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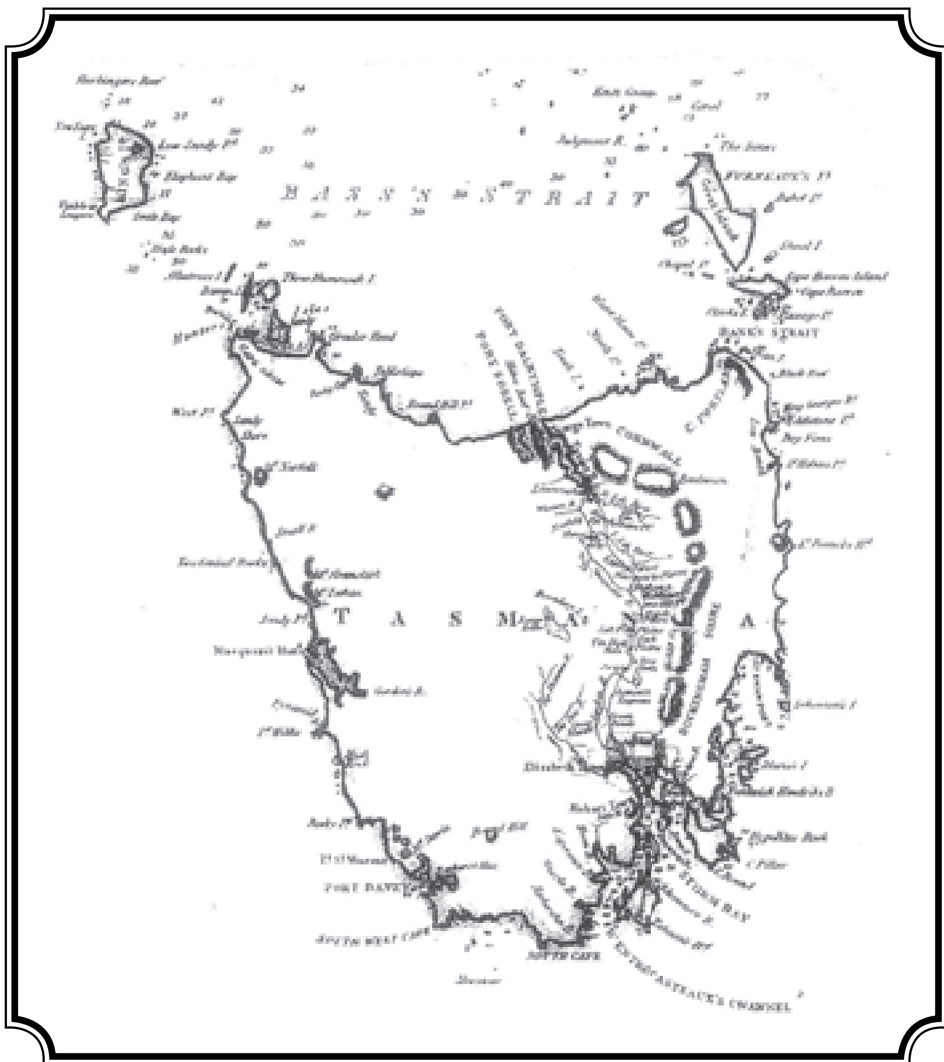

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Cover illustration: detail from the map in Godwin's Emigrants' Guide to Van Diemen's Land … (1823)

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THE EVOLUTION OF CONVICT LABOUR MANAGEMENT IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND:

PLACING THE 'PENAL PENINSULA' IN A COLONIAL CONTEXT

Richard Tuffin

This paper was presented at a meeting of THRA held on 8 August 2006.

In nineteenth century Van Diemen's Land, the treatment that a prisoner labouring 'on the Government' received was the result of interaction between the Home (British) Government and the colony. Both held views on the punitive, economic and reformative values of punishment: sometimes these views were harmonious; sometimes they conflicted. The convict laboured in the grey area where the aims of the two met. As Britain and the colony navigated their way through the decades, the grey area changed parameters a number of times – affecting the working lives of convict men and women. It is the intention of this paper to create a framework for understanding this changing approach to the management of the colony's Government-funded gangs and stations.

Previous studies have engaged with the topic of convict labour in the public sphere. They have added enormously to the understanding of how convict skills were appropriated for the public works; how work was extracted from a chain gang; power relations at a penal station; and the whole failed experiment of probation.[1] This paper aims to add to the historiography of convict labour management the creation of a linkage between the gangs and stations of the assignment, probation and post-probation eras, previously separated into compartmentalised studies. The labour in an 1820s road gang, 20 years removed from an 1840s probation station, was still governed by the same complexities of British and colonial relations. This paper suggests that the management of collectivised convict labour progressed through three distinct stages between 1803 and the end of the last British-funded establishment in 1871.

In order to better develop this idea, this paper will apply the embryonic framework to the evolution of convict timber-getting on the Tasman Peninsula. With Port Arthur serving as the focal point for much of its forty-seven-year convict occupation, the Peninsula was at once the nadir, the centre point and the most successfully industrialised aspect of the convict system in Van Diemen's Land. Importantly, the convict history of the Tasman Peninsula spans close to 50 years of the 70 year history of convict labour management in the colony.

A short history of convict industry

> pety theves might be employed for certain years in the western parts in sawing and felling of timber and in planting of sugar canes.
>
> Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting,* 1584.[2]

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1 For example see: S Nicholas, 'The Organisation of Public Work', in S Nicholas (ed), *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 152–166; H Maxwell-Stewart, 'Convict Workers, "Penal Labour" and Sarah Island: Life at Macquarie Harbour, 1822-1834', in I Duffield, H Maxwell-Stewart, *Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, Leicester University Press, London, 1997; I Brand, *The Convict Probation System: Van Diemen's Land 1839-1854*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1990; W Thorp, 'Directed for Public Stock: The Convict Work Gang System and its Sites', in J Birmingham, D Bairstow & A Wilson (eds), *Archaeology and Colonisation: Australia in the World Context*, The Australian Society for Historical Archaeology Incorporated, Sydney, 1988, pp. 109–122.

2 Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Goldsmith Edition, XIII, 1584, p. 195, in W Oldham, *Britain's Convicts to the Colonies*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1990, p. 1.

The systems of convict management implemented in Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales and Western Australia between 1788 and the 1870s were the culmination of almost 150 years of experience on the part of the British Government, the most pertinent of which was the long period during which British convicts were sent to the American colonies. Between the early 1600s and the passing of the 1718 Transportation Act approximately 5,000 convicts were transported from England to the American Colonies, Jamaica and Barbados.[3] From 1718 until the onset of the American Revolution in 1776, close to 50,000 more prisoners were transported across the seas.[4]

The transportation of Britain's felons to the American colonies has been described as 'a vast experiment in privatising post-trial criminal justice.'[5] The presence of a free settler society, with its demands for convict labour, presents some passing similarities with later transportation to Australia, as does the transference of punishment to private masters through assignment. But whereas transportation to Australia was a Government-run initiative supplying labour to Government-run penal colonies, convicts transported to American shores arrived as property of private shipping concerns, who auctioned the convicts to private employers in America.[6] While in itself fascinating, the story of transportation to America does not hold great parallels from the perspective of this discussion as the British Government's influence in penal policy stopped once the convict's labour had been signed over to the contractor.[7] The British Government's interest lay in emptying the home gaols, with the sale of the convict providing a useful monetary return into the bargain. With the management of the convict handed to the shipping agent, and then the colonial settler, it becomes difficult to judge how competing goals of punishment and profit were implemented. The American colonist was more concerned with extracting a profitable return from the convict than ensuring that the convict received punishment for crimes committed in Britain. Any punitive punishment the convict might have received would have been due to attempts to extract this return from the convict.

The onset of the American Revolution stopped cold the export of Britain's criminal class to America. In a stopgap move designed to combat the rising tide of humanity in Britain's gaols, Royal Assent was given to a Bill to establish the hulk system on British soil.[8] This was only a temporary measure, the convicts on board seen as already one step on the way to transportation to the colonies – even though between 1775 and 1788 there were no colonies to go to.[9] The convicts held in these rotting timber prisons were formed into gangs and put to hard labour on projects of public benefit – though the mass employment of convicts in chain gangs in England had previously been seen as politically risky.[10] Initially employed clearing the Thames waterway, convicts were soon working on further projects, such as erecting and maintaining coastal fortifications at Portsmouth and Plymouth.[11] There was an expectation that these convicts would be reformed at the same time as they were providing an economic return, 'useful to the community and … by proper care and correction … reclaimed from their evil courses.'[12] In reality, reform benefits were judged to have been very small, the corrupting confines of the hulks not allowing adequate separation.[13] The convicts' labour was also judged to have

3 AGL Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, Faber & Faber, London, 1966, pp. 24-25.
4 F Grubb, 'The Market Evaluation of Criminality: Evidence from the Auction of British Convict Labor in America, 1767-1775', *The American Economic Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, March 2001, p. 295.
5 Grubb, p. 119.
6 Grubb, p. 295.
7 Grubb, p. 295.
8 Oldham, p. 36.
9 Oldham, p. 63.
10 Grubb, p. 295.
11 Oldham, pp. 36, 60.
12 Oldham, p. 36.
13 Oldham, p. 63.

been expended wastefully, the output not recouping the actual expense of maintaining them.[14]

Convicts to the Australian colonies

Although the history of convict labour management in Australia should be examined in light of earlier developments, the post-1788 history of convict transportation has an important element not prominent in the earlier models. The purposeful collectivisation of convict labour in order to foster better management and control, though not unique to the Australian convict system, was a key feature of this experience, be it the road gang of the 1820s or the probation station of the 1840s.[15] A complicated mix of British penal policy and local colonial requirements governed the management of these entities. As will be demonstrated, this mix altered over the course of British involvement in convict administration in Van Diemen's Land, resulting in this paper's suggestion of three broad stages for the study of labour management in gangs and stations.

- **Stage 1**, broadly encompassed by the assignment era, saw an amalgam of British and colonial policy at work. Funded by the Imperial Government, the labour of the convict was in general beneficial to both parties. It was a time of colony-building, where fewer establishments meant lower costs for the Imperial Treasury.

- **Stage 2**, the introduction of probation witnessed gangs and stations divided along the lines of the funding source – colonial or British – with those funded by the latter becoming more representative of the interests of the Home Government: in effect such stations became a hostile entity within the colonial landscape. Pressures were also brought to bear to make the convict enterprises sustainable, which resulted in a gradual shift towards efficient labour practices.

- **Stage 3,** with the closure of colonial-funded convict gangs and stations, the 1850s saw a centralisation of British interests. Britain could not pull out wholesale from the colony, leaving the remaining Imperially-convicted in colonial hands. Instead it withdrew to a few institutions. These were required to operate at the peak of efficiency.

Encompassing the years from 1803 to 1871, these three stages in many respects mirror the historical division of the colony's convict period into assignment and probation eras.[16] With these periods – and the effect of transition from one to the other – already well discussed in previous studies, it is this paper's aim to understand how the interaction of colonial and Home governments could, and did, affect the working life of the convict. Each stage embodies a period during which an underpinning approach to the management of collectivised convict labour can be discerned.

Stage 1: 1803 to 1839

The first stage encompasses the whole of the assignment period, very broadly defined as 1803 to 1839. During this stage the management of convicts was based around a loose fusion of the American contract and the British hulk systems. The majority of convicts worked for private interests, being scattered throughout the length and breadth of Van Diemen's Land. The cost of their upkeep was transferred from the Home Government

14 Oldham, p. 63
15 N Stephen (ed.), 1988, *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 160.
16 In 1871 the last Imperially-funded institution, Port Arthur, was handed over to the colony.

to the settler, lessening the fiscal responsibility of the former, but in part transferring punishment responsibility to the latter. A small percentage of convicts were worked directly by the Government in the road gangs and the building gangs of the public works, or were deployed in isolated government outstations. From the early 1820s penal stations and chain gangs provided an avenue down which to channel the incorrigible elements. The working parties and establishments were all funded by the Home Government and formed the focus of British and colonial approaches to labour management in these formative decades.

Penal stations and the punishment gangs (including chain gangs after 1826) were essential underpinning elements that were brought to the fore during Lieutenant Governor George Arthur's administration (1824-1836). Their main value stemmed from the disincentive they provided for recidivism among the assigned convicts.[17] Labour at penal stations was designed to be severe, the convict 'steadily and constantly employed at hard labour from sunrise till sunset'.[18] Ground was cultivated by hoe and spade, aids like the bullock and plough forbidden.[19] The chain gang, with convict labour being expended on large public works, was halfway between the public works gang and the penal station.[20] Though judged an expensive drain on the British Treasury, the output of the chain gangs was seen as beneficial to the colony and a deterrent to repeat offenders (and therefore of benefit to the punitive designs of the Home Government).[21]

One step above were the un-ironed public works and road gangs. These had an obvious value both to the colony and to the Home Government, offering a limited form of punitive punishment, as well as a valuable pool of labour. Salted along the roads and throughout the towns, these parties were engaged in the task of colony-building. Exposed to fewer of the rigours of the chain gang, these gangs – as Stephen Nicholas has pointed out – were an 'efficient way of organising useful work'; encompassing lumber gangs, dockyard gangs, building gangs, agricultural gangs, road and mining gangs – each of which had skill subsets within them.[22] The efficiency of these gangs was aided by the government's habit of manning them with the best of the newly-arrived convicts, enhancing the capability of these gangs but causing some discontent amongst the settlers.[23]

There was an elite corps of convicts in government employment during this period. These were the artisans lent to officials from the loan gang, and the educated who found a niche for themselves within the administrative machine.[24] Their skills helped the system work. Highly-skilled convicts could also be collected into a small labour unit at a Government outstation, targeting vital colony-building occupations such as timber-getting, brick-making, lime and charcoal burning.[25] Labouring under a task-work system designed to provide incentives to skilled convicts, the extraction and refinement of resources was highly efficient. At Birch's Bay, operational between 1824 and 1830, a team of up to 60 convicts felled, sawed and shipped timber for use by the Government.[26] Such was the value placed on their labour that bullocks were provided to enhance the carrying capacity of the station.[27]

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17 CJ LaTrobe, 'A dispatch from C.J. LaTrobe Esq. to Earl Grey, 31 May 1847: the present state and prospects of the convict in Van Diemen's Land', in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 115.

18 J West, *The History of Tasmania*, 1852, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1971, p. 400.

19 Shaw, p. 204.

20 Shaw, p. 213.

21 Shaw, p. 254.

22 Nicholas, p. 155.

23 H Maxwell Stewart, 'The Bushrangers and the Convict System of Van Diemen's Land, 1803-46', PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990, p 19.

24 West, p. 445.

25 P Macfie, 'Government sawing establishments in Van Diemen's land, 1817-1832', *Australia's ever-changing forests V: Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Australian Forest History*, Hobart, Feb 2002, p. 106.

26 Macfie, p. 112.

27 Bullocks were introduced in early 1827. Macfie, p. 118.

The combination of skilled outstation, public works and punitive establishments appears to have gelled during these early decades. The ganged labour established the infrastructure that was vital for colony-building, combining both the economic benefits of material advancement and the punitive benefits of measured toil. Economic imperatives could override punitive, giving rise to pools of skilled convict-labour geared towards the profitable extraction of a resource, or the creation of a colonial edifice. For the Home Government, the shadow cast by the penal station and the chain gang over the rest of the convict workforce provided the disincentive necessary to justify their existence.

Stage 2: 1839 to 1848

From the early 1830s the Home Government began to place pressure on the colony to increase the 'terrors' of transportation.[28] Beginning with attempts to allocate more convicts to chain gangs, the ultimate expression of the Home Government's aim was the publication of the Molesworth Report in 1838 which led to the cessation of assignment and the introduction of probation.[29] This was a wholesale change to systems of convict labour management in Van Diemen's Land, forever altering the beneficial relationship between the colony and Britain that had existed during the assignment period.

Probation's first years, between 1840 and 1843, saw a state of fluidity that caused great confusion amongst those administering the fledgling system. Letters sailed back and forth between the colony and Britain, the latter's contents often making the former's redundant. The initial regulations of 1839 had insisted that transportees be scattered to gangs in the unsettled districts, to improve the land and work on the roads.[30] The inherent inhospitable nature of the unsettled districts meant that station-building progressed incredibly slowly.[31] As a stopgap measure, convicts were sent to existing road gangs and thinly settled areas until the first stations began appearing after March 1841.[32] By the end of 1843, the worst of the convicts were stationed on the Tasman Peninsula, the rest labouring in gangs both within and separate from the settled areas. Attainment of the status of passholder followed time at a station, then ticket-of-leave and pardon.[33]

The confusion in these early years illustrates how unprepared both the colony and the Home Government were for the requirements of the new system. The funds necessary for the massive building program were slow to materialise, resulting in poor-quality stations that fell far short of the system's lofty aims.[34] The colony's commissary and staffing capabilities were vastly overstretched, resulting in poor levels of superintendence. The situation only began to improve during the latter half of the decade, when a program of consolidation under Comptroller-General JS Hampton saw redundant stations closed and those that remained improved.[35] The temporary cessation of transportation between 1847 and 1848 helped the faltering system recover.

For Van Diemen's Land, the introduction of the probation system robbed colonists of labour for the first two years, then spewed forth a labour glut just as the colony entered a severe depression in 1842.[36] Worse, from 1841 the cost of works undertaken by convicts for the benefit of the colony – chiefly roads and bridges – had to be met not

28 West, p. 443.

29 I Brand, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe and the Van Diemen's Land Probation System', *Bulletin for the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1988, pp. 49-50.

30 Brand, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe and the Van Diemen's Land Probation System', p. 51.

31 Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 14.

32 Saltwater River, on the Tasman Peninsula, was the first probation station established. See: R Tuffin, *Saltwater River's Convict Occupation 1841-1877*, Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority (PAHSMA), Port Arthur, 2006, p 2.

33 Brand, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe and the Van Diemen's Land Probation System', pp. 52-53.

34 JS Kerr, *Design for Convicts*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1984, p. 137.

35 British Parliamentary Papers, 'Transportation', vol. 8, 1847-1850, Comptroller-General to Lieutenant Governor, 6 May 1847, p. 90.

36 R Tuffin, 'Ants at the Picnic: Ending the Antipodean Free Lunch', BA Honours, University of Tasmania, pp. 79-88.

from the Home Government's coffers, but from colonial funds.[37] The Home Government saw this as reasonable, as the colony had up to that point benefited from three decades of benevolence.[38] For the colony, however, the imposition became unbearable during the post-1842 depression years.[39]

This move effectually split the convict establishments into two camps: those paid for by the colony and those by the Home Government. Parties in the settled districts between Hobart and Launceston were separated from the Convict Department and placed under the control of the colony's Inspector-General of Roads and Bridges.[40] Probation, punishment and invalid stations, as well as a smattering of hiring depots, were maintained by Britain. Both the colonial and Home governments wanted the convicts to be worked effectively, but whereas the former focused on the act of building a colony, the latter was driven by a need to recoup the costs of the establishments it maintained. Stations administered by the British-funded Convict Department were established with the express instruction that '… the labour and its proceeds must be of a character which, unless paid for by the Colony, must be solely to the advantage of the Home Government.'[41] This 'profit or perish' motive intensified in the mid-1840s, when consolidation of the probation system began. This led the Home Government, through such men as Deputy-Commissary-General George Maclean, to demand:

> Every practicable means ought to be adopted to render the labour of the convicts productive, so as to diminish as much as possible the heavy expenditure the British Treasury [has] to bear on account of the convict department.[42]

As the number of stations began to decrease, pressure for efficiency was increased at the remaining stations, leading to the emergence of labour-efficient practices at some stations. From 1845, Imperially-funded stations such as Saltwater River were able to rely on bullock teams to aid the cultivation of land.[43] These stations were reminiscent of elite establishments like Birch's Bay twenty years earlier.

The division of the convict establishments after 1841 created an unwieldy system of convict management in the colony. Some stations continued to operate for the colony's benefit, whilst others simply existed in order to process the probationer with as little cost to the Home Government as possible. In effect, during this period the British-funded stations became foreign entities residing within the borders of the colony. With stipulations that the activities of these stations should be for the benefit of the British Treasury, little actual benefit derived to the colonial purse. The colonist saw labour unproductively tied up within the station, and watched as the convicts were put to work extracting the colony's precious raw materials – the value of which was funneled towards subsidising the massive costs of establishing and maintaining the stations.

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37 The colony was required to cover the costs of officers' salaries and the construction and upkeep of stations. The convicts were still maintained by the Home Government. LL Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, vol. 1, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 1992, p. 388; Brand, 'Charles Joseph La Trobe and the Van Diemen's Land Probation System', p. 52; Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 80.

38 Robson, p. 418.

39 It is important to note that in 1841 the prospect of paying for such works may not have seemed that disastrous to the colony. During 1841, when the decision was made, Van Diemen's Land was enjoying a very brief economic boom cycle, and convict numbers were still steady: of the 17,763 convicts in the colony in 1840, just over 6,700 were in Government service. Within four years an unforeseen increase in transportees saw convict numbers reach over 26,000 – close to 15,000 of whom were 'on the Government'. The rapid increase, coupled with the depression, outstripped the colony's ability to pay for what it had promised, leading to protestations in 1843 that it could not pay the agreed costs. See: Brand, p. 26; Tuffin, 'Ants at the Picnic', pp. 67-68, 96.

40 CJ LaTrobe, in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 206.

41 CJ LaTrobe, in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 123.

42 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 9, 1849, George Maclean, Deputy Commissary-General to John Hampton, Comptroller-General, 23 November 1847, p. 103.

43 Archives Office of Tasmania, CON 103/3, Committee of Officers, 25 January 1845; Misc 62/9/A1087/974, Port Arthur Commandant to Comptroller-General, 5 May 1844.

Stage 3: 1848 to 1871

By 1847 the probation system was judged as having failed to meet either British or colonial interests.[44] Few stations successfully implemented probation's twin aims of classification and separation – neither were they centres of industrial enterprise. As a result, the number of stations began to decline, leading to the third and final stage of convict labour management in Van Diemen's Land. The years between 1848 and 1871 were marked by the slow disengagement of Imperial interests in the management of convicts in the colony.

Returns from this period graphically illustrate the rapid diminution of convict establishments. When Charles LaTrobe compiled his report in late 1846, there were 50 stations operational in the colony: 44 male and six female.[45] By 1851 only 25 stations were still in existence.[46] Over the course of the following four years, 18 more establishments were closed, so that only seven remained by June 1856.[47] This had dropped to three by the end of 1860 (see Table 1).[48] This rapid decrease was a sign that Britain was actively pursuing a policy of disengagement prior to the cessation of transportation in 1853.

Table 1: Establishments chargeable to the Imperial Government, 1853 to 1871.

	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871
Maria Island																			
Old Wharf																			
Cascades Probation Station																			
Ross Female Factory																			
Saltwater River																			
Launceston Prisoners' Barracks																			
Launceston Male House of Correction																			
Launceston Female Factory																			
New Norfolk Lunatic Asylum																			
Impression Bay																			
Brickfields Nursery																			
Hobart General Hospital																			
Queenss Orphan Schools																			
Cascades Female Factory																			
Hobart Prisoners' Barracks																			
Port Arthur																			

In 1847, acting on LaTrobe's recommendation that all establishments needed to be managed by the one entity, the Convict Department had resumed direct control of convicts

44 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 9, 1849, William Denison to Earl Grey, p. 249.

45 CJ LaTrobe, in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, Enclosure No. 2, 3.

46 Including the Queens Orphan Schools, but not the un-numerated gaols and hospitals. BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 12, 1852-53, 'Distribution Return of the Convict Department for 31st December 1851', pp. 14-15.

47 These were: Impression Bay Invalid Depot, Hobart Prisoners' Barracks, Launceston House of Correction, Port Arthur, Cascade Female Factory, Brickfields Nursery, Queen's Orphan Schools. These figures do not include hospitals, gaols and lunatic asylums, which were not individually listed in the returns. BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 9, 1856-59, 'Distribution Return of the Convict Department for 30th June 1856', pp. 74-75.

48 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 15, 1860-64, 'Distribution Return of Convict Department, Comptroller-General's Office, 31st December 1860', p. 71.

working on the roads and bridges.[49] The Department reduced the number of stations and began a program of building improvement in order to raise standards of supervision.[50] As the number of convicts dwindled and works on the main line of road were completed, these stations were closed.[51] The decrease in convict numbers, thanks to a hiatus in transportation between 1847 and 1848, also encouraged a reorganisation and refitting of establishments, bringing them more in line with the original ideals of probation. The resumption of transportation under the 'exile' system, coupled with the increase in the number of prisons in England, provided impetus for the Home Government to reduce its direct stake in the colony.[52] This was achieved through the closure of some establishments and the transference of others to the colony. By 1856, Imperially-funded stations were centralised at Hobart, Launceston, Ross and the Tasman Peninsula.[53] A decade later the Cascades Female Factory, Hobart Prisoners' Barracks, hospitals, asylums, gaols and the Queen's Orphan School had been transferred to the colony, leaving only Port Arthur under Imperial control.[54] This situation lasted until 1871, when the buildings at Port Arthur were also handed over to the colony.[55]

Britain of course was unable to pull out wholesale after the end of transportation. Many of the convicts who had originally arrived on transports and were therefore the responsibility of the Imperial Government, remained under sentence in the colony. With the post-1848 centralisation, the Imperial convicts in British and colonial-funded establishments were carefully tallied to ensure that they were paid for from the correct financial stream. After the Convict Department had been reduced to three establishments by 1860, the convicts it managed were the detritus of the system, irreclaimable through age and infirmity. They cycled through the colonial and the remaining Convict Department establishments, finding it difficult to make a life for themselves beyond the bounds of the station or institution. The Port Arthur station held the greatest number of Imperial convicts: from 1865 their numbers hovered between forty to sixty per cent of the establishment's population.[56]

Although the Imperial presence was being wound back during these two decades, the gaze of the system's overlords was as searching as ever. In fact, as the number of establishments was reduced, the focus on convict labour management increased in intensity. By and large the remaining establishments and their officers were receptive to the increasing pressure from the Imperial Government for convict labour to be employed productively. As the number of establishments was reduced, more resources could be directed to those remaining, increasing the quality of accommodation, incarceration and the pursuit of industrial practice. The officers were formidable administrators, many having been within the system for over a decade.[57] Under their competent guidance, productivity at the remaining establishments increased; in many instances due to the ready adoption of labour-saving devices to supplement convict labour. Such measures were necessary, not only to boost productivity to new levels, but also in many cases simply to maintain a modicum of output from a workforce that was degenerating with age and infirmity.

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49 The colony still paid for the maintenance of the stations and convicts. BPP, vol. 9, 1849, Comptroller-General to Lieutenant Governor, 15 November 1847, p. 123.

50 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 9, 1849, Comptroller-General to Lieutenant Governor, 15 November 1847, p. 123.

51 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 8, 1847-1850, Comptroller-General to Lieutenant Governor, 30 January 1850, p. 98.

52 Shaw, p. 348; Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 92.

53 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 9, 1856-59, 'Distribution Return of the Convict Department for 30th June 1856', pp. 74-75.

54 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 16, 1864-69, Comptroller-General to Lieutenant Governor, 18 August 1865, p. 25.

55 S Petrow, 'Claims of the Colony: Tasmania's Dispute with Britain over the Port Arthur Penal Establishment 1856-1877', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: Papers and Proceedings*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, vol. 44, no. 4, December 1997, p. 222.

56 Only in 1874 did the proportion of colonially-convicted exceed that of Imperial.

57 An example is the arch-administrator James Boyd, who arrived in the colony in February 1845 with the first shipload of 'Exiles'. Boyd's career in the Convict Department spanned three decades: he was Senior Assistant Superintendent at Darlington, Superintendent of the Hobart Prisoners' Barracks and Civil Commandant at Port Arthur. As will be shown, Boyd oversaw the rapid industrialisation of the latter station. Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, pp. 29, 36.

Applying the three-stage model to the 'Penal Peninsula'

Spanning sixty-eight years, this three-stage model is a simple but hopefully useful way of engaging with the changing approach to convict labour management in the colony. Of very broad scope, its aim is to show how gangs and stations evolved from their initial colony-building role of the first three decades. Probation's introduction in 1839 drove a wedge between the colony and Home Government, with convict establishments managed for the benefit of the government that provided the funding. The system was a costly failure and, as the 1840s progressed, the Imperial Government began to recoup these losses through the closure of stations and the consolidation of the remaining convicts. Attempts were made to operate those establishments that survived at the peak of efficiency, extracting the optimum return from a body of convicts that was both dwindling and declining.

The three-stage progression outlined above did have a very real effect on the day-to-day experience of the convicts and their administrators. Living conditions, work regimes and levels of punishment and surveillance were affected by the manoeuverings of the colonial and Home governments. Improvement and deterioration could occur in equal measure. To better illustrate this, the management of convict labour on the Tasman Peninsula will be examined with reference to the three-stage model. The convict occupation of the Peninsula spans the three eras. The Peninsula establishments – chiefly Port Arthur – were also a focal point for the post-1848 centralisation of British interests.

Located in the south-east of Tasmania, the Tasman Peninsula was a geographically and socially isolated corner of the colony. Both land and sea access was heavily restricted, though upwards of 3,000 people, both free and bond, inhabited the Peninsula at its peak. The sanctioned access and restricted flow of information meant that, for many colonists of Van Diemen's Land, the Peninsula was a dark blot on the map. What they knew about the area came to them through rumour and the occasional newspaper report. Undoubtedly, many saw the Peninsula as the sinkhole of the colony from which the incorrigible convict returned a changed man – or didn't return at all.

At the heart of the Peninsula was Port Arthur, its establishment in 1830 and its closure in 1877 bookending the history of convict occupation in this region. Established as a timber-getting station, Port Arthur was designed to be a place of intermediate punishment, '…between the extreme misery of Macquarie Harbour, and the somewhat less so of the Hobart Prisoners' Barracks…'[58] However, the closure of Macquarie Harbour and Maria Island soon left Port Arthur the sole punishment station in the colony, resulting in a rapid expansion of its prisoner population and a tightening of the rules and regulations: '…the most unceasing labour is to be exacted from the convicts, and the most harassing vigilance over them is to be observed…'.[59]

With the establishment of the Coal Mines in 1833 and Point Puer in 1834, the Peninsula became the hub of a complex penal enterprise. It did not avoid the changes of the Probation era, as the establishment of five new stations resulted in a shrinkage of Port Arthur's influence and population in the 1840s. However, the gradual closure of these stations, the centralisation of British interests on the Peninsula in the early 1850s and the administrative machinations of Civil Commandant James Boyd, once again saw Port Arthur become the hub of Peninsula operations and convict management in Van Diemen's Land.

One of the reasons the Tasman Peninsula was chosen as a place of secondary transportation was that it was very well off for natural resources. Timber, coal and stone

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58 *Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic Review*, 17 September 1830, in I Brand, *Penal Peninsula: Port Arthur and its outstations 1827-1898*, Regal Publications, Launceston, nd, p. 4.

59 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 2, 1837, 'Standing Regulations for the Regulation of the Penal Settlement on Tasman's Peninsula', Colonial Secretary's Office, 25 January 1833, p. 51.

reserves dotted the area, forming the focus of the Peninsula's convict labour-management for most of the occupation. Of significant relevance to this paper is the manner in which the collective labour power of the convicts was managed between the assignment, probation and post-probation periods, mirroring the three stages already described. In order to better understand these changes, the deployment of convicts in the activity of timber extraction will be examined.

Timber-getting

When first settled, Port Arthur was noted for the great stands of timber that ran down to the water's edge.[60] The attainment of this valuable resource formed the mainstay of convict labour on the Peninsula, with stations like Port Arthur and the Cascades Probation Station devoted to its extraction. The value of the timber was two-fold: economic and punitive. Its economic value was obvious, as it was vital for building construction. Not only could the timber be used for the huts, barracks and residences of the Peninsula's stations, but it could also be sent to Hobart for use in the myriad of works being undertaken there.[61] Of the five million feet of timber extracted between 1830 and 1840, half was exported for use off the settlement.[62] As long as timber was being cut by the convicts there was a market for it. Because of this, timber-getting was a staple task, not only on the Tasman Peninsula but also at the majority of convict stations throughout Van Diemen's Land. Timber had an obvious economic value and timber-getting satisfied the criteria for punitive punishment as the cutting, carrying and refinement of blue gum, myrtle and stringybark was a highly labour-intensive occupation. For the best part of 20 years, Tasman Peninsula convicts were required to carry out these tasks by dint of hard manual labour. Very often the cutting and carrying were done while the convict laboured in chains. Timber, when felled, had to be trimmed and reduced to a manageable size. From there it was carried back to the main settlement for further reduction into the planks and beams required. The task of carrying timber has become perhaps the most recognisable symbol of convict hard labour. The 'centipede' gang, as it was known, has been immortalised in writings and depictions, all of which do nothing to lessen the impact of this unmistakably punishment-oriented use of labour. One of the best descriptions comes down to us through the recollections of the infamous Martin Cash.

> I was removed to another department, this party being employed in carrying beams 12 x 12 and forty feet long from the saw pit [to the station], a distance of three to four miles…We were placed all round the beam…and at the word 'Pick it up', being given, every man stooped and laid hold of the beam, raising it gradually until all had it on their shoulders and when the word 'Forward', was given, proceeded with our burden to Port Arthur.[63]

After 1833, when Port Arthur was the sole remaining penal station, a staggering amount of timber was cut down for use at the settlement and for export: some 3.5 million feet between 1834 and 1840.[64] When the Coal Mines was established in 1834 the area around the mines, including Saltwater River, was denuded for pit props.[65] Attached to every foot of this timber was the productive economic-value of the exercise, and also the punitive

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60 AOT, CSO 1/217/5215, J Welsh and JA Roberts to Colonial Secretary, 6 February 1828, in I Brand, *Tasman Peninsula Papers*, vol. 5, Tasmanian National Parks and Wildlife Service, Port Arthur, 1983, p. 4.

61 R Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station: Prison Built on Timber', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: Papers and Proceedings*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, vol. 51, no 2, 2004, p. 78.

62 *Statistical Returns of Van Diemen's Land, from 1824 to 1853*, 1830 – 1841.

63 JD Emberg & BT Emberg, *The Uncensored Story of Martin Cash*, Regal Publications, Launceston, 1991, p. 99.

64 *Statistical Returns of Van Diemen's Land, from 1824 to 1853*, 1834 – 1841.

65 AOT, Misc 62/13/A1099, 'Mr Maclean's Remarks respecting the Salt Water River, Agriculture Probation Station on Tasman's Peninsula, made during his recent visit in that quarter', note by James Pringle, 30 August 1845.

value of the actual labour. It took a lot of convict labour to achieve such a high output. In May 1834, just over half the prisoner-population of Port Arthur was engaged in hard manual labour – most related to timber-getting.[66]

The timber-getting exercise on the Tasman Peninsula during the 1830s is an excellent example of the first stage of convict labour-management in the colony. With the Home Government footing the bill, the operation was mutually beneficial to colonial and British interests. The convict-harvested timber flowing off the Peninsula was used to satisfy the ever-growing need in the colony for the commodity. It also greatly benefited the Home Government by providing an economic, yet suitably punitive, punishment for the recidivist convict element. As the 1830s rolled into the 1840s and assignment gave way to probation, this balance of benefits shifted, heralding the second stage of convict labour management. Five new stations were established on the Tasman Peninsula between 1841 and 1842. All, including Port Arthur, Point Puer and the Coal Mines, were funded from Britain and therefore required to be 'to the advantage of the Home Government.'[67] The majority of these stations had a proportion of their convict population engaged in timber-getting. However, two had their operations centred on the activity. These two were Port Arthur and the newly-established station at Cascades.

The addition of five new stations did not have an immediate impact on operations at Port Arthur, as the station remained an establishment for secondary offenders. Timber continued to be harvested by the felling and carrying gangs and refined for use at the stations on the Peninsula as well as for export. From 1846, however, the re-classification of the station as an 'ultra-penal' settlement saw a reduction in numbers and a consequent downsizing of operations. Operational focus for timber-getting shifted to the nearby Cascades Probation Station, which had been operating since late 1841.

The introduction of probation, the second stage of convict labour management, brought increasing pressure onto the British-funded stations to pay their own way – either through cultivation, land improvement, or the exploitation of raw materials. Cascades was one such station. Situated near a great stand of timber that stretched inland for miles, Cascades served as a punishment station. For the first years of its operation the re-convicted offenders harvested timber and worked the land.[68] Between 1846 and 1850, as part of an increasing 'profit or perish' push on British-funded probation stations, there was an intensification of timber-getting operations at Cascades.[69] This saw the station fulfilling timber requisitions not only for Peninsula stations, but also for a great number of works being undertaken elsewhere by the Colonial Government. The Royal Engineers sourced timber from Cascades for many of its works, including the maintenance of the Hobart Wharf, Orphan School and Prisoners' Barracks.[70] The prominent position of Cascades in the supply chain required that it maintain a high output.

During the 1840s this high output was solely the result of convicts being put to hard labour at the station. As at Port Arthur, Cascades' timber was collected by felling and carrying gangs and reduced in sawpits near the settlement.[71] Classed as a 'punishment station', the work at the Cascades was designed to be hard, with up to half of those labouring in the bush working in chains.[72] With demand for Cascades' timber remaining constant, the probation-wide push for efficiency translated into the first steps towards the capitalisation of raw-materials extraction processes on the Tasman Peninsula.

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66 AOT, CSO 1/511/11180, 'Return of Crown prisoners at Port Arthur showing the number of trade during the Month of May 1834', 1 June 1834.

67 CJ LaTrobe, in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 123.

68 See: Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', pp. 70-83.

69 Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', pp. 76-77.

70 AOT, CSO 24/126/4130, Superintendent, Cascades Probation Station to Comptroller-General, 7 January 1850.

71 Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', p. 75.

72 Of the 403 convicts recorded at the station in 1846, 104 (26%) were labouring in chains. See: CJ LaTrobe, in Brand, *The Convict Probation System*, p. 185.

At Cascades this capitalisation first took the form of improved systems of transport and refinement. In 1848 a length of iron-railed tramway was installed, allowing rapid cartage of timber from the sawpits to the jetty and therefore increasing the amount of timber available for transshipment (see Figure 1).[73] This development reflected the opinions of Governor Denison who, after visiting the Peninsula, commented that convicts should not be employed in 'drawing carts and other kinds of unprofitable labour'.[74] Transport of unrefined logs from the bush to the sawpits was also improved by the installation of further tramways – the traces of which can still be seen today winding across the landscape – and the use of log slides. These slides allowed large logs to be swiftly sent to the valley bottoms from where they were manhandled to the pits. The Quaker Missionary, Frederick Mackie, called them 'an ingenious contrivance' when he visited the station in 1853.[75]

While observable at Cascades from 1848, traces of this second-stage push for efficiency by the Home Government can be found as early as 1845 on the Peninsula in the pursuit of sustainable agriculture by the convict administrators. Cultivation of produce had evolved from a subsidiary practice in the 1830s whereby convicts offset the cost of their rations, to a fully-fledged attempt for stations to be self-sustaining in the 1840s. On the Tasman Peninsula, probation stations such as Saltwater River were instructed to increase the effectiveness of their workforce by introducing bullocks and horses to work the land.[76] By the late 1840s, the bullock had become a staple of cultivation practices at the stations.[77] At Cascades there is some evidence to suggest that beasts of burden may have been used for the haulage of timber from 1849, further boosting the carrying

Figure 1. View from the Saltwater River jetty in the 1890s looking back toward the old probation station. Note the jetty tramway in the foreground. (Archives Office of Tasmania. NS 30/5425, 'Saltwater River', c.1890s.)

73 AOT, Misc 62/25/A1123, Superintendent, Cascades Probation Station to Comptroller-General, 20 December 1848.

74 AOT, CO 280/254/690, William Denison, Minute, 27 January 1849.

75 M Nicholls (ed), *Traveller Under Concern: The Quaker Journals of Frederick Mackie on his tour of the Australasian Colonies*, Foot & Playsted Pty Ltd, Launceston, 1973, p. 158.

76 AOT, CON 103/3, Committee of Officers, 25 January 1845; Misc 62/9/A1087/974, Port Arthur Commandant to Comptroller-General, 15 May 1844.

77 AOT, CO 280/246/575, Committee of Officers, 14 May 1849.

efficiency of that station.[78] However, the biggest improvement to Cascades' industrial capacity was the introduction of a steam-powered sawmill in 1951.[79] The importance of this cannot be underestimated. In combination with the improved transport networks, it not only increased the output of the station but also made it less labour-dependent than it had been in the 1840s. Occurring at the termination of the second and third stages, just as the centralization of British interests in the colony was gathering pace, the introduction of this mill was the ultimate expression of the Home Government's push for efficiency at its remaining stations.

Cascades operated for a further five years after the installation of the sawmill, the station closing due to the exhaustion of the timber stands.[80] Upon the closure of Cascades, Port Arthur once again became the hub of operations on the Peninsula. The iron-rails and machinery at Cascades were uprooted and moved to Port Arthur, increasing the timber-harvesting capability of that station.[81] Throughout the 1850s the tramways and log slides were extended into the Mt Arthur foothills. As at Cascades, convicts had to fell and manhandle the logs to the tramways, but no longer were they expected to carry the timber miles back to the settlement as they had done in the 1830s and 1840s. The steam-powered circular saw next to the Penitentiary was supplemented in 1863 by the addition of a vertical sawmill (see Figure 2). Port Arthur was even awarded a contract to supply planking and piles to the Hobson's Bay Railway Company in Melbourne, the attempt to fulfill this contract soaking up all available convict labour.[82]

Timber was extracted from the immediate area of Port Arthur until its closure in 1877. From the late 1860s the increasingly aged and infirm population meant that not even tramways and sawmills could keep production at a profitable level. Although unable to directly interfere in the employment of labour at the station, agitation against the competition of prison produce in the colonial market limited avenues through which to sell the timber.[83] When the colonial government finally attained control of the station in 1871, the issue was academic, as the degraded state of the prisoner population meant that the station acted as a costly asylum and pauper depot for its last years.[84]

It is an interesting exercise to compare the population dynamics of Port Arthur in the 1830s with that of the 1860s. As mentioned, in 1834 over forty per cent of convicts were engaged in felling, carrying and refining timber. Their output for that year amounted to an impressive 728,000 feet of timber. Thirty years later, in 1861, they were producing half the output, 368,000 feet, but with only ten per cent of the labour force.[85] The boost that mechanization could provide to production capacity is further highlighted by the fact that, from 1857, an increasing proportion of Port Arthur's population was classified as invalids, paupers and lunatics. Over forty per cent of the prisoner population was classed as such in 1862.[86] These changing dynamics illustrate the impact that increasing mechanization of labour practices had on maintaining rates of productivity.

The evolution in the way convict labour was used in timber-getting on the Tasman Peninsula mirrors changes to the management of convict labour at all stations. In the 1830s, a high value was placed on the punitive value of the exercise. Though Port Arthur had a very high productivity, it took over forty per cent of the workforce to maintain it. During this first stage both the colony and the Home Government reaped

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78 AOT, Misc 62/3, James Smith, Coal Mines, to Comptroller-General, 16 June 1849.

79 Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', p. 76.

80 Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', p. 82.

81 Tuffin, 'Cascades Probation Station', p. 82.

82 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 16, 1864-1869, Port Arthur Civil Commandant to Comptroller-General, 10 August 1864, p. 52.

83 House of Assembly Journals (HAJ), Tasmania, 1864, 'Votes and Proceedings', 12 July 1864, p. 15.

84 Petrow, 'Claims of the Colony', pp. 222, 237-238.

85 *Statistics of Tasmania*, 1861; BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 15, 1860-64, 'Distribution of General Establishment on Tasman's Peninsula, 15th March 1861', p. 77.

86 BPP, 'Transportation', vol. 15, 1860-64, 'Distribution of General Establishment on Tasman's Peninsula, 15th March 1861', p. 77.

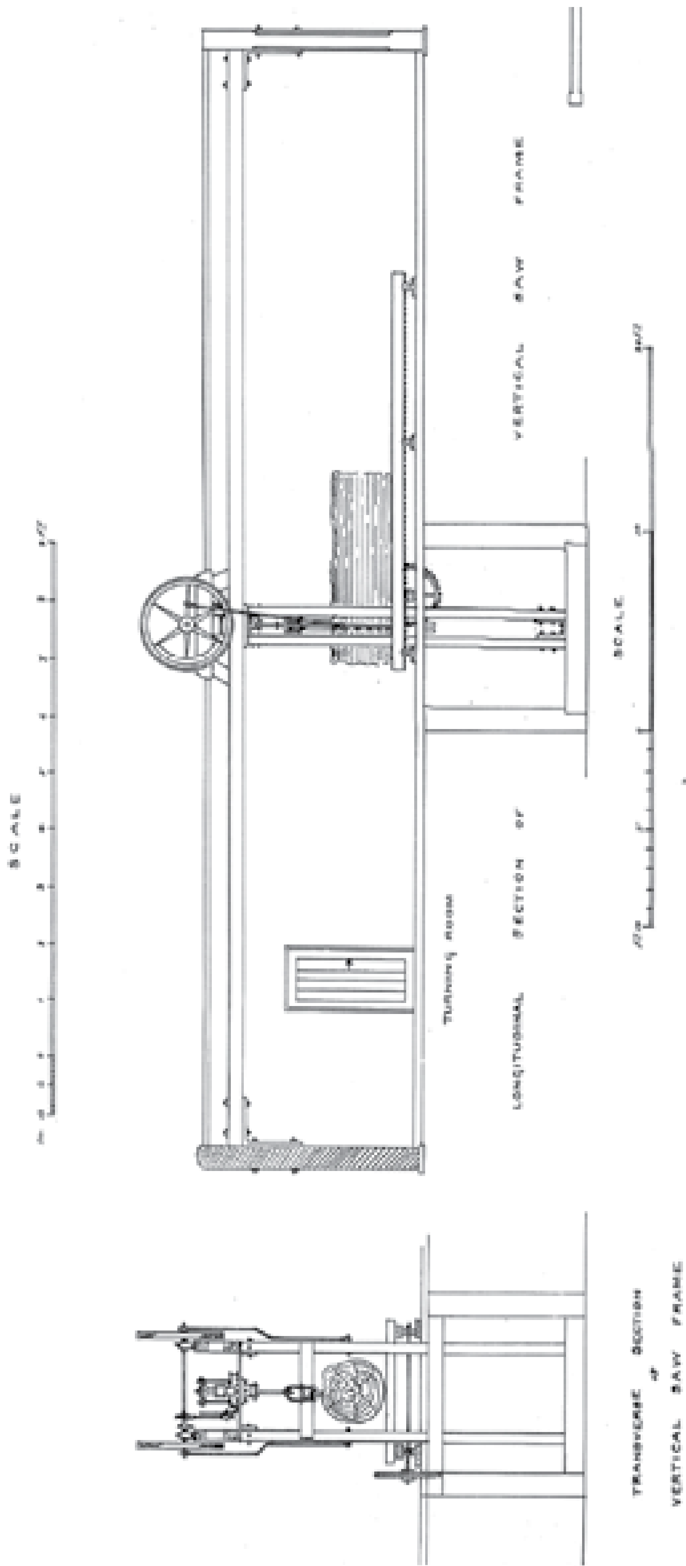

Figure 2. Elevation of Port Arthur's vertical sawmill. (Archives Office of Tasmania. PWD 266/6137, 'Port Arthur, Penitentiary', c.1863.)

the economic and punitive benefits, though only the Home Government funded it. The introduction of probation heralded the second phase of the model. This brought a colony-wide push for efficiency at British-funded establishments, resulting in the introduction of the first labour-saving devices from the mid-1840s. At Cascades, timber-getting was supplemented by improved systems of transport and timber refinement. This increasing need for efficiency was further enhanced by the post-1853 centralisation of British interests on the Peninsula. As the convict population on the Peninsula decreased in size and effectiveness throughout the 1850s and 1860s, mechanised practices allowed the maintenance of productivity levels.

Conclusion

It is nothing new to say that convict labour management was the result of British Government policies being implemented in the colony. The dictates of the Home Government could shape how, when and where the convict was worked, as well as the extent to which the work was to be punitive or profitable. What this paper has set out to demonstrate is the extent to which convict labour-management changed over the course of the Home Government's involvement and the rationale that, in part, caused the increasing mechanisation of convict labour. Each of the three broad stages outlined here frames a period where there was a discernable overarching approach to convict labour-management at Government-run establishments. For the colony, the benefits of the public gangs and isolated penal stations made it receptive to change during the initial stage. However, the need to pay for these gangs during the probation era, coupled with the introduction of resource-sapping stations, greatly lessened these benefits. For the Home Government, gangs and stations that had once paid their way economically and as deterrents to recidivism, became financial deadweights. Being unable to pull out of the colony altogether, the British Government instead centralised its interests, making them as economically efficient as possible.

This paper has created a broad framework for understanding convict labour-management in Van Diemen's Land. By using the case study of timber-getting practices on the Tasman Peninsula, it has been possible to illustrate how this framework can be applied to the convict system's day-to-day implementation. Yet, in closing I do have to ask would a convict at the sharp end of labour management have cared that their labour was made more efficient by a steam sawmill or by the assistance of a bullock? When trying to make sense of the penal philosophies that underpinned convictism, it must never be forgotten that to convicts it was all probably still just much-resented work – whatever period it occurred in.

HERE I RAISE MY EBENEZER:

TWO TRANSIENT ARCHITECTS IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AND TASMANIA

Eric Ratcliff

This paper was presented at a meeting of THRA held on 12 September 2006.

Here I Raise my Ebenezer,
Hither by Thy help I'm come.[1]

Some diseases are genetically inherited; others are acquired. Scientists in search of evidence to support competing hypotheses about causation, whether nature or nurture, are particularly fond of that rare commodity, sets of twins reared apart. There is an apocryphal tale of a psychologist whose wife bore him twins, so he had one baptized and kept the other as a control. Reading Asa Briggs's *Victorian Cities* many years ago, I found that Hobart and Launceston have a triplet in England, suitable for use as a 'control' in the study of the social evolution of the two Tasmanian cities. In 1801, the site of the city of Middlesborough in the North Riding of Yorkshire 'contained only four houses and twenty-five inhabitants', but by 1841 the population was 5,463.[2]

Hobart Town, Launceston, and Middlesborough were effectively new British settlements begun in the first decade of the nineteenth century that survived and grew into cities. Middlesborough is a little nearer to 'town' than the two Tasmanian cities; its origin lay in the growth of industry and related transport in north-eastern England. It began, in fact, as what we have since come to call a 'company town', a town dominated by one major enterprise, with much of its later diversity resulting from other activities needed to support the resultant population. A case can be made for regarding the two Tasmanian cities in the same light; here the 'company' was the Convict Department in place of the Stockton & Darlington Railway.

I put these ideas aside for some future time until, browsing in a second-hand bookshop in Launceston, I came across one of those surprising volumes that wash up from time to time in these far antipodes, William Lillie's *History of Middlesborough,* published by its borough council in 1968.[3] This enabled a ready comparison of the dates of establishment of a number of institutions that we might regard as indicators of social development in a new town, particularly those that can be regarded as markers of bourgeois aspiration and activity: banks, insurance offices, merchant establishments, charitable foundations and non-conformist chapels, as opposed to government offices,

1 R Robinson (1735–1790), hymn, 'Come thou fount of every blessing', 1788, verse 2, no 425 in *Baptist Church Hymnal* (revised) 1933. Robinson's pilgrimage was a tour of English eighteenth century piety: he was a convert from Anglicanism to Whitefield's Calvinist Methodism, then a Baptist minister and an associate of Unitarians, notably the scientist Joseph Priestley. *Eben-ezer.* '1 Samuel iv 1. In commemoration of a signal victory over the Philistines, Samuel erected a monument near the field of battle, and called it "Ebenezer", or the "stone of help", saying, "hitherto hath Jehovah helped us". Hence, it is often said, "Here we will set up our Ebenezer", or here we will establish a memorial of the mercy and faithfulness of God.' J Eadie (ed), *A biblical cyclopaedia or dictionary of eastern antiquities, geography, natural history, sacred annals and biography, theology, and biblical literature illustrative of the Old and New Testaments,* Religious Tract Society, London, 1876, p. 235. In English piety, Ebenezer is a popular name for non-conformist chapels, curiously used only once in Tasmania.

2 A Briggs, 'Middlesborough: The growth of a new community', in *Victorian cities,* Odhams Press, London 1963, Pelican 1968, p. 242.

3 W Lillie, *The history of Middlesborough: an illustration of the evolution of English industry,* Borough of Middlesborough, Middlesborough, 1968.

prisons, public buildings and the churches of the establishment.

In the course of my studies of the architecture of Van Diemen's Land and Tasmania during the extended nineteenth century, a hypothesis has emerged. Simply stated it is that, notwithstanding the problems of time and distance and the advantages and disadvantages of the convict system, the middle class of incomers essentially acted as if the major settlements were British provincial towns placed unusually far from London. The argument goes to that central issue in the history of the older Australian colonies: how a reasonably civil society was developed from settlements initially dominated by criminals and the brutal minions of 'the Law'.

Although the origins of the three cities might appear to have been very different, some of the parallels are striking. All three cities elected their first mayor in 1853, but the development of local services depended on other factors; for example, Middlesborough gained a reticulated water supply in 1846, Hobart in 1831, Launceston in 1857.[4] In relation to my hypothesis, the most interesting parallels lie in the development of those institutions I have regarded as products of middle class activity:

- Mechanics Institutes: Hobart 1826, Middlesborough 1840, Launceston 1842.[5]
- First Wesleyan Chapel: Hobart 1821, Launceston 1826, Middlesborough 1833.[6]
- First Independent (Congregational) Chapel: Hobart 1832, Middlesborough and Launceston 1837.[7]
- First Particular Baptist Chapel: Launceston and Middlesborough 1840, Hobart 1841.[8]
- Savings Bank: Launceston 1835, Hobart 1845, Middlesborough by 1850.[9]

Although these essentially middle-class developments were founded largely on the labour of dockers, railway servants and ironworkers in Middlesborough, and of convicts in Van Diemen's Land, the aspirations of the new communities were similar. The sentiments of the time could not be better illustrated than by one William Fallows, who, in reply to a toast at a dinner held in Middlesborough in 1838 in honour of a visiting royal duke, said:

> Though our town cannot boast of the ancient and valuable institutions which may be seen in the older towns around us and which are the glory of their populations, yet we have far greater pleasure in seeing these institutions rising up in the midst of us by our own industry and exertions, growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength.[10]

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4 Lillie p. 155; P Crawford & K Ryan, *The history of the early water supply of Hobart: the first 100 years 1804–1904*, Institution of Engineers Australia, Hobart, 1988, pp. 5, 9; Launceston Municipal Council Minute Book, 26 October 1857.

5 Lillie, p. 467; P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1973 p. 121; S Petrow, *Going to the Mechanics: A history of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute 1842–1914,* Historical Survey of Northern Tasmania, Launceston, 1998, p. 1.

6 Lillie, p. 84; M Stanshall, R Hingston, D Miller & A Anderson, *Tasmanian Methodism, 1820–1975: compiled at the time of the last meeting of Methodism prior to Union 1976*, Methodist Church of Australia, Launceston, pp. 19, 39.

7 Lillie, p. 84; A Nelson, *History of the effective establishment of Congregationalism in Australia and New Zealand,* Walsh, Hobart, 1930, p. 30; J Fenton, *The life and work of the Reverend Charles Price,* Melbourne 1886, p. 69.

8 Lillie p. 85; L Rowston, *Baptists in Van Diemen's Land: the story of Tasmania's first Baptist Church, the Hobart Town Particular Baptist Chapel, Harrington Street, 1835–1886,* Baptist Union of Tasmania, Hobart Baptist Church, Hobart, 1985, pp.26, 35.

9 Lillie p. 160; E Beever, *Launceston Bank for Savings 1853–1970: a history of Australia's oldest savings bank,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 32–33.

10 29 October 1838, quoted in Lillie, p. 78.

Similar sentiments expressed in Hobart Town might have given rise to Lieutenant-Colonel Mundy's dismissive comment in 1852:

> it appears to me that their aspirations are somewhat premature. The ground floor of their social edifice has been built of mud. Let it at least have time to harden before they attempt to superimpose a structure of marble.[11]

The boastful confidence that troubled Mundy had largely dissipated by the time of Anthony Trollope's visit in January 1872.[12] He recognised the results of the government-subsidised convict era but spoke of them retrospectively:

> both Launceston and Hobart Town were prosperous boroughs. Schools were general, hospitals were established, the institutions of the colony generally were excellent.[13]

But his local informants were pessimistic about their future prospects:

> I here speak both of Hobart Town and Launceston, the only two towns in the colony. Hobart Town in round numbers has 20,000 inhabitants, and Launceston 11,000. But they have the appearance of large and thriving cities much more than have towns with a similar population in England. Nevertheless, the Tasmanians acknowledge it to be the fact that Tasmania is going to the mischief.[14]

In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on one aspect of bourgeois activity in new nineteenth century towns, the building of chapels.

The free and the emancipated settlers of Van Diemen's Land brought with them their religion and their religious divisions, making common cause when their numbers were small, but always aspiring to have their own places of worship as soon as they could afford them. An aspect of the world they sought to re-create is vividly described by John Betjeman:

> Not since medieval days had the people clubbed together to adorn a place of worship and this time it was not a shrine but a preaching house. In mining districts and lonely villages of Wales, among the gleaming granite and slate of Cornwall, down the brick-red streets of Leeds, Belfast, Liverpool and Manchester, in almost every city and corrugated suburb of Great Britain [....] stand the chapels of the mid-nineteenth century. Despised by architects, ignored by guide books, too briefly mentioned by directories, these variegated conventicles are witnesses of the taste of industrial Britain. They try to ape nothing. They were anxious not to look like a church, which held them in contempt; nor like a house, for they were places of worship; nor like a theatre, for they were sacred piles. They succeeded in looking like what they are – chapels, so that the most unobservant traveller can tell a chapel from any other building in the street.[15]

On Professor Pevsner's celebrated spectrum between a bicycle shed and Lincoln Cathedral, the early churches and chapels of Tasmania lie near the middle; they are structurally very basic, but have some architectural pretension that might have something to tell about

11 G Mundy, *Our antipodes: or, residence and rambles in the Australasian colonies: with a glimpse of the gold fields*, volume 3, p. 162, quoted in Bolger p. 46.

12 R Joyce, 'Anthony Trollope (1815–1882)' in *Australian dictionary of biography*, volume 6, p. 303.

13 A Trollope, *Australia,* volume 1, Tasmania Chapter I, London, 1873, reprint, Alan Sutton, London, 1987, p. 228.

14 Trollope, Chapter IV, p. 254.

15 'Nonconformist architecture' in J Betjeman, *First and last loves,* John Murray, London, 1952, p. 104.

the designer, if he can be identified.[16] The cautiously optimistic time of transition from convict prison to outpost of Empire, and the time of 'going to the mischief', were the times when the 'variegated conventicles' of Tasmania appeared, chapels in the tradition that Betjeman described, and not the dominating church buildings that often superseded them.

The two architects whose works have occasioned this essay were chiefly memorable in Tasmania as designers of places of worship, particularly for voluntary religious bodies other than the Church of England. Both came from the south-west of England, but their voyages were separated by a third of the nineteenth century. One worked for just over eight years in the Launceston of the struggle to end transportation, in its brief heyday before the discovery of gold in Victoria ended its aspiration to be the great entrepot of Bass Strait. The other worked for some five years in that pessimistic mid-Victorian Hobart Town discovered by Trollope. Both had the misfortune to have surnames that were frequently misspelled, increasing the difficulty of tracing their activities and movements, and both eventually left a colony that gave them little work, to find a place in the mainland colonies.

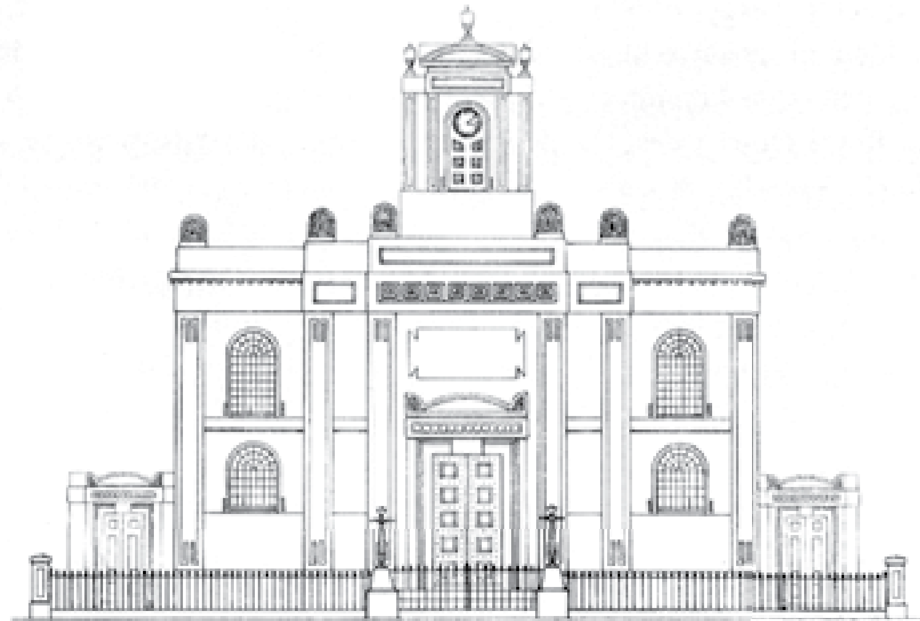

Figure 1. St. Andrews Chapel, Devonport, England.

Designed by John Foulston in 1823 and now demolished, the most important provincial example of a building by a follower of Sir John Soane, as illustrated in Plate 61 of John Foulston's *Public Buildings erected in the West of England,* 1838.

The Lambeth Walk

Richard Peter Pink Lambeth was born in 1807 in Alverstoke, Hampshire, and there he married Maria Bickford in 1831, according to the researches of his great-grandson, Bill Robbie.[17] Lambeth and his wife arrived in Van Diemen's Land in the *Eliza Campbell*

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16 'Introduction' in N Pevsner, *A history of European architecture,* Pelican, Harmondsworth, 1943, 7th edition. 1963, p15. No female designers of buildings are known by name from the nineteenth Century in Tasmania. Lady Franklin certainly influenced taste, and probably influenced the appointment of her relative William Porden Kay as Colonial Architect. In NSW, the chapel at Stroud (built 1833) was probably designed by Lady Isabella Parry, wife of Sir Edward Parry, then Commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Company.

17 Robbie, *The life and work of Richard Peter Pink Lambeth 1807–1877, Architect,* Buderim, Queensland, 2001, p. 10.

in January 1838, having been induced to emigrate by his wife's childless uncle, Mr. Bickford, a Cornishman who had settled on the west side of the Tamar near Muddy Creek. The recently arrived Lambeth was described by Lady Franklin, who had met him on a visit to the Bickfords, as a 'glass worker and architect',[18] but on 27 September 1838 the *Launceston Advertiser* carried the following:

> **Drawing taught in all its Branches.**
>
> MR LAMBETH respectfully informs the public of Launceston, that he intends giving instruction in the above art, either in the homes of those families who may honor him with their patronage, or at his residence in Charles-street, where terms may be known, and specimens of drawing seen.
>
> September 25, 1838.[19]

A manuscript in the Launceston Library, *A walk around Launceston streets,* by a Mr Fuller, places the 'residence and workshop' of a 'Mr. Lambert, who was a builder and contractor' in 'Cimitiere Street, south side between St Johns Street and George Street', and this probably refers to Richard Lambeth. Other unstated sources place him there in 1839.[20] The Lambeths had already had four children when they arrived in Launceston; four more were born to them there, in 1839, 1840, 1842, and 1845, and another three after their departure to the mainland.[21]

In July 1844, the Launceston Jewish Congregation advertised for a plan and specification for a synagogue, offering a premium of five guineas for the approved design, and in August, the success of Mr. Lambeth's submission was announced by the *Launceston Examiner:* [22]

> JEWISH SYNAGOGUE – Mr. Lambeth the architect has furnished plans and specifications for a building about to be erected for the jews in this town. The style is Egyptian, and should the synagogue when completed, appear as pleasing to the eye, as the picture does on paper, it will prove an ornament to the town.[23]

Although previously advertising as a drawing master, and probably working as a builder and contractor in the years between 1838 and 1844, Lady Franklin had described him as an architect. For the *Examiner* to refer to him as 'the architect' suggests that he already had some reputation in that role.

The Synagogue was and is the only Egyptianate building in Launceston and cannot be related to any other building in the city in terms of decorative style.[24] However, there are a number of chapels of similar date in the city, with the common characteristic of a decorative stuccoed street front and side walls of plainer aspect in exposed brick, and they could well be by Lambeth, although documentary evidence for this has yet to be found.

Variegated conventicles

It is now necessary for us to look generally at the 'variegated conventicles' of Van Diemen's Land.

Early nineteenth century chapels and similar buildings commonly take the form

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18 J Franklin, 'Diary of an excursion, January 1838', in G Mackaness (ed), *Some private correspondence of Sir John and Lady Franklin (Tasmania 1837–1845),* Review Publications, Dubbo, 1977, pp. 26–28;

19 *Launceston Advertiser,* 27 September 1838, p. 2.

20 Robbie, p. 13.

21 Robbie, genealogy, p. 4.

22 *Launceston Examiner* 3 July 1844, p. 421.

23 *Launceston Examiner* 3 August 1844, p. 427.

24 E Ratcliff, 'The lesser arrivals in Australian colonial architecture: Egyptianate', *THRA Papers & Proceedings,* volume 50, no 3, September 2003.

of a simple rectangular preaching space with ancillary rooms at the rear, a decorative street front and plainer sides. In regions where stone suitable for smooth cut ashlar work was readily available, the facade could be of ashlar, the back and sides of rubble or roughly squared stone, or else of brick.[25] In places where suitable stone was difficult to obtain, the brick was stuccoed and engraved to simulate ashlar stonework on the front, and exposed on the back and sides. This was the usual type in Launceston, both before and following Lambeth's period of activity there, from late 1837 to February 1844.[26] The three remaining buildings of this type dating from Lambeth's time are the former Particular Baptist Chapel, York Street, the former St. Johns Square Independent Chapel (now Milton Hall) Frederick Street, and the Methodist Chapel, Margaret Street (now Trinity Uniting Church Hall).[27]

The Wesleyan Chapel in Margaret Street was built on land given by Isaac Sherwin down the hill from his mansion, *Alice Place,* and completed in 1837.[28] Only its elegant side walls with their double round brick arches can now be seen, the window joinery long replaced with inelegant ironwork. The facade to Margaret Street was replaced in 1858 in Victorian Italianate stucco.[29] No images of the building prior to this alteration have been found, so the style of the original can only be guessed at, but tall round-headed windows were certainly a feature. It was probably designed by the same hand as was responsible for the Methodist Chapel at Longford, built in 1841 and now demolished. This was of exposed brick overall, but had also doubly-recessed round-arched windows on the front and sides, and a projecting porch.

The York Street Chapel**,** as built for the Rev. Henry Dowling's congregation of Particular Baptists, was something of a hybrid. It had a faintly Soaneish[30] stuccoed front with a porch and round-headed windows with radial glazing bars at the top, but the exposed brick sides (still to be seen) have plain brick piers with capitals of rudimentary form, and windows with brick arches of Tudor form, springing to a sharp curve before straightening to an obtuse-angled point. Beneath these, the window tracery refuses to be *gothick*[31] but has margin bars paralleling the shape of the embrasures. At the back, where the vestries and the Reverend Henry Dowling's house were once attached, the rear parapet wall still has round-headed stuccoed finials that once echoed those on the street front.

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25 Former Congregational Chapel at Green Ponds (Kempton) 1840; datestone on facade corroborated by *Colonial Times,* 14 April 1840 re opening.

26 Wesleyan Chapel, Paterson Street, Launceston, by Samuel Jackson, completed 1836; Infant School, Frederick Street, Launceston, existing when acquired in 1836; Tamar Street Independent Chapel (demolished) begun 1836, opened September 1837; Primitive Methodist Chapel, Frederick Street (now City Mission Hall), unattributed, after 1860. Franklin, pp. 26–28; E Morgan & S Gilbert, *Early Adelaide architecture 1836 to 1886,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 65, 150.

27 The York Street Chapel lost its front in the 1950s, but the sides still stand intact, and the back wall with its 'Soane' finials has survived the demolition of the vestries and residence once attached. The St Johns Square Chapel is intact, but was lengthened backwards in the 1860s by the addition of another bay in the same style, identifiable by the darker coloured brick. The Margaret Street Chapel has the elegant brickwork of its sides intact, with later iron-framed windows, but the stuccoed facade was re-fashioned in 1858, probably along with a major rebuilding of the roof. Some of the facade may be original.

28 Stanshall, p. 47. The decision to erect a chapel costing £500 was made in June 1836. Margaret Street was listed as a preaching place in Launceston Circuit Plan, January 1837. Sunday School opened 27 August 1837 under superintendence of Henry Reed.

29 The facade by Peter Mills (1828–1886) now has in large stucco relief letters, 'Methodist Sunday School', and in the pediment, the date AD 1858. The back of the building was extended in 1874 and again in 1889 when the new Margaret Street Methodist Church was built. G Ikin, & L Barnard, *Margaret Street Methodist Church Centenary 1838–1938*, Launceston, 1938.

30 *Soanean* (Betjeman, Summerson), *Soanian* (Pevsner, Binney) is a term for architecture resembling the most characteristic work of Sir John Soane: stripped classical with generally plain surfaces, incised decoration in low relief, blunt rounded finials, some like miniatures of the square pendentive domes characteristic of Soane's interiors. To earn an eponym is fame and influence indeed. *Soaneish* irreverently implies more distant influence.

31 *Gothick* – the somewhat frivolous decorative style originating in the mid-eighteenth century and making use of motifs and forms derived from gothic, but not in the manner of the more serious *gothic revival* of the nineteenth century, which began by imitating mediaeval gothic, and then developed innovations based on it.

Figure 2. Baptist Chapel, York Street, Launceston.
by Frederick Strange c. 1850, watercolour 6.1 x 8.2 cm., from a series of small drawings of public buildings in Launceston, intended for engraving. [*Queen Victoria Museum & Art Gallery, Launceston.*]

These justify a digression. They are a distinctive feature associated with the work of Sir John Soane and his imitators, but they rarely give rise to any comment. John Summerson, the custodian for many years of Sir John Soane's house and Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields in London refers to them disapprovingly as 'Soane's knobs':

> .... his highest flights are always accompanied by childish odds and ends which it is quite impossible to take seriously. He could never leave out his 'knobs' – more properly *antefixae* and *acroteria* – circles or semicircles filled with Greek honeysuckle and tied up in coils of grooved or beaded moulding. These catch the attention and detain it from appreciation of the larger originalities … Soane's 'knobs' need not be admired …[32]

We may not choose to admire them, but they do assist us with our attribution of the design of the Reverend Dowling's chapel to someone who was at least distantly influenced by the style of Sir John Soane. The finials used by Soane and his imitators occupy a square in plan. One type has semicircular faces on all four sides of the square, so that the rounded upper surfaces intersect like a mould of a groined vault; the other has two semicircular faces and a smooth rounded upper surface. The semicircular faces may have recessed or incised semicircular panels, or an anthemion in *bas relief.*[33] At York Street Chapel, the

32 J Summerson, *Georgian London*, Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1991, pp. 199, 204.

33 For example, Pell Wall Hall, Staffordshire, Soane's last country house, designed 1822 and completed 1828, has four of the first type on the entrance front, and others on the other facades. His draughtsman CJ Richardson shows them in his elevations surmounted by acorn-like finials, but the perspective drawings by Joseph Gandy (1828) show them without. See G Worsley, 'Pell Wall Hall, Staffordshire' in *Country life,* volume CLXXXII no 14, April 7 1988, pp. 134–137. The Dulwich Picture Gallery and Mausoleum, built 1811–1814, has finials very like those surviving at York Street. Other examples are referred to as *Soane's favourite blocky curved finials* in B Cherry, C O'Brien & N Pevsner, *The buildings of England, London 5; East,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2005, p. 552.

Figure 3. Baptist Chapel, York Street, Launceston: side window.

The building is a curious hybrid, including this unusual detail of windows with margin-lights under Tudor arches at the sides. [*Watercolour by the author* 1966.]

Figure 4. A 'Soane's knob' finial of stuccoed brick, remains on the parapet of the former Baptist Chapel, York Street, Launceston. [*Author's photograph* 2004.]

second and simpler type was used, with recessed panels without decoration.

The chapel was opened in 1840 during Richard Lambeth's time in Launceston. Its stuccoed facade with a break-front surmounted by a parapet with a weak central pediment and Soane finials no longer exists, but Frederick Strange's small watercolour of the York Street front shows the round-headed windows with radiating glazing bars at the top, not 'carpenters *gothick*', and a photograph from 1953 before the demolition of the facade shows other faintly Soaneish details.[34] The presence of these gives a clue to the probable authorship of the design.

Lambeth's use of Egyptianate ideas in the design of the Launceston Synagogue probably derived from the leading architect in the West Country, John Foulston (1772–1842), who has been fully discussed in my previous paper on *Egyptianate.*[35] Foulston trained in London, had practised in Plymouth from 1811, and was a partner of Soane's pupil George Wightwick from 1829. He was eclectic to an eccentric degree but, in one of his many styles, was among the important imitators of Sir John Soane. His major work in this genre, no longer in existence, was the St Andrews Chapel at Plymouth (1823).[36] A memory of its imposing Soanean facade could perhaps have been found in reduced and simplified form facing York Street in Launceston.

The St Johns Square Chapel was built by the Independent congregation that formed around the Reverend John West. The foundation stone was laid on 2 September 1841 by his friend the Particular Baptist Reverend Henry Dowling, and the building was opened on 12 August 1842.[37] An undated panorama of Launceston by Frederick Strange shows the building roofed and with a pillared front[38], but without the pediment shown in his later watercolour drawing so the facade as we know it today might not have been complete when it was opened for worship.[39],

Its architect is unknown and, as it has no obvious similarities to any other building in Tasmania, a number of suggestions have been made as to its authorship. One is that the Reverend Mr West himself, something of a polymath, designed it. Tantalisingly, it has the unscholarly feature of pilasters used in place of *antae*[40] to respond at the wall ends to the four unfluted Doric columns of the front, but it also displays a feature that may point to an acquaintance with Grecian ruins or illustrations derived from them. This is the presence of square blocks as a base under each column. Greek Doric columns had no bases; they simply stood on a plain top step without mouldings, called a *stylobate.* As ancient buildings were quarried for stone, the easily-removed squared blocks from the inter-columnar parts of the stylobate disappeared, leaving their neighbours held in place by the massive drums of the columns.[41] As a result, some eighteenth and nineteenth century observers assumed that Doric columns originally had square bases.

The use of pilasters, the plainness of the columns, the steep pitch of the pediment (built of timber and stucco) and the debasement of its mouldings, all suggest an amateur

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34 F Strange circa 1797–1873, one of six small watercolours mounted on inscribed paper 18.4 x 29.5 cm., labelled *(Public Buildings) Plate No 9,* caption: *4 Baptist Chapel York Street,* undated, circa 1850, Queen Victoria Museum & Art Gallery, Launceston (gift of estate of Clive Turnbull).

35 E Ratcliff, pp. 155–175.

36 J Foulston, *The public buildings erected in the West of England as designed by John Foulston, FRIBA,* 1838, pl. 61: 'J.F. Archt. On zinc by TJR. Printed by J Grieve.'

37 St Johns Square Chapel Church Book, cited in P Ratcliff, *The usefulness of John West: dissent and difference in the Australian colonies,* Albernian Press, Launceston, 2003, p. 297.

38 F Strange, *General view of Launceston from the Cataract Hill,* watercolour, undated circa 1850, Queen Victoria Museum & Art Gallery, Launceston.

39 F Strange, *St. John's Congregational Church, St. John's Square,* watercolour, undated circa 1850s, Queen Victoria Museum & Art Gallery, Launceston.

40 *Anta* ⊣ In Greek architecture, a pier with plain vertical faces engaged with a wall and having decorative features that harmonise with but do not imitate the related columns. They differ from *pilasters* which do imitate columns in having tapered surfaces, fluting, and bases and capitals like those of columns in relatively low relief.

41 This is most strikingly seen at Segesta in Sicily (430–400 BC), where, as at St Johns Square, the Doric columns are unfluted and lack necking grooves. The resemblance is so strong that one would wonder if the Launceston architect had seen it, or used an engraving of it.

architect, or a builder without supervision. On the other hand, the door-case sheltered by the portico is elegantly Georgian and so are the side walls of exposed brick, relieved by a sandstone string course at the level of the springing of the arches and articulated by rectangular recesses, including the round-arched windows. These features, and the generally pleasing proportions of the building, suggest an architect of some training.

Shadowy thresholds

Some Launceston buildings were designed by architects based elsewhere, such as John Verge in Sydney[42], and John Lee Archer[43] and James Blackburn[44] in Hobart Town, but a surprising number of architects, and builders who had 'crossed the shadowy thresholds that divided the tradesman ... from the builder and the builder from the architect', as Ian Evans put it, practiced in Launceston before 1850, and most buildings were locally designed.[45] The best-known names include Samuel Jackson, William Archer, William Henry Clayton, Robert de Little, James Bennell and Richard Lambeth.

Samuel Jackson (1807–1876), who arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1829 and practised as an architect in Launceston until he moved to Port Phillip as part of John Pascoe Fawkner's syndicate in July 1836, designed the Wesleyan Chapel in Paterson Street completed that same year.[46] Jackson's chapel is a large plain space with gallery behind a stuccoed facade in a Regency gothic, almost exactly midway between the frivolous *gothick,* beginning in the eighteenth century, and the more serious gothic revival of the nineteenth, in that it embellishes a faintly gothicised frontage with windows with quite scholarly bar-tracery under Tudor gothic arches and a doorway with perpendicular tracery in the reveals.[47] The sides are of exposed brick with gothic windows as on the front, their tracery bars are of stone, and the reveals and label-mouldings of stucco.[48] Jackson was gone from Van Diemen's Land more than three years before the St Johns Square congregation was formed, and almost four before the Particular Baptists built their chapel.

Another possible designer for some of these buildings was William Archer (1820–1874), probably the first architect born in the Australian colonies to be formally trained overseas. He was born in Launceston to the owner of *Woolmers* near Longford, and studied architecture under a William Rogers in London from 1836 to 1840, and engineering under the famous Robert Stephenson at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[49] He returned in 1842 to a depressed colony able to provide little work for an architect and engineer.[50] He designed the Wesleyan Chapel, Paterson's Plains, opened in December 1846, one of the earliest colonial buildings in the brick and stucco Italianate style which was to become so familiar throughout Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[51] His other work

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42 John Verge, 1782–1861, Cornwall Bank, George Street. Part of the structure remains in No 57 George Street.

43 John Lee Archer 1791–1852, Court House, Paterson Street, 1837 (demolished), Female House of Correction 1832–1833 (demolished). R Smith, *John Lee Archer: Tasmanian architect and engineer,* Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Launceston, 1962, pp. 62, 64. St Johns Church tower completion 1830, D Henslowe, *Our heritage of Anglican Churches in Tasmania,* Hobart, 1978, pp 40–41.

44 James Blackburn, Holy Trinity Church 1841–1842 (demolished). Henslowe, p. 40; St Johns Parish Hall.

45 I Evans, 'John Verge 1782–1861' in J Broadbent (ed), *The golden decade of Australian architecture: the work of John Verge,* David Ell Press, Sydney, 1978, p. 9.

46 P Jackson, 'Samuel Jackson' in *Australian dictionary of biography* volume 2, pp. 9–10. Now Pilgrim Uniting Church Hall.

47 Faintly reminiscent of the internal arcades in the dining hall at Arbury Hall, Gloucestershire (1776) by Henry Keene, part of a *chef d'oeuvre* of eighteenth century gothick.

48 In character, but not in detail, the chapel has striking affinities with Jackson's major remaining work in Melbourne, St. Francis (Catholic) Church in Lonsdale Street, begun 1841. J Tough, *A short history of St. Francis' Church 1839–1979,* Blessed Sacrament Fathers, Melbourne, 1979. Jackson had resumed architectural practice in Melbourne in 1839.

49 William Rogers 1794–1859. Not well-known. Possibly the architect of St Michael, Stockwell Park Road (1841) of which Pevsner is quite dismissive. N Pevsner, *Buildings of Britain: London except the Cities of London & Westminster,* Penguin, Harmondsworth 1952, p. 272.

50 G Stilwell, 'William Archer' in *Australian dictionary of biography* volume 3, pp. 40–41.

51 Now the Uniting Church, Station Road, St Leonards.

was mostly for the Church of England and for his family and relatives, notably buildings at *Woolmers,* the great house at *Mona Vale* near Ross, and the eccentric farm buildings on his own property at *Cheshunt* near Deloraine. Because of his relatively recent experience in England, his known buildings do not have the conservatism in style that we associate with the majority of early colonial work in Tasmania. He was away when the York Street Chapel was designed and built, and had not returned to the colony in time to have been the designer of the St Johns Square building.

Archer was also a botanist and a fine botanical illustrator. He worked with Joseph Hooker at Kew from 1856, and his drawings of orchids were engraved for Hooker's *Flora Tasmaniae* for publication in 1860. He is claimed to be the first Australian-born botanical illustrator, as well as the first architect.[52]

Probably the second colonial-born architect to train overseas was William Henry Clayton (1823–1877), also from a Norfolk Plains family. He studied in Brussels and in London under Sir John Rennie between 1840 and 1848.[53] He was away from the colony during the years in which we are now interested, but found some substantial work for a time after his return, building in styles that are more early-Victorian than colonial. His works include St Andrew's and Chalmers' Presbyterian Churches, the Launceston Mechanics' Institute (demolished), and The Quadrant in Launceston. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1869 and practiced in Dunedin for a time before becoming Colonial Architect based in Wellington. There he is now chiefly remembered for his large Italianate government office building, built of wood to resist earthquakes.[54]

Robert de Little (1808–1876), the Launceston builder who designed the nostalgic gothic St Mathias's church at Windermere, begun in 1842, and the gothick Christ Church, Longford, begun in 1839 (to which was later added William Archer's excellent perpendicular east window), remains a possibility. He arrived in the colony in 1830 and moved to Launceston in 1832. His known early buildings were either classical Georgian or tended to the gothick, but his style moved with the times and became early Victorian.[55]

James Bennell (1809–1878), who arrived from Colchester, Essex in 1834, was another prominent builder in Launceston, chiefly remembered for his elegant, belated Regency terrace on Welman Street and its later early Victorian extension on Adelaide Street, his conjoined pairs of townhouses, Georgian in St Johns Street and Victorian in Cameron Street, and his business premises, now *Bennell House*. His buildings are often stylistically indistinguishable from those of his exact contemporary, de Little, raising the possibilities that both used another architect, or that one designed for himself as well as for the other.[56]

It did not take a long time to design such a simple building as a chapel in those days; just enough to determine the requirements of the congregation and to prepare the drawings. Many routine details, such as small mouldings, could be left to the tradesmen. The month taken by Richard Lambeth to win the commission for the Synagogue could be taken as a guide, unless he had advance knowledge of the competition.

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52 H Hewson, *Australia: 300 Years of botanical illustration,* CSIRO, Canberra, 1999, pp. 111–112, 114.

53 *Priceless heritage: historic buildings of Tasmania,* Platypus Publications, Hobart, 1964, p. 130.

54 Now housing the Law Faculty of Victoria University, the Italianate building is entirely of timber simulating masonry. Some of the structural timbers came from Tasmania.

55 R Smith, 'Robert de Little' in *Australian dictionary of biography,* volume 1, pp. 304–305. St Mathias's church was completed 1845 and Christ Church was opened 1844. Henslowe, pp. 43–44. An example of de Little's style moving with the times is his own house at No 7, York Street, Launceston which must be imagined without the two-storey verandah which was added later.

56 A Green, 'St Johns Street, Launceston, Tasmania' in *Historic houses of Australia,* Cassell Australia, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 142–143. Victoria Terrace, Numbers 1–13, Welman Street, originally a harmonised row of detached and semi-detached houses of varied sizes, designed so that their roof lines were at the same level despite the slope of the hill; no 1 was of two storeys with basement, numbers 3 & 5 had basement kitchens, a main floor and attics, numbers 7 & 9 were of two storeys, and numbers 11 & 13 had main floor and attics, no basement, and kitchens at the back. For Australia, a unique and remarkable scheme, built in the late 1850s. A common characteristic is the partial concealment of the roof behind a heavily moulded stuccoed parapet. This can be seen on Victoria Terrace (numbers 1–13 Welman Street), and its later extension on Adelaide Street, (numbers 23–33), Bennell House (corner of Cameron and Charles Streets), all by Bennell, and on Robert de Little's own house, numbers 5 & 7 York Street.

Figure 5. St Johns Square Chapel, Launceston: side window.

Please note that here and in the drawing of the Baptist chapel window, the view is in perspective and not in elevation; the sides of the openings are in fact parallel. [*Watercolour by the author* 1966.]

We can exclude from contention as the designers of the three unattributed chapels, Samuel Jackson who left too soon and William Archer and William Clayton who returned too late. Robert de Little and James Bennell remain possible contenders, and in any event it is likely that one of them was the builder, whoever was the designer. Messrs Barton and Bennell had been the builders of the Synagogue.[57]

It is time to focus again on the elusive Richard Lambeth. Because of his use of an unusual Egyptianate style for the Launceston Synagogue, and Lady Franklin's comment suggesting his origins in Cornwall, it has been possible to link his work to that of the West Country eclectic, John Foulston. He must also have worked in less identifiable styles. The appearance of 'Soane's knobs' in York Street shows that the designer was influenced by Sir John, and if his experience was solely in the West Country, that influence would have come through Wightwick and Foulston. It is reasonable to surmise, in the absence of any documentary evidence, that the York Street Particular Baptist Chapel was probably designed by Richard Lambeth. The St Johns Square Chapel offers no such clues, but it does date from Lambeth's time in Launceston, and is quite consistent with what we know of Lambeth's work there.

Richard Lambeth is reported to have arrived in Adelaide from Launceston in February 1846 and to have entered government service as Clerk of Works soon after that, but was advertising his private services as civil engineer and architect before the year was out. It is not clear how successful this was but he was still, or again, in public service in 1848, being appointed Assistant Civil Engineer, although again relegated to Clerk of Works by 1850. The best-known work associated with his name is the Supreme Court (now Magistrates Court) House in Victoria Square, Adelaide, begun in 1847 and completed in 1850.[58] This is a Doric revival building in stone, well-proportioned but quite plain in detail, although it bears the marks of the professional and the pattern-book, and lacks the amateurism of the portico at St Johns Square.

In March 1850, he resigned as 'Clerk of Works and Architect' in the government service and practised as an architect from Waterhouse Chambers in King William Street.[59] Then begins his confused association with the building of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Adelaide. Dr Ullathorne, the former Catholic Vicar-General in Australia who had visited Adelaide in 1840, commissioned the English architect Charles Francis Hansom, younger brother of the eponymous designer of the cab, to design a cathedral for Adelaide.[60] The secondary sources here become confused. One says that in 1851, Lambeth won the competition for the design of the cathedral.[61] Another states that his design was accepted, and that the foundations were laid under his supervision in 1851.[62] A third says that Hansom's plans were passed to Richard Lambeth who supervised the laying of the foundations.[63] All are agreed that St Francis Xavier's Cathedral in Wakefield Street was not built to Lambeth's design, and a letter dated 1 June 1853 states *inter alia,* 'first paid Perry (final) for Cathedral Foundations, next paid Lambeth the Architect'.[64] This probably refers to payment for work which was not to be continued at that time.

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57 L Goldman, & G Cohen, 'The history of the Launceston Hebrew Congregation', in P & A Elias (eds), *A few from afar: Jewish lives in Tasmania from 1804,* Hobart Hebrew Congregation, Hobart, 2003, p. 56.

58 Morgan & Gilbert, pp. 65, 50.

59 Morgan & Gilbert, p. 150.

60 William Bernard Ullathorne 1806–1889, Catholic vicar-general in Australia 1833–1841 under Archbishop Polding, visited Adelaide in May 1840. T Suttor, in *Australian dictionary of biography,* volume 2, pp. 544–546. He commissioned Charles Hansom to design a cathedral for Adelaide. V Branson, *Landmarks of Adelaide: a sketchbook,* Dent, Melbourne, 1988, p. 21. Charles Francis Hansom 1816–1818. The cab was designed by Joseph Aloysius Hansom, also an architect.

61 E & R Jensen, *Colonial architecture in South Australia: a definitive chronicle of development 1836–1890 and the social history of the times,* Rigby, Adelaide, 1980, p. 101.

62 Morgan & Gilbert, p. 150.

63 Branson, p. 21.

64 Letter from Public Works 1 June 1853, quoted in Jensen, p. 101. Between 1856 and 1858, the southern portion of the Cathedral was built to Hansom's design, modified by Pugin & Pugin. More was built to local designs in 1889 and also between 1922 and 1926, bringing the building to its existing hybrid state. Morgan & Gilbert, pp. 59, 150.

In April 1851, the Adelaide newspaper, the *Mercury and Sporting Chronicle,* printed an article attributed to the architect William Weir on a design for the Bank of Australasia which 'reflects the highest credit upon the architect Mr. Lambeth ... (placing it) in the first rank amongst our public buildings'.[65] The building was built in Adelaide and opened in April 1852, but was replaced before the century was out. In January 1852, Lambeth and William Weir, at that time in partnership, were awarded the second prize of £50 in the competition for the design of the Legislative Council Chambers in Adelaide. They appealed against the decision, but it was upheld. The Jensens, in their large work on the *Colonial architecture of South Australia* state that 'Lambeth and Weir then left the Colony (of South Australia), presumably for the goldfields.'[66] However, Bill Robbie has found a letter dated 21 June 1853, signed by Edmund Blackett the Colonial Architect of New South Wales, recommending the appointment of 'Mr. Richard Lambeth, a gentleman whom I believe to be in every respect qualified for the Office' of Assistant Colonial Architect.

> Mr Lambeth filled a somewhat similar situation under the Government of South Australia, and has practiced for a considerable time as an architect at home and in the Colonies.[67]

Another letter dated 13 September 1854 refers to Lambeth's wish to resign that position at the end of the month.[68] He is next heard of in 1857 as a partner in the Sydney firm of Hilly, Lambeth and Mansfield. He may have been in New Zealand in 1856, and he certainly was in Dunedin for about a year in 1863.[69] In March 1858, Lambeth was calling tenders from 49 Flinders Lane for the building of a house, *Swinton,* in Kew.[70] Other tenders for buildings in and around Melbourne were called from his office in 1859, 1861, 1867, and 1871.[71] His death certificate states the duration of his last illness as fourteen years. He died on 27 March 1877 of 'Exhaustion from Chronic Paralysis' in his seventieth year, and his widow Maria lived on until 1889. Their mortal remains lie in the Melbourne General Cemetery. [72]

The man from Wessex

Henry Robert Bastow (1839–1920) was born into a much more settled and bureaucratic age, and is not so difficult to trace as was Richard Lambeth who flourished a generation earlier.[73] However, probable references to him also occur under the names of Bairstow and Baston. We first meet him in the drawing office of his master, John Hicks, at 39 South Street, Dorchester, Dorset, where his fellow apprentice, almost two years younger than he, was none other than the young Thomas Hardy.[74] Hicks is described as:

> very well-educated; the son of a country rector who had been a classical scholar, he was widely read, and allowed his apprentices plenty of time for their own reading

65 *Mercury and Sporting Chronicle,* Adelaide, 1 April 1851, quoted in Jensen, p. 99.
66 Jensen, p. 102.
67 Blackett to Colonial Secretary, Sydney, 21 June 1853.
68 Blackett to Colonial Secretary, Sydney, 13 September 1854.
69 Robbie, p. 29.
70 Miles Lewis to Bill Robbie, 17 March 1994; Robbie, p. 32.
71 Robbie, p. 36.
72 Deaths in the District of North Fitzroy in the Colony of Victoria 1877, Robbie, pp. 40–41. Gravestone inscription, Melbourne General Cemetery; Robbie, p. 38.
73 L Birchell, *Victorian Schools: a study in colonial architecture 1837–1900,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1980, p. 92. Figure 106 is a portrait of Bastow in later life.
74 R Gittings, *Young Thomas Hardy,* Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 54. Wessex: the kingdom of the West Saxons, from the fifth century, at its fullest extent embraced all the lands south of the Thames and the Bristol Channel, except Cornwall, and extended into the lower Severn valley. The name was taken by Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) for his fictional region, with North Wessex approximating Berkshire, Mid Wessex, Wiltshire, Upper Wessex, Hampshire, Outer Wessex, Somerset, South Wessex, Dorset, Lower Wessex, Devon and Off Wessex, Cornwall.

> outside their architectural studies. Hardy's fellow-apprentice, Henry Robert Bastow, was also well-educated. A handsome, cheerful-looking youth, a year or so older than Hardy, he had been to school near London, and had literary and scholarly interests, and religious ones too. Bred as a Baptist, he became convinced of the doctrinal necessity of adult baptism, and in fact was baptized during the time of their apprenticeship, probably on 2 September 1858, when he joined the Baptist Church at Dorchester. [75]

Henry Bastow,

> following his own adult baptism, urged the doctrine strongly on Hardy [...] so strongly that Hardy actually came to discuss this with his own preternaturally smiling vicar. [...] Though he found himself appalled by the feebleness of their arguments for infant christening, he decided to stick to those of 'his own side'. These, he still believed, were those of the Anglican Church, although, he later confessed, at some cost to his intellectual conscience. He and Bastow then went at it hammer and tongs, until Hicks's wife, in her drawing room over their office, would send down imploring them not to make so much noise.[76]

These piquant images of the office of a mid-Victorian provincial architect who lived 'over the shop', recounted by Robert Gittings in *Young Thomas Hardy,* are derived largely from Hardy's own memoir, completed by his second wife and published under her name.[77]

> The friendly controversy also stimulated Hardy's further study of Greek ... he sat with Bastow on summer evenings on the gate of the enclosure of Kingston Maurward ewelease, comparing notes and readings of the Greek Testament, and even deserting Homer for the pleasure of more advanced scholarship. This pursuit was broken late in 1860, when Bastow finished his term of apprenticeship, and hearing of the building boom in Australia, went to seek his fortunes as an architect there. Without the stimulus of controversy, Hardy went back to his more general classical studies, and a letter from Bastow, in May 1861, lamented enviously that while Hardy was reading Homer, his former companion, now in Tasmania, had not touched a Greek book since he emigrated.[78]

Thomas Hardy went on to architectural practice in London, and later at Weymouth, before his literary career really began and from his correspondence, it would seem that 'Bastow seemed slightly disillusioned in Tasmania'.[79] The Baptist, Henry Bastow in Hobart, was designing an Anglican church for Green Point, now Bridgewater. Dorothea Henslowe tells us that 'It was begun in February 1862, but was blown down the following year when only partly built'.[80] It was opened and consecrated in October 1873, but that ceremony would have awaited the discharge of related debt, and we can assume that the church was built in the 1860s.[81]

St Mary's, Bridgewater is a routine Puginian church in miniature – lancet windows, nave, chancel, south porch, vestry externally simulating a north transept, belfry on the east gable, cross on the west gable, octangular chimney on the north gable. Its charm lies in the

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75 Gittings, p. 55.
76 Gittings, p. 82.
77 Gittings gives his sources for the passages quoted, as F Hardy, *Life of Thomas Hardy: 1840–1928,* London, 1962, pp. 27–29, 31. This part of the book was 'really written by Hardy himself', Gittings, List of Sources, p.357. D. Jackman, *300 Years of Baptist Witness in Dorchester, 1645–1945,* Dorchester, 1945.
78 Gittings, p. 83.
79 Gittings, p. 86.
80 Henslowe, p. 16.
81 Henslowe, citing Diocesan Registry, Tasmania, volume 3, Folio 118.

Figure 6. St. Marys Church, Green Point [Bridgewater], designed by Henry Robert Bastow in 1862, photographed by the author in October 2003.

variegated colour and random sizes of the squared sandstone masonry, which Pugin would have approved, and in its proportions, of which he might not have approved.[82] The roof is taller than the walls, so that the building seems to nestle into the ground, particularly when viewed from what is both actually and liturgically the east end, where the ground is higher. The generous buttresses foster this appearance. Puginian proportions would have emphasised the vertical by a relative narrowing of the nave, and by a less exiguous belfry. The stonework lacks the blandness of that of the two completed churches designed by Pugin for Tasmania, St. Paul's at Oatlands and St. Patrick's at Colebrook, but it also lacks their stability, due to early and continuing foundation failure.[83] St Mary's is derelict, its structure declared unsafe after at least a century of support by iron tie-bars bearing on massive timber tieplates fore and aft, and the low arch of the chancel doorway has already fallen.[84]

The late Thomas Orr, master builder involved in many major restorations of colonial buildings in Tasmania, noticing the high quality of work above ground and the often low quality below, speculated that inadequate foundations could have been a form of subversive activity by unfree labour, visiting trouble and expense on settlers and their posterity.[85] Such early and spectacular foundation failure as that at Bridgewater, dating from the post-convict era, indicates that Orr's suggestion was largely a calumny. Tasmania has plenty of reactive clay. No other Anglican church buildings in Tasmania are known with certainty to have been designed by Bastow, but on grounds of date and style, and perhaps of instability, All Saints at Swansea (1871), generally attributed to Henry Hunter, may possibly be by him.

His work for the non-conformists is more enduring. The Union Chapel, Bathurst Street, Hobart, is an urban chapel of medium size, built in 1864 for the congregation of the Reverend JW Simmons.[86] The Congregationalists (or Independents) of Hobart Town appear to have been a fissiparous lot; by the turn of the century there were three chapels of the denomination in the city area, compared with three Anglican, three Presbyterian (one being Free Kirk), two Catholic, three Wesleyan, and one Particular Baptist.[87] The chapel is of exposed brick with sandstone dressings, all now painted, and in a Victorian Romanesque Revival style, very different in character from the colonial Romanesque and Italo-romanesque of James Blackburn.[88] A decorative gable encloses a giant triple blind arch resting on triple Tuscan pilasters. Beneath this arch are three round-headed windows on the upper floor, and three arched openings on the ground floor, divided by plain columns with floriated capitals. The central feature is flanked by low hip-roofed wings with round-arched openings, and behind these looms the preaching-house proper, hip roofed over a corbelled cornice, and articulated by plain piers enclosing round-arched windows. Its ancestry appears to include the Italo-germanic Romanesque revival Church of St. Mary's, Wilton in Wiltshire, itself derived from the eleventh century San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, with the triple arched entrance related to the ninth century Palace Auditorium, Monte Navanco, Orviedo, Spain.[89] In a small town near Salisbury

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82 A Pugin, *The true principles of pointed or Christian architecture: set forth in two lectures delivered at St Marie's, Oscott, by A Welby Pugin, architect, and professor of ecclesiastical antiquities in that college,* John Weale, London, 1841. It has a comparative plate illustrating his preference for irregular coursing.

83 Pugin's designs, sent as wooden scale models as well as drawings with Bishop Willson, were modified by the local architect Frederick Thomas (born 1817) and the builders. The third Tasmanian church with features from Pugin's designs is at Richmond, but there they were alterations to an existing building by the Bath architect Henry Edmund Goodridge (1797–1864).

84 October 2003.

85 Personal communication circa 1970.

86 F Bolt, *Old Hobart Town today: a photographic essay,* Waratah Publications, Hobart, 1981, pp. 130–131.

87 *The cyclopedia of Tasmania*, volume 1, Maitland & Krone, Hobart, 1900, p. 232.

88 Scots Church at Sorell has primitive features which, at least in part, give it the true rust of the Middle Ages, the Presbyterian Church at Glenorchy begins to veer towards the Italianate, the Congregational Church at New Town is thoroughly Italianate, St. Mark's at Pontville (derived from a Welsh model) does not know where it is. From a hand other than Blackburn's, there is the Gala Kirk at Cranbrook, faintly Romanesque revival.

89 The Church of St Mary's was an Anglican church by T Wyatt and D Brandon, built 1840–1846. San Zeno Maggiore was built 1023–1035. The Palace Auditorium was built 842–880.

Figure 7. The Playhouse, Bathurst Street, Hobart, designed in a Free Romanesque style by Henry Bastow and built in 1864 as a Congregational Union Chapel. [Author's photograph 2004.]

(Melchester in Thomas Hardy's Mid-Wessex) and not in a large city, St Mary's is a conspicuous work, and was influential in its time. It is Anglican, but its Continental Romanesque exterior looks more Catholic than the Pope. Bastow modified the side aisles into hipped wings and this and the squat proportions of his façade, turn a Catholic idea into a Protestant meeting-house. The raking blind arcades of the Romanesque have been symbolised, but not imitated, in the complicated cornice of the gable. It is the work of an educated architect, freely recombining ideas into the Esperanto of the later Victorian years. It survives as the *Playhouse* of the Hobart Repertory Society.

We briefly meet Henry Bastow in Hobart in 1865 in connection with a controversy about the governance of the Working Men's Club, founded the year before.[90] However, like Richard Lambeth almost three decades earlier, he soon left Tasmania to seek his fortune in another colony. He would appear to have kept some correspondence with non-conformist church circles in Hobart, and he is recorded as having provided plans for the Sunday School hall built in Harrington Street for Davey Street Congregational Church in 1883–84.[91]

Early in 1866, he was a 'draftsman with the Victorian Water Supply', then 'architect and civil engineer in the Railways Department',[92] and then:

> Mr H R Baston [sic] was appointed to take charge of the Architects' Branch in March 1873 and a great number of schools were built from designs and plans prepared by others in the department. [93]

Victorian Schools attributed to H R Bastow often have gothic features such as pointed windows, but some have segmental arches and make use of polychrome brickwork. Buildings attributed to others during Bastow's tenure of office are stylistically indistinguishable.[94] Bastow did not initiate 'Board School Gothic' in Victoria – he inherited it.[95] There appear to have been rumbles of contemporary criticism to the effect that the windows were too large for the climate, so that the classrooms were often too hot, as the buildings from the office under Bastow were clearly based on English Board School designs. Later generations often found the windows to be too small. The summer heat in the classrooms probably resulted more from the belief that high ceilings are cooler, a belief that dominated nineteenth century architecture in the warmer British colonies.[96] Brian Andrews has traced the influence of Henry Bastow on government school design even into South Australia, when, following the passage of the South Australian *Education Act 1875,* designs were sought from Victoria.[97]

> It might even be argued that, of all the buildings erected in nineteenth century Australia whose design and decoration were to some degree influenced by the High Victorian movement, the Burra Model School as built was the most complete exemplification

90 'During 1865 Harry Bastow and Charles Barclay, acting as the agents of the young liberal reformers ... ', Bolger, p. 175, source Walker Papers, Walker A XII, letter JBW to J Page, 20 September 1865, note 33, p. 217.

91 Burchell, p. 92.

92 Foundation stone laid March 1883, opened June 1884, James Fincham, supervising architect. Demolished circa 1970. R Sharman & E Monks, *Who through faith*, Davey Street Congregational Church, Hobart, 1957, pp. 17–18.

93 D Rankin, *The history of the development of education in Victoria 1836–1936,* Arrow Printers, Melbourne, 1939, p. 123.

94 Bastow's only listing in *The heritage of Australia: the illustrated register of the National Estate,* Macmillan/Australian Heritage Commission, Melbourne, 1981 pp. 3–120, is for the gothic schoolhouse at Grove Road, Lorne, built 1879 and extended later, but there are many others of similar local value and interest mentioned or illustrated in Burchell. Brian Andrews illustrates the very imposing State School No 307, Queensberry Street, North Melbourne in his *Australian Gothic: the Gothic revival in Australian architecture from the 1840s to the 1950s,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001, p. 16. Burchell, *passim.*

95 Bacchus Marsh Common School was built in 1865, too early to attribute to Bastow who was still in Hobart when it was designed. W Stewart, *The early history of Bacchus Marsh schools,* Bacchus Marsh & District Historical Society, 1983, p. 52.

96 In fact, unless the top ventilation is very adequate, the hot air that has risen acts like a radiator. A lower ceiling can be used to promote cross-ventilation.

97 Andrews, p. 163, note 27.

> of the principal characteristics of that phase of the Gothic Revival.[98]

Bastow's Victorian career accounts in part for the curious family resemblance between many of the older State Schools and their contemporary railway stations in Victoria.

> In 1883 the Architects' Branch was merged with the Public Works Department as it was considered the work would thus be done more expeditiously and economically.[99]

At the time when he provided the design for the Congregational Sunday School Hall in Hobart, he was described as 'the architect to the Victorian Education Department'[100] Bastow continued in the government service until 30 April 1894 when his 'services were dispensed with … He retired to a property he owned at Harcourt[101] where he lived and worked as an orchardist until his death in 1920.'[102]

And what of his 'fellow-apprentice' Thomas Hardy? He went to London in April 1862, and in May became a pupil of Arthur Blomfield who had been looking for 'a young Gothic draftsman who could restore and design churches and rectories'.[103] In about 1867 he returned to Dorset, and until 1872 worked in the office of GR Crickmay in Weymouth.[104] Crickmay was the successor to John Hicks, who had been master to Thomas Hardy and Henry Bastow.[105] Bastow had failed to make Hardy a Baptist, and may have deterred him from a colonial architectural career.[106] Hardy went on to restore a few churches, and to transform a sixth of England into an immortal Wessex in poetry and prose of equal distinction, creating, as John Betjeman reminds us,

> Tess and Jude and His Worship, various unmarried mothers,
> Woodmen, cutters of turf, adulterers, church restorers … [107]

Amen.

I am indebted to Barbara Valentine and Helen Davies for additional information on the elusive Richard Lambeth, and to Michael Roe for drawing my attention to Thomas Hardy's late expression of regard for Henry Bastow [see footnote 106].

98 Andrews, p. 15.
99 Rankin, p. 123.
100 Sharman, p. 17.
101 Harcourt is near the foot of Mount Alexander, 9 km. north of Castlemaine.
102 Bibliography (sic) file, La Trobe Library; School Building File, Education Department, 3077 Korumburra 97/7566; Report of Minister of Public Instruction 1900–1901, p. 128 are cited in Burchell, p. 188, note 28.
103 Arthur William Blomfield, later Sir Arthur, 1829–1899.
104 1867 in Gittings, but 1869 in R Dixon & S Muthesius, *Victorian architecture with a short dictionary of architects,* Thames & Hudson, London, 1978, pp. 253, 256.
105 Dixon & Muthesius, pp. 253, 256.
106 Hardy never forgot Bastow, although he had lost contact with him: 'I felt, as he talked [17 November 1927], that he would like to meet this man again more than anyone in the world. He is in Australia now, if alive, and must be nearly ninety. His name is Henry Robert Bastow'. Hardy, p. 443.
107 'The heart of Thomas Hardy' in J Betjeman, *Continual Dew,* 1937; *Collected poems,* John Murray, London, 1958, p. 44.

AN HERALDIC HEN

Eric Ratcliff

Serendipity is, I understand, the felicity of finding something while looking for something else. In the course of varied researches into the architecture of Colonial Tasmania, an intriguing heraldic question arose.

Above the door of the former Ordnance Store in Ross there is a slab of stone supported on crude consoles and above that, in addition to the datestone 'ERECTED 1835' and a shield emblazoned with the three cannon of the Ordnance Corps, there are two small relief carvings in recessed panels like inverted shields. To the right, there is a kangaroo looking over its shoulder in a way that its kind find difficult to do. To the left there is a standing bird that is undoubtedly a Native Hen, *Gallinula mortierii.* These carvings, reasonably attributed to the convict stone carver, Daniel Herbert, most remembered for the work on the Ross Bridge that earned him his free pardon, must be among the earliest carved representations of Australian animals.[1]

Norman Laird in his essay on *Daniel Herbert and his icons* mentions the carvings, 'one of which is a kangaroo, and the other an emu (Tasmanian emu now extinct) – forerunners of our national coat of arms'.[2] Mr. Laird is demonstrably a very acute observer, but so imbued was he with familiarity with the national emblems that he identified a most un-emu-like bird as an emu.

Two or three decades after Herbert made his carvings the architect William Archer arranged for the manufacture of the magnificent stained glass that fills the great west window of Christ Church, Longford. It was made by William Wailes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who had executed commissions designed by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, one of which is the set of (liturgically) east windows behind the altar of St Johns Church at Richmond.[3] The theme of the great window at Longford is the Gospels; the main lights depict Christ and the four Evangelists, and the others form a compendium of Christian symbols. Beneath the figure of Christ in the central light is the Royal Arms surmounted by the Crown, but in place of the lion and the unicorn, the supporting beasts are what are intended to be the kangaroo and the emu, 'but the designer could not have been acquainted with the latter, for it is more like a native hen than an emu, while the kangaroo is a poor pathetic creature.'[4] This opinion was provided by the anonymous but opinionated author of the *Short account of Christ Church, Longford,* which was sold for the church and ran to many editions. He too was bemused by the familiar supporters of the Australian coat-of-arms. Once again, an apparently unsatisfactory emu appears to have been a highly recognisable native hen.

The dates of design, manufacture, and installation of the Longford window are not securely known, but it is recorded that the installation was done by Robert de Little, the original architect and builder of the church, and he died in 1859.[5] The late Geoffrey Stilwell, a researcher meticulous to the point of fussiness, gives the date of the window as 1842 in his article on Archer in the *Australian dictionary of biography*, but

1 The arguments for the attribution are: (1) Daniel Herbert was a skilled carver of freestone and he was in Ross in 1835; (2) The type of lettering on the datestone, a bold *Egyptian* letterform, appears wherever Herbert was known to be working, for example on St Luke's Church at Richmond.

2 L Greener & N Laird, *Ross Bridge and the sculpture of Daniel Herbert,* Fullers Bookshop, Hobart, 1971, p. 116.

3 K von Stieglitz, *Notes on Christ Church centenary and Longford district 1839–1939,* the author, Evandale, 1940, p. 9; E Morris, *Stained and decorative glass,* Quintet Publishing, London, 1988, p. 46; B Andrews, *Australian Gothic: the gothic revival in Australian architecture from the 1840s to the 1950s,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2001, pp. 116, 152. The Richmond windows were made in 1842 and installed in 1859.

4 Anon, *A short account of Christ Church, Longford, n.d.* (c. 1958).

5 R Smith, in *Australian dictionary of biography,* volume 1, 1966, p. 304–5.

provided no source.[6] Archer returned to his birthplace on the Norfolk Plains late in that year when Christ Church was still under construction, and the church was in use well before the window was installed in what had probably been intended to be a chancel arch.[7] In addition to being the first man in the Australian colonies to formally train as an architect overseas, William Archer has been credited with being 'the first Australian-born botanical illustrator', providing some drawings for Joseph Hooker's *Flora Tasmaniae.*[8] He was not likely to have been inaccurate in his representation of the fauna of his native land. Had he been looking over William Wailes's shoulder during the designing of the glass, the kangaroo would not have been such a 'poor pathetic creature'[9].

Heraldic animals are occasional causes of concern, if not of controversy. The Royal Arms of the United Kingdom are supported by a lion, a feline not endemic in England, and a unicorn, an ungulate understood to be rarely encountered in Scotland. The escutcheons of both the State of Tasmania and the City of Launceston are supported by a pair of animals almost equally unlikely to be seen in this island. It is unavoidable in the present context to recall the blast of Irish wit directed by the exiled John Mitchel at the recently granted arms of our capital, '*Hobart Town, Hobartia, Hobarton.* Coat of arms, a fleece, and a kangaroo with its pocket picked; and the legend *Sic fortis Hobartia crevit*: namely, by fleecing and picking pockets.'[10]

The kangaroo is present indeed, whether or not subject to the depredation mentioned, and there is also an undoubted emu, despite the extinction of the Tasmanian variety in about 1874.[11] The native hen, however, which was then thought to be endemic to this island, was commonly seen, the most conspicuous avian pedestrian in the colony.

It would appear to be arguable that both Daniel Herbert in his day, perhaps with his tongue in his cheek, and more seriously, William Wailes under the instructions of William Archer, intended the native hen to become an appropriate heraldic device for a new land.

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6 G Stilwell volume 3, 1969, p. 41.

7 Drawing 383/107 Archives Office of Tasmania.

8 H Hewson, *Australia: 300 years of botanical illustration*, CSIRO, Melbourne, 1999, p. 112.

9 Begun 1839, opened 1844; von Stieglitz p.9; D Henslowe, *Our heritage of Anglican churches in Tasmania,* Hobart, p. 43–44.

10 J Mitchell, *Jail journal*, original edition, MH Gill & Co, Dublin, reprinted from *The Citizen,* New York, 1854, p. 227.

11 R Green, *Birds of Tasmania: an annotated checklist with illustrations,* Launceston, 1977.

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