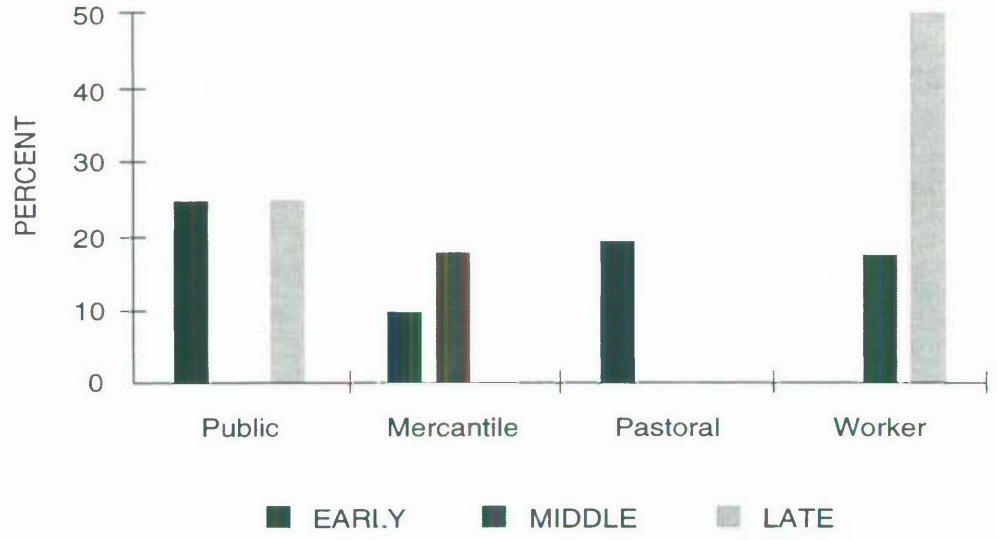


FIGURE 5.22: The distribution of turned timber finials according to capital

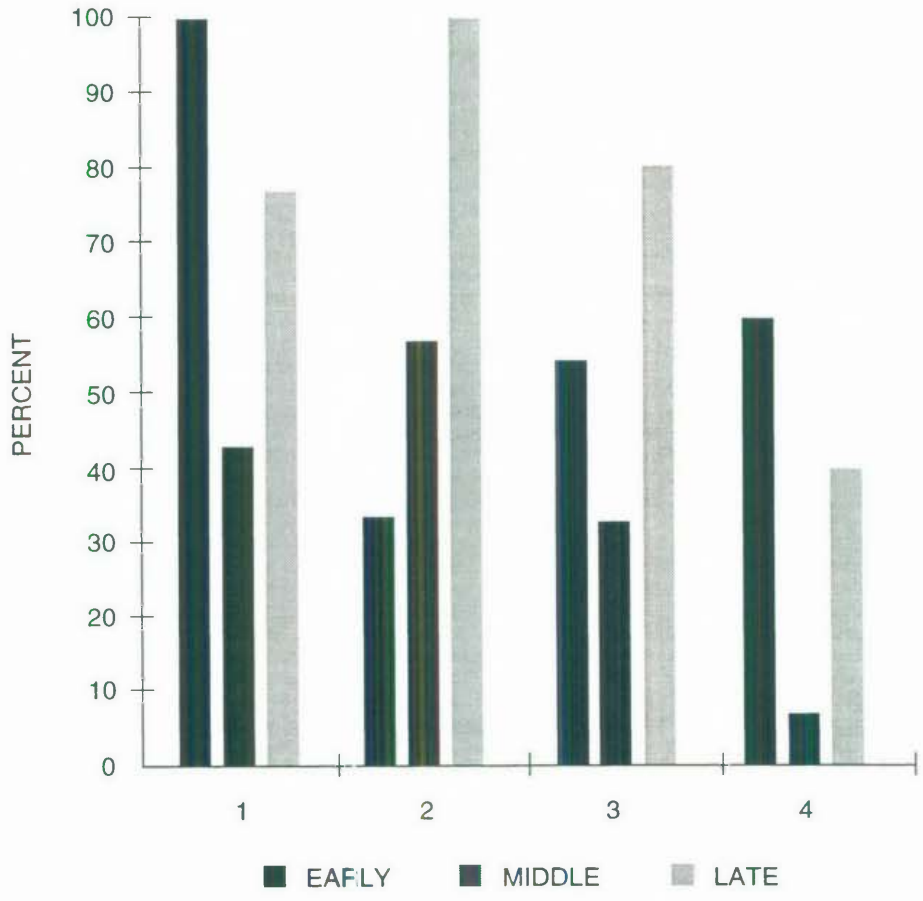


FIGURE 5.23: The distribution of formal name according to class

Early period: 1840-1879

Only two significant associations occur between 1840 and 1879 with respect to social class. The first occurs in the practice of naming structures (figure 5.23). One hundred percent of group 1 structures have formal names attached to them, compared to 34 percent of group 2 structures and 55 percent of group 3 buildings. Naming a house and an area of land creates links with the European model of landed estates and great houses, and many estates in Armidale and New England take their names directly from European places and events (eg. *Salisbury Court*, *Saumarez*, *Waterloo*, *Cotswold*, *Arran House*, *Tintagel*).

The second association is in the incidence of symmetry between group 1 and group 3 structures. Compared to 50 percent of group 1 buildings, 90 percent of group 3 buildings are symmetrical (Figure 5.24).

Middle period: 1880-1899

Differences in construction material are readily apparent in this period: all buildings from group 2 were made of brick, compared to most group 4 houses, which were built from cheaper weatherboard (figures 5.25 and 5.26). Accordingly, group 4 obviously constructed a significantly smaller proportion of their houses in the most decorative of all bonds, Flemish bond, compared to group 1, who built 50 percent of their houses in this period using this feature (figure 5.27). Interestingly, another feature which clearly relates to group 1 is a significantly higher proportionate use of colonial bond, compared to groups 3 and 4 (figure 5.28). The difference in frequency of this feature between groups 1 and 4 is significant at the 5 percent level and between groups 1 and 3 highly significant at the 1 percent level. Group 1 is also distinguished from group 4 in their use of classical design elements: 27 percent of structures built by group 1 employ these motifs, in contrast to no group 4 structures (figure 5.29).

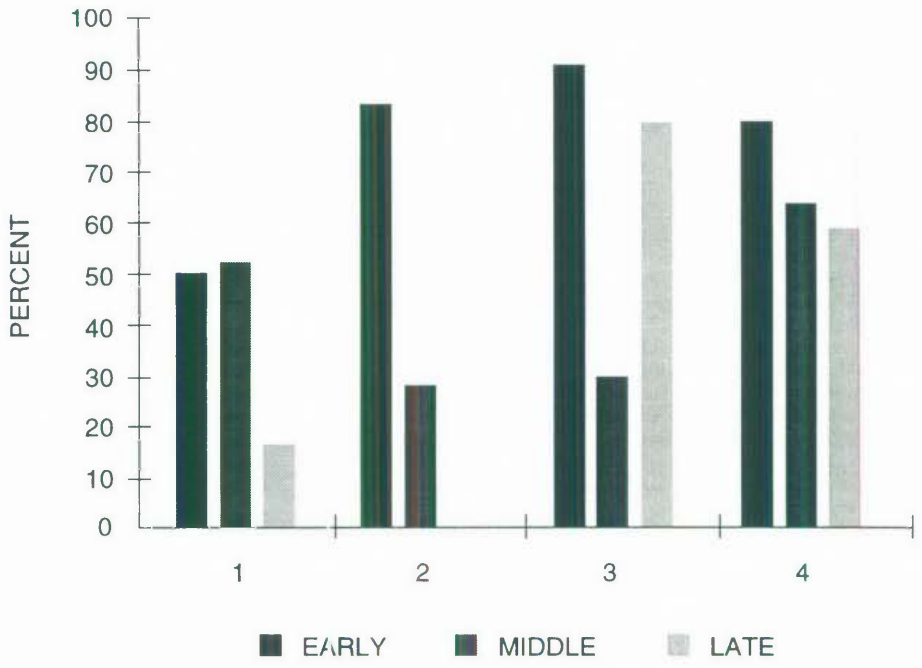


FIGURE 5.24: The distribution of symmetry according to class

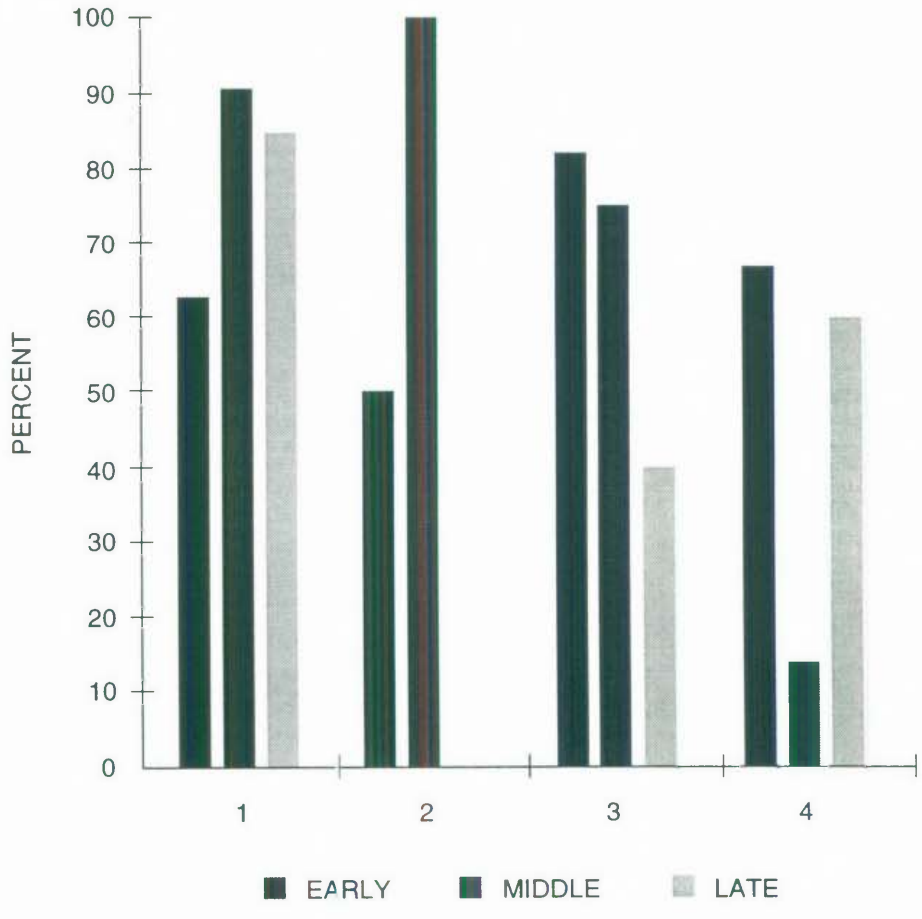


FIGURE 5.25: The distribution of brick according to class

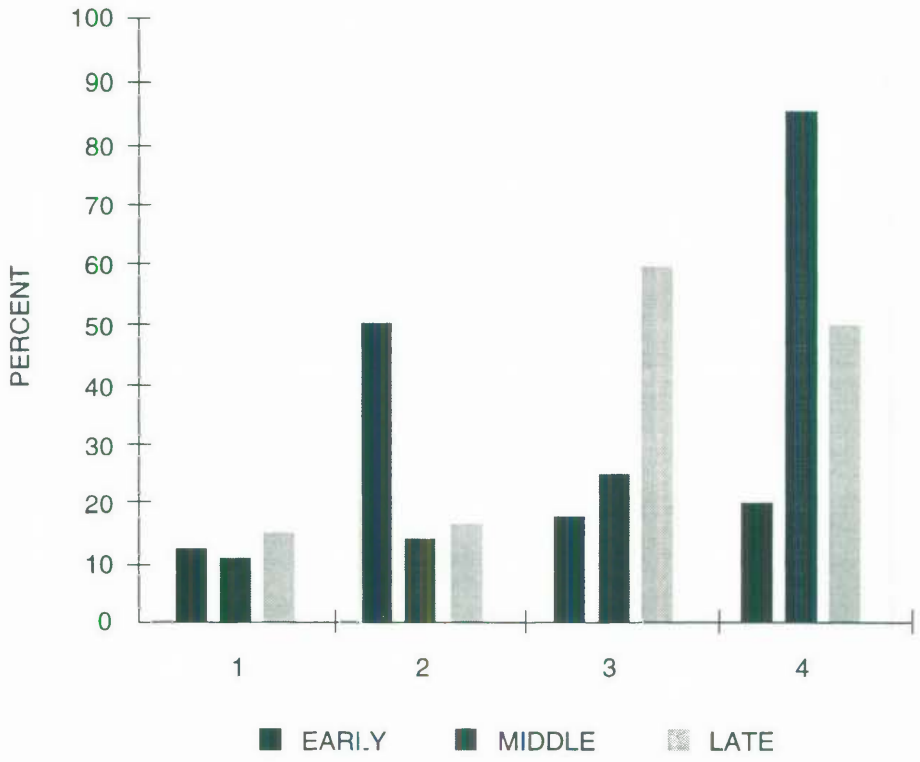


FIGURE 5.26: The distribution of weatherboard according to class

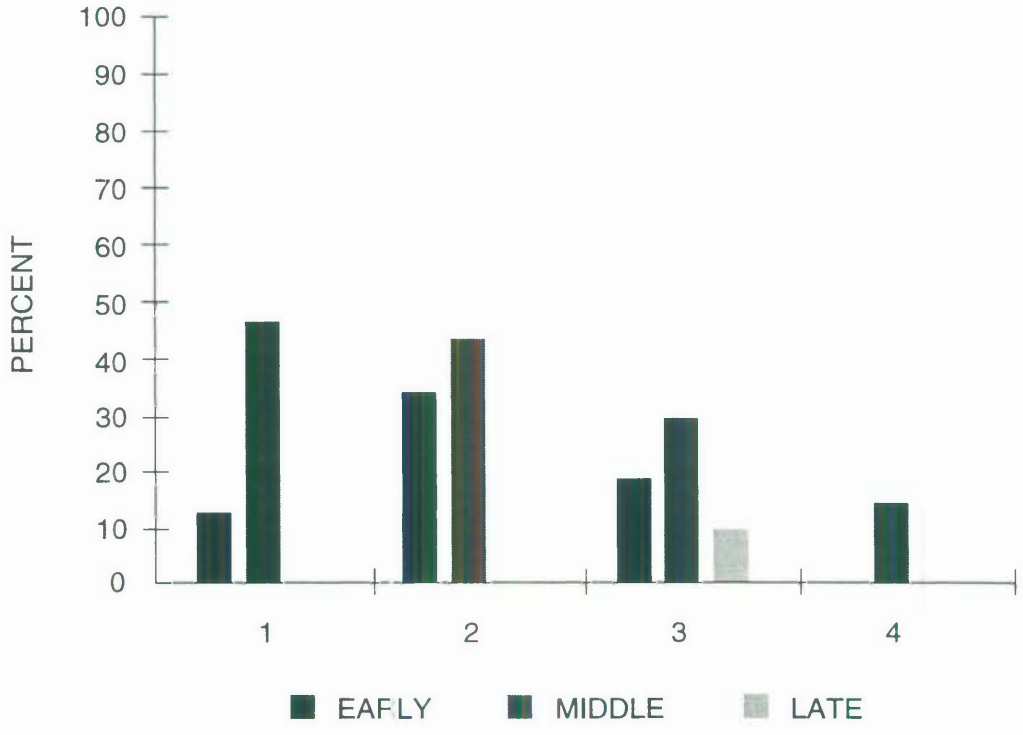


FIGURE 5.27: The distribution of Flemish bond according to class

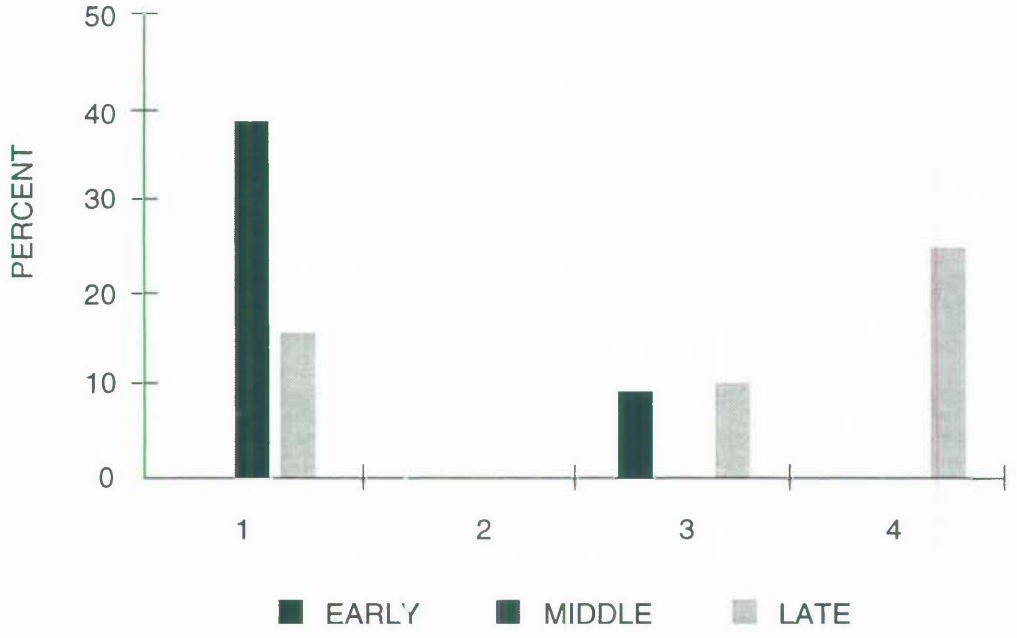


FIGURE 5.28: The distribution of colonial bond according to class

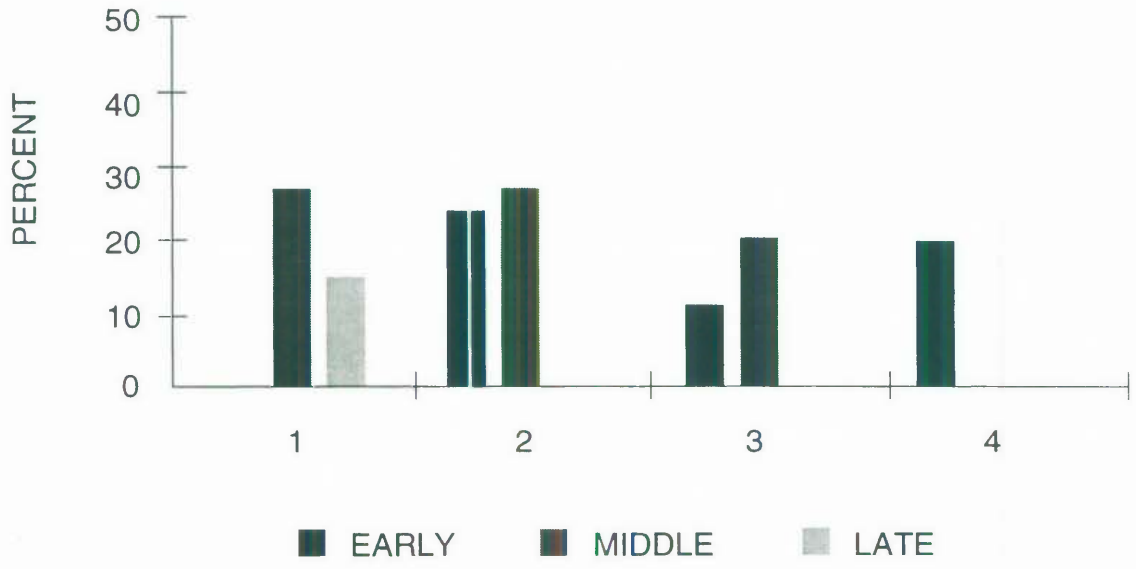


FIGURE 5.29: The distribution of classical design influences according to class

Bestowing a formal name on a property is also significant in terms of social class in the 1880s and 1890s (see figure 5.23). Once again, a significant proportion of both groups 1 and 2 gave names to their houses, compared to group 4.

The only element which characterises group 4 structures in this period are timber stop-chamfered verandah columns (figure 5.30). The use of this feature in over 42 percent of structures clearly differentiates group 4 from group 1, who only employed it in 9.5 percent of structures. This difference is significant at the 5 percent level.

Late period: 1900-1930

Asymmetry becomes a defining characteristic in this period between either end of the social spectrum: groups 1 and 4 (figure 5.31). Almost 85 percent of group 1 built structures are asymmetrical in this period, compared to only 20 percent of group 4 structures, a difference which is significant at the 5 percent level. The reverse is also true but at a less significant level (10 percent): 60 percent of group 4 structures were symmetrical compared to only 15 percent of group 1 buildings (see figure 5.24).

Apart from symmetry, only one other element characterises group 4 structures in this period. Turned timber finials occur on 40 percent of the structures built by members of group 4, compared to the absence of these finials from group 1 structures. This difference is significant at the 10 percent level (figure 5.32).

Piers are another significant feature in this period (figure 5.33). They structure a relationship between both group 1 and group 4; and group 3 and group 4. Groups 1 and 3 employed piers in 69 and 70 percent of their structures, compared to the absence of this feature in group 4. In this period, group 3 structures also demonstrated an affinity with the public buildings of earlier periods through the use of scored ashlar brickwork on external wall surfaces (figure 5.34). The difference in the

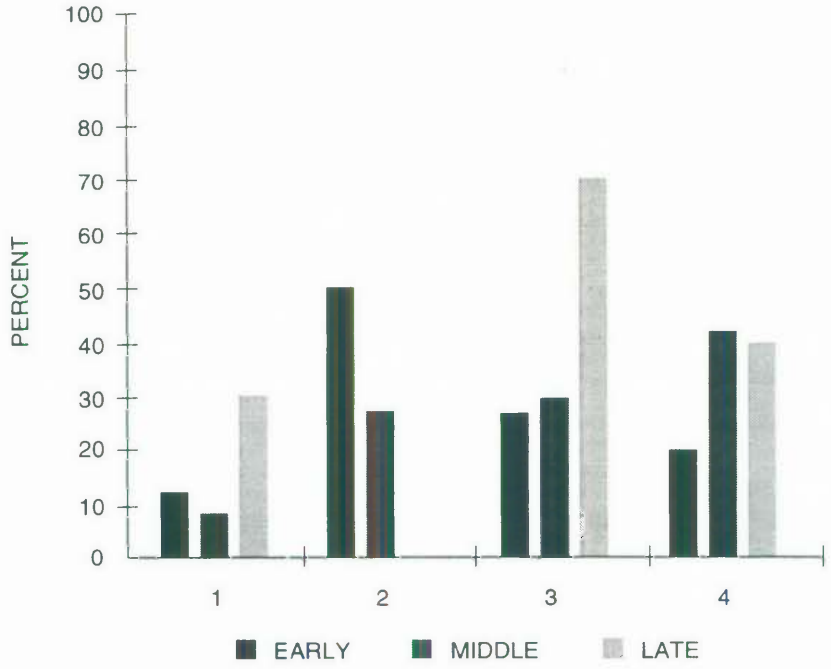


FIGURE 5.30: The distribution of stop-chamfered verandah columns according to class

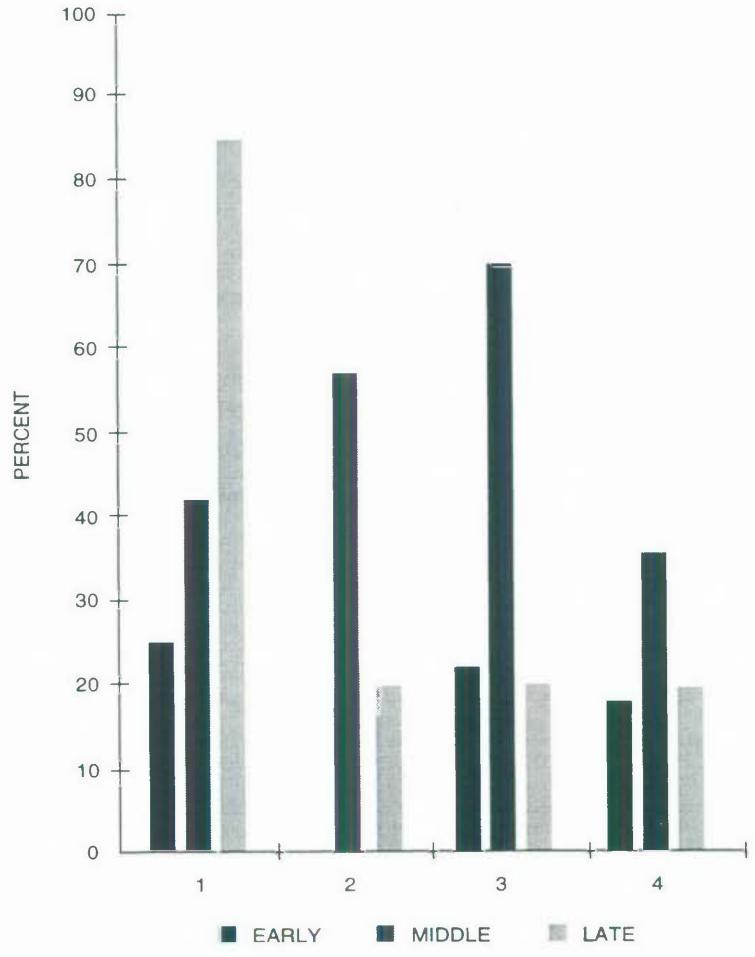


FIGURE 5.31: The distribution of asymmetry according to class

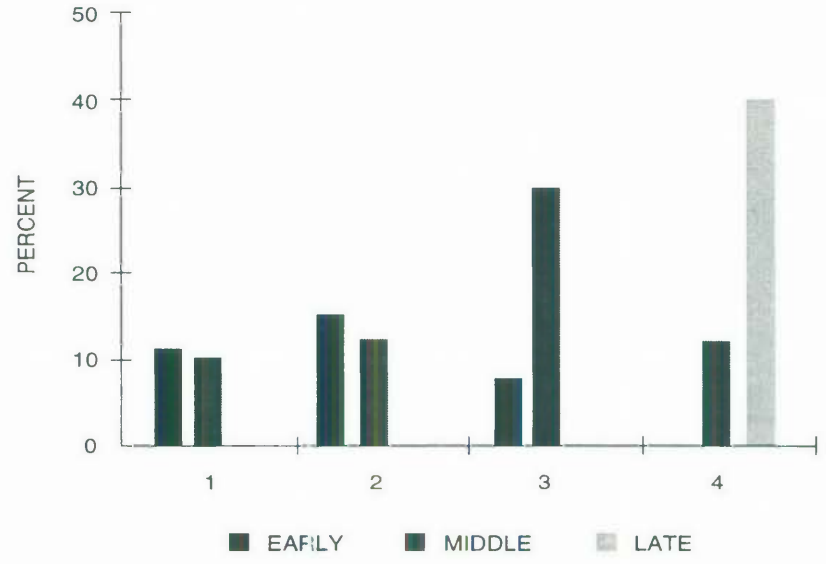


FIGURE 5.32: The distribution of turned timber finials according to class

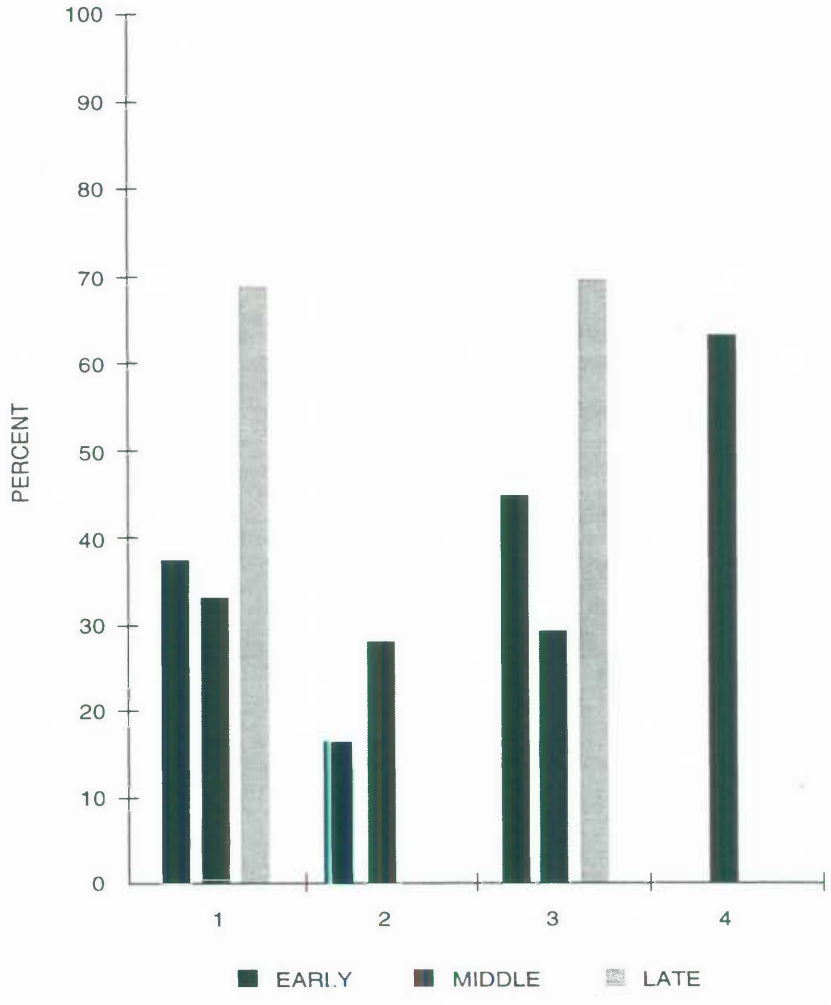


FIGURE 5.33: The distribution of piers according to class

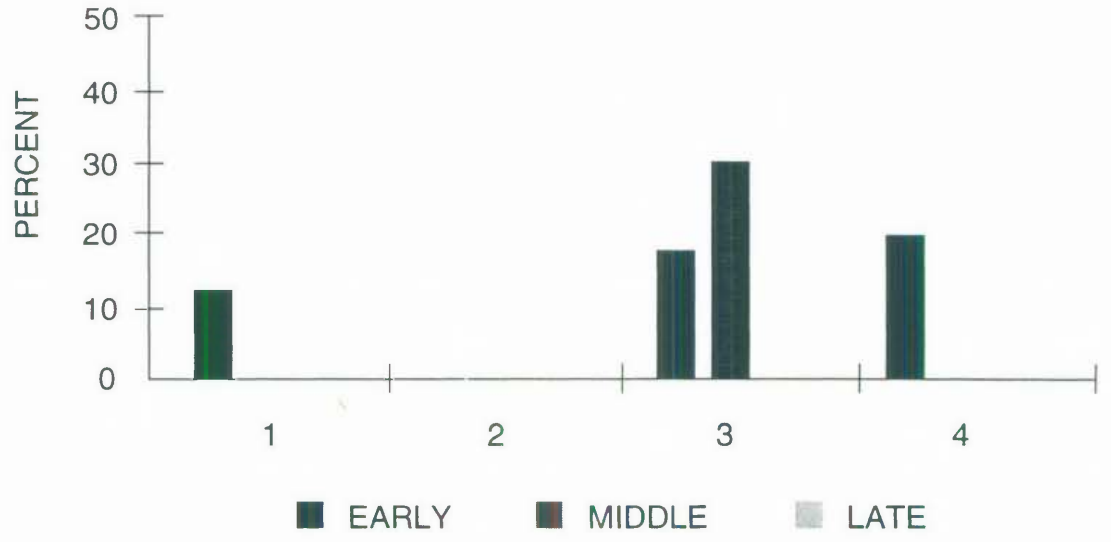


FIGURE 5.34: The distribution of scored ashlar brick according to class

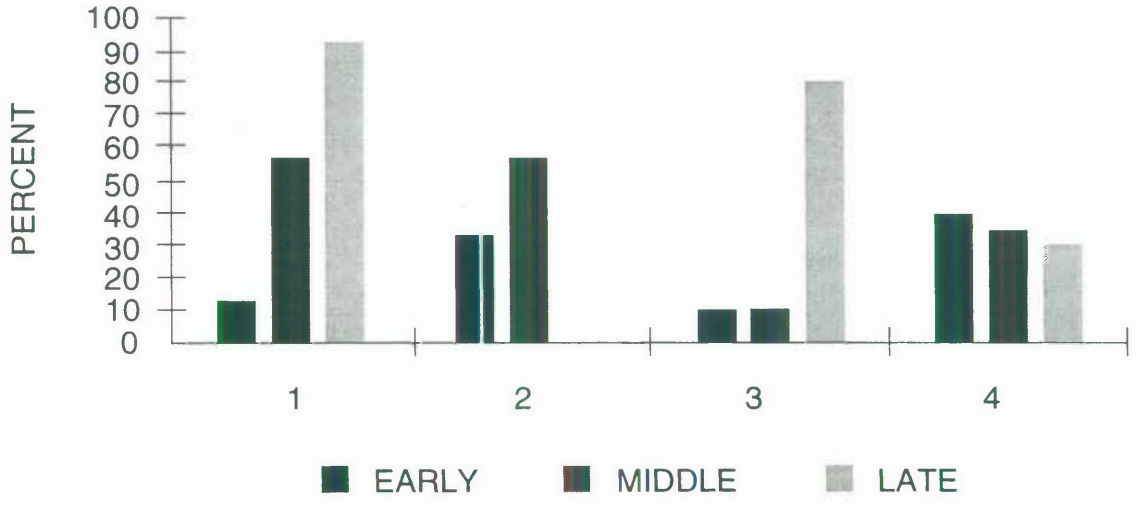


FIGURE 5.35: The distribution of sidelights according to class

use of this feature between 30 percent of group 3 structures and 0 percent of group 1 structures is significant at the 10 percent level.

Group 1 buildings are separated from the structures of other groups by a range of other features in this period. Sidelights and stained glass distinguish group 1 and group 4 structures, with more than 90 percent of group 1 buildings having sidelights as part of their entry door decoration, in contrast to only 30 percent of group 4 structures (figure 5.35). This difference is significant at the 5 percent level. Interestingly, although the incidence of stained glass in group 4 structures has increased dramatically to 60 percent in this period, it is still significantly different (at the 10 percent level) from the 100 percent use of this feature in group 1 structures (figure 5.36). Bay windows also create this distinction, but at a highly significant level (1 percent). Sixty-one percent of group 1 structures were built with a bay window, however only 7 percent of group 4 houses had this feature (Figure 5.37). Likewise, French doors occur in over 53 percent of group 1 buildings, in contrast to the absence of this feature from group 4 buildings (figure 5.38). This difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

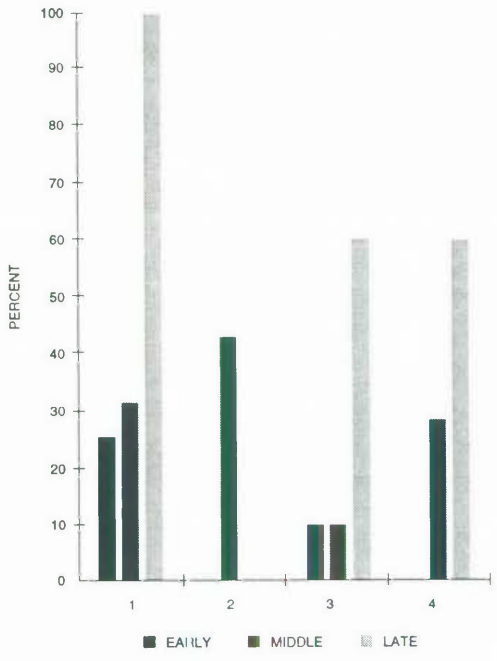


FIGURE 5.36: The distribution of stained glass according to class

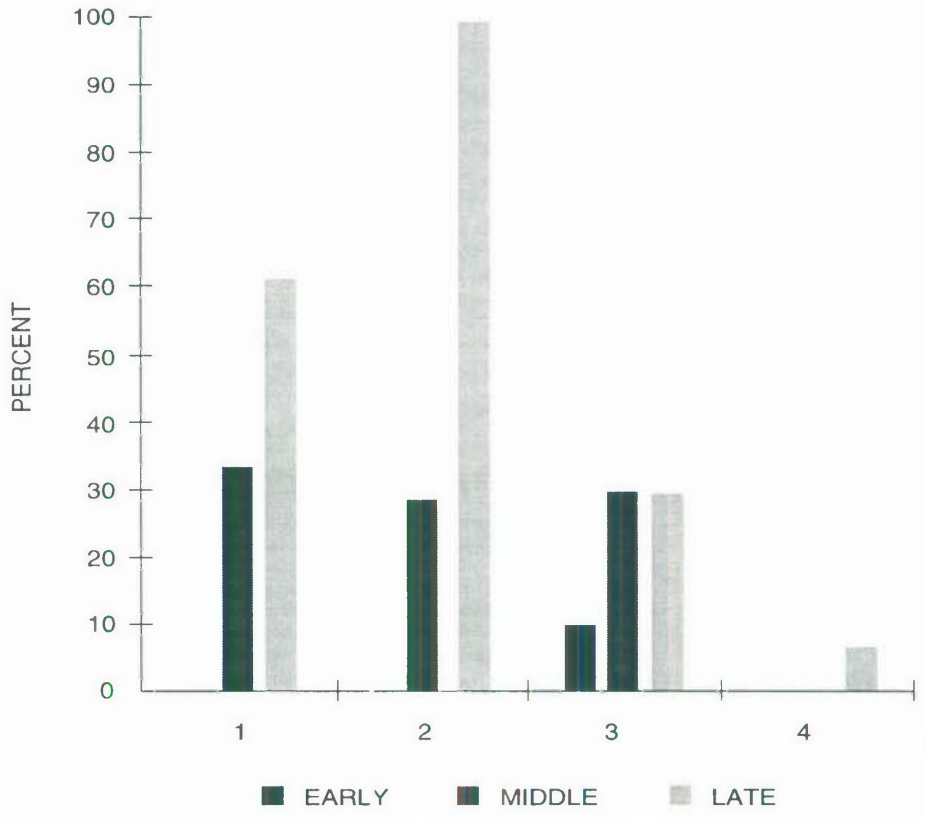


FIGURE 5.37: The distribution of bay windows according to class

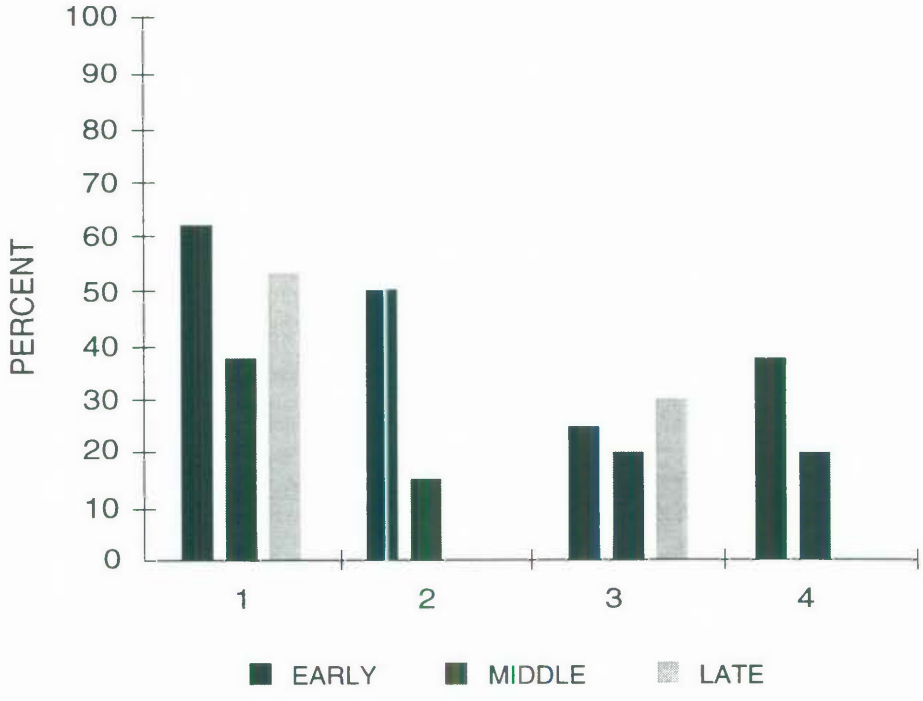


FIGURE 5.38: The distribution of French doors according to class

Style without context

If identity is both expressed and interpreted in style, then is it possible to make observations on the possible identity of the owners of structures for which there is no longer an established social context? In other words, where do those structures currently without associated social context fit within this analysis? What is their 'style'?

Out of a total of 222 structures, 37 were without at least one crucial aspect of their social context (either date of construction or identity of the original owner) and another 26 were completely devoid of any social context information at all.

Partial social context

In the early period the partial social context structures differed from group 1, 3 and 4 structures in making little use of brick as a construction material. They also differed from group 3 structures in a relatively low incidence of symmetry (50 percent of unknowns compared to 90.9 percent of group 3 buildings), and in never using piers and singlepitch verandah roofs. Compared to capital, partial social context structures differ from pastoral houses in not formally naming their structures. Interestingly, they are also differentiated from both mercantile and pastoral structures in their marked preference for using English bond (100 percent of partial context buildings compared to no pastoral buildings and 4.7 percent of mercantile buildings). This last element would seem to suggest that the partial social context structures are from a separate social group in certain respects (given the multi levels of meaning) to either mercantile or pastoral structures.

Unlike the figures for the 1840 to 1870s, the results for the middle period do not indicate any coherent groupings in the stylistic elements for partial social context structures, with a much greater range of variation appearing. Like the early period,

partial context structures are significantly associated with an absence of piers and singlepitch verandah roofs compared to structures of all other groups. Partial social context structures are also characterised by an absence of the use of colonial bond brickwork compared to 38 percent use of this feature by group 1. Apart from being characterised by absence, partial context structures are also significantly associated with low percentage occurrences of stained glass (11 percent), brick (52 percent) and Flemish bond brickwork (5.8 percent), sidelights (26 percent) and turned timber finials (5.8 percent) compared to higher frequencies of these features in structures built by all other groups. At the other end of the spectrum are the features which occur with significantly greater frequency in partial social context structures: rendered scored brick (17.6 percent compared to the absence of this feature in group 1 structures) and symmetry (50 percent in contrast to 30 percent in group 1 structures).

A similar patterning occurs according to capital. Partial social context structures have no piers and significantly fewer occurrences of formal names and sidelights (both compared to mercantile), stained glass (compared to mercantile and pastoral), and brick (compared to pastoral and public). Another significant difference occurs in relation to bay windows and cast iron verandah decoration, which appear in 25 percent of partial context structures compared to no workers' buildings. French doors also distinguish partial context structures in this period: 62.5 percent compared to 10 percent of public buildings, 41.6 percent of mercantile buildings and 37.5 percent of pastoral structures.

During the late period (1900-1930) structures of partial social context continue to avoid the use of singlepitch verandah roofs, compared to 40 percent of group 4 and 100 percent of group 2 structures. In contrast to the middle period, partial social context structures use no rendered and scored brickwork in the 1900s (compared to 15 percent use of this feature by group 3) and significantly fewer instances of stained glass (in contrast to group 1 and 3); hedges, sidelights and brick (all compared to group 1); and symmetry (compared to group 3).

Compared to capital, partial context structures once again incorporate no singlepitch verandah roofs or colonial bond in contrast to 25 percent of pastoral structures and 44 percent of mercantile structures which display these features. Relatively low frequencies of classical design elements and stained glass separate partial social context structures from both mercantile and pastoral buildings respectively. In contrast, partial context structures include bullnose verandah roofs more often than mercantile structures, and use weatherboard more often than pastoral structures. French doors are also significantly associated with partial context buildings in this period: 78 percent compared to no workers' houses and public buildings. Partial context structures are distinctly separate from public buildings in a low percentage occurrence of formal names, brick and label moulds.

No social context

Because both the date and the person responsible for the construction of these buildings is unknown, they cannot be discussed in the same terms as the remainder of the database. It is neither possible to place them within broad time periods, nor to compare them in statistically meaningful terms, although it is possible, of course, to describe their style. The 26 structures entirely without any form of social context information possessed a range of features in common as well as highly distinctive features which set them apart (figure 5.39). The majority were designed to be asymmetrical (65%) and constructed of timber weatherboard (61.5%). Commensurably, very few were constructed of brick (19.2%) using decorative bonds or scored ashlar brickwork. Very few of the unknown structures possessed classical design elements, turned timber finials, fretted timber bargeboards, cast iron verandah decoration (all appearing in only 7.6% of structures), or french doors (11.5%). A relatively high percentage of unknown structures were symmetrical, with bay windows and a view over town (all 30.7%), or possessed singlepitch verandah roofs (53.8%), stained glass (46.1%) or sidelights (34.6%).

Some structures exhibited highly individual stylistic features. The gable infill on 153 Mann St is identical to that on *Kilbucho*, the mansion built by Russell Richardson in 1895-96. 99 Rusden St was the only unknown structure to possess an asymmetrical sidelight; 134 Barney St and 77 Barney St both included a round art nouveau window, which in 77 Barney St was combined with highly decorative timber art nouveau verandah decoration (see figure 5.40). 72 Beardy St had both a parapet and decorative corner quoins and 155 Allingham St had unusual timber corner quoins.

Given the patterns which have emerged from analysing the style of structures with reasonably secure social context information, it may be possible to make some predictions for the identity of the people who caused the unknown social context structures to be built. These predictions are based on the physical features of architectural style and on how these are known to have articulated with particular social groups in the past (table 5.2).

DISCUSSION

Although I began by recording 30 variables relating to architectural style, only 20 of these showed significant patterning according to social context. Some of these: symmetry; fretted bargeboards; classical design influences such as pilasters, columns and porticoes; medieval design elements, such as towers, label moulds and stained glass; construction material; decorative brick bonds, scored ashlar brickwork; roof pitch; projecting bay windows and the use of cast iron decoration are all dominant aspects of structures. Others were less prominent elements such as entry piers; sidelights; turned timber finials; stop-chamfered verandah columns and formal names. That all of these features should indicate that identity is being incorporated into the style of structures in Armidale, suggests that membership in particular groups is being established at various scales and that these elements can be viewed as indexes of a whole range of relative social positions.

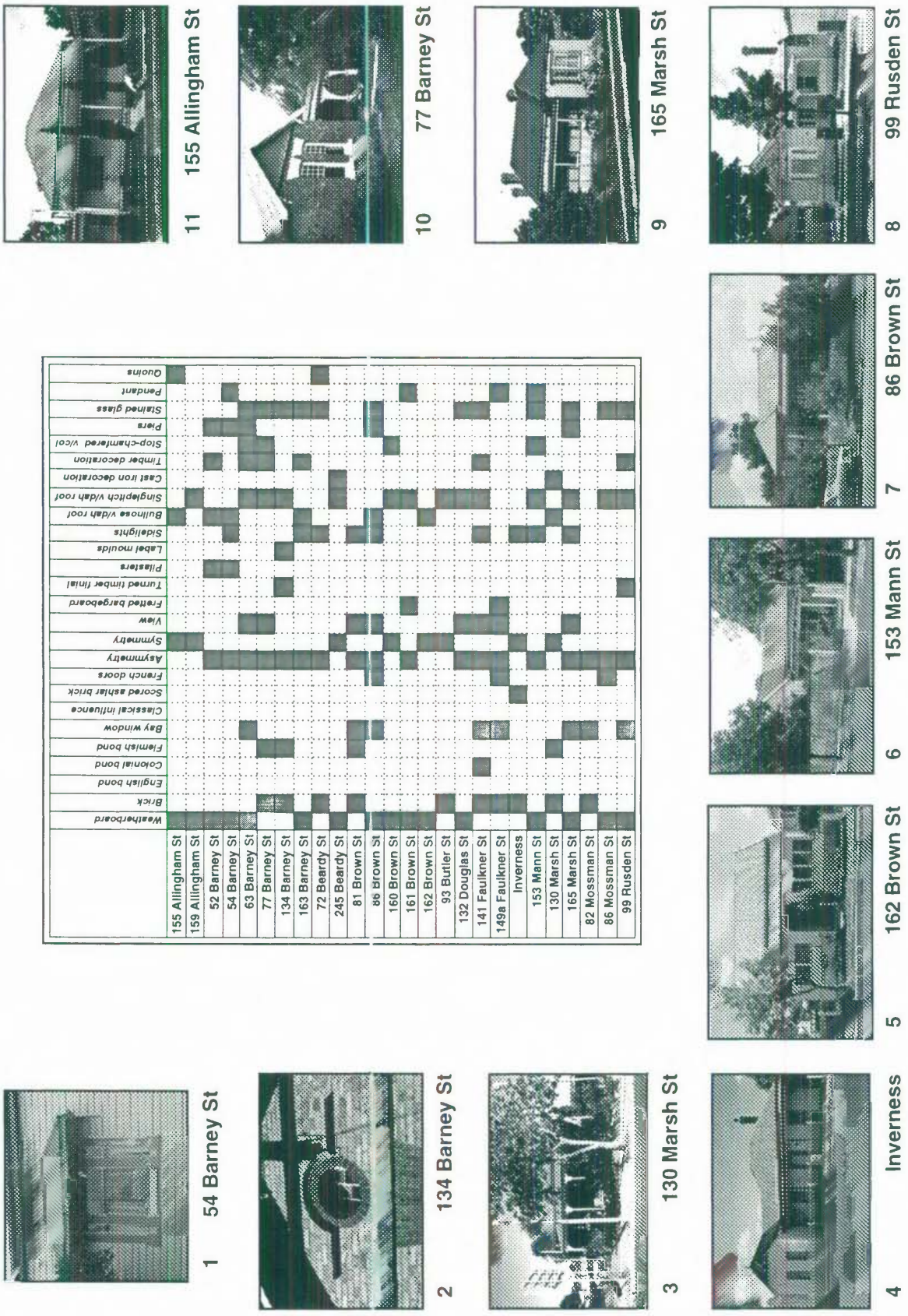


FIGURE 5.39: The style of the unknown social context structures

Table 5.2: Predictions for the social context of the unknown structures

Address	Date?	Main stylistic features	Group?	Capital?
155 Allingham St	1880s?	Symmetrical weatherboard; bullnose verandah roof and quoins	4	Worker
159 Allingham St	1880s?	Symmetrical weatherboard; singlepitch verandah roof	4	Worker
52 Barney St	early 1900s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; pilasters; bullnose verandah roof; piers	1 or 3	Mercantile
54 Barney St	early 1900s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; bullnose verandah roof; sidelights; pilasters; piers	1	Mercantile
63 Barney St	1890s-1900s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; bay window; singlepitch verandah roof; stop-chamfered verandah columns; piers; stained glass	4	Worker
77 Barney St	early 1900s?	Asymmetrical brick; Flemish bond; singlepitch verandah roof; stop-chamfered verandah columns; stained glass	1	Mercantile
134 Barney St	1880s?	Asymmetrical dichrome brick; Flemish bond; turned timber finial; label moulds; singlepitch verandah roofs; stained glass	1 or 3	Mercantile
163 Barney St		Asymmetrical weatherboard; bullnose verandah roof; sidelights; stained glass	3 or 4	Mercantile
72 Beardy St	1880s-1890s?	Asymmetrical brick; sidelights; stained glass; quoins; parapet	1	Mercantile
245 Beardy St		Symmetrical weatherboard; singlepitch verandah roof	4	Worker
81 Brown St	early 1900s?	Asymmetrical brick; Flemish bond; bay window; sidelights	1	Mercantile
86 Brown St	1880s-1890s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; bay window; French doors; bullnose verandah roof; sidelights; piers; stained glass	1 or 3	Mercantile
160 Brown St		Symmetrical weatherboard; singlepitch verandah roof; stop-chamfered verandah columns	4	Worker
161 Brown St		Asymmetrical weatherboard; fretted bargeboard; singlepitch verandah roof	3	Mercantile

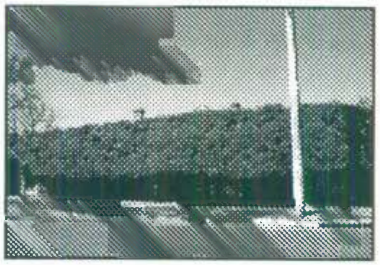
162 Brown St		Symmetrical weatherboard; bullnose verandah roof	4	Worker
93 Butler St		Symmetrical brick; singlepitch verandah roof	4	Worker
132 Douglas St		Asymmetrical weatherboard; singlepitch verandah roof; stained glass	3	Mercantile
141 Faulkner St		Asymmetrical brick; colonial bond; bay window; sidelights; singlepitch verandah roof; stained glass	1 or 3	Mercantile
149a Faulkner St		Asymmetrical brick; bay window; French doors; fretted bargeboard	2 or 3	Mercantile
Inverness (original cottage)	1890s?	Symmetrical brick; scored ashlar; sidelights	3	Mercantile
153 Mann St		Asymmetrical weatherboard; singlepitch verandah roof; sidelights; stop-chamfered verandah columns; stained glass	4	Worker
130 Marsh St		Symmetrical brick; Flemish bond; bullnose verandah roof; cast iron verandah decoration	1, 2 or 3	Mercantile
165 Marsh St	1890s-1900s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; bay window; singlepitch verandah roof; sidelights; piers; stained glass	1	Mercantile
82 Mossman St		Asymmetrical brick; bay window	1, 2 or 3	Mercantile
86 Mossman St		Asymmetrical weatherboard; French doors; singlepitch verandah roof; stained glass	2 or 3	Mercantile
99 Rusden St	Late 1890s-1900s?	Asymmetrical weatherboard; bay window; turned timber finial; singlepitch verandah roof; stained glass	3 or 4	Mercantile

I expected that there would generally be significant patterning in certain variables, which ultimately proved not to be significant. I found it surprising for example, that a process of enclosure using increased fence height and screening hedges was not correlatable to any definition of social context (cf. Johnson 1991; 1993b; 1996). The cypress hedges, most of which were planted in the 1880s, are a recognisable aspect of many houses on South Hill (figure 5.41) and effectively increase the height of the

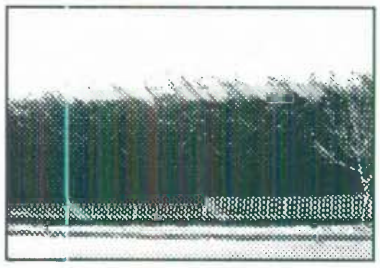
FIGURE 5.40: The verandah decoration on 77 Barney St

fence to enclose and render 'private' property. In addition, the cypress hedges and many of the other dominant plantings in this area create visual links between mercantile houses and the ecclesiastical precinct in the centre of town. The use of plantings to accentuate an impression of power in the land or to emphasise the apparent or actual extent and unity of an estate (Daniels 1988, 45) is a feature which is clearly evident in the avenues of exotic trees which line the entrance to all pastoral properties in the database (figure 5.42). It is the species of these plantings and of those on South Hill which are as important as their placement: they are all exotic species (elm, birch, oak, poplar, cypress) with links to landed estates and visual images with a much older history of appropriation.

1 *Sturry*, 170 Jessie St



2 *Gladdiswoode*, 150 Mann St



3 *Highbury*, 177 Faulkner St

FIGURE 5.41: Cypress hedges, South Hill

1 Gostwyck

2 Micklegate

3 Saumarez

4 Palmerston

5 Salisbury Court

FIGURE 5.42: Avenues of exotic trees lining the approach to pastoral stations in New England

It was also surprising that often some, but not all, variants of a feature were significant. Colonial and Flemish bond, for example, did prove to be significant, but not stretcher or English bond. Likewise, whereas singlepitch corrugated iron verandah roofs were significant, bullnose and concave roofs were not. The fine-grained scale of results also meant that it was the individual elements of particular architectural manners which were significant, rather than the manners themselves. Gothic, for instance, was typified by fretted bargeboards and turned timber finials, however these elements were used differently by mercantilists and workers. Thus it was not the totality of gothic which was used to signify identity, but the selective appropriation of its particular elements.

This begins to focus upon the complexities of style as an indicator of individual and group identity: what might the use of these features signify? It is now time to address in more detail the construction of identity through the medium of architectural style. Because my analysis is directed towards assessing the *potential* of style in Armidale's standing structures to encode information on various facets of personal and group identity, I will explore how these changes in stylistic components relate to the two principal forms of social context identified in chapter three: capital and social class.