

Design for Convicts in the Australian Colonies
during the Transportation Era.

James Semple Kerr

D. Phil.

University of York

Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies

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Abstract

This thesis traces the evolution of buildings and settlements in the Australian colonies from 1788 to about 1858 and examines the reasons they took the form they did.

Establishments from which release could not be procured on the request of the inmate are within the scope of the work. Hence convict barracks, places of confinement, hospitals and to some extent asylums and even orphanages are discussed. English and American sources are identified and the contribution of those involved in the design process considered. The thesis underlines the degree to which fashions in penal policy for Australia outran its implementation *in* Australia.

240 Figs, mostly plans, and 15 plates illustrate the work and act as a useful catalogue of surviving graphic material.

Explanation of references to sources and abbreviations

For convenience in reading all references to sources have been placed in a left hand margin on the relevant line. Where a shortened reference has been used details are available in the bibliography (pages 285 to 293). This has been arranged alphabetically according to the marginal reference. For example:

Reference in margin: *Collins Account 1798 Ed.*

Bibliography entry: COLLINS ACCOUNT 1798 Ed. An Account of the English Colony in NSW... By David Collins Esq., Late Judge Advocate and Secretary of the Colony. Illustrated by Engravings, London. Printed for T. Cadell jun., and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1798

Manuscript sources that have complete marginal references indicating location and catalogue number are not included in the alphabetical bibliography, but are embraced in the 'Bibliography of manuscript, plan and photographic material arranged according to its location' (pages 294 to 296).

The major source of information has been the archives at the Public Records Office, London, (PRO) and published parliamentary papers.

Four groups of archives have been consulted at the PRO:

Colonial Office (CO)

Home Office (HO)

War Office (WO)

and the plans removed from the three groups above and held in the map room (PROMR).

References to the material held in the first three are set out thus:

Colonial Office Archives	Series	Number of box or book	Folio or page number
	CO . 201 . 133		f43

Searches have been concentrated on the following series:

- CO201. Despatches from New South Wales (NSW)
- CO280 Despatches from Van Dieman's Land (VDL)
- CO282 Records of VDL Executive Council Meetings (VDLECM)
- W017 Returns of Officers of Royal Engineers
- W044 Royal Engineer Inward Correspondence
- W055 Miscellaneous, containing some material on
Australian colonies

Parliamentary papers have been consulted in three ways, the most common being the Irish University Press British Parliamentary Papers published from 1968 (BPP)

The IUP series is grouped according to themes, seven of which are relevant.

Colonies Australia	(Aust.)
Colonies General	(Colonies)
Health Mental	(Mental)
Juvenile Offenders	(Juvenile)
Police	(Police)
Prisons	(Prisons)
Transportation	(T'port)

References to material from these sources have been given as follows:

IUP British Parliamentary Papers	Theme of group	Volume number in IUP theme group	Session in which published	Paper number	Volume in which paper was located (not always given)	Page or folio number
<i>BPP</i>	<i>T'port</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>1857 [2197]</i>	<i>XIV</i>		<i>7-8</i>

Some papers omitted from the IUP series have been consulted in the Readex Microprint House of Commons British Sessional Papers (BSP). References to these are set out in this manner:

Readex Microprint H. of C. British Sessional Papers	Session in which published	Volume in which paper is located	Page or folio number
<i>BSP</i>	<i>1847-8</i>	<i>LII</i>	<i>127</i>

Lastly, a number of papers have been examined in their original published form. These together with a few of sufficient importance are listed in full in the bibliography with an appropriate reference in the margin of the text. For example:

Reference margin: *Crawford Report*

Bibliography: CRAWFORD REPORT: Penitentiaries (United States) Report of W^m Crawford esq., on the Penitentiaries of the United States addressed to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Dept^t Ord^d to be printed by the House of Commons 11th August 1834.

Marginal references to archival material in Australia are arranged thus:

Description of item	Location	Identification
<i>McLeay to Lewis 23. 11. 1836</i>	<i>A/NSW</i>	<i>4/3884 p.143</i>

The following abbreviations of locations have been used:

Archives of New South Wales, Sydney	(A/NSW)
Archives Office of Tasmania, Hobart	(A/TAS)
Department of Corrective Services, NSW, Sydney	(DCS)
Dixon Library, Sydney	(DIXON)
Mitchell Library, Sydney	(ML)
Public Library of NSW	(PLNSW)

Other abbreviations are:

Colonial Secretary	(Col.Sec.)
Colonial Secretary In Letters, NSW	(CSIL)
Colonial Secretary Out Letters, NSW	(CSOL)

Occasional use has been made of Historic Records of New South Wales (HRNSW) and Historic Records of Australia (HRA).

References to these have been arranged thus:

Volume	Page	Vol.	Part	Page
<i>HRNSW . II .</i>	<i>44</i>	(or exceptionally)		<i>I . 2 . 148</i>
Series	Volume			
<i>HRA . I .</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>155</i>		

Some other abbreviations also appear:

British Museum Print room	(BMPR)
British Library Map room	(BLMR)
Royal Commission on Historic Monuments	(RCHM)
Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline	(SIPD)

Introduction

New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land were penal colonies for the first 50 years of their respective existence, and Western Australia for a short period from 1851. During this period the changing attitudes of society to penal discipline led to the design and construction of successive types of accommodation for convicts. These spasms of construction consumed the major part of resources for public works while they lasted and the cost to the Imperial, and later Colonial, Treasury was considerable. By any quantitative means of assessment convict and penal establishments were by far the most important public works constructed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

*Freeland Architecture
in Australia 1968
Cover.*

Ibid. Preface

Ibid. Index

Ibid. 40

Professor Freeland in the preface to the 'first full architectural history of Australia'* cautions the reader that 'this is not the story of an architect's architecture but of a society's architecture.'* Over the next 314 pages he goes on to discuss 59 cathedrals and churches, 73 houses, 32 office buildings and a variety of commercial and public structures as disparate as railway stations, hospitals and theatres.* Gaols, prisons and lunatic asylums are conspicuously absent; only one convict barrack (Greenway's Hyde Park building) is mentioned, and then because of its architectural 'virtuosity.'*

*Herman Early
Australian &
Architects 1970*

The point is not that there might be a significant omission from Professor Freeland's book, but that it is a reflection of the general level of scholarly interest in and knowledge of such structures in Australia. Moreton Herman in his pioneering and well researched The Early Australian Architects and their Works* discussed briefly a number of convict buildings in the vicinity of Sydney, but his theme is the superiority of the Georgian tradition to all other forms of Australian architecture. Hence the book is concerned with aesthetic judgements and with the biography implicit in the title.

For example, Moreton Herman gives the plan and elevation of a building of considerable interest - the first purpose built lunatic asylum in NSW.* However he chooses to depict only a small part of the asylum (the central administration and staff block) because its facade is relevant to his theme, and he discusses its proportions and the introduction of ionic capitals. He neither illustrates nor mentions the actual accommodation for the lunatics, which was after all the reason for the asylum.

*Herman Early
Australian
Architects 1970. 191*

In Tasmania Dr Graeme Robertson's two volume Early Buildings of Southern Tasmania* offers, with two exceptions, a splendid pictorial record of buildings other than convict establishments. There are in fact no reasonably scholarly national or state wide published surveys of early architecture covering penal buildings.

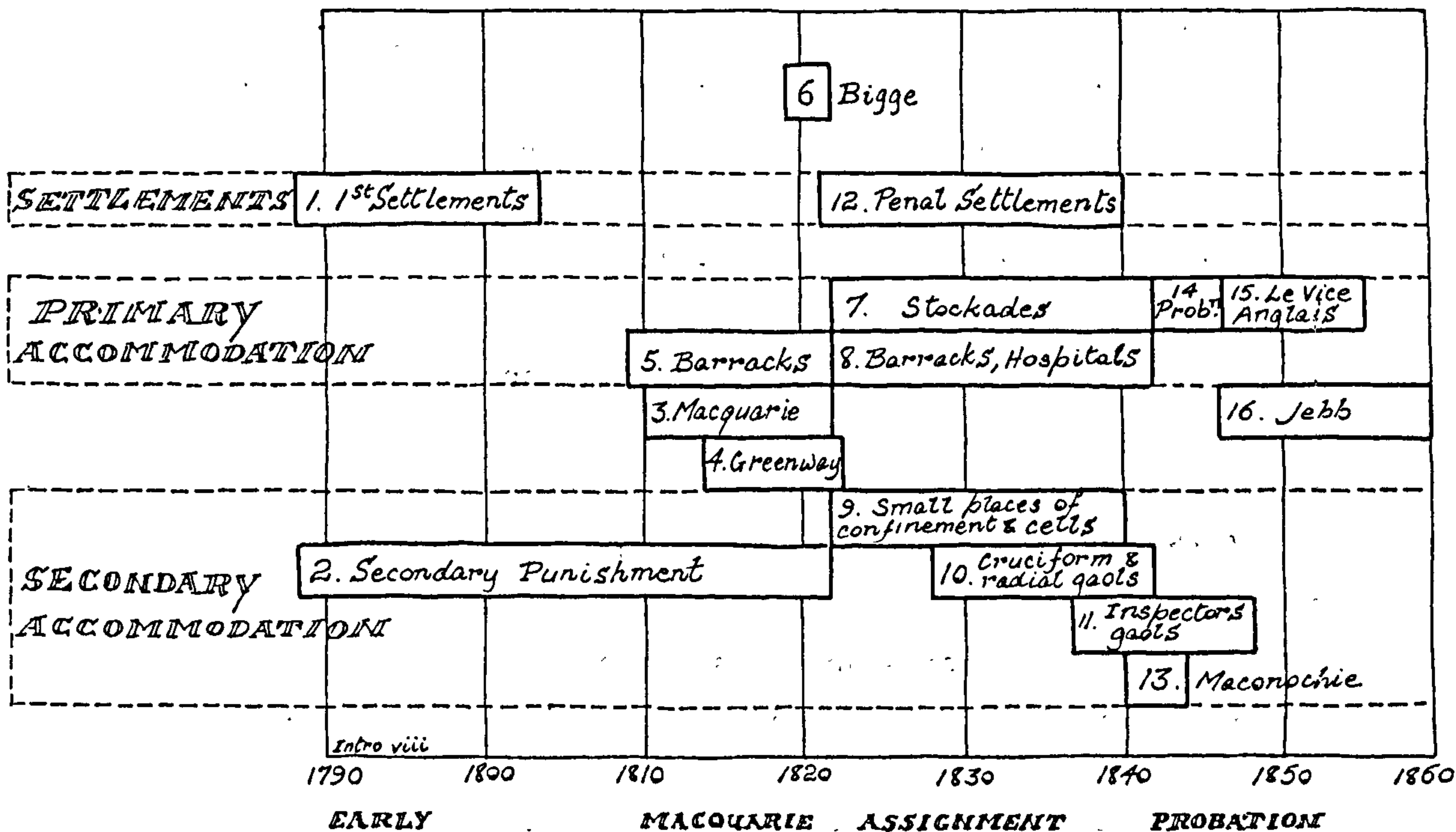
*Robertson Buildings
of Sthn Tasmania
1970*

Some research has been done at a local level on particular buildings, settlements or towns as well as on architects' biographies;* though little attempt has been made to interpret the facts or to place the work in a world context. Certainly no discussion of convict building on a national scale has been undertaken. This thesis has been designed to meet that need.

See Bibliography

The purpose of the thesis is, first, to explain the reasons the buildings and settlements took the form they did, and second to give an account of the development of penal design in Australia in order to provide a context in which the surviving buildings may be more easily understood.

Because of the difficulty of imposing an appropriate and reasonably natural structure on a complex and often chaotic subject, the thesis has been arranged chronologically into 4 periods and thematically into 3 streams. This is illustrated in the following graph showing the chapters arranged according to their theme and time span.



To avoid the distortions necessary in too rigid a structure some chapters have been allowed to overlap or stand outside the 3 main streams. Hence Chapters 3, 4 and 16 cover both primary and secondary (or punishment) accommodation because both were at the time influenced from a particular source.

The bibliography of the early history of Australia is extensive and this thesis has been written on the assumption that readers are familiar with the period. Nevertheless Appendix 1 contains an alphabetically arranged identification of those persons mentioned in the text that are too peripheral and too numerous to be properly introduced. Professor Shaw's Convicts and Colonies provides in a single book an excellent historical background to the thesis.*

See alphabetical bibliography

The major consideration in the presentation of the thesis has been convenience of reading, and as ever the main problem this poses is the acknowledgement of sources. The value placed on any statement is intimately linked with its source and this

should be effortlessly available when needed. However to include 1500 references, set in brackets, *in* the text so breaks the continuity that it is unacceptable, and to collect them at the end of the chapter or book is to condemn the scholar to endless irritation. For these reasons all references have been treated as footnotes but located in a left hand margin of the text *precisely* opposite the relevant indicator.

In addition *op.cit.* and *loc.cit.* have been abandoned in favour of a restatement of the source, and *ibid.* has been used only where it refers to the source above *and* on the same page. Most of the references are to manuscripts or parliamentary papers and the method of citation is outlined on pages *i* to *v* . There are only a few notes and these have been identified in the text by numbers in brackets and they are placed after the appendices.

As part of this programme to prepare an easily comprehended thesis, 238 figures have been set in the text as well as plates at the back. These figs help eliminate much repetitive description which would otherwise have been necessary before conclusions were possible. The figs have mostly been redrawn because of the technical impossibility of reducing large and faint or damaged nineteenth century plans to fit in an A4 format. Others have been redrawn because they are a composite of more than one source. All sources are acknowledged in each fig.

To improve clarity further some tabulated and similar matter has been indented, not all of which is quoted. Hence inverted commas are the only means used in the text to denote a quote.

Chapter 1. The First Settlements

His Majesty's Government chose Botany Bay as the site for the new penal settlement in New South Wales on the basis of Captain Cook's brief visit in 1770. When the first fleet arrived in January 1788 it was apparent to the governor of the intended colony, Captain Phillip, that the location was not suitable for a settlement. The anchorage was exposed, the shore could not be approached and the soil was sour. Hence, despite specific instructions not to delay disembarkation by seeking a better site,* he was obliged to make a rapid survey of the nearby coast. Once he had seen Sydney Cove in Port Jackson he no longer felt at liberty to continue his search.*

*Covering letter to
Phillip's Instructions
20.4.1787
CO201.1 f28*

*Campbell Janks
Stream 71
RAHS/1924
quoting Cap. Hunter*

Sydney Cove had all the advantages a seaman could ask of a settlement: a good anchorage, easy access to the shore and a spring-fed stream that promised adequate water. Moreover, it was enclosed by high ground on which foul air was unlikely to persist. This contemporary preoccupation with the danger of noxious exhalations to health was born of His Majesty's forces' bitter experience in the low-lying parts of India and the West Indies, and was one of the reasons Phillip did not immediately move his settlement to the Parramatta area as soon as he was satisfied with the superiority of its soil to that of Sydney Cove. He later explained to Nepean '... most of our stores and provisions were landed and it required some little time to do away with the general opinion that such a situation [as Parramatta] could not be healthy, and which I was inclined to think myself, until I had examined the country for some miles around, and was satisfied that there was a free circulation of air, in the goodness of which few places equal it.' *

*Phillip to Nepean
17.6.1790
HRNSWI.2.349*

The instructions given to Phillip on another matter were equally precise. 'Norfolk Island ... being represented as a spot which may hereafter become useful, you are, as soon as

circumstances will admit of it, to send a small Establishment thither, to secure the same to us, and to prevent it being occupied by .the Subjects of any other European Power....' *

*Instructions to
Phillip 25.4.1787
CO 201.1 f35*

Unlike the settlement at Sydney Cove, the site of the settlement on Norfolk Island was not 'chosen': it was the only landing spot the captain of the 'Supply' could find.* Hence it became the settlement. Lieutenant King, Phillip's appointed commandant, called it Sydney also, and, like its mainland namesake, it became and remained the access port and administrative centre throughout the era of transportation. From these two Sydneys the convict agricultural towns of NSW and Norfolk Island were planned and developed.

*Phillip to Sydney
15.5.1788
CO 201.3 f10*

About February 1787 Phillip had expressed his intentions for the initial settlement in NSW.* Two of the problems he foresaw were the need for some degree of classification and separation, and the imbalance of the sexes. Both would affect his plan for the settlement and the type of accommodation to be provided.

*Phillip's notes on
proposed settlement
CO 201.2 f90-3*

First he proposed to segregate the ordinary convicts from the worst villains and the convicts in general from the garrison. The latter he hoped to achieve by planning the site astride a river that would separate guard and guarded. His problem was compounded not only by the presence of convict women but by their unbalanced proportion of about 1 woman to every 3 men. These women he decided should be kept apart, but to make this a practical proposition he suggested that '... the most abandoned [be] permitted to receive the visits of the convicts... at certain hours and under certain restrictions.'* The rest would be permitted the company of men when not at work (and presumably when not abed). These, Phillip supposed, would marry if given appropriate encouragement. The shortage of women might further be ameliorated, Phillip noted, by the natives

Ibid. f91

*Matra's proposal
for a settlement
in NSW. 1783
CO 201.1 f58*

*Phillip's notes on
proposed settlement
CO 201.2 f92*

*Instructions and
Commission to
Phillip 25.4.1787
CO 201.1 f29-40*

*Phillip's memo on
proposed settlement
CO 201.2 f88*

permitting their women to marry and live with the convict men. Lastly, Phillip appropriated part of Matra's proposal* that island women be introduced as prospective garrison wives.*

The formal instructions * subsequently given to Phillip approved the introduction of island women but ignored the proposals for marriage to the native women and, not surprisingly, for a limited prostitution. In the realities of settlement, after January 1788, lack of transport prevented the first being considered, what is nicely called 'culture shock' inhibited the second, and a widespread desire by the female convicts to participate made a farce of the third.

Phillip, having stressed the need for segregating his motley charges, pointed out the necessity of an advance party to lay out the settlement and commence construction.* This did not eventuate, and the convicts arrived at Sydney Cove in January 1788 without any preparatory work having been done.

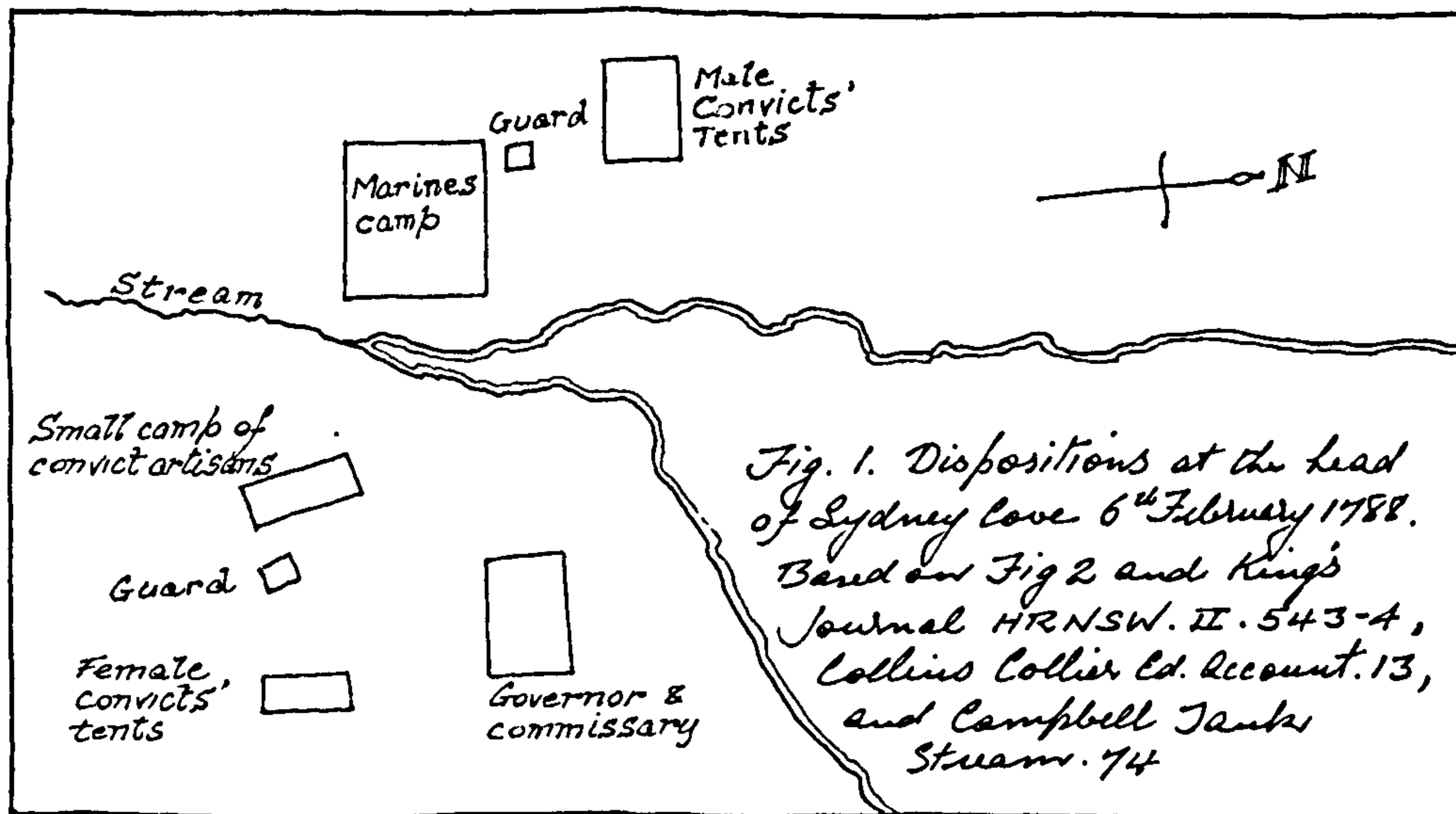
The disparate elements Phillip then had to house were:

The Governor	
The Civil Establishment	
The Marines	Officers
	Men
	Families
The Convicts	Males
	Females
The Sick	Mostly Convicts

The accommodation for the convicts is the concern of this thesis.

The stream that empties into Sydney Cove did not measure up to Phillip's hoped-for river. Any self-respecting convict could leap it in normal weather. Nevertheless Phillip's dispositions

were a logical adaption of his former thinking in that he used the Marine camp beside the stream at the head of the cove as a barrier between the main convict camp and the smaller group of convict artisans, and later women, whom he placed on the eastern side of the stream. See Fig.1.



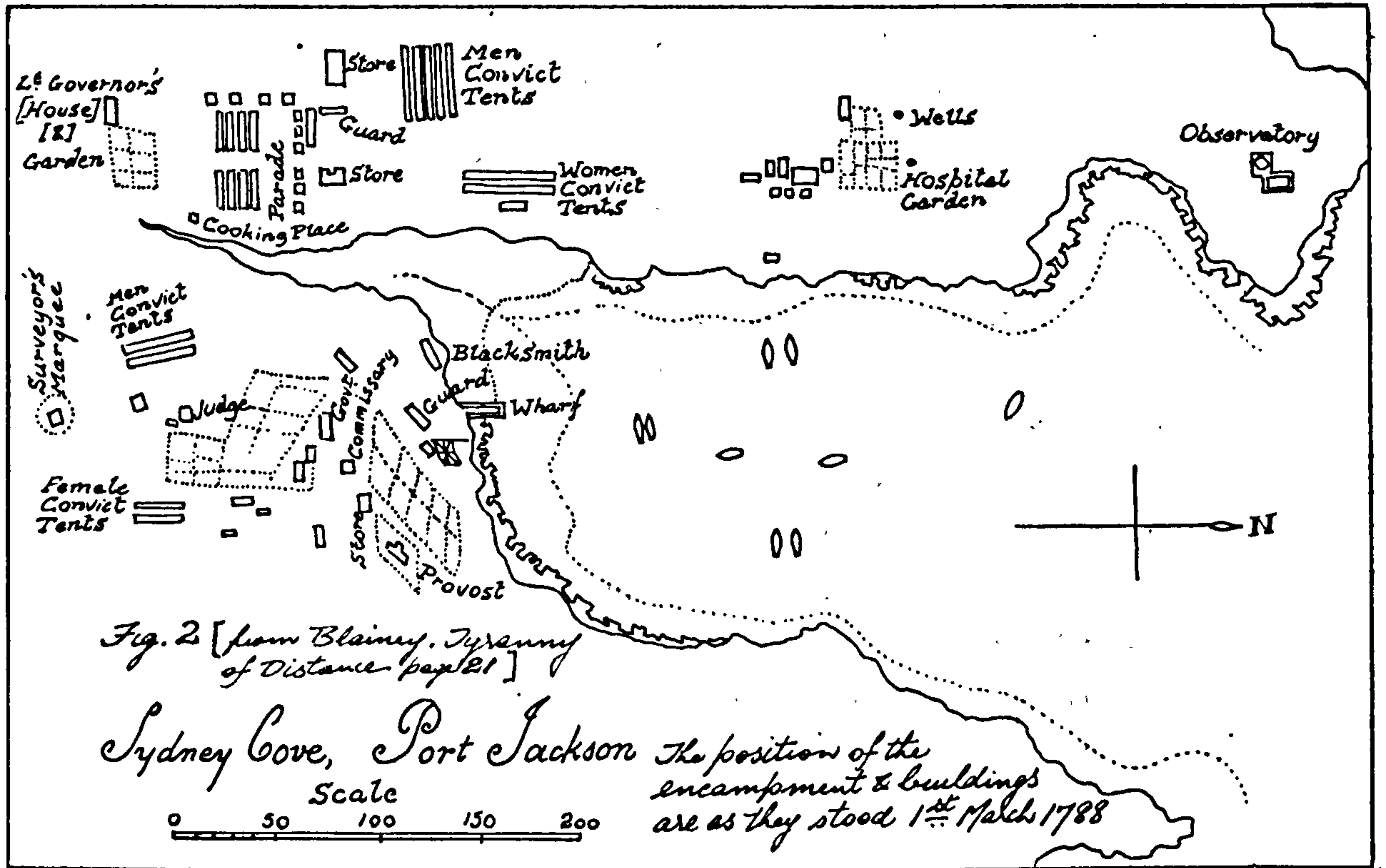
Surveillance of the main camp could then be provided from the guard house north of the Marine camp, and another guard house was set between the smaller male and female camps on the more distant east bank. There was however no real means of preventing convicts of both sexes outflanking the marines through the bush. Phillip was as aware of this deficiency as he was of the inadequacy of used admiralty sailcloth to protect his tenderer charges from contamination, but he was figuratively as well as literally a man obliged to make bricks without straw.

On the 28 January those Marines and male convicts in reasonable health were landed and encamped, the latter in tents roughly 100 feet long.* See Fig. 2. The female convicts were kept on board till further ground was cleared and tents of about 75 feet in length prepared for them to the east of the convict artisans. Then on the 6 February after 8 months of rigorous shipboard separation* the females were landed and

*King's Journal
HRNSW. II. 544*

*Jencks Narrative
62-3*

installed in their tents. *



Bowes reports that 'the convicts got to them very soon after their landing and the scene of debauchery and riot that ensued during that night may be better conceived than expressed.'*

26id. 393

26id. 393-4

The following day Phillip assembled and addressed the entire settlement, assuring the men 'that if they tried by night to get into the women's tents there were positive orders for the centry to fire upon them...'* It does not appear from subsequent events* that he was much more effective in inducing restraint than were the 100 copies of Exhortations to Chastity that the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge had sent out for the convicts.* Bowes, with, it must be admitted, a characteristic extravagance, comments: 'The anarchy and confusion w'h prevails at present, is arrived at such a pitch as is not to be equall'd among a set of villains in any other part of the Globe.' *

Clearly effective separation was impossible in the complete absence of structural containment, and the lack of whole-hearted support from the Marine guards. One of the Marine officers, Tench, concluded: '... to prevent their intercourse was impossible; and to palliate its evil only remained. Marriage was recommended.'*

Tench Narrative
62-3.

Convict housing was in any case the lowest of Phillip's immediate priorities. First was the need to secure the stores from destruction by storm, fire, man and rodent, and to give protection to the sick. Stores had been left on board ship where possible and the rest placed under canvas. The sick were likewise in tents on the west side of the cove.* In mid-February Phillip deployed his 12 convict carpenters and hired all of the 16 chippies he was able to find on the ships to build a store and hospital* on the west side.

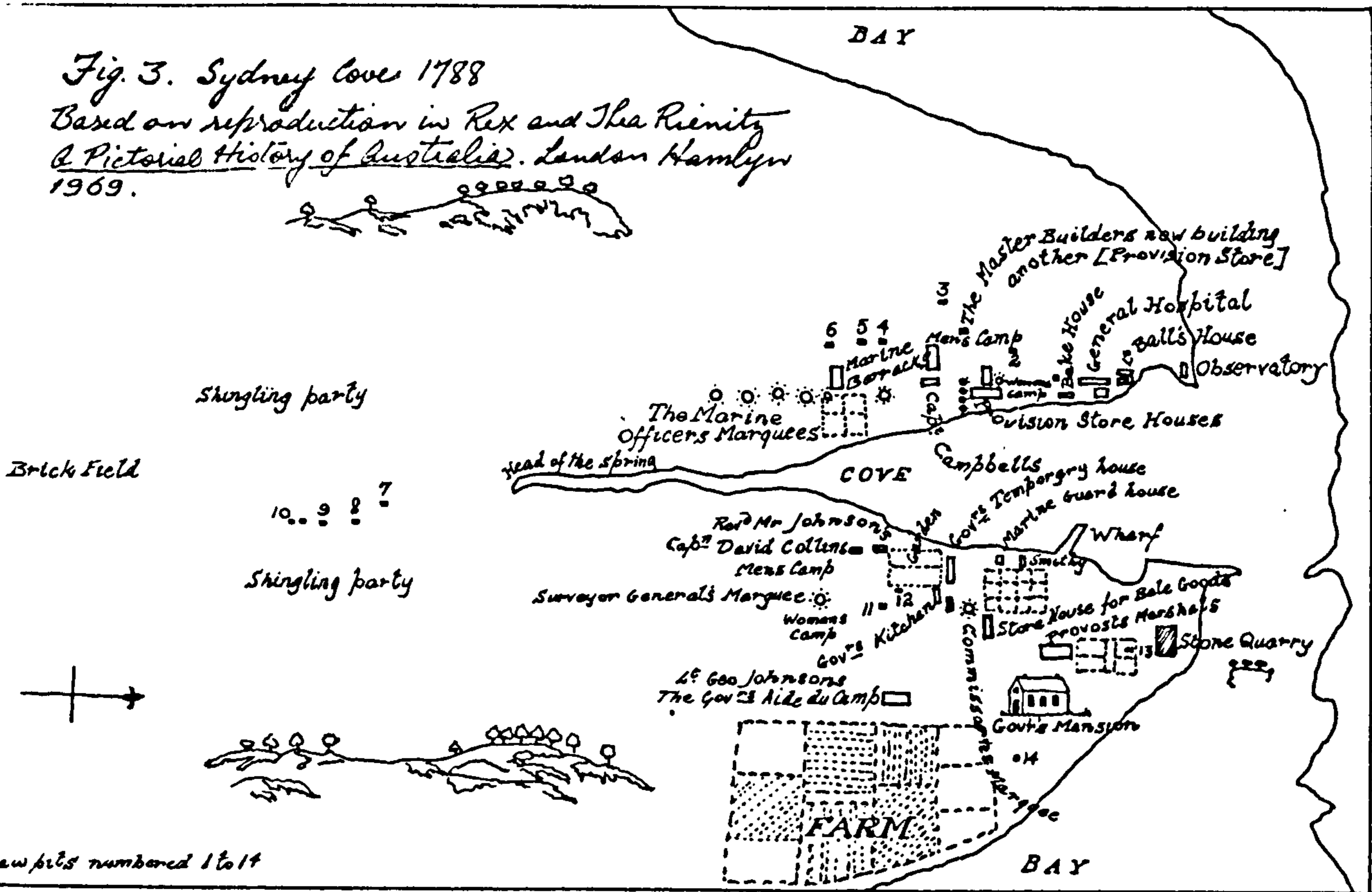
Collins Collier Et
Account 13.

Phillip to Sydney
15.5.1788
CO 201.3 f5

See Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Sydney Cove 1788

Based on reproduction in Rex and Thea Rieunty
& Pictorial History of Australia. London Hamlyn
1969.



*Collins Collier Ed.
Account 26*

*White's Journal
1960 Ed. 250.
fn 27*

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account 28*

*White's Journal
1960 Ed. 250.
fn 27*

*Grenville to Phillip
24.12.1789
CO201.4 f57*

CO201.4 f60

The store was of wood with an eminently combustible reed thatch. Its dimensions, 100 feet by 25,* remained almost a standard in the larger colonial settlements. The hospital was somewhat smaller at 84 feet by 23.* It was also constructed of timber but was covered with split pine shingles fastened with pegs made by the females. It was divided into a dispensary, a convict ward and a ward for the Marines,* and was designed to hold from 60 to 80 persons.*

The 2nd Fleet was to bring a curious 'package' shipped aboard the 'Justinian' - a 602 piece portable hospital.* It arrived on the 20 June 1790 together with a large number of sick and dying convicts. The author of this timely contrivance was Samuel Wyatt and his invoice* is illuminating:

'The R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords Commiff^{rs}
of His Majesty's Treasury.

By order of Alex^r Davidson Esq^r

D^r to Sam^l Wyatt

To a Military moveable Hospital with a cross Partition and Porches; the Building 84 ft long by 20 ft 6 inches wide, and 12 ft high upon the walls; the Roof covered with Copper, the whole consisting of wooden Framing in Pannels [s] Plates, Standards, Bearers etc....

The whole to be delivered free on Board a Ship in the River Thames, at Six hundred and ninety Pounds.....£690.'

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account. 91*

*Drwing lecture to
RAHS 27.8.1974*

Despite the dreadful urgency, its erection beside the existing hospital occupied 2 weeks longer than the 'few hours' Wyatt's experienced workmen are said to have taken* before His Majesty George III.*

From 1788 all carpentry, and in fact most public works, were superintended by Henry Brewer, midshipman of the 'Sirius', sometime secretary and man Friday to Phillip, and the acting Provost Marshall. He continued this arduous superintendence

HRA I. 35

of 'the different works going on' until relieved by Hunter just prior to his death in 1792. *

Tench Narrative
103

February is Sydney's wettest month and Feb^y 1788 was no exception. The need for 'hutting the people' with better cladding than ageing and porous sailcloth and canvas became obvious. Convict labour was drafted to help the detachment artificers with their barracks and quarters, and Tench reported that most of the male convicts were given extra time off to house themselves as best they could. He recounts that in April '... little edifices quickly multiplied on the ground allotted them to build upon'. *

Log Book 22.4.1788
HRNSW II 405
Log Book 9.5.1788
HRNSW II 399

In the last week of April and during May parties of men from the ships 'Prince of Wales'* and 'Sirius'* assisted in building a range of huts on the west side of the Cove for female convicts. These, like most of the convict housing at the time, were built of cabbage palm. Collins says: 'the long boats of the ships in the Cove were employed in bringing Cabbage-tree from the lower parts of the harbour, where it grew in great abundance, and was found when cut into proper lengths, very fit for the purpose of erecting temporary huts; the posts and plates of which, being made of the pine of the country, and the sides and ends filled with lengths of the cabbage-tree, plastered over with clay, formed a very good hovel. The roofs are generally thatched with the grass of the gum-rush; some were covered with clay, but several of these failed, the weight of the clay and heavy rain soon destroying them.' *

Collins Collier Ed.
Account. 23

Collins Collier Ed.
Account 28

Phillip's Voyage
Appendix 2vi

From March 1788 convicts were employed in making bricks 'about a mile' south of Sydney Cove (see Fig. 3) and by May a person 'qualified to conduct the business of a bricklayer' * had been found hiding his light among the convicts. This was 'James Bloedworth', convicted at 'Kingstone' in 1785 and transported for 7 years.* 'A gang of labourers was put under

Collins Collier Ed.
Account. 28

his direction and most of the [brick] huts which grew up in different parts of the cleared ground were erected by them.*

Ibid. 67

As no lime had been discovered near Sydney these early brick dwellings were built with clay mortar, and although considered superior to the cabbage tree huts * they were far from durable.

Ibid 144

By 1792 they were being made for convicts, and Collins describes them as being 'of 2 apartments, each hut being 26 feet in front, and 14 in width, and intended to contain 10 people with a suitable allotment of garden ground.* The occupation of these huts became as Collins had put it 'a object of some

Ibid 67

importance '* and no doubt of judicious patronage. Grose in 1794 set aside a brick hut for *each* of the Scottish martyrs

Ibid 239

(Muir, Palmer, Skirving and Margarot),* but they were gentlemen convicts, and still very much a novelty in the settlement.

Hunter to Portland
12.11.1796
CO201.13 f218

Hunter was to comment in 1796 on the rapid decay of these early brick buildings and describe their renewal by coating them with lime based on burnt shells.*

Tench Narrative
103

But to return to 1788, Phillip intended the first convict habitations to answer only the exigencies of the moment * and in March employed William Dawes on the survey and marking out

Southwell Journal
HRNSW II. 692

of a town plan for Sydney. This 'ingenious Mr Dawes'* was a Lieutenant of Marines and arrived with Phillip as an observer

ADB I. 297

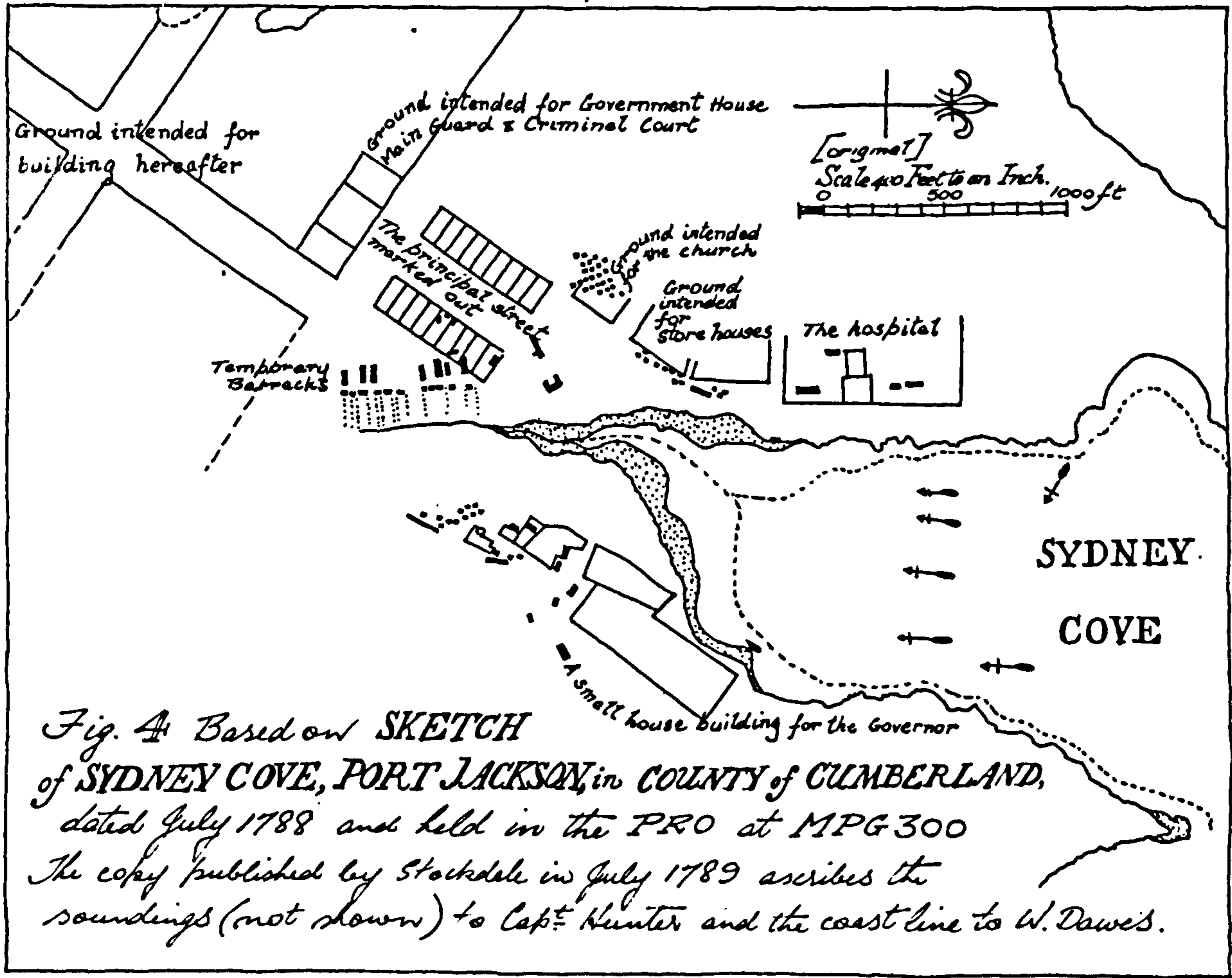
for the Astronomer Royal.* Tench suggests that Dawes was employed because of the incompetence of the appointed

Tench Testimonial
for Dawes 22.1.1827

Surveyor General Augustus Alt.*

The principles that governed the plan for Sydney were applied to Dawes' layout of Rose Hill (later Parramatta) and even to King's tiny settlement at Sydney on Norfolk Island. See Figs. 4, 5 and 9. As might be expected in the eighteenth

century they were axial, symmetrical and consciously symbolic of authority. Bernard Smith points out the arrangement's origin in Baroque vista planning and mentions Phillip's



At both Sydney and Rose Hill a broad street ran from near the landing place direct to the summit of an eminence on which was to be placed Government House. At Sydney, as the administrative centre, Government House would be flanked by the main guard house and the civil and criminal courts;* thus elevating the Legislative, Executive and Judicial arms of government above the common herd. As Rose Hill was intended as a convict agricultural settlement its *via principalis* was nearly a mile in length and was to be flanked by convict dwellings set in their own vegetable gardens. See Fig. 5. Both thoroughfares were approximately 200 feet wide* and exhibited a pretension of scale which must have seemed surprising in a penal settlement.

See Fig. 4.

Barnard Clershaw
Phillip of Australia
130-1 quoting
Phillip to Sydney
9.7.1788
Phillip to Grenville
17.7.1790
CO201.1f173

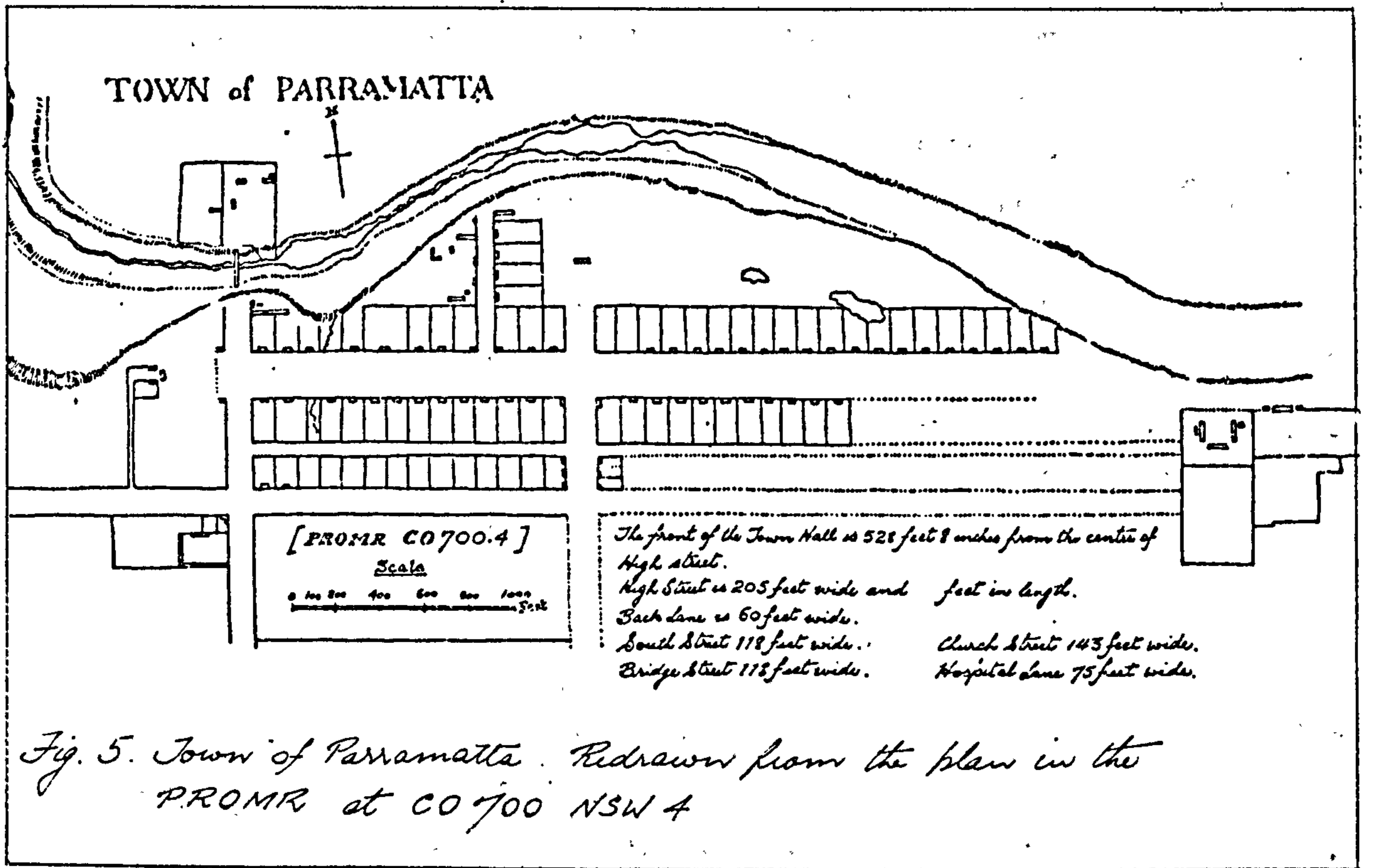


Fig. 5. Town of Parramatta. Redrawn from the plan in the PROMR at CO 700 NSW 4

Tench explained: 'To proceed on a narrow, confined scale, in a country of the extensive limits we possess, would be unpardonable: extent of Empire demands grandeur of design.'*

This is probably, as Fitzhardinge suggests, ironic,* but it is still a relevant answer; and a number of Englishmen saw the new settlement as something more than an antipodean beggars' opera. Phillip himself believed he was laying the 'foundation of an Empire',* and Tench would hardly be unaware of this. In addition Phillip and his successors were accompanied by a rapturous swell from popular, and not so popular, poets. Erasmus Darwin found Hope, standing sublime, upon a rock at Sydney Cove:

Tench Narrative 103

Fitzhardinge Annotations on the above 58

HRNSW I. 2. 53

Phillip's Voyage. V.

"Hear me" she cried "Ye rising Realms! record Times opening scenes, and Truth's unerring word - There shall broad streets their stately walls extend, The Circus widen, and the Crescent bend..." *

Thomas Campbell, somewhat tardy, but equally certain, declaimed:

'What spacious cities with their spires shall gleam,
 Where now the panther laps a lonely stream,
 And all but brute or reptile life is dumb!
 Land of the free! Thy kingdom is to come...' *

*Campbell Poetical
 Works 251*

The available evidence suggests strongly that Phillip himself shared these heady if receding expectations and provided the concept for the settlements' grand and spacious plans. In July 1788 he wrote to Lord Sydney * on the subject of his layout for Sydney, NSW, emphasising the width of the streets & free circulation of air, and sought approval of his proposed covenant to ensure uniformity in buildings and spacious surroundings. He even toyed with the idea of giving the projected town the distinctly visionary name of Albion.*

Moreover, Collins, in August 1790, explicitly points out the Governor's 'personal direction' of the works at Rose Hill in laying out and constructing the new town. *

*Barnard Eldershaw
 Phillip of Australia
 130-1 quoting
 Phillip to Sydney
 9.7.1788*

*Southwell's Journal
 HRNSW VII.692*

*Collins Collier Ed.
 Account 96*

*Instructions to
 Phillip 25.4.1787
 CO 201.1 f35*

*Grenville to Phillip
 24.8.1789
 HRNSW. I. 2. 258*

Neither those instructions given to Phillip in 1787 * nor his additional instructions for 'settling plantees in townships' of August 1789 * contained directions for the layout of convict towns; although the requirements for the reservation of land for a town hall, etc., were followed at Rose Hill. Not only is Phillip not given guidance on this matter, he is specifically told to use his discretion 'to lay out townships of a convenient size and extent in such places as you ...shall judge most proper.' *

Ibid. 259

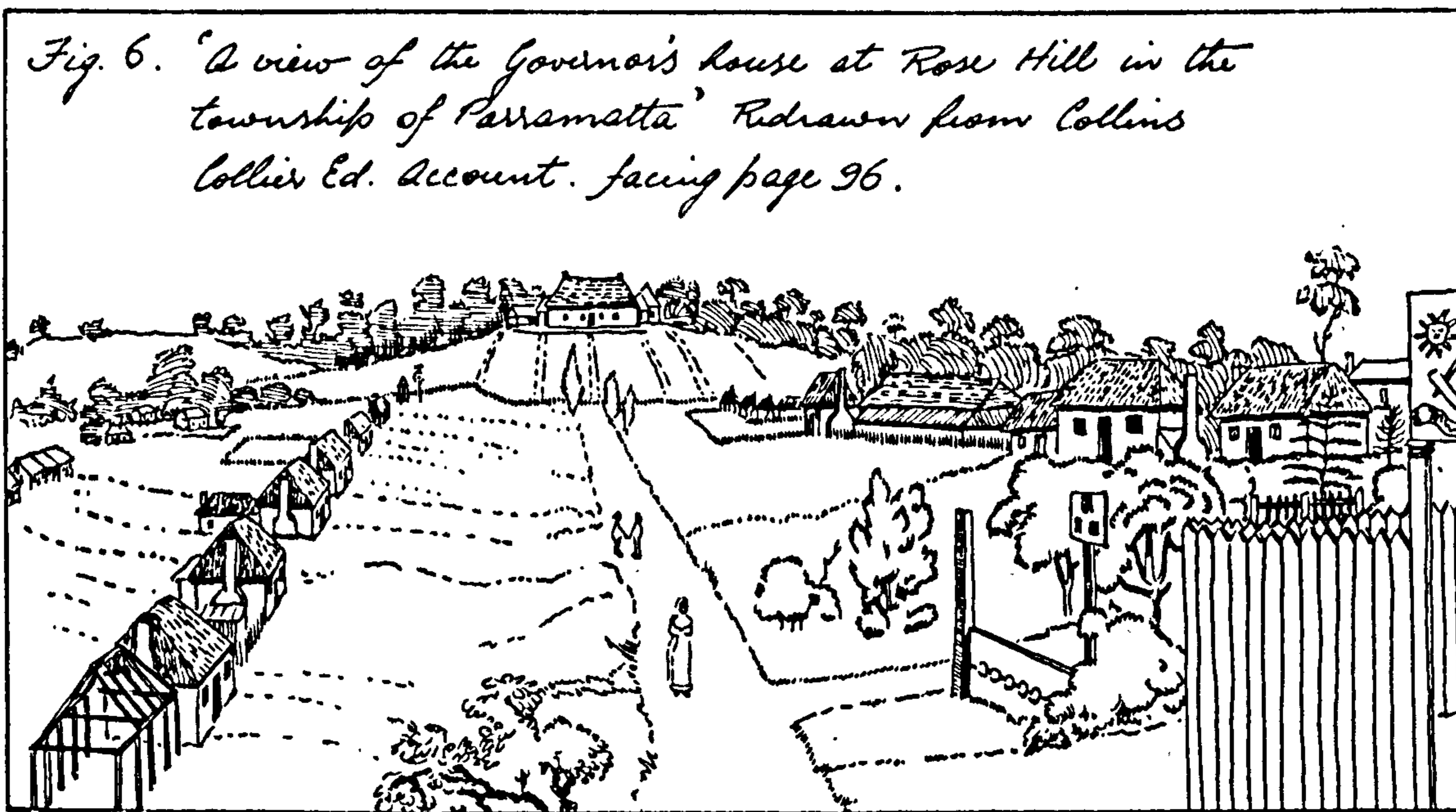
*Tench Narrative
 104*

As Tench anticipated,* the plan for an Albion at Sydney was never translated into reality, and the town evolved from the existing pattern of settlement. Rose Hill on the other hand was little more than a convict farm nearly a mile west of the navigable head of the Parramatta River, and the linear convict town Phillip laid out in July 1790 linked it to the landing place. See Fig. 5. The Governor's personal supervision ensured that the project got underway, and the

arrival of the 2nd Fleet made its expansion an urgent priority.

Tench reported in November 1790 that there were '32 houses completed, of 24 feet by 12 each, on a ground floor only, built of wattles plaistered with clay, and thatched. Each house is divided into 2 rooms, in one of which is a fireplace and a brick chimney. These houses are designed for men only; and 10 is the number of inhabitants allotted to each; but some of them now contain 12 or 14, for want of better accommodation. More are building; in a cross street stand 9 houses for unmarried women: and exclusive of all these are several small huts where convict families of good character are allowed to reside.' *

Tench Account 78



In August 1791, 55 convicts were selected on the arrival of the 'Matilda' as 'farmers' and artificers, and sent to Parramatta. Emergency accommodation was provided, as it had been before at Sydney, by '2 tent huts 100 feet long, thatched with grass.' *

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account. 122*

By December of the same year Tench had written, 'The great road from near the landing place to the Governor's house is

Tench Account
140.

finished, and a very noble one it is, being of great breadth and a mile long, in a straight line: in many places it is carried over gullies of considerable depth, which have been filled up with trunks of trees, covered with earth. ' *

See Fig. 6.

Ibid. 158

At this time there were 1259 persons at Sydney, 1172 at Norfolk Island and 1628 at Rose Hill. The character of Rose Hill as a convict settlement is obvious from this table: *

Quality	Men	Women	Children		
			of 10yrs	of 2yrs	under 2yrs
Convicts	1336	133	-	9	17
Troops	94	9	1	5	2
Civil.dept.	7	-	-	-	-
Seamen Settlers	3	-	-	-	-
Free persons	-	7	2	1	2
Total 1628	1440	149	3	15	21

Collins Collier Ed.
Account . 118

On the King's birthday in 1791, Phillip had, with a sensitivity uncharacteristic of his compatriots, changed the name of Rose Hill to that of the native name for the area, Par-ra-mat-ta.*

During 1792 he extended convict agriculture to a site about a mile north west of Parramatta on a chain of ponds, and to yet another site 2 or 3 miles further on. To the latter he applied the native name of Toon-gab-be.*

Phillip to Dundas
2.10.1792
HRNSW I. 2. 654

It is a convenient example of one of the new, purely convict, solely agricultural villages. The site was selected by Thomas Daveney, a free settler employed as a superintendent of convicts. * Tench recounted his conversation with Mr Daveney as follows:

Tench Account
Fitzhardinge
Annotations
249 fn. 12

Tench's Account
145

'I wished to know whether he had chosen this ground simply from the conveniency of its situation to Rose Hill, and its easy [light] form for tillage, and having water; or from any marks which he had thought indicated good soil. He said that what I had mentioned, no doubt, weighed with him; and that he judged the soil to be good, from the limbs of many of the trees growing on it being *covered with moss*'.

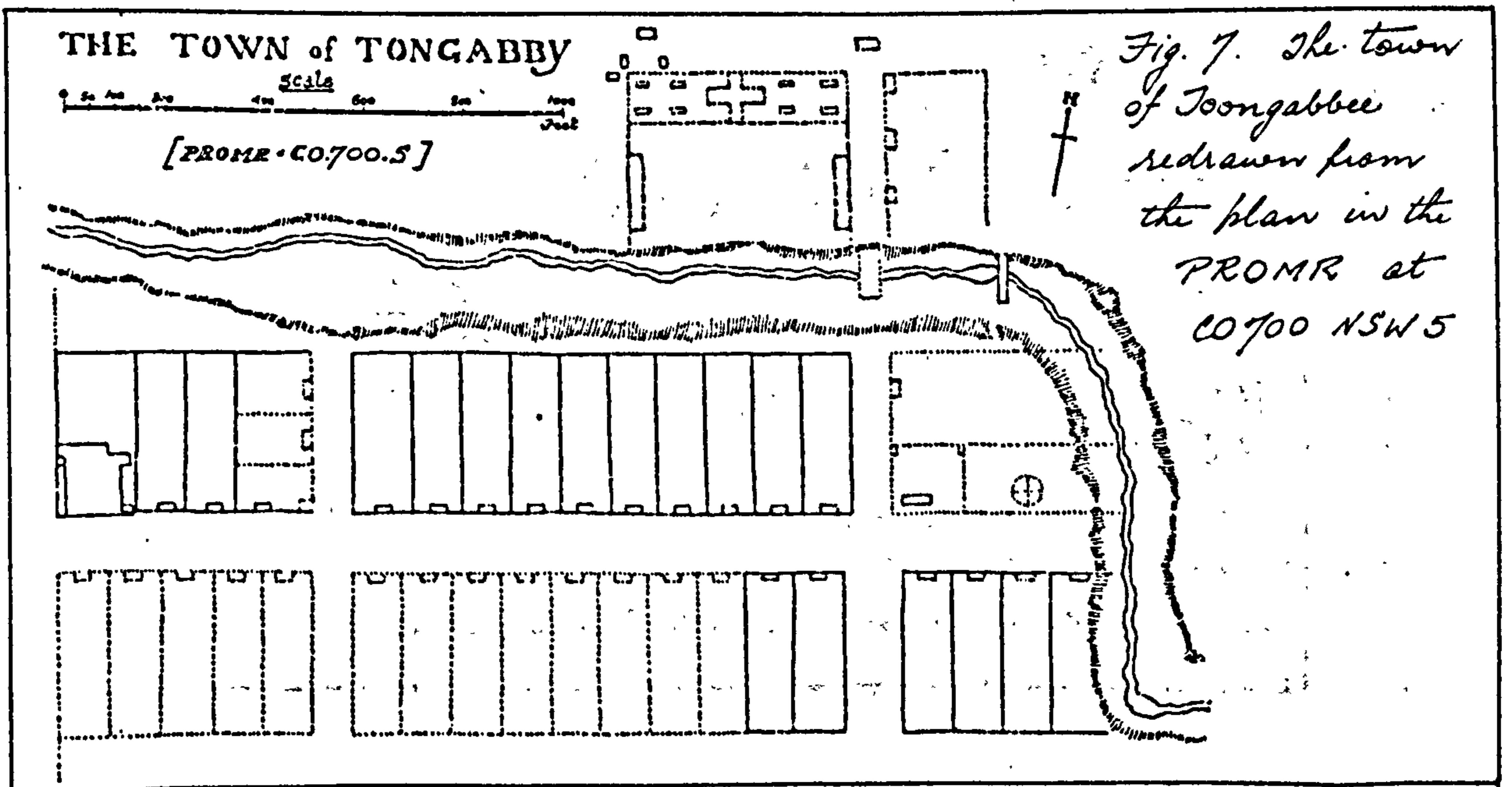
(Tench's italics) *

A shortage of agricultural expertise was to remain one of Phillip's many problems.

Ibid

As at the new settlement at the ponds, 13 large huts, each built in the form of a tent, were erected to accommodate 500 convicts. These were probably of a similar character to those erected at Parramatta in August 1791 and earlier in Sydney, though not as long, and intended to hold from 38 to 40 convicts in each. To each hut 2 men convicts were appointed 'whose only [sic] employment is to watch the huts in working hours, to prevent them from being robbed.'* Two were necessary so that one could watch the other.

Phillip had a plan drawn up for the village on the same linear principle as Parramatta. See Fig. 7. The convicts' huts,



with gardens behind, were aligned along a main street about 120 feet wide. This was intersected by 2 short cross streets, the most easterly of which led over a projected bridge to the Marine barracks and stores. As at Sydney, Phillip had managed to separate guard from guarded by a river; even if, in this case, Campbell's panther could cross it at a bound.

Working from the 'tent huts' the convicts cleared and planted the land designated by Daveney and constructed more permanent huts of local materials similar to those at Parramatta. Subsequently, according to Thompson, these new huts accommodated from 14 to 18 convicts each '... with *one* woman whose duty is to keep it clean and provide victuals for the men while at work.' He pointed out that at the time of his visit the convicts were provided with neither bed nor blankets, and had none, unless they had taken them from their ship or were rich enough to buy them. *

*Thompson Journal
HRNSW IV. 795*

Collins published a 'western' (actually eastern) view of the village in 1798. It would have been drawn somewhat earlier, and shows that it was built (see Fig. 8) more or less to



*Fig. 8 A western [sic] View of Toongabbe Published
May 25th 1798, by Cadell and Davies, Strand.
Redrawn from Collins Account 1798 facing page 412.*

Phillip's plan, though under Australian conditions the appearance of the central thoroughfare was seldom that envisaged by the planner.

As in the earlier towns Phillip butted the eastern end of the main street against water, but there was no large building at the west to terminate the view. Toongabbee was only a village and the representative of government (the Marine officer in charge) was in this case across the creek. The structure in the foreground appears to be a boiler, probably for communal cooking of the meat ration - a practice that was to continue intermittently to the end of the transportation era.

*Hunter to [Portland]
19.1.1798
CO201.14 f121*

By 1798 Governor Hunter, in answer to charges of extravagant expenditure, was explaining that these 'whole towns of Parramatta and Toongabbee ... were absolutely in decay.'^{*} Given the available materials and mechanics, and the climate, this is hardly surprising. The history of convict housing remained one of constant repair and reconstruction of temporary and semi-permanent structures until Macquarie's time.

*Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia
320 quoting
HRNSW II. 550-4*

It is now necessary to return to the 6th March 1788 when Lt Gov^r King landed at Sydney Bay, Norfolk Island.^{*} His party was small and consisted only of King himself, 2 marine guards, a surveyor's mate, a sailmaker, a farming man and 9 male and 6 female convicts.^{*} Three of the latter had been taken as housekeeper/concubines, and this was to affect the accommodation requirements of the little settlement. King's consort produced 2 natural sons for him on the island whom he aptly named Norfolk and Sydney.

*Bonwicks First
20 years 67.
No source given.*

After landing 'ye people were instantly set to work clearing away ground enough to erect tents on and ye colours were hoisted. Before sunsett every thing and person belonging to

Barnard Eldershaw
Phillips of Australia
320 quoting
HRNSW II. 550-4

the settlement were on shore and their tents were pitched before the colours were hauled down.'*

King's Journal
19.3.1788
HRNSW II. 570

King's first priority was the construction of a store house and an abode for himself. These were completed before May 19 when once again heavy rain proved the inadequacy of the tents, and King transferred the stores to the loft and cellar of his house, and allowed the 5 male and 3 female convicts still unhoused to occupy the storehouse.* As its dimensions were 12 feet by 8, conditions must have been unsatisfactory.

King Present State
of Norfolk Island
18.10.1795
CO 201.18 f171

Both these buildings were framed and weather boarded.* They were largely the work of Nathaniel Lucas, a convict, who according to King in 1795 '...came to this Island when I first settled it. At that time, his abilities, as a carpenter, were just sufficient to build a framed and weather boarded Dwelling house. Since then he has had the Direction of all the Buildings. This man has been constantly employed as an Overseer of the Carpenters, and since the death of the Master Carpenter*(who from Age and Infirmary has never been of much service) I have directed him to act in that situation.'*

See Beat

King Present State
of Norfolk Island
July 1795
CO 201.18 f35-6

The earliest plan of the Sydney settlement on Norfolk was that drawn by Lt William Bradley of the 'Sirius'* in 1788. It shows a short straight main street from the landing place to the commandant's house with 3 huts on the left and a proposal for 3 more on the right. See Fig. 9.

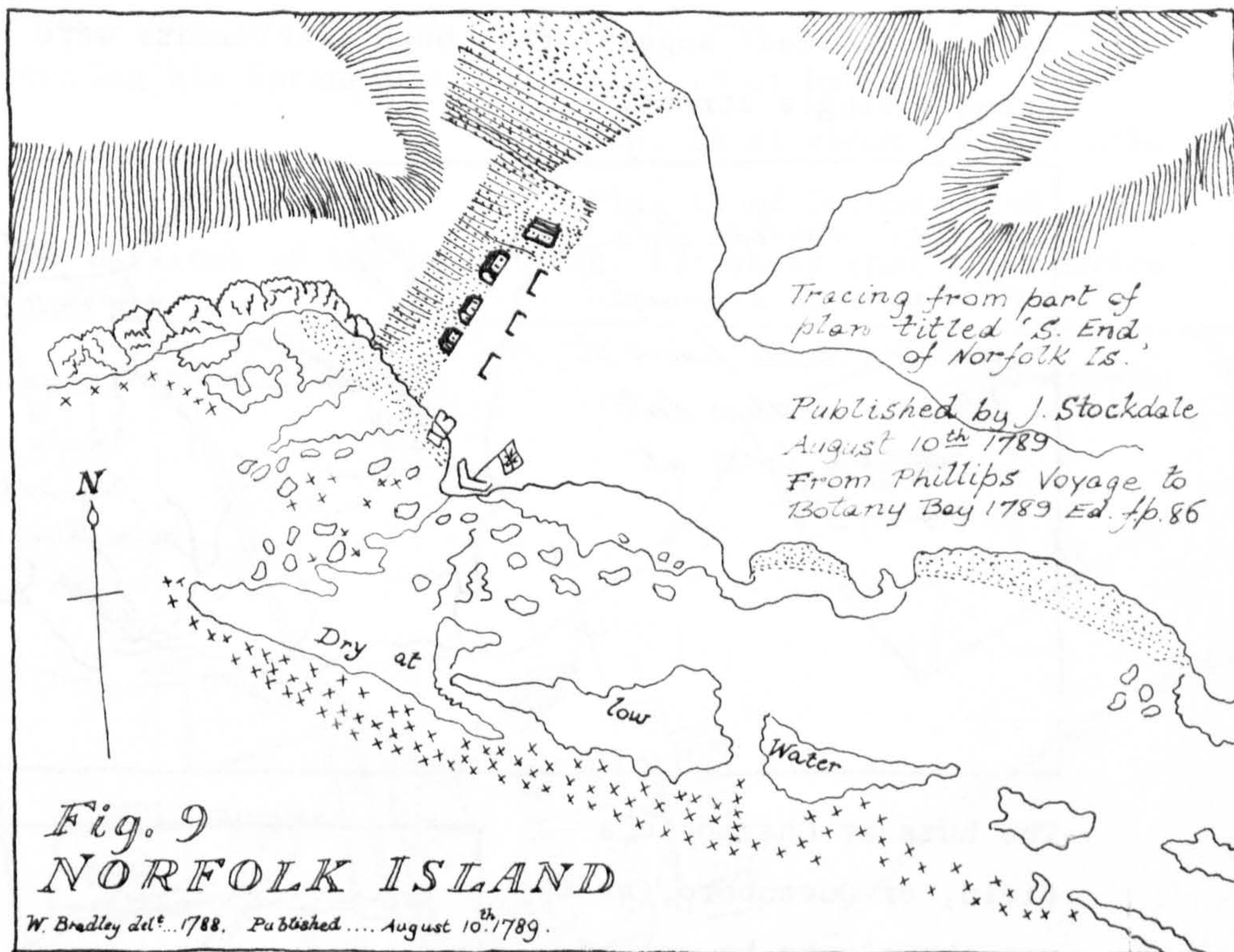
White's Journal
1960 ed. 7

King's Journal
HRNSW II. 609

Ibid. 609-11

Following a plot to take the island,* King decided to segregate the convicts, and in January and February 1789 he employed them in clearing the ground and erecting huts* on the eastern side of the existing buildings. As further convicts arrived from Sydney NSW they were employed in building their own housing* under the direction of

Ibid. 614 & 652



*King Present State
of Norfolk Island
1795
CO201.18 f171*

Nathaniel Lucas. The dimensions common to a number of these dwellings were 18 feet by 12; so this was probably a standard design. The huts were framed and weather boarded* from sawn island timber, and thatched.

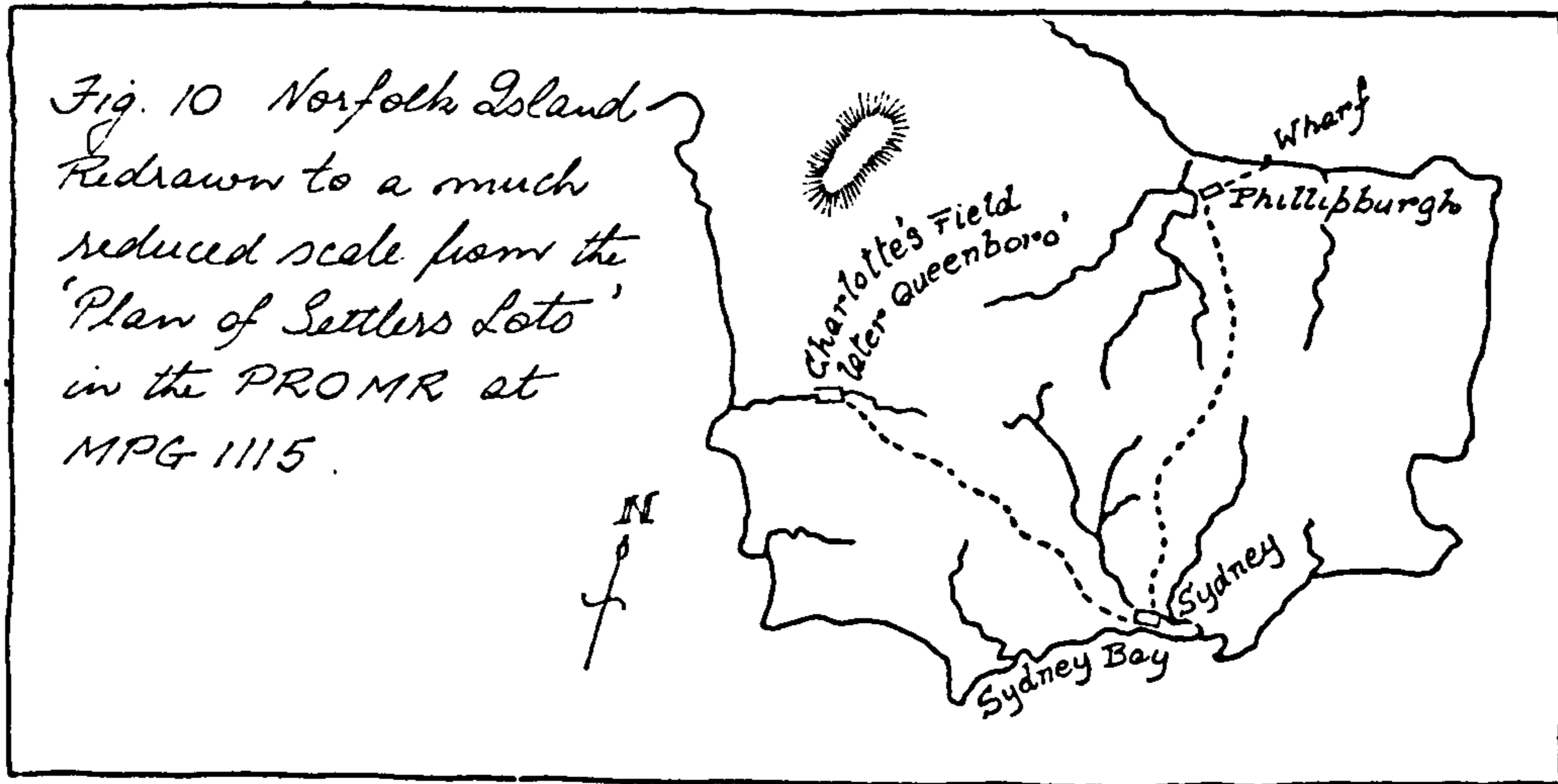
*Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia.
325*

Jenck Account. 158

The food shortages in NSW had not only obliged Phillip to transfer convict labour resources, and mouths, to the growing of food at agricultural settlements in NSW, but also to the more rewarding Norfolk Island. In February 1790 Major Ross, the new Commandant, took with him 2 companies of Marines, 183 convicts and 27 children.* By the end of 1791 the population of Norfolk had grown to 1172.*

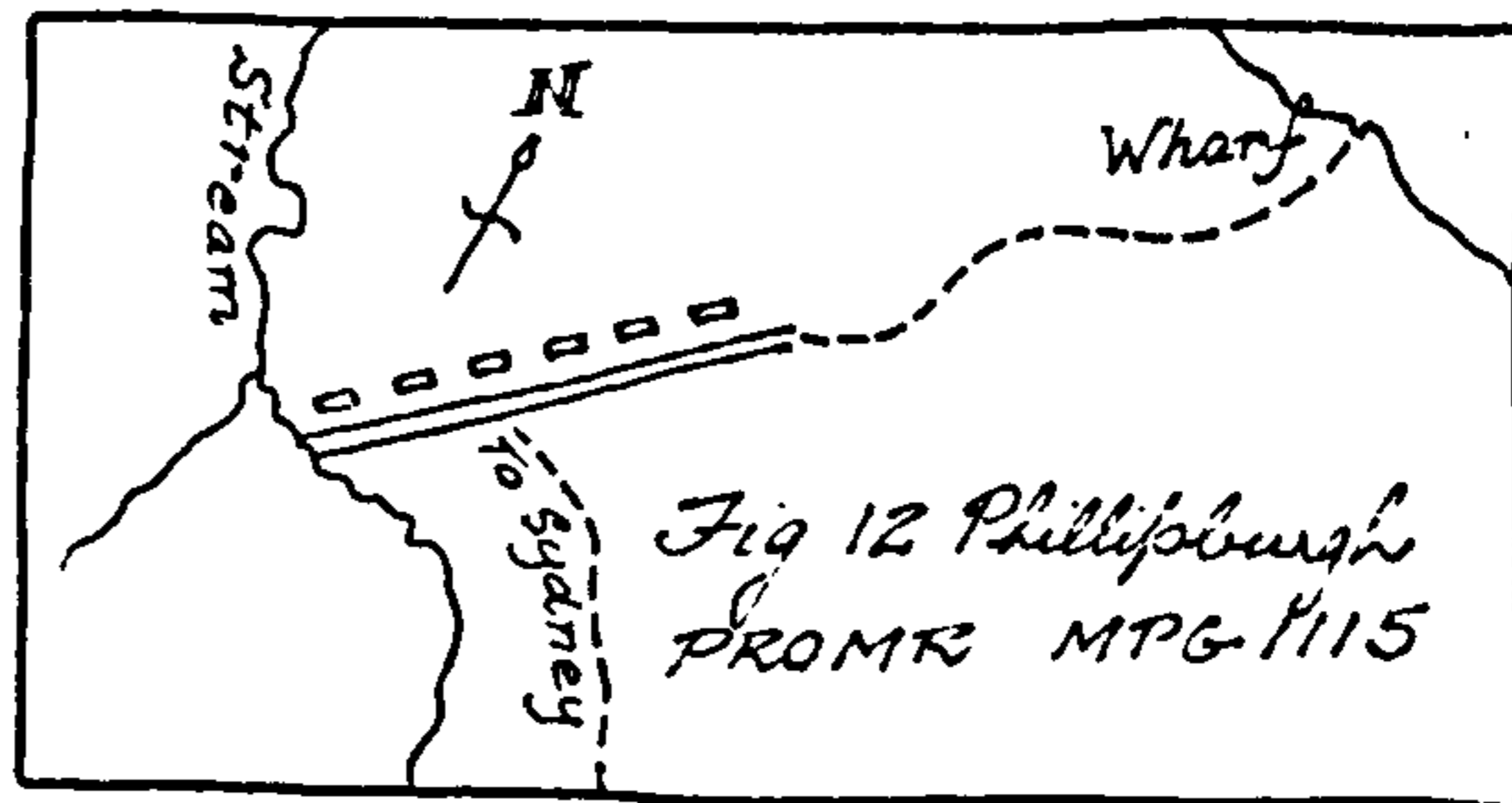
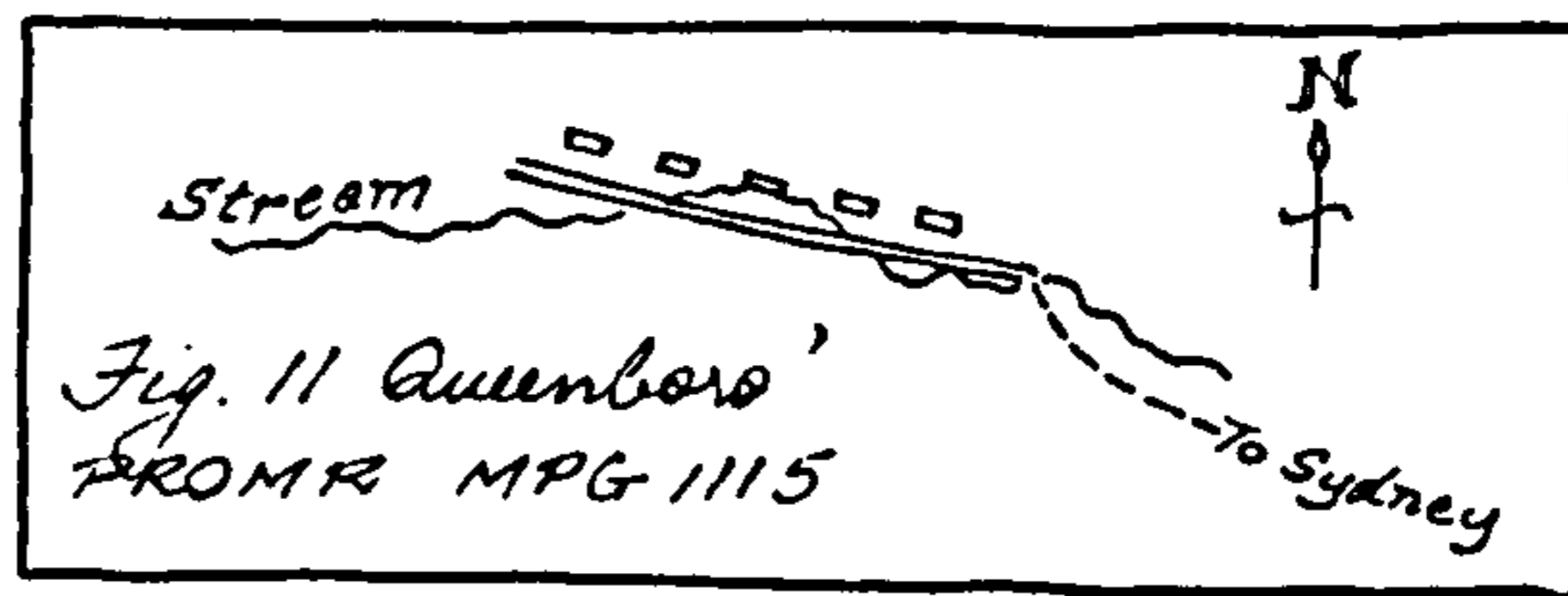
In the meantime Ross had started 2 new agricultural townships. The first at Charlotte's Field in June 1790, and the second at Phillipburgh. See Fig. 10. The surviving 'Plan of the Settlers Lots' at Norfolk Island of 1796 suggests that their plan was a single street with a line of huts on the north side only. See Figs. 11 and 12. The original is of too small a scale to place much reliance on its accuracy, but

it does at least suggest that both settlements were laid out along a single street.



The huts at Charlotte's Field, or Queenboro,' as it was shortly to be called, were constructed of logs. They did not survive the recurrent cyclones and in October 1794 were being replaced by the framed and weather-boarded dwelling houses usual on the island.*

King Present State of Norfolk Island 1794 CO 201.10 f263



By 1794 Queenboro' had 'the greatest ground in cultivation' and a spacious barn and granary. Phillipburgh had 'a large work house' for manufacturing and weaving flax in addition to 'good' civil establishment dwellings, military barracks and 'tolerable good hutts for the convicts.'* Cascade Bay and Phillipburgh were on the north side of the island and partly protected from the prevailing bleak south wester.

Ibid.

King had made attempts to grow windbreaks at Sydney in 1788 to provide some shelter,*but early etchings do not show much evidence of their success.

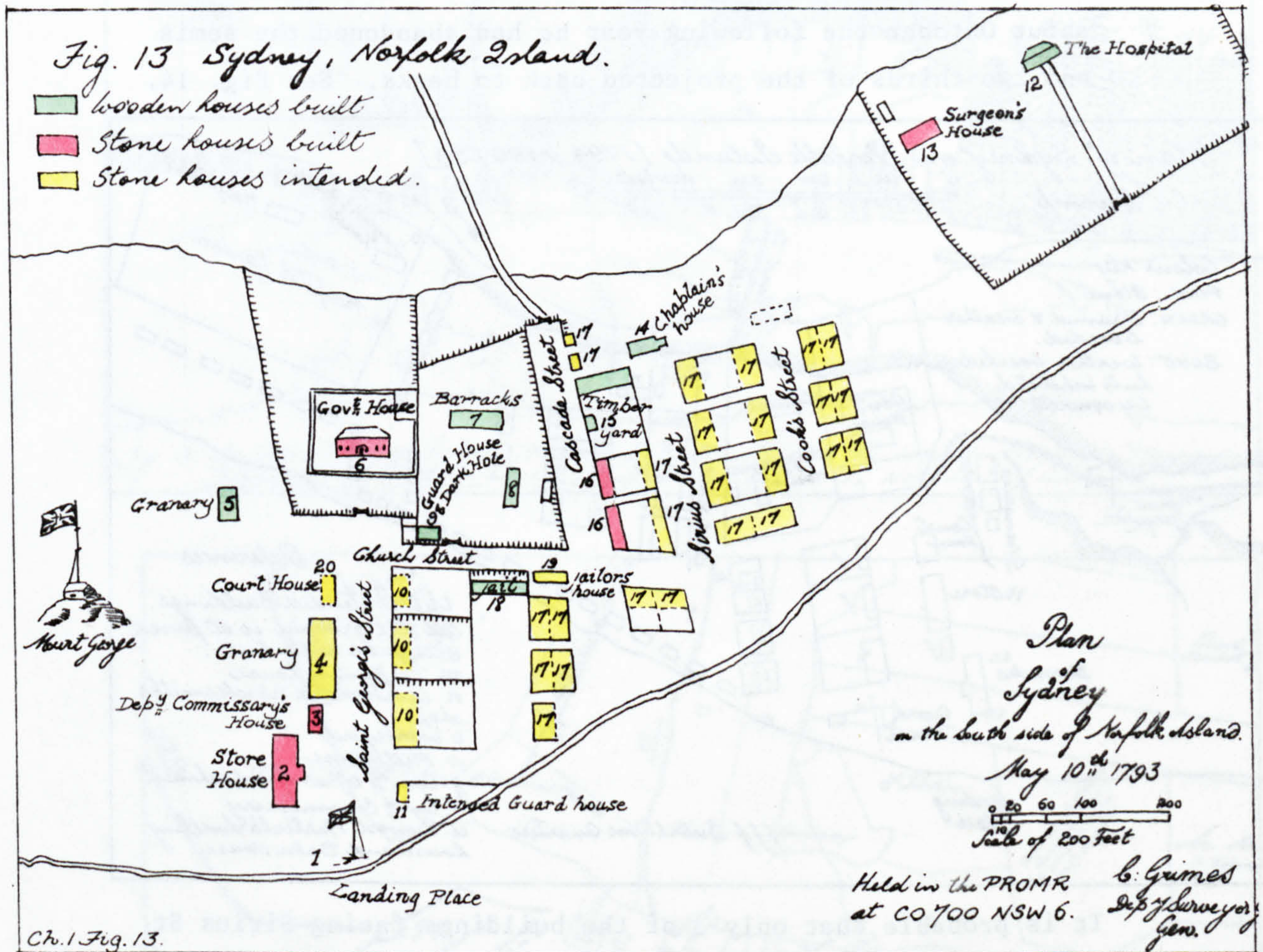
King Present State of Norfolk Island 1795 CO 201.18 f171

King prepared a number of plans of the Sydney settlement showing his intentions. See Fig. 13 of May 1793

Fig. 14 of about October 1794

Fig. 16 of October 1796

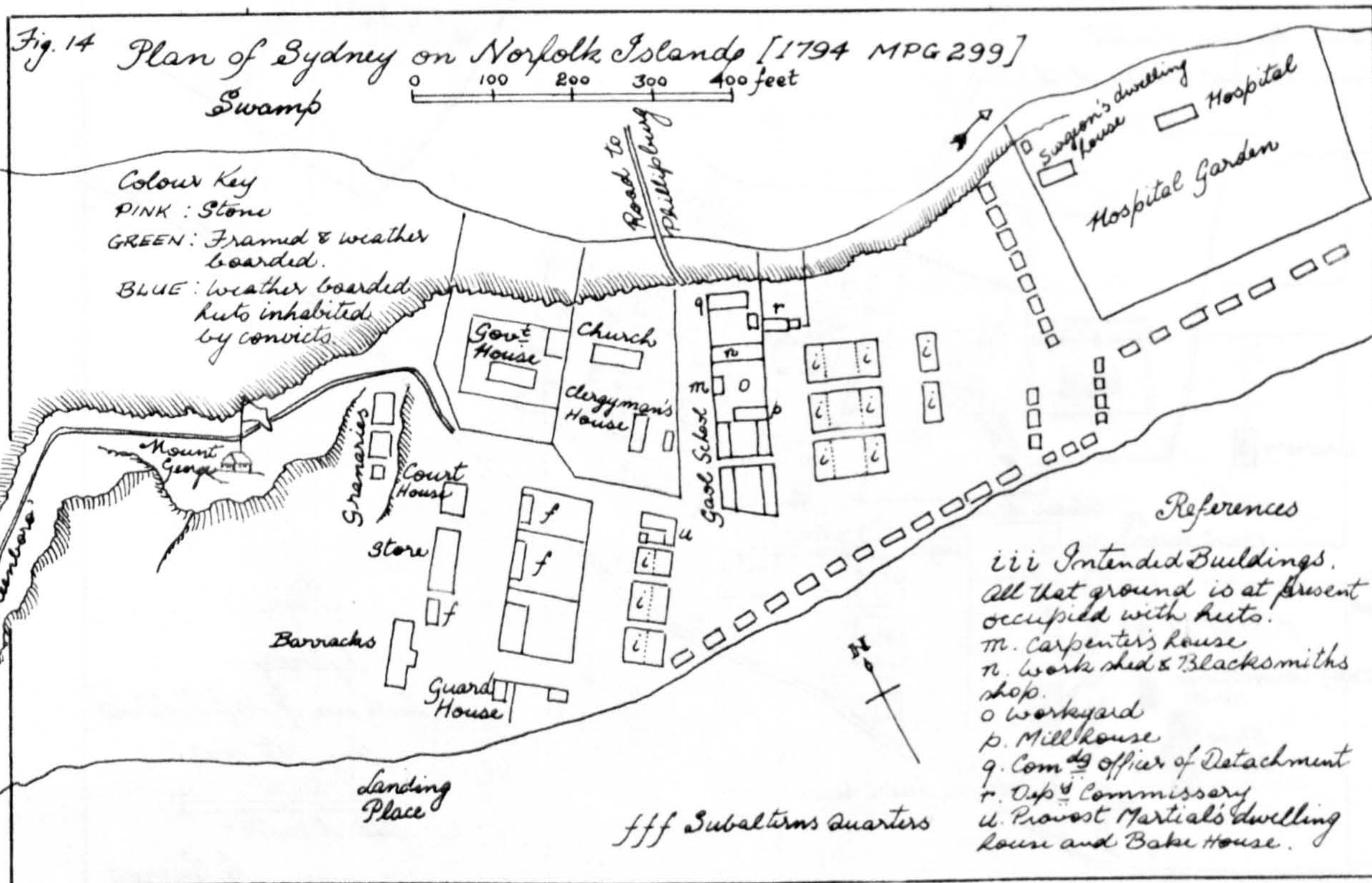
The earliest of the plans (Fig. 13) shows that the convict



huts to the east were to be removed and replaced by ranges of stone houses (marked 17), roughly 50 feet by 25, in 3 configurations. Those between Sirius and Cook's Streets face the street and back on to a shared compound, somewhat analogous to a single storey terrace with transverse rather than longitudinal access lanes. Those east of Cook's Street and those south of the 'jailor's' house are set back to back, and lastly there is a pair of semis east of the same house.

Plan of Sydney
CO 700 NSW No 6
Reference No 17

King intended to provide accommodation in these interesting structures for 'other inhabitants'* as well as convicts, which may account for the diversity of arrangement. However, in the absence of further evidence, speculation on who was to live in what is merely tantalizing. In King's revised plan of about October the following year he had abandoned the semis and two-thirds of the projected back to backs. See Fig. 14.



It is probable that only 3 of the buildings facing Sirius St and 3 of the western halves of the back to backs near the jail were ever built. These are shown on Chapman's plan of October 1796,* but do not necessarily follow any part of the original concept.

Plan of Sydney
MPG 1115 Fig 16

The 1794 plan shows once again the attenuated lines of convict housing usual in NSW. In this case the line does not follow a grand street, but is bent by topographical limitations and the available space. By 1796 the line had reached Chimney Hill. See Fig. 16. Like their predecessors the huts were weather boarded and thatched. They can be

seen disappearing to the right in Fig. 15.

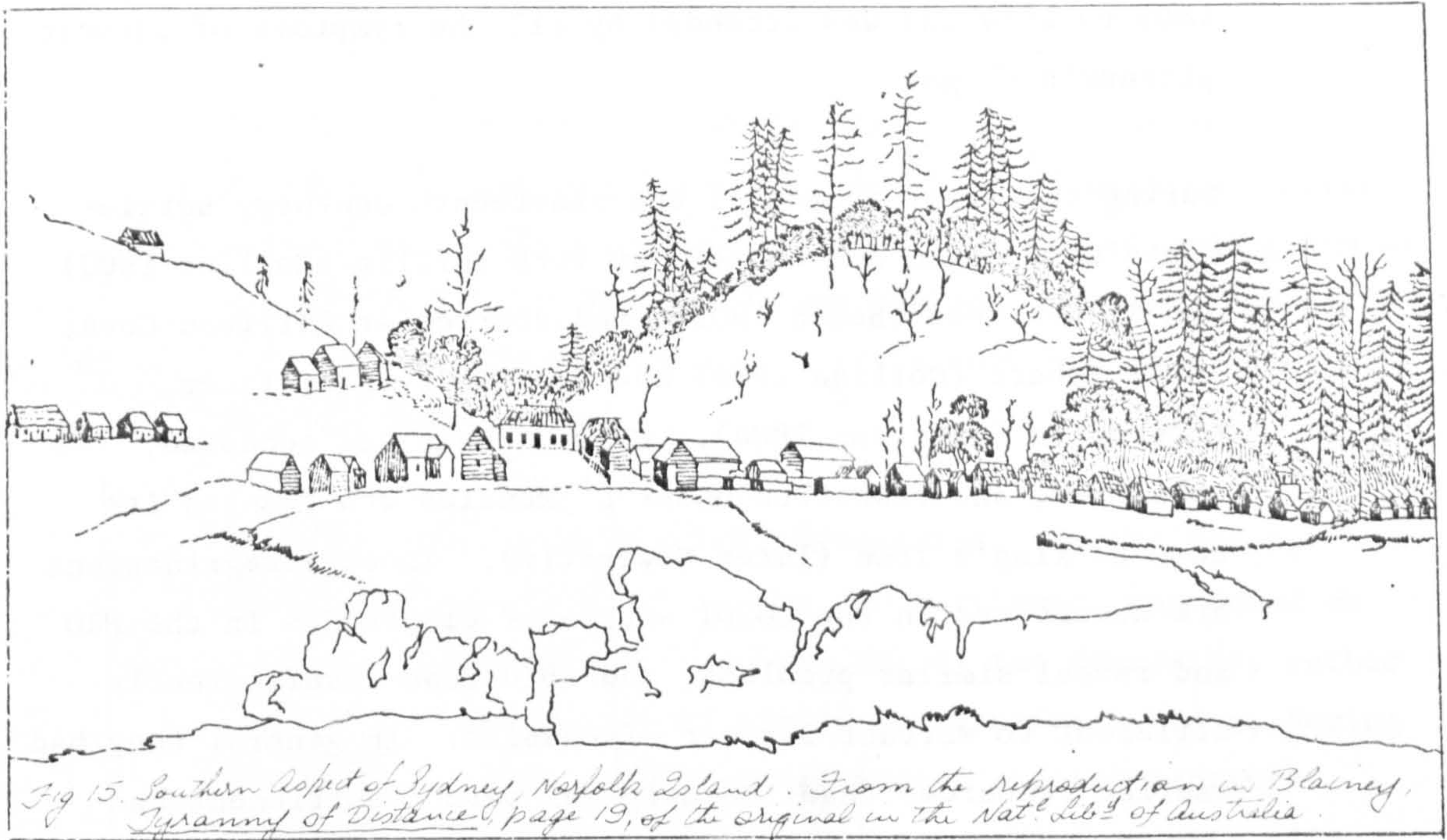


Fig 15. Southern Aspect of Sydney, Norfolk Island. From the reproduction in Blainey, *Tyranny of Distance*, page 19, of the original in the Nat. Lib. of Australia.

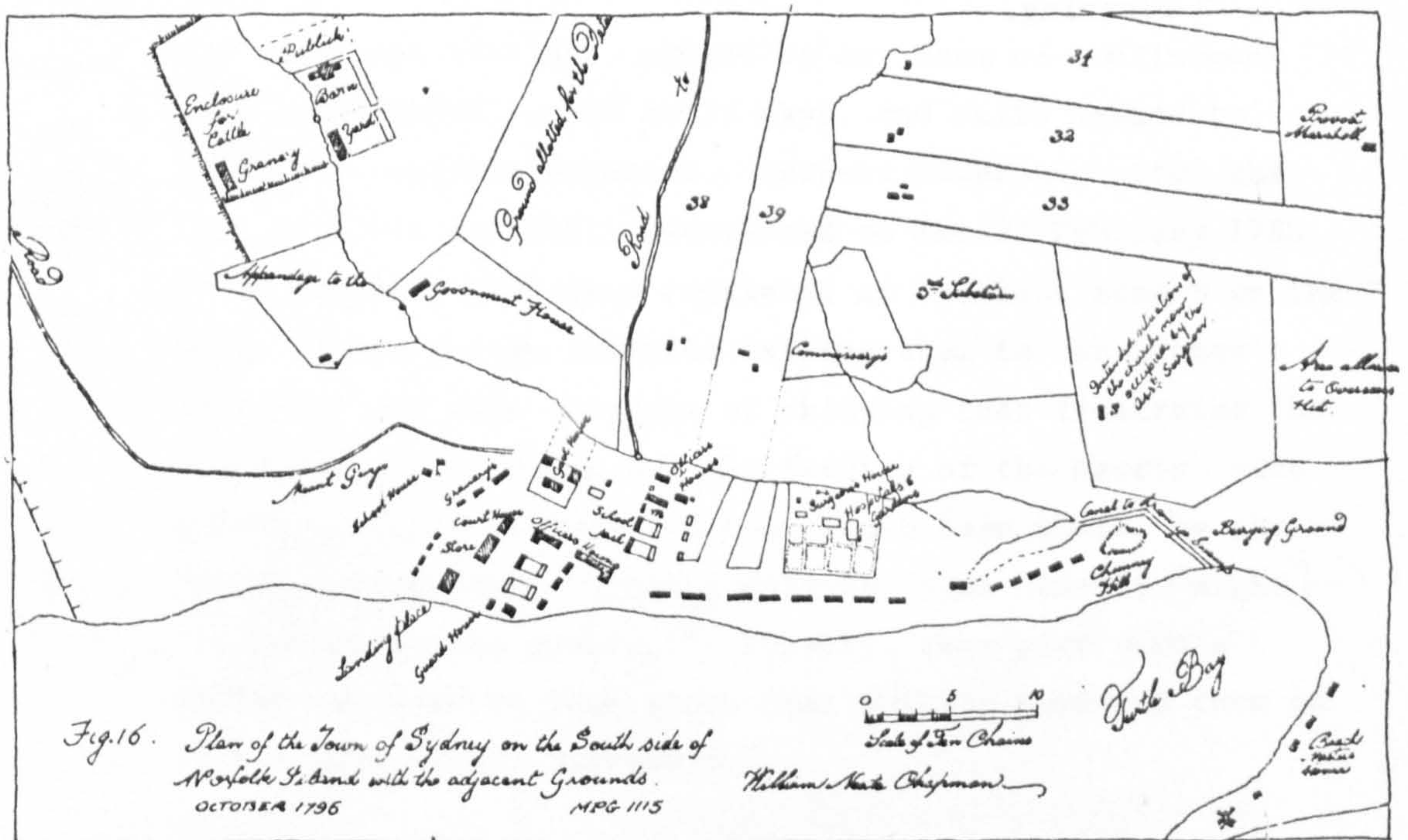


Fig. 16. Plan of the Town of Sydney on the South side of Norfolk Island with the adjacent Grounds. OCTOBER 1796

William's North Chapman

Through the next decade there were no basic changes in the accommodation of convicts on Norfolk Island. As in the mainland settlements, it was largely a matter of extension on the old pattern together with alternating neglect and repair of existing buildings. Finally there was a

protracted withdrawal from the island which lasted from 1803 to 1814 and was attended by all the symptoms of chronic planner's blight.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, settlements were begun and aborted at Port Phillip (Collins 1803) and Risdon Cove (Bowen 1803), and started at Sullivan Cove, later Hobart (Collins 1804) and Port Dalrymple, later Launceston (Paterson 1804). Coal Harbour was occupied, abandoned, and resettled under L^t Menzies who changed its name to King's Town (later Newcastle). These peregrinations are documented in the C0201 series of dispatches in the PRO and reveal similar problems, and solutions insufficiently different to warrant further discussion. In general they had smaller resources than the original parent settlement and they lacked Phillips' co-ordination and attempts at forward planning.

Chapter 2 The problem of secondary punishment and its solutions.

'There are 2 crimes that would merit death - murder and sodomy. For either of these crimes I would wish to confine the criminal till an opportunity offered of delivering him as a prisoner to the natives of New Zealand, and let them eat him. The dread of this will operate much stronger than the fear of death.'*

*Phillip's notes on
proposed settlement
CO 201.2 f 91*

So wrote Phillip in his 1787 manuscript. In the event, punishment for offences at the new settlement was based on what was expedient for the survival of the community, rather than on arcane notions of graded retribution. Hence, during the food shortage a thief could expect a death sentence unless he was of considerable value to the community alive.

The practical problems imposed by any form of confinement were insuperable in the early days, and exile seemed to Phillip a possible solution. Barnard Eldershaw cites the case of Lovel and Hall,* sentenced on the 27 February 1788 to be hanged. They were reprieved at the last moment on the 28th. Phillip then intended exiling them to Van Dieman's Land, but the same shortage of shipping that frustrated the import of island women and the feeding of the Maoris also prevented their delivery to the 'South Cape where, by their forming connections with the natives, some benefit [might] ... accrue to the public.'* Finally, they were such a damned nuisance to look after that Phillip pardoned them on July 4 (the King's birthday).

*Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia
123.*

*Phillip to Sydney
15.5.1788
HRA. I. i. 22*

Collins explained in May that 'there being no other shelter for the guard than tents, great inconvenience was found in placing under its charge more than one or two prisoners at a time.'* They were therefore marooned on 'the Bare island [Pinchgut] at the entrance to the Cove where they were

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account 27*

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account 27*

supplied weekly with provisions'* and where the sharks made convenient guardians.

Ibid. 341

*Holl's Memoirs
56-7 & fr*

In 1796 a gibbet was erected on the island and Francis Morgan hung there in chains. * His carcass was left suspended as a salutary introduction for newcomers to the settlement, and was still there in January 1800.*

*Ross to Phillip 11.2.1791
CO201.6 f 12-13*

*Hill Reid Grant's
Journey 154*

The Norfolk Island commandant, Ross, in 1791 used the desolate Nepean Island as a place of confinement for that establishment,* and it was still in use when John Grant was placed there in 1806.* Lt Menzies made similar use of Coal Island for refractory gang members at Kingstown (Newcastle) in 1804, and the practice was to continue intermittently in the colonies for 40 years. The most notorious receptacle for castaways was to be Grummet Island (in the 1820's and early 30's) inside Hell's Gate at Macquarie Harbour.* On all these islands the men were exposed without shelter, and depended on weekly deliveries of water and minimal rations for their existence. They were usually heavily ironed to discourage desperate attempts at swimming. Even after structures for confinement had been built, marooning continued, sometimes to take an overflow of detainees, but usually as a selected weapon of terror.

*Lempriere's Settlements
47*

*Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia
241.*

Sometime in 1789 Phillip started, as a matter of policy, to retransport mainland offenders to Norfolk Island,* thus starting its long and horrible tradition as an ultra penal settlement.

Apart from marooning on a convenient 'deserted' island, or retransporting to a 'tougher' settlement, a number of punishments were employed to deter but not incapacitate the offender. Those that stopped short of death were often summary and severe. Flogging was the most common, though the search for an effective deterrent produced some humiliating

*Collins Collier Ed.
Account 358*

variations. Collins reported that in October 1797, at the Court of Criminal judicature '... one of the criminals was condemned to suffer death; another to be burned in the hand and imprisoned 12 months; 2 were banished to Norfolk Island, and 3 to stand in the pillory, to which their ears were to be nailed. These last, affording something like amusement to the mob, were sufficiently covered with dirt and rotten eggs.'*

In addition to the above, convict offenders were placed in irons of varying weight and inconvenience and obliged to labour in gangs. Even spiked collars, later to be made infamous by Gov^r Darling, were employed to discomfort the recalcitrant.

Despite this range of punishments, the main need at all new settlements, was for an adequately secure and commodious place of confinement. An account of what is probably the earliest prison, or huts for confinement, is given by Charles White. He quotes no source, but there is no evidence to suggest that it is not substantially correct.

*White Convict Life
II. 234*

'The huts [at Sydney] in which the prisoners were confined at night were rough log buildings, each containing one room, with half a dozen recesses on each side, which recesses answered the purpose of cells, and in each of which a prisoner was secured at night. An armed soldier was always on duty inside each hut during its occupancy by the prisoners, his duty being to walk back and forth the whole night through, while the chained convicts courted sleep on either side of him. Another soldier did duty as outside sentinel...'*

*Barrington's History
1802/Ed. 73*

*Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia
151.*

A brick guard house was commenced at Sydney in February* or April* 1789 after the completion of the Marine barracks. Its site and design are uncertain. Another brick guard house with a 59 foot front was started in February 1790 on what is now Macquarie Place.* It is very likely that it had a lock up room, and during July 1794 '4 cells for prisoners were

*Collins Account
1798 Ed. 97-8*

Collins Account
1798 Ed. 383.

Ibid.

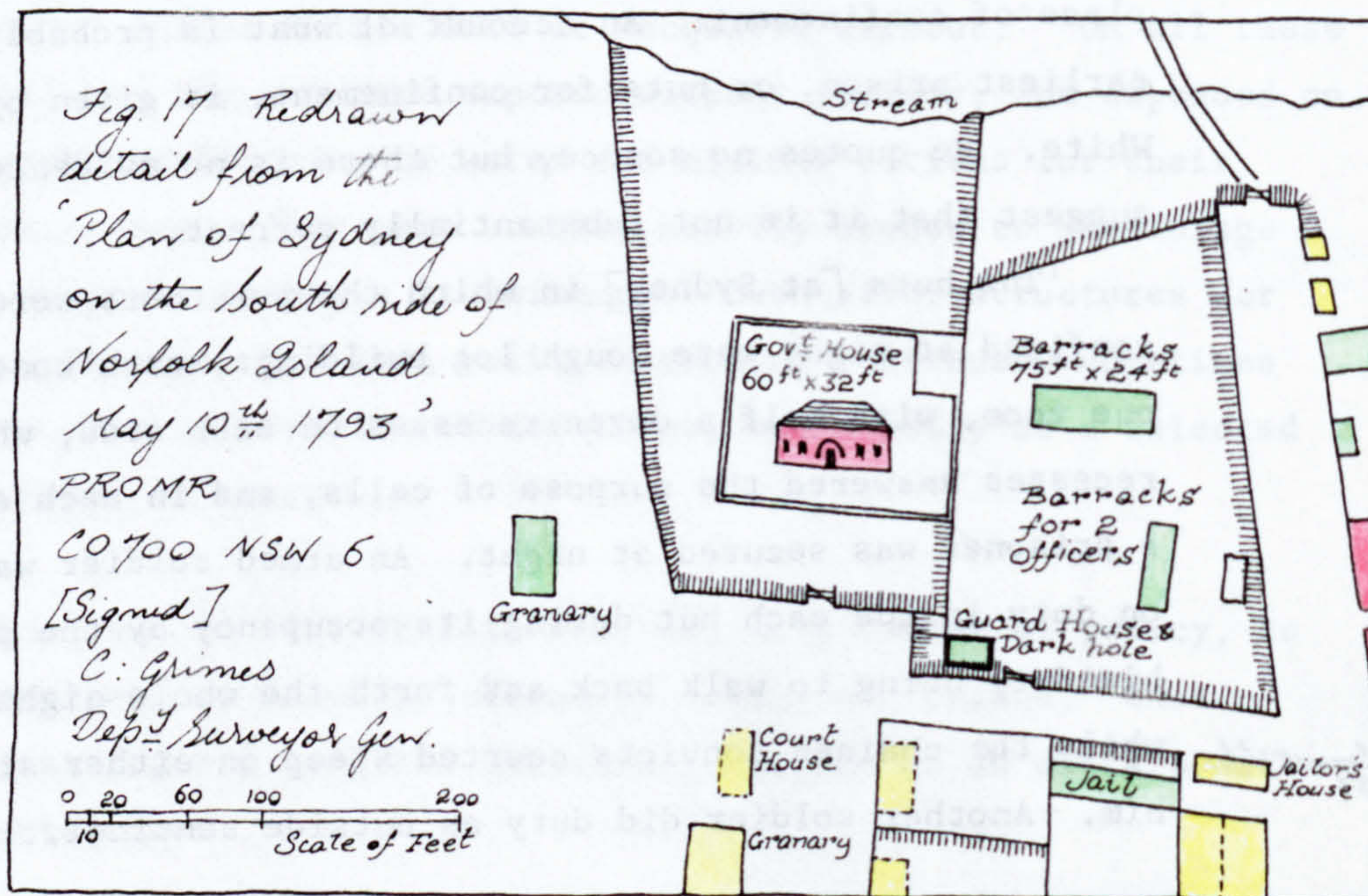
added to the guard-house... and the whole... enclosed with a strong high paling.'* From these improvements 'advantage was expected to be derived from confinement adopted only as a punishment.'* Collins' cautiously passive phraseology masks the Acting Governor's (and his) hope that these first purpose built individual cells would act as a distinct deterrent to wrongdoing.

Barnard Eldershaw
Phillip of Australia
325

King's Journal
HRNSW II. 650,
652, 654-5.

Ibid. 650

Phillip's transfer of increasing numbers of convicts to Norfolk in 1789 and 90, and particularly his policy of sending lifers and intractable characters*, obliged King to improve security. He had segregated the convict housing in 1789 and from January to March 1790* he 'erected a stockade inclosure round the superintendent's and commandant's house, in which inclosure is hereafter intended to be built barracks for the marines.'*



On the 1793 plan, Fig. 17, it appears that the stockade perimeter was aligned to include the guard house and dark hole, which King must therefore have built earlier. It was a wooden structure and probably of logs. The dark or black hole was the common army name of a chamber for punitive confinement. It normally had no window or light source and

inevitably little ventilation. This would have been the first designed place of confinement on the island.

On King's return to Norfolk in 1791 he wrote: 'As there are some individuals among the convicts who are quite habituated to stealing... I found it necessary... to separate them from the rest..., the only Plan which had the appearance of being Effectual, was to build a Jail and a kind of Penitentiary house, in the First all the culprits would be confined, until after the Justices had determined who were proper objects to inhabit the latter...

King's Journal
CO 201.10 f281-2

A Jail of 23 ft by 14, and a Penitentiary house adjoining, and of the same size as the Jail, were immediately begun to be erected, opposite the Guard house.'*

King to Phillip
29.12.1791
CO 201.9 f51

In December 1791 King implied that the Jail, 'of 24 ft by 14' and 'well spiked and framed', was finished, and that 'a similar Jail is also built at Queenboro'.'* If the Penitentiary house was not completed at the same time it certainly was by 1792

King's Journal
CO 201.10 f298

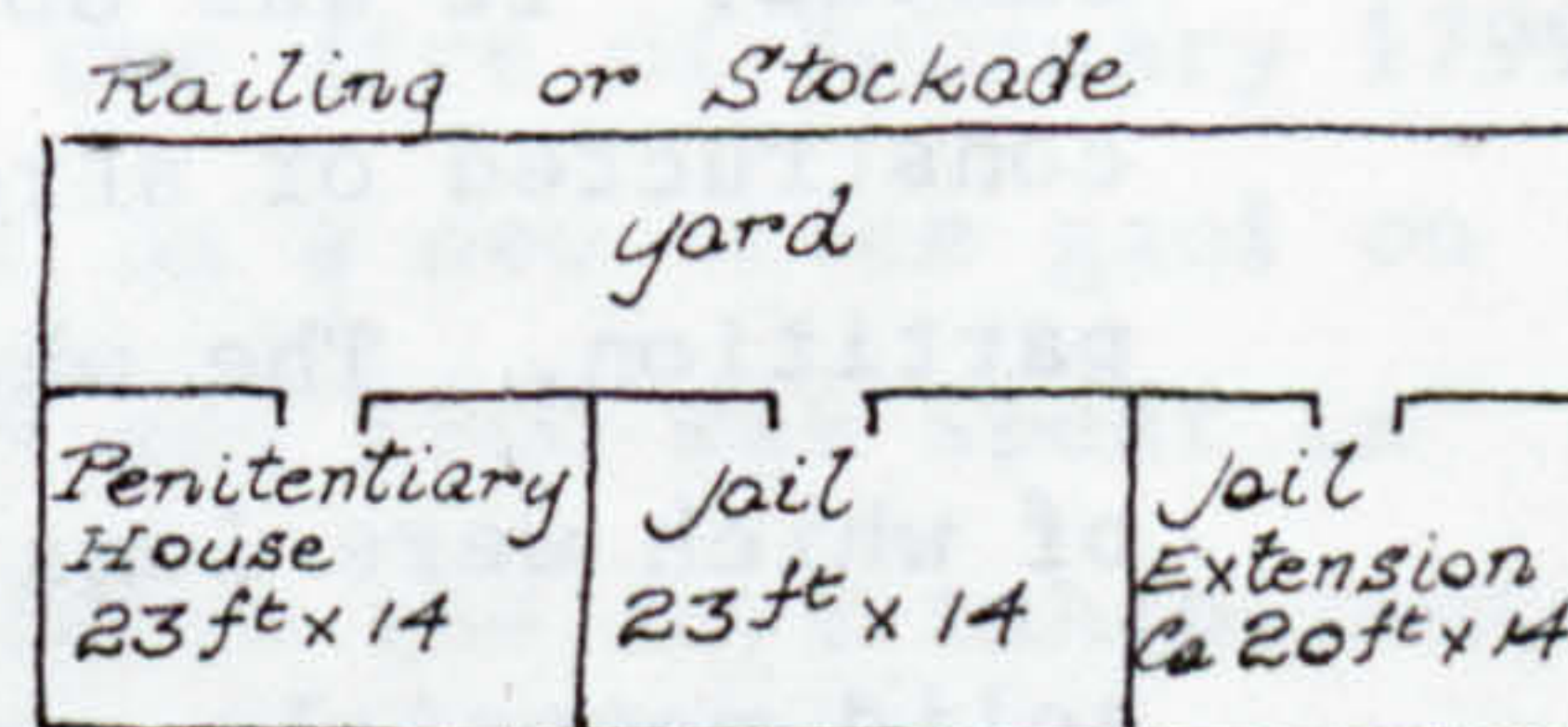
when King reported it, and the jails, to be full of convicts too notorious to be set at large.* To ease the overcrowding he ordered that the 1st thief found guilty be sent to Nepean Island and that the Jail be enlarged and enclosed with railings.* The addition was completed before December 1792.*

Ibid.

King to Dundas
31.12.1792
CO 201.9 f164

The dimensions of this jail and penitentiary building measured on the original of Grimes plan in the PRO,* see Fig. 17, suggests a rectangular building of about 66 ft by 14. The most likely plan would therefore be that in

CO 700 NSW N^o 6



*Fig. 18 Sydney, Norfolk Is.
Jail and Penitentiary House
December 1792.*

Fig. 18. This simple arrangement is consistent with contemporary references and practices, and is interesting in that King had made an early attempt (the first in Australia) to separate those awaiting judgement from those sentenced.

Given the overcrowding that King mentions, it is unlikely that he was able to maintain this segregation.

King's Journal
CO 201.10 f365

The structure had a brief life and was blown down in the cyclone of May 1794*. The prisoners were then transferred to the stone overseer's house, see 'gaol' on Fig. 14, where they remained until a new stone gaol on a standard plan was built in 1801-2.

Hunter to Portland
20.8.1796
CO 201.13 f58

Ibid. f64

Collins Account II
1802 Ed. II. 2

Ibid. 3

Ibid. 41-2
and
Hunter to Portland
10.6.1797
CO 201.14 f13

The new Governor of NSW, John Hunter, arrived in 1795, and in August the following year sent Portland a list of 'exceedingly wanted'* public buildings. These included prisons for Sydney, Parramatta and the Hawkesbury (Windsor)*. Hunter resolved to build the first 2 immediately and called on officers, settlers and housekeepers to furnish logs.* At Sydney, stone footings were commenced in September,* and both gaols were completed by June 1797.*

Collins provided this description of the Sydney gaol:

'The inhabitants of the town of Sydney having been addressed to supply thatch for the roof of the new gaol, and completed their respective proportions, the building was inclosed during this month [June 1797] with a strong and high fence. A building such as this had certainly been long wanted. It was 80 ft in length; the sides and ends were constructed of strong logs, a double row of which formed each partition. The whole was divided into 22 cells, the divisions of which were logs. The floor and the roof were of the same solid materials, over which was a coat 8 inches deep of stiff clay, and the roof besides was thatched. Every accommodation for prisoners was to be found in separate buildings in the prison yard, in which also was a distinct brick building for debtors, fenced off from the *felon side* [Collins' italics] (to use an Old Bailey distinction) by a strong and high paling.*'

Collins Account
1802 Ed. II. 41-2

*Hunter to Portland
10.6.1797
CO 201.14 f13*

See Figs 135 & 136

Parramatta gaol was of similar design with separate cells but 20 ft longer.* There is not sufficient evidence to reconstruct the design of these prisons, though flanking or back to back cells seem the most likely.*

*Account of buildings
erected under Hunter
CO 201.17 f95-7*

*Hunter to Portland
1.5.1799
CO 201.15 f55
Hunter to Portland
7.1.1800
CO 201.16*

Hunter's decision to build in log and thatch on this scale seems a retrograde step in view of the known fire hazard. It must have been taken because his bricklayers and bricks, both in short supply, were committed to equally important work,* and Hunter wanted the gaol up as soon as possible. Also he was able to press the free members of the community to supply the logs and thatch. Within two years both Sydney and Parramatta gaols had been burned by an incendiary, the former in February 1799* and the latter in December of the same year.*

*Hunter to Portland
25.9.1800
CO 201.17 f121*

*King to Portland
20.9.1800
CO 201.17 f139*

On his list of proposed buildings for 1800, Hunter wrote, 'A Strong Log Prison or Lock-up House is much wanted at Hawkesbury'. Mindful of the fate of the previous prisons, he noted; '... not to be thatched as formerly - but to be either tiled or shingled.'* Three days later, King, on his first day in office as Governor of NSW further annotated it 'will be begun [almost?] immediately.'*

*Return of Public
Buildings 25.9.1800
CO 201.17 f120*

*Hunter to Portland
1.5.1799
CO 201.15 f55*

*Hunter to Portland
10.7.1799 Enclosure
CO 201.15 f74*

The brick debtors' building at Sydney gaol, and probably most of the 'Very High Fence,' survived the fire of February 1799* and Hunter immediately made a start on a new stone gaol on the site of the old.* Much of 1799 and 1800 was spent in endeavours by Hunter to cajole or force the free inhabitants to erect or pay for the gaol. Most of them understandably resisted the imposition, as Hunter's analogy with an English county gaol* was hardly valid in a settlement composed of convicts transported by the home government.

*King to Portland
21.8.1801
CO 201.19 f218*

Finally the gaol was completed at a cost of £3954*, largely as a result of a landing fee on spirits and wine. This source of revenue was to be the basis of financing gaol

construction for some time to come, and was to inspire Governor Macquarie to even grander entrepreneurial activity. The funding and construction of Sydney gaol is detailed in the PRO archives.*

CO201.15,16 & 19

See page 75

The Sydney gaol was basically an army barrack plan with cells attached*, but it is of particular interest in that it became a standard type in NSW and was copied or varied for the next 20 years. See Figs. 20 - 24.

Fig 20 Sydney gaol plan.
Based on: Return of Public Bldgs
Sept 1800 (CO201.17 f120),
description in Bigge. Judicial.
page 85, dimensions of rooms
about 1820 (CO201.133 f147)

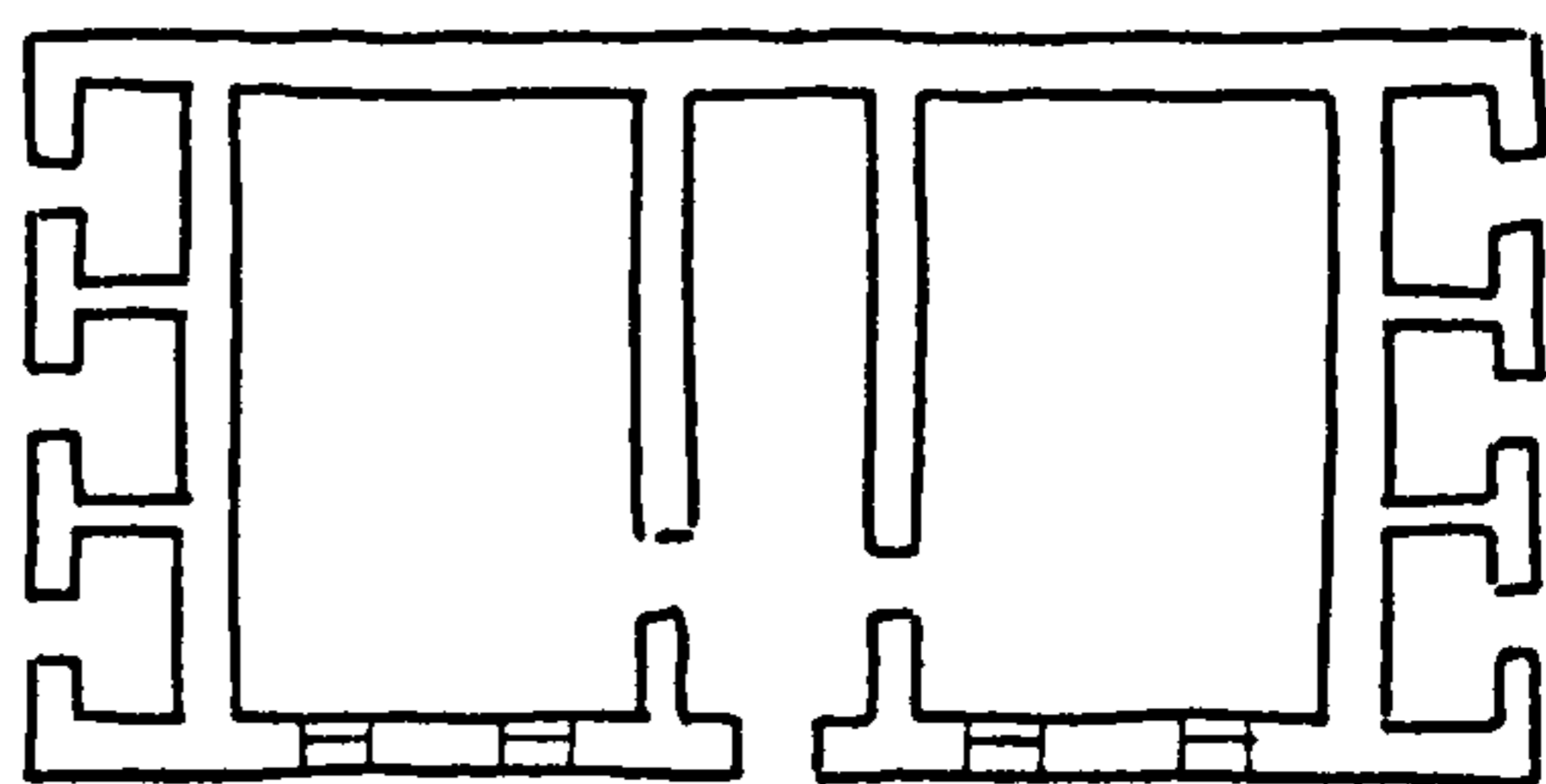


Fig. 21 Sydney, Norfolk Island,
gaol plan. Based on: Account of
labour performed, 1800-04, (CO201.30 f331)
and Lugard's 1837 plan of Kingston
(Sydney) gaol - see Fig. 26.

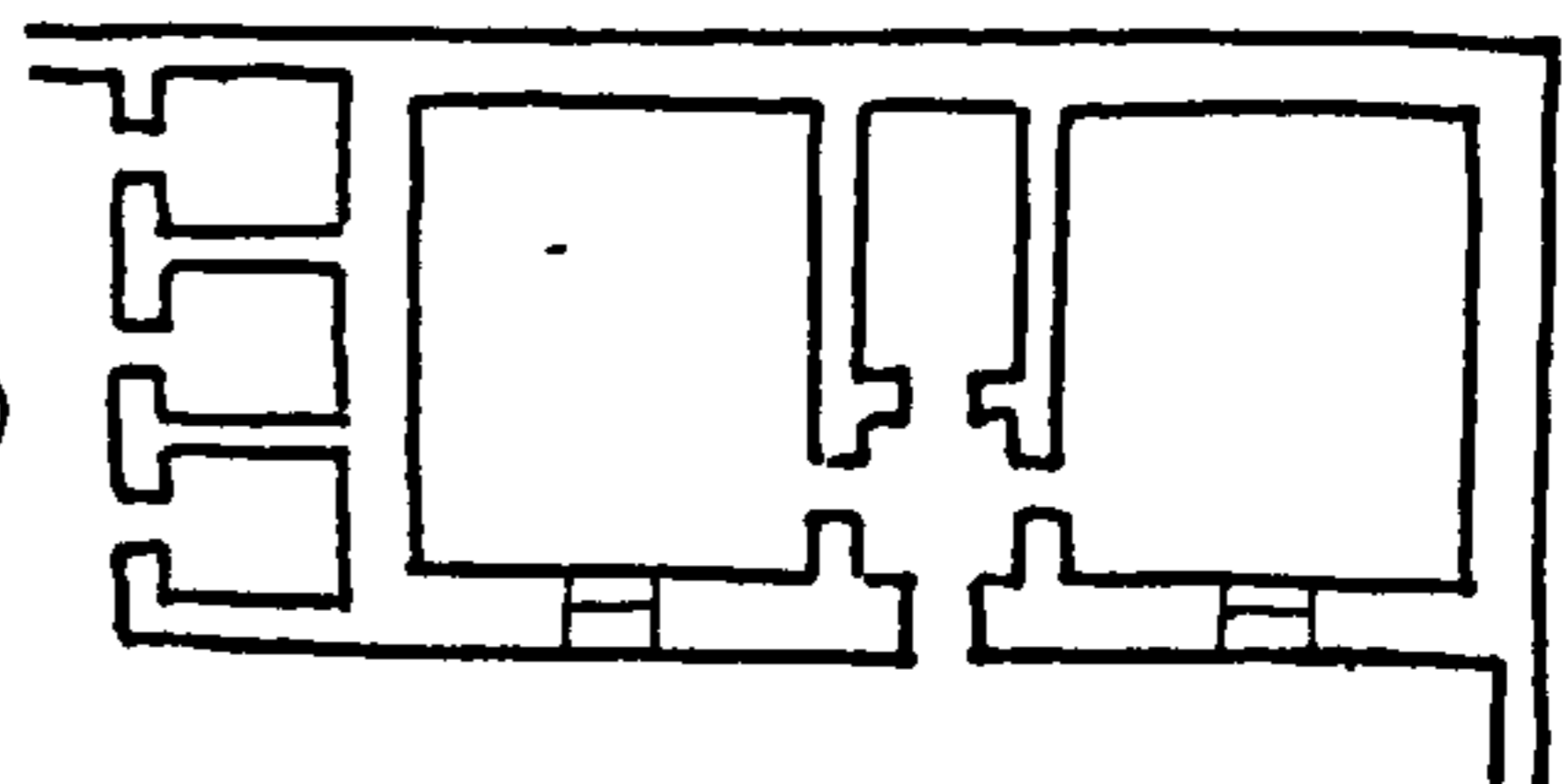


Fig. 22 Parramatta gaol plan,
as commenced. Based on:
Account of Bldg Expenses, April
1803 (CO201.25 f215), description
1804 (CO201.36 f124), King to
Hobart 4.8.1804 (CO201.32 f213)
and sketch plan, about 1820,
(CO201.133 f193)

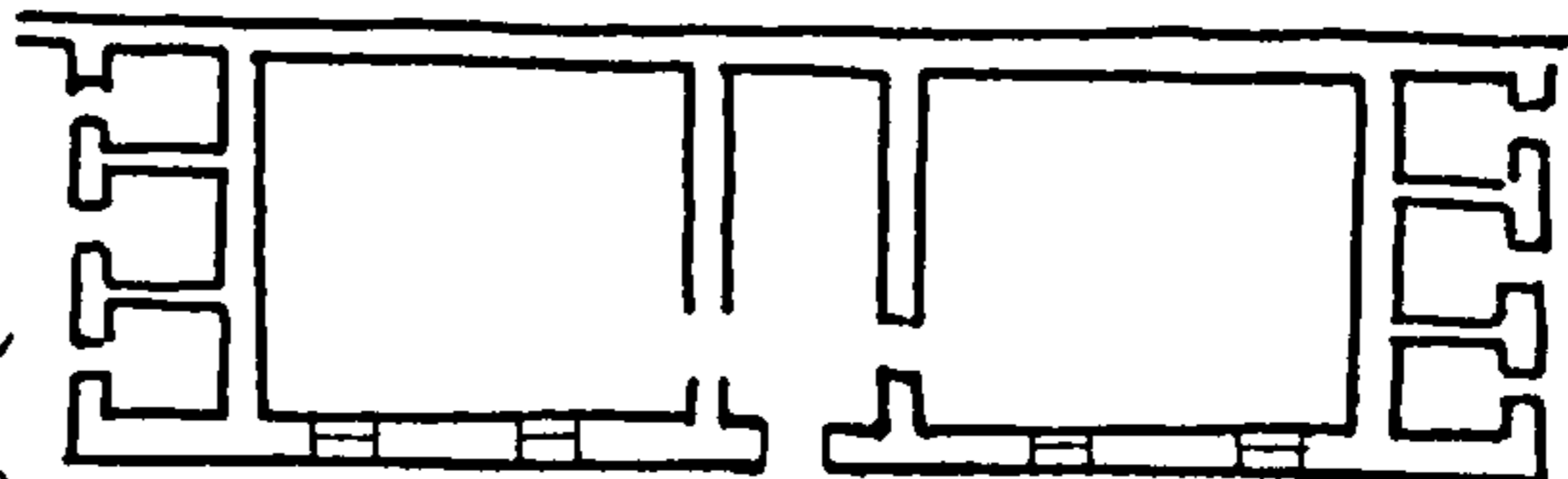


Fig. 23. Windsor gaol plan
1813. Based on Cox's plan
and Specifications for the 1819
additions (A/NSW CSIL 4 1742
pages 304-8).

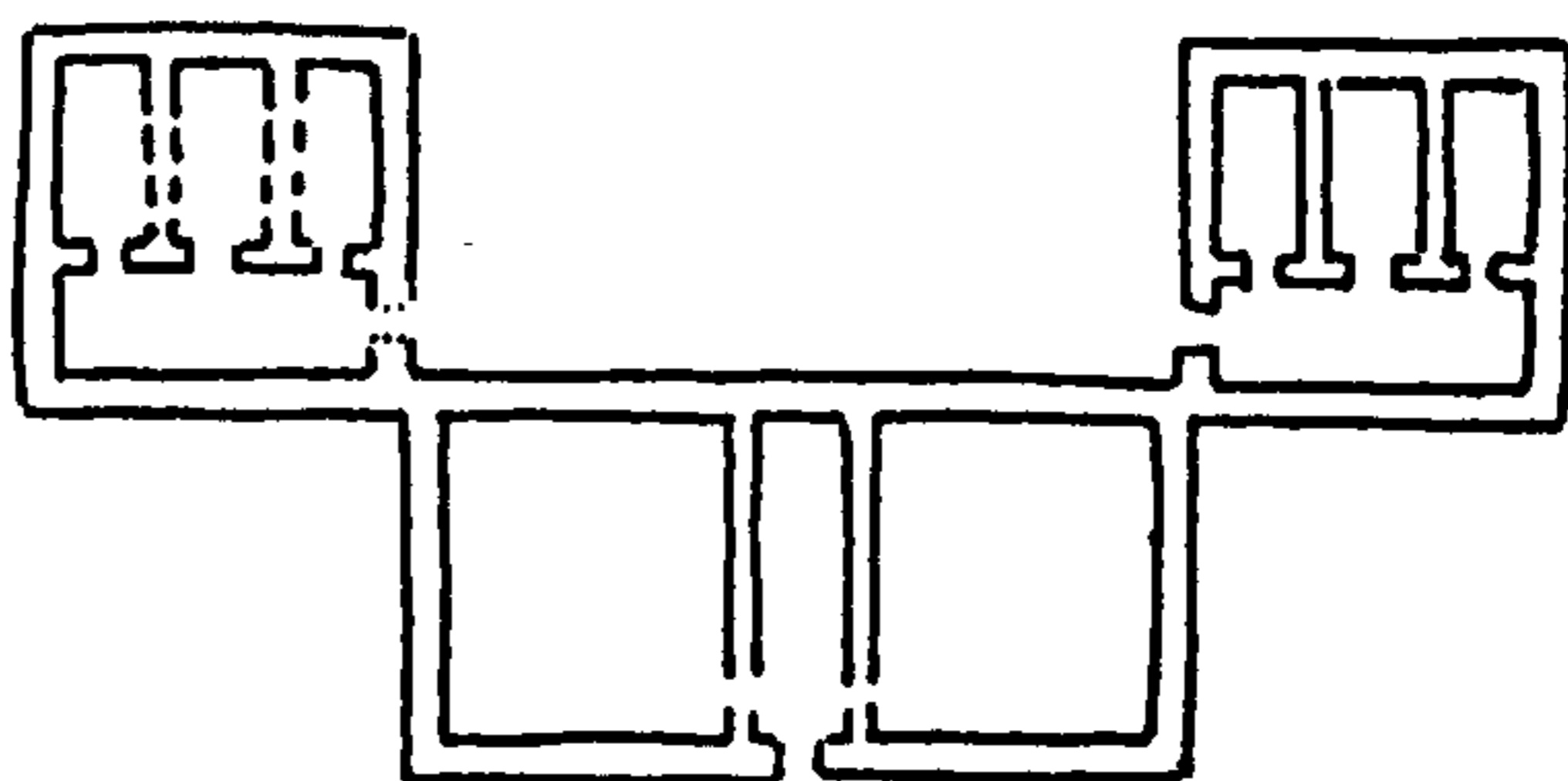
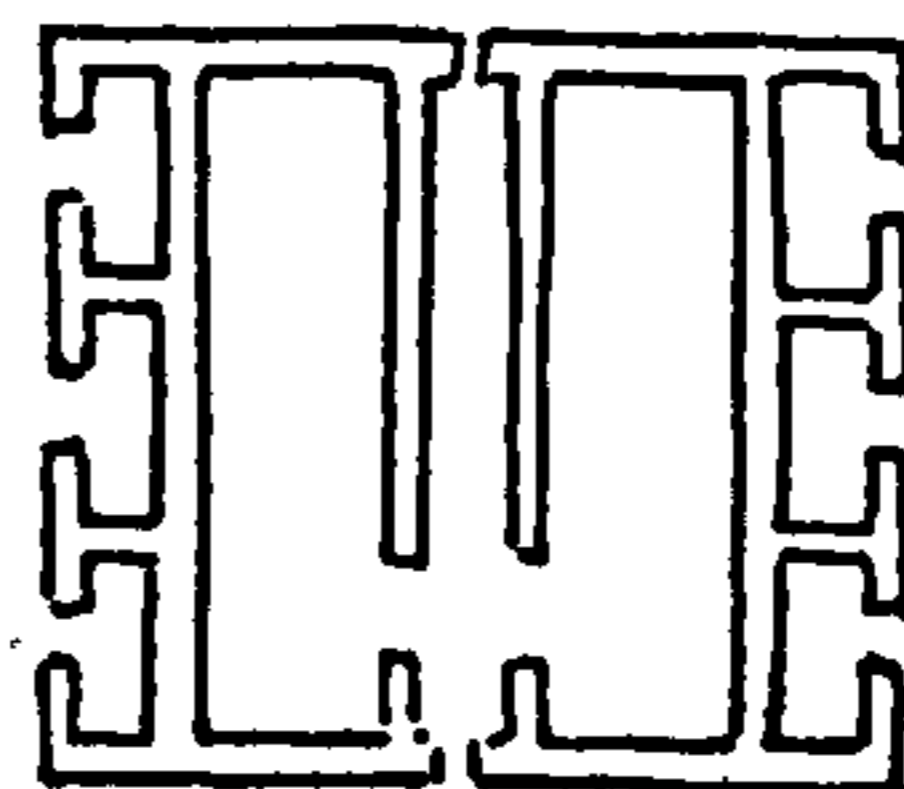


Fig. 24. Liverpool gaol, intended
plan of 1819. Based on the
contemporary ground plan (MH
BT 36) and the description in
Bigge. Judicial. page 88.

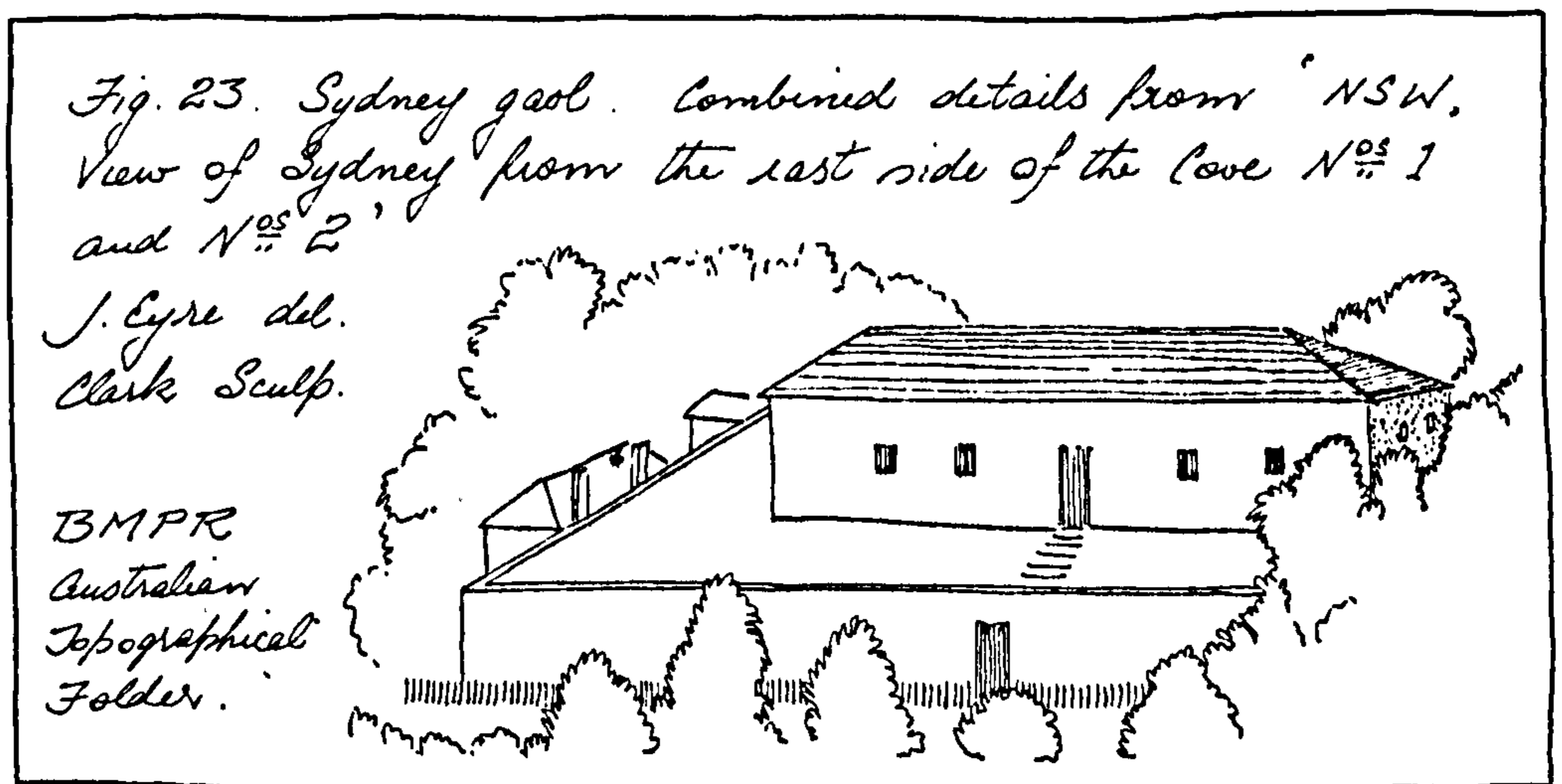


Bigge Judicial. 88

*Backhouse Letters
II. 6.*

The plan was a symmetrical arrangement on the axis of a transverse corridor with identical wards to the left and right. These in turn were flanked by cells with external access.⁽¹⁾ It is probable that only one set of cells were built at Norfolk Island,⁽²⁾ see Fig. 21, and at Liverpool they were designed but not immediately built.* However, one set of three cells were added to the latter before 1836.* All the gaols were set within a perimeter wall, though at Norfolk Island and Parramatta the rear wall of the building formed part of the perimeter wall, so there was no back door.

In elevation the gaols were Georgian Nondescript, 3 or 5 bay, single storey, hipped roof structures with proportions disturbed by small windows in an expanse of walling. See, for example, Eyre's view of Sydney gaol in Fig. 25. Parramatta gaol had a second, or factory, storey added before it was completed.



The Windsor gaol plan of 1812 appears quite different to the others, see Fig. 23, though it offers virtually the same accommodation at somewhat greater expense. It reflects the first marked intrusion of self conscious taste into Australian penal design and as such will be commented on in Chapter 3.

Page 30 first para

Sydney, Norfolk Island, had only makeshift gaol accommodation* when Lt Colonel Joseph Foveaux arrived as commandant in July 1800. He subsequently wrote to Portland, 'At the time

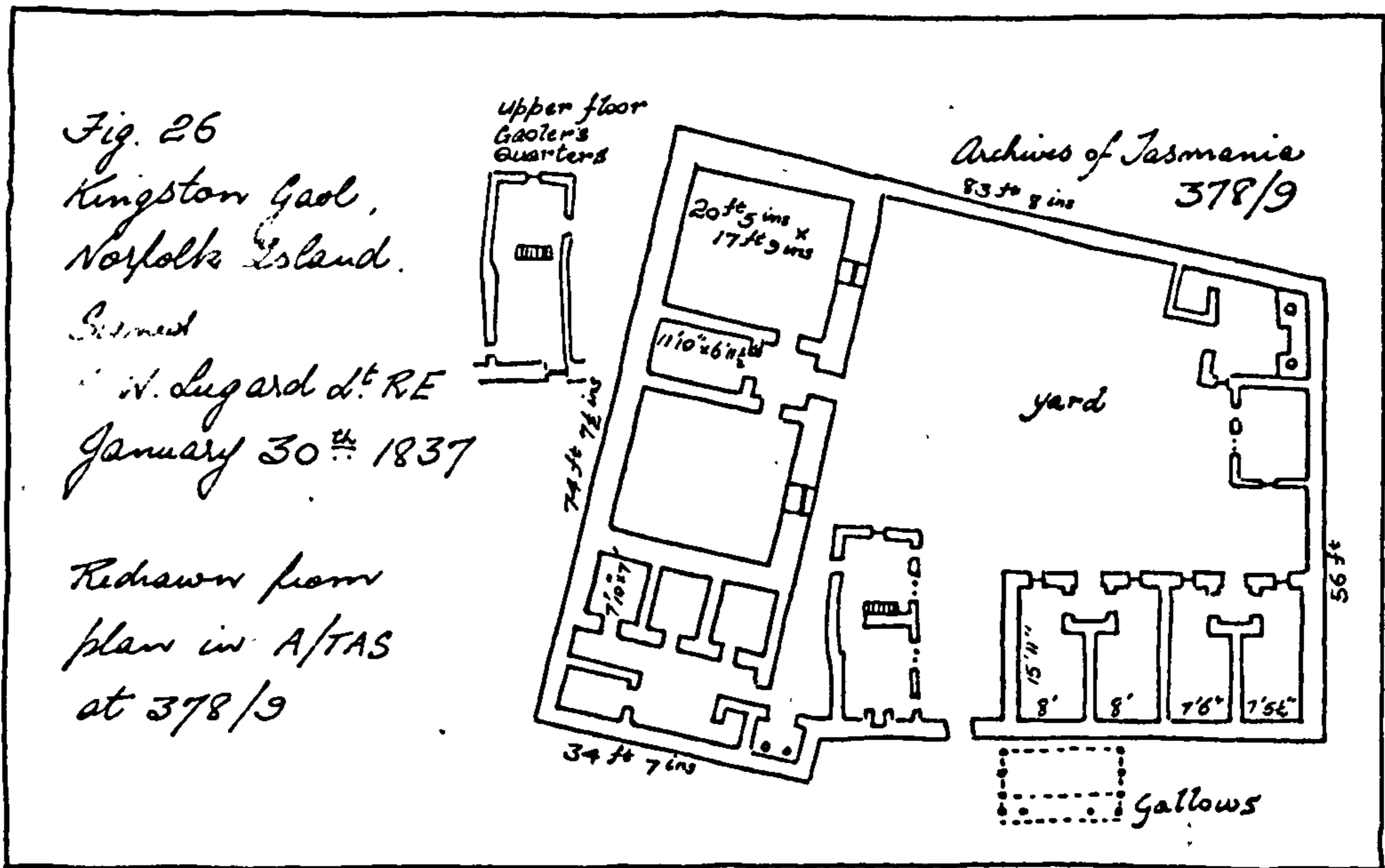
[during the Irish Pike Plot of December 1800] there wasn't so much as a Jail wherein any person could be confined with the smallest security.*

Foveaux to Portland
18.9.1801
CO 201.29 f22

He was familiar with the design of the Sydney gaol and by December 1801 he could write; 'Built a Strong, Stone Building for a Goal 74 ft in length, 27 ft in breadth, height of the walls 10 ft, thickness 3½ ft, stone faced inside and out, the lower Floor faced with Stone, the upper part floored over with strong plank to answer the purpose of a granary.* That it was so used is confirmed by John Grant, who complained in September 1806 of the 'unnumerable quantities of little weavils [that] fall thro' the gaps in the ceiling, covering my hands face and neck so that rest was quite impossible.*

Foveaux Account
of Labour performed
14.7.1800 to 7.9.1804
CO 201.30 f331

Hill Reid, Grant 153



Foveaux Account of
Labour performed
14.7.1800 to 7.9.1804
CO 201.30 f331

Ibid. f333

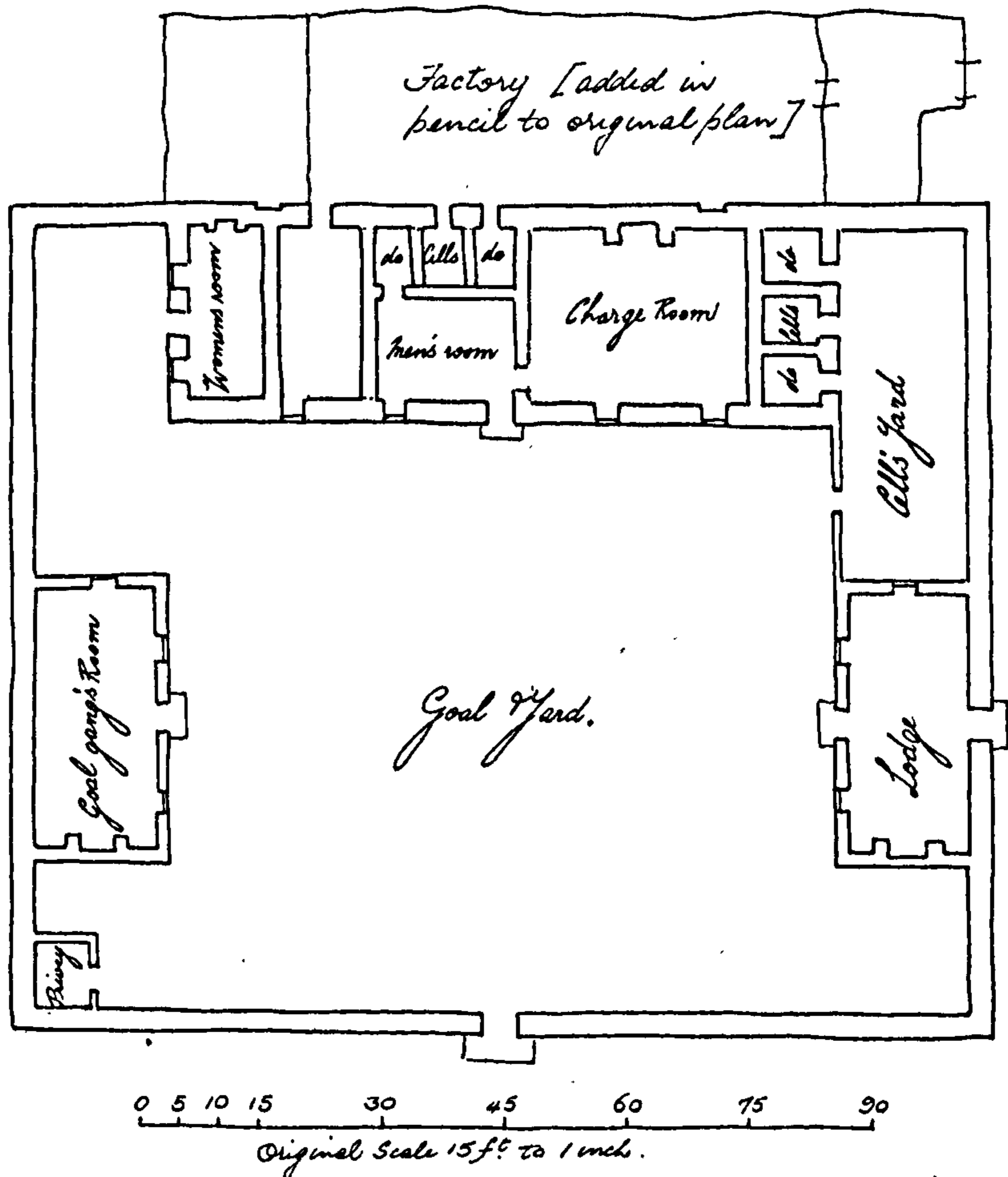
As well as constructing a new goal, Foveaux 'repaired the old Jail for [use by] Debtors.* The following year, 1802, he 'erected an additional Stone Building to the Jail, 40 feet by 20 feet and carried stone walls around 10 ft. in height.* The dimensions of Lugard's 1837 plan (see Fig. 26) agree generally with both Foveaux's new gaol of 1801 and his 4 room additional building of 1802, and confirm that Foveaux's buildings were restored after the re-occupation of the island in 1825. They

were to remain in use as a gaol at least until the pentagonal gaol was opened in 1848 , and were the only buildings to survive the interregnum from 1814 - 1825.

The construction of Parramatta gaol was not the responsibility of a military man but of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. He received, in lieu of pay, 5 extra assigned convicts for 'superintending the Public Works [at Parramatta and Toongabbee] immediately under the Governor and in his absence.'* In this capacity he began the new Parramatta gaol, in August 1802, to the Sydney design (Figs 20 and 22); the expense being 'defrayed by assessments on Spirits and Strong Drinks without any expense to the crown.'*

*Return of Officers
CO 201.17 f143*

*King to Hobart
3.5.1803
CO 201.25 f215*



*Fig. 27. Ground Plan of the Parramatta gaol 1819 to 20 showing amendments to the original design of 1802.
CO 201.133 f193*

Sometime during construction, certainly before April 1803, it was decided to include a wool and linen manufactory. Internal walls were altered on the left side of the building and a second floor was added. See Fig. 27. Access to the upper floor was from an additional yard to the north of the gaol. This yard contained auxillary workrooms and was kept separate from the gaol proper. The new layout is represented diagrammatically on a map of Parramatta of about 1813. See Fig. 28. These additions, as King calls them, were completed in 1804.*

King to Hobart
20.12.1804
CO201.33 f166

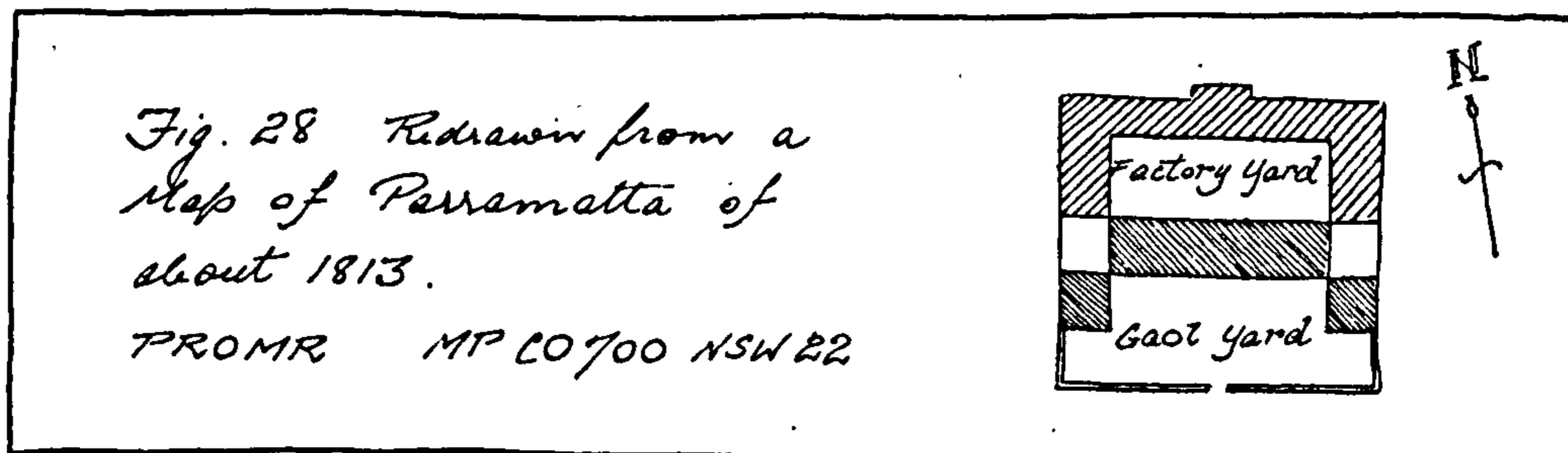


Fig. 28 Redrawn from a
Map of Parramatta of
about 1813.

FROM MR MP CO 700 NSW 22

Marsden did not know much about building, nor seemingly did Ralph Wiggan and Mike Quinlan, respectively the principal stone mason and the stone dresser employed on the job.*

King to Hobart
9.5.1803
Enclosure 14
CO201.25 f216

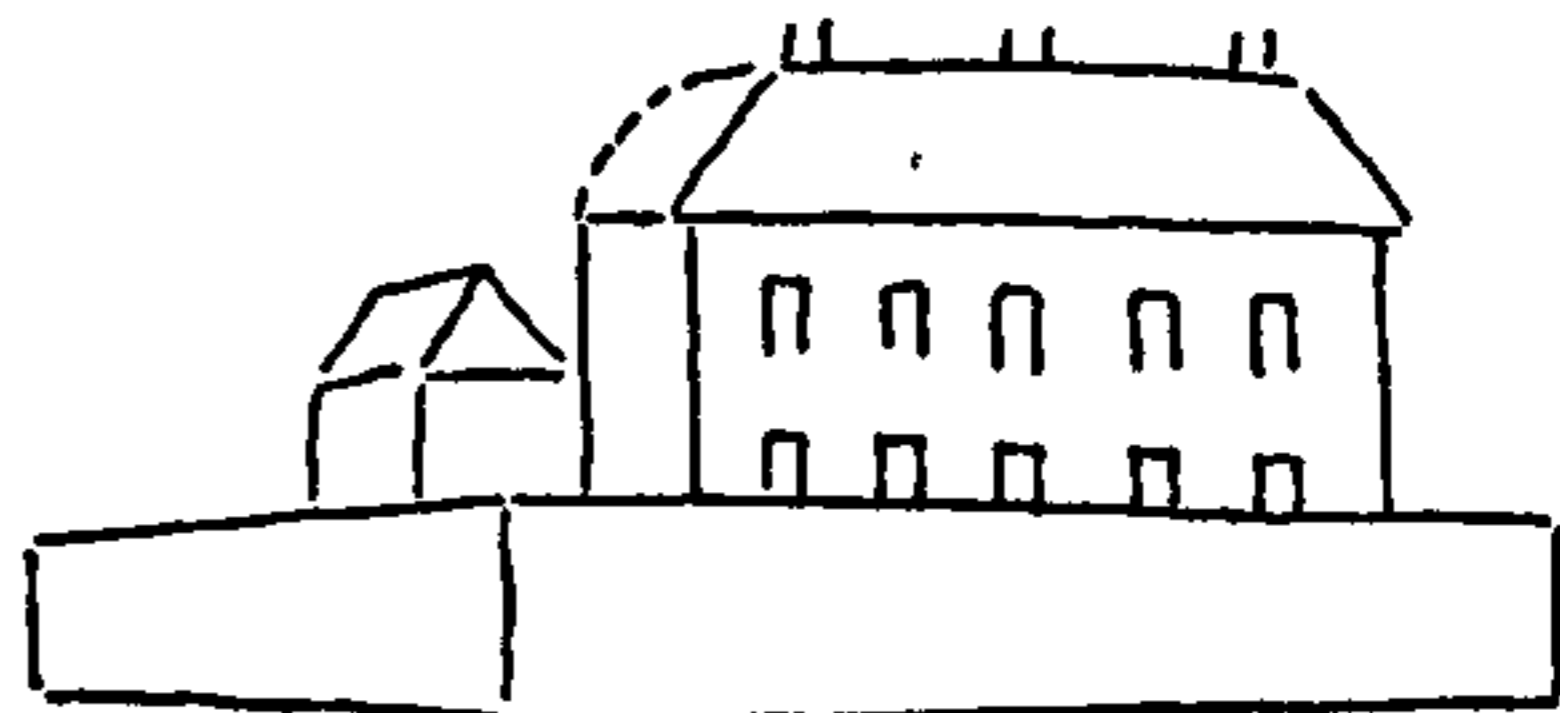
Ibid.

Houison to Blakett
21.3.1854
A/NSW 2/618A
see also
W044.187 f163
and 168

Nor indeed did Sam Haslum the principal quarryman,* as most of the stone was cut and stood in the gaol walls off its bed,* and was soon fretting worse than Alice's white rabbit. It is quite possible that, as the stone was for a gaol, the convict artisans conspired with mutual glee to shorten its life, banking on Marsden's ignorance to get away with it. The very fact that the 'flogging parson' was the dupe would have added a piquant relish to a dangerous jest.

Lycett included a south west aspect of the building in his view of Parramatta, drawn about 1820. He has heightened the structure and enlarged the windows but it gave a rough approximation of the 5 bay facade which looked across the river. See Fig. 29.

*Fig. 29 · Parramatta Gaol.
Detail redrawn from a View
of Parramatta showing the gaol
about 1820.
Lycetto Views Plate II*



Bigge Judicial 86

Mr Commissioner Bigge, on his visit to Van Dieman's Land in 1820, though that L^t Governor Davey's Hobart gaol had 'more the appearance and the accommodation of a hospital than a place of coercion and confinement.'* It certainly did not conform to the gaols prevalent or projected in NSW, and given the lack of rapport between Governor Macquarie and his Lieutenant in VDL, Tom Davey, this was hardly surprising.

*Macquarie to Bathurst
22.3.1815
CO201.76 f98,
99 & 100.*

Macquarie believed Davey possessed 'an extraordinary degree of frivolity and low buffoonery in his manners', animadverted on his 'dissipation and profligacy' and finally on his 'venality and downright fraud and imposition.'* Macquarie was Scottish, serious and not known for concealing his opinions. He did little to help Davey's projects in VDL. Mad Tom for his part had an unprintable opinion of Macquarie, and probably doubted that any good thing could come out of the mainland.

*Davey to Bathurst
13.4.1816
CO201.80 f270*

At the time Macquarie was writing to Bathurst (May 1815) on Davey's shortcomings, Davey himself was commencing Hobart gaol. He wrote to Bathurst the following year pointing out that his appeals to Macquarie for men and stores to carry out necessary public buildings had been fruitless, but that despite this 'a spacious Gaol is in considerable forwardness and will be finished in two months.'*

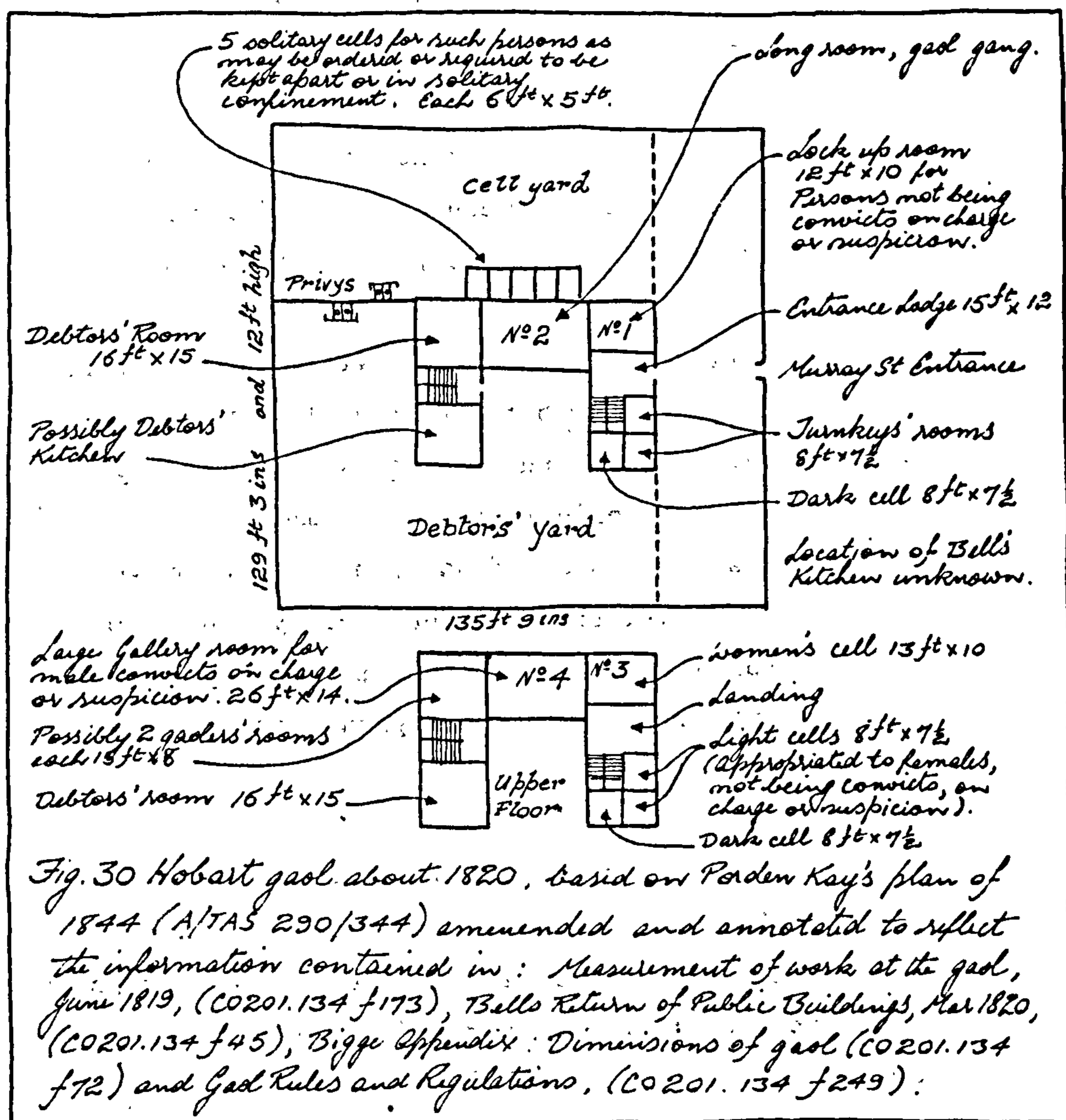
*Bell's Report
1.3.1820
CO201.134 f49*

Needless to say the gaol was not finished in two months, but by June 1818 the building was roofed, and the debtors' side, but not the felons', had been finished.* Between that month

Bell's Report
1.3.1820
CO 201.134 f45

and June the following year, the newly arrived Acting Engineer, Major Bell, completed the perimeter, and 3 party walls to the yard, and added, among other items, 5 solitary cells.*

The gaol proper consisted of a two storey 'U' shaped plan in which the new Lt Governor, Sorell, proposed to carry out quite 'sophisticated regulations for the classification and segregation of prisoners into separate classes. See Fig. 30.



Bigge Judicial 88

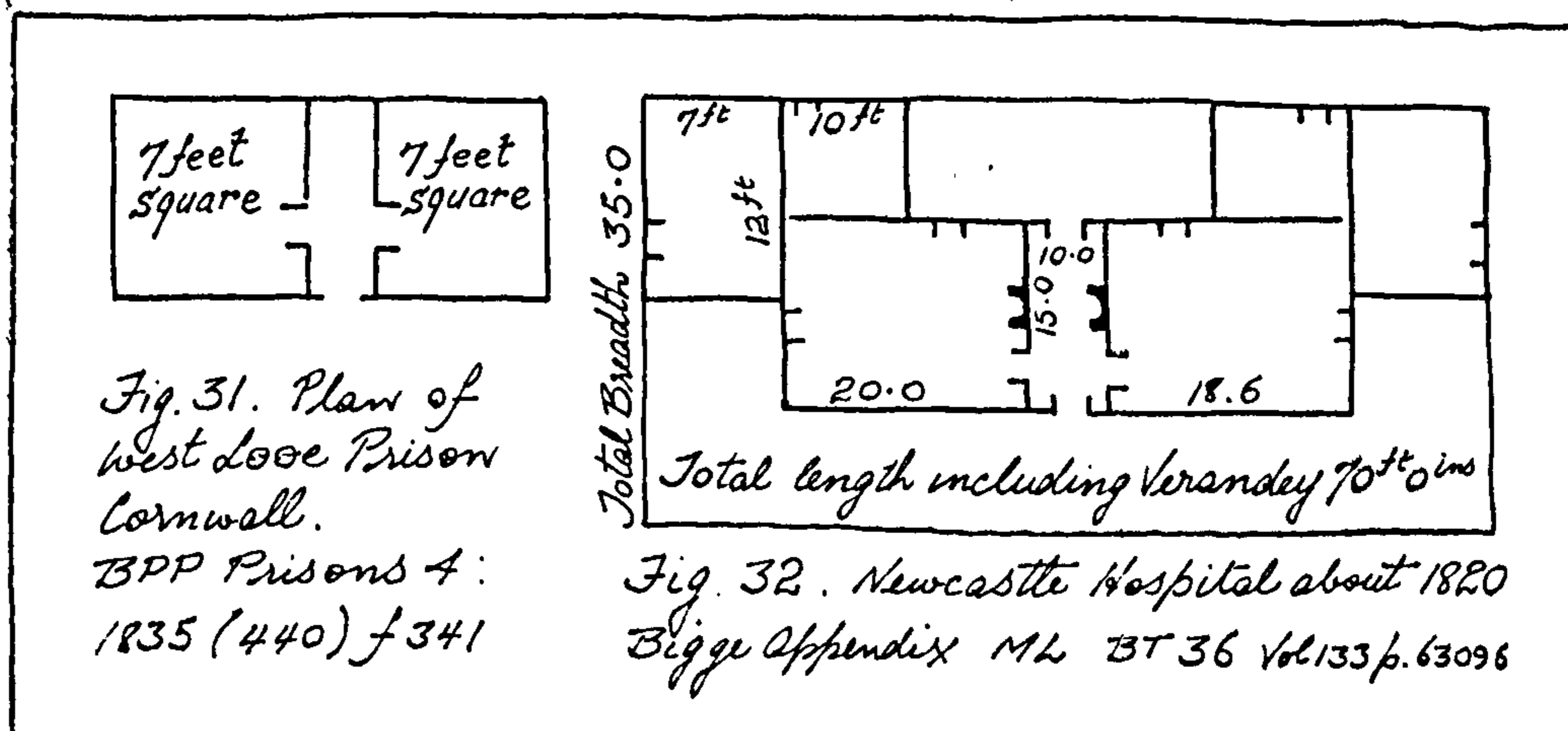
These regulations delighted Bigge and he held them up as an example to NSW.* However the gaol plan was too inflexible to make such a scheme practicable, and either chronic overcrowding of some departments, or relaxation of the regulations, became inevitable.

Hobart Gaol
 Rules about Prisons
 CO201.134 f249

In any case only the debtors had a separate yard, and this resulted in varying degrees of contact between the other classes during the day. The women, for example, were obliged to join the males for 'necessary purposes' and washing.* This undesirable situation was finally terminated by the removal of the females elsewhere.

Bigge Ag & Trade 108
 Shed. 108
 Bigge Appendix
 CO201.133 f7

The first known gaol at Newcastle, New South Wales, would have been built by Lt Thompson sometime before the arrival of the next commandant, Wallis, in June 1816.* Before Wallis' departure in December 1818 he had converted it into a hospital* and built a new gaol to the eastward.* See Fig. 49.



Judging from the plan in Bigge's Appendix, See Fig. 32, the first gaol was a minimal structure with only a central corridor and rooms to the left and right. This was the basic form of the NSW standard gaol without cells and was similar to several small provincial gaols in England at the time. West Looe prison, Cornwall, was a diminutive example. See Fig. 31.

The functional nature of Wallis' plan for the new gaol at Newcastle was not so different to the NSW standard plan either. See Fig. 33.

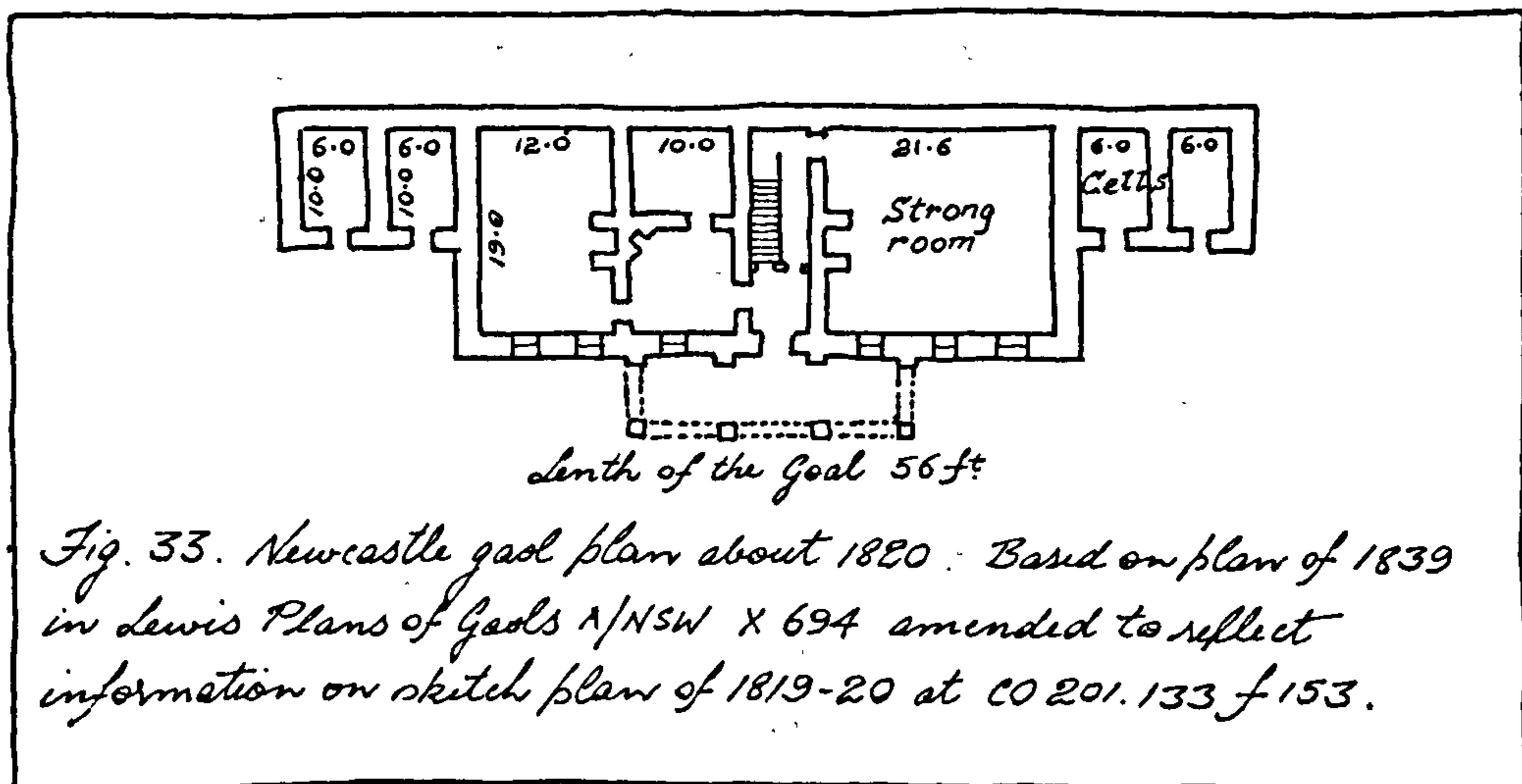
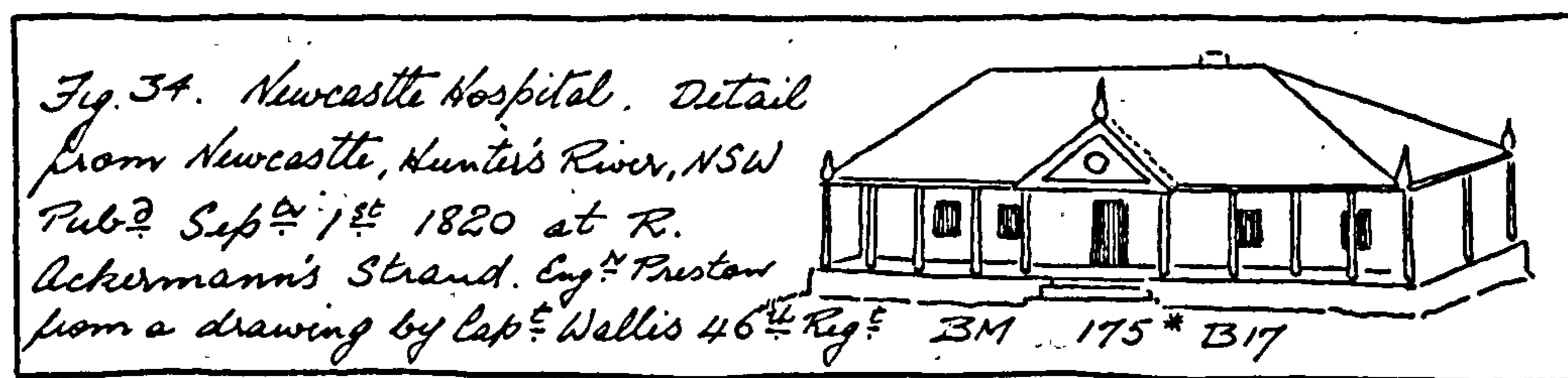


Fig. 33. Newcastle gaol plan about 1820. Based on plan of 1839 in Lewis Plans of Gaols N/NSW X 694 amended to reflect information on sketch plan of 1819-20 at CO 201.133 f 153.

The main variation in this respect was caused by the need to include gaoler's quarters, and this was provided for by dividing the left hand ward into two, and allocating the part next to the passage to the gaoler. There was a direct parallel to this arrangement in the army's provision for NCO's at some of the permanent English barracks.* The other variation was the rearrangement of the flanking cells into small wings containing two cells each.

*For example
Templemore Bks
Building News
20. 3. 1861 page 760
Fig. 16.*

On the conversion of Thompson's Newcastle gaol to a hospital, Wallis probably added the 4 small flanking rooms, a new roof and the projecting pediment, finials and verandah. See Fig. 34.



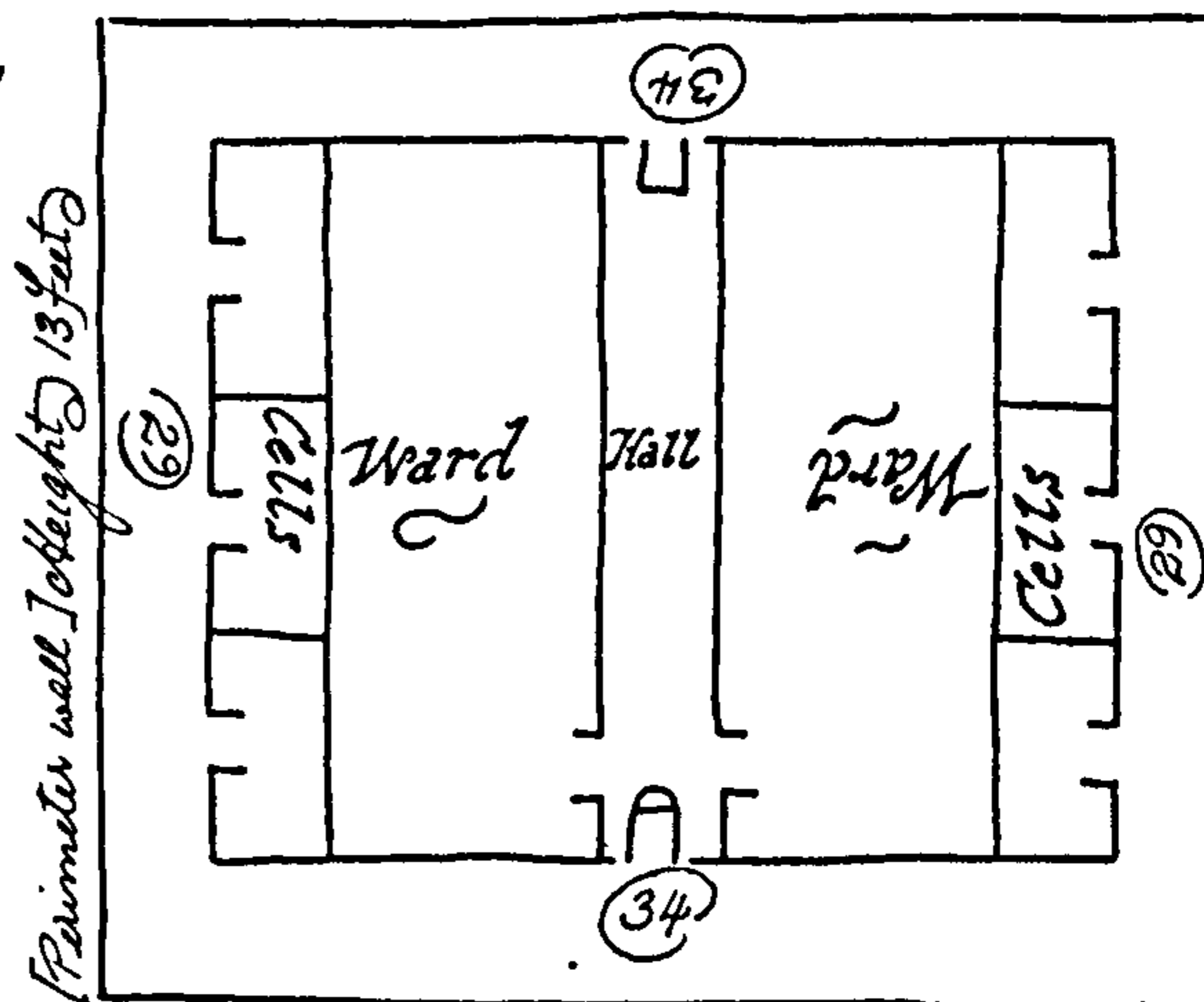
*Fig. 34. Newcastle Hospital. Detail from Newcastle, Hunter's River, NSW Pubd Sep^r 1st 1820 at R. Ackermann's Strand. Eng^r Preston from a drawing by Cap^t Wallis 46th Reg^t BM 175 * B17*

Wallis used the same finials (or were they urns?) and pediment on his new gaol, see Fig. 50, and they were sufficiently idiosyncratic to proclaim a common source. This clue when added to the Neo Palladian configuration of both plan and elevation in the new gaol (see Figs. 33 and 50) and the earlier Neo Palladian plan of Windsor gaol (Fig 23), with which Wallis was unconnected, suggests a new but purely

stylistic influence on penal design in NSW. That influence was the most obvious one - the Governor, Lachlan Macquarie and his wife, Elizabeth, and is the subject of the next chapter.

One further gaol was built in NSW during Macquarie's governorship. This was Liverpool gaol designed on a diminutive standard Sydney plan in 1819. See Fig. 35.

*Fig. 35. Ground Plan of
The Gaol at Liverpool,
1819.
Redrawn from plan
at CO 201. 133 f 151*



It was almost devoid of stylistic elements, and was executed by contract under the supervision of the resident magistrate, Thomas Moore, without the individual cells, but within a tight perimeter wall.* Three of the cells had been added by the time of James Backhouse's visit in 1836.*

*Bigge Judicial 88
Backhouse Letters
IV. 6*

It was constructed at a time when Macquarie was urging forward a large public building programme, and simultaneously defending it from attacks by the newly arrived Commissioner of enquiry, Mr Bigge, as well as warring with a variety of colonial ingrates and vipers. It was not surprising, then, that a minor gaol at Liverpool, whose setting had none of the picturesque possibilities of Newcastle or Windsor, failed to gain the Macquaries' attention and remained unembellished.

Chapter 3 The Macquaries and the introduction of Taste.

Chapter 2 demonstrated the more or less standard solution to the problem of providing a place of confinement in NSW (but not VDL) during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Except when locked in their wards and cells at night, there was little segregation. Even at night inappropriate persons were bedded together, there being no facility for classification according to behaviour or crime, although debtors and women were normally separated from the rest.

It was also clear in Chapter 2 that taste had in some cases affected the appearance, but not the accommodation, of gaols. This was attributed to the Governor, Lachlan Macquarie and his wife Elizabeth. Both came from Argyleshire on the west coast of Scotland and landed at Sydney on the last day of 1809.

Elizabeth was the youngest daughter of Lachlan's second cousin, John Campbell of Airds, Appin, and she had spent most of her life there. Airds commands a fine view down the Lynn of Lorn to Lismore and to the hills of Morven and Mull beyond. The lynns and lochs are flanked by castles, then as now, in varying stages of ruin. It is natural that Elizabeth, living in such surroundings, was receptive to the contemporary taste for the picturesque, and that she should develop an interest in landscape gardening and architecture. She laid out the Black Rock Walk at Airds,* and later a walk from Farm Cove to its eastern headland overlooking Sydney harbour.*

Ellis Macquarie
1947 155-6

Ellis Greenway
1953 25

Macquarie came from Mull and had spent much of his active life with the army in southern India. There, with his somewhat less educated approach to things visual, he seems to have been impressed by the more spectacular architecture of the British Raj.

Both had a strong creative urge, but Lachlan had an even greater desire to leave posterity a lasting monument to his name, and most of the public buildings constructed under his governorship bore a tablet on the pediment suitably inscribed. (Fig. 36). The missionary Henderson was much struck by the ubiquitousness of these tablets and commented sarcastically on the name 'Macquarie', 'largely emblazoned' and craving 'for itself the gratitude of succeeding generations'. Contrary to Henderson's expectations it did not crave in vain.



Fig. 36 Tablet Windsor Convict Barracks. From SPA Windsor and Richmond. 36

Henderson's Observations 63

The Macquaries must have been delighted with the picturesque potential of Sydney harbour and the NSW coastline, and they set out to embellish these splendid landscapes with appropriate architecture. Their repertoire was predictable and consisted of the following:

The Neo Palladian gentleman's home as it existed in the western isles.

A simple variant on this with a central block flanked by single storey 'outshots'.

Architecture specifically designed to enhance the landscape, usually taken from copy books, or, in the case of the Macquaries' grander efforts, inspired by the eighteenth century Scottish castle revival.

The army tradition of barrack and hospital building aggrandised in an attempt to emulate what had been done in India.

All these sources were drawn on by Macquarie or his wife to ensure that buildings associated with convicts improved and embellished the landscape. The first and most clear

cut example was the Parramatta Orphan School.

A high proportion of orphan and neglected children were the natural product of a convict society through which transient soldiers and sailors passed, and in which many convict parents were unable or unwilling to support their offspring.* In 1800 Gov^r King purchased and adapted Captain Kent's house, on the corner of Bridge and George Street, Sydney, for use as a Female Orphan School.* He assembled a managing committee of which Samuel Marsden was the treasurer. The committee then obtained a design from Francis Barrallier, who had arrived with King in May 1800,* for a similar institution at Parramatta. It was never built.

Marsden to Willberforce
6.10.1800 ML
A 1677-2 p. 8-12

Plan at PRO
MPG 700 drawn
to my attention
by Bob Irving

ADB I. 61

Prayer welfare in
Sydney. 93

Crook to [London?]
Missionary Society
18.6.1813 ML
BT 49 Vol. 1 p. 327

Macquarie to Bathurst
12.12.1817 ML
A3250 p. 278

Macquarie Papers
ML 10Y A772 p. 63

Ibid. 83

Marsden to Stokes
8.10.1814 ML
A 1677-2 p. 135-6

Macquarie to Bathurst
12.12.1817 N^o 40
ML A3250 p. 278

Bigge Reports ed.
J. Ritchie
Marsden Evidence
p. 174

Bigge Appendix ML
BT 20. p. 3482

Bligh's survey of February 1807 showed that there were 807 legitimate and 1025 natural children in the colony.* At the time the missionary, William Pascoe Crook, regarded the Orphan School as a college for prostitutes, and said it was scarcely better by 1813.* This, together with the need to extend accommodation, was probably the main reason Marsden, his committee, and Macquarie agreed by 1813 to remove the institution from the flesh pots of Sydney* to the more rural north bank of the Parramatta river, about a mile east of Parramatta.

Macquarie laid the foundation stone of the new school in August 1813,* and he noted during his visit in July 1814 that the brickwork was nearly finished.* Marsden had been entrusted with the supervision of the construction work and he wrote in October 1814 that he was putting the roof on.* However, it was not till nearly 4 years later that the building was finished.* This was partly due to the irregular supply of funds to the project, which Macquarie required to be largely erected by contract,* and partly because the workmen procurable were, in Marsden's words, 'drunken worthless characters.'*

Marsden's correspondence with Mr Commissioner Bigge is very helpful on the source of the Parramatta Orphan School design. He said:

'With respect to the Orphan House, the plan was drawn before I saw it and when it was shewn to me at Government House, Mrs Macquarie observed that it was drawn upon the plan of a Gentleman's House in Scotland, Mrs Macquarie had seen such an House and knew its advantages and as the Governor and her approved of the plan, it having originated as far as have ever heard with the Governor and Mrs Macquarie...'

*Marsden to Bigge
undated
BT 20 p.3491*

Mrs Macquarie had indeed seen just such a house. The model was her familiar Airds House at Appin, translated from its original harled rubble to a slightly larger colonial version on a knoll above the Parramatta river. See Figs. 37 to 40.

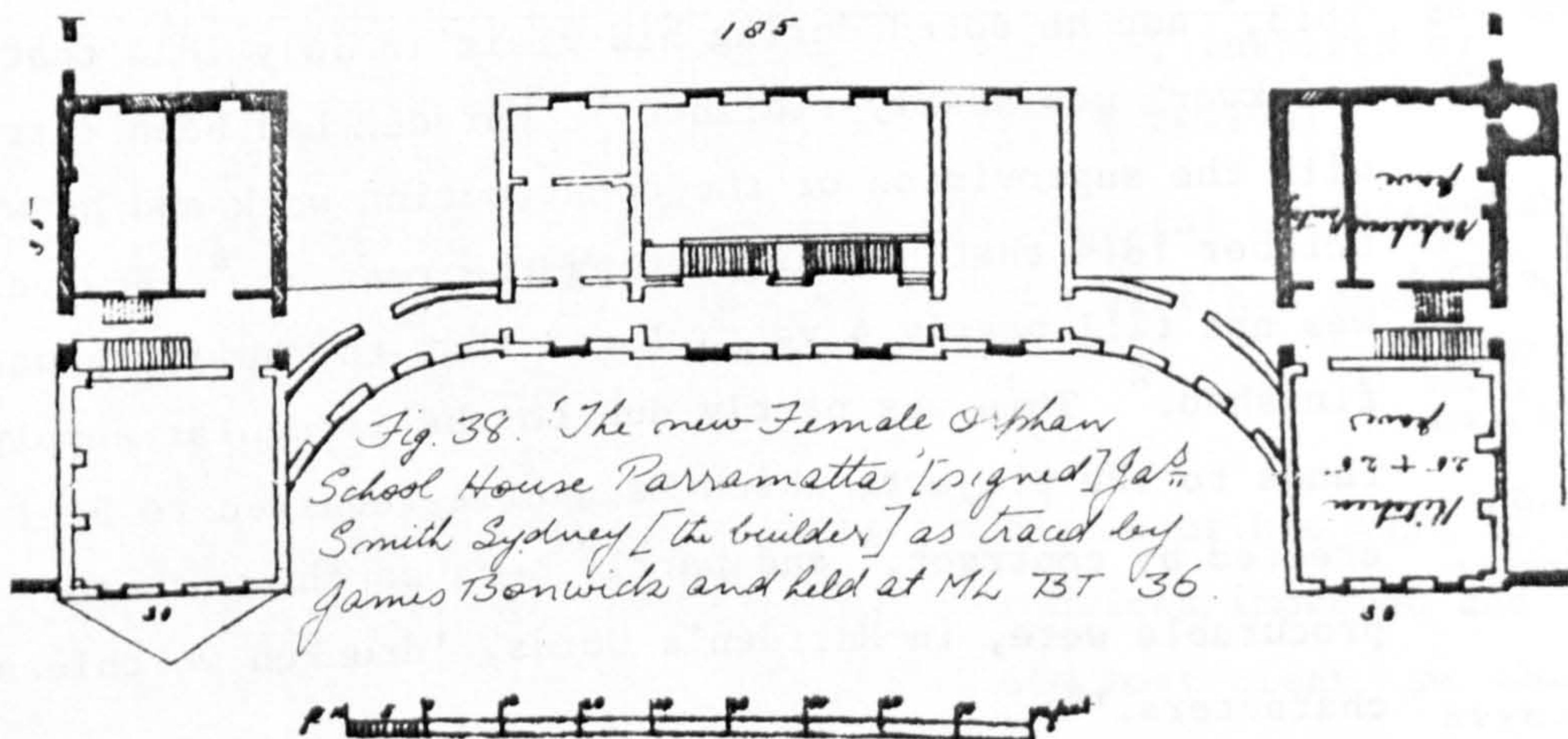
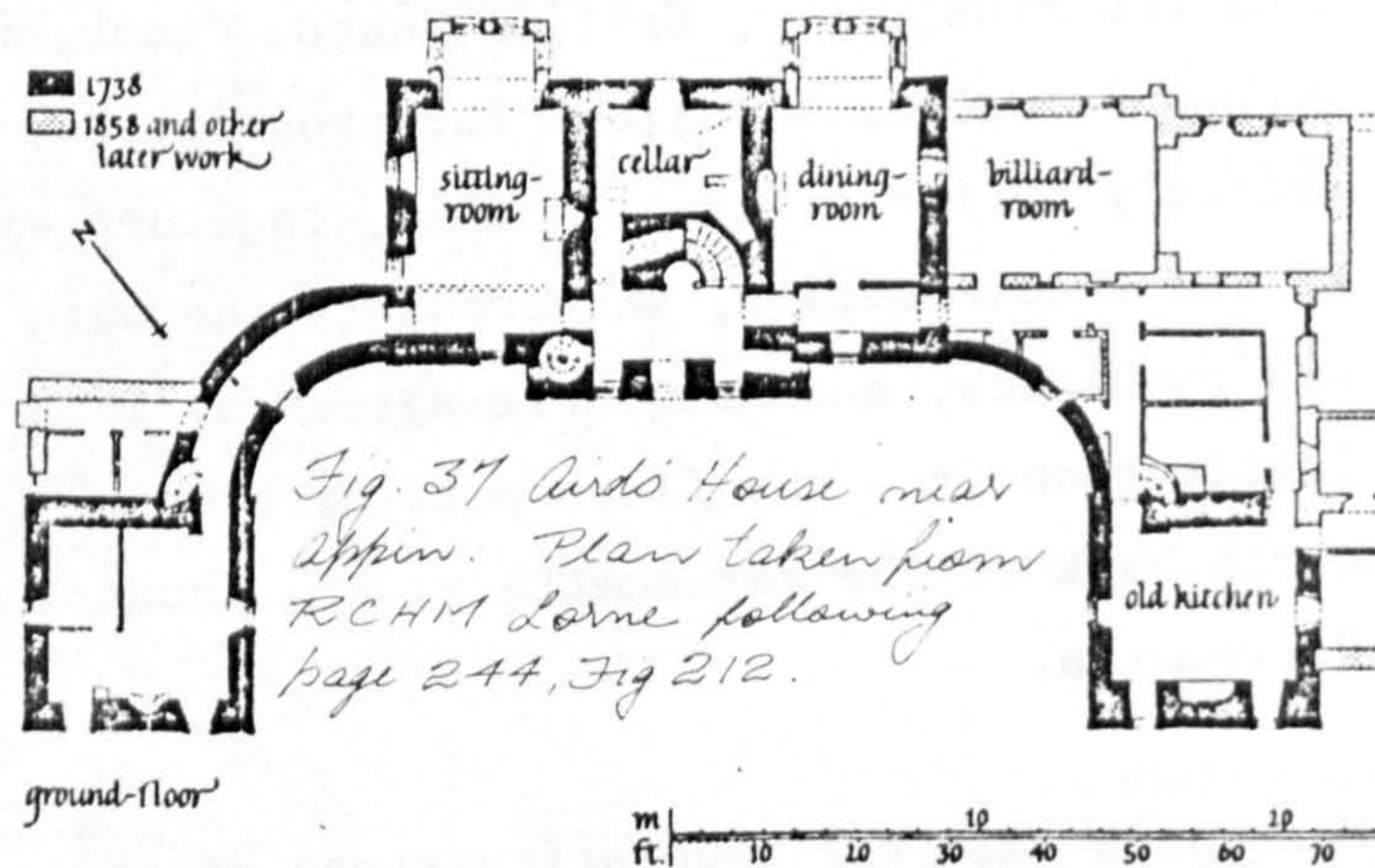




Fig. 39. Airds House near Appin. Based on plate 79A RCHM Lorne.

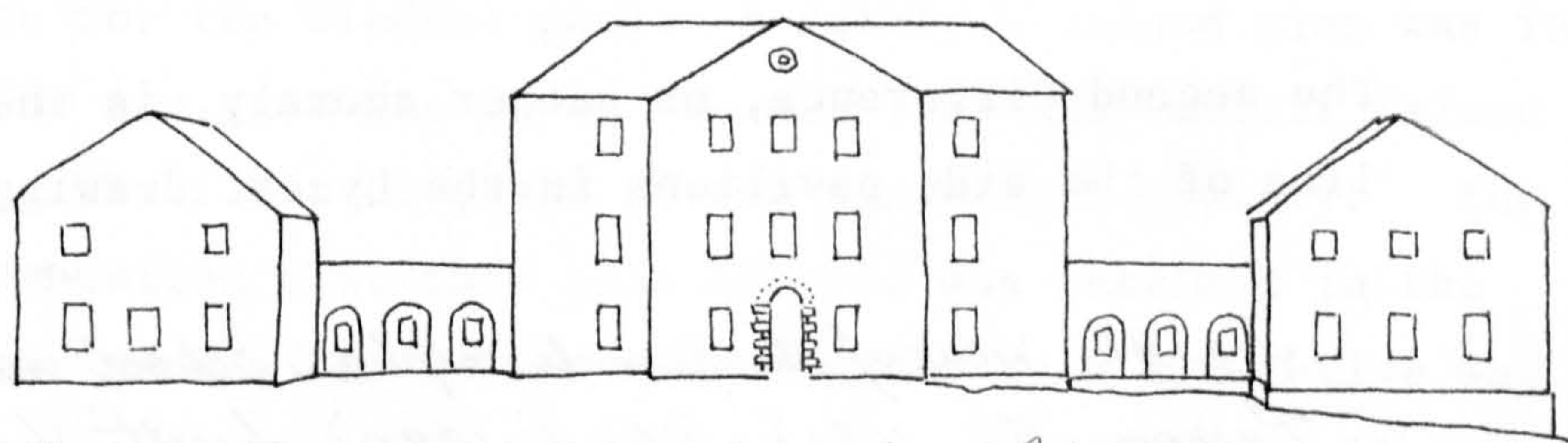


Fig. 40. Parramatta Female Orphan School. Based on Govt Printing Office of NSW Negative No SH1727 exposed before 1887. [Not to same scale as Airds House & chimneys omitted.]

It was in no sense a building designed to meet the requirements of an orphan institution, but was a large gentleman's house that would embellish the landscape in which orphans could be reared. Marsden's comment to Bigge illustrated the difference of attitude between himself and 'a certain lady' (Mrs Macquarie). He wrote, 'The Female Orphan Institution should not be like a Boarding School for Young Ladies who have Some Prospects in Life, but like a House of Industry.'^{*} Marsden went on, most imprudently, to imply a parallel between himself and John the Baptist, and Mrs Macquarie and Herodias.^{*}

Marsden to Bigge
15.3.1821 ML
BT27 f6366-7

Ibid. f6368

The orphan building has a number of variations when compared with its source. These can be accounted for by material and site problems, and a lack of professional knowledge. Two examples will suffice.

The first is the awkward junction of the quadrant passages and the side pavilions. See Fig. 38. The latter have been

moved back until they are level with the facade of the central block, leaving the passage to join the *blank* side wall of the pavilion in a manner neither useful nor beautiful. The most likely reason was Marsden's need to complete the footings with reasonable economy by avoiding as much of the fall in the ground to the south east as possible. The useless quadrant passages were replaced by straight connecting passages when the pavilions were first extended to the north sometime before 1825.*

*Female Orphan Sch.
Specifications for
alterations 22.7.1825
A/NSW 4/346*

The second difference, or rather anomaly, is the hipped roofline of the side pavilions in the Lycett drawing (See Fig. 41)

Fig. 41. View of the Female Orphan School near Parramatta, NSW. (about 1820) Lycett's Views Plate 12.



instead of the gables as at Airds (See Fig. 39), or indeed the gables now on the building (See Fig. 40). Lycett was not notable for architectural accuracy, but it is possible that the etching correctly portrays the roofline he saw in 1820, as the shortage of easily obtained long timbers for a 30 foot truss would have produced the makeshift shown in Lycett's picture. See Fig. 42. This solism, if it existed, would have been corrected by the addition of the present gables before the

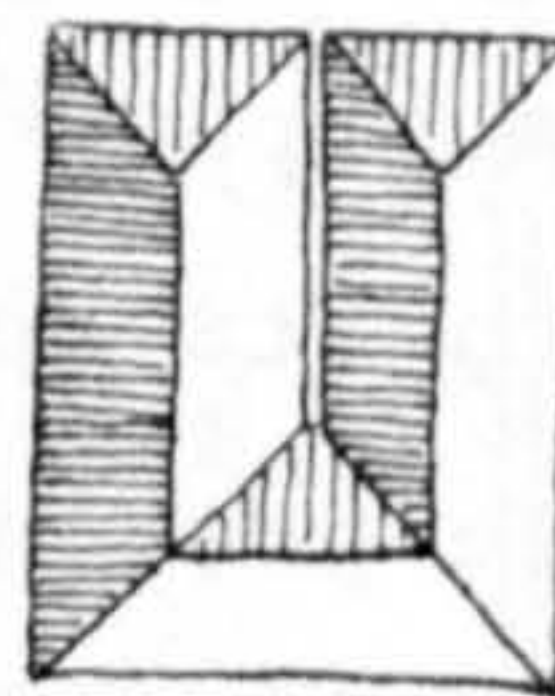
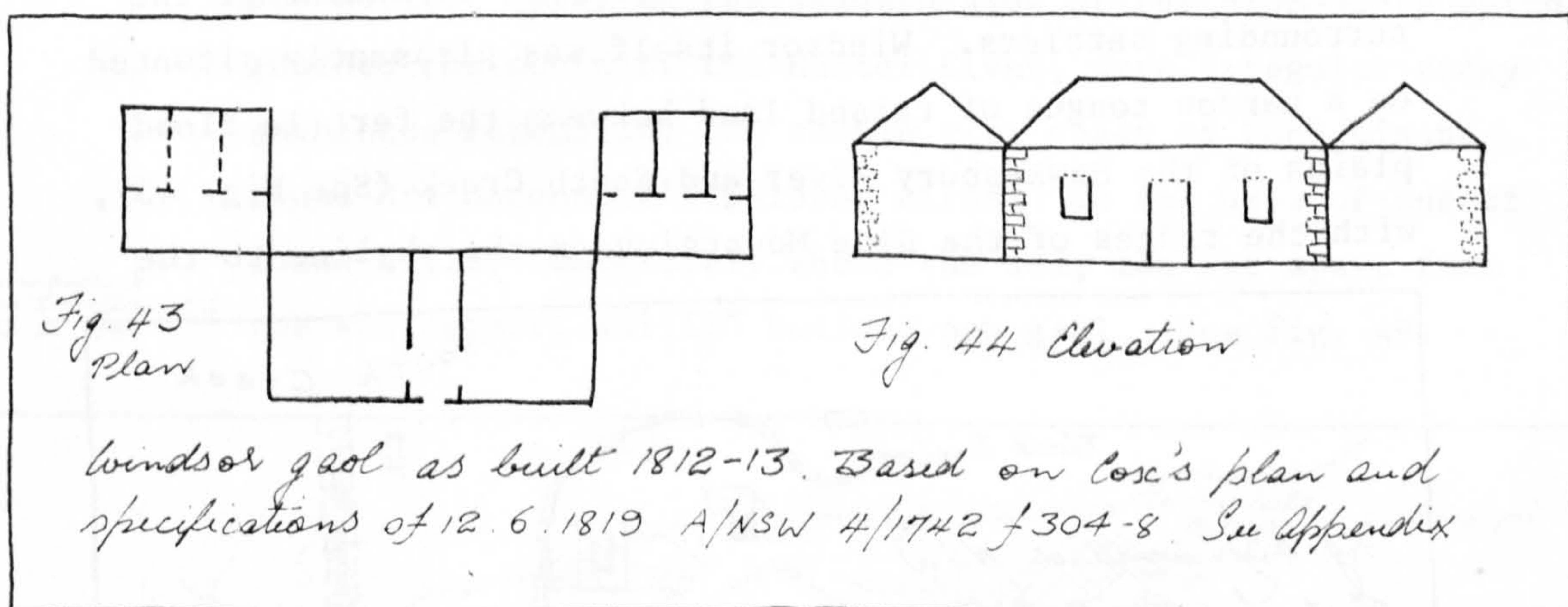


Fig. 42 Bird's eye view of Lycett's roof.

middle of the nineteenth century, and probably at the time of the extension of the pavilions northward. The roof of the central block was (and still is) similarly constructed, in that it has 2 ridges instead of one, and a central box gutter; hence its low profile when compared to Airds.

While there is little doubt that Elizabeth Macquarie provided the inspiration for the Orphan school design, there is also strong circumstantial evidence that she performed a similar office for the Windsor gaol. A fairly standard plan was in use for new gaol design on the mainland and Norfolk Island during the first 20 years of the nineteenth century.* The accommodation that this plan offered was retained in the Windsor design but it was reconfigured to a diminutive Neo Palladian form with a central block and flanking cell pavilions. See Figs 43 and 44.

See page 32



In 1812 there were no officers, either civil or military, who could have been connected with this design *and* who would have rearranged it for purely stylistic reasons. Even William Cox, the resident magistrate at Windsor and also the builder of the gaol, makes it clear in his subsequent correspondence that he would not have been involved in determining the style of the building.* In any case it was Lachlan Macquarie's practice to supervise closely the design of public buildings* and the layout of towns,* though he relaxed this when he obtained competent assistance later in the decade.* Moreover

Cox to Macquarie
12.6.1819 A/NSW
4/1742 f304-8

Bigge Gg. & Trade. 41

See Chapter 4

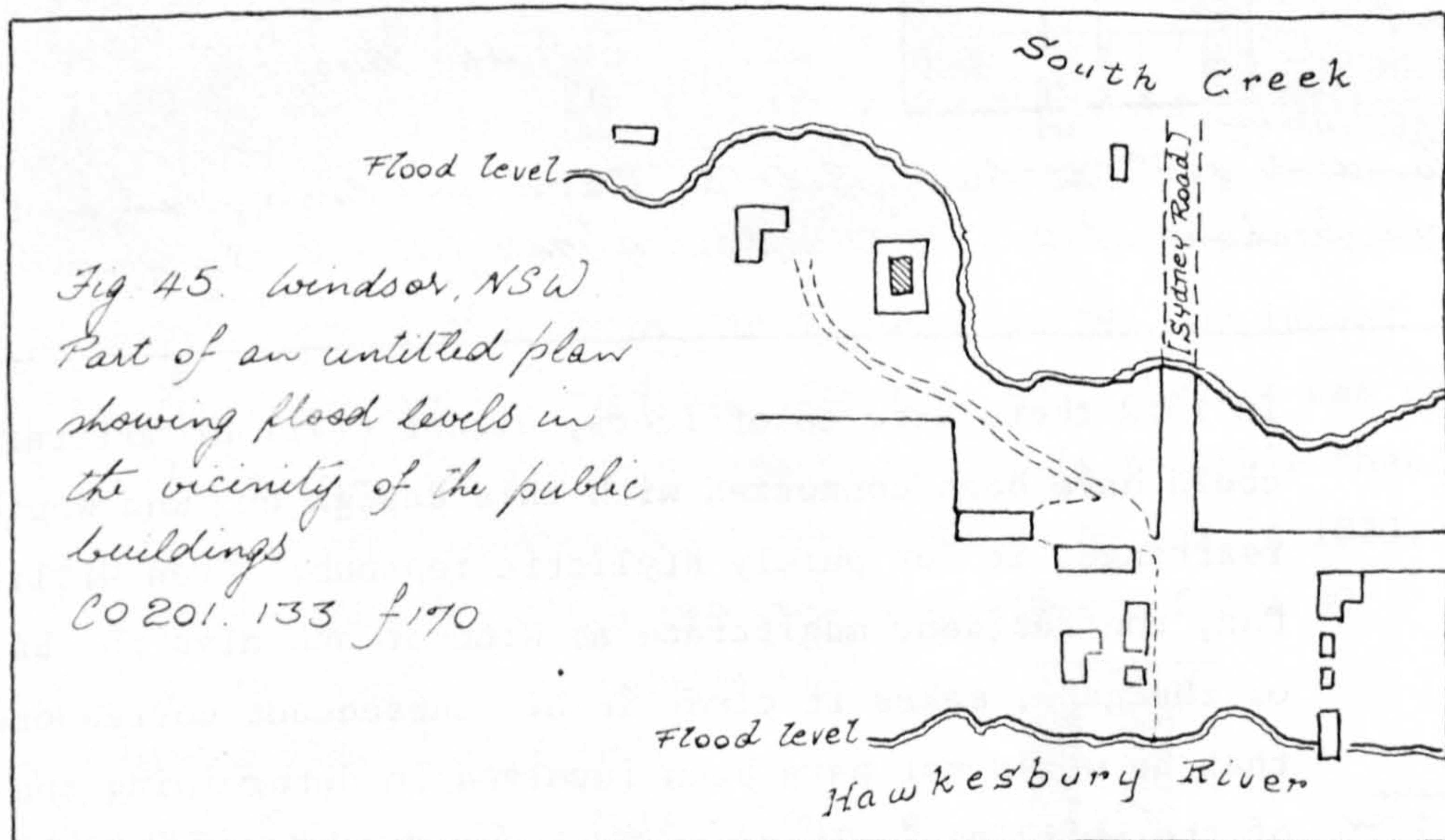
Macquarie's methods were distinctly autocratic and Elizabeth Macquarie's wishes were close to Royal Commands, as Marsden had found to his cost.

In November 1810 Macquarie and his spouse made a tour of the outer settlements, including the Hawkesbury region. On his return he expressed regret that the settlers had not paid proper attention to their domestic comfort by erecting commodious residences for themselves as well as suitable housing for their grain and cattle.* In December he announced plans to erect a township at a number of settlements, including Windsor, in each of which would be erected a church, a school house, a gaol and a guard house.*

*Macquarie to Liverpool
18.10.1811 HRA
I. 7. pp 398-401*

*Sydney Gazette
22.12.1810*

The new Windsor gaol was one of the first fruits of this policy, and it was to serve the dual function of a place of confinement, and an architectural exemplar to encourage the surrounding settlers. Windsor itself was pleasantly situated on a narrow tongue of raised land between the fertile flood plains of the Hawkesbury River and South Creek (See Fig. 45), with the ridges of the Blue Mountains on the skyline to the



west. In this setting it was natural that buildings erected under Macquarie's orders should exhibit more conscious

architectural qualities than subsequent 'Macquarie towns'!

Mrs Macquarie herself had a predilection for the Neo Palladian mode and it appeared in several projects in which the Macquaries were effectively the client. The Orphan School, Government House and Marsden's Parsonage, all at Parramatta, were examples.* Also she was known to have had a small collection of architectural copy books,* though only Gyfford's 'Designs for Small Picturesque Cottages...' of 1807 has been identified.*

*Govt Hse plan in ML
at BT 36
Watercolour of
Parsonage in ML
at V173/PARR*

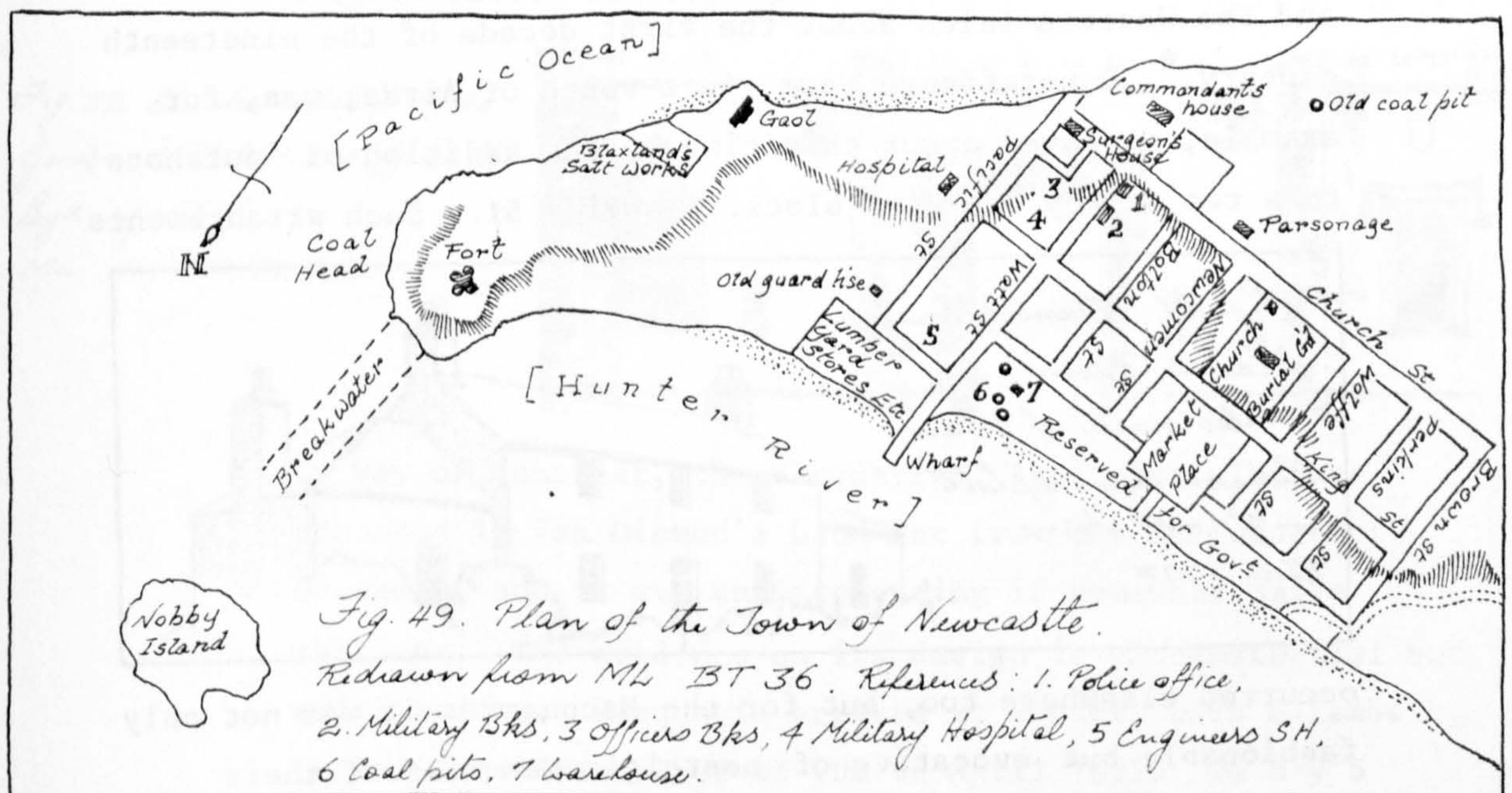
ADB II. 186

By James Broadbent

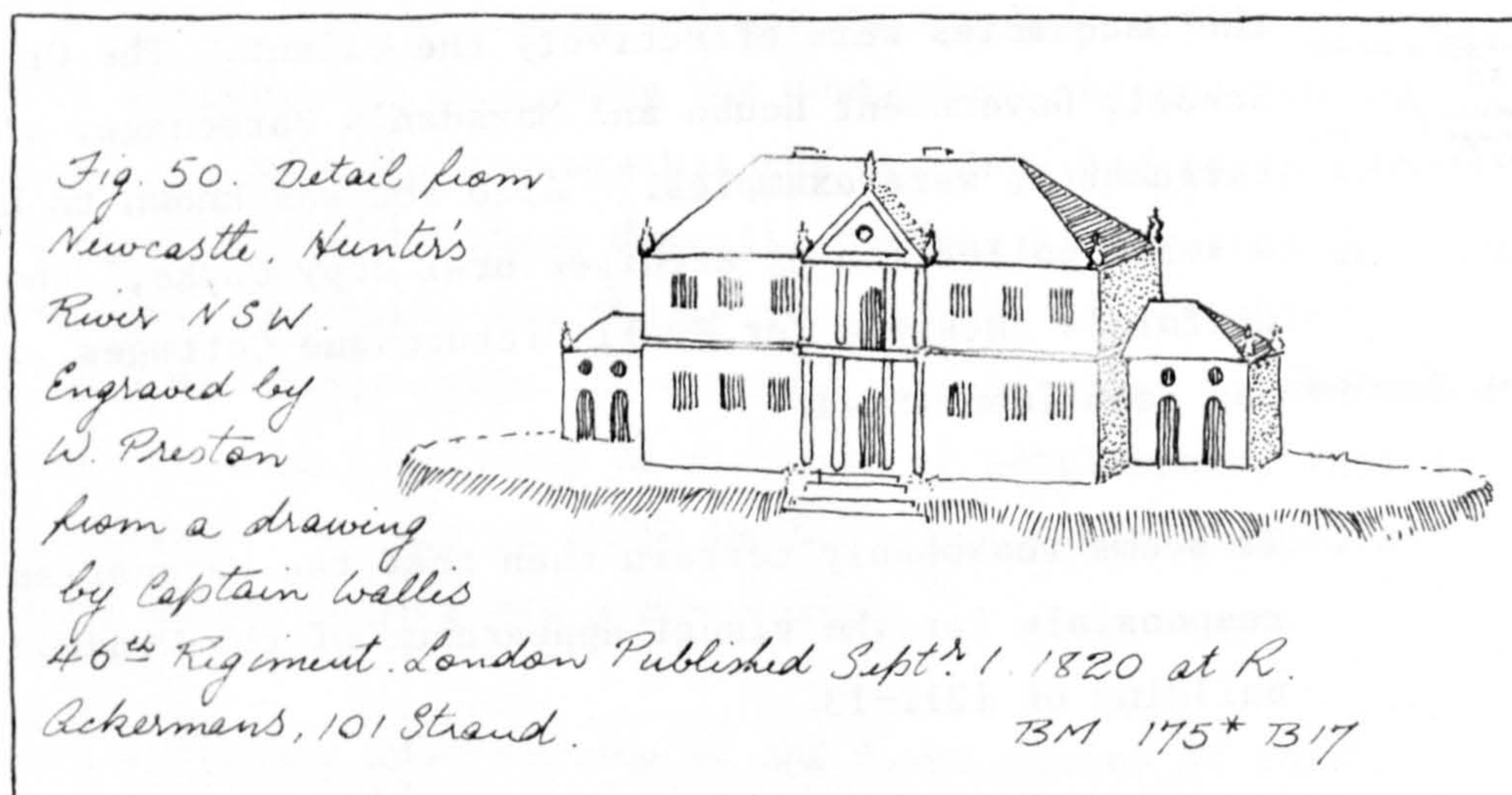
It seems reasonably certain then that the Macquaries were responsible for the visual appearance of the Windsor gaol building of 1812-13.

Another spot which invited embellishment was the headland at Newcastle. Here, on the seaward side of the promontory which guarded the mouth of the Hunter River, were irregular rocky eminences resembling the castle girt coast of Loch Linnhe round Mrs Macquarie's beloved Airds. On the brow of one of these hills, immediately above the sea, and set apart from the settlement, Wallis* built a new gaol. See Fig. 49.

*Commandant
June 1816 - Dec. 1818
ADB II. 568*



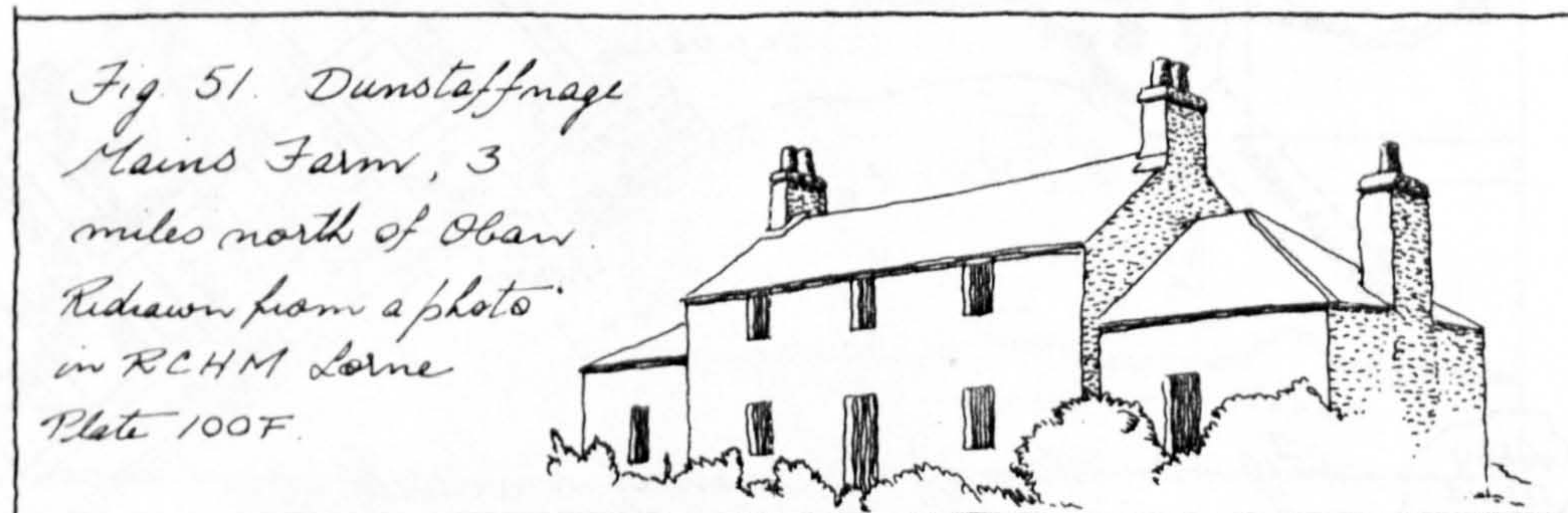
The gaol was of stone, two storeys high with a characteristically overgrand, Macquariesque, tetrastyle portico and with all doors and windows facing the west or town side. See Fig. 50. To the mariner approaching Newcastle it would have



presented an almost blank and castle-like rear masonry wall above the rocky escarpment.

In style it was Elizabeth Macquarie's favoured Neo Palladian, with a central block and flanking single storey hipped roof 'outshots' accommodating the cells. This was an arrangement which appeared in the schools and medium sized houses of Lorne and the Western Isles about the first decade of the nineteenth century.* Dunstaffnage Farm, just south of Airds, was, for example, improved about this time by the addition of 'outshots' to a two storey Georgian block. See Fig. 51. Such arrangements

*RCHM Lorne
Plate 100B
Plate 100D*



occurred elsewhere too, but for the Macquaries it was not only fashionable but evocative of nostalgic memories of their

western homeland.

ADB. II. 568

*Lycett's Views in
Australia Plate 20*

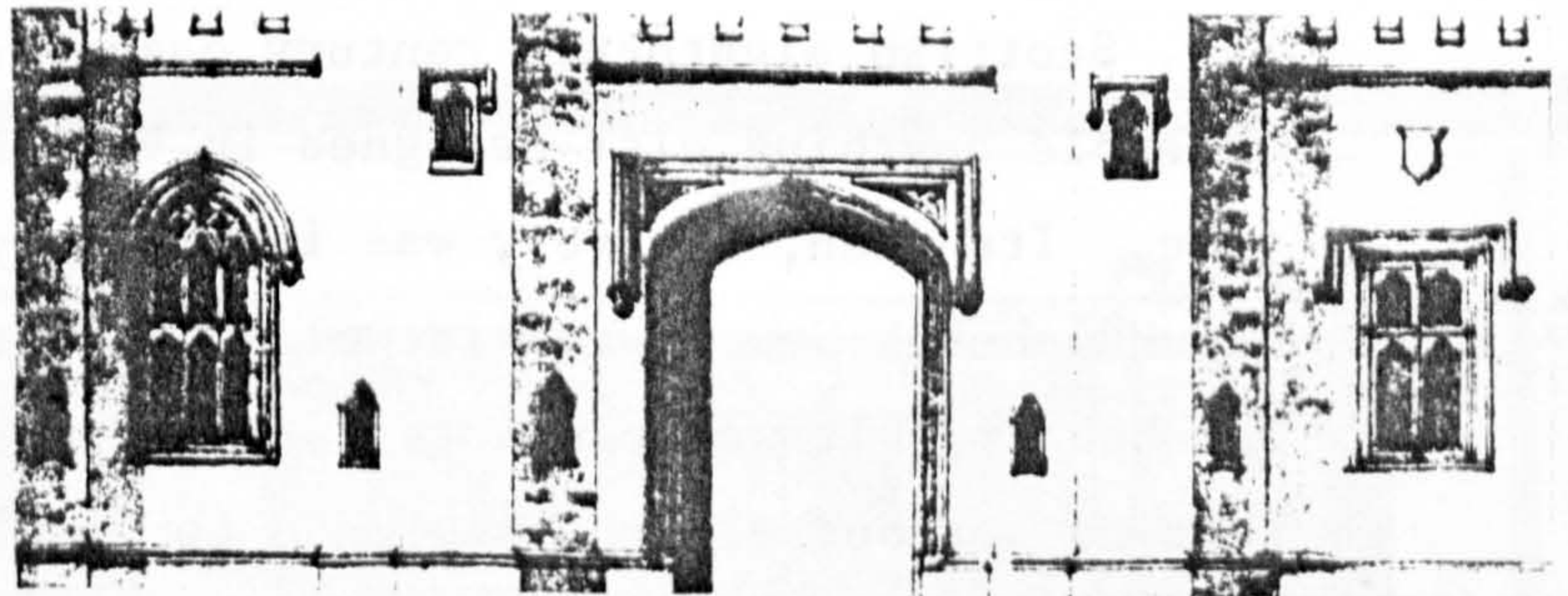
ADB. II. 568

Macquarie revisited Newcastle in May 1818* and his pleasure with the new work suggests a proprietorial interest. The only other candidates who could have provided the design were Wallis himself and the artist, Joseph Lycett. The latter can be eliminated as he subsequently depicted the gaol with considerable inaccuracy.* There was nothing in Wallis' career* to suggest that he had previously developed a taste parallel in direction to the Macquaries, and it seems clear that in the matter of style and siting he followed the Governor's instructions.

*The Australian
28.4.1825*

Both Macquaries seem to have shared a liking for the Scottish castle tradition as revived in the eighteenth century at the Campbell clan's Inverary Castle. Francis Greenway clad their endeavours in this direction with as much sophistication and archaeological exactitude as was fashionable in England in the early nineteenth century. He claimed to have based the substantial Government House design on Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire,* and even the gothic detailing on his 'Castellated' symmetrical stables was reasonably correct. See Fig. 52.

*Fig. 52 Elevation detail of the
Governor's Stables and Offices at
Sydney NSW.
ML VI/PUB/GOVS/1*



By way of contrast, the Macquaries' last gaol plan was prepared in Van Dieman's Land far from the influence of Greenway, and it was an interesting if somewhat naive pastiche. The evidence on its design is circumstantial but quite strong. Macquarie arrived at Hobart, with Elizabeth, on his last Grand Tour of VDL in April 1821. On May 5

Died intestate 1827
CO280.29 f391
and f445

Alexander Waddell, a stonemason of Hobart* produced a design for 'a Gaol upon a Secure Plan.' See Fig. 53.

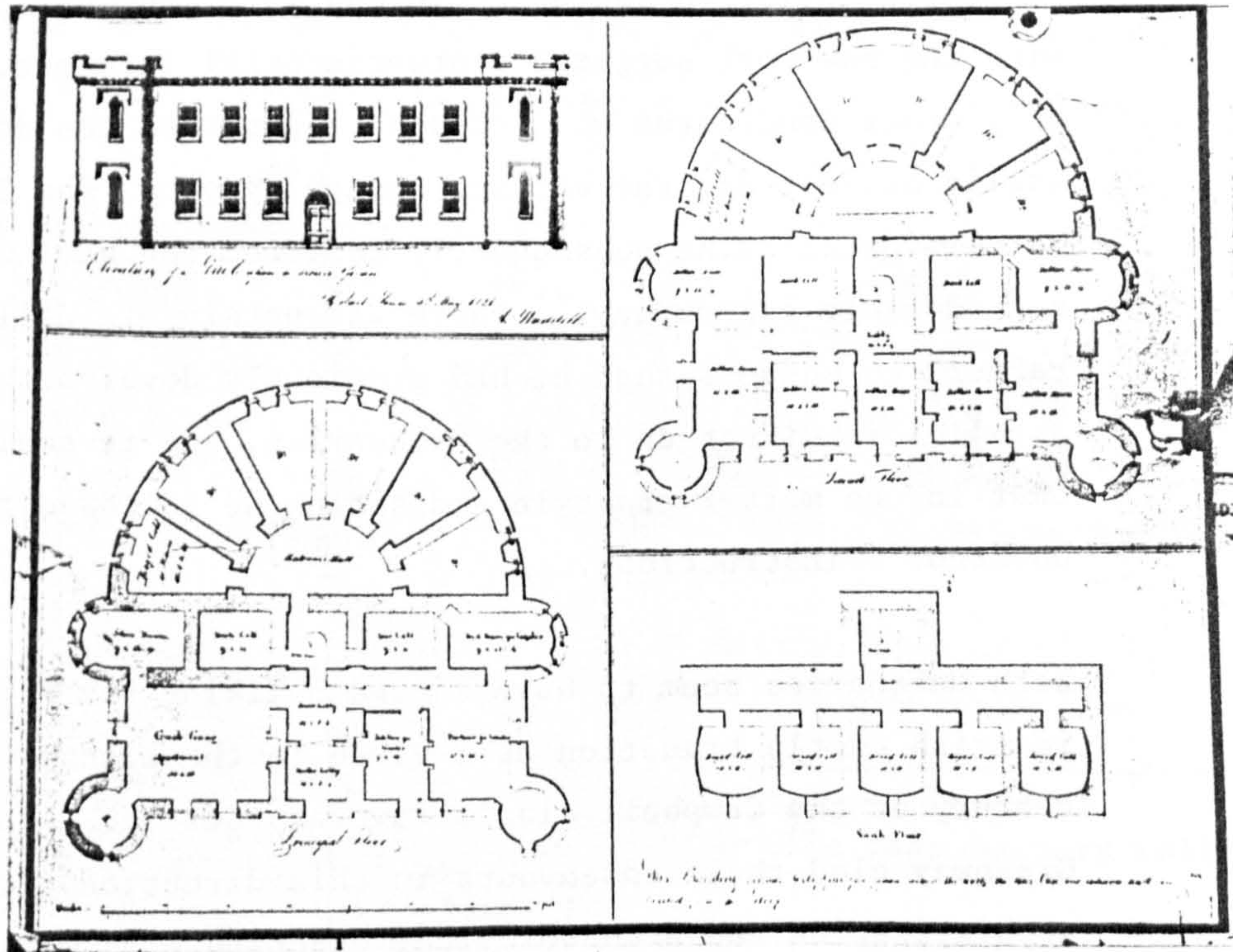


Fig. 53. Design for a Gaol upon a secure plan. Hobart
Town, 5th May 1821. A. Waddell A/TAS 290/339

The elevation conformed to the Macquaries' known inclinations (ie. Scottish eighteenth century castellated) and did not resemble anything else designed in Van Dieman's Land at that time. Its plan, however, was inspired by Adam's design for the Edinburgh New Town Bridewell,* adapted and scaled down for Hobart. It was characteristic of Macquarie and his time that no serious attempt was made to provide a functional solution for the requirements of Sorell's gaol regulations,* although separate sleeping departments were provided for the gaol gang and debtors according to established custom.

Prisoner Building
Typed Fig 10.150

CO201.13A f249

The gaol would have proved a very expensive solution to Sorell's problem of overcrowding at the existing gaol, and the resources did not exist in VDL for its construction, even

had Mr Bigge permitted such extravagance. Hence it was never built.

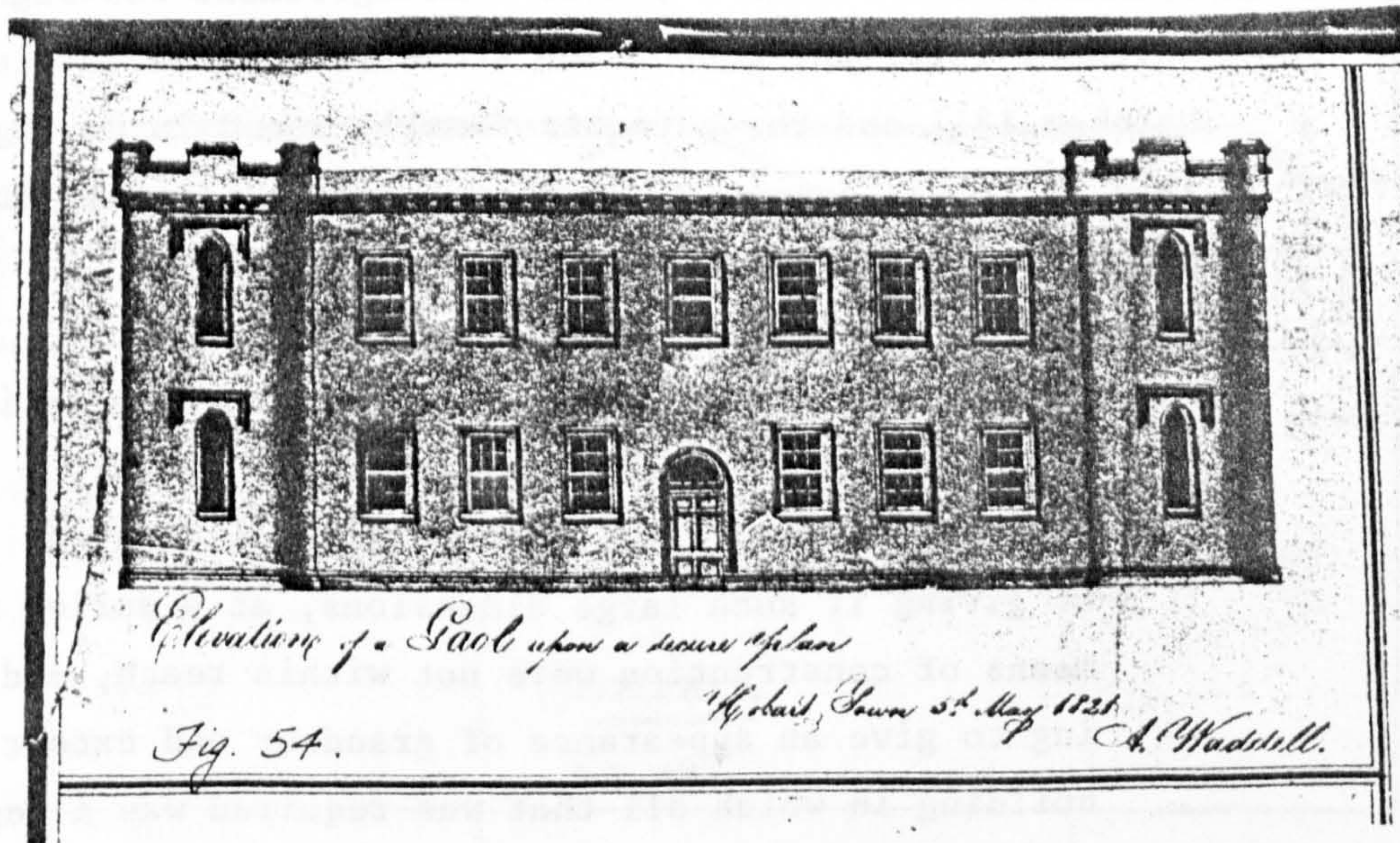
RCHM Lorne 31

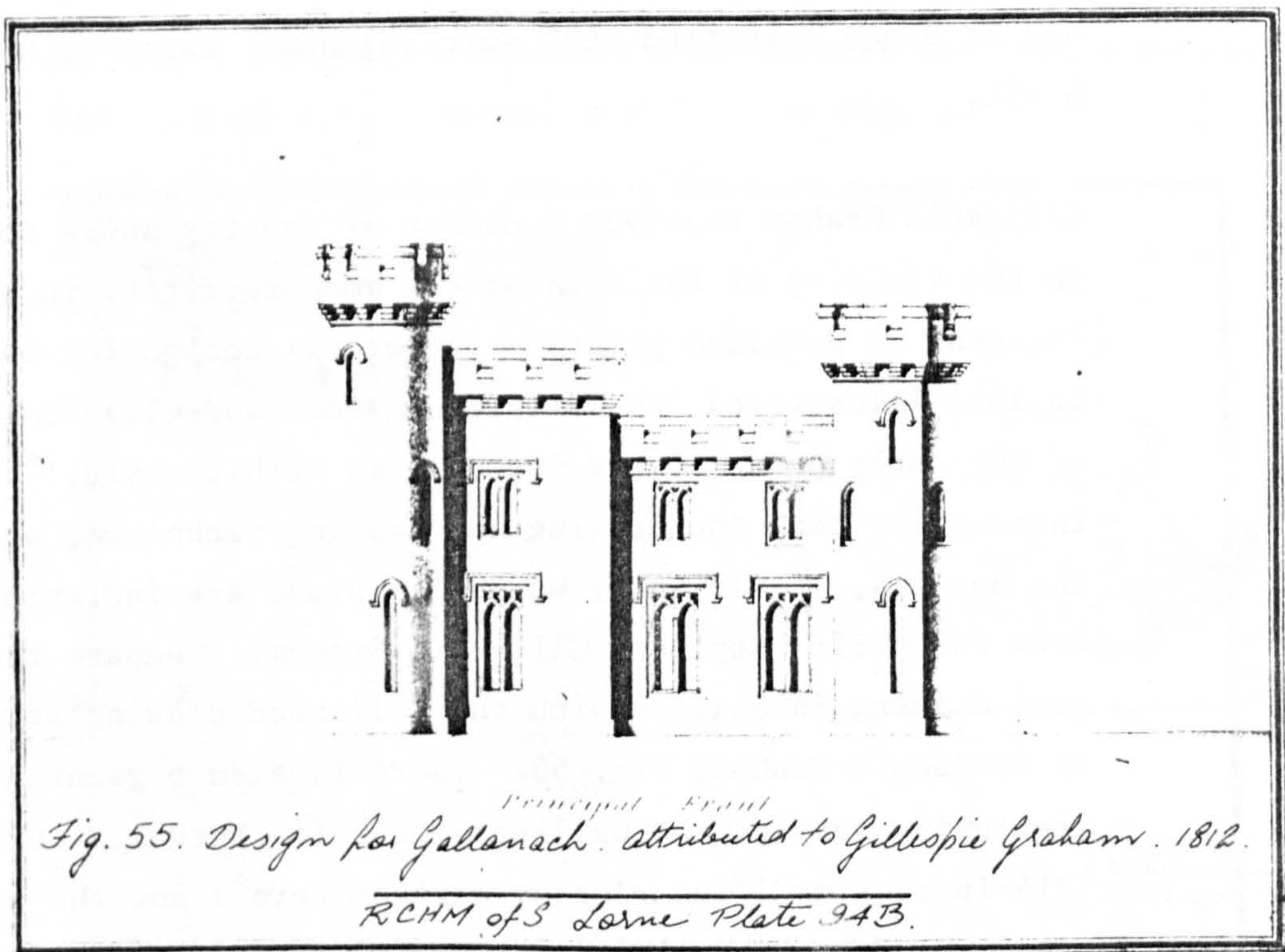
Ibid.

*Ibid. Plate 93 A
and modifications
to it on page 255.*

Gillespie Graham received a number of country house commissions in the vicinity of the Macquaries' home territory in Scotland.* The RCHM of Scotland points out that his design for Gallanach in 1812 illustrated 'the simple ornament and classical planning of the early phase of the Castellated Gothic style.'* It is interesting that the drawing and shading technique, and even the borders, of Alexander Waddell's plans are indistinguishable from the office style of Gillespie Graham. Compare the Hobart gaol drawing in Fig. 54 with the Gallanach drawing attributed to Gillespie Graham, Fig. 55. There is also a remarkable similarity between the Gallanach plan (as actually built in 1814-16 to a modified plan by William Burn*) and the corresponding part of Waddell's gaol.

In the absence of further information no conclusion can be drawn other than that Waddell may have been associated with Graham and that he may have been familiar with the modification to the Gallanach plan during construction, before coming to VDL. It is apparent that Waddell was a trained draughtsman and that his manual occupation in VDL was not necessarily his original vocation.





When Macquarie first arrived the most urgent need was for a replacement to the old hospital buildings. His experience of financial manipulations in the British Army in India* and the precedent of King's and Hunter's levys on spirit imports for gaol construction* led naturally to his contract with Blaxcell, Reily and Wentworth to build a new Colonial (convict) hospital. They in return received, in lieu of payment, a monopoly on spirit purchases for 3 years. The agreement was signed November 1810, the foundation stone laid by Macquarie in October 1811 and the patients finally moved in during March 1816.* It was commonly known as the Rum Hospital, and among its habitués as the Sydney Slaughter house.

The tribulations of its construction are documented in the PRO.* Of the buildings as completed Bigge wrote:

'The great error committed in this building was that of giving it such large dimensions, at a period when the means of construction were not within reach, and attempting to give an appearance of grandeur and extent to a building in which all that was required was a degree of

*See Ellis Macquarie
chapters on Indian
town.*

See pages 31-2 & 35

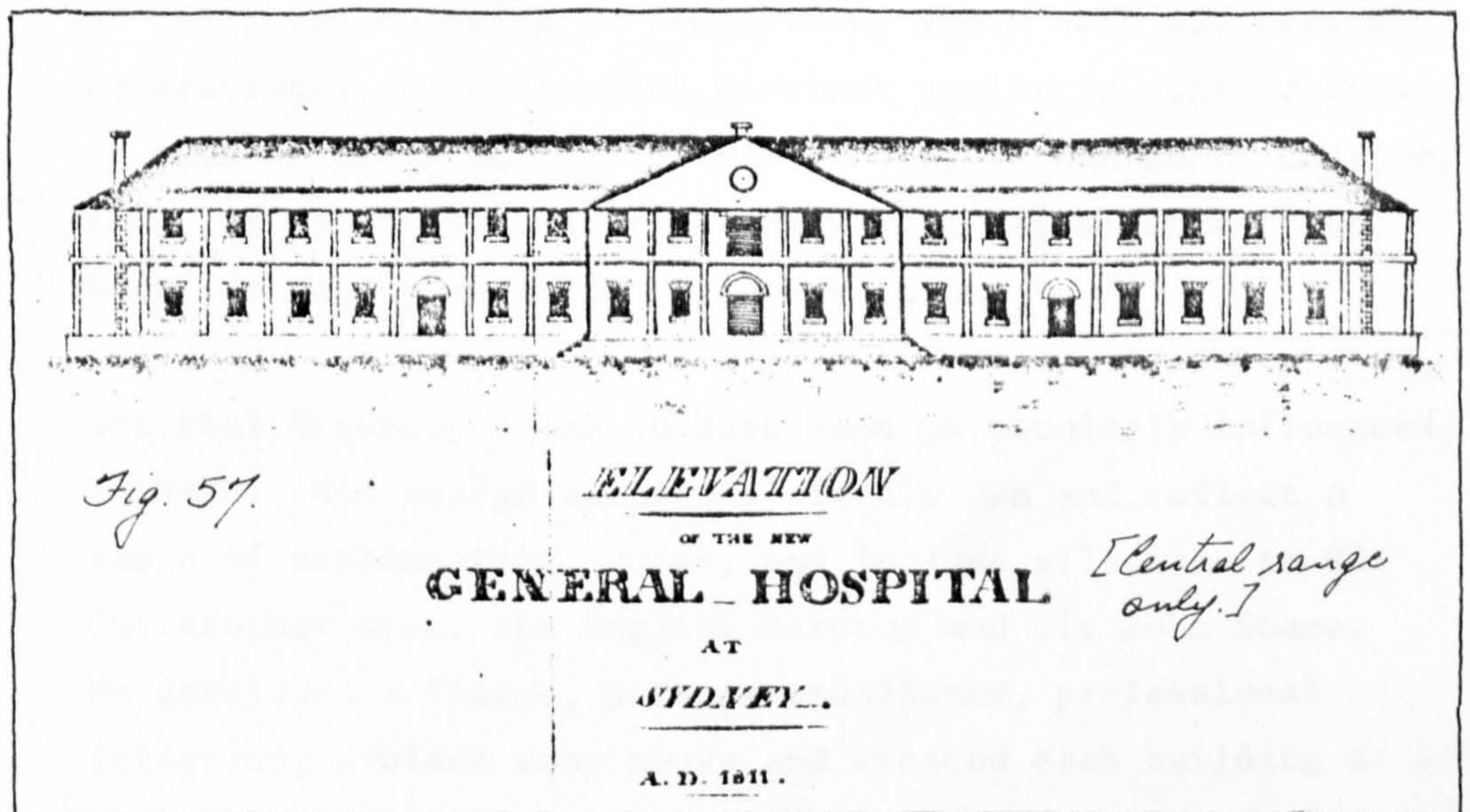
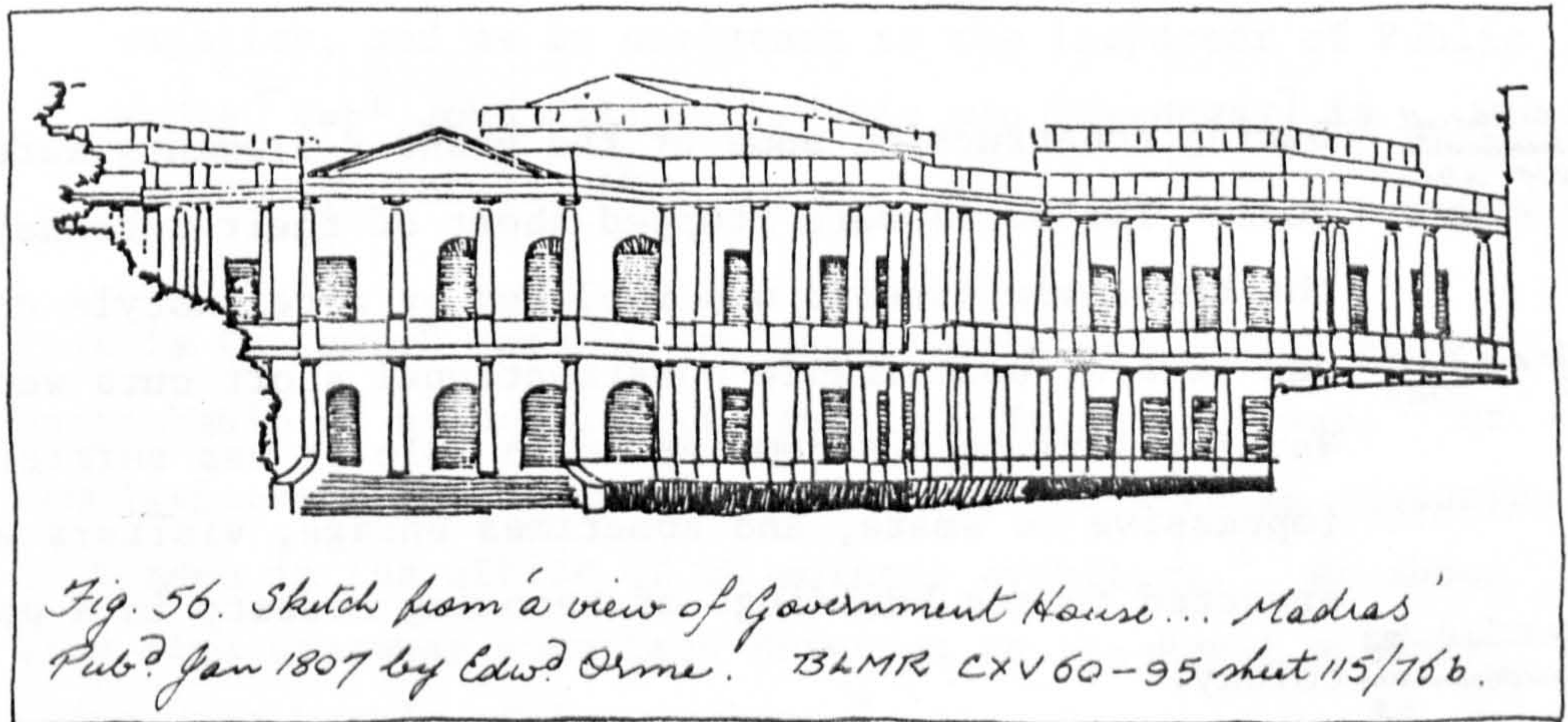
Bigge Ag. & Trade. 103

*CO201 53 to 73
and 133*

Bigge Ag. & Trade.
102

accommodation adapted to the actual wants of the colony, and the capacity of future extension.*

It was extensive because Lachlan Macquarie believed he had a chance to raise up a monument in the grand manner of the British in India. The Gov^t House at Madras was just the type of building to have impressed Macquarie and a view of it (Fig. 56) was published in London 2 years before he left for NSW. The Rum Hospital in Sydney (Fig. 57), like the Madras building, had an encircling 2 storey doric gallery, or verandah, on a grand scale, with a low pediment breaking forward in the centre. There is a persistent and unsubstantiated belief that the hospital was 'designed' by Mrs Macquarie. While this is



obviously unlikely, it is probable that the contractors were given Orme's mezzotint (or something similar) as a guide to the elevation treatment and asked to carry it out on the barrack or hospital plan usual at the time.*

See page 78

The Portico in the Sydney design sheltered a large door on each storey, which in turn gave access to a blank wall. Immediately behind this blind opening was a cross wall separating two wards. See Fig. 82. This sham emphasised just how much the Macquaries saw the building as a grand element in the landscape, and just how little its function was considered by anyone involved in its design. Even the medical officers concerned, Wentworth and Redfern, made no suggestions when shown the design.*

Bigge Ag. and Trade 106

*Col. Sec. to Blaxcell
Reley & Wentworth
8.9.1814 A/NSW
CSOL 4/3493*

During construction some of the grander elements were watered down. The walls were stopped short of their intended height,* the hexastyle portico was replaced by a tetrastyle configuration* and several undesirable constructional short cuts were taken.* Nevertheless on its completion in 1816 it was sufficiently impressive to amaze, and sometimes enrage, visitors who expected to see buildings of becoming modesty in a penal colony.*

2nd ed.

Bigge Ag. and Trade 102

*Bigge Ag. & Trade 102
Henderson Observations 63*

Chapter 4 Greenway and the introduction of Architecture

Macquarie wrote to Bathurst in April 1817:

'From the want of a Scientific Person to Plan and Superintend the Construction of all Government Public Buildings, most of them have hitherto been very badly planned and still worse Executed - a man named Francis Howard Greenway, who came out here a Convict in the Year 1814, and who was originally an Architect of some Eminence in England, having been strongly recommended to me by the late Governor Phillip, I have availed myself of his Skill and Scientific Knowledge as a Civil Architect, and accordingly sometime since Employed him to act in that capacity, and as an assistant to the Inspector of Public Works [Capt John Gill] this man [Greenway] is extremely useful...'*

*Macquarie to Bathurst
4.4.1817 N^o 18
CO 201.84 J213*

*See Ellis Greenway
for biography
p. 35-6*

*Howard Greenway
139*

*Colvin Dictionary
247*

*Information from
the Chaplain*

Francis Greenway* was the designing member of the Bristol partnership of himself, Olive and John Tripp Greenway.* Mr Commissioner Bigge reported that he had received an education in London in the office of an eminent architect.* At about this time Greenway submitted drawings to the Royal Academy using John Nash's office address.* Also Greenway designed at least one building in Carmarthen, where Nash had several commissions, and there were distinct stylistic similarities in some of their work. The Royal Dockyard Church at Chatham, Kent, of about 1807, attributed by that Establishment* to Nash, is very much in the Greenway idiom.

Not that Greenway seems to have been particularly influenced by Nash. His design solutions are his own and reflect a range of contemporary tastes, and include allusions to Sir Christopher Wren, the English Baroque and Sir John Soane. He developed a fierce, perhaps unbalanced, professional integrity, avoided copy books and treated each building as a separate problem with an individual solution. Its design was

still determined by aesthetic considerations, but his ability to range outside of standard plans enabled him to fit the function of the building with better than average cunning to the required symmetry. By the time he came to design major buildings in NSW he had 2 further qualifications, an understanding of local materials and craftsmen and an inside view of the jobbery practised by building contractors in the Colony.

Once the Macquaries were satisfied with Greenway, their involvement in design subsided to something more like the relationship expected of an autocratic client and a good architect. To illustrate this development: in July 1814 Macquarie instructed Greenway to copy the drawings he had provided for a Market House and Town Hall. Greenway did so, protesting politely but definitely at the same time and quoting Sir William Chambers in support of his objection.* In July 1817 Macquarie asked Greenway 'to draw a Ground Plan and Elevation of a Handsome and Commodious Castletted House, for the Residence of the Governor in Chief of the Colony [i.e. Macquarie] ; agreeably to the Schedule of the number and description of Apartments herewith delivered; which Castletted House is to be built of Stone; but the form of the House, and the desposition of the Apartments are entirely left to Mr Greenway's own taste and judgement.'* The same year Elizabeth Macquarie briefed Greenway on the offices required in the proposed stables for government house. He drew 2 elevations, 'roman' and 'castellated'.* The Macquaries chose the latter. See Fig. 52.

*Greenway to Macquarie
12.7.1814 quoted in
Howard Greenway
142.*

*Macquarie to Greenway
4.7.1817 quoted in
Howard Greenway
163.*

*Howard Greenway
163.*

Greenway provided 3 major designs for convict establishments in NSW: the Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney for male convicts, the Parramatta Female Factory for female convicts, and the Liverpool hospital. The construction of the first 2 was supervised by Greenway, the Barracks being completed by government convict labour and the Factory by contract.

*Ellis Greenway
appendix II
Greenway's claim
26.10.1826*

Though Greenway prepared the plans, estimates and bill of quantities for the hospital* it was erected with alterations after his dismissal.

Appendix 2

*Greenway to Macquarie
27.7.1814 quoted in
Howard Greenway
142.*

He also carried out repairs and additions at Windsor (1819), Parramatta (1817) and Sydney (1816) Gaols, but only Windsor involved a modicum of interest in the design sense.* His 3 major works are, however, of particular interest and reveal his varied design approach to the problem of providing 'an elegant and classical pile of building'* for a barrack, a factory and a hospital.

*Macquarie to Bathurst
28.4.1814 quoted in
Shaw Convicts. 81*

*Bathurst to Macquarie
4.12.1815 quoted in
Shaw Convicts. 81*

*Macquarie to Bathurst
4.4.1817 No 18
CO 201.84 f 213*

Ibid.

Howard Greenway. 165

In April 1814 Macquarie proposed the construction of barracks for the better control of the convicts working for the government in Sydney, and particularly to remove them from temptation at night.* Bathurst replied that it was not so necessary as to justify a grant from England.* Finally by 1817 the arrival of a large number of convicts in the past few months emboldened Macquarie to presume further on his discretionary powers and he commenced the footings in March.* Cap^t John Gill, the Engineer and Artillery Officer and Macquarie's Acting Inspector of Public Works was nominally in charge* with Greenway responsible to him. The first convicts were lodged in the building in May 1819.*

Greenway's design was simple and was a recognizable eighteenth century arrangement. It consisted of a dominant central range set in a quadrangular screen and aligned on a single east-west axis. See Fig. 58. The flanking walls concealed auxiliary offices and were treated as a triadic composition with a central pedimented element and terminal domed lodges, or pavilions. See Fig. 59. Samuel Wyatt had provided a similar solution in his design for Lord Petre's Hatch Farm at Thordon, Essex in 1777. See Fig. 60.

Fig. 58 Hyde Park Convict Barracks, Sydney, NSW. Sketch based on Greenway's plan in the PRO at CO 201. 133 f 172

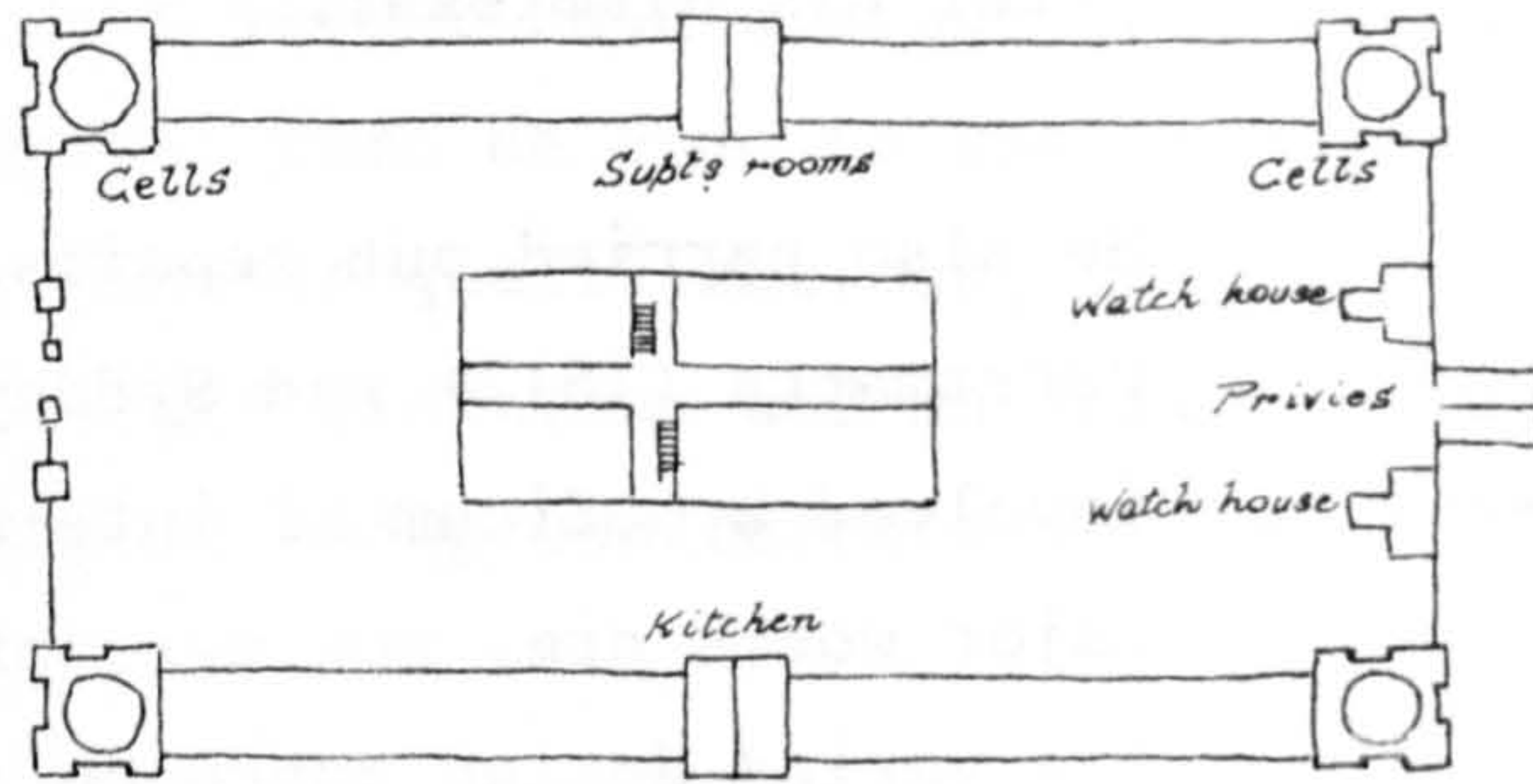


Fig. 59 Hyde Park Convict Barracks Sketch based on 1871 Photo M. Small Picture File.



Fig. 60. Hath Farm, Thorndon, Essex. Design by Samuel Wyatt 1777.



Sketch based on Robinson J. M., *Model Farm Bldgs in the Age of Improvement* Fig 15B in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of GB*. Vol 19: 1976.

As Bigge rightly said 'the leading object of security has been sacrificed to that of exhibiting with advantage and effect the regular proportion of the building that they enclose.'* See Plate 1.

Bigge Colony 21-3

Even if, as a secure enclosure, it was somewhat impractical, no-one suggested, then or since, that Greenway's main barrack building was anything but worth displaying. By placing his roundheaded windows in an arched recess (overarching), and by setting this motif between bold pilasters without any decorative details, he produced a deceptively simple yet strongly articulated wall. See Fig. 61. It was a

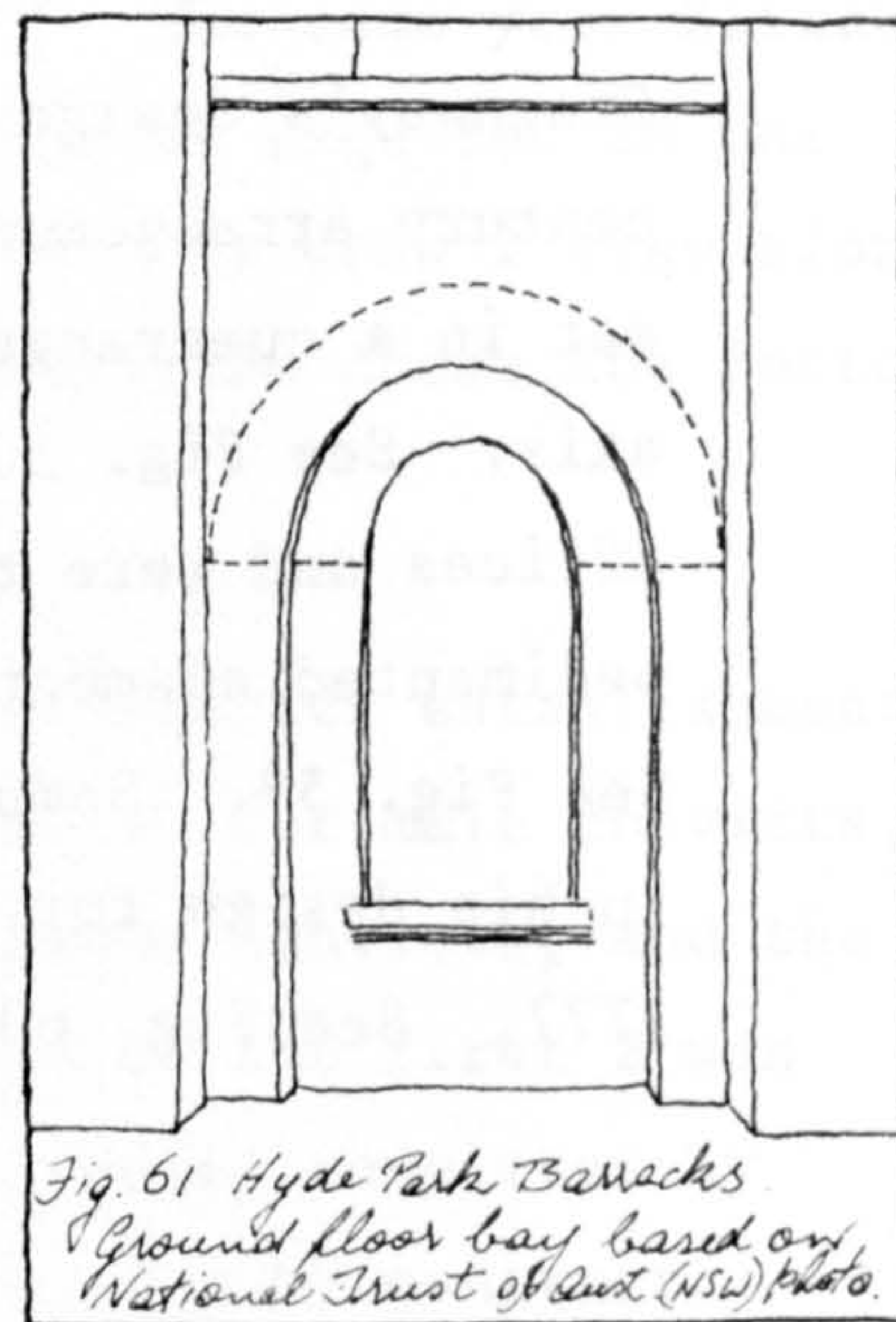
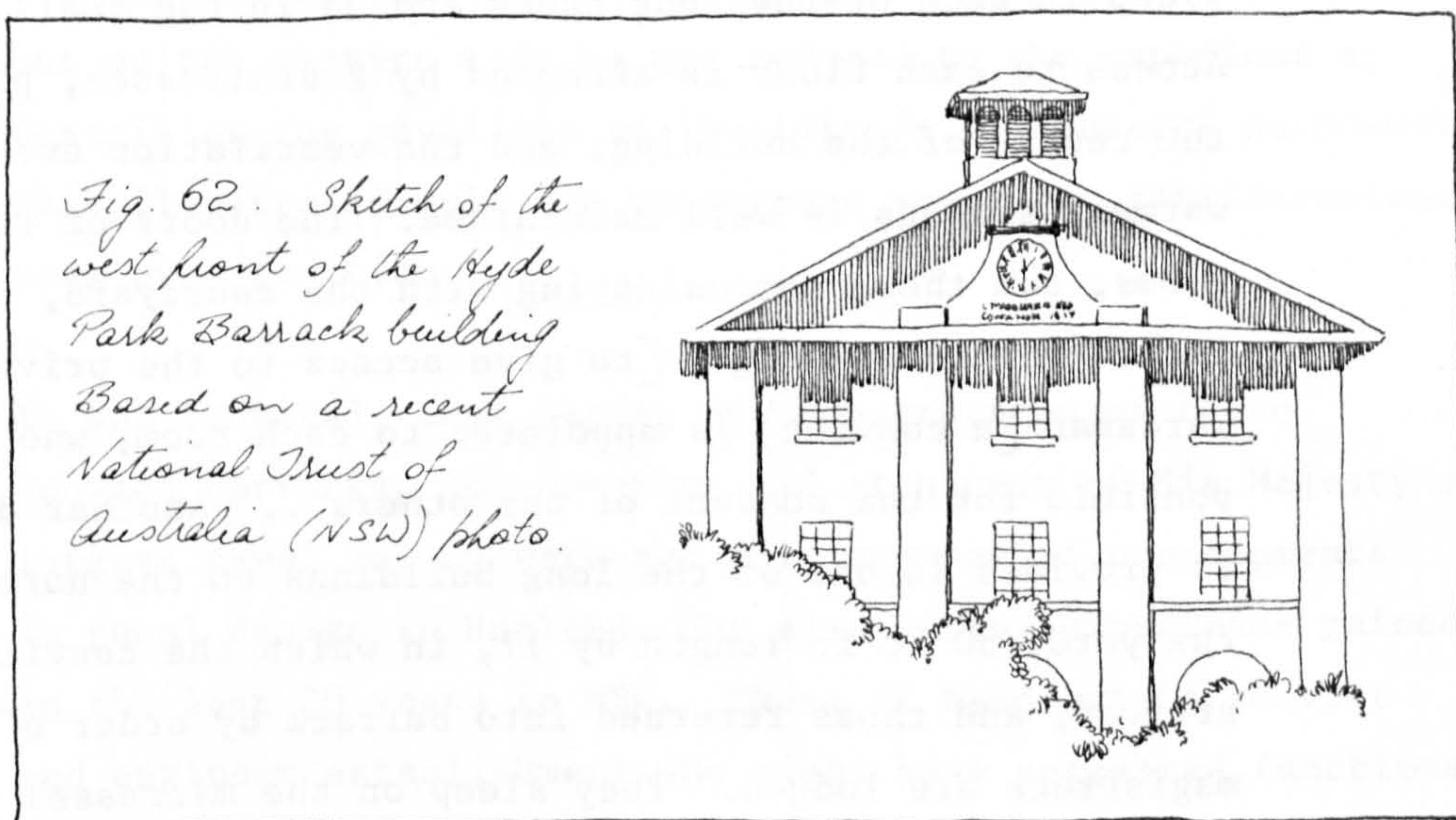


Fig. 61 Hyde Park Barracks. Ground floor bay based on National Trust of Aust. (NSW) photo.

design suited to expression in brick and Greenway repeated it in a different context at St Matthews, Windsor. His designs for the Female Factory, executed in ashlar were of an entirely different character.

On the west front of the Barrack the 4 pilasters gave the customary visual support to the box pediment. See Fig. 62.



The two inner pilasters however penetrated the base of the pediment where they formed the feet of a mildly baroque tablet inscribed with those necessary words:

L MACQUARIE ESQ
GOVERNOR 1817

None of these stylistic devices were invented by Greenway, they were all in contemporary or eighteenth century use in England, Ireland and Scotland, but he assembled them with knowledge and skill to achieve his goal of 'an elegant and classical pile...'*

*Greenway to Macquarie
27.7.1814
Howard Greenway 142*

Bigge described the barracks with more than usual clarity and accuracy: 'the principal barrack... is a handsome brick structure 130 ft in length and 50 ft in breadth, and contains 3 stories, that are divided by a lofty passage, separating

one range of sleeping rooms from the other. There are 4 rooms on each floor, and of these 6 are 35 ft by 19 and 6 others are 65 ft by 19. In each room rows of hammocks are slung to strong wooden rails, supported by upright staunchions fixed to the floor and roofs. 20" or 2 ft in breadth and 7 ft in length are allowed for each hammock; and the 2 rows are separated from each other by a small passage of 3 ft. 70 men sleep in each of the long rooms and 35 in the small ones. Access to each floor is afforded by 2 staircases, placed in the centre of the building; and the ventilation even in the warmest seasons is well maintained. The doors of the sleeping rooms, and those communicating with the courtyard, are not locked during the night [to give access to the privies]. One wardman [a convict] is appointed to each room, who is responsible for the conduct of the others... Another dormitory is provided in one of the long buildings on the north side of the yard, 80 ft in length by 17, in which the convicts lately arrived, and those returned into barrack by order of the magistrate are lodged. They sleep on the mattresses that are brought from the convict ships, and spread them upon raised and sloping platforms of wood similar to those used in military guard rooms. The convicts employed in the kitchens and bakehouse are allowed to hang their hammocks there.*

Bigge Colony 22-3

*Macquarie to Bathurst
12.12.1817 N^o 40
ML A3250*

The barracks were originally intended to hold 400 convicts,* but this was increased by the means outlined by Bigge, and Macquarie reported in September 1820 that they could accommodate 800.* No attempt was made in the original design to introduce any form of physical separation for different classes of convicts, and once the building was completed there was no practical way of adapting it to such a scheme. The boys were kept in a separate sleeping room at night, but as all the doors were left open, for access to the privies, this did not afford them any protection.* When the Carters' Barracks were completed they were moved there.

*Macquarie to Bathurst
1.9.1820 N^o 28
ML A3251*

*Bigge Reports
Collected Ritchie I. 13
Druitt Evidence
29.10.1819*

Greenway's compositions at both the Hyde Park barracks and the Female Factory at Parramatta demanded 4 corner pavilions for which uses had to be found. The northern pair at Sydney were fitted somewhat awkwardly with 5, 7 ft by 4, punishment cells each. See Fig. 133. The southern pair were not given any specific function and were used mostly for storage. Later Greenway proposed to use the riverside pavilions of his Parramatta Female Factory design as a hospital and a mill, but on the eastern side he was reduced to the expedient of describing the pavilions as 'building[s] for useful purposes.'* This illustrated well the precedence stylistic considerations took over function.

Australian
31.3.1825
Greenway to the
Editor

It was ironical, that during the construction of these convict barracks, the Governor and architect of His Majesty's largest penal colony were not only unaware of developments in penal design in England, but also of the experience gained in the last 20 years in NSW. Those of Macquarie's convict and engineer establishment who might have suggested functional improvements to the designs, could not have felt at liberty, or had the desire, to do so. The Macquaries had made the architecture of the colony very much their own domain, and no colonial office bearers would be anxious to correct such an autocratic patron. Nor would they be likely to help Greenway, whom they probably considered a convict puffed up with self-esteem.

The Female Factory like the Sydney Barracks was designed to aesthetic criteria, but before it was completed in 1822 several design adaptations were to make its conversion to 2 segregated classes possible. Moreover in its design, Greenway shows some awareness of the appearance of English Houses of Correction and Industry.

The inadequacy of the Female Factory attached to the Gaol at Parramatta remained an unsolved problem for most of Macquarie's

stay. It could not accommodate more than a few of the inmates and the rest were loosed upon the town at night to find accommodation. Many cohabited or became part-time prostitutes and the Reverend Samuel Marsden, as pastor and magistrate of this flock, viewed the consequent disorder in Parramatta without pleasure.

Both he and Macquarie made spasmodic attempts to erect a new factory and barracks. Macquarie's efforts were directed to obtaining the Secretary of State's approval and assistance* which was not, as usual, forthcoming, nor was he prepared before 1817 to exercise his already overworked discretionary powers at the expense of pet projects like the Gov^t House Stables. Marsden alternated neglect with attempts to irritate Macquarie into action. Failing in this, he commenced a letter campaign to English reformers exposing Parramatta as a sink of iniquity and the lack of female barracks as the main cause.*

In January 1817 Bathurst enclosed an anonymous letter in his dispatch to Macquarie which charged the Governor with condoning prostitution by his failure to provide accommodation for convict females. Macquarie defended himself* but nevertheless wrote to Marsden in December the same year asking him for a plan and ideas.* Marsden replied;

'I have the honor to transmit to your excellency a plan of a Factory such as I have seen at Leeds for the Woollen Manufactories there, how far a building of this kind may answer here I cannot say. The factories are built nearly square, and have only one gateway. In some of them 1000 persons are employed. The plan I have sent down might accommodate between 200 and 300 women. If the building should be all in one line there will require a very high wall to prevent the women from making their escape out and also to prevent other persons who had no business there from visiting the factory.'*

*Macquarie to Bathurst
7.10.1814 N^o 11
CO201.73 f40-1
7.10.1814 N^o 13
CO201.73 f156*

*Bigge Reports Ed.
Appendix I. 107-8
to view Evidence;
to Macquarie,
and Macquarie,
letters to Nicholls and
Marsden 1817. +
Nicholls to Marsden
20.9.1818 +
+ Marsden Papers ML
CVA 1992 Vol I. 224-6*

*Macquarie to Bathurst
4.12.1817 N^o 32
CO201.85 f156*

*Marsden's evidence
27.12.1820
BTS f3429*

*Marsden to Macquarie
29.12.1817 A/NSW
CSM 4/1739 f99-100*

Macquarie then briefed Greenway:

Thursday 29th Jan^y 1818

C0201.133 f116

'Memorandum for Mr Greenway*

To make out a Ground Plan and Elevation of a Factory and Barracks, sufficient to lodge 300 Female Convicts, on an area of Ground of 4 acres, enclosed by a Stone Wall 9 ft High .'

BT1 f391 (ML) At the same time Macquarie passed on Marsden's plans to Greenway,* who later told Commissioner Bigge that he had adopted 'the width of the rooms, as proposed in... [Marsden's] Plan, and the general dimensions of them...'*
Ibid.

*Macquarie's Journal
3.7.1818 ML
A 774.I.1*

Bigge Colony .73

The contract, except for the perimeter wall and some plastering, was let to Watkins and Payten for £4,800. Macquarie laid the foundation stone in July 1818,* and moved the females in at the beginning of February 1821, a little prematurely, so that the Factory might be seen to be functioning before his departure.*

and Plate 2.

*Rothman Anylum
Plate 12*

Greenway's plan was laid out with the major axis roughly east west, with the entry on the east, and the west wall backing on to the Parramatta river to the west. See Fig. 63. The central 3 storied building which dominated the composition contained dining rooms on the ground floor and sleeping wards on the upper floors. See Fig. 64.* It was similar in appearance to a number of Houses of Industry in England and America (e.g. Boston House of Industry 1821*) at the time, and together with its flanking service and workshop wings, was laid out rather in the manner of Clerkenwell (Middlesex), Shepton Mallet (Somerset) and Wilton (Wilts.) Houses of Correction. See Fig. 65. However, the similarity ceased with the block plan. The central focal point at Clerkenwell is the chapel. No such facility was required at Parramatta and the corresponding space was to be filled by one of Greenway's geometric stairs, under a lantern and dome, which

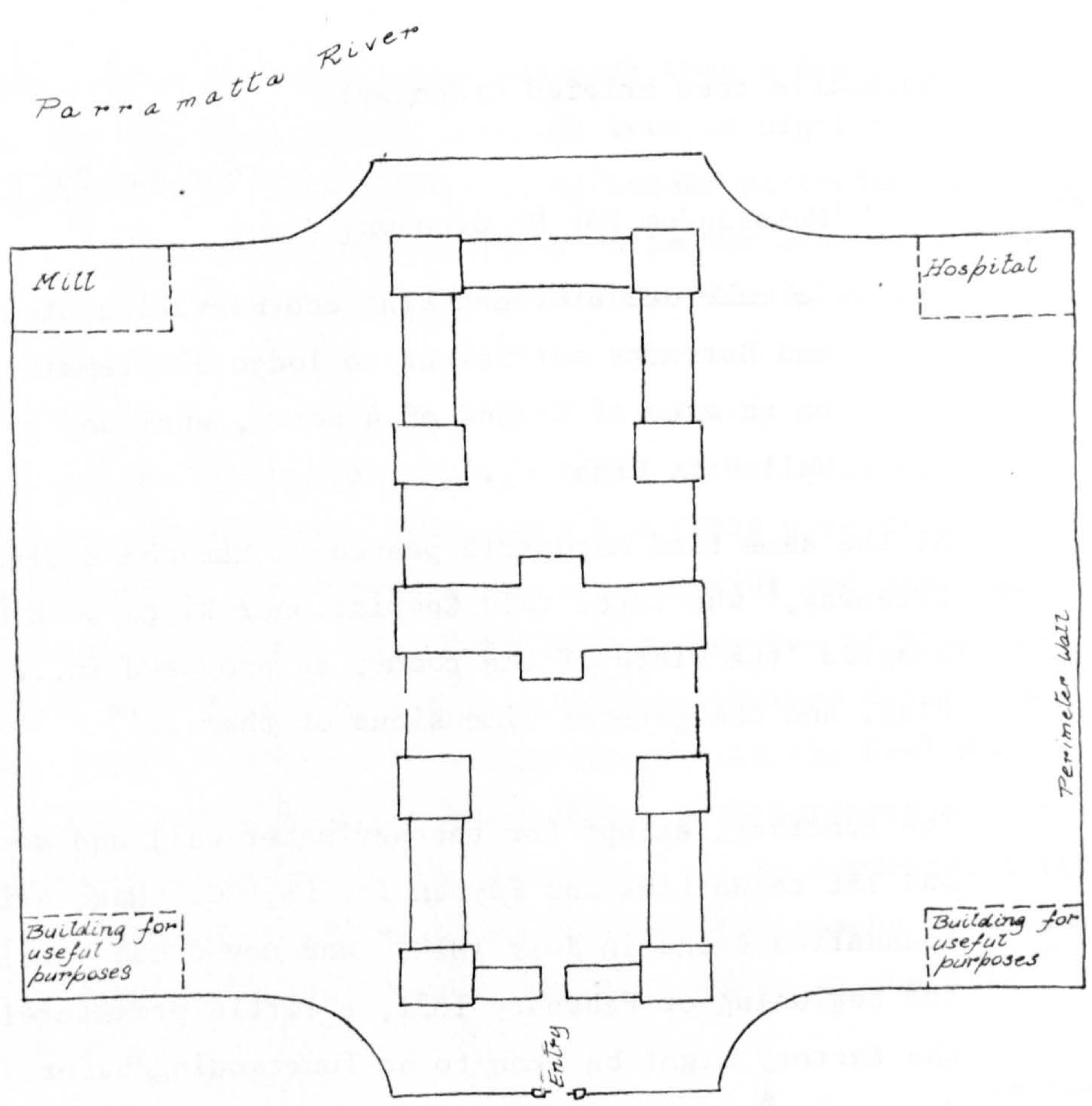


Fig 63 Sketch plan of Parramatta Female Factory & Barrack Based on W^m Buchanan's plan of November 1833 amended to reflect Greenway's original design.

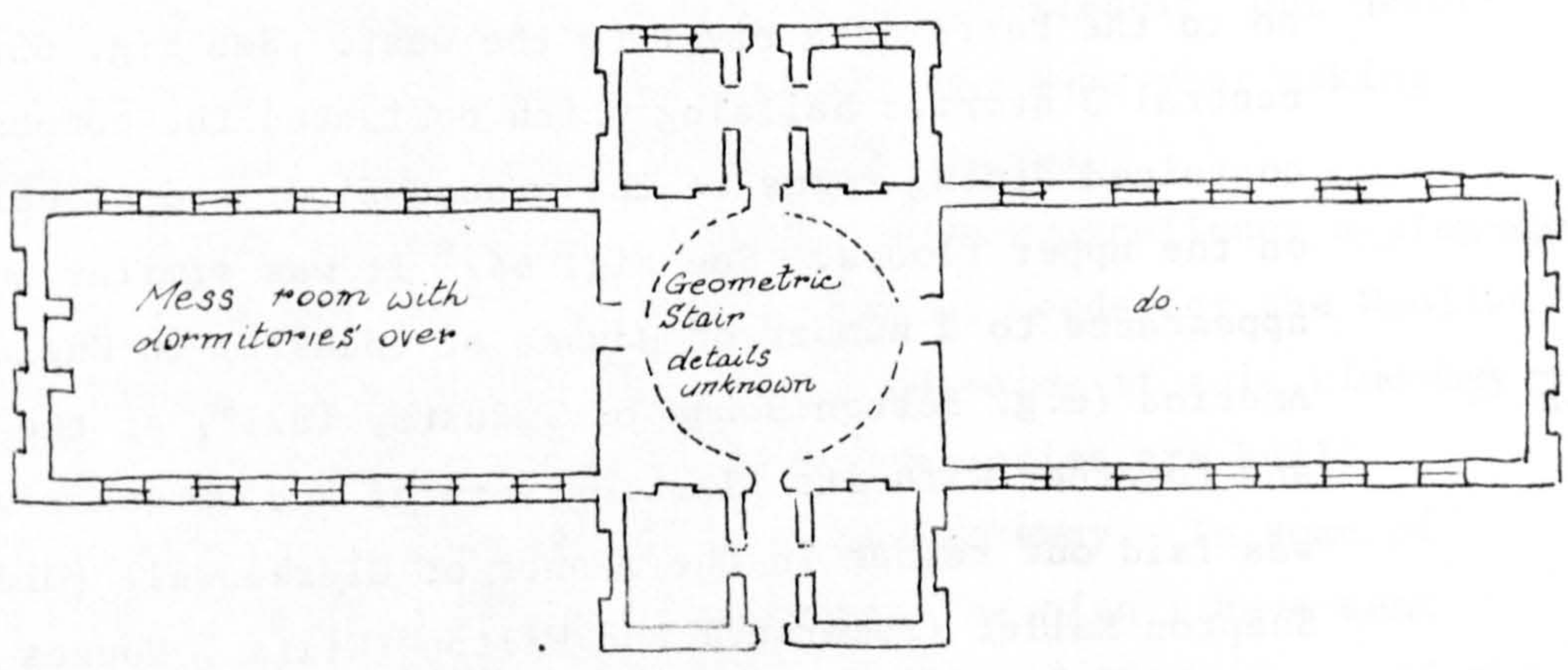
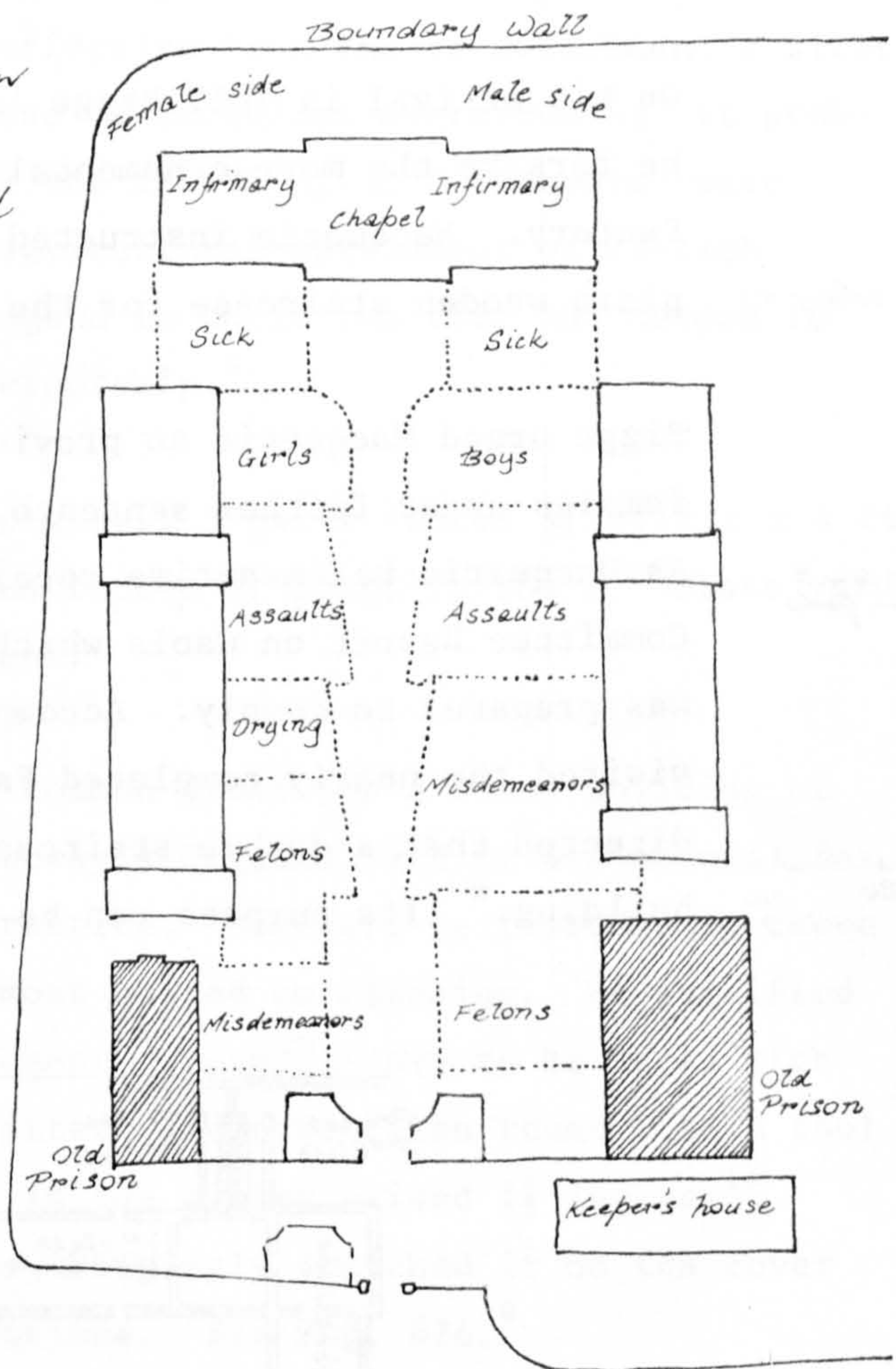


Fig 64. Sketch plan of Parramatta Female Factory and Barrack Mess and Dormitory building. Based on W^m Buchanan's plan of November 1833 in PRO at WO 44.187 f161 & 170.

Fig. 65. Ground plan of the new prison, Clerkenwell, commenced Sept^r 1816



would give access to the wards to the left and right.

Bigge Colony. 73

Neither Marsden nor Greenway attempted to provide a plan which would enable the women to be segregated into classes,* though Greenway's proved adaptable in this regard. The convict establishment, George Druitt (the Engineer and Inspector of Public Works) and the Governor were still unaware of its benefits and it was not made a requirement. Female convicts returned by magistrates for punishment would still be mixed with arrivals who had not yet been assigned.*

Ibid.

Greenway seems to have been generally unaware of developments in prison design, and if he looked to any prison plan for help it was to derive architectural inspiration for a similar

problem rather than to obtain a functional penal layout.

On his arrival in 1819 Bigge 'recommended' to Macquarie that he forsake the more ornamental and expensive elements of the Factory. Macquarie instructed Greenway to substitute a plain wooden staircase for the geometric stair.*

Bigge Colony 73

Bigge urged Macquarie to provide separate departments for females under further sentence and new arrivals from England. As Macquarie had meantime received a copy of the 1819 Select Committee Report on Gaols which made similar proposals,* he was prepared to comply. Accompanied by Bigge and Greenway he visited the nearly completed Factory in October 1820 and directed that a double staircase be made in the central building.* Its purpose can be seen on Fig. 66.

*Bathurst Com^{rs}
Report on Gaols
1819*

*Macquarie Memo
5.10.1820 ML
A 772 148-9*

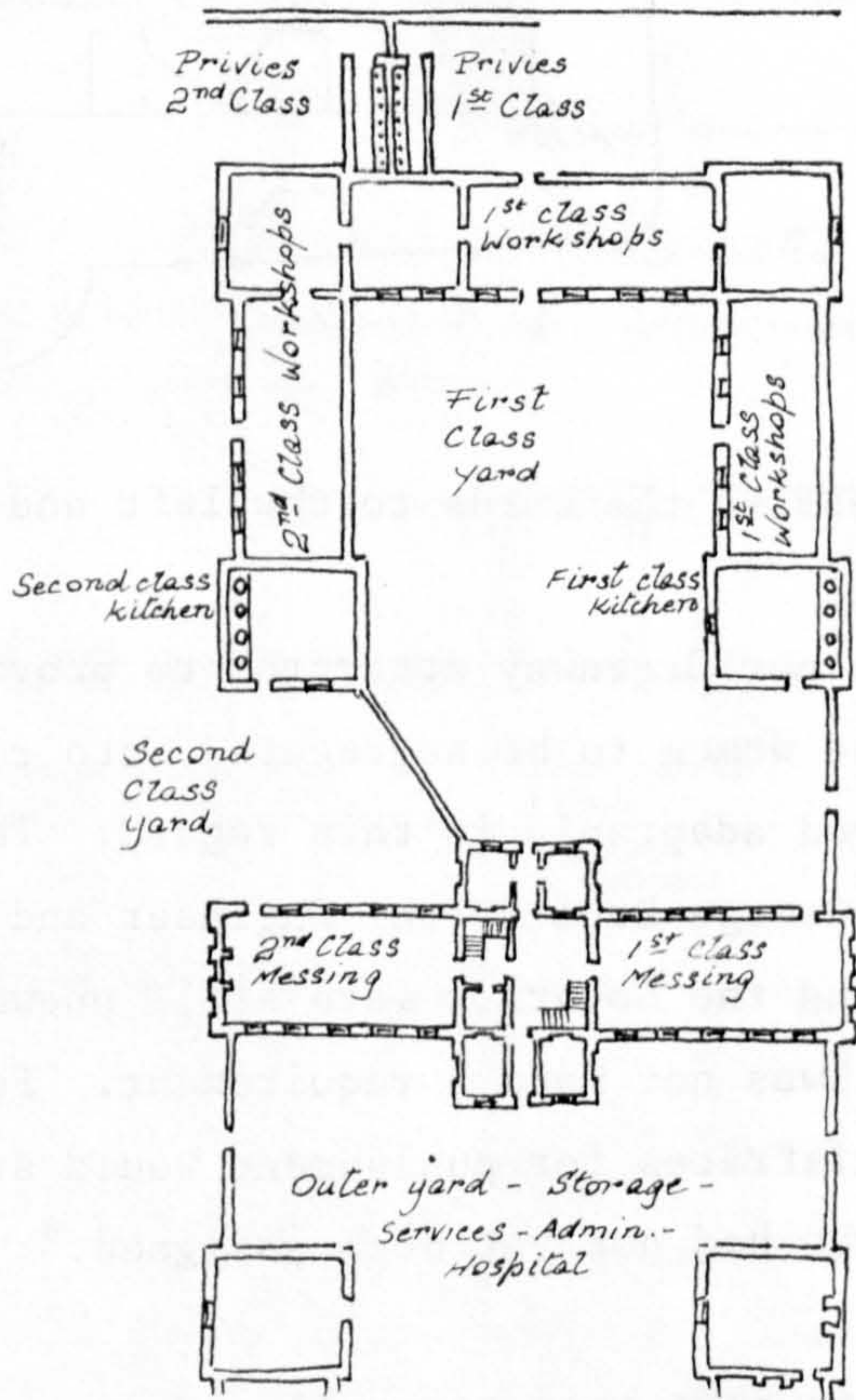


Fig 66. Parramatta Female Factory showing division into two classes made possible by erection of two staircases 1821-2. Based on Buchanan's plan of November 1833. PRO MPH 91(9) & WO 44.187 f161 & 70.

It made possible a complete physical separation into 2 classes. This could have been effective from the establishment's first use in 1822, but because of immediate overcrowding, it probably was not. To ease the crowding, 32 volunteers were drafted to the men's agricultural settlement at Penrith where they became a legend in their own time and helped to lose Brisbane his Governorship.*

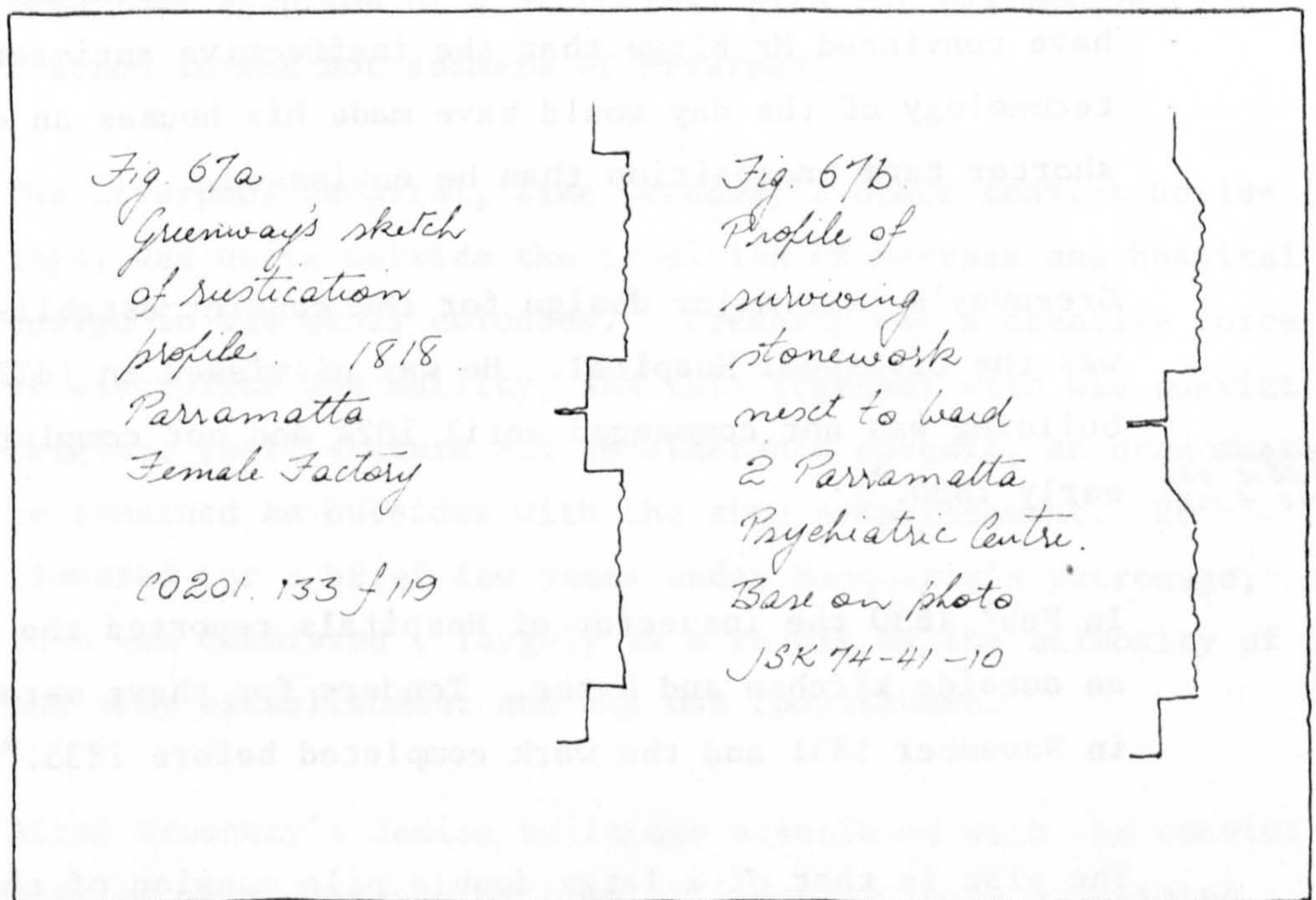
See page 100-101

In addition to the 2 classes, 3 pairs (later 4) of 7ft x 4 ft solitary cells were constructed of stone in the 2nd class yard for immediate punishment.

A rustic base was the common dress for a stone building of any pretension in Greenway's England, and it was natural for him to continue the practice. However, he imprudently chose a rustication detail most suited to climbing. He specified 'the walls of the Basement [Ground] Story to be faced with ashlar according to Pattern a course taken round with a tool and left rough picked in the centre raised 1½ inches.'*

*Greenway Specifications
for Parramatta
Factory March 1818
CO201.133 f119
Ibid. f118*

Lest it be unclear, he obligingly sketched it on the cover sheet of the specifications. See Fig. 67a.*



When the wall of the building was erected the 1½ inch
toeholds gave fairly easy access to the windows, and it was
necessary to chisel the upper corner of the rustication to a
weathering slope. See Fig. 67b.

Henry Kitchen wove this story into a malicious but temptingly
circumstantial story for Commissioner Bigge* who subsequently
reported to Parliament in 1822 that no perimeter wall had
been intended in the design, and that this disclosure had
made one necessary, at considerable expense.* Greenway was
much stung by this hurtful estimate of his professional
ability.* His denial is fortunately supported by the failed
tenderer for the job, who sent a note in March 1818 wanting
to know if the wall was to be included in the contract or not.*

*Kitchen to Bigge
29.1.1821
CO 201.133 f16*

Bigge Colony 72

*Australian
31.3.1825
Greenway to Editor*

*Smith to Greenway
ca March 1818
CO 201.133 f126*

Commissioner Bigge had his own ideas on how the Factory
should have been built. He reported, 'The continuation of
a wall 12 ft in height, from the end of that which surrounds
the gaol at Parramatta, and the complete enclosure of an
acre and a half of ground, containing separate houses of wood,
and one for a work room, would I conceive, have answered these
purposes entirely...'* A little more local knowledge might
have convinced Mr Bigge that the ineffective anti-termite
technology of the day would have made his houses an even
shorter term proposition than he envisaged.

Bigge Colony 71

Greenway's last major design for the convict establishment
was the Liverpool Hospital. He was dismissed in 1822 and the
building was not commenced until 1824 and not completed until
early 1830.*

*Bourke despatch
No. 126 of 26.12.1835
CO 201.248 f302*

In Feb^y 1830 the Inspector of Hospitals reported the want of
an outside kitchen and baths. Tenders for these were called
in November 1831 and the work completed before 1835.*

Ibid.

The plan is that of a large double pile mansion of the late

and Plate 3.

seventeenth and early eighteenth century type. See Fig. 68.

It was designed to have a grand geometric stair in a central cylinder lit by a lantern with a domed roof. The stair was only partly executed and the lantern was completed in the middle of the nineteenth century to an adapted design.*

Liverpool Asylum
Proposed Cupola
ML XVIIIB/LIV/2

A deep open loggia on the ground floor on the east side combined with an open arcade on the same level to the west has the effect of transforming a double pile plan into a 'U' shaped single pile at this level.

This was an unusual and ingenious adaption of a historical plan for maximum ventilation in the hot summers of Liverpool.

The Liverpool hospital, like Greenway's other convict buildings, was quite outside the tradition of barrack and hospital design in the penal colonies.* Greenway was a creative force of discipline and ability, and this together with his convict origins, small stature and considerable conceit, ensured that he remained an outsider with the army establishment. He flowered for a brief few years under Macquarie's patronage, then was dismissed, largely as a result of the animosity of the army establishment and his own foolishness.

See Chapter 5

After Greenway's demise buildings associated with the convict service were designed by army officers or those associated

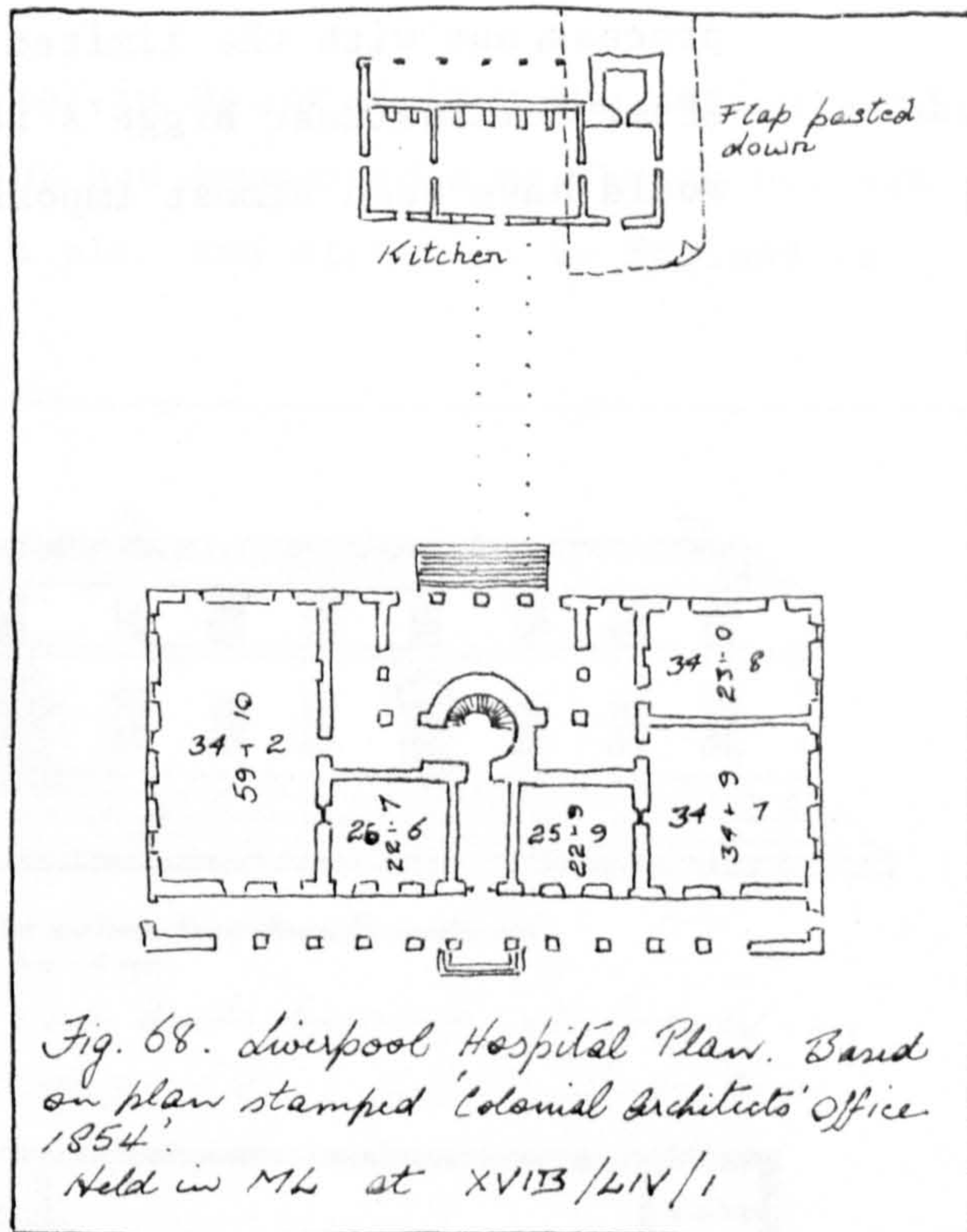
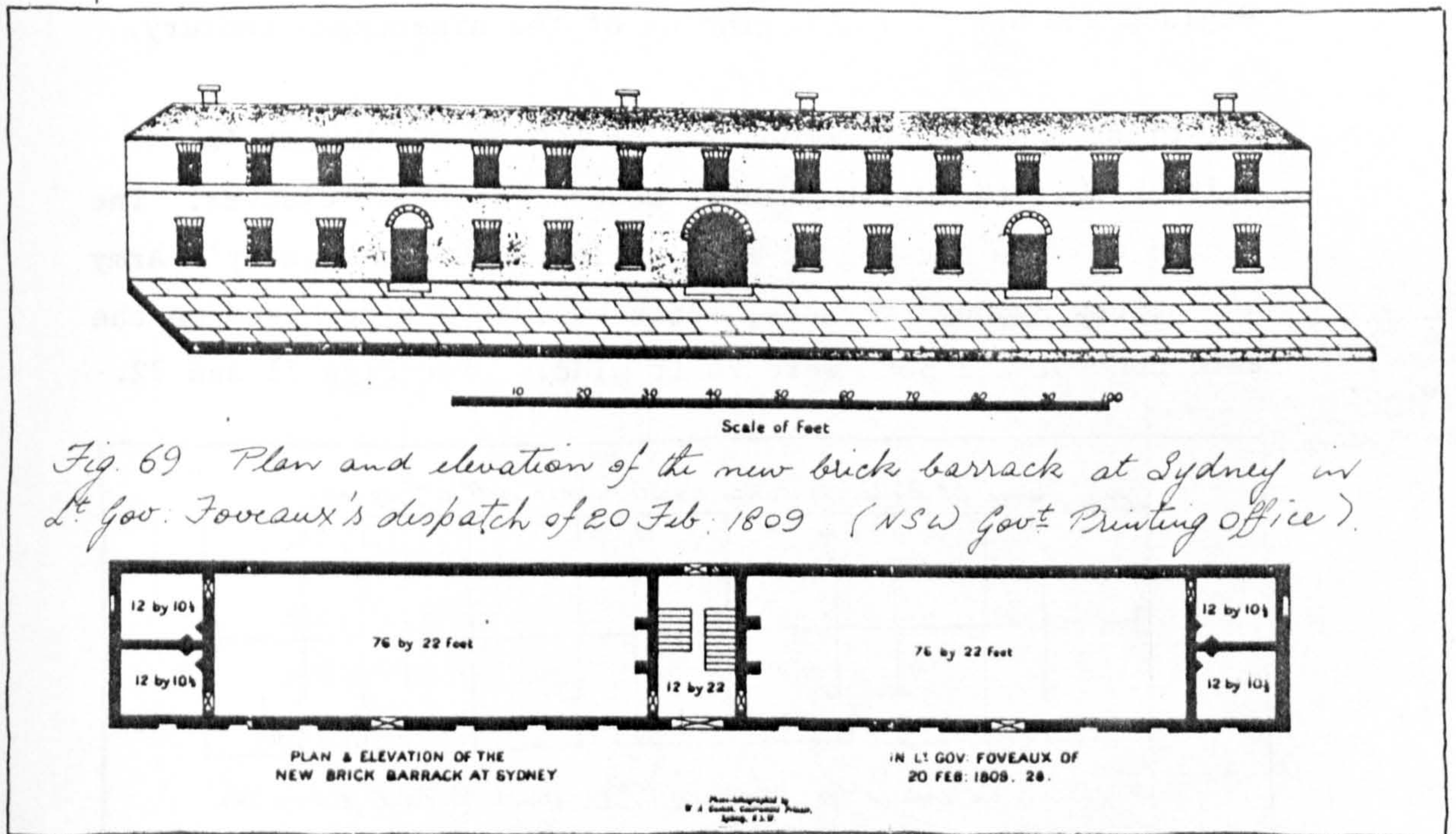


Fig. 68. Liverpool Hospital Plans. Based on plan stamped 'Colonial Architects' Office 1854'. Held in ML at XVIIIB/LIV/1

with them. Hence his work had little influence in that sphere. It would in any case have been difficult to imitate a creative process, but with the limited resources left to the colony after Commissioner Bigge's report had been implemented * it would have been almost impossible.

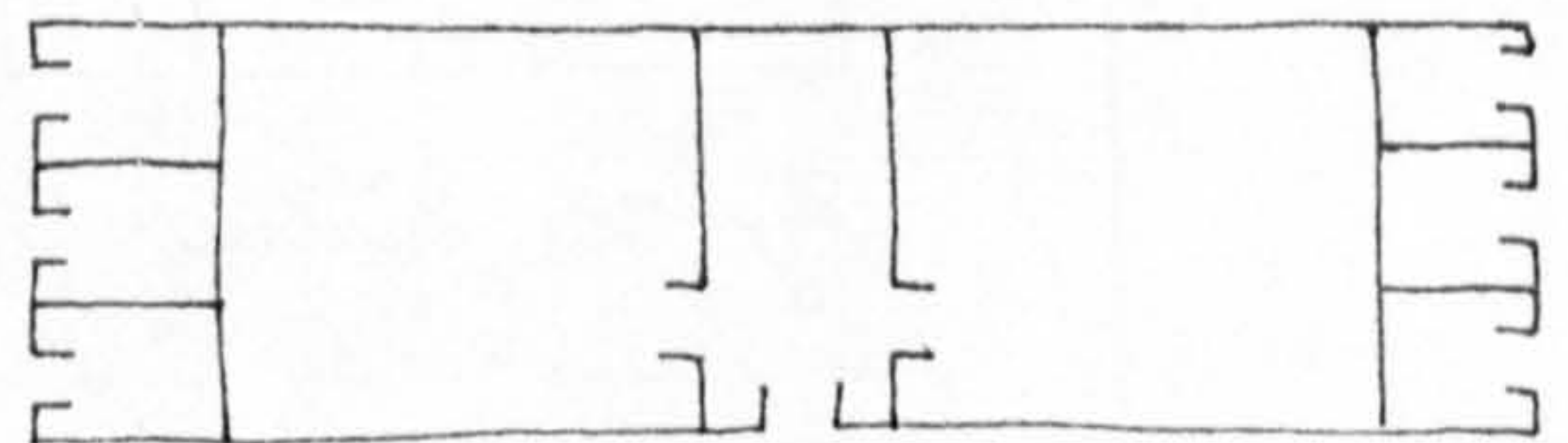
See Chapter 6

Before Macquarie's arrival in December 1809 the acting Governor, Lt Col. Foveaux had commenced a new brick barrack for soldiers. He sent a plan and elevation to England in Feb'y 1809. See Fig. 69.



It was a barrack range of a type in common use by the British Army, and was to become the basic plan on which most army and convict barracks and hospitals would be built in the Australian colonies. It was also similar to the plan arrangement of contemporary NSW gaols (Fig. 70); that is, it had a

Fig. 70. Parramatta Gaol Plan. Based on Fig 27.



central hall, flanking wards and terminal cells or, in this case, rooms for supervising NCO s. The plan could be, and was, extended, contracted, repropotioned, overlapped and

multiplied to suit the site or the accommodation required.

This tendency to adapt a basic plan to a variety of different purposes is typically Georgian, though it must be admitted that it appeals to the beaurocratic or system trained mind in any age. A telling example of this was the adaption of the same plan to meet two quite disparate sets of requirements in England and NSW at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first was the accommodation of 200 of His Majesty's prisoners at the Marshalsea in several distinct classes. The second was the housing of five officers in His Majesty's Army at the new Sydney barracks. Both buildings were based on the same concept and both were 26 ft wide.* See Figs 71 and 72.

*Report on Sydney Barracks 1827
CORO. 184 f25*

*Fleet & Marshalsea
Report BPP Prisons
8: 1819 (109) plan p.92*

This range of buildings contains 56 rooms 10ft 10ins square

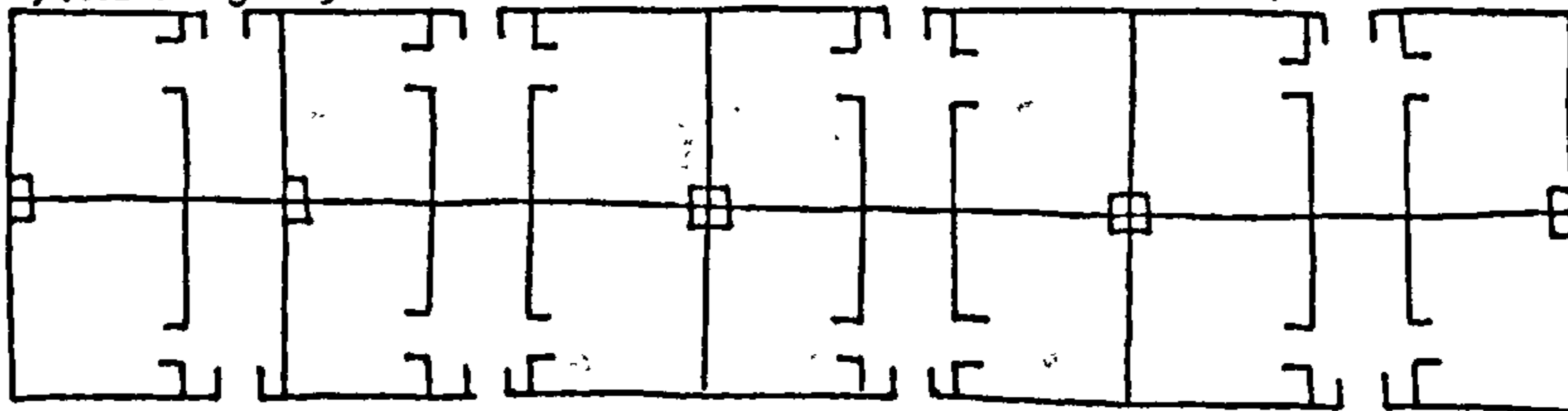


Fig. 71. Plan Marshalsea Prison. Report from the Commissioners on the Fleet and Marshalsea Prisons BPP Prisons 8: 1819 (109) facing page 92

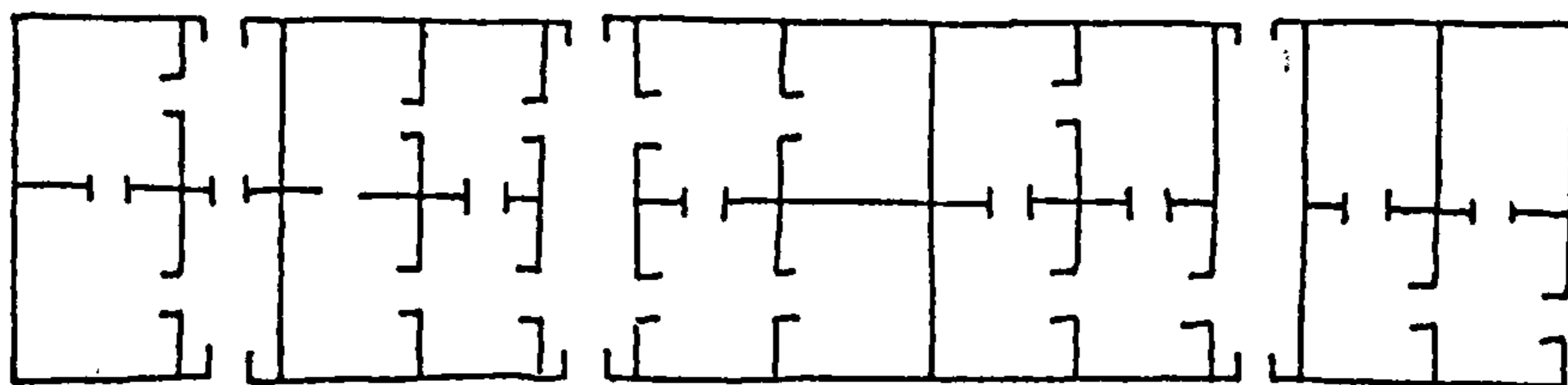


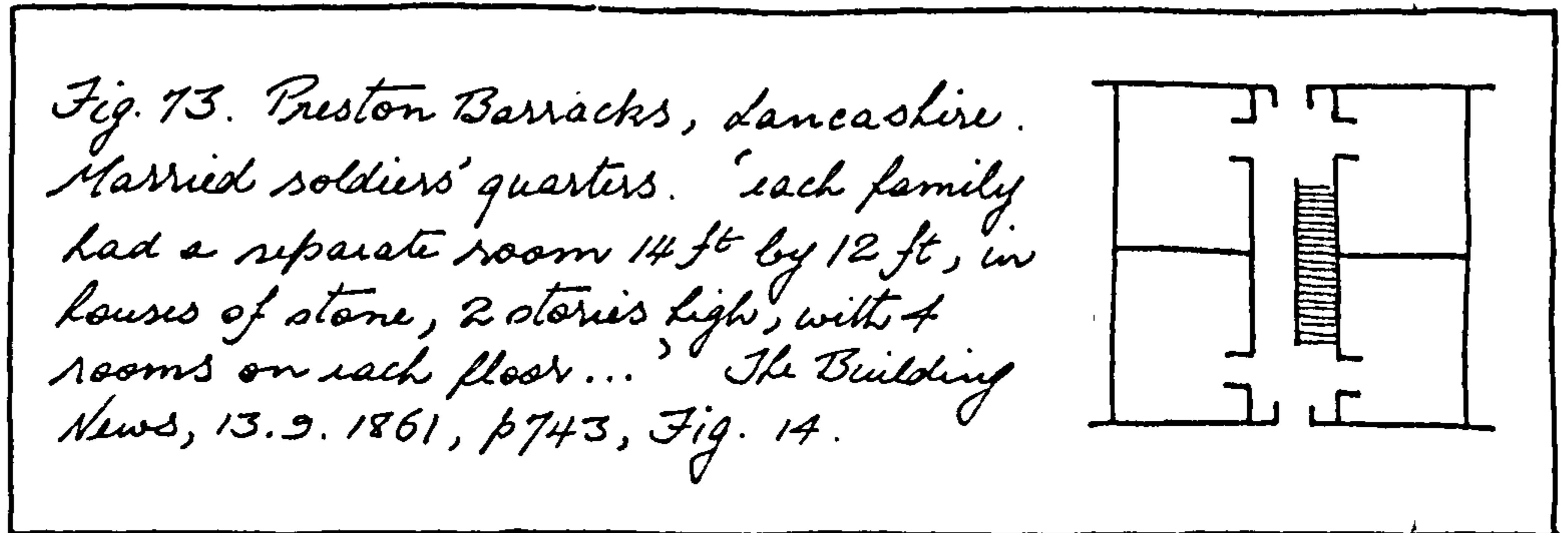
Fig. 72. Sydney Barracks Officers quarters. Based on a plan 'by S. L. Harris Cl. Architect 1824' Harris Report Vol 2 ML C225.

The differences in the plans arose, in the quarters, from a need to give Field Officers 4 rooms each and subalterns 2, and at the prison from a requirement to separate the 'poor

*Fleet & Marshalsea
Report 73pp
Prisons 8:1819(109)
192.*

side' from the felons.* In addition the quarters were a single storey building, and the prison, four.

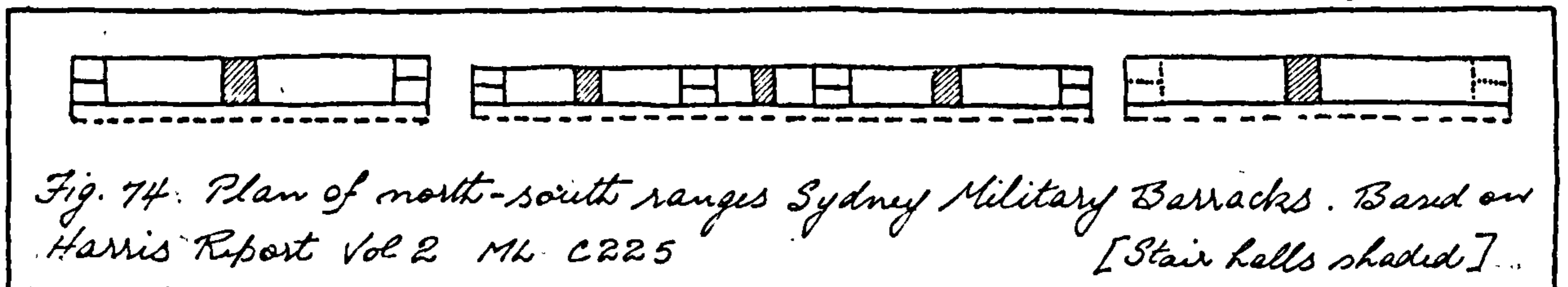
Later still the same plan was used for soldiers' married quarters at Preston in Lancashire, see Fig. 73, and it



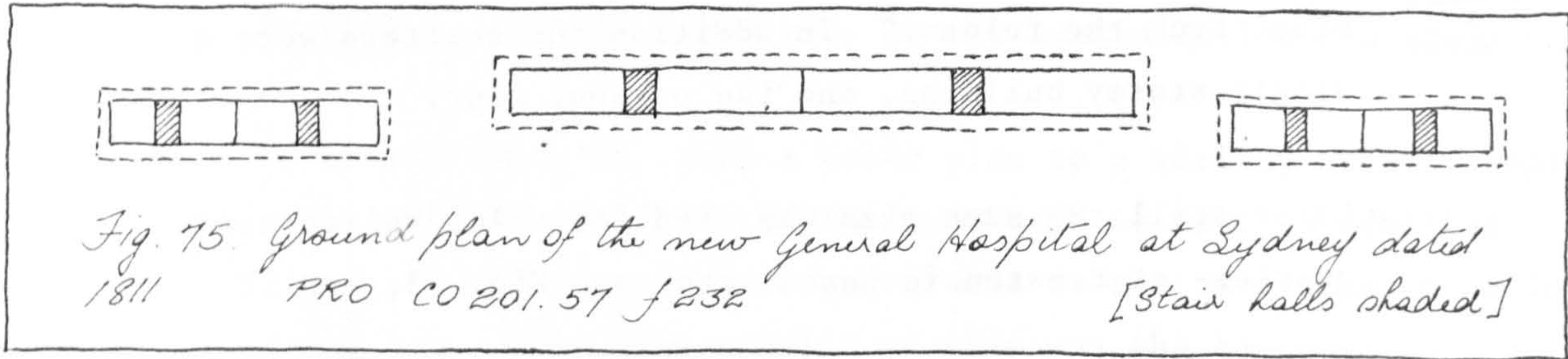
reappeared again in the Hobart convict penitentiary additions of 1827 . See Fig. 116 .

This attitude, based on precedent, was characteristic of the main stream of convict hospital and barrack design in the colonies during the first 40 years of the nineteenth century.

In a campaign from 1810 to December 1817, Macquarie completed Foveaux's barrack range and then added buildings for a full regiment. These followed the same plan and elevation as Foveaux's range, though the 2 central ranges were linked by a centre piece of similar plan, but with a developed 3 storey elevation. In addition a ground floor verandah was added the full length of the ranges. See Fig. 74.



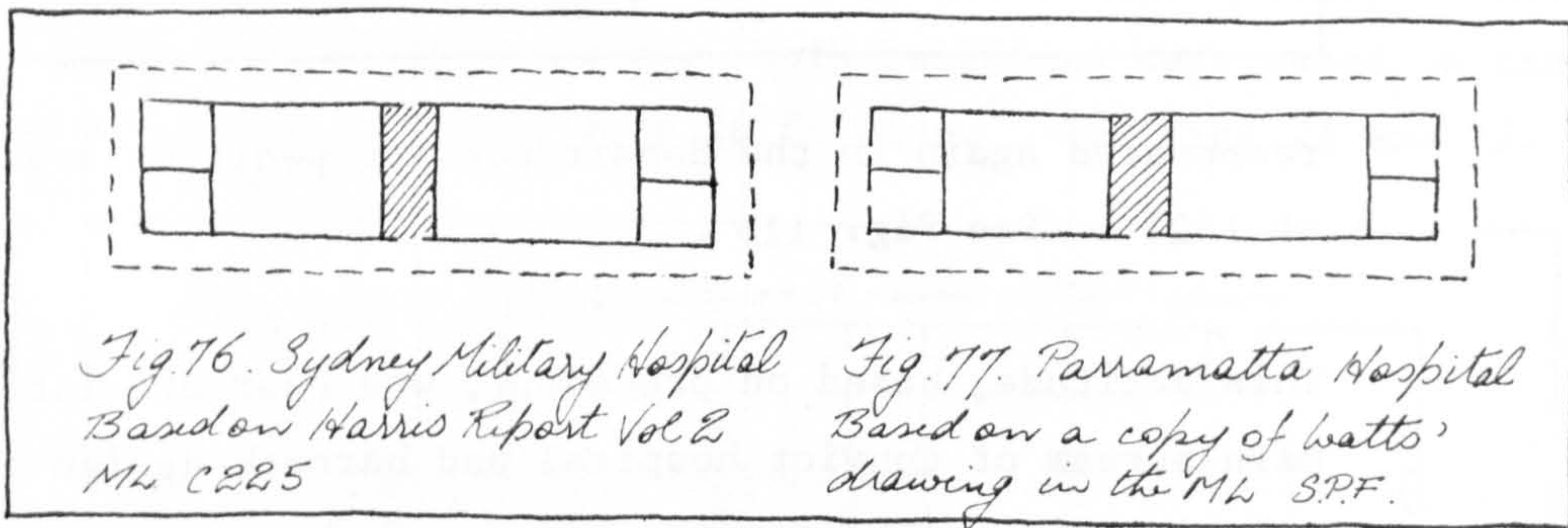
In 1811 Macquarie commenced the Rum Hospital on a slightly simpler plan but to a much grander scale and elevation, and without rooms for supervisory staff adjoining the wards. Fig. 75



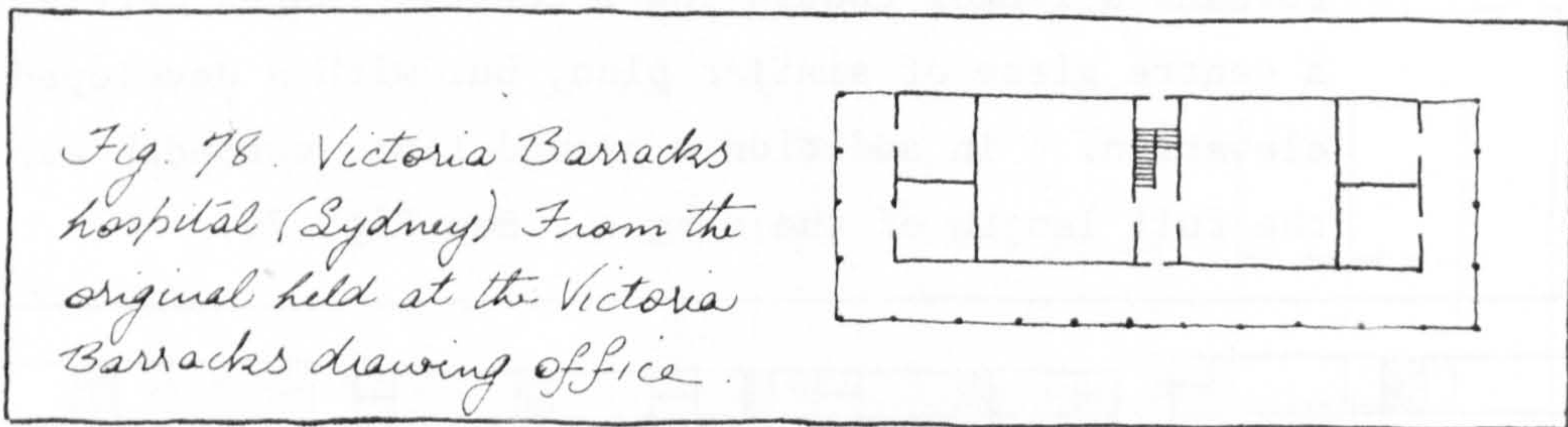
Acquaintance to Bathurst
28.4.1814 No 3
CO 201.72 f 60

Bigge Ag. & Trade 107

This was followed by Lt Watts' designs for the Military Hospital at Sydney (1814, commenced 1814 and completed 1815*), see Fig. 76, and the convict hospital at Parramatta (April 1817, commenced August 1817 and completed September 1818)*. See Fig. 77.



The plan type was still in use by the army in the late 1830's, as the design for the Victoria Barracks hospital in Sydney (built late 1840s) prepared under the Commanding Royal Engineer, George Barney, was almost identical. See Fig. 78.



Brandreth on
Smith's System
Plato XL to XLV

By that time Barney was able to use prefabricated cast iron structural elements developed by his former commanding officer in the West Indies, Col. Sir C E Smith, RE.*

An interesting variation from the standard barrack plan was offered by the Sydney Female School of Industry building in

Macquarie Street north of the Rum hospital. See Fig. 79.

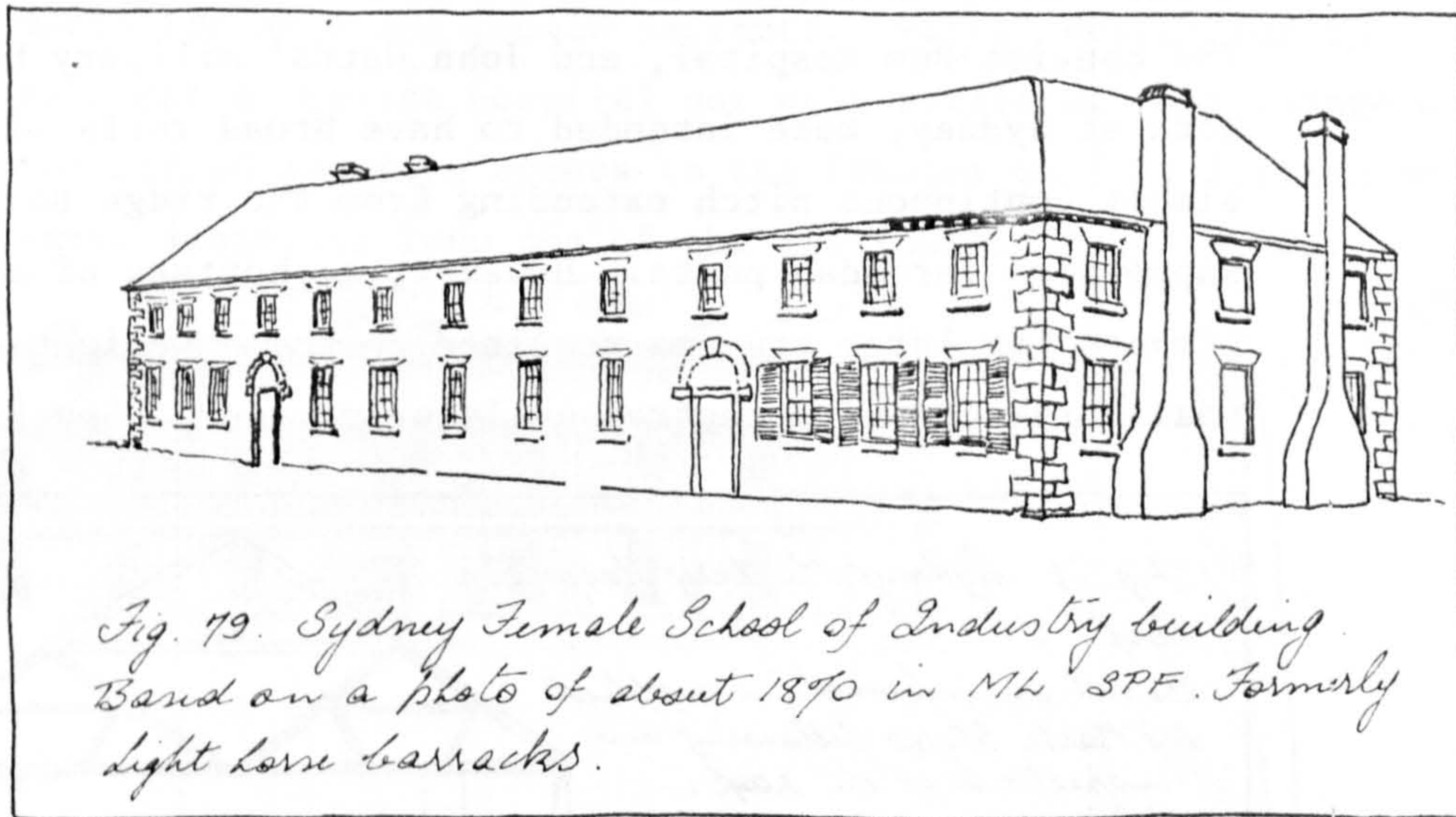


Fig. 79. Sydney Female School of Industry building. Based on a photo of about 1870 in ML SPF. Formerly Light horse barracks.

B.ype list of Buildings since 1810. CO 201.133 f3

Its odd design had a simple explanation. It was originally completed in 1812 as Governor Macquarie's Light horse barracks.* As such its design followed the plan of the British Army cavalry barracks that were built during the Napoleonic wars. It therefore had stables on the ground floor and the lower ranks were housed in rooms flanking a spinal passage on the floor above. See Fig. 80. Cross passages with staircases

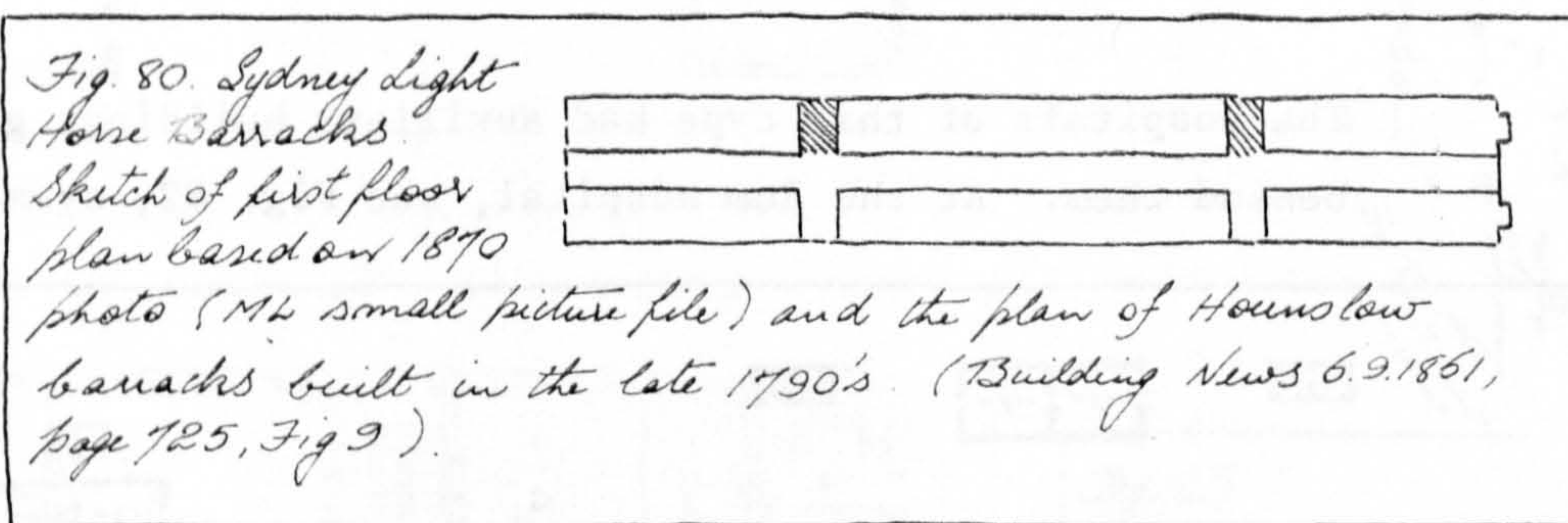
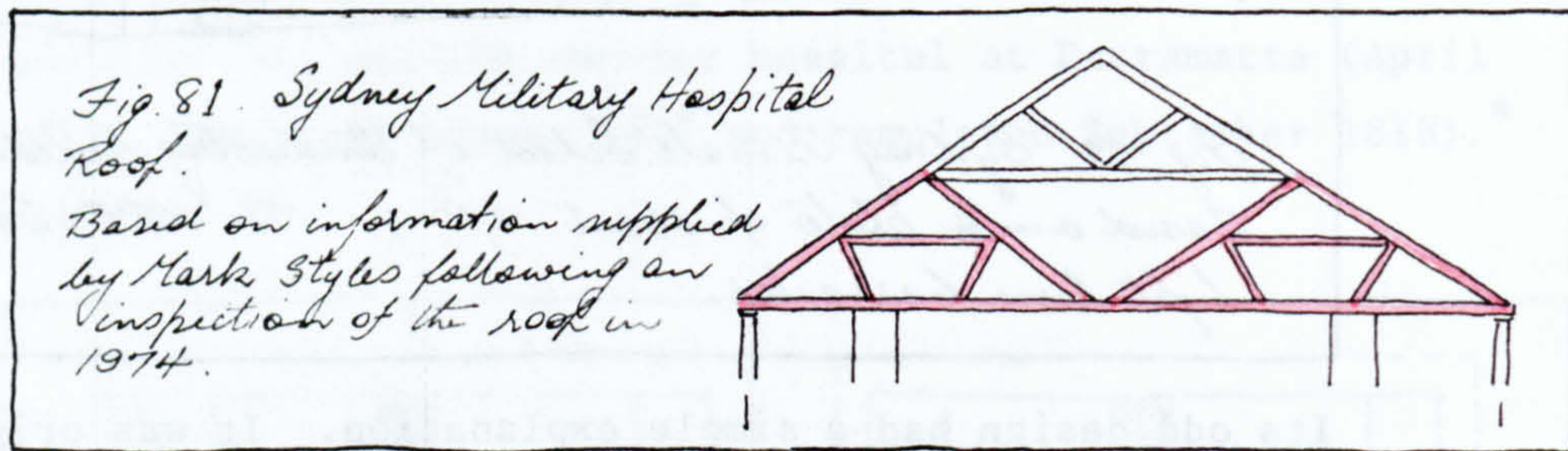


Fig. 80. Sydney Light Horse Barracks. Sketch of first floor plan based on 1870 photo (ML small picture file) and the plan of Hounslow barracks built in the late 1790's. (Building News 6.9.1861, page 725, Fig 9).

provided access to the animals below, but defective ventilation made residence in such barracks very trying. It is possible that the existence of this building gave Greenway the idea for the plan of his otherwise totally dissimilar Hyde Park convict barracks. Compare Figs 80 and 58 .

The elevations of the convict and military hospitals built in NSW, like their plans (Figs 75 to 78), were very much to

a standard pattern. All were two storey hipped roof erections encircled by verandahs at both levels. See Figs 57 and 83 . The convict Rum Hospital, and John Watts' military hospital, both at Sydney, were intended to have broad roofs with an almost continuous pitch extending from the ridge to the supporting verandah posts. However, a shortage of appropriate timbers for large trusses resulted in the expedient of two small trusses and a central gully being used. See Fig. 81.



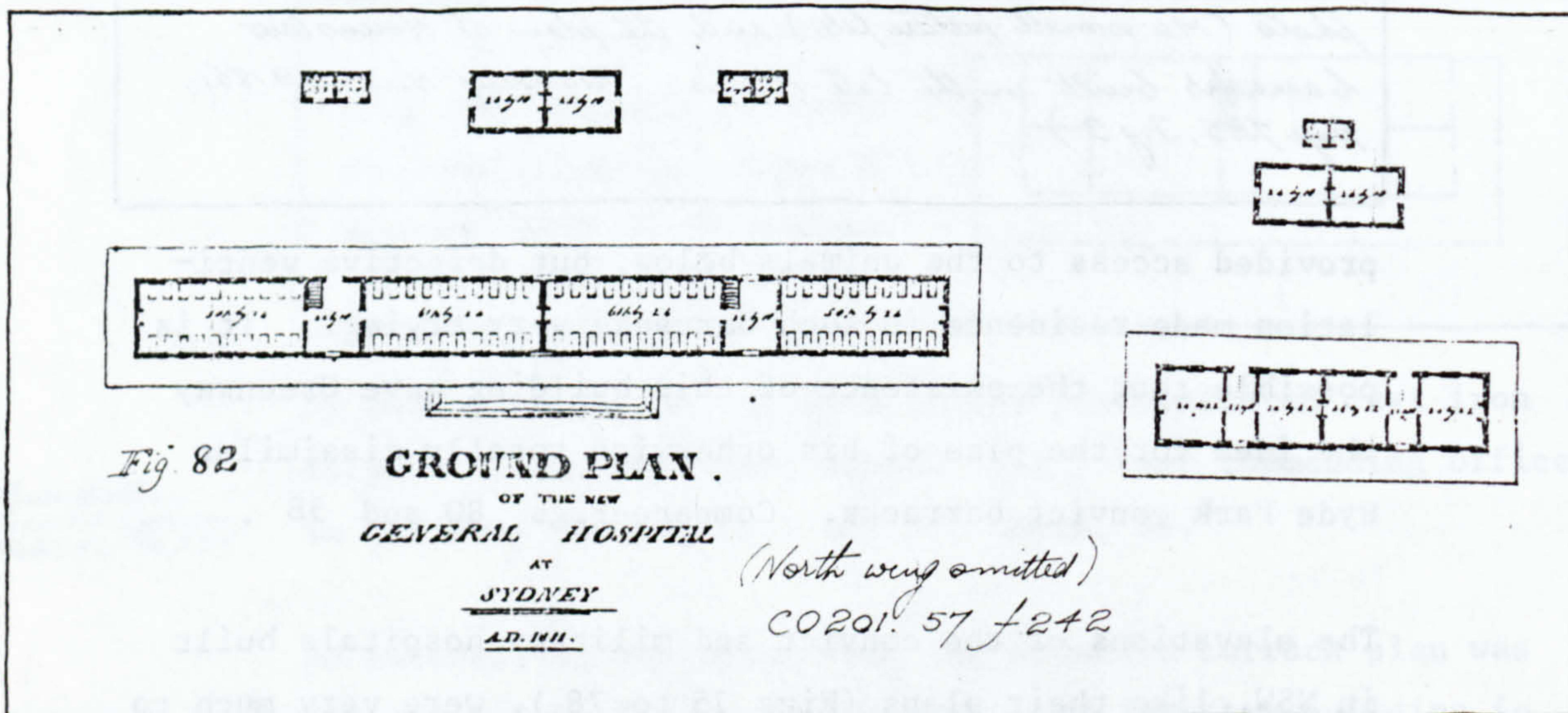
*Taken from plan at
CO201.57 f242*

*As measured by
Mark Styles 1974*

*Taken from copy
of original of Fig. 83.*

The Rum Hospital at Sydney had a span of about 50 ft* between verandah columns and the Military Hospital 46 ft.* Watts reduced the width of the Parramatta convict hospital design of 1817 to about 38 ft* and it was probably the first large building to be actually built with a continuous pitch hipped roof sitting on the verandah posts. See Fig. 83, and Plate 4.

The hospitals of this type had auxillary buildings grouped behind them. At the Rum Hospital, see Fig. 82, symmetry and



not function was the main consideration, but in the later hospitals the interiors were divided into separate departments for male and female patients. Watts' design for the Parramatta convict hospital not only reflected this change but introduced separate access to the females ward by fitting an extra staircase into one of the end rooms. See Fig. 83.

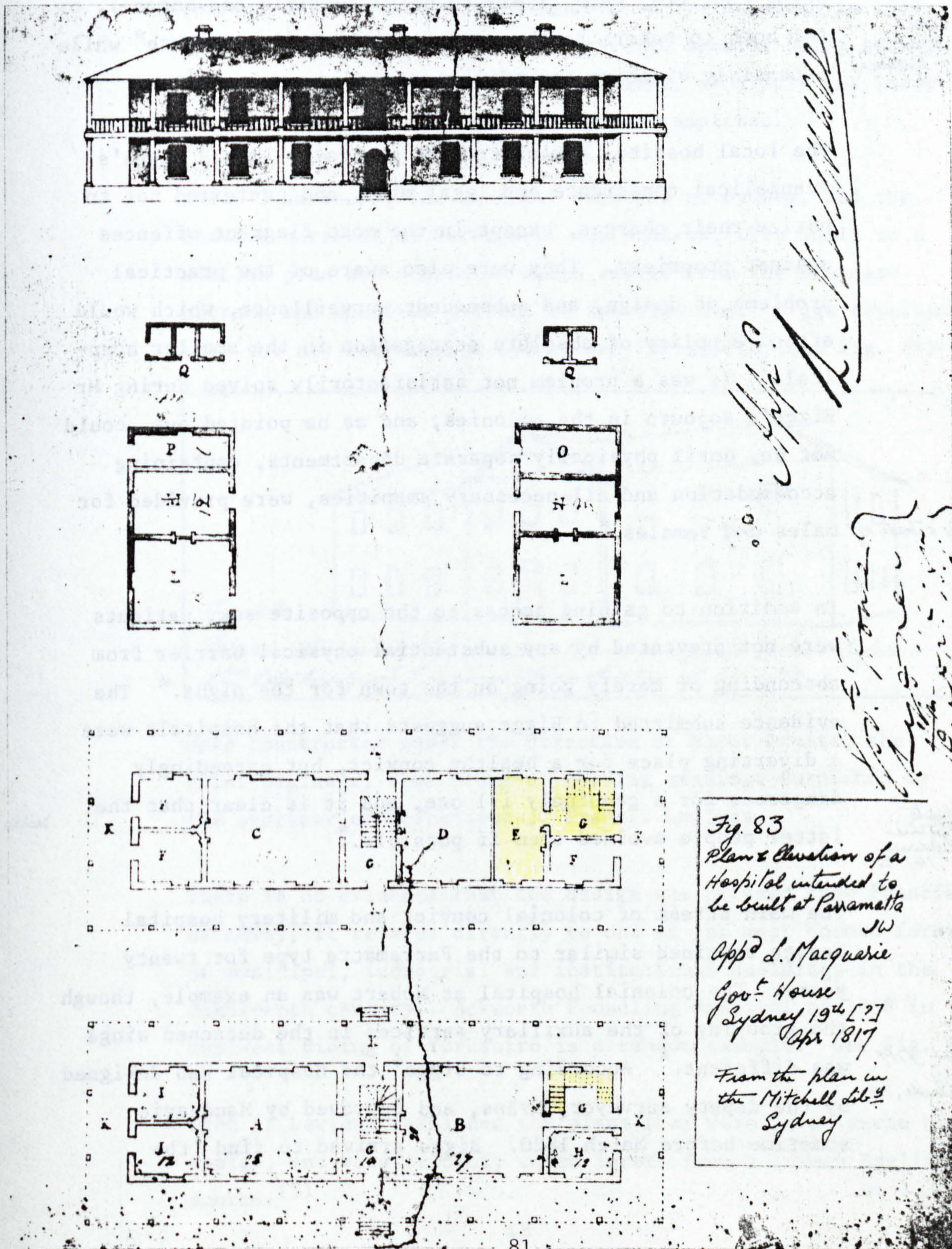


Fig. 83
 Plan & Elevation of a
 Hospital intended to
 be built at Parramatta
 SW
 App^d L. Macquarie
 Gov^t House
 Sydney 19th [?]
 Apr 1817
 From the plan in
 the Mitchell Lib^y
 Sydney

*Bigge Ag. & Trade
Sydney and
Parramatta . 107
Hobart . 108*

*Bigge Report
Ed. Ritchie
Kilferm Evidence
133 et seq*

Despite these improvements, Commissioner Bigge was disturbed by the generally ineffective separation of the male and female areas at the convict hospitals, and he objected to the resulting promiscuous intercourse.* It was usually possible for the males to gain access to the females (the nursing staff, being convicts, were likely to be corruptible and humane), or for both to resort to the yard for illicit intercourse* while ostensibly visiting the privies.

The local hospital administrators generally lacked Bigge's evangelical conscience and legal mind, and preferred not to notice their charges, except in the most flagrant offences against propriety. They were also aware of the practical problems of design, and subsequent surveillance, which would attend a policy of absolute segregation in the smaller hospitals. It was a problem not satisfactorily solved during Mr Bigge's sojourn in the colonies, and as he pointed out, could not be, until physically separate departments, containing accommodation and all necessary amenities, were provided for males and females.*

Bigge Ag. & Trade. 107

Ibid.

In addition to gaining access to the opposite sex, patients were not prevented by any substantial physical barrier from absconding or merely going on the town for the night.* The evidence submitted to Bigge suggests that the hospitals were a diverting place for a healthy convict, but exceedingly dangerous for a genuinely ill one, and it is clear that the latter people avoided them if possible.*

*Bigge Reports
Ed. Ritchie
Cowper Evidence
1821 141-2*

The main stream of colonial convict and military hospital design remained similar to the Parramatta type for twenty years. The colonial hospital at Hobart was an example, though the grouping of the auxiliary services in the detached wings was different.* According to Bigge* the hospital was designed by the deputy surveyor, Evans, and approved by Macquarie sometime before March 1820. Bigge arrived to find 'the

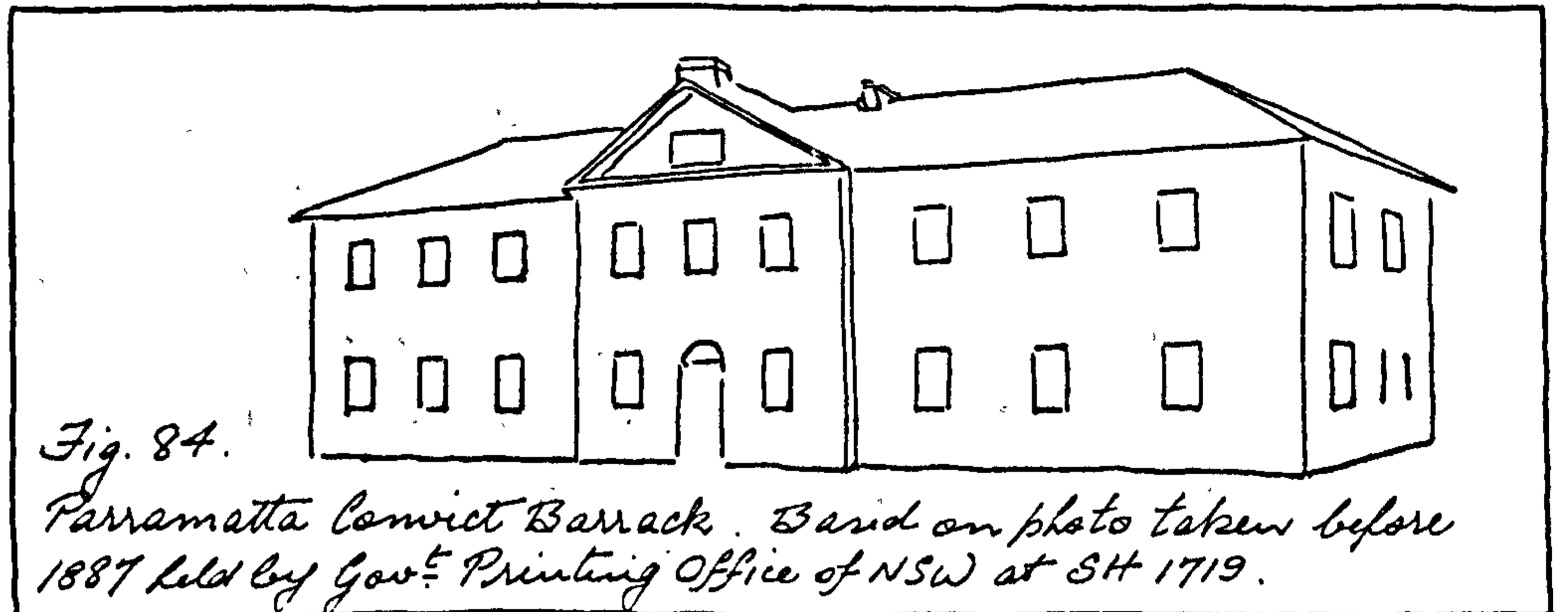
CO201.134 F117

Bigge Ag. & Trade. 108

foundations... laid' and prevailed on Lt Gov^r Sorell to make several improvements to the design including that of effecting 'a separation... between the male and female patients.'*
Bigge Ag. Trade 108

No such problems of separation by sex arose in the 3 new convict barracks built by Macquarie on the mainland in 1819-20. They were purely for male convicts, the females being accommodated in the old factory at Parramatta, or simply let loose on the town until the new factory was completed.

These 3 barracks, the carters' barracks at Sydney, and the convict barracks at Parramatta and Windsor, were built to a similar plan and elevation which varied from the standard barrack and hospital pattern so far examined. Bigge reported that the new barracks at Sydney and Parramatta (See Fig. 84)



Arch.
were constructed under the direction of Major Druitt, the Chief Engineer, from plans or working drawings furnished by the overseer of bricklayers,* Francis Lawless.

There is no evidence that the design was pirated from Francis Greenway; it relates directly to one of the most common forms of municipal; industrial and institutional buildings in the eighteenth century. Ackworth Foundling Hospital of 1758 in the West Riding of Yorkshire is a random example. See Fig. 85.

Even if Lawless furnished the plans they were in no sense his design, and were probably taken into from a common English source. (3)

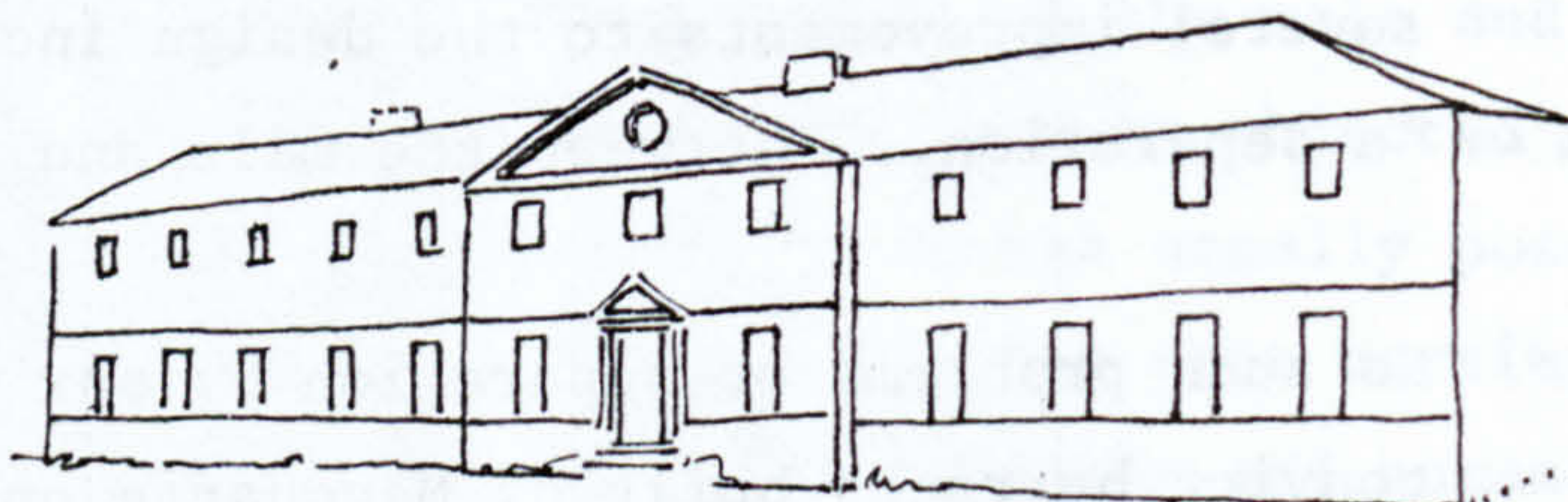


Fig. 85.

Ackworth School (designed as Ackworth Foundling Hospital) central block. Band on photo, *Yorkshire Life*, November 1976, page 45.

The barracks were 9 bay, 2 storey, brick ranges with shingled hip roofs and a 3 bay breakforward in the centre, surmounted by a box pediment. The Parramatta building survived to 1935 and photos suggest that its design was competent and sensibly executed, though it had none of the creative qualities of a Greenway design. See Plate 5.

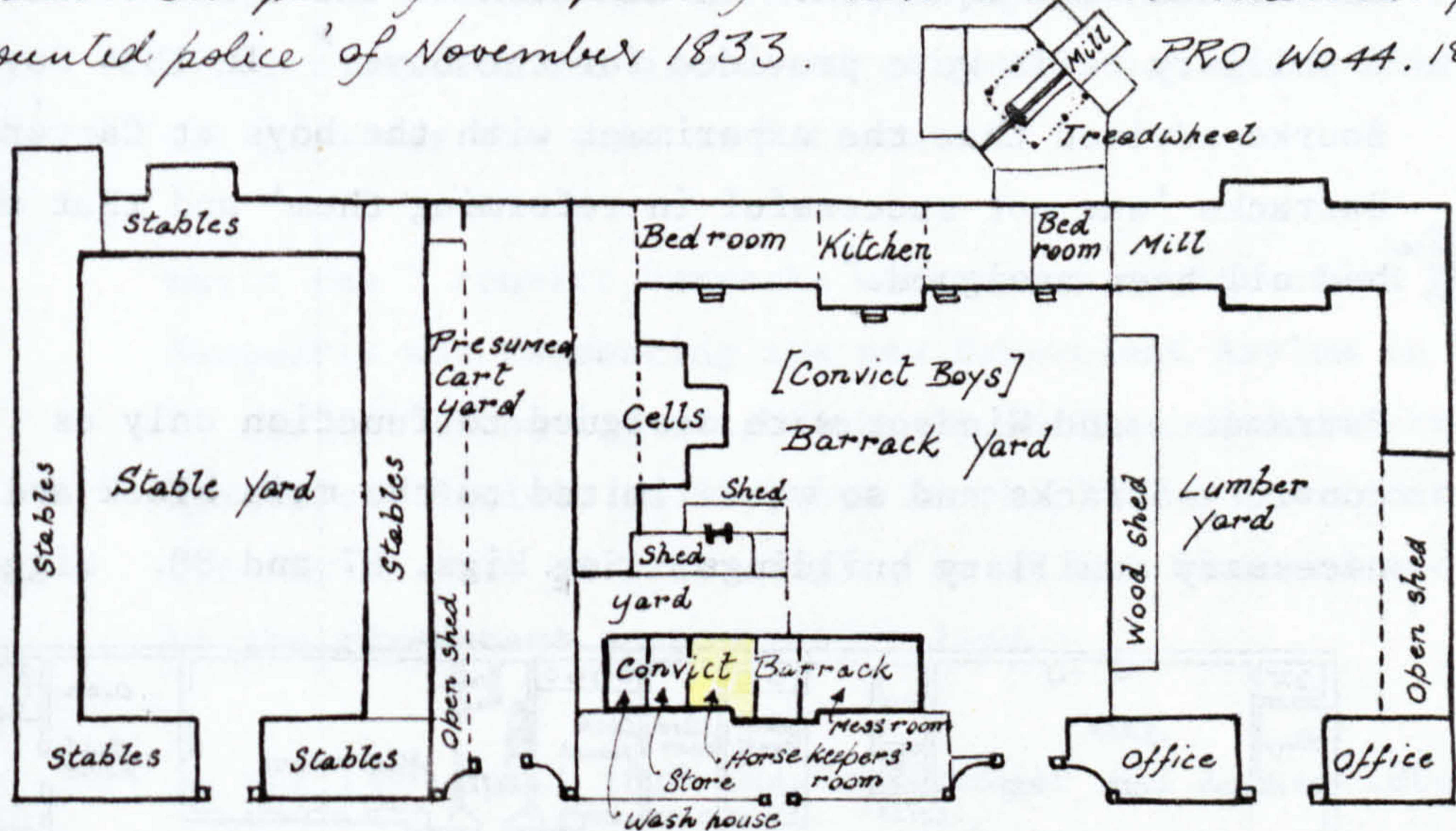
The plans for the 3 barrack ranges at Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor were virtually identical, only the use of some rooms was varied to suit local requirements. Carters' Barracks was the first constructed. It was intended to bring convict carters and their horses, bullocks and carts together for convenience.* To this was added a lumber yard with its workshops for associated trades, and then accommodation for 150 convict boys in 3 classes.* Macquarie had ordered their removal from the Hyde Park barracks as separation was impractical there. The assembly of these elements under the loose direction of Drutt resulted in a large and undistinguished conglomeration of separate departments fronting the road to Parramatta. See Fig. 86.

Bigge Op. & Trade. 21-3

Ibid.

Before November 1824, 2 treadmills had been erected at the rear of the barracks. They were probably the first erected in the Australian colonies, and Gov^r Brisbane reported that they not only saved money by eliminating contract grinding of grain, but that they also had an (unspecified) beneficial

Fig. 86. Carters' Barracks Sydney. Based on an inaccurate plan in S. L. Harris' Report Volume 2 page 22 ML C225 and amended to reflect information on 'plan of those parts of Carters' Barracks intended for the mounted police' of November 1833.



Brisbane to Bathurst
9.11.1824 N^o 16 ML
A 1194 f685

effect on the convicts' morals.* He requested Bathurst to supply machinery for 6 more.

Sydney Gazette
21.7.1825

SIPD Rules
Preface vi

White Convict Life
II. 139

The initial machines at Carters' Barracks were constructed by one Mike Mennis, and were of the type invented by Mr William Cubitt, Civil Engineer of Ipswich.* They had been recommended by the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline in their Rules for the Government of Gaols, published in 1820.* Charles White makes much sport with the 'revolutionary principle' of the new treadwheel and dubs it Cubitt's peripatetic seminary.*

Bigge Colony 23

Ibid.

Unlike the convict hospitals, which had bed places or barrack beds, the bulk of the men at the new barracks slept in the 2 upper wards in hammocks arranged as at Hyde Park barracks.* Exceptions were made at Carters' Barracks for the 18 horse-keepers, whose room (See Fig. 86) was fitted with 2 ranges of bed places with mattresses on one side and mess tables on the other,* and for the convict boys. All 3 classes of these boys were provided with mess tables in front near the windows and 'a double tier of cribs with sloping floors' along the back

Bigge Colony 23

wall.* Boys in the first class were allowed mattresses and blankets and those in the second class had a thin india blanket on bare boards. Bigge did not specify how the 3rd or punishment class were equipped. In addition to the 3 dormitories, 8 solitary cells were provided for the boys.* In 1834 Gov^r Bourke advised that the experiment with the boys at Carters' Barracks 'was not successful in reforming them' and that they had all been assigned.*

Ibid.

Bourke to Spring Rice
8.12.1834 N^o 124
CO 201. 241 f217

Parramatta and Windsor were designed to function only as convict barracks and so were limited to the main block and necessary auxiliary buildings. See Figs. 87 and 88. Bigge

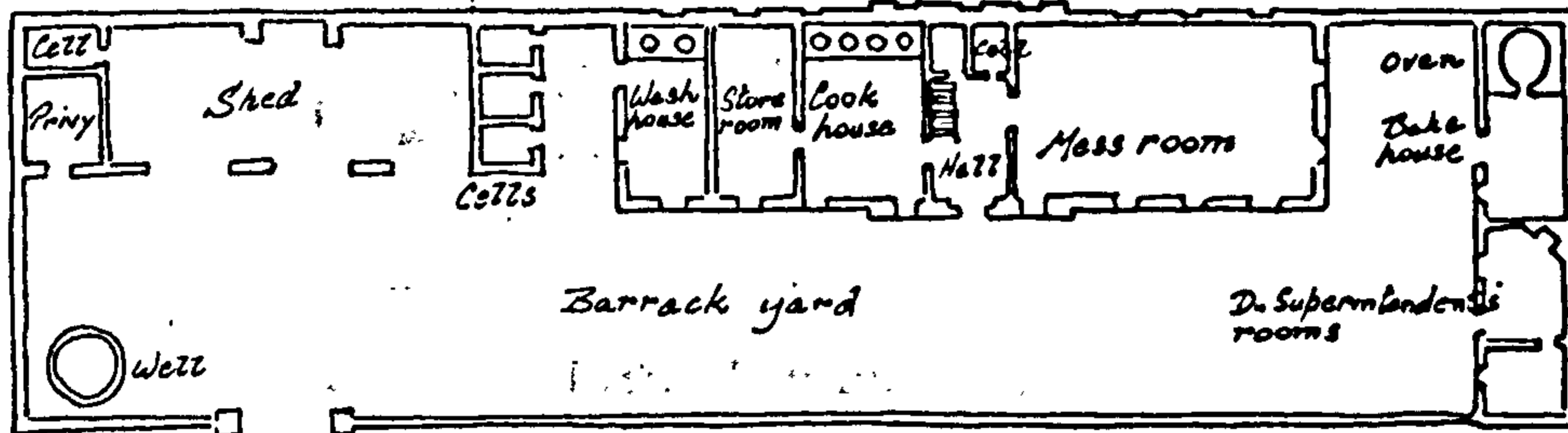


Fig. 87. Prisoners' Barracks Parramatta. Based on ground plan at CO 201. 133 f191.

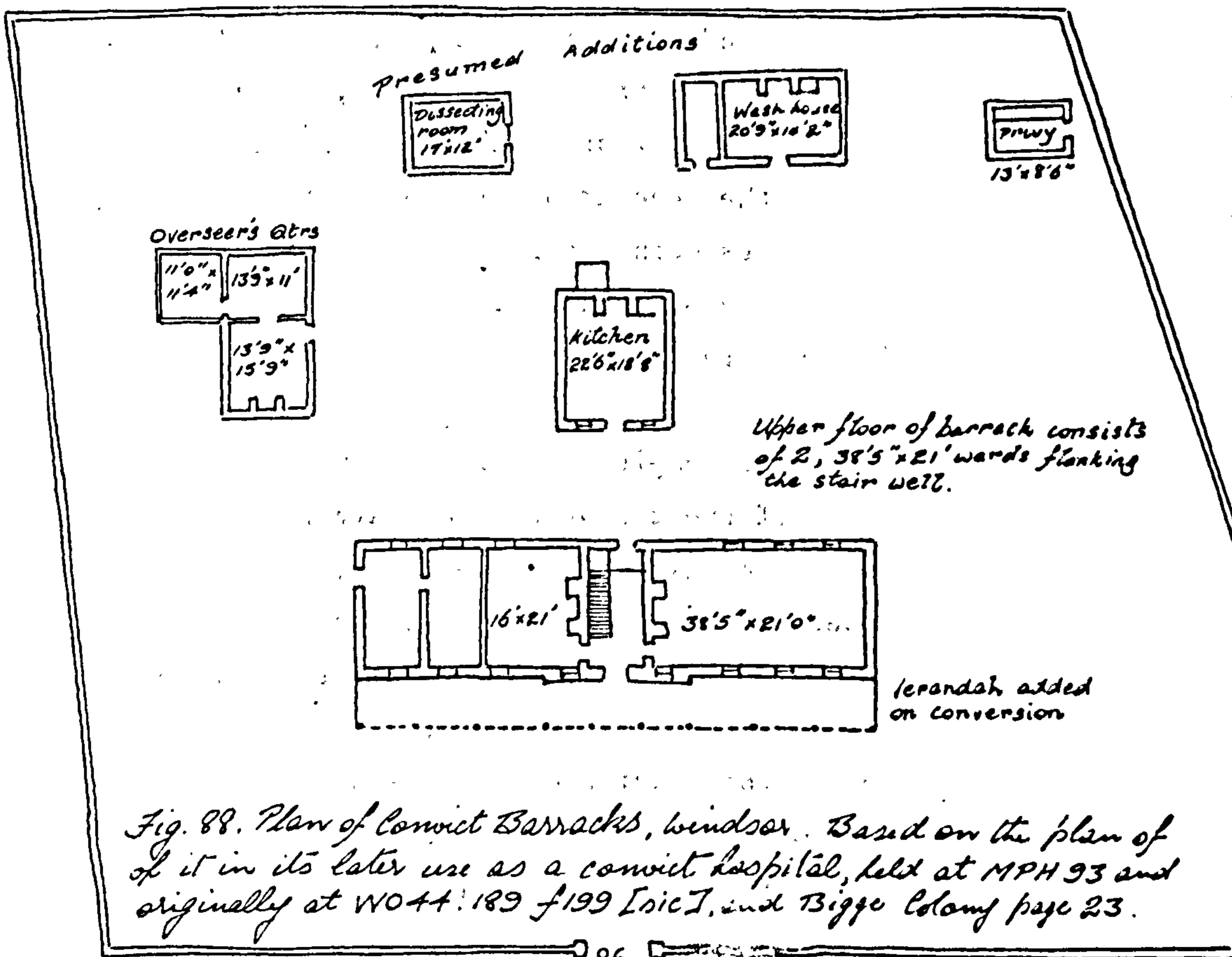


Fig. 88. Plan of Convict Barracks, Windsor. Based on the plan of it in its later use as a convict hospital, held at MPH 93 and originally at WO 44. 189 f199 Isic I, and Bigge Colony page 23.

stated that the rooms of the Parramatta block had the same dimensions and functions as those at Carters' Barracks, except that the cookhouse occupied the space of the horse-keepers' room. At Windsor the kitchen was again detached and the upper floor elevation was increased slightly, but apart from this, the plan was the same as Parramatta.*

Bigge Colony 23

While the 3 convict barracks were under construction Gov^r Macquarie was commencing the new Benevolent Asylum in Sydney. It was not a convict establishment and was administered by the Benevolent Society of NSW, but in the 1820 s few inmates of the Asylum were of free origin, so it was financed and built by the government on government land.

On the 13th April 1820 the Rev^d Cowper and 2 associates had waited on Macquarie with a recommendation from the General Committee of the Society 'that at a moderate distance out of the Town, a suitable spot of ground be appropriated and a plain Building be erected thereon, for the accommodation of... Aged, Infirm, Blind or Destitute...'* Two days later Macquarie instructed Druitt 'to get a plan of Poor's House made out agreeably to the accompanying memorandum from Rev^d W Cowper.'*

*Cowper Hill & Lawry
to Macquarie 13.4.1820
A/NSW CSIL 4/1744
f255-6*

*Macquarie to Druitt
15.4.1820 A/NSW
CSIL 4/1744 f257*

The site was fixed a few yards past the Carters' Barracks on the same side of the Parramatta Road. Bigge noted that the 'elevation of the Poor house was drawn by Lawless... and an estimate of the expense having been approved by Governor Macquarie, the work was undertaken by Lawless and another overseer [Nicholas Stone?]; government finding the materials including the cutting of stone,'* and assigning to the contractors a number of tradesmen.*

Bigge Colony 58

Ibid.

As this must have been one of the most awkward and ungrammatical of Sydney's larger buildings, it is reasonable to suppose that Lawless designed it himself, or even more likely, freely corrupted a more literate design. It is an eloquent commentary on Druitt's architectural ability that he was

responsible for the supervision of Lawless' work on both its design and construction.

The 3 convict barracks were a tried formula, competently executed, but the Asylum building was, for Sydney, a novel essay at assembling a number of fashionable contemporary motifs. See Fig. 89. Note the tripartite windows with vertical

Elevation of the Asylum

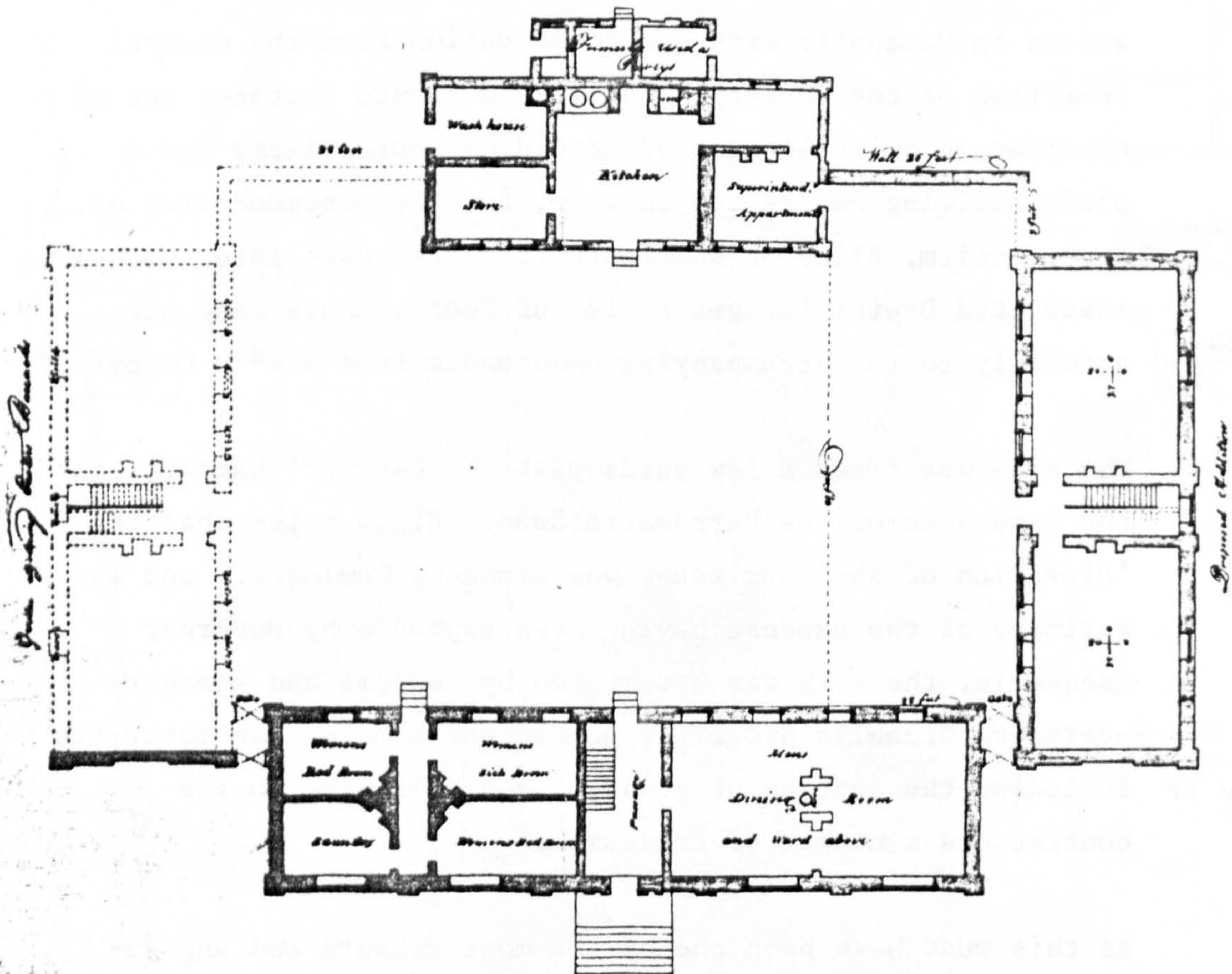


Fig. 89. **ASYLUM** [Signed] Wm Dumarcoq
for the Civ. Eng^r
AGED and INFIRM POOR. ML BT 36

mullions, the attenuated pilasters with nothing to support, the centre pair excepted, which were uncomfortably positioned under the tips of a wide pediment. A squat doorcase, copying that of the Colonial Secretary's office, was positioned in the visual hiatus thus created. While the facade had thus been given vaguely Greek elements, the rear elevation is without pilasters or other stylistic elements and could best be described as minimal Georgian vernacular.

The plan consisted of a central passage and stair with the men's mess room to the right and the sleeping wards above. The women's accommodation was to the left with access from the Kitchen yard. See plan, Fig. 89. The Asylum was fitted out on its completion in August 1821 with wooden bedsteads,* though these became so verminous and unclean that they were at least partly replaced by iron bedsteads in 1839.*

BS of NSW AR
1821 Meeting of
28.8.1821 ML
361.06/B

BS of NSW GCM
28.7.1837
9.4.1839

Privies were always a problem in NSW, but this was usually ameliorated by placing them as far as conveniently possible from the living and cooking areas. Lawless incorporated his privies in the kitchen range with an adjacent cesspool.

By 1823 they stank so much it became necessary to remove them to a discreet distance.* Despite recent experience at the other colonial hospitals no provision was made for a combined dead house and operating room, nor were there any working areas where the inmates could be employed.

BS of NSW GCM
29.7.1823 ML
A 7153

Chapter 6 Mr Bigge's commission and report

The last 3 chapters have been based to a varying extent on the evidence collected by Mr Commissioner John Thomas Bigge from 1819 to 1822 and on his subsequent reports; but Bigge was something more than an assembler of quarry material for historians, he had a considerable impact on the convict life in NSW. This was not substantially weakened until after the Molesworth committee report of 1838.

His commission from Bathurst not only set out the problem to be solved, but indicated what the answer was likely to be, so that Bigge was going to NSW as much to collect evidence to support a future policy, as to conduct an impartial and open minded enquiry. The commission therefore becomes a vital document, and is worth setting out fairly fully.

The leading object of the enquiry was to 'ascertain whether any, and what alteration in the existing system in the Colony can render' transportation once again a deterrent force.*

*Bathurst to Bigge
6.1.1819
BPP Aust. 3:
1823 (532) XIV. 3*

The first objective to be investigated was the improvement of existing resources. Bigge was to discover 'how far it may be possible to enforce, in the colonies already established, a system of general discipline, constant work and vigilant superintendence [including] complete separation from the ... [free] population and more or less of personal confinement according to the magnitude of the offence. You will, therefore,' continued Bathurst, 'pay particular attention to the possibility of providing buildings proper for the reception of all the convicts; the want of such buildings having been frequently and justly represented by the Governor as one main obstacle to the enforcement of discipline.

Should it appear to you, *as I have too much reason to apprehend will be the result,** that the present settlements are not

My italics

capable of undergoing any efficient change, the next object for your consideration will be the expediency of gradually abandoning them altogether as receptacles for convicts; and forming on other parts of the coasts, or in the interior of the country, distinct establishments exclusively for the reception and proper employment of the convicts, who may hereafter be sent out.' The advantages of this would be the provision of hard labour in forming the new settlements and the separation of the convict and free population. In addition the creation of several such establishments would make possible classification by crime.*

Bathurst to Bigge
6.1.1819
BPP Aust. 3:
1823(532)XIV.3

Bathurst went on to remind Bigge of the purpose of transportation. '... In... your Inquiry... bear in mind that transportation to NSW is intended as a severe punishment, applied to various crimes; and as such must be rendered an object of real terror to all classes of the community... The great end of punishment is the prevention of crime...'*

Ibid.

It is apparent from this that Macquarie's emphasis on rehabilitation, with its inevitable anomalies, could only be viewed as an impediment by Bigge, even had the commissioner not been personally allergic to the convict and emancipist class. Macquarie himself was painfully indiscreet; not only did his creative architectural urges get out of hand, but his dispatches contained extravagances like: 'No people in the world live better, or have less to complain of, than the convicts, both male and female, in NSW, as long as they conduct themselves with Common Propriety, and the very worst of them are removed to Newcastle, where they have a greater Share of Work ... and consequently cannot Enjoy the *Luxurious Living* * the Convicts at Sydney do.'*

my italics
Macquarie to Bathurst
28.6.1813 No 2
CO201.67 f26

It was natural that Mr Bigge should give credence to the evidence and suggestions of his peers in the colony, that is, gentlemen of property,* and while following faithfully the

Bigge Colony 156

objective indicated by Bathurst, he linked it to the agricultural and pastoral developments dear to the heart of those gentlemen. Bigge's subsequent recommendations were based on 3 premises:

Bigge Colony 155-8

that the accumulation of convicts in towns led to evils of association, that the association of convicts with manufacturing enterprises weakened control over them, and that agriculture offered the best means of convict employment.*

His recommendations, as they affected convict accommodation, were:

Ibid. 163

That once the buildings now constructing and approved by him were completed, no 'mechanics or convicts be retained in the employment of government at any of the stations, or at Emu Plains', and that in the meantime a maximum of 400 might be lodged at the barracks in Sydney and 100 at Parramatta.*

Ibid. 163

That the convicts of the best character and capacity for agricultural labour be assigned to settlers in the settled and adjacent districts.*

Ibid. 159

That parties of not more than 40 convicts and an overseer be formed to clear land, including roots, for agriculture, and that 'their huts be erected in the course of one day without any other expense than that of tools and nails.' This provision had the additional advantage for Bigge in that it prevented convicts being better housed than settlers.*

Ibid. 163

That the convict boys be retained at Carters' Barracks and given trade instruction to fit them for assignment to settlers.*

That those convicts surplus to requirements in the settled districts, together with those who are of bad character, misconduct themselves or prove useless, be removed to

three new settlements at Moreton Bay, Port Curtis and Port Bowen. Bigge noted that this would 'effect an entire separation of this body of convicts from the mass of the population.' He also commented, that while Port Macquarie was already settle, it was too near to Sydney to prevent escape and was therefore unsuitable.*

Bigge Colony 164

Bigge in his 'Directions and Regulations for the conduct of the new settlements...' specified the physical form they should take,* and listed the buildings required:*

Ibid. 180
Ibid. 181

a house for the commandant
barrack for the officers & soldiers } 'upon any elevated
command a view of the settlement, sufficiently near to
observe it, and to afford easy assistance, and yet so
much removed as to prevent communication between the
soldiers and the convicts.'

a store house for provisions 'near to the landing place and exposed to the sea breeze. 3 stories, the lowest 14 ft in height and the floor 2 ft above the ground, the 2 upper stories each 8 ft in height, external staircase giving access to any one of the stories without opening the others.'

a quarter for the chaplain
a quarter for the officer of the com^t dept
a quarter for the surgeon
an hospital } with
cooking
houses for
each

a wash house

four cooking houses for the convicts, each of them large enough to dress provisions for 500 men.

four mess rooms for the convicts

huts for the convicts of their own construction

houses for the overseers

a working shed surrounded with a paling and containing 2 forges, 8 sawpits, covered, and a carpenter's shop.

a prison containing 2 large rooms and 20 cells for the solitary confinement of convicts.

- a chapel on the model of the wooden chapel at Pennant Hills.
- a dormitory capable of containing 250 newly arrived convicts until they have erected houses for themselves.
- a convict barrack surrounded with a high paling and enclosing a cooking house for the separate use of the convicts confined in it. This barrack is for those who show themselves unworthy of enjoying the comparative freedom of huts.

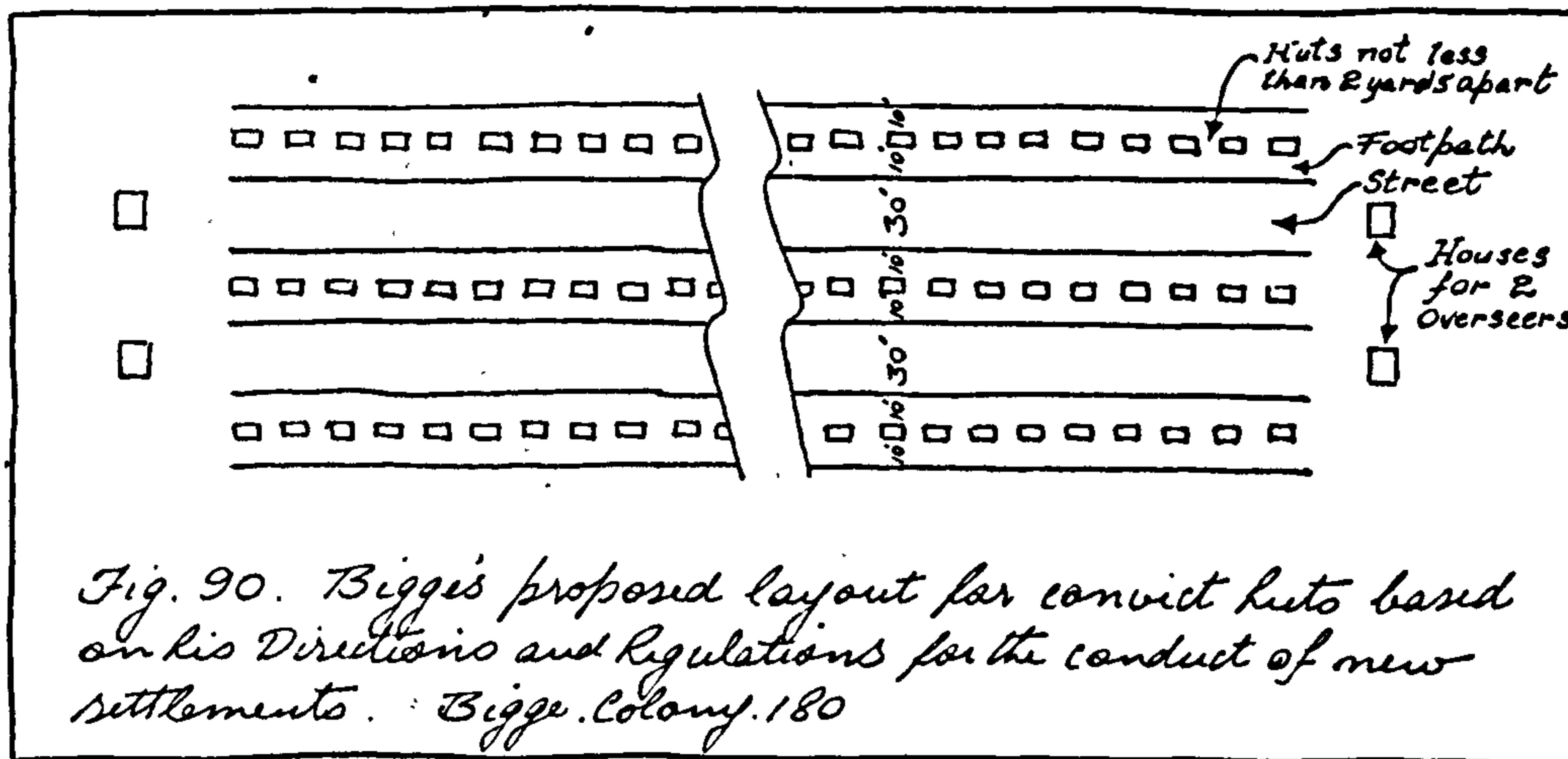
Ibid.

181

Bigge added 'in the construction of these buildings no other objects are to be considered than solidity and accommodation, and, with the exception of the chimneys, the provision store and the gaol, are to be built entirely of wood.'*

He then gave more detailed instructions: 'The huts in which the convicts are to be lodged, should be constructed as nearly as possible upon the model of those at Pennant Hills, near Parramatta. The windows of these huts should be made of wood and made to swing on hinges like the ports of a man of war; and the floors should be laid with rough boards, and always be raised above ground. It should be distinctly understood and observed that in the construction of these huts no other implements will be allowed than nails and axes; and that the bark of the eucalyptus is to form the covering and sides of the hut.

The huts should be placed at a distance of not less than 2 yards from each other, in straight lines, each line being separated from the opposite one by a distance of 50^{ft}; leaving 30^{ft} for a street, and 10^{ft} on each side for a foot-path. The direction of these streets should be straight; and nearly as possible parallel to each other, Houses for 2 overseers should be placed at both ends of each street and commanding a view of it, to ensure a constant superintendence



'At the rear of every 4th hut there should be placed water troughs at which the convicts should be made to wash themselves on their return to breakfast after the first hours of labour in the morning.* Bigge made no mention of the privies.

Ibid. 181

Ibid. 180

'The number in each hut should not exceed 2...*' and no furniture should be allowed but their bedding, and 2 stools... Palliasses and blankets were all that was necessary. Finally Bigge proposed that separate huts be provided for the married convicts in a different part of the settlement.*

Ibid. 184

It was characteristic of Bigge that on being asked to enquire into a matter of policy, he descended to this level of detail and in doing so produced recommendations which would not only prove impractical for supervision and maintenance, but would also help to defeat his espoused policy.

According to Bigge buildings required at the settlements were to be designed by the Chief Engineer at Sydney, approved by the Governor and despatched to the settlement for execution.*

Ibid. 186

Bigge had already stated that he saw 'no reason to expect that a more cordial co-operation would take place between the chief engineer [Druitt] and the colonial architect [Greenway] than that which had previously subsisted' and he therefore strongly recommended that an officer of the corps of engineers

be appointed to direct and superintend all works conducted by convicts, including roads and bridges. After this appointment had taken place Bigge proposed to discontinue the office of Colonial Architect as there would be no buildings in need of his assistance. Indeed an engineer would introduce a 'more uniform and simple style of architecture into the Government Works, and preserve a more just proportion between' scale

Bigge Ag. & Trade. 103 and resources.*

As might be expected from the attitude of Bathurst and the home government, Bigge's main policy recommendations were adopted. However, there is no evidence that any Commandant implemented his specific recommendations for the design and construction of new penal settlements.

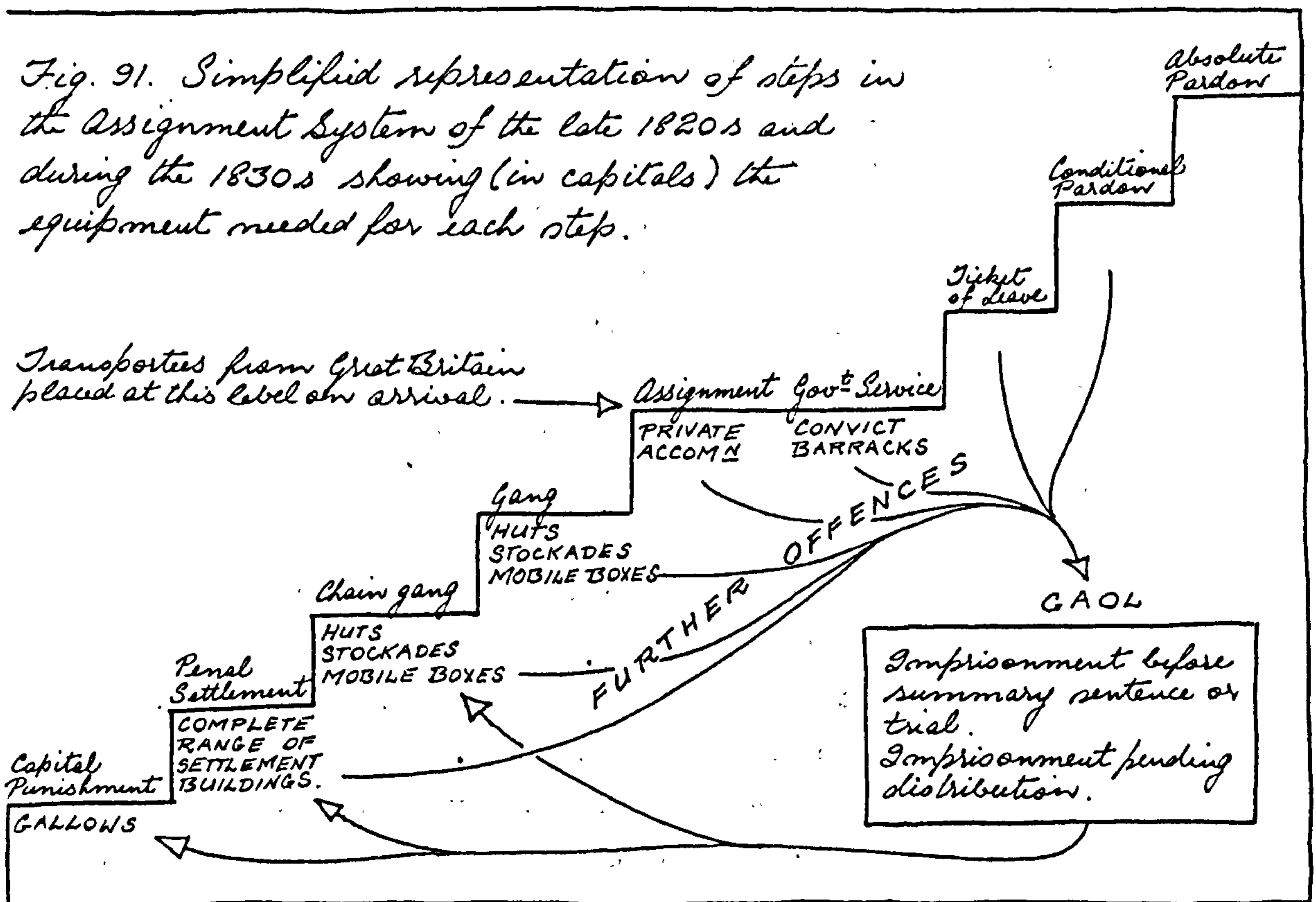
The early stages of the new penal settlements usually resembled to some degree Bigge's suggestions, though it would be more accurate to say that his suggestions resembled them. This was because Bigge had assembled a considerable amount of contemporary experience of the physical needs of such settlements and mixed it with a little of his own theory. His own ideas were often impractical. The ranks of huts would have spread over such a wide area that supervision would have been beyond the resources of the infant settlements, even if the terrain had permitted it.

In fact the first priority was the security of the stores and troops. These tended to be in an enclave, and the hutted prisoners had limited supervision, the commandant trusting to the isolated or inaccessible location to contain his flock. By 1831 huts had been largely abandoned in favour of substantial masonry barracks as the only means of proper supervision at penal settlements.*

See Chapter 8.

The Assignment System, as its name implies, was an arrangement whereby the bulk of the convicts were assigned to work for free citizens. In exchange, their masters relieved the government of the expense of supporting them. The system was not novel but it evolved on a much larger scale following Bigge's recommendations.

The system was similar in principle in both NSW and VDL. On arrival the convicts were either assigned or (a few) retained in government service. From this situation they could, according to conduct, progress through a series of stages, or steps, up to a pardon or down to execution. This process is presented in a simplified form in Fig. 91. In those stages where the



convicts were retained under government control a variety of accommodation was needed. This and the next six chapters

is about that accommodation during the third and fourth decades of the century.

Commissioner Bigge returned to England in 1821 to submit his full report. In the meantime the new Governor, Thomas Brisbane, guided no doubt by advice from Bathurst, had already started to implement some of the Commissioner's recommendations. In March 1822 the Colonial Secretary, Goulburn, invited applications from settlers for clearing gangs.* The initial parties of 22 convicts were to be allowed up to a week to hut themselves from local materials before they commenced clearing operations.* These early gangs built little more than one or two bark huts and were supervised by a convict overseer.

*Gov't Public Notice
12.3.1822
CO201.143 f143*

*Clearing Gang
Regulations
CO201.143 f145*

By April the following year 700 men were employed in clearing gangs and Brisbane told Bathurst that the stations at Parramatta, Windsor and Liverpool were reduced to 'next to nothing', that the road gangs were 'almost abolished',* and that he would distribute convict mechanics as far as possible among the settlers and try to attain Bigge's limit of 400 convicts in Sydney.* He continued 'it is with the entire conviction of the importance of the Agricultural Establishment... that I have given every possible growth to the Station at Emu Plains; have nourished Bathurst as a depot for well educated convicts ; and founded a new settlement on a small scale at Wellington Valley.'*

*Brisbane to Bathurst
28.4.1823 N27
CO201.143 f131*

Ibid. f130

Ibid. f132

Brisbane's reference to Emu Plains refers in part to his naive and ill-fated venture in sending 25 female 'volunteers' to that establishment in July 1822 so that they might be employed at field work and might hence become useful farmers wives.* He also appears to have hoped that the male convicts would be improved by the softening influence of female company.(4) The convict women were housed in bark huts built for them next to the gaol near the Nepean river, and about three quarters of a mile from the men and a quarter of a mile from the western road.*

*Emu Plains
Enquiry: Brisbane's
statement 3.8.1825
CO201.162 f85*

*Evidence of Kinghorn
and Hurdock
CO201.162 f91*

*Sworn deposition of
Dr G. S. Featherford at
CO 201.182 f 322 and
of the Magistrate, Sir
John Gamison, at
CO 201.182 f 329.*

Murdoch, the superintendent of the station, foresaw an immediate problem of segregation and control, and called on the Colonial Secretary, Major Goulburn, in Sydney to seek guidance on the Governor's policy. The Major was alleged on oath to have replied that the women must not couple with more than 7 at one time.* The subsequent tales of the conduct of the Emu Plains station could hardly have improved much on the reality of the situation, and by the following year had excited a powerful sensation in England against the unfortunate Governor's supposed motive and ineffectual supervision.

This episode helped to inhibit further thought of even limited integration of the sexes at convict establishments until the homosexual scandals of the mid 1840 s.

*Bourke to Gladstg
29.12.1836 N2 1039
CO 201.255 f 379*

*Shaw Convicts
212 & 214*

*Bourke to Gladstg
29.12.1836 N2 1039
CO 201.255 f 380*

*Shaw Convicts
212*

The clearing gangs, and other gangs working free of irons, became increasingly lawless and difficult to control and by 1832 Bourke had determined to abolish them.* Earlier both Darling (1826) and Arthur (before 1828) had developed chain or iron'd gangs as a means of secondary punishment and to supply labour on the roads and in settled areas.* They were in effect an intermediate step between the unironed gangs and retransportation to a penal settlement, though offenders who might have been sentenced to a settlement were directed to an ironed gang if their labour was required. In 1836 Bourke had about 1000 men in 16 ironed gangs* and in 1835 Arthur had 805.*

*Bourke's Stockade
Instructions 10.9.1832
page 12 item 21*

By September 1832 Bourke had replaced the convict overseers with paid superintendents and in that month he issued regulations for stockades which specified that the superintendents' hut and store should be combined and placed outside the stockade facing the gate, and that the constables hut should overlook the opposite side.* The stockade itself was to be a high staked fence containing the men's huts, a hospital hut and sometimes a mess shed. The huts were fitted with the standard 2 tiered bed platforms and each convict was

*Bourke's Stockade
Instructions 10.9.1832
page 9 item 4*

supplied with one blanket and an additional one in winter.*

Shaw Convicts 2:4

By 1834 Bourke had placed a military guard at each stockade* and in January 1836 these stockades, formerly in the charge of the Commissariat dept, were transferred to Ordnance and placed under the Commanding Royal Engineer, Barney,* White describes the gang's housing under the new regime thus:

*List of Stockades
transferred 1.1.1836
W055.852 f47*

'Convicts in irons were divided into gangs of about 80 prisoners each, and this number occupied 4 wooden houses, which, with the officer's and soldiers' barracks, guard room, store and convicts mess shed, formed what was called the "stockade". Formerly the buildings were surrounded by a staked fence, but this was discontinued, as it was found that the convicts were more securely guarded by placing sentries at the angles of the wooden houses, and leaving a space all round open to their fire...'*

*White Convict Life
II. 258*

In Van Dieman's Land the iron'd gangs continued under the control of the Road dept, and Arthur's standing instructions from 1834 to the time of his departure in 1837 specified that each road party station should consist of:

- '1 Superintendents hut with a kitchen attached to it.
 - 1 Overseers hut.
 - 1 Cooking hut for the whole gang.
 - 1 Double store, one side for rations, the other side for tools etc.
 - 1 Forge
 - 1 Carpenter's shop
 - 1 Cell 14 ft square
- } Connected together
- Solitary cells 7 x 4 according to the strength of the gang.
- 1 Hut of 30 ft long and 15 ft wide, to each division of 40 men...

The cooking hut will be provided with an oven. The boilers, similar to those employed on board of convict ships for the purpose of cooking, are to be used at all road parties, whenever they can be obtained.*

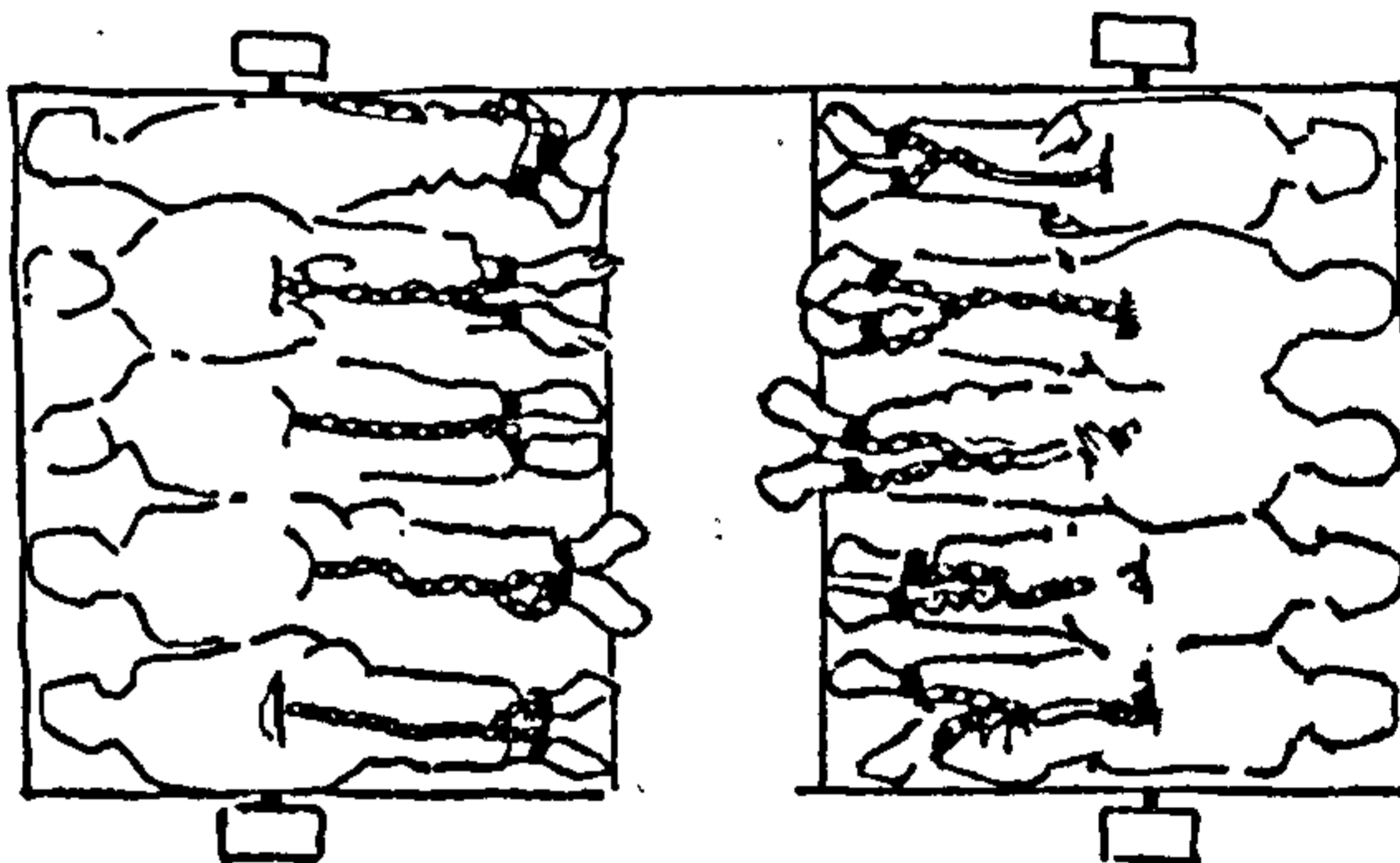
*Arthur's Road dept
Instructions
1912.1834 page 141*

Stockades remained on site until the required work in the neighbourhood was completed and the gang moved on. As the size of the stockades grew and regulations regarding the security and health of the convicts were introduced, more time and labour was expended on construction. To reduce this some form of re-usable or mobile stockade was needed and in fact 'moveable caravans on block wheels' had been introduced as mobile convict huts by the time of James Backhouse's inspection in September 1835. *

*Backhouse Letters
Part III 9.9.1835
14*

In June the following year Backhouse described such a convict caravanserai near Maitland: 'We visited the Ironed Gang Stockade, which consisted of 4 moveable huts on wheels, calculated to lodge 20 men each. They are 7½ft wide, 14ft long, and rather more than 6ft high, (See Fig. 92) which allows of

Fig. 92. Scale representation of sleeping accommodation on upper shelf of mobile box. Based on Backhouse's dimensions for Maitland boxes (Backhouse and Tyler on Walker. 246) and sketch in ML at V CONV 2.*



barely 1½ ft space for each prisoner, as they lie side by side on shelves; they are necessarily very crowded, as they can hardly avoid touching one another. Most of the moveable huts or cages we have previously inspected have been about 9 ft in width. Confinement to these places during the hours the prisoners are not at work or at meals must involve considerable suffering' * as 'only half of them can sit at the ends of the platforms on which half of them sleep; the rest must sit back with their legs at a right angle with their body.' * In addition they were all in chains which were fastened to both ankles and waist. There was some variation in the size of the boxes throughout the Colony;

*Backhouse & Tyler
on Walker. 246
(18.6.1836)*

*Backhouse Letters
III. 71 (19.6.1836)*

See Appendix 3

the larger ones, up to 10^{ft} wide, taking 28 men.*

A drawing of a 20 man box from the NSW Colonial Architects office suggests that they were far from easy to move. See Fig. 93. As the men were locked in at night the small urinal prevented frequent and vexatious requests for release to answer the calls of nature.

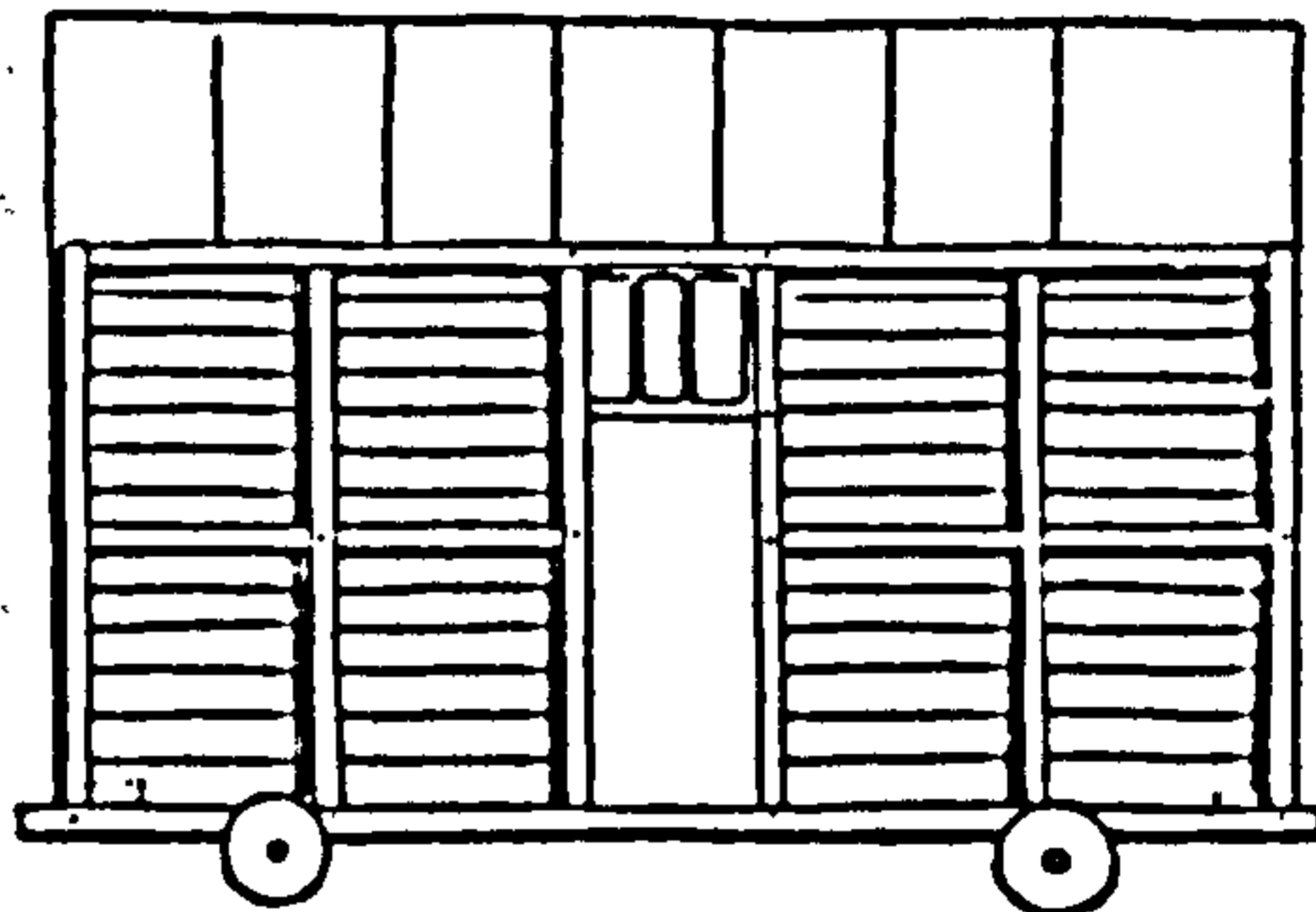
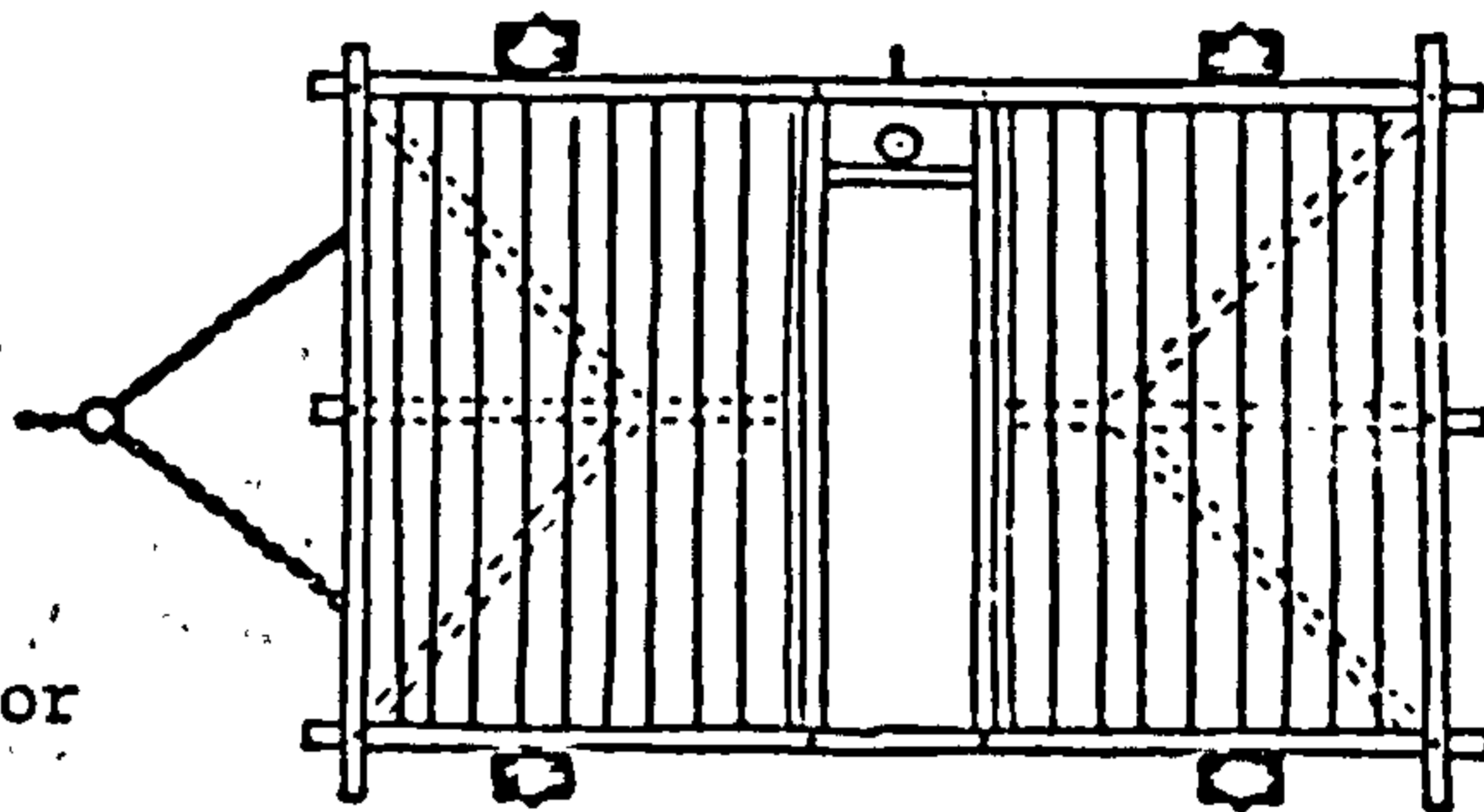
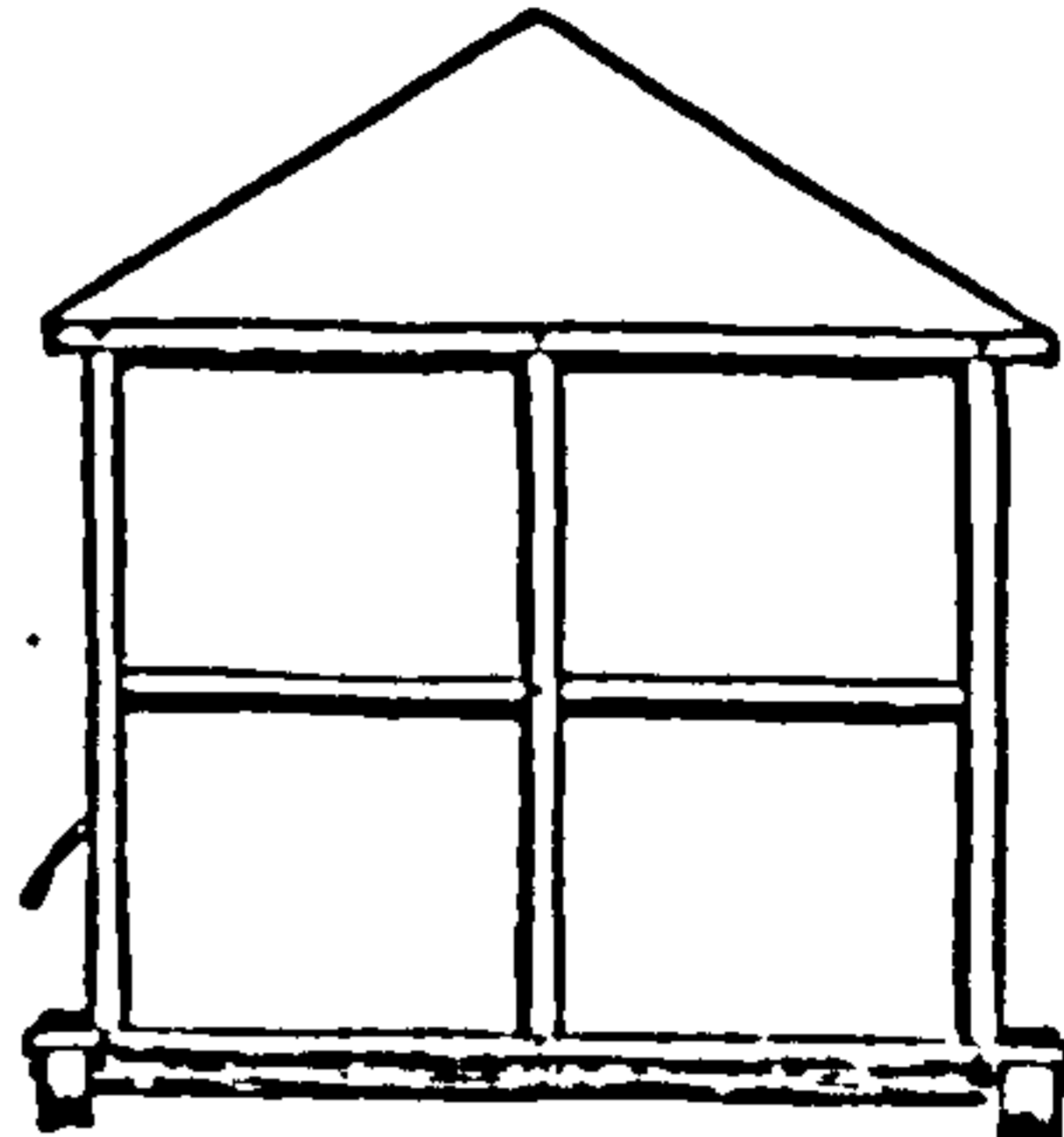


Fig 93. *feet* ML V° CONV. 2
Sketch of a Portable Wooden House
to contain 20 Ironed Ganged Convicts

In 1834, the Rev'd Doctor J D Lang had advocated 'frame-houses that could be taken asunder and removed on the back of pack bullocks, and set up again at the next encampment.'* Such a policy does not seem to have eventuated in NSW, though much later in 1847, the Tasmanian Comptroller General's department developed prefabricated and demountable road stations, each of which was to hold 16 men.*

Lang Account of NSW II. 61

*Comp^{to} Genl. to Denison 15.11.1847
BPP 7 part 9:
1849 (1022) 123*

Much of the labour of the ironed gangs in NSW and VDL in the late 1820's and the 1830's was devoted to road and bridge building, but there were also stockades formed to supply convict labour for large public works. The construction of Darlinghurst gaol and the Cook's river dam project were examples. At the former the ironed gang was housed in the

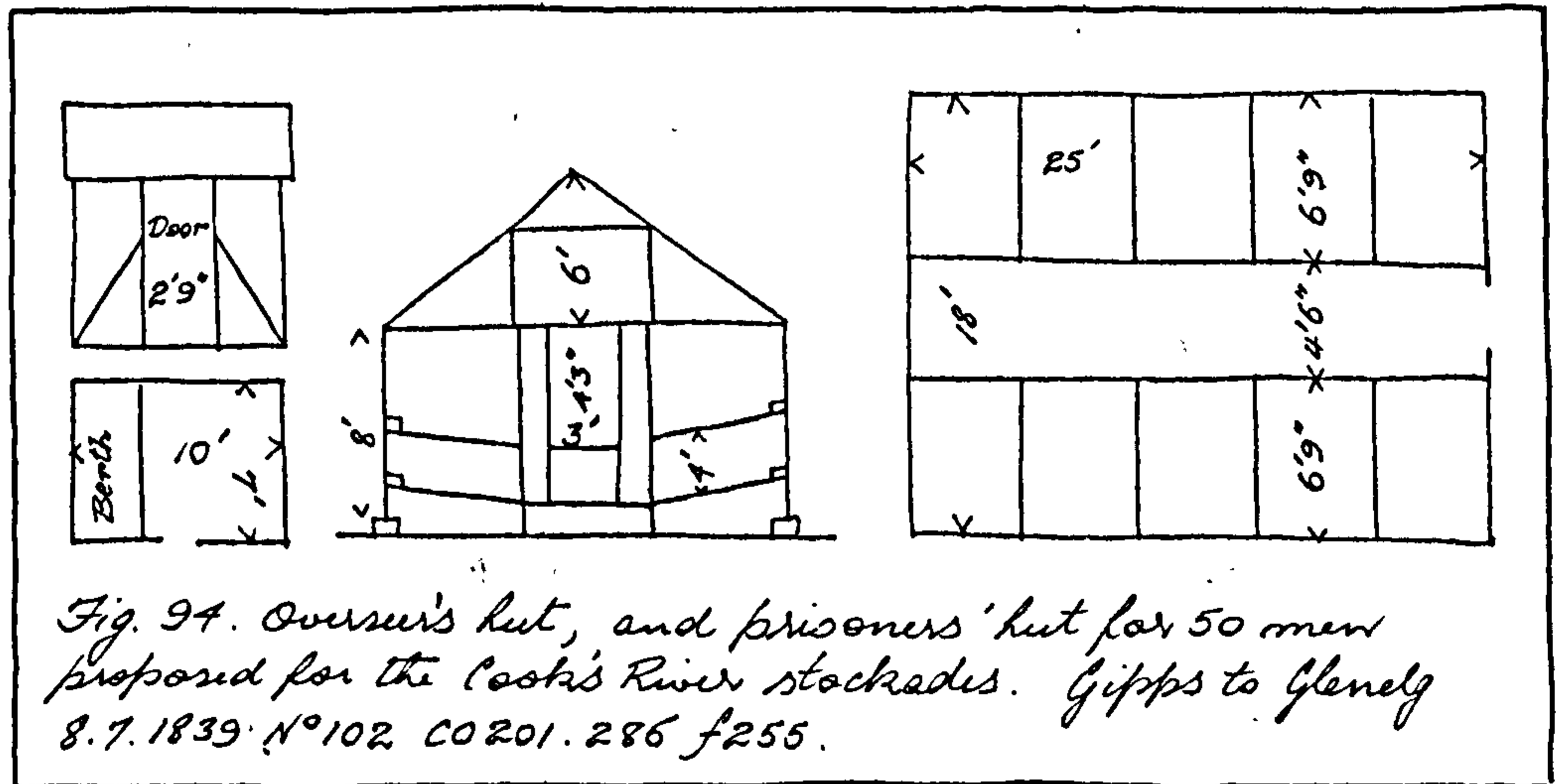
*Backhouse letters
IX. 23 (11.11.1836)*

ubiquitous mobile 'boxes', 25 (sic) to a box.* These in turn were within the stone perimeter walls built in the previous decade for an intended gaol.

The Commanding Royal Engineer's estimate for the stockades to house the convicts of the Cook's River scheme, provides a good picture of longer term accommodation designed by the Royal Engineers for erection by contract. Major Barney, the Commanding Royal Engineer at the time, gave details:

'This estimate is...for...two stockades at Cooks River (one on the right, the other on the left bank) each to consist of [accommodation for] a Foreman of Works, 2 Ticket of Leave or Prisoner Overseers, and 250 prisoners. The buildings are framed with a view to their application to any future required service.'* See Fig. 94.

*enclosed in Gipps to
Glenelg 8.7.1839 N°102
CO201.286 f255*



He then listed the buildings and materials required:

'10 prisoners huts 25 x 18 for 50 men each	£65	£650
4 overseers huts 10 x 7	each £27	£108
2 portable officers huts complete each	£60 4 0	£128.8 [sic]
* To supplying materials required for the construction of Dining and Cooking Sheds, Foundations etc.	say	£100
* 6 cast iron boilers and frames complete		
	[each] £7 10	£45
* 7,500 split pales 8 ft, per 100,	15/=	£56 5
* 7,200 ft rung.. Arris Rails of Hardwood		
	5 x 2½ per 100 ft	16/- £57 12

Enclosed in Giff's to
Glenelg. 8. 7. 1839
No. 1102
CO201.286 f255

- * 4,500 ft Hardwood 6 x 5 per 100 ft run £90 0!*
- * Materials for Dining sheds, cookhouse and rough fencing for Stockade, to be erected by convicts.

The two tiers of continuous wooden shelving sloping to the centre gangway (in Fig. 94) was the furnishing most commonly provided for convict repose in NSW during the 1830's, whether it be for stockade, barrack or gaol. Even the mobile boxes were arranged in an analogous way.

Arthur's Road dep^t
Instructions
19.12.1834 page 141

In Van Diemen's Land Arthur's instructions* specify a 30 ft x 15 ft hut for 40 men, that is, 450 sq ft, or 11½ sq ft per man. On the other hand Barney's design for the Cook's River Stockade houses 50 men in exactly the same space, or 9 sq ft per man. This is not, as might be supposed, an example of Barney's indifference to the comfort of lesser mortals, but a clue to a basic difference in design of hut accommodation in Van Diemen's Land.

See Chapter 8

Like a number of contemporary VDL convict barracks,* huts under Governor Arthur's system had a door and windows on the front, immediately behind which was a messing space, and on the rear wall, the usual 2 tiers of barrack bedding. This deduction is supported by the absence of a mess shed from Arthur's Instructions and the inclusion of just such a building in Barney's estimates. Such an arrangement would give the Van Demonian iron'd gangers a sleeping width of 1 ft 6 ins, or precisely the norm in Van Diemen's Land at the time.

Barney also included a design in the 1839/40 estimates for a barrack for 200 convicts on Cockatoo Island. This used the same basic arrangement for plan and section as the Cook's River huts, and similar dimensions. As stockades and barracks overlap in both design and function, a convenient distinction can be made on the basis that stockades are designed for temporary, and barracks for permanent, use.

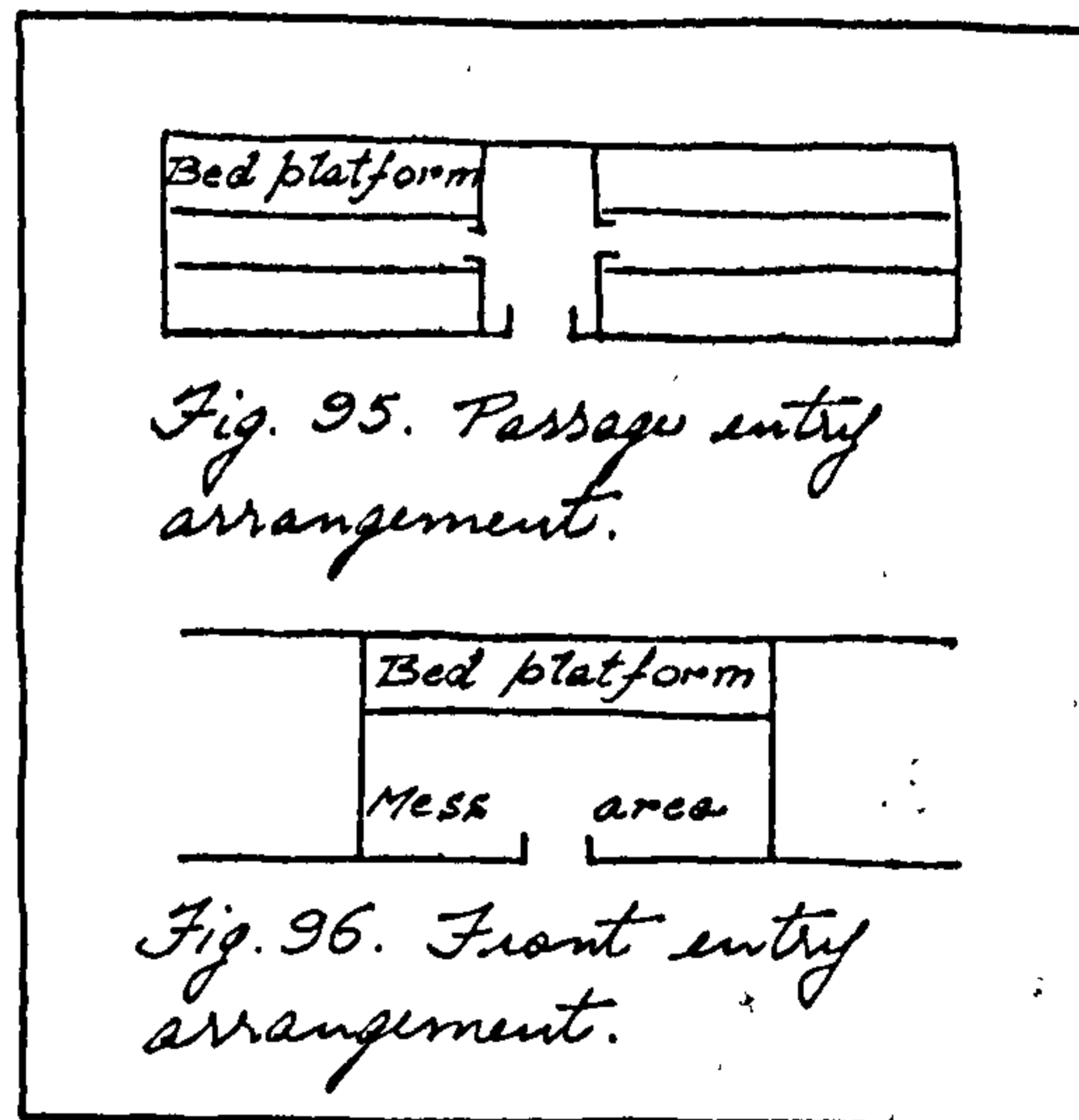
Chapter 8 Barracks, Hospitals and Asylums, 1822 - 1842

Convicts in government service and on penal settlements were housed in permanent barracks as soon as they could be constructed. There is no evidence that Commissioner Bigge's scheme for parallel streets of huts was adopted, and when hutments were built as a temporary measure, they were more compactly arranged to permit a controllable perimeter. Many of the barracks, particularly on agricultural stations were of the simplest design using local materials; however, whether rudimentary or complex, most colonial barracks conformed to one or other of two basic design approaches.

The first was encountered in Chapter 5 and was based on a transverse passage giving access to rooms on either side. This permitted bedding to be placed

against both long walls. See Fig. 95. If this was simple, the second was positively minimal and consisted merely of a room entered and lit from the front. See Fig. 96. This front entry was usual where the occupants were required to mess as well as sleep in the room. Hence the space on the entry side was

left free and the bed platforms were ranged against the blank rear wall.* See Fig. 101. Such a plan was a natural consequence of placing accommodation on the inside of a perimeter wall, and was a common army expedient. In VDL convict establishments, these rooms, like those with a passage entry, were often laid end to end in a single range.



A further consideration for those laying out convict barracks

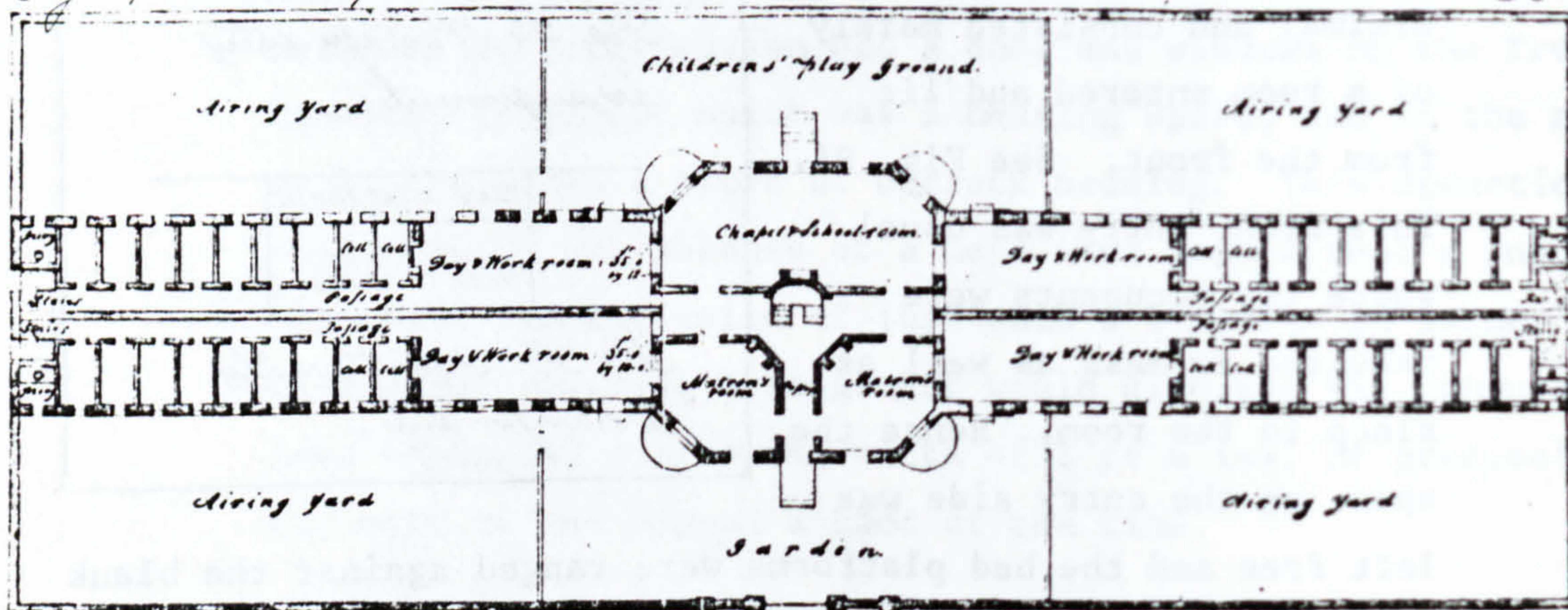
in the 1820 s was the much publicised need for placing convicts in physically separate categories according to their past record and behaviour. The continual ferment in the female establishments of VDL and NSW, coupled with the lack of legally permitted disciplinary measures, and the fact that Elizabeth Fry supplied specific and positive guidance through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, resulted in the two major female establishments at Cascade and Parramatta having 3 stage classification by 1828. Such arrangements however remained the exception rather than the rule in male convict establishments.

Samuel Marsden's correspondence with English reformers and later with Mrs Fry* was too protracted to influence the construction of the Parramatta Factory; but Mrs Fry, no doubt with the assistance of her SIPD* friends, supplied Under Secretary Horton with a plan of a building to 'be erected at Hobart Town for the reception of Female Convicts', and suggestions for discipline.* See Fig. 97.

*Fry to Marsden
11.12.1820 ML
ms A.730*

*Fry to Horton
August 1823
H.R.A. XI. 114-6*

*Prison for Female Convicts
Fig. 97. Prison for Female Convicts, 1823. ML BT 36.*



In August 1823, Bathurst sent both plan and suggestions to Arthur and Brisbane, recommending at the same time that they be carried into practical operation 'as occasion may require.'* No such occasion immediately arose as Arthur, arriving in the wake of Mr Bigge, found himself short of all necessary resources for new projects.*

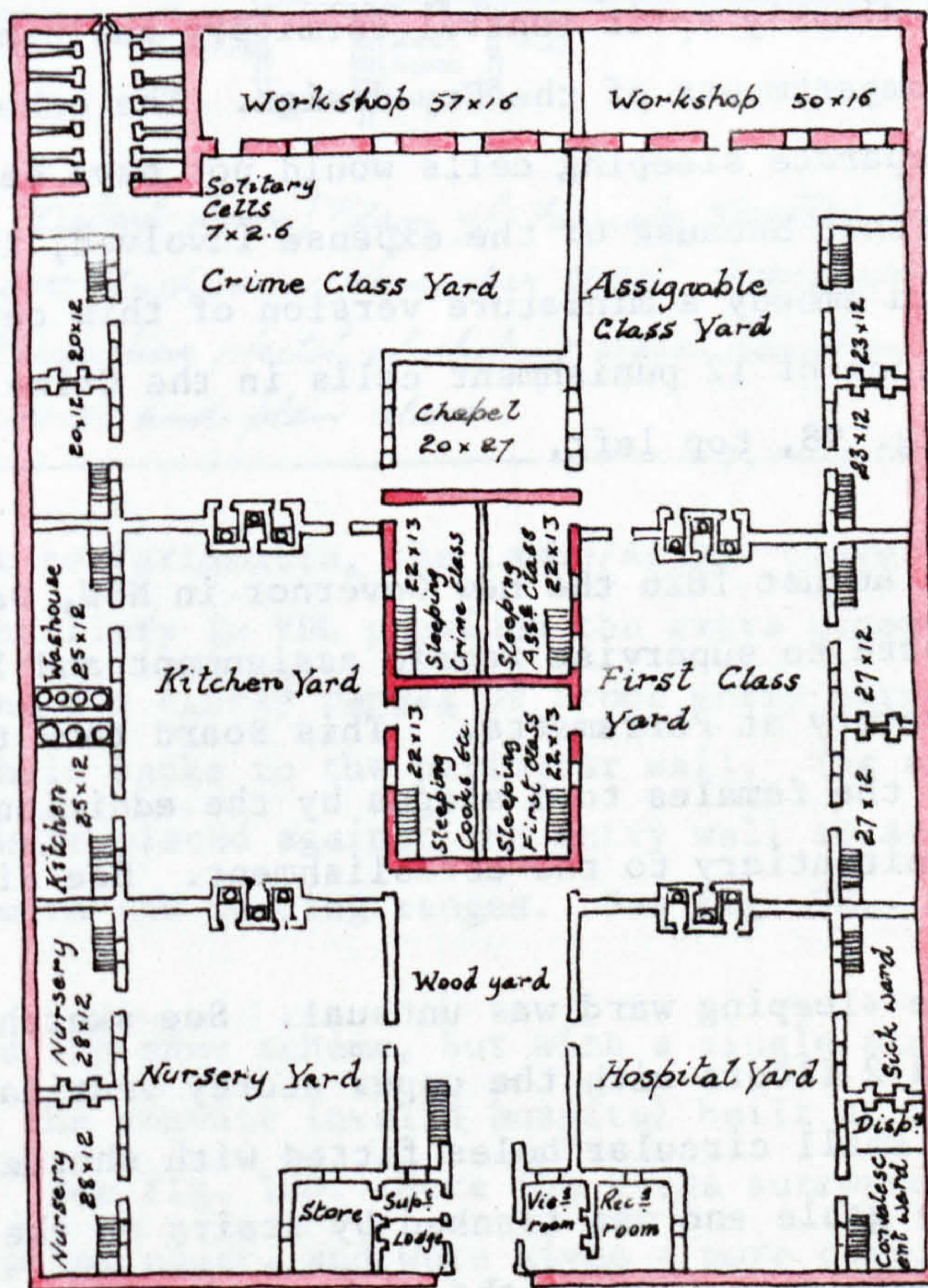
*Bathurst to Arthur
30.8.1823
H.R.A. XI. 114*

*Arthur to Bathurst
3.7.1825
CO280.3 f75*

However, at the end of 1826 Arthur acquired Lowe's distillery at the Cascade, near Hobart, for conversion to a female House of Correction, and convened a committee of the Colonial Architect (David Lambe), the Sup^t of Police and the Principal Sup^t of Convicts 'to consider the plans... necessary for adapting the buildings to the purposes contemplated.'* The plans were completed in January 1827 and the lowest tender of £2,500 was recommended by the Executive Council to Arthur in May.*

VDL ECM 9.5.1827
CO 282.1 f202

Ibid. f203



— Old distillery building
— New stone & brick work

Ch. 8 Fig. 98

Fig. 98 Ground Plan of the Female Factory at the Cascade. Engineers Office Sept. 5th 1827 [Sgd] John Lee Archer. A/TAS 290/367

*VOL ECM 5.3.1827
CO282.1 f165-9*

*Arthur to Godrich
25.10.1827
CO280.13 f66*

In August 1827, Bathurst's newly appointed Colonial Architect and Civil Engineer, John Lee Archer,* arrived. Probably because of Lambe's growing reputation for 'culpably negligent and reprehensible' conduct,* Arthur immediately employed Archer on retendering the conversion. It is unlikely that Archer made any major alterations to the design as the new contract price was only £156 lower at £2,344.*

Whatever the authorship of the design shown in Archer's September 1827 drawings (See Fig. 98) it adopts the longitudinally split central dormitory building and sexpartite compartments of the Fry design. The other Fry concept of separate sleeping cells would not have been acceptable to Arthur because of the expense involved, though the architect did embody a miniature version of this cell system in the block of 12 punishment cells in the Crime class yard. See Fig. 98, top left.

Shaw Convicts 241

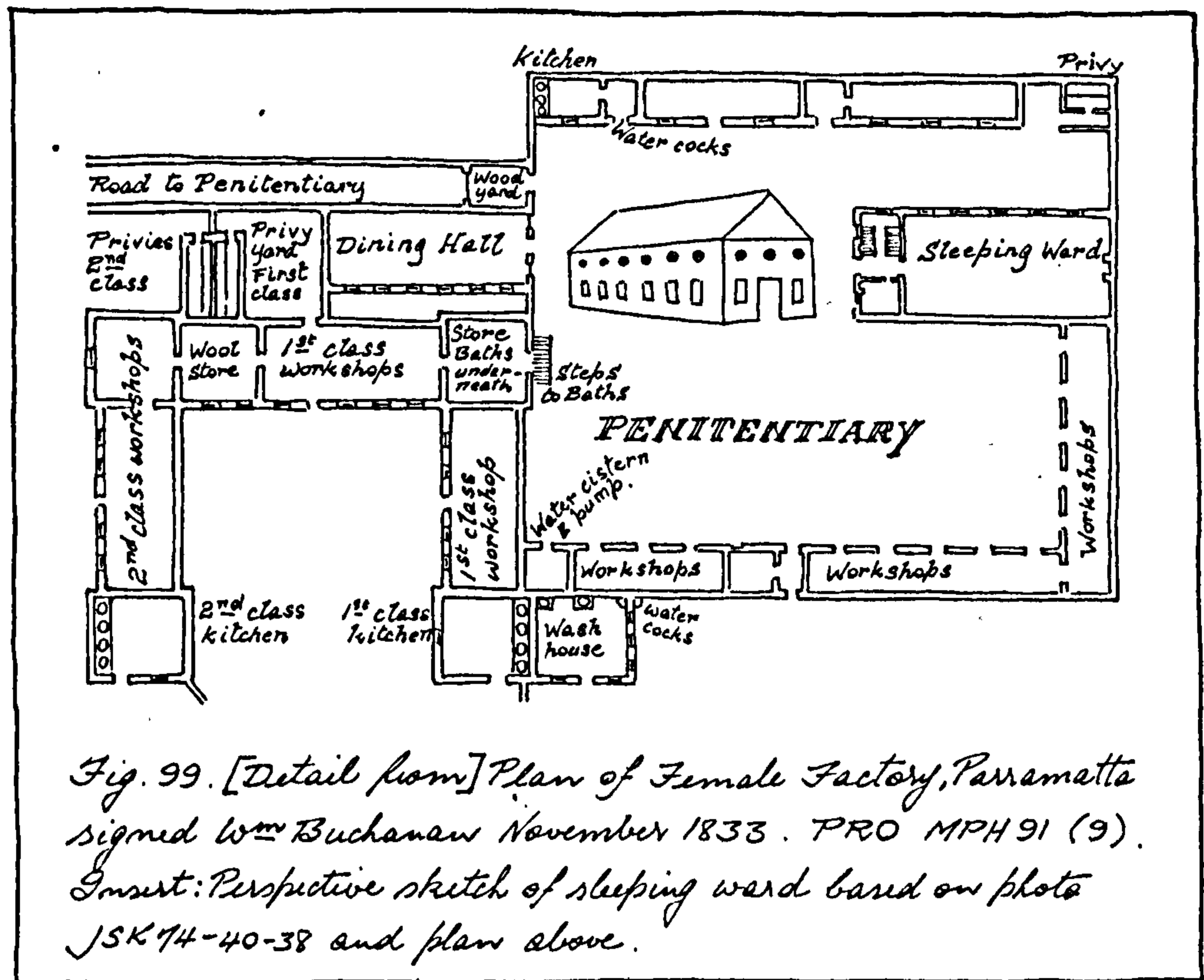
In August 1826 the new Governor in NSW, Darling, appointed a Board to supervise female assignment and look after the Factory at Parramatta.* This Board took the classification of the females to 3 stages by the addition of a self contained penitentiary to the establishment. See Fig. 99.

Also Plate 9

The sleeping ward was unusual. See sketch in Fig. 99.* It had 2 floors with the upper storey ventilated, but not lit, by small circular holes fitted with shutters. The entry at the gable end was flanked by stairs on the left and a small supervision room on the right. W^m Buchanan was the most likely designer; he drew up several convict buildings for Darling at the time, and as he was paid £200 a year plus allowances he was clearly more than a draughtsman.* He later spent 4 years, 1832-5, in 'charge of the Military and Convict buildings under the... Board of Works.*

*Buchanan to Barney
15.7.1837
WO55.852*

*Buchanan to Barney
31.7.1837
WO55.852*



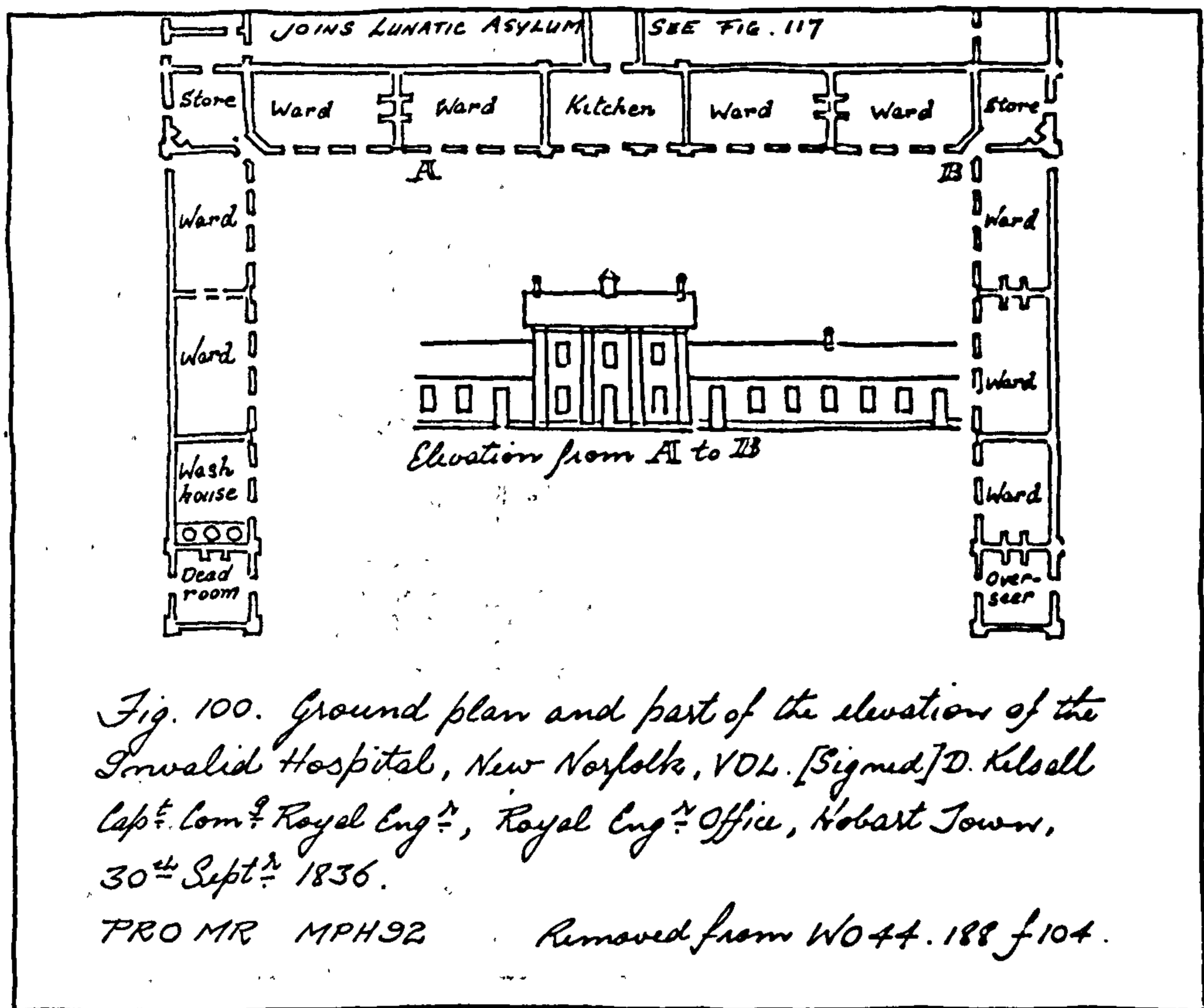
In contrast to Parramatta, the Lambé/Archer conversion of the Cascade distillery in VDL provided the extra accommodation by constructing two storey ranges of front entry barrack rooms set with their backs to the perimeter wall. The stairs in each room were placed against the entry wall so as not to interfere with the bedding ranges. See Fig. 98.

Archer used the same scheme, but with a single storey, in his design for the convict Invalid hospital built at New Norfolk 1830 - 31. * See Fig. 100. Here the wards surrounded 3 sides of the hospital court, and were given a more consciously architectural treatment with a pilastered and gabled 2 storey centrepiece. All doors and windows faced the court and access to the resulting blind storage spaces on the corners was gained by short diagonal tunnels.

*Arthur to Goderich
 10.10.1836 N251
 CO280.36 f31-2*

*Lempriere's
 Settlements 109*

It is clear from Lempriere's description* that the Port Arthur penitentiary was of the same type, and was probably another



*Fig. 100. Ground plan and part of the elevation of the Insalid Hospital, New Norfolk, VOL. [Signed] D. Kilsall
Cap^t. Com^d Royal Engⁿ, Royal Engⁿ Office, Hobart Town,
30th Sept^r 1836.*

PRO MR MPH92

Removed from W044.188 f104.

Archer design.

'A strong gate leads to the penal yards, a large square formed by the different rooms, 16 in number for the convicts. There is a well in the centre of this yard, but it is not used at present. The rooms vary in size and contain from 16 to 30 men; each room has 2 long tables for their meals and benches... at one end of the room are the berths of the overseers, who are responsible for the regularity of the men under their charge. The sleeping berths are 2 ranges of guard beds, the one above the other occupying the whole length of the room, in the side opposite the door and windows, the berths are divided from each other by a board 14 inches high and are 1 ft 4 ins wide and 6 ft 2 ins long... The rooms have a door and 2 windows each, the latter are not glazed but have shutters.'*

Lempriere's Settlements 109.

See Figs 101 and 102.

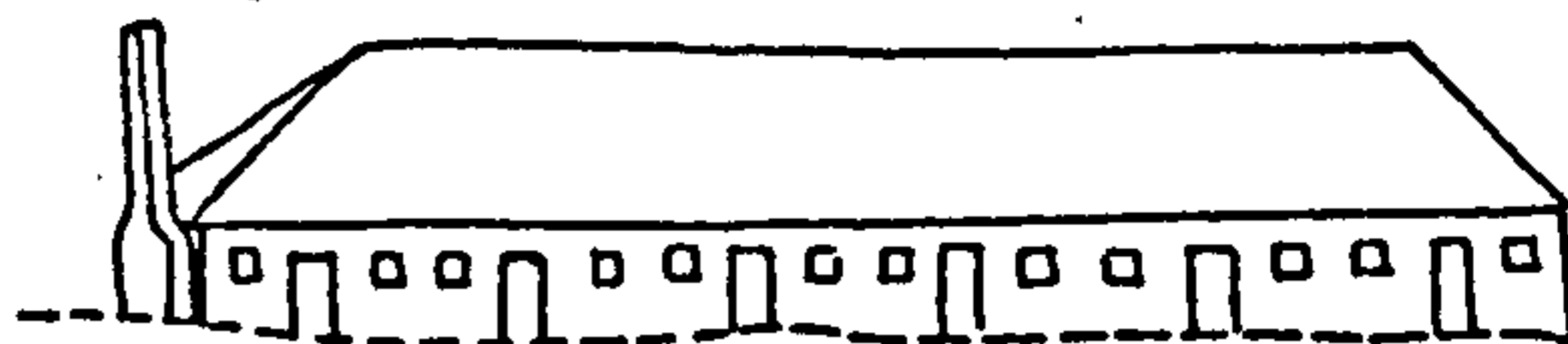
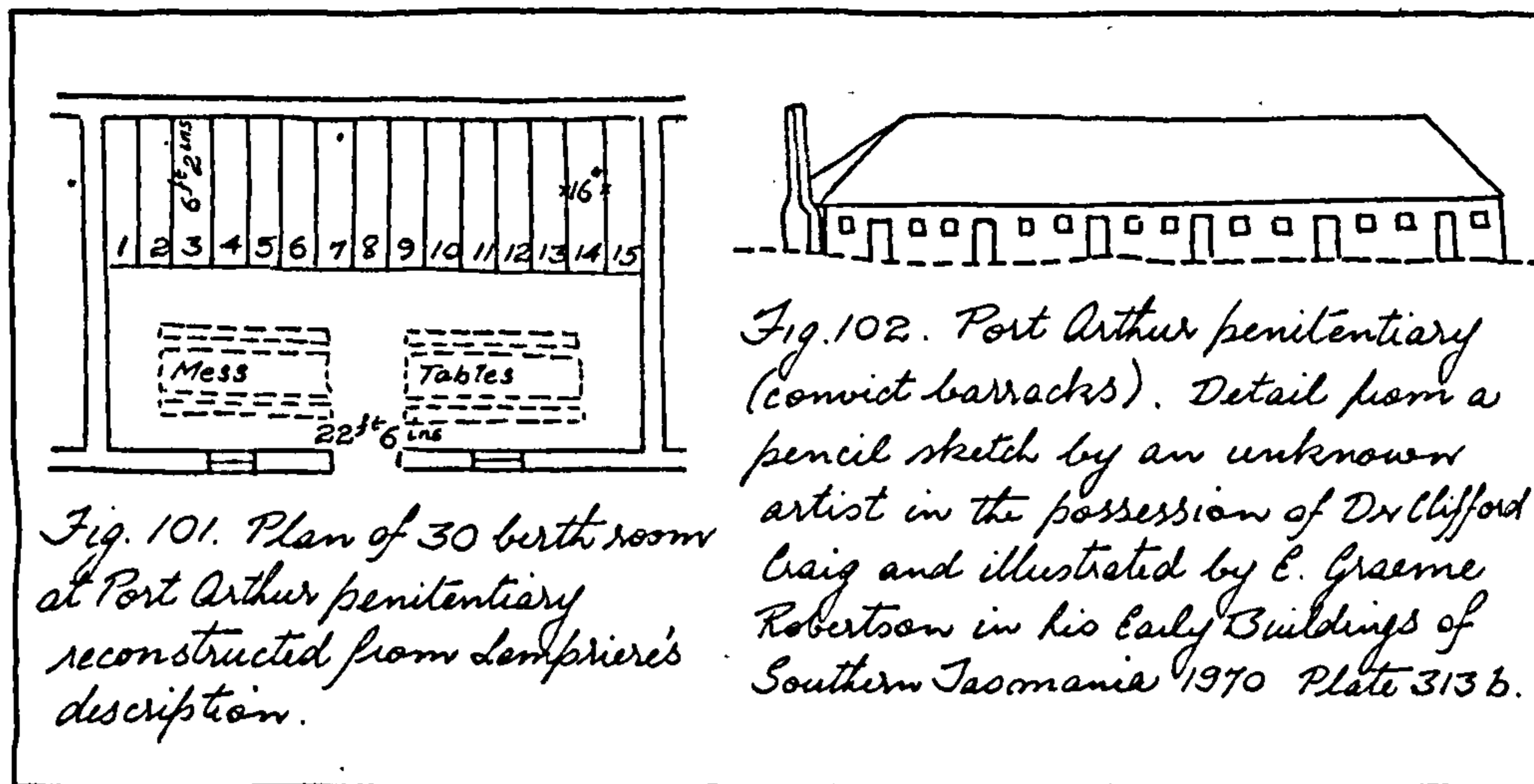
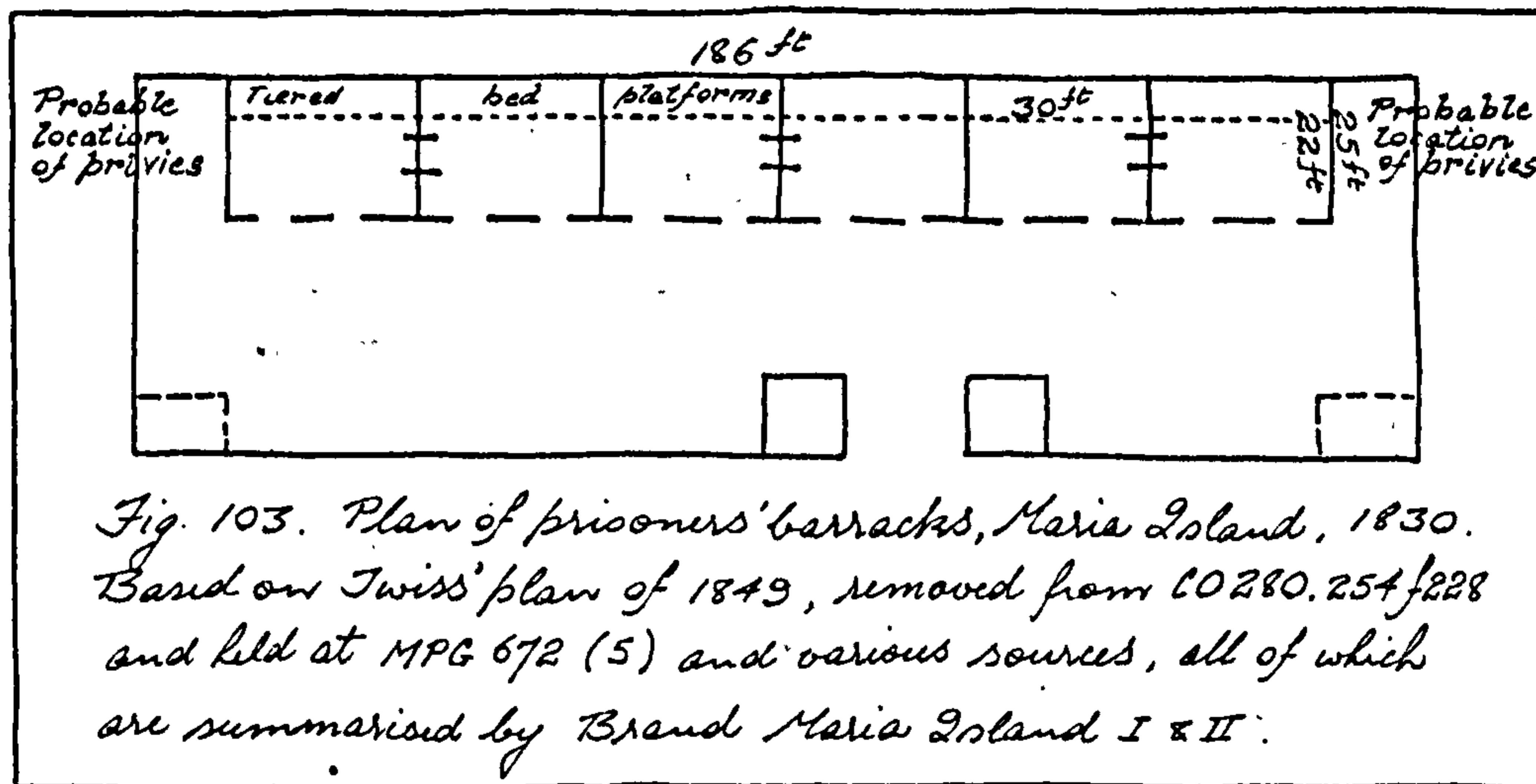


Fig. 102. Port Arthur penitentiary (convict barracks). Detail from a pencil sketch by an unknown artist in the possession of Dr Clifford Craig and illustrated by E. Graeme Robertson in his *Early Buildings of Southern Tasmania* 1970 Plate 313 b.

Most male convict barracks or penitentiaries in VDL were of this front entry type, though some, like the barrack on Maria Island were in the form of a single range, rather than arranged around a yard.

Minute 106 CSO
1/9/132 A/TAS
quoted by Brand
Maria Island I. 135-6

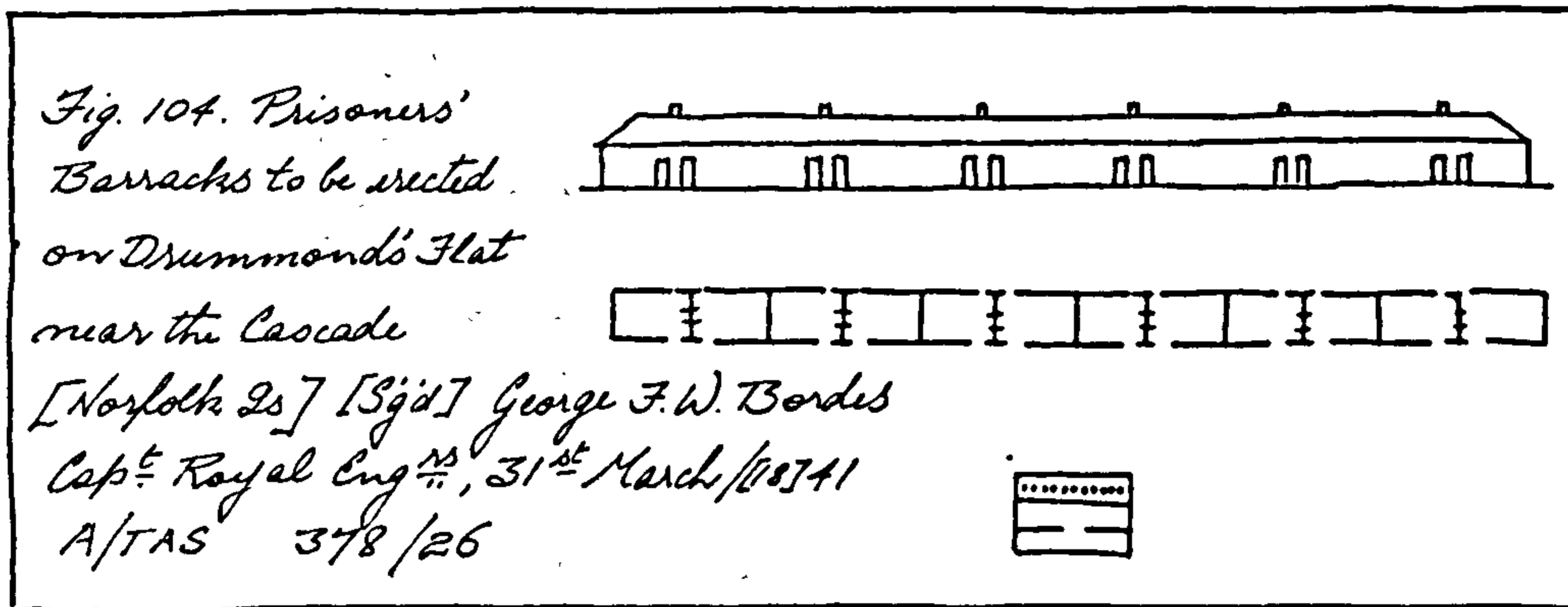
The Maria Island design was presented by the Commandant, Lord, to Arthur in 1829 for his approval.* Arthur reduced the cost by regrouping the fireplaces on every 2nd internal partition; but otherwise it was completed in 1830 unchanged. See Fig. 103.



It had 6 wards each with a door and a window facing a yard enclosed by a 10 ft stone wall.

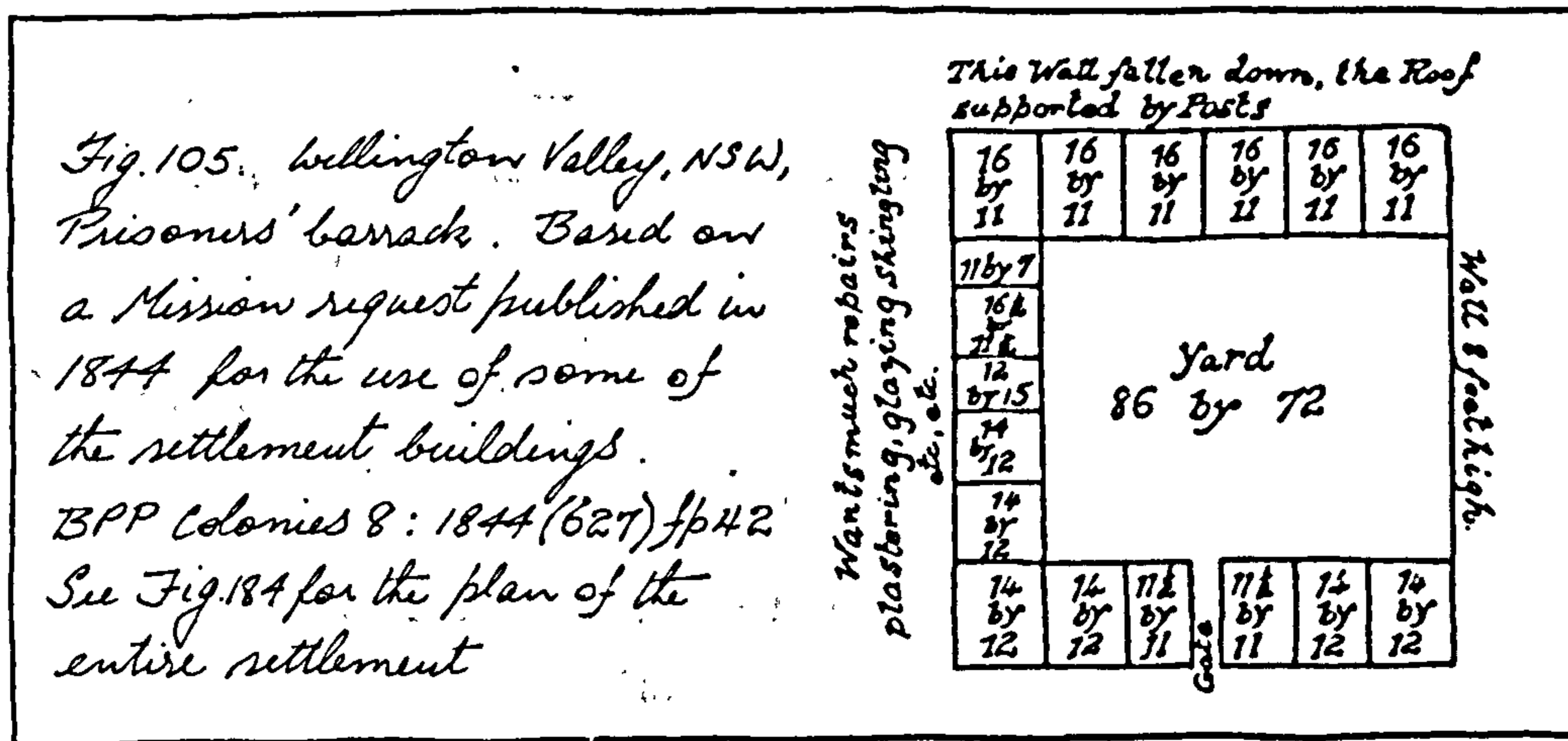
The more bucolic examples were designed for agricultural establishments. George Bordes of the Royal Engineers drew up

a plan for a 200 ft long barrack at Drummond's Flat on Norfolk Island in March 1841. See Fig. 104. It had no windows and cross ventilation of a sort was provided by an aperture in the back wall opposite to the door in each room.



He also designed a large privy with 11 closely set holes pierced through the seat board. It must have presented a spectacular if miserable sight during the dysentery outbreaks endemic on the island.

Shortly after August 1825, the superintendent of the Wellington Valley settlement in NSW, Percy Simpson, had employed his gentleman convicts in constructing a brick and shingle barrack for their residence. See Fig. 105. It was on the same plan as the Emu Plains stockade which Backhouse described in September 1835: 'The huts are but temporary structures... they



form 3 sides of an area, the fourth side of which is closed by a high stockade... the prisoners sleep on sheets of bark on

Backhouse Letters
III. 13 (8.9.1835)

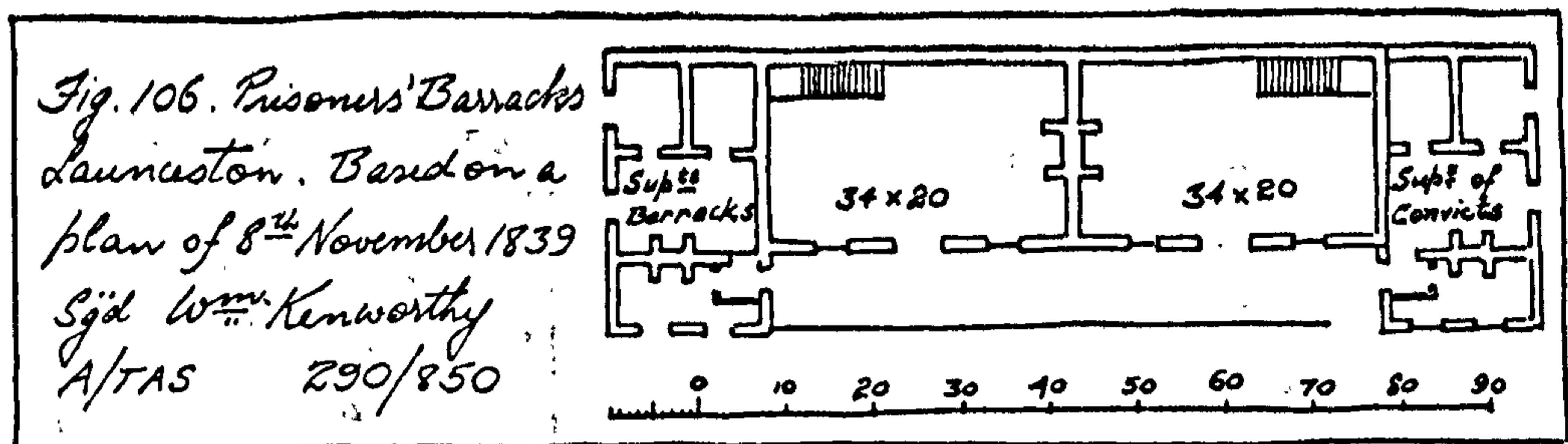
large platforms.'* As at Maria Island, Moreton Bay and Port Macquarie settlements, the construction of barracks at Wellington Valley, intended to be permanent, heralded the abandonment of the settlement.

The prisoner's barrack built by Cap^t Butler during his term as Commandant at Macquarie Harbour VDL between 1825 and 1829 was also not long in use. It was probably the oddest of the barracks. In 1833, following the withdrawal of the convicts to Port Arthur, Cap^t Briggs reported that it was 'the only permanent building on the settlement... and that it was built of stone and consisted of 3 stories, one room in each, and calculated to contain 30 persons in each room.'* It was likely to be Butler's own design based on the fairly common VDL front entry plan illustrated in Fig. 101 together with an internal staircase.

Briggs to Burnett
12.1.1833
BPP T'port 6:
1834 (82) 59

The Launceston Prisoners' Barrack was a 2 storey front entry building though it was in fact designed as a store.* Hence the stairs were located on the rear wall which would otherwise have been left free for the bed platforms. See Fig. 106.

Lalor Report 1847
Enclosure 2. 76



The 1824 Hobart Prisoners' Barracks remains something of a mystery. Boyd's report and plan, see Fig. 116, of April 1847, suggests that it was probably based on 2 large wards each about 40 ft by 20 ft.

While the front entry units so far discussed remained a common solution in VDL, the reverse was true in NSW and the settlements governed from Sydney. Here the standard army

barrack type with a transverse access passage was continued and developed. In buildings of more than one storey the passage was also the stair well. This had the advantage of facilitating classification and separation at night by eliminating the stair which descended through the rooms of the front entry barrack. At this stage none of the convict barracks appear to have had the external staircases common on contemporary 2 storey commissariat stores, and later, on separate apartment blocks.

The construction of new convict barracks in NSW during the 20 s and 30 s was limited to the new settlements. This was hardly surprising as the metropolitan and inner areas already had the substantial barracks built by Macquarie, and, in addition, Mr Bigge had diverted convict activity away from the old towns.

The first substantial post Macquarie prisoners' barrack in the mother colony was erected from 1828 to 1831 at Kingston, Norfolk Island. W^m Buchanan's 1827 plan for the barrack was composed of 3 standard 'passage and ward' units arranged in a 'U' and surrounded by auxiliary buildings and a perimeter wall. See Fig. 107. Unlike VDL where 2 tiers of barrack bedding were usual, the Kingston barrack continued the common Sydney practice of sleeping the convicts in hammocks.

Charles White described the arrangement thus.

'The left wing of the prisoners' barracks having been completed [by 23.12.1830], 150 prisoners were placed there this night [25th].

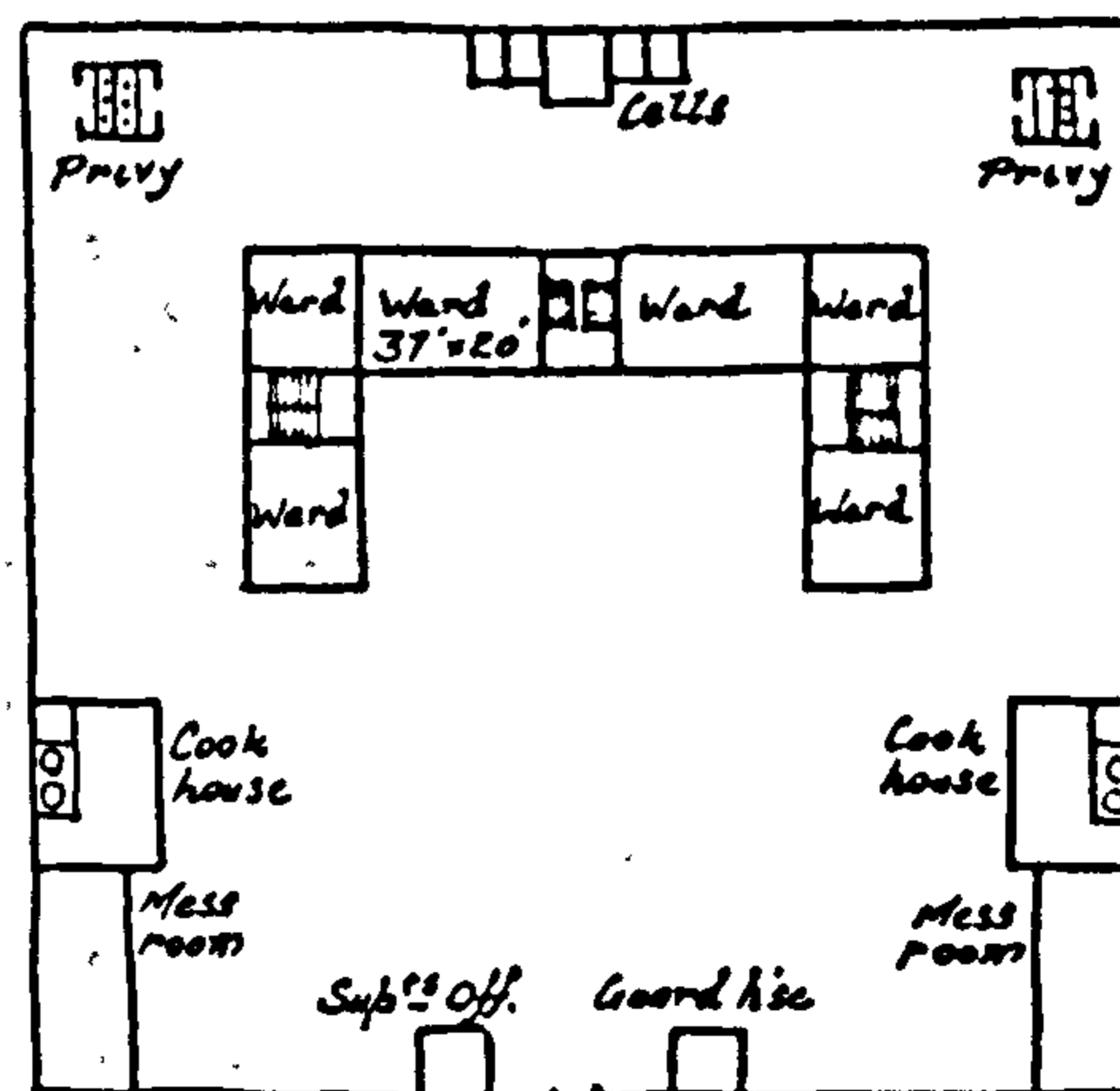
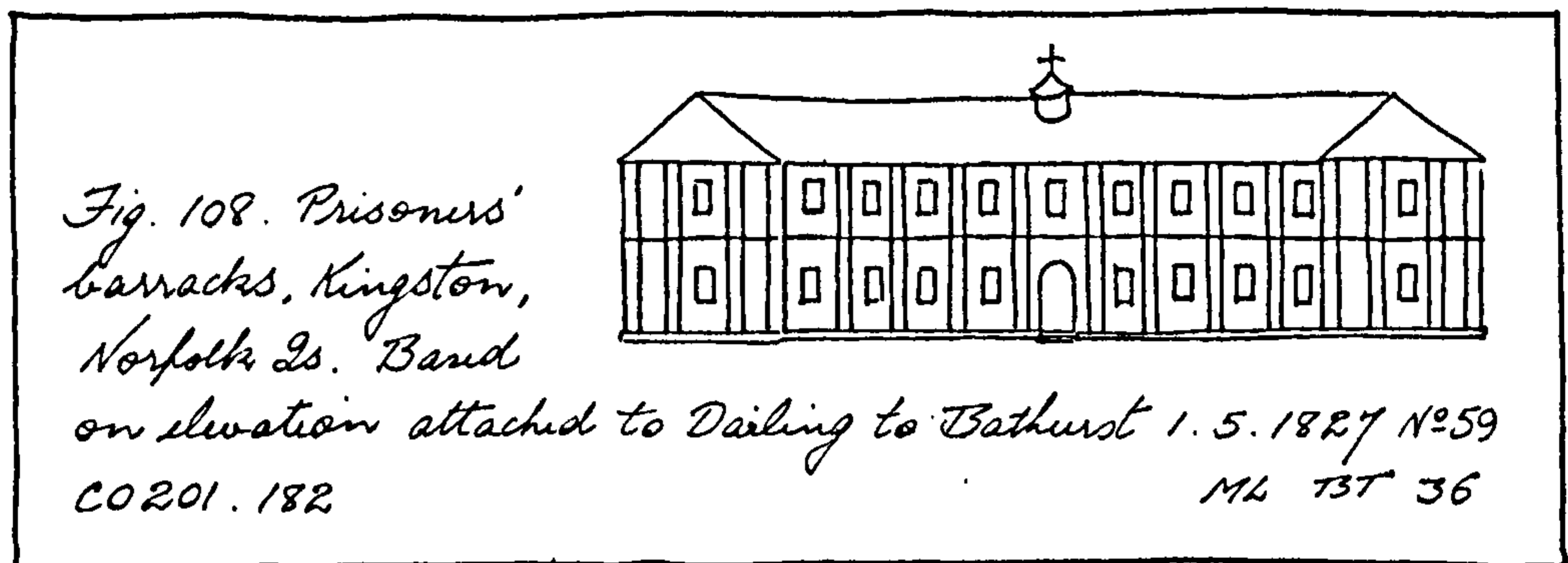


Fig. 107. Prisoners' barracks, Kingston, Norfolk Is. Band on plan attached to Darling to Bathurst 1.5.1827 N^o 59. CO201.182 f 243.

to sleep, each man having a hammock and a blanket. The men were in double tiers or rows in each room, one over the other, the breadth allowed for each hammock being 20", and the distance between the top and bottom hammocks being 3 ft. Each room had windows on both sides, by which means it was always well ventilated.*

*White Convict Life
II. 302*

The elevation of Buchanan's design was two storied and like the Sydney Benevolent Asylum in 1820 and the New Norfolk Asylum and Hospital of 1831-3, it was fitted with ornamental pilasters on the entry facade only. See Fig. 108. Lugard's



meticulous drawings of 1839 show that the barrack was built without pilasters and that the building by that date was 3 storeys in height.*

*Lugard drawings
30.1.1839
A/TAS 378/18*

The first Port Macquarie Prisoners Barrack was built on the bank of the Kooloonbung Creek, see Fig. 175 . It replaced the temporary convict hutting and little is known of its design, though it would probably have been planned and supervised by the 'principal superintendent of works' and Royal Engineer, W^m Wilson, somewhere about 1825.*

Slaw Convicts 204

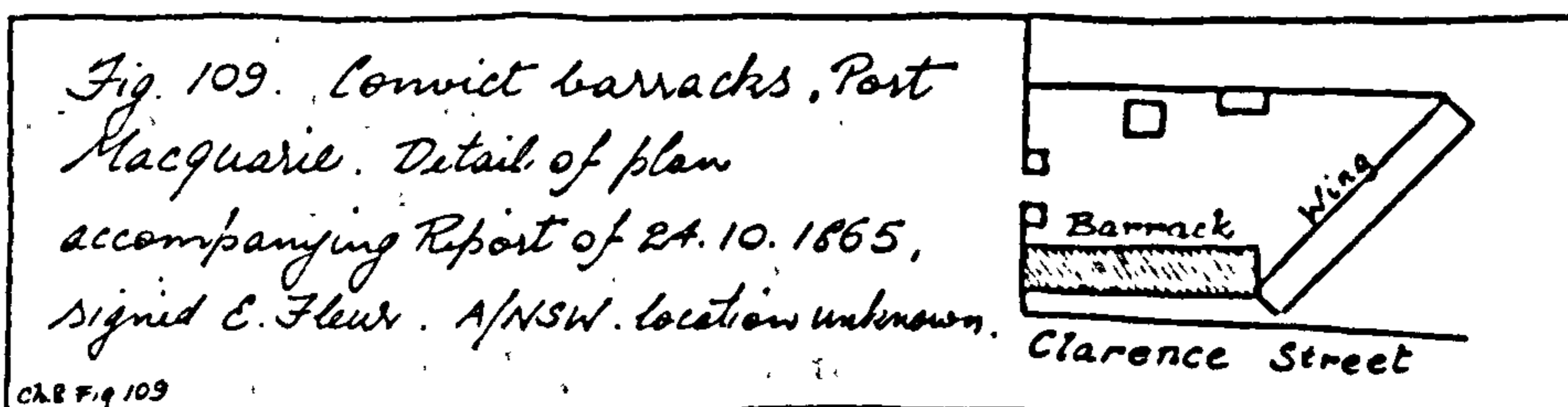
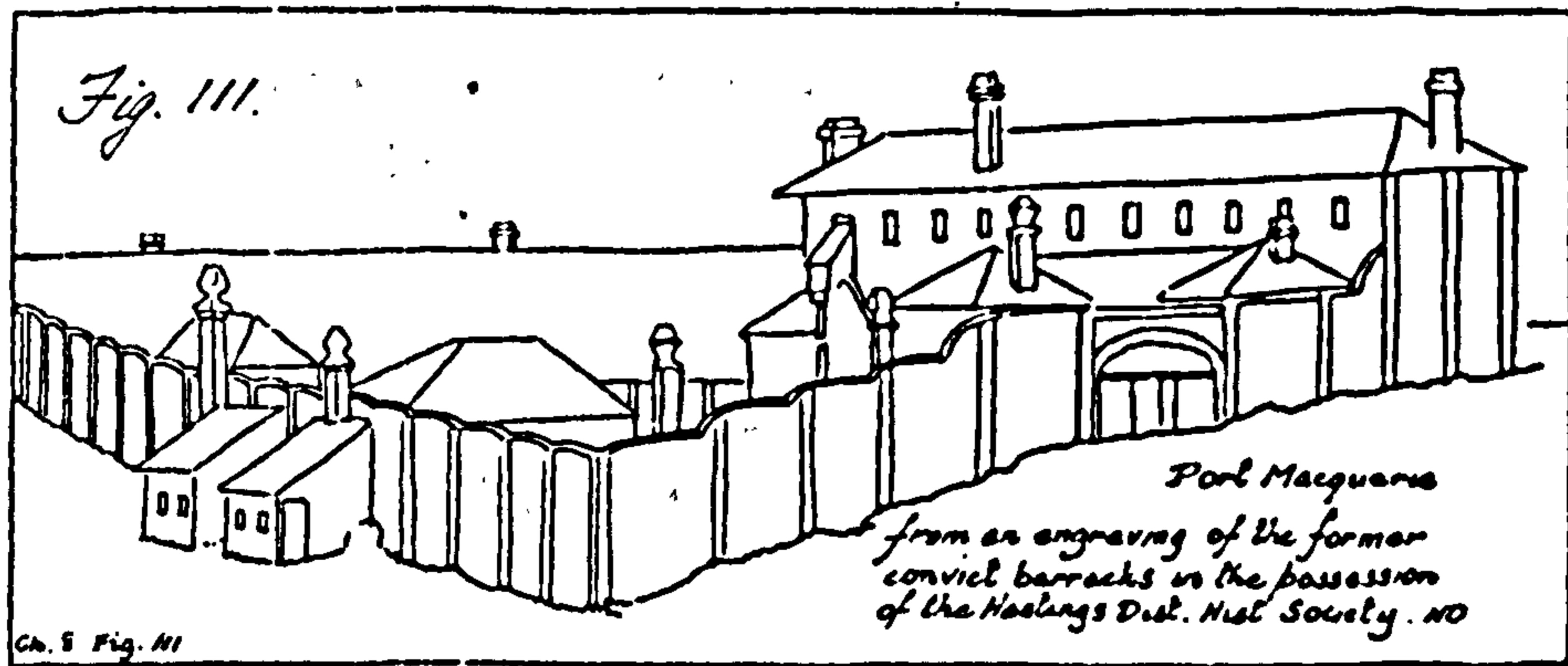
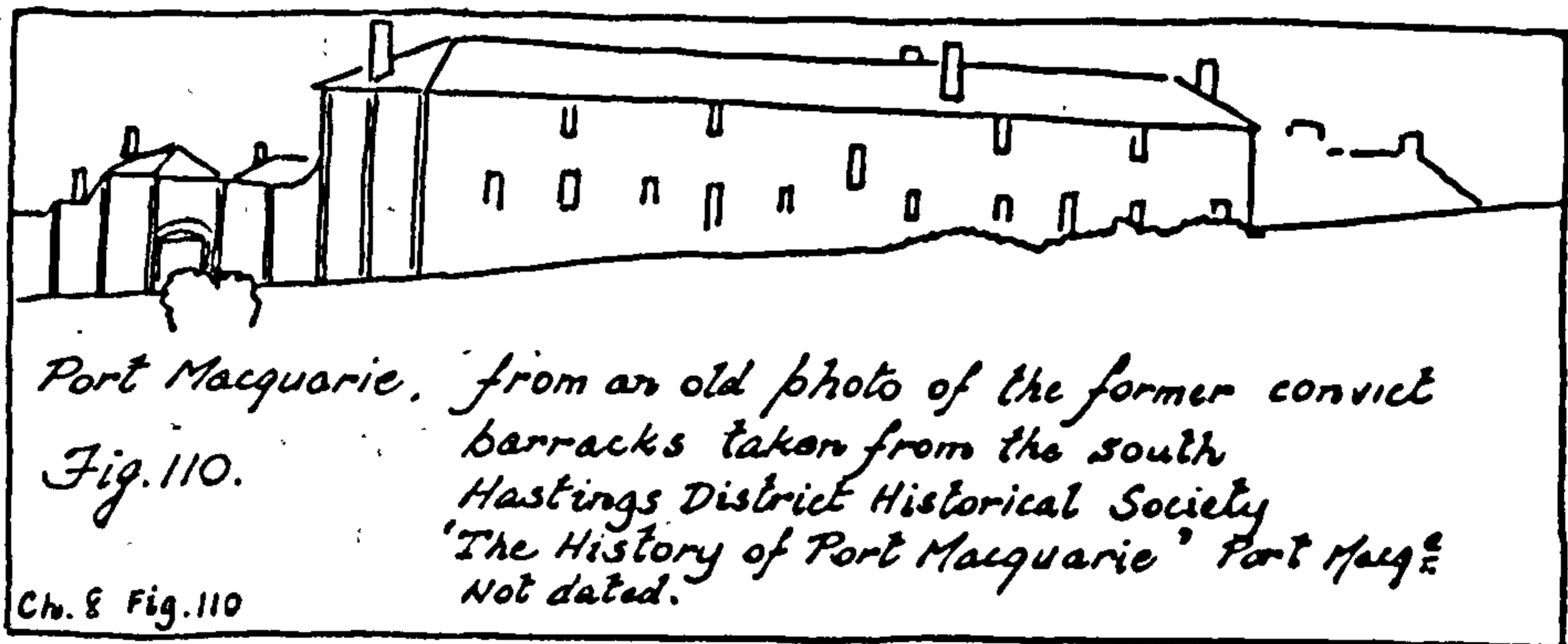
By August 1828 Governor Darling had decided to relinquish Port Macquarie as a penal settlement and to use the convict buildings there for invalids, and 'specials' (educated prisoners) thought too dangerous to assign. Hence he was able to close the establishment at Wellington Valley.* In August 1836 James Backhouse reported that, 'Port Macquarie is now thrown

open to free settlers: it is still a depot for ... "specials", and for invalids, decrepit and insane persons, or idiots, who are lodged in miserable wooden barracks, about to be superseded by new ones of brick.*

*Backhouse Letters
(1.8.1836) III. 81*

The new barracks Backhouse alluded to were commenced 1837 and completed 1840. See Fig. 111. No plans survive of the buildings, but the Hastings District Historical Society describe the main block as a 3 storey building, 100 ft by 30 ft, with a wing running towards the sea.* This is made clear by Fleur's sketch plan of October 1865. See Fig. 109. Photos (Figs 109 and 110) suggest that it had the usual NSW plan of a central transverse passage and stair with flanking wards. This is confirmed by the centre bay stair window in Fig. 110.

*HDHS Port
Macquarie 30*



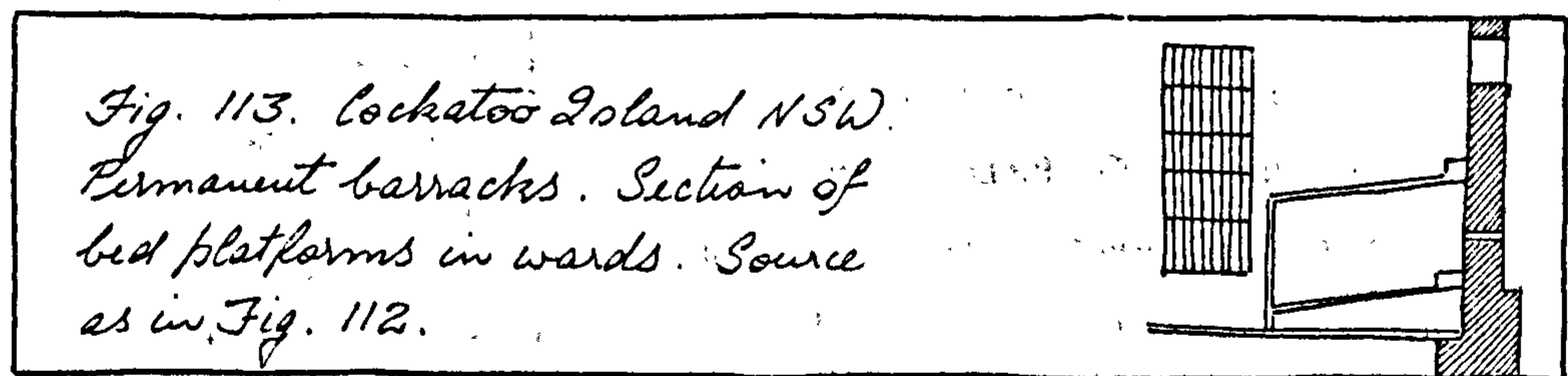
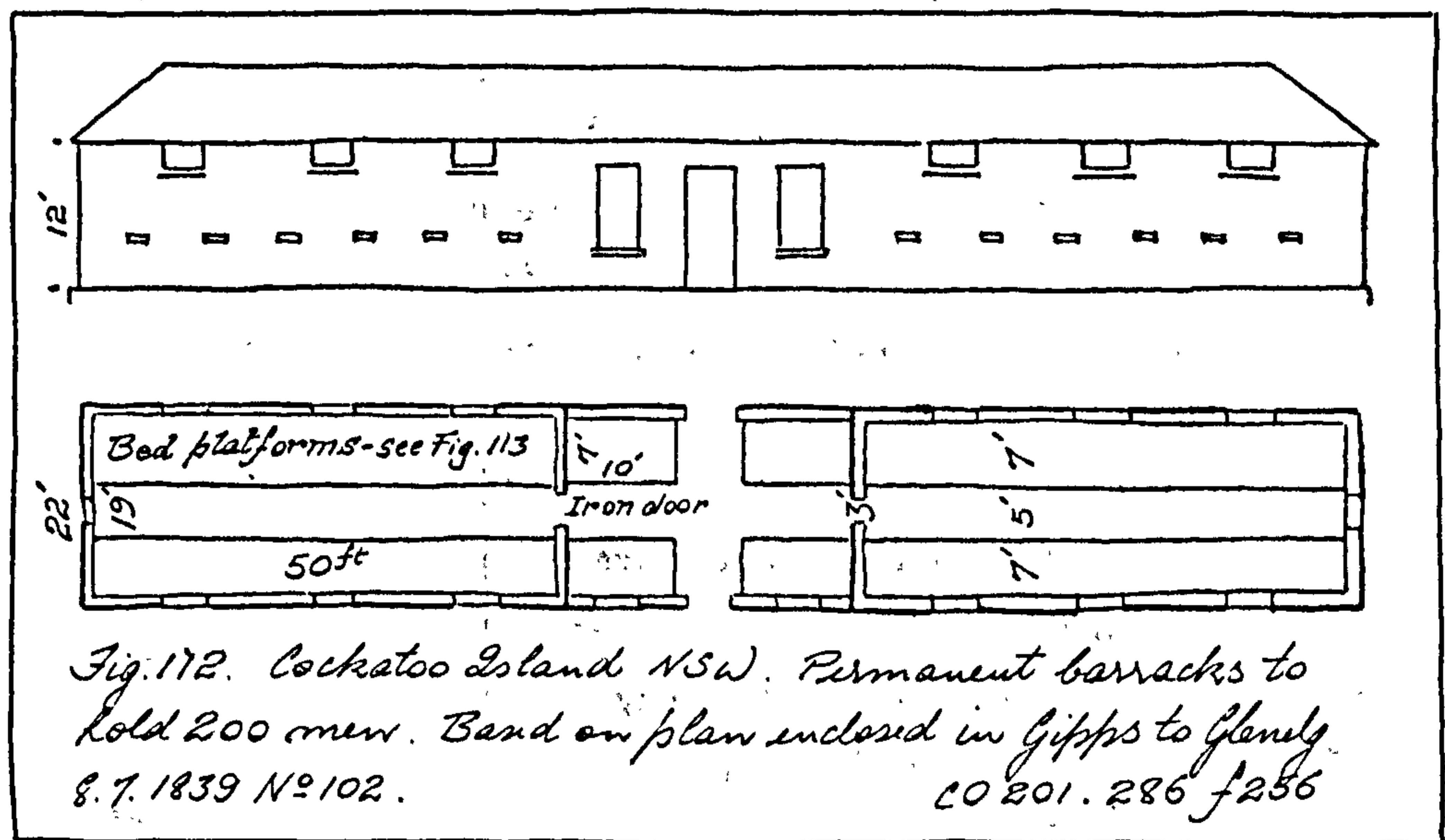
The Royal Engineer dep^t under Major Barney had been established in January 1836 and was responsible for the convict and military buildings in NSW. In July 1839 Barney provided the new governor, Gipps, with plans and estimates for removable stockades at Cook's River (See page 105), and a permanent barrack for 200 prisoners at Cockatoo Island upon the same principle.* Unlike the Cook's River project, which was to be completed by contract, the stone for the Cockatoo barrack was to be quarried and wrought by the prisoners and the building was to be altogether put up by them, temporary accommodation being provided by the removal of several boxes from Goat Island and the erection of tents.* Barney estimated the total cost at £2,692, or twice that of the Cook's River stockades despite the use of convict labour.

Enclosed in Gipps to Glenelg 8.7.1839 No 102 CO 201. 286 f254-6

Ibid. f256

It was to be a single storey hipped roof building with the usual central passage expanded to accommodate the overseers and still give access to the flanking wards. See Fig. 112.*

Also Plates 6 & 8



Like the stockades, the wards were fitted with double tiers of sloping bed platforms on both walls, see Fig. 113, each man being allocated a 7 ft by 2 ft slice of boarding. Cross ventilation in each ward was provided by three 3 ft by 2 ft barred windows high on each side, and small ventilators above the lower bed platform. See Plate 7.

*Russell to Gipps
6.7.1840 No 96
16.3.1841 No 223*

*Gipps to Russell
13.10.1841 No 207
BPP T part 7:
1843 (158) 11*

Ibid. 12

*Deas Thomson to
Owmsby 19.10.1841
A/NSW 4/6514-8
f1*

Owing to orders to discontinue transportation from NSW to Norfolk Island,* and Franklin's refusal to receive the transportees in VDL,* Gipps decided to hold them at Cockatoo, which he considered 'the place of greatest security within the colony not actually a prison.'* Accordingly on completion of the barrack they were moved to Cockatoo in October 1841.*

The only form of classification practiced was to separate those recently sentenced in the colony to transportation from those doubly convicted returned from Norfolk Island, by placing them in separate wards at night. Overcrowding rendered even this ineffective.* To solve this problem Gipps instructed Barney to design a further barrack to hold 500 prisoners and 20 overseers.* This was to answer the purpose of a store when it ceased to be needed as a convict barrack,* and as such was given a more distinct architectural treatment than its predecessor, with a projecting pedimented centre and gable ends. See Fig. 114. The

*Owmsby to M'Lean
14.4.1842 A/NSW
4/6514-8. f111*

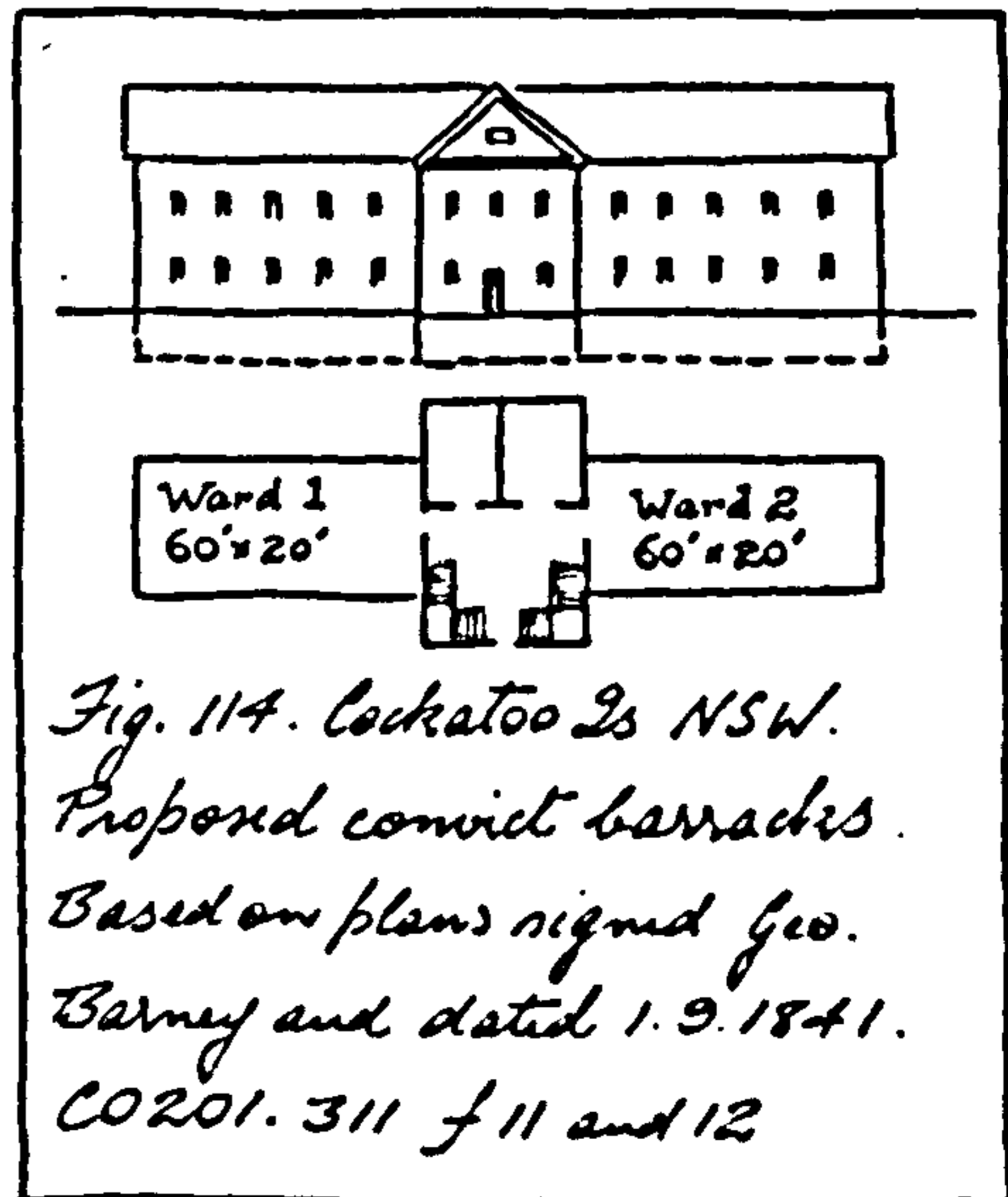
*Barney Report
1.9.1841
CO201.311 f 10*

Ibid.

ward dimensions of 60 ft by 20 ft reflected a common army standard and had already been used in the Launceston army barracks in VDL.* It was however never built.

*Launceston Barrack
Plan A/TAS 290/910*

Meantime extensions to the original Cockatoo barrack were already underway, and by April 1842 at least one



*Ormsby to M'Leay
14.4.1842 A/NSW
4/6514-8 f111*

extra ward was occupied by 70 men.* A plan published in 1861 shows the nature of these additions (Fig. 115) which survive in a mutilated form today.

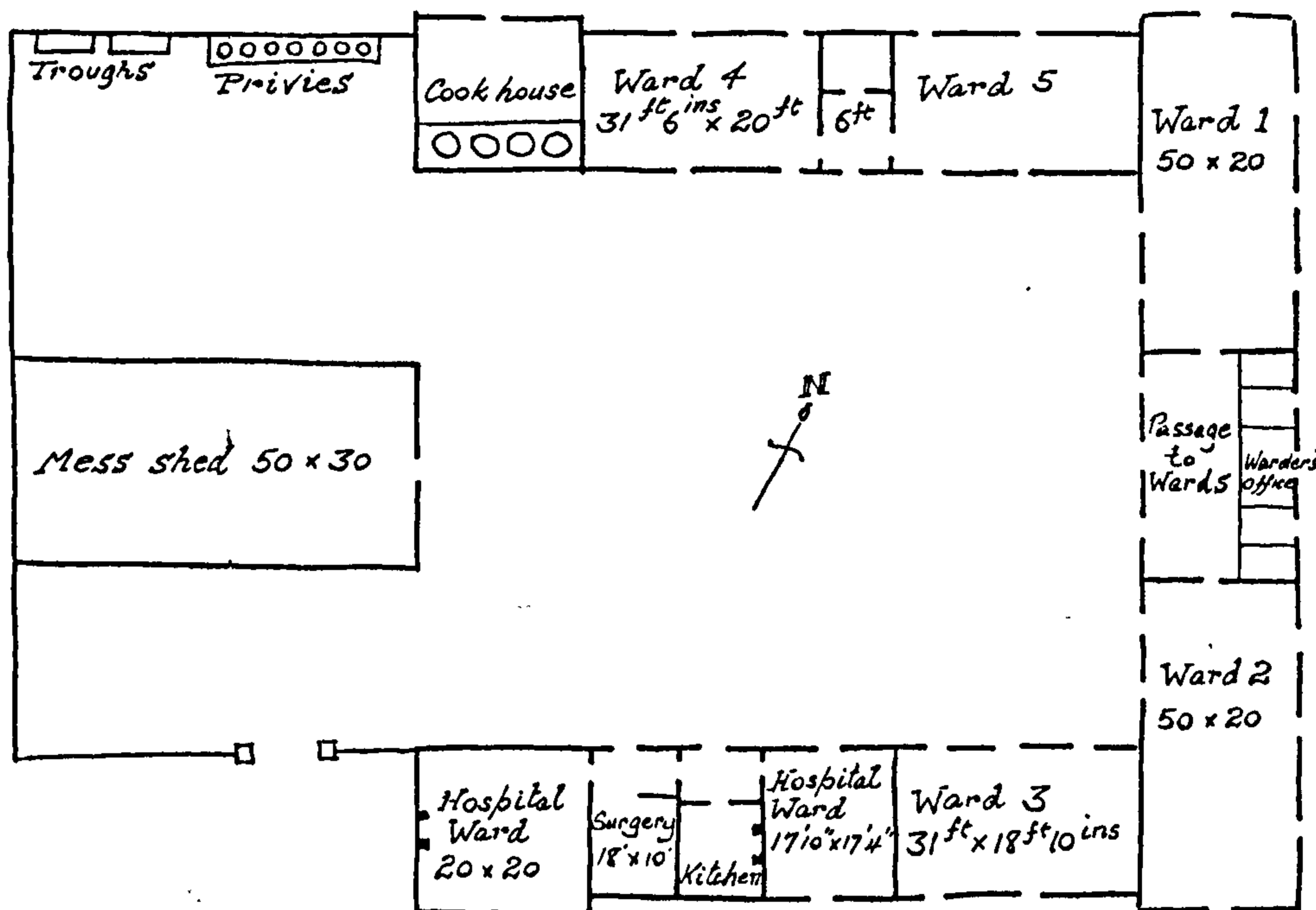


Fig. 115. Ground plan of prison, Cockatoo Is. Bandow plan signed w^m Cahill & published 1861. NSW Select Com^{tee} on Prisons.

A further variation on the passage entry barrack is the Marshalsea or double pile type. Its use as a gaol, officers quarters and army family units has already been mentioned.* It now appears with slightly enlarged rooms as a new wing to the Prisoners' Barracks in Hobart.

Pages 76-7

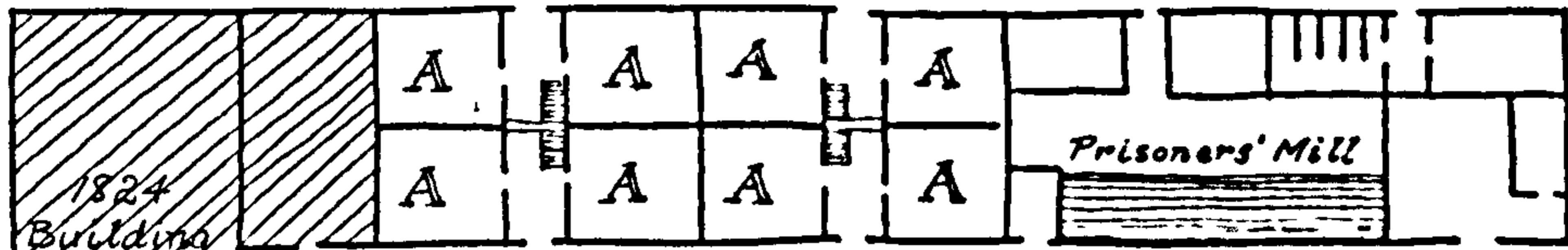
The actual plan was probably drawn up by David Lambe, as Arthur advised in March 1827 that he had 'approved additions to the prisoners' barracks, Hobart, and work [was] far advanced.* That the additions referred to were the Marshalsea type barracks, shown on Boyd's Plan of 1847 (Fig. 116) is confirmed by the 'Return of Buildings erected' in 1827* which states under the heading 'Prisoners Barracks' that 'materials for the erection of a large Building to contain 400 men [were] provided [and that] the workmanship, done by contract [was]

*Arthur to Bathurst
24.3.1827 N^o 20
CO 280.11 f 572*

CO 280.16 f 503

CO 280.16 f503

not completed.' The adjacent treadmill building was similarly listed as nearly complete, and the machinery was being executed by contract.*



A Sleeping wards

Fig. 116. Additions to Hobart prisoners' barracks based on plan signed J. Boyd, Sup^t, 30th April 1847. BPP J'port 8: 1847-8 [941] 211 f p 120.

See Appendix 1

Dr Officer* used the same arrangement on a smaller scale for the cell sections of his proposed design for a building for insane persons next to the Invalid hospital at New Norfolk VDL. See Fig. 117. Officer would have been aware of the use

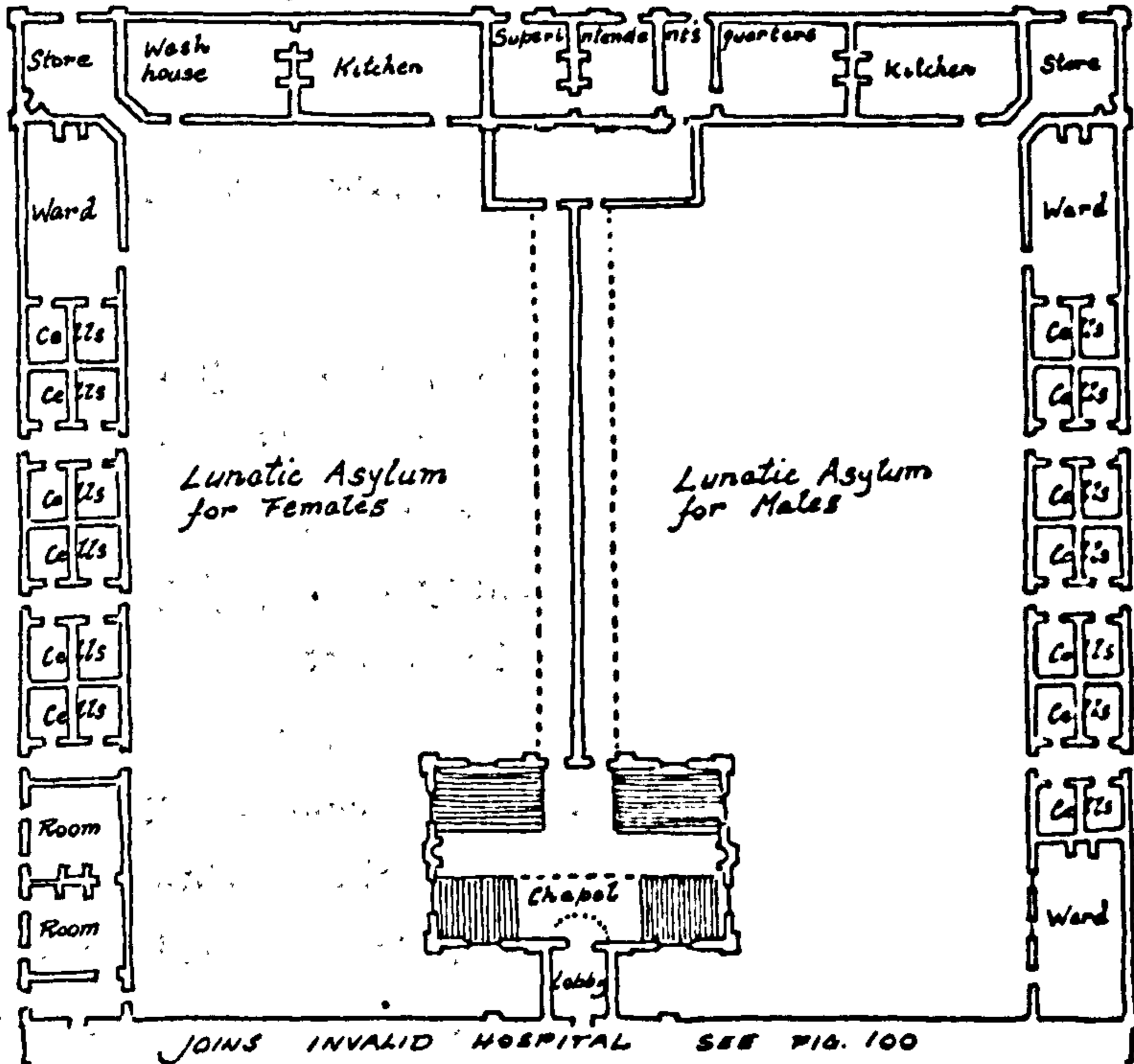


Fig. 117. Lunatic Asylum at New Norfolk, VDL Inscribed R. Kelsall Cap^t Comd^r Royal Eng^r, Royal Engineer Office Hobart Town 30th September 1836 PROMTE MPH 92. [Additions shown on original plan deleted from this drawing.]

of this arrangement for lunatic asylums in England, and published precedents were available. James Bevans' similar 'Plan of an Intended London Asylum for the Care of the Insane' had appeared in the Report from the Committee on Madhouses in England of 1815.*

*BPP Mental 1:
1814-15 (296)
IV Plate II*

In June 1831 Archer considered Officer's plan 'well calculated for the purpose, with the exception of the small windows to the cells, in view of which [Archer] suggested that a small skylight should be constructed in the ceiling of each cell.'* On this basis the design was finally approved in April the following year,* and constructed almost immediately.

*Civil Eng^y to Col. Sec.
18.6.1831 quoted in
ECM 2.4.1832
COR 2.4 f122*

*ECM 2.4.1832
COR 2.4 f124*

While VDL had an asylum designed for lunatics in the early 1830s, NSW was still making do with 'a wretched hired building without outlet of any kind' at Liverpool.* It was not until January 13th 1835 that Governor Bourke advised Spring Rice that 'a Lunatic Asylum is an Establishment that can no longer be dispensed with,' and proposed to erect one from colonial funds.*

*Bourke to Spring Rice
13.1.1835
ML A1213*

Ibid.

The same day Bourke had had a lengthy conversation with the peripatetic Quaker, James Backhouse, on the subject of lunatic asylums. Backhouse promised Bourke (and subsequently furnished*) a copy of Samuel Tuke's 'Hints on the Construction of Pauper Lunatic Asylums'* and a 'Sketch of the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Retreat'* near York. Bourke briefed his newly appointed Colonial Architect, Mortimer Lewis, and presumably made available Backhouses's books. Though the subsequent design was similar in concept to the plan published by Tuke in 'Hints', Lewis himself reported that he 'took the general idea from an establishment in Dundee.'*

*Backhouse letters
II. 57*

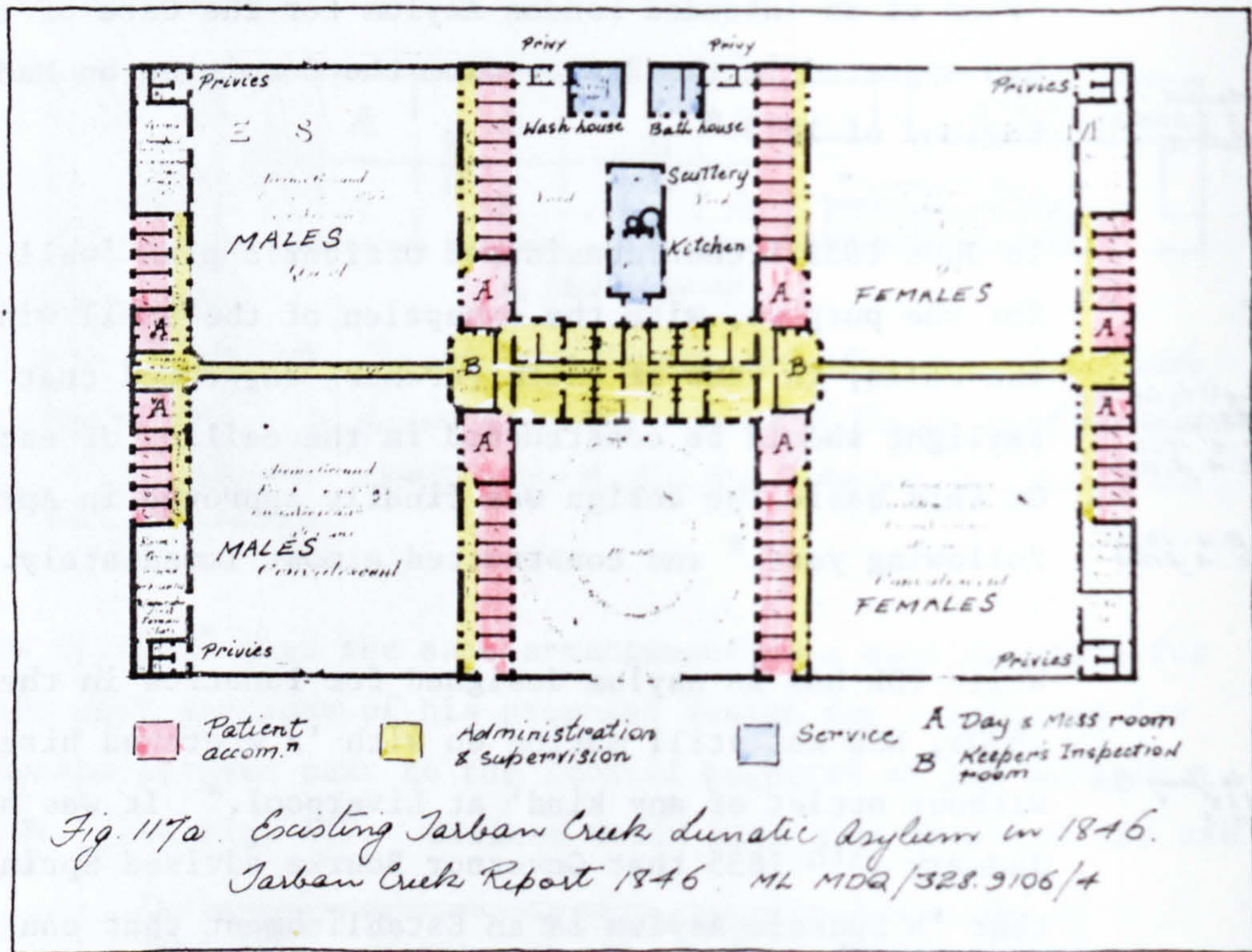
Tuke's Hints

*Society of Friends
Sketch of the Retreat*

*Jarvis Creek Report
Lewis Evidence
1.10.1846*

Regardless of the source of his inspiration, Lewis followed the established principle of unobserved inspection coupled with a two stage system of classification for both males and

females. See Fig. 117a. Each of the four resulting departments housed 10 persons in a row of single cells in the inner



range and a further five, more noisome individuals, in the nethermost range. This totalled 60 in all, not counting the few persons 'of superior class' who might be accommodated in the upper floor of the superintendent's house.

Access to the outer ranges was by a tunnel-like passage which was intended by Lewis to permit the keeper to arrive unperceived.* As each set of five outer cells was equipped with a separate small airing ground this made a 4-stage classification theoretically possible. However chronic overcrowding with as many as 170 inmates* was to prevent its implementation.

Lewis annotation on Digby to Col. Sec. 30.9.1839 quoted in Bostock's Australian Psychiatry

Tarban Ck. Report Digby Evidence 16.9.1846 p.12

Reply to Lewis 11.11.1835 A/NSW 4/3883 p.501

cf Nicholson's Practical Builder Doors - Fig 4.

The tender for construction was accepted in November 1835* and the inmates were moved in progressively between November 1838 and January 1839. It was characteristic of Lewis that while he had taken pains to supply the front porch with copybook ionic capitals and entablature*, he had neglected to ensure that the window bars were close enough together to

*Digby to Col. Architect 20.1.1841,
24.1.1841, 24.2.1841, 3.3.1842,
9.11.1843, 6.12.1843, 23.12.1843.
Digby to Col. Sec. 27.7.1843,
12.11.1843, 30.1.1844. Jarban
Creek letter book, ML MSS 20/1.*

*Digby to Col. Architect 29.1.1844.
Digby to Col. Sec. 21.3.1844.
Jarban Ch. L. Bk. ML MSS 20/1.*

*Digby to Col. Architect 16.3.1843,
21.9.1843, 16.10.1844, 4.4.1845,
26.4.1845, 3.5.1845. Jarban Ch.
Letter Bk. ML MSS 20/1*

*Jarban Creek Report
1846. Recommendations*

*Digby to Col. Architect
8.5.1845 Jarban Ch.
Letter Bk. ML MSS 20/1*

prevent the inmates slipping between them.* Others shinned up the wooden doric verandah columns of the airing yard verandahs and escaped over the roofs of the low cell ranges.* The box gutter on the central block precipitated all the rain from its catchment into the building* and filled the cellars which had not been

provided with drains.* Finally the unfortunate Steward was plagued by patients removing the exposed screws which held the plates which clamped the bars which secured the windows.* Only the sad records of the inmates themselves prevent an over-estimation of the therapeutic value of such sportive pastimes.

Because of Macquarie's earlier building programme, new hospital buildings were a low priority during the 1830s and no major new work was undertaken. Instead, additions were made, as at Hobart, VDL, and other buildings converted, as at Windsor, NSW.

Where convict hospitals were built at the new settlements, designs continued much as before. If large, there would be a main range of transverse passage with wards left and right and small flanking wings housing service functions. The design for Bathurst Hospital, see Fig. 118, is a fair example.

If small, a simple front entry room with the necessary out-houses sufficed. A number of more complex plans were prepared by Royal Engineers, for example Lugard's cruciform passage design for Norfolk Island,* but none were executed.

A/TAS 378/28

Transportation to NSW ceased in 1839, but the reduction of the convict establishment was a slow process. By 1849 the Hyde Park Barrack in Sydney was converted into immigrant quarters, Carters' Barracks was transferred to the Female Refuge Society, and the central block of the 'Rum' Hospital was given to the Sydney Infirmary Committee. In the other centres the convict hospitals became the property of the local inhabitants provided

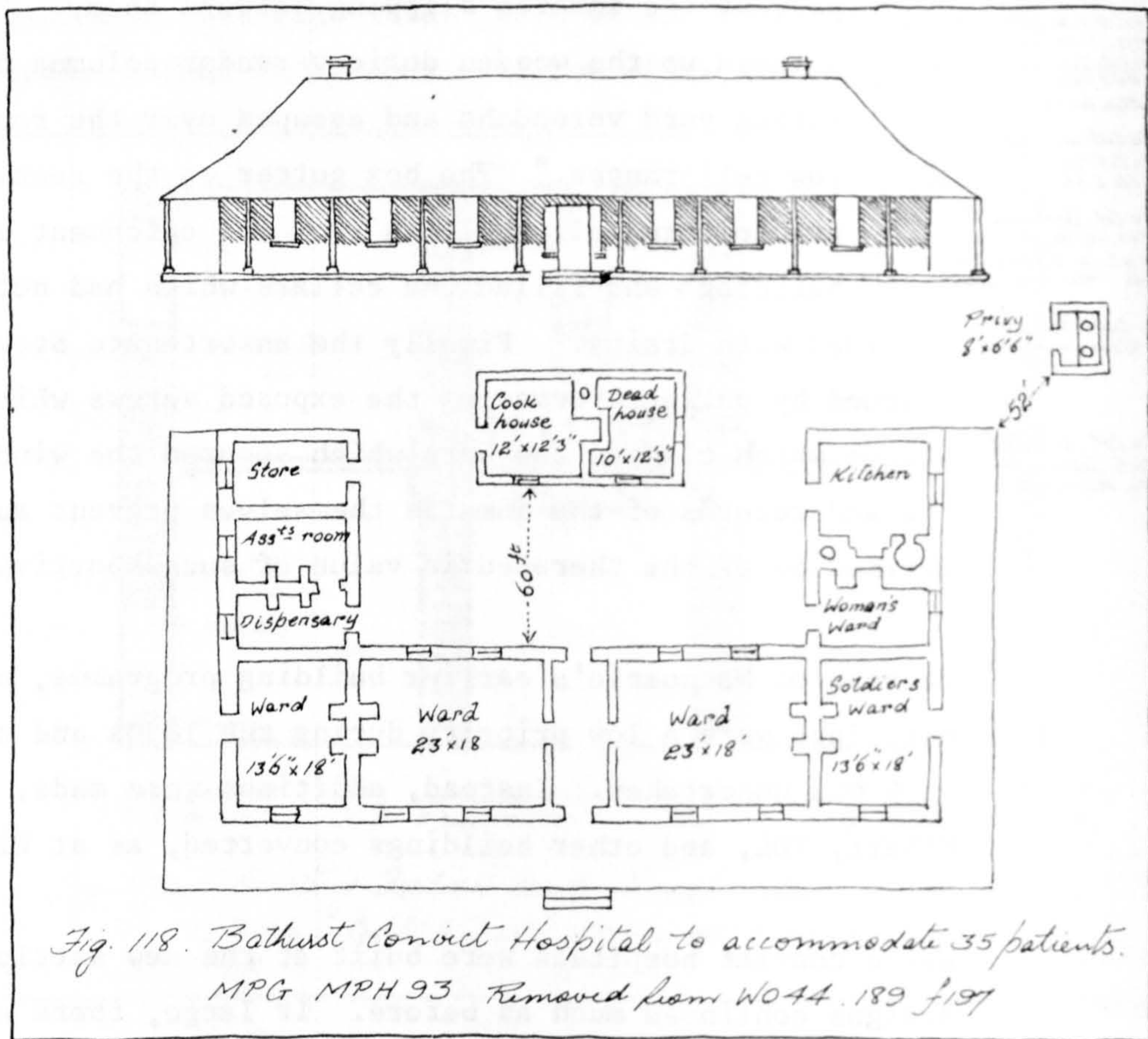


Fig. 118. Bathurst Convict Hospital to accommodate 35 patients.
 M.P.G. MPH 93 Removed from W044. 189 f197

Fitzroy to Earl Grey
 16.2.1849
 13 PPT part 9:
 1849 (1121) 5-7

they supported them by voluntary contributions.*

Involyan to Merivale
 20.1.1853
 13 PPT part 12:
 1852-3 [1677]
 LXXXII. 141-3

By 1853 most of the people who were originally transported from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and still in Her Majesty's custody, were in the Parramatta Lunatic and Invalid Establishment (formerly the Female Factory).* The Imperial Government had thought it too inhumane (and too expensive) to transfer them to VDL with the majority of those fit and serving sentences. Some of the latter remained on Cockatoo Island, but this was largely as a result of reconvictions while still under supervision.*

McLean to Fitzroy
 15.10.1850
 13 PPT part 10:
 1851 (418) 55

After 1840 transportation to VDL increased and the extensive accommodation required is covered in Chapters 14 and 15.

Chapter 9 Small places of confinement and cell
development 1822 - 40

The function and the design of watch houses, guard houses, lock up houses, gaols and police offices overlapped in the 1830 s, and to add to the confusion the colonial administrators frequently applied these labels without discrimination. Convenient working definitions are therefore necessary.

Watch houses were buildings placed in a district to house a constable who was responsible for the 'tranquillity' of the area. Some had cells or wards in which persons could be placed immediately they were arrested and before being transferred to the gaol. As a result they were sometimes called Receiving Houses. In country districts where there were no gaols they often went by the name of Lock Up houses. Guard Houses and Police Offices were just what their name implies except that both often functioned as a Receiving House; the former were normally manned by the military for the protection of a particular establishment. Gaols were places of confinement for debtors, and persons held to ensure that they would give Kings evidence, as well as those awaiting trial, and felons and misdemeanants awaiting distribution to their place of sentence. During the 30 s the comparatively novel idea, of an offender serving part of his sentence in separate confinement in gaol, was introduced. This is reflected in Chapters 10 and 11.

*Macquarie's List of
Buildings 10*

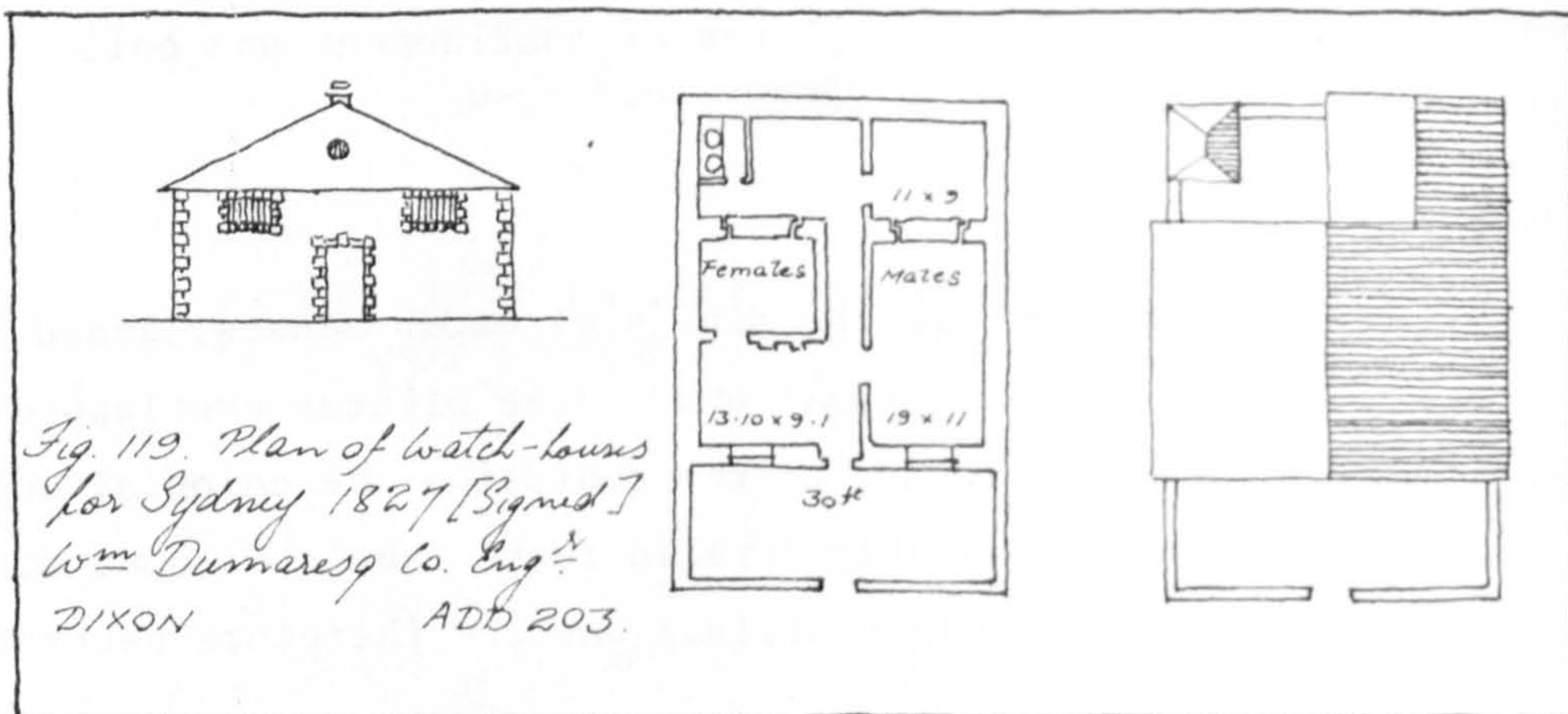
Ibid. 11

Bigge Judicial 89

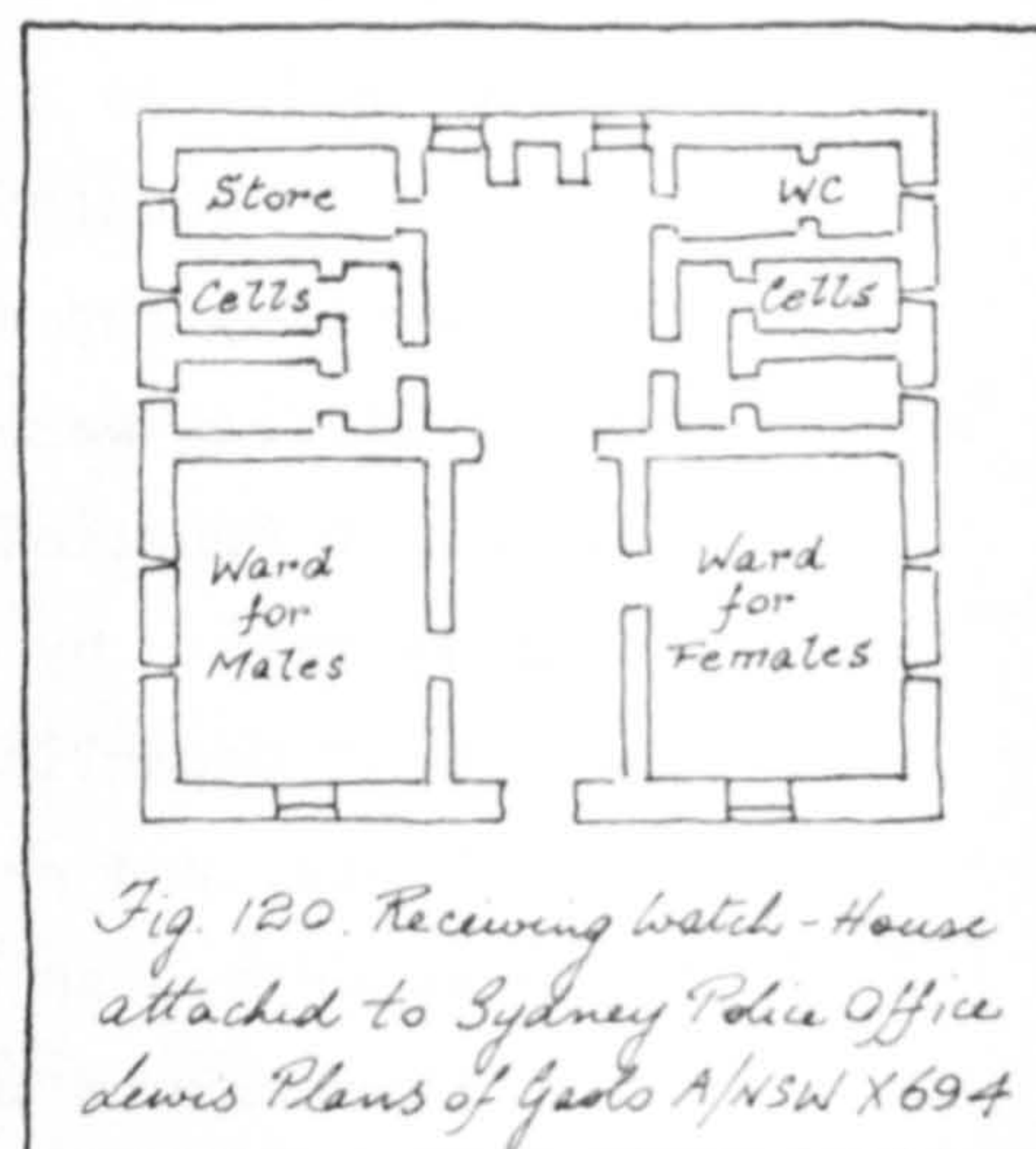
*See Police Accounts
CO201.80&85&133*

*Darling to Bothurst
17.5.1827 No 67
CO201.182 f373-5*

Macquarie had divided Sydney into 6 districts and built 6 brick watch houses, 2 of which were receiving houses.* He had also erected another 4 to guard Grose Farm Convict Establishment and the Parramatta Road.* Bigge reported a similar arrangement in operation at Hobart.* The Sydney watch houses had proved very expensive to maintain* and in May 1826 Darling sought authority to construct 8 stone watch houses upon a standard 30 x 34 ft plan to replace them.* See Fig. 119.



This design was drawn up by William Dumaesq,* Governor Darling's Civil Engineer, and Lady Darling's brother, and it was in general use in NSW with small variations in the late 1820 s and early 30 s. The watch house attached to the Police Office in Sydney was an exception. Here the greater numbers of detainees and higher proportion of females resulted in a symmetrical design with an apartment and 2 solitary cells being provided for both males and females (Fig. 120).



After Mortimer Lewis was appointed Colonial Architect in January 1835 he reworked Dumaesq's standard plan and that at the Police Office to produce two designs for country areas offering similar prisoner accommodation, but including living quarters for a constable. His Concord Watch house was an example of the first design type (Fig. 123) and Bungonia of the second (Fig. 124).

Lewis added a little modest Greek detailing to the facades. Note the sidelights and door surrounds in Fig. 121, though these were not always executed. John Lee Archer had been

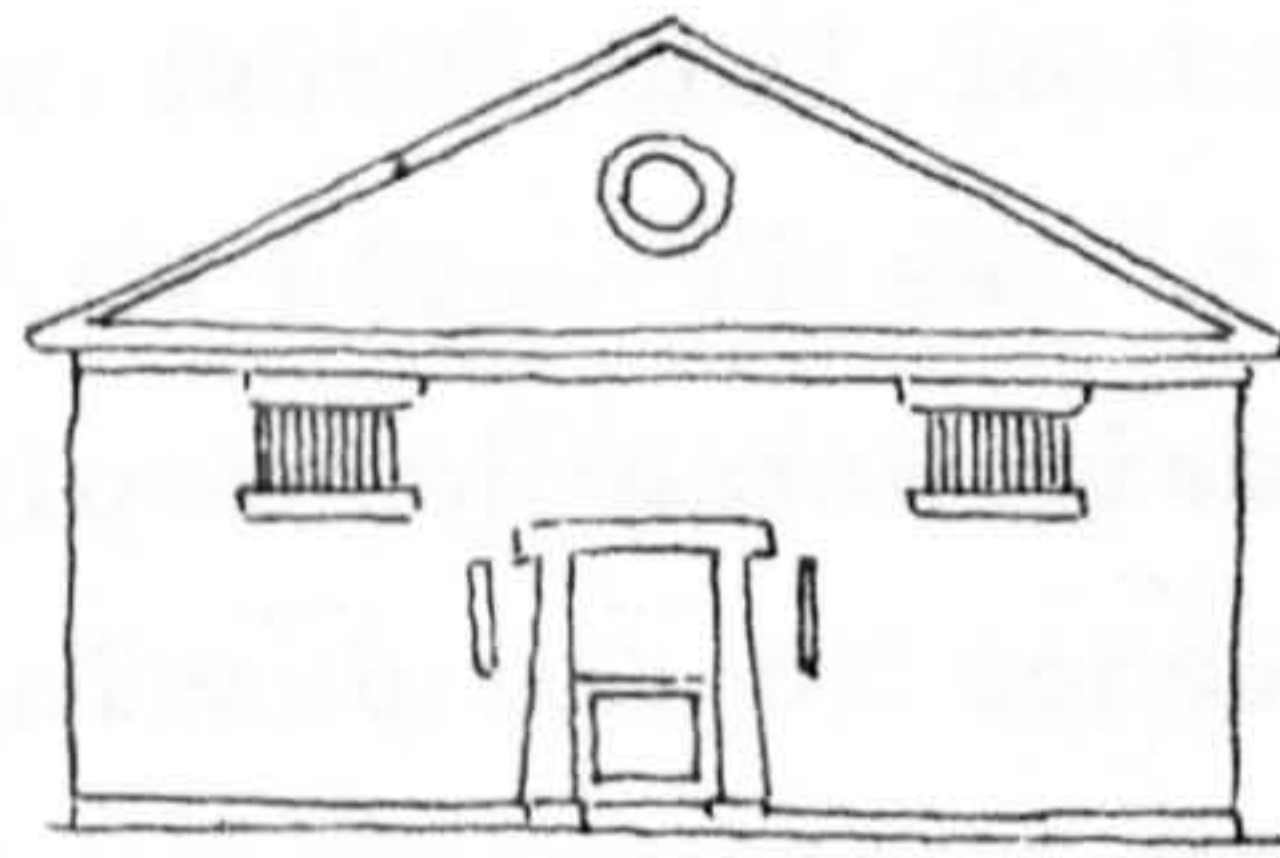


Fig. 121. Concord and Kissing Point watch-house facade.
Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694

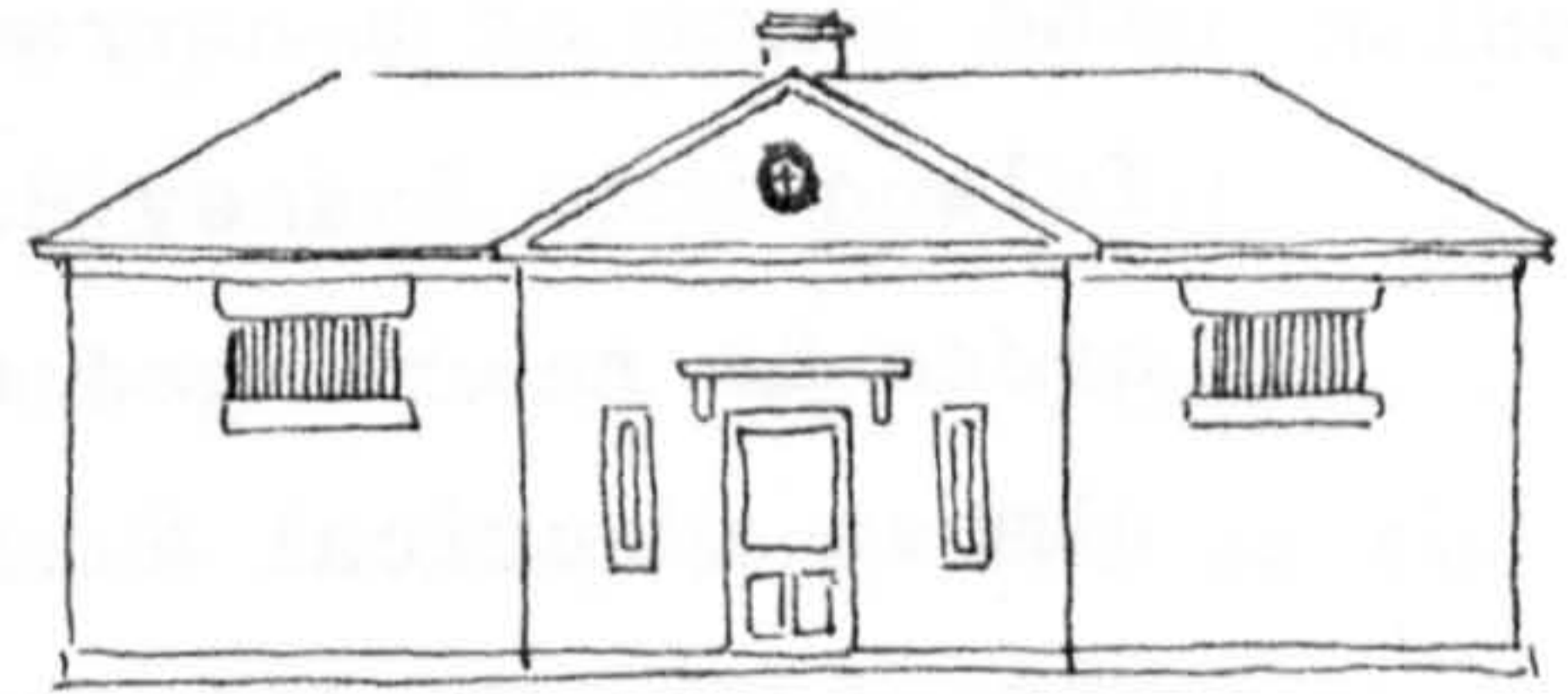


Fig. 122. Design for Bungonia watch House facade
Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694

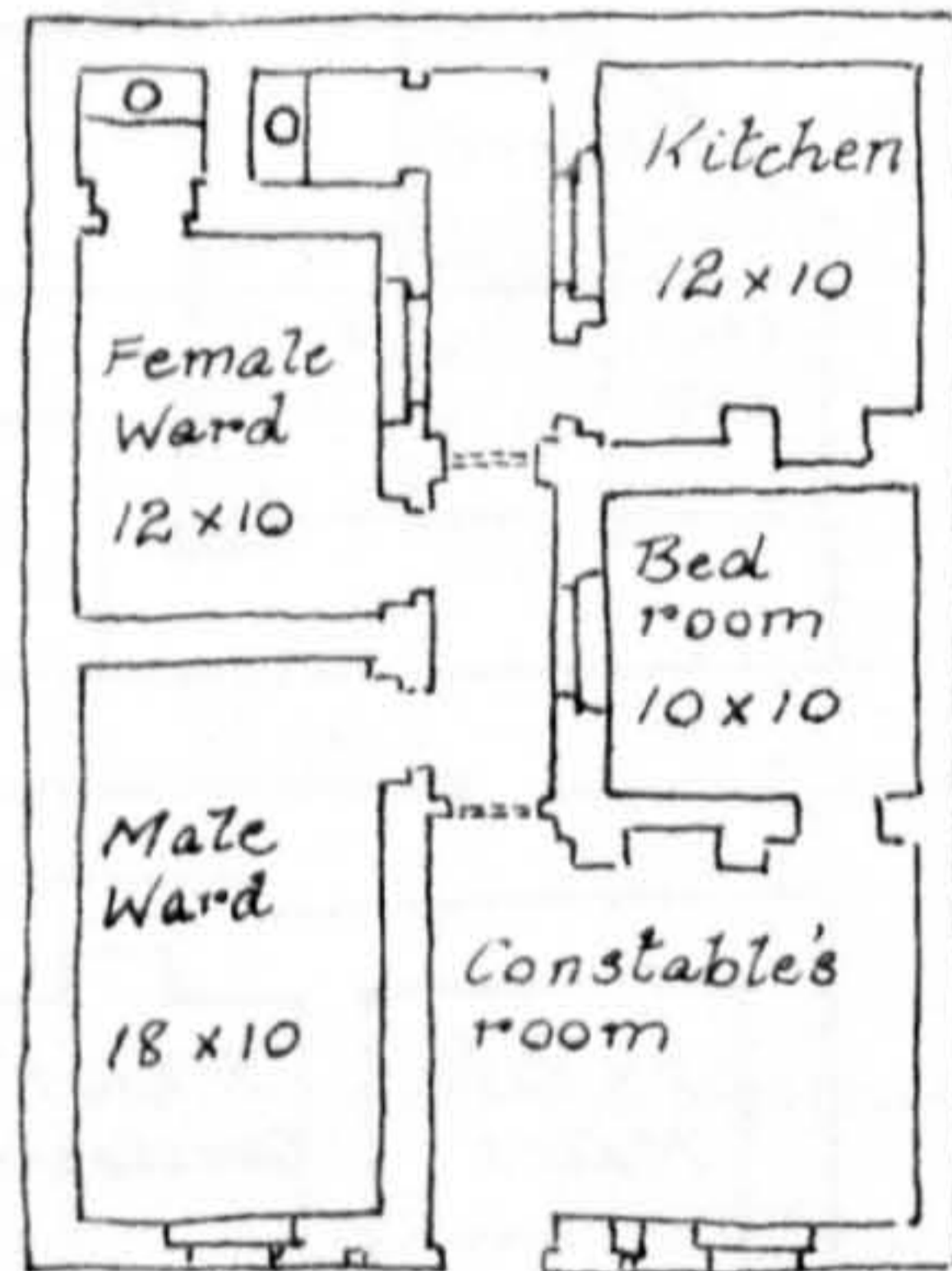


Fig. 123. Concord & Kissing Point watch-house plan.
Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694.

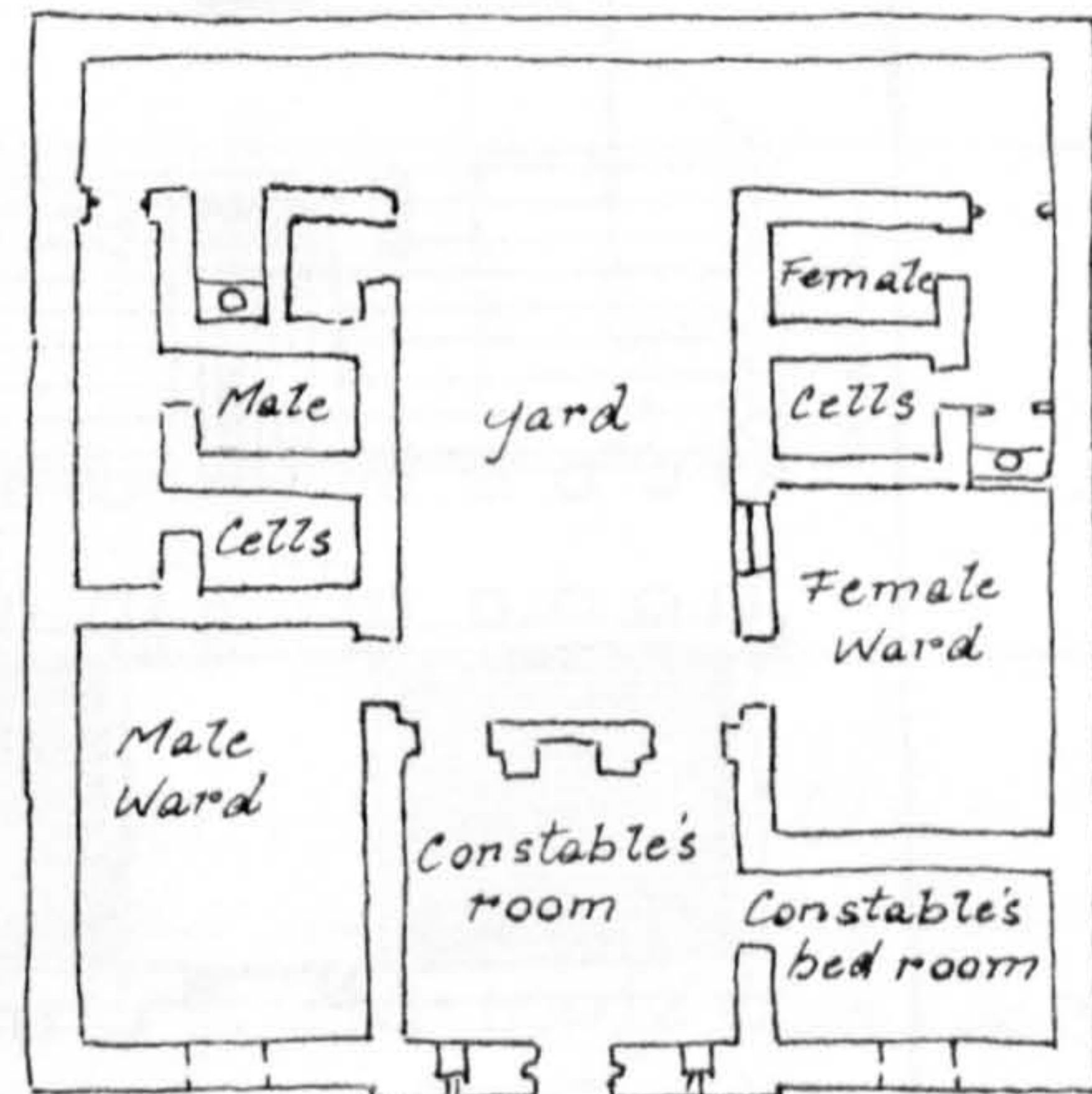


Fig. 124. Design for Bungonia watch-house. Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694.

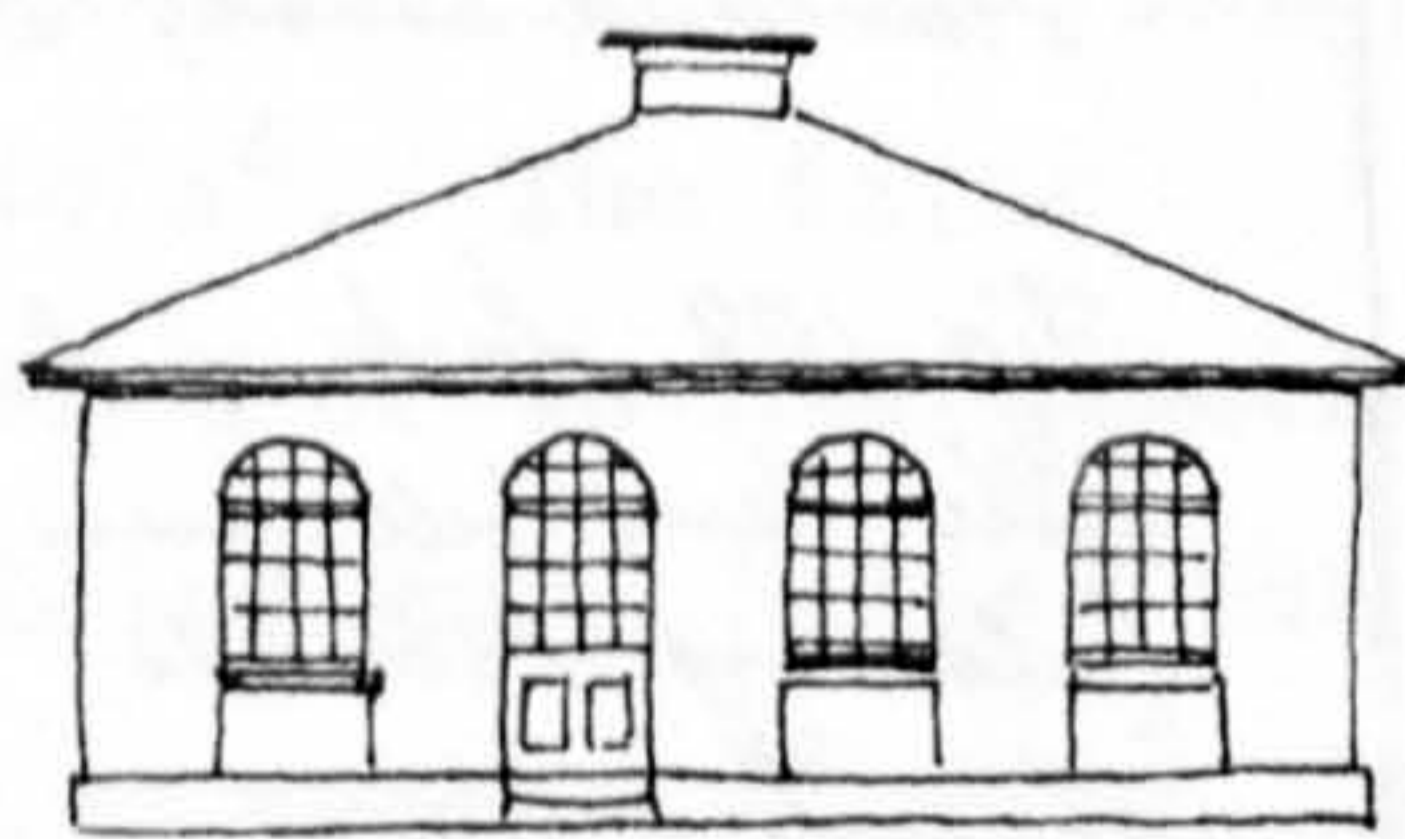
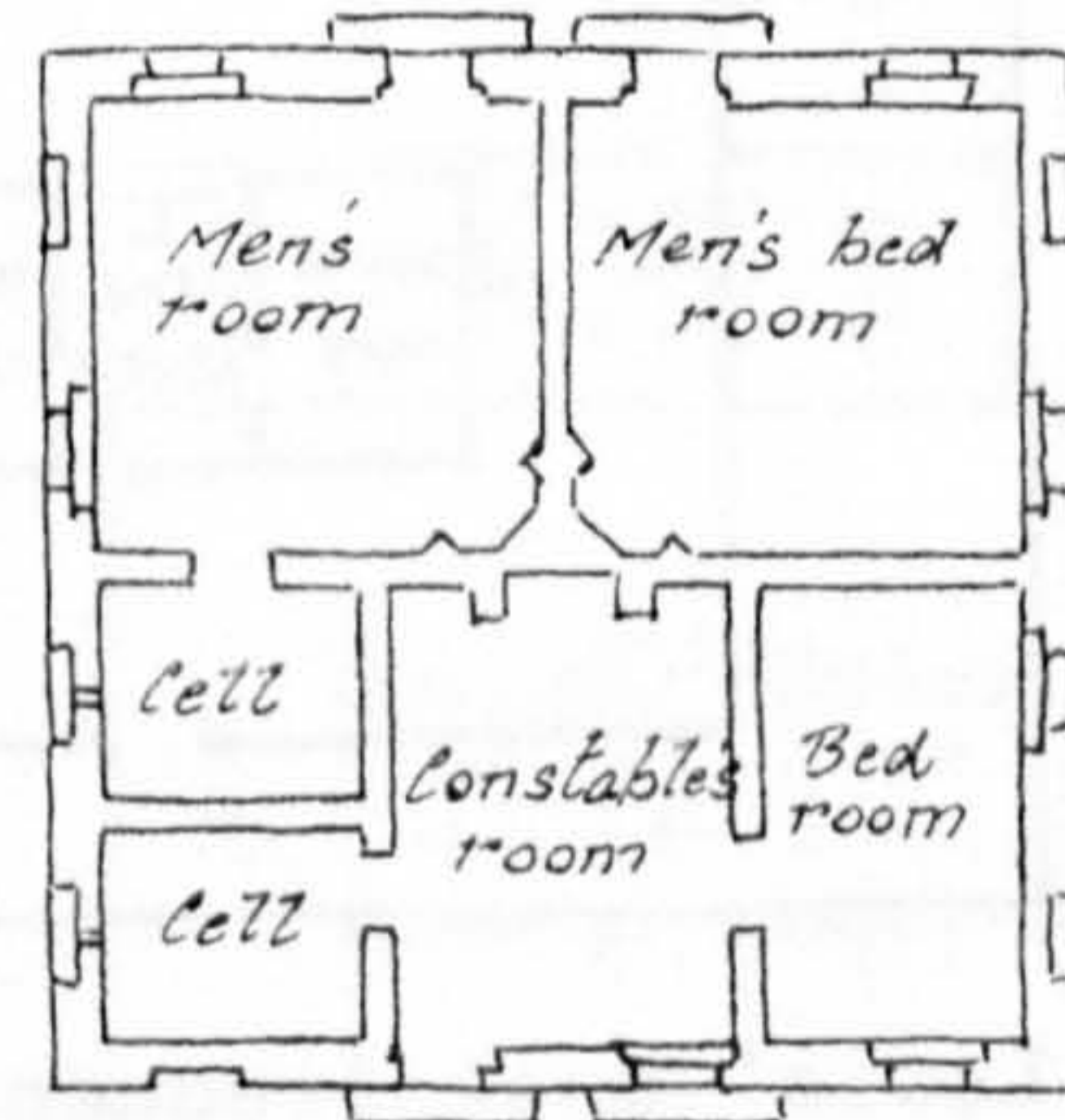


Fig. 125. Elevation & Plan Water Police Station, Goat Island, Sydney. Lewis Plans of Gaols. A/NSW X694.



Still extant.
JSA 75-18-17

applying similar decoration in Van Diemens Land on his Richmond Gaol gaoler's house completed in 1835.*

Lewis' design for a Water Police Station was to be placed on the point of a narrow snout of land thrust out from Goat Island into Sydney Harbour. As it would be viewed from all sides he rearranged the basic watch house plan to present 4 almost identical 4 bay facades to the passing water traffic. Six of the windows were blind, though 2 of those on the cell walls had ventilation slots pierced through them. Characteristically these were shown on the elevation as fully glazed sashes. See Fig. 125.

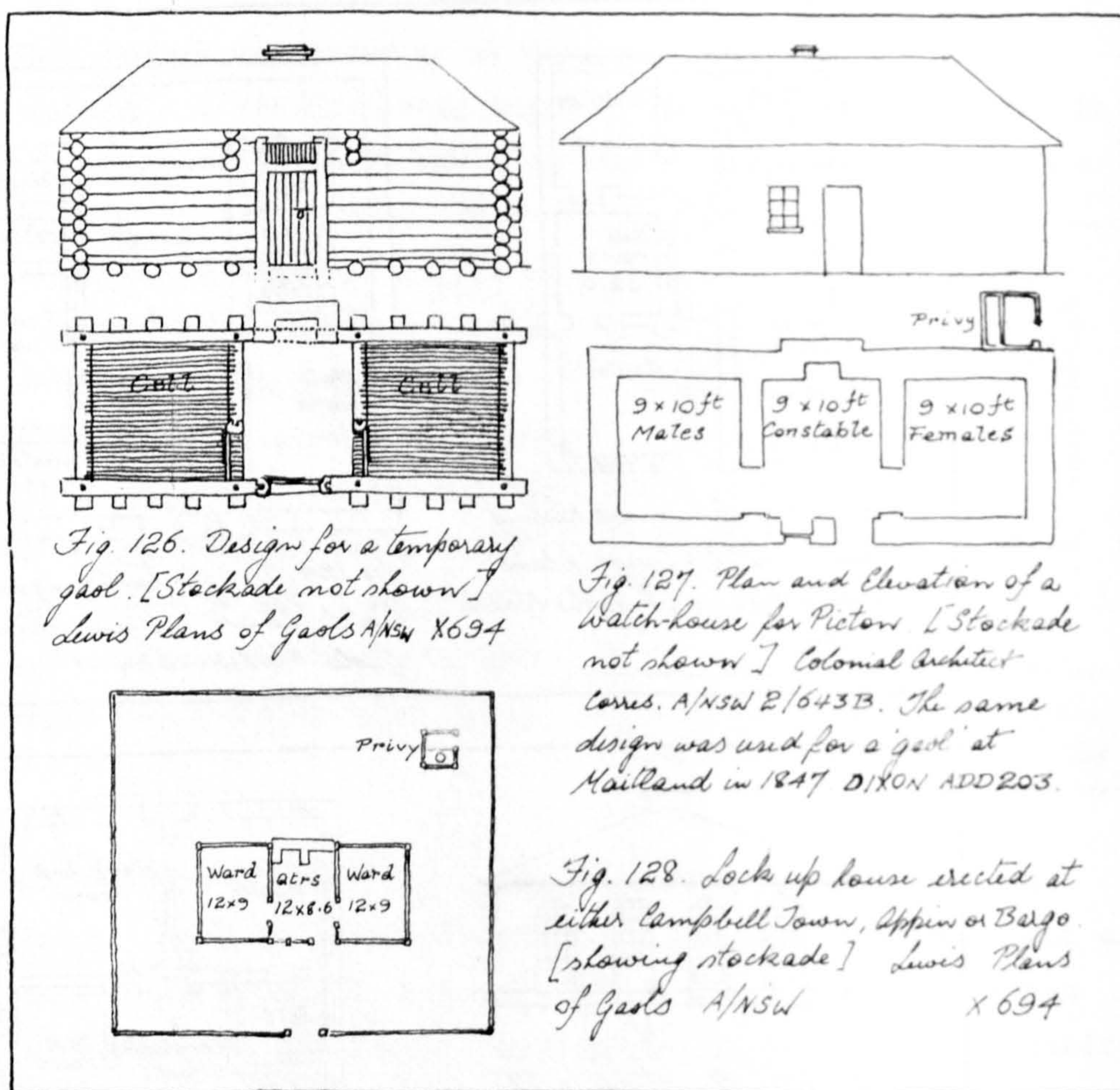


Fig. 126. Design for a temporary gaol. [Stockade not shown] Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694

Fig. 127. Plan and Elevation of a Watch-house for Picton. [Stockade not shown] Colonial Architect Corrie. A/NSW B/643B. The same design was used for a 'gaol' at Maitland in 1847. DIXON ADD203.

Fig. 128. Lock up house erected at either Campbell Town, Appin or Bargo. [showing stockade] Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694

Lewis' most frequently built design was the standard arrangement of central lobby (in this case the constables room) giving access to wards to the left and right. This single plan was used throughout NSW country centres as a watch house, lock up and gaol, and was constructed in stone, brick, log, and timber framed and boarded. It was surrounded by a stockade with a privy in the corner of the yard. See Figs. 126 to 128.

Lewis developed this basic design by extending the constable's quarters, (Fig. 129), and simply by enlargement as at Melbourne gaol, with its 20 ft by 14 ft 3 ins wards. (Fig. 130). In addition at Melbourne he included solitary cells at the request of the local Police Magistrate. They were set at the rear of the ward because it presented a 20 ft wall, rather than the 14 ft end wall, to accommodate them.

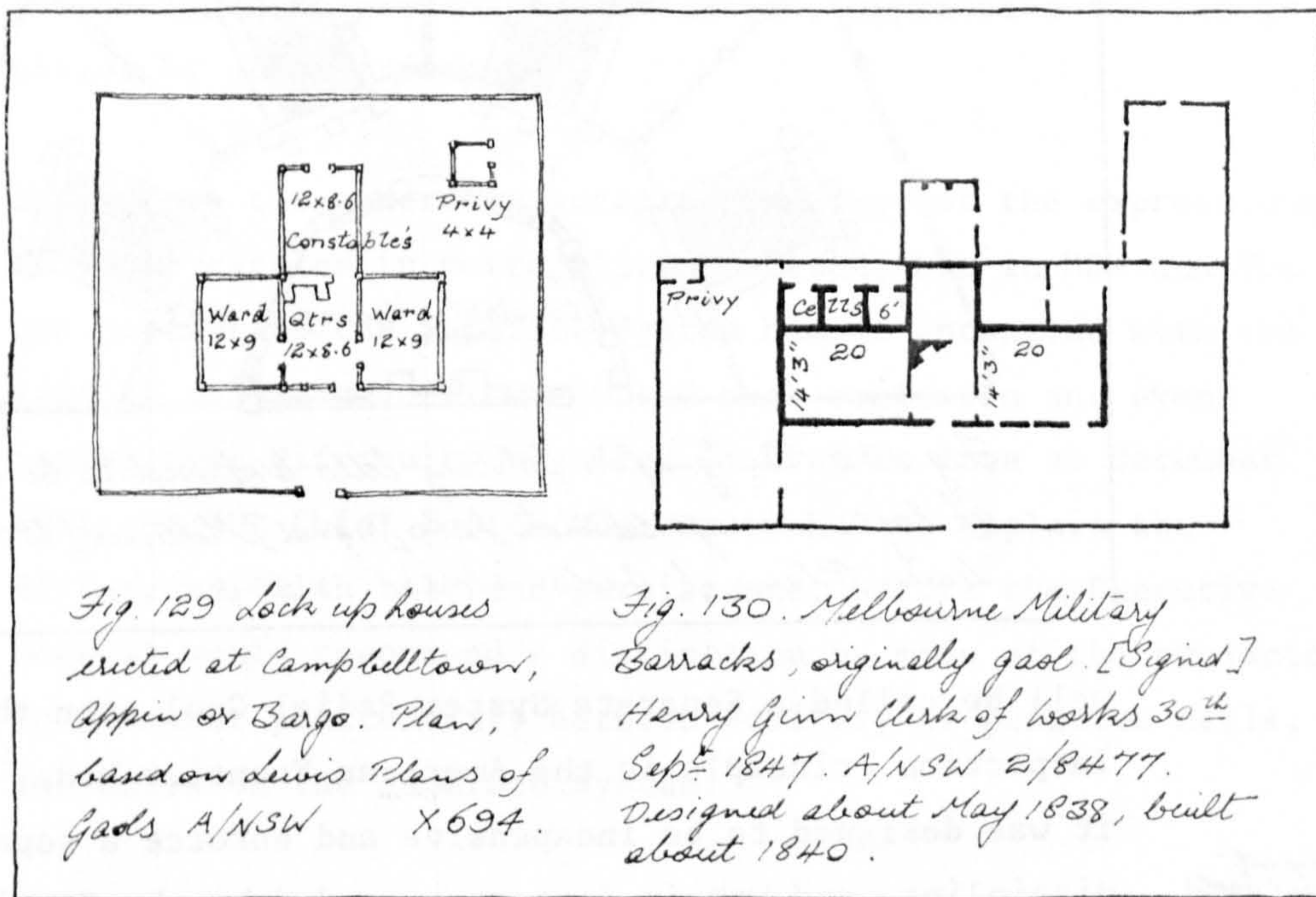


Fig. 129 Lock up houses erected at Campbelltown, Appin or Bargo. Plans, based on Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X 694.

Fig. 130. Melbourne Military Barracks, originally gaol. [Signed] Henry Ginn Clerk of works 30th Sep^r 1847. A/NSW 2/8477. Designed about May 1838, built about 1840.

NSW Report on Police & Gaols 1839

Ibid. 66

In 1839 Lewis prepared designs for the Committee on Police and Gaols*. The first consisted of an amalgamation of his log gaol 'after the American System,'* (Fig. 126) and a wood framed court house. The latter was applied to the rear wall of the stockade with a door for direct access, see Fig. 131, just as Lewis had done at the new Sydney gaol and court house.

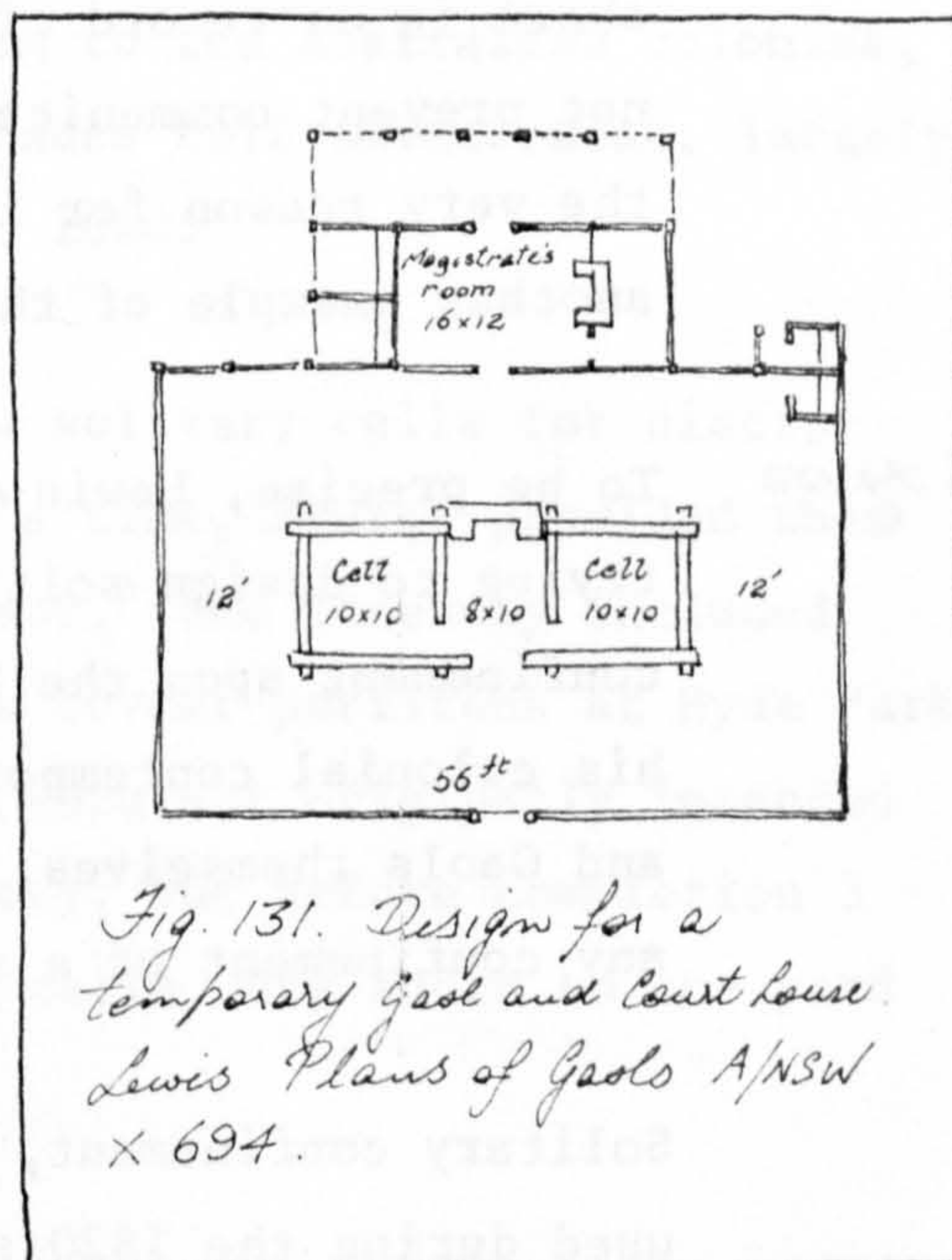
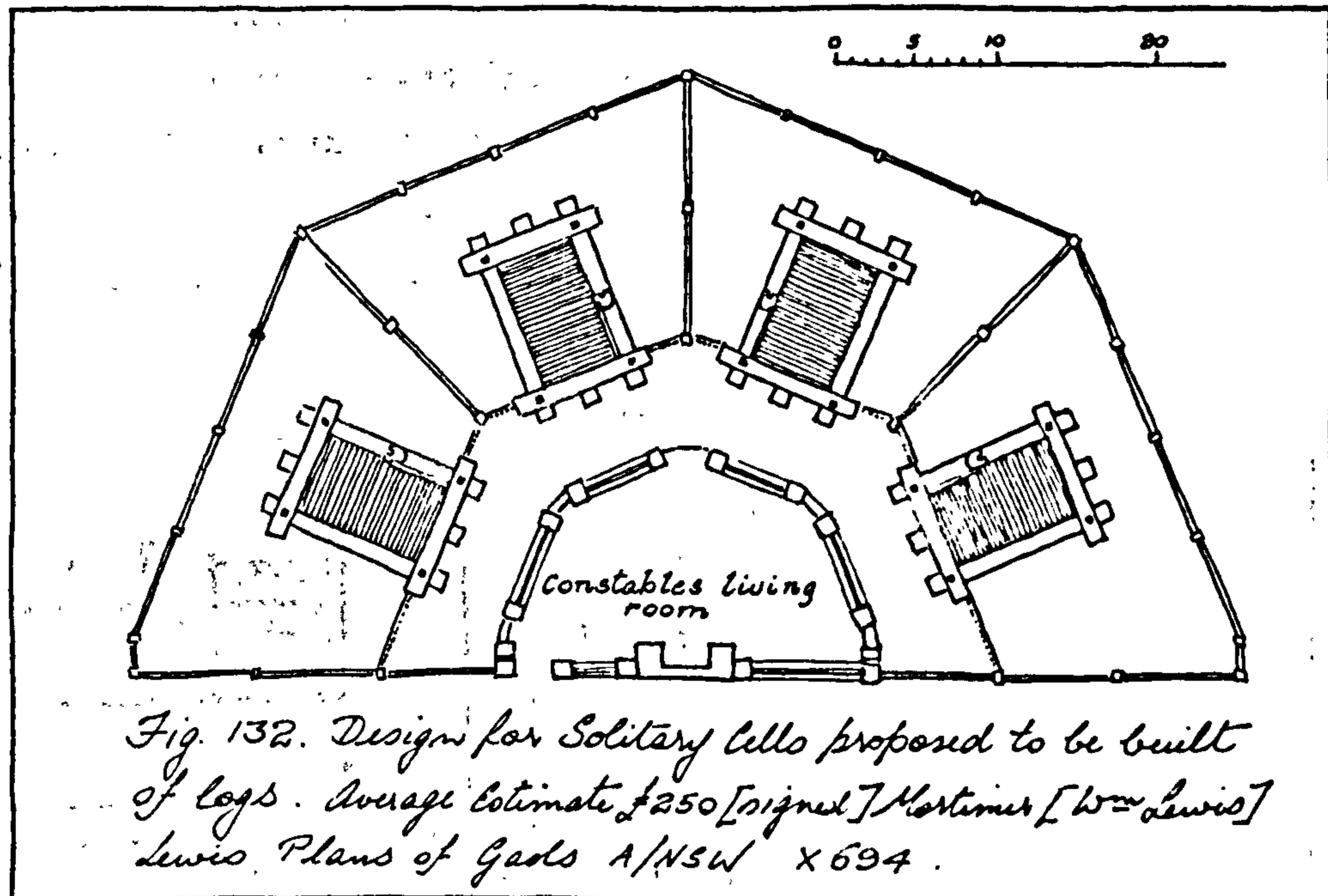


Fig. 131. Design for a temporary gaol and Court house. Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X 694.

His second design for the Committee was a radial arrangement of 4 solitary cells each in a separate yard and overlooked by the constable's hut at the hub. See Fig. 132. It might



well be called a Separate System Radial Gaol upon the Inspection Principle in the American Frontier Mode. Although it was designed to be inexpensive and enforce a separate discipline, and was in fact recommended by the Committee,* there is no record of it having been built. The design could not prevent communication between prisoners, and as this was the very reason for its complexity, it must be regarded as another example of the triumph of fashion over sense.

NSW Report
Police and Gaols
1839 85

See title Fig. 132

To be precise, Lewis was not, as the title of his plan implied,* trying to design solitary cells, but a miniature place of confinement upon the Separate System. In common with many of his colonial contemporaries, and even the Committee on Police and Gaols themselves, Lewis used the word 'solitary' to cover any confinement of a single person in a cell.

Solitary confinement, often in dark cells, was increasingly used during the 1820s and 1830s as a further punishment of

those already confined. Its purpose was to deprive the prisoner, as far as possible, of all human contact, and was supposed to be a short term measure. The Separate System, on the other hand, was defined by William Crawford in 1836 as 'the confinement of the prisoners individually in cells so as effectually to keep them separate from each other,' but not from prison officers, approved friends and the chaplain. This was designed to prevent contamination, oppression and recognition by other prisoners.*

*Inspectors' Report
1836*

These were the generally accepted meanings of the expressions in penal circles in metropolitan England, but in NSW and VDL the concept of the Separate System became entangled with the idea of solitary confinement and much confusion and even legislative difficulty resulted.* Even as late as December 1841 the VDL Chief Police Magistrate had to explain the difference, with tact and persistence, before the Executive Council would recommend a distinction be made at the projected Port Arthur penitentiary between solitary or punitive cells, and cells on the Separate System.*

*See the history of
5 VICTORIA 3 in
BPP T 604 7:
1843 (158)*

*VDL ECM 29.12.1841
CORR 2.17 f404-7*

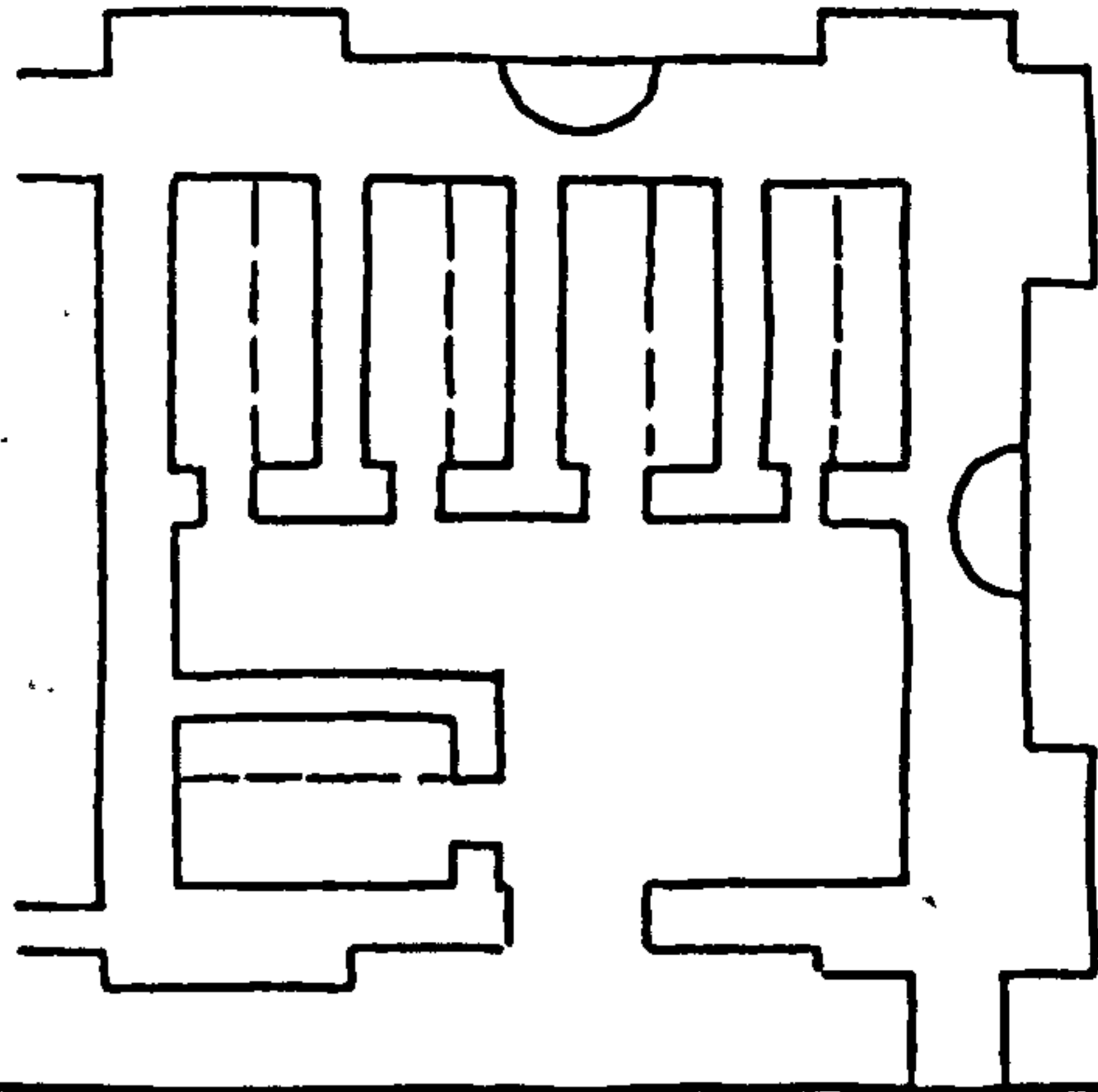
Chapters 10 and 11 cover the introduction of designs for a heavily modified Separate System to the Australian colonies, and the rest of this chapter traces cell development, largely for solitary confinement, up to 1840.

Most convict barracks had a few solitary cells for disciplinary purposes. In Macquarie's time, Drutt provided them at Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor,* and Greenway included 7 ft x 4 ft cells in two of his corner pavilions at Hyde Park Barracks. See Fig. 133. They were not originally intended for the Parramatta Female Factory, but before completion 3 (later 4) pairs of 7 ft x 4 ft cells were added to the yard as an afterthought.

See page 80

Similar cells were employed at gaols 'for such prisoners as

*Fig. 133. Sydney Hyde
Park Barracks. Cells in
north east pavilion.
Taken from plan,
apparently in Greenway's
hand, at CO 201.133 f172.*



may be ordered or required to be kept apart, or in Solitary Confinement.* In the 1820 s overcrowding made multiple occupancy of such cells common. This naturally defeated the purpose of solitary confinement, though the conditions created were no less punitive as a result.

*Hobart Gaol
Rules and Regs
CO 201.134 f249*

By March 1820, 5 solitary cells, each 6 ft x 5, had been added to Davey's Hobart Gaol.* Sydney gaol at the time still had only the 3, 6 ft x 10, cells at each end of the main building. These had been completed as part of the original programme in 1800-1.* They were principally intended as condemned cells for felons, but were subsequently used for purposes as disparate as solitary confinement with dark shutters,* or as an overflow for the gaol wards. Weston reported in 1835 that up to 25 men under sentence of death had occupied these 6 cells simultaneously.*

*Bell Return of
Public Buildings
1.3.1820
CO 201.134 f45*

See pages 30-1

Holt's Memoirs.107

*M'Leay Report
Police & Gaols
Evidence Weston
29.7.1835*

Five types of cell plans were in colonial use during the nineteenth century.

The simplest was a single row of cells all facing the same way. See Fig. 134. Its use in the colonies often arose from the expedient of backing cells against the longest convenient wall of an existing building, though in the 1840 s it was extensively developed for the probation stations.

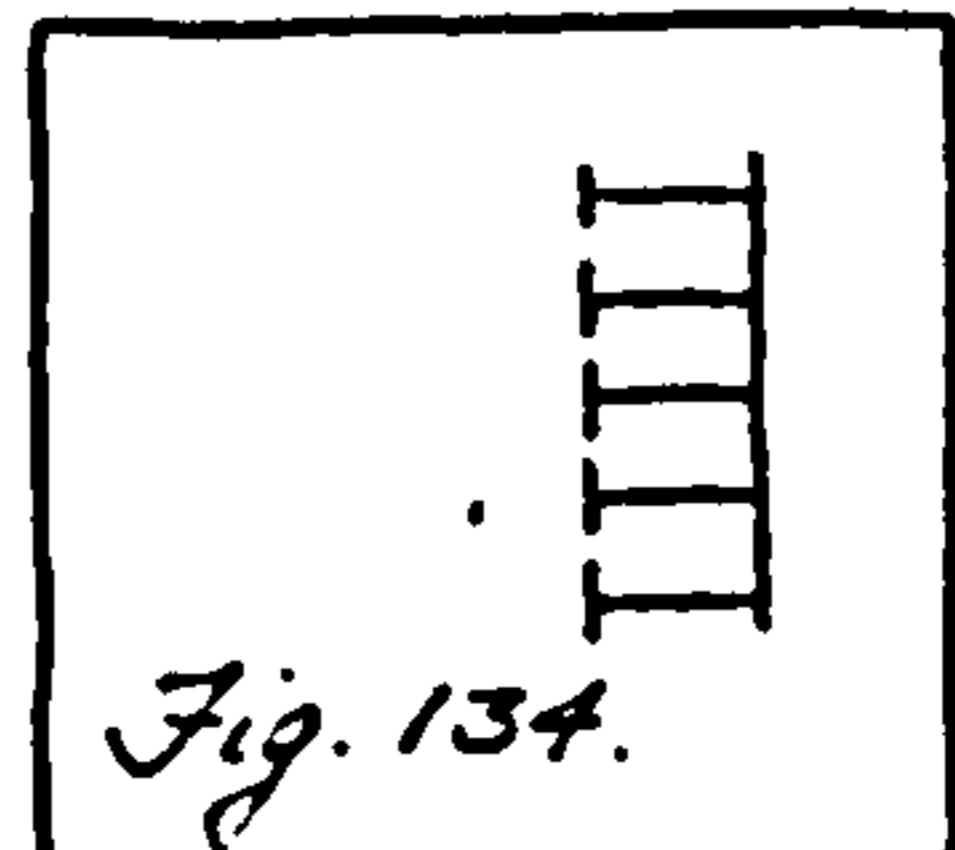


Fig. 134.

The second was that of cells flanking a central corridor, see Fig. 135. This scheme has a most distinguished lineage and probably derives ultimately from the Italian prisons of the early eighteenth century.* Surrey County gaol at Horsham, built in 1775 to John Howard's recommendations, was an early English progenitor.* In the 1820's the published designs* of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline encouraged the addition of a longitudinal wall in the central passage to facilitate the classification of prisoners into separate departments. Without this wall it has remained the most common solution to cell block design in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

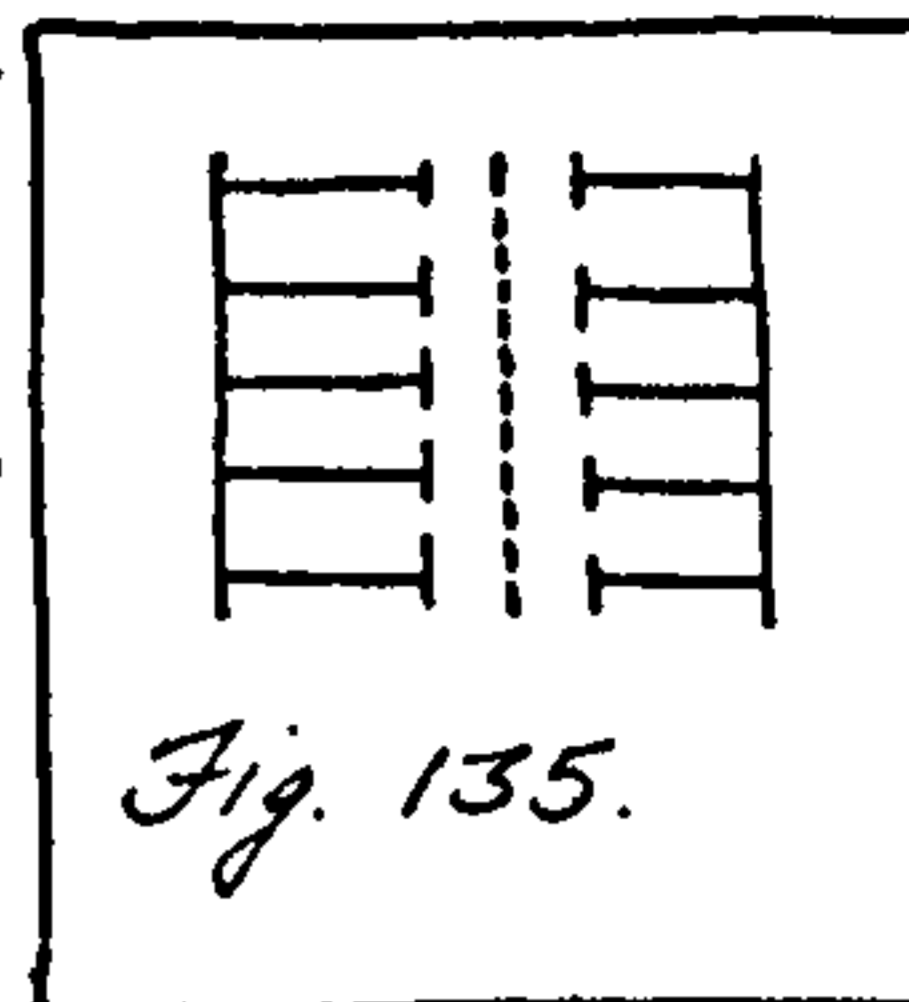


Fig. 135.

See pages 196-197

UNSDRI Prison Architecture page 17 Fig. 14

*SIPD Rules
SIPD Remarks*

The third type consisted of cells placed back to back. See Fig. 136. This system was used in the much publicised Maison de Force at Ghent,* and by Howard in his ideal penitentiary design of 1789.* It became the backbone of the Auburn System in the United States. The cells often involved complex construction to overcome ventilation problems.

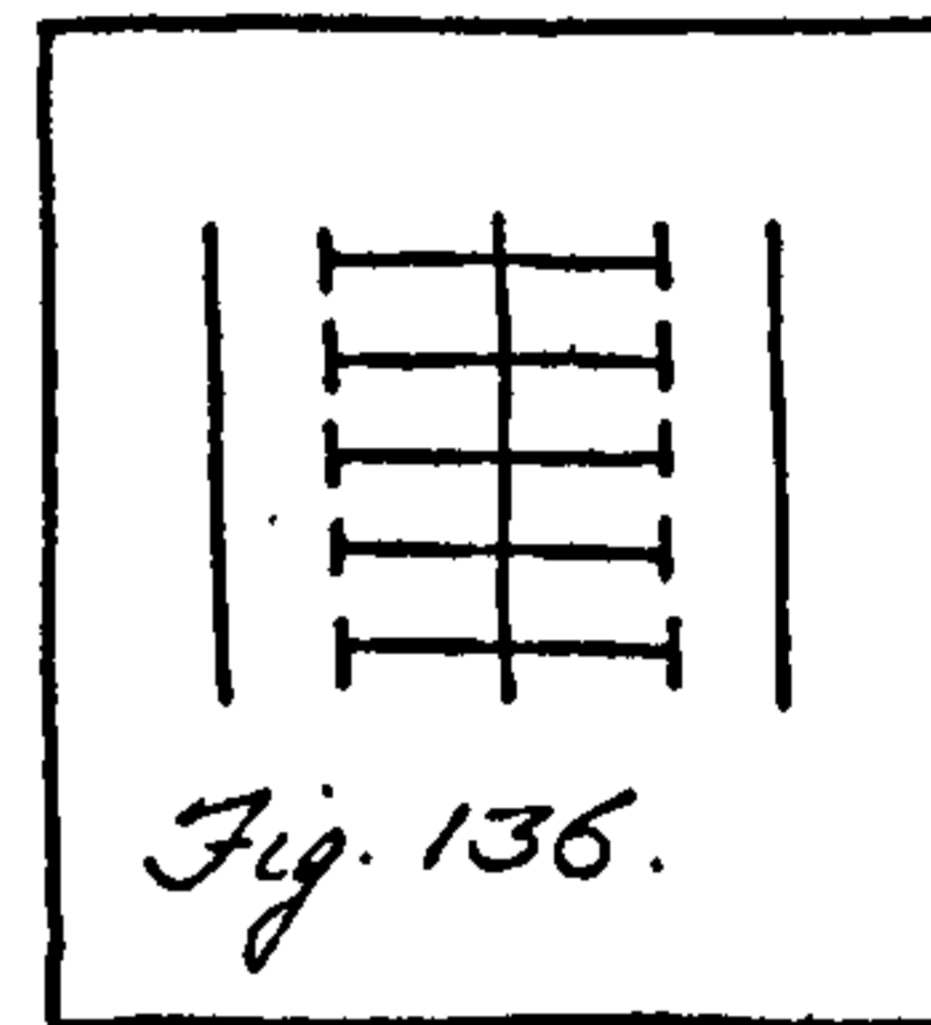


Fig. 136.

*Howard State
p. page 140*

*Howard's penitentiary
following page 228*

The fourth was an arrangement of double cells designed to provide an inner sleeping and outer working cell. See Fig. 137. The extra cost involved ensured its restricted use and it was replaced by larger combined working and sleeping cells in the 1840 s. A modification of the plan was used as a punishment cell under the Pentonville system. In this the outer cell became a small vestibule between 2 sets of doors to prevent light and sound entering the cell.

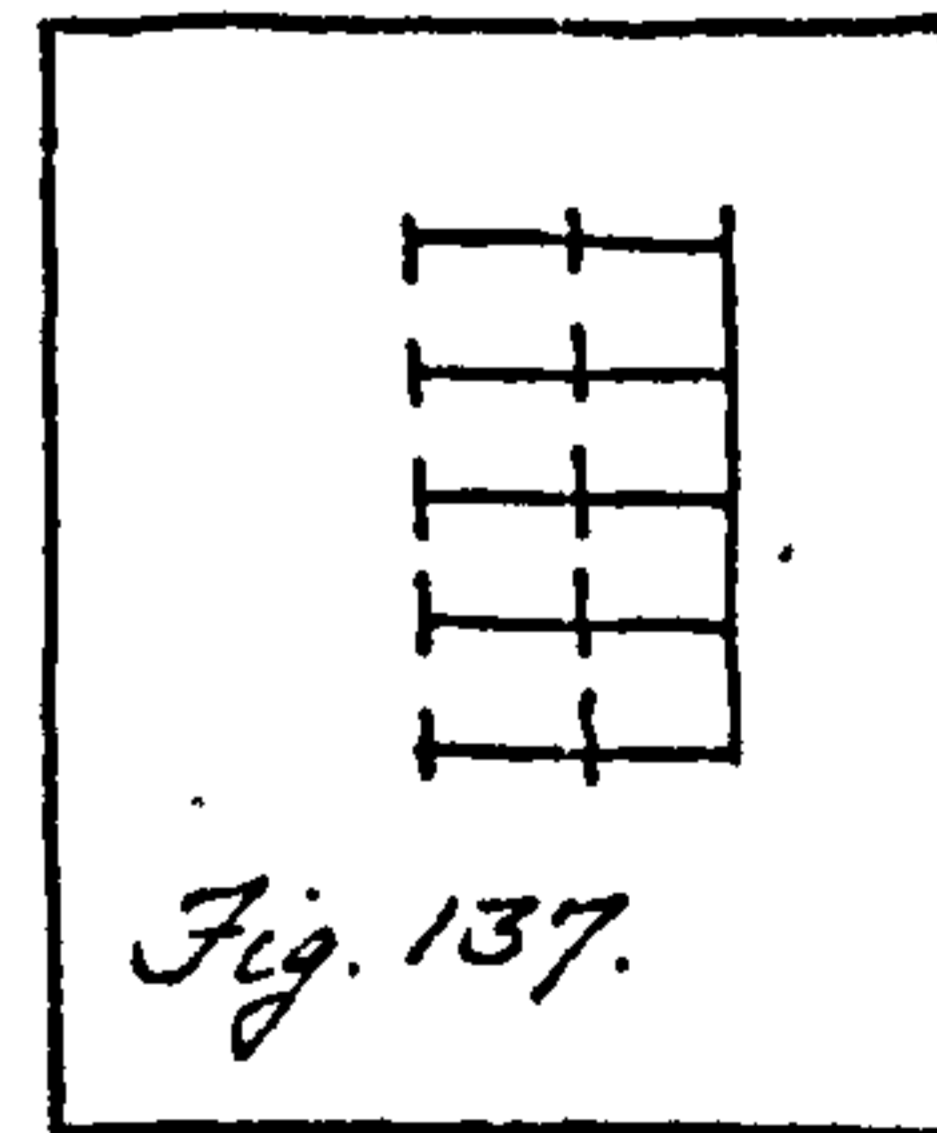
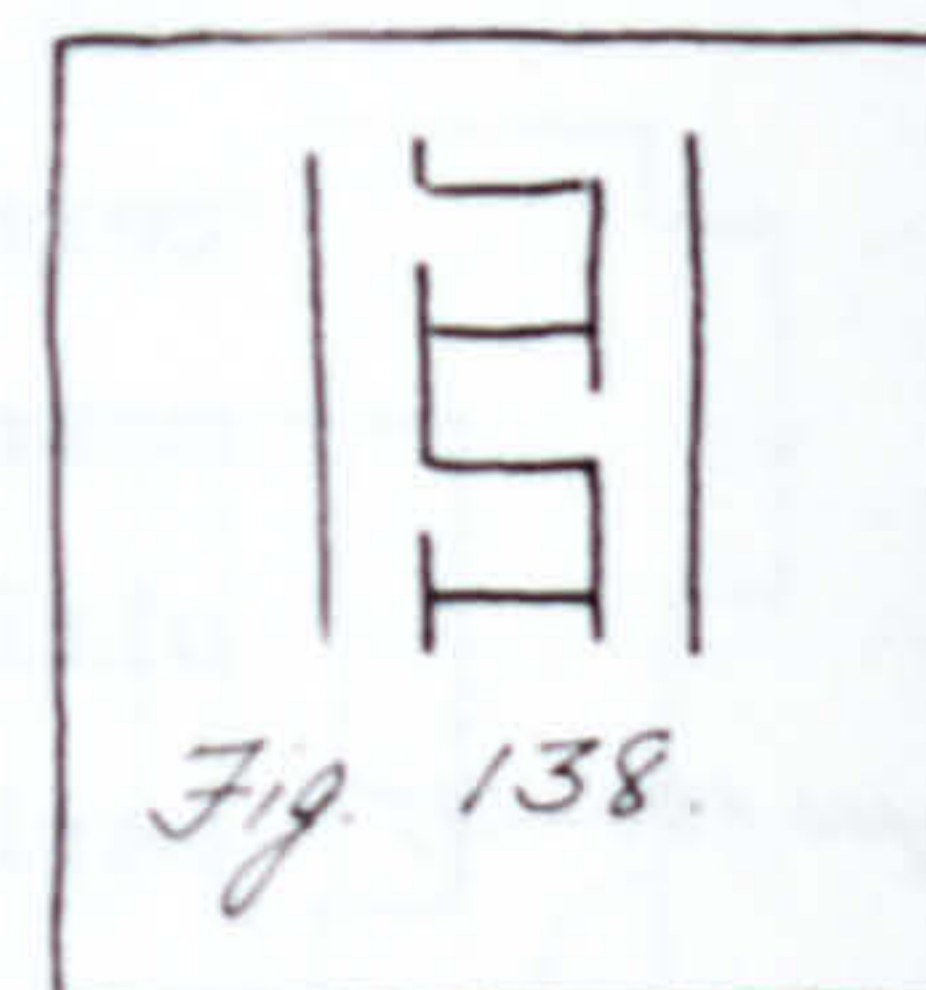


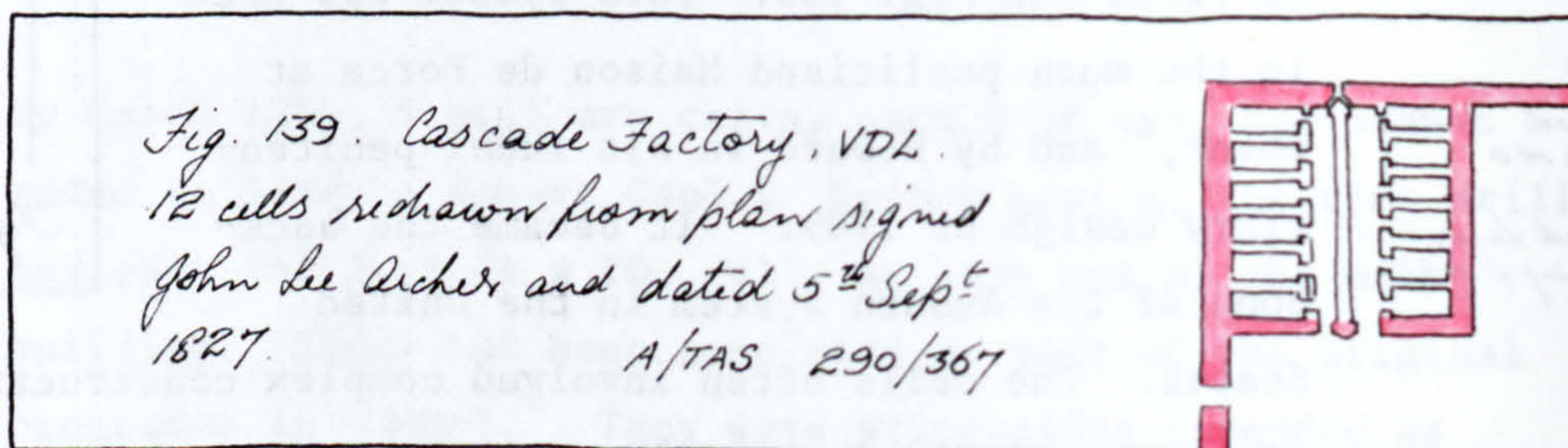
Fig. 137.

Alternating cells were the last type. These were placed in a single line with the doors of adjacent cells on opposite sides, see Fig. 138. As each cell faced a different direction to its neighbour communication between prisoners was made more difficult, and, being in a single line, was easy to ventilate. It became a popular solution in Van Diemens Land.



Figs 97 and 152 are examples of SIPD type plans.

David Lambe provided an early and unfortunate example of flanking cells upon the SIPD plan* in his conversion of the Cascade distillery to a Female House of Correction in 1827. See Fig. 139. The cells were 7 ft by a most inadequate 2 ft 6 ins. This was no doubt because the brief called for 12 cells and he fitted them into the existing shell of a building.



Archer was probably responsible for a similar plan at the new settlement of Port Arthur. Lempriere describes the cells in about 1838 thus: '12 cells under one roof; 6 cells on either side of a passage; 2 iron bar doors so constructed that the sentinel can look down this passage close to the entrance. Each cell is 7 ft long, 4 ft wide and 8 ft high, the only furniture it contains is a shelf 2 ft 6 ins wide for sleeping on. A small aperture in the door serves for the purpose of ventilating and a very little light.'* These dimensions appear frequently in single cells of the time; Greenway had used them, together with the sleeping shelf, at Hyde Park Barracks. See Fig. 133, and Arthur specified them for road party solitary cells in 1834.*

Lempriere's Settlements. 108

Arthur to Stanley 19.12.1834 quoted in Molesworth Report 1837. p. 141

Archer had a propensity for rearranging cell block plans of the SIPD flanking type as in Fig. 140. This produced an unintentional ambiguity as they could then be read as back to back or flanking cells. The advantage was that they could be more easily

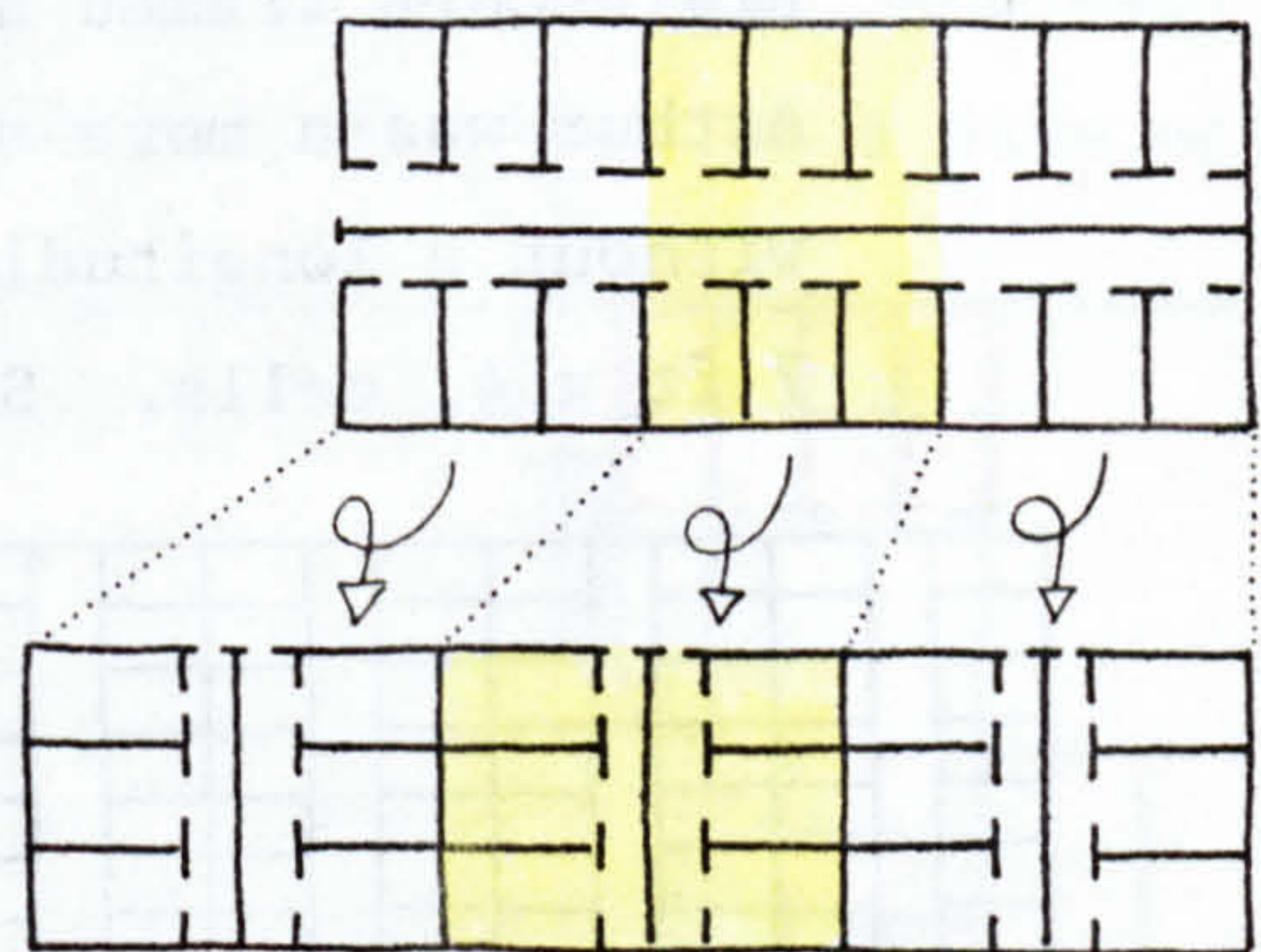


Fig. 140.

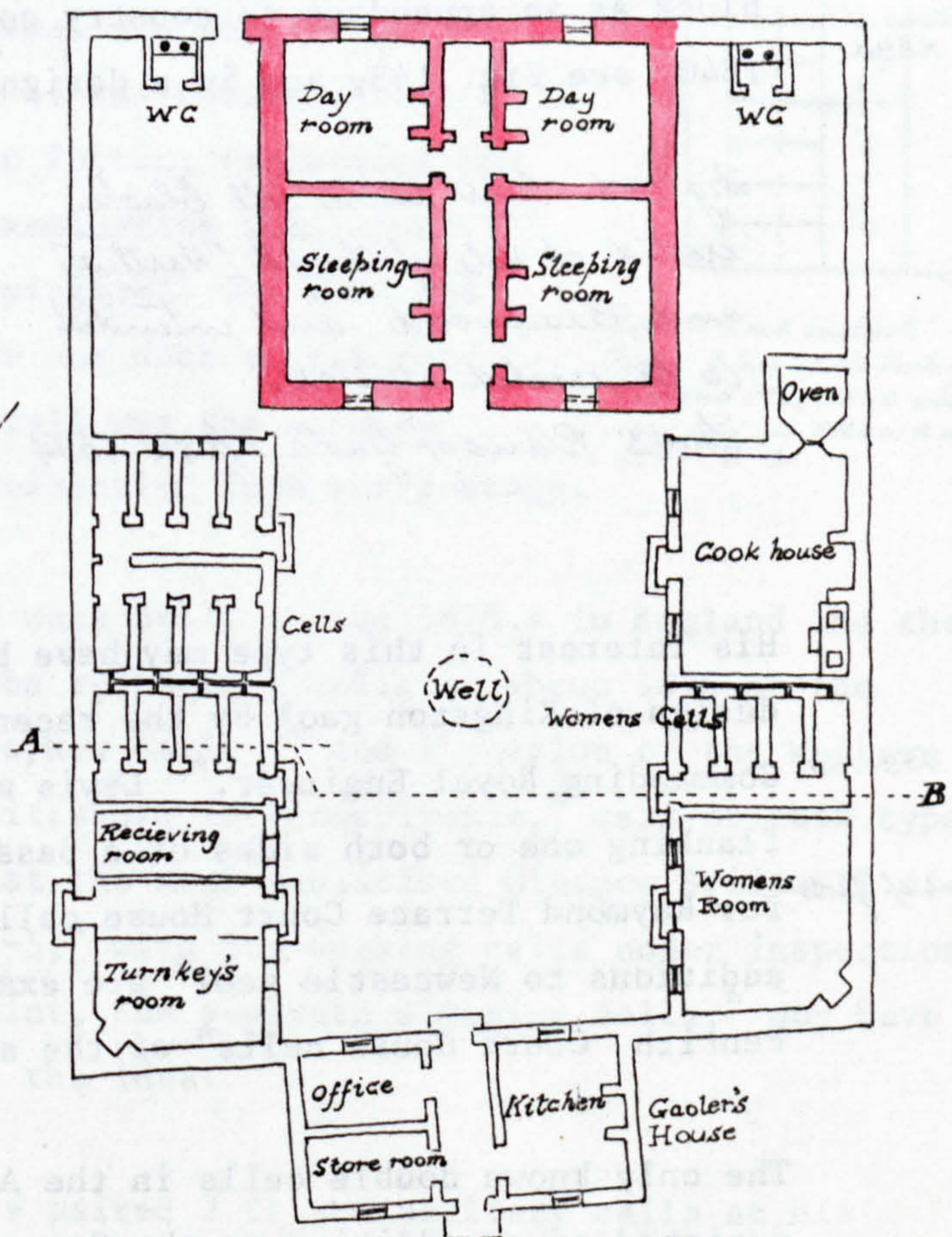
used to enclose, and at the same time give access to, a courtyard as well as facilitate the separation of prisoners into departments. Archer's 1832 plan for the extension of Lambe's 1826-7* gaol at Richmond in VDL was a modest example. See Fig. 141.

Arthur to Bathurst
24.3.1827 N^o 20
CO280.11 f574

Fig. 141. Plan of the Richmond Gaol, showing the intended additions by John Lee Archer.

A/TAS C50/205/
4864

Reproduced in Smith, John Lee Archer, page 23.



Lalor Report 1847
68 His wooden framed and brick nogged* penitentiary at Port Arthur was a more spectacular metamorphosis of flanking cells, without a longitudinal wall, into a 10 passage range of 140, 7 ft x 4, cells. See Fig. 142.

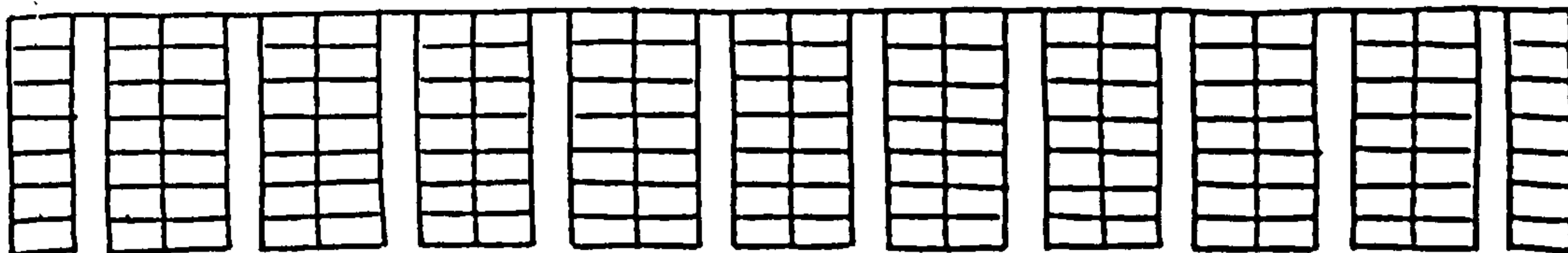
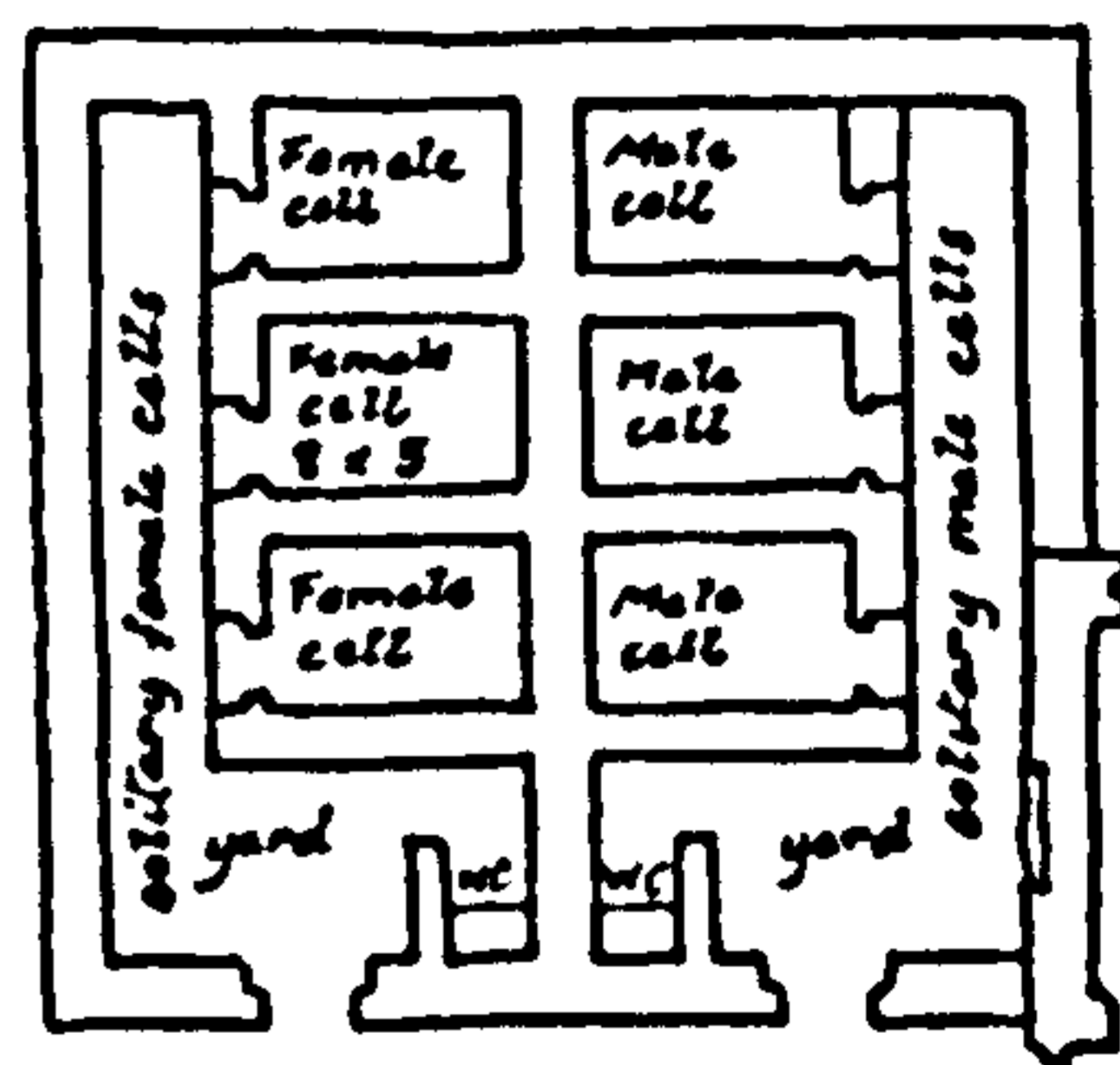


Fig. 142. Port Arthur, VDL, Diagrammatic reconstruction of the plan of the cell block at the penitentiary, based on the description in Lempriere's Settlements page 110.

Back to back cells do not seem to have been used in an unambiguous form in VDL until the 1840 s, though in NSW the Colonial Architect, Mortimer Lewis, designed and built a 6 cell block as an appendage to country court houses from 1837 to 1840, see Fig. 143, and in a design for extending Windsor Gaol.*

Lewis Plans of Gaols X694

*Fig. 143. Court house cell block erected at Vale of Clwyd [Hartley] and Braidwood, and intended to be erected at Yass.
Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X694*



His interest in this type may have been stimulated by the design of Kingston gaol by the recently arrived (December 1835) Commanding Royal Engineer.* Lewis more usually designed cells flanking one or both sides of a passage. His original design for Raymond Terrace Court House cells* and his proposed additions to Newcastle gaol* are examples of the first, and Penrith Court House cells* of the second.

See page 159-160

Lewis Plans of Gaols X694

Ibid.

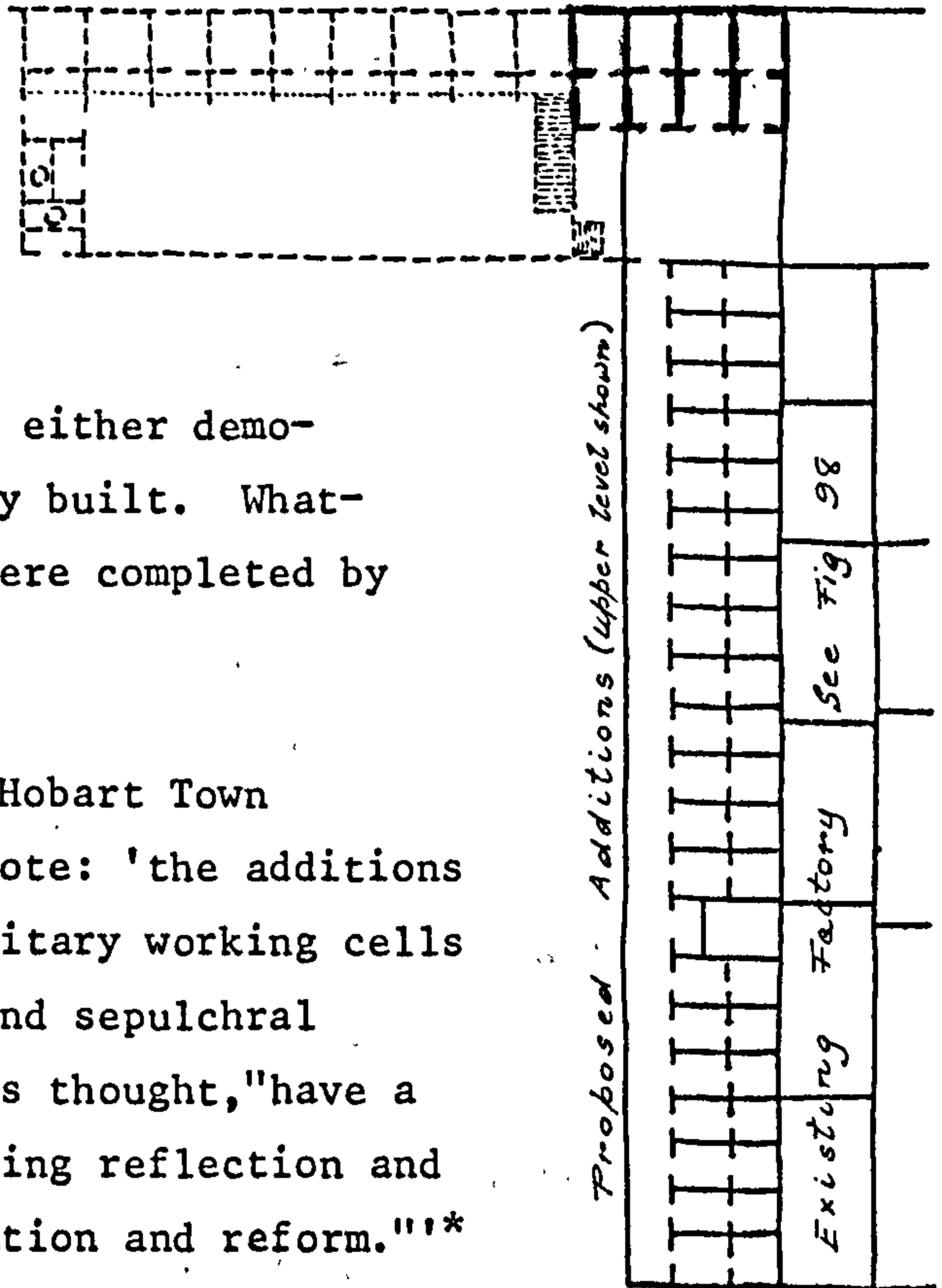
Ibid.

*VDL ECM 1.6.1831
CO282.3 f131*

The only known double cells in the Australian colonies were designed as an addition to the Cascade Female Factory by John Lee Archer, probably in May 1831.* He made a preparatory

sketch on an existing plan in the Engineers office. See Fig. 144. Only the 4 pairs outlined in red are shown on a plan of

*Fig. 144. Cascade, VOL, Female Factory
[Engineer's office Jan^y 30th 1828. [Part of]
upper plan [showing proposed additions]
A/TAS 290/372*



*Plan House of Lords
Hobart 28.5.1850
PRO MPG 65*

1850.* The others were either demolished or never actually built. Whatever cells were built were completed by June 1832.

Hutchinson, quoting the Hobart Town Courier of 15.6.1832, wrote: 'the additions included a range of solitary working cells whose "awfully dismal and sepulchral appearance" would it was thought, "have a salutary effect in forcing reflection and leading to self examination and reform."* The inner or sleeping cell was dark and had neither window nor door to the outside. The outer cell was the working cell subject to inspection from the passage.

*Hutchinson on
Mrs Hutchinson 55*

*Broken lines indicate
Twiss' plan of the Factory
proposed May 1850 and
now held in PROM at
MPG. G. 5.*

A few such ranges were built in the 1820s in England and the United States. The refractory cells of about 1826 at the Salford, Lancashire, New Bailey,* and a section of the Western Penitentiary at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania,* were of this type. It is possible that the much publicised Glasgow Bridewell of Robert Adam, 1791-5,* with its working cells under inspection from a central point, and separate sleeping cells,* may have helped to promote the idea.

*Ball Salford New
Bailey Plate 4*

*Crawford Report
1834 Plan 3*

*Youngson's
Edinburgh 135
Gurney on Prisons
1844*

Francis Greenway's paired 7 ft x 4 solitary cells at his Parramatta Female Factory were arranged so that each cell faced a different direction to its twin, but it was Archer who

attempted to introduce the first ranges of alternating cells for solitary confinement. His designs for Hobart gaol of January 1829 (Fig. 147) and the Launceston Female House of Correction of March the same year (Fig. 149) both included 7 ft x 3 cells of this type. Neither design was built, and the system does not appear to have been revived until the demand for separate accommodation in the 1840s gave it a brief period of popularity, though with enlarged cell dimensions.*

See Chapter 15

Alternating cells were never adopted in NSW. In the late 1830's a massive gaol construction programme was started on other principles,* and, after the cessation of transportation to that state in 1839, no additional accommodation was needed.

See Chapters 10 & 11

One aberration of Archer's remains to be noticed. It was his Holy Trinity Church with the Hobart Penitentiary gaol underneath. The liturgical west elevation of the church is now admired as architecture, but the design of the gaol made it a disaster as a gaol, from the beginning.

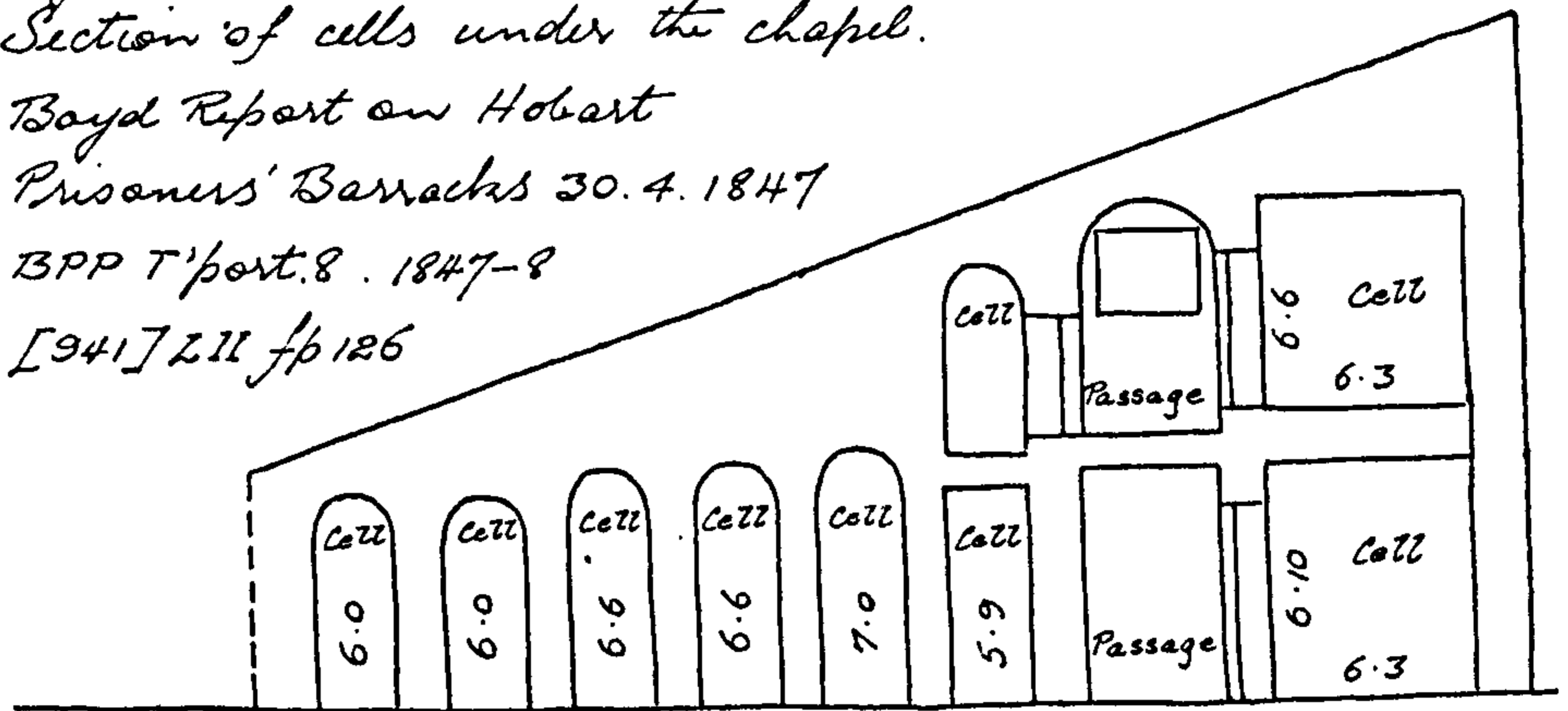
In July 1828 Governor Arthur informed the Council of the need for solitary cells at the penitentiary and also that the evils of marching convicts to church made necessary the construction of a chapel within the walls.* Archer combined these requirements in one building and because it was a house of God he attended to the aesthetic requirements in a manner not usual for convict buildings in the colonies. As can be seen in Fig. 145 the habitations in the lower regions were less satisfactory.

*VDL ECM 27.7.1828
CO 282.1 J409*

The width of a number of the cells was between 2 and 3 ft and the height varied from 5 ft 5 ins to 11 ft 5 ins. A later Commandant, Boyd, reported that 'the cells under the prison chapel are, without exception, the most objectionable places of confinement I have ever seen. They are almost totally

Fig. 145. Hobart Prisoners' Barracks
 Section of cells under the chapel.

Boyd Report on Hobart
 Prisoners' Barracks 30.4.1847
 BPP T'port. 8. 1847-8
 [941] 211 fp 126



destitute of ventilation, generally dark, and by far too
 small for any human being to be confined in.*

Boyd Report on
 Hobart Prisoners'
 Barracks 30.4.1847
 126

Chapter 10 Cruciform and Radial Gaols 1828 - 42.

Gaol design in the Australian colonies underwent radical developments in the late 1820s and 30s. Up to the mid 1830s, the urgings of reformers, and particularly the well publicised and positive proposals of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline in England, were the major influence. In the latter half of the 1830s, His Majesty's newly-appointed Inspectors' of Prisons* evolved a modified Separate System design based largely on American models. This was carried to the Australian colonies by the Inspectors' well documented reports backed by Her Majesty's Government's approval.

*William Crawford
and Rev. Whitworth
Russell*

Two aspects of gaol design are of particular interest to the period. The first was the type of cell used, and this was examined in the last chapter. The second was the overall arrangement of the buildings to conform to contemporary theories on the function of gaols, including supervision and classification, and is the subject of this chapter.

By the 1820s the gaols in Sydney and Hobart had become quite inadequate, but at the same time both the NSW and VDL governors were under pressure to reduce expenditure and to direct convict resources away from the towns, and particularly from public buildings. As a temporary expedient, Darling, by an Act in Council in February 1826,* provided for the hulk Phoenix in Sydney Harbour to be used as a public prison. A further act in 1828* made it a part of Sydney gaol (and a House of Correction) under the direction of the Sheriff. This delayed for a decade the construction of the projected Sydney gaol within the new walls already erected at Darlinghurst, and ensured that, when finally built, it would be too late to be of service to Her Majesty's government.

*George IV No 1
3rd Aust 3: 1828
(335) XXI. 2*

*George IV No 5
3rd Aust 4:
1830-1 (241) IX.*

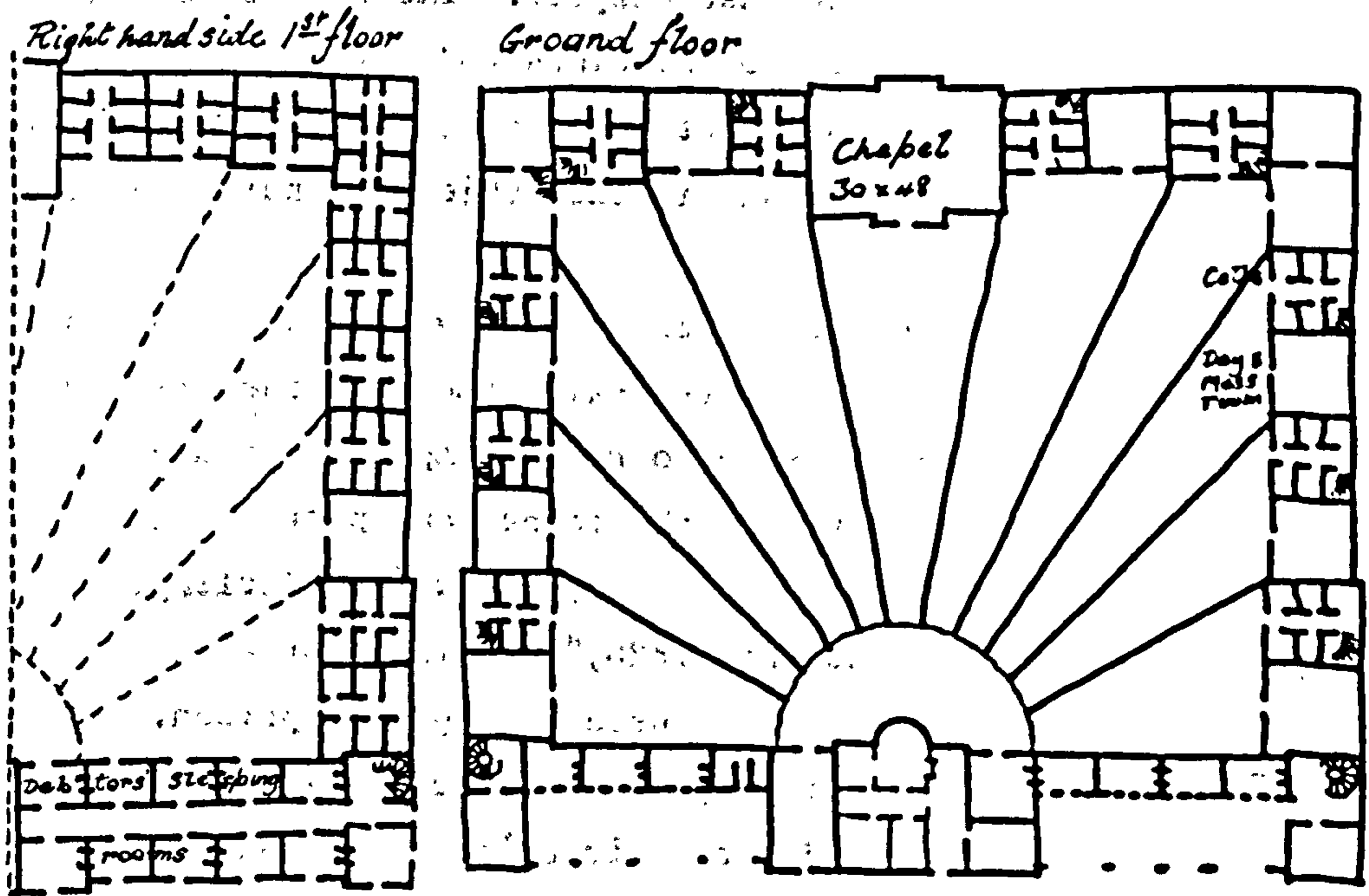
Arthur noted the success of the hulk experiment in NSW, and in

May 1829 asked the Under Secretary, Sir George Murray, for an old ship of war for similar duty at Hobart. It was to be a place of confinement for convicts awaiting removal to penal settlements, and for such as were sentenced to labour in chains. He pointed out that the present gaol (built by Davey) afforded no means of classifying and none whatever of employing prisoners.*

*Arthur to Murray
1.5.1829 N230
CORRO.20 f246*

Meantime Archer's January 1829 plan for the new Hobart gaol was deferred, pending explicit approval from the Secretary of State for its construction, and the availability of suitable craftsmen and finance. Archer was well equipped with plans of English type prisons. One, which appears to be in his own hand, and based on the plan of the gaol for the County of Surrey at Horsemonger Lane, Southwark,* is a curious pastiche of almost every cell and barrack room type in current use. See Fig. 146.

*SIPD Remarks
1826 p.16*



*Fig. 146. Plan of the New Gaol [Hobart] marked A, no date.
A/TAS 290/352*

It even includes sleeping quarters for debtors on the standard plan used for cavalry barracks in England. The overall plan is that of 2 storey ranges enclosing and looking into a

quadrangle. From the superintendents' or turnkeys' windows in the centre of the entry range 11 yards radiate like a sunburst to 10 separate accommodation units. The 11th was the chapel.

It was a wildly expensive way of accommodating a limited number of prisoners and not likely to have delighted Arthur, though Archer must have believed it to be of value as he had taken some trouble to draw it up. On the plan the superintendent is referred to as the 'Marshall'. This nomenclature reinforces the suggestion that it had been done before he was familiar with VDL conditions, and therefore well before the Tasmanian Archives Index date of January 1829. The plans bear the large identification letter, in this case 'A', usually affixed by the Colonial Secretary, so they appear to have been submitted to the Executive Council. However the plan was rejected in favour of another Archer plan signed and dated 5th Jan^y 1829. See Fig. 147.

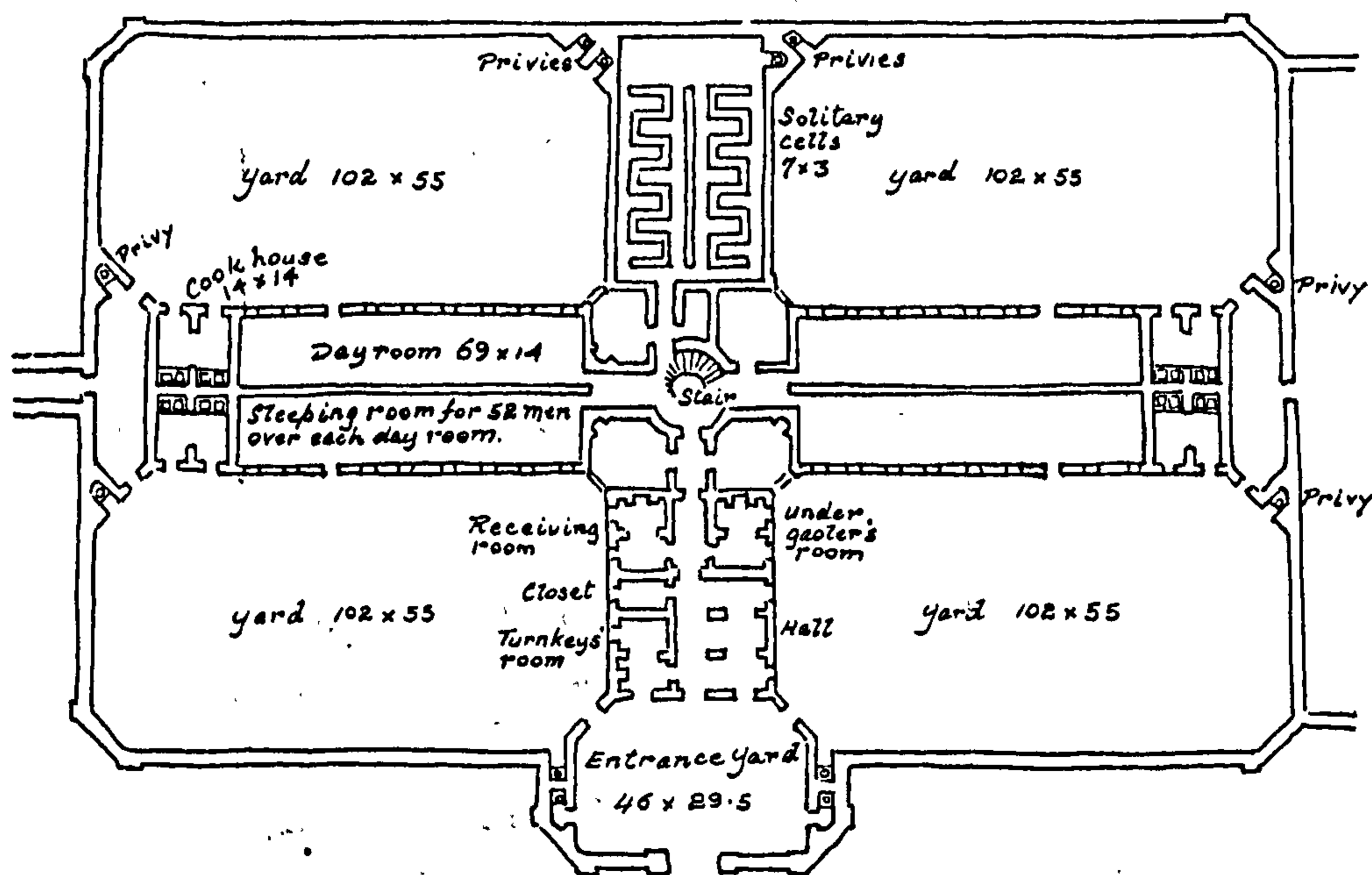


Fig. 147. Design for a Gaol proposed to be erected at Hobart Town to contain 284 prisoners. [Signed] J. Lee Archer 19th Jan^y 1829. A/TAS 290/351.

*SIPD Remarks
1826*

The latter plan was almost as extravagant of resources, but this time reflected the methods of classification and separation mentioned by the SIPD in their 'Remarks on the Form and Construction of Prisons' in 1826.* In particular the type of arrangement in their sketch plan of Hampshire County gaol at Winchester, supervised by John Howard 50 years earlier, seems to have provided a model. Also some design details, such as the splay walls from the wings to the perimeter walls and the central staircase, were possibly taken from Elsam's design for 'a small county prison' published in 1824.*

*and included in a
reissue of
Nicholson's Practical
Builder of 1823*

Archer's design was for a cruciform 2 storey building set in a rectangular compound. The lateral accommodation wings were split from end to end by a spinal wall through both floors. Hence the upper floor provided 4 sleeping wards for 52 men, with a WC at the end of each. Corresponding day rooms and cook houses were located below. This made possible the almost complete separation of 4 classes of prisoners; the only defect being the necessity for carefully staggered movements by prisoners as a result of there being only a single central staircase.

*Hobart Gaol design
5.1.1829
A/TAS 290/349*

In the wings on the entry axis 14 solitary and 5 large cells of varying size were provided, and on the lead flat above the condemned cell public executions were to be held.*

This Hobart Gaol was never built, but in March the same year Archer prepared a similar 'Design for a small Female Factory calculated to contain 100 women' at Launceston. It was a single storey building and its relationship with the Winchester design is even clearer. See Figs. 148 and 149.

Unlike the Hobart design for male prisoners, the female establishment required 5 classes; 1st, 2nd, Crime, Hospital and Nursery. This was the arrangement at the newly established

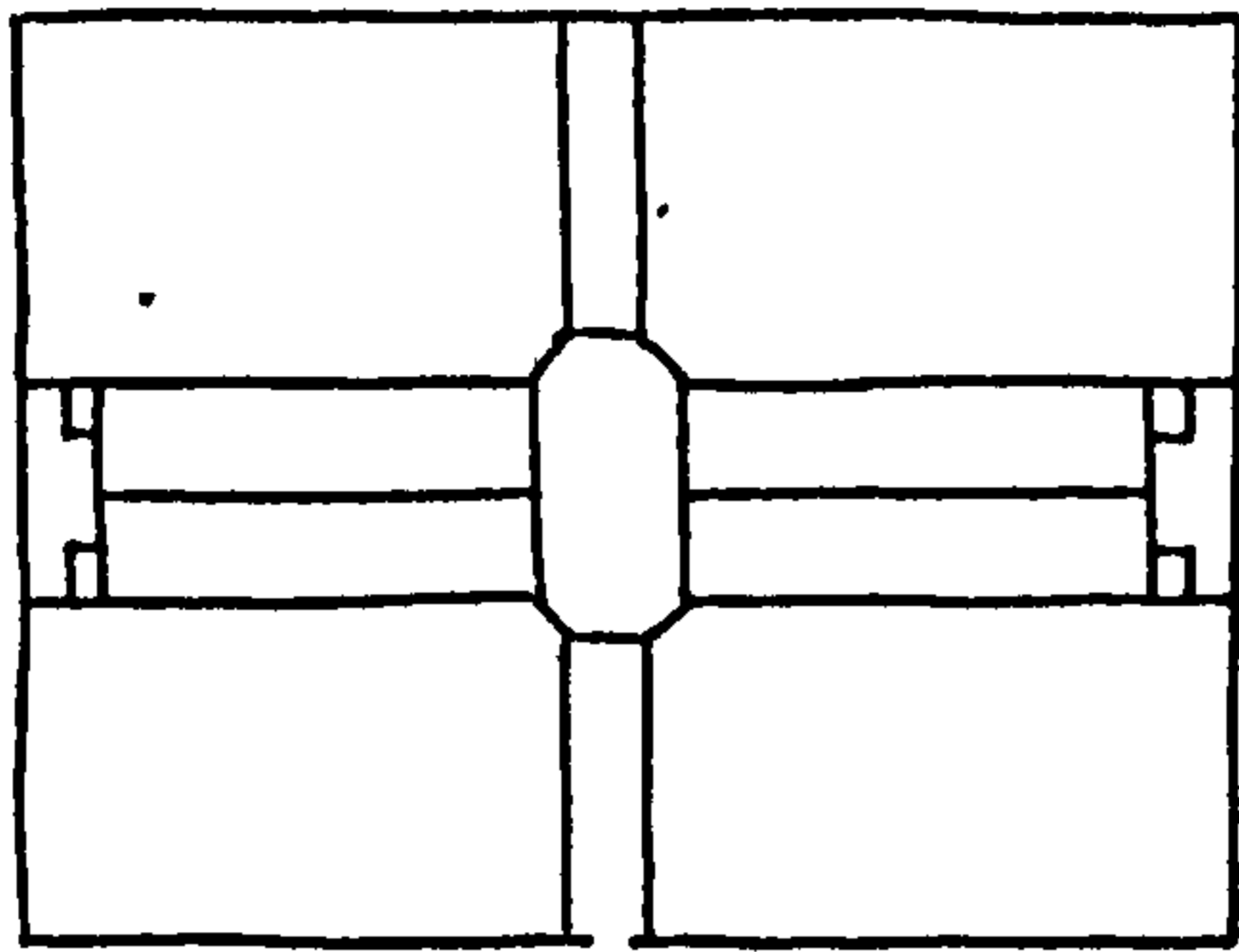


Fig. 148. County Gaol for Hampshire, Winchester, 1788. Redrawn from diagramme in SIPD Remarks page 8.

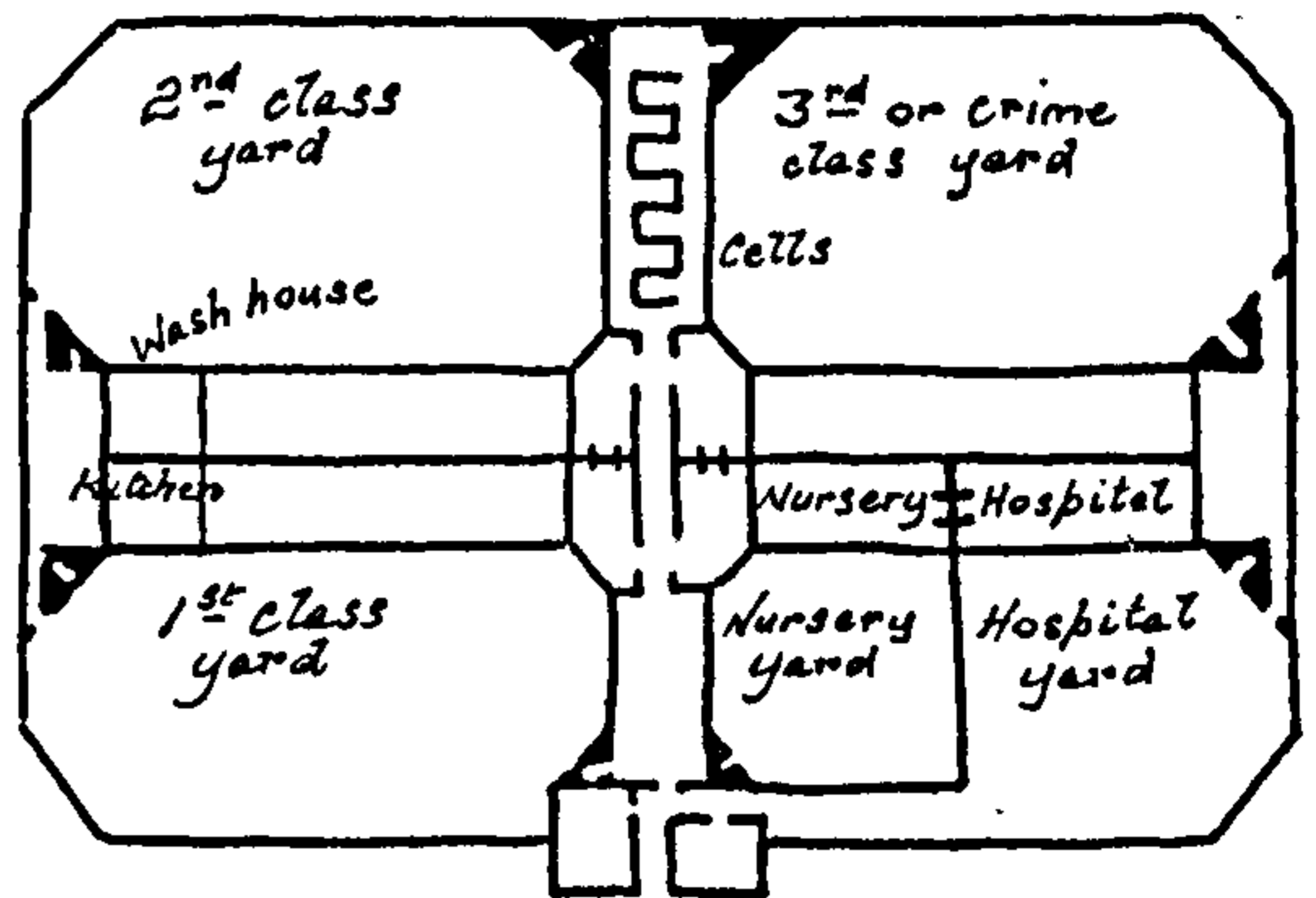


Fig. 149. Based on a 'Design for a small Female Factory calculated to contain 100 women.' Launceston Civil Eng. Off. Mar. 27th 1829. A/TAS 290/816

Cascade Factory. See Fig. 98. Archer's solution was to divide the 4th Yard and range into a hospital and nursery.

Arthur abandoned this design in favour of a more economical one upon the principle of encircling (rather than radiating) buildings, which had been so warmly defended by George Holford the previous year.* As was his want, His Excellency invited his Executive Council to advise him whether 'a small factory capable of containing 70 women according to a design which had been prepared by the Colonial Architect, and which was estimated to cost £2,000, should be built by contract.'* The Council, conditioned, like Pavlov's dogs, to the appropriate response, 'strongly advised, as a measure of urgent and indispensable necessity, that a factory should be erected by contract according to the plan proposed.'*

Holford Millbank
1828 371-4

VDL ECM 11.11.1829
CO282.2 f114

Ibid. f117

This latest Archer design was composed of 4 two-storey ranges tightly enclosing a quadrangular court. A perimeter wall was unnecessary, 'as the buildings themselves performed this function by turning their windowless backs to the world. To help with the resulting ventilation problem Archer placed 2 roof ventilators in each dormitory, and designed unusually wide barred windows overlooking the yard. He also left one

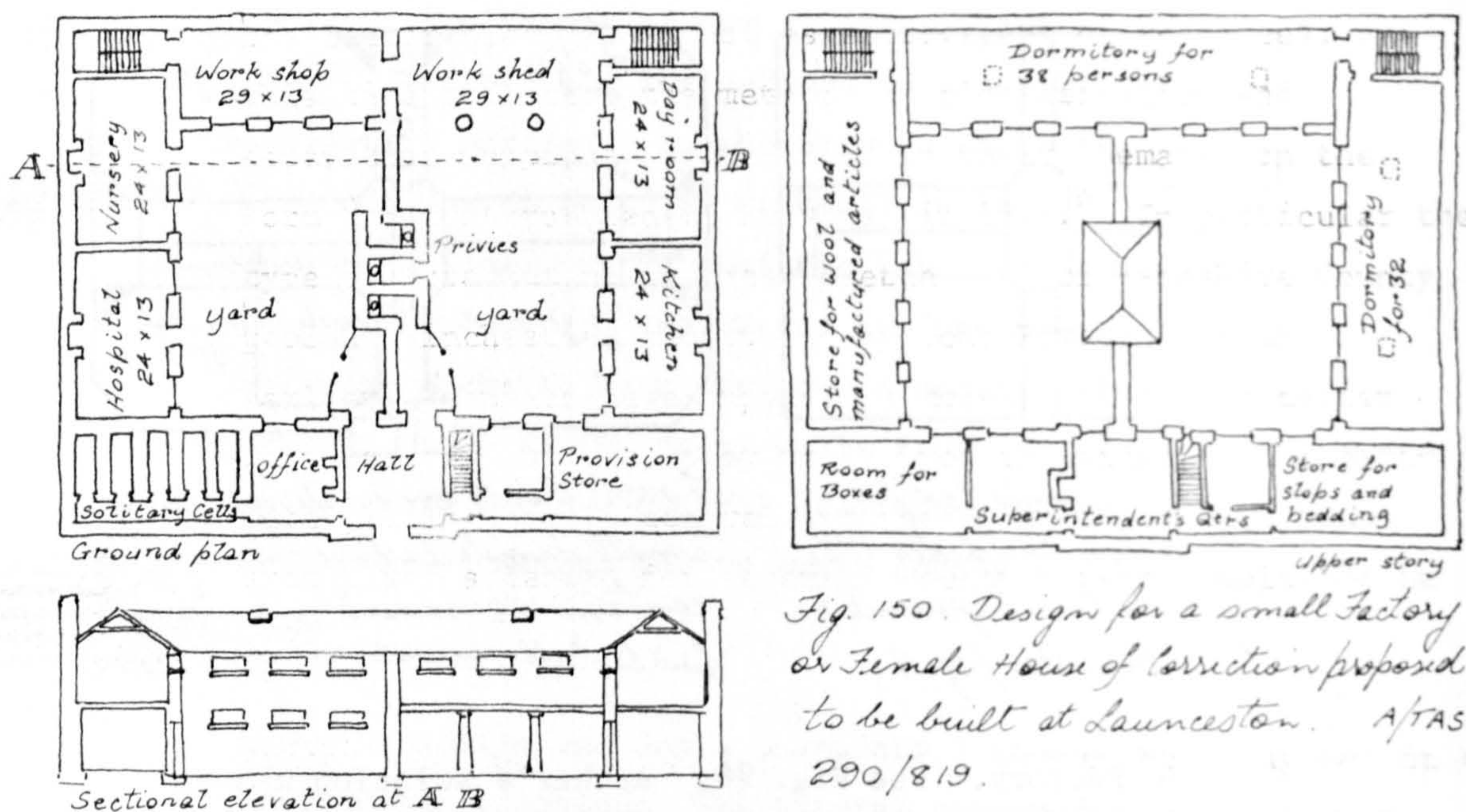


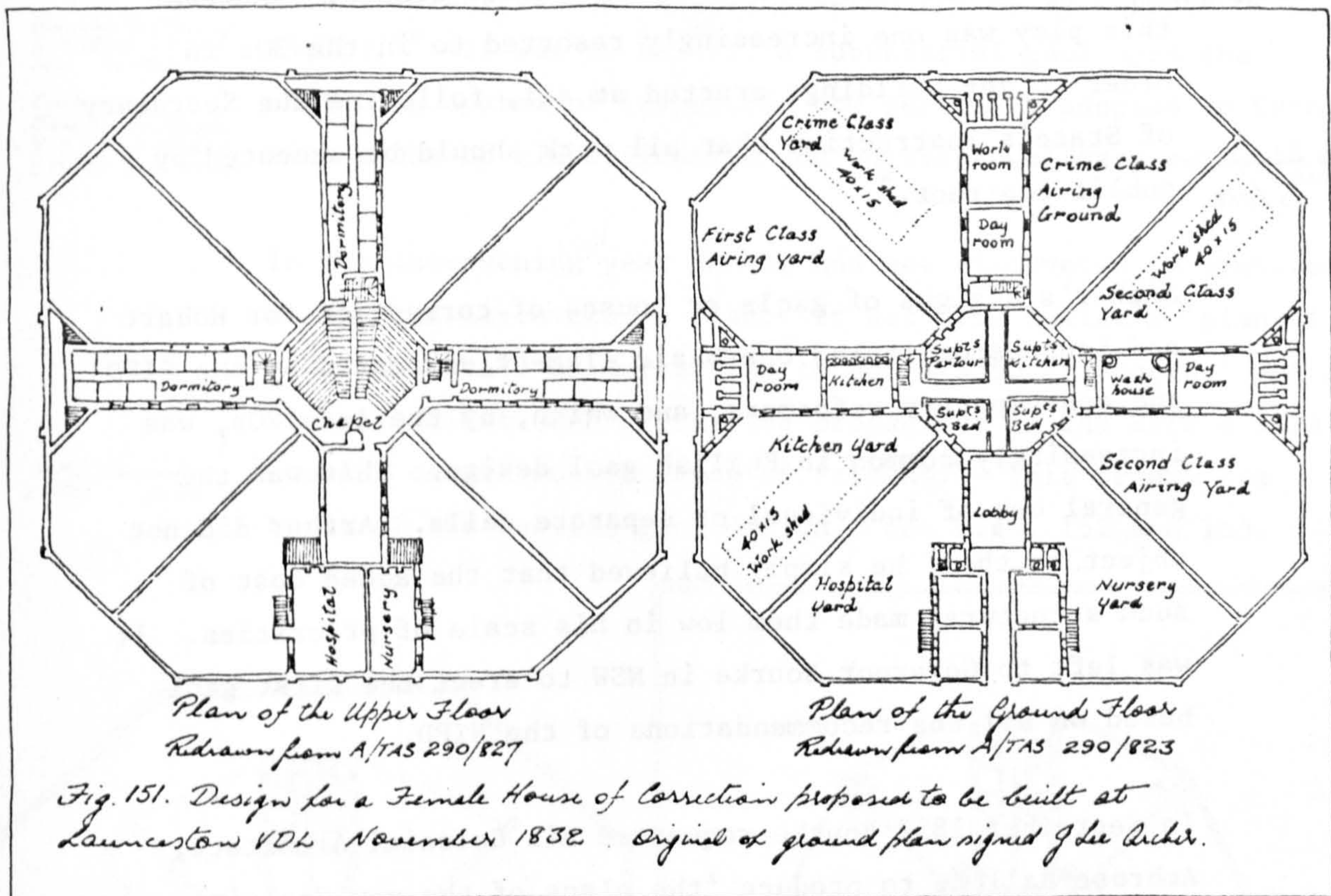
Fig. 150. Design for a small Factory or Female House of Correction proposed to be built at Launceston. A/TAS 290/819.

workshop entirely open to the court and supported the dormitory above on 2 stout Tuscan columns. In this reduced scheme only 2 classes could be effectively separated, the inmates of the hospital and nursery on the one hand and the women prisoners in general on the other, however 5 solitary cells were provided for the recalcitrant. See Fig. 150.

VDL ECM 21.1.1833
CO282.5 f177

This plan was not built either, and the design which finally went to tender in 1832* was actually of a 2 storey cruciform building set in an octagonal perimeter wall with radial separation walls between the arms. See Fig. 151.

As a design it was unlike Archer's cruciform predecessors in VDL in that it abandoned the longitudinal dividing walls in the accommodation wings, and the separation of the different classes was improved over the projected Hobart gaol by the introduction of separate staircases in each wing. The 6 divisions were identical to those at the Cascade House of Correction; that is, 3 classes of prisoners and a hospital, nursery and kitchen area. Each 2nd floor dormitory was fitted with the customary double tier of bed platforms against the



wall, and at the end of each, sandwiched between the privies, were 4 solitary cells - 12 in all. These may have made a pleasing and symmetrical plan on paper but were inadequate and awkwardly placed in a House of Correction to hold 200 females.

VDL ECM 21.1.1833
CO282.5 f77

Ibid. f79
Arthur to Goderich
25.5.1833 No 3
CO280.41 f205

Backhouse letters
IV.23.5.1837 p47

The tenders received for the job proved too high to be accepted,* and in January 1833 the building was retendered, but this time the contractor was offered a loan of half the contract price on commencement and 34 mechanics and labourers from the government.* John Brown's tender for £5,280 was certified as fair by Archer and duly accepted.* By May 1837 James Backhouse had noted that the 'new penitentiary for Females' at Launceston was already occupied.*

Arthur described the operation as a real 'job' for the

Arthur to Godrich
25.5.1833 N^o 3
CO 280.41 f205

contractor and that it would have been half the price if performed by the government with convict labour.* However this ploy was one increasingly resorted to in the 30s in order to get buildings erected at all, following the Secretary of State's instruction that all work should be executed by public contract.*

Arthur to Howick
18.2.1832
CO 280.33 f368
at req.

Archer's designs of gaols or houses of correction for Hobart and Launceston lacked one basic element advocated by the SIPD and contemporary reformers, and which, by the late 20s, was increasingly common in English gaol design. That was the general use of individual or separate cells. Arthur did not object to them, he simply believed that the added cost of such structures made them low in his scale of priorities. It was left to Governor Bourke in NSW to erect the first gaol based on all the recommendations of the SIPD.

Harrington to Hallen
25.9.1832
A/NSW 4/3883 f2

In September 1832 Bourke requested his Colonial Architect, Ambrose Hallen, to produce 'the plans of the new Gaol in Sydney as early as possible.*' The following February His Excellency further requested Hallen to wait on him with a rough sketch of a gaol for Norfolk Island to contain the accommodation specified by the Commandant, Captain Morisset.* By this time Bourke had a fair idea of Hallen's capabilities and he annotated a report to the Secretary of State on the need to replace the old Sydney gaol thus: 'There is no experienced architect in the colony to whom to look with confidence for a suitable plan.*' Bourke then asked that plans, elevations, working drawings and specifications be sent out from England for a gaol to fit into the existing 400 ft square perimeter wall.* In the same month he wrote on the need for other gaols in the colony and his proposals for funding them.*

Harrington to Hallen
22.12.1833
A/NSW 4/3883 f190

NSW Report on Public
Buildings 8.2.1833
Bourke's annotations
WO 44.187 f92

Ibid.

No response to his requests had been received before he wrote again in July 1834 and announced that a gaol at Berrima 'of

a permanent nature and vastly superior to any hitherto erected in the colony... has been contracted for at an expense of £5,300.* It was to be '... a substantial gaol upon the radiating system of inspection now generally adopted in Europe, with means of classification and suitable solitary cells.*'

*Bourke to Stanley
8.7.1834 No 61
MH A1212*

*Enclosure in
Bourke to Stanley
8.7.1834 No 61
CO 201.239 f235*

In the intervening year Bourke had not discovered an architect, but he had discovered a plan. It was G.T. Bullar's 'plan of a Gaol or House of Correction to contain 50 Prisoners,' and it was set amidst some persuasive propaganda in the SIPD's 1826 booklet on the Construction of Prisons.* This became the basis of the Berrima gaol design. See Figs. 152 and 153.

*SIPD Remarks
1826 p.48*

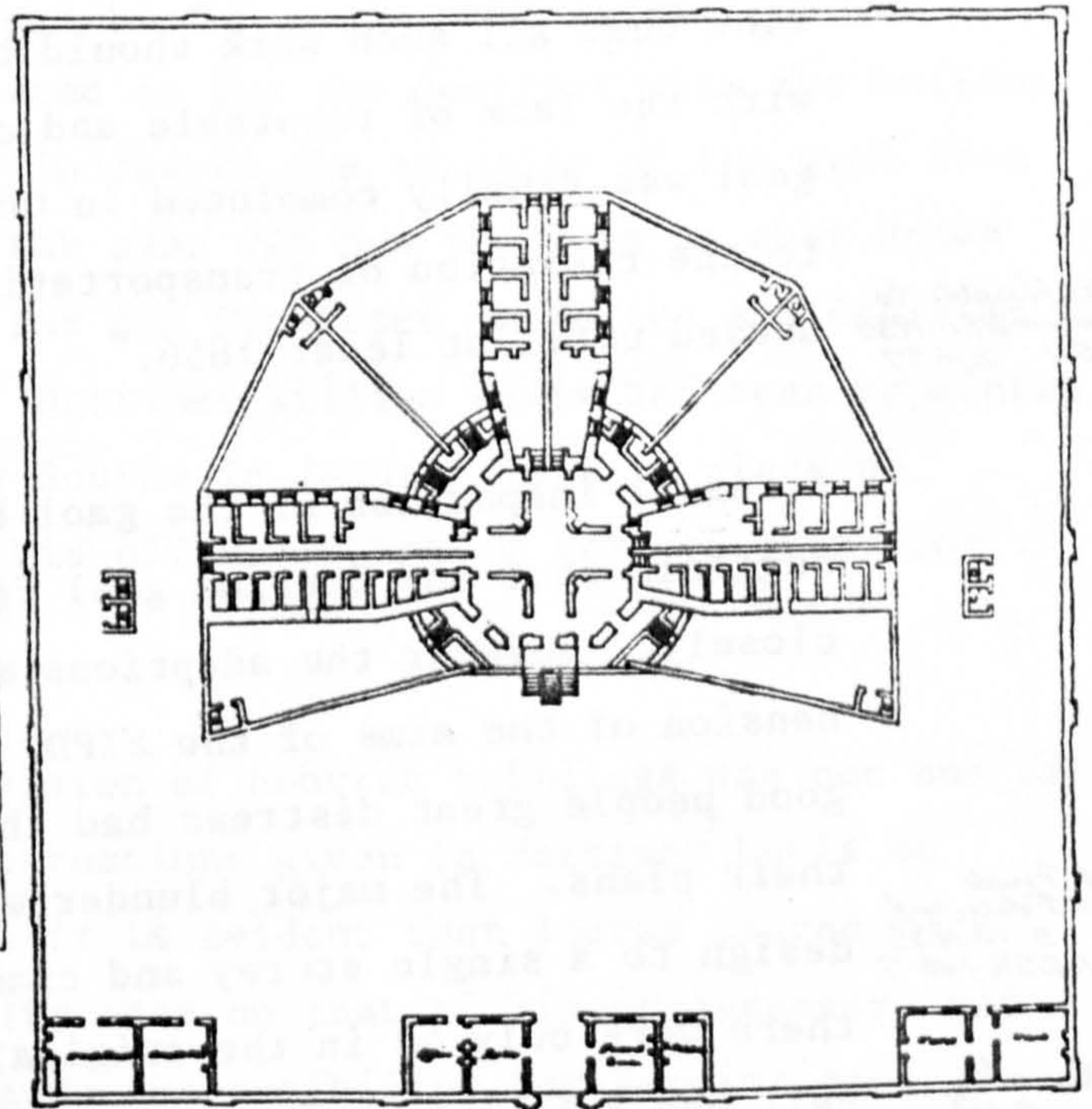
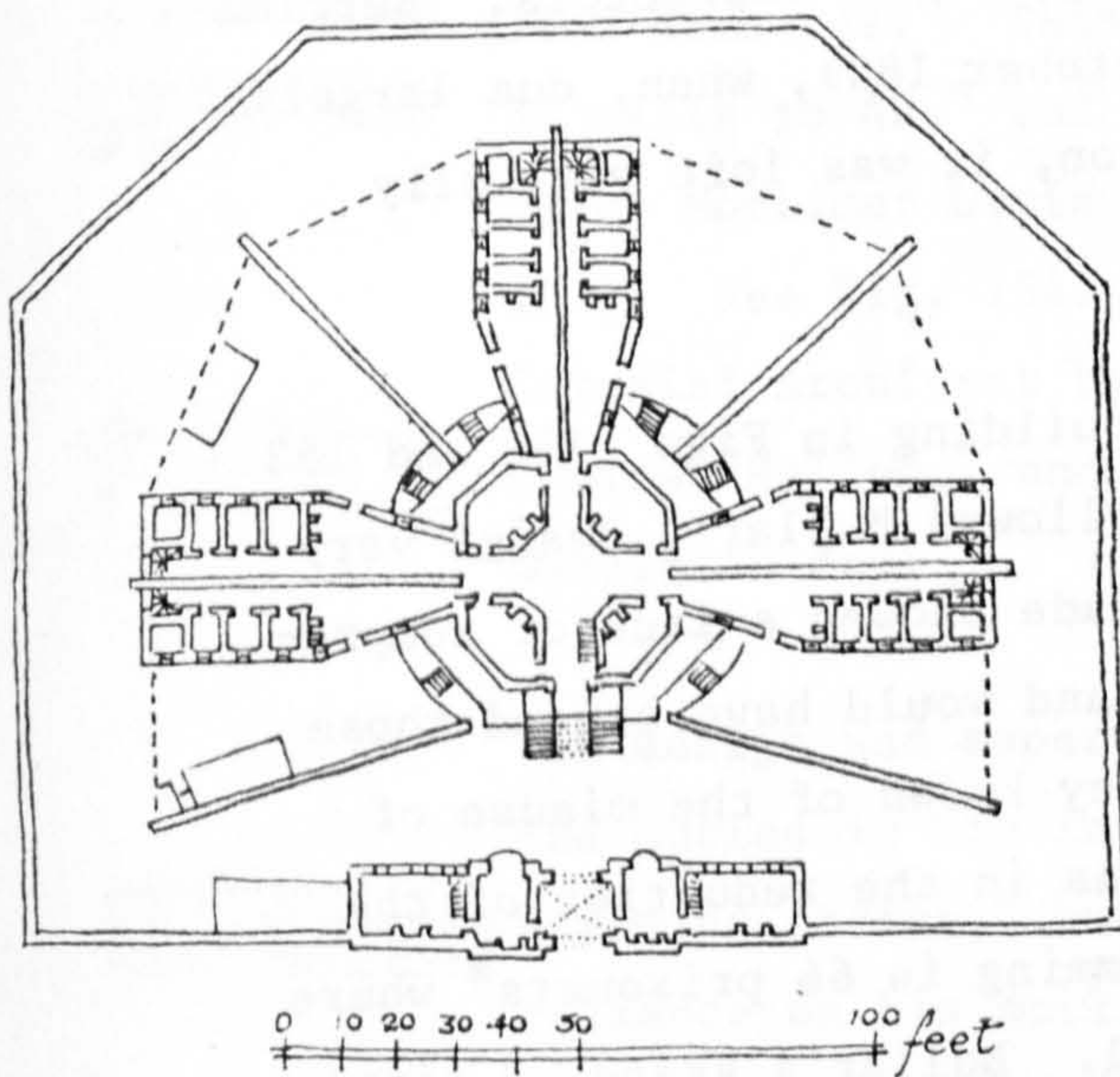


Fig. 152. Ground plan of a Gaol or House of Correction of Berrima to contain 50 prisoners. G.T. Bullar, Arch^t from SIPD Remarks p.48.

*Fig. 153 Berrima Gaol plan, Oct. 1839, amended to show intended cell plan before 1836. *Lewis Plans of gaols A/NSW X694.*

Ambrose Hallen in his role of Colonial Architect was swallowed up by the Surveyor General's department on April Fool's day 1833,* and no evidence has been found to suggest that he had anything to do with the scheme after that date. Instead Bourke used William Buchanan as a clerk of works and

*McLeay to Hallen
20.3.1833
A/NSW 4/3883*

Buchanan Memo
20.7.1835
DIXON ADD 180

project manager until January 1835.* Buchanan had drawn up the plans for Darling's convict buildings on Norfolk Island in 1827, and, during his association with Berrima gaol, was Clerk of Works to the Board of Works, which Bourke had set up in 1832 to care for convict and military buildings under the charge of the Commissary.*

Bourke to Godrich
5.2.1833 No 19
CO 201.231 f112

Unfortunately for Bourke, who had behaved with what Whitehall regarded as unseemly impetuosity in getting Berrima gaol under way, its construction was a protracted series of disasters.* Moreover this pattern was to be repeated in three of the four large country gaols to be built in NSW during the 1830s and 40s.* The major problem was the Secretary of State's instruction that all such work should be done by contract coupled with the lack of reputable and competent contractors. Berrima gaol was finally completed in October 1839, when, due largely to the cessation of transportation, it was left virtually unused until at least 1856.*

See particularly
A/NSW 4/388/4
DIXON ADD 180

See Chapter 11

Undecipherable to
Dawson 27.11.1856
A/NSW 2/637

A casual inspection of the gaol building in Figs 152 and 153 suggests that the Berrima gaol followed Bullar's design very closely. However the adaptations made showed a lack of comprehension of the aims of the SIPD, and would have caused those good people great distress had they known of the misuse of their plans. The major blunder was in the reduction of the design to a single storey and cramming in 66 prisoners* where there were only 50 in the original. Bullar's standard single cell was 8 ft x 5 ft.* At Berrima the 16 roughly equivalent cells of 7 ft x 6 ft 6 ins* were intended to hold *three* prisoners each, and the 18 solitary cells had a maximum dimension of 7 ft x 4 ft.* However, as 2 of the day rooms in the Bullar design were here divided into 4 solitary cells each, and as these cells were located in the tapering portion of the wing, the smallest pair of cells actually measured

McLay Final
Report Police and
Gaols 9.10.1835
CO 201.252 f46-7

SIPD Remarks
1826 p.49

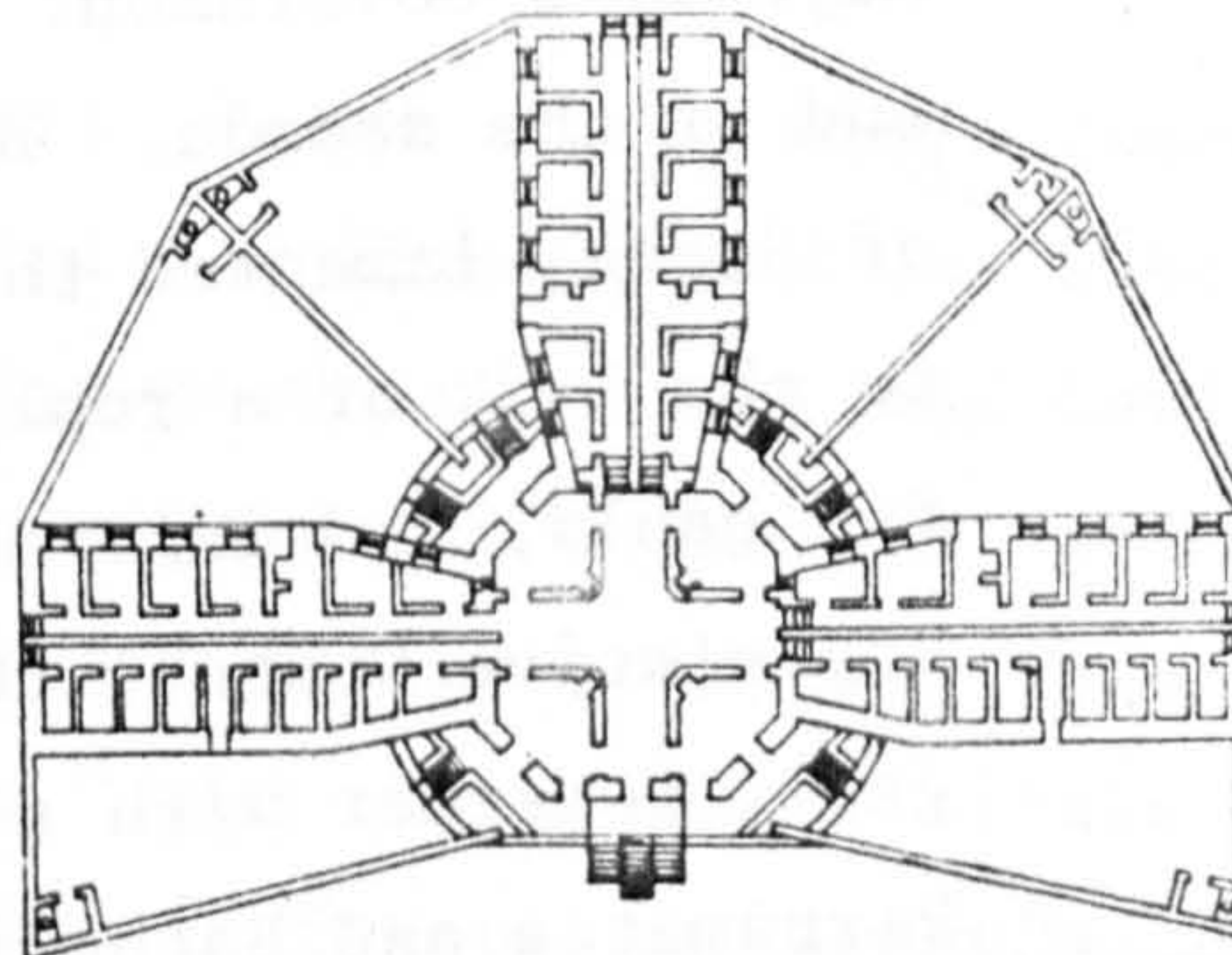
Berrima Gaol
Drainage Plan
DCS

Ibid. and
Colao Memo 1865
A/NSW 2/637

Royal Commission
on Berrima Gaol 1878
ML 2991/N pp25-6

4 ft 1 ins by an average of 5 ft 8 ins.*

Fig. 154. Berrima Gaol, detail
of plan prepared, for the
Committee on Police and Gaols,
under the direction of M. W.
Lewis, October 1839.
Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW
X 694.



In November 1836, while not much past the foundation stage, the plan for each of the remaining 4 day rooms was divided into cells and a passage to the yard. The alteration was conveniently incorporated in the new contract with the builder John Richards.* This increased the capacity of the gaol from 34 cells to 42,* and the plan was now the same as that drawn up by Mortimer Lewis for the Committee on Police and Gaols in 1839. See Fig. 154. Mortimer William Lewis had been appointed Colonial Architect by Bourke in January 1835 in place of Ambrose Hallen,* and his office liberated from the Surveyor General's dep^t.

McLay to Lewis
23. VII. 1836 A/NSW
4/3884 p. 143

NSW Report Police
and Gaols 1839
p. 86

Bourke to Spring
Rice 5. 1. 1835 (N^o 1
CO201.245 f3 et seq.

The design and supervision of convict buildings was not one of the duties in the Instructions given to Mortimer Lewis on assuming office,* but it is evident that Bourke placed more reliance on his ability than on that of his predecessor, and Lewis was given de facto responsibility for Berrima gaol.

Instructions to
Col. Arch^t Jan. 1835
A/NSW 4/3883 p. 347

By 1835 His Excellency was suffering from an unusual embarrassment, an excess of money in the treasury. This was the result of continued surpluses of income over expenditure.* In addition there were signs that Bourke shared, in a modest way, the delusion, not seen since Macquarie's day, that there was a need for buildings to be 'of enlarged dimensions and more imposing appearance.'* In January 1835, then, Bourke had a new architect, adequate funds, an acute shortage of

Bourke to Spring Rice
13. 1. 1835 N^o 4
CO201.245 f15

Bourke to Spring Rice
5. 1. 1835 N^o 1
CO201.245 f3 et seq.

gaol accommodation and no serious reason to suppose that His Majesty's Government would cease transportation to NSW by the end of the decade. Bourke therefore wrote to the Secretary of State, lamented the ruinous state of Sydney gaol, adverted to the lack of a reply to his February 1833 letter on the need for gaols, and informed him that he would propose to the Legislative Council the immediate erection of the new Sydney gaol, together with smaller ones of a similar character at Parramatta and Bathurst as well as a new Lunatic Asylum; all to be funded by the Colony.*

Bourke to Spring Rice
13.1.1835 N4
CO201.245 f16-17

On Bourke's instruction Lewis prepared designs and specifications for the Sydney and Parramatta gaols based, like Berrima, on a combination of 3 man rooms and solitary cells.* The plans were completed in July 1835, when they were endorsed by the Committee on Police and Gaols with the recommendation that 'the privies and washing places be removed from the extremities of the main buildings.'*

McLay Report
Police and Gaols
1835
CO201.252 f23

Ibid.

Meanwhile in England Bourke's February 1833 request for a branch of the Ordnance in the Colony was bearing tardy fruit, and in April 1835 the Master General of Fortifications approved the appointment of Captain George Barney as Commanding Royal Engineer at Sydney,* and at about the same time made a like appointment of Captain Roger Kelsall to Hobart. The following month the Treasury agreed to Barney preparing plans and estimates for the new gaol at Sydney.* In preparation Barney perused the reports of the NSW Board of Works* which included Bourke's general brief for the proposed Sydney gaol, and obtained permission to 'visit the gaols in and near London,' including the General Penitentiary at Millbank.*

Mulcaster Memo
18.4.1835
WO44.187 f222

Ordnance Correspondence
Precis Aug. 1835
WO44.187 f10

Ibid. f12

Ibid. f11

Barney arrived in Sydney in December 1835, and the following month a gang commenced raising and dressing stone for the new gaol.* Construction was supervised by the Colonial Architect as the project was funded from the Colonial Treasury. Lewis'

McLay to Lewis
9.1.1836 A/NSW
4/3884 f12

NSW Civil Estab.
Returns A/NSW
4/3884 fir

Foreman of Works on the job was John Sharkey.*

Glenelg to Bourke
13.8.1835 No 31
ML A 1272

The plan was a radial design with 7 two storey wings detached from a central observation point and chapel, and was subsequently published above the signatures of Barney and Lewis. See Fig. 157. However Glenelg's despatch to Bourke had made it clear that the Royal Engineer's design proposals were to be preferred to any colonial plan,* and there can be little doubt that Lewis' design was abandoned in favour of Barney's. Nor does the published plan show any obvious signs of adaption for local conditions.

Crawford Report 1834

Two influences contributed to Barney's plan; the major one was the work of the SIPD and the minor was the American Separate System Penitentiaries designed by John Haviland. The latter was brought to the attention of the English penal authorities and reformers by the publication of W^m Crawford's report in 1834 of his inspection of American gaols.* Crawford was impressed by the Separate System penitentiaries, though he believed that in the short term such large cellular structures would be too expensive for general adoption in England. Nevertheless his recommendations, plans, and model of the Eastern Penitentiary Philadelphia provoked animated discussion in the Home and Colonial Office at the time Barney was preparing his plans.

It is not surprising then to find in Barney's design, with its variable length radial wings and circular terminations, some of the physical aspects of the Haviland penitentiaries (compare Figs 155 and 157). Despite this, the plan was arranged to a complete SIPD system of classification, with longitudinal walls in the passages and separate yards (compare Figs 156 and 157). Such paraphernalia would have been unnecessary under the Separate System where prisoners did not leave their cells. This meant that the Sydney gaol design of

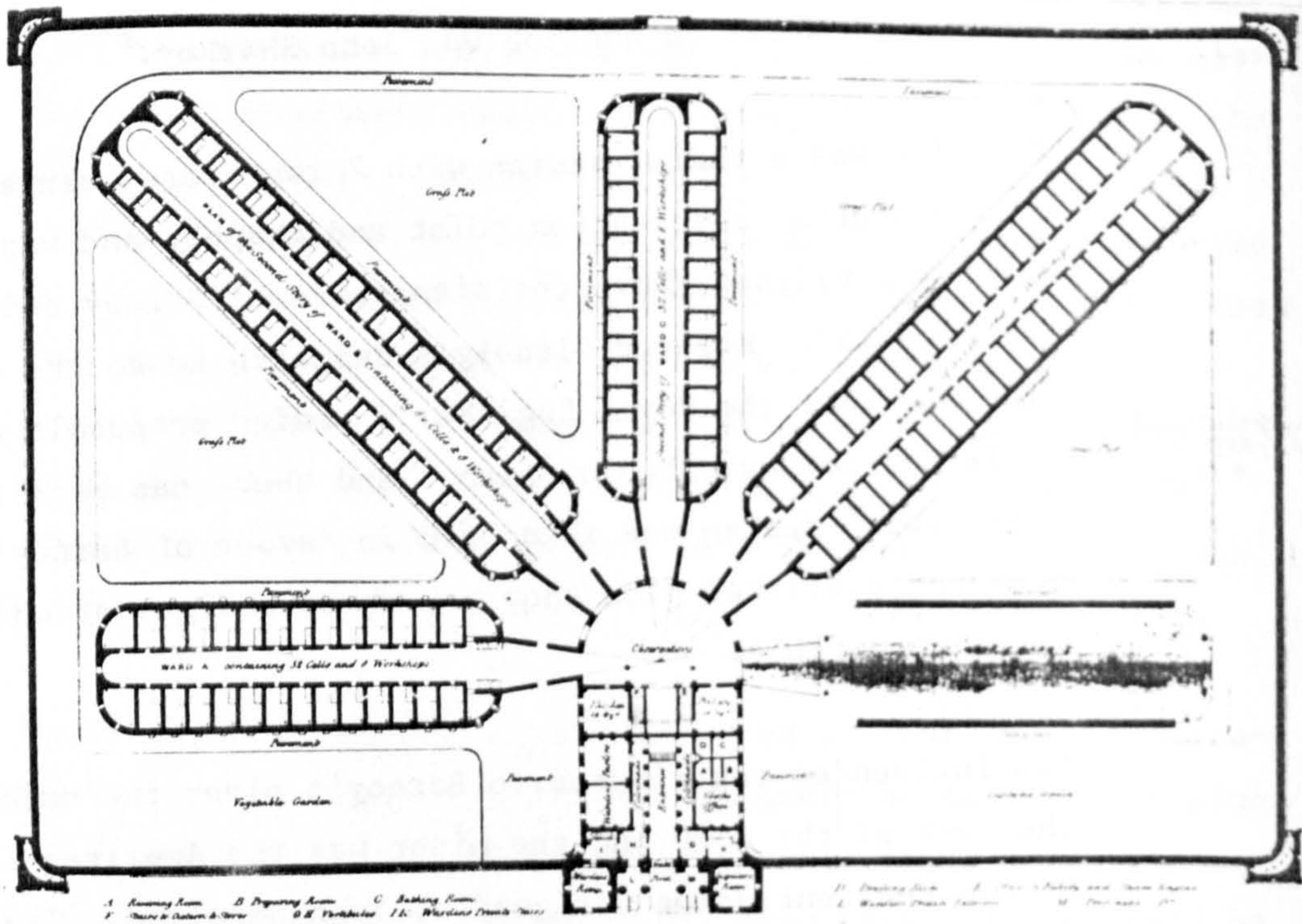


Fig. 155. Plan of the New Jersey State Penitentiary now erecting
 by John Haviland Arch^t Philadelphia Jan^y 1834 From Crawford
 Report. p 48

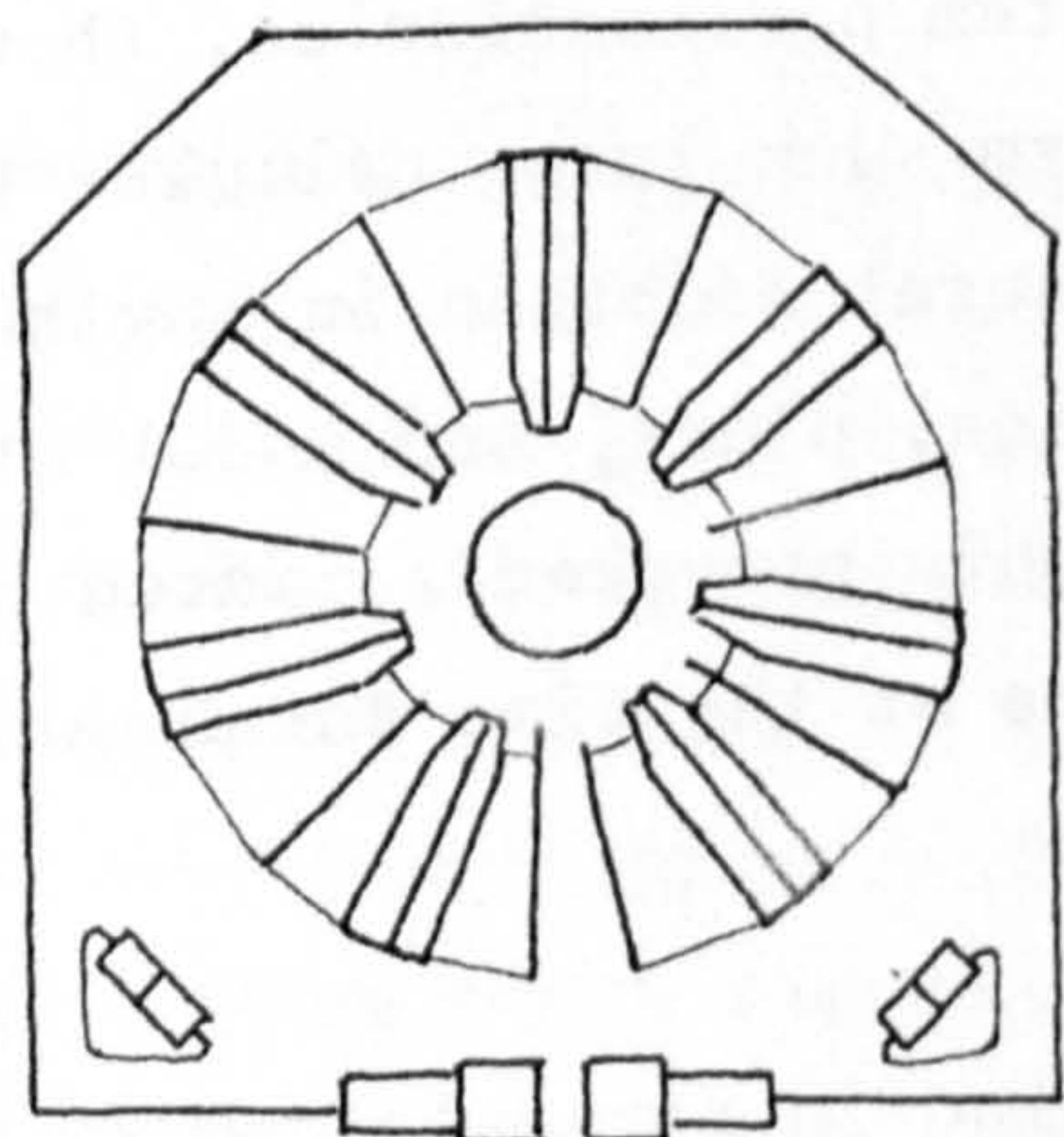


Fig. 156. A County Gaol and
 House of Correction to
 accommodate 300
 prisoners. From SIPD
 Remarks 1826 page 56:

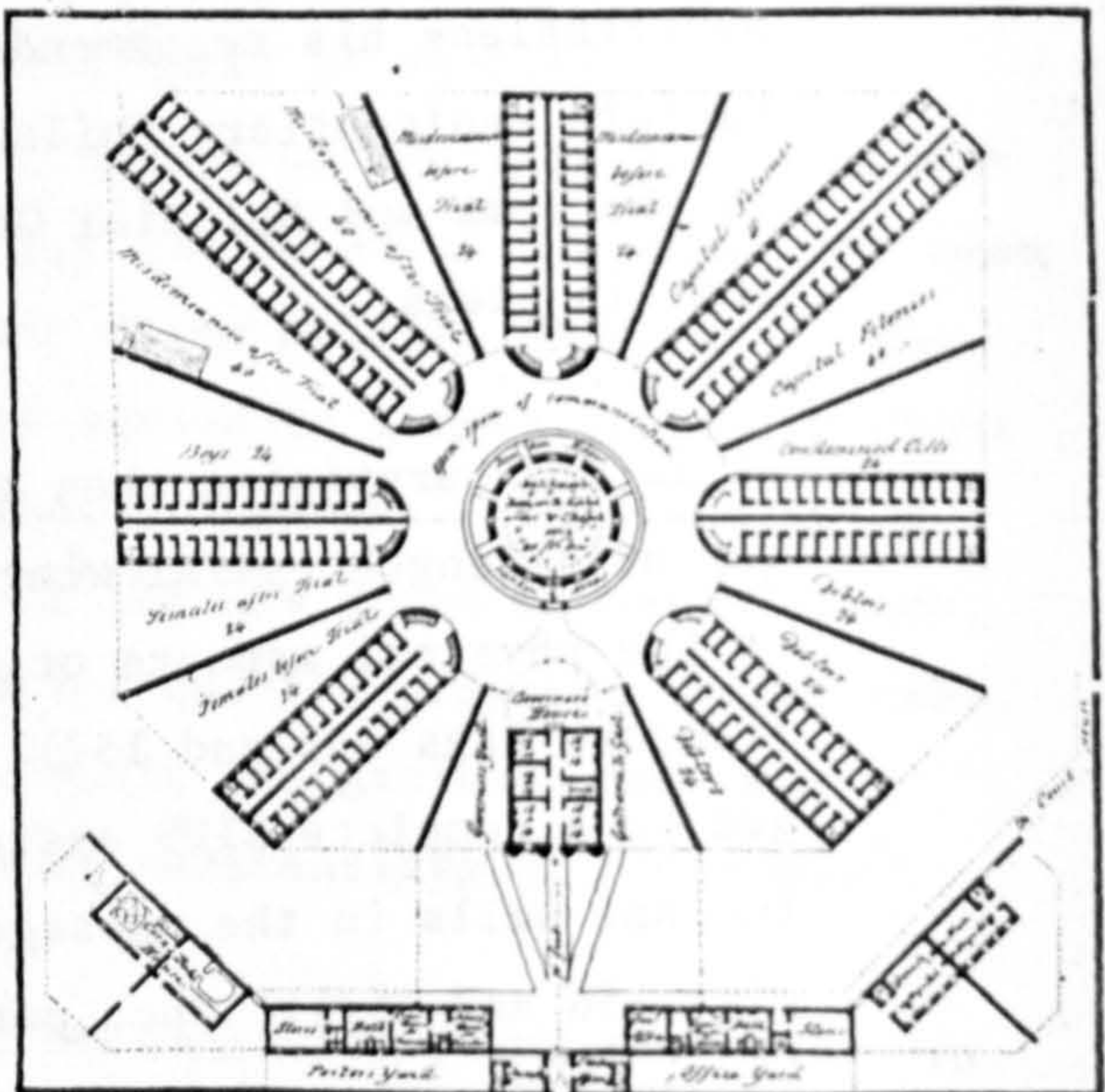
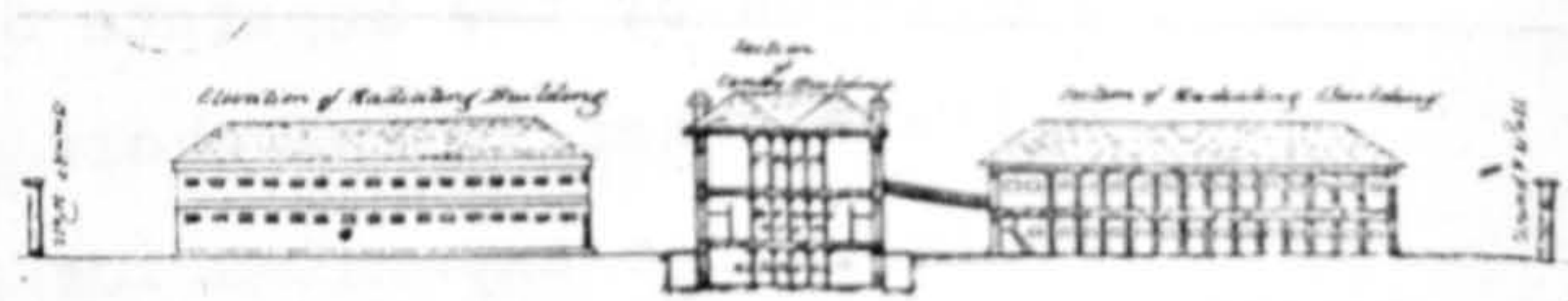
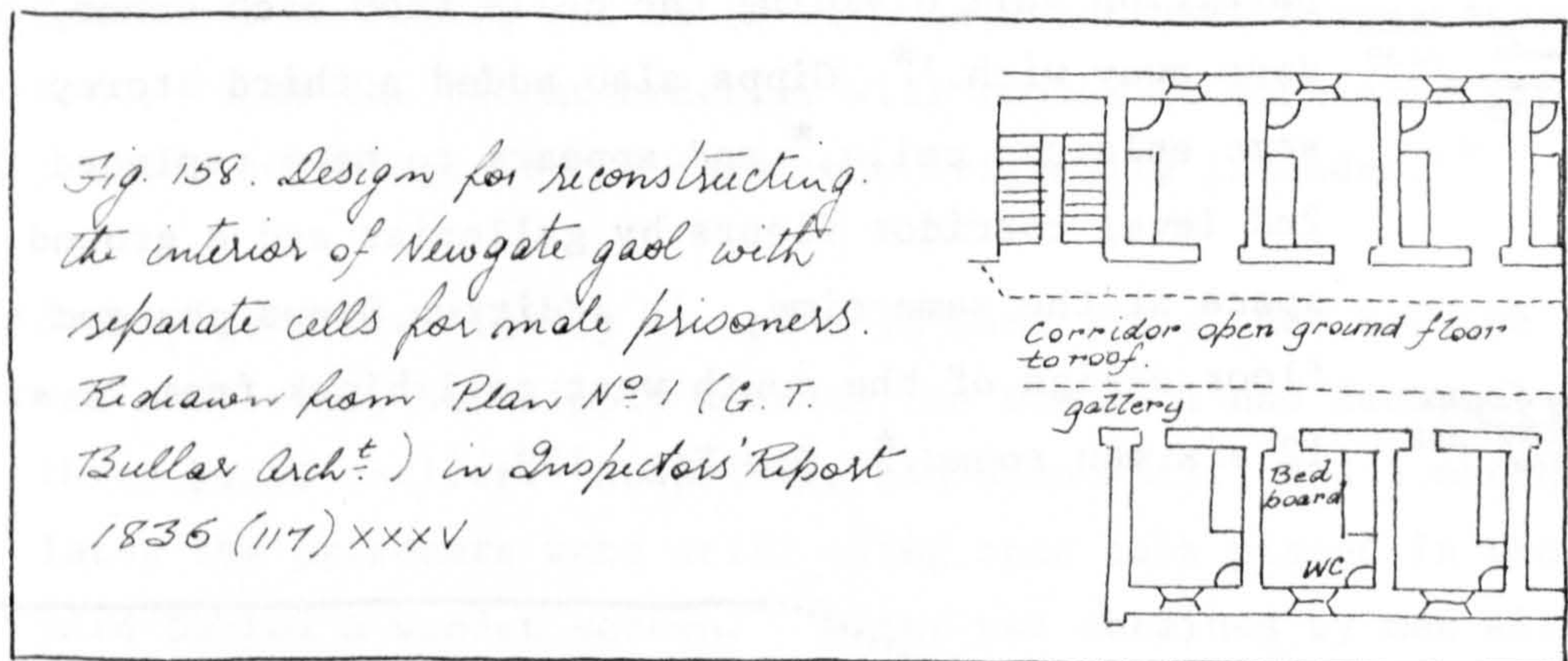


Fig. 157. Plan of the New Gaol for Sydney.
 [1836] Signed Geo Barney Cap^t R E Mortimer
 Wm Lewis Col. Arch^t Sydney Tech. Coll. Library.

Sydney Gazette
5.3.1839 p.2
PLNSW

1836 in its essential function, was of the 1826 SIPD type, rather than, as the Sydney Gazette reported in 1839, 'a copy of that celebrated Prison in the State of Pennsylvania...'*



Inspectors' Report
1836 Plan 3.

In 1836 William Crawford, now one of His Majesty's Inspectors' of Prisons, published in his first report a design by the SIPD secretary, Bullar, for the rebuilding of Newgate.* In the cell block the longitudinal separating walls were abandoned, and the upper floors of the corridor removed to create a central space uninterrupted from ground floor to roof. Access to the cells was by galleries. See Fig. 158. This was the system of John Haviland, which, though not itself novel, was to be widely used in England and Australia for 3 generations.

Inspectors' Report
1837 Plates A to N

Gipps to Glenelg
13.3.1838 No 38
ML A1218

ADB. I. 446

Blackman Catalogue
1846 ML 018.2 1Pa1
Information from
Joan Kerr.

The Inspectors' 2nd Report the following year presented a complete set of plans for prisons to hold from 400 to 500 persons evolved from the Haviland gaols and the Newgate design.* Glenelg commended this report to the new Governor of NSW, Sir George Gipps, before his departure to replace Bourke.* Gipps was a Royal Engineer* with an interest in architecture* and capable of taking a decisive interest in design matters. When he arrived in Sydney in February 1838, the north west cell wing was already well underway, but he ordered alterations to bring the rest of the project more in line with the Inspectors' system,* and also more conformable to the need for economy pressed on him by Glenelg.

NSW Report Police
and Gaols 1839
Levels Evidence
11.10.1839

NSW Report Police
and Gaols 1839
Lewis Evidence
11.10.1839
Ibid.

Sydney Gazette
5/3.1839 p.2
PLNSW

In describing these alterations in October 1839, Mortimer Lewis reported that 'on the upper storey the cells have been enlarged by throwing two into one and the [longitudinal] partition wall dividing the cells from each other, has been done away with.'* Gipps also added a third storey of the same enlarged cells,* and appears to have replaced the 1st and 2nd level corridor floors by galleries and a ground to roof space at the same time. In addition Gipps changed the ground floor design of the south west cell block from 24 single to 12 six man rooms.* See Fig. 159.

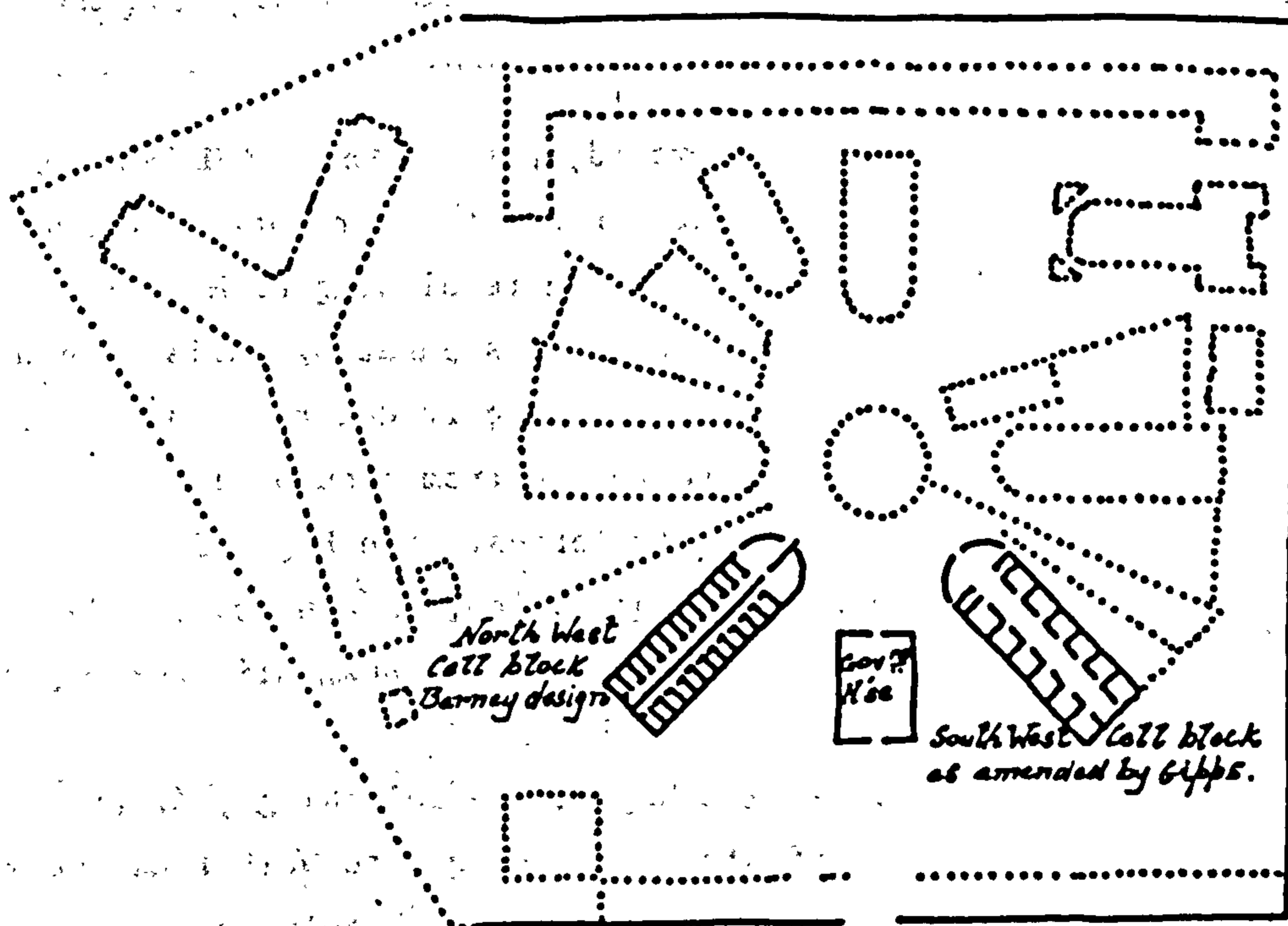


Fig. 159. Sydney Gaol Darlinghurst 1840 based on undated early C20 plan of DCS, amended to reflect Lewis evidence to Com^{tee} of Inquiry on Police and Gaols, Oct 1839. Structures built after 1840 shown by dotted line.

According to the Sydney Gazette, Gipps thereby increased the capacity of the intended gaol from about 400 to 'up to 1,100 prisoners' and changed the emphasis from single cells to 6 man rooms.* This latter development follows Gipps' decision, for reasons of economy, to restrict separate and solitary confinement to the refractory classes and those under punishment.

Ibid.

Sydney, like the other gaols building simultaneously in NSW, was overtaken by Her Majesty's Government's decision to cease transportation to NSW. 'It is hoped' reported the Committee on Police and Gaols with unintentional understatement, 'that the recent order... will render it unnecessary to provide buildings of the magnitude originally intended.'*

*NSW Report Police
and Gaols 1839
p. 86*

Sydney gaol was finally occupied in June 1841,* not because it was completed, but simply because the old gaol had decayed three years earlier. No privies had been built, and 5 months later the prisoners were still using open tubs placed in the yard behind a wooden screen.* Water was obtained by men with hand carts and stored in scuttle butts.*

*Letter to Brigade
Major 8. 6. 1841
A/NSW 4/6420*

*Letter to Col. Sec.
9. 11. 1841 A/NSW
4/6420*

Ibid.

Parramatta gaol was built at much the same time as Sydney; and went through a very similar design, adaption and construction process.* The only major difference was its smaller size. Sydney can therefore stand as a type for both.

*See A/NSW Boxes
4/3883 and 2/618A*

Two other radial prisons were under construction at the same time; Port Macquarie, NSW, and Kingston, Norfolk Island. Port Macquarie's designer and immediate antecedents are obscure, but its general block plan is related to the SIPD 1826 design for 70 or 80 prisoners,* and to the gaols being built in England in the early 1830s. Coldbath Fields of 1830-2 and Tothill Fields of 1834 are examples.*

*SIPD Remarks
1826 p 52 upper
plan.*

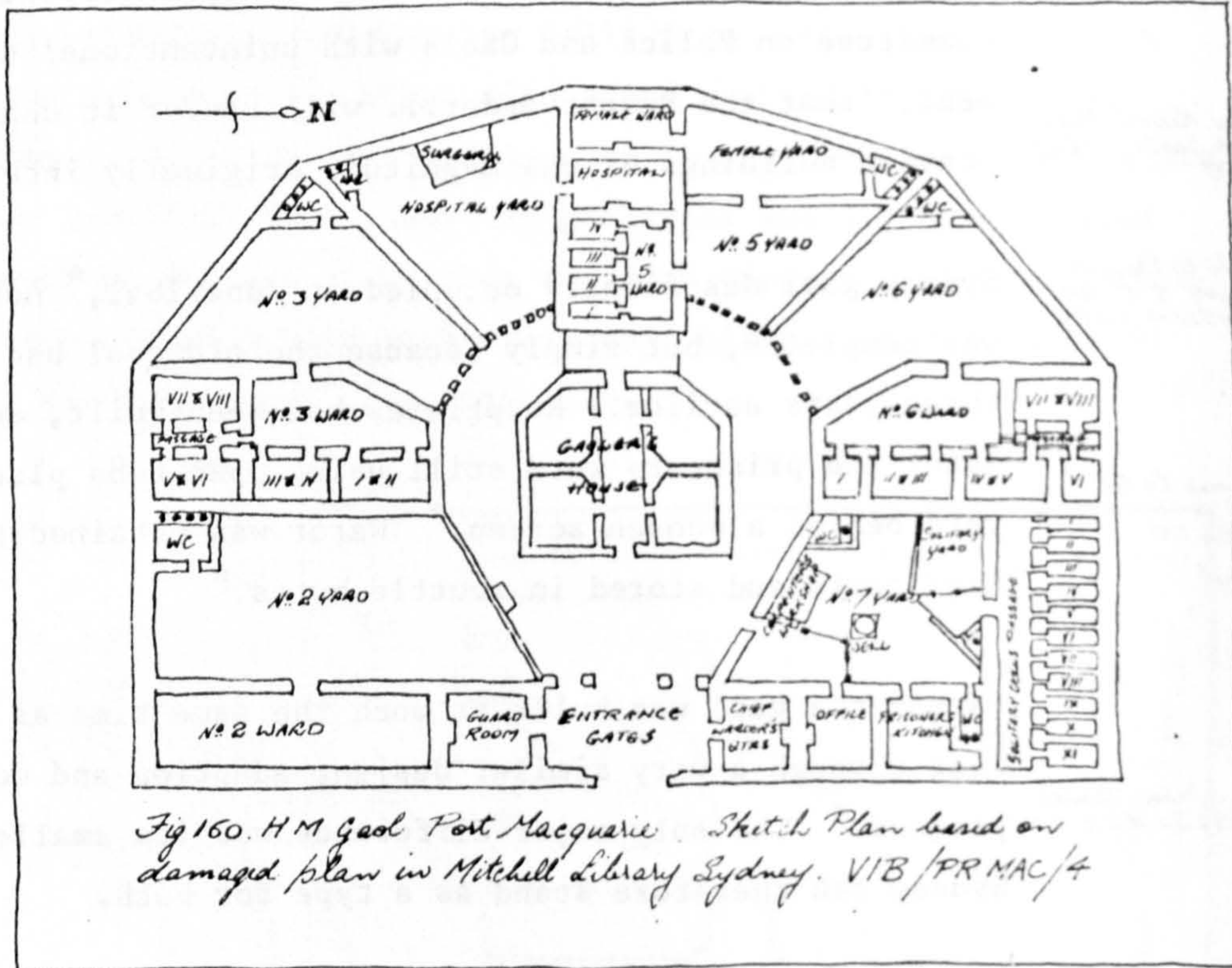
*Mayhew and Binney
London Prisons
283 and 364*

*HDHS Port
Macquarie 31*

*Dixon Black
note books
DIXON 495B*

The obvious difference resulted from the attempt to cram up to 120 prisoners* into a single storey building of somewhat smaller scale. The late Sir W^m Dixon records the overall dimensions of the wings to be 7 paces x 16, or, according to his computation, 17 ft 6 ins x 40 ft.* As it was a brick built prison of unduly massive construction with 3 ft walls, an SIPD cellular system was impossible even if desired. Instead the wings contained a combination of rooms and cells opening on to wards or a short passage. Each wing in turn

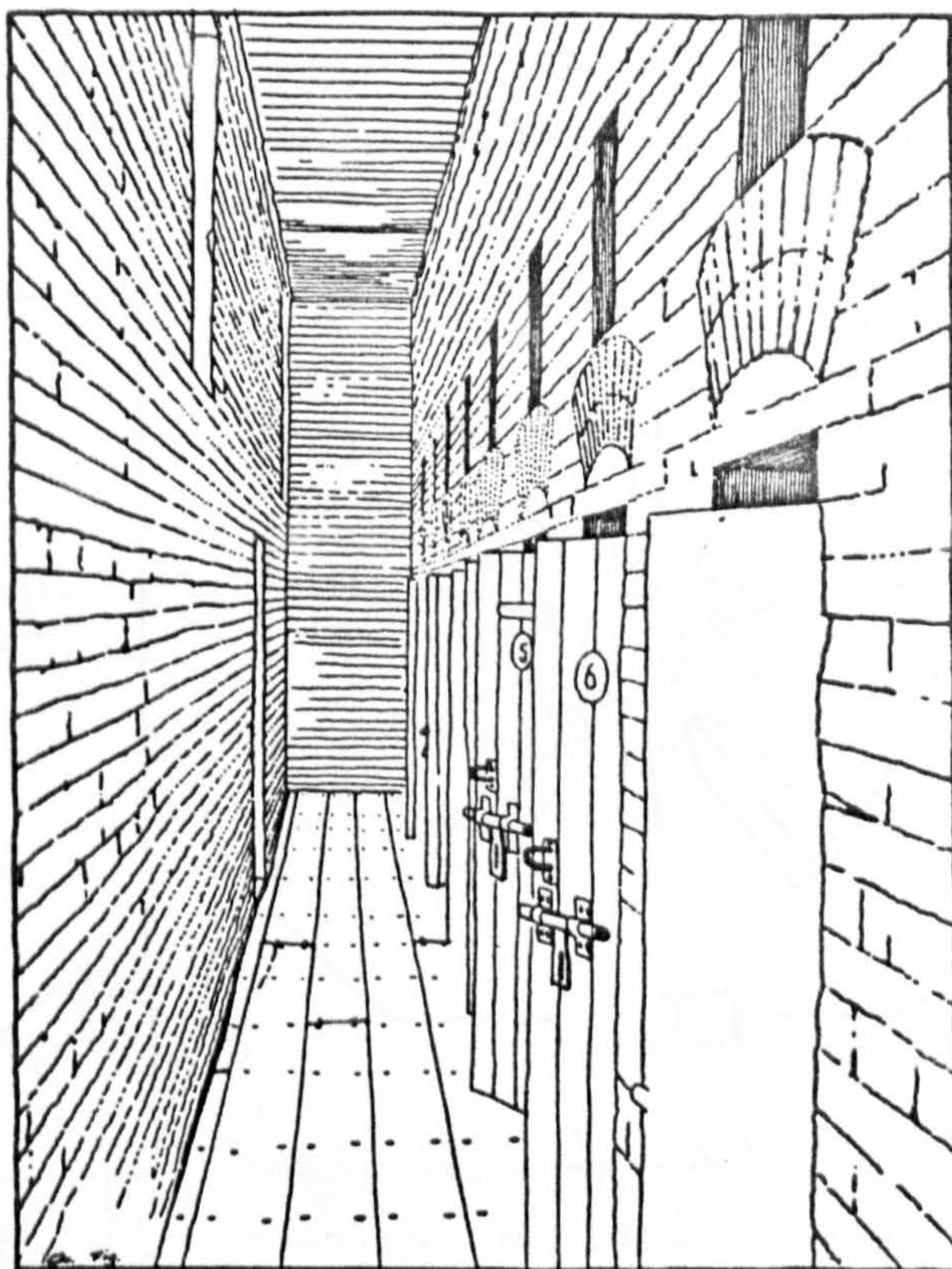
opened on to its yard and turned its blank back onto its neighbours' yard. See Fig. 160. In addition there was a



large ward in the front range and a solitary cell block. The latter, despite being asymmetrical, must have been part of the original build, as the gaol, though finished by 1840, was not proclaimed until 1859 and thereafter had only desultory and partial use.

The solitary cells were of strange dimensions, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ft wide by 12 ft long. The latter dimension is the only one on Dixon's sketch to be expressed in feet,* which suggests that he found it sufficiently unusual to warrant measuring. The height, too, was inordinate. An original photo shows 56 courses of brickwork from floor to ceiling, so it could not be less than 14 ft. See Fig. 161. All this indicates that the design was not drawn up by the recently arrived Royal Engineers, but was a provincial adaption of an English model.

*Dixon Black
note book
DIXON ADD. 495B*



*Fig 161. Port Macquarie North East Range Solitary Cell Passage
Looking West. Redrawn from full plate glass negative in
the possession of the Identification Section Long Bay Gaol.*

The Kingston gaol on the other hand was almost certainly designed by Barney, or his subaltern, L^t Henry Lugard, immediately after their arrival in December 1835. Governor Bourke had supplied the Commandant, Morisset, with a plan for a gaol in September 1833.* Whether this was the one he had requested Ambrose Hallen to prepare,* or whether it shared a design source with Berrima is uncertain. However, it was not built, and the design under construction in 1836 and 7 was too sophisticated and original to have been prepared by anyone working in NSW in 1833.

*Col. Sec. to Morisset
3.9.1833 A/NSW
4/3882, quoted by
Saunders in
Norfolk Island gaols*

*Harrington to Hallen
22.2.1833 A/NSW
4/3883 f190*

The available evidence suggests it was a design without a specific forerunner, though its individual elements would have been known to Barney in 1835. As regards classification it was identical to the 1826 SIPD five wing radial design which provided 10 separate departments. See Fig. 162. This system was rearranged with simple logic in a pentagonal perimeter (Fig. 163), which Barney would have seen on his visit to

Ordnance Correspondence
Precis August 1835
W044.187 f11

Millbank.* However, instead of the usual SIPD type of cell wing plan, the designer chose the cheapest and simplest form

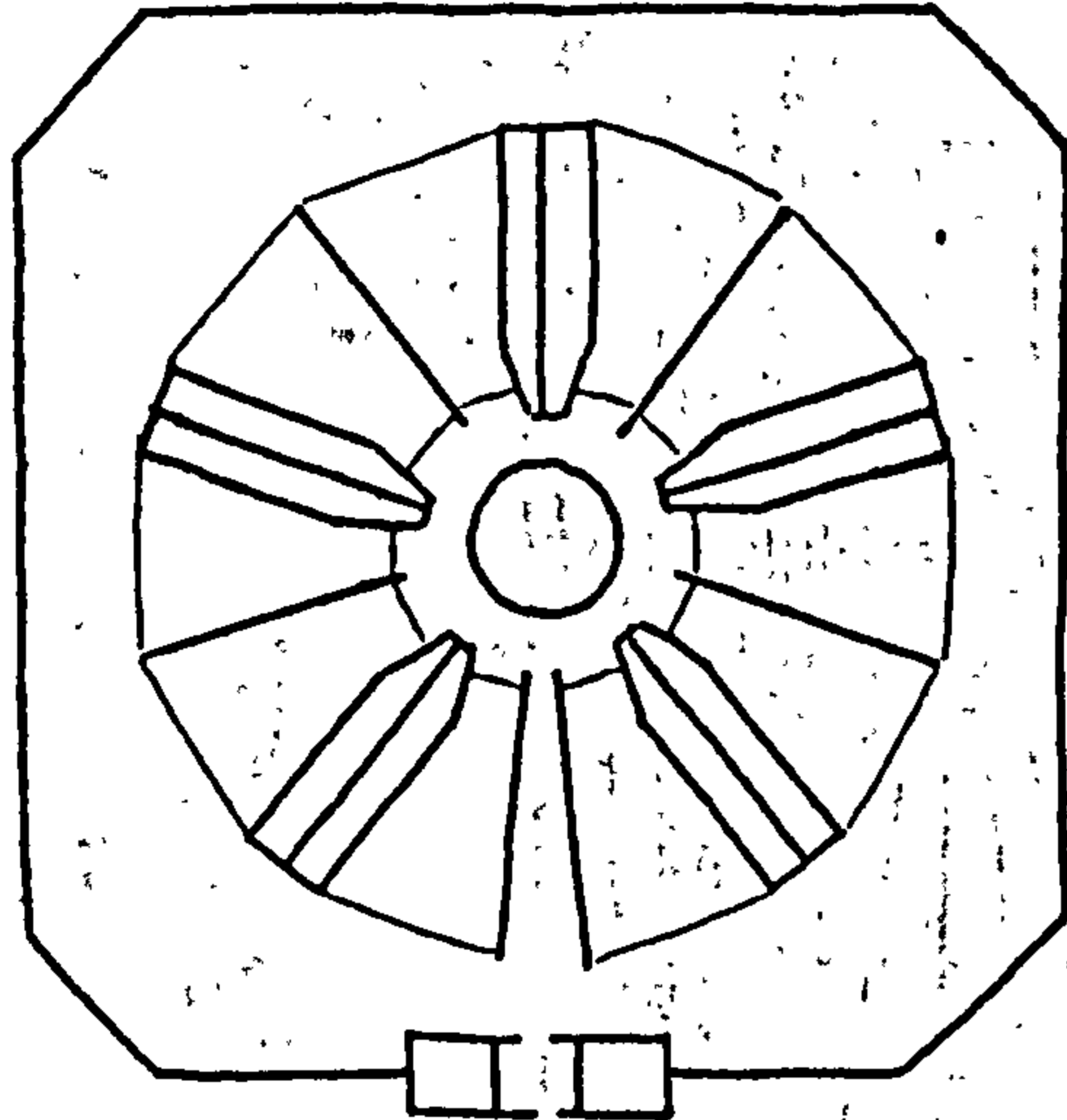


Fig. 162. Plan for a County gaol or House of Correction to contain 200 prisoners: the several wing buildings being 3 stories high. SIPD Remarks 1826 p.53

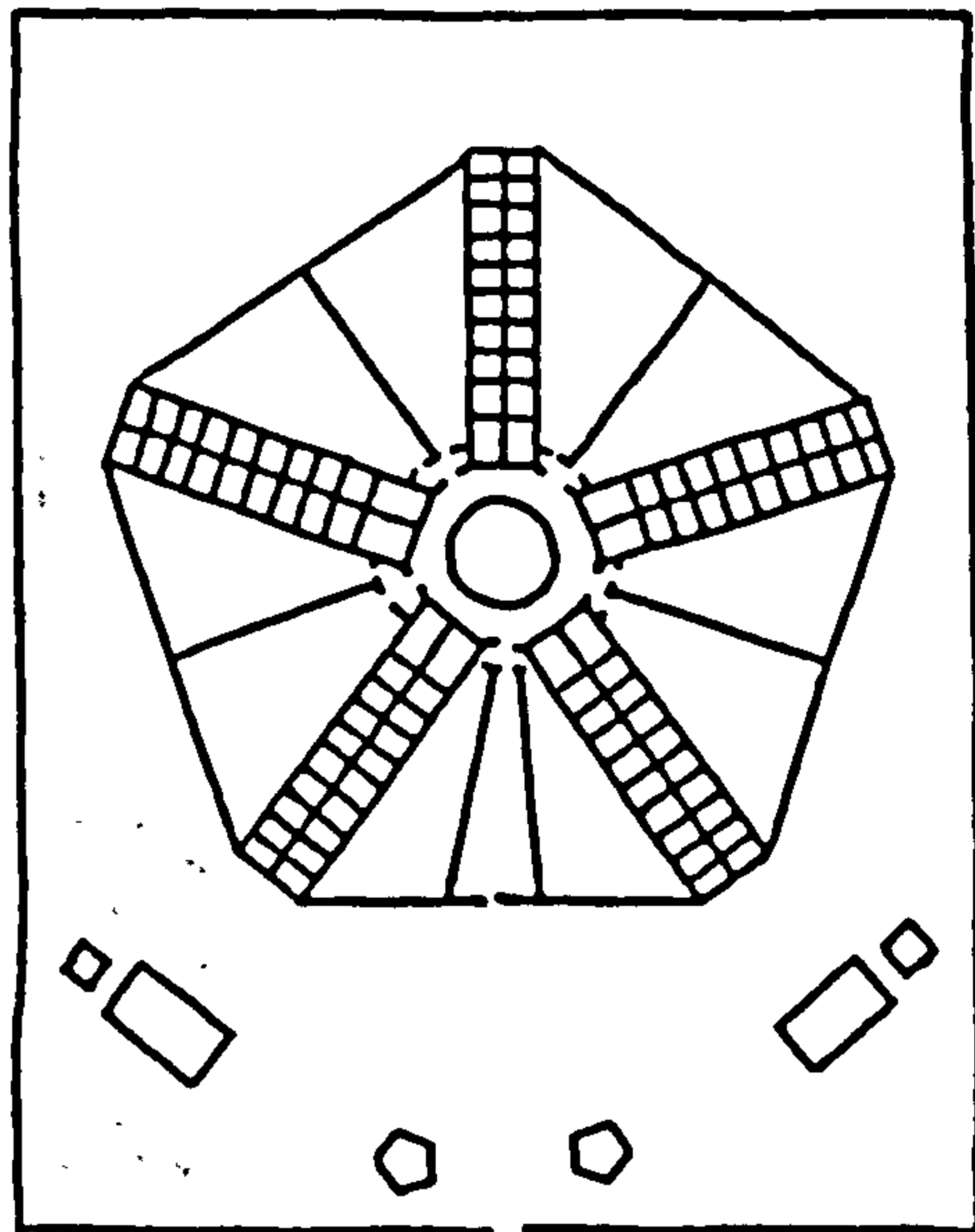


Fig. 163 Proposed new gaol Norfolk Island H.W. Luard Lt. R. Eng. Jan 31st 1839. A/TAS 378/10

of single storey cell construction - back to backs. This form had been given recent publicity in Crawford's report* with which Barney was certainly familiar. There were also two lesser known SIPD precedents, Bevan's radial design for a gaol for 600 prisoners published September 1819,* and the plan of a House of Correction for 60 prisoners published 1820.*

The cells in all these northern hemisphere designs were served by a perimeter corridor, however this was not necessary in the comparatively mild climate of Norfolk Island.

The first campaign on the gaol was in 1836-7* and was the responsibility of the Commanding Royal Engineer, Barney. James Ferguson was Clerk of Public Works on the Island. The specifications were completed by February 1836* and construction

Crawford Report 1834 pages 16-22

Bathurst Report on Gaols 1819 pages 159-160

SIPD Rules 1820 p.55

See W0. 55. 852

Anderson to Col. Sec. 20.9.1837 W055.852 f281

*Anderson to Col. Sec.
20. 9. 1837
WO 55. 952-279-83*

*Hampton Report
March 1848
BPP T'part 9:
1849 (1022) 197*

advanced steadily until Ferguson was dismissed by the Commandant, 'Potato Joe' Anderson, in August 1837 for insolence.* It was to be 11 years before the gaol was finished* and 5 years later still Norfolk Island was abandoned as a penal settlement.

See Chapter 13

*Deas Thomson to Childs 16. 4. 1844
BPP T'part 7:
1846 (402) 12-13*

*Deas Thomson to Childs 15. 6. 1844
BPP T'part 7:
1846 (402) 14-15*

Two of the many impediments to this creeping progress are of interest. Alexander Maconochie discontinued work on the gaol in 1840 as it did not fit in with his penal theories.* Then following his recall, Gipps in 1844 refused the new Commandants' request to be permitted to complete it,* on the grounds that only 'the description of prison recommended by the home inspectors in England... was to be adopted, with such modifications... as the climate may require.* However, the administration of Norfolk Island was transferred to VDL in September of the same year, and the gaol was completed with amendments by Lt R. G. Hamilton R.E. between 1845 and 1848.

In VDL Governor Arthur had provided a definite brief of the procedures to be operated in his penal establishments. A system of classification for both males and females had been codified, and Archer knew what was required of him. His designs were for the most part free adaptations or pastiches from English sources to fit the requirements of Arthur's system.

On the other hand Bourke in NSW seemed more interested in architectural than functional considerations, and more inclined to select a design and let his convict department fit a gaol into it, as at Berrima. He was not helped by the incompetent Ambrose Hallen, and his replacement, Mortimer Lewis, though competent, was primarily a man of fashion concerned with the exposition of the Greek Revival.

Bourke in his brief, to 'enable an English Architect acquainted with Prison Buildings to send out a Plan and Elevation with

*NSW Report on Public
Buildings 1832
Bourke Annotations
W044.187 f92*

Specifications and Working Plans' for Sydney Gaol, gives quite detailed information; but he does not say what system of classification the gaol is to be arranged for.* The result was that Barney's plans, though embodying some of the better elements of gaol design in 1835, did not necessarily reflect the requirements of the convict department in NSW.

*See for example
Buchanan's Memorial
20.7.1835
DIXON ADD 180*

In fact the Convict department seems to have played no part in deciding the type of structures to be erected, and it was characteristic of the autocratic regime Bourke inherited from Darling, that persons associated with the design and running of convict buildings neither presumed, nor were encouraged, to offer advice, and seldom attempted to correct gubernatorial errors on the subject.*

As a result of his training and knowledge of the Inspectors' of Prisons approved designs, Governor Gipps was equipped to play a decisive part in penal design. However the only building being designed and constructed under his specific direction by Barney was to prove a source of dreadful embarrassment, as will be made plain in the next chapter.

Chapter 11 The Inspectors' gaols 1837 - 48

In October 1837, before Gipps left England, Glenelg had authorised him to make such alteration to the Parramatta Female Factory as would permit the Penal class, at least, to be kept in separate confinement 'on the system recommended by the Inspectors of Prisons in their 2nd Report.'^{*} On arrival Gipps found the Factory much as Darling left it in 1829.^{*} That is, it was divided into 3 departments, 1st, 2nd and Penal, with the original 8 solitary cells in the 2nd class yard.

*Gipps to Glenelg
13.3.1838 No 38
ML A 1218*

See page 110

His inspection convinced him that any conversion of the existing buildings was impractical, and he decided to erect a new range of cells. He reported to Glenelg, 'My predecessor, I find, had authorised, before he left the colony, the erection of 30 separate cells, but fortunately they were not commenced when I arrived, and I shall of course not proceed on his plan, but on that recommended by the Prison Inspectors.'^{*}

*Gipps to Glenelg
13.3.1838 No 38
ML A 1218*

Gipps' stated intention to the Secretary of State was clear, but he was faced with a problem. How to devise a punishment which was increased in degree from the separate confinement that was then the only punishment, short of execution, to which women could be sentenced.^{*} He did this by reducing the Inspectors' recommended cell dimensions on the ground floor of the new range from 12 ft x 8 to 8 ft x 5, and eliminated the exterior window. This created 36 diminutive dark cells of a distinctly punitive nature. It also meant that the standard 12 ft x 8 cells on the upper floors had to be placed longways to the access galleries, thus preventing inspection of the entire cell from the door. See Figs 164-5. In addition Gipps abandoned the Inspectors' mechanical heating, ventilating and water closet apparatus in the cells on the grounds that they were unnecessary in the climate and that it was a great saving of expense. As the Royal Engineers' plan shows no privy

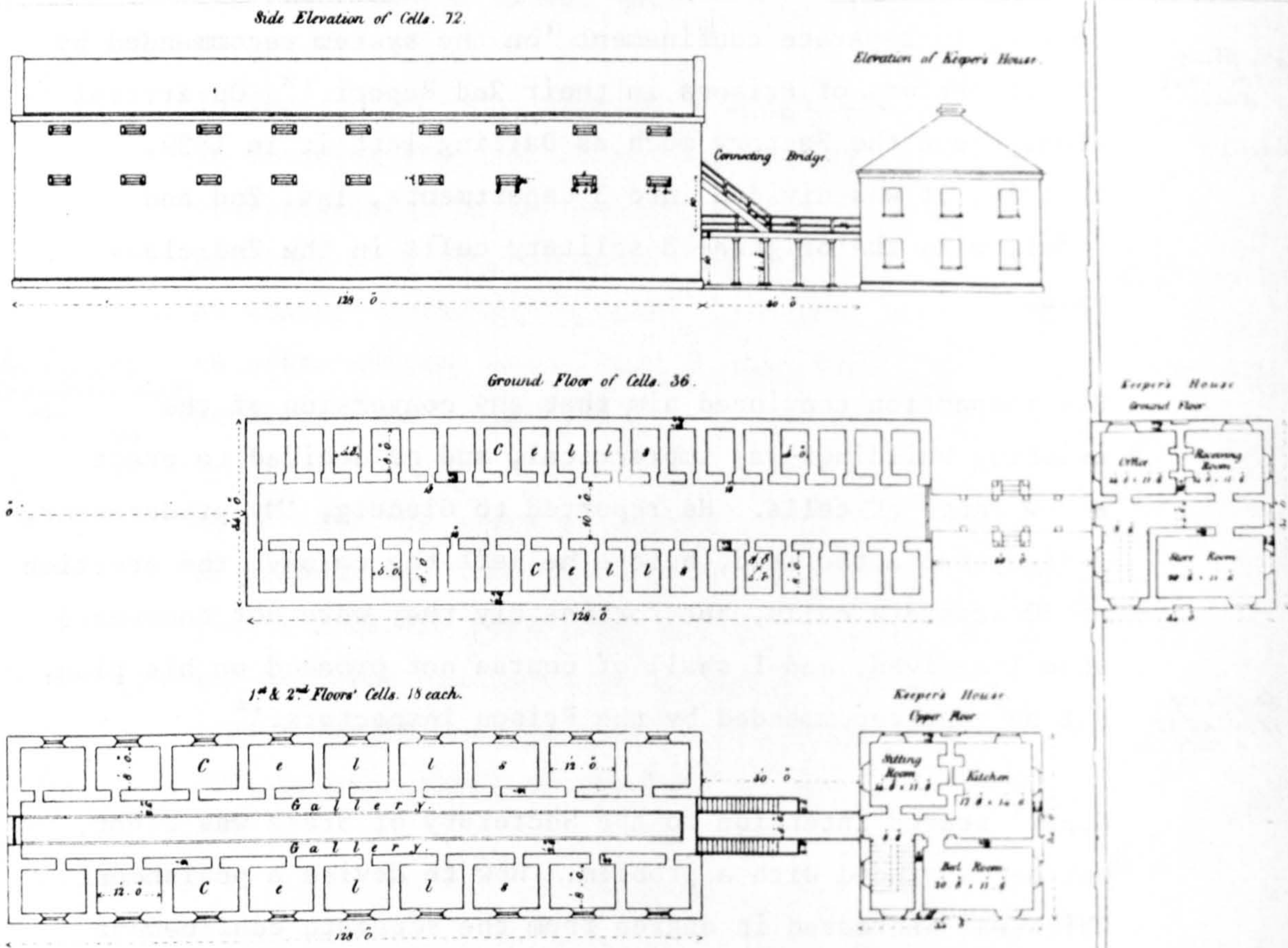
*Gipps to Russell
10.10.1841 No 205
BPP T'port. 7:
1843 (158) 9410*

Fig. 164.

Range of Solitary Cells
Erected at the Female Factory at
PARRAMATTA.

Accompanying Plans and Estimates of Buildings,
proposed by Capt. Macarochie, R.N.

H.H. Lugard, L. R. E.



facilities at all, it must be presumed that Gipps envisaged the traditional stinking cell tubs.

Apart from these rather important points, Parramatta was the first cell block in the Australian Colonies to be designed from the beginning, as Gipps put it, upon 'the plan of the American separate system, or, which is nearly the same thing, the plan approved by the English Inspectors of Prisons.'

'By great exertions' the 72 cell block was commenced in June 1838 and completed September 1839, together with a boundary wall and a store and turnkeys' lodge.*

Gipps to Russell
1.10.1840 No 142
BPPT part 7:
1843 (158) 5

Ibid.

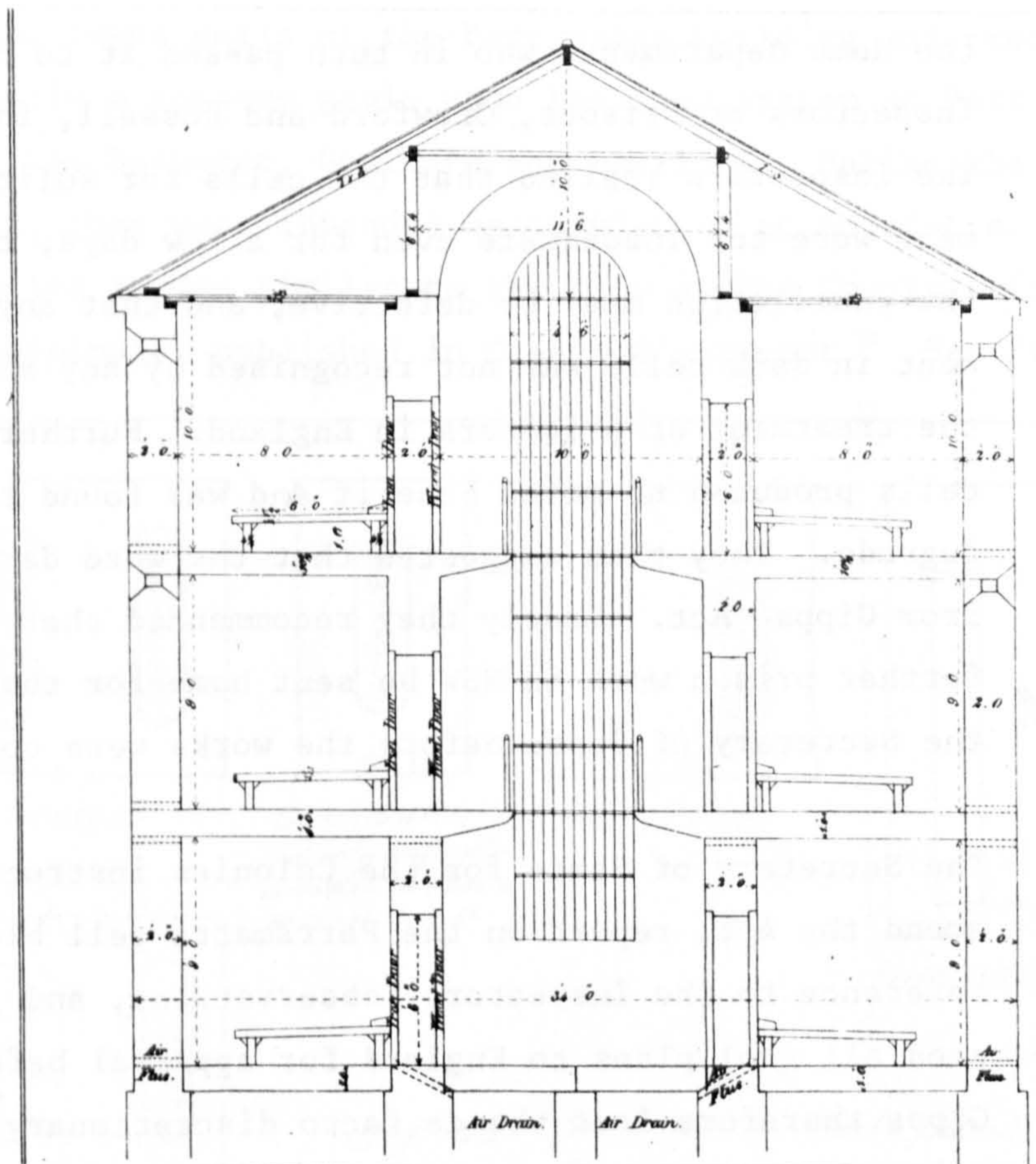


Fig. 165.

Transverse Section through a Range of Cells

Erected at the Female Factory,

PARRAMATTA.

Drawn to accompany Maj^r Barney's letter to the Hon^{ble} the Colonial Secretary,
dated 20th Feb^r 1840

Geo. Barney, Maj^r R. E. Gr^o

Gipps to Russell
61.10.1840 N2142
BPP T'port. 7.
1843 (158) 5

3 Victoria 22

Gipps to Russell
10.2.1840
BPP T'port. 7.
1843 (158) 1

In February 1840 Gipps sent home a plan of the work* (Figs 164-5) and in the same month an enactment of November 1839 for His Majesty's approval. It was titled 'An Act to abolish the Transportation of Female Convicts [to Moreton Bay], and to provide for the more effectual punishment of offenders within the Colony of NSW.'* In a covering letter Gipps advised that 'some trifling amendments were introduced (in the [3rd] 4th and 5th clauses) in respect to the powers of Justices to sentence women to solitary confinement [in dark cells] in certain cases.'*

It was received in London by James Stephen, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, who passed it to S M Phillips of

the Home department, who in turn passed it to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons, Crawford and Russell, for comment. The Inspectors replied that the cells for solitary confinement were too inadequate even for a few days, that they feared the ventilation must be defective, and that anyway imprisonment in dark cells was not recognised by any act prescribing the treatment of prisoners in England. Further that dark cells produced no moral benefit and was found to harden and degrade. They then suggested that the word dark be omitted from Gipps' Act. Lastly they recommended that the plans of any further prison work in NSW be sent home for the approval of the Secretary of State before the works were commenced.²

*Crawford and Russell
to Gipps 178 1840
ML A 1283*

The Secretary of State for the Colonies instructed Gipps to amend the Act, report on the Parramatta cell block with reference to the Inspectors' observations, and in future to send all gaol plans to England for approval before construction.³ Gipps therefore lost the de facto discretionary powers on design and construction which all Governors had exercised in varying degrees for so long. As by this time transportation to NSW had ceased, and few completely new works were required, the only sufferer was Alexander Macconochie and his experiment on Norfolk Island.⁴

*Russell to Gipps
31 8. 1840 W2137
ML A 1283.*

See Chapter 13

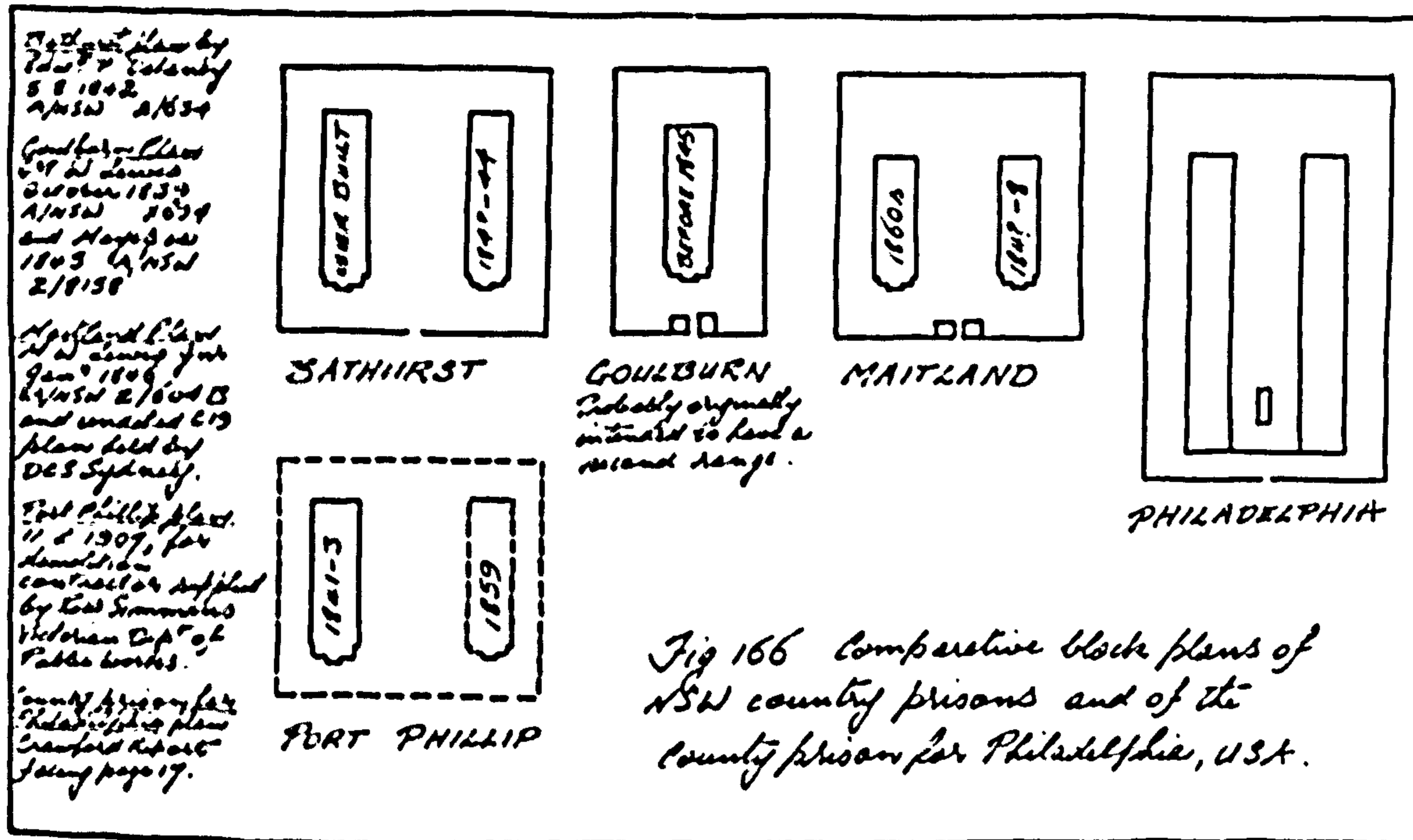
Gipps' solitary cells were no worse and mostly better than those in current use in VDL; but attitudes were changing rapidly in London, and it was particularly galling to the Inspectors to have the first new building that was claimed to be erected upon their principles so much at variance with their carefully explained ideas of penal treatment. The plans for the cell block were executed by Lt Lugard, one of Barney's Royal Engineers⁵, but as the introduction of the Inspectors' modified system, and the various amendments to it were the work of Gipps, the latter must be regarded as the dominant colonial influence on its design.

Appendix 1

Following the Inspectors' observations, Gipps had windows cut

in the lower cells of the Parramatta building and proceeded to build 4 country gaols upon the same system at Port Phillip, Bathurst, Goulburn and Maitland. Unlike the radial gaols, they were intended on completion to consist of two parallel ranges similar to the plan of the County prison in Philadelphia, published in Crawford's report.* See Fig. 166.

Crawford Report
1834 p 17



All, except Maitland, were based on the same cell dimensions as the Parramatta block. That is, the Inspectors standard of 12 ft x 8 on the upper floor, or floors, and Gibbs' variation of 8 ft x 5, with windows, on the ground floor. At the long delayed Maitland building both the upper and lower cells were 12 ft x 8.

Port Phillip (Melbourne) and Bathurst were almost identical 3 storey cell ranges of approximately 150 ft x 40. See Figs 167 and 168. In both cases the cell plans of the upper floors had been rearranged to the T & I cell wall pattern shown in Fig. 167(5). The only significant difference in their design was in its adaption to local material availability. Bathurst was brick built with wood upper floors whereas Port Phillip was of stone with barrel vaulted cells.

as on Plan
not to be touched
is that below

— PLAN OF OLD SOUTH WING OF GAOL. —
TO BE REMOVED.

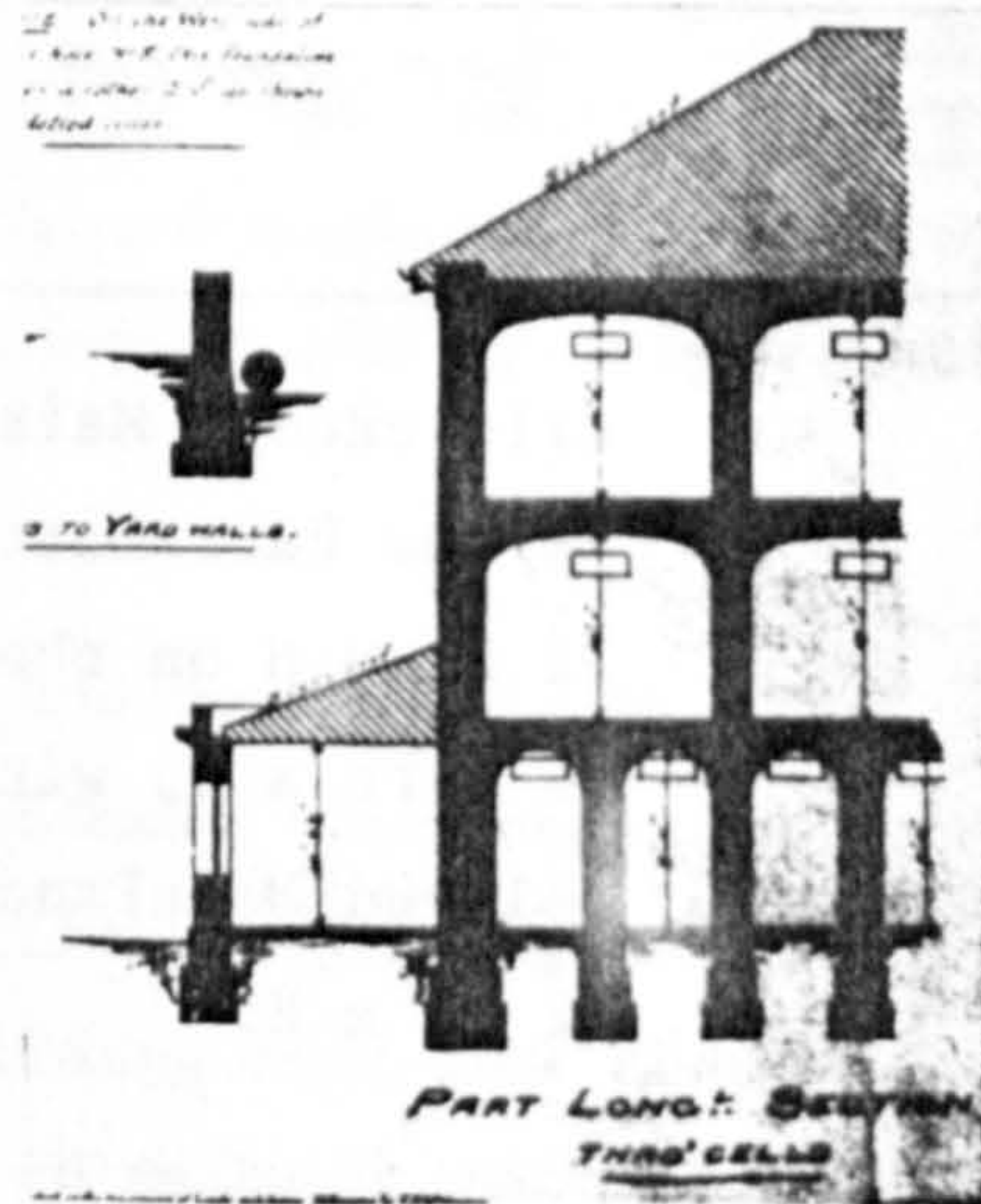
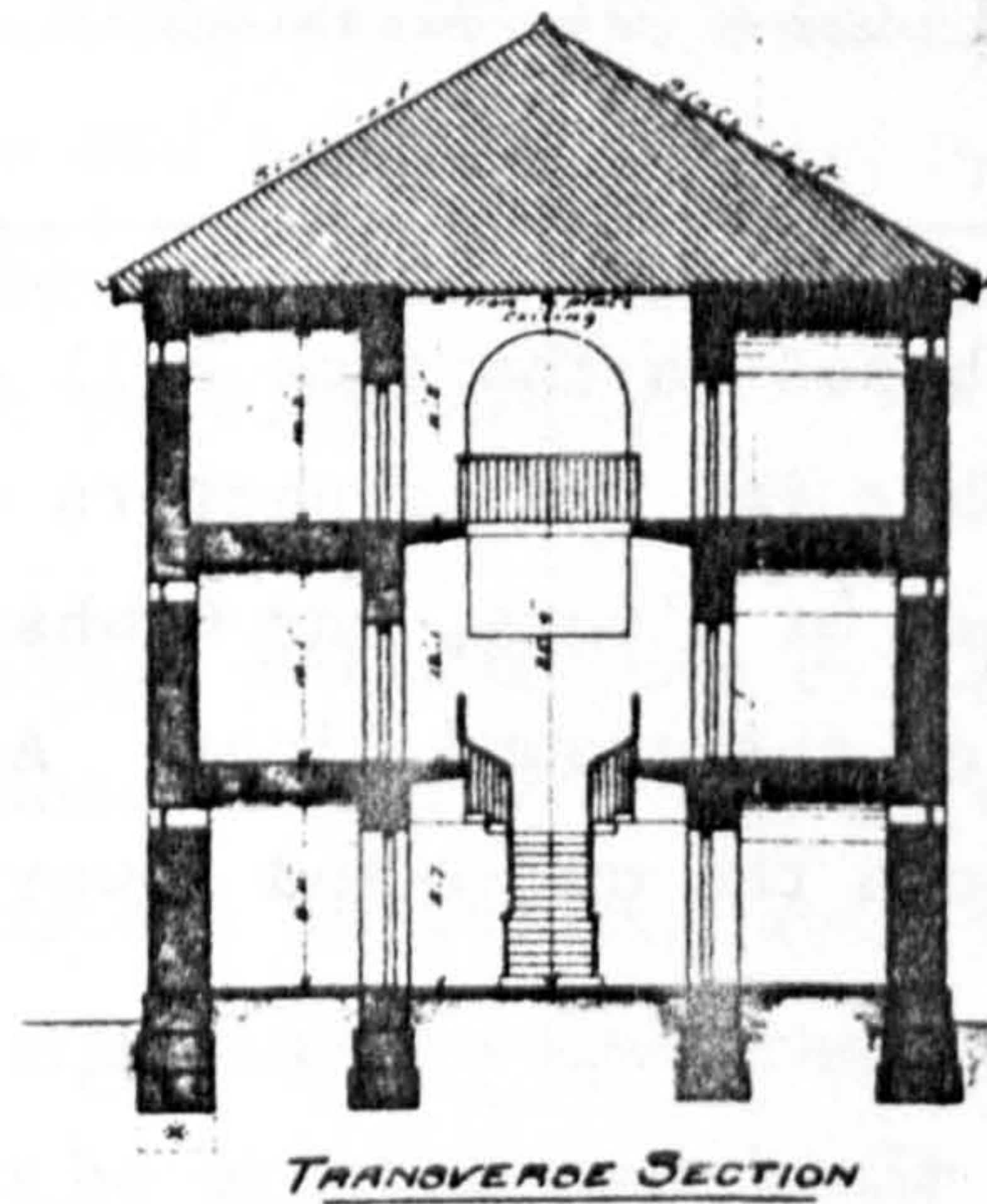
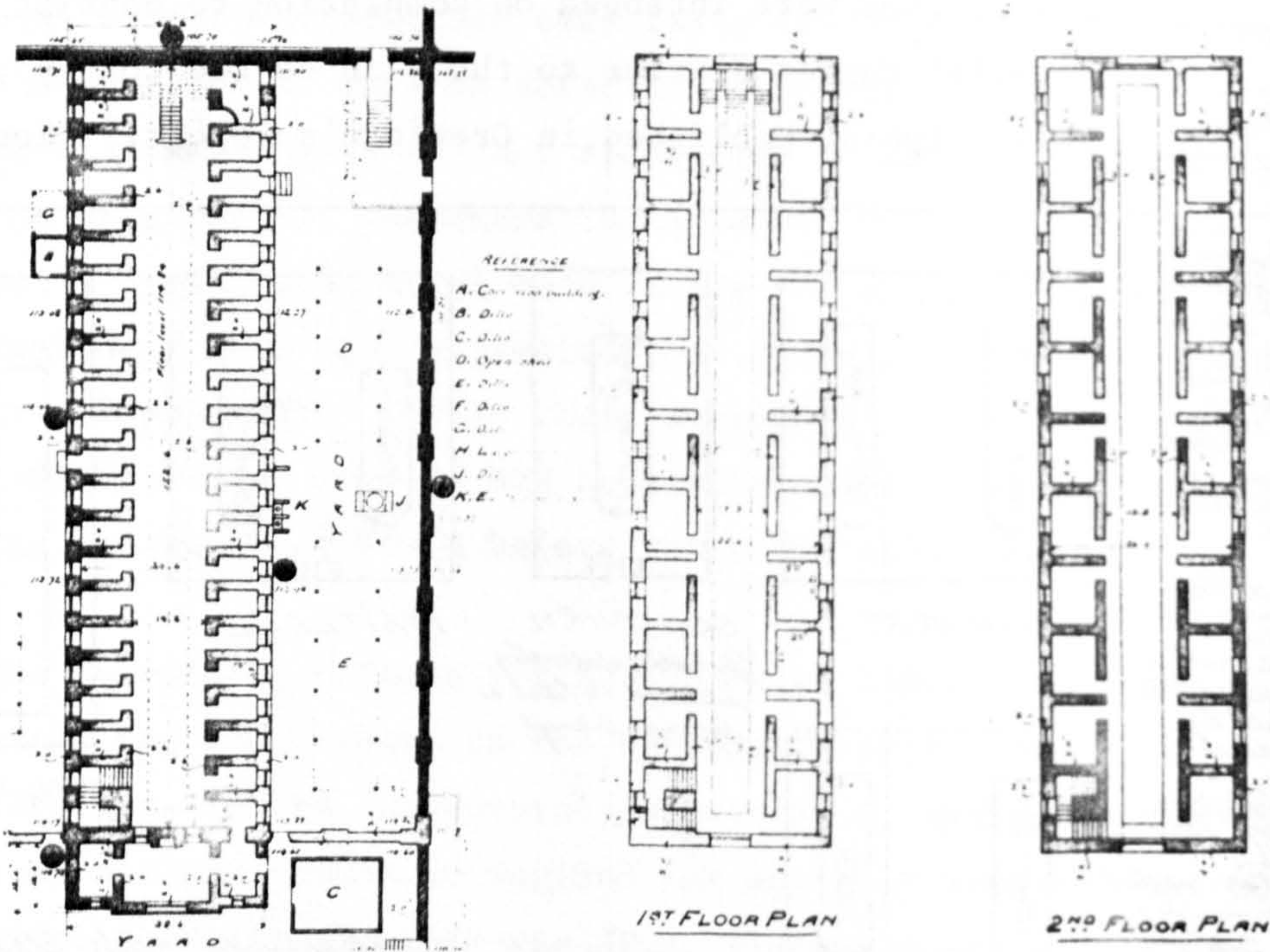


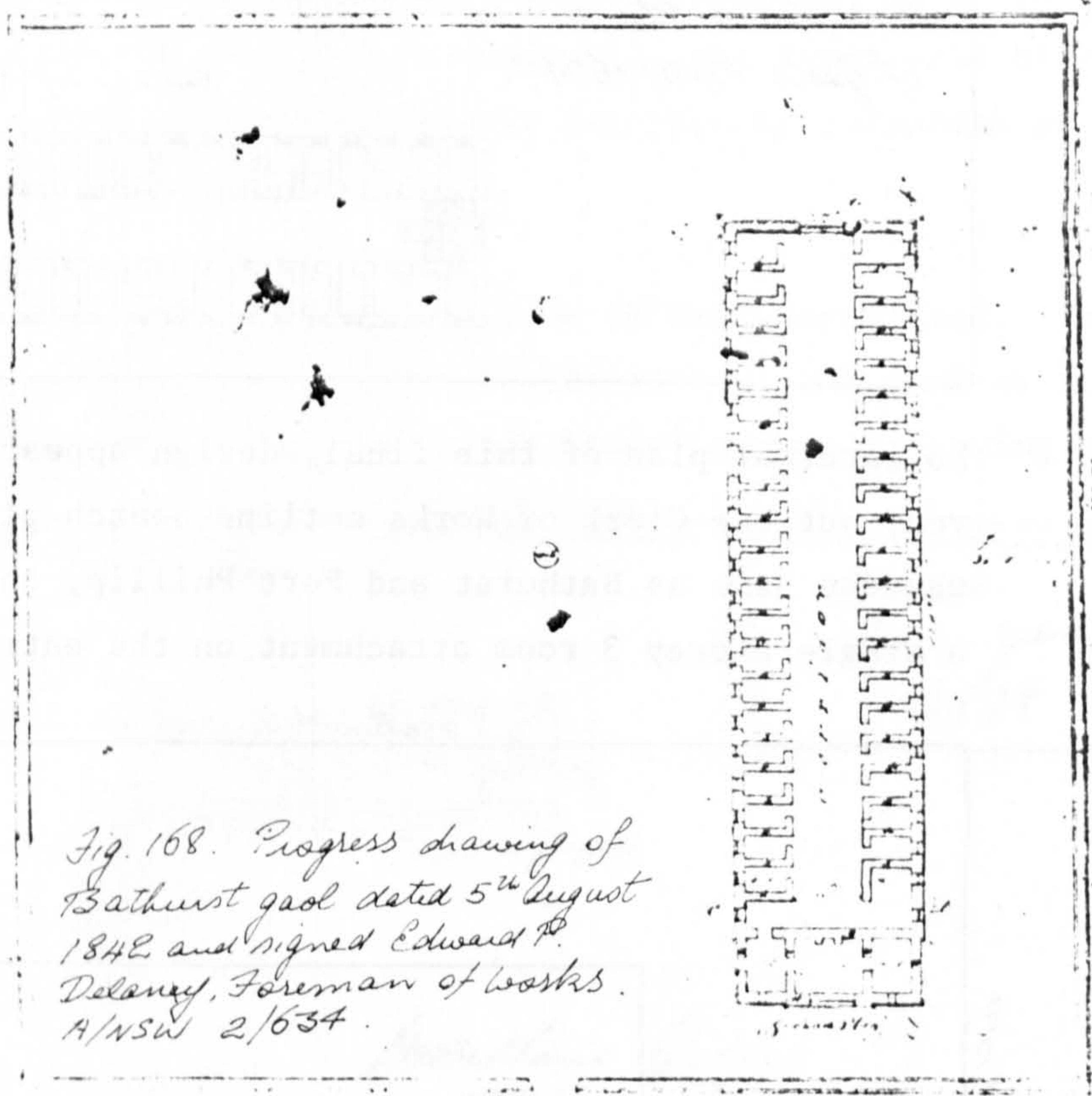
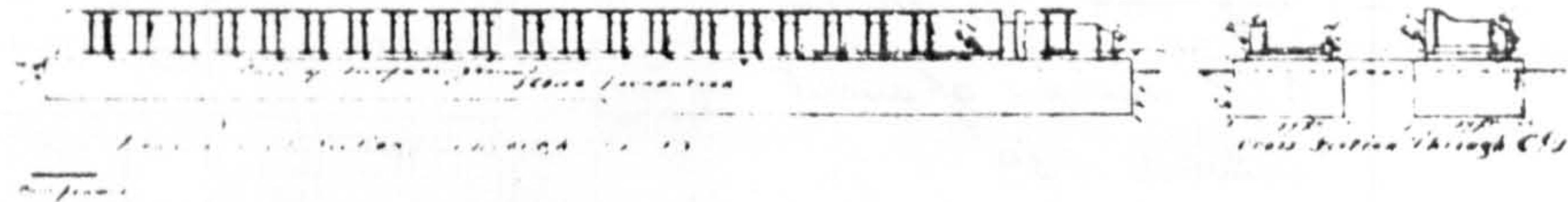
Fig. 167. Demolition Contract drawing of 1908 for the south wing of Melbourne (Port Phillip) gaol, built 1841-3. Held by Dep^t of Public Works, Victoria.

Port Phillip was the only gaol of the four that was built with reasonable expedition, from 1841-3.* This must have been due to Lewis' experienced Clerk of Works Rattenbury, fresh from the protracted erection of Berrima gaol, and to the contractor

National Trust
Melbourne Gaol.

Mayne evidence at
 the Hill, Betts and
 Beswick murder
 trial. 1.8.1843
 13PP Aust. 8
 1844 (627) f269

James P Mayne.* The other three projects suffered multiple design changes, contractual difficulties and even, at Maitland, a site change after the gaol had been commenced.



Mortimer Lewis' brief account of the first four years of the Goulburn gaol project is an example of the difficulties in contracting for public works at the time.

'A tender accepted 1836 and given up; another tender accepted in 1838 and given up in consequence of death of the contractor; another tender accepted in 1839 and contractor has since declined proceeding.'*

M.W. Lewis quoted
 in The Australian
 8.9.1840 p.2.

The plan of Goulburn gaol for the 1839 contract was similar to the Parramatta cell block version of the Inspectors' system. See Fig. 169. This was an intermediate stage between the original Lewis design and the design actually constructed.

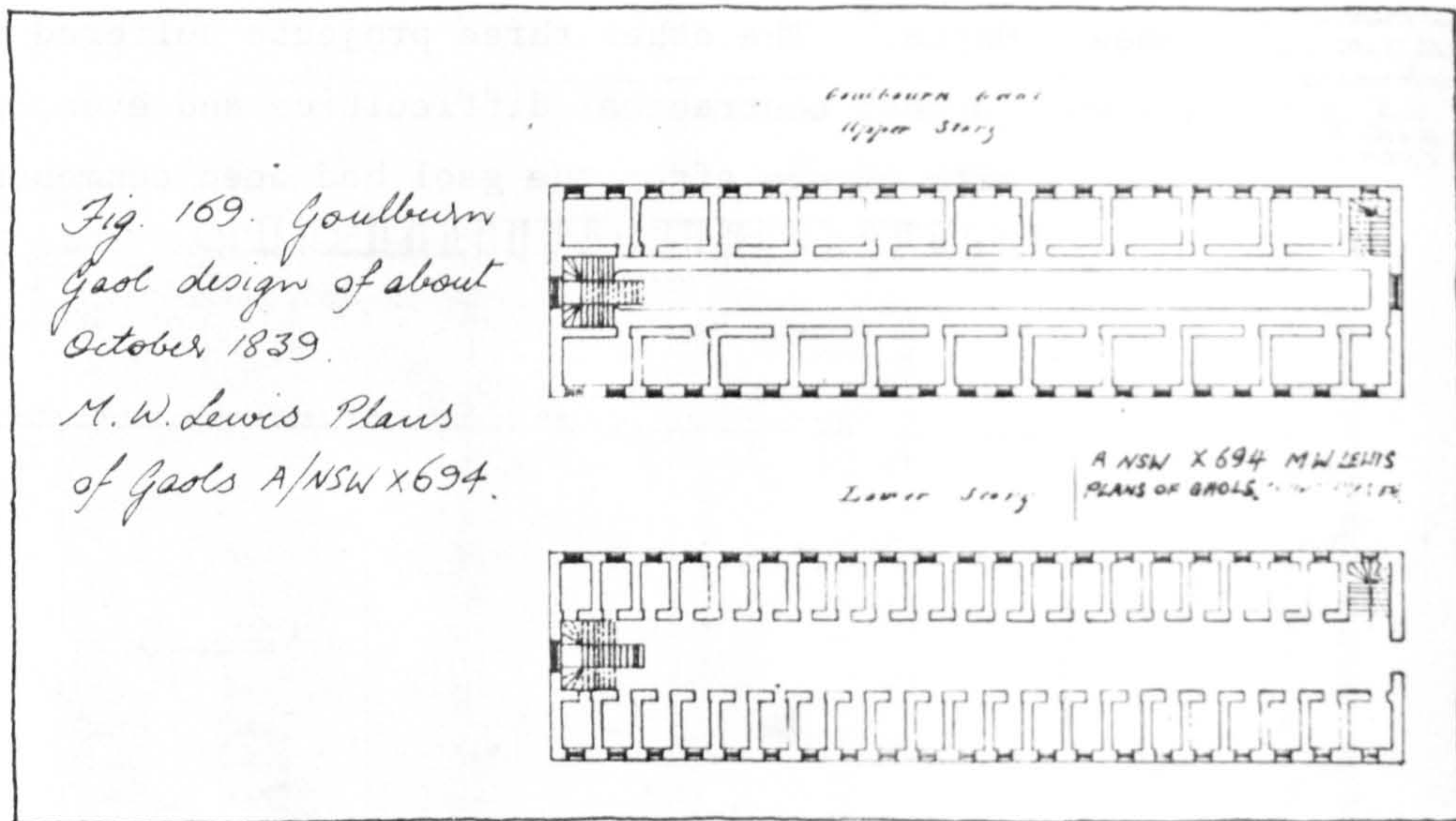


Fig. 169. Goulburn Gaol design of about October 1839. M. W. Lewis Plans of Gaols A/NSW X 694.

No internal plan of this final design appears to have survived, but the Clerk of Works outline sketch plan suggests it was the same as Bathurst and Port Phillip, and like them had a single storey 3 room attachment on the entry end. Fig. 170.

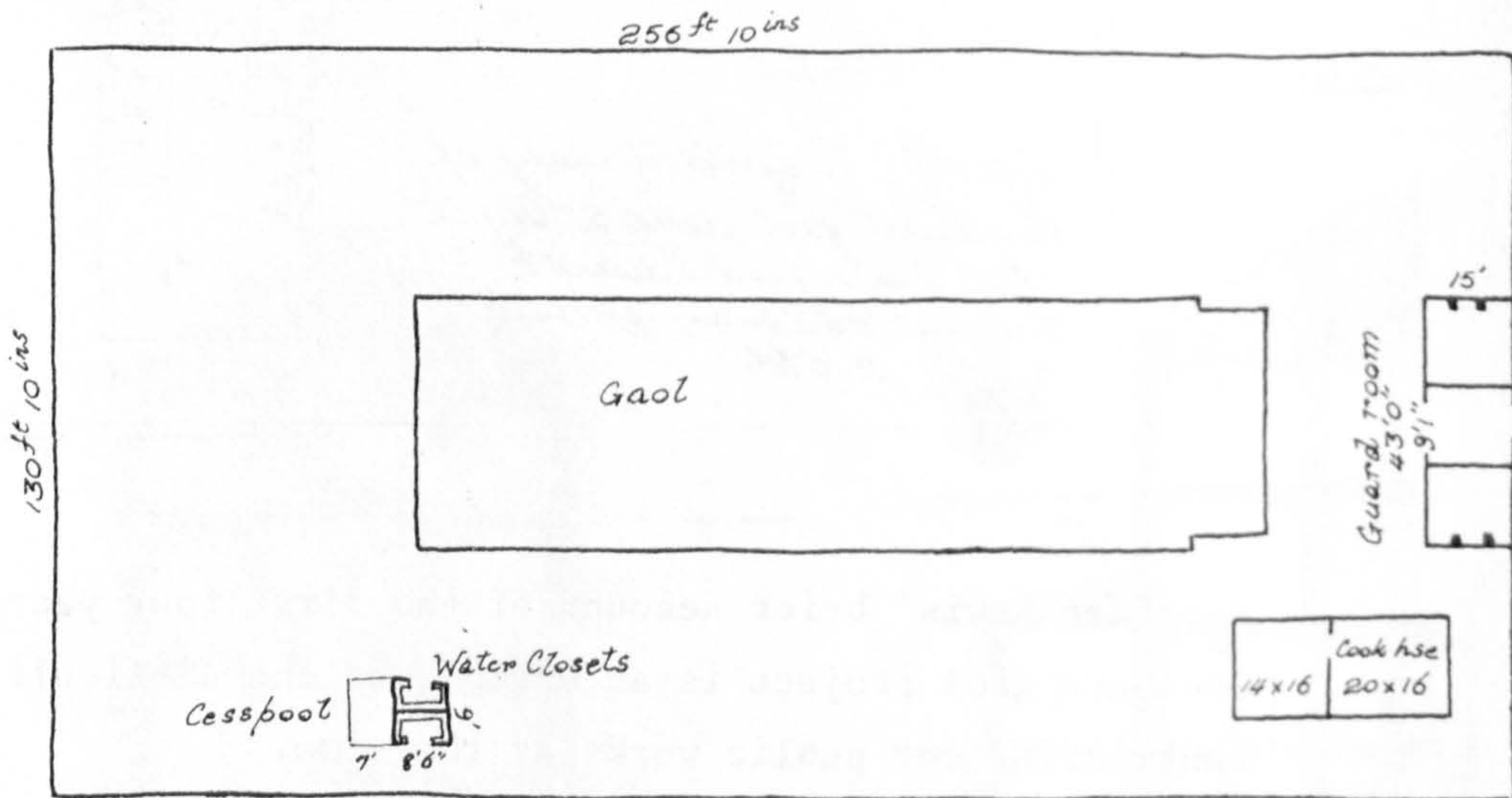


Fig. 170. Goulburn Gaol shewing Boundary wall as if completed, Gaol building in outline, and Guard room (gate house), Cook house, water closets and Cesspool. A/NSW 2/8158.

Elyard to Lewis 8.5.1845
A/NSW 4/3886

Col. Sec. to Col. Arch^t
26.6.1847 A/NSW
2/8158

The gaol was occupied from 1845* and proclaimed in 1847*, but by August 1851 the new Colonial Architect's Clerk of Works, J C White, reported that the floor joists had been laid on the ground and had rotted, that doors, some upper flooring and a tie beam had dry rot, and that the green wood lining the cells had shrunk so much that prisoners could get their fingers in

White Report on
Goulburn Gaol,
11.8.1851 A/NSW
2/8158

and prise the planks off.*

Deas Thomson to Lewis
23.1.1837 A/NSW
4/3884

Deas Thomson to Lewis
22.1.1838 A/NSW
4/3884

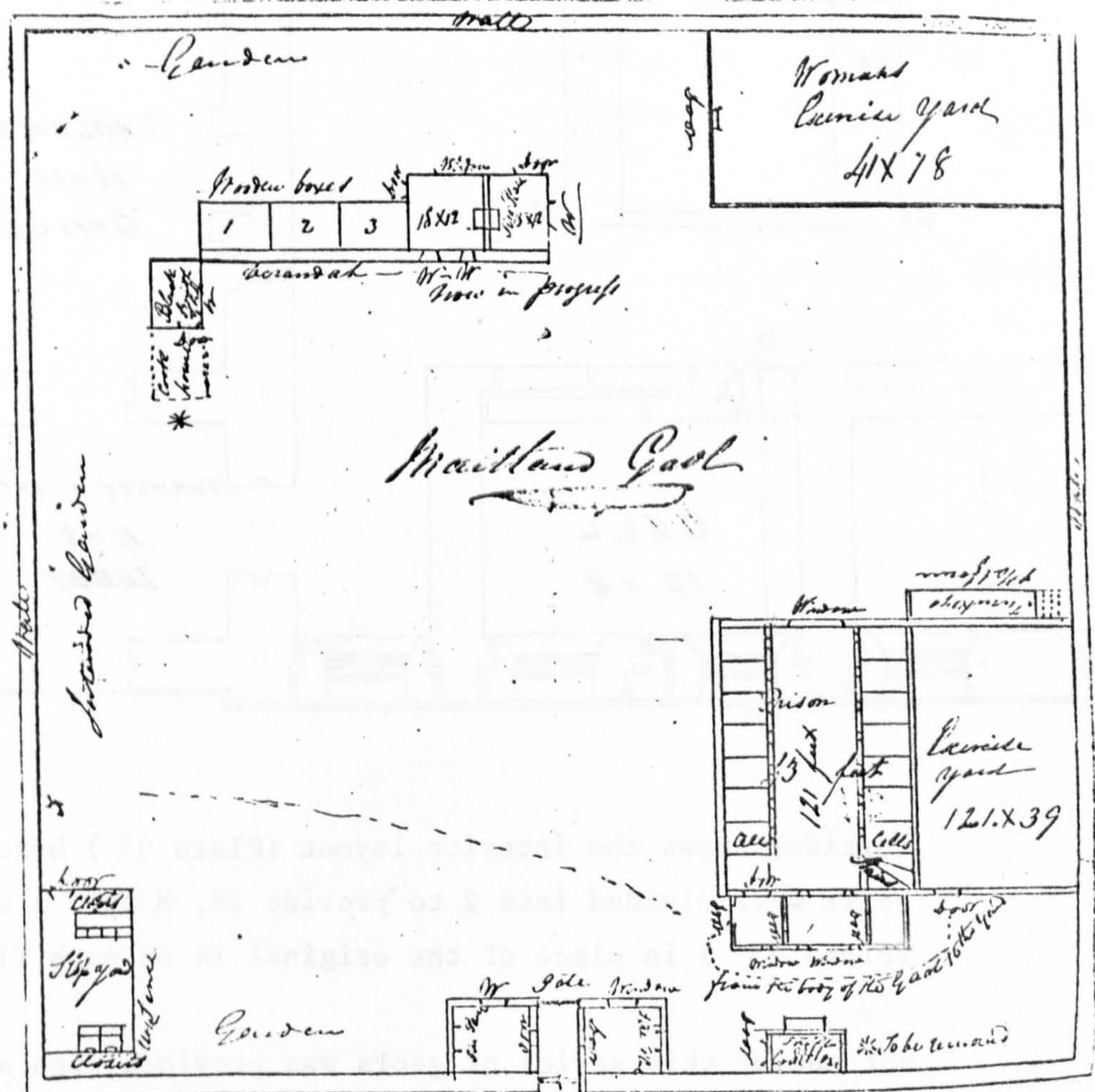
Ibid.

Col. Sec. to Col. Archt.
December 1848
A/NSW 2/604B

Col. Sec. to Col. Archt.
ND. A/NSW 2/604B

Maitland gaol construction was the longest running farce of the period. The first tender notices* for its erection on a swamp* went out in January 1837. Twelve months later work was halted and the site transferred to a hill to the north east.* By January 1846 roughly a quarter of the first cell block had been built* and it was finally occupied by prisoners on about the last day of 1848.*

The gaol's appearance at the time is well documented. James Cox, the gaoler supplied a sketch plan of the gaol as it was in August 1850 (Fig. 171), and Lewis' progress drawing of

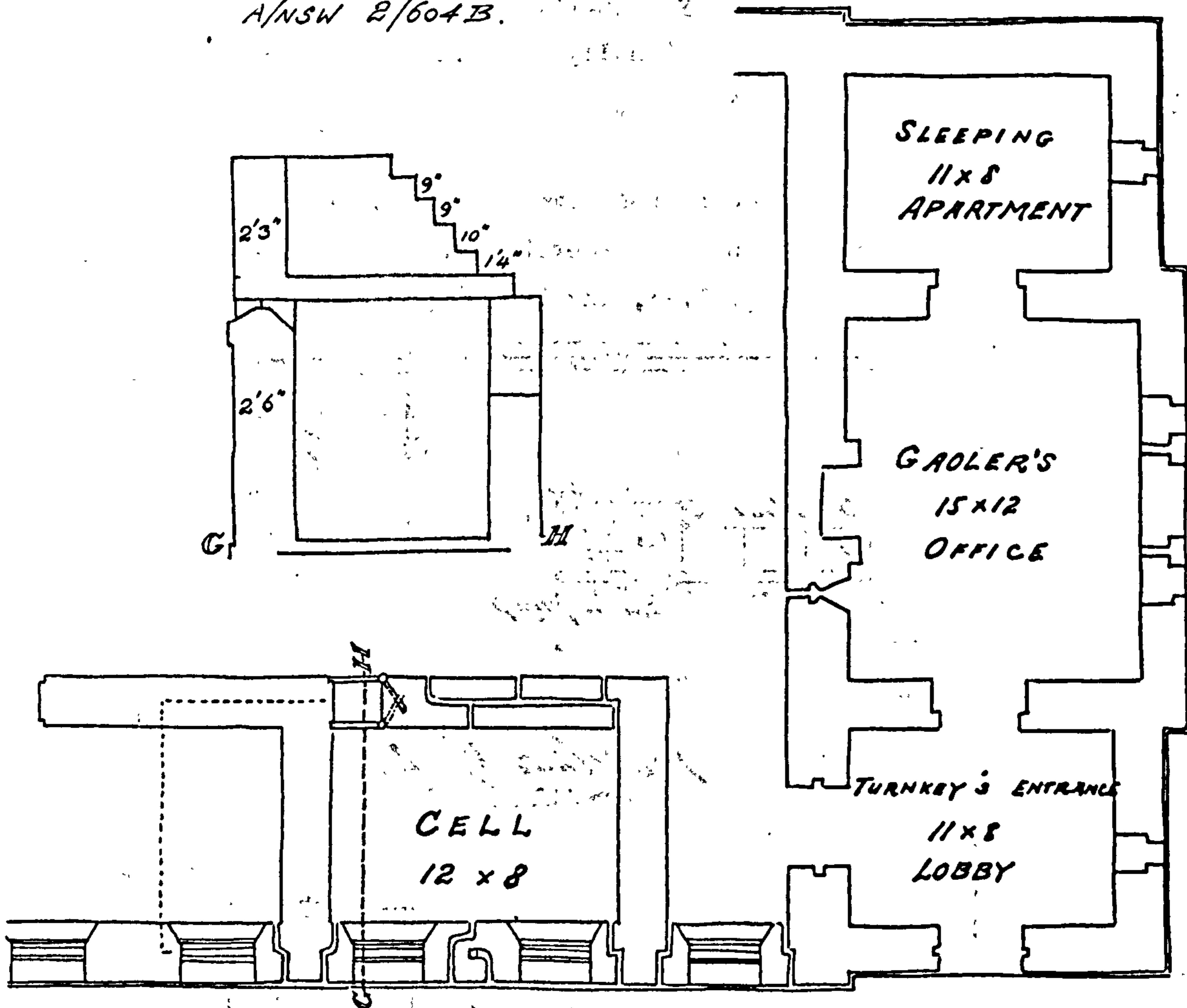


A/NSW 2/604B COL. ARCH. CORRES. James Cox, Gaoler Gate to Col. Arch.

Fig. 171. Sketch plan of Maitland Gaol by James Cox, Gaoler.
A/NSW 2/604B.

1846 gives an accurate representation of the 12 ft x 8 cells.
See Fig. 172. Last, a surviving photo of the central

Fig. 172: Sketch of the present state of the New Gaol, Maitland, showing the whole of the masonry erected above ground. [detail] [signed] Mortimer Wm Lewis Colo! Arch! Jan^y 1846 A/NSW 2/604B.



corridor shows the interior layout (Plate 12) before the cells were divided into 2 to provide 28, 8 ft x 5 units (Plate 13) in place of the original 14 on each floor.

Not one of this series of gaols was provided with any means of classification other than the separation offered by the cells themselves. In this the design followed the model laid down by the Inspectors in 1837,* though those gentlemen had

not intended their plan to fulfil the multiple functions of a large country goal. The 20 years following the completion of these goals were therefore devoted to a piecemeal rectification of this situation, but an account of this belongs to the post transportation period.

Chapter 12 The Penal Settlements 1821 - 40

The last five chapters have dealt with the buildings designed during the period of the Assignment System in NSW and VDL. Many of these were on settlements specifically built as places to incarcerate convicts who had committed further offences. As these settlements were themselves an important part of the equipment of the system, some account of them is desirable.

Two settlements for secondary punishment, Macquarie Harbour and Port Macquarie, had been formed before Macquarie's departure in 1822. The first planned was Macquarie Harbour on the west coast of Van Diemen's Land. Governor Sorell had sought such an establishment as early as 1818, but approval was required from Bathurst via Macquarie, and this was not obtained until 1821.*

*Shaw Convicts
187*

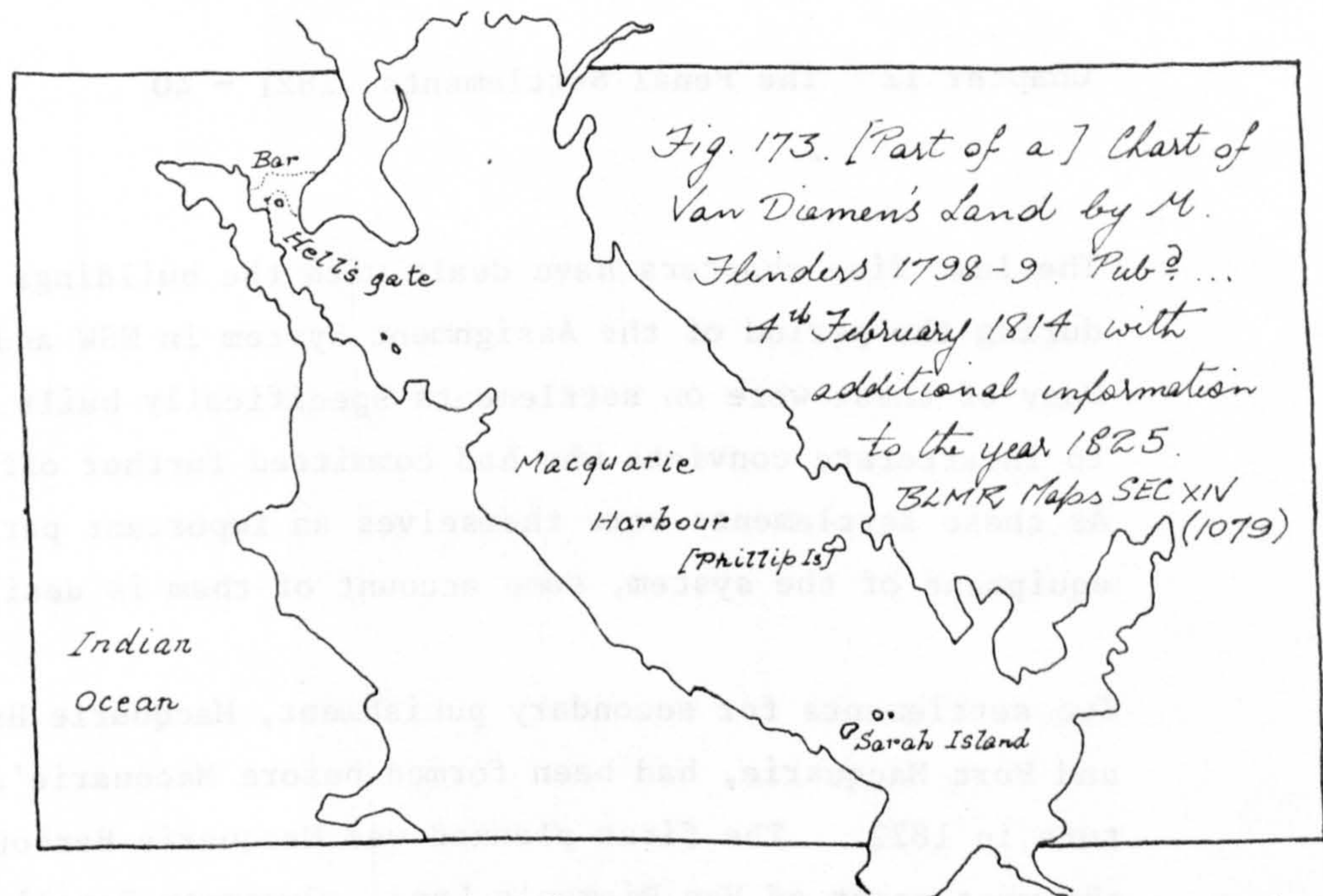
Macquarie Harbour was chosen as the site because it afforded 'the means of employing the prisoners in such a manner [timbergetting] as to make them severely feel their punishment; of preventing by its lonely locality, the chance of their escape; and of rendering their labour instrumental in some measure to the purpose of repaying the expense of the Establishment.'* The dreadful location of the harbour has moved commentators to more romantic literary efforts than any other penal settlement.* The incessant rain, the continual decay, the westerly gales and the sublime topography all combined to make the convicts painfully aware of 'their sad estrangement from the sweets and comforts of a life which their guilt had forfeited.'*

*Lampson's
Settlements. 10*

*Clarke For the Terms of
His Natural life
West History of
Tasmania 1852
II. 184
Shaw Convicts 210*

*Bathurst to Bigge
6.1.1819
BPP Aust. 3:
1823 (532) xiv*

On his arrival in January 1822 the first Commandant, Lt Cuthbertson of the 48th Regiment, chose Sarah Island rather than the mainland, presumably for additional security. See Fig. 173. It lacked water, soil suitable for cultivation,



and, once the trees had been removed, timber for construction. All these were shipped or rafted laboriously from the mainland.*

Lempriere's Settlements 27

*Ibid.
Clarke For the Term of his Natural life 84-7*

The accounts of the settlement by Lempriere* and Marcus Clarke* and the painting by William Buelow Gould, see Fig. 174, do not



Fig. 174. Sarah's, or Settlement Island, VDL. from a painting by W. B. Gould from Lempriere's Settlements. Original in M.H.

suggest an establishment on an overall plan but simply the erection of buildings as and where they were needed. The main development took place under Lt Butler from April 1825 to June 1829,* and in 1832 James Backhouse reported that 'the buildings... are all of wood except the gaol, penitentiary and

Lempriere's Settlements 11

*Backhouse Report
on Macquarie Harb.
11.*

commissary's store which are of stone and brick. The huts occupied by the felling gang [on the mainland] are of the humblest description; they are chiefly formed of boughs and thatched with long grass.* The characteristic feature of the settlement were the palisades up to 30 ft in height which protected the settlement from 'the terrific blasts of wind which shrieked through the long and narrow bay as through the keyhole of a door.*'

*Clarke For the Term
of his Natural life
86-7*

Bigge approved of the purpose of Macquarie Harbour but considered it so inaccessible that not even the difficulty of escape was sufficient compensation.* On the other hand he maintained that Macquarie's new settlement at Port Macquarie was too accessible and would therefore facilitate escape.

*West History of
Tasmania
II. 178-80*

Port Macquarie had been discovered by Oxley in 1818, and following his subsequent surveys of the area, Macquarie obtained Bathurst's approval for a penal settlement there.* The secondary reason for a settlement on this part of the coast was to open a port close to the New England tablelands which Oxley had admired during his explorations* - an aim quite at variance with the policy, advocated by Bigge, of isolating the convicts from the general populace.

*HDHS Port
Macquarie 5-6*

Ibid. 6

In April 1821 Cap^t Francis Allman, another officer of the 48th, arrived with troops and an advance guard of convict artisans to prepare the settlement.* Macquarie himself arrived with Elizabeth in November and wrote: 'having thus fixed on the site of the future town of Port Macquarie, I directed Mr Meehan [the surveyor general] to lay down the plan of it on paper and submit it for my final approval.*' 'Following this visit an ambitious building programme... 250 items in all... was drawn up by the Governor, which proceeded rapidly...'*

*Macquarie to Bathurst
21.3.1821 N212
ML A3251*

*HDHS Port
Macquarie 11*

Ibid. 12 and 16

*Macquarie to Bathurst
21.3.1821 N212
ML A3251*

under the direction of Lt Wilson, Engineer and Inspector of Works.*

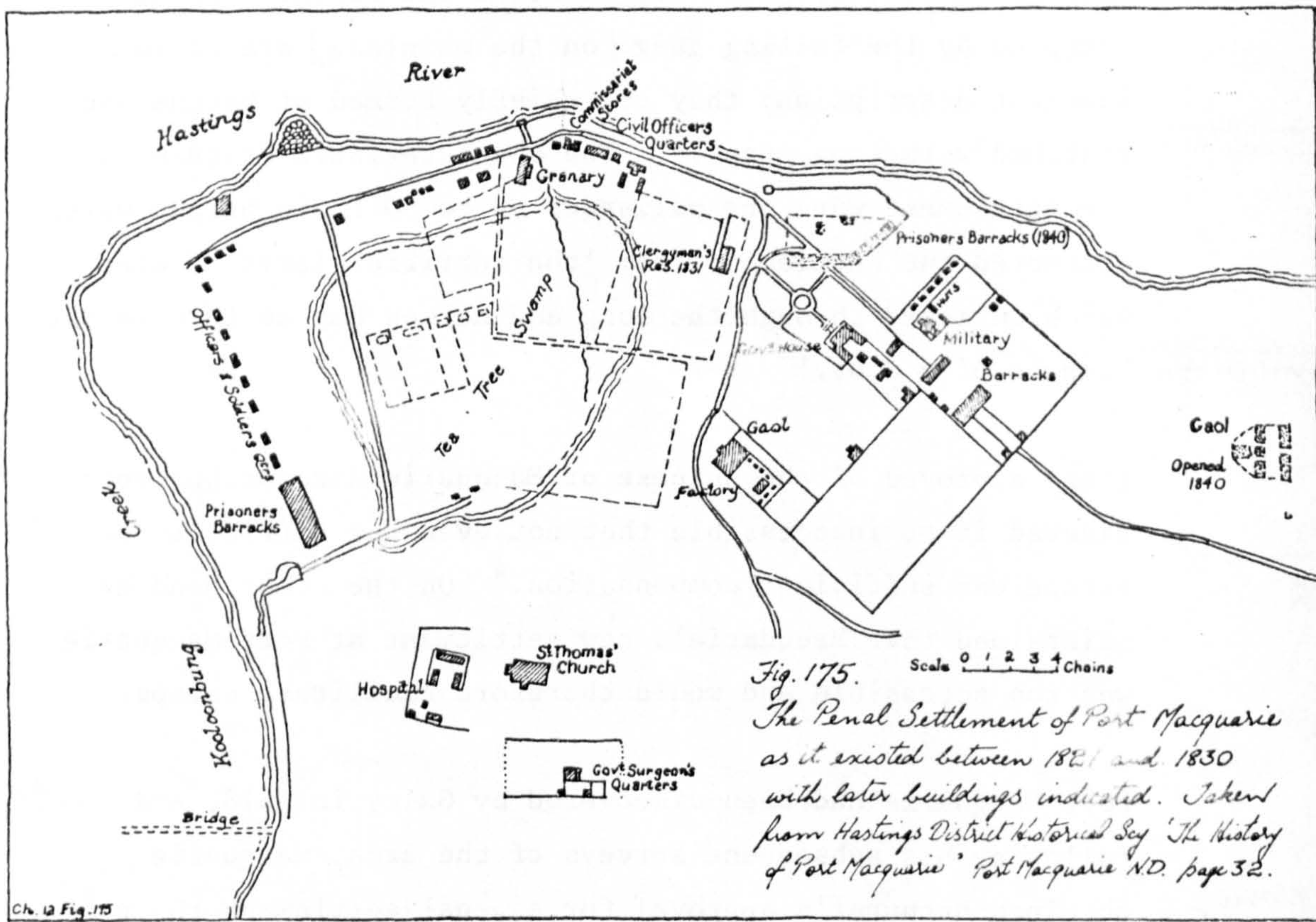


Fig. 175. Scale 0 1 2 3 4 Chains
The Penal Settlement of Port Macquarie as it existed between 1821 and 1830 with later buildings indicated. Taken from Hastings District Historical Socy 'The History of Port Macquarie' Port Macquarie N.D. page 32.

The general layout is reflected in Fig. 175, and as might be expected with Mrs Macquarie present, the formality of the early settlements was abandoned in favour of picturesque principles with an emphasis on views to and from the water. Key buildings such as the church, military barracks and government house were not placed on axes but were disposed for visual effect according to the topography, and the main link road followed the curved ridge between the river and the swamp.

The convict huts were on a lower level in the vicinity of the swamp.

Port Macquarie was the first and last penal settlement to be planned in this way. Shortly after their return to Sydney, the Macquaries embarked for England. Their plan for the town did not survive long, and in 1831 the concept was abandoned for the now familiar rectangular grid pattern.*

No such ideas of taste were involved in the three penal settlements formed by Arthur and Brisbane in 1825. Neither Governor appears to have involved himself personally with the physical design of these new establishments, nor did their architects or engineers plan more than individual buildings. It was up to the Commandant on the spot to use his discretion in laying out his settlement, and altering or adding to it as it became expedient.

*Lempriere's
Settlements 46 & 52*

Ibid. 52

*Arthur to Bathurst
quoted in Morris
Maria Island. 161.*

Arthur was, however, an efficient administrator and saw to the regulation and discipline of his charges. In 1824 he had need of a settlement for minor secondary, and freeborn colonial, offenders with a regime less terrible than Macquarie Harbour.* This would not only relieve the overcrowding at that settlement and Hobart gaol, but would permit a two stage classification for prisoners undergoing punishment. So in February 1825 he despatched L^t Murdoch with a party of convicts and a guard to Maria Island on the east coast of Van Diemen's Land,* cautioning him at the same time to 'incur no expense in the erection of permanent buildings until there has been some experience of its capacity.'*

*Morris Maria
Island 163-4*

In July of 1825 Arthur appointed as commandant the recently arrived Major Lord, in return for services rendered during a prosecution of Arthur in England.* From 1825 to its first abandonment in 1832, Lord developed the settlement around a stream running into Darlington Bay.

The plan of 1832 shows no sign of a pattern other than that of convenience, and the zoning common at the time designed to ensure the separation, and hence security, of convicts and stores, and also to emphasise the graded status of the non convict members of the community. See Fig. 176. It was a simple arrangement as it employed the labour of one class of male convict only, in the manufacture of woollen cloth.

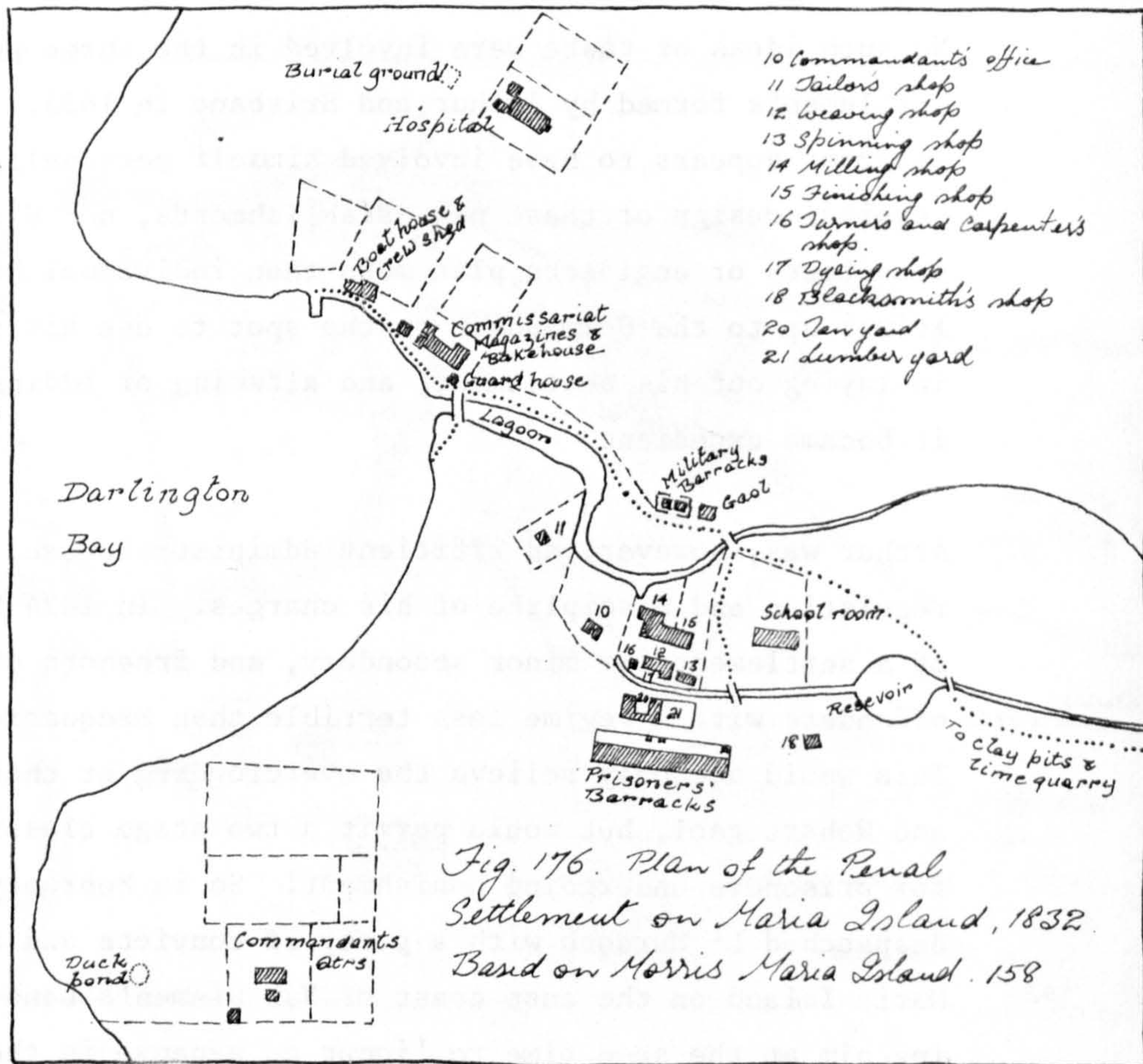


Fig. 176. Plan of the Penal Settlement on Maria Island, 1832. Band on Morris Maria Island. 158

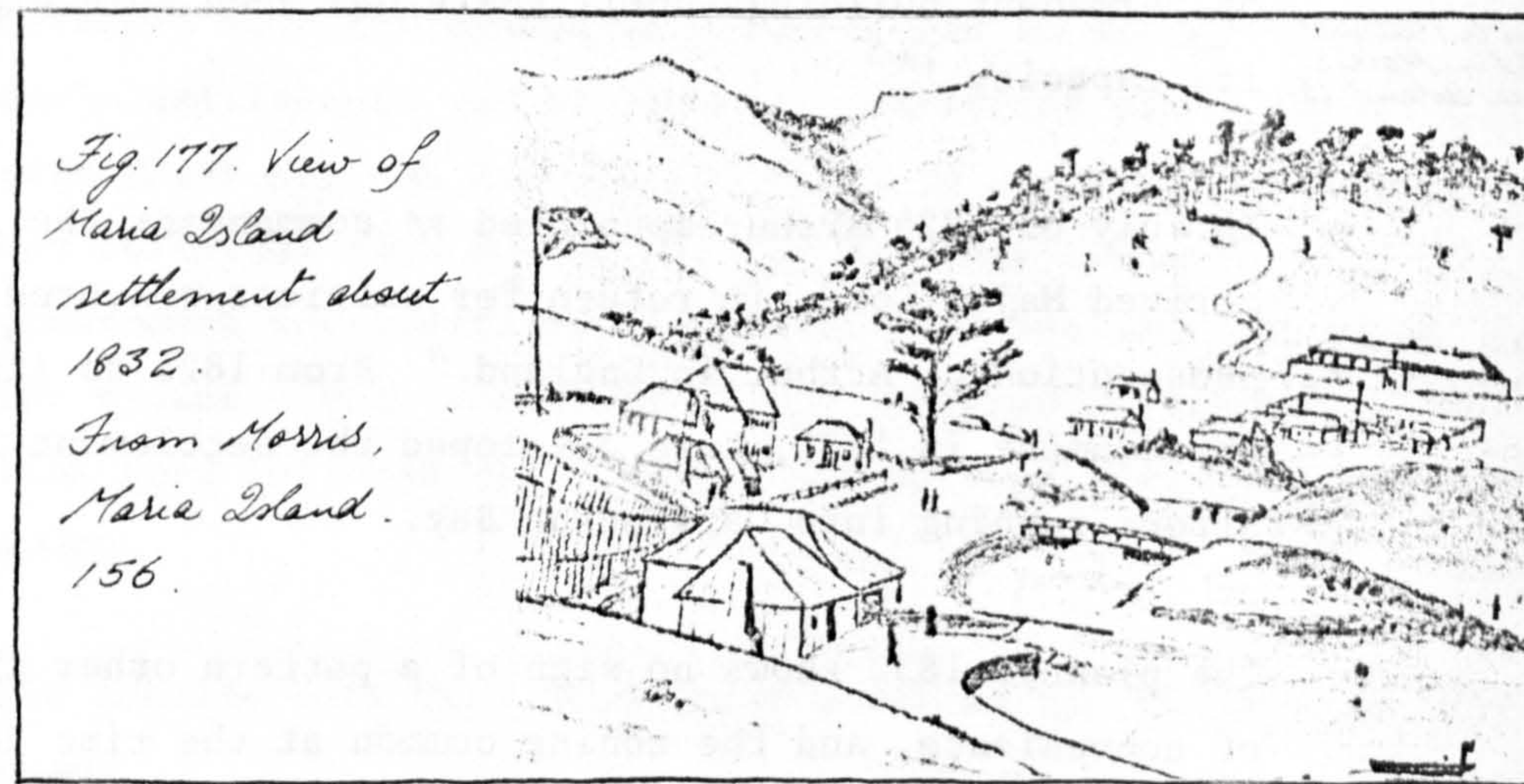


Fig. 177. View of Maria Island settlement about 1832. From Morris, Maria Island. 156.

The year that Maria Island was opened also saw the re-occupation of Norfolk Island and the new settlement at Moreton Bay. After receiving Commissioner Bigge's report, Bathurst, in September 1822, instructed the new Governor of New South Wales, Thomas Brisbane, to investigate the possibility of a new settlement.* By the time Brisbane had resolved to found a settlement at

Bathurst to Brisbane
9.9.1822 from
Shaw Convicts. 189

Moreton Bay, Bathurst had come to believe that Moreton Bay was more suited for colonization than a penal settlement, so he ordered Brisbane to reoccupy Norfolk Island. Brisbane, in fact, settled both in 1825, because 'Norfolk could not take all the minor offenders it was "necessary to remove to remote parts of the colony" and... Port Macquarie had become so easy to escape from that it was almost useless as a penal settlement.'*

Shaw Convicts. 189

Captain Turton arrived at the old Sydney settlement site on Norfolk Island in July 1825. He reported the former town and buildings to be 'in a state of perfect ruin,' but that he, from 'the remaining walls will be enabled to form a temporary gaol and store.'* Turton had taken a treadmill with him and had called in to Port Macquarie for convict mechanics to help in the erection of buildings.* The party first built the usual temporary accommodation of grass and thatch huts - those of the garrison being enclosed by a stockade to prevent surprise. Following this they commenced clearing the site for the new settlement.

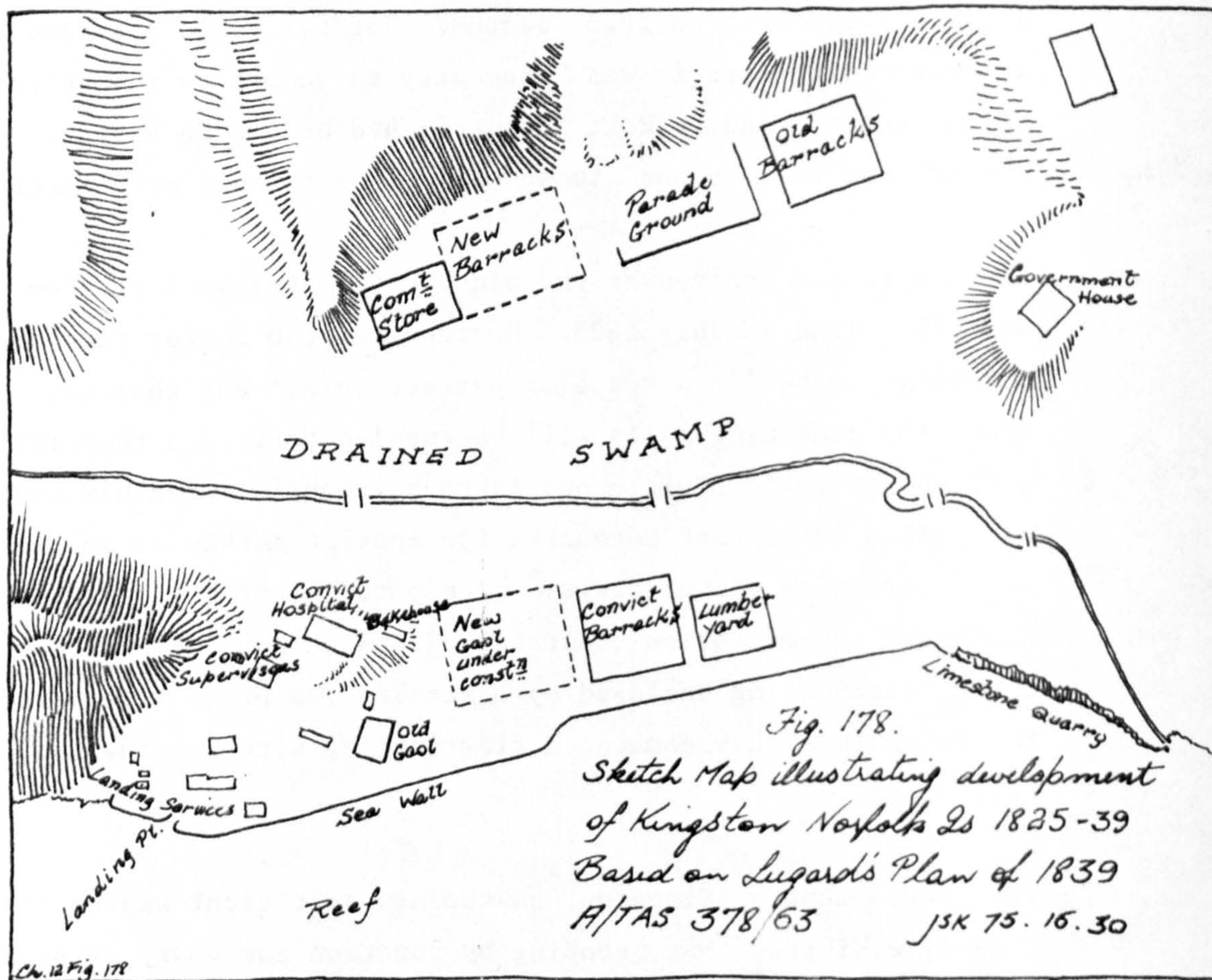
*Brisbane to Bathurst
1.8.1825 No 74
CO 201.162 f 71*

Ibid. f 72

The development of Kingston, as the new settlement was called, clearly exhibited that grouping by function customary at penal stations; the actual location of each group being decided by the requirements of security in the context of the local topography. See Fig. 178.

The convicts, their immediate supervisors and associated services occupied the band of dry land between the swamp and the sea. This was bounded on the west by Mt George and on the east by the swamp outlet. It was the site of King's original settlement. The military and the commissariat stores under their protection, occupied an almost parallel line at the foot of the hills overlooking the convicts, who were thus nicely caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. It was precisely the disposition outlined by Bigge in his recommendations. The Government (Commandant's) House was on a knoll at the eastern end of the swamp, and thus had both the

military and the convicts under its eye. The civil officers quarters extended in a line to the north east, off the corner of the sketch.



Governor Darling arrived in December 1825 with instructions to intensify the deterrent aspect of penal discipline. He required the withdrawal of all females from Norfolk, even wives of staff. He explained subsequently to Hay: 'My object was to hold out that settlement as a place of the extremest punishment short of death... no doubt the licentious may indulge the more fully in their un-natural propensities; but I am by no means satisfied that the introduction of a few women would remedy the evil.'* A more succinct representation of Darling's attitude to secondary punishment, than that in his first clause, could scarcely be imagined; and his studied indifference to the problem of homosexuality under penal conditions, implicit in his next sentence, was one of the causes of the Island's subsequent bloody history.

Darling to Hay
10. 2. 1827
CO201.181 f244

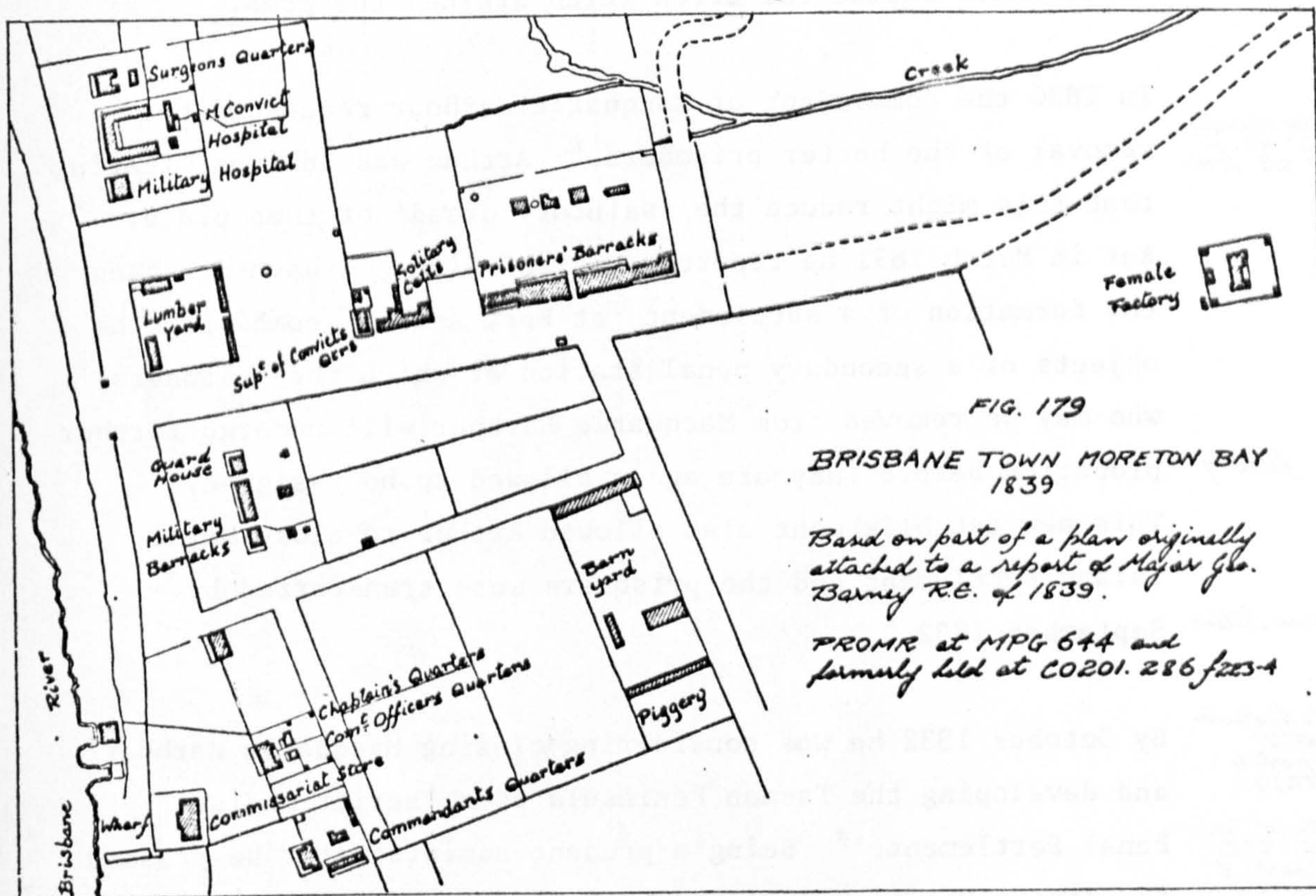
Darling to Hay
10. 2. 1827
CO201.181 f244

In the same despatch* Darling notes the presence of females at Moreton Bay and Port Macquarie, and the leniency of the latter place. By July 1829 he had introduced further regulations intended to confine convicts to agricultural operations, to avoid employing cattle on jobs (such as ploughing) which men could do, to prohibit task work and to work the men at hard labour from sunrise to sunset.*

Shaw Convicts 204

Moreton Bay Penal Settlement was established in September 1824 under Lt Henry Miller on the shore of Moreton Bay. The establishment was soon shifted to the Brisbane River, where it went through the usual evolution from temporary hutting to permanent brick structures. The main building work was initiated by Capt Patrick Logan, the Commandant from March 1826 to his death in October 1830.* By this time most of the buildings on Barney's 1839 plan of the settlement were built or under construction. See Fig. 179.

ADB. II. 124



The requirements for security at Moreton Bay were the same as at Kingston but the different topography resulted in the arrangement of the various functional groupings being reversed.

The large commissariat store was on the very high bank of the river above the wharf and immediately behind it were the Commandant's, Commissariat Officer's and Chaplain's quarters. The military barracks separated this group from the convict area of barracks, cells and lumber yard to the north and north west. A further third of a mile to the north east the female convict barracks were placed in complete isolation, while higher up the river bank, to the west of the settlement, the military and convict hospitals were grouped under the eye of the Surgeon.

In the case of Brisbane, as the Moreton Bay settlement came to be called, the bank of the river offered the highest convenient dry ground and so it was occupied by the stores and 'command' structure. The male convicts were on the decline to the north and the females occupied the lowest point on a small knoll beside the creek which drained the area.

In 1830 the commandant of Macquarie Harbour requested the removal of the better prisoners.* Arthur was dubious, fearing that this might reduce the 'salutory dread' of that place. But in March 1831 he reported his solution: 'I have directed the formation of a settlement [at Port Arthur] combining the objects of a secondary penal station at which the prisoners who may be removed from Macquarie Harbour will undergo further probation before they are again allowed to be assigned.'

This new establishment also allowed Arthur to close Maria Island settlement and the prisoners were transferred by September 1832.*

By October 1832 he was considering closing Macquarie Harbour* and developing the Tasman Peninsula as a 'strict and severe Penal Settlement.*' Being a prudent administrator he pressed the Senior Military Officer, Lt Col. Logan, the Chief Police Magistrate, Forster, and the Port Officer, William Moriarty, into a committee to inspect and comment on its suitability.

*Arthur to Murray
3.3.1831 N2160
CO280.28 f296*

Ibid. f296-7

*Backhouse Letters
I. 47*

*Arthur to Goderich
10.10.1832
73PP T'port. 6:
1834 (82) 20*

*Logan to Cd. Sec.
31.12.1832
73PP T'port. 6:
1834 (82) 57*

They reported that it had every facility provided the waters to the west were patrolled and appropriate measures were taken for guarding Eagle Hawk Neck and other control points.*

*Logan to Col. Sec.
31. 12. 1832
BPP T'port. 6:
1834 (82) 57 et seq*

See Fig. 180.

In a more literary and romantic vein, Arthur told Goderich that 'Tasman's Peninsula' was 'admirably suited from its dreary and uninviting aspect for all the purposes of penal discipline.'*

*Arthur to Goderich
15. 2. 1833
BPP T'port. 6:
1834 (82) 54*

It was the same reasoning that made

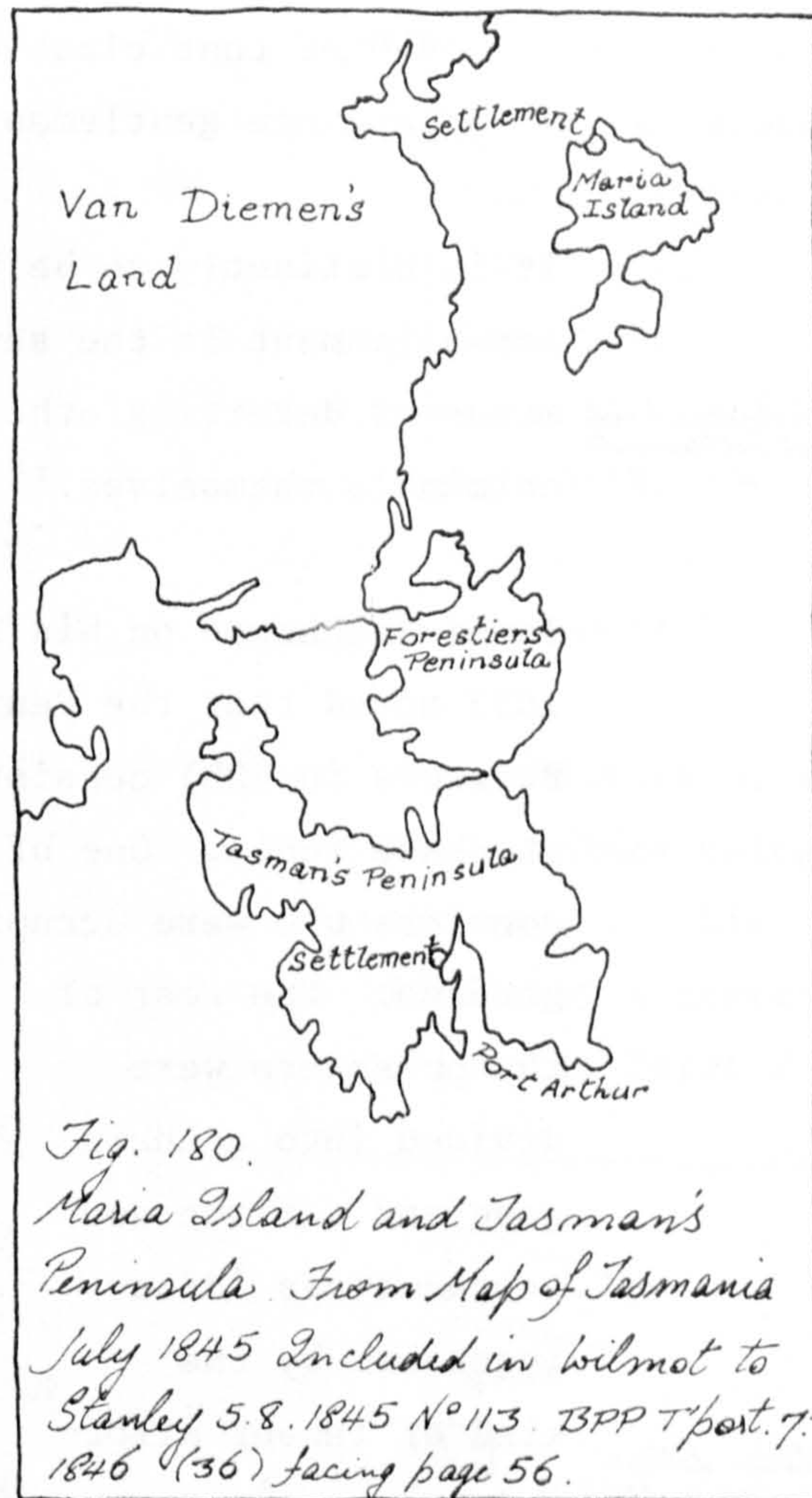
eighteenth and nineteenth century gaol gatehouses as menacing as possible. That is, as Arthur put it, to encourage a 'salutory dread'.

In January 1833 the Colonial Secretary issued the following Standing Instructions: 'His Excellency the L^t Gov^r has been pleased to direct that Tasman's Peninsula shall be established as a Penal Settlement for the reception of:-

1st of convicts under colonial sentence of transportation, or imprisonment and hard labour.

2nd of convicts on their arrival, whose crimes in Great Britain may be notified by His Majesty's Gov^t, to have been of a nature particularly atrocious.

3rd of convicts who may be convicted of violence or outrage during the voyage from England.



4th of that class of offenders denominated in familiar language gentleman convicts.

It is distinctly to be kept in view... that the design of this establishment is the severe punishment of the vicious... as a means of deterring others... as well as the reformation of the criminals themselves.*

Arthur's Instructions for Penal Settlements
60. (25.1.1833)

James Backhouse on his second visit to Port Arthur in November 1833 noted that the Penitentiary (the usual name for the Convict Barracks in VDL) consisted of bark huts surrounded by a high stockade fence. One of the huts was appropriated to gentleman convicts who were occupied in manual labour in the settlement gardens. The rest of

the prisoners were divided into a chain gang and a first and second class 'distinguished by the kind of labour allotted them...'* No

Backhouse Letters
II.10 (25.11.1833)

effective means of physical separation was possible within the stockade though the respective groups were housed in different huts at night. From these

beginnings Port Arthur was developed into a major settlement with the familiar

grouping of buildings, though more compact because of the hilly surroundings.



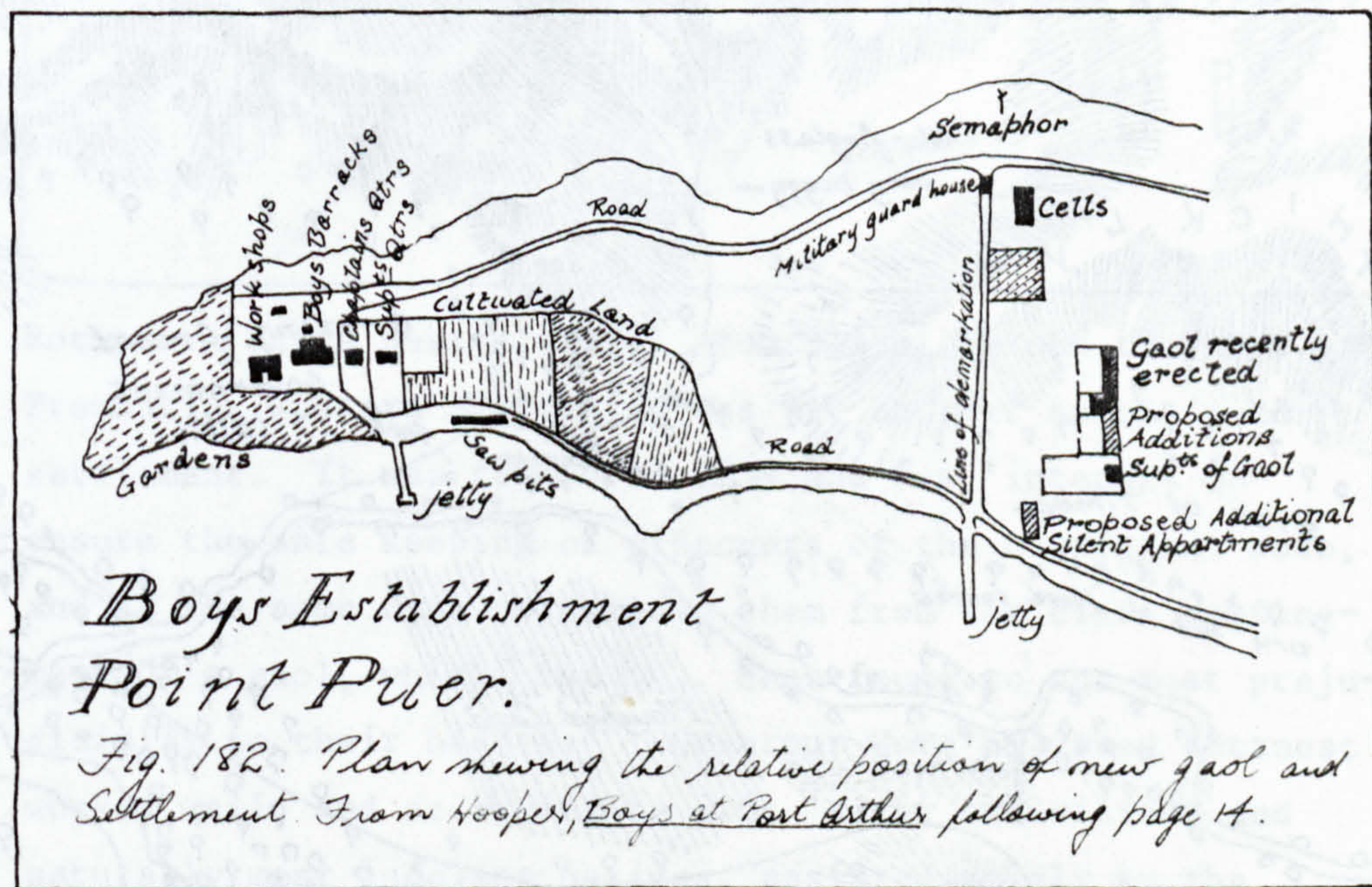
On Point Puer (Fig. 181) across Opossum Bay from the settlement Arthur developed a boys establishment. Backhouse wrote in November 1834: 'the buildings here are of recent erection: they consist of houses for the superintendent and catechist, barracks for the boys and military workshops, kitchens etc... a few cells are erecting at Point Puer to obviate the necessity of sending [the boys] off the establishment to be punished.'* A military guard was stationed at the base of the point to prevent communication with the settlement.*

*Backhouse Letters
II. 49' (20. 11. 1834)*

Ibid.

This arrangement was reflected in a plan of the Settlement of about 1840. See Fig. 182. The only remarkable change being the proliferation of cells for punitive confinement. This was partly as a result of a suspicion in 1837, 'that a certain very revolting offence was of frequent occurrence at Point Puer.'*

*VDL ECM 28. 9. 1837
CO282. 12 f204*



Point Puer was only one of several settlements in the Australian colonies to receive a single category of prisoners. The home government had been alarmed at the disruptive potential of the 'specials' or gentleman convicts, and feared that their education would better enable them to incite and guide rebellious acts. On the other hand, the authorities were loth to sentence 'gentlemen' to hard labour on penal

settlements.

There were various solutions. In Van Dieman's Land Arthur was required to remove them to Port Arthur, and so he employed them in the settlement gardens. Brisbane, in January 1823, formed an agricultural settlement at Wellington Valley, some distance to the north west of Bathurst.* Here they were well away from the settled areas and there were only kangaroos and solitary shepherds to inflame.

Brisbane to Bathurst
28.4.1823 No 7
CO201.143 f132

In 1824 the Commandant, Lt Percy Simpson, drew a sketch of the area (Fig. 183) showing the informal arrangement of his

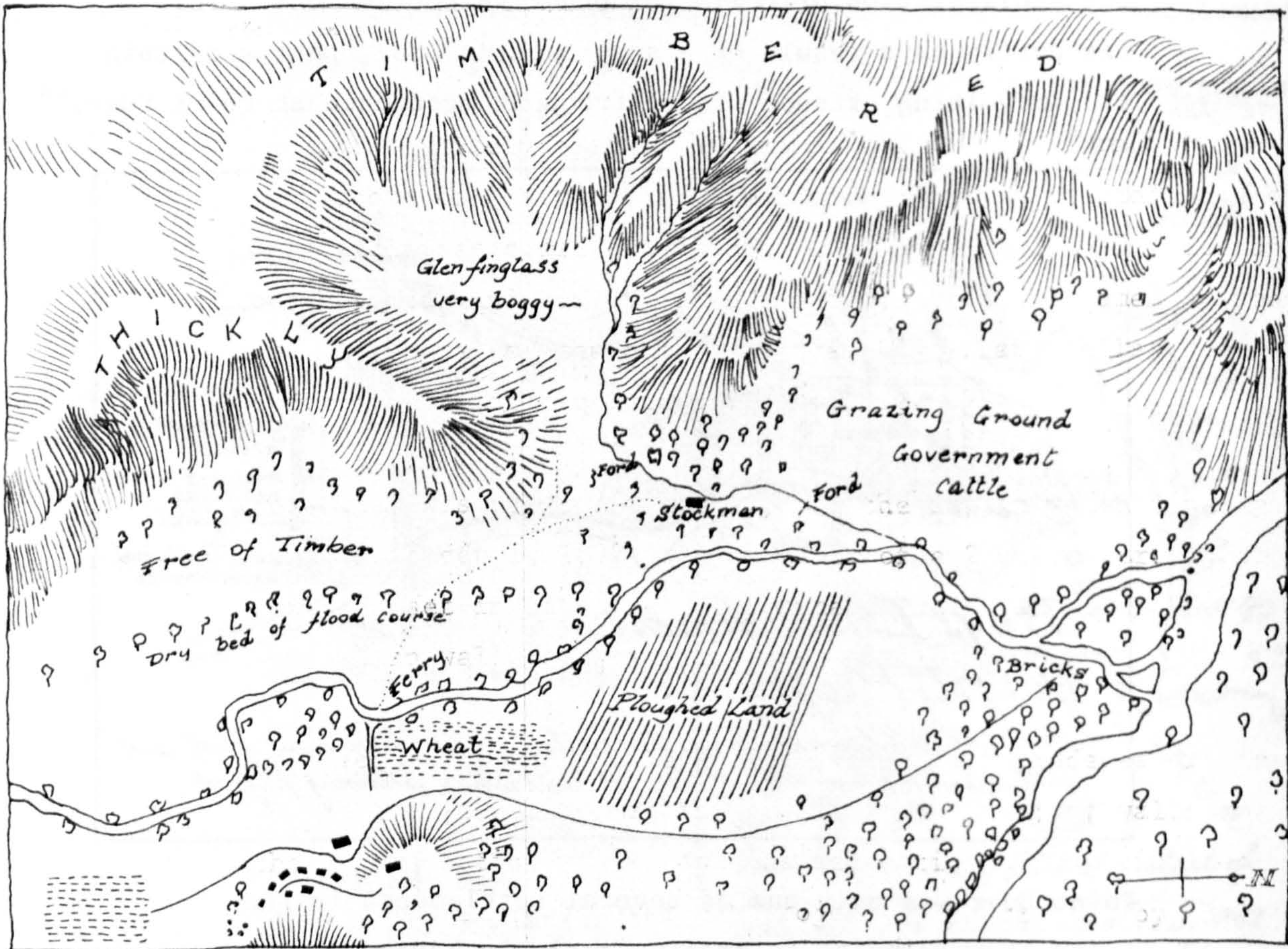


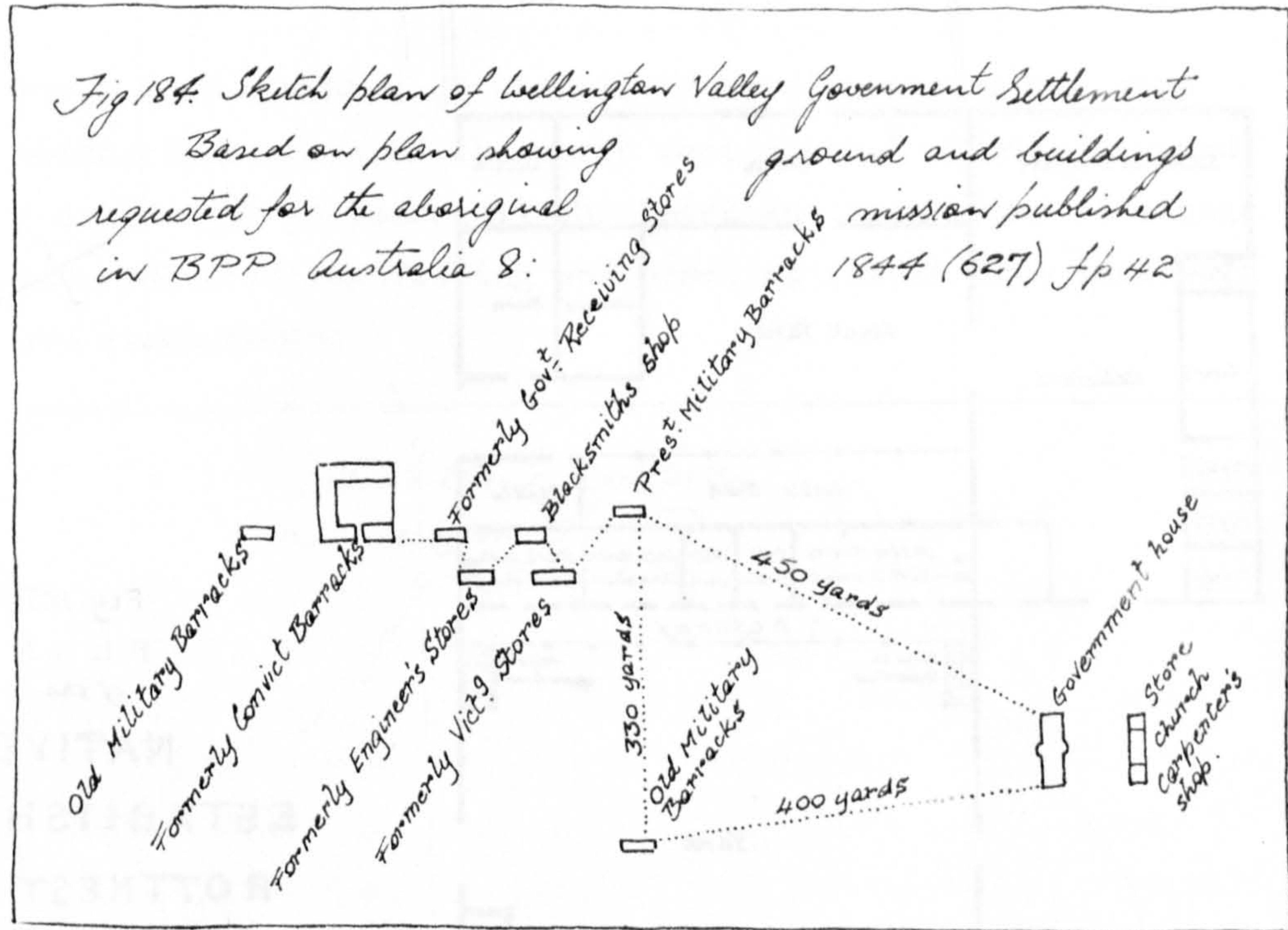
Fig. 183. Wellington Valley. A plan of the settlement in 1824 drawn by Lt Percy Simpson. From McDonald Wellington following page 32.

McDonald Wellington. 13
Ibid. 12

temporary huts. By the following year he had 84 convicts* and had commenced a permanent settlement.* Its buildings were

McDonald
Wellington 13 & 14

widely spread over an area of nearly half a mile on the east side of the Bell River near the old huts. When the settlement was abandoned in 1830, on Darling's orders,* the buildings must have been substantially as shown in the aboriginal mission's request published in 1844. See Fig. 184.



Rottnest [Rat's nest] Island, about 13 miles off the port of Fremantle, Western Australia, was yet another specialised settlement. It was formed in 1839 and was 'intended to ensure the safe keeping of prisoners of the aboriginal race, and at the same time to relieve them from the close confinement of a gaol, which [had] ... been found to act most prejudicially to their health.'* Governor Hutt believed Rottnest worked well, and according to him, 'eight uncivilised and naturally most indolent natives, assisted solely by the Superintendent, Mr Vincent, and a white prisoner' erected the stone dwelling and outbuildings in eighteen months.* In 1842 the visiting magistrate, Symmons, prepared a plan of the buildings constructed of stone.* See Fig. 185.

Hutt to Russell
19.8.1840 N°40
BPP Aust. 8:
1844 (627) 373

Ibid. 375

Hutt to Russell
1.3.1842 N°10
BPP Aust. 8:
1844 (627) 405

By January 1851 the settlement, or rather 'island gaol' had been abandoned and Governor Fitzgerald recorded that the

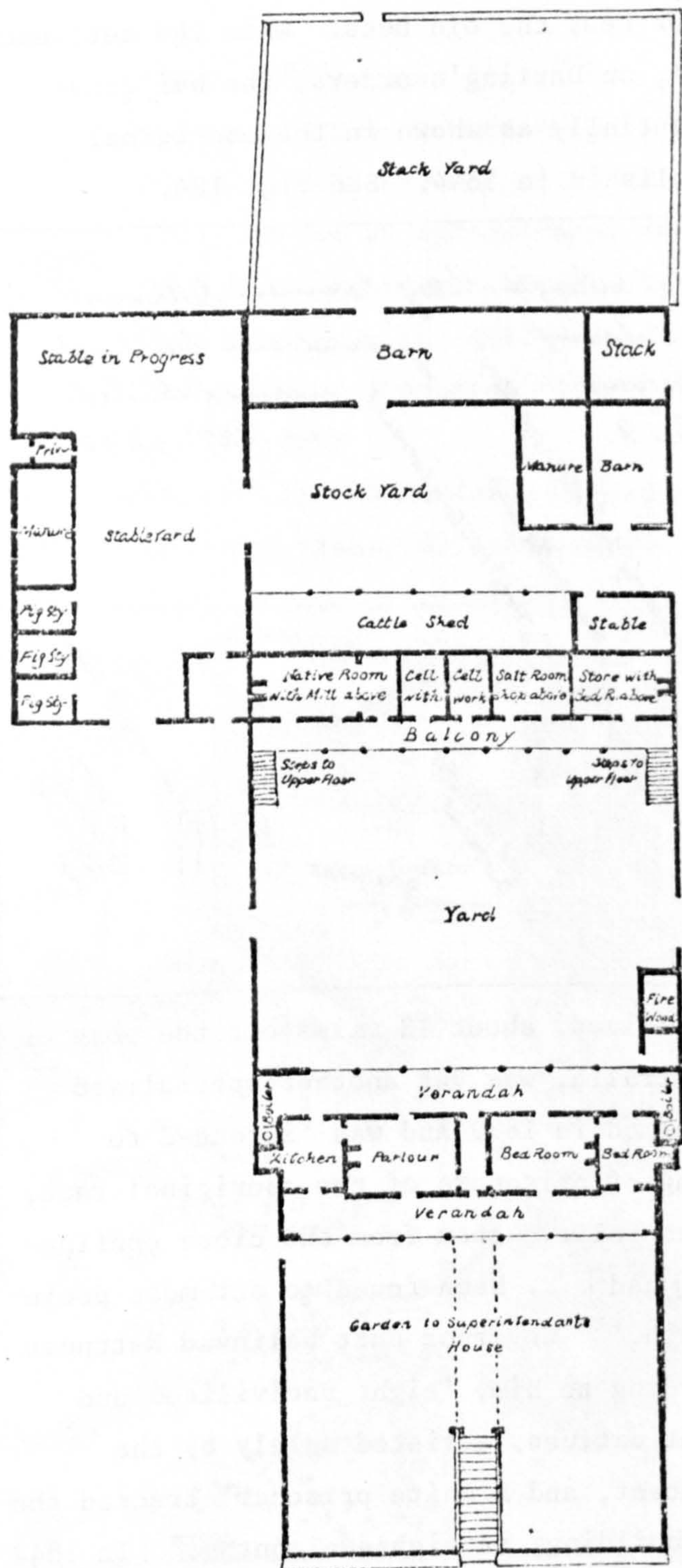
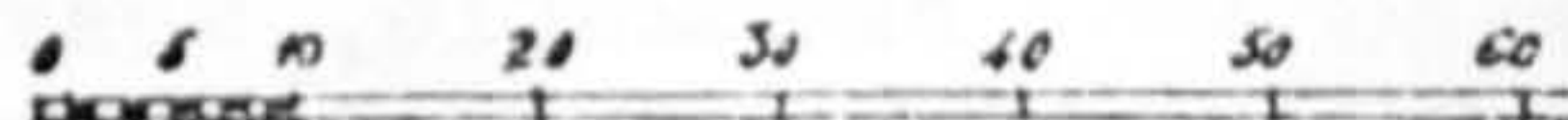


Fig. 185
 PLAN
 of the
**NATIVE
 ESTABLISHMENT.
 ROTTNEEST ISLAND.**

By A. C. Gregory Asst. Surg.
 Feb^r 1842.



REPRODUCED FROM BRITISH PARLIAM.
 PAPERS 14P. 1969
 COLONIES AUSTRALIA 8:
 1844 (G27) FACING PAGE 400



Ch. II Fig. 185

T H O M S O N S B A Y .

Fitzgerald to Earl Grey
17.1.1851 N°11
TSPPT part. 10:
1851 (1418) 92

'... natives, when discharged from the island, rushed to the bush with almost increased savageness of feeling...'* He went on to say that the island had been 'let on an annual lease to one of the settlers, assigning him from time to time the native prisoners who may prove troublesome...'*

Ibid. 92

Darling to Goderich
13.10.1827,
CO201.183 f413-7

There were a number of shortlived settlements on the more impractical parts of the north west coast.* Their intended function was to forestall the Dutch and French and to engage in trade with the fishing and pearling fleets from Indonesia and parts north.



Brisbane to Bathurst
12.8.1824
CO201.150 f211

Melville Island was founded in 1824* by a Lieutenant, a surgeon, 49 soliders and marines and 44 convicts. John Barrow at the Admiralty had 'no doubt that in a commercial view, it will become another Singapore.'* It did not, and foundered in 1829. Undeterred, a second attempt was made in 1838 at Port Essington. It floundered along till 1849 when it was mercifully abandoned.* T H Huxley described it as

Lloyd Barrow 163

Ibid. 164

'fit for neither man nor beast. Day and night there is the same fearful damp depressing heat, producing unconquerable langour and rendering the unhappy resident a prey to ennui and cold brandy and water...'*

Lloyd Barrow 164

These settlements were only incidentally penal establishments and were usually built of temporary wooden structures, though for Port Essington at least a prefabricated church and perhaps huts were designed and shipped from Sydney.*

Stanley Voyage of the
Britomart January
1840 ML
PXC 279
Information from
Geen Kerr

*See Barry on
Maconochie for
biographical
information.*

Cap^t Alexander Maconochie R.N.* came to VDL as Sir John Franklin's nominal private secretary on the understanding that an appropriate post would be found for him. Before leaving London in 1836 he had been asked by the SIPD to report on the workings of the Convict System in the Penal Colonies. He had reported this to Sir George Grey and was directed by that gentleman to convey the information in the first instance only to His Majesty's Government.*

*Maconochie to Russell
30.9.1837
BPP T'port 6:
1837-8 (121)3*

Accordingly in September 1837 Maconochie sent his 'Report on the State of Prison Discipline in VDL'* to the Secretary of State for the Colonies via Franklin. It was passed to the Home Dep^t* and there turned over by Russell to the Molesworth Committee (of which he was a member). Here it was well received, not only because it corroborated the testimony of several others that the Assignment System was a lottery offering an easy life, or slavery, but also because it made positive proposals in keeping with the outlook of the Committee itself.

*Maconochie Report
1838. 183*

*West History of
Tasmania II. 265-6*

The recommendations of the Committee were reflected in the Secretary of State for the Colonies' May 1839 despatch to Gipps.* He outlined the principles that were to govern future penal treatment.

*Normanby to Gipps
11.5.1839 No 46
BPP T'port 6:
1839 (582) 17-18*

1st there should be a fixed, punitive period of imprisonment.

2nd this should be followed by a period of sentence which may be abridged by good conduct.

These principles were developed into the Probation System and the buildings provided for it are discussed in Chapter 14.

However, in addition to the above, Normanby proposed that an 'essential alteration' be made in the system of punishment on Norfolk Island.* This 'alteration' was to be an experiment of a radical nature based largely on Maconochie's proposals,

Ibid. 17

and for such a scheme, unemotive phraseology like 'alteration' was both prudent and necessary.

Normanby pointed out that in order to carry the Norfolk Island proposal into effect a prison would be needed, 'capable of holding as many convicts as can be conveniently and profitably employed in the island, and so arranged as to facilitate the adoption of the most effectual means of enforcing an improved system of discipline.'^{*} Normanby asked for a plan and estimate of this prison to be sent over for approval, and lest there be doubt on the type of design required, he continued: 'My predecessor transmitted to you... the 2nd Report of the Inspectors of Prisons and I now transmit... a subsequent volume... which will afford you the requisite information on the subject.'^{*}

*Normanby to Gipps
11.5.1839 No 46
BPP T'part 6:
1839(582)17*

Ibid.

A major factor in the experiment's success was to be the selection of a superintendent and this was recognised by the provision of a salary of £800 a year, and a residence.^{*}

Ibid. 18

Normanby left the selection to Gipps, subject to approval, but at the same time wrote a confidential despatch recommending Maconochie.^{*} Needless to say Maconochie was appointed.

*Gipps to Normanby
23.11.1839
BPP T'part 6:
NA1(412)8*

Maconochie outlined his principles in many letters and pamphlets,^{*} but basically he believed that the existing punitive penal methods debased, and in their place he devised a flexible incentive scheme for rehabilitating convicts so that they might be made fit for release.^{*}

*See under
Maconochie in
Bibliography and
Barry on
Maconochie.*

*Barry on
Maconochie. 72*

Before departing to Norfolk Island in February 1840 he set down in a Memorandum the type of building most suited to serve his proposed treatment.^{*} He started by pointing out that the Inspectors' recommended designs, given to him by Gipps, were intended to make escape, and communication between prisoners, impossible. Maconochie believed he could discourage the former by a sentence whose duration was measured by conduct, rather

*Maconochie's Memo
on Prisons 1840
46-8*

*Maconochie Memo
on Prisons 1840
46*

than by time, and in any case the isolation of Norfolk Island made ultimate escape difficult.*

Ibid. 47

He continued: 'I am inclined then to admit the expediency of providing a limited extent of moderately secure accommodation, in a large complete establishment, for newcomers, and others found afterwards less manageable; but I wish much more earnestly to have a large command of less and less secure, but even more cheerful quarters, so as to train by rewarding self command...'*

Ibid.

He particularly objected to the small facility offered by the Inspectors' prisons 'for the communication of moral, religious and other intellectual stimulus and instruction... Each prisoner in them must either be visited separately, or removed, with serious trouble and loss of time, separately to the chapel.'*

Ibid.

But, said Maconochie, 'Non vi, sed saepe cadendo, is a rule especially to be observed in imparting moral and religious impulses to ignorant men...' What was needed was an 'incessant feeding of the mind.' Maconochie's solution was to group cells, 'as Mr Bentham originally proposed, round central halls of chapels, where a succession of readers may diversify the subjects.' However, unlike Mr Bentham, he did not approve of constant inspection from without, which he considered peculiarly injurious.*

For these reasons Maconochie suggested two designs to Barney for the purpose of estimating. The first was 'that of a long narrow hall, perhaps 30 or 40 ft wide by any length, and divided across this length into chapels say 50 or 60 ft long, each. Between buttress walls outside of these I would erect my separate cells, probably in 3 rows varying in security and comfort as may be deemed expedient... and all provided with a door from the chapel... and with a window into the chapel of ground glass, or a wooden panel, by sloping which a voice from the pulpit or reading desk may be easily heard by the

Maconochie Memo
on Prisons 1840
47.

prisoners within them.'* See Fig. 187. The other design was

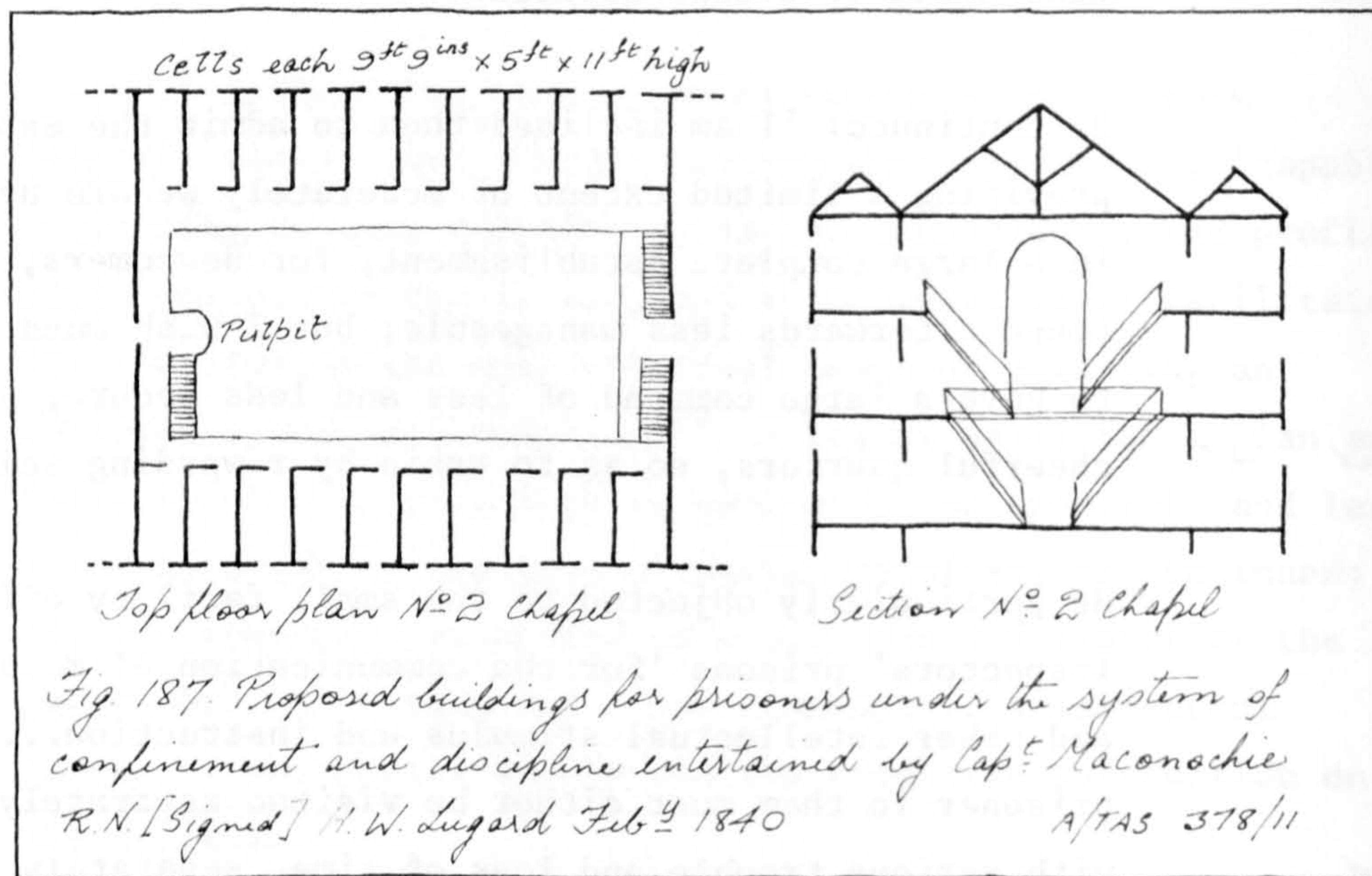


Fig. 187. Proposed buildings for prisoners under the system of confinement and discipline entertained by Cap^t Maconochie R.N. [Signed] H. W. Lugard Feb^y 1840 A/TAS 378/11

Ibid. 47

that of 'a circular or oval building similarly constructed and divided into two chapels by an interior transverse wall.'*

Neither of these designs involved a new concept. Maconochie mentions Bentham probably because he was a well known propagandist whom he had read, but he might equally have cited the Glasgow Bridewell with its tiers of cells arranged in a half circle and facing in to a pulpit,* or the more recent example of the Eastern Penitentiary, Philadelphia. Here, after 1831,* divine service was performed in the corridor for the prisoners to join in without leaving their cells.*

Gurney on Prisons
45

Jeters and Shearer
The Prison at
Philadelphia. 70

Heath Paper on
2nd of Punishment
BPP T'part 2:
1837 278

It is interesting that Maconochie described his design precisely in terms of medieval or renaissance ecclesiastical architecture, thus: 'between buttress walls outside of the [chapels] I would erect my separate cells.'* This is, for example, the plan type of the Italian sixteenth century Jesuit church nave, with its wide preaching space and flanking chapels in the place of aisles.*

Maconochie Memo
on Prisons 1840
47.

Hibberd Maderno
Fig. 1 St. Gesù

'The Illustrious Howard' in 1784 published 2 plans developed on this theme. They were of the Houses of Correction in the

Hospice of Saint Michael in Rome, 1703-4 by Carlo Fontana (Fig. 188), and at Milan, under construction in 1778 (Fig. 189)

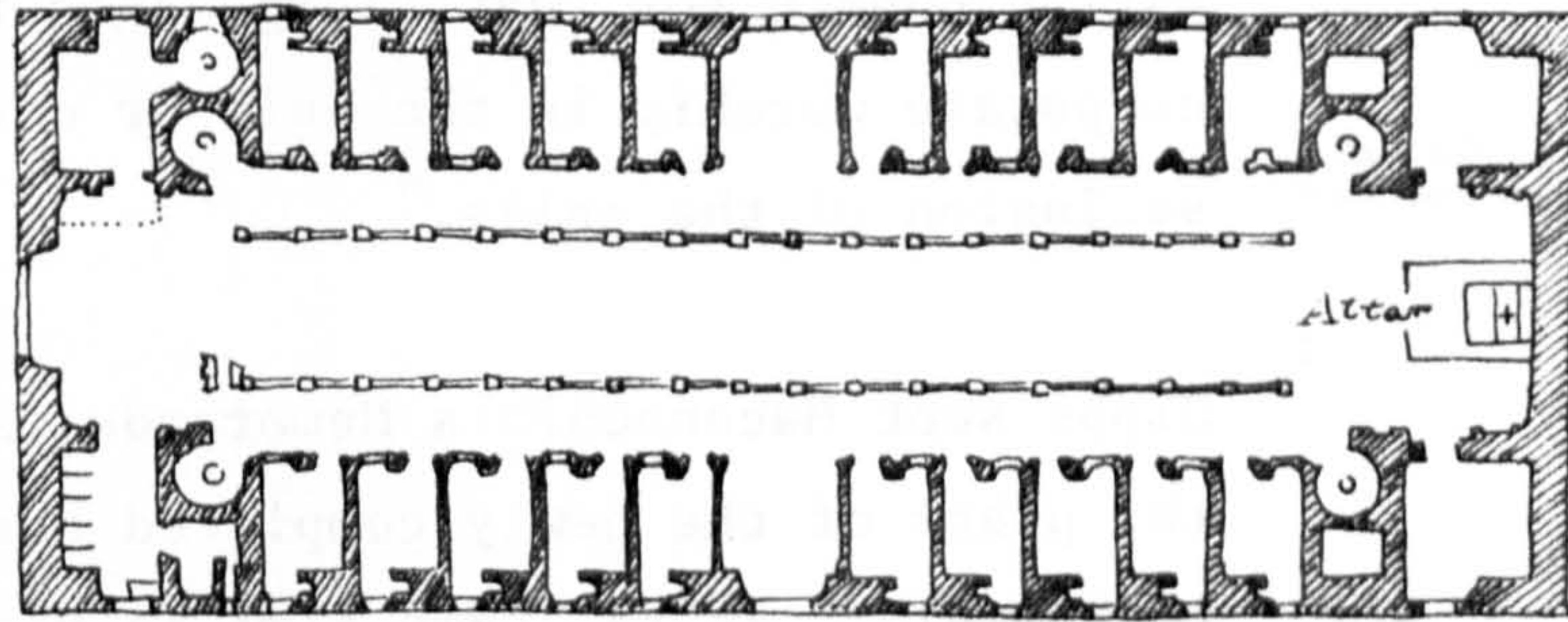


Fig 188. House of Corr^m, Hospice of Saint Michael, Rome. Howard's Appendix p. 76.

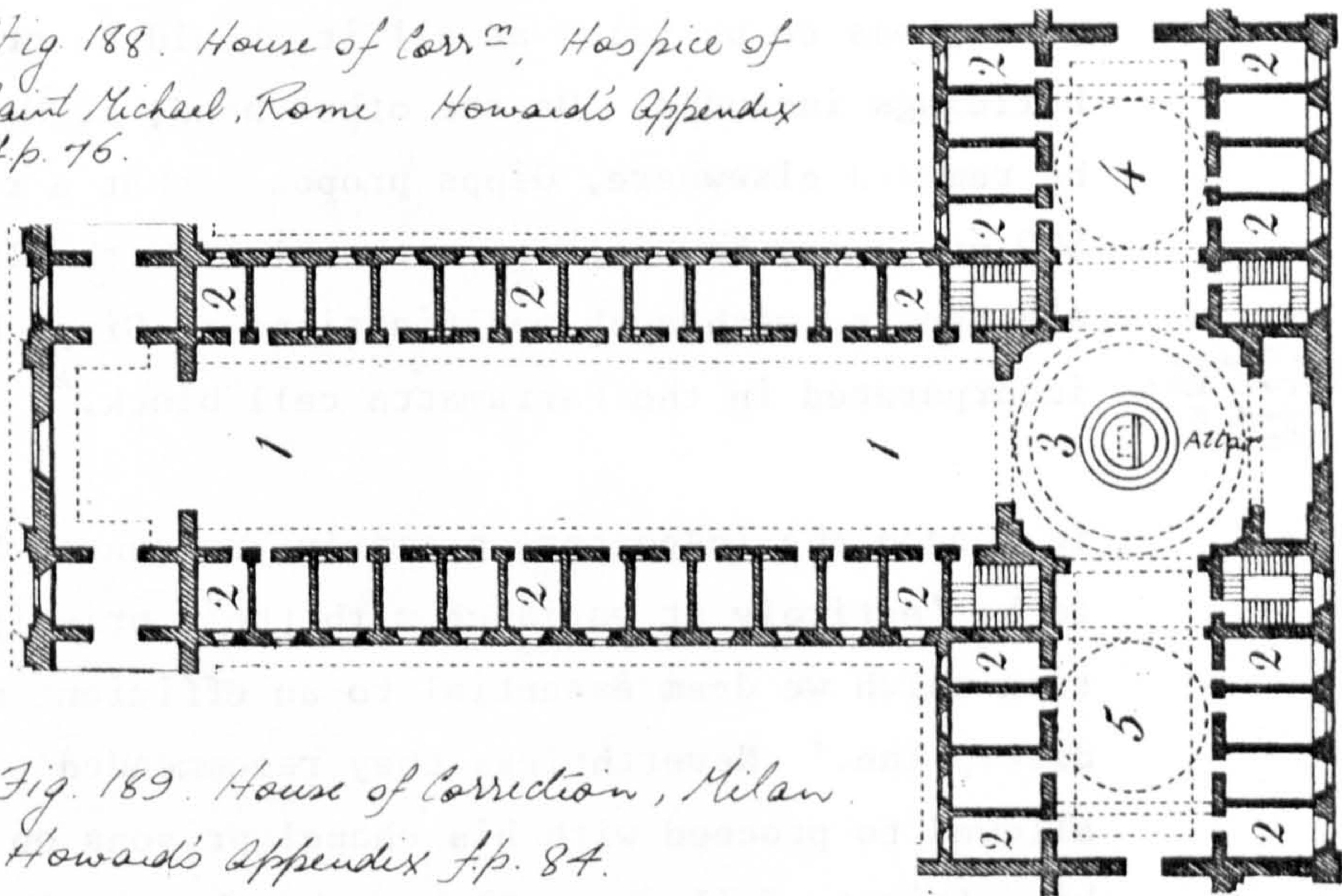


Fig. 189. House of Correction, Milan. Howard's Appendix p. 84.

Both were based on the principle of a wide church nave with cells ranged in tiers in the place of the aisles, and both were arranged so that each prisoner could hear divine service and improving exhortations. In addition the width of the nave or hall may have permitted the prisoners to catch a glimpse of the altar.

John Howard was the most celebrated writer on penal reform at the end of the eighteenth century and was still a popular authority in the 1820s and 1830s. It is quite unlikely that anyone with Maconochie's interest in penal discipline would be unfamiliar with his work. It is therefore probable that these Italian church prison designs were a direct source of inspiration for Maconochie's wide-bodied penitentiary with its similar

functions. Maconochie intended to distribute the chapel units among the religious denominations having clergymen on the island. Each chapel would then in addition become a parish church for that clergyman's flock thus permitting corporate worship in the hall or nave as well as in the seclusion of the cells.*

*Maconochie Memo
on Prisons 1840
47*

Gipps sent Maconochie's Memorandum and plans, together with the plans of the newly completed Parramatta Factory cell block, to Russell. At the same time he recommended that if Maconochie's system was to be tried at all it should be tried as a whole, buildings included. On the other hand, if Maconochie was to be removed elsewhere, Gipps proposed that a radiating gaol for 500 prisoners be built upon the plan of the Inspectors in their 4th Report, with such modifications as Gipps had earlier incorporated in the Parramatta cell block.*

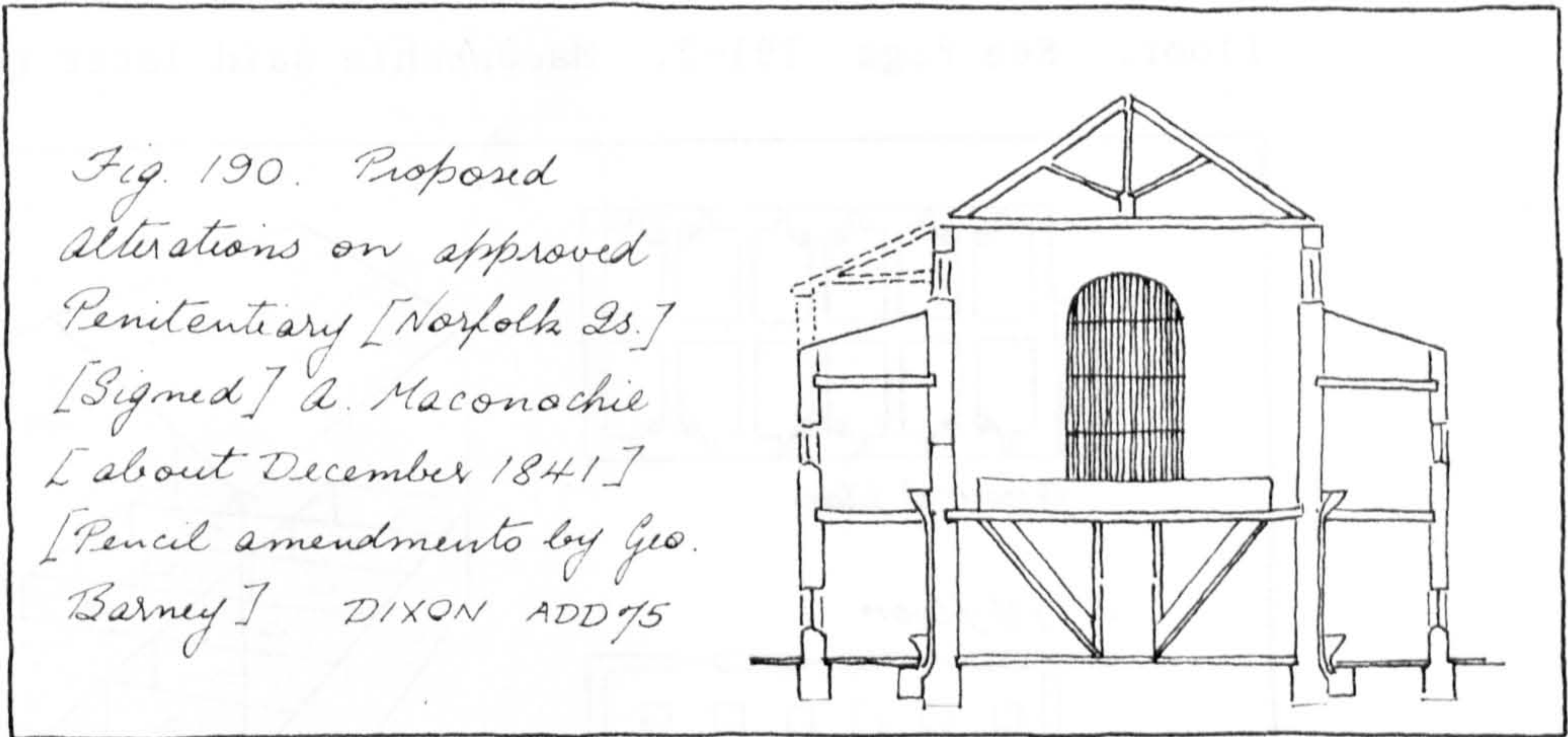
*Gipps to Russell
128.2.1840 No 31
BPP T'port. 6:
1841 (412) 40*

In London the Inspectors promptly pronounced Maconochie's plan to be 'entirely at variance with those principles of construction which we deem essential to an efficient system of prison discipline.' Nevertheless they recommended that Maconochie be allowed to proceed with his chapel prisons on the grounds that his ultimate failure could not then be attributed to the Separate System design advocated by the Inspectors.* Accordingly in November 1840 Russell sanctioned the erection of Maconochie's plan but passed the Inspectors' critical letter to the colony.*

*Crawford and Russell
to Phillip's 11.8.1840
BPP T'port. 6:
1841 (412) 48-9*

*Russell to Gipps
9.11.1840 No 169
BPP T'port. 6:
1841 (412) 48*

Maconochie was not daunted, and by the end of 1841 his Royal Engineer foreman of works had drawn up an improved design to his instructions. See Fig. 190. In this Maconochie attempted to bring his penitentiary more in line with the aims of the Inspectors by removing the top tier of cells and introducing a large clerestory for light and ventilation. This gave the section of the building an even more ecclesiastical flavour. He also introduced a water closet into each cell.



When the design was sent to Sydney for approval Barney replaced the 3rd tier of cells (see broken line in Fig. 190), and in January 1842 the Colonial Secretary replied to Maconochie, 'His Excellency is disposed... to think that if light and air be freely admitted at both ends of the building, neither side window nor roof light will be required.'*

Col. Sec. [to Maconochie] 29.1.1842
A/NSW 4/3823
Quoted in Saunders, Norfolk Island, Gaols. 287

This design was never built as Maconochie's ingenuity had already moved in another direction. He had at the end of 1841 submitted an even more curious gaol design for Kingston. However, of this the Colonial Secretary had written, 'the Governor cannot sanction so great a departure from the plan that has been approved at home, as would be involved in the substitution for it of a Building on what you call the Longridge Plan.'* The history of this second design is worth relating.

Ibid.

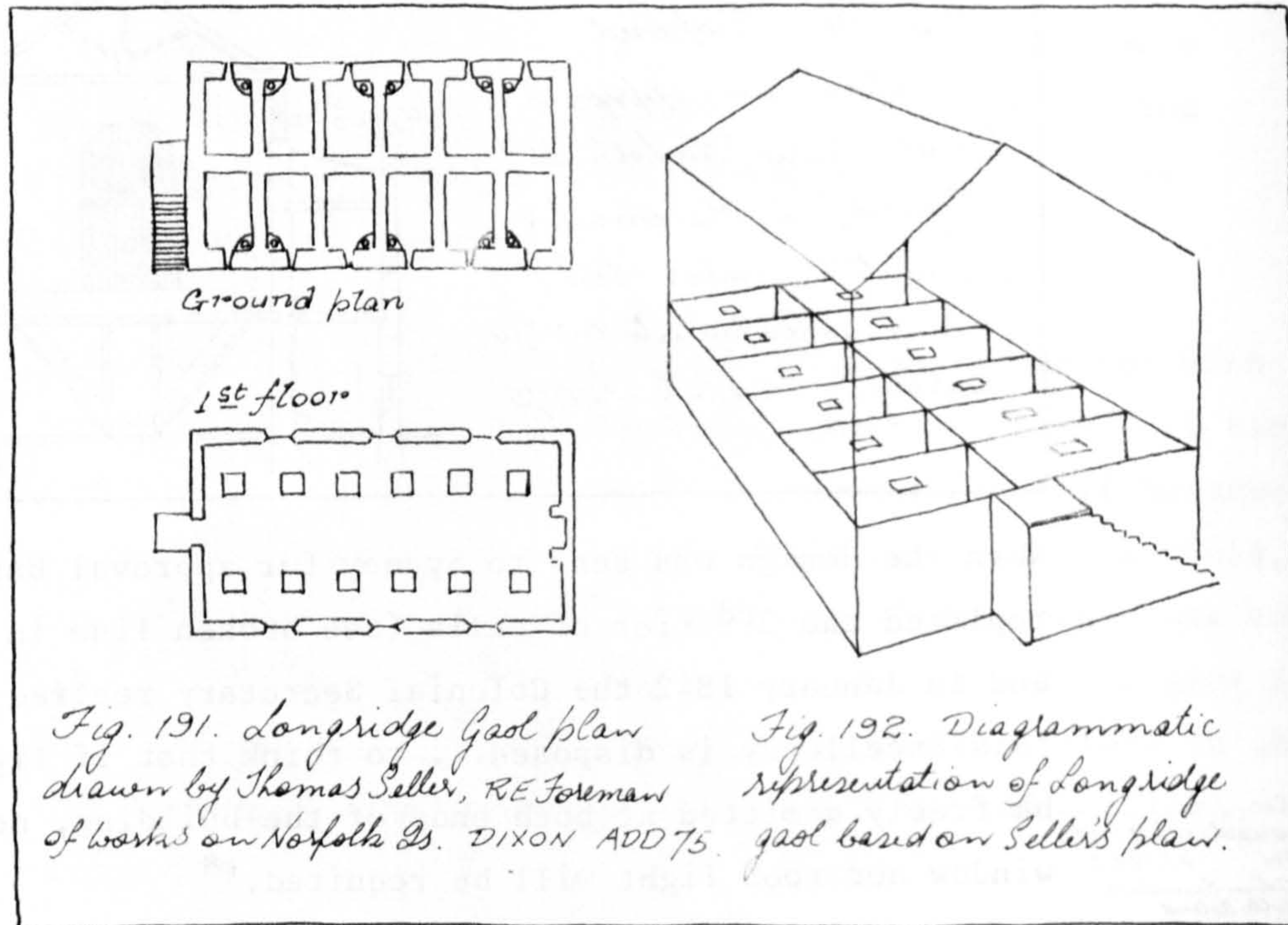
On his arrival in 1840 Maconochie had dismantled the gallows outside the old gaol at Kingston,* and completed a number of necessary but unauthorised buildings. These included simple rectangular Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches against the perimeter wall of the existing Convict barracks,* and a 12 cell gaol at Longridge.

West History of Tasmanian II. 283

Barry on Maconochie 113 and 137

Its concept of auditory cells was the same as Maconochie's penitentiary design, but where that design had tiers of cells flanking a 'church' this had oubliette cells under the 'church'

floor. See Figs. 191-2. Maconochie said later that he had



Barry Maconochie
114.

long meditated such a plan,* but the practical application of an oubliette system was probably suggested to him by the stone store near the landing place at Kingston. The store was a 6 bay 2 storey rectangular building with its entry at the gable end on the first floor level. Access was by an external staircase. Maconochie adopted the same scheme for his gaol.

The Longridge cells on Seller's plan were just under 8 ft x 5. Rogers, one of the later clergymen on the island, who no doubt rounded the feet off downwards, described them as 7 ft x 4½. Each prisoner could open a panel in the roof of his cell and hear the reading, or close it and be quite secluded. For the first time in NSW each cell was equipped with a privy. It was placed against the outer wall with a fairly direct drop to a foul drain, though there is no indication of how the drain was flushed.

Although an oubliette design was unusual and retrograde it was by no means unique at the time. During Crawford's American

*Crawford Report
1834 88*

visit he had been surprised by a similar double row of top access cells or 'pits' in the State Prison at Thomaston, Maine in December 1832.* They were 8 ft 9 ins x 4 ft 6 ins x 9 ft 2 ins high with a small orifice in the external wall of 8 ins x 1½ ins for air. The cells were covered by a roof set on posts, but do not appear to have been associated with any scheme for moral improvement.* Likewise Captain Pringle's July 1838 plan of the House of Correction and Jail at St Johns in the West Indies shows sets of 3 and 2 top entry cells.*

Ibid.

*Pringle West Indies
Prisons 1838
BSP 1837-8. XL*

Such cells were common enough in medieval castles and keeps in Maconochie's native Scotland, though even during the period of loose standards of humanity in the late eighteenth century they were generally regarded as unsuitable receptacles for prisoners. Hence the reason for their appearance in America and the West Indies, except as barbarous and nearly obsolete engines of punishment, is quite obscure. In Maconochie's case it was an amateur experiment on a small scale of an auditory cell design, all the more unusual in that it was designed to serve an enlightened and benevolent regime. Maconochie was subsequently to consider it a failure.*

See page 203

However in April 1842 the Longridge gaol had not been functioning long enough for him to become disillusioned with its design and the system it represented. In that month he had Seller draw up an enlarged and improved version for construction at Kingston. See Fig. 193. In this the cells were lengthened by 2 ft to provide a partitioned space on the inside wall for a privy and a wash basin. These discharged into a drain running under the spine of the building. As before the cells could be entered from the top only and each had a small loop hole in the outer wall. This looked on to a totally enclosed and hence inaccessible yard. When the plan arrived at Sydney for approval it not surprisingly baffled Barney and he wrote across the yards; 'what are these spaces enclosed for?'

*Inscription DIXON
ADD 75*

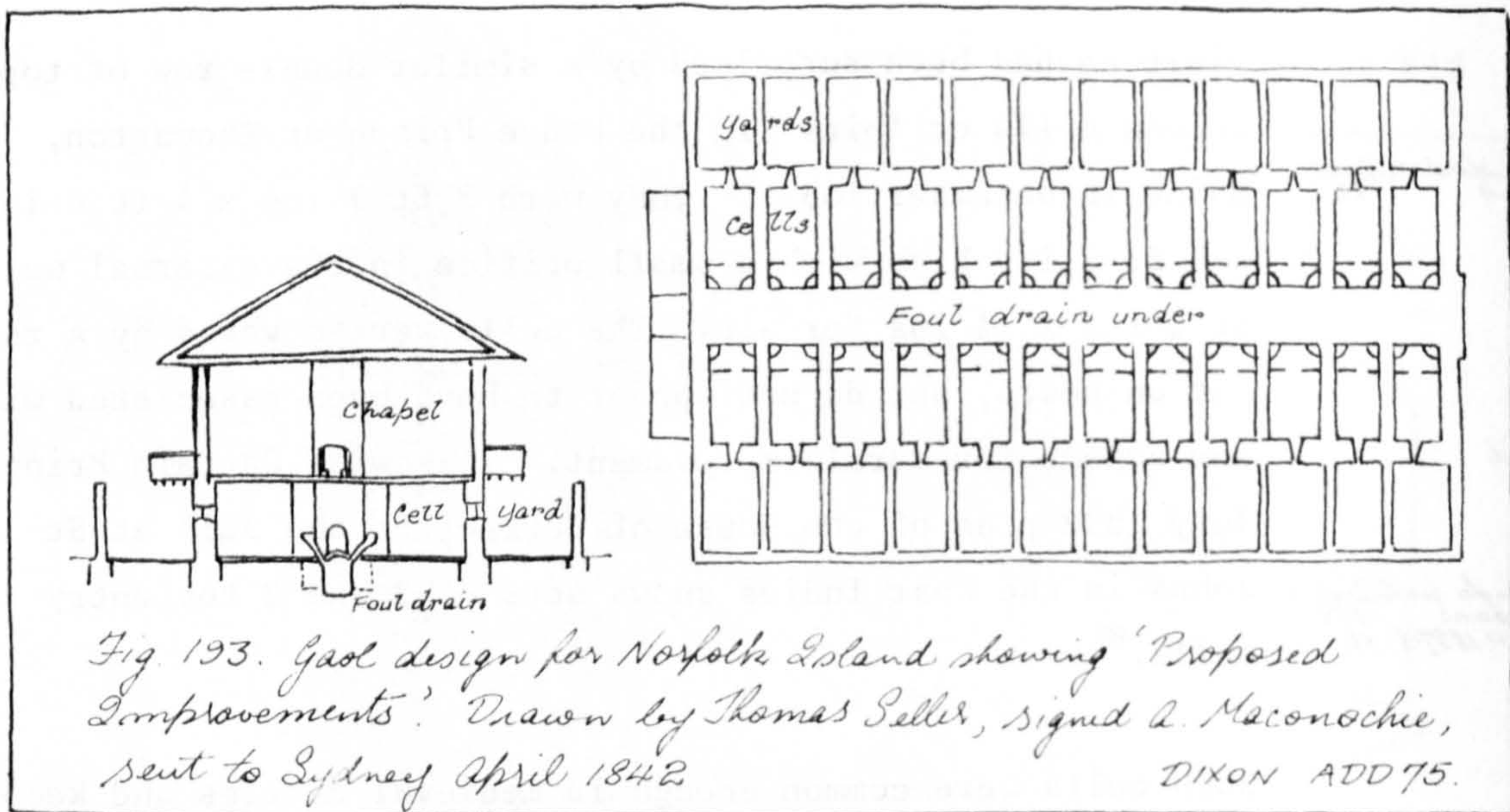


Fig. 193. Gaol design for Norfolk Island showing 'Proposed Improvements'. Drawn by Thomas Seller, signed A. Maconochie, sent to Sydney April 1842. DIXON ADD 75.

They may have been inspired by, or simply been a misunderstanding of, the published diagrammatic and sometimes inaccurate designs of Haviland's Eastern State Penitentiary at Philadelphia. Crawford in 1834* for example represented the Philadelphia plan without doors. Also Seller was very stupid* and Maconochie very busy. Whatever the reason Barney's comment caused the plan to be redrawn to show short nib walls projecting outside each cell. See Fig. 194. These were to discourage

Crawford Report 1834 Plan 1.
See for example Seller to Barney 5.4.1842
DIXON ADD 75

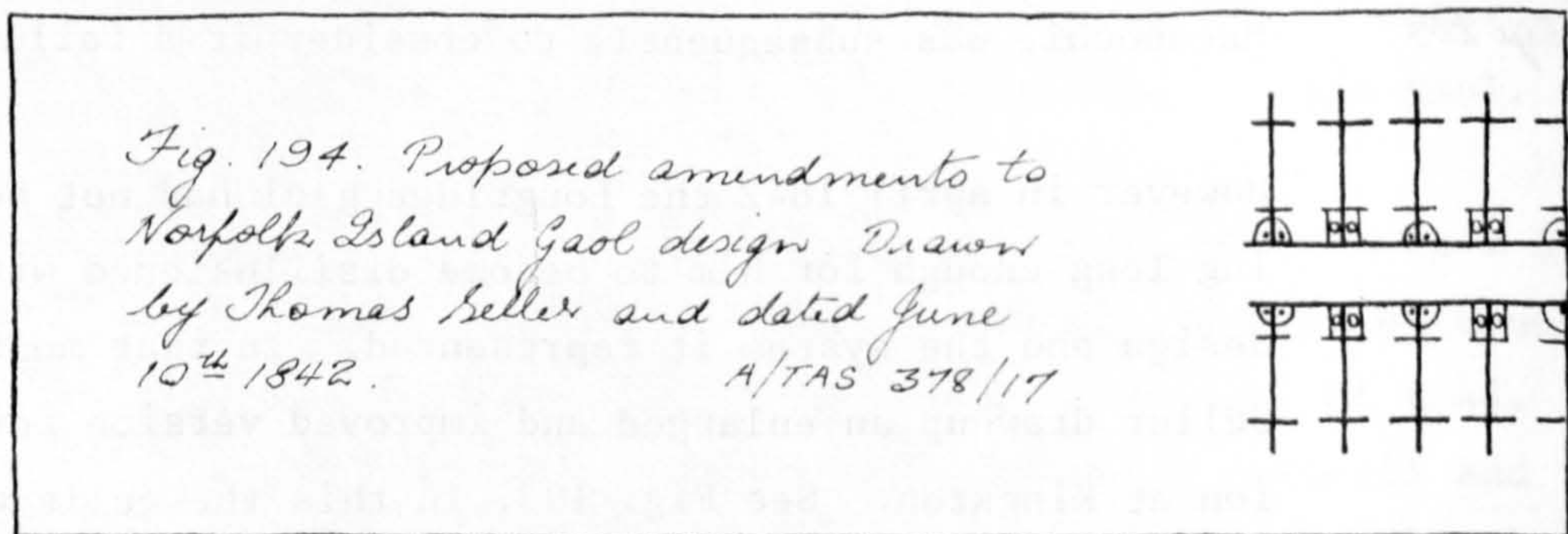


Fig. 194. Proposed amendments to Norfolk Island Gaol design. Drawn by Thomas Seller and dated June 10th 1842. A/TAS 378/17

the prisoners' whispered communication from the windows. In addition the loopholes were widened to normal cell windows.

Gipps included this building in the 1843-4 estimates and sent the design to London for consideration, not in expectation of approval, but more as another example of Maconochie's unsuitability for his post. He wrote at the same time to

*Gipps to Stanley
15.8.1842 No 144
BPP T/Part. 7:
1843 (158) 23-6*

Stanley that the best thing to do with Norfolk Island was to let it revert to what it was before 1840.*

*Berry on
Maconochie. 139*

Gipps made his first visit to the island in February 1843,* and, after seeing Maconochie's work at first hand, changed his mind. It was however much too late to save Maconochie, even if that was possible in the face of both active and passive subversion by professional civil servants in London and Sydney. As early as November 1842, following Gipps' adverse report, Stanley had decided to recall Maconochie* and abandon his experiment as irrelevant in view of the introduction of the new Probation System.*

*Berry on Maconochie
146*

See Chapter 14

Maconochie's plans were therefore not approved and the only convict building actually built to his design was the original 12 cell Longridge cell block. His final disenchantment with this building was not so much with its design as with the Separate System it represented. His subsequent evidence is illuminating.

'6561. In what respect do you consider the Separate System ... injurious? - I think it weakens both the body and the mind.

6562. Do you ground that upon observation? - When I went to Norfolk Island I was a good deal enamoured of the Separate System and one of the first things I did was to build a separate prison; but as I watched the effect of it my admiration very much abated.

6563. For how many prisoners was the prison built? - for 12.

6564. How long did you work it? - I kept it at work all the time I was there, but only for local criminals.

6565. How long did you keep the prisoners in separation? - I kept one man in separation for 6 months, and I deeply regretted it.

6566. What was the effect on him? - He became nearly helpless; he was a very different man afterwards from what he was before.*

*Maconochie Evidence
to the Select Com^{tee} on
Prison Discipline
14.5.1850
BPP Prisons 5:
1850 (632) 426-7*

Slave Convicts 294

Maconochie's venture had only a small chance of success from the beginning. It had been bestowed on the Home and Colonial Office, and the NSW Governor, by a Parliamentary Committee cum pressure group; and what was worse it involved a radical innovation. Even Russell had had second thoughts,* and once he was replaced by Stanley at the Colonial Office the project had little future.

*Barry on Maconochie
211 Cites Crawford,
Whitworth Russell,
Jebb, James
Stephens and both
Home and Colonial
Office as being
antagonistic.*

*Gipps to Russell
21.11.1841 N° 224
BPP T'port. 7:
1843 (158) 15*

Gipps never fully understood the implications of Maconochie's methods, and even had he done so, he was, like the professional civil servants in London, quite out of accord with them.* He probably did make a genuine effort to be impartial, but did not take any really positive steps to help Maconochie avoid or surmount his two real difficulties. The first was the presence of old lags (1200 in November 1841*) on the island who could neither be included in Maconochie's regime nor effectively be separated from those who were. The second was the fact that Her Majesty's Government never ratified, and finally effectively repudiated, Maconochie's basic incentive scheme of permitting good conduct to shorten sentences.

On top of all this Maconochie himself irritated the recipients of his despatches and reports with their rambling prolixity and obscurity,* though this was not true of his explanation of his need for buildings.

*Report Norfolk
1846*

*Clarke. For the terms
of his Natural Life.*

*West. History of
Tasmania II. 302
Footnote quoting
Rogers' diary 6.10.1847*

The consequences of his experiment in terms of penal architecture were small. He left a 12 cell gaol at Longridge which strangely was not criticised by his successors, all of whom used or misused it according to their character. Stewart, when sent to the island to report in 1846, described the cells as dry and airy.* The following year Commandant Price, fictionalised as the sadistic Maurice Frere by Marcus Clarke,* managed to cram up to 40 men in the 12 small cells.* Because of this design, Maconochie will be remembered for his selection of one of the most repressive cell types as part of the

equipment of one of the most enlightened and humane penal regimes of the century.

Neither his Longridge type nor his larger chapel units with flanking tiers of cells are known to have any successors. Considering their outré nature and the opposition of the Inspectors, this is hardly surprising.

Following the Molesworth Committee Report, Her Majesty's Government wished to replace the Assignment System with a more uniform and deterrent punishment. Therefore in the period between 1838 and 1843 the discredited system was dismantled and replaced by the 'Probation System.'^{*} Its evolution was characterised by uninformed and impractical instructions from the Colonial and Home Offices, unintelligent parsimony from the Treasury and procrastination and incompetence from Sir John Franklin, the VDL Governor. As Franklin was replaced in 1843 by Stanley's nominee, Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, whom Stanley believed, on good grounds, to be a 'muddle-brained blockhead.'^{*} and as economy remained an obsessive interest of Her Majesty's Government, the Probation System was never given a chance to be even moderately effective.^{*} Some indication of its confused development can be gained from Professor Shaw's Convicts and Colonies, Chapters 12 and 13.^{*}

*See particularly
Correspondence on
Penal Punishment
BPP T'port. 6:
1841 (412) XVII*

*Shaw Convicts 296
quoting Stanley to
Peel 1842. Peel
Papers in B.M.*

*Lalor's Report 1847
33-39*

Shaw Convicts

The basis of the new system was the introduction of an initial fixed period of labour gangs, followed by stages in which punishment was progressively ameliorated and finally replaced by release under certain conditions. This meant that accommodation had to be provided during the labouring periods of sentence for a large number of convicts who had formerly been housed by settlers. Franklin first attempted to cope with this by extending the existing road party station system inherited from Arthur.

*Arthur's Road dep't
Instructions. 141*

*Franklin to Glenelg
7.10.1837 (N^o 104)
BPP T'port. 6:
1838 (309) 51*

Arthur's regulations^{*} had been continued by Franklin on his arrival in 1837.^{*} They prescribed one 30 ft x 15 ft hut to each division of 40 men, 7 ft x 4 solitary cells and a 14 ft square cell, as well as the necessary supervisory and auxiliary buildings. Little seems to have been done to develop a purpose built station for the proposed Probation gangs until

Russell to Franklin
10. 4. 1840 No 137
BPP T'port. 6:
(158) XLII. 105

Russell's despatch of September 1840 warned Franklin to 'take immediate measures for the reception of a greater number of convicts' from 1841.* The actual male convict arrivals in VDL were:

	1840	1181
	1841	2680
Shaw Convicts 300	1842	4819 *

Franklin to Russell
9. 7. 1841 No 103
BPP T'port. 7: 1843
(158) XLII. 45

Col. Sec. to Forster
25. 6. 1841
BPP T'port. 7: 1843
(158) XLII. 49

Forster to Col. Sec.
18. 6. 1841
BPP T'port. 7: 1843
(158) XLII. 48

In May 1841, following Russell's instruction, Franklin made his Chief Police Magistrate, Matthew Forster, the 'Director of the Probation System' *in addition to his existing duties.**

Within a month the Governor and Council had approved* new regulation proposed by Forster* for the Probation stations.

In compiling these regulations, Forster pointed out that he had drawn useful information from the reports of Messrs Russell and Crawford and emphasised that he had 'taken care that the orders of Lord John Russell respecting the treatment and discipline of probationary convicts shall be carried out to the fullest extent, which they are, under the existing circumstances, capable of.'*

Ibid. 48

Under the new regulations the establishment for each gang was to be:

1 Superintendent	}	For superintending discipline and paid from the Convict funds.
3 Ass ^t Superintendents		
½ Storekeeper		
3 Working overseers	}	For supervising labour and paid from Convict funds.*
1 Messenger		
½ Storekeeper		

Ibid. 48

Forster's regulations laid great stress on the importance of classification. They stated:

'The gangs are to consist of from 250 to 300 men and to be divided into 3 classes. Each class is to be further classified within itself and to be in [the] charge of an assistant superintendent, who will be sworn in [as] a constable.

The 3rd class will be subjected to the separate system of confinement, but care must be taken not to confound it with solitary confinement in cells.

The 2nd class will be huttet in rooms containing 10 men each.

The first class being composed of those convicts whose terms of probation will soonest terminate, will be distributed in huts containing 20 men each...

The different classes of convicts are never to be mixed up either at labour or elsewhere.*

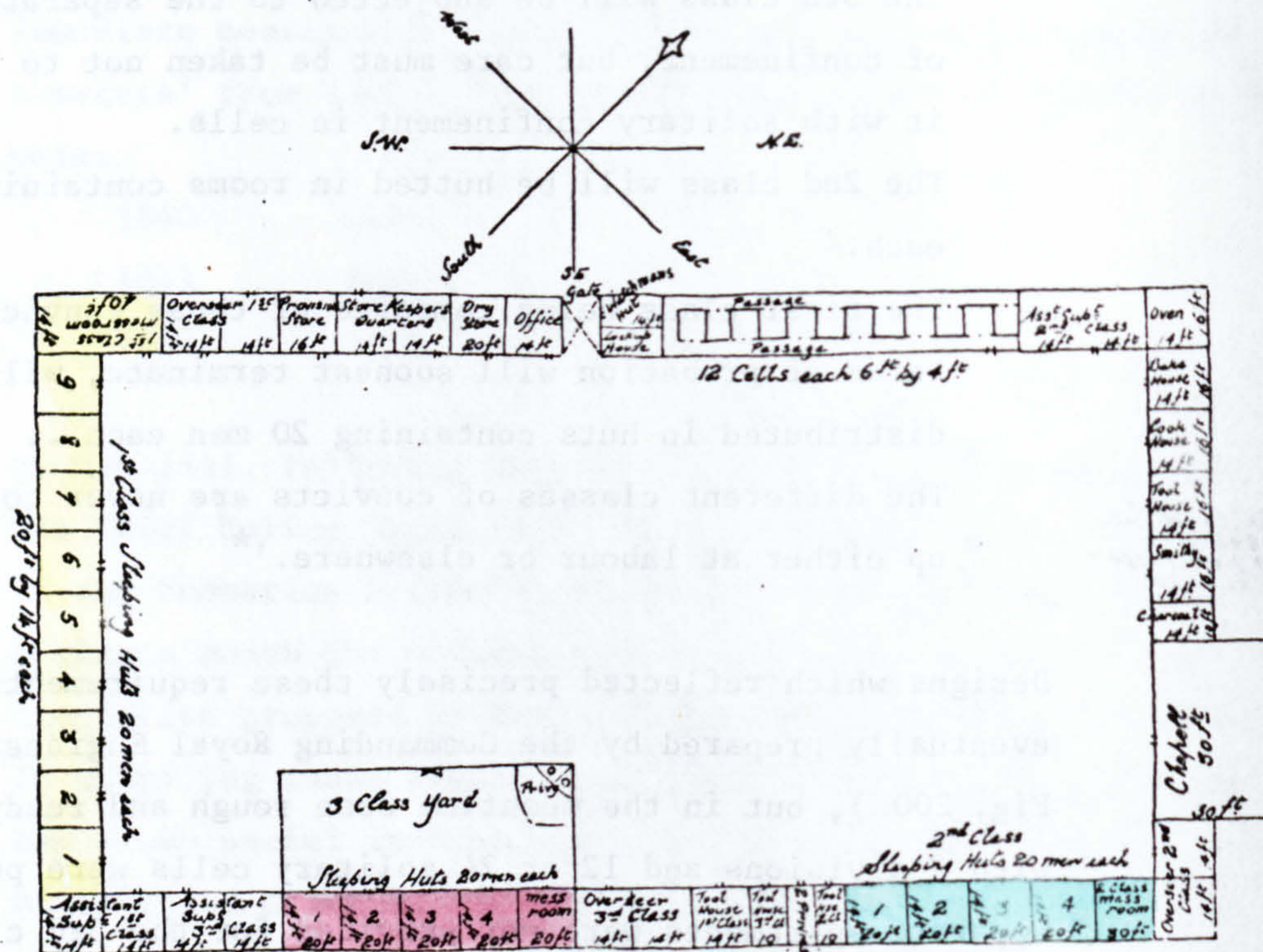
*Forster to Col. Sec.
18.6.1841
73DP T'port. 7:1843
(158) XLII. 40*

Designs which reflected precisely these requirements were eventually prepared by the Commanding Royal Engineer (See Fig. 200), but in the meantime some rough and ready stations with 3 divisions and 12 or 24 solitary cells were put up. Separate apartments were not provided for the 3rd class at this stage.

Initially the hut layout followed the usual front entry pattern with 2 tiers of bed platforms against the rear wall. This was the case in the design for a station in Paradise. See Fig. 195. It was probably the earliest surviving probation station design and still retained the form of a rectangular enclosure with the ranges of huts opening inward. Paradise has proved elusive and it has not been possible to find its location or even to discover if it ever existed.

Fortunately there is more concrete evidence for the next development. Franklin wrote in July 1841: 'I have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship that probationary gangs have been formed at Brown's River, Jerusalem and Rocky Hills on the eastern coast (Fig. 199), and Saltwater Creek, on Tasman's Peninsula (Fig. 198), and that barracks are ordered to be prepared on Slopen Island... and at Flinders Bay... (Fig. 198) These will all be constructed on a fixed plan so that the details laid down by the director may be fully carried out...'*

*Franklin to Russell
9.7.1841 No 103
CO 280.138 f297*



A Plan for a New Station on the south side of the Crossing Place through Paradise

H. E. ATKINSON

Fig. 195. Undated plan without watermark for an early probation station. Signed H. E. (?) ATKINSON. A detached hospital to the west and Superintendent's Quarters to the south are not shown. DIXON ADD 564

Victor to I.G. of F.
20.3.1843
W055.853 f383

Victor to I.G. of F.
8.9.1845
W055.853 f719-20

Forster to Wilmet
25.11.1843
BPP T'port. 7.
1845 (659)8

It was the Commanding Royal Engineer, Major Roger Kelsall, who was responsible for translating Forster's regulations into Franklin's 'fixed plan'.* The CRE was in fact responsible for the design of all probation stations, and, until January 1845, for the supervision of their construction as well. After this date erection was supervised by the station superintendents under the Comptroller of Convicts.* The difficulty of obtaining adequate Foremen of Works made this change, in many cases, little more than the recognition of a de facto situation.

In September 1841, two months after Franklin had announced the effective start of his probation stations, the Deputy Commissary General selected a site for a station in the Victoria Valley. The convicts were to clear, drain, and fence the surrounding land for public sale.* The proposed plan for this station,

(Fig. 196), and the actual plan of the nearby Seven Mile Creek Station which followed it (Fig. 197), give a good idea of Franklin's 'fixed plan.'

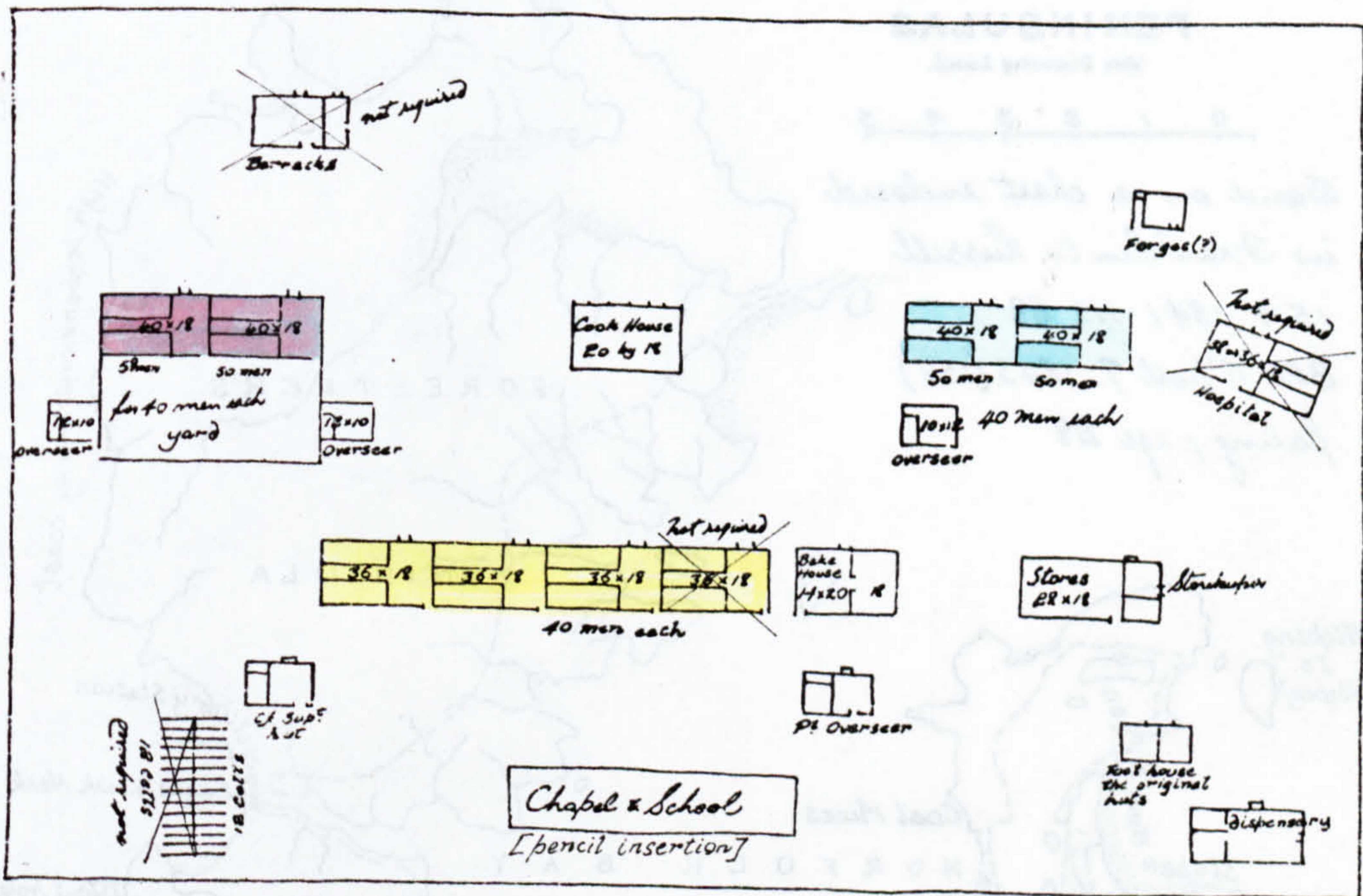


Fig. 196.
DIXON ADD 564

PLAN OF PROBATION PARTY
Station
VICTORIA VALLEY [VOL 1841]

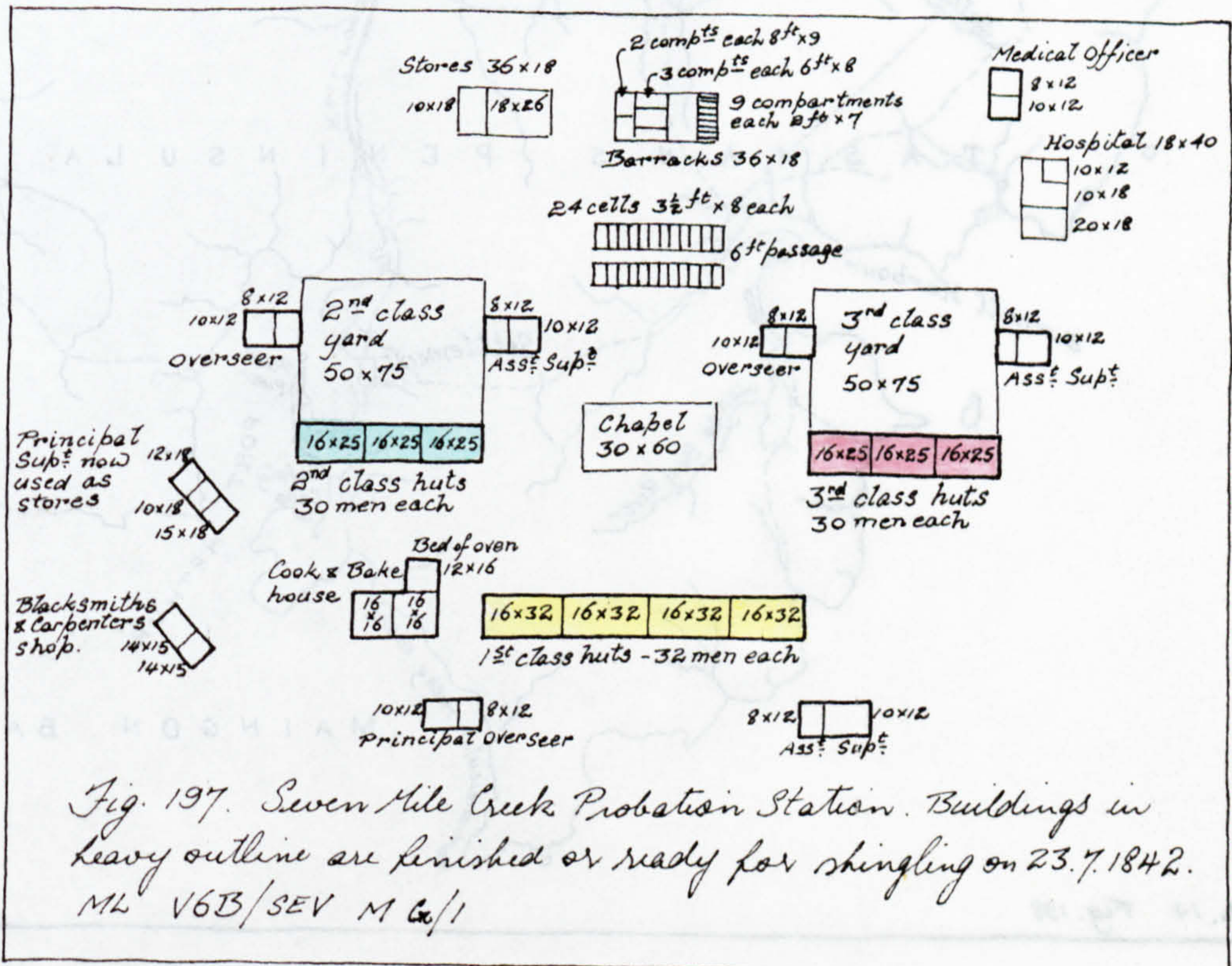


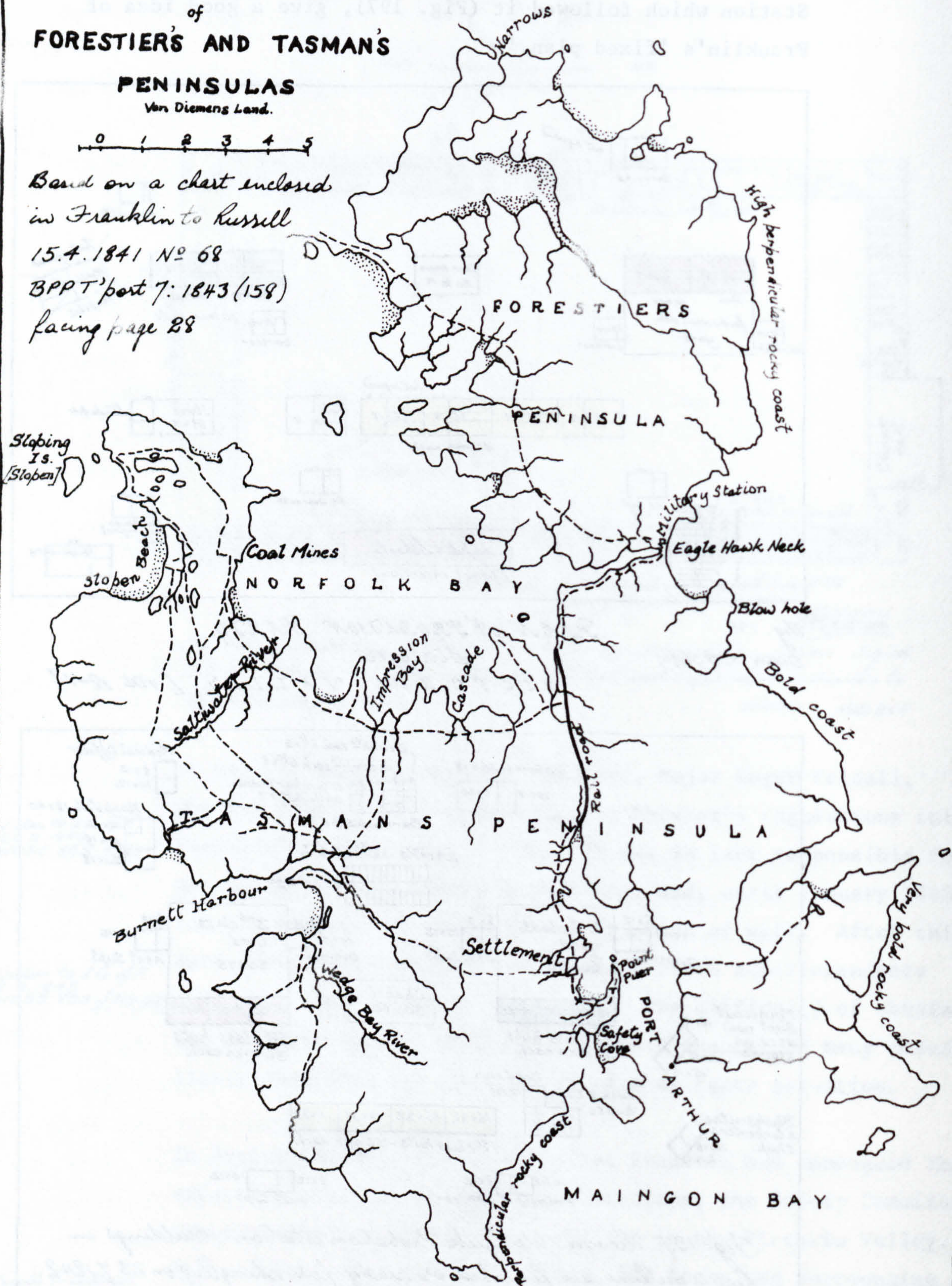
Fig. 197. Seven Mile Creek Probation Station. Buildings in heavy outline are finished or ready for shingling on 23.7.1842.
ML V6B/SEV M Co/1

FIG 198

CHART
of
FORESTIERS' AND TASMAN'S
PENINSULAS
Van Diemens Land.

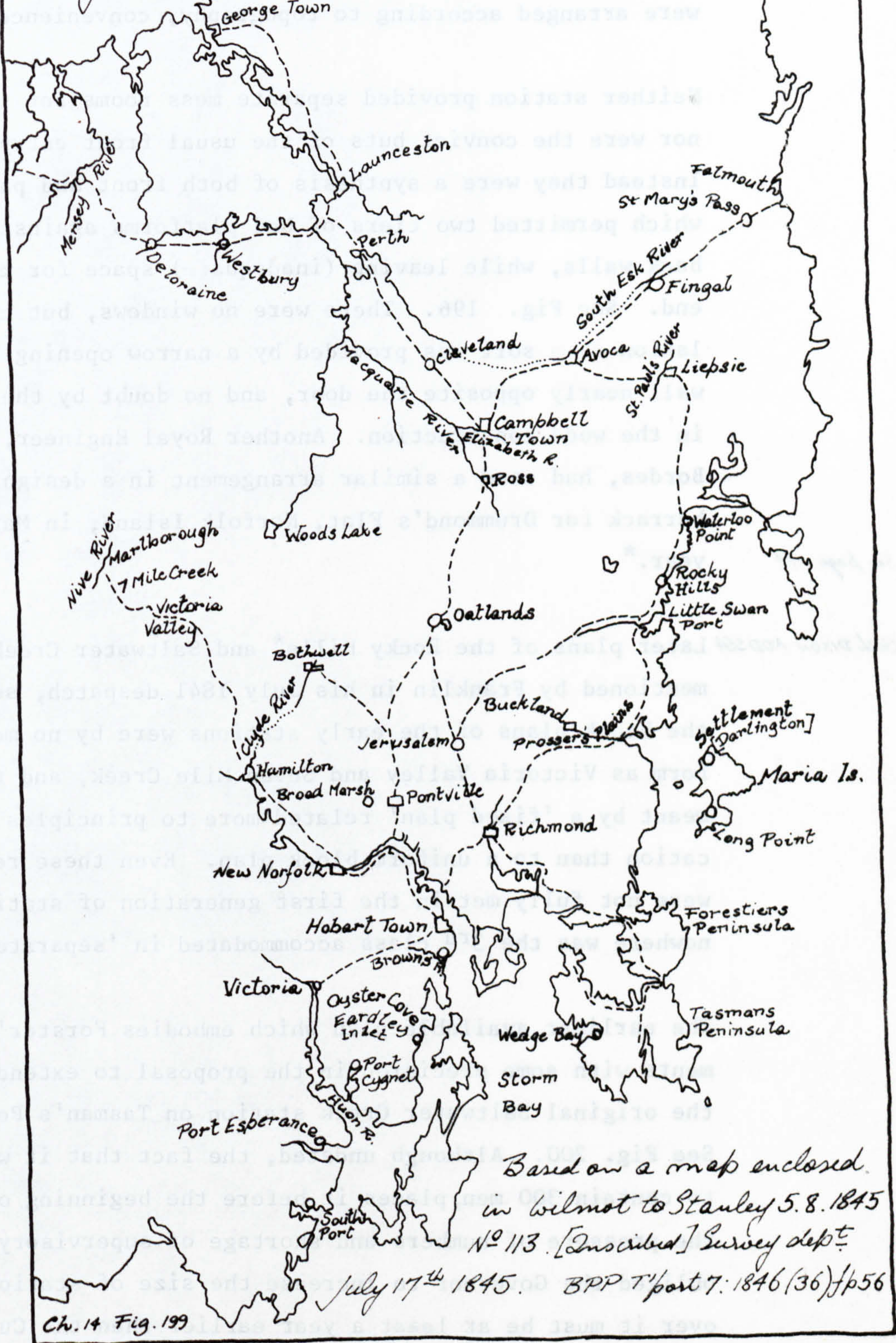


*Based on a chart enclosed
in Franklin to Russell
15.4.1841 No 68
BPPT post 7: 1843 (158)
facing page 28*



Ch. 14 Fig. 198

Fig. 199. Eastern half of Tasmania showing Probation Stations of convicts in the 1st stage & hiring stations.



Based on a map enclosed in Wilmot to Stanley 5.8.1845 No 113. [Inscribed] Survey Dept. July 17th 1845. BPP T^h part 7: 1846 (36) pp 56

Ch. 14 Fig. 199

Both exhibited an approximate symmetry with the largest range of huts (1st class) athwart the single axis. The 2nd and 3rd class hut ranges, and their compounds with supervisors' and overseers' dwellings, flanked the axis. The other buildings were arranged according to topography, convenience, and whim.

Neither station provided separate mess rooms for the prisoners, nor were the convict huts of the usual front entry type.

Instead they were a synthesis of both front and passage entry, which permitted two tiers of bed platforms against front and back walls, while leaving (inadequate) space for messing at one end. See Fig. 196. There were no windows, but cross ventilation of a sort was provided by a narrow opening in the back wall nearly opposite the door, and no doubt by the many cracks in the wood construction. Another Royal Engineer, George Bordes, had used a similar arrangement in a design for a convict barrack for Drummond's Flat, Norfolk Island, in March the same year.*

See page 114

Both DIXON ADD 564 Later plans of the Rocky Hills* and Saltwater Creek* stations mentioned by Franklin in his July 1841 despatch, suggest that the block plans of the early stations were by no means as uniform as Victoria Valley and Seven Mile Creek, and that what he meant by a 'fixed plan' related more to principles of classification than to a uniform block plan. Even these requirements were not fully met in the first generation of stations, and nowhere was the 3rd class accommodated in 'separate' confinement.

The earliest available plan which embodies Forster's requirements with some precision in the proposal to extend and improve the original Saltwater Creek station on Tasman's Peninsula. See Fig. 200. Although undated, the fact that it was intended to contain 300 men, places it before the beginning of 1844 when the pressure of numbers and shortage of supervisory staff obliged the Governor to increase the size of stations. Moreover it must be at least a year earlier than the Culley plan

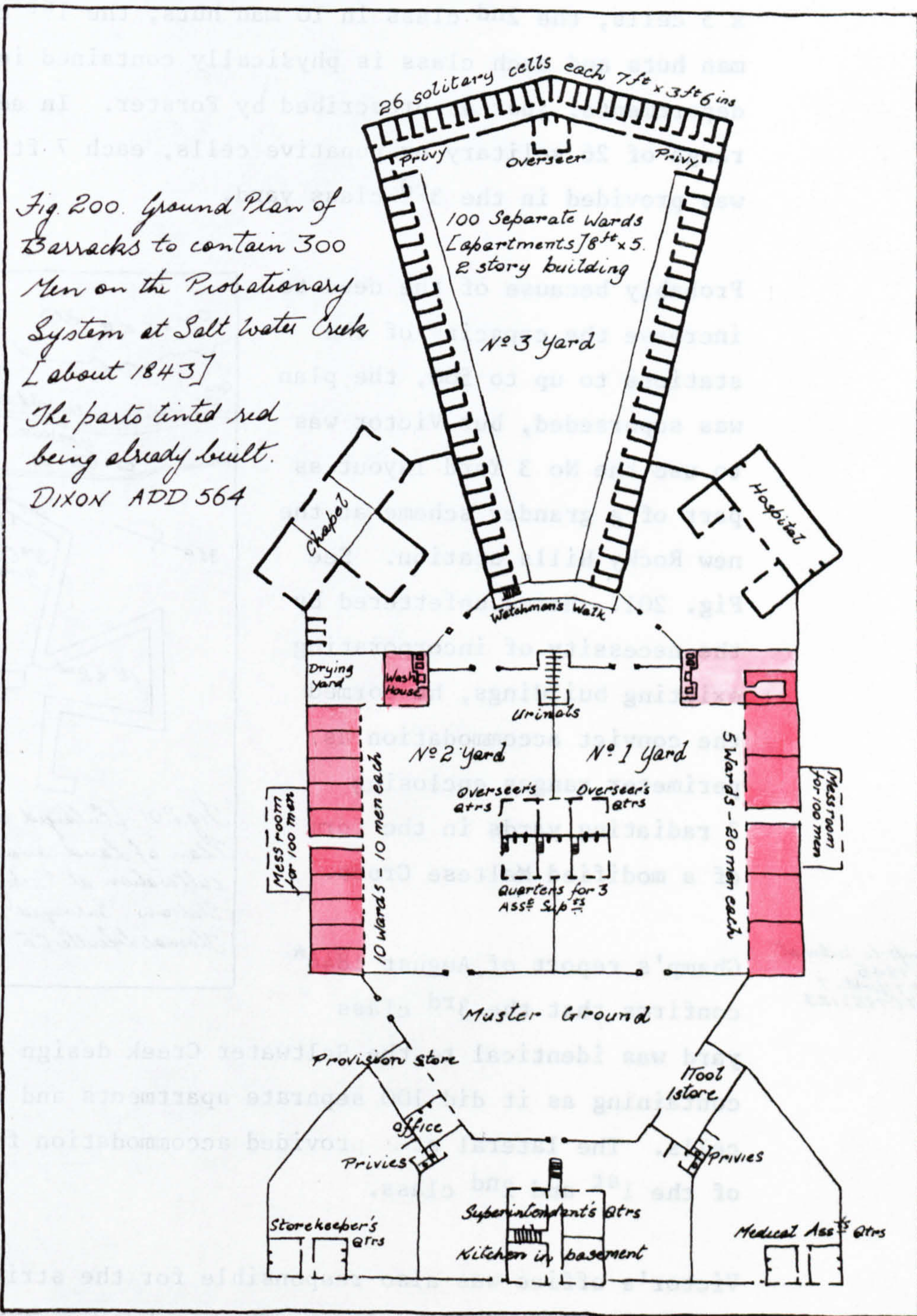


Fig 200. Ground Plan of Barracks to contain 300 Men on the Probationary System at Salt Water Creek [about 1843] The parts tinted red being already built. DIXON ADD 564

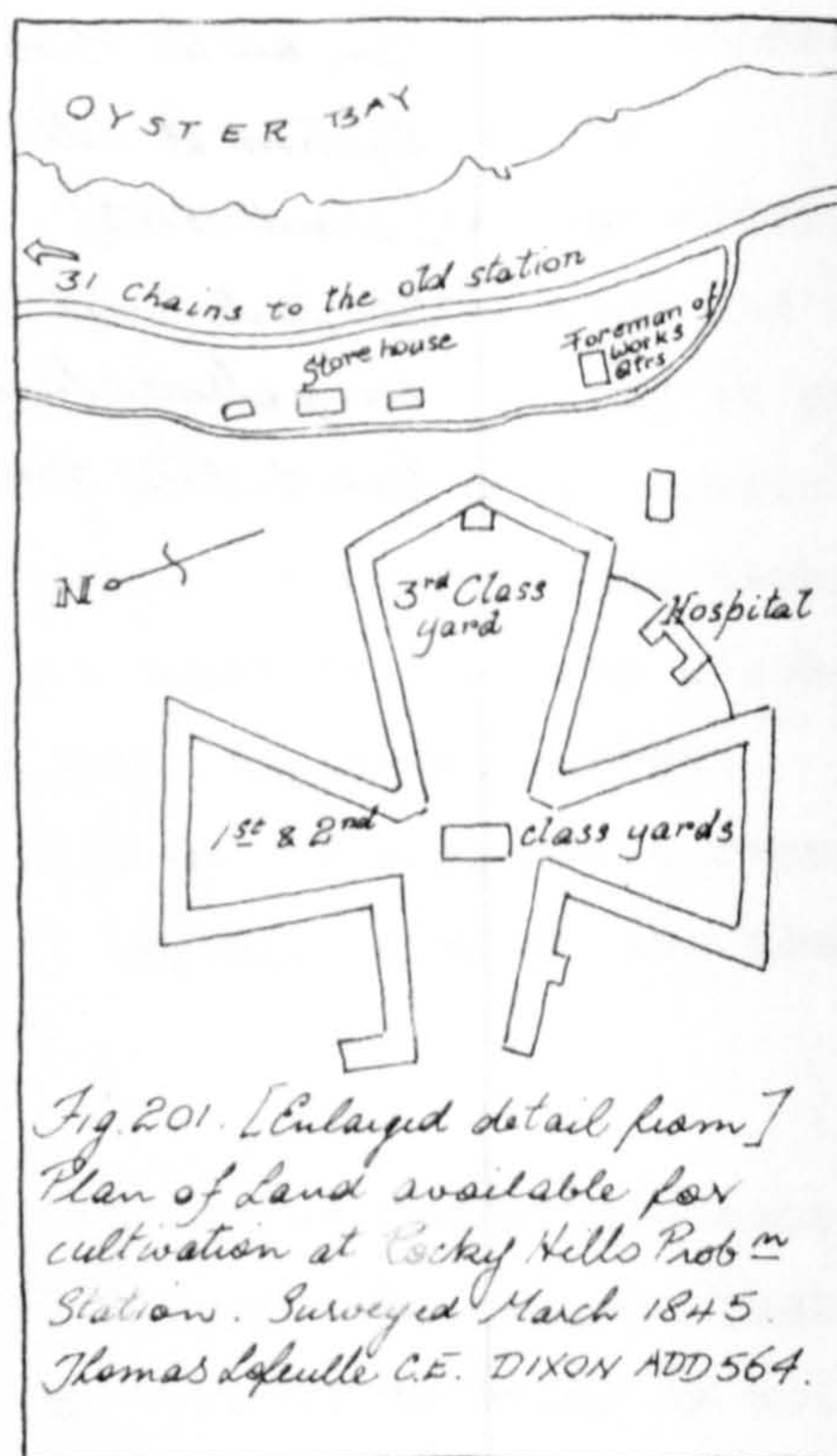
DIXON ADD 564
Return of Officers of Royal Engineers
NO 17. 247 E17

of 1845 * which shows additional stone buildings completed. Major J.C. Victor replaced Kelsall as CRE at the end of 1842* and as the plan reflects Victor's interest in geometry it seems plausible to date it to 1843.

In this design the 3rd class are separately confined in 8 ft

x 5 cells, the 2nd class in 10 man huts, the 1st class in 20 man huts and each class is physically contained in separate departments, just as prescribed by Forster. In addition a range of 26 solitary or punitive cells, each 7 ft x 3 ft 6 ins, was provided in the 3rd class yard.

Probably because of the need to increase the capacity of the stations to up to 500, the plan was superseded, but Victor was to use the No 3 Yard layout as part of a grander scheme at the new Rocky Hills station. See Fig. 201. Here, unfettered by the necessity of incorporating existing buildings, he formed the convict accommodation as perimeter ranges enclosing 3 radiating yards in the form of a modified Maltese Cross.



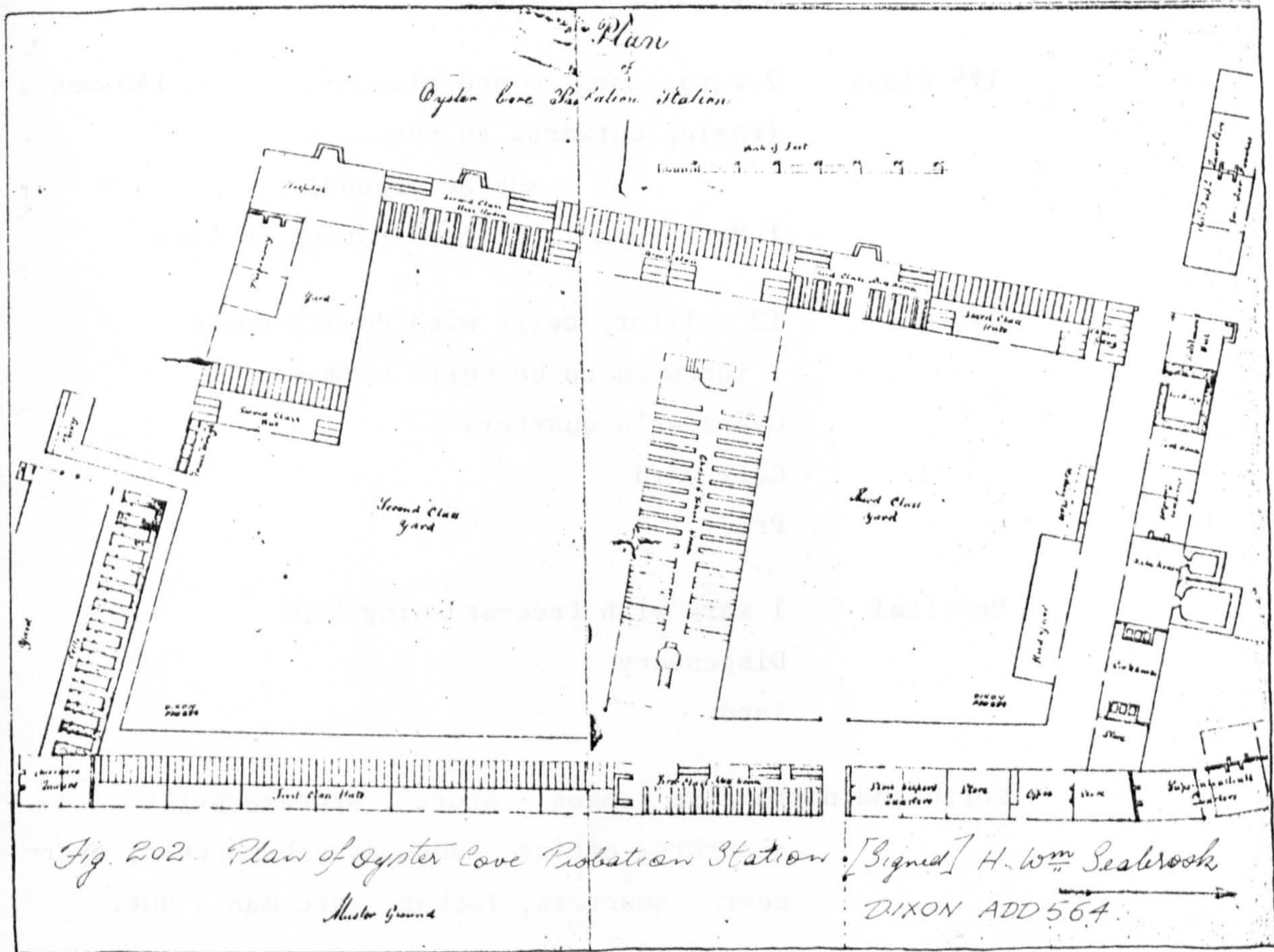
*Champ to Wilmot
1. 8. 1846
13pp 7 post. 7.
1847 (785) 123*

Champ's report of August 1846* confirms that the 3rd class yard was identical to the Saltwater Creek design of 1843, containing as it did 100 separate apartments and 26 solitary cells. The lateral arms provided accommodation for 330 men of the 1st and 2nd class.

Victor's office was also responsible for the strictly utilitarian 1843 plan of the Oyster Cove probation station. It was in complete contrast to the somewhat fanciful geometry of Rocky Hills, but it well illustrates the environment in which convicts at a probation station lived. See Fig. 202.

The design was based on the usual 3 departments. Separate mess rooms were provided in each class, and this enabled the front

entry wards of the 2 lower classes to be crammed with as many bed platforms as the requisite wall openings permitted. Each



mess room and the hospital ward had a masonry fireplace though the buildings in general were of slab and sawn timber. The precise arrangement, which may be read off the plan, was as follows:

3 rd Class	1 ward	64 bed places	} 80 men
	1 Chain gang room	16 bed places	
	1 Mess room	8 tables seating 10 each	

Enclosed yard

4 washing troughs

No privies shown

2 nd Class	2 wards	44 bed places each	} 140 men
	1 ward	52 bed places	
	1 Mess room	8 tables seating 10 2 tables seating 16 to 18	

Enclosed yard

Privies

4 washing troughs

1st Class 7 wards each 20 bed places 140 men
(facing outwards to the open
muster ground)

1 Mess room 11 tables seating 10 each

Cells 12 solitary cells with double doors
intended to be built of masonry.

Overseer's quarters

Cell yard

Privy

Hospital 1 ward with free-standing beds

Dispensary

Yard

North and north east ranges Stores, storekeeper's
quarters, office, cookhouse, bakehouse, over-
seers' quarters, lockup, watchman's hut.

Detached buildings

Superintendents quarters

Assistant Superintendents' quarters

Chapel, a building of low priority and never built.

Because of its uncertain future, Oyster Cove station was only partly completed.* Victoria Valley had been built to provide labour to clear land and Rocky Hills to construct roads, though it, in time, became an almost self sufficient agricultural station. Oyster Cove's only reason for existence was the provision of labour to build a first place of confinement for females arriving under the Probation System. Successive postponements made this less and less likely and as the site was unsuitable for any other purpose, the station was finally sold in April 1847.*

*Latrobe Report
1847 71*

*Hampton Report
15.11.1847
73PP 7/Port. 9:
1849 [1022] 129*

*Stanley to Franklin
25. 11. 1842 No 175
BPP T'port. 7:
1843 (159) 9*

In November 1842 Stanley had written at length to Franklin giving him instructions for the operation of the male Probation System.* These instructions did not differ sufficiently from Forster's existing regulations to affect station design, so they are not noticed here. However the same day he sent explicit instructions for the treatment and accommodation of females under the system.*

*Stanley to Franklin
25. 11. 1842 No 176
BPP T'port. 7:
1843 (159) 10-13*

He started by forbidding the assignment of any female convicts, and authorised Franklin to hire buildings to hold future arrivals, and even, if necessary, to detain the transports in which they arrived until accommodation was ready. He pointed out that all the accounts of the Hobart and Launceston Female Factories were highly discreditable, and that it was altogether necessary to remodel such a system.

He then announced: 'It is our intention that measures should be adopted with the least possible delay, for the construction in a healthy situation, inland, and at a distance certainly not less than 20 miles from Hobart Town, of a penitentiary... capable of containing at least 400 female prisoners. Instructions have been given to the Inspectors of Prisons to prepare the plans of such a building, which will be constructed at the expense of the Home Government.'

Stanley then delivered a few admonitory strictures on site selection and its rapid preparation by a probation gang, and informed Franklin that the plans would be sent out as soon as they were approved by Her Majesty's Government, together with a person thought proper to superintend their erection.

'When the new system shall be in operation,' he continued, it is understood that the penitentiary about to be built is to be devoted exclusively to the newly arrived; that the places of punishment will be the factories, and that those having obtained probation passes, or tickets of leave, will, if they

Stanley to Franklin
25.11.1842, No 176
BPP T/pt. 7:
1843 (159) 13

forfeit them, be returned, not to the penitentiary, but to the severer discipline of the factory....'*

In his instructions Stanley ignored, or was unaware of, existing plans prepared in the colony by the Commanding Royal Engineer as early as November 1841. See Fig. 203. These gave

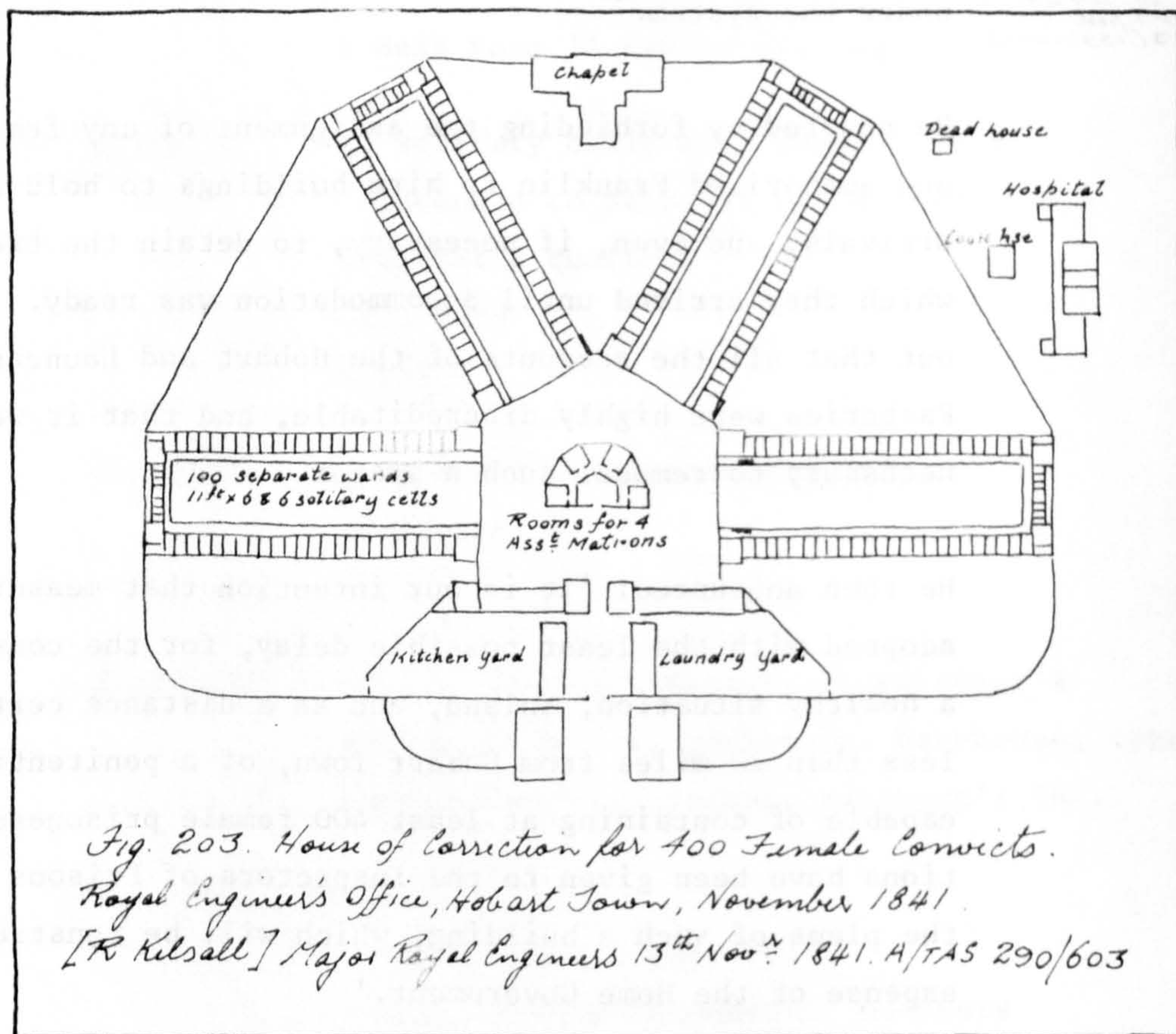


Fig. 203. House of Correction for 400 Female Convicts.
Royal Engineer's Office, Hobart Town, November 1841.
[R Kilsall] Major Royal Engineers 13th Nov^r 1841. A/TAS 290/603

a good indication of the type of construction that was feasible in the colony. By February 1843, the plans requested from the Inspectors of Prisons, prepared by Major Joshua Jebb of the Royal Engineers, had begun their journey through the proper channels to VDL.* See Fig. 204.

Jebb to Phillipps 17.2.1843
CO 280. 164 f 61-2
then
Phillipps to Stanley 21.2.1843
CO 280. 164 f 60

The Jebb plan, being for a female establishment, was not along the lines of the recently completed Pentonville Model Prison (for male convicts),* but 'on the same general principle... as [the establishment] ... which is now in progress at Parkhurst.*' Jebb's design was for a large, 4 storey, cruciform

See chapter 16

Jebb to Phillipps
11.1.1843
CO 280. 164 f 26

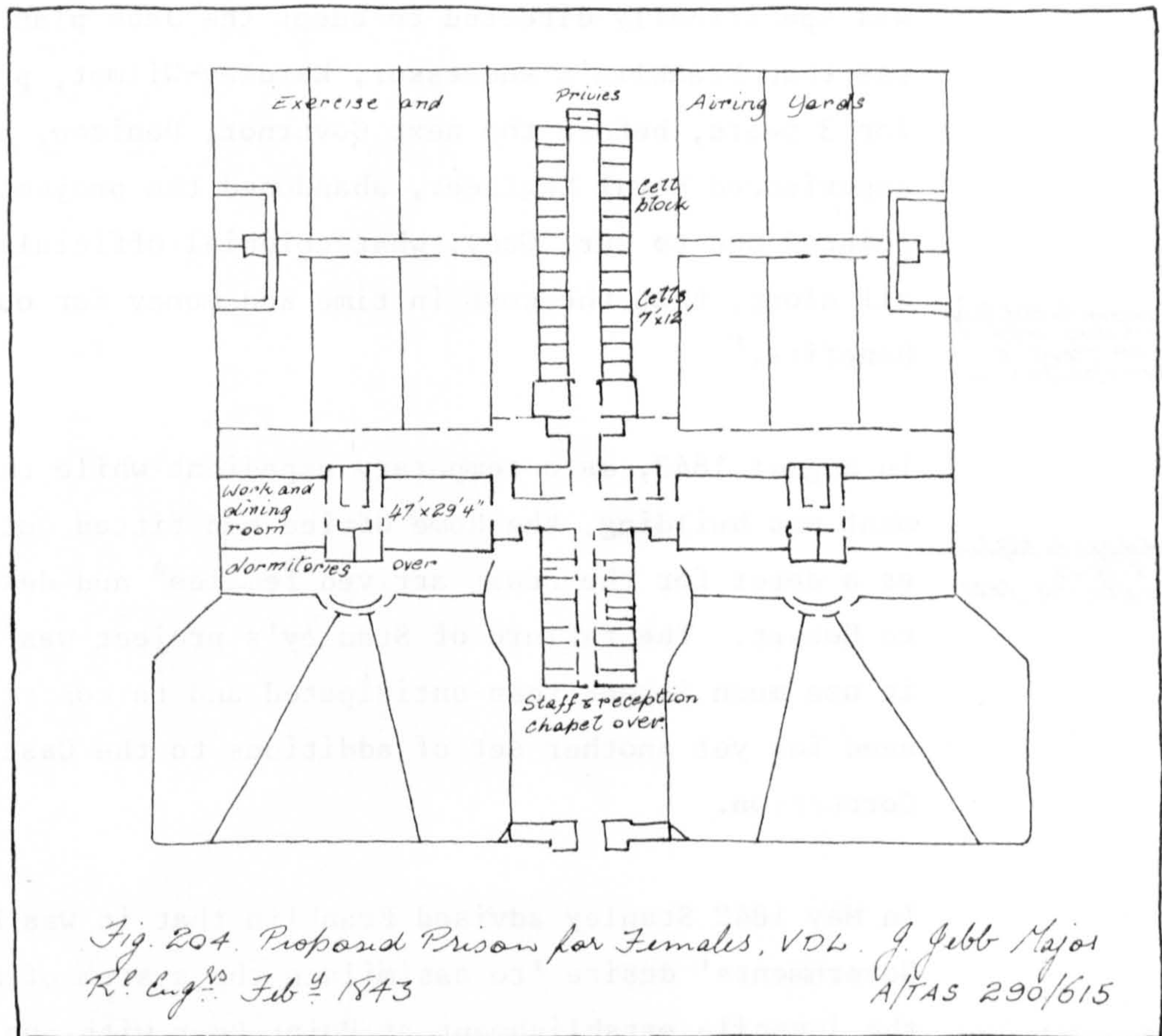


Fig. 204. Proposed Prison for Females, VDL. J. Jebb Major
 R. Eng. Feb 4 1843 A/TAS 290/615

establishment (Fig. 204) with dormitories on the upper floors of the lateral wings and combined mess and work rooms under. On the central axis opposite the chapel there was to be a 3 storey cell block of the Inspectors' standard type.

Jebb to Phillipps 11.1.1843
 CO 280. 164 f26

Denison to Carl Grey
 10.7.1847 N^o 0830
 13 PPT part 8:
 1847-8 [94] L11. 81

The plan was to be executed on a rather grand scale in stone and was conservatively estimated to cost from £35,000* to £40,000*. It certainly could be included in Jebb's oeuvre as a 'Prison Palace', though not in the same class as Pentonville.

In contrast, Kelsall's colonial design for the same number of women was related directly to the known material and labour resources of VDL. Its plan was based on 4 courtyards each surrounded by 2 storey cell or apartment ranges, very much in the manner of the later probation stations. The 4 courts were arranged radially around a central yard and supervision point.

While Kelsall's scheme was the most practical, the VDL Governor was specifically directed to adopt the Jebb plan. The result was that Franklin's successor, Eardley-Wilmot, procrastinated for 3 years, before the next Governor, Denison, himself an experienced Royal Engineer, abandoned the project in 1847. He pointed out to Earl Grey, what colonial officials had known all along, that the cost in time and money far outweighed the benefits.*

*Denison to Earl Grey
10.7.1847 No 83
BPP T'port. 8:
1847-8 [941] 411. 81*

In August 1843, as a temporary expedient while the establishment was building, the Home Office had fitted out the 'Anson' as a depot for the newly arrived females* and despatched it to Hobart. The failure of Stanley's project was to keep it in use much longer than anticipated and to contribute to the need for yet another set of additions to the Cascade House of Correction.

*Phillips to Stephen
7.8.1843
CO 280.164 f221*

In May 1842 Stanley advised Franklin that it was Her Majesty's Governments' desire 'to assimilate the system of management at the juvenile establishment at Point Puer with that at Parkhurst Prison.'* Mr B.J. Horne was accordingly dispatched to VDL with the dual function of shepherding a batch of 'Juvenile Convicts' from Parkhurst to the colony* and there advising on the best way to implement the policy.

*Stanley to Franklin
16.5.1842 No 92
BPP T'port. 7:
1843 (158) XLII. 77*

Ibid. f78-81

Mr Horne's recommendations were drastic and included the reconstruction of the entire establishment on Maria Island.* Wilmot approved,* thus effectively blighting much needed improvements at Point Puer, while the transfer, being a major undertaking, quietly slid into the limbo of difficult things to be done later.

*Forster to Wilmot
28.10.1843
BPP T'port. 7:
1845 (659) 9*

Ibid.

In June 1844, after a lapse of nearly 2 years, the Comptroller of Convicts, as Forster was now titled, sent Horne's report to the Commandant at Port Arthur (Champ) for comment on the need for separate treatment and classification.* The following

*Champ to Forster
29.7.1844
BPP T'port. 7:
1846 (402) 36-8*

Champ to Foster
29.7.1844
BPP T'part. 7:
1846 (402) 36

month Champ replied. He stressed that the boys establishment at Point Puer was ill sited, scattered and unplanned, and that the buildings were so inadequate that it was not worth improving them.* But instead of the Maria Island project he proposed a new 'penitentiary' about 2 miles south of Point Puer at Safety Cove, where there was fresh water, agricultural land and nearby timber for construction, all of which were lacking at Point Puer.*

Ibid. 37

The penitentiary was to house 800 boys in separate back to back apartments and was to be built progressively by the boys themselves. Champ recommended a plan drawn up by 'Mr Mitchell' (the boys' supervisor?). See Figs 205 and 206.

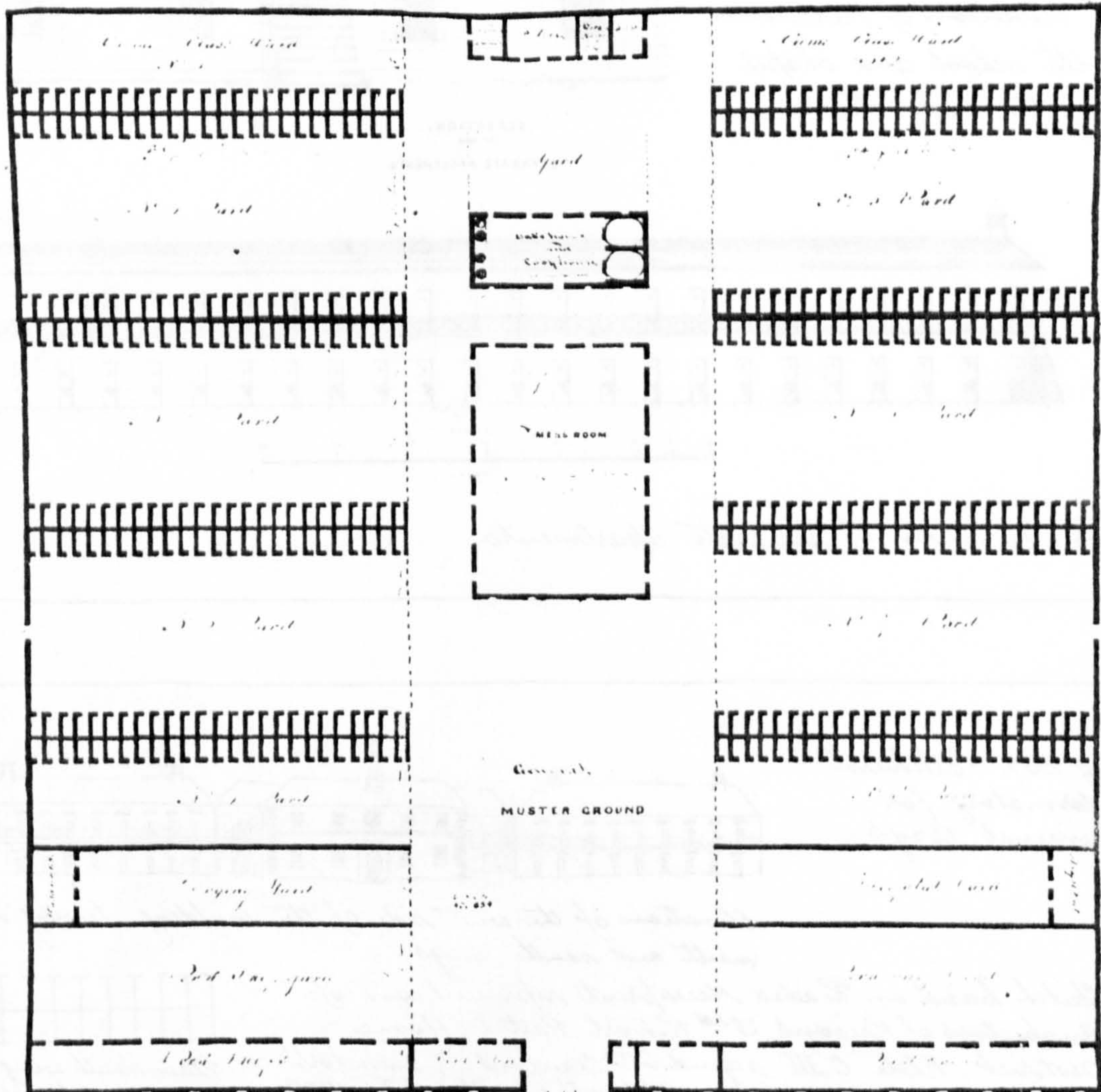
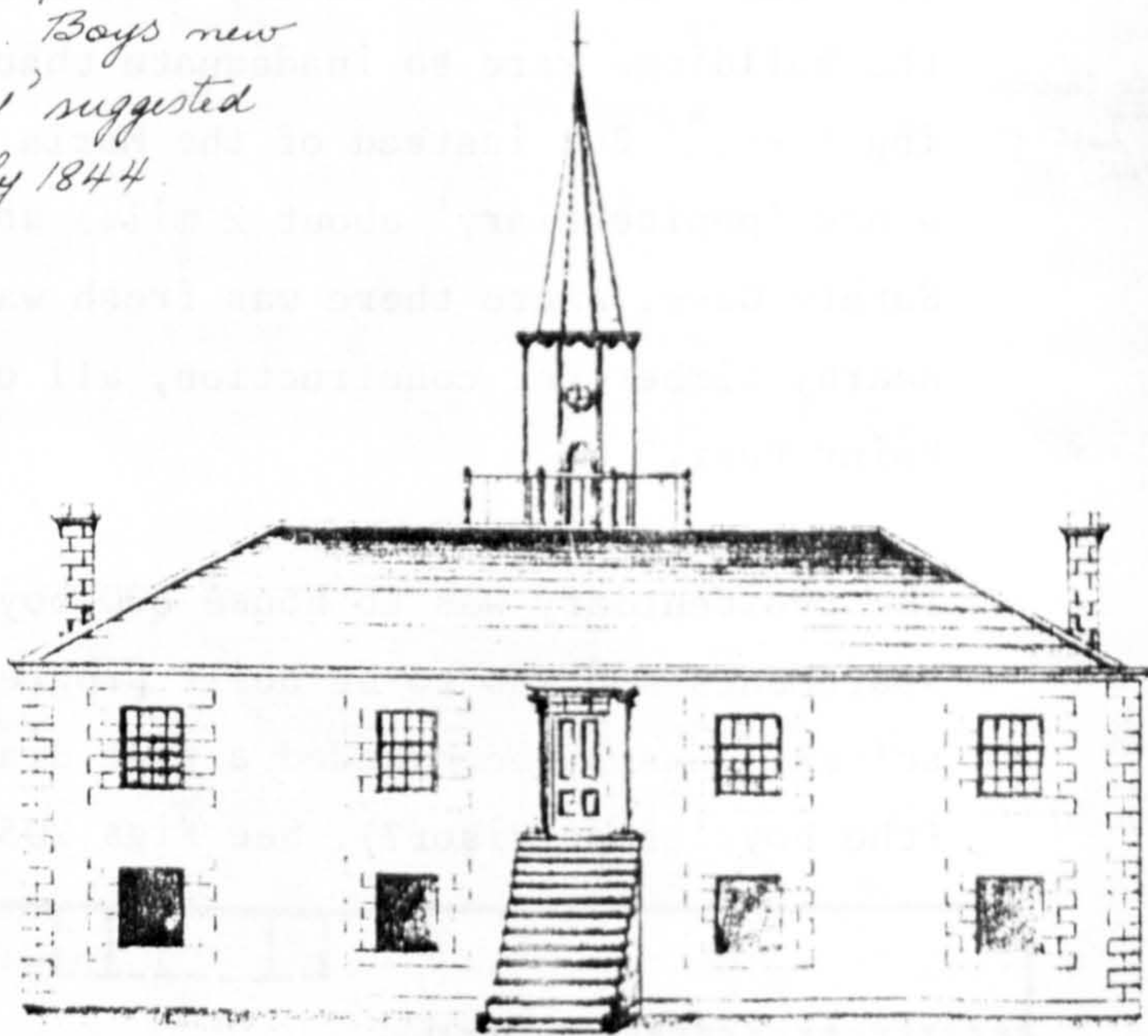


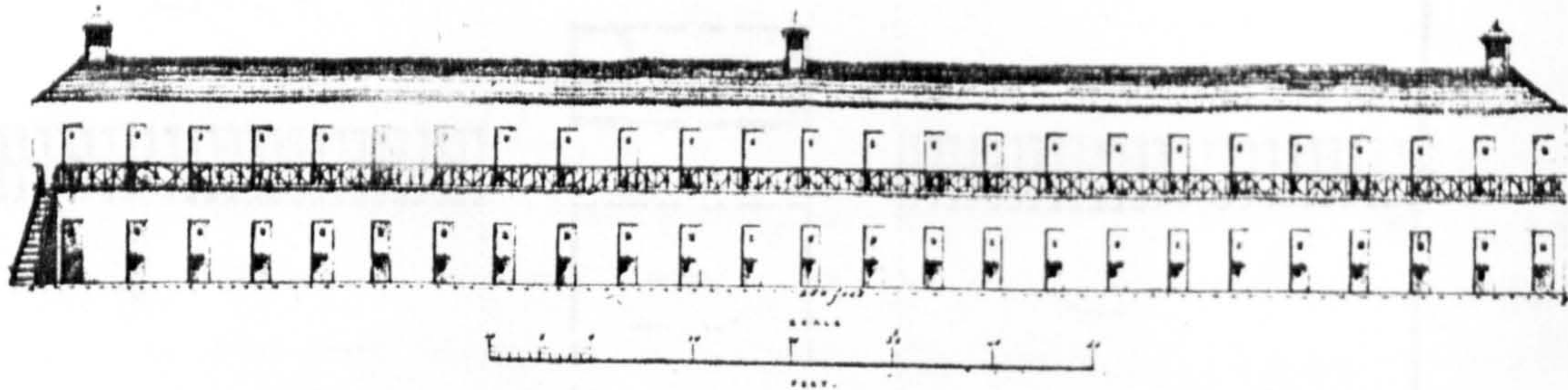
Fig. 205. Safety Cove, VDL. 'Boys new Penitentiary or Reformatory'. Plan... suggested by Mr Mitchell' about July 1844. DIXON ADD 564.

Fig. 206. Safety Cove, VDL. 'Boys new Penitentiary or Reformatory' suggested by Mr Mitchell about July 1844.
DIXON ADD 564.



a. Elevation of Mess room with school and chapel on the upper floor.

ELEVATION OF THE SEPARATE APARTMENTS.



b. Elevation of separate apartments.

Fig. 207. Parkhurst Reformatory for Criminal Boys.



Elevation of the west side of the building showing the north and south wings.

Sketch based on Readex Microprint reproduction of Inspectors of Prisons 3rd Report, Part I, Home District, Plate C. III signed W^m Crawford } Inspectors' Whitworth Russell } of Prisons. J. Jebb. Royal Eng^{rs}



Plan north wing. each cell 10 ft x 6.

BSP 1837-8. XXX

*Hall evidence
14.6.1852
73PP Juvenile 2:
1852 (515) VII. 259*

Mitchell's elevations bore an obvious similarity to the 'Reformatory for Criminal Boys' at Parkhurst (compare Figs 206 and 207) even though the English model had been largely designed 45 years earlier as a military hospital.* Such a relationship depended more on ideas of association than on an attempt to design a functioning penitentiary for boys, though the resemblance of the 2 storey, back to back, 'separate apartment' ranges to their Parkhurst models was more appropriate. The conversion of Parkhurst was the responsibility of the Inspectors of Prisons and Jebb, and the plans were published in the Inspectors' 3rd Report of 1837-8.* Even had Mr Horne not brought them with him they would certainly have been sent to the Governor.

*Inspectors' Report
1837-8 Plates*

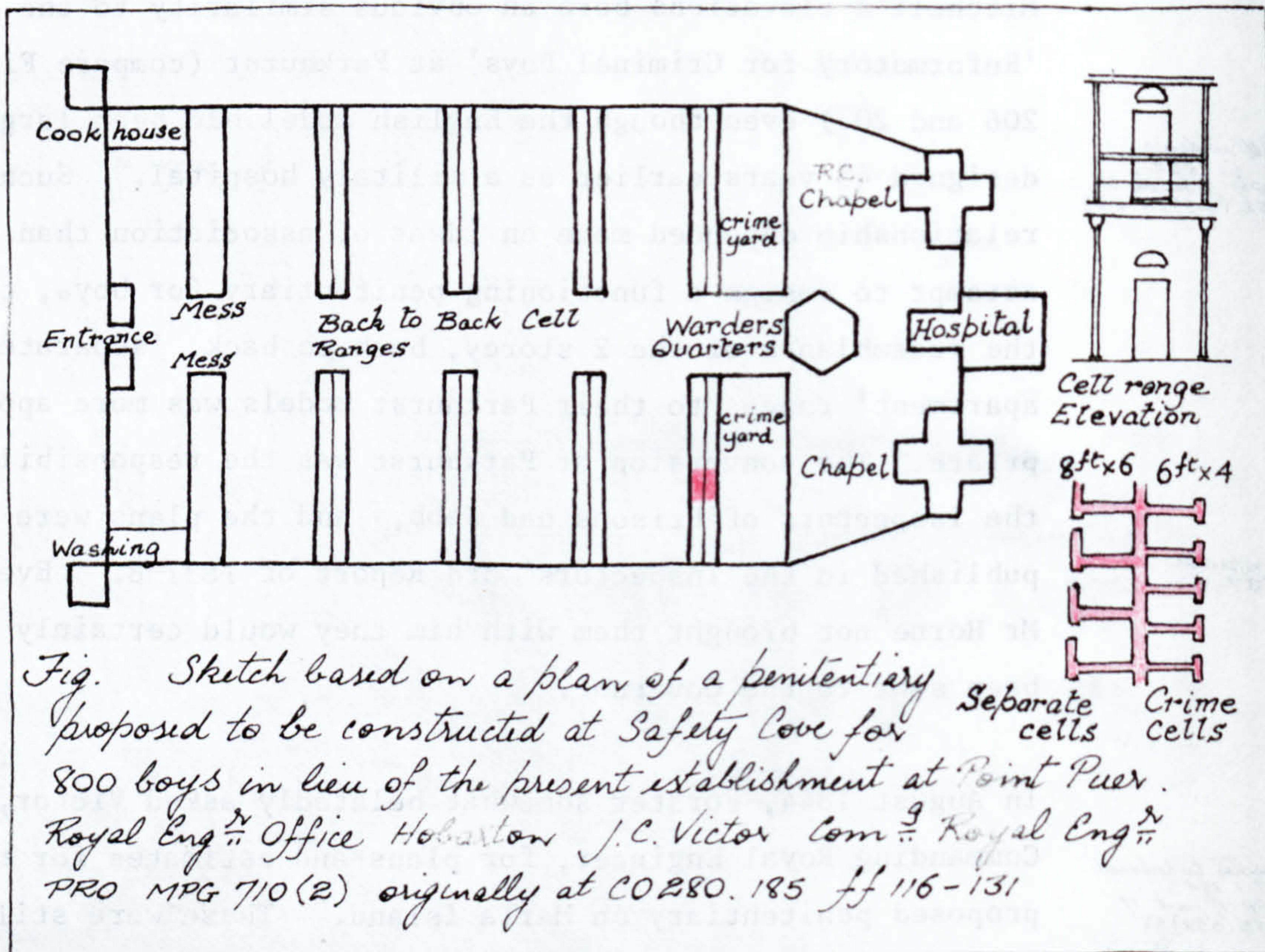
In August 1844, Forster somewhat belatedly asked Victor, the Commanding Royal Engineer, for plans and estimates for the proposed penitentiary on Maria Island.* These were still under preparation in 1845 when the scheme was finally abandoned in favour of the Safety Cove penitentiary, on the grounds that there were already adult probation convicts on Maria Island* - a fact which might have been perceived 3 years earlier. As the Safety Cove site was only 2 miles from the Port Arthur settlement, Wilmot's explanation was doubly suspect.

*Forster to Wilmot
27.1.1845
73PP T'port 7:
1845 (659) 68*

*Wilmot to Stanley
25.10.1845 No 1640
73PP T'port 7:
1846 (402) 32-4*

By July 1845 Victor had drawn up plans for the Safety Cove penitentiary based loosely on Mitchell's plan. See Fig. 208. He substituted more practical and less pretentious mess sheds for the original combined Mess room and chapel and provided individual cruciform chapels for the Protestant and Roman Catholic convicts. In addition to the standard 8 ft x 6 separate apartments he provided 2 half ranges of 6 ft x 4 punishment or 'crime' cells and yards.

In October 1845, after a rebuke from Stanley for his dilatory reaction to Horne's recommendations, Wilmot authorised the immediate commencement of the penitentiary to Victor's design. He justified this on the grounds that the buildings would be



Wilmot to Stanley
25.10.1845 N916A
BPP T'port. 7:
1846 (402) 32

Clamp to Wilmot
1.8.1846
BPP T'port. 7:
1847 (785) 121

Boyd to Comp^d Gen^l
15.7.1856
BPP T'port. 14:
1857 [2197] XIV. 162

equally useful as an adult probation station.* The scheme was under construction by August 1846,* but probably very little was built as all the existing buildings were fitted up in 1856 for farm use.*

The design of probation stations for males in the first half of the 1840s was intended to be uniform and in accord with a prescribed system of discipline. In fact they were built to a wide range of types. This was due to a variety of causes, but in particular to a lack of effective management and supervision at all levels from the governor down, and not least to the continuous endeavours of the Convict, Engineer and Commissariat departments to thwart and circumvent each other. Latrobe found it not surprising that the Royal Engineer 'viewed the whole duty imposed upon him with distrust if not disgust' and commented on the 'constant changes of plan, and not infrequent abandonment of works.'*

Latrobe Report
1847 44

The projects for the females and boys were protracted and in

both cases finally proved abortive. Such was the accommodation built, or intended, for convicts under the earlier stages of the Probation System. Chapter 15 will notice the adaption of the System's buildings to meet a problem that finally got out of hand in 1846.

Chapter 15 Le Vice Anglais

There had, of course, always been homosexual activity in the colonies, but it was not until 1846 that it became a major 'scandal'. This was partly due to the taboos of a more consciously cultured colonial society replacing an earthier acceptance of the facts of life unavoidable in the earlier days of the colony. It was also partly a reflection of the change of attitudes which took place between Regency and Victorian England. Phillip had called it sodomy, to Wilmot and his contemporaries it was 'a nameless crime' which, in published reports, became '****'.*

*For example
Wilmot to Stanley
17.3.1846 N^o 54
BPP Part 7: 1847
[785] XLVIII . 46*

Under the Assignment System homosexuals had been more dispersed and some privacy was possible, hence their impact was lessened. In the new Probation System these men, some distinctly criminal, were congregated by an uncomprehending authority in overcrowded stations in VDL, and in the barracks at Norfolk Island. A further 45 were known to have been transported for homosexual crimes in the early stages of the Probation System.*

*Champ to Wilmot
1.8.1846
BPP Part 7:
1847 (785) 128*

The situation was made worse by inadequate supervision from the Governor down, and at the lowest or ward level by the supervision of convicts by convicts. Wilmot's administration suppressed or minimised indications that all was not well in a number of the stations, but in January and February 1846 the conditions within the stations began to emerge in the colonial press.* Over the next year a number of protests were sent direct to the Secretary of State for the Colonies from colonial lawyers, politicians and clergymen, the last being from the Bishop of Tasmania. (6)

*Launceston
Examiner 31.1.1846
Hobart Town
Courier 4.2.1846*

Following his visit to the Kingston convict barracks on Norfolk Island, the Magistrate Pringle Stewart reported:

'On the door being opened, men were scrambling into their own beds from others, in a hurried manner, concealment

being evidently their object. It was very evident that the wardsmen not being liable to supervision, nor having any external support, did not exercise any authority and were mere passive spectators of irregularity, which prevails here at night to an enormous amount. How can anything else be expected? Here are 800 men immured from 6 o'clock in the evening until sunrise the following morning; variously by 100s, 60s, 40s, 30s, etc., without lights, without visitation by the officers, or the check that even liability to these would produce.

It is my painful duty to state that I am informed, and of the truth of the information I entertain no doubt, that atrocities of the most shocking odious character are there perpetrated, and that **** crime is indulged in to excess; that the young have no chance of escaping from abuse, and that even forcible violation is resorted to. To resist can hardly be expected, in a situation so utterly removed from, and lamentably destitute of, protection. A terrorism is sternly and resolutely maintained, to revenge not merely exposure but even complaint; and threats of murder too likely to be carried into effect from the violent desperate characters here associated, are made more alarming by the general practice of carrying knives.*

*Stewart Norfolk
Report 1846. 86*

Pringle Stewart feared that '... a moral stain of the deepest dye may ... become attached to the name of Englishmen.* This situation was reflected to varying degrees in a number of stations in VDL, and in July 1846 Wilmot veered on to another tack and assured Gladstone that due to his 'unremitting' and 'silent' labours 'the nameless crime [was] less than formerly.*' Wilmot may have been largely silent but he certainly was not unremitting. He had made no serious attempt to see that the requirements for separate apartments for the 3rd class and adequate separation in the dormitories were carried out. It was characteristic of Wilmot to pass on the Secretary of State's instructions to his subordinates without examining too

Ibid. 87

*Wilmot to Gladstone
10.7.1846 No 100
BPPT part 7
1847 (785) 101*

closely whether they were, or could be, implemented. Where lack of resources prevented the work, Wilmot failed to stress this to Her Majesty's Government and contented himself with passing on the sometimes ambiguous reports of his subordinates.

Forster's strictly truthful report on the provision of separation boards is typical: 'I hope that it will be satisfactory to the Secretary of State to know that ... separation boards between the sleeping berths have been *desired to be* [my italics] invariably adopted.'^{*} In fact, where they had actually been provided, they were from 6 to 14 inches high^{*} rather than the 5 ft specified by the Inspectors' of Prisons. In any case the boards had been made easily demountable to facilitate cleaning^{*} and they were removed when there were too many convicts for the number of bed places.^{*}

Forster to Wilmot
21.7.1845
BPP T'port. 7:
1846 (36) 45

Boyd to Hampton
31.12.1845
BPP T'port. 7:
1846 (402) 74

Forster's Probation
Regulations 1841.40

Bishop of Tasmania,
to Earl Grey 15.2.1847
BPP T'port. 7:
1847 (741) 3

See page 208

Up to 1845 the numbers of convicts sent to VDL,^{*} and the lack of resources to accommodate and deploy them, ensured that overcrowding was a chronic situation at some stations. Hence the separation boards must have been as much out as in. For the same reasons few separate apartments were built before 1846 for the 3rd or crime class. Under Secretary Stephen was irritated by the lagging construction of separate accommodation and the lack of energy displayed by both Wilmot and Forster,^{*} and particularly by the failure of Wilmot to supply informed and intelligent recommendations on VDL problems. Wilmot was too foolish and too fearful to do anything so decisive. Forster for his part was ill and near death, but clung to his post of Comptroller of Convicts because he needed the substantial salary to pay his debts.^{*}

Best History of
Tasmania II. 310-4

Secondary source,
now lost.

The Van Diemens' Land administration and the Secretary of State had other problems of discipline beside the control of homosexuals and of those convicts whose deprivation of heterosexual outlets caused them to couple with anything available, be it man or beast. But it was the publicity attending this

problem alone which was to result in the urgent re-design of the existing stations and barracks. The conversion programme involved the construction of battened sides to each bed place, and the erection of separate apartments for those with unnatural proclivities, as well as for all 3rd class convicts. The enclosed bed places were completed in all but five establishments by the end of 1848,* but the campaign for separate apartments was less successful.

*Return 31.12.1848
BPP T'port 9:
1849 (1121) 195*

The purpose of a probation or punishment station was to provide work for the convicts away from the settled areas. However the very nature of this work; clearing for agriculture, road and bridge making and public works construction, ensured that most of the stations had a short useful life. Personnel changes, policy reversals, administrative inefficiency, inter-departmental jealousies and corruption led to poor choice of sites and added further to the frequent abandonment or change of use of stations.* Hence separate apartments, which represented a substantial deployment of labour and materials, were abandoned almost as fast as they were built during the first two years of the campaign (1846-8). Some, like the 100 apartments built at the Coal Mines in 1846, were so slight and ill built that they had to be demolished shortly after completion.*

*Lalrope Report
1847 41-4*

Ibid 69

The Comptroller General's own figures illustrate the situation:

Accommodation for Convicts in Separate Apartments, VDL

<i>BPP T'port.</i>	<i>As at:</i>	<i>Separate Apartments complete</i>	<i>Separate Apartments in progress</i>	<i>Separate Apartments as a percentage of completed accommodation</i>	<i>Total of all types of completed accommodation, except solitary cells</i>
<i>9. 1849 (1022) 126</i>	31.10.1847	950	537	11.1%	8513
<i>258</i>	30. 4.1848	782	219	11.5%	6782
<i>(1121) 195</i>	31.12.1848	857	56	14.2%	6004
	1849	not available			
	1849	not available			
<i>10. 1851 (1361) 29-30</i>	30. 6.1850	1295	NIL	20.2%	6390
<i>(1418) 12</i>	31.12.1850	847	NIL	18.3%	4617

Finally it was not the erratic construction programme but the home government's decision to suspend transportation and the consequent reduction in convict numbers that allowed accommodation to more or less match requirements by 1850.

'Separate apartment' was the name commonly given to single cells in which convicts in their primary term of labour, and certain others, were supposed to be kept. They were almost all in the form of a single row of cells and were often arranged around a yard looking inwards. The Saltwater River design (Fig. 200) and Darlington (Fig. 210) are examples. When 2 storied, they had a gallery or verandah on the upper floor with an external staircase. Unlike cells upon the Separate System these colonial apartments were only used as separate sleeping units, the convicts being subjected to labour in gangs during the day. The arrangement was, in fact, closer to the American Silent System, without the silence, than to the Separate System to which the penal administrators continued to pay lip service.

Solitary cells continued in use as a punishment facility. They were smaller and usually dark, and during the Probation period they were of the back to back type as at Victoria River (Fig. 196), alternating as at Darlington (Fig. 210), or in a single row as at Oyster Cove (Fig. 202).

The introduction of 'moveable stations' helped in a small way to overcome the transitory nature of convict works. They were provided in November 1847 for the construction of Blackman's bridge,* and housed 200 convicts very much as Barney had done at George's River in 1839. Hampton reported in January 1849 that 'the habits and general condition of the men employed in small road parties have been much improved by lodging them in moveable wooden houses, constructed in the manner shown in the accompanying plans.'* See Fig. 209.

*Hampton Report
15.11.1847 Memo 2.
BPP T'part. 9:
1849 (1022) 128*

*Hampton Report
10.1.1849
BPP T'part. 9:
1849 (1121) 166*

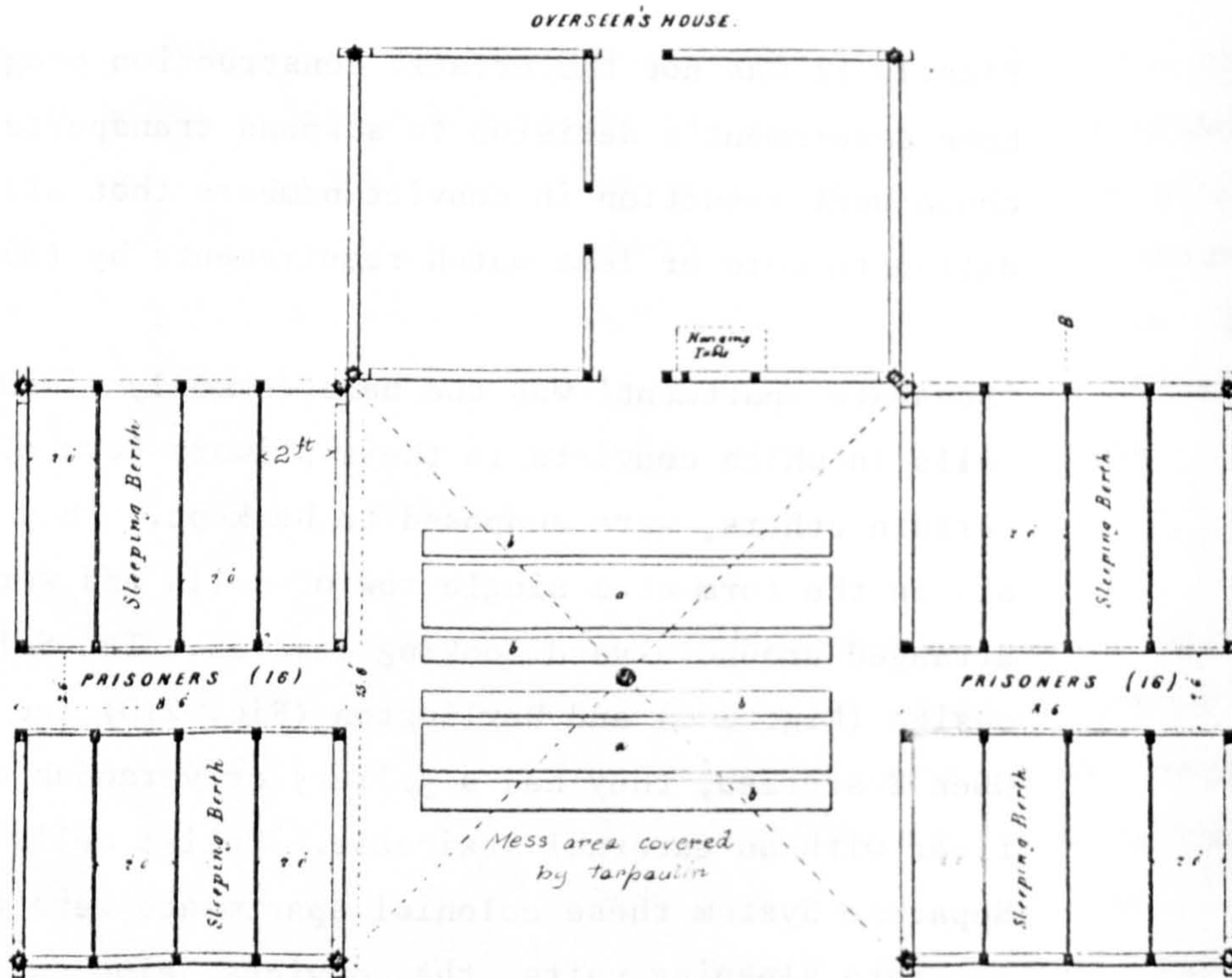


Fig. 209. Movable Station for the accommodation of Detached working Parties, VDL. BPP part 9: 1849 (1121) pp 194.

These miniature stations were prefabricated and demountable and were transported on wagons usually drawn by the convicts in the gang, though horses were used for long distances.*

Hampton to Denison
10.1.1849
BPP part 9:
1849 (1121) 166

Darlington station was planned by Kelsall in 1842 round the original Maria Island Convict Barracks (Fig. 103). As a Probation station it was atypical in that it was generally well managed, it had an uninterrupted life of eight years, and was one of the first stations to be equipped with separate apartments. Some convicts arrived in September 1842 and Ian Brand* says that 96 apartments were begun late in 1842 and completed early in 1843.

Brand, Maria Island
II. 161

James Boyd, the Senior Assistant Superintendent in December 1845, described the apartments, by then 102 in number, as '... very small, being but 9 ft long, 9 ft high and about 4 ft wide. The floors and ceilings are boarded, so they cannot be deemed very secure; there are no fittings whatsoever; the prisoners lie on the floor, and off which they also take their

meals. There is no regular system of ventilation, the air being admitted by an opening over the door, which opening supplies the place of a window. There is no counter opening for the extraction of foul air.* The apartments were ranged around a rectangular yard. See Fig. 210.

Boyd to Hamplow
31.12.1845
BPPT part. 7:
1846 (402) 73 et seq.

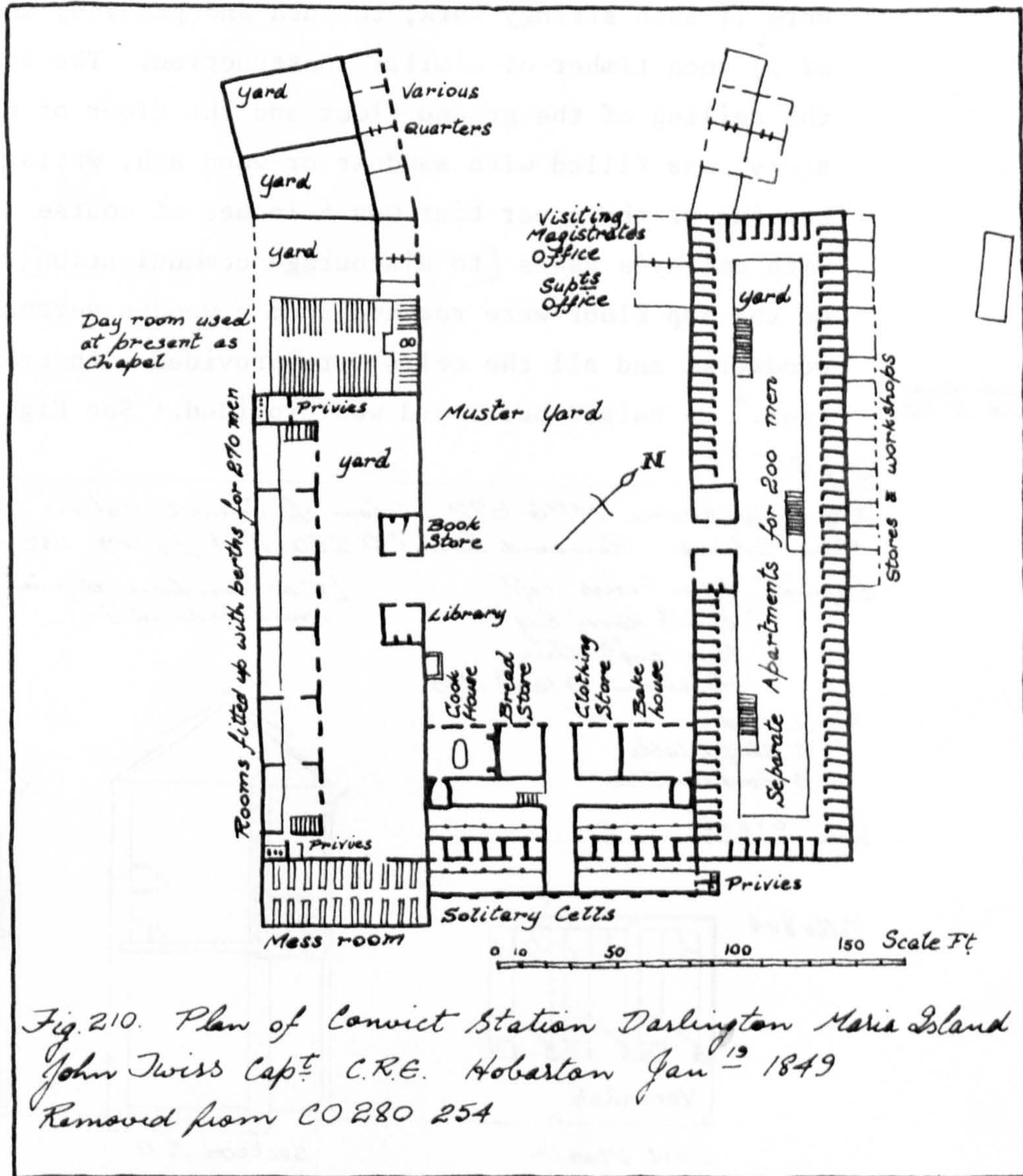


Fig. 210. Plan of Convict Station Darlington Maria Island
John Swiss Capt. C.R.E. Hobarton Jan^r 1849
Removed from CO 280 254

In August 1846 Champ, the acting Comptroller General, and an optimist of the school of Dr Pangloss, reported the gratifying progress of the establishment, and that 102 additional separate apartments, then in progress, would be completed within 6 months.* In fact they were not completed until the second half of 1848.*

Champ to Wilmot
1.8.1846
BPPT part. 7:
1847 (785) 122

Return 31.12.1848
BPPT part. 9:
1849 (1121) 195

Brand notes that the plans for the additions were dated October 1846 and involved adding an extra storey on to the existing separate apartment buildings. Each new cell was 8 ft x 4 ft x 10 ft high, and was 'constructed of brick with the front internal wall lined with 1½ inch thick boards. Cell floors were 1½ inch stringy bark, tongued and grooved, and the ceiling of 1½ inch timber of similar construction. The space between the ceiling of the ground floor and the floor of the upper story was filled with sawdust or wood ash, whilst above the ceiling of the upper tier was 4 inches of coarse mortar mixed with smithy's ashes [to discourage communication]. The cells on the top floor were reached from a wooden verandah' of open woodwork, and all the cells were provided with cross ventilation.* A raised bed board was provided. See Figs 210 and 211.

Brand Maria
Island II. 162

Fig. 211.

PRO Map Room MPG 672 Plan of Convid station Darlington,
Maria Island. Removed from C.O. 280. 254 ff 129 132, 228

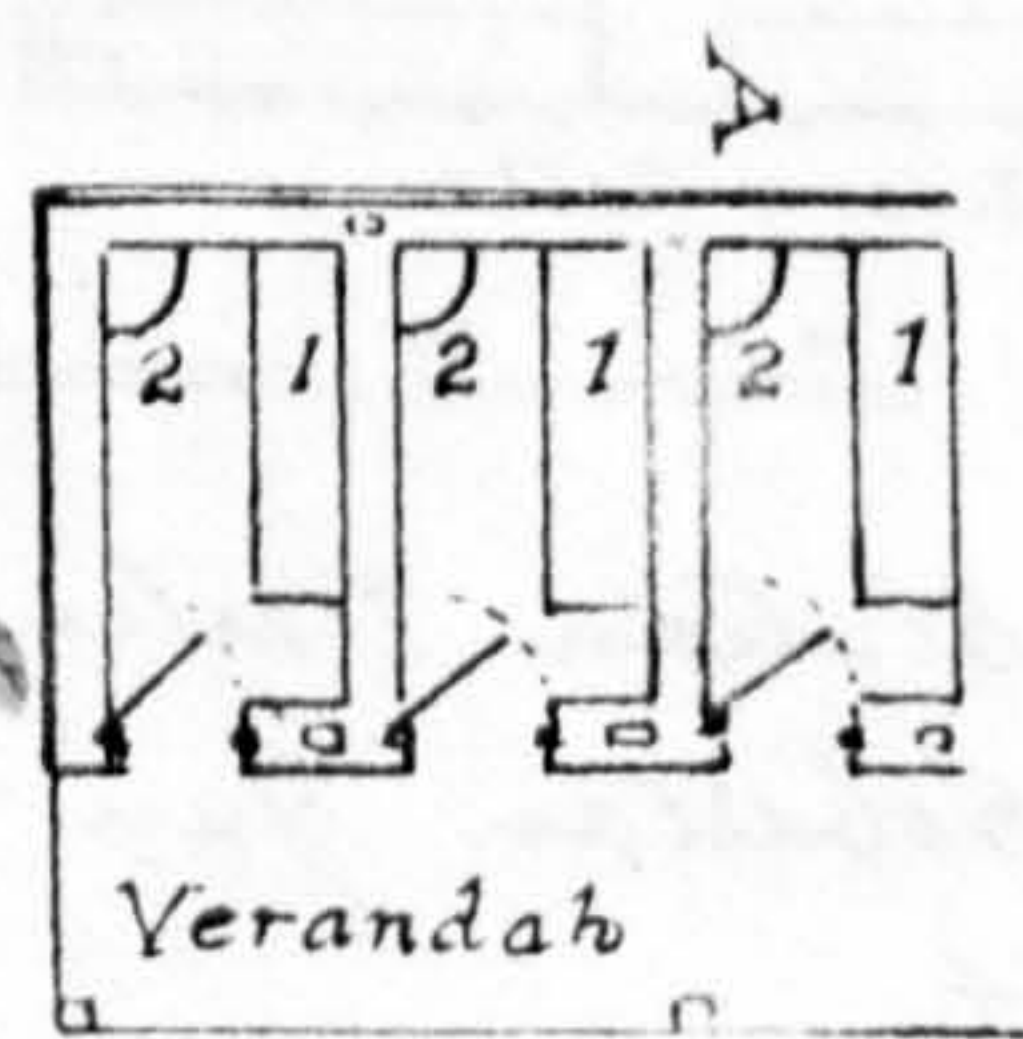
[Signed] John Twiss Capt
Comd Royal Eng^s
Royal Eng^s Office
Hobartan 19 Jan^y 1849

[Redrawn from original plans and
much reduced.]

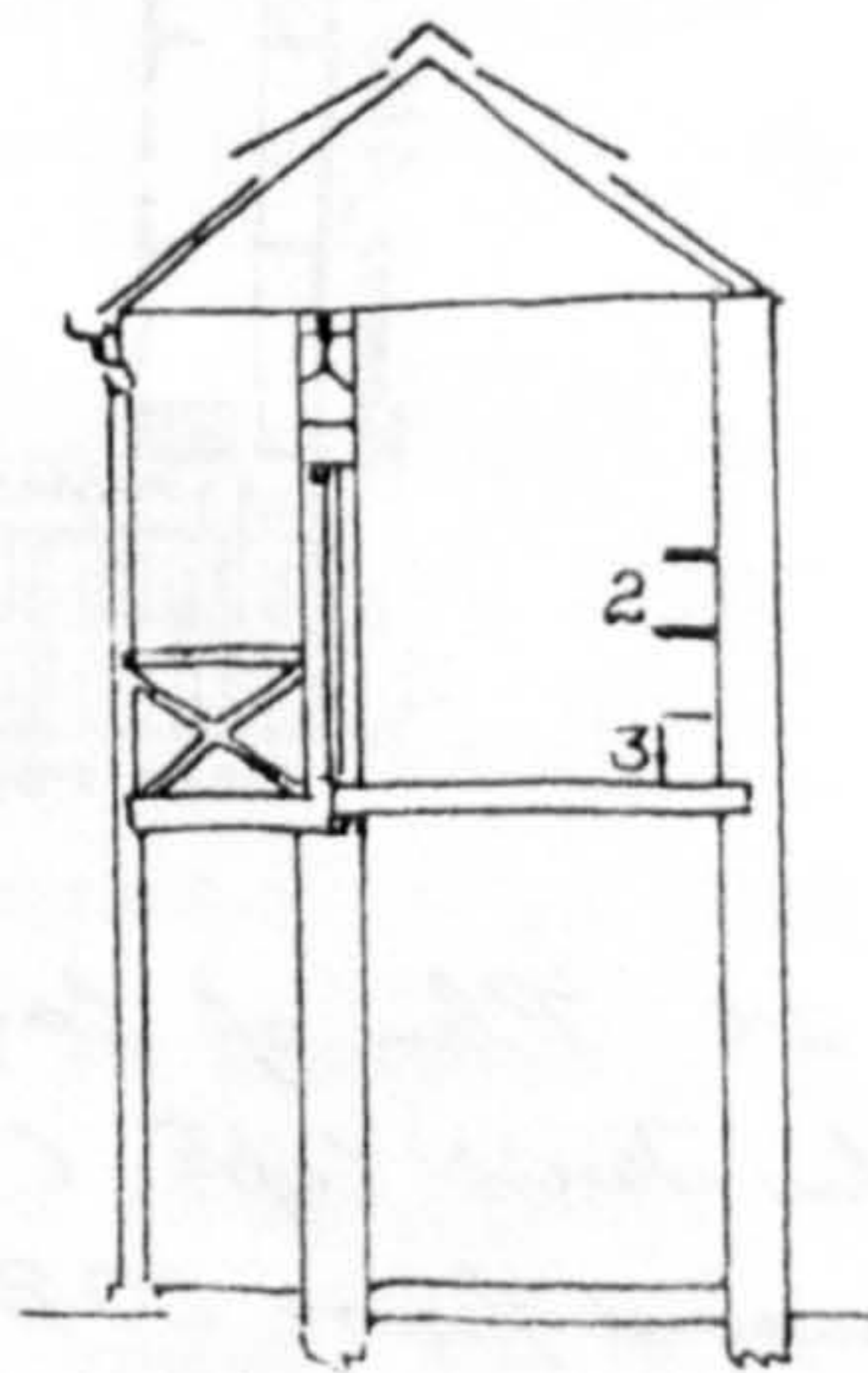
Key 1 Bed
2 Shelf & table
3 Foul Air Flue

Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15

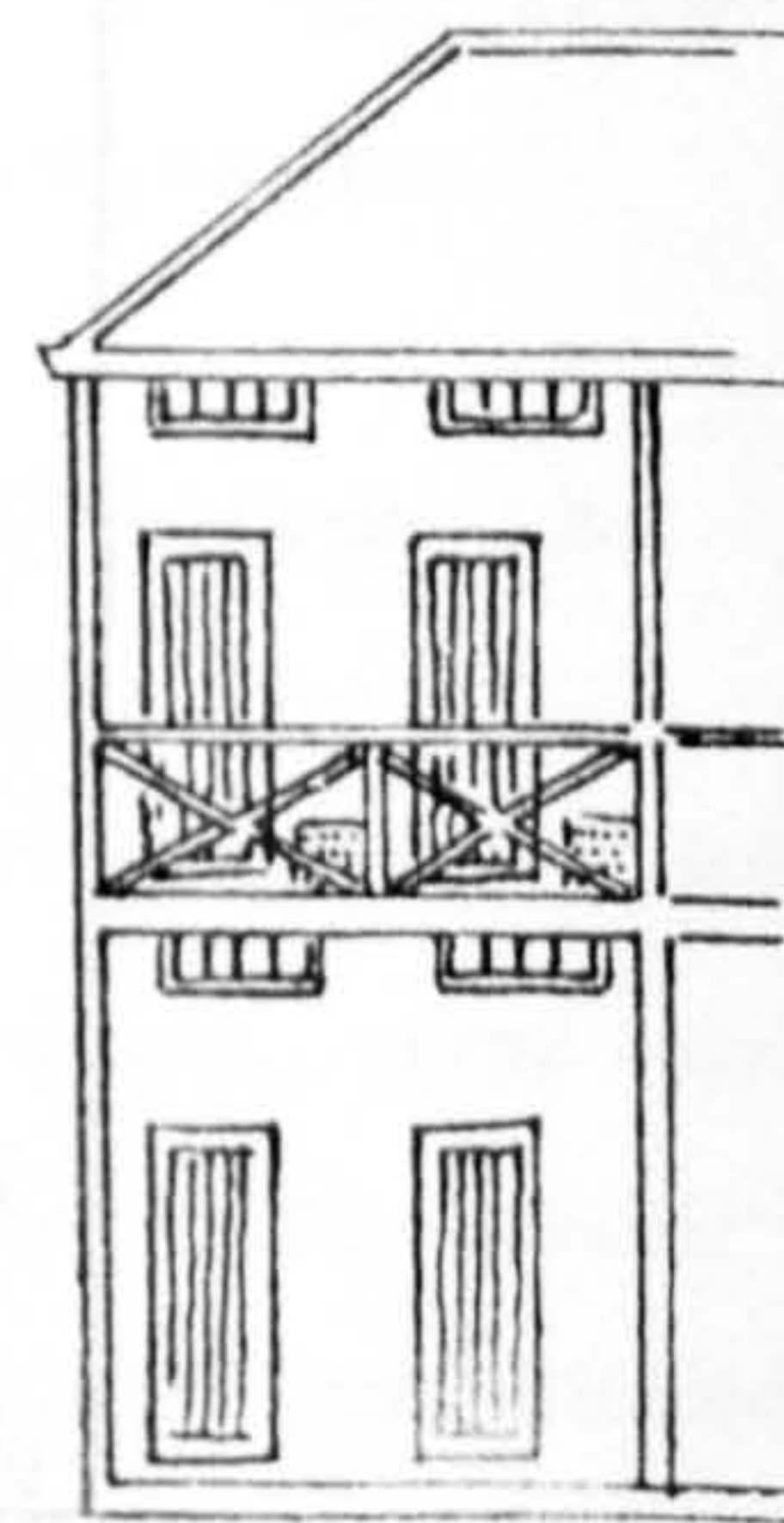
Cells 8'x4'



Part Plan



Section A-B



Part Elevation

No privies appear to have been provided in the separate apartment yard, instead each cell was equipped with a night tub with a close fitting lid, and the morning routine of slopping out was followed.

This arrangement of a 2 storey single row of apartments with access from a verandah was repeated by the Royal Engineers

Hampton Report
 15.11.1847
 73 PP T'port. 9:
 1849 (1022) 128
 46 SPF Photos
 Caruso 73ks Sydney &
 Kincumber.

a number of stations. The block of 24 apartments built in the Launceston Treadmill Yard in 1847* was typical. See Fig. 212. Similar designs were used as mounted police barracks in NSW.*

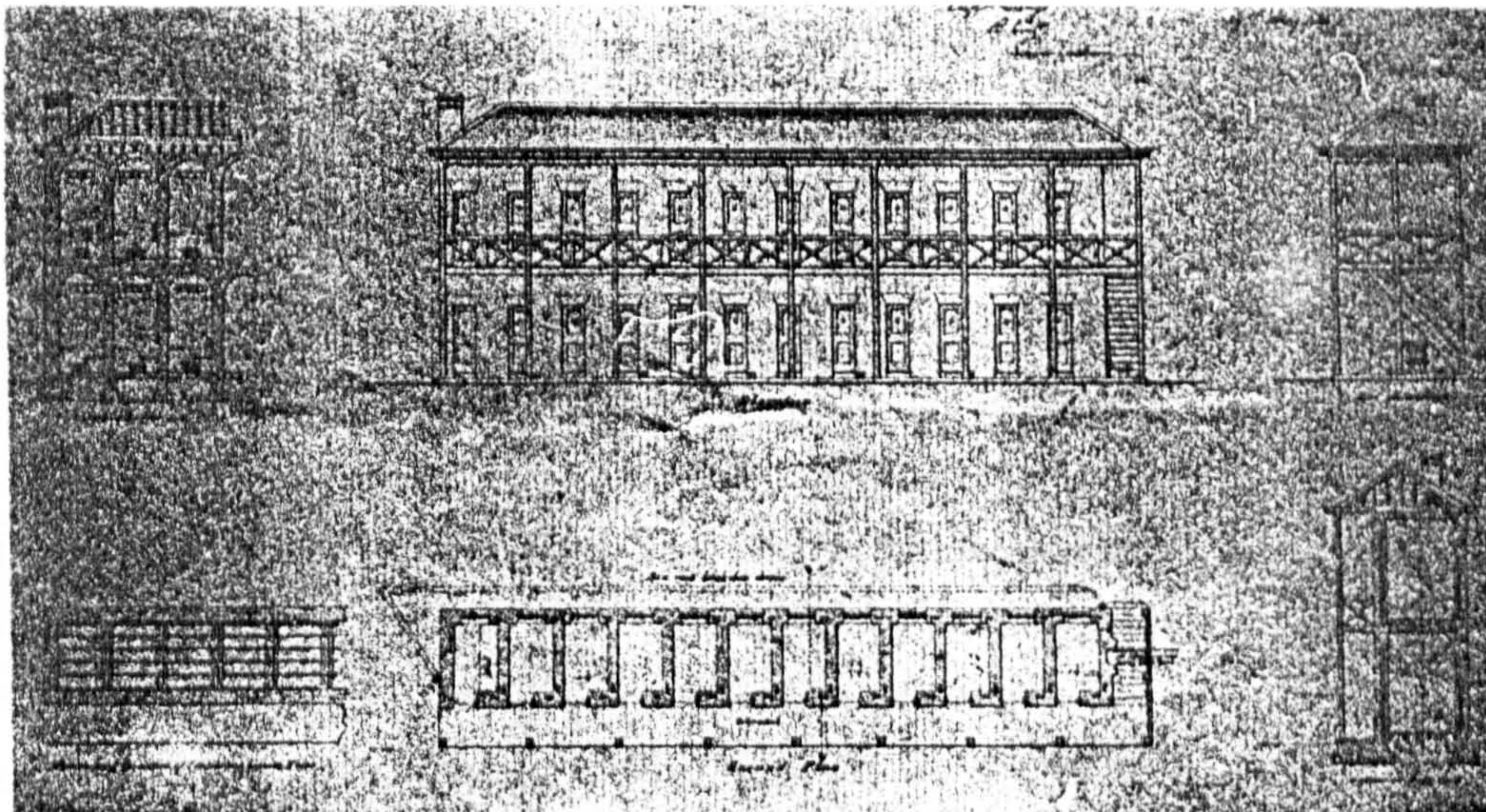


Fig. 212. '24 Separate Apartments to be built in the Treadmill Yard, Launceston. Forwarded for execution [by] Cap^t. Swiss R. Engⁿ. Launceston. [Signed] J.C. Victor 27th May 1847.' A/TAS 290/869.

Boyd reported in December 1845 that in addition to the separate apartments at Darlington 'the buildings in which the prisoners are located comprise 6 large rooms [in the former convict barracks erected in 1830], each containing 66 men [and] 20 huts holding from 3 to 24 men each.'* The former barrack was refitted in 1842-3 in much the same way as it had been 10 years earlier. That is with 3 tiers of bed platforms against the rear wall and each berth thereon occupying a space of approximately 1 ft 5 ins wide by 6½ ft long. The separation boards were about 6 inches high, and according to Boyd, no longer visible when the bedding was unrolled.* Shortly before December 1846 the boards were increased in height to 13 inches, and by October the following year they had been replaced by the battened side walls or cages required by the administration. At the same time the 5 interior walls were opened to throw the 6 rooms of the barrack into one.

Boyd to Hampton
 31.12.1845
 73 PP T'port 7:
 1846 (402) +13

Ibid. 74

The Reverend Henry Phibbs Fry gave an accurate description in about 1848:

'... a general dormitory... 180 ft long, 22 ft wide and about 12 ft high. On one side of this long narrow room are 282 wooden berths in 3 tiers or rows one above the other, 94 in each tier. On the opposite wall there are 6 doors and 6 windows. The berths are about 2 ft wide and 6½ foot long, the distance between the tiers is 3 ft. The berths are separated from each other by a double row of horizontal [sic] battens or strips of wood 3 inches wide and 3 inches asunder so placed that the battens on one side are opposite to the separations between them on the other, so as to allow ventilation and prevent a convict in one bed seeing in to the next berth. The dormitory is sufficiently lighted at night by 6 lamps with double burners, enabling an officer to see distinctly through the whole length of the room.'*

Fry A System of Penal Discipline. London. 1850 p.101 quoted in Brand Maria Island I. 37.

In January 1849 the Commanding Royal Engineer to replace Victor, John Twiss, did a drawing of an identical arrangement for an intended dormitory at Darlington. See Fig. 213.

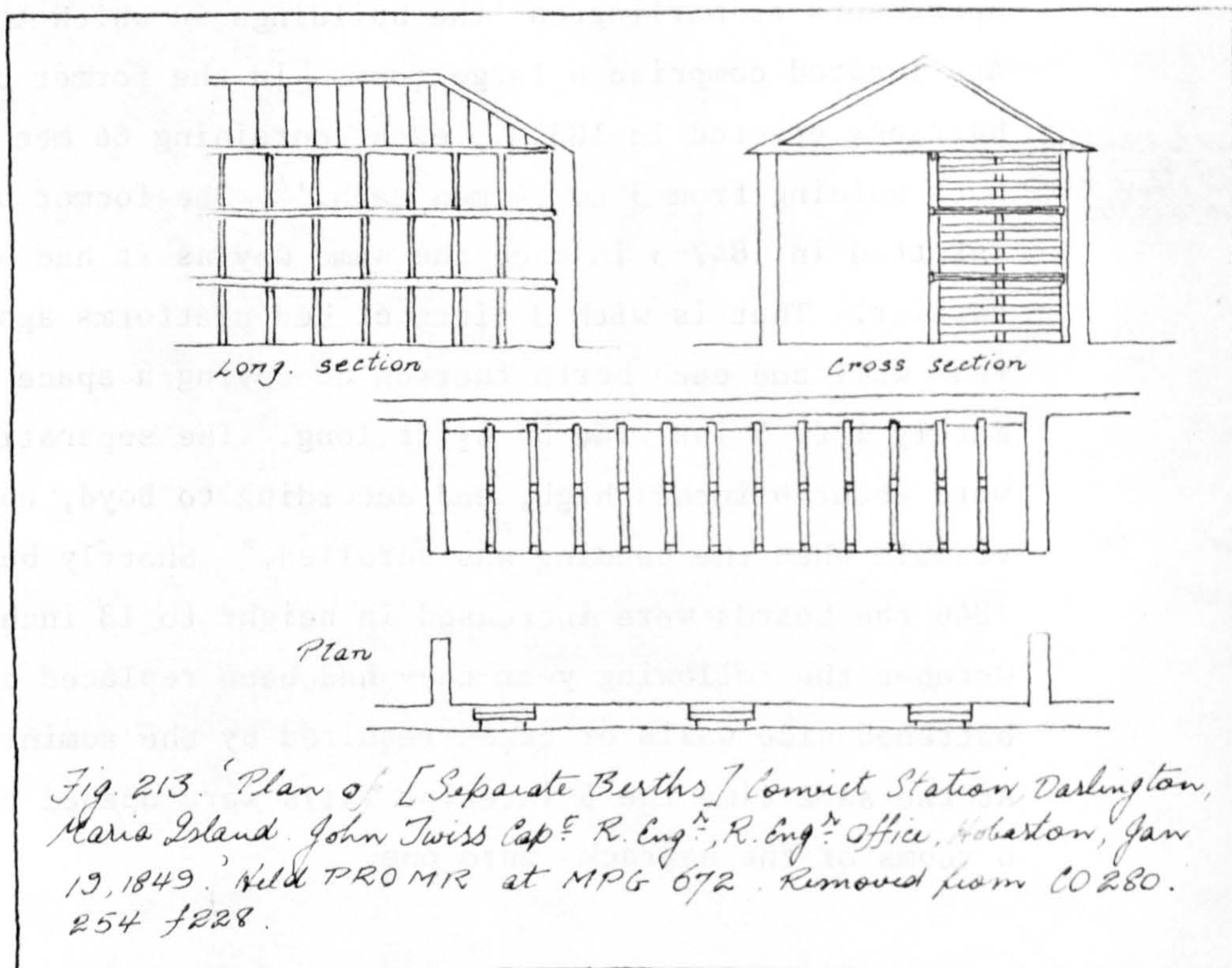


Fig. 213. 'Plan of [Separate Berths] Convict Station, Darlington, Maria Island. John Twiss Cap^t R. Eng^r, R. Eng^r Office, Hobart, Jan 19, 1849. Held PROMIR at MPG 672. Removed from CO 280. 254 f228.

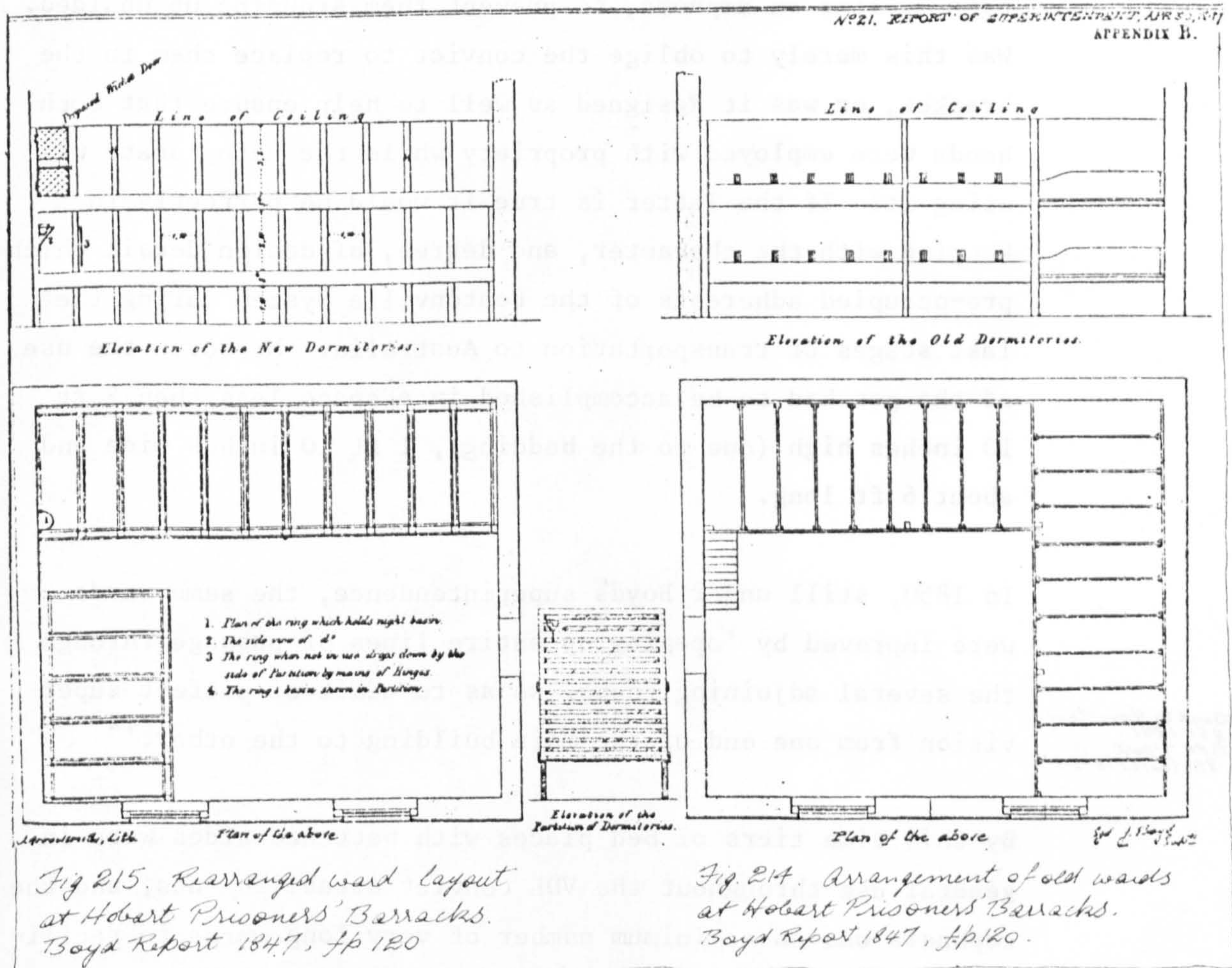
Hampton to Denison
10.7.1850
BPP 7, part. 10:
1851 (1361) 22

Mundy, Sur
Antipodes III. 143

Colonel Mundy, during his visit before the station closed in 1850,* in a felicitous simile described each prisoner lying 'with his feet to the outer wall and his head towards the centre like a bottle in its bin.'* However, anything intrinsically humorous in the situation must have been lost on the unfortunate inhabitants.

This system of racking humans in tiers of wall cages 'or pidgeon holes' was 'perfected' by Boyd during his period as Superintendent of the Hobart Prisoners' Barracks. The sequence of improvements at Hobart was similar to that at Darlington, though a little later. In 1847-8 the bed places were rearranged and the removeable separation boards replaced by fixed battens. Boyd prepared useful drawings of the fitting up of the wards in the old Marshalsea type barracks* before (Fig. 214) and after (Fig. 215) conversion.

See Fig. 116



A novel refinement was the wicket gate on each cage, which confined each convict at night and necessitated the provision of individual night pots. See Fig. 216. With a somewhat

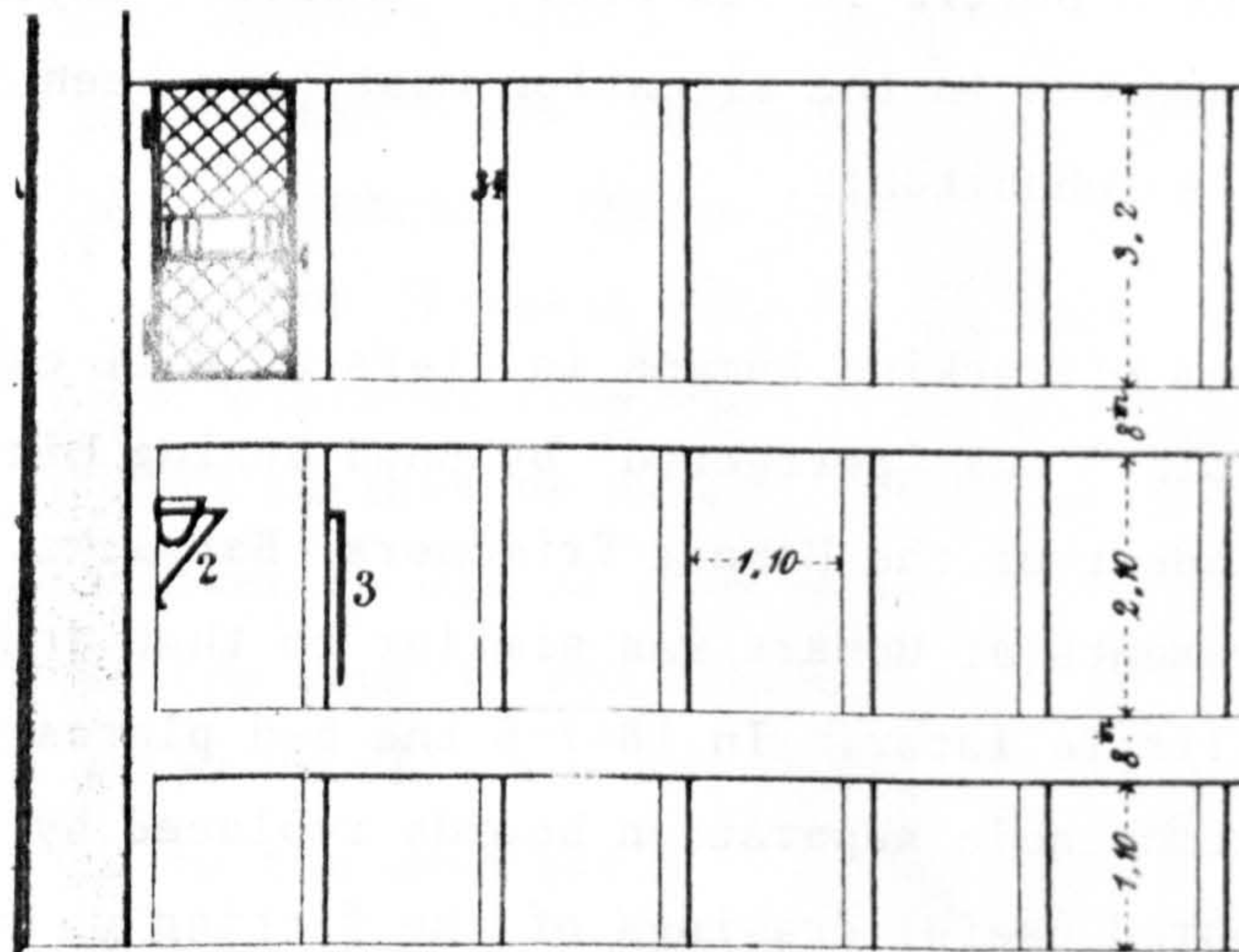


Fig. 216 Detail of Fig. 215.

- 2. The side view of the ring which holds night basin.*
- 3. The ring when not in use drops down by the side of Partition by means of hinges.*

fiendish ingenuity these pots were made with an elliptical bottom, like an amphora, to prevent them standing up unaided. Was this merely to oblige the convict to replace them in the bracket, or was it designed as well to help ensure that both hands were employed with propriety while the unfortunate was using it? If the latter is true it would be perfectly in keeping with the character, and degree, of design detail which pre-occupied adherents of the Pentonville System during the last stages of transportation to Australia. Moreover the use of the pot had to be accomplished in a space less than 2 ft 10 inches high (due to the bedding), 1 ft 10 inches wide and about 6 ft long.

In 1850, still under Boyd's superintendence, the same wards were improved by 'opening up entire lines of passage through the several adjoining rooms, so as to admit of perfect supervision from one end of the main building to the other.'*

*Boyd to Hampton
3.11.1851
13 PP 7th part. 10.
1851 (1418) 19-20*

By this time tiers of bed places with battened sides were in general use throughout the VDL convict establishments, and the emphasis was on a minimum number of very long wards to facilitate supervision by a small number of staff. This fashion

reached its apogee with the conversion of the Port Arthur waterfront store building (Fig. 217) to a penitentiary. The

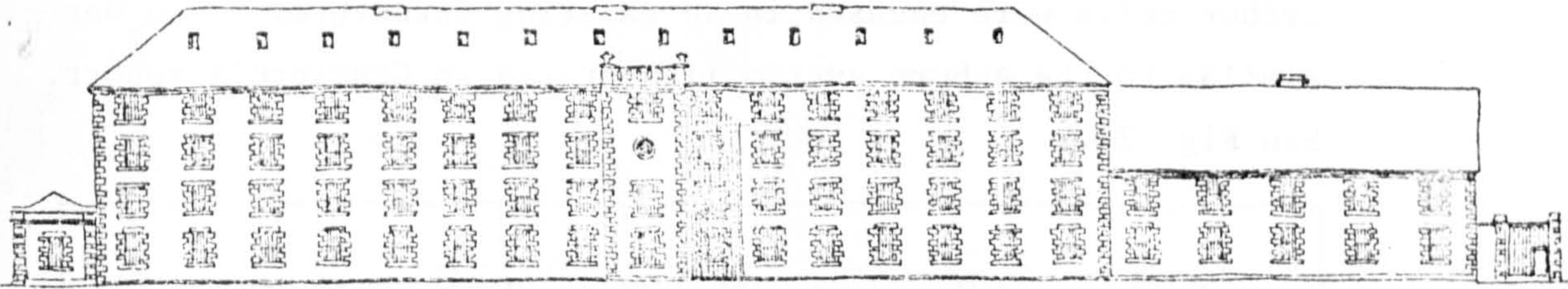


Fig. 217. PORT ARTHUR GENERAL PRISON FORMERLY STORE.
Held PRO Map room at MPG 807. Removed from CO 280.369 f 85

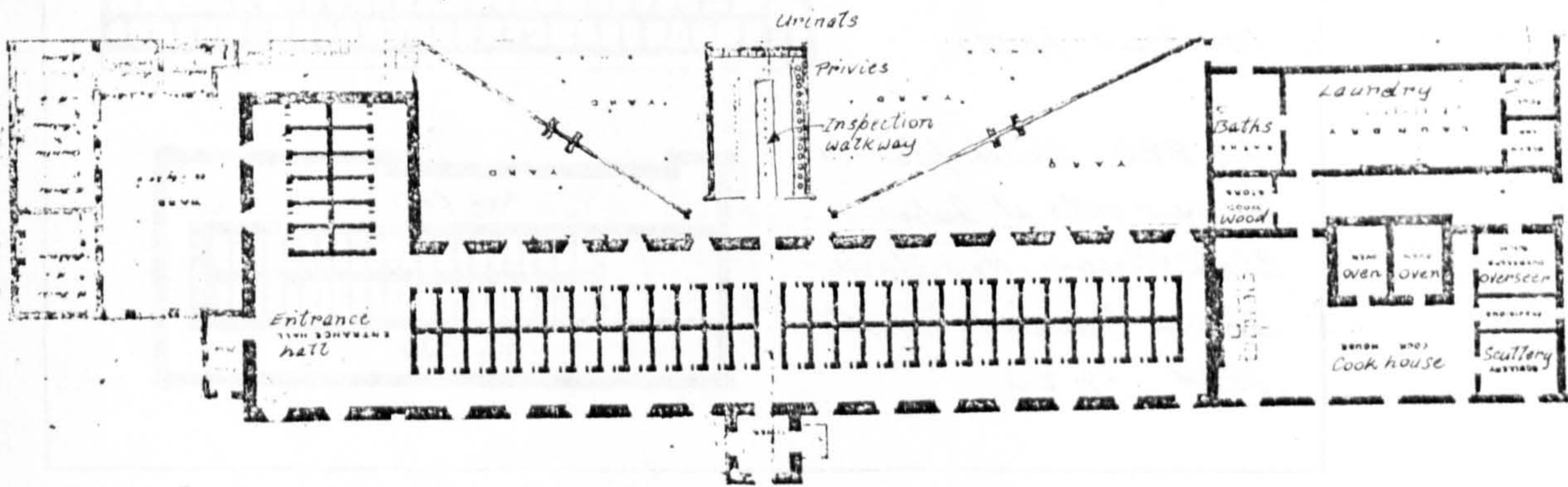


Fig 218. Port Arthur Penitentiary plan. *Mh PX D52 (sic)*
(Privies, fireplaces, and watchmen's and constables' quarters shown as an addition)

design provided for the accommodation of between 500 and 600 convicts in 3 tiers of battened bed places in a room 200 ft long and 32 ft 6 inches wide. However declining numbers of convicts led to only 2 tiers of 348 bed places being constructed during the conversion from September 1854* to April 1857.*

*Macdonnell's entry in
 Visitors Register 29.1.1855
 BPP T'port 14: 1857
 [2197]XIV. 170
 Boyd Report 10.8.1857
 BPP T'port 14: 1859
 [2568]XXII. 181*

The ubiquitous Mr Boyd, who by this time was the Civil Commandant of Port Arthur, relates that below the dormitory was a mess room 163 ft in length by 32 ft in breadth, and below that again 136 cells for the confinement of prisoners under heavy sentences. See Fig. 218. These cells were '2 stories high, and arranged back to back, with open corridors in front, which were lighted by the open windows. A neat gallery with light iron railings was provided for the upper story.'*

Ibid.

They were very similar to the 110 separate back to back apartments constructed at the Hobart Prisoners' Barracks in 1847 and 1848, see Fig. 219, the difference being that the Port Arthur cells were encased in an existing structure. Both were similar to the Auburn system illustrated in Crawford's report. See Fig. 220.

Fig. 219. Sketch plan of the new separate apartments, Hobart Prisoners' Barracks. From Boyd's Report, 30.4.1847.

*BPP T'port 8: 1847-8
[941] LII. fp. 120.*

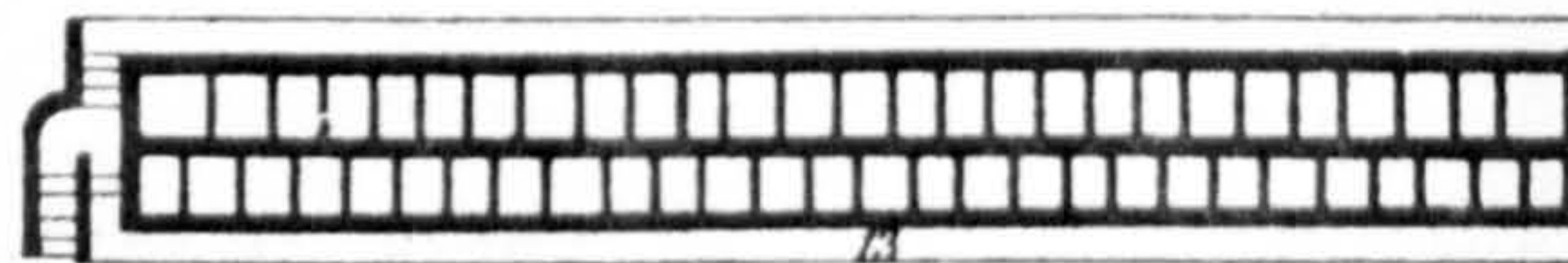
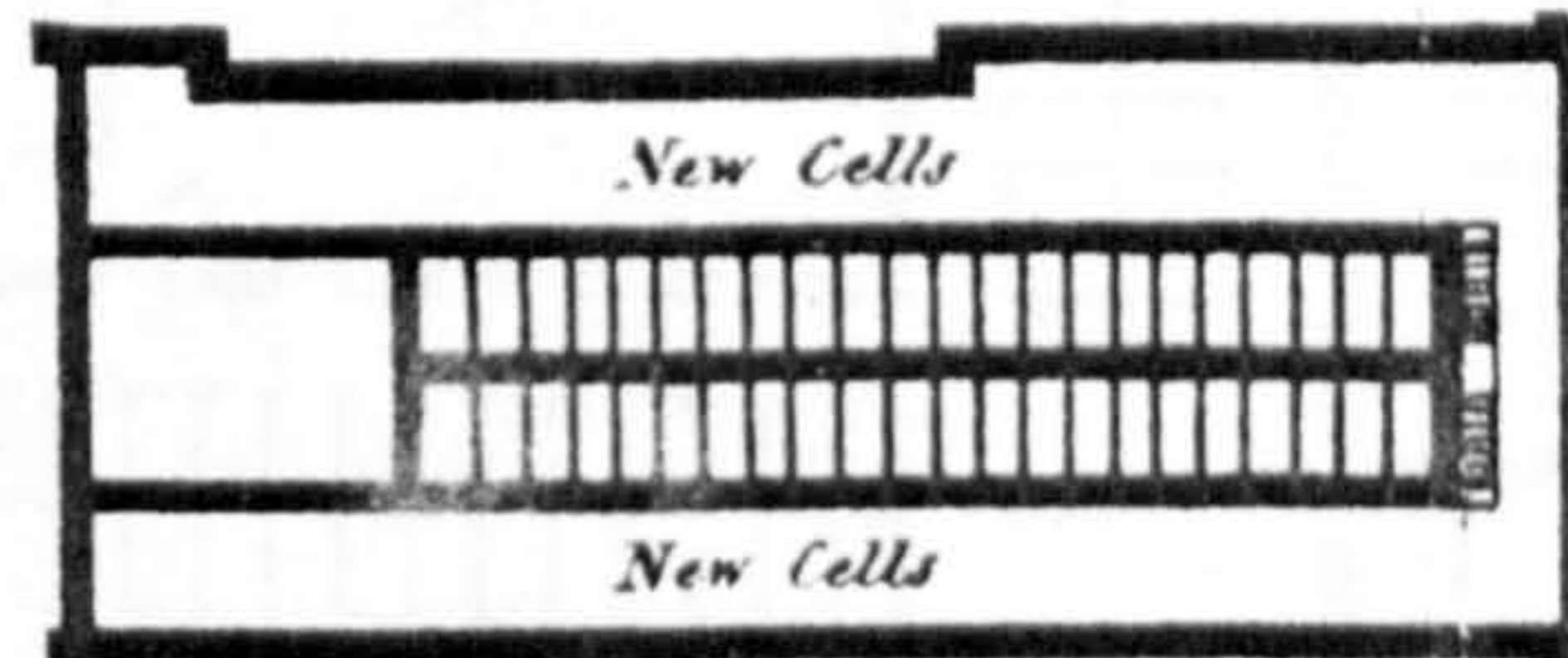


Fig. 220. Sketch plan of the new cells at Auburn State Prison, New York. From Crawford's Report 1834. fp. 23.



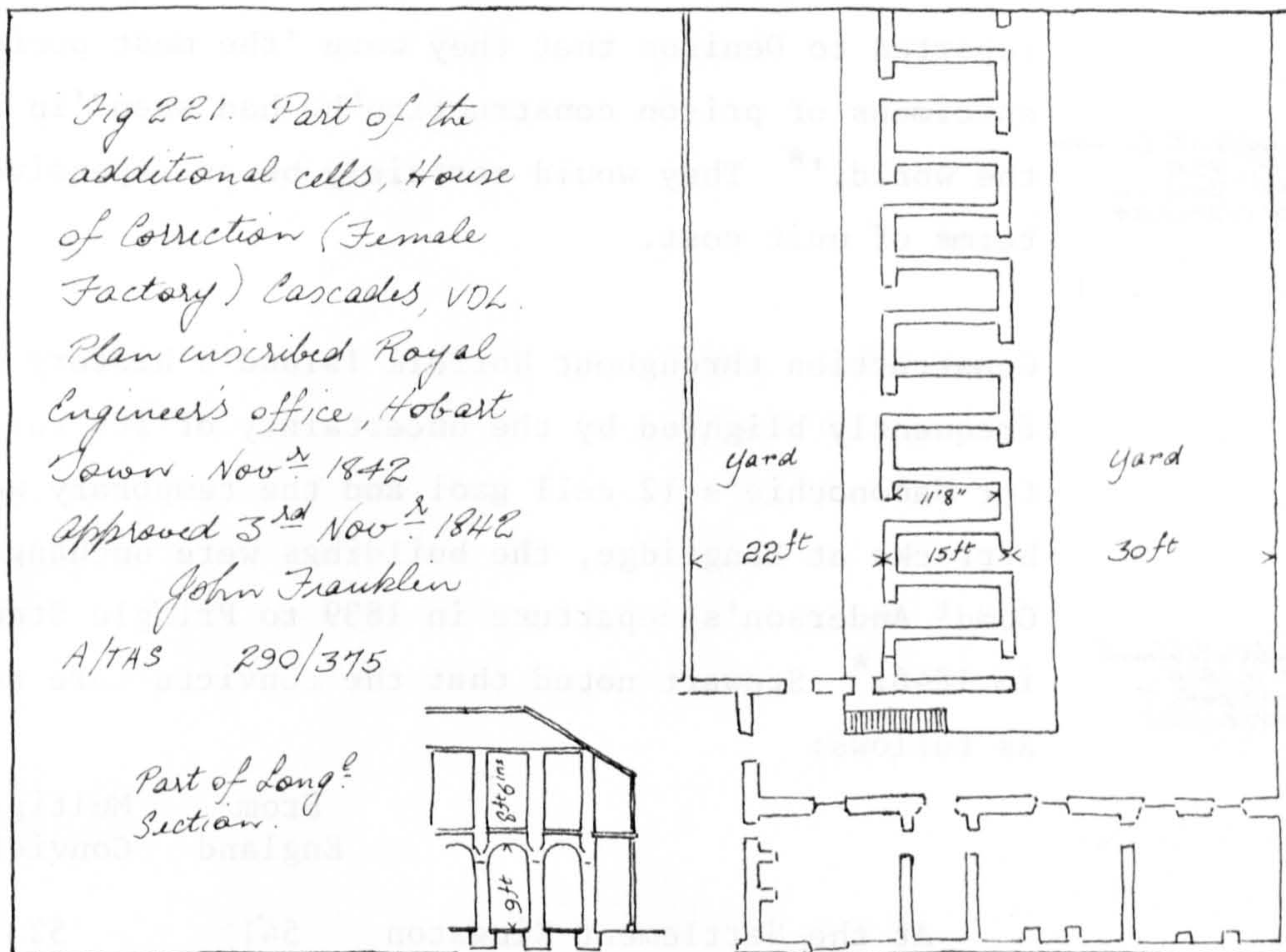
In addition to back to back, and single row apartments (as at Launceston*), two other types were built under the supervision of the Royal Engineers. The first was the 1844-6 extension of the Female House of Correction at the Cascade near Hobart.* It was designed by Kelsall before November 1842 and consisted of 2 ranges of 2 storey alternating apartments. See Fig. 221.

See Fig. 212

*Forster to Wilmot
21.7.1845
BPP T'port. 7:
1846 (36) 44*

Forster called them separate working apartments,* and their unusual length for VDL, 11 ft 8 inches, bears this out. Their width, about 4 ft 6 inches, was typical of such apartments in VDL and would have been quite unacceptable to the Inspectors of Prisons. However by the mid 1840s their role had been taken over by the Surveyor General of Prisons (Jebb), who was more involved in the design and propagation of ingenious penal habitations* than in acting as a colonial watchdog for the Home department.

See Chapter 16



The second type of separate apartment was probably unique in the colony and appears to have been devised by Comptroller General Hampton himself. Following his visit to Norfolk Island in January 1848 he recommended to Denison the construction of 12 large separate apartments, 8 ft by 14, to be built on the vacant space to the east of the gaol. The door of each cell was to face towards the back of the next with a small exercise yard in between. This 'would completely prevent communication.'* See Fig. 222. It was an arrangement, he said,

Hampton to Denison
10.3.1848
BPP T'part 9:
1849 (1022) 196 & 202-3

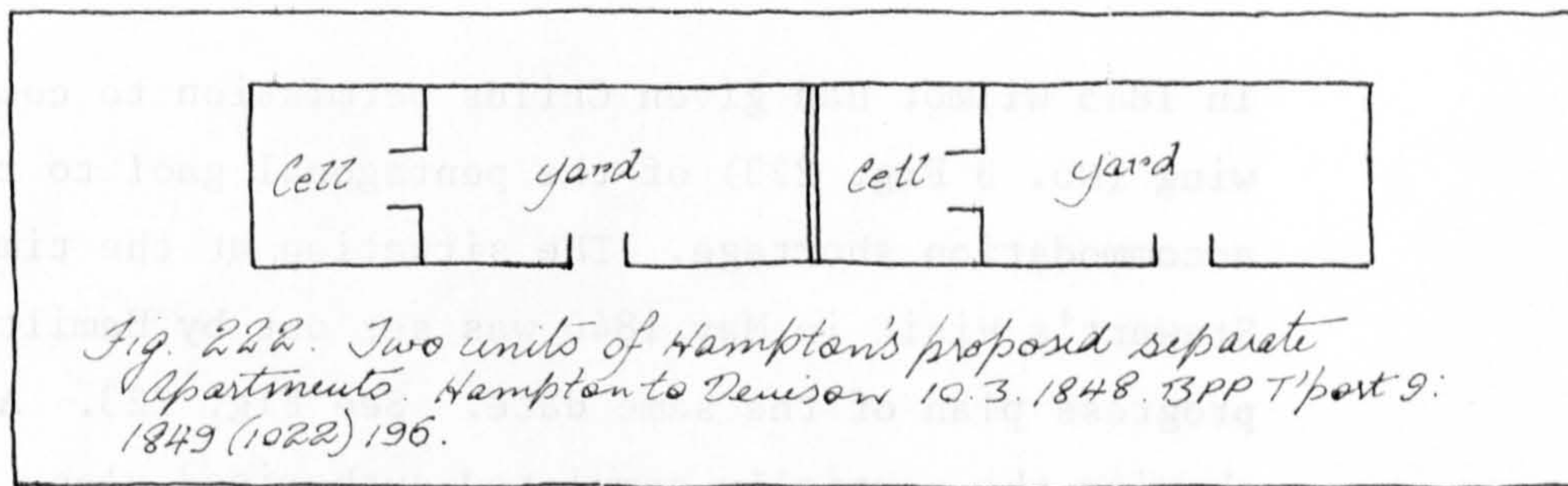


Fig. 222. Two units of Hampton's proposed separate apartments. Hampton to Denison 10.3.1848. BPP T'part 9: 1849 (1022) 196.

which would approximate as near as possible to the Pentonville
Sist. 203-3 System.*

Hampton took a proprietorial interest in the apartments and when he revisited the island in March and April 1850 he reported to Denison that they were 'the most perfect specimens of prison construction' he had seen 'in any part of the world.'* They would certainly be as expensive as any in terms of unit cost.

*Hampton to Denison
10.7.1850
13 PPT'port. 10:
1851 (1361) 24*

Construction throughout Norfolk Island's history was frequently blighted by the uncertainty of its future. Except for Maconochie's 12 cell gaol and the temporary wooden barracks at Longridge, the buildings were unchanged from Comd^t Anderson's departure in 1839 to Pringle Stewart's report in 1846.* Stewart noted that the convicts were accommodated as follows:

*Footer statement
27.11.1846
13 PPT'port. 7:
1847 (811) 26*

	From England	Multiple Convictions	Total
At the Settlement Kingston	541	523	1064
At Longridge	556	-	556
At Cascade	328	-	328

Stewart, aided by the Royal Engineer resident on the island, R.G. Hamilton, drew attention to the want of suitable buildings. He recommended that the pentagonal gaol, commenced in 1836,* be completed; that a new station be constructed to enable convicts from England to be separated from those with multiple convictions, and that sleeping accommodation be more effectively separated as in VDL.*

See pages 159-160

*Stewart Norfolk
Island Report 1846
96-7*

In 1845 Wilmot had given Childs permission to complete one wing (No. 3 Fig. 223) of the pentagonal gaol to relieve the accommodation shortage. The situation at the time of Pringle Stewart's visit in May 1846 was set out by Hamilton in his progress plan of the same date. See Fig. 223. As well as showing the partially completed authorised plan, Hamilton, following a brief from Childs, proposed certain additions which he showed in yellow. These included 2 extra blocks each of 20, 8 ft x 6, flanking cells.

Fig. 223.

Plan, illustrative of progress of Pentagonal Gaol Norfolk Island with additions shown in yellow, taken from authorized plan of new gaol to embrace the accommodation required in Civil Commandant's Letter and Minute respectively dated 8th & 9th May 1846.

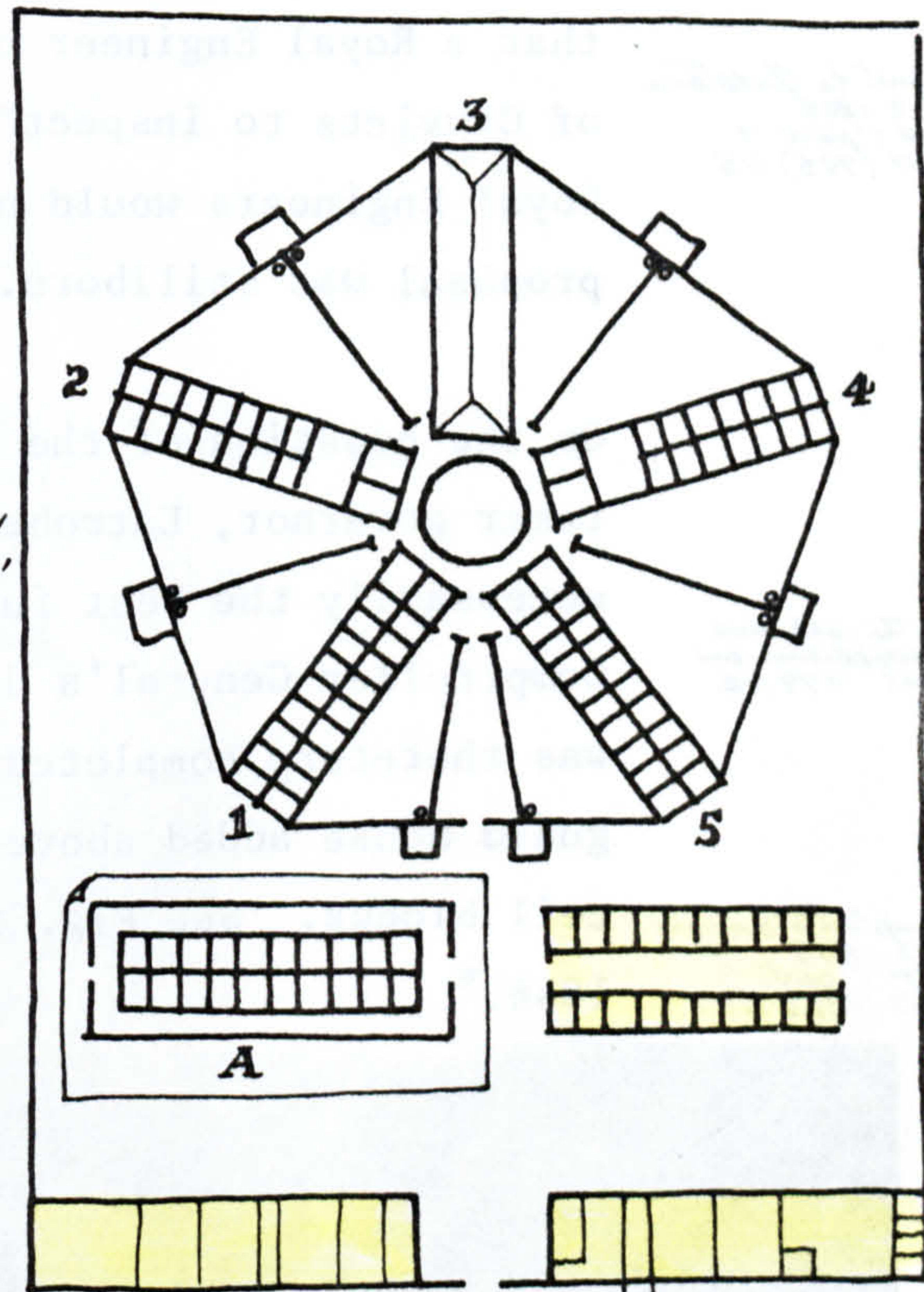
Boundary wall height 11 ft

Reference:

wings 1 & 5: walls in cells and adjoining yards raised to the height of the head of cell door.

wings 2 & 4: walls in cells and adjoining yards completed.

wing 3: completed.



Signed R. G. Hamilton Cap^t R. Eng^{no}
13th May 1846 A/TAS 378/12

The Commanding Royal Engineer, Victor, received the plan at the end of June and covered one of the blocks with an overlay showing an alternative back to back scheme. He then noted below it: 'The alteration of the disposition of the cells in these Blocks... marked A is suggested by the Comptroller General of Convicts on the grounds that "the doors being opposite to each other the occupants can converse". The Comm^g Engineer does not think the alteration suggested will make much difference in this respect - while the ventilation will be less complete by the new arrangement, than by that proposed by Captⁿ Hamilton.'

Victor inscription
29.6.1846
A/TAS 378/12

It provided a simple illustration of the different approaches of the Acting Comptroller, Champ, who thought of buildings in terms of the enforcement of discipline, and of the Royal Engineers, who saw them in relation to their structure. It was

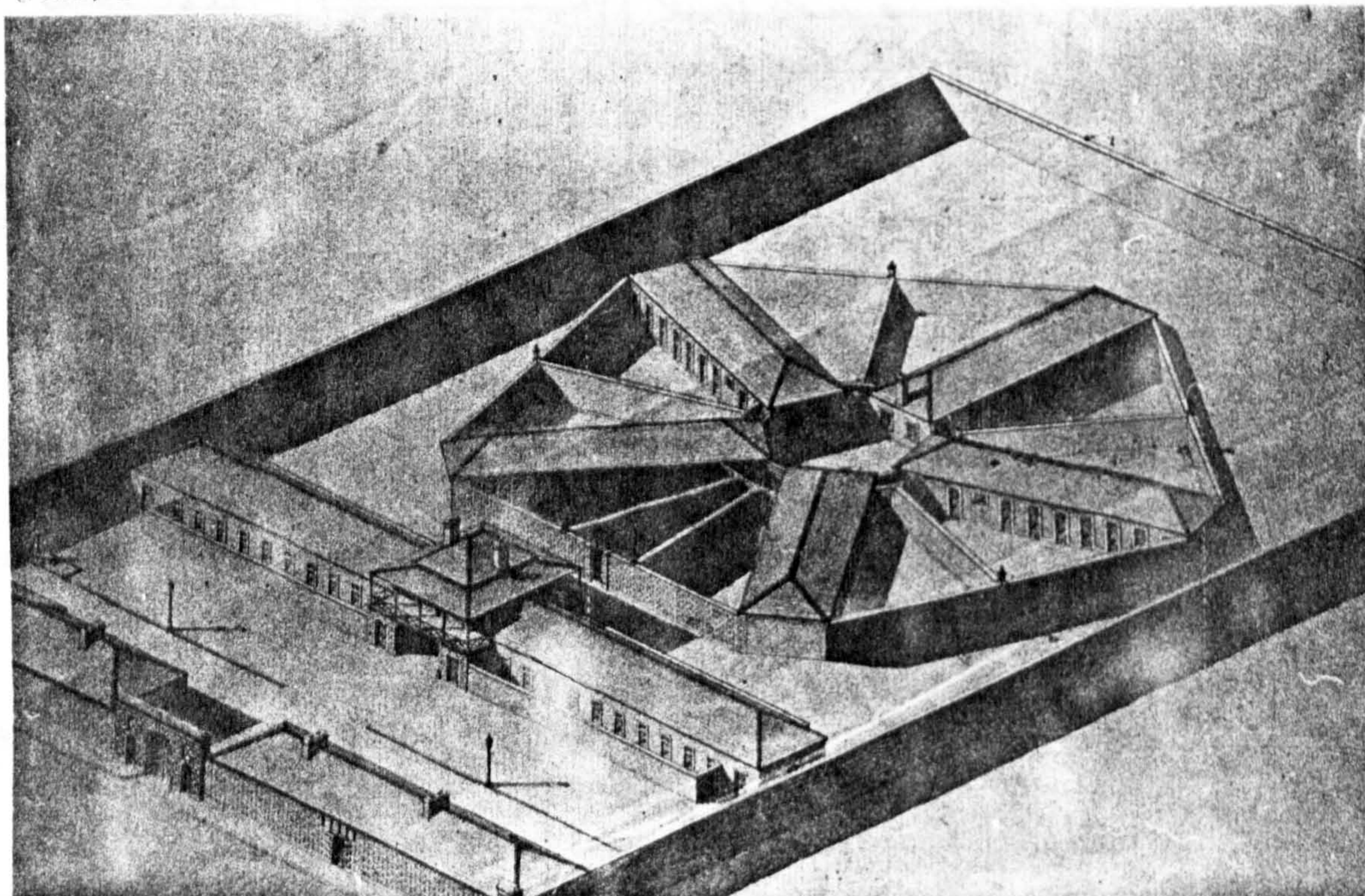
*Wilmot to Gladstone
29.8.1846
BPP T'port. 7:
1847 (785) 115*

at this stage that the departing Governor, Wilmot, suggested that a Royal Engineer be placed under the Comptroller General of Convicts to inspect and design convict buildings.* The Royal Engineers would not entertain such an indignity and the proposal was stillborn.

*See the various
inscriptions on
A/TAS 378/12*

On the question of the Kingston cell block design, the caretaker governor, Latrobe, made the sensible though not necessarily the best functional decision, and supported the Comptroller General's desire for back to back cells.* The gaol was therefore completed to the amended plan, though with a guard house added above the space between the back to back cell blocks. See Fig. 224. The gaol was occupied early in 1848.*

*Hampton to Denison
10.3.1848
BPP T'port. 9:
1849 (1022) 197*



*Fig. 224. New gaol Norfolk Island signed R. G. Hamilton Cap^t Ro. Engⁿ
14 May 1848 A/TAS 378/14.*

*Stewart Norfolk
Island Report 1846
96-7*

Pringle Stewart's 2nd recommendation was the construction of a new station 'on the separation plan' for convicts from England.* Hamilton responded with a design for barracks at Cascade on the north coast. It consisted of 7 radial blocks each holding 48 flanking, 7 ft 6 ins x 4 ft 8 ins, apartments

Appendix 4.

or cells, arranged round a chapel. See Fig. 225. Like Hamilton's other work* the design showed little knowledge of, or sympathy with, the plans espoused by the Inspectors of Prisons, or even those executed by Jebb at Pentonville.

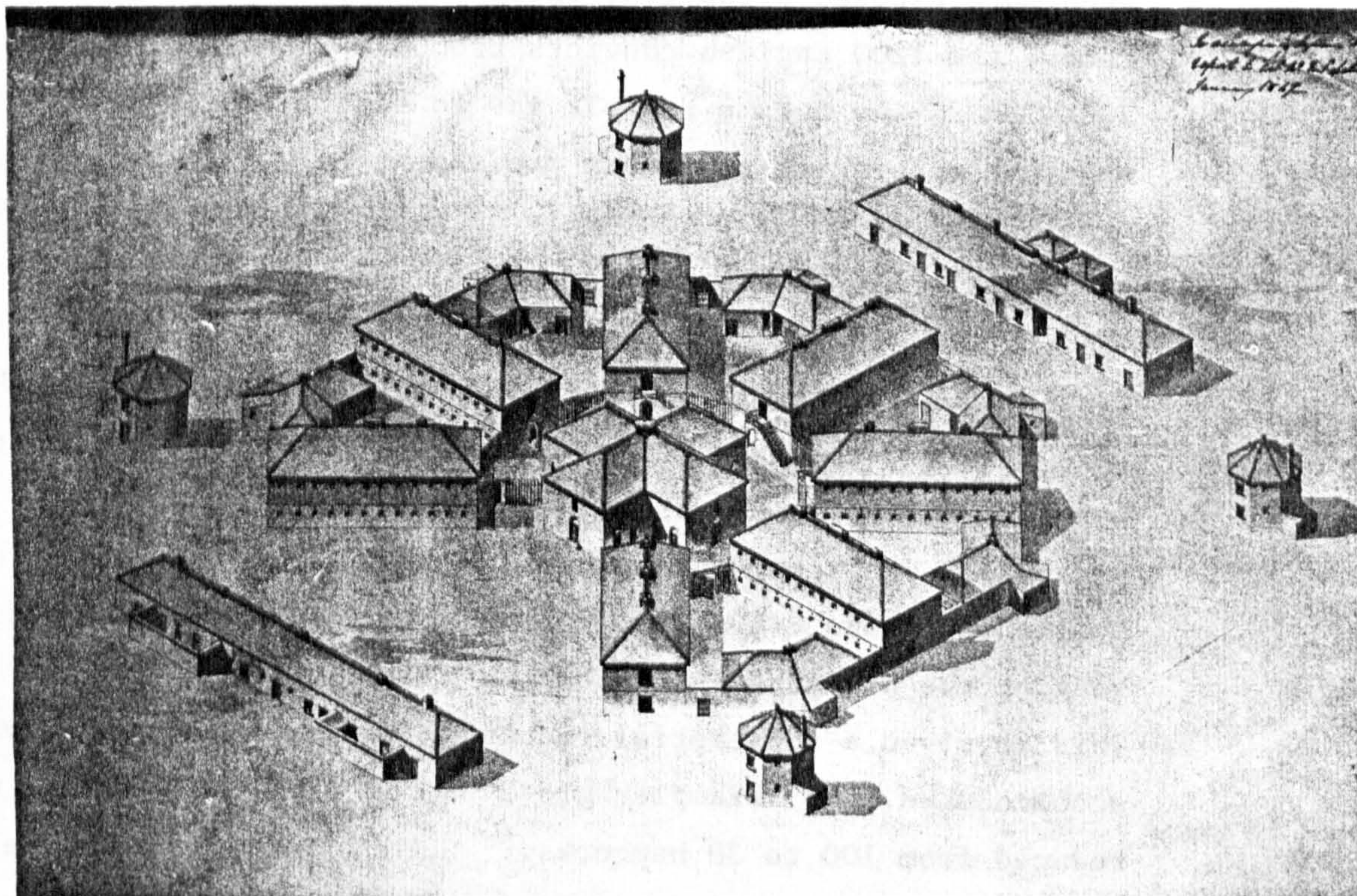


Fig. 225. Proposed Prisoners' Barracks, Cascade, Norfolk Island. R. G. Hamilton
Capt Royal Engineers 24th Jan^y 1847. A/TAS 378/24

This and other proposals for Norfolk Island were overtaken by the consequences of Earl Grey's receipt of the Rev^d T.B. Naylor's paper on homosexual practices and general turpitude at Norfolk Island during Childs' regime. Grey's immediate reaction gives some idea of the alarm and revulsion induced by unnatural crime in those holding politically sensitive posts. He wrote to the Governor designate of VDL, Denison, 'The accompanying letter from Cap^t Maconochie, and the paper it incloses from the Rev^d T.B. Naylor have reached me... I have therefore to instruct you, with the least possible delay, to take measures at once to break up the establishment at Norfolk Island, and withdraw the whole population of that settlement to Tasman's Peninsula, where you will without loss of time make the necessary preparations for their reception.'*

Earl Grey to Denison
30.9.1846 No 4
TBPP T'port. 7:
1847 (185) 66-7

This, as Denison discovered on his arrival in January 1847, was exactly what he could not do. The backlog of suitable accommodation in VDL would have placed the Norfolk convicts in an even more exposed situation; though Denison did manage to remove the 1200 English convicts from the island in May and June 1847.* In future Norfolk was to be a receptacle for convicts undergoing secondary punishment only.* Meanwhile Grey's directive had effectively blighted all proposals for new construction on the island.

Hampton to Denison
6.5.1847
BPP T'port. 8:
1847-8 [941] 411.92
Hampton to Price
27.5.1847
BPP T'port. 9:
1849 (1022) 108

Convicts in Norfolk Island wards had always slept in hammocks. This followed the arrangement common in NSW when the Kingston barracks were built at the end of the 1820s. It was not practicable to separate hammocks by battens but the new Commandant, John Price, and Cap^t Hamilton devised a plan of hanging the hammocks which Hampton endorsed in May 1847.*

Ibid.

This involved a substantial reduction in the number of convicts accommodated. For example Ward 2 of the Kingston barracks was reduced from 100 to 38 hammocks.* Such a dramatic decrease in density was made possible by Denison's withdrawal of all but villains with multiple convictions from the island.

Hampton to Denison
10.3.1848
BPP T'port. 9:
1849 (1022) 197

As a longer term measure Hampton proposed the fitting up of the interior of the Kingston convict barracks with 'separate apartments'. These were in effect wooden cages of stout planking with 'open barricades' in front to admit of free inspection and ventilation. Each pair of cages shared a window.* By March 1850, 68 of these wooden 'apartments' had been built,* on the night of the 22nd March sleeping accommodation on the island was as follows:*

Ibid.

Hampton to Denison
10.7.1850
BPP T'port 10:
1851 (1361) 24

Ibid.

Kingston pentagonal gaol: 124 separate stone sleeping ap'ts.

12 new sep. ap'ts, with exercising yards for each.

Kingston prisoners' barracks: 68 wooden separate ap'ts fitted into old wards

324 hammocks, separated and arranged for inspection.

Not sleeping in barracks or gaol: 127, for example
trusties in bush huts.

Longridge }
Cascade } Barracks: 189 with places for 100 more.

With the exception of 2 dumb cells constructed at Kingston this arrangement underwent no major change before the convicts were entirely removed between 1854 and 1856.

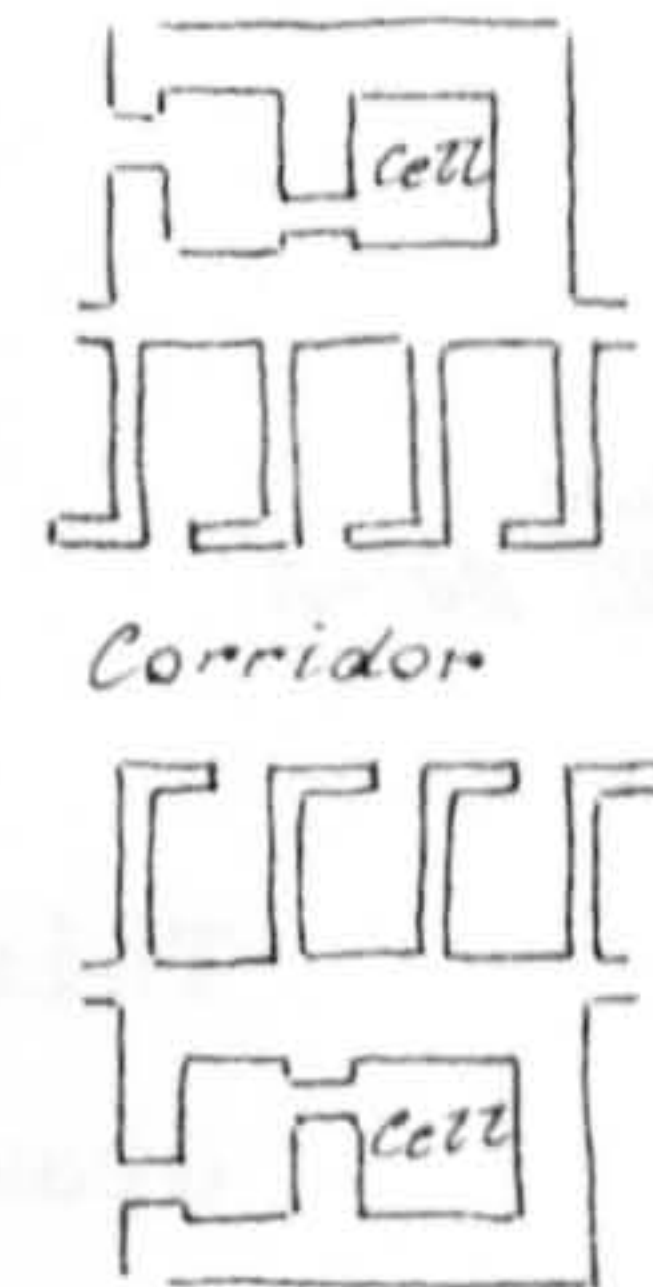
The dumb cells were Hampton's idea, and his comments on them illustrate his attitude to the insane, of which there had always been a small number on Norfolk Island.

'... they will be powerful auxiliaries for the maintenance of quiet within the gaol, the walls being $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft thick of solid masonry, and the ventilating apertures so arranged as to prevent the transmission of sound... the dumb cells will prevent the exhibition of the violence they are so well calculated to restrain, particularly in the cases of a few of the men who have been simulating insanity, in the expectation of thereby obtaining their removal from the island, or who have allowed themselves to become the subject of such paroxysms of rage, as to render their management a very difficult and dangerous service.'*

*Hampton to Denison
10.7.1850
BPP T. Port 10.
1851 (1351) 24*

Hampton had completed similar cells flanking the model prison at Port Arthur early in 1852. See Fig. 226.

Fig. 226 Section of C wing extension showing attached refractory or dumb cells. Port Arthur Separate Prison. (Detail enlarged from Fig 231.)



The main factor which led to the chaotic situation of the Probation stations by the mid 1840s was the arrival of more convicts than local resources could manage. This problem was compounded by weak administration at all levels - a circumstance for which Lord Stanley must bear more than nominal responsibility when one considers that the incompetent Wilmot, the

ailing Forster, and the naive Childs (at Norfolk Island) were all his personal, and surprising, appointments.

The temporary suspension of transportation and the arrival of a decisive and sensible Governor in Denison meant that the system was being operated with a reasonable degree of efficiency in the reconstructed or refitted stations by the end of the decade. Even the new Comptroller General of Convicts, J.S. Hampton, whom A.G.L. Shaw with unusual directness described as 'an opportunist and self-seeker',* played a part in giving a degree of supervision and continuity to convict affairs.

Shaw Convicts 340

Before examining the contribution of Joshua Jebb to Australian penal design in the next chapter, one aspect of security on the Tasman's Peninsula probation stations is worth mentioning as a tailpiece. This was the famous dogwatch on the narrow neck of land which separated Tasman's from Forrestier's Peninsula and so intrigued visitors. Colonel Mundy did not fail to do it justice. He wrote:

'The dogs, each chained to a post, with a barrel for a kennel and a lamp to illuminate his night watch, connect their two biped fellow sentinels, and complete the cordon.... They were generally of a large rough breed, mongrels of the most promiscuous derivation, but powerful and ferocious.... There are 14 dogs on the chain at the moment.'*

*Mundy Des
Antipodes III. 201-2*

This promiscuity is clearly displayed in the contemporary drawing (Fig. 227 - by Boyd?) of a convict's eye view of the scene, showing the dog line, constable, row of lamps and military guard. That this line was seldom outflanked was due to the 'outlying picquet of sharks abounding in these waters'* and the fact that few convicts could swim. In addition both water and shore patrols kept an irregular surveillance over the vicinity.

*Cash Narrative
59 et seq.*

It was a distinctly theatrical setting which captured the imagination of prisoners and guards alike. To pass this barrier, as Martin Cash pointed out,* gave an escapee considerable prestige with all, save perhaps the Commandant, on his eventual return.



2.11099
52

254

Coyle's work on the Tasmanian Peninsula, on which stands Port Arthur
MPG 689

Fig. 227 a 16
page 252

In 1837 the Inspectors of Prisons in England had arrived at a set of general plans for prisons.* They then suggested to Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for the Home Office, that the construction of a model prison on the same principles was the best preliminary step to a general improvement in penal design. Russell approved, obtained the Party's sanction to the proposal, and directed a Royal Engineer, Captain Joshua Jebb, to select a site and supervise the work.*

See pages 145-6

*Surveyor General of Prisons
Pentonville Report
1844. 6*

Jebb drew up a design to the brief of the Inspectors, William Crawford and the Reverend Whitworth Russell, and the prison was built at Pentonville between April 1840 and the autumn of 1842.* Like the Inspectors' 1837 designs, it had a '... central hall, open from floor to roof, with spacious corridors of a similar construction [i.e. design] radiating out of it, having ranges of cells placed on each side...'* Hence all interior corridors, galleries and cell doors could be seen from a central point. See Fig. 228.

Ibid. 6

Ibid. 4-5

'Commissioners for the Government of the Prison' were appointed* and in their second report of March 1844 they pronounced the prison to be successful.* As the commissioners included Lord John Russell, Crawford, Whitworth Russell and Jebb, the prime movers in the project, such a conclusion was to be expected.

*5 Victoria cap.29
Surveyor General of Prisons
Pentonville Report
1844. 6*

Jebb reported that the prison was designed to carry into effect the Separate System of discipline and in this respect was to be a prototype for the design of subsequent prisons. According to the Inspectors and Jebb in 1839, the demands of the Separate System were:

1. That each prisoner be confined day and night in a separate cell which shall be thoroughly ventilated and warmed and of sufficient size to admit of exercise and

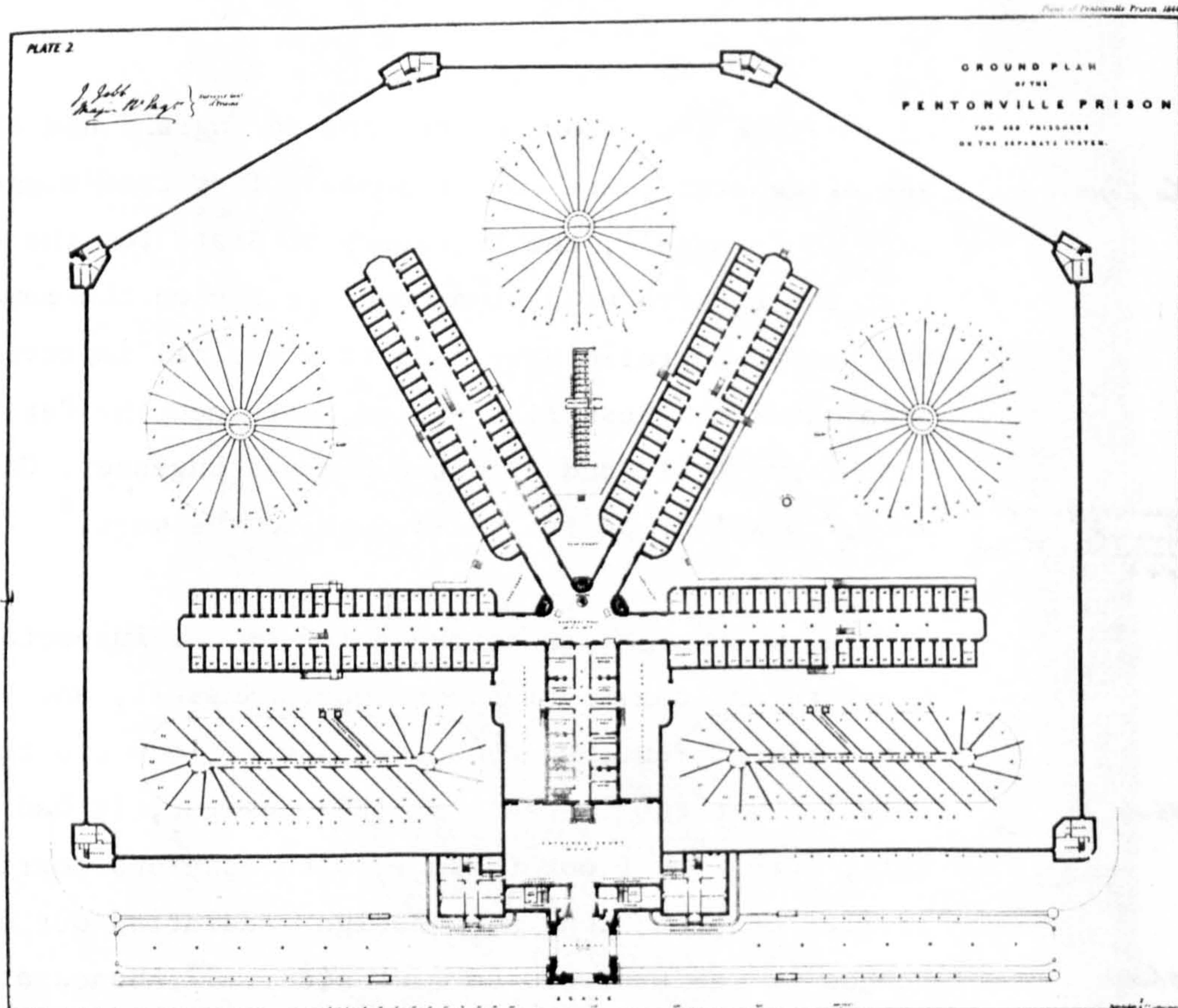


Fig. 228. Ground Plan of the Pentonville Prison for 520 prisoners on the Separate System. [Signed] J. Jebb Major R. Eng. Surveyor Genl. of Prisons. TSPP Prisons II: 1844 [594] xxviii Plate 2.

part time employment in manual labour. See Fig. 232.

2. That cell construction precludes communication between prisoners.

3. That the cells be fitted with a washing sink and water closet so that there is no need for the prisoners to quit their cells. See Fig. 232.

4. That the prisoners be able to summons warders if ill.

5. That there be means of unobserved inspection as well as general inspection and superintendence. Also facility of access, as it is an essential part of the system that each prisoner have 'frequent' communication in the course of the day with one or other of the prison officers.

6. That the system's integrity be preserved in the chapel, by means of separate cubicles, and at exercise, by means of separate yards.* See Chapels in Figs 230 and 231.

The reasonable degree of 'success' with which the prison met these requirements contributed to Jebb's appointment to the newly created office of Surveyor General of Prisons. Under the Act 7 and 8 VICTORIA cap. 50, all plans of proposed prisons, or alterations of old ones, were to be referred to the Surveyor General.* Meanwhile Jebb and the Inspectors had embarked on an effective publicity campaign to make the excellence of Pentonville known. The campaign was assisted by the publication of Jebb's detailed working drawings, and explanations,* as well as the evident certainty of direction of its adherents.

Du Lane Crime 51

*Surveyor General of
Prisons
Pentonville Report
1844*

So successful was Jebb's government backed propaganda that convict administrators, like Comptroller General Hampton, were inclined to reassure colonial governors that work under construction was 'upon the Pentonville plan' even when the differences were more pronounced than the similarities.*

*See for example
pages 256-9*

Hampton, a former surgeon-superintendent on convict ships to VDL,* and James Boyd his former assistant and ex Pentonville instructor,* were perhaps the earliest Pentonville system disciples in the colonies.

Shaw Convicts 303

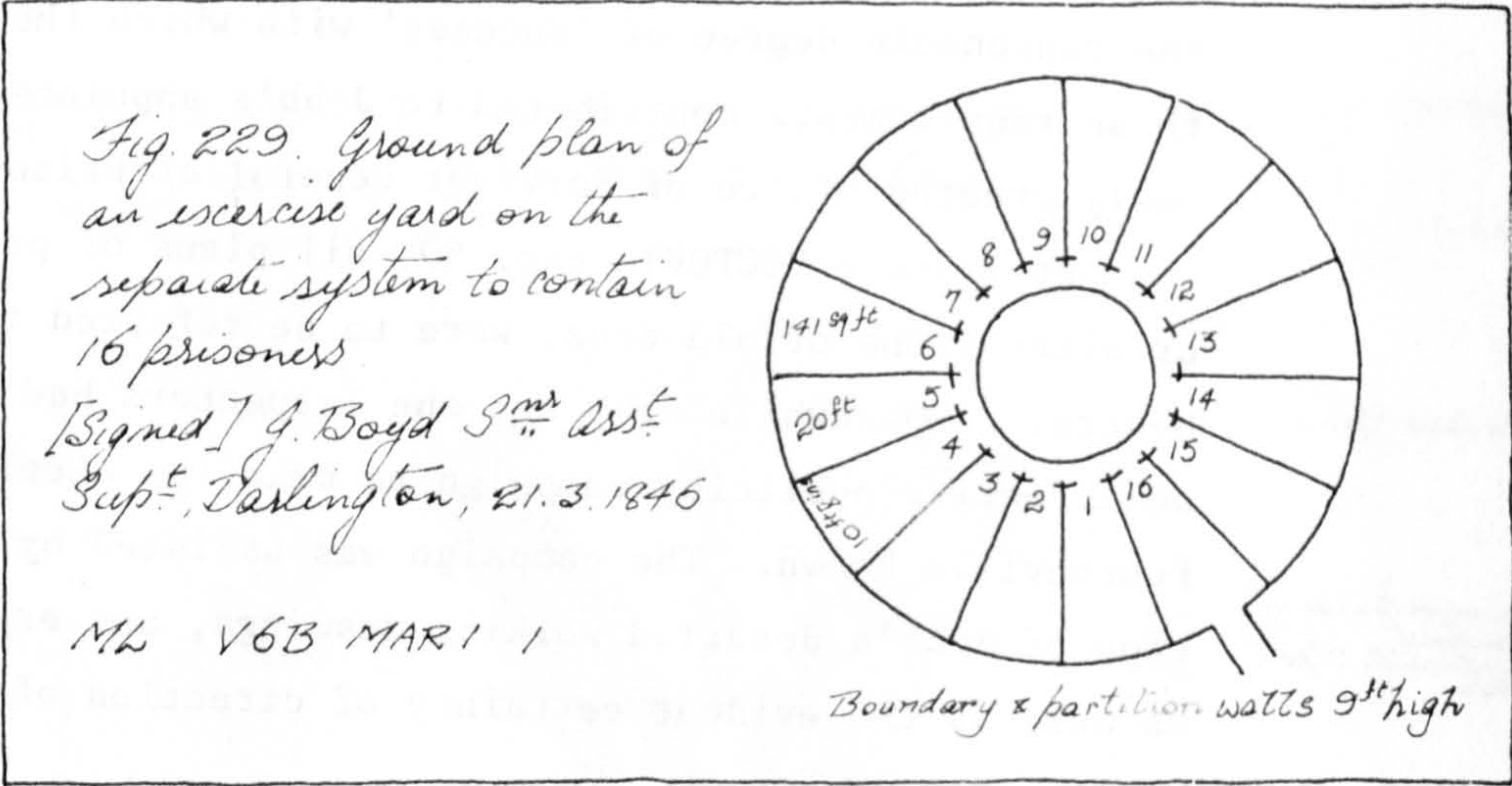
Ibid.

Boyd exhibited a Jebb-like passion for detailed design at Darlington, Hobart and Port Arthur. As early as December 1845, Boyd, then the Senior Assistant Superintendent at Darlington Probation Station, was erecting 16 dark cells, which, he claimed, were ventilated in the same way as those at Pentonville. Hence they admitted no light whatever and would, he hoped, be more effective as a punishment.*

*Boyd to Hampton
31.12.1845
BPP T. part. 7:
1846 (402) 73-9*

He had at the same time submitted a plan of 'an exercise ground upon the Pentonville principle'* to the Comptroller General, though it was probably never built. See Fig. 229. In his proposal 16 prisoners could be exercised at once under the supervision of a single officer. Boyd notes, 'The prisoners on being let out of their cells are marched separately to the exercise yards which they enter in numerical order. In

Ibid.



returning from exercise the reverse order is observed - thus prisoners never pass occupied yards or have an opportunity of seeing or communicating with each other.*

Notation on Boyd sketch plan ML V6B/MAR 1/1

A prisoner's lot was not a happy one under the probation system. One of the effects of this dismal routine which worried Denison, was 'the want of some punishment differing in character and degree from that to which ordinary convicts [were]... subjected.' Denison continued, 'I am therefore anxious to establish at Port Arthur a certain number of separate cells, and when these are completed, to make such an alteration in the law as will enable me in certain cases to commute sentences of transportation - which in this country mean nothing - to separate confinement for such terms as may be thought advisable. These cells are commencing at Port Arthur and I should wish to keep up the establishment at Norfolk Island until they are in a state to be occupied, as I shall then have means at my disposal by which I may have some hope of being able to tame the most mutinous spirit.*'

Denison to Earl Grey 5.12.1847 No 174 BPP T part 9: 1849 (1022) 119

This machine for taming the most mutinous spirit was a cruciform block of '50 separate cells on the Pentonville Plan' proposed and commenced by the new Comptroller General, Hampton, about the end of 1847.* By saying the prison was on the Pentonville Plan, Hampton meant the system of discipline

Memo 2 enclosed in Hampton to Denison 15.11.1847 BPP T part 9: 1849 (1022) 129

imposed in the prison and some details of cell furnishing were modelled on Pentonville. The actual design for the prison was probably taken from the plan of the Birmingham Borough Gaol published in June 1847 by Jebb in his Second Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons.* See Fig. 230.

Surveyor General of Prisons Report 1847 Plate III

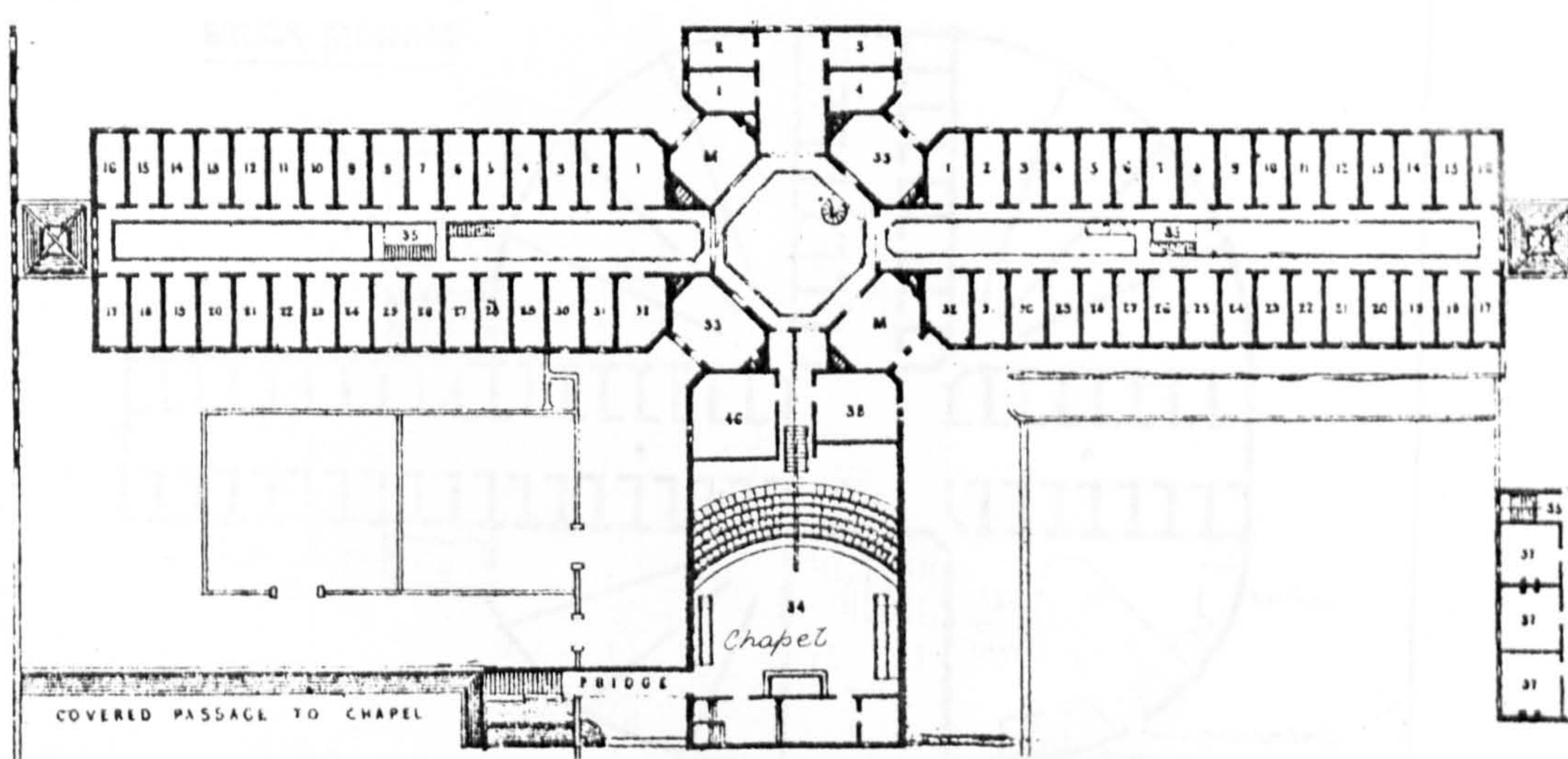


Fig. 230. The Birmingham Borough Gaol [Central section] First Gallery Plan. Designed on the Principle of Const^m of Pentonville Prison by D.R. Hill Arch^t Birmingham. Surveyor General of Prisons 2nd Report 1847 plate III.

Both the Birmingham and Port Arthur designs had cells flanking 3 corridors in a cruciform arrangement, with the base of the cross occupied by the chapel. Compare Figs 230 and 231.

From the central space at Port Arthur 3 short diagonal passages led to groups of exercise yards enclosed in the quadrants between the arms of the building. The 4th passage led to the entrance yard with its night officers and constables quarters, baths and store.

Unlike their English models the Port Arthur cells were 9 ft x 6. If this appeared generous by past VDL standards it must be remembered that the function intended for the Port Arthur Separate Prison was not the usual sleep in work out routine, but a stringent Separate System similar to Pentonville. Under this regime convicts were to remain in their cells day and night and to labour in them as well.* For such purposes Jebb

Port Arthur New Separate Prison Regulations BPP T'port. 12: 1853(1601)26-33

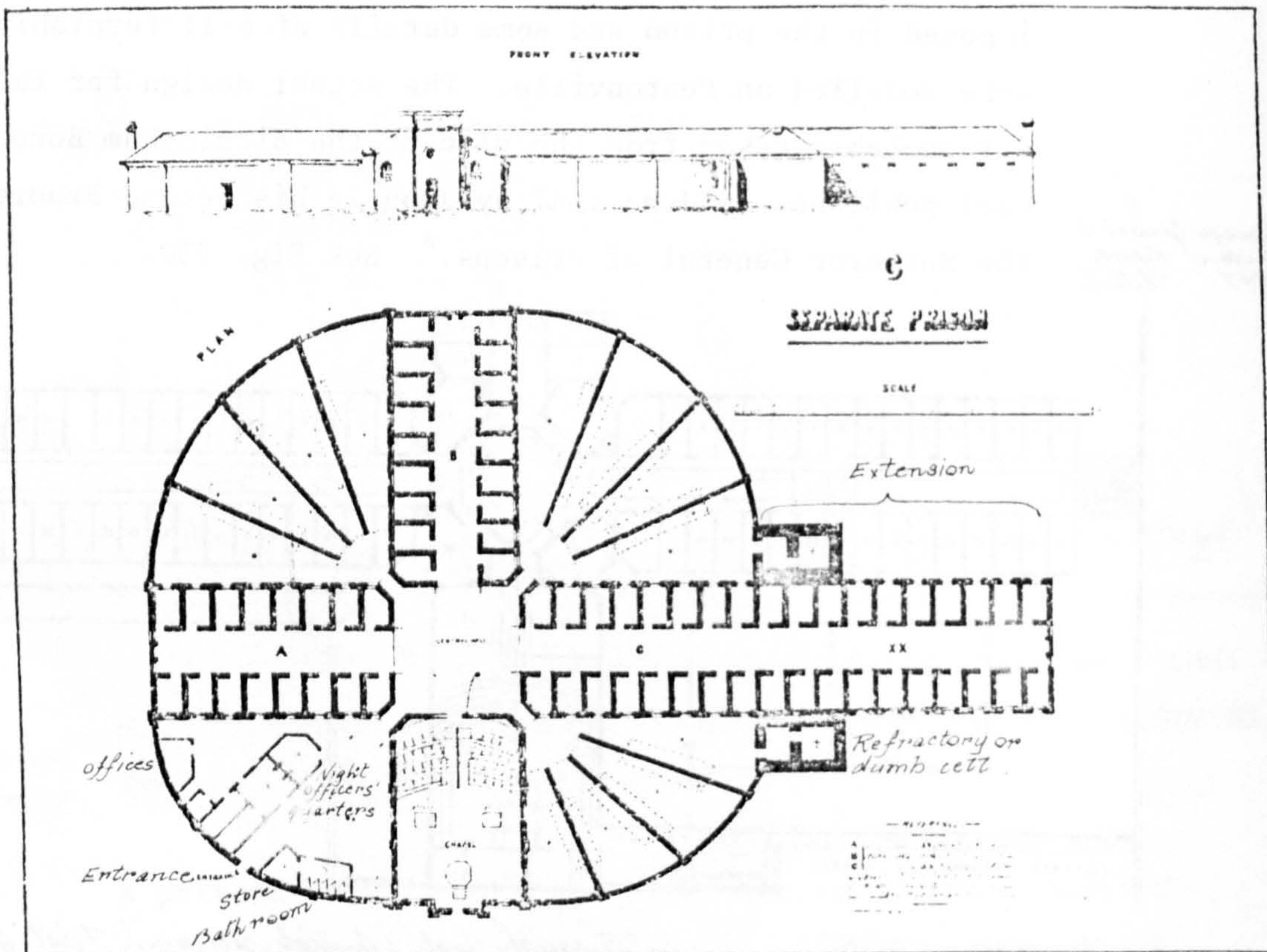


Fig. 231. Port Arthur, VOL, Separate Prison. Held at PROMR MPG 537.

Surveyor General of
Prisons.
Pentonville Report
1844. 6

and the Inspectors had specified cell dimensions of 13 ft x 7.*

my italics

Surveyor General of
Prisons 2nd
Report 1847. 29-30

In his report of June 1847, Jebb had approved '... a proportion of cells about 9 ft x 6, or from that size to 11 ft x 7 for the purpose of subjecting a prisoner to a few weeks* of entire separation.'*

Armed with this 'precedent' Hampton adopted 9 ft x 6 as a standard dimension for all his cells, choosing to ignore the context which made reasonably clear that the smaller dimensions were for cells for boys.*

Ibid.
My italics

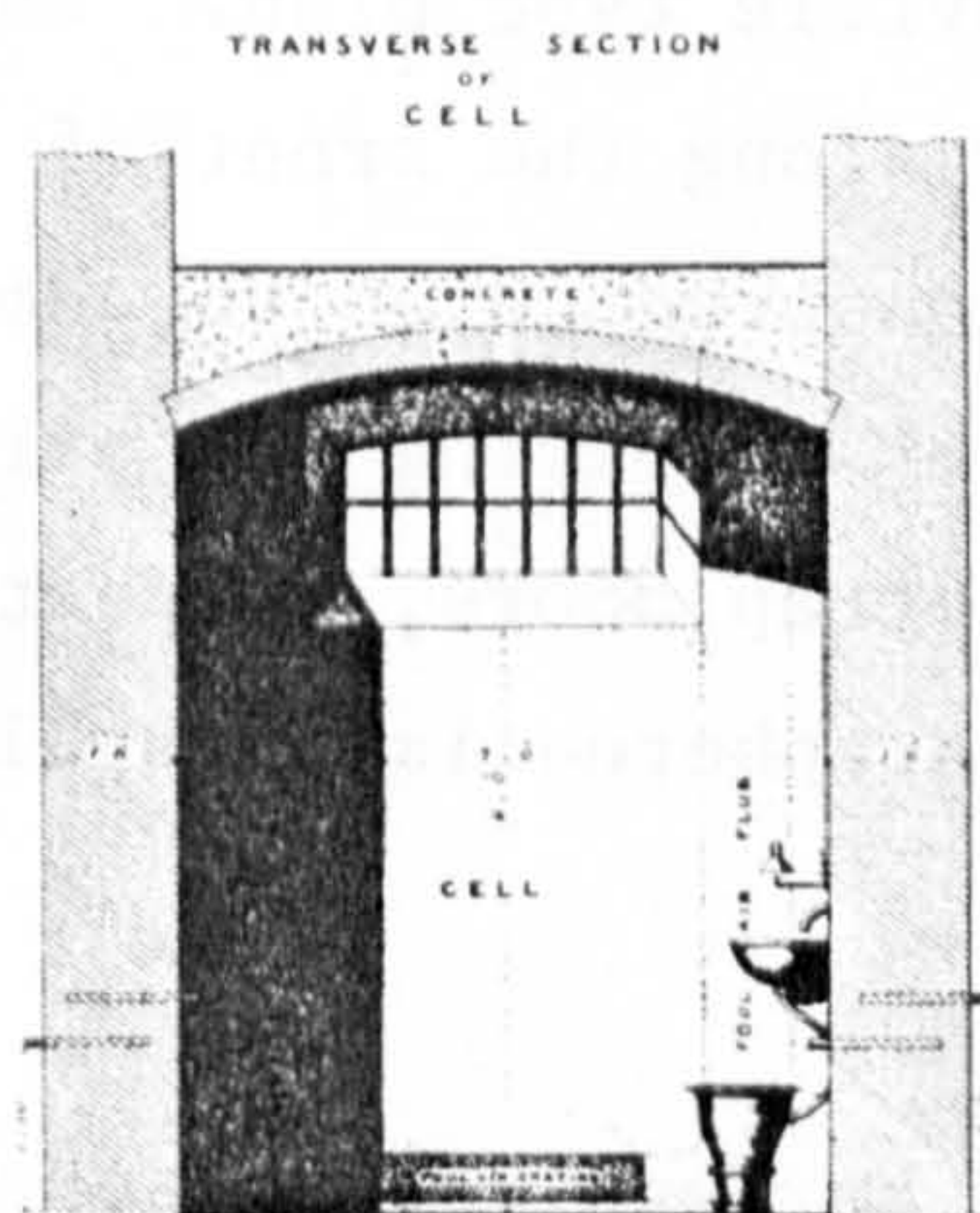
Hampton to Denison
7.2.1852
33PP T'port. 12:
1853 (1601) 12

When to this is added the substitution of night tubs in the cells of Port Arthur* for the water supply and water closets in the Pentonville cells, as well as the absence of any form of heating* in a climate no less rigorous than London, it seems not unfair to regard Hampton's claim that the cells were constructed on the Pentonville plan as disingenuous. He did

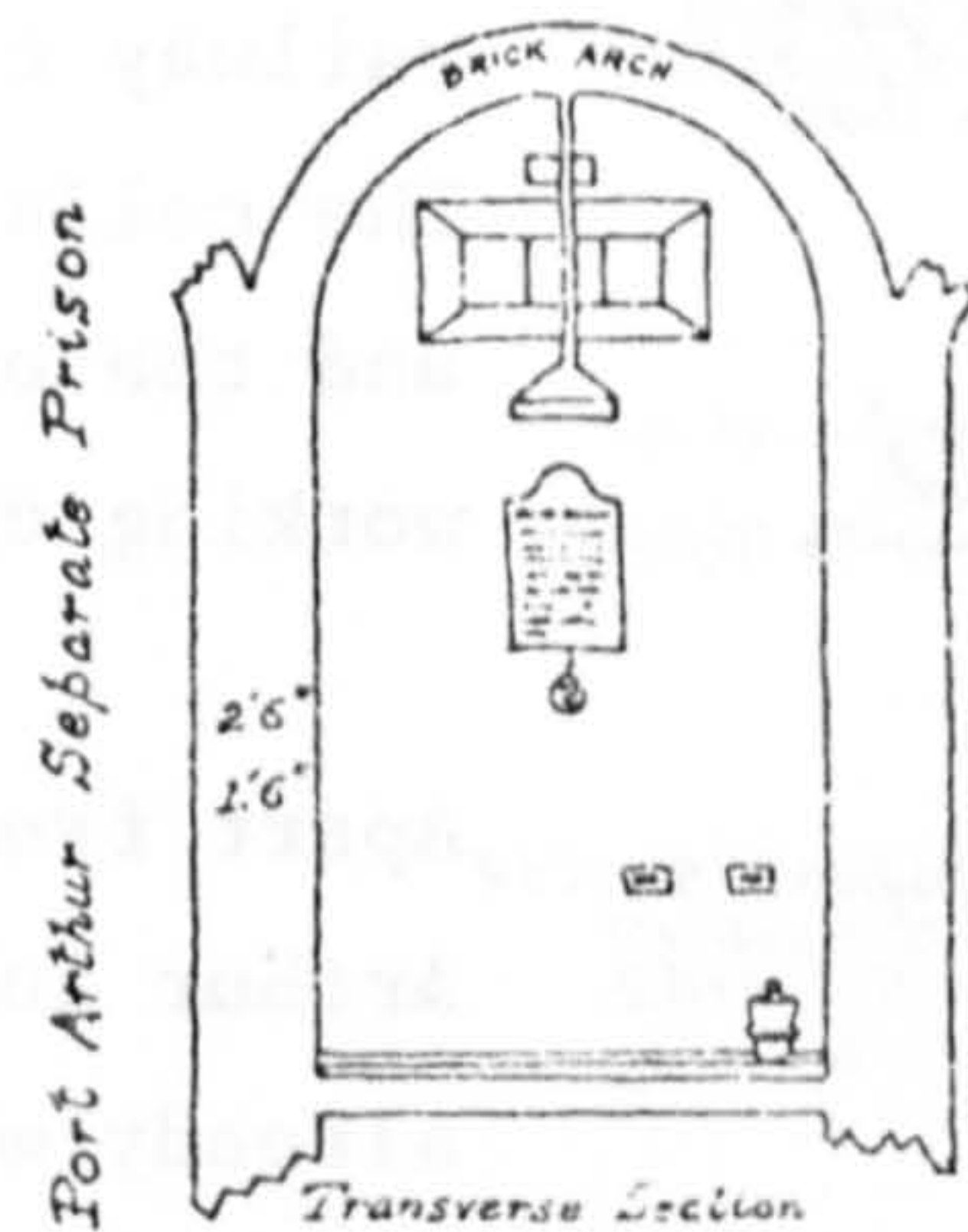
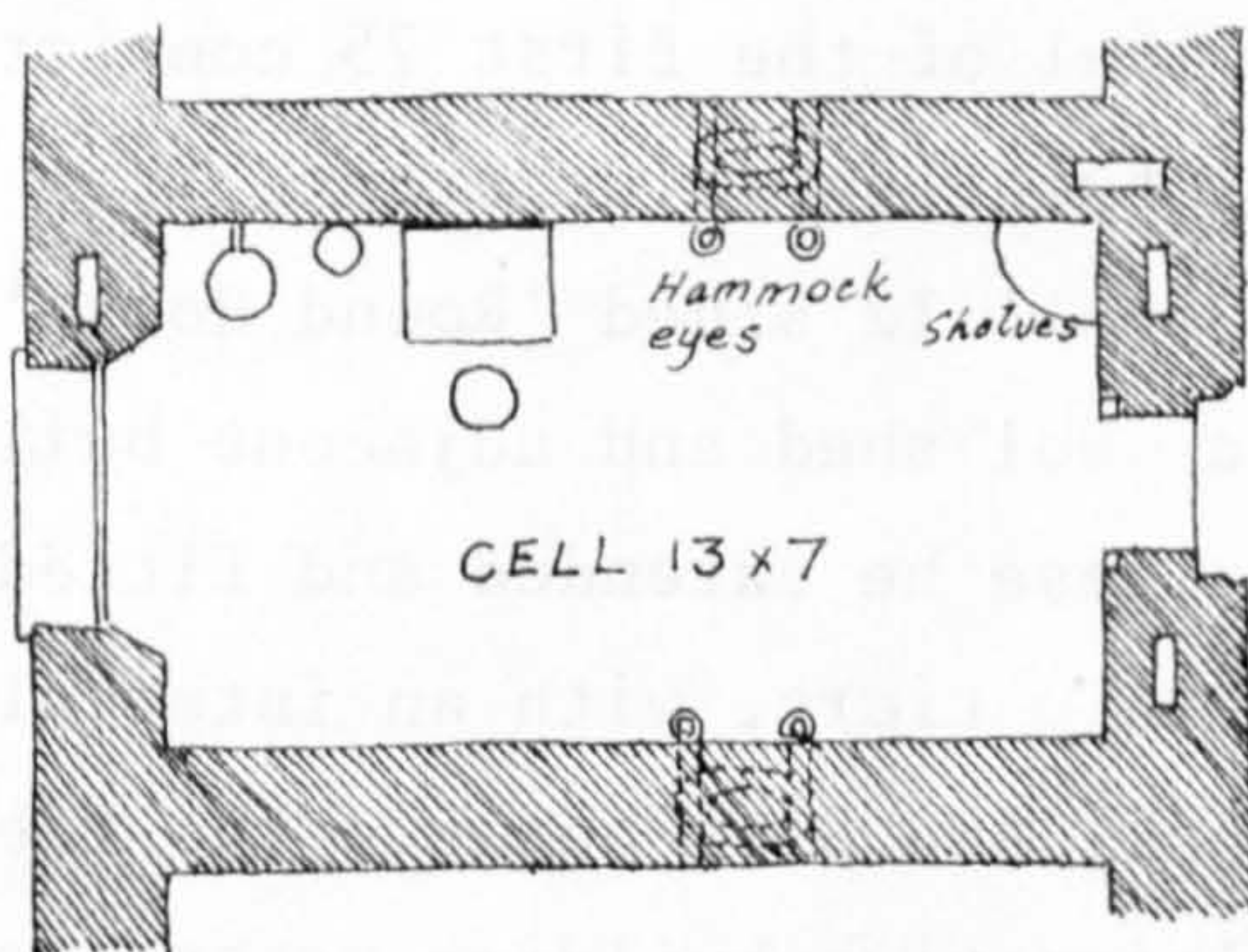
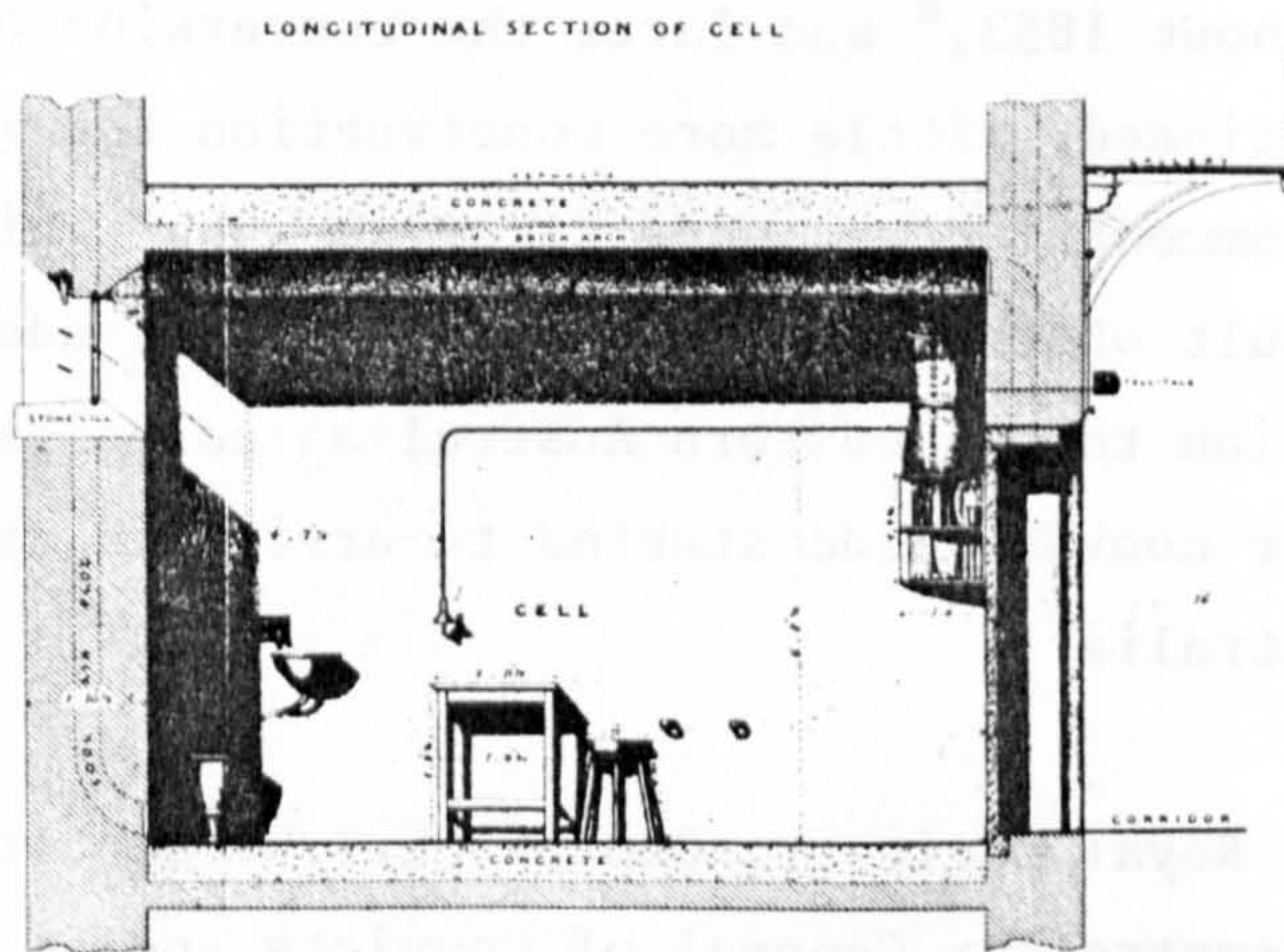
Ibid.

point out, with some accuracy, that each cell was furnished 'with a hammock, table, stool and cupboard, precisely similar to those in use at Pentonville.'* See Figs 232 and 233.

*Hampton to Denison
7.2.1852
BPPPT Part. 12
1853 (1601) 12.*



*J. Jebb
Major W. Page* } Surveyor Genl of Prisons



Port Arthur Separate Prison

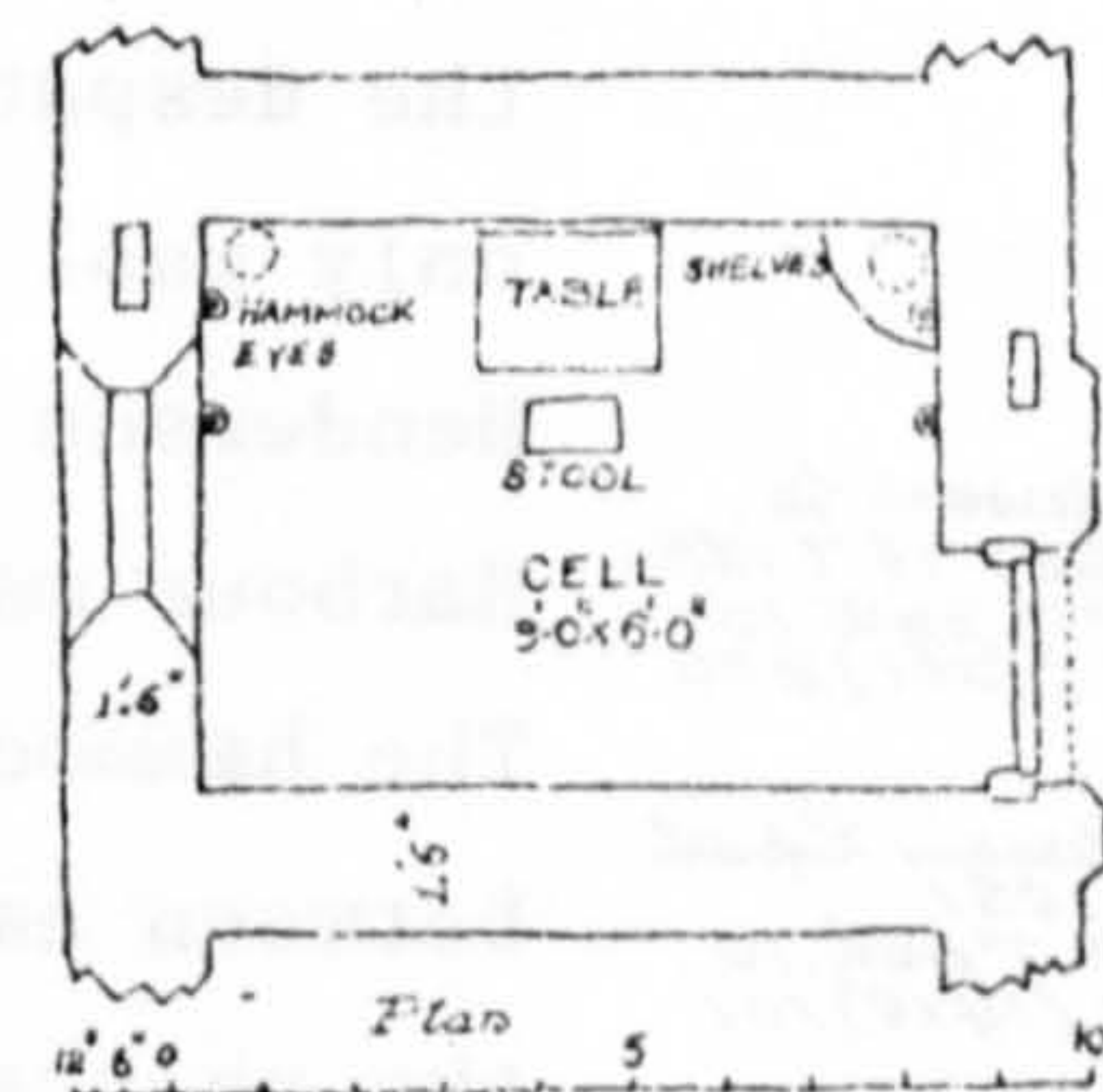
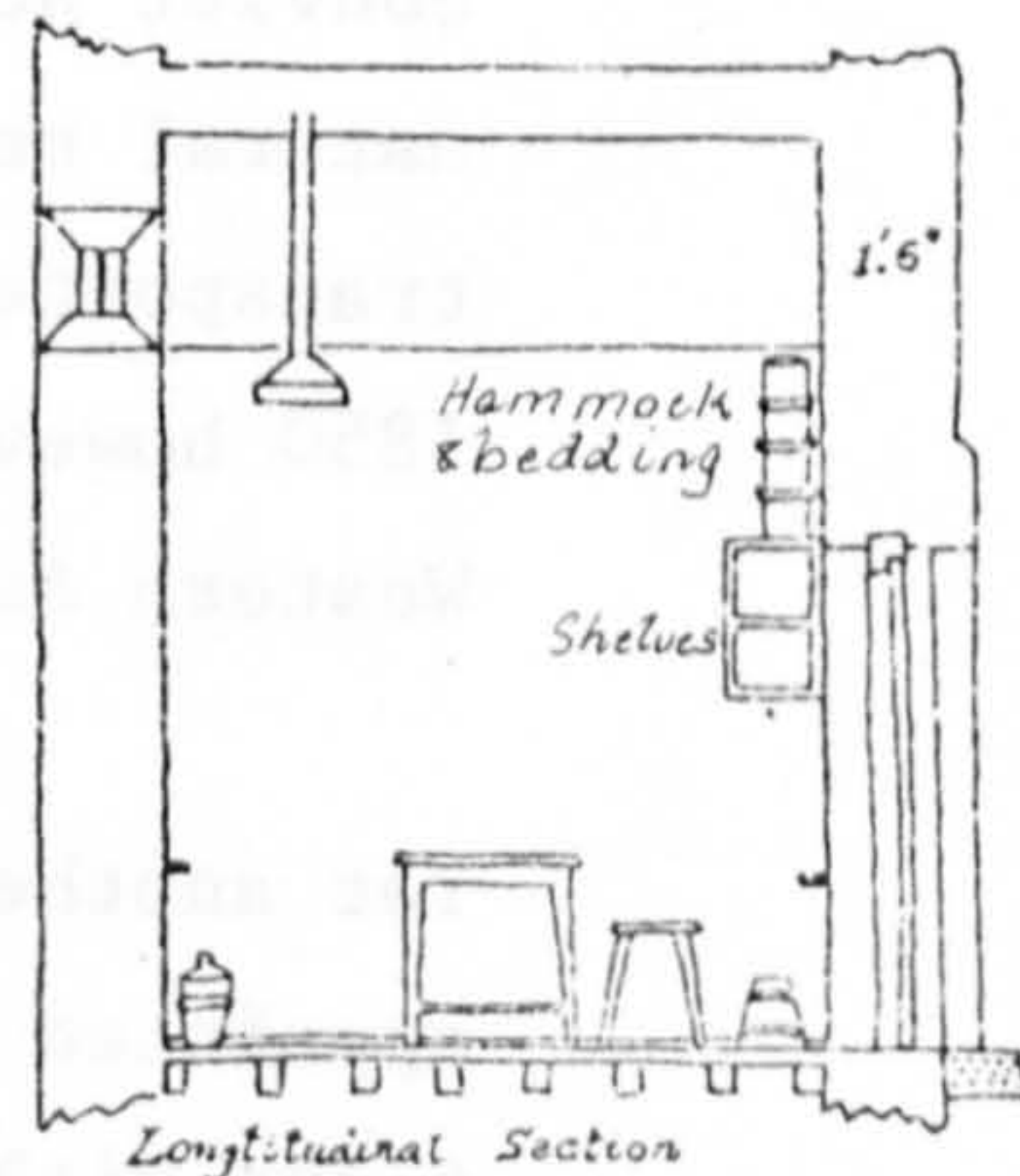


Fig. 232. Plan and sections of Pentonville Gaol, from Surveyor General of Prisons Report 1844. Note: the plan only has been redrawn to the same scale as the Port Arthur cell for comparison.

Fig. 233. Plan and sections of Port Arthur, VOL, Separate Prison Cells. Held PRO MPG 537 (2). Note: though cell dimensions are given as 9' x 6', the original drawing exhibits dimensions according to scale of 8' x 6'.

James Boyd's conversion of the Port Arthur Store to a penitentiary resulted in an even more extensive application of Pentonville design minutiae to a back to back cell system even less related to a Pentonville type plan. As in Jebb's system the light iron gallery along the front of the upper storey of cells was '... so constructed as to admit of a railway carriage being used for supplying the prisoners meals.'^{*} The cells were furnished with trap doors, inspection apertures, and the other Pentonvillian paraphernalia^{*} detailed in Jebb's working drawings of 1844.^{*}

*Boyd Report 19.1.1854
13 PP T'port.13:
1854-5 [1916]
XXXIX.40*

Ibid.

*Surveyor General of
Prisons
Pentonville Report
1844*

Apart from the extensions of the Separate Prison at Port Arthur in about 1853,^{*} and later the conversion of the store already mentioned, little more construction for imperial convict accommodation was undertaken in VDL. This was the natural result of the suspension and final abandonment of transportation to the eastern Australian colonies. From June 1850 however convicts had started to arrive in the colony of Western Australia.

*Boyd Report 19.1.1854
13 PP T'port.13:
1854-5 [1916]
XXXIX.41*

Yet another Royal Engineer, Captain E.Y.W. Henderson, had been appointed Comptroller General of Convicts and he was at once faced with the arrival of the first 75 convicts in advance of the despatches notifying their departure from England. As the only gaol was the small 12 sided 'Round House' at Fremantle, Henderson leased a wool shed and adjacent buildings from the Harbour master.^{*} These he extended and fitted out with hammocks. The hammocks were in 2 tiers, with an interval of 1 ft 6 ins between each hammock, and 3 ft between the tiers.^{*} Because of the shortage of alternative building materials, particularly timber, the local limestone was actually the cheapest method of construction and remained the usual fabric for the construction of convict buildings on the Swan river.^{*}

*Henderson to
Col. Sec. 18.7.1850
13 PP T'port.10:
1851 (1361)230*

*Henderson Report
1.1.1851
13 PP T'port.10:
1851 (1418)101*

Ibid.

By the end of October 1850 Henderson had selected a site for a permanent depot of some 500 convicts^{*} on rising ground behind

Ibid.

Fremantle. Henderson thought the site 'in every way well suited for the purpose- it is a healthy and elevated spot - removed from the business part of the town, and within convenient distance of the harbour, in the improvement of which there will be employment for the prisoners for many years after the Government works are complete.'* His Excellency the Governor approved* and Henderson commenced work on the plans and estimates.*

*Henderson Report
1.1.1851
BPP T'port 10:
1851 (1418) 102*

Ibid. 101

Ibid. 102

In August 1851 Henderson reported that his design for 'the Prison building calculated to hold 882 men... has been laid out after the plan of Pentonville and Portland Prisons, and in consequence of having the stone quarried on the spot by convict labour, I find it will be a less expense to provide a large number of stone cells than to separate them by wooden or metallic divisions [as at Portland], the former, moreover, having greatly the advantage in point of security and discipline.

The prison consists of one main building, with 2 wings for future extension. The main building 530 ft long, furnishes accommodation for 570 men..., 240... in associated [dormitory] rooms, and 330 in separate cells, also 10 punishment cells in the basement. Also [a] hospital for 22...' and various stores and offices. The 2 wings for future extension were to contain 312 separate cells.*

*Henderson to acting
Col. Sec. 19.8.1851
BPP T'port 11:
1852 (1517) 181-2*

In August 1851, Fitzgerald sent Henderson's plans and estimates to Pakington, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Pakington referred them to Jebb for his report.* Jebb, ignoring, or unappraised of, Henderson's repeated stress on the advantage of stone quarried on the site for construction recommended 'small sleeping cells divided by corrugated iron partitions as at Portland.'* These to be supplemented by about 50 punishment cells of about 11 ft long by 6 ft 6 ins or 7 ft wide for short periods of incarceration. There were to be no associated rooms.* These and other suggestions by Jebb were endorsed by the Secretary of State and forwarded to Fitzgerald.*

*Pakington to
Fitzgerald
9.4.1852, No 16
BPP T'port 11:
1852 (1517) 237-8*

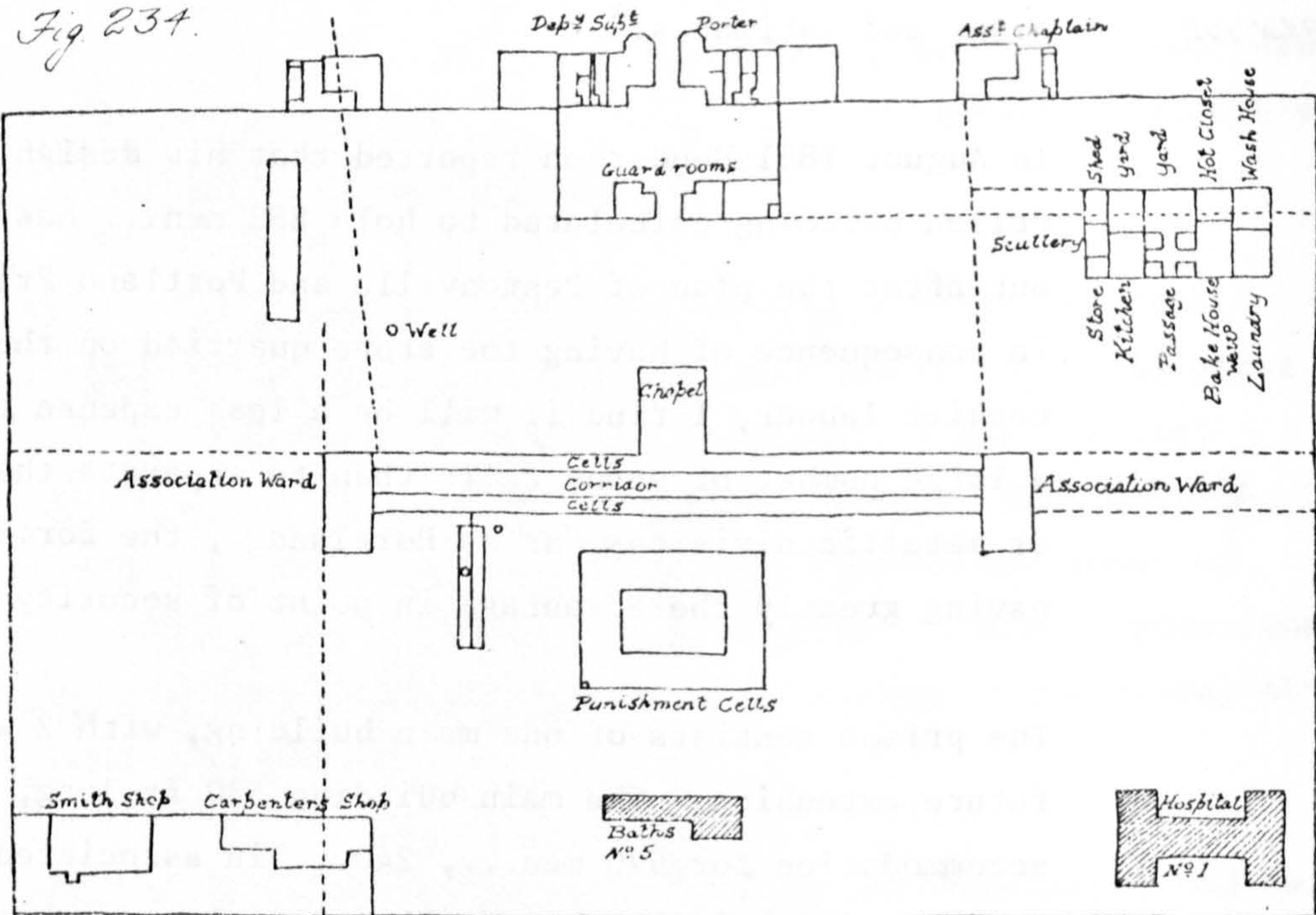
*Jebb to Merivale
26.4.1852
BPP T'port 11:
1852 (1517) 245*

Ibid.

*No 16 9.4.1852
No 18 10.4.1852
No 34 29.4.1852*

Henderson to Col. Sec.
 5.10.1852
 3 PPT post 12:
 1852-3 [1677]
 LXXXII. 187

Henderson then made substantial revisions to his plans, reducing the number of sleeping cells from 642 to 508 and placing them in a single 4 storey range. He retained the association rooms, but linked the chapel, formerly detached, to the centre of the cell block on 'the plan pursued at Pentonville.'* See Fig. 234. Henderson also advised '... I have adopted the



PLAN OF THE CONVICT GRANT FREMANTLE ; SHEWING THE BUILDINGS ERECTED AND IN PROGRESS

Scale 0 100 200 300 400

▨ BUILDINGS PROVIDED FOR IN ANNUAL ESTIMATE FOR 1857-8

Confirmed H. Wray Act. Compt. General : James Manning Clerk of Works
 P.P.O. MAP ROOM MPG 722

Ibid.

suggestion of Colonel Jebb... and have... reduced the size of the sleeping cells to 7 ft by 4 by 8 high.* This seemingly dramatic policy reversion on cell dimensions by Jebb requires explanation.

Jebb would have based his dimensions on the corrugated iron cells of the Portland type. These were designed to receive prisoners who had already undergone the required period of separate confinement and who were now to labour at public works in the open air during the day and only occupy their cells for sleeping. In this context Jebb and the Home office were tacitly prepared to relax their attempts to prevent

communication from cell to cell. Once this was accepted, pre-fabricated (and demountable) iron cells offered startling improvements in ventilation without reduction in security.

The cells were analagous to tiers of cages in which the air could with reasonable facility be kept as pure as that surrounding it. This in turn permitted a reduction in cell size (to 7 ft x 4 at Portland), which, together with the fact that the thick masonry cell walls were eliminated (1200 such walls at Portland), meant a large saving of space and a consequent increase in prisoner density. As in addition the cost of prefabricated iron walls in England was less than masonry, the total cost saving was substantial. Jebb suggested that the outlay would be less than a quarter of the cost per head of a Pentonville type prison.*

*Surveyor General of
Prisons 2nd
Report 1847. 101*

This concept was introduced by Jebb to provide accommodation for a large temporary work force which would move on when the work was completed. The wider than usual central corridor was designed to accommodate the men during meals and instruction.*

Ibid. 17

The 7 ft x 4 cells that Jebb appears to have recommended to Henderson related to the iron cell system which he suggested Henderson employ at Fremantle. Henderson however reiterated his belief that stone cells would be cheaper as the stone and lime were both procurable from the excavations necessary for the prison itself. The prison therefore exhibited Jebb's cell dimensions in Henderson's masonry, though all the fittings, cell doors, gallery railings etc., were ordered from England.*

*Fitzgerald to Pakington
5.10.1852 No 163
BPP T'port. 11:
1852-3 [1677]
LXXII. 186*

A further point of difference which affected the prison design was over the punishment cells. Jebb recommended that 50, presumably in masonry, be provided in addition to the normal iron cells.* Henderson pointed out in reply that as all the cells would be stone there was no need for specific punishment cells.* Fitzgerald disagreed and desired specifically designed

*Jebb to Merivale
26.4.1852
BPP T'port. 11:
1852 (1517) 245*

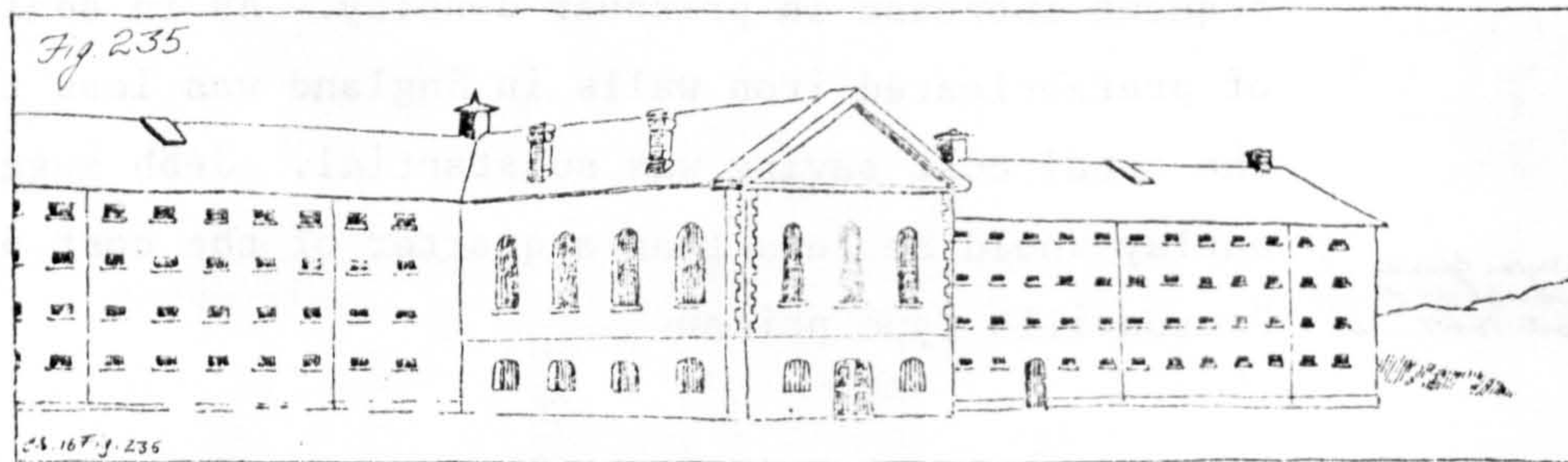
*Henderson to Col. Sec.
5.10.1852
BPP T'port. 12:
1852-3 [1677]
LXXII. 187*

Fitzgerald to Pakington
5.10.1852 No. 163
BPP T'port 12:
1852-3 [1677]
LXXXII. 186

and designated punishment cells.* The final result of this difference was that the punishment cells were added in a compound behind the main cell range. See Fig. 235.

Henderson to Col. Sec.
5.10.1852
BPP T'port 12:
1852-3 [1677]
LXXXII. 187

Henderson's assurance, that '... all the buildings connected with the prison, either built or proposed, are of the simplest and plainest construction, and that all ornamental expense had ... been carefully avoided,'* was literally true. The front elevation of the prison itself gives a good idea of its stark character. See Fig. 235.



The Convict Prison Fremantle 1859 Redrawn from Plate 4 of Alexandra Hasluck's Unwilling Emigrants Melbourne OUP 1959. Original - Library Board of Western Australia.

Mordaunt Crook &
Port The Kings work
Vol. 6. 631.

This was in notable contrast to Jebb's own Pentonville design. Charles Barry had been commissioned specifically to ornament it in a manner appropriately dignified and inspiring.* The street or approach facade of almost all of the many Pentonville system 'Prison Palaces' built in the decade after 1845 were executed in one or other of the approved styles of the day. Given the codified and detailed drawings provided by the Surveyor General of Prisons, it was one of the few creative outlets left for designers of gaols, and they would hardly have relinquished it without a struggle even had such embellishment not been the accepted fashion.

Henderson Evidence
19.5.1870 Select
Com^{rs} on Prisons
BPP Prisons 17:
1870 [259] VIII. 201

Du Cane Evidence
19.5.1870 Select
Com^{rs} on Prisons
BPP Prisons 17:
1870 [259] VIII. 196

Henderson was a man of some restraint and interested in functional solutions. He was to become the next Surveyor General of Prisons* after the death of Jebb in 1863, and strangely one of his Lieutenants in Western Australia, Edmund du Cane, was in time to succeed him in the same post.*

Henderson Report
1.4.1853
BPP T'port. 11:
1854 (1795) LIV

The Fremantle prison was commenced by Henderson at the end of 1852.* Construction was hindered by a shortage of mechanics and by uncertainty on the future of transportation. This produced the usual stop go despatches* which frequently beset colonial governors and their works. However the complex was substantially completed by the end of 1857.*

Henderson to Col. Sect.
BPP T'port. 11 6.4.1853
1854 (1795) LIV.200

Manning Report
30.7.1857
BPP T'port. 14:
1859 [2568] XXII
Section 2. 51

Several developments of the design during construction are of interest. Like contemporary accommodation in VDL, the cells and associated wards had no water closets for night use, and on the occupation of the rooms the large urine tubs stank so much that the effluvia was considered a health hazard. Hence a W.C. was attached to each of the wards and a supply cistern placed in the roof.*

Manning Report
27.2.1857
BPP T'port. 14: 1857-8
[2301] XLI. 63-4

The ablution and sewerage system installed was characteristic of the interest of a new generation of Royal Engineers (and of the Victorian age) in the improvement of hitherto neglected service functions. A 70 ft well was cut through the limestone for a water supply and 25 stone baths were laid down in a 79 ft x 14 bath house on high ground behind the prison. See Fig. 235. The water from the baths then drained into a reservoir cut in the rock. From there it was released by sluices to flush the yard privies,* and then on to a dilution tank from whence it was 'passed upwards through a bed of stone and charcoal, so as to remove the offensive odour while retaining the valuable properties of the manure for the prison garden.'* This system had been advocated by Prince Albert and published in 1852 in an appendix to the "' Minutes of Information on the Application of Sewer water and Town Manures to Agricultural Production.'"*

Manning Report
30.7.1857
BPP T'port. 14: 1859
[2568] XXII. 51

Gray Report 31.3.1857
BPP T'port. 14:
1857-8 [2301]
XLI. 20

Ibid.

The roof of the prison chapel was an early and substantial example of a laminated arch construction in the colonies. James Manning, the Clerk of Works, reported in February 1857 that the chapel had 'a span of 41 ft in the clear, and in order to obtain

as much space as possible, a curved tie beam [sic] laminated [in jarrah] has been constructed, sustained by tension and suspending rods, the principal rafters held in position by radiating cleets bolted through, making a very light and strong roof, and giving the entire height to the ridge in the chapel.*

*Hanning Report
27.2.1857
B.P.P.T. part. 14: 1857-8
[2301] x 41. 63*

Fremantle, like the establishments in VDL mentioned in this chapter, was a prison for adult male convicts under Imperial control and like them was designed by Royal Engineers. Hence it would have been surprising had it not been related to the contemporary work of the Surveyor General of Prisons. At the end of 1857, when Fremantle was nearly completed, a purely colonial public works office in Melbourne was starting on the extension of Melbourne (formerly Port Phillip) gaol. This had been made necessary by the influx of a large and motley array of humans during the gold rushes of the 1850s.

The first contract was for the addition of the second or northern wing intended in the original design.* It was almost completed in March 1859 when *The Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle* noted that it was 'similar in its general character and appearance to the old building' (Fig. 167), but differed 'materially in many of its details.*' This reflected the need to include 9 apartments for debtors at the west end, 3 on each floor (Fig. 236), and the adoption of most of the features of the Pentonville system in the interior.

See Fig. 166

*The Australian
Builder and Railway
Chronicle vol. I Part III
26.3.1859 page 93*

There were 34 cells, 9 ft x 6, on each of the ground and first floor and 17 double cells on the top floor. Access was by light iron staircases and galleries of the Pentonville type. Compare Plates 14 and 15. The debtors rooms were 'accessible by a separate staircase and entrance' and communicated with an exercise ground 180 ft x 150 - 'large enough to play cricket in.*' The cells of the new wing had access to a small yard in which was later erected a 14 section circular exercise yard in

Ibid.

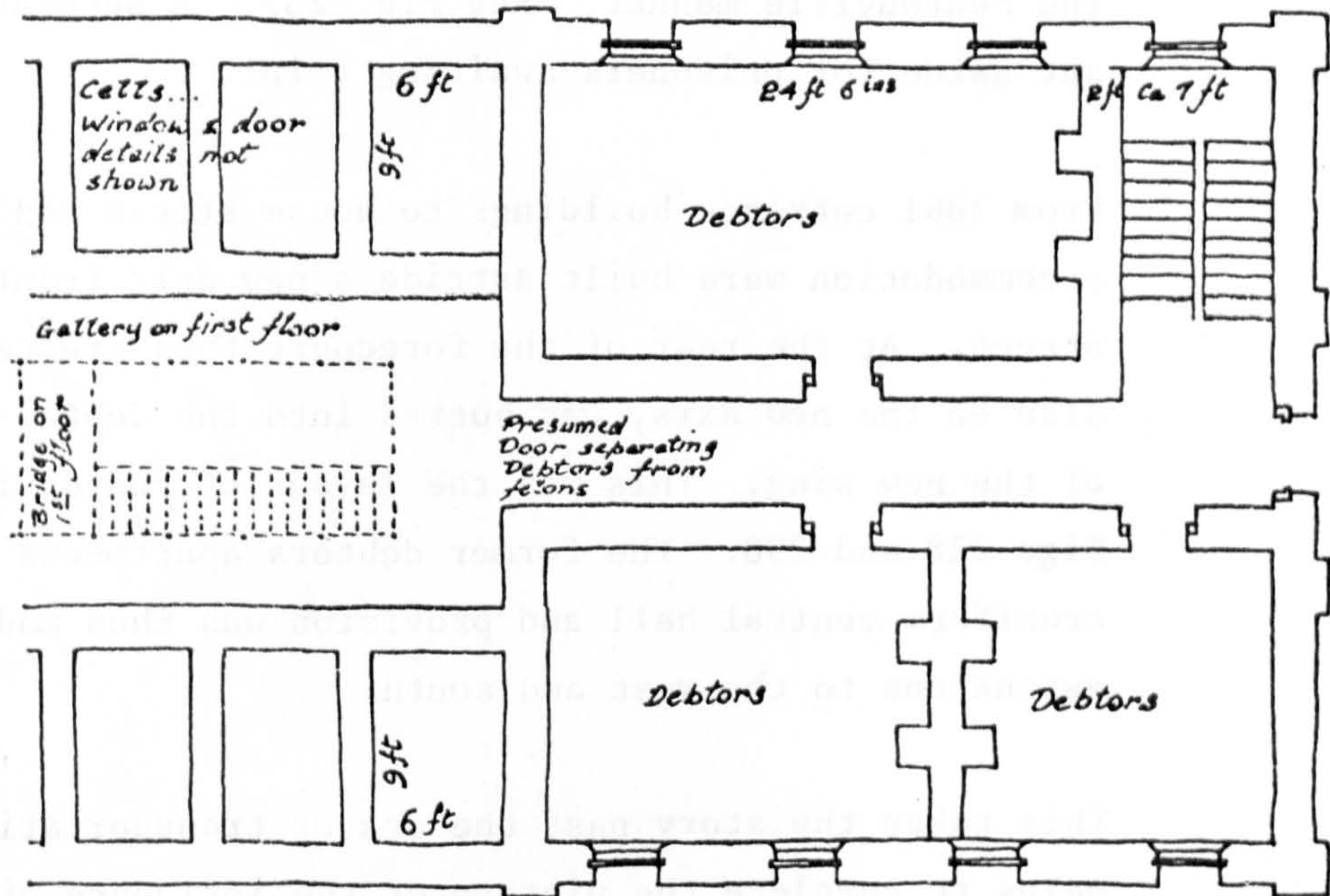


Fig. 236. western part of north wing of Melbourne gaol as it was arranged on completion in 1859. Based on Plans inscribed Public works office Melbourne December 1860 held by Victorian Dep^t. of Pub. works.

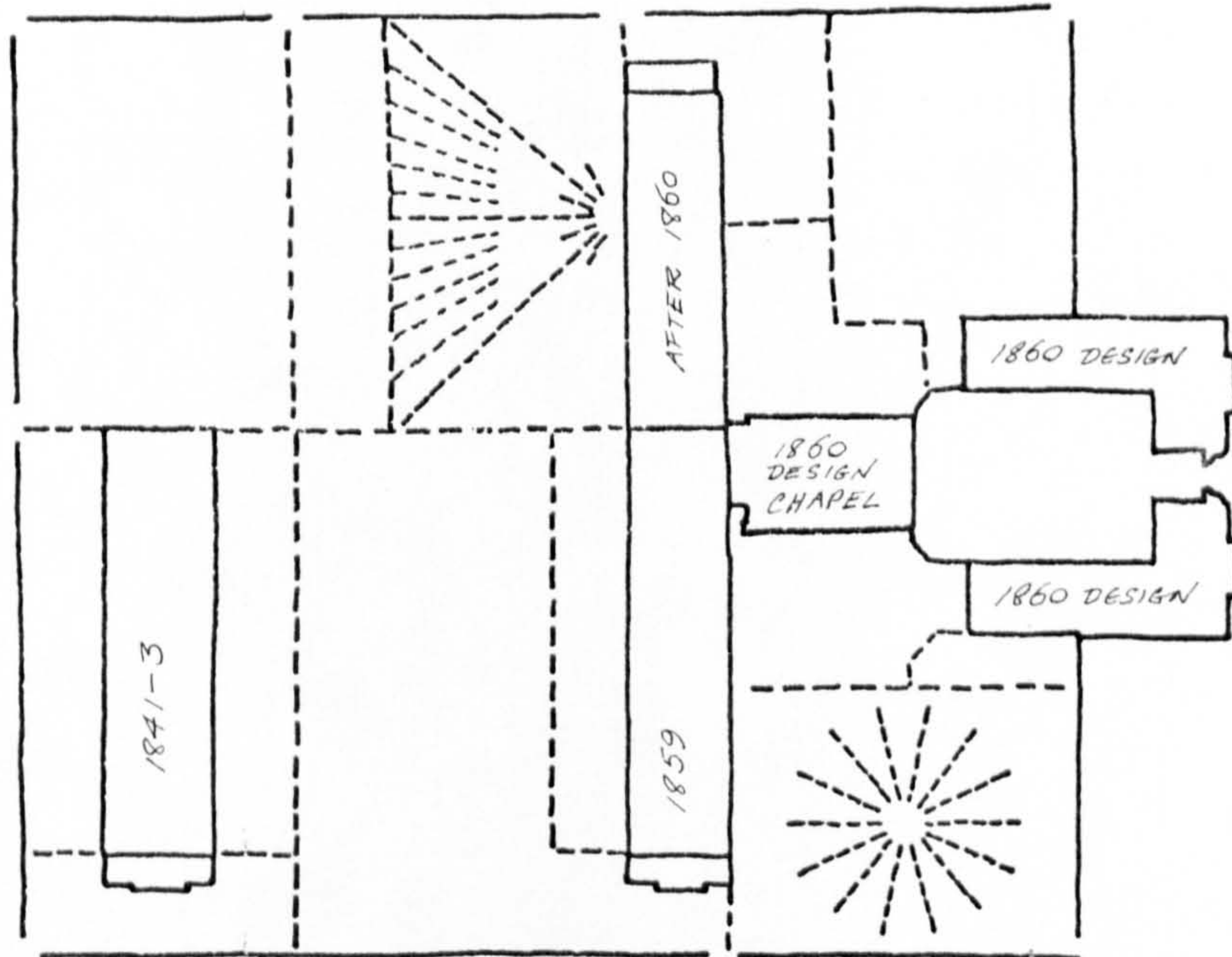
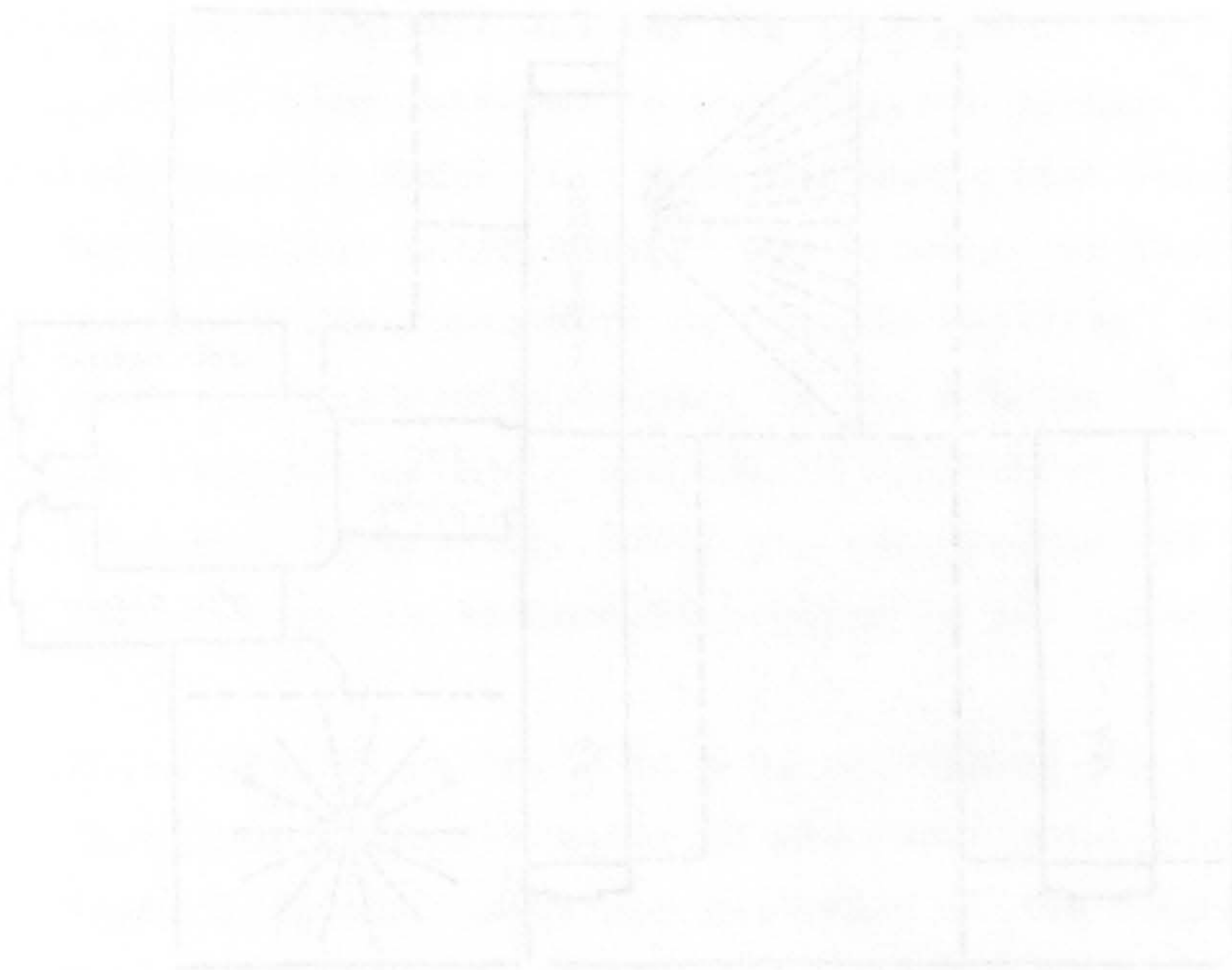


Fig. 237. Melbourne gaol, based on block plan of 25.6.1902 held by the Victorian department of Public works.

the Pentonville manner. See Fig. 237. A separate yard was set aside for prisoners awaiting trial.

From 1861 entrance buildings to house stores and staff accommodation were built astride a new axis fronting Franklin Street. At the rear of the forecourt thus created, a chapel, also on the new axis, was butted into the debtors apartments of the new wing. This was the layout of Pentonville. Compare Figs 228 and 238. The former debtors apartments became a cruciform central hall and provision was thus made for wing extensions to the west and south.

This takes the story past the era of transportation but it helps to complete the picture of the influence of Jebb's designs on colonial as well as imperial establishments.



Chapter 17 A summary and a beginning

Chapter 1

During the early years of the colony convicts were generally left to house themselves in small huts roughly constructed of local materials. Under Phillip these huts were arranged or intended to be arranged in extended linear townships around a wide axial thoroughfare.* The larger buildings of the convict establishment were therefore hospitals, stores and places of confinement for those convicts who had committed further (secondary) offences. The latter were wooden structures until 1801, when the first masonry gaol was built at Sydney Cove. This Sydney gaol remained the standard type for NSW for 20 years.* Designs in this period were simple and based on utility and, usually, army precedent.

Chapter 2

In 1809 Governor Macquarie and his wife Elizabeth arrived and introduced a taste for grandeur and the Picturesque into the design and location of new convict structures.* The decade of the Macquaries was the only time taste was to have a substantial impact on design for the convict establishment. The Macquaries were fortunate in receiving a transported architect, Francis Greenway, to give professional guidance to an amateur programme.

Chapter 3

Under Macquarie the large number of convicts retained on public works in the towns necessitated barracks for discipline and particularly for control at night. Hence Macquarie progressively built a number of convict barracks as well as replacement hospitals. Those designed by Greenway reflected contemporary English architectural tastes,* those by Lt John Watts used army barrack plans surrounded by the two storey colonnaded verandahs favoured by Macquarie, and those drawn up by Lawless followed a common eighteenth century institutional model.*

Chapter 4

Chapter 5

Following Bigge's recommendations, convict resources were

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

devoted to agricultural ends* and construction was generally confined to country stockades for labour gangs* and to new settlements for secondary punishments.

While no instructions appear to have been given for the layout of the new settlements certain conventions for the security of the stores, and to a lesser extent for the convicts, were observed. Thus the convict accommodation and work places were grouped and set apart from, as well as overlooked by, the military barracks. The commissariat store was then associated with the military barrack or placed on the side away from the convicts. All elements of the settlement were overlooked by the Commandants house and key points were watched by a guard house. Naturally the actual disposition of the different zones depended on the topography of the site.* It was convenient that the very distinct gradations of social status at settlements were generally compatible with security requirements.

Chapter 12

Until the arrival of the Royal Engineer establishment in December 1835, the design of barrack and hospital accommodation at the settlements was often the de facto responsibility of serving army officers employed in a command or public works capacity and hence tended to follow precedent. In addition Arthur's Colonial Architect appointee, David Lambe, and his successor the Colonial Engineer, John Lee Archer, both did barrack designs. Asylum design in the 1830s was limited to Archer and the surgeon Robert Officer, in VDL, and to Mortimer Lewis, Bourke's Colonial Architect, in NSW.*

Chapter 8

Though the established centres in the colonies were already equipped with convict barracks, few new gaols had been constructed to replace those built early in the century. By the 1820s, despite repairs and additions, the old gaols were inadequate in capacity and design, and both Arthur and Bourke were faced with the problem of replacing them.

Arthur relied on his engineer, Archer, for the designs of his gaols. Archer drew on a variety of English sources including the plans in Nicholson's ubiquitous Practical Builder.

Arthur's lack of resources delayed their commencement and permitted a further development of Archer's plans. They were typically dormitory accommodation (rather than cellular) in a cruciform arrangement to permit appropriate classification into departments.*

Chapter 10

In NSW, during the 1830s, Bourke embarked progressively on a big gaol construction programme which became an embarrassment on the cessation of transportation to NSW. Bourke's earliest plans, in contrast to Arthur's were entirely cellular and related directly to the recommendations of the SIPD in 1826. Their supervision was, briefly, the responsibility of Ambrose Hallen and then of Mortimer Lewis, as Colonial Architect.

However the arrival of Royal Engineer departments in NSW and VDL meant that from the beginning of 1836 the design and much of the supervision for the Imperial convict establishment was under their control. Captain Barney left England for Sydney before the Inspectors of Prisons had resolved their design policy and his plans largely reflected SIPD arrangements with some minor architectural elements from Haviland's Philadelphia system. It was the Royal Engineer Governor, Gipps, who brought the developed ideas of the Inspectors to NSW,* though their application at the Parramatta Female Factory was not approved by the Inspectors. Four NSW country gaols were built to a similar design.*

Ibid.

Chapter 11

The contemporary proposals for Norfolk Island for cells arranged in chapel units were the experimental concept of Captain Maconochie and were also condemned by the Inspectors.*

Chapter 13

The convict stations for the Probation System in VDL evolved from existing road party regulations and finally developed

into a characteristic, though far from uniform, arrangement. This consisted of three departments: two with wards of 10 and 20 men accommodated in tiers of bed platforms and the third and most secure with individual apartments. In addition there were a few solitary (punishment) cells. By 1844 the stations held up to 500 men each and the most common arrangement was for each department's ranges of wards or cells to enclose its own yard.*

Chapter 14

In addition to the men, proposals for Female and Juvenile establishments under the Probation System were prepared in England or based on English models. For various reasons all proved abortive.*

Ibid.

In 1846 alarm at the presence of homosexual practices in probation stations caused the redesign of dormitory accommodation and expedited the construction of separate apartments throughout VDL. However these accommodation problems were ameliorated as much by a reduction of the numbers of transports as by the redesign and reconstruction of stations.*

Chapter 15

From the mid 1840s architectural solutions developed by Jebb at Pentonville and its successors for the Inspectors of Prisons were increasingly used as a model for permanent penal structures. However the need for greater economy often led to the reproduction of design details rather than to the adoption of the real improvements in space, ventilation and hygiene.*

Chapter 16

A feature of the design of convict buildings in the colonies was the small part played by architects. Sixty five persons mentioned in this thesis are known to have had some degree of involvement in such design while resident in Australia. These are designated in Appendix 1* and an analysis of their background reveals the following:

By an 'o' after their name.

27 were army, navy or marine officers, at least 3 of whom had some engineering, and one *some* architectural, training;

13 were Royal Engineers;
6 were surgeons or penal superintendents;
5 were surveyors;
3 were tradesmen;
1 was a clergyman from Yorkshire (Marsden);
1 was a civil engineer with architectural knowledge
(John Lee Archer);
1 was an architect (Francis Greenway);
and the background of 7 is unknown.

*Matthew, Kitchen,
Harris, Cookney.*

The outstanding exception was Francis Greenway, but he was an involuntary immigrant. Generally persons who styled themselves architects avoided Australia during the transportation period, and those who arrived free were usually incompetent* and received with one exception no employment on convict buildings.

The other professions or trades had been sent to the penal colonies to do a necessary job and exhibited a normal range of abilities. However no Secretary of State was willing to engage an architect to embellish a penal colony with Architecture; plain buildings were perfectly adequate in such a context.

Few of the buildings mentioned in the thesis have survived and of those that have, some have been and are being mutilated or neglected. Barney's original Cockatoo Island barrack (Fig. 112) is owned by the Australian Government and has had a variety of uses which have damaged its fabric and rendered its historic character very expensive to restore. Compare Plates 6 and 8.

The penitentiary sleeping ward of 1828 is the only intact surviving building from the Parramatta Female Factory (Fig. 99 and Plate 9). It is now used for record storage by the Health Commission of NSW and its sandstone fabric has recently (1975) been covered with gloss acrylic paint. Other important fabrics under the Commissions control such as Mrs Macquarie's Female

Orphan School (Fig. 38) and Mortimer Lewis' Tarban Creek Asylum central building (Fig. 117a) are suffering (1975) from the withdrawal of proper maintenance.

Conservation action of varying quality has already been started at the more spectacular remains of penal settlements at Port Arthur, Norfolk Island and Maria Island. However the majority of penal settlements and country stations have left only fragmentary or no remains above ground and it is important that surviving sites and works, particularly in NSW, Tasmania and Western Australia, be identified and given temporary protection from disturbance. Investigation should then be carried out within the broader framework of an archaeological discipline rather than in the more restricted role conventionally ascribed to architectural history.

The second part of the project for which this thesis is a preliminary background study is the recording of the remains associated with penal and institutional establishments in the nineteenth century. This will make possible a reasoned assessment of the value of the various elements to Australia's heritage and establish priorities for long term conservation action.

Appendix 1 Alphabetical Identification of some persons
mentioned in the text.

Abbreviations:

- ADB Australian Dictionary of Biography. Melbourne University Press, Volumes 1 - 5.
- NDB The Dictionary of National Biography. London, Oxford University Press, 1949-50 Ed.
- SSC Secretary of State for the Colonies.
- SSH Secretary of State for the Home Office.
- SSCH Secretary of State for combined Home and Colonial Affairs.

Where entries exist in the ADB or NDB this reference is shown in the margin as a guide for further reading. The information following the name is not necessarily from this source. Rank and title has normally been omitted from list owing to its transitory nature.

- ADB. I. 8-9* ALLMAN, Francis^o: Army officer, 1st Com^{dt} Port Macquarie 1821-24.
- 11-12* ALT, Augustus Theodore Henry: Army officer and surveyor, Surveyor General in NSW from 1788.
- 13-14* ANDERSON, Joseph: Army officer, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island 1834-9.
- 23-24* ARCHER, John Lee^o: Civil Engineer and Colonial Architect VDL 1827-38.
- 32-38* ARTHUR, George^o: Army officer, Lt Governor VDL 1824-36.
- 45-6* BACKHOUSE, James: Quaker missionary, toured colonies 1832-38.
- 60-1* BARNEY, George W^o: Commanding Royal Engineer 1835-43.
- 61-2* BARRALLIER, Francis^o: engineer and army officer, arr. 1800, 1801-2 Acting Engineer and Artillery Officer.
- NDB. I. 1328* BATHURST, Henry, 3rd Earl: SSC from ca 1812.
- ADB. I. 81-2* BELL, Thomas^o: Army officer, arr. Hobart 1818 to command garrison also appointed Engineer and Inspector of Public Works, left 1824.
- 99-101* BEVANS, James: Architect, prepared plans for the SIPD in 1819.
- 118-* BIGGE, John Thomas: The Commissioner of Inquiry in affairs in NSW and VDL 1819-21.
- 122* BLOEDSWORTH, James^o: Convict bricklayer arr. 1788.
- WO. 17. 2747 [3]* BORDES, George F W^o: Royal Engineer officer attached to NSW establishment 1838-42.
- ADB. I. 128-33* BOURKE, Richard^o: Army officer, Governor NSW 1831-37.

- BOYD, James^o: former Pentonville instructor and superintendent of convicts establishments, VDL, 1845-55.
- ADB. I. 145-6* BRADLEY, William: Naval officer, prepared charts 1788 showing Sydney, NSW and Norfolk Island.
- 149-50* BREWER, Henry^o: Provost Marshal and effectively superintendent of building at Sydney NSW 1788-1795.
- 151-4* BRISBANE, Sir Thomas Makdougall: Army officer, Governor of NSW 1821-25.
- BUCHANAN, William^o: Clerk of Works to Board of Works, Sydney, NSW, 1832-34.
- BULLAR, G T: Architect, Secretary of SIPD.
- 191* BUTLER, James^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Macquarie Harbour 1825-29.
- 214* CASH, Martin: convict and popular bushranger in VDL
- CHAMP, W^o: Com^{dt} Port Arthur, Act^g Comp^{tr} Gen. of Convicts 1846.
- 220-1* CHILDS, Joseph^o: Officer of Marines, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island 1844-46.
- 258-9* COX, William: Army officer, magistrate at Windsor, NSW.
- NDB. V. 57* CRAWFORD, William: early Secretary of SIPD, Inspector of Prisons (Home Counties) from 1835.
- 268-9* CUBITT, William: engineer of Ipswich, devised treadwheel 1818 which was later in general use for punitive labour.
- ADB. I. 273-4* CUTHBERTSON, John^o: Army officer, 1st Com^{dt} Macquarie Harbour 1822-24.
- 282* DARLING, Ralph: Army officer, Governor of NSW 1825-31.
- 288-9* DAVEY, Thomas: Officer of Marines, L^t Governor of VDL 1813-ca 1817.
- 297-8* DAWES, William^o: Officer of Marines, 1st Fleet, Observer for Astronomer Royal.
- IV. 46-53* DENISON, William Thomas^o: Royal Engineer, L^t Governor VDL 1847-61.
- I. 324* DRUITT, George^o: Army officer, 1817-21 Engineer and Inspector of Public Works, Sydney.
- DU CANE, Edmund Frederick^o: Royal Engineer responsible for convict public works in eastern division, W.A., 1851-56.
- 333-5* DUMARESQ, William^o: Army officer, Civil Engineer and Inspector of Roads and Bridges, Ca 1825-29.
- 354-8* EARDLEY-WILMOT, John Eardley: L^t Governor VDL 1843-46.
- 359-60* EVANS, George William^o: Deputy Surveyor (VDL) to 1825.
- WO 55. 852* FERGUSON, Mr: Clerk of Public Works, Norfolk Island Pentagonal Gaol 1836-37.
- ADB. I. 381-3* FITZGERALD, Charles: Naval officer, Governor, W.A., 1848-55.
- 404* FORSTER, Matthew^o: Arr. 1831, Chief Police Magistrate, 1841 Director of Probation System, 1843 Comptroller General of Convicts, died 1846.
- 407-9* FOVEAUX, Joseph^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island 1800-04, 1808-09 effectively Governor of NSW.
- 412-5* FRANKLIN, John: Naval officer, L^t Governor, VDL, 1837-43.
- GILL, John^o: Army officer, Engineer and Artillery Officer and Inspector of Public Works to 1817.

- ADB . I. 446-53 GIPPS, George^o: Royal Engineer, Governor, NSW, 1838-46.
 . 455 GLENELG, Baron: April 1835 to February 1839 SSC.
 456-7 GODERICH, Viscount: SSC 1830-33.
 WO 17. 2747 [3] GORDON, James^o: Commanding Royal Engineer NSW from 1843.
 ADB . I. 463-4 GOULBURN, Frederick: Army officer, Colonial Secretary NSW
 1821-25.
 470-2 GREENWAY, Francis Howard^o: Architect and convict (see
 chapter 4).
 NDB Suppl. 786-9 GREY, Earl: SSC 1846-52.
 GRIMES, Charles^o: Deputy Surveyor of Roads, Norfolk Island
 1790-94, from 1794 performed the work of the Surveyor General
 in NSW.
- ADB . I. 504-5 HALLEN, Ambrose^o: Surveyor, 1832-34 Colonial Architect, NSW.
 WO 17. 2747 [1] HAMILTON, R G^o: Royal Engineer Officer stationed Norfolk
 Island 1844-50.
 ADB . I. 508 HAMPTON, John Stephen^o: Appointed Comptroller General of
 Convicts May 1846, arr. VDL October 1846.
 IV. 376 HENDERSON, Edmund Yeamans Walcott^o: Royal Engineer, Comp-
 troller of Convicts, W.A., arr. Fremantle 1850.
 HORNE, B J: advised on reorganisation of Point Puer.
 I. 566-72 HUNTER, John: Naval officer, Governor of NSW 1795-1800.
 575-77 HUTT, John: Governor of W.A., 1839-46.
- NDB . X. 698-9 JEBB, Joshua: Royal Engineer Officer, Surveyor General of
 Prisons 1840s.
- ADB . II. 37-8 KELSALL, Roger^o: Commanding Royal Engineer VDL 1836-42.
 V. 15 KENNEDY, Arthur Edward: Governor W.A., 1855-62.
 II. 61-4 KING, Philip Gidley^o: Naval officer, Lt Gov^r Norfolk Island
 1788-90 and 1791-1800, Gov^r NSW 1800-06.
 KITCHEN, Henry: Architect, arr. NSW 1816.
- 73-4 LAMBE, David^o: Colonial Architect VDL 1824-27.
 89-93 LA TROBE, Charles Joseph: 1846 Acting Lt Governor of VDL.
 LAWLESS, Francis^o: Convict
 112-3 LEWIS, Mortimer William^o: Surveyor, Colonial Architect NSW
 1835-49.
 124 LOGAN, Patrick^o: Army officer, Commandant Moreton Bay 1826-30.
 131-2 LORD, Thomas Daunt^o: Army officer, Commandant Maria Island
 1825-32.
 139 LUCAS, Nathaniel^o: Convict carpenter, arr. Norfolk Island 1788,
 Master Carpenter 1795.
 LUGARD, Henry W^o: Royal Engineer attached to NSW establishment
 1835-44.
 184-6 MACONOCHIE, Alexander^o: Naval officer, Commandant at Norfolk
 Island 1840-44.
 186-7 MACQUARIE, Elizabeth Henrietta^o: Wife of Lachlan Macquarie.
 187-95 MACQUARIE, Lachlan^o: Army officer, Governor of NSW 1810-22.
 MANNING, James^o: Clerk of Works Royal Engineer Office, W.A.,
 1856-7.
 207-12 MARSDEN, Rev^d Samuel^o: Chaplain General to NSW and Magistrate.
 MATRA, James: former midshipman on Cook's 'Endeavour', in 1783
 proposed a settlement in NSW to British government.

- MAYNE, James: Builder of Melbourne gaol 1841-43.
- ADB. II. 219-20* MEEHAN, James^o: Surveyor and convict, from 1812 Deputy Surveyor of Lands (NSW).
- 222-3* MENZIES, Charles^o: Officer of Marines, in charge of Coal River settlement 1804-05.
- MILLER, Henry^o: Army officer, 1st Commandant Moreton Bay.
- ADB. II. 570-2* MOLESWORTH, Sir William: Chairman of the Select Committee on Transportation 1837-38.
- ADB. II. 254-5* MOORE, Thomas: Resident Magistrate Liverpool NSW 1810-20.
- 260-1* MORISSET, James Thomas^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island 1829-33.
- 269* MURDOCH, Peter: Army officer, in charge of Emu Plains station, NSW, and briefly in 1825, Maria Island VDL.
- 270-1* MURRAY, Sir George: 1828-30 SSC.
- NAYLOR, Rev^d T B: Clergyman on Norfolk Island before 1846.
- NORMANBY, 1st Marquis: February to May 1839 and June to August 1839 SSC, August 1839 SSH.
- 297-8* OFFICER, Robert^o: Surgeon in charge of New Norfolk (VDL) hospital from 1827.
- NDB. XV. 94* PAKINGTON, John Somerset: 1852 SSC.
- CO201.7 f45*
18 f25 PEAT, William: engaged in England as Master Carpenter 1792, but aged and infirm and died Norfolk Island 1795.
- ADB. II. 326-33* PHILLIP, Arthur^o: Naval officer, Governor of NSW 1788-92.
- PRICE, John Giles^o: magistrate, Com^{dt} of Norfolk Island 1846-53.
- A/NSW 4/7313* RATTENBURY, John: Foreman of Works Berrima gaol to 1839, then Clerk of Works Melbourne gaol.
- ADB. II. 392-3* ROGERS, Thomas George: Religious Instructor on Norfolk Island 1845.
- 397-8* ROSS, Robert^o: Officer of Marines, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island 1790-91.
- NDB XVII. 454 at seq* RUSSELL, Lord John: 1835 SSH, May 1839 SSC.
- RUSSELL, Rev^d Whitworth: Inspector of Prisons (Home Counties) from 1835 with Crawford.
- DIXON ADD 75* SELLER, Thomas^o: Foreman of Works Norfolk Island 1842.
- A/NSW 4/3886* SHARKEY, John: Foreman of Works Sydney gaol 1836-44.
- McDonald Wellington*
8-14 SIMPSON, Percy^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Wellington Valley, NSW, settlement 1823-Ca 1830.
- ADB. II. 459-62* SORELL, William: Army officer, Lt Governor VDL 1817-24.
- NDB. XVIII 941 at seq.* STANLEY, E G G S: March 1833 replaced Goderich at Colonial Office, 1834 resigned, 1841 SSC.
- 1050* STEPHEN, James: 1825 Permanent Counsel to the Colonial Office, 1834 Ass^t Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Office, 1836 Under Secretary for same.
- STEWART, Pringle: Magistrate, VDL, 1840s.
- XIX. 1058-9* SYDNEY, Viscount (Thomas Townshend): SSCH to 1789.
- THOMPSON, ^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} at Newcastle, NSW, to 1816.
- TURTON, ^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Norfolk Island, 1825-26.

TWISS, John^o: Royal Engineer stationed at Launceston 1844-48, Commanding R.E., VDL, from 1848.

ADB. II. 555

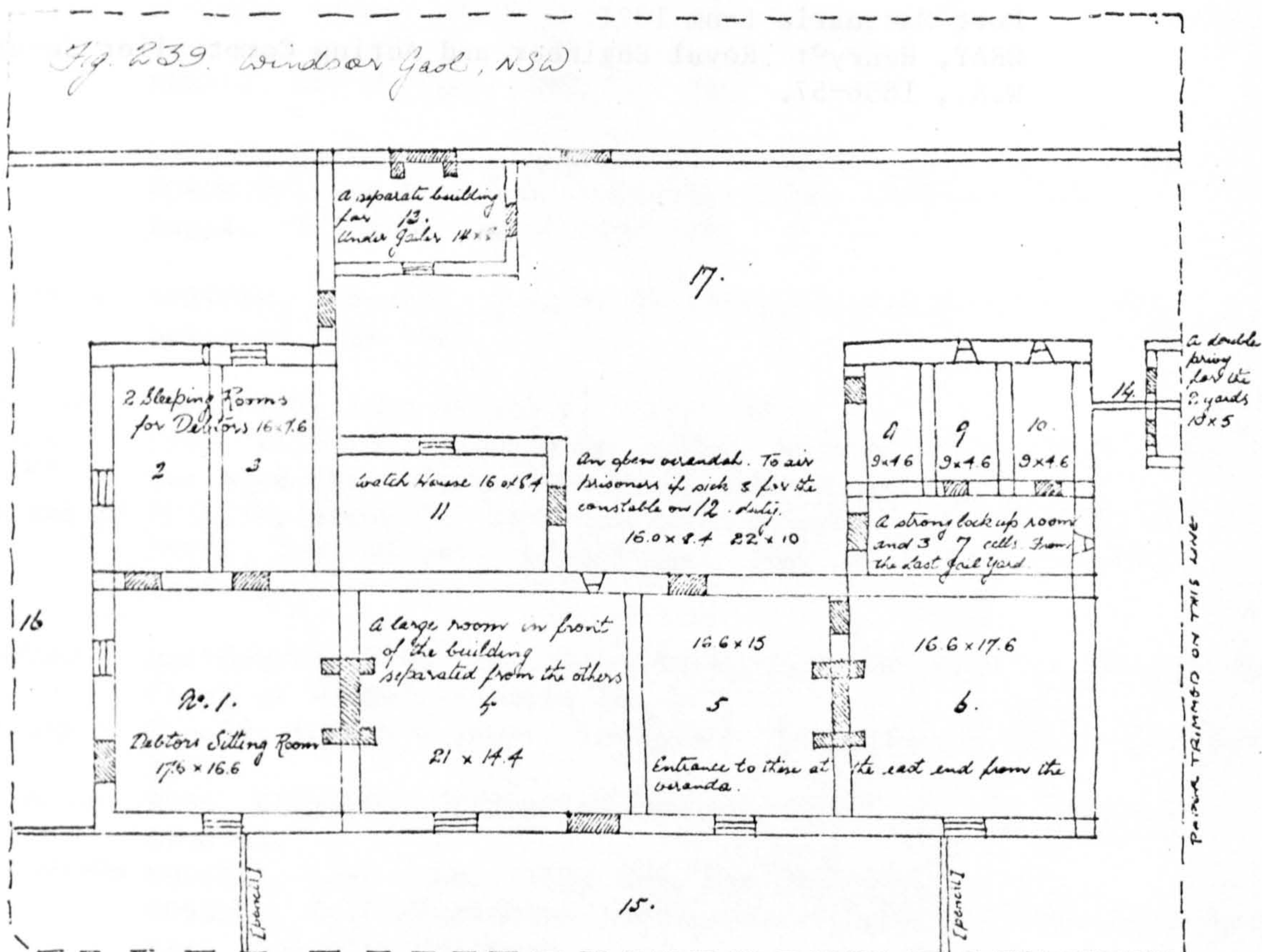
VICTOR, James Conway^o: Commanding Royal Engineer, VDL, 1842-8.
VINCENT, Mr^o: Sup^t Rottneest Island, W.A., during construction of buildings Ca 1839-42.

ibid. 568-9

WALLIS, James^o: Army officer, Com^{dt} Newcastle 1816-Dec 1818.
WATTS, John^o: Army officer, aide de camp to Macquarie.
WILMOT see Eardley-Wilmot.
WILSON ^o: Army officer, Engineer and Inspector of Works, Port Macquarie from 1821.
WRAY, Henry^o: Royal Engineer and Acting Comptroller General, W.A., 1856-57.

Appendix 2 Greenway's 1819 additions to Windsor Gaol, NSW

The additions of 1819 provided separate quarters with their own yard for debtors, and enlarged all except cell accommodation. See Fig. 239. Francis Greenway designed the additions, Macquarie then altered the design and William Cox

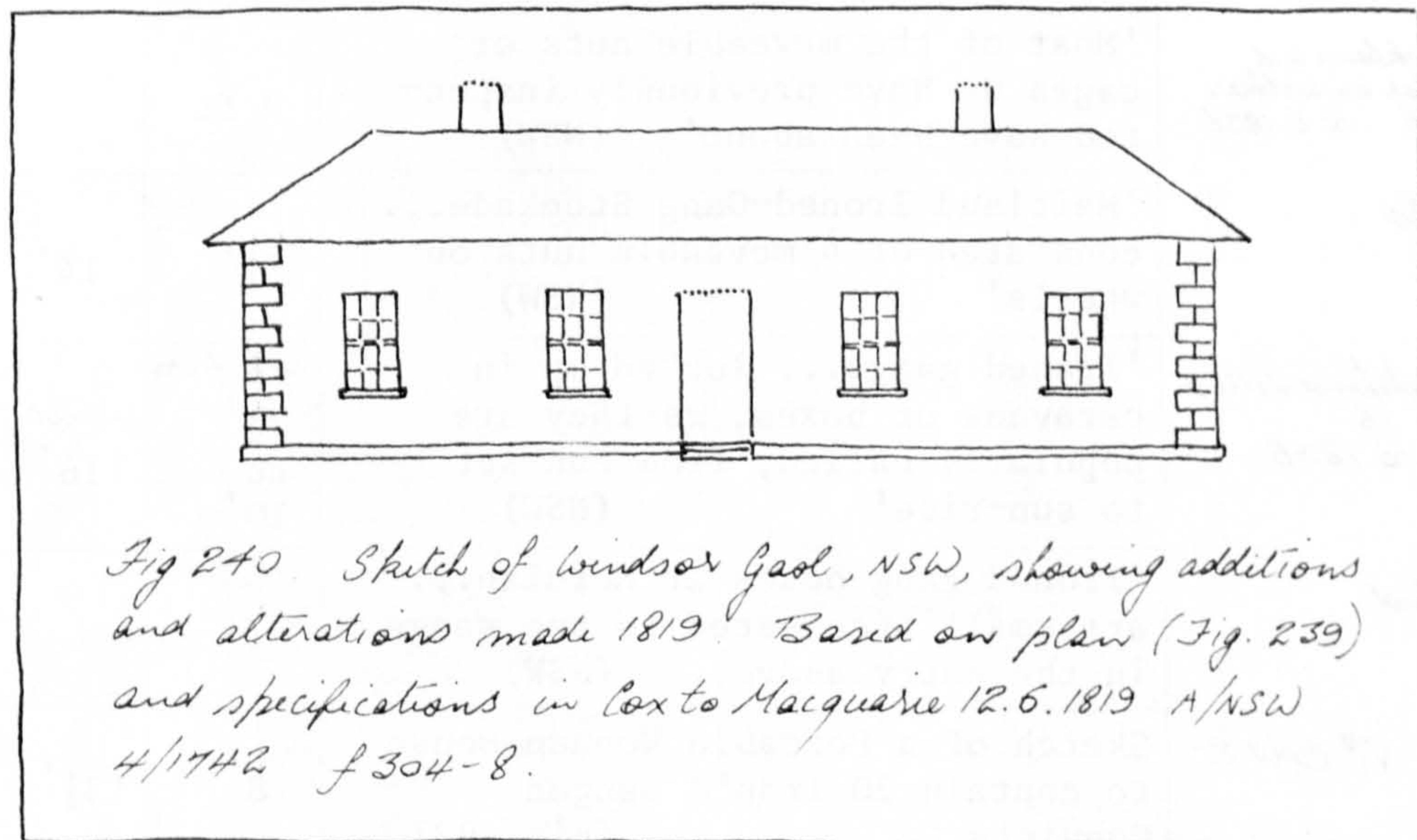


A/NSW 41742 CSIL 1918 last page of letter from Wm. Cox to Gov^t Macquarie 12.6.1819 showing rough plan of the proposed work on Windsor Gaol to accompany specifications on preceding pages. See pp 304-8. Titled on back 'New Plan of Windsor Gaol 12th June 1819' Annotations to be inferred from rough specifications. See pp 304-8.

built according to the amendments. Cox wrote 'The Plan of the buildings is 2 [sic] feet longer in the Front than Mr Greenway's plan and Each Wing 3 feet deeper which is requisite to get in the alterations pointed out by His Excellency the Governor.'^{*} Given the existing building and the detailed specifications enclosed in Cox's letter, this must mean that Greenway designed slightly recessed infill rooms on the corners to present a more pleasantly articulated facade. See the broken lines on

Fig. 239, rooms 1 & 6. This was amended by Macquarie to a straight front and sides, presumably to provide extra space. As it was June 1819, it is possible that the correction was recommended by the Chief Engineer of the Colonial Establishment, George Druitt, who had already started to obstruct Greenway's work,* and does not reflect Macquarie's attitude.

Even in a work as minor as this, Greenway showed a sympathetic regard for the fabric, removing the quoins and replacing them at the ends of the extended facade* (Fig. 240). He also extended the hip roof to provide overhanging eaves which he hoped would protect the bricks of dubious quality in the walls.*



Appendix 3 Collated References to moveable stations

	Location and description	Width	Length	Height	Capacity
<i>Backhouse Letters</i> <i>III. 14</i> <i>9.9.1835</i>	Near Emu Plains NSW, 2 ironed gangs under Lt Campbell. '... moveable caravans on block wheels ... these have doors and iron barred windows on one side : four or five men sleep in each end of them on the floor and as many more on platforms.'				
<i>Backhouse and Taylor on Walker</i> <i>246. 18.6.1836</i>	'Most of the moveable huts or cages we have previously inspected have been about' (NSW)	9 ft			
<i>Ibid.</i>	'Maitland Ironed-Gang Stockade... consisted of 4 moveable huts on wheels' (NSW)	7½'	14'	6'	20
<i>Backhouse Letters</i> <i>III. 15</i> <i>7.10.1836</i>	'Ironed gangs... locked up in caravans or boxes, as they are popularly called, from sun-set to sun-rise' (NSW)	Vary from 7½' to 10'	About 16'		20 to 28
<i>Ibid.</i>	'Ironed-gang boxes at Merulan... are small' (compared to the range in the entry above). (NSW)				
<i>Mh V* CONV 2</i>	Sketch of a Portable Wooden House to contain 20 Iron'd Ganged Convicts (Fig. 93)	8'	13½'	6'4"	20
<i>Hampton Report</i> <i>15.11.1847</i> <i>BPPT part 9:</i> <i>1849(1022)128</i>	Blackmans Bridge Road Station VDL. 'Moveable wooden houses provided by the Colonial Govt have been sent for the men to lodge in... will afterwards be used on different parts of the road.'				
<i>Hampton Report</i> <i>10.1.1849</i>	'The habits... of the men employed in small road parties have been much improved by lodging them in moveable wooden houses.' (Fig. 209) (VDL)	8'	15'		16

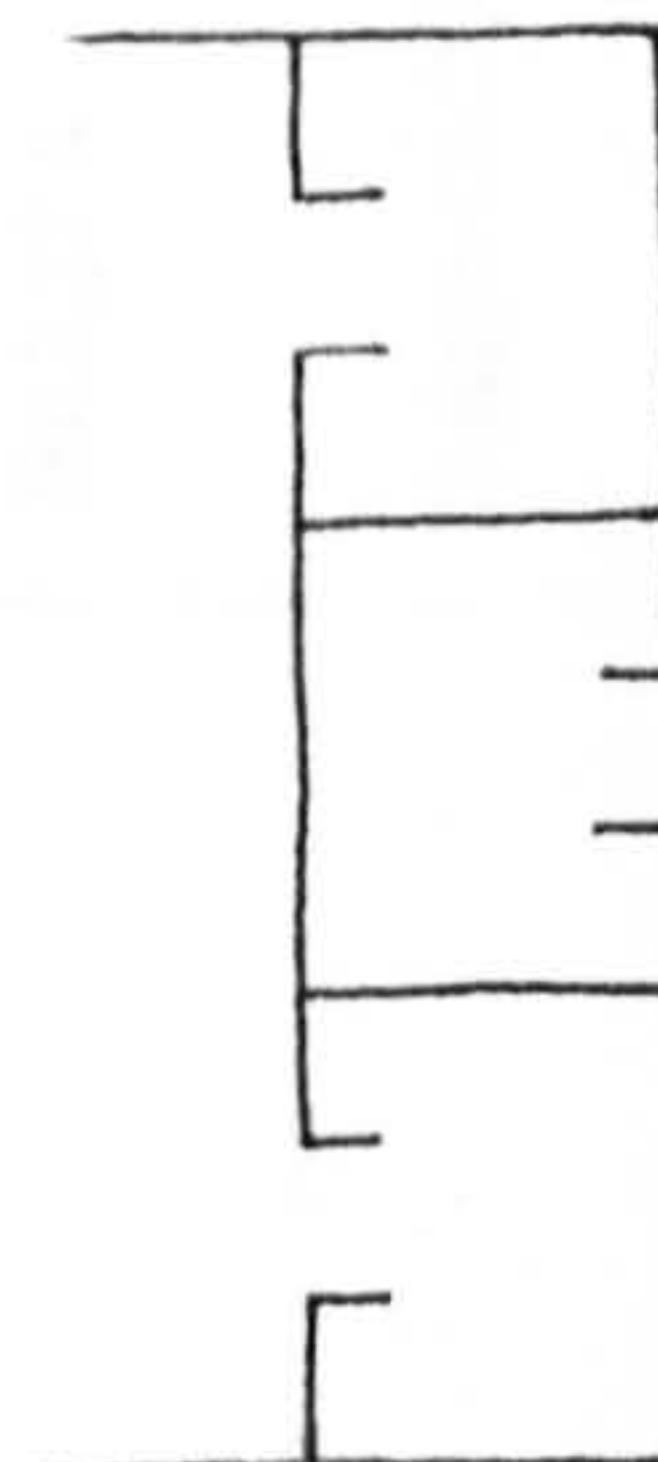
When Childs replaced Maconochie as Commandant at Norfolk Island in 1844 he sought permission to complete the Pentagonal Gaol. Gipps refused and insisted on 'a new gaol on the plan approved by Her Majesty's Gov^t' (i.e. the Inspectors).^{*} Childs then asked his recently arrived Royal Engineer, Lieutenant Hamilton for a new design and supplied him with a detailed brief of accommodation requirements. The gaol was to include '90 cells of sufficient size only for one prisoner', and '30 cells for Solitary Confinement' as well as a variety of appropriate facilities, though Childs was careful to avoid suggesting how this accommodation might be arranged.^{*}

Hamilton's design was a faithful embodiment of Child's requirements in a block plan similar to the existing prisoners barracks.^{*} The cells were of a conventional flanking type, 10 ft 6 ins x 6 ft, and the central passage of the upper level was floored. Clearly no-one had briefed Hamilton on the Inspectors' designs. Like so many penal designs it was overtaken by events. The administration of Norfolk Island was transferred to VDL and Wilmot authorised Childs to complete part of the Pentagonal Gaol instead.

Notes

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1. The 6 cells on the ends of Sydney gaol are shown with external access in Fig. 20 because similar arrangements existed at Sydney Norfolk Island (Fig. 21), Parramatta (Fig. 22) and Liverpool (Fig. 24). It is remotely possible that they were arranged in an alternating configuration thus:



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2. Even if this was so, it does not invalidate the contention that it was a design of the Sydney, NSW, type (Fig. 20).

Page 83.

3. The Chaplain of Her Majesty's Royal Naval Establishment at Chatham remarked (1977) that the photos of the Parramatta convict barracks showed a building identical to the Royal Marines Barrack at Deal, Kent. I have not been able to confirm this.

Page 100.

4. This is born out by Brisbane's approving reference to an article in the Australian of April 1825 which ascribed to him the motive of improvement by association. See Emu Plains Enquiry proceedings at C0201.162 f 86-7.

Page 167.

5. This presumably followed the objection of the Inspectors to the location of the doors to the upper cells in the Parramatta plan. See Crawford and Russell to Phillipps 11.8.1840, BPP T'port 6 : 1840 (412) 49. The evidence for an upper floor T & I plan at Bathurst is based on a photo of the gaol under demolition, at A/NSW 7/5879.

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6. See Pitcairn to Stanley, 4.2.1846, BPP T'port 7:1847(785)38-9. Fry to Stanley, 7.8.1846, Ibid. 187-9. Naylor statement before September 1846, Ibid. 67 et seq. Bishop of Tasmania to Stanley Feb 1847, BPP T'port 7: 1847(741)1-10 and (811)44.

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1832	Report Committee of Inspection of Public Buildings [ordered 27.9.1832] 8.2.1833 Annotations by Bourke.	Bourke annot. on W044.187 f92
1833	Proceedings of Committee of Inspection of Public Buildings in Parramatta... ord. by General Orders No. 226 of 27 September 1833. 20.11.1833.	W044.187 f157
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C0700	Fremantle, Melbourne, Parramatta, Perth, Rottneest, Toongabby	MPG722	Fremantle, Guildford, Mt Eliza, Toodyay, York
MPG130	Rottneest	MPG760	
MPG300-1	Sydney	MPG807	Port Arthur
MPG537	Port Arthur	MPG978	Newcastle
MPG660	Cascades	MPG1115	Sydney
MPG672	Darlington, Hobart	MPG G5	Hobart
MPG688	New Town	MPH91	Parramatta, Sydney
MPG702	Hobart	MPH92	Hobart
MPG710	Safety Cove, Port Arthur	MPH93	Bathurst, Goulburn, Windsor
MPG717	Moveable Stations	MR931	Yarra Bend
		MR1760	New Norfolk

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Various plans and prints catalogued under

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Brisbane	Madras	Port Phillip
Goulburn	Maitland	Van Diemen's Land
Hobart	Melbourne	

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2/586	Col.Arch.Dept. Appts.	2/642B	Liverpool
2/604B	East Maitland	2/643B	Parramatta, Picton and Port Macquarie
2/613A	Newcastle	2/1856.1	Liverpool
2/618A	Parramatta	2/8130	Parramatta and Windsor
2/634	Bathurst	2/8158	Goulburn
2/637	Berrima	2/8477	Port Phillip
2/640A	Carter's B'ks, Sydney		
4/346	Parramatta orphan	4/1744	Sydney Poor's House
4/1102	Port Macquarie	4/1915.1	Port Macquarie
4/1739	Parramatta	4/1915.3	Public Buildings, NSW
4/1742	Windsor gaol	4/3822	

4/3823		4/6420	Sydney
4/3883		4/6514-8	Cockatoo
4/3884	East Maitland Berrima	4/7183	Tarban Creek
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BT1	BT8	BT20	BT27	BT36
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A1194	A1218	A3250
A1212	A1272	A3251

Plans

PXD 52	Port Arthur	XVIB/LIV/2	Liverpool
V*/CONV/2	Mobile Box	XVIB Parra 5	Parramatta
VIB/PR MAC/4	Port Macquarie		Asylum
V6B/MAR1/1	Darlington	XVIB Parra 7-16	Parramatta
XVIB Berr 1-5	Berrima		
C225 & 226	Harris Report (See alphabetical bibliography)		
Small Picture File			

Marsden Papers CYA 1992

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Manuscripts and Plans:

ADD 75	Norfolk Island
ADD 180	Buchanan Memorial
ADD 203	Bathurst, East Maitland, Sydney
ADD 495B	Port Macquarie
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Star Collection

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Collection of uncatalogued archival material at Goodsell House including plans and photos of gaols.
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344		831	
349-355		850	
375		866	
379		868-869	
385		871-872	
603	905		
812-814	} Launceston	910-912	
816-820		915	
823		920	
378.1-26 28	} Norfolk Island		

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Plate 1. Immigration Barracks, Sydney, NSW. August 1871.
Originally Convict Barracks. M_h, Small picture file.

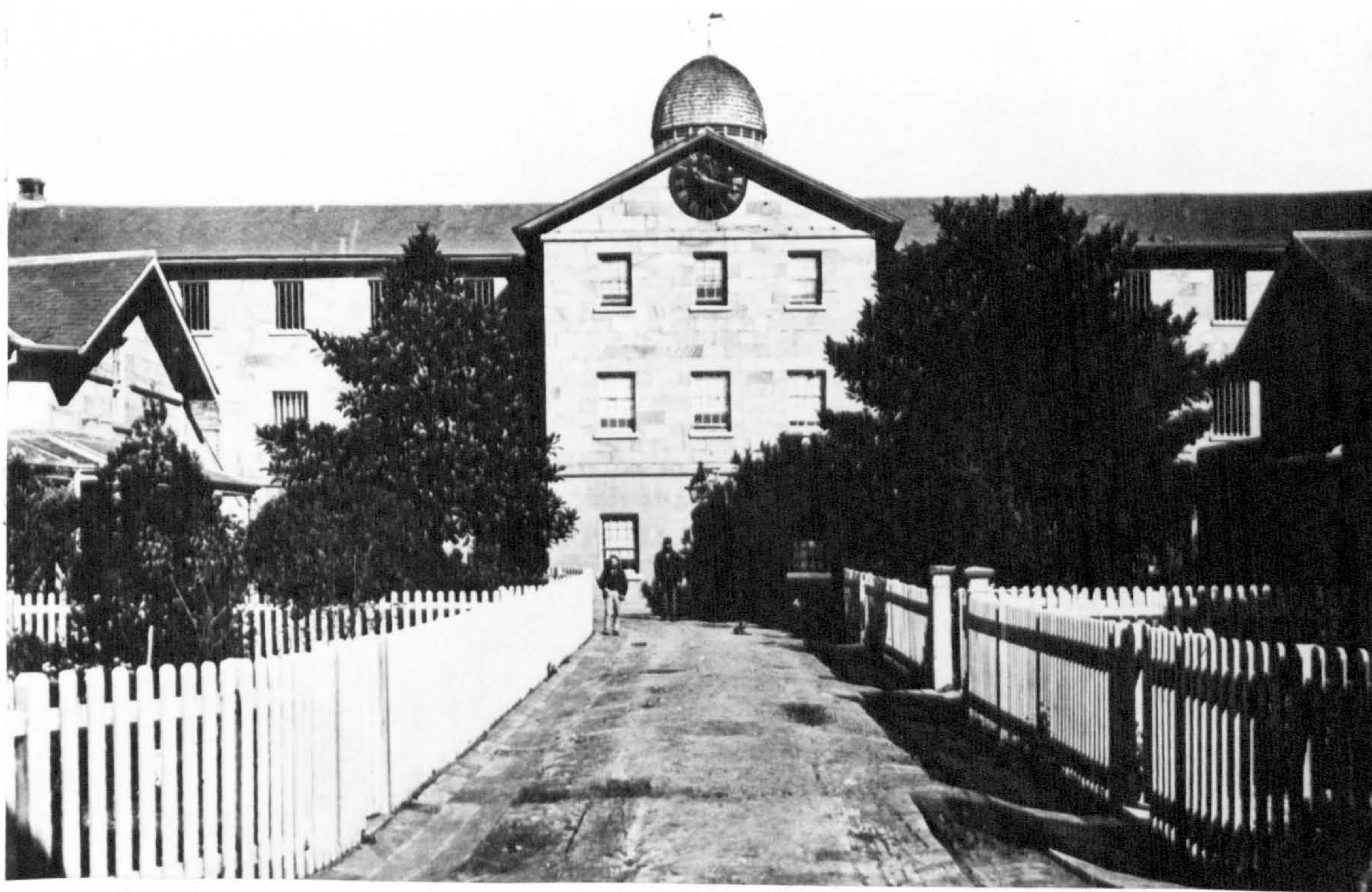


Plate 2. Parramatta Lunatic Asylum, about 1880, originally
the central blocks of the Female Factory. Gov^t Pt^g Office Neg.
No. S.H. 1716.

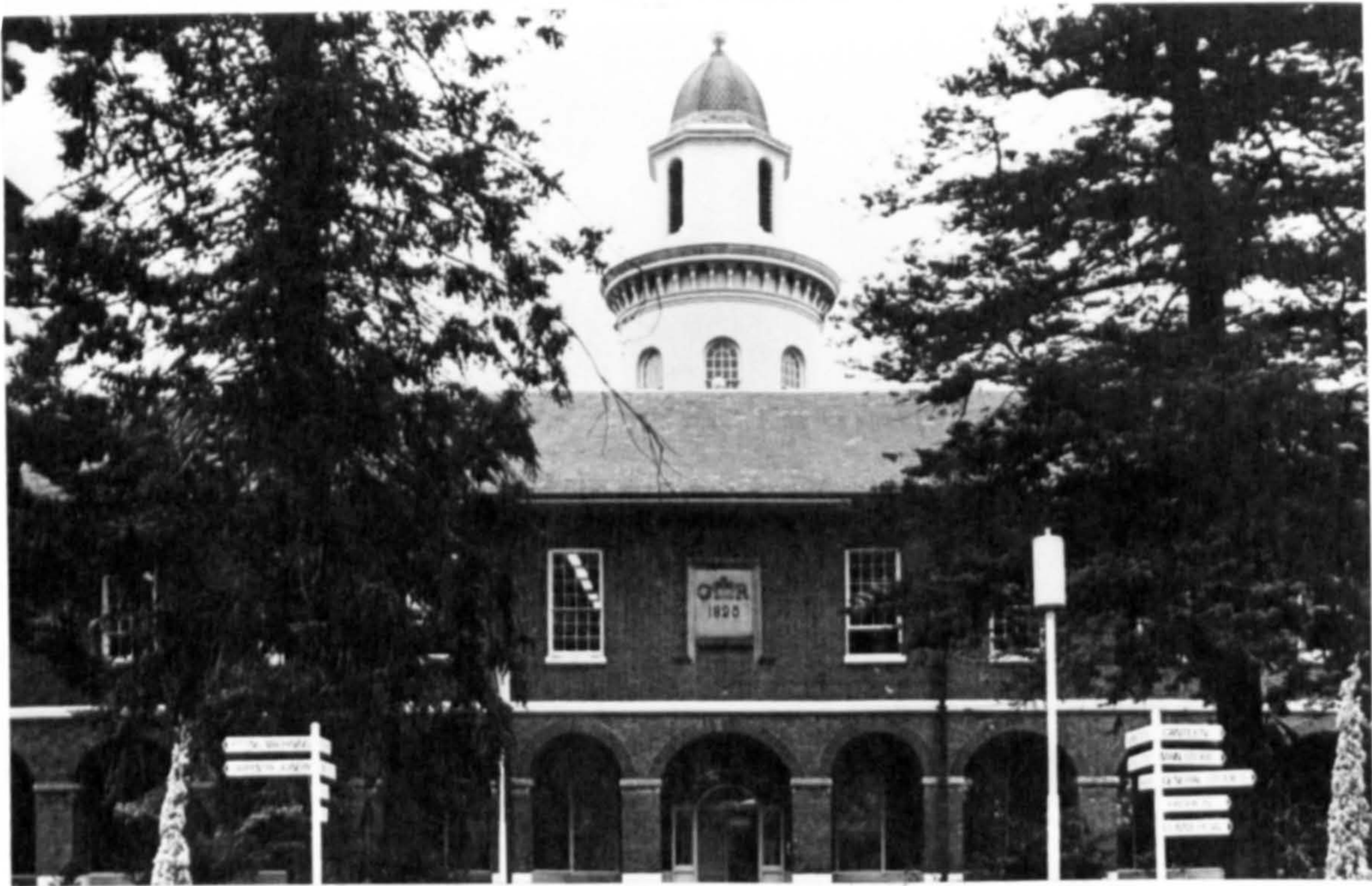


Plate 3. Liverpool Technical College, 1974. Originally Convict
Hospital. Neg. No JSK 74-31-37.



Plate 4. Parramatta Hospital, about 1880. Originally
Convict Hospital. Govt. Pt. 9 Office, NSW. Neg. No SH 1721.



Fig. 5. Panamatta Old Men's Home, 1911. Originally
Convict Barracks. Sold at public auction for £460.12.9
and demolished 1935. Gov't P'ty Office, NSW. Neg. No. MS 1896.

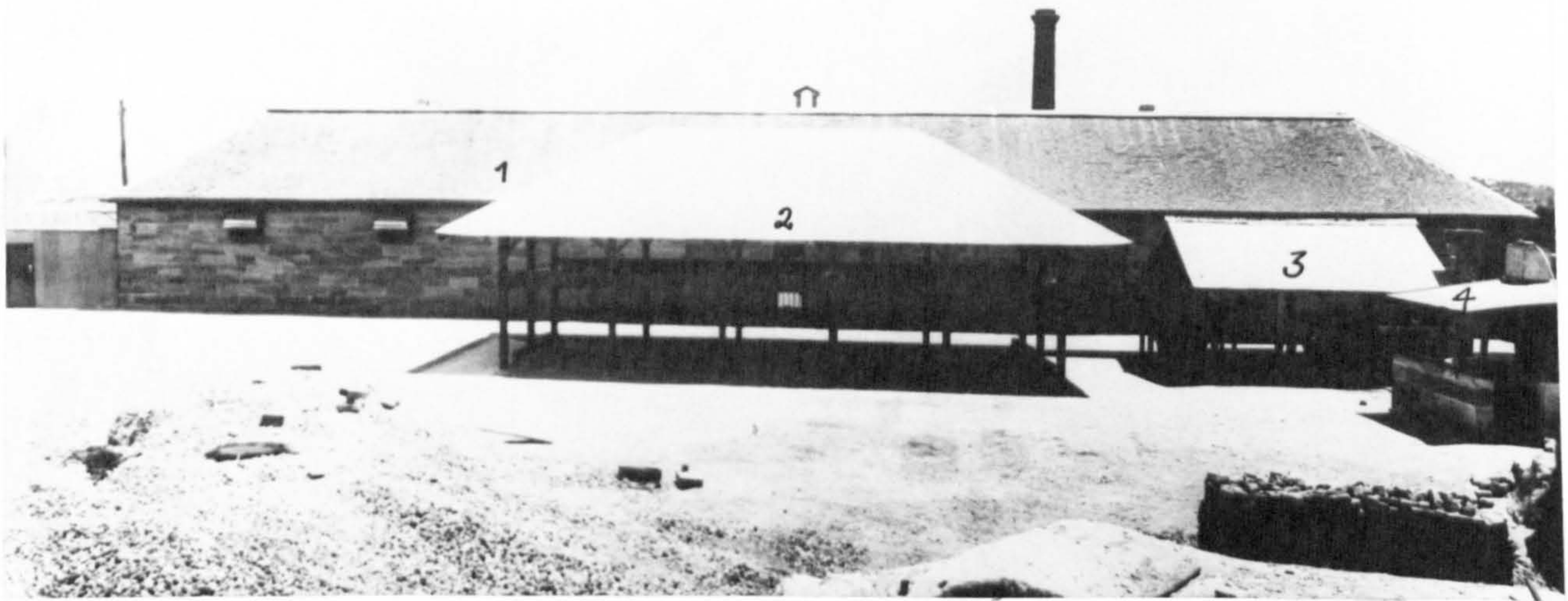


Plate 6. Eastern aspect of Her Majesty's Gaol, Biloba, NSW. Originally Cockatoo Island Convict Barracks. DCS glass plate negative. Uncatalogued.

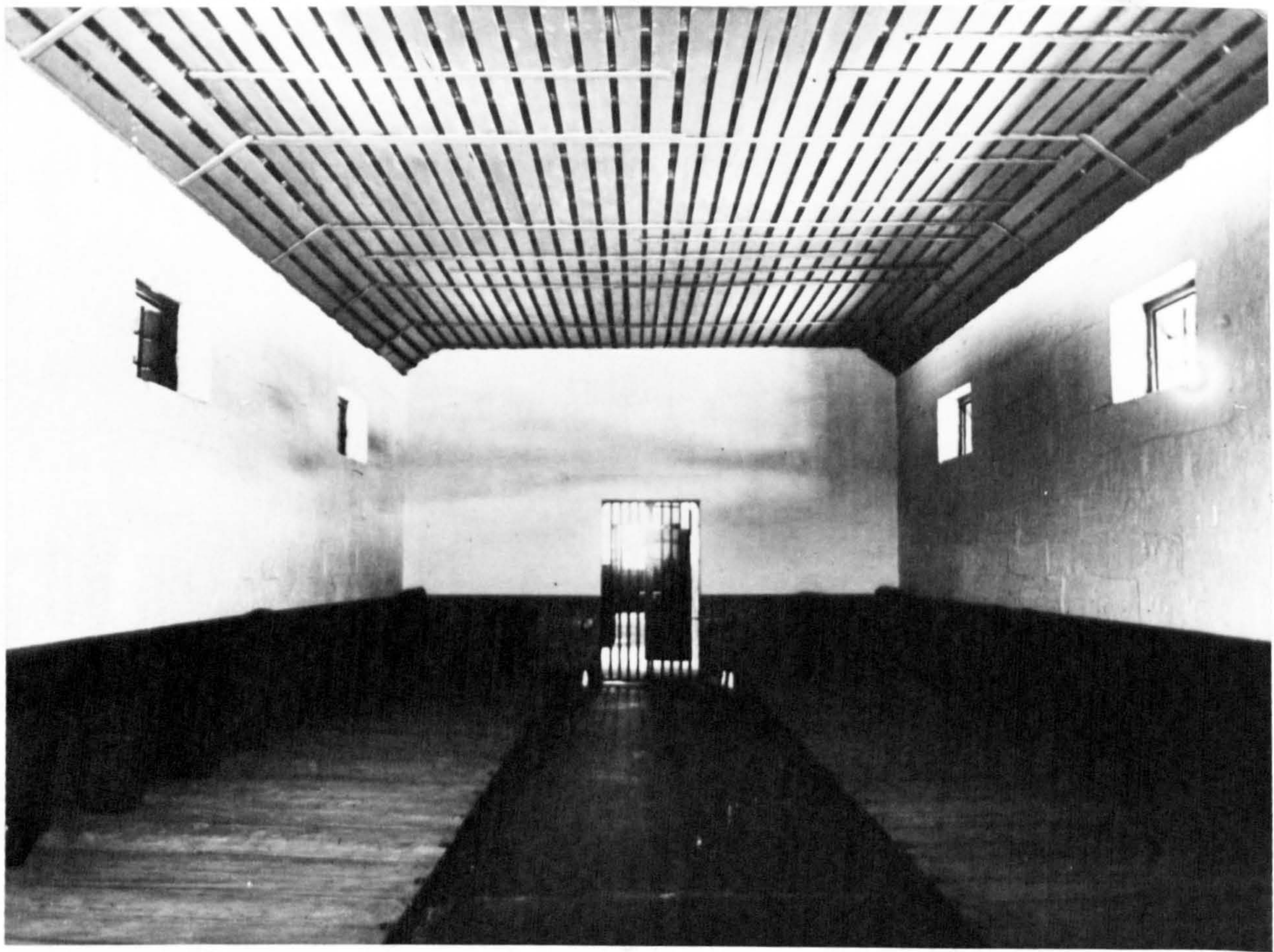


Plate 7. Interior of 'D' male dormitory located in the left hand end of the barrack in Plate 6. The original 2 tier bed platforms have been replaced. DCS glass plate neg. Uncatalogued.



Plate 8. Cockatoo Island, NSW. Centre section of barrack
in plate 6, 1974, under Australian Government
ownership. Neg. No. JSK 74-19-18

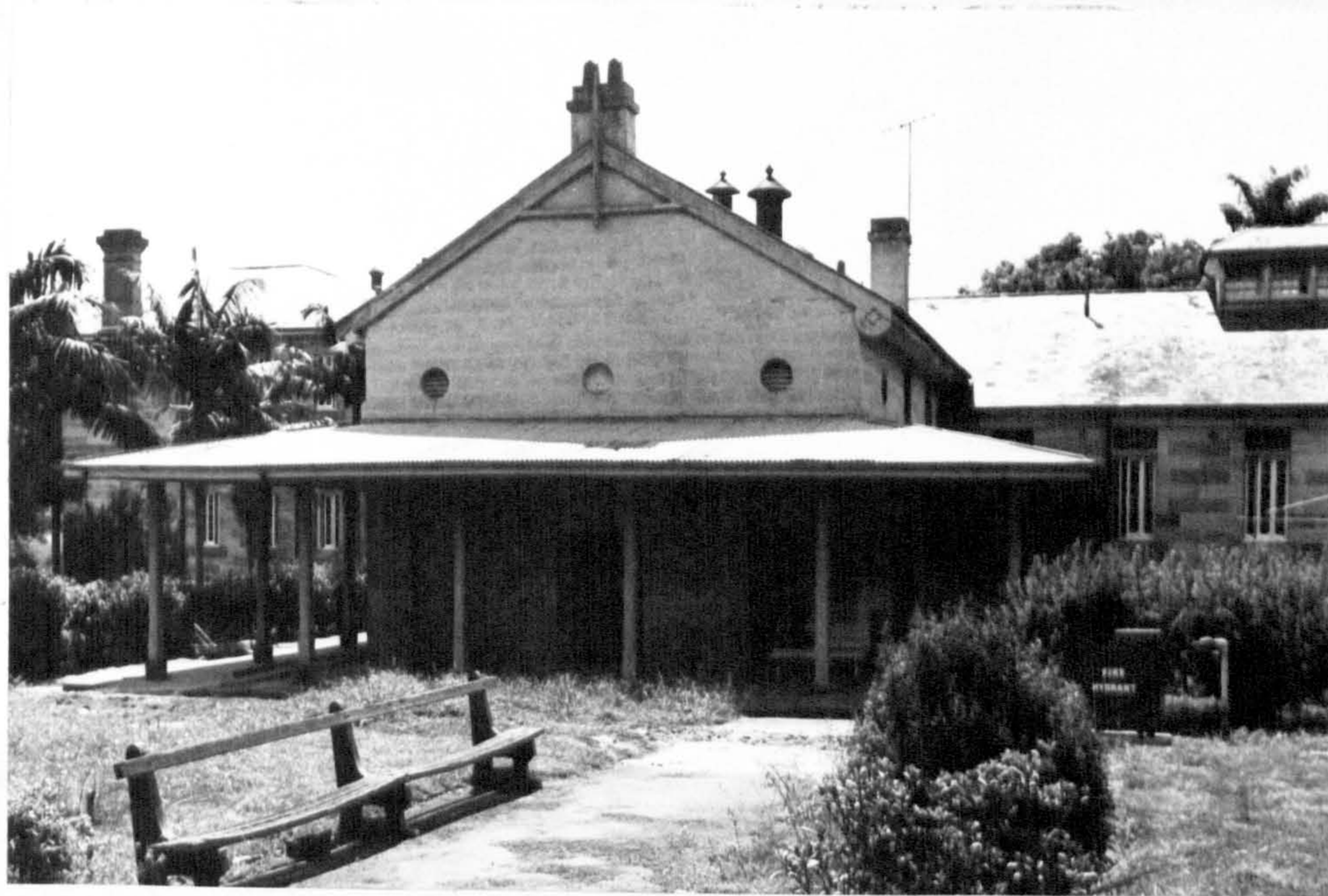


Plate 9. Parramatta Psychiatric Centre, Records storage
room, 1975. Originally Female Penitentiary dormitory.
Neg. No. JSK 74-40-26.

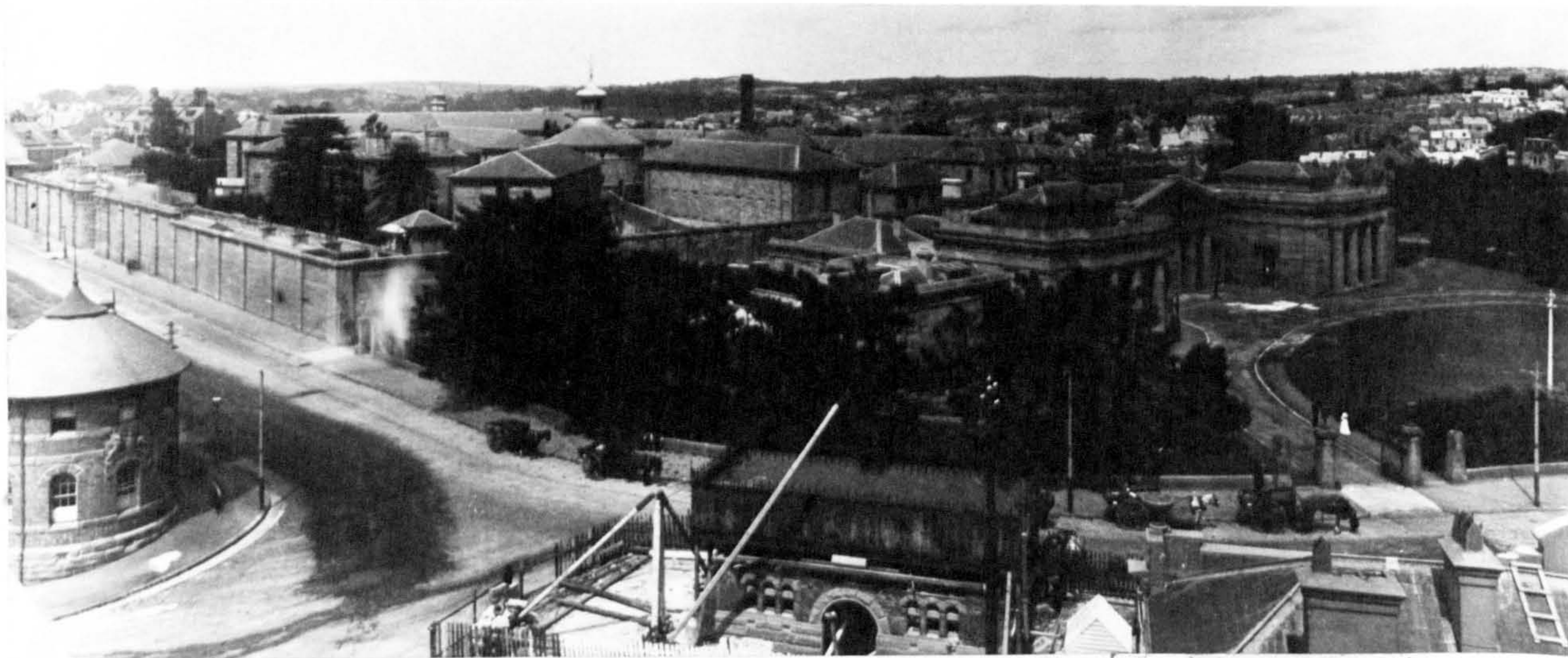


Plate 10. Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, NSW, from south west,
early twentieth century. DCS glass plate negative.
Uncatalogued.

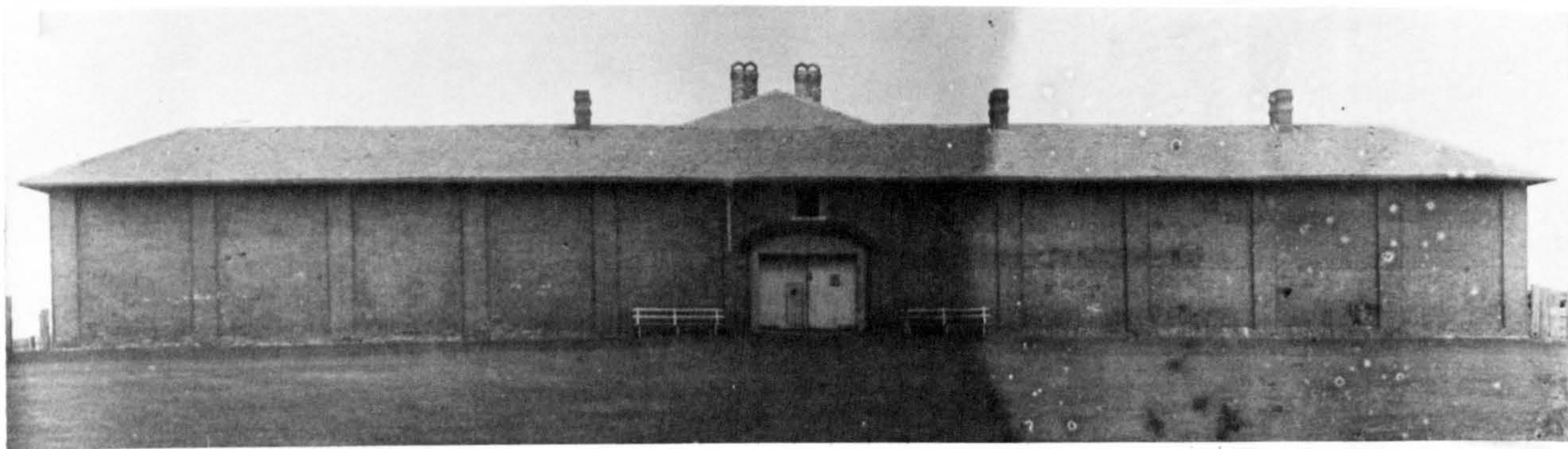


Plate 11. East facade, Port Macquarie Gaol, NSW. DCS
glass plate negative. Uncatalogued.



Plate 12. Maitland Gaol, NSW. Interior of 'A' wing from entry end. From book of photos titled *Photographic Views of NSW Gaols in DCS storage*. Uncatalogued.



Plate 13. Maitland Gaol, NSW. Interior of 'A' wing, upper gallery level from entry end showing the same masonry, roof and fittings (except doors) as plate 12. Later doors are slightly higher than the original ones. Neg. N^o JSK 75-6-6.



Plate 14 Interior of cell wing
Pentonville. From Mayhew and
Binney. London Prisons. 119.

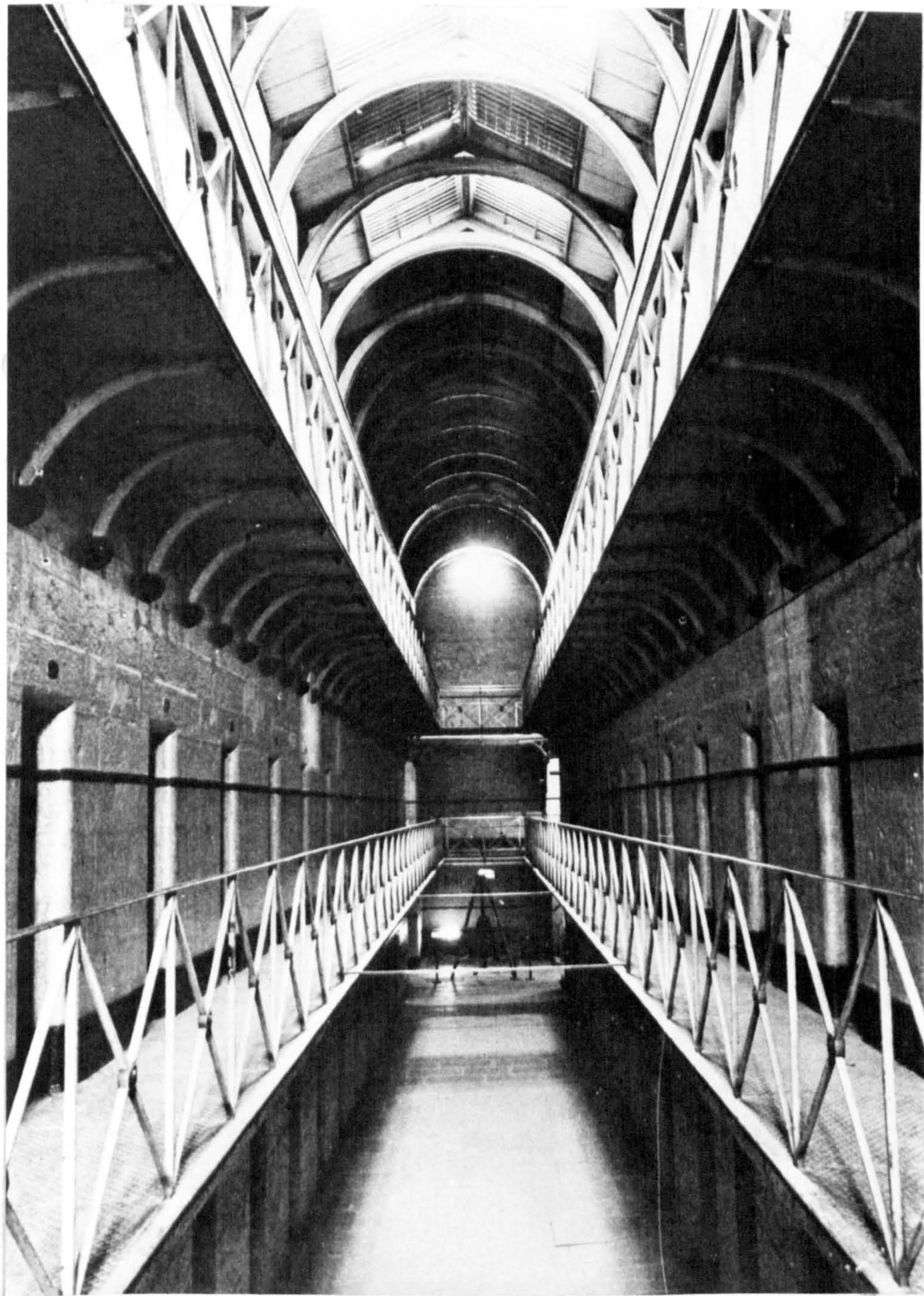


Plate 15. Interior of north wing Melbourne Gaol, about 1970. Cover photo, The Old Melbourne Gaol 1841 [sic] National Trust of Australia (Victoria) 3rd Edition 1974.