

**HOUSE STYLE AND CLASS IN VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN  
DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND, 1870-1910**

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## Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between class and domestic house style in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin, New Zealand, 1870-1910. A detailed historical examination is made of the colonial and commercial contexts that the city's houses were created in. Using historic images, a statistical analysis of house styles is also undertaken to determine any clear associations between different occupational classes, homeownership statuses, and stylistic features. The results are explored through the stories of four individuals whose houses were included in the analysis. Ultimately, this research suggests that house style could express wealth through scale, expensive materials, and a clear visual differentiation between personal homes and budget rental accommodation, but there was little evidence to suggest distinctive class-related tastes in architecture.



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## List of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Name</b>
<b>AJHR</b>	Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives
<b>DCC</b>	Dunedin City Council Archives
<b>HNZ</b>	Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga
<b>Hocken</b>	Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hākena
<b>NL</b>	National Library of New Zealand
<b>PCM</b>	Port Chalmers Museum
<b>Te Papa</b>	Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand
<b>TOSM</b>	Toitu Otago Settlers Museum

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# 1 Introduction

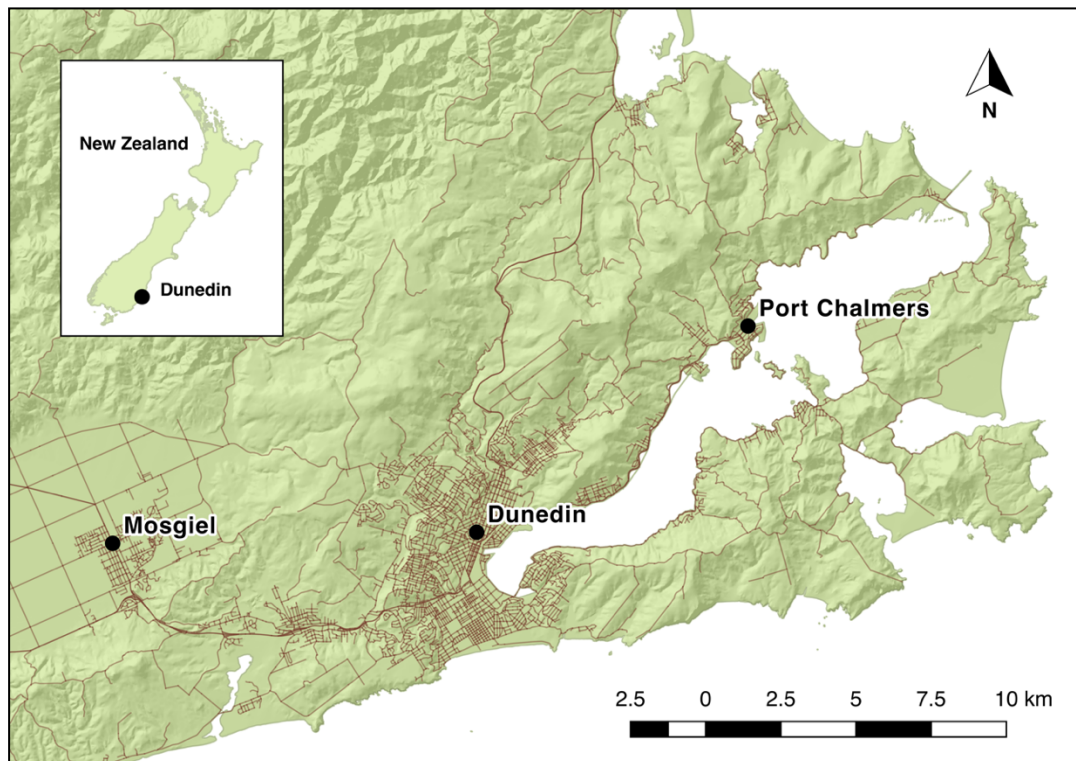
On the morning of 19 February 1873, Christopher Holloway steamed up the Otago Harbour towards Dunedin, a growing city on the south-eastern coast of New Zealand's South Island (Figure 1-1). Holloway was a journalist commissioned by the British Agricultural Labourers' Union to report on New Zealand migration prospects for those looking to escape poor conditions in rural England, and, after a long journey halfway around the world he was finally coming to the first stop in his tour of the young colony. His journal records his impressions of the city (Holloway 1873). It was summer, and he had a splendid view of Dunedin as he approached it on the harbour ferry. In front of him lay "a very fine Modern City"<sup>1</sup> (Holloway 1873: 3) that spread out across the flat alluvial plain at the head of the harbour and crept up the hills behind. It was hard to believe that Dunedin had even come to this point. Only twenty-five years prior the city did not exist. Before the first organised European settlement in 1848 there was only thick native bush all the way down to the shoreline.

A slight haze settled over the town, the product of countless fireplaces coupled with the smokestacks of several steam-powered factories that had been recently established towards the waterfront (Figure 1-2). These local industries produced a range of goods to supply the growing colony: soap, tin cans, clothes, agricultural implements, and – importantly – building materials. Anything not made locally was imported, brought in by the dozens of sailing ships that lined the downtown wharfs and clustered out at Port

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout his writing Holloway uses an archaic Victorian idiom. Frequently he capitalises nouns and other words for emphasis, uses an apostrophe for some plural or possessive verb or noun endings (e.g. 'Dress'd'), and separates words that are rendered as compounds in modern usage (e.g. 'any thing'). There are also occasional antiquated spellings (e.g. 'Chapples') and instances of irregular punctuation. All Holloway quotations are reproduced verbatim.

Chalmers. Some of these products eventually made it onto the shelves the city’s “splendid shops where you may purchase any thing you like, almost as cheap as in the Old Country” (Holloway 1873: 3). Other items were advertised in the pages of illustrated factory catalogues, each showing in pictorial form the incredible range of products available, from kitchenware to, architectural components, to entire houses (Figure 1-3).

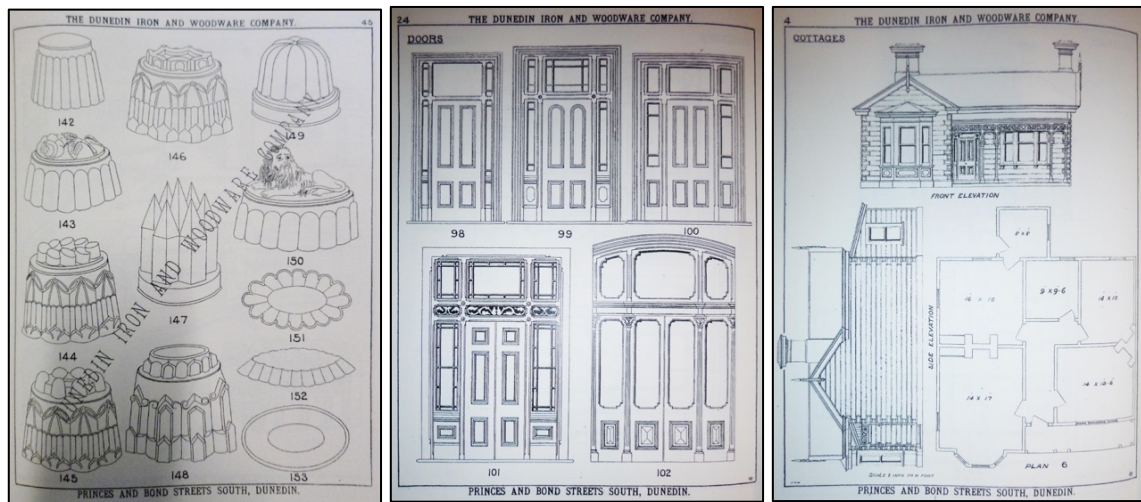


**Figure 1-1. Dunedin and the surrounding area (J. Moyle).**





**Figure 1-2. Dunedin, looking south over Otago Harbour, ca. 1870s (Te Papa: C.012068).**



**Figure 1-3. Pages from the catalogue of Thomson, Bridger, and Company – a Dunedin timber and hardware company – advertising some of their products (Thomson, Bridger, and Company, ca. 1900: 4, 24, 45).**

Beyond the commercial centre, a parade of houses stretched along Dunedin's grid of streets (Figure 1-4). Most were made of timber, but a scattering of brick and stone

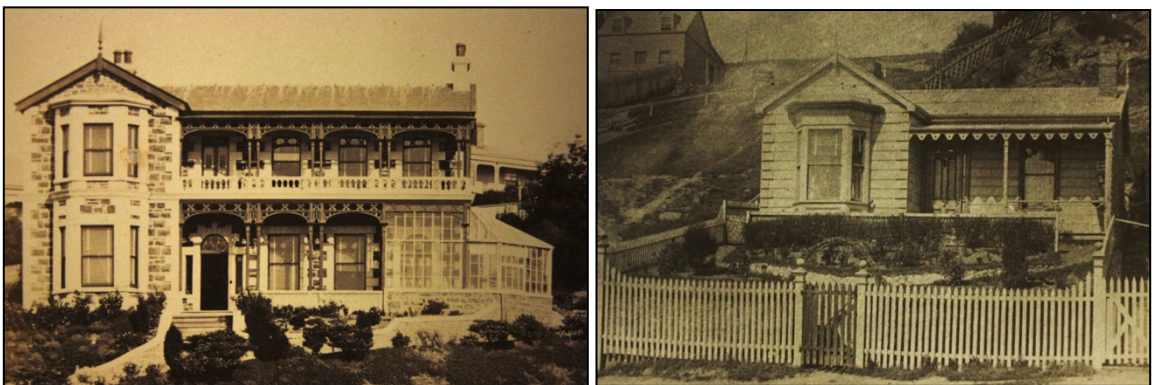
dwelling could also be glimpsed amongst the forest of wood. Houses came in all shapes and sizes: from small timber cottages crammed together near small factories, to large stone mansions sitting in isolation on a hillside estate; from detached, five- or six-room family homes, complete with bay windows or verandahs, to sets of two-storey, flat-fronted, brick terraces. For the most part, these structures were oriented towards the street or looked over the harbour that the city clung to. They each put their best face forward, and the array of façades flaunted the jumble of projecting gables and applied ornament that was common in nineteenth-century New Zealand.



**Figure 1-4. View north-west from downtown Dunedin, 1874 (Te Papa: C.018410).**

An array of individuals working at a range of different occupations and with varying degrees of wealth built, rented, or otherwise lived in these homes that Holloway observed during his time in Dunedin. For example, George Duncan was an entrepreneur and businessman from Scotland. He clearly had some measure of success in his ventures

because in 1871 he had a large mansion built as his home (Figure 1-5, left), with builders working from his own designs (Galer 1981:40-1). A few blocks away sat the home of Duncan Buchanan (Figure 1-5, right), a master bootmaker who ran his own small business out of a shop in downtown Dunedin (Evening Star 1874). Buchanan, while not wealthy like George Duncan, made enough to secure a piece of land and erect a modest house for himself. This was a dwelling similar in style to the larger mansion, but on a much smaller scale. Others lived in far plainer structures, like the three rental cottages erected by the market gardener William Ings on the outskirts of town (Figure 1-6). Ings, an Englishman originally, appears to have erected the three dwellings to both house workers he employed on his land and supplement the income he made from selling produce.



**Figure 1-5. Left – House built in 1871 by the businessman George Duncan (Hocken: P1955-002/1 Album 013). Right - House built ca. 1875-1878 by the master bootmaker Duncan Buchanan (TOSM: TOSM: 79/178).**

A variety of other homes like those built by Duncan, Buchanan, and Ings together housed the ca. 25,000 people who lived in the city at the time of Holloway's visit. Geographically and culturally, their origins were not overly diverse. Emigrants from the British Isles, and their New Zealand-born children, made up the vast majority of the



population. Most came halfway around the world for the same reason: to make better lives for themselves. As far as Holloway was concerned, this dream was realised:

Everything here betokens Prosperity, The inhabitants are well Dress'd, thoroughly respectable The children with their shining rosy cheeks are the very Pictures of Health – A Man's a Man here, as you see them walking along the streets, their head is erect, and their whole bearing impresses one with the idea, "That Jack is as good as his Master" No cringing here, – yet there is no rudeness – But every thing around betokens Comfort, Respectability, & Happiness (Holloway 1873: 3).

This description of Dunedin's residents should not be treated true for everyone – Dunedin played host to its fair share of poverty, filth, disease, and despair – but there remains truth in his account. Those coming to New Zealand had opportunities that simply did not exist in a British society hamstrung by the pressures of inequality and a rigid class system. Some migrants succeeded, others were less successful, and some suffered. Collectively, they made up the mosaic of humanity that constituted Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin (Figure 1-7).



**Figure 1-6. Workers' rental cottages built ca. 1870s by the market gardener William Ings (TOSM: 66/97).**



**Figure 1-7. A family and their home in Port Chalmers, ca. 1900s (PCM: 1386).**

The world that Holloway experienced and described fascinates me, and its material culture is especially compelling. For two and a half years, from 2013 to mid 2015, I worked as a contract archaeologist in Dunedin, excavating and recording the physical remnants of the city's past. These remains realise historic culture, to paraphrase Henry Glassie (2000: 17). Objects reflect the perspectives of the people who made and used them, and they can provide insight into the minds of past humans. However, historic objects also move you beyond cold analysis. They enthrall through their concrete link to the past: they distil a fragment of the immense and nebulous mass of human history into a tangible form. They can be used as "both focal points for our stories and. . . metaphors or representations of the themes that give meaning and structure to life events" (Woods 2017: 1).

It was this latter feeling of connection with the past that attracted me to vernacular architecture studies in particular, ". . .the study of those human actions and behaviours

that are manifest in commonplace architecture” (Carter and Cromley 2005: xiv). Living in Dunedin you are surrounded by buildings from the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. They are pieces of Victorian and Edwardian material culture writ large. Their scale and durability has allowed them to endure. Attending the local university, as I did during my undergraduate study, you are more than likely to stay in a historic house: a nineteenth-century workers’ cottage, now used as a small student flat; a former mansion, long since sliced up into studio apartments; an early-twentieth century suburban home, its parlour and dining room converted to bedrooms in which to cram six tenants. Through its architecture, historic Dunedin hints at hidden lives that invite deeper investigation (Figure 1-8).



**Figure 1-8. Student flats in Dunedin today (J. Peck).**

I find the visible style of these buildings particularly interesting. Walking along city streets you are constantly confronted with the various façades of Victorian and Edwardian houses. Dunedin’s house style – the certain way in which a house is built to

appear (Prown 1980: 198) – is, for the most part, overtly public. Structures sit close to the street, many neatly clothed with interesting architectural features and decorative ornament. Each is a visible, architectural monument announcing the hopes, traditions, and perspectives of its builders and the era in which they lived. H. Martin Wobst (1999: 125-6), in his discussion of style, suggests that all artefacts talk, but some talk louder than others. It follows that a building's style – considering its visibility and scale – positively shouts at passers-by (Bronner 1983: 143). As such, “we read buildings and landscapes most easily through their stylistic qualities. . .” (Carter and Cromley 2005: 55). Much of Dunedin's urban layout remains true to its historic origins, so the streetscape you encounter is what someone in the past would likely have seen.

This thesis seeks to understand what the exterior style of these houses can tell you about the people of Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin, 1870-1910. In particular, it seeks to investigate the relationship between class and house style. This is an obvious research direction: the great expense inherent in buildings, and the property they are constructed on, means they are intimately linked to wealth and, by association, class (Burke 1999: 26). The two most prominent theorists of class, Karl Marx and Max Weber, both cite land ownership as a central factor in class formation (Pearson and Thorns 1983: 63). It follows that houses and house style, as the artefactual dimension of land ownership, could function as a material representation of class. Dunedin's residents could, theoretically, evoke their social position by building houses of a certain style that was recognisably associated with a certain class. The reality of this potential relationship between style and class warrants investigation. An artefact's social and cultural significance is informed by the context of its creation and in my investigation of class I am also careful to explore the colonial society and commercial building industry that influenced and facilitated the creation of Dunedin's houses (Glassie 1999: 48-67). This

focus and contextual consideration is distilled into one primary and two secondary research questions:

- *To what extent did the exterior style of domestic architecture relate to class in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin?*
  - o *How did Dunedin's colonial context influence the relationship between style and class?*
  - o *How did the commercial context of Dunedin's building industry influence the relationship between style and class?*

My study period – 1870-1910 – is chosen for a mixture of pragmatic and historic reasons. Most importantly, a defined historic focus is needed to give my research a manageable scope. Alongside this, the influential architectural historian Jeremy Salmond (1986: 89-182) suggests that the period between 1860 to 1910 gave rise to a distinct stylistic movement in Dunedin and New Zealand, with a domestic vernacular “founded on a kitset of wooden parts, mass-produced by steam-powered machines” (90). I am particularly interested in this sort of *industrial vernacular* (Gottfried and Jennings 2009: 10-1) as it characterised the overwhelming majority of early New Zealand houses, many of which survive today and make up Dunedin's modern urban landscape. However, Salmond's early limit of 1860 cannot be realised in my own research because, prior to 1870, the historical record of Dunedin's houses becomes increasingly scarce.

From this research I have been able to determine that the exterior style of Dunedin's houses was certainly related to class, but the stylistic differences between classes were mostly a manifestation of basic wealth inequalities rather distinctive class cultures and tastes. This situation was influenced by a New-World colonial context and local building industry that together upset the established Old-World social divisions and their material representation.



These results and ideas are explored in the six following chapters. Chapter Two lays the foundations for the research that follows. Core concepts of style, identity, and class are defined; New Zealand's historic vernacular architecture is briefly introduced; and relevant past research, theories, and interpretive models are outlined.

Chapter Three presents Dunedin's history. This includes both an outline of the city's historical development and a social history reviewing the influence of the New Zealand dream, a colonial ideal. The New Zealand dream emphasised the potential for independence and prosperity in colonies like Dunedin. It fostered the creation of an open society and valorised property ownership, both factors which influenced the relationship between house style and class.

Chapter Four outlines the city's building industry. The system of mass production which underpinned the creation of Dunedin's domestic style – and the 'democratising' influence of this system – is discussed. Additionally, the city's construction professionals are introduced, and their appeal to client agency in the design of house style is emphasised.

Chapter Five is a quantitative analysis of building style in Dunedin. A sample of 103 houses are compared to see if different groups – upper-middle class, middle class, and working class – and different ownership types – personal homes and rental properties – have a preference for certain styles. The analysis revealed that, beyond size and materials, there was little difference in the style favoured by each class, but there was a significant difference in the styles of rental properties and personal homes.

Chapter Six expands on the ideas and history introduced in the past chapters through vignettes of four people: Philip Davis, a carpenter who escaped poverty in England and built his own home in the suburbs of Dunedin; William Wilson, a wealthy engineer and foundry owner whose large and expensive mansion was still visibly similar

to many of the city's more humble houses; Samuel Nevill, an Anglican bishop whose privileged background helped him create a unique home; and finally James Day, an ambitious carter who found himself having to endure an alienating and vilified rental property. Finally, Chapter Seven summarises and presents the conclusions of this research.

## 2 Foundations

Holloway was constantly confronted with the style of local houses as he toured Dunedin and the surrounding Otago province. His assessment of these buildings – when he chose to comment on them – was generally positive: he describes a valley full of “smiling homesteads” (Holloway 1873: 39), and a variety of “beautiful houses” (Holloway 1873: 11). But how did Holloway and his contemporaries actually parse this architectural landscape that fanned out around them? What did they make of the varied house styles and what made the houses ‘smiling’ and ‘beautiful’ or not? At the very least, class seems to have been important considering that Holloway directly associated a sense of attractiveness with monetary success when describing the house of a Mr S. Thompson: “by being frugal and economical, He has sav’d a nice round sum of money – Hes aquir’d some Freehold Property in the City of Dunedin – where he is now erecting a beautiful New House” (Holloway 1873: 15).

The following chapter begins to engage with these notions of style, significance, taste, and class by providing the definitional and theoretical foundations that underpins the rest of my research. Specifically, the three sections of this chapter review relevant past literature and introduce key ideas that can inform the interpretation of Dunedin’s house style and its relationship to class. Section 2.1– *Style and Identity* – properly defines ‘exterior house style’, reviews past literature that comments on style in New Zealand and overseas, and presents the core premise of this thesis: that exterior house style embodies class identity and this significance is informed by an artefact’s context. Section 2.2 – *Class and Housing in New Zealand* – defines the complex idea of class, reviews past literature about class and its relationship to housing in New Zealand, and introduces an analytical framework based on occupational class that is useful for exploring historic ideas of class in Dunedin. Finally, Section 2.3 – *Consumption, Class,*

*Taste, and Style* – identifies interpretive models for understanding the relationship between class and exterior house style. These models come largely from the consumption theories of Thorstein Veblen, Pierre Bourdieu and others who have built on their ideas.

## 2.1 Style and Identity

A house's *style* is the sum of its formal and material attributes (Conkey 2006: 358). This includes the appearance of structural aspects (e.g., roof form or floor plan), construction materials (e.g., timber or brick), ornamental details (e.g., eave brackets or interior mouldings), and any other distinctive components (like the form of weatherboard cladding). Each of these elements are stylistic *features*, and when incorporated collectively into a single building they create a particular style (see Appendix B for a more detailed list of these stylistic features).

Within this broad concept I am especially interested in a house's *exterior style*: its visible façade or general public appearance. Beyond a personal fascination with this aspect of architecture, it is a focus motivated by the prominence of exterior style as a distinctive part of urban cultural landscapes like Dunedin. Despite being a building's most public feature, relatively few vernacular architecture studies have specifically focused on the interpretive significance of exterior style. Additionally, the focus on exterior style allows the use of historic images as a primary resource. Physically examining features like floor plan or construction details will always be the best form of architectural inquiry, but it is also time consuming, logistically challenging, and limits the scope of a project. Alternately, a large number of historic photographs of Dunedin's Victorian and Edwardian buildings and streetscapes are easily accessible in archives and online. By drawing upon this resource, I was able to assemble a substantial sample of historic exterior house styles that is both useful for illustrating discussion points and

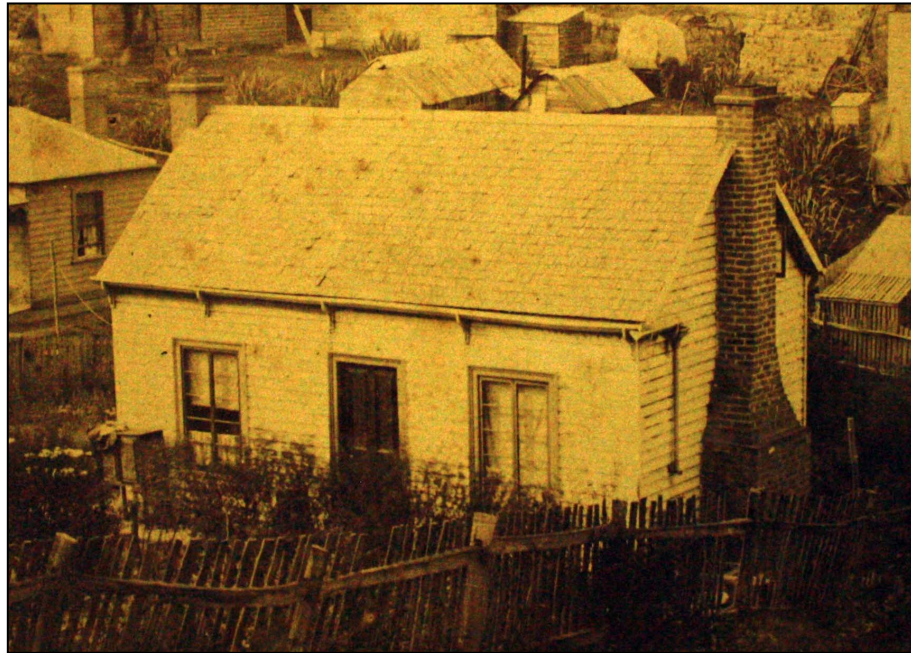
essential to the quantitative analysis at the core of this research (see Chapter Five).

However, while exterior style is my main concern, this has not excluded other aspects of style, such as floor plans or interior detailing, from being explored in this thesis where relevant.

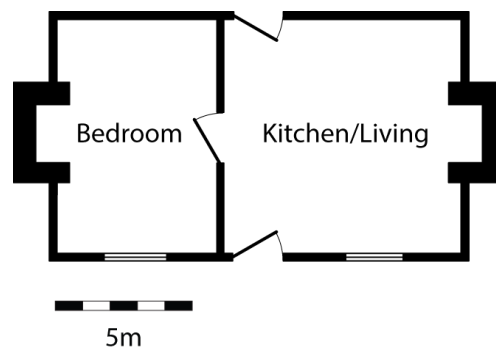
Several surveys of New Zealand's vernacular architecture have been compiled by architectural historians since the 1940s (Bowman 1941; Salmond 1986; Toomath 1996; Stewart 2002). Together these works provide a useful descriptive and contextualising introduction to the style of local houses. Salmond's *Old New Zealand Houses* (1986) has arguably been the most influential of these works, providing a detailed overview of typical domestic building types, styles, materials and construction techniques from 1800 to 1940. The houses of early European settlers in New Zealand (ca. 1840-1860) were overwhelmingly small structures of one to four rooms (Figures 2-1 and 2-2). A gable- or hipped-roofed oblong was the basic unit of construction, and these could be combined in different ways to create a larger dwelling or a more complex architectural form. A verandah was sometimes attached to the front façade, but aside from this there were usually few distinctive stylistic features or decorative ornaments. Most buildings were timber frame dwellings clad in weatherboards. Other materials – like wattle and daub, sod, cob, brick, and raupō<sup>2</sup> were also used occasionally (Salmond 1986: 27-86).

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<sup>2</sup> The Māori common name for *Typha orientalis*. British and American equivalents of this swamp grass are commonly known as bulrushes or cattails respectively. Raupō, or 'grass,' houses were constructed by attaching bound bunches of reeds to a timber framed structure to form walls. Its roof was usually thatched.



**Figure 2-1. A basic two-roomed house in central Dunedin, likely built ca. 1850s (TOSM: 43/64).**



**Figure 2-2. Typical plan of an early house (J. Moyle, adapted from Salmond 1986: 75)**

From the 1870s the average house size increases. Construction of the earlier basic house type does not cease, but these buildings make up a smaller proportion of the overall housing stock. The two characteristics most typical of later periods are plans arranged around a central passage and complex façade decorations, usually applied around the edges of verandahs or bay window gables. These late Victorian and

Edwardian dwellings are commonly described as either *cottages* or *villas* (Figure 2-3). The distinction Salmond makes is one of size: villas are the larger houses of five or more rooms, while cottages are smaller structures of four main rooms<sup>3</sup> or less (Figure 2-4). However, the obvious similarities between both the appearance and layout of many of these buildings means that this terminology is not applied uniformly either in the past or today.

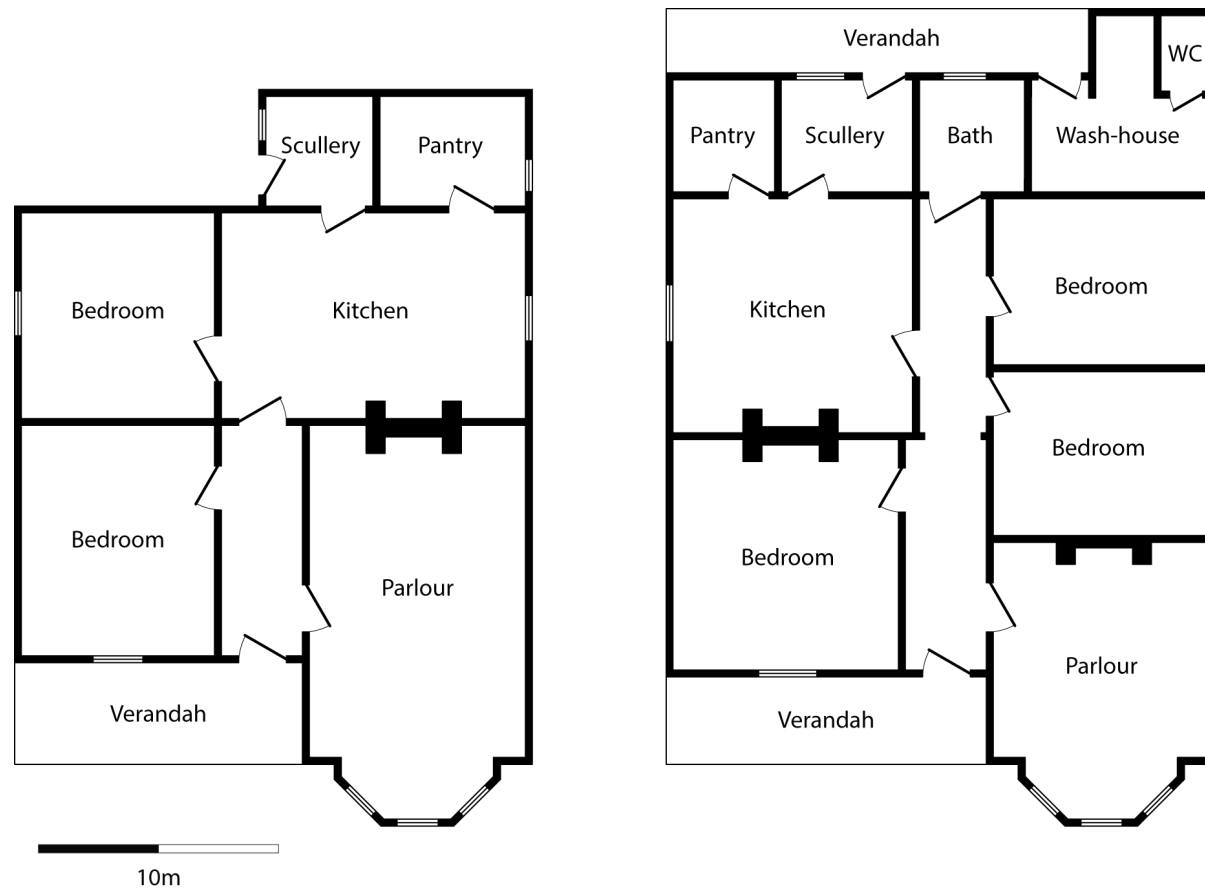
Timber was by far the most popular construction material for these houses – as was the case earlier –though Dunedin also had a sizable minority of brick dwellings. Detached homes were most common, but several duplexes and sets of terrace housing were scattered across the more densely populated areas of Dunedin (Figure 2-5; Salmond 1986: 89-182; Clark 1961: 83-4).



**Figure 2-3. A 'cottage' in Dunedin, built ca. 1900-1901 by the engine driver John McConnell (Hocken: 1990-015/49-279). Right – A 'villa' in Dunedin built ca. 1891 for the Methodist minister Lewis Hudson (Hocken: P1990-015/27 Album 350).**

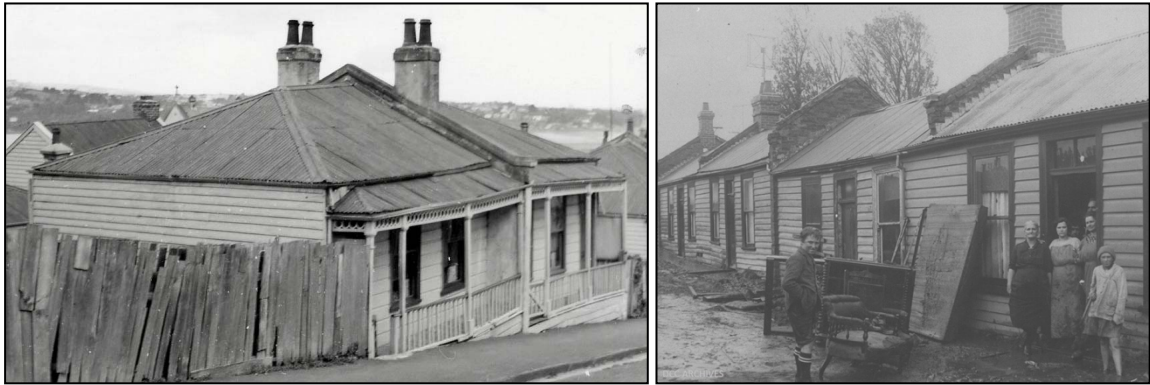
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<sup>3</sup> The room count excludes small service rooms like pantries or sculleries.



**Figure 2-4. Typical plan of a large cottage (left) and a small villa (right; J. Moyle, adapted from Salmond 1986: 154-5).**





**Figure 2-5. Left – Duplex housing in Dunedin (DCC: Album 288, TC33 HSG S/1). Right – Terrace housing in Dunedin (DCC: 334/21).**

Descriptive work is invaluable, but most vernacular architecture studies in folklore – and other areas of material cultural research – favour a more interpretive approach where building style is assumed to relate to *identity*. The essential premise is that, as a dimension of material culture, a building’s style helps us as humans to “conform, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be. [Style can] instrumentally display social status, evoke ethnicity, or exhibit gender, but it can also be an unexpressed process of self-definition and collective identification” (Mullins 2011: 2). In short, building style embodies our social or cultural identity (Prown 1980: 198; Upton 1991: 160; Dietler and Hebach 1998: 237; Carter and Cromley 2005: 54; Conkey 2006: 358; Tilly 2006: 8-13, 22-5).

It is also worth noting here that style in its broader sense – “the way in which something is done, produced, or expressed” (Prown 1980: 198) – also relates to a wider body of folklore scholarship. Beyond vernacular architecture and other material artefacts, intangible forms of folk culture have been studied through their ‘style’. For example there is song style (Abrahams and Foss 1968; Lomax 1978; D. B. Scott 2010), narrative style (Propp 1958; Sebeok 1960), mythological style (Reichard 1944; Witzel 2015), or dance

style (Armstrong 1971), to name just a few equivalents. The styles of these different genres each offer their own unique insights into the developmental history and identity of the culture and society that they emerged from.

Vernacular architecture studies have mostly addressed exterior style as an implicit dimension of typological studies. Various exterior features like roof form or façade ornamentation are combined with other aspects like floor plans, uses, and construction technologies to define certain building types (Marshall 2011: 135; Carter and Cromley 2005: 46-62). These are then argued to have some form of meaningful association with certain social or cultural identities (e.g., Kniffen 1965; Glassie 1975; Carter 1991; Herman 2005; Harris 2008; Hubka 2013). Such typological studies are the most influential form of vernacular architecture research, but assessments more explicitly concerned with exterior style also exist (e.g., Bishir 1981; Bronner 1983; Upton 1986, 1991). Regardless of focus, both approaches effectively engage with style and are relevant to my own study.

Mainstream architectural historians have been more attentive to exterior style in their examinations of high-style, architect-designed, public and institutional buildings and upper-class housing, though this body of work is only of limited relevance to my own research<sup>4</sup>. It is important here to distinguish between style in general and capital-S *Architectural Style*. The latter can be described as a stylistic feature or collection of features that have entered the architectural canon as a distinctive representation of either a historic artistic movement or the work of an important architect. These are the familiar Styles of architectural history – Georgian, Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Eastern Stick-Style (Figure 2-6, left), etc. Most commonly, these Architectural Styles are used to

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<sup>4</sup> Some New Zealand texts in this vein include Stacpoole (1977), Hodgson (1990, 1991), Shaw (1991), and Gatley (2009), as well as countless other regional studies and architects' biographies.

understand architectural change over time and assess the ‘excellence’ of certain buildings and architects based on their conformity to or deviation from the preestablished ideal. Aspects of Architectural Style do influence the exterior styles of vernacular houses, but few of these could be considered ‘good’ examples of a particular tradition (Figure 2-6, right; Burke 1999: 29; Hubka: 16-8). Rather than trying to fit houses into this prescriptive system, I am interested in Architectural Style – alongside less auspicious stylistic features – as simply as another element of exterior house style that may or may not embody identity (Burke 1999: 29-30).



**Figure 2-6. Left – An Eastern Stick Style Dunedin mansion (Hocken: P2014\_018\_1\_017c). Right – Photograph detail showing a typical Dunedin house with a ‘half-timber’ gable decoration reminiscent of the Eastern Stick Style (abrupt top-of-frame cropping in original image; DCC: 131/2).**

Identity is a complex concept, and context is crucial to understanding its appearance in exterior house styles. Identity is “multi-faceted, fluid, and constantly created, contested and renegotiated. . . The construction of identity is seen as a reflexive process

in which previous and contemporaneous identities inform each other or new identities” (Abrahams 2003; Casella and Fowler 2005; Tilly 2006; Orser 2009; Lawrence 2014: 42-3). The nature of this unstable identity, and the way it is embodied by material forms like house style, is always informed by specific temporal, geographical, social, production, and even personal contexts (Glassie 1999: 48-59). Recent studies have stressed that properly understanding the influence of these contextual factors is essential to any effective investigation of material culture’s social or cultural significance (Conkey 2006: 366-7). Accordingly, this research pays close attention to the historical world in which Dunedin’s exterior house styles were created and experienced.

What meaning can be extracted from this jumble of contexts and identities? What meaning *should* be extracted? In the most basic sense, an investigation of house style can provide insight into identity at two levels: personal identity and collective identity. The study of houses can start to reveal the personal history of the individuals who built and lived in these dwellings. Tracing the history of a particular house allows you to unpick the specific contexts, cultural dispositions, and social forces that influence how an individual’s identity shaped, and was shaped by, their domestic environment. Alternately, you can try to understand collective identity through an analysis of material patterns common across many houses, alongside an understanding the wider social and cultural situation. This analysis of collective identity is the primary goal of my research, and as such it is largely founded on general historical observations and a quantitative analysis of house style. With such an approach, I do not aim to obliterate the humanity of the individual – indeed, in the final chapter I will use individuals’ stories to frame my broader interpretations – but, like Glassie (1999: 1-2), I refuse to completely succumb to the anarchy of postmodern particularism and personal relativism.

The relationship between identity in general and house style is obviously too complex a social concept to be examined here in full. Instead, my research looks specifically at class as a particular aspect of your identity that may be embodied by Dunedin's vernacular architecture. The close relationship between wealth, property, and architecture, as noted in my introduction, makes class an obvious focus. The remaining sections in this chapter define class, review past research into New Zealand's historic class dynamics, explore how consumption studies can provide insight into the relationship between material style and class, and present a framework for class analysis within Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin.

## 2.2 Class and Housing in New Zealand

Class, or class identity, holds three separate meanings. Firstly, there is the idea of class division as *stratification*: “the uneven sharing of material resources within a society according to some objective measure” (Fairburn 1989: 116). Secondly, there is the idea of class as an economic position as determined by your relationship to the means of production, labour-market position, education, and skill (Olssen and Hickey 2005: 61, 63). This economic position, or economic power, is manifest in occupation and is referred to as *occupational class*. Finally, there is “the domination in society of exclusive mixing and meeting patterns whereby people having the same economic power interact and associate mostly or only amongst themselves and so forge a common and distinct set of norms and *mores* [emphasis in original]” (Fairburn 1989: 116). This process is called ‘demographic class formation’ and it produces what can be described as a distinctive *class culture* (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 23). It is important to note that this definition of class culture still entails a disparity of wealth. Groups might share a set of norms and mores, but this does not entail a distinct class culture unless it aligns with the

distribution of economic power. *Stratification*, *occupational class*, and *class culture* are separate, but related, concepts that are conflated in both the modern and historic popular conception of *class*. I treat this popular notion of class as synonymous with the idea of *class identity*, an aspect of personal identity potentially embodied by exterior house style.

In New Zealand, two arguments dominate the discussion of class in Victorian and Edwardian society. On the one hand W. H. Oliver (1969) and Miles Fairburn (1989) argue that New Zealand was largely a classless society, or at least a society little affected by the problems of class inequality. In this egalitarian world, the fluidity of New Zealand society and ease of social mobility supposedly made class irrelevant. Others have dismissed this idea as the “New Zealand myth” (Wilkes 1994: 67) suggesting that the economic and social division of society according to class was well established by at least the end of the nineteenth century, with roots potentially dating back to the earliest days of organised European settlement (Olssen 1977; Eldred-Grigg 1980; Olssen 1984; Millen 1984; McAloon 2004).

Erick Olssen, Clyde Griffen, and Frank Jones (2011) have more recently offered a refined perspective in their book *An Accidental Utopia?*. Their work seeks to synthesise arguments for and against New Zealand class divisions based on the results of the Caversham Project,<sup>5</sup> a long-running historical-demographic study that examined Dunedin’s Southern Suburbs. From this large body of historical data, they suggest that some sense of class distinction certainly was apparent in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin, but they also confirm that the rate of social mobility was relatively high compared to the British colonial homeland. The effect of this was to make class a far less socially divisive force than it had been in the Old World (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011:

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<sup>5</sup> Named after Caversham, a suburb of Dunedin.

238-41). Stratification definitely existed, but there was little in the way of distinctive class cultures.

A limited number of publications also consider the relationship between class and housing in New Zealand. Several of the publications that emerged from the Caversham Project noted that, in Dunedin's Southern Suburbs, housing areas were not significantly divided by class and the quality of housing was generally good (Isaac and Olssen 2000: 123; Griffen 2001: 438-40; Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 182). The situation appears to have been related to a local home ownership ideal and anxious memories of poor housing in the British colonial homeland, a subject that has been written about at length by Gael Ferguson (1994). However, residential mixing and good housing quality in Dunedin did not preclude stratification being obvious in terms of scale. The rich and poor lived adjacent to each other, but the former occupied larger properties and houses (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 182, 202-3). A similar observation was made by the sociologist David Pearson (1980: 58) in his study of the Wellington suburb of Johnsonville, and the archaeologist Eva Lübcke (1999) has charted the clear association of house size and class in Edwardian Dunedin (Figure 2-7). When considering the relationship between exterior house style and class in Dunedin the above notions of indistinct class cultures, enduring stratification, and idealised home ownership together make up an important social context and will be further explored in Chapter Three.

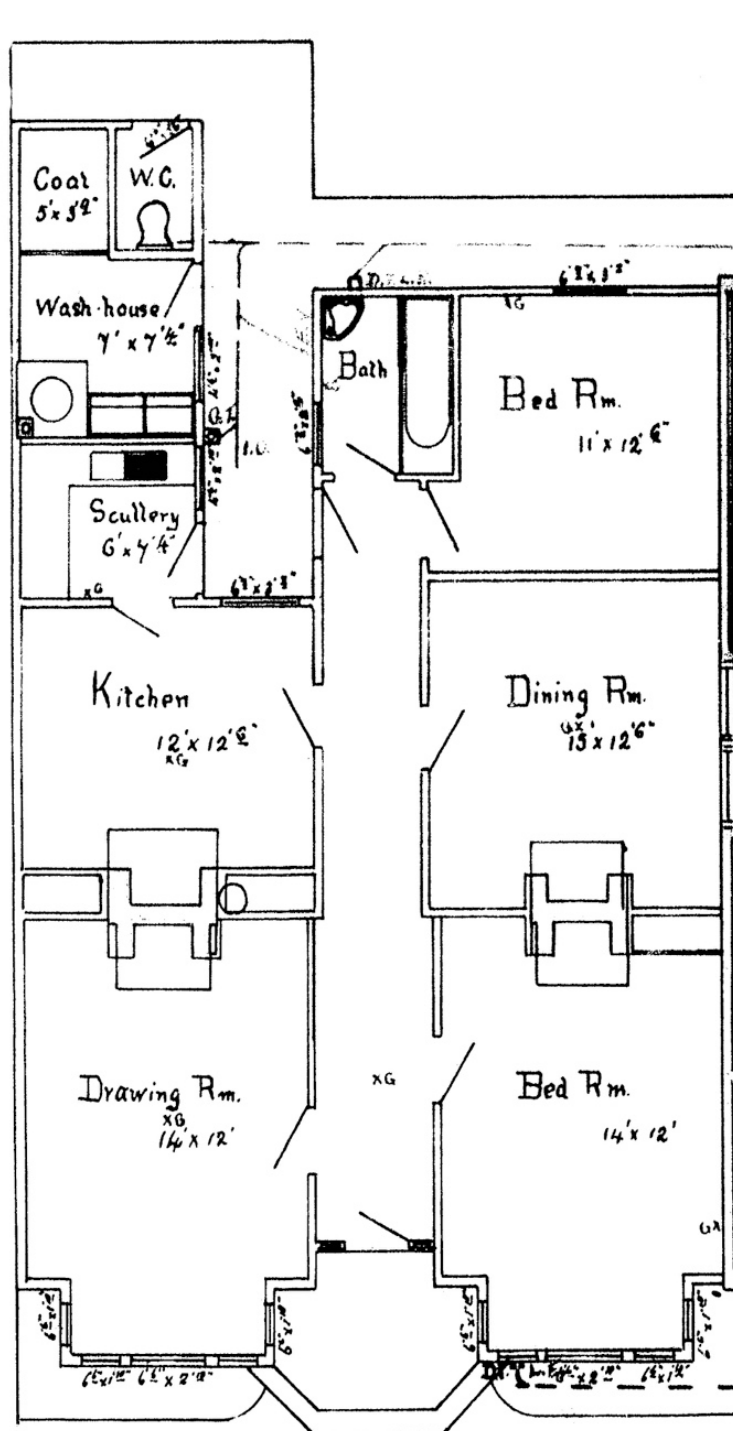


Figure 2-7. One of the numerous historic floor plan's deposited with the DCC that was analysed by Lübbke (1999: 93). In her research she compared the floorspace evident in these plans to chart a correlation between house size and class.



### 2.2.1 Occupational Class: A Framework for Class Analysis

An objective framework is useful for investigating class in the past. Not only does it give some comparable structure to the various histories, it also facilitates my later quantitative analyses of class demographics and their broad relationship to exterior house style. *Occupational class* can provide this framework. Historic occupation data are reasonably easily available and can act as an index to stratification as well as the more abstract concept of class culture. Individuals' occupations are recorded in historical records like marriage registers, electoral rolls, and street directories. These sources have been used by Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey (1996, 2005: 57-8) to construct an occupational classification scheme for the Caversham Project. The condensed version of Olssen and Hickey's scheme includes three classes:<sup>6</sup>

- *Upper-middle class*: large employers and higher managers, professionals (e.g., doctors, architects, lawyers), and semiprofessionals (occupations that require specialist knowledge and skills, but are not considered as a true profession and have a less restrictive entry (Hodson and Sullivan 1990: 278-9). Examples include teachers or journalists).
- *Middle class*: small employers and self-employed (also referred to as petty proprietors), officials and supervisors, and white-collar workers.
- *Working class*: skilled (e.g., carpenters, tailors, picture-framers), semi-skilled (jobs that required some skill, but could be mastered in a shorter time than skilled work, e.g., grooms, factory machinists, riveters (Hodson and Sullivan

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<sup>6</sup> Olssen and Hickey (2005) provide the details and underlying principles of this classification scheme, as well a table of the specific occupations associated with each class. For greater resolution, the constituent groups of each class can be expanded into a nine-class scheme. The three-class scheme is used here because it is most appropriate for the small sample of houses analysed in Chapter Five.

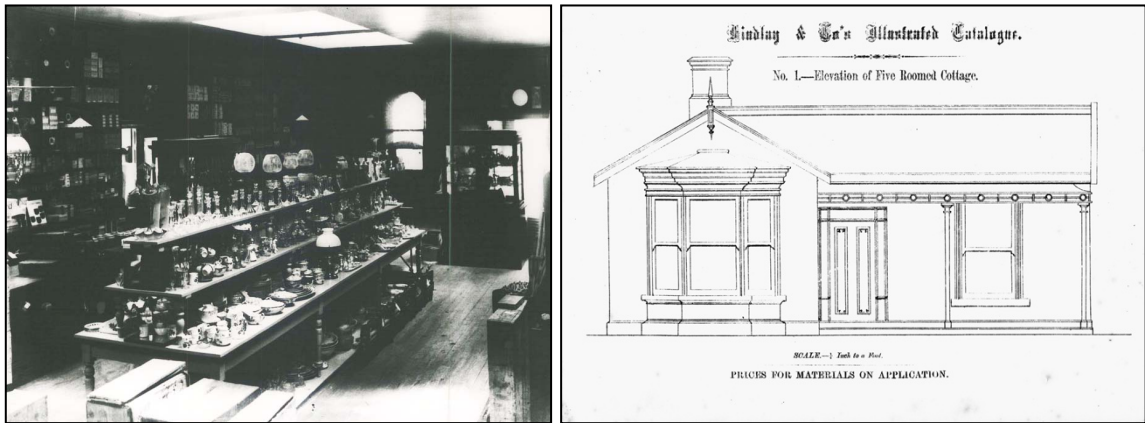
1990: 207-8), and unskilled (e.g., general labourers, window-cleaners, night-soil collectors).

Using occupational class as the unit of analysis is common practice. Olssen and Hickey (2005) cite Michael Katz (1972), who notes that researchers “. . . usually couch statements about social stratification and social mobility in terms of occupational structure. They do so for sound reasons. In contemporary society [i.e., industrial society], occupation – more than any other factor – determines income and prestige” (63). Additionally, following Olssen and Hickey, the term *upper-middle class* is used here to distinguish this part of Dunedin’s society from the British *upper-class*. The latter’s control of wealth and prestige was simply not comparable to that of their decidedly humbler colonial counterparts. As noted above, this occupational classification scheme is used to map the relationship between certain classes and stylistic features in Chapter Five. It is also used in Chapter Three to identify the degree of class division evident in Dunedin’s historic demographics.

While a general link between class and housing is established in the New Zealand literature, and occupational data has been recognised as a useful framework for exploring class, questions remain about the potential for a more specific relationship between exterior house style and class. If style is accepted as significant, then how might house style, as a type of material culture, embody class identity? Consumption studies have long been interested in this relationship between material culture, style, and class. The following section explores the key ideas from this field of inquiry and outlines how they are relevant to the interpretation of Dunedin’s exterior house style.

### 2.3 Consumption, Class, Taste, and Style

Consumption is the process that framed Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin's interaction with exterior house style and material culture in general. The city played host to a consumer society that was "organised around the provision of its members. . . with a seemingly limitless array of ever-changing products serving diverse utilitarian and symbolic functions" (Majewski and Schiffer 2009: 192). Shop shelves in Dunedin were piled with goods for sale (Figure 2-8, left), residents would flock to the downtown shopping streets in their leisure time (Otago Daily Times 1862b), and consumer catalogues put out by local building-material factories were filled with an astonishing variety of ornamental details, essential fittings, and even whole houses ready for purchase (Figure 2-8, right). Indeed, beyond Dunedin, consumption has framed much of the world's interaction with material culture since at least the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier (Trentmann 2012: 3-8). Such ubiquity means that consumption research is, in essence, analogous with the study of modern material culture, and scholars from a variety of academic disciplines have used consumption as a lens to examine the interplay of humans and objects, including buildings and their constituent components (McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb 1982; Bronner 1989; Martin 1993; Upton 1998: 233; Glassie 2000: 150-5; Miller 2006: 348-9; Majewski and Schiffer 2009: 192). Daniel Miller (2012) has even suggested that material culture becomes particularly significant within a consumer society, noting that "commodities are increasingly used to express the core values of that society [and] also become the principle form through which people come to see, recognise and understand those values" (40).



**Figure 2-8. Left – A Dunedin shop interior in 1907 (Hocken: E3016/31A). Right – Entire 'kitset' house advertised in Dunedin's Findlay and Company timber factory catalogue (1874).**

There is a long history of class being associated with consumption. Thorstein Veblen (2007 [1899]) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) have produced the most influential theories about this relationship. Together their work provides a useful interpretive model for understanding how class can influence patterns of material culture consumption, especially the consumption of a certain 'type' or 'style' of object. Countless subsequent consumption studies that examine class have built upon their ideas. Here I draw upon their work to explore the relationship between class and exterior house style.

### 2.3.1 Conspicuous Consumption and 'Trickling' Taste

Veblen introduces the idea of conspicuous consumption: the public demonstration of wealth and high class through the excessive consumption of material goods, where the rich wield their financial might to distinguish themselves from those who cannot afford as much. Veblen sees class and consumption as directly related to stratification: the richer you are, the bigger your house (Figure 2-9). This may seem like a truism, but it is useful to state it clearly as a foundational premise (Veblen 2007 [1899]: 42-3, 62-3).



**Figure 2-9. The large, two-storey villa built ca. 1877-1878 by Richard Leary, an upper-middle class accountant (Hocken: 1038\_01\_001A).**

Veblen's upper-class consumption patterns are shaped by notions of *taste*. The rise of the consumer society and mass production techniques during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant that there was greater access to, and demand for, consumer goods at all levels of society. As a result, anyone wishing to signal their upper-class status needed to cultivate their taste in order to consume the correct goods that would effectively distinguish them from the rest of society. They had to become a connoisseur in various things like food, clothes, weapons, 'trinkets', and – most importantly – *architecture* (Veblen 2007 [1899]: 62). Veblen rejected the idea that this upper-class "Good Taste" was an objective trait, instead suggesting that consumption choices were determined by a careful appreciation of a certain object's or style's relative expense, and by extension, prestige value. The suggestion is that class is articulated through taste as well as the gross demonstration of wealth (Veblen 2007 [1899]: 81, 86-7).

Veblen's work also implies a 'trickle down' of elite culture through society. Aspirational individuals from lower classes emulated the tastes of those immediately above them in the stratification system in an attempt to gain prestige relative to peers from their own class. Middle-class taste was a pastiche of upper-class taste, and working-class taste was a pastiche of middle-class taste (Veblen 2007 [1899]: 41, 66-7, 75). This produced an ever-changing fashion landscape where tastes changed as new goods and styles were introduced by the upper classes in an attempt to maintain exclusivity as older forms were continuously adopted by those below (Trigg 2001: 101). According to this formulation, new forms of exterior house style originally introduced in upper-class dwellings, would appear later in middle- and working-class dwellings (Figure 2-10).



**Figure 2-10. Emulation of an elite style? Left – House built in 1886 by James Horsbrugh, an upper-middle class businessman (Hocken: Box-012 PORT1532). Right – The similarly styled house built ca. 1904-1905 by Maxwell Newbury, a middle-class commercial traveller (DCC: 267/8).**

This idea of trickle-down taste has had a significant impact on subsequent research concerned with material culture and consumption. In the area of vernacular architecture, the work of Thomas Carter (1991), Pamela Simpson (1999: 161-2), and Daniel Reiff (2000: 54-7) discusses how elite building styles were copied, commodified, and sold to middle- and working-class consumers in the form of pattern books and cheap, mass-

produced building materials. Beyond this, a variety of other material culture studies have emphasised trickle-down taste. Perhaps the most influential is the work of Neil McKendrick (1974; 1982; 1982), who sees elite emulation – “the mill girl who wanted to dress like a duchess” (1974: 209) – as driving the demand for goods and certain fashions in eighteenth-century England. A similar phenomenon is also observed in an ethnographic context. Miller (1985) notes how ceramic styles associated with high caste groups in India were consumed by aspirational members of low castes. In response, the higher castes commissioned new, original designs. Franklin Frazier (1957), Stewart Ewen (1988), Michael Ettema (1990), Richard Bushman (1992), and Juliet Schor (1998) are other notable authors who have used notions of social emulation to explain material consumption practices (Mullins 2011: 42-5).

Though trickle down taste does appear to have real influence on consumption practices, its critics emphasise that it should not be considered a monolithic force. Thomas Hubka (2013: 24-5) acknowledges the existence of elite emulation as affecting commonplace architecture, but disagrees that it is the main force determining style and suggests that emulation occurs both up and down the class spectrum. He has described the imagined supremacy of trickle-down style as one of the great ‘myths’ of vernacular architecture. Another scholar, Christina Hodge (2010: 232), has shown how tastes can be passed down piecemeal. Her research into eighteenth-century American consumption revealed that some new, elite products and practices were adopted by the middle class, while other pre-existing material traditions were retained. Colin Campbell (1993: 40) argues that notions of the prestige associated with upper class taste should not obscure how utility also informed the popularity of some consumables in the past. He notes that foodstuffs like coffee and tea were valued as stimulants, while pepper and sugar made meals more palatable. Other products did not even offer an opportunity for emulation.

Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold (1993) note that there was a dramatic rise in English coal consumption between 1700 and 1800. This, they argue, was the product of changes in population growth, income levels, and the cost of production, and suggest that “. . .it would be far-fetched to view the rise in coal consumption as originating out of the emulative behaviour of the lower classes (with fashion emanating from London as the major domestic market)” (93).

Tastes also do not necessarily trickle *down*. Fine and Leopold also suggest that the direction of emulation is even reversed for some products, citing the popularity of jeans as an example of this “trickle up” phenomenon. Jeans are commonly worn today by all segments of society, though they were originally produced as an affordable, durable piece of clothing for manual work (118). As noted by Andrew Trigg (2001), a common theme among Veblen’s critics “. . . is the argument that the ‘trickle up’ of consumption patterns may be at least as important as ‘trickle down’” (103). A “trickle round” system may even exist, where an aspirational middle class emulates upper class tastes, while the upper class draw upon working class tastes in an attempt to “outflank” those immediately below them and retain a distinctive class culture (Trigg 2001: 106-8). These critics are not suggesting that trickle-down taste is a lie. Instead they are emphasising that elite emulation operated alongside other consumption patterns and it was certainly not an inevitable or uniform phenomenon.

This sort of multi-directional ‘trickling’ style has the potential to create a degree of ambiguity in house design. Take, for example, the house of Eriza Grimmett, a Dunedin plasterer (Figure 2-11). This dwelling, built around 1897, is stylistically similar to the older, larger house belonging to Richard Leary (Figure 2-9) – the key stylistic features of both include quoins, a central door, a projecting bay, and a decorated verandah. It is possible that the style of Grimmett’s house was informed by ideas of elite emulation.



However, the style of Leary's house is itself evocative of a potentially older house belonging to the bootmaker Duncan Buchanan (Figure 1-5, right). Thus, in this situation there is the potential for both trickle-down and/or trickle-up style to be the driver of stylistic choices, and the ultimate class origins of certain styles becomes unclear.



**Figure 2-11. House built ca. 1897 by Erza Grimmert, a working-class plasterer (HNZ: 12013/810).**

### 2.3.2 *Habitus and Conservative Taste*

Bourdieu develops the relationship between class and taste in material goods. Like Veblen, Bourdieu saw taste and class as related, and argued – based on survey data – how distinctive class tastes were manifest in material culture preferences. For example, upper-class individuals surveyed by Bourdieu preferred antique furniture, while middle- and working-class shoppers were more likely to choose more utilitarian furniture from department stores or specialist shops (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 78). This pattern is also applicable to architecture: certain classes can be expected to prefer certain house styles.

Bourdieu also agreed with Veblen that taste was subjective but offered a more detailed explanation for the origins of class preferences. Tastes are the product of an individual's *habitus*: cultural dispositions formed by family upbringing, education, and the various other milieux of life. Indeed, Bourdieu emphasises that culture, articulated through certain tastes, is a crucial factor in the construction of class (Figure 2-12). Alongside economic capital, your class is defined by the *cultural capital* that informs your taste (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 101-114). This is a departure from Veblen (2007 [1899]: 40-5, 81-103) who argues that economic factors are the primary determinants of both class *and* taste. The historian Paul Fussell (1983) provides an excellent exploration of Bourdieu's cultural capital in action, charting the divergent tastes of the American class system in the early 1980s. Writing from a contemporary emic perspective, Fussell (1983: 83-4) notes how class taste in architecture can be manifest in something as simple as window style: timber twelve-pane sash windows – evocative of colonial pedigree – for the upper classes and small circular 'port holes' for the 'proles' dreaming of that never-achieved yachting lifestyle.

Though upper-class taste is not objectively superior, Bourdieu suggests it can be consecrated as such in order to reinforce asymmetries in the distribution of power and property. The official endorsement of elite taste presents further challenges for those who are economically disadvantaged. It offers a form of 'natural' moral authority to those fluent in the upper-class culture. Conversely, those unfamiliar with the sanctioned tastes – individuals steeped in 'low' culture – are made to appear unfit for social leadership. The translation of these differing tastes into distinct artefacts, like houses built in a certain range of styles, reifies both the conceptual division of different classes and the positive or negative perceptions associated with these classes (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 479-482; Murdock 2010: 64). Simon Bronner's (1983) study of housing in Harrisburg,

Pennsylvania shows how this system can operate in practice. Restrained middle-class taste in historic renovations were celebrated in the local press while the highly-decorative style of working-class housing modification was trivialised and negatively associated with an “image of communal shiftlessness” (Bronner 1983: 143).



**Figure 2-12. The professorial houses built by the University of Otago ca. 1878-1879. The style of these buildings is quite distinct from most other houses in Dunedin, utilising a variety of rarely seen stylistic features like a half-hipped roof, pent dormers, and polychrome brick decorations. According to Bourdieu, this reflects the ‘refined’ taste of learned individuals associated with this elite academic institution (Hocken: P2014\_018\_1\_004d).**

A dynamic and varied class system is suggested by Bourdieu. The distribution of cultural and economic capital is not fixed. Higher education or business success can

bring about upward social mobility (or vice versa). Different combinations of cultural and economic capital can create distinct social subdivisions. For example, you may have an intimate understanding of and appreciation for traditionally upper-class culture, but little in the way of financial resources. A hypothetical example for the nineteenth century might be an impoverished church minister or vicar: well-schooled, perhaps intensely interested in academic architecture, but lacking the funds to build a grand, fashionable house for himself. Alternately, you may be wealthy but have no appreciation these upper-class tastes. For example, a successful businessman from a humble background: one of the *nouveau riche* (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]: 115). This potential divergence of economic and cultural capital is important in relation to New Zealand, where, despite the existence of stratification, there was little in the way of distinct class cultures (as will be discussed in Chapter Three).

Bourdieu's identification of taste as a learned behaviour – the product of your *habitus* – can also explain consumption patterns that do not appear to fit with Veblen's competitive materialism and the associated notions of trickling taste. Several studies, in fact, suggest the opposite. Consumption patterns can often be quite conservative, with people striving to conform to traditional tastes thought to be 'normal' within their particular culture and society. Indeed, this concern for stylistic norms is one of the core design principles within vernacular architecture (Hubka 1979: 28; Carter 1991: 419-420). Catherine Bishir (1981) observes how the clients of Jacob W. Holt, a mid-nineteenth century American builder, favoured traditional and commonplace house designs. Interestingly, this trend was in spite of Holt's attempts to market himself as a purveyor of new, fashionable house designs similar to those found in the architectural pattern books of A. J. Downing (1842) and William Ranlett (1849). Other authors note how 'new' house designs in the past were rarely completely novel. In his history of two nineteenth-century

New England carpenters, J. Ritchie Garrison (2006: 59-60) shows how successful innovation was dependant on blending conservative house forms with a limited number of fashionable architectural features. Dell Upton (1991) goes further. Far from being new styles, he argues that the buildings offered by popular architects in the nineteenth century (like Downing and Ranlett) were “thinly disguised traditional buildings” (167). They were merely familiar, conservative designs cloaked in varied arrangements of surface ornament. This sort of interest in normative design, rather than competitive class emulation, is potentially the real reason for the above similarity between Buchanan’s, Leary’s, and Grimmett’s houses (Figures 1-5 (right), 2-9, and 2-11).

Similar observations have been made outside of vernacular architecture studies. The ubiquity of blue jeans has been already noted above as an example of taste flowing upwards, and this may be true, but Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward (2011) go further to suggest that their enduring popularity is rooted in their broad acceptability as a clothing choice. Jeans are worn by people “struggling to be regarded as entirely ordinary” (11). Miller and Woodward’s argument is based on modern ethnographic work, but other research suggests that the desire to be normal also existed in the past. Robert Fitts (1999: 55-9) argues that middle-class households in a mid-nineteenth-century Brooklyn neighbourhood collectively strived to conform to a widely accepted material style. Archaeological excavations revealed that residents acquired very similar sets of plain white ceramic tableware, and there was no evidence for invidious competitive consumption.

These examples of conservative taste in both architecture and material culture in general again emphasises how style is not exclusively determined by competitive materialism and ‘trickling’ fashion. Your *habitus* can engender conservative tastes with the potential to limit the prestige gained from innovating or adopting new material

styles. Instead, as noted above, Bourdieu suggests that these conservative tastes in something like exterior house style can be either consecrated or condemned as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ in a way that enforces existing power asymmetries and class divisions.

The consumption theories of both Veblen and Bourdieu, and the work that these authors influenced either directly or indirectly, offers up a range of interpretive ideas and past precedents that can provide insight into the relationship between class and house style in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin. The core concepts of conspicuous consumption, ‘trickling’ fashion (i.e., emulation up or down the class spectrum), distinctive class tastes, the difference between economic and cultural capital, and the importance of *habitus* in forming tastes are all addressed in my final discussion (see Chapter Six).



The above introduction to relevant ideas of style, identity, class, consumption, and taste provides a foundation for my research. A house’s style is defined as sum of its formal and material attributes, an assembly of various stylistic features. Within this broad concept I am specifically interested in exterior style. My general definition of style is also distinct from the prescriptive system of capital-S Architectural Style. Past descriptive research offers a useful outline of New Zealand’s typical vernacular house style, but like other vernacular scholars I am primarily interested in the way this style potentially embodies a collective social or cultural identity, specifically, class identity. As part of this research goal, I am especially concerned with how the particular context of exterior house style in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin was essential to its significance.

The idea of class or class identity is understood as a conflation of three separate components: stratification (differences in wealth), occupational class (different jobs), and class culture (a distinct set of norms and mores). There have been debates over the importance of class in New Zealand, but the most recent research suggests that antipodean class divisions were not as acute in the Old World. Stratification certainly existed but there was little in the way of distinctive class cultures, an interpretation supported by related studies of housing distribution, quality, and size.

Consumption is the process that framed Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin's interaction with house style. Studies of consumption have long been interested in its relationship to class, with Veblen and Bourdieu producing the most influential theories on the subject. The work of these authors, along with the various architectural and material culture studies they influenced, provides a useful interpretive model for my own research.

Veblen introduces the idea of conspicuous consumption and competitive materialism, where wealthy members of society accrue substantial quantities of the 'right' material items to mark their supposedly distinguished social status. Their taste 'trickles down' as lower classes attempt to enhance their own status through emulative consumption. Numerous researchers have used Veblen's model to explain both modern and historical consumption practises. Others have emphasised that it is not a monolithic force, arguing for parallel 'trickle up' and 'trickle round' systems and noting that tastes did not pass wholesale between classes.

Bourdieu built on Veblen's work, suggesting that class-specific tastes were borne of your *habitus* and cultural capital. He also argued that certain tastes were consecrated as superior in a way that reinforced existing power and class structures. For Bourdieu, class was a dynamic status brought about through a combination of material wealth and

certain learned cultural dispositions. The idea that tastes are formed through your *habitus* is useful in explaining why various studies have shown patterns of normative consumption, in contrast with Veblen's notion of competitive consumption. To explore these ideas of consumption, class, taste, and style in my research I am utilising a framework of occupational class that has previously been devised to specifically look at class dynamics within historical Dunedin.

With these definitional and theoretical foundations established, some context is now needed. The following chapter covers the historical and social context, providing a brief overview of Dunedin's development and the New Zealand dream, the latter being a colonial ideal that influenced the nature of class and housing in the city – a key force shaping the relationship between class and exterior architectural style.



### 3 History

The city Holloway visited in 1873 was in the midst of its colonial development. Over the past two decades it had developed from the cluster of huts erected by a handful of pioneer settlers to a bustling city complete with numerous commercial and public amenities:

Some good streets – splendid shops. . . Manufactories, a Railway Station, – a port for Vessels of light Draft. – A Hospital, – Bank’s – Post Offices, – Churches, (but not state Churches) – Chapples in any number, so that you may worship God according to the dictates of your own Conscience, School Accommodation for 1500 Children, Good Sunday Schools, – An Assylum – Museum Botanical Garden’s – A Public Library – A University and etc. (Holloway 1873: 3).

While the city’s history was certainly not entirely happy – depression shook Dunedin during the 1880s and there were the constant spectres of poverty and sanitation, and the pace of growth again faltered at the beginning of the twentieth century – Holloway’s description seems characteristic of the optimism associated with a settlement bent on colonial notions of development and progress.

A dream of personal development – the New Zealand dream – paralleled this sort of municipal optimism. Holloway described how supposedly colonists could dramatically improve their situation through emigration from Britain to the antipodes. For example, on 2 March he met with a Mr J. L. Gillies:

A self made man, he arriv’d in the Colony some few years ago, with not more than 5 Pounds in his pocket, being a hard working man and persevering man he has work’d his way up to his present position. He is now the owner of extensive Flour Mills, a Large farm Freehold Property, and is in a good thriving position (Holloway 1873: 12).

According to Holloway, people like Gillies were numerous, if perhaps not quite as dramatically successful. He noted a meeting with another settler

who came over from the Old Country a few years ago to Australia – after saving a good sum of Money, went and speculated at the diggings<sup>7</sup>, was unsuccessful, lost his money, came over to New Zealand almost penniless, began life (so to speak) over again, was successful, – brought a piece of land, – Erected a House, – and is now in very easy and comfortable circumstances, – with a good Freehold Property of his own, Such circumstances as these are the rule, not the exception (Holloway 1873: 19).

As might be apparent, Holloway suggested that property and housing were an important dimension of this sort of personal progress.

The three sections of the following chapter explore the sort of civic development and colonial idealism that Holloway describes in historic Dunedin; the former provides useful background information while the latter is an essential social context that influenced the relationship between house style and class. Section 3.1 gives a precis of the city's growth from a tiny settlement of a few hundred pioneers in the 1840s, through the raucous years of the 1860s gold rush and 1870s assisted immigration programmes, the lean years of the 1880s depression, and the steady but slow growth of the 1890s and 1910s. Section 3.2 outlines the idea of the New Zealand dream, a colonial ideal that emphasised the potential for prosperity and independence in the antipodean New World. Section 3.3 discusses the social implications of this ideal, its emphasis on home ownership over renting, and the potential influence of these factors on house style.

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<sup>7</sup> The Australian state of Victoria was the site of a gold rush during the 1850s.

### 3.1 Dunedin: An Introductory History

Dunedin, the Gaelic form of Edinburgh, was founded as a joint venture between the New Zealand Company and the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>8</sup> The town was intended as the nucleus of the Otago settlement, a planned colony built primarily for Scottish Presbyterian settlers. In March and April 1848, the first 344 settlers arrived, followed by approximately 12,000 more over the next decade (McDonald 1965: 3, 10). Many of these newcomers were English, but a majority of Scottish farmers, small merchants, and tradesmen continued to dominate the population. Throughout my study period Dunedin's ethnic makeup would be overwhelmingly dominated by people from Britain, then a county that included what is now the Republic of Ireland. Most early colonists did not settle in Dunedin, choosing instead to take up farms in the hinterland or follow seasonal rural work, but those that did stay gradually cleared the native bush, drained the swampy land, and built a quiet colonial village on the very edge of Britain's empire (Figure 3-1; Olssen 1984: 33-4; Olssen 2011: 99).

Everything changed in 1861 when gold was discovered in nearby Central Otago. Dunedin had an established port and became the *entrepôt* for the thousands who flocked to the goldfields. The character of the settlement began to transform rapidly (Figures 3-2 and 3-3). The pious colonists were joined by rough miners and entrepreneurs looking to cater to their needs. Row upon row of new buildings were quickly erected (McDonald 1965: 52-4). New structures were cheek-by-jowl and fires were common (McLintock 1949: 473; Ledgerwood 2008: 34). Arrangements for the disposal of waste and excrement struggled to keep pace with the exploding population (Wood 2005). Dunedin

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<sup>8</sup> The Free Church of Scotland was established as a breakaway sect of the Church of Scotland in 1843. The schism came about because many felt that the established Church did not provide congregations with enough input into the choice of ministers (Stenhouse 2017).

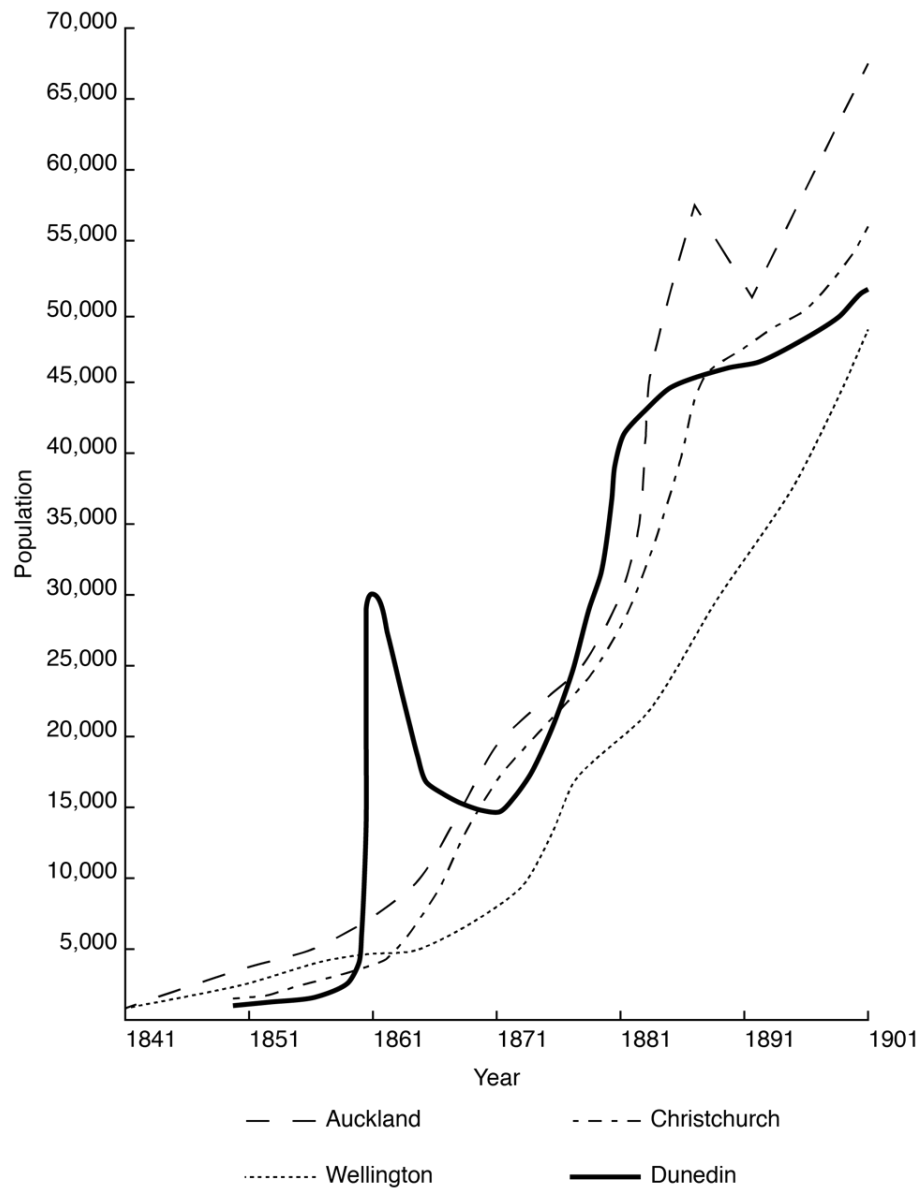
had become a “bustling, rowdy, [and] raffish” place (McDonald 1965: 51) and by 1865 it was considered a city (Clark 1961: 24).



**Figure 3-1. Early Dunedin, looking south from Bell Hill in 1852 (Te Papa: O.030499).**



**Figure 3-2. Gold-boom Dunedin, looking south from Bell Hill in 1863 (Te Papa: O.030521).**



**Figure 3-3. Population growth from 1841 to 1901 in New Zealand's four main cities (after Clark 1961).  
Note the spike in Dunedin's population at the onset of the gold rush.**

The negative aspects of the rush were counterbalanced, to some extent, by the tremendous economic growth that accompanied them. Wealth poured in from the goldfields. Many businesses were established to serve the needs of the newly moneyed

miners. Storekeepers, hoteliers, theatre owners, landlords and others, were made rich. By the late 1860s Dunedin was the largest and wealthiest city in New Zealand and its appearance began to change again. New money allowed grand buildings of stone and brick to be erected in the central city when the ramshackle wooden buildings constructed during the initial rush were inevitably destroyed by fire (Clark 1961: 26-7; Watt 1972). Anthony Trollope eloquently summarised the end result of the gold rush when he visited in 1872: “Dunedin is a remarkably handsome town—and when its age is considered, a town which may be considered remarkable in every way” (Trollope 1874: 182)

As the golden frenzy of the 1860s passed, the prosperity of the town was maintained into the 1870s (Figure 3 4). Rising wheat and wool prices offered a new source of wealth and Julius Vogel, the colonial treasurer, and later Premier, instituted far-reaching national policies of public spending and assisted immigration (Easton 2010; Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014). Though the population had declined rapidly as miners left to pursue the 1864 discovery of gold on the West Coast, the city began to grow again in response to Vogel’s immigration scheme. The transient gold-boom population was replaced by a set of migrants who were more content to settle. Otago’s population more than doubled over the course of the 1870s, with around 23,000 people arriving in the province (Olssen 1984: 74). New suburbs developed as residential settlement began to spread onto the land surrounding the central city (Clark 1961: 27; McDonald 1965: 138-9). Work began on a tram system in 1877. By 1879 a line was up and running along Princes and George Streets, and further routes were laid to the suburbs (McDonald 1965: 166-172). Railways were constructed, extending Dunedin’s influence into surrounding rural areas (Olssen 1984: 91). Small factories began to be established around the city, and by the mid 1870s Dunedin had consolidated its place as New Zealand’s foremost commercial centre (Watt 1972).





Figure 3-4. Dunedin in 1875, looking west across the city (NL: D-001-028).

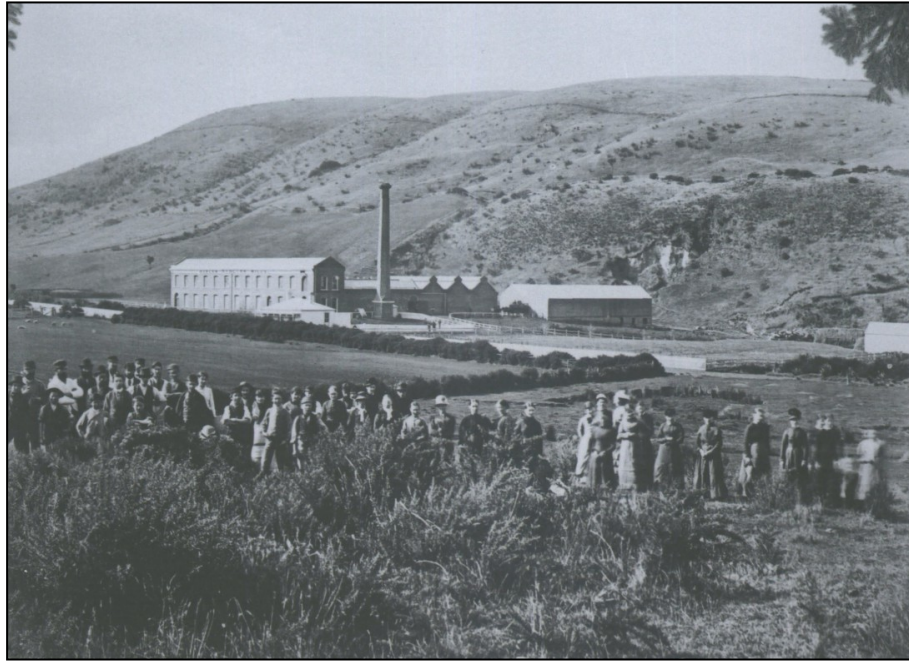


Depression struck in 1880s, a result of the Bank of Glasgow's collapse in 1879, declining gold returns, falling agricultural prices, and the environmental damage wrought by excessive deforestation and invasive species impacted rural productivity. The decline of mining and agriculture, the foundations of Otago's economy, left thousands without work. Many jobless emigrated to the prosperous Australian state of Victoria. Others became tramps, roaming the countryside looking for whatever farm work was available, or joining the small number of Government railway crews that were still operational. These hard times would continue into the early 1890s. Capitalists in Dunedin saw that there was little money to be made from primary sector projects, so the development of the city's industry was accelerated. Existing companies were expanded, and new ventures were founded (Figure 3-5; Olssen 1984: 90-3). There was also a public moral anxiety over the depression's social effects. Many worried about the growing scourge of 'larrikinism' – rowdy, anti-social behaviour by teenage boys (Schrader 2016: 261-2). Family life, that symbol of Victorian respectability, was disrupted by "long hours and shift work, female labour [in the growing factories], child labour and an unemployment relief system which required men to leave the city" (Angus 1976: Vol. 1, 108).

By the mid 1890s the worst of the depression was over. The following decade and a half was a time of "retuning prosperity and renewed confidence" (McDonald 1965: 225). Population growth rates picked up – 9, 512 new residents were recorded between 1895 and 1905, compared to just 1,762 for the preceding decade – and land prices began to rise. The modern marvels of the twentieth century arrived. An electrification project was begun by the Dunedin City Council, and the first motorcars began to be seen on the streets. Much of this development was fostered by a gold dredging boom, with hundreds of dredges trawling the rivers of Central Otago to recover the alluvial gold not already



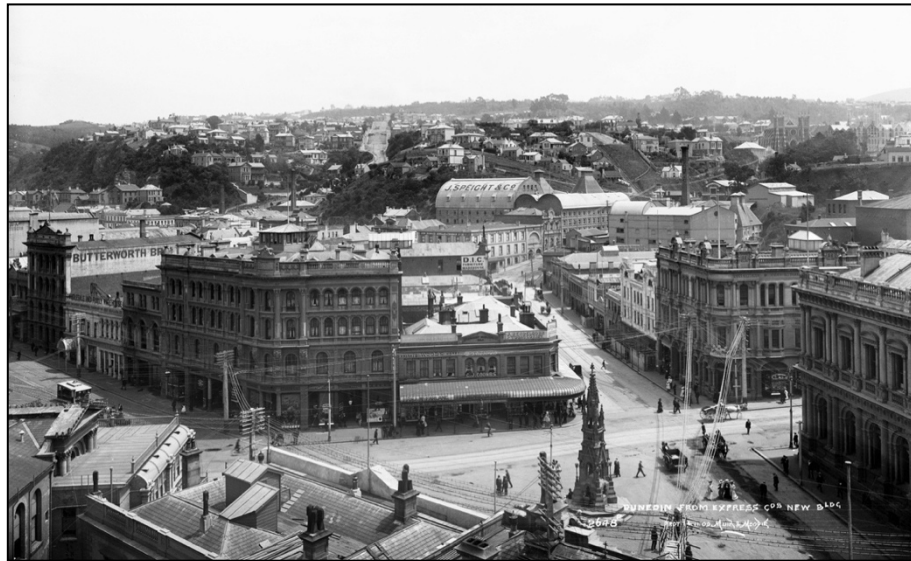
extracted by the previous forty years of mining. Dunedin was the hub for dredge building and the financing of this industry (McDonald 1965: 259; Walrond 2006).



**Figure 3-5. Roslyn Woollen Mill, established 1879 (Hocken: 1033\_01\_003A).**

However, Dunedin was never again to be the dynamic leader of urban growth and industry that it once had been. The 1889-1890 South Seas exhibition can be read as the high-water mark. This exhibition was a striking success, but the relative lack of new industries at the later 1898 exhibition highlight how the city's fortunes had begun to wane (Figure 3-6). The opening up of North Island land following the New Zealand Wars resulted in a northward drift as people migrated to the newly available pastures. Auckland and Wellington became New Zealand's trade hubs due to their closer proximity to the Pacific trade and the newly-built Panama Canal (Clark 1961: 31-4; Lawrence 2014: 20-1). Dunedin continued to develop and grow, and it remained prosperous until the 1920s, but it also began to be outclassed by New Zealand's other cities. Growth records

tell a stark story. From 1895 to 1905 Dunedin's population increased by only eighteen percent, while Christchurch, Auckland, and Wellington grew by thirty-two percent, forty-three percent, and fifty-three percent respectively (McDonald 1965: 260, 320). "While other centres raced ahead in the new century, Dunedin seems to have moved into a quiet backwater" (Clark 1961: 34).



**Figure 3-6. Dunedin's central business district ca. 1909, looking west towards the hillside suburbs (Te Papa: C.012371).**

### 3.2 The New Zealand Dream

Throughout this period of history, Dunedin's society was permeated by the *New Zealand dream*, a colonial ideal that emphasised the opportunities of the new world: freedom, wealth accumulation, individuality, and property ownership. It was a rejection of the poverty, industrial urbanism, and entrenched social divisions of the British Isles. Though the New Zealand dream did not lead to some sort of egalitarian utopia – nor even aspire to one – the emphasis on equality of opportunity helped create a reasonably open and fluid society. Because of this, class divisions in Dunedin were largely built

around the stratification of society rather than distinctive class cultures. The New Zealand dream also explicitly encouraged suburban home ownership rather than urban renting. Overall, this was the social environment that influenced the *habitus* of Dunedin's residents and as such influenced the design decisions that shaped the city's exterior house styles. The name of the New Zealand dream is taken from Gael Ferguson's *Building the New Zealand Dream* (1994) and is an obvious parallel to the popular notion of the 'American dream.' Most of the New Zealand dream's key tenets are identified in Miles Fairburn's *The Ideal Society and its Enemies* (1989) and outlined below.

At the heart of the New Zealand dream was the idea that the colony provided the opportunity to 'pull yourself up by your bootstraps'. I. R. Cooper outlines the idea in his *New Zealand Settler's Guide*,

Those who arrive in the colony without capital will, if they enjoy good health, and are sober and economical in their personal experiences, and are able and willing to work at any one trade, as farm servants, boatmen, shepherds, or house servants, soon realise sufficient capital to invest in land, cattle, or sheep, and thus to render themselves and their children independent (Cooper 1857: 9).

The premise is that people of humble means could come to New Zealand, enjoy good working and living conditions, and over time inevitably accrue enough money to purchase a plot of affordable land and/or establish their own business (Fairburn 1989: 42). They would not only improve their economic position, but also improve their self-esteem and gain a physical stake in promoting the success of their adopted community (Wilson 2009:25-6).

This core idea of the New Zealand dream followed the narrative of the *self-made man*, a liberal philosophy of self-improvement that emphasised both individuality and wealth accumulation. First, there is the focus on freedom for the 'self'. The individual –

and by extension the nuclear family as an independent unit – is celebrated as the locus of rational action. Naturally driven to advance their own interests, free and independent individuals are both a basic social good but also – theoretically – the source of productive competition, entrepreneurship, and maximum economic success. The suggestion is that a settler, given the freedom and opportunity supposedly inherent in New Zealand, can and should be able to prosper through hard work and perseverance. This idea was especially evoked by settlers' ultimate goal to become materially independent or achieve an 'independency' by virtue of their own land or business, a sentiment echoed by Cooper above (Fairburn 1989: 42-50; Archer 2005: 175-6).

This idea of a *material* independence introduces the second component of the self-made man: a desire to 'make it' (Figure 3-7). The acquisition of wealth and productive capital – and the improved quality of life that they promised – was a core enticement of the colonial experience. Both descriptive and promotional accounts of New Zealand life consistently emphasise the excellent wages, abundance of food, and general material wealth that was available to the colonist. However, the most widespread and important representation of this colonial prosperity was the real opportunity to purchase your own land and build a house (Fairburn 1989: 42-50). These two aspects of the self-made man were complementary. Wealth accumulation both facilitated and was facilitated by independence, eventually providing not just 'freedom' from landlords and wage labour, but also being fostering the supposedly competitive and efficient economic environment created through individual empowerment.



**Figure 3-7. The fruits of enterprise in ca. 1878. The Godby brothers stand in front of their house and the brewery they established in North Dunedin (TOSM: 65/59).**

The New Zealand dream was a rebuke to the social problems in Britain. Most obviously, emigration was seen as a way to escape that country's widespread poverty. Cooper – in his settler's guide – casts New Zealand as an antidote to a Britain where “men toil early and late for a small remuneration, their children half-starved when young, too often driven to crime by want” (1857: 151; Figure 3-8, left). Rural poverty was certainly a concern in Britain, but the rise of industrial capitalism brought about particular anxieties about the conditions of workers in the cities. New factories drew vast numbers of people into towns and cities that were often ill equipped to handle them. The resulting urban environment was frequently overcrowded, filthy, and primed for outbreaks of diseases like typhoid or cholera. Alongside this, the closely confined living quarters were supposed to lead to immorality through the mixing of sexes within single rooms, and the inevitable increased contact with criminal elements. Terrace housing was the domestic style that characterised this kind of unsavoury environment. Acres of dense, plain, and monotonous rows of attached workers' rental housing arose throughout Britain's cities (Figure 3-8, right). Ultimately vilified as slums, these houses became



visually synonymous with the imagined evils of urban life (Fairburn 1975: 4-5, 1989: 49-50; Ferguson 1994: 25).



**Figure 3-8. Left – *Here and There*, an 1848 cartoon from *Punch* emphasising colonial emigration as a solution to British urban poverty (NL: PUBL-0043-1848-15). Right – A stylised depiction of terrace housing in London (Doré and Jerrold 1872: 120).**

Alongside this, the emphasis on freedom, independence, and individualism was a critique of a paternalistic British elite. Terms like ‘slavery’, ‘oppressive’, ‘bondage’, and ‘serfdom’ were frequently employed by contemporary authors in attacks against what was seen as an unjust social structure that profited from the rents and labour of the working classes and provided little opportunity for self-improvement or land ownership (Fairburn 1989: 49-50). The elite’s dominance of British society meant that, despite the aforementioned social problems, there was little incentive for them to alter the status quo. As noted by the scholar Thomas Arnold in the 1840s,

The poor have but too few to speak and act for them; most educated men in our class are in someway interested in upholding things as they are; they look at the

poor *ab extra*<sup>9</sup>, in a patronizing rather than a sympathizing way; they like being generous and philanthropical, but are very unwilling to be just (Bertram 1966: 134).

In parallel to the supposed virtues of free individuals, those at the mercy of a dominant class were imagined to be poor citizens. People without rights or lands were thought to have little self-respect, be robbed of initiative, neglect the upkeep of their rented property, and take no interest in the wellbeing of their community (Wilson 2009: 30). New Zealand's opportunities were the solution to this problem.

The supposed freedom from status anxiety in New Zealand is an interesting corollary to this rejection of elite dominance within the New Zealand dream. The conspicuous consumption of 'tasteful' goods, genteel avoidance of labour, and participation in formal social rituals were an essential part of British middle- and upper-class life. This status-seeking behaviour was seen as another malignant aspect of British society. Firstly, the social imperatives associated with status considerations were understood as another element of the unjust British social structure. Status anxiety constituted another form of oppression that stood in the way of your personal freedom or independence. The need to conform to culturally-conditioned and expensive polite behaviours could be considered particularly insidious in the way it presented an extra financial and social barrier to the upwardly mobile self-made man. Secondly, for the already established members of the middle- or upper-classes, the constant financial and social strain of 'keeping up appearances' was thought to cause psychological stress. Emigration supposedly solved the problems of both groups. Edward Fitton described the situation in 1856,

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<sup>9</sup> Latin for 'from outside.'

From the absence of the great distinction of classes, so severely felt by persons in straitened circumstances at home, there is a freedom from formality, and a facility for becoming intimately acquainted with agreeable neighbours, which is not always to be found in the longer established countries (1856: 271).

Such a perspective is unsurprising; considering that hard work was a central tenet in the New Zealand dream, the idea of a leisurely and status-obsessed elite was rejected. The sort of effete social pressure associated with status anxiety was supposedly absent from New Zealand's open society (Fairburn 1989: 50-2, 67-73).

Indeed, the inverse of this Old-World status anxiety appears to have arisen in New Zealand, with elite pretensions vilified and manual labour celebrated in the popular discourse. Physical strength and skill was an important quality in the context of New Zealand's frontier environment and this conveyed a new prestige to the manual worker (Figure 3-9). As the former settler Edwin Hodder observes, New Zealanders "do not think it is a disgrace . . . to be seen engaged in hard manual work, as they do in London" (Hodder 1863: 61). Alongside this, there is a condemnation of any behaviour that resembles the paternalism of the old British hierarchy. Alexander Bathgate (1874) – a young Dunedin lawyer – notes how a "man of aristocratic proclivities" would have to change his ways in order to fit into New Zealand society, "as any appearance of what may be termed 'uppishness' would be quickly resented" (9). The following anecdote illustrates the situation,

One [aristocratic colonist], recently arrived from England, on going to look at a property belonging to a friend, found a labourer leisurely surveying the premises. With an eye to his friend's interests, and thinking to annihilate the intruder at once, the gentleman pompously asked him if he was aware he had no right to be there. The workman, recognising that his interrogator was a new



chum, replied, 'Oh! We make rights for ourselves in this country'. This unlooked-for reply caused the complete collapse of the would-be annihilator, but he revived his feelings afterwards by storming to his friend against the insolence of the lower classes, and nearly quarrelling with the latter for his advising him not to use the adjective lower in this country (Bathgate 1874: 9-10).

Overall, the colonial situation was understood as having seriously “altered Old World status hierarchies” that had been historically associated with class divisions (Olssen 1984: 38; Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 105, 181).



**Figure 3-9. Spade in hand, a man poses proudly in front of house and garden in a bush clearing near the outskirts of Dunedin (TOSM: 61/29).**

These were the ideas that helped entice settlers to Dunedin. The New Zealand dream promised an escape from the poverty, paternalism, and status anxiety of the Old World.

Instead, a settlement like Dunedin offered the potential for material gain, independence, and a society less concerned with meeting social expectations. Since at least the 1850s this ideal had been proclaimed in numerous accounts of New Zealand, and by the 1870s it was being preached around Britain by almost 200 government emigration agents (Phillips 2005). Such promotional accounts should be treated sceptically – certainly not everyone who came to New Zealand prospered – but the important thing to remember is that “many immigrants came to build a society in which their children would be free from the social imperatives that structured English society and (probably) Scottish and Irish society as well” (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 69-70). These people believed in the opportunity presented by the New Zealand dream, and they travelled around the world determined to make it a reality.

### 3.3 A Dream Come True?: Inequality and Social Mixing in Dunedin

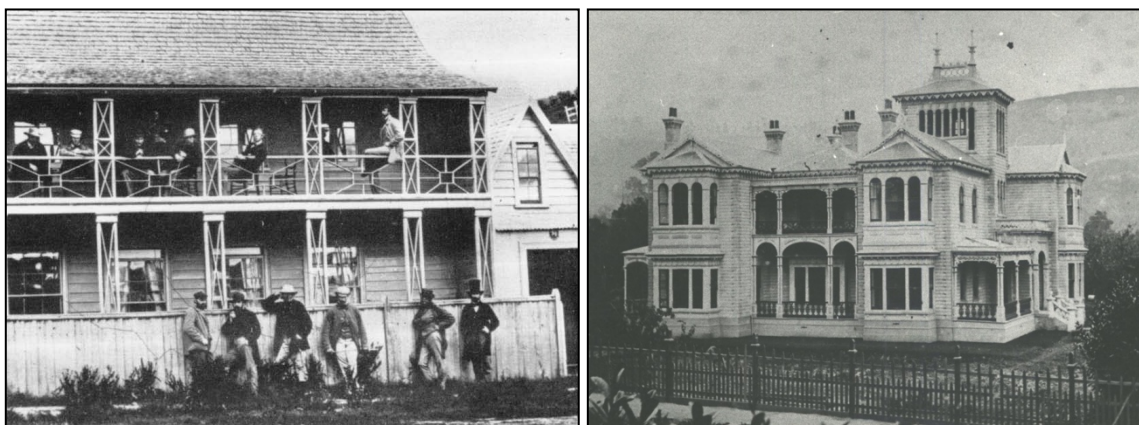
Did the dream come true for colonists in Dunedin? The answer is both yes and no. Many succeeded in their material pursuits, but poverty remained. It's clear that the liberal society of the New World was not the solution to Old-World inequities. However, alongside this enduring issue, the city developed a reasonably open society, especially compared to Britain. It was a situation that speaks of the New Zealand dream's focus on equality of opportunity, and rejection of the social restrictions inherent in Old-World paternalism and polite behaviour. As such, Dunedin's class structure was more organised around simple stratification rather than distinctive class cultures: that is, though economic and occupational differences existed, these were not strongly linked to the sort of social exclusivity that would have engendered clear differences in taste for material things like house style. To use the term introduced in Section 2.2, there was little opportunity for demographic class formation.

A wealthy stratum of Dunedin society was always present. Even aboard the ships bringing colonists to New Zealand, the richest stood apart in the segregation of cabin and steerage passengers – the former costing forty-five guineas and the latter twenty guineas. In the early years of Dunedin's settlement a few wealthy and prominent members of the community were evident: certain farmers, Free Church elders, and crown officials (Figure 3-10, left). However, it was the onset of the gold-rush that truly enriched more settlers. Those who had established themselves before the diggings began to prosper from the influx of immigrants. As the population boom saw Dunedin grow into a city, new businesses were also established, and successful entrepreneurs were made rich. High-earning professionals, like lawyers and bankers, also became more commonplace. As the 1860s ended a small "group of merchants, pastoralists, large farmers, well-to-do professionals, and financiers had emerged as an economic and social elite," and were prominent on the political scene (Figure 3-10, right; Olssen 1984: 70). Though the fortunes of some would wax and wane as Dunedin's economy went through boom and bust, this wealthy subset of society endured till the end of my study period and beyond. These were the most driven, enterprising, lucky, and financially successful of Dunedin's residents who revelled in the opportunities presented by the New Zealand dream (Wakefield 1848: 420; Eldred-Grigg 1980; Olssen 1984: 38, 58, 67-70, 127-9; McAloon 2002).

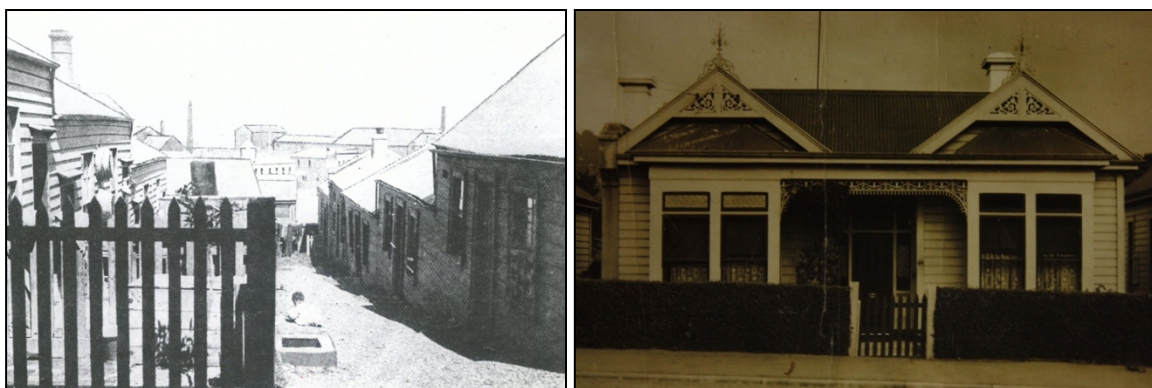
At the other end of the spectrum were the poor. Much to the dismay of many in Dunedin, the city played host to its fair share of those who had not found favour in this supposed New World utopia. Alongside the wealthy, an identifiable body of transient and destitute residents had arisen in the 1860s. People enticed by the promise of New Zealand and the wealth of the gold rush found themselves struggling to survive, crammed into small tents or jerry-built cottages crammed into dense urban clusters or scattered

across the swampy, less-developed parts of town. The depression that hit in the 1880s made matters worse for some. Thousands of unskilled men were rendered unemployed and shipped off to government labour schemes in the rural hinterland, while poorer women and children were frequently compelled into poorly-paid 'sweated' labour just to make ends meet. A newspaper report at the time gave the account of one widow caught up in this exploitative employment "who earned less for a twelve-hour day than the women of Glasgow, by common consent the worst city in Britain!" (Olssen 1984: 100). Some particularly crowded and improvised parts of the central city began to be regarded as slums, with a particularly notorious area being described as the Devil's Half Acre (Figure 3-11, left). Clearly some of the Old-World evils had accompanied the settlers to this new land (Olssen 1984: 82, 92).

The majority of the population in Dunedin appears to have sat between these two extremes. This was a diverse mixture of officials, clerks, petty capitalists, wage labourers, and artisans. An emphasis on the importance of work was pervasive and people usually pursued their chosen work to the best of their ability. Some found good wages during the better periods of Dunedin's economy, others were able to start their own independent business. Overall, many had moderately successful careers that allowed them to sustain comfortable lifestyles (Figure 3-11, right). There were arguably more opportunities for betterment in Dunedin than in Britain— the most obvious measure of this being the relatively high number who were able to afford their own properties (discussed further below in Section 3.4). Few had the inclination or luck to be able to rise to the wealthiest stratum, but most were able to find a suitable degree of material satisfaction and the employment that kept destitution at bay (Olssen 1984: 122-5, 1995: 230-53).



**Figure 3-10. Left - Dunedin's 'gentlemen' pose outside the Squatter's Club in 1858, a social club patronised by wealthy Otago residents (TOSM: 55/17). Right – The large mansion built ca. 1878-1879 by Charles Nicholls, an upper-middle class businessman (Hocken: 0669\_01\_002A).**



**Figure 3-11. Left – Housing within the Devils Half Acre in 1904 (Hocken: 1209\_01\_003A). Right – The modest house built ca. 1904-1905 by John Hay, a working-class journeyman plumber (DCC: 267/6).**

Yet the intriguing backdrop to these obvious pecuniary differences was a reasonably open society with a high rate of social mobility relative to England (and by extension, Scotland and Ireland). This is the pattern revealed by Olssen, Griffen and Jones' (2011) examination of the marriage registers, electoral rolls, and street directories from Dunedin's southern suburbs. Though their study covers a sixty-year period, Olssen, Griffen, and Jones find that patterns of social mobility do not change significantly over

time. Their demographic comparisons are founded on the occupational classification scheme defined above in Section 2.2.1.

Rates of marital mobility show that more men and women from the upper-middle and middle class were more likely to choose a spouse *outside* their class background (considerably more likely in the case of the upper-middle class), and a substantial minority of the working class were also exogamous (Table 3-1). This differs from the situation in England, where research by Andrew Miles (1999) shows that only around ten percent of the working-class men made married into the upper-middle or middle class. Even when class boundaries were crossed in England, there was clear aversion to moving too far along the economic class spectrum: only nine percent of upper-middle- and middle-class English men chose working class brides from an unskilled background (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 64, 68-70).

Intergenerational occupation mobility was also notable. Again, it was more likely that an individual in the upper-middle or middle class would get a job outside their class in Dunedin (Table 3-2), a pattern dramatically contrasted the distinct class boundaries evident in England. Olssen, Griffen, and Jones (2011: 165) note that just forty-four percent of English sons took up their father's profession, compared to only eight percent in Dunedin, and sixty percent versus thirty-three percent remained in the same class (the latter figure being the average of the mobility rates across all classes in Table 3-2). An important dimension of this English class rigidity was the hard boundary between manual workers and the non-manual middle/upper class. "Only one manual worker in twenty crossed this divide, and most got no further than the corner shop or the clerk's stool" (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 163, 165).



**Table 3-1. Marital mobility in Dunedin's southern suburbs from 1880 to 1940 (adapted from Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 53, 55)**

<b>Brides' Fathers</b>	<b>Grooms' Fathers</b>			<b>Grooms' Fathers</b>	<b>Brides' Fathers</b>		
	<b>UMC</b>	<b>MC</b>	<b>WC</b>		<b>UMC</b>	<b>MC</b>	<b>WC</b>
<b>Upper-middle class</b>	25%	43%	32%	<b>Upper-middle class</b>	18%	47%	35%
<b>Middle class</b>	12%	46%	42%	<b>Middle class</b>	8%	43%	49%
<b>Working class</b>	6%	37%	57%	<b>Working class</b>	5%	33%	63%

**Table 3-2. Intergenerational occupational mobility in Dunedin's southern suburbs from 1880 to 1940 (adapted from Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 147).**

<b>Fathers' Class</b>	<b>Sons' Class</b>		
	<b>UMC</b>	<b>MC</b>	<b>WC</b>
<b>Upper-middle class</b>	30%	37%	34%
<b>Middle class</b>	6%	44%	50%
<b>Working class</b>	3%	21%	76%

This pattern of shifting occupational class is corroborated by data from Jim McAloon's study of the wealthy in Canterbury and Otago from 1840 to 1914 (Table 3-3). Overwhelmingly, the richest individuals in the South Island (those leaving an estate worth over £10,000) came from middle-class backgrounds in Britain, with the working class also making up a reasonable minority. For the most part their wealth came about through a mixture of hard work, the successful exploitation of opportunities, and a degree of luck. An absolute majority were the children of the middle class – shopkeepers, master artisans, small farmers – but a significant minority came from the wage-earning working class. Only a tiny fraction had their origins in the established British gentry (McAloon 2002: 32, 55).

**Table 3-3. Origins of the wealthiest individuals in Canterbury and Otago (adapted from McAloon 2002: 32, 55).<sup>10</sup>**

<b>British Class Background</b>	<b>Proportion of the Wealthy</b>
<b>Gentry</b>	2%
<b>Upper-middle class</b>	19%
<b>Middle class</b>	67%
<b>Working class</b>	13%

Some case studies of these wealthy individuals illustrate the potential for serious occupational mobility in Dunedin and Otago. Consider the story of Alexander McMaster. Originally from Stranraer in Scotland, he migrated to Australia in 1842 where he worked as a clerk, journalist, and bank teller. Eventually he moved to Otago in 1857 and brought a sheep run. On his death in 1885 he left an estate of over £25,000, a substantial fortune for the time. Alternately, there is the story of Donald Reid Sr. Arriving in Dunedin in 1848, Reid worked as a labourer for several years, eventually moving into farming. With the arrival of the gold-rush he began acting as a courier to the diggings, and later established a prominent stock and station business (Figure 3-12). Reid died in 1919 leaving an estate worth an astonishing £170,000. The caveat on these stories, and the ascent of other rich settlers, is that early arrival played a major factor in their success. Those who made it to Otago before the gold rush, or in the earliest groups of colonists, had far more opportunity to establish themselves and benefit from later population influxes. Despite this, the story of those who did prosper appeared to reinforce and give

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<sup>10</sup> McAloon (2002: 32) outlines his British class framework as follows: “The Gentry includes all substantial landed families, including the titled. The upper-middle class is working farmers with a freehold, manufactures, merchants, and substantial professionals; the lower middle class [here rendered as simply the ‘middle’ class] includes self-employed artisans, smaller farmers, traders, farm managers, other professionals, and salaried clerical workers. The lower [or working] class are manual wage-earners.” This system is comparable with that of Olssen and Hickey (1996, 2005).



credence to the opportunity supposedly inherent within the New Zealand dream (McAloon 2002: 36, 54, 57, 182).



**Figure 3-12. Donald Reid's downtown offices (TOSM: 80/30).**

However, despite a level of social mobility that was unseen in Britain, it is important to note that Dunedin was not a totally fluid society. A degree of social closure did appear to exist at the top and bottom of the occupational structure. While many individuals with upper-middle class origins chose middle- or working-class jobs or spouses, there was little movement in the other direction and few outsiders rose to this wealthiest echelon of society (Table 3-1). Furthermore, though a large proportion of upper-middle- and middle-class children entered into working class jobs, the absolute population of these higher classes was smaller than the working class, meaning that this movement only had a limited effect on working class demography (Table 3-2). Most manual workers also married within their own class, and a substantial majority of sons followed their fathers into manual jobs (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 169-70).

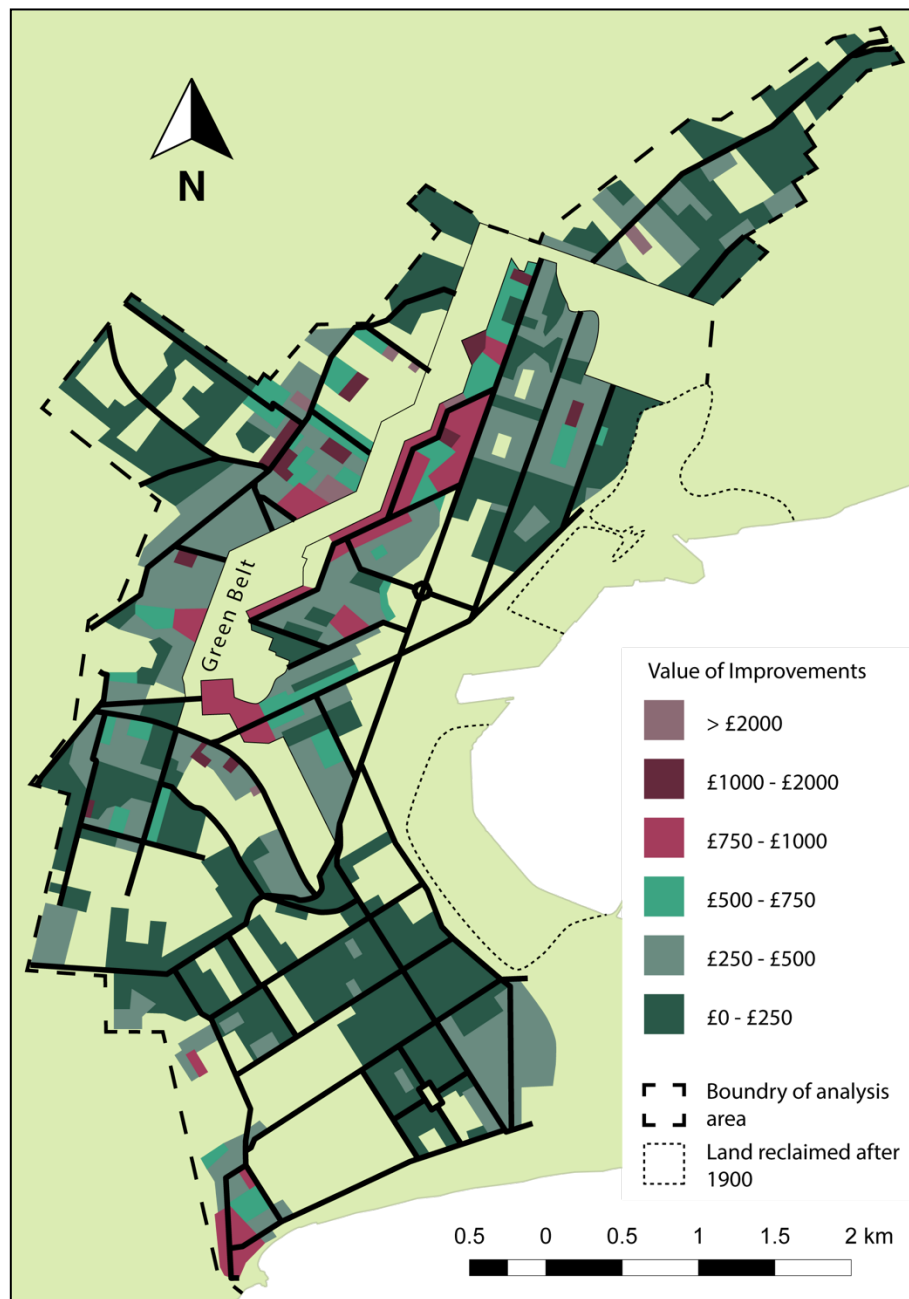
Spatial data presents a similar pattern to these other demographic trends. The distribution of classes across Dunedin shows that while some pockets of largely upper-middle-class and working-class housing existed, the overall picture suggests a community where class groups were relatively mixed. Records from 1884 show that at least one area of Dunedin was composed of eighty-four percent working-class residents. However, the lowest incidence of working class was only forty-six percent, indicating that there was still a strong working-class presence across the city, and this presumably restricted the formation of distinct class cultures (Angus 1976: Vol. 2, 38). Olssen, Griffen, and Jones (2001: 425-30; 2011: 205-9) paint a similar picture for Dunedin's southern suburbs. Certain areas, like Kensington (Figure 3-13) and South Dunedin, were predominantly working class, with over two-thirds of the workforce engaged in manual occupations. But alongside these working-class concentrations were other, more mixed suburbs like Caversham (Figure 3-14), St Kilda, and St Clair. This interplay between relatively homogeneous areas surrounded by more mixed residential zones is well illustrated by a map of Dunedin property values in 1901 (Figure 3-15). Though there are certain areas that are clearly dominated by low or high property values (and by implication, different classes), the 'patchwork' appearance of different values across the city suggests a substantial amount of residential mixing.



**Figure 3-13. Kensington ca. 1873 (Te Papa: C.012069).**



**Figure 3-14. Caversham ca. 1905 (Te Papa: C.012447).**



**Figure 3-15. Value of Dunedin property improvements (after Clark 1961).**

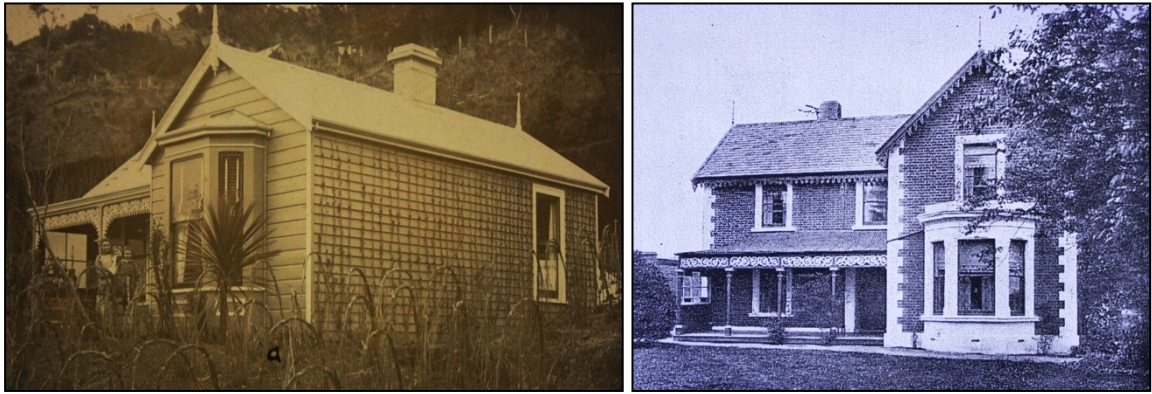
The New Zealand dream helped created this social situation. Despite its rejection of Old World poverty, the dream's emphasis of individuality and equality of opportunity – or more simply, freedom – did not guarantee success. The *laissez-faire* attitude, combined with a colonial mission to improve your material circumstances, allowed some to grow immensely wealthy and condemned others caught out by the city's economic busts. Despite these extremes, most residents were able to achieve some form of modest success. However, while the focus on freedom allowed inequality to arise, it was also the attitude that helped Dunedin's open society to develop. Many colonists were free not to follow in the footsteps of their father's work and instead pursue what they wanted to do as sovereign individuals. The newfound freedom from status anxiety meant that people were less concerned with the perceived impropriety of cross-class marriages, workers moving up or down the occupation ladder, or class intermingling within common suburbs. While I am not suggesting that Dunedin's society was completely fluid – pockets of housing around the city were dominated by the poor or the wealthy, and the upper-middle and lower classes were somewhat insular when it came to occupation and marriage – the overall picture was of a city characterised more by social mixture than a rigid class system. It was this mixing of people from different occupational class backgrounds – not just spatially but also in the workplace or in families – that largely prevented demographic class formation: the exclusive class-based association patterns which lead to the formation of distinct class cultures (Figure 3-16).



**Figure 3-16. The small, unpretentious office of W. A. Burt, foreman and managing executive of the A. and T. Burt engineering works in Dunedin (post 1895; Hocken: 0541\_01\_007A). In contrast to the scale of this office, A. and T. Burt was a nationally significant company and employed over 500 workers (Otago Witness 1900).**

This situation has implications for Dunedin's exterior house style. The suppression of class cultures and the general mixture of the city's population suggests that most of its residents shared a similar *habitus*, to use Bourdieu's term. Considering that it is *habitus* that informs taste in material culture, it is reasonable to expect that houses of different classes will be built according to a similar style. Yet this communal impulse is tempered by both the obvious stratification of society – a situation that would seem to encourage conspicuous consumption – and the importance of individuality within the New Zealand dream. The influence of these three factors is evident in Dunedin's exterior house style where a reasonably standard assortment of stylistic features exists alongside individualistic arrangements and variants of features along with considerable differences in the scale of dwellings and the volume of their decoration (Figure 3-17). This is discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.





**Figure 3-17. Left – The house built ca. 1883-1884 by James Davidson, a middle-class clerk (TOSM: 62/45). Right – A larger equivalent of Davidson’s house, built 1877-1878 by William Will Snr, an upper-middle class Presbyterian minister (HNZ: 12004/406).**

### 3.4 Your Dream Home: The Housing Ideal in Dunedin

Property ownership and single-family homes were an essential part of the New Zealand dream. Being able to purchase your own house and land was the physical embodiment of your colonial success and an important mark of independence inasmuch as it freed you from the burdens of rent. This ideal created a clear conceptual division between personal homes and rental properties in Dunedin and throughout New Zealand. Where personal homes were valorised, rental properties were vilified.

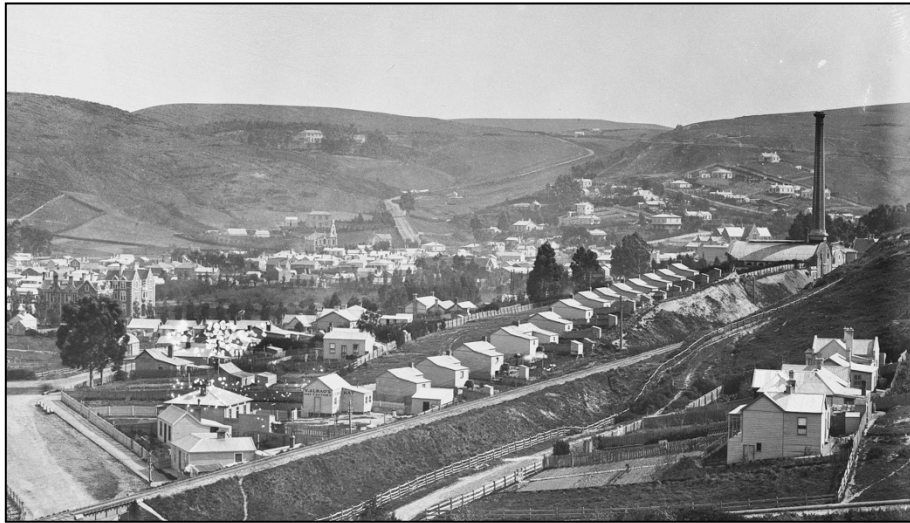
For many who came to New Zealand – including the working class – the promise of property ownership became a reality. As noted in 1874: “In Dunedin, very many working men live in their own freehold cottages, and some of the suburbs are almost exclusively filled with neat little houses owned by working men” (Bathgate 1874: 44-5). Later historic statistics appear to support this contemporary account. The 1882 Return of Freeholders showed that forty-three percent of male breadwinners in New Zealand owned property. This is a substantial proportion of the population, especially considering that many were young unmarried men at the beginning of their working lives. By area, most property was unsurprisingly owned by the wealthiest of New Zealand society. However, up to thirty-

two percent of manual workers owned their own home in 1882 (Figure 3-18). This increased gradually over time: in 1892 thirty-five percent of the working-class population owned their own home, and in 1916 the figure was thirty-six percent. Importantly, this rate of home ownership was incredibly high compared to Britain: just ten percent of *all* households in England and Wales were owner-occupied in 1914 (Toynbee 1979; Cook and Stevenson 1983: 115; Fairburn 1989: 90-3, with data from Toynbee 1978: 75; Statistics New Zealand 2013). However – despite this difference from Britain – property ownership was still the privilege of a minority. As such, a variety of small rental cottages, as well as limited quantities of terrace housing, were constructed in New Zealand cities like Dunedin (Figure 3-19 and Figure 3-20; Ferguson 1994: 31-45).



**Figure 3-18. The house built ca. 1901-1902 by Robert Mitchell, a working-class builder (PCM: 1493).**





**Figure 3-19. Rental cottages in Dunedin (Te Papa: C.012307).**



**Figure 3-20. A rental terrace in Dunedin built ca. 1876-1877 by Michael Murphy, an upper-middle class physician (DCC: 264/11).**

Given that these rental properties were disproportionately occupied by the poorer members of society, they became a lightning rod for anxieties over the sort of urban poverty that emerged in the wake of the Gold Rush, especially during the 1880s. The closely-packed rental homes of Dunedin's poor were condemned as slums and associated with filth, disease, crime, immorality, and human despair. While the actual housing

density and conditions were not as dire as the situation in Britain, the existence of so-called slums comprised of rough cottages or – God forbid – cramped terraces reminiscent of industrial cities back home, was shocking to many who thought they had escaped this Old-World evil. These rental properties of ill-repute were anathema to the New Zealand dream, and under the influence of this ideal they were popularly understood not just to be the corollary of social problems but their cause as well: “people who lived in pigsties, so the logic went, would behave like pigs, and the resultant diseases and moral disorders then threatened everyone” (Isaac and Olssen 2000: 108). Though the worst of urban rental properties were the primary target of this criticism they were a significant source of public anxiety and their vilification reinforced the general idea of rental properties as an undesirable form of housing (Olssen 1984: 108; Ferguson 1994: 35-41; Isaac and Olssen 2000: 107-13).

Individual home ownership was the preferable alternative. In Dunedin this especially meant the low-density, detached, single-family housing that developed around the city’s outskirts (Figure 3-21). Houses like these were an antidote to the urban overcrowding popularly associated with the moral and health problems associated with the reviled rental slums both locally and in Britain. Furthermore, not only was a house standing alone on its property thought to be healthier and more conducive to ‘good morals,’ it was also a better evocation of the dignity and independence of the successful self-made man than some townhouse squeezed in amongst its peers (Olssen 1984: 116-7; Ferguson 1994: 34-46; Archer 2005: 176-80; Schrader 2016).



**Figure 3-21. The beginnings of suburban development on the outskirts of Dunedin, ca. 1880s (Te Papa: C.012006).**

In response to this suburban housing ideal, a number of subdivisions – known as ‘townships’ – began to appear around Dunedin in the 1860s and 1870s. This timeframe was a response to the population booms and urban intensification of those decades. Each development was generally comprised of sections ranging from 1/2 to 1/10 of an acre, with many marketing themselves as accessible to ‘working’ people aspiring to the New Zealand dream (Figure 3-22). Private subdivision of suburban land continued intermittently around Dunedin’s outskirts as the city’s population grew gradually over time; the long depression cooled the housing market, but by the end of the nineteenth century there was a renewed demand for “workers homes and middle-class houses” (Olssen 1995: 99). Many subdivisions just offered up land for sale, with the new owners building their own homes, but some also involved speculative housing development (Walrond 2010).

**ST JOHN'S WOOD.**

**TO BE SOLD**  
BY  
**PUBLIC AUCTION**  
BY  
**M'LANDRESS, HEPBURN & CO.**  
AT THEIR ROOMS, MANSE STREET,  
**ON SATURDAY, 15TH MARCH,**  
At TWO O'CLOCK.

**TERMS:**

THE TERMS ARE OF THE MOST LIBERAL CHARACTER  
No easy to find as for the selling more than an Ordinary Estate—they will receive of  
**£5 Cash Deposit**  
And the Balance Extending over Four Years, at  
Eight per cent. per annum.  
A Reduction of 2 1/2 per cent. allowed on Cash payments.

**SATURDAY, 15th MARCH.**  
**IMPORTANT SALE**  
**Township Property**

The above Township is situated in the  
**NORTH-EAST VALLEY**  
Close to the SEASIDE, and within a few minutes' walk of the  
Central Station, Water of Leith, and various branches  
of the City Tramway.

It is without exception the  
**Grandest Township Property**  
Ever offered in Dunedin, and as an Investment or Residence  
No is just as good as the Property.

It commands itself to all classes, but especially to  
**WORKMEN, MECHANICS, AND CLERKS,**  
As by the City Tramway (which will probably be extended by the  
day of Sale) they can be led down at their work for 10.

It is on the NORTH SIDE of the VALLEY, and every Section in the Property  
is suitable.

The City is rapidly extending in the direction of the Valley, and before long  
Property in  
**ST. JOHN'S WOOD**  
must become very valuable.

As the Proprietor is leaving for England shortly, the whole of the Property  
(being that portion of the Township known as "Glenalmond") will be sold  
**EVEN at a SACRIFICE.**

A portion of the Terms will show that they are of the most liberal character  
possible, and that the Sections are placed within the reach of every man in the  
community, no matter how limited his means.

**REID & DUNCANS, SURVEYORS.**

**FERGUSON & MITCHELL, DUNEDIN.**

Figure 3-22. Advertisement from ca. 1879 for a private subdivision in Dunedin (St John's Wood ca. 1879). The street names – Mechanic and Clerk – highlight not only how these properties were marketed specifically to working individuals aspiring to property ownership, but also how subdivisions like these could play host to a mixture of white-collar and blue-collar classes.

Official policies also supported home ownership in the suburbs. In the 1890s the central government introduced legislation that gave state assistance for land purchases and house building around the major centres. Government support for the suburban ideal continued into the twentieth century. The passing of the Workers' Dwelling Act in



1905 saw the state begin to build single-family suburban homes itself (Figure 3-23) and cheap home finance was made available with the Advances to Workers Act of 1906. In contrast to the enthusiasm directed towards suburban homes, there was little appetite for more communal forms of housing relief. The idea of housing people in flats, tenements, or any other kind of multi-unit dwelling – either in the suburbs or in the city – was soundly rejected as too reminiscent of the rental slums the New Zealand dream hoped to escape (Fairburn 1975: 14-5).



**Figure 3-23. State-built workers homes in the Windle Settlement on the outskirts of Dunedin, constructed ca. 1905-1907 (Hocken: 0916\_01\_040A).**

The obvious association of rental property with poverty and its clear conceptual contrast with personal homes helped shape the exterior style of both house types. The role of rental property as a financial necessity rather than a desirable choice ensured that any such houses were small, plain, and anonymous structures. Often several were built together as investment properties, and as such presented a bland monotonous aspect to

the passer-by, an architectural form that recalled the horrors of British urban poverty. Personal homes were the polar opposite. Substantial, highly decorated, and – for the most part – standing detached on independent lots, personal homes were the expression of financial success and individual fulfilment. They represented the achievement of the New Zealand dream and an escape from the worst of the Old-World. This contrast between rental properties and personal homes is discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.



Dunedin's history introduces the setting of my research. While the city saw multiple booms and busts, its past is best characterised as a story of general colonial development. It progressed from a new-world wilderness (in European eyes) to a bustling city with a population in the tens of thousands in just half a century. In this process it gathered all the problems and advantages associated with the urban environment.

The ideal permeating Dunedin's colonial society was the New Zealand dream. This celebrated New Zealand as a land of opportunity where colonists could emigrate to find freedom and – if they worked hard – material prosperity, especially in the form of land ownership. A trip to New Zealand was envisioned as an escape from the poverty, elite oppression, and status anxiety thought to be rife in Britain. These attitudes shaped the development of Dunedin's society.

The reality it eventually helped create in Dunedin was a mixture of Old-World inequality and social freedom. Many enjoyed a moderate degree of material comfort, but they lived alongside great wealth and grinding poverty. Despite this, it was still a more open society than the one they had left in Britain. While some social closure remained,

more individuals found themselves with the opportunity to marry who they wanted to, work where they wanted to, and live where they wanted to, even if it meant crossing established class boundaries. This situation suppressed the development of distinct class cultures, a factor that would ultimately influence the city's exterior house style in concert with the local emphasis on individuality the reality of and social stratification.

Alongside this, the New Zealand dream created a housing ideal. Rental properties became synonymous with slums and were vilified as the harbinger of Old-World evils. Detached, single-family suburban homes were exalted as the wholesome alternative and promoted through development and government policy. Again, this was a social situation that found expression in exterior house style, with rental properties presenting a dramatically different appearance to that of personal homes.

The colonial context in Dunedin was shaped by the New Zealand dream. This ideal influenced the relationship between exterior house style and class in the way that it emphasised individuality, perpetuated wealth inequalities, engendered social freedoms, and advocated property ownership over renting. However, this colonial context was only one aspect of Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin that influenced the relationship between class and style. The commercial context – examined in the following chapter – provides not just a deeper understanding of how aspects of class identity could be expressed or embodied by house style, but also develops the system of exterior style that was characteristic of houses in early Dunedin.

## 4 Making Houses

On Holloway's second day in Dunedin he was shown around the city by some locals who had made his acquaintance. The purpose of the day's excursion was mainly to inspect the local schools for his reports back home to the Agricultural Labourers' Union in Britain. However, that afternoon the group also "proceeded to a Large Timber yard in Princes Street South – Mr Clayton.<sup>11</sup> the Proprietor very courteously show'd us over the Premises. Dunedin is evidently a go a head place for I found in this establishment – all the latest improvements in regard to Machinery" (Holloway 1873: 5). The timber processing machines that awed Holloway, and the factory setting that they operated in, were part of the mass production system that underpinned Dunedin's building industry (Figure 4-1). These producers kept builders and architects supplied with the inexpensive materials they needed to build the hundreds of houses that were being erected to cope with Dunedin's booming population in the 1870s (Figure 4-2).

The following chapter outlines this building industry. Its two sections introduce the commercial context that – alongside the previously discussed colonial context – helped shape Dunedin's exterior house style and influenced its relationship with class. Section 4.1 presents a detailed overview of the mass-production system that created the materials used to make Dunedin's houses. Specifically, it discusses the rise of mass production in Dunedin; the immense volume and variety of items produced and their promotion through illustrated catalogues; the integration of these products into a system of 'kitset' commercial architecture that parallels the vernacular design process; and the overall

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<sup>11</sup> This was likely S. Clayton, who is reported to have been the first to mass produce building materials in Dunedin in the mid 1860s. Clayton was an American whose father – L. Clayton – apparently ran one of "the largest manufactories in the States" (Otago Witness 1870).



‘democratic’ potential of inexpensive mass-produced building materials. Section 4.2 introduces the building professionals who put together these mass-produced items and outlines the importance of client agency in the design of personal homes, the suggestion being that exterior house style can be considered a largely a product of the homeowner’s taste.



**Figure 4-1. The City Mill joinery factory in Dunedin, ca. 1900. Formerly run by Findlay and Company (TOSM: Album 29/3).**



**Figure 4-2. Carpenters at work building a rental house in Dunedin in 1873 (Te Papa: C.012069).**

## 4.1 Mass Production of Building Materials

Mass production was the system of manufacture that underpinned the majority of Dunedin's domestic vernacular during my study period. The sections below outline the nature and potential of Dunedin's building material manufactures. Understanding the way mass production operated in Dunedin not only provides an essential background to Dunedin's architecture, it also begins to reveal how the ready availability of mass-produced products influenced the city's exterior house style and contributed to the material representation of wealth and class.

### 4.1.1 The Rise of Mass Production

The nineteenth century saw the ascendancy of mass production throughout the western world. By 'mass production' I am referring to both the introduction of machinery to replace or supplement manual labour, and the use of rationalised, efficient production arrangements in factories (as opposed to custom piecework by individual craftspeople). This movement dramatically affected the manufacture of a wide range of products – including building materials – and by the end of the century most of the western world's building industry was overwhelmingly composed of mass produced materials. Mass production brought with it a staggering increase of productivity and the development of economies of scale, a situation which significantly decreased prices for both basic materials and more processed items like window sashes or ornamental details (Mumford 1930; Gottfried and Jennings 2009: 12-3). A carpentry example illustrates how dramatic the shift to mass production could be: hand planing the floorboards needed for a small two-room house took at least seven days; by the early nineteenth century the same job could be completed by a machine in just under two hours (Cooper 1994: 293-4).

By the 1870s Dunedin's houses were composed of mass produced materials, both manufactured locally and imported. During the earliest phase of European settlement in the 1840s and 1850s the construction industry had relied on locally foraged materials processed by hand in small quantities. However, the onset of the gold rush launched mass production in the city as new supplies of building material were needed to create housing for the thousands of miners and immigrants that arrived throughout the 1860s and 1870s (e.g., *Otago Daily Times* 1863, 1869b, *Otago Witness* 1868, 1870b; Forrester and Wylie 1948; Angus 1973: 21, 31; Isaacs 2015: 70, 189). Local industry was supplemented by imported products, with building materials making up around five percent of total imports (Figure 4-3).



**Figure 4-3. Total import values for the province of Otago, 1853 to 1870 (New Zealand Registrar General 1870: Table 16).**

Mass production affected the local manufacture of a wide variety of building materials – for example, bricks and quarried stone, as well as roofing, ornaments, and hardware made of iron – but the timber industry was by far the most important for Dunedin. Timber had been the building material of choice since the beginnings of

European settlement in New Zealand. Though a significant quantity of deforestation had occurred across the South Island prior to European arrival in the mid-nineteenth century (McWethy et al. 2010), Otago still possessed a significant timber resource. Timber was even more abundant in the North Island, where over fifty percent of the land was forested. These resources were supplemented by a small volume of imports from the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States, Canada, and Norway.<sup>12</sup> Intensive harvesting and burn-offs to clear land for pastoral use meant local timber stocks declined rapidly during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the end of the 1910s that people accepted the rate of deforestation was unsustainable and action was taken to better manage the remaining resource (Roche 1990).

Until then, sawmills and timber factories proliferated. By 1896 there were fifty-one mills and factories in Otago alone, most powered by steam engines (New Zealand Registrar General 1897: 428). Directory records of the time suggest that most of these institutions were rural saw mills, located at the site of timber stocks and engaged in the primary processing of raw logs. The remainder were urban factories that transformed this sawn timber into finished consumer products (Stone 1896: 572). The first timber factory appears to have been established on Cumberland Street in 1864<sup>13</sup> (Otago Daily Times 1870). By 1870 two more businesses had been established (Otago Witness 1870a, 1870c), and later street directories show that there may have been as many as twenty-two different timber merchant locations in operation from 1884 to 1910.<sup>14</sup> Most of these

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<sup>12</sup> The amount of imported timber was very small relative to domestic production. For example, in 1881 New Zealand sawmills produced over 143 million feet of sawn timber, while only around four million feet of sawn timber (deals, rough sawn, and dressed) was imported (New Zealand Registrar General 1882: 118-119, 224).

<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, on the factory façade in Figure 4-4 it states that it was founded in 1861, but I have not been able to find any contemporary information that corroborates this starting date.

<sup>14</sup> Based the differing locations of various timber merchants recorded in Stone's Directory from 1884 to 1910.

appear to have been small concerns, and many were in business for only a short period of time. However, some were large factories (for Dunedin) that could employ upwards of 100 men (e.g., Findlay and Company <sup>15</sup> or Thomson, Bridger, and Company (Figure 4-4, left)).<sup>16</sup> These factories were well stocked with a variety of steam-powered machinery that allowed operators to rapidly saw, plane, shape, mortice, tenon, tongue, and groove pieces of timber, among other operations (Figure 4-4, right; Salmond 1986: 90-5).



**Figure 4-4. Left – Guthrie & Larnach’s factory in 1877. Later owned by Thomson, Bridger, and Company (State Library of Victoria: A/S12/05/77/28). Right - The ‘Machine Room’ of Findlay and Company (TOSM: Album 29-12).**

#### 4.1.2 Industrial Products: Volume, Variety, and Factory Catalogues

Dunedin’s factories employed what can be described as flexible specialisation. This is a system where producers can manufacture a “wide and changing array of customized products [by] using flexible general-purpose machinery and skilled adaptable workers”

<sup>15</sup> Established ca. 1873; later Findlay and Murdoch, then John H. Murdoch and Company (Otago Daily Times 1874, 1891; Evening Star 1893).

<sup>16</sup> Established 1865 as Bell, Rae, and Company Ownership of the business then changed intermittently, successively passing to W. Bell and Company, Guthrie and Asher, Guthrie and Larnach, the Dunedin Iron and Woodware Company, and Thomson, Bridger, and Company (its longest-running incarnation from ca. 1890 to at least 1910; Otago Witness 1870c; Evening Star 1873; Stone 1883: 377; Thomson, Bridger, and Company ca. 1900).

(Hirst and Zeitlin 1992: 64). Flexible specialisation's ability to produce custom products made possible a level of variety that is traditionally associated with craft production. Mechanisation and the organisation of workers in a factory setting makes flexible specialisation a form of mass production – with its potential to increase productivity and decrease cost – but it is obviously distinct from automated or unskilled assembly-line manufacturing. A factory full of machines like fret saws and lathes still meant it was easier and cheaper to make various timber products for the building industry, but the potential of many devices was mediated by skilled or semi-skilled workers (Forty 1986: 87-90; Cohen 2006: 39-40). Olssen has previously highlighted how mass production in Dunedin was no stranger to skilled workers: “The line between artisan and factory operative was blurred. . . Individuals could go back and forth across this boundary without being aware of the distinction” (Olssen 1995: 65). This combination of efficient machinery and skilled workers – i.e., flexible specialisation – meant that Dunedin's building material manufactures were able to produce both a large volume *and* variety of products.

Volume is consistently emphasised by factories and others trading in both local and imported building materials. Industry staples like weatherboards, corrugated iron, bricks, even joinery items like doors and window sashes, were reasonably standardised products that could be manufactured or processed in volume to be sold as ready-made items. Producers could be confident that a wide market existed for these common materials. Newspapers frequently refer to the significant quantity of stock that each business kept on hand. A Findlay and Company advertisement from 1880 notes that their stock included hundreds of thousands of feet of weatherboards and flooring (Figure 4-5), along with three thousand doors and over four thousand pairs of window sashes (Otago Daily Times 1880). Other companies' advertisements similarly promote their



significant supplies of iron sheeting (available by the ton), the tens of thousands of bricks they have ready for purchase, and their “large stocks” of other miscellaneous building materials like cement or nails (e.g., Otago Witness 1874; Evening Star 1887, 1894a).



**Figure 4-5. The substantial timber stocks at Findlay and Company (TOSM: Album 29-4).**

Alongside this volume, some manufacturers offered an amazing variety of products. Images of these items were crammed into the pages of illustrated factory catalogues that haphazardly displayed the range of each producer. Catalogues were advertising publications that promoted the variety of options that appear to have been both available on hand or up for custom order.<sup>17</sup> At least three catalogues put out by Dunedin building material manufacturers have survived: *Findlay and Co's Illustrated Catalogue* (Figure

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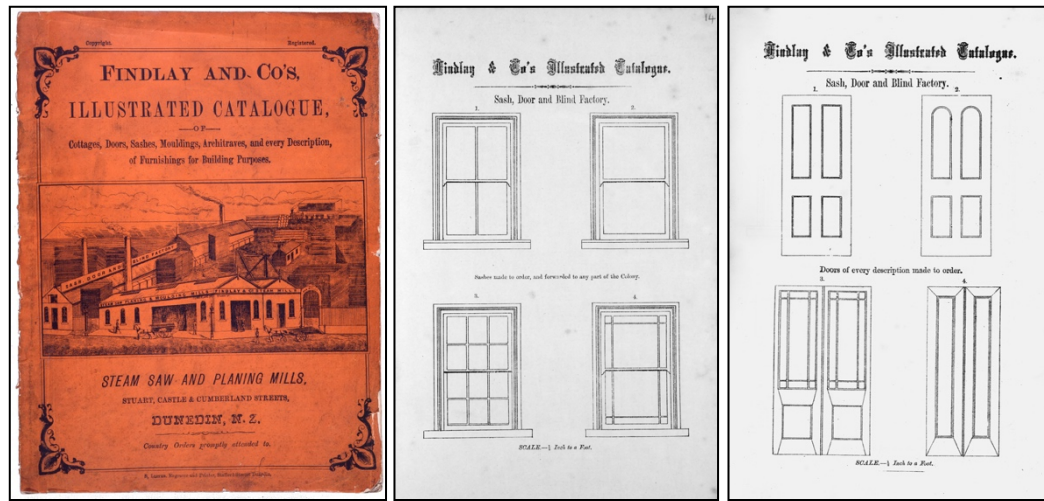
<sup>17</sup> Factory catalogues suggest the existence of custom manufacture. The Thomson, Bridger, and Company catalogue (ca. 1900) offers “Special Designs and Estimates submitted on application” (1). H. E. Shacklock’s (1907) purchase instructions even suggest that all verandah ironwork was custom: “When ordering VERANDAH FRIEZE give Number of Design, and state exact width of opening. Unless specially ordered to be separate, Brackets and Fringe will be attached, as per Illustrations” (1).



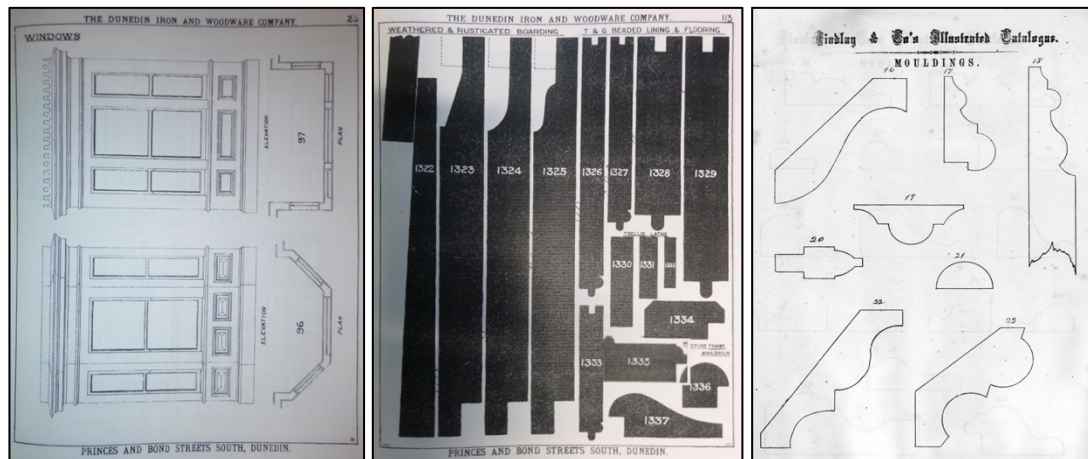
4-6; 1874), the *Thomson, Bridger, and Co. Illustrated Catalogue* (ca. 1900; this publication includes pages of general hardware and household furniture in addition to building materials), and the *Catalogue for Shacklock Verandah Ironwork and Tomb Railings* (1907). It is unclear if other local producers also put out catalogues that included building materials, but international suppliers almost certainly supplemented the local options. For example, I found *Handyside's Ironwork Catalogues B and C: Ornamental Ironwork* (1890) in the H. E. Shacklock foundry records at the Hocken Library, and the Dunedin importers and hardware suppliers Arthur Briscoe and Company are noted as stocking no less than 2000 catalogues put out by various manufacturing companies (Otago Daily Times 1900).

The variety of products advertised in these catalogues includes both essential building materials and decorative ornamentation. Windows and doors came in a variety of different types (Figure 4-6, centre and right), as did large joinery products like bay windows, and even items as seemingly innocuous as timber weatherboards were available in different forms (Figure 4-7, left and centre). However, the range of building ornamentation is the catalogues' most remarkable aspect. Timber factories offered scores of different designs for details like moulded trim, finials, barge boards, brackets, and verandah decorations that could be attached to a house's façade (Figure 4-7 (right) Figures 4-8 and 4-9; a full glossary of the relevant architectural terms can be found in Appendix B). Iron foundries provided even more ornamental options (Figure 4-10). The iron casting process lent itself to the inexpensive replication of very ornate decorations that would have been challenging to mass-produce in timber or masonry (Lee 1983: 106). These intricate but heavy-set items were supplemented by more delicate wrought iron finials (Figure 4-10, right). The variety of all these items is prodigious: Findlay and Company offered at least forty-six types of timber moulding; the H. E. Shacklock foundry

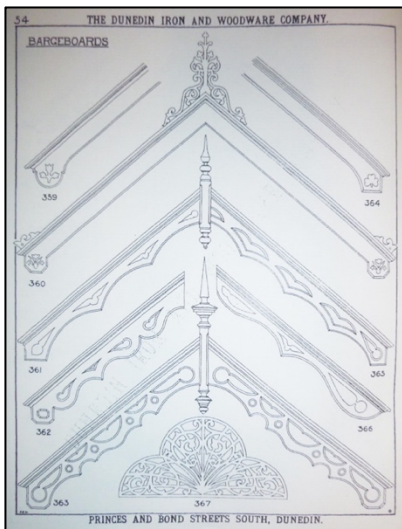
produced over sixty different forms of cast-iron cresting, finial scrolls, and verandah friezes; Thomson, Bridger, and Company offered an amazing 176 different designs of fretwork timber decoration for verandahs and gables and a further 430 types of decorative timber moulding.



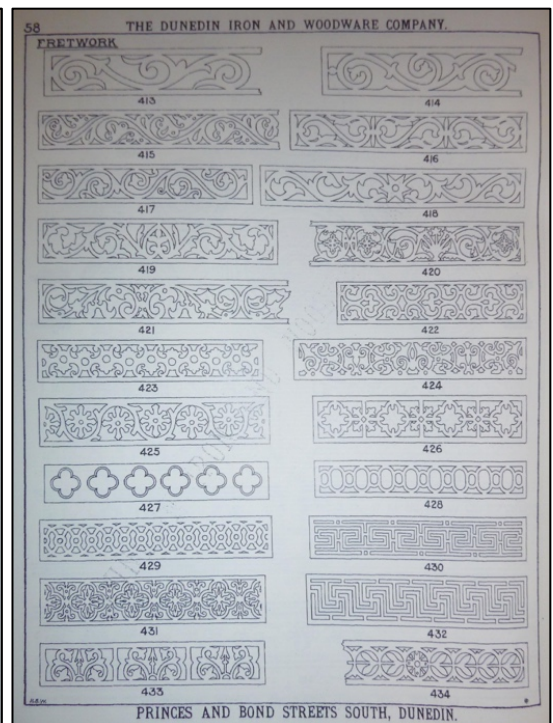
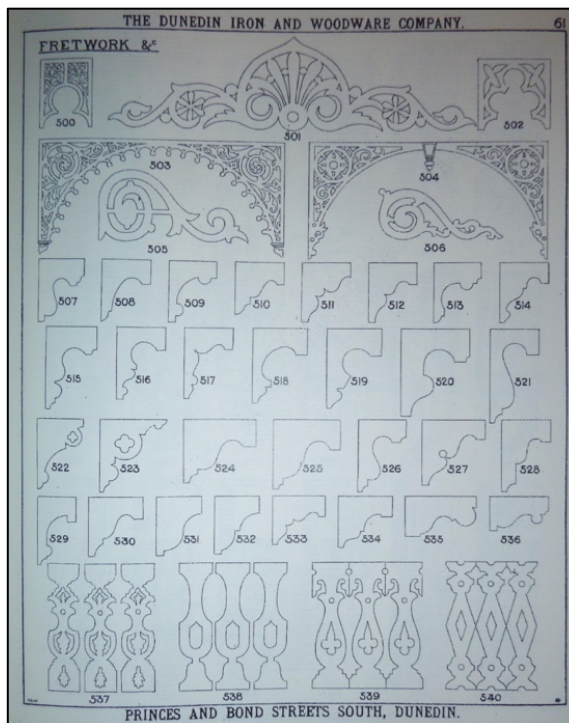
**Figure 4-6. Left – Cover of the Findlay and Company catalogue (1874). Centre and Right – Windows and doors produced by Findlay and Company.**



**Figure 4-7. Left and centre – Factory-made bay windows, as well as the profiles of different weatherboards, floorboards, trellis laths, and picture frame mouldings produced by Thomson, Bridger, and Company (ca. 1900). Right – Interior mouldings produced by Findlay and Company (1874).**

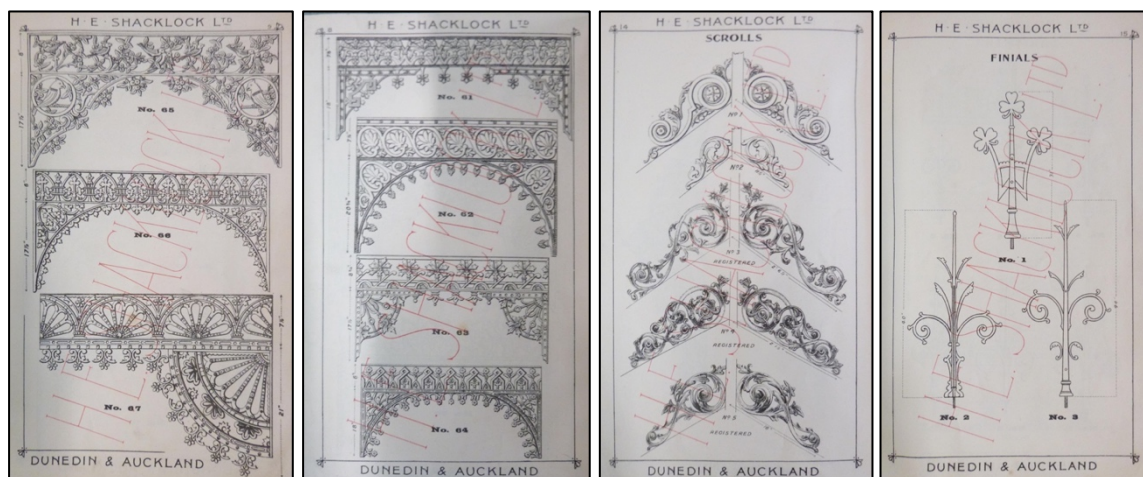


**Figure 4-8. Left – Finials and bargeboards produced by Thomson, Bridger, and Company (ca. 1900). Right - House built ca. 1883-1886 by Robert Campbell, an upper-middle class runholder. Campbell used a modified version of design 363 from the adjacent catalogue page for the bargeboards on his house (Hocken: P1990-015/49-175).**



**Figure 4-9. Brackets and verandah decorations produced by the Thomson, Bridger, and Company (ca. 1900).**





**Figure 4-10. Cast-iron brackets, verandah decorations, and finial scrolls, and wrought-iron finials (right) produced by H. E. Shacklock (1907).**

Beyond mere details and construction components, the timber companies even offered entire houses for sale. Both Findlay and Company as well as Thomson, Bridger, and Company included plans and elevations within the pages of their catalogues. Like the other products, these houses were offered in a variety of styles and sizes. Options ranged from two roomed cottages, to a substantial seven-roomed ‘cottage’<sup>18</sup> (Figure 4-11), to an even larger house complete with rear service rooms and a grand eight-foot-wide central passage (Figure 4-12). The implication is that these were prefabricated houses, basic designs whose materials could be ordered, decorated with ornamentation also selected from the catalogue, and assembled on site by a builder in accordance with the plans provided (Salmond 1986: 98; Figure 4-13 and Figure 4-14). However, while some houses appear to follow the catalogue styles closely, most of the built environment was actually more varied (Figure 4-15). The catalogue styles should not be considered as inflexible building specifications but rather as useful design templates that provided an accurately-

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<sup>18</sup> The size of this ‘cottage’ is a good example of how cottage and villa are not stable terms.

costed base structure which could be modified to the wishes of a client: i.e., add a bay window there, take away the pantry, add a projecting gable, widen the hallway, etc. Like the architectural pattern books common overseas, these catalogues served as ‘idea books’ as well as product advertisements (Reiff 2000: 58, 97).

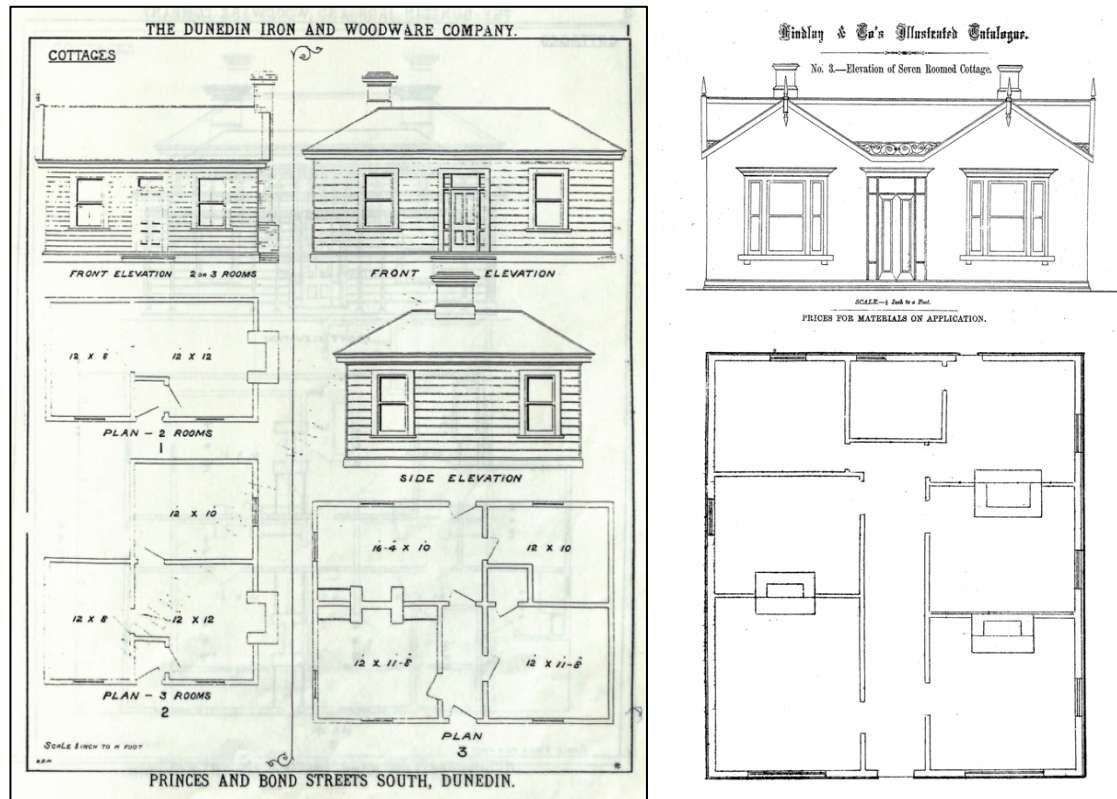


Figure 4-11. Left – Two, three, and four roomed cottages in the Thomson, Bridger, and Company catalogue (ca. 1900). Right – A seven-room ‘cottage’ in the Findlay and Company catalogue (1874).

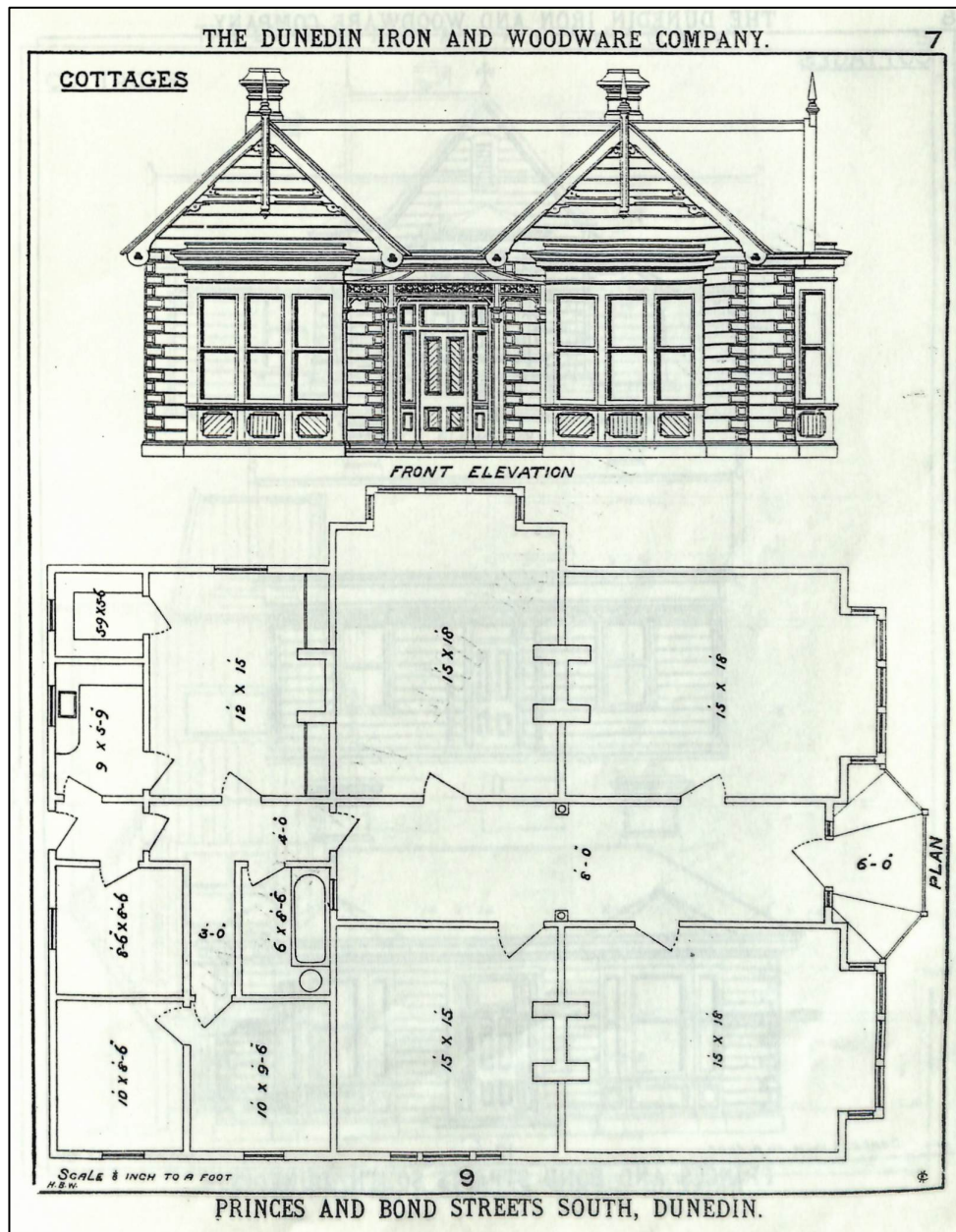
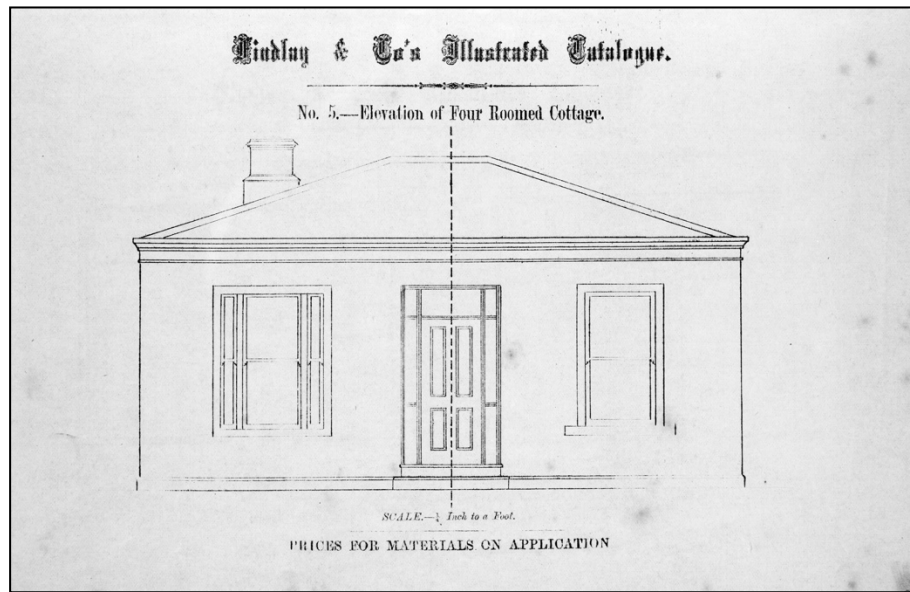


Figure 4-12. A large house in the Thomson, Bridger, and Company catalogue (ca. 1900).



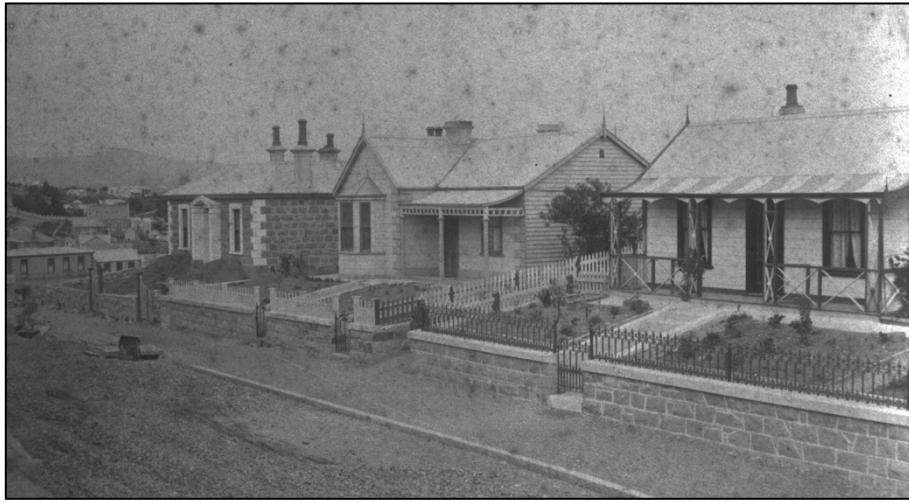


**Figure 4-13. A four room cottage advertised in the Findlay and Company catalogue (1874).**



**Figure 4-14. A rental property built ca. 1873 by the hotelkeeper Timothy Hayes. The style of this building closely follows that of the four-roomed cottage in Figure 4-13.**



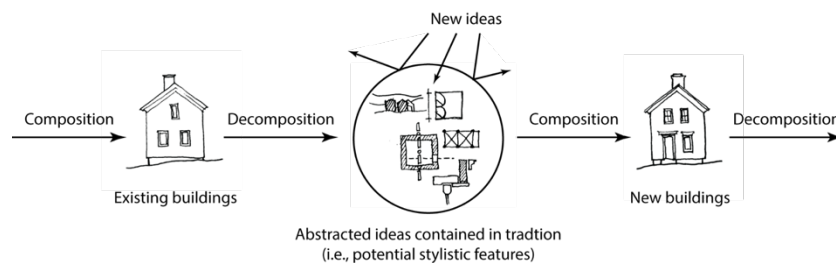


**Figure 4-15. Variety in the built environment of Port Chalmers. Individualised houses created using different combinations of common stylistic features (PCM: 1499).**

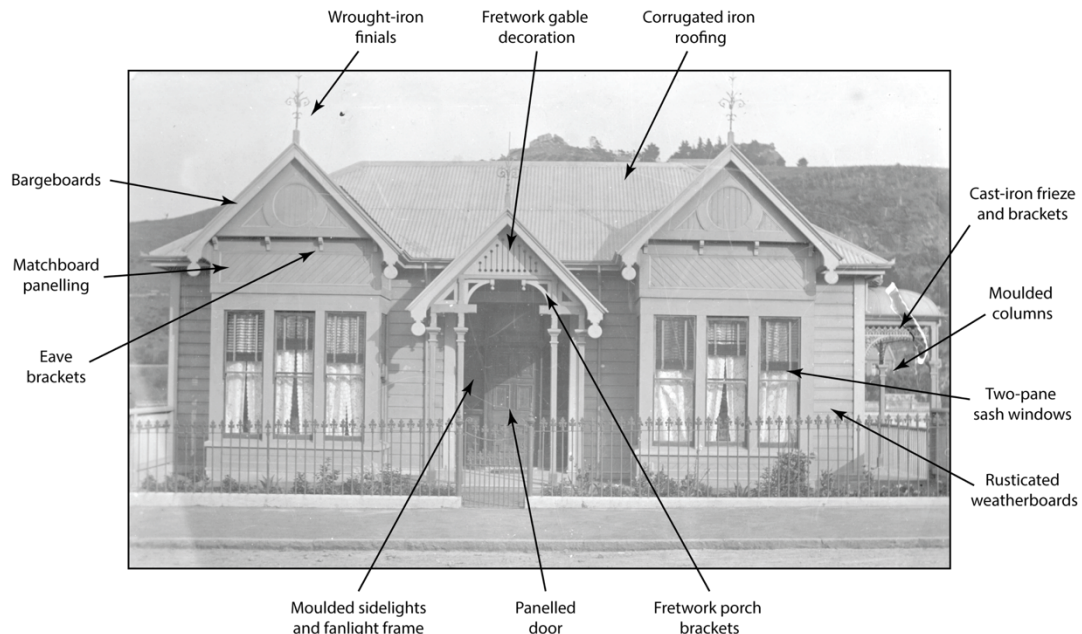
#### 4.1.3 Kitset Architecture and Consumption

Dunedin's system of mass produced-building materials advertised in catalogues alongside established house designs informed the development and significance of exterior house style in the city. To begin with, the system outlined above can be described as *kitset architecture* and represents a formalisation and commoditisation of some aspects of vernacular design. This is a design process largely governed by local architectural tradition and the constraints of past precedent with some limited acceptance of new ideas (Figure 4-16). To design a new house, a builder mentally disassembles an existing style into the abstracted ideas of its constituent stylistic features, and then reassembles them into a novel building (Hubka 1979: 28; Carter 1991: 437-40). Mass production makes some of the abstracted stylistic features into both tangible products and printed designs: in catalogues the various basic materials and popular decorative features are laid out alongside major structural elements – like bay windows – and entire house plans (Glassie 2000: 144). These are the established precedents, ready to be transformed, combined, and recombined as desired to make a

new dwelling (Figure 4-17, see also Figures 4-18 to 4-20 for examples of the various transformations and unique styles possible through the recomposition of common forms and features). The term ‘kitset houses’ for the structures produced by this sort of ‘industrial vernacular’ was originally used by Salmond (1986: 98), and effectively describes the way that construction was mostly “geared towards the dry assembly on site of many parts, selected from a multitude of optional components” (Toomath 1996: 104).



**Figure 4-16. The vernacular design process (adapted from Hubka 1979 and 2013).**



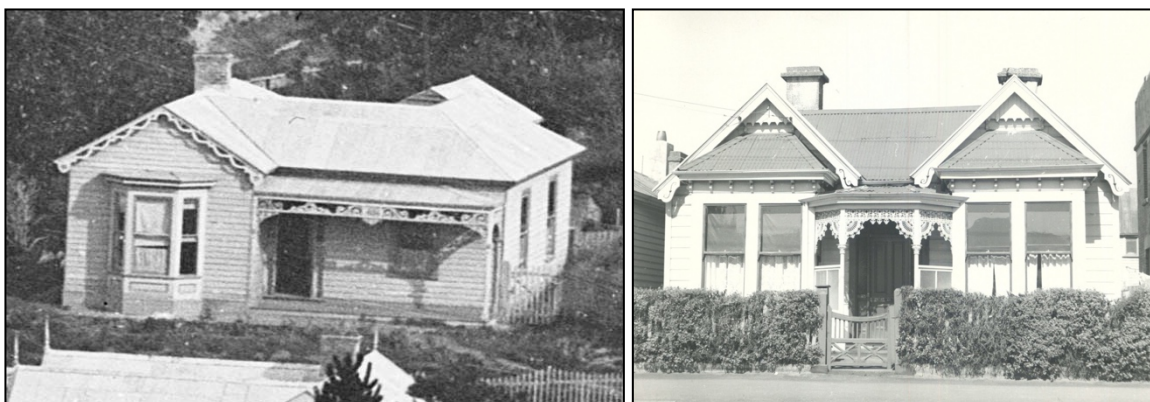
**Figure 4-17. House built ca. 1897-1898 by John Imrie, a mechanical engineer. Some of the variety of mass-produced items incorporated into the house are marked (PCM: 1502).**



**Figure 4-18. Left – Rental house built 1878 (DCC: 293/4). Right – Another rental house on the same lot: an identical core structure with a verandah and cast-iron frieze added (DCC: 239/3).**



**Figure 4-19. Left – House built ca. 1880-1881 by George Easson, an upper-middle class merchant. This dwelling is an enlarged version of the structure in Figure 4-18 with added first floor, bay windows, and eve brackets (Hocken: Box-035 PORT1739). Right – Rental property built 1876-1878 by Henry F. Hardy, an upper-middle class architect. This building is similar to Easson's house, but further distinguished with a verandah and central oriel window (Hocken: 0748\_01\_002A).**



**Figure 4-20. Left – House built 1876-1879 by Philip Davis, a working-class carpenter. Again, this structure is similar to those in Figure 4-18, but also has a projecting gable and bay window added (Te Papa: C.012006). Right – Rental property built 1897-1900 by John Pieterston, a journeyman bootmaker. Here a new façade is created by adding a further projecting gable (Hocken: 0853\_01\_002A).**

In the context of Dunedin's kitset architecture, it is easy to see the potential for consumer taste to be used as a vehicle for expressing class identity through house style. According to the interpretive models of Veblen and Bourdieu – outlined in Chapter Two – a certain class can be evoked by a certain taste in consumer goods. Considering that kitset architecture is essentially composed of consumer goods, the implication is that different classes will be predisposed to choosing different stylistic features or sets of stylistic features, thereby creating an overall exterior house style distinctive to that class. The reality of this idea in Dunedin is explored in the following chapter. The choice of various stylistic features incorporated into houses built by different class groups can be compared to establish if there are any statistically significant associations that suggest a distinctive class taste. As will be seen, class distinction did exist in terms of those features that emphasised scale and wealth, but beyond this, there was little indication of specific styles favoured by different classes in a way that could be said to constitute a distinct class taste. This is a pattern that likely relates to the so-called 'democratic' potential of mass production.



#### 4.1.4 Democratic Mass Production

An introduction to the idea of ‘democratic’ mass production provides an important context for understanding the analysis results in the following chapter. The democratic potential of mass produced building materials was recognised historically (Rosenberg 1975; Lee 1983; Simpson 1999). It was an idea primarily associated with new efficient technologies and the economies of scale associated with mass production. These dropped the cost of many building products and upset the traditional material representation of wealth and – by extension – class.

Ornate architectural details had historically been expensive features that few could afford (Figure 4-21). Each element had to be painstakingly hand-carved by a highly-skilled and costly craftsman. Mass production meant machines were able to produce similar ornamentation more quickly and cheaply, and by 1870s houses with “abundant detailing [were] not necessarily an expensive undertaking” (Wright 1983: 102).<sup>19</sup> As the middle-class, and even some working-class individuals, began to be able to afford the new mass-produced trim, the erection of a heavily-decorated house became less of a distinctive achievement (Upton 1991: 164).

Some contemporary American commentators – observing this same phenomenon in their own country – praised the new availability of decorative stylistic features. One observed in the late nineteenth-century that “so great have been the advances in this department of industry [timber processing], that the humblest and cheapest dwelling erected in the larger cities at this present writing, will compare favorably [sic] in interior finish with the most gorgeous edifices of former times” (Howard 1873: 191). Another celebrated the potential of ornamental cast iron, suggesting that through “the use of this

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<sup>19</sup> See also Auerbach (1999: 117) for a comment on the general abundance of ornamental forms that arose from mass production.

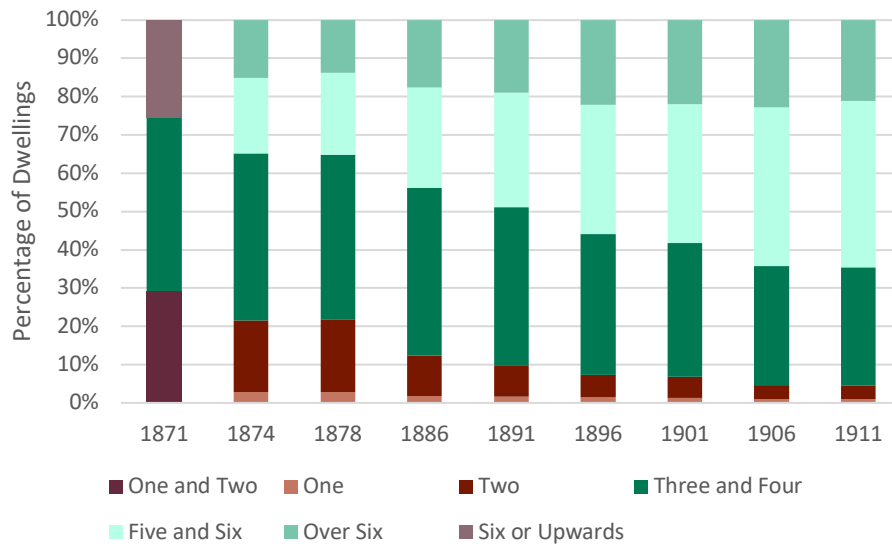
cheap material in skilled hands, forms of beauty have been multiplied and made familiar to the common eye, and a wide-spread cultivation of artistic taste has been the consequence” (Lossing 1876: 221). Clearly, these ornate decorations were no longer the preserve of society’s elite.



**Figure 4-21. The ornate details on the exterior of Little Moreton Hall, an English stately home built during the sixteenth century (Look and Learn: M823475).**

The overtly ‘showy’ nature of these decorative details makes them the most obvious symbols for the democratic potential of mass-production. However, the price of staple building materials also decreased, meaning that more people were able to afford better – or at least larger – accommodation over time. In 1862 an American sawmill catalogue proclaimed that “the low price of manufactured work has induced a great many farmers and other persons who formerly lived in log cabins, to build good, comfortable houses. . .” (Waite 1972: 5). This is certainly also the case in Dunedin, where census records clearly

show a proportional increase in house size as indicated by the number of rooms (Figure 4-22).



**Figure 4-22. Dwellings' room numbers in Dunedin, 1871-1911 (New Zealand Census).<sup>20</sup>**

Beyond the economic implications of mass production, the catalogues associated with Dunedin's factory production can also be thought of as democratic publications. Though some catalogues included blurbs about the products they contained, their format was largely pictorial, and can be understood as a particularly accessible way of disseminating architectural designs and ideas (Gottfried and Jennings 2009: 34). They were easy for the layperson to understand: what you saw was what you got. An especially

<sup>20</sup> Data for Dunedin house sizes is collated from individual figure for Dunedin City and the surrounding boroughs: Port Chalmers, North-East Valley, Roslyn, Caversham, Mornington, Māori Hill, St. Kilda, South Dunedin, West Harbour, Green Island, and Mosgiel. No borough data was available for 1871 and 1874 so figures for those years are based solely on Dunedin City data. The 1881 census data has not been included as it was judged unreliable. In that year a dramatically lower number of dwellings were recorded in the boroughs than in either the preceding or succeeding years (e.g., South Dunedin is recorded as having only three dwellings in 1881, vs 343 in 1878 and 757 in 1886).



important catalogue subject was the newly-affordable ornamental details, with publications introducing consumers to these exciting products through pages upon pages of carefully drafted images (e.g. Figure 4-6 to 4-12). The catalogue format was different from other books with more 'high-style' architectural pretensions, like Downing's *Cottage Residences* (1842) or *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1851). While plans and perspective drawings are included in these texts, Downing's designs are embedded within a complex architectural treatise that is impenetrable for the uninitiated. Catalogues also presumably helped draw in clients to the designing process. Rather than being dependant on abstract and potentially difficult-to-communicate notions of stylistic features, both builder and client would be able to refer to catalogue images to help articulate the intended house style (Reiff 2000).

In the previous chapter, I have noted how social factors suppressed the development of class cultures in Dunedin and fostered a house style that utilised similar stylistic features across class boundaries. This situation was supported by the democratic characteristic of mass production. Not only did the poorer members of society share tastes with many of their wealthier compatriots, mass-production meant they had more access to the complex structural forms and ornamental details that were once exclusive to the rich. The result was a built landscape where the large house of an upper-middle-class mill owner like Thomas Culling (Figure 4-23) might sit across from the more modest home of a working-class postman like John Hardie (Figure 4-24), with both equally able to afford distinctive features like projecting gables, bay windows, and a generous helping of ornamental trim.



**Figure 4-23. House built in 1899 by Thomas Culling, an upper-middle class paper-mill owner (TOSM: 79/35).**



**Figure 4-24. House built ca. 1901-1902 by John Hardie, a working-class postman (Hocken: 0916\_01\_013A).**

Mass production is clearly an essential element of the context that Dunedin's houses emerged from, but it is only part of the local building industry. It was ultimately Dunedin's builders and architects – working to the direction of their clients – who were responsible for assembling the design elements and the factory-made items into the numerous houses that lined the city's streets. The following section presents a brief

overview of these construction professionals in Dunedin and develops the idea of client agency in the design of exterior house style.

## 4.2 Builders, Architects and Clients in Dunedin

Construction professionals in Dunedin were mostly skilled tradespeople (Table 4-1 and Table 4-2). Alongside the trades, some architects practised in the city and relatively unskilled labour could also be employed in large building projects or the construction of small, simple cottages (Olssen 1995: 109). Given a majority of houses were constructed of timber, carpenters were the most prominent of the trades.

**Table 4-1. Dunedin's building trades based on directory records, 1870-1885. Adapted from Knight and Wales (1988: 36). The 1885 figure for Carpenters etc. is stated to include builders and is seen to include some masons and men formerly listed as bricklayers.**

	<b>1870</b>	<b>1875</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1885</b>
<b>Architects</b>	8	9	15	17
<b>Carpenters, Builders, and Contractors</b>	186	128	59	197*
<b>Bricklayers</b>	8	15	47	-
<b>Masons</b>	2	8	5	5
<b>Plasterers</b>	4	11	-	33
<b>Plumbers</b>	10	11	12	24
<b>Total</b>	<i>228</i>	<i>182</i>	<i>138</i>	<i>276</i>

**Table 4-2. Building trades in the suburb of Caversham based on directory records, 1902-1911. Adapted from Olssen (1995: 97).**

	<b>1902</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1911</b>
<b>Carpenters</b>	73	74	85
<b>Joiners</b>	5	3	7
<b>Painters</b>	17	32	33
<b>Plasterers</b>	6	6	2
<b>Others</b>	35	35	36
<b>Total</b>	<i>136</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>163</i>

House building was not big business, but it was still a business. Most builders were master carpenters who 'set up on their own account' and employed around two or three other workers (Figure 4-25). While they subscribed to the New Zealand Dream, and had an acute interest in self-improvement, the majority only had modest aspirations and were content with a steady stream of work that provided them with appropriate remuneration for their skills (Salmond 1986: 96; Olssen 1995: 106). While hardly aggressive capitalists, a builder's livelihood still rested on their business ability (Knight and Wales 1988: 36). As well as the practical skills needed to construct a building, the move from trade employment to running a building operation entailed a new administrative load: the management of employees, subcontracting of specialist trades, the pricing of tenders, and the procurement of materials. Close attention to financial matters was important to secure regular work and avoid bankruptcy. Cheap and accurate pricing of jobs was essential for winning tenders and a miscalculation could leave a builder seriously out of pocket. Slow payments could also lead to cash flow problems (Garrison 2006: 61-72).

Architects faced the same set of issues in their work. Nominally, their primary function was to provide the artistic vision for a building (Upton 1984: 120-4). In practice however, much of their work consisted of preparing the drawings for a building (Figure 4-26) and undertaking the additional administration necessary for the management of big construction projects such as commercial buildings or large houses (Knight and Wales 1988: 38). Though some large houses were designed by architects in Dunedin during my study period, the majority appear to have been constructed without their input. This suggests that builders usually oversaw both design and construction.



Figure 4-25. A team of carpenters putting together a house at Muritai near Wellington in the early twentieth century (Hocken: 2028\_01\_002A).

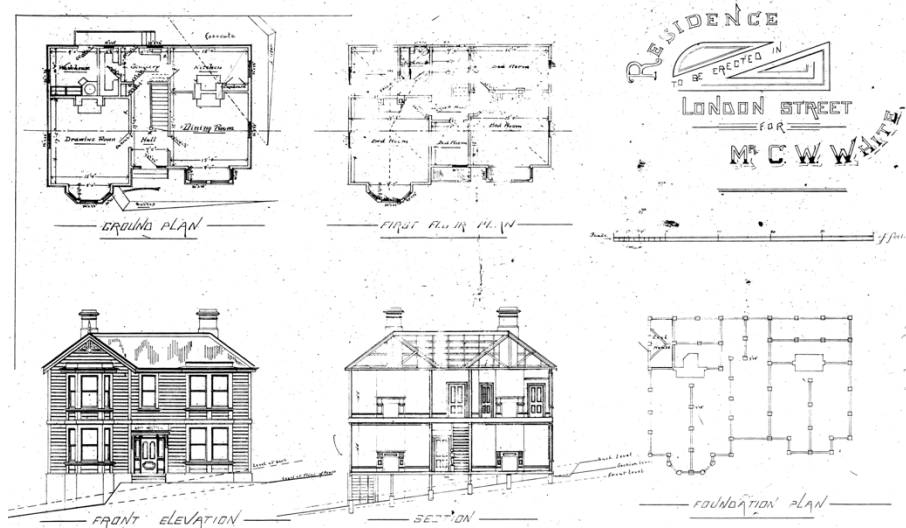


Figure 4-26. Drawing by an unknown Dunedin architect for a residence built 1903 for the upper-middle class businessman Charles White (DCC: 1903/971).

#### 4.2.1 Client Agency

It is actual the origin of these designs that I am particularly interested in. Far from being purely professional creations, Dunedin's builders and architects allowed clients a role in the design of the buildings they commissioned. They understood – sometimes begrudgingly – that clients wanted a personalised building style. Both builders and architects were ultimately contractors who helped clients to realise their own design ideas. This was imperative for commercial success. If contractors did not meet client demands – did not build what they were told to build – they would not remain in business for long.

There are few records that provide insight into the contractor-client relationship, but the sources that do exist suggest a degree of client agency and design input. For example, the client's directing role is apparent in New Zealand building specifications. These documents were drawn up to outline the essentials of construction to the builders on site. Sometimes they could include a clause to ensure that construction was carried out “to the satisfaction of the proprietor” (Donald Letterbook 1879; Specification for Five-Roomed House 1881). While this probably refers primarily to the quality of workmanship, it still establishes the existence of client oversight.

The specifications for James Nimmo's house in Dunedin provide a clearer example of client investment and involvement in the actual design process (Nimmo Family Papers ca. 1898-1905; Figure 4-27). Nimmo was a wealthy seed merchant and around 1897 he commissioned the construction of a new villa on the hillside overlooking Dunedin (Galer 1984: 58-60). However, rather than sticking to the prepared specifications, it appears that Nimmo was constantly tinkering with various stylistic details. The evidence of this is a five-page list of “alterations and extras ordered by the proprietor” attached to the rear of the document that recorded minor changes like the addition of fanlights over windows



and an alteration in the type of interior cornice moulding used (Figure 4-28). Even the choice of a name for the house appears to have been agonised over. A decision was made to christen it in Māori, and a list of over seventy possible options and their English translations were drawn up in the specifications, with ticks next to some suggesting a shortlisting process. Eventually Nimmo settled on Rahiri, meaning warm welcome.



Figure 4-27. Rahiri, the house built ca. 1897 by James Nimmo, an upper-middle class seed merchant. (Hocken: MS-3604).

List of Alterations & Extras Ordered by Proprietor.		£.	S.	D.
1	To altering corner bricking to suit wall forming double hips extra ridge & rocks.		5	6
2	Extra labour carpenter. 2 days of.	1	2	0
3	Latting to cutting up extra hips & supplying extra courses equal to 1/2 square	1	1	3
4	To lengthening frames & sashes of two circular windows from 4' 6" to 4' 11" - Labour & materials.	1	12	0
5	Altering framing for same. Labour 2 hours.		5	6
6	Ordering Superintending. 3'	3		
7	To altering recess of bedroom, taking down framing & making good walls for plaster. Superior 7 hours Carpenter, day 1/2 one angle of Superintending. 2/0		1	5

Figure 4-28. Part of the list of alterations and extras ordered by proprietor (Hocken: MS-3604).



A mid-nineteenth century case study from America provides another example of what this client input might have looked like. J. Ritchie Garrison's (2006) study of two New England carpenters contains several accounts of clients dictating the style of house they wanted to builders and architects. Sometimes this was simply a reference to another house in the community the client liked the look of (Garrison 2006: 53-61). However, directions could also be more detailed. Garrison cites one example from the 1850s where a client cared deeply about the appearance of his house and described what he wanted at length to an architect. An excerpt of the correspondence shows his investment in the design: "I told you I wished an Iron piazza for my house in Brattleboro. I send you the sketch, to give you some idea of my wishes" (Garrison 2006: 141)

Back in New Zealand, and across the Tasman in Australia, it seems that client demands like this were a common enough problem to become frustrating to architects and builders. A 1908 note in the New Zealand building and technology magazine *Progress* complained about the situation:

W. T. G. E. F. N. – This describes a client who Wants To Get Everything For Nothing. – considers it an architect's business to realise palatial reveries at the cost of a shepherd's hut; is always insisting (1) on adding extras and (2) expecting the architect to pay for them; when driven to something less than the style of a multi-millionaire, says the architect don't know his business; plans a big house for comfort, and makes the architect cut it down to the bottomless depths of cottage discomfort (Progress 1908).

A similar sentiment is expressed in the Australian *Builder* magazine. Their correspondent complains that builders there have to put up with tiresome client requests that "grate upon his sense of the artistic applied to the practical" (Building 1913).

Identifying this sort of client agency in coordinating construction professionals has important implications for the interpretation of house style. It supports the idea that Dunedin's house styles are a product of their initial owner's tastes, rather than being entirely the creation of a builder or architect. By extension, these houses can be assumed as expressive of their initial owner's identity, or the class identity that I am specifically interested in here. This is an essential premise for the comparison of house style and class in the next chapter.



Dunedin's vernacular architecture was underpinned by mass production. The rise of mechanisation and factory production during the nineteenth century led to a dramatic increase in the efficiency of building material production. By the 1870s mass-produced products dominated Dunedin's building industry. A variety of mass-produced materials were available, but timber products were most important throughout New Zealand, and numerous factories for processing timber were established in Dunedin. These timber factories, and some of the city's other building material manufacturers, utilised a flexible specialisation approach that allowed them to produce both a large volume *and* variety of products. Factory catalogues advertised the items produced: basic staples like weatherboards; joinery items like doors and windows; an enormous range of ornamental detail; and the variety of house designs that were ultimately possible with the factory products.

This assortment of mass-produced items and design ideas arrayed in catalogues sat ready to be combined and recombined into a diversity of house styles. It was a kitset form of architecture that represented a formalisation and commodification of vernacular

design. Within this commercial system there lay the potential for class identity to be embodied though the consumption of certain house styles, or at least certain stylistic features.

However, this process was also influenced by the democratic potential of mass production. The efficiencies of this process meant that a larger proportion of the population was able to afford the sort of complex and ornately decorated buildings that were once the preserve of the wealthy. Even the catalogues' easy-to-understand pictorial quality helped introduce a larger range of design ideas to the wider public.

Alongside mass producers, construction professionals made up the other half of Dunedin's building industry. Those builders and architects in charge of construction projects had a number of responsibilities: from practical work, to managing staff and materials, to helping create designs. Construction professionals were particularly attentive to the demands of clients given that they were the employer, and it appears that clients demanded a significant degree of agency in the design of their house style. This is important as it highlights how an analysis of house style can be representative of its owner's material tastes and – by extension – their class identity. Such an analysis is conducted in the following chapter.

## 5 Counting Houses

As Holloway walked about Dunedin in 1873 he may have been struck by a few specific “smiling homesteads” and “beautiful houses” (Holloway 1873: 11, 39), but it was the general mass of housing that collectively formed the built landscape he moved through. Individually, each house embodied the class identity of its particular owner, but together these buildings also expressed and reinforced Dunedin’s wider social and cultural situation to Holloway. Individual perspectives are important, but it is also essential to understand how they relate to the bigger picture, the broad patterns that formed the architectural world Holloway walked through all those years ago.

This chapter seeks to explore this bigger picture through a quantitative analysis of house style in Dunedin. While systematic, quantitative analysis is an uncommon approach in vernacular architecture studies and folklore today, it can reveal, and provide supporting evidence for, patterns that might not otherwise be obvious through the examination of individual structures. It is not that you cannot identify the meaningful dimensions of architecture by looking at just a few individual houses, but a larger sample certainly makes analysis easier. As Glassie (1975) notes in *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* – perhaps the most famous quantitative study of vernacular architecture – “if you can count, you should count. . . with numbers to scrutinise, variables were readily isolated, principles popped out, and shallow realism could be avoided” (42-43).

Section 5.1 outlines the methods of my analysis. This includes a discussion of the historical research necessary to collect my dataset, the assessment of a building’s stylistic features, the type of statistical analysis applied to this stylistic information, and the limitations of this approach. Section 5.2 presents the results of this analysis, highlighting the statically significant features (or lack thereof) associated with the houses of different classes and ownership types. Upper-middle class houses were distinct from the other

classes in terms of features that emphasised wealth. But other than this, the personal homes of each class appeared to be stylistically similar. In contrast, personal homes and rental properties were built in very different styles.

## 5.1 Methods

The methods for the quantitative analysis in this thesis are broadly adapted from Heather Burke's (1999) research into the houses and public buildings of Armadale, New South Wales, Australia. Following Burke's method, there is a specific concern with understanding buildings as they were when first built. Though building modifications over time are an interesting dimension of vernacular architecture, it is far easier to associate the original appearance of dwellings with relevant contextual information when working with multiple historic buildings to perform a quantitative analysis. However, while my approach here is largely in-line with Burke's own work, there are some notable differences:

- Public buildings and the wider urban landscape are not included in the study to ensure a manageable scope.
- Historic photographs, rather than contemporary house visits, were used as the primary source of information, to avoid issues around later alterations (discussed further in Section 5.1.5).
- A limited sample size and the limited availability of historical context information meant that only the dwellings from across a single study period were analysed. It was not possible to assess change over time.
- Because many features used by Burke were either not seen on New Zealand houses or not readily identified in photographs the number and type of stylistic features considered was changed. Moreover, many more relevant

features not recorded by Burke were identified while assessing Dunedin's domestic style.

#### 5.1.1 Historical Research

Historical research informed this study. Buildings were included in the analysis based on the availability of the historical information yielded by the following research process looking for houses built during my study period (1870-1910).

#### Photographs

Historic images made up the primary data set as they potentially revealed original stylistic details that would have been altered in later renovations. Images were sourced from multiple archives:

- Dunedin City Council Archives (DCC).
- Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (HNZ).
- The Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hākena (Hocken).
- Port Chalmers Museum (PCM).
- Te Papa Tongarewa The Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa).
- Toitu Otago Settlers Museum (TOSM).

Only photographs dating to – or appearing to date to – before 1950 were considered. This precedes a major period of house modernisation that occurred from 1950-1970 (Pringle 2010). Catalogue information, image quality, period dress, or historic features

like unsealed urban roads, allowed most photographs used in the study to be dated well before 1950<sup>21</sup>.

#### Identifying House Locations

The location of each photographed house was identified to facilitate research into relevant property records. Some houses had their location recorded in their photograph catalogue information. When this information was not available, houses were located in historical photographs of the Dunedin cityscape retrieved from the archival sources above. This was not always possible, and when the location of a house could not be determined it was not included in the study.

#### Identifying Construction Dates

Construction dates were established to ensure that houses were built within my study period. A combination of different archives and records were used together to establish these construction dates:

- *QuickMap* (property information software containing copies of historic survey plans).
- Archives New Zealand (Deeds, Certificates of Title,<sup>22</sup> government valuation rolls).

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<sup>21</sup> The most recent images used in the study is a set of images from the 1940s showing houses in Chambers Street (Catalogue no. 31-35). Other than these, all images date to the 1920s or earlier.

<sup>22</sup> Deed records were the initial method of recording property ownership in New Zealand. The series of transactions associated with a property (conveyances, mortgages, etc.), their dates, and the last names or abbreviated company names of the parties involved, are noted in a *deed index*. The deed index refers to a unique *deed register* that record the legal details of each transaction: the full names of each party, their occupations, the price paid for a purchase or mortgage, the exact dimensions of the property, any covenants on the property, and other miscellaneous details. After 1870 the Torrens system of land title registration was adopted by New Zealand and *certificates of title* began to be issued in



- DCC Archives (rates records and construction permits).
- Papers Past (internet database of historic New Zealand newspapers:  
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz>).

### Identifying Home Ownership

Because of the importance given to home ownership within the New Zealand dream, each home was identified as either a personal home or a rental property. Ownership was determined by identifying if the property owner – the person or people supposedly responsible for the building and its physical appearance – actually resided in the house after it was constructed. Houses where the owner was identified as residing at the property following the construction of a house were classed as ‘Personal Homes.’ Houses owned by an individual who resided at another location were classed as ‘Rental Properties.’ The following sources provided the necessary information:

- The Hocken Library (Stones’ and Wise’s street directories).
- Papers Past (newspaper articles recording an individual’s address).

### Identifying Class

A homeowner’s class – either upper-middle, middle, or working – was identified based on their occupation according to the framework outlined in Section 2.2.1. Olssen and Hickey (2005: 156-252) provide a table of the specific occupations they associate with each class. Additionally, several rental properties I researched were constructed by the state for social housing purposes or to house public servants. These were considered

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place of deed. These certificates of title record the name and occupation of the initial parties or parties the title is issued to. Later transactions associated with the property, and the full names of the parties involved (but not their occupations), are also recorded on the same certificate of title (McAloon 2008).

as representing a distinct ‘public’ class. Like construction dates, the occupations of property owners were established using a combination of different archives and records:

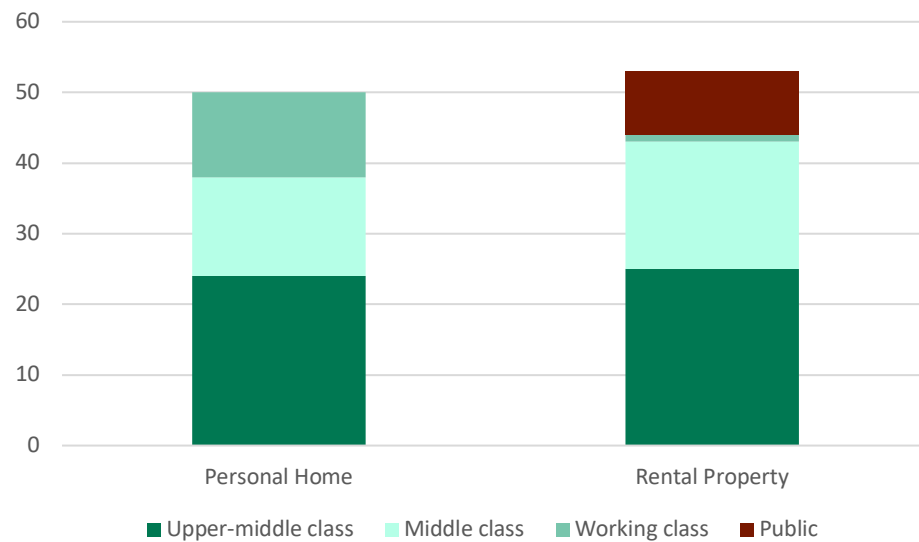
- Archives New Zealand (Deeds and Certificates of Title).
- The Hocken Library (Stones’ and Wise’s street directories).
- Papers Past (newspaper articles recording or implying occupation).

Some class distinctions in Olssen and Hickey’s scheme depend on employment status and company size. Skilled manual workers running their own business were considered middle class, while employees in the same trade were working class. The directories held at the Hocken Library revealed this distinction, with self-employed individuals listed in the ‘Trades’ section of those publications. Similarly, the managers or owners of businesses noted as limited liability companies in the ‘Trades’ section were regarded as upper-middle class, while those in control of unregistered companies were regarded as middle class (Olssen and Hickey 2005). Where directories were not available, newspaper records were used where possible to establish these distinctions.

#### 5.1.2 House Sample

From more than 800 historic photographs of houses identified in archives, a contextualised sample of 103 dwellings located across the wider Dunedin area were selected following the process identified above. (Figures 5-1 and 5-2, see Appendix A for a complete catalogue of the sample houses). Fifty-three rental properties and fifty personal homes together make up the sample. Upper-middle-class individuals are responsible for the most dwellings: twenty-five rental properties and twenty-four personal homes. The middle class account for eighteen rental properties and fourteen personal homes. Twelve of the thirteen properties associated with the manual working class are personal homes, with a single rental property the only other house built by this class. Finally, the nine

rental homes built by public institutions make up the balance of the sample. Several rental properties are groups of identical dwellings, either cottages or terraces, built as part of a property development.



**Figure 5-1. The Database of houses broken into ownership types and showing the numbers constructed by each class group.**

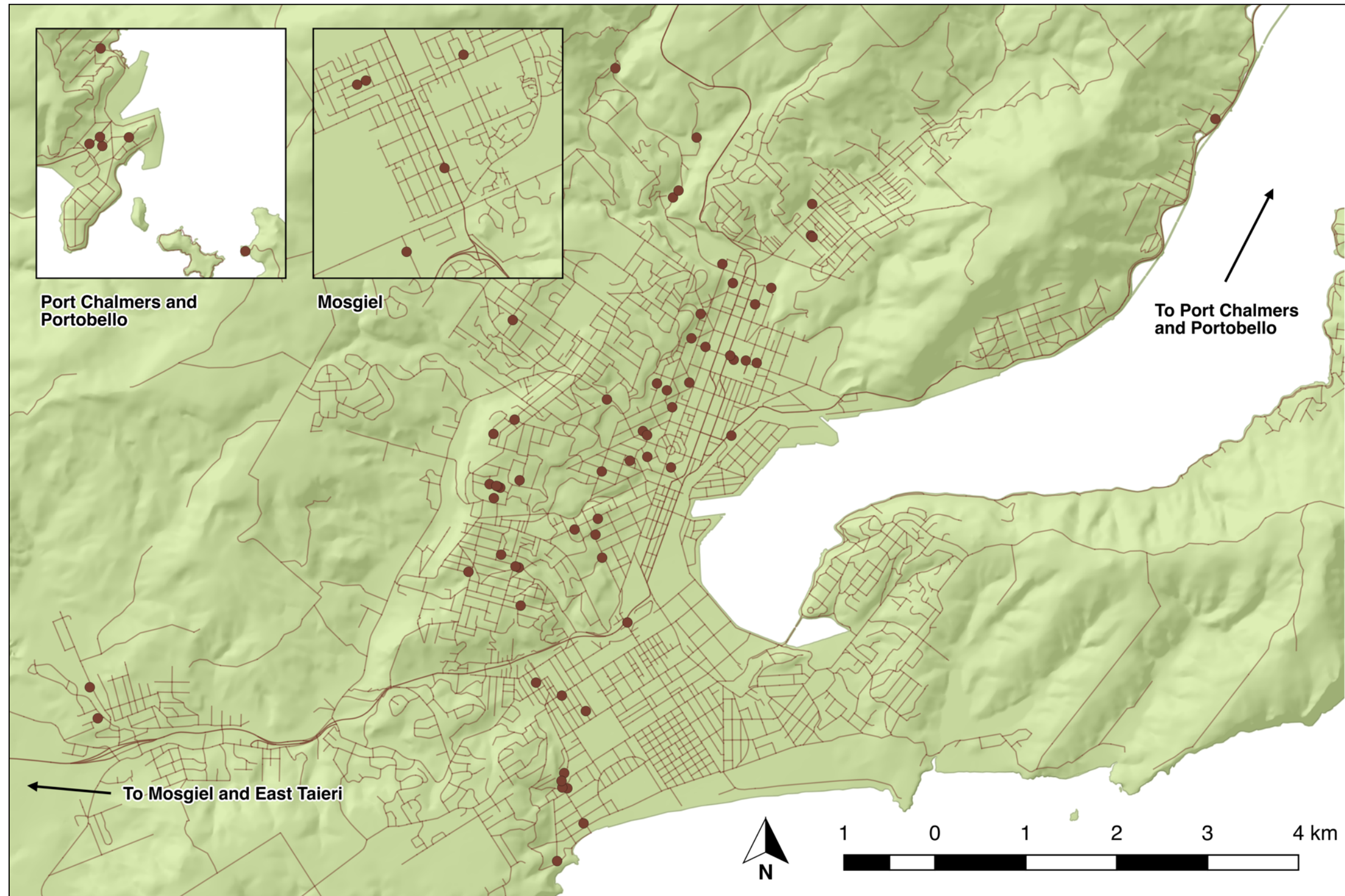


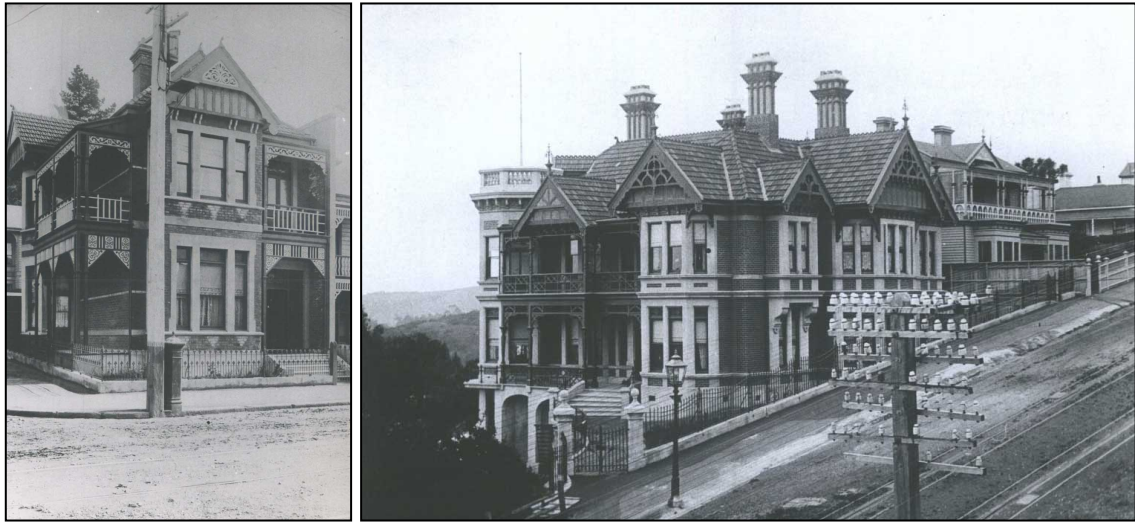
Figure 5-2. Dunedin and the location of the houses in the sample. One house in East Taieri was also examined but is not shown on this map (J. Moyle).

### 5.1.3 Identifying and Recording Exterior House Style

As outlined in Section 2.1, exterior house style is considered as a sum of a dwelling's publicly visible stylistic features. Following the approach of Burke (1999: 90), it is the relative frequency of these discrete stylistic features that is analysed to make a judgement on the relationship between style and class. This approach is not just a practical and systematic way of measuring style; it also parallels the piecemeal way house style was originally composed according to the vernacular design process and Dunedin's kitset architectural system (see Section 4.1.3). To build up the comparative dataset, the presence or absence of these various discrete stylistic features (e.g., hipped roofs, bay windows, verandahs, finials) on a public façade are recorded. Sometimes these features are further differentiated by material (*cast-iron* verandah frieze, *timber* finial). The number of storeys and primary construction material (wood, stone, or brick) of each house are also recorded as stylistic features. Occasionally a house is situated on a corner property, or in some other setting where there are two obvious public façades (Figure 5-3). In these instances, the features evident on both façades are recorded.

A total of 116 stylistic features are assessed for each house in the database. The features recorded are based on the list used by Burke (1999: 97-8). However, as noted at the beginning of Section 5.1, not all of her features were used in this study and other distinctive features that were identified during the research were also added (e.g. mansard roof, stick-work, rusticated weatherboards). The presence or absence of each feature was recorded on an Excel spreadsheet. This complete dataset is recorded in Appendix C.





**Figure 5-3. Left – House built in 1906 by Thomas Laurenson, a middle-class hotelkeeper. This building has two façades (Hocken: 0740\_01\_006A). Right – House built in 1903 by Watson Shennan, an upper-middle class runholder. This building is situated in a way that presents two façades to the public (Hocken: 0766\_01\_038A).**

Certain architectural elements and the formal or material variations of these elements were considered independent stylistic features. For example, if a house had dog-house-roof dormers, then it was recorded as having ‘Dormer’ *and* ‘Dog-House Dormer.’ Similarly, a cast-iron verandah frieze was recorded as ‘Verandah Frieze’ and ‘Cast-Iron Verandah Frieze.’ This approach was taken to explore if these specific variations had some form of significant social association beyond the general architectural element. An illustrated description of all the stylistic features assessed is provided in Appendix B.

Sometimes the presence or absence of certain features was unable to be determined from historical photographs. This could result from poor image resolution, or an obstructed view. For example, verandah and porch roofs often obscured door fanlights, and hedges could hide bay window decorations. When the existence of a certain feature

on a house was unclear it was marked as ‘NA’ and did not contribute to the overall count of that feature.

#### 5.1.4 Analysis

Fisher’s exact test of interdependence was used to identify any patterns of association. This test compares nominable variables – discrete categories of data like “gable roof” or “upper class” – to determine “whether the proportions of one variable are different depending on the value of the other variable” (McDonald 2014: 77). In this study, the test was used to establish if there is statistically significant association between certain features and certain classes or ownership types. The inference involved in these Fisher tests is that a substantial contrast in the use of a certain feature by different classes or ownership types suggests an association. For instance, if ninety percent of upper-middle class houses are built of stone, compared to only five percent of working class houses, then there is reason to believe that stone construction is specifically associated with upper-middle class homes. Fisher tests were used because the sample size is small ( $n = < 1000$ ). Tests were applied to a series of  $2 \times 2$  contingency tables that each compared the occurrence of a single feature on two different classes or house types (Table 5-1). The association of a feature with a certain class or house type was considered significant if a Fisher test showed that the probability of the observed distribution within the relevant contingency table was less than five percent ( $P = < 0.05$ ). This means that there was a less than five percent likelihood that random chance was the cause of the observed contrast in the use of a certain stylistic features on the compared classes or ownership types. The statistical program *R* was used to format the contingency tables and perform each test (McDonald 2014: 77-85). Appendix D contains the full results of these Fisher tests.



**Table 5-1. An example of one of the numerous 2 x 2 contingency tables used with the Fisher tests. Each count of YES indicates a structure with a hipped roof. Every class or ownership type was compared separately for each stylistic feature using these tables.**

<b>Hipped Roof</b>	<b>Personal Home</b>	<b>Rental Property</b>
<b>NO</b>	14	30
<b>YES</b>	13	11

#### 5.1.5 Limitations and Biases

The limitations and biases in this study are shaped by the reliance on historical information. The house sample is determined by the availability of relevant, good-quality historical images, as well as a variety of historical documents that do not always reveal the contextual information required. This results in a somewhat haphazard sample with a bias towards upper-middle class houses. These are the structures that were historically regarded as the most important, and as such they were most likely to have been photographed, left a good paper trail, or have been the subject of previous historical research. Forty-eight percent of personal homes in the sample are built by members of the upper-middle class, compared to twenty-eight middle-class houses and twenty-four working-class houses. However, the representation of personal homes and rental properties is good: forty-nine percent of the sample are personal homes and fifty-one percent are rental properties. There is also a slight bias towards older buildings, with sixty-six percent of houses dating to before 1890. While the overall sample consists of 103 houses, this number atrophies when broken down into different classes, ownership types, and periods for comparison. For example, there were only four working-class personal homes identified that were built between 1870 and 1889. Originally, there was an intention to measure change over time as part of this research, but to preserve sample sizes houses are instead compared across the entire study period.

A related challenge is confirming that historic (i.e., pre-1950) images show the original structures, and that modifications were not made to a building prior to the date of the photograph. Though not overly common, early twentieth-century modifications to nineteenth-century houses did occur. For example, Salmond notes that some older houses were ‘modernised’ in the 1920s through the addition of newly popular features like casement windows and decorative shingles (Pringle 2010). This issue is addressed on a case by case basis, with each house’s history and historic image scrutinised for evidence of any modification<sup>23</sup>. If there is even the possibility that a building has been modified prior to the historic photograph being taken, then it is excluded from the analysis. A key assumption in the research is that any modification to the appearance of a building will most likely occur well after its construction, as recently built structures are not typically modified. For many houses this means that modification is considered unlikely, as the associated historic photograph can be dated to within approximately 10 years of construction. Where there is a more substantial time gap between construction date and photograph, any modification is often marked by incongruous features, as is the case with Salmond’s modernised houses above. If a building is identified with an early construction date, but the historic image shows stylistic features typically associated with a later time, then this suggests that some modification has occurred (Figure 5-4, left). Alternately, images can also show houses with clear structural discontinuities, another marker of modification, and these were also excluded from the analysis (Figure 5-4, right).

Historical records provided further evidence. A substantial jump in a building’s rateable value long after it has been constructed suggests modifications. Additionally,

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<sup>23</sup> All images are included in Appendix A.

modifications to buildings in Dunedin were recorded by the DCC after 1870. This provides conclusive evidence for the modification of some buildings. Though the record is patchy for its first thirty years – the original *Building Modification Application Book* has been lost and applications reconstructed from council minutes – it is complete from 1901 onwards and even includes drawings of modifications. Ultimately, it is impossible to be completely certain that the historic photographs show a house's original appearance, but every precaution has been taken to exclude potentially modified buildings from the analysis, and the final sample is thought to be accurate.



**Figure 5-4. Left – This house in Dunedin appears in photograph of the city dating to the early 1870s, but its façade details – specifically timber singles and fan-lighted casement windows – are overwhelmingly seen on houses from the 1910s onwards, strongly suggesting it had been modified. As such, it was not included in the analysis (DCC: 239/6). Right – This house in Port Chalmers has clearly been modified, with a large extension and bay window attached to one end of the original cottage (PCM: 1487).**

Women are also underrepresented in the analysis because of biases in the historical information at hand. Prior to the Married Women's Property Act in 1884 a wife's property was legally owned by her husband (Else 2011). Even after this reform, only four houses in the sample included women on the property title, and all of these were joint ownership arrangements with their husbands. The identification of class through occupation is also problematic because men were traditionally seen as providing for the

family, and it was their occupation that became recorded in property records or local directories. Any married woman with property in her name had her occupation noted simply as 'housewife.' Finally, this research relied heavily on newspaper records to supplement the limited information available from property records and street directories, and tracing specific women through these sources can be challenging. The practice at the time was to style yourself after your husband's name (i.e., 'Mrs John Smith'). This relative absence of women from historical records is unfortunate because, while there is some suggestion that exterior house design was historically considered men's work (Forty 1986: 104; Simpson 1999: 156-8), there is no question that houses and 'the home' were cast as a women's domain and it is implausible that women would not play an important role in determining the public appearance of the space that was to be their workplace (Olssen 1984: 116-7; Forty 1986: 105-6; Mullins 2011: 152; Randi 2014: 152).

A similar issue is the invisibility of Māori in nineteenth-century Dunedin. Māori obviously represent a unique ethnic and social group and would likely have held distinct views on housing and house style. Unfortunately, property records and local directories offer no insight into an individual's ethnic background, and as such it is impossible to account for any related differences in house style. However, previous research suggests that ethnicity and identity would have had little influence on Dunedin's housing. Māori intermarriage with European newcomers in the area had begun in the 1830s, prior to organised settlement. By the time of the study period this intermarriage had created a mixed-descent community, and presumably this diminished any cultural distinctiveness that might manifest itself in housing. There is also evidence from oral histories where Dunedin residents of Māori descent emphasise how 'fitting in' – adhering to European mores and customs – was essential to 'getting on'. Secondly, from available records,

there appear to have been very few Māori who lived in Dunedin. Electoral rolls from 1908 record only four Māori in Dunedin, and Olssen notes that census records from 1936 record only twenty-one individuals who identified themselves as Māori in the suburbs of South Dunedin, Caversham, and St Kilda. It is unclear if this reflects an actual absence of people with Māori background, or merely a reluctance to *identify* as Māori. Regardless, it would appear that the number of people with Māori decent was very small, and the Māori that did live in Dunedin represent a group that was not overly distinct from the cultural mainstream. No Māori background was apparent in any of individuals who built the houses examined in the analysis (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 185-6).

## 5.2 Results

The analysis highlighted forty separate stylistic features involved in sixty-one statistically-significant contrasts. Only fifteen of these significant contrasts relate to class, suggesting there is only a limited stylistic difference between the houses of different classes. The other forty-six significant contrasts related to ownership type, demonstrating a distinct stylistic difference between personal homes and rental properties (see Appendix C and Appendix D for the full results).

The significance of each contrast in the presence of stylistic features is represented by the *p-value* in the results tables below. *The lower the p-value the greater the statistical significance of a relationship*, which means the greater the contrast in the use of a certain feature by different classes or ownership types, and the more obvious the association (see Section 5.1.4 above). Following (Burke 1999: 105), the standard terminology for describing statistical significance is used: *significant* indicates a *p-value* of less than 0.05 (5% chance of a contrast occurring through random chance), *highly*

*significant* is less than 0.01 (1% chance), and *very highly significant* is less than 0.001 (0.1% chance).

An example drawn from my analysis helps explain this measure of significance (Table 5-2). Clearly a larger proportion of personal homes feature twin projecting gables when compared to rental properties (twenty-four percent vs nine percent). Despite this, the Fisher test for this comparison only gives a *p*-value of 0.0632, showing that the contrast is still not statistically significant. There exists a real possibility that the observed frequency of twin gables is simply random and does not represent any actual preference for, or aversion to, this feature by the different ownership types.

However, if the frequencies were changed to give a larger proportion of personal homes twin gables the contrast between the two house types is more obvious and the *p*-value becomes 0.0002, a very highly significant result (Table 5-3). This altered result suggests that the relative abundance of personal homes with twin gables (twenty-four percent) compared to personal homes (still only nine percent) would be very likely representative of a contrasting stylistic taste associated with these two ownership types, and not simply a random usage of the feature.

**Table 5-2. Frequencies of Twin Projecting Gables on different ownership types.**

<b>Twin Projecting Gable</b>	<b>Personal Home</b>	<b>Rental Property</b>
<b>NO</b>	38 (76%)	48 (91%)
<b>YES</b>	12 (24%)	5 (9%)
<b>Total</b>	50 (100%)	53 (100%)
<i>p</i> -value = 0.0632		



**Table 5-3. Altered frequencies of Twin Projecting Gables on different ownership types.**

<b>Twin Projecting Gable</b>	<b>Personal Home</b>	<b>Rental Property</b>
<b>NO</b>	30 (60%)	50 (91%)
<b>YES</b>	20 (40%)	5 (9%)
<b>Total</b>	50 (100%)	53 (100%)
<i>p</i> -value = 0.0002		

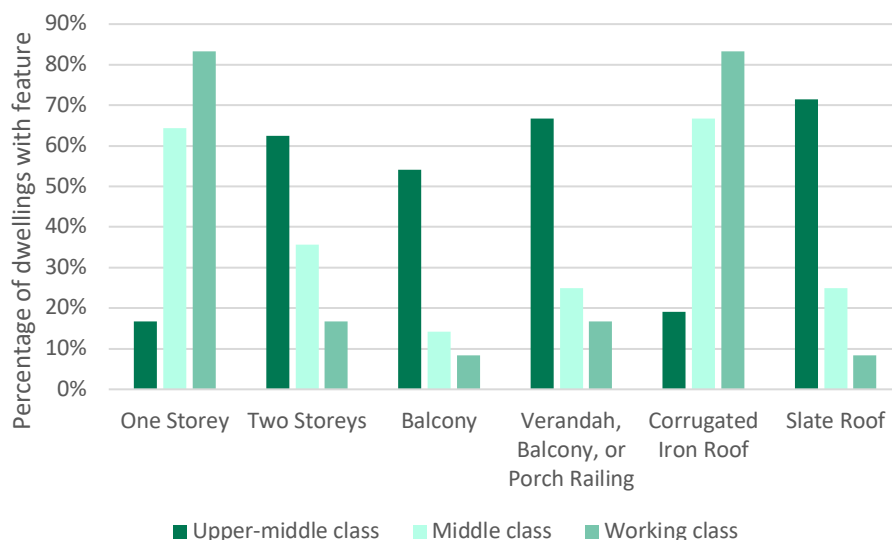
### 5.2.1 Class

Most significant features distinguish the upper-middle class (Table 5-4 and Figure 5-5). Scale is clearly important: middle- and working-class houses are far more likely to be single-storey buildings than upper-middle class houses. The contrast between upper-middle- and working-class houses is especially notable. Eighty-three percent of working-class houses have just one storey, compared to only seventeen percent of upper-middle class houses, a very highly significant difference. It appears that upper-middle class houses use an imposing scale to mark themselves apart from middle- and working-class houses; upper-middle class houses literally rise above those of the different classes.

**Table 5-4. Statistically significant contrasts between different classes.**

<b>Architectural Feature</b>	<b>Groups Compared (No. with Feature)</b>	<b><i>p</i></b>
<b>One Storey</b>	Upper-middle class (4) and Middle class (9)	0.0048
<b>One Storey</b>	Upper-middle class (4) and Working class (10)	0.0002
<b>Two Storeys</b>	Upper-middle class (15) and Working class (2)	0.0140
<b>Balcony</b>	Upper-middle class (13) and Middle class (2)	0.0196
<b>Balcony</b>	Upper-middle class (13) and Working class (1)	0.0111
<b>Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing</b>	Upper-middle class (16) and Middle class (3)	0.0328
<b>Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing</b>	Upper-middle class (16) and Working class (2)	0.0116
<b>Corrugated Iron Roof</b>	Upper-middle class (4) and Middle class (8)	0.0100
<b>Corrugated Iron Roof</b>	Upper-middle class (4) and Working class (10)	0.0006
<b>Slate Roof</b>	Upper-middle class (15) and Middle class (3)	0.0143
<b>Slate Roof</b>	Upper-middle class (15) and Working class (1)	0.0008
<b>Quoin Corner</b>	Upper-middle class (11) and Working class (1)	0.0307

Architectural Feature	Groups Compared (No. with Feature)	<i>p</i>
Quoin Corner	Middle class (7) and Working class (1)	0.0302
Truss Gable or Dormer Decoration	Middle class (0) and Working class (5)	0.0149
Cast Iron Frieze	Upper-middle class (4) and Working class (8)	0.0053



**Figure 5-5. The frequency of stylistic features distinguishing upper-middle-class houses from the other classes.**

The imposing scale of the upper-middle class homes is further emphasised through the significance of features specifically associated with two-storey structures: balconies projecting from the first storey<sup>24</sup> along with their associated, and often ornamental, safety railings (Figure 5-8). The frequency of these features on upper-middle class houses is considerably higher than middle- or working-class dwellings. Though these railings can also be found around ground storey porches and verandahs, they occurred most frequently on balconies.

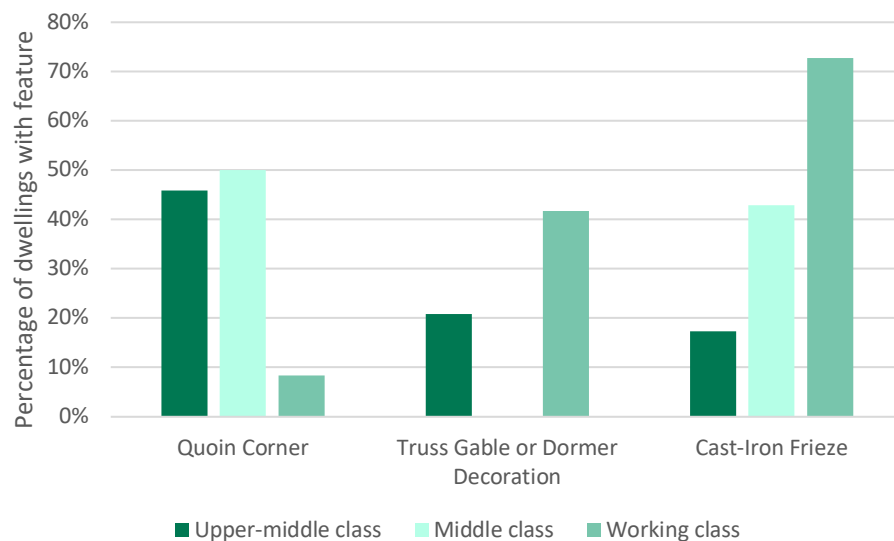
<sup>24</sup> Buildings in New Zealand are described using British English floor-naming conventions. The floor of a building at street level is the *ground floor*, and the floor above it is the *first floor*.

Roof material is the other feature that clearly distinguishes upper-middle class houses. Most middle- and working-class homes are roofed with corrugated iron, a reasonably cheap product that is easy to install and was produced locally in Dunedin as early as 1864 (Isaacs 2015: 189). In contrast, upper-middle-class homes frequently have expensive slate roofs. Their installation is time-consuming and most slates had to be imported great distances from Britain or the United States (Isaacs 2015: 183). Like house scale, the contrast between the types of roof material used by upper-middle- and working-class houses stood out as very highly significant. A far greater proportion of upper-middle class houses had slate roofs compared to the working-class, with the reverse being true for corrugated iron. Clearly these contrasts in scale and material reflect the wealth differential between the housing of the upper-middle-class and the other two classes.



**Figure 5-6. House built ca. 1882-1884 by Robert Gillies, an upper-middle class businessman. An ornamental railing runs around the first storey balcony (HNZ: File 12013-281).**

While these expensive features are generally associated with upper-middle class houses, three other stylistic features – quoins, truss gable decorations, and cast-iron friezes – serve to distinguish working-class homes (Figure 5-7). The truss decorations are features that could be easily fitted beneath the apex of a gable. Sometimes these trusses could be composed of substantial members, but those found on worker houses are small and simple features that added a little extra detail to a house's façade (Figure 5-8). The reason that these specific features are common on worker houses is unclear, but the absence of trusses from middle class houses provides a subtle difference between the two groups.



**Figure 5-7. The frequency of stylistic features distinguishing working-class houses from the other classes.**

More interesting is the relative abundance of working-class houses with cast-iron friezes compared to the upper-middle class. This is a highly-significant contrast. Cast-iron friezes are one of the most striking ornaments used on houses of this era, and it seems that workers embraced this intricate, mass-produced, and inexpensive feature

(Salmond 1986: 105). Conversely, the fact that such a distinctive feature is so obviously favoured by the manual working class may have dissuaded upper-middle class individuals from using it. For example, in America cast iron was specifically praised as an affordable form of decoration, and this sort of association may have been unappealing to an upper-middle class who were clearly trying to emphasise their wealth through scale and roof material (Lee 1983: 111).



**Figure 5-8. House built ca. 1898-1899 by William Godfrey, a working-class paper mill hand. Truss decorations are used beneath the gable apices (Hocken Library: 0853\_01\_002A).**



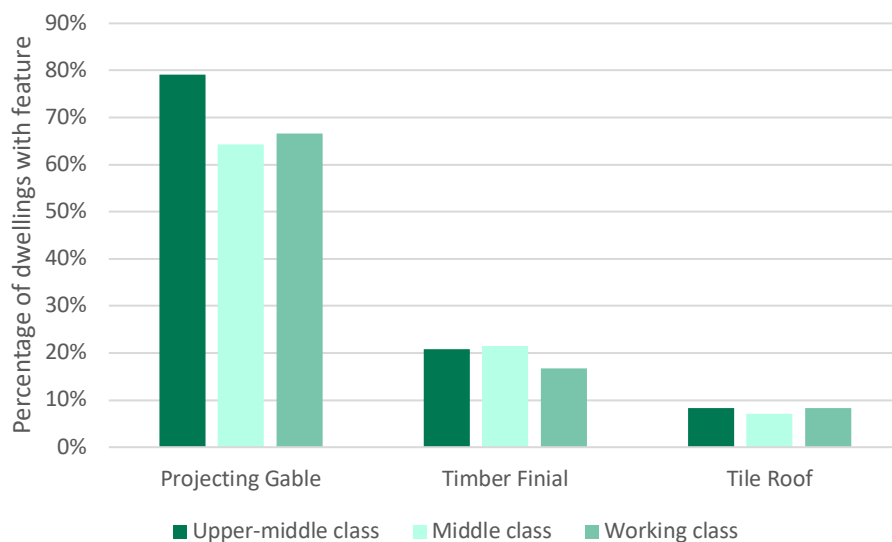
**Figure 5-9. Detail of William Godfrey's house (Figure 5-8) showing the ornate cast-iron frieze over the porch (Hocken Library: 0853\_01\_002A).**

Finally, quoins are features notably absent from working-class houses. Considering that a range of other decorative features are common on houses belonging to this class, it is incorrect to suggest that the absence of quoins is a result of economic limitations. Instead what is important here is that the working-class *did not* choose this feature (Burke 1999: 144). True quoins are masonry features incorporated into the corners of a structure, though most seen in this study are just applied decorations rendered in stucco or timber. The use of these features to evoke grandiose stone structures common in the Old-World may not have had any resonance with working class homebuilders, and as such it was not frequently employed.

However, despite these distinctions, the general pattern of similarity between the houses of different classes is more remarkable. It seems that the style of most houses was formed from a *common palette* of features largely shared between the classes. Out of the 116 features assessed in the analysis, only nine highlighted some form of statistically significant contrast. Most of these contrasts reflect cost-related differences in size or material rather than some sort of distinct structural form or decorative treatment apparently favoured by a class-specific taste. Though certain features like projecting gables are more common overall than other features like timber finials or tile roofs, the proportion of houses that incorporate these features is similar across the classes (Figure 5-10). The overall effect is houses that are set apart by obvious differences in scale and material, and some minor decorative features, but simultaneously unified in appearance because of their shared use of common stylistic features.

Consider the houses of the working-class carpenter Francis Vickery, the middle-class salesman Robert Fenwick, and the upper-middle-class physician Thomas Hocken (Figure 5-11 and Figure 5-12). Hocken's house clearly emphasises his class through its two-storey façade and slate roof. Vickery's house is less obviously distinct, but the analysis has

shown that its cast-iron frieze was favoured by working-class taste and this feature would presumably have subtly distinguished the house from the others in the eyes of Victorian and Edwardian passers-by. Yet alongside these differences, each house actually shares numerous stylistic features with its peers: for example, two-pane sash windows, verandahs, projecting gables, faceted bay windows, eave brackets, and gable roofs. Even the quantity of decoration is similar. The result is that Hocken's house appears as a much-enlarged version of Vickery's house, and vice versa, with Fenwick's an appropriate 'middle' size. While difficult to confirm from photographs alone, from the outside it even appears that the plan of these houses was similar, with rooms organised around organised around a central passage (see Figure 2-4 for an example of this layout).



**Figure 5-10. The frequency of projecting gables, timber finials, and tile roofs according to class.**





**Figure 5-11. Left – House built ca. 1876-1877 by Francis Vickery, a working-class carpenter (DCC: 266/6). Right – House built ca. 1876-1878 by Robert Fenwick, a middle-class commercial traveller and salesman (DCC: 264/7).**



**Figure 5-12. House built ca. 1871 by Thomas Hocken, an upper-middle class physician (Hocken: 0913\_01\_025A).**

Overall, the pattern revealed by the quantitative analysis parallels the broad social situation created by the New Zealand dream. The sort of class stratification that existed in Dunedin's society is embodied by the obvious expense of upper-middle class houses, expressed through their size and fine slate roofs. However, beyond these financial

differences, Dunedin's high social mobility has clearly suppressed the development of the distinctive class cultures that could have created very different class tastes. While some features, like cast-iron friezes or quoin corners appear to have been especially embraced by some classes more than others, the remainder of features make up a common stylistic palette largely drawn upon by all classes. However, this is not to suggest that the houses are identical: common features can be arranged and rearranged in highly-diverse ways, and certain features like friezes or brackets can come in a variety of forms. However, the use of the same types of features by all classes gives most houses a sense of visual consistency that suggests a similar stylistic taste and emphasises the city's relatively weak cultural class divisions. Some outliers exist – a small number of upper-middle class houses used totally unique stylistic features and appeared dramatically different than the other houses around town – but similarity was the main pattern.

### 5.2.2 House Ownership Type

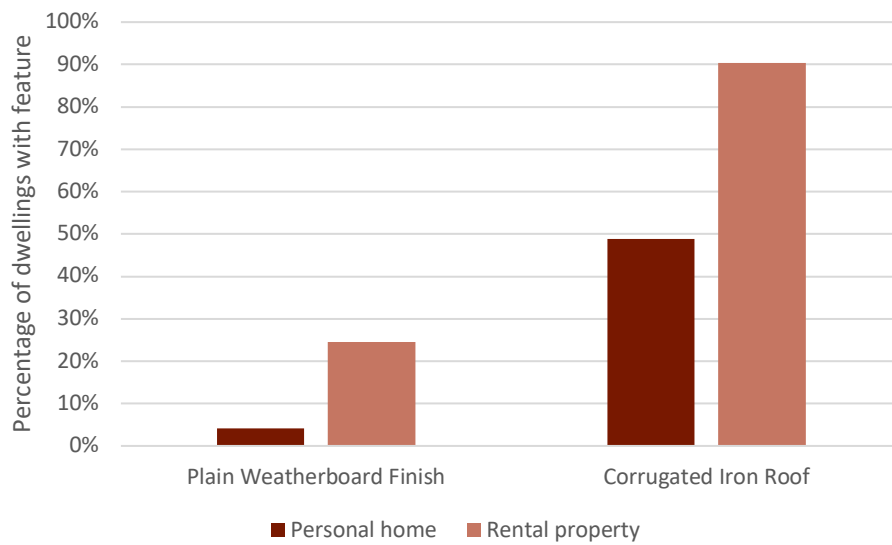
Unlike the houses of different classes, there is a profound difference between personal homes and rental properties. Of the 116 features compared, just under half (fifty-two) revealed a significant contrast between different types of house ownership (Figure 5-5). This pattern highlights a general contrast between the plain façades of rental properties and the more decorative and architecturally complex personal homes. The sheer volume of significant contrasts makes it unfeasible to discuss each one independently, but some of the most important differences between the two ownership types are outlined here. A full account of the significant features can be found in Appendix D.

Rental properties utilised basic materials like iron roofing and plain weatherboards more frequently than personal homes (Figure 5-13 and Figure 5-14). As

already mentioned above, iron roofing was a cheap, utilitarian item. While a large proportion of personal homes also used this material, almost all rental properties have iron roofs. Plain weatherboards are similarly utilitarian items. This was a cladding of plain, overlapping boards that was likely the cheapest option available. While many personal homes are also constructed of timber, only two used plain weatherboards, with more houses clad in rusticated weatherboards, a very popular option at the time.

**Table 5-5. Selected statistically significant contrasts between different house ownership types. The complete range of significant features is included in Appendix D.**

<b>Architectural Feature</b>	<b>Groups Compared (No. with Feature)</b>	<b><i>p</i></b>
<b>Plain Weatherboard Finish</b>	Personal Home (2) and Rental Property (13)	0.0046
<b>Corrugated Iron Roof</b>	Personal Home (22) and Rental Property (47)	0.00001
<b>Verandah</b>	Personal Home (24) and Rental Property (14)	0.0265
<b>Porch</b>	Personal Home (28) and Rental Property (12)	0.0006
<b>Balcony</b>	Personal Home (16) and Rental Property (3)	0.0007
<b>Projecting Gable</b>	Personal Home (36) and Rental Property (11)	0.0000002
<b>Bay Window</b>	Personal Home (43) and Rental Property (13)	0.0000000002
<b>Verandah, Balcony or Porch Frieze</b>	Personal Home (28) and Rental Property (18)	0.0171
<b>Verandah, Balcony or Porch Brackets</b>	Personal Home (33) and Rental Property (16)	0.0001
<b>Gable Decoration</b>	Personal Home (39) and Rental Property (13)	0.00000006
<b>Bay Window Decoration</b>	Personal Home (25) and Rental Property (3)	0.00000003
<b>Finial</b>	Personal Home (30) and Rental Property (8)	0.0000002
<b>Quoin Corner</b>	Personal Home (19) and Rental Property (7)	0.0057
<b>Cresting</b>	Personal Home (15) and Rental Property (3)	0.0015

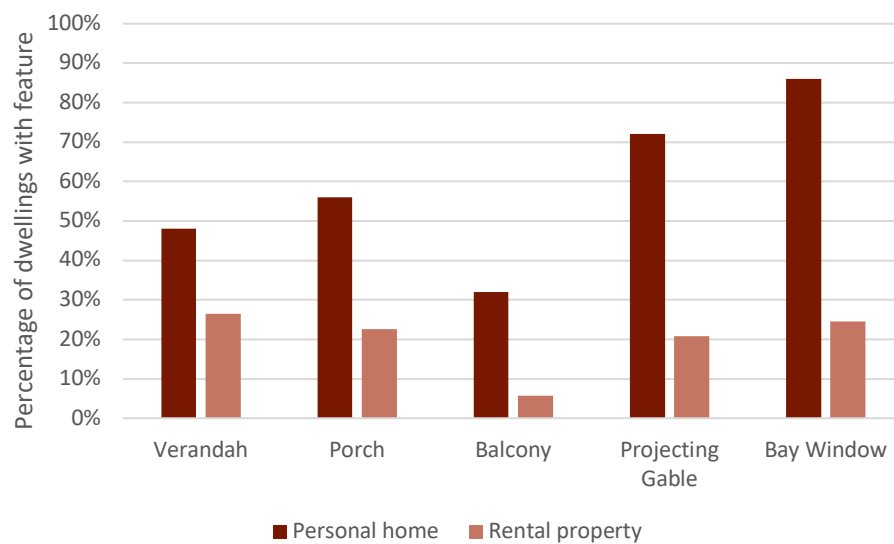


**Figure 5-13. The frequency of plain weatherboard finish and corrugated iron roofs according to ownership type.**



**Figure 5-14. Rental cottage built ca. 1875-1878 by John Grey, an upper-middle class timber merchant. It is clad in plain weatherboards, a finish used almost exclusively by rental properties. Also, it is roofed with iron like most other rentals (DCC: 301/2).**

These material contrasts certainly set the two building types apart, but the structural differences are even more remarkable: very few rental properties have the range of prominent structural features that are common on personal homes (Figure 5-15). These includes verandahs, porches, balconies, projecting gables, and bay windows. For the most part, the relative absence of these features from rental properties is very highly significant, with bay windows being the most significant contrast in the analysis ( $p\text{-value}=0.0000000002$ ). This statistical difference is visually obvious as well, with the resulting flat façades of rental properties very clearly distinct from the complex, protruding jumble of structural features that characterise personal homes (Figure 5-16).



**Figure 5-15. The frequency of structural features according to ownership type.**

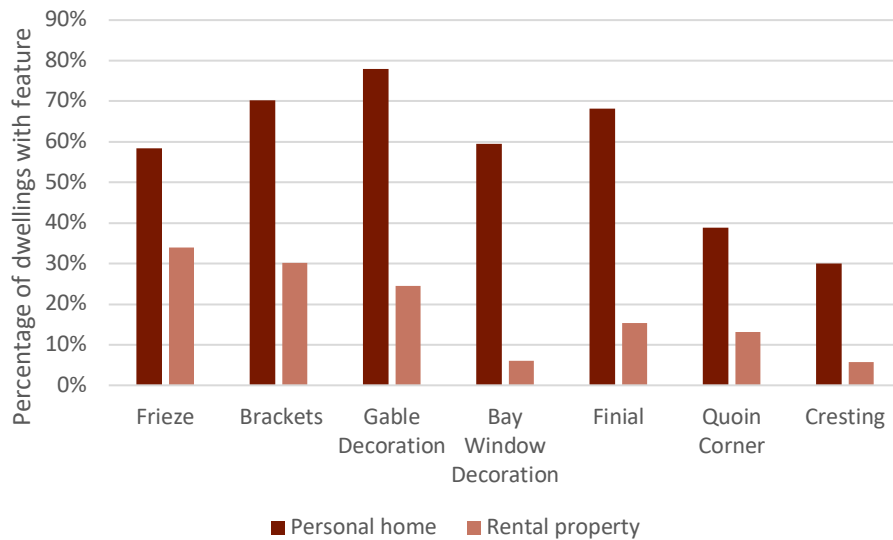




**Figure 5-16. Part of a small rental terrace in Dunedin built ca. 1878-1879 by David Laing, an upper-middle class businessman and farmer (DCC: 51/2).**

The visual contrast of rental properties and personal homes is further emphasised with ornamentation (Figure 5-17). Verandah/porch/balcony friezes and brackets, gable decorations, and bay windows – significantly more common on personal homes than they are on rental properties – are all traditional sites for ornamentation on Dunedin’s houses. As such, their relative absence from rental properties reduces this ownership type’s potential for extra decoration (Figure 5-18). However, rental properties are also lacking in other ornamental features not necessarily associated with those structural

features. For example, finials, quoin corners, and cresting are either totally absent or rarely used. Rental properties are simply less ornamented than personal homes.



**Figure 5-17. The frequency of ornamental features according to ownership type.**



**Figure 5-18. Four rental cottages built in 1873 by Timothy Hayes, a middle-class hotelkeeper (Te Papa: C.012069).**

Again, this overall pattern aligns with the social situation created by the New Zealand dream. This was an ideal that valorised property ownership and condemned tenancy. Given this obvious conceptual distinction, it is perhaps unsurprising to see such a significant visual contrast between the two house types that represent each group:



complex and ornamental personal homes, contrasting with very plain rental properties. While the contrast nominally applies to ownership type, it is a stylistic difference that also relates to class as it was largely the working class who occupied rental properties. Interestingly, the analysis of personal homes shows that the working-class who *were* able to afford their own homes ended up building in a style similar to their upper-middle- and middle-class peers, suggesting that the majority who found themselves in rental properties were given the plain rental property style by default rather than stylistic taste. In this sense the association of class and exterior house style in Dunedin is again a product of stratification; many of the working-class simply couldn't afford anything apart from the plain rental houses.



This statistical analysis of historic house styles provides a rigorous method for examining the relationship between class and house style in Dunedin. It is an approach adapted from the work of Burke (1999) and founded on the rich photographic record and archival resources that exist in Dunedin. Through my research, I was able to assemble a sample of 103 houses for analysis. The usage of various stylistic features by these houses is compared using Fisher tests to determine any statistically significant associations of style and class or style and ownership type.

The results of the analysis are clear. The style of personal homes embodies the social situation created by the New Zealand dream. There are a number of features which emphasise the wealth of the upper-middle class, but few other statically significant features that suggest the existence of distinct class tastes. This is thought to be a reflection of the New Zealand dream's suppression of separate class cultures. However,

the contrast between rental properties and personal homes is dramatic: in general, personal homes are far more expensively finished, complex, and ornamental structures. Again, this pattern reflects the New Zealand dream and its strong preference for homeownership as opposed to tenancy. It also points to the relative poverty of those in the working class who were unable to afford their own homes. The origins and implications of these statistical patterns relating to both the different classes of personal homes and ownership type are explored in depth in the following chapter with reference to specific case studies.

## 6 Four Stories

In his diary, Holloway (1873) frequently retells the stories of colonists he encountered. For example, a week after he arrived Holloway spent some time near Mosgiel with the farmer Andrew Todd,

A Large Landed proprietor – And A Justice of the Peace, who received me most cordially, – After Tea he took me for A Long Walk over his farm – show'd to me his crops which were looking very prosperous, – and his Cattle giving me a very interesting account of his Experience, and observations as a Colonist for more than Twenty Years – We return'd his house – and spent A very pleasant evening in company with his family (Holloway 1873: 8-9).

Later Holloway was introduced to another settler, a brick maker who

gave us some account of his experience as a colonist 13 years Ago he arriv'd in the colony almost penniless, Earn'd plenty of money during the first seven years [during the gold rush], but spent as fast as he earn'd it – being bent upon altering his course of Life – he made a resolution never to lift a glass of intoxicating liquors higher than his breast – his own expression he has kept his resolution, and within the last six years, he has bought A nice Freehold, piece of Land upon which he has erected three New Houses, two of which he Lets and the third he occupies himself, he has several hundred Pounds at the Bank, and he said a man was sure to get on in New Zealand if he was thrifty and industrious (Holloway 1873: 13).

Stories like these – as overtly promotional and moralising as they may be – begin to introduce the sort of individuals that built Dunedin's houses and collectively made up the broad historic scene examined in the previous chapter.

In the wake of my quantitative analysis – an avalanche of decimals, graphs, and significant features – it is important to remember that the histories of real people exist behind the general patterns of exterior house style. As cautioned by the architectural historian Ryan Smith,

too often the analytic mode depopulates its subject. It presents a disembodied past, without human scale. We are remarkably reluctant to engage in the subjective experiences of the actors under our study. Our studies explore a place or a mindset, but readers rarely see these through human eyes (2011: 11).

The patterns shown in a broad scale analysis can suggest a bygone world of meaningful material culture, but these results were ultimately the product of individual actors and it is through their stories that they are best understood and explained.

This chapter presents the stories of individuals who built or occupied four houses included in my analysis. Their narratives help explore and explain the significance of the results above. Section 6.1 covers Philip Davis, a carpenter from London who came to New Zealand, had a successful career, and – aided by the democratic potential of mass production – was able to retire to a comfortable suburban villa. Section 6.2 tells the story of William Wilson, a Scottish engineer who became wealthy after establishing Dunedin's first iron foundry. The house he built is distinguished by its large size and fine slate roof, but its general style is similar to Philip Davis' home, a product of their similar *habitus*. Section 6.3 discusses the life and house of Samuel Nevill, Dunedin's Anglican bishop. Unlike Davis and Wilson, Nevill originated from, and lived within, a privileged and elite circle of individuals, and this difference is emphasised by the distinctive style of his house. Finally, Section 6.4 describes the experiences of James Day, an ambitious but ultimately unsuccessful carter who was forced to live in a plain-styled and alienating rental property, the sort of dwelling vilified by the New Zealand dream.

## 6.1 Philip Davis: The Carpenter

In 1854 Philip Davis became fed up with England. He lived with his wife Ann in the seething mass of London's East End. There he plied his trade as a carpenter (1851 English Census, Limehouse ED21, Ho17, P1554, F608: 37). The work was hard, and the building industry was dominated by employers who had little regard for tradesmen's labour standards. Petitions for a shorter, nine-hour working day were rebuffed, and workers were fired for even having the temerity of asking for this (Chandler 1910: 5-6). Dismissal and a failure to find work was an alarming prospect in a society with little social insurance beyond the workhouse. Henry Mayhew (1861: 419) relates a tragic encounter with an unemployed carpenter in London – “a really pitiable character” – who had been unemployed for three months, had pawned all his belongings, and was reduced to begging. He was one of “a vast many carpenters out of work” (Mayhew 1861: 419).

The backdrop to this was the horrific working-class living conditions of mid-nineteenth century London. Mayhew describes a foetid scene: “the water of the huge ditch in front of the houses is covered with a scum. . . prismatic with grease. . . along the banks are heaps of indescribable filth. . . [houses were] as narrow and as unlike a human habitation as the wooden houses in a child's box of toys” (Mayhew 1971 [1849]: 3-4). The situation was hardly something that presented Davis with an optimistic vision. The master he trained with described him as an “honest, steady, and attentive” worker (Greenwood 1834), but despite these qualities there appeared to be little opportunity for an ambitious carpenter in a city permeated with filth and discontent. Emigration was the solution.

Davis and his family – his wife Anne, and their three children: Richard, Philip, and Anne – set off initially for Australia. The Victorian gold rush had begun in 1851 and Melbourne quickly exploded into a booming metropolis (Lewis 1995: 41). This was their

destination as they sailed southwards aboard the *Twee Gebroeders* in 1854 (Inward Overseas Passenger Lists, VPRS 7666). After his arrival Davis lived and worked in Victoria for the next six years. The details of his life during this time are not clear – he does not appear in directories – but electoral rolls suggest that by 1856 he had found work as a joiner (1856 Australian Electoral Roll, Victoria, Collingwood, Glasshouse: 15). However, the reality of Australia did not live up to expectations as Melbourne’s building industry slipped into stagnation; the euphoria of the initial gold boom had already begun to subside by the time he left England. There was still work available in Melbourne for skilled men like Davis – new building material industries like joinery factories were being established, and building work continued in what was now a major city – but the exceptional boom-time wages of the early 1850s fell throughout the decade. In 1854 carpenters were paid twenty-eight shillings per day, but this fell to fourteen shillings in 1857, and just eleven in 1861 (Lewis 1995: 53-4).

With his Australian prospects dwindling, Davis saw potential in the young colony across the Tasman Sea. It was time again to emigrate. In January 1861, Davis and his family – now including two further children: Jane and Maria<sup>25</sup> – set sail upon the *Pirate* for a new life in New Zealand (Outward Passengers, VPRS 948, P0001, 20). The Dunedin that welcomed them was a sleepy colonial outpost and its built environment was comprised of a small and ramshackle collection of commercial buildings surrounded by a scattering of cottages. By 1865 Davis had secured a seven-year lease of property adjoining Arthur Street on the hills above the town centre (Figure 6-1; 1865 New Zealand Electoral Roll, Otago, Dunedin: 13). It is unknown what style of house he brought or built on the

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<sup>25</sup> Philip and Anne also had a further child that was stillborn/died in infancy around 1861, but I have not been able to locate any precise name or birth date records (OASES, Philip Davis, 31670).

site, but it was most likely just a small, undecorated two- or four-room cottage. This was the sort of dwelling that most early residents lived in. Having escaped the bustle of Melbourne, Davis and his family were now prepared to settle down and raise their family in this peaceful town at the edge of empire. However, that was not how things panned out.



**Figure 6-1. Detail of a ca. 1874 panorama showing Arthur Street and Davis' neighbourhood (Te Papa: C.011798).**

On the 8 June 1861 – just five months after the Davis family had arrived in town – the Otago Witness reported that payable gold deposits had been discovered inland. The goldfields' attraction took some time to build up steam, but by the end of the year thousands were pouring into Otago and Dunedin was booming (McDonald 1965: 51-2; Otago Witness 1861). Unlike Victoria – where Davis had arrived long after the gold boom had taken hold of the state – he suddenly found himself ahead of the rush. As an already established carpenter, Davis was perfectly situated to take advantage of the massive



demand for housing that accompanied the influx of new immigrants. He was a lucky man.

As per the New Zealand dream Davis invested his new earnings in suburban property. In the late 1860s a large sixty-acre estate in the hills above central Dunedin was subdivided for sale as suburban residential allotments (Otago Daily Times 1868). Davis likely appreciated the location; the property was separated from the grimy city by the green belt, but the centre of town was still easily accessible via a short walk down high street. Around 1868-1869 he purchased five and a half quarter-acre sections in what became known as The Glen Estate<sup>26</sup> (Otago Deeds Index L, Folio 878). This was extremely affordable property and it is unsurprising that Davis bought so much of it. Each section only cost £16 on credit or £15 cash (Otago Daily Times 1868). During the 1860s carpenters could be earning between 12 to 20 shillings a day in Dunedin (Otago Daily Times 1862a, 1869a), meaning that you could potentially secure your own land with as little as sixteen days' work! These were the property prices that fuelled the New Zealand dream. No longer the preserve of the wealthiest of Old World society, this cheap land made property ownership a real possibility. Davis did not take up the sections immediately, but sometime between 1876 and 1879 he eventually built and moved into a neat villa on one section fronting Glen Road<sup>27</sup> (Figure 6-2).

His house was a creature of mass-production. By the time of its construction, building material manufactures were well established in Dunedin, and their supply was supplemented by imported items. The wealth of building products available to consumers included basic materials, ornamental details, and even designs for whole

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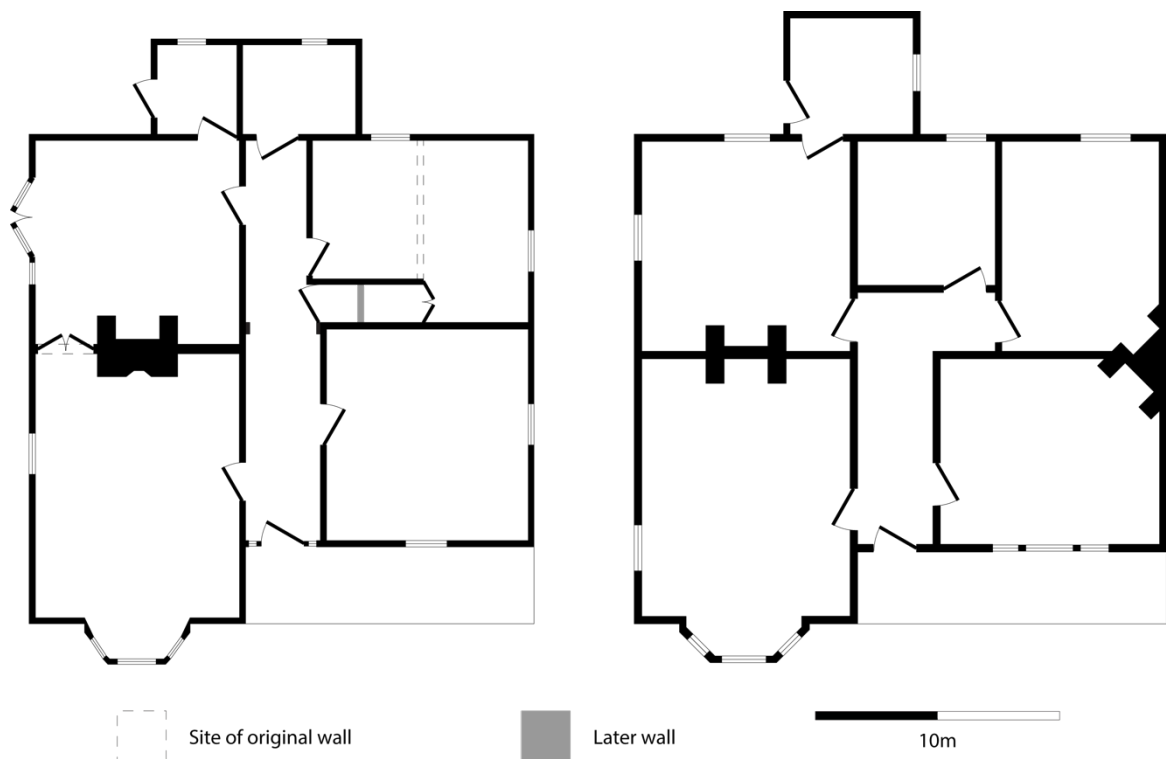
<sup>26</sup> Sometimes also called the Glen Township.

<sup>27</sup> Though he purchased the land in Mornington ca. 1868-1869, he is still recorded as living in central Dunedin in an 1876 notice advertising his daughter Anne's wedding. Later, Janes 1879 wedding notice records Philip as residing in Mornington (Evening Star 1876, 1879).

houses, all advertised through newspaper notices or illustrated catalogues. Davis picked through this range of mass-produced items and established designs to put together his 'kitset' house in what he thought was an attractive style. As a carpenter, he likely built the house himself. Its layout followed a plan common in Dunedin. It was also specifically reminiscent of cottage design number six in the Thomson, Bridger, and Company catalogue: both Davis' and the catalogue's plans have similar dimensions and feature a central passage with a dog leg, a bay window, a projecting gable, and a verandah (Figure 6-3). Factory-made materials were used to execute the building, this included rusticated boards, doors, window sashes, roofing iron, and most likely even the entire bay window. Finally, the façade was finished with some fretwork bargeboards, brackets, and a frieze – all of which had likely been picked out from the cornucopia of catalogue options.



**Figure 6-2. House built ca. 1876-1879 by Philip Davis, a working-class carpenter. Philip (in the hat) and Anne (seated, next to the door) are photographed alongside their three daughters and numerous grandchildren (Hocken: 0916\_01\_004A).**



**Figure 6-3. A common plan. Left – Current plan of Philip Davis’ house (J. Moyle). Right – Plan of cottage design number six in the Thomson, Bridger, and Company catalogue (ca. 1900, adapted by J. Moyle).**

Davis’ house was a celebration of his achievement of the New Zealand dream, and the style of this building especially embodied his financial success. As noted above, for all the imagined social benefits of colonial migration – independence, improved sanitation, better investment in community spirit, an escape from repressive social pressures and status anxiety – the New Zealand dream was at its heart about wealth accumulation. The central narrative was that of the settler who worked hard to exploit employment opportunities that did not exist in the Old World and, in turn, reaped a monetary reward (Fairburn 1989: 42-73). In this context, it is possible to see Davis’ house as an example of conspicuous consumption. Not only was the house a material reminder of Davis’ new property holdings, it was also built in what can be described as an ‘aspirational style,’ whose scale and ornateness evoked historical associations of wealth. Sitting alone on its

suburban site, this was Davis' own manor house in miniature, a representation and reaffirmation of his modest prosperity in colonial Dunedin (Toomath 1996: 89).

The significance of Davis' house style as an embodiment of his colonial success is most evident in the way it contrasts with other contemporary less ostentatious building types. Firstly, Davis' house is quite different from the small, cramped, and austere houses of working-class urban Britain (Figure 6-4, left). These were dwellings associated with the filth, poverty, and despair he had left behind in London, and Davis had no wish to return to such structures. His house was also a contrast to the basic huts and two-room cottages occupied by many of Dunedin's early settlers, the sort of house type that Davis likely moved away from when he shifted from Arthur Street into the suburbs (Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-4, right). The plain style of these homes was largely due to the town's underdeveloped early building industry. However, the population's gradual shift from these small dwellings to larger, more ornate villa's like Davis' also served as a general metaphor of colonial progress that paralleled and reinforced his own sense of achievement (Figure 4-22). Finally, Davis' house dramatically contrasted the plain style of rental properties around Dunedin. These were the homes of Dunedin's poorest who had, so far, not achieved the New Zealand dream. My analysis shows a clear stylistic difference between personal homes like Davis' and rental properties (see Section 5.2.2), and this particular distinction is discussed further in Section 6.4.

It was the democratic potential of mass-produced building materials (see Section 4.1.4) that actually allowed Davis to build his substantial and ornate house, and this was a situation that seemed to parallel the opportunity inherent in the New Zealand dream. In the same way that emigrants coming to New Zealand could escape the elite rentiers of the Old World and have more access to property ownership, homebuilders gradually had more access to a volume and variety of materials that was previously unthinkable to all

but the wealthiest members of society. Mass production – like colonial migration – upset the status quo. Though the proliferation of mass-produced products was a global phenomenon, it would have been easy for people living in the developing colony of Dunedin to associate this new material abundance with the promise of a better colonial life. For most emigrants it would have been a remarkable experience to leave the ancient cottages of the British countryside or the bland city terraces and be confronted with these new, substantial, ornate kitset houses that were being assembled from an array of affordable mass-produced materials.



**Figure 6-4. Left – Terrace housing in Lambeth, London (Lambeth Borough Archive). Right – Basic early cottages close to Davis’ old home in Arthur Street (DCC: ‘Demolitions’ 1959-60, Photo 4b).**

With his house completed, and comfortable in his success, Davis settled into his community. He made the most of his land and gathered his family around him. Two of his daughters – Anne and Jane – were gifted sections, and both lived with their husbands and children only two doors down from their parents (Dunedin Probate Records, Philip Davis, B141, R3531). Jane and her husband – the working-class postman John Hardie – would later build an even more ornate home on one of these sections, their own monument to a successful life in New Zealand (Figure 4-24). Alongside this, one of

Philip's sons – Philip Jr –continued to live at home with his parents until his 30s.<sup>28</sup> Davis eventually also opened a store on the corner next to his house, a business he seems to have run alongside his carpentry work. It appears to have been a successful venture, enduring for many years and possibly becoming a focal point in the neighbourhood: the store was even one of the polling places for local body elections (Evening Star 1882). This was the scene that characterised the rest of Davis' life. Eventually he would pass away in 1899 at the age of 79 (Evening Star 1899). As a successful colonist, I imagine he spent his latter years content in his own suburban idyll.

## 6.2 William Wilson: The Engineer<sup>29</sup>

The life of Philip Davis shows how he came to Dunedin and, with the help of affordable mass-produced building materials, was able to construct a house that embodied his achievement of the New Zealand dream. But how was Davis' working-class experience different to those from other classes? Moreover, how did the differences in their social situation relate to the style of house they built in Dunedin? The story of the upper-middle class engineer William Wilson provides an interesting comparative case and helps to explain the wider patterns identified in my analysis: namely, the significantly larger scale of upper-middle class houses as well as the general similarity in the style of all three classes.

William Wilson was to become one of Dunedin's most notable early figures. He was the father of the city's iron founding industry and accumulated a fortune for himself.

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<sup>28</sup> Tragically, Philip Jr died in 1882 of an accidental suicide. He had arrived home after an evening of drinking and attempted to take a small measure of sulfuric acid as a folk remedy to help sober up. However, in his intoxicated state he consumed too much of the acid and died the next day (Otago Daily Times 1882).

<sup>29</sup> Unless otherwise referenced, the source material for this section is Margret Hunter's *The Story of William Wilson* (1965).

However, his early years certainly did not suggest such an auspicious destiny. Wilson's life began in 1821, with his birth in an unassuming terrace house in Kircaldy, Scotland. During his formative years Wilson tried his hand at several trades, training for some time as a millwright – his father's occupation – then as a carpenter, before eventually serving as a marine engineer aboard a ship in the West India Company. This last job stuck. It was a professional career and he worked at sea for eight years from approximately 1847 to 1855. During this time, he also married his wife Isabella, had three daughters – Jane, Agnes, and Mary – and moved to Southampton, England. Yet it seems the nautical life was not for him. The work was hard; you not only had to be a competent mechanic, but also to cope with the challenges of life at sea. It was a difficult prospect as shipping was still transitioning from sail to steam and the engineers were isolated figures in the crew. The belief was that “oil and water do not mix” (Penn 1955: 79). Escape to the new colony of Dunedin presented an alternative, and in October 1855 Wilson and his family set off for New Zealand.

The journey was long and hard, but they finally arrived in early 1856. At this point the gold rush was several years away, so the Dunedin that they found was still a small, sleepy township. As was the case for most new arrivals, the first house they occupied was a very small dwelling in the centre of town<sup>30</sup>, with the whole family sleeping on the floor of a single ten-square-foot bedroom. Unfortunately, Wilson's life in this house was marked by tragedy. His infant son Gavin died in October 1859, followed shortly by his wife around a month later. As terrible as these deaths likely were, Wilson endured, and eventually he remarried in 1862. He and his new wife Helen moved into a larger cottage

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<sup>30</sup> This was thought to be somewhere on Walker (now Carroll) Street.



in town (Figure 6-5)<sup>31</sup> and had another six children together – William Jr, Robert, John, Margaret, Helen, and Gavin.



**Figure 6-5. William Wilson and his family in front of their cottage, ca. 1860s-1870s (TOSM: 79/221).**

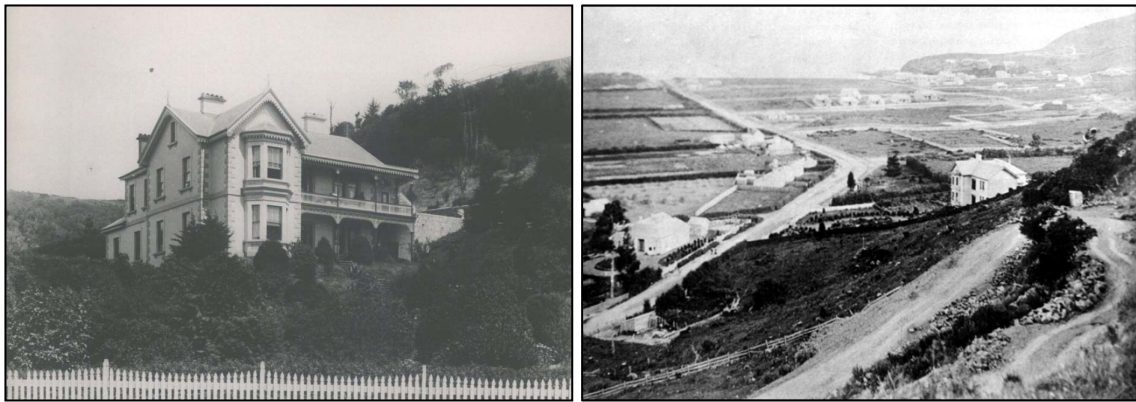
In the midst of this eventful personal life Wilson endeavoured to work out a career in his adopted town. Shortly after arrival he had contracted as a builder for some time, but the priority seems to have been putting his mechanical engineering talents to use. In 1859 – just two months before the deaths in his family – Wilson purchased some land between Cumberland and Castle Street and established the Otago Foundry. It was the first foundry in the province, and in the absence of any competitors Wilson's business was unsurprisingly successful. In 1862 he produced the city's first metal castings. Just five years later – in the afterglow of the gold rush – his firm manufactured an entire

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<sup>31</sup> This cottage sat on a large section of land Wilson owned between George and Filleul Streets.

steamer for a local ferry company, reportedly the largest ever built in New Zealand at the time. For the next eight years Wilson's foundry would have steady work manufacturing ships as well as machinery for Otago's gold mining industry. The business would carry on for over 100 years – until 1988 (Farquhar 2006) – but Wilson himself retired from foundry work in 1875 after sustaining a serious injury from an anvil. However, by this stage he had also begun to invest in property and other ventures. Though not regarded as a particularly good businessman – sometimes making unwise investments and accepting shares in worthless gold claims as payment for work – Wilson's foundry was a prosperous enterprise and it made him wealthy.

With his new wealth he began to build *Hazelbank* around the end of the 1870s (Figure 6-6, left). The details of its construction arrangements are unclear but, based on the client-contractor relationship discussed in Chapter Four, it is probable that Wilson was in control of the project, working with a builder and possibly an architect to create his own dream home. Its location was a two-acre suburban section on a hillside that he owned in St. Clair (Figure 6-6, right). There were views out to sea, but Wilson chose to have his house look out towards Dunedin. Not only could he survey with pride the developing city in the bay, but the house was also a monument of his success for all to see. Construction likely began on the concrete brick structure in 1879, and by the next year Wilson and his family were able to move into their completed fifteen-room home.



**Figure 6-6. Left – *Hazelbank* built ca. 1879-1880 by William Wilson, an upper-middle class Engineer (Hocken: 1063\_01\_009A). Right – Looking out to sea, with *Hazelbank* at the right facing Dunedin and situated well above the nearby buildings (Hardy 1995).**

How does Wilson's upper-middle class house compare to Philip Davis' working-class equivalent? It is clear there are both distinctions and similarities between these two structures, and these are also evident at a broader scale in my statistical analysis. The most obvious difference between the buildings is their size. Davis' villa is not small, but it is dwarfed by *Hazelbank* and its imposing two-storey façade. Wilson's hillside placement of the house magnified this sense of presence; it towered over other houses nearby when it was first built. *Hazelbank's* scale also facilitated certain distinctive elements not seen on Davis' home. A two-storey design allowed for a balcony to be added, and this was fitted with a railing to ensure the safety of those 'taking the air' while looking out across Dunedin from their elevated position. The other important distinction was roof material: the heavy grey and green slate roof that topped Wilson's monumental structure was quite different from the bright iron roof on Davis' house. As already noted in the previous chapter, each of these features were significantly associated with upper-middle class residents. All are clearly examples of conspicuous consumption: a demonstration of the wealth wielded by men like Wilson in contrast to the other classes. Building a very large house like *Hazelbank*, and using imported materials like slate, was a very expensive

affair that was simply not possible for much of Dunedin's population (Isaacs 2015: 183-184). Other features like balconies and railings were not as inherently expensive, but they still reflected the expense of a building because they depended on an owner being able to afford a large two-storey structure.

More subtly, Wilson also used quoin corners to distinguish his home from working-class houses. This was a particular feature that – according to my analysis – was embraced by members of the middle-class and upper-middle class, but not the working class. Unlike the other explicitly expensive features, affordable timber versions of these quoins existed that working-class individuals people like Davis' could likely afford. Instead, the working class appear to have avoided this feature as something unappealing to them and supposedly more evocative of middle-class or upper-middle-class preferences. Thus, in a wider sense, the incorporation of quoins into Wilson's house style, and their absence from Davis' home speaks of a degree of cultural difference between their respective classes that could inform at least a small difference in architectural taste.<sup>32</sup>

And yet, despite these clear differences, it is the similarities that are most striking when you compare Davis and Wilson's houses. Both have an offset gable projecting from their façade. Both have a verandah nestled in the crook created by this feature and the main mass of the structure. Both use bay windows, two-light sashes, and have doors flanked by fanlights and sidelights. Finally, both also share a range of common

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<sup>32</sup> Two other features, truss gable decorations and cast-iron friezes, were also embraced by the working class but not generally used by the middle and upper-middle classes respectively. As such, Wilson is atypical as a member of the upper-middle class in his use of cast-iron friezes. Considering his profession as an iron founder, however, it is unsurprising that he decorated his home with iron features. Indeed, almost all other ornamental features on *Hazelbank* were also made of iron. Aside from iron friezes, no ornamental iron features were found to be significantly associated with certain classes in the Chapter 5 analysis.

ornamental features like bargeboards, finials, verandah friezes and brackets. As noted in the previous chapter, both houses seem to have drawn upon a common palette of stylistic features and as a result created buildings that appear alike, aside from their obvious contrasts in scale and material. Wilson's house seems simply to be a massively enlarged version of Davis' home.

The idea of 'trickling' taste could be a simple explanation for this general similarity of house styles, but the extent of its influence is unclear. If members of one class were emulating the house style of another class – and past research has suggested that this can happen both up and down the class spectrum (Trigg 2001; Hodge 2010; Hubka 2013) – then you could expect an apparently common style to emerge as the older houses that served as fashionable prototypes endured alongside the later houses of the classes that emulated them. Unfortunately, the restrictions of my research did not allow for the investigation of this idea. The number of historic building images with reliable contextual information is limited, and I was unable to gather a large enough sample to confidently look at change over time and see if there were any styles trickling between classes over time.

There is perhaps some precedent for trickle-down style in Dunedin's embrace of mass production and its 'democratisation' of formerly elite goods, but this relates more to a desire to manifest wealth in general – the fulfilment of the New Zealand dream – rather than some sort of distinctive upper-class taste. Additionally, the very fact that trickling tastes could possibly even create a common style for different classes blunts the potential for architecture to be a socially-distinctive artefact. Building a new house to keep ahead of the fashion curve as lower classes emulated your stylistic taste is an unrealistic prospect for all but the wealthiest of individuals, and I doubt that anyone in Dunedin during my study period would have been rich enough to take this approach (Upton 1991:

166-7). Finally, the fact that Davis' working-class house was actually constructed before Wilson's similar structure shows in the clearest way possible that the upper-middle class were not inevitably the fashion leaders in Dunedin.

Instead, given the evidence available, Bourdieu's (1984) theory of class and material culture better explains how Dunedin's open society and indistinct class culture helped create a reasonably common taste in domestic architecture. The open and mixed social situation suggests that the city's residents would have been influenced by a common *habitus*. They had similar upbringings, educations, and life experiences, despite being members of different classes. Given that taste is the product of your *habitus*, it follows that a common *habitus* would inform common tastes and ultimately lead to a common architectural style. Classes in Dunedin were simply not as socially exclusive as they had been in the Old World. In turn, this suppressed the development of characteristic material forms that could have expressed or reinforced a more clearly defined class culture.

Wilson's biography is an excellent example of how many members of the upper-middle class in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin could have originated from or mixed freely with other classes. It was an open lifestyle that effectively prevented the exclusive mixing and meeting patterns needed to form a distinctive class culture, *habitus*, and architectural taste. Far from being born with a silver spoon in his mouth, Wilson's childhood was lived out in a Scottish terrace house, and he worked at manual trades prior to becoming a professional engineer. Even after establishing his business in Dunedin, and growing it to a substantial enterprise, the fact that he had to retire because of an altercation with an anvil suggests he remained active about the shop floor and mixed with his workers. An 1871 newspaper report captures the communal spirit of his business, noting how Wilson gathered together with the entire factory workforce to

celebrate the completion of an apprentice's training. He personally toasted the "health and prosperity of the young man" (Otago Daily Times 1871). Like many successful employers around Dunedin, he occupied a different class but was bonded to his workers through their shared practical experiences (Olssen 1995: 55).

Outside of the workplace, Wilson's domestic experience would have been much like the other classes in Dunedin. Far from some secluded country house or walled-off urban compound, his house prior to *Hazelbank* was simply a small cottage on a lot in the midst of an inner-city block (Figure 6-7). Not only was his house a similar size to others around town, his neighbours represented a diverse cross-section of society: George D'o, owner of 'Paris Novelty', a main street drapers; Herbert Hill, a clerk; James Patton, a bricklayer; William Thomas, a boilermaker; Alfred Tacey, a carpenter; Jessie Clark, a boarding-house proprietor; and Henry King, a salesman, were just a few of the individuals recording as living adjacent to Wilson's old house in 1883, just three years after he built *Hazelbank* (Stone 1883). Even at his new and more remote suburban address, his house still sat immediately across from three labourers' cottages (Figure 6-6).

Additionally, the diverse experiences of Wilson's children further highlight the mixed and open society he inhabited. Of the daughters from his first marriage, Jane became a teacher, and all three eventually married farmers and moved away from Dunedin. All but one of the sons from Wilson's second marriage worked in manual trades – carpentry, joinery, locomotive fitting – despite coming from an upper-middle class family. The eldest – William Jr – was the exception, training as a professional mechanical engineer. From these similar beginnings the sons proceeded down totally different paths: William started a bicycle shop, Robert worked at a sash and blind factory and became a socialist advocate, Gavin rose through the ranks at the local railway workshops to become a high-ranking manager at New Zealand Rail, and John became



mayor of Dunedin! Wilson's other daughters lived equally divergent lives. Margret rose to become the head milliner at a clothing factory, and eventually married an electrician. Helen remained unmarried, continued to live at *Hazelbank* with her parents, and helped with the management of the large house. These stories represent a remarkable contrast to the situation in Britain where few were able to cross the social divides that had arisen around class and occupation (Olssen, Griffen, and Jones 2011: 234-5).



**Figure 6-7. A view from central Dunedin looking north, with Wilson's house highlighted (Te Papa: C.012043)**

However, the common taste borne of this social situation did not mean that Wilson and Davis were condemned to build identical structures. In accordance with standard vernacular design practice, the common palette of features both men used to create their homes was open to being combined and recombined in numerous different ways in order to create recognisably similar but still unique dwellings. Dunedin's building material manufactures helped facilitate this system by providing a variety of design ideas and the cheap materials needed to produce diverse and novel arrangements of structural

features. Most important for individualised homes, however, were the architectural details: factories produced hundreds of variations of common ornamental features like brackets and friezes. Salmond (1986: 173) has previously noted that the recombination of the structural features most commonly found on historic New Zealand houses was able to generate at least 6000 distinct house styles. Add the huge range of ornamental details to this and the potential options are effectively limitless. Wilson and Davis could be confident their homes, while similar, were still unique and individualised creations (Toomath 1996: 100-1; Gottfried and Jennings 2009: 54-5). It was an important consideration given the importance of the individual within the New Zealand dream.

Wilson lived out most of his remaining years at *Hazelbank*. Unfortunately, much of the wealth he had accrued in Dunedin was drained by various poor business decisions, and the grand house he had built for himself began to strain the family finances. Towards the end of his life the decision was made to subdivide the property and move to a smaller home. This was the financially sensible decision, but Wilson loved that house and it broke his heart to move out. Not only did he have years of memories tied up in the building, the very scale that was now proving to be a financial issue was part of its magic. It was an immense material testament to the fantastic success he had had in establishing and building Otago's iron industry. However, while *Hazelbank's* scale and quoin corners expressed Wilson's identity as a member of the upper-middle class, other aspects of the building's style paralleled the working class home of Philip Davis', a product of the mixed, "face to face society" that both Wilson and Davis lived amongst (Olssen 1984: 84). Wilson's granddaughter recalls his attachment to the house: "Grandfather refused to move – he had built the house and there he would stay. Everything except the chair he sat on was removed on shifting day" (Hunter 1965: 10). Eventually, however, Wilson accepted his fate and relented, moving to a more modestly sized house nearby. He lived

there until his death in 1901, leaving behind a large, growing family, an important historical legacy, and a magnificent house.

### 6.3 Samuel Nevill: The Bishop<sup>33</sup>

Were Wilson and Davis' experiences ubiquitous? Were their house styles the only ones found in Dunedin? Certainty not, but their stories do illustrate and provide some insight into the origins of the general pattern seen in my analysis: large upper-middle-class homes paired with a reasonably common style across all classes. However, as the saying goes, 'the exception proves the rule'. Looking at an exception not only highlights the fact that a norm exists, it also allows an exploration of how different social circumstances can foster different material forms. Bishop Samuel Nevill was one such exception. Both his house – *Bishopsgrove* – and his life's history were quite distinct from those of other Dunedin residents.

Born in 1837, Neville appears to have had a relatively privileged upbringing. His father is only recorded as being a hoiser, but as a child Nevill attended high school, learnt Latin, cultivated his ability at painting, and mixed with members of the English upper-class. At the age of twenty-one he received an inheritance from his grandfather and used it to fund theological studies in St. Adian's, Liverpool and the prestigious Trinity College, Dublin. Taking Holy Orders, Nevill was appointed the deacon of a small church in Lancashire. During this tenure he met and married his wife Mary, who herself apparently had substantial private means. Nevill continued with his studies, now moving to Cambridge to pursue a degree. His time at Magdalene College inevitably brought him

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<sup>33</sup> Unless otherwise referenced, the source material for this section is from Nevill's autobiography, *A Bishop's Diary* (1922).

into contact with some influential figures within contemporary British society. This included various members of the gentry as well as academic luminaries like the novelist and royal chaplain Charles Kingsley and the pioneering geologist Adam Sedgwick. He graduated in 1866 (Booth 1993).

For the next four years Nevill ministered to a large but impoverished industrial parish in north Staffordshire, where black “smoke of such density belched forth from innumerable chimneys” (Nevill 1922: 8). Yet despite these grim surroundings – which Nevill himself described as having “somewhat injured my health” (Nevill 1922: 12) – he was still reluctant to accept the offer of a New Zealand bishopric when shoulder-tapped by George Selwyn, the colony’s former Anglican primate. It must have been a seriously daunting prospect to leave the imperfect but familiar and ‘civilised’ surroundings of Britain for the provincial wilderness of her most far-flung settlement, even with the promise of such an esteemed office. Unlike many prospective emigrants, his reasonably important position within English society meant he had less incentive to uproot his established life and move to the other side of the world. Nevill was eventually talked into at least visiting the colony before completely dismissing the offer, though the trip was also motivated by a desire to visit his wife’s brothers who had already emigrated there. In 1870 he and his wife embarked on the journey, travelling westward across the Atlantic before taking the train through the United States to San Francisco and finally sailing on to New Zealand via Hawaii.

After arriving in Auckland, Nevill and his wife toured the length of the country, stopping along the way to stay with prominent members of the small society: a handful of local bishops, judges, important physicians, and civil servants like the colony’s Governor Sir George Bowen. Nevill seems to have particularly enjoyed his time with Bowen and described him as a “highly cultivated” person of the “most agreeable manners” (Nevill

1922: 14). The fact that he emphasised this particular point suggests that Bowen's 'refined' company was perhaps not Nevill's typical New Zealand experience, a point reinforced by his criticism of some overly 'familiar' miners that he later encountered in Lawrence (Nevill 1922: 30).

Eventually he reached Dunedin, a lively city in the wake of its gold boom, but still on the cusp of the massive expansion that would accompany the assisted immigration of the 1870s. Here he was again presented with the possibility of becoming bishop, this time at the bequest of the local Anglican synod. After some convincing, Nevill eventually accepted the posting and set about ministering to his sparsely populated diocese. Dunedin was the territorial focus, but the dioceses boundaries ultimately incorporated an area the size of Ireland. Much of his work was intensely parochial – laying foundation stones, preaching services at rural parishes, consecrating new church buildings – but his new position also saw him assume a significant rank within the hierarchy of the wider Anglican communion. This latter role saw him frequently return to England to deal with administrative issues and attend doctrinal conferences at Lambeth Palace – the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury – with the other 'Lord Bishops' of the church.

Nevill's initial residence in Dunedin was a house on the hills overlooking the city. However, issues over its ownership status – it was intended to be the property of the diocese but Nevill had paid for it from his (wife's) own fortune – meant he decided to build a new house specifically for himself at the end of the 1870s; this became *Bishopsgrove* (Figure 6-8). Like the other houses of upper-middle class Dunedin residents it is a large two-storeyed structure, and it shares some of the gable decorations and finials that were common around town, but this is as far as the similarity goes. Rather than the formal arrangement of structural elements around a clear, central focal point that characterises most houses in Dunedin, the façade of *Bishopsgrove* is

composed from a chaotic, picturesque cascade of differing features: a projecting gable, a dog-house dormer, a gable dormer, a tower with a pavilion roof. These all emerge from a central mass that extends along the main façade rather than away from it towards the rear of the building, the latter being more common for local houses. Finally, beyond this formal arrangement, the whole of *Bishopsgrove* was composed from a range of features that were very rare or simply did not exist on other buildings around the city: the aforementioned dormers, stickwork finish on the walls, irregular sets of mullioned windows, clusters of octagonal chimneys, and a mixed construction of brick and stone. The overall effect is of an eccentric Tudor pastiche. It is the sort of design that emerged from a nineteenth-century fascination with rustic, cottage architecture; it looked romantically back to the half-timbered buildings of “Olde England” (Maudlin 2015: 177-193). Parallels to Nevill’s house can be seen in some contemporary English upper-class country houses, like Wightwick Manor or Ascott House (Figures 6-8 (right) and 6-9).



**Figure 6-8. Left – *Bishopsgrove* built in 1882 by Samuel Nevill, an Anglican bishop (TOSM: 79/89). Right – Wightwick Manor, built 1887-1893 (D. Allen).**



**Figure 6-9. Ascott House, built 1873-1938 (R. Norton & D. Allen).**

Like Wilson and Davis, the style of Bishop Nevill's unique home related to his *habitus*, but it was a very different *habitus* than most of Dunedin's residents. Wilson and many other members of the local upper-middle class had come from humble backgrounds and a large proportion appear to have worked and socialised alongside working-class individuals like Davis. In contrast to this, Nevill had emerged from the elect world of Cambridge, and continued to mix with the great and good of the Anglican Church, a powerful and prestigious institution in the nineteenth century. Nevill was a man who consciously distanced himself from the working class, writing the following passage about his early career in Lancashire: "I will only add that as I lived in lodgings with working people it was a great relief to me to pay an occasional visit to Liverpool. . . and to enjoy the society of certain friends I had made" (Nevill 1922: 7). His life experiences and the perspectives he developed engendered particular set of material tastes unlike those of others in Dunedin. His house and story are a perfect example of both Veblen and Bourdieu's ideas, where wealth and a certain sort of *habitus*, or cultural capital, are combined to create an elite class identity that was distinctive, cohesive, and exclusive.



This may have been the case in the Old World, but in Dunedin Nevill's distinction largely lost its importance. Both the material and historic evidence presented here shows how emigration had completely upset these traditional class divisions. Far from an exclusive elite, Dunedin's upper-middle class was dominated by individuals who, while wealthier than most, were not culturally distinct from the rest of society. This point was both expressed and reinforced through similar house styles. Indeed, the lack of a distinctive elite culture was important criteria for the realisation of the New Zealand dream. Given that emigration to a place like Dunedin was imagined as a way to *escape* the restrictive qualities of British social structure and be free to prosper in the New World, it is logical that the upper echelons of colonial society were characterised more by their wealth rather than some form of cultural exclusivity.

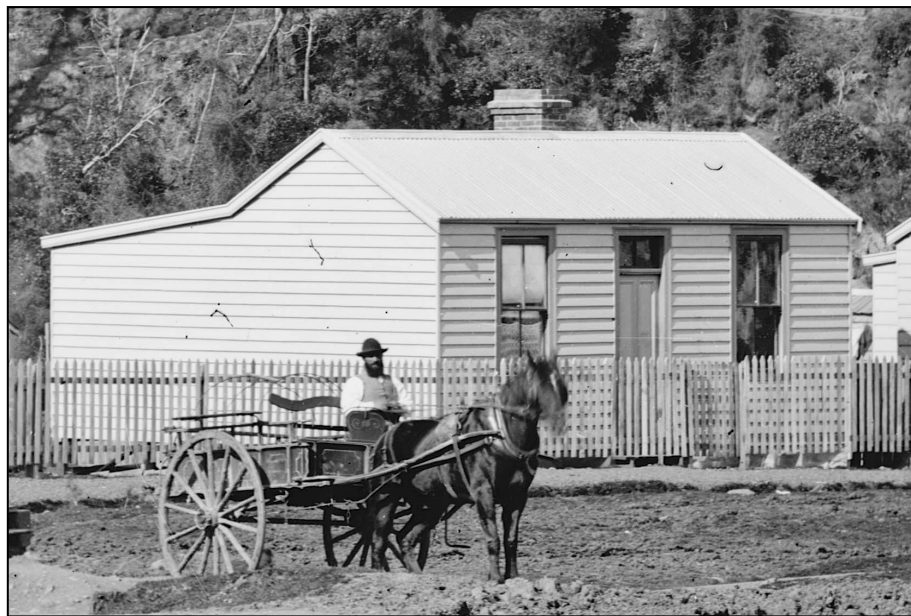
Davis, Wilson, and Nevill's stories together help illustrate the relationship between class identity and house style in Dunedin. At the heart of things is money and conspicuous consumption. It is obvious that a big house built with expensive materials – Wilson's *Hazelbank* or Nevill's *Bishopsgrove* – embodies a big fortune and is a sure mark of the upper-middle classes. However, the rise of mass production and the effects of Dunedin's open society meant that overall the architectural style varied little between classes. Formerly inaccessible ornamental details became affordable and the shared experiences of most residents fostered a common taste, evident in the similar styles of Davis and Wilson's houses. Nevill's house, though totally different, further emphasises this idea. His atypical house is the product of his atypical biography.

However, there is an important caveat to the similarity of class taste in Dunedin: its expression is dependent on property ownership. Though cheap land meant many were able to buy their own homes, this was still a minority of the population, and thousands around Dunedin lived in rental houses generally built in a different style than that of

personal homes. It was a stylistic contrast that related directly to the attainment of the New Zealand dream, again emphasising the importance of wealth in shaping Dunedin's class distinctions, but also embodying the negative Old-World baggage associated with rental properties. The story of James Day below explores these issues.

#### 6.4 James Day: The Man on the Make

As he prepared to move in, James Day's new rental cottage sat small, squat and uninviting in front of him on Brook Street (Figure 6-10). The dwelling was not ideal, but it was affordable, and it would have to do in the meantime until something better could be found. In the end, Day and his young family would live there for only three years – from 1885 to 1887 – before moving to a suburban section and acquiring a home of his own (Stone 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888).



**Figure 6-10. James Day's rental cottage, built ca. 1875-1878 by John Grey, an upper-middle class timber merchant (Te Papa: C.015091).**

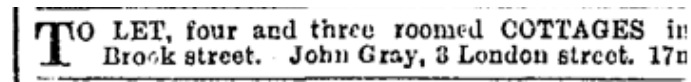
Like those of Davis, Wilson, and Nevill, Day's story begins in Britain. In 1860 he was born in Great Yarmouth (Civil Registration Birth Index, Q1: 262). Day's father – John – is recorded as a mariner at the time of his birth (Bishop's Transcripts, Yarmouth 1860-1865: 249) but by 1871 he was running an alehouse – "The Barking Smack" – with his wife Sophia (1871 English Census, Nelson ED12, H002, P1786, F92: 1). Day was raised in this world of hospitality. He was the eldest son, and presumably he was enlisted by his parents to assist with the daily running of affairs when he was old enough: cleaning, working behind the bar, helping bring in orders from the breweries.

But this parochial life in a public house run by his parents apparently did not offer much appeal to an energetic young man. His was the energy seized upon by the immigration agents commissioned by the New Zealand government. They travelled throughout Britain in the 1870s preaching their gospel of colonialism and enticing men like Day with the promise of overseas adventure and a prosperous future. It appeared as an exciting opportunity in comparison to the ancient, familiar, and quiet fishing town he had been born in. Furthermore, though Day was not raised in particularly straitened circumstances, the supposed potential for material gain overseas would have been an appealing offer. Coming of age during the late 1870s, Day was called by the antipodes.

He had made the move by the end of the decade. The exact date of his arrival is unclear, but in 1880 he was living on Great King Street in Dunedin (1880 New Zealand Electoral Roll, Otago, Dunedin East: 3). At the time, Day's job is noted as a carter, a working-class occupation delivering goods using a horse and cart – essentially the nineteenth-century equivalent of today's truck driver, courier, or removal man. It was a basic job, and paid very little, but it provided for him and remained his occupation for the next twelve years (Taranaki Herald 1879).

Unfortunately for Day, he arrived in town at the onset of the 1880s long depression. This, combined with his lowly carter's wage, suggests his early experience in Dunedin was far from the colonial prosperity he was sold on. And yet, his experience was still part of the pilgrim's progress. The New Zealand dream accepted that a period of renting was the necessary obstacle Day had to traverse to reach independence in work and land ownership (Fairburn 1989: 42-7). In the meantime, he began to settle into his newfound community. It is easy to imagine that he found common ground with the masses of other recent immigrants from Britain that had arrived during the 1870s. After five years living in Dunedin, Day married Eliza O'Connor (1885 New Zealand Marriage Index, F1807). Her background is unclear, but it is likely that she was another recent immigrant. Hundreds of single women came out to New Zealand during this period to work as domestic servants, though many married quickly and left service (Tolerton 2010). Together, James and Eliza would have six children: Annie, Violet, John, James, August, and Ambrose (Dunedin Probate Records, James Day, B422, R10254).

Marriage brought with it a change in domestic circumstances as James and Eliza shifted to the cottage on Brook Street around 1885 (Stone 1885). The exact nature of Day's residence prior to marriage is unclear, but it is probable that he lived in a boarding house. This would have been an easy and sensible option for a poor bachelor, reasonably new to the country, but it would not have been an acceptable state of affairs for a married couple with a family on the way (Ferguson 1994: 36-7). The decision was made, a new residence would need to be found to house him, his new wife and their future children. And yet their options were limited. Money was tight on a carter's wage, and they would have wanted to save enough to be able to buy their own house. Most likely they accepted their fate and settled for one of the small cottages that were advertised for let on Brook Street (Figure 6-11).



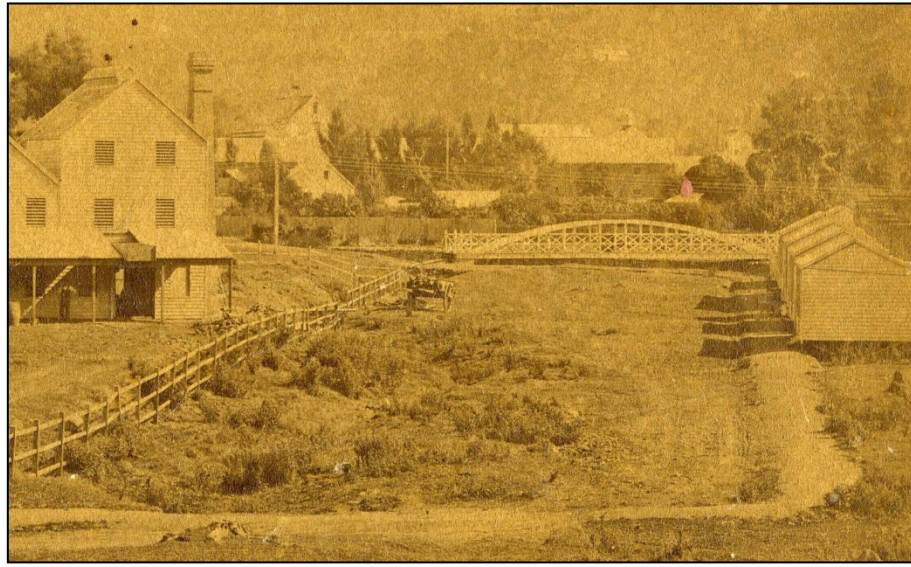
TO LET, four and three roomed COTTAGES in  
Brook street. John Gray, 3 London street. 17n

**Figure 6-11. Advertisement for the Brook Street cottages (Otago Daily Times 1884b).**

Their new house was a building specifically built as an investment property. John Gray, the man behind its construction around 1875-1878 was a capitalist and professional landlord; throughout the early 1880s newspapers are full of advertisements for his rental properties (Otago Daily Times 1881a, 1881b, 1882b). After he secured a long-term lease on the council land near the river he built a row of four identical cottages (Figure 6-12). Later Gray expanded his development to increase the return on investment, packing in at least another four cottages on the site to the rear of Day's house (Dunedin Rates Records, V134, N6433). However, Gray's aggressive capitalism eventually got the better of him, and he was declared bankrupt at the end of 1884 (Otago Daily Times 1884a). By the time Day moved in to Brook Street his landlord was John Stoddart (Dunedin Rates Records, V137, N6366), an early settler who appears to have become wealthy through farming.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Stoddart was Gray's creditor for the mortgage on the Brook Street property, suggesting that he was a wealthy individual (Evening Star 1884). Other newspaper articles show he was involved in early land administration and milling ventures (Otago Witness 1857a, Otago Witness 1857b), as well as working his own farm near Dunedin (Evening Star 1871).



**Figure 6-12. Brook Street in 1878 with Gray's cottages at the right of the image (TOSM: 60/59).**

The structure itself was very basic. It was the type of simple cottage that settlers had been building since the early days of European colonisation. There was no ornamentation; no structural features like projecting gables, bay windows, or a verandah; no impressive façade, just a flat front with two windows and a door. My analysis shows that its plain appearance was typical of most other rental properties around town, and this style contrasted dramatically with the more complex and ornate personal homes.

There is no inherent reason why the status of a property's occupants – either freeholders or tenants – should determine the style a house is built in, so this begs the question: why were Day's house and other rentals like it so different from Dunedin's personal homes? Firstly, it must be acknowledged that cost was a key factor. Most rental homes were, like Day's, built as homes for people with a lower income. These were individuals and families whose wages were too small to afford a home of their own or had not yet accrued enough in savings to afford one. The relatively high incidence of land ownership at the time suggests that most people moved into their own home when they

could afford it, meaning the majority of rental houses were likely budget dwellings. While mass-production had made complex house designs and ornamentation more affordable, these features still added cost to the construction of a building. Plain structures were simply cheaper for a developer to build and, in turn, were able to be rented at a more affordable rate and still provide a return on investment. The overall effect was a rental market characterised by plain-styled, inexpensive buildings.

However, beyond the basic economic logic, the difference in style also directly related to the important distinction between rental properties and personal homes within the New Zealand dream. Property ownership was idealised. It was imagined not only as a valuable financial asset but also as a social good. Not only did it allow people a greater degree of independence in how they chose to live their life, ownership meant they had a real stake in the creation of a happy and prosperous community. Rental properties represented the inverse, the Old-World domination by a rentier class who left their tenants with little self-respect or incentive to develop their community (Wilson 2009: 30). These contrasting ideas were merely components of an intangible ideal, but they were materialised in the obvious stylistic differences between personal homes and rental properties.

Furthermore, given the emphasis on the individual within the New Zealand dream, it is significant that these stylistic differences also relate to the appearance of individuality. Most personal homes were detached buildings and their position alone on a property emphasised their association with a single individual (Archer 2005: 176-80). This was complemented by the range of stylistic features that, while common across classes, were able to be easily rearranged into unique forms. Of these features, bay windows and projecting gables were especially significant distinguishing features for personal homes. Relative to smaller ornamental details, these were large and expensive



structural features that both increased a building's overall size and projected prominently into public sightlines, emphasising the individual façade. Rental properties lacked these pronounced, distinguishing features, and as such their architecture had an anonymous, uniform quality that was the anthesis of the New Zealand dream. Terrace houses only further emphasised this uniformity (Figure 6-13; Miller 1984: 45).



**Figure 6-13. A rental terrace in Dunedin built ca. 1882-1883 by George Elliott, an upper-middle class company manager (Hocken: 0759\_01\_006A).**

Overall, the alternating rows of plain and complex houses that lined Dunedin's streets were an ever-present manifestation and reinforcement of the division between rental properties and personal homes (Miller 2010: 51-2). Indeed, the prominence and ubiquity of this contrasting domestic style ultimately took what was a conceptual division born of the New Zealand dream and naturalised it into what seemed like a self-evident reality (Burke 1999: 18, 182). The social dynamics associated with property ownership or tenancy, and the architecture that embodied these two states, became so intertwined that the styles themselves even began to be imagined as directly consequential, rather than just representative of deeper issues. Mostly this took the form of politicians and social

commentators celebrating detached homes over terrace houses (Ferguson 1994: 38-53), but some people made more overtly aesthetic judgements. At a 1919 town planning convention in New Zealand “quite a few delegates to the conference. . . insisted that ‘monotony’ [in architecture] depressed the human spirit and bred unrest” (Isaac and Olssen 2000: 111). There the architect Samuel Hurst Seager also suggested that the ‘rough and uncultivated’ character of some was related to the ‘small’, ‘temporary’, and ‘rough’ shacks that they lived in (Isaac and Olssen 2000: 112).

Attitudes like these explain why the initial state housing development in 1905 built houses that looked more like personal homes than the typical rental properties which were visually associated with social problems (Figure 3-23). Richard Seddon, the New Zealand premier of the time, insisted that the government-built houses were not to ‘look like’ rental properties. The goal was “to do away with the row system of cottages which obtains and makes a distinction and causes adverse criticism” (Ferguson 1994: 64). Ironically, these design guidelines were eventually the downfall of the scheme. The poor workers intended as the houses’ occupants were unable to afford the high rents associated with these large and complexly styled buildings (Ferguson 1994: 64).

Not only could poorer working-class people like Day not afford these sorts of houses, but the small plain dwellings that they were forced to occupy were intensely alienating structures (Glassie 2000: 152). Simon Bronner notes that “the power to shape and control objects is also the power to reshape self and the community” (Bronner 1983: 148). Those living in rental homes certainly did not have this power. Instead they were compelled for economic reasons to live in dwellings whose style embodied the New Zealand dream’s negative alternative to the domestic ideal of property ownership. This vilified rental-property style was instead created by landlords, who were then able to define their own ‘better’ ornate personal homes in a contrast with these plain rentals

(Miller 2010: 84). Without the funds to buy a house of their own, those in rentals had no control in the situation, and simply had to bear with the fact that the “row of shanties” they lived amongst was popularly associated with “people of a very questionable character” (New Zealand Herald 1903).

This difference between rental properties and personal homes was clearly an issue that related to class, with the majority of renters being members of the working class (see Section 3.4). However, like personal homes, the class divisions evident here are the product of wealth differences and not distinctive class cultures. As already discussed above, when working-class individuals were able to save enough money to build their own house they did so in a style that was generally similar to the middle and upper-middle classes because of Dunedin’s open and mixed society. It was a question of money, not taste.

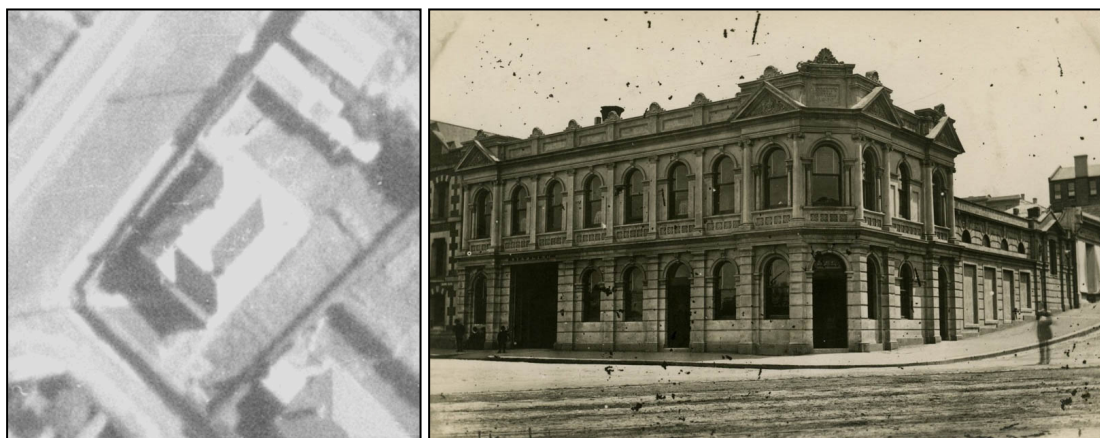
Instead of being primarily seen as a working-class house style, it is better to think of rental properties as the architectural purgatory as preparatory to and in service of the New Zealand dream. Most people who made the life-changing decision to emigrate to Dunedin were presumably drawn by the promise of a better life (Fairburn 1989: 42-7). While many poorer arrivals would have found themselves condemned to some plain-styled, alienating, publicly-deplored rental property, their situation was only imagined as a necessary step on the way to prosperity and property ownership. Indeed, the social discomfort endured by people living in such a reviled building type must have acted as an incentive to stop renting. This was all very well for people who were eventually successful enough to purchase their own home – and many did – but it must have been unpleasant for those who remained too poor to escape the rental market. Furthermore, there was certainly no suggestion that anyone would *choose* to rent. It seems to have been thought of as simply a matter of financial necessity.

Day, for his own part, certainly seemed to have subscribed to the aspirational imperative of the New Zealand dream. He only stayed at Brook Street for two years before purchasing a plot of land in a subdivision in Māori Hill. With this move – around 1888-1889 – he either acquired or built a new family home. It was a villa with a verandah and projecting gable, a house very similar to that of Philip Davis (Figure 6-14, left).

Yet despite being able to buy this new home, Day's story after this point is a tragic reminder that the New Zealand dream did not guarantee success, and it may have even been destructive in the way it encouraged people to take entrepreneurial risks. In 1890 Day followed in the footsteps of his publican father and purchased the Newmarket Hotel business in central Dunedin. He did so with a large amount of borrowed capital (Figure 6-14, right). This venture went disastrously, and he was declared bankrupt in 1894 (Evening Star 1894b). Day managed, somehow, to hold on to his house in Māori Hill despite an outstanding £100 mortgage (Evening Star 1894b). Two years later he tried again, establishing a fishmonger's business on Great King Street in 1896, but once more the business seems to have failed after four years. Again, he managed to keep his house on Māori Hill, but eventually he returned to work as a carter and labourer until his premature death in 1903 at the age of forty-three<sup>35</sup> (Dunedin Probate Records, James Day, B422, R10254). Day's experiences suggest that his ambition got the better of him.

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<sup>35</sup> The cause of death is unclear.



**Figure 6-14. Left – Detail of a 1947 aerial photograph showing James Day’s house in Māori Hill (since demolished, DCC: Aerial Photographs L25). Right – The Newmarket Hotel (TOSM: 80/85).**

The promise of the New Zealand dream emboldened Day to embark on costly business ventures while also trying to manage a mortgage and provide for an ever-growing family. Perhaps he would have been more successful if he had remained in rental accommodation until he had established a working business and became more financially secure. But the distaste of the plain rental cottage, coupled with the attraction of the house in suburbs with its projecting gable and bay window was simply too influential, and Day moved into his own house as quickly as possible. Yet for all the financial problems it may have caused, this house was likely a reassuring constant in the face of his business failures. Although his quest for riches turned up nothing, at least he still had a house whose style evoked that core goal of the New Zealand dream, a home of one’s own.



Individual stories help bring to life the broad relationships between house style and class in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin. Philip Davis was a carpenter who escaped the grim environment of London for the promise of colonial prosperity. Emigrating first to Australia, before eventually settling in New Zealand, he was fortunate to arrive in Dunedin immediately ahead of the gold rush. Davis realised the New Zealand dream: he did well as a carpenter and invested his earnings into some land and a house in the suburbs. This dwelling was composed of mass produced materials - it was likely designed with reference to factory catalogues - and its style celebrated Davis' colonial success. Not only was his house a form of conspicuous consumption that materially represented his property ownership, the scale and ornateness of its façade evoked historical notions of wealth and contrasted with the small and austere styles of British terrace housing, Dunedin's pioneer cottages, and rental properties. These were the types of dwellings the New Zealand dream sought to leave behind. Additionally, alongside the new opportunities of colonial life, it was the democratic potential of mass production that made the grand style of Davis' new house possible.

Alongside Davis was William Wilson, an engineer who rose from humble beginnings in Scotland to establish Dunedin's first iron foundry. From his enterprise he became a very wealthy man and moved from a small cottage in the central city to a new large residence – *Hazelbank* – that he built on the outskirts of town. The considerable scale of his dwelling and its slate roof both clearly embodied Wilson's ascendance to the upper-middle class. Beyond this, however, the general style of the building appeared remarkably similar to Davis's working-class home, a product of Dunedin's different classes all assembling their buildings from a common palette of features. The similar appearance of these two buildings – and the general similarity of personal homes seen in my analysis – may have been caused by 'trickling' taste, but the limitations of the analysis

meant this could not be confirmed. Even if different classes were emulating each other, the overall similarity that was apparent suggests that this would not have been a particularly effective attempt at social distinction. Instead, the evidence available suggests that the stylistic similarity was born of the similar tastes fostered by the city's open society. Far from being an elite and remote individual, Wilson had a humble background and his life saw him constantly mixing and meeting with people from other classes: working with employees at the foundry, living in a diverse neighbourhood, and interacting with members of his family who entered middle- or working-class occupations. All of this meant the *habitus* which ultimately informed his taste in house style was not far removed from others in the city.

Bishop Samuel Nevill was the exception that proved this rule. Unlike Davis or Wilson, Neville had a relatively privileged upbringing, marrying into wealth and attending Cambridge before entering the clergy and eventually coming to Dunedin to take up the local Anglican bishopric. His *habitus* was totally different to most others around the city and he consciously distanced himself socially from other classes, subscribing to a distinct class culture. This situation was embodied by the style of *Bishopscourt*, the Dunedin mansion he built for himself. Unlike the similar buildings of Davis and Wilson, *Bishopscourt* was a very different structure that used a number of features not seen on other houses in the sample. It had more in common with contemporary manor houses in Britain than other Dunedin houses. The uniqueness of this structure is a reminder of the sort of social distinctions that people emigrated to New Zealand to escape. As such, it is unsurprising that upper-class styles in Dunedin are characterised more by a basic demonstration of wealth through building scale and material as opposed to some sort of distinctive elite taste like Nevill's.



Wealth was also the primary factor that shaped the contrast between these personal homes and the sort of plain rental properties occupied by people like James Day, a working-class carter whose straitened economic situation compelled him to rent a small cottage for several years during the 1880s. The plain style of Day's cottage was largely a product of cost considerations on the part of the landlord, but the visual contrast this created between rental properties and personal homes also mirrored and reinforced their conceptual division according to the New Zealand dream. Local rental developments like the set of cottages that contained Day's house had an anonymous quality to them, evoked notions of the Old-World's oppressive landlordism, and were alienating for their residents. Accordingly, their style was explicitly condemned as both a representation, and even a cause, of the social problems popularly associated with rental accommodation. Renting was something you were compelled to do for financial reasons, not something you chose to do. This sort of vilification of rental properties and their style is likely the reason Day quickly moved into his own home after only a few years in his cottage, despite the fact that it was a decision that may have over-stressed his finances as he also tried to establish a hotel business in town.

## 7 Conclusion

Historic material culture can act as a window to the world of the past. Out of the constellation of objects that live on into our modern lives, old houses are some of the most ubiquitous and prominent creations still surviving. The exterior style of these buildings is especially compelling: lining the streets of historic cities like Dunedin their façades are overt reminders of the past. They demand investigation as private monuments to their owner's and builders' lives, as well as the public material embodiment of a wider cultural or social identity since gone.

This thesis has been just such an investigation. Specifically, it has explored the relationship between exterior house style and class identity in Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin, a focus taken because of the obvious association of class and housing given the latter's inherent expense. In approaching this relationship, I have also been concerned to understand the context that informed it, and as such, I have endeavoured to examine Dunedin's colonial society and the nature of its building industry. Both these contexts were integral in the creation of historic house styles. Overall, this research has revealed a house style in Dunedin that was clearly expressive of the wealth differences that existed within society, but simultaneously emphasised the city's open society and the relative absence of distinctive class cultures or tastes.

The suggestion that a house's style can meaningfully embody individual and collective identity is a foundational premise in vernacular architecture studies – not to mention the wider world of interpretive folklore studies – but it is an idea that has not been thoroughly engaged with by the previous work looking at New Zealand's vernacular housing. To date, most research has focused on descriptive histories or the categorisation of housing according to capital-S elite Architectural Styles. Thus, the goal of this research into style and class identity has been to help to fill this gap.

An understanding of the components that constitute class identity and a framework for class analysis make this job easier. Class can be understood as having three components: stratification (differences in wealth), occupational class (different jobs), and class culture (different sets of norms and mores). Notions of stratification and class culture can begin to be inferred from a variety of historic sources, but occupational class is well recorded in historic demographic documents and this made it useful to use as a framework for class analysis – the assumption being that patterns of occupational class will be broadly synonymous with stratification and class culture. The three classes identified from occupations were upper-middle class, middle class, and working class. These classes were referred to throughout the thesis.

Given that Victorian and Edwardian Dunedin was a consumer society where houses and their constituent materials were simply another form of commodity, consumption studies were useful for understanding the relationship between class identity and house style. Specifically, I have considered the work of Veblen, Bourdieu, and their followers. Veblen introduces how class is expressed through conspicuous consumption and distinctive tastes for types of material culture – like architectural style – and suggests how taste can trickle between classes. Bourdieu explains how these tastes are borne of people's class culture, or *habitus*, how certain tastes can be promoted so as to perpetuate existing power imbalances, and how your *habitus* can engender conservative tastes.

The way these principals worked to shape the relationship between house style and class identity in Dunedin was influenced by the city's colonial context. Dunedin was founded in the mid-nineteenth century as a British colony, and through fits and starts had developed into a thriving city. Underlying this development was a colonial ideal: the New Zealand dream. It enticed settlers to come to new towns like Dunedin with the promise of prosperity and the freedom to be an independent individual. It offered an

escape from old world hierarchies and social pressures. Though an emphasis on wealth accumulation within this colonial ideal inevitably meant a highly-stratified community emerged in Dunedin, the shift around the world also created a more open society. People were freer: to become wealthy, to choose the jobs they wanted, to live where they wanted, to marry the people they wanted to. This meant that the once-rigid class boundaries in the Old-World were frequently transgressed in the New World. The mixture of people from different class backgrounds suppressed the potential for class cultures, created a common *habitus*, and fostered a broadly common taste in house style, despite enduring differences in house sizes and the materials homebuilders were able to afford. The New Zealand dream emphasised property ownership – something a large minority did achieve – and condemned rental properties were reviled as a reminder of supposed Old-World oppression. Unsurprisingly, this conceptual division of personal homes and rentals was also manifest in house styles, with the former characterised by substantial, ornate, and detached homes and the latter made up of plain, monotonous terraces or rows of cottages.

To create this variety of homes, Dunedin's residents turned to the city's building industry. This was an industry that – by the time of my study period – was underpinned by a mass production system. Mechanisation and the rational organisation of production had facilitated a dramatic increase in the productivity of building material manufacturing. Dunedin consumers had access to a wide volume and variety of architectural products – especially timber products – both made locally and imported from overseas. This supplied what can be described as kitset architecture: a commoditisation of the vernacular design process where consumers were able to assemble a house from a range of factory-made products and model house styles, all advertised in illustrated catalogues. Builders and architects facilitated this process by

ensuring that the client had a suitable degree of design agency to create a personalised home that suited their particular tastes. Importantly, mass production also had a democratic character that influenced the relationship between class and house style. The cost reductions made possible by mass production meant that older material expressions of wealth were made less distinctive. Now the middle class, and even some of the working class, could afford larger houses and highly ornamental stylistic features that were once the preserve of the very rich.

A broad statistical analysis of Dunedin's houses reveals how the general style of these kitset dwellings did parallel the social situation created by the New Zealand dream. Using historic photographs of buildings, the styles of over 103 houses in and around Dunedin were compared. This included both rental properties and personal homes, with the latter category composed of houses built by upper-middle-class, middle-class, and working-class individuals. The houses of the upper-middle class clearly stood apart from other personal homes in terms of their scale and material, but besides this there were few distinctive differences in the house style of the three classes. Most buildings in the analysis appear to have selected their stylistic features from a common palette. However, the style of these reasonably large and ornate personal homes contrasted dramatically with the small and plain rental properties. Both these patterns are in line with the influence of the New Zealand dream: the suppression of class culture, the existence of common class tastes, and the strong conceptual differences in the minds of the colonists between rental properties and personal homes.

Case studies of four occupants who built or lived in houses included in the analysis helps explore the individual human actions and perspectives that created the broader relationship between class and style. Philip Davis' working-class home was a monument to his colonial success that was partially facilitated by democratic mass production.

William Wilson's upper-middle class mansion stood out in terms of its grand scale and slate roof, but its overall appearance was similar to the humbler houses of the middle class, or working-class individuals like Davis. This visual similarity may have been the product of trickling taste but was more likely a result of the shared *habitus* of Davis and Wilson within Dunedin's relatively open society. Wealth, not taste, shaped the differences between their houses.

Samuel Nevill was the exception that proved this rule. Nevill possessed a distinctive architectural taste likely born of his elite upbringing and exalted position, and the style of his house was unlike most other Dunedin residences. It was a rare reminder of the sort of social exclusivity and acute class differences that many who emigrated to New Zealand had rejected. James Day's plain rental cottage was another example of style being tied to wealth. Its basic appearance was likely shaped by a developer's cost concerns, and Day's relative poverty compelled him to rent. Alongside this, the visual contrast of rental properties and personal homes also reinforced the New Zealand dream's distinction between 'good' personal homes and 'bad' rental properties. This public sentiment likely drove Day, and others like him, towards the goal of home ownership at all costs. Renting was not seen as a choice but as a financial necessity.

This was the world that Christopher Holloway left behind when he departed Dunedin on 15 April 1873 to continue his tour of the country. As he made his way out of town on the north road a picturesque vista confronted him from his carriage window (Figure 7-1):

at a certain angle in the road you have a splendid view of Dunedin and the surrounding country – On your right you look down upon Port Chalmers – with the [Otago Harbour] Heads plainly visible in the distance – Here at every turn

in the road fresh Scenes present themselves to the view, and you never weary in  
Looking at the lovely Scenery (Holloway 1873: 38-9).

He was leaving Dunedin after spending two months exploring the city and surrounding areas. In his time there he had borne witness to the ideals of the New Zealand dream, he had seen the city's building industry at work, and he had walked amongst the hundreds of houses that made up the urban landscape.



**Figure 7-1. Looking out to sea over Port Chalmers from the North Road out of Dunedin (Hocken: 2458\_01\_012A).**

We can never know for sure exactly what Holloway would have thought of the style of Dunedin's houses, but the findings of my research suggest that they could have been understood as an embodiment of the city's distinct class situation. The major stylistic differences most clearly expressed the stratification of society. The rich upper-middle class lived in expensive dwellings characterised by slate roofs and a variety of features



that emphasised their large scale, while members of the middle- and working-classes who could afford their own land and homes built smaller dwellings more suitable to their restricted incomes. The poorest people– largely members of the working class – were relegated to small, plain, and alienating rental properties that were shocking reminders of the Britain they had tried to leave behind. However, despite these obvious differences of wealth manifest in architecture, those who were able to achieve the New Zealand dream through successful enterprise and property ownership together created a style of personal home that was remarkably similar across different classes. This was a product of the city's colonial suppression of distinct class cultures and the impact of new, democratic mass-produced building materials. Ultimately, house style in Dunedin was related to class, but it was less about having a distinguished taste in architecture, and more about simply showing off what you were able to afford.

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## Appendix A – House Sample

This appendix provides a record of all the houses included in my stylistic analysis. The street addresses used here are modern. However, some are only approximate because not all historically-photographed houses were extant and some older property boundaries have changed significantly.

<b>149 Malvern Street, Woodhaugh</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	1
<b>Construction date</b>	1898-1899
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Godfrey
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Paper Mill Hand
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**149 Malvern Street (Hocken: 0853\_01\_002A).**

<b>83 Union Place (aprox.), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	3
<b>Construction date</b>	1897-1900
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Pieteron
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Journeyman Bootmaker
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**83 Union Street (aprox.), North Dunedin (Hocken: 0701\_01\_006A).**



<b>52 Tennyson Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	4
<b>Construction date</b>	1865-1874
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Edward Hulme
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**52 Tennyson Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: P1990-015/49-288).**

<b>277 Rattray Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	5
<b>Construction date</b>	1871
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	George Duncan
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**277 Rattray Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: P1955-002/1 Album 013).**

<b>16-18 Anzac Avenue (aprox.), Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	9-21
<b>Construction date</b>	1882-1883
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	George Elliott
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Company Manager
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



16-18 Anzac Avenue (aprox.), Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0759\_01\_006A).



16-18 Anzac Avenue (aprox.), Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0759\_01\_006A).

<b>603 George Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	23
<b>Construction date</b>	1906
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Thomas and Sarah Laurenson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Hotelkeeper
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**603 George Street, North Dunedin (Hocken: 0740\_01\_006A).**



<b>568 Castle Street (aprox.), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	24
<b>Construction date</b>	1871-1874
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Fenwick
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Hotelkeeper
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**568 Castle Street (aprox.), North Dunedin (Hocken: 0613\_01\_003A).**

<b>367 High Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	25
<b>Construction date</b>	1903
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Watson Shennan
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Runholder
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**367 High Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0766\_01\_038A).**



**367 High Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0766\_01\_039A).**

<b>15 Graham Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	28
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Henry Fredrick Hardy
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Builder/Architect
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**15 Graham Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0748\_01\_002A).**



<b>1 Will Street, Green Island</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	29
<b>Construction date</b>	1880-1881
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	George and Charlotte Easson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Merchant/Dealer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**1 Will Street, Green Island (Hocken: Box-035 PORT1739).**

<b>26 Chambers Street, North East Valley</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	34
<b>Construction date</b>	1904-1905
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Hay
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Journeyman Plumber
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**26 Chambers Street, North East Valley (DCC: 267/6).**

<b>30 Chambers Street, North East Valley</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	35
<b>Construction date</b>	1904-1905
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Maxwell Newbury
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Commercial Traveller
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**30 Chambers Street, North East Valley (DCC: 267/8).**

<b>4 Cosy Dell Road, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	36
<b>Construction date</b>	1893
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Allan and Martha Broad
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Warehouseman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**4 Cosy Dell Road, North Dunedin (Box-098 BuB 0267).**



<b>700 Cumberland Street (aprox., formerly 78 Union Street), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	38 and 158
<b>Construction date</b>	1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Samuel Elborn
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Teacher
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**700 Cumberland Street, North Dunedin (DCC: 293/3).**

<b>700 Cumberland Street (aprox., formerly 7 Hayes Terrace), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	39 and 159
<b>Construction date</b>	1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Samuel Elborn
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Teacher
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**700 Cumberland Street, North Dunedin (DCC: 293/4).**

<b>31 Ross Street, Māori Hill</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	40
<b>Construction date</b>	1885-1889
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Alexander Begg
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Accountant/Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**31 Ross Street, Māori Hill (DCC: TC33 Series, 1942 Works S/3).**



<b>82 Maryhill Terrace, Maryhill</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	42
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1877
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Fancis Vickery
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Carpenter
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**82 Maryhill Terrace, Maryhill (DCC: 266/6).**

<b>6 Bernard Street, Kenmure</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	45
<b>Construction date</b>	1903-1904
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Robinson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Carter/Shopkeeper
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**6 Bernard Street, Kenmure (DCC: 266/4).**

<b>950 George Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	46
<b>Construction date</b>	1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Frew
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Journeyman Tinsmith
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



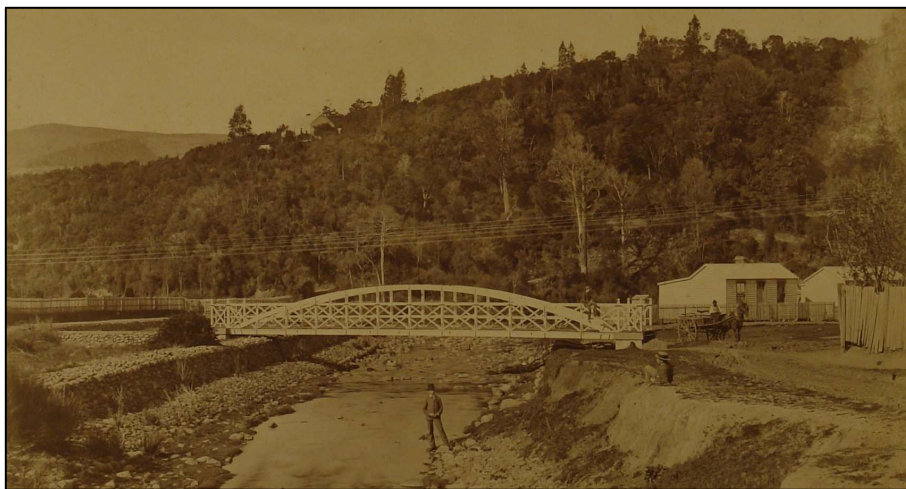
**950 George Street, North Dunedin (DCC: 266/7).**

<b>107-111 York Place, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	47-49
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1877
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Michael Murphy
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**107-111 York Place, Central Dunedin (DCC: 264/11).**

<b>2-16 Brook Street (aprox.), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	50-53
<b>Construction date</b>	1875-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Grey
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Timber Merchant/Contractor
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**2-16 Brook Street, North Dunedin (TOSM: 60/4).**



**Detail of above image showing one of the cottages on Brook Street (TOSM: 60/4).**

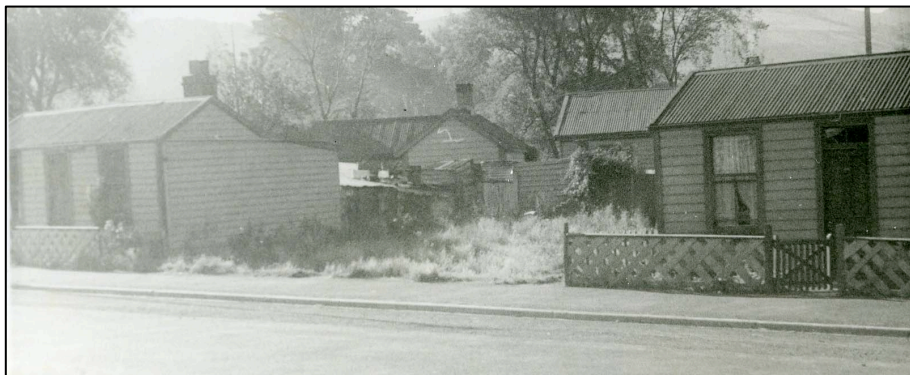




**2-16 Brook Street, North Dunedin (TOSM: 60/59).**

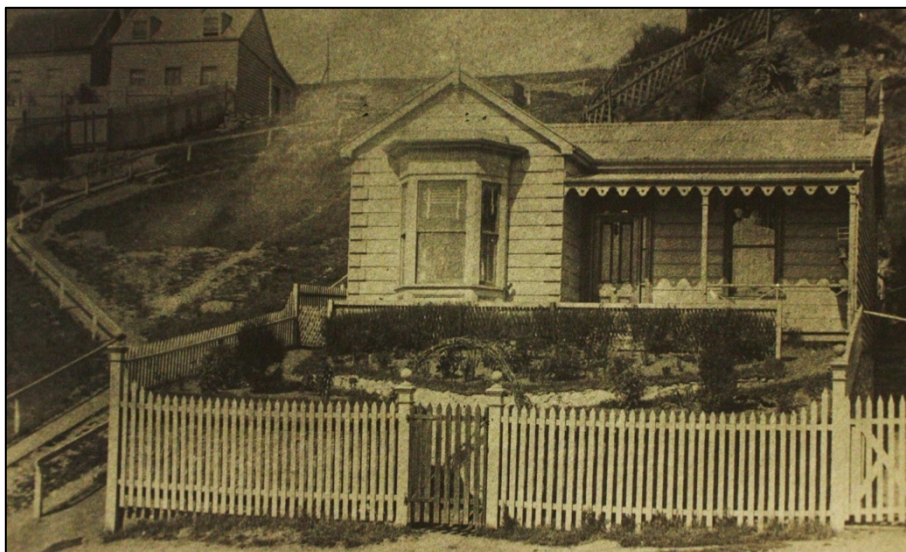


**Detail of above image showing the row of cottages at 2-16 Brook Street (TOSM: 60/59).**



**2-16 Brook Street, North Dunedin (DCC: 301/2).**

<b>83 Maitland Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	54
<b>Construction date</b>	1875-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Duncan Buchanan
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Master Bootmaker
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**83 Maitland Street, Central Dunedin (TOSM: 79/178).**



<b>10 Glen Road, Mornington</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	60
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1879
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Philip Davis
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Carpenter
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**10 Glen Road, Mornington (Hocken: 0916\_01\_004A).**



**View of Mornington (Te Papa: C.012006).**



**Detail of above image showing 10 Glen Road (Te Papa: C.012006).**

<b>38 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	61
<b>Construction date</b>	1905-1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	New Zealand Government
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**38 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes (Hocken: 0916\_01\_041A).**

<b>2 Glen Road, Mornington</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	62
<b>Construction date</b>	1900-1901
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Hardie
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Postman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**2 Glen Road, Mornington (Hocken: 0916\_01\_012A).**



**2 Glen Road, Mornington (Hocken: 0916\_01\_013A).**

<b>144 Forbury Road, St. Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	63
<b>Construction date</b>	1880-1881
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Wilson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Engineer/Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**144 Forbury Road, St. Clair (Hocken: 1063\_01\_009A).**



<b>180 Queen Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	64
<b>Construction date</b>	1878-1879
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Charles Nicholls
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**180 Queen Street, North Dunedin (Hocken: 0669\_01\_002A).**

<b>469 Moray Place, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	65
<b>Construction date</b>	1870-1871
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Thomas Hocken
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**469 Moray Place, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 0913\_01\_025A).**



<b>30 Royal Terrace, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	66
<b>Construction date</b>	1877-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Richard Leary
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman/Accountant
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**30 Royal Terrace, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 1038\_01\_001A).**

<b>14 North Taieri Road, Abbotsford</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	71
<b>Construction date</b>	1877-1885
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Edward Alexander
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**14 North Taieri Road, Abbotsford (centre; Hocken: 0545\_01\_023A).**

<b>355 Stewart Street (aprox.), Roslyn</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	72
<b>Construction date</b>	1890
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Sir John Roberts
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**355 Stewart Street (aprox.), Roslyn (Hocken: 0870\_01\_002A).**

<b>21 Gilmore Street, Waikari</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	75
<b>Construction date</b>	1907-1908
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John McIntyre
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Lithographic Artist
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**21 Gilmore Street, Waikari (Hocken: 1207\_01\_006A).**

<b>232 Forbury Road, St. Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	78
<b>Construction date</b>	1899
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Thomas Culling
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Paper Mill Owner/Manager
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**232 Forbury Road, St. Clair (TOSM: 79/35).**



<b>16 Patmos Avenue, Woodhaugh</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	79
<b>Construction date</b>	1882
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Samuel Nevill
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Anglican Bishop
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**16 Patmos Avenue, Woodhaugh (TOSM: 79/89).**

<b>126-130 Forbury Road, St. Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	80 and 81
<b>Construction date</b>	1896-1897
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Henry Fredrick Hardy
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Builder/Architect
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**126-130 Forbury Road, St. Clair (both houses in the midground of the image; TOSM: 79/108).**

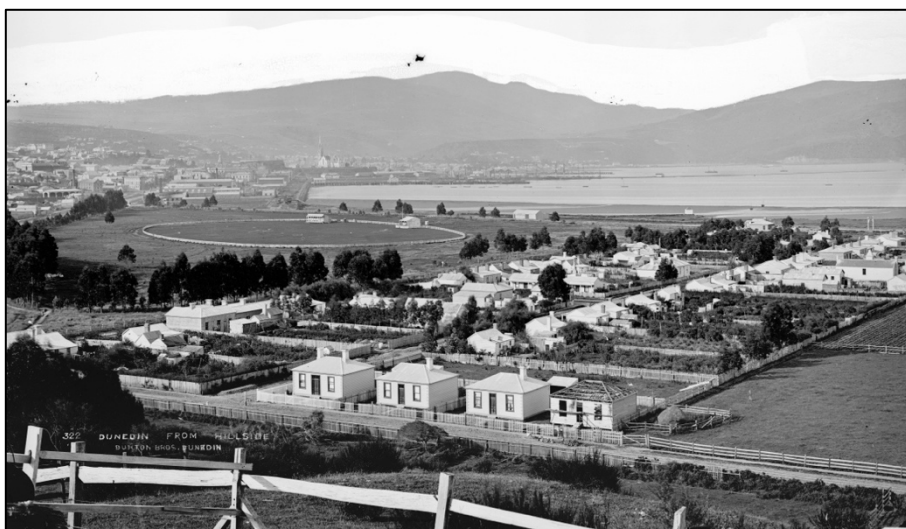


<b>80 Clyde Street (aprox.), North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	82
<b>Construction date</b>	1877-1879
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Charles Henderson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Ironmonger
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**80 Clyde Street (aprox.), North Dunedin (TOSM: 79/131).**

<b>20 King Edward Street (aprox.), Kensington</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	83-85
<b>Construction date</b>	1873
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Timothy Hayes
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Hotelkeeper
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**20 King Edward Street, Kensington (Te Papa: C.012069).**



**Detail of above image showing the cottages at 20 King Edward Street (Te Papa: C.012069).**

<b>157-161 Forbury Road, St. Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	92-94
<b>Construction date</b>	1870s
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Ings
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Market Gardner
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property

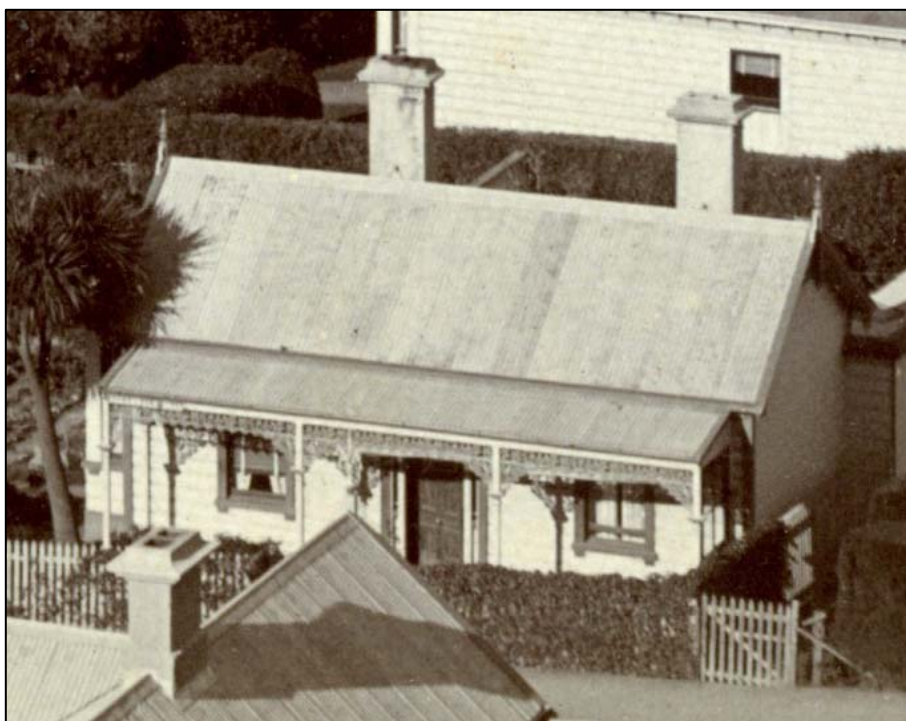


**View of St. Clair and St. Kilda (TOSM: 66/97).**



**Detail of above image showing the cottages at 157-161 Forbury Road, St Clair (TOSM: 66/97).**

<b>7 Allendale Road, St Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	95
<b>Construction date</b>	1886-1890
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Frank Paris
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Confectioner
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**Detail of above image showing 7 Allendale Road, St Clair (TOSM: 66/97).**



<b>46 Gordon Road, Mosgiel</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	97
<b>Construction date</b>	1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Allen
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Solicitor
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**46 Gordon Road, Mosgiel (DCC: Taieri County Council Photograph Series).**

<b>60 Filleul Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	98
<b>Construction date</b>	1878-1879
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	David Laing
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman/Farmer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



60 Filleul Street, Central Dunedin (DCC: 51/2).



<b>60 Lawrence Street, Mornington</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	99
<b>Construction date</b>	1891
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Lewis Hudson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Methodist Minister
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**60 Lawrence Street, Mornington (Hocken: P1990-015/27 Album 350).**

<b>100 Napier Street, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	100
<b>Construction date</b>	1886
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	James Horsbrugh
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman/Stationer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**100 Napier Street, Belleknowes (Hocken: Box-012 PORT1532).**

<b>116 Norfolk Street, St. Clair</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	101
<b>Construction date</b>	1883-1886
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Campbell
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Runholder
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**166 Norfolk Street, St. Clair (Hocken: P1990-015/49-175).**

<b>77 Arthur Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	104
<b>Construction date</b>	1900-1901
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John McConnell
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Engine Driver
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working Class
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**View of Central Dunedin (Hocken: 1990-015/49-279).**



**Detail of above image showing 77 Arthur Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: 1990-015/49-279).**



<b>136-138 Maitland Street (aprox.), Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	106-108
<b>Construction date</b>	1880
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Wilson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Master Mason
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**View of Central Dunedin (TOSM: 65/39).**



**Detail of above image showing the terrace houses at 136-138 Maitland Street (aprox.), Central Dunedin (TOSM: 65/39).**

<b>435 Malvern Street, Glenleith</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	113
<b>Construction date</b>	1883-1884
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	James Davidson
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Clerk
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**435 Malvern Street, Glenleith (TOSM: 62/45).**

<b>10 Heriot Row, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	114
<b>Construction date</b>	1898-1899
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William and Catherine Hay
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Dentist
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**View of Central Dunedin (TOSM: 60/39).**



**Detail of above image showing 10 Heriot Row, Central Dunedin (TOSM: 60/39).**



<b>3 Smith Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	116
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Fenwick
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Commercial Traveller
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**3 Smith Street, Central Dunedin (DCC: 264/7).**

<b>553-555 Hillside Road (aprox.), Caversham</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	117-120
<b>Construction date</b>	1894-1900
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Stewart Scott
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Building Contractor
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**553-555 Hillside Road (aprox.), Caversham (DCC: 73/1 and 73/2).**



**553-555 Hillside Road (aprox.), Caversham (DCC: 73/3 and 73/4).**

<b>44 Park Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	121
<b>Construction date</b>	1882-1884
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Gillies
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Businessman
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**44 Park Street, North Dunedin (HNZ: 12013/281).**



<b>1 Tui Street, Saint Leonards</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	122
<b>Construction date</b>	1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Cook
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Managing Engineer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home

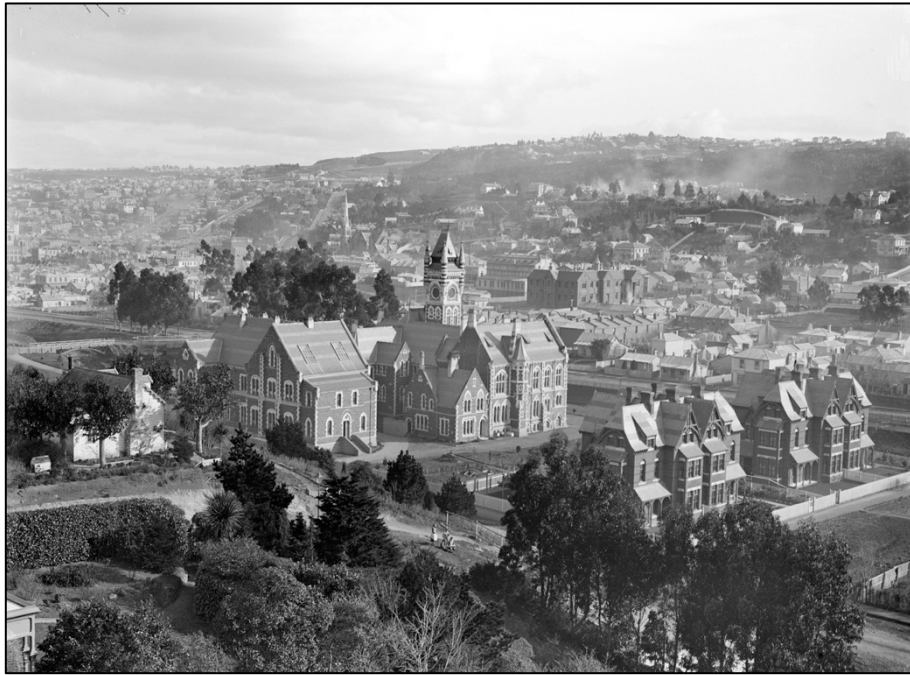


**1 Tui Street, St Leonards (Hocken: AG-352/053).**

<b>90-100 St David Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	123-126
<b>Construction date</b>	1878-1879
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	University of Otago
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**90 St. David Street, North Dunedin (Hocken: P2014\_018\_1\_004d).**



**View of North Dunedin (Te Papa: C.012077).**



**Detail of above image showing the duplex houses at 90-100 St. David Street, North Dunedin (Te Papa: C.012077).**



<b>12 Cemetery Road, East Taieri</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	90
<b>Construction date</b>	1877-1878
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	William Will Snr
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Presbyterian Minister
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**12 Cemetery Road, East Taieri (HNZ: 12004/406).**

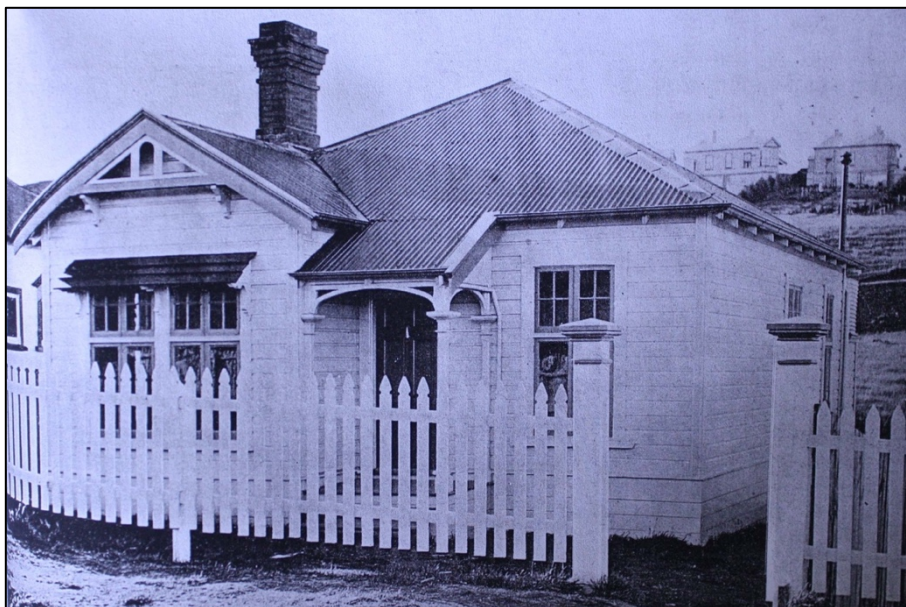


<b>24 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	128
<b>Construction date</b>	1905-1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	New Zealand Government
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**24 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes (AJHR: 1907 H/11B).**

<b>14 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	129
<b>Construction date</b>	1905-1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	New Zealand Government
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**14 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes (AJHR: 1907 H/11B).**

<b>22 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	130
<b>Construction date</b>	1905-1907
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	New Zealand Government
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**22 Rosebery Street, Belleknowes (AJHR: 1907 H/11B).**

<b>425 High Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	131
<b>Construction date</b>	1898
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	James Nimmo
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Seed Merchant
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**425 High Street, Central Dunedin (Hocken: MS-3604).**



<b>29 Fitzroy Street, Caversham</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	132
<b>Construction date</b>	1882
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Richard Grimmett
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Mason/Contractor
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**29 Fitzroy Street, Caversham (HNZ: 12013/810).**

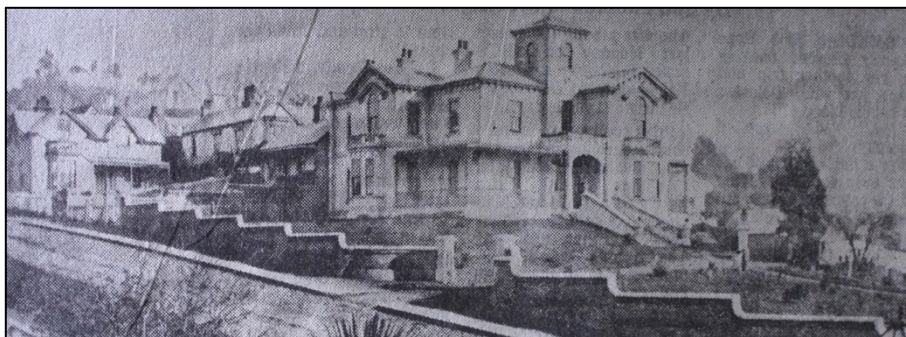
<b>63 Loyalty Street, Forbury</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	133
<b>Construction date</b>	ca. 1897
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Erza Grimmett
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Plasterer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



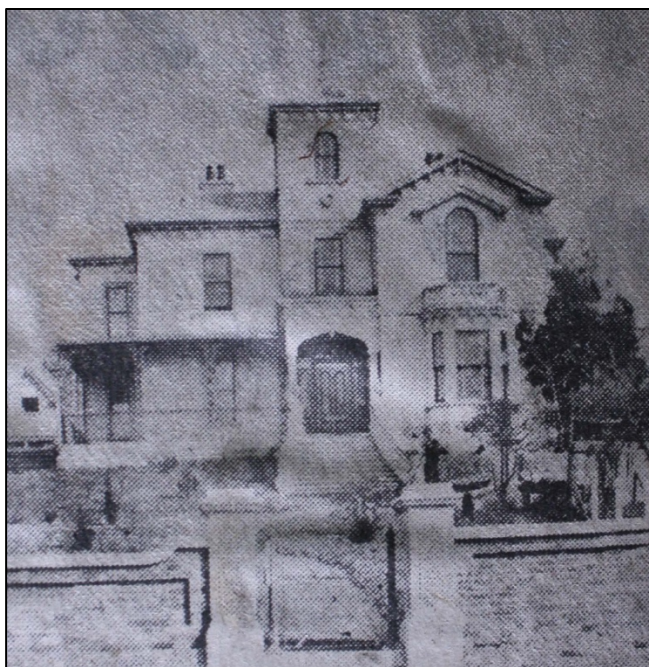
**63 Loyalty Street, Forbury (HNZ: 12013/810).**



<b>1 Graham Street, Central Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	134
<b>Construction date</b>	1870
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Henry Fredrick Hardy
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Builder/Architect
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**1 Graham Street, Central Dunedin (HNZ: 12013/784).**



**1 Graham Street, Central Dunedin (HNZ: 12013/784).**

<b>38 Belgrave Crescent, Kaikorai</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	135
<b>Construction date</b>	1876
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Nathaniel Wales
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Architect
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**38 Belgrave Crescent, Kaikorai (Hocken: 0574\_01\_001A).**



**38 Belgrave Crescent, Kaikorai (HNZ: 12013/786).**



<b>4 Pitt Street, North Dunedin</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	136
<b>Construction date</b>	1890s
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Thomas McKellar
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**4 Pitt Street, North Dunedin (HNZ: 12013/880).**



**4 Pitt Street, North Dunedin (HNZ: 12013/880).**

<b>185 Hatchery Road, Portobello</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	137
<b>Construction date</b>	1904
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	New Zealand Government
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Public
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	N/A
<b>House ownership type</b>	Rental Property



**185 Hatchery Road, Portobello (HNZ: 12013/500).**



<b>23 Currie Street, Port Chalmers</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	144
<b>Construction date</b>	1897-1898
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Andrew and Jane Imrie
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Managing Mechanical Engineer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**23 Currie Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 1502).**



<b>41 George Street, Port Chalmers</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	146
<b>Construction date</b>	1874
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	John Drysdale
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Physician
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**View of George Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 80).**



**Detail of above image showing 41 George Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 80).**

<b>78 George Street, Port Chalmers</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	147
<b>Construction date</b>	1876-1877
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Edward Coffey
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Police Constable
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**View of buildings adjacent to George Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 4902).**



**Detail of above image showing 78 George Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 4902).**

<b>7 Granville Terrace, Belleknowes</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	149
<b>Construction date</b>	1903-1906
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Alfred Reed
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Company Manager
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Upper-Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**7 Granville Terrace, Belleknowes (Hocken: 0752\_01\_005A).**

<b>36 Grey Street, Port Chalmers</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	152
<b>Construction date</b>	1875-1877
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Beauchop
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Timber Merchant
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Middle
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**36 Grey Street, Port Chalmers (the stone building to the left of the image; PCM: 1499).**



**36 Grey Street, Port Chalmers (the stone building to the left of the image; PCM: 1501).**



<b>20 Scotia Street, Port Chalmers</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	155
<b>Construction date</b>	1901-1902
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Robert Mitchell
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Carpenter
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**20 Scotia Street, Port Chalmers (PCM: 1493).**

<b>16 Slant Street, Careys Bay</b>	
<b>Catalogue number(s)</b>	156
<b>Construction date</b>	1882-1885
<b>Owner(s) responsible for construction</b>	Richard Chalker
<b>Occupation of owner</b>	Labourer
<b>Owner's occupational class</b>	Working
<b>House ownership type</b>	Personal Home



**16 Slant Street, Careys Bay (PCM: 2184).**



## Appendix B – Definition of Analysis Terms

Taken and/or adapted from Curl and Wilson (2015), Johnston and Pritchard (2012), Salmond (1986), and Brunskill (1978). The various types shown in drawings and photographs were those encountered in my house sample.

### Symmetry (including chimneys)

Exact correspondence of parts on either side of a central axis.

### Symmetry (excluding chimneys)

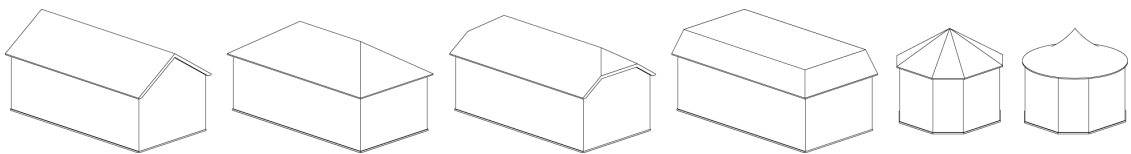
As above but excluding chimneys. Included as a category in the analysis to take account of dwellings with symmetrical façades but offset single chimneys.

### Storey

Volume between the floors of a building or between its floor and roof. Attic rooms, as evidenced by windows, are considered a storey.

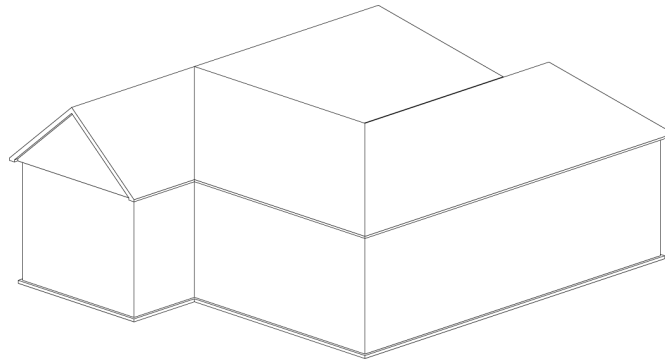
### Roof Form

The shape of the roof over a structure. Types shown below.



**Roof types. From left to right: gable, hipped, half-hipped, mansard, pavilion, conical (J. Moyle).**

Structures can have a combination of different roof types, e.g. a hipped roof over the primary mass of a building and a smaller projecting gable roof. The main roof type – the roof sitting over the primary mass of a structure – is also recorded. If the primary mass of a structure has the appearance of a hipped roof, but with its corners obscured by twin projecting gables, it is still described as having a hipped main roof.



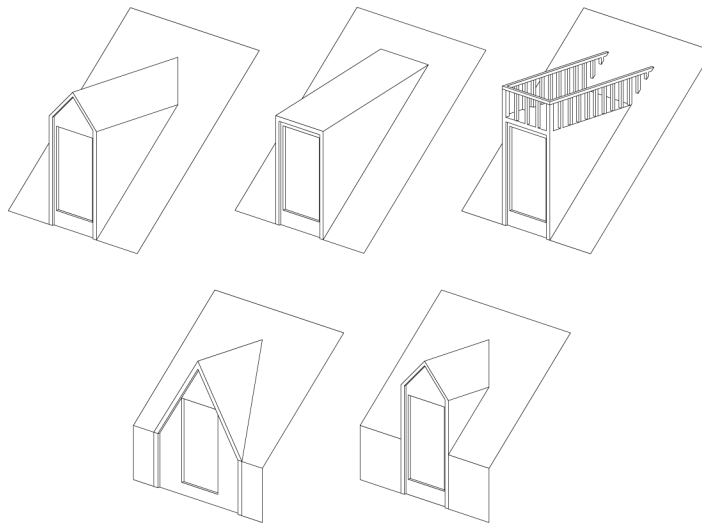
**Hipped main roof and offset projecting gable (J. Moyle).**



**149 Malvern Street, described as a hipped roof building with two projecting gables (Hocken: 0853\_01\_002A).**

## Dormer

Structure projecting from a pitched roof housing a window. Types shown below.



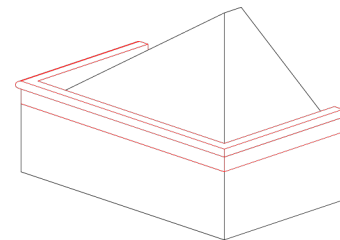
**Dormer types. Clockwise: doghouse, pent, flat (with railing), gable, half doghouse (J. Moyle).**

### Roof Parapet

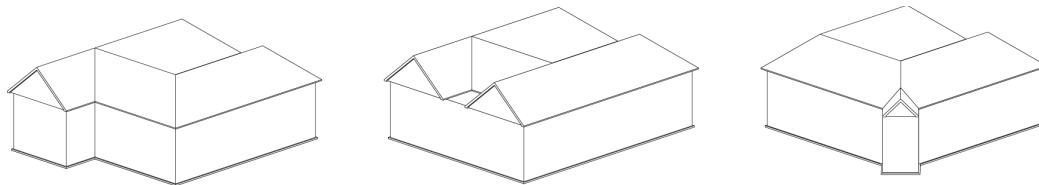
Low wall, barrier, or balustrade at the edge of a roof.

### Projecting Gable

Gable-roofed secondary mass projecting from the main mass of the structure. Types shown below.



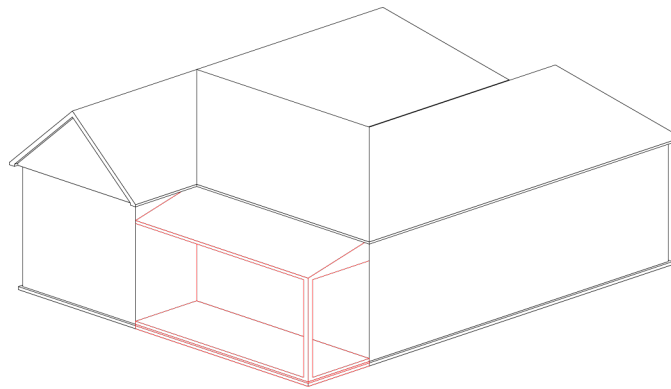
**Roof parapet shown in red (J. Moyle).**



**Projecting gable types. From left to right: offset/irregular, twin, corner (J. Moyle).**

### Verandah

External open ground-storey gallery, or covered way, with a sloping or lean-to roof, or balcony above, carried by slender columns or posts, attached to a building, often in front of the windows of the principal rooms.



**Verandah shown in red (J. Moyle).**

### Porch

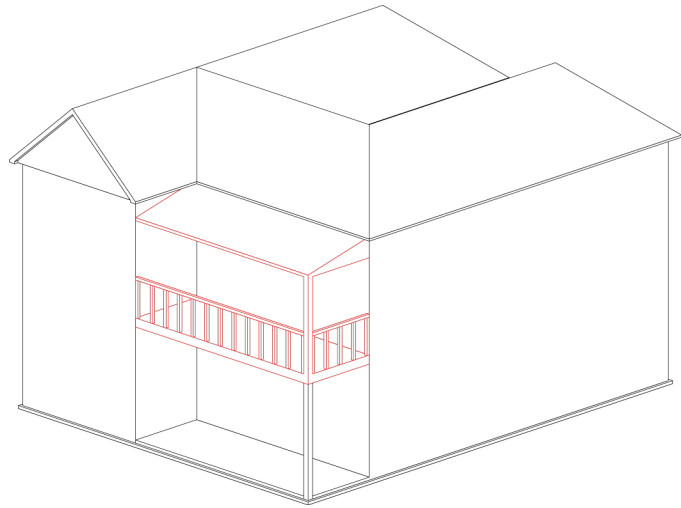
Covered place of entrance and exit attached to a building and projecting in front of its main mass, usually carried by columns. The covered space between twin projecting gables is considered a porch (see image of 149 Malvern Street above). Large porches can appear similar to verandahs but are distinguished by their positioning primarily in relation to a door. Features that could be described as porticos were also recorded as porches.



**Left – The oversized porch around the front door at 367 High Street (Hocken: 0766\_01\_038A). Right – The porch at 4 Pitt Street (HNZ: File No. 12013/880).**

### Balcony

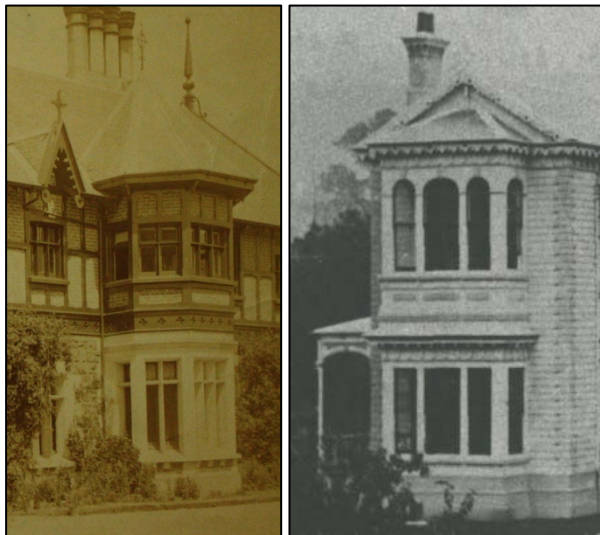
Platform or open gallery built out from an upper storey wall, supported on brackets, consoles, corbels, or columns, or cantilevered. It is normally constructed in front of windows or other apertures, with a balustrade or rail around the platform, and can bear the weight of one or more persons.



**Balcony shown in red (J. Moyle).**

### Tower

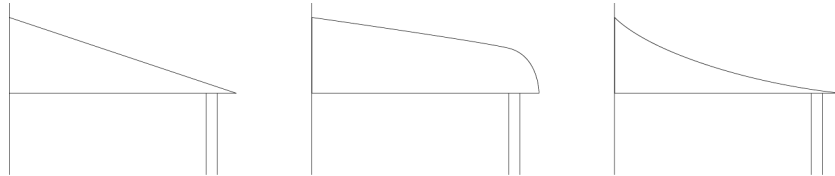
Tall structure of any form on plan, high in proportion to its lateral dimensions, free-standing or part of another building. Towers are identified as a distinct structure in my analysis if they possess their own roof that rises apart from the main building. Thus, the stacked bay windows at 16 Patmos Avenue are considered a tower, while those at 180 Queen Street are not (see image below).



**Left – Tower at 16 Patmos Avenue (TOSM: 79/88); Right – Bay windows at 180 Queen Street (Hocken: 0669\_01\_002A).**

### Verandah Roof

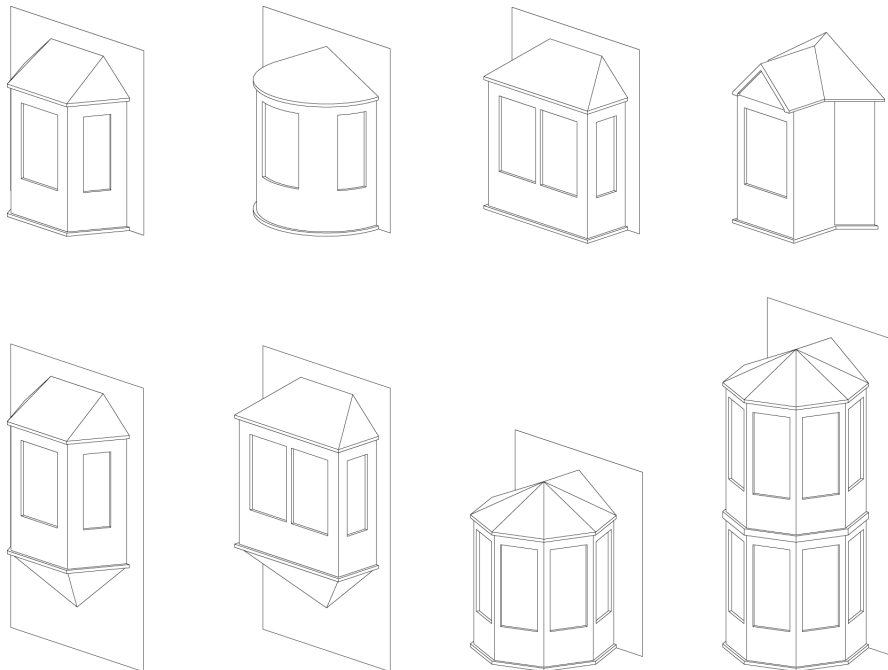
The profile form of the roof over a structure's verandah. May have striped decoration. Types shown below.



**Types of verandah profile. From left to right: straight, bullnose, single-pitch (J. Moyle).**

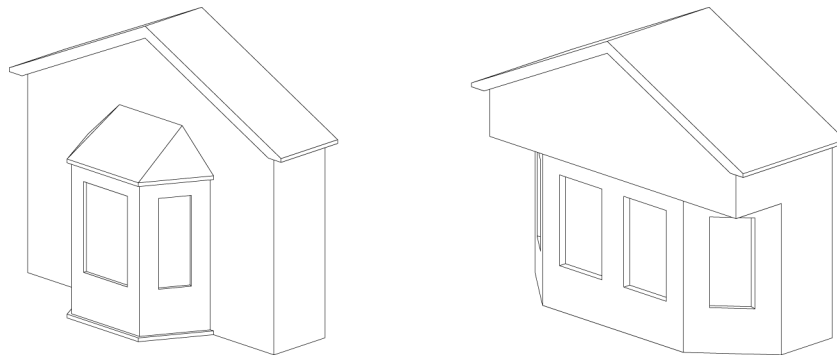
### Bay Window

A distinct structure housing windows that projects from a building's wall. Types shown below. Bay windows at gable ends were either 'attached' to the end of the wall or integrated into the structure with the projecting gable acting as a pediment above.



**Types of bay windows. Clockwise: faceted, circular, rectangular, corner, tower, six-sided, square oriel, faceted oriel (J. Moyle).**





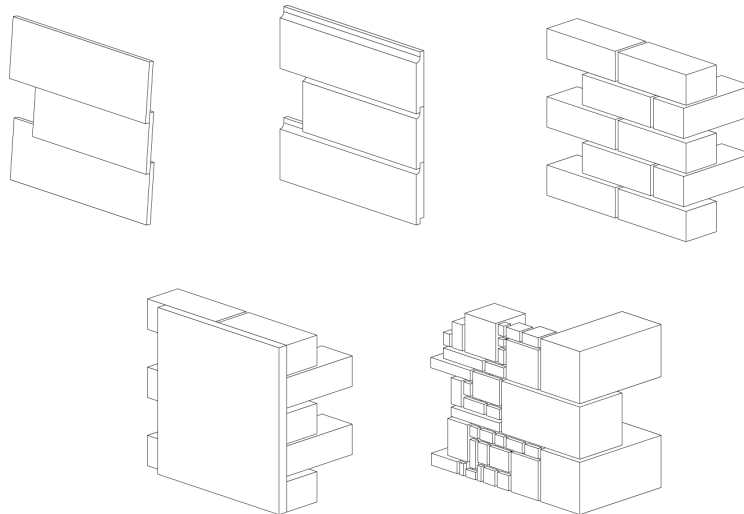
**Left - Attached bay window. Right – Pediment gable bay window (J. Moyle).**

### Construction

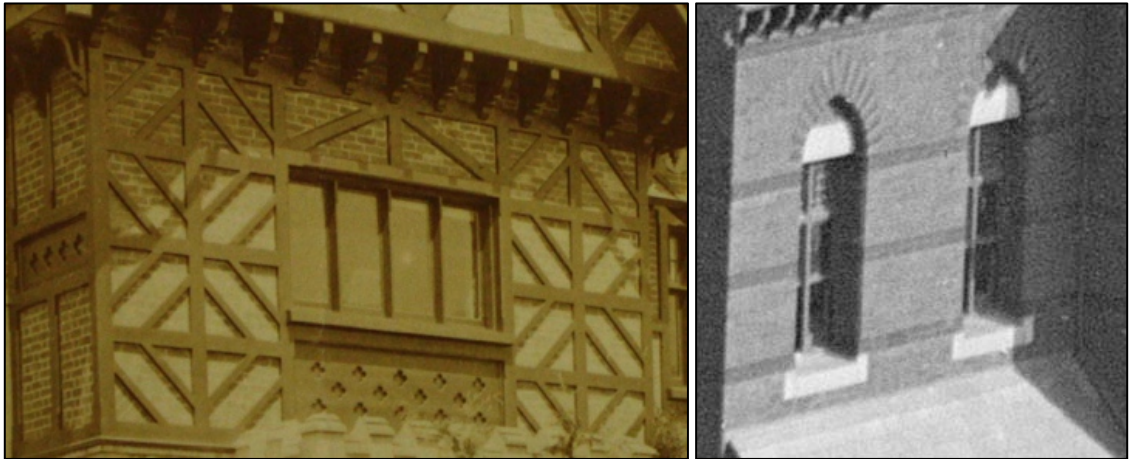
The material the structure is built with: timber, brick, or stone.

### Finish

The surface treatment of a structure's walls. Most buildings' finish was a product of its basic building materials like weatherboards, bricks, stone, or stucco. Some buildings also had one or more decorative finishes like stickwork, polychrome brickwork, or contrast stucco trim. Many houses had a combination of different finishes.



**Types of basic finish. Clockwise: plain weatherboards, rusticated weatherboards, brick, ashlar masonry, plain stucco (J. Moyle).**



Left - Stickwork finish on *Bishopsgrove* (TOSM: 79/88). Right – Polychrome brickwork at 90 St David Street (Te Papa: C.012077).



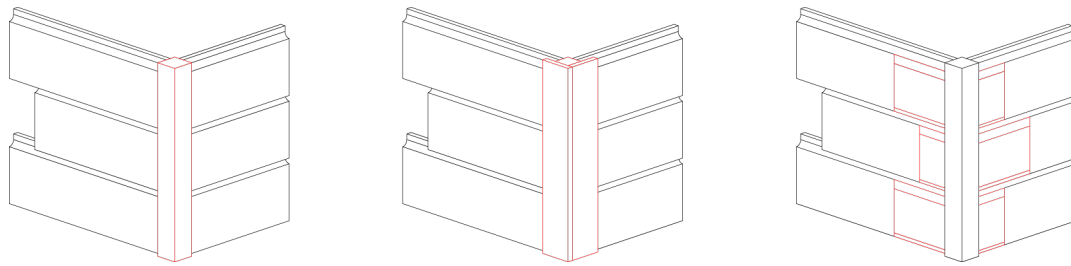
Contrast stucco trim at 7 Granville Terrace (Hocken: 0752\_01\_005A).

### Roof Material

The material of a building's roof. Houses in the sample either had a slate, tile, or corrugated iron roof.

### Corners

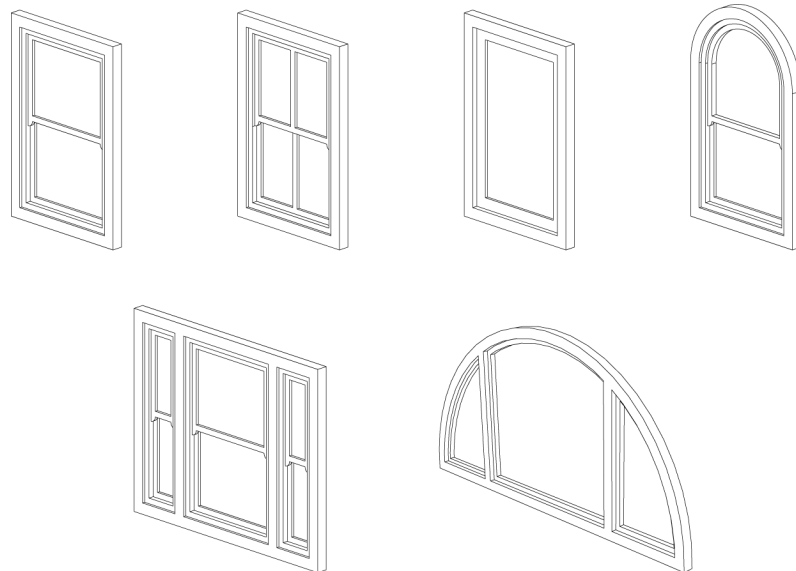
The structure and decoration at a building's corners. Types shown below.



**Types of corner shown in red. From left to right: hard-stop corner, boxed corner, quoins (J. Moyle).**

## Window

The form of a house's primary windows. Types shown below. Houses can employ a combination of different types both across the structure and within a single window. For example, a two-light sash window with a round head, or a casement lunette window.



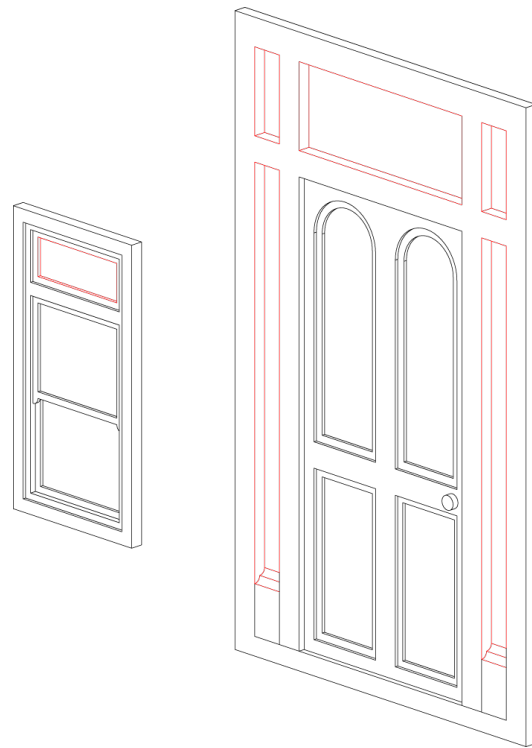
**Types of windows. Clockwise: two-light sash, four-light sash, casement, round-headed, Chicago, lunette (J. Moyle).**

### Fanlight and Sidelights

Small and narrow windows above and alongside a door. Windows can also have fanlights.



**Verandah window at 41 George Street  
(Port Chalmers; PCM: 80).**



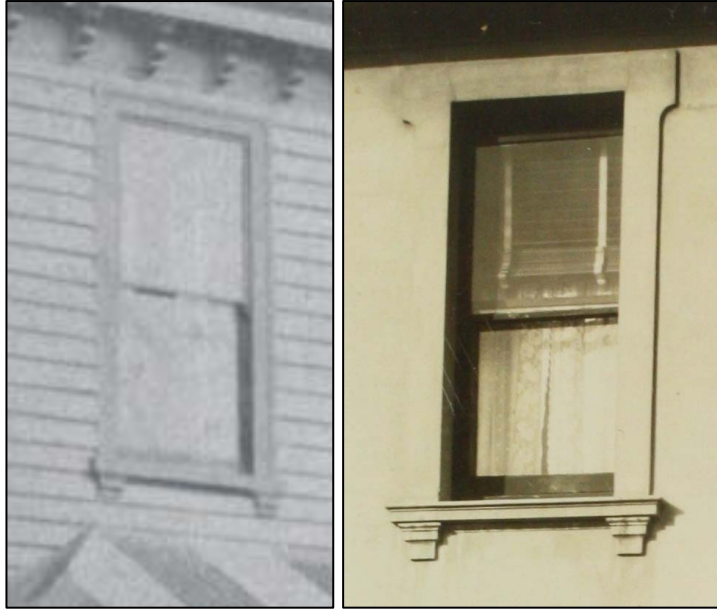
**Fanlights and sidelights shown in red  
(J. Moyle).**

### Verandah/Porch/Balcony Windows

Windows sheltering a portion of a verandah, porch, or balcony.

### Window Sill Brackets

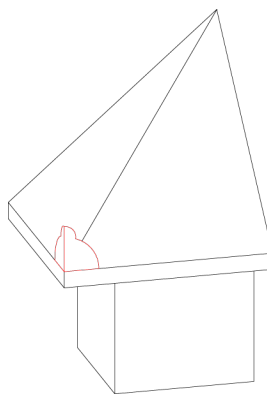
Brackets beneath a window sill appearing as an extension of window jambs.



**Window sill brackets at 15 Graham Street (Hocken: 0748\_01\_002A) and 553 Hillside Road (DCC: 73/1).**

### Acroterion

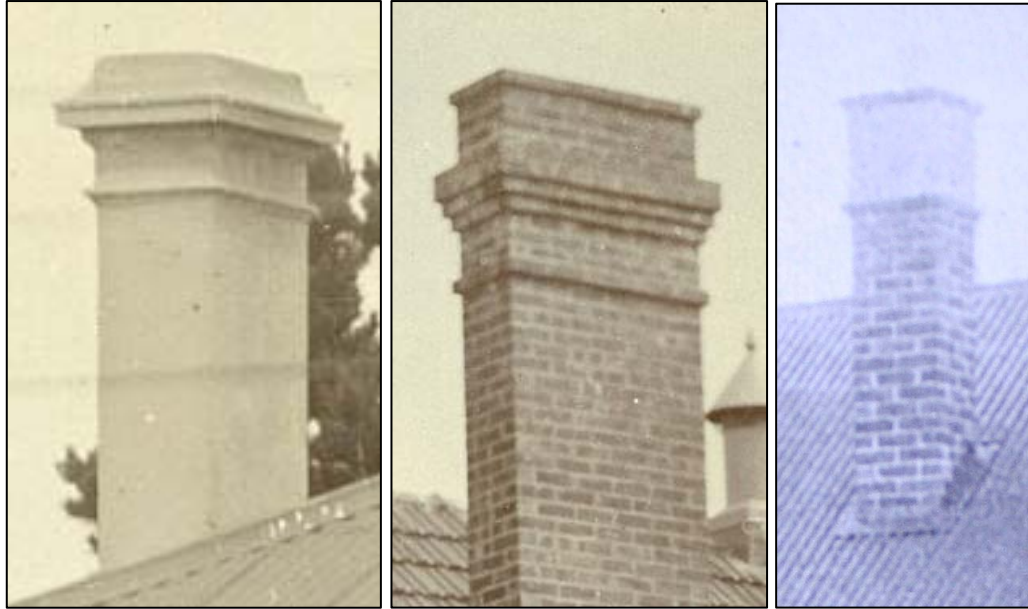
An ornament placed at the corner of a building's roof.



**Acroterion shown in red (J. Moyle).**

### Chimney-Top

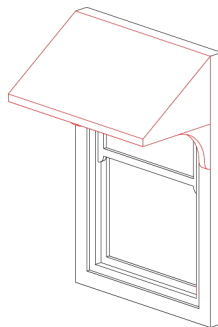
The decorative crowning element of a chimney. Types shown below..



**Types of chimneys. Left – Stucco chimney at 1 Will Street (DCC: Taieri County Council Photograph Series). Centre – Brick chimney at 46 Gordon Road (DCC: Taieri County Council Photograph Series). Right – Brick and stucco chimney at 22 Rosebery Street (AJHR: 1907 H/11B).**

### Window Awning

An external covering that projects out from above a building's window.



**Window awning shown in red (J. Moyle).**



## Bay Window Decoration

Decoration on the projecting wall beneath a bay window. Types shown below.



**Bay window decoration. Left – Matchboard panelling at 4 Cosy Dell Road (Hocken: Box-098 BuB 0267).  
Right – Timber moulding at 18 Napier Street (Hocken: Box-012 PORT1532).**



**Bay window decoration. Left – Stucco moulding at 31 Ross Street (DCC: TC33 Series, 1942 Works S/3).  
Right – Contrast timber trim at 18 Napier Street (Hocken: Box-012 PORT1532).**



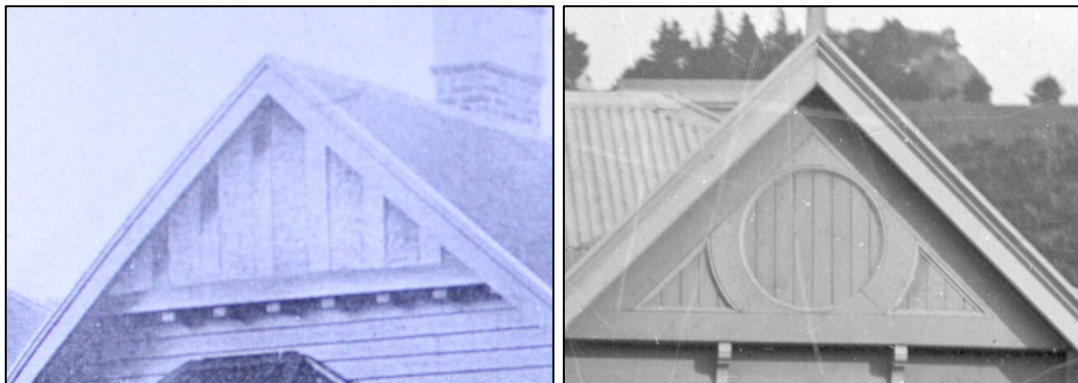
**Bay window decoration. Contrast stucco trim at 7 Granville Terrace (Hocken: 0752\_01\_005A).**

### Gable/Dormer Decoration

Decorative treatment of a structure's gables or dormers. Types shown below.



Gable/dormer decorations. Left – Ornamental trusses at 60 Lawrence Street (Hocken: P1990-015/27 Album 350). Right – Truss at 149 Malvern Street (Hocken: 0853\_01\_002A). Others sometimes refer to these features as stickwork. I define trusses as suspended members, while stickwork timbers are engaged (see below).



Gable/dormer decorations. Left – Stickwork at 22 Rosebery Street (AJHR: 1907 H/11B). Right – Matchboard panelling at 23 Currie Street (PCM: 1502).



**Gable/dormer decorations. Left – Cast-iron fretwork at 26 Chambers Street (DCC: 267/6). Right – Timber fretwork at 60 Lawrence Street (Hocken: P1990-015/27 Album 350).**



**Gable/dormer decoration. Left – Stucco moulding at 31 Ross Street (DCC: TC33 Series, 1942 Works S/3). Right – Timber moulding at 6 Bernard Street (DCC: 266/4).**



**Pendant gable/dormer decoration at 568 Castle Street (Hocken: 0613\_01\_003A).**

### Cresting

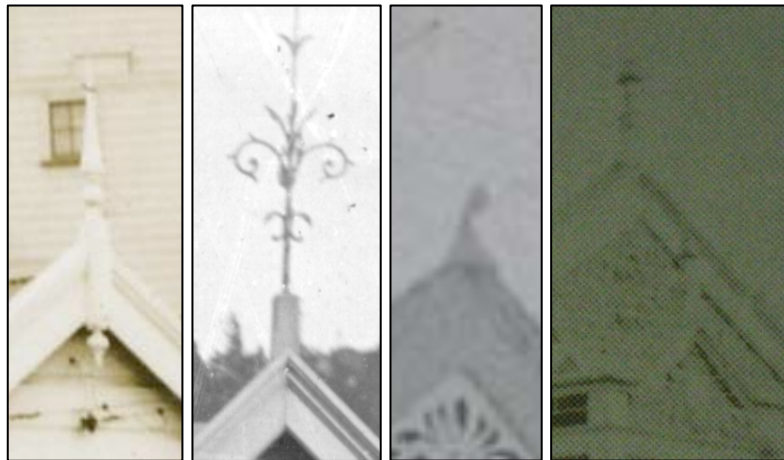
Decorative feature, often perforated, running continuously in a horizontal direction above a roof or bay window.



**Cresting at 149 Malvern Street (Hocken: 0853\_01\_002A).**

### Finial

Decorative feature surmounting the apex of a gable. Types shown below.



**Left – Timber finial at 3 Smith Street (DCC: 264/7). Centre Left – Iron finial at 23 Currie Street (PCM: 1502). Centre Right – Terracotta finial at 603 George Street (Hocken: 0740\_01\_006A). Right – Masonry Finial at 44 Park Street (HNZ: 12013/281).**

### Finial Scrolls

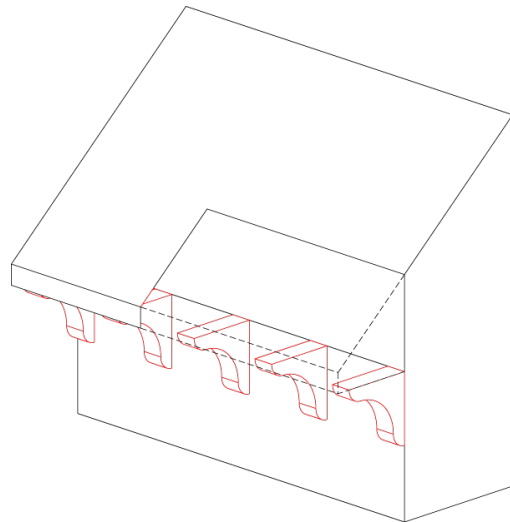
Decorative brackets flanking an iron finial.



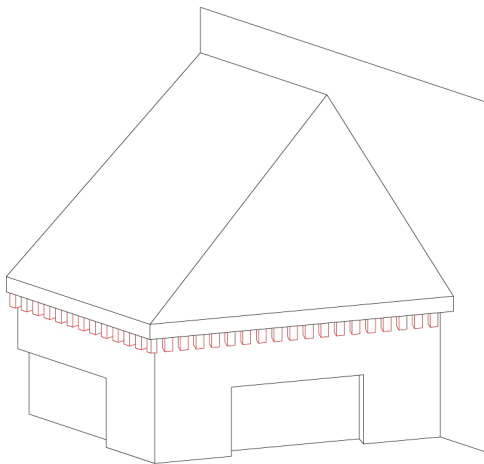
**Finial scrolls at 60 Lawrence Street (Hocken: P1990-015/27 Album 350).**

### Brackets

Decorative feature fixed between a structure's wall and the eaves of its roof or bay window. Multiple brackets are normally used to make a decorative series.



**Brackets shown in red beneath a house's eaves (J. Moyle).**



**Dentil moulding shown in red beneath a bay window's eaves (J. Moyle).**

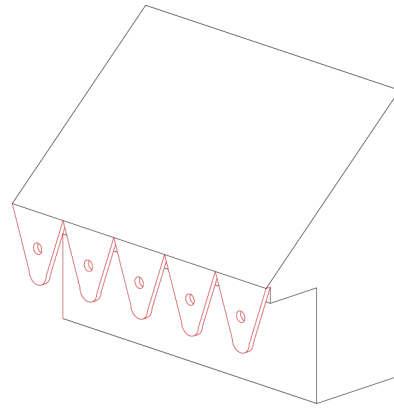
### Dentil Moulding

Decorative series of small rectangular blocks, resembling teeth, under the eaves or cornice of a structure's roof or bay window.



### Decorative Fascia

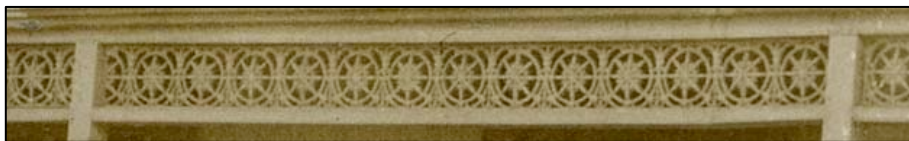
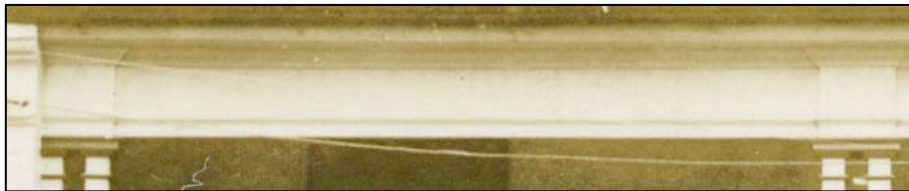
A continuous band of ornamental moulding or fretwork around a building at eaves level.



### Verandah/Balcony/Porch Frieze

A continuous band of ornamental moulding or fretwork suspended between the columns of a verandah, balcony, or porch. Types shown below.

**Decorative fascia shown in red  
(J. Moyle).**

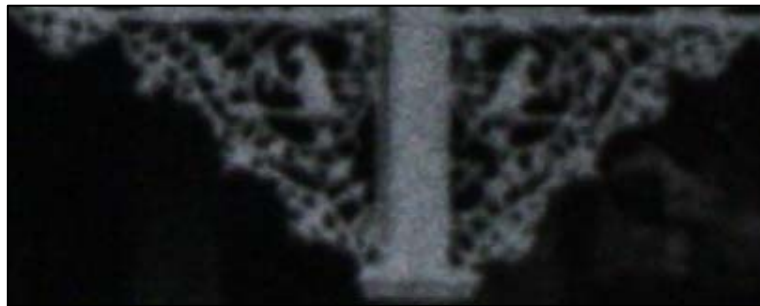
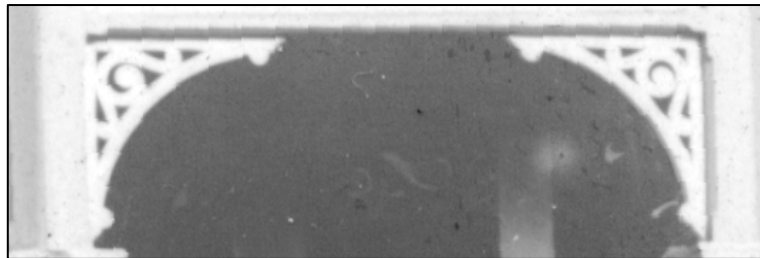


**Friezes. Top – Solid timber frieze at 109 York Place (DCC: 264/11). Middle – Timber fretwork frieze at 109 York Place (DCC: 264/11). Bottom – Cast-iron fretwork frieze at 78 Union Street (DCC: 293/7).**



### Verandah/Balcony/Porch Brackets

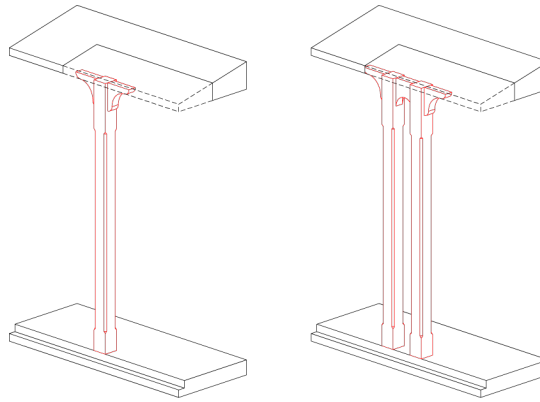
Decorative features fixed between the columns and the frieze or roof of a verandah, balcony, or porch. Types shown below.



**Brackets. Top – Solid timber brackets at 1 Will Street (DCC: Taieri County Council Photograph Series).  
Middle – Timber fretwork brackets at 20 Scotia Street (PCM: 1493). Bottom – Cast-iron fretwork  
brackets at 63 Loyalty Street (HNZ: 12013/810).**

### Verandah/Balcony/Porch Columns

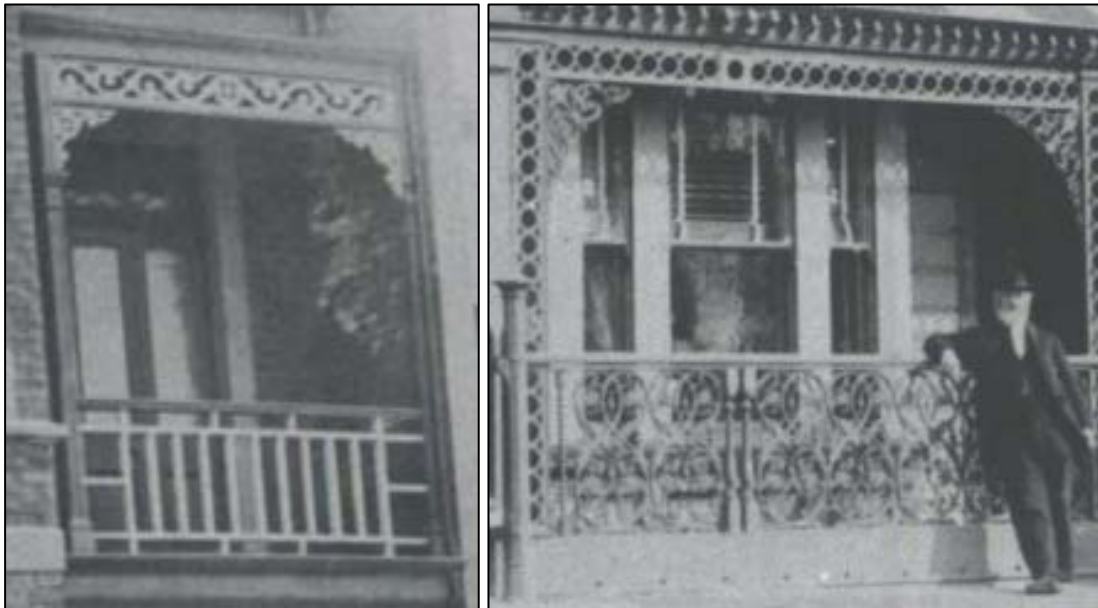
A vertical structural component at the front of a verandah, balcony, or porch that acts as a strut or support for a roof or balcony above. Types shown below.



**Verandah posts, individual and paired, shown in red (J. Moyle).**

### Verandah/Balcony/Porch Railing

A fence, usually decorative, enclosing a verandah, balcony, or porch. Types shown below.



**Railings. Left – Timber railing at 603 George Street (Hocken: 0740\_01\_006A). Right – Cast-iron railing at 15 Graham Street (Hocken: 0748\_01\_002A).**



**Masonry railing at 31 Ross Street.**

## Appendix C – Stylistic Feature Data

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Symmetry Excluding Chimney	Symmetry Including Chimney	One Storey	Two Storeys	Three Storeys	Main Roof: Hipped Roof	Main Roof: Gable Roof	Main Roof: Half-Hipped Roof
1	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NA	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Main Roof: Mansard Roof	Hipped Roof	Gable Roof	Half Hipped Roof	Mansard Roof	Pavilion Roof	Conical Roof	Flat Roof
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Dormer	Doghouse Dormer	Pent Dormer	Gable Dormer	Flat Dormer	Roof Parapet	Projecting Gable	Offset or Irregular Projecting Gable
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Twin Projecting Gable	Corner Projecting Gable	Verandah	Porch	Balcony	Tower	Concave Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bullnose Verandah or Balcony Roof
1	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Single-Pitch Verandah or Balcony Roof	Striped Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bay Window	Faceted Bay Window	Rectangular Bay Window	Round Bay Window	Six-Sided Bay Window	Rectangular Oriel Window
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Faceted Oriel Window	Attached Bay Window	Pediment Gable Bay Window	Tower Bay Window	Corner Bay Window	Timber Construction	Brick Construction	Stone Construction
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Plain Weatherboard Finish	Rusticated Weatherboard Finish	Plain Stucco Finish	Ashlar Masonry Finish	Polychrome Brick Finish	Contrast Stucco Trim Finish	Stickwork Finish	Corrugated Iron Roof
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Slate Roof	Tile Roof	Hard-Stop Corner	Boxed Corner	Quoin Corner	Two-Light Sash Window	Four-Light Sash Window	Casement Window
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NA	NA	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	YES	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Triptych Sash Window	Round-headed Window	Lunette Window	Window Fanlights	Door Sidelights	Door Fanlight	Verandah, Porch, or Balcony Windows	Window Sill Brackets
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NA
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NA
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA	NA
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	NA	NA	YES	YES
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NA
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NA
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NA



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Acroterion	Moulded Stucco Chimney-Top	Brick Chimney-Top	Brick and Stucco Chimney-Top	Window Awning	Bay Window Decoration	Bay Window Matchboard Panelling	Bay Window Timber Moulding
1	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
29	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Bay Window Stucco Moulding	Bay Window Contrast Stucco or Timber Trim	Gable or Dormer Decoration	Carved Bargeboard Gable or Dormer Decoration	Truss Gable or Dormer Decoration	Stickwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Matchboard Panelling Gable or Dormer Decoration	Iron Gable or Dormer Decoration
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Fretwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Stucco Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Timber Gable or Dormer Decoration	Pendant Gable or Dormer Decoration	Cresting	Finial	Timber Finial	Cast Iron Finial
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
35	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Terracotta Finial	Masonry Finial	Finial Scrolls	Eave Brackets	Bay Window Brackets	Dentil Moulding	Decorative Fascia	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Frieze
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
36	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Brackets	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing	Solid Timber Frieze	Solid Timber Brackets	Fretwork Timber Frieze	Fretwork Timber Brackets	Iron Frieze	Iron Brackets
1	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
3	Working	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
29	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
35	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
36	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
42	Working	Personal Home	NA	NO	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
45	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Paired Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Columns	Timber Railing	Iron Railing	Masonry Railing
1	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
3	Working	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
4	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
5	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO
9	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
10	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
11	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
12	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
13	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
14	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
15	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
16	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
17	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
18	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
19	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
20	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
21	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
23	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
24	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NO
25	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
28	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO
29	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
34	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
35	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
36	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO
38	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
39	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
40	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES
42	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
45	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Symmetry Excluding Chimney	Symmetry Including Chimney	One Storey	Two Storeys	Three Storeys	Main Roof: Hipped Roof	Main Roof: Gable Roof	Main Roof: Half-Hipped Roof
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Main Roof: Mansard Roof	Hipped Roof	Gable Roof	Half Hipped Roof	Mansard Roof	Pavilion Roof	Conical Roof	Flat Roof
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Dormer	Doghouse Dormer	Pent Dormer	Gable Dormer	Flat Dormer	Roof Parapet	Projecting Gable	Offset or Irregular Projecting Gable
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Twin Projecting Gable	Corner Projecting Gable	Verandah	Porch	Balcony	Tower	Concave Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bullnose Verandah or Balcony Roof
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NA	NA
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Single-Pitch Verandah or Balcony Roof	Striped Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bay Window	Faceted Bay Window	Rectangular Bay Window	Round Bay Window	Six-Sided Bay Window	Rectangular Oriel Window
46	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NA	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Faceted Oriel Window	Attached Bay Window	Pediment Gable Bay Window	Tower Bay Window	Corner Bay Window	Timber Construction	Brick Construction	Stone Construction
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NA	NA
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Plain Weatherboard Finish	Rusticated Weatherboard Finish	Plain Stucco Finish	Ashlar Masonry Finish	Polychrome Brick Finish	Contrast Stucco Trim Finish	Stickwork Finish	Corrugated Iron Roof
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
50	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
51	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
52	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
53	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
60	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
61	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
92	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
93	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
94	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Slate Roof	Tile Roof	Hard-Stop Corner	Boxed Corner	Quoin Corner	Two-Light Sash Window	Four-Light Sash Window	Casement Window
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NA	NA	NA
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA	YES	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Triptych Sash Window	Round-headed Window	Lunette Window	Window Fanlights	Door Sidelights	Door Fanlight	Verandah, Porch, or Balcony Windows	Window Sill Brackets
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NA	NA
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NA	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NA
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NA	NA
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	YES	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NA	NA	YES	YES
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA	NA
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Acroterion	Moulded Stucco Chimney-Top	Brick Chimney-Top	Brick and Stucco Chimney-Top	Window Awning	Bay Window Decoration	Bay Window Matchboard Panelling	Bay Window Timber Moulding
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	YES	NO	YES
83	Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Bay Window Stucco Moulding	Bay Window Contrast Stucco or Timber Trim	Gable or Dormer Decoration	Carved Bargeboard Gable or Dormer Decoration	Truss Gable or Dormer Decoration	Stickwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Matchboard Panelling Gable or Dormer Decoration	Iron Gable or Dormer Decoration
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Fretwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Stucco Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Timber Gable or Dormer Decoration	Pendant Gable or Dormer Decoration	Cresting	Finial	Timber Finial	Cast Iron Finial
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NA
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NA
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Terracotta Finial	Masonry Finial	Finial Scrolls	Eave Brackets	Bay Window Brackets	Dentil Moulding	Decorative Fascia	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Frieze
46	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NA	NO	NO	NA	NO	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NA	YES	NO	NA	YES	NA
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NA	NO	YES
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
82	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NO	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Brackets	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing	Solid Timber Frieze	Solid Timber Brackets	Fretwork Timber Frieze	Fretwork Timber Brackets	Iron Frieze	Iron Brackets
46	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	YES	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NA	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

<b>Catalogue Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>House Type</b>	<b>Paired Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Columns</b>	<b>Timber Railing</b>	<b>Iron Railing</b>	<b>Masonry Railing</b>
46	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO
47	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO
48	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO
49	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO
50	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
51	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
52	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
53	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
54	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
60	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
61	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
62	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
63	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO
64	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	YES	NO
65	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
66	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO
71	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
72	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
75	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
78	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
79	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
80	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NA
81	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
82	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO
83	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
84	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
85	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
92	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
93	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
94	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Symmetry Excluding Chimney	Symmetry Including Chimney	One Storey	Two Storeys	Three Storeys	Main Roof: Hipped Roof	Main Roof: Gable Roof	Main Roof: Half-Hipped Roof
95	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Main Roof: Mansard Roof	Hipped Roof	Gable Roof	Half Hipped Roof	Mansard Roof	Pavilion Roof	Conical Roof	Flat Roof
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Dormer	Doghouse Dormer	Pent Dormer	Gable Dormer	Flat Dormer	Roof Parapet	Projecting Gable	Offset or Irregular Projecting Gable
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Twin Projecting Gable	Corner Projecting Gable	Verandah	Porch	Balcony	Tower	Concave Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bullnose Verandah or Balcony Roof
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Single-Pitch Verandah or Balcony Roof	Striped Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bay Window	Faceted Bay Window	Rectangular Bay Window	Round Bay Window	Six-Sided Bay Window	Rectangular Oriel Window
95	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NA	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Faceted Oriel Window	Attached Bay Window	Pediment Gable Bay Window	Tower Bay Window	Corner Bay Window	Timber Construction	Brick Construction	Stone Construction
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Plain Weatherboard Finish	Rusticated Weatherboard Finish	Plain Stucco Finish	Ashlar Masonry Finish	Polychrome Brick Finish	Contrast Stucco Trim Finish	Stickwork Finish	Corrugated Iron Roof
95	Working	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
130	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Slate Roof	Tile Roof	Hard-Stop Corner	Boxed Corner	Quoin Corner	Two-Light Sash Window	Four-Light Sash Window	Casement Window
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
131	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NA	NA	NO	YES	NO	NO
132	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Triptych Sash Window	Round-headed Window	Lunette Window	Window Fanlights	Door Sidelights	Door Fanlight	Verandah, Porch, or Balcony Windows	Window Sill Brackets
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NA	NO	NA	YES	NA	YES	YES
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	YES	NA
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NA
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NA
117	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
118	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
119	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
120	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	YES	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
132	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Acroterion	Moulded Stucco Chimney-Top	Brick Chimney-Top	Brick and Stucco Chimney-Top	Window Awning	Bay Window Decoration	Bay Window Matchboard Panelling	Bay Window Timber Moulding
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Bay Window Stucco Moulding	Bay Window Contrast Stucco or Timber Trim	Gable or Dormer Decoration	Carved Bargeboard Gable or Dormer Decoration	Truss Gable or Dormer Decoration	Stickwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Matchboard Panelling Gable or Dormer Decoration	Iron Gable or Dormer Decoration
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	YES	YES	NA	NA	NA	NA
132	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Fretwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Stucco Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Timber Gable or Dormer Decoration	Pendant Gable or Dormer Decoration	Cresting	Finial	Timber Finial	Cast Iron Finial
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NA	NO	YES	NO	YES
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NA
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NA	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA	NA

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Terracotta Finial	Masonry Finial	Finial Scrolls	Eave Brackets	Bay Window Brackets	Dentil Moulding	Decorative Fascia	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Frieze
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
116	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	YES	YES
128	Public	Rental Property	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NO	YES
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Brackets	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing	Solid Timber Frieze	Solid Timber Brackets	Fretwork Timber Frieze	Fretwork Timber Brackets	Iron Frieze	Iron Brackets
95	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
104	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
117	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
118	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
119	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
120	Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES

<b>Catalogue Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>House Type</b>	<b>Paired Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Columns</b>	<b>Timber Railing</b>	<b>Iron Railing</b>	<b>Masonry Railing</b>
95	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
97	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
98	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
99	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
100	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO
101	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO
104	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
106	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
107	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
108	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
113	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
114	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
116	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	NA	NA
117	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
118	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
119	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
120	Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
121	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO
122	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
123	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
124	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
125	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
126	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
127	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
128	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
129	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
130	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
131	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	NA	NA
132	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
133	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Symmetry Excluding Chimney	Symmetry Including Chimney	One Storey	Two Storeys	Three Storeys	Main Roof: Hipped Roof	Main Roof: Gable Roof	Main Roof: Half-Hipped Roof
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	YES	NA	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Main Roof: Mansard Roof	Hipped Roof	Gable Roof	Half Hipped Roof	Mansard Roof	Pavilion Roof	Conical Roof	Flat Roof
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO



Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Dormer	Doghouse Dormer	Pent Dormer	Gable Dormer	Flat Dormer	Roof Parapet	Projecting Gable	Offset or Irregular Projecting Gable
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Twin Projecting Gable	Corner Projecting Gable	Verandah	Porch	Balcony	Tower	Concave Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bullnose Verandah or Balcony Roof
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Single-Pitch Verandah or Balcony Roof	Striped Verandah or Balcony Roof	Bay Window	Faceted Bay Window	Rectangular Bay Window	Round Bay Window	Six-Sided Bay Window	Rectangular Oriel Window
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	YES	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Faceted Oriel Window	Attached Bay Window	Pediment Gable Bay Window	Tower Bay Window	Corner Bay Window	Timber Construction	Brick Construction	Stone Construction
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Plain Weatherboard Finish	Rusticated Weatherboard Finish	Plain Stucco Finish	Ashlar Masonry Finish	Polychrome Brick Finish	Contrast Stucco Trim Finish	Stickwork Finish	Corrugated Iron Roof
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NO	NA
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Slate Roof	Tile Roof	Hard-Stop Corner	Boxed Corner	Quoin Corner	Two-Light Sash Window	Four-Light Sash Window	Casement Window
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NO	NA	NA	YES	YES	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Triptych Sash Window	Round-headed Window	Lunette Window	Window Fanlights	Door Sidelights	Door Fanlight	Verandah, Porch, or Balcony Windows	Window Sill Brackets
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	YES
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NA	YES	YES	YES	NA
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NA

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Acroterion	Moulded Stucco Chimney-Top	Brick Chimney-Top	Brick and Stucco Chimney-Top	Window Awning	Bay Window Decoration	Bay Window Matchboard Panelling	Bay Window Timber Moulding
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NO	NO	NA	NA	NA
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	NA	NO	YES	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NA	NA	NA	NO	YES	YES	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Bay Window Stucco Moulding	Bay Window Contrast Stucco or Timber Trim	Gable or Dormer Decoration	Carved Bargeboard Gable or Dormer Decoration	Truss Gable or Dormer Decoration	Stickwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Matchboard Panelling Gable or Dormer Decoration	Iron Gable or Dormer Decoration
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	YES	NA	NO	NO	NA	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Fretwork Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Stucco Gable or Dormer Decoration	Moulded Timber Gable or Dormer Decoration	Pendant Gable or Dormer Decoration	Cresting	Finial	Timber Finial	Cast Iron Finial
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NO	NO	YES	NO	NA	NA	NA
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NA	NA	NA
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Terracotta Finial	Masonry Finial	Finial Scrolls	Eave Brackets	Bay Window Brackets	Dentil Moulding	Decorative Fascia	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Frieze
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NA	YES	NO	NA	NO	NO
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NA	NA	NA	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Catalogue Number	Class	House Type	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Brackets	Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Railing	Solid Timber Frieze	Solid Timber Brackets	Fretwork Timber Frieze	Fretwork Timber Brackets	Iron Frieze	Iron Brackets
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NA	YES	NO	NO	NO	NA	NO	NA
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

<b>Catalogue Number</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>House Type</b>	<b>Paired Verandah, Balcony, or Porch Columns</b>	<b>Timber Railing</b>	<b>Iron Railing</b>	<b>Masonry Railing</b>
134	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NA	NA	YES
135	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
136	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	YES
137	Public	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
144	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO
146	Upper-Middle	Personal Home	YES	NO	NO	NO
147	Middle	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
149	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
152	Middle	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
155	Working	Personal Home	NO	YES	NO	NO
156	Working	Personal Home	NO	NO	NO	NO
158	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO
159	Upper-Middle	Rental Property	NO	NO	NO	NO



## Appendix D – Fisher’s Exact Test Results

### Rental Properties vs. Personal Homes

#### \$Symmetry.Excluding.Chimney

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	29	31
YES	21	22

p-value = 1

#### \$Main.Roof..Hipped.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	17	33
YES	31	20

p-value = 0.009568

#### \$Symmetry.Including.Chimney

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	35	43
YES	15	8

p-value = 0.1011

#### \$Main.Roof..Gable.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	32	24
YES	16	29

p-value = 0.04469

#### \$One.Storey

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	27	31
YES	23	22

p-value = 0.6939

#### \$Main.Roof..Half.Hipped.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	50	49
YES	0	4

p-value = 0.1183

#### \$Two.Storeys

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	28	26
YES	22	27

p-value = 0.5554

#### \$Main.Roof..Mansard.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	49	53
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.4854

#### \$Three.Storeys

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	45	49
YES	5	4

p-value = 0.7367

#### \$Hipped.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	17	33
YES	33	20

p-value = 0.005692

\$Gable.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	9	16
YES	41	37
p-value = 0.1731		

\$Dormer

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	47	49
YES	3	4
p-value = 1		

\$Half.Hipped.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	50	49
YES	0	4
p-value = 0.1183		

\$Doghouse.Dormer

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	48	53
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.2332		

\$Mansard.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	49	53
YES	1	0
p-value = 0.4854		

\$Pent.Dormer

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	50	49
YES	0	4
p-value = 0.1183		

\$Pavilion.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	47	53
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.1108		

\$Gable.Dormer

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	48	53
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.2332		

\$Conical.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	47	53
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.1108		

\$Flat.Dormer

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	49	53
YES	1	0
p-value = 0.4854		

\$Flat.Roof

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	49	53
YES	1	0
p-value = 0.4854		

\$Roof.Parapet

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	47	53
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.1108		

#### \$Projecting.Gable

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	14	42
YES	36	11

p-value = 1.783e-07

#### \$Balcony

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	34	50
YES	16	3

p-value = 0.0007036

#### \$Offset.or.Irregular.Projecting.Gable

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	25	46
YES	25	7

p-value = 9.123e-05

#### \$Tower

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	42	52
YES	8	1

p-value = 0.0141

#### \$Twin.Projecting.Gable

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	38	48
YES	12	5

p-value = 0.06326

#### \$Concave.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	40	50
YES	4	2

p-value = 0.408

#### \$Corner.Projecting.Gable

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	48	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2332

#### \$Bullnose.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	52
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.48

#### \$Verandah

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	26	39
YES	24	14

p-value = 0.02646

#### \$Single.Pitch.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	30	37
YES	14	15

p-value = 0.8251

#### \$Porch

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	22	41
YES	28	12

p-value = 0.0006148

#### \$Striped.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	39	51
YES	1	1

p-value = 1

#### \$Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	7	40
YES	43	13

p-value = 2.288e-10

#### \$Faceted.Oriel.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	50	52
YES	0	1

p-value = 1

#### \$Faceted.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	26	47
YES	24	6

p-value = 6.407e-05

#### \$Attached.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	18	40
YES	32	13

p-value = 6.656e-05

#### \$Rectangular.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	29	46
YES	21	7

p-value = 0.001652

#### \$Pediment.Gable.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	39	52
YES	11	1

p-value = 0.001549

#### \$Round.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	48	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2332

#### \$Tower.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	53
YES	3	0

p-value = 0.1108

#### \$Six.Sided.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	48	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2332

#### \$Corner.Bay.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	53
YES	3	0

p-value = 0.1108

#### \$Rectangular.Oriel.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	49	53
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.4854

#### \$Timber.Construction

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	21	13
YES	29	40

p-value = 0.09283

#### \$Brick.Construction

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	34	40
YES	12	4

p-value = 0.05236

#### \$Polychrome.Brick.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	48	49
YES	2	4

p-value = 0.6789

#### \$Stone.Construction

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	40	44
YES	6	0

p-value = 0.02638

#### \$Contrast.Stucco.Trim.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	35	53
YES	13	0

p-value = 2.364e-05

#### \$Plain.Weatherboard.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	46	40
YES	2	13

p-value = 0.004582

#### \$Stickwork.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	49	53
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.4854

#### \$Rusticated.Weatherboard.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	24	25
YES	24	28

p-value = 0.8431

#### \$Corrugated.Iron.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	23	5
YES	22	47

p-value = 1.035e-05

#### \$Plain.Stucco.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	46	44
YES	4	9

p-value = 0.2376

#### \$Slate.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	26	47
YES	19	5

p-value = 0.0002968

#### \$Ashlar.Masonry.Finish

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	44	53
YES	6	0

p-value = 0.01111

#### \$Tile.Roof

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	43	52
YES	4	0

p-value = 0.04738

#### \$Hard.Stop.Corner

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	42	28
YES	4	7

p-value = 0.1937

#### \$Triptych.Sash.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	44	46
YES	6	7

p-value = 1

#### \$Boxed.Corner

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	33	29
YES	13	6

p-value = 0.2962

#### \$Round.headed.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	43	51
YES	6	2

p-value = 0.1492

#### \$Quoin.Corner

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	30	46
YES	19	7

p-value = 0.005718

#### \$Lunette.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	49	53
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.4854

#### \$Two.Light.Sash.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	4	21
YES	46	31

p-value = 0.0001647

#### \$Window.Fanlights

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	35	45
YES	12	8

p-value = 0.2186

#### \$Four.Light.Sash.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	50	35
YES	0	17

p-value = 3.313e-06

#### \$Door.Sidelights

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	7	31
YES	27	9

p-value = 1.647e-06

#### \$Casement.Window

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	48
YES	3	4

p-value = 1

#### \$Door.Fanlight

##### Personal Home Rental Property

NO	1	0
YES	27	39

p-value = 0.4179

\$Verandah.or.Porch.or.Balcony.Windows

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	33	44
YES	11	7
p-value = 0.1949		

\$Window.Awning

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	49	50
YES	1	3
p-value = 0.6182		

\$Window.Sill.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	31	41
YES	5	7
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	17	47
YES	25	3
p-value = 3.056e-08		

\$Acroterion

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	40	46
YES	10	4
p-value = 0.1478		

\$Bay.Window.Matchboard.Panelling

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	39	50
YES	4	0
p-value = 0.04227		

\$Moulded.Stucco.Chimney.Top

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	9	12
YES	33	33
p-value = 0.6227		

\$Bay.Window.Timber.Moulding

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	31	47
YES	12	3
p-value = 0.005019		

\$Brick.Chimney.Top

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	34	36
YES	9	9
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Stucco.Moulding

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	45	53
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.1038		

\$Brick.and.Stucco.Chimney.Top

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	46	46
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2428		

\$Bay.Window.Contrast.Stucco.or.Timber.Trim

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	33	50
YES	10	0
p-value = 0.0002373		



\$Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	11	40
YES	39	13

p-value = 5.707e-08

\$Fretwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	39	53
YES	9	0

p-value = 0.0008031

\$Carved.Bargeboard.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	28	50
YES	20	3

p-value = 2.503e-05

\$Moulded.Stucco.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2283

\$Truss.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	39	48
YES	10	5

p-value = 0.163

\$Moulded.Timber.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2283

\$Stickwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	40	50
YES	9	3

p-value = 0.06515

\$Pendant.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	30	44
YES	19	9

p-value = 0.01585

\$Matchboard.Panelling.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	42	52
YES	6	1

p-value = 0.05106

\$Cresting

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	35	50
YES	15	3

p-value = 0.001456

\$Iron.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	46	53
YES	3	0

p-value = 0.1073

\$Finial

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	14	44
YES	30	8

p-value = 2.268e-07

\$Timber.Finial

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	34	48
YES	10	4

p-value = 0.04584

\$Bay.Window.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	46	51
YES	3	2

p-value = 0.6692

\$Iron.Finial

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	26	49
YES	18	4

p-value = 0.0001574

\$Dentil.Moulding

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	37	52
YES	8	0

p-value = 0.001492

\$Terracotta.Finial

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	45	52
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2228

\$Decorative.Fascia

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	48	53
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.2332

\$Masonry.Finial

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	47	53
YES	1	0

p-value = 0.4752

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Frieze

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	20	35
YES	28	18

p-value = 0.01708

\$Finial.Scrolls

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	30	53
YES	13	0

p-value = 9.062e-06

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	14	37
YES	33	16

p-value = 0.0001166

\$Eave.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	31	42
YES	19	11

p-value = 0.08183

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Railing

Personal Home Rental Property

NO	27	47
YES	21	4

p-value = 5.014e-05

\$Solid.Timber.Frieze

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	48	50
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2444		

\$Solid.Timber.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	45	50
YES	3	3
p-value = 1		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Frieze

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	38	42
YES	10	11
p-value = 1		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	34	46
YES	13	7
p-value = 0.08401		

\$Iron.Frieze

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	30	46
YES	18	7
p-value = 0.005784		

\$Iron.Brackets

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	29	47
YES	18	6
p-value = 0.002129		

\$Paired.Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Columns

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	39	50
YES	11	3
p-value = 0.02083		

\$Timber.Railing

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	32	48
YES	14	3
p-value = 0.002473		

\$Iron.Railing

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	43	50
YES	4	1
p-value = 0.1911		

\$Masonry.Railing

Personal Home Rental Property		
NO	45	52
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.107		

## Upper-Middle Class vs. Middle Class

### \$Symmetry.Excluding.Chimney

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	8	15
YES	6	9

p-value = 1

### \$Main.Roof..Hipped.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	4	9
YES	10	13

p-value = 0.5013

### \$Symmetry.Including.Chimney

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	11	16
YES	3	8

p-value = 0.4882

### \$Main.Roof..Gable.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	10	14
YES	4	8

p-value = 0.7272

### \$One.Storey

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	5	20
YES	9	4

p-value = 0.004783

### \$Main.Roof..Mansard.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	14	23
YES	0	1

p-value = 1

### \$Two.Storeys

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	9	9
YES	5	15

p-value = 0.1788

### \$Hipped.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	4	9
YES	10	15

p-value = 0.7281

### \$Three.Storeys

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	14	19
YES	0	5

p-value = 0.1365

### \$Gable.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class

NO	4	3
YES	10	21

p-value = 0.387

#### \$Mansard.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

#### \$Gable.Dormer

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.522		

#### \$Pavilion.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	1	2
p-value = 1		

#### \$Flat.Dormer

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

#### \$Conical.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	21
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2831		

#### \$Roof.Parapet

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	21
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2831		

#### \$Flat.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

#### \$Projecting.Gable

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	5	5
YES	9	19
p-value = 0.4485		

#### \$Dormer

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	21
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2831		

#### \$Offset.or.Irregular.Projecting.Gable

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	10
YES	6	14
p-value = 0.503		

#### \$Doghouse.Dormer

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.522		

#### \$Twin.Projecting.Gable

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	18
YES	3	6
p-value = 1		

#### \$Corner.Projecting.Gable

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	12	24
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.1294		

#### \$Bullnose.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	13	23
YES	1	0
p-value = 0.3784		

#### \$Verandah

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	9	11
YES	5	13
p-value = 0.3276		

#### \$Single.Pitch.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	10	15
YES	2	7
p-value = 0.4385		

#### \$Porch

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	6	9
YES	8	15
p-value = 1		

#### \$Striped.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	12	17
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

#### \$Balcony

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	12	11
YES	2	13
p-value = 0.01955		

#### \$Bay.Window

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	2	2
YES	12	22
p-value = 0.6161		

#### \$Tower

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	13	17
YES	1	7
p-value = 0.2157		

#### \$Faceted.Bay.Window

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	9	9
YES	5	15
p-value = 0.1788		

#### \$Concave.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	11	18
YES	1	3
p-value = 1		

#### \$Rectangular.Bay.Window

Middle Class Upper-Middle Class		
NO	6	16
YES	8	8
p-value = 0.187		

\$Round.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.522		

\$Corner.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	1	2
p-value = 1		

\$Six.Sided.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	23
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Timber.Construction

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	14
YES	10	10
p-value = 0.1008		

\$Rectangular.Oriel.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Brick.Construction

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	14
YES	3	6
p-value = 0.7041		

\$Attached.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	10
YES	10	14
p-value = 0.5009		

\$Stone.Construction

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	15
YES	1	5
p-value = 0.3636		

\$Pediment.Gable.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	12	17
YES	2	7
p-value = 0.4384		

\$Plain.Weatherboard.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Tower.Bay.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	1	2
p-value = 1		

\$Rusticated.Weatherboard.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	15
YES	10	9
p-value = 0.0911		



\$Plain.Stucco.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	20
YES	0	4
p-value = 0.2759		

\$Slate.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	6
YES	3	15
p-value = 0.01427		

\$Ashlar.Masonry.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	19
YES	1	5
p-value = 0.3829		

\$Tile.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	21
YES	1	2
p-value = 1		

\$Polychrome.Brick.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	23
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Hard.Stop.Corner

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	21
YES	1	2
p-value = 1		

\$Contrast.Stucco.Trim.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	14
YES	3	9
p-value = 0.4678		

\$Boxed.Corner

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	18
YES	2	5
p-value = 1		

\$Stickwork.Finish

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Quoin.Corner

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	6	13
YES	7	11
p-value = 0.7374		

\$Corrugated.Iron.Roof

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	17
YES	8	4
p-value = 0.01004		

\$Two.Light.Sash.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	0	2
YES	14	22
p-value = 0.522		

\$Casement.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.522		

\$Door.Fanlight

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	0	1
YES	9	13
p-value = 1		

\$Triptych.Sash.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	22
YES	3	2
p-value = 0.3367		

\$Verandah.or.Porch.or.Balcony.Windows

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	15
YES	3	7
p-value = 1		

\$Round.headed.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	19
YES	1	5
p-value = 0.3829		

\$Window.Sill.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	15
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.5292		

\$Lunette.Window

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Acroterion

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	21
YES	4	3
p-value = 0.387		

\$Window.Fanlights

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	12	16
YES	1	7
p-value = 0.2125		

\$Moulded.Stucco.Chimney.Top

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	3	5
YES	10	14
p-value = 1		

\$Door.Sidelights

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	1	2
YES	8	13
p-value = 1		

\$Brick.Chimney.Top

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	14
YES	3	5
p-value = 1		

\$Window.Awning

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	5	4
YES	9	20
p-value = 0.2452		

\$Bay.Window.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	8
YES	7	14
p-value = 1		

\$Carved.Bargeboard.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	12
YES	6	10
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Matchboard.Panelling

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	20
YES	2	2
p-value = 0.6015		

\$Truss.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	19
YES	0	5
p-value = 0.1398		

\$Bay.Window.Timber.Moulding

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	15
YES	3	7
p-value = 1		

\$Stickwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	12	18
YES	1	6
p-value = 0.3828		

\$Bay.Window.Stucco.Moulding

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	20
YES	0	3
p-value = 0.2881		

\$Matchboard.Panelling.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	20
YES	2	3
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Contrast.Stucco.or.Timber.Trim

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	16
YES	2	6
p-value = 0.687		

\$Iron.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.5315		

\$Fretwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	19
YES	3	4
p-value = 0.6856		

\$Timber.Finial

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	16
YES	3	5
p-value = 1		

\$Moulded.Stucco.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.5315		

\$Iron.Finial

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	12
YES	4	9
p-value = 0.7188		

\$Moulded.Timber.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	12	23
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Terracotta.Finial

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	22
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Pendant.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	14
YES	5	10
p-value = 1		

\$Masonry.Finial

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Cresting

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	14
YES	3	10
p-value = 0.2944		

\$Finial.Scrolls

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	13
YES	2	6
p-value = 0.4325		

\$Finial

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	6
YES	8	15
p-value = 1		

\$Eave.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	13
YES	4	11
p-value = 0.3293		

\$Bay.Window.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	23
YES	0	1
p-value = 1		

\$Solid.Timber.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	13	22
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Dentil.Moulding

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	12	14
YES	1	6
p-value = 0.2018		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Frieze

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	11	17
YES	3	6
p-value = 1		

\$Decorative.Fascia

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	14	22
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.522		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	14
YES	4	8
p-value = 0.7272		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Frieze

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	5	13
YES	9	10
p-value = 0.3133		

\$Iron.Frieze

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	19
YES	6	4
p-value = 0.1322		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	4	8
YES	10	14
p-value = 0.7272		

\$Iron.Brackets

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	8	17
YES	6	5
p-value = 0.2735		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Railing

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	9	8
YES	3	16
p-value = 0.03277		

\$Paired.Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Columns

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
NO	10	18
YES	4	6
p-value = 1		

\$Timber.Railing

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
--	--------------	--------------------

NO	9	13
----	---	----

YES	3	9
-----	---	---

p-value = 0.465

\$Iron.Railing

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
--	--------------	--------------------

NO	12	19
----	----	----

YES	0	4
-----	---	---

p-value = 0.2752

\$Masonry.Railing

	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class
--	--------------	--------------------

NO	12	21
----	----	----

YES	0	3
-----	---	---

p-value = 0.5361

## Upper-Middle Class vs. Working Class

### \$Symmetry.Excluding.Chimney

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	15	6
YES	9	6

p-value = 0.4991

### \$Main.Roof..Hipped.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	4
YES	13	8

p-value = 0.7271

### \$Symmetry.Including.Chimney

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	16	8
YES	8	4

p-value = 1

### \$Main.Roof..Gable.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	14	8
YES	8	4

p-value = 1

### \$One.Storey

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	20	2
YES	4	10

p-value = 0.0001912

### \$Main.Roof..Mansard.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	23	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

### \$Two.Storeys

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	10
YES	15	2

p-value = 0.01395

### \$Hipped.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	4
YES	15	8

p-value = 1

### \$Three.Storeys

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	19	12
YES	5	0

p-value = 0.1464

### \$Gable.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	3	2
YES	21	10

p-value = 1



\$Mansard.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Gable.Dormer

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Pavilion.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Flat.Dormer

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Conical.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	12
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.5361		

\$Roof.Parapet

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	12
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.5361		

\$Flat.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Projecting.Gable

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	4
YES	19	8
p-value = 0.4428		

\$Dormer

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	12
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.5361		

\$Offset.or.Irregular.Projecting.Gable

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	7
YES	14	5
p-value = 0.4826		

\$Doghouse.Dormer

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Twin.Projecting.Gable

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	18	9
YES	6	3
p-value = 1		

\$Verandah

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	6
YES	13	6
p-value = 1		

\$Striped.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	10
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Porch

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	7
YES	15	5
p-value = 0.2983		

\$Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	2	3
YES	22	9
p-value = 0.3074		

\$Balcony

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	11
YES	13	1
p-value = 0.01106		

\$Faceted.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	8
YES	15	4
p-value = 0.1582		

\$Tower

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	12
YES	7	0
p-value = 0.0704		

\$Rectangular.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	16	7
YES	8	5
p-value = 0.7199		

\$Concave.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	18	11
YES	3	0
p-value = 0.5343		

\$Round.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Single.Pitch.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	15	5
YES	7	5
p-value = 0.4382		

\$Six.Sided.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Rectangular.Oriel.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Brick.Construction

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	9
YES	6	3
p-value = 1		

\$Attached.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	4
YES	14	8
p-value = 0.7272		

\$Stone.Construction

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	15	12
YES	5	0
p-value = 0.1301		

\$Pediment.Gable.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	10
YES	7	2
p-value = 0.6855		

\$Plain.Weatherboard.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	9
YES	1	1
p-value = 0.508		

\$Tower.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Rusticated.Weatherboard.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	15	5
YES	9	5
p-value = 0.7041		

\$Corner.Bay.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Plain.Stucco.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	20	12
YES	4	0
p-value = 0.2784		

\$Timber.Construction

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	3
YES	10	9
p-value = 0.08296		

\$Ashlar.Masonry.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	19	12
YES	5	0
p-value = 0.1464		

\$Polychrome.Brick.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Hard.Stop.Corner

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	10
YES	2	1
p-value = 1		

\$Contrast.Stucco.Trim.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	11
YES	9	1
p-value = 0.1126		

\$Boxed.Corner

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	18	5
YES	5	6
p-value = 0.1143		

\$Stickwork.Finish

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Quoin.Corner

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	11
YES	11	1
p-value = 0.03066		

\$Corrugated.Iron.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	2
YES	4	10
p-value = 0.0006442		

\$Two.Light.Sash.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	2	2
YES	22	10
p-value = 0.5877		

\$Slate.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	6	11
YES	15	1
p-value = 0.0007899		

\$Casement.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	11
YES	2	1
p-value = 1		

\$Tile.Roof

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	11
YES	2	1
p-value = 1		

\$Triptych.Sash.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	11
YES	2	1
p-value = 1		

\$Round.headed.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	19	11
YES	5	0
p-value = 0.1567		

\$Window.Sill.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	15	8
YES	3	2
p-value = 1		

\$Lunette.Window

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Acroterion

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	21	9
YES	3	3
p-value = 0.3781		

\$Window.Fanlights

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	16	7
YES	7	4
p-value = 1		

\$Moulded.Stucco.Chimney.Top

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	1
YES	14	9
p-value = 0.6328		

\$Door.Sidelights

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	2	4
YES	13	6
p-value = 0.1753		

\$Brick.Chimney.Top

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	10
YES	5	1
p-value = 0.3717		

\$Door.Fanlight

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	1	0
YES	13	5
p-value = 1		

\$Window.Awning

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	23	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Verandah.or.Porch.or.Balcony.Windows

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	15	9
YES	7	1
p-value = 0.3803		

\$Bay.Window.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	5
YES	14	4
p-value = 0.4328		

\$Bay.Window.Matchboard.Panelling

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	20	9
YES	2	0

p-value = 1

\$Truss.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	19	7
YES	5	5

p-value = 0.2474

\$Bay.Window.Timber.Moulding

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	15	7
YES	7	2

p-value = 0.6891

\$Stickwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	18	10
YES	6	2

p-value = 0.691

\$Bay.Window.Stucco.Moulding

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	20	12
YES	3	0

p-value = 0.5361

\$Matchboard.Panelling.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	20	11
YES	3	1

p-value = 1

\$Bay.Window.Contrast.Stucco.or.Timber.Trim

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	16	8
YES	6	2

p-value = 1

\$Iron.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	22	11
YES	2	1

p-value = 1

\$Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	4	2
YES	20	10

p-value = 1

\$Fretwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	19	10
YES	4	2

p-value = 1

\$Carved.Bargeboard.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	12	8
YES	10	4

p-value = 0.717

\$Moulded.Stucco.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	22	12
YES	2	0

p-value = 0.5429

\$Moulded.Timber.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	23	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Terracotta.Finial

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	22	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Pendant.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	14	7
YES	10	4

p-value = 1

\$Masonry.Finial

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	22	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Cresting

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	14	10
YES	10	2

p-value = 0.2603

\$Finial.Scrolls

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	7
YES	6	5

p-value = 0.7054

\$Finial

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	6	4
YES	15	7

p-value = 0.7026

\$Eave.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	8
YES	11	4

p-value = 0.721

\$Timber.Finial

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	16	9
YES	5	2

p-value = 1

\$Bay.Window.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	23	10
YES	1	2

p-value = 0.2527

\$Iron.Finial

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	12	6
YES	9	5

p-value = 1

\$Dentil.Moulding

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	14	11
YES	6	1

p-value = 0.2117



\$Decorative.Fascia

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.5429		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	9
YES	8	2
p-value = 0.43		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Frieze

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	2
YES	10	9
p-value = 0.064		

\$Iron.Frieze

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	19	4
YES	4	7
p-value = 0.01601		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	2
YES	14	9
p-value = 0.43		

\$Iron.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	5
YES	5	6
p-value = 0.1171		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Railing

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	10
YES	16	2
p-value = 0.01164		

\$Paired.Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Columns

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	18	11
YES	6	1
p-value = 0.3839		

\$Solid.Timber.Brackets

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	22	10
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Timber.Railing

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	10
YES	9	2
p-value = 0.2525		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Frieze

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	17	9
YES	6	2
p-value = 1		

\$Iron.Railing

Upper-Middle Class Working Class		
NO	19	12
YES	4	0
p-value = 0.2752		

\$Masonry.Railing

Upper-Middle Class Working Class

NO	21	12
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YES	3	0
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p-value = 0.5361

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## Middle Class vs. Working Class

### \$Symmetry.Excluding.Chimney

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	6
YES	6	6
p-value = 1		

### \$Symmetry.Including.Chimney

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	8
YES	3	4
p-value = 0.6652		

### \$One.Storey

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	2
YES	9	10
p-value = 0.3913		

### \$Two.Storeys

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	10
YES	5	2
p-value = 0.3913		

### \$Main.Roof..Hipped.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	4
YES	10	8
p-value = 1		

### \$Main.Roof..Gable.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	8
YES	4	4
p-value = 1		

### \$Hipped.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	4
YES	10	8
p-value = 1		

### \$Gable.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	2
YES	10	10
p-value = 0.6522		

### \$Pavilion.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

### \$Projecting.Gable

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	4
YES	9	8
p-value = 1		

\$Offset.or.Irregular.Projecting.Gable

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	7
YES	6	5
p-value = 1		

\$Tower

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Twin.Projecting.Gable

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	9
YES	3	3
p-value = 1		

\$Concave.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	11
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Corner.Projecting.Gable

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	12	12
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.4831		

\$Bullnose.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	11
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Verandah

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	6
YES	5	6
p-value = 0.6922		

\$Single.Pitch.Verandah.or.Balcony.Roof

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	5
YES	2	5
p-value = 0.1718		

\$Porch

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	6	7
YES	8	5
p-value = 0.6951		

\$Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	2	3
YES	12	9
p-value = 0.6348		

\$Balcony

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	12	11
YES	2	1
p-value = 1		

\$Faceted.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	8
YES	5	4
p-value = 1		

\$Rectangular.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	6	7
YES	8	5
p-value = 0.6951		

\$Timber.Construction

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	3
YES	10	9
p-value = 1		

\$Six.Sided.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Brick.Construction

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	9
YES	3	3
p-value = 1		

\$Attached.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	4
YES	10	8
p-value = 1		

\$Stone.Construction

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Pediment.Gable.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	12	10
YES	2	2
p-value = 1		

\$Plain.Weatherboard.Finish

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	14	9
YES	0	1
p-value = 0.4167		

\$Tower.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Rusticated.Weatherboard.Finish

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	5
YES	10	5
p-value = 0.4028		

\$Corner.Bay.Window

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Ashlar.Masonry.Finish

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Polychrome.Brick.Finish

Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Boxed.Corner

Middle Class Working Class

NO	10	5
YES	2	6

p-value = 0.08938

\$Contrast.Stucco.Trim.Finish

Middle Class Working Class

NO	10	11
YES	3	1

p-value = 0.593

\$Quoin.Corner

Middle Class Working Class

NO	6	11
YES	7	1

p-value = 0.03021

\$Corrugated.Iron.Roof

Middle Class Working Class

NO	4	2
YES	8	10

p-value = 0.6404

\$Two.Light.Sash.Window

Middle Class Working Class

NO	0	2
YES	14	10

p-value = 0.2031

\$Slate.Roof

Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	11
YES	3	1

p-value = 0.5901

\$Casement.Window

Middle Class Working Class

NO	14	11
YES	0	1

p-value = 0.4615

\$Tile.Roof

Middle Class Working Class

NO	11	11
YES	1	1

p-value = 1

\$Triptych.Sash.Window

Middle Class Working Class

NO	11	11
YES	3	1

p-value = 0.5983

\$Hard.Stop.Corner

Middle Class Working Class

NO	11	10
YES	1	1

p-value = 1

\$Round.headed.Window

Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	11
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Window.Fanlights

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	12	7
YES	1	4
p-value = 0.1421		

\$Brick.Chimney.Top

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	10
YES	3	1
p-value = 0.5963		

\$Door.Sidelights

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	1	4
YES	8	6
p-value = 0.3034		

\$Bay.Window.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	5
YES	7	4
p-value = 0.6534		

\$Verandah.or.Porch.or.Balcony.Windows

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	9
YES	3	1
p-value = 0.594		

\$Bay.Window.Matchboard.Panelling

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	9
YES	2	0
p-value = 0.4857		

\$Window.Sill.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	8
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.4771		

\$Bay.Window.Timber.Moulding

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	7
YES	3	2
p-value = 1		

\$Acroterion

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	9
YES	4	3
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Contrast.Stucco.or.Timber.Trim

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	8
YES	2	2
p-value = 1		

\$Moulded.Stucco.Chimney.Top

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	3	1
YES	10	9
p-value = 0.6036		

\$Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	2
YES	9	10
p-value = 0.3913		



\$Carved.Bargeboard.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	8	8
YES	6	4

p-value = 0.7015

\$Moulded.Timber.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	12	12
YES	1	0

p-value = 1

\$Truss.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	7
YES	0	5

p-value = 0.01491

\$Pendant.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	7
YES	5	4

p-value = 1

\$Stickwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	12	10
YES	1	2

p-value = 0.593

\$Cresting

Middle Class Working Class

NO	11	10
YES	3	2

p-value = 1

\$Matchboard.Panelling.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	11	11
YES	2	1

p-value = 1

\$Finial

Middle Class Working Class

NO	4	4
YES	8	7

p-value = 1

\$Iron.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	13	11
YES	0	1

p-value = 0.48

\$Timber.Finial

Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	9
YES	3	2

p-value = 1

\$Fretwork.Gable.or.Dormer.Decoration

Middle Class Working Class

NO	10	10
YES	3	2

p-value = 1

\$Iron.Finial

Middle Class Working Class

NO	8	6
YES	4	5

p-value = 0.6802

\$Terracotta.Finial

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	12
YES	1	0
p-value = 1		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	4	2
YES	10	9
p-value = 0.6609		

\$Finial.Scrolls

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	7
YES	2	5
p-value = 0.3707		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Railing

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	9	10
YES	3	2
p-value = 1		

\$Eave.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	8
YES	4	4
p-value = 1		

\$Solid.Timber.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	10
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Bay.Window.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	13	10
YES	0	2
p-value = 0.22		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Frieze

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	11	10
YES	3	1
p-value = 0.6043		

\$Dentil.Moulding

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	12	11
YES	1	1
p-value = 1		

\$Fretwork.Timber.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	10	10
YES	4	1
p-value = 0.3406		

\$Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Frieze

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	5	2
YES	9	9
p-value = 0.4065		

\$Iron.Frieze

Middle Class Working Class		
NO	8	3
YES	6	8
p-value = 0.2272		

\$Iron.Brackets

Middle Class Working Class

NO	8	4
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YES	6	7
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p-value = 0.4283

\$Paired.Verandah.or.Balcony.or.Porch.Columns

Middle Class Working Class

NO	10	11
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YES	4	1
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p-value = 0.3304

\$Timber.Railing

Middle Class Working Class

NO	9	10
----	---	----

YES	3	2
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p-value = 1