# Behind the Facade: The Expression of Status and Class in Material Culture

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*This article is a study of material manifestations of socio-cultural differences in the nineteenth century urban environment. It focuses on status and class distinctions between the suburbs of Collingwood and Kew in Melbourne by examining buildings, parkland, streets and drainage. It concludes that buildings are the most reliable markers of those studied because they contain a variety of attributes that can be studied and compared. The author carried out this research as part of an honours degree at La Trobe University. She is now completing a Ph.D. in historical archaeology at the University of Western Australia.*

## INTRODUCTION

The notion that human beliefs, understandings and behaviours are reflected in material culture is fundamental to research in historical archaeology.[1] Material culture is the product of thoughts and actions which have been determined by learned cultural meanings. Cultural meanings provide the bases by which society organises and shapes its material world. Material culture, then, has the potential to reveal the shared understandings of society and groups within it. This article is concerned with social groups and their material culture correlates. In particular, it concerns the relationship between material culture and social differentiation.

Recent American studies have attempted to demonstrate ways in which socio-cultural variables are manifested in the archaeological record. Otto, Deetz and Baker use ceramics, faunal remains and architectural dimensions to identify economic status and ethnic identity in Afro-American culture.[2] Reitz and Scarry's[3] study of community patterning and acculturation at St. Augustine also examines the extent to which ceramics, architecture and dietary remains reflect certain social variables. One of the main problems encountered in these and similar archaeological studies of socio-cultural variables has been the isolation of variables for investigation. For example, these four studies fail to distinguish between economic status and ethnic identity because the influence of these variables on selected aspects of material culture overlap in the archaeological record.

By isolating specific socio-cultural variables from other factors which shape the material world, an archaeological study should be able to demonstrate whether particular aspects of material culture are markers of specific socio-cultural factors. This article aims to explain variation in aspects of material culture in terms of two socio-cultural variables: status and class. By controlling other major variables, it is an attempt to discern whether particular aspects of material culture are markers of status and class or are shaped by alternative causal factors.

This research focuses on status and class distinctions between two suburbs in nineteenth century Melbourne: Collingwood and Kew. It is not my intention to prove that social differences existed, as this has already been established by social historians.[4] Nineteenth century Melbourne was a large scale commercial and industrial city; a city in which status and class were basic organisational principles.[5] According to local histories, the Yarra River marked a sharp boundary between the socially segregated areas of Collingwood and Kew (Fig. 1).[6] These suburbs were situated on adjacent sides of the river and appear to have been socially differentiated from the time of European settlement to at least the end of the nineteenth century. As portrayed by social historians, Collingwood was an industrial, working class area specialising in noxious trades. The flat ill-drained suburb was inhabited by people living in crowded, unsanitary conditions associated with dirt, disease and poverty.[7] By contrast, Kew became a favourite place of residence for the professional elite, merchants, and other prominent members of society.[8] Their mansions stood on spacious forested hills overlooking the Yarra River and 'less fortunate' suburbs.

The descriptions above outline a number of observable differences between Collingwood and Kew in terms of topography and economic, occupational and general living conditions. Before examining the influence of social differentiation in producing variations in the archaeological record in these two environments, it is necessary to define the underlying concepts of status and class. Although status and class are recognised here to be different concepts, in this paper they will be considered together as related and inseparable dimensions of analysis.

## STATUS AND CLASS

Status and class are abstract concepts. When applied to archaeological studies they must be defined in terms of material correlates which are visible in the archaeological record.[9] In their definitions of status and class, Marx and Weber assimilated a number of socially related variables such as occupation, education and wealth. Briefly, Marx[10] defined 'class' as a group of people who share 'economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes'. To this concept Weber added that of status: 'attitudes of superiority and inferiority associated with particular classes'.

Connell and Irving[11] argue that the main subject of class analysis is power: an individual or group with authority and influence who have the ability to manipulate political and economic institutions. If we accept that power is a subject of class analysis then power, like occupation, education and

wealth, may also be considered as a component of status and class. Of these components, wealth in the form of money and/or possessions, and power, in the form of property and 'advantages in kind' (such as access to facilities and resources and spacious housing), are visible in the archaeological record. Wealth and power are, then, applied in this paper as indices for measuring and observing differences in status and class between Collingwood and Kew. For comparative purposes, occupation and education may be examined from documentary sources.

Austin[12] and Connell and Irving[13] stress that the concepts, status and class, vary both culturally and historically and as such must be located within their particular social setting; in this case nineteenth century Australia and, in particular, Melbourne society. By focussing on status and class within their nineteenth century Melbourne context, the concepts may be further refined to identify status and class groups ranked according to the values of that society.

According to Russell Ward, nineteenth century Australia was an egalitarian society in which 'Jack is not only as good as his master but possibly better'.[14] While historians like Ward play down the existence of status and class structures, many historians[15] believe that class consciousness and conflict were well developed by the nineteenth century. Davison[16] goes on to suggest that Melbourne itself was clearly split into two broad social areas where the Yarra River formed a boundary between 'middle' and 'working' classes. A four-class model of nineteenth century Melbourne society has been constructed based on groups defined by Davison, Barrett and Connell and Irving. This model depicts upper, middle, upper working and lower working classes.[17] Archaeological indices (wealth and power) will be used to measure variations between groups ranked within this four class model of nineteenth century Melbourne society.


*Fig. 1: Nineteenth century Melbourne and suburban municipalities (Barrett 1971:7).*

## METHODOLOGY

Data obtained through area surveys and map evaluations have been quantified to identify differences in general living conditions between the suburbs Collingwood and Kew. Most of the differences have to do with size, architectural elaboration, availability of space, access and the provision of public facilities. Four aspects of the built environment have been selected for detailed analysis: buildings, parkland, streets and drainage. These variables are intrinsic to the functioning of a society in terms of residence, recreation, access and waste disposal. It is considered likely, therefore, that they will reflect particular social factors affecting the shaping of an urban environment and, as such, they are considered to be potential markers of status and class.

In order to determine whether observable differences are due to status and class or alternative factors, variables must be controlled or eliminated. Possible causal factors other than status and class include social and non-social variables such as ethnicity, modes of transport, distance (from the city centre), topography and chronology. A series of tests has been devised for the isolation of individual variables. Due to the length of this paper it is not plausible to discuss all of the tests applied. I have therefore selected chronology as one example.

The test devised for chronology involves an examination of material differences between the suburbs in relation to their time of settlement. It questions whether social change during the period between settlement dates, in this case seven years, has significantly influenced the formation of the built environments of Collingwood and Kew. Land sales first occured in Collingwood in 1838 though the area was not to become a municipality until 1855. In Kew the first land sales took place in 1845 and in 1860 this suburb was declared a municipality. Though the time elapsed between settlement dates is not great at first sight, it is possible that chronology may have had some bearing on differences between the suburbs.

The test requires the introduction of a third suburb, Port Melbourne, as a control. Port Melbourne was settled around the same time as Kew, but represents the low-lying, industrial, working class equivalent of Collingwood.

Lot size, selected as an aspect of the built environment, may now be compared between suburbs. Taken from a ten per cent sample of allotments for the year 1899, the average lot sizes in Port Melbourne, Collingwood and Kew were 163.65 $m^2$, 242.48 $m^2$, and 770.06 $m^2$ respectively. If the effects of chronology were minimal then one would not expect a high degree of variability in material culture between Port Melbourne and Collingwood (i.e. these suburbs were not settled around the same time). If chronology was a strongly influential factor then differences between Port Melbourne and Kew would be minimal (ie. these suburbs were settled around the same time). The figures above demonstrate pronounced differences between lot sizes in Port Melbourne and Kew. Allotments in Port Melbourne were even smaller than those in Collingwood. These results suggest that chronology was not influential in shaping aspects of the built environment.

Various methods have been used for the isolation of other variables.[18] Some tests involve the use of

documentary sources and others follow methods outlined for chronology. Test results indicate that chronology, ethnicity, modes of transport, topography and distance were not significant factors in shaping aspects of the built environment. Given that all major potentially influential variables have been identified and tested, the influence of status and class on material culture may now be examined.

However, two problems remain. They concern the size of the study areas and dating buildings. During the nineteenth century the areas of Collingwood and Kew were 4.86 km$^2$ and 13.84 km$^2$ respectively.[19] These areas are too large and nineteenth century buildings too numerous to be examined in the time given for this study. Consequently, sampling procedures have been employed in formulating both spatial and chronological frameworks.

Data derived from map evaluations were investigated in terms of total suburb areas. Data obtained by survey, however, were collected from three sectors (sample areas) in each suburb (Fig. 2). Sector areas were located according to focal points common to both suburbs. Focal Area One (sector one and four) is the only area where buildings in both suburbs are in comparatively close proximity, being separated only by the Yarra River. Focal Area Two (sectors two and five) represents the sites of the original town halls situated in high activity areas close to the centre of the suburbs. The third focal area (sectors three and six) was selected at random as a control allowing for bias in previous focal area selections.

Information from all sources has been placed within time intervals; each spanning a decade between 1840 and 1900. Most information obtained during survey, however, was derived from a study of buildings. Placing these structures within established time intervals presents a major problem, the solution of which represents a large part of the analysis. It is not my intention to provide a precise means of dating buildings. Rather, I am attempting to devise a system whereby all nineteenth century buildings identified during survey can be placed within temporal units and a relative date of construction obtained.

A typology has been constructed for this purpose[20]. The typology is derived from a study of architectural literature and an examination of external features on buildings of known construction dates, as recorded in historical documents. The assumption behind this typology is that certain diagnostic features provide a means of recognising an object as belonging to a group in which members have certain characteristics in common. This logic is combined with two principles: the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem*.[21] These refer the date before which something cannot have occurred and the date after which something is not likely to have occurred. Following this, the earliest and latest possible dates for a building's construction can be defined by the introduction and termination of particular architectural styles and decorative features, and the identification of modifications. This study concerns differences observed between buildings only according to their original form.[22]

## ANALYSIS OF STATUS AND CLASS

Four aspects of material culture have been selected for study: drainage, streets, parkland and buildings. An investigation of drainage systems did not provide any substantial measure of social difference between Collingwood and Kew. Drainage was expected to be a strong marker of status and class in the archaeological record based on vivid accounts of refuse flowing through open drains in lower class suburbs.[23] Local histories rarely discuss drainage and refuse disposal in Kew and other areas portrayed as upper class. Results from this study are

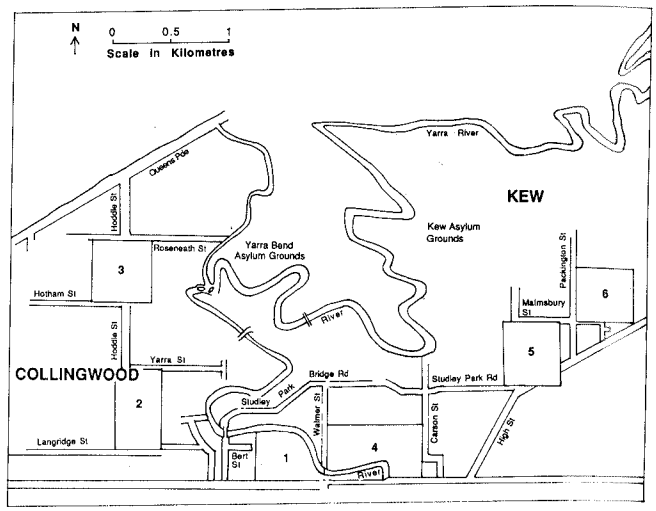


*Fig 2: Sector areas*

inconsistent with social histories. The remains of nineteenth century open drains still exist in both Collingwood and Kew. Furthermore, these open drains have been recorded on drainage plans.[24] Due to standard methods of waste disposal used in both suburbs throughout the nineteenth century, this variable appears to be unrelated to status and class.[25] Consequently, other aspects of material culture must be examined to identify and describe the manifestation of status and class in the archaeological record.

Compact networks of access routes, in which the grid plan facilitated a maximum number of oblong building allotments, was ideal for commercial speculation, characteristic of working class areas. In Collingwood commercial speculation resulted in a large number of streets enclosing small allotments in a densely housed area. The effect of topography in Kew limited commercial speculation. Steep hills did not allow the grid plan to be implemented so easily. By contrast, this suburb had proportionately fewer streets. Although streets in Kew were generally longer than those in Collingwood, they were narrower and covered a smaller surface area.

The effects of commercial speculation, or its absence, contribute to a description of the manifestation of status and class in the archaeological record. That is, an analysis of streets (their number, surface area and layout) demonstrates social differentiation in terms of commercial speculation and competition for space. In contrast to Kew, Collingwood appears to have been a working class area as defined by short, wide and numerous streets, small building allotments, and the implementation of the grid plan. The influence of topography in Kew, however, cannot be ignored. In this examination of streets, the variable topography has not been adequately isolated. Topography may have had a greater influence in the design of streets than the variables status and class. In this case, it seems to be closely related to status and class where topography influences the implementation of commercial speculation which characterises working class areas.

The area of official parkland, compared to total suburb areas, was also examined as a potential manifestation of status and class in the archaeological record. Power in the form of access to public facilities has been described as an index for measuring status and class. Official recreational and scenic space may be considered as public facilities. If upper class areas possess greater power then they are also likely to have greater access to recreational and scenic space in the form of parklands. Throughout the nineteenth century Kew had more than three times the area of official parkland of Collingwood. These results suggest that Kew is

a higher class area than Collingwood, less parkland being located in lower class suburbs. The high purchase cost of prime residential areas may also be a factor in which high costs reserved land for a wealthy elite. As an elite, fewer residents would be expected to have lived in Kew and a larger amount of land would have been reserved by the government. Even if Collingwood residents considered industry and housing to have been a higher priority than reserving recreational and scenic space, this would have been a significant comment about their need for employment.

Although certain characteristics of streets and parkland may be diagnostic of status and class distinctions, a look at more detailed pattern variation in aspects of material culture, as opposed to land modification, is required. Such details can be found in buildings: their function, size, number of rooms and storeys, allotment size, density, construction material and elaboration.

A total of 302 nineteenth century buildings were identified during area surveys. Ninety-six per cent have been classified as residential (and residential/commercial) as opposed to industrial. Of the 288 residential structures, 203 were located in Collingwood and 85 in Kew.

Throughout the nineteenth century the average base area of a residential building in Kew (114.33m$^2$) was much larger than that in Collingwood (56.66m$^2$). A greater proportion of two-storey buildings was also located in Kew. Generally, houses in this suburb contained both larger and a greater number of rooms than houses in Collingwood. Living conditions were spacious. Corresponding to building size, many houses in Kew were located on allotments which were more than twice the size of those in Collingwood. In Collingwood it appears that speculation increased as developers saw an opportunity for profit by meeting the need for housing a rapidly growing population. In order to keep rents low, developers encouraged the subdivision of land. The result was the construction of rows of cheap standardised cottages in Collingwood. As the population increased so too did competition for land and space. Living conditions in Collingwood became more crowded.

Building size and land allotments may be interpreted as direct reflections of living conditions and wealth. Wealth and 'advantages in kind', in the form of living conditions, have been described in this paper as indices for measuring status and class. Spacious houses were situated on large blocks of land in Kew, in contrast to comparatively cramped conditions in Collingwood. Given that the residents of Kew were owner-occupiers,[26] they required wealth not only to purchase large amounts of land, they also required wealth to finance building. Standardised housing and cramped conditions have been described in historical literature as common to working class suburbs. Such conditions have been identified in Collingwood and results suggest that they did not exist in Kew during the nineteenth century. Building size and land allotments in terms of the indices wealth and 'advantages in kind' portray Kew as an upper class suburb.

It is possible that residents in Kew cut costs by using cheap construction materials. Overall, the majority of buildings in Collingwood and Kew were constructed from brick (Table 1). The proportion of weatherboard houses to brick is much higher in Kew than in Collingwood. This is surprising since while Kew has been portrayed in historical literature as an upper class area, weatherboard has been associated with cheaper housing.[27] To explain this inconsistency other factors must be considered, such as distance from the city centre, population density, the roles of tenancy and ownership, land values, chronology, the expense of construction materials and attitudes towards these materials.

| TIME INTERVAL | SUBURB | SECTOR | CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS Bluestone | Brick | Weather - board | Combination | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1860-69 | Colling-wood | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 3 |
| | | 2 | 1 | 3 | | | 4 |
| | | 3 | | | | | |
| | Kew | 4 | | | | | 0 |
| | | 5 | | | | | 0 |
| | | 6 | | | 2 | | 2 |
| 1870-79 | Colling-wood | 1 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | 2 | | 30 | 4 | | 34 |
| | | 3 | | 4 | 6 | | 10 |
| | Kew | 4 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | | 5 | | 6 | 1 | | 7 |
| | | 6 | | | 6 | | 6 |
| 1880-89 | Colling-wood | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | | 2 | | 40 | 20 | | 60 |
| | | 3 | | 32 | 15 | | 47 |
| | Kew | 4 | | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| | | 5 | | 30 | 3 | | 33 |
| | | 6 | | 11 | 18 | | 29 |
| 1890-99 | Colling-wood | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | | 2 | | 17 | 4 | 1 | 22 |
| | | 3 | | 11 | 4 | | 15 |
| | Kew | 4 | | | | | 0 |
| | | 5 | | | | | 0 |
| | | 6 | | | 3 | | 3 |
| TOTAL | Collingwood | | 2 | 145 | 54 | 2 | 203 |
| | Kew | | 0 | 51 | 34 | 0 | 85 |
| % | Collingwood | | 0.98 | 71.43 | 26.60 | 0.98 | 70.49 |
| | Kew | | 0 | 60.00 | 40.00 | 0 | 29.51 |

Table 1: Construction Materials of Buildings in Collingwood and Kew.

Writing of housing in Sydney, R.V. Jackson[28] has suggested that 'the closer a suburb was to the city, the more densely it had to be built up, the higher were its land values and the higher was the proportion of brick to wooden houses'. He indicates a close correlation of suburban tenancy rates with population density and the proportion of brick dwellings.

Collingwood was densely populated with low land values, a higher proportion of brick to wooden houses, and a suburb in which the owner-occupier played a small role.[29] Kew was the same distance from the city centre. In this suburb land values were high, the population was sparse and many owner-occupiers lived in wooden houses. Although distance and land values are not key influencing factors as Jackson suggests, in Melbourne there is a definite relationship between population density, tenancy-ownership and the proportion of brick to wooden houses.

In Collingwood the use of brick as the main construction material occured throughout the nineteenth century. During the 1880s, however, its use declined corresponding to an increase in the use of weatherboard. This period represents the height of commercial speculation and building development in Melbourne. The increasing use of cheaper building materials (weatherboard) in Collingwood during the 1880s would have been encouraged by developers' desires to increase profit. Profit seeking and financial stress, then, were factors which encouraged the use of cheaper construction materials. However, during the 1890s depression the use of brick in Collingwood increased to its previous level in the 1870s. By the 1890s machine bricks were being mass produced, unlike the hand-pressed bricks of earlier periods. With mass production the value of brick as a construction material decreased. This is one explanation for the increased use of brick.

The question of why residents in Kew began and continued to construct their houses out of weatherboard is less easily explained. The only period during which the use of brick increased in Kew corresponds to the height of commercial speculation in Melbourne during the 1880s. Commercial speculation is likely to have had some influence on Kew as it did in other suburbs. In lower class areas most land was consumed by profit-seeking speculators for cheap standardised accommodation. Given that a higher area of parkland was associated with upper class suburbs, the residents of Kew may have built wooden houses for their aesthetic value in semi-rural areas or, alternatively, they may have adopted weatherboard to avoid association with the appearance of cheap commercial speculation houses.

Elaboration on buildings in the nineteenth century largely depended upon the period of construction and changing architectural fashions. Architectural elaboration generally increased in the later decades of the century. However, observable differences in the amount of architectural elaboration existed between Collingwood and Kew throughout the nineteenth century. Elaboration is considered to be a potential marker of status and class where wealth is the index defining the concepts. Extensive elaboration is not likely to have been applied to standardised houses in working class suburbs where unnecessary costs would have been avoided by both commercial speculators and less wealthy residents. Residents in upper class suburbs are more likely to have possesed surplus wealth with which to afford decorative accessories. If architectural elaboration is a marker of status and class in the archaeological record then high degrees of elaboration are expected to be observed in upper class suburbs as opposed to working class suburbs.

Three grades of elaboration have been defined for the period 1880 to 1890 based on the number of external decorative features present on a building (Table 2). In Kew most buildings constructed in the 1880s were either relatively plain (Grade 1) or had a high degree of elaboration (Grade 3). In contrast to this, most houses in Collingwood ranged from relatively plain to moderately elaborate (Grade 2). An equal percentage of Grade 1 houses were located in Collingwood and Kew. This suggests an overlap of working class residents between the suburbs. However, an analysis of Grades 2 and 3 indicate that more residents in Kew applied a higher degree of elaboration to their houses than those in Collingwood. These results are consistent with the influence of financial limitations, building size, and the question of who built the house and for what purpose, on the degree of elaboration applied. As such, architectural elaboration is interpreted as a material expression of residents' means and lifestyle corresponding to their status and class.

| TIME INTERVAL | SUBURB | SECTOR | ELABORATION GRADE 1 | 2 | 3 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1860-69 | Collingwood | 1 | 3 | | | 3 |
| | | 2 | 4 | | | 4 |
| | | 3 | | | | 0 |
| | Kew | 4 | | | | 0 |
| | | 5 | | | | 0 |
| | | 6 | 2 | | | 2 |
| 1870-79 | Collingwood | 1 | 6 | | | 6 |
| | | 2 | 25 | 9 | | 34 |
| | | 3 | 10 | | | 10 |
| | Kew | 4 | 2 | | | 2 |
| | | 5 | 7 | | | 7 |
| | | 6 | 6 | | | 6 |
| 1880-89 | Collingwood | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| | | 2 | 42 | 14 | 4 | 60 |
| | | 3 | 15 | 22 | 10 | 47 |
| | Kew | 4 | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| | | 5 | 16 | 1 | 16 | 33 |
| | | 6 | 20 | 5 | 4 | 29 |
| 1890-99 | Collingwood | 1 | 1 | | | 1 |
| | | 2 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 22 |
| | | 3 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 15 |
| | Kew | 4 | | | | 0 |
| | | 5 | | | | 0 |
| | | 6 | | 3 | | 3 |
| TOTAL | Collingwood | | 126 | 61 | 16 | 203 |
| | Kew | | 55 | 10 | 20 | 85 |
| % | Collingwood | | 62.70 | 30.05 | 7.88 | 70.49 |
| | Kew | | 64.70 | 11.76 | 23.53 | 29.51 |

Table 2: Elaboration Grades of Buildings in Collingwood and Kew.

## DISCUSSION

A number of observable differences have been described between general living conditions in nineteenth century Collingwood and Kew. Given that social distinctions are known to have existed between these suburbs, variables were controlled in an attempt to discern whether particular aspects of material culture are markers of status and class or were shaped by alternative causal factors. The influence of chronology, topography and distance was found to be minimal in shaping aspects of material culture. Ethnicity and transport have also been examined.[30] The influence of these variables in shaping material culture in Collingwood and Kew was also found to be minimal. Consequently, differences identified between the suburbs have been explained in terms of status and class. It has been argued that this variable provides the means of explaining patterned variation in material culture between nineteenth century Collingwood and Kew.

Wealth, in the form of money or possessions, and power, in the form of property and 'advantages in kind' (such as access to facilities and resources and spacious housing) have been applied in this paper as indices for measuring and observing differences in status and class between Collingwood and Kew. In particular, these indices were used to explain patterned variation in four aspects of material culture: drainage, streets, parkland and buildings. An analysis of these variables demonstrates how they represent manifestations of status and class in the archaeological record.

Patterned variation between Collingwood and Kew has to do with street layout, availability of space, the provision of public facilities, building and allotment size, standardised housing, selective use of construction materials, and degrees of architectural elaboration. In general, Collingwood, unlike Kew, was defined by short, wide and numerous streets arranged according to a grid plan. A greater surface area of land was reserved for streets in Collingwood. By contrast, a greater area of land in Kew was reserved as official parkland. Many houses and allotments in Kew were more than twice the size of those in Collingwood. More expensive construction materials, including decorative architectural glass were used in Kew and a greater number of residents appear to have used surplus wealth to add decorative accessories to their houses. In Collingwood commercial speculators encouraged the subdivision of land and constructed rows of plain standardised cottages, common to working class areas.

In terms of the indices wealth and 'advantages in kind', many residents in Kew were owner-occupiers who possessed enough wealth to purchase large amounts of land, finance building, and apply architectural elaboration. They also received 'advantages in kind' in the form of access to public facilities. Kew residents had greater access to recreational and scenic space in the form of parklands. Most houses in Collingwood were occupied by tenants. They lived in comparatively cramped conditions where unnecessary costs would have been avoided by both commercial speculators and less wealthy residents. Where wealth and 'advantages in kind' are indices for measuring status and class in the archaeological record this study of material culture demonstrates that nineteenth century Kew was a higher class area than Collingwood.

However, while many social historians portray a bi-polar division between working class Collingwood and upper class Kew, results of this study suggest that differences were not so clearly pronounced. This study of variability in material culture suggests a division between working and middle classes in Collingwood and working, middle and upper classes in Kew. While average building areas, for example, suggest pronounced differences between Collingwood (56.66m$^2$) and Kew (114.33m$^2$), the range of building areas in each suburb demonstrate considerable overlap between the base areas of buildings in both suburbs. In Collingwood average building areas ranged from 35.53m$^2$ to 110.80m$^2$ during the nineteenth century.

In Kew average building areas ranged between 66.01m$^2$ and 180.11m$^2$.

Architectural elaboration also indicates an overlap of working class residents between the suburbs. Although many houses in Kew were highly elaborate as opposed to moderately elaborate houses in Collingwood, an equal percentage of undecorated houses were located in both suburbs. The presence of working class residents in Kew is further supported by the comparatively higher proportion of weatherboard houses to brick, given that weatherboard has been associated with cheaper housing.[31] As previously discussed, however, Kew residents may have built wooden houses for their aesthetic value in semi-rural areas or, alternatively, they may have adopted weatherboard to avoid association with the appearance of cheap commercial speculation houses. This view of Kew, which places far less emphasis on the upper class component of the suburb, was not expected at the beginning of this study. It is an additional finding that has come out of the study of material culture.

In conclusion, it has been argued that status and class are reflected in material culture and that these variables provide the means of explaining patterned variation between the built environments of nineteenth century Collingwood and Kew. Particular aspects of material culture appear to be clearer markers of status and class than others. Drainage, for example, appears to be unrelated to status and class due to standard methods of waste disposal employed in both suburbs throughout the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, topography could not be adequately isolated during the analysis of streets. The thorough isolation of this variable is necessary in order to determine the potential of streets as markers of status and class. The proportion of official parkland provides a limited indication of status and class distinctions. Buildings, however, appear to be extremely reliable markers of status and class because a variety of attributes may be examined and compared. Status and class have been expressed in buildings in a variety of ways. These include a building's base area, the number of rooms and storeys, allotment size, construction material and architectural elaboration.

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## NOTES

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2. Baker 1980; Deetz 1977; Otto 1980.
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4. Barrett 1971; Davison 1978.
5. Davison 1978:71.
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8. Davison 1978:150.
9. After Ferguson 1977:7.
10. In Encel 1970:14.
11. Connell & Irving 1980:17, 18.
12. Austin 1982:218, 225.
13. Connell & Irving 1980:7, 12.
14. Ward in Williamson 1981:12.
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20. Bavin 1987.
21. Smith 1985:107.
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23. Barrett 1971:119,145; Davison 1978:150; Lemon 1983:41.
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