

# Chapter seven

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## *Style in space*

The previous chapters have been an investigation into some of the sources of architectural style within the Armidale community. In terms of social context, both local scale membership in a particular form of capital production and larger scale membership in a particular social class (as a relationship to the means of production), influence the stylistic construction of identity. These boundaries are not fixed of course, but are symbolic of relative social position at particular points in time. The issue of how these group boundaries relate to each other is a question of style in both time and space and of how it may be possible for architectural style to structure space and thus the world of the people who inhabit this social landscape. As well as signifying positions of wealth, style may also index positions of poverty. Moreover, in the process, it may also signify the ways in which and means by which this difference is subverted and thus new indexes of difference are created. When conceptions of 'stylishness' become appropriated into alternative social contexts, how are group boundaries maintained? What are the contexts in which these boundaries exist and change? How are boundaries between social groups sustained and broken down by changes in style?

### **THE CONTEXTS OF INTERPRETATION FOR STYLE IN ARMIDALE**

In any archaeological study, the contexts of interpretation for style cannot be analysed in the same fashion as the contexts of production. It is not possible to know either who looked at these buildings or what they thought. It is only possible to approach this through the context of visibility as suggested by Wobst (1977, 328-330, 334-335), which is the place which an artefact occupies within the visible landscape and the possibilities for interaction with it which arise from this location. It is possible to

suggest potential ways in which buildings may have been interpreted, given what we know about both their purpose, their physical location and their style. Analysing style across space is one way of approaching some of the possibilities for how space can be structured by class and by capital and, in doing so, hints at how techniques of production and discipline might be mobilised.

Looking at the archaeological landscape of structures over time, several trends become apparent (figure 7.1). At one level these are essentially a reflection of the historical trends described in chapter 4, however at another, they illustrate the potential for historical trends to be rendered archaeologically visible through the persistence of the material structuring of the spaces which people create. An obvious mercantile focus is visible on the southern edge of Armidale, beginning in the 1860s and continuing until the 1920s. This area, 'South Hill' or 'South Armidale', occupies a visually dominant position in the landscape, which is clearly visible from most other parts of town. The high status of this area as a suburb in which to live was initially established as a result of steady mercantile focus, and compounded in the early twentieth century by the movement here of several pastoralists retiring from outlying properties. Large and expensive structures have continued to dominate this area, which has contributed, not only to the desirability of this neighbourhood as a place in which to live over time, but also to the continuing care invested in the physical fabric of these structures. This has certainly extended into the present, when as a result of the 1991 Heritage Study, the entire area of South Hill was defined as a Conservation Zone or Heritage Precinct. As a corollary, over 27% of structures in my database are from this area.

A second mercantile focus existed in closer proximity to the CBD, on the eastern and southern outskirts of the centre of town. This is a less exclusive location than South Hill, but still contains grander houses than some other areas such as West Armidale. West Armidale has been a focus for workers since the 1870s. They are not confined to this area of course, and in the 1880s to 1900s also periodically built houses within the high status areas.

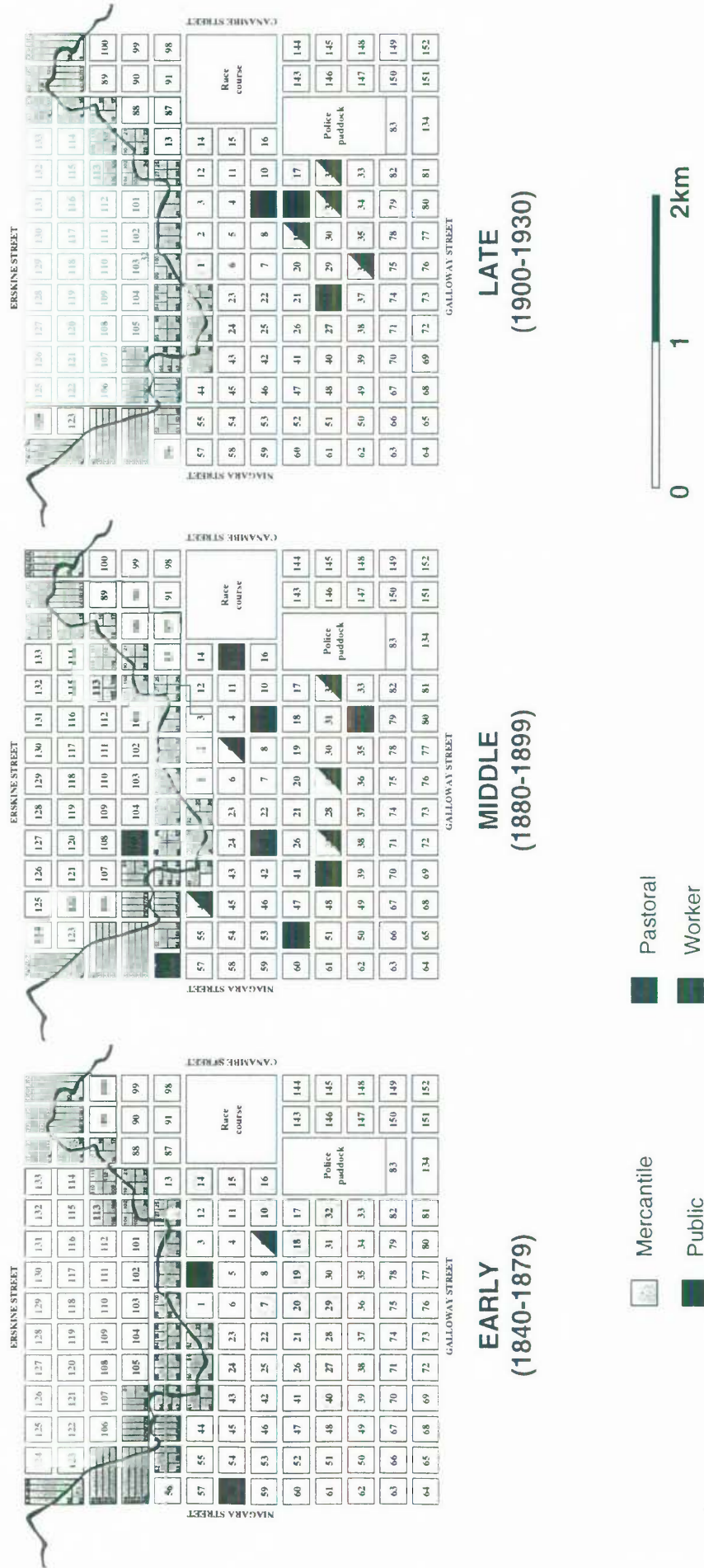
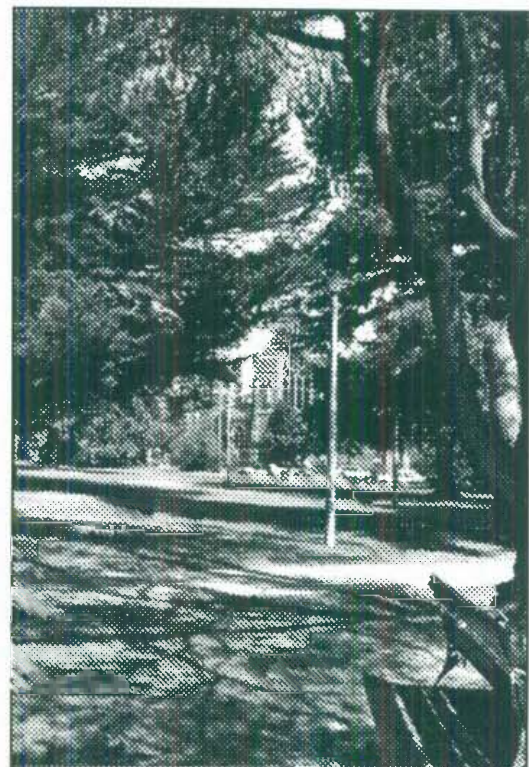


FIGURE 7.1: The changing location and nature of settlement in Armidale over time

There is also a well defined ‘ecclesiastical precinct’ in the centre of town, surrounding the open area of Central Park (figure 7.2). In the 1860s, the first church buildings to be located here were the Wesleyan Methodist church and an earlier Catholic church opposite the present Anglican Cathedral. The Anglican Cathedral was built in the 1870s and the Presbyterian church and Catholic cathedral in 1882 and 1912. The spire of St Mary and St Joseph’s Catholic Cathedral is a prominent landmark from the north, west and south. Central Park itself was dedicated in 1874 and its layout is still reminiscent of its nineteenth century planning.



**FIGURE 7.2: Two views of the ecclesiastical precinct in the centre of town: the Anglican (left) and Catholic cathedrals viewed from Central Park**

Until the twentieth century, very little settlement can be seen north of the creekline which bisects Armidale. Although structures on north hill would have had a similar vista to those on South Hill, with a few isolated exceptions, this was not taken advantage of. This trend may have a connection to the persistence of Aboriginal camps on the north side of the creek. An Anaiwan camp was recorded in the nineteenth century as 'on the northern side of Dumaresq Creek opposite the town of Armidale' (Ferry 1994, 120), although its precise location is unknown. Various, this camp may have been situated at Rugby League Park, immediately above the north bank of the creek (Graham Wilson pers comm); on or near the summit of the hill, on the northern side of the hill (Davidson and Kippen 1995, 8); or on the site of Presbyterian manse (at the corner of Marsh and Kirkwood Sts) (Personality Files HRC, Memories of Mrs Johnson Norris 1928). The camp may, of course, have been located at all of these sites at one time or another. Whether or not it was a persistent Aboriginal presence which dissuaded people from living here, North Hill seems to have been an area of relatively low status compared to South Hill, despite having relatively comparable geographic features and vistas. This divide continued well into the twentieth century, with residents of South Hill conspicuously disassociating themselves from residents of North Hill (Jennifer Johnstone pers. comm).

## **THE SPACE OF STYLE**

### *The space of capital*

There are a number of trends in the spatial distribution of particular features of style over time. The first and most obvious is that a high percentage of features (80 percent) appear first in houses located in South Hill. This would seem to suggest that this zone was indeed a high status area, in which the inhabitants were always at the forefront of architectural 'fashion'. Notions of 'stylishness' in many features would have flowed from the houses of people who inhabited South Hill and simultaneously established and reinforced their identities as leaders and 'owners'. Secondly, many

elements initially appearing in employers' structures in this zone, move both 'out' and 'down' to other geographic areas and workers' houses. French doors, singlepitch verandah roofs, piers, stop-chamfered verandah columns, stained glass, turned timber finials and fretted bargeboards all appear originally in pastoral houses and in mercantile houses located on South Hill and from there all become incorporated in the middle period into workers' houses in other zones (west Armidale, east Armidale and north Armidale). Some of these features (singlepitch verandah roofs, stop-chamfered verandah columns, turned timber finials and French doors) subsequently become significant indexes of membership in the working class.

This would seem to indicate at a superficial level that the workers were emulating the stylistic features of the pastoralists and mercantilists who are their employers. This may be simply a function of better communications and transportation or the establishment of local production, which rendered these elements both more cheaply and widely available. Certainly all of the timber verandah decoration (finials, fretted bargeboards and stop-chamfered verandah columns) would have become cheaper to purchase with the advent of mass production. There may also be a facet of deliberate appropriation in this movement however, by which the workers consciously took on some of the connotations of middle class-ness.

Often the movement of stylistic features is not always such a lineal and uni-directional progression. In the middle period some features remained within the same geographic zone (South Hill), but instead of remaining in the dominant mercantile and pastoral structures they became incorporated into the structures of workers who had moved into this area. Symmetry, asymmetry, stop-chamfered verandah columns and piers all become incorporated into workers' houses which are located on South Hill, in close proximity to mercantile and pastoral structures which also possess these features. This suggests not only a deliberate colonisation of middle class-ness through the appropriation of stylistic elements, but also a more literal colonisation of the high status area of South Hill. By appropriating both the appearance and location of

middle class houses, and of course the associations accorded to both of these, the workers were simultaneously appropriating a system of meaning which previously had connoted high status and forcing the middle class to find new indicators of status and stylishness if they wished to remain separate. There was, of course, choice in this direction by the middle class themselves, whose identities were often competing with each other, as well as with the workers.

Interestingly, most of the movement of stylistic elements into workers' structures occurs in the 1880s and 1890s, part of the period of working class mobilisation against employment and labour conditions. Some features, such as French doors or stained glass, are used by workers in that period only, others, such as turned timber finials and fretted bargeboards, continue to be incorporated into workers' structures in the late period.

The differences in style observed between mercantile and pastoral capital is extended through the construction and use of space by these two groups. Each structured their world in slightly different ways. By choosing to reside mostly on their properties, pastoralists were literally removed from the social and stylistic competition which may have occurred in town. The immediate result of this was that any stylishness of pastoral properties was less often available for emulation. When a retiring generation of graziers did move to Armidale, they maintained their separate status by residing only on South Hill. This both sustained and promoted the perception of this area as an exclusive coterie of status.

### *The space of class*

Many of the same trends are apparent when people are categorised by class instead of capital. South Hill still appears as an exclusive suburb in which most stylistic elements originate. Because of greater subtlety in categorising people by class (people may be grouped as 1, 2, 3 or 4 and still have fallen within the single group

‘mercantile’) South Hill also appears as a less exclusive suburb when its inhabitants are divided according to their relation to the means of production. In this area, members from groups 1, 2 and 3 are often among the first to possess a particular feature, such as asymmetry, symmetry, stained glass or brick. However this list of style ‘firsts’ often includes members from group 4 as well: brick, singlepitch verandah roofs, asymmetry and cast iron are all included within group 4 houses on South Hill in the early period. There are thus less obvious correlations between status and style, when people are divided according to class.

Some features continue to be incorporated into group 4 houses throughout all three periods. Symmetry, for example, is part of group 4 structures in west Armidale in the early period and on South Hill in the middle and late periods. This group seldom uses asymmetry except in the early period, in contrast to groups 1, 2 and 3, which employ this throughout. A discontinuity in symmetry is clearly evident for groups 1 and 2, suggesting that greater individual expression in style becomes a part of the identities of the upper echelons after 1890. There are two different trends being illustrated in the use of symmetry versus asymmetry across time in Armidale, which take on contrasting interpretations according to their spatial correlates.

Much has been made of the relationship between symmetry as an element of the Georgian manner and the standardisation created by capitalist production (see for example Anderson and Moore 1988; Johnson 1996, 207-208; Leone 1984, 26-27; McGuire 1991, 107). The deliberate uniformity of Georgian symmetry was part of new ways of ordering the world and creating new notions of individualism and control (see Leone 1984, 26-27; Leone and Potter 1988, 373-374), but its semblance of sameness was also used to deny inequality. As a façade, symmetrical architecture suggests similarity and conformity rather than individualism or eclecticism and it makes people appear the same. Asymmetrical architecture, on the other hand, suggests the opposite and can be identified with creating a distinctive and dissimilar identity.



For Armidale, the distinctive use of symmetry by the workers may indicate one of two things, although of course, it may incorporate elements of both. It may suggest that the working class saw themselves as a unified group of people, if not as the same then at least as similar, with relatively common histories and goals. Seen from within the working class living in west Armidale, the use of symmetry may have affirmed contact with their roots, with a tradition of symmetrical working class houses. Given that the workers in Armidale were employed in a range of different industries however, and came from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds (Irish, English, Scottish, Chinese) there is no ostensible reason to suppose that their relation to the means of production, which they certainly held in common, gave them a feeling of common identity or purpose. The alternative interpretation rests on the assumption that symmetry is an adequate mask: that while it may *suggest* conformity and uniformity, it may not literally embody these ideas. The use of symmetry then is a ruse to protect difference at other levels of cultural expression, such as privately inside the house or personally by membership in various organisations or societies. African Americans may have used this strategy in Annapolis, when they chose to live behind symmetrical Georgian façades and to circumvent racism through giving the appearance of assimilation (Mullins 1993). This may not, however, have been designed to hide difference at anything other than a superficial level.

While symmetry may have linked workers together in a common public face, it may also have been used as a device to suggest individuality according to where it occurred within the geography of Armidale. Once placed within the context of the predominant asymmetrical houses of the middle and upper classes on South Hill, the symmetry of workers' houses gave them a distinctive identity. It not only distinguished them from their neighbours, but may also have provided a physical and enduring reminder to the owners who employed them that the workers were both visible and individual. By situating a pattern of architecture with strong links to the working class within a high status area dominated by the upper and middle classes, the workers were both reinforcing their identities as members of a particular group and creating an identity

which was distinctive compared to the identities of those around them, while at the same time ensuring that this 'statement' was situated so that the middle and upper classes had no choice but to interact with it.

It would seem from these trends that perceptions of stylishness stem from the stylistic elements incorporated into dominant structures, both public and private. As an example, there is a strong association between the use of stained glass and the appearance of public buildings. The earliest stained glass occurs in the windows of two public buildings: the Courthouse and the Wesleyan church, both built in the early 1860s. In the next decade stained glass continues to be used in public buildings such as St Peter's Anglican Cathedral built in the 1870s, St Paul's Presbyterian built in 1882, the Uniting Church built in 1893 and the Catholic Cathedral built in 1912. The earliest use of stained glass in private houses is *Comeytrove*, built for James Tysoe in 1868 and the pastoral structure *Micklegate*, built by one of Charles Marsh's sons in the late 1870s. After this, there is a proliferation of stained glass in both doors and windows in private houses built in the 1880s. These span the entire range of the social spectrum, from large and dominant pastoral (*Saumarez*) and mercantile (*Bona Vista*, *Mongoola*) structures, to public buildings (Trim and Co stores) and workers' houses (136 Allingham St, 67 Beardy St, 80 Beardy St). Stylishness, in terms of the use of stained glass, moves from the domain of public buildings to private houses built by group 1 and from there to the private houses of other groups.

A different sequence is observable for the movement of cast iron verandah decoration over time. Initially this feature appears in private buildings built by mercantile capitalists and moves to both public mercantile buildings and the private houses of pastoralists. The earliest positively dated cast iron appears in the 1870s on private structures such as Peter Speare's *Denmark House*, John Moore's 111 Brown St and Police Magistrate James Buchanan's *Westholme* and on the Railway Hotel in West Armidale. In the 1880s it continues to be used in private mercantile structures such as Charles Wilson's *Loombra* (118 Mann St), J. S. Chard's *Mongoola* (3 Reginald Ave),

James Miller's *Kapunda*, J. D. Bradley's *Bona Vista*, and Angela Spasshatt's *Tregara* (131 Brown St), but from there moves to a variety of public structures such as the Imperial Hotel and the Lands Office, as well as to the private pastoral structure *Saumarez*. *Saumarez*, in fact, is an exception, as cast iron is only infrequently incorporated into pastoral structures. In terms of this feature of style, mercantile capitalists were clearly the innovators and the direction of emulation moved from the private mercantile houses of groups 1 and 2 to the domain of public buildings and from there to the structures of other groups. The movement of cast iron raises the issue of the movement of stylishness into the marketplace and the effect this has upon the direction of emulation. Much of the early cast iron was imported into Armidale from other cities in New South Wales such as Maitland and Morpeth, although local production of a similar product began at least as early as 1872 with the establishment of Goddard's Foundry at Uralla, 25km south of Armidale. It may be that once local investment in the capital infrastructure to produce cast iron takes place, there is an interest for the capitalist in making it an item of stylishness beyond the wealthy. In this case then, the earliest cast iron is not local and emulation is partly in the form of local production. Unfortunately, without knowing more of the specifics surrounding the local production of cast iron, it is impossible to speculate further on the means of production for this feature of style.

### *Style without space*

Several of the structures included in this study are no longer standing, but have been demolished to make way for 'improvements' in the landscape. There are several repercussions which flow from this process, not the least of which is that the style of these structures is no longer a physical marker of the individuals and groups which created their identity through it. Neither space nor subsequent constructions of identity are constrained by the style of these buildings. The discussion so far has centred on the implications arising from the creation of style and its addition in the landscape, but what are the implications of its removal?

Nine structures were recorded from photographic sources, located in and around Armidale and spanning a range of social groups and types of capital (figure 7.3). In terms of style, these buildings possess a range of features and at least one of them (*Kapunda* built in 1889-94 by James Miller, whose money came from successful gold mine speculation) is highly individual (figure 7.4). Two immediate observations become apparent: most of the buildings were located in or very near to the centre of town and most of them were built by members of group 2. The removal of these structures from the central part of town is symptomatic of a long process of altering this section of the city. As the initial settlement focus for Armidale, this area once contained many private houses, which have been gradually removed as the town has expanded. This has both de-emphasised this area as a geographic source for stylishness and reinforced the location of stylishness in other areas (South Hill) as pre-eminent. Furthermore, by gradually demolishing the private houses which were once located close to the CBD, the separation of public buildings and 'work', from private buildings and 'home', is given three-dimensional substance. This destruction of style, and of the connotations of stylishness, has also effaced the identities of those who built and lived in these buildings. Given that most of these were members of group 2, there is a particular type of exclusion going on here. As part of this process, stylishness as arising from the wealth and position held by members of group 2 is denied and instead located firmly with groups 1 and 3.

### **THE POWER OF STYLE**

The use of architectural style to express both individual and group identity does more than simply bound groups in space and time—it also relates groups to each other in a way which is physical and persistent, such that, in the continual process of seeing and being seen (interpretation), these structures also reinforce more subtle aspects of capitalism and the relationship of groups to the means of production. This aspect of style has only been hinted at in the preceding discussion and is part of the second half of Stewart Clegg's observation that there are four interlocking and mutually reinforcing

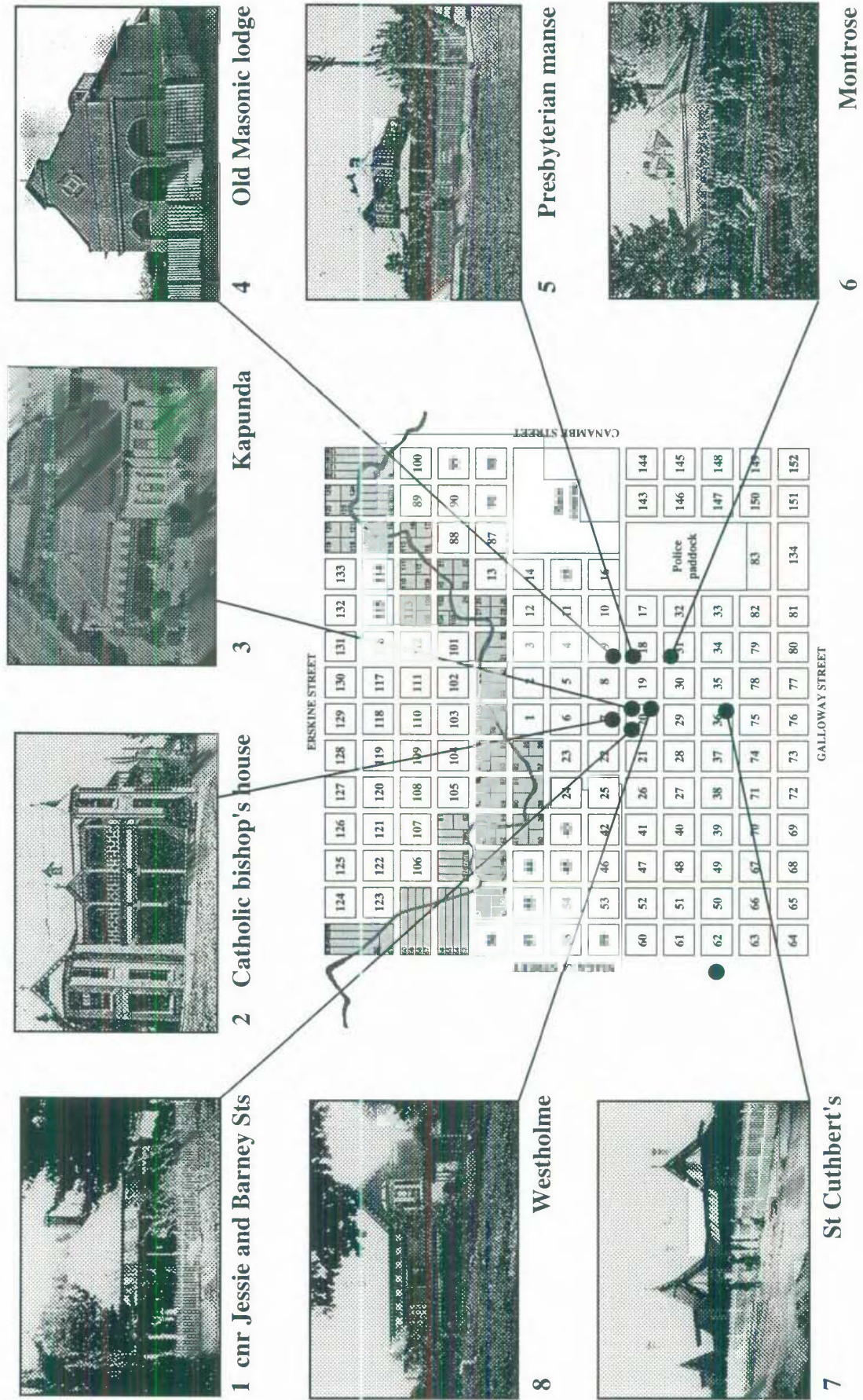
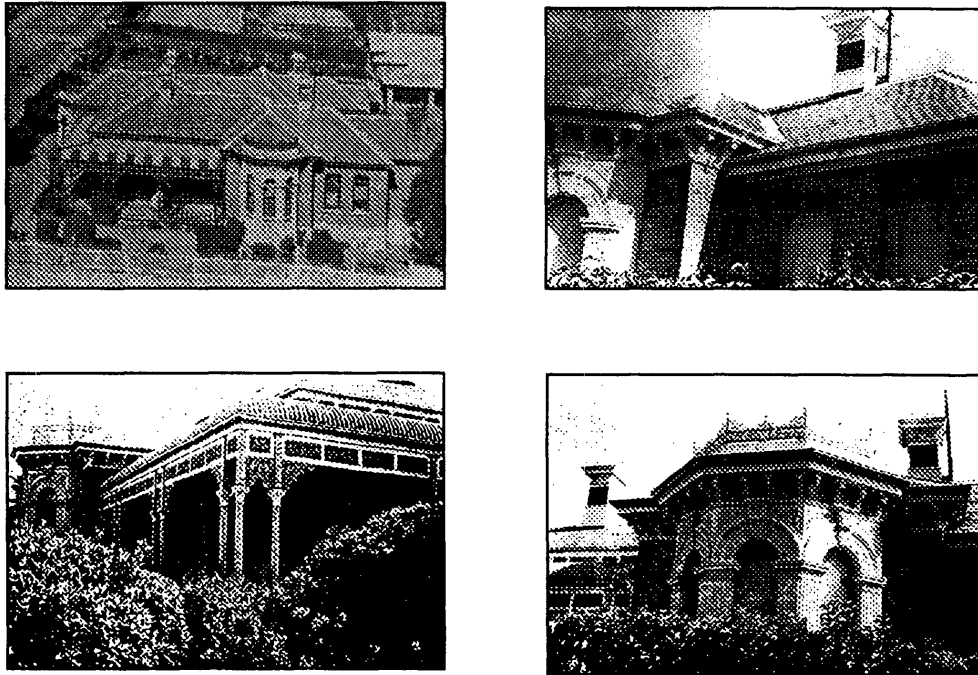


FIGURE 7.3: The style and location of the non-extant structures



**FIGURE 7.4: Four views of Kapunda, the house built in 1889 by James Miller**

circuits of power operating in society: mobilising relations of meaning and membership and mobilising techniques of production and discipline.

### *Techniques of production*

The rigid street grid imposed by Galloway in 1849 was the first attempt to improve the productivity of Armidale and its inhabitants. By regulating both the present and future appearance of the town Galloway was doing more than simply conforming to a world view which equated order with moral worth, he was also enacting one of the basic tenets of capitalism, rendering space a controllable commodity. A grid street system not only made communication more rational and efficient, but was also an excellent scheme for the parcelling and selling of property (Kostoff 1991, 11). Through the practicality of connecting two points in a straight line, transport was also rendered more ordered and efficient and together with controllable space and rational

communications created a concept of relative rather than absolute space and of the community benefits of capitalism (cf. Harvey 1989, 29).

Other 'innovations' also aided the mobilisation of techniques of production. The introduction of gaslight and its subsequent replacement by the electricity power grid both claimed to be of benefit to society, but in effect extended the length of the working day. Introduced in Armidale in 1885, the Armidale Gas Company began by servicing the public buildings of the town, but was soon extended to other areas and to private subscribers. The Armidale Gas Company, while providing a service for individuals, was nevertheless a privately-owned company run by several 'leading capitalists' in the community, headed by John Moore and John Bliss. Gaslight was not replaced by electricity until 1922, when the Council opened the City of Armidale Electric Supply Company Ltd (Gilbert 1982, 127-128).

### *Techniques of discipline*

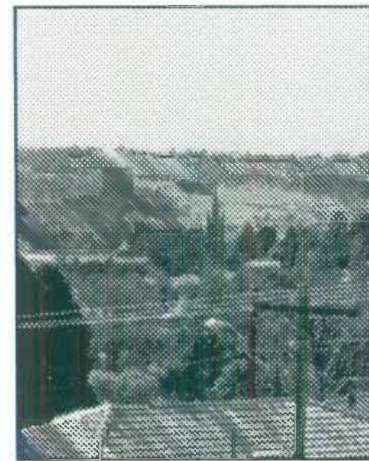
In terms of the city landscape, a clear hierarchy is evident in the physical location of private houses, neatly and effectively separating the workers from the owners and employers. The same geographic spheres dominate when structures are compared in terms of how they articulate with the city landscape. By being located on both North and South Hills, mercantile and pastoral houses are situated in positions which command views of the town, in direct contrast to the workers' buildings which are located on the lower and colder areas beside the creek. The dominant position of mercantile and pastoral structures also contrasts with the location of public buildings, which are likewise not built to take advantage of a view, although in the case of the two cathedrals in particular, the public buildings often *are* the view. It was quite common in the nineteenth century for the spires and towers of ecclesiastical buildings to be designed for their 'landscape qualities' (Apperly, Irving and Reynolds 1989, 81), which were often aligned with city streets so as to be visible from all directions (Hareven 1982, 13) (figure 7.5). The clock tower on the courthouse was constructed

to be another landmark: initially it was built in 1878 with a bell tower and replaced in 1898 by a clock face on the apex of the tower. The construction of 'views' for the landscape qualities of clock towers was a means by which a public and universal version of time could be introduced to the community, rather than allowing everyone access to their own definition of time (Kulik 1988, 399).

In the 1880s and 1890s this relationship between status and location becomes statistically significant. Fifty percent of the pastoral houses built in and around Armidale and twenty percent of the mercantile houses possess views over the town, while no public buildings and no worker' cottages possess a view. In terms of class, this translates to 70 percent of group 1 structures versus no group 4 structures. The private houses of the rich thus literally overlooked all spheres in the lives of the working class: their homes, their places of work and the public buildings with which they interacted socially. Bizarrely, this led to the possibility of working class houses *becoming* the view for the middle and upper classes, a situation which was circumscribed by encouraging West Armidale as a working class suburb.



The Catholic cathedral from the north



and the south west

**FIGURE 7.5:** The Catholic cathedral viewed from the outskirts of Armidale



In at least one instance, this surveillance was overt. In 1873, Barnett Aaron Moses' house was not only one of the first to be built on the north side of the creek, but was one of only a handful to be built there in the nineteenth century. Although, as the largest manufacturer in Armidale, Moses was wealthy enough to have afforded a site on South Hill, this location made sense for him because it directly overlooked his largest tannery. Ten years after his house was built, Moses purchased the block of land opposite his tannery and began the process of subdividing and selling it to his employees and encouraging them to build houses there. Although the ostensible intent of this process was no doubt to give his workers some degree of self-sufficiency, it had three main repercussions. Moses' corporate paternalism not only made the workers dependant upon his goodwill, but it also made them dependant on the capitalist system, through their mortgages to the Armidale and New England Building Society. It tied his employees firmly to their place of labour, reducing the amount of time they took to travel to and from work, thus rendering the factory more 'efficient'. It also located Moses and his family in a physically paternal position, overlooking the business and the busy-ness of the employees. The welfare capitalism practised by Moses was designed to avert or diffuse employee discontent by providing amenities and fostering workers' loyalty to and identification with the employer (Hareven 1982, 39). It was a strategy which Moses continued to use overtly when he transported his employees *en masse* in an appropriately decorated cart to vote for his favoured political candidate at election time.

This surveillance of the workers was part of a tendency by the ruling groups to invent new traditions of community to counter or contain the antagonisms of class (Harvey 1989, 31), through accepting responsibility for some of the social problems of the workers such as health, education or housing. Social order in this situation was envisioned as one where social positions were stable, with a paternalistic, authoritarian figure at the top and dependent 'childlike' plebians looking to the capitalist for work, protection and moral guidance (Slotkin 1985, 147):



**FIGURE 7. 6: The image of corporate paternalism. B. A. Moses surrounded by his employees.**

In such a society, the absolute dependence of ... worker on capitalist would be tempered and offset by paternalism, and class relations represented by an image of familial bonds ... rather than by images of conflict.

(Slotkin 1985, 147)

This symbolic structuring of space in Armidale is clearly visible in an 1884 map of the city, which not only depicts the structured relationship between owners and workers, but also the rising sense of prosperity and control attached to the mercantile dominance of the city (figure 7.7). The practice of cartography and its role in the history of property rights is closely connected to the practice of landscape painting, with its attendant techniques for representing spatial relations and particular ways in which to view the social landscape as 'the way it is' rather than as a human construction (Cosgrove 1984, 190; Harley 1988, 297). This principle of the

‘picturesque’ both invites people to exercise individual control over space by ‘composing landscapes through the selection of those elements which go to make up a pleasing picture of nature and excluding those which do not’, and suggests associations between landscape and historical or geographical references and through these to moral and political ideas (Cosgrove 1984, 204). In the visual hierarchy of Armidale, the neat grid system of the streets is a model of public order, with the moral imperatives of the two cathedrals located in the symbolic centre of the map, surrounded by the progressive and ‘stylish’ orders of mercantile architecture and enterprise.

It is not merely the case that this map reflects the social structuring of space within Armidale at a frozen moment in time. Rather, the territory of the map is part of the *same* construction as the material structuring of space within Armidale and both are implicated in the process by which power is deployed. In this way the material structuring of space comes to have a similar texture of value as the map, with the same associations to landscape painting, control over space, and moral and political ideas. In other words, in the same way as the map of Armidale is constructed from and used to represent particular formations of social action, so, too, is space. This is closely linked to the issue of persistence and how previous constructions of space come to be interpreted within subsequent contexts of meaning. The material structuring of space within Armidale itself comes to be seen as a physical and enduring manifestation of particular configurations of social relations, becoming symbolic to later observers and incorporated into later contexts of meaning.

Where this occurs—in other words, where sets of material remains persist into subsequent contexts—the material expression of ideology in itself becomes a ‘frieze’; the physical motif of a previous configuration of social relations which extends into and becomes part of the ‘present’. Such a frieze makes an ideologically determined structure persist beyond the social relations which produced it and persist in such a visible way that it continues to be interacted with, and thus acquire meaning within, later contexts of interpretation. This is particularly relevant when considering style in



FIGURE 7.7: The 1884 map of Armidale from the *Illustrated Sydney News*, July 5th, 1884

and the negotiation of social identity, when the semiotic markers of relative social position persist into later contexts and thus become symbolic of particular groupings of people in the past. It is possible that, as the frieze of a previous social landscape, those architectural features both provide a benchmark for subsequent constructions of stylishness and a reminder of previous social boundaries which have since been subverted and renegotiated. It is at this point that the issue of the construction of ideology becomes germane, as the structuring of space as a landscape and map in itself is closely implicated in the process by which certain constructions of reality come to be legitimated and perpetuated over and above other constructions. The spatial structuring of style in Armidale was an accessory to the construction of identity under capitalism, and in doing so alludes to the construction of ideology. The street grid, the power grid and the visual hierarchy of space within Armidale all contributed to and helped perpetuate the ideology of capitalism which existed in this place at that time and which also, of course, relates to the ideology which exists today. There are several issues of ideology which can be examined in relation to the data: these are both multilayered and mutually reinforcing, and highlight some of the public and private constructions of identity which existed in the past and how this has also come to structure identity in the present.

# Chapter eight

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## Styles of ideology

Style so far has been viewed as a physical expression of notions of relative identity, through which groups are both incorporated and differentiated. There is another level to studying style however, which attempts to understand how a constellation of groups might come to exist in those particular patterns and not others; and what those particular expressions of social identity might convey about the participant's construction of the world and the relative positioning of people within it. It is time to move beyond pattern recognition and focus upon the processes of pattern generation (Conkey 1990, 15). It is time to talk about ideology.

Ideology is constructed from people's perceptions of themselves and of others. Within capitalism, membership in a group (or groups) is created within the tensions of an unequal society and ideology is thus a process which brings individuals and groups into certain power relations and provides both social identity and knowledge about the world. Through ideology, which works to both include and exclude by suggesting standard sets of values against which everything can be measured, groups and individuals signify and respond to common arrays of values and beliefs. To briefly reiterate chapter two, I defined ideology as:

*... false or deceptive beliefs and presuppositions implicit in ordinary ways of thinking, speaking or behaving in the world, which arise from the structure of society as a whole and the relations of the group to that structure and which serve to reproduce that world by concealing contradiction and by perpetuating an unequal pattern of existing material relationships between and among groups.*

*Because it is concerned with concealment, ideology necessarily serves particular interests and thus refers to the specific ways in which signs, meanings and values help to incorporate and reproduce dominance as a social power and to manufacture consensus, while at the same time concealing the antagonisms resident at this point. Ideology may exist at more than one scale within the same society, or within the same individual: as unsophisticated ideology or implicit*

*'common sense,' which is shared most widely and as sophisticated ideology; or as a more or less coherent system of explicit beliefs about the world which favours the interests or expresses the feelings of a more specific group in society, without the members necessarily being conscious of their belonging to that group.*

In terms of relating to day to day lived experience, it is equally possible for ideology to refer to the specific ways in which signs, meanings and values help to reproduce a dominant social power, or to *any* significant conjunction between discourse and power (Eagleton 1991, 221). If ideology exists at a sophisticated and an unsophisticated level simultaneously, then it is both an emergent property of groups of people who by shared experience hold similar things to be 'true' and also a formulation of such 'truths' into a system of beliefs that some groups of people desire or insist that others (should) believe.

How might identity, as constructed in the past in Armidale, have influenced the construction of ideology? And how have the signs, meanings and values of style helped to either reproduce a dominant social power or to incorporate groups involved in an alternative conjunction between discourse and power?

## **IDEOLOGY FROM ARTEFACTS**

To attempt to answer such questions it is first necessary to ask how patterning in archaeological artefacts might possibly be indicative of the construction of ideology. Ideological expressions of social asymmetry within capitalism operate either through reinforcing difference between groups or by denying that difference. One of the most obvious conclusions which can be drawn from any study is the extent to which material artefacts reflect similarity or difference between segments of a population, irrespective of the possible social strategies and ideological commentary perceived to lie behind this degree of variability. Once an emphasis or de-emphasis on inequality is perceived it can be understood as being created in various ways. In other words, there seems to be an initial movement towards either the denial or affirmation of inequality, which then becomes operationalised through other ideological strategies. For example the expression of social difference between groups may be emphasised equally well

through a strategy of naturalisation (the social Darwinism of these people being 'naturally' lesser than us), legitimisation (tradition upholds this expression of difference) or universalisation (these differences have always been so).

Archaeologically at least, it is possible to link ideological strategies with material remains by questioning the degree to which either similarity or difference is stressed between segments of the population. The main ideological strategies discussed in chapter two were (Eagleton 1991, 45-59; Thompson 1984, 137):

- 1) *Unification* as the emphasis on similarity so as to create a sense of community,
- 2) *Rationalisation* and *legitimation* as the emphasis on difference, but appealing to traditional, rational or charismatic grounds to legitimate it,
- 3) *Dissimulation* as the emphasis on similarity through the masking of the relations of domination and through the denial of the act of masking itself, and
- 4) *Universalisation* and *naturalisation* which would seem to be able to either deny or emphasise difference, depending on the historical context in question.

### ***Similarity or difference? Strategies and scale***

Several possibilities for the existence of ideology emerge from the data. They indicate that both a fundamental class conflict (between producers and appropriators of surplus) and a subsumed class conflict (between appropriators and specific individuals who provide political, economic and cultural conditions for fundamental class processes to exist, ie. landlords, moneylenders and merchants) are taking place (Saitta 1994). In other words, between capitalists and workers and between one group of capitalists and another.

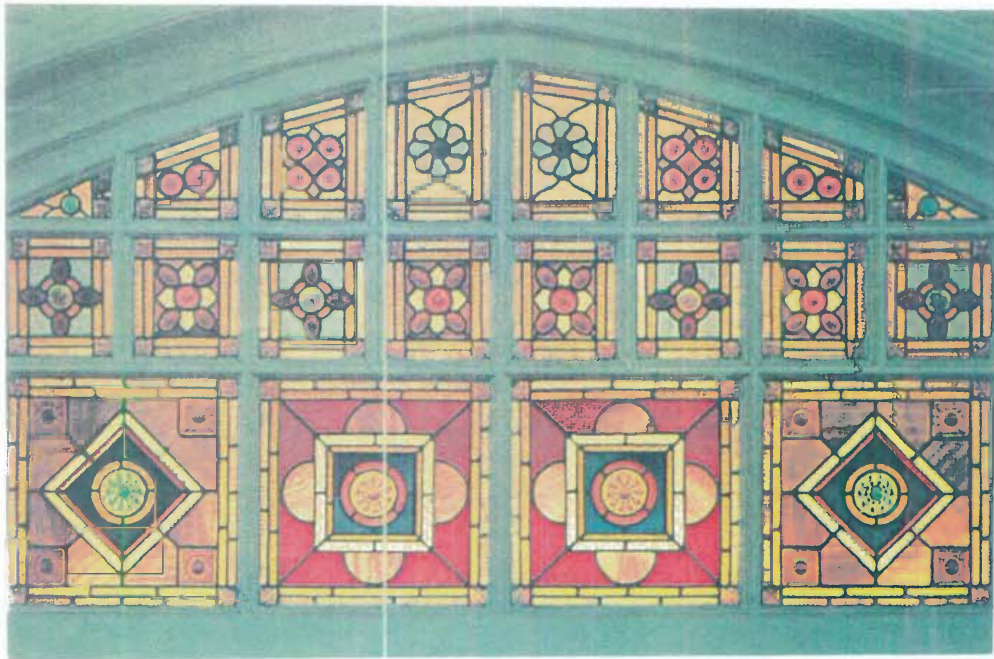


*Capitalists and workers*

The first and most obvious observation to be drawn from the Armidale case study is that while statistically significant associations between social context and style did appear from the data, these were not at a very fine-grained level. Most of the differences occurred between groups on a very broad scale, most particularly between workers and owners. In many elements of style there are clear differences between the owners and the workers, both in terms of those features which the owners possess but the workers do not, and in the reverse, in terms of those which the workers use, but the owners do not. Having said this, there are a number of ideological strategies apparent in the patterning of the material remains.

The direction of emulation from public buildings to private buildings of the middle and upper classes is simultaneously an appropriation of dominant visual imagery and an ideological strategy to legitimate power. Although the Anglican church had long been regarded as supporting the privileged upper class (Connell and Irving 1992, 106), through appropriating the ecclesiastical imagery of the church, the pastoralists were not only making a statement of their fitness to lead society, but also assuming the mantle of moral guidance formerly held by the church (figure 8.1). Likewise, through emulating the classical appearance of the public buildings associated with the daily business of capital—the banks and building societies—the mercantilists were appropriating a set of associations linking the practice of capitalism (making money) with the ostensible democracy and equality of ancient Greece and Rome.

Each of these strategies becomes ideological in that each used legitimation and rationalisation to establish the 'right' of the upper and middle classes to govern the rest. Through appropriating particular, dominant types of visual imagery, the ruling groups were appealing to tradition and to associations established in the past to legitimate their dominant position. Furthermore, by linking themselves stylistically with structures which persisted and which continued to dominate the landscape, these associations were reinforced periodically. As the members of other groups continued to interact with the original structures which fixed these meanings to the landscape—as



▲ Booloominbah



◀ St Peter's Anglican cathedral

▼ St Mary and St Joseph's Catholic cathedral



Saumarez



FIGURE 8.1: The use of stained glass in pastoral houses and church buildings

they attended church or conducted business in banks or building societies—the similarities continued to be emphasised.

There was an element of the strategy of universalisation in this as well, in that by linking themselves to the older societies of Greece and Rome, the mercantile capitalists were also presenting their specific values and interests as part of a common human ‘truth’. Through the medium of architecture, the centrality of standing structures was emphasised as a universal human value, distinguishing those who owned from those who did not. In this fashion, it may have been possible to construe the propertyless working class (both European and Aboriginal) as ‘lesser’ beings and to legitimate the appropriation of wealth displayed in the standing structures of the middle and upper classes. Furthermore, as elements of upper and middle class stylishness came to be emulated in the structures of other groups, an impression of leadership by the wealthy was accentuated. As a strategy this incorporated them as a dominant group and reinforced a perception of stylishness as being created through access to wealth.

The use of stylistic features in common amongst members of the working class suggests that there may have been an element of community surrounding the workers in Armidale. Through the use of distinctive elements such as singlepitch verandah roofs, turned timber finials, stop-chamfered verandah columns or weatherboard, the workers were creating a unique identity for themselves which set them apart in their own right from the owners. The question of whether all of these elements were employed through deliberate choice by members of the working class, or whether some may have been an incidental result of the relative cheapness of mass-produced building elements is largely irrelevant in this light. Even if it were the owners who were in a sense the ones ensuring that workers continued to live in structures such as symmetrical weatherboard houses (through the economies of scale inherent in mass-producing such inexpensive structures), the subsequent location of this stylistic choice in areas of higher status ensured that it still came to be regarded as indexical of the working class (figure 8.2).

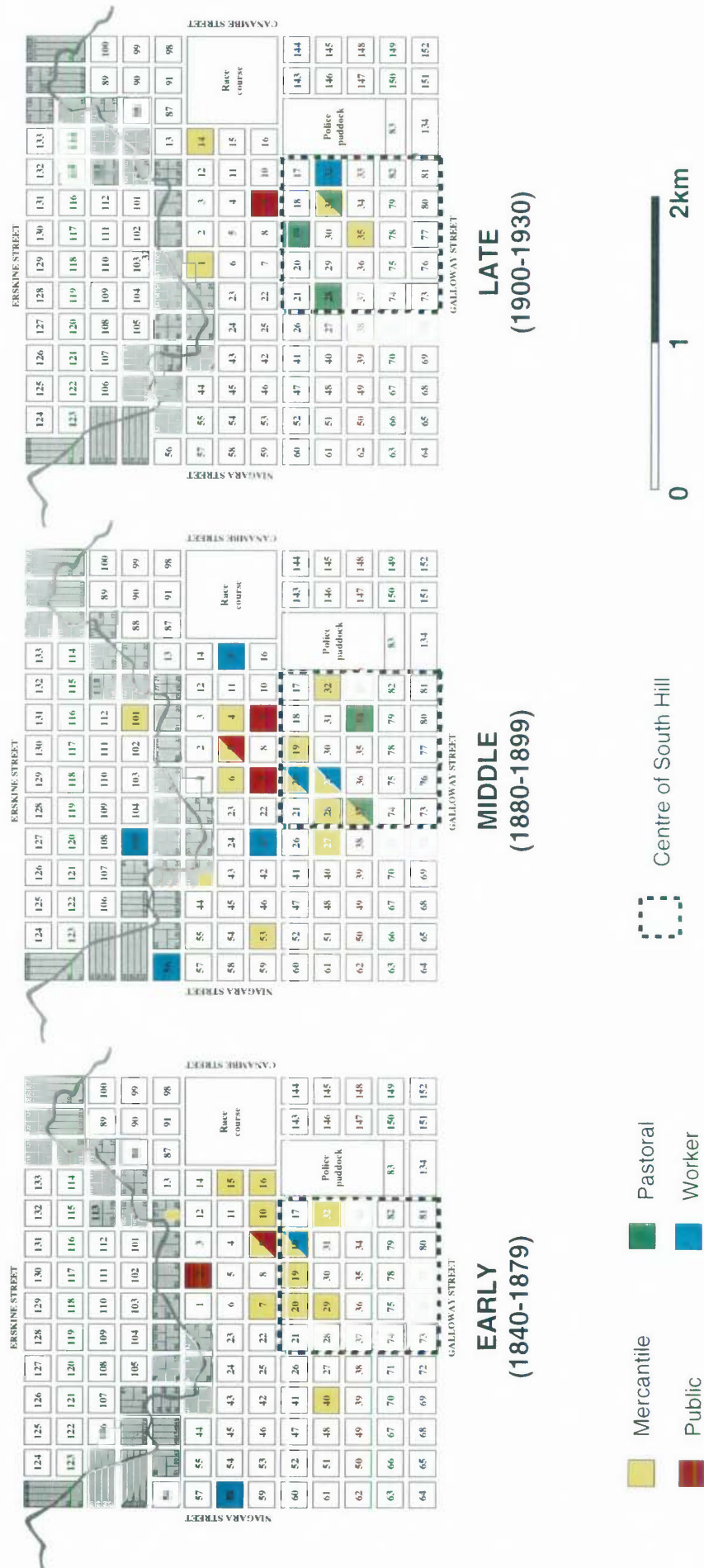
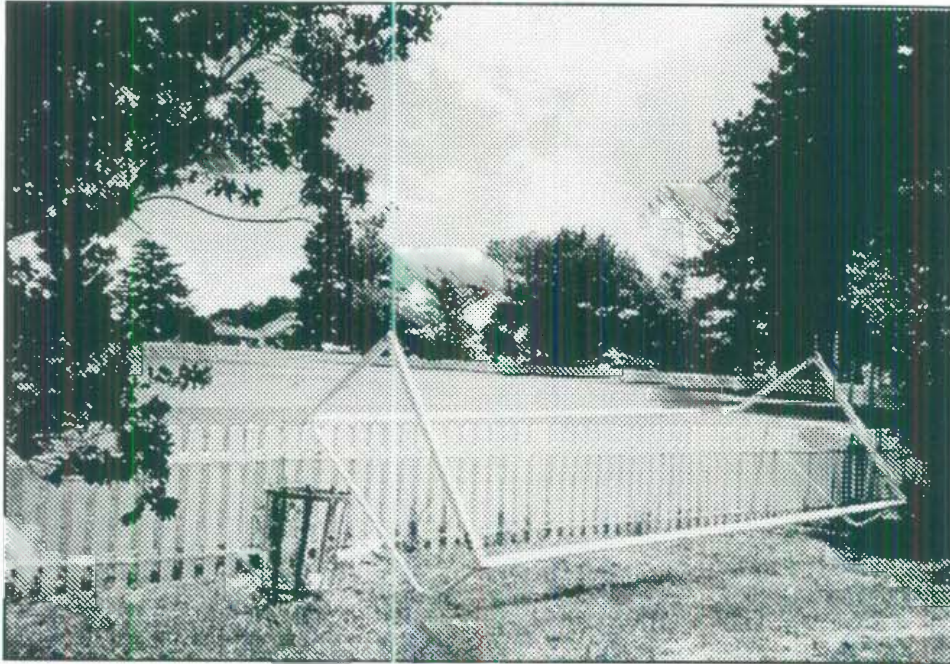


FIGURE 8.2: The movement of symmetrical working class houses into an area of higher status, South Hill

At some level then, it indicated an appeal to working class tradition and common roots and thus encouraged a perception of community amongst the workers. This too, of course, is an ideological strategy. Through unification the workers were creating a sense of coherence and local identity amongst themselves, which both hid their real conditions of existence from themselves and lent a veneer of coherence to what was still an internally differentiated group. The perception of equality lent by this strategy denied that there may still have been disenfranchised members within this group, such as women. Unification, as a possible ideology strategy employed by the workers, is an example of sophisticated ideology—it expresses beliefs about the world which favour the interests of a specific group in society. It is not necessarily true, of course, that the workers must have been conscious of these beliefs, simply that they shared in them.

A sense of community fostered among the workers may have served a dual purpose, however. As well as providing a common tradition around which the working class could construct their own identity, it may also have provided a new direction for working class discontent. By focussing attention inwards towards the communal maintenance of group identity instead of outwards towards the differences between that identity and the identity of the owning groups, dissatisfaction may have been channelled in new directions. It is certainly the case that while many of the distinctive elements in the character of West Armidale, such as the hotels or the public schools, were agitated for by members of the working class, a sense of community was also reinforced by the owners. One of the main dominating features in West Armidale is the provision of public space in the form of Lambert Park, dedicated in 1889, 15 years after the creation of Central Park. While Central Park was a reserve linking the plantings of the gardens of South Hill with the structures of the town centre, Lambert Park was early established as a sports ground, particularly for cricket. One of the dominant impressions of Lambert Park is of it as a village green, complete with original picket fence (c1900) and plantings (figure 8.3). As Connell and Irving (1992, 106) have argued, the emphasis on organised sports played a large part in creating a sense of identity amongst workers, and by situating Lambert Park in West Armidale the mercantile capitalists may have been contributing to and reinforcing a sense of community.



**FIGURE 8.3: Lambert Park in West Armidale**

Creating a sense of community held in common through the emulation of stylistic traits by the workers may have had other ideological shadings to it as well. The appropriation of emblems of stylishness may have served to hide the true conditions of the workers' existence from themselves. By believing that better things were possible, and by making this materialise through emulating stylishness, the conditions of labour were masked. Those who could afford to appropriate stylishness could express beliefs that improvement was possible and those who could not, could at least believe that it might be so. In this sense, then, ideology was a set of beliefs fostered by the workers amongst themselves, not something which originated in a ruling class conspiracy. These beliefs also, of course, gave the workers power, in that the embodiment of these ideas through style may have reaffirmed a sense of the capability of the working class to succeed and prosper.

#### *Capitalists and capitalists*

Stylistic differences between mercantilists and pastoralists in the early period suggests that these groups were also constructing different identities for themselves, and thus

subscribing to different sophisticated ideologies. The dominant sophisticated ideology held by the pastoralists in the colony was linked to the notion of moral ascendancy and originated in an artificial contrast between the moral and virtuous gentry and the depraved and immoral convict workforce. Mercantile capitalism, by contrast, supported a notion of progress through individual enterprise regardless of inherited social position. Appropriation of ecclesiastical imagery by pastoralists would suggest that they did indeed subscribe to a view of themselves as morally superior, or at the very least closely aligned to the function and position of the church. The mercantile focus upon classical features on the other hand suggests a separate source of origin for their position: the appeals to classical antiquity embodied in the dominant style of public buildings and private mercantile structures, echo a belief in the ideals of progress through enterprise and the individual freedom and democracy idealised in notions of ancient Rome. This is a secular position more closely related to the democratic ideals of liberty and individualism grounded in the past. There is a clear division here between the sacred imagery emulated by the pastoralists and the secular imagery emulated by the mercantilists, which supports the contention that each subscribed to a different sophisticated ideology and that each may have been involved in a struggle with the other to legitimate their respective positions.

From historical sources it was clear that pastoralists and mercantilists were becoming more rather than less convergent over time and this process of reconciliation was manifested in a convergence of style. From the 1880s onwards, pastoral and mercantile structures exhibited a range of stylistic features in common such as asymmetry, formal names, bay windows and piers and were located in a common suburb: South Hill. As well as becoming more similar to each other, pastoral and mercantile structures were also becoming more distinct from workers' houses over time. Most distinctive among these features was the use of asymmetry in middle and upper class houses, culminating in highly individual structures such as *Booloominbah*, *Trevenna*, *Birida*, the *Cotswold* or *The Turrets*. There is also a convergence between mercantile and pastoral capital in features of style possessing distinctive associations with ruling groups, notably the crenellated bay windows on *Loombra*, *Trelawney*, *The Turrets* and *Highbury* (see figure 6.5). As an element linked explicitly to notions of chivalry and respectability, these particular features are part of the legitimisation of

wealth and prestige and the construction of social position which occurs through assuming the rule (and rules) of the 'gentleman'. Adopting the manners and accoutrements of the gentleman as part of a broader understanding of chivalry and respectability was nowhere more apparent than in F. R. White's design for the central stained glass window in his country house, *Booloominbah*. As a celebration of the life of General Charles Gordon, it was also a celebration of his death in battle at Khartoum and of the cult of hero worship which grew up around his death (Mitchell 1988, 28-29; Girouard 1981, 229). Celebrated as a hero and a martyr, Gordon was eulogised as combining 'the attributes of Sir Lancelot, of Bayard, of Cromwell' and for being 'as unselfish as Sidney, of courage dauntless as Wolfe ... Doubtful indeed it is if anywhere in the past we shall find figure of knight or soldier equal to him' (quoted in Girouard 1981, 229). In the Gordon window, the ruling class appeal to the position rightfully accorded to a gentleman, and the pastoralist appeals to the tradition of sacred church imagery are fused irrevocably (figure 8.4).

This would suggest that the ruling groups were constructing a mutual identity for themselves and thus possibly subscribing to a similar form of sophisticated ideology. The use of distinctive and distinguishing features by the ruling groups enshrines stark material difference as a indicator of relative group identity. In other words, the ruling groups were setting themselves apart from the workers by emphasising a set of absolute differences, not only in the size and style of their structures, but also by accentuating their ability to be stylish.

This marked distinction was also a facet of the spatial organisation of Armidale. By the ruling groups choosing to locate themselves in the visually dominant position of South Hill, the visual hierarchy of Armidale became at once an expression of and a buttress for the organisation of the social system. The distinction created by contrasting a high status suburb with the lower status areas it overlooked and in a sense dominated, created and contributed to an impression of differential wealth, position and influence. The tangibly dominant nature of material structures and of the spaces people created rendered social relations in terms of physical distance and position and through persistence implied that the ordering of the social system was itself immutable and enduring. Just as the workers were 'beneath' the position of their



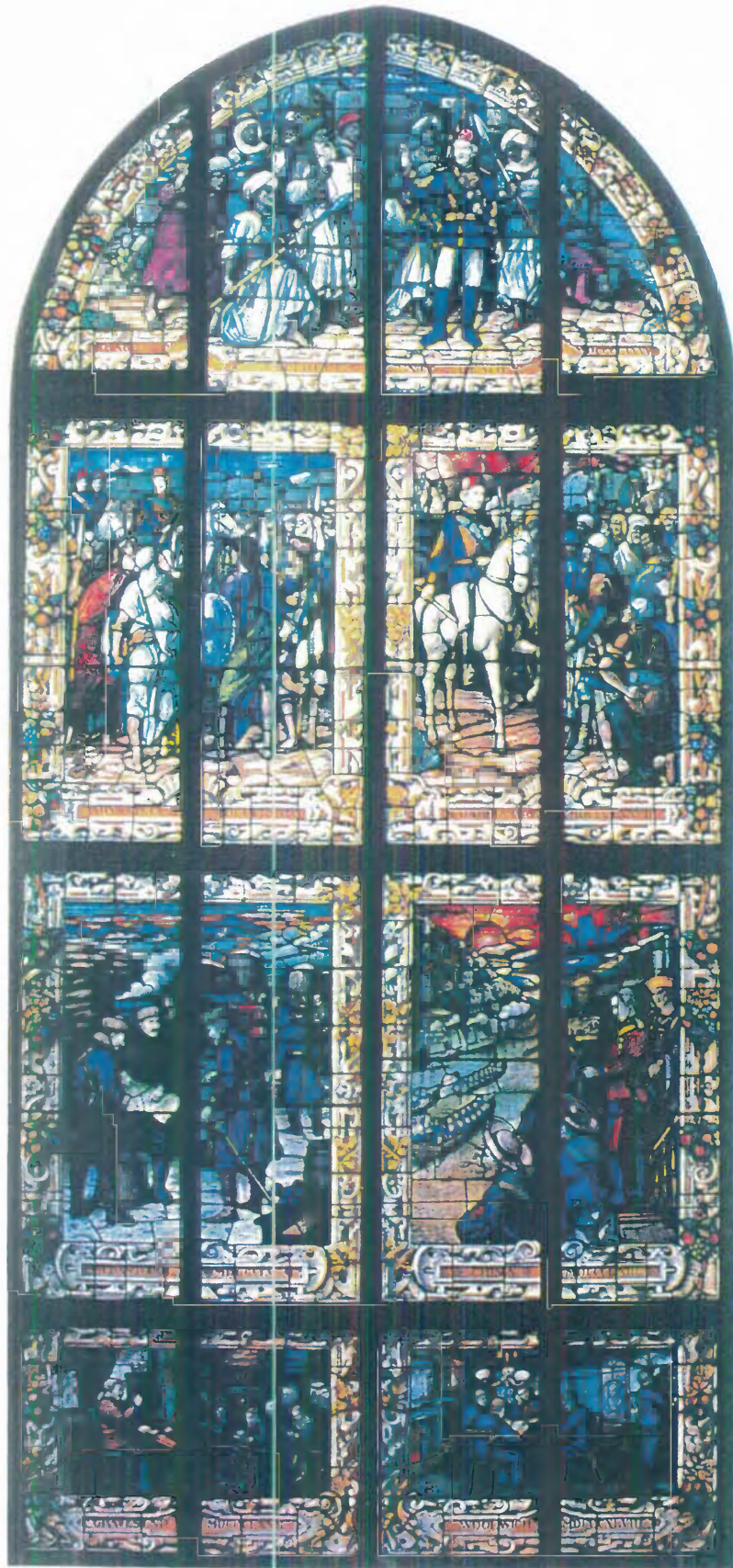


FIGURE 8.4: The Gordon window, Broomfield

employers, so too were they 'beneath' the position of their employers' houses. This uses naturalisation as an ideological strategy, to delete the social agency which allows those with capital to make more capital. With such a strategy the resulting social product is presented as 'natural' and as enduring as the houses of South Hill. Naturalisation as an ideological strategy involving standing structures is only possible if those structures persist. The persistence of spatial arrangements from the past as symbols of the relationships between previous groups, strengthen each new generation of relationships. Through persistence, the social order of the present can be linked to an order of the past and manifested as enduring and unchangeable.

### *Scale*

The strategies of unification, legitimation, rationalisation and naturalisation refer to particular ways in which ideology operates, without commenting on the scale at which ideology might exist. Unsophisticated and sophisticated ideology are complementary aspects of ideology which exist at different scales: either as widely held common sense or as beliefs which favour particular groups. The use of legitimation, rationalisation and naturalisation strategies by the middle and upper classes and unification amongst the workers, suggests that this is ideology at a sophisticated level. In other words, each of these contains beliefs about the world which favours the interests or expresses the feelings of specific groups in society, rather than society as a whole.

The relationship between sophisticated and unsophisticated ideology is in part a relationship between levels which make sense of each other, rather than scales *per se*. The strategies of individual groups exist within a broader construction of identity which incorporates them all: capitalism. Capitalism, as I see it, is an unsophisticated ideology which is used to bind and incorporate many sophisticated ideologies. Sophisticated ideology is constructed within the bounds of unsophisticated ideology and the latter helps to make sense of the former, it gives it both outline and form. Ideology exists at a variety of scales: sometimes it is concerned with manufacturing similarity between groups, sometimes with difference. Sometimes ideology is concerned with diverting resistance, and perhaps in other contexts even about accepting and lauding difference as another means of diversion. The ideological forms

which existed in the past bear a relationship to the patterns which exist in the present: the past informs the present as much as the present informs the past. It is certainly the case that in Armidale, the ideological patterns of the past are incorporated into the perceptions of the present, such that Armidale's notion of heritage and its public identity are closely linked to the precedents of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

### **IDEOLOGY AND PUBLIC IDENTITY**

The relationship between ideology and public identity is at once an obvious and a subtle one. In Armidale, a public version of identity was constructed within the ideological patterns of the past, but is re-produced in later contexts because it also proceeds from an ideology of the present (Gero 1989, 103). There are three concurrent strands being spun together here: the creation of identity in the past, from the particular contexts of production which existed then; the re-creation of identity through time in contexts which include the friezes of previous social configurations as part of their context; and the continual re-appropriation of pieces or aspects of those pasts as germane to the construction of identity in the present. All of these strands are important in terms of how people have constructed and continue to construct their own identity and subsequently an identity for the place in which they live, a process which is at least partly rooted in the particular mix of capitalisms and ideologies which prevailed here. Identity in all of these strands includes both private and public versions; the identity of dominant groups and their relationship to other groups, is what constructs at a larger scale the public version of identity which is embodied in the presentation of Armidale to outsiders.

The public image of the town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular, was a construction of identity at the larger scale which closely reflected the mercantile/pastoral struggle for control over Armidale and its outcome. It is worth considering in more detail just what facets of group identity informed the construction of a public identity for Armidale, as this construct not only played on the general English resemblance, but also borrowed heavily from pastoral wealth and prestige to reinforce this.

*Armidale: cathedral city. Public identity and the construction of 'landscape'*

*The nineteenth century*

In the twentieth century the identity of Armidale as a community is well established with strong emotive links to ecclesiasticism, education and 'cultural refinement' and there is a strong history to this image which has been carefully cultivated for more than one hundred years. In many ways this is not surprising, as the choice of Armidale for the seat of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishop was the deciding factor in the incorporation of Armidale as a city. It is also what distinguished Armidale's Anglican and Roman Catholic chapels as 'cathedrals', rather than mere 'churches'. By 1881 Armidale was already referred to as a 'cathedral city', with definite and conscious links between religion and education being used to promote it as a cathedral town with a country estate setting and elite schools. As part of this cultivation, accounts of Armidale's history often emphasise a movement away from initial impressions of disorder and unruliness towards images of rural tranquility which stress success, achievement and order (see for example Ferry 1994; Gilbert 1982). Emphasis is often placed upon the increasing control over space, nature and particularly behaviour, which can be disentangled from successional changes in Armidale's appearance and social codes and which is presented ubiquitously as 'development'. Early descriptions, such as that provided by Surveyor John James Galloway in 1849 of 'the low debauchery of the place which seduces [my employees] into great irregularities' (quoted in Ferry 1994, 252), are often contrasted to later pastoral scenes:

... in the springtime ... it [Armidale] is very beautiful; the fruit trees such as you see in Old England are in full blossom, the earth covered with brilliant grass, the paddocks waving with corn, and the open bush redolent of the bloom of the wattle or the acacia; no wonder bishops, pastors and officials have found in Armidale a chosen seat, and rest satisfied.

*(Town and Country Journal 2 May, 1874, cited in Gilbert 1982, 260)*

What was often found worth describing in detailed accounts were the sources of wealth which existed within Armidale and images of its investment in the physical structure of the town: 'it is a pleasing task to write about a place like Armidale. Its exceeding

picturesqueness, the combination of art with nature in the scenery, the formation of streets, the private residences and gardens, the public buildings, churches and schools, all go to make up a very agreeable picture.’ (*Town and Country Journal*, 7 May, 1874, cited in Gilbert 1982, 260). In the same vein, but eleven years later, Armidale was described as:

... eminently respectable—in her bishops, in her cathedrals, in her churches, in her schools, in her many government officials, in her merchants, in her one clock that sweetly chimes the fleeting hours. ... Walking through the streets of Armidale ... one somehow soon begins to feel that he is in a place which is not as other places are. The streets are cleaner: ... there are a number of very superior private residences, and a park. There is evidence of a large and well-to-do population, not the least of which is the number of elegantly dressed beauties who may be seen promenading the streets or gaining a more vigorous exercise on the lawn tennis ground.

(*Town and Country Journal*, 17 November, 1883, cited in Gilbert 1982, 265)

These word images are reinforced by strong visual links to particular built features of the Armidale landscape, particularly the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals, the two Anglican private schools and the private houses associated with wealth and privilege. Associations between climate, religion, education and ‘significant’ buildings were reinforced periodically:

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 ... [which] brings into existence a number of private schools which seem to depend largely on class distinction. Of course an excellent climate also assists these schools [and] ... There is probably more competition from private interests than in any other portion of the State.

(Submission by Inspector McDowell for the establishment of a high school at Armidale, May 1918, cited in Gilbert 1982, 180)

These images are all essentially urban images, referring directly to the material and moral spheres firmly encompassed by the mercantile capitalists. In many cases there is an absence of images similarly representing the pastoral interests within the community, although, as the centre for a squatting district, Armidale was initially founded as a direct result of those interests. Although a social divide between pastoral and mercantile

capital was apparently ameliorated by the early 1890s (Ferry 1994, 251, 323), still pastoralists often only resided in the town after their retirement or on a temporary annual basis. Given that Armidale's public identity stressed tradition and permanence, there is a great irony in these images of stability owing their genesis to an undoubtedly wealthy, but largely absent or transient group of pastoral capitalists. By a further irony, although a 'sense of belonging associated with the Armidale community' developed in and after 1891 and partly wedded earlier sectarian disagreement between pastoral and urban capital (Ferry 1994, 251), in the late nineteenth century a new rift emerged. This still targetted the detrimental effects of transience on the Armidale community, albeit by a different group of people. Although both graziers and merchants were now merged in property-owning solidarity and classed themselves together as 'locals', a continuing divide between locals and transients subsequently focussed in the early 1890s upon disputes between local graziers and transitory, union-organised shearers and from the mid-twentieth century, upon a dichotomy between 'townies' and university students.

#### *The twentieth century*

The urban mythology of 'Armidale: the cathedral city' has been in the process of construction for over 100 years and is encapsulated in the present labels still attached to the place: 'a cathedral city of education and the arts' (1980); or 'a city of culture and learning' (1993). The public identity of Armidale in the twentieth century, however, is no longer limited to the pages of Sydney newspapers, but has become part of a more general process of heritage awareness which imbues our perception of the past. The heritage conservation movement simultaneously defines and captures a public appreciation for a past and at the same time directs it in particular ways. As a cultural production it mediates in-group/out-group distinctions, and is used to create identity at the same time as it is purported to merely reflect it. The public identity of Armidale is constructed from the material remains of its past; from the persistence of structures and their spatial arrangement and from the direction of emulation and links between groups. The creation of a public identity, of course, extends to the public presentation of that identity. This is not simply the creation of a texture of dominant values, but also of

how this texture comes to be legitimated for other subordinate groups and how it is presented or 'sold' to outsiders (visitors and tourists) and thus reinforced.

In part it is the content of particular stories attached to particular places which defines how the city will be interpreted. In Armidale, the stories attached to sites invariably centre around 'pioneering' men, both pastoralists and mercantilists from the upper and middle classes. By stories here, I mean accounts of the person who caused a structure to be built or who was otherwise involved with it: thus Henry Mallam is the identity attached to 94 Rusden St, but so too is John Richardson, the mercantilist who rented the house in the 1870s. Typically, the issue of whether structures have enduring stories attached to them is weighted heavily in favour of the ruling groups at the expense of the working class. In a statistical analysis, structures from the early period are characterised by stories pinpointing mercantile and pastoral capitalists from groups 1 and 2 as the identities attached to sites. Although there are no statistically significant results from the middle period, in the late period the same pattern is evident. Mercantile capitalists, pastoral capitalists and members of group 1 are overwhelmingly associated with structures, while workers are not. There is a clear bias here in favour of dominant identities and thus dominant structures, which is both a direct consequence of the social patterning which has existed in the past and a reinforcement of the current heritage tendency to perpetuate this patterning in the present.

This structuring of place by the dominant sections of the community is also reflected in the street names allocated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The original street names given by Galloway in 1848 exclusively celebrated pastoralists as central to the formation of Armidale: Dangar St. after Henry Dangar; Dumaresq St. after William and Henry Dumaresq; Marsh St. after Matthew Henry Marsh; Rusden St. after T. J. Rusden of *Europambla*, Faulkner St. after John Falconer of *Falconer Plains*. Although Beardy St. ostensibly seems an exception to this, it was named after two stockmen, collectively called the Beardies because of their facial hair, who were instrumental as guides to many of the early pastoralists.

Subsequent street names both extended this pastoral emphasis and layered it with mercantile overtones. Taylor St. was named after W. T. Taylor of *Terrible Vale*; Mott

St. after Charles Mott of *Springmount*; White Ave. after Harold White; and Hargrave St. after Richard Hargrave of *Hillgrove*. Early mercantilists were celebrated in the naming of Markham St. after auctioneer George Markham; Mossman St. after Archibald Mosman (the misspelling is unexplained); Allingham St. after storekeeper and first mayor George Allingham; Galloway St. after surveyor John James Galloway; and Kirkwood St. after Robert Kirkwood who established the first steam powered flour mill. In the twentieth century, Tysoe Crescent, Trim St., Moore St. and Richardson Ave. are all named after members of the mercantile elite. By choosing to name streets after such figures, the same pattern which is evident in the preservation of stories about structures is evident in the naming of streets—the past is structured to reflect the lives and position of the financially powerful.

It is unknown to what extent this texture of dominant values was accepted by the working class and other disenfranchised groups in Armidale. Unlike in nineteenth century Stockholm, where subversive versions of major street names were nurtured and disseminated amongst non-elite groups (see Orser 1996, 142-144), there is no evidence that similar practices occurred in Armidale.

There is another level to the issue of how a place is interpreted in the present, which stems from the conception of the past as a commodity, one result being that there are many ways in which a buying public can assess the past. Cultural heritage, or the past as accessible through artefacts, is only one means of commodifying the past, but one which is not often acknowledged as such. Relics cannot be sold in isolation (or rather they can, but to less effect: what constitutes the ‘effectiveness’ of a story about the past will be returned to later) and therefore interpretation of some sort is a necessary medium between a buying public and a saleable past. Lowenthal (1985, 238) in fact argues that relics in isolation are not an autonomous guide: they ‘light up the past only when we already know they belong to it’. Thus an awareness of something as being ‘history’ is contingent first upon an awareness of it as being ‘historical’: ‘Memory and history pin-point only certain things as relics; the rest of what lies around us seems simply present, suggesting nothing past’ (Lowenthal 1985, 238). A farmer’s appreciation of nineteenth century farm equipment is bound to be different to that of an archaeologist’s.



This tendency to elide history with being historical is particularly apparent when applied to standing structures and is part of the process by which indexical markers of groups come to be symbolic in later contexts of interpretation. As a sign which no longer has any direct resemblance or connection to the object it once marked, these previous coteries of status still possess meaning to observers among whom there is a convention that it stands for another thing (Noble and Davidson 1996, 68-69). Structures (and their style) become symbols in the present with meaning in the present, and interpretation in effect, becomes an outline of the 'historicalness' of a certain object or place, as part of the process of then commodifying it as 'history'. What this entails however is not only choosing which parts of the story are best able to be interpreted, but also which parts are 'good' in terms of most saleable. In essence, effective interpretation depends on a good story and to be truly 'good' (in a capitalist sense) it has to be saleable. By 'saleable' I do not mean that this is always determined by strict cost-benefit analyses, it may in fact be more intuitive than analysed. It may be that 'saleability' is simply based on what has been proven to work in other cases: ie. what sorts of experiences consistently draw the public to a place. As with all products however, not all versions of the past are deemed to be equally desirable and thus various qualities in some versions of the past will render these more appealing (to both insiders and outsiders) in the present.

I will return to the repercussions inherent in the symbolic meanings of past structures and in selling the heritage industry after briefly examining the place of those meanings and the industry within Armidale.

### ***Producing Armidale in the present***

Since the 1991 Heritage Study, the Armidale City Council has been implementing the recommendations of the final report through a programme of historic building preservation and interpretation. This has taken on a number of forms: from the recognition of successful and sympathetic renovations through the 'Heritage Award' scheme; to the official recognition of a limited range of important buildings by attaching custom-made commemorative plaques; to the implementation of a Heritage Walk and Heritage Drive covering a selection of relevant sights and structures. The latter are

designed to be complementary and together cover over 80 'landmark' structures (see Appendix 4), the choice of which emphasises the bias towards the dominant section of the community.



**FIGURE 8.5: Heralding the value of Armidale**

Structures such as houses occupy a particular place in the construction of public identity and ideology, both figuratively and literally (Yentsch 1988). As physical and enduring elements of the landscape, buildings both encode a range of past social meanings symbolic of past social structures; and tie this literally to the construction of space in the present, by associating the identity of the person who built it or controlled it and their position within the community with the physical fabric of the house. The Heritage Walk and the Heritage Drive are prime examples of the chain of connection between identity, place and ideology; and of the way in which public identity both derives from and feeds this process.

The Heritage Walk is confined geographically to the centre of town and to South Hill and the Heritage Drive, while encompassing a greater number of structures, remains concentrated within the same area. Both focus heavily on public buildings and a selection of private houses, with some reference to the identities of both builders and owners. All of the identities associated with structures relate to families and individuals who dominated the community: for example George Baker (pastoral capital; group 1), the McKinlay family (mercantile capital; group 1), Charles Wilson (mercantile; group 2), Joseph Slade (mercantile; group 1), Henry Solomon (mercantile; group 3), Barnett Aaron Moses (mercantile; group 1), George Morse (pastoral; group 1), Henry Mallam (mercantile; group 2), William Curtis (mercantile; group 1), Frederick White (pastoral; group 1) and George Nott (mercantile; group 3). It is notable that most members of this list are associated with the later period of Armidale's growth (1880s-1900s) and that earlier members of the community such as John Moore, James Salmon or John Trim, all of whom could be associated with extant structures, are missing entirely. By collapsing time and space in such a way, the Heritage Walk and Drive effectively telescope the history of Armidale into a narrower window associated with the peak time of expansion and prosperity.

In line with such an emphasis, the workers are not represented within either of these schemes. Only the Heritage Drive encompasses sections of West Armidale within its boundaries, although none of these structures are tied explicitly to working class identity. 307 Beardy St., for example, is described as 'typical of West Armidale timber residences built at the turn of the century', without any reference to the role of such weatherboard structures to be symbolic of the working class. Likewise, the West Armidale primary school is described in two sentences which hold no reference to the increasing sense of dissatisfaction and solidarity among the inhabitants of working class West Armidale which led them to agitate for separate educational facilities accessible to them: 'West Armidale School commenced in 1890 as an infants' school and was rebuilt and renamed as the Drummond Memorial School in 1966. The school was named in honour of David Henry Drummond, Country Party MLA for the Northern Tablelands and Armidale from 1920-1949.' By removing the connotations of its original name, which both denote its location in a working class suburb and celebrate its origins as a result of working class mobilisation in the nineteenth century, the school becomes

disassociated from any connection with the workers and instead becomes associated explicitly with a member of the middle class.

The structures which the Heritage Drive and Walk incorporate and revere as the physical fabric of 'heritage' are constructed well within the dominant values of Armidale's public identity. As a result, the visual dominance of South Hill is taken for granted and the preservation of its houses reified as the 'natural' result of the heritage process. The workers have no place within this scheme and West Armidale becomes merely an area to travel through in order to get to somewhere else. This is the face which Armidale presents to outsiders: combined mercantile and pastoral wealth and its attendant leisure, focussing on the boom years of the 1880s and 1890s, leaving an impression of wealth and prestige without any of the overtones of 'work' or 'employees'. The workers are deliberately made to be invisible and this invisibility legitimates the appropriation of the wealth that labour produces.

There are two crucial repercussions which follow on from the way in which the past in Armidale is re-created as meaningful through the heritage industry in the present: the propagation of an ideologically loaded version of the past as an effective story, which the issue of 'saleability' necessarily entails; and closely related to it, the way in which the combination of the persistence of structures and directions of emulation lead to a recognition of symbolic meaning not just *from* the past, but in the present.

### ***The past as product***

The argument that in our capitalist society the past has become just another product which has been commodified is not new (see for example Shanks and Tilley 1987; Tilley 1989). It implies that the past is a saleable commodity, with a consequent value dependent upon its saleability and upon its capacity to symbolise previous configurations of social relations (see also MacCannell 1976, 19-20). Like all products the public wants certain qualities from the past: value then becomes an issue of what constitutes a 'good' story or what ingredients must be present to attract and entertain a viewing public. How then do you define 'good'? This is not meant in a moral sense, but in terms of engagement value, in an ability to engage an audience. This can be

achieved by either entertaining them, an approach which has often been criticised as largely passive and therefore fostering a consumer rather than a producer mentality (see Handsman and Leone 1989 and Tilley 1989), or by teaching them, which is often seen as more active and self-reflexive (see for example Leone 1995; Leone, Potter and Shackel 1987; Potter 1992). Though more critical, this last is not necessarily more successful (see Potter 1995).

Purveyors of a past represented by material remains not only expect certain qualities from artefacts, but also certain specific experiences to be contained by those material objects which will enhance their appreciation of a generalised past. Lowenthal (1985, 52-62) argues that there are three general attributes which give the past value: antiquity, continuity and termination. Antiquity is the ability of age to convey a number of characteristics such as a demonstrable lineage or heritage, a 'beginning' or a nostalgic purity and innocence. Antiquity is also conveyed by remoteness: 'sheer age lends romance ... the older past has a status that later periods cannot match.' (Lowenthal 1985, 53). Continuity implies that the past is appreciated because it has led to the present, particularly so if there are demonstrable 'living pasts' bound up with the present. Termination provides a sense of completion: the past can be appreciated because it is over and there is thus a sense of stability or permanence which may be lacking in the present. These attributes are partly escapism, the persuasion that the visitor is *in* the past, but they are also partly a sense that the past is alive in the present. Each of these attributes, of course, is only conceivable because of the persistence of at least some material aspects of the past into the present. Persistence is thus the first quality which must exist for the other attributes of the appreciation of age to be able to give value to the past.

Artefactual material—'relics' or 'heritage'—is a particular avenue for accessing the past, and although only one among many, is an important one, as people may not simply want an historical past, but also a material one. As the basis for many constructions of the past, relics interact with the four general attributes of persistence, antiquity, continuity and termination, to provide a guide to the sorts of qualities which people might wish to experience. Firstly there is a need to recognise that artefacts actually stem from or link with the past and thus that artefacts should look 'old' (Shanks 1992,

101)—either through patinas of age (discolouration, lichen, weathering etc.) or through anachronism (it looks ‘old fashioned’, or at least curious enough to convey a sense of age) (Lowenthal 1985, 241). Secondly there is a desire for origins (the oldest date) and demonstrable lineages or pedigrees (histories). Thirdly, detail provides amplification of ‘the past’s residues’, but more so at the level of familiarity with everyday things. If people desire to be ‘put’ in the past, then the past they desire is not always grand, extraordinary or precious: ‘... rich and grand finds do not really belong to anyone, their human significance is less than the incidental.’ (Shanks 1992, 59). There is also the consideration that the value of a relic may be based on more formal aesthetic qualities, which can incorporate any or all of these particular qualities. To take these points further, Shanks (1992, 108) argues that the power of heritage lies particularly in how each of these aspects can signify for today. Their value is not so much present in isolation, but in signification—‘things meaning *for* what we are now.’ (1992, 108, italics in original). This is the crucial point which I will return to in the next section.

If commodification of the past works on this basis then these are the distinct qualities of the past which are more likely to render those versions of the past which possess them as most saleable to a public audience: authenticity (see MacCannell 1976, 105), the look of age, the demonstration of origins, contextual detail, aesthetic pleasure. This is public history and public archaeology: it is popular not academic. And the criteria of a popular past are different to those of an academic past: ‘Heritage is not about the attractive presentation of a past as it is understood by archaeology ... The meaning is what the past can do for the present. ... Above all it is accessible to people other than those acquainted with the academic value system of archaeology’ (Shanks 1992, 108). Popular pasts are more emotive as opposed to rational and they demand some form of emotional interaction. A boring and unsaleable past is one in which there is nothing for the visitor: ‘... having bought the past intellectually or cognitively, [there needs to be something] to buy, thus expressing and possessing conviction through individual, voluntary action’ (Leone 1981, 11).

What will become classed as ‘heritage’ to be interpreted at a place will therefore be a result of two things: what is identifiable and what people will best identify with (ie. a good, detailed, emotive story that allows them to place themselves readily and

effectively in the past). 'Identify' here is meant in two senses: you can either identify with something because you do it yourself, i.e., it is comfortable and familiar, and therefore its existence in the past allows you to draw comparisons between 'them' and 'us'; or because you do *not* do it yourself and therefore the links which are made with the past become ones of contrast rather than comparison. Often these forms of identification and thus self-definition are complementary and an effective interpretation will probably be one that employs both senses of the word to convey its message.

This has obvious implications for the way in which a saleable identity for Armidale can be constructed. If what can be interpreted most successfully (or sold most effectively) are those features which are most evocative, and if all too often the material evidence which is most evocative is the large scale or durable features, or in other words the artefacts of the powerful, what does this mean for the identity of the workers? If effective interpretation rests most successfully upon a 'good' story, and if the types of material remains which will realise that story are more likely to be the artefacts of one dominant class in society only, how difficult then is it going to be to write a story about the powerless groups in society? If it is possible, will it be 'saleable'? If it is possible, but not 'saleable', then which view of the past is most likely to be disseminated?

In Armidale, the structures which are most often celebrated as heritage and thus interpreted to a viewing public are those associated with the middle and upper classes and with a leisured lifestyle only made possible by wealth. Heritage focusses on stylishness. This enshrines particular directions of emulation in style: from public buildings to mercantile buildings; from ecclesiastical structures to pastoral houses; and from both mercantile and pastoral buildings to subordinate groups. The dominance of South Hill as an area of high status is not challenged, but reified in the classification of this area as the Conservation Zone. Although workers' structures exist within this area, they were not recorded by the Heritage Study team and the workers' houses in West Armidale are mostly scenic background in the drive to somewhere else. Even when they are deliberately incorporated into the circuit, their structures come without the enduring stories which are commonly attached to private mercantile and pastoral structures.

This moves to the heart of the problem surrounding the presentation of public identity. It might be argued that a public identity for a place such as Armidale cannot provide a means to construct a convincing story of the identities of the workers, although of course one of the stories about the workers is that there is little material evidence for them. The small sample size in this study is not simply a result of poor data collection methods, but a result of the impermanence of workers' structures. They are neither particularly durable, nor accorded sufficient importance to warrant conservation. This particular interrelationship—between the survival of structures as a result of the degrees of significance accorded by a professional heritage consultant (in this case an architect) and the survival of particular dominant textures of identity—is both dependent and mutually reinforcing. A structure is more likely to be celebrated as 'heritage' if it is already part of the dominant identity pattern; after all, much of the research by a heritage consultant rests upon interviewing the present inhabitants for insights into what they already hold to be valuable. Conversely, by touching only briefly on the spheres of subordinate groups (in this case of workers' cottages), the identity of the workers is neither incorporated into the construction of the present, nor their structures preserved to be re-interpreted in the future. Thus the dominant pattern remains dominant and is, in fact, enshrined through legislation as the determining identity for Armidale.

It is not necessarily the case that this narrative of the past is accepted uncritically by those who stand outside the dominant pattern; by workers or Aborigines for example. Richard Johnson (in Larrain 1994, 163) has argued that public versions of identity and the enormous variety of ways of life found in a place are two moments of an identity circuit which feed upon each other. All groups in society participate in the reading and reception of public versions of identity, and these need not be necessarily passive or uncritical. This process of reading and reception is part of the ways of life of members of all groups, and in turn contributes to the re-production of society and thus, again, to public versions of identity. That the workers' identity remains unincorporated, suggests that either there is currently little appreciation for a demonstrable 'living past' bound up with nostalgic notions of the working class or that their position is not sufficiently remote, anachronistic or opulent to convey a sense of distance or romance.



The commodification of heritage at once constructs and is constructed from a capitalist notion of value. For the architects from Perumal Murphy, 'value', in terms of what should and should not constitute 'heritage' in Armidale, is defined according to the value already attached to the labels—in other words according to the value which particular elements of style are accorded as a result of the continuing process of moving from index to symbol. It is not surprising then, that only those structures with high status (ie. those buildings constructed by the upper and middle class, particularly on South Hill) are deemed to have 'value'. Classification of these buildings in terms of their architecture is thus used to give value, not to seek it. This process is both pervasive and persuasive and extends to the incorporation of these notions of value into the presentation of public identity and in heritage reinforcing a capitalist notion of value. real estate agents in Armidale commonly use the age of a structure or its associations to sell it as 'heritage', appealing to both nostalgia and constructions of stylishness to entice buyers: 'a glimpse of gracious living from days gone by'; 'one of the best examples of Federation residential architecture in Armidale'; 'Armidale's second oldest home'; or the 'charm and character of yesteryear' (figure 8.6).

***Style (and meaning) from the past in the present. The ideology of heritage***

Style as choices between options of form, is not just selected from the range of new choices available in the present, but also from the range of old options which have existed in the past. Both old and new form a repertoire of shared concepts which can be drawn on and incorporated into the present. In many ways, the choice between old options is directed in a similar way to the process of establishing a good story about the past: through the various attributes of old styles which come to have meaning in the present. The style of many recent buildings in Armidale is mirrored on aspects of older styles as particular elements become incorporated into later ideas of 'stylish' architecture, such as turned timber finials, stained glass, French doors, decorative gable collar ties, classical design influences and cast iron (figure 8.7). This is closely linked to the concept of heritage and builds on the notions of antiquity, continuity, termination and persistence as they relate to the creation of the past as product.



### House of the week

The charm and character of yesterday can be found in this older style home in central Armidale.

The home was built in the 1870s, a very popular era.

On entering the front door into a wide entry hallway you are welcomed by its high ceilings and arched doorways, with an open fireplace in each room.

There are four very large bedrooms, two of which lead through french doors on to the front verandah.

The formal lounge room has an open fireplace.

The bathroom features hot, bath and shower and is very tastefully renovated in heritage style.

With some TLC this lovely old home could be restored to its original splendour.

For further particulars, please Ring A Home on 72 7933 or on 72 7681.

**FOR SALE BY OWNER**



**111 BROWN STREET**

Business/Residence: Fully restored 1888 residence. Business: 4 large dining rooms, waiting store, kitchen, 2 toilets, 10 rooms. Residence: 1 bedroom, lounge, large sunroom, large courtyard, kitchen, bathroom. Central heating throughout, 1400 sq m block with 5 bay parking, established trees and garden.


For further details, contact **Peter Wakeling**  
ANREPS Private Sales Consultant  
16 Mann Street Armidale

**Phone 72 3641**



Another home with character - Armidale plus brick. Built in 1880 it has five bedrooms, lounge room and study. Features central heating, open fireplaces, cedar doors and bay window in lounge. A step up.

**EXCLUSIVE \$320,000**



**175 Marsh Street**  
**BUILT IN 1856 - ARMIDALE'S SECOND OLDEST HOME**

History and charm 187 years old. 1100 sq m. 11 original red bricks. Features: large, double fronted, open fire, large entrance. Concrete verandah with topaz tiles. \$1,150,000 price range.

Open house Sat Oct 7, 12.00-12.30pm

## Classic Federation

Ellice Hall Estate will be selling on Saturday, June 12, at 11am in the New England Hotel, Orange one of the best examples of Federation residential architecture in Armidale.

Built circa 1908 by the then Armidale based Government Architect Samuel Herbert for his family residence.

Sold in 1971 to Alexander Mackay, a retired general from Lockheed it was then passed to a descendant of pastoral lands over the next twenty years.

The importance of Opus 2 was established in 1983.



Two storied, with a compact arrangement of verandahs, gables, bay windows, roof lines, tall chimneys and gabled up mooks and gables and wide entrances.

The informal living areas are arranged along the north facing rear of the house to catch the sun.

The brick work is Armidale.

Administration consists of

FIGURE 8.6: A selection of real estate advertisements selling the value of heritage in Armidale



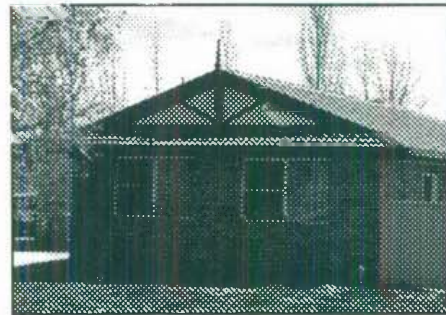
Niagara St



Jessie St



Marsh St



Niagara St



Crest Rd

**FIGURE 8.7: Modern versions of heritage style**

I have already discussed the ways in which past patterns of social identity structure what is thought to be stylish. The direction of emulation in previous discussions however, has always treated elements as synchronous and centred around the way in which features are emulated across class and space in any given period. Emulation, however, can also take place across time, although it does not do so in precisely the same fashion. Figure 8.7 illustrates a range of elements which are thought to be sufficiently stylish to structure present contexts of interpretation, however it also illustrates an apparent paradox in the direction of emulation. While classical emblems, cast iron, stained glass and French doors are symbols distinctive of nineteenth century upper and middle class structures, turned timber finials, an almost ubiquitous element of

present-day notions of heritage architecture, were once indexical of the working class. In the case of these elements, emulation has occurred in the opposite direction: *from* the working class *to* the middle class.

This would suggest that heritage as a source of contemporary choices for style is not necessarily viewed in the present as symbolic of the class relations which existed in the past. Instead, another process is operating. Through commodification, the past is created as a product which is separate to the present. It is 'buyable' because it is objectifiable and apart. The persistence of various elements of style creates a repertoire of previous choices available to be mined in the present for new symbols to be emulated.

In this process, persistence is recognised not as structuring space and symbolic behaviour in the present (contrary to the position adopted by the archaeologist), but as the material referent of belonging to a past that is distant and opaque. Persistence interacts with the remoteness of antiquity, with the connections of continuity and with the detachment of termination to represent this and to form the repertoire. Emulation across time is thus not class based *per se*, although class is of course related. Old notions of stylishness and the social description which occurred to introduce these elements in the first place derive from class, but the elements themselves come to acquire value as 'old' rather than as symbolic of a particular class. Appropriating these symbols through commodification of the past creates them as symbols of age (old/enduring/persisting), rather than of class. Thus turned timber finials are valued as old, rather than as working class. This returns to the idea that not all versions of the past are equally desirable and that the qualities in some versions of the past will render them more desirable than others. If the repertoire is not very productive—ie. if the conditions of labour were sufficiently miserable and oppressive—then presumably there is little, if anything, from the past to emulate.

Emulating the repertoire is a particular definition of heritage. Heritage preserves style elements *in situ* and thus protects the repertoire, but the repertoire itself, and the past social patterns which created it, also structure what is thought to be heritage in any given place. This circuit is embedded in the present and relies upon the

commodification of the past. There are two consequences which flow on from this circuit: creating the past as an object creates artefacts as universally 'old'; and in doing so constructs an ideology of heritage.

Objectifying the past renders it remote and removes the associations which connect it explicitly with the situation in the present. Heritage as an ideological strategy thus denies the antecedents to present circumstances, and masks the historicity of class inequality. By removing the connotations of class from the structures and elements which persist, heritage obscures the dynamics of the class process and renders things ubiquitously old. This is a strategy of dissimulation: denying that the class situation now may be a result of the dynamics of capitalist formation in previous decades. Where a commodified past thus becomes a source of stylishness in the present, the accident of the persistence of the existence of labour (the persistence of working class structures and elements) is masked by the ideology of heritage.

### **THE MATERIAL CONSTRAINTS TO STUDYING IDEOLOGY**

The study of ideology is an area of research which has long been acknowledged as part of archaeology in various capacities. The changing extent to which and ways in which archaeology has acknowledged ideology as an area for productive research is part of the ways in which archaeology itself has changed as a discipline. This is no simple or unidirectional process of course, but is part of wider changes in the social sciences, in politics and in society. Although Thomas (1990, 67) has claimed ideology as a notion which has been central to the development of a post-processual archaeology (and to a certain extent by claiming ideology as the central subject matter of a research project it is almost inevitable that the research will be labelled post-processual [see Burke, Lovell-Jones and Smith 1994]), it has surfaced in various guises in both processual and other literature.

The main problem which many archaeologists appear to have with the notion of ideology is of it as a concept which is not directly amenable to archaeological analysis (see for example Binford 1989; Hawkes 1954). It is variability between groups that is directly expressed by material artefacts and that is therefore easier to infer, while the

possible ideological strategies behind this are at least one step removed from the initial analysis and therefore from the possibility of conjecture. In this thesis I have attempted to isolate the possible ideological strategies by which capitalism and its unequal relations are constructed, although some strategies proved more amenable to archaeological analysis than others. Legitimation and rationalisation, as strategies which appeal to historical precedents—no matter how spurious—were archaeologically visible in the use of elements associated with older traditions and in the associations which these created. By creating links with past societies, some of the particular qualities of present social structures were presented as universal. Unification was likewise visible in a similarity created by the use of symmetry amongst the workers. Naturalisation may have been manifested through the physical use of space and through the solidity provided by enduring physical spaces and structures.

This issue returns to the constraints inherent in studying ideology through material artefacts, particularly in historical archaeology. Because archaeological studies of ideology are concerned with illustrating the historicity of present circumstances, rather than reifying an ideological notion of values as permanent and fixed, it is not possible to know what particular artefacts may have ‘meant’ to those who created and used them without a minimum of social context information. Without knowing who William Paca was and to what group he saw himself as belonging, it is not possible to speculate on the ideological reasons behind his choices of style. This constraint is inherent in studies with a behavioural basis grounded in identification via comparison (see Wiessner 1989, 58), since people can only be defined as comparable within their own peculiar historical and social contexts. Without at least knowing something of the cultural and symbolic structures which define people as comparable (Wiessner 1989, 58), there is no way of approaching the particular constructions of identity which mediate style and ideology.

Claiming to identify ideological strategies also logically depends upon at least a minimum knowledge of social context obtainable from other classes of data. To a certain extent, separating ideological constructions of identity into distinct strategies is an artificial process: just as context is complex and multi-layered, so, too, are the strategies by which ideology is deployed. Although I have represented ideology here in terms of four strategies, there are considerable degrees of overlap between them. Naturalisation,

as I have presented it for example, relies on appeals to the past as much as do legitimisation and rationalisation; and unification, legitimisation and rationalisation all stress similarity at some level. Furthermore, naturalisation, legitimisation and rationalisation all depend upon the phenomenon of persistence as a prerequisite for establishing lineage or tradition. This is an important link for archaeological studies of ideology: persistence defines what archaeologists study and thus, as a discipline, archaeology is well situated to comment on the dynamics of ideology.

## **DISCUSSION**

This study has several important repercussions for the archaeological study of ideology within the domain of standing structures. One of the seemingly more obvious, yet previously unconsidered, repercussions is that it is entirely possible for more than one sophisticated ideology to exist within the one society. The issue which is germane here, is that in New England, in the early and middle periods at least, there was more than a single type of capitalism which was prevalent and more than a single group of capitalists seeking control. The pastoral capitalists in New England and the mercantile capitalists in Armidale, for example, were embroiled in an initial struggle for control of the direction of the colony, although always centred within different domains. The rural pastoralists always controlled the dominant form of wealth (wool), but the urban mercantilists controlled the town. Their ideologies were necessarily separate and opposed, but because each was involved in the process by which separate domains of wealth legitimated their position, each was also a part of the broader process of domination.

This observation has another implication. The trajectories which were followed by both mercantile and pastoral capitalists were initially clearly separate as each took on different realms of associations to legitimate their position. As a result, it became possible for the middle class to influence a notion of stylishness as much as the elite upper class. Gothic manner was largely a function of middle class taste (see for example Campbell 1987, 33) in both England and Australia and illustrates the potential for the emerging bourgeoisie to become the 'tastemakers' for society as much as the upper class. In Armidale this was no doubt aided by the fact that the pastoralists were most

often situated away from the town and thus their constructions of stylishness literally hidden from view.

It is no accident that most archaeological discussions of architectural style focus upon the place of dominant ideologies and elites. Focussing on the medium of style in architecture to access ideology effects a particular type of social closure. In short, the rich people dominate the landscape and this poses a recurring set of problems for archaeological (re)constructions of ideology. As Miller (1987, 163) has argued, by choosing a particularly dominant area of cultural production such as standing structures, there is a danger of reifying a particular conception of power:

The class which is defined in relation to buildings ... is not the same as that defined by another division such as profession. Although dominant as far as building styles and the press are concerned, this same social segment may be less influential in the areas of trade unions and popular culture.

In Armidale it was possible to isolate examples of architectural difference employed by the workers: they did choose to use particular elements in a way which the upper classes did not and thus maintained some semblance of separate and alternative identity. Certain elements were indexical of what it meant to be working class, but it was often the placement of these elements, rather than their form, which rendered them distinctive and thus implicated them in resistance. Orser (1996, 178) has noted this:

Historical archaeologists can often attribute particular artifacts and thereby conscious action to a member of the elite, while only being able to relate groups of artifacts to groups of non-elites. We may know the names of the Boott Mills workers from census rolls, but the way the owners housed them under the strictures of corporate paternalism makes it forever impossible (except in the rarest of cases) to correlate excavated artifacts with specific individuals.

The wider comparative approach taken in this case study made it possible to correlate specific artefacts with specific members of the working class. In Armidale, the workers certainly possessed power as individual potency or capacity, even though they did not possess it in the control of social settings, or in the organisation of the settings themselves (Wolf 1990, 586). As a result it became possible to comment on



the creation of working class ideology and on the ideological interplay taking place between this group and other groups. While such a data-intensive approach is not necessarily always possible, it does begin to illustrate some of the complexities attendant upon studying ideology as a social process. At worst, studying the material remains of a single individual or group makes it difficult to comment on the wider web of connections which together generate ideology, and at best only provides a part of the answer.

## *Chapter nine*

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### *Investments of meaning*

The notion that the spatial distribution of stylistic elements is not random, but is instead related to the patterning of specific groups and thus to the way society is organised, is not a new concept (see for example Hill 1970; 1972; Longacre 1970; 1972). Linking this variability to issues of social power and to the construction of ideology, however, is a direction which is becoming increasingly common to archaeological analysis, particularly within historical archaeology. This is one of the main strengths of archaeology, and one of the few contributions it can make to the analysis of ideology—contributing to the understanding of the material character of the production of a social order.

I began this thesis with a discussion of William Paca's garden and it seems appropriate to end with it as well. When Mark Leone (1984, 26) commented that 'ideology ... may very likely be found amid all those items archaeologists have for so long lumped under labels like ... style', he pointed in a direction which many historical archaeologists would later travel, along which style has become a preferred avenue through which to access ideology. By choosing to analyse William Paca's garden in a way which emphasised the eighteenth century Anapolitan's attempts to control nature and time, Leone focussed attention on a different range of questions. Rather than simply asking 'Why that garden in that pattern?', Leone was enquiring into the relationships behind both garden and pattern, and William Paca's place in the world. Paca's identity as an individual and as a member of a ruling group was fashioned in a particular way for particular reasons and was continually created in the patterning of relationships between his group and other groups. Thus Charles Orser (1996, 167) is correct in commenting that 'the only way that subalterns can ever be said to speak at Paca's

garden is through the voice of Paca himself, in his visual attempt to negate them. He had to make them invisible through his visibility.'

The attempts by Leone and others (see for example Hall 1992; Johnson 1991; 1992; McGuire 1988; Orser 1988a; Potter 1992; Shackel 1993) to articulate the complex patterning of ideology, power and everyday life, illustrates a serious engagement with the nature of archaeology which is often lost sight of in the rhetoric surrounding the processual/postprocessual debate. In other words (and words not mine) 'while we can never know *the* meaning of an artefact, we can make some interpretive moves towards an understanding of what it might have meant' (Conkey 1993, 114). Knowing what the artefacts of rich and poor in Armidale in the past might have meant is by no means either a straightforward or impartial exercise. There are reasons for choosing particular topics and for choosing to approach them in particular ways. In undertaking this thesis, I have attempted to tie the discussion of ideology to a particular, explicit definition and to widen it beyond the artefacts of a single, elite individual. In doing so, I have focussed on persistence and the emulation of symbols through time to consider the dynamics of ideology.

In my archaeological approach to ideology, the assignment of meaning is implicated in the construction of social identity. Both ideology and identity are fluid categories, which respond to the various social and political co-ordinates of their interpreters and much of this study is thus concerned with the ways in which meaning is created and re-created in context. 'Meaning' is not an intrinsic property of the artefact *per se*, but is produced in the interaction between people and the things that mean (Davidson 1996, 11). It is an interpretive category, which becomes attached to objects as much through their continual use by people as through the initial act of creation, when a style is made or used for the first time. And it is through questioning the productive context, in which certain constructions of social identity come to have significance for people's understanding of 'the world' and to attain legitimacy, that ideology might be reached.

Style and ideology have thus formed two complementary levels to my analysis. Initially, I questioned how particular stylistic features might function semiotically as markers of membership in various groups, how this pattern might mark group boundaries at various scales at different times and how particular stylistic features or groups of features come to be symbolic of relative social position. Just as important is the issue of how these boundaries were subsequently broken down, by whom and how, then, the symbolism of position changed. Ideology, as the second level of analysis, depends upon this knowledge of the social mosaic. Such a study is fundamentally concerned with the mutability of social identity and with how style both relates to and expresses the negotiation of this. It attempts to test links between archaeologically identifiable social patterning and perceived networks of social power and to link this in turn with ideology. In pursuing this second level of study, my broad aim has been to assess the strengths as well as the limitations of the concept of ideology, as a research tool for archaeologists attempting to understand past human behaviour. Among these are several issues concerning the material constraints to studying ideology and at what level distinction between groups, between social strategies and between ideologies is archaeologically retrievable from style in architecture. Although there are several problems inherent in this kind of study, it does lead to some observations on the ideological ensemble.

### ***Context and identity***

In terms of social context, I found that both local scale membership in a particular form of capital production and larger scale membership in a particular social class (as a relationship to the means of production), influence the stylistic construction of identity. Individuals and groups construct identities for themselves which relate them to other individuals and groups and thus which structure the world. The patterning of groups in Armidale indicated that elements of both a fundamental class conflict and a subsumed class conflict were taking place (Saitta 1994). This meant that the 'ruling class' was not a singular entity in Armidale and that it was possible to distinguish

groups within it, divided by the interests attached to domestic and world divisions of labour (McMichael 1984, 249). It also meant that the workers were clearly distinguishable from the owners and not always by virtue of their structures being less visible or decorative. Some elements were used assertively by members of the working class to contribute to a characteristic working class identity, at times when working class resistance to capitalism was on the rise.

It is undoubtedly the case that in Armidale the rich people dominated the landscape and that through the continual process of constructing identity, the stylistic elements of the dominant buildings continually changed. In contrast, the elements which came to be indexical of the workers—the cheaper, mass produced, timber building elements—were not selected in the same fashion, but were open to little choice. Having said this, despite the fact that the workers were not dominant in terms of their architecture, resistance to domination still took place. Although the features of the workers' houses in themselves were indexical, it was their placement on South Hill in an area of high status, and thus the subsequent manner of their use, which was symbolic. In this way, although the style of the workers' cottages in West Armidale was unremarkable and unprepossessing, once these structures were located on South Hill they became both distinctive and stylish.

### ***Stylishness***

The use of style in the past in Armidale was part of a semiotic process. Various features came to be indexical of certain groups, in that they functioned as markers of membership, as well as of those groups themselves. Style by virtue of this arbitrary and conventional association was subsequently symbolic of the set of relations between groups. In Peirce's (1985[1931]) terms, there was thus a progression from index to symbol over time, as the original conditions for meaning changed. At any particular period those features which symbolised the status difference were deemed by those who had them as 'stylish' and their migration across boundaries reinforced a

perception of stylishness as coming from certain particular groups. It is not possible to know exactly what particular elements meant to those for whom they were indexical at the time: any attempt at this kind of 'inside' meaning is impossible in a purely archaeological study. It is possible however, to know which elements might have been regarded as meaningful and to assess this through analysing the sets of relationships which style mediated in the past.

### *Directions of emulation*

In one respect, style is as subjective a term as culture or ritual. Within everyday language use there is a hierarchy of meaning for such terms, depending upon the values placed upon interpretation (Noble and Davidson 1996, 83). Style at a value-neutral level is simply choice among options of form, but at a more romantic level is the difference between style-setters and the rest. Rather than use the term style as a value-laden description of the upper class, I have instead referred to stylishness, which is ultimately (and intimately) concerned with the direction of emulation. The incorporation of upper, middle and working class houses into the data base has allowed me to trace the progressive emulation of stylistic attributes by other classes. In Armidale in the past, the direction of emulation moved from public structures to the private buildings of dominant groups and from there both out and down to the private houses of the middle classes and the workers. There were thus a number of social groups negotiating their identity within this landscape. The wealthy were always style innovators and used it in a very individual way to establish and reinforce their dominant position and in emulating this, the less wealthy were describing their own rising sense of place in the world. Both the wealthier segments of the middle class—either those who, although in debt, compete in assets and enterprises with the independently wealthy, or the successful and wealthy small enterprise operators—and the working class emulated various features of upper class stylishness.

There are several implications to follow from these results. Firstly, the indexicality of style is a prime component of the construction of personal and group identity, but stylishness is primarily generated by choice amongst the wealthy. Ideology serves to limit this variation and new variation occurs in the working class by emulation. Style only becomes stylish when it is adopted by another party, but once style is emulated, there is a consequent 'need for' new variation in the wealthy groups to maintain group boundaries through stylishness. In the potentially mobile class systems which exist within capitalist society, the creation of new, elitist stylistic forms are a significant component of the mediation of access to power (cf. Rosenfeld in press; Appadurai 1986, 31ff). In Armidale, members of the upper and middle classes who wished to maintain stylistic distinctions between themselves and others were forced to seek new styles by the behaviour of those who emulated them. This gives some insight into the power structures of the time. The style innovators did not have the power to prevent members of other groups from emulating their styles and were compelled by the behaviour of those 'below' them to continually seek new styles. The impetus for stylistic change over time in Armidale thus came from two directions: from inter-group competition between wealthy capitalist classes, and as a reaction to middle and lower class emulation of previously exclusive styles. As a result, the creation of new stylistic forms originated not only from stylistic choice amongst the wealthy, but also from the behaviour of the other groups which emulated them.

Secondly, the assumption that there is some form of direct relationship between wealth levels and architectural decoration informs many archaeological treatments of style. For instance, Louise Bavin (1989), in an Australian case study of the architecture of Collingwood and Kew, a working class and an upper class suburb of Melbourne respectively, makes a number of direct correlations between the amount of wealth which a person holds and the ability to attain certain ends because of it. The notion that style is implicated in the process by which identity is constructed and thus in the process of the construction of ideology, would suggest that there is not such a direct correlation however—power lies as much in the ability to deny difference as to

flaunt it (cf. McGuire 1988). Bavin (1989, 20) regards elaboration on buildings as 'largely depend[ent] upon the period of construction and changing architectural fashions' and notes that 'residents in upper class suburbs are more likely to have possessed surplus wealth with which to afford decorative accessories'. The Armidale case study would suggest that it's not necessarily the *ability* to decorate which may be at issue, but what the stylistic features which constitute 'decoration' may or may not signify. Essentially Bavin and others appear to view decoration as an unnecessary cost, but it may not always be unnecessary in terms of ideology. The directions of emulation for style in the architecture of Armidale, the selective process of incorporation and the resultant continually changing notions of indexical representation, suggest that wealth is not necessarily an equation whereby more wealth equals more things, but that the wealthy had access to a concept of stylishness.

### ***Dominant ideology***

It is within the social mosaic that ideology is constructed, partly as strategies to legitimate social position and partly as motives for action. In the past in Armidale, the mercantile and pastoral ruling groups were legitimating their right to rule through appropriating the imagery associated with other, less questionable, contexts of power, with the traditions which stemmed from the church and from the societies of ancient Greece and Rome. Their will to justify, of course, was directed as much, if not more, towards the opposing ruling group as towards the workers whom they employed.

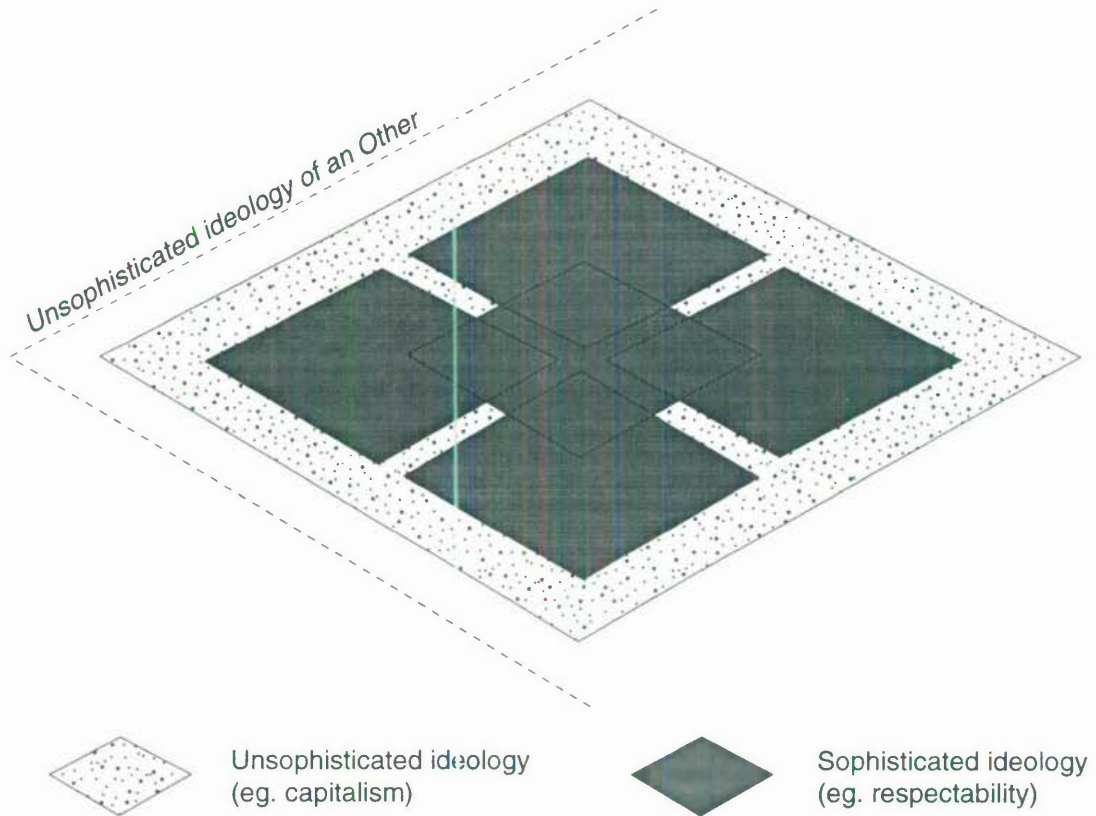
This has obvious repercussions for the debate over the dominant ideology thesis participated in by many historical archaeologists. All too often capitalism is seen as a monolithic and directed entity, and seldom has attention been directed towards explicating the varieties of capitalism which might exist within a single historical situation. This study is unique because it has directed attention towards different types of capitalism, which although based on the same attitudes to appropriation of private property, were nonetheless distinct and in many ways conflicting. This raises



the possibility of more than one dominating ideology existing in the same social context and illustrates the continually emergent nature of ideology. Ideology is a highly dynamic process and is continually changing in response to its engagement in the world and the patterning of the relationships between given groups (Therborn 1980, 77-78). It is both complex and complicated and any attempt to freeze (frieze) it will only ever be a partial explanation. The very nature of ideology is that it is continually changing and is not a fixed property of either 'a group' or 'a time' and archaeology must come to terms with this. Any contextual approach demands the same attention to the intricacies of ideology as to history or social context, while at the same time resisting a tendency to metaphorise and reify ideology as an organism in itself. Ideology is *only* articulated and made sense of through its continual reading and reception by people, and only expressed materially within the varieties of ways of life of the people who live it.

### ***Scales of ideology***

When ideology is viewed on a more subtle scale, a different understanding of the term 'dominant' emerges. The ideologies of pastoral and mercantile capitalism which existed in Armidale and New England were all sophisticated ideologies, which in their turn were incorporated by the unsophisticated ideology of capitalism which bound and directed them all. In this sense then, capitalism in effect becomes a dominant ideology, although it is neither monolithic, nor unchanging, nor propagated by a single group. Rather than an artificial dichotomy between dominant and subordinate, the patterning of ideology is the mosaic produced by conflicting scales of sophisticated ideology encompassed by a more embedded and taken-for-granted unsophisticated ideology (figure 9.1) (see also Meltzer 1981). As an extension of this, it is entirely possible that successful ideology is the construction of identity at different scales, such that dissent at one level becomes consent at another.



**FIGURE 9.1: Scales of ideology**

There is a further point to be made here about scale. When Plamenatz (1970) conceived of the distinction between sophisticated and unsophisticated ideology, he was thinking in terms of only one society: white Western and European. When a truly other Other is introduced, unsophisticated ideologies may differ as radically as sophisticated ideologies and, when colonialist societies come into contact with indigenous societies, unsophisticated ideology may become sophisticated ideology. Columbus and the Indian may eventually have come to share an ideology of capitalism, although for their part, the Indians may not have elected to share in it. They were forced to share in it, just as slaves were, but because they were only participating in part, capitalism did not help them make to sense of their world. Rather they interpreted capitalism in terms of their own sense of the world and capitalism became a sophisticated ideology for them which was mutable.

*Persistence*

Recognising the move from index to symbol is only possible if past indexes of social identity persist into subsequent contexts of interpretation. William Paca's garden, as an index of wealth and power, no doubt possesses all of the properties and roles which Mark Leone argues for, but one of its key features is that it *persists* as a source of identity and ideology. Persistence is the key to the movement of style from index to symbol, as both groups and indexical uses of style change. This leads to emulation across time, instead of merely between contemporary social groups. In this way the past becomes a source of wealth and of stylishness, which is in large part valuable because it is persistent.

Paca's garden does not just represent the persistence of style, of course, but also the construction of space. This can also function indexically and is linked inextricably to issues of power. In Armidale, as in Paca's garden, the structuration and marking of space is indexical of power. Over time, the constructions of space which persist become symbolic of those relations of power and hence active constituents of asymmetrical relations of power. Each previous configuration of social relations that endures into subsequent contexts, is a symbol which informs and is re-interpreted in the present.

This returns directly to archaeological discussions of style. Polly Wiessner (1989, 58-59) has argued that one of the most crucial aspects to style is the social and symbolic role of the artefact:

... changes in patterns of stylistic variation through time and over space can be generated both by a changing social landscape and by [the] changing roles of an artefact that make it more or less subject to stylistic and social comparison.

The stylistic features which became indexical of certain groups both across space and over time were generated by the constantly changing social landscape of Armidale.

This landscape is, of course, still changing, and parts of it at least are embedded in the landscapes of the past. This, too, has led to stylistic variation: with the commodification of the past and the consequent rise of heritage as an industry to manage this, past notions of style, however stylish they may have been in the past, have become stylish in the present.

### ***The commodification of heritage***

Creating persistence as a marker of age and the past as a source of wealth, can only take place if the past itself is objectified through heritage and commodified by capitalism. Heritage is the process by which we give value to the past, but is itself based in the capitalist experience of assessing value through money relationships and exchanges of equivalence. This alliance creates the past as an object. It must possess certain qualities in order for it to be saleable and it is likely that those qualities will be most readily found in the dominant and enduring aspects of the past. While this implies that a good story is most likely to be constructed from the artefacts of the wealthy, there is a second process operating through the commodification of heritage. Creating the past as a reservoir of value, simultaneously values things because they are old (because they have persisted) and removes the connotations of class from such artefacts. The features which were once indexical of the working class come to have value in the present because they are old, and are incorporated into present structures beside other features which were once indexical of the wealthy. This quite effectively masks the previous existence of the conditions of labour and creates a new ideology of heritage.

### ***An historical archaeology of ideology***

Ideology is more than something which only existed in the past of course, and to deny that it exists in the present is only another ideological strategy. One of the most common archaeological approaches to the study of ideology within capitalism and

capitalist societies is through Marxian contributions. Ideology is a concept which is critical of relationships of inequality between groups, and within historical archaeology is often specifically directed towards unequal relations within capitalist social formations. It is one opinion that historical archaeology has almost always been about capitalism (see for example Little 1994; Orser 1988b; Potter 1994, 35) and since ideology has been recognised as an integral part of capitalist society since Marx, historical archaeology provides an excellent context in which to attempt to isolate ideological variables and link them to the development of particular social structures. This would seem to imply however that the recognition of ideology is relatively unproblematic, particularly within our own society. As Mark Leone and others have pointed out, one of the main features of those beliefs and behaviours we call ideology is the disguise of its own history.

Archaeologists interested in the recent origins and forms of ideology therefore face a unique problem: the recent past is not so 'other' that it does not inform or extend into the range of our living experience. For Leone and Potter (1988, 372) our problem is:

... how to find significant meanings in yesterdays that look so much like today ... not only does the similarity between the present and the recent past complicate the recovery of meaning; so too does the fact that many aspects of that past are alive in our contemporary world. ... the ideology we study as scholars [of the recent past] is the same ideology we deal with as members of society.

What is the intellectual investment in my particular answer? (cf. Preucel 1991; Yoffee and Sherratt 1993).

It is possible that viewing style as an expression of individual identity takes on particular meanings under capitalism. Polly Wiessner (1989 59; 1990, 109) has argued for a position which regards style as an indicator of the balance between an individual and the group:

Situations which switch on a strong sense of social group identity include fear, intergroup competition and the need for co-operation to attain social, political or economic goals, or imposed political control. Those that switch on a strong sense of personal identity would include inter-individual competition, options for individual enterprise and breakdown in the social order.

(Wiessner 1989, 59)

The construction of the individual, however, has been isolated as one of the central processes of capitalism; so much so that the very notion of 'the individual' has been characterised as ideological. For Leone and others, the transition to and between various forms of capitalism is reducible to the process by which an individual is created as a wage labourer, through control over individual behaviour in terms of time (time discipline), space (commodification), work (work discipline) and social position (socialising rules of behaviour). Capitalism, while ostensibly characterised by the trading of equivalent individuals in a free marketplace, instead relies on a notion of the individual as at once separate and inseparable from other individuals. There is basic agreement between studies on the segmenting nature of capitalism to create such separations. Barnett and Silverman (1979) argue that, at base, all of these fragmentations reflect the same fundamental separation which capitalism creates between substance (a person's internal essence) and performance (their ability to perform). They argue that this separation is basic to Marx's concept of alienation in the sense of a:

... break between an individual and his or her life activity ... Ideologically, [this] break ... is expressed in the idea of individual substance not affected by or affecting contractual performance. The loss of control over the material world is also expressed by the separation of substance and performance.

(Barnett and Silverman 1979, 80)

Barnett and Silverman then link the two components of this fundamental break to the forms of domination which are possible under capitalism. They argue that the ideological domination of individuals requires the prior ideological creation of antecedent, autonomous selves. The individual can be represented both as a *substance*:

‘the real individual individual’, a creation which legitimises personal domination (in the sense that the person can be defined as less than an individual in the performance sense, ie. as incomplete or defective) or *abstractly*: ‘the individual as faceless, equivalent to all other individuals’, a creation which legitimises abstract domination (or control from an external, scientific perspective) (Barnett and Silverman 1979, 62-63, 69). While control in terms of personal domination characterises the ‘incomplete’ person, someone whose essence is inadequate (for example the criminal who must be incarcerated, or the child who must be controlled), abstracted domination expresses ideological equality and ostensibly characterises equivalent selves freely agreeing to contractual arrangements (performance) in a ‘free’ market place (Barnett and Silverman 1979, 64).

Style as an indicator of the balance between an individual and society may be as much an indicator of the resistance by an individual to the tendency under capitalism to render all individuals as faceless and equivalent. To take this still further, the notion of style as being able to characterise the individual at all, might itself be regarded as ideological—especially if coupled with the recent postprocessualist agenda for uncovering the ‘individual actor’ in the past. The heavy emphasis placed by postprocessualists on the active role of ideology and symbols in shaping the past has been related to a common effort on their part to disengage themselves from the ecological materialism of the New Archaeology (Kohl 1985, 109). Handsman and Leone (1989, 134) however, have suggested that the tortuously self-critical examination of aims and methods of the New Archaeology personalises failure and is itself a reflection of the ideology of individualism. Postprocessualism as I see it, is the search for the individual in the past, and for the individual (archaeologist) in the present, and may be just as ideologically-laden. Cross-cultural generalisations represent the individual for the group’s sake—at this scale for humanity’s sake—but contextual archaeology reifies the individual for no other reason than their own sake. This may be part of the answer to Handsman and Leone’s (1989, 134) rhetorical

question: ‘What are the class origins and histories of this newest ideology of individualism? No one knows yet. How is it legitimised in our society?’.

In making any of these connections I am not suggesting that ideology be taken as the mechanism which causes style, it is not necessarily an explanatory theory to account for this phenomenon. Rather, ideology plays a part in the construction of identity, which is itself influenced by many other factors and in turn mediated by style. It is neither a simple nor automatic elision to argue that style encodes ideology. As Morphy (1991, 145) has argued for another kind of artefact, in analysing any artefact as a code ‘the individual sign can only be understood as part of a system, ... the operation of the system depends on pragmatic factors, and ... the meaning of the sign—the relation between signifier and signified—is not in any ultimate sense fixed for all time but is something that has to be continually re-created’. This re-creation extends, of course, into the present and becomes part of the perception of the past.

The historical ideologies which existed in Armidale in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a public perception of the town which idolised the physical symbols of wealth and power (the churches, schools and private mansions) at the centre of the value of the place. This string of associations continued to inform the public construction of identity for Armidale until the heritage movement gained ascendancy and literally enshrined these symbolic representations of identity in style as the *only* conduits of meaning and value. When the time came to record structures for my thesis, these were the principal and obvious choices, and even searching the primary documents isolated few alternative examples of workers’ structures. Although I have tried not to reify the already ideologically-loaded perception of the city, this study nonetheless has a number of ideological repercussions.

Leone (1982, 750) has argued elsewhere that archaeologists, as members of a capitalist society, need to consider the degree to which archaeology creates the past in its own image. I regard this as a particular concern for a study such as this which creates such



a strong framework for ideology, although I am more comfortable in ascribing ideology to the recent historic (Western) past than to any prehistoric societies. This framework is also a part of the secularisation of ideology—deliberately removing it from the ritual sphere and linking it to everyday life. Both of these tendencies may grant ideology a strength out of all proportion to its function.

And no matter how critical an approach a study takes towards ideology and the structure of capitalism there is the pervasive power of capitalist metaphors to contend with. Even in the midst of critique buildings can be spoken of as ‘possessing’ a view; strategies as being ‘employed’; the presentation of identity as how one group might ‘sell’ this identity to another; people as ‘valuable’ and ‘productive’ members of society; style as the ‘business’ of choosing among options. The terms ‘interest’ and ‘investment’ (both meaning involvement or stake) are obviously borrowed from property and financial terminology, and as Raymond Williams (1976, 143-144) argues are ‘saturated with the experience of a society based on money relationships’.

Unique in the methods of this project is a consideration of the relationships between style and conflicting forms of capitalism, and between style and the standing structures of a variety of social classes. This approach is of particular value because it makes it possible not only to discover how style is used by different social groups to transmit different kinds of information and to negotiate different aspects of social identity; but also to use information relating to each social group to complement, qualify and clarify that expressed by all other social groups.

Thus, while this study extends Leone’s approach to the analysis of standing structures and to the ideology of capitalism, it also addresses the legitimate criticisms of Leone’s work put forward by Hodder, which explicitly target the partial nature of studies which focus on a single individual:

[t]here is no indication anywhere that the same material culture may have different meanings and different ideological effects for different social groups. ... Different ideologies coexist in relation

to each other and the dominant ideology is continually being subverted from other points of view. ... William Paca's garden may have worked well for William Paca, legitimating his own social interests, but whether anyone else was taken in by it is less clear. ... do subordinate groups ever visit or see the garden, do subordinate groups use such ordering in their own homes and gardens on a smaller scale or are their gardens very different?

(Hodder 1993, 67, 70)

The human behaviour which generates style is embedded in the relationships between individuals and groups and the ongoing social comparison which these relationships entail. Ideology, as constructed by this social comparison, is thus only able to be understood within the patterning of these relationships. In widening the study of ideology beyond the sphere of a single wealthy individual, this study has made it possible to comment on some of the ways in which the world is ordered for and by others.

An important point to recognise here is that analysing the artefacts created or used solely by members of one class will give only a partial view of that class. Considering the material manifestations of the relationships between members of different classes actually presents a fuller view of all classes under study, including the upper classes. One of the strengths of this study is that it has shown that, by analysing the range of relationships which are negotiated by and through style, it becomes possible not only to look at how the upper classes saw themselves, but also to identify their responses to the pressures placed upon them by other classes.

While I agree with Ian Hodder (1993, 68), that 'inequality', the basic assumption of this thesis, is a value-laden term which itself can be described as ideological, I also believe it necessary to avoid McLellan's labyrinth of relativism in which Elizondo's graphographer wanders. As archaeologists and social scientists we must certainly have some concern for not merely replicating the present, but we can only gain by recognising the relationship between the present and the past.