Duncan 1951, 30) (often playing visiting overseas teams by the 1880s) and by 1869 Armidale boasted the existence of the Armidale and New England Jockey Club, an athletic club and in 1899 the Armidale Golf Club (Gilbert 1982, 202-206). A growing sense of identity was commensurate with growing urban capitalism—at least one of the agendas of the shop assistants' holiday movement (ably directed by some of the leading urban capitalists) was steered towards a monthly holiday programme of sports and picnics (Ferry 1994, 107).

Mercantile capitalism and the construction of space

Although there was a store and an inn on the site of Armidale by 1843, this was still an extension of pastoral capital. Both were owned by pastoralists and staffed by their representatives and were established expressly to cater for the needs of fellow squatters (Atkinson 1987). An emerging urban focus for the site cannot be credited until six years later, when Armidale possessed five inns, four stores, a flour mill, a blacksmith, two churches and a school. By this time Innes had gone bankrupt and John Mather had taken over his store. Although Armidale was first surveyed in 1846, a subsequent survey in 1849 records the growth of mercantile capital (figure 3.4).

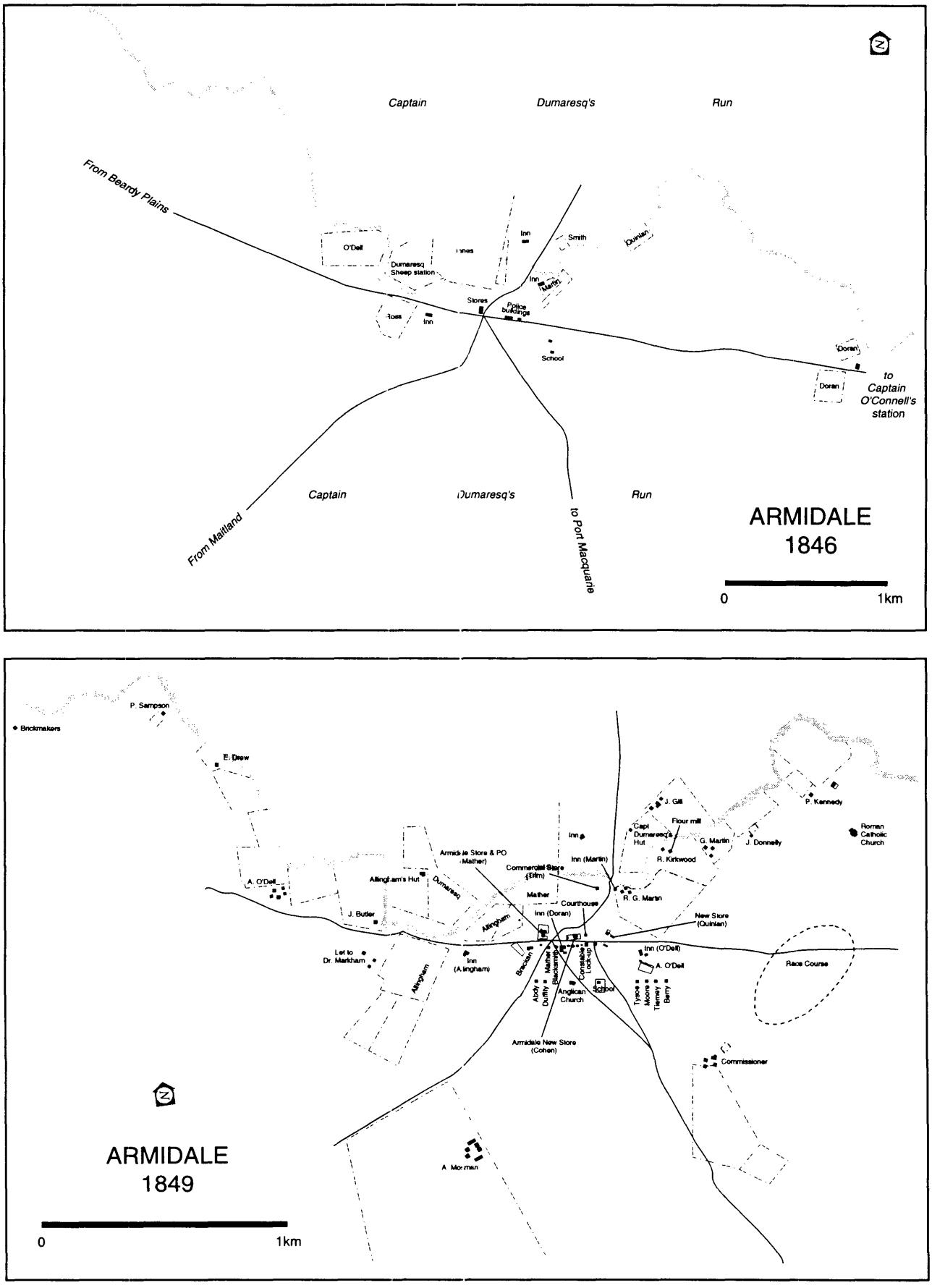


FIGURE 3.4: Two consecutive plans of Armidale: 1846 and 1849

Most capitalists in early Armidale resided at the same location as their place of work: Robert Kirkwood beside his flour mill, Robert George Martin beside his inn, John Mather beside his store. There is a small scattering of workers around the edges of town and in the midst of the service providers (figure 3.5).

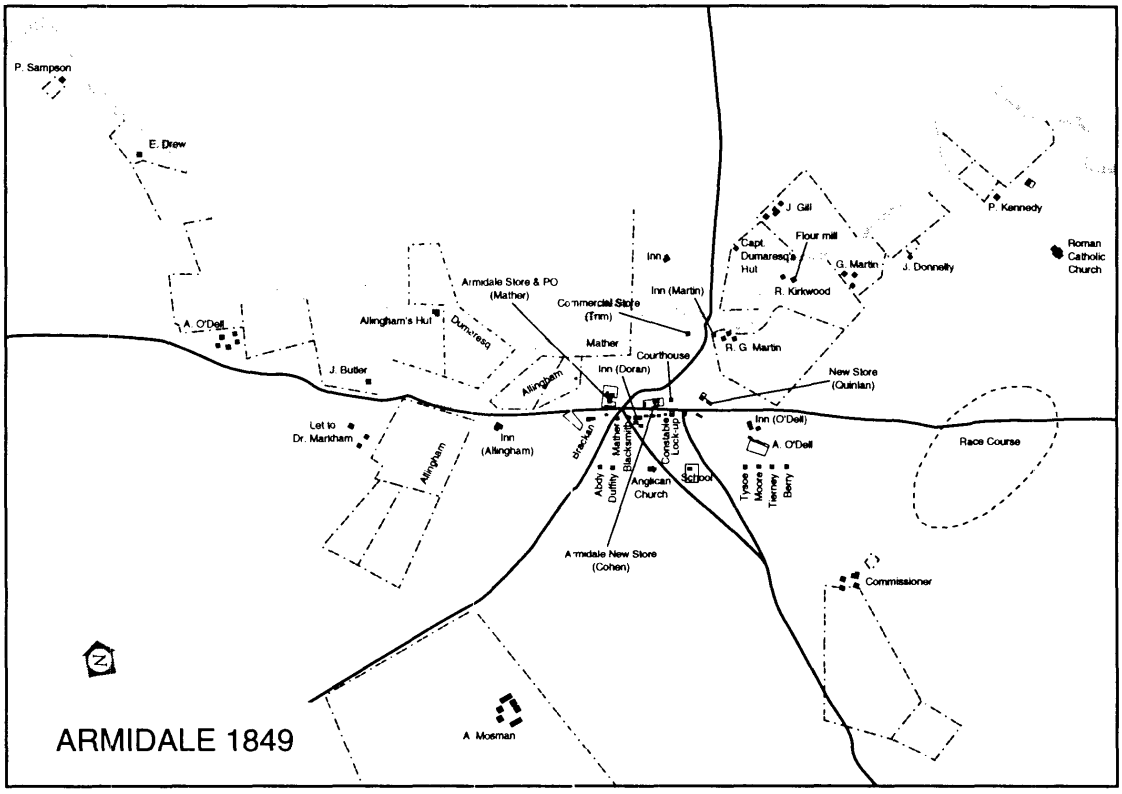


FIGURE 3.5: The spatial distribution of wealth and workforce under mercantile capitalism

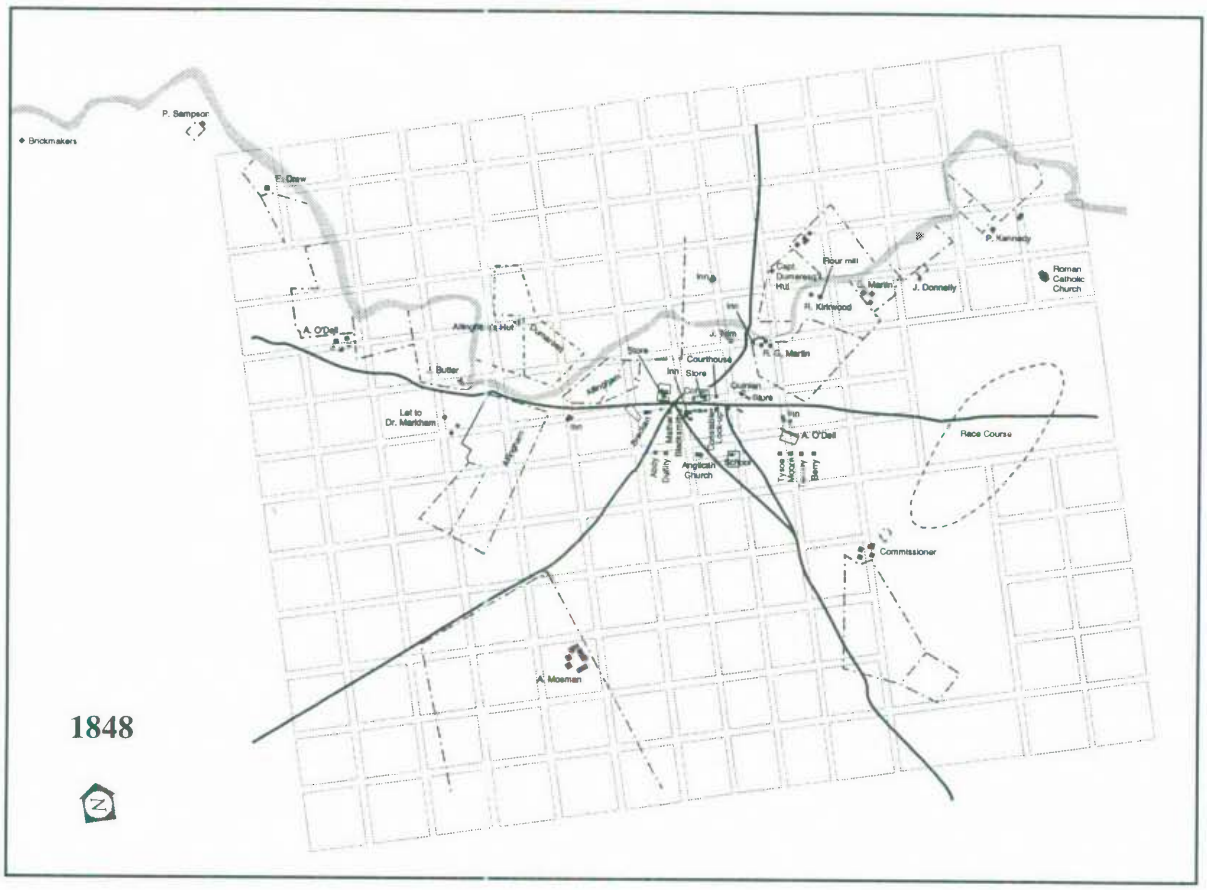
In 1849, when Armidale was surveyed for the second time, it had only a rudimentary network of streets, mostly aligned to the major overland routes. One of the purposes of the 1849 survey was to establish the layout of the town proper and to regulate the future placement of buildings. Initially the surveyor, Galloway, envisaged a rigid grid system oriented to the four compass points; however his original proposal was objected to by the residents of Armidale ' ... in consequence of the streets running through all the public houses (five in number) and some private houses' (*Maitland*

Mercury 6/12/1848). Galloway's grid ran directly through all the major concentrations of urban capital in town and the private houses of capitalists John Moore, Abraham O'Dell and George Allingham. Not surprisingly the public petition to the Governor resulted in Galloway being instructed to re-orient the grid, resulting in the rotation of 8° from north which characterises the present streetscape (figure 3.6).

Although one purpose of Galloway's grid may have been to establish the extent of the town proper, another of its purposes may also have been to promote public order through its network of straight streets (cf. Kostoff 1991, 230-232). It was certainly Galloway who remarked in 1849 that he was glad to hurry away from Armidale because of 'the low debauchery of the place, which seduces them [his men] into great irregularities' (cited in Gilbert 1982, 79). In 1850, Galloway's design was acknowledged as having brought a 'more regular and business-like appearance' to the town (*Maitland Mercury* 24/4/1850) and by the late twentieth century this ideological message had become firmly entwined with the rising fortunes of mercantile capitalism:

> The 'more regular and business-like appearance' of Armidale in 1850 was of course due to developments during the 1840s—not only the adoption of Galloway's tidy grid plan, but also the early and rather rapid development of trade, commerce and industry.
>
> (Gilbert 1982, 82)

In contrast to pastoral capitalism, services were no longer provided exclusively on the properties themselves, but were beginning to centre around Armidale and Armidale's proprietors. The extension of the railway line into Armidale in 1883 brought with it an alternative means of communication and goods, and passengers could now be transported more quickly and reliably. Prior to 1883 there were only two overland routes into Armidale: one via road from the coastal centre of Grafton and one via rail to the southern city of Newcastle and from there via road into Armidale. Costs for transporting goods via either of these services varied from seven to nine pounds and took from 15 days to 4 weeks delivery time (Harmon 1963).



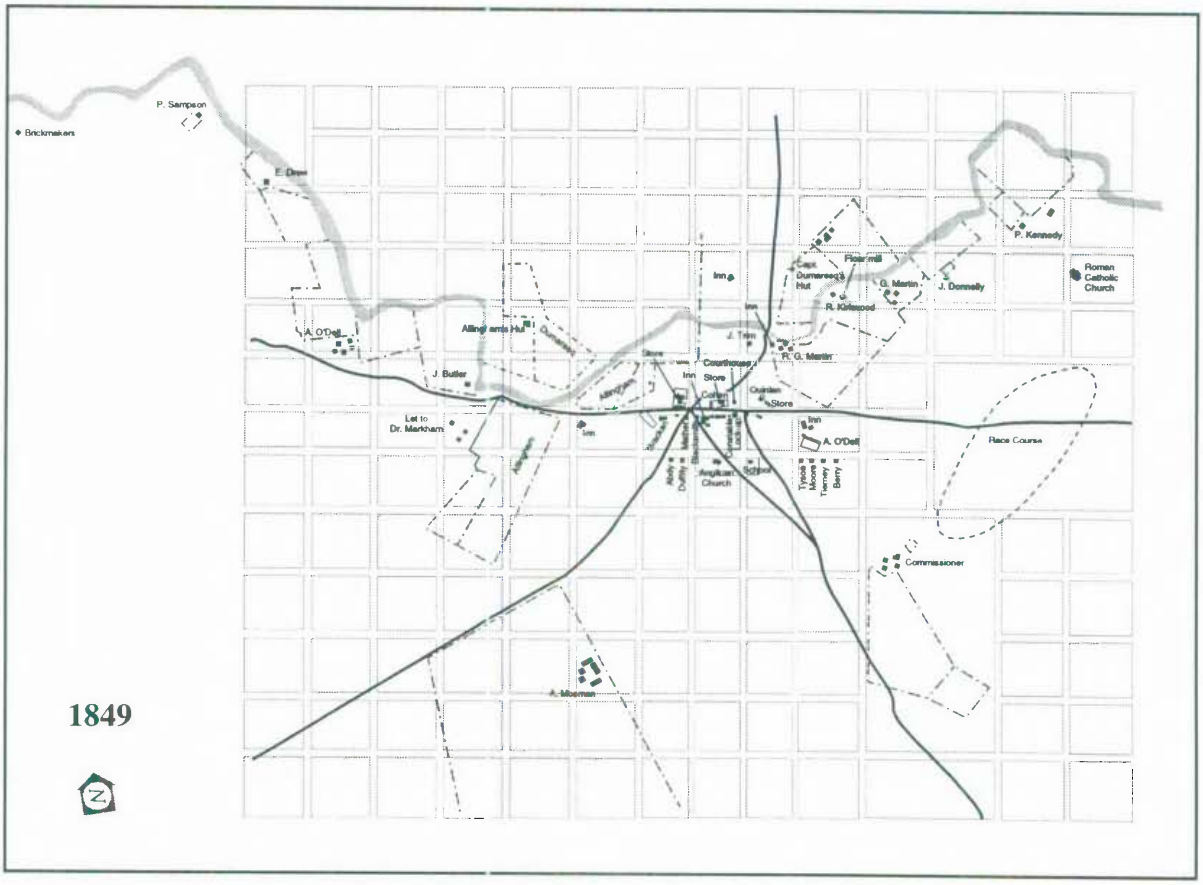


FIGURE 3.6: Galloway's original and subsequent street plans: 28th May, 1848 and 21st of March, 1849

In contrast, when the railway finally reached Armidale, both time and costs were reduced so greatly that goods such as Adelaide flour could be imported for less than the cost of the local product (Harmon 1963). Horseback was still the predominant means of local travel and communication, although the Telegraph line was connected to the Armidale Post Office in 1861 (Gilbert 1982, 47).

'Hydra-headed democracy': the working class challenge (1870-1930)

Unlike the other categories, the working class challenge is not an exposition of a particular form of capitalism. Connell and Irving use this period label instead to refer to a 'mobilisation of the working class', dating as a mass phenomenon from the late 1880s, against labour conditions, private property and class structure. Most often this working class mobilisation occurred in a suburban setting, as rural workers were both widely dispersed geographically and highly mobile occupationally, as opposed to workers in the cities (Connell and Irving 1992, 127-129). Connell and Irving view the mobilisation of the working class as an important phase, because it not only created a 'form of power that is collectively based and experienced in the capitalist mode of production', but also because 'it reflects the emerging collective forces of production and as such is a form of power which challenges capitalist relationships based on private ownership' (Connell and Irving 1992, 133). The working class challenge was thus a major expression of resistance to the capitalist structure and emphasised the contradictory experience of power.

While there were branches in Armidale of many of the organisations which were a part of the working class challenge in Sydney or Melbourne by the 1870s and 1880s (the eight-hour day association, the early closing movement, the half-day holiday movement, the shop assistants' holiday movement), there does not seem to have been any organised challenges to capital on a similar scale to that which was occurring in the capital cities. This may be due, in part, to the fact that the committees of many of these organisations in Armidale were not run by the employees themselves, but

fronted by the employers—the urban mercantile capitalists—who often occupied the key positions of president, vice-president and secretary (see Ferry 1994, 105-108). Such control over the shape and intent of such movements could not help but undermine their purpose. Isolated indications of a more antagonistic relationship between labour and capital did occur however and Moses in particular, as the only large employer of factory labour in Armidale, was the target of more than one act of sabotage. In 1879 two stacks of wattle bark in the grounds of the tannery were set on fire, leading ultimately to £1000 in damage and a year later three of Moses' dogs were poisoned with strychnine baits (Ferry 1994, 102-103; *Armidale Express* 31/1/1879 and 22/10/1880). Later in 1881 a proposed strike by workers at his tannery was averted by a settlement, prompting the editor of the *Armidale Express* to affirm that Moses was not a hard taskmaster (*Armidale Express* 17/6/1881).

By far the most antagonistic relationship to develop between capital and labour in the region was between pastoralists and shearers, who in 1888 clashed over rates of pay as part of a national movement which polarised work relationships within the pastoral industry (Ferry 1994, 111-113). This pattern of events has led John Ferry to argue that organised resistance by the workers was relatively scarce in Armidale and more typical of 'itinerant workers acting on agendas established outside the community' (Ferry 1994, 114). This pattern of worker resistance is partly a question of scale. The merchants and industrialists in Armidale were small scale compared to their counterparts elsewhere, but the shearers were members of unions operating on a national scale that were larger than any particular local grouping.

At first influenced by socialism, the most radical aspect of the working class challenge—its anti-property stance—was stunted by some working class intellectuals becoming property owners and separate in terms of property interests (Connell and Irving 1992, 138-139). Others were encouraged to enter parliament, their membership of a state organisation thus separating them from the collective power of their class. Connell and Irving (1992, 138-139) argue that by the end of the 1890s there was a

single milieu which stressed wealth, not ruling class power, as the main characteristic of class structure and which viewed change, not in terms of revolution or radical change, but as 'evolution', a gradual and peaceful process of mass education and enlightened legislation: 'Henceforth, democratic citizenship was used to legitimate the actions of the main agencies of cultural control—the family, the churches and the Mechanics' Institutes' (Connell and Irving 1992, 104).

During the 1870s and 1880s the introduction of cheap, compulsory elementary education became part of a movement from church-dominated to state education, culminating in the Public Instruction Act of 1880 which withdrew all state aid to church schools (Connell and Irving 1992, 143; Madgwick 1962, 33). Education was often seen as the solution to the problems arising from the exploitative relationship of production, a bandaid for the breakdown in 'social responsibility' which was thought to originate in the factory system (Connell and Irving 1992, 144). Outside of Armidale, the increasing stress on compulsory education was linked with the establishment of the Factory Acts prohibiting child labour. A rise in the birthrate after 1865 had resulted in both child labour and loitering on the streets presenting growing problems of social control (Connell and Irving 1992, 143). In this sense then, schools also provided social control for workers' children. One strategy for combatting this, and for defusing working class antagonism, was the introduction of a special and separate system of technical education, designed to deliver non-elitist 'practical' instruction which was both in tune with contemporary notions of progress and reinforcing of the idea of development through industrialisation. Education in this context valued the spread of knowledge for its moral utility and further equated 'citizenship' with self-discipline. Nor did 'education' cease once the individual had left school. Benefit societies, friendly societies, even unions and co-operatives, resembled schooling with their stress laid on rules, regulations and the penalties for breaching them, on rituals and the formalities of meetings and greetings. All forms of education were designed to inculcate orderliness and regularity (Connell and Irving 1992, 107).

The number of schools in Armidale grew steadily over the nineteenth century. Although several of these were state funded schools, there were also large denominational private schools, such as The Armidale School (TAS) and the New England Girls' School (NEGS). TAS was established almost exclusively by squatters, who also dominated its board of directors throughout the nineteenth century. NEGS was established by the sister of the Anglican Bishop and also catered to pastoral families. An additional repercussion of the Public Instruction Act was to reinforce an association between church schools and pastoral landowners with financial resources, and between 'selectness' and the charging of fees (Madgwick 1962), while at the same time reinforcing the association between state funded education and the working class. This linkage was nowhere more apparent than in Armidale. In 1918, for example, the Inspector of schools commented that:

> ... there is an opulent station owning class and the manual worker between whom is a great social gulf. Of course there is a fair proportion of a well-to-do middle class ... this brings into existence a number of private schools which seem to depend largely on class distinction.
>
> (cited in Gilbert 1982, 180)

In Armidale, there were also moves towards adult education in the form of the Mechanics' Institute and later, the Technical College.

Working class Armidale

Australian capitalism was a particular form of capitalism which influenced the character of the working class so that in many respects they were atypical of other groups of workers in more heavily industrialised Europe (Macintyre 1994, 126). Some sectors of the working class, such as convicts, miners and pastoral workers with rural holdings, were not dependent on the sale of their labour in the labour market and a general shortage of labour and a greater degree of occupational mobility gave them exceptional characteristics (Macintyre 1994, 137). Nineteenth century Australian capitalism was always heavily based on pastoralism or on markets created by

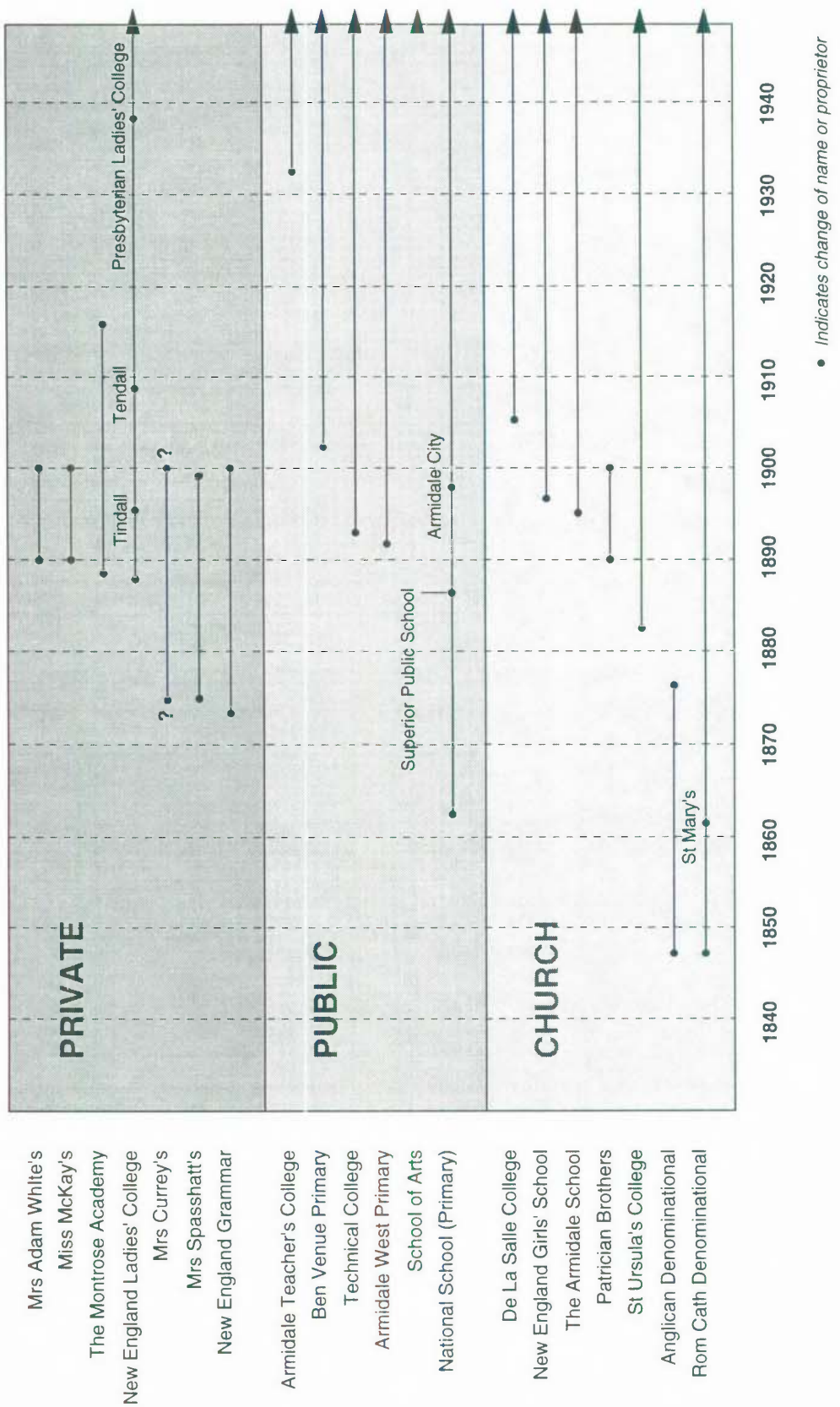


FIGURE 3.7: The growth in the number of schools in Armidale

pastoralism and the small scale of most capitalist enterprise and its largely non-industrial character:

> ... the close contact between employer and wage earner stamped a deep imprint on the working class in the towns. ... a compact between employer and worker ... intensified in the twentieth century; ... Australian craftsmen were the first to win the eight-hour day, [and] during much of the second half of the [nineteenth] century they enjoyed what was probably a uniquely high standard of living.
>
> (Macintyre 1994, 137)

The 'working class' as a group in Armidale are usually discussed as just that—a group, without reference to individual identities, unlike the case with references to pastoral or urban/mercantile capital. Often, those whom I would term 'urban mercantile capitalists' are counted as 'working class' and it is their identities which are often attached to historical accounts (see for example Wilson and Cooper 1991). The writing of history as a mainly middle class pursuit with a tendency to focus on the wealthier or politically more powerful element makes it difficult to reconstruct historically just who comprised the 'working class' in Armidale. Unlike 'pastoral capital' or 'mercantile capital', this group is not defineable in terms of property, but in terms of the opposite. It is precisely because the working class owned little or nothing, that they are not customarily viewed in terms of contributing to the Armidale landscape (see for example Perumal Murphy 1991) and therefore given little prominence in historical treatments of the town. In 1861, the only year for which detailed population breakdowns have been prepared (see Ferry 1994, Appendix 5.1), the working class (ie. men who either sold their own labour under the Masters and Servants Acts or who were self-employed in small single-operator enterprises, such as farmers, retailers, tailors, blacksmiths or butchers) constituted approximately 27 percent of the total population. Of these, 14 percent were propertyless, owning nothing but their labour. Given that the number of workers is known to have increased after the arrival of the railway in 1883, there is no reason to assume that this proportion is unusual.

There is certainly a strong working class element in the composition of the town, particularly as reflected in the location and identity of West Armidale, which has always been defined as a working class neighbourhood, by both commentators and residents. In 1887, the Member of Parliament for New England described most of the residents in this section of town as 'young married men employed at Mr Moses' Tannery and Boot Factory, Mr Palmer's brickyards, Mr Trim's Chaff factory and at the Railway Station and Goods Shed' (quoted in Gilbert 1982, 178). It has been argued that there was a distinctive identity associated with residence in this part of Armidale (Wilson and Cooper 1991, 85), clearly manifested in the agitation for independent facilities and culminating in the existence of a separate Anglican church, public primary school, police station and lock-up, as well as numerous hotels servicing this section of town. Even Dumaresq Street and Beardy Street, which bisect Armidale from east to west, acquired separate identities as 'Dumaresq Street West' and 'West Beardy Street' in order to differentiate the residences in this part of town.

Many of the workers who gave West Armidale its identity arrived in town as a direct result of the railway in 1883. Rather than being solely an opportunity for 'business ... and increase in the value of land' (*Armidale Express* 2/2/1883), the extension of the northern rail line would appear to have been the catalyst for the consolidation and cohesion of West Armidale as a working class focus. Between 1878 and 1883, 62 percent of all new buildings constructed in Armidale were located here, which Ferry (1994, 260) describes as 'a building boom the like of which [Armidale] had never seen.' In 1883, when £500 was the typical cost for a brick house and £150 the typical cost for a weatherboard house, and although most of the buildings existing in this section of town were virtually brand new, over half were rated at less than £25 and only five percent at more than £40 per annum (Ferry 1994, 260-262).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the economy was still technically pre-industrial, as the factory system which emerged in the 1870s was designed to serve a

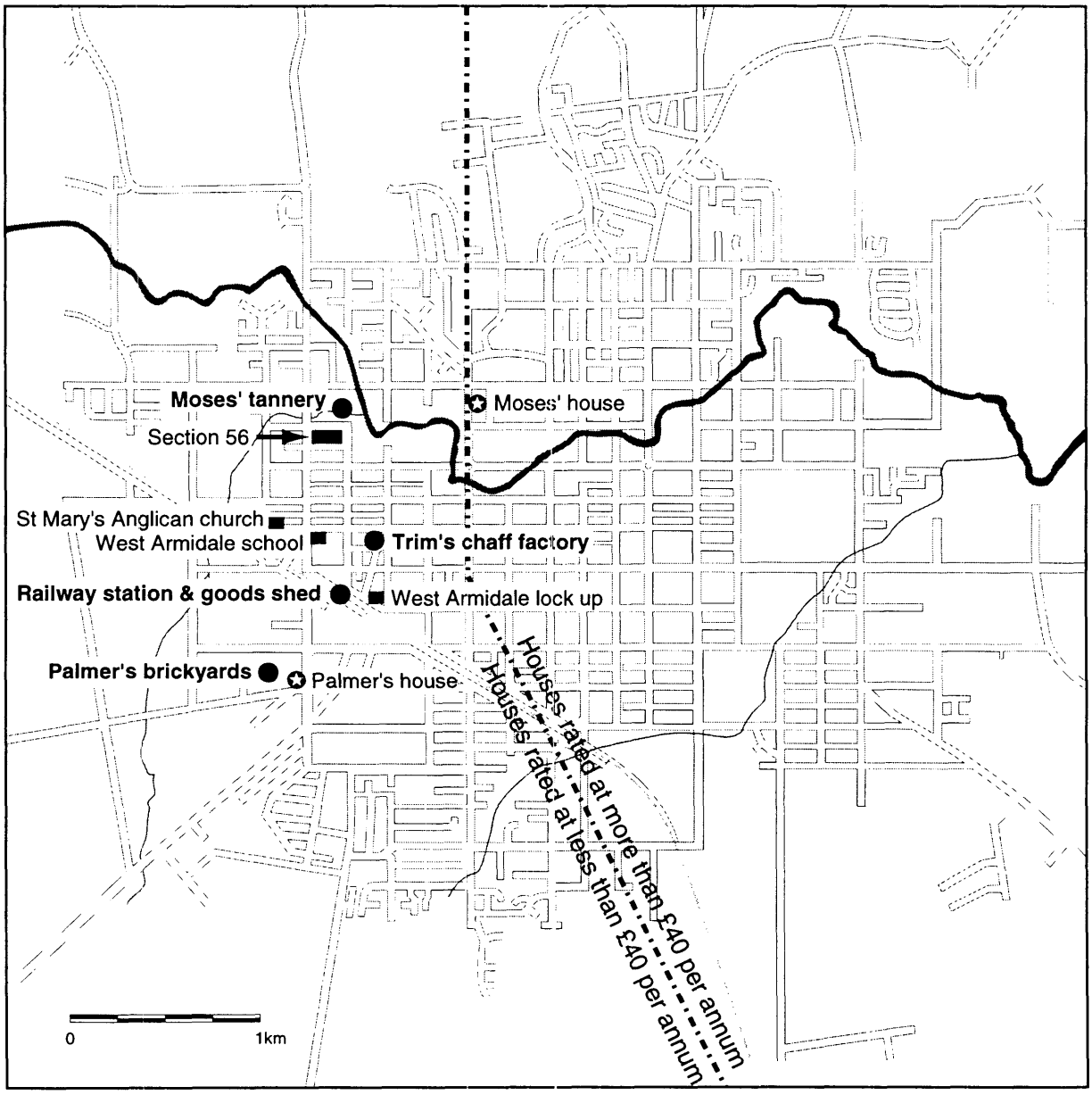


FIGURE 3.8: Workers and workplaces in nineteenth century Armidale

Industrial capitalism, 1860-1930

small domestic market only (Connell and Irving 1992, 98). The 1920s saw the beginning of a period of restructuring the economy around mass retailing and manufacturing, however, which involved changes in the form of capital, as well as changes in the labour process and the work environment. Workers became more closely co-ordinated, new routines and regularity became necessary in the actual conduct of work and labour became repetitious and constant. The social distancing which opened up within industrial capitalism also structured the space and style of the living arrangements of the workers. Part of the production process was redefining the relationship between time and labour, and work discipline came to reflect not only new work routines, but also new notions of efficiency and 'economised landscapes' (Handsman and Leone 1989, 132). This structured the location of worker's housing and the lines of travel they followed to arrive at work, as much as it did the segmentation of a labour routine into repetitive and replicable units (Handsman and Leone 1989, 128-132). It was not only 'efficient' for workers to live in close proximity to their place of work so that they minimised their amount of travel time, but in some cases also for the employers to create the workers' living space themselves (with the boarding house system, or the construction of company-owned worker communities). There was another element to the spatial segregation which accompanied industrial capitalism however, this time on the part of the owners: as much as it was considered necessary for the workers to live in proximity to their places of work, so was it considered desirable for the owners to live away from it, or at least recognisably separate from it.

Industrial capital in Armidale was never as pervasive or powerful as either mercantile or pastoral capital and certainly never reached the dimensions or complexity identified by Connell and Irving for other places in this period. An early and intense period of industrialisation between 1840 and the 1890s focused on the manufacture of flour and a later period from 1875 to 1977 concentrated on brewing and cordial manufacture,

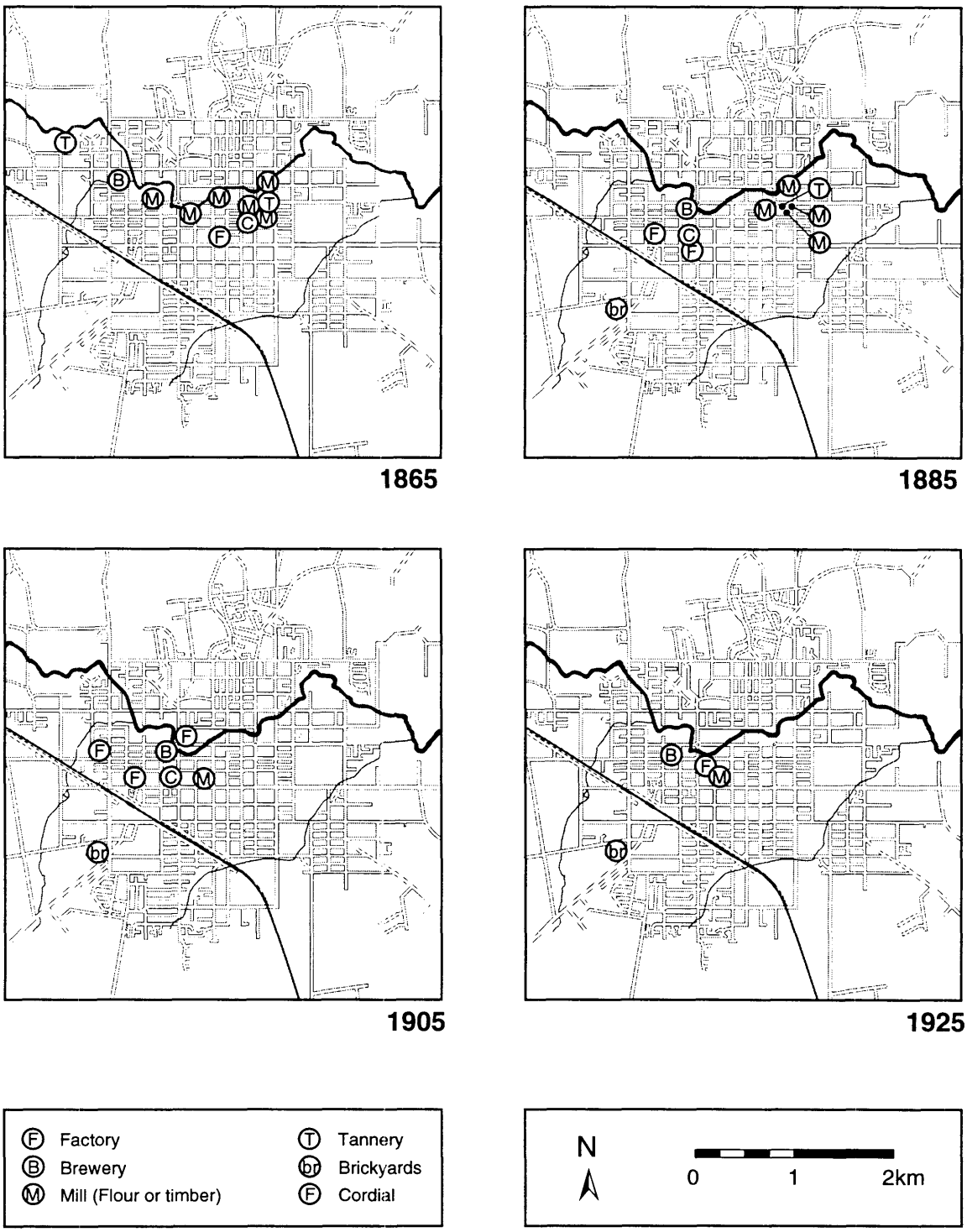


FIGURE 3.9: The changing location of industry in Armidale

however particular local industries were mostly small scale and short-lived. In 1871 local flour was exported as far as Queensland, but in the same year Adelaide flour was imported into Armidale (Harmon 1963). The coming of the railway in 1883 heralded the death of the local flour industry, as Adelaide flour could now be imported at a cost cheaper than the local product. Wheat, maize, barley, oats, fruit and potatoes were other local products which were grown commercially in the 1870s and 1880s, some of which were exported to an extra-regional market.

The main and lasting exception to the small scale of local industry was Barnett Aaron Moses' tannery, which was established around 1866. It was the only venture in Armidale to produce consistently for an extra-regional market and employed up to 100 workers at its peak in 1882 (Walker 1966, 107; Ferry 1994, 78), although it closed in 1897 soon after Moses' death.

Moses was also one of the few capitalists who indulged in a physical form of paternalism for his workers. In 1880 he bought an entire town block opposite his tannery, subdivided it and over the next two years sold most of the lots to his workers (see figure 3.6). It is likely there was strong enticement from Moses to encourage his workers to build their own houses. Almost without exception and within two years of buying a lot, each new property owner had taken out a mortgage with the New England Permanent Building Society (Land Titles Section 56, County of Sandon, Town of Armidale).

Because of the small scale of industry in Armidale there was never anything approximating the scale or atmosphere of industrial towns and it is debatable whether Connell and Irving's category applies to work relations as they were understood in Armidale. In addition, because of the often close relationship between industrial and mercantile capital in Armidale, 'industry' in this context is perhaps best regarded as a facet of mercantile capitalism. Although in Armidale there were extremely limited opportunitites for movement across the division between a propertyless working class

and a property-owning class (Ferry 1994, 316), the character of the workforce may have been much as Macintyre (1994) suggested. Armidale was largely non-industrial, except in very limited, small-scale terms and, if the example of Moses and his tannery and boot factory workers is any indication, there was often a close relationship between employer and wage earner. Many of the working class in Armidale were self-employed, as shop keepers, boarding house keepers or small farmers, and many also took seasonal work, such as shearing, if it was available. During the protracted and often bitter shearer's strikes of the early 1890s, many Armidale graziers preferred to shear with local, non-union shearers, many of whom were farmers with their own local land holdings (Ferry 1994). This should not be taken to imply that relations between capitalist and labourer were necessarily consensual however, just that sharp dichotomies between rich and poor, owner and wage-earner may have been blurred in the specific context of Armidale.

Of course 'democracy' was not at all democratic—in 1858 in Armidale the elector franchise was limited to a £10 householder fee, which effectively excluded all propertyless workers and women (Walker 1966, 154; Ferry 1994, 280-281). There was always poverty in any situation, and no matter how many stories of convicts or workers who 'made it' are invoked, or how positively distinctive Australian capitalism is rendered, many large groups in colonial Australia, such as women, Aborigines or the Chinese, are often excluded from discussion and antagonism was always present (see for example Stannage 1994). This was as true within the working class as between workers and employers, in fact one of the main goals of the trade union movement—that great bastion of supposed working class mobilisation—was the exclusion of cheap labour in the form of Chinese, children and women (Lake 1994, 270).

This, then, is the setting which constructed capitalism in Armidale. To present the history of Armidale however without considering the presence and effects of the Aborigines who inhabited firstly the area and later the margins and suburbs of the city, is to ignore an important group of people whose past and present became, whether

they liked it or not, part of the development of capitalism in Armidale. What would at times seem an essentially straightforward description of the history of the 'capitalists' and the 'workers', is complicated by the existence of the Aborigines as something other than either, with a worldview totally apart from anything which encompassed capitalism, but who were forced to become a part of it regardless. For more than 50, 000 years Australia was populated by people whose way of life did not encompass agriculture (or capitalism) until the arrival of European colonialism in the form of nearly 1000 British citizens in 1788. Such colonialism appears to be an intrinsic element of capitalist expansion, reflecting the acquisitiveness and competitive nature of the capitalist experience and the ideology of appropriation which accompanied this. Although non-capitalist societies also colonised, it was not from similar needs or desires and never at such a distance.

The societies established through the process of colonialism shared several features in common: they embodied the social relations of production characteristic of capitalism, they depended for growth on large transfers of capital and labour from Europe, they participated from the beginning in international trade and as a result they made large quantities of land available cheaply for settlers (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 27). In this context the conflict between colonialist society and the indigenous people whose land they appropriated was inevitable and embodied the classic dichotomy between a fisher-gatherer-hunter and an agriculturalist society, between some degree of collective appropriation of nature and the individual appropriation of nature. When a system constructed on relatively undivided access to both land and resources comes into contact with a system which not only appropriates access to both, but also protects such 'property' from further appropriation, the inevitable result would appear to be one of the alienation of fisher-gatherer-hunter people from their land and resources (Davidson 1989, 77). Thus 'capitalism in Australia' not only connotes a history of white occupation of the continent and the development of the capitalist social form in this context, but also the myriad ways in which such development influenced the lives and traditional social structures of the indigenous population.

COLONIAL ARMIDALE

John Ferry's 1994 PhD thesis, 'Colonial Armidale. A study of people, place and power in the formation of a country town', is the only substantial document to attempt to isolate the precise groupings of wealth and power which form the social weave of nineteenth century Armidale. Ferry (1994, 133-134) has divided the population of Armidale into four main strata: a middle, middling, working and under class. The middle class, at one end of the spectrum, were in control of the means of production, investments, resources and the labour power of others; while the working class, as the other extreme, controlled nothing but their own labour power. The middling class Ferry (1994, 133-134) composed to account for people who lacked control over one of these basic attributes: those who incurred high levels of debt for instance, or those who had no legal title to productive assets, but who still maintained some control over the means of production or over the labour power of others, such as property managers, upper echelon public servants or small entrepreneurs. The underclass, although holding no control over any aspect of production, can be contrasted to the working class in that it is composed of such unskilled workers that even their own labour power is not particularly sought after on the labour market. Also included in this grouping were those who were excluded from the labour market on other grounds, such as age, gender or race, whom Ferry (1994, 133) terms the chronic unemployed.

The main problem with Ferry's categories (which he himself recognises) is that they place a large cross-section of the community into the one group—the middling class. Membership of this group ranges from pastoralists and large entrepreneurs (albeit with high ratios of debt), to managers, single operator businesses and small farmers. Ferry attempts to section this by grouping people into status rankings, which, when contrasted to Wild's three distinctions in class relationships, provides a framework for interpreting the groups present in Armidale in the past.

In the following chapters I will distinguish groups in these terms.

WILD 1978	FERRY 1994
1. Propertied leisured employers	***Middle class:*** *Pastoralists, large retailers, large farmers, successful mining speculators*
2. Propertied working employers	***Debt-encumbered middling class:*** *Large retailers with a high debt to assets ratio, senior public servants (eg. district surveyors and school inspectors), station managers, high ranking clergy*
3. Propertied workers, periodic employers	***Middling class:*** *Small enterprise operators, clergy, local professionals (eg. solicitors and doctors)*
4. Propertied workers	***Working class:*** *Small farmers, skilled labourers (eg. bootmakers and carpenters), white collar employees (eg. teachers, bank tellers, clerks, constables)*
5. Propertyless workers	***Working class:*** *White collar employees, skilled labourers (eg. butchers, printers blacksmiths, shearers,), unskilled labourers (eg. shepherds and station hands)*

FIGURE 3.10: Ferry's status rankings in relation to Wild's class distinctions

The great strength of Ferry's formulation is that it allows for subtle distinctions to be drawn between grosser groups. Instead of pitting a 'working class' against a 'middle' or 'employer' class in a stark dichotomy, Ferry distinguishes shading within each group, alluding to possible sources of tension *within* groups, instead of merely between groups. What, for instance, were the attitudes of the underclass towards the working class? Or the debt-encumbered middling class towards the middle class? Although Ferry's and my understanding of the working class and underclass coincide, his middle and middling class do not fit neatly into my understanding of the division between pastoral and mercantile capital. Although all pastoralists fell within the middle class, mercantile capitalists fell within both the middle and middling class. Although

mercantilists such as Thomas Fitzgerald, Joseph Scholes or James Tysoe fell squarely into the middle class, many equally well-known mercantile capitalists, such as John Moore, John Trim or Edward Allingham, fell within Ferry's middling class.

IDEOLOGY

In order to link the previous section more closely with the aims of this thesis, it is necessary to isolate possible ideologies which may have accompanied the changes and development in capitalism in Armidale over time. 'Ideologies' in this sense clearly refers to sophisticated ideologies—particular social strategies which produced and were produced by the different forms of capitalism which existed in the region. I will make no attempt here to elucidate an unsophisticated ideology of capitalism in Armidale, nor how sophisticated ideologies may have articulated with it. The sophisticated ideologies presented here have been extracted from general Australian historical literature and discussion will focus on how closely these may be understood as representing the Armidale situation. There are three main sophisticated ideologies which may have articulated with the forms of capitalism in Armidale and New England, although all were no doubt closely related:

- Pastoral ascendancy and mercantile enterprise
- Progress, science and reason
- Respectability

Pastoral ascendancy and mercantile enterprise

Pastoralism was not only a particular form of capitalism, but there was a highly specific sophisticated ideology which accompanied it. This ideology was unlike anything which came after it, but not unlike that which existed in England, its parent. According to Connell and Irving (1992, 65) the dominant sophisticated ideology in the colony during this period was largely linked to the notion of moral ascendancy. The

pastoral gentry were portrayed in direct contrast to the rise of ex-convict entrepreneurs: as both virtuous and moral and, as a result, with the legitimate franchise over the economic welfare of the colony lying in their hands. This was not so much a struggle against the workforce, but against another group of capitalists: the 'virtuous', 'respectable', (wealthy, pastoral) families with no convict taint, saw themselves as the 'chief bulwark of social order against a sea of crime and immorality' as typified by those with a convict background (Connell and Irving 1992, 65-66). This ideology was obviously closely linked to the attempt by the colonial government and the incipient landed gentry to manufacture a social system with an enormous gulf between those with wealth and those without, which Connell and Irving (1992, 56-58) have likened to a 'plantation-like oligarchy'. It was obviously closely tied to the convict assignment system, not only literally in terms of the unequal labour relations necessary to effect this social system, but also metaphorically in that the gentry needed to manufacture an enormous gulf of social distance between themselves and the convicts in order to legitimise their power. The polar opposites of good and evil were not merely limited to church rhetoric, but closely linked to the maintenance of the social position of the pastoralists and thus the fortunes of the state.

With the development and spread of mercantile capitalism, the ideological initiative of the pastoralists was challenged by an essentially urban movement which stressed respectability without hierarchy and economic development without ascendancy (Connell and Irving 1992, 66-67). This became translated into an ideology of progress, which, although based on the same system of private property as the ideology of ascendancy, explicitly linked property with enterprise and economic development with social prosperity. Thus progress became identified with capitalist expansion and the public good with the state of private profits in the leading industry. This opposition was basically a conflict between a plantation (squatter) style of social order, which unashamedly favoured a revival of the set of relationships surrounding the assignment system, and an urban bourgeois social order, which favoured a nationalistic,

liberal individualism; a 'free' labour market and a 'free' society with profits and prosperity for all (Connell and Irving 1992, 94-96; Turner 1992, 162).

> ... divisions between the conservative pastoralist class whose wealth depended upon land and sheep production, and an emerging urban industrial class, centred on the large cities, were also reflected in an ideological division between the ethic of social service and the ethic of hard work and profitability. The ideology of the pastoral gentry was based upon the notion of a moral ascendancy which distinguished the pastoralists from the ex-convict population by claims to moral value and inherited cultural superiority The values of moral ascendancy emphasized the importance of social service and culture over and against both the degenerate convict and the money-grasping urban entrepreneur. ... By contrast, the ideology of the urban capitalist class emphasized social progress, hard work, saving and the virtues of private property; this was an ideology for social mobility, not of inherited cultural and economic capital.
>
> (Turner 1992, 162-163)

The pattern of wealth inheritance in Armidale and district would suggest that there was a similar ideological division between the pastoralists and urban mercantile capitalists. There is a clear trend among pastoral families to bequeath wealth to selected sons (never daughters), tying lineage to pastoral property and by various qualifications ensuring that land remained largely intact and in the family name (Ferry 1994, 310). In contrast, urban mercantilists typically distributed their property more evenly between (again) sons and often before death in the form of cash gifts, effectively encouraging the next generation to establish themselves (Ferry 1994, 310-311):

> One set of inheritance practices was based on securing a position for selected sons; the other set was based on securing an advancement in life for all sons. One set was based on holding property and associated rights intact for the next generation; the other set saw merit in a changing economic world where the advantages of parental wealth would secure an assured but unprescribed future for the next generation.

There would seem to be parallels in Armidale between an ideology of inherited ascendancy and lineage subscribed to by pastoralists and an ideology of social progress (and mobility) through individual achievement and initiative subscribed to by urban capitalists. From the point of view of urban mercantile capital, moral enlightenment

thus became linked explicitly with the ideology of economic development and the plantation ideal of the pastoralists weakened as the public sector legitimated the ideology of development (as a 'universal law of civilisation') and pastoral capital became absorbed into mercantile capital as the economy expanded on the bases of government activity (Connell and Irving 1992, 92). This was not a distant and often unconnected encounter confined only to newspaper pages or particular political and social issues. Connell and Irving argue it was this political struggle by the mercantile bourgeoisie against the conservative pastoral capitalists which was the strongest dynamic in the emergence of the commercial capitalists as the leading section of capital in the colony (Connell and Irving 1992, 98). Eventually the squatters found themselves the target of a decidedly anti-squatter alliance led by urban mercantile capitalists.

This anti-squatter push had a number of ideological underpinnings (Connell and Irving 1992, 102-104): in an age of 'progress' the squatters were accused of hindering development through a lack of interest in the explicit and socially beneficial union between capital and science; they were seen as rejecting equality of opportunity stemming from the freedom of wage labour and ultimately, the question of order was given an explicit social dimension, by making 'order' a goal of 'democracy' rather than of inherited social 'right'. Mercantile capitalism was thus almost inextricably entwined with a liberal and secular ideology of progress, which equated property with enterprise and economic development with social prosperity (Wells 1989, 38). Progress as the equation between capital and science was very much a secular ideology and during this time a direct role of the churches in the cultural sphere diminished. The Anglican clergy in particular were commonly regarded as supporters of a privileged upper class (Connell and Irving 1992, 106), although there was likely an element of ethnicity to this evaluation as well. Although religion was no longer the bulwark for the dominant social order, this is not to say that religion did not still play an important part in fashioning people's identity and mediating between them and an ideology of progress. In Armidale, religion was an important facet of social identity and, as in many other

places, the broadest and deepest divisions ran between Protestants and Catholics. Ferry (1994, 273-274) has pointed out that Catholics always constituted the largest proportion of the working class, while only three New England squatters in the 1860s were Catholic. In the same decade urban property owners in Armidale who were Church of England outnumbered Catholic urban property owners by more than two to one (Ferry 1994, 274).

It must be remembered that my definition of ideology is something which masks inequality in the social order by making it appear as anything but a human social construction. In this sense then it is possible to speak of 'working class ideology'. As a group, the working class still excluded Aborigines and women as valuable and productive members of society, yet masked this inequality in a variety of ways. Even the trade union movement, as an expression of resistance by the working class, was sophisticated ideology, because it continued to mask inequality and displace it as a social product. It was also unsophisticated ideology however—the trade unions were fundamentally based on the acceptance of capitalist economic relations, each assertion of working class influence involving them as partners of property (Macintyre 1994, 127).

It is possible to speak of a working class ideology of masculinism, which fostered a distinct sense of identity amongst property-less working class males and which persisted in various masculine constructions of the bush and of the resourceful, self-reliant and independent Australian pioneer. It is also possible however, to argue that an ideology of respectability, which cut across class boundaries yet effectively separated men from women, was also a facet to the construction of identity amongst the working class, although not definable as a strictly 'working class ideology'. It is at this point that it becomes less convincing to express as ideology the dichotomy between mercantilists and pastoralists, or between employers and workers. Although these constructions of 'right' are certainly valid and distinctive of particular historical groups, this is not all there is to ideology. There are other characterisations of ideology

and other facets to the ideologies already discussed, which do not focus so clearly on class position, yet which still provided a framework in which this position could be interpreted. People were not always grouped together by ideologies in the same way, yet groups at all scales had a part in the construction of identity. The liberal and secular ideology of progress and the ideology of respectability are excellent examples of this: both effectively constructed group in different ways, yet both both were closely intertwined with each other and with pastoralist, mercantilist and working class ideologies.

Progress, science and reason

The beliefs of many working class intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were affected by general processes of late-nineteenth century capital expansion, which presented the 'Westernised' spread of European and American capital as a law of civilisation and pointed to hopes for the future as lying with 'new countries' of European investment and settlement. Often the qualities of the frontier were eulogised and freedom and democracy were accepted as 'natural' in 'new' countries such as Australia (Connell and Irving 1992, 137-138). The romantic myth of individual opportunity in a 'new country' was present in various writings by the middle of the nineteenth century, largely because this theme was central to the political settlement based on access to opportunity imposed by the liberal bourgeoisie in that period (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 60-61). Liberal ideology defined development as a universal law of civilisation and enterprise as the denominator of success, and under it continued colonisation and pioneer resourcefulness became inextricably coupled with the ideals of progress and democracy.

Under the liberal ideology of progress, epitomised by the Robertson Land Acts, it became customary to represent Australia as an egalitarian country, where the old class divisions of England were abolished and where democracy and freedom were the basic right of all (for the classic historical formulation see Ward 1958). Colonisation and

expansion were the gateways to wealth and much as development was regarded as a basic law of civilisation, so too was science regarded as the basic mediator for its measurement. Science and progress were inextricably entwined and under their aegis many overt class distinctions were supposedly broken down. Public clubs and societies became venues for male bonding and for the establishment and expansion of male social networks. Freemasonry was, and is still, an example one of the most influential and wide ranging of masculine associations, with its emphasis on responsibility, respectability and brotherhood through skill. Freemasonry stressed the 'masculine virtues of loyalty to the community, probity in business and responsibility for dependents' and was an 'attractive arena for the expression of masculine independence' (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 427). As both a local and national organisation it provided a bridge between town and country, and in England between the aristocracy and the middle class. With value being placed on scientific education and rationality however, women were customarily excluded from participation, other than as audience or observer (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 425-427). The masonic lodge at Armidale, constructed in 1860, was the first building in New South Wales built explicitly for masonic purposes, and within five years was followed by other similar groups. The School of Arts was founded in Armidale in 1859 and, despite its franchise to educate 'working men', it became effectively a social club for urban middle class males. Although the School of Arts was expressly dedicated to the 'moral and social benefits of knowledge' and to general intellectual improvement, membership in it was limited to an annual £1 subscription fee which excluded the working class (Raszewski 1988). In Armidale it failed to attract the interest of squatters and became a venue for the urban mercantilists and the various church leaders, the 'men of power and influence in the town' (Raszewski 1988, 39).

Respectability

The ideology of science and secular progress became linked with the ideology of respectability, which was aimed at the male character and the female role in facilitating

it. Science and reason became constructed almost exclusively as male, either implicitly (through the belief in rationality and the disbelief in women's ability to exercise it) or explicitly (as with the masonic constitution which expressly forbade the participation of women). An ideology of respectability is often counterposed to an ideology of wild masculinity, which stood in opposition to many of respectability's fundamental tenets. The particularly masculine construction of 'honour' and prowess, epitomised by an excess of alcohol, violence, competition and deliberately provocative language, was an ideology of masculinity which had strong class overtones and found particular expression amongst propertyless working class males (Ferry 1994, 197). Perhaps because the only 'property' they owned was their body, this masculinist ideology was centred exclusively on the male body and expressed through personal competition in pubs and on racetracks and through a complex code of honour centering on the ability to best all others. Respectability on the other hand:

> ... took men in hand and sought to re-teach them. The essence of masculinity was no longer prowess, ... but ... the male character. ... It was no coincidence that the noble protector and gallant knight re-emerged in England at the time when women were forced into a greater dependency on men than had ever existed previously.
>
> (Ferry 1994, 198)

Marilyn Lake (1994) has suggested that the struggle between respectability and unrespectability was also a conflict between competing ideals of masculinity. In both ideologies the construction of male became a dominant ordering principle, and under the ideology of respectability, it was both women and men who participated in the construction. As Terry Eagleton (1991, xiv-xv) has argued:

> It is testimony to the fact that nobody is, ideologically speaking, a complete dupe, that people who are characterised as inferior must actually learn to be so. It is not enough for a woman or colonial subject to be defined as a lower form of life: they must be actively *taught* this definition, and some of them prove to be brilliant graduates in this process.

The ideology of respectability is an excellent example of 'inferiors'—in this case women—learning to characterise themselves in a particular ideological fashion. It is an

illustration of how an ideology may be both hegemonic, but not necessarily entirely fostered by the dominant. The learning process involved in rendering the ideology of respectability hegemonic involved creating new roles for women and men primarily through literature, most of the writers of which were women (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 176). It was women who were insisting on the probity of motherhood and the values of family and characterising domesticity and sexual difference in particular ways (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 149, 176). It was not men who were imposing such ideals upon women, but women who were fostering this amongst themselves. Under the ideology of respectability women were relegated (and relegated themselves) to a particular and private sphere (the home) and to a particular realm of 'duty' (through exploring the ways in which such values could be translated into the daily routines of home, nursery and kitchen).

It is no co-incidence that Ferry uses the notion of the 'gallant knight' to describe the central tenets of the ideology of respectability. As an ideology which defined separate spheres for men and women, it was closely entwined with ideas of chivalry and the 'gentleman', both of which were also part and parcel of British imperialism (Girouard 1981, 220-230). The nineteenth century husband was both a gentleman and a knight-errant, subscribing to a particular image of marriage and wifedom:

> The accepted symbol of mediaeval courtly love was the knight kneeling at the feet of his mistress, as a superior and adored being. According to early Victorian practice the image was acceptable in courtship but not after marriage; the husband was expected to be tender, reverent and protective, but he was also undoubtedly superior.
>
> (Girouard 1981, 199)

The image of the husband as both protective and superior was an image which carried over into the doctrines of imperialism and as a settler, the British gentleman had similar duties to guard and govern the colonies as he did his wife:

> 'We have another function such as the Romans had. The sections of men on this globe are unequally gifted. Some are strong and can govern themselves; some are weak and are the prey of foreign invaders and internal anarchy; and freedom, which all desire, is only obtainable by weak nations when they are subject to the rule of others who are at once powerful and just. This was the duty which fell to the Latin race two thousand years ago. In these modern times it has fallen to ours, and in the discharge of it the highest features in the English character have displayed themselves.' ... The sources of imperialism and the sources of the Victorian code of the gentleman are so intertwined that it is not surprising to find this code affecting the way in which the Empire was run. The philosophy of imperialism was essentially élitist. It was not only that it saw the British people as a ruling race; within the British people it saw British gentlemen as leading, loyally supported by what it liked to think of as British yeomen; and within the ranks of British gentlemen it tended to create little individual 'bands of brothers', conscious of their traditions or believing in their superiority.
>
> (Girouard 1981, 221, 224)

During the period 1840 to 1890 Connell and Irving argue that domesticity itself became devalued, as an age of progress held an undisputed ethic of performance, resulting in the separation of the household from the process of production. Thus, not only were the means of successful performance removed from the sphere in which many women were confined (Connell and Irving 1992, 69), but the earlier positive connotations which had surrounded the traditional occupation of industry in the home ('independent handicrafts', 'peasant farming') also became converted to the spheres of factory production and 'work' (Buckley and Wheelwright 1992, 145). The loss of opportunites to earn increased the dominance of marriage as the only survival route for middle class women: 'spinster' originally meant 'one who spins', but by the same route came to mean an unmarried or unwanted woman (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 272). ('Bachelor', of course, originally meant an aspirant to knighthood, one who, as yet, has not chosen a particular order). 'Progress' and 'housework' were successfully redefined in such a way that the State began introducing provisions for the teaching of 'domestic science' or 'home economics' in New South Wales in 1912:

> ... science and planning joined moral purity in the women's movement's recipe for national progress, and 'domestic science' and 'home economics' not only rationalised confining the working-class woman to the house but, in the form of labour-saving devices in the kitchen and

> the consumer market in household goods, it placated the 'new' bourgeois woman, who was trying to combine home duties and a restricted career.
>
> (Connell and Irving 1992, 142)

Although both the ideology of science and progress and the ideology of respectability were most clearly participated in by the mercantilists and pastoralists, they also provided a particular framework within which the working class viewed themselves. The idea of linking colonisation to pioneer movement, and both to progress, was given a refurbishment in the 1890s:

> ... reasserting economic independence as a basic value, as well as indicating ... preoccupation with the bush ... The idealisation of a bush ethos, stressing egalitarianism, resourcefulness, contempt for authority, sardonic humour, and so on, also had a long history before 1890 in English accounts of the bush.
>
> (Connell and Irving 1992, 145)

The 'Australian legend' of the independent, self-reliant (and bachelor) stockman became a particularly well-defined aspect of the idealisation of the bush with which many working class men empathised. Boys came to consent to their future as labourers because such work was associated with the cultural apprenticeship they received which stressed the masculinity of hard work and 'really doing things' (Thompson 1986, 121). It promoted a particular model of masculinity, which was unrelated to domesticity or marriage and which regarded feminine home influence as emasculating (Lake 1994, 265-267).

This chapter has been an attempt to outline not only the chain of individual dated events commonly cited as constituting the 'history' of Armidale, but also to examine them in terms of a number of themes which make sense of some of the connections between them. As part of this I have attempted to sketch an outline of the different types of capitalism which existed in Armidale in the past, as well as how they may have articulated, and, more importantly, to suggest some of the possible ideologies which may have accompanied this. Ideology in this chapter has been extracted

exclusively from historical literature. There are two important points here: that this literature is predominantly secondary and its corollary, that these ideologies are thus identifiable closely enough with a particular historical group of people, or else sufficiently separated in time from 'us', to be distinctive. This is not all of what ideology is, of course, but only, by my definition, particular examples of sophisticated ideology. Some of the ways in which these sophisticated ideologies intersect may well be associated with their relationship to unsophisticated ideology, which is not articulated in any of this literature. Likewise, there may be other sophisticated ideologies existing in the past in Armidale, which may still relate closely enough to the pattern of daily habit today so as to remain indistinguishable and thus unarticulated.

Part of the process of learning to do or be anything involves an interaction with material objects. People learn through use. What then is the potential for identity, and subsequently ideology, in the past of Armidale to be embodied in material artefacts? How is social identity manifest in architectural style and how might both architecture and style mediate the 'learning' process?

Chapter four

Materials and methods

SELECTION OF PLACE

Within the framework for capitalism presented in the previous chapter, Armidale and its immediate region is an interesting case study: here there was not only an initially strong pastoral push by many wealthy and influential landholders already well-established in other areas (which has continued in one form or another to the present day), but also the subsequent establishment of mercantile (including small scale industrial) capitalist interests. Unlike other population centres in the New England region such as Tamworth, Armidale is largely a nineteenth century town. It retains a high degree of nineteenth and early twentieth century features within its boundaries and also continues to be a centre for the pastoral holdings which surround it. Some of these pastoral holdings and the buildings on them are amongst the earliest in the region (*Salisbury Court*, *Booroolong*), whilst others date from the comparatively more recent acquisition of the Robertson Land Acts (*Chevy Chase*), as well as from later periods (*Saumarez*, *Trevenna*). Most importantly, in recent years 'heritage' has become a strong focus for Armidale's identity and there is a consequent high level of awareness about heritage and heritage issues and a considerable amount of effort expended in the renovation and maintenance of heritage buildings. This is fortunate for a study such as this—not only are most nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings in Armidale in good repair, but there is also a broad awareness of the history of the place, including the particular histories of individual buildings.

SELECTION OF STRUCTURES

The selection of buildings included in this thesis was mediated by a number of considerations drawn from the previous chapter's historical research: first, I needed to record the public buildings associated with the daily 'business' of capital, the hotels, shops, banks and government offices, as well as the private residences of owners and

workers. Second, I needed to include other major 'types' of building with which these same people customarily interacted; the churches, church buildings, schools and voluntary organisations. It was also necessary to include buildings built from pastoral and mercantile capital, along with the houses of workers associated with each of these industries for comparison. This produced five primary groupings of structures:

1. Public buildings, capital
2. Public buildings, service
3. Private buildings, pastoral capitalists
4. Private buildings, mercantile capitalists
5. Private buildings, workers

Within each of these groups, I could, of course, only record houses to which I was permitted access, or if not, for which substantial photographic records exist. The latter was the case with *Palmerston*, for example: although I was not permitted to visit the house, I was still able to record it from photographs.

Finally, I have used 1930 as the cut-off date for structures. This was so that I could draw upon existing historical research into the class structure of Armidale, which is focussed almost exclusively on the nineteenth century.

This constituted my initial database, and the first overarching category of buildings: extant standing structures for which I could establish a minimum of social context information, such as the name of the person responsible for building it and their position within the community. To this I have added two other categories of buildings for comparison:

1. Structures with accompanying social context information, but which no longer exist (ie. which have been replaced by other structures). These buildings were identified and recorded purely from documentary sources, and
2. Extant structures for which there is no known associated social context information.

Each of these three categories (extant structures with social context information; non-extant structures with social context information; and extant structures without social context information) relates structures to particular aspects of ideology. Initially, it is only possible to seek connections between style and social identity if a minimum of social context information can be attributed to particular buildings. Following on from this, however, if ideology relates to the construction of social identity which is mediated by style, then what are the ideological implications of buildings for which no known social context survives? What is the style of these buildings?

It was not possible to record all buildings within Armidale and its surrounds, which in 1994 numbered in excess of 6000. Although objectivity is ostensibly the goal of any archaeological study, any selection of what constitutes 'data' is mediated by the knowledge and goals of the researcher and, on any given occasion, what is recorded depends upon what is considered to be relevant. My completed database consisted of 222 structures from Armidale and its surrounding rural hinterland.

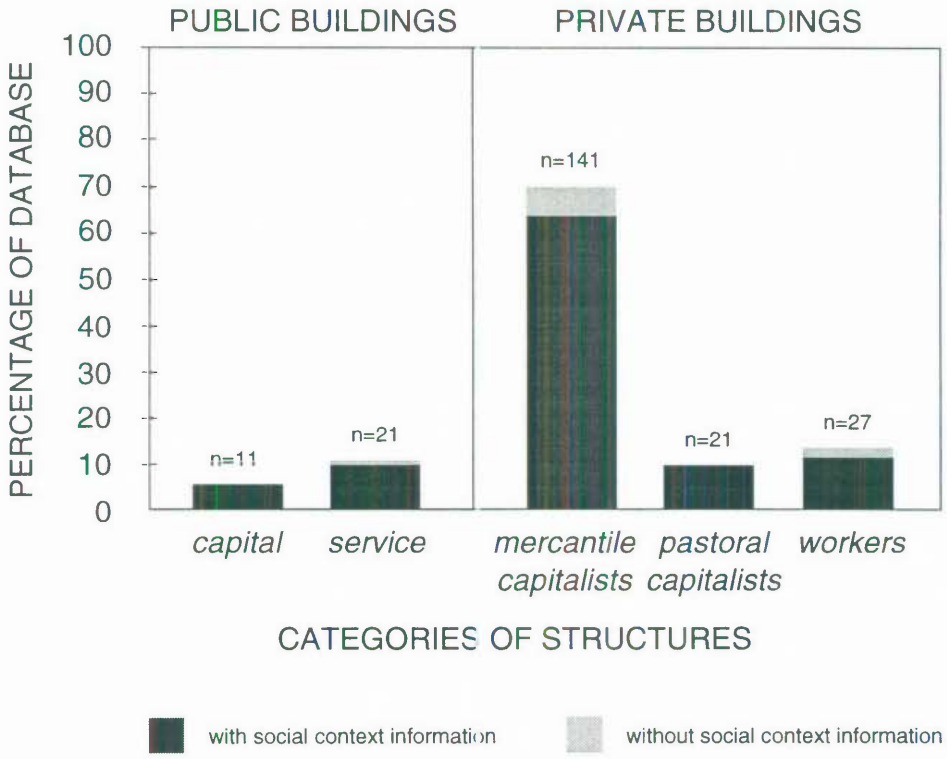


FIGURE 4.1: The range of structures recorded

SELECTION OF VARIABLES

My data collection was directed towards recording four interlocking sets of variables:

- Variables relating to social context
- Variables relating to physical appearance (style)
- Variables relating to geographical context
- Variables relating to use

Although I was only able to record social context information for some buildings, for all others I have recorded variables relating to their physical appearance (style) and to their geographical context. Geographical context is an attempt to record the physical location of the building within the city and the way in which it articulates with the city landscape (ie. whether or not it is oriented to have a view or is located in a physically dominant position). Variables relating to use is a category which I have devised to account for the role which a building may play in the community and to question the ways in which change in a building's use may also alter both its 'stylishness' and its relationship to ideology.

VARIABLES RELATING TO SOCIAL CONTEXT

These variables are all concerned with the date of the building and with information relating to the identity of the original owner (or whoever originally caused and paid for construction of the building). In relation to the identity of the original owner, I have attempted to record their position within the power structure of the community, in terms of their type of employment, their religion, class (see below), gender and the type of capital with which they may have been involved. Also included, where this is known, is the identity of the architect or builder who participated in the construction of the building and the purpose of the building (see below). Social context information was extracted from a range of sources: including primary historical documentation such as deceased estate files; For Sale/To Let notices and personal letters; and secondary historical sources, such as journal articles, theses, photographs and personal interviews.

Collecting social context information

Because I was interested in relating the style of a building to the possible ideology or ideologies mediating that style, I needed primarily to establish links between particular buildings and the identity of the person responsible for that building looking a certain way. By 'responsible' I mean both who paid for the construction to take place and who supposedly caused the building's physical appearance to be as it is. In some cases 'responsibility' may lie equally with the person or group who is paying for the building and with an architect. In the case of public buildings in particular, an architect (either Government or private) is often involved in the construction process. The same is true for the residences of many wealthy capitalists who also hired an architect to design them a 'distinctive' house. In the case of Government buildings the architect was working as a permanent employee within a known system of power and and in either case was given certain specifications—presumably provided by the employer—to fulfill. I have assumed that in the matter of choice, it is the architect or the architect's designs which appeal to the employer and which therefore relate in some fashion to the employers' own sense of identity. This is not always true of course: for example, the many churches and cathedrals within the city are paid for by numerous subscribers, but not necessarily to their architectural specifications.

Often, one and the same individual paid for construction and caused the building to appear as it does. For example, carpenter John Harper built his own house, as did builder Edmund Lonsdale. In contrast, there is not always a direct relationship between the first owner of a house and its form. Speculative builders such as H. J. P. Moore, William Seabrook and John Brown, John Barnes or William Cook were solely responsible for both the location and the form of the final building rather than the initial owner, who invariably purchased the structure either immediately or soon after completion. In these cases I have attributed 'responsibility' to the builder, rather than to the original owner, although I have also assumed that, as with architecturally designed houses, the form of the spec-built house in some way appeals to the buyer's own sense of identity.

Class

This attempts to take into account the relationship between an individual and the control of investments and resources, decision making, the physical means of production and labour power (see Wright 1978; 1989), in terms of Wild's (1978, 3) three categories between propertied and propertyless, employers and employees and leisured and workers. Obviously, it was only possible to group structures by this variable if other aspects of social context were already known, namely the identity and profession of the person responsible. When assigning structures to one of these categories (see figure 3.10), I have followed John Ferry's breakdown of the population. In some instances, named individuals from my database had already been placed in a group by Ferry; in other instances, I have used his descriptions of the various groups as a guide.

The purpose of the building

This refers to the type of structure in question: public buildings, capital; public buildings, service and domestic private buildings.

Dating the construction of buildings

The issue of establishing a date of construction for a building is a particularly problematic one. Perumal Murphy in their Heritage Study often sidestep this problem by assigning buildings to a 'period' range. These periods vary from eight to eighteen years in length, and are based on arbitrary historical criteria such as 'the coming of the railway' or 'after the First World War'. Often, as with *Merici House*, buildings are assigned to a date range within these periods based solely on their architectural style, which may provide a wildly inaccurate date.

In general, I found that social context information for public buildings is readily available, particularly for government and church funded structures. The problem of chronology is more apparent in the recording of private houses, whose date of construction is not normally recorded in prominent correspondence, but needs to be

extracted from title records. Because I am concerned with investigating a possible relationship between style, social context and ideology, establishing a relatively secure date for a building is extremely important. The buildings which I have recorded were all contained within an 87 year capsule, yet my aim has been to try and distinguish between nuances of context within this. A difference of fifteen or twenty years in the dating of a building may be decisive in relating it to its social context. A 'reliable date' in my terms is one which can be narrowed down to a maximum range of ten years.

For some buildings a known history is already attached to the site or has been previously researched by others. Several publications in the *Armidale and District Historical Society Journal* and many of the recording forms from the Armidale Heritage Study were invaluable for this reason. For buildings where this information is not already recorded, I have attempted to establish a relatively secure date of construction from searching chains of title for the allotment under question or from title information supplied by the present landowner. Before the conversion in the 1860s to Torrens title, the Old System title recorded all subsequent transactions for an allotment, from the name and date of the first purchaser. Often, the record of a mortgage having been taken out on a particular piece of land will indicate the construction of a building on that site and the size of the mortgage will provide a fairly reliable guide to the size and construction material of the building. The main problem with using Old System title to date properties is that once the property was converted to Torrens title, of course, this chain ends. Because conversion was not automatic, it depended on the individual owner to pay the required fee, and on various properties took place any time between 1866 and 1937. Drawing correlations between mortgages and the dates for construction of particular buildings is also complicated by the large loan amounts borrowed by richer property owners. Often many properties were offered as security for a single loan and so treated subsequently as a group, making it impossible to separate the treatment of individual blocks. John Moore for example, in 1887 took out a loan for £30,000, which included numerous properties in Armidale as security.

Rate books and ratings maps are useful for crosschecking title information, particularly as rate books include a description of the rateable property, as well as the

names of both owner and tenant. Unfortunately for Armidale, only one ratebook survives from the nineteenth century, for the year 1883-1884, which supplies information for the years 1878-1884 inclusive. The only ratings map which survives is for the year 1866.

The other historical sources from which it was sometimes possible to reconstruct the date of construction for a particular building were advertisements or articles in the two main local papers, the *Armidale Express* and the *Armidale Chronicle*. Both contained 'for sale' and 'to let' sections, which sometimes identified the location of a building and provided a brief desription (usually limited to size and construction material), as well as the name of the owner and sometimes the present or former tenant. These notices were particularly relevant when a building with a Section and Lot number was described as 'new', or when it was related to the location of other 'desirable' buildings in the vicinity. Where possible I have also cross checked title information, rate book information and For sale/To let notices with deceased estate files. Because death duties were payable on each estate, these files entail lists of the real and personal properties comprising the estate, along with brief descriptions and valuations of each.

Of course, any linkage between specific individuals and specific buildings is fraught with other difficulties such as change of ownership, tenancy and subsequent modification to the façade. Consequently I have also recorded where possible variables relating to the degree of change over time to the building's fabric, what these changes entail and who may have been responsible for them.

VARIABLES RELATING TO STYLE

In my recording I have attempted to take account of several interlocking sets of stylistic variables (after Apperly, Irving and Reynolds 1989, 16):

- the scale of the building
- the shape of the building
- the space immediately around the building

- the materials of which the building is made
- the detailing of the building
- the textures visible externally
- the use or non-use of elements related to previous styles
- ornament or its absence

My archaeological understanding of style is thus essentially a morphological one and I have reduced this list to three articulating aspects of a building: scale, composition and qualities between parts (cf. Layton 1991). Scale refers to the absolute size of the building, as well as to the relationship between the building and its immediate surrounding space; composition to the variety of morphological elements which combine to form a building's external appearance or its setting; and quality to distinctive relationships between elements.

Scale

Scale refers to the area of the building in square metres, the height of the building in storeys and the relationship between a building's area and the block of land on which it is situated (ie. the proportion between a building and its grounds).

Composition

Because I am initially concerned with style as an expression of identity and with the construction of group over time in Armidale, I have concentrated on the public areas and elements of a building, drawing particular attention to its exterior and façade. As a result, and following Blanton (1994, 118-119), I have adopted a strategy of recording the structural elements of a building which would be seen by a person engaged in formal visiting who is passing from the outside into the formal entrance leading to the front regions of the house. This consists of three decorative settings:

- roof setting
- façade setting and

- pre-entry setting

The inclusion of a pre-entry setting is a departure from the traditionally acceptable understanding of building style. Technically, although pre-entry elements located in the forecourt of a building are spatially divorced from the building itself, they constitute an important part of its exterior and should be considered in tandem with the decorative elements of the building proper. It would be misleading to assume that a building façade is communicative, while the appearance and use of entry spaces prior to reaching the house proper is not. I have termed this space forecourt space and have used it to include elements such as fences, gates, gardens or landscaped yards within my analysis. These are all features, which, although contributing to defining the spatial layout and public presentation of the building, cannot be accounted for within 'roof setting' or 'façade setting'. Essentially, I regard these features as providing a scene in which the style of the façade may be set and interpreted, analogous to the border in a painting.

While many of these features, particularly gardens and statuary, are recent additions to the building and not strictly archaeological, some elements, such as stairs, flanking piers, old plantings of trees and fencing hedges are representative of the original appearance of the building in the past. Because I am concerned with attempting to quantify how a building may have communicated aspects of contextual identity in the past, I regard landscape elements as merely another medium of style, particularly those elements which either enhance the presence and presentation of a building (such as formally laid out gardens or leading avenues of trees) or which mystify it (such as high fences or concealing hedges). While the implications of features enhancing the appearance of a building are routinely assessed in terms of historical archaeological treatments of gardens (see for example Leone 1989; Kryder-Reid 1994), features which obscure it, such as openness or visibility, are not. William Paca's garden is undoubtedly a statement, but what is the effect or intent of the wall which surrounds it? Given that ideology is concerned with metaphorical concealment, what might the physical concealment of particular buildings at particular times imply? For many structures I was fortunate enough to be able to record original fence forms from photographs.

Each setting was broken up into discrete features (chimney, window, door, fence), which have then been recorded in terms of their form (ie. their shape or other distinctive attribute), their material and their constituent elements. For example the setting 'façade' contains the feature 'verandah', which itself contains the elements of columns, brackets, balustrade and handrail. Each verandah element was then recorded in further detail using the same terms, ie. to describe its form, material and constituent elements (see Appendix 2).

Qualities between parts

This is an attempt to assess the relationship between decorative settings or the degree of design formality between parts. I have assessed 'qualities' in terms of the relationship between symmetry and asymmetry as evident in the building façade and in forecourt space; formality or informality as evident in the construction of forecourt space and the degree to which forecourt space is 'open' or 'closed' (ie. visible to the passerby).

VARIABLES RELATING TO GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

These variables encompass the location of each building within the city (according to the gridded block system laid down by the surveyor Galloway in 1849) and whether or not each building possesses a view—in other words, whether it overlooks and in turn can be seen from, key positions within the city landscape. To record this, the location of each building and the size of its present allotment were noted on a section plan which also noted the size and location of the original nineteenth century allotment.

VARIABLES RELATING TO USE

This is a more difficult category in that some allowance needs to be made for both past and present uses of a building. I have focussed on the original purpose for which a building was intended, any major change of purpose which it may have undergone (including identification of the subsequent purpose or purposes to which it has been

put) and the dates and kinds of alteration which may have taken place. Who defined the first function? Who and by what authority was it transformed? What physical changes occurred? These last are important for determining the proportion of original fabric which survives (and therefore which can be linked with the original owner) and the proportion of fabric which is attributable to subsequent owners and their intentions.

There is a complementary aspect of use which focusses on how buildings are either incorporated within or excluded from the public identity of the community—in other words, their 'use' as physical containers for identity and as points of articulation for the historical narratives which construct this. As a consequence I have also attempted to record any known associations between a building and particular historical figures or between a building and particular historical events (either from historical narratives or extant oral histories within the community), including whether or not the building was recorded as part of the 1991 Armidale Heritage Study. As the most comprehensive study of the Armidale built environment and of the link between this and the Armidale community and its history, the Armidale Heritage Study is one of the most prominent attempts to document (and of course to construct) a sympathetic and usable identity for the city (in terms of Council regulations and planning objectives), which is founded explicitly upon its buildings. Given that the total number of buildings existing within the city of Armidale in 1991 exceeded 6000 and that the Heritage Study is directed towards only 207 of these, there is obviously a selective process here in determining what is or is not 'heritage'. What are the consequences for this particular construction of heritage as representative of the Armidale community?

DATA COLLECTION

Each building was recorded individually on a custom-designed recording sheet (see Appendix 2), which was designed as an hierarchical checklist to reduce the amount of subjective description necessary. Photographs were taken of the façade of each building and where necessary any other peculiar characteristics. Where owners of properties were willing and available, I also collected information relating to the

known history of the building, including the date the building was constructed and who might have paid for this. Informally interviewing either owners or tenants also allowed me to collect oral histories for some sites, particularly associations between the building and local personalities or events. Although I was not able to physically visit some houses, I was still able to record them from photographs. A sample recording form and the accompanying glossary are contained in Appendix 2.

LOCATION OF STRUCTURES

The majority of buildings selected for recording were from five major geographic areas:

1. The conservation zone, which contains the largest concentration of nineteenth century private buildings within the Armidale city boundary, as well as both early, mid and late twentieth century examples. Within the area of Armidale known as 'South Hill' in particular, larger private residences were constructed by both mercantile and pastoral capitalists, as well as by upper echelon public servants,

2. The west end of town, which contains the greatest concentration of worker's houses, as well as hotels and churches associated with this suburb,

3. The central business district and surrounds, which contains the majority of public buildings, including banks, hotels, stores, churches and offices,

4. Domestic buildings associated with the pastoral industry on selected properties either in or surounding Armidale. I have attempted to record buildings associated with both original pastoral stations and buildings associated with agricultural or smaller scale rural properties. Such small scale rural properties are exclusively associated with land tenure after the Robertson Land Acts came into effect in 1863 and are consequently later in date and associated with a different group of rural land owners.

FIGURE 4.2: Geographical location of buildings recorded for this study

5. Some buildings, such as the oldest surviving house in Armidale and the house built by B. A. Moses, the largest industrial capitalist in Armidale, which were located outside of these areas, but which were also included in the database.

It is worth noting that not all buildings within these areas were included in my study. Many buildings across Armidale have been heavily rebuilt, often by the addition of external brick veneer and 'modern' aluminium sliding doors and windows (see figure 4.3). As part of this, many have had their front verandahs enclosed to provide extra living space. In some cases, no original fabric at all remains visible on the façade and where the façade of a building has been heavily compromised by such additions or alterations, it was excluded from the database. Although these alterations may well be informative in themselves, particularly the implications in converting the appearance of a weatherboard house to the appearance of a brick one through the use of veneer, I have assumed that any connection between the external appearance of these façades after alteration and the social context of the person who originally caused the structure to be built, will be severely limited. Likewise I have attempted to isolate the amount of reconstruction or renovation that each building has undergone (but see below).

In rare instances, nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs of extant buildings exist, which I have used to record details of their original fabric. In some rare instances the façade of a building has been completely rebuilt at a later date. Such was the case with Peter Speare's villa, *Denmark House*, for example, which, although originally constructed in 1877 as a private house for a man who made his money from the Hillgrove goldfields, later became a convent for Ursuline nuns (figure 4.3). It has been extended and altered partly as the convent and attached girls' college grew and partly to conform to the early 1920s style of other Catholic church buildings. In this particular case, I have recorded the building in terms of its original style and form and attributed its style to its original owner, although the later religious purpose and style of the building can no doubt be read with as much intent.

A complete list of all buildings recorded for this study is contained in Appendix 1.

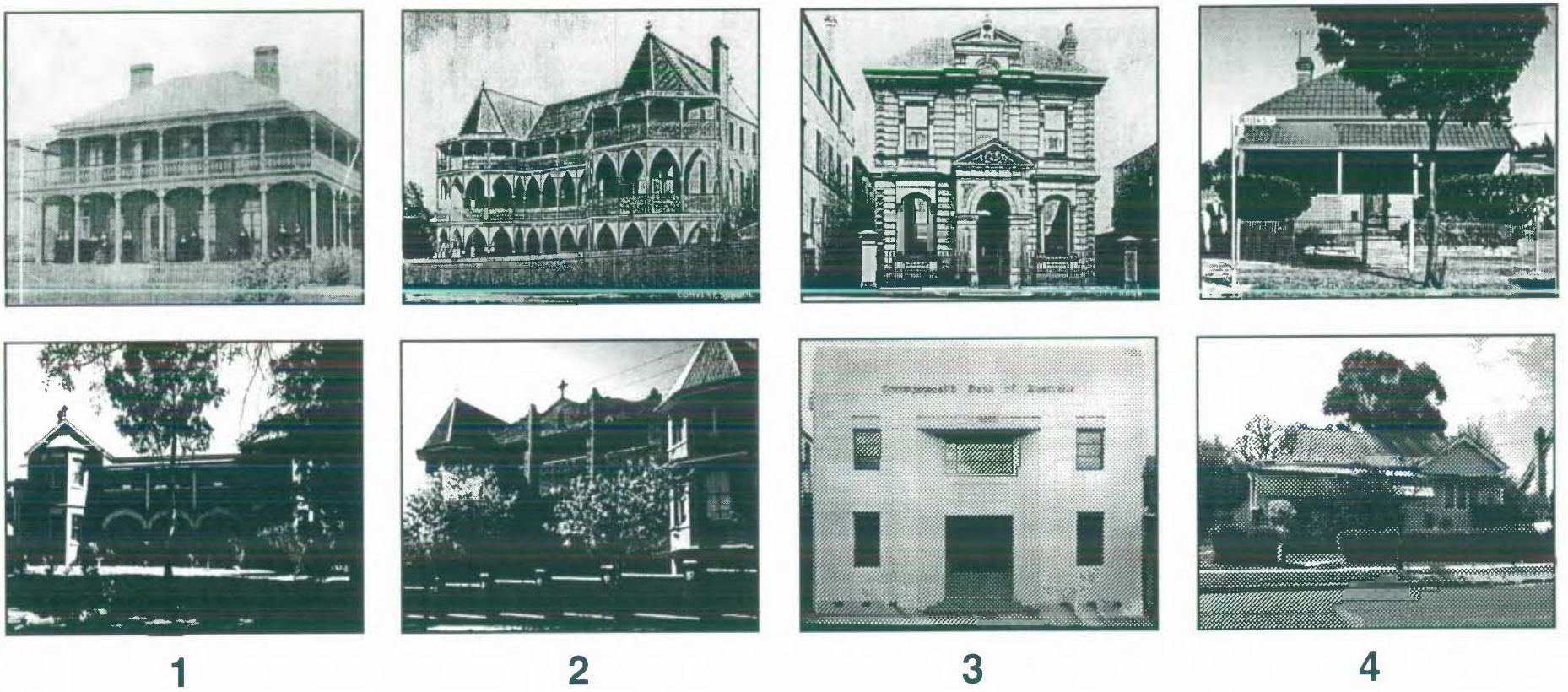


FIGURE 4.3: Alterations to the physical fabric of structures in Armidale. 1: *Denmark House* c1888 and 1996; 2: St Ursula's College c1895 and 1996; 3: The City Bank of Sydney c1895 and 1996; 4: 'Modernising' an old weatherboard house by adding brick veneer and enclosing the front verandah

ANALYSIS

All recorded information was entered into the Entrer Trois data entry program and later transferred to a Microsoft Access relational database. My initial analysis was intended to gain an appreciation of the gross spatial characteristics of architectural style over time and the relationship between this and possible status boundaries. Following on from this, I wanted to explore the manifestation of each aspect of architectural style in terms of each category of social context.

Given that my data was primarily nominal or categorical data, I have used the chi-square (x^2) and Fisher exact tests to statistically examine associations between variables, except where I judged significance to be perfectly obvious, such as when either 0 or 100 percent occurrence of a feature occurred in a single social context. Choice between the chi-square and Fisher's exact tests was dictated by sample size and the size of expected frequencies: in the cases where the chi-square test was inappropriate (ie. where cell frequencies were less than 5 or $n \leq 20$) (Fletcher and Lock 1991, 118-119; Siegel and Castellan 1988, 123; Thomas 1986, 299) I have used the Fisher exact test. I have structured both the chi-square and Fisher exact tests to compare relative patterning in a feature with that in all other categories of the database. Ultimately, significance for all of the data was assessed in 2 x 2 contingency tables and most was calculated using Fisher's exact test.

Some initial sample sizes (ie. structures in the date categories 1840-1860; and public buildings constructed by State capital for both of which $n = 7$) were too small to enable statistically meaningful conclusions to be drawn. Where possible in these cases I have combined categories to enlarge the sample size; thus, for example, the new analytical category 'public buildings' contains both Government, Church and bank buildings, and the category 'early' contains all structures erected prior to 1880. In this fashion I have grouped several sets of scattered variables resulting in a complete list of 30 variables (see also figure 4.4):

- Symmetry
- Construction material
- Brick bond (colonial, english, flemish, stretcher)
- Decorative finishes (polychrome brick, scored ashlar brick and weatherboard)
- Quoins
- Parapet (verandah and main roof)
- Form of brick arch (flat, shallow, semi-circular)
- Finials
- Bargeboard
- Eave detail (bracketted)
- Frenchdoors
- Portico
- Form of verandah roof (concave, bullnose, singlepitch)
- Timber verandah decoration (brackets, freizes, fringes)
- Cast iron verandah decoration (brackets, fringes, freizes, columns and balustrades)
- Timber verandah columns (stop-chamfered or turned)
- Fences
- Hedges
- Piers
- Stained glass (in doors and windows)
- Pilasters (beside doors and windows)
- Label moulds (over doors and windows)
- Sidelights
- Fanlights
- Bay windows (square, facetted, oriel and round)
- Formal name
- Extras (tower, buttress, spire)
- Design influences (classical, medieval)
- View
- Associated historical figures or stories

This process has also resulted in three main chronological divisions, early (1840-1879), middle (1880-1899) and late (1900-1930), where previously there had been nine, one for each decade. Historically, the first two of these composite periods correspond to the main periods of ideological division: in the early period between rival mercantile and pastoral capital and in the middle period between a consolidating

mercantile/pastoral 'privileged' group and outsiders. The final period constitutes the remainder.

Even these measures were not enough to raise some sample sizes. Although I would have liked to have had more workers houses' in the database, these either do not survive or are impossible to link to social context. Small sample sizes also meant that I could not find significant associations between other categories of social context and style. Both gender and some indications of social status, such as membership sanctions in voluntary organisations, proved to be invisible as possible arbiters of style in this study. Although this prevented me from making statistically meaningful observations on any of these spheres, this in itself is data.

Finally, although graphs of the percentage occurrence of many variables suggested associations between style features and social context, when counts for the 30 variables were compared statistically in over 1400 contingency tables, not all were found to have significant associations with capital or social class. I tested the frequency of occurrence of all variables at different time periods and for different social groups, but using a level of significance of 0.05 found only 43 statistically significant results (3% of the tests) (see also table 5.1). Although this might indicate that these associations have arisen due to chance, very few additional associations become significant if the level is raised to 0.10, suggesting that they may in fact be real. In the next three chapters, rather than discussing the chronological and spatial distribution of all variables I will only discuss those which were significant at either the 5 or the 10 percent level (figure 4.4).

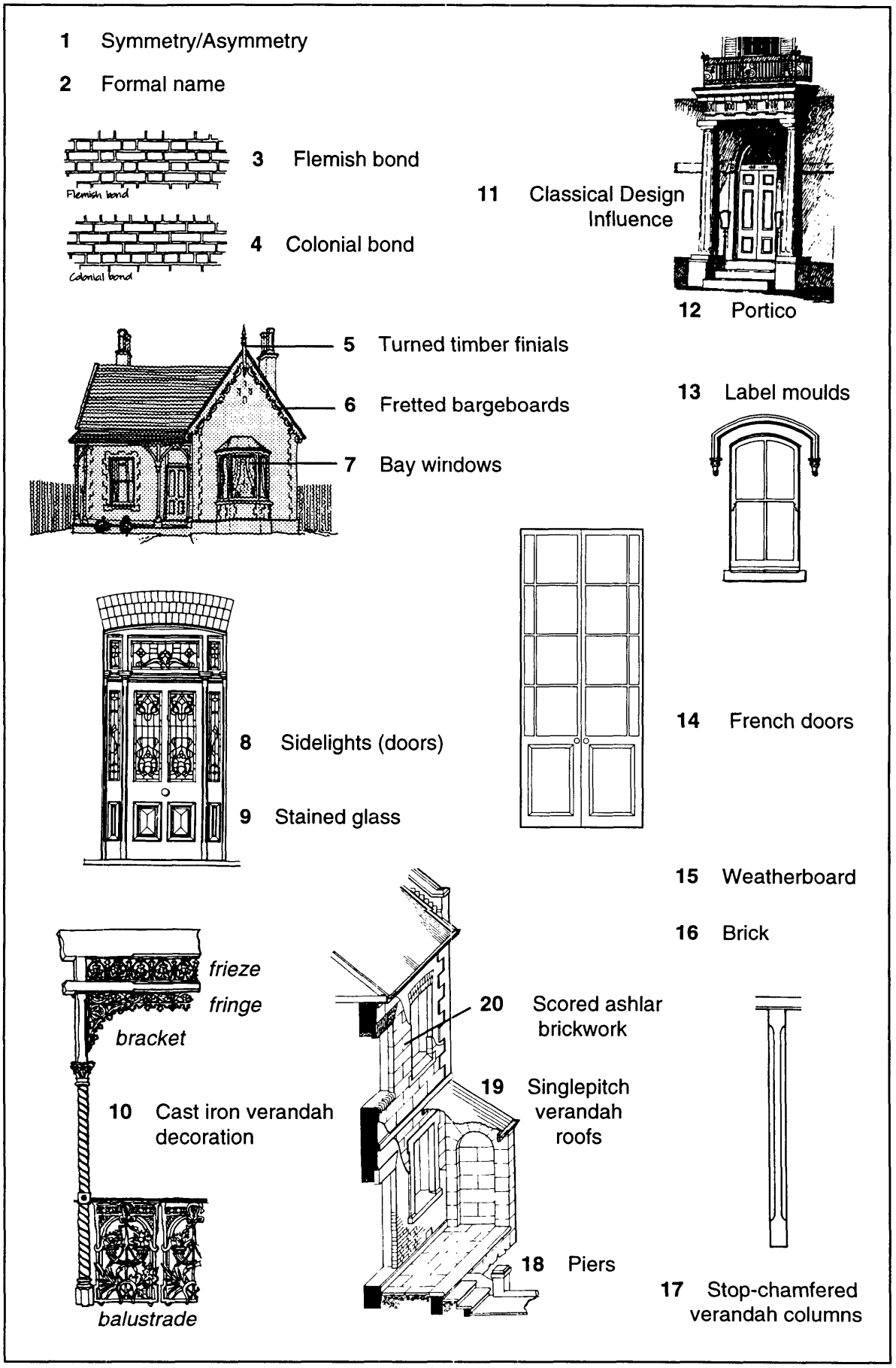


FIGURE 4.4: Statistically significant variables

BIASES IN THE DATABASE

Three kinds of biases occured in my data. The first was the unequal representation of structures representing mercantile capital. Out of a total of 222 structures, 166 of these were either built by mercantile capitalists or workers associated with them. Secondly, the survival rate of structures is clearly biased towards the 1880s, with very few structures surviving from the 1840s and 1850s (see figure 4.5). Lastly, most mercantile structures were geographically concentrated in a particular location: South Hill.

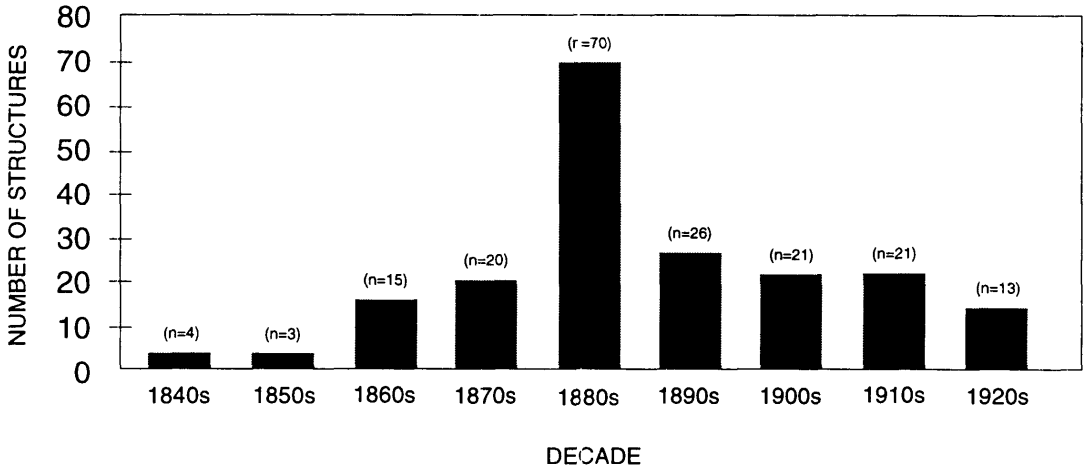


FIGURE 4.5: The survival rate of structures

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As an historical archaeologist I have an enduring interest in standing structures and their place within the community. With the exception of the small sample of houses recorded purely from historical data, this creates two obvious problems: only those individuals associated with property have been included within my study and even more limiting, only those individuals associated with property *which survives archaeologically* are represented here. The focus on buildings as property effected a particular kind of social closure by automatically excluding a great number of people.

In 1871 for example, only 13 percent of the total population of Armidale owned property, which obviously limits the proportion whose identity might be represented through architecture. Ferry (1994, 351-365) has already alluded to the proportion of working class males who resided and worked, and no doubt had a stake in ideology, in Armidale, but who owned no property. To compound this problem I was unable to find any information relating to who rented properties in Armidale, apart from a very few high profile examples, such as when the Anglican bishop of Grafton and Armidale rented Henry Mallam's house in 1871. No information was available as to where or what properties working class people rented.

Likewise, until the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1893, women's property belonged legally to their husbands, regardless of whether it was personal property (such as cash or stocks), real estate or an inheritance coming to the wife during marriage (Ferry 1994, 148-149). In 1861, 43 percent of the population was classed as 'residue'—those not working—and in terms of the ownership of property, women property owners constituted only a miniscule four percent of the total population. Although they resided in, spent money in, and used the facilities available in the town, their identity is much more difficult to establish through architectural style, particularly through the study of the external façade only and undoubtedly women will be under-represented in any predominantly nineteenth century study of the built environment. I was only able positively to identify seven buildings in my database commissioned by women, although there were undoubtedly more.

There are many other groups of people, such as domestic servants and white collar employees, such as school teachers, low ranking clergy, police constables and clerks, who likewise owned no real property and who are thus not represented anywhere in the built heritage of Armidale. And although I know that Aborigines in Aboriginal communities use and alter European houses in a particular way which renders them distinctive (and which often causes white people to complain), they are not represented here either, and for the same reasons.

Although Matthew Johnson (1993b, 10) has pointed out that to assume a relationship between wealth levels and house building is quite problematic, it is not really an issue

in this study. Although it is undoubtedly true that 'whether or not a household will invest its money in architecture as opposed ... to moveable goods or the Church, is a decision that will vary from culture to culture and from social group to social group' (Johnson 1991, 10), in Armidale money was routinely channelled into standing structures, even by workers through mortgages offered by the New England Permanent Building Society.

Finally, because I am focussing on external façades, there is no room in this thesis for expressions of identity constructed and displayed in private space (ie. inside). While I am assuming that individuals also expressed their identity in private, and possibly in ways which ran contrary to their expressions in public (cf. Giddens 1979, 191), the inclusion of this data was beyond the scope of this study. It is also to a large degree irrelevant in a thesis concerned with the social construction of identity through the symbolic structuring of the public spaces of Armidale.