

Remaking Britain: establishing British identity and power at Sydney Cove, 1788–1821

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British settlement at Sydney Cove in 1788 was part of claiming the East Coast of New Holland (Australia) following its discovery by Captain Cook in 1770. During the early years the landscape of Sydney Cove was remade from one perceived to be ugly and useless into one representing British concepts of utility, beauty and antiquity. It became an ideal place. The Governor's Domain exemplifies the way in which British concepts of identity and power were enacted within this landscape. This new place greeted each arrival upon entering Sydney Cove following the many uncomfortable months of the sea voyage. In 1788 Governor Phillip remade part of a shrubby rocky wilderness into a vegetable garden representing the means for the colony to survive, with a solid house suitable for a successful farmer. Governors Hunter and King changed the landscape to represent their social and political views to the colony and any new arrivals. By 1808 the township was disintegrating, as was vice-regal rule, erupting in the 'rum rebellion' where the military officers overthrew and imprisoned Governor Bligh. Governor and Mrs Macquarie (1810–1821) once again remade the Sydney Domain into a totally different landscape. They sought to consciously re-establish the Governor's source of vice-regal power as residing in the British monarch and created British landscapes infused with images of the Gothic and control over nature.

This paper presents an overview of my doctoral thesis (Casey 2002) which developed from an extensive archaeological program at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, 1998–2001 (Casey & Lowe 2002). This analysis and interpretation offers a new way of examining the meaning and significance of a landscape frequently reduced to the sum of its aesthetics. Through exploring the landscape of the Governor's Sydney Domain, layers of meaning are revealed: of social relations, power, aesthetic, identity and resistance. This paper presents a review of the methodology, a brief overview of the historical and social context for changes in the Domain and then discusses these issues within the context of current perspectives on cultural landscapes, power, and ideology.

The focus of the paper is on the landscapes of Governors Phillip, Bligh and Macquarie. The landscapes of Governors Hunter and King are only briefly mentioned in this paper (Table 1). The landscape of Governor and Mrs Macquarie is central to this discussion as aspects of their landscape remain today and influence our understanding of colonial Sydney and Parramatta. Through trying to understand the landscape created by the Macquaries the meaning of the landscapes created by the earlier governors begins to be untangled (Casey 2002).

Early maps and images of Sydney Cove provide a basis for examining how the various governors and their families created order out of what they perceived on their arrival as the disordered wilderness. As with any document these representations are imbued with the values of the time and must be interpreted carefully. In many instances it is not only the details that are important but also the impression of the place conveyed. These images frequently expressed the governor's perception of what they sought to achieve, in addition to how each artist interpreted these results and then set out to communicate their views of this new world. The 'progress of empire' or settlement was a theme common to many of these evocative images—representations as exotic to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century British as they are to us today. They offered tantalising glimpses of foreign places with their strange vegetation, animals, and Aboriginal people, all interspersed with recognisable British-style buildings. These maps, paintings, and drawings expressed the British possession of the place, to those who lived there and to those

back in Britain who might open a newspaper or book with a lithograph of Sydney Cove.

The conjunction of landscape studies with social theory, material culture studies and interpretative archaeology has significantly altered the study of archaeological landscapes. Landscape archaeology now concentrates on the range of meanings ascribed to landscape. It includes analysis of how people interacted in the landscape, how groups perceived landscapes, the role of ideology and how it is embedded in the landscape, how landscape was manipulated for the construction of identity and a growing understanding about the use of symbolism in the landscape. The integration of social theory to understand landscapes has been used by scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds to engage with 'concepts of memory, continuity, discontinuity, and transformation' (Ashmore and Knapp 1999:3; see also Bender 1998; Leone 1984, 1994; Rubertone 1989; Thomas 1993, 1996; Tilley 1994).¹

While many aspects of the Sydney Domain landscape have been analysed as part of my research, this paper is limited to the discussion of how the landscape was modified as an expression of British identity and power. My thesis addressed other issues such as Aboriginal relationships in this place, the landscape of Parramatta and how its new landscape was part of this remaking; the role of Elizabeth Macquarie and how engendering this landscape created a new and significant role for Elizabeth as patron but the scope of this paper does not allow room for discussions of these themes.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On 12 May 1787 the First Fleet set sail from Portsmouth, England for the east coast of New Holland, the name given by the seventeenth-century Dutch, who charted the west coast of what is now called Australia. The primary reason for this eight-month sea voyage, to the far side of the world, was to establish a new base for the overflow of convicts. The Revolutionary War in America had ended the British transportation of convicts as indentured labour (Clark 1981). New Holland was not the British government's first choice but it was a territory that Captain James Cook had charted and

claimed on behalf of the British Empire and the Royal Majesty.² By establishing a settlement in a land, the British sought to claim it 'by unilateral possession, on the basis of first discovery and effective occupation' (Frost 1994:178). A preliminary claim was made through occupation, if authorized by their sovereign, and if claimed through 'symbolic acts of sovereignty, such as raising of their flag, and the firing of salutes' (Frost 1994:179). The First Fleet, with its colony of convicts and marines, confirmed this possession through occupation (Frost 1994:185–86). The use of rituals for claiming is well reported throughout the Pacific by various European empires (Denning 1992:198–202). These rituals operate by making logical links between the past so as to 'make understandings that bring order to the present' (Denning 1992:196).

HOW THE GOVERNORS VIEWED THE SYDNEY DOMAIN

Governor Phillip, early Sydney and First Government House, January 1788–December 1792

Governor Arthur Phillip, the commander of the First Fleet, had authority over all military and civilian people in the colony of New South Wales. As part of these duties he took direct control of town planning, agriculture, granting of land,

policing and implementation of penal policies. Therefore, during the early years the governor was responsible for controlling and organising many aspects of the day-to-day life of the colony, the military and convicts.

Sydney Cove in 1788 was a haphazard collection of buildings barely visible through the eucalypts (Fig. 1). It was dominated by the essential symbols of empire and occupation: sailing ships in the cove flying the Red Ensign and the Union Flag on the flagpole in the earthen redoubt (Fig. 2). The houses of the governor and lieutenant-governor were merely footings. The edge of empire was fairly low key and grandeur was noticeably absent.

By 1792 the governor's residence and surrounding garden dominated the eastern side of Sydney Cove. The garden was planted with agricultural crops to supply essential food for the governor, and his staff and servants (Fig. 3). Further to the east, Farm Cove was planted with '9 acres in corn'.³ The successful production of fresh food was essential for the maintenance and success of the colony as there were to be no ships arriving from Britain during the first few years. To the west of the Tank Stream lay the Rocks where the convicts provided themselves with disorderly makeshift accommodation (Fig. 3).

The building of government house started on 15 May 1788, some three and half months after the 26 January landing of the First Fleet at Sydney Cove (HRA 1:32). The completed

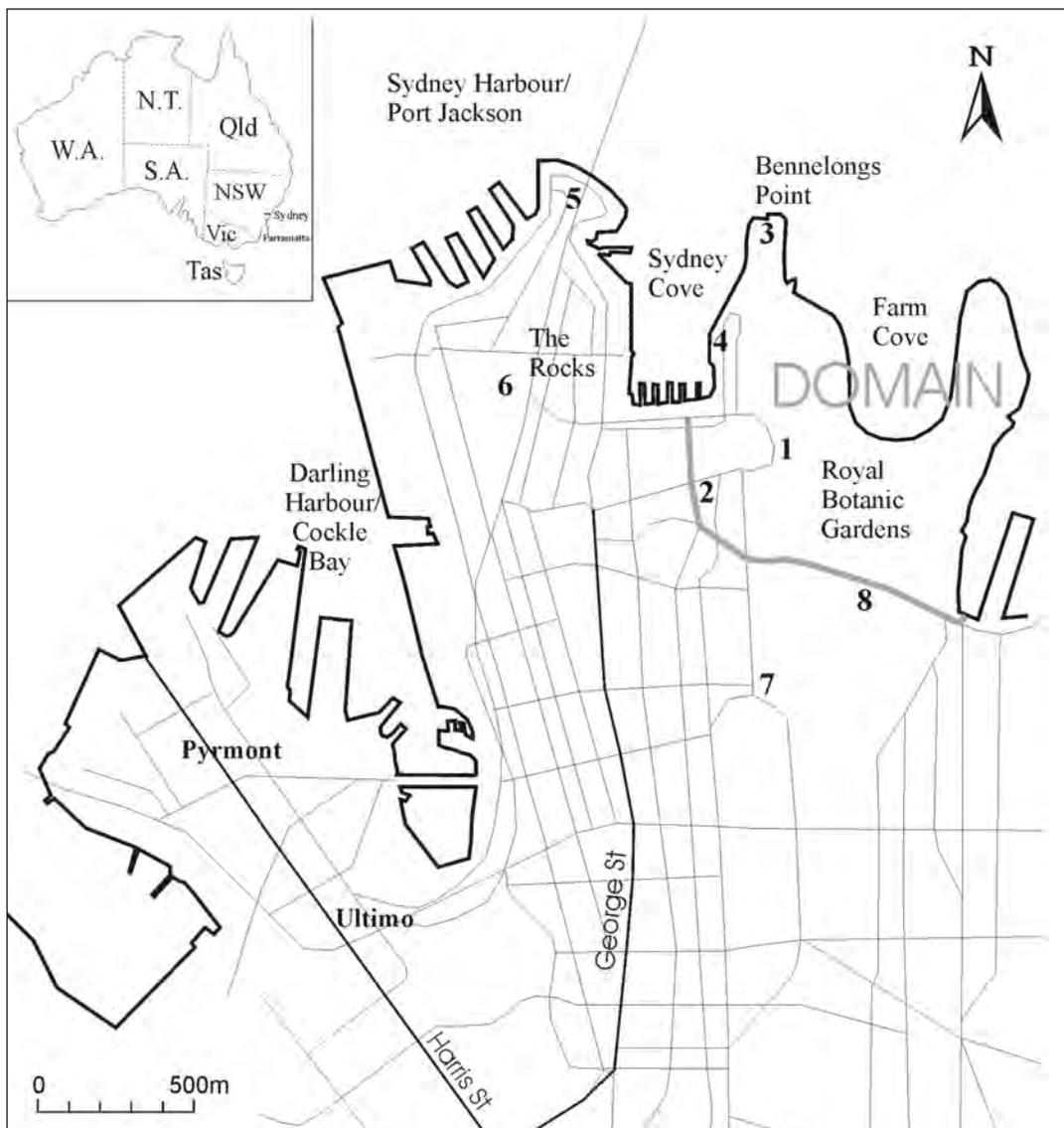


Fig. 1: Location plan of study area and various sites. 1: Government Stables/Conservatorium Site, 2: First Government House, 3: Fort Macquarie, 4: Billy Blue's House, 5: Dawes Point, 6: Fort Phillip; 7: Hyde Park Barracks, 8: Approximate position of the 1792 Domain boundary. Tony Lowe



Fig. 2: Footings of government house are circled on the left. Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, 1788, William Bradley, water colour, safe 1/14. By permission of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

house was a two-storey Georgian structure with a central gable, one room deep (Fig. 3). This house has been described by James Broadbent as little more than a vernacular Georgian cottage, 'no less sophisticated than hundreds of anonymous ... houses' in England and also as 'an elaborated cottage or farmhouse', but interpreted as 'a proud, pathetic, stoical assertion of European culture in a pristine land and a desert gaol' (Broadbent 1997:1–3) and as a 'potent sign of his [Phillip's] presence and the authority he exercised' (Frost 1987:202).

Phillip considered this building, the seat of British imperial power in the new colony, significant enough to inscribe and attach a copper plate to its foundation stone. The inscription explicitly linked the founding of settlement (occupation) to the governor's new residence and then to the source of his authority and power, the Royal Majesty.

His Excellency
Arthur Phillip Esq,
Governor in Chief,
and
Captain General,
in and over the Territory of
NEW SOUTH WALES, &c, &c, &c,
landed in this Cove,
with the first Settlers of this Country,
the 24th Day of January; 1788
and on the 15th Day of May,
in the same Year, being the 28th
of the Reign of His present Majesty,
GEORGE the THIRD,
the first of these Stones was laid.⁴

Through Governor Phillip, and the authority of his house and associated rituals, King George III claimed and occupied this distant territory. The physical materiality of this occupation was symbolised by the erection of the house of his representative. It was furthered by those less tangible but highly symbolic ritual acts: the raising of colours and the Union flag, the reading of commissions, swearing of oaths, drinking of toasts and firing of salutes on various occasions such as the King's birthday. Most importantly these acts were performed on the first evening at Sydney Cove (Collins 1798:4–5, 6, 25, 57). On 4 June 1789 the King's birthday was first celebrated within the newly-built government house. It



Fig. 3: The civilian officers' houses were to the west (right) of government house which dominated the landscape, View of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, March 7th 1792, unsigned, pen ink and wash. By permission of the British Museum of Natural History, Watling Collection 21.

was a day of celebration with major displays, including the first firing of ordnance, 21 guns from all ships in the harbour, and dinner at government house as well as the first theatrical performance for convicts (Collins 1798:57). A deliberate vice-regal link was established with the very foundation of government house and later governors sought to symbolise this and its union with the royal source of their authority.

Phillip's building of government house and the way it was depicted in early paintings is an important clue to understanding why and how the landscape was changed and organised within a short time of about one year. Bradley's 1788 watercolour suggests that initially clearing was limited and houses were built amongst the trees (Fig. 2). The foundations of government house were on the left of the image. Slightly later, the governor's house was finished with a guarded, stone-walled redoubt at the front, a timber boundary fence defining the land around government house and an extensive garden for vegetables and fruit trees (Fig. 3) (McCormick 1987: plates 10, 11, 20–22; Phillip 1789:129). The encircling paling fence was intended to provide a barrier to the wilderness, wild animals, and convicts, as well as the original occupants of this land. It symbolised the limited extent of British incursion into the landscape.

Once Phillip cleared the land around the house he fenced it to ward off 'wilderness'. This boundary attempted to define the difference between the cultivated and the uncultivated; it had become land that was useful as opposed to barren and deceitful (Smith 1960:133; 135; Watling 1945:23). The deceit arose from those first impressions of Sydney Cove and Parramatta as places where trees, shrubs and grass grew easily. To British eyes this meant the soil was rich and good for growing crops—and yet the soils were poor and easily exhausted, the trees and bushes difficult to clear. In fact, the soils of Sydney Cove were not suitable for growing the crops so essential for the survival of the colony during the early years (Fletcher 1976b:26).

The planting of a garden in front of a house follows the pre-Capability Brown, eighteenth-century English tradition of landscaping where the vegetable garden was placed at the front of the house. Eighteenth-century landscape architect Capability Brown relocated the vegetable garden to the rear of the house (Repton 1816:166–167). Placement of the garden at the front of the house made it highly visible and underlined its utility rather than any ornamental qualities. In contrast with later versions of this landscape, the concerns of the original settlement were those of utility, with limited provision of comfort, rather than those of taste, style, refinement and recreation.

One of Governor Phillip's last acts, before leaving Sydney, was to declare the limits of the town boundary and the lesser limits of an area later interpreted as the government Domain (Fig. 4). He ordered that no leases or grants should be made within its boundaries (HRNSW 4:402–403). The Sydney Domain, as established by Governor Phillip in 1792, included government house and grounds, Bennelong Point and the lands to the east including Farm Cove and the Government Farm (Figs 1, 4). These orders were ignored by subsequent governors and lieutenant-governors until Governor William Bligh's arrival in August 1806 (Table 1).

Table 1: Early Governors of New South Wales.

Governor	Arrival	Departure
Arthur Phillip	January 1788	10 December 1792
<i>First Interregnum</i>		
2 1/2 years without a Governor appointed by the British Government. The Lieutenant-Governor acted as Governor during this period, 1793 to September 1795 Lieutenant-Governor Major Francis Grose and Captain William Paterson		
John Hunter	September 1795	September 1800
Phillip Gidley King	September 1800	August 1806
William Bligh	6 August 1806	arrested 26 January 1808
<i>Second Interregnum</i>		
Mutiny by the NSW Corps against Bligh No appointed Governor for almost 2 years, Lieutenant-Governor acted as Governor during this period. Individuals in charge of the colony included Lt Colonel Foveaux		
Lachlan Macquarie	31 December 1809	15 February 1822

All of the early governors and their families changed parts of the Domain, its boundaries, landscape, and government house. Some of them also sought to control access to the grounds. The various governors had different views about the role of government house and the Domain. Governor Hunter with his botanical interests planted trees, probably establishing the shrubbery, a dominant aspect of government house garden for many years. Governor and Mrs King sought to create a comfortable home and garden for themselves and their children (Fig. 5), while Bligh and the Macquaries were determined to totally transform the appearance of the place to their own designs and for their own reasons (Table 1, Figs

6, 7). Governor and Mrs Macquarie carried out the most extensive works on the government Domain between 1810 and 1821. The changes by Governor Bligh and the Macquaries are the focus of the remainder of this paper.

THE SYDNEY DOMAIN IN 1810

Governor Bligh's Domain, August 1806–January 1808

The Domain landscape which greeted the Macquaries in January 1810 contained remnants of all the earlier governors' designs. It was a juxtaposition of elements, of contradictions and similarities of uses. Phillip's Georgian house with its vegetable garden had considerably evolved. Governor Hunter added the extensive shrubbery. Governor and Mrs King doubled the size of the reception rooms to meet the new demands of the governors who attempted to live in this building with their families and entertain chosen members of colonial society. They redesigned the front garden with ornamental paths and trees (Fig. 5). Both Hunter and King gave out private leases within parts of the Domain land in contravention of Governor Phillip's instructions.

It was probably to stop this perceived 'unlawful' use of the Domain and surrounding areas that Bligh remade this landscape. His primary concern was to prevent people trespassing on his authority; they needed to know their place, and it was not inside his Domain. Reputedly, Bligh's actions involved complete devastation of the earlier landscape, including removal of rocks and early European tombs, as well as destruction of the site of an important Aboriginal initiation ceremony (HRNSW 6:347; Collins 1798:469, 471, 477). He replaced this mostly Aboriginal landscape with a blank green place with a few clumps of trees and a roadway around the foreshore (Fig. 6). Additionally, he rescinded land leases, offering no compensation for housing or crops. This action caused great discontent among the residents of Sydney and contributed to his unlawful removal from office (Ritchie 1988; Casey 2002).

Bligh's mutinous arrest on 26 January 1808 may have halted his landscaping program. Conversely, he may have been pleased with his changes as they fell within acceptable parameters of a Capability Brown-style landscape with expanses of lawns, orderly planted avenues of trees and a roadway around the foreshore of Farm Cove (Hipple 1957:224–237, 216). Bligh appears determined to implement changes and was unconcerned about the consequences of his actions. One of his main interests was to re-establish and



Fig. 5: In front of Government House is an ornamental garden with defined beds and paths. Hunter's shrubbery is the left of the house. The main drawing room doubled in size by this time. The land beyond the fence has not yet been modified. West side of the Town of Sydney 1802, c. 1803, water-colour, unsigned, attributed to G. W. Evans. Published with the permission of the Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, State Library of Tasmania.



Fig. 6: The area to the left of the Government House fence was considerably modified by Governor Bligh and the labour of 80 convicts. The bakehouse and three windmills are aligned behind government house and its garden. Detail from East View of Sydney in New South Wales, c. 1809, watercolour, unsigned, attributed to John Eyre. Compare with Figure 5. ML, DL ref Pg49, formerly DL 32, by permission of the Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales.

defend Phillip's Domain boundary and clear away untidy, disorderly buildings and places, as represented by the private leases. He placed no value on the native vegetation, on the sanctity of burial sites, or that most valued right—private property. The underlying intentions of his actions were to remove the 'wilderness,' the symbolic physical evidence of disorder in the society he governed. His practices followed those taking place in provincial cities and towns of Britain: organising streets and markets for trade purposes, creating public spaces, including gardens, removing inconvenient buildings, all to reorder the townscape (Borsay 1989). Bligh sought to make the Sydney Domain a place where unlawful behaviour and social disorder could not intrude.

Why was Bligh so determined to dramatically remake the Domain landscape? There must have been something wrong or inadequate that he thought required fixing. Bligh as an outsider was able to read the landscape differently (Cosgrove 1984:36). To him the Domain of 1806 failed to represent appropriately the governor's social status as the pre-eminent individual in the colony and the source of vice-regal authority. Concepts of land and buildings as an expression were

important in the development of landscapes and parks in eighteenth-century England. Generally, significant individuals in late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century England would have had a house and grounds that symbolised their political and social position. A landscape park had become 'the *sine qua non* of true gentility' by becoming symbolic of power and authority in the land (Williamson 1995:7, 85, 112–113). Clearly the Domain and government house where Bligh and his daughter were to reside did not adequately fulfil this role and had to be improved. Bligh, as a ship's captain, was well aware of how spaces represented status and power in confined places (Denning 1992:23–24, 27). His actions in Sydney Cove and the Domain were in many ways a foretaste of those of the Macquaries. As with all things involving style and taste the Macquaries would remake their landscape very differently.

By 1810 the fenced area was filled with a shrubbery rather than food-producing crops. The ground beyond the fence was cleared, appearing devoid of natural vegetation. Equilibrium had been gained through the transformation into opposites: useful land and the wild rocky ground. The wilderness was used by the lawless members of the community to hide stolen

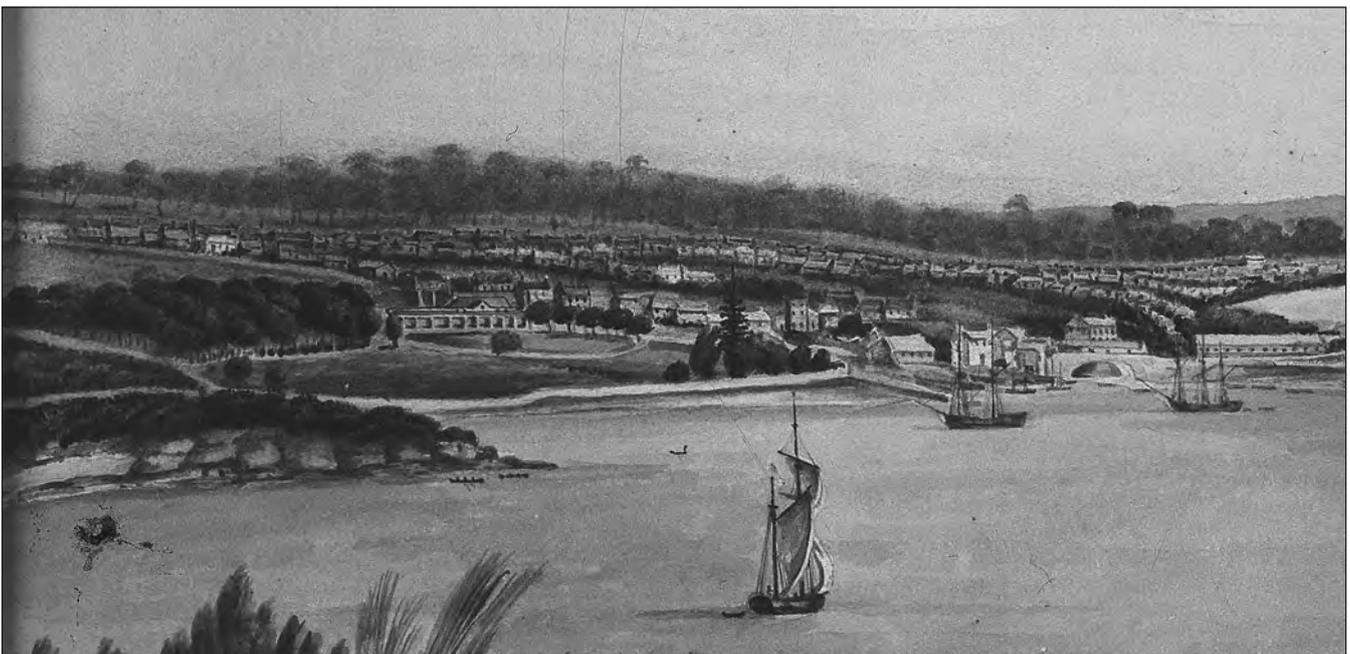


Fig. 7: By late 1811 the grounds in front of the Government House were substantially altered with the replacement of the garden beds with a new loop carriage drive and grassed pleasure garden, and new walls and paths along the foreshore. The Macquaries had been in Sydney for 18 months by this time. Detail from A View of the town of Sydney taken from Chiarabilly North Side of Sydney Cove, watercolour, J.W. Lewin, September 23rd 1811, ML 61. By permission of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

goods and to perform ‘unnatural acts’. It was a ‘no man’s land’ where many things were possible; it had no order or control. The fenced sections were the only places where there was order and control. To the newly arriving Governor Macquarie, the Sydney Domain was a metaphor for the ills besetting this mutinous colony. Both would be dramatically different when he and his wife left in early 1822. It is these intervening eleven years that changed New South Wales from a struggling penal colony into a British settlement—a place where free and emancipated persons could establish new lives, with better access to land and opportunities. Where the former convict could, like the land, be ‘re-made’ through government practices which encouraged their reform and return to their previous station in life. These government policies, implemented by Governor Macquarie, under orders from the Prince Regent and Lord Liverpool, were contested by many free British settlers, notably the ‘elites’ (HRA 7:616–17, 775–776).

GOVERNOR AND ELIZABETH MACQUARIE

Stage 1 – Remaking the landscape, 1810–1817

The Macquaries remade the Domain landscape in two stages. Stage one began with the remaking of Bligh’s landscape by altering the front garden, by building boundary walls to control the whole of the space, and by constructing roads, paths and plantings (Fig. 7). The front gardens of government house were transformed into an extensive lawn with curved carriage drive. A number of features were removed: the confining fence around the house and garden, the houses on the foreshore, trees obscuring the northern vista of the house and grounds, and any lingering remains of pathways and the rectangular beds of Governor and Mrs King’s ornamental garden (SG, 6 October 1810:1b; Figs 5, 6).

The Macquaries sought to safeguard the privacy of their grounds, to provide ‘seclusion from the public gaze’ (HRA 8:341). By 1812 the whole of the Domain was enclosed by stone walls or palings, ‘except that part at present under lease to Mr Palmer and Mr Riley where their windmills and bakery are erected’ (SG 17 October 1812). Now the Domain was completely enclosed by walls, people could no longer graze their animals or the animals would be impounded. They had to stop removing loam and stone, and trees. Only government boats could land at Farm Cove or anywhere in the Domain, except Bennelong Point. Any infractions would lead to the forfeiture of the property and punishment (SG, 17 October 1812). Finally, Macquarie sought the removal of the windmills and bakehouse that still plagued their full enjoyment of this bucolic place.

Between 1815 and June 1816 Mrs Macquarie’s Road was constructed around the harbour foreshores, starting from the driveway near the front of government house and leading around Bennelong Point, Farm Cove, Ansons Point and the west side of Woolloomooloo Bay to the back of the Hospital, Bent Street and back to Government House. The road went around the outside of the Domain walls and included bridges. An inscription on a carved stone seat (Mrs Macquarie’s Chair) recorded Mrs Macquarie’s role in the planning of the road (Proudfoot et al. 1991:104).

In July 1816 a further notice was issued controlling public admission to the Domain: it could only be during the daytime, on set roads or paths and through a specific gate and on foot (SG 8 July 1816). For those members of the local community who sought to use the Domain in an inappropriate manner, stealing soil, quarrying, hiding stolen goods, grazing of animals and sexual liaisons, there was punishment. In April 1816 three men ‘on being apprehended, gave various reasons

for penetrating the Domain’s defences, for which they were summarily administered twenty-five lashes each without any magisterial hearing’. This was considered to be summary justice and Judge Jeffery Bent sent depositions from these men to Earl Bathurst ‘as evidence of the governor’s arbitrary administration of justice’ (HRA 9:883–6).

The construction of walls around the Sydney Domain represented the ‘enclosure’ or ‘emparking’ of the Domain which had begun with Phillip, and continued with Bligh. The Macquaries replaced Phillip and Bligh’s simple ditch and embankment features with more permanent boundaries: walls and fences. The enclosure of the Domain by extensive walling was only possible once the earlier leases were cancelled and buildings removed. The area fenced can be interpreted as following in the steps of the ‘piecemeal enclosure’, a British practice from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries involving a ‘gradual enclosure of areas of common arable through a series of transactions between individuals, with a landowner buying, selling or exchanging strips of land until he had an area large enough to be surrounded by a hedge or wall’ (Williamson and Bellamy 1987:103; Hoskins 1955). Walls ‘separate space inside and outside, and each space is rife with symbolic meaning by defining areas of authority or symbolizing possession’ (Samson 1992:26).

Physical boundaries also created social boundaries, by creating distinctions, oppositions, ‘cultural differences and Otherness’ (Tilley 1994:15–17). These boundaries were about keeping out ‘the Other’: the convict roaming the streets at night, the robber, prostitute, and murderer. Walls or barriers are only effective boundaries if the social relations exist to make them work. Macquarie struggled materially with this issue. The constraints placed on access to the Domain illustrate the social problems Macquarie was trying to deal with—especially the disorderly behaviour of convicts, who could not be confined as the British government would not allow Macquarie to spend money on erecting any such buildings until 1817, when he commenced Hyde Park Barracks (HRA 7:481; 8:132). Instead, walls and fences could be erected both to keep them out of places and to impede their illegal practices. The walls also had to be policed by hiding constables in the bushes to ambush those who broke through or climbed the wall rather than entering through the identified gate (HRA 9:884, 885).

There was considerable resistance to this new use of the Domain, as the garden and grounds of the resident governor and his wife, rather than as the quarry and common of all who resided in Sydney. Macquarie made alternative arrangements for people to use Hyde Park as a place for active recreation and created a common for grazing animals and other activities. Through improvement of the Domain grounds the Macquaries sought to control the type of activities undertaken there and to maintain their privacy. Their ambitions for the Domain were not limited to those of a park, they wished to move their residence into these grounds and construct fitting accommodation, offices and stables. This leads into the second stage of improvements to the Government Domain.

Stage 2 – Building in the Domain, 1817–1821

In July 1817, Governor Macquarie requested convict architect Francis Greenway to design a new government house, offices, and stables (Heritage Group, State Projects 1997:35). The completed stable building was a quadrangle with four ranges around a courtyard (Fig. 8). It had projecting octagonal turrets and a crenellated parapet. The Macquaries intended to build a new Government House, to replace the near-derelict original one. However, only the offices and stables of this proposed structure were built, while a new Government House was



Fig. 8: This aquatint highlights many of the buildings under discussion and shows an unnatural emphasis on two of the Gothic structures, Fort Macquarie and the Stables, both on the left. North View of Sidney New South Wales, hand-coloured aquatint, Joseph Lycett c. 1822, Views in Australia or New South Wales & Van Diemen's Land, J. Souter, *St Paul's Church Yard*, 1824, facsimile by Thomas Nelson, Melbourne.

expressly forbidden by the British government (HRA 9:205). Building the stables involved considerable modification of the natural landform.⁵ The works for this stage illustrate the need for a large and skilled workforce to carry out the tasks, especially the clearing and quarrying of stone. The building of the stables itself was one of the largest and most expensive construction projects completed during Macquarie's administration and it would be more than 20 years before the new Gothic Government House was built, it being a much larger and more expensive structure.

Building the stables involved constructing a new road system between it and the old dilapidated government house. The stable building was designed in the Gothic revival style, but utilising incorrect Gothic elements. It was situated in a highly visible location. The stables joined a series of Gothic revival buildings erected by the Macquaries in Sydney. To examine possible reasons for this style choice it is necessary to understand the influences of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century aesthetic philosophy, including Associationism and aspects of the Sublime and the Picturesque.⁶

Gothic architecture was one of the two main architectural styles that were part of mid to late eighteenth-century British neo-classicism. The other style was influenced by Roman and Greek architecture, although both Chinese and Egyptian-influenced styles were also used (Hussey 1955; Snodin and Styles 2004:56, 59). The Gothic style was seen as an imitation of the British medieval style, also frequently referred to in some of the literature as Elizabethan or Tudor. It was neo-classical in that it referred back to an earlier source, as did those buildings imitating ancient Roman and Greek architectural styles. Gothic is generally seen as a local British derivation (Kerr and Broadbent 1980:12). In the context of New South Wales this period is typically referred to as the Picturesque Gothic and was a precursor to 'Academic Gothic'

(Apperly, Irving and Reynolds 1989:20, 36). The government stables were built in the neo-Gothic style. Gothic architecture is seen as part of a development of British national character in architecture (Glendinning et al. 1996:237–238). The use of Gothic Revival in Scotland was different to England, 'in a sense the Scots baronial style had never entirely disappeared so that there was not a great gap between its survival and revival' (Whyte and Whyte 1991:100). Gothic architecture in Argyll, Scotland is frequently seen in buildings dating from 1700s to the early twentieth century (Casey in prep).

The design of the quadrangle stables is thought to be based on Inveraray Castle, Argyll, Scotland (1744–1760), an early country house for the third Duke of Argyll of the clan Campbell, the clan to which Elizabeth Macquarie (née Campbell) belonged (Lindsay and Cosh 1973; Kerr and Broadbent 1980:41). Inveraray Castle, the first major neo-Gothic Scottish house to be built, influenced the construction of other house 'castles', including Taymouth, Stobo and Balloch (Dunbar 1966:125, 127; Lindsay and Cosh 1973; Glendinning et al. 1996:162, 167, 227). Taymouth Castle was built by the fourth Earl of Breadalbane, Elizabeth Macquarie's cousin and former guardian; his mother was Elizabeth's maternal aunt whom she frequently visited in London (Ritchie 1986).

The remade landscape

Lycett's aquatint of the Macquarie-period landscape shows it partly remade to the Macquaries' intentions (Fig. 8). By c. 1820 the landscape had become a Repton-like Picturesque scene with government house highly visible and the detached stables and offices mostly hidden in the adjacent bank of trees. A comparison of the 1820 vista (Fig. 8) with that of 1792 (Fig. 3) presents striking evidence of the profound changes made to Sydney and its environs within the short period of 32 years.

The transformation of the Domain and Sydney echo changes made elsewhere in the colony of New South Wales. Included among these 'improvements' were four neo-Gothic-style buildings which were visible from the shore: the governor's stables, Fort Macquarie, the magazine at Dawes Point, and Billy Blue's house, and possibly Fort Phillip (Broadbent and Hughes 1997; Kerr and Broadbent 1980:40; Fig. 1). In some cases, as with the governor's stables and Fort Macquarie, these Gothic buildings dominated the landscape.

INTERPRETATION AND MEANING OF THE SYDNEY DOMAIN

The Sydney Domain (1788–1821) was an historic place created by and for specific cultural, social and political circumstances. It was an ideological landscape, in that it was remade to represent issues of concern to the early governors: hierarchy, discipline, order and improvement, and the setting of examples for others to follow. It was cultural in that it was a statement of British identity, occupation and possession. Power and social relations shaped the way it was physically remade. These changes transformed how people used this landscape, how ritual and celebrations were enacted within it. Providing a blatant attempt to remake colonial society, these changes met with strong resistance.

The meaning of the Sydney Domain, as a landscape remade within specific cultural, social, political and economic circumstances, can be revealed through exploring the relationship between the residues of the surviving evidence and the documentary sources. By stripping away the layers of ideology, meanings and accretions attached to this landscape over time, we begin to understand the range of social and cultural relationships established in the Domain by the early governors, their families and those people who contested the received role of this place and the governor. This interpretation adopts a hermeneutic approach where layers of meaning are reflexively investigated to explore the various roles this landscape played in constructing and being constructed by the society of early colonial Sydney.

Raymond Williams' (1973) analysis of landscape led to the investigation of how people engaged with the landscape, a sense of multivocality, differential empowerment with associated tensions and the creation of people's identity (Bender 1992, 1998). Both Williams' and Bender's work assists in appreciating issues involved in the remaking of the Domain landscape by the early governors. Their appropriation of the new landscape for the creation of British identity is a significant theme underlying all governors' choices in redesigning the landscape and assists in exploring the different ways in which diverse groups in society perceived and valued the Sydney Domain.

Issues of power and ideology and the way they were manifest in the landscape of the Sydney Domain are central to the actions of the various governors:

Landscape... is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature (Cosgrove 1984:15).

Ideology is often defined as either a system of ideas underlying and informing social and political action or the system of ideas which legitimates the subordination of one group by another (Jary and Jary 1991:295). Cosgrove in his historical analysis of the development of western historic landscapes identified the dualities of landscape as both object

and subject, both individual and social and involving both the insider and outsider. Of particular relevance here is that, 'landscape is indeed the view of the outsider, a term of order and control, whether the control is technical, political or intellectual' (Cosgrove 1984:36).

An aspect of the influence of power and ideology within this landscape is the 'administrative gaze' which permits the voices of dissent to be silenced and the objective view of the person in power (the administrator) to claim legitimacy to speak on their behalf and govern in their name (Barrett 1999:23). In this way governors such as Phillip, Bligh and Macquarie could change practices within the landscape. As governors, those at the top of the hierarchy, they could order the removal of houses, mills and other structures or practices they considered inappropriate in the landscape. In their perception of this landscape the governors considered they were implementing orders for the greater public and social good. As governors in charge of administering the colony, they could make changes for the greater imperial good, irrespective of what the 'Other' (the convict, settler, soldier, emancipist, or Aboriginal inhabitant) considered appropriate.

The persistent remaking of the Domain by each new governor shortly after their arrival is linked to ideology and the perceptions of the outsider. The outsider viewed the landscape of this colonial society in specific ways which those residing in the colony could not see. In all cases, the remaking of the Domain landscape commenced within a short time of the governor's arrival. This emphasised each new governor's initial impressions of the colonial landscape. The Domain, like the broader colony, needed to be remade. Questions of power are central to the analysis and recovery of the meanings associated with the Domain landscape; specifically, how governors in the past used material practices to construct symbolic relations, how these choices met with resistance or approval, and how the material world affected the 'representation and alteration of these practices' (Miller and Tilley 1984b:5).

It was part of an effort to stamp a British cultural identity on Sydney Cove that presented it as much more than a 'miserable Portuguese settlement':

On approaching Sydney Cove no one scene presented itself that could persuade me, had I not know it, that I was approaching a British colony... Every object on shore declared the poverty of the soil... The buildings called Sydney town was a little relief to the eye. I could compare them to no other than a miserable Portuguese settlement. The flag-staff on what was called a battery heighten'd the picture of distress, making an angle of 30° from the perpendicular (HRNSW 1803 5:209).

It was important to make clear statements that this was a British place. The landscape changes effected by some of the governors were influenced not by the construction of personal identity but of group identity, yet through the use of individual knowledge, experiences and memory. The work of the Macquaries, while Scottish in specific influences was not about creating images of Scottish nationality for nationalistic purposes, rather, it initiated links in people's minds to their British identity and heritage.

In many ways they were inventing or relocating traditions in two of the three senses identified by Hobsbawm (1983). Hobsbawm recognised three overlapping types of invented traditions. First, were those 'establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups'. Secondly, there were invented traditions 'establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority'. The third group of invented traditions was 'those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and

conventions of behaviour' (Hobsbawm 1983:9). He observed the presence of type three in India which 'symbolizing submission to authority in British India' (Hobsbawm 1983:9). Hobsbawm considered that while two and three were devised they were not prevalent (he should perhaps have added, 'within Britain', as they are more common in colonial societies).

Invented traditions are a set of practices governed by rules that have a ritual or symbolic nature and meaning. These practices attempt to encourage sets of values or behavioural norms that habitually imply continuity with the past. As an invented tradition it replaces traditions that no longer exist or never existed. An invented tradition must be invariant and unchanging (Hobsbawm 1983:1–2). Another reason for the borrowing or 'invention of tradition' was for 'socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour' (Hobsbawm 1983:9). While the situation of New South Wales does not conform easily to Hobsbawm's invented traditions there are some ideas that are relevant and useful. In a rebellious society, such as early colonial New South Wales, the Macquaries relocated traditional symbols from Britain (neo-Gothic architecture, ritual celebrations of the King and Queen's birthdays, British landscape designs) to represent a social identity that all members of society could hopefully share. They erected buildings which referred to a specific British history in a place that did not share this history. By relocating British celebrations and their rituals to New South Wales they also sought to reinforce the existing hierarchy by relating it directly to British hierarchy and power. They were recreating the physical and symbolic traditions of British history in a new country. The landscape of the Domain was remade to encourage certain forms of respectable socialisation as well as to reform old beliefs and practices and to thereby establish new patterns of behaviour and new sets of practices.

Since completing my PhD in 2002 considerable work has been published on the study of British identity in the colonial world (Lawrence 2003b). Lawrence's introduction to *Archaeologies of the British* acknowledged Britishness as 'composite, consisting of the juxtaposition of English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish rather than blending them to create something new and distinctive' (Lawrence 2003a:5). The symbols that worked most powerfully were the invented ones associated with the monarchy and the military, in the case of the Domain and Sydney the neo-Gothic architecture. The use of regional symbols became successful for 'pan-national' purposes because they were re-contextualised and the further they were away from the original source of the symbols then the more 'British' they appeared as opposed to being Scottish or Welsh or English.

CONCLUSION

The Sydney Domain landscape is a place constituted by and constitutive of society and was constructed within the milieu of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British culture, society and empire. This exploration of landscape was informed by theories of power and ideology. The landscape of the Sydney Domain (1788–1821) contained the house and grounds of the early Governors of New South Wales. Each of the governors sought to remake and improve this landscape. Governor Phillip was improving 'wilderness' which to him had no utility and was a barrier to making the colony sustainable. He established the first farm and built the first house in the grounds of the Sydney Domain; all symbols of the 'progress of empire' on the edge of 'wilderness'.

Succeeding governors all had to deal with the difficulties of local politics. The remaking of the Domain in many ways represented these problems. Those who sought to remake the Domain viewed the house and grounds as an outsider, and

therefore remade it to be more suitable for the house of the governor—who while supposedly the most powerful man in the colony, had to contend with the interests of local luminaries and their powerful British connections. Governor King and his wife added to government house and remade the grounds to make it more suitable as a home for their family. They used the grounds to re-establish the rituals of royal celebrations. Governor Bligh made major changes to the Domain landscape and tried to reorganise the townscape of Sydney. Nevertheless, the 1808 rebellion and his subsequent arrest halted his remaking of these civic places.

This produced further political instability which Governor Macquarie on his arrival in 1810 had to confront. Governor and Mrs Macquarie recreated the Domain landscape by enclosing it, thereby defining its boundaries and turning it into a park which 'respectable' people could use. They wished to stop earlier practices which utilised this place as a common. It became a place of control and surveillance where those in authority sought to control how people behaved. It came to represent slowly changing approaches to the control of convicts in the early colony. The Macquaries' use of the neo-Gothic style in a range of strategically-located buildings was central to their creating associations between the role of the governor and the legitimate authorities of the British past and for creating a place which was a physical representation of Britain. Of course all this was still surrounded, beyond the places defined by the historical representations, by the alien wilderness.

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ABBREVIATIONS

HRA	<i>Historical Records of Australia</i>
HRNSW	<i>Historical Records of New South Wales</i>
SG	<i>Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser</i>

ENDNOTES

- 1 In Casey 2002 I reviewed a range of landscape approaches but there is no space in this paper to discuss those in detail.

Those cited in this paragraph were the most influential, notably Bender and Tilley in the British literature and Leone and Rubertone in the American literature.

- 2 The reasons for the British settlement of Australia have been the subject of extensive discussion which is outside the scope of this paper. For central references see Blainey 1966; Shaw 1966; Fletcher 1976a; Hirst 1983; Frost 1994; Atkinson 1997.
- 3 Sketch of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson in the County of Cumberland New South Wales, July 1788.
- 4 Text quoted from Proudfoot et al. 1991:42–43. The copper plate is on display in the Museum of Sydney on the Site of First Government House.
- 5 The stables and its landscape was the subject of an extensive archaeological program by Casey & Lowe during 1998 to 2001; see Casey & Lowe 2002.
- 6 Casey 2002 has extensive discussion of these issues which can only be briefly discussed in this paper.

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